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**ALFONSO VAGNONE S.J.'S TONGYOU JIAOYU 童
幼教育 (ON THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN,
C.1632): A LITERARY BRIDGE BETWEEN
CHINESE AND WESTERN PEDAGOGY**

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Acknowledgements

When walking around my favourite area in Beijing, the ruins of the *Yuanmingyuan* 圆明园 or Old Summer Palace, I remember being incredibly attracted by what was left of the *Xiyang Lou* 西洋楼, a series of European-style architectures designed in the 18th century by the Italian Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione (1688 – 1766), who was serving as a painter at Qianlong 乾隆 Emperor's (1711 – 1799) court. Like the rest of the park, this complex of imperial buildings embodied the essence of the multicultural environment of Qing 清 China, in which a number of different ethnicities (Chinese, European, Manchu, Mongol, Tibetans, etc.) coexisted and contributed to the socio-cultural richness of the country. Regretfully, this symbol of Sino-Western inclusiveness and peaceful cohabitation did not survive the madness of war and repeated raids between the 18th and the 19th centuries.

My fifteen year long journey into the Chinese cultural universe, helped me understanding that in the series of successes and failures which make up the history of Sino-Western relations, the *Xiyang Lou* 西洋楼 do not represent a uniqueness and that many more artistic and literary products are still awaiting to be investigated, whereas a number of stories about struggles, accommodation, misunderstandings and mediation still need to be told.

This study on Alfonso Vagnone S.J.'s *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (On the Education of children, c. 1632) wishes to be an attempt to disclose and share one of those stories. Like every unforgettable experience, this three years' journey alternated gratifying achievements to moments of discouragement, but left me with a bigger cultural baggage and a desire to keep on exploring the story of Sino-Western cultural relations.

Over these three years I was lucky enough to count on the guidance and the assistance of many distinguished scholars: first, Prof. Federico Masini, my supervisor at Sapienza University of Rome, who played an essential role in my academic formation over the past decade and to whom I am grateful for the always inspiring insights on my work. I also would like to thank Dr. Davor Antonucci for the precious suggestions and constant support to this project. During the semester in Fudan University, Shanghai, Prof. Zou Zhenhuan kindly made his outstanding linguistic and historical expertise available to me, providing invaluable support to resolve the most controversial points of my translation. Last, but definitely not least, I cannot thank enough the friends and colleagues of the Ricci Institute of the University of San Francisco (California), Fr. Antoni Ucerler, Dr. Wu Xiaoxin and Mr. Mark Mir in particular, for offering me the opportunity to undertake two

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Introduction

Origin of this research: old and new trends in the historiography of Sino-Western cultural relations.

History proves that even a considerable geographical distance doesn't necessarily make it impossible to communicate at a cultural level. Such is the case of Europe and China, two countries whose societies developed in complete isolation from each other for centuries. They had shaped their mutual image solely by relying on popular legends and mythology, until the right mediators were finally able to fill in the geographical and cultural gaps.

Although during the Yuan 元 dynasty (1271 – 1368) a certain amount of travellers, merchants and priests, mostly Franciscans, to whom we owe the earliest accounts of China, attempted first contact with the biggest empire of the time,¹ the establishment of a long-lasting cultural dialogue was entirely engineered by another religious order during the late Ming 明 dynasty (1368 – 1644): the Society of Jesus.

The story of the China Jesuits begins with a small settlement in Macau in 1579, where the earliest missionaries settled to learn the Chinese language, an essential tool that was needed to approach the influential elite of the Chinese literati and introduce them to the European science and philosophy that the Jesuits were extremely well versed in. From the establishment of the first residence in Guangzhou province to the order's suppression by pope Clemens XIV in July 1773, this generation of outstanding individuals managed to create a network of Christian communities and collaborators across China, the latter proving to be particularly helpful in their ambitious project of creating a library of philosophical, theological and scientific books in Chinese that would then serve as means of evangelisation.

Due to the composite nature of the Jesuit mission in China, its history and cross-cultural implications have been analysed from different perspectives. Magone speaks of two major approaches. The earliest, missiological and Europe-centered, was in use until the 1960s and

¹ A comprehensive and fascinating reconstruction of the history of foreign presence in China, with a particular focus on Italian nationals is provided by Bertuccioli G., Masini F. *Italia e Cina*, Roma, Edizioni L'Asino D'Oro, 2014.

investigated the strategies applied by the Jesuits to introduce Christianity to the Middle Kingdom.² The later stage, beginning from the last quarter of the 20th century, saw a new paradigm emerge in the history of the Christian missions in China, which aimed to understand how Chinese people reacted when confronted with a new type of knowledge, and a religious doctrine, of foreign origin.³ The Chinese and Western scholars involved in this new Sino-centered perspective came from a broader range of backgrounds, including language and philology, and made extensive use of primary sources in Chinese in order to address a number of multi-disciplinary issues. The main literary products of such scholarship are Standaert and Brockey's works, which present the readers with more an academic than religious analysis, portraying the missionaries "as deeply educated intellectuals, who spent time conversing intelligently with their Chinese counterparts, not necessarily being understood about [their] real religious aim".⁴

The Italian Jesuit Alfonso Vagnone (1568 – 1640) perfectly embodies this description: as a man of the Renaissance he possessed an impressive background in the human sciences (philosophy and rhetoric above all), which he used as topics of conversation to attract the literati's curiosity, thanks to his high proficiency in the Chinese language. Following Matteo Ricci's (1552 – 1610) intuition, Vagnone soon realised that the best way to indirectly promote Christianity on a large scale to such an educated audience was the written word, and begun committing himself to the act of composing books ever since his stay in Nanjing (1605 – 1616).⁵ Despite being acknowledged as one of the most prolific writers of ethical books (*yili zhi xue zhi shu* 義禮之學之書), his contribution to the dissemination of Western learning in 17th century China has so far remained in the shadow of his famous confrères: Matteo Ricci, one of the founders and main agents of the Jesuit's China mission,

² The most representative text on this historical trend is Dunne George H., *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1962. See Magone Rui, "Portugal and the Jesuit Mission to China: trends in historiography", in *Europe and China: science and the arts in the XVII and XVIII centuries*. Edited by Luis Sariva, World Scientific, 2013, p. 4.

³ Standaert Nicolas, "New Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in China", *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol.83.4, 1997, pp. 573 – 613.

⁴ Quoted from Magone, 2013, p. 5. In particular, the publications I am referring to are Brockey Liam M., *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579 – 1724*, Harvard University Press, 2008; Standaert Nicolas, *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume 1: 635 – 1800*, Leuven, Brill, 2001.

⁵ In a letter dated 27th December 1613, Vagnone clearly expressed his admiration for the literati's curiosity towards European science, and that books on such a subject could prove "extremely useful for that region". See Vagnone to Pompilio Lambertenghi, in ARSI Jap.Sin.15, ff. 321-322.

Giulio Aleni (1582 – 1649) and Martino Martini (1614 – 1661), to name but a few. Accounts of Vagnone's biography and publications are included in the canonical works concerning the history of the Jesuits in China, such as Daniello Bartoli S.J.'s *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesù, La Cina* (1663),⁶ Athanasius Kircher S.J.'s, *China Monumentis, qua sacris qua profanis* (1667),⁷ along with the more recent *Répertoire des jesuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, by Joseph Dehergne S.J. (1973) and *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773* by Louis Pfister (1976).⁸ However, these biographies seem to show inconsistencies about some crucial dates, as we shall see in the following chapters. A specific mention needs to be made of Margiotti's detailed account of the establishment and development of the Shanxi residence, which attaches great importance to Vagnone's status and efforts to consolidate the mission, also examining in depth his relationships with the local authorities and the Christian community.⁹ In more recent years the life and works of Vagnone have been thoroughly investigated by two Chinese scholars: Jin Wenbin 金文宾, who enriched the existing biographical studies by collecting further Chinese and Western primary sources and conducted an in-depth research about his latest publications in Shanxi province;¹⁰ and Duan Chusheng, who, in his doctoral thesis, analysed the Jesuit missionary and his literary activity in China, with a particular focus on how his pedagogical treatise, *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (On the Education of children, c. 1632) served his evangelisation strategy.¹¹

⁶ Bartoli Daniello, *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesù. La Cina, terza parte dell'Asia descritta dal p. Daniello Bartoli della medesima Compagnia*. Libro primo, Torino: per Giacinto Marietti, 1825.

⁷ Kircher Athanasius, *China Monumentis, qua sacris qua profanis*, Jacobus à Meurs, Keyzersgracht (Keizersgracht), 1667.

⁸ Dehergne Joseph, *Répertoire des jesuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800 / Joseph Dehergne S.J.* Roma, Institutum historicum S.I., Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1973; Pfister Louis, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773 / par le P. Louis Pfister S.J.*, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1976.

⁹ Margiotti Fortunato *Il cattolicesimo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, Roma, Edizioni Sinica Franciscana, 1958, pp. 104-105.

¹⁰ Jin Wenbin 金文兵, *Gao Yizhi yu Mingmo Xixue Dongchuan Yanjiu* 高一志与明末西学东传研究, Xiamen University press 厦门大学出版社, 2015.

¹¹ Duan Chusheng, *L'attività missionaria e pedagogica di Alfonso Vagnone S.J. in Cina (1605-1640)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, 2012-2013.

As for the Chinese sources, there are few records of Vagnone's presence in the country: his name is mainly associated with a period of socio-political turmoil: the so-called Nanjing Incident (*Nanjing Jiao'an* 南京教案 1616-1617), which will be analysed in chapter 1. A clear example of the official view on the Italian Jesuit is a passage of the chapter "Italy" from the History of Ming (*Mingshi* 明史, 1739). After expressing appreciation for the geographical and scientific innovations Matteo Ricci brought to the Wanli 萬曆 (1563 – 1620) court, this document provides a rather negative description of Vagnone, reporting his role and the fate he suffered in the anti-Christian persecution: "From the day Matteo Ricci entered China, his followers continued arriving in an ever-growing number. One of them, Alfonso Vagnone settled down in Nanjing, where he devoted himself to confusing people through the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven. High officials and common people alike were all deceived by him, so that the director of the Ministry of Rites could not tolerate him".¹²

In recent years, however, the Jesuit's reputation has been restored, shedding new light on his contribution to the introduction of moral and pedagogical precepts of European origin into late Ming China. In particular, his lifelong interest for ethics and education resulted in the publication of a series of books on these topics, which so far have not been subjected to a systematic study. As for the subject of this investigation, the pedagogic treatise *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, was rediscovered in the first half of the 20th century by two scholars of a Christian background: prof. Chen Yuan 陈垣 (1880 – 1971) from Fujen 輔仁 University (Taipei) and prof. Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯 (1840 – 1939) from Fudan 復旦 University (Shanghai), who appreciated it for its educational and ethical value.¹³ In recent years, academics have attached an increasing importance to this text, which has been indicated as an "exotic flower in the garden of Chinese pedagogic treatises"¹⁴ for presenting a peculiar yet successful integration of Sino-Western precepts, which paved the way for an innovative perspective on the education of children. Such an aspect was particularly highlighted

¹² Quoted in Bertuccioli, Masini, 2014, p. 114.

¹³ Ma Xiangbo, "Tongyou Jiaoyu ba 童幼教育跋", in V.A. *Shulin oushi: Ma Xiangbo xiansheng yiwen chao* 书林偶拾: 马相伯先生遗文抄, Shanghai, Shangzhi bianyiguan guankan, 上智编译馆馆刊, 1948 issue n. 6, p.247.

¹⁴ Quoted in Xiao Lang 肖朗 "Tongyou Jiaoyu yu Ming Qing zhi ji Xifang ertong jiaoyu sixiang de daoru 童幼教育与明清之际西方儿童教育思想的导入" in *Zhejiang Daxue Xuebao* 浙江大学学报, 2005 N.5, p.88.

by prof. Xiao Lang 肖朗 from the University of Zhejiang 浙江, who ran an in-depth analysis on the content of the treatise, extracting the main topics and explaining how they relate to European and Chinese classical pedagogy.¹⁵ The aforementioned Jin Wenbin 金文宾 from Xiamen 廈門 University attempted a systematic investigation of Vagnone's contribution to the introduction of Western learning, providing an inter-textual analysis of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 and other works by Vagnone, which proved very helpful in reconstructing the process of the book's creation.¹⁶ Finally, an in-depth analysis of the Italian Jesuit's moral and pedagogical publications and their cross-cultural value was undertaken by Thierry Meynard S.J., professor at Sun Yat-sen University of Canton. In particular, he has dedicated the last decade to researching and translating Vagnone's main ethical works, in order to provide the first complete study of their role in the dissemination of Western moral philosophy and pedagogy among the late Ming literati. Also, his analysis on the sources of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was extremely useful in unravelling the complex structure of the text. Prof. Meynard is currently working on a critical annotated edition in Chinese of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, as he informed me during our meeting in May 2016 in Beijing. This study can only be welcomed, as it offers a different perspective on the philological analysis of the text, allowing the debate on Sino-Western pedagogy to be enriched by the contribution of scholars from different backgrounds.

Building on such foundations, it is the purpose of this research to provide a comprehensive and systematic analysis of Vagnone's pedagogical treatise, which takes into account the aforementioned scholarship and integrates such achievements with a study of the lexicon and a preliminary investigation of the text's fortune. This volume also includes the first annotated translation of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, the earliest provided in a Western language.

Research objectives and organisation of the present volume

The present study is based on Alfonso Vagnone's pedagogical treatise *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, a 30,000-character text that presented the earliest systematic dissertation on European classical and

¹⁵ Xiao, *ibid.*, pp. 87-90.

¹⁶ Jin, 2015, pp. 82-94.

Renaissance pedagogy to Chinese readers. In particular, it is the purpose of this research to provide a philological and lexical analysis of the treatise, in order to investigate the following objectives:

1. to show how the text related to the pedagogical traditions of Renaissance Europe and Song-Ming China, by highlighting the precepts these had in common, along with any points of friction;
2. to establish which translation strategies the Jesuit employed while adapting terms and concepts of foreign origin;
3. to see how these potential lexical innovations developed into the modern Chinese language and if any of them are still in use;
4. to understand what sort of literary fortune Vagnone's treatise enjoyed within the Shanxi gentry community.

The points above will be addressed in the four sections that constitute this volume (Part 1 to 4), which is completed by an annotated English translation of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育. The first part attempts a reconstruction of the main stages of Vagnone's life on the basis of archival documents (in particular of letters and records preserved at the Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu, hereafter ARSI, and at the Ajuda Library in Lisbon), alongside some relevant secondary sources. The outline of the Jesuit's biography mainly aims to highlight how the humanistic formation he received at the College of Brera influenced his future publications and intends to identify the three main phases of his literary production:

- a. The period of linguistic experimentation in Nanjing (1605 – 1616): after completing the study of the Chinese language and classics, Vagnone began producing short essays that became part of his later publications.
- b. The period of writing inspiration in Macau (1618 – 1624): according to Pfister, it was during his exile at St. Paul's College that the Jesuit undertook most of his literary commitments, which were published at a later stage.¹⁷
- c. The period of final publication in Jiangzhou (1624 – 1640): following the establishment of the Jesuit residence and of the printing house in 1627, most of Vagnone's drafts became proper books, thanks to wood engraving techniques.

¹⁷ Pfister, 1976, p. 88.

I deliberately chose to present the biographical section in summary, as I wished to make the linguistic and philological analysis of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 the real focus of this study, and therefore considered the information on Vagnone's formation and core life event solely as functional to a deeper understanding of his literary work.

The second part of this work, divided into two chapters, introduces the two philosophical contexts in which Vagnone acted as mediator: Renaissance Europe, featuring a revival of classical pedagogy, and Ming China, which was influenced by a dichotomy between the Zhu Xi 朱熹's (1130 – 1200) and Wang Yangming 王阳明's (1472 – 1529) approaches, representing respectively the School of Principle 理學 and the School of Mind 心學. This chapter also provides an overview on the canonical primers that were used for elementary education in 16th–17th century China, and that served as theoretical and linguistic inspiration for Vagnone's treatise.

The other chapter of the second section addresses the main stages of the Jesuits' *iter studiorum*, analysing the historical development and subjects dealt with by their academic institutions and how these related to the main educational trend of Humanism and Renaissance Europe. In particular, the in-depth study of the *Ratio Studiorum* plan, which regulated every Jesuit school in Europe and abroad, was crucial to the understanding of the Society's evangelisation strategies and of Vagnone's rhetorical techniques in particular.

In the third part of this publication, two core issues related to *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 are addressed: the making and sourcing of the book. It opens with a dissertation on the key reasons that led Vagnone to write about pedagogy: a fresh topic that could have attracted the literati's curiosity, while allowing an indirect apology of Christianity. The structure and main topics of the treatise are presented in the following paragraph, in order to identify its philosophical connections with both the European and Chinese traditions. Finally, the study attempts a reconstruction of the creation of the book, with a particular focus on the issue of the date of publication, which was eventually solved thanks to inter-textual analysis.

Another crucial, yet controversial, aspect of the present research concerns the literary sources Vagnone used to convey the key precepts of European pedagogy to the Chinese, which is

illustrated in chapter 5. Due to the lack of direct references to this matter in primary sources, this investigation had to be based on the philological analysis of the text, alongside relevant scholarly works on the subject. Such methodology allowed the identification of the following pedagogical treatises as main sources of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育: *Philosophia moral de principes, para su buena criança y gobierno, y para personas de todos estados*, by Juan de Torres S.J. (Burgos, 1596); *Christiani pueri institutio, adolescentiae que perfugium*, by Juan Bonifacio S.J. (Macau, 1588); *De Educatione Liberorum et eorum claribus moribus, Libri Sex*, by Maffeo Vegio (Rome, 1443). From a structural and content viewpoint, all the aforementioned texts bear the influence of another well-known work on education: the pseudo-plutarchian *Peri Paidon agoges* Περὶ παίδων αγωγῆς (On the education of children), translated and published by Guarino da Verona in 1411. The final paragraph of the fifth chapter highlights Vagnone's ability to integrate the core precepts of European pedagogy with references from the Confucian classics, Zhu Xi's books on education and the edifying literature of Ming China, the *shanshu* 善書, all used to confer authority to his teachings.

The fourth and final part of this volume provides a stylistic and lexical analysis of Vagnone's treatise. In particular, it first describes the functional role *sententiae* and *chreiai* played in Jesuit rhetoric and how these were adapted when writing moral books in Chinese. The dissertation then shifts to the lexical investigation, explaining the criteria that regulated the selection and diachronic analysis of around fifty terms, which were classified according to the following semantic areas: toponyms, names of animals, branches of Western learning, religious and pedagogical terms. Their presence was then sought in the most relevant works on ethics published between the 17th and 18th century and cross-checked in four more dictionaries: Francisco Varo's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Mandarina* (c.1695), Carlo Orazi from Castorano's *Dictionarium latino-italicum-sinicum* (c.1732), alongside the more contemporary *Hanyu Da Cidian* 汉语大词典 and *Le grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise*. This analysis resulted in the identification of twenty-three neologisms Vagnone created and used in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, the majority of which are no longer in use, the only exceptions being those terms used by Giulio Aleni in his well-known treatise *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 (Summary of Western learning, 1623), which contributed indirectly to the fortunes of Vagnone's treatise.

This very topic is further discussed in the final chapter of the present volume, which introduces some preliminary considerations concerning the influence of Vagnone's work. It is possible to suppose that the fame the text enjoyed was limited to Shanxi province, as confirmed by its presence and referencing in other texts that circulated in the Shanxi area between the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Qing dynasty. As suggested by Jin and Meynard's studies, the books on ethics Vagnone published while residing in Jiangzhou were in fact functional to promote moral reform within the local community compact (*xiangyue* 鄉約), which was gaining increasing influence as a consequence of the decadence of the Ming central authority.¹⁸

Methodology

Due to the multi-disciplinary nature of this project, the methodological approach also presented a number of challenges: I started my research by settling a number of preliminary questions that could also serve as guidelines over the course of my investigation.

First of all, I needed to acquire specific information on Alfonso Vagnone's biography and background. In order to address this matter, I relied on both primary and secondary sources, specifically authentic letters by the author or his closest confrères, annual letters and other reports from China, which I was able to access at the Jesuit archive (ARSI), the National library in Rome and the Ajuda Library in Lisbon. In addition to these valuable documents, I also made use of the most comprehensive studies on the Jesuit China mission, such as Brockey, Standaert, and Mungello's¹⁹ works, in order to identify the main stages and key strategies of the introduction of Western learning into late Ming China.

¹⁸ See Li Sher-shiueh & Meynard Thierry, *Jesuit Chreia in Late Ming China. Two Studies with an Annotated Translation of Alfonso Vagnone's Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, Euro-sinica: 14. Peter Lang, Bern, 2014; Jin Wenbin 金文兵, *Gao Yizhi yu Mingmo Xixue Dongchuan Yanjiu* 高一志与明末西学东传研究, Xiamen University press 厦门大学出版社, 2015.

¹⁹ Brockey Liam M., *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579 – 1724*, Harvard University Press, 2008; Standaert Nicolas, *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume 1: 635 – 1800*, Leuven, Brill, 2001; Mungello David, *Curious land: Jesuit accomodation and the origins of sinology*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985.

The second set of questions concerned the creation of the book and the sources used to write *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育. At this stage, the aforementioned material didn't prove to be particularly useful, as they lacked specific or consistent evidence to support my investigation; for such a reason, I devoted myself to the translation and the textual analysis of the treatise. In particular, this job was based on the two main existing editions of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育: the *editio princeps*, a manuscript included in the Collection of Chinese Christian texts of the Xujiahui library,²⁰ and the undated xylography that is preserved in ARSI and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, which includes punctuation.²¹ While continuing the translation, I also began a thorough analysis of its main sources, in particular; the *Philosophia moral de principes, para su buena criança y gobierno, y para personas de todos estados*, which I was able to consult at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal; the Macau edition of *Christiani pueri institutio, adolescentiae que perfugium*, which I accessed at the Royal library of Copenhagen; and Zhu Xi's *Xiaoxue* 小學 (Elementary education), whose Ming and Qing editions I was able to read at the library of Fudan University in Shanghai. The cross-checked study of these texts and *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 aimed to compile the annotated translation and understand the sources of the anecdotes and maxims used by Vagnone. This turned out to be quite time consuming, but also one of the most rewarding tasks of this project.

The last part of my research aimed to unravel the linguistic means employed by Vagnone to convey terms or notions of foreign origin to Chinese readers. At this stage, the support provided by the Ricci Institute of the University of San Francisco proved to be extremely valuable. During the four months I spent at their library between 2015 and 2016, the staff kindly made all their manuscripts and archival resources available for my study, allowing me to carry out a synchronic and diachronic lexical investigation based on a selection of Jesuit texts in Chinese on ethics. Moreover, thanks to

²⁰ Vagnone Alfonso “*Tongyou Jiaoyu er juan* 童幼教育 二卷 / 高一志撰 (c.1632, hereafter TYJY)” in *Chinese Christian Texts from the Zikawei Library*. Fugen Catholic University. Taipei, 1996, volume 1, pp. 239 – 422. In the following chapters, every direct reference to the text will be based on this manuscript edition.

²¹ Vagnone Alfonso, “*Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (De Ludo Litterario)” in ARSI, Jap.Sin.II.54 ff.0-43, only the first volume, the second volume is missing. See also Courant Maurice, *Catalogue des livres chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1902, 3389 – 3392.

such rare material, such as unpublished manuscripts written by eminent scholars,²² I was able to achieve a better understanding of the pedagogical background of Song-Ming China and therefore to uncover Neo-Confucian influences on the structure and terminology of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育.

Limits of this research and future perspectives

The complete understanding of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, being the focus of this research project, was most definitely crucial to the successful outcome of this work, but it also represented the hardest challenge. The first issue was related to acquiring familiarity with Vagnone's rhetorical style, which was influenced by two main factors: the local dialect (*xiangtan* 鄉談) and the degree of education possessed by the Chinese reviewers, two *jinshi* 進士 members of the Jiangzhou gentry.²³ In addition to this, the degree of difficulty presented by the linguistic register was associated to the target readership: the elite of the Shanxi literati and their families. The treatise was, in fact, intended to be used as material for the home-based education of children, and dealt with various precepts addressed to both the educators and the learners. The result was a rather direct language (*qian* 淺) enriched by virtuous sayings and edifying exempla from the lives of ancient saints and sages.

Such citations were borrowed from various sources: Confucian and Western classics, Renaissance pedagogical treatises and the Bible. Some passages were directly translated, some paraphrased. In some cases, the Jesuits even made use of their own notes from their time as students or those they used to prepare their teaching materials. For these reasons, the identification of many *sententiae* and *chreiai* proved to be quite difficult, but a consistent amount of these have been noted and referenced. Thanks to the extensive philological analysis on the Western and Chinese sources, it was also

²² The most relevant example is Menegon Eugenio, *Neo-Confucian education and Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: Chinese and Western Pedagogy in Ming China*, MNS Ricci Institute, San Francisco, 1993, which provided precious starting points for my cross-cultural analysis on Sino-Western educational precepts.

²³ Han Lin 韓霖 (baptized Thomas, 1601-1644) and Duan Gun 段袞 (baptized Peter, d.1641).

possible to recognise all the toponyms and 99% of the anthroponyms, the only exception being the surname of two brothers related to a non-historical anecdote.²⁴

Another fascinating aspect that deserved more investigation was the role played by Vagnone's ethical works, and specifically by *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, in the moral reform of the Shanxi community compact (*xiangyue* 鄉約). In order to find satisfactory answers to such an issue, a thorough investigation of the circulation of the Jesuit's latest publications in Jiangzhou would be essential. However, due to time restrictions, along with the objective difficulty of undertaking a field investigation in Jiangzhou during the past three years, only a selection of works could be accessed and analysed. This notwithstanding, the methodology and background knowledge I acquired over the course of my Ph.D. research, alongside some encouraging preliminary findings, inspired me to continue my investigation into Vagnone's contribution to the development of Sino-Western relations in the field of pedagogy, to shed new light on the role that this interesting, but often neglected, author played in shaping the Chinese image of the West.

²⁴ See TYJY, volume 1, chap. 8, p. 306.

Part 1: Biography. Alfonso Vagnone S.J.: introducing European moral philosophy to Chinese readers

Chapter 1: Alfonso Vagnone's biographic information and literary production

Education has always played a key role in the evangelisation strategy of the Jesuits. During their formative period in the Society's colleges, pupils had to prioritise their own erudition even over religious practices. The acquisition of linguistic and rhetorical skills was a mandatory condition of succeeding in their future ministry. Literary endeavours were also at the core of their approach with foreign cultures: during his stay in Japan (1549 – 1551), Francisco Xavier (1506 – 1552), the pioneer of the mission in the East, was the first to foresee the necessity to “become one with local customs” and to engage in philosophical or religious dialogue with the erudite elite of that country.²⁵ Despite his death in 1552, and before being able to enter Chinese territory and fulfil his dream of evangelising the East through the conversion of the Chinese emperor, Xavier's experience and intuition inspired two core policies of the Jesuit mission in China. The first was the “accommodation strategy”, based on the understanding and respect of the local cultural system, which in the case of China and Japan were well-rooted in the establishment, and the second was the “top-down strategy”, which consisted of approaching and converting the most influential classes of society using scientific knowledge and moral cultivation, before moving down to the lower strata of the population.²⁶ As for the Jesuit mission in China, its history formally began in 1583 with the establishment of the first residence in Zhaoqing 肇庆, Guangdong 广东 province, by Michele Ruggieri. This marked the dawn of a brand new era in relations between China and the West, paving the way for a revolutionary process meant to have a long-lasting influence on Chinese culture and society: the introduction of Western learning, “*Xixue* 西學”.

²⁵ Menegon Eugenio, *Un solo cielo, (vita di G. Aleni 1582 – 1649). Geografia, arte, scienza e religione dall'Europa in Cina*. Grafo edizioni, Brescia 1994, p. 15.

²⁶ The role played by Jesuit missionaries in the introduction of the Western learning into late Ming China has been widely analysed by the related scholarship. Two of the most comprehensive studies on the relevant stages of the China mission, alongside the main Jesuits' evangelisation strategies are Brockey Liam M., *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579 – 1724*, Harvard University Press, 2008 and Mungello David, *Curious land: Jesuit accomodation and the origins of sinology*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985.

The gradual dissemination of scientific innovation and philosophical concepts from Europe didn't just promote modernity in a mere scientific sense, but also had a radical impact on the Sinocentric perspective that people had maintained for centuries, providing them with a new global awareness and new concepts of space and time.²⁷ The means Jesuit missionaries used to carry out this revolution was the written word. Ricci, maybe the most representative member of the so-called "Generation of Giants",²⁸ used to say: "In China more things get done by using books than by using words".²⁹ Following this intuition, he stripped off his vestments as a Buddhist monk and gradually approached the Confucian literati elite. After Ricci's death in 1610, a new stage of the introduction of Western learning began, based on the translation of scientific, philosophical and theological texts that were sent from Europe to encourage the creation of local libraries. As one of the most prolific humanistic writers among the late Ming Jesuits, Alfonso Vagnone (1568 – 1640) played a key role in translating, or better "*transwriting*",³⁰ books on ethical and religious subjects aimed "at satisfying the natural curiosity of the Chinese [readers]"³¹ and, as we shall see in the next sections of the present work, at creating an educational programme for the moral betterment of the local Shanxi 山西 community.

²⁷ One of Ricci's most popular works in Chinese was the *Wanguo yudi quantu* 萬國輿地全圖 (The Complete map of all countries), reprinted six times between 1584 and 1609 and then further developed by Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582–1648). Bertuccioli, Masini 2014, p.75. Also, among the innovations introduced by the missionaries, was the Western-like calculation of the time system based on hours, minutes and seconds. See Huang X.T. "明末至清前期西学的再认识 Ming mo zhi Qing qianqi Xixue de zai renshi" 清史研究 *Qingshi Yanjiu* 2, 2013.

²⁸ Such definition was forged by George Dunne in the Sixties, as a tribute to the moral and literary excellence of the first Jesuit missionaries in China (Matteo Ricci, Giulio Aleni, Martino Martini etc.), and to legitimise their contribution in the development of the cultural relations between China and the West. See Dunne George H., *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the last decades of the Ming dynasty*, Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 1962.

²⁹ "[...] più si fa in Cina coi libri che con le parole", M. Ricci, *De Amicitia*, a cura di F. Mignini, Quodlibet, 2005, p. 11.

³⁰ I am quoting Li Shixue's meaningful interpretation of Vagnone's literary work, which appears to be even more suitable than the term "adaptation", at least in Vagnone's case. See Li, Sher-shiueh & Meynard, Thierry, *Jesuit Chreia in Late Ming China. Two Studies with an Annotated Translation of Alfonso Vagnone's Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, Euro-sinica: 14. Peter Lang, Bern, 2014, p. 23.

³¹ Sforza Carlo "Un missionario e sinologo piemontese in Cina nel secolo XVII", *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, N. 42, 1906, p. 349.

This chapter will present a summary of the three main stages of Vagnone's life in chronological order.

The sections are classified as follows: 1) The Jesuit's early years and formative period at the Jesuit school of Turin and the college of Brera (1568 – 1603); 2) his arrival in China and establishment in Nanjing 南京, until the outbreak of the anti-Christian persecution (1604 – 1617); 3) his exile in Macau (1618-1624) and the return to mainland China at the Jiangzhou 絳州 (Shanxi 山西) residence, where he settled until his death (1624 – 1640). The choice of this account in summarised form is due to the nature of this research project – based on the textual and linguistic analysis of Vagnone's pedagogic treatise *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (On the education of children, c. 1632) – and to the awareness that a detailed historical dissertation would have little to add to the various existing biographical studies.³² The aim of the present excursus, based on authentic letters by Vagnone and his closest confrères, annual reports and further archival sources, is rather to highlight how the Jesuit's humanistic formation and teaching experiences in Brera served his missionary and literary intent at a later stage, and how the socio-cultural background of Renaissance Italy provided him with the intellectual tools to act as one of the earliest mediators between the Chinese and the European pedagogical traditions.

³²

A list on the most relevant studies on the Jesuit's life and work is provided in chapter 1.1

1.1 Early life and formation (1568 – 1603)

*January 1568.*³³ Alfonso Vagnone was born in Trofarello (Turin), to a family of the local aristocracy.³⁴ Dehergne records that he was the son of Niccolò de Vagnoni, the second of seven children. The date is confirmed by the Jesuits' register of the year 1597, which records that, in that year, Alfonso Vagnone was 29. The name book of the year 1600 indicates that in 1599 he was 31. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 290/47/108/ V.132v.

January 1580. He enrolled in the Jesuit Latin School in Turin, where he received basic instruction in Latin, Greek, mathematics and philosophy.³⁵

³³ In terms of secondary sources, the present section is based on four main studies on Vagnone's life: the canonical records of Jesuits' biographies by Louis Pfister and Joseph Dehergne, along with two recent works by Chinese scholars Jin Wenbin (2015) and Duan Chusheng (2012-2013). The four authors, however, show inconsistencies about Vagnone's date of birth: Dehergne and Duan indicate that he was born in 1566, basing such information on Bartoli's *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesù*, La Cina (1663) and the impossibility to retrieve Vagnone's original birth certificate at the parish of Trofarello. See Duan Chusheng, *L'attività missionaria e pedagogica di Alfonso Vagnone S.J. in Cina (1605-1640)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, 2012-2013, p.64; Dehergne Joseph, *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800 / Joseph Dehergne S.J.* Roma, Institutum historicum S.I., Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1973, pp.690-691. Jin on the other hand, relies on the register kept at the Jesuit's archives in Rome, which records that in 1597 Vagnone was 29, while in 1599 he was 31. He also reports that, according to the governmental documents of the Nanjing court (*Nangong shudu* 南宮署牒), Vagnone was taken to trial "at the age of 50". As we shall see in this section, the Jesuit's process started on the 6th of March, 1617. On the basis of such information and considering the Chinese nominal age calculation (*xusui jisuan* 虚岁计算), it is plausible that Vagnone's year of birth was in fact 1568. See Jin Wenbin 金文兵, *Gao Yizhi yu Mingmo Xixue Dongchuan Yanjiu* 高一志与明末西学东传研究, Xiamen University press 厦门大学出版社, 2015, pp. 2-3. See also Pfister Louis, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773 / par le P. Louis Pfister S.J.*, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1976, p.88.

³⁴ According to Tacitus' records (I-II sec. d.C.), the earliest literary proof of the *Guagnones* or *Vuagnones*' presence in the North of Italy, they were the descendants of Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards (c. 570-628) and settled down in Trofarello, near Turin, since 914 CE, which made the one of the longest-running feudatories of the areas of Trofarello and Celle. See Duan, 2012, pp. 62-63. Vagnone's aristocratic condition was not unknown to his closest collaborators, as confirmed by Han Yun 韓云's words in the introduction of the Jesuit's ethical book *Dadao Jiyan* 達道記言 (Illustrations of the Grand Dao 1636): "I was told by my master [Xu Guangqi]: 'Mr. Gao is a noble. After the death of his eldest brother who was the marquis, he himself could have become the marquis, but without looking back, and devoting himself to the service of God, he has made his noble ambition to navigate thousands of lands'. I asked him the reason why, and he replied: 'Happy are the poor in spirit; they will obtain the kingdom of Heaven.' He has nothing more to say about this world." I referred to the English translation of the preface, in Li & Meynard, 2014, p. 184.

³⁵ Unfortunately, I was not able to confirm this information in any archival source. However, according to Jin's research, the Latin School of Turin acted as pedagogical pole for most aristocratic pupils from the main cities of North-West Italy, such as Turin, Milan and Genova. Also, as reported by Grendler, "Turin also had a boarding school for nobles that enrolled ninety or one hundred youths from 'the nobility of all of Piedmont'". Quoted in Jin, 2015, p. 10. Considering that in 15th -16th century Italy, the elementary education was a prerogative of either the Jesuit Latin Schools

10th October 1584. Vagnone joined the Society of Jesus. “*Catalogus Collegii Mediolanensis*”, anno 1597, in ARSI, *Mediol.* 47, f. 108v-109r.

1586 – 1594. He enrolled in the College of Brera, where he completed the traditional *iter studiorum* of the Jesuits and obtained a doctorate in Theology.³⁶ “*Catalogus Collegii Braidensis, anno 1590*” in ARSI, *Mediol.* 47, f. 24v. and “*Catalogus Collegii Braidensis, anno 1593*”, in ARSI, *Mediol.* 47, f. 58r.³⁷

1597. Vagnone took the vows, while serving as a teacher of humanities and rhetoric. “*Catalogus Collegii Mediolanensis*”, anno 1597, in ARSI, *Mediol.* 47, f. 108v-109r.³⁸

9th July and 20th August 1602. Two written requests made by Vagnone and addressed to Superior Claudio Acquaviva (1543 – 1615), asking to be sent to the Asia mission, were both rejected. Tacchi Venturi P.P., *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.J.* volume I, Libro V, Macerata 1911, p. 451.

9th April 1603. Vagnone officially set sail to Macau from Lisbon, on the ship “St. John”.³⁹ He probably left Italy at the beginning of 1603,⁴⁰ and never had the chance to return again.

or the Vernacular Schools (see chapter 2.1 of this volume) it is plausible to conclude that in 1580, 12 years old Vagnone began his studies at the local institution, before formally joining the Society of Jesus four years later.

³⁶ For a detailed dissertation of Vagnone’s *iter studiorum*, see chapter 2.3 of this volume.

³⁷ See also D’Elia Pasquale, *Fonti Ricciane*, volume II, Roma, 1949, pp. 277-278 and Duan, 2012, p.67.

³⁸ See also chapter 2.3 of this volume.

³⁹ Reported by Dehergne, 1973, p. 690, and in chapter 2.3 of the present work.

⁴⁰ Such information is confirmed by D’Elia, 1949, volume II, p. 278, footnote 4 and by the anonymous letter Jin reported in his study, dated Christmas day 1602, which states that Vagnone “andrà dunque nel Giappone e nella Cina a seminare la parola di Dio [...] (shall move to Japan and China to spread God’s word [...])”. See Jin, 2015, p. 6.

1.2 From Macau to the Nanjing persecution (1604 – 1617)

July – December 1604. After only a few months of residence, Vagnone left Macau for Nanjing, along with his confrère, Feliciano Da Silva (1578-1614) and Huang Mingsha 黃明沙, whom he baptised the same year. D’Elia Pasquale, *Storia Dell’Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina. Scritta da Matteo Ricci S.I.*, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1942, Libro V, cap. VII, p. 340.

March 1605. The two priests and the neophyte reached the southern capital, probably in February 1605, certainly before 16th March 1605, when Vagnone wrote a report to the Superior General. ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14, f.207. ⁴¹

1607 – 1609. Vagnone completed his earliest literary experiments under the Chinese name Wang Yiyuan 王一元. These include: *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* 推演正道論 (Developing the theory of the orthodox doctrine), *Xinglin shuo* 性靈說 (On the soul),⁴² *Zizhou oubian* 咨周偶編 (Accidental investigations).⁴³

⁴¹ See also D’Elia, 1942, p. 342. The Jesuit reported that he was engaged daily in the study of “the languages and letters of China, in order to be ready as soon as possible to support and cooperate with the Divine Benevolence [...]”. ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14, f.207. His eagerness to learn was also confirmed by the frustration he expressed for not being able to acquire the language faster: “In this house, there is only one priest and a native brother who know the language, as well as three priests who are studying [i.e. Feliciano Da Silva, Pedro Ribeiro and himself], meaning that only a fraction gets done of what should if we were all trained hands”. Quoted by Brockey, 2009, p. 252. Vagnone’s linguistic results were also praised by Ricci himself, who wrote in 1606 that the confrère “was learning Chinese language and letters very diligently and with good results [...]”. See Annual letter 15th August 1605, in D’Elia, 1949, volume II, pp. 277 – 278.

⁴² In this period Vagnone strengthened the opinion that the most effective way to evangelise the Chinese was the written word. Ricci’s *Storia dell’introduzione del Cristianesimo* reports an anecdote, dating back to around 1609, of how he slowly stimulated the curiosity a local official surnamed Xu, through gifts like a terrestrial globe and the 1608 edition of Ricci’s world map. As Vagnone comprehended Xu’s enthusiasm for this new knowledge, he persuaded the official that “that was nothing compared to the understanding of the holy religion”, and presented him with Ricci’s *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 (True meaning of the Lord of Heaven 1603), along with three of his (unpublished) works on the soul, on spirits and on the original sin, which probably became part of the Jesuit’s later publications. See D’Elia, 1942, p. 499.

⁴³ See Jin, 2015, p. 39. The fact that the Vagnone was already engaged in composing literary works is confirmed in a letter by new Superior Niccolò Longobardo, dated 1610, where he stated that: “fr. Vagnone succeeds above all in productively composing books in Chinese”. See D’Elia, 1948, volume II, p. 278.

May 1609. Vagnone was appointed Superior of the Nanjing residence, succeeding Joao da Rocha (1566 – 1623). Da Rocha had been sent to Nanchang and asked to put his experience at the service of an area which was plagued by frequent persecutions. It appears that Vagnone was chosen over his confrère Ribeiro, “because of his long-term and fruitful studies, which could allow him to handle that residence”. D’Elia Pasquale, *Storia Dell’Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina. Scritta da Matteo Ricci S.I.*, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1942, Libro V, cap. VII, p. 341.⁴⁴

28th April 1615. He completed the work *Tianzhu Jiaoyao Jielüe* 天主教要解略 (Compendium of the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven), under the name Wang Fengsu 王豐肅. The date is reported in the text’s preface, but it was reprinted in the church of Shenxiutang 慎修堂 (Jiangzhou) in 1626, and again in Shanghai in 1924.⁴⁵

1615 – 1616. “The most terrible persecution that [the Jesuits] ever had to suffer began”.⁴⁶ The causes that led the local vice Minister of Rites, Shen Que 沈奎 (1565 - 1624), to oppose the practices of this fast growing community and to arrest twenty-four people and two European priests, have been investigated from different perspectives. However, on the basis of the reports written by the two most concerned individuals, Alfonso Vagnone and Alvaro Semedo, and thanks to the investigations carried out by authoritative scholars on collections of related archival documents such as *Poxieji* 破邪集 (Collection for the rebuttal of heresies, 1639)⁴⁷, these can be put into two categories: socio-political and personal.

⁴⁴ One of the Vagnone’s first acts as a Superior was the establishment of the “Shengmu hui 聖母會 (Marian association for women)”, following the one created in Beijing on 8th September 1609. This event must have taken place between the end of 1609 and the end of 1610, as reported in the annual letter of that year. See ARSI, Jap.Sin. f. 117r-v.

⁴⁵ See Jin, 2015, p. 39. See also Duan, 2012, p. 162.

⁴⁶ “Principiò questa la persecuzione la più terribile di quante ne abbiamo patite”. This statement opens the account given by one of the two fathers who were most involved in the so-called Nanjing Incident, Alvaro Semedo (1585/86 – 1658). See Semedo Alvaro, *Historica Relatione del Gran Regno della Cina*, Roma, per Vicale Mascardi, 1653, chap. VIII – IX, pp. 256-275.

⁴⁷ In particular, this study is based on the aforementioned work by Semedo, Ricci’s *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, Quodilibet, 2000 and Alfonso Vagnone’s report on the anti-Christian persecution, *Lettera*

From the analysis of the three memorials that Shen submitted to Emperor Wan Li 萬曆(1573 – 1620) between June 1616 and January 1617, two main accusations emerge: that the Jesuits were spies illegally residing in China, who secretly gathered groups of people, often in promiscuous settings (like the Marian Congregation, where men and women prayed together) and seduced them with teachings against the Confucian doctrine; moreover, the missionaries appropriated and misused the terms ‘*Tian* 天’ and ‘*Da* 大’, which were the prerogative of the Great Ming dynasty (*Da Ming* 大明), and were planning to overthrow the Emperor.⁴⁸ However, direct Jesuit sources also reveal another clue: ever since the early stages of the Nanjing mission, frequent clashes between the Jesuits, local *Xiucai* 秀才 and Buddhist monks took place, the latter directly accusing both Vagnone and Semedo of having triggered the persecution.⁴⁹

da Macau, 1st April, 1619 in ARSI Jap.Sin. 161, 1-26. As primary sources, I also found some scattered information on Annual letters from the St. Paul College in Macau, which was growing in population as missionaries were fleeing from mainland China. See *Carta annua da missam da China do anno 1618* by Manuel Dias Jr. in Biblioteca Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Asia*, 49 – V – 5. It is not the intent of this work to provide a detailed socio-political analysis of the events that involved the Jesuit mission during, Nanjing Incident, as it has been widely discussed by past and current historians of the Society of Jesus, such as Bartoli, Mrgiotti, Pfiser and Dehegne. In addition to these milestones, the present section will also take into account the authoritative reconstruction provided by Dudink Adrian, “*Nangong Shudu* (1620), *Poxieji* (1640) and Western Reports on the Nanjing Persecution (1616/1617)”, in *Monumenta Serica*, N. 48, 2000, pp. 147 – 251 and Menegon, 1994, pp. 51-59.

⁴⁸ Menegon, 1994, p. 52. Among the many neophytes, attracted to the new religion by the Vagnone’s virtue or rhetorical skills, there were not only officials and literati, but also many representatives of the lower strata of the population, something that dangerously associated the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven with illegal sects, like the White Lotus. In his study, Dudink also reported a passage from the History of Ming (Mingshi 明史), in which is clearly stated that Vagnone was disliked by Xu Ruke 徐如柯, Director at the Ministry of Rites, who compared him to the “Rice rebels (Mizei 米賊)” of the Han dynasty and to the Mani (Moni 末尼) of the Tang dynasty. See Dudink, 2000, p. 170.

⁴⁹ In his *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, Ricci reported on a controversy arising as a result of the acquisition of a house by the Jesuits, whose location created suspicion among a group of young literati, leading them to publish a booklet against the missionaries in October 1607. This appears to be only one of the few incidents that undermined the Jesuits activities in the area and gradually paved the way to the outbreak of the persecution by Shen Que. See Ricci, 2000, p. 538. See also Vagnone, *Lettera da Macau*, 1st April, 1619 in ARSI Jap.Sin. 161, 1-26 and Duan, 2012, pp. 82-83. As for the relations between the Jesuit and the local Buddhists, these were everything but peaceful: according to Dudink’s account, Vagnone had begun to openly challenge them by sending them books that helped explain “their crimes, hypocrisies and frauds and how they were deluding people”. Moreover, in order to expose his theories to officials and common people, Vagnone made these accusations public, something which enhanced the clashes with the monks, “creating more harm to the mission than benefit”. See Dudink, 2000, p. 205.

Socio-political considerations notwithstanding, the spark of the anti-Christian campaign was mainly Shen Que's doing. He was close to the Hanlin 翰林 academy, traditionally opposing the reformers of the Donglin 東林 party,⁵⁰ among which were Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562 – 1633), Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠 (1562 – 1627) and other officials who sympathised with Christian doctrine. However, according to his early biography,⁵¹ Shen's views on the European missionaries were not always negative: during his stay in Beijing, he was acquainted with Matteo Ricci and used to have good relations with the fathers of that residence. Unfortunately, it appears that a series of personal clashes and external influences⁵² contributed to build his hatred, which turned on Vagnone's incautious attitude toward local evangelisation,⁵³ the perfect *casus belli*. In the following section, a chronological account of the events that directly concerned Vagnone as an individual will be provided.

⁵⁰ For an introduction on the Donglin 東林 party and its philosophical roots, see chapter 3.3 of this volume.

⁵¹ See Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, *Ming Shi* 明史 Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 1974, volume 218, p. 106. See also Duan, 2012, p. 83.

⁵² In his report about the persecution in Nanjing, Vagnone and Semedo provide their personal interpretations of the main causes of the incident. In particular, they both speak of bribes from local Buddhists, a religious debate that had involved Xu Guangqi and a bonze, friend of Shen's who even died shortly after, and various controversies with Xu and Yang Tingyun, which turned "his confusion into poison and his silence into rage". See Semedo, 1563, pp. 256-257 and Vagnone, *Lettera da Macau*, 1st April, 1619 in ARSI Jap.Sin. 161, 1-26.

⁵³ Many sources report Vagnone's increasing lack of caution in his missionary activities, especially after Ricci's death. The change in strategy was somehow legitimised by the Jesuit Provincial to Japan, who forbade the China missionaries to engage in any activity other than preaching the Gospel and, as recorded by Dudink, "gave Vagnone and Semedo full liberty to preach without any circumspection". See Dudink, 2000, p. 205. Another memorandum by a Chinese official provides further details on the accusations against Vagnone's "suspicious behaviour": "[Vagnone] obligates [his followers] to congregate on Sundays, sprinkles them with holy water and anoints them with holy oil. On the doors of their homes he has them paste a paper-cut character [i.e. a Christ monogram], as a sign of recognition. He forces them to remove all deities from their family shrine and orders them to solely hang a picture of the Lord of Heaven [...]". See Dudink, *ibid.*, p. 172. On 3rd May 1611 he inaugurated a new church, which was then destroyed after his arrest. According to Menegon, Vagnone's increasing optimism led him to the decision of asking for official imperial recognition, against Xu Guangqi's advice. See Menegon, 1994, p. 52. However, there are a few inconsistencies concerning the Jesuit's temperament: where Bartoli always praised his virtue, which made him deeply appreciated within his community, Duan quotes reports that Longobardo and other confrères wrote during the time of the term controversy (see chapter 6.6 of this work) highlighting Vagnone's irritable nature and lack of tameness. See Duan, 2012, p. 88-89. See also Goodrich L.C., Fang C.Y., *Dictionary of Ming biography, 1368-1644 / the Ming biographical history project of the Association for Asian studies*, New York, Columbia university press, 1976, p. 1334.

20th August 1616. Two memorials by Shen were published in the imperial gazette of Beijing. The acting minister of Rites ordered the arrest of Diego de Pantoja and Sabatino de Ursis in Beijing, and Alfonso Vagnone and Alvaro Semedo in Nanjing.

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30th August 1616. Despite the publication of memorials of defence, such as Xu's *Bianxue zhangshu* 辨學章疏 (Memorial in defence of knowledge, 1616), the order reached the Nanjing residence. Niccolò Longobardo and Giulio Aleni departed to Beijing in order to seek help.⁵⁵

31st August – 1st September 1616. The residence was surrounded by soldiers. Vagnone and Semedo, having refused to flee so as “not to look as criminals”, had no other choice than facing the arrest, alongside thirteen converts. Vagnone was taken away on a sedan chair, while Semedo, who was ill at the time, was allowed to stay in the residence, under guard by Shen's soldiers. The house was searched and all their possessions meticulously inventoried. Vagnone, *Lettera da Macau*, 1st April, 1619 in ARSI Jap.Sin. 161, 1-26.⁵⁶

6th March 1617. After the submission of the third memorial by Shen and the emission of an imperial decree of expulsion, Alfonso Vagnone and Alvaro Semedo were brought to trial. Despite Shen's request for the death penalty as a punishment for having spread heretical doctrines, the Jesuits were spared and sentenced to being beaten with sticks. Semedo was severely weakened by months in prison and was still ill, which meant that he was pardoned, while Vagnone “was hit so badly, that he suffered for a month”.⁵⁷ Vagnone, *Lettera da Macau*, 1st April, 1619 in ARSI Jap.Sin. 161, ff.1-26.

⁵⁴ See Menegon, 1994, p. 53.

⁵⁵ See Dudink, 2000, p. 249. See also Semedo, 1653, p.260.

⁵⁶ Semedo, *ibid.*, p. 261.

⁵⁷ See also Semedo, *ibid.*, p. 274. As highlighted by Duan's study, information concerning the process and the prisoners' interrogations are consistent with those contained in the collection *Poxieji* 破邪集. Interestingly, such

30th April, 1617. The Nanjing Censorate implemented the order, received one month before, to convey Vagnone and Semedo to Guangdong. The two Jesuits embarked on the one-month journey in cages “like parrots, at the mercy of the population”. See Vagnone, *Lettera a Giovanni Ferrari*, 25th April 1639, in ARSI Jap.Sin. 161, f.220.⁵⁸ Their residence was inventoried again between early April and early May, in the presence of Vagnone, before he left to Guangdong, and the furniture gathered for a public sale a few days later.⁵⁹

30th May 1617. Arrival in Guangzhou. Vagnone and Semedo were joined by de Pantoja and de Ursis and after a few days were sent to St. Paul’s College in Macau. *Lettera da Macau*, 1st April, 1619 in ARSI Jap.Sin. 161, 1-26.⁶⁰

1.3 The exile (1618-1624) and the Jiangzhou (Shanxi) period (1624 – 1640).

1618 – 1624. Alfonso Vagnone appeared as “confessor and preacher for Chinese people and Christians” in the Catalogue of fathers and brothers at St.Paul’s College, dated 1618. More information regarding his formation and experience as Superior of the Nanjing residence were included in the 1620 catalogue.⁶¹ According to Pfister, during his six year-long exile, Vagnone composed books that were later published,

documents also contain the only physical description of Alfonso Vagnone, a fifty-year-old man, featuring “a red and white face, long, white eyebrows, sunken eyes, sharp nose, blond beard and moustache”. See Duan, 2012, p. 95.

⁵⁸ See also Semedo, *ibid.*, p. 274.

⁵⁹ See Dudink, 2000, p. 250.

⁶⁰ See also Semedo, 1653, p. 274.

⁶¹ The first occurrence of Vagnone’s name in the catalogues of St.Paul’s College appears in the “Terceiro catalogo com suplemento do primeiro e segundo, dos padres e hermanos que estao no collegio de Macau, e missao de Cochinchina sojeita a este mesmo collegio feito em Junio de 1618”, in Biblioteca Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Asia*, 49-V-7 147v. In another catalogue, dated 1620, Vagnone is recorded as a 53-year-old man, from Trofarello, diocese of Turin, in the Society of Jesus for thirty-seven years. See Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Asia*, 49-V-7 148.

and taught theology.⁶² “Father Vagnone, after changing his name, returned to China in the Shanxi court. He was advanced in age, but still working like a young man”.⁶³

December 1624. After changing his name in Gao Yizhi 高一志, to symbolise detachment from the known “criminal” Wang Fengsu 王豐肅, but also to mark the beginning of a new personal stage, Alfonso Vagnone reached the recently established mission in Jiangzhou 絳州, Shanxi 山西 province.⁶⁴ The Jesuit had initially been appointed to Jiangxi province by Manuel Dias Jr., however, due to its geographical proximity to Nanjing, where the echo of persecution was still strong, he eventually followed Xu Guangqi’s advice and accepted a position in the more remote Shanxi area. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 134, f.312v n. 29.⁶⁵

1626: To mark the beginning of a brand new stage of relationships with the local authorities, and a few months after Giacomo Rho’s (1593 – 1638) arrival in Jiangzhou, Vagnone asked Han Yun to inform the provincial governor of the Jesuits’ presence in the area. As a sign of appreciation for such a gesture, the official sent a present to each of the two missionaries, along with a letter in which he expressed

⁶² Pfister, 1976, p. 89.

⁶³ “P. Vagone, mutatosi nome, rientra in Cina nella corte di Xansi, già’ ben vecchio, ma travagliando, però come un giovane”, see Semedo, 1653, p. 282.

⁶⁴ As reported by the Annual Letter in 1625, the Jiangzhou (Shanxi) mission was officially founded that year by Nicolas Trigault (1557 – 1628), who had just returned from his mission in Europe. However, the main agent in boosting the introduction of Christianity in the area was the neophyte Han Yun 韓雲, a *jinshi* 進士 and member of the local gentry. See Dias Manuel jr., *Annua 1625*, in ARSI Jap.Sin. 115 I, f.106v. Han had come in contact with the Jesuits in Beijing, where he had also been baptised, and after embracing Christian doctrine had continuously invited the fathers to visit his family in Jiangzhou. Margiotti reports that the first missionary to fulfil such wish was Giulio Aleni, who was touring the province of Shaanxi in 1620 in search of new areas to settle down and solve the long-standing issue of wine supplies for the hosting of regular mass. Being forced to leave Shaanxi due to a new anti-Christian edict, Aleni finally managed to pay a quick visit to the Han family, during which he was able to “perfect the religious education of the family” and to convert eighteen people, among which Han Yun’s wife, his brother Han Lin 韓霖, their mother, two sisters and other relatives. In addition to this evangelical success, Aleni was also pleased by the presence of provincial vineyards, which made the Jiangzhou area an even more qualified candidate for the Jesuit establishment. For a detailed dissertation on the Christian missions in Shanxi province, see Margiotti Fortunato, *Il cattolicesimo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, Roma, Edizioni Sinica Franciscana, 1958, pp. 83-85.

⁶⁵ Margiotti, *ibid.*, p. 90.

admiration for their knowledge and availability to collaborate. Dias, *Carta de 1627*, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 115 I, f.128.⁶⁶

18th December 1627: Inauguration of the Jiangzhou residence, the seventh in mainland China. After passing the imperial examination in 1627, Han Yun honoured his vows to God and bought some land, where he erected a church, alongside a few buildings to host six missionaries. Dias, *Carta de 1627*, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 115 I, f.131.⁶⁷

November 1627 – January 1628. Conference in Jiading 嘉定 (Jiangsu 江苏), summoned by Visitor Jeronimo Rodriguez (c. 1561 – 1634), in an attempt to gather opinions and discuss the controversial issue of translating the name of God. Dias, *Carta de 1627*, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 115 I, f.177.⁶⁸

1628 – 1632. The Jiangzhou mission became stable. Vagnone acted as Superior, supported by the Han and Duan brothers and by the alternation of various collaborators, among whom were Francisco da Lagea (a neophyte from Macau, b. 1585) and Étienne Le Fevre (1598 – 1659).⁶⁹ Some of his literary productions began to be printed in the residence, among which were: *Zesheng shi pian* 則聖十篇 (Ze Sheng's ten articles, c. 1628), *Tianzhu Shengjiao Shengren Xingshi* 天主聖教聖人行實 (Lives of Christian Saints 1629), *Shengmu Xingshi* 聖母行實 (Life of Virgin Mary,

⁶⁶ The official's message was translated into Portuguese and reported in Dias' letter. The following year Vagnone was even invited to Taiyuan, to discuss specifics of the religion they were preaching with officials. Although such a meeting had to be rushed due to unexpected events that the governor had to attend, he presented Vagnone with a scroll bearing a handwritten inscription: "The law preached in this residence is true and righteous". This gift was just the first in a series of indirect acknowledgements Vagnone's evangelisation work saw in the following years. His incautious attitude under the Nanjing period was now cast away: the Jesuit had treasured his mistakes and, until his death, he enjoyed the effects his network of influential friends had on his missionary and literary activities. See Margiotti, *ibid.* pp.96 – 99.

⁶⁷ Before this date, the two Jesuits had been hosted in the Han residence. Margiotti reports that the church was in use until 1644, when it was destroyed in the outbreak of the Qing revolution. See Margiotti, *ibid.* pp.100 – 101.

⁶⁸ For a further report on the conference see chapter 4.3 of the present volume.

⁶⁹ Margiotti, *ibid.*, pp. 90-96.

1631), *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (On the education of children, c.1632), *Lixue guyan* 勵學古言 (Ancient expressions to encourage learning c.1632).⁷⁰

1633 - 1634 A famine broke out in the Shanxi area. Vagnone established a Marian congregation, a hospital and an orphanage.⁷¹ *Manuel Gomez a Manuel Dias senior, Jiangzhou*, 2 July 1634, ARSI Jap.Sin.27, ff. 234v-235. Visit of Francisco Furtado, who in a letter to the Superior General in Rome, expressed admiration for Vagnone's tireless fervour in his activities: "[...] Vagnone (and Longobardo) are both well advanced in age, having passed their seventieth year, and both labor in this vineyard of the Lord as if they were but thirty years old".⁷² Publication of the following texts: *Xiushen xixue* 修身西學 (Personal cultivation in Western learning, c. 1633), *Pixue* 譬學 (Science of comparison, 1633), *Kongji Gezhi* 空際格致 (Investigation into the phenomena of the atmosphere, c.1633), *Feilu Dahui* 斐錄答彙 (Answers to questions about natural philosophy, c.1634), *Qijia Xixue* 齊家西學 (Regulation of the family in Western learning, c. 1635).⁷³

1636 – 1639: Publication of Vagnone's latest ethical and theological works: *Tianzhu Shengjiao Simo lun* 天主聖教四末論 (Discourse on the four ends of Holy Christian religion, c.1636), *Dadao Jiyan* 達道記言 (Illustrations of the Grand Dao, 1636), *Shengui Zhengji* 神鬼正紀 (On spirits, c.1636-1637), *Huanyu Shimo* 寰宇始末 (Beginning and end of the world, c.1637), *Zhiping Xixue* 治平西學 (Politics of the West, c. 1639).⁷⁴

⁷⁰ This research refers to Jin and Duan's studies: Jin, 2015, pp. 63-72; Duan, 2012, p. 133. However, due to the lack of specific intertextual indications, it is still difficult to confirm the exact date of publication of each work.

⁷¹ Margiotti, 1958, p. 623.

⁷² Quoted by Goodrich & Fang, 1976, p. 1333.

⁷³ Jin, 2015, pp. 73-75.

⁷⁴ Jin, *ibid.*, pp. 75-80. In translating some titles, where I could not refer to pre-existing studies, I attempted a translation myself. The only book that was not included in this list is *Shi Wei* 十慰 (Ten Consolations), which appears to have been published in Minzhong Jingjiaotang 閩中景教堂 in Fuzhou. No date of issuing, but according to Dudink and Standaert's Chinese Christian Texts database, it was printed between 1625 and 1635. See The Ricci Institute Library

9th April 1640: After a few months of illness,⁷⁵ Vagnone died in his residence in Jiangzhou. “Thus the China church lost one of his best ministers, appreciated and held in high esteem by Christians and non-Christians alike”. *Megalhães, Annua 1640*, ARSI Jap.Sin. 116a, f.62v.⁷⁶ As a confirmation of the good relations Vagnone had fostered and maintained with the local authorities, the sources report some officials paying their respects. Among these, the head of a branch of the imperial family attended the funeral, while the former grand secretary in Beijing, Han Kuang 韓爌 (1565-1644) sent two members of his family from Puzhou to represent him. The eulogy he wrote to commemorate Vagnone was read before the latter’s coffin in the presence of the leading citizens of Jiangzhou. The Jesuit’s body was buried in a two-*li* 里-wide plot in *Duanjia zhuang* 段家莊, three kilometres West of Jiangzhou, which later became the missionaries local graveyard.⁷⁷

After the Jesuit’s passing, the overall judgement of his temperament and actions was drastically softened in comparison with previous reports by Longobardo and Dias.⁷⁸ In the 1640 report from

Online Catalogue: <http://riccilibrary.usfca.edu/view.aspx?catalogID=12131>. However, Jin’s philological analysis of *Shi Wei* 十慰 uncovered a reference to *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 on p. 160 (“[...]余向已略述於童蒙之教育. [...] I have already given a brief account [of the topic] in my book on elementary education.”), which confirms that the book was published after 1632. As for the printing location, Jin suggests that the manuscript was probably concluded between 1628 and 1630, and was taken to the south to be published, since the print house in Jiangzhou had not been opened yet. See Jin, 2015, p.64.

⁷⁵ On 25th April 1639, less than one year before his death, Vagnone wrote a letter to a confrère who studied with him at the Brera College, Giovanni Ferreri. This document can be considered the Jesuit’s “spiritual testament”, in which he recalled the main events of his experience in China, also providing information on some of the brothers who shared that path with him, such as the late Giacomo Rho and Alvaro Semedo, “who was his companion in the Nanjing prison and in other times of torment”. The letter closed with Vagnone’s heartwarming invitation to his confrère to comfort him with letters, as he could foresee that he didn’t have long left to live. See Vagnone to Ferreri, 25th April 1639, in ARSI Jap.Sin. 161, ff. 219-220.

⁷⁶ The sources record that almost two thousand devoted took part in the funeral procession, escorting the Jesuit to his place of burial, a fenced plot of land that was bought by the Duan family. See also “Residencia de Kiamcheu, provincia de Xansi ([Report] from the Jiangzhou residence, Shanxi province)” in *Jesuitas na Asia*, Biblioteca Ajuda 49 – V -12 f.583.

⁷⁷ Margiotti, 1958, pp.103-105. See also Goodrich & Fang, 1976, p. 1334.

⁷⁸ However, the studies I consulted don’t fail to point out the plausible connection between Longobardo and Dias’ harsh opinion of Vagnone with their standing on different sides in the so-called “terms controversy”. See chap. 6, p. Margiotti, *ibid.*, p.103, footnote 98. See also Goodrich & Fang, *ibid.*, p. 1334.

the Jiangzhou residence, Vagnone's virtuous attitude and devotion to the mission are highlighted, alongside his determination to fight for Christianity's sake.⁷⁹ The last sixteen years of his life seem to have contributed to completely restoring the Jesuit's reputation, consigning to history a man who had learnt from his previous mistakes and was willing to put his wisdom and knowledge at the service of the local community. Moreover, Vagnone also expressed an outstanding talent for the language and culture of China, leaving behind twenty-one publications aimed at the indirect evangelisation of literati and common people alike. This research will focus on the Jesuit's contribution to the introduction of Western learning, of European pedagogy and moral philosophy through his treatise *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (On the education of children, c.1632), a literary work that embodies the spirit of the Jesuits' accommodation strategy and the best of Sino-Western cultural exchanges in the field of education.

⁷⁹ "Residencia de Kiamcheu, provincia de Xansi ([Report] from the Jiangzhou residence, Shanxi province)" in *Jesuitas na Asia*, Ajuda 49 – V -12 f.583.

Part 2: Between Renaissance Europe and Song-Ming China: comparing two pedagogical systems.

Chapter 2: European pedagogy and the Society of Jesus between 15th and 16th centuries.

Before the establishment of the Jesuit mission in Zhaoqing in 1583, the European and Chinese pedagogical traditions developed for almost 2000 years in complete isolation from each other. In Europe, the debate on education dates back to the early 5th century B.C.: Greek *paideia* παιδεία, which took different forms in Sparta and Athens, integrated physical strength with intellectual and social skills, and was aimed at shaping useful members of the *polis*. From the second half of the 5th century, the Sophists took a step forward in the development of pedagogy, creating a social role for teachers and promoting a model of education that focused on an all-inclusive knowledge (*polymathia*) and on rhetorical skills that could be useful to public life. With Socrates (470/469 – 399 B.C.), education and ethical awareness became one concept: his moral precepts were particularly appreciated throughout the centuries and laid the basis for Plato (428/427 – 348/347 B.C.) and Aristotle's (384 – 322 B.C.) pedagogical systems. The first outlined his educational guidelines in the famous work *Politéia* Πολιτεία (Republic), written between approximately 390 – 360 B.C., in which he described the main stages and methodologies of the ideal pedagogy, and formulated the famous “allegory of the cave”, concerning the effects of instruction on man's nature; the latter created new educational and ethical systems aimed at the complete fulfilment of the individual as a member of society and as a virtuous man.

The diffusion of Christianity set new standards for pedagogy, as concepts like ‘*paidea*’ and ‘*aretè* ἀρετή (virtue)’ were integrated to the religious ethical system. The Gospel became a model of morality, and virtues like ‘*pietas* (piety)’ and ‘*caritas* (charity)’ the means through which the individual could put into practice Christ's example. A total detachment from the classical tradition was reached in the Middle Ages with the establishment of religious academic institutions, which spread new educational precepts, embodied by the works of eminent Church Fathers like St.

Ambrose (339/340 – 397) and St. Agustin (354 – 430). If Albert Magnus (? – 1280) realized the transition from Platonism to Aristotelianism, the merit of perfecting the elaboration of Aristotle's thought into Christian doctrine is ascribed to Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274). Foundation of Thomas' doctrine was the conciliation between faith and reason: he believed that faith could be rationally proved also to those who don't accept the revelation through logic and science. He considered philosophy and theology two systems apart, both possessing the same divine origin (the principle) and the same aim, i.e. the absolute truth. As we shall point out in this chapter, Jesuit education drew upon Aristotle and St. Thomas' doctrines, integrating their precepts with the main trends of the cultural environment in which they were born and raised: Renaissance Europe.

Between the last decades of the 14th century and the end of the 15th century, a reaction to the medieval cultural milieu produced innovative models for education, one which aimed to creating free men (*liberos homines efficit*), who were outstanding at both moral and social level. The driving force of this revolution was the human letters, namely the Greek and Latin classics, no longer appreciated just for their edifying component or as preparation for the religious studies, but mostly for their educational and rhetorical value. In such case, classical languages, especially Latin, regained the status of universal idioms,⁸⁰ and were cultivated alongside rhetoric, which was appreciated for its persuasive value. As the main elements of Renaissance propaganda, Latin and rhetoric also became the centre of Jesuit primary and secondary education. Although not entirely trusting of the classical texts, which were still considered as means for understanding the Scriptures, early Jesuits shared the contemporary scepticism towards scholastic theologians, which were criticised by the secretary of the Society Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1517 – 1576) for their “inability to express their ideas persuasively”.⁸¹ To foster eloquence, on the other hand, was a proper necessity for the Society's enterprise, as it was crucial for members to engage emotionally with their interlocutors. Most Jesuits became persuaded that there was an intrinsic relationship between

⁸⁰ The search for an efficient means of communication was at the core of many intellectuals' efforts in 16th and 17th century Europe. This search had deep Biblical roots, as it was aimed at retrieving the Primitive Language God gave the first man, Adam, and that was lost with the dispersion of languages which occurred at the Tower of Babel. After an initial wave of interest towards classical studies and Latin language, a dissatisfaction towards the latter brought many 17th century intellectuals to look for alternatives: among the most exotic theories, Francis Bacon's (1561 – 1626) suggested that, due to its antiquity and mathematical structure, Chinese could meet the criteria for a universal language. See Mungello, David, *Curious land: Jesuit accommodation and the origins of sinology*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985, pp. 34-35.

⁸¹ O'Malley, John W., *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 224.

Christianitas and the classical authors and thus created a curriculum based on humanistic rhetoric and the study of ancient texts as example of moral excellence. However, such integration was not an entirely smooth process: following Desiderius Erasmus' translation of the New Testament, linguistic and doctrinal issues arose, resulting in his condemnation by the Faculty of Theology in Paris. As a consequence, many Jesuits spoke in favour of a return to the scholastic theology, in order to avoid perplexity connected to humanistic interpretations of the doctrine.⁸²

This brief introduction intended to provide an overview on the main stages of the development of European pedagogy, which contributed to shape the Jesuit educational system. As we shall analyse in the following sections, the didactic approach in both primary and secondary schools of the Society combined elements from the Renaissance and the medieval curriculum. The resulting *forma mentis* the missionaries possessed and projected into their ministry, both in Europe and abroad, was affected by such dichotomy between the traditional Aristotelian approach and experimental learning that made significant contribution in the Scientific Revolution. It is indeed because of their versatility in a wide range of humanistic and scientific subjects that missionaries like Matteo Ricci and Alfonso Vagnone can be considered ideal Renaissance men, but in order to shed a clear light on the nature of the learning they introduced into late Ming China, it is necessary to begin with an analysis on their academic formation.

2.1 Jesuits and the humanist education

The history of the Jesuits begins with the official establishment of the Society of Jesus by the papal bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* (To the government of the Church Militant) promulgated by Pope Paul III on 27th September, 1540. The founder, Iñigo López de Loyola (1491 – 1556), later latinized as Ignatius, based his spiritual mission on the assumption that education and moral betterment were deeply interconnected, a viewpoint that had been strongly advocated also by the father of Humanism, Francesco Petrarca (1304 – 1374). Ignatius' conversion was somehow connected with virtuous literature: according to his biographical sources, as a young knight in 1521 he fought to protect the city of Pamplona from French troops, suffering serious wounds. It was

⁸² O'Malley, 1993, p. 257.

during his recovery that he began to read Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ* (1328) and Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* (1260), through which he came in touch with the lives and deeds of virtuous saints.⁸³ This new, fervent vocation brought Ignatius to leave for the Holy Land in 1523, where he hoped to spread God's word among the non-believers. However, after only twenty days of hermitage he came to the conclusion that human letters were the most effective mean of conversion, and returned to Spain to embrace his new religious and educational mission. Thus, St. Ignatius and the Society of Jesus' pedagogical revolution began: through the establishment of the colleges and secondary schools around Italy and Europe, the compilation of the *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* (*Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, hereafter *Constitutiones*) and the *Ratio Studiorum* plan, they set in motion a process that changed the Western academic system until the 20th century.

As early as the 14th century, European intellectuals began questioning the scholastic approach to the learning and lamenting the lack of connection with the public service. To fill such gaps, they created a bridge between the notion of *virtutes* and human letters, namely texts by Latin and Greek authors, whose precepts and teachings needed to be read and understood directly in the source language. The new relevance attached to such languages and to the study of the antiquity, inspired the curricula of a newly established network of primary and secondary schools that blossomed between Italy and France throughout the 15th century.⁸⁴ As an order that considered education and pedagogy the main tools for evangelization, the Jesuits took great inspiration from such institutions. St. Ignatius and his first confrères understood the importance of shaping young minds and of exposing them to virtuous literature as early as possible, which resulted in the establishment of Latin Schools. These institutions for primary education blossomed in 15th century Italy alongside the Vernacular Schools and were deeply-rooted in the national territory even before the opening of the Colleges of Messina (1548) and Rome (1551). Jesuit Latin Schools were generally run by a single schoolmaster, hired by the municipality, by a confraternity, or a group of parents. He was often aided by an assistant, and even held home-based courses, if necessary.⁸⁵

⁸³ See "Ignazio di Loyola, santo", in *Enciclopedia Treccani*, www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ignazio-di-loyola-santo/.

⁸⁴ O'Malley, 1993, p. 223.

⁸⁵ O'Malley, *ibid.*, p. 209.

However, the cultivation of Latin language and rhetoric skills were not the only two elements Jesuit pedagogy borrowed from Humanism: they believed that the study of *cosas da humanidad* served a number of purposes: first, it helped in the understanding of the Scriptures and was therefore propaedeutic to subjects like philosophy and theology; secondly, it enhanced pupils' oratorical skills, enabling them to express their thoughts better and foster the communicative competence required for the ministry of the mission. Finally, it facilitated the learning of other languages, fulfilling the international standard the Society demanded.⁸⁶ However, by adopting a humanistic, rather than a vernacular curriculum, Jesuit schools resulted particularly appealing for certain classes of society. On the other hand, factors like the tuition-free policy along with the high standards of their didactic offer, granted Jesuit education with widespread success. The focus on Latin and rhetoric seemed to take for granted basic knowledge like reading and writing: in 1551, Ignatius decided that boys who sought to enrol at the Roman College needed to acquire basic literacy skills before admission, as he believed "the Society did not have the manpower to expend on such instruction". A similar orientation was declared also in the *Constitutiones*, composed between 1547 and 1551, which stated that such skills were generally not taught by the Jesuits.⁸⁷

As we have seen, the new standards of education Jesuit schools and colleges brought to the European academic system perfectly embodied humanist innovations, but still possessed some scholastic and medieval elements. The success such institutions enjoyed was due a combination of factors of both a theoretical and methodological nature. First of all, Jesuit education found compatible solutions for the combined teaching of human letters on the one hand, and Aristotelian philosophy/science and Thomistic theology on the other, perfectly integrating medieval and Renaissance elements. Also, according to the so-called *modus parisiensis*, they arranged the learning by subject order and objectives, following the model from the University of Paris. Students were divided into classes and their learning was arranged in a specific order, according to each stage's goals; Jesuit teaching emphasized practice over theory, while pupils' performances were monitored through specific exercises and tests. Moreover, the student-teacher relationship held a prominent role: instructors paid special attention to the pupils' individual disposition and worked to create a

⁸⁶ O'Malley, 1993, p. 210.

⁸⁷ O'Malley, *ibid.*, p. 211.

certain familiarity with them, trying to get to know them better and instruct them by examples more than using words or physical punishment. One last noteworthy factor was the international character of Jesuit enterprise: the Society had gradually created a worldwide network of schools, which shared information and attempted to adapt, where possible, to local customs.⁸⁸

Despite the many innovations the Jesuit methodology introduced to Renaissance pedagogy, the six-fold division that characterized their institutions for higher studies (the Colleges), was strongly dominated by the relatively static Aristotelian–Thomistic approach. This is particularly evident in the astronomical innovations the Jesuits introduced to the Ming court: advanced techniques for predicting eclipses (crucial for the agricultural industry of the country), elements of Euclidean geometry used for the calculation of planetary motion, and the revolutionary notion of a spherical earth divided into meridians and parallels were counterbalanced by, for instance, the Aristotelian–Ptolemaic geocentric conception of the universe.⁸⁹ As argued by Mungello, the version of natural philosophy the Jesuits introduced in their Chinese works was consistent with the academic approach they were more familiar with, although in order of branches of knowledge, they were the first among the Christian order to break from the Aristotelian tradition.⁹⁰ The Jesuits surely didn't live in isolation from the main discoveries that were marking that era, as they kept close contact with relevant scientific institutions in Europe, of which the Accademia dei Lincei (Lincean Academy), founded in 1603, was the forerunner.⁹¹ The connection between such organizations and the China Jesuits became increasingly strong, as confirmed by their sponsorship of the mission of many Jesuits in China who were also their members or former members, such as Johann Schreck (1576 – 1630) and Joachim Bouvet (1656 – 1730).⁹²

⁸⁸ O'Malley, 1993, p. 226.

⁸⁹ Mungello, 1985, pp. 27-28.

⁹⁰ Mungello, *ibid.*, pp. 28.

⁹¹ See Luk, B.H. "Aleni introduces the Western academic tradition to 17th century China: a study on *Xixue Fan*" in Lippiello, Malek (edited by): *Scholar from the West: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582–1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 42 Sankt Augustin 1997, p. 482.

⁹² Mungello, 1985, pp. 32.

However, the reasons behind the pyramidal conception of the learning at the Jesuits Colleges can be inferred from the following passage of St. Ignatius' *Constitutiones*, Part IV, which specifically dealt with education:

- “1. Since the end of the Society and its studies is to aid our fellow men to the knowledge and the love of God, and to the salvation of their souls; and since the branch of theology is the means most suitable to this end, in the universities of the Society the principal emphasis ought to be put on it [...];
2. Moreover, since the learning of theology and the use of it require, especially in these times, knowledge of the human letters and of the Latin and Greek languages, there must be capable professors of these languages [...];
3. Likewise, since the arts or natural sciences prepare the intellectual powers for theology, and are highly serviceable for the perfect understanding and use of it, they should be treated with fitting diligence [...]”.⁹³

The medieval heritage of such structure appears evident, but it does not blindly reflect a backwards organisation of the learning: the emphasis on “human letters and of the Latin and Greek languages”, alongside the lack of medicine and law, which were prominent subjects in the universities of the Middle Ages, reveal an influence of the historical, religious, and cultural changes of that time, such as the aforementioned Humanism and the protestant Reform.

In conclusion, since its establishment, the Society provided great contribution to the field education: a uniform and universal method, the teachers' prominent role and their attention to the student's individual disposition and the focus on linguistic skills, and natural sciences as preparatory expertise for the study of theology. Such merits were the result of a very early commitment to finding effective ways to provide religious and moral education to pupils, and are embodied in the most representative document of the Jesuit pedagogy: the *Ratio Studiorum*.

⁹³ Quoted by Luk, 1997, p. 482.

2.2 The “*Ratio Studiorum*”

As stated in St. Ignatius’ *Constitutiones*, one of the main purposes of the Society of Jesus was the knowledge of God and the liberation of souls, not only limited to the members’, but also extended to the soul of every fellow man. In fulfilling such aims, catechism and education played the most prominent role, as confirmed by the exponential growth of their schools throughout the globe less than five decades after their establishment.⁹⁴ Although the order of the study with a description of the teaching subjects that prepared to the understanding of theology had been already dealt with in Part IV of the *Constitutiones*,⁹⁵ the necessity of a systematic study plan was included in the Jesuits’ agenda as early as the early fifties of the 16th century, resulting in the compilation of *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu* (Method and System of the Studies of the Society of Jesus), hereafter abbreviated in *Ratio Studiorum*.

The letter of transmission signed by Secretary James Dominic and dated 8th January 1599, reports that the plan was the result of the combined efforts of a group of six priests who completed the project after “long and arduous years in research and discussion” before submitting the draft to “all provinces of the Society to be weight and evaluated by our teachers and educational experts”.⁹⁶ According to father Farrell’s research, the prototype of the document was Jerome Nadal S.J.’s first plan for the College of Messina in Italy,⁹⁷ completed in 1551, which was followed suit by the *Ordo Studiorum* (Order of the Study). It also included elements from James Ledesma S.J.’s *De Ratione et Ordine Studiorum Collegii Romani* (On the method and system of the study at the Roman College) alongside the fourth part of the *Constitutiones*. The draft was first printed in 1586 for private review,

⁹⁴ *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, translated into English with an introduction and explanatory notes by Alan P. Farrell S.J., University of Detroit, conference paper: “Conference of major superiors of Jesuits”, Washington D.C., 1970, pp. III and IV.

⁹⁵ I refer to a passage quoted by Luk, 1989, p. 485.

⁹⁶ This study refers to the English translation of the *Ratio Studiorum*, 1599 edition given by father Farrell, 1970, p. XII.

⁹⁷ The earliest of the Jesuit schools, founded in 1548. See *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, p. III.

underwent a revision process in 1591 and was finally printed and officially approved in 1599, under General Superior Claudio Acquaviva (1543 – 1615). The text was reprinted a few times, including in 1616 in Rome, the only edition that contained some minor modifications concerning the subjects of theology and philosophy, according to Decree 33 of the Seventh General Congregation of the Order, 1615 – 1616.⁹⁸ This new attention to the Jesuits' study plan in that year might have inspired the superior of the Nanjing residence, Alfonso Vagnone, to compose an essay entitled *Xixue* 西學 (Western learning), which introduced for the first time Chinese readers to the European systematic education, with clear references to the *Ratio Studiorum*.⁹⁹ Although medieval influences are evident in the section concerning the order of the study, the *Ratio Studiorum* was also deeply permeated by elements of Renaissance education: it was based on Quintilian's assumption that, to be complete, an individual had to possess accurate knowledge alongside *eloquentia perfecta*, but also that such rhetorical skills needed to comply with time and space requirements. Further elements of Quintilian's masterpiece, the *Institutio Oratoria*, were also absorbed in the *curriculum studiorum* of the University of Paris, Ignatius' *alma mater*, which provided great inspiration to the authors of the *Ratio Studiorum*.¹⁰⁰ The text was divided into four main areas, which prescribed specific instructions for the administrators (namely the provincial superior, the rector of the college, and the prefect of studies), the educators, and the pupils. As for the curriculum, it followed the medieval scholastic structure that assigned theology the most prominent role in the education, while philosophy and humanities were only considered propaedeutic to undertake such higher learning. The last two sections of the *Ratio Studiorum* dealt respectively with the methodology to be used in each course (including specific textbooks), and the discipline, where a set of norms to regulate the moral conduct of external and internal students was provided. Consistent with the Society's pedagogical approach, the practical application of every subject had priority over theoretical principles, and, because of this, students were frequently monitored through assignments and exams. Each course and every teacher was required to follow a mandatory programme, and had to make use of particular textbooks approved by the Society.

⁹⁸ See *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, p. 115.

⁹⁹ See chapter 7.1 of the present volume.

¹⁰⁰ See *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, p. IX.

The *iter studiorum* began with the so-called “lower studies”, specifically grammar, humanities, and rhetoric. Such classes aimed at providing pupils with the linguistic bases in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, needed as tools for the understanding of the Sacred Scriptures,¹⁰¹ before moving on improving their oratorical techniques. Only upon completion of this first stage, whose length could vary according to the superior’s indications, were the students allowed to enter the three-year philosophy course. As a subject that, alongside humanities, “prepared the intellectual powers for theology and assisted in the perfect understanding and practical application of religious truth”,¹⁰² the teaching of philosophy and moral philosophy followed a strict methodology. It was centred on the Aristotelian doctrine, although a careful selection of his commentators had to be made, in order to avoid a situation in which students were deceived by their “wrong messages”. Averroè (1128 – 1198) and the Alexandrists were particularly opposed.¹⁰³ The extensive use of Aristotle’s famous works such as *De Anima* (On Soul), *Fisica* (Physics) and *Ethica Nichomachea* (Nicomachean Ethics) as textbooks for metaphysics, physics, and moral philosophy courses respectively confirmed the dogmatic guidelines of the Jesuits’ philosophical training. In fact, art. 16 of the section “Rules of the provincial” stated that teachers who showed too much interest in the new doctrines or in liberal arts had to be necessarily removed from their position.¹⁰⁴ If Aristotelian teachings permeated the course of philosophy and rhetoric,¹⁰⁵ St. Thomas Aquinas’ precepts and his famous masterpiece *Summa Theologica* (Theological summary, written between 1265-1274), were at the basis of the four-year theology course. However, in this case, the “Rules of teachers of scholastic theology” granted the instructor a certain leeway, especially in relation to philosophical questions and those pertaining

¹⁰¹ Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were the standard languages included every humanistic curriculum of the medieval and Renaissance universities. Teachers of the Scriptures, however, were often required to also be competent in idioms like Caldaic and Syriac. See *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, p. 2.

¹⁰² *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, p. 40.

¹⁰³ The Alexandrists were philosophers of the Renaissance, who followed Alexander of Aphrodisias’ interpretation of Aristotle’s *De Anima*. Alexander and Averroè’s doctrines were both condemned as false doctrines in the fifth Luteran council under Pope Leo X. See *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, p. 124, footnote 43.

¹⁰⁴ *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ His works *Ars Retorica* (Rhetoric) and *De Poetica* (Poetics) were two of the course’ textbooks.

Canon Law and the Scriptures.¹⁰⁶ As the textbook in use for the entire theology course, the influence of *Summa Theologica* on the Jesuits' formation is also confirmed by the literary productions of Ming China missionaries. In his well-known pedagogical treatise *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 (Summary of Western learning, 1623), Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582 – 1649) provided a detailed outline of the structure and main topics the *Summa* contains, alongside introducing Aristotle's figure and works. Aristotle and Aquinas were in fact the only two thinkers directly mentioned by Aleni, whose aim was evidently to introduce Chinese readers to the most representative authors of European traditional education. A few years later, Aleni's idea was perfected by Ludovico Buglio, who translated the first and third parts of the *Summa*, between 1654 and 1678.¹⁰⁷

As for Alfonso Vagnone, the theoretical imprint of the Jesuit traditional education is greatly revealed in his literary publications. If from a stylistic standpoint he brilliantly put into practice Aristotle's precept of using historical examples as a means of logic persuasion, his rhetorical use of moral anecdotes and *chreiai* from the Classical tradition prove the deep influence of some of the authors he encountered during his formation period in humanities. Vagnone's pedagogic treatise *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, for instance, has six direct references to Aristotle and one to Cicero, whose texts were respectively studied in the courses of philosophy, rhetoric, and grammar;¹⁰⁸ it is also noteworthy that the philological analysis of his work uncovered even more frequent indirect or paraphrased quotations of such authors. Furthermore, translations of Aesop's fables¹⁰⁹ and passages

¹⁰⁶ *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, p. 34.

¹⁰⁷ D'Elia Pasquale "Le generalità sulle Scienze Occidentali di Giulio Aleni", in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali XXV*, Rome, 1950, pp. 74 – 75.

¹⁰⁸ *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, pp. 73 – 83.

¹⁰⁹ Two fables by the Greek author appear in "*Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育": "The Sun and The Wind" which Vagnone used to reaffirm the idea/notion/point that, in education, persuading is more effective than forcing and "The Bird in Borrowed Feathers", usually ascribed to Aesop, which teaches the vacuity of vanity and the importance of accepting ourselves for what we are. See TYJY p. 287, p. 396.

from Plutarch's *Moralia* (Morals)¹¹⁰ were mandatory exercises in the Greek language class,¹¹¹ a confirmation of Vagnone's familiarity with their works.

2.2.1 *A Ratio Studiorum for China*

The educational structure in the *Ratio Studiorum* was hailed as an effective model to be exported to various Jesuit schools and colleges throughout the world in order to provide universal guidelines to local students and teachers. In October 1598, Alessandro Valignano created an order of the study for the newly established St. Paul's College of Macau, which combined elements of the 1591 draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* with the *Regulations of the College of Arts of Coimbra* dated 1559 and 1565, in an attempt to create a standardized academic system in such a heterogenic and complex environment.

One of the missions of St. Paul's College, alongside the literary formation of Chinese and Japanese novices, was the linguistic training of those missionaries who had just set foot in Asia.

After the Nanjing persecution (1616 – 1617), China Jesuits became firmly resolved that mastering the “language of mandarins” at a high level was the key to avoid future persecutions and to expand the mission in inner China. Therefore, on the example of the well-rooted study plan on which their education in Europe was based, they began working on a standard curriculum for the language training of the new arrivals.¹¹² In 1621 General Muzio Vitelleschi sent Visitor Gabriel de Matos a set of rules that clearly banned missionaries from deciding “books, method, or amount of time of their studies” as they saw fit. The result was the elaboration of a *Ratio Studiorum* plan for teaching Chinese language and culture. The director of the St. Paul College, Manuel Dias the elder, was put in charge of the effective compilation of the plan, a work that most likely lasted from 1622 – 1624. His first task was to run an inspection of the mission in the aftermath of the Nanjing Incident, by

¹¹⁰ Aside from directly quoting Plutarch in four passages, one of the works attributed to the philosopher of Cheronea, the pedagogic treatise “*Peri paidon agoges* (On the education of children)” is also believed to be one of the sources of his “*Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育”.

¹¹¹ *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, p. 84.

¹¹² Brockey Liam M. - *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579 – 1724*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2008, p. 252.

interviewing those Jesuits who had “some experience with the study of Chinese letters and language”, including Niccolò Longobardo, Manuel Dias the younger, Alfonso Vagnone, Giulio Aleni, Alvaro Samedo, Nicolas Trigault, and Gaspar Ferreira. As suggested by Brockey, their contribution was relevant to the structural organization of the study plan, especially in terms of teaching subjects and materials, class division, and progression of the study.¹¹³ Such notions, later structured by Dias himself, resulted in a four-year programme, which was divided into three phases. During the first six months of the course, newcomers were initiated to the basic aspects of spoken language before moving on in the following one and a half years to the reading of the *Four Books*. It is noteworthy that this first stage of the course was undertaken in Portuguese language with the help of either a European missionary or a Chinese coadjutor who possessed the necessary linguistic competence. According to the authors of the Chinese *Ratio Studiorum*, the Portuguese teacher’s “diligence and way of reading” would affect the study outcome of his pupils. As for the third stage of the programme, it consisted in two years on compositions and readings of the classical texts under the supervision of a Chinese master who explained how certain passages were understood and interpreted by the literati. As a proof of the high consideration Dias attached to the linguistic studies, the amount of time newcomers had to devote to learning Chinese language was equal in length to the course of theology, the *regina scientiarum*, in the European version of the *Ratio Studiorum*.¹¹⁴

Standard Jesuit education paid particular attention to the students’ individual nature and disposition; his ten years’ experience as the rector of the St. Paul’s College taught Dias that learning the Chinese language from scratch was not an easy task for any adult, and educated Jesuits were no exception. Therefore, in his *Ratio Studiorum* he took into account this aspect and suggested strategies to overcome the main difficulties. First of all, teachers were specifically required to show tolerance and patience towards their students, mature men who were often already “masters of high sciences”. At the same time, learners were encouraged to work with particular “dedication and constancy” on the hardest elements of the language, such as “the variety of tones, the ambiguity of words, the

¹¹³ Brockey, *ibid.*, p. 257

multitude of characters”. An initial effort on these aspects, ensured Dias, could provide a solid basis for the future stages of the learning process.¹¹⁵

Consistent with the structure and content of the European edition, the Chinese *Ratio Studiorum* also provided a detailed description of the teaching methodology and the materials to be used. For instance, in the first stage of the training, students were required to learn basic reading and writing skills: the main textbook for this phase was Trigault’s *Xiru ermu zi* 西儒耳目字 (Western scholar’s aid for the ear and the eye of reading characters, 1626), which offered a selection of Chinese terms organized in Western alphabetic order alongside an effective method to memorize the pronunciation. As for the improvement of the speaking skills, a requirement of the second stage of the learning, the Chinese *Ratio Studiorum* applied the same technique used for Latin in European colleges: the use of the “target language” as the only means of interaction, except during their recreation periods. In order to facilitate the communication with native speakers, residential superiors were recommended to assign a hired help to each student, to help him practice the language even during his free time, while teaching aspects of the Chinese etiquette, including table manners, tea drinking, and other culturally specific elements.¹¹⁶

The Chinese *Ratio Studiorum* showed a particularly modern approach also on fostering character-writing skills. During the six months that made up the third phase of their studies, Jesuits were instructed on how to “write characters like a Chinese”, i.e. following the specific stroke order. To do so, teachers made use of one of the primers for the education of children, the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand character classic),¹¹⁷ a text also adopted by Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri at the beginning of their studies.

After completing the basic literacy studies, Jesuits moved on to the advanced stage of their language training which was based on the reading of the *Four Books* aimed at providing the missionaries with

¹¹⁵ Brockey, *ibid.*, p. 260.

¹¹⁶ Brockey, *ibid.*, p. 262.

¹¹⁷ See chapter 3.1 of the present volume.

the standard literary references, philosophical precepts, and cultural background used by most of their potential interlocutors. The texts prescribed for such phase by the Chinese *Ratio Studiorum* were the *Great Learning*, the *Doctrine of Mean*, the *Analects*, the *Book of Mencius*, and finally one of the so-called *Five Classics*, the *Book of Documents*. The mandatory textbook for the/this course was the Ming edition of Zhu Xi's *Sishu Jizhu* 四書集註 (Collected Commentaries on the Four Books), however, teachers had the choice to also make use of Emperor Wanli 萬曆's (1563 – 1620) primer, *Sishu Jizhu Zhijie* 四書集註直解 (Direct explanation of the Collected Commentaries on the Four Books), a twenty-seven volume work written in colloquial language by Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng. The latter text was essential to understand the main precepts of the official state-doctrine, Neo-Confucianism, interpreted by a contemporary scholar.¹¹⁸ This course was also structured following the same approach for teaching Latin or Greek literature in European schools. Each passage was read and then explained from a lexical and grammatical perspective, and finally translated into Portuguese or Latin. As it happens in modern Chinese lessons, teachers paid particular attention to new characters and complex grammatical structures and assigned regular homework to their pupils in order to monitor their progresses.

The *Ratio Studiorum* was submitted by Manuel Dias to visitor Jerónimo Rodríguez in 1624, setting the main trends for the linguistic training of the new comers for a few decades after that date. However, as reported by Brockey, it is not possible to confirm this theory, due to the scattered references concerning the plan on Annual Letters and other primary sources.¹¹⁹

2.3 Alfonso Vagnone's literary formation

Because of the scarce or incomplete nature of the documents related to Alfonso Vagnone's formation, this research had to rely mostly on secondary sources or studies on the traditional Jesuit educational system. Although the complete records concerning Vagnone's specific curriculum were

¹¹⁸ Brockey, 2008, p. 262.

¹¹⁹ Brockey, 2008, p. 268.

not available at the time of writing, this section will attempt to recreate the main stages of his education by putting together the scattered information we have retrieved.

According the catalogue of the College of Milan at the Archive of the Society of Jesus in Rome (*Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu*, hereafter ARSI), young Vagnone joined the Society on 10th October 1584, when he was eighteen years old.¹²⁰ Once enrolled, new members were required to spend two years as novices before being initiated to the scholastic career which, as previously noted, included two years of literary studies (grammar, humanities, and rhetoric), three years of philosophy, and finally three to four years of theological studies. Grendler reports that young scholars “were ordained sometimes after only three years of theology, and pronounced their final vows”.¹²¹

In 1586, Vagnone began therefore his education at the College of Brera, a fast-growing academic institution established in Milan on 22nd June 1572 by Pope Gregory XIII. As the only Jesuit college for higher studies in the north of Italy, it acted as main cultural pole for aristocratic families from the areas of Milan, Turin, and Genoa.¹²² Its didactic offer covered all of the subjects of the Jesuit systematic education, including the doctorate degree in Philosophy, which was strongly pursued and obtained by the archbishop of Milan, Carlo Borromeo (1538 – 1584) in 1580.¹²³ The increasing popularity of the Brera College is confirmed by Duan’s research; he reports that in the decade 1680 – 90, eight hundred students were enrolled at the college, while in the first few years of the 17th century the number reached one thousand.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ The official file, dated 1597, reads as follows: «Alfonso Vagnone, Patria: diocesi di Torino; Aeta (et): anno 29; Vires (condizione di salute): bonea (buona); tempus societatis (data d’ingresso nella Compagnia): ottobre 1584; tempus studiorum: complevit studia (ha finito gli studi); docet (insegna): Hum l (letteratura umanistica), rhet (retorica)». See, ARSI, *Mediol.* 47, f. 108v-109r: *Catalogus Collegii Mediolanensis*, anno 1597. See also Duan Chusheng “L’attività missionaria e pedagogica di Alfonso Vagnone S.J. in Cina (1605-1640)” Ph.D. dissertation, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano 2012-2013, p. 69. See also Dehergne Joseph, *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* / Joseph Dehergne S.J. Roma, Institutum historicum S.I. , Paris : Letouzey & Ané , 1973, pp. 690 – 691.

¹²¹ Grendler’s study on Renaissance education, between religion and politics, is reported in Jin, 2015, pp. 7-8.

¹²² Jin Wenbin 金文宾, *Gao Yizhi yu Mingmo Xixue Dong Chuan Yanjiu* 高一志与明末西学东传研究, Xiamen University Press, 2015, p. 10.

¹²³ Jin, *ibid.*, p. 10.

¹²⁴ Duan, 2012, p. 66.

As a young member of the Piedmontese aristocracy, Vagnone began his studies at the Jesuit Latin School in Turin, where he enrolled in 1580, alongside “ninety or one hundred youth from the nobility of Piedmont”.¹²⁵ After completing the first stage of his education at the School of Turin, Vagnone moved to Milan to continue his studies in the Brera College, where he stayed until 1603. According to the bulletin of the college, in 1588, Vagnone was studying physics (a branch of philosophy), which means that he had completed the first two years of literary studies and was beginning the third year.¹²⁶ Upon completion of the philosophy course, young Jesuits were required to undertake a teaching training program at the Society’s secondary schools, or in the same college they were enrolled. Such experience did not just serve as a temporary break from the intense period of commitment to philosophy and humanities, but also to prove the religious and intellectual maturity of the young scholar.¹²⁷ The bulletin of the Brera College in 1592 lists Vagnone as “teacher of humanities and rhetoric”:¹²⁸ such information is consistent with Pfister’s record, based on Daniello Bartoli, historian of the Society of Jesus, which states that “Vagnone taught humanities and rhetoric and for 5 years”.¹²⁹ His ability in the art of speech is attested by an anecdote that was reported by many different sources. On the day that Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy, paid a visit to the Brera College, Vagnone was appointed to compose and deliver the welcoming speech for such an illustrious guest. His performance was greatly appreciated by the Duke and provided great prestige for the school and for the young Jesuit.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Jin, 2015, p. 9.

¹²⁶ Quoted by Duan, 2012, p. 69.

¹²⁷ See *Ratio Studiorum*, 1970, p. 117, nota 17.

¹²⁸ Duan, 2012, p. 69. According to Jin’s finding in the “Catalogo dei Codici Manoscritti della Trivulziana, by Giulio Porro Vagnone’s teaching experience in Brera began instead in 1594. See Jin, 2015, p. 7.

¹²⁹ Pfister Louis *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773 / par le P. Louis Pfister S.J.*, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1976, p. 85.

¹³⁰ Pfister, 1976, p. 85; also reported by Duan, 2012, p. 69. However, both sources don’t give any detail about the date of the Duke’s visit.

A summary of the main stages of Vagnone's academic formation is provided by the 1621 edition of the triennial catalogue of the Jesuits of the China mission, which records that, at the Society college, he studied "rhetoric for two years, philosophy for three years, theology for four years; he taught humanities for two years, rhetoric for three years, philosophy for three years and theology for two years".¹³¹ Unfortunately, at present it is not possible to obtain a more specific timeframe of Vagnone's educational *iter*: if we take into account the standard order of the study. As it covered nine years in total, it is therefore likely that Vagnone obtained his doctoral degree in theology around 1595, took the vows in 1597, and undertook the teaching assignments while perfecting his studies, until at least the end of 1602. The fact that he completed his studies before 1597 is confirmed by the aforementioned catalogue of the Brera College,¹³² whereas evidence of his desire to fulfil his missionary vocation in China is documented since July 1592.¹³³ Despite his many pleas and brilliant academic results, Vagnone was only assigned to the China mission at the end of 1602; in letter of congratulations dated 25th December 1602 and gathered by historian Bartolomeo Zucchi (1570 – 1630) in a collection of rhetorical acts, the Jesuit is addressed as "Theologo della Compagnia di Gesù, Ministro del Collegio di Brera (Theologian of the Society of Jesus and Minister of the Brera College)" and appears already appointed to the mission in Japan and China. In the text, the unknown author¹³⁴ asks the father if it is true that he "shall go to China and Japan to propagate God's word and to shed his own blood, thus becoming Christ's martyr"?¹³⁵

¹³¹ "Catalogi breves et triennales 1621-1759", ARSI, Jap. - Sin. 134, f.301v n.9. By cross-referencing Pfister's records, it is plausible to assume a certain degree of overlapping between the teaching jobs. It appears that he was first appointed as a teacher of the so-called lower studies, humanities and rhetoric, and afterwards, maybe while carrying on his higher studies (philosophy and theology) he undertook the training as a professor of philosophy in Milan. See Pfister, 1976, p. 85. Again, no specific timeframe or date are provided.

¹³² See p. 48, footnote 120.

¹³³ Many sources report Vagnone written requests addressed to Superior Claudio Acquaviva, which were however declined in the first place, perhaps due to his relatively young age. see Tacchi Venturi P.P., *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.J.* volume I, libro quinto, Macerata 1911, p. 451; A. Chiotti, - L. Pfister, *I grandi missionari Alfonso Vagnone*, op. cit., p. 45. See also Duan, 2012, p. 71.

¹³⁴ Jin doesn't include the signature in the attached reproduction of the letter, as he seems to be thinking that it was written by Vagnone and not for Vagnone. See Jin, 2015, p. 6

¹³⁵ The passage reads as follows: "Andrà dunque V.P. nel Giappone e nella Cina, à [sic.] seminare la parola di Dio, à spargere il proprio sangue, à diventare Martir di Christo"? Quoted in Jin, 2015, p. 6

Alfonso Vagnone's journey to Asia effectively began on 9th April 1603, when he departed from Lisbon on the ship "St. John"¹³⁶, alongside father Camillo Costanzo (blessed, 1571-1622) who was, in fact, among the martyrs during the persecutions in Japan.¹³⁷ As we shall see in the following chapters, the linguistic and rhetorical skills he achieved during his literary formation granted him a particular *forma mentis*, which provided him the tools to permeate a totally different cultural universe, proving to be irreplaceable expertise for his journey.

¹³⁶ Dehergne Joseph, *Repertoire des Jesuites de Chine de 1551 a 1800*, volume XXXVII, Roma, 1973, p. 690

¹³⁷ See Duan, 2012, p. 71; Jin, 2015, p. 3

Chapter 3: Chinese pedagogy during Song - Ming dynasties

Childhood, along with its different stages and rites that mark the transition to adulthood, is a concept that connects societies and cultures worldwide. Its main characteristics and cultural features have been the subject of diachronic and synchronic studies in different branches of knowledge. Contemporary scholarship has also already established that the concept of childhood and its relation with society are not “a European invention”¹³⁸: in Chinese classics, for instance, references to children’s life stages and education date back as early as the 1st century BC, and are recorded by one of the Confucian Five Classics, the Book of Rites (*Liji* 禮記):

“When one is ten years old, we call him a young child (you 幼); he studies. When he is twenty, we call him a youth (ruo 弱); he is capped. When he is thirty, we say ‘He is at his maturity’ (zhuang 壯); he has a wife”.¹³⁹

Other pre-Qin (221 – 207 BC) classics such as the Confucian Analects (*Lunyu* 論語), and the Book of Mencius (*Mengzi* 孟子), include a few references to children: the different stages of childhood are also linguistically highlighted: in these texts, youngsters are usually indicated as ‘you 幼 (young child)’, ‘tong 童’, ‘tongzi 童子’, or ‘ruo 弱’ (youth), ‘chi 赤’, ‘chizi 赤子’, ‘ying’er 嬰兒 (infant)’, and ‘ru 孺’ (child)’.¹⁴⁰ Lexical considerations aside, the Chinese traditional debate on pedagogy has been primarily focused on two essential matters: the nature of children and their role in society. Looking

¹³⁸ Pauline Lee and Xiong Bingzhen both quote and question French historian Philippe Àries’ position on the matter: in his famous book “Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life (1960)”, he states that there is a lack of records of “a special, magical stage of life marked off from adulthood”, which is therefore a product of modern Western society. See Lee Pauline C.: “Two Confucian Theories on Children and Childhood: Commentaries on the Analects and the Mengzi” in *Dao*, Vol. 13 Issue 4, 2014, p. 526; Xiong Bingzhen 熊秉真, *Tongnian Yiwang. Zhongguo haizide Lishi* 童年忆往。中国孩子的历史, Guangxi Shifang Daxue Chubanshe 广西师范大学出版社, 2008, p. 39.

¹³⁹ I refer to the adapted translation quoted in Lee, 2014, p. 526. However, the same passage appears in the famous Neo-Confucian primer “*Xiaoxue* 小學”, which will be further described in paragraph 1.2. of the present chapter. See Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小學集注, (reprint) Qiushan Dong Shuju 秋山东书居, 1886, folio 25-29.

¹⁴⁰ Lee, *ibid.*, p. 526.

back at the most influential philosophers in Chinese history, Mencius was the first to refer to children as a model of virtuous behaviour,¹⁴¹ starting from the assumption that human nature is essentially good.¹⁴² Eminent Southern Song thinker and pedagogue, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130 – 1200) advocated such point of view, considering children’s hearts as pure and harmonious, an expression of ‘*cheng* 誠 (sincerity)’, a virtue that could only be obscured by selfish desires. Another perspective on the subject was provided by 16th century thinker Li Zhi 李贄 (1527– 1602), who described children’s hearts as capable of moral perfection in their original state.¹⁴³ Despite the different interpretations, the point that all thinkers agreed on was the necessity to transform the raw material children are made of through the education and the cultivation of the Way (*Dao* 道): to quote Standaert’s words, Confucian self-cultivation was aimed at “conquering oneself (*Keji* 克己), in order to unfold one’s innate principle of heavenly order (*Tianli* 天理) to its higher potential”.¹⁴⁴ One of the main transcultural differences that the interpretation on the goodness of human nature highlights is the lack of original sin, a heritage of Christian doctrine, with the observance of the of the Lord of Heaven’s commandments acting as a process of moral betterment towards the ‘*Dao* 道’.¹⁴⁵

The concept of human nature is also connected to another key debate in Confucian tradition: how to foster and develop the raw material. Although different schools of thinkers agreed on self-cultivation being the best way to preserve children’s original purity and achieve moral perfection, there was a general discordance on the most suitable approaches to such a process. Nevertheless, both Confucian and Neo-Confucian philosophers indicated that children’s learning had to follow particular stages and that tasks and general requirements had to be age-specific. In this respect, it appears that the main pedagogical literature from pre-Qin to Ming China was consistent in considering the study of Confucian classics and the practice of ritual as the beginning of the educational process. However, when analysing the development of the concept of children in

¹⁴¹ “孟子曰:大人者不失其赤子之心者也。(Mengzi said: ‘The great person does not lose his infant’s heart’). See Legge James, “The work of Mencius” in *The Four Books*, Paragon Book Gallery, 1969, IV.12, p. 322.

¹⁴² “人之初，性本善。(Men at their birth are naturally good)”. Quoted by Lee, 2014, p. 526.

¹⁴³ Lee, *ibid.*, p. 530.

¹⁴⁴ Standaert Nicolas, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, Leiden, Brill 2001, p. 654.

¹⁴⁵ Standaert, *ibid.*, p.654

Chinese history, another factor to take into account is their social identity, i.e. “the long-standing Confucian views of the self as truly the self within a rich network of social relations”.¹⁴⁶ In other words, the *social child* was considered a grown adult, who was taught since an early age to value ‘public duty’ over ‘private love’.¹⁴⁷ According to Lee, such conception particularly reflected the Han dynasty’s cultural milieu, an establishment that seemed to attach importance to children only as good subjects for the ruler. However, by analysing the main tendencies and pedagogical primers in Chinese history, this chapter will point out how the dichotomy between social child and biological child has always been a common feature in the Chinese education of children; furthermore, it will attempt to provide a general overview on the philosophical and literary background that influenced Alfonso Vagnone’s pedagogical treatise.

3.1 Historical overview on Chinese traditional education

Over the centuries, the term ‘*xiaoxue* 小學’, intended as ‘elementary education’ or ‘elementary learning’, has always evolved in strong connection with the traditional cultural milieu of Chinese society. Since the pre-Han (220 B.C. – 207 C.E.) era, the so-called ‘small arts (*xiaoyi* 小藝)’ constituted the foundation of the pedagogy: these consisted in reading and writing characters (*shu* 書), along with counting numbers (*shu* 數). After the cultivation of such skills, aristocratic children entered the great learning (*daxue* 大學) stage, and were initiated to the ‘great arts (*dayi* 大藝)’, which included ritual (*li* 禮), music (*yue* 樂), archery (*she* 射), and charioteering (*yu* 御). These so-called ‘six arts (*liuyi* 六藝)’ provided the basic knowledge children needed in everyday life, and in a second stage prepared them for the art of governance.¹⁴⁸ The relevance of the “six arts” in the process of education dates back to Confucius (551 – 479 B.C.), who advocated their cultivation as a means to shape virtuous rulers who could restore the good governance of the early Zhou system (8th – 6th century B.C.). In Han times, the “six arts” were often used to indicate the Six Classics

¹⁴⁶ Lee, 2014, p. 235.

¹⁴⁷ Lee, *ibid.*, p. 235.

¹⁴⁸ Bai Limin, *Shaping the ideal child. Children and their primers in late imperial China*, Hong Kong, Chinese Univesity Press, 2005, p. 33.

(*Liujing* 六經), the canonical texts whose authorship was partially attributed to Confucius and that regulated the Chinese education of children for centuries. These included: the Book of Songs (*Shijing* 詩經 also called the Classic of Poetry), which described aspects of the pre-Qin traditions; the Book of Changes (*Yijing* 易經), considered a representation of the ancient Chinese thought, the Book of Documents (*Shujing* 書經), that described the pre-Qin political system, the Book of Rites (*Lijing* 禮經), which pertained the history of Chinese social regulations and the Spring and Autumn Annals (*Chunqiu* 春秋), the earliest document in annalistic style.¹⁴⁹ The last of these texts, the now lost Book of Music (*Yuejing* 樂經) was actually a chapter of the Book of Rites called Records of Music (*Yueji* 樂記). Excluding the latter, whose record only exists in ancient texts, the Five Classics (*Wujing* 五經) can be surely considered the most valuable source for the understanding of Chinese philosophy and the Confucian moral system, which combined politics, education, religion, psychology, and metaphysics, thereby transcending the Western category of ethics.¹⁵⁰ Confucius' universal education was aimed at creating outstanding individuals, with excellent moral qualities, who could provide a valuable contribution to society and politics. Like Aristotle, he “put morality at the foundation of politics and politics at the summit of morality”.¹⁵¹ As for pedagogy, although a systematic codification of the Master's thought on the matter doesn't clearly appear in the Confucian Classics, various teachings deal with the education of children and their moral conduct. The main interpretations on Confucius' writings agree that he considered childhood as a special stage of life, ideal for the nourishment of the child's original material (*Zhi* 質), but provide discordant opinions on the methodologies aimed at fulfilling the youngsters' entire potential¹⁵². Undoubtedly, the reading of the Classics played a key role in this cultivation process, although the Master's teaching emphasized practice over theory, urging therefore a complete internalization of the precepts. Complying with rituals (*Li* 禮) was also a basic requirement from the earliest stages of the

¹⁴⁹ Xi Weihua 习卫华, “ ‘Sanzijing’ yu lishi jiaoyu 《三字经》与历史教育”, in *Fuyang Shifan Xueyuan Xuebao* 阜阳师范学院学报, N.4, 2008, p. 137.

¹⁵⁰ Ferrero Michele, The cultivation of virtue in the “True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven”, PhD dissertation, Taipei, Fu Jen Catholic University, 2003, p. 97.

¹⁵¹ Quoted by Ferrero, *ibid*, p. 99.

¹⁵² Lee, 2014, p. 526.

education: Confucian doctrine considered ‘*Li* 禮’ the manifestation of the tradition of the ancient sages and the basis of a happy and prosperous society. As brilliantly summarized by Wing, “all Confucian philosophy can be reduced to mastering oneself and returning to propriety (*Li* 禮)”¹⁵³

A more systematic dissertation of topics like prenatal education or family instruction blossomed between the Han, the Northern and Southern dynasties period (420 – 589 C.E.), when works by Gu Yi 贾谊 (220 – 168 BC), Wang Chong 王充 (27 – c. 100 C.E.), and later by Wang Bao 王褒 (c. 513 – 576 C.E.) reflected the private and familiar approach to the education of children of the time, also attempting to explore and codify its main principles.¹⁵⁴ A boost to the Chinese scholastic system was achieved between the Sui (581 – 618 CE) and Tang dynasties (618 – 907 CE), when the establishment of the famous civil – service examination, the *keju* 科举, increased the demand for a standardized and more structured instruction. Such trends resulted in the creation of different types of institutions devoted to pre-school education, which included *sishu* 私塾 (private schools), where one instructor was in charge of all the teaching subjects, *cunshu* 村塾 (village schools), that generally entrusted the education of children to non-degree holders, and *yishu* 义塾 (charitable schools), which took care of the instruction of boys from disadvantaged families¹⁵⁵. To support the development of the elementary school system, Sui – Tang China also improved the codification and the diffusion of the so-called wordbooks (*zishu* 字書) for elementary education, which were usually aimed at initiating children to reading, while providing them with basic precepts on etiquette.

However, it is undeniable that the Song dynasty (960 – 1269) can be considered the golden age of Chinese pedagogy, especially in terms of epistemological innovations, and academic and literary proliferation. The driving force of such changes was the increasing diffusion of a new philosophical system, Neo-Confucianism¹⁵⁶, born from the acceptance of Buddhist influences on the Confucian tradition and its interpretation of the Classics. Three were the main innovative points the Neo-

¹⁵³ Quoted by Ferrero, 2003, p. 98.

¹⁵⁴ Xiao Lang 肖郎 “童幼教育与明清之际西方儿童教育思想的导入 Tongyou Jiaoyu yu Ming Qing zhi ji Xifang ertong jiaoyu sixiang de daoru” in 浙江大学学报 *Zhejiang Daxue Xuebao*, 2005 Issue 5, p. 85.

¹⁵⁵ Xiao, *ibid*, p. 85; Menegon Eugenio, *Neo-Confucian education and Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: Chinese and Western Pedagogy in Ming China*, San Francisco, MNS Ricci Institute, 1993.

¹⁵⁶ For an extensive introduction to Neo-Confucianism, its key notions and historical development, see Keenan Barry C., *Neo-Confucian Self-cultivation*, Hawaii, University of Hawai’i Press, 2011.

Confucian system introduced: (1) the reshaping of what constituted the canon of Confucian classics; (2) the philosophical doctrine that added metaphysical ideas to classical Confucian thought; and (3) an elaborated program of self-cultivation. The most representative thinkers of Neo-Confucianism are Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017 – 1073), who created a new religious, cosmological, and ethical system based on the Book of Changes; Zhang Zai 張載 (1020 – 1077), the proper theorizer of Neo-Confucianism, who codified key concepts like ‘*Qi* 氣 (material force)’, ‘*Li* 理 (principle or reason)’, ‘*Xin* 心 (heart or mind)’, and ‘*Xing* 性 (Human nature)’; his nephews Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032 – 1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033 – 1107), whose teaching differed in the role of ‘*Ren* 仁 (humanity)’, as well as in the nature of principle, that for Cheng Hao lied within the heart – mind, whereas for Cheng Yi was external and unchanging in time and space. The Cheng brothers were also responsible for the codification of a new set of classics, aimed at transmitting the essence of Confucian teaching which, in their opinion, had faded with Mencius’s death: the Four Books (*Si shu* 四書) These included the aforementioned Analects, a collection of sayings by Confucius (c.551 – 479 BC) and *Mengzi* 孟子, attributed to Mencius (372 – 289 BC); the Great learning (*Daxue* 大學), probably composed by Zeng Can 曾參 (505–435 BC), one of Confucius’ disciples; and finally, the Doctrine of mean (*Zhongyong zhi dao* 中庸之道), attributed to Confucius’ grandson, Kong Ji 孔伋 (c. 481 – 402 BC). The last two works were extracted from the Book of Rites and became fundamental texts for Neo-Confucian self-cultivation, as well as essential instruments to perpetuate the Confucian orthodox lineage.¹⁵⁷

Despite these sages’ contributions to the theorization of Neo-Confucian philosophy, the merit of shaping such notions into an all-embracing system goes to the eminent Southern Song scholar Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130 – 1200).¹⁵⁸ The key point of his thought was the idea of ‘*Li* 理’ as the origin of every creature, the structuring principle which regulates the formation and the future of all beings, in strict interrelation with the material force, ‘*Qi* 氣’. Therefore, in Zhu’s opinion, the understanding of ‘*Li* 理’ was the highest form of knowledge¹⁵⁹. The central role of the notion of principle in Neo-

¹⁵⁷ Bai, 2005, p. 34.

¹⁵⁸ Zhu Xi’s figure and contribution to the education of children are further described in chap. 3.2.

¹⁵⁹ Ferrero, 2003, pp. 111 – 112.

Confucian philosophy is also confirmed by the denomination by which it is known in Chinese language: ‘*Lixue* 理學 (School of Principle)’, whose establishment was greatly favoured by Zhu himself.

From an educational standpoint, Neo-Confucian philosophers believed that the righteous Way of the ancient sages (*Dao* 道) had been lost after the fall of the Han, and needed to be restored through a strict educational path which started within the family and culminated in the *shuyuan* 書院,¹⁶⁰ the private academies that flourished during Song Dynasty. Such institutions date back to the Tang and Five Dynasties period (907 – 960), when students used to retire in a quiet and scenically beautiful environment, often Buddhist monasteries, to prepare for the exams, using their collections of books. The prototype of these academies was the *Bailu dong shuyuan* 白鹿洞書院 (the White Deer Grotto Academy), restored and reopened by Zhu Xi in 1180, with the aim of experimenting and propagating his innovative approach to study.¹⁶¹ The eminent philosopher often criticized the attitude of contemporary scholars towards knowledge, which was only aimed at passing the imperial examination. Hence, as a remedy to “learning for others’ sake (*Wei ren zhi xue* 為人之學)”, Zhu juxtaposed the “learning for one’s sake, (*Wei ji zhi xue* 為己之學)”¹⁶² a process of moral betterment, which had to be achieved through the path of self-cultivation (*Xiushen* 修身).¹⁶³

An exhaustive overview on his educational approach is summarized in the *Bailu dong shuyuan xuegui* 白鹿洞書院學規 (Articles of Instruction for the White Deer Grotto Academy c. 1180), which were used as a set of regulations for the *Shuyuan* 書院. Such articles, written in simple language to facilitate their memorization, explained the main steps of the self-cultivation process: study extensively, inquire accurately, think carefully, sift clearly, practice earnestly – along with indicating

¹⁶⁰ For a detailed dissertation on the *shuyuan* 書院 development and educational role in Song–Ming dynasties see Ren Wenxiang 任文香, “Shi lun Bailu dong shuyuan xuegui de wenhua neiyun 试论白鹿洞书院学规的文化内蕴” in *Henan Shifan Daxue Xuebao* 河南师范大学学报, 14, 2014, p.173; Chaffee John, “Chu Hsi and the Revival of the White Deer Grotto Academy, 1179-1181 A.D.” in *T’oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 71, Livr. 1/3 1985, p. 48.

¹⁶¹ For further insights on the history of the White Deer Grotto, see Chaffee, 1958, pp. 55-56.

¹⁶² Such distinction was in fact inspired by the Analects. As reported in *Lunyu* 論語 XIV.25: “子曰：古之學者為己，今之學者為人(In antiquity men studied for their own sake; nowadays men study for the sake of the others)”. See Legge, “Analects” in *The Four Books*, XIV.25, p. 285.

¹⁶³ Menegon, 1993, p. 2.

the scholars' aim: clarify the Way, do not calculate the honours.¹⁶⁴ A further clarification of the last passage, alongside a rather direct critique to the government-owned schools and their approach to learning, is deductible from this essay on the *Articles*:

“古昔聖賢所以教人為學之意,莫非 使之講明義理以修其身,然後推己及人。非徒 欲其務記覽為詞章,以釣聲名、取利祿而已也。今人之為學者,則既反是矣。¹⁶⁵

[The purpose of learning which the sage of antiquity taught the people was nothing other than having them clearly explain righteousness and principle so as to cultivate their characters and thereafter extend their understanding to others. It was not that they should merely wish to devote themselves to recording and memorizing ornamental phrases so as to fish for fame and obtain profit and office. Those who study today are just the opposite]”.¹⁶⁶

As for the *curriculum studiorum* developed by Zhu Xi, it reflected his consideration that learning had to begin with understanding the easiest texts, before approaching the ones with a higher degree of difficulty: it started, therefore, by mastering of the Four Books; at the second stage was the study of the Five Classics and finally the histories, including the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror for aid in government, 1084), by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019 – 1086), on which he composed a commentary.¹⁶⁷ The relevance of Zhu's contribution to the educational development of modern China is confirmed by the fact that this very order of study was still in use during Ming China, and consistent with the *iter* the Jesuits followed while learning Chinese language; furthermore, it was through the Ming edition of Zhu's *Sishu Jizhu* 四書集註 (Collected Commentaries on the Four Books), that they approached the study of Chinese classics,¹⁶⁸ achieving therefore a first understanding of the Confucian doctrine filtered by the interpretation of the School of Principle.

Despite the importance Song China attached to academic formation, Neo-Confucian pedagogues

¹⁶⁴ For the full text in Chinese of the Articles I referred to Ren, 2014, p. 174.

¹⁶⁵ Quoted by Ren, *ibid.*, p. 174.

¹⁶⁶ For the translation of the passage, I referred to Chaffee, 1985, p. 56.

¹⁶⁷ Menegon, 1993, p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ Meynard Thierry, *The Jesuit Reading of Confucius. The first complete translation of the Lunyu (1687) published in the West*. Brill, 2015, p. 19.

never neglected home-based education (*jiaxun* 家訓). It was the family that had to provide the first positive model to children before they accessed society, and the example of the father and the teacher played the most important role. The education within the family was aimed at restraining the development of children's inner nature, which, according to Zhu Xi, needed specific guidelines and even punishment, where necessary. Although in such aspects Neo-Confucian philosophers differed from European classical pedagogues, both traditions agreed on the necessity of an early beginning to the education: therefore, from the age of six to the age of ten, children were initiated to basic precepts such as respect for the elders (*Jinglao* 敬老), the five cardinal human relationships (*Wulun* 五倫),¹⁶⁹ and similar forms of 'Li 禮', as it was prescribed in the Book of Rites,¹⁷⁰ only after completing this stage, could they move on to acquiring basic linguistic and mathematical knowledge.¹⁷¹ The order of the study in preschool education was not random: according to Zhu Xi, the cultivation of virtues and the observation of etiquette were primary requirements for children: they had to learn how to be clean, talk and act properly, and help with housework before they were finally initiated to literary instruction:

“始於衣服冠履，次及言語步趨，次及洒掃清潔，次及讀書寫文字及雜細事宜，皆所當知。

[Such are the precepts children ought to know: at the beginning, how to dress properly; then how

¹⁶⁹ According to the Confucian ethical tradition, in order to preserve social harmony, people were required to comply with the Five Cardinal Human Relationships (*Wulun* 五倫), described in one of the notable classics, the Book of Mencius. These stated that: 1. Between parent and child there must be affection; 2. Between ruler and minister there must be rightness; 3. Between husband and wife there must be differentiation; 4. Between elder and younger siblings there must be precedence; 5. Between friend and friend there must be honesty. (父子有親，君臣有義，夫婦有別，長幼有序，朋友有信). Quoted in Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小學集注, (reprint) Qiushan Dong Shuju 秋山東書居, 1886, folio 30.

¹⁷⁰ Xiong, 2008, pp. 87-88. The Book of Rites, *Lijing* 禮經, is considered the earliest primer for preschool education and it is further dealt with in the following paragraph.

¹⁷¹ Xiong points out that this very tradition was still common in Ming China: before enrolling their children in some teachers' private schools (*Shu* 塾), parents had the habit of initiating them to the study of characters, ancient verses and mathematics, in order to provide a solid basis to their future learning. See Xiong, 2008, p. 101.

to speak and walk; later how to sweep¹⁷² and clean; finally the child should learn to read and write, alongside other various and small matters].”¹⁷³

The impulse that Song China gave to the field of pedagogy is also confirmed by another factor: the increasing diffusion of teaching materials for children (*Tongmeng jiaocai* 童蒙教材) and pedagogical treatises (*Ertong jiaoyu lunzhu* 儿童教育论著), which provided theoretical and practical precepts on how to foster the youngsters’ moral propriety. These works, like most literary publications, were available at low cost, thanks to the enormous presence of printing factories in the main areas of the country. According to Menegon’s research, from the 16th century the publication of pedagogic materials reached its peak, thanks to the blossoming of firms devoted to printing works such as arithmetic guides, character books, illustrated reading primers, orthodox primers, popular encyclopaedia, and moral books, etc.¹⁷⁴

Upon their arrival in China in 1583, the Jesuits found a highly civilized environment, where literacy was even extended to the lowest social classes. Hence, the only way to attract the attention of the Confucian literati, and to facilitate the diffusion of the Western learning (and consequently of the Christian doctrine), was to introduce new models of education that could complement, not replace, the already existing ones. This was the spirit of the so-called accommodation strategy inspired by Alessandro Valignano (1539 – 1606) and Matteo Ricci, and particularly supported by late Ming Jesuits, among which Alfonso Vagnone; their efforts resulted in the production of exceptional literary works that perfectly summarized the best of Chinese and European classical philosophy and

¹⁷² Literally: “the act of sprinkle water and sweep the floor”, see HYDCD, volume 2, p. 3216. The practice was an extensive part of Zhu Xi’s home-based education, as confirmed by the preface of his most famous pedagogical work, *Xiaoxue* 小學 (Elementary learning, 1187): “古者八歲而入小學教之以洒掃应对进退之節。 [In ancient times, at the age of eight, children entered the elementary learning, to master matters concerning cleaning the house, answering and greeting, and having a sense of propriety]”. See Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu*, 1886, folio 1. All passages are translated by the author.

¹⁷³ The passage is extracted from Zhu Xi’s work “*Tongmeng Xuzhi* 童蒙須知 (What children should know)”, and is quoted by Xiong, 2008, p. 89. For this research, I refer to the following edition: Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Zhu Zi Quan Shu* 朱子全書, edited by Zhu Jieren 朱杰人, Yan Zuozhi 嚴佐之, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2010, vol. 13 p. 371.

¹⁷⁴ Menegon, 1993, p. 3.

pedagogy.

3.1.1 The “San-Bai - Qian 三—百—千” and other primers for pre-school education

Traditional Chinese pedagogic literature enumerates a consistent variety of text materials aimed at serving different educational purposes: the most common typology were collections of virtuous *exempla* from the past, or treatises in which eminent philosophers provided parents with instructions on how to rightly raise and educate their offspring (the so-called instructive, *xunshixing* 训示性 or guiding material *zhidaoxing sucai* 指导性素材)¹⁷⁵. The earliest and most representative of these works is the aforementioned *Liji* 禮記, which consists of over one hundred and thirty chapters collected by Confucians from the late Zhou, Qin (255–205 BC), and Han periods, and was compiled in the 1st century BC. The text covered a number of matters, mostly Confucian ritual etiquette (from marriage to funeral customs), but it also described the proceedings of the government in the different months from the viewpoint of early Chinese cosmological thinking. Two of its chapters became particularly influential in Chinese education: during the Song dynasty (960 – 1279), great importance was attached to the *Zhongyong* 中庸 and the *Daxue* 大. These texts were therefore extracted and analysed on their own, becoming a part of the famous Confucian Four Books, and fundamental to Song dynasty education. As for the *Liji* 禮記, it was mainly used in family-based education, as it was intended for parents and teachers, as it provided guidelines and methodologies on how to get children acquainted with classics and other primers, while initiating pupils to the study of characters and verses.¹⁷⁶

As previously pointed out, the main pedagogical task a family was required to fulfil since the time of Song China was to foster the children’s ‘*deyu* 德育 (moral education, virtues)’, alongside developing their ‘*zhi yu* 智育 (intellectual education, knowledge)’. In accomplishing such duties, the use of the wordbooks was essential: such couplets were usually learnt by heart, as students were required to memorize at least ten characters per day. According to Menegon’s research, after a one-

¹⁷⁵ A detailed dissertation of the different categories of source material concerning the history of Chinese pedagogy is reported in Xiong, 2008, pp. 9-20. However, the present research will only take into account the instructive or guiding materials, as they served as tool for preschool, home-based education.

¹⁷⁶ Liu Qiyu 劉起鈞, “*Liji* 禮記”, in *Zhongguo da baike quanshu* 中國大百科全書, *Zhongguo lishi* 中國歷史, Beijing/Shanghai, Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe 中國大百科出版社, 1992 Vol. 2, p. 547.

year long study on the three main primers for preschool education, children were able to memorize approximately two thousand *hanzi* 漢字.¹⁷⁷ At the same time, the careful reading of these works introduced pupils to other various aspects of knowledge, such as astronomy, geography, and above all Confucian moral philosophy. The study of wordbooks was followed by the reading of the *Lunyu* 論語 and the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Classic of filial piety), which instructed children on a core Confucian virtue, filial piety, a fundamental value of society as well as a behavioural standard for human beings.¹⁷⁸ Among the texts in use for both private and pre-school education, the most influential were surely the so-called the “*San – Bai – Qian* 三百千”, common abbreviation of *Sanzi Jing* 三字經 (The Three Character Classic), *Baijia Xing* 百家姓 (The Hundred Names), and *Qian zi wen* 千字文 (The Thousand Characters Essay). Let us examine their content in details:

a. *Sanzi Jing* 三字經¹⁷⁹

Considered the most important of the primers for traditional education, the *Sanzi Jing* 三字經 was composed during the Song dynasty, likely by the eminent scholar and prolific writer of pedagogical works, Wang Yinglin 王应麟 (1223 – 1296)¹⁸⁰. It marked the beginning of children’s study and introduced over one thousand characters in lines of three, in quotes and references to the Confucian Classics and other milestones of Chinese philosophy, such as the *Xiaojing* 孝經, the *Laozi*

¹⁷⁷ Menegon, 1993 p. 5.

¹⁷⁸ Confucianism has always highly regarded the virtue of “Xiao 孝”, in connection with the relevant role attached to the family as a fundamental unit of society. The *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Classic of filial piety), an eighteen-chapter text, usually attributed to Confucius himself, was in fact written during the Han dynasty, a society that held this virtue in high regard. It reports conversations between the Master and his disciple, Zengzi, on the subject of filial piety, stressing its political value in association to the feeling of loyalty towards superiors up to the Son of Heaven. See Burckley Ebrey P., *Chinese Civilization: a Sourcebook*, 2nd edition, Simon & Shuster, 2009, p. 64.

¹⁷⁹ For the present research, I referred to the annotated edition included in Li Yi’an 李逸安 *Sanzi jing, Baijia xing, Qianzi wen, Dizi gui*, 三字经, 百家姓, 千字文, 弟子规, Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 2010, pp. 1-37; and on the late Qing block-printed edition by Yi Ming 佚名, (no date or place of publication) available at Fudan University Library, Section of ancient documents.

¹⁸⁰ For insights on Wang’s life and literary production see Xi, 2008, p. 137. As suggested by the same study, Wang’s paternity of *Sanzi Jing* 三字经 is still the subject of academic debate, as there is no record of it in the section on bibliographical treatises of the History of Song, *Songshi – Wenyi zhi* 宋史 - 艺文志 nor in the chapter concerning Wang’s biography, *Songshi – Wang Yinglin chuan* 宋史 - 王应麟传. See, Xi, 2008, p. 137.

老子, and the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. According to Xi Weihua's study, the content of *Sanzi Jing* 三字經 included six main topics: the first part emphasized the importance of educating children (boys and girls) with righteous methods; the second introduced key moral precepts of the Confucian (and Neo-Confucian) tradition, such as respecting parents and teachers and being loyal to friends above all; it also stressed that the propriety of moral behaviour had to be fostered from a young age; in the third part, it conveyed notions of general knowledge, mostly concerning mathematics, nature, culture, and practical life; the fourth dealt with the order of the study, listing a relevant number of canonical texts and other famous works;¹⁸¹ the fifth reported the main events in Chinese history, since the legendary era of the *Sanhuang wudi* 三皇五帝 (litt. three primordial sovereigns and the five mythological emperors); finally, the sixth part had an edifying role, as it introduced the words and deeds of virtuous sages of the past, in order to encourage children to take them as models of conduct.¹⁸² The text's popularity boosted the production of a particular genre of primers, written in the same trimetrical structure, such as the *Sanzi Xiaojing* 三字孝經 (The Classic of Filial Piety in Three Characters) or the *Guang Sanzijing* 廣三字經 (The Enlarged Three-Characters Classic).¹⁸³ As a further confirmation of the relevance this text had also in Ming pedagogy, it appears that *Sanzi Jing* 三字經 was a source of inspiration for the Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582 – 1649), one of the most brilliant humanistic writers among the generation of the late Ming missionaries, who probably had it in mind when he composed his *Tianzhu shengjiao sizi jingwen* 天主聖教四字經文 (Four Character Classic of the Holy Christian Religion, 1663),¹⁸⁴ a compendium on basic precepts on Christian Catechism.

¹⁸¹ For instance, it stated specifically that at the end of the Elementary learning (*Xiaoxue* 小學), begins the study of the Four Books, that leads to the Great learning (*Daxue* 大學); through this text, Master Zeng teaches how to cultivate themselves, regulate the family, and finally to bring order to the world and regulate the country “作大學，乃曾子自修齊，至平治”. See Yi Ming, *Sanzijing*, folio 9. Interestingly, after the Four Books, the next stage of the order of the study includes the “Six Classics”, but the author doesn't actually mention the Book of Music: “詩書易，禮春秋，號六經 (The Book of Poems, the Book of Documents, the Book of Changes, the Book of Rites, and the Spring and Autumn annals are called the Six Classics)”, see Yi Ming, *Sanzijing*, folio 10.

¹⁸² Xi, 2008, pp. 137 – 138. For this text I refer to the reproduction of the original text in *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Ming-Qing Tianzhujiao wenxian* 耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻 / Edited by Nicolas Standaert and Adrian Dudink, Taipei 2002, vol. 2 pp. 297 – 384.

¹⁸³ Bai, 2005, p. 27.

¹⁸⁴ Standaert Nicholas, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, 2001, p. 611.

b. *Baijia Xing* 百家姓¹⁸⁵

Dating back to the early Song dynasty, this text was composed before *Sanzi Jing* 三字經 and knew a wider popularity than *Qian zi wen* 千字文, mainly because of the simplicity and effectiveness of its content. The author is unknown, but scholars suggest that it might have been composed during the Song period, as the first surname featured in the text is Zhao 趙, the family name of the founders of the dynasty. However, according to the account of 12th century poet Lu You 陸游 (1125 – 1210), it appears that the primer was already in use as a textbook in Song village schools, (*Cunshu* 村書), but its diffusion might date back to the Tang dynasty.¹⁸⁶

It introduced over four hundred¹⁸⁷ traditional Chinese surnames, assembled in a four-character rhymed pattern, a structure that made the memorization a less tedious and more playful task, suitable for young children.¹⁸⁸ The surnames are not listed in order of popularity, but according to Song dynasty scholar Wang Mingqing 王明清 (1127 -?), the first four surnames represent the most important families in the empire at the time. Prior to *Baijia Xing* 百家姓, another systematic record of surnames from the Yellow Emperor¹⁸⁹ era to the Spring and Autumn period¹⁹⁰, known as *Shiben* 世本, had circulated until the Song dynasty, when it unfortunately went lost alongside its historical value.¹⁹¹ The unicity of this text was to combine linguistic and historical knowledge, as each character was connected to the history of a surname and therefore, a family. As suggested by Li Shiqi's study, *Baijia Xing* 百家姓 provided a multi-layered approach to the education, fulfilling a

¹⁸⁵ See the annotated edition in Li, *Baijia xing*, 2010, pp. 37 – 99.

¹⁸⁶ Bai, 2005, p. 25.

¹⁸⁷ The earliest editions listed four hundred and eleven surnames, which were later expanded to five hundred and four. Among these, four hundred and forty were single character names, sixty were double character names. See Tom, K.S., *Echoes from Old China: Life, Legends and Lore of the Middle Kingdom*, University of Hawaii Press, 1989.

¹⁸⁸ Li Shiqi 李士奇 “Qian xi ‘Baijia xing’de jiaoyu wenhua sixiang neihan 浅析《百家姓》的教育文化思想内涵” in *Wenshi* 文史, N.4, 2010, p. 75.

¹⁸⁹ One of the legendary Chinese sovereigns who, according to tradition, held power from 2697 to 2597 or 2698 to 2598 BC.

¹⁹⁰ Approximately 771 to 476 BC.

¹⁹¹ Li, 2010, p. 38.

number of didactic necessities of both the teacher and the pupils, who could appreciate it for its linguistic, historical, ethical, and even artistic value, as it also served as a material of practicing *shufa* 書法.¹⁹² From a moral perspective, the social depiction students gathered from the knowledge of every family's background improved their sense of responsibility towards society and belonging to a group, helping them to understand their place in the world.¹⁹³ The popularity of this primer is confirmed by the number of related studies, annotated and extended versions and translations it underwent in the Ming - Qing era, including the *Yuzhi Baijiaxing* 御制百家姓 (Hundred Family Names Compiled by the Emperor), personally written by the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (r. 1662-1722) and also translated into Manchu language.¹⁹⁴

c. *Qian zi wen* 千字文¹⁹⁵

The earliest among the orthodox primers, according to tradition, the *Qian zi wen* 千字文 was written by bureaucrat-scholar Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣 (?-521) of the Southern dynasties' period by order of Emperor Wu of Liang (*Liang Wu Di* 梁武帝 464–549) as a calligraphy textbook for his son.¹⁹⁶ The text was divided in seven chapters introducing one thousand *hanzi* 漢字 in rhymed form. In the spirit of developing the pupils' moral qualities alongside enhancing their reading skills, it collected a series of maxims conveying general precepts about cosmology, Chinese history, biographies of great personages, and Confucian moral precepts.¹⁹⁷ This text did not merely serve as a pedagogical tool, but it became a model for calligraphers, who appreciated its unique feature of non-repeating characters. Its circulation dates back to the Sui dynasty (581 – 614), which makes it the oldest and

¹⁹² Li, *ibid.*, p. 76.

¹⁹³ Li, *ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁹⁴ Jiaoyu da cidian bianzuan weiyuanhui 教育大辭典編纂委員會, "Baijiaxing 百家姓", in: *Jiaoyu da cidian* 教育大辭典, Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe 上海教育出版社, 1991 vol. 8, p. 210.

¹⁹⁵ I referred to two annotated editions: Li's *Qianzi wen*, 2010, pp. 99 – 133 and the manuscript edition by Xi Xixu, (no date or place of publication) available at Fudan University Library, section of ancient documents.

¹⁹⁶ It is, in fact, the only primer whose author's identity has been almost verified. The legend associated to the composition of the *Qian zi wen* 千字文 is told by Bai, 2005, p. 26. Li Yi'an 李逸安 *Sanzi jing, Baijia xing, Qianzi wen, Dizi gui*, 三字经, 百家姓, 千字文, 弟子规, Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 2010 p. 101.

¹⁹⁷ Menegon, 1993, p. 5.

most influential primer for elementary education, whereas its literary legacy went beyond Chinese borders, reaching Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. Among the thirty-two editions discovered in the Dunhuang 敦煌 caves, there are also two copies written in both Chinese and Tibetan, proof that the text served as a tool for basic bilingual education in Tibet.¹⁹⁸ To quote the words of the early Qing scholar Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613 – 1682): “*Qian zi wen* 千字文 did not only circulate because of its literary [value], but also for its excellence”.¹⁹⁹

Despite an attempt to replace this primer with a Neo-Confucian text entitled “The Primer on Human Nature and Principle” during Yuan dynasty,²⁰⁰ *Qian zi wen* 千字文 still enjoyed great appreciation throughout the centuries, as is confirmed by the analogous publications that every dynasty produced after Zhou’s work, such as *Fanyu Qianziwen* 梵語千字文 in the Tang dynasty, *Xu Qianwen* 續千文 and *Chongxu Qianwen* 重續千文 in the Song dynasty, *Jigu Qianwen* 稽固千文 in the Yuan dynasty (1279 – 1368), *Guang Yi Qianwen* 廣易千文 in the Ming dynasty (1368 – 1644) and *Xunmeng Qianziwen* 訓蒙千字文 in the Qing dynasty (1644 – 1912). As reported by Brockey, a version of the *Qian zi wen* 千字文 with romanizations and Latin translations of each character was printed in Fujian province in 1579, and might have been purchased by either Matteo Ricci or Michele Ruggieri (1543 – 1607) as a textbook for their Chinese language studies.²⁰¹

The aforementioned primers were part of the scholastic curriculum until they became the object of criticism from the movement for vernacular language (*Baihua* 白話) at the beginning of the 20th century, mainly because of their out-dated ideology and a certain degree of inherent difficulty of

¹⁹⁸ Bai, 2005, p. 26.

¹⁹⁹ “《千字文》不独以文传，而又以其巧传”，quoted by Li, *Sanzi jing*, 2010, p. 101.

²⁰⁰ As reported by the Keenan study, primers like the *Sanzi jing* 三字經 and *Baijia xing* 百家姓, contained concepts close to the Neo-Confucian thought, which made them suitable tools for pre-school education. Different was the case of *Qianzi wen* 千字文, which introduced some notions, especially about cosmogony, that did not comply with the mainstream ideology of the time, urging therefore to replace it with a more appropriate primer. See Keenan, Barry C., *Neo-Confucian Self-cultivation*, University of Hawai’i Press, 2011, p. 24.

²⁰¹ Although at that time the missionaries were still relegated in Macau, Brockey reminds of the commercial ties between Fujian province and Macau, suggesting that the book was shipped, like many other goods, via the Pearl River. See Brockey, Liam M., *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579 – 1724*, Harvard University Press, 2008, p. 249.

their content, which made them "Difficult to remember, and easy to forget". However, according to Brokaw and Reed's study, the "*San – Bai – Qian* 三百千" were still in use in the "parallel" educational institutions which blossomed in the rural areas of Republican China, in the late 1930s. In such areas, the distribution of school texts was not always possible, due to the unstable political situation. Therefore, an education based on the orthodox primers and on the Confucian Four Books was considered a more stable solution than using the materials "imposed by a distant and ineffective government, with contents largely irrelevant to daily life".²⁰²

As previously noted, the publication of material for the education of children (*Youmeng Jiaocai* 幼蒙教材) followed stable trends throughout Chinese history, reflecting the social and philosophical changes of the state, but was also effected by the low-priced and widespread printing system. Although Ming and Qing pedagogues provided a relevant contribution to the educational debate, it was again Song China that brought to life of the most influential work: Zhu Xi's *Xiaoxue* 小學 (Elementary education, 1187).

3.2 Zhu Xi and *Xiaoxue* 小學 (Elementary learning, 1187).

What the aforementioned wordbooks had in common was their purpose of providing children with functional literacy, namely the knowledge of written words and some general ethical precepts, before they moved on to the study of the Confucian Classics. However, it was with Neo-Confucianism that the education of children acquired a fresh perspective: the youngsters were seen as essential tools in the creation of an ideal society, and therefore their moral betterment through self-cultivation had to be fostered from an early age.

The scholar who committed his whole life to the improvement of the educational system, both academic and family-based, in order to "bring morality into power" is the founder of the School of Principle, and consolidator of Neo-Confucianism as a doctrine, 朱熹 Zhu Xi (1130 – 1200).²⁰³

²⁰² Brokaw, C. & Reed, C., *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, Circa 1800 to 2008*, Brill 2010 pp. 50-51.

²⁰³ The eminent philosopher's figure and ideology have been widely discussed and analysed through the centuries and are certainly the subject of a significant amount of related academic literature. For insights on his biography and thought in connection to his pedagogical writings see Chan Wing Tsit, *Chu Hsi. New Studies*, Hawaii, University of Hawaii Press, 1989; Ching Julia, *The Religious Thought of Zhu Xi*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000; Keenan, Barry C., *Neo-Confucian Self-cultivation*, Hawaii, University of Hawai'i Press, 2011; Angle, Stephen, "A productive dialogue: contemporary moral education and Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian ethics", in *Journal of Chinese philosophy*, N. 38, 2011, pp.

History remembers Zhu as a morally upright and academically brilliant scholar, who obtained his *jinshi* 進士 at the age of eighteen and spent most of his life promoting the thought of his predecessors Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, and Zhang Zai, alongside shaping generations of young scholars, by establishing a brand new system of academic institutions.²⁰⁴ However, Zhu's "struggle to connect morality to power" often resulted in a conflicting relationship with the political authority; although at the age of thirty-two, he was selected by Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1162 – 1189) to serve as a counsellor against the invasion of the Jurchen, in later years he refused several official posts, preferring to turn to academic life. Eventually, in 1194, Zhu's status as an accomplished scholar granted him a position at court, where he started to give lectures about the *Daxue* 大學, the main text on which Neo-Confucian self-cultivation was based. However, as a consequence of his allegations of corruption addressed to one of the imperial relatives, he was dismissed from his post, accused of "false learning" and retired again on the Wuyi 武夷 mountains, in Fujian province, where he died in poverty.²⁰⁵

Despite suffering many personal defeats, Zhu Xi undoubtedly left an impressive ideological influence: his name was rehabilitated even before the fall of the Song dynasty, while his writings, in particular the commentaries on the Confucian classics, became the required textbooks used in civil service examinations, beginning in the Yuan period.²⁰⁶ Among the over one hundred works that constitute Zhu Xi's literary legacy, pedagogical primers and treatises held a relevant position. In particular, the milestone that played a key role in laying the basis of children's self-cultivation until the educational reform of the 20th century, is his well-known *Xiaoxue* 小學 (Elementary learning).

According to Neo-Confucian tradition, before undertaking the study of the *Daxue* 大學, usually by the age of fifteen, pupils were required to acquire basic precepts on etiquette, focusing in particular

183 – 193; Chaffee, John "Chu Hsi and the Revival of the White Deer Grotto Academy, 1179-1181 A.D." in *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 71, Livr. 1/3, 1985 pp. 40-62.

²⁰⁴ Particularly relevant were his efforts to renovate the aforementioned White Deer Grotto Academy, along with another decaying institution, the Yuelu 岳麓 Academy, in Hunan province. It was thanks to Zhu's presence as a lecturer and efforts to create an innovative curriculum of studies aimed at developing personal moral growth, that such institutions regained their ancient glory. Furthermore, Zhu's righteous example led many graduates from the White Deer Grotto and the Yuelu Academy to open their own institutions, hence contributing to the spreading of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy and approach to the education. See Keenan, 2011, p. XXIX.

²⁰⁵ See Keenan, 2011, pp. XXVIII – XXIX.

²⁰⁶ See Keenan, 2011, p. XXIX; Ferrero, 1993, p. 111.

of human relations; only after this stage was completed, were they ready to understand the principle , ‘*Li* 理’, the core notion of Zhu’s philosophy:

“古者小學，教人以灑掃應對進退之節。愛親，敬長，隆師，親友之道。皆所以為修身，齊家，治國，平天下之本。 [The ancients’ elementary learning taught people matters such as sweeping, answering and greeting, and the sense of propriety; (it also taught) the righteous Way to love the parents, respect the elders, venerating teachers, and caring for friends. These are the basis for the self-cultivation, the regulation the family, the order of the country, and the peace in the world]”.²⁰⁷

According to Zhu, Confucian virtues already existed in nature; therefore, the only thing worth investigating to achieve knowledge was the principle. Virtues were in fact considered functional to keep human desires under control, but they could only be obtained as a result of the extension of knowledge.

As indicated by Chan, Zhu believed that a book on elementary education was part of the ancient Confucian classics, but it had been lost in the books burning during the Qin dynasty (221 – 206 BC). In order to retrieve this fundamental text for children’s self-cultivation, he entrusted a contemporary scholar and expert on pedagogy, Liu Qingzhi 刘清之 (1139 – 1195), to compile a modern version of this classic.²⁰⁸ From his study on the correspondence between the two scholars, it appears that they had been working on the project since at least 1183; however, prior to the final publication in the third month of 1187, Zhu wrote one of his pupil: “The *Xiaoxue* 小學 was not completed and was printed by Zi Cheng. I am now revising it for publication and should be finished momentarily.” Such words suggest that the Master was not entirely satisfied with Liu’s job, and therefore worked on a different edition of the text himself.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小学集注, 1886, folio 13.

²⁰⁸ Chan, 1989, pp. 384 – 385.

²⁰⁹ See Chan, *ibid.* pp. 385 – 386.

Zhu's efforts resulted in a collection of fair sayings and virtuous deeds from thirty-two source materials, ranging from high antiquity to Northern Song (960 – 1126) and divided into inner (*nei* 内) and outer (*wai* 外) sections.²¹⁰ The inner part included the following chapters:

1. *Establishment of institutions* (*Li Jiao* 立教);
2. *Clarification of Human Relations* (*Ming Lun* 明倫);
3. *Self-reverence*²¹¹ (*Jing Shen* 敬身);
4. *Examining antiquity* (*Ji Gu* 稽古);

In the outer part, Zhu specifically asked Liu to add two chapters concerning 5. *Fine words* (*Jia Yan* 嘉言) and 6. *Virtuous deeds* (*Shan Xing* 善行)²¹², which recorded many edifying examples of sages, beginning with the Han dynasty.



Xiaoxue 小學 Frontispiece of the Ming edition. Courtesy of Fudan University Library

From a structural standpoint, the *Xiaoxue* 小學 shows an interesting double perspective, ‘*Jiao* 教’ and ‘*Xue* 學’, which was also common to many classical and Renaissance pedagogical treatises. The first chapter was addressed to the figures responsible for education, namely the parents and the teachers, to whom it provided precepts to foster their own self-cultivation, alongside an overview on the methodologies of the ancient sages. As Zhu Xi explained under the title of the first chapter, “The aim [of education], is nothing else than clarifying human relations and [teaching] self-reverence. It begins with prenatal education, which is the basis of the

²¹⁰ The present study is based on the following edition of Zhu Xi's work: Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小学集注, (reprint) Qiushan Dong Shuju 秋山东书居, (1886). As for the translation of the section titles, I mostly referred to the eminent scholar Wing Tsit Chan's interpretation. Chan, 1989, p. 386.

²¹¹ In this case, I have readapted Chan's translation “seriousness about the person”, with the expression ‘Self-reverence’, which I believe serves as a better understanding to the concept of ‘*Jing* 敬’.

²¹² Chan, 1989, pp. 385.

instruction.”²¹³ This passage wholly reflected Zhu’s concept of elementary learning, which prioritized the practice of rituals over literary knowledge, at least at the beginning of the study. ‘Ritual’ had not to be understood as a formal ceremony, as it “covered multifarious social norms that govern how we interact with one another” and kept children away from moral danger, thus providing a model of upright behaviour.²¹⁴

From the second chapter, the pupil became the focus of the dissertation, and was introduced to the core precepts of the Neo-Confucian cultivation process: the five cardinal human relationships, theorized by Mencius, and the notion of self-reverence (*Jingshen* 敬身). The practice of self-reverence reflected the thought (*Xinshu* 心術), which rectified the individual on the inside, and the manners (*Weiyi* 威儀), which rectified the individual on the outside, and included precepts on clothing and eating.²¹⁵ According to Angle, ‘reverence’ was also the connecting point between *Xiaoxue* 小學 and *Daxue* 大學; its achievement is one of the main goals of the self-cultivation process, but its gradual development also played an essential role in the elementary learning. As expressed by Zhu himself, “only if [students] are taught to regard reverence as central and to discipline their bodies and minds will they be capable of making the proper effort [of investigating the principle].”²¹⁶

In the spirit of emphasising practice over theory, Zhu Xi also provided pupils with an effective model for moral conduct; the example of the past. In fact, Neo-Confucian pedagogy prescribed that children’s learning was not to be based much on the teacher’s knowledge, but rather on their interaction with the classical texts, a precept that made sages like Confucius, Mencius, or Zengzi the real instructors²¹⁷. In the last three chapters, children were confronted with an overwhelming

²¹³ “其大目不出乎立明伦之教，立敬身之教而已。篇首胎教一章，则教之本源也。” See Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小学集注, folio 21.

²¹⁴ Angle, 2011, p. 185.

²¹⁵ “敬身之目，其別有四。心術，威儀，衣服，飲食。心術正乎內，威儀正乎外，則敬身之大體得矣。(There are four different purposes of self-reverence: the thought, the manners, the clothing, and the diet. The thought rectifies the inside [of a person], manners rectify the outside [of a person]. Thus, the main principles of self-reverence are achieved”. See Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小学集注, folio 102.

²¹⁶ Angle, 2011, p. 188.

²¹⁷ Keenan, 2011, p. 24.

heritage, as they were introduced to maxims and deeds from eminent sages from the Shang (c. 1600 – 1046 BC) and Zhou dynasties (1100 – 221 BC), until the Han and the Northern Song era. Through such quotations, Zhu wished to demonstrate to young students that the ideas of ancient sages were not to be learnt by heart as a mere tool to succeed in the civil examination, but needed to become a “personal concern” and used as model for self-reverence and human relations.²¹⁸

Xiaoxue 小學 was reprinted in different annotated editions throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties, mainly to promote the Neo-Confucian doctrine. One of the most influential works was Ming scholar Cheng Xuan’s (1429 – 1486) *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小學集註 (Collected annotations of the *Xiaoxue*), designed as a textbook for village and community schools, and aimed at providing further explanations to the passages.²¹⁹

Despite the literary fortune of *Xiaoxue* 小學, many ancient and contemporary scholars have criticized the degree of difficulty of its language and content, especially in comparison to the “*San-bai-qian* 三-百-千” primers. For instance, Li Yian explicitly stated that such a text was not fit for elementary education, but it could instead be used by teachers and parents as a guidebook on pedagogical and ethical precepts.²²⁰ Chan argued instead that the degree of language difficulty was not that different from a text like *Sanzijing* 三字經, which children (including himself) began to read when they were five years old,²²¹ or other educational materials that were produced after the Song dynasty.²²² In fact, Zhu Xi’s concern about the clarity of the language appeared from the earliest stages of the making of the project. In one of the letters to Liu, reported by Chan, he stated:

²¹⁸ Angle, 2011, p. 185.

²¹⁹ Chan, 1989, pp. 387.

²²⁰ Li, 2010, p. 133.

²²¹ Chan, 1989, pp. 386.

²²² Li mentions two well-known Ming dynasty primers, Lü Kun 呂坤’s *Xiaoer yu* 小兒語 (Children’s speech) and *Xu xiaoer yu* 續小兒語 (Continuation of children’s speech). See Li, 2010, p. 133.

“[...] The account of ancient primers is excessive, and is, furthermore, obscure, rugged, and difficult to read. I am afraid that it is not material for beginners. In contrast, the feeling of ancient lyrical ballads and the poems of Du Fu²²³ are excellent, and many of them are worth having. When young students are induced to love to recite and it is easy to make an impression, it will be most beneficial.”²²⁴

The content of *Xiaoxue* 小學 was also attacked by Neo-Confucian thinker Li Gong 李塉 (1659 – 1733), who considered matters like the Way of Heaven, nature, and destiny unsuitable for children. However, as pointed out by Chan, there is no direct reference to such notions in the *Xiaoxue* 小學, other than an excerpt from the *Zhong Yong* 中庸. Instead, the text focused on children’s primary duties such as “sweeping, answering and greeting, and performing rituals”, which fully complied with Confucius’ teachings and were also dealt with by famous primers such as the *Sanzijing* 三字經, greatly appreciated by Neo-Confucian pedagogues.²²⁵

One last consideration concerns the importance Neo-Confucian education attached to the correct methodology for the study of *Xiaoxue* 小學 and the other primers. As suggested by Keenan, norms were age-specific. In the earliest stages of their learning, memorization and recitation were considered essential to internalize particular precepts, while as soon as they entered the stage of the great learning, students were required to demonstrate a higher degree of reflection and analysis.²²⁶ For centuries, however, the reference handbook for the students’ curriculum was the Yuan dynasty’s Cheng Duanli 程端禮’s (1271-1345) *Dushu fennian richeng* 讀書分年日程 (Daily Schedule of study). On the basis of Cheng’s programme, by the age of five, children were required to begin recitation by heart of the “*San-bai-qian* 三-百-千”, the three major literacy texts, in order to master around

²²³ The eminent poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712 – 770), of Confucian background, was one of the most relevant and prolific representative writers of Tang dynasty. Chang & Owen, *The Cambridge history of Chinese literature*, vol. 1, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 304-317.

²²⁴ Quoted by Chan, 1989, pp. 387.

²²⁵ Chan, 1989, pp. 387-388.

²²⁶ Keenan, 2011, p. 25.

two-thousand characters included in the primers.²²⁷ According to Chan, upon beginning school, pupils finally approached the study of *Xiaoxue* 小學, for which Cheng provided specific guidelines:

“Suppose one is to speak of the *Xiaoxue* 小學. First let the student generally explain each sentence. After he has understood Master Zhu’s basic annotations [...] let him explain the text with the aid of these clarifications of the terms and the meaning of the sentences. If the explanations don’t cover a certain term, let him find out from rhymed dictionaries, but do not make up anything or mislead him [...]”²²⁸

In this passage, it appears evident that a certain degree of independence was granted to the student, who played an active role in the learning process, whereas the teacher mainly acted as a guide. Despite this fact, accusations of an educational model that lacked creativity or didn’t leave too much space to individuality were not uncommon towards Zhu Xi, mostly due to the emphasis he put on the observation of a strict social etiquette.²²⁹ Similar characteristics can be observed in another famous primer by Zhu Xi, *Tongmeng Xuzhi* 童蒙須知 (What children should know). This text was addressed to young pupils of private schools, and therefore dealt with the stage that followed family-based education. However, it was based on the same premises as the *jiaxun* 家訓; the importance of every child’s natural disposition (*Zhi* 質), the necessity to acquire property in dressing, walking, and speaking and to foster righteous relations with the elders. Each of the five sections of the book introduced strict precepts the children had to obey in order to become “modest and respectful young boys, who knew how to obey rules”.²³⁰ However, as pointed out by Xiong, Zhu’s continuous exhortation to respecting the hierarchy, not criticizing the elders and not speaking too much in their presence did not imply blind trust. Zhu, in fact, while urging children to follow the ‘*Dao* 道’, required them to be able to recognize evil teachings and behaviours and to dismiss them.

²²⁷ Keenan, 2011, p. 23.

²²⁸ Quoted by Chan, 1989, p. 387 [adapted].

²²⁹ Xiong, 2008, p. 274.

²³⁰ Xiong, 2008, p. 273.

A degree of maturity and seriousness was nevertheless an undeniable component of Zhu Xi's, as well as Neo-Confucian, education; children were treated as "adults in training", whose ideal fulfilment was to put their morality at society's service. To conclude, unlike European classical and Renaissance pedagogy, games and leisure activities were mainly seen as a distraction from the learning process, and not as a way to restore the children's mind:

“凡子弟需要早起晏眠。凡喧哄爭鬥之處不可近。無益之事不可為，謂如賭博，籠養，打球，踢球，放風禽等事。

[Children must wake up early and sleep late and should keep noisy or quarrelsome places at a distance. They shall not engage in unprofitable matters, such as gambling, raising animals, playing ball games, kicking balls, and flying kites]”. Zhu Xi, *Tongmeng Xuzhi* 童蒙須知, chap. 5.²³¹

“Danda est tamen omnibus aliqua remissio; non solum quia nulla res est, quae perferre possit continuum laborem, atque ea quoque, quae sensu at anima carent, ut servare vim suam possint, velut quiete alterna retenduntur; sed quod studium discendi voluntate, quae cogi non potest, constat.

[Still, all our pupils will require some relaxation, not merely because there is nothing in this world that can stand continued strain and even unthinking and inanimate objects are unable to maintain their strength unless given intervals of rest, but because study depends on the good will of the student, a quality that cannot be secured by compulsion]”. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, I, 3. 8-9.²³²

3.3 The educational debate in late Ming China

After the consolidation of its political power, the next step of the Ming leadership was the formal recognition of the state doctrine. In 1415, an imperial decree reporting the official Neo-Confucian interpretation of the Four Books and Five Classics was issued, setting new standards for the civil service examination.²³³ The competition around government careers increased greatly

²³¹ Zhu Xi, *Zhu Zi Quan Shu* 朱子全書, 2010, vol. 13 pp. 375 – 376.

²³² Quintiliano M.F., *Istituzione Oratoria*, prefazione, traduzione e note di Orazio Frilli, Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli editore, 1972, p. 48.

²³³ Keenan, 2011, p. 75.

among young scholars, also becoming the new focus of Ming China's pedagogy. As family expectations started to rotate around children achieving such prestigious positions, home-based education also began to follow new standards. Pupils were considered a tool for the affirmation of family prestige, and therefore, their interests and personal inclinations became secondary to the parents' desire for them to be successful.²³⁴ According to Xiong's research, in order to give an early start to the children's learning and to provide a solid basis to their future, before enrolling in one of the private schools (*Shu* 塾), parents liked to initiate them to some basic knowledge, such as learning characters, verses, and so forth.²³⁵

Nevertheless, Ming China still attached great importance to the school system. Academies had been officially recognized by Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398) in 1368, and named the founding legislative institutions of Chinese society.²³⁶ This, however, did not imply and improve their educational quality. As suggested by Menegon, government-run schools were turned into registration and testing centres, where students were barely initiated to the Confucian Four Books while neglecting, for instance, the Five Classics.²³⁷ The focus on politics and practical studies was also a feature of Ming Dynasty institutions; their curricula ranged from political philosophy, administration, and laws, to the so-called "Six Arts", which included music and military exercises.²³⁸ Such reasons lead scholars, who were looking for moral betterment, or were escaping from the increasing grip of the government on those who did not fully comply with the official doctrine, to enrol in private academies, just as had happened at Zhu Xi's time. These were still regulated by his *Articles of Instruction for the White Deer Grotto academy*,²³⁹ which aided pupils in the acquisition of social propriety, while leading them to the investigation of principles and the extension of knowledge. As for the self-cultivation with Ming characteristics, it stressed the

²³⁴ Xiong, 2008, p. 100.

²³⁵ Xiong, 2008, p. 101.

²³⁶ Menegon, 1993, p. 7.

²³⁷ Menegon, *ibid.*, p. 7.

²³⁸ Menegon, *ibid.*, p. 8.

²³⁹ See chapter 2.2 of the present volume.

importance of moral perfection over the compliance with rites, detaching therefore from Confucius' original thought.

However, as a widespread dissatisfaction for the corruption of the government and the officials' morality grew, suspicions regarding the educational methods, in particular Song period Neo-Confucianism, began to arise. Among the scholars who were more active in criticizing the Song approach to pedagogy and formulated alternative self-cultivation techniques, the most representative figure in Ming China was Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472 – 1529), founder of the so-called School of Mind, “*Xinxue* 心學”.²⁴⁰

The main point of discordance between Wang and Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucianism concerned the identification of the origin of all beings with the principle (*Li* 理), which Wang instead considered a part of the mind (*Xin* 心). He also criticized Zhu's interpretation of the self-cultivation (*Xiushen* 修身) steps described in the *Daxue* 大學 - in Wang's opinion, Zhu's order of the cultivation process did not emphasize human intention, action, or the extension of intuitive knowledge ‘*Liangzhi* 良知’.

²⁴¹ The latter was the most innovative element of Ming China's Neo-Confucianism. It defined goodness in people, thus reflecting Mencius' opinion that “human beings are born with built-in capacities to be good”, and surpassing the role Zhu Xi attached to the understanding of principle as a means of pursuing goodness.²⁴² As knowledge and morality coexisted in the mind, Wang's theories seemed to outperform the self-cultivation as means of education, paving the way to alternative pedagogical methodologies. Furthermore, as Wang looked to the contemporary academic system, he found that obsolete learning methods such as memorization and recitation were affecting intuitive knowledge in a negative way, thus contributing to the creation of an unworthy class of officials.²⁴³

Despite openly opposing the School of Principle and its doctrine, Wang's theories on elementary learning shared Zhu's same emphasis on the teaching of ritual propriety and the five cardinal human

²⁴⁰ A Zhejiang-born philosopher and official, Wang Shouren 王守仁 (courtesy name Yangming 陽明) was the main theorizer of a new system of moral cultivation that focused on the mind (*xin* 心) being a powerful, all-embracing entity, including Zhu Xi's principle. For further insights on his life and philosophy, see Goodrich & Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, Vol. 2, Columbia University Press, 1976, pp. 1408 – 1416.

²⁴¹ Keenan, 2011, p. 77.

²⁴² Keenan, *ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁴³ Keenan, *ibid.*, p. 76.

relationships in the early stages of the education. However, the innovative trait of his pedagogy consisted in encouraging the free development of children's original nature. To quote his own words:

“Like plants, beginning to sprout, if [children] are allowed to grow freely, they will develop smoothly. If twisted and interfered with, they will whiter and decline. [...] In recent generations, the teachers of youngsters merely supervise them every day as they recite phrases and sentences and imitate civil service examination papers. They stress restraint and discipline instead of directing their pupils in the practice of propriety. [...] The youngsters look upon their school as a prison and refuse to enter”.²⁴⁴

In regards to the necessity to guide and control the youngsters' personal growth, Wang Yangming and Zhu Xi's pedagogical approaches could not be more distant. However, recent studies on the Song scholar's preface to the *Zhongyong* 中庸, highlighted new interpretations on Zhu's concept of mind. According to Gardner's reading of the text, the mind is one, but such a concept needs to distinguish a 'human mind' made of impure, psychophysical energy (*Qi* 氣) that need to be controlled, from an 'ontological mind', the moral component men are bestowed upon at birth, that needs to be preserved.²⁴⁵ The cultivation of the mind allows men “to realize the good nature endowed to us at birth, and thereby act just as we should in all life's situations”.²⁴⁶ In conclusion, while highlighting the role Zhu attached to the mind in fulfilling the social and political realization of the individual, Gardner also implies that the two philosophical systems (Zhu's and Wang's) were not so distant as they were thought to be.

Despite his valuable contribution to Ming China's academic and intellectual life and the inspirational drive of his ideas on young minds in particular, Wang's doctrine never posed a serious challenge to Cheng-Zhu's philosophical establishment, which was kept in place throughout the three main centralized bureaucratic states: Yuan, Ming, and Qing. Wang's influence on many reformers of the 17th century is also undeniable, alongside his contribution in turning the academies

²⁴⁴ Quoted in Menegon, 1993, pp. 8-9.

²⁴⁵ Gardner K. Daniel, “Transmitting the Way: Chu Hsi and his program of learning” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 1, 1989, p. 170.

²⁴⁶ Gardner, 1989, p. 171.

into politically active centres. However, discordant voices in reaction to the School of Mind and its subjective approach to the learning also arose. Among these, the *Donglin* Party (*Donglin dang* 東林黨) was surely the most authoritative and influential at the beginning of the 17th century. This was a Neo-Confucian academy, structured in a similar fashion to those that blossomed during Song dynasty. It was regulated by a set of rules inspired by the Confucian classics and held regular meetings focused at discussing various political and philosophical matters.²⁴⁷ The members of the *Donglin* party strongly rejected the individualistic deviation of some of Wang Yangming and his followers' theories, alongside the influence of Buddhism on contemporary society while urging a return to Zhu Xi's precept of "developing extensive knowledge through the investigation of things" as the only method of self-cultivation.²⁴⁸ The '*Li* 理 (principle)' also regained centrality in the understanding of Confucian classics and as the ultimate goal of knowledge. The objective approach to morality of the *Donglin* members, alongside their return to the direct interpretation of the Confucian classics, well suited the "Christian view of strictly objective and external ethical principles".²⁴⁹ A shared view on moral systems was probably one of the reasons that brought some members of the *Donglin* party close to Ming China Jesuits. As pointed out by Ferrero, the statement "some of the best friends of the missionaries belonged to the *Donglin* party, and those who opposed the *Donglin* were also opposing the missionaries",²⁵⁰ is the best way to summarise the relations between the two groups. As further proof of the binding connection between the Jesuits and the *Donglin* party is the fact that the so-called "three pillars of Chinese Catholicism" Xu Guangqi 徐光

²⁴⁷ Ferrero, 2003, p. 121.

²⁴⁸ Ferrero, *ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁴⁹ Standaert, 2001, p. 655.

²⁵⁰ Ferrero, 2003, p. 122. During Ming China, the rivalry between members of the *Donglin* party and officials belonging to the *Hanlin* academy (*Hanlin Yuan* 翰林院), an institution subjected to the central government that dated back to the Tang dynasty, became particularly sharp. Political and ideological clashes between these two factions often ended up affecting the Jesuits' life also, especially in the first decade of the 17th century, when the Nanjing Incident was launched by the Deputy Minister of Rites in the area, who was also a member of the *Hanlin* academy, and resulted in Vagnone's exile to Macau. Around the same period, as a consequence of increasing influence of the *Hanlin* members in the government, the *Donglin* party was put in a bad light, and many projects they coordinated with the Jesuits, like the establishment of a translation office at court, also reached a sudden stop. See Dong Shaoxin, "Fede religiosa ed ideali politici di Xu Guangqi alla luce della persecuzione di Nanchino", in E. Giunipero, *Un cristiano alla corte dei Ming: Xu Guangqi e il dialogo interculturale tra Cina e Occidente*, Guerini e Associati, 2013, p. 166.

啟 (1562 – 1633), Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565 – 1630) and Yang Tingyun (杨廷筠, 1557–1627) were also connected with this institution.²⁵¹

In conclusion, although pedagogy has been a philosophical issue since pre-Qin China, a systematic theorization of the main stages and methodologies of the education of children was only achieved during the Song dynasty, thanks to the contribution of Neo-Confucianism and Zhu Xi in particular. The process of self-cultivation that youngsters had to undertake from the age of five seemed to stress their social role in society over the emotional components, a feature that can be associated with the goal of Greek *paideia*, also aimed at fostering both political and contemplative life at the same time. The main agents of the education were mostly the fathers and the teachers: the first served as a main model in the home-based instruction, whereas the latter also acted as a guide in the study of primers and classical texts. A common trait between most interpretations of Confucian (and Neo-Confucian) pedagogy was the contribution of such works (especially the Four Books and Five Classics) in both pre-school and academic education. They provided edifying examples of ancient sages that helped children and young men to acquire ritual propriety, and eventually fostered that moral excellence they needed to become outstanding members of society. Despite several attempts to challenge the established philosophical system between the 16th and 17th century, “a philologically corrected Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy”²⁵² remained the official state doctrine until the beginning of the 19th century and therefore also the cultural framework the Jesuits were forced to engage with.

²⁵¹ Ferrero, 2003, p. 122.

²⁵² Keenan, 2011, p. 78.

Part 3: *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育: the “exotic flower in the garden of Chinese pedagogic treatises”²⁵³

Chapter 4: The making of Tongyou Jiaoyu 童幼教育: a 17 years long journey.

From the moment of his arrival in Nanjing in 1605, Vagnone showed great commitment to learning “the language and culture of China”,²⁵⁴ under the supervision of Joao da Rocha S.J. (1566-1623), and achieved great results. His language proficiency, along with the rich cultural background that the traditional education system of the Jesuits provided him, made Vagnone one of the most prolific humanistic writers of the time in the Chinese language.

He considered the written language the most effective means to convey messages to a broader audience and, according to Sforza’s account, “knew no other rest than the act of writing”. Such works were his way of indirectly promoting Christianity and “satisfying the natural curiosity of the Chinese people, who were always eager to learn. [To achieve this goal] he adapted Western knowledge to their way of thinking.”²⁵⁵

As for the treatise *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, it belongs to the tradition of “books on ethical subjects (*Yili zhi xue zhi shu* 義理之學之書)”: ethics and moral philosophy were in fact considered by Vagnone the most suitable means “to penetrate the pagans’ souls” and to provide “an indirect apology of Christian religion”.²⁵⁶ As a former professor of rhetoric and philosophy during his

²⁵³ Quoted from Xiao Lang 肖朗 “Tongyou Jiaoyu yu Ming Qing zhi ji Xifang ertong jiaoyu sixiang de daoru 童幼教育与明清之际西方儿童教育思想的导入” in *Zhejiang Daxue Xuebao* 浙江大学学报, 2005 N.5, p.88.

²⁵⁴ Ricci Matteo, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, Libri Scheiwiller, 1983, p. 409.

²⁵⁵ Sforza Carlo, “Un missionario e sinologo piemontese in Cina nel secolo XVII”, *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, 1906, N. 42, pp. 349 – 358 (translated by the author).

²⁵⁶ Margiotti Fortunato *Il cattolismo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, Roma: Edizioni Sinica Franciscana, 1958, p. 270.

formative years at the Jesuit Colleges of Turin and Brera,²⁵⁷ Vagnone possessed the theoretical expertise to contribute to the introduction of the European “study of morals”, and therefore left the dissertation of scientific subjects to his confrères. Such commitment is clearly stated in the introduction to his famous ethical work *Xiushen xixue* 修身西學 (On the self-cultivation in the West): “二三友陳性理之學, 余進而述義禮之學焉。 (Two or three of my confrères talk about the study of nature and principles, - here probably intended as natural philosophy,²⁵⁸ I will therefore further describe the study of morals)”.²⁵⁹

The dichotomy “natural philosophy” versus “moral philosophy” also influenced the two sections division of Li Zhizao 李之藻’s *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函 (First collection of writings of Heavenly learning, 1626). Li’s work was the earliest collection of writings composed by missionaries in collaboration with Chinese literati. These books, the earliest result of the massive translation project undertaken by the Jesuits after Matteo Ricci’s death in 1610, were classified under the category of ‘*Li* 理 (principle)’, which included works on philosophy and general culture, and the category of ‘*Qi* 器 (instrument)’, which was comprised of scientific and technical subjects.²⁶⁰ According to Menegon’s research (1993), this work was the very first attempt after Ricci’s death to create a

²⁵⁷ In particular, Vagnone’s philosophical studies included: Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, Plutarch’s moral works, Cicero, Seneca and Horace’s main works. “Catalogo del 1592, informazioni su Alfonsus Vagnone”, ARSI, Jap.Sin., folio 24.

²⁵⁸ The *Grand Ricci, dictionnaire de la langue chinoise* describes ‘*Xingli xue* 性理學’ as “Philosophy of human nature and principles”. (Confucian philosophy appeared during the Song dynasty based on the relationship between human nature and that of the Sky and Earth), p. 1187. However, Vagnone’s use of the concept ‘*Xingli zhi xue* 性理之學’ in this passage requires a different interpretation. The author’s intent is in fact to make a comparison between the two mainstream topics of the Jesuit writings and the two branches by which the knowledge in early modern Europe was divided. He translates the Aristotelian concept of natural philosophy as ‘*Xingli zhi Xue* 性理之學’ and moral philosophy as ‘*Yili zhi xue* 義理之學’. As Standaert suggests: “Most of the Jesuits’ late Ming writings relevant to science pertained to natural philosophy (or physica) and mathematics: both topics were part of philosophy”. Standaert Nicolas, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol 1, Brill 2001, p. 690. Therefore, the concept of *Xingli zhi xue* 性理之學’ in this passage transcends, in my opinion, Zhu Xi’s notion of “human nature” to embrace a more universal connotation. Such a translation choice aims to find a connection between the neo-Confucian and Aristotelian definition of knowledge.

²⁵⁹ Quoted by Xiao 2005, p.88.

²⁶⁰ For an exhaustive dissertation of *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函 see: Engelfriet P. M., *Euclid in China: The Genesis of the First Chinese Translation of Euclid’s Elements in 1607 and its reception up to 1723*, Brill, 1998 p. 86; Standaert, 2001 pp. 602-603; 698. As the product of the very first stage of the Jesuit China mission and their introduction of Heavenly learning to the country, Li’s collection of works completely lacked religious texts, as the readers were probably not ready to accept their message.

curriculum for a new kind of education, which aimed to combine both self-cultivation and technical knowledge²⁶¹. Although the collection *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函 does not include any of Vagnone's literary works, studies on the Jesuit's biography show that in the same years he had already started working on most of his ethical and religious books.²⁶²

4.1 Existing copies of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育

Among the modern scholars who rediscovered and attached the deserved importance to Vagnone's pedagogical treatise, prof. Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯's (1840 – 1939) merit is unquestionable. In the presentation of the book he wrote in 1919, prof. Ma highlighted the significance of the treatise as a tool to “save the country through the education” and mentioned four reprinted copies, along with a manuscript edition of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育.²⁶³ A few decades later, the Jesuit scholar Henri Bernard undertook a thorough research on the Western books adapted in Chinese language by late Ming – early Qing Jesuits, which was based on various lists of publications in the China mission, between the 17th and 18th centuries. His study revealed that the earliest draft of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was completed around 1628 and confirmed the existence of three different wood printed editions, preserved at the Biblioteque Nationale de France (BnF, Courant: 3389 – 3392).²⁶⁴ The three copies bare no date or signature, but were classified on the basis of their physical

²⁶¹ Menegon Eugenio, *Neo-Confucian education and Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: Chinese and Western Pedagogy in Ming China*, MNS Ricci Institute, San Francisco, 1993, p. 17.

²⁶² During his exile in Macau, between 1618 and 1624, Vagnone taught theology, philosophy and Chinese language at the Jesuit St. Paul's College, and started writing most of his works in Chinese, among which was *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育. See Pfister Louis *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773 / par le P. Louis Pfister S.J.*, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1976 and Xiao, 2005, p.86.

²⁶³ “陈君援庵春初已付重刊，刊成辄尽，至再至三，今且四版矣。及闻有童幼教育抄本，以其引用最多，故又亟索另抄，以便加入……所惜徐汇书楼[...] (Mr. Chen Yuan'an [courtesy name of Chen Yuan 陈垣 1880 – 1971, scholar and former president of Furen 輔仁 University in Taipei] reprinted it at the beginning of the year [1919]; this text is quite complete, bringing the existing copies to four. There is also a manuscript edition of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, which is the most quoted and has been therefore copied again in order to be added to the precious collection of the Xujiahui library)”. See, Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯, “*Tongyou Jiaoyu ba* 童幼教育跋”, in V.A. *Shulin oushi: Ma Xiangbo xiansheng yiwen chao* 书林偶拾:马相伯先生遗文抄, Shanghai, Shangzhi bianyiguan guankan, 上智编译馆馆刊, 1948 issue n. 6, p.247.

²⁶⁴ Bernard Henri, “Les adaptations chinoises d'ouvrages européens: Bibliographie chronologique depuis la venue des Portugais a Canton jusqu'à la Mission Française de Pékin”, in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. X, p. 342. See also Courant Maurice, *Catalogue des livres chinois de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Paris, 1902, 3389 – 3392.

characteristics: the first two (3389 – 3390), the smallest, appear to be duplicates of the same copy and feature the same seal of all the other existing editions. As for the last two versions preserved at BnF, I could only rely on the indications provided by the digital catalogue of the library, which reports the 3391 as the largest of the three editions, and the 3392 as incomplete.²⁶⁵ During my research period, I was able to physically access and to compare five printed editions and three manuscripts. Of the five printed copies, one is preserved at ARSI,²⁶⁶ one was available in the online catalogue of BnF (Courant 3389) and three are part of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana's (BAV) collection.²⁶⁷ As for the three manuscripts, one is included in the recent collection *Chinese Christian Texts from the Zikawei Library*²⁶⁸ and bears no seal, the other two duplicate copies are also preserved at BAV.²⁶⁹ The intertextual analysis I ran crosschecking these works, allowed me to acknowledge the existence of two different editions: one is the manuscript, whose content is also consistent with one of the BAV printed editions (R.G. Oriente III 289.1), the other is an early reprint of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, which can be surely dated back during Ming Dynasty. This supposition is in fact confirmed by a specific sentence that appears in chapter 5 of the second volume, *Xixue* 西學:

“所取而助大明之學 ([...] perhaps there is something that can improve or help the learning [system] of the Great Ming dynasty).²⁷⁰

In three of the printed editions, Courant 3389 (BnF), R.G. Oriente III 212.3 and R.G. Oriente III 286.10 (BAV) among the characters that are corrected or changed in red, the name ‘*Da Ming* 大明’ was modified into ‘*Da Guo* 大國’, suggesting further editing to this version after 1644. In addition

²⁶⁵ See Département des manuscrits Chinois: <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/cdc.html>. See also Courant, 1902, 3391-3392.

²⁶⁶ Vagnone Alfonso, “*Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (De Ludo Litterario)” in ARSI, Jap.Sin.II.54 ff.0-43, only the first volume, the second volume is missing.

²⁶⁷ See *De Juventutis recta institutiones p. Alphonsum Vagnonum*, in BAV R.G. Oriente III 212.3 and R.G. Oriente III 286.10 (duplicate). R.G. Oriente III 289.1, although indicated as “duplicate of 58.1 (R.G. Oriente III 212.3)”, is consistent with the two manuscript editions: Borg.Cin. 334.5 and 6.

²⁶⁸ Vagnone Alfonso “*Tongyou Jiaoyu er juan* 童幼教育 二卷 / 高一志撰 (c.1632)” in *Chinese Christian Texts from the Zikawei Library*. Fujen Catholic University. Taipei, 1996, volume 1, pp. 239 – 422.

²⁶⁹ See BAV, Borg.Cin. 334.5 and 6.

²⁷⁰ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5, p. 370.

to these few corrections, the BnF printed edition also shows signs of intervention in the punctuation, alongside a handwriting in *caoshu* 草書 style, which most likely belong to a reader.²⁷¹

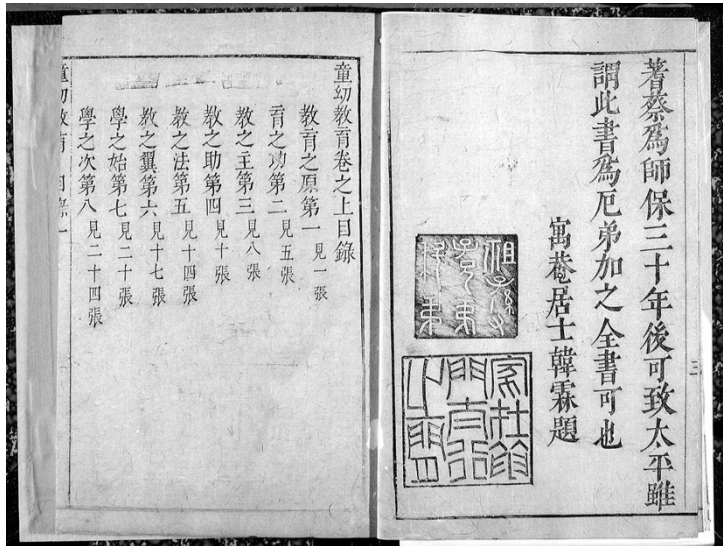


Table of Contents of the ARSI printed edition (digitalized copy). Courtesy of ARSI

With the exception of rare corrections on characters, the aforementioned printed versions show an overall structural consistency with the original manuscript, which was included in the collection of Ming-Qing Christian texts of the Xujiahui library. The library was founded in 1847 by three Jesuit missionaries Claude Gotteland (1803-1856), the head of the mission, Francois Esteve (1804-1848), and Benjamin Brueyre (1808-1880), arrived in Shanghai

five years before. When in the early Fifties the Library was confiscated, two hundred and fifty-six items of the Bibliotheca Major were transferred to the Philippines, and shortly after (c.1961) to the library of the Jesuit Theologate at Furen University 輔仁大學 (Taipei). Among the pre-1800 works was the manuscript version of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育.²⁷² According to Ma's aforementioned study, the copy of Vagnone's treatise was preserved at the Li Yun book hall (*Li Yun Shushi* 勵耘書室), before being published by its responsible.²⁷³ In 1996, the manuscript, alongside thirty-six Jesuit

²⁷¹ The note is posted on the second page of chapter 4 (volume 1), *Jiao zhi zhu* 教之助 (Aid in Education), which dealt with the teacher's contribution to the child's instruction. Due to the writing style, the decodification of the note was quite a hard task, which I was only able to solve thanks the kind assistance of prof. Xu Weiping 許維萍 (Tamkang University, Taiwan), to whom I am truly grateful. It appears to be a comment to the teaching methods presented by Vagnone: “賢師之善教其弟何？莫非賢父之善全其恩，善成其子，所可之視之邪？(Why should a wise teacher deliver this kind of education to his pupil? Isn't rather than in this way [the teacher] can retain the favour of an unwise father [in the child's eye], [take the merit of] completing his instruction by being emulated?)”. Although the identification of the characters is not entirely clear at this stage, given the content of the specific chapter, the reader's questioning on a possible conflict in the father-teacher intervention of the child's education seems to be quite pertinent.

²⁷² For further information on the Zikawei collection at Furen University see Dudink Adrian, “The Zikawei (徐家匯) collection in the Jesuit Theologate Library at Furen University (Taiwan): Background and draft catalogue” in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, issue XVIII, 1996, pp. 1-41.

²⁷³ See Ma, 1948, p.247.

works on religion and philosophy composed between the late Ming and early Qing period, were included in the Furen Xujiahui collection of Chinese Christian texts, and made available to the academic world for further research.²⁷⁴

4.2 Vagnone's reasons to write about pedagogy

It would be legitimate at this stage to investigate the elements that influenced Vagnone's decision to write about pedagogy and how did the topic relate to the Jesuits' goal of opening China's gates to European knowledge, and therefore to Christianity.

In order to answer such questions, a number of cultural and practical factors must be taken into account: first of all, the Jesuits' missionary intent, which was of course the spreading of a Christian message to the broadest possible audience. In order to fulfil this goal, they made use of a strategic deployment of Western pagan philosophy combined with classical Chinese philosophy, as preparation for the introduction of Christianity. This was consistent with the Jesuits' humanistic education model, which included certain trends in European Classical philosophy, such as Stoicism, propaedeutic for religious studies.²⁷⁵ In pedagogy, Vagnone probably saw a common subject that could bring European and Chinese culture closer together, and one which could reach out to a broader range of readers. The same criterion had probably inspired Matteo Ricci when composing his *Jiaoyou Lun* 交友論 (On friendship), in 1595.²⁷⁶ *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 can in fact be considered the oldest proof of a Sino- Western exchange in the field of the education of children.

Vagnone's interest in pedagogy most definitely relates to his cultural heritage: Renaissance Italy. The fifteenth century was not only the peak of Renaissance culture, but is also considered the Golden Age of Italian pedagogy. After the ideological oppression and impending *armageddon* which characterised most of the Middle Age, the educated man of the Renaissance retained a new dignity. The blossoming of notable schools, alongside teachers' increased status, put a new emphasis on the

²⁷⁴ In particular, the majority of the studies on *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, including the present work, are based on the manuscript edition included in the aforementioned collection edited by Standaert, Dudink, Huang Yilong and Chu Ping, see p. 85, footnote 268.

²⁷⁵ Standaert Nicolas, "The transmission of Renaissance culture in 17th century China", in *Renaissance Studies*, 2003 Vol. 17 No. 3, p. 10.

²⁷⁶ Hosne Ana Carolina "Friendship among Literati. Matteo Ricci SJ (1552–1610) in late Ming China" in *Transcultural Studies*, 2014 N. 1, p. 195.

process of learning and education. From a literary perspective, this new wave of interest resulted in the publication of an incredible number of books, treatises and letters aimed at outlining the main stages of the education and the main duties of pupils and instructors. Such a process was set in motion by two main literary events: the translation of pseudo-Plutarch *Peri paidon agoges* περί παιδων ἀγωγῆς (On the education of Children) by Guarino from Verona, published in 1411, and the discovery of the complete text by Quintilian at St. Gall in 1416 (1374–1460).²⁷⁷ Humanists appreciated the moral value of these authors and saw in these works the highest standard Classical education could offer, starting to quote them directly and indirectly, alongside Cicero.²⁷⁸ In particular, Guarino's translation turned out to be a source of inspiration for many pedagogues of the time. These authors included Maffeo Vegio (1407 – 1458),²⁷⁹ who used Plutarch's treatise as a source material for his book *De Educatione Liberorum et eorum claribus moribus* (On the Education of children and their bright manners, published in 1491). Walburg (1933), who ran an in-depth study on Vegio's treatise, states that he “made use of this [Plutarch's] work not only by adopting its sentiments as the others [did], but seems almost to have taken it as a framework, which he has strengthened and filled in by citing still further from ancient writers, enforced by the authority of the Holy Scriptures and the Church Fathers [...]”.²⁸⁰ As a man of the Renaissance, born, raised and academically formed in that particular cultural context, Vagnone could not have been untouched by its turmoil and must had access to these important pedagogic publications, either at the library of the College of Brera or through quotations collected in common-place books.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ Walburg Fanning Marie, *Maphei Vegii Laudensis De Educatione Liberorum et eorum claribus moribus, Libri Sex*, a critical text of Books I – III, Ph.D. dissertation, the Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., 1933, pp. XVI – XVII.

²⁷⁸ Caramello C., Zandrino U., *Plutarco di Cheronea, L'Educazione dei Figli. Come si deve ascoltare*. Torino, Paravia, 1970, p. 10.

²⁷⁹ An in-depth study of Vegio's life and pedagogical work is the subject of Walburg and Stanislaus' Ph.D. dissertations: see Walburg, 1933 and Stanislaus Sullivan Anne, *Maphei Vegii Laudensis De Educatione Liberorum et eorum claribus moribus, Libri Sex*, a critical text of Books IV –VI, Ph.D. dissertation, the Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., 1936.

²⁸⁰ Walburg, 1933, p. XVII.

²⁸¹ The so-called *locorum communorum libri*, appeared as a consequence of the development of new printing techniques in the Renaissance and collected a great number of material on specific subjects, which was arranged in a form that made the consultation and the memorization of particular passages an easier task. See Li, Sher-shiueh / Meynard, Thierry, *Jesuit Chreia in Late Ming China. Two Studies with an Annotated Translation of Alfonso Vagnone's Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, Euro-sinica: 14. Peter Lang, Bern, 2014, p. 104.

However, late Ming China was also a fertile environment for the introduction of a new model of pedagogy that could improve and complete the existing one. The educational debate of 16th-17th century China was animated by the two different approaches of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1030–1100), who set the main rules of child education based on the cultivation of the five cardinal human relationships with strict etiquette, and the almost contemporary Wang Yangming 王阳明 (1472–1529), who instead suggested following the child's personal inclinations in the process of education.²⁸² As for Vagnone's commitment to pedagogy, it is reasonable to consider his residence at the Jesuit St. Paul's College in Macau (1618–1624) as the stage that germinated his interest. Education had traditionally played a crucial role among the pastoral duties of the Jesuits, both in Europe and in their missions overseas,²⁸³ and the Portuguese colony was no exception. Built at the end of the 16th century as a base where newcomers were initiated into the Chinese language and then allocated to different missions in mainland China, in 1565 St. Paul's College came to include a school for the elementary instruction of the children of Macau residents, along with their servants. This move was "in the spirit of social and racial integration, which was already a mark of the Portuguese expansion into the Far East".²⁸⁴

Over the following two decades the educational mission of the College underwent continuous improvements, thanks to the foresight of the appointed Visitor of missions in the Indies, Alessandro Valignano (1539 – 1606). Under his supervision, both the Jesuit College and the School improved their curriculum, which eventually came to resemble the structural organisation of the *Ratio Studiorum* (1599). As reported by Xiao, in 1594, the College and School were structured as follows: the children's section, which focused on the teaching of reading and writing; the missionaries and seminarians section, which included the study of grammar, humanities and ethics. Only four years after, in 1594, the annual journal of the College also listed Latin, theology, philosophy, rhetoric and Loyola's spiritual exercises.²⁸⁵ The increasing popularity both the school and the college, also

²⁸² Menegon, 1993, p. 8.

²⁸³ Gomes do Santos, D.M. "Macau the First Western University in the Far East", in *Review of Culture* No. 21, 1994, p.8.

²⁸⁴ V.A., "Jesuits in Macau – 450 years" in *Chinese province news*, 2012, pp. 6-7.

²⁸⁵ Xiao, 2005, pp. 85-86.

considered “the first university in East Asia”²⁸⁶ gained within the local community is confirmed by Yang’s study (2003): according to her data, in that period over 200 students were enrolled in both the institutions, supported by the work of around 30 fathers.²⁸⁷

Valignano’s particular attention for education is also proved by another factor: in 1587, when missionaries were fleeing from persecutions in Japan, the Visitor set up a seminary to train Japanese novices, and a print factory for teaching material right in the St. Paul College. He made use of a movable characters printing machine he himself had brought along from Europe, originally intended to serve the mission in Japan. The earliest of the many publications printed between 1588 and 1590 to enrich the library’s collection, was the pedagogic treatise *Christiani pueri institutio adolescentiaeque perfugium* (On the education of Christian children and teenagers’ guidance) published in Burgos in 1576 by Spanish pedagogue Juan Bonifacio S.J. (1538 – 1606). The relevance of this work, which was used as a Latin textbook also at the time of Vagnone’s staying in Macau, along with the structural and stylistic similarity with *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, led most scholars to indicate Bonifacio’s treatise as Vagnone’s main source.²⁸⁸ However, recent studies²⁸⁹ along with this investigation uncovered a more complex structure of the Jesuit’s treatise, which makes *Christiani Pueri Institutio* only one of the works that inspired and provided material to Vagnone.

In conclusion, Vagnone’s choice to write about pedagogy was the result of a number of historical factors and personal experiences: the European method of educating children was not only a fresh topic which could serve as *preparatio evangelica* for Chinese readers, but it was also functional to the

²⁸⁶ Do Santos, 1993, p. 1; Yang Kaijing 杨开荆, *Aomen Tese Wenxian Ziyuan Yanjiu* 澳门特色文献资源研究, Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大学出版社, 2003, p. 45.

²⁸⁷ Yang, 2003, p. 48.

²⁸⁸ Xiao, 2005, p. 86; Menegon Eugenio *Un solo cielo. (vita di G. Aleni 1582 – 1649). Geografia, arte, scienza e religione dall'Europa in Cina*. Grafo edizioni, Brescia 1994, p. 220.

²⁸⁹ Meynard Thierry “*Wan Ming Zhongguode Wenyi Fuxing Jiaoyu - - guanyu Yesuhui shi Gao Yizhi ‘Tongyou Jiaoyu’ de chubu yanjiu* 晚明中国的文艺复兴教育 关于耶稣会士高一志《童幼教育》的初步研究”, in *Guangdong Shehui Kexue Social* 广东社会科学 *Guangdong Shehui Kexue*, 2014 N.6, p.121-124.

Jesuits' intention to open elementary schools in the most remote areas of the country.²⁹⁰ At the same time, as a former teacher of philosophy and rhetoric and as a man of the Renaissance, Vagnone had the desired theoretical expertise and, most likely, the advantage of the library of St. Paul's college to properly fulfil this task.

4.3 The making of the book and the year of publication: some related issues

Despite being one of the most prolific writers among late Ming Jesuits, I didn't uncover any mention to his literary works in Vagnone's letters. Pfister (1976) records that in Macao the Jesuit "devoted himself to composing works in Chinese which would have been published later on".²⁹¹ Out of the sixteen philosophical and religious books Vagnone wrote after leaving Nanjing (1617), thirteen were printed in Jiangzhou during the period 1630–1640²⁹². As noted in Jin's study (2015), this was one of the centres where the Jesuits' literary efforts proliferated, along with Beijing, Nanchang, Nanjing, Shanghai, Hangzhou and Fuzhou, to name the most relevant ones.²⁹³ Jiangzhou's printing factory had been active since the Jin dynasty (265–420) and had flourished during the previous Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Following the establishment of the Jesuit residence in the area, Nicolas Trigault (1577 – 1628) created another printing centre in that very house, which made use of Western woodcut techniques and contributed to the production of books by Vagnone,

²⁹⁰ As suggested by Menegon, 1993 and Meynard, 2014. Interestingly, St. Ignatius' Constitutions forbade Jesuits to open elementary schools or to supply teachers for them because of a lack of manpower, but this rule didn't apply to foreign missions. In fact, since the dawn of the order, "it was a Jesuit principle that schools had to be opened as soon and as wide as possible in all missionary territories". See *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, translated into English with an introduction and explanatory notes by Alan P. Farrell S.J., University of Detroit, conference paper: "Conference of major superiors of Jesuits", Washington D.C., 1970, p. 8.

²⁹¹ Pfister, 1976, p. 98.

²⁹² The three works published before 1630 are *Zesheng shi pian* 則聖十篇 (*Zesheng's ten essays*) *Shi wei* 十慰 (*Ten consolations*) both in Fujian province and *Tianzhu shengjiao shengren xingshi* 天主聖教聖人行實 (*Lives of Saints of the Holy Christian Religion*) in Hangzhou; another characteristic shared by these three books is that they were not proofread by any Chinese collaborator, only *Zesheng shi pian* 則聖十篇 features a preface written by Sun Yuanhua. See Jin Wenbin 金文賓, *Gao Yizhi yu Mingmo Xixue Dong Chuan Yanjiu* 高一志与明末西学东传研究, Xiamen University Press, 2015, p. 55.

²⁹³ Jin, 2015, p. 55.

Giacomo Rho (1563–1638), Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) and other missionaries.²⁹⁴ However, there is no record of Christian publications in Jiangzhou before 1631, when Vagnone’s *Shenmu Xingshi* 聖母行實 (Life of Virgin Mary) came out. Another noteworthy aspect is the total absence, prior to that date, of proofreading by the Han and Duan, two families of the local gentry who played a key role in supporting Vagnone’s missionary and literary activities.²⁹⁵ On one hand this proves the increasing acknowledgment of Vagnone’s role and work within the local community, casting away the shadows of the Nanjing Incident, but it also shows the improving quality of the Jesuit’s relations with the local authorities.

As for *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育’s print date and creation process, there is no consistency in the related academic literature: Pfister’s indication of 1620 as the year of publication, also quoted in more recent studies (Xiao, 2005), has already been proved wrong. Henri Bernard, on the other hand, refers to lists of books published by the Jesuits in China, where Vagnone’s treatise appears as “*pas encore imprimé en 1626 mais le sera avant 1630*”,²⁹⁶ and in a second list as printed around 1628.²⁹⁷ On the basis of what Han Lin 韩霖 (1596?-1649) wrote in the book’s preface: “ [...] 西儒高则圣先生居东雍八年 ([...] *the Scholar of the West Gao Zesheng has lived in the East for eight years*)”,²⁹⁸ Meynard suggests 1632 as the likely year of publication.²⁹⁹ This data is based on the fact that in 1624 Vagnone was re-admitted to China after exile in Macau (1618 -1624). One last hint is provided by Jin (2012), who takes into account the death of one of the censors of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, Johann Schreck

²⁹⁴ Margiotti, 1958, p. 270. According to Margiotti’s record, the engraved wood blocks were in use until at least the 1664 – 1671 persecution: although these were spared from being burned by a Manchu governor, there is no track of them after 1671.

²⁹⁵ Jin, 2015, pp. 55-56.

²⁹⁶ Bernard, 1945, p. 336.

²⁹⁷ Bernard, 1945, p. 342.

²⁹⁸ TYJY, volume 1, Han Lin Xu 韩霖序, p.239.

²⁹⁹ Meynard Thierry, “Lilun zhexue he xiuci zhexue de liangge butong duihua moshi 理论哲学和修辞哲学的两个不同对话模式”, in Jinghai Feng Bian 景海峰编, Shixin Ji 拾薪集, Peking University press, 2007.

(1576–1630), suggesting that the manuscript was concluded before 1630 and published shortly after.³⁰⁰

A final consideration that helps define the timeframe in which Vagnone's pedagogic treatise was developed concerns the lexicon. Among the many translation issues Jesuits of the early China mission had to deal with, the expression of God's name in Chinese was probably the most crucial one, and one that sparked a long-lasting debate culminating in the Rites Controversy³⁰¹ of the 18th century. Since the early stage of their staying in China, the missionaries tried to find traces of Chinese religiosity in their classics, and considered the concepts of '*Tian* 天 (Sky, Heaven)' and '*Shangdi* 上帝 (Sovereign on High)', appropriate terms to convey the name of the Creator. Vagnone had always been very active in supporting Ricci's position on the use of '*Shangdi* 上帝', a term borrowed from the classics which was considered a proof of the ancient Chinese monotheism and a key agent in the conversion of the literati.³⁰² This interpretation was in fact officially adopted until December 1627, when the new Visitor Andre Palmeiro (1569-1635) gathered 9 missionaries³⁰³ in Jiading 嘉定 (Jiangsu) to discuss thirty-eight suggestions related to Chinese rites and to translation issues³⁰⁴. Unfortunately, the meeting came to a sudden halt after only one month, because of Emperor Tian Qi 天啓's (1605-1627) death. The official translation of the name of God became the term '*Tianzhu* 天主 (Lord of Heaven)', a solution that mediated the position of Ricci's supporters and the use of a transliteration of the Latin term '*Deus*', suggested by Superior Niccolò Longobardo (1559 – 1654) and João Rodriguez (c. 1558 – 1633). Despite Vagnone's persistence in defending

³⁰⁰ Jin Wenbing 金文兵 “Mingmo Difang Jiaohua “明末地方教化 ‘yin Ye ru Ru’ de xianshi kaoliang 引耶入儒” 的现实考量” in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, vol. 3, 2012, pp. 1-5.

³⁰¹ For a detailed dissertation of the main issues concerning the Rites Controversy see Standaert, 2001, pp. 680 – 689.

³⁰² Duan, 2012, p. 157; Margiotti, 1958, p. 427.

³⁰³ Duan's report includes the names of: Niccolo Longobardo, Alfonso Vagnone, Nicolas Trigault, Manuel Dias Senior (1559-1639), Francesco Sambiasi (1582-1649), Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640), Alvaro Smedo (1585-1658), Sabbatino de Ursis (1575 - 1620), Gaspar Ferreira (1571-1649) e Pierre Ribeiro (1572-1640). As a sign of the relevant position and the active role Chinese literati played in the development of the mission, also eminent collaborators Xu Guangqi (徐光启, 1562-1633), Li Zhizao (李之藻, 1565-1630) attended the conference. Duan, 2012, p. 156.

³⁰⁴ Duan, 2012, p. 156; Margiotti, 1958, pp. 227 – 228.

the use of ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’, through a number of letters³⁰⁵ that irritated his superiors and almost cost him to be relocated to Macau, in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 he never used this translation choice. According to Duan’s study, the term became officially banned from Shanxi province, where Vagnone was located, only in 1630,³⁰⁶ suggesting that the treatise was effectively completed and edited around that date.³⁰⁷

In spite the little traces Vagnone left in his correspondence, the textual analysis of the treatise provides a few references on the main stages of the writing, which dates back to seventeen years before the publication. The author himself stated under the title of the fifth chapter of the second volume, *Xixue* 西學 (Western learning): “此稿脫於十七年 前，未及災木 同志見而不迂 業已約略加減刻行矣 [...] (*This draft was concluded 17 years ago, and it has not been modified, my confrère considered it good and adjusted it to have it published [...]*).”³⁰⁸ As we shall examine later, these words are not only essential to identify the starting point of Vagnone’s project (around 1615), but they can also be considered a “paternity claim” by the author in regard to another well-known work of which this chapter provided the main source of inspiration: Giulio Aleni’s (1582–1649) *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 (Summary of Western learning, 1623).³⁰⁹ Unfortunately it is not possible to confirm if the essay *Xixue* 西學 was meant to become a part of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, or if Vagnone’s writing purpose was just to provide a first outline of the European academic system. What is sure is that Vagnone’s efforts to promote the Western learning among late Ming literati were abruptly stopped by the anti-Christian persecution launched in 1616 by Shen Que 沈樞. However, it is also undeniable that his unfortunate exile in Macau proved to be particularly effective for his literary production, in terms of work environment and source materials.

³⁰⁵ For a complete overview on the Chinese terms controversy, see chapter 6.6 of this volume

³⁰⁶ Duan, 2012, p. 158.

³⁰⁷ For a further dissertation on the use of religious terms in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, see chapter 6.6 of this volume.

³⁰⁸ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5, p. 370.

³⁰⁹ See chapter 7.1 of this volume.

The Jesuits' commitment to pedagogy at College of St. Paul was not only confirmed by the establishment of the elementary school and the publication of a contemporary pedagogic treatise, *Christiani Pueri Institutio* as a Latin textbook, but it was also enhanced by the arrival of a consistent collection³¹⁰ of European books – brought back by Nicolas Trigault in 1619, from his mission to Rome. Such texts, mostly gifts from Pope Paul V and European scholars and authors, provided the best that Classical and Renaissance knowledge could offer on subjects like science, philosophy and theology. Most of these volumes were soon sent to mainland China, to serve the purpose of restoring the Jesuits' position at court, along with boosting the diffusion of the “Holy Law” after the Nanjing persecution. As stated by Manuel Dias jr. (1574–1659) in the annual letter of 1618, the process of “regaining the ancient freedom” was going to be supported by three main factors: firstly, there were ‘gifts’ for the Emperor on their way from Europe (perhaps a reference to Trigault’s mission); secondly, the Jesuits were in possession of scientific books and tools that could be used for the ongoing reform of the calendar; finally, missionaries in every province were working on a *corpus* of books in Chinese, which were the most efficient way to spread “la Santa Ley (Holy Law)”.³¹¹ However, Yang suggests that some of these books in Latin, Portuguese, Italian, French and Chinese were instead kept in Macau for didactic purposes, and became a valuable part of the St. Paul’s collection.³¹² Being at the very point of origin of this cultural and literary ferment, allowed Vagnone not only to access a great corpus of sources but also to be at the core of the new translation project, which eventually helped him to make his way back into mainland China.

In conclusion, on the basis of the textual analysis on Vagnone’s treatise, the making of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 can be summarised in three main stages:

³¹⁰ In 1612 the new Superior of the China mission Longobardo sent the young confrère Trigault on a mission to Rome, in order to request a set of books from the Pope, propaedeutic to the translation project, and to enrol some scientists as a reinforcement for the mission. The preface of Aleni’s *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 speaks of 7000 volumes: “ [...] 所陳六科經籍約略七千部業已航海而來，具在可譯此。 ([...] The so called Classics of the six branches have been adapted into 7000 works which have arrived by sea, and can be translated with the right tools.)” See, XXF, Preface, p. 7. However, later studies proved that the number was considerably smaller. Fan Hao provides a detailed account of the typology and titles of these works, which were meant to enrich the Beitang library in Beijing. Fang Hao, “Mingji xishu qiqian bu liuru Zhongguo kao 明季西書七千部流入中國考”, in *Fang Hao wenlu* 方豪文錄, Beijing, 1948, pp. 1-14. See also Golvers Noël, *Building Humanistic Libraries in Late Imperial China: Circulation of Books, Prints and Letters between Europe and China (XVII-XVIII Cent.) in the Framework of the Jesuit Mission*. Roma: Nuova cultura, 2011.

³¹¹ Biblioteca Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Asia*, vol. 49 – V – 5 p. 241.

³¹² Yang, 2003, p. 49.

1. The conception of the project: in Nanjing around 1615, before the persecution broke out. In a period of great literary activity for the Jesuit community and an increasing collaboration with Chinese literati (Vagnone himself made acquaintance with Xu Guangqi 徐光启 in those years), the Jesuit produced his first writing experiments, mostly on religious topics, but also a short essay on Western pedagogy (*Xixue* 西學);
2. The choice of subject: at St. Paul's College in Macau, between 1618 and 1624. As we have previously pointed out, this environment was particularly committed to the education of children, and provided a large amount of newly imported material on the subject, including the very first publication printed at the college: the pedagogic treatise *Christiani Pueri Institutio*. In spite of the lack of related information on primary sources, it is possible to suppose that in those years of exile Vagnone must have taken some time to improve his language and writing skills in Chinese, while making use of the enriched collection of the College library.
3. The submission of the manuscript and the publication: in Jiangzhou, Shanxi between 1628 and 1632. During the final ten years of Vagnone's life, the increasing collaboration with the Han and Duan families in Jiangzhou boosted his writing activity and resulted in thirteen publications, among which was the pedagogic treatise *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育. As indicated by some textual elements, the treatise was completed and handed over to the censors in Beijing before 1630, and printed around 1632, as indicated in Han Lin's preface.

A similar conclusion is also validated by Meynard's study,³¹³ who suggested that the Nanjing stage of the writing of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was also influenced by Vagnone's earliest theological works: *Tianzhu Jiaoyao Jielue* 天主教要解略 (Summary on the teaching of the Lord of Heaven) and *Zizhou oubian* 谏周偶编 (Opposing the idolaters).³¹⁴ The topic of

³¹³ Meynard, 2007, p. 83. Also quoted by Duan, 2012, p. 201.

³¹⁴ This very text is the result of the collaboration between Alfonso Vagnone and Xu Guangqi 徐光启 (1562–1633), one of the earliest and most loyal collaborators of the Jesuits' cause and very close to Matteo Ricci. According to Duan, the work was published in Nanjing in 1615. See Duan (2012), p. 162.

education, a core tool in Vagnone's missionary strategy, was also further developed in two more ethical treatises, inspired by the famous Chinese classic *Daxue* 大學: *Xiushen xixue* 修身西學 (On the self-cultivation in the West) and *Qijia Xixue* 齊家西學 (On the regulation of the family in the West). The two volumes that made up *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 were later included in this latter publication.³¹⁵

4.4 The book's content and main topics: between classical and Renaissance pedagogy.

During their formation period, as they became more proficient and familiar with the language and philosophy of China, late Ming Jesuits came to understand that Confucianism had no supernatural roots and that it instead deserved appreciation for its moral etiquette. As a result, they soon committed to composing a series of ethical and moral books that served two goals: firstly, to introduce new categories of Western knowledge to prepare doubtful Chinese literati to understand and embrace a new religion, and finally, to prove that the quality of European culture and Christian doctrine could complete and perfect Confucian ethical values.³¹⁶

Alfonso Vagnone's *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 stands in a category between the Jesuits' religious literature and what Erik Zürcher defined "wisdom literature". These literary works emphasised the moral and edifying teaching over Christian themes – which were usually absent or barely mentioned, and were "being enjoyed as an exotic type of *shanshu* 善書(good books)",³¹⁷ a popular genre in Ming China.³¹⁸ Prototypes of "wisdom literature", which according to Zürcher was the only element of humanistic culture introduced by the Jesuits into 17th century China, included

³¹⁵ For a further analysis of such works see chapter 7.2 of this volume.

³¹⁶ Xu Zongze 徐宗澤, *Ming Qing jian Yesu huishi yizhuti yao* 明清間耶穌會士譯著提要, Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe 上海書店出版社, 2006, pp. 7-9.

³¹⁷ Such works were aimed at introducing and spreading Confucian thought among less educated groups of the population, and were therefore written in a more direct and simple language. See chapter 5.4.

³¹⁸ Erik Zürcher, "Renaissance Rhetoric in Late Ming China: Alfonso Vagnoni's Introduction to his *Science of Comparison*" in *Western Humanistic Culture presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (XVII – XVIII)*, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1996 pp.332-333.

Ricci's treatises *Jiaoyou Lun* 交友論 (On Friendship, 1595) and *Ershiwu yan* 二十五言 (Twenty five statements, 1605). Such works served the double purpose of consolidating Ricci's status as a moral teacher and introducing the readers to "Western wisdom".³¹⁹ Furthermore, as the texts were addressed to a non-Christian readership, including women and children, these were usually written in a more accessible language. Xu Zongze defined this language as "*qian* 淺 (light)", in contrast to the profound, refined style (*shen* 深) that characterised works specifically aimed at educated officials.³²⁰

The purpose of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was to introduce the late Ming literati to the European pedagogical tradition, which combined elements from the Greek *paideia* παιδεία, the Roman *institutio* and Medieval and Renaissance education. Such precepts were skillfully blended and integrated into the Chinese pedagogical system, which had reached a high level of development between the Song and Ming dynasties, as we have previously examined.³²¹ This over 30,000-character treatise consists of two *juan* 卷, each of which is divided into ten chapters. The table of contents is followed by a declaration about the ecclesiastical approval of books:

“遵教規凡譯經典諸書必三次看詳，方允付梓；茲並鐫訂閱姓氏於後。

[According to the ecclesiastical regulations, all translations of sacred books or books of another nature must be examined three times before they may be printed. The names of the censors are given below]"³²².

Vagnone's final draft was validated by three censors: Gaspard Ferreira (1571-1649), Niccolò Longobardi and Johann Schreck; the text was proofread by Duan Gun 段袞 (d. 1641) of Jiang Xian 絳縣 (Shanxi) and Han Lin 韓霖, who also composed a three-folio preface. Permission for the publication was granted by the Vice-Provincial of the time, Manuel Dias Junior (1574-1659).

³¹⁹ Zürcher 1996, p. 332.

³²⁰ Xu 2006, p. 8.

³²¹ See chapter 2.3 of the present volume.

³²² I referred to the book description on the Ricci Institute Library Online Catalogue: <http://riccilibrary.usfca.edu/view.aspx?catalogID=3190>.

In the process of describing the main aspects of European pedagogy, Vagnone made use of two perspectives. The first six chapters of volume one were addressed to the educators: parents, nurses and teachers. Here, the author introduced various precepts and methodological aspects of pedagogy, while urging the educators to cultivate their own moral integrity. From chapter six of volume one, “Beginning of the learning”, to chapter ten of volume two “Leisure time and games”, the learner became the main subject of the dissertation. The author illustrated some crucial Christian virtues and eventually focused on the more practical aspects of children’s everyday life (such as nutrition, sleeping habits, friendships, etc.), which were consistent with the Renaissance popular precept of an “healthy mind in a healthy body (*mens sana in corpore sano*)”³²³.

The treatise’s composite structure has been brilliantly unraveled by Meynard’s study (2014), which also highlighted some of his main sources.³²⁴ As suggested by the French scholar, the first six chapters are mostly influenced by Maffeo Vegio’s *De educatione liberorum at eorum claribus moribus*, who, as previously pointed out, drew great inspiration from the most representative pedagogical works of Greco-Roman tradition: Plutarch and Quintilian’s treatises on the education of children. As men of the Renaissance, both Maffeo Vegio and Vagnone were aware of the popularity of these treatises, and seemed to follow their main structure when composing their own works. In particular, the following aspects held a relevant place in both classical and Renaissance pedagogy and are touched upon by Vagnone and his sources: prenatal education (*Jiaoyu zhi yuan* 教育之原 The origin of education), the role and duties of the wet nurse (*Yu zhi gong* 育之功 The task of raising children), the relevance of the paternal figure in the educative process (*Jiao zhi zhu* 教之主 The “*dominus*” of the education), the example of teachers (*Jiao zhi zhu* 教之助 Aid in education), methodology (*Jiao zhi fa* 教之法 Methods of instruction), prizes and punishments (*Jiao zhi yi* 教之翼 The “wings” of the education).³²⁵ By choosing and quoting such authors, whose moral precepts still influenced

³²³ Such sentence was drawn from a verse by Juvenal’s (55 – 135/140 CE) “*Satires*”, written between the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century CE. The original statement went: “*Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano* (We must ask the gods for an healthy body in an healthy mind, Sat. X, 356)”, however, throughout the centuries, it was often used as a pedagogic motto to convey different messages. These include: “Mental health needs to go together with physical health”, or “Physical exercise is a necessary condition for the efficiency of men’s spiritual faculty”, etc. See, *Enciclopedia Treccani*, www.treccani.it/vocabolario/mens-sana-in-corpore-sano.

³²⁴ Meynard, 2014, pp. 121 – 123.

³²⁵ The translation of the titles in brackets are given by the author.

Renaissance pedagogical tradition, Vagnone attempted not only to legitimise European culture through the words of ancient sages, but he probably also saw a common ground with Confucian and Neo-Confucian education. The relevance of the role of virtuous teachers, along with the edifying use of their examples are key concepts in Chinese classical philosophy, whereas the bond that connects father and son is included in one of Mencius' *Wulun* 五倫 (the Five Cardinal Human Relationships) which were at the core of Zhu Xi's education.

From chapters seven and eight the perspective of the dissertation visibly shifts from “*Jiao* 教 (to educate)” to “*Xue* 學 (to learn)”, portraying the pupil as the main agent of the education process. At this point the author also started to directly introduce elements of Christian pedagogy. For instance, in the chapters *Xue zhi shi* 學之始 (Beginning of the learning) and *Xue zhi ci* 學之次 (Sequences of learning), Vagnone described the main duties of Christian children, which were also the very foundation of their education: the *pietas Dei* (which he translated with an expression borrowed from the Chinese classics, *Jingwei Tianzhu* 敬畏天主) and respect for the parents, (*Xiaojing Fumu* 孝敬³²⁶父母), a notion that draws a transcultural line between the ten commandments and the Chinese classical notion of filial piety. According to the Christian *iter* of personal education, after developing religious and filial piety, another set of qualities was to be cultivated:³²⁷ *castitas* (which Vagnone translated as *Jieshen* 潔身 Preserving one's purity) and *verecundia* (*Zhi chi* 知耻 Possessing shame), which are the subject of the last two chapters of volume one.

Such a dissertation on morality also opened volume two, where Vagnone dealt with two fundamental teachings that were well-known in both European and Confucian classical philosophy: reticence (*Jianmo* 緘默), and consistency between words and deeds, or coherence (*Yanxin* 言信). In Renaissance Europe, such precepts were included in the *morum urbanitate* (the politeness of

³²⁶ It embodies the meaning of “showing filial piety (to parents) and respect (to the elders): 孝顺父母,尊敬親長”. See HYDCD, volume 4, p. 198. Vagnone's lexical choice served to convey the precept of one of the ten commandments, translated as *Shitiao mu* 十條目: “Honor your father and your mother”.

³²⁷ The order these qualities were to be developed follows the one described by Juan Bonifacio. See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, p. 348.

manners), and extensively described by most of Vagnone's sources, such as Juan Bonifacio, Juan De Torres and Maffeo Vegio³²⁸.

However, the elements that consecrated *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 as a literary bridge between Renaissance Europe and modern (Song and Ming) China, are described in the last eight chapters of volume two. In *Wenxue* 文學 (Literary studies) and *Zhengshu* 正書 (Righteous books), Vagnone highlighted the importance of the study of humanities in the process of self-cultivation, also emphasising the role so-called righteous books (which can be compared to the aforementioned *Shanshu* 善書) and classics (*Jingdian* 經典) played in transmitting the example of the virtuous sages of the past. This position does not only reflect the innovative status humanities and classics in particular achieved in Renaissance education, but it also seems to take a standpoint on the long-running debate between the Neo-Confucian idea of learning for an individual's personal sake, mostly focusing on literary studies and the approach of government-sponsored schools, which made study a mere tool to pursue an official career.³²⁹ The awareness of this cultural debate, along with the goal of providing a comparison with the European academic situation – highlighting the aspects which could “improve the Chinese educational system”³³⁰ – are the plausible reasons why Vagnone included his unpublished essay *Xixue* 西學 (Western learning), describing the European systematic education, in his treatise.

A strong reference to Renaissance etiquette appears evident the final part of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, drawing attention to the need for the correct balance between spiritual and physical health. The relevance that topics like diet, clothing, sleep and leisure time held in 14th-15th century pedagogy is confirmed by the main works of Desiderius Erasmus, alongside Juan de Torres and Maffeo Vegio, from which the following chapters drew strong inspiration: *Yinshi* 飲食 (On diet), *Yishang* 衣裳

³²⁸ See Bonifacio, *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, Liber V.2; De Torres, *Philosophia Moral*, Liber XXIV. 4-7, Vegio, *De Educatione Liberorum*, Liber V. 2.

³²⁹ According to Menegon, 1993, the debate dated back to Song Dynasty, and had eminent Neo-Confucian pedagogue Zhu Xi as main agent. In particular, he urged the pursuit of learning as a means of self-betterment (*wei ji zhi xue* 为己之学) and as a step of the self-cultivation process – a reaction to the general attitude of learning for other people's sake (*wei ren zhi xue* 为人之学). Menegon, 1993, p. 2.

³³⁰ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5, p. 370.

(Clothing), *Qinmei* 寢寐 (On sleep), *Jiaoyou* 交友 (On Friendship) and *Xianxi* 閒戲 (Leisure time and games). It is noteworthy that such precepts were not unknown in traditional Chinese etiquette, as they were also mentioned in one of the canonical texts for the education of children during Song and Ming China: Zhu Xi's *Xiaoxue* 小學 (Elementary learning). Such aspect confirms Vagnone's attention for the Chinese pedagogical literature and his efforts to uncover similarities between the two traditions.

In conclusion, let us summarise how *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 relates to the main pedagogical tradition in Europe. As we have previously pointed out, European classical and Renaissance education were deeply interconnected: they both emphasised the moral components of the education process and relied on the edifying example of the ancient sages. The quotation of passages from Plutarch, Quintilian, Cicero or Plato's works was a general trend among 15th and 16th-century pedagogues, who often did so without even naming their source – as these were well-known among the educated.³³¹ In outlining the main precepts of European education, Vagnone found this rhetoric style functional to convey his message to the Chinese literati, selecting main topics that could be better understood and accepted by his readers. These can be summarised in the following points:

1. *The importance of prenatal education.* Classical and Renaissance pedagogues believed education did not begin at the child's birth, but it was also influenced by a righteous choice of marriage. This tradition aimed to preserve certain aristocratic conditions (especially in ancient Greece) and to maintain specific values within an élite of families. Renaissance authors still held such a belief, as they considered parents the main vehicle of moral integrity, an integrity which could be transmitted to children through natural heritage. Vagnone also related to this trend, which is why he attached great importance in the first part of his treatise to a proper choice of marriage.³³²
2. *The debate on breastfeeding.* The contribution wet nurses played in the first stages of the education of children was at the core of the pedagogic debate since 4th-5th century Greece.

³³¹ Caramello, Zandrino, 1970, p. 9.

³³² See Meynard, 2014, p. 124; Caramello, Zandrino, 1970, p. 10.

To entrust the task of breastfeeding to a woman other than the mother, who also acted as a moral figure for the child during his early years, was a common habit especially among wealthy families of both classical and Renaissance Europe. Such *topos* is reported for instance in Plutarch,³³³ Quintilian³³⁴ and Vegio³³⁵'s works, to name but a few. However, the necessity to restore the role of the mother as the main responsible of the baby's nutrition was not only touched upon by Plutarch, but became a core issue among Renaissance pedagogues. According to Meynard, two were the main reasons to urge women to personally breastfeed their babies: one was the regained importance of mother – child relationship, which was also boosted by many religious images of Mary breastfeeding Jesus, a popular artistic subject in 12th-13th century church. The second reason was connected to a demographic matter: the necessity of delaying new pregnancies. This is due to the fact that, during nursing period, couples use to abstain from sex, fearing that the sperm could contaminate the milk.³³⁶ As a member of an aristocratic family, Vagnone was most likely particularly touched by this issue, which he dealt with in the second chapter of the first volume, making use of a number of negative *exempla* to describe the side effects of entrusting the breastfeeding to wet nurses.³³⁷

3. *The example of nature.* As the earliest theorists in the field of pedagogy, sophists were the first to identify the contribution of nature to the foundation of education. In particular, they believed the pedagogical process to be a combination of three key factors: the individual's disposition (which they compared to a uncultivated field), the instructor (who represents a good farmer) and the exercise, which could improve even poorly gifted individuals (as proper seeds can help produce a good harvest).³³⁸ Renaissance pedagogy

³³³ Plutarch, *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 5.

³³⁴ Quintilian, *Istitutio Oratoria*, I, 1. 6.

³³⁵ Vegio, *De Educatione Liberorum et eiorum claribus moribus*, *Libri Sex*, I, 4.

³³⁶ Meynard, 2014, p. 126.

³³⁷ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 2, pp. 259 – 264.

³³⁸ Caramello, Zandrino, 1970, p. XVII.

saw an increasing attention paid to the child's nature and interests when planning the appropriate educational *iter*: such theories were particularly developed by Desiderius Erasmus' pedagogic treatises, which had a strong influence on Vagnone's work.³³⁹ In *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, Vagnone did not only borrow the sophists' paradigm of education as a mean to supply a lacking nature, along with the necessity of following the individual's disposition when guiding children through their learning process, but he described nature as the most reliable teacher.³⁴⁰ In particular, consistently with Medieval and Humanistic literary trends, he also made frequent use of metaphors from the agricultural world, along with examples of animal behaviour, to which he attached moral qualities such as filial piety, parental love, etc.

4. *Virtuous teachers and the righteous method of education*. The status and duties of instructors were very popular topics in pedagogic treatises and were also a core issue of many debates that date back to classical Greece. Classical and Renaissance authors agreed that the teacher's goal was to shape virtuous and free men,³⁴¹ who could be useful members of society (*vita attiva*), but who also possess the wisdom of philosophers (*vita contemplativa*).³⁴² According to both classical and Renaissance pedagogues, the way of righteous education was mainly based on teachers' (and fathers') examples, and did not rely heavily on words. Such an approach laid its foundations in the belief that children possess an easily influenced nature (a reference to Plato's *tabula rasa*, also quoted by Vagnone), that resembles soft wax, on which both good and evil can be easily printed

³³⁹ A highly representative intellectual of Humanism, Erasmus' theories on pedagogy were particularly developed in two treatises: *Institutio principis christiani* (Education of the Christian prince, 1515) and *De civilitate morum puerilium* (On children's good manners, 1530). Despite his controversial approach to religion, his guidelines on the education of children combined many elements which also belonged to the Christian tradition – such as the emphasis on *pietas* and *humanitas* as the basis of the formative process. As reported by Duan and Meynard, Vagnone drew strong inspiration by Desiderius' precepts, alongside his positions on matters concerning breastfeeding, and the pedagogic use of physical punishments. See Duan, 2012, pp. 221 – 222, Meynard, 2014, p. 120.

³⁴⁰ Meynard, 2014, p. 126.

³⁴¹ As pointed out by Meynard, the belief that education contributed to shape free men was also confirmed by the etymology of the Latin word “*liber* (free)”, which also indicated “child”. Meynard, 2014, p. 127.

³⁴² Caramello, Zandrino, 1970, p. 18.

and become indelible.³⁴³ Another common issue, which still affects the debate in contemporary pedagogy, is the right balance between prizes and physical punishments. Plutarch, Quintilian and Erasmus were all against the use of strength as a means of education, believing it “indecorous of a free man”. To support this point, and to prove that “kindness affects more than strictness”, Vagnone reported an extensive number of sayings and examples from ancient Greece and Judea, including one of the first records in Chinese of Aesop’s (620 – 564 B.C.) fable “The Sun and The Wind”.³⁴⁴

³⁴³ In chapter “The method of the education” Vagnone wrote: “The great sage Plato, always forbade wet nurses to make use of confusing tales, false teachings as well as street chatting. He said: “Children’s mind is like wax: mark it and it will easily leave a trace” See, TYJY, p. 281.

³⁴⁴ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 6, p. 294.

Chapter 5: Sources of Tongyou Jiaoyu 童幼教育: an open debate

This chapter will address the complex issue of the European and Chinese sources of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育. The lack of a detailed dissertation of the subject in relevant academic literature, at least until recent years,³⁴⁵ alongside the absence of specific indications in primary sources, have left the textual analysis as the only solution to such a problem. Among the preliminary considerations that have influenced the approach to this investigation, the first concern is surely of logistic nature. When the Jesuits undertook the composition of scientific or philosophical texts, they needed to rely on one (or more) reference books as a model for their work. Of course, living in geographical and physical isolation from Renaissance Europe made supplying such publications a difficult task. Noel Golvers ran extremely interesting studies³⁴⁶ to understand how the Jesuits' "humanistic libraries" were built, based on the catalogues of Beitang (Beijing) and Xujiahui (Shanghai) libraries, alongside book inscriptions and other private sources.

At the time of Vagnone's presence in China (1605-1640), the diffusion of Western learning, "*Xixue* 西學", was entering its core stages. In fact, following Matteo Ricci's directions, who understood the primary role books played among the Chinese literati, the Jesuits had undertaken a massive translation project of European texts, which were brought back by Nicolas Trigault in 1619. However, it is not appropriate to identify the works they produced as translations. As stated by Ricci himself: "The books we compose are not new productions but loans from our (European) works,

³⁴⁵ See Meynard Thierry, "Wan Ming Zhongguode Wenyi Fuxing Jiaoyu - - guanyu Yesuhui shi Gao Yizhi 'Tongyou Jiaoyu' de chubu yanjiu 晚明中国的文艺复兴教育 关于耶稣会士高一志《童幼教育》的初步研究", in *Guangdong Shehui Kexue Social* 广东社会科学 *Guangdong Shehui Kexue*, 2014 N.6, p.121-124; before his study, the problem of the sources was tackled by Duan Chunsheng's Ph.D. dissertation, "L'attività missionaria e pedagogica di Alfonso Vagnone S.J. in Cina (1605-1640)" Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano 2012-2013 and mentioned by a few more authors, for instance Menegon Eugenio, *Un solo cielo. Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649). Geografia, Arte, Scienza e Religione dall'Europa alla Cina*, Grafo Edizioni, Brescia, 1994 and Xiao Lang (2005) "童幼教育与明清之际西方儿童教育思想的导入 Tongyou Jiaoyu yu Ming Qing zhi ji Xifang ertong jiaoyu sixiang de daoru" 浙江大学学报 *Zhejiang Daxue Xuebao*, 5.

³⁴⁶ See his two main works of the subject: Golvers Noël, *Building Humanistic Libraries in Late Imperial China: Circulation of Books, Prints and Letters between Europe and China (XVII-XVIII Cent.) in the Framework of the Jesuit Mission*. Roma: Nuova cultura, 2011; *Libraries of Western learning for China: Circulation of Western books between Europe and China in the Jesuit Mission (ca. 1650-ca. 1750)*, Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2012.

from which we extract the information that seem to us appropriate to China: all we have to do is to make intelligent choices.”³⁴⁷

This adaptation process, or act of “transwriting”, as remarked by the scholar Li Shixue,³⁴⁸ followed a specific pattern: “Whether translating or adapting a European source, the work was explained *kou yi* 口译 (construed orally) by a missionary or a Chinese collaborator, who wrote it down in literary Chinese *bi shou* 笔受, (received with a brush); they both co-signed the translation. Since most, if not all books included notions and information new to potential readers, an appropriate terminology had to be created. This was the first step of the reception of Western learning: the Jesuits would have been unable to make it available to Chinese scholars without the active collaboration of some of them”.³⁴⁹ According to Xu Zongze, the compilation of literary texts combined three methods: they were in part dictated by the missionary to the collaborator, in part personally written by the Jesuit and in part corrected by Chinese and Western missionaries (the censors). They were therefore the result of a threefold collaboration.³⁵⁰ If the contribution of the Chinese collaborator was essential in the creation of neologisms, phonemic and semantic loans or loan translations, the Jesuits’ guide was essential in selecting appropriate topics from the limited amount of books available to convey the intended message to Christian and non-Christian readers.

As a former professor of humanistic literature and rhetoric, Vagnone was most definitely well versed in the relevant works of the Renaissance and could also rely on his own teaching notes he brought along from Europe, as suggested by Golvers.³⁵¹ From a structural and content viewpoint, *Tongyou*

³⁴⁷ Quoted by Bernard Henri “Les adaptations chinoises d’ouvrages européens: Bibliographie chronologique depuis la venue des Portugais a Canton jusqu’à la Mission Française de Pékin”, in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. X, 1945 (reprinted with the permission of the Original Publishers: Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York, London, 1970), p. 2.

³⁴⁸ Li S.X. & Meynard T., *Jesuit Chreia in Late Ming China. Two Studies with an Annotated Translation of Alfonso Vagnone’s Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, Euro-sinica: 14. Peter Lang, Bern, 2014, p. 23.

³⁴⁹ Standaert Nicolas, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Volume 1: 635-1800, Brill, 2001 p. 693.

³⁵⁰ Xu Zongze 徐宗澤, *Ming Qing jian Yesuhui shi yizhu tiyao* 明清間耶穌會士譯著提要, Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe 上海書店出版社, 2006, p.9.

³⁵¹ See chapter 6.1 of the present volume.

Jiaoyu 童幼教育 reflects the influence of the two main discoveries of classical pedagogical literature, which will be examined in the following pages, but also contains elements and quotes from other key works on the education of children, resulting in a unique combination of classical, Renaissance and Chinese precepts.

5.1 The classical influence on Vagnone's work: Plutarch and Quintilian's treatises on education

In the previous chapter we identified Vagnone's *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 as a product of so-called "wisdom literature", i.e. the moral publications through which late Ming Jesuits attempted to introduce the European *scientia*³⁵² to the Chinese literati, who were ready to embrace it. Among the philosophical subjects, pedagogy undeniably held a relevant place in the cultural debate of 15th-16th century Europe, reaching the peak of its theorization and setting the trends for new educational models, which were meant to last until the modern era. In particular, the Italian pedagogue Maffeo Vegio's (1407-1468) and the eminent Dutch intellectual Desiderius Erasmus' (1466/69-1536) works on the education of children played an essential role in the transition from medieval to modern pedagogy, establishing new standards based on Greek and Latin classics, which also influenced the content of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育.

On the basis of such premises and in order to understand the structure and the theoretical precepts that connect the educational treatises by Vagnone and other Renaissance authors, it is necessary to take a step back to the specific dates that sparked the pedagogical revolution of the 15th century. In 1411 the pseudo-Plutarchian³⁵³ booklet *Peri Paidon Agoges* Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς (On the education of children, hereafter *Peri Paidon Agoges*), translated and published by Guarino da Verona (1370-1460), began to circulate among intellectual circles, arising great enthusiasm for its secular approach to pedagogy, and providing a sense of relief after the allegorical and restrained imprint of Medieval

³⁵² Here intended in its original acceptance of 'knowledge'.

³⁵³ The paternity of the treatise was questioned as early as the first half of the 16th century, even if it kept his place ad honorem in the collection *Moralia* (On Morals), where it had been included since the first edition in 1509. The main source of criticism was connected with the humble style of the author and his frequent use of *locis communibus*, *sententiolis* and further colloquial forms. See Plutarco, *Moralia*, vol. II, a cura di Giuliano Pisani, Pordenone, Edizioni Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1990, p. 9.

writings.³⁵⁴ In 1416 another crucial event occurred: Italian humanistic scholar Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) retrieved, in the library of St. Gaul's monastery, the first complete text of antiquity tackling the topic of pedagogy: Marco Fabius Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (Institution of Oratory).³⁵⁵

These texts were immediately hailed as new models of pedagogy, particularly because of their priceless ethical value combined with a modern approach to education. To Renaissance thinkers, the set of virtues transmitted by the classical authors and their attention to intellectual formation of the individual, perfectly suited the contemporary man's aspiration to free himself from medieval religious influence and embrace a new civil and social awareness. Therefore, the revival of Plutarch and Quintilian's models played an essential role in shaping the main feature of Renaissance education. Immediately after such discoveries, the eminent pedagogue Vittorino de Feltre (c. 1378-1446) made use of their precepts in the creation of a curriculum for his famous school. Moreover, the main pedagogical literature of the 15th and 16th centuries extensively adopted Plutarch and Quintilian's theories on the education of children: Maffeo Vegio's six volumes of *De educatione liberorum et eorum claribus moribus* (On the education of children and their clear manners, 1491), Leon Battista Alberti's *Della famiglia* (On family c.1440) and Desiderius Erasmus' *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* (A declamation on the subject of early liberal education for children 1529), all confirm the incredible influence of such works at that time.

Despite the lack of proof attesting the availability of Plutarch and Quintilian's books in China,³⁵⁶ the structure of Vagnone's treatise and the content of the first six chapters of its first volume show

³⁵⁴ Plutarco, 1990, pp. 5-6.

³⁵⁵ Before that date, the only known writings by the prolific and influential Latin author were mostly fragments included by the Dominican friar Vincent de Beauvois (c. 1190-1264) in his *Speculum Doctrinale* (Mirror of Doctrine). See *Moralia*, 1990, p. 66, footnote 8.

³⁵⁶ Among the collection of European books brought back to Macau by Nicholas Trigault after his mission to Rome in 1619, the only text related to Plutarch was a 1602 edition of his biography: *Vite di Plutarco Cheroneo de gli huomini illustri [sic.] Greci et Romani*. Tradotte per M. Lodovico & altri. In Venetia, Appresso Bartolomeo de gli Alberti, 1607, 2 volumi". See Verhaeren Hubert C.M - *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-T'ang*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1969, p. 992. As for the twelve volumes of *Institutio Oratoria*, the only edition recorded in the Beitang Catalogue is dated 1736, suggesting that it was brought to China from one of the two later embassies to Europe. See Verhaeren, 1969, p. 746 entry 2532. This conclusion is also supported by Fang Hao's list, where none of the texts appear. "Mingji xishu qiqian bu liuru Zhongguo kao 明季西書七千部流入中國考", in *Fang Hao wenlu* 方豪文錄, Pechino, 1948, pp. 1-14.

consistency with *Peri Paidon Agoges*. From a stylistic standpoint, he also made use of some quotes and anecdotes from Quintilian's work, showing undeniable familiarity with such classics. Let us now analyse more in detail the moral and methodological component of such texts and how they served Vagnone's literary intent.

5.1.1 Plutarch's moral education in his *Peri Paidon Agoges* *Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς*

Plutarch's (Chaeronea 45-Delphi 120 C.E.) writings "are not to be read, but to be practiced".³⁵⁷ such a quote embodies the essence of Renaissance thinkers' opinion of the philosopher of Chaeronea. He was an all-round educator, as he personally attended to the instruction of his own children and acted as a model for generations of pupils who attended his schools in Rome, Chaeronea and Delphi. Plutarch's eagerness to learn was in deep connection with the desire to convey knowledge, aimed at "helping [the youngsters] find the way of life".³⁵⁸ His teaching was mostly based on examples, as he believed that precepts could not reach pupils' minds in the same way practice did. He offered a "practical way of life", conveyed with modesty and honesty. Such elements contributed to consecrate his pedagogy to a long-lasting fortune, especially in 15th-16th century Europe: Desiderius Erasmus, for instance, appreciated Plutarch for "leading philosophy, a discipline that Socrates had brought from the sky to earth, into everybody's home, even into the intimate space of bedrooms".³⁵⁹ Following the footsteps of the most representative figures of classical Greece's *paideia*, Plutarch believed that morality and education were deeply interconnected: the latter was in fact functional at shaping the human being, providing him with the means to differentiate good from bad, fair and unfair, and to pursue virtue and happiness. Although filled with obstacles, the long path of education eventually led to the complete moral formation of the man, resulting in his intellectual and spiritual excellence. In Plutarch's opinion, humanity could be educated to value wisdom and to pursue respectful coexistence. However, due to the continued struggle between human desires and rationality, the educational process did not end with the

³⁵⁷ Quoted in Plutarco di Cheronea, *L'Educazione dei figli*. A cura di C. Caramello, U. Zandrino, Roma, Paravia, 1970, p. IX.

³⁵⁸ Quoted in *Moralia*, 1990, p. XI.

³⁵⁹ Adapted from *Moralia*, *ibid.*, p. XII.

transition to adulthood, but it evolved and involved different stages of life, as long as the individual needed to restrain passions, in a continuous tension towards virtue and goodness.

As previously observed, the universal component of Plutarch education, alongside its goal of the intellectual and moral betterment of the individual, made it perfectly suitable for the new humanistic trends that were shaping 14th century Europe, while his writings inspired many authors and contributed to the development of the Renaissance pedagogical system. Therefore, as a man born and culturally raised in 16th century Italy, Alfonso Vagnone spent the years of his formation at the core of this pedagogical revolution, and transmitted his experience as a student and then teacher in his writings. When looking for a common topic that could raise the interest of the Chinese literati, while providing a solid ground to establish the ‘*Tianxue* 天學 (Heavenly learning)’,³⁶⁰ there is little doubt that Vagnone was favorably impressed by finding Plutarch’s same universal component in Confucian education. Despite belonging to two different traditions and temporal frames, both approaches to pedagogy showed a similar long-lasting process of cultivation which embraced different stages of life, was based on virtuous *exempla* and was aimed at shaping morally outstanding individuals.

Despite his commitment to pedagogy, Plutarch was not a systematic writer and never planned to compose a guidebook on the education of children.³⁶¹ However, among the more than two hundred works ascribed to the philosopher of Chaeronea,³⁶² there is a set of guidebooks closely-related to educational topics: the aforementioned *Peri paidon agoges*, Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς which illustrated the main stages of the education of children, and was mostly addressed to the father and the teacher; the essay *Pos dei ton neon poiematon akouein* Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν (How to listen to new poets), which dealt with the correct way to approach the study of poems; finally *Peri you akouein*

³⁶⁰ According to Masini’s study, this semantic loan was used for a long time with the acceptance of ‘sciences of heavens’, or sometimes Jesuits to indicate ‘astronomy’ or ‘Western learning’ in general. See Masini Federico “Aleni’s contribution to the Chinese language”, in Lipiello-Malek (ed.) “*Scholar from the West*”: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China, Brescia and the Monumenta Serica Institute, Sankt Augustin. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1997, p. 552.

³⁶¹ A further confirmation to the previously suggested theory, the pedagogical treatise *Peri paidon agoges* was in fact composed by one of his pupils, on the basis of Plutarch’s teachings.

³⁶² I am referring to Caramello and Zandrino’s study, see *L’Educazione dei figli*, Torino, Paravia, 1970, p. XI.

Περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν (On hearing), that illustrated the right form to listen and receive precepts from philosophers, to name just the most relevant ones.³⁶³ As the earliest complete text that fully dealt with the topic of education, *Peri paidon agoges* became incredibly influential between the 15th and 19th century: its precepts and anecdotes, alongside those by other Greek and Latin “masters of the West” such as Quintilian, Cicero and Seneca, were widely known and quoted in the most relevant pedagogical literature, with Vagnone’s treatise being no exception. The most appreciated features of Plutarch’s pedagogy were its secular component, and its new educational standards, aimed at shaping a citizen who had a clear awareness of his civil, familiar and religious duties.

Some of Plutarch’s core precepts, which survived until modern times, included: the key role the family and the father played in the education of children (a common feature with Song-Ming instruction); the close attention the latter had to pay to the whole educational process, monitoring the child’s progress and the work of the teacher; the tendency to tolerate children’s mistakes and not to discourage them though excessive scolding; the necessity to abstain from any physical punishment, which could only harm the child’s learning; the right balance between study and leisure activities, the latter mostly including physical exercises. The respect that Plutarch showed towards youngsters, as the future of society, provided Renaissance intellectuals with a sense of relief that the narrow-minded conception of life, typical of the Middle Ages, was finally over.³⁶⁴ The influence of *Peri paidon agoges* on the structure of Renaissance pedagogical treatises is evident, especially in those chapters concerning the earliest stages of the child’s life and the main methods of education. Like Vagnone’s *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, the Greek treatise opens with a dissertation on prenatal education, specifically on the effects a proper choice of marriage has on procreation,³⁶⁵ chapter five and seven introduced two core issues of both Renaissance and Chinese classical pedagogy – the mother-son relation and how it is improved by the act of breast-feeding³⁶⁶ – alongside the role of a

³⁶³ Further details on the most relevant Plutarchian and pseudo-Plutarchian pedagogical works, also including fragmentary texts, alongside an extensive bibliography on the subject can be found in *Moralia*, 1990, pp. XII-XVI.

³⁶⁴ *Moralia*, 1990, p. XII.

³⁶⁵ See TYJY, volume 1, chap. 1 教育之原第 (*The origin of the education*).

³⁶⁶ See TYJY, volume 1, chap. 2 育之功第二 (*The task of raising children*).

virtuous teacher as a model of the child.³⁶⁷ As illustrated by Meynard's study, 15th-16th century pedagogues had rediscovered the importance of a mother's contribution to the baby's earliest nutrition and were unanimous in opposing the medieval habit of entrusting it to the wet nurse,³⁶⁸ or if that was compulsory, they urged the selection of a morally outstanding one, "[...]because licentious and drunken women produce an extremely impure milk, those who drink it will not only become physically weak, but will also be touched by these women's evil sickness".³⁶⁹ At a later stage of education, usually around the age of seven, the father was entrusted with the selection of the teacher, whose duties in classical Greece and 3rd century B.C. Rome were covered by the *paidagogos* παιδαγωγός first and later by the *didaskalos* διδάσκαλος. The authors of both treatises insist on the necessity to hire a virtuous sage, who could act as a "second father", without worrying about his price.³⁷⁰ The central part of the pseudo-Plutarchian book revolves around the importance of certain literary subjects for the formation of pupils, philosophy and rhetoric above all, without neglecting the importance of leisure activities, as a means to unload children's pressure. These topics were also covered by Vagnone,³⁷¹ although adapted to Medieval or Renaissance standards, according to his missionary intent. For instance, when introducing the Western academic system in chapter five of the second volume, Vagnone presented theology, not philosophy, as *regina scientiarum*, a definition borrowed from Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274).³⁷² In the last eight chapters of *Peri paidon agoges*, the author provided further recommendations concerning moral behaviour and daily aspects of the child's life, which were also covered by Vagnone: keep a right balance between

³⁶⁷ See TYJY, volume 1, chap. 4 教之助第四 (*Aid in education*).

³⁶⁸ Meynard, 2014, pp. 119-130.

³⁶⁹ See TYJY, volume 1, chap. 2, p. 263. As for Plutarch he also insisted not to entrust the baby's nursing to a random woman, but "only to select those with the best credentials". One of the desired criteria was, apparently, that they were "of Greek customs", so that they could have a positive influence on both the body and the temperament of the children. See *Peri paidon agoges* chap. 2, p. 7.

³⁷⁰ Interestingly, such *topos* appeared in most pedagogical treatises and was supported by the very same anecdote from Diogenes Laertius' "Life of eminent philosophers" (written around the 3rd century C.E.), II.72. See Plutarch, *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 7, p. 27, Vegio, *De Educatione liberorum*, II. 6 p. 22, Bonifacio, *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I.3p. 135, TYJY, volume 1, chap. 4, p. 277.

³⁷¹ See TYJY, volume 2, chap. 3 文學第三 (*Literary Studies*), chap. 4 正書第四 (*Righteousd books*), chap. 5 西學第五 (*Western learning*) and chap. 10 閒戲第十 (*Leisure time and games*).

³⁷² TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5, p. 381.

prices and punishment,³⁷³ educate them to be honest, discourage them from lying,³⁷⁴ guard their acquaintances to avoid their nature getting corrupted by devious companies,³⁷⁵ and in general to act as a “mirror”, a model throughout the whole educational process.

However, the most interesting combination between the classical and humanistic approach to pedagogy lies in the true essence of the educational process, which is a combination of three factors: nature, practice and teaching. By drawing an analogy with the farming process, the earliest theorizers of pedagogical science, the Sophists, believed that even a poor field (i.e. a scarcely gifted human nature) could produce a good harvest (be educated to virtue) thanks to the work of a valid farmer (the teacher) and the help of fine seeds (righteous precepts and doctrines).³⁷⁶ The Sophists (literally “erudite men”) were an elite group of scholars that emerged in early 5th century B.C., committed to the rhetoric formation of young men in order to prepare them to contribute to democratic life in Athens. They are rightfully hailed as the earliest instructors, as they also shaped a brand new notion of teaching based on the “art of persuasion” (*téchne téχνη*), aimed at achieving political virtue (*areté ἀρετή*).³⁷⁷ Such an innovative approach that focused on learning new rules and the transmission of knowledge, instead of relying on pre-existing models, was not only still lingering in Plutarch’s education, six centuries later, but was also described by Vagnone in the chapter addressed to the importance of literary studies for the cultivation of children’s morality:

“先智者，嘗設論曰：欲成大器，質與學孰重，則必以學爲重焉。夫美質者，如田之膏腴，非恆修治之，徒長豐草耳。嘗觀質之鈍者，多用學之功力，竟得成全。未見美質者，不學而能成也。

[Ancient sages used to explain: ‘If one wishes to become outstanding, what is more important, nature or learning? It is certainly learning, that needs to be considered more important. Good nature is like a fertile field, if it’s not constantly managed it will surely sprout plenty of weeds. Even those

³⁷³ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 6 教之翼第六 (*The “wings” of the education*).

³⁷⁴ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 2 言信第二 (*Honesty in speech*).

³⁷⁵ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 9 交友第九 (*On Friendship*).

³⁷⁶ See C. Caramello e U. Zandrino, 1970, p. 17.

³⁷⁷ Badaloni N., Bertoni Jovine D., *Storia della pedagogia*, vol. 1 Bari, Editori Laterza, 1966, pp. 48-49.

who are considered stupid by nature, will eventually succeed through study. It's never been seen someone with a good nature succeeding without studying']".³⁷⁸

Such heritage is not surprising, as Sophist trends in pedagogy were considered extremely close to humanism: after centuries of state-controlled educational methods, especially in Sparta and Athens, they suggested a relativist approach to knowledge that considered the man as the "measure of all things", hence providing new scientific criteria.³⁷⁹

5.1.2 The precursor of modern pedagogy: Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*

Although almost contemporary to Plutarch, Marcus Fabius Quintilian's³⁸⁰ *Institutio Oratoria* is, however, the product of a substantially different historical and cultural environment. As a Spanish-born teacher, Quintilian benefitted from Roman citizenship, which had been extended to all foreign nationals at the time, and was able to receive instruction in both his native and "adoptive" land. However, as the educational system with Roman characteristics was slowly extended to every municipality of the empire, schools were no longer able to transmit anything but outdated rhetorical models, which resulted in cultural unification and a slow decay of the famous Latin eloquence.³⁸¹ As a consequence, the profession of the orator, identified by Cicero as "man of politics", who could persuade the masses of the superiority of a specific political and juridical system, also lost his social role. In such cultural debate that revolved around ancient and new rhetorical styles, the eminent lawyer and teacher Quintilian attempted to provide a systematic theorization of the main stages of

³⁷⁸ See TYJY, volume 2, chap. 3 文學第三 (*Literary Studies*), p. 359.

³⁷⁹ Badaloni N., Bertoni Jovine D, 1966, p. 48.

³⁸⁰ Born in Calagurris, Spain, between 35-40 C.E., he reached the Roman forum after his father, a rhetorician. He returned to his home country to complete his studies, only to find his way back to Rome in 68, where he started to practise the legal profession and opened a private school of oratory. Some of his experiences as a lawyer are described in his *Institutio Oratoria*. Quintilian is the first official teacher of the Roman tradition, the first dealing with the issue of education. According to Saint Jerome's record he was the first public school teacher, on a governmental salary, working on his position for around twenty years and earning 100.000 *sestertii* per year. However, not much information has been transmitted about his late life, but it seems that Quintilian lived in poor conditions under the emperors Domitian and Trajan, only to see his career restored under Adrian, when he became consul. He suffered from the death of his young wife and two children, and probably passed away around the year 96. See Quintiliano, *Istituzione Oratoria*, prefazione, traduzione e note di Orazio Frilli, Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli editore, 1972 pp. IX-XII.

³⁸¹ Badaloni N., Bertoni Jovine D, 1966, p. 159.

the orator's education. He still valued the civil relevance of this profession, that in his *Institutio Oratoria* embodied a complete individual, who was not just “a mercenary who sells his oratorical skills [...], but a man who has an outstanding genius, who was brought to this world for other people’s sake”.³⁸²

A masterpiece of eloquence and precursor of modern pedagogy, the *Institutio Oratoria* is divided into twelve books and was published in 96 CE, although probably written between 93 and 95.³⁸³ It was a work for friends and inspired by friends, as Quintilian stated in the preface of Book I.³⁸⁴ The text aimed at recording the main precepts of his lessons, in order not to waste the result of his twenty years-long experience as a teacher. The educational methodology suggested by Quintilian embraced youngsters’ lives from childhood to teenage years, combining Greek sources and Latin texts with his personal experience as an instructor. He believed children had to begin their studies before the age of seven, even if the master had to adapt his teachings to their particular stage of life. In Quintilian’s opinion the mnemonic skills of young pupils developed earlier than intelligence, therefore, in the first stage of their education, learning had to rely mainly on memory. Such a condition also influenced the teacher’s attitude towards the youngsters, which needed to be benevolent, never exceeding in strictness. The ban on physical punishment, alongside attention on children’s natural inclinations, were two of the most innovative traits of Quintilian’s pedagogy, a reaction to the excessive strictness of the standardized educational system at that time.³⁸⁵ As previously noticed, his precepts were also an attempt to restore the ancient rhetoric style (taking Cato and the Gracchi brothers as models, not Cicero), which had been declining following emperor’s Augustus restrictions on the freedom of speech.³⁸⁶ Quintilian’s commitment to improve

³⁸² Quoted by *Istituzione Oratoria*, 1972, p. XI.

³⁸³ In the preface of the book, addressed to his friend Trypho, Quintilian himself states that “[...]it was not yet ripe for publication. As you know I have spent little more than two years on its composition, during which time moreover I have been distracted by a multitude of other affairs.” See *Istituzione Oratoria*, 1972, I.1.

³⁸⁴ His words to Trypho speak for themselves: “You have daily importuned me with the request that I should at length take steps to publish the book on the Education of an Orator which I dedicated to my friend Marcellus”. See *Istituzione Oratoria*, 1972, I.1

³⁸⁵ Badaloni N., Bertoni Jovine D, 1966, p. 160.

³⁸⁶ Further details on the political and cultural context in which *Institutio Oratoria* was composed can be found in *Istituzione Oratoria*, 1972, pp. VII-XII.

the standards of the famous Latin eloquence is also confirmed by a previous treatise *De causis corruptae eloquentiae* (On the causes of the decadence of Roman oratory), in which he extensively addressed the reasons for linguistic decadence. Defined by his contemporaries as “the highest guide of restless youth, and glory of the Roman toga”,³⁸⁷ he combined theoretical expertise and practical knowledge, thanks to his double experience as a professional lawyer and instructor. Some of Quintilian’s innovations, which are still at the core of modern pedagogy, are the student-centred approach, his relation with the teacher and the (public) school³⁸⁸ as a place to educate children to freedom and sociality.³⁸⁹ The most appreciated topics, which thanks to Renaissance authors contributed to setting new standards for the history of pedagogy, are summarized below:

1. The earliest stages of education (within the family), the choice of the wet nurse, and of the *pedagogus*.³⁹⁰ The beginning of the study, including the main subjects and most effective methodologies. (Book I);

³⁸⁷ This quote is attributed to Marcus Valerius Martialis (38/41-104 C.E.), see *Istituzione Oratoria*, 1972, pp. VIII.

³⁸⁸ Unlike Plato and Aristotle, Quintilian supported public schools over private education, seen as the right environment to foster the social skills of the pupil and to train him not to be shy when approaching the forum in his future career. See *Istituzione Oratoria*, 1972, p. XIV; Badaloni N., Bertoni Jovine D, 1966, p. 160.

³⁸⁹ *Istituzione Oratoria*, 1972, p. XVI.

³⁹⁰ Such topics were also dealt with by Vagnone, respectively in chap. 2 育之功第二 (*The task of raising children*) and chap. 4 教之助第四 (*Aid in education*) of his *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育.

2. The choice of a teacher; mutual duties of teacher and pupil.³⁹¹ Different methods required for different pupils. Pupils to regard teachers as *in loco parentis*.³⁹² Righteous balance between praise and blame.³⁹³ Necessity to grant children some leisure time.³⁹⁴ (Book II);
3. Virtuous books (Latin poets and Greek writers) recommended for future orators, in order to improve their language skills and sharpen their critical sense.³⁹⁵ (Book X);
4. The orator's moral value; education needs to be aimed at shaping a complete individual who can contribute to politics at a social (as a citizen) and professional level (as an orator). The proper combination of theoretical and practical education. (Book XII).

As previously noted, the relevant status *Institutio Oratoria* maintained throughout centuries in different intellectual circles of Europe is justified by its pedagogical and methodological innovations. However, despite Quintilian discoveries, the educational content he suggested attached excessive importance to the grammatical component over the philosophical one, a further confirmation of the cultural depletion of imperial Rome.

³⁹¹ In particular, Vagnone draws inspiration from the part concerning the necessity of avoiding inferior teachers, a *topos* also covered by Plutarch and most Renaissance authors. See TYJY, chap. 4, pp. 275-277.

³⁹² In the opening of chapter 4, Vagnone states that "[...] some wise men called the teacher our second father (智者或稱師爲吾二父焉 TYJY, p. 271); this quote also appears in Juan Bonifacio's *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I. 3 p. 88.

³⁹³ Vagnone dedicates chapter 6 of the first volume, 教之翼第六 (*The "wings" of the education*), to the dissertation of this topic. As for Quintilian, in Book I.3, he states: "There must be no delay, then, in warning a boy that his actions must be unselfish, honest, self-controlled [...] I disapprove of flogging, [...] because in the first place it is a disgraceful form of punishment and fit only for slaves, and it is in any case an insult, as you will realize if you imagine its infliction at a later age". See *Instituzione Oratoria*, I. 3 13-14.

³⁹⁴ The healthy alternation between study and leisure activities and its effects on children's learning results, held a relevant place in the pedagogical debate of the Renaissance. However, while Vagnone's sources, specifically Vegio and Erasmus' treatises, only pay attention to etiquette and children's righteous behavior when playing games, in chapter 10 of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, 閒戲第十 (*Leisure time and games*), the Jesuit tackles this topic from the same perspective as Quintilian, stressing the pedagogical value of leisure activities.

³⁹⁵ Unlike most pedagogical treatises of the Renaissance, (including Vagnone's), Quintilian' literary recommendations are mainly functional to pursue a career in the forum, not to serve as tools for the moral cultivation of the individual.

5.2 Vagnone's source of inspiration: Juan Bonifacio's treatise *Christiani Pueri Institutio*

Renaissance education formally landed in East Asia in 1588, thanks to the publication of the pedagogic treatise *Christiani Pueri Institutio adolescentiaeque perfugium* (Instruction for Christian Youth and guidance for adolescence)³⁹⁶ by the Spanish humanist Juan Bonifacio S.J. (1538-1606).³⁹⁷ This text owes its reputation to the fact that it was printed in Macau, making use for the first time of the European-type movable printing press, but it in fact served a broader purpose: Alessandro Valignano's (1539-1606) cultural accommodation strategy. The Italian Jesuit, who spent his life between missions in Goa, Macau and Japan, showed an early commitment in searching for the most effective ways to avoid conflict between Christianity and indigenous customs, in order to foster harmonious relations with local populations.³⁹⁸ In his opinion, two things were the most suitable means to fulfil such a goal: books and language education. As an organization based on a strict academic system, publications played an indisputable role in the Jesuits' formation: as early as 1556, the newly established Roman College launched its own print house, which was soon exported to Ethiopia and India.³⁹⁹ Since his appointment as the Visitor of the Society of Jesus in Asia, in 1582, Valignano had spent great effort in boosting the production of religious and pedagogical texts that showed cross-cultural characteristics.⁴⁰⁰ He particularly encouraged the publication of manuals and

³⁹⁶ *Christiani pueri institutio, adolescentiae que perfugium: autore Ioanne Bonifacio Societatis Iesu. Cum libri unius, & rerum accessione plurimarum. Cum facultate Superiorum apud Sinas, in Portu Macaensi in Domo Societatis Iesu. Anno 1588.* For this research, I consulted both the copies available at the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, and at the Royal Library of Copenhagen (Det Kongelige Bibliotek), but I refer to the 1607 edition, reprinted in Ingolstadt (Germany), for quotations.

³⁹⁷ Among Juan Bonifacio's many talents, his devotion to education particularly stands out, as it is confirmed by his twofold experience as a writer and grammar teacher. For further information on his biography see Olmedo F.G., *Juan Bonifacio 1538-1606: Y la Cultura Literaria del Siglo de Oro*. Santander: Publicaciones de la Sociedad de Menéndez Pelayo, 1939, pp. 21-28; Kawamura Shinzo, "Humanism, Pedagogy and Language: Alessandro Valignano and the Global Significance of Juan Bonifacio's Work Printed in Macao (1588)" in *Colóquio Internacional "O humanismo latino e as cultura do extremo Oriente"*, Macau 6-8 gennaio 2005, pp. 143-156;

³⁹⁸ Kawamura, *ibid.*, p. 143.

³⁹⁹ Bernard, 1945, p. 6.

⁴⁰⁰ To provide an example of Valignano's educational "activism", Cadafaz de Matos reports the following text, printed three years after his arrival in the local mission: "*Doctrina christam en lingua malauar tamul. Doctrina crista tresladada em lingua tamul pello padre Anrique Anriquez da companhia de IESV, & pello padre Manoel de Sao Pedro. Com approuacao do ordinario & inquisidor; & co licencia do superior da mesma companhia: impressa em coula no collegio do Saluador: aos vite de Outubro de M.D.LXXVIII*". See Cadafaz De Matos, M. "Chirstiani pueri istitutio - edicao anastatica do exemplar da Biblioteca da Ajuda em Lisboa com um estudio previo por Manuel Cadafaz De Matos", in *Istituto cultural de Macau*, 1988, p. 17. This work, published in 1578, also appears as an interesting precursor of those adaptations of European books, produced by Ming China Jesuits, which helped open the great door of China.

dictionaries, functional to students of Latin and Asian languages for the mutual understanding of such idioms.

At the dawn of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's (1536-1598) persecution of Christianity in Japan, missionaries began to flee the country, therefore St. Paul's College of Macau became the new reference centre for the formation of seminarists in East Asia. These new conditions were among the reasons why Valignano, who visited Macau from 1588 to 1590, decided to inaugurate the new printing press that had been brought back from a mission to Europe by Constantin Dourado (?-1620), a Japanese Jesuit who had acquired the skill of printing in Goa.⁴⁰¹ The text chosen for the publication was, as previously indicated, *Christiani Pueri Institutio adolescentiaeque perfugium*, a pedagogical treatise in Latin published in Salamanca in 1575 and then in Cordoba in 1578.⁴⁰² At present it is not possible to confirm how Valignano acquired the book. Kawamura suggests that he might have found a copy in Goa, or even that he had one sent by Bonifacio himself,⁴⁰³ while other theories imply that it was brought back from Europe by Japanese ambassadors.⁴⁰⁴ What is evident is that such a treatise perfectly embodied the spirit of the humanistic education: shaping a morally outstanding individual who also excelled in the *ars oratoria*.⁴⁰⁵ The topics Bonifacio dealt with confirm this twofold purpose:

Book I: "*De honesta educatione* (On education, its goodness and value)";

⁴⁰¹ Dourado was among the four young Japanese ambassadors Valignano sent to Europe in 1582, on a mission aimed at swearing loyalty to the Pope, and showing the results of the Jesuits' efforts in Japan. A description of the main stages and the reasons behind this mission is provided by Cadafaz De Matos, 1988, p. 15 and Kawamura, 2005, p. 144.

⁴⁰² Cadafaz De Matos, 1988, p.23.

⁴⁰³ Kawamura, 2005, p. 146; See also Sophia University (Tokyo), *Kirishitan Bunko, Laures Database*, (<http://133.12.23.145:8000/html>).

⁴⁰⁴ Cadafaz De Matos, 1988, p.27.

⁴⁰⁵ Kawamura quotes Quintilian's expression "*vir bonus dicendi peritus* (only a good man can make a good speech)", a saying that became particularly relevant in the Renaissance, marking the connection between one's language skills and the development of his virtues. Kawamura, 2005, p. 148.

Book II: “*De praeclara pueritia* (On outstanding youth)”;

Book III: “*De Religione* (On religion)”;

Book IV: “*De verecundia et morum urbanitate* (On modesty and moral propriety)”;

Book V: “*De Castitate* (On chastity)”.

These five sections contain virtuous anecdotes and examples belonging to four different worlds: Old Testament (*divina*), good Christians (*christiana*), morally outstanding pagan characters (*externa*), birds and animals (*natura*).⁴⁰⁶ As a man formed in 16th century Italy,⁴⁰⁷ Valignano shared the opinion that language skills could not be separated from virtuous living, a twofold educational purpose that he saw in Bonifacio’s treatise. As stated in the preface to the Macau edition, he was very concerned about the students’ progress in virtue as well as in Latin language, therefore he wished to supply them with books that could fulfil both purposes.⁴⁰⁸ *Christiani pueri institutio* was therefore not merely used as a Latin textbook for Japanese novices who were starting to gather at St. Paul’s College after fleeing persecution in their own country, but also as the earliest vehicle of introduction of Renaissance education into late Ming China. The reason to consider such text as culturally tailored for Japanese students was not only suggested by the inscription on the preface, “to the students of the Japanese seminars (*ad alunnos seminariorum iaponesium*)”, but also by some passages specifically added to the Macau edition, concerning virtuous examples by Japanese young boys. Only recently, the Jesuit scholar Thierry Meynard disproved the theory that such anecdotes were specifically added

⁴⁰⁶ A detailed study on the structure and the influence on Renaissance pedagogy on *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was also carried out by Meynard Thierry, in the aforementioned article (2014), which complemented this research.

⁴⁰⁷ According to his biographical records, Valignano studied civil law at the University of Padua, one of the most culturally active centers of the Renaissance, before enrolling in the Society of Jesus, and continuing his formation at the Roman College, where he also made the acquaintance of the famous mathematician Christopher Clavius (1537-1612). See Kawamura, 2005, p. 148.

⁴⁰⁸ “Cogitanti mihi semper de vestro in virtute, et latina lingua progressu praeclarae expectationis alumni, et ad vestram patriam magno animi ardore redeunti in mentem venit, ea mecum exportare, quae ad vestrum profectum maxime essent accomodata”. See *Christiani pueri institutio, adolescentiae quae perfugium*, autore Ioanne Bonifacio societatis Iesu cum facultate superiorum apud sinis, in Portu Macaensi, in domo societatis IESV, anno 1588. “Prefazione Alessandro Valignano ad alunnos seminariorum iaponesium”, p. 1.

by Valignano to the Macau edition, indicating that it was the 1586 edition of Bonifacio's treatise that was used as a source for the publication, and not the one published in Burgos in 1588. In the 1586 text he discovered in a Spanish library, the Japan-related passages were already included, and even connected to a specific source: the Jesuit Cosme de Torres (1510-1570), one of the first missionaries in Japan.⁴⁰⁹

In conclusion, the publication of *Christiani pueri institutio* marked the beginning of an increasing wave of interest towards pedagogy at St. Paul's College, also improved by the opening of the elementary school, which we described in chapter five. It is therefore logical to highlight a connection between Vagnone's commitment to the education of children and his forced stay in Macau, which must have influenced the earliest stages of the composition of his *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育. The similar purpose the two works were supposed to serve, alongside some structural and content-related resemblances, led many scholars to consider Bonifacio's treatise the main source of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育.⁴¹⁰ However, an in-depth analysis of the content of Vagnone's treatise suggests a more complex structure, which was just partly influenced by *Christiani pueri institutio*.

Since it was aimed at the cultivation of Christian qualities in young boys,⁴¹¹ *Christiani pueri institutio* did not cover the issues related to prenatal education, but it provided Vagnone with relevant literary inspiration on topics like the selection of a valid teacher, methodology and the tools of education,⁴¹² which were at the core of the Renaissance pedagogical debate. In the central part of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, while the author introduced virtues like piety (the *pietas* towards God and the parents), chastity (*pudor corporis* or *castitas*), the sense of shame (*verecundia*), reticence (*verecundia verborum*) and honesty (*sinceritas*), he also drew extensively from books three (on religion), four (on children's

⁴⁰⁹ See Meynard, 2014, p. 121. Another reason to consider this edition the original text on which Valignano based the publication of the treatise in Macau in 1588, is that the two years that chronologically divide the two works seem a more appropriate range of time to acquire a text that had to be shifted from Europe to East Asia.

⁴¹⁰ Duan, 2012, p. 200, Menegon Eugenio, *Un solo cielo. Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649). Geografia, arte, scienza e religione dall'Europa alla Cina*, Brescia, Grafo Edizioni, 1994, p. 166. Meynard, 2014, p. 120.

⁴¹¹ Juan Bonifacio was in fact a secondary school teacher, therefore more familiar with problems concerning the education of teenagers.

⁴¹² Between chapter 4, chapter 5 and chapter 6 of Vagnone's treatise, I identified eleven anecdotes adapted from the first book of *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, which concerns the righteous aspects of education.

etiquette) and five (on chastity) of Bonifacio's treatise.⁴¹³ However, in order to also make his treatise fruitful to non-Christian readers, or due to the fact that it was composed at a very early stage of the introduction of Western learning (*Xixue* 西學) into Chinese society, Vagnone borrowed most of the *exempla* from the section *externa*, which mainly recorded the deeds of virtuous sages or kings from European classical tradition. Nevertheless, the relevance of Bonifacio's treatise as a tool for the diffusion of Renaissance pedagogy into late 16th to early 17th century China is undeniable, and despite its scarce success as a Latin textbook,⁴¹⁴ it can surely be considered the main source of inspiration for Vagnone's *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育.

5.3 Maffeo Vegio, Desiderius Erasmus and Juan de Torres: Renaissance pedagogy transmitted to 17th century China.

Despite its contribution to the development of the pedagogical curriculum of St. Paul's College, Bonifacio's *Christiani pueri institutio* was mainly an anthology of edifying examples from virtuous personages, and therefore lacked that systematic theoretical component a treatise on education required. As previously examined, Vagnone had taken the two literary milestones of Classical pedagogy, *Peri paidon agoges* and *Institutio Oratoria*, as frameworks for his *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, but still needed a text that could offer a complete synthesis between Christian and humanist precepts. Such a solution was provided by the 15th century Italian pedagogue Maffeo

⁴¹³ From chapter 7 of the first volume to chapter 2 of the second volume of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, there are eleven between quotes and adaptations from Bonifacio's text.

⁴¹⁴ As the main vehicle of communication between members of the Universal Church, a proficient grasp of Latin language was pursued as a main aim of education throughout worldwide missions. However, as pointed out by Kawamura's study, to acquire sufficient language skills was definitely a hard task for most wannabe priests, especially for speakers of Asian languages. For more details of the experience of Japanese novices in the study of Latin, alongside its influence on the selection of candidates to priesthood, see Kawamura, 2005, pp. 149-152.

Vegio's⁴¹⁵ treatise *De educatione liberorum et eorum claribus moribus* (On the education of children and their clear manners, 1491), hereafter *De educatione liberorum*.⁴¹⁶

Vegio's treatise is regarded as one of the finest works of Renaissance pedagogy, which "strives for systematic completeness"⁴¹⁷ by offering a multi-perspective approach to educative problems: physical, intellectual, moral. Like many of his contemporaries, he took his friend Guarino's translation of the *Peri paidon agoges* as a model to restore the ancient educational ideal of the complete man, who was perfected by religious training.⁴¹⁸ His all-embracing education is based on St. Augustin's teaching and integrated by morally influential authors of classic literature, such as Cicero, Horace, Virgil, etc.⁴¹⁹ However, Vegio's precepts are not only validated by authoritative quotations of ancient sages; his education takes on for the first time a subjective connotation, his own experience. For instance, when tackling the problem of breastfeeding, he described his nurse as "sparing of words, most eager for solitude, and unfriendly to the crowd", a character he claimed to have imbibed along with her milk.⁴²⁰

In spite of being published only thirty years after Vegio's death and obtaining therefore only a posthumous fortune, the fame of *De educatione liberorum* is confirmed by its sixteen republications. Although there seems to be no record of this text in any Chinese library of the 17th century, Meynard

⁴¹⁵ Lodi (Milan) 1407-Rome 1458, embodied the prototype of the perfect humanistic scholar. Following his father's wish Vegio received an early education in rhetoric, and continued his studies in law at the famous University of Pavia. After completing this stage of his education, based on classics, he moved to Rome where he approached the papal court, started his course in theology and was made canon of the St. Peter's Basilica in 1443. For further details on his life and works see Walburg Fanning M., *Maphei Vegii Laudensis De Educatione Liberorum et eorum claribus moribus, Libri Sex*, a critical text of Books I-III, Ph.D. dissertation, the Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., 1933, pp. XVI – XXI.

⁴¹⁶ See also Meynard, 2014, p. 121 table n. 3.

⁴¹⁷ Walburg Fanning, 1933, p. XXI.

⁴¹⁸ Walburg Fanning, *ibid.*, p. XX.

⁴¹⁹ For a dissertation on Vegio's pedagogical approach, see Bertin Giovanni Maria, *La pedagogia umanistica europea nei secoli XV e XVI*, Milano, Marzorati, 1961, pp. 53-57.

⁴²⁰ Quoted by Walburg Fanning, 1933, p. XI. The *topos* of the nurse's milk as a vehicle of qualities and vices was inherited by classical pedagogy, and is also used by Vagnone: "[...] 蓋多色多酒之母，生乳極濁，食之者，不但稟賦之薄，猶沾其惡病焉。(Because licentious and drunken women produce an extremely impure milk, those who drink it will not only become physically weak, but will also be touched by these women's evil sickness)". TYJY, chap. 2, p. 263.

suggests that Vagnone must have been familiar with Vegio's works, due to the geographical and cultural origin they shared, and probably had access to this specific book when studying in Northern Italy.⁴²¹ Like Vagnone and his classical predecessors, in the first part of his book Vegio dealt with prenatal education and pre-school age. He began discussing the righteous example of the parents, which lays its basis in a proper choice of marriage, the correct way of procreating and the personal involvement of the mother in breastfeeding the baby. The last chapters of the first book addressed aspects concerning the children's everyday behaviour, urging their moderation in dressing, eating and sleeping,⁴²² topics that Vagnone tackled in the last part of his treatise.

The second book also opened with a core *topos* of classical and Renaissance pedagogy: the selection of a virtuous teacher, which was followed suit by dissertations on aspects related to the methodologies of education, for instance the proper balance between prizing and reproaching and the ban of physical punishment. In the second and third book, which described in detail the most suitable subjects for the child's intellectual and spiritual cultivation, the influence of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* appears evident, especially in the student-centered approach to learning, meaning and the adaptation of a teaching methodology to each child's nature and personal inclination.⁴²³ In the last three books of Vegio's text, the Christian virtues became the focus of the dissertation – the sense of reverence towards God, the parents and oneself, for instance, complemented Bonifacio's precepts on filial piety and the sense of shame, providing material for chapters eight and ten of the first volume of Vagnone's treatise.⁴²⁴ In the fifth book of his text, Vegio moved on to tackling the virtue of *verecundia* (modesty) and its diverse implications: when applied to speech, it developed into reticence or honesty, qualities that held a relevant position in classical and Renaissance education and were also included in Vagnone's *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育;⁴²⁵ when involving

⁴²¹ Meynard, 2014, p. 120.

⁴²² See TYJY, volume 2, chapter 6 飲食第六 (*On Diet*), chapter 7 衣裳第七 (*Clothing*) and chapter 8 寢寐第八 (*On Sleep*).

⁴²³ Bertin, 1961, p. 54.

⁴²⁴ See TYJY volume 1 chapter 8 學之次第八 (*Sequences of learning*), chapter 9 潔身第九 (*Preserving one's purity*) and chapter 10 知耻第十 (*Possessing shame*).

⁴²⁵ See TYJY volume 2, chapter 1 緘默第一 (*On reticence*) and chapter 2 言信第二 (*Honesty in speech*).

clothing, it resulted in a series of precepts on personal care and propriety in dressing.⁴²⁶ Finally, the last book concluded the dissertation on “modesty” in private places, providing further inspiration on Vagnone’s chapters on etiquette.

Vegio’s educational methodologies, such as the edifying use of classics, alongside his attempt to codify a set of conduct rules valid for Christian youth, were developed a few decades after his death by the most complete intellectual of the Renaissance: Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536).⁴²⁷ Despite his controversial theories on theological issues, Erasmus’ contribution to the letters and philosophy of Europe and the influence his philological works had on the Reformation are undeniable. Erasmus made use of the pioneering approach of Italian humanists on classics, to suggest an alternative to the old scholastic curriculum. His educational methods were traditional in this sense, but at the same time innovative, as they implied that learning had to be based on children’s interest and follow their natural inclinations.⁴²⁸ Three are the most relevant works in which Erasmus specifically addressed the problem of education are: *Institutio principis Christiani* (Education of a Christian Prince, 1516), written as a moral guideline for Spanish King Charles V, *De Pueris Instituendis* (On Educating children, 1529), the ideological manifesto of his approach to pedagogy and the booklet *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellum* (A Handbook on Good Manners for Children, 1532), originally a Latin textbook for young pupils, which dealt with etiquette for youngsters.⁴²⁹ Although none of these publications can be directly related to *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, the influence of Erasmus’ precepts deeply permeated Vagnone’s pedagogy. In particular, in the last five chapters of his treatise, Vagnone addressed topics such as moderation in eating, dressing and sleeping, alongside the importance of cultivating virtuous friendship and engaging in healthy leisure

⁴²⁶ See TYJY volume 2 chapter 7 衣裳第七 (*Clothing*).

⁴²⁷ Erasmus’ intense life and controversial works have been at the core of extensive academic studies. This research refers to Rizzatti Maria Luisa, *Erasmus da Rotterdam*, Milano, Mondadori, 1968; Erba Andrea M., *L’umanesimo spirituale: l’Enchiridion di Erasmo da Rotterdam*, Roma, Studium, 1994.

⁴²⁸ Meynard, 2014, p. 120.

⁴²⁹ See *A Handbook of Good Manners for Children by Erasmus of Rotterdam*, translated by Eleanor Merchant, International Edition, 2008, p. 8.

activities.⁴³⁰ These practical aspects were in part functional to develop an outstanding moral conduct that could produce a virtuous individual and citizen, like the case of Song-Ming etiquette, but also complied with the Renaissance belief of a healthy body as a requirement for a healthy mind, advocated by Erasmus.

The reasons why Vagnone could not openly quote Erasmus are to be sought in the mixed feelings the Jesuits showed towards the Dutch intellectual. Although not officially a supporter of Erasmus' works, especially of *Prise of Folly* (1509) and all the other texts that sarcastically criticised the church, St. Ignatius never put an official ban on their reading, but only on using them as textbooks. However, a more relaxed attitude was observed when it came to his works on etiquette: an adapted edition of Erasmus' *De Civilitate Morum* was in fact printed and used in a Jesuit school in Cologne.

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As the new Renaissance concept of *civilitas* was slowly replacing the feudal structures and the related ideals of chivalry and courtesy, the necessity of codifying the new system of social interactions was gradually making its way in the pedagogical debate of the 15th century. The education ideal based on Greek and Roman classics needed to be integrated by a new set of social rules and manners which could reflect the changed values. The so-called "conduct books" or "courtesy books" blossomed throughout 16th century Europe, resulting in canonical publications such as Giovanni Della Casa's (1503-1556) *Galateo: overo de' costumi* (Galateo: The Rules of Polite Behaviour, 1558), which set the code of social etiquette for at least three centuries. At the same time, many early humanist educators had addressed the topic of the instruction of princes, considered a tool of a broader project of civil education.⁴³² The formation of a prince was aimed at the mutual development of his skills as a ruler and as a warrior, without neglecting his moral and cultural value. As described by P.P. Vergerio (1370-1444), who composed the earliest treatise on the education of

⁴³⁰ For a comparison between the topics of the last five chapters of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 and Erasmus' *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellum* see Meynard, 2014, p. 122 table n. 2. However, my comparative analysis on both treatises didn't uncover any direct reference or quotation.

⁴³¹ O'Malley, John W., *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993, pp. 261-263.

⁴³² Bertin, 1961, p. 44.

a prince, his study plan had to be based on the liberal arts, considered by Seneca “those worthy a free man”,⁴³³ namely moral philosophy and history. These also had to be integrated by subjects like natural sciences, astronomy, geometry, law, medicine and theology, which embodied the essence of medieval and renaissance pedagogy.⁴³⁴

The treatise *Philosophia Moral de Principes* (hereafter *Philosophia Moral*), published in Burgos in 1596 by the Spanish Jesuit Juan De Torres, was also a product of this literary current. As stated in the dedication of the book, it was written as supporting material for the education of the Spanish Prince Philip II, to which the *ayo* (tutor) Don Osario Gomez Davila y Toledo had been appointed.⁴³⁵ In his recent study, Meynard suggested that De Torres’ treatise was influenced by Erasmus’ book *Institutio principis Christiani* and specifically addressed the education of an 18-year-old prince, which explains the omission of topics concerning the pre-school age, the choice of marriage, alongside the selection of the wet nurse and the teacher,⁴³⁶ and the emphasis on political matters and virtues such as justice and mercy, which were closely associated to the practice of the *buen gobierno*.⁴³⁷

Notwithstanding the distance between De Torres’ pedagogical purpose and Vagnone’s missionary intent, the list of Chinese adaptations of European books reported by Henri Bernard clearly states that, “*Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 contient en grand partie la *Philosophia* [moral] de Principes du P. [Juan de] Torres”.⁴³⁸ Despite the different criteria that influenced the arrangement of the respective

⁴³³ “*Quae sunt homine libero digna*”, quoted by Bertin, *ibid.*, p. 44.

⁴³⁴ Bertin, 1961, p. 45.

⁴³⁵ I consulted the *editio princeps* at the National Library of Portugal in Lisbon. However, for this research, I refer to the digitalized edition published in Burgos, 1602 by Juan Baptista Varesio.

⁴³⁶ Meynard, 2014, p. 123.

⁴³⁷ De Torres Juan *Philosophia moral de principes, para su buena criança y govierno, y para personas de todos estados*, Burgos, 1596, Book 7, pp. 320-383.

⁴³⁸ Bernard, 1945, p. 336. The author indicated this article as his source, Pierre Humbertclaude, “Recherces sur deux Catalogues de Macao, 1616 e 1632”, in *Biblioteca Niponica*, Fasciculo Terceiro, Tokyo, 1940 I 4. Unfortunately, I have not been able to retrieve it during present research, nor was it included in Fang Hao’s list of publications which were brought back by Trigault in 1619, or in the Beitang Library Catalogue. Therefore, I cannot provide any recent confirmation on the presence of De Torres’ text in Macau or in mainland China.

tables of contents, it appears that Vagnone took inspiration from De Torres in the compilation of at least six chapters, as shown in the table below:

Tongyou Jiaoyu 童幼教育	Philosophia Moral de Principes
Volume 1 Chapter 9 “潔身 (On chastity)”	Book 19 “De los benes de la castidad”
Volume 2 Chapter 3 “文學 (Literary studies)”	Book 6 “Estudios y letras”
Volume 2 Chapter 4 “正書 (Righteous Books)”	Book 25 “Los Buenos Libros”
Volume 2 Chapter 6 “飲食 (On diet [i.e. eating and drinking])”	Book 11 “La Templança açerca del comer y beber”
Volume 2 Chapter 8 “寢寐 (On Sleep)”	Book 12 “La Templança açerca del dormir”
Volume 2 Chapter 9 “交友 (On Friendship)”	Book 5 “Amigos y mala compaña”

In addition to these chapters, characterized by significant quotes and virtuous anecdotes from *Philosophia Moral*, I identified further references to De Torres’ work in chapter 10 (first volume) and 2 (second volume) of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, respectively concerning the “sense of shame” and “honesty in speech”. Unfortunately, it is not possible to confirm whether and when the Italian Jesuit had access to De Torres’ treatise at this stage. Meynard suggests that Vagnone became acquainted with the text during his years in Milan, and made use of some of its ethical precepts when preparing his teaching material on rhetoric.⁴³⁹ As reported by Golvers’s study, Jesuit writers supplied to the lack of physical copies of specific texts through the use of written quotations they brought along from Europe.⁴⁴⁰

The above analysis shows Vagnone’s whole-hearted dedication in searching for topics that could bring the European and Chinese cultures close together, while avoiding the points of conflict. However, in order to make their texts authoritative in the eyes of late Ming literati, he had to undertake a further step: a thoughtful adaptation to the Chinese literary and philosophical tradition.

⁴³⁹ Meynard, 2014, p. 123.

⁴⁴⁰ For instance, only in chapter 9 of the second volume, *Jiaoyou* 交友 (On friendship), I identified three Latin-Chinese translations of famous sayings and two *chreiai* (moral anecdotes), reported almost literally. See TYJY pp. 405-414. For further details on how the Jesuit’s quotation system worked, see chapter 6.1. of the present volume.

5.4 The influence of classical Chinese literature on *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育

The cultural context late Ming Jesuits were gradually making their way into was entirely dominated by a syncretic moral system: the so-called *san jiao* 三教 (three teachings, namely Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism) had reached the highest level of integration, shaping a new set of moral values and redefining the notions of good (or virtue) *shan* 善 and evil (or vice) *e* 惡. The state of crisis and moral decadence late 16th century China was experiencing could not provide appropriate models for common people to look at, therefore the task of exhorting virtues and punishing vice (*quanshancheng'e* 劝善惩恶), was left to the morality books, *shanshu* 善書. Such texts, written by literati as educational tools for common people during the Song-Yuan dynasties, were mainly addressed to followers of Daoism and Buddhism, as they specifically dealt with ethical aspects from those two religious systems. However, following the new socio-cultural trends of the Ming dynasty, *shanshu* 善書 became a more comprehensive literature, and came to include imperial edicts, maxims, family precepts and other genres which had close influence on the whole population's life, from government officials to farmers and merchants.⁴⁴¹ Their religious, cultural and educational components alongside the simple effectiveness of their language, allowed such books to circulate mainly among the lower strata of the population, and to be used as tools to maintain the social order, for they provided virtuous exempla and models of moral behaviour.⁴⁴²

Because of their ethical and didactic implications, the Jesuits and their collaborators could not neglect *shanshu* 善書 nor their popularity among common people. According to Standaert even Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠, one of the "three pillars of Christianity", prior to his conversion had been involved in the composition of morality books before turning to the Western version of the *Gongguoge* 功過格 (Ledgers of merits and demerits).⁴⁴³ The most well-known Jesuit text that emulated this genre was Diego de Pantoja's (1571-1618) *Qike* 七克 (Seven victories 1614), a

⁴⁴¹ Zhang Yichen 张祎琛 "Ming Qing Shanshu Yanjiu Zongshu 明清善书研究综述" in *Lilun jie* 理論界, issue 8, 2009, p. 137.

⁴⁴² Zhang, *ibid.*, p. 137.

⁴⁴³ This type of morality book consisted in lists of virtues and moral actions, filled in on a daily basis after self-examination. Such characteristics made them really popular among the Neo-Confucian literati of the 17th century, as part of the practice of *xiushen* 修身. See Standaert, 2001, p. 656.

dissertation of ethical advice on how to overcome the seven capital sins. However, Alfonso Vagnone also did not fail to offer his contribution to the category of Western *shanshu* 善書 thanks to the publication of *Dadao Jiyan* 達到記言 (Illustrations of the Grand Dao).⁴⁴⁴ It consisted of a collection of sayings and *chreiai* from famous sages and virtuous personages of the European tradition, arranged in five different headings which corresponded to the five Confucian cardinal human relationships.⁴⁴⁵ Although not specifically pointed out by any academic source so far, the educational and moral component of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, alongside its use of maxims and anecdotes from the European classical tradition, suggest that Vagnone had the literary example of *shanshu* 善書 in mind when composing this treatise. In addition to this, a philological analysis of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 confirmed the author's familiarity not only with contemporary literary trends, but also with classical Chinese culture.

As reported by Rule, the standard procedure for the missionaries' education in the Chinese language was to start with basic language primers, then to move on to the study of the Four Books (the Analects, the Book of Mencius, the Doctrine of Mean and the Great Learning), then the Classics and finally the dynastic histories.⁴⁴⁶ It was through the Ming edition of Zhu Xi's *Sishu Jizhu* 四書集註 (Collected Commentaries on the Four Books) that they approached the study of the Confucian classics. Such texts played a key role in the linguistic and cultural formation of the Jesuits, and also proved to be relevant for their literary production. The Confucian philosophy, which the Jesuits admired for its moral precepts and value, not only provided them with the main channel of understanding and communicating with the literati, but also with a functional vocabulary to adapt Western philosophical and religious concepts to the Chinese cultural milieu. In order to convey notions of foreign origin even to non-Christian readers, Vagnone, like many of his confrères, also borrowed key terms from the Confucian texts, adapting them to his communicative intent. An

⁴⁴⁴ Standaert, *ibid.*, p. 424.

⁴⁴⁵ For a detailed analysis of this text see Meynard T. & Li S.X., *Jesuit chreia in late Ming China: two studies with an annotated translation of Alfonso Vagnone's Illustrations of the Grand Dao. (Dadao jiyen 達到記言)*, Bern, Peter Lang Eurosonica, 2014.

⁴⁴⁶ Rule Paul, *K'ung tzu or Confucius? The Jesuit interpretation of Confucianism*, Allen & Unwin, 1986, pp. 10-11; Meynard, *The Jesuit Reading of Confucius. The first complete translation of the Lunyu (1687) published in the West*. Brill 2015, p. 19.

example is the concept of *Ren* 仁 (benevolence, sense of humanity) that in Jesuit publications was used to translate the virtue of Christian charity.⁴⁴⁷

As for specific references to the *Sishu Wujing* 四書五經 in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, the text often refers to the Confucian Classics, either through direct or paraphrased passages. In particular, this research identified four quotations from the Analects,⁴⁴⁸ two from the Doctrine of Mean,⁴⁴⁹ two from the Book of Mencius⁴⁵⁰ and one from the Great Learning.⁴⁵¹ Also, in chapter seven of the second volume, Vagnone explicitly quotes from the Book of Changes, making use of the passage: "慢藏诲盜，冶容诲淫 [...] (Keeping properties improperly will cause theft, and seductive looks will incite to wantonness)", to exhort children to avoid excess in dressing.⁴⁵²

Finally, to confer a more "culturally aware" connotation to his messages, Vagnone also made use of four popular expressions: a saying that dates back to the Han dynasty, "*Qiecuo zhuomo* 切磋琢磨 (To educate through a gradual polishing process)"⁴⁵³ and three Chengyu 成語 (idiomatic

⁴⁴⁷ Ferrero ran an interesting study on how the term was culturally adapted by Matteo Ricci. In his *Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實意 (True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven) Ricci identifies 'Ren 仁' as the highest of the Christian virtues, explaining that: "The definition of 'Ren 仁' can be summoned up in the following two sentences: love the Lord of Heaven, for He is supreme, and love others as you love yourself for the sake of the Lord of Heaven". Hence the most appropriate translation is "charity", although "sense of humanity" and "benevolence" are also close to its original meaning. See Ferrero, 2003, pp. 367-368.

⁴⁴⁸ TYJY volume 1, chap. 5, p. 283, chap. 9, p. 316, volume 2, chap. 2, p. 346, p. 350.

⁴⁴⁹ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 5, p. 283 (partial).

⁴⁵⁰ TYJY volume 1, chap. 7, p. 299, where Vagnone introduces the Five Cardinal Human Relationships or "*Wulun* 五倫", and volume 2, chap. 7, p. 395, a partial quote of part 8, chap. 25 of the classic.

⁴⁵¹ References to the lexicon or the ethical content of this text are quite frequent in Vagnone's treatise, as the *Great Learning* was regarded as a canonical book for Neo-Confucian self-cultivation. A paraphrase of the passage "物有本末，事有終始，知所先後，則進道矣 (Creatures have roots and branches, things have ends and beginnings, to know what comes first and what comes later shall lead to the righteous way)", appears in TYJY, volume 1, chap. 7, p. 295.

⁴⁵² TYJY, volume 2, chap. 7, p. 395. It was greatly helpful to confront my findings with Duan's research on the same subject. See Duan, 2012, pp. 226-229. He identified another reference to the *Book of Changes*, the following passage from the same chapter, *Xici shang* 系辭上: "默而成之，不言而信，存乎德行 (It's not necessary to speak; if one lives according to virtue, he can still gain men's trust)", however I have not been able to trace back the direct quote on Vagnone's text, therefore I believe it could be the paraphrase of the message concerning the importance of cultivating honesty. See TYJY, volume 2, chap. 2, pp. 341-350.

⁴⁵³ TYJY volume 1, chap. 2, p. 259.

expressions): “*Pi chang ci he* 彼倡此和 (To chorus somebody else’s lead)”,⁴⁵⁴ “*Dun kai mao se* 頓開毛色 (To suddenly see the light of things)”⁴⁵⁵ and the famous “*Tie chu mo zhen* 铁杵磨针 (To grind an iron bar into a fine needle)”,⁴⁵⁶ still widely used today. Of course, such skillful and pragmatically appropriate use of erudite quotations and popular sayings was the result of an intimate and fruitful collaboration between two learned scholars, specifically an educated man of the Renaissance and a *jinshi* 进士 of Ming China. This literary cooperation succeeded in bringing to light the linguistic and cultural trends of two different societies that were geographically very distant, yet relatively close.

A connection between the pedagogy of Song-Ming China and the precepts described by Vagnone was also emphasised by Han Lin 韓霖 (c. 1596 -1649), a member of the Shanxi-educated gentry and collaborator of the Jesuit during his years in Jiangzhou (1624-1640). In his preface to *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, Han Lin not only identified the ethical value of Vagnone’s treatise,⁴⁵⁷ but he was also the first to compare the Jesuit’s words to those of the eminent Neo-Confucian thinker Zhu Xi 朱熹:

“[...] 先生之言，于晦翁之書亦多符合，但其摛好辭于重舌，探藏理于終古，匪獨後生之模範，蓋亦前覺之功臣矣，而敬畏天主尤西來第一宗旨，晦翁敬身之篇尚隔一層。

[The master’s words are similar to Huiweng 晦翁’s writing, but he [Vagnone] shared his beautiful rhetoric with the translator, seeking the principles which are hidden in the past, not only as an example for the youngsters, but also for the officials of foresight. However, the Westerners’ main purpose is to respect and fear the Lord of Heaven, which is a step further from Huiweng’s books on self-reverence]”.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁴ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 2, p. 264.

⁴⁵⁵ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5 p. 378.

⁴⁵⁶ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 10, p. 416.

⁴⁵⁷ “This is not just a book about children, but it also includes [precepts of] self-cultivation, regulating the family, regulating the country and bringing peace to the world”. See TYJY, volume1, *Han Lin Xu* 韓霖序 p. 287.

⁴⁵⁸ TYJY, volume 1, *Han Lin Xu* 韓霖序 p. 287.

A comparative analysis between *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 and the eminent Song primer *Xiaoxue* 小學 highlighted in fact some interesting similarities, especially concerning the beginning and the methodology of the education. Vagnone and Zhu Xi correctly understood that the process of raising a child had to follow specific stages, and the edifying example of benevolent parents and wise teachers (*Renqin zhishi* 仁亲智师) played an essential role in influencing youngsters' natural disposition (*xingzhi* 性質). As described in the first chapter of *Xiaoxue* 小學 (*Li Jiao* 立教) and *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (*Jiaoyu zhi yuan* 教育之原), such a process started with prenatal education, which Zhu Xi included in the section *Tai Jiao* 胎教. It is noteworthy that, where Vagnone and Renaissance pedagogy stressed the importance of the choice of a righteous spouse as a vehicle to transmit virtues to the offspring,⁴⁵⁹ traditional prenatal education of China was mostly concerned with appropriate behaviour pregnant women were supposed to maintain in order to preserve the child's health.⁴⁶⁰ As for women's contribution to nursing and raising the child, both authors agree that their influence on the early stages of the baby's life was particularly relevant. Therefore, when European families hired a wet nurse, a careful selection was mandatory. The same applied to traditional Chinese families that entrusted children to the care of a concubine, as recorded in the *Xiaoxue* 小學.⁴⁶¹

In the second part of both works the perspective of the dissertation visibly shifted, portraying the pupil as the main agent of the education process. Among the set of virtues children were urged to cultivate, Zhu Xi's pedagogy placed the Five Cardinal Human Relationships (*Wulun* 五倫) described by Mencius, which regulated human interactions and differentiated men from beasts.⁴⁶² As for Christian etiquette, the *pietas Dei* (which he translated with an expression borrowed from

⁴⁵⁹ “[...] Because children are related by blood to the mother and the father, [so] the parents' qualities and faults, righteousness and evils are all transmitted to the seeds they leave behind. Therefore, if wise people want to avoid their offspring becoming unworthy, they need to pay attention during the early stage of their marriage”. TYJY, chap. 1, p. 248.

⁴⁶⁰ “[...] In the past, pregnant women did not sleep on their side, did not sit on the edge, stood upright, did not eat unusual food [...]. In this way, they gave birth to a child with a proper appearance, who could become outstanding”. *Xiaoxue Jizhu*, volume 1, folio 24.

⁴⁶¹ Zhu Xi reported that the concubines who were chosen to raise the child, “need[ed] to be full of love, of a gentle and respectful temperament, careful and reticent, in order to act as teachers [...]”, see *Xiaoxue Jizhu*, volume 1, folio 24.

⁴⁶² *Xiaoxue Jizhu*, volume 1, f. 30.

Neo-Confucian vocabulary, “*Jingwei Tianzhu* 敬畏⁴⁶³天主”), alongside respect for the parents, “*Xiaojing Fumu* 孝敬父母”, were instead considered the foundation of education, and at the same time they completed the Neo-Confucian precept of self-reverence, “*Jingshen* 敬身”, as suggested in Han Lin’s preface. From a methodological standpoint, both Zhu Xi and Vagnone emphasized the role of practice over words in the learning process, considering a reticent teacher the most valid example.⁴⁶⁴ The use of quotes and anecdotes from the past was a common feature in Song–Ming primers for elementary education, and served the double purpose of developing the children’s language skills while simultaneously fostering the virtue of ‘*Li* 禮 (etiquette)’.⁴⁶⁵ Vagnone’s rhetoric strategy was instead consistent with Aristotle’s precept of using historical examples as a means of logic persuasion.

The above analysis on the most relevant sources of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 leads to two conclusions: first of all, the author’s familiarity with the most popular literary products of Renaissance pedagogy. The structural and theoretical configuration of Vagnone’s treatise shows that he referred to the two milestones of classical education, *Peri paidon agoges* and *Institutio Oratoria*, as models for his work, and integrated it with notions and quotations from those European texts he was more familiar with (such as, for instance, Vegio’s *De Educatione Liberorum*), or were available at his location (like Bonifacio’s and possibly De Torres’ treatises). Vagnone’s intention to introduce elements of Renaissance pedagogy to Chinese readers appears evident in the last five chapters of the second volume. By addressing topics related to diet, sleep, dress code and so forth, the Jesuits shows

⁴⁶³ The term embodies the meaning of “showing filial piety (to parents) and respect (to the elders): 孝顺父母, 尊敬亲长”. Vagnone’s lexical choice served to convey the precept of one of the Ten Commandments, translated as *Shitiao mu* 十條目: “Honor your father and your mother”.

⁴⁶⁴ The emphasis on silence as a pedagogical mean was a feature that connected European and Confucian traditions alike. The Master himself once said: “予欲無言 (From now on, I no longer wish to speak)”, to stress the importance of virtuous deeds on mere preaching. See Confucius, *Lunyu*, 17/19. Also Vagnone touched upon this matter in many passages of his book, making use of anecdotes from Greek and Renaissance pedagogy. “Someone asked a wise man: ‘What’s a good teacher like?’ The answer was: ‘A teacher that doesn’t speak much’”. He asked the reason for this: “The words he uses, the emptier their meaning”. *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 280. As for Zhu Xi, he extensively dealt with the pedagogic role of silence in his “*Tongmeng xu zhi* 童蒙須知”. See Xiong Bingzhen 熊秉真, *Tongnian yiwang. Zhongguo Haizi de Lishi*. 童年忆往. 中国孩子的历史. Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 广西师范大学出版社, 2008, p. 21.

⁴⁶⁵ Xiong, *ibid.*, p. 21.

in fact a deep connection with the educational trends of 16th- 17th century Europe, in particular his familiarity with the so-called “conduct books”, and with Desiderius Erasmus’ contribution to the debate on etiquette. The second consideration concerns the nature and aim of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育: despite the relatively frequent occurrence of the name of God throughout the text,⁴⁶⁶ the topic and rhetorical style suggest that the treatise was also addressed to non-religious readers, possibly as material for the moral cultivation of those who were entrusted with the home-based education of children (*mengshu* 蒙塾). This explains the preponderance of “secular” anecdotes over biblical ones, and the tendency to refer to the words and actions of philosophers and virtuous characters from the Greek and Roman traditions.⁴⁶⁷ Moreover, the extensive use of examples and terms from the Confucian classics confirmed the Jesuit’s intention to find a common trait with the Chinese classical pedagogy. Such literary strategy might have served the purpose of creating a system of elementary schools that could offer an alternative to local schools.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ God appears sixty-three times with the name ‘*Tianzhu* 天主’ (Lord of Heaven, the term officially adopted by the Jesuits after the Jiading conference in 1628), four times as ‘*Zaohua zhu* 造化主’ (Lord of Creation) and four as ‘*Shangzhu* 上主’ (Lord above). However, concerning the use of the latter, in three cases it appears to refer to a pagan god, see TYJY p. 297.

⁴⁶⁷ The predominance of characters belonging to the classical tradition is confirmed by the occurrence of thirty-five names of philosophers or virtuous men from Rome or Greece, over the sixteen citations of saints and personages from the Judeo-Christian tradition.

⁴⁶⁸ As suggested by Menegon, 1993, p. 9 and Meynard, 2014, p. 120.

Part 4: Translation and lexical analysis of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育

Chapter 6: Into the text: a study on Vagnone's language and style.

The previous chapter attempted to unravel the complex structure of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, by ascertaining the main European and Chinese texts that inspired it. The identification of such sources is closely interconnected with the presence and availability of specific books in China – information that, due to the fragmentary nature of primary sources, cannot always be confirmed. As previously noted, the crucial role played by written words in the dissemination of Western learning was immediately understood by the first generation of China Jesuits.⁴⁶⁹ Matteo Ricci set a new cultural process in motion by composing the first moral and scientific books in Chinese. This process aimed to introduce the Chinese literati to a new knowledge set that could improve the Chinese social system. After Ricci's death, the new Jesuit superior Longobardo took another step forward by launching a comprehensive library policy – a “*Bibliothekenstrategie*”, to put it in Golvers' words – aimed at collecting specific literary works from Europe that suited the Jesuits' missionary intent. Records of this project date back to the 8th May 1613: “*Memorandum*”, sent by Longobardo to Nicolas Trigault while he was on his way to Europe on a quest for funding, manpower and, of course, books, which contributed to the creation of the Beitang library in Beijing and enriched the collections of the other residences.⁴⁷⁰ In the same year the Superior of the Nanjing residence, Alfonso Vagnone, also made a request to his confrères of the College of Brera, for books on subjects that could be of interest for the Chinese literati and useful for the evangelisation of the Shanxi region.

⁴⁷¹As we shall discuss in the following sections, these texts are crucial to not only achieve a deeper

⁴⁶⁹ Vagnone seemed to have realised the key role books could play in the evangelisation of the Chinese literati during his years as Superior of the Nanjing residence. I found a statement that confirms this theory in a letter dated 27th December 1613, where he stated: ““alcuni mandarini hanno esposti libri [...] pieni di lodi sugli ingegni europei, i quali possono essere molto utili alla regione.” See Vagnone to Lambertenghi, 27th December, 1613, in ARSI Jap.Sin. 15, f. 321-322. In those years he was probably working on essays about various ethical or pedagogical subjects, such as *Xixue* 西學 (Western learning, c. 1615), which later became part of his publications.

⁴⁷⁰ Golvers Noel, *Libraries of Western learning for China*. Leuven, Ferdinand Vebiest Institute, 2013, p. 10.

⁴⁷¹ In his letter to Pompilio Lambertenghi S.J. from the College of Brera, dated 27th December 1613, he mentioned the interest that some literati expressed towards the European knowledge (with a specific reference to Aristotle's

insight into the topics the Jesuits considered functional to their accommodation policy, but also to address some stylistic and lexical issues in the subject of the present chapter.

6.1 The rhetorical use of *chreiai* and *gnomai*

According to a recent study by Li Shixue, the main “element of seduction” that led many Chinese educated officials to embrace a foreign religion was not the supposed scientific superiority of the Westerners, but rather the result of a skillful process of rhetorical persuasion through their literary compositions.⁴⁷² As a man of the Italian Renaissance and a former teacher of the *ars oratoria* at Jesuit schools, Vagnone was aware that, in order to be successful, an act of persuasion had to rely on “authoritative dogmatism”,⁴⁷³ specifically on records of facts (*facta*) and sayings (*dicta*). Cicero defined such facts or sayings as *exempla* if they revolved around influential personalities from the past without mention of an historical person, and as *sententiae*⁴⁷⁴ if the record was presented without any direct or indirect speech. Since the second half of the 13th century, *exempla* had become particularly popular in Christian moral literature. This is confirmed by the publications of a great number of anthologies outlining the virtuous deeds of many biblical and pagan sages.⁴⁷⁵

An echo of this literary tradition can be found in the Jesuit works in Chinese, where sayings and anecdotes appear translated or paraphrased, and are used not for their “informative value”, but mostly to confer “legitimacy or authority to [Jesuit] compositions”.⁴⁷⁶ In Jesuit literature on moral philosophy, the most recurring rhetorical stratagem was the *chreia* χρεία (lit. ‘need’), defined by

metaphysics). Unfortunately, it seems that at that stage, his request for European texts was not complied with. See Vagnone to Lambertenghi, 27th December, 1613, in ARSI Jap.Sin. 15, f. 321-322.

⁴⁷² Li S.X. & Meynard T., *Two Studies with an Annotated Translation of Alfonso Vagnone's Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, Bern, Eurosinica Editions, 2014, p. 11.

⁴⁷³ Mainly expressed by the direct discourse and a specific reference to the source. It was typical of speech transmission in both Medieval Europe and Imperial China. See Li & Meynard, *ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴⁷⁴ For a detailed dissertation on the influence of the medieval and Renaissance rhetorical tradition on the Jesuit works see Li & Meynard, *ibid.*, pp. 101 – 103.

⁴⁷⁵ Li & Meynard, *ibid.*, p. 101.

⁴⁷⁶ Golvers, 2013, p. 44.

Aphthonius as “a concise reminiscence aptly attributed to some character”.⁴⁷⁷ Vagnone and his confrères were extremely familiar with the composition of edifying anecdotes, as it was an exercise they practised during the years of their humanistic formation at Jesuit schools. As explained by Meynard, students of rhetoric were required to use their imagination to build a convincing speech, based on historical deeds or sayings attributed to an authoritative personality.⁴⁷⁸ The syntactic structure of *chreiai* was generally simple and concise, made up of two sentences, one being the cause of the other, with recurring elements that made them immediately recognisable. Such linguistic effectiveness is what made these short anecdotes particularly adaptable to the Chinese language, whereas their educational usefulness led the most prolific Jesuit writers, including Matteo Ricci, Diego de Pantoja and Alfonso Vagnone, to use them as means of evangelical propaganda.⁴⁷⁹

This research uncovered three types of *chreiai* in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育:

- a. The “*saying chreia*”, used to make a point in words without the action. Its subcategory, the “responsive *chreia*” presents specific syntactic elements, such as the impersonal formulas ‘*Huo wen* 或問’ and ‘*Da yue* 答曰’, meaning respectively ‘Someone asked’ and ‘the answer was’, like in the following example:

“或問：賢師與何人友可，答曰：於益者而已。又問其益者云何，曰：善於我者則謂之益。 [Someone asked: “What sort of person would a virtuous master befriend?” The answer was: “Only those who are advantageous”. Someone also asked: “What is the definition of ‘those who are advantageous’?”, and the answer was: “Those who are good to us. This is what is meant by an advantage]”.⁴⁸⁰

- b. The “*action chreia*”, which is quite infrequent in Jesuit texts, shows a situation that revealed itself through the actions, rather than through speech:

⁴⁷⁷ Li & Meynard, 2014, p. 19.

⁴⁷⁸ Li & Meynard, *ibid.*, p. 102.

⁴⁷⁹ I have so far uncovered Vagnone’s use of *chreiai* in his two main pedagogical treatises: *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 and *Qijia Xixue* 齊家西學. In addition to these, the Jesuit also included a great number of virtuous anecdotes in his later publication *Dadao Jiyao* 達道記言, the subject of Li and Meynard’s detailed study.

⁴⁸⁰ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 9, p. 407.

“西土有士曰，意納爵，初好勇，未習實學，忽傷足而寢。以讀書排遣，時室中有聖人之書一種，即執而讀，始嘗其味，即讀之不捨，後遂成明道之師焉。

[There was a scholar in the West called Ignatius, who liked being a soldier from a young age and was not involved in any practical learning. One day he suddenly broke his leg and was confined to bed. So he started reading books to pass the time. Once, in his room, he found a book written by a Saint and he took it and began to read it. As soon as he had a taste of its flavour, he could not give it up. Eventually he became a master of the Bright Doctrine]”.⁴⁸¹

- c. The “*mixed chreia*” is often derived by combining elements from the “*saying chreia*” and the “*action chreia*”, which eventually proves its point through action:

“往者的(第)阿日搦，古學名賢，適遇小童恣慢於途，則以杖叩其父曰：夫爾子慢也，惟爾之罪”。

[In the past, Diogenes, a famous sage of the ancient learning, once bumped into a young boy who was dawdling down the road as he pleased; so he hit the boy’s father with his walking stick and yelled: “If this child is slow, it is your fault alone!”]⁴⁸²

The rhetorical use of *sententiae* or *exempla* as means of persuasion needed to meet specific standards: historical accuracy was often secondary to the edifying aim. This was not due to the authors’ negligence, but rather to their wilful intention to comply with chriic conventions, in order to present a rhetorically powerful exemplum or convey a moral teaching that Chinese readers could identify with.⁴⁸³ History, as introduced by late Ming Jesuits, consisted of a narrative of anecdotes and moral examples, which was typical of the pre-age of reason. To quote Li’s words, Christian messages turned history into a moral mirror, “with a warning to the world at large, or “*jingshi* 警世”, being

⁴⁸¹ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 3, pp. 367 – 368.

⁴⁸² TYJY, volume 1, chap. 3, pp. 267 – 268. This anecdote appears as an “*action chreia*” in other sources. See Li & Meynard, 2014, p. 28.

⁴⁸³ Li & Meynard, *ibid.*, pp. 23 – 28.

its aim”.⁴⁸⁴

In some cases, when the authoritative component of a saying could not be deduced by a name, it had to “fall on the quotation itself”. In such a situation, the author relied on a gnomic construction that was built generally of specific rhetorical elements, such as a semantic contrast or the homonymous parallelism.⁴⁸⁵ The *gnomai* γνομαι (maxims) were a type of *sententiae* discussed by Aristotle in his *Rhetorics*. Such sayings derived from popular wisdom and were used to clinch an argument, particularly in the ethical narrative. Their advantage, according to Aristotle, was that they presented an argument in a way the reader could not contradict, and their use confirmed the audience’s “own sense of righteousness, when they saw their own opinions invoked as general premises”.⁴⁸⁶ Furthermore, *gnomai* could also have an edifying purpose, serving as “witty sayings” to clarify a specific concept, while conveying the intended meaning to readers.⁴⁸⁷ This strategy, however, was more frequently used in collections of aphorisms, such as Ricci’s *Jiaoyou Lun* 交友論, while seldom employed by Vagnone, who probably did not consider less authoritative than the *chreiai*.⁴⁸⁸

The reason for the popularity of virtuous sayings and moral exempla was also a strategic one: they possessed an historical dimension that could not be found, for instance, in proverbs and was consistent with Chinese classical tradition, beginning with the Confucian *Analects*. However, unlike

⁴⁸⁴ Li & Meynard, *ibid.*, p. 92.

⁴⁸⁵ Li & Meynard, *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁴⁸⁶ Schaeffer John D, *Sensus Communis: Vico, Rhetoric, and the Limits of Relativism*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1990, p. 62.

⁴⁸⁷ Schaeffer, *ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴⁸⁸ An evidence of Vagnone’s tendency of changing *gnomai* into *chreiai* appears in chapter “*Jiaoyou* 交友 (On friendship)” of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育. When discussing the importance of truth and honesty as basic principles of friendship, he quoted one of the maxims included by Ricci in his *Jiaoyou Lun* 交友論: “正友不常顺友亦不常逆友。有理者顺之，無理者逆之。故直言独为友之真矣。(Righteous friends don’t always follow their friend and don’t always oppose them. They follow [the friend] when he’s right and oppose him when he’s wrong. Therefore, telling the truth is a friend’s duty. JYL, maxim 19)”. However, in reporting this *gnomai*, Vagnone provided it with the typical structure of the responsive *chreiai*: “或問聖人以益友之道，答曰：顺我於理，逆我於非。直言吾恶，简称吾善。(Someone asked a sage: ‘What is the way to foster an advantageous friendship?’ The answer was: ‘[A good friend] follows me when I am right and opposes me when I am wrong. When I act unfairly, he tells me the truth and when I act fairly he remarks upon it with modesty’). TYJY, volume 2, chapter 9 p. 409.

most medieval and humanistic works, in which the source of the reference appeared in the margin of the text, late Ming Jesuits instead made use of impersonal formulas, increasing the difficulty of decoding many of these quotations. This notwithstanding, Golvers' extensive research on the circulation of Western books in late Ming China, made it possible to narrow down the main methods of reference to the following three:

- a. *Memory*. Memorisation techniques were an extensive part of the medieval learning approach and held a key position in the literary formation of the Jesuits. The use of memory as a support for the educational process, alongside the correct way to master such a skill were dealt with by a number of European works, which also inspired Ricci's *Xiguo Jifa* 西國記法 (European art of memory, 1596) – a treatise he wrote for his friend Lu Zhonghe 陸仲鶴, the vice censor in chief from Zhejiang.⁴⁸⁹ According to Golvers' study, even when the number of books available in China grew, it was not unusual for missionaries to rely on maxims and precepts they had come across during their formation period in humanistic studies. Such a theory is confirmed by many statements Golvers found in Jesuit letters from the late Ming and early Qing periods.⁴⁹⁰
- b. *Intermediary sources*. Following a highly diffused practice among scholastic authors and their post-medieval successors, another popular quotation method among Jesuits writers was to borrow them from intermediary sources, which increased the difficulty of tracing the presence of a specific book in Chinese collections.⁴⁹¹ The effective use Vagnone made of this strategy is confirmed by my textual analysis of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, where he often translated or paraphrased sayings and passages from De Torres or Bonifacio's treatises without providing any reference of the original text. On the other hand, many of these sayings were a large part of the popular culture among educated scholars in Europe, which made unnecessary to specify their source.

⁴⁸⁹ Such text was later revised and edited by Chinese convert Zhu Dinghan 朱鼎瀚 and Alfonso Vagnone, who even wrote a preface to it in 1625. See Standaert Nicolas, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Leuven, Brill, vol. 1, p.605 and p.788.

⁴⁹⁰ Golvers, 2013, pp. 45 – 49.

⁴⁹¹ Golvers, *ibid.*, pp. 50.

- c. *Private annotations.* Another common method of referencing, which the Jesuits borrowed from the humanist tradition, consisted of collecting notes from private lectures as a support to one's memory during the years of formation, or in order to prepare teaching materials. According to Golvers, such a technique was also highly practised by the Church Fathers, and was a basis of early Christian texts.⁴⁹² The personal annotations were part of the “cultural baggage” most Jesuits took with them when they left Europe, and were probably entirely used, or paraphrased, when writing books in Chinese. However, the absence of material evidence of these notes, probably destroyed by order of Superior General Acquaviva, because of their personal component, leaves this theory unproven.⁴⁹³

In conclusion, rhetoric and memorisation can be considered the two pillars upon which the introduction of Western knowledge into China was based. From a stylistic perspective, the Jesuits drew extensively from two main rhetorical elements: medieval anthologies of *exempla* and Renaissance *sententiae*, directly quoted from Greek and Latin sources, and without Christian interpretation. The accessibility of such *sententiae*, recorded in alphabetic or thematic order, was encouraged by the diffusion of a new type of publication: “commonplace books” (*locorum communorum libri*). Such texts appeared as a consequence of the development of new printing techniques during the Renaissance and collated a great amount of material on specific subjects, which was then arranged in a way that made the consultation and memorisation of particular passages an easier task.⁴⁹⁴ Given the multiplicity of the sources Vagnone used in the creation of his ethical books, Meynard suggests that the Jesuit might have composed his own commonplace book when teaching rhetoric in Italy.⁴⁹⁵ Despite the impossibility of confirming this theory, Vagnone's *modus operandi* of quotation from a variety of classical texts, and the recurring sayings and *chreiai* in some of his publications, are all evidence that lead to such conclusion.

⁴⁹² Golvers, 2013., pp. 59.

⁴⁹³ Golvers, *ibid.*, pp. 59.

⁴⁹⁴ Li & Meynard, 2014, p. 104.

⁴⁹⁵ Li & Meynard, *ibid.*, p. 144.

6.2 Lexical analysis and related considerations

Since the dawn of their translation project, late Ming Jesuits were confronted with the necessity of introducing an external terminology into a well-rooted cultural and philosophical milieu. The arduous search for a linguistic compromise that respected the orthodoxy of Christian doctrine while providing immediate conceptual reference to the Chinese readers, began with the earliest “literary experiments” by Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri. As observed by Ferrero, the pioneers of the China mission were unaware of how Nestorians, Jewish and Muslims had translated the concepts that they had in common with Catholic Christianity, and therefore had to create their own strategy.⁴⁹⁶ Much in the manner it had happened to the earliest translators of Buddhist texts, the most immediate solution to convey proper names or elements of a foreign religion was through phonetic transcription, in which characters that seldom appeared in Chinese were used in order to avoid confusion. Only at the second stage, as Buddhism grew in popularity within the country, did the translators opt for already existing terms that they adapted to their intended meaning, thus creating a version of “Buddhism for Chinese readers”.⁴⁹⁷ When facing the necessity of rendering Western concepts from a wide range of fields (from astronomy to geometry, from philosophy to geography), late Ming Jesuits had four main choices: the use of phonemic loans, semantic loans and loan translations, or the creation of pure neologisms.⁴⁹⁸ A diachronic analysis of a selection of works by the early China Jesuits⁴⁹⁹ highlighted the existence of two main stages of the missionaries’

⁴⁹⁶ Ferrero Michele, The cultivation of virtue in “The true meaning of the Lord of Heaven”, Ph.D. dissertation, Fujen Catholic University of Taipei, 2003, p. 39.

⁴⁹⁷ Zürcher Erik, *The Buddhist Conquest of China. The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, Leiden, Brill, 2007, p. 39.

⁴⁹⁸ For further insights on the development of modern Chinese lexicon and the Jesuits’ contribution to this field see Masini Federico, *The formation of modern Chinese lexicon and its evolution toward a national language: the period from 1840 to 1898*, University of California, Berkeley 1993; Masini Federico, “Aleni’s contribution to the Chinese language”, in Lipiello - Malek (ed.) “*Scholar from the West*”: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China, Brescia and the Monumenta Serica Institute, Sankt Augustin. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1997. See also Ferrero, 2003, p. 39.

⁴⁹⁹ In order to undertake a systematic and consistent analysis on such a significant corpus, I selected the most representative works on ethical or pedagogical topic by the main humanistic writers of the late Ming China mission, namely Matteo Ricci, Michele Ruggieri, Giulio Aleni, Diego de Pantoja and João da Rocha. Such research was also supported by other relevant studies on Jesuit lexicology, such as Aleni Giulio, *Geografia dei paesi stranieri alla Cina*, traduzione, introduzione e note di Paolo De Troia, Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, centro Giulio Aleni, 2009; Dong Shaoxin 董少新, *Xingshen zhi jian – zaoqi Xiyang yixue ru Hua shi gao* 形神之间 – 早期西洋医学入华史稿, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2008 ; Masini Federico, “Aleni’s contribution to the Chinese language”, in Lipiello - Malek (ed.) “*Scholar from the West*”: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China, Brescia

translation choices: their first literary productions showed a high occurrence of phonemic loans, while at the second stage, as their linguistic and cultural competence became deeper, they began relying more frequently on semantic loans and loan translations. It is not unusual to find transliterations of Latin or Portuguese terms to indicate concepts related to Christianity, especially in the earliest theological works by Ricci or Ruggieri: such is the case of *Tianzhu Jiaoyao* 天主教要 (Christian Doctrine, 1605), where the father from Macerata made use of phonemic loans associated to an explanation of the foreign notion. For instance, the word ‘Father’ was transliterated as ‘*Badele* 罷德勒 (from the Latin form ‘pater’) and clarified as “the first of the Trinity (天主三位之第一位)”, or the term ‘church’, ‘ecclesia’ in Latin, was rendered as ‘*Egelesiya* 厄格勒西亞’, namely “the community of God, (天主教會)”.⁵⁰⁰

A similar phenomenon can be observed in Alfonso Vagnone’s essay *Xixue* 西學 (Wester learning), written around 1615 and then included in the published edition of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (1632), where the Jesuit coined a number of phonemic loans to translate branches of the European academic system, attaching to them a brief explanatory sentence:

“其三家費羅所非亞也。費羅所非亞者譯言格物窮理之道也。

[The third school is philosophy. Philosophers translate the doctrine of the investigation of things and fathoming of principles].”⁵⁰¹

However, as pointed out by Masini’s study, the use of phonemic loans presented a number of limitations. First of all, they were immediately understandable only by those who were familiar with the source language, such as Latin. Secondly, their polysyllabic structure made these creations extremely distant from the traditional morphology of 16th–17th century Chinese language – unfruitful

and the Monumenta Serica Institute, Sankt Augustin. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1997; Zou Zhenhuan 邹振环, *Wan Ming Hanwen Xixue Jingdian: Bianyi, Quanshi, Liuchuan yu Yingxiang*, 晚明汉文西学经典: 编译、诠释、流传与影响 Shanghai: Fudan Daxue Chubanshe, 上海: 复旦大学出版社, 2011.

⁵⁰⁰ Quoted by Ferrero, 2003, p. 39.

⁵⁰¹ To translated the aim of philosophy with the Neo-Confucian expression ‘*gewu qiongli* 格物窮理 (investigation of things and fathoming of principles)’ did not only reveal a profound understanding of the official state doctrine in Ming China, but is a further confirmation of the Jesuits’ conscious effort in seeking a cultural dialogue with the literati, who were deeply rooted in that philosophical environment. See TYJY, second volume, chap. 5, p. 377.

for the majority of the readers.⁵⁰² As a consequence, phonemic loans underwent a gradual abbreviation or were eventually replaced by semantic loans, although often surviving when “a satisfactory autochthonous equivalent” could not be found.⁵⁰³

The strategic choice of translations over transliterations was not only consequential to the missionaries’ increasing understanding of the linguistic and philosophical environment in which they were immersed, but also depended on their rhetorical purpose: for instance, in his *Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義 (True meaning of the Lord of Heaven, 1603), published two years before *Tianzhu Jiaoyao* 天主教要, Ricci created a brand new vocabulary of semantic loans and loan translations by attaching a Christian interpretation to already existing Confucian terms. The reason, Ferrero suggests, needs to be sought in the author’s intention of establishing a dialogue with the Chinese readers, rather than imposing a Western view of the world.⁵⁰⁴ to do so Ricci presented a set of values his audience would be more inclined to understand and accept, as it was aimed at integrating with, not replacing, the system already in place.

My study on Vagnone’s pedagogical treatise also highlighted similar trends: from a lexical standpoint, the Jesuit mainly resorted to transliterations from Latin, Italian or Portuguese to introduce toponyms, anthroponyms,⁵⁰⁵ or any other term he could not find a perfect semantic match for in Chinese. However, where possible, he was instead inclined to borrow an equivalent word from the Confucian (and Neo-Confucian) classics, or from the local vocabulary on zoology and botany. The following sections will attempt to track the origin and development of some selected terms from *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, belonging to four semantic fields: names of countries, names of animals, branches of Western learning, pedagogical and religious terms. Such analysis will take into account a selection of ethical and religious works from Vagnone’s closest confrères alongside two dictionaries published in the 18th century, in order to confirm the occurrence of these specific

⁵⁰² Masini, 1997, p. 540.

⁵⁰³ Masini, 1993, p. 137.

⁵⁰⁴ Ferrero, 2003, p. 40.

⁵⁰⁵ According to this analysis, sixty-two names of ancient saints, philosophers, kings and generals appear in Vagnone’s treatise, mainly transliterated from their Latin form. Among these, the majority (thirty-four) come from a Greek – Roman background, fifteen belong instead to the Judeo-Christian tradition, including seven names of the Fathers of the Church. The remaining personages are mostly kings or generals from countries such as ancient Egypt, Persia, or Lycia.

phonemic loans, semantic loans and loan translations. I originally also intended to cross-check the presence of these selected terms in the Christian texts database of Zhengzhi University in Taipei. However, the institution only included works from 1830 to 1930, and didn't satisfy my need to confirm the etymology of these terms, nor to run a qualitative, rather than quantitative analysis. This research aims to shed new light on Vagnone's contribution to the Chinese lexicon, and hopes to be a starting point for further investigation in this field.

6.3. Toponyms in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育

As previously noted, the pedagogical treatise *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was published in Jiangzhou (Shanxi) around 1632. Thirty years before, Vagnone's eminent confrère Matteo Ricci completed the third edition of his *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World, 1602) in Beijing.⁵⁰⁶ In 1623 Giulio Aleni published another masterpiece of world geography in Chinese: the treatise *Zhifang Waiji* 職方外紀 (Chronicle of Foreign Lands),⁵⁰⁷ which introduced innovative cartographic information.

Work such as Aleni's, alongside Ferdinand Verbiest S.J.'s (1623 – 1688) *Kunyu quantu* 坤輿全圖 (The Complete Map of the World, 1674), absorbed elements from Ricci's maps, while displaying the world divided in two hemispheres for the first time.⁵⁰⁸ Combined with Ricci's map, they are the three literary milestones that contributed to the provision of a new global awareness among the Chinese people, revolutionising the way they saw themselves and the world forever. The Jesuits' commitment to cartography not only encouraged the literati's interest, but also functioned to present elements of Western civilisation⁵⁰⁹ and paved the way for the spread of Holy Law.

⁵⁰⁶ Hereafter KYWGTS. For the present research, I referred to the following works: Mignini Filippo (editor) *La cartografia di Matteo Ricci*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafo e Zecca dello Stato, 2013; Huang Shijian 黃時鑒, *Li Madou shijie ditu yanjiu* 利瑪竇世界地圖研究, Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2004.

⁵⁰⁷ Hereafter ZFWJ. This research is based on the following edition: Aleni Giulio, *Geografia dei paesi stranieri alla Cina*, traduzione, introduzione e note di Paolo De Troia, Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, centro Giulio Aleni, 2009.

⁵⁰⁸ Day John, "Edizioni a stampa e copie manoscritte delle carte geografiche di Matteo Ricci" in Mignini, 2013, p. 7.

⁵⁰⁹ Mignini, *ibid.*, p. 6.

The European academic system of the 16th and 17th centuries attached crucial importance to the geography as a discipline, not merely as a consequence of the wave of explorations and discoveries of the time, but also for its rhetorical and mnemonic implications. Jesuit students were initiated into the study of geography during their two years of humanistic studies as a supplement to the rhetorical act of *compositio* and as key for understanding the classics and the Bible.⁵¹⁰ Ancient texts gave learners access to a range of virtuous *exempla* that could serve as models for their writing skills and daily behaviour. *Topica*, which Cicero considered the “art of memory”, provided a repertoire of moral examples that could be imitated.⁵¹¹ Moreover, as Antonio Posevino S.J. (1533–1611) pointed out, geography could also serve as an instrument of philosophy, functioning to outline and interpret the character of a population on the basis of the natural characteristics of their location.⁵¹² The same rhetorical component of geography inspired Vagnone’s writing: the eleven names of countries and cities that appear in his *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 served as geographical coordinates for virtuous anecdotes, as shown in the following passage and *chreia*:

“羅瑪常爲諸西國總都，其治幼之術，甚美且厭，乃欲其從少專存此羞心，則使常衣紅衣，使常念內羞之存也。

[Rome has long been the capital of all Western countries. Their method of governing children was extremely fair but also strict: they had to practice and maintain feelings of shame from a young age. Therefore, [Romans] required children to always wear red clothes, to make them think about their inner sense of shame]”.⁵¹³

⁵¹⁰ Mangani Giorgio, “La Geografia dei Gesuiti”, in Mignini, 2013, p. 58.

⁵¹¹ Mignini, 2013, p. 58.

⁵¹² Mignini, *ibid.*, p. 70.

⁵¹³ TYJU, volume 1, chap. 10, p. 332.

“亞日西老氏昔爲名將。忽帥軍經地西海，島名達瑣，眾民饋以嘉味數種，賢將惟納其最薄，而辭其旨者。使者屢懇，遂分散于下僕，不自用也。使者問故，將曰：務于道德者必不滯于穀膳也。

[Archelaus was a famous general during ancient times. When commanders and troops quickly crossed the Western Sea to an island called Thassos, the locals offered them many kinds of fine delicacies. The wise general accepted the simplest ones, but refused the most delicious. The envoys were continuously kind, but in the end he distributed [the food] among the slaves and did not consume it personally. The envoys asked the reason and the general replied: “Those who are committed to morality cannot be stuffed with lavish meals”].⁵¹⁴

Relevant academic studies on the subject⁵¹⁵ have confirmed that, from a phonemic standpoint, the transliteration was based on the phonology of Ming-Qing *guanhua* 官話, the standard register spoken by government officials. However, the choice of specific characters over others was sometimes influenced by the local vernacular (*xiangtan* 鄉談) of the area in which the Jesuits were located or by the source material they accessed, such as Trigault’s *Xiru er mu zi* 西儒耳目資 (Aid to the eyes and ears of Western literati, 1626). The following table compares the toponyms that Vagnone used in his *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, with the transcriptions that appear in Ricci’s *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 and Aleni’s *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀. In order to understand the diachronic influence of such terms, I also searched for them in two later dictionaries: *Vocabulario de la lengua mandarina* (Glossary of mandarin language c.1695),⁵¹⁶ by the Spanish Dominican Francisco Varo’s (1627 – 1687), in which they are not recorded and the *Dictionarium latino-italicum-sinicum*

⁵¹⁴ TYJU, volume 2, chap. 6, p. 388.

⁵¹⁵ De Troia Paolo, “Considerazioni preliminari sui prestiti fonologici dalle lingue occidentali in cinese nel tardo periodo Ming”, in A. Palermo (ed.) *La Cina e l’Altro*, Napoli 2007, pp. 344-346.

⁵¹⁶ Hereafter indicated as VLM. This study refers to the English and Chinese annotation of Francisco Varo’s *Glossary of the Mandarin Language*, by South Coblin, W. Monumenta Serica Institute, Nettetal, Sankt Augustin, 2006, vol. 1 and 2. There are different manuscript editions of the text, with no consistent date of publication; it appears to be an improved edition of his first glossary on Mandarin, completed in 1670 and written in Portuguese, the lingua franca of the missions at the time. See Coblin, 2006, p. 12.

(Latin–Italian–Chinese dictionary 1732)⁵¹⁷ by Franciscan monk Carlo Orazi from Castorano (1673 – 1755).

TYJY 1632	Western source and English translation	KYWGQT 1602	ZFWJ 1623	DLIS 1732	Modern Chinese
<i>Boerxiya Guo</i> 伯兒西亞國	<i>Persia</i> (Persia)	<i>Bosi</i> 波斯	<i>Baierxiya</i> 百兒西亞	<i>Boerxiya Guo</i> 伯而西亞國	<i>Peierxiya</i> 佩爾西亞
<i>Dasuo</i> 達瑣	<i>Thasos</i> Θάσος (Thassos)				
<i>Di Xihai</i> (地)西海	Western Sea (Mediterranean or Aegeum)				<i>Xihai</i> 西海 <i>Aiqin Hai</i> 愛琴海 <i>Dizhong Hai</i> 地中海
<i>Elejiya</i> 厄肋濟亞	<i>Ellas</i> Ελλάς (Greece)	<i>Elejiya</i> 厄勒濟亞	<i>Elejiya</i> 厄勒祭亞／額勒濟亞		<i>Xila</i> 希臘
<i>Eriduo</i> 厄日多	<i>Aegyptus</i> (Egypt)	<i>Heiruduo</i> 黑入多	<i>Eruduo</i> 厄入多	<i>Eriduo</i> <i>Guo/Difang</i>	<i>Aiji</i> 埃及

⁵¹⁷ Hereafter indicated as DLIS. This research owes a great deal to Dr. Li Hui's study *Il Dictionarium latino-italicum-sinicum di Carlo Orazi da Castorano, O.F.M. (1673 – 1755)*, PhD dissertation, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Sapienza University of Rome, 2014 – 2015. As for the dictionary, I consulted the copy preserved at the Vatican Library (BAV), *Vat. Esrt. Or. 4*.

				厄日多國/地方	
<i>Geleida</i> 格肋達	<i>Creta</i> (Crete)	<i>Gandiya</i> 甘地亞	<i>Gandiya</i> 甘地亞 ⁵¹⁸		<i>Kelite dao</i> 克里特島
<i>Lazedemonia</i> 辣責德莫納	<i>Lacedaemo</i> (Lacedaemon, Sparta)				<i>Sipaerta</i> 斯帕爾塔
<i>Lijiya Guo</i> 利濟亞國	<i>Lycia</i> (Lycia)	<i>Lixiya</i> 利細亞			<i>Lüjiya</i> 呂基亞
<i>Luoma</i> 羅瑪	<i>Roma</i> (Rome)	<i>Luoma</i> 羅瑪	<i>Luoma</i> 羅瑪	<i>Luoma Fu</i> 羅瑪府	<i>Luoma</i> 羅馬
<i>Rudeya</i> 如德亞	<i>Iudaea</i> (Judea)	<i>Rudeya</i> 如德亞	<i>Rudeya</i> 如德亞	<i>Rudeya Guo,</i> <i>Taiqin Guo</i> 如得亞國,大秦 國	<i>Zhudiya</i> 朱迪亞
<i>Yadena</i> 亞得納	<i>Athēnai</i> Ἀθῆναι (Athens)				<i>Yadian</i> 雅典

⁵¹⁸

As suggested by De Troia, in 17th century, Crete was a part of the Kingdom of Candia, a colony of the Republic of Venice from its conquest in 1212 to the fall of the Ottoman empire in 1669. See De Troia, 2007, p. 85 footnote 138.

<i>Yinduo Guo</i> 因多國	<i>India</i> (India)	<i>Xiaoxiyang</i> 小西洋	<i>Yindiya, Yindu</i> 印第亞, 印度	<i>Xiaoxiyang/difan</i> g 小西洋/地方 <i>Yindiya</i> <i>Guo/Difang</i> 印第亞國土/地 方	<i>Yindu</i> 印度

The table above shows a certain phonemic consistency in the transliteration of toponyms, mostly originating from Latin, with the exception of the names ‘Greece (Greek *Ellas* Ἑλλάς)’ ‘Athens (Greek *Athênai* Ἀθῆναι)’ and the Island of ‘Thassos (Greek *Thasos* Θάσος)’, that derivate from ancient Greek. Interestingly, the translation of ‘Crete’ appears different in Vagnone and Aleni’s texts: the former translated it according to its classical name – a phonemic loan from the Latin ‘Creta-ae’, as he was giving an account of the country’s ancient way of educating children; Ricci and Aleni, on the other hand, when describing the Mediterranean Sea, use the current term ‘*Gandiya* 甘地亞’, from the namesake Kingdom of Candia (1212 – 1669), which also included a few minor islands nearby like Mikronissi, Chrysi, and Ghàvdos.⁵¹⁹

As noted by Li Hui in her study on Castorano’s 18th century *Dictionarium*, it appears that most of his transliterations were based on the same toponyms used by the Jesuits, legitimising their texts and *guanhua* pronunciation as standard for his translation work.⁵²⁰ What is noteworthy is that there seems to be a direct connection between Vagnone and Castorano’s selection of characters, although the latter tended to create a set of hybrids, by adding suffixes like *-guo* 國 (country), *-difang* 地方 (place), or *-fu* 府 (prefecture).

The only semantic loan that appears in Vagnone’s text is the general toponym ‘Western Sea’, which

⁵¹⁹ De Troia, 2007, p. 85 footnote 138.

⁵²⁰ As observed by Li Hui, such proof confirms that 18th century transliterations were not influenced by the pronunciation of the English language. Li, 2014, p. 205, footnote 357.

he translates with the pre-existing term ‘*Xihai* 西海’. A cross-checked analysis between *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 and its sources revealed that such denominations are used to indicate the sea where Sicily is located (the Mediterranean),⁵²¹ while in two more passages it was mentioned in connection with Crete⁵²² and Thassos,⁵²³ referring to the Aegean Sea. While the term doesn’t occur in Ricci’s *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖, where he created the loan translation ‘*Dizhonghai* 地中海’ to indicate Mediterranean Sea, it is used in Aleni’s *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 as “the Western Sea where Ireland, the Isles of Greater Anglia and other islands are located”.⁵²⁴ However, it also appear in juxtaposition with the term ‘*Donghai* 東海 (Eastern Sea)’, in the header of each of the six volumes: “西海艾儒略增譯，東海楊廷筠彙記 (Translated by Giulio Aleni from the Western Sea, compiled by Yang Tingyun, from the Eastern Sea)”.⁵²⁵

6.4. The example of nature and animals

From an epistemological viewpoint, Alfonso Vagnone’s theories on education draw extensively from classical and Renaissance pedagogy, while highlighting the contribution that parents’ biological heritage, nurses’ care and teachers’ examples play in shaping a child’s character. Plato compared this state to a *tabula rasa* (blank slate) and Vagnone identified the most complete source of education in nature.

The idea that all men were provided with an innate natural disposition that could be perfected and moulded by education, as pointed out by Meynard, was a core notion of Renaissance pedagogical literature. It was particularly frequent in Desiderius Erasmus’ masterpieces, in which he insisted on

⁵²¹ TYJU, volume 2, chap. 6, p. 387. The traditional acceptance of ‘*Xihai* 西海’ as “Mediterranean sea is also confirmed by *Le grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise*, Paris, Taipei, Instituts Ricci, 2001, vol. II, p. 942.

⁵²² TYJU, volume 2, chap. 6, p. 388.

⁵²³ TYJU, volume 1, chap. 7, p. 297.

⁵²⁴ De Troia, 2007, p. 85.

⁵²⁵ De Troia, 2007, pp. III, XXIV, XLII, L, LVIII, LX.

nature as the most complete teacher.⁵²⁶ However, the assumption that “*homines non nascuntur sed finguntur* (men are not born but modelled)”⁵²⁷ has older roots than 15th century Europe. As early as the second half of the 5th century B.C., the pioneers of Western pedagogical thought, the Sophists, theorised that the moral and literary formation of a young man resulted from the combination of three factors: one’s original character (*natura*), which is bestowed at birth; righteous education (*institutio*); and constant practice (*disciplina*), which contribute to shaping one’s *natura*, also improving poorly-gifted individuals.⁵²⁸

Vagnone clearly remarked on this concept when addressing the importance of literary studies in the education of youngsters:

“先智者，嘗設論曰：欲成大器，質與學孰重，則必以學爲重焉。夫美質者，如田之膏腴，非恆修治之，徒長豐草耳。嘗觀質之鈍者，多用學之功力，竟得成全。末見美質者，不學而能成也。

[Ancient sages used to debate: “If one wishes to become outstanding, what is more important, nature or learning? It is certainly learning that needs to be considered more important. Good nature is like a fertile field, if it’s not constantly managed it will surely sprout weeds. [Even] those who are considered stupid by nature will eventually succeed through study. Someone with a gifted nature succeeding without study is a sight that has never been seen]”.⁵²⁹

The association between a “good nature” and a “fertile field” in the excerpt above is only one of the many metaphors borrowed from agriculture. Such a stylistic strategy was not immediately understandable by Ming China readers, who were fully immersed in a rural society, but it was also a common rhetorical expedient among the Sophists and other classical authors such as Cicero and

⁵²⁶ Meynard Thierry “*Wan Ming Zhongguode Wenyi Fuxing Jiaoyu - - guanyu Yesuhui shi Gao Yizhi ‘Tongyou Jiaoyu’ de chubu yanjiu* 晚明中国的文艺复兴教育 关于耶稣会士高一志 《童幼教育》的初步研究”, in *Guangdong Shehui Kexue Social* 广东社会科学 *Guangdong Shehui Kexue*, 2014, N.6, , p. 127.

⁵²⁷ Meynard, *ibid.*, p. 127.

⁵²⁸ C. Caramello e U. Zandrino, *Plutarco di Cheronea, L'Educazione dei Figli. Come si deve ascoltare. Dagli “Scritti Morali”*, Torino, Paravia, 1970, p. 17.

⁵²⁹ TYJU, volume 2, chap. 4, p. 359.

Plutarch.⁵³⁰ Moreover, in relying on nature as a model of virtuous behaviour, the use of animals to reference moral excellence or failing was also a recurring rhetorical trait in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育. Pseudo-Plutarchian *Peri paidon agoges* frequently highlighted comparisons between human and animal nature, especially between young children and untamed colts, which can both be dominated by the work of a good master.⁵³¹ Symbolic representations of certain animals featuring human virtues or vices are also disseminated in a number of classical and Renaissance works dating back to the masterpiece on natural history by Pliny the Elder, the *Historia Naturalis* (c. 1st century A.D.), and the eminent work on zoology by Swiss professor Conrad Gessner (1516 – 1565), the *Historiae animalium* (1551 – 1558). Both were used by Vagnone and his confrères as sources. Furthermore, the same texts were also commonly quoted by pedagogical authors, such as Maffeo Vegio and Juan Bonifacio, as examples of righteous behaviour or evil habits. For instance, each book of *Christiani pueri institutio*, one of the main sources of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, includes a section called “*Naturae*”, where edifying anecdotes from the animal realm are collected. These are mainly from Pliny’s masterpiece or from other authors known and quoted in most books on zoology.⁵³²

In Vagnone’s *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 there is a high occurrence of references to animals, sometimes presented as positive models, sometimes as negative examples. Most of the metaphors or anecdotes presented by the author are drawn from influential works, such as the aforementioned *Historia Naturalis*, as shown in the following two excerpts:

“[...] 熊生僅肉團耳，自視之非熊也，常用舌舐摩脩治之，漸漸成熊矣。 [At birth bears are merely flesh and their cubs are not seen [by their parents] as fellows of their species, therefore they

⁵³⁰ A semantic connection between the act of cultivating a fiend (Lat. *Colere*) and an individual’s education is also confirmed by the etymology of the modern term ‘*cultura* (culture)’. C. Caramello e U. Zandrino, 1970, p. 3 footnote 3.

⁵³¹ C. Caramello e U. Zandrino, 1970, chap. 7, p. 16 and chap. 18, p. 53.

⁵³² Among the names Bonifacio reported in the section “*Naturae*” of his treatise, Pliny is only one of the most quoted. Others include: Plutarch, Aeltanus (one of Pliny’s sources) and the more contemporary Ioannes Pierus Valerianus (1477 - 1558).

correct this by licking their young until they become as bears]”.⁵³³

“象爲走獸之太，陰屬也，每望朔至清川對太陰滌身，昂首舞躍，而因教習其小象。[The elephant is the biggest of the quadrupeds, it belongs to the moon; every new moon it goes to a clean river and purifies itself, while looking at it. It holds the head up and dances, and in this way it teaches the young elephant]”.⁵³⁴

However, in order to warn readers against indulging in unrighteous behaviour, Vagnone often made use of negative exempla, usually involving animals that in collective imagination were a symbol of evil or associated with vice. Such a rhetoric strategy is particularly evident in the following passage, where the author introduced the side effects of entrusting breast feeding to someone other than the mother:

“昔有迫於窮者，棄子曠野，忽有狼至代乳之，後棄子人形也而行猛獸之事。又有從孩提常茹驢乳者，久之，遂為愚鹵之流。又有少時無乳，不獲已，接羊乳以養者，其子長成，常見躁躍驅馳之狀，與童殺無異。[In the past there was a person crushed by poverty who abandoned her child in an open field. Suddenly a wolf appeared, breastfeeding him in place of the mother, and [though] the abandoned child gradually grew into manhood, his behaviour was as a beast. Then there was [once] a child who from his earliest years drank donkey milk, and soon after ended up becoming rude and stupid; there was also a person who was unable to breastfeed when she was young, and so had no choice but to use sheep’s milk to raise her baby; when the child grew up, he was often beheld leaping and cavorting in an untamable state, [and] no different than a young black ewe]”.⁵³⁵

⁵³³ This passage from TYJU, volume 1, chap. 3, p. 265, is reported in both *Historia Naturalis*, traduzione di Domenichi, L.M, Venezia, Giuseppe Antonelli ed., 1844, VIII.54, p. 785 alongside Aristotle’s *History of Animals*, IV. 34, p. 580. Vagnone also included it in his later work *Dadao Jiyan* 達道記言, see Li & Meynard 2014, p. 256.

⁵³⁴ TYJU, volume 1, chap. 7, p. 296. This anecdote is also borrowed from Pliny’s text. He records that at every new moon, the elephants of Mauritania reach the banks of “a certain river Amilius” to perform a what seems to be a purification rite, “as a sign of respect for nature”. See, *Historia Naturalis*, VIII.1 pp. 726- 727.

⁵³⁵ TYJU, volume 1, chap. 2, pp. 261 – 262. See also Meynard, 2014, p. 124 – 125.

The popularity of these tales is also confirmed by the section “*Homines Sylvestres* (Wild people)” in Athanasius Kircher S.J.’s (1602 – 1680) *China Monumentis* (1667), which reports, among other peculiar facts, records of children raised by wild beasts.⁵³⁶ Kircher also provided a detailed account of the exotic animals of China, based on a late Ming China Jesuit’s works. Given the scientific connotation of his text, he doesn’t appear to have drawn directly from Vagnone’s treatise, as the only animals mentioned by both texts are the “elephants, tigers and bears, [...], quadrupeds that can be also found in Europe. They are mostly concentrated in Yunnan and Guangxi [...]”.⁵³⁷

As previously noted, Vagnone’s use of various ‘*qinshou* 禽獸 (birds and beasts)’, had an edifying purpose. In his text, the Jesuit used Medieval and Renaissance symbolism as the main point of reference, attempting cross-cultural representations where possible, which were reflected by his translation choices. The method was simple: if a similar or equivalent species existed in Chinese language, he would use the indigenous term, making a particular effort to select animals that were a part of Chinese traditional symbolism. In only three cases, when it was not possible to find an exact match embodying the moral qualities he intended to describe, did he made use of phonemic loans. Two of these were from Portuguese, the *lingua franca* of the Jesuit mission in 16th-17th century, whereas one was from Latin.

In the table below, I selected the names of those animals that, in my opinion, demonstrate the most interesting cross-cultural characteristics, in order to highlight the following aspects:

- 1) The method of translation (phonemic loan or semantic loan);
- 2) The source term (Latin, Portuguese or pre-existing in Chinese language);
- 3) Their characteristics in European symbolism (as they appear in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育);
- 4) Their characteristics in Chinese symbolism (where applicable);⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ Kircher Athanasius, *China Monumentis, qua sacris qua profanis*, Jacobus à Meurs, in fossa vulgò de Keyzersgracht (Keizersgracht), 1667, pp. 193-194.

⁵³⁷ “Quadrupedia praeter ea, quae in Europa inveniuntur, sunt Elephantes, Tygrides, Ursi, quae maxime in Provinciis Junnam and Quamsi stabulantur”. See Kircher, 1667, p. 190.

⁵³⁸ For this analysis I refer to the 1974 reprint of *Sancai Tuhui* 三才圖會 (Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms), volume six. This encyclopedia (*leishu* 類書) was compiled by Wang Qi 王圻 and Wang Siyi 王思義 in 1607 and published in 1609, featuring texts and illustrations of categories like astronomy, geology, history, biology and was

5) Occurrences in other Western texts in Chinese;⁵³⁹

Vagnone's translation	Meaning and source language	Symbolism in TYJY	Chinese symbolism	Occurrences in other texts	Modern Chinese
<i>Ema</i> 厄馬 (also <i>Tuoniao</i> 駝鳥)	Ostrich. Phonemic loan from Portuguese <i>Ema</i> (female ostrich) ⁵⁴⁰	"The ostrich is a big bird of the West, which is called <i>tuoniao</i> in China. [These birds] are idle in taking care of their offspring: they lay so many [eggs] that they cannot hatch all of them, or sometimes they hatch them but cannot feed their young. When the offspring grow up they do the same thing". ⁵⁴¹	<i>Not found</i>	[In Perù] there is a big bird, called ostrich which is born in wild areas; it has long neck and tall paws, the feathers of its wings are extremely beautiful, but are scattered on the rest of the body and it cannot fly [...]". ⁵⁴² "In Pattani (southern part of Thailand) there is an extremely big bird, called Ostrich (<i>Ema</i> 厄	<i>Tuoniao</i> 駝鳥

highly circulating during late Ming China. Another useful work on Chinese symbolism is: Williams C.A.S. *Outlines of Chinese symbolism and Art motives*, New York, Dover Publications Inc., 1976.

⁵³⁹ I crossed-checked the terms used by Vagnone with those appearing in Ricci's KYWGQT, Aleni's ZFWJ, given the frequent mutual influence among the three authors, and with Varo's VLM, whose compilation was based on "works by his predecessors in the China mission". See South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 12.

⁵⁴⁰ Reported by De Troia, 2009, p. 155.

⁵⁴¹ TYJU, volume 1, chap. 3, pp. 268.

⁵⁴² ZFWJ, see De Troia, 2009, p. 155. Such description is paraphrased from Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, X.1 p. 919.

				驢); it has wings but cannot fly, his paws are as big as the horse's, it runs fast but cannot overtake the horse [...]"⁵⁴³ Avestruz, [ostrich] <i>Chitieniao</i> 喂鐵鳥 ⁵⁴⁴	
<i>Feng</i> 鳳	Phoenix. Pre-existing in Chinese	"The phoenix is the most respected of the birds, it belongs to the Sun and likes to look straight at the sun. When they have babies, they teach them this practice: if their eyes don't dare looking at the sun, they are considered and	It appears only "when reason prevail in the country". Like the unicorn, it is benevolent.⁵⁴⁶ "This divine bird is the product of the sun and the fire, hence it is often pictured gazing on a ball of fire. The sun	"Some legends report that here [in Turkey] lives a bird called phoenix (<i>Funisi</i> 弗尼思), who can live up to 400-500 years. When his death is approaching he builds a pile of fragrant wood and rests on it waiting	<i>Fenghuang</i> 鳳凰

⁵⁴³ According to Zou's research, some scholars have identified the phonemic loan 'Ema 厄墓' in Ricci's map as a reference to three different species: the Cassowary, the Emu and the Rhea, which are respectively native of South - East Asia, Oceania and South America. However, Zou concludes that the term aims at translating the general species of ostrich, a theory confirmed by a cross-checked analysis on Vagnone and Aleni's texts. Interestingly, such phonemic loan seems to have disappeared in 1674: when Verbiest provides a description of the ostrich of South America in his "*Kunyu quantu* 坤輿全圖", he makes use of the trisyllabic compound 'Luotuoniao 駱駝鳥'. See KYWGQT, reported by Zou Zhenhuan 邹振环 "Shufang yishou yu Zhongxi duihua – 'Kunyu wanguo quantu' zhong de hailu dongwu 殊方异兽与中西对话 - 《坤輿万国全图》中的海陆动物" in *Haiyang shi yanjiu* 海洋史研究, issue 7, 2015 p. 315-316.

⁵⁴⁴ VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 31.

⁵⁴⁶ *Sancai Tuhui* 三才圖會, volume 6, 1974, p. 2173.

		damaged not worth raising”. ⁵⁴⁵	being the <i>yang</i> , or the active principle, the phoenix has great influence in the begetting of children”. ⁵⁴⁷	for it to become very hot; he then shakes the tale, lighting a fire that incinerates him [...].” ⁵⁴⁸ “The phoenix (<i>fenghuang</i> 鳳凰) flies, so does the bat. Does it mean that the phoenix and the bat are the same thing?” ⁵⁴⁹ <i>Not found in Varo</i>	
<i>He</i> 鶴 (<i>Guan</i> 鶴)	Crane. (TYJY: Stork, adapted). Pre-existing in Chinese	“Cranes [i.e. storks] raise their offspring with care and, when old age comes, feathers fall and the body is	The stork is physically similar to the crane. When it chirps looking down the	Cigüeña [white stork]. <i>Laoguan</i> 老鶴 / <i>Renniao</i> 仁鳥 (litt. benevolent, human bird) ⁵⁵²	<i>Guan</i> 鶴

⁵⁴⁵ TYJU, volume 1, chap. 7, p. 296.

⁵⁴⁷ Williams, 1976, p. 324.

⁵⁴⁸ ZFWJ, see De Troia, 2009, p. 70. This passage is also borrowed from Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis*, X.2 p. 920. Interestingly, Aleni did not use the pre-existing Chinese term to translate the phoenix’s name, but created instead a phonemic loan, possibly to mark a cultural difference between the Western and Chinese representation of the bird. No reference in Varo’s VLM.

⁵⁴⁹ Ricci Matteo, *Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義 (True meaning of the Lord of Heaven, hereafter TZSY)” see ARSI, Jap.Sin. I.44, f. 77.

⁵⁵² VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 140. Although Varo’s sources are not clearly indicated, it is interesting to observe that, of the twofold translation of the term ‘stork (*guan* 鶴)’ one confirms the bird’s virtuous representation in Western imaginary. As for Vagnone’s presentation of the crane as a pious bird, instead than the stork, one can only suppose that the Jesuit’s choice was consistent with his search for a cross-cultural bridge between the two traditions. The crane is an extremely popular bird in Chinese symbolism, as celebrated as the phoenix, and associated to a number of mythical attributes, like longevity. See Williams, 1976, p. 101. This bird is also mentioned in Aleni’s ZFWJ (De Troia, 2009, p. 128), while there is no reference of the stork in any of the literary works I have so far examined.

		weak, they cannot look after themselves and rely on care from their offspring”. ⁵⁵⁰	weather gets dark, when it chirps looking up, the sky becomes clear. Sometimes men see their gatherings as a sign on misfortune. ⁵⁵¹		
<i>Huamei</i> 畫眉	Melodious Laughing thrush. (TYJU: Nightingale, adapted) semantic loan from Spanish <i>Ruiseñor</i>)	“There is also a type of small magpie in the West, the nightingale, with a very beautiful voice. When it wants to teach its offspring, it sings and guides them, not stopping until their singing is correct and harmonious”. ⁵⁵³	Very good at singing. Celebrated by poets, admired by other animals. ⁵⁵⁴	<i>Not found</i>	<i>Huamei</i> 畫眉
<i>Limao</i> 里卯	Dormouse. Phonemic loan from Portuguese <i>Lirão</i>	“There is a type of squirrel (<i>wu</i> 鼯), whose Western name is dormouse, who is also diligent	Dormouse, not found. <i>Sancai Tuhui</i> has a section on the <i>wu</i> 鼯:	Liron [dormouse]. <i>Die</i> 鸚 (corrupted form of the	<i>Shuishu</i> 睡鼠

⁵⁵⁰ TYJU, volume 1, chap. 3, pp. 268. Also included in *Dadao Jiyan* 達道記言, see Li & Meynard, 2014, p. 256.

⁵⁵¹ *Sancai Tuhui* 三才圖會, volume 6, 1974, p. 2183.

⁵⁵³ TYJU, volume 1, chap. 3, pp. 268.

⁵⁵⁴ *Sancai Tuhui* 三才圖會, volume 6, 1974, p. 2197.

		in taking care of his parents, and who doesn't leave their side until they die". ⁵⁵⁵	"Xunzi said: the squirrel possesses many skills, but none of them is outstanding: it can fly, but not on high buildings, can climb, but cannot reach the top of trees, can swim but not cross banks, can dig holes but not deep enough to hide itself, can run but cannot overtake men [...]" ⁵⁵⁶	character Lei 鼯, 'flying squirrel') ⁵⁵⁷	
<i>Kongque</i> 孔雀	Peacock. Pre-existing in Chinese	"The peacock wears five colours and, when it spreads its multi-coloured tail, it's the rarest and most magnificent of	Different vices or qualities depend on the colour of their tail. ⁵⁵⁹	Pavo Real [peacock], <i>Kongque</i> 孔雀 ⁵⁶¹ "[...] this is not because the eagle and the wolf have	<i>Kongque</i> 孔雀

⁵⁵⁵ TYJU, volume 1, chap. 8, pp. 307.

⁵⁵⁶ *Sancai Tuhui* 三才圖會, volume 6, 1974, p. 2231.

⁵⁵⁷ VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 337. This appears to be a further proof of the frequent association between the flying squirrel and the dormouse. No other record of the dormouse in Aleni's ZFWJ or any other work in Chinese I have so far analysed.

⁵⁵⁹ *Sancai Tuhui* 三才圖會, volume 6, 1974, p. 2174.

⁵⁶¹ VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 433.

		birds. It compares itself to the sun, enjoys looking at itself and is pleased. It is so arrogant that it doesn't care about anything else but itself, but when it looks down at the ugliness of its feet, it gets disappointed". ⁵⁵⁸	Emblem of beauty and dignity. During Ming dynasty, his feathers were used to designate official rank. ⁵⁶⁰	large bodies and the peacock (<i>Kongque</i> 孔雀), oxen and horses have small bodies". ⁵⁶²	
<i>Mobabo</i> 默罷伯	Bee-eater. Phonemic loan from Latin ' <i>Merops</i> '	"There is also a kind of bird, called bee-eater, who does not only take care of his elder ones, but sometimes when it sees they are ill, it flies carrying them on the back, not to make them fall, or sleeps covering them with his wings, not to make them feel cold". ⁵⁶³	<i>Not found</i>	<i>Not found</i>	<i>Not found</i>

⁵⁵⁸ TYJU, volume 2, chap. 6, pp. 394.

⁵⁶⁰ Williams, 1976, pp. 317 – 318.

⁵⁶² TZSY, see ARSI, Jap.Sin. I.44, folio 31.

⁵⁶³ TYJU, volume 1, chap. 8, pp. 308.

<i>Mihou</i> 獼猴	Macaque. Pre-existing in Chinese	A macaque that wears women's clothes might resemble a real woman, but as soon as we examine its emotions, [we understand that] it's still a monkey.	Macaque, not found. <i>Sancai Tuhui</i> has a small section on monkeys, <i>hou</i> 猴, in which their resemblance with men, especially with newborns, is highlighted. ⁵⁶⁴ It is supposed to “bestow protection, health and success on mankind, by keeping away malicious spirits or goblins”. ⁵⁶⁵	General mention of the monkeys in the “Islands of the North – Western Sea” in ZFWJ, volume two. ⁵⁶⁶ Machin, mono, ximia [moneky, ape] Hou, houzi 猴, 猴子 ⁵⁶⁷	<i>Mihou</i> 獼猴
<i>Yang</i> 羊	Sheep or goat. Pre-existing in Chinese	“Diogenes met a wealthy, but foolish, child and mocked him: ‘Isn’t he dressed up as a multicolored sheep? The sheep is the most stupid	“The lamb is a symbol of filial piety, as it is said to kneel respectfully when taking its mother’s milk”. ⁵⁶⁹	Five references to the sheep (<i>yang</i> 羊 or <i>baiyang</i> 白羊), or similar animals, in Aleni’s ZFWJ, volumes one, two and three. ⁵⁷¹	<i>Yang</i> 羊

⁵⁶⁴ *Sancai Tuhui* 三才圖會, volume 6, 1974, p. 2237.

⁵⁶⁵ Williams, 1976, pp. 277 – 278.

⁵⁶⁶ Reported by De Troia, 2009, p. 118.

⁵⁶⁷ VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, pp. 345, 581.

⁵⁶⁹ Williams, 1976, p. 356.

⁵⁷¹ Reported by De Troia, 2009, pp. 79, 80, 121, 140, 142.

		of all animals, its only advantage is its wool. Therefore, sages living among petty people are like shepherds living among the sheep. Where would the petty people and the sheep go, if sages and shepherds disappeared?’’ ⁵⁶⁸	Good-natured animal. ⁵⁷⁰	Carnero [sheep] <i>mianyanggu</i> 綿羊 牯 ⁵⁷²	

As shown in the above table, Vagnone’s deep knowledge of Chinese animals and their cultural representation was reflected in his conscious attempts to make use of the most popular and celebrated ones, sometimes even manipulating their original symbolism, such as the case of the crane replacing the stork. In most cases he preferred to rely on pre-existing terms that were consistent with the Jesuits’ translation strategy to indicate a different species, for example the case of the Chinese bird ‘*Huamei* 畫眉’: the nightingale. Vagnone only made use of phonemic loans when it was impossible to find an equivalent term in Chinese, even though he usually provided other

⁵⁶⁸ TYJU, volume 2, chap. 3, pp. 358. As explained by Li Shixue, in Chinese imaginary the sheep is traditionally associated to filial piety, as it kneels down when being suckled by his mother, and to masculinity, because of the homophony with the term ‘*yang* 陽’. Consistent with Western literature, which considers it instead a symbol of foolishness, Vagnone introduces it as “the most stupid of all animals”, using it as a metaphor for rich petty people, in juxtaposition with wise men. Moreover, the term multicoloured sheep (*wenyang* 文羊) is a reference to classical Chinese compounds such as ‘*wenqin* 文禽 (multicoloured birds) or ‘*wenma* 文馬 (multicoloured horses)’. See Li & Meynard, 2014, pp. 60-61.

⁵⁷⁰ *Sancai Tuhui* 三才圖會, volume 6, 1974, p. 2228.

⁵⁷² VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 129.

semantic indications, either the species (the squirrel ‘*Wu 鼯*’), or the native translation, as in the case of the ostrich, “*Ema 厄馬*, in Chinese known as the *Tuoniao 駝鳥*”.



The Huamei 畫眉 as represented in the Sancai Tuhui 三才圖會. Courtesy of the Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco.

As previously noted, the pioneering work in the field of cartography was Matteo Ricci’s world map,⁵⁷³ which served as a linguistic reference in later Jesuits’ geographical texts, such as Aleni’s *Zhifang Waiji* 職方外紀 and Verbiest’s *Kunyu quantu* 坤輿全圖. However, the terrestrial and maritime animals described by Ricci were mostly ‘*yishou* 異獸 (rare beats)’, as the Jesuit’s intention was to give an account of

the exotic animals that had already been brought to the attention of Europeans by geographical discoveries and eminent works on zoology such as Gessner’s *Historiae Animalium*.⁵⁷⁴ Vagnone’s animals served an edifying purpose instead, and their moral qualities are clearly depicted by the symbolic traditions of European literature. Vagnone’s efforts toward a cultural accommodation of certain terms mainly aimed to ensure a bigger reception by readers. My investigation of other missionary texts in Chinese confirmed that, with the exception of the crane (intended as stork) and the sheep that were sometimes quoted as positive or negative exempla,⁵⁷⁵ there is a rare occurrence of birds and beasts used in a didactic sense by the Jesuits. From a lexical perspective, most of them appeared in Varo’s dictionary, published almost one century later, as disyllabic or trisyllabic compounds, with the exception of the nightingale, the bee-eater and, quite surprisingly, the phoenix.

6.5. Branches of Western learning

According to Huang’s study, an estimated one thousand words were created as neologisms by

⁵⁷³ It appears, however, that illustrations of 23 terrestrial and sea animals were only added to the 1608 edition of Ricci’s map, today preserved at the Nanjing Museum, although at present the author has not been identified yet by related studies. See Zou, 2015, p. 308.

⁵⁷⁴ See Zou, 2015, p. 312.

⁵⁷⁵ Vagnone made use of the same *chreiai* regarding the crane and the sheep that I included in the table above, in his later work *Dadao Jiyan* 達道記言 See Li & Meynard, 2014, pp. 256.

Western missionaries in collaboration with Chinese literati during the Ming–Qing period.⁵⁷⁶ As previously shown, anthroponyms and toponyms were usually translated with phonemic loans, mainly resulting in polysyllabic compounds, while religious and philosophical terms (including academic subjects) were frequently indicated by semantic loans and loan translations,⁵⁷⁷ creating disyllabic compounds that were more easily transmitted in Chinese language. In the first few years following Ricci's death, the Jesuits' biggest commitment was to take over the project that their predecessor had started, aiming to introduce the European *scientia* to the Chinese *jinshi* 進士⁵⁷⁸ who were ready to embrace it. In theory, late Ming China undoubtedly fostered the right conditions for the functional use of Western philosophy and science to be used to transmit God's holy law. These conditions may have been due to the sense of uncertainty and disillusion towards late Ming political system, that led a group of “enlightened” literati to identify heavenly learning (*Tianxue* 天學) as the only solution to times of crisis, both political and intellectual. European philosophy was seen as a means for the expansion of knowledge (*Zhizhi* 致知) – the ultimate goal of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation.⁵⁷⁹ The immediate two years after Matteo Ricci's death saw increasing involvement by the Jesuits and their Chinese collaborators in projects mostly connected to the Ministry of Astronomy, astronomy being a science in which the missionaries had proved greatly competent. Li Zhizao even tried to push for the institution of an office for the translation of Western books as a supplement to reforming the calendar.⁵⁸⁰ The request was denied by the court, but it meant that a project to create a *corpus* of translated works introducing Western learning was finally in motion. It

⁵⁷⁶ Huang Xintao 黄兴涛 “Ming mo zhi Qing qianqi Xixue de zai renshi 明末至清前期西学的再认识” in *Qingshi Yanjiu* 清史研究 issue 2, 2013, p. 9.

⁵⁷⁷ For an in-depth analysis of lexical categories see: Masini, “The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898”, *Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series*, No. 6 1993, Berkley USA, pp. 128 – 134.

⁵⁷⁸ The highest scholarly-official title in imperial China, translated as “doctor” in Jesuit sources. The names of those who played the most active role in supporting the missionaries religious and literary activities are Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562–1633), Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565–1630) and Yang Tingyun 杨廷筠 (1557–1627).

⁵⁷⁹ Dong Shaoxin 董少新, *Xingshen zhi jian – zaoqi Xiyang yixue ru Hua shi gao* 形神之间 – 早期西洋医学入华史稿, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2008, p. 262.

⁵⁸⁰ Dong Shaoxin “Fede religiosa ed ideali politici di Xu Guangqi alla luce della persecuzione di Nanchino”, in E. Giunipero, *Un cristiano alla corte dei Ming: Xu Guangqi e il dialogo interculturale tra Cina e Occidente*, Guerini e Associati, 2013, p. 168.

was for this reason, at the end of 1612, that Jesuit Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628) was appointed by Superior Niccolò Longobardo (1565–1655) to sail back to Europe. The mission had two goals: report back to the Pope about the state of the China mission and to gather books on the subject of mathematics, science, philosophy and theology, along with a few eminent scientists. He would fully accomplish this mission in 1619, when returned to Macau with some 7000 volumes that represented the peak of classical and contemporary European culture, marking the beginning of the *Xixue dongjian* 西學東漸, the “dissemination of Western learning” in the East. Unfortunately, this process hit a sudden stop in 1616. Prior to the establishment of a translation office at court, the conservative faction won over and managed to cancel out the political influence of the *Donglin* officials that sympathised with the missionaries.⁵⁸¹ The echo of this event extended beyond Beijing and reached Nanjing, where vice minister of Rites, Shen Que 沈樞 (1565–1624) had just launched an anti-Christian persecution drive,⁵⁸² which had an enormous impact on the missionaries’ life and work, especially on Alfonso Vagnone.

Despite these events, the Jesuits’ commitment to literature never ceased: as early as 1623 two groundbreaking works were published: Giulio Aleni’s *Zhifang Waiji* 職方外紀 and *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 (Summary of Western learning). Such texts contributed to shape the idea of Western countries in the Chinese imagination, alongside providing an extensive description of their social customs and academic system. However, prior to the outbreak of the Nanjing persecution around 1615, Vagnone had also dealt with the subject by composing an essay that was only published in 1632 as a part of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育: *Xixue* 西學 (Western learning). His statement in chapter five of the second volume (“同志見而不迂，業已約略加減 刻行矣 [...] My confrère considered it good and adjusted it to have it published[.]”),⁵⁸³ seems to confirm the supposition that Aleni borrowed

⁵⁸¹ Dong, 2013, p. 171.

⁵⁸² The so-called Nanjing Incident (1616 – 1617) that brought a number of neophytes to jail and resulted in the expulsion of Vagnone and Alvaro Samedo (1585 – 1658) to Macau. The reasons behind this persecution, started by Shen Que’s memorial to the Emperor in 1616, were deeply analysed by various scholars, but the opinions are not always concurring. For a general overview on the subject see E. Menegon, *Un solo cielo. Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582 – 1649). Geografia, Arte, Scienza e Religione dall’Europa alla Cina*, Grafo Edizioni, Brescia, 1994; J. Dehergne, *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800 / Joseph Dehergne S.J.* Roma, Institutum historicum S.I., Paris : Letouzey & Ané , 1973; L.C. Goodrich, C.Y. Fang, *Dictionary of Ming biography, 1368-1644 / the Ming biographical history project of the Association for Asian studies*, New York , Columbia university press , 1976; N. Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Volume 1: 635 – 1800, Brill, 2001. See also chap. 1.

⁵⁸³ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5 p.370.

his confrère's idea while he was still in exile in Macau, and published a book about Western learning without making any reference to *Xixue* 西學 as a source.

When describing the three stages and different subjects that made up the European systematic education, the two authors interchanged phonemic loans, semantic loans and loan translations in accordance with their communicative intent. Vagnone's *Xixue* 西學 showed a five-fold division of the knowledge, which he called "Five Studies (*Wu Xue* 五學)", whereas Aleni's *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 spoke instead of "Six Disciplines *Liu Ke* 六科",⁵⁸⁴ adding a subject, 'Canon *Jiao ke* 教科', to this classification. As remarked on in Zou's study, the suffix '-*xue* 學', used by Vagnone, was typical of the Chinese Classical tradition,⁵⁸⁵ while Aleni's translation choice '- *ke* 科' intended to mark a fracture within the Chinese traditional education system.⁵⁸⁶

The table below shows a comparison between the phonemic loans, semantic loans and loan translations used by the two authors to indicate the main branches of the European education:

VAGNONE	ALENI ⁵⁸⁷	LATIN and ENGLISH TRANSLATION	MODERN CHINESE

⁵⁸⁴ Aleni's "Six disciplines" include: Rhetoric (*Wenke* 文科), Philosophy (*Like* 理科), Medicine (*Yike* 医科), Law (*Fake* 法科), Canon law (*Jiaoke* 教科) and Theology (*Daoke* 道科). However, they also appear with the suffix *-xue* 學. See Falato Giulia, "Alfonso Vagnone S.J.'s '*Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (*On the Education of Children*)' and its contribution to the introduction of Western learning into late Ming China", in *Ming Qing Studies*, 2015, p. 149.

⁵⁸⁵ According to Zou, 2011, the suffix '*xue* 學' was one of the classification names which could be found in the *Yijing* or in Zhuangzi. See Zou Zhenhuan 邹振环, *Wan Ming Hanwen Xixue Jingdian: Bianyi, Quanshi, Liuchuan yu Yingxiang* 晚明汉文西学经典: 编译、诠释、流传与影响 Shanghai: Fudan Daxue Chubanshe 复旦大学出版社, 2011, p. 233, footnote n. 1.

⁵⁸⁶ Zou, 2011, p. 233.

⁵⁸⁷ This study on Aleni's lexical innovations is based on D'Elia Pasquale "Le Generalità sulle Scienze Occidentali di Giulio Aleni", in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXV 1-4, Roma, 1950, pp. 58 – 76; Masini Federico, *The formation of modern Chinese lexicon and its evolution toward a national language: the period from 1840 to 1898*, University of California, Berkeley 1993; Masini Federico, "Aleni's contribution to the Chinese language", in Lipiello - Malek (ed.) "*Scholar from the West*": Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China, Brescia and the Monumenta Serica Institute, Sankt Augustin. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1997, pp. 539 - 554 .

<i>Feilusuoifeiya</i> 費羅所非亞 (<i>Gewuqiongli zhi xue</i> 格物窮理之學)	<i>Feilusuoifeiya</i> 斐祿所非亞 (<i>Lixue/Like</i> 理學/理科)	Philosophia (Philosophy)	<i>Zhexue</i> 哲學
<i>Luorejia</i> 落熱加	<i>Luoriya</i> 落日加	Logica ⁵⁸⁸ (Logic)	<i>Luoji</i> 邏輯
<i>Feixijia</i> 非西加	<i>Feixijia</i> 費西加	Physica (Physics)	<i>Wulixue</i> 物理學
<i>Mademadijia</i> 瑪得瑪第加	<i>Mademadijia</i> 馬得馬第加	Mathematica (Mathematics)	<i>Shuxue</i> 數學
<i>Modafeixijia</i> 默大非西加	<i>Modafeixijia</i> 默達費西加	Metaphysica (Metapysics)	<i>Xing'ershaxue</i> 形而上學
<i>Edijia</i> 厄第加	<i>Edijia</i> 厄弟加	Ethica (Ethics) ⁵⁸⁹	<i>Lunlixue</i> 倫理學
<i>Douluriya</i> 陡羅日亞 <i>Tianxue</i> 天學	<i>Douluriya</i> 陡祿日亞 <i>Daoxue/ Daoke</i> 道學/道科	Theologia (Theology)	<i>Shenxue</i> 神學

From a phonemic perspective, the first consideration resulting from the table above concerns the different adaptation of specific sounds, such as *Fei* 費/斐, *Luo* 羅/ *Lu* 祿, *Re* 熱/ *Ri* 日, which were probably consistent with the *xiangtan* 鄉談 spoken in the area of the Jesuits' residence. Interestingly in his later book *Feilu huida* 斐祿彙答 (Collected answers on philosophy, 1636), Vagnone will eventually give up his own translation of the word 'Philosophy', to adopt Aleni's version.

Secondly, the table shows an alternation between transliterations of Latin terms and names which were already a part of the classical Chinese vocabulary, such as '*Lixue* 理學 (Neo-Confucianism)' or '*Daoxue* 道學 (Daoism)', to which Vagnone and Aleni attached a different semantic value.

As previously noted, the transliteration of foreign terms to translate names or notions that were unknown to the Chinese tradition did not satisfy the Jesuits' communicative intent. It was merely applied in the rare cases where a specific term or notion could not be adapted from modern Chinese,

⁵⁸⁸ Maybe the very first translation of the word *Luojixue* 邏輯學, Logics, in its Western acceptance. See Zou, 2011, p. 236 n.4

⁵⁸⁹ Vagnone also refers to this discipline as *yili zhizue* 義禮之學 and considers it composed by the principles of *Xiuqi Zhiping* 修齊治平 (borrowed from the *Great Learning*), see TYJY volume 2, chap. 5, p. 380. Aleni instead uses the denomination *Xiuqi Zhiping zhi xue* 修齊治平之學, as a synonym of the term 'ethic'. See Masini, 1997, p. 547.

or at the earliest stages of the missionaries' translation project. Such a theory is confirmed by the gradual disappearance of these phonemic loans from contemporary dictionaries, as well as from early Qing works. The only exception being the chapter on Italy included in the *Qingchao wenxian tongkao* 清朝文獻通考 (Comprehensive examination of Qing dynasty literature, c. 1747), which is based on Aleni's *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀.⁵⁹⁰

This lexical analysis of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 highlighted a similar trend: the use of phonemic loans to indicate subjects of the European academic system, appearing in chapter five of the second volume *Xixue* 西學. However, in the remaining chapters, the author gave up this translation strategy, opting for the use of semantic loans or loans translations that “did not betray the foreign origin [of a term] and, to native speakers, appeared exactly as autochthonous creations or neologisms”.⁵⁹¹ Therefore, the aforementioned essay *Xixue* 西學, not only provides time-sensitive references that are crucial to retrace the steps in the making of Vagnone's treatise, but also served as a prototype for later Jesuit texts describing various aspects of the West's geography, culture and knowledge, to Chinese readers.⁵⁹² Its contribution to the Chinese lexicon is also valuable: the influence of some neologisms Vagnone created in this chapter is confirmed by the various occurrences in some of his confrères' works, and still lingers in modern Chinese language.

In the following table, I have isolated the semantic loans and loan translations used to indicate the key branches of Western learning. Taking as a reference the most relevant texts that deal with similar topics, I have compared how a specific subject was translated in Giulio Aleni's *Xixue Fan* 西學凡, *Zhifang Waiji* 職方外紀⁵⁹³ and in Francisco Furtado S.J. (1589 – 1653) and Li Zhizao's *Mingli tan* 名理探 (Exploration of Names and Principles, 1631). These texts also provided a description of the

⁵⁹⁰ Masini, 1997, p. 542 – 543.

⁵⁹¹ Masini, *ibid.* p. 554.

⁵⁹² Just to mention a few titles, the aforementioned *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 and *Zhifang Waiji* 職方外紀, are generally considered two literary milestones of the genre; Aleni's later publication *Xifang Dawen* 西方答問 (Answers and questions on the West, 1637) also dealt with the introduction of various cultural aspects of the West, and so did Francisco Furtado (1589 – 1653) and Li Zhizao's *Mingli tan* 名理探 (Exploration of Names and Principles, 1631)."

⁵⁹³ This cross-checked analysis is based on Masini's study on Aleni's contribution to modern Chinese lexicon (1997, pp. 539 - 554).

European system education. Moreover, to confirm the occurrence of these creations in 18th century language, I also checked the following dictionaries: Francisco Varo's *Glossary of the Mandarin Language* and *Dictionarium* the by Carlo Orati da Castorano.⁵⁹⁴ Finally, I have searched these terms in the 1990 edition of the *Hanyu Da Cidian* 漢語大詞典, as a proof of their existence in current Chinese idioms.

TERM	OCCURRENCES IN TYJY	MEANING IN TYJY	CURRENT STATUS	OTHER TRANSLATIONS
<i>Lixue</i> 理學 (semantic loan)	1	Philosophy	In use ⁵⁹⁵	A. 斐錄所費亞, 斐錄之學, 理科, 理學 F. 斐錄瑣費亞 V. 格物窮理之學, 性學 C. 性理, 性學, 性理之學文, 格物窮理之學, 致知之學文
<i>Renxue</i> 人學 (loan translation)	6	Humanities, human studies (earliest occurrence)	Not in use ⁵⁹⁶	A. 人學 F. <i>Not found</i> V. <i>Not found</i> C. <i>Not found</i>
<i>Shixue</i> 實學 (semantic loan)	12	Practical learning (Scholasticism ?)	In use only as 'practical learning'	<i>Not found</i>

⁵⁹⁴ See Castorano, DLIS, BAV, Vat. Estr. Or. 4. I also compared my findings with Dr. Li Hui's research on the lexicon included by Castorano in his DLIS, see Li, 2014/2015, pp. 220 – 229.

⁵⁹⁵ The term bears however his original meaning, 'Neo – Confucianism'; it is also recorded in GRD as 'Physics and natural sciences', see GRD, volume III, p. 1194.

⁵⁹⁶ According to HYDCD, it was used until late Qing to indicate 'humanities'. Vol. 1 p. 1055. See also Masini, 1997, p. 551.

			597	
<i>Tianxue</i> 天學 (semantic loan)	3	Heavenly learning, theology (earliest occurrence)	Not in use	A. 道學, 陡錄日亞, 道科, 天學 F. 超性學, 陡錄日亞 V. <i>Not found</i> C. 超性學, 超性的道理, 天主事體之道理, 天主奧妙事體之知識
<i>Wenxue</i> 文學 (semantic loan)	18	Literary studies, literature, (earliest occurrence)	In use	A. 文學, 文科 F. 藝, 文藝 V. 文學 C. 學文, 學法, 文法 ⁵⁹⁸
<i>Xixue</i> 西學 (semantic loan)	4	Western learning (earliest occurrence)	In use	A. 西學 F. <i>Not found</i> V. <i>Not found</i> C. <i>Not found</i>
<i>Xingxue</i> 性學 (semantic loan)	3	Natural philosophy, physics	Not in use	A. 費西加, 性學 ⁵⁹⁹ F. 形性學, 斐西加

⁵⁹⁷ The term appears in HYDCD as ‘Practical and useful learning’. Its first recorded reference appeared in Zhu Xi 朱熹’s *Zhongyong zhangju* 中庸章句. See HYDCD, Vol. 3, p. 1118.

⁵⁹⁸ The aforementioned terms bear the meaning of ‘*retorica*’ and ‘*scientia*’. There is no other entry indicating literary studies in Castorano’s dictionary, because he only records ‘*litterae*’ in the sense of “missive” and “characters”. However, the literary connotation of the semantic loan ‘學文’ is confirmed its appearance as an attribute in the compound ‘*litteratus* (有學文的)’. See, Castorano, DLIS, BAV, Vat. Estr. Or. 4, f. 270v.

⁵⁹⁹ The term ‘*Xingxue* 性學’ was actually used by Aleni in his “*Xingxue cu shu* 性學彙述 (Approximative description of physics, 1623)”, a reinterpretation of Aristotle’s *De anima* and *Parva Naturalia*, through Aquinas’ doctrine to explain the Western theory on body and soul. See Dong, 2008, p. 258.

				V. <i>Not found</i> C. 性學, 性理, 性理之學文, 體察物性之學
<i>Yixue</i> 醫學 (semantic loan)	1	Medicine (earliest occurrence)	In use	A. 默第濟納, 醫科, 醫學 F. 醫學, 默第際納 V. 醫學 C. 醫家, 醫道, 醫科, 治內科

As indicated in the table, Vagnone's creations or adaptations of pre-existing terms are still known and used in contemporary Chinese language: '*Tianxue* 天學',⁶⁰⁰ '*Renxue* 人學' and '*Xingxue* 性學' being the only exceptions. However, the fortunes of semantic loans like '*Yixue* 醫學', '*Xixue* 西學' and '*Wenxue* 文學' are mainly connected to the popularity Aleni's works in China and Japan, the latter having provided the main channel to reintroduce a number of terms that had fallen into disuse before the 19th century.⁶⁰¹ As for the occurrences of names borrowed from the Neo-Confucian tradition, such as '*Lixue* 理學' and '*Xingxue* 性學', my study on other Jesuit texts proved that these effectively became a part of the missionary vocabulary for at least a couple of centuries. Most Jesuit authors adopted the term '*Lixue* 理學', 'Neo-Confucianism' in Chinese, as one of the many translations of the European notion of 'philosophy', whereas their interpretation of '*Xingxue* 性學' appears more complex. According to Dong's study, '*Xingxue* 性學', as the subject that investigated the essence (*benzhi* 本质) of men and things, was associated by most late Ming Jesuits with the European branch of physics, while for Chinese literati it was intended as the "study of the

⁶⁰⁰ Unlike reported in my previous study (2015), the earliest occurrence of the term seems to be Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義 (True meaning of the Lord of Heaven, 1607), see TZSY, ARSI, Jap.Sin., I-14, folio 20.

⁶⁰¹ Masini, 1993, p. 84.

phenomena of nature” or ‘*gewu* 格物’.⁶⁰² As previously noted in the *Ratio Studiorum*, physics featured as part of the course of philosophy, which in Jesuit texts was frequently indicated as ‘*gewu qiongli zhi xue* 格物窮理之學’, hence creating a degree of semantic overlap in the translation of ‘*Xingxue* 性學’.

Interestingly in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, the term bears both meanings: it is in fact associated with the Indian sect of the Brahmanas,⁶⁰³ Epicurus⁶⁰⁴ and Aristotle.⁶⁰⁵ If, for the last two thinkers, the use of the term ‘physics’ is suitable, given their extensive studies on the subject, Brahmanism seems to be more concerned with religious and metaphysical matters, suggesting that Vagnone’s translation choice intended to indicate ‘natural philosophy’. However, what these three doctrines had in common was the lack of God’s reason (the *ratio*, *Li* 理), which might indicate a wilful use in opposition with Socrates’ Rationalism ‘*Lixue* 理學’ and Aquinas’ Scholasticism, or ‘*Shixue* 實學’.

6.6. Translating the name of God

Over the course of their translation and adaptation project, the most crucial challenge the Jesuits had to face concerned the use of specific Chinese terms to signify Christian concepts. In fact, since the earliest stages of the China mission, Ricci and his confrères had begun analysing ancient Chinese texts “to find out if there was any record of God’s presence in their four thousand years old annals”.⁶⁰⁶ Among the denominations they had found in the classics, ‘*Tian* 天(Heaven)’, ‘*Shangdi* 上帝(Sovereign on High)’ and ‘*Tianzhu* 天主(Lord of Heaven)’ had persuaded them of the existence of an entity that went beyond the material heaven and that, by extension, ancient Chinese literati had known as a spiritual deity.⁶⁰⁷ Ricci’s translation choices, ‘*Shangdi* 上帝(Sovereign on High)’ and

⁶⁰² Dong, 2008, p. 262.

⁶⁰³ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 2, p. 346.

⁶⁰⁴ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 7, p. 300.

⁶⁰⁵ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 2, 403.

⁶⁰⁶ Bartoli, Daniello, *La Cina*, Milano, Bompiani, 1975, p. 228.

⁶⁰⁷ Bartoli, *ibid.*, p. 228.

‘*Tianzhu* 天主(Lord of Heaven)’ were approved by a congregation of theologians in Macau, among which were the Bishop of Japan and Visitor Valignano. His position was also supported by educated officials, which considered the use of such names licit, and rejoiced that a proof of their traditional monotheism had been found.⁶⁰⁸

However, a controversy began to arise a few years after Ricci’s death in 1610, sparked by the interpretation some Jesuit missionaries in Japan, in particular Japanese language expert João Rodriguez (c. 1561 – 1634), gave to Christian texts in Chinese. Such debate revolved around the allegedly dubious use of terms like ‘*Tian* 天’, ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’ and ‘*Tianzhu* 天主’ to indicate the name of God, alongside “pernicious and wicked” ones, such as ‘*Tianshen* 天神(Angel)’.⁶⁰⁹ According to Brockey’s account, on the basis of interviews led among Christian literati, Rodriguez and Niccolò Longobardo came to the conclusion that the terminology used by Ricci to translate the name of God presented some doctrinal ambiguities, as it referred to a material deity and therefore could not be associated with the Almighty. The only way China Jesuits could avoid abetting idolatry was to use the transliteration of the Latin name ‘*Deus*’, a strategy that was already in place in Japan.⁶¹⁰ Most of the missionaries who were proficient in Chinese classical texts, like Giulio Aleni, Alfonso Vagnone, Giacomo Rho and Nicolas Trigault, alongside those literati who were closer to Ricci, vehemently opposed these solutions. Their positions were summarised by Daniello Bartoli, historian of the Society of Jesus: first of all, to replace terms like ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’ or ‘*Tianzhu* 天主’ with an empty Latin transliteration would have been meaningless or misleading to the Chinese. He brought the adaptation St. Francis Xavier had used in Japan as an example: ‘Great Sun’, which carried material connotations, hence betraying the very nature of the Christian God. Secondly, as argued by Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizao and Yang Tingyun, the deity the classics spoke of was “one, made of pure intellect and ruler of all beings”. Finally, the three literati added that “to translate the name of God with a term of foreign origin, would have made it difficult for most Chinese people to get spiritually close to this unknown deity, the same result the use of terms ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’ or ‘*Tianzhu*

⁶⁰⁸ Bartoli, *ibid.*, p. 229.

⁶⁰⁹ Brockey Liam, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579 – 1724*, Harvard University Press, 2008, pp. 85-86.

⁶¹⁰ Brockey, 2008, p. 86.

天主’ would have among the Western devoted”.⁶¹¹

After almost two decades of tension, and in order to settle such disputes, in 1627 visitor André Palmeiro (1569 – 1635) called a conference in Jiading,⁶¹² during which Vagnone and his confrères brought textual proof confirming that the term ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’, considered the most controversial, was instead admissible. However, their thesis was opposed again by Longobardo and Rodriguez, who even insisted that the term ‘*Tianzhu* 天主’ “was freighted with idolatrous connotations and should also be banned”.⁶¹³ A series of letters and reports dated to early 1628 show that in the aftermath of the Jiading conference this crucial matter was far from being settled. Vagnone was particularly active in this stage, especially in criticising the visitor’s attempts to solve the issue. Palmeiro was almost tempted to recall the “insubordinate Jesuit” to Macau, but eventually gave up because of Vagnone’s linguistic competence and because of the lack of manpower the mission was experiencing.⁶¹⁴ The exacerbation of the controversy reached the point of no return in 1628, when Palmeiro found out that “the mentally unstable Trigault had committed suicide in a fit of depression over his inability to defend conclusively the use ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’”.⁶¹⁵ As a consequence of this unsettling discovery, the Visitor tried to put a definitive halt to the debate by banning the use of ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’ and ‘*Tian* 天’ to indicate the name of God, while designating the term ‘*Tianzhu* 天主’ as the proper translation.

However, even after this official prohibition Vagnone wasn’t ready to put the matter aside and summarised his motivation in seven points in a three-page document addressed to the Superior General.⁶¹⁶ This report aimed to present the reasons why ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’ and ‘*Tian* 天’ were

⁶¹¹ Bartoli, 1975, pp. 231 – 233.

⁶¹² See chapter 1.1 of the present volume.

⁶¹³ Brockey, 2008, p. 87.

⁶¹⁴ André Palmeiro to Muzio Vitelleschi, Macau, 16 January 1631, in ARSI, FG. 730.I:13r. See also, Brockey, 2008, p. 87.

⁶¹⁵ André Palmeiro to Muzio Vitelleschi, Macau, 20 December 1629, in ARSI, Jap-Sin 161.II:117r. See also, Brockey, 2008, p. 87.

⁶¹⁶ “Breve informação sobre o nome ‘Xam’ ti’, e ‘Tien’ en lugar de Deus para os superiores (Brief information concerning the names of Shangdi and Tian as alternatives to Deus addressed to the Superiors). The document bears no date. See ARSI, Jap-Sin, 161.II:225-226v.

considered the best adaptations for the name of God, and was backed by those fathers who were well-versed in Chinese classics, alongside a number of “modern” literati. In particular, the Jesuit reaffirmed the presence of ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’ in ancient Chinese texts, indicating “a superior entity that governed all creatures, with justice and providence [...] rewarding good people and punishing the wicked.”⁶¹⁷ He also stated that those misleading interpretations provided by the scholars of the Song dynasty (os ditos letrados do reinado Sum, i.e. the Neo-Confucians), who associated ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’ with concepts like ‘*Taiji* 太極’ (which Vagnone called ‘ou primeiro principio material’), ‘*Qi* 氣’ (‘ou ar primigénio’) and ‘*Li* 理’ (a razão que predomina a geração das cousas naturais) were finally considered obsolete by many modern literati. Finally, he highlighted the great respect Chinese scholars had for the “ancient doctrine and sages from the past, who they venerate like saints”, implying that the use of terms directly borrowed from the classics would have granted a greater moral authority.⁶¹⁸

Despite Vagnone’s fervid commitment to the cause, after 1630 the term was officially banned in Shanxi province, where the Jesuit resided.⁶¹⁹ My lexical analysis on *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 shows an effective consistency with the aforementioned translation policy. The controversial term ‘*Shangdi* 上帝’, is totally absent from Vagnone’s pedagogical treatise, whereas the name ‘*Tianzhu* 天主’ occurs sixty-three times.⁶²⁰ A diachronic investigation of this term confirmed its classical heritage, being listed in the *Hanyu Da Cidian* 漢語大詞典 as “first used in the classic *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian)”⁶²¹ by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145 or 135 – 86 BC). It was recorded as the Christian ‘God (our term)’, already in Varo’s *Glossary of the Mandarin Language*, and it is still in use

⁶¹⁷ “É certo que muitos letrados assim amigos como modernos na China entenderam e entendem ser este nome ‘Xam’ti’ usado e tomado nos seus livros doutrinais e autênticos por hum nome superior a todas as cousas criadas, que governam com providência e justiça todo o mundo à premiando os bons e castigando os mãos [...]”. See ARSI, Jap-Sin, 161.II:225-226v.

⁶¹⁸ See ARSI, Jap-Sin, 161.II:225-226v.

⁶¹⁹ Duan, 2012, p. 158.

⁶²⁰ In particular, it appears in the following pages of TYJY, pp. 253 (x2); 270; 291; 295(x4); 296; 298 (x2); 299 (x5); 300 (x4); 301(x3); 302; 304 (x2); 305 (x6); 309; 310 (x5); 311 (x2); 313; 314(x2); 315; 342 (x5); 356 (x2); 357; 358 (x5); 364; 373; 374; 393 (x2); 405.

⁶²¹ HYDCD, Volume 2, p. 1411.

today with such acceptance.⁶²²

However, Vagnone's attempt to create a semantic and dogmatic connection between Christianity and Chinese classical philosophy appears in two more terms he used to signify the name of God: the loan translation 'Zaohuazhu 造化主 (literally, Lord of Creation, the Creator)', which occurs four times⁶²³ and is still in use today,⁶²⁴ and the semantic loan 'Shangzhu 上主', originally meaning 'enlightened ruler', which in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 seems to refer to both pagan and Christian Gods.⁶²⁵ The latter interpretation is consistent with one of the meanings the term bears today.⁶²⁶

6.6.1 Further religious and pedagogical terms

The last section of this lexical analysis concerns the evolution of a selection of terms Vagnone created, or adapted, to introduce different aspects of the European culture, including religion. As previously discussed by many authoritative studies, due to a semantical, grammatical and cultural distance between the Chinese and Western languages, translators could not always find a direct equivalent of a concept and had to rely on other strategies.⁶²⁷ The use of phonemic loans to transliterate words of foreign origin, alongside semantic loans and loan translations, being the three main solutions. When introducing pedagogical and religious precepts from Europe, Vagnone mostly relied on the adaptation of pre-existing terms from the Confucian and Neo-Confucian

⁶²² VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 213.

⁶²³ See TYJY, pp. 262 , 305 , 392, 402.

⁶²⁴ I found records of such a term, meaning 'Christian Creator' or 'Creator' on both HYDCD, volume 6, p. 35 and GRD, volume VI, p. 35. As for Varo's dictionary, the entry 'Creator' reports the following translations: 'Zaowuzhe 造物者', 'Zaotianti wanwu zhi zhu 造天地萬物之主' volume 1, p. 173; 'Zaowanwuzhe 造萬物者', volume 1, p. 213.

⁶²⁵ The first three occurrences are associated with education in Persia, whose traditional religion was Zoroastrianism (founded in 6th century B.C.), see TYJY, volume 1, chapter 7, p. 297. In a later passage, however, Vagnone mentions "some commandments of learning" displayed in Western schools, which focus on the "respect and service of God (而敬事上主), see TYJY, volume 1, chapter 7, p. 302. Another interpretation of such passages might suggest a broader and more secular understanding of the term 'Shangzhu 上主': it might, in fact, refer to the superiors (i.e. parents, priests, teachers and, by all means, God), young boys of different were required to respect and revere as a part of their education.

⁶²⁶ The GRD records it as 'Christian God', 'Lord on High', see volume V, p. 126. However, HYDCD only highlights its secular acceptance of 'enlightened ruler', see HYDCD, volume 1, p. 270.

⁶²⁷ Li, 2013, pp. 206 – 207.

traditions. Such a strategy aimed to make the text particularly useful to a specific target readership, (the literati), and consistent with the typical style of edifying literature (*shangshu* 善書), which was extremely popular in China, even among the lower classes.

In the following section, I shall analyse a number of selected terms from *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, mostly pertaining religion and pedagogy. In order to trace their etymology, I searched them in the HYDCD and in the GRD, alongside the most relevant Jesuit publications on ethics of the early China mission: Ricci's *Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義 (hereafter TZSY) and *Jiren Shipian* 畸人十篇 (Ten paradoxes 1608, hereafter JRSP), along with Diego de Pantoja's *Qike* 七克 (hereafter QK). I also consulted Varo and Castorano's dictionaries to confirm the evolution of such terms among missionaries' works of the early Qing dynasty. Finally, I compared my findings with Masini's investigation on Aleni's *Zhifang Waiji* 職方外紀, *Xixue fan* 西學凡, “*Xifang Dawen* 西方答問 (Answers to questions about the West, 1623, hereafter XFDW)” and on the *Qingchao wenxian tongkao* 清朝文獻通考 (hereafter QCWXTK). For each entry I indicated: a) the pronunciation in pinyin and the Chinese character; b) the English equivalent; c) the phonemic length; d) the origin; e) part of speech; f) if it was Vagnone's creation; g) presence of the term in modern Chinese; h) other pragmatic or semantic considerations.

1. *Gongsi* 公司, ‘company’ or ‘public school’, disyllable, loan translation, noun, Vagnone's creation, still in use. In TYJY it indicated ‘private schools, or companies’, which blossomed in ancient Greece in opposition to state-run schools.⁶²⁸ Aside from Vagnone's treatise, the earliest record of this term appears to be a 19th century-text by Wei Yuan 魏源's (1794 – 1857), used to indicate the famous thirteen foreign factories (*Shisan hang* 十三行) located in Guangzhou.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁸ “ 厄肋濟亞， 吾土鄰國也， 古俗恐人有困于財者， 有羈于冗者， 不能訓其子， 則在在立公學， 延四方名師， 重其祿以公教之。 又恐有懈不教子者， 則立公司以指其迷而開導之。 (In Greece, a neighbouring country to my own, tradition dictated that public schools be established, and had to appoint famous teachers from every land who were paid as public instructors. This was to allay the fears that those with money troubles or restrictive affairs would not be able to provide education for their children. Out of a fear of failing to educate their offspring, they also established private schools to guide children's passions and enlighten them). See TYJY, volume 1, chap. 4 p. 278.

⁶²⁹ HYDCD, Volume 2, p. 60.

2. *Gongtang* 公堂, ‘tribunal’ or ‘public hall’ disyllable, loan translation, noun, not Vagnone’s creation, still in use. According to HYDCD the term appeared in the classic *Shijing* 詩經 as “halls where the lord lived; ancient places to hear cases”.⁶³⁰ In TYJY it is used to refer to both ‘public schools of law’ and ‘tribunals’.⁶³¹ There is a record of the same term in Varo’s VLM as ‘consistorio, (town hall)’.

3. *Gongxue* 公學, ‘public school’, disyllable, loan translation, noun, not Vagnone’s creation, now obsolete. The first occurrence of this term is in Ricci’s TZSY, indicating ‘public schools’.⁶³² According to Masini,⁶³³ Aleni used it to refer to the public schools of medicine in Bologna, a definition he most likely borrowed from Vagnone’s unpublished essay *Xixue* 西學.⁶³⁴ In TYJY, the term is also used to mean public schools (opened in ancient Greece and opposed to the aforementioned ‘*Gongsi* 公司’).⁶³⁵ There is also a record of this term in HYDCD, where it appears as “Private stay – in schools opened for English noble girls; private schools opened in China after the Opium War by the religious or secular associations.”⁶³⁶

4. *Gujin Jingdian* 古今經典, ‘old and new Testament’, polysyllable, loan translation, noun Vagnone’s creation, now obsolete.⁶³⁷ Aleni and other missionaries preferred the disyllabic

⁶³⁰ HYDCD, Volume 2, p. 71.

⁶³¹ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 6, p. 293; volume 2, chap. 5 p. 375.

⁶³² TZSY in ARSI, Jap. Sin. I.44, f.110.

⁶³³ Masini, 1997, p. 548.

⁶³⁴ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5 p. 376.

⁶³⁵ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 4 p. 278.

⁶³⁶ HYDCD volume 2, p. 78, see also Masini, 1997, p. 548.

⁶³⁷ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5 p. 381.

compounds ‘Gujing 古經’ and ‘Xinjing 新經’,⁶³⁸ in Varo’s VLM the term ‘old testament’ is translated as ‘Gujiaozhu zhi shengjing 古教囑之聖經’.⁶³⁹

5. *Huaibao* 懷抱, ‘to hold in someone’s arms’, ‘to breastfeed’, disyllable, semantic loan, verb, not Vagnone’s creation, still in use. The original acceptation of this term is ‘to press to somebody’s breast, to hold onto somebody’s arms’.⁶⁴⁰ However, in TYJY it appears to convey the act of breastfeeding or nursing,⁶⁴¹ a semantic connotation that was borrowed from Ricci’s TZSY.⁶⁴² Varo’s VLM also reports this verb, to indicate the act of “Traher en braços, o al pecho el niño (to carry a child in the arms or in the bosom)”.⁶⁴³

6. *Jiaoyu* 教育 ‘education’, ‘teaching and fostering’, disyllable, semantic loan, noun, not Vagnone’s creation, still in use. According to HYDCD, it first occurred in the section “*Jinxin xia* 盡心下” of the Book of Mencius.⁶⁴⁴ In his TYJY, Vagnone seldom used it as a disyllabic compound, rather referring to the terms ‘*Jiao* 教 (to educate, to teach)’ and ‘*Yu* 育 (to raise, to foster)’ as both nouns and verbs.⁶⁴⁵ Masini’s study on the same term indicates it is a return graphic loan from Japanese.⁶⁴⁶

⁶³⁸ Masini, 1997, p. 548.

⁶³⁹ VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 543.

⁶⁴⁰ HYDCD volume 3, p. 162.

⁶⁴¹ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 2 pp. 259 – 264.

⁶⁴² TZSY, in ARSI, Jap.Sin. I.44, f.110.

⁶⁴³ VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 556.

⁶⁴⁴ HYDCD volume 5, p. 446.

⁶⁴⁵ Title aside, the disyllabic compound occurs eleven times in Vagnone’s treatise. See TYJY, pp. 248, 265, 268(2), 269, 270, 288, 293, 297, 341, 385. It is also used twice by Han Lin in his preface, p. 239-240.

⁶⁴⁶ See Masini, 1993, p. 220.

7. *Shangzhu* 上主, ‘Christian God’, ‘Lord on High’, disyllable, semantic loan, noun, Vagnone’s creation, now obsolete. Its earliest occurrence was during the Han dynasty, indicating an enlightened ruler.⁶⁴⁷ In TYJY, as previously indicated, it appears to refer to both the Christian and pagan gods.⁶⁴⁸ The religious connotation of this term is only confirmed in the GRD, where it is recorded as “Christian God, Lord on High”.⁶⁴⁹

8. *Shengtang* 聖堂, ‘church’, disyllable, loan translation, noun, Vagnone’s creation, now obsolete. No record in the HYDCD, the translation given in GRD, ‘church’,⁶⁵⁰ is consistent with the one occurring in TYJY.⁶⁵¹ It also appears in Varo’s VLM, as “Yglesia material, dezimos (church as a physical entity, church building, as we say)”, and “templo de dio (God’s temple)”.⁶⁵²

9. *Tianshen* 天神, ‘angel’, disyllable, loan translation, noun, not Vagnone’s creation, now obsolete. Such a neologism was most likely created by Ricci, it was highly used by late Ming and early Qing Jesuits,⁶⁵³ but later replaced by another loan translation, maybe introduced

⁶⁴⁷ HYDCD volume 1, p. 270.

⁶⁴⁸ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 7, pp. 297 – 302.

⁶⁴⁹ GRD, volume 5, p. 126.

⁶⁵⁰ GRD, volume 5, p. 263.

⁶⁵¹ The term appears in a paraphrased passage from the Bible, in which ‘*Shengtang* 聖堂’ refers to God’s ‘sacred tent’, a symbol of the church. See TYJY, volume 2, chap. 2, p. 342.

⁶⁵² VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 315 and p. 539.

⁶⁵³ Its first occurrence seems to be Ricci’s TZSY (folio 42), but it was also extensively used in Vagnone’s and other confrères’ works, including Aleni’s “*Tianzhu shengjiao sizi jingwen* 天主聖教四字經文”, and De Pantoja’s “*Qike* 七克”. It is also recorded in Varo’s VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 60.

as a return loan from Japan: ‘*Tianshi* 天使’, which is still in use today.

10. *Tiantang* 天堂, ‘paradise’, disyllable, loan translation, noun, not Vagnone’s creation, still in use. Its earliest appearance is in the “*Songshu* 宋書”, but it came to enrich the vocabulary of the Christian missionaries thanks to Matteo Ricci. Used by most late Ming Jesuits,⁶⁵⁴ it was also listed in Varo’s VLM as “Cielo empireo (the empyreal or celestial heaven)”, and “Paradyso celestial (celestial heaven).⁶⁵⁵
11. *Xingming* 星命, ‘astrology’, ‘divination’, disyllable, loan translation, noun, not Vagnone’s creation, still in use. According to HYDCD the term dates back to the Song dynasty, to indicate “astrology”,⁶⁵⁶ a practice that was highly criticised by the Jesuits, including Vagnone, for its superstitious connotations.⁶⁵⁷ Varo translated ‘astrology’ as ‘*Xingjia* 星家’, which in TYJY refers instead to the ‘fortune teller’, consistent with the current acceptance of the word. The earliest occurrence of ‘the terms ‘*Xingmin* 星命’ as ‘astrology’ and ‘*Xingjia* 星家’ as ‘fortune tellers’ in Jesuit texts is probably Matteo Ricci’s JRSP in which they respectively appear one and three times.⁶⁵⁸ In Castorano’s dictionary there is also an entry for ‘superstitious divination (divinatione superstitiosa)’ which he translated as “*gua* 卦, *bu* 卜, *dadebu* 打的卜, *suandegua* 算的卦”.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁴ Aside TZSY (folio 42), where it first appears, I found tracks of this term in most works by Ricci, Ruggieri, Aleni, Vagnone and De Pantoja.

⁶⁵⁵ VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 139 and p. 423.

⁶⁵⁶ HYDCD volume 5, p. 673.

⁶⁵⁷ TYJY, volume 1, chap. 1, p. 253 and p. 255.

⁶⁵⁸ JRSP, see ARSI Jap.Sin I.52, f. 42-43.

⁶⁵⁹ Quoted from Li, 2013, p. 219.

12. *Yaoshi* 藥室, ‘farmacia’, disyllable, loan translation, noun, Vagnone’s creation, now obsolete. The only occurrence I found in Jesuit texts is Vagnone’s TYJY, where it is used as ‘farmacy’.⁶⁶⁰ However, the GRD lists it as the “powder chamber of a gun”.⁶⁶¹ No HYDCD.
13. *Yinji* 淫妓, ‘prostitute’, disyllable, loan translation, noun, Vagnone’s creation, now obsolete. In TYJY it bears the meaning of ‘prostitute’ (being sometimes replaced by the monosyllable ‘*Ji* 妓’, currently still in use).⁶⁶² Such disyllabic compound does not appear in most dictionaries, where the synonym ‘*Yinfu* 淫婦 (lascivious woman)’ can instead be found.⁶⁶³
14. *Yuanzui* 元罪 ‘original sin’, disyllable, loan translation, noun, Vagnone’s creation, now obsolete. In TYJY there is only one occurrence of the term,⁶⁶⁴ which was translated by Ricci as ‘*Yuanzui* 原罪’⁶⁶⁵. Such alternative choice of characters might have been influenced by Vagnone’s collaborators, Han Lin and Duan Gun, or might be the result of the traditional Chinese linguistic expedient of interchanging characters with similar meanings, the “*Tongjiazi* 通假字”.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁰ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 4, p. 367.

⁶⁶¹ GRD, Volume VI, p. 778.

⁶⁶² TYJY, volume 2, chap. 9, p. 414.

⁶⁶³ HYDCD volume 5, p. 1395; GRD, volume 6, p. 882.

⁶⁶⁴ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 7, p. 393.

⁶⁶⁵ I found records of such a term in most religious works by Ricci, Aleni, De Pantoja, alongside Varo’s dictionary. ‘*Yuanzui* 原罪’ is currently still in use.

⁶⁶⁶ Bertuccioli Giuliano *Testi di Letteratura Cinese scelti, tradotti e commentati da Giuliano Bertuccioli*, a cura di Paolo De Troia, Roma, Libreria Editrice Orientalia, 2013, p. 16.

15. *Zaohuazhu* 造化主, ‘Creator’, trisyllable, loan translation, noun, Vagnone’s creation,⁶⁶⁷ still in use. The term is listed by both the HYDCD and the GRD as ‘Creator (Christianity)’, appearing for the first time in a text by the eminent modern intellectual Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873 – 1929).⁶⁶⁸ Late Ming Jesuits used it alongside ‘*Zaohua zhe* 造化者’ or ‘*Zaowu zhe* 造物者’, which made use of the nominalising suffix ‘-zhe 者’ in combination with pre-existing terms. Such denominations do not appear in Varo’s VLM, in which the term ‘Creator’ is translated as “*Zaowuzhe* 造物者; *Zaotiandi wanwu zhi zhu* 造天地萬物之主; *Zaowanwuzhe* 造萬物者”.⁶⁶⁹

This chapter aimed to investigate the main stylistic and lexical trends in Vagnone’s *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育. As pointed out in the first section, the Jesuit’s rhetorical formation was deeply influenced by classical authors such as Cicero and Aristotle, and was based on the edifying use of maxims (*gnomai*) and virtuous anecdotes (*chreiai*), meant to provoke specific emotional reactions in the readers. Our study on toponyms has also shed a light on the moral role the subject of geography played in humanistic writings and, by extension, in the Jesuit publications in Chinese. When describing the main stages of education in Europe, Vagnone mostly relied on the example of nature and animals, which Renaissance tradition considered as the most complete teachers. Such educational intent explains the peculiar use the Jesuit made many “birds and beasts”, which were not described from a mere physical perspective but a symbolic one, and were regarded for their moral value.

From a linguistic standpoint, the previous sections addressed the main translation issues the Jesuits were confronted when introducing new subjects or notions from their cultural background, alongside the solutions they attempted. As previously discussed, key factors such as the stage of the Jesuits’ cultural competence, communicative intent of their works, geographical location or

⁶⁶⁷ As previously noted, the term appears four times, alongside the “canonical” translation choice ‘*Tianzhu* 天主’. See TYJY, pp. 262,305,392, 402. It was also used in Han Lin’s treatise *Duo Shu* 鐸書 (Book of the warning bell, 1641), see chapter 7.2.

⁶⁶⁸ Namely in the second chapter of “*Lun Zhongguo xueshu sixiang bianqian zhi dashi* 論中國學術思想變遷大勢 (General trends of the changes in Chinese scientific thought, 1902)”. See HYDCD, volume 10, p. 900.

⁶⁶⁹ VLM, see South Coblin, 2006, volume 1, p. 173 and p. 213.

collaborators' degree of education, affected their translation or adaptation strategies. In Vagnone's case, he seemed to prefer the latter solution, as proved by the vocabulary he used in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, which was mostly borrowed from Confucian and Neo-Confucian texts. He usually resorted to neologisms when a satisfactory semantic alternative could not be found in Chinese, as demonstrated by the names of some animals, along with the branches of Western learning. Although Vagnone seldom relied on the use of phonemic loans, when these were the only solution he generally accompanied the neologism with an explanation, as he did, for instance, when speaking of the ostrich, the dormouse and the subject of philosophy.

Among the twenty-three new creations this study attributed to Vagnone and described in this chapter, the number of phonemic loans and loan translations is almost equal, although most transliterations are concentrated in the chapter *Xixue* 西學, which was composed at a very early stage of Vagnone's literary training in the Chinese language. The table below summaries the data illustrated so far, concerning the fortune of Vagnone's creations from all the branches analysed above.

<i>Typology</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>In use</i>
Phonemic loans	10	0
Semantic loans	4	3
Loan translations	9	2
Tot.	23	5

Despite the number of disused terms, it appears that the new semantic value he attached to terms like '*Wenxue* 文學', '*Xixue* 西學' and '*Yixue* 醫學' slowly became a part of the Chinese vocabulary. However, the fortune of such terms is, in fact, connected to the wider popularity Aleni's treatise "西學凡 *Xixue fan*" gained during Qing dynasty, when it was reprinted many times and even exported to Japan. A similar fate befell the phonemic loans and loan translations he created, which were used

for a certain period in his confrères' works and also appeared in the aforementioned *Qingchao wenxian tongkao* 清朝文獻通考, as confirmed by Masini's study.⁶⁷⁰

The interconnection between the fortunes of two of the most prolific humanistic writers in the Jesuit mission, Alfonso Vagnone and Giulio Aleni, alongside their contribution to the introduction of the European academic system in late Ming China will be further unraveled in the following chapter.

⁶⁷⁰ Masini, 1997, pp. 545 – 554.

Chapter 7: The literary legacy of Vagnone's *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育

When Alfonso Vagnone died in Jiangzhou 絳州(Shanxi 山西 province, today called Xinjiang 新絳), on 9th April 1640, he left behind a well-rooted community of neophytes and collaborators,⁶⁷¹ who mourned him for eight days before burying him in the future cemetery for missionaries in *Duanjia zhuang* 段家莊, three kilometres West of Jiangzhou.⁶⁷² The grief that followed his departure brought together Christian devotees and non-baptized governmental officials alike, proof of Vagnone's biggest achievements of the sixteen years he spent in the Shanxi area.⁶⁷³ The first was a consequence of the mistakes he made in Nanjing: prioritizing and fostering peaceful relations with the local authorities, regardless of their religious beliefs; moreover, he had succeeded in his project of indirect evangelization through written words, leaving behind twenty-one publications on religious and moral topics,⁶⁷⁴ addressed to readers of different ages and backgrounds.

However, as anticipated in the chapter analysing the lexical innovations of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, the fortune of Vagnone's works does not seem to have outreached the Shanxi area, at least for the first decades that followed his death and that marked the beginning of Qing 清 dynasty (1644 –

⁶⁷¹ Pfister reports that at Vagnone's arrival, the Jiangzhou community which had been founded by Nicolas Trigault only accounted twenty-five Christians; this number grew exponentially until the year of this death, when he left eight thousand converts, two hundred of which were degree holders or government officials. *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773* / par le P. Louis Pfister S.J., San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1976, p. 89.

⁶⁷² On Alfonso Vagnone's death and solemn funeral see Margiotti Fortunato *Il cattolicesimo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, Roma, Edizioni Sinica Franciscana, 1958, pp. 104-105. See also chapter 1.3.

⁶⁷³ Margiotti reports, for instance, that the famous scholar and grand secretary of the State Council, Han Kuang 韩爌 (1565-1644), who had converted and became close to Vagnone after his retirement in Puzhou 蒲州, being unable to attend the Jesuit's funeral, appointed two family members to go on his behalf and even sent an commemorative eulogy for the eminent deceased. See Margiotti, *ibidem*. Also reported in chapter 1.3 of this volume. The Jesuit historian Athanasius Kircher records instead that Vagnone “emanated holiness on everybody, so that not just neophytes, but even idolaters venerated him”. See Kircher Athanasius, *China Monumentis, qua sacris qua profanis*, Jacobus à Meurs, Keyzersgracht (Keizersgracht), 1667, p.119.

⁶⁷⁴ The number of Vagnone's publications varies according to the source: the annual letter dated 1640 reports the titles of 17 books (ARSI, Jap.Sin.116a, f. 63v); Kircher speaks of 14 texts (Kircher, 1667, pp. 119-120), whereas Pfister attributed eighteen works in Chinese he composed under the name Gao Yizhi 高一志, one earlier publication under the name Wang Fengsu 王豐肅, co-signed by Xu Guangqi and three letters (Pfister, 1976, p. 95). This research is based on the most recent study on the subject, Jin Wenbin 金文兵, *Gao Yizhi yu Mingmo Xixue Dongchuan Yanjiu* 高一志与明末西学东传研究, Xiamen University press 厦门大学出版社, 2015, pp. 60-81.

1911). As for the European literature, the main references to Vagnone's life and his publications in the first century after his death can be found in the works of two eminent historians of the Society of Jesus, Daniello Bartoli (1608 – 1685)' *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesù, La Cina* (1663) and Athanasius Kircher (1602 – 1680)'s *China Monumentis* (1667), although these biographies show chronological inconsistencies.⁶⁷⁵

As previously pointed out, even though it is mentioned in every list of publications by Vagnone I came across during this research, *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was long neglected by academic circles,⁶⁷⁶ leaving the Jesuit in the shadow of his more popular confrères, who also excelled in humanistic writings. It appears, however, that Vagnone's pedagogic treatise was subject to a two-fold fortune: direct and indirect. I consider direct fortune the immediate reception the book had in the local area over the years following its publication. Due to the scattered nature of the sources, it was not possible to confirm at this stage if the treatise was effectively used in the home-based education nor if it made a difference in the everyday life of the Shanxi families. However, this chapter will take into account references to *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 in different works that circulated in the Shanxi area, in order to outline its contribution to the enlightenment of local gentry through the education (*Difang Jiaohua* 地方教化).⁶⁷⁷ The indirect fortune of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 is instead connected to the circulation of terms and concepts it introduced, in the form of quotations in other coeval publications. Such is the case of the eminent pedagogic treatise *Xixue fan* 西學凡, by Giulio Aleni, whose lexical innovations were discussed in the previous chapter, and of Han Lin's text *Duo Shu* 鐸書 (Book of the warning bell, 1641), which will be both analysed in this

⁶⁷⁵ Bartoli's *La Cina* was only the third volume of a much greater literary project, *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesù*. In the first edition, the China section alone runs over one thousand and one hundred pages. See Bartoli Daniello, *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesù. La Cina, terza parte dell'Asia descritta dal p. Daniello Bartoli della medesima Compagnia*. Libro primo, Torino: per Giacinto Marietti, 1825. See also Kircher, *ibid.* pp. 119 – 120.

⁶⁷⁶ As discussed in chapter 4.1 of this volume, the merit of rediscovering the importance of Vagnone's pedagogic treatise and to be the pioneer of a new stage of related academic studies goes to Prof. Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯 (1840 – 1939), from Fudan University 復旦大學 (Shanghai), who wrote a presentation to the text. See, Li Shixue 李奭學, *Wan Ming yu Ouzhou wenxue* 晚明與歐洲文學, Zhongyang yanjiu yuan, 中央研究院 Lianjing chuban gongsi, 聯經出版公司, 2005, p. 324. Ma's text is included in the following collection: Ma Xiangbo, "Tongyou Jiaoyu ba 童幼教育跋", in V.A. *Shulin oushi: Ma Xiangbo xiansheng yiwen chao* 士林偶拾: 馬相伯先生遺文抄, Shanghai, Shangzhi bianyiguan guankan, 上智编译馆馆刊, 1948 issue n. 6, p.247.

⁶⁷⁷ Jin Wenbing 金文兵 "Mingmo Difang Jiaohua "明末地方教化 'yin Ye ru Ru' de xianshi kaoliang 引耶入儒" 的现实考量" in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, vol. 3, 2012, pp. 92-101

section.

7.1 The chapter *Xixue* 西學 (1615) and Aleni's *Xixue fan* 西學凡 (1623): a comparative analysis.

Matteo Ricci died in Beijing in 1610, nine years after fulfilling his dream to settle down in the Imperial Capital. He had promoted the cultural accommodation strategy which proved to be successful, earned the Emperor's trust which granted him the honour of a burial in the city and left a well-established entourage of missionaries and highly-educated Chinese collaborators working on translations of scientific books in Chinese. His great expertise in fields like mathematics, astronomy, geography and many other subjects, along with his deep competence in the Chinese language, had attracted the interest of high-ranking literati such as Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562–1633), Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565–1630) and Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠 (1557–1627). In order to understand what made Western learning so attractive for these educated officials, one has to investigate the socio-economic crisis the country was experiencing at the end of the Ming dynasty, especially after the Grand Secretary and reformer Zhang Juzheng's death (1525–1582). Corruption among officials and frequent fights for power within government factions were echoed by an increase in the number of famines, rebellions and 'barbarian' threats coming from outside the borders. These "enlightened" literati reacted to a sense of uncertainty and the decadence of social costumes by opening up to the *Tianxue* 天學 'heavenly studies',⁶⁷⁸ and believed that Western knowledge was the only answer to the time of crisis.⁶⁷⁹

Among the humanistic works that contributed to shaping the representation of the West by providing a systematic description of the European academic organization to 17th century China, Giulio Aleni's *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 most definitely played a pioneering role. The treatise was published in Hangzhou in 1623 and was soon after introduced in Japan, thus developing international

⁶⁷⁸ Standaert defines this term as the "characteristic combination of the religious message and European science [...] conceived as an integrated whole and called "Heavenly Studies (*Tianxue* 天學), science and theology supporting each other and both being presented in rational terms". It was often used as a synonym of '*Xixue* 西學 (Western learning)', Standaert, 2001, p. 636.

⁶⁷⁹ Dong Shaoxin, "Fede religiosa ed ideali politici di Xu Guangqi alla luce della persecuzione di Nanchino", in E. Giunipero, *Un cristiano alla corte dei Ming: Xu Guangqi e il dialogo interculturale tra Cina e Occidente*, Guerini e Associati, 2013, p. 166.

significance. It became the subject of many Western pedagogy-related studies, and its contribution to the development of the modern Chinese lexicon has also been widely discussed.⁶⁸⁰

However, Ricci's mission and literary legacy had been also undertaken by the newly appointed Superior of the Nanjing mission: Alfonso Vagnone. Between 1614 and 1615, shortly before the outbreak of the anti-Christian persecution in that city, Vagnone also decided to make his personal contribution to the project and composed a ten-page essay to describe the Western higher education system: *Xixue* 西學, later included in his *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育.⁶⁸¹ The title itself is likely the earliest appearance of the term '*Xixue* 西學' in its current acceptation, referring for the first time to Western (i.e. European) learning.⁶⁸² Interestingly, the author stated the Jesuits' commitment to the introduction of the Western learning into China both at the beginning and at the end of the essay, leaving few doubts to his personal involvement.

“吾將陳西學之節，或有所取而助中國之學。

[I shall explain the structure of the Western learning, maybe there are [some aspects] which will improve or help the Chinese learning [system]”.⁶⁸³

“此則吾太西總學之大畧也。若其詳細，則吾耶穌會中人，類能言之，倘有下問，不敢憚煩，且譯書次第出，會見天人之學，佈滿中華矣。

⁶⁸⁰ See chapter 6 of the present work. An exhaustive overview of recent Sino-Japanese studies on Aleni's work was also provided given by C.Q. Wang in “The Creation and Dissemination of Aleni's Translated Terms for New Disciplines: A Comparison of *Xixue* and *Xixuefan*” in *Research of Cultural Studies of Far East Vol.4 東アジア文化交渉研究* 第4号, 2011, pp. 327 – 342. For a complete analysis on Aleni's contribution to Chinese lexicology see also Masini Federico, “Aleni's contribution to the Chinese language”, in Lipiello - Malek (ed.) “*Scholar from the West*”: *Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China*, Brescia and the Monumenta Serica Institute, Sankt Augustin. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1997 pp. 539-554.

⁶⁸¹ As previously discussed, this hypothesis is confirmed by the statement Vagnone wrote under the title of that very chapter. See TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5, p. 370.

⁶⁸² According to Huang, before that, terms such as '*Xishu* 西术', '*Xiyang zhixue* 西洋之学' were a common way to indicate the knowledge coming from Europe, while, as has already been pointed out, *Xixue* 西学 was used to refer to Buddhism. See Huang Xintao 黄兴涛 “Ming mo zhi Qing qianqi Xixue de zai renshi 明末至清前期西学的再认识” 清史研究 *Qingshi Yanjiu* 2013, issue n. 2, pp.2-3.

⁶⁸³ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5, p. 370.

[This is a summary of the general studies of the West. If you are interested in its details, then we, members of the Society of Jesus, can talk about that. If there are specific questions, we don't fear any trouble, we are even translating a series of books to be published. We shall witness the diffusion of the heavenly studies and the human studies in China]".⁶⁸⁴

Unfortunately, Shen Que had Vagnone arrested on 1st September 1616, along with Alvaro Semedo and a number of Chinese neophytes, and later banned the missionaries to Canton and Macau, where the Jesuit was confined from 1618 to 1624. Although the actions of Shen Que's anti-Christian persecution were mainly limited to the Nanjing area, its consequences ended up affecting the activities of missionaries all over the country. Some scholars suggest that, behind the political (and maybe personal) reasons which led Shen Que to fire the Nanjing Incident was the fear of the influence that Western knowledge was gaining at court: the persecution was therefore the quickest way to stop it.⁶⁸⁵ What is certain is that this event had an enormous impact on the Jesuits' life and work throughout China, imposing an end to the first stage of the introduction of the Western learning.

The years 1616–1619 were in fact a particularly tough time for the missionaries, both in Macau and in mainland China, as they had to interrupt their translation project.⁶⁸⁶ Only Shen Que's death in 1624 put a definitive end to that persecution, but a few Jesuit fathers had already been re-admitted to Beijing in 1619 on the pretext of serving as scientific and military advisors for the war against the Tartars.⁶⁸⁷ In 1624, Alfonso Vagnone was finally able to return in mainland China. However, following Xu Guangqi's advice he did not return to Nanjing, but was sent to Jiangzhou (Shanxi), where he spent the rest of his life devoted to religious and literary activities and supported by two families of the local gentry, the Han 韓 and Duan 段.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁴ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5, p. 383.

⁶⁸⁵ Dong, 2013, p. 187.

⁶⁸⁶ Dong, 2013, p. 183.

⁶⁸⁷ Dong, 2013, p. 184.

⁶⁸⁸ For biographical information about the members of the Han and Duan families, along with an overview on the Shanxi community, see Standaert Nicolas, *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume 1: 635 – 1800*, Leiden, Brill, 2001, pp.424-425. See also Li, Sher-shiueh / Meynard, Thierry, *Jesuit Chreia in Late Ming China. Two Studies with an Annotated*

Meanwhile, a new stage in the diffusion of Western learning had begun, encouraged by the missionaries' involvement at court and the arrival of the 7000 volumes brought by Trigault along with a new team of scientists from Europe. These new literary resources gave new drive to the missionaries' translation project. This enthusiasm is reported on in the prefaces of different Jesuit publications in Chinese of the time.⁶⁸⁹ Aleni's *Xixue Fan* 西學凡⁶⁹⁰ is probably the earliest product of this new wave of interest towards Western learning: the work's main purpose was to describe the European volumes that had just arrived in China. However, as the title suggests, the book also intended to provide an overview of the education system in the West, focusing in particular on the Jesuit academic institutions (colleges and universities), which had recently undergone the *Ratio Studiorum* reform (1616).

As previously highlighted, a comparative analysis of Aleni's *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 and Vagnone's *Xixue* 西學 reveals consistent similarities in terms of structure, content and lexical choices, which suggests that Aleni took over his confrère's project while he was still in exile in Macau, and published a book about Western learning using *Xixue* 西學 as a source. However, the two treatises also show some noteworthy differences in the translation choices, which were discussed in chapter six, alongside the order of the study and the introduction of the two most influential thinkers of the Jesuit education: Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas.

1) *Stages of the education process:*

The learning branches and academic system described by both authors showed a thoroughly Thomistic organization, taking the *Ratio Studiorum* and the *Coimbra Commentaries* on the works of Aristotle as theoretical reference. The Jesuits' true aim was to describe a learning system that they

Translation of Alfonso Vagnone's Illustrations of the Grand Dao, Euro-sinica: 14. Peter Lang, Bern, 2014, pp. 137 – 138. See also chapter 1.3 of this volume.

⁶⁸⁹ See D'Elia Pasquale "Le generalità sulle Scienze Occidentali di Giulio Aleni", in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* XXV, 1950, p. 63.

⁶⁹⁰ This book was first published in Hangzhou in 1623, and later reprinted in the Catholic church of Fuzhou (Qinyi Tang) in 1626. In 1628, it became a part of the *Tianxue Chuhan* 天學初函 by Li Zhizao, a collection of writings concerning the Heavenly Studies and divided into two sections: principles (*Li* 理) and objects (*Qi* 器). See Wang, 2011, p. 329.

intended to transmit in China, which could prove compatible with the Confucian doctrine, while improving it through scientific and philosophical innovations.⁶⁹¹ Such intention to seek a connection with Confucianism is shown by Vagnone's classification of the learning in “Five Studies *Wu Xue* 五學”,⁶⁹² which was typical of the Chinese Classical tradition,⁶⁹³ whereas Aleni's sixfold division in “Six Disciplines *Liu Ke* 六科⁶⁹⁴”, inspired by Francis Bacon (1561 – 1626), probably intended to mark a fracture with the Chinese education system.⁶⁹⁵

The following table shows a comparison of the order of study and the different nomenclature contained in *Xixue* 西學 and *Xixue Fan* 西學凡:

<i>Xixue</i> 西學	<i>Xixue Fan</i> 西學凡	ORDER OF THE EDUCATION PROCESS
Literary studies (<i>Wenxue</i> 文學)	Rhetoric (<i>Wenke</i> 文科 or <i>Leiduolijia</i> 勒鐸理加)	FIRST STAGE (with final exam)
Law (<i>Falü zhi Xue</i> 法律之學) or Medicine (<i>Yixue</i> 醫學) or Philosophy (<i>Feiluosuofeiya</i> 費羅所非亞 or <i>Gewuqiongli zhi Xue</i> 格物窮理之學)	Philosophy (<i>Like</i> 理科 or <i>Feiluosuofeiya</i> 斐祿所非亞)	SECOND STAGE (with final exam)

⁶⁹¹ Luk, B.H, “Aleni introduces the Western academic tradition to 17th century China” in Lippiello, Malek (edited by): *Scholar from the West: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582 – 1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 42 Sankt Augustin 1997 pp. 479.

⁶⁹² These are: Literary studies, (*Wenxue* 文學), Law (*Falü zhixue* 法律之學), Medicine (*Yixue* 醫學), Philosophy (*Feiluosuofeiya* 費羅所非亞), and Theology (*Douluoriya* 陡羅日亞).

⁶⁹³ According to Zou, the suffix ‘- *xue* 學’ was one of the classification names which could be found in the *Yijing* or in *Zhuangzi*. See Zou Zhenhuan 邹振环, 晚明汉文西学经典: 编译、诠释、流传与影响 *Wan Ming Hanwen Xixue Jingdian: Bianyi, Quanshi, Liuchuan yu Yingxiang*, Shanghai: 复旦大学出版社 Fudan Daxue Chubanshe, p. 233, footnote n. 1.

⁶⁹⁴ Aleni's “Six disciplines” include: Rhetoric (*Wenke* 文科), Philosophy (*Like* 理科), Medicine (*Yike* 醫科), Law (*Fake* 法科), Canon law (*Jiaoke* 教科), Theology (*Daoke* 道科). However, they also appear with the suffix –*xue* 學.

⁶⁹⁵ See Luk, 1997, p. 483; Zou, 2011, p. 233.

Theology (<i>Douluoriya</i> 陡羅日亞 or <i>Tianxue</i> 天學)	Medicine (<i>Yike</i> 醫科 or <i>Modiqina</i> 默 第濟納) Law (<i>Fake</i> 法科 or <i>Leiyisi</i> 勒義斯) Canon Law (<i>Jiaoke</i> 教 科 or <i>Jianuonuosi</i> 加諾搦斯) Theology (<i>Daoke</i> 道科 or <i>Douluriya</i> 陡祿日亞)	THIRD STAGE (with final exam)

In addition, when talking about the “five disciplines” into which Philosophy was divided,⁶⁹⁶ Vagnone only mentioned their names and gave a brief description, while Aleni places them in a progressive order, based on the stage these were encountered at school, hence showing a more thoughtful organization of his work. The two passages are compared below:

“此斐祿所者，立為五家，分有門類，初一年學落日加[……]第二年專學費西家，為斐祿所之第二家[……]第三年進斐祿所第三家，所謂默達費西加者[……]第四年總理三年之學，又加細論幾何之學，與修齊之學，幾何之學，名曰瑪得瑪弟加[……]修齊治平之學，名曰厄弟加者，譯言察義理之學。[In Philosophy there are five disciplines, divided into categories, the first year (we) study Logic [...]. The second year (we) specialise in Physics, which is the second discipline of Philosophy. [...] the third year (we) approach the third discipline of Philosophy, the so-called Metaphysics [...] The fourth year (we) consolidate these three years of study and add the detailed study of geometry, along with the study of self-cultivation and family management. The study of measures is called Mathematics [...] Ethics is the study of self-cultivation, family management, ordering the state and bringing peace to the world, which peaks with the observation of principles of righteousness”⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁶ Specifically, Logic, Physics, Mathematics, Metaphysics and Ethics.

⁶⁹⁷ Aleni Giulio, *Xixue Fan* 西學凡, ARSI, in Jap.Sin II 23 , 1626, f. 14.

“此道又分五家一曰落熱加一曰非西加一曰瑪得瑪第加一曰默大非西加，一曰厄弟加。[This doctrine is also divided into five schools: one is Logics, one is Physics, one is Mathematics, one is Metaphysics and one is Ethics]”.⁶⁹⁸

2) Content additions: Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas:

Aleni concluded the passage about Philosophy and the disciplines by which it is divided with a question: where does Philosophy come from? In order to discuss its origin, he introduced for the first time Aristotle's name *Yalishiduo* 亞理斯多, “a wise man” from the West. After describing the main principles of his Philosophy, which he studied extensively at the Jesuit College in Italy, Aleni indicated that “Theology considers him (Aristotle) a pioneer. [...] Everybody respects his teaching. [...] his Philosophy and Theology support each other”.⁶⁹⁹

Unlike Vagnone, who considered Theology superior to all the other disciplines, Aleni stressed the idea of Philosophy as a support for Theology. Such opinions both referred to Thomas Aquinas' (1225-1274) thinking. He used to consider Philosophy as both “*ancilla Theologiae* (Theology's aid, literally ‘maidservant’)” and “*regina scientiarum* (superior, literally ‘queen’ of all sciences)”, definitions which prove his influence on both the Jesuits' viewpoints.

Thomas Aquinas' (*Duomasi* 多瑪斯) figure and his famous work *Summa Teologica*⁷⁰⁰ (*Douluriya lüe* 陡祿日亞略),⁷⁰¹ were further described by Aleni at the end of his introduction of the main characteristics of Theology. He provided an exhaustive summary of the structure and main topics the “*Summa*” contains. D'Elia remarked that Aristotle and Aquinas were the only two thinkers directly mentioned by Aleni as the key figures of the Jesuits' education system. A few years later,

⁶⁹⁸ TYJY, volume 2, chapter 5, p. 377. This classification actually reflected the new order of Aristotelian learning set during the Renaissance: 1) logic; 2) mathematics; 3) natural science; 4) moral philosophy; and 5) metaphysics. See, Elvin, Mark; Dux, Günter; Vogel, Hans Ulrich, *Concepts of nature: a Chinese – European cross-cultural perspective*, Brill, 2010, pp. 368 – 369.

⁶⁹⁹ ARSI, Jap.Sin II 23, 1626, f. 9r.

⁷⁰⁰ The work was written between 1265 – 1274, and it is composed of three parts and a supplement.

⁷⁰¹ ARSI, Jap.Sin II 23, 1626, f.13r.

Aleni's idea would be perfected by Ludovico Buglio, who translated the first and the third part of the *Summa*, between 1654 and 1678.⁷⁰²

In conclusion, Vagnone's unpublished essay *Xixue* 西學 had an undeniable influence on Aleni's *Xixue Fan* 西學凡: the latter tailored his treatise on the structure of his confrères' work, as shown by the selection of the topics, but he also provided a more thoughtful organisation of the content. This probably depended on their different writing purposes and on the events which influenced the making of the two works (Vagnone was arrested in 1616, while Aleni had managed to flee from Nanjing and to stay in mainland China). This geographical factor was also at the root of the different translations of some terms, even if Aleni did make use of some new words created by his confrère. Aleni's treatise does not only appear to be an enriched version of Vagnone's *Xixue* 西學, but is a specific product of a different political and cultural stage of the China mission.

Interestingly, Vagnone made two claims of responsibility for his essay, on two different occasions: one is the already mentioned reference in the chapter *Xixue* 西學, in the second volume of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育:

“此稿脫於十七年 前，未及災木，同志見而不迂，業已約略加減 刻行矣。茲全冊既出，不得獨逸此篇，遂照原稿並刻之。

[This draft was concluded 17 years ago, and it has not been modified; my confrère considered it good and adjusted it to have it published. Now that the entire book has been revealed, this chapter could not be left out, so it was published according to the original draft]”.

⁷⁰³

The second one is a sentence contained in the third chapter of the first volume of *Xiushen Xixue* 修身西學:

“然夫西學 之規範及各學之序志，餘已析詳於 《童幼教育》之卷二。

⁷⁰² D'Elia, 1950, pp. 74-75.

⁷⁰³ TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5, p. 370.

[As for the Western learning, and the order of its every study, I already analysed them in detail in the second volume of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育]”.⁷⁰⁴

These can truly be regarded as Vagnone’s further attempts to show his commitment to the introduction of Western learning, and a way to claim his personal contribution to this cause.

7.2 Paving the way to a moral reform in the Jiangzhou community compact: from *Qijia Xixue* 齊家西學 (c. 1638) to *Duo Shu* 鐸書(1641)

The last decade of Vagnone’s life (1630-1640) was a particularly productive stage for the Jesuit: after settling down in Jiangzhou in December 1624, he invested all his energy in the development of the mission and in consolidating positive relationships with the local authorities.⁷⁰⁵ Supported by the Han and Duan, families of the local gentry who had met the Jesuits through Xu Guangqi and had provided financial and logistic support to their activities since the establishment of the Jiangzhou mission in 1620-1621, Vagnone was finally able to redeem his name after the Nanjing Incident and reap the benefits of a lifetime work.⁷⁰⁶ This new network of collaborators eventually had a positive effect also on the Jesuit’s literary productions: first of all in terms of quantity, as over the decade 1630 – 1640 he completed and published most of his manuscripts; another factor worth noting is his collaboration with Chinese reviewers, starting from the publication of *Shengmu Xingshi*, 聖母行實(Life of St. Mary, 1631).⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁴ Quoted by Huang, 2013 p. 3.

⁷⁰⁵ Vagnone’s regained fame of virtuous stage is particularly exemplified by the official notice Lei Chong 雷翀, magistrate of Jiangzhou, published in 1635, that will be further presented on p. 201. In this document, the “European scholar Gao” is praised for “cultivating the virtue, honouring Heaven and teaching loyalty and filial piety” and is described as “respected like a teacher and loved like a brother by every educated person”, from the Emperor to his ministers. For the complete text of this document see Margiotti, 1958, pp. 595-596. See also Jin, 2012, p. 93.

⁷⁰⁶ According to Jin, the main factor that contributed to restoring Vagnone’s name and consolidating his status among scholars and officials of the Shanxi province was his collaboration with the Astronomical Bureau in Beijing. The Jesuits appointed to this department from 1629 included Niccolò Longobardo, Johann Adam Schall von Bell and Johann Schreck. Their job was not limited to reforming the calendar, but also required to provide official approval on every Jesuit publication in Chinese. Vagnone was mainly involved in the latter task, as confirmed by the appearance of his name among the reviewers of five books published between the years 1632 and 1636. See Jin, *ibidem*.

⁷⁰⁷ From 1631, most of Vagnone’s works bore the signature of the brothers Duan or Han, or even members of the local government, see Jin, *ibid.* p.90.

Tongyou Jiaoyu 童幼教育 is the earliest of the so-called books on Western ethics (*Yili xixue* 義禮西學),⁷⁰⁸ the milestone of Vagnone's greater project for a moral reform of the Shanxi community. It began from the home-based elementary education (*Mengshu* 蒙塾), relied on the support of an innovative model of community schools (*Shixue* 社學), and culminated with the indirect evangelization of the marginalized scholar gentry class in the community compact (*Xiangyue* 鄉約)⁷⁰⁹ that was gaining increasing local influence as a consequence of the decadence of the Ming central authority.⁷¹⁰ Different studies⁷¹¹ on Vagnone's latest publications on ethical and pedagogical topics all acknowledge that the precepts these introduced were aimed at the individual's self-cultivation process, from the beginning of one's education, to the administration of the family and the contribution to the local society.

The relevant place elementary education held in Song-Ming China tradition has been widely discussed in the previous chapters, alongside the key role played by the so-called primers, canonical texts aimed at initiating children to basic literary knowledge, while providing them with essential precepts of moral cultivation and etiquette. Such was the purpose of Vagnone's pedagogic treatise *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, a guideline for parents, teachers and pupils, which dealt with the main stages of the home-based learning, the Christian moral cultivation and the social propriety, thanks to a simple language and effective rhetorical style. However, the educational task *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was meant to fulfil was also supported by another publication: *Lixue guyan* 勵學古言

⁷⁰⁸ See Jin, *ibid.* p. 98.

⁷⁰⁹ The term '*Xiangyue* 鄉約' refers to grassroots organizations originally independent from the local authority, which eventually changed into a government unit in Ming China. These gathered scholars and members of the local government, which held regular meetings and were in charge of different aspects of the community, including the academic institutions. Their slow but inevitable consolidation in local areas juxtaposed the increasing political decay of the central government and were hailed as the starting point for a new political era. See Li & Meynard, 2014, p.134.

⁷¹⁰ For further details on the background of the Jiangzhou community compact and the Jesuits' project of moral reform see Li & Meynard, *ibid.*

⁷¹¹ Aside from the aforementioned research on the *Dadao Jiyan* 達道記言 by Li & Meynard (2014) and the ethical publications of the years 1630-40 by Jin (2012), see Meynard's preliminary studies on *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育: "Wan Ming Zhongguo de wenyi fuxing jiaoyu – guanyu Yesuhui shi Gao Yizhi 'Tongyou Jiaoyu' de chubu yanjiu 晚明中国的文艺复兴的教育 — 关于耶稣会士高一志《童幼教育》的初步研究" in *Guangdong Shehui Kexue* 广东社会科学, Guangzhou: 2014, pp. 119 – 130.

(Ancient expression to encourage learning, 1632).⁷¹² This booklet consisted of a collection of edifying *sententiae* and *chreiai* by sages and saints from the European tradition, with no philosophical digressions, a structure that recalled the famous primers of the elementary education and in particular the widely popular *Xiaoxue* 小學 by Zhu Xi.

In the preface of *Lixue guyan* 勵學古言, Vagnone made an explicit reference to his “books about the education (*jiaoyu zhu shu* 教育諸書)” in which he “already analysed the purpose of the Western learning”. Such statement suggests that *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was composed before this text⁷¹³ and that the two books were therefore intended to support each other as teaching material for the basic instruction of children, acting as “bells of the elementary learning (*mengshu zhi lingduo* 蒙塾之鈴鐸).⁷¹⁴ The typology of *sententiae* and *chreiai* collected in *Lixue guyan* 勵學古言 is mostly different from those included in *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育,⁷¹⁵ confirming the complementary nature of the two works. A point of resemblance between the two texts also appears in the rhetorical style and the terminology adopted by the author, who recurred again to Neo-Confucian terms to indicate different branches of the Western learning (for instance ‘*Shixue* 實學’ as ‘scholasticism’, ‘*Lixue* 理學’ as ‘classical philosophy’ and ‘*Tianxue* 天學’ as ‘Theology’). The structure and content of *Lixue guyan* 勵學古言 were further developed in *Dadao Jiyen* 達道記言 (Illustrations of the Grand Dao 1636), a

⁷¹² The present research refers to the copy included in *Faguo guojia tushuguan Ming-Qing Tianzhujiao wenxian* 法國國家圖書館明清天主教文獻, edited by Nicolas Standaert 鐘鳴旦, Ad Dudink 杜鼎克, Nathalie Monnet 蒙曦, Taipei, Taipei Ricci Institute 利氏學社, 2009, vol. 4 pp. 3393 – 3401.

⁷¹³ “西學之旨，已析於教育諸書矣” see LXGY, p. 3393. Such statement led Jin to indicate 1631 as the year when *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was published. However, I am still inclined to consider the conclusion and the publication of a book as two separate data. As we inferred from some textual indications analysed in chapter 4, the first draft of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was handed to the censors before 1630, and published around 1632. Such information does not exclude that Vagnone started to work on a supplementary pedagogical text, *Lixue guyan* 勵學古言, after or while completing his treatise and that the two books were published in the same year.

⁷¹⁴ See LXGY, f. 3389. See also Jin, 2012, p. 98.

⁷¹⁵ There are only a few exceptions: one is the widely quoted anecdote, attributed to Aristippus of Cyrene, about a father who refused to pay the amount asked by the teacher, saying that he had rather bought a slave for the same amount; he was eventually warned by the philosopher that by denying his son proper education, he would have possessed two slaves in the future. See LXGY, folio 16 and TYJY, volume 1, chap. 4, p.277. Another recurring *chreia*, concerns King Alexander stating that his instructor Aristotle’s example benefitted him more than his father’s. See LXGY, folio 22 and TYJY, volume 1, chap. 4, p.273

collection of *chreiai* classified on the basis of the Five Cardinal Human Relationships and addressed to the moral cultivation the literati of the Shanxi community compact.⁷¹⁶

However, to think that the contribution of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 was only limited to the elementary education would be reductive. A few years later, its content was included in a comprehensive volume which exhaustively tackled core issues related to the administration of the family: *Qijia Xixue* 齊家西學 (On the regulation of the family in the West c. 1635). Such text was part of a series of works influenced by the Aristotelian doctrine which dealt with the main topics of Western philosophy in terms directly borrowed from the classic *Daxue* 大學: *Xiushen Xixue* 修身西學 (c. 1633), concerning the self-cultivation or ‘ethica’; *Qijia Xixue* 齊家西學, concerning the regulation of the family, or ‘oeconomica’, and *Xixue Zhiping* 西學治平(c. 1639), a treatise about the Western notion of ‘politica’, (*zhiguo* 治國) with the ultimate purpose being bringing peace to the world (*ping tian xia* 平天下).⁷¹⁷

The four volumes that comprise *Qijia Xixue* 齊家西學 reflected the main constituting elements of a family according to the Western tradition: a couple (‘*fufu* 夫婦’), limited to one man and one woman, as explicitly stated by Vagnone in the first chapter, *Dingou* 定偶;⁷¹⁸ children (*ziniu* 子女), whose education was once again disserted in the two volumes directly borrowed from *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育;⁷¹⁹ servants (*pubi* 奴婢), who deserved to be treated with both affection and kindness, but also had to be instructed and reproached when needed;⁷²⁰ the propriety (*chanye* 產業), namely the house and the land, for the cure of which Vagnone made his extensive knowledge on agricultural techniques available to his readers.⁷²¹ On balance, such work provided the author with the opportunity to illustrate the foundations of the Western family, specifically the marital and

⁷¹⁶ See Li & Meynard, 2014, p. 130

⁷¹⁷ Standaert, 2001, p. 658.

⁷¹⁸ Vagnone Alfonso “*Qijia Xixue* 齊家西學”, in ARSI, Jap.Sin. I 64, folio 003v.

⁷¹⁹ ARSI, Jap.Sin. I 64 – b; Jap.Sin. I 64 – c.

⁷²⁰ ARSI, Jap.Sin. I 64 – d.

⁷²¹ ARSI, Jap.Sin. I 64-e.

parental love alongside the division of roles and the mutual respect, but also gave Vagnone the chance to reaffirm crucial precepts of the Christian ethic while criticizing some Chinese practices such as concubinage and fortune-telling.

Moreover, *Qijia Xixue* 齊家西學 is also the literary proof of the new florid stage of relations between Vagnone and the local authorities: in his study, Jin indicated that one of the reviewers of the Jesuit's work was the Hongdong 洪洞 county magistrate Yang Tianjing 楊天精 (in charge from 1634 – 1639). Yang's commitment to the instruction is confirmed by local annals, which record that he established many community schools in across the county over the five years of his appointment.⁷²² Therefore, the magistrate's signature on Vagnone's work had more than a symbolic meaning: it conferred the book an "official status", legitimising Vagnone's reputation in the county and openly supporting his project of local education.⁷²³

Through the aforementioned works on "*Yili xixue* 義禮西學", Vagnone's effort of proving compatibility between the Confucian and Christian moral system was finally revealed to the local community. Their ethical value went beyond the introduction of a new set of virtues: such texts provided fresh material for thought at a time of political decadence and natural calamities which was employed by religious people and laymen alike. This was the case of Lei Chong 雷翀, magistrate of Jiangzhou, who consciously used the Christian precepts and rhetorical strategy he assimilated from Vagnone to reinforce the Confucian orthodoxy. In his official notice, *Zuntian bixie* 尊天辟邪 (On respecting heaven and avoiding heresy, 1635), he adopted Vagnone's teachings on self-cultivation, universal love and devotion to God as remedies against the officials' moral corruption and the spreading of heretical doctrines, such as the White Lotus Society.⁷²⁴

As the authority of the central government was fading, undermined by the widespread corruption, and different areas of the country, including Shanxi province, were plagued by calamities and famines, the revival of the community compact (*Xiangyue* 鄉約) was the only way to restore moral

⁷²² Jin, 2012, p. 100.

⁷²³ See Jin, *ibid.* p. 94 table n.3 and p. 99.

⁷²⁴ See Standaert, 2001, p.658 and Jin, 2012, p. 95. See also Margiotti's Italian translation of the document, 1958, pp. 595-596.

and political cohesiveness at the local level. Meynard describes that: “The main instruments of this compact were regular meetings, held twice a month. In a very ritualized setting, people would pronounce Taizu’s Sacred Edicts as an oath of faithfulness to the Ming dynasty and the present emperor. Additionally, they would renew their commitment to perform filial duties to their parents (*Xiaoshun fumu* 孝順父母), honour their elders and superiors [*Zunjing zhangshang* 尊敬長上], maintain harmonious relations with their local community [*Hemu xiangli* 和睦鄉里], instruct and discipline their descendants [*Jiaoxun zisun* 教訓子孫], work peacefully for their own livelihood [*Ge an shengli* 各安生理] and not perform harmful deeds [*Wuzuo feiwei* 毋作非爲]”.⁷²⁵

When, in 1640, the Jiangzhou community compact was restored by Prefect Sun Shun 孫順’s edict, Han Lin, one of Vagnone’s closest collaborators, took the opportunity to explain these six precepts in his *Book of the Warning Bell*, or *Duo Shu* 鐸書.⁷²⁶ Han Lin’s literary purpose took over from his spiritual father, Alfonso Vagnone, who passed away that year, and aimed at the introduction of Christian moral teachings into the Confucian official system by presenting them as tools for the betterment of society. The explanations of the Six Maxims contained in the Holy Edict blended both Confucian and Christian arguments, and were “not placed in juxtaposition, as an eclectic would do, but used to support each other, as the true syncretic does”.⁷²⁷ Consistent with Vagnone’s rhetorical strategy, Han Lin’s text emphasized notions which were compatible with both traditions, such as the concept of ‘*Jingtian* 敬天’ (lit. ‘to express reverence to Heaven’), alongside filial piety ‘*Xiao* 孝’, a duty that was only secondary to ‘*Jingtian* 敬天’, and was as crucial as the respect for the ruler and the ancestors.⁷²⁸ From the Christian doctrine, he introduced the concept of a unique God (*Shangdi* 上帝), the universal love, associated to the Confucian virtue of *Ren* 仁 (benevolence,

⁷²⁵ Li & Meynard, 2014, p. 139. The Chinese translation in brackets was added by the author of this study, to recall the six sections of Han Lin’s text *Duo Shu* 鐸書. See Standaert, Nicolas, *Xujiahui cangshulou Ming Qing Tianzhujiao wenxian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻, Taipei, Furen daxue Shenxueyuan 輔仁大學神學院, 1996, volume 2, pp. 599 – 862.

⁷²⁶ The educational intent of such book can be inferred by its very title. Meynard explains that the bell mentioned by Han Lin, did not indicate the one standing at the top of the local church in Jiangzhou, but rather the portable wooden bell which was used to summon people to attend the community compact meetings. See Li & Meynard, 2014, p. 139.

⁷²⁷ Standaert, 2001, p. 658.

⁷²⁸ Li & Meynard, *ibid.*, p. 140. See also DS, p. 625.

Christian *caritas*), sins (*Zui* 罪) and divine punishment, along with the immortality of soul (*Ling* 靈); he did, however, avoid those doctrinal issues which could create friction with the Chinese moral tradition. In order to confer an authoritative status to his explanations, Han Lin recurred to passages from the Confucian classics and other famous Chinese texts, occasionally attempting also the use of Western *chreiai*, although without directly mentioning any foreign sages as they would have been unknown to most of his readers.⁷²⁹ Unsurprisingly, Vagnone's name came into play in the chapter related to the instruction of the offspring (*Jiaoxun zisun* 教訓子孫).⁷³⁰ Han Lin's basic premise is a reminiscence of Sophist pedagogy: the necessity to instruct children "in the same way [farmers] cultivate paper mulberry (*Gu* 穀). [...] To neglect the education of the youngsters would result in true humiliation for parents and ancestors".⁷³¹ The chapter opens with passages and precepts from Confucian and Neo-Confucian classics, such as the *Lunyu* 論語, the *Mengzi* 孟子 and Zhu Xi's *Xiaoxue* 小學.

As for Vagnone's *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, Han brought it to the readers' attention for its merit of suppling the lacks of *Xiaoxue* 小學 and its exclusive focus on self-reverence (*Jingshen* 敬身).⁷³² He summarized Vagnone's educational precepts in sixteen points, each of which corresponded to the main chapters of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育: when addressing all of the topics tackled by Vagnone, Han quoted extensively from the Jesuit's treatise, contributing to the diffusion of metaphors and rhetorical strategies of Western origin. An example are the recurring analogies involving animals and nature which prove their effectiveness as pedagogical tools even in Chinese tradition. For instance, when stating the relevance of the paternal figure in the education of a child, Han reported exactly the passage that appeared in the third chapter, *Jiao zhi zhu* 教之主 of Vagnone's book:

“諺有之曰： 魚之小，學大魚而躍于淵； 牛之小，學大牛而犁於田； 鳥之小，學大鳥而戾於

⁷²⁹ Li & Meynard, 2014, p. 141.

⁷³⁰ DS, p.663-687.

⁷³¹ DS, p.663

⁷³² “[...]但敬身之說未窺本原。西儒高則聖先生，有教童幼書，補小學之闕者也。[...] However, to talk about self-reverence doesn't look at the origin [of the issue].The Western scholar, master Vagnone wrote a book on the education to supply the lacks of “Elementary learning”. See DS, pp. 665-666.

天。

[A popular maxim goes: “The little fish learns from the big fish while swimming in deep waters; the calf learns from the cow, while ploughing together in the field; the little bird learns from the big bird, while flying up in the sky]”.⁷³³

The same applied to the section in which Han dealt with the Western concept of prize and punishment as “the two wings of the education (*Jiao zhi yi* 教之翼)”. Following the same rhetorical strategy used by the Jesuit, Han made use of Aesop’s fable “The wind and the sun (*Feng yu taiyang* 風與太陽)” to prove that actions are more persuasive than words. This record might have contributed to the circulation of such fable, which can still be found in contemporary Chinese texts.⁷³⁴ Han Lin’s account of the European way of the education didn’t neglect any topic, from the fundamental precepts, such as the respect for God, Christian charity and filial piety, to the importance of literary studies and the proper etiquette in various aspects of life. The only difference with *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 is the order in which the subject “friendship (*Jiaoyou* 交友)” was presented: to stress its predominant role among late Ming literati, Han introduced it immediately after the fundamental precepts of the education and before the section that dealt with social manners, instead of placing it at the end of the treatise, like Vagnone did. To conclude his dissertation on Western pedagogy, Han referred readers to the aforementioned *Qijia Xixue* 齊家西學, which served as a moral guide for couples to the righteous way of marriage.⁷³⁵ Following Vagnone’s guide, *Duo Shu* 鐸書 emphasized the idea of monogamy as the essential requirement for a virtuous relationship, chastity as the prerogative of a virtuous woman, and the differentiation of roles as condition of balance within the family: “Without differentiation, there shall be no righteousness nor proper etiquette, hence without differentiation and righteousness, the Way of beasts and birds shall prevail”.⁷³⁶

⁷³³ See TYJY, volume 1, chap. 3 p. 265 and DS, p. 667.

⁷³⁴ See TYJY, volume 1, chap. 6 p. 294 and DS, p. 666.

⁷³⁵ DS, p. 676.

⁷³⁶ “夫禮曰：男女有別，然後父子親。父子親然後義生，義生然後禮作，禮作然後萬物安。無別無義，禽獸之道也 [According to the etiquette, between a man and a woman there shall be differentiation, followed by the affection between and father and a son. When between and father and a son there is affection, righteousness shall be born,

Despite the effective fortune of the text, Han Lin's *Duo Shu* 鐸書, can truly be considered a moral tribute to Vagnone's teachings, the spiritual legacy through which the disciple wished to continue his master's mission: the indirect evangelization and the moral reform of the local community. Unfortunately, even though many non-Christian literati accepted the new set of values in a relatively open-minded way, as confirmed by their reception of the Jesuits' publications, some suspicions that Han Lin's true intent was in fact to "use the semi-official stage of the community compact, to promote the worldview and interests of a particular group", also arose among a minority of orthodox literati.⁷³⁷ The network of converts and "sympathizing officials" that Vagnone along with the brothers Han and Duan strove to create was meant to fade at the very dawn of Qing dynasty. Between 1639 and 1644, the Jiangzhou mission lost its main actors one by one: Han Yun (d. 1639), Alfonso Vagnone (d.1640), Duan Gun (d.1641) and finally Han Lin, who died prematurely in 1644. Such spiritual hole, during a time of political transition between two dynasties, couldn't help but affecting the process of moral reform through literary works started by the Jesuit and his collaborators.

In conclusion, the literary fortune of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 and other works by Alfonso Vagnone was deeply connected with the Jesuit's relation with the local authorities. The Nanjing persecution (1616 – 1617), started by Shen Que and which resulted in the Jesuit's exile to Macau, put a temporary end to all his missionary and literary activities. However, among Vagnone's literary products of the Nanjing period, the unpublished essay *Xixue* 西學 (1615) served as a source material for Giulio Aleni's treatise *Xixue fan* 西學凡 (1623), which contributed to the introduction of the European systematic instruction in late Ming China and enjoyed long-lasting popularity. During the extremely prolific Shanxi period, Vagnone completed an educational programme for the local community compact through the implementation of a series of books on ethical subject (among which was *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育) and supported by a well-established network of Christian and non-Christian officials.

So far it has been not possible to confirm whether Vagnone's books, and *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 in particular, extended their influence outside the Shanxi community, which began to gradually

followed by the etiquette. When the etiquette [rules] all creatures shall be pacified. With no differentiation and no righteousness, the Way of beasts and birds shall prevail". See DS, p. 677.

⁷³⁷ Li & Meynard, 2014, p. 142.

decline at the beginning of Qing dynasty. However, the key to addressing this matter is deeply interconnected with the circulation of books by Vagnone's collaborators, such as Han Lin's *Duo Shu* 鐸書: its fortune among late Qing and modern scholars⁷³⁸ deserves a study on its own, as it could lead to more lexical and microhistorical discoveries.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁸ In the presentation he wrote for *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, Prof. Ma Xiangbo, one of the earliest modern scholars who conferred Vagnone's treatise the deserved attention, didn't fail to remark on its connection with Han Lin's *Duo Shu* 鐸書: “古絳韓子鐸書，蓋借明祖訓言，發揮天國實義；引用西儒處，發揮尤透闢 [...] In his ‘Book of the warning bell’, the young Han from the ancient city of Jiangzhou borrowed the teachings of our Ming ancestors to make the true meaning of the Kingdom of Heaven effective; he quoted the Western scholar [Vagnone], to realize exceptional openings [...]”. He also referred to Han Lin's preface of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 and made use of the phonemic-loan ‘*Edijia* 厄弟加 (ethics)’, to emphasize the lack of this concept in Chinese. See Ma Xiangbo, 1948, p. 247.

⁷³⁹ Aside the aforementioned denominations of the branches of the Western learning, which are no longer in use today, in Han Lin's *Duo Shu* 鐸書, the term ‘*Zaohuazhu* 造化主 (Creator)’ appears four times. The present study could not find any occurrence of the term before Vagnone's *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, nor in later Jesuit works examined at the time of writing. As illustrated in chapter 6, HYDCD reports that the earliest use of ‘*Zaohuazhu* 造化主’ is attributed to the Qing intellectual Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873 – 1929), opening the way to interesting theories on the diffusion of this and other words of foreign origin. See chapter 6.5 of this work. See also, as an example, the use Ma Xiangbo made of the neologism ‘*Edijia* 厄弟加’.

Appendix: *Annotated translation of Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育

By Alfonso Vagnone S.J. (高一志)

Translated and Commented by Giulia Falato

Preface to the translation

This work takes as reference the manuscript edition included in the collection *Chinese Christian Texts from the Zikawei Library*, edited by Standaert N., Dudink A., Fugen Catholic University, Taipei, 1996, pp. 229 – 422. In order to facilitate the reading and the understanding of the treatise, punctuation was added from the BnF printed edition (Courant 3389).

Translation issues have been addressed and explained in footnotes, according to the specific case. Where possible, the source of each *sententia* and *chreia* was provided, including Biblical references. However, a number of anecdotes and sayings could not be identified at this stage, due to their degree of paraphrasis or colloquial nature. This work only aims to be a first attempt to unravelling the cross-cultural essence of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, not making any claim of being complete, but rather hoping to pave the way to further academic studies on the subject.

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卷之下 **Volume two** [緘默 *On reticence*; 言信第二 *Honesty in speech*; 文學第三 *Literary Studies*; 正書第四 *Righteous books*; 西學第五 *Western learning*; 飲食第六 *On Diet*; 衣裳 第七 *Clothing*; 寢寐第八 *On sleep*; 交友第九 *On Friendship*; 閒戲第十 *Leisure time and games*]

童幼教育序 - *Preface to On the Education of Children*

西儒高則聖先生居東雍八年，所著天學之書以十數，其厄弟加之學譯言修齊治平者，爲斐祿所費亞之第五支，童幼教育又齊家中之一支也。稿成，先生俾余同九章段子訂付剞劂，工竣，僭⁷⁴⁰爲序曰：此非獨童幼書也，修齊治平盡在是矣。粵惟西儒之學與吾儒同，古之教者，家有塾，黨有庠，術有序，國有學。⁷⁴¹妊子有胎教，生子擇于保母，與可者而師之，自能食，能言至出外就傅。其教誨之序，節目之詳，若戴記《弟子職》諸書斑斑可考，當時治隆風美，率是道也。聖人不作而小學之書亦不傳，秦用申韓，漢宗黃老，晉尚清談，唐取詞賦，古人教育之方邈不復睹矣。趙宋濂洛諸儒毅然復古，朱晦翁搜輯經傳爲小學補亡，三代以來，空谷足音。今人父師之教，止于爲文取科第，八股鮮華，一生溫飽。小學之書，皓首未見，況肯從西極之人爲空同之問哉？先生之言，于晦翁之書亦多符合，但其摘好辭于重舌，探藏理于終古，匪獨後生之模範，蓋亦前覺之功臣矣，而敬畏天主尤西來第一宗旨，晦翁敬身之篇尚隔一層。《許文正公》曰：“小學之書，吾信之如神明，敬之如父母”。余于先生此書，欲自朝廷儲訓以至閭巷蒙求，莫不以爲著蔡，爲師保，三十年後可致太平，雖謂此書爲厄弟加之全書可也。

寓庵居士韓霖題。

⁷⁴⁰ The term ‘*Jian* 僭’ literally translates as “to overstep one’s authority”, hence my interpretation.

⁷⁴¹ In this passage the author is quoting an excerpt from chapter *Xueji* 學記 (Records on learning), from the famous classic *Book of Rites*, a description of ritual practices written during the late Warring States 戰國 (5th cent.-221 BC) and Former Han 前漢 (206 BC-8 CE) periods. Such quote was also included in the famous primer for preschool education *Xiaoxue* 小學, by Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹. See Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小學集註, first volume, reprinted in Qiushan Dong Shuju, 1886, f. 28.

The Western scholar, master Gao Zesheng⁷⁴² has lived in Dongyong⁷⁴³ for 8 years, and has already written ten books concerning the Heavenly learning. In his study of *ethica*⁷⁴⁴ he speaks of [precepts] of self-cultivation, regulation of the family, ordering the state and bringing peace to the world;⁷⁴⁵ [*Ethica*] is the fifth branch of *philosophia*, whereas the education of children is a branch of the regulation of family. When the manuscript was completed, the master asked Duan Jiuzhang⁷⁴⁶ and I to edit it and submit to the printing. At the end of the job, I took the liberty to write a preface, which states that this is not just a book about the education of children, but it is also completed by precepts on self-cultivation, regulating the family, ordering the state and bringing peace to the world. The studies of the Western scholars are nevertheless similar to ours: in the ancient education [system] there was home tutorage, government schools, order in the study of the disciplines and erudition in the state. Pregnant women abided to [precepts of] prenatal education: after giving birth they chose a wet nurse, and those who had the ability taught the child [everything] from self-feeding to speaking, until he left home and followed an instructor. The order of the teaching and the details of the subjects, are similar to those recorded in the *Dizi Zhi*⁷⁴⁷ and that can be read in various parts

⁷⁴² After being admitted again into mainland China, the Jesuit changed his Chinese name from Wang Fengsu 王丰肃, a phonemic adaptation of Alfonso Vagnone, into Gao Yizhi 高一志, courtesy name Zesheng 則聖.

⁷⁴³ An area which is located in Jiangzhou county, Shanxi province, where in 1724 the Dongyong Shuyuan 東雍書院 (Dongyong Academy) was established.

⁷⁴⁴ In order to highlight the use of phonemic loans in the original Chinese text, I am translating the related terms in Latin.

⁷⁴⁵ This passage associates for the first time the European branch of ethics with the famous stages of the self-cultivation described in the Confucian classic *Daxue* 大學 (Great learning). Such text regained great value since Song dynasty, (960 – 1279), when Neo-Confucian scholars made it the canonical work with which the adults' ethical education began. The Great Learning introduces self-cultivation as an eight-steps process, that connects the individual betterment, to the civil conduct in the social and political order. This eight – step program was a life-long practice, equally undertaken by rulers and ruled, as it promised social harmony and even peace between communities. Here's how the stages of this process are summarised in the Great Learning: 1. Investigate things and affairs (*Gewu* 格物); 2. Extend one's knowledge (*Zhi zhi* 致知); 3. Make one's intentions sincere (*Cheng yi* 誠意); 4. Rectify one's mind (*Zheng xin* 正心); 5. Cultivate the person (*Xiu Shen* 修身); 6. Regulate the family (*Qi Jia* 齊家); 7. Order the state (*Zhi Guo* 治國); 8. Bring peace to the world (*Ping Tianxia* 平天下). See Keenan, Barry C., *Neo-Confucian Self-cultivation*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2011, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁴⁶ Duan Jiuzhang is the courtesy name of Duan Gun 段袞 (d.1641), a member of the Shanxi gentry, a former disciple of Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582 – 1648), who was baptized in 1626. His family, along with the 韓 Han family of which the author of this preface belongs, played an active role in supporting Vagnone's mission and literary production in Shanxi. See Fanghao 方豪, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiào renwu zhuan* 中国天主教人物传, 2006 pp. 190 – 191.

⁷⁴⁷ The *Dizi Zhi* 弟子職 (Duties of the Student) is a chapter of the book *Guanzi* 管子 (Master Guan), a collection of various philosophical treatises on statecraft from the state of Qi 齊 during the Spring and Autumn period 春秋 (770-

of those books; at that time, the righteous Way consisted in ordering and respecting simple and beautiful manners.⁷⁴⁸ When sages are not involved [in the education], the writings on elementary learning cannot be transmitted; the Qin dynasty made use of Shen and Han⁷⁴⁹ [‘s thought], the Han worshipped the Yellow Emperor and Laozi⁷⁵⁰ the Jin valued “pure talks”⁷⁵¹, the Tang made use of the *Cifu*.⁷⁵² However, these ancient methods of education will no longer see the light again. The scholars of the Lian—Luo⁷⁵³ schools of the Song dynasty⁷⁵⁴ were also resolute in revitalizing the past; Zhu Huiweng⁷⁵⁵ also investigated and commented the Confucian Classics as a supplement for the elementary education, and after three generations [his words] still sound rare and unexpected.

5th cent. BC). The text includes methods of education and is therefore also published separately, as a pedagogical primer. It describes how students are instructed, receive guests, sitting when lectured, entering a room and retiring, sweep the floor and consume their meals. See Jiaoyu da cidian bianzuan weiyuanhui 教育大辭典編纂委員會, *Jiaoyu da cidian* 教育大辭典, Vol. 8, *Zhongguo gudai jiaoyu shi* 中國古代教育史 Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991, Vol. 1, p. 275.

⁷⁴⁸ The term ‘*Fengmei* 風美’, during Han dynasty was the abbreviation ‘*Fenghua chun mei* 風化淳美’ i.e. simple and beautiful manners.

⁷⁴⁹ Shen Buhai 申不害 (385 – 337 BC) and Han Fei 韓非 (281 – 233 BC) were two famous scholars of the Warring States Period (403 – 221 BC) and members of the Legalist school (Fajia 法家). The acronym of their surnames later came to indicate the entire Legalists’ thought.

⁷⁵⁰ Huang Lao 黃老 is the acronym of Huang Di 黃帝, the legendary Yellow Emperor who was considered by the Han their ancestor and Laozi 老子, the most representative philosopher of Daoism or *Daojia* 道家.

⁷⁵¹ Philosophical dissertations that were extremely popular among the Wei-Jin (220 – 420) scholars, who deeply investigated various subjects, from nature to ethics, from the origin and the end of life to the language and meaning.

⁷⁵² A type of classical Chinese writing, see HYDCD.

⁷⁵³ Two of the groups that made the Song *Daoxue* 道學 movement, which based the moral development of individuals on the way of the ancient sages.

⁷⁵⁴ Zhao 宋 was the surname of the imperial family of Song Dynasty (960 – 1279 CE), since its founder, Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (927 – 976), later Emperor Taizu (r. 960 – 976).

⁷⁵⁵ Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130 – 1200), courtesy name Zhu Huiweng 朱晦翁, is one of the most representative thinkers of the Neo-Confucian philosophy of the Song Dynasty (960-1279) and leading figure of the School of Principle (*Li Xue* 理學). For an overview on his life and thoughts, see Wing Tsit Chan, *Chu Hsi. New Studies*, University of Hawaii Press, 1989; Keenan, *Neo-Confucian Self-cultivation*, University of Hawai’i Press. 2011. The influence of his works and precepts on Vagnone’s treatise shall be further discussed in chapter 2 of the present volume.

To contemporaries, the instruction [transmitted from] fathers and teachers is only limited at mastering literature to succeed at the imperial civil examination,⁷⁵⁶ [to write] elegant *ba gua*,⁷⁵⁷ and to make a living.⁷⁵⁸ The books on elementary education are so many that cannot be read in a lifetime, therefore why should we be willing to follow the empty teaching of a man from Western lands? The master's [i.e. Vagnone] words are similar to Huiweng's writing, but he shared his beautiful rhetoric with the translator, seeking the principles which are hidden in the past, not only as an example for the youngsters, but also for the officials of foresight. However, the Westerners' main purpose is to respect and fear Lord of Heaven, which is different from Huiweng's books on etiquette. "*Xu wen zheng gong*"⁷⁵⁹ says: "I trust the book 'Elementary learning' like a god, and respect it like I respect my parents". As for this book by Master [Vagnone], I wish it to be kept at court for teaching, and to be used for the education in every alley; [I wish that] everybody considers it a prophetic text,⁷⁶⁰ and regards it as a teacher; in thirty years it will be possible to bring peace to the world, since this book can be called a complete work on *ethica*.

Text by Han Lin, resident of Yu'an.

Ecclesiastical approval of books:

遵教規凡譯經典諸書必三次看詳，方允付梓；茲並鐫訂閱姓氏於後。

According to ecclesiastical regulation all translations of sacred books or books of another nature must be examined three times before they may be printed. The names of the censors are given below.

⁷⁵⁶ This passage reflects one of Zhu Xi's main points of criticisms to the contemporary education system, which was also the reason why he boosted the development of private academies. Vagnone's treatise was also aimed at the establishment of Jesuit private schools in the Shanxi area, at least at the first stage of his diffusion. This topic is further addressed in chapter 2.2 and 2.3 of the present volume.

⁷⁵⁷ The eight – legged essay was the literary style candidates to the imperial civil examinations were required to master to succeed at the tests during Ming and Qing dynasty. The expression is also used as a metaphor for stereotyped writing, as it left very little freedom of expression to wannabe officials at that time.

⁷⁵⁸ Literally: "To keep warm and sated for life".

⁷⁵⁹ The collection 《*Xu wen zheng gong yi shu* 许文正公遗书》in 12 volumes, is a collection of posthumus works by Xu Heng 许衡 (1209 – 1281), an early Yuan (1271 – 1368) pedagogue and follower of the Zhu Xi's School of Principle.

⁷⁶⁰ In Chinese "*shicai* 蓍蔡", indicating the plants and turtle bones used for divination in archaic China.

耶穌會中同學費奇規，龍華民，鄧玉函共訂。

Gaspar Ferreira, Niccolò Longobardo, and Johann Terrenz Schreck from the Society of Jesus revised the text.

值會 陽瑪諾准。

Permission for the publication granted by vice-provincial Manuel Dias jr.

遠西耶穌會士高一志著。

Author: Alfonso Vagnone (Gao Yizhi) Society of Jesus of the far West.

絳縣段袞韓霖閱。

Proofreaders: Duan Gun and Han Lin from the Jiangzhou county

教育之原第一 *The origin of education*⁷⁶¹

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造室者先築其基,佃田者先墾其地,養幼之道,必以二親爲基地。蓋子者,父母之精血也,父母之清濁,正邪大都傳於所遺之種,故智者欲免後之不肖,必慎於婚媾之初,而慎之道有三,一曰配以時,二曰擇以賢,三曰交以正。三者廢一,而教育之道病矣。凡婚娶而計養育必俟其時之即至,不得以蚤婚基大害,彼飛走猶然重期,期不至弗鳴弗配,而人可失當然之時乎。

Those who build houses, first erect the foundations. Those who rent land, first cultivate the fields.⁷⁶² The Way⁷⁶³ to raise kids will certainly need both parents to serve as foundation and field. Because children are related by blood to the mother and the father, [so] the parents' qualities and faults,

⁷⁶¹ According to the canon of classical pedagogy, to which Renaissance authors owe most of their precepts, the first stage of the education of children began with a righteous marriage. This was not just aimed at preserving certain birth conditions (especially within aristocratic families), but also to provide the descendants with an appropriate set of moral values that they then had to develop through the education process. In his *Republic*, Plato speaks of the necessity of useful marriages, aimed at generating “great descendants”. In particular, he mentions the term ‘teogamia θεογαμία’, translated as “holy wedding”, which indicated per excellence the union between Zeus and Hera, the symbol of a perfect marriage. See *Repubblica*, translated by Franco Sartori, in Platone, *Opere Complete*, vol. 6, Bari, Universale Laterza, 1971, III. 458, 459.

The *topoi* of pre-natal education, alongside the idea of children inheriting virtues from their parents, were covered by the main authors of the history of pedagogy, from Plutarch and Quintilian, to Maffeo Vegio and Desiderius Erasmus during the Renaissance. Interestingly, one of the pedagogical primers in Song China, Zhu Xi 朱熹's *Xiaoxue* 小學 (Elementary Education, 1187), also marks the beginning of education, with a chapter dealing with aspects of pregnancy and how parents and teachers should prepare for their task as instructors (*Li shiyun zhi jiao* 立始孕之教 Establishing education in the early pregnancy). See Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小學集註, first volume, reprinted in Qiushan Dong Shuju, 1886, f.21.

⁷⁶² Vagnone's choice to open his treatise with a metaphor making agricultural references is not accidental: the connection between personal education and the cultivation of fields was first brought up by the Sophist school, and has been a core concept of pedagogy ever since. In particular, Sophists considered education to be the combination of three factors: nature, instruction and exercise, which they laid out in relation to agriculture. Therefore, just as the land will only be fruitful through the work of a skilled farmer and good seeds, a poorly gifted nature will complete his education process only through the work of a skilled instructor and good exercise, based on the practice of precepts from the past. The everlasting popularity of this literary *topos* is proved by the extensive use pedagogues throughout different ages made of it, from Cicero and Quintilian to Vegio and Desiderius Erasmus. See Plutarco, *L'Educazione dei figlioli* (The Education of Children), a cura di C. Caramello, U. Zandrino, Paravia, 1970, pp. XVII-XVIII.

⁷⁶³ The translation of the term *Dao* 道 always poses a number of challenges, mainly because of its deep philosophical roots. In Jesuit texts it usually conveys the meaning of ‘righteous way’, ‘righteous path’ or ‘righteous doctrine’. In the present text one of the three choices shall be used, according to the literary context.

righteousness and evils are all transmitted to the seeds they leave behind. Therefore, if wise people want to avoid their offspring becoming unworthy, they need to pay attention during the early stage of their marriage. [When planning a marriage], there are three aspects to pay attention to: the first is a timely match, the second is a virtuous choice⁷⁶⁴ and the third is a relationship based on righteousness. If one of these three aspects is missing, then the Way of education will be spoiled. Normally, to get married or to plan to raise children, one needs to wait for the right time to come and should not ruin his life because of an early marriage. Like the animals, those who fly and those who walk, all pay attention to the matching season, and if this doesn't come they cease their calling, is it possible, therefore, that men neglect the appropriate timing [to get married]?

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盖養育主於力與氣，力因年而長，氣依時而清，使未積其力之固，未儲其氣之清，養育之功得成乎？嘗觀早娶者，或數年不產，或所產之子弱不能存。比之穀種非其熟滿而播之，必弗生即生亦易壞也。夫生育大道，乃急急爲子受室，欲以繼嗣，反以乏嗣，不亦愚哉？即使童幼之夫婦僥倖而養，亦安能授以義方？盖夫婦童幼，未能治身，安能教子？

The main components of raising children are strength and vital energy: strength grows with the age, and the energy becomes pure with time. Can those who don't gather solid strength and don't preserve a pure energy complete the task of raising children? Let us look at those who get married early: some don't breed for many years and some give birth to weak children who don't survive. For example, if grain is planted before reaching full maturity, it surely won't grow, or if it will, it will probably be bad. Along the Path of raising children, if someone pushes their offspring to have a family or wishes them to leave an heir, but instead leaves them with no descendants, isn't this foolish? Even if a couple is lucky enough to have children, how can they teach them according to a righteous model? If couples and children cannot control themselves, how can they instruct children?

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The most notable treatise *Peri Paidon Agoges* (On the education of children), attributed to the Greek philosopher Plutarch (46/48 – 125/127 C.E.) and considered one of the key texts of Renaissance pedagogy, attaches great importance to pre-natal education. The role of a “righteous marriage” as a foundation for child education takes its roots in Sophist pedagogy, which believed that the aristocratic bloodline and virtues were to be preserved and transmitted only by choosing an appropriate partner. However, although inspired by Plutarch's classical precepts, Vagnone's idea of “virtuous choice” is obviously more related to moral qualities than to birth rights. “When the ancestry's roots are poor, the offspring will surely be unfortunate” See *Peri paidon agoges*, chap. 2, p. 4 (All passages are translated from Italian by the author).

故吾西先哲，定婚配之時，男以三旬，女以二旬，今雖不盡依古法，然亦未甚相遠。男女當是時，血氣清凝，足以生養，心志光明，足以教訓。故乏後者，少率是道也。婚姻之道不惟其美，惟其稱，所謂稱者有二焉。於身於志，身者，相配合者也，蓋老婦得少夫，固為可醜，即老夫得少妻，雖有時能成生育之功，然不能成者多矣。次所當慎者，則彼此之精神也。

For these reasons, when the great thinkers of the past in the West set a date for marriage, men were in their thirties and women in their twenties⁷⁶⁵ Although today this ancient habit is not completely followed, there are few deviations [from such custom]. In that particular age, the blood and energy of men and women are pure and balanced, fit to raise children; their minds and will are clear and fit to give lessons. Those who lack descendants seldom follow this precept. The Way of marriage, is not just about beauty, but also about symmetry and the so called symmetrical aspects are two: the appearance and the intentions. The appearance, [makes] the union [of two people] appropriate. An old woman would be unlikely to obtain any husband because she would be considered ugly. An old man won't obtain a wife, because even though he can sometimes fulfil the task of reproduction, those who can succeed [in such task] are still few. Also, what should be paid attention to is each other's spirit.

果核為蟲所蝕植諸地中，其出也。苗秀花實多如之，維穀維花，無不皆然。獨至於傳先祖之美種，則不加愆乎。常見人家相承惡疾，不能復立者種種也，可不慎哉！既年合而血氣清矣，

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The correct timing of a match held a relevant place also in Classical and Renaissance pedagogy: Plato debates the effects of early or late marriages on the “quality” of the offspring in his *Republic*, III. 458, 459; the same topic is also dealt with by 15th century pedagogue Maffeo Vegio's in his *De Educatione liberorum et eorum claribus moribus libri sex* (On the education of children and their bright manners, six books, 1511), III.1. However, the 150 years which separate Vagnone from Italian 15th century pedagogy seem to have shaped a different conception of early marriage: Vegio explicitly states that “women younger than 8-10 years should not be engaged, while men should be older than 13 years before receiving a bride”. See *De Educatione Liberorum* I,3, p. 7. Vagnone's statement might be the product of a change in social habits, or instead an attempt to find common features with Chinese society. In the first chapter of Zhu Xi's *Xiaoxue* 小學, when describing the different stages of the education of young men and women, the author records that men “start a family in their thirties (三十而有室)”, while women “get married at the age of twenty, or, if there is a valid reason, at the age of twenty-three (二十而嫁，有故，二十三而嫁). In the commentary that follows the passage, the author explains that for “valid reason” it was intended the death of one of the parents, for which 3 years of mourning were required. See, Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小學集注, first volume, reprinted in Qiushan Dong Shuju, 1886 f. 28.

又當察其女性情之和。或欲買鏡，先試其對正像否，匪獨觀鏡之美貴。欲婚姻者，可獨計其美貴，而不察其性之順和也耶。昔西賢後，聞名臣有娶至美至貴而德者，嘆曰：夫臣也，婚媾惟隨目而已。曩有賢士，

If the core [of one's spirit] is eroded by worms, these will emerge from all the plants in the ground. Shoots will blossom and flowers will give damaged fruits. It is normal to protect grain and flowers, so shouldn't we take extra care when it comes to the seeds of our ancestors? We often see people passing on nasty diseases, and there are many types that cannot be treated – how careless! Even if the age is appropriate and the blood and energy are pure, one should look for balance in his woman's temper.⁷⁶⁶ [If] someone wishes to buy a mirror, first he must test if this reflects the right image and not only consider the beauty of the mirror. If one wishes to get married, can he solely take into account beauty and not consider whether the other person's nature is gentle? A wise man's descendant in the ancient West heard that a famous minister wished to marry a very attractive, noble and virtuous woman, and he said, sighing: "This minister only followed his eyes while choosing a bride".

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聞故人窮而娶富貴者，笑曰，此人也，往得主人矣，何可謂之娶婦。天地間偶遭妖孽，皆從二氣不和而起。故夫婦之性情不和，則養育之功不可成。往有智者，數年約婚而不就，或譏之，答曰：欲買田以植美穀，則密察而兢兢焉無已，娶妻植我美後，顧可草草乎哉？況買田有誤，猶可改也。若擇妻有誤，莫可移矣。遲遲也奚傷？或曰：此正道也。但女子性情，何從得其順乎。否乎。

In ancient times there was a wise scholar who heard that an old friend, although poor, had married a rich noble woman and he said laughing: "This person has found an owner – how can he call it a marriage?" Between the sky and the earth calamities occasionally happen, which arise from the lack of balance between the vital energy of two people. Therefore, if the temper of the couple is not harmonious, the task of education cannot be completed. In the past there was an ancient wise man who was engaged for many years, but didn't go through with it; someone mocked him and he

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I translated "temper" but literally it reads "nature and feelings", or 'xingqing 性情'.

replied: “If one wishes to buy a field to plant good grain, he has to examine it closely and act with care, doesn’t he? To get a wife and plant our fair seed, should we act roughly? In a case where one is mistaken in buying a field, he can always change it. If one is mistaken in choosing a wife, he cannot undo it”. What’s the harm in taking it slowly? Someone said: “This is the right Way”. However, how can one obtain certainty about a woman’s temper? Or can’t he at all?

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吾中華未嘗不慎，未定厥祥，先察厥辰，次且屢詢星命，而猶未足如意也，則將奈之何，予曰：世間諸虛，莫甚乎星家之言，乃或依其言而結婚矣，後或反目，或終疾，或寒窮，或早斷絃，此則何解與？蓋星象皆蒼天所定，運之自然，諸吉凶乃天主所降之旨也。試觀同辰，同刻，及同處數人，生養者，而其間或貧，或富，或愚，或智，或卑，或尊，吉凶不等矣。天運之時，雖可推算而天主之命，必未可以人定也。

Our China is never incautious: [when] uncertain about their luck, [people] first examine the date,⁷⁶⁷ then repeatedly consult astrology,⁷⁶⁸ but if the response is not auspicious, then what do they do about it? I say: of all the lies in the world, there is none bigger than a fortune-teller’s words. If someone relies on these words to get married, then they will fall out, eventually fall ill, suffer cold and poverty, or soon be widowed. So how to explain this? As the stars are all set in the sky, the nature of their movement and all the fortune and misfortune are of a purpose decided by God. If we look at a number of people born and raised at the same time, in the same moment and in the same place, among them there are poor and rich ones, foolish and wise ones, and humble and honourable ones. Their fortune and misfortune are different. The period of movement of the celestial bodies, might be calculated, but God’s will⁷⁶⁹ cannot be determined by people.

⁷⁶⁷ ‘Chen 辰’, the fifth of the terrestrial branches.

⁷⁶⁸ The calculation of people’s fates on the basis of their date and hour of birth and the movement of celestial bodies. See HYDCD, volume 5, p. 673. Like Ricci did in his “*Jiren Shipian* 畸人十篇 (Ten paradoxes 1608, hereafter JRSP)”, in this passage Vagnone openly criticises the Chinese traditional custom to consult with fortune telling for every relevant decision or before setting an important date. However, this habit is still in use today.

⁷⁶⁹ Also indicated by the term ‘*Tian yun* 天運’.

古之聖賢談吉凶，無不為人所自取，謂吉凶乃善惡之應耳。宇內眾力，未能強我造惡，則宇內眾力，亦為能強我投凶。是故人之志，強於星辰，強於宇內之眾力也，則星家既不能知人志之善惡，豈能預算生人之吉凶乎？往有士，欲行一事，問星家可否，答曰：否，遂弗行，竟以失機害事，悔不能已。次遇事，又問星家可否，答曰可，遂依而行之，乃遭難而失事，終不可退，噫嘻！

When ancient men of virtue spoke of fortune and misfortune, it was indeed something people could obtain by themselves, and they called fortune and misfortune “the deserved good and bad”. All the powers in the world cannot force us to create evilness, therefore all the forces in the world also cannot force us to cast misfortune. People’s intentions move the stars and move all the forces in the world so, since fortune-tellers have no way of knowing the good and the bad of people’s intentions, how can they predict the fortune and misfortune in people’s lives? There was a scholar in the past who wanted to undertake a matter and asked a fortune-teller if this was possible. He answered that it wasn’t, and the scholar eventually decided not to act. In the end he avoided a harmful situation, but regretted that he could not do it. Later, another matter arose and the scholar went back to consulting the fortune-tellers, this time they said he could undertake this business, so he proceeded accordingly. As it turned out, he met with misfortune and lost this business, not being able to pull out in the end. How sad!

星家之言，豈可信乎？吾西鄰國，有曲學談星命者，語君曰：吾君命終之期近矣。君問何以知，星家對曰：觀天象耳。君問汝⁷⁷⁰命如何？星家曰：臣⁷⁷¹之數期算未至，君遂命既刻戮諸市，以警星家之妄者。以此觀之，則擇妻大事，不可托之星命也明矣。若吾西國欲娶得賢者，先詢其鄰，與內外之戚，然後定焉。究竟希不如意者，蓋閨閣之性情不可隱，常乘隙而著其光，則所居之處，自有徵必托星家之虛言也哉！

⁷⁷⁰ ‘*Ru* 汝’ in historic pragmatics is the personal pronoun that refers to a lower-rank interlocutor, but it also denotes a derogatory acceptance.

⁷⁷¹ The term ‘*Chen* 臣’ (literally minister, official) was also used to indicate the first-person pronoun ‘I’, in a self-denigrating manner.

How to trust a fortune-teller's words? In a neighbouring country of our West, there was a heretical scholar who spoke of astrology. He told the sovereign: "The time of our sovereign's mandate is coming to an end". The sovereign asked how he knew and the fortune-teller replied: "By observing the celestial bodies". The sovereign asked: "What is your mandate?" The fortune-teller said: "I don't get to calculate the amount of my time". The sovereign, following the mandate, slaughtered all the people in the cities, as he was alarmed by the fortune-teller's absurdities. Hence we can see clearly that the big matter of choosing a wife, cannot be left to astrology. If (people) in our Western countries wish to get married, they need to be wise: first enquire to their neighbours, along with close and distant relatives, and then decide. After all, this is rarely unsatisfactory, as women's tempers cannot be hidden, they often exploit their mistakes and show their real selves. Therefore, in every aspect of our lives, there is little that can be entrusted to the false words of fortune-tellers!

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欲全婚姻之正道，既待其時之宜，選其耦之賢，彼此尚有所慎，則良人所重者，乃其養子之正意焉。若圖逞欲狎昵，則與游狹邪，溺淫伎，無擇矣。古聖云：凡娶而惟供其私欲，此以本室為歌院，以本妻為歌伎耳，可不慎哉！疇昔有士，妄誇絕無他遇，乃獨耽於本耦，賢者聞之而譏曰：醉於室，與醉於市，應等耳。仁義之士，居本室，尚未敢慾肆。

If one wishes to take the right Path towards marriage, then await the appropriate timing and choose a wise partner. Both people still have something to be cautious of – that their partner considers the righteous intention of raising a child important. If one tries to indulge in sensual desires, and practices these regularly then this is little different from walking the path of a prostitute, and one may become addicted to lascivious practices. An ancient Saint used to say: "When one gets married and only offers his private desires, he takes his home for a dance hall, and his wife for a dancer."⁷⁷² How careless!" In former times there was a scholar who was absurdly exaggerated in his attempts to avoid other encounters, being totally focused on his wife. A sage heard this and mocked him saying: "Being drunk with the family should be equal to be drunk with the town". A righteous scholar stays in his house, but doesn't dare indulging in his desires.

⁷⁷² Intended as 'prostitute': according to HYDCD, in ancient times the term use to refer to a woman expert in the art of singing and dancing. See HYDCD, volume 1, p. 1178.

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彼有他遇，及畜侍嬖，供私欲者。夫婦之反目，子孫之羞吝，庶嫡之爭觸，血氣之衰傷，名聞之損壞，業資之敗散，及一切不測之裁，悉從此而生矣。故先哲責淫者曰：殆哉！種於溝壑，豈若種於美區？種於他田，豈若種於本畝？況田少易治，必盛，田多難修必荒矣，殆哉！特牧斯德，為中古之名士，適遇美伎，招之，辭曰：吾有正室久矣，以暫樂售永辱，且悔吾弗能也。

Other people have affairs, find and keep lovers, feeding their selfish desires. The falling out of couples, the shame and humiliation of the offspring, disputes among legal descendants, the fading and weakness of blood and energy, the damage to a good reputation, the destruction of properties and business, along with all unpredictable calamities, happen entirely as a consequence of this. The great thinkers of the past reproved lascivious people and said: "This is dangerous! How can cultivating a gully be akin to cultivating a fertile area? How can cultivating somebody else's land be akin to cultivating our own land?" Besides, the few lands that are easy to control will certainly flourish, but the many fields which are difficult to handle, will certainly be unfruitful. Demosthenes was a famous scholar of the middle antiquity, when he met a beautiful dancer who was trying to seduce him. He declined, saying: "I have had a proper family for a long time, and I cannot carry long-lasting shame and regret for the sake of temporary pleasure".

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雖然，志養育者，不獨儆戒於邪色也，猶戒慎於衷情之不正焉，蓋二親情之正邪，槩通於子。古者第阿日搦見一童狂痴曰：此童之親，必於迷酒之際，生養之耶，不然，何此兒狂痴若爾？故吾西俗大家，多設聖人賢女之美像於宮中，必欲夫婦常目擊，而心思之以正其性情，斷不容妄說邪俗竊入，以亂我生育之大功焉。

In spite of this, those who intend to raise children are not only warned against dangerous beauty, but also a lack of honesty in their inner feelings, as parents' righteousness and dishonesty are usually transmitted to their children. Old Diogenes saw a kid acting crazy and said: "This kid's parents

must have given birth while they were drunk, or else how could this kid act as crazy as that?”⁷⁷³ Every traditional family of our West displays beautiful images of Saints and wise women in the house, wishing these to be always seen by couples and kept in their thoughts to rectify their feelings in order not to allow absurd words and evil habits to secretly enter and ruin the work of our education.

育之功第二 *The task of raising children*⁷⁷⁴

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夫婦既以正生子矣，則必以正道懷抱⁷⁷⁵育成之，何也？物之始造未有不闕，造之者，未有不漸治而全之者也。百工切磋琢磨以精其功，飛鳥哺雛而翼覆之，而人可以不如物乎？倘不親懷，或寄於外，或招乳母而托之，甚不宜也。蓋本母常視嬰兒為本軀之一枝，以愛己之心愛之，以養己之情養之。於是謹於提扶，苦於調治而不少斁，所謂愛者常苦而不見苦也。若夫乳母特惟利是視，而無骨肉之情，其懷抱必有異焉者矣。

⁷⁷³

In pseudo-plutarchian *Peri Paidon Agoges*, among the precepts related to pre-natal education the author conveys to couples, moderation in drinking holds a particular place. He warns men wishing to procreate to “[...] refrain from drinking or be very moderate in doing so, or else their descendants will become themselves drunken [...]”. To clarify such concept, he brings up this very exemplum of Diogenes blaming a father’s drunkenness for his child’s awkward behaviour. See, *Peri paidon agoges*, chap. 3, p. 17 The very same anecdote is also quoted in another relevant 15th century treatise on the education of children: Maffeo Vegio’s *De Educatione Liberorum*, I,3, p.7, which is one of Vagnone’s sources. The popularity of this anecdote as a pedagogical example, proves the relevance that Plutarch’s treatise held among the authors of the Renaissance.

⁷⁷⁴

Classical and Renaissance pedagogy attaches great importance to the stages of nursing and weaning the baby. Wealthy families from ancient Greece (5th – 4th century B.C.) used to entrust wet nurses from Sparta with the task of breast feeding. After the weaning period another nurse would take over and care for the child’s feeding, often under the mother’s supervision. This figure would then keep on living with the family, acting as a moral guide for the child. Both Plutarch and Quintilian mention the nurse as “the person the child first hears, and whose words he will first attempt to imitate” (Quintilian, *Istitutio Oratoria*, I, 1. 6). The habit of hiring wet nurses and nurses to attend to their descendants’ feeding was also popular in noble families of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. However, a debate to urge mothers to breastfeed their children was already spreading at Vagnone’s time, most likely started by Maffeo Vegio and eloquently claimed in his pedagogic treatise (see *De Educatione Liberorum et eiorum claribus moribus*, *Libri Sex*, I, 4 “Quomodo lacte alendi sunt infantes: et de mira eius virtute [How to feed milk to babies and on its extraordinary virtue]”).

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A diachronic analysis of this term’s etymology indicates that its meaning was mostly connected to the act of hugging or the feeling of cherishing, keeping emotions hidden in one’s heart. However, here Vagnone uses it to translate the act of breast feeding, the very first stage of the education of children, which he considers fundamental for the development of mother-son relationship and also a way to transmit virtue. Hence his appeal not to designate a wet nurse to fulfil such task. See HYDCD, volume 1, pp. 4400 – 4401.

As a husband and wife quite properly give birth to a child, how then must the child be nursed and raised in the correct Way? ⁷⁷⁶ When beings are created, there are none without imperfection, [yet for] the Creator, there are none that cannot be gradually healed and made whole [through education]. ⁷⁷⁷ A craftsman carves and polishes ⁷⁷⁸ [seeking] to perfect his work, [and] birds feed their chicks and protect them under their wings, so [can it be that] humans are different from other creatures? It is truly not appropriate for a parent not to nurse [the baby], relying instead on strangers, or looking for a wet nurse and entrusting her [with this task]. Mothers invariably regard their babies as a part of their own flesh and blood, love them as they love themselves, and care for them as they care for themselves. ⁷⁷⁹ Consequently, many dislike the distraction required in fostering a child and the pain from nursing [him], but those who [truly] love always toil do not see it as such. Wet nurses will only look to their advantage and will not have feelings of [their own] flesh and bones for the baby, so their feeding will be surely be different. ⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁶ The structure of the first volume of *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 follows the same conceptual order of the first book of Maffeo Vegio's *De Educatione Liberorum*. In particular, this very sentence translates almost literally the titles of chapter 3 and 4 of the first book of Vegio's treatise: "Quomodo recte filii generari [...]" (How to correctly give birth to children)" and "Quomodo lacte alendi sunt infants [...]" (How to feed milk to babies)". See *De Educatione Liberorum*, I, 3-4.

⁷⁷⁷ In this passage Vagnone refers to a core *topos* of European pedagogy, that dates back to Sophists and also influenced Desiderius Erasmus' philosophy: the nature of individuals, although sometimes poorly gifted, can be completed and bettered by the education.

⁷⁷⁸ The expression "*Qiecuo zhuomo* 切磋琢磨" is also used as a comparison with the gradual process of education and learning, see HYDCD, volume 2, p. 976.

⁷⁷⁹ In spite of the aforementioned habit of hiring wet nurses, in 1st century C.E. Plutarch was already emphasizing the superiority of flesh and bones feelings over the relationship with a stranger, a topic which has been at the core of a long running pedagogic debate. In order to underline the key role of mothers' breastfeeding in the early education of the child, he explicitly states that "Mothers should personally feed and offer their breast to the child, as their fostering and care will be greater [than nurses'...]", *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 5, p. 23. As for Vagnone, Meynard observes that he was personally touch by this topic: being himself a member of an aristocratic family, his fostering was most likely entrusted to a wet nurse, something that made him particularly sensible to motherly care and led him to embrace Vegio and other Renaissance thinkers' trend. Meynard, Thierry. "晚明中国的文艺复兴教育——关于耶稣会士高一志《童幼教育》的初步研究" Wan Ming Zhongguode Wenyi Fuxing Jiaoyu - - guanyu Yesuhui shi Gao Yizhi 《Tongyou Jiaoyu》 de chubu yanjiu, in 广东社会科学 *Guangdong Shehui Kexue* N.6, 2014, p. 125.

⁷⁸⁰ To quote Plutarch's words: "Nurses' affection is instead insincere and artificial, because it is always mercenary" See *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 5, p. 11.

嘗聞本母之恤其子，或委命陷險，或服毒迎寇，或剖胎，或饑斃，終不替其恤愛之心，希聞乳母之恤愛如是者。即使彼此齊愛，而養育之清濁，亦必有異。奇美之木，樹之原地，易植且盛，樹之異地，雖培植，難成焉。蓋以是生，亦以是養，世物之勢，大抵然也。故孩提得原胎之精氣，未有不長成，外母之乳必不若也。昔有迫於窮者，棄子曠野，忽有狼至代乳之，後棄子人形也而行猛獸之事。

It is axiomatic that a mother has sympathetic affection for her children, [even if] they are born under evil circumstances, are killed by poison or cruelty, cut from their womb, or starve to death, ultimately a mothers' loving and sympathetic heart cannot be replaced. Conversely it is rare to hear that a nurse's love is as such. Even though they both love [a baby] equally, yet the purity and impurity of their fostering will surely reveal differences. A marvelous tree will readily take root and flourish if planted in its original soil; [but] if planted in a different land, and even though [carefully] cultivated, it will be difficult for it to thrive there.⁷⁸¹ Such is generally the condition of all living things that are born and raised in this way. Therefore, if children are to obtain the spirit and energy from their original [i.e. mothers'] womb, as they grow they won't require a wet nurse's milk. In the past there was a person crushed by poverty who abandoned her child in an open field. Suddenly a wolf appeared, breastfeeding him in the place of the mother, and [though] the abandoned child gradually grew into manhood, his behavior was as a beast.

又有從孩提常茹驢乳者，久之，遂為愚鹵之流。又有少時無乳，不獲已，接羊乳以養者，其子長成，常見躁躍驅馳之狀，與童殺無異。以此觀之，初生之子，未有不隨乳氣之清濁者。使孺子習長於愚獸之婦，其不壞而為愚獸者鮮矣。況母子相守愈密，必相愛愈殷。設使懷抱托者他人，則恩情將減於本母。昔有一母，告子不孝於士師，士師曰：汝向者親，盡懷抱之恩否？

Then there was [once] a child who since his earliest years drank donkey milk, and soon after ended up becoming rude and stupid; there was also a person who was unable to breastfeed when she was

⁷⁸¹ Here's another reference to agriculture. In his *De Educatione Liberorum*, Vegio draws upon a similar metaphor, stating that "the small plants that in their early stage of life are moved to a land of noxious soil, mostly do not survive". See *De Educatione Liberorum*, I,4, p. 8.

young, and so had no choice but to use sheep's milk to raise her baby; when the child grew up, he was often beheld leaping and cavorting in an untamable state, [and] no different than a young black ewe.⁷⁸² From this we can see that every newborn obtains purity or impurity from the wet nurse's energy. Rarely will a child raised by a foolish and ignorant woman not grow into a foolish and ignorant person [lit. beast].⁷⁸³ Moreover, the stronger the bond between mother and child, the deeper their mutual love will be. If [a parent] relies on other people to nurse her baby, it will diminish his affection for her. In ancient times there was a mother who told a Master that her son had no filial piety. The Master replied: "Did you, his mother, favor him by breastfeeding?"

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母曰：否。士師曰：汝未盡慈，而責子以盡孝可得耶？雖為子者未全獲二親之恩，宜以誠孝報之，然親以是施，子亦以是報，人之常情固然。故勸子孝者，必述三年之懷抱焉，造化主制作女類，以兩乳賦之，而養育之際，又俾湧美乳，豈不欲為母者親懷其子，弗待人之代養也耶？或曰：母或感疾病，或得氣稟之薄，未足親懷，奈何？曰：女之未足親行養育，必未足出嫁也。

The mother said: "I have not". The Master replied: "As you have not displayed motherly love, how can you require your son do his filial duty?" Even children who don't completely obtain full affection from both parents should still repay them with honest filial piety; yet obviously if parents actions are insincere, children will repay them in the same way, [as] this is simply human nature. Therefore, in encouraging children toward filial piety, it is necessary to adhere to [a period of] three

⁷⁸² The use of negative *exempla* in pedagogic literature as a mean of warning readers, was a common rhetoric choice among authors since at least Plutarch. As a former teacher of rhetoric, Vagnone knows and properly masters this technique, and in this passage he borrows what Meynard indicates as "popular tales from the Middle Age" from Vegio's pedagogic treatise. See *De Educatione Liberorum*, I, 4 p. 8. See also Meynard, 2014, p. 125.

⁷⁸³ Both classical and Renaissance pedagogues considered the act of breastfeeding as the primary vehicle of education and righteousness. Therefore, the moral integrity of the woman who was entrusted with the task of breastfeeding was a key requirement to ensure the moral health of a child. See *De Educatione Liberorum*, I, 4 p. 10. Although not directly pertaining the matter of breastfeeding, the topic of the feminine influence on a child's growth is also touched upon by Zhu Xi's *Xiaoxue* 小學. In the first volume, dealing with prenatal education, or *Taijiao* 胎教, Zhu reports that the concubine who is entrusted to nurse the child needs to be "[...] 寬裕慈惠，溫良恭敬，慎而寡言者，使為子師 ([...] very much loving and kind, gentle and respectful, attentive and taciturn, to serve as teacher for the child.)" See, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小學集註, (reprinted in) *Guangxu shiwu nian Qiu Shan Dong Shuju Chong* 光緒十五年秋山東書局, 1886, volume 1 f. 24.

years of nursing. When the Creator made women, He gave them a pair of breasts, and in the realm of child rearing, these allow fine milk to flow forth.⁷⁸⁴ How is it possible for a mother to not want to hold her baby in her arms, yet to look for strangers to replace her in nursing? Someone asked: “What is to be done when a mother is sickly or weak in vital energy and cannot properly foster [the child]?” The answer is: “If a woman is not capable of raising children, she should not be capable of marriage”.

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然此說大嚴，不獲已招迎乳母，慎擇之可矣。蓋首欲擇其善懷抱者，而不敢苟且，次欲其不迷於色，不迷於酒，不病於言。蓋多色多酒之母，生乳極濁，食之者，不但稟賦之薄，猶沾其惡病焉。若其言必欲正實，不使訛言淫聲，溺子於邪。故不得已而招乳母，必宜招之於家勿令出外，蓋家人內言，大抵靜正，而二親之目耳常在，或審其音聲，或察其動靜，不俾美性之純，危於邪俗也。⁷⁸⁵

Obviously putting it this way is extremely strict, and if there is no other choice than to hire a wet nurse, the selection has to be careful. First, we want to choose her for nursing ability, and one who wouldn't dare to be careless. Then we want her disinclined to sex or alcohol or use vulgar language. Because licentious and drunken women produce an extremely impure milk, those who drink it will not only become physically weak, but will also be touched by these women's evil sickness. As for the nurse's words, we certainly want them to be correct and truthful and not given to wild gossip or licentious noises that drown the child in evil.⁷⁸⁶ If there is no alternative to hiring a wet nurse, we

⁷⁸⁴ The *topos* of women being “naturally equipped” to feed their babies is also as common in classical pedagogy as it is in Renaissance pedagogy. In his *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 5, Plutarch states that: “Nature itself clearly indicates that mothers are meant to personally feed and foster their offspring: for such reason every being who gives life is also provided with milk and [...] two breasts, to be able to equally feed twins, in case of such birth [...]”. See *Peri paidon agoges*, chap.5, p. 11 A similar passage concerning women's body made functional by nature to take care of breastfeeding appears in Vegio (*De Educatione Liberorum*, I, 4, p. 10). Vagnone's use of the same argument proves his familiarity with such literary topic, although he replaces the concept of “nature” with God, consistent with his personal background and writing purpose.

⁷⁸⁵ The canon of classical education in ancient Greece required a nurse to provide credentials: in Plutarch's opinion, in order to ensure the child's correct physical and moral development the nurse had to be of Greek heritage. See *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 5, 23. In his *The Republic*, Plato also warns against the dangerous effects of some nurses' tales, which should not be fictional, but only recalling the deeds of virtuous men of the past. See. *Republic*, III.395, 396.

⁷⁸⁶ Vegio, *De educatione liberorum*, I, 4, p. 11.

should find one that doesn't leave the home, because when speaking amongst the family one is mostly gentle and correct, and the eyes and the ears of both parents are always present, examining her voice [sounds] and observing her actions, to avoid that the purity of [her] good nature be corrupted into wicked habits.

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噫嘻！人有得寶玩，則以錦綉衣之，以美筭藏之，非時弗啓，非人亦不令易見也。迨所生之子，無價之寶也，乃其親輕寄之于愚婦乎哉！日落尼抹，西之聖人，嘗誌古有乳母恣逞於酒色，辟侈於淫言邪行，乃其所養之子，未滿十歲，已無所不為矣。又聞一孺子，僅四歲耳，常出詈言淫言訛言，異而問故，或答曰：是孩也，非其罪也，乃乳母之罪。彼倡此和，奚足怪乎？由是觀之，懷抱之正功，槩後於慈母之殷勤也，明矣。

Extraordinary! People receive precious trifles for mere entertainment, then cover them with beautiful brocade, hide them in rich boxes, don't normally open them and rarely let anyone see them. [Yet] when a child who is an invaluable treasure is born, how easily do parents entrust him to a foolish woman!⁷⁸⁷ Jerome, a saint from the West, recorded that in ancient times there was a wet nurse who freely indulged in drinking and luxury, openly expressing lascivious words and evil deeds. The children she raised in ten years' time failed to accomplish anything. He also heard that a child of only four years in age often insulted [others], and spoke licentious and vulgar words. When various people inquired as to the reason for this, someone replied: "It's not the child's fault, it's his nurse's fault. He follows her example,⁷⁸⁸ how is this strange?" From the standpoint of parenthood, it is clear that the righteous work of nursing invariably follows a loving mother's solicitous care.

⁷⁸⁷ The 14th – 15th century intellectuals who urged a return to mothers personally feeding babies did, however, admit exceptions, mostly connected with women's health conditions. In case of the true necessity of hiring a wet nurse, this was obliged to comply with strict regulation concerning her personal and moral behavior. Vegio, for instance, insists on the prohibition to live and sleep with men and in some cases, to leave the house, while Desiderius Erasmus also stresses the importance of her possessing good physical temperament and moral qualities. See, Meynard, 2014, p. 120, footnote 49.

⁷⁸⁸ According to Handian, the saying "*Pi chang ci he* 彼倡此和", interpreted as "to chorus somebody else's lead", was in use during Ming dynasty to express the act of following along one's bad example (*Ming shi* 明史 vol. 6.7). See <http://www.zdic.net/c/c/170/381260.htm>. Not reported on HYDCD.

教育之主 *The “dominus”⁷⁸⁹ of the education*

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懷抱之功既成，爲之父者，教不可不早也。東格辣德，古學宗領，嘗謂幼者教育，根于父母，蓋育子者，雖係二親，但其重者，由于陽之剛。諺有之曰：魚之小，學大魚而躍于淵；牛之小，學大牛而犁於田；鳥之小，學大鳥而戾於天。正此謂也。西有一鳥，喜舒翼登高，正對日輪，瞠目不避仍欲教其子，

Once a child's nursing is completed, it is never too soon for the father to begin his education. Socrates, one of the founders of the ancient learning, used to say that children's education is supported by both the father and the mother. Though raising a child involves both parents, the influence of masculinity is more important.⁷⁹⁰ A popular maxim goes: “The little fish learns from the big fish while swimming in deep waters; the calf learns from the cow, while ploughing together in the field; the little bird learns from the big bird, while flying up in the sky”.⁷⁹¹ This is just what it is said. There is a bird in the West, who likes to spread his wings and to fly high in the sky right towards the sun, staring straight into its light. He wishes to teach his son to do the same thing,

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則攫而懸之，其對日光不閉目者。愛而存養之，若閉目不克當日光，委棄不屑養矣。西土又有小鵲類畫眉者，聲至美，欲教其子，自鳴而引之，不正音對和不息也。以此觀之，何類不然，

⁷⁸⁹ Vagnone's lexical choice is particularly appropriate: the term ‘*zhu* 主’, primarily indicates the fundamental role of the father in the education of a child both in Classical and Renaissance pedagogy, that is in fact the main subject of this chapter. However, the semantic meaning of ‘*zhu* 主’, as ‘master, lord’, might also have been intended as a reference to the Latin word *dominus* (lord, master), the epithet ancient Roman children used to call their fathers out of respect for their paternal authority (*patria potestas*).

⁷⁹⁰ In the Renaissance, children were usually looked after by women until they turned five, when a male figure, either the father or a teacher took over and carried on their education. See Meynard, 2014, p. 126.

⁷⁹¹ References to nature and the animal kingdom are frequent in the history of pedagogy, although they hid different intents: Plutarch and classical authors, for instance, related the nature of some animals to human nature, claiming that they could all be tamed thanks to a good educator's work. See *Peri paidon agoges*, chap. 7, p. 18. Renaissance pedagogues, on the other hand, made use of such examples to prove that the most complete educational component lays in Nature. See Meynard 2014, p. 127.

鹿教其子以奔， 狸教其子以媚， 狼教其子以貪， 熊生僅肉團耳， 自視之非熊也， 常用舌舐摩脩治之， 漸漸成熊矣。 嗚呼！ 禽獸皆欲其子肖， 人乃不欲其子肖耶？ 況彼禽獸初生， 即具毛羽爪甲，

so he carries him aloft to look at the sun, and he faces the light without closing his eyes. [This bird] loves and wants to foster [the offspring], but if they close their eyes and can't stand looking at the sunlight, [the parent] gives up, shunning the education.⁷⁹² Then there is a type of small magpie in the West, the nightingale,⁷⁹³ with a very beautiful voice. When it wants to teach its offspring, it sings and guides them, not stopping until their singing is correct and harmonious. Hence, we can see that each species is different: the deer teaches its offspring by running, the fox teaches its offspring by showing affection, the wolf teaches its offspring by hunting. At birth bears are merely flesh and their cubs are not seen [by their parents] as fellows of their species, therefore they correct this by licking their young until they become as bears.⁷⁹⁴ All animals want their young to be like them, so should people not want their offspring to do the same? When animals are born, they are given feathers or claws,

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不俟衣履， 不待教習， 而已知避害趨利。 人之生也， 赤身出胎， 至弱未能移步， 至愚未足明理。 令弗得嚴親之教， 如矇瞽者之行， 不得援引之， 必將投足嶮巇矣。 海中之危， 舟高且堅非長年引之， 猶未能當， 而小艇之弱者， 可以當之耶？ 噫嘻！ 世道險海也， 世之智者， 多滯於淺， 多沉於淵， 而愚童非得智親之提扶， 可免身神之亡溺耶？ 往者的(第)阿日擲， 古學名賢， 適遇小童恣慢於途，

⁷⁹² This is a first reference to the phoenix, which the author will mention again in chapter 7 of this treatise, when talking about the beginning of the study. See TYJY, volume 1, chap. 7, p. 295.

⁷⁹³ In this passage the author refers to the “melodious laughingthrush (*garrulax canorus*)” a species belonging to the sparrow family that is commonly found in China. My choice of translating it as ‘nightingale’ is not only justified but the similar characteristics the two birds have in common, their melodious singing, but it is also confirmed by a comparison with chapter 2 of the second volume, where the term ‘*huamei* 畫眉’ appears as Vagnone’s choice to express the Spanish term ‘ruiseñor (nightingale)’. See TYJY, volume 2, chap. 2, p. 349.

⁷⁹⁴ In his *Historia Naturalis*, Pliny records that when bear cubs are born, “they are just a piece of white meat, slightly bigger than a mouse, with no eyes nor fur [...], but the mother by licking them, gradually gives them shape”. *Historia Naturalis*, VIII.54, p. 785. The same anecdote is also quoted by Aristotle in his *History of Animals*, IV. 34, p. 580.

they don't expect clothing and shoes, don't need education and study, but they already know how to avoid suffering and seeking what is good for them. People are born naked from the womb, so weak that they cannot even move and so dumb that they don't even understand principles. Without a strict education from their parents, they would behave like blind men, without a guide, and would surely set foot in a troublesome path. The dangers of the sea cannot be won over by a big and steady boat without a sailor at the helm, so how can the weakness of a small boat make it? How surprising! The morals of this era are like a dangerous sea, superficiality stalls many contemporary wise men who sink into these deep waters. Therefore, if foolish children don't receive the support of wise parents, how can they avoid the corruption of body and spirit? In the past, Diogenes,⁷⁹⁵ a famous Sage of the ancient learning, once bumped into a young boy who was dawdling down the road as he pleased;

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則以杖叩其父曰：夫爾子慢也，惟爾之罪。亞得納 其古之法甚嚴，而於幼之教育尤嚴，甚則出命令，凡有子弗能教者，終身不許其子供養之。鶴善養其子，迄老時毛落體弱，未能自養，則常藉其子之養。厄馬，泰西大禽，中曰駝鳥，懈於子之養育，置卵多不能覆，或覆而不能哺其子也。子大而亦以是復之，因是而知凡預圖其子之養。莫善於先施教育之恩，尚未能充父道，何望後之盡之道乎？

so he hit the boy's father with his walking stick and yelled: "If this child is slow, it is your fault alone!" The ancient law of Athens was very strict, particularly concerning children. They even enacted a decree that those who had children and could not educate them were forbidden from receiving care from them at the end of their life⁷⁹⁶. Cranes raise their offspring with care and, when old age comes, feathers fall and the body is weak, they cannot look after themselves and rely on

⁷⁹⁵ This is the first occurrence of a *chreia* attributed to Diogenes of Sinope (c. 412-325 BC) also known as the Cynic, whose teachings and attitude towards life were used by Vagnone in many of his books as edifying *exempla*.

⁷⁹⁶ As a proof of the fundamental role education played in ancient Greek society, Lycurgus emitted a law forbidding children who were not provided with any instruction by their parents, to assist them in old age. It appears that the echo of this rule reached Renaissance pedagogues, as Vegio and Erasmus also mention it in their treatises. See Meynard, 2014 p. 130, footnote 53.

care from their offspring. The ostrich⁷⁹⁷ is a big bird of the West, which is called ‘*tuoniao*’ in Chinese. [These birds] are idle in taking care of their offspring: they lay so many [eggs] that they cannot hatch all of them, or sometimes they hatch them but cannot feed their young. When the offspring grow up they do the same thing. Because of this, [parents] know what to expect from their offspring’s care. If parents are not good at carrying on the favour of education, and the father doesn’t fulfil his role, how can one hope that the progeny will accomplish theirs?⁷⁹⁸

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世人急於生子，而不思教育之道若何。平生勤苦積財，以富足其子，而竟不思財之主，當為何人？（束）格辣德，上古聞士也，欲變本鄉亂俗，登高大呼，曰：人何為自欺乎？吾黨恒思聚財廣地，而其所寄之子若孫，乃弗之顧，是所謂備美履，不忍傷足者耳。可不哀哉！昔有賢士，見富人急於教子，譏之曰：汝⁷⁹⁹計富子孫，乃不教之以善用，猶授戈兵于童穉，而不示之以當用之法。不將害人并害己乎？

Common people are eager to have children, but do not give consideration to the Way education should be. They normally work hard and accumulate wealth so that there will be plenty for their children, but in the end they fail to consider the most important of all properties – what sort of person [their children] will become. Socrates, a well-known scholar of old, wanted to renovate the corrupt customs of his country. He stepped up and screamed: “Why do people deceive themselves? My fellow citizens only think about gathering wealth and expanding their lands, but if they don’t look after their children or their descendants these will be passed to, it is equal to making nice shoes

⁷⁹⁷ The same phonemic-loan appears in Aleni’s “*Zhifang waiji* 职方外纪 (Areas Outside the Concern of the Chinese Imperial Geographer; 1623)”. The passage quotes extensively from the description of the ostrich Plinius the Older provides in his *Historia Naturalis*, X.1. As suggested by De Troia, in his translation of Aleni’s geographical work, ‘*ema* 厄馬’ is a transliteration of the Portuguese term *ema*, which indicates the name of the female ostrich. See Aleni, *Geografia dei paesi stranieri alla Cina, traduzione, introduzione e note di Paolo De Troia*, Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, centro Giulio Aleni, 2009, p. 155.

⁷⁹⁸ In this case, to preserve semantic consistency, in this case I translated the term “*Dao* 道” as “duty”.

⁷⁹⁹ In this sentence it is worth noting the pragmatic use of the personal pronoun “*Ru* 汝”: it expresses a slightly more derogative sense if compared to the aforementioned “*Er* 爾”, which still translates as “you” but does not underline a big social or cultural gap between the two interlocutors.

but caring not if their feet hurt.”⁸⁰⁰ How careless! In the past, a Sage saw a wealthy man being idle over his son’s education and he mocked him: “You are making money for your descendants, but if you don’t teach them how to use it properly, it is no different from giving weapons to children without showing them how they are used. Won’t they hurt themselves and other people”?

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吾嘗謂爲父貽財於子，而不教以正，是貽鳩毒，而不施解毒之藥也，不亦殆哉？故君子⁸⁰¹先教其子習之於學問，漸進之於道德，然後美貲令聞豐爵，皆可致也。吾西古俗用人先審其家之教育，然後或進或黜焉。昔博學之士，往朝領命，王知其子之不肖，則辭之曰：爾未盡天主所任職，而猶望盡吾所將任之職乎？夫承教之子，內順仁親，外和主命，爲親之榮，爲邦之幹，

I used to say: a father who bequeaths his wealth to his son, but doesn’t teach him righteousness is like if he was to give [him] poison without providing the antidote. Isn’t this dangerous? Therefore, a virtuous man first teaches his son to acquire knowledge, then he gradually approaches morality – afterwards fine wealth, good reputation and social status can all be achieved. In our West there was an old habit of hiring people to examine the education of the family, and then some would progress and some be dismissed. In ancient times, an erudite scholar went to the royal court to ask for a mission from the king. [The sovereign] knew that the scholar’s son was not virtuous and told him: “You haven’t accomplished God’s task [of educator], and you hope to accomplish the task I will appoint you to?” An educated son obeys and loves his parents inside [the family], while outside he respects the ruler’s commands. He is his parents’ glory and he is useful to the country.⁸⁰²

⁸⁰⁰ Plutarch makes use of the same anecdote when talking about some father’s careless choice of teachers. See *Peri paidon agoges*, chap. 7, p. 17.

⁸⁰¹ Here’s another occurrence of the Confucian term ‘*Junzi* 君子’, literally ‘ruler of noble origin’, which instead Vagnone instead as morally superior, once again showing a deep understanding of the *Four Books*.

⁸⁰² Classical and Renaissance education also agreed on another matter: they were aimed at shaping outstanding individuals, who could contribute to the political life. Therefore, scientific studies held a less predominant role than the literary and rhetorical studies and were mostly taught in schools of philosophy. Confucian philosophy had a similar purpose: almost consistent with the Western dichotomy of practical life (*vita attiva*) VS contemplative life (*vita contemplativa*), it was aimed at shaping men of perfect moral integrity (*junzi* 君子), who possessed the qualities to preserve order and harmony at both social and political level.

不教之子，內逆於親，外越法度，爲親之憂，爲邦之戮。有子者宜何擇焉？

The uneducated son doesn't honour his parents inside [the family], while outside he disobeys the law. He is trouble for his parents and the ruin of his country. Which one should those who have children choose?

教之助第四 *Aid in education*⁸⁰³

嚴親雖望其子成立甚切，然或溺愛不明，或事迫於冗，即教不能不作輟也。設令無善士代致其力，則子之孝，無由而成矣。是以智者或稱師爲吾二父焉，或以爲補全父母之恩焉，蓋父母生我，使我遊於世，而賢師教我，使我遊於道。父母生我，必屬於世苦，而賢師導我，乃援我於諸苦。

Although [all] fathers wish for their children to be successful above all, some spoil [their children] without realising it and some push them to [focus on] superficial things, and that's why their education does not progress smoothly.⁸⁰⁴ If we appoint an unsuitable scholar to replace [the parent] in conveying his power, then the child's filial duty will have no way of being complete. Hence wise

⁸⁰³ After dealing with the paternal role in the education of children, Vagnone moves on to its next stage, the beginning of the study under the supervision of a virtuous teacher. As the child turned seven, wealthy families of ancient Greece used to entrust him to the care of a pedagogue (from the ancient Greek term “*παιδαγωγός* *paidagōgos*” literally “to lead the children”), usually a trustworthy slave who was in charge of following the child when he was not at home; this lasted until the age of 16. The role of the pedagogue was therefore different from the instructor, in ancient Greek *διδάσκαλος* *didaskalos* (masculine noun derived from the verb *didaskō*, “to teach”), who, however, did not teach at home. In 1st century B.C. Rome, the pedagogue's contribution in the education of children was reevaluated and the term came to acquire the semantic acceptance of “tutor”, which is still in use today. Although surely aware of the evolution of the word and the figure of the “*paidagōgos*”, as a man of the Renaissance, Vagnone is mainly concerned with the contribution of the “*didaskalos*” as a model for the disciple, which he translates as “*shi* 師”.

⁸⁰⁴ A similar point can be found in the chapter related to the right balance between study and leisure activities in Plutarch's *Peri Paidon Agoges*. The author states: “I have seen many parents whose exaggerated love turns into excess. [...] Some fathers, eager to see their child successful, impose on them an excessive number of commitments, [...] and in the end children are not obedient in receiving their education”. See *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 13, p. 43.

men sometimes call the teacher a second father,⁸⁰⁵ sometimes believe that [his education] completes the parents' duty, because parents give us birth and put us on the path of life, but sage teachers give us education, put us on the path of Doctrine. Parents give life to us in order to be certainly a part of mortal suffering, but wise teachers guide us, to rescue us from all suffering.

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父母生我，未能使我不死，而賢師教我，乃使吾道吾德不敗滅也。罷辣多，上古大賢也，嘗謂天主之廣澤，父母之養育，賢士之教習，三者必不可測，併不可報。豈不信哉！斐里伯，往為大國智王，初聞世子生，曰：天主賜我以子，喜其可以承祧。又有亞里斯多，名賢在，可以師之，可喜之甚矣。其子名歷山，學既成，有臣問曰：

Parents give us birth, but cannot make us immortal; wise teachers give us education, and make our Doctrine and our virtue invincible and indestructible.⁸⁰⁶ Plato, the great scholar of the past, used to say that there are things that cannot be measured or repaid: the grace of God, the education of parents and the instruction of sages and scholars [are all among them].⁸⁰⁷ How could we not believe this? In the past there was a wise king of a great country named Philip. When he heard of the birth of his royal son, he said: “God has granted me a son, I will be delighted to make this child my heir. Aristotle here, the great sage, can be his master. This is exceptionally satisfying.”⁸⁰⁸ The king's son was named Alexander and, when his learning was complete, one of his ministers asked:

⁸⁰⁵ Such quotation was borrowed from the Macau edition of Bonifacio's *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, considered the main source of inspiration of his treatise. The title of the third chapter of the first book clearly states that: “Teachers are second parents, and much more useful than them”, see *Christiani pueri Institutio*, I. 3 p. 88. However, the exhortation to regard teachers as *in loco parentis*, also appears in Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, II.9.

⁸⁰⁶ When talking about the role of teachers in traditional China, it is clearly exemplified by the words of the eminent Han Yu 韓愈 (768 – 824), an intellectual from the Tang Dynasty who, among other merits, restored the classical writing style or *guwen* 古文 in opposition to the formal stylized prose style, or ‘*pianwen* 駢文 (lit. parallel writing)’. In his famous piece “*Shishuo* 師說 (Talks about masters)” he identifies the teacher as “he who transmits true Doctrine (*Dao* 道), teaches education, unravels all doubts”, no matter the age or social background. See Giuliano Bertuccioli, *Testi di Letteratura Cinese scelti, tradotti e commentati da Giuliano Bertuccioli*, a cura di Paolo De Troia, Libreria Editrice Orientalia, 2013 pp. 114 – 120. My translation of the term *Dao* 道 as “Doctrine” is a reference to this text and its version in Italian language.

⁸⁰⁷ Adapted from Plato, *Republic*, III. 393, 394.

⁸⁰⁸ Both classical and Renaissance tradition state that the choice of an educator has to be mainly based on his moral qualities, as these will set an example and leave an impression on the child's temper. In their pedagogic treatises

斐里伯王父也，亞里斯多王師也。二恩孰大？王曰：父使我嗣國為王，師使我為國明王，彼傳性，此傳學，則善師之助親多矣。沸濟玩，中古名賢也，以義禮聞於時，子染邪習，恐已不能教也，乃引之鄰邦名辣責德莫納使日侍賢師，無何其子果去其舊染，而成其粹美，眾咸異之曰：善師之功大矣哉，夫以賢德之親，不能攻其子之惡，而賢師之教能攻之，師不急乎哉。昔者厄肋濟亞，文學名國，

“Philip is your majesty’s father and Aristotle is your majesty’s teacher. Who benefitted you the most?” Alexander replied: “I inherited the country and the crown from my father, but my teacher made me an enlightened king. The former gave me his nature, the latter gifted me his learning, therefore, the good teacher helped me more.”⁸⁰⁹ Phocion, a famous Sage of the middle antiquity,⁸¹⁰ was known at the time for his righteousness and manners. Phocion’s son was corrupted by evil habits, and the scholar was afraid that he could not educate his son. Instead he asked that a wise teacher from the neighbour town of Lacedaemon to attend daily. Soon after, his son was able to rid himself of his vices and become clean and kind.⁸¹¹ Many thought this unusual and proclaimed: “Great is the merit of a teacher! If a virtuous parent cannot rid a child of evil, but the education of a wise teacher can, surely the teacher is crucial”. In ancient Greece, a land famous for its humanities,

有一童習於罷辣多名門。久之學成而歸，適觀其父詬厲異常，大怪曰：侍於罷辣多，未聞如是也，久於此，恐吾所脩悉亡矣。於乎，世之不善教其子，而反害其師之正教者，可勝數哉！故親

both Vegio and Bonifacio make use of the very same anecdote (see *De Educatione liberorum*, II. 4, p. 21, and *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I. 4, p. 93), while both Quintilian and Plutarch refer to Achilles’ instructor, Phoenix.

⁸⁰⁹ Such example is also reported in *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I. 3, p.89 – 90.

⁸¹⁰ Athenian statesman (402-318 BC). It was not uncommon for the Jesuit authors to divide classical history in three main periods: Upper, Middle and Lower antiquity (*shanggu* 上古, *zhonggu* 中古, *xiagu* 下古), a practice which, according to Li Shixue, recalled the three-stages classification St. Augustine gave of the time before Christ’s birth, in his *De Civitate Dei* (The City of God, 426 CE). See Li, Sher-shiueh / Meynard, Thierry, *Jesuit Chreia in Late Ming China. Two Studies with an Annotated Translation of Alfonso Vagnone’s Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, Bern, 2014, pp. 89-90.

⁸¹¹ See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I, “Continens Oratio”, p. 138.

之智者，特延善師以善其子，如良農既植美樹而生，恐其不肖，則接以善種，噫嘻！童穉為美種之苗，可不慎其所接也耶。都畧氏，往為吾西文師，常譏世怠於教子者曰：人命極脆，未識其終日之期。

there was a child who studied at Plato's school. Once his learning was complete he returned home, but he realized that his father was a shameful and cruel man. The child blamed him and said: "At Plato's school I never saw such things, but after spending time in this place I fear that all I have cultivated and learnt will be lost."⁸¹² Therefore, the examples of contemporaries whom are unsuitable to educate their children are innumerable, they can even ruin a teacher's righteous instruction! So it is that wise parents specifically seek fine teachers to make their children better, like a skilled farmer who plants and cultivates fine trees. If he fears that the tree will be unworthy, he should choose better seeds. How amazing! The young are the shoots of beautiful seeds, how can we be incautious about what they come into contact with?⁸¹³ Cicero, a past master from Western culture, always mocked those who were idle in educating their children. He said, "Human life is extremely fragile, we don't know which day we'll die.

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世人之子至愚，未能識其將何人。為之親者，不早延賢師教之，可以為智乎。曩者泰西總都，有智王，名曰奧肋畧，將終子幼，時有賢臣，則命其師世子曰：吾之數不可延矣，孺子尚幼，則國家之重，係於師矣。如以正教之，國家必治，不然國家必亡。語子曰：吾已知天主之嚴命不可辭也，然吾向未敢負天旨，家志乎慈，國志乎仁。茲棄世，爾當代我，乃入吾家，爾猶未足為親，入吾國，爾猶未足為君，奈何？

⁸¹² See *De Educatione Liberorum*, II. 5, p. 2 and *Christiani Pueri Institutio* I.2 p. 88.

⁸¹³ When stressing the importance of the choice of a valuable master, Plutarch makes use of a similar metaphor: "[...] children need to be entrusted to teachers whose behaviour is unimpeachable, whose morals are impeccable and whose experience is excellent, because the righteous education is the basis of moral perfection. Like farmers support young trees with stakes, in the same way good teachers prop up children with precepts and admonishments, in order to set their behaviour upright", *Peri Paidon agoges*, chap. 7, p.16. In this passage, Vagnone's use of the word 'seed' is probably a reference to the Sophists, who traditionally compared the work of a wise educator, to the effect of good seed on cultivated field.

Contemporary children are so foolish, they cannot know what sort of person they will be!” If parents do not appoint a wise teacher for their children immediately, can they be thought wise? In ancient times, there was a wise king of a Western capital named Aurelian, who had children late in life. He ordered a sage minister, who [served him] at the time, to teach the child, and said: “My days cannot be extended and my child is still young, therefore the country’s value will be in the hands of the teachers. If the child is instructed righteously, the country will be ruled. If not, it will be destroyed.” And thus the king spoke to his son: “I already know that the strict will of God⁸¹⁴ cannot be declined, so I have never betrayed God’s plans. If the family is devoted to love, the country will be devoted to charity. If I die now, you may replace me, but if you are not a good parent within the family or, not a good ruler within the country, what will happen?”

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若能勤於正學，惟賢師是從，則家必不乏慈親，國必不乏仁主。言盡而終，王乎，可謂知教也已。伯路大哥下古西賢，嘆曰：人有田，無不覓敏農治之，有畜，無不覓勤童牧之，有舟，無不托智工操之。人之有子，且將為田與畜與舟之主，而反不覓善師以訓之愚哉！夫家資器物，種種必畝其良，子乃家之督也，乃獨不欲其良愚哉！或欲盡祖考遺像，必托繪工之巧者，不恤費也。

If you are diligent in orthodox learning, only following the words of a wise teacher, then our family won't lack a loving parent and our country won't lack a charitable ruler”. The king's speech demonstrates that he truly understood education. Plutarch, a Western sage of near antiquity, use to decree: “If one has land, he will need a good farmer to till it. If he has livestock, he will seek a diligent [shepherd] child to graze them. If he has a boat, he will rely on a [skilled sailor?] clever worker to operate it. Those who have children are the owners of land, livestock and boats, it would be foolish for them not to seek a good teacher for their instruction.” All property, possessions and objects belonging to a family need to have their quality tested. The education of children is also under the supervision of the family, and the family decides if they turn out kind or foolish. Someone who wants a good portrait painted of their ancestors must seek a skilled painter and ignore the cost.

⁸¹⁴ Literally translated as ‘*Yan Ming* 嚴命’ “strict mandate”, a reference to the Chinese traditional concept of ‘*Tianming* 天命’, the mandate the regulated a ruler’s reign.

乃教成子孫立肖祖考之活像，豈可不擇賢師以繪之乎？往者亞里第頗為名學之領，或有子使遊其門，問東脩幾何，師曰：數十金，父嫌其太多，曰：此金之重，乃足以得一僕，師曰：然，若爾異時，必將得二僕焉。是以智者，寧使家室乏貲，必不使子孫乏教。西土有居室甚貧，乃其供師惟謹，鄰人誚之曰：若尚未足供室，奚以供師焉？答曰：積貲不若訓子，供室不若供師，蓋財盛而子無教，則室將傾矣。

To educate descendants in the image of their ancestors, why not choose a wise teacher to paint such an image? There was a leading figure of a group of famous scholars,⁸¹⁵ named Aristippus.⁸¹⁶ Someone took his to his school to learn geometry but the cost was questioned. The master explained that it would be “ten pieces of gold”, to which the father replied, “for that price I can buy myself a slave”. The master retorted that by going with his lessons the father would have two slaves in a few years' time.⁸¹⁷ Clever people would rather have a family lacking in property than their descendants lacking in education. One Western scholar lived in a poor house, and only worried about providing a teacher for his son. His neighbours lambasted him with the phrase: “If he can barely afford a place to live, how can he afford a teacher?” The scholar answered: “To accumulate wealth is not as important as instructing my son, affording a house not as important as affording a teacher. If one is rich in possessions, but his children lacking in instruction, then the entire family will fall to ruin.

故親之知道者，但有子先計其師，然後計其貲也。伯兒西亞國古俗，或得生子，便邀善師為教主。厄肋濟亞，吾土鄰國也，古俗恐人有困于財者，有羈于冗者，不能訓其子，則在在立公學，延四方名師，重其祿以公教之。又恐有懈不教子者，則立公司以指其迷而開導之。吾西諸

⁸¹⁵ According to HYDCD, in 20th century the term was used to translate Logic, but its original acceptance is “famous scholar”. See HYDCD, volume 3, p. 177.

⁸¹⁶ Aristippus of Cyrene (c. 435 – 356), supposed founder of the philosophical school of Cyrenaics in 4th century B.C.

⁸¹⁷ This anecdote is highly popular among Classical and Renaissance authors: it was quoted by Vegio (*De Educatione liberorum*, II. 6 p. 22), and Bonifacio (*Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I.3 p. 135) but it also appears in Plutarch, *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 7, p. 27.

國，每都會，又立一大學，遍邀賢師，專務幼教。又有士既成學，而不計罰祿，不計榮達，但圖立功於天主，有利於國家，設學頒訓者，既耶穌會也。

Parents who know the righteous Way first plan a teacher for their children, then tally their wealth. In ancient Persia, the habit was to invite a good teacher when a child was born. In Greece, a neighbouring country to my own, tradition dictated that public schools be established, and had to appoint famous teachers from every land who were paid as public instructors. This was to allay the fears that those with money troubles or restrictive affairs would not be able to provide education for their children. Out a fear of the slack failing to educate their offspring, they also established private schools to guide children's passions and enlighten them.⁸¹⁸ In each of the Western countries, the local Society of Jesus established universities, where wise teachers were invited from all around to devote themselves to pre-school education. There are scholars who have terminated their studies and sacrificed their salaries, not focusing on personal glory, but rather attempting to provide a meritorious service to God and their country with the establishment of such schools and teachings: this is what the Society of Jesus does.

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或開蒙學，或修文教，或談天文，或剖性理，或闡聖道。皆合力同志，務於幼教，必使其知天上有主，宰治人物，而當敬國中有皇敷命大眾，而當忠室內有親教養百凡，而當孝日日如是，處處如是，此教之大旨也。

⁸¹⁸ Education in ancient Greece and Republican Rome was considered a family matter, therefore the government didn't feel obliged in taking any part in it. Greek and Roman children did in fact attend schools, but these were privately established. The first school in Rome is dated back to the 3rd century B.C. and probably set up by a freed slave, Spurio Carvilio. See Caramello, Zandrino, 1970, p. 4. Teachers were usually paid by monthly fees granted by parents, something that made his economic and social status not particularly valuable. However, there were also some cities, like Miletus, where schools were funded by private bequests and slowly became public. Its teachers were elected by citizens and were appointed public magistrates. The term "*Gongxue* 公學", has therefore to be understood not as "State-owned", but as "Common, open to the public". As for the term "*Gongsi* 公司" it probably refers to private schools, a product of the so-called informal education system which in ancient Greek society was juxtaposed to formal education and aimed at women and people from lower social statuses, mostly held by unpaid teachers.

Some open private schools, some cultivate literary education, some speak of astronomy, some analyze natural studies and philosophy,⁸¹⁹ some explain the holy doctrine⁸²⁰. These confrères work together in their commitment to pre-school education and make children aware of God, who governs and controls all creatures.⁸²¹ They also teach appropriate respect for a country's political authority – its law overall – and loyalty to the parents who provide education for all, with filial piety to be performed every day in every place. This is the great aim of education.

教之法第五 *Methods of Instruction*

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父師之教維何，曰言，曰身⁸²²。

⁸¹⁹ A reference to Neo-Confucian key concepts of *Li* 理 and *Xing* 性, which are interpreted by the author two indicate the two main topics of Jesuit education: Natural and Moral Philosophy.

⁸²⁰ This is the first reference to the Society of Jesus that appears in TYJY. It is an obvious indication of Vagnone's strategy of promoting the mission's aim, as he specifically emphasises the educational role of the Jesuits' work. At the same time the passage also suggests that TYJY was meant to pave the way to a new educational system to be established in the Shanxi area, and maybe propaedeutic to the opening of Jesuit schools.

⁸²¹ Literally: 'men and things'. In the Confucian *Four Books*, on which Vagnone and his fellow Jesuits' education was based, '*wu* 物' usually refers to a 'living creature', a part of nature, which is opposed to '*shi* 事', i.e. 'affair, or inanimate object'. Vagnone makes also frequent use of the term '*wanwu* 萬物', literally the 'myriad things', which in Confucian texts indicate 'the world, all things on earth'.

⁸²² Intended as moral conduct, I shall translate it as "example". Consistent with both European and Chinese pedagogic traditions, Vagnone also reserves one chapter of his treatise to deal with the role of moral example in the process of education. Every major Classical and Renaissance author, from Plutarch to Cicero, from Vegio to Bonifacio, attaches great importance to virtuous deeds, especially by ancient sages, as means to convey righteous teachings to children. On the concept that the soul of a child is extremely malleable and therefore easily influenced, Classical pedagogues believed one of their main tasks was to collect "examples from the past" and use them as the foundation of education, which was mostly oral. See Caramello, Zandrino, 1970, p. XXII. The very same concept of teaching actions over words can be found in Confucian pedagogy: recalling virtuous actions of ancient sages was consistent with the Master's main precept of "*wen gu* 溫故 (revitalizing the past)" and was aimed, as European pedagogy was, at creating benevolent individuals who could be valuable assets both for society and for those close to them. Neo-Confucian education further emphasised the idea of "leaning" as a process that implies "imitating", as confirmed by Zhu Xi's commentaries on the *Four Books*, in which '*xue* 學 (to learn)' is also interpreted as '*xiao* 效 (to imitate)'. As pointed out by Meynard's study on the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (Paris, 1687), in their translation work on Chinese classics, the Jesuits didn't fail to understand this connection, which they accentuated by selecting the Latin term '*imitatio*' to translate '*xue* 學'. See Meynard Thierry, *The Jesuit Reading of Confucius. The first complete translation of the Lunyu (1687) published in the West*. Leiden, Brill, 2015, p. 90, footnote 1.

How does one maintain the learning imparted by father and teacher? [By] words and example.

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夫童穉之心，如未書素簡，親師之舌如筆墨寫書，必入之深，而後存之久也。故嚴君明師，務慎始教，希而不繁，正而不僻，度得其宜耳。或問賢者，師孰為善？答曰：希言之師。問故，曰：其言彌多，其意彌虛。言多而無實意，奚足尚哉？字內惟希者，貴美，有重寶焉，藏而不露。乃教之妙，肯以浮言多露乎？昔有賢者延師，適二人同至，未識誰可，欲試之，請言，其一便佞口給，其一希言人也。遂擇希言者，曰：

A child's young mind is like an unwritten book while the words of parents and teachers are like the ink and brush [used] to write, which will deeply imbue their minds with long-retained memories. Thus a harshly virtuous, though bright teacher must be attentive when beginning [a child's] education to be concise yet uncomplicated, righteous yet not remote, teaching appropriately for everyone. Someone asked a wise man: "What makes a fine teacher?" He answered: "One of few words".⁸²³ When asked the reason for this, he replied: "The more are his words, the emptier their meaning". When words are profuse [yet] their meaning untrue, why then should [this teacher] be respected? In this world only those who are concise are precious; they possess a treasure that is hidden and not displayed. Therefore, will a fine education be displayed through excessive chatter? In the past a sage [wanted] to engage a teacher. Two people happened to arrive together, and not knowing who to choose, [the sage] determined to test them. When invited to speak, one proved to be an effusive, talkative person, while the other was reticent. The sage eventually chose the reticent man, saying:

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器之虛，雖小而發音大。器之實，雖大而發音小。豈不信哉？是以古有言曰：多言之工，十載不成器，多言之師，能成人之美器乎？夫教幼之言，雖善且宜希而不繁，則夫妄言，誕言，污言，罪言，奚其可。罷辣多大賢，常戒乳母，勿使亂述虛傳，及井市邪言，曰：夫童之心，若

⁸²³ The concept of "using simple words to convey comprehensive messages" held a key position on Desiderius Erasmus' pedagogical thinking. As observed by Meynard, he believed that nature provided children with an innate potential, which could only be completed through a righteous education. See Meynard, 2014, p. 127. Such theory was obviously an elaboration of the Sophistic three factors of pedagogy: nature, education and exercise.

蠟焉，印之易于成迹。古诗云：陶器初沾之氣，終于不去。故童幼初聞之邪聲，究竟難忘，則智父明師，必須正言，立訓乃可以教子也。

“Any instrument may produce a loud tone, even though small. [But] a genuine instrument may produce a small [i.e. delicate] tone even though physically large”. How can one not believe this? Therefore, in the past there was a saying: “As a talkative workman can’t complete his craft after a decade’s work, can a verbose teacher complete the elegant work that is man”? Words relating to the education of children, albeit kind, should be brief and uncomplicated, so how can wild words, exaggerated words, dirty words, [or] sinful words succeed? The great sage Plato always forbade wet nurses from relating confusing tales, false teachings, or evil gossip as told on street corners.⁸²⁴ He said: “A child’s mind is like wax: easily marked and leaving a trace behind”.⁸²⁵ An old poem goes: “If a piece of pottery is [properly] moistened after it is fired, the result will not fail”.⁸²⁶ Likewise, if children hear evil sounds at the beginning [of their education], they will never forget them. Therefore, wise parents and bright teachers must speak in a righteous way and set a standard in instructing children.

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雖然，身教尤急焉。蓋言教，如雷迅，發震響，非不驚人未幾遂散歸鳥。有身教如銳，匪但虛響，發彈直能毀偃所遭之物。究其所以然，兩目所擊較兩耳所聞，振動人心尤切，何也？心在目，目即心，目所視通乎心者速。耳所聞達乎心者遲也。色搨加嘗謂：言道紆曲，遙而遲，行之難，身道徑直，近而速遊之易。泰西詩云：汝欲吾哭，先須汝哭。汝欲吾歌，先須汝歌。

For this reason, teaching by example is particularly rapid. Oral instructions arrive quickly like a thunderclap, producing a powerful noise which clearly alerts people at that very moment, but

⁸²⁴ In the chapter concerning the role of wet nurses on his *Peri Paidon Agoges*, Plutarch also uses similar words to express Plato’s position on the subject of “random fables”. In describing the role of story-telling in pedagogy, the Greek philosopher believes that tales should not be too fantastic, but only based on the deeds of ancient Sages. See *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 5, p. 13. As previously pointed out, this is a connection point with Confucian concept of “chuan 傳”, i.e. the transmission of virtuous actions from a master to his learners.

⁸²⁵ “The child, while still soft, shall be molded like wax, and be kept in swaddling clothes till it is two years old” Plato, the Laws, VII. Quoted in Meynard (2014), footnote 59.

⁸²⁶ Literally: “can be moved without distortion”.

immediately afterwards vanishes into the air like returning birds; to teach by example is instead like [firing] a cannon: not producing mere empty noise but cannonballs bringing destruction and bending everything they encounter in their path. When investigating motivation, the eyes see more than what the two ears hear, yet why should [ears] be more effective in moving people's mind?⁸²⁷ The mind is in the eye, the eye [immediately] reaches the mind: everything that goes through the eye reaches the mind quickly. Everything that goes through the ear reaches the mind slowly. Seneca used to say: "The righteous way of speech is tortuous: distant and slow, with a difficult path; the righteous way of the example is straight, close and fast, with an easy journey". A poem from the Great West says: "If thou wishes me to cry, thou first needs to cry. If thou wishes me to sing, thou first needs to sing".

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豈有以其所好，反其所教，而能成者哉？夫諸飛走，非待言傳，而無悖焉。天道何言而行無謬，萬物育焉。至于百工之善，學者雖聞細論，非見其師已成之功，不能熟其藝焉。初學繪者，須從古書摹之，初學書者，須從美帖臨之，教子者何獨不然？農者欲修小樹，使直，必縛而倚諸端木，繪者欲書直線，必先持乎正矩。夫親師自正乃童幼之端木，與正矩矣。色搨加曰：諸幼之不肖，從親與師兩身而成焉。

Could [education] be successful if what we regard as good contradicts what we are taught? Without exception birds and beasts⁸²⁸ do so without reliance on words. How does the Heavenly Doctrine infallibly speak? Deeds are not mistaken, all creatures are generated in harmony.⁸²⁹ As for the good

⁸²⁷ In the chapter dealing with how should teachers and parents act as righteous examples for the child, Vegio also draws upon the similarity of the "eye over ear reliability": "*Certior quippe est oculorum que aurium fides. Efficacior quoque que exemplis percipitur institutio que praeceptis* (More certain is indeed the reliability of the eyes than the ears. And more effective is the education we receive through examples than precepts)". See *De Educatione Liberorum*, I.2, p. 5

⁸²⁸ Literally: "what flies and runs".

⁸²⁹ This is the first time Vagnone refers to Confucian Classic *Zhong Yong* 中庸 (The Doctrine of the Mean) for pedagogic purposes. Quotes from the Four Books are sometimes literal, sometimes paraphrased and adapted to the author's meaning, as in this case. The original passage reads: "致中和，天地位焉，萬物育焉", meaning that, when the condition of the "Harmonious Mean" is reached, everything in the universe falls back into place, and processes are generated and raised naturally. See Legge, James, "The Doctrine of Mean" in *The Four Books*, Taizhong, Yishi Chubanshe 義士出版社, 1898, p. 385. A reference to one of the Analects, 17/19, can also be identified. When stating his intention to transmit his teachings through silence to his pupils, Confucius justifies his decision with these words: "天何言哉？四時行焉，百物生焉，天何言哉？ (Does Heaven usually speak? Still the four seasons naturally alternate and in the same way all creatures are generated. Does heaven usually speak?)". See Legge, "Analects" in *ibid.*,

common professions, even if learners [must] listen to theories, they can't become familiar with their art if they don't see some works already finished by their teachers. Those who begin to learn how to paint need to emulate old works, whereas those who begin to learn how to write need to make use of good calligraphy primers, so can teachers act differently? An arborist wanting to mend a small tree and make it [grow] straight, needs to use the wrap and support all of its branches; a painter wanting to draw a straight line first needs to grasp the carpenter's square. The personal righteousness of parents and teachers is like the branches and the square for children. Seneca said: "If the young are unworthy, they were formed by the example of their parents and teachers".

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蓋子之愚者，視親師所行之邪，不知其邪也，以為其所當行者耳。歷山王，始學習于數師，畧泥大，誠德博學之士也，但跛躄不能正行。歷山不覺法之，而終身多見跛躄之狀，噫嘻！師之微疾，習染如此，則師之諸邪，非徒易入於心，既入難出若此矣。古者或為子延師，得士之文清，而身淫者，異而詰之，師曰：向爾請我教書，特賃吾舌，豈賃吾身哉？其親大嘆曰：陋哉！

While in their ignorance children perceive evilness of their parents and teachers' deeds, they do not recognise these as bad and believe that is the way they should behave. King Alexander began his studies of mathematics with his tutor, Leonidas, a scholar of true and virtuous erudition, but who was lame and unable to walk properly. Alexander unconsciously imitated him [in his gait] and thus his whole life was largely seen in this state of lameness.⁸³⁰ Alas! This reveals how a teacher's minor disorder infects [the student], and therefore a teacher's evil habits don't just easily penetrate the child's mind, but once internalized, are difficult to remove, as in this case. In the past, in appointing an instructor for his son, one person found a culturally accomplished but morally licentious scholar.

p. 326. Such stylistic strategy is not merely aimed at showing off the Jesuit's competence in the subject, but also proves that the treatise was aimed at "educated readers", such as the Shanxi scholar officials.

⁸³⁰ In his *Institutio Oratoria*, Quintilian reports a similar anecdote about the bad influence that Leonidas, who he calls "Alexander's pedagogue" had on the king: "We are, for instance, told by Diogenes of Babylon, that Leonidas, Alexander's *paedagogus*, infected his pupil with certain faults, which as a result of his education as a boy clung to him even in his mature years when he had become the greatest of kings". See *Institutio Oratoria*, I, 1.9. Such anecdote can also be found in Bonifacio's *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I, 1, p. 30.

Reacting with surprise at his questioning, the scholar replied: “By inviting my instruction, you are hiring me for my speech, how can you hire my behaviour”? The parent angrily and said: “How vile!

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古今聖賢擇師，所重者德耳，行耳，文飾之言，非美行之應，何足尚哉！辭之去。瑪辣加，西北國古聖也，幼時始學，至鄰師門，忽觀其輕玩狀，則退曰：夫夫也，未知守身，而足教人乎。噫，親師之身，幼子之鑑也。學者往而照之，目常在焉，則其所發之像，不論正邪，必以為正像矣。雖然，幼學者亦親師之鑑也，欲知此之正邪靜動，如何，則視彼之正邪靜動如何。蓋此偏於左，彼亦左。此偏於右，彼亦右。

When ancient and modern sages selected a teacher, virtue and deportment alone were most heavily weighted; if his fair actions failed to match his rhetorical speech, he could not be worthy of respect!”⁸³¹ The teacher was dismissed. Malachy,⁸³² an ancient saint of a North-western country, began his studies as a child and went to the school of a neighbouring teacher. Suddenly seeing the teacher’s frivolous state, he quit [the school] saying: “This person doesn’t know how to behave himself, how can he educate people?”⁸³³ Alas! The behaviour of parents and teachers is like a mirror for their children.⁸³⁴ The learner turns to it and imitates it, it is always before their eyes, [and] therefore the image produced, regardless if righteous or wicked, is surely believed to be the correct image. Because of this, young learners are also the mirror [reflection] of parents and teachers: if they wish to understand how [they] are, righteous or evil, slow or quick, they must look how [children]

⁸³¹ This statement is a reference to Quintilian’s motto “vir bonus dicendi peritus”, which means that only a morally virtuous man can make a good speech. See *Institutio Oratoria*, XI,35.40. The necessity of fostering personal integrity and rhetorical techniques was the very aim of the Renaissance education, to which a “good character and persuasive words were the two sides of the same coin”. See Kawamura Shinzo S.J., “Humanism, Pedagogy and Language: Alessandro Valignano and the Global Significance of Juan Bonifacio’s Work Printed in Macao (1588)” in *Colóquio Internacional ‘O Humanismo latino e as culturas do extremo Oriente’*, Macau 6-8 January, 2005, p.148.

⁸³² Saint Malachy, from Ireland (1095 – 1148).

⁸³³ This anecdote is borrowed from Bonifacio’s *Christiani Pueri Institutio*. What Vagnone translates as “*shoushen* 守身”, literally “to keep oneself flawless”, is the Latin term “*regeo*” (to govern, control oneself), which is closer to the meaning of “*zhi* 治”. For this reason, I considered the verb “to behave” more appropriate to the literary context. See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I, *Continens Oratio*, pp. 124 – 125.

⁸³⁴ Plutarch particularly insists on the paternal figure as a model of morality for the child, making use of the same mirror metaphor. See *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 20, p. 61.

are, right or evil, slow or quick. Because if these lean towards the left, those will also lean towards the left. If these lean towards the right, those will also lean towards the right.

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故親師之賢聖者，先求諸身，然後求諸子。蓋教多成乎信，親師不行所言，反好其所禁，學者能信之乎？不信而學可進乎？色搦加嘗云：亂斯世者，莫若師之善言而不善行者。利古兒哉，上古制綱紀，眾無敢違命者。或問故，答曰：吾未命而先行，則吾所踐之跡，眾不敢不踐之也。昔一大將，欲征敵國，率兵及戰象，將濟河，群象不肯濟，百謀不能進，事急矣。或爲之計，執刀傷其首象，輒過河去。

Therefore, wise parents and teachers are first demanding of their own [personal] conduct and then with their children's. Because in order to make education reliable, if parents and teachers don't put their words into practice but on the contrary employ what they forbid, how can the learner trust them? And without trust how can learning progress? Seneca used to say: "In these chaotic times, there cannot [only] be teachers' fine words without virtuous deeds". In ancient times, Lycurgus⁸³⁵ was an administrator of the law, and no one dared transgress his rules. Someone asked the reason and he answered: "I first [put into] practice before issuing orders, therefore nobody dares not following the path I [first] walked on".⁸³⁶ A great general of the past wanted to march to an enemy country, and led his soldiers and war elephants. The general forded a river, but his troops and elephants dared not cross, halting all progress and creating a chaotic situation. Someone devised a plan, and wielding a knife injured the lead elephant, who then crossed the river.

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首象圖復讐，忿而從之，眾遂悉濟。或嘆曰：嗟乎，教率以千計未克濟，而一身教之，遂濟也，則信哉！言者易造而難得信于人。行者難造，而易得信于人也。故親師欲立正教，必本諸身，而以美行實其美言，則信從易矣

⁸³⁵ Lycurgus of Sparta (c. 900 – 800 BC).

⁸³⁶ As observed by Duan, such statement recalls another Confucian teaching: "If one is personally righteous, his orders will be followed even before issuing them" see Duan, *L'attività missionaria e pedagogica di Alfonso Vagnone S.J. in Cina (1605-1640)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, 2012-2013, p. 206.

The lead elephant sought revenge against his attacker and followed him angrily, [but] in the end all crossed over. Someone lamented: “It’s sad, that lecturing for a thousand contingencies didn’t make them cross [the river], but by one physical experience eventually [made everybody] cross, it follows”! Words are easily produced but they hardly earn a person’s trust. Deeds are difficult to produce but they readily earn a person’s trust. Therefore, if parents and teachers wanting to provide a righteous education need to base it on many examples, and turn their fair words into good actions, so that trusting and following them will be easier.

教之翼第六 *The “Wings” of the education*⁸³⁷

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親之溺愛者，不忍責其子之惡，使惡念日長，而美質病。師之過嚴者，不獎掖其童之善，使善志時屈，而學業衰。

Parents who spoil their children and cannot bear to punish their transgressions enable their bad behaviour to increase daily, corrupting their finer qualities. Teachers who are excessively severe provide no incentive [to develop] a child’s virtuous goodness, causing their finer aspirations to deviate [from the course], and their learning to decline.

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古之名賢東甌氏嘗曰：治之法，妙在賞罰。況教之比治尤難，非執賞罰兩端也，烏乎成。是以先哲嘗謂賞罰之於教育也，如鳥雙翼，如舟雙槳，二者，廢一不可也。夫幼穉者，稟氣之盛，莫不躁急，率情任意，所愛所憎所惧所望，舉動莫不踰閑。譬之馬駒，驅馳蹄嚙，惟意所

⁸³⁷

In this chapter Vagnone addresses another key concept of classical and Renaissance pedagogy: the right balance between praise and punishment. This topic was already a part of the educational programme of Plato’s ideal republic, although it mainly referred to the training of the so-called ‘guardians’ (i.e. warriors). See *Republic*, V.469 – 470. In the opening of chap. 12 of his *Peri Paidon Agoges*, Plutarch states that: “Children must be instructed to behave properly by talking and advising, not by beating and abusing them”. See *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 12, p. 41. This opinion was also shared by Quintilian, (*Institutio Oratoria*, I. 3, 13) and is still widely accepted, mostly in relation to the Western concept of personal respect. However, while *pueri liberi* were spared from punishment as much as possible, the same did not apply to slaves.

之，非得善騎之士，調習而抑服之，不獲其用矣。往者明師之堂，常設學圖左盡花冠，右盡荊條，蓋荊以懲怠，花以賞敏也。

Solon⁸³⁸, a famous sage of the past, used to say: “As a rule of governance, fairness lies in reward and punishment. Moreover, to educate is harder than to control, and if one fails to master these two extremities - reward and punishment - how can success follow [in imparting education]”? Hence the great thinkers of the past used to say that reward and punishment are to education as paired wings are to a bird or paired oars to a boat; discard one, and failure is the outcome. Children are bestowed with a magnificent vital energy, so they are all restless, [and] their feelings often arbitrary; what they love, what they hate, what they fear, what they hope; all their actions are transgressive. Let us compare them with young colts⁸³⁹ charging and bucking as they please, who, failing to be broken and trained by a capable horseman, will fail to fulfill their potential. In the past, clever masters frequently displayed in their classrooms a picture of a scholars’ study⁸⁴⁰ which depicted a garland on the left and twigs of the chaste tree on the right: the twigs representing punishment for indolence, while flowers rewarded the diligent.

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西南古有名庠務實學，每將饗飧，必聚學者于堂，而察其功業。敏者稱揚而厚其餼廩。懈者呵斥，而約其飲食焉。以是俊士出其門者，未易更僕數也。蓋德蒙譽者勉焉，惡遭辱者退焉。況譽尤幼者所愛，既愛譽學而不厭其苦矣。辱尤幼者所忌，既忌辱，學而自忘其懈矣。聖經曰：善親必責懲其所慈之子，則不責不懲者，必惡其子者也。

⁸³⁸ Athenian statesman and intellectual (c. 638 – 558 BC).

⁸³⁹ Plutarch makes use of a similar metaphor when describing how a father should deal with his son’s transgressions. See *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 18, p. 59.

⁸⁴⁰ The term ‘*xuetu* 學圖’ appears in this context to be a neologism by Vagnone. Its meaning seems to indicate a didactic image of a study bringing to mind the portrait of “St. Jerome in His Study” by Antonello da Messina (c. 1430-1479), but the garland and twig are not found there. Jerome does mention the tree from which bloomed a twig under Divine influence in regard to St. Anne, but the reference here is obscure.

In ancient times there was a famous school in the Southwest, that was committed to practical learning.⁸⁴¹ As the daily mealtime approached, students were required to congregate in the hall where their [scholarly] work was examined. Those who were diligent were praised and granted a larger allowance of grain, while the lax were reprimanded and had their food and drink reduced. Therefore, the distinguished scholars who came out of that school hardly became servants; because a virtuous man who receives praise will try his utmost, while an evil man who suffers serious humiliation retreats; moreover, praise are what children love most, and those who love praise learn and don't dislike hard work. Humiliation is what children avoid the most, and those who avoid humiliation study and forget their own negligence. The Bible says: "Good parents must reproach and punish their beloved children, for if they fail to do so, they will in fact harm them".

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蓋童幼之惡不懲于前，則無警于後。乃日愈恣侈，而惡日愈積矣。夫涓滴之水漸成江河，兩葉之樹漸成合抱。童幼之質，不難從教而改邪焉。俟其習惡之久，而欲正之，必不易也。醫之智者，謹於微萌，而惡疾退遲於斷根，將治喪患。故曰，醫者莫毒於順病者之欲，親師莫病於惜童幼之邪也。故古之聖賢於幼者非禮之言，非義之情，皆歸親師，而欲其代受罰焉。

If youthful wickedness goes unpunished in advance, there will be no warning when it appears later. Thus the more children indulge in extravagant behaviour today, the more wickedness they will accumulate tomorrow, [just] as tiny drops of water may gradually form into a river, or as a sapling with only a pair of leaves may grow until one can embrace it. The character of children can easily turn wicked with a [bad] education. Waiting too long to correct evil behavior makes later change more difficult. A wise physician is attentive to minor symptoms, so that virulent diseases retreat and are effectively cured, dismissing the fear of death. Therefore, it is said that for doctors there is no poison that can surmount a patient's will to heal from a disease, and for parents and teachers, there's no more pitiful illness [caused by] suffering of their young with evil. For this reason, in the past,

⁸⁴¹ During Ming dynasty, the branch '*Shixue* 實學' literally 'practical learning', held a relevant place in the formation of the educated officials as it integrated philosophical knowledge and statecraft skills (*Jingshi* 經世). See Standaert Nicholas, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, 635-1800, Leiden, Brill 2001, p. 694. Although the term is widely used by Vagnone, his interpretation is not totally clear: my comparative analysis on the Jesuit main ethical works indicated that it was likely used to indicate 'Scholastic philosophy', see chapter 6.6.1 of this work.

when children used impolite speech or failed in their righteous sensibilities, the ancient sages and saints returned to their parents and teachers, to punish them in the place of their children.

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束格辣德及弟阿日搦皆上古名士也。遇幼者溺於邪，既一杖其親，一掌其師曰：惟爾之罪。若初弗納于邪，教之以正，豈至此乎？如德亞古爲道理之邦，有名士主教，曰厄里氏者，其心雖正，然未能懲其二子之惡，竟爲天主所棄，其國遭亂，二子皆喪，厄里氏亦以憂死。以此觀之，子亡既係於親之不謹，而裁戮還逮於親之躬宜矣。蓋養駒而不範以馳驅，必將被其傾顛。父母順其子之邪侈終被其辱，不亦宜乎？

Socrates and Diogenes were two famous scholars from the upper antiquity. When they encountered young people indulging in evil behavior, one struck the father with a stick, and the other slapped the teacher and said: “This is all your fault!”⁸⁴² If at the beginning one doesn’t restrain [children’s] wickedness, how can they learn to be upright? In ancient times, Judea was a land of doctrine and principle, where there lived a famous scholar in charge of education, whose name was Eli.⁸⁴³ Although his heart was upright, he proved unable to punish the sins of his two sons, and in the end he was abandoned by God, his country fell into chaos and both his sons died. Eli also died of grief.⁸⁴⁴ From this we can see that the children’s tragic end was connected to the parent’s lack of care, and it is fair that calamities also caught the father himself. Those who raise a colt without restraining his gallop will surely be thrown by it. Parents content to merely follow their children’s bad habits will eventually be humiliated by them, so isn’t this only fair?

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西史載昔有童幼橫逆不止，士師執之，依國律命服上刑，期至，將戮于市，童求見父，假欲永訣，許之，至父前，則附耳。若有私言者，乃噬其鼻曰：向者爾知我不肖，而未嘗責，乃至陷

⁸⁴² Both *chreiai* are in fact extracted from Diogenes Laertius’ life and are not related to Seneca. See TYJY, volume 1, chap. 3, pp. 267 – 268 and *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I, *Continens Oratio*, p. 139.

⁸⁴³ Biblical character, the high priest of Shiloh (Book of Samuel).

⁸⁴⁴ This anecdote is the very first example that appears the first book of *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, which introduces various precepts of the righteous education (*De honesta educatione*). See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I.1, pp. 8-9.

我至此耶。嗟乎！父母不教於初，必致其子于厥終之難矣。戒之戒之！往者賢士勸親以謹於養育曰：勿恤爾子之惡，不則將遇無窮之辱，寧使爾子見責而哭。勿令爾見子死于刑而哭也。

Western history records that in the past there was a young man who was unceasingly rebellious, [until] the judge detained him, and according to laws of this country convicted of a capital offence [highest punishment, i.e. sentenced to death]. When the date arrived, the youth was to be executed in town, and asked to see his father under the pretense of bidding him farewell. This wish was granted and when he got in front of his father, he moved close to his ear. It seemed as if they were exchanging private words, when he suddenly bit his [father's] nose and said: "You always knew I was unworthy, but you never reproached me, and now I am trapped here!" It is sad, indeed! If parents don't teach from the beginning, then it will surely prove difficult to grant their descendants a [good] end. Take heed! Take heed! The sages of the past advised parents to raise their children with care, saying: Do not sympathize with your children's evil habits, otherwise you will encounter endless humiliation! Rather, let them be blamed and cry. Do not let yourself see them die by punishment and cry.

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爾子被公堂之笞，辱也，被爾之責榮也。辣責德抹納有子，僅免懷抱，即寄於賢師，使勤遊學。學時，言行忽溺於邪，賢師切責不改杖之，其子來訴更加刑焉。幼者內外見懲，始力學，而底於成。故西諺曰：惟辣責德抹納善教育也。今者于子之惡，非但弗責己也，又不使其師代責之，然或過於嚴，不審于懲之大小，不察于氣之殊稟，而漫刊焉，皆非也。

If your child is punished by a tribunal [court], it is humiliating, and your responsibility. In Lacedaemon [Sparta] young boys were not nursed, but entrusted to wise teachers who made them study diligently. Under instruction, if words or deeds devolved into evil indulgence, the wise teachers only reproached without caning them, [but] any who returned complaint received greater punishment. Children encountering discipline from both within and without [the family] are motivated to study hard, and will eventually achieve success. An old Western saying goes: "Only a Lacedaemonian [Spartan] education is a fine education".⁸⁴⁵ Today people not only fail to reproach

⁸⁴⁵ See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I.5, p. 105.

their children's wickedness, but they also fail to make their teachers reproach them on their behalf; naturally [the reverse is to apply to] excessive strictness, misjudging the dimension of a [particular] fault, or ill considering the particularity of [the youngsters'] core energy⁸⁴⁶ while exaggerating punishment, all [of which are equally] wrong [behaviours].

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蓋童幼之惡未深，或一提撕警戒之，必醒悟歸正，何必過嚴乎？昔有賢者設譬曰：風與太陽爭力強弱，試解人衣。風先暴起擊人之軀，似欲強奪其衣裳者，而人愈謹持其衣。太陽不然，旁射其光，薰入肌骨，使人不覺袒裼，風遂讓太陽為勝。噫嘻！親師之智者，以善勸而奪其幼者之邪情，俾其改。愚者，呵斥詬厲，手批足蹴，而竟不能使子善也。雖嚴何益矣？故吾泰西諸學，以榮辱為教之二具焉。

[Considering] that children's [capacity for] evil is not deep, once we bring [the fault] to their attention and warn them, they will surely realize [the mistake] and correct it; why then the need for excessive strictness?⁸⁴⁷ In the past there was a sage who spoke of an example: "The wind and the sun argued over their strength to determine which was the stronger by trying to undue people's clothing. The wind first blew heavily, attacking the body of a man, as if wanting to snatch his garments, but the man was very careful and kept his clothes. The sun did otherwise, by projecting its brilliant light in every direction, penetrating flesh and bone, and inducing the man to strip to the waist. Then the wind let the sun win".⁸⁴⁸ Incredible! Clever parents and teachers can win over their

⁸⁴⁶ According to Meynard, in this passage Vagnone's intention is to stress individuality within Renaissance pedagogy, which put the learner, along with his personal characteristics, at the core of education. Meynard, 2014, p. 127.

⁸⁴⁷ The necessity of an indulgent teacher, "who doesn't correct children's foolishness and mistakes by hitting them, but through warnings and advice" was also urged by Seneca, and quoted by Bonifacio in his *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, I, 2, p. 59.

⁸⁴⁸ To reaffirm the teaching "kindness affects more than severity", which in educational terms means persuasion is more effective than force, Vagnone quotes Aesop's (620 – 564 B.C.) fable "The Sun and The Wind". See De Paola, *Aesop*, Silver Press, 1972, p. 24. However, the earliest introduction of Aesop's fables into China was not Vagnone's, as Ricci and de Pantoja had in fact already referred to some of the Greek writer's fables respectively in their *Jiren shipian* 畸人十篇 (Ten Chapters of an Extraordinary Man, 1608) and *Qi Ke* 七克 (Seven Capital Sins and Seven Opposing Virtues, 1614). In 1625, around the same time Vagnone was working on his *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育, a complete collection of Aesop's fables was published by Nicholas Trigault and a converted Chinese, Zhang Geng 張賡: *Kuang yi* 況義 (Analogy). Interestingly, this work contains a different version of the fable quoted by Vagnone, titled: "*Bei feng yu*

children's foul feelings with sound advice and compel them to change. Those fools who snap harshly and [merely] reprove, slap and kick, yet in the end they cannot move their children to virtuous goodness. Wherein lays the benefit in strictness? Therefore, in our Far West every school uses honor and dishonor as two implements of education.

學之始第七 *Beginning of the learning*⁸⁴⁹

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凡學貴以序而進焉，則先立乎其本，而後及其末。本者，仁也，修齊之根，而諸善之母也，則始學體仁者，徑道也。乃仁之學，又本于天主，即以敬畏天主為首功，蓋吾之所當愛及所富敬者，莫大莫尊故也。聖經云：知之始畏主，江河原出于洋，而終歸入于洋。人性原係于天主，則人始學，返其本根，終歸天主者義也。鳳為羽禽之尊，陽屬也，喜對目于太陽。

nan feng xiang zheng lun 北風與南風相爭論 (The dispute between the North and the South Wind)". Although the Sun, one of two agents of the story, has been replaced by the South Wind, the unfolding of the events is consistent with the Greek source, including the final teaching (moral): "治人以刑，無如用德 (Controlling people by punishment is not comparable to [doing so] by using virtue)". See Ge Baoquan 戈宝权, "Tan Jin Nige koushou, Zhang Geng bichuan Yisu Yuyan 《Kuangyi》谈金尼阁口授，张庚笔传伊素寓言《况义》 (About "Analogy", the Aesop's fables, dictated by Trigault and transcribed by Zhang Geng), 翻译史话 *Fanyi Shihua*, 1985, pp. 272 – 290.

⁸⁴⁹ The third chapter of Juan Bonifacio's *Chirstiani Pueri Institutio*, "De Religione (On Religion)", opens with the statement: "Puerorum institutionis in Deorum pietas initium esse debet (The beginning of children's education has to be the respect for God)". Vagnone adopts this notion, translating the term *pietas* (respect, devotion for God) with the Chinese term *jingwei* 敬畏 (to respect and awe). While *Wei* 畏 emphasize the sense of awe, *Jing* 敬 refers to the Neo-Confucian sense of reverence, that is at the core of the self-cultivation process. See Keenan, B. C., *Neo-Confucian self-cultivation*, University of Hawaii Press, 2011 pp. XXXI – XXXII.

All [areas of] study attach value to orderly progress, whereupon one first establishes his roots and then extends his branches.⁸⁵⁰ The roots lay in charity,⁸⁵¹ the basis of cultivation and regulation,⁸⁵² and the mother of all good qualities, therefore those rooted in charity at the onset of study tread the Righteous Path indeed. The learning of charity is also rooted in God, and its primary task is to [learn] respect for and awe God, because of all the things we love and respect, none is larger and or more honourable.⁸⁵³ The Bible says: “The beginning of knowledge is to awe God, as a river flows from the ocean, but ultimately returns to the ocean. The source of human nature is bound to God, therefore it is fitting that at the start of learning, they ultimately return to their roots and return to God’s righteousness. The phoenix is the most respected of birds, associated with the Sun,⁸⁵⁴ and delights in casting its gaze upon it.”⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵⁰ To keep consistent with the previously used natural similitude, I chose the terms “roots” and branches to translate respectively “*ben* 本” and “*mo* 末”. However, a similar translation is also found in the famous Confucian Classic “*Daxue* 大學 (Great Learning)”, which Vagnone often quotes in this very chapter and elsewhere in his treatise. The opening of this chapter appears to be a paraphrase of the passage: “物有本末，事有終始，知所先後，則進道矣 (Creatures have roots and branches, things have ends and beginnings, to know what comes first and what comes later shall lead to the righteous way”. See, De Troia P. (a cura di) *Testi di letteratura cinese scelti, tradotti e commentati da Giuliano Bertuccioli*, Libreria Editrice Orientalia, 2013 p.39.

⁸⁵¹ Many scholars agree that the pragmatic use of this term in Jesuit texts was intended to convey the notion of Christian *caritas* (universal love). Renaissance pedagogy also attached great importance to this virtue, as the foundation of the learning as well as the most valuable of all qualities.

⁸⁵² “*Xiushen* 修身, (to cultivate oneself)” “*Qijia* 齊家 (to regulate the family)” are two of the eight steps of the self-cultivation process Neo-Confucian scholars started to practice after 1000 CE, and are described in the ethical text “*Daxue* 大學”. However, it is noteworthy that while for Neo-Confucian scholars the achievement of “benevolence *ren* 仁” was the final goal of the self-cultivation practices, Vagnone considers it the foundation of the learning process, of which self-cultivation and family regulation are a part. See Keenan (2011), XXXI – XXXII.

⁸⁵³ According to Duan, the reverence for God as the foundation and aim of human wisdom, alongside the similitude of the roots and the branches, refers to a passage of the Bible: “[...] The root of wisdom is to fear and respect God: its branches are long – life. (Book of Sirach, 13, 14)”. See, Duan (2012), p. 242.

⁸⁵⁴ The masterpiece by Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis*, contains a paragraph concerning the phoenix. According to Pliny’ source, senator Manlius, it is described as a creature “sacred to the sun, that can live up to five hundred and sixty years” and that “has not been seen eating by anyone”. However, Plinius’ account doesn’t mention the passage related to how phoenixes bring up their offspring, which is here described by Vagnone. C. Plinii Secundi, *Historia Naturalis (Della Storia Naturale)* translated by Domenichi, M. L., Venezia, 1844, 10. 2 pp. 917 – 920. The association between the phoenix and the Sun is also typical of the Chinese symbolism. See footnote 855.

⁸⁵⁵ Although it was not possible to retrieve the source of the information concerning the phoenix way of raising their offspring, a passage from the *Encyclopaedia Sinica* by Couling records that “This divine bird is the product of the sun and the fire, hence it is often pictured gazing on a ball of fire. The sun being the *yang*, or the active principle, the phoenix has great influence in the begetting of children”. See Williams C.A.S. *Outlines of Chinese symbolism and Art motives*, New York, Dover Publications Inc., 1976, p. 325. It is therefore possible that Vagnone formulated his theory on the phoenix’s ways of education, by integrating Western and Chinese traditional representations on this mythological bird.

生子既以是習之，其目不敢對太陽者，以為不類，不屑育也。象為走獸之太，陰屬也，每望朔至清川對太陰滌身，昂首舞躍，而因教習其小象。異哉！禽獸之愚，似覺識其本，乃人之靈，反不若是乎？亞得納，上古總學之市，四海志學者，或集其中，立上下二堂，上堂題曰：必從天主，下堂題曰：必知己示衆。學者非從天起見，而推及于知己，定不能成其學也。

When hatchlings are born, [the phoenix] teaches them to do likewise: if they are disinclined to stare directly at the sun, they are considered unfit and ostracized. The elephant is the largest of quadrupeds, associated with the moon, and while facing upwards at each new moon finds a sparkling river to purify itself. It raises its head up and dances, and in this way teaches the little elephant.⁸⁵⁶ How strange! It seems that beasts and birds, although not intelligent, are aware of their basic (nature), so can people, who possess a soul, instead be different? Athens in the past was a city of comprehensive knowledge. Devoted scholars from all over the world all gathered there, and established two schools: the primary and secondary school. The main subject at the primary school was the necessity of obeying God; the topic at the secondary school was knowing oneself and showing [the right behaviour] to the mass. If scholars didn't follow God's purpose, and moved to [the stage] of knowing oneself, they surely could not complete their learning.

伯兒西亞，亦勤于教育之國也。王始有子，選臣中四士以師之，四中至善者，先任以教子事上主之禮，而百官庶民，無不從之矣。格肋達，西海名國也，昔承大賢之教，勤於教業，使其幼者，先學畏事至尊上主，次使念前聖賢之功德，終使習於律法。或問大賢之意，答曰：幼者知事上主，而後行聖賢之道不難。行聖賢之道，而後齊家治國，何難之有？如德亞國昔有聖主，曰達未得者，

⁸⁵⁶ Pliny the Elder describes that, at every new moon, the elephants of Mauritania reach the banks of “a certain river Amilius” to perform a what seems to be a purification rite, “as a sign of respect for nature”. See, *Historia Naturalis*, 8.1 pp. 726- 727. Considered a creature bestowed with intelligence (*rationis particeps*) and the representation of wisdom (*imago prudentiae*), the elephant is often used as an example of parental care by Renaissance authors. See, *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, II. 3, p. 190.

Persia was also a country diligent in [the field of] education. When the king first had a son, he chose among his ministers four scholars as his instructors. The finest of these four masters first took charge of teaching the child the rites of serving god,⁸⁵⁷ and of all officials and people [in the nation] there were none who did not follow him. Crete is a famous country of the Western Sea, where in the past people received education from great sages. Diligent in their course of study, making their children first learn to awe and serve their most venerated god, then [they had their children] read of the virtuous deeds of saints and sages past and eventually study the law. Someone asked what the intention of a sage must be, and the reply was: “That children know how to serve god, so that later lessens difficulty in acting according to the righteous path of saints and sages. Following the righteous path of saints and sages, what difficulty later could there be in managing one’s family or governing the country”?⁸⁵⁸ In Judea in the past there was a holy ruler, named David.

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臨崩將寄國於幼子囑曰：吾將逝矣，爾猶未足爲君，殆哉！然能畏敬天主，度幾成學，而承先王之統耳。子代立，遵父訓，卒成顯王。伯兒西亞國智王，得明世子，曰濟祿，而教之曰：吾與爾言，爾謹藏諸胃，以爲慈心親之重寶，生平謹畏主命，晝夜事之，事事禱之，勿忘也。蓋幼者，無所不短，而天主無所不長。以長補短，不亦智乎？濟祿謹受教，念茲在茲，竟起王業，表萬世。由此觀之，欲定國，安家，植業，昌後，法莫善乎教幼畏主矣。

As his death approached, he entrusted the nation to his son, and admonished him: “I am about to pass on and it will be very dangerous if you are not yet become a proper ruler! However, if you can awe and respect God, you will complete all your studies and shall inherit the former’s king government”. The son stood up, respected his father’s teaching and eventually became an outstanding king. The wise king of Persia had a bright prince, called Cyrus, and he instructed him with these words: “I tell you that you need to be careful in hiding your feelings, and consider a

⁸⁵⁷ According to HYDCD, this term was associated since Han Dynasty to “a bright gentleman who possesses the Doctrine (有道明君)”, see HYDCD, volume 1, p. 115. However in this passage, the author might have used ‘*Shangzhu* 上主’ instead of ‘*Tianzhu* 天主’, to mark the difference between Christian God and Pagan god. Another interpretation of the passage could be the following: “[...] took charge of teaching the child the etiquette of attending the ruler”, suggesting a secular interpretation of the term.

⁸⁵⁸ In the classic *Daxue* 大學, the administration of the country, “*zhi guo* 治國” is the step immediately following the regulation of the family “*qi jia* 齊家”. Mentioning crucial practices of the self-cultivation process, serves Vagnone’s rhetorical purpose of addressing directly to the educated officials, who knew and strictly followed this ethical path.

merciful heart the treasure of parents; be careful in respecting God throughout your life, do serve him day and night, and pray him in everything you do, do not forget this”. Because children lack everything, and everything grows in God. Isn’t it wise, to supply what is lacking with what grows? Cyrus carefully received this teaching, always keeping it in his mind, and eventually took the kingdom, [and became] a model for generations. Judging from this, if one wishes to stabilize the country, to keep the family safe, to establish a business, to have prosperous descendants, there is not better method than teaching youth to awe God.

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蓋高資豐勢，皆比弱草，不可久也。吾子賴之，豈得不傾顛，而偃仆乎。惟斯天主，惟斯仁道，弗屬時變，弗得傷損。吾子可永賴也。向者有不行斯道者，犯法，壞俗，敗家，妖孽立至，信哉！天主之不可不畏矣。蓋未知畏天主，必于君巨之義，父子之親，夫婦之別，長幼之序，朋友之信，無所存也。古賢曰：知事天主，無不知忠君，而親親者，未見忽天主者，而能忠君而親親者也。

Abundant wealth and social power are both weak as grass,⁸⁵⁹ and merely transient. If our children rely on them how can they not be overthrown and toppled prostrate? Only God and the way of charity are not subject to temporal change and damage. Our children can always rely on this. In the past those who didn’t follow this Righteous Path, [eventually] transgressed the law, corrupted customs, ruined families and brought calamity upon themselves. Trust this! God must be awed, because if we don’t know how to awe Him, the righteousness between ruler and subject, the affection between parent and child, the differentiation between husband and wife, the precedence between elder and younger brother, and the trust between friends⁸⁶⁰ will no longer exist. Ancient

⁸⁵⁹ The metaphor of the “grass (*cao* 草)” is also not unknown to the Confucian tradition. However, the Master used it to refer to the “petty man’s morals” in comparison with that of the virtuous man: “君子之德風，小人之德草：草上之風必偃 (The noble man’s morals is like wind, the petty man’s morals is like grass: the wind the blows over the grass will certainly bend it). See De Troia (2013), pp. 36 – 37.

⁸⁶⁰ In this passage Vagnone refers to the Five Cardinal Human Relationships or “*Wulun* 五倫”, introduced by another famous Confucian text: the Mencius (*Mengzi* 孟子). These were aimed at preserving social harmony and specifically regulated the relationship between husband and wife, between parent and child, between elder and younger brothers, between ruler and subject and between friends. Since Song Dynasty, they also became a fundamental part of children education, as they were included by Zhu Xi in basic etiquette along with the self-cultivation process. See Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小学集注, (reprint) Qiushan Dong Shuju 秋山东书居, 1886, f.30; Ren Wenxiang 任文香, “Shi lun Bailu dong shuyuan xuegui de wenhua neiyun 试论白鹿洞书院学规的文化内蕴” in *Henan Shifan Daxue Xuebao* 河南师范大学学报

sages used to say: “If you know how to serve God, you’ll know how to be loyal to your ruler and loving to your parents; it’s never been seen one who neglects God and still can be loyal to his ruler and loving with his parents”.

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以此知事天主，爲事君事親之本矣。厄肋濟亞土，古有異端者，名曰厄比姑樂，其性學細且廣，但有疑於天主宰制萬物，而不知敬畏。其徒之橫逆邪侈，亂俗流毒，不可勝言。是以君子正道，從敬天主而日進焉，小人異端，從忽天主，而日流焉。世人爲子計，多欲豐之以重祿，引之於美藝，進之於博學，而且玉成之以誠德，然尚未知此種種美資，非主之聖寵不可獲矣。

Hence we understand that serving God is the basis of serving the ruler and the parents. In the land of Greece in the past there was a heretical named Epicurus. His study on physics⁸⁶¹ were detailed and broad, but he doubted that God ruled all things and didn’t know how to revere and to fear Him. The rebellious behaviour of his followers corrupted the costumes and spread a pernicious influence, it was beyond words. Therefore, the righteous way of the virtuous man begins with respecting God and getting closer to Him every day. The heresy of the petty man begins with neglecting God and getting away from Him every day. When common people make plans for their children, they wish them to be socially respected with a good salary, to be attracted towards fine talents, to approach erudite learning, and even to be successful through honesty and virtue. However, they don’t know that each of these fine abilities cannot be obtained without the holy favour of God.

学学报，14, (2014): 173. By indicating the awe of God as the *conditio sine qua non* to preserve the existence of these fundamental social bounds, Vagnone means to prove that Christian doctrine can perfectly integrate and perfect the Confucian cultural establishment.

⁸⁶¹ On the translation of the term ‘*xingxue* 性学’ in Jesuit works, see chapter 6.5 of the present volume. The term might also be understood as ‘natural philosophy’ in opposition with Socrates’ rational philosophy ‘*Lixue* 理學’. The use of ‘*xingxue* 性学’ associated to Epicurus was probably intended by Vagnone to bear a derogative connotation, as it lacked the understanding of God’s ‘*ratio*’ (or principle ‘*Li* 理’). For a semantic study of the term ‘*Lixue* 理學’, particularly applied to Aleni’s texts, see Luk, B.H. “Aleni introduces the Western academic tradition to 17th century China: a study on *Xixue Fan*” in Lippiello, Malek (edited by): *Scholar from the West: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582–1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 42 Sankt Augustin 1997.

古詩云：古往今來，聖神俊傑，非天主厚寵，莫能成器。篤彼亞，古教之聖士，時誨其子曰：吾曹雖居困約，然能殷勤敬畏天主，則亦度乎無所不備焉。蓋天主至善至慈，必不使其所寵之子，窮苦久矣。況臣之忠者，君必崇之，子之孝者，親必慈之，學之勤者，師必賞之，則人之仁者，主必成之。曷疑焉？曩者西土亞兒伯多氏，幼時，一心向格窮之學，而短于才不能如意。

An old poem goes: “Throughout the ages, were it not for God’s generous favour, saints and men of wisdom could not have realized their talents”. Tobias was a wise scholar of the Old Testament; at times he admonished his son, saying: “Although we live in difficulty and deprivation, we can still be solicitous in respecting and awing God, and in so doing leave nothing unprepared for. Because God is the greatest and the most loving, He will surely not allow his beloved children to suffer and remain destitute for long”.⁸⁶² Moreover, if a subject is loyal, the ruler will surely respect him; if a son is devoted, his parent will surely love him; if a student is diligent, the teacher will surely appreciate him; therefore, if people are benevolent, God will surely reward them. How to doubt this? In ancient times in the West there was St. Albert,⁸⁶³ who as a child was wholeheartedly dedicated to the study of philosophy⁸⁶⁴, but lacking resources could not fulfill his wishes.

旦夕祈天主洪祐實踐仁道，而不敢惰。未幾，氣質清明，非衆友比，無書不通，無理不究，而竟爲世名師。因是泰西諸庠，凡具陳其學之條目於堂中，而敬事上主，必爲目首焉。往者吾鄉或托小子於師，已而察其學益。師曰：爾子愚，弱不才，業未進也。父曰：非才亦能爲仁否，師曰：能。父曰：吾但欲其爲仁，畏主足矣。何必論其才也？況果行仁道，愚必明，弱必強，進學明理，若視掌耳。師問之：

⁸⁶² This passage is quoted from the Bible, the Book of Tobit (4.21): “Do not fear if we are in poverty. You will possess great richness if you will fear God, avoid sins and will act as your God pleases”. See Duan, 2013, p. 243.

⁸⁶³ St. Albert magnus, (c.1200 – 1280).

⁸⁶⁴ The two characters stand for the extended form “*Gewu qiongli* 格物窮理 (Investigation of things and exhausting principles)” another step of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation, which Vagnone in chapter 5 of the second volume uses to describe the aim of Philosophy, see TYJY, p.377. Hence my translation choice.

Morning and evening he prayed for God's intervention to make him practice the way of charity and didn't dare being indolent. Before long, his vital energy and temperament became clear, not comparable to his friends, and there was no book he didn't understand, no principle he didn't investigate, and he eventually became a famous master of that time. For this reason, every school in the West normally displays the commandments of learning in the classroom, the cardinal one being to respect and serve God.⁸⁶⁵ In the past in my country, someone entrusted his son to a teacher, and later checked the benefits of his study. The teacher said: "Your child is a fool, he's weak, has no talent and makes no progress". The father asked: "Even without talent, can he still become charitable?" The teacher replied: "He can". The father said: "I only want him to become charitable, as it will be enough for him to awe God. Why do we need to discuss his talent? Moreover, if one effectively practices the Way of charity, the fool will certainly become bright, the weak will certainly become strong, [he will] progress in learning and comprehend every principle, as if he understood and mastered [everything]".⁸⁶⁶ The teacher replied:

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即如其言教之，卒符其父之言。然教幼者事天之道，若何方可？曰：認之真，謝之密，從之切。三者盡而畏主之道盡矣。夫認之真，必欲其明萬物之主至尊無對，蓋正道有一無二，而正邪不可併容。家中一父，國中一王，天中一日，而萬物中一主。理之當然也，則既知天地真主，主宰萬物，父育萬民，時刻援救生人。惡得不欽崇，而圖所以日日報謝乎。故雖惓惓親愛，昕夕奉敬，闡其功德，揚其聖旨，闢異端，距邪說，猶為不及矣。

"If I have to teach according to these words [of yours], he will eventually act in accordance with his father's words". Therefore, how to teach children the Way to serve God? [Through three precepts]:

⁸⁶⁵ The occurrence of "*Shangzhu* 上主" in this passage, as a reference to the name of Christian God opposes the previous analysis on the term. One might only suggest that it was used as a sort of "translation experiment" by the author, who was in search of a proper adaptation of the name of God, other than the opposed "*Shangdi* 上帝", and "*Tianzhu* 天主". See chapter 6.6 of the present volume.

⁸⁶⁶ According to Duan, this sentence was borrowed to the *Zhong Yong* 中庸, although the meaning attached to the term '*Ren* 仁' reflected a Christian interpretation. See Duan, 2012, p. 228.

recognising the truth,⁸⁶⁷ expressing gratitude and following His will. When he complies with these three [precepts], then he shall also comply with the Way to awe [and respect] God. To recognize the truth surely means for the child to understand that the Lord of all creatures is the most respectful and incomparable, as there is only one right doctrine, not two, and that right and wrong cannot be confused. A family has one father, a country has one king, the sky has one sun, and all things have one Lord. As we understand the principle, therefore we also understand the true Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Lord that governs all things, the Father who gives birth to all people, the moment that is the salvation of all who are born. Evil brings nothing to admire, it instead endangers the gratitude we announce every day. Therefore, even if we love sincerely, are constant in devotion, manifest [God's] merit and virtue, spread His holy Will, repudiate heresy, distance ourselves from evil speech, in spite of all this it is still not enough.

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盖能誠其衷，實其言，果其行，從依聖戒，而以進於道德，證於聖賢，端必由之。往來古今，聖賢所言誠學，不外乎此，而幼者始學，可不由是乎？

Because if we believe in His feelings, make His words come true, put His deeds into practice, obey and act according to His holy warnings, then we shall approach morality, be a witness of saints and sages, the end will be the beginning. The honest learning sages have spoken of throughout the times, is nothing different than this, so when children begin their study, shouldn't they start from this?

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幼者既立仁學，而本於事天主，必當進於事親矣。盖子於父母最親，其受父母之恩亦最重，則敬天主之後，而孝二親，乃天理人情之至切者也。

⁸⁶⁷ In this passage I believe Vagnone is alluding to the core precept that confirm one's faith towards God, stressed also by the first commandment: to understand that there is only one God, and that He is most worth loving and respecting. Such message will be further explained in the dissertation of the branch of Theology, in the fifth chapter of the second volume, *Xixue* 西学 (Western learning), see TYJY, p. 381.

Once children have established both the basis for study of charity and the foundation for serving God, they will necessarily progress to serving their parents. As children are most dear to their parents, they receive the utmost favour from them, and therefore descendants who respect God and are devoted to their parents, [possess] human feelings which are nearest to the Heavenly Principle.

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故造化主置十條目以治下民,而孝敬⁸⁶⁸父母,係于奉敬天主之後,冠於和睦世人之首焉。罷辣多上古之大賢,其治國所叮嚀者,惟是奉敬天主第一,事奉父母第二,盖曰:天主之恩大,而父母之恩亦大,故施仁於天主者,無不施仁於親,不施仁於親者,可謂施仁於天主乎?斐卯氏嘗曰:二親恒見,而未敬愛也,天主未常見,而謂能愛敬乎偽也。

In order to guide the people, the Creator installed Ten Commandments where devotion and respect of [our] parents immediately follow revering and respecting God, preceding before all harmonious relations with [other] people. Plato was a great Sage of the past, and of all the instructions he presented to govern his country, respect for God was the first and honouring of parents was the second. He said: “Great is the favour of God and great also the favour of parents, therefore those who are benevolent towards God shall certainly be benevolent towards parents; on the contrary, how can those not benevolent towards their parents be called benevolent towards God? Croesus⁸⁶⁹

⁸⁶⁸ The term ‘*Xiaojing* 孝敬’ was first used in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (The Book of the Later Han), in the 5th century and indicated “to display filial piety and respect”. As monosyllables, they respectively translate the Latin terms *pietas* (devotion, filial love for the parents) and *verecundia* (temperance, but also respect), which, according to related literature in Renaissance pedagogy were considered the aim of children’s education. In Chinese philosophy, the virtue of ‘*Xiao* 孝’ also holds a key position, and it is considered by Confucius “the greatest of actions” and “a duty of the sage”. (Quoted in Duan, 2012, pp. 244 – 245). The relevance of *Xiao* 孝 in Chinese Classical philosophy is also proved by frequent references in Confucius’ *Analects* and by the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經), which contains dialogues between the Master and his disciple Zeng on the subject. See HYDCD, volume 4, p. 199.

⁸⁶⁹ Duan identifies this anthroponym as the translation of the King of Lydia’s name. However, the use of the suffix *shi* 氏, that Vagnone usually places after the philosophers’ names, suggests that it might not be the correct interpretation. Unfortunately, my cross-reference research among Vagnone’s main sources did not uncover any alternative to Duan’s theory. See Duan, 2012, p. 245.

once said: “Without loving and respecting our parents who we often see [but] loving and respecting God who we do not see, is this anything but hypocrisy?”

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敝土近有兄弟二人，曰盡費盡納者，偶遇火發，屋廬具燼，兄弟共力，負其父火中奔馳，竟不受害。嗟乎！蹈火而死，人所不免，獨仁人孝子，踐之不傷，豈不奇哉！夫親親之理，稟賦自天，根於性，而發於情，有以激之，必強而著矣。往者西南有富王名格肋所者，僅得一瘖子，王討叛而北，為敵人所逐，子見之急曰：賊勿殺吾王，因強發聲，遂解舌而語，賊亦不敢殺而去，異哉！往者舌結，片言弗出。

In our land not long ago there were two brothers, the Affini,⁸⁷⁰ who encountered a cottage in flames, the house [and possessions] were burnt down, but the two brothers worked together and quickly removed the father from amid the flames, so that he ultimately suffered no injury. Alas! To stride into the flames and [risk] perishing is [a deed] a person would avoid, [while] it was solely because of two benevolent people and filial children who could carry him to safety unharmed; isn't this extraordinary? The parental principle of [selfless] love is a gift granted from Heaven while being rooted in human nature, and expressed through emotions that when aroused surely strengthens [resolve]. In the past there was a wealthy king in the southwest named Croesus, who had only a mute son. [When] the king faced rebellion in the north, during a retreat while being pursued by his enemies, his son saw this and urgently called: “Traitors will not kill my king!” Because of the strength of his voice, his tongue was unbound and he began to speak; the traitors didn't dare kill [the king] and departed... how wondrous! Until then his tongue remained tied and he was unable to utter even a few words.

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The source of this *chreia* is unfortunately unknown. I attempted a transliteration of the surname on the basis of the phonemic-loan used by Vagnone, whose closest result was Affini. This uncommon family name originated in the North of Italy, between the areas of Mantua and Milan, which is also geographically consistent with Vagnone's indication “In our land”. See <http://www.cognomix.it/origine-cognome/affini.php>.

師親之勤，弗克解其舌，而惟愛親之情，遂解之矣。古之賢曰：父母在堂，如寶庫也，豈可不視之重，而存之謹乎？而孝敬之功有三：一曰隆供養，二曰慎從命，三曰致謹慤。夫供養者，父母於子懷抱時，受諸苦楚，迨長而成人，擇師授室，惟疾是憂。養育之情，何懇至也？故爲子亦以養報之，問安視膳，兼口躰心志以養焉。不然，慈鳥猶能反哺，人可不如鳥乎？鼯鼠中一種，西名曰里卯，亦善供父母，至死不離。

[Even though] the diligent efforts of parents and teachers failed to unbind his tongue, it was only love for his parent that eventually succeeded. An ancient sage said: “When parents abide they are like a treasury, how can one not see their value and protect their preciousness”? Filial piety and respect demand three duties: one is to provide sustenance; the second is care in obeying [parental] will; the third is offering sincerity and attentiveness. When speaking of providing for parental sustenance, [recall that] parents themselves endured hardship from a child’s earliest embrace⁸⁷¹ until their children mature into adulthood; [parents] choose teachers and arrange marriage [for their children], they worry when they are sick. How sincere is the feeling of raising a child? Therefore, children [should] repay their parents also with their support, by showing respect and providing for their sustenance while at the same time looking after their body and spirit.⁸⁷² Otherwise, if a compassionate bird is also able to care for its parents when they get old, are people not as loving as birds? There is a type of [rodent] squirrel whose Western name is the dormouse,⁸⁷³ who is also diligent in caring for its parents, and who never leaves them until they die.

⁸⁷¹ Children’s filial duties towards the parents, as a moral reward for their rearing and education are described in chapter 69 of Antoniano’s book. See *Dell’educatione christiana et politica*, II.69, pp. 72-73.

⁸⁷² Such translation is aimed at stressing the relation of these four elements to the external (*Kouti* 口躰 ‘mouth and body’) and the internal part (*Xinzhi* 心志 ‘heart/mind and will’) of the human body.

⁸⁷³ This is the first of the two controversial phonemic loans, used to translate the name of species which don’t appear in China. After cross-checking research on three key texts on the history of animals which were used by the Jesuits as sources on zoological description, I concluded that the term ‘*Limao* 里卯’ is likely to be a transliteration of the Portuguese word ‘*lirão*’, which means dormouse, a small rodent often mistaken for a mouse or a squirrel. In Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis*, it appears as the only terrestrial animal associated with filial piety (“*Genitores suos fessos senecta alunt insigni pietate*”, [such animals] feel a strong sense of piety [when they see] their parents tired from old age), whereas there is no reference to this feature in the related literature on zoology. See *Historia Naturalis*, VIII.57, p. 826. Along with the dormouse, Renaissance literature traditionally associates two birds to filial piety: the stork and the bee-eater (see

禽中一種，名曰默罷伯⁸⁷⁴，不但供養其老，或見其感疾，飛則背負之，不使落墮，卧則以翼覆之，不使寒凍，而常翱翔拮据，必欲寧之而後已。今以人之美形，而不能行禽之仁，可謂人乎？是以仁子，不待師誨，而於親之養，殫力供奉，若猶未足，或投身於僕，或貿子女，或航海梯山，晝夜經營以盡孝，而不敢辭焉。中古有一婦，罪當服上刑，士師恤其老，不欲加刑，

There is also a kind of bird, called the bee-eater, who not only takes care of its elders, but when it sees they are ill, carries them on its back as it flies, not letting them fall, or covering them with its wings when sleeping to protect them from the cold. Often in times of danger it hovers over them [protectively], certainly in order to keep its parents safe until [the danger] is past.⁸⁷⁵ Now, if men cannot use their beauteous form to display the charity [even a] bird can put into practice, how can they be called human? Therefore, benevolent children do not require a teachers' encouragement, but put all their effort into offering care for their parents. If [their efforts] are insufficient, some cast themselves into servitude, some trade their children, some cross the sea and climb mountains,

following footnote). It was not unusual for Vagnone or other Jesuits to transliterate terms from Portuguese, the *lingua franca* of the mission at that time; a transliteration from Portuguese was also used to differentiate the Asian ostrich from its Western counterpart. See TYJY chap. 3 p. 268.

⁸⁷⁴ According to the related classical and Renaissance symbolism, from Pliny to Saint Basil, it appears that the bird mostly associated with the virtue of filial piety was the stork. The *De Educatione Liberorum*, supports this opinion: "No inferior pietate ceteris animantibus. Nam ciconias constat genitricum senectam invice educare (The devotion [towards parents] is not less strong in some animals: storks in fact persist in taking care of their parents when they reach the old age)". See *De Educatione Liberorum*, 4. 4 p. 50. The name 'Mobabo 默罷伯' could be a phonemic translation of the word Marabou, a species of stork, and was probably chosen to differentiate the qualities of this bird from those the Chinese attributed to the stork (*guan* 鸛). However, another bird traditionally connected to filial piety is the bee-eater, whose Latin name, 'merops', is consistent with Vagnone's transliteration. It is recorded as a bird that "feeds and shelters its parents" in Plinius' *Historia Naturalis* (X. 51, p. 959) and that "understands filial piety" in Konrad (Conrad) Gessner, *Historia Animalium*, (published in 1551 – 1558, p. 25), also one of the main sources for Ferdinand Verbiest's 1674 edition of his World Map. The fact that such species were unknown in China suggests that this might be the bird Vagnone is talking about, hence explaining the reason for translating it with a phonemic loan, a traditional strategy of the Jesuits when introducing terms that could not be adapted to the Chinese language.

⁸⁷⁵ According to Duan, in the Chinese tradition the bird usually associated with filial piety is the raven. He specifically refers to the story of the baby raven, which is raised with care by his mother and repays her maternal love by providing food for her, when she grows old and sick. See Duan, 2012, p. 246.

incessantly planning to fulfil the duty of filial piety and don't dare giving up. There was a woman in medieval times who committed a capital offense and deserved the death penalty, but the judges felt pity due to her age and resisted additional punishment.

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命囚之囹圄，絕其飲食，令自死。其婦時有女新產，即假欲候親，空身常入，以乳乳母。久之老婦不死，士師詢知仁女異謀，嘆曰：供親之情，莫孝於此，乃赦罪母，讚美仁女，時諸縉紳共力立一大堂於獄中，名曰仁堂，以誥後世而勸孝焉。聖經云：供其父爲天主所不忘焉，供其母必將得其報焉，正此謂也。從命者，父母有命，即當奉行，不惜（*勞）苦，不避艱難，爲子而奉命之時惜苦避難者，此與奴僕無異也。

She was sentenced to life in prison, [but] her rations were eliminated, thus her death was indirectly decreed. At that time the woman had a daughter who had just given birth, and who pretended she wanted to visit her mother and often entered [the prison] empty-handed, and fed her mother with her own milk.⁸⁷⁶ After a while the old woman was still alive, the judges inquired to know the benevolent daughter's stratagem and she said, sighing: "There's nothing more pious than the feeling of helping a parent". Therefore, in that moment all the officials condoned the guilty mother and praised the benevolent daughter by establishing a hall in the prison, which they called the hall of charity, to admonish all the descendants and recommend them to be pious. The Bible says: "To help your father is something God won't forget, to help your mother is something that will surely be repaid",⁸⁷⁷ so it is said. To obey [means that] when fathers and mother command, we must undertake the correct actions, uncaring of suffering or avoiding difficulty; because when children receive orders, if they [seek to] spare toil and avoid difficulty, it is no different from [the attitude] of a slave.

⁸⁷⁶ This anecdote appears to be very common among Vagnone's sources. See *De Educatione Liberorum*, IV. 4, folio 49 and Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, VII cap. XXXVI.

⁸⁷⁷ This passage paraphrases the Sirach book of the Bible: "Those who respect their father will have long life, and those who honor their mother obey the Lord; they will serve their parents as their masters". Sir. 3, 12-16

古聖嘗曰：命有三，一曰天主命，一曰皇王命，一曰父母命。三者不可得兼，舍君親而從天主命，義也。況君親之正命，未有不和於天主命，則亦未有不可得兼者也。故寶祿聖人勸子以孝曰：是乃天主之命也，則除親亂命，凡有所令，唯唯是從，如天主命焉。即竭蹶致身，此心亦甘之而已。致慤者，子于父母，當內外交致其敬，或外勉強，飾為恭敬。

An ancient saint used to say: “There are three commands: one is God’s command, one is the sovereign’s command and one is the parents’ command. These three cannot be achieved at the same time, but it is righteous to give up the ruler and the parents’ to follow God’s order. Moreover, the king and parents’ righteous command, will surely be in harmony with God’s command, and so this will also be achieved simultaneously”. Hence when St. Paul recommended children be pious, he said: “This is God’s command: unless a parents’ command does not sound righteous, you shall always follow it, as if it came from God”.⁸⁷⁸ One must dedicate oneself [such precept] and be happy to do this. As for being honest, children should be respectful with fathers and mothers inside and outside; some people find it difficult to act like this on the outside, so they should mask it with reverence.

或心忽畧，不敬于顏色間，此即施之他人，猶為倨慢，況生我者耶。故日落泥末聖人曰：為子而以目傷其親者，必當失其目光。美瑟古教之名聖，為天主所寵異任以師治下民者也。其懲諸不孝者曰：父母或不幸，而得子反命慢簡者，則置之公堂，陳其逆惡，使眾民投石殺之。天主于罰叛其聖命之罪人，猶舒裕不遽刑之，惟至于罰不敬親之罪子，乃設重刑如是。不可畏哉！羅謨落太西總都太租也。

⁸⁷⁸

Such passage is paraphrased from the Bible, Ephesians 6, 1.4. It describes two different forms of obedience and mutual respect: between father and son alongside master and slave.

Some people have a rough mind, and don't respect (people's) inner feelings; to act in this way towards other people is yet considered arrogant, not to mention with those who gave us birth. Therefore St. Jerome used to say: "Children who hurt their parents with their eyes will necessarily lose their sight".⁸⁷⁹ Moses was a famous saint of the Old [Testament], to whom God granted the honour of jurisdiction of his people as their master. He warned all those who were impious, saying: "Parents are sometimes unlucky, and if they have a child who turns out to be a curse, they should set him before a tribunal, report his wrongs and make people kill him by throwing stones." When it comes to punishing criminals who betray His holy commands, God does it with not unexpected penalties, only when it comes to punish children who are disrespectful their parents, He sets the important penalty. Is this not fearsome? Romulus was the ancestor of the capital of our great West.

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元制法律，而孝敬父母之戒尤嚴。蓋父於子之不肖不敬者，欲其任意責懲，投於僕，流於野，黜于夷不惜焉。故仁子之事親者，言必欲其婉，色必欲其和，心必欲其欽翼。內外互致其謹慤，而無敢簡易不恭也，否則今之所施于親者，後必將受于子焉。西聖盎伯羅恤曰：爲子者欲知敬親當如何？則須想已將爲親，所求於子者如何？達肋斯曰：爾所將施情於親，必望之于子。

He was the first to establish the legal system, in which the warnings to be respectful towards parents were particularly strict. Because a father, when it comes to the unworthiness and the disrespect of his son, will willingly request a punishment for him, cast him into slavery, send him into the wild, [or] dismiss him to the barbarians without hesitation. Hence, a benevolent son that serves his parents will use gentle words, will express harmonious feelings, and will manifest a respectful and caring heart. He offers sincere honesty both inside and outside, and won't dare being easily irreverent, for otherwise what he does today to his parents he will receive one day [in return] from his progeny.

⁸⁷⁹ This appears to be an adapted quotation from the Bible, Prv. 20,20 "If you curse father or mother, your lamp will go out in utter darkness". It is also reported by Antoniano, *Dell'educatione christiana et politica*, II.70, p. 73

The Western saint Ambrose said: “How should children who wish to respect their parents do [such a thing]? They must consider that in the future they too will become parents, [so] what will they require from their children?” Thales said: “Feelings that you address to your parents, you must certainly expect from your children”.

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盖因所稼,是所穡,無疑也。余向聞有不肖子慢其親,而縲之于獄,未久,其子亦以是報之。又嘗聞子之嗔怒其親,既詈咤之,又推曳於堦下,而去。不數載,其子不忍親責,即以是言詈之,亦推曳於堦下,父醒悟呼其子曰:已矣,已矣,向吾不孝,而曳吾親於此,今伏天刑義也。豈敢違乎?嗚呼,古語:惡鳥,惡卵,惡樹,惡實,豈不信哉?雖然,天主戮不孝者,不一而足,載於經典,凡盡其孝敬者,往往錫之耆壽,自非然者,繩以極刑,而戮厥身焉。

Undoubtedly, what goes around comes around.⁸⁸⁰ I heard before of an unworthy child who was unfair to his parents and was brought in chains to jail. Not long after, his own son suffered the same treatment for the same reason. I also heard of a son who was furious with his father and insulted him, and then pushed him down the stairs and left. After a few years, his son could not bear his father's reproach and insulted him with similar words, and also pushed him down the stairs. His father came to realize the truth and cried to his son: “Alas! I was never pious and I pushed my father in the same way, now it is fair to be punished by God.” How dare one violate this? Alas! Old sayings (spoke of) bad birds, bad eggs, bad trees, bad fruit,⁸⁸¹ how not to believe this? Because of this, [it is conveyed in the Bible] that God killed numerous impious [men]; [while] all those who accomplish their duty of filial piety frequently are granted longevity and virtue, but if this is not so, they shall be restrained by the ultimate punishment, and their human bodies killed.

⁸⁸⁰ I liberally translate the expression “whatever is planted will grow”.

⁸⁸¹ Here Vagnone is probably quoting a passage in St. Matthew's gospel, where it is said that “[...] Good trees can only produce good fruits, whereas bad trees can only produce bad fruits” [7, 15-23]. However, this quotation is aimed at warning people against false prophets, although it also seems to serve Vagnone's rhetorical intent.

西誌古鄰國有不肖者，常慢其親，惡日疊長，而天戮及矣。士師拘之服上刑，行刑畢，而不肖之鬢忽變白。眾疑妖孽，聖人答曰：夫夫也，向使盡其孝敬，必將蒙天主之恩，而壽考焉。既未及行其孝，故天主嚴罰而斷其命。可不戒哉！雖然，訓誨幼時，不但所生當孝敬也，又推廣其仁，而自天子以至於郡伯師長之屬。

In the West it is recorded that in an ancient neighbour country there was an unworthy man who was always unfair to his parents, his evil growing daily, until one day heavenly punishment arrived. The masters arrested him and submitted him to the highest penalty, and when it was completed, the hair of the unworthy man became white. The bystanders suspected it was a representation of his misfortune, but a sage said: "Those people who always made sure to fulfil [their duty of] being respectful and pious, will surely encounter God's favour and longevity. Those who have not practiced filial piety will therefore be strictly punished by God and have their life shortened. You are warned!"⁸⁸² Because of this, when instructing children, not only their respect and filial piety should be fostered, but also their charity should be extended from the Son of Heaven to the ranks of the prefecture, and its teachers and leaders.

皆孝敬之，內外盡其恭焉。蓋君王宮長之屬，古今稱民父母，則以父母之敬敬之者，義也。罷辣多治法禁曰：諸長者勿輕慢之，否將得罪于天主，而為國家之戮矣。象之小者，常尊敬大象，乃至於人，不知敬上乎？國有道，孝弟之敬必盛，慢易其長者，非有道之國，乃猛獸之地，蠻寇之野也。

All those who are respectful and pious will exhaust their [duty] of being reverent, internally and externally. Monarchs and leaders of the palace have always been considered the parents of people

⁸⁸²

Vegio also emphasises the strictness of God's punishment towards those who lack respect and devotion towards their parents and names the emperor Nero and the poet Horace. See *De Educatione Liberiorum*, 4.4. pp. 28 - 30

and therefore it is righteous to respect them in the same way parents are respected. When administrating the law, Plato would prohibit [bad behaviour] saying: “All the elders shall not be disrespected [by the young], or else one shall be guilty before God and will bring shame on his country”. The young elephant always venerates the elder elephant, therefore when it comes to people, how can they not know how to show respect? If the country follows the righteous way, the respect of the devoted son needs to be great; if one is disrespectful towards his elders, the country will fall from the Way and will therefore become a land of wild beasts and a wasteland for brigands.

潔身第九 *Preserving one's purity*⁸⁸³

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幼學既本於仁，次宜務於潔，蓋人品各有所重，併有所戒焉。

Once children's learning has built its foundation upon charity, then it needs to be committed to purity. Every type of person needs to value some [qualities] and guard against [vices].

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老者重智戒嗇，壯者重毅戒怒，而幼者重潔戒慾。老者多見多聞，則宜多智，而不爲人所欺矣，然向苦財用於前，故不能不圖積於後，而恒不肯捨其所備之貲。壯者形氣之盛，心志之堅，未必不毅。然或逢事不順，情不平，輒生嗔恨而不易息也。幼者未行世道，未習世事，則亦未能智焉？又未積其力，未定其志，則亦未能毅焉？惟所稟美質淳朴，身神蠲潔，本分之資，可存可脩。

⁸⁸³

After dealing with the virtue of *pietas* towards God and the parents, which is considered the foundation of Christian education, Vagnone moves on to the next stage of the Christian self-cultivation process, introducing the virtue of *castitas*. The expression he uses, ‘*Jieshen* 潔身’ can be interpreted as a direct translation from the Latin expression *candor corporis*, a part of the more personal quality of *pudicitia*. See *De Educatione Liberorum*, V. 1 pp. 61-63. As for the earliest introduction of the virtue of chastity in Christian literature, Menegon suggests that it was discussed in Diego de Pantoja's (1571 – 1618) work *Qike* 七克 (The seven victories [over sins], 1614), where the word is translated as ‘*Zhen* 貞’, or ‘*Zhende* 貞德’. See Menegon Eugenio, “Child bodies, blessed bodies: the contest between Christian virginity and Confucian Chastity”, in *Nanu*, vol. 6.2, Brill 2003, p. 202.

The elderly value wisdom and ward against greed; adults value resolution and guard against anger; children [should] value purity and protect against desire.⁸⁸⁴ Elderly people already have considerable life experience, therefore they attain greater wisdom and will not be deceived by people. If they worked hard for their wealth in the past, they will be unable to help but store it for the offspring. However, they will never be ready to give away this property that they have acquired. Adults are vigorous in body and soul, firm in mind and will, and are necessarily resolute. However, sometimes they encounter situations that don't go smoothly, or feel they have been treated unjustly, so they develop an anger that can't easily be suppressed. As for children, they have not practised the morals of the time and are not used to human affairs, so how could they be wise? Also, they have not mustered their strength and not yet stabilised their will, so how can they be resolute? Only the honesty of the nature they receive, the purity of their body and soul, and their original disposition can be preserved and cultivated.

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故嘗謂幼者無潔，如老無智，如壯無毅，不足尚也。故迷色之幼，欲從大賢學，賢師不容，或異而問故，答曰：朽木不足成器。蓋心不湛，身不潔，而真學無由立矣。鏡之明，水之清者，承二光之照，而對萬物之象若其昏且濁者，必不能也。地之潔者能藝嘉禾，若瓦礫之地，殆不足播種也。夫幼者心神，愈淨潔，愈易含道德文藝之種，而不負親師之訓誨。若其淫穢者，難容教矣。

Hence, it is not fair to say that children are not pure, just like [it's not fair] to say that elderly people are not wise, or that adults are not resolute. Therefore, children who were attracted to sex, but wished to follow in the studies of the great sages, were forbidden from doing so by a wise a teacher. Someone found this strange and asked for an explanation. The answer was: "Rotten wood is not good enough to be crafted into a utensil". If the mind is not clear and the body not pure, true learning will have no way of being established. Clear mirrors and pure waters give a reflection when [they

⁸⁸⁴

In this passage, the author interprets a passage from the Confucian *Analects*. See Duan, 2012, p.226. Human desires, seen as a source of inner distress and the cause of every human problem, have always been at the core of the ethical debate that connects different religions and philosophic traditions. Although never touched upon by classical Confucianism, moral philosophy in late Ming China attached instead great importance to this matter, as Neo-Confucian thinkers were looking for a way to deal with it "within their own tradition". Such consideration provides an interesting proof on the different nature of Neo-Confucianism, more oriented on the individual and his spirituality, which was due to the influence of Buddhism. See, Michele Ferrero, *The Cultivation of virtue in the "True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven"*, Ph.D. dissertation, Fu Jen Catholic University, 2003, pp. 116 – 117.

are both] bright, but they cannot reflect the image of all the living things if it is dark and dirty. Pure soil can produce fine grain, just as rocky soil can barely be sowed. Therefore, the purer children's minds and spirits are, the easier it will be to store the seeds of morality and humanity, and to not betray their teachers' and parents' instructions. If [their hearts] are filthy, they will hardly contain [any] education.

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經云：真知弗入於邪心。又曰：淫者，聽智言，則厭廢之。猶以珍寶置於豕前，豈不踐且汙之耶？繪工爲圖，先粉之，然後加彩焉。智師始施美教，非得潔質，烏能受哉！凡圖進於實學者，志宜定，心宜明，力宜清，三者不可無一，而潔者必備矣。淫者必敗矣。亞里斯多氏曰：人神定而學知，淫者常被諸慾所侵。如海被四風所鼓，反復退進，易變無恒，豈能立定於學也？

The Bible says: "True knowledge doesn't penetrate evil minds". It also says: "Licentious people listen to wise words, then dislike and ignore them". Just like treasure placed in front of pigs, won't it be trampled and contaminated?⁸⁸⁵ The painter's job is to paint: first he uses powder and then adds colours. If teachers that embark on imparting a good education don't find a good nature [in pupils], how can the pupil receive [one]? Those who try to approach practical learning should be firm in their will, clear in their mind, and pure in their strength; these three qualities cannot exist without each other; because the pure are most certainly perfect, while the licentious are most certainly rotten. Aristotle said: "The spirits of [pure] people are resolute and pursue knowledge, whereas licentious people are always invaded by their desires". [They are] like the sea buffeted by the four winds, repeatedly advancing and retreating, easily becoming rough, how can they be resolute in [pursuing] learning?

⁸⁸⁵ A similar point is made by Antoniano: "Chaste men are the cleverest and most mindful, suitable to succeed in study, to administrate justice and to work in the government, or wherever intelligence and care are needed, whereas lascivious man loses himself entirely into sensual desires, almost becoming a beast, and is not able to elevate his mind to spiritual matters – like a pig that enjoy nothing other than laying in a puddle [...]". See *Dell'educatione christiana et politica dei figliuoli*, II.90, p. 87.

若其心之明者，淫慾一入乎衷，遂發汗霾重霧，蒙晦靈才，填塞理竅，不使切思物義，剖析正邪善惡矣。譬之目焉，其睛無所不照，惟被微塵之垢，既蒙而無所用。嗟乎！吾心得其淨潔，無理不窮，無物不格，而或蒙污浼，即昏然棄正業，而流於卑陋，無所底止，於實學尚何望焉？雖然，淫習不但晦心鈍靈，又殘氣力，而敗元精也。譬蠹生木中，而漸蝕其心，未久虛落，且偃矣。故古謂淫爲伐性之斧斤，戕生之鳩毒，劫力之閻寇，豈不信哉？

Even if one's mind is clear, when lascivious desires first invade his inner feelings they release a filthy haze and a heavy fog that obscures the spirit, filling in the gaps in rationality⁸⁸⁶ and preventing them from properly thinking about righteous matters or distinguishing what's fair from evil, good from bad. Let us take the eyes as an example: when they are clear they see everything, when they are dirty with dust, they are blurred and have no use. That's sad! When our mind achieves purity, there's no principle it doesn't investigate and no matter it can't examine, but sometimes it is contaminated and confused, and gives up righteous matters to slide towards mediocrity. If nothing can prevent this, how will one look at [achieving] practical learning? Therefore, lascivious practices not only obscure the mind and darken the spirit, they also spoil the energy and the strength, corrupting their original essence. For instance, a moth born in a tree slowly eats at the tree's heart, soon after [the tree] will be empty and die. Hence, in the past, obscenity was called the axe of devastated human nature, the poison of a wicked existence and the obscure traitor of plundered strength. How can you not believe this?

古聖勸學者潔修曰：修潔而學者，其心聰穎如神，洞徹萬有之理，其力有餘以盡其學。可不愛哉！習於淫者，其心雖痛而昏，其力雖盛而弱，可不惡哉！比達卧拉，上古爲明學之宗領，其出入與居，無不堪然純一，言行無苟，遊其門者，無不俾之修潔，而進於道德。倘遇僻於淫，溺於汙者，則正言指其迷。或以身率引於潔，或置美樂以指其侈，使醒而歸正。

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I believe that in this passage the most appropriate translation of the term 'Li 理' is the Aristotelian-Thomistic concept of 'ratio', which is also closer to the original interpretation Ricci and the first Jesuits attributed to this core concept of Neo-Confucian philosophy. See Michele Ferrero, *The cultivation of virtue in the "True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven"*, PhD dissertation, Fu Jen Catholic University, Taipei, 2003, p. 271.

When the ancient saints recommended the cultivation of purity to their students, they said: “Those who cultivate purity while studying possess an intelligent mind, like that of an angel, they understand clearly the principles of all creatures, and possess enough strength to complete their learning.” Isn’t this pleasant? The minds of those who practise luxury, although bright, are also blurry. Their strength, although prosperous, is also weak. How despicable! Pythagoras was a prominent ancestor of clear learning. When he encountered divergences within his fellow citizens, he was always calm, quiet and careful in his words and deeds. Those who joined his school were invited to cultivate their purity and achieve morality. In case he encountered someone sliding towards obscenity, or indulging in filthy activities, he would guide deviation with righteous words. Sometimes he would drive them back to purity through physical examples, sometimes he would use music to handle the excesses of their soul⁸⁸⁷ and awaken them back to the path of righteousness.

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是時有言曰：欲從潔修者，必遊於比達卧拉之門，而其所教成俊士，不勝數也。東格辣德大賢，勸進其從者，常設兩道：一曰明道，潔者所由以通天土之域，而會諸神聖。一曰暗道，淫者所由以墮冥幽之中，而聚諸鬼魔。罷辣多，久習此學，計繼其師之美業，則避華美之地，而於荒僻之處設帷焉。誌者解其意之妙曰：諸幼易肆志縱慾，莫如景麗之地也。

At that time there was a saying: “Those who wish to cultivate purity, must enter Pythagoras’ school, and through his teaching many will become outstanding scholars”. The great sage Socrates, when recommending followers to join him, always planned two paths: one was the bright path; through this, pure people could understand the domain of Heaven and Earth and meet all of the Saints. The other was the dark path; through this, licentious [people] would fall among the dark spirits and only encounter demons. Plato practised [Socrates’] learning for a long time and decided to continue his teacher’s good work, so he escaped that magnificent land and settled down in a desolate place.

⁸⁸⁷ This very picture of the Greek Philosopher can be found in both, *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, pp. 448 – 449 and De Torres Juan, *Philosophia Moral de Principes*, Burgos, 1596, I.2 p. 6. De Torres’ work, however, appears to be the proper source of this anecdote, as the author records that Pythagoras “was so honest that he used to praise the beauty of chastity through warm words and deeds. His strongest point was [the ability] to calm the excesses of the soul through teachings or music [...]” De Torres indicates his source as St. Thomas Aquinas’ *De regimine principum ad regem Cypri*, 1265-66.

Records explain the beauty of his intentions, saying: “All those children who do as they please and indulge in their desires would rather pick a land of a beautiful scenery”.

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故賢者圖進其弟子於實學，不但戒諸淫情，又欲其避引淫之事也。吾鄉向有賢士喪妻，而後得專一於美學，友勸之以續絃，答曰：向以婚，未能專意務學，今辛斷絃，乃專意於學矣。可併務於婚乎，噫！君子於正色，猶以爲實學之滯，彼習於淫者，可得成學耶？往者高志之幼，初學恐爲私慾所累，罄力攻克，不使有悞正業。或常服冷汁苦藥，或加鉛板諸腰，或終日投身於寒水棘藜，

Therefore, the sages who tried to introduce their disciples to practical learning, not only warned them against lascivious feelings, but also wanted them to keep away from lascivious matters. In my hometown there was a sage scholar who lost his wife, and later became all devoted to fine studies. His friends suggested that he remarry, but he answered: “I was married before and could not commit to study, now I have unfortunately lost my wife, so I will turn to studying”. Could one be equally committed to marriage? Alas! The virtuous gentleman considers inner feelings an obstacle to practical learning. Can those who practice lascivious activities achieve complete learning? In the past, children of great will who were beginning their studies were afraid to be weakened by their private desires. They fought with all their strength to overcome these and prevent impediments to their righteous business. Some took cold juices or bitter medicines, some put tinplates around their waists, some immersed their bodies in cold water or in nettle bushes⁸⁸⁸ all day long,

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或以淡味僅克腹饑，或睡卧衽堅，苦勞骨肉，而違避安佚。千計萬謀，以免淫慾之害，而獲潔學之美。蓋智與淫德與色，終不并容，欲由彼，須離此，而習乎此。必不能習乎彼。甚明也。世之爲親者，靡不欲其子進於實學，乃每不謹其子之邪侈，或有不知之，乃謂之愚，而愚親養愚

⁸⁸⁸ The author refers to a specific plant here, ‘Li 藜 (Chenopodium album)’ or goosefoot. This fast growing, widely spread plant is cultivated in Asia as vegetable crop or is used to feed animals. In Europe, it commonly infests plantations. It appears not to be thorny, so it was probably chosen by Vagnone to indicate nettle – a plant known for giving a rash, and could therefore serve as a tool of penitence.

子，宜也。或知而不責之，乃謂之惡，而惡父之養惡子，常也。或知而又陰匿之，乃謂之蠻，而蠻親之子，竟無不蠻矣？

Some contained their hunger through bland foodstuffs, some slept wearing a hard lapel, feeling pain in their flesh and bones, to avoid being comfortable. Such plans and stratagems aimed to avoid the suffering caused by licentious desires, and to achieve the beauty of pure learning.⁸⁸⁹ Because wisdom and obscenity, like virtue and superficiality, will eventually disallow each other – if you wish to follow one, you have to reject the other. If you are practising one, you won't practice the other, that's understandable. Today's parents debate whether to introduce their children to practical learning, and therefore don't pay attention to their children's incorrect extravagancies. Some don't recognise [such extravagant behavior], so are called fools, and it is normal for a foolish parent to raise foolish descendants. Some recognise it, but don't take responsibility, so they are called evil, and it is frequent for evil parents to raise evil descendants. Some recognise it, but hide it, so they are called savages, and won't the child of a savage parent also be called a savage?

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於是或聞其子溺於邪，則笑曰：茲乃幼之頑嬉也。何足責懲？未幾再溺，而父又曰：幼者小過，不可責懲太嚴，否將拂滅其美志焉。未幾，其子甘習於淫，厭棄學業，縱慾敗度，喪身亡家，終蒙無窮之辱。父之智者，可不以是為鑒乎？童幼之他溺，猶可補也，淫者溺，不可補矣。他惡之習有底止，而惟邪淫之習，無底止也。可不慎哉！雖然，修潔之幼於淫邪之戒，不獨身遠之，念杜之，

Hence, when someone heard that his son was drowning in evil, he said laughing: “That's just the obstinate game of a child, how could I punish him?” Not long after, the son had another episode and his father said again: “Children's mistakes are small, I can't punish him too strictly or else it

⁸⁸⁹ Virginité, as a means to “enhance mental and physical strength and a gift of communicating directly with nature and the animal world”, has been at the core of the religious and ethical debate since late antiquity and the Middle Ages. According to Menegon, early monasticism related male virgins to soldiers (*militēs Christi*), who used the strength acquired through sexual abstinence “to fight evil in the service of good, rather than simply to suppress lust”. See Menegon 2003, p. 190.

will destroy his good will”. Not long after, his child willingly turned to licentious practises, hating and abandoning his studies, indulging in his desires and surpassing all limitations: he lost his life and ruined the family, which brought endless humiliation [upon his name]. Wouldn't an intelligent father be warned by such story? The modest excesses of a young one can be cured, but the addictions of a licentious person cannot.⁸⁹⁰ [Children]’s bad practises can be terminated, but the practises of a licentious person cannot. How can we not be careful? Because of this, children who cultivate purity and abstain from licentious evils will not only be physically prevented [from licentiousness], but also mentally;

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即口亦封而不言,耳亦塞而不聞。蓋念於行相去不遠矣,淫言多引淫念,而淫念多引淫行。是以習淫者,多始於口耳之不謹。可不戒哉!

this means that their mouths will be sealed and silenced, and their ears will also be covered and deafened. Because thoughts and actions are close to each other, licentious words will attract licentious thoughts, and licentious thoughts will attract licentious actions. Consequently, those practicing licentious actions, frequently begin with imprudence of speech and listening. How can we not guard against this?

知耻第十 *Possessing shame*⁸⁹¹

⁸⁹⁰ In his *Dell'educatione Christiana et politica dei figliuoli*, Antoniano addresses a heartfelt plea to fathers, warning them to deal with the “seeds of vice” as early as possible. In chapter 87 of the second book, he indicates luxury as both a “secular” and “spiritual” danger, which attracts God’s contempt and leads to eternal damnation. The role of a Christian father, explains Antoniano, is to teach his son to contain sexual desires from an early age. See *Dell'educatione christiana et politica dei figliuoli*, II.87, pp. 85-86.

⁸⁹¹ The virtue of *verecundia* (lit. Sense of shame, discretion) holds a relevant place in the pedagogical literature of the Renaissance. As a legacy of Medieval Christian ethics, many authors of Renaissance pedagogy considered it a fundamental quality to be achieved during the education process and a consequence of the cultivation of virtues like *pudor* (discretion) and *pudicitia* (modesty). As stated by Bonifacio in the opening of the last chapter of his treatise, “The virtue of shame, follows discretion and modesty, like fruits follow flowers”. See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, V.1 p.445. Maffeo Vegio considered *verecundia* the highest achievement of the educational process, and believed that it had to be applied to different aspects of life (dressing, eating, speaking). It aimed to foster respect towards parents, teachers, elders, wise men, but also towards servants and subordinates. It culminated with self-respect, which was reflected in one’s sense of honour and chastity. Bertin Giovanni Maria, *La pedagogia umanistica europea nei secoli XV e XVI*, Milano, Marzorati, 1961, pp. 52-53. As for the notion of shame in Chinese moral philosophy, it acted as “moral sanction” for

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天主之生物無不全，賦物以性，併賦以存是性者焉。郡有城郭，身服衣裳，禾帶中，菓具皮，寶負殼，種種備所以存。至于人德之貴，獨無存之者乎？乃存人之元貴，存德之純體者，莫如羞惡之心。

The creatures God gives birth to are absolutely complete: He bestows them with a nature, and bestows [them the task] to protect this nature. A county has walls, a body is covered by clothing,⁸⁹² grains possess a husk, fruits have a skin, a treasure is protected by a chest – everything is equipped with some protection. Is it possible that there's nothing to protect people's precious morality? Indeed, there is nothing like a bashful heart to protect people's original values and to guard the pure entity of virtue.

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盖此心根于性，而著于顏，圍身而攝動靜，常戒外患不使內達而擾哀靜。故先知者謂羞惡為心性之廓，德行之殼，義之師，捍惡之藩而善俗之屏也。苟無此心，眾惡侵之，眾患從之矣。百獸之初生也，或具利爪尖角，或具堅蹄長齒以當戈兵，敵其所害焉。又或備鱗介，當衣裳以蔽其身焉。人生赤身脫胎，僅持一知耻心而入凶世，即以此為衣以此為甲，焉所以遮其懦，而禦外患也。

Human nature is the very foundation of the heart and, because of this, it is apparent in a person's expressions, it is demonstrated in one's actions and coats the body to ward against worries from the outside, preventing such penetrating worry and preserving inner tranquility.

the Confucian gentleman, as there was no space for "Heavenly punishment" in the Master's ethical system. See Ferrero, 2003, p. 100.

⁸⁹² The idea of virtues as a cover for the nudity of men was also developed by Juan Bonifacio: "It is never decent for men to be naked, [therefore] we shall neglect the ornament of morality, that is demanded by chastity, perseverance, [...] the least possible, in order to make our disciple shine through these as much as through precious clothes." See *Christiani pueri institutio* IV.1, p. 369.

People with foresight used to call the sense of shame ‘the outer fringe of a human heart and nature, the cause of virtuous deeds, a righteous teacher, the border against evil and the screen of good habits’. Without this [bashful] heart, evil can invade and troubles will follow. At birth, all animals are provided with either sharp paws and needle horns, or with strong hooves and long teeth as weapons to face whatever could harm them.⁸⁹³ Some animals also possess scales to serve as clothing and to hide their body – men, however, are born naked, supported only by a heart that knows shame when they enter this cruel life. That is their only dress and armour, the only thing that hides their weakness and resists external troubles.

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倘爲幼者，棄喪此心，則烏乎可？邑無城，爲寇所侵，園無藩爲獸所踏，而幼無羞，爲邪所攻矣。是以知耻者，雖溺于邪，必有止期與復機焉。無羞必無溺之限，併無改之倪也。邪鬼引人於諸惡，先滅其愧心，然後攻之，使侮主害人，汙己，而亂國家。聖賢化民，先引起其愧情，使知羞惡，而後進之于道德。所謂羞散出而道亡，羞回入而道存也。

If we relent and destroy this feeling as children, what will happen? A city with no walls will be invaded by enemies, a field with no fences will be crushed by animals and children without shame, will be attacked by evil. Hence, if those with shame develop bad habits and addictions, they will eventually cease [such habits] and compensate [for their mistakes]. Without a bashful heart there will be no limit to addiction and no room for correction. Bad spirits lead people to evil; first extinguishing their sense of shame, and then attacking them, forcing them to humiliate their rulers and harm people, corrupting themselves and destabilising the country. Saints and sages transform the population; first by awaking their sense of guilt to make them understand shame [for their evil deeds], then by bringing them closer to morality. If the so-called shame is dispersed, the righteous Way will be destroyed. If it is recovered, the righteous Way will be preserved.

⁸⁹³ This passage appears to be paraphrased from Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義 (True meaning of the Lord of Heaven, 1607), see TZSY, ARSI, Jap.Sin., I-14, f. 36.

名賢第阿日搨，偶見孩童之溺，童羞而赭其面，乃稱之曰：無傷也，此色乃德之色也。又有老賢觀小童被責而赭，則喜曰：赭者良心也，蓋有小過人性之弱也，若旋知羞，人心之勇也。夫學之道遠矣，童之性弱矣，而世俗橫逆，難敵易溺，使童無此羞，持其心而振之。何由得進于學乎。西賢伯路大曰：農之智者，晴夏時，必備度陰冬之需，而人之靈者，幼時備延老之需耳。需者非他，即羞惡之心而已。

The famous sage Diogenes once saw a child indulging in addiction. The child was ashamed and his face blushed, so Diogenes told him: “There’s no harm [in this], for this expression is an expression of virtue.”⁸⁹⁴ There was also another ancient sage who saw a child turn red after being reproached. The sage felt pleased and said: “Those who blush have a kind heart, because small mistakes are the weakness of human nature, but to show sense of shame, that is the courage of human heart”. The path of learning is long, children’s natures are weak and common customs are overbearing, these are difficult to resist and easy to indulge in. This makes young boys with no sense shame cultivate their [evil] hearts and then abandon [the righteous path]. How can they achieve learning? The Western sage Plutarch said: “During a bright summer a smart farmer needs to prepare for the necessities of a long dark winter; during childhood the souls of people need to prepare for the necessities of a long old age”. There are no other necessities than a heart that knows the sense of shame.

夫文繡加身使衆恭敬也。有人問賢女比第亞氏曰：女飾何者爲盛。答曰：羞色則女飾之貴盛者也。旨哉語乎，夫外飾之色以冶其容，雖用以遮內醜，而實足誨淫，羞情從內以發紅色，則表其心之良貴矣。故加篤西至廉之士也，欲幼色變紅而不變黃。蓋黃者從心之惧，而發乃卑陋之情。紅者從心之羞而發乃高志之兆耳。厄肋峩略聖人，詳其所以然曰：貴族及高志之幼，多血清而輕焉。

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Also reported in *De Educatione Liberorum*, IV.2, p. 47.

An embroidered silk dress enriches the body, forging a reverence from others. Someone asked the wise woman Pythia:⁸⁹⁵ “What is a woman’s richest adornment?” She answered: “A bashful expression is women’s most precious ornament”. Her words meant that the aspect of external looks aims to control one’s appearance. Although [external looks] are used to hide inner ugliness, these in fact encourage licentiousness. The feeling of shame, which is born on the inside and is revealed with a blush, expresses the precious goodness within one’s heart. For such a reason, Cato, a very honest scholar of the West, wished children’s faces to turn red and not yellow. Because yellow originates from a fearful heart and expresses sordid feelings, whereas red originates from a shameful heart and then expresses signs of high ideals.⁸⁹⁶ St Gregory explained the cause and said: “The blood of children of virtuous families and high ideals is mostly clear and light.

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或遇言與事之不潔不正，則內羞愧，而外表赭也。若幼之賤陋者，多血濁且凝重焉。故雖惡之大者，未能動慚于內，而變色于外矣。名士色搨加嘗曰：幼者高志之兆，莫如羞顏，老者以知智，積其今聞，而人信伏之，幼者以知羞達其善名，而人愛恭之矣。中古貴臣有骫國法，而橫逆不止者，或告于王，貴臣時不在邑，共子獨赴公堂將雪其親之辱。

Sometimes they come across words and actions that are not pure and righteous, so inside they are ashamed and outside they turn red. As for worthless, mean children: their blood is mostly impure and thick, therefore even if their evil is great, they cannot be moved to shame inside and change colour outside.” The famous scholar Seneca used to say: “There is nothing like the colour of shame as a sign of a child with high ideals. Elderly people owe their current esteem to knowledge and wisdom, so people trust and obey them. As for children, they can achieve a good name only through the sense of shame, so that people will love and respect them.” In middle antiquity there was a minister who was filthy towards the law and continuously rebellious. While the minister was out of the country, somebody reported him to the king. His son was taken to the tribunal in his place, in order to clean his father’s faults.

⁸⁹⁵ Name given to the priestesses who guarded the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, which also served as Oracle. However, none of the sources I checked reported this specific *chreia*.

⁸⁹⁶ Vagnone quotes Bonifacio’s passage related to the immoral shame (*vitiosa verecundia*), in which the author states that “it was not wrongly said that Cato was more pleased by children who blushed (*erubescere*) than those who turned pale (*exalbescere*) [...]” See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, IV.6, pp. 399 – 400.

及聞告者細陳其父之非，滿面慚色，竟不敢措一辭。堂中諸司，觀其容赧，反喜而赦其父不刑矣。於戲，財賄之重，友交之貴，代辦之文，不能救其親之急，而獨一子之羞色不言而救之，不亦異邪？故伯兒納聖人曰：衆人所愛恭，莫如知耻之幼，幼之所以感衆心，莫切乎羞色，則羞色可比之光玉加諸幼額輝光四射，使人瞻且敬之。或譬之磁石自遠招物，使繫歸之也。

He listened to the accusers' detailed reports of his father's faults with a shameful look upon his face and didn't dare utter a single word. All those who attended the trial saw his blushing face, were instead pleased and absolved him from his father's punishment. At the trial, opulent possessions, important friendships and the rhetoric of his representatives could not rescue the father from his troubles, but the shameful expression shown by his son alone saved him. Without even saying a word, isn't this extraordinary? Therefore St. Bernard said: "Of all the things the people love and respect there is nothing like a child who knows shame". Children's motives move every heart, nothing can equal the appearance of shame. It can be compared to sparkling jade that enhances the glow on children's faces and shines in every direction, making people see and revere them. Some compare it to a magnetic stone, which attracts things from afar, bringing them together.

由是罷辣多錄治國之美法曰：幼者所宜常從者二于惡即羞，於善即勤而已。羅瑪常爲諸西國總都，其治幼之術，甚美且厭，乃欲其從少專存此羞心，則使常衣紅衣，使常念內羞之存也。里古兒我往世亦以美法綱紀本國，至于童幼之學，則曰：幼學須謹于羞情，與所獲重賞無異，則入必謹於是，出必謹於是，言必於是，視必於是，瞬息不可忽也。蓋羞之美，多位乎目，而表乎口焉。

Therefore, when Plato documented the good method to rule a country, he said: "What is appropriate is for children to follow two [precepts]: to be ashamed of evil and to be diligent towards good, nothing else."⁸⁹⁷ Rome has long been the capital of all Western countries, their art of governing children was extremely fair but also strict: from a young age, they had to practise, and

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Paraphrased from *Philosophia Moral*, I.2 p. 8.

maintain, feelings of shame. The [Romans], therefore, made children wear red clothes all the time, to remind them of their inner sense of shame. In the past Lycurgus also administrated his country under fair guiding principles. For the learning of the youngsters, he warned: “Pupils need to pay attention to the feeling of shame, as it is no different from obtaining important wealth”. Therefore, they were cautious of this feeling when they entered [school], and were also cautious of it when they left [school]; their words and view were focused upon it and they could not neglect it for a moment. The beauty of shame lays in the eye, but it is expressed through the mouth.

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口目二關易開易閉易，則羞心，非謹不覺流散，其既散亡將不復來也。故賢者戒幼之羞，必欲其謹口目矣，然羞心之妙有處，一在人前，一在獨居。世人多忌人目而羞戒焉，至于獨處，則廢羞心而任慾肆矣。謬哉！君子忌其目，比人目尤嚴，蓋他目有時而可障，己目無時可避也。吾西近世有賢王名瑪施者，其生平習於義禮之修，未嘗使人目及己目視其赤身，茲羞之至也。

These two, mouth and eye, easily connect, easily open and easily close. If one is not careful, the sense of shame will be unconsciously scattered, and once it is lost it will not be restored. For this reason, when the sages exhorted children to be bashful, they necessarily urged them to be careful of the mouth and the eye. Indeed, a clever heart that knows shame [shows it] according to the situation: one is in front of people, the other is in times of solitude. Common people mostly fear the eyes of others and shamefully restrain themselves. When they are in a solitary place then they release their bashful heart and indulge in their desires. So erroneous! The man of virtue fears his eye, which is stricter than that of other people, as the eyes of others sometimes can be escaped, whereas his own eye can never be avoided. In our West, not long ago, there was a king called Maximilian,⁸⁹⁸ who practiced a righteousness etiquette for his whole life, and never let the eyes of other people, nor his own, look at his naked body. This was the highest sense of shame.

⁸⁹⁸ The present anecdote records Emperor Maximilian I (1459 – 1519) as an example of *verecundia*. The source of this *chreia* is also Bonifacio’s treatise, which seems to have provided most of the material used for the present chapter. See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, IV.2, p. 385.

盡滿古在西南，爲名修之士，偶同友遊，中途遇川，無舟橋以濟，將涉焉。恐友見其裸，求友避之，又羞已目，遲滯徘徊焉。有天神忽至携手登彼岸，異哉！知羞者，非特感人心，又爲天主及天神所寵厚矣。

In the past, Ammon⁸⁹⁹ lived in the South West, and was a scholar of famous studies. He happened to travel with a friend. In the middle of the journey they encountered a river, with no boats or bridges in order to cross, they needed to wade. Fearing that his friend would see his nakedness, he asked him not to do it, but was even ashamed in front of his own eyes, so he hesitated and waited. Suddenly, an angel arrived and took them by hand, carrying them over to the other bank. How extraordinary! People who know shame not only move people's hearts, but they are also deeply favoured by God and the angels⁹⁰⁰.

童幼教育上終。

End of the first volume of "On the Education of children".

緘默第一 *On reticence*⁹⁰¹

欲識人之心觀其面，聞其言而可矣。

⁸⁹⁹ In the section "Christianis exemplis verecundia commendatur (Sense of shame made famous by Christians' examples)" of his *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, Bonifacio reports the same anecdote, but instead of the Angel, the help seems to come from the divine strength (*divina vi*). See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, IV.2, p. 373.

⁹⁰⁰ As a conclusion to his chapter on *verecundia*, Bonifacio states that: "The sense of shame was born with our first parents (Adam and Eve) is appreciated by God". See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, IV.6, p. 405.

⁹⁰¹ Reticence, often addressed as "*verecundia verborum* (modesty in speech)", was a main precept of the Renaissance education, as a part of the "*morum urbanitas* (politeness of manners)" a set of qualities that Christian children were required to foster. Most of Vagnone's sources deal with this *topos*, in particular Vegio's *De Educatione Liberorum*, V.2, p. 57 "*verecundia verborum et conpescenda lingua* (reverence of the speech and on refraining one's tongue) and Bonifacio's *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, IV, "De Verecundia et morum urbanitate (On reverence and the politeness of manners)", pp. 368 – 444.

If you wish to understand people's mind, witness their faces and hear their words⁹⁰².

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面乃心之鑒，舌乃情之筆也。面猶不如舌之著焉。故古賢接初學童子，命曰：言，予以觀汝，是觀面未可識，必聞言乃可探其蘊也。昔有名士，願人胷中備一竇，使內悰外露也。或聞之曰，口乃心之牖何必竇乎，人心如瓶，視其口，知其所藏矣。然口之所言，其蓄之妙，在於不言，是以古賢師設教，多以默爲宗範焉。亞兒波氏，人未嘗聞其言，而默以成其學，乃從來高士多師之。

Countenance is a reflection of the mind, while words are the brushstrokes of the heart, however, countenance is not as revealing as words. Therefore, when the ancient sages approached children beginning their studies, they instructed them: “[Your] Words reveal an idea of who you [truly] are. [People] cannot understand this by looking only at your face, but they certainly will discover your inner essence by listening to your words”. In ancient times there was a scholar who wanted people to make a space in their hearts to allow their inner feelings to be outwardly visible. Someone hearing this remarked: “The mouth is the mind’s window, what’s the need for space?” A person’s mind is like a bottle: to see all that’s hidden inside, all one need do is to peer into the opening (mouth).⁹⁰³ It is therefore so that everything the mouth may speak of, with all the hidden beauty hidden, is to be discerned in the absence of words. Hence the ancient sages taught us to consider silence⁹⁰⁴ as a

⁹⁰² Among Confucius’ teachings there is a similar precept: 不知言，無以知人也 (The person who doesn’t understand words, won’t get to understand people). In this passage Vagnone seems to be paraphrasing the Neo-confucian interpretation of this teaching, i.e. that the tongue is the true indicator of a person’s heart and mind. As explained by Meynard, in the Neo-confucian acceptance “[...]one who does not understand human speech and how to distinguish properly, whether what was said is right or wrong, he will not understand man, their character, errors, plans and capacities.” See, Thierry Meynard, *The Jesuit Reading of Confucius. The first complete translation of the Lunyu (1687) published in the West*, Brill 2015, p. 598.

⁹⁰³ This *topos* is also of Classical origin, even if it is reinterpreted by Vagnone. When describing children’s ability to learn, Plutarch used to compare them to a “narrow mouthed vase”, as notions are hard to penetrate, but once they are inside they can easily be withheld. See Caramello & Zandrino, 1970, p. 22.

⁹⁰⁴ The emphasis on silence as a pedagogical mean is a feature that connects European and Confucian traditions alike. In chap. XIX.1 of his *Analects*, the Master said: “予欲無言 (From now on, I no longer wish to speak)”, to stress the importance of virtuous deeds on mere preaching. See Legge, “*Analects*” in *The Four Books*, p. 326. Philosophers of ancient Greek also attached great relevance to the practice of silence, as recorded by different authors. In his search of a common ground between Chinese and Western culture, while avoiding conflicting topics, all Vagnone had to do was to point out this similarity between the two pedagogical traditions, enforcing his viewpoint with the use of some *chreiai*.

model pattern [for education]. People never heard St. Albert Magnus' words, as he completed his learning through silence, so other eminent scholars took him as their master.

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西土黌門之外，皆立此賢石像，以手緘其口。比連臥辣上世名師也，啟蒙初時必以五載之默爲首功焉。東格辣德亦近古理學也。凡習其門，先修七年之默，然後許之言。蓋未以多聞學言，焉能知言，則默乃教言之道也。夫當言之時，及當言之事，成德之士猶難辦。童子能知之乎。故聖經云：幼者非閑爾事勿言，有再問爾者，方對可也。造化主生孩孺時，欲其先習於多聞，則具其雙耳，

At the entrance of every school in the West, stands a statue of this sage, covering his mouth with his hand. In ancient times Pythagoras was a famous teacher. At the beginning of their education, [his pupils'] first task was [to observe] a five years long silence.⁹⁰⁵ Socrates was also close to the ancient School of Principle:⁹⁰⁶ those who studied at his group,⁹⁰⁷ first of all had to practice a seven years long silence,⁹⁰⁸ before they were allowed to talk, for if one doesn't learn speech by listening carefully, how will one comprehend the intent of words? Therefore, silence is the path of knowledge in matters of speech. When and how to speak appropriately is a difficult matter [even] for a virtuous scholar. How could children understand this? For this reason, the Bible says: "Don't tell children

⁹⁰⁵ The practice of silence among Pythagoras' disciples is an historically recorded fact: it was a part of the strict code they were obliged to observe, alongside sharing resources and forced into sexual abstinence. See Badaloni N., Bertoni Jovine D., *Storia della pedagogia*, vol. 1 Bari, Editori Laterza, 1966, p. 30.

⁹⁰⁶ The semantic-loan '*Lixue* 理學', that usually refers to Neo-confucianism, exemplifies in this passage the Jesuits' translation strategy of attaching a new meaning to already existing words. As pointed out in Luk's study, most of the terminology that derives from Classical Chinese philosophy was reinterpreted in an Aristotelian – Thomistic way, "to present a philosophy with radically different conceptions about a dichotomy between the corporeal and the supernatural, and about a teleology of otherworldly completion". See Bernard Luk, "Aleni introduces the Western academic tradition to 17th century China: a study on Xixue Fan" in "Lippiello, Malek (a cura di): *Scholar from the West: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582 – 1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 42 Sankt Augustin 1997 p. 492.

⁹⁰⁷ The use of '*men* 門' can be intended as 'religious sect', which might imply a derogative connotation in Vagnone's writing intentions.

⁹⁰⁸ Such anecdote was also reported in Matteo Ricci's "*Jiren Shipian* 畸人十篇 (Ten paradoxes, 1608)" in ARSI, Jap-Sin I, 52, f. 65.

about matters that don't concern them, only when they keep on asking then you can tell them". When the Lord of Creation gives birth to a child, He wishes for him to learn listening, which is why He gives him a pair of ears,

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使便於聽誨，而舌則結之。數年不許出語，童子不待學成，而急於放言。豈不違造物之命乎。或得劣駒，而欲馴服之，乃以轡縛其口，幼者乘氣之盛，與劣駒無異，則計服之法，莫善於納轡其口，不許任意發言也。夫人心譬富車焉，而人口譬之車門。有庫而不封其門，必致誨盜，心無口之封，豈止受外人之侵？當失其所得美學矣。是以君子之學，承傳於心，則閉口而默蓄焉。

to make more readily understandable what is taught, which He combines with the capacity for speech. If children are not allowed to pronounce sounds for a few years, they won't wait to complete their learning, as they are eager to talk freely. Is this not against Creation's order? When someone finds a wild (animal) and wants to tame it, he bridles his mouth with reins. Children are drawn by the power of their vital energy, and thus not different from a wild animal. Therefore, when planning a method of taming them, there's nothing better than bridling their mouth, not to let them speak as they like. A person's mind can be compared to a rich carriage, and the mouth is the door of that carriage. If the carriage doors don't close, this will certainly attract thieves; if the mind is not sealed by the mouth, how will it prevent the outsiders' invasion? All the fair learning that has been achieved will necessarily be lost. Hence the virtuous gentleman's learning is kept in his mind, his mouth is closed and his silence protects [it].

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小人之學，入乎耳而出乎口。豈有所留以增於學耶？古賢伯路大氏曰：佞者之耳，不屬乎心，惟屬乎口。其所入必出，而心且空虛矣。先知者假喻曰：陰司萬刑中有恆盛水罇瓮，而不息者，常勞而無益。噫嘻，好言之幼，乃覬覦而已。畎畝已治，嘉種已播為農者不謹藏之，未有能勃發者也。下古泰西有初志實學者，曰篤瑪所，勤修默學，同學者呼為瘖牛，賢師聞而責之曰：

The petty man's learning enters through his ears and comes directly out of his mouth, so how can anything be retained [inside his mind] to develop his wisdom? Plutarch, a great ancient sage, used to say: "The flatterer's ears are not connected to the mind, but only to the mouth. Everything that goes in necessarily comes out and their mind will be empty". Ancient wise men had an insincere parable: Among the numerous tortures that took place in Hell, there was a split jar continuously filled up with water that never stopped, it was always working, but with no results. Children, who love talking are just like the split jar. The field is already prepared, the precious seeds are already spread by the farmer, [but if] he does not carefully protect them, these will never prosper. Not long ago in the West lived a scholar committed to ancient practical learning, Thomas, who was diligent in practicing silent learning, so his mates called him "the mute bull". The sage heard that and admonished them:

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夫瘖牛，必將發大聲。薦瑪所 後發默學之大業，終為吾諸國之表。如雷焉，先有微氣含於雲內，漸長增力，無聲然後發大聲。以此觀之，則真學之業，未有不由於默者也。聖額肋哉畧曰：默者，養言之需，廢彼而此無所養也。或有言踰理者，其師聽而懲之，則欲補先言之闕，乃自罰以數年之默焉。嗟乎，遇患避難之法無如默。人愈智愈默，愈愚愈放言矣。比亞氏古七大賢之一，在席不言，

"This mute bull will soon emit a great roar". Thomas eventually achieved important results through his quiet learning, and became a symbol for all our countries. Like thunder, there is first a small distant spark in the clouds, which gradually increases in power and goes from silence to a great thunderclap. From this we can see that the results of true learning have got nothing that does not originate from silence. St. Gregory Magnus said: "Silence fosters the necessity of speech, for without one, the other cannot be developed". Someone spoke against the Principle. His teacher heard him and punished him, therefore he wanted to make amends for the mistake of what he said before, and punished himself with a few years of silence. That is sad! When we encounter a problem there is no other way to avoid difficulties than silence. The wiser people are, the more reticent they are, whereas the more foolish they are, the more freely they speak. Bias of Priene was one of the seven ancient sages, when he was at dinner he never spoke,

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佞者譏之曰：愚。比亞對曰：愚者必不默，況席中乎。故慈親明師教育之際，無不務於默，使幼者修學靜中，而從容出言，蓋真學之堂有二級，一謂默，一謂希言，由彼暨此，乃爲實學耳。

A glib person mocked him saying: "How foolish!" Bias replied: "Foolish people are never silent, even at dinner". Therefore, within the education of loving parents and bright teachers, there must be a commitment to silence, to make children learn in silence, and to speak with calm, because the class of true learning has two levels: one is reticence, the other one is measured speech. Both are held to serve Practical learning.

言信第二 *Honesty in speech*

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童幼之性或煩於言，偏於偽，既以默制其言之煩。次須正其言之偽使早習於信。夫人初生，情純言直，愈交接於物，愈加於偽矣。

It's in children's nature to have some issues with words: if they're inclined to lie, one must use silence to control their problem of talking. Then the lies need to be corrected, making them accustomed to honesty. When people are born, their feelings are pure and their words are true, but the more they are in contact with reality, the more they lie.

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故親師之智者，謹於幾微，教訓於孩提，使存原質，而不沾世染也。比達臥辣，上世之賢也，常曰生民所秉於天，莫大於能從真情，而洪施於人。蓋天主所以爲天主者，惟其至真至仁故也，則生民所以親天主者，實在真仁二德。或問賢者所以承順天主之命，答曰行真而已。達味古之聖王，請問於天主曰：吾主孰將安於爾聖堂者乎，答曰：言真於其心而無欺於其舌者。

Therefore, wise parents and teachers pay attention to the signs, and impart their teachings to infants in order to preserve this original character. They make sure that the infant's original nature is retained and remains uncontaminated by life. Pythagoras, an ancient sage, always said: "Of all the gifts we are granted from the Heavens, there's nothing greater than being able to follow true feelings and put them into practice with other people". God's purpose is God himself, only He is the source of the highest truth and charity. Therefore, people's purpose is to love God, and their honesty lies in the two virtues: truth and charity. Someone asked in which way the sages undertake and follow God's command and the answer is: "Just practising the truth". David was a sage king of the past, who asked God: "My Lord, who will be allowed into your sacred tent?" And God answered: "Those who speak the truth from their heart, and whose tongue utters no slander".⁹⁰⁹

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然則，真者升天之階，而踵之者，無不至於天堂。永永安樂焉。故古詩云，真者原居乎天，而或降臨斯地，必計率人反歸於天。罷辣多氏古文名宗，謂真者乃眾善之帥也，進即群德從之，遂則群德併遂。聖人又曰：真者非直為諸善之基，又為諸學向處。凡圖修文格物窮理者，無不計護持其真，而免偽焉。令吾幻者，不早習於真實，而惟依從偽俗，能成其學也耶？厄日多，古多學之國也。

So it is, truth is the stairway to Heaven and those who pursue it will eventually go to Paradise in everlasting Glory. As the ancient poem goes: "The honest man's home is Heaven, even when he lives on this Earth, he needs to foresee that a number of people will return to Heaven". Plato was a famous scholar of the ancient humanities, he used to call honesty the commander of virtues: if it moves forward, then all virtues will follow it, if it retreats, then so will virtues. The wise man also said: "Truth is not only the foundation of all virtues, but also the gateway for learning". Those who try to cultivate the humanities to investigate things and exhaust principles,⁹¹⁰ [must] inevitably shield

⁹⁰⁹ This passage is a paraphrase of Psalm 15. 1-2: "Lord, who may dwell in your sacred tent? Who may live on your holy mountain?" "The one whose walk is blameless, who does what is righteous, who speaks the truth from their heart; whose tongue utters no slander [...]" See also Duan, 2012, p. 215.

⁹¹⁰ In this passage Vagnone again makes use of the expression '*Gewuqiongli* 格物窮(窮)理', elsewhere used to indicate the goal of philosophy (See TYJY, volume 2, chap. 5, p.377). The investigation of things, aimed at understanding the principle was a distinctive trait of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation, different from classical

and protect their truth to avoid lies. If we prevent our children from practicing the truth early on, but allow them to comply with dishonest customs, how can they complete their learning? In the past, Egypt was a country of various studies.

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國俗精於繪事，能指事物之隱妙，且欲形容真者之貌，必盡日輪，何也？日光輝四射，炳然剖萬物，使目視得無差焉。真者正而無邪，實而無虛，能照輝諸隱，或投暗中，即昏昧弗識所趨幸，而得燭照，即可免陷溺矣。夫幼者多投居於暗，未明實學終始，非得真情引指，必不能進。是以先學聖賢，初立幼教，無不禁偽言，而反復叮嚀於真實也。伯兒西亞國古俗，有子者先教以仁，次習諸信。

This country's people were traditionally proficient in painting, and were able to pick out the hidden beauty of creatures. Moreover, when they wanted to depict the appearance of truth, they had to make use of the sun. How did they do that? Sunlight shines all around, revealing and differentiating all things, and attains us a perfect view. Truth is correct and not evil, real and not false, it can shine upon all that is hidden. Sometimes it is retained in darkness, so that our vision is blurred and we don't recognise the coming happiness. When we achieve enlightenment, then we can avoid sinking and drowning. Children linger long in darkness, and don't distinguish where practical learning begins and ends. If they're not guided by feelings of truth, then they surely won't approach [it]. Therefore, the sages of early knowledge, inevitably forbade lies from the very establishment of the education of children, and repeatedly warned them to be sincere. [According to] an old tradition of Persia, children were first educated on charity, then they practised honesty.

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其不若者必重羞重懲之。辣責德抹 古厄肋濟亞國名邑也，勤於幻學教之言，必欲希且約，欲正且實。故辣責德抹言法，常載於書，為世範焉。亞得納，亦脩言名邑也，惟正言是重是賞，惟訛誕是惡是戮。至於公堂被告許，而自實承，不匿不漏，必赦免之不罰也，嗟乎，真情之美，

Confucianism, which suggests that the Jesuit was specifically addressing a specific elite of literati – those close to the Donglin Dang 東林黨, a late Ming institution inspired by Zhu Xi's philosophy.

於罪人之口。猶得肆赦，況善人乎。歷山西之名王也，史有紀王功者，呈之王。王讀而遇非情之功，言不實，則嗔而擲書於河，曰：

Those who didn't comply were heavily humiliated and punished. Lacedaemon, was a town in ancient Greece, which was careful in the instruction of children in speech education: this had to be moderate and limited, appropriate and truthful.⁹¹¹ For such reason Lacedaemon's way of speaking is often recorded in books as historical standard. Athens was another city known for the cultivation of rhetoric – they only cared for and appreciated appropriate talking while despising rough talk. As for the defense in tribunals, if one truly admitted [his guilt] without hiding or leaving anything out, he was absolved and not punished. It is sad! The beauty of honest feelings stemmed from the mouths of criminals. And, after obtaining forgiveness, they were even considered good people.⁹¹² Alexander the Great was a famous king of the West, one of his officials recorded his deeds and showed his work to the king. He read it and discovered unfair actions and untrue words, which caused him to fly into a rage. He threw the work into the river and said:

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當沉爾身姑沉爾言蓋偽言偽人，王所深厭，故痛絕之耳。西域往有務於性學者，敬高士總名曰巴拉瑪搦者，眾民師之，但或言偶不正，則辭絕之，永永不使師人矣。或問一賢曰：偽假真已者如何，賢曰：真者不文其言，不善其色，眾信之，偽者，巧其言令其色，眾鄙之，故諸辱人大愆，莫若偽言焉。蓋傲以謙，貪以廡，吝以施，汙以潔，忿以馴，可以雪洗。

“I should drown you, along with your words. I deeply despise lies and liars and completely refuse them”.⁹¹³ In the Western regions there were scholars of natural philosophy, the name of these

⁹¹¹ The importance Spartan education attached to honesty, along with a hatred of the “dreadful sacrilegious” is recorded by both Bonifacio and De Torres, who took Plutarch's notable work *Moralia* (On Moral matters) as a source. See *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, IV, p. 144, and *Philosophia Moral*, XXIV. 6 p. 883.

⁹¹² De Torres states that the cultivation of honesty was so appreciated by Athenians that “they created a law in the Republic, which allowed them to absolve criminals if they confessed their entire crime, as they cared more about their citizens being clear and honest, even if they were criminals [...]” *Philosophia Moral*, XXIV.6, p. 883-884.

⁹¹³ This very passage is also described by De Torres's treatise, although it doesn't report Alexander's exact words. See *Philosophia Moral*, XXIV.7, p. 888.

respected educated men was Brahmins.⁹¹⁴ Everybody followed them as teachers, but when one of them spoke dishonestly, they dismissed them and prevented them from teaching. Somebody asked a sage: “How do you differentiate truth from lie?” The sage replied: “Truth tellers don’t smooth their words or refine their appearance and everybody trusts them; liars [instead] are clever in their talk and ingratiating in their manners,⁹¹⁵ and everybody despises them. Of all the things that humiliate people and [of all their] great faults, nothing is bigger than false words. Everything can be cleansed: pride through modesty, greed through generosity, humiliation through mercy, sweat through purity and rage through docility.

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人未有不信者，惟偽者雖發正言，實之以誓，尚未足補前闕，而人終不信矣。語曰：真人言當誓，偽人誓不當言不亦殆哉？亞瑪洗上古王厄日多國也，其國奉邪魔，可密詢時事之吉凶，或遇其言之虛，輒毀其像，不許人敬之。聖經云：鬼魔乃偽之父，鬼一偽其言。猶未足憑信，而人偽可信與？為人而不得人信，乃辱不勝言也。亞理斯多嘗曰：使偽人勿遭他戮辱，而惟眾人不信之是則戮辱之大者矣。

There are no dishonest people: it’s just that liars, even when uttering proper words, make words true through perjury, don’t make up for their past mistakes and eventually are no longer trusted. A saying goes: “The words of honest people are worthy oaths, while the oaths of liars are not even worthy words, aren’t these dangerous?”. Amasi was a king of ancient Egypt, where Idols⁹¹⁶ were

⁹¹⁴ De Torres translates the “Bracmanes (si bien me acuerdo)”, as scholars and philosophers from India. His source appears to be Diodorus Siculus’ work “Bibliotheca Historica (Historical Library, the book on India) written between 60 and 30 BC. See *Philosophia Moral*, XXIV.7, p. 889. In his *Zhifang Waiji* 職方外紀 (Areas Outside the Concern of the Chinese Imperial Geographer, 1623), Giulio Aleni also gives mentions the Brahmins, when describing the population of India, which he indicates as ‘*Poluomen* 婆羅門’. See Aleni, *Giulio Geografia dei paesi stranieri alla Cina, traduzione, introduzione e note di Paolo De Troia*, Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, centro Giulio Aleni, 2009, p. 61.

⁹¹⁵ To describe the characteristics of liars, or glib-tongued people, Vagnone refers to one of Confucius’ analects, 17/17, which teaches that “Fair appearances are suspicious: “子曰：‘巧言令色，鮮矣仁’ (The Master said: “Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with true virtue”). See Legge, “Analects”, in *The Four Books*, 1898, p. 326.

⁹¹⁶ I translate the literal term “evil spirits” as “Idols” in accordance with Vagnone’s source, *Philosophia Moral*, XXIV.7 p. 889.

worshipped. These could be secretly interrogated about the odds⁹¹⁷ of matters and events, [but] the words were sometimes untrue, which ruined their fame and led people to cease in their respect.⁹¹⁸ The Bible says: “The Devil is the father of all lies, his words are always false”.⁹¹⁹ Yet can those not trust enough, believe people’s lies? To be a person that doesn’t achieve the others’ trust, is an unspeakable humiliation. Aristotle used to say: “Liars greatest punishment is not to escape their humiliation, but have others lose trust in them”.

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蓋人以交接物而生，夫交接主信，令人無信，則亦無交接，無所交接，則人何以生爲。比達臥辣氏往往戒其弟子曰：鳥之白胃黑尾者，勿上筋也。解之者曰：白胃黑尾之鳥乃偽人也。蓋偽者巧言令色，其面若粹白焉。究竟無證據，無結局是若黑尾。如斯人者賢師以爲不足與遊與言也。罷辣多氏禁工人，無得造贗物，犯者罰正值。利濟亞國古俗，於是尤加嚴焉。

People were born to connect with the world, and this connection is regulated by honesty: to make people lose honesty [means that] there won’t be anything to connect with. With nothing to connect with, why would people be born at all? Pythagoras often warned his disciples saying: “White-breasted birds with black tails don’t show off their body structure.” To explain [his meaning] he also said: “White-breasted birds with black tails are like liars. Liars are clever with words and have ingratiating manners, but their appearance is pure white. Eventually, one cannot prove, cannot conclude that their tale is black. Wise masters consider these people unworthy of dealing with or talking to”. Plato forbade artisans from manufacturing fake objects, and the perpetrators were punished accordingly. The ancient tradition of Lycia, was particularly strict towards [this matter]:

⁹¹⁷ Literally, “the good and bad luck”.

⁹¹⁸ The source of this *chreia* also appears to be book XXIV of De Torres’ *Philosophia Moral*: Amasi, king of Egypt, is used as an example of virtuous and wise sovereign, as he “did not only punish people who lied, but also took revenge against his own gods, when they were not sincere”. See *Philosophia moral*, XXIV.7, p. 889.

⁹¹⁹ This passage is also extracted from the Bible, John 8.44: “When [the Devil] lies, he speaks his native language, for he is a liar and the father of lies”.

凡虛誕者配爲奴婢，終身不齒，嗟！夫偽者常骯正法姦善俗，傾道德敗元質，可容於義理之國乎？國家所以長盛者真正焉。所以顛覆者詭誕焉。好誕詐者，奴之不亦宜乎。是以志於真學者，必謹避諸訛言邪情，如火水也。又非直戒於偽訛之實，即假訛之微影，亦不敢忽焉。目清明者，好光避暗，病者反從暗而避光。亞日洗老古之賢者，或請曰：此有巧人，假畫眉鳥聲絕似。蓋試之！

Every liar and cheat was to be considered as a slave, and held in contempt for a lifetime. It's sad! Liars often spoil honest law, betray good habits, bend virtues and corrupt the underlying character, can they be tolerated in a country of right principles? The reasons for a prosperous country are truth and honesty, the reasons for a subversive country are trickery and cheating. Should those who like cheating not be enslaved? Therefore, those who are inclined towards true knowledge should carefully avoid false discourse and evil feelings, as fire avoids water. Moreover, not only should we guard against the effects of lies and falseness, but where there is even a small sign of it, it should not be ignored. Those with clear sight love the light and avoid the darkness, the sick follows the darkness and avoid the light. Agelisaus was an ancient sage, somebody tempted him saying: "There's a skilful person here, who imitates the song of a nightingale. Try [listening to him]!"

賢哂而辭曰：吾向屢聞真畫眉鳥聲茲聞其假者，何益乎，初喜假鳥之音，恐進而喜夫假人之言也。偽情偽言，漸入乎衷，未幾吾亦將肆於若情若言矣。所謂真者養真，偽者養偽，倘幼學者恣於詭誕每至終身莫挽慎之哉，慎之哉！

The sage smiled and pledged: "I have often heard the real, strong bird's singing and now I hear a fake one. What's the advantage? At first I will like the voice of the fake bird, but I fear that later I will like the speech of a dishonest man".⁹²⁰ False feelings and untrue words slowly enter a person's heart, and soon we give in to such feelings and words. These so-called honest people foster honest

⁹²⁰ Another *chreia* paraphrased from De Torres' treatise, who quoted Plutarch's *Moralia* as his source. See *Philosophia Moral*, XXIV.6, p. 883.

[children] and liars foster lying [children]. If young students indulge freely in trickery and cheating, at the end of their life they will not be saved. Be careful, be careful!

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夫人以知爲人道之始，以行爲人道之終。生知者鮮故志於知者必由學矣。

People believe knowledge is the beginning of the Path of mankind and actions the end of the Path of humanity. It is uncommon to be born with knowledge; ⁹²²therefore, those who tend to knowledge must begin with the learning.

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語曰：財以勞聚，知以困致。嘗觀好學者，自童幼時，心向學，好問辨，爭先進，恥止後。其知之欲，與學之困，併長齊進。至於壯老，不知衰息，則譬之於嗇財者。財愈豐，而欲愈盛，無所止限也。東鸞氏，上古七名賢之一，至八旬，未嘗少怠於學，曰：老者既幸加日於生，亦無不可加學於心？將就木，忽聞人論性中之理，遂昂首傾耳聽焉。或大異之，賢曰：學此理然後可去世矣。

A saying goes: “Wealth is garnered through labour, knowledge is achieved through hardship”. Looking at [the example of] eminent scholars, their minds are inclined to learn from early

⁹²¹ The source of this chapter appears to be the sixth book of De Torres' *Philosophia Moral*, “which deals with the study of humanities, that is one of the Prince's commitments”. However, the role of literary studies in the education of young scholars, had been advocated and supported by Neo-Confucian pedagogues since 11th century China. The main works by Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032 – 1085), Zhu Xi and Cheng Duanli 程端禮 (1271 – 1345) proposed new sets of academic regulations aimed at cultivating an individual's moral philosophy through the study of the Classics, history and philosophy. Their emphasis on literary studies as a tool of moral betterment was in response to the attitude of most contemporary scholars who “learn[ed] for other people's sake (*wei ren zhi xue* 爲人之學)”, as their knowledge was only functional upon passing the imperial examinations, and not at transmitting the Doctrine (*Dao* 道). See Eugenio Menegon, *Neo-Confucian education and Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: Chinese and Western Pedagogy in Ming China*, MNS Ricci Institute, San Francisco, 1993, pp. 2-3.

⁹²² This passage is a paraphrase of one of the Confucian Analects: “子曰：我非生而知之者[...] (The Master said, "I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge [...]). See Legge, “Analects” in *The Four Books*, 1898, p. 201.

childhood. They like asking questions, analysing, striving to make progress and are ashamed to stop and linger behind. Their desire for knowledge and is similar to the hardship in learning, they grow in parallel and improve equally. As for the mature⁹²³ and the old, they know no weakness nor rest, therefore they are compared to misers. The more abundant their wealth, the more powerful their desire [for it], and this desire is limitless. Solon was one of the ancient Seven Sages. When he turned eighty years old, he did not idle over his learning and used to say: “Old people are lucky enough to have the chance to add days to their lives, how could they not add knowledge to their minds? (If), before dying, they suddenly listen to the people who discuss the principle of human nature,⁹²⁴ they would raise their heads and turn their ears to listen attentively”. Someone disagreed with sage and said: “After learning the reason one is free to die.”

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可見學之業與人身：終始須更不可離也。然既欲學而知，必不可辭學之苦。經雲：加知者，亦加勞矣。蓋生人性元，被先祖之染累，無不昏於理，而懦於力，乃已無不欲加明以開其蒙，而知其所當知，又無不欲加力以助其弱，而行其所當行。故人性從始生，恆向學，而甜苦至終不已也。近視者，需眼鏡，乃可見遠像焉。跛躄者，需杖策，乃可走長途焉。文學者，心目之鏡，心足之杖也。

It is evident that the occupation of study is comparable to the human body: we absolutely cannot separate from it for the whole life. At the same time, if one wants to learn and [acquire knowledge], he cannot dismiss the suffering of studying. So speaks the Bible: “The more knowledge, the more grief”.⁹²⁵ Just as the original nature of mankind was spoiled by its ancestors,⁹²⁶ principles became confused and strength became weakness. For this reason we, out of necessity, want to increase our understanding through the education, to know all that we ought to know. Also out of necessity, we

⁹²³ According to the *Book of Rites*, the term “*Zhuang* 壯” indicated a specific stage of life, the age of maturity, (around thirty years old). See chapter 3.1 of the present volume.

⁹²⁴ Despite recurring to one of the fundamental principles of Neo-Confucian philosophy, in this sentence the use of the term “*Li* 理” needs to be understood as “the reason of things”, or *suprema ratio*. See, GRD, vol. III, p. 1193.

⁹²⁵ Here Vagnone is quoting a passage from the Ecclesiastes, about the futility of wisdom: “[...] And I set my mind to know wisdom and to know madness and folly; I realized that this also is striving after wind. Because in much wisdom there is much grief, and increasing knowledge results in increasing pain.” Ecclesiastes, 1:17-18.

⁹²⁶ This is a reference to the original sin, even if he doesn’t directly use the term “*Yuanzui* 原罪”.

want to improve our strength by helping its weaknesses, to perform the deeds that we ought to perform. Therefore, ever since its birth, human nature has continuously striven for learning, and no happiness or pain can stop it from reaching its end. Short-sighted people need glasses to look at distant images. Crippled people need a stick to walk long distances. Literature is the mind's glasses, and a stick for the mind's step.

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性地之蒙且弱者，無不因之以致所當知之遠理，以勝所當行之遠道矣。航海者，仰觀星日，俯視盤針，不則海不可渡也。行當世之險海，非經學之指引，能免覆沒乎。幼者之學，根於仁，進以孝，堅以忍，成以智。四者，非經典弗備焉。蓋古今之懿德實學，具載於書，一覽可知，旋足效法親師之教，所不及也。夫親與師已或不明，亦未足教誨，或令友其好，未足鼓舞，或張而輒弛，未足成全。

Some people who are ignorant and weak by natural disposition, but despite this, they will reach an understanding of the profound principle, and succeed in performing the deeds of the profound Doctrine. Sailors turn their eyes up to look at the sun and stars, then look down to check the compass,⁹²⁷ or else they won't be able to navigate the sea. If we navigate the dangerous sea of the present time without the guide of the study of the Bible, can we avoid sinking?⁹²⁸ Children's learning has its roots in charity, progresses with filial piety, becomes firm with tolerance and is completed by wisdom. These four virtues are not complete without the Bible. The virtuous practical learning of past and present is recorded in books and can be understood at first glance, as it revolves around an imitation of parents' and teachers' education. [This way] everything can be achieved.

⁹²⁷ The magnetic compass was one of the Four Great Inventions of China (*Sida Faming* 四大發明), which was extensively described in the encyclopaedic literature of the Song and Ming period. A detailed dissertation of a geomantic compass was given by Lü Bi 呂𡇗, a Daoist scholar contemporary to Vagnone who speaks of a "compass needle (*Ziwu panzhen* 子午盤針) that worked on the same principle as the stretched out arm of the figure on the ancient 'south pointing charriot (*Zhinan Che* 指南車)'"'. This account is included the "Preliminary summary of things and affairs (*Shiwu Chulüe* 事物初略)", compiled and annotated by Lü in the seventeen century. Unfortunately, not much information about his life and work can be retrieved at present time. See, *Cultures of Knowledge: Technology in Chinese. History*. Edited by Dagmar Schäfer, Brill 2011, p. 268.

⁹²⁸ A similar metaphor appears in Plato's *Republic*. He frequently compares a ship to the state, which needs the leadership of "those who look at the phenomena in the sky", namely the philosophers, to be guided. See *Republic*, V. 488-489. In this passage, however, philosophy is replaced by the study of the Bible, showing once again the adaptation *ad artem* of a classical topic for missionary purposes.

Parents and teachers sometimes don't understand [education] and don't give enough [knowledge] in their teachings; sometimes they turn their love into friendship, and they're not influential enough; sometimes they exaggerate or are too relaxed and fail to help a child achieve success.

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若經典之教，至明無昧，至實無虛，至正無邪，永施無盡，從者之不受益者乎。其明智為眾善之倡率，諸惡之捍禦，患難之倚賴，平生之安宅。視往察今，週徧萬事，解釋諸疑，無所不到，無所不備也。童幼者始行世道，舍文學安所指引哉？語雲：老者積其智以年，幼者積其智以書。夫年與書，又大異焉，蓋年彌長，清氣彌退，外司內覺彌昏，賴之者恐智漸衰。若經典則愈習愈明，智愈加焉。

It appears that the Bible's teaching is clear and unobscured, practical and not faked, honest and not evil, always usable and never exhaustible. How could those who follow [this teaching] not benefit from it? Its clear wisdom is a leader in all qualities, a protection against all evil, a lifeline against all troubles and a shelter of a quiet life. [The Bible] looks at the past and analyses the present and all the affairs that surround us, clarifying doubts, achieving everything, and perfecting everything. If children gave up literature when they began to walk the path of life, where would they be led? A saying goes: "Old people gather wisdom through age, young people gather wisdom through books". Age and books are also different; the bigger the age the more vital energy retreats and the more external control and inner consciousness blur, and the wisdom of those who don't admit this will slowly disappear. Therefore, the more we put the Bible⁹²⁹ into practice, the more we understand it and our wisdom becomes greater.

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且年之智時所積也，於人功無與，而書之智學所積也，其功大矣。從年而知者，其學挾薄，不出一身一家一世之限，從書而知者，其學廣厚，不啻六合萬世之內，愈轉授，愈大而堅矣。故明道者，教子早進於文學，不使廢其業也。古西名王有子，曰歷山，傳以亞里斯多，命之曰：爾

⁹²⁹ The term used here to refer to the Bible is '*Jingdian* 經典', usually associated with the Confucian Classics. Vagnone's ambiguity was most likely intentional, as to confer the Bible the same status these key texts played in Chinese moral philosophy.

師大賢幸甚，勿懈於學，吾昔未成學而聽政，幾不勝任。茲爾當國重統，以吾爲戒可也。世子受王命，待賢師數載，無書不讀，無物不格，無理不究，竟得成其學，未過三詢，而以美治君數大邦矣。

Moreover, the wisdom of age accumulates with time, and has little to do with personal achievements. Instead, the wisdom attained from books is accumulated through learning, and its achievements are numerous. Those who achieve knowledge as a consequence of age, [possess] a hidden and limited learning that doesn't reach beyond personal, familiar and time limits. Those who achieve knowledge through books possess a wide and profound learning, not limited in space and time, and the more it is transmitted and offered, the bigger and stronger it becomes. Therefore, those who understand the Doctrine, and educate children to approach literary studies as soon as possible, are bound not to lead a useless life. A famous king of the ancient West had a son, Alexander, whose instructor was Aristotle. [The king] commanded his son: "You are so lucky to have such a wise master! Don't be idle with your studies. In the past I could not complete mine and embraced politics without competence. Now you can be the ruler of this country, so that I may retire".⁹³⁰ The son received the king's order, and followed his teacher for many years. There was no book he could not read, no matter he could not examine, and no principle he could not investigate. He eventually completed his studies and, before three decades had gone by, he became a fair ruler of many great countries.

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蓋治國安邦道莫經莫善於文學也。故罷辣多嘗雲：國家之幸，莫大乎使持政者務於文學，或務於文學者，持國政也。撒羅蒲，古如德亞國王也。穉而孤，未習於學，乃志於治，則謹告天主，祈求明智，天主大喜其氣之誠，即寵之甚，使豁然實通古今眾理，而以美法總領大國焉。泰西前世，有國王，曰洗日蒙篤，平生好學。

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This passage appears to be paraphrased from Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, where the author deals with the importance of an early commitment to study: "Small children are better adapted for taking in small things, and just as the body can only be trained to certain flexions of the limbs while it is young and supple. So the acquisition of strength makes the mind offer greater resistance to the acquisition of most subjects of knowledge. Would Philip of Macedon have wished that his son Alexander be taught the rudiments of letters by Aristotle, the greatest philosopher of that age, or would the latter have undertaken the task, if he had not thought that even the earliest instruction is best given by the most perfect teacher and has real reference to the whole of education?" See, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.1:22-23.

Because, without the classics and excellence in the field of literature, planning the Way to administrate state affairs and ensure national security [is impossible], Plato used to say: “There’s no greater fortune for a country than a governor who is committed to literature. He who is committed to literature can also administrate power”. Solomon was the king of ancient Judea. As a young orphan, he could not dedicate himself to study, but committed himself to politics and turned his respect to God through praying [to achieve] clear wisdom. God greatly appreciated the honesty of his spirit, and granted him plenty [of wisdom], allowing him to truly understand all the principles of past and present and to administrate the country under fair laws.⁹³¹ In ancient times in the West, lived a king called Sigismund,⁹³² who was devoted to learning throughout his life.

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凡學士來者，尊禮之，重任之。或妬而告曰：諸國來者，其人多卑陋，王任之何若是重耶。王曰：明知者，非卑陋，乃世之正表也。天主即寵之使超越品庶，吾能不寵任之乎。或問於亞里斯弟名賢：智者與愚何異？答曰：並置諸異界，則知之矣。吾以為並任之國政，必不可匿也。智者至於他邦，必聞其政，大小敬仰而信從之，若其愚者，所至莫之顧矣。西書曰：智者生以立政，愚者，生以行役。

When scholars went to visit him, we treated them according to the required etiquette and gave them important tasks. An envious person said: “These people who come from other countries are of modest origin, if the King gives them responsibilities, how can we consider him important?” The king answered: “Those who possess clear knowledge are not vulgar, but they are a model of honesty of our times. [If the] Lord granted them favour to exceed people in moral qualities, how can I not grant them important tasks?” Somebody asked the sage Aristid:⁹³³ “What is the difference between sages and fools?” The answer was: “Each of them establish different societies, and they understand it. We believe that when they take charge of country’s government, none of them can hide. When it concerns their country, sages need to understand their government, and young and adults venerate

⁹³¹ Salomon’s heavenly wisdom, his “saber que era del Cielo”, alongside him being the image of the ideal Christian Prince is recorded in an anecdote from De Torres’s *Philosophia Moral*, chap. VII.2, p. 305.

⁹³² Sigismund of Burgundy, (d. 524 CE).

⁹³³ Aristides of Athens, one of the Church fathers from the II century CE, author of the *Apology of Aristides*.

and follow them. When foolish people go somewhere, they don't take care of anything". Western books say: "Sages are born to rule, fools are born to serve".⁹³⁴

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古詩云：智者獨次天主，獨富榮美，為諸王者之王此之謂也。弟阿日弱遇童子富而愚，譏曰：飾文羊乎，羊畜中之至愚，獨利其毳耳。故智者居於小民中如牧居羊中，去牧者於羊，去智者於民，無所歸矣。東格辣德，吾西大賢，往往感謝天主之三恩。一曰，天主生我，即賦我以性靈，不投於畜獸中。二曰，天主生我，即賜我男位，不投於女中。三曰，天主生我，置我於文學之邦，不投於愚夷中。

An old poem goes: "The Sage is the only one close to God. The only one rich in greatness. He's considered the so-called king of all kings." Diogenes met a wealthy, but foolish, child and mocked him: "Isn't he dressed up as a decorated sheep? The sheep is the most stupid of all animals, its only advantage is its wool. Therefore, sages living among petty people are like shepherds living among the sheep. Where would the petty people and the sheep go, if sages and shepherds disappeared?"⁹³⁵ Socrates was a wise man of the West, and he continuously thanked God for three concessions he was granted: first of all, for the gift of life and a soul, not casting him among the beasts; secondly, for the gift of life and making him a man, not casting him among women; finally, for the gift of life and placement into a country of literary studies, not casting him among fools and savages.

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三者以為天恩之大，而日謝之兢兢焉。若其得生於文學之邦，而猶不習於文學者，是則與愚陋之夷無異矣。先智者，嘗設論曰：欲成大器，質與學孰重，則必以學為重焉。夫美質者，如田之膏腴，非恆修治之，徒長豐草耳。嘗觀質之鈍者，多用學之功力，竟得成全。未見美質者，不學而能成也。是以古智以美質不學，譬之美軀之無兩目，寰宇之無三光也。

⁹³⁴ De Torres reports this Latin proverb: "Qui stultus est serviet sapienti", see *Philosophia Moral*, book VI.3, p. 273.

⁹³⁵ Such anecdote is also reported in Meynard, 2015, pp. 60-61. For an analysis of the cross-cultural representation of the sheep, traditionally associated to filial piety in Chinese symbology, see chapter 6.4 of this volume.

These are considered the biggest heavenly favours, and it is a sign of care to be grateful for them daily. If one gets to be born in a country of literary studies, yet does not practise them, then he shall not be any different from fools and vulgar savages. Ancient sages used to debate: “If one wishes to become outstanding, what is more important, nature or learning? It is certainly learning, that needs to be considered more important. Good nature is like a fertile field, if it’s not constantly managed it will surely sprout plenty of weeds.”⁹³⁶ [Even] those who are considered stupid by nature, will eventually succeed through study.⁹³⁷ Someone with a gifted nature succeeding without study is a sight that has never been seen. Hence the ancient sages, compared an uneducated individual with a good nature to having a beautiful body, but no eyes, to the universe without the sun, moon and stars.

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使入寶庫而不用光照，美寶不可見矣。夫人美質或若寶庫，使無文學照之，奚美之有。古賢欲嫁其女，友曰：某富且貴，可嫁乎？賢問曰：夫向學而智乎？曰：否。賢曰：今有驢於此，雖文飾之美，可莫之顧也，況嫁之乎。黃金爲五金之重，玉石爲寶之貴，但無鍛鍊琢磨之功，不獲善價。夫質之美者，非得文學之修治，何足貴也。欲知幼之文學當何如，則詳辨至於左。

If we make someone enter an unlit treasure trove, it is not possible for them to see the beautiful jewels. The gifted nature of a person is like the treasure trove: if not enlightened by literary studies, what good is it? An ancient wise man wished to have his daughter married and a friend asked: “I am both rich and noble, can I marry her?” The wise man asked: “Are you inclined to learning and wisdom?”, the other replied: “I am not”. The wise man said: “There’s a donkey here now. Even if he were adorned with elegant words, nobody would care about him, nor wish to marry him”. Gold is the most important of the five metals, jade the most precious of all treasures, but without forging and polishing, they have no value. If a beautiful nature is not cultivated through literary study, will

⁹³⁶ This quotation presents an adaptation of the so-called “pedagogical trinity” which was theorized by the Sophists. According to their philosophy, the educational process was a combination of three factors: nature (*natura*), practice (*disciplina*) and teaching (*institutio*). Sophists were also the first ones to put pedagogy and agriculture in relation: they compared human nature to a field fit for cultivation, the work of teachers with that of good farmers and virtuous precepts to good semen. See C. Caramello e U. Zandrino, 1970, p. XVII. In this passage Vagnone is skillfully making use of a similar metaphor, although he includes two factors of the Sophists’ “trinity” (i.e. teaching and practice) into the verb “*Xue* 學”.

⁹³⁷ According to the Sophists, practice could supply even a poorly gifted nature. See Caramello & Zandrino, *ibidem*.

it be precious? If you wish to know what type of literature children should engage with, continue reading towards the left hand side.

正書第四 *Righteous books*⁹³⁸

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西國古之名賢，曰責諾者，初志於正學，則問於神，何由而成其學乎，神曰：多交於終者而勤法之可也。賢思察神意良久，知終者，已死之古人也。古人雖死，其書尚在，所云多交勤法，意在此乎。乃購古名書，恆習之，終成大賢焉。故書乃幼學所最急：學而舍典籍，猶舍毛羽而欲高飛，豈可得乎？雖然，惟擇其所當習之正者，而寔其所當避之邪者。

In the past, there was a Western sage called Zeno, who dedicated himself from an early age to orthodox learning. He asked the gods⁹³⁹ how he could complete his studies. The gods replied: “All you need to do is to engage often with those who have passed away and be diligent in the method”. The wise man [Zeno] carefully considered the Gods’ meaning for a long time and understood that “passed away” referred to the people of the past who had already died. Even if they are no longer here, their books still exist. As for the saying “engage and be diligent in the method”, it meant to acquire ancient famous books and constantly practise their knowledge. This would lead to becoming a great wise man. Therefore, books are the most critical matter for school children. Studying, but giving up the Classics, would be like wishing to fly without wings, is this possible? Even so, [one needs to] choose only the righteous [content] that should be practised, and put aside the heretical [aspects] that should be avoided.

⁹³⁸ In this chapter, Vagnone deals with the role “good literature” plays in the development of youngsters’ morality. Most exempla are borrowed from book XXV of *Philosophia Moral de Principes*, titles “Los Buenos libros”. However, from a linguistic point of view, Vagnone makes use of both the terms ‘*Zhengshu* 正書’, which I translated as ‘righteous books’ and ‘*Shanshu* 善書’, or ‘good books’. While the first indicates those philosophical or moral works which were included in the European canonical education, the latter refer to a popular genre in Song – Ming China and its use therefore was aimed at establishing a connection between the European and Chinese literary tradition.

⁹³⁹ The chreia is borrowed from the opening of Book XXV, where Zeno asks an oracle how to fulfil the order of his life and how to “shape his virtue in compliance with that of this country”. See *Philosophia Moral*, Book XXV.1, p. 928.

蓋著書無限，而正者有數，乃邪書多假文飾，招幼目，竊入乎心，而傾危其學矣。故罷洗畧大聖譬曰：蜂求釀蜜，必擇於花，其無益者，弗採也。幼圖聚學，心謹於書，其非正者，弗習也。蓋幼者未嘗涉世，未能辨善惡，擇利害，獨於初所見書，以為倣效焉。於是習若性成矣。古之人有言，常讀淫書，其心未能貞潔，常讀潔書，其心未能恣侈信也。是故古學名宗罷辣多，

Because [the number of] famous books is unlimited, but righteous ones are few, and most heretical ones possess a fake rhetoric that attracts the eyes of children, secretly penetrating into their minds, and endangering their learning. St. Basil used the comparison: “Bees that seek to ferment honey need to select their flowers. If they are not useful, they don’t pick them. Children who plan to gather knowledge [must] pay attention to the books. If these are not righteous, they should not practise them”.⁹⁴⁰ Children have not seen much of the world, are not able to distinguish good and evil, nor to choose what’s useful and what’s harmful, and will consider the first books they see effective. Hence they will study them and their nature will change. The ancients have a saying: “If one often reads lascivious books, his mind will not become chaste and pure. If one often reads pure books, his mind will not indulge in luxurious beliefs”. A famous ancestor of ancient learning, Plato,

治國妙術凡，著述正道之書，必重酬之，著述非道之書，必嚴罰之。蓋以有益於國家者，莫如善書，而反害於國家者，莫如邪書也。國家遭亂，則善書具其所以治之美法。國家得道，則善書備其所以存之製度也。故從古謂，正書者道德之場也，義理之庫也，聖賢之鑑也，度世之指南也，淳風之市肆也，患難之藥石也。古明師德默氏，設訓於大國之王篤肋謀曰：大國之寶，不如美書，積美書，不如持之密而專之久也。

When outlining the beautiful art of government, [said that] all books that spoke of righteous doctrine needed to be greatly rewarded; all books that spoke against the doctrine needed to be harshly

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A St. Basil’s quotation reported in *Philosophia Moral*, Book XXV.3, p. 938.

punished.⁹⁴¹ There is nothing better than righteous books to bring benefits to a country, but there is nothing better than heretical books to bring harm to a country.⁹⁴² When a country meets with disorder, then good books will provide fair methods to control [the situation]; when a country achieves the righteous Way, then good books will perfect system already in place. Therefore, since ancient times righteous books have been called the field of morality, the storehouse of justice and principles, the mirrors of saints and sages, the guide of salvation,⁹⁴³ the residences of pure and simple people, the remedies against adversities. A famous ancient wise man, Demetrius⁹⁴⁴, taught Ptolemy, the king of a great country, a lesson, saying: “The treasure of a great country is inferior to good books; to collect good books is not as useful as keeping them close and possessing them for a long time”.

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國王身有病，而臣之忠者，或不及知，或不敢諫，或諫不直，不密，若書之正者，不忌王怒，不圖王寵，爵祿不干，而時刻直陳其善王，忽厭而命之默，則默命之復言則言。是善書非特爲士人之嚴師，尚爲國家之藩屏。故重書者，厥國不能危敗焉。如德亞古爲明道之邦，奉天主聖教，幸領經典正傳，時敵國謀之，未能加害，但後世經典之學漸衰，而國家遂見傾覆矣。

A king was ill. Some of his loyal ministers were unaware [of his illness] and some did not dare speak [of it] directly or in detail. However some, as [told by] righteous books, did not avoid the king's anger, didn't seek the king's favour and refused rank and salary, but (they) immediately told their good king [of his illness]. He disliked their words at first and commanded them to be silent, but when they were silent [he] ordered them to go back to talk, and so they did. The good books were not just strict teachers of the literati, but also protectors of the country. A country belonging to those

⁹⁴¹ In his famous text *Republic*, Plato addressed the content of the guardians' education, i.e. the young warriors entrusted to protect the State. He warned that the only models they should look at were positive and brave examples, based on texts that reflected reality. Therefore, he urged to ban from poetry “all the verses that caused fear of death” and not to make use of fables and imaginary tales. See *Republic*, II. 104 – 195.

⁹⁴² *Philosophia Moral*, Book XXV.4, p. 942.

⁹⁴³ According to HYDCD, the expression ‘*Dushi* 度世’ translates as “to be detached from this world”, implying a Daoist connotation. My translation choice, “salvation”, is aimed at approaching what I believe must have been Vagnone's original meaning. See HYDCD, volume 3, p. 1225.

⁹⁴⁴ Although such anthroponym was identified by Duan as Democritus (Duan, 2012, p. 207) the anecdote reported in the source mentions instead Demetrius of Phalerum (c. 350 – c. 280 BC). See *Philosophia Moral*, Book XXV.1, p. 929.

who attach importance to books will never know crisis or defeat. Judea was an ancient state that understood the Doctrine, they respected the holy Christian religion and were the lucky holders of the righteous teaching of the Bible. Sometimes enemy countries would plot against them, but they could never be harmed. However, later generations slowly declined the study of the Bible and eventually the country knew subversion.

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至童幼之學，正書尤要，不幸遇書之不正者，其害多不勝言。蓋淫聲邪術，人所耻道者，不正之書，往往有之，無知之幼，目繫而心喜之，不覺絕真正學矣。罷辣多嘗於邪書之害，譬之毒泉流行。推萬民而斃之。是故吾西諸國從古甚嚴於著書，不敢忽也。國律常設公司，任以較書之職：其不正者，禁不使行，惟正者，令著述頒行焉於戲。正道之書藏於宮中，如寶庫，如藥石。

As for children's learning, righteous books are particularly essential, [because] if they are unfortunate enough to come across heretical books, the harm done will be more than words can tell. Lascivious voices and evil arts are a way to humiliate people; unorthodox books are everywhere, and the eyes of unaware children are driven to them. While their minds are pleased, they have unconsciously put aside the orthodox learning. Plato used to compare the harm of heretical books to the flow of a venomous spring, leading countless people to death. Hence, since ancient times, all the countries of our West have been very serious about famous books, and did not dare disregard them. National laws often established private companies, charged with the duty of comparing books: it was forbidden to circulate unorthodox ones, and only the righteous ones were allowed to be written and circulated as plays. Books of righteous doctrine were hidden in the palace, like a treasure house or a cache of medicinal supplies:

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事難，常取以周急，而療病。事順，常取以攝心權而約邪侈也。篤肋謀，古厄日多名王，自幼承賢師善誘以數萬金購天下名書。鄰國來朝求觀其寶藏。王引諸藏書之室，曰：斯吾寶藏耳。吾所最珍異，所積財賄，惟斯焉耳。尚一日離此，不樂矣。往敝鄉有名將，遇世亂，率師伐國，戎事畢，師眾皆趨掠貨，已獨收諸古聖賢之書藏之，曰：是乃吾子孩之重寶也，爲子積財奚，如積書乎。

When circumstances are difficult, they can be used to alleviate the difficulties and heal diseases; when circumstances are favourable, they can be used to preserve the power of the mind and to restrain all evil extravagancies. Ptolemy⁹⁴⁵ was a famous king of Egypt. From childhood he followed the guidance of wise teachers and spent a great amount of gold to purchase famous books from all over the world. The neighbouring countries came to his court to admire its treasures, and the king brought everyone to his room of hidden books, saying: “This is my treasure! My most extraordinary [possessions], my gathered richness, they are all in here. Yet one day I will have to leave them and I am not pleased [by this fact]”. In the past my country had a famous general who in times of disorder led his troops on an expedition to other countries. When the military campaign was concluded, all of the troops hurried to sack goods from the conquered, while he only took the books of ancient saints and sages, hiding them and saying: “This indeed is a treasure for my children, why collect wealth for children when I can collect books?”

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彼財多令人恣慾而害深，正書者，攝慾抑侈，益財而養學也。夫人命天短，自所積學未能廣且成。乃正書者，備諸往世之實學，使我一覽輒廣益焉。人性先馴，自所積惡，未能廣且深，乃邪書者，具諸不肖之惡行，使我一覽輒習染焉。古之聖人比善書於藥室，諸療病，各得其所以治之則也。比邪書於疫室，人性無不沾其惡邪也。西土有士曰，意納爵，初好勇，未習實學，忽傷足而寢。

Wealth leads people to indulge their desires and to find deep suffering. Righteous books absorb desires and restrict extravagancies, promote wealth and foster study. Human life is short, and all the knowledge that one can accumulate cannot expand it nor complete it. Only righteous books perfect the practical learning of all past generations, expanding our advantages with just a glance. Human nature needs to be tamed early, so that all the vices that we gather cannot expand nor deepen. Thus, heretical books provide the evil deeds of all unworthy people, making us contract

⁹⁴⁵ Ptolemy I Soter (c. 367 – 283/2 BC) of Macedonian origin, after fighting under Alexander the Great became ruler of Egypt, founding a dynasty meant to last for three hundred years.

these with just a glance. An ancient saint compared good books to a pharmacy:⁹⁴⁶ they all heal illnesses, and everyone is cured according to a specific criterion. He also compared heretical books to epidemic halls: human nature will inevitably be touched by their evil. There was a scholar in the West called Ignatius,⁹⁴⁷ who enjoyed being a soldier from a young age and was not involved in any practical learning. One day he suddenly broke his leg and was confined to bed.

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以讀書排遣，時室中有聖人之書一種，即執而讀，始嘗其味，即讀之不捨，後遂成明道之師焉。西南又有俊士，名曰奧悟斯丁，幼時不幸習於邪師之門，而溺於異端之邪書，但心終不安，定欲歸正，未及見所當由之路，修得保祿名聖宗徒之書，遂如寢乍醒，乃從指迷之經，去異端而竟入聖城矣。歷察古今名修君子，無不從善書而立，天下之邪術左道，無不從邪書而傳也。

So he started reading books to pass time. Once, in his room, he found a book written by a Saint, and he took it and began to read it. As soon as he had a taste of its flavour, he could not give it up. Eventually he became a master of the Bright Doctrine. In the South-West there was also an outstanding scholar, whose name was Augustin.⁹⁴⁸ In his childhood he had the misfortune to study at a bad teacher's school and became addicted to the heresy of evil books. However, his mind was not at rest, and he decided that he wanted to restore a honest [behaviour] and that he had not yet seen the path he should have followed. [Therefore], he cultivated the book of the famous disciple St. Paul and, like waking up after a long sleep, followed the Bible that indicated the Way. So, he gave up heresy and finally entered the Holy City. History shows that all the educated virtuous men

⁹⁴⁶ The metaphor that Vagnone paraphrased from De Torres refers to Holy Scriptures and states that, according to Origen Adamantius these are compared to a pharmacy (botiga), where medicines from every herb, plant, rock, tree, bird and animal are made, to treat all the sick who visit it". See *Philosophia Moral*, Book XXV.3, p. 937.

⁹⁴⁷ This historically accurate *chreia* from the life of the founder of the Jesuit order, sums up the main passages of De Torres' narration: "Padre Ignacio de Loyola, fundador primero de la Companhia de Iesus, (...) tuvo principio en leer algunos libros devotos, en especial la vidas de los padres antiguos, (...) y esto no de proposito, sino muy a caso: porque' estandose curando de una bierna que le avian quebrado con una pieca de artilleria (...). Con cuya leccion (de los libros) a pocos dias no solo comencio a gustar, sino a trocarse tan de veras, que vino a ser uno de los valerosos y provechosos siervo de Dios que ha tenido en su Iglesia la Magestad divina". See *Philosophia Moral*, XXV.3 p. 934.

⁹⁴⁸ This anecdote is borrowed from St. Augustin's "Confessions", Book 8 and quoted by De Torres, *Philosophia Moral*, XXV.3, p. 934.

from the present and the past started from the good books, whereas all the vulgar arts and heterodox doctrines of the world are spread by heretical books.

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是以吾泰西凡圖功於明修，但遇小隙，則持美書而玩味，若諸邪書，雖飾以高文，不屑視也。蓋人心得文之美者，先喜其文，次喜其情，終從其教，而難改。是美文之邪書若注鵠於玉瓚，而獻之其可食哉！歷山王，從幼習於古詩，未嘗見寔，其父斐理伯問曰：齊中書不少汝惟讀某詩不舍何也？歷山對曰：諸書多非要道，或溺於賤陋，而惟斯詩乃進我於正道也。噫嘻！

Therefore, our West normally tries to commit to clear cultivation, but when we encounter small gaps we hold on to good literature and contemplation. It seems that heretical books, even if adorned with high rhetoric, are not worth looking at. People's minds reach the beauty within rhetoric first by appreciating the style, then by enjoying the feelings [it produces] and in the end by following its teachings, this is hard to change. Evil books with beautiful rhetoric are like pouring poisoned wine into a jade cup and offering it to drink! From an early age King Alexander learnt ancient poems, and did not disregard [anything]; his father, Philip, asked him:⁹⁴⁹ "Among all these books there are a few you didn't read, why did you give up on certain poems?" Alexander replied: "of all these books, many don't lead to Doctrine. Some create addictions to vulgarity, and the only poems I read are those that bring me close to the righteous Doctrine". Extraordinary!

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今親之愚多蔽私愛，嚴於小兒之飲食衣服，而於其所始習之書，邪正不謹，則何獨忌其身之害，而反不忌其神之害耶。室中偶遇蟒蛇即驚而逐之。乃或藏毒書而不驚乎，或見其幼子落於邪，未有不侮恨者，而不識其所藏之惡書，為諸惡之端也。惜哉！

Many foolish parents today hide behind their selfish love, they're strict about their children's diets and clothing, but are not careful of whether the books they begin to study are righteous or heretical.

⁹⁴⁹ According to De Torres' account, Philip asked his son Alexander why, of all the famous and wise poets of the past, he would only be interested in reading Homer. To this question, the wise Alexander replied that "Not every poem is suitable for a king, just as it happens for clothing. Those who speak of love and battles are of no use to us, Homer's verses are instead very inspiring, as they teach us how to be good kings". See *Philosophia Moral*, Book XXV.4, p. 942.

So why do they only fear physical harm and are not afraid of spiritual harm? If we encounter a python in the house, we're alarmed and we chase it. Therefore, if someone hides poisoned books and is not afraid, or sees his children falling to evil, he should be blamed, as he did not recognise heretical books as the beginning of evil. What a shame!

西学第五 *Western learning*

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“此稿脫於十七年 前，未及災木，同志見而不迂，業已約略加減 刻行矣。茲全冊既出不得擱遺此編遂照原稿併刻之。

This draft was concluded seventeen years ago and it has not been modified, my confrère considered it good and adjusted it to have it published.⁹⁵⁰ When this entire book is released this chapter shall not be left out, but it will be published according to the original edition”.

或問文學既為國家之急務，童幼要業當如何則可，余曰，國有道，必有學焉，但學之序，彼此不，吾將陳西學之節，或有所取而助中國 [大國] 之學 [乎]。⁹⁵¹

Some ask whether literary studies are an urgent matter for a country, and how can this important commitment to children be undertaken. I say, to be virtuous, a country needs to possess knowledge,

⁹⁵⁰ In the statement that appears under the title of this chapter, Vagnone is referring to Giulio Aleni and his famous treatise *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 (Summary of Western Learning, 1623). The two Jesuits in fact were both in Nanjing when the anti-Christian persecution broke out in 1616, but before Vagnone was arrested and banned to Macau, Aleni managed instead to flee and hide at Yang Tingyun's residence. During Vagnone's forced staying in Macau, Aleni must have taken up and completed his superior's project of providing an outline of the Western academic system to late Ming literati, which resulted in his well-known publication of 1623. However, this statement can be considered Vagnone's paternity claim on a document that later proved to be quite successful and influential on Chinese pedagogy and lexicology. See Luk, B.H. "Aleni introduces the Western academic tradition to 17th century China: a study on *Xixue Fan*" in Lippiello, Malek (edited by): *Scholar from the West: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582–1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 42 Sankt Augustin 1997; Zhou Zhenhuang, 晚明汉文西学经典: 编译、诠释、流传与影响 *Wan Ming Hanwen Xixue Jingdian: Bianyi, Quanshi, Liuchuan yu Yingxiang*, Shanghai: 复旦大学出版社 Fudan Daxue Chubanshe, 2011.

⁹⁵¹ This is the only chapter that differs slightly between the manuscript and the printed editions I have used. The words in brackets indicate the additions or the differences shown in the BnF printed version.

but each country has different learning process. I will now explain the various sections of Western learning, perhaps there is something that can improve or help the Chinese learning [system] .

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[吾西]小童開蒙之後遂習于文. 盖言者, 人所以别于獸而交接于物, 則始學無不宜修文者。然太西之文, 約歸於五而成, 先究事物人時之勢而思具所當言之道理, 以發明其美意焉。次貴乎, 先後布置有序, 如師之智者。節制行伍。勇者置於軍之前後而懦者屯之於中。

[In the West], after receiving primary education, children go on learning language.⁹⁵² Speech is all that differentiates man from the animals and connects them with the living things, therefore at the beginning of study one should develop his language skills. As for Western languages, there are five [steps] to be completed: first of all we investigate the potential of of affairs, creatures, men and time and consider the reasons behind speech, to discover the beautiful meaning [within them].⁹⁵³ Next we focus on disposing [them in a proper] order, as it is taught by wise men of the past.⁹⁵⁴ In administrating the ranks [of the traditional army], the brave ones stand at the front and at the back, while the weak gather at the centre.

⁹⁵² What Vagnone translates as *Wen* 文 (language), indicates *de facto* the act of speech, i.e. rhetoric, which was the first stage of the standard Jesuit education. The translation and the analysis of this chapter owes a great deal to all the previous studies concerning Aleni's *Xixue fan* 西學凡, such as See Luk, B.H. "Aleni introduces the Western academic tradition to 17th century China: a study on *Xixue Fan*" in Lippiello, Malek (edited by): *Scholar from the West: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582–1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 42 Sankt Augustin 1997; D'Elia Pasquale "Le generalità sulle Scienze Occidentali di Giulio Aleni", in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* XXV, 1950; Masini, *ibid.* 1997.

⁹⁵³ This passage refers to the first of the five acts of discourse, *inventio* that Cicero describes in his famous *De Oratore*, a common textbook used in school in the Renaissance era and one that deeply influenced the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*. As indicated by Luk (1989) the emphasis of stylistic perfection over meaning is a concept that never belonged to the Confucian tradition: from Laozi to Zhu Xi, main Chinese intellectual have always urged the necessity to use their moral preparation to convey a faithful message, that does not need rhetorical embellishment. Such tendency is perfectly exemplified by Laozi's saying: "*Meiyan bu xin, xin yan bu mei* 美言不信, 信言不美 (Beautiful words are not reliable, reliable words are not beautiful)" (*Daode Jing* 道德经).

⁹⁵⁴ The second act is *dispositio*, i.e. the structuring and arrangement of previously discovered material. See Li S. & Meynard, 2014, p. 107.

次以古語美言潤飾之。次以所成議論，嫻習成誦。默識心胸終至于公堂或諸智者之前。辨誦之，此五者之中，必貴實理，而致于用焉，豈徒具其文而苟吐散于空中乎？或衿紳遇事難決者，或民習于陋業，而沉于邪俗，或賢者罹于非理之訟，或富讚頌聖賢之功德，或訊彈不肖之惡習，或防國家之災而滅將萌之亂。于是知文之士，具正論于衆前，從高座剖析事理，使疑盡釋，枉者伸，

Later, we adorn [the speech] with ancient and beautiful sayings.⁹⁵⁵ Then, once the argumentation is complete, it needs to be practiced and repeated by heart.⁹⁵⁶ Finally, this quiet knowledge hidden in our hearts is delivered in the classroom or in front of erudite people.⁹⁵⁷ Of these five stages, to distinguish and repeat [something], we need to treasure the True Principle and implement it. How could a person only possess these language skills and carelessly set them loose to the wind? Sometimes scholars encounter a difficult matter to solve, people practice vulgar activities and become addicted to evil habits, wise men are wronged in disputes, rich people prize the merits and virtues of the Sages, or with many words criticise evil practices of the unfaithful, and some prevent calamities in their countries or extinguish revolts about to start. Therefore, scholars who know the act of speech possess the correct opinion compared to the masses and analyse the principles of the affairs from a high position to explain all doubts, redeem those who are unfairly charged,

詐者服，兇者伏誅及以修道設教，使弱者見易而立志，狂者見難而加謹，或述已往之政制，使諸君子得其正譽，而諸小人憚其譏彈也。文學畢，則衆學者分于三家而各行其志矣。或從法律之學，或從醫學，或從格物窮理之學焉。三家者乃西學之大端也。其一家若法律之學，本浩博且重，不可忽也。蓋諸法典自天主之命始，質正理而立，居聖賢而施，志于均治而行。

⁹⁵⁵ The third act, *elocutio*, is aimed at putting in to words these concepts and refining the style. Li S. & Meynard 2014., p. 107.

⁹⁵⁶ The fourth act, *memoria*, implies the memorising process, Li S. & Meynard, 2014, p. 107.

⁹⁵⁷ As for the last act, *actio*, it consists in the appropriate delivery of the speech, Li S. & Meynard, 2014, p. 107.

rectify the cheaters and execute the violent. Also, through the cultivation of the Doctrine and their teachings, these scholars make the weak people change their minds and become resolute and wild people see difficulties and become more careful. Some suggest that under the ancient political system, all gentlemen could achieve their fame and all petty men feared humiliation. Once language studies are concluded, scholars split into one of three schools according to their will. Some follow the study of law, some follow the study of medicine and some follow the study of philosophy.⁹⁵⁸ These three schools are the main branches of Western learning.⁹⁵⁹ The first school is the study of law, its foundations are wide and important and it cannot be neglected. All the legal codes originate from God's commands, they examine and validate honest principles, they are based on the wise men who carry them out, and they are put into practice bearing in mind the world even administration.

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先知者嘗謂法度曰乃天主之聲也。寰宇之神也。國家之筋也。道德之甲也。訟獄之司也。五倫之紐也。雅俗淆亂之斧也。則廢法度於世與廢日於天，去神於身無異。諸實學之中，豈不當有專務公法之學。計振本國之政者乎。凡圖秉國敷治，而不修國度之學，比於無翼而欲飛，無戈而欲戰可乎。古西國有士，未習於法學，臨民攝政，偶遇訟事之難，即不敢自決，乃托左右之吏處焉。

People of foresight used to call the legal system the voice of God, the spirit of the world, the muscle of the state, the armour of the virtuous, the handler of disputes, the bound of the Five Cardinal Human Relationships, the axe that cuts through the confusion of the cultured and the vulgar alike. Therefore, to abolish the legal system from the world would be equal to abolishing the sun from the sky, no different from a body without a spirit. How can practical learning not include branches that are committed to the study of public law? Those who plan to shake the government of this country

⁹⁵⁸ Vagnone literally translates the aim of philosophy as: “the study of the investigation of things and the exhausting of principles”, which was the final step of the self-cultivation process in Neo-confucian philosophy. However, as suggested by Luk (1989), both Aleni and Vagnone make use of notions from Confucian and Neo-confucian backgrounds to refer to a totally different philosophical system, one that presents “radically different conceptions about a dichotomy between the corporeal and the supernatural, and about a teleology of otherworldly complexion”. See Luk, 1989 p. 492.

⁹⁵⁹ As Luk points out, the organisation of Western learning described by the Jesuits does not take into account the changes that followed the Counter reform, focusing instead on the system they had experienced, mostly featuring Medieval characteristics. Law and medicine, are not described by St. Ignatius' Constitutiones, but were a prominent part of the *curriculum studiorum* of Medieval universities. See Luk, 1989, p. 485.

take power and spread control but, if they don't cultivate the study of the system of the state, it is like wanting to fly without wings or wanting to fight without a dagger. The countries of the ancient West had a scholar who didn't practise legal studies and acted as regent in ruling the people; when he encountered the difficulties of legal disputes, he didn't dare solve them by himself, but relied on his close ministers.

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時有賢者過而笑之曰，嗚呼。夫仕者乃管籥焉。非旁人吹之必不出聲也。吏是彼是，吏非彼非，不如吏為官，官為吏焉。以故吾泰西諸國，常立法度之公堂，時時奉數高士以設其正傳，俾凡欲從政者，六載之久遊其學，至於六載終方應嚴試，而惟取其可以從政者也。其二家謂之修疾治命之學，命蓋世人所重者，莫甚乎命，所忌者，莫甚乎害命之病。病之名無美，療病之神藥正方無幾，

Once a Sage passed by and laughed out loud: "This official is like a flute! If he's not played by somebody, it won't make a sound!" If the minister says yes then it's yes, if he says no, then it's no, which is better than having a minister acting as an official or an official acting as a minister. Therefore, all the countries of our great West established schools of law,⁹⁶⁰ where sometimes they hire a number of high-ranked scholars to give instructions, so that those who want to follow [the study] of politics after a six-year course can take a strict examination, and only those who pass can engage in politics.⁹⁶¹ The second school is the study of that which cures illness and saves life. Life is humanity's most important gift, is what they are most jealous of and there's nothing that people fear more than fatal illness. The names of illnesses are not nice, but spiritual medicine is hardly the proper way to cure a disease

⁹⁶⁰ Consistent to the translation given by Luk of the same passage contained in Aleni's *Xixue Fan* 西學凡 I used the term 'gongtang 公堂' with the acceptance of public schools, although it is elsewhere used by Vagnone to refer to tribunals. See Luk, 1989, p. 506.

⁹⁶¹ According to Luk (1989), the description of this examination system, which resembled the Chinese *keju* 科舉, was aimed making a positive impression in the literati who were complaining a decay in the law paper of that examination, or were unsatisfied with the administration of the Emperor's magistrates. Luk, 1989, p. 506.

諸病所由之故難究。非得傳學之醫士，安能起死而回生也。欲治田，問良農，欲考室，問良工，而於生命之重，獨不加謹，乃惟所立方製藥，遽妄信從乎。諺曰賊人心莫甚邪俗，賊人身莫甚邪藥，病之虐不如醫之愚，多殺人也。病之重，十死一二。醫之愚，十死七八。傷哉！故吾泰西古俗，有醫之公學，諸名士釋古醫之遺經發明人牲之本原，辨外軀百肢之殊，內臟諸情之驗，

as the reasons behind all diseases are difficult to investigate. Can doctors who master this learning bring dead people back to life? If you want to cultivate a field, ask for a good farmer. If you want to build a house, ask for a good builder, and when it comes to the importance of life one should not be extra careful and only randomly believe in any medical product. An old saying goes: "There's nothing that harm people's mind more than evil habits, and there's nothing that harms people's body more than bad medicine". The cruelty of a disease is not as bad as foolish doctors, who kills more people. The seriousness of an illness kills one or two in ten, a foolish doctor kills seven or eight in ten. Terrible indeed! For this reason, it is an ancient tradition of our great West to have public schools of medicine, where famous scholars interpret traditional textbooks of medicine to discover the basic principles of men and animals, to distinguish the many different limbs of the body, along with testing all the feelings within the internal organs,

及其萬病之所以然，而因設其所富用之藥方。又大約六年中師教其弟子以切脈及療治之法，六年之後須嚴考試，而非領考司之命，不得擅行醫也。其三家費羅所非亞也。費羅所非亞者譯言格物窮理之道也。名號最尊，學者之慧明者。文學既成，即立志向此焉。此道又分五家一曰落熱加一曰非西加一曰瑪得瑪第加一曰默大非西加，一曰厄弟加。落熱加者譯言明辨之道。

As well as [finding] the causes of the various diseases and the many established ways of healing. Also in the space of six years, the instructor teaches his disciples the methods of pulse feeling and treatment, and after six years they attend a strict exam: those who don't receive authorisation from their superiors cannot qualify to be doctors. The third school is philosophy. Philosophers translate the doctrine of the investigation of things and fathoming of principles. Their title is the most respected, as these scholars' wisdom is clear. As literary studies are completed, we strive towards

this [subject]. This Doctrine is also divided into five branches: one is logic, one is physics, one is mathematics, one is metaphysics and one is ethics. Logic interprets the Way of clear distinction.

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以立諸學之根基，而貴辨是與非，實與虛，衷與表。蓋開茅塞，而於事物之隱蘊不使謬誤也。非西加者，譯言察性理之道。主乎明剖萬物之理，辨其本與末，性與情，其當然者，與其所以然⁹⁶²者，依顯測隱。由後推前，緣其既知，以致其所未知，故其學浩博，非他人學可比，凡上天下地，中火，木，水，土之域。萬象萬生之品，造化之妙，四時之序，四行之交互，五金之凝結，百穀成熟，種種具焉。

It serves as the foundation of every study, and preciously distinguishes the aye from the nay, the truth from falseness, the core from the surface. It sheds a light on everything⁹⁶³ and doesn't leave people mistaken by what's hidden inside them. As for physics, it deals with the investigation of the Doctrine of Principle and Nature.⁹⁶⁴ Its main rule is to clearly analyse the principles of all living things, distinguishing between their roots and extremities, their nature and feeling. From 'what is', can be derived 'why it is'; from the obvious, can be estimated the hidden; from what is at the back, can be argued what is at the front, and on the basis of what it is known it extends its knowledge to what is unknown, therefore its study is so extensive that other studies cannot compare. [Physics] explains everything in the domain of the sky above, or the earth below, and the fire, wood, water and ground in the middle. Also [it deals with every aspect of] the quality of the thousands of images and thousands living beings, the beauty of creation, the order of the four eras, the mutual exchange of the four paths, the solidification of the five metals and the ripening of grains.

⁹⁶² The use of the Neo-Confucian term 'suoyiran 所以然' is interpreted with an Aristotelian acceptance "final, efficient, formal and material". See, Luk, 1989. p. 496.

⁹⁶³ This expression derives from the *chengyu* 成語: "Dun kai mao se 頓開毛色", which is used to indicate the act of "suddenly seeing the light of everything".

⁹⁶⁴ Once again, the Neo-Confucian origin of these two terms is evident, although the author's intent is to refer to the Aristotelian branch of natural philosophy, Vagnone makes use of a similar definition in the preface of his *Xiushen xixue* 修身西學 (Self-cultivation in the West, c. 1631), to mark the difference between the two mainstream topic of early modern European knowledge: "二三友陳性理之學，余進而述義禮之學焉。Two or three of my confrères talk about the study of nature and principles, I will therefore further describe the study of morals)" See *Xiushen xixue* 修身西學 (Du perfectionnement de soi-même, d'après la morale), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, catalogue Chinois, 3396, f.2.

瑪得瑪第加者譯言察幾何之道，主乎審究形物之分限者也。其分者若截以為數，則顯物幾何眾也。若完以為度，則指物幾何大也。其數與度或脫於物體而空論之，則數者立算法家，度者立量法家也。或二者在物體而偕其物議之，則數者如在音相濟為和，而立律呂家，度者如在動天迭運為時，而立曆法家也。此四大支，流析百派，皆可究極精理，此未暇詳也。

Mathematics interprets the way to study quantities,⁹⁶⁵ its main rule is to meticulously investigate the difference between shapes and objects. If it is divided or limited by numbers, then it shows the quantity of all things. If it is made up by measures, then it indicates the size of all things. When numbers and measures lack substance and are the object of empty talks, then numbers are used by accountants and measures are used by surveyors. When [numbers and measures] possess substance and are the object of common talks, then numbers are used by musicians to create harmony in melody chords, [while] measures are used by astronomers to calculate the movement of the heavenly stars that create seasons.⁹⁶⁶ These four great branches merge into the one hundred schools, they all research the Ultimate, the Spirit and the Principle, which is not easy to explain.

默大非西加者譯言察性以上之理也。則總論有形諸物之宗理，分析萬有為二宗品。一謂之自立者，一謂之依賴者，依賴者又分為九宗焉。終設神鬼之精論，而漸著明萬有之眾源本也。夫厄弟加者譯言察義禮之學也。其務不外乎三者，先以義禮修身，次以身齊家，終以家治國是也。然計修身，先剖析義禮，與諸德根本異同，及其細情，使吾知其所當從之善，與其所避之惡也。

⁹⁶⁵ The previous occurrence of the term ‘*Jihe* 幾何’ as ‘Euclidean geometry’, in Ricci and Xu Guangqi’s famous translation of the Western geometric system, *Jihe Yuanben* 幾何原本 can lead to misunderstand the meaning of the word in the above passage. D’Elia (1950) interprets it as “geometry”, following Ricci’s guidance, while Luk (1989) argues that Aleni (and therefore Vagnone) used it to refer to mathematics as a whole, suggesting to translate it as “measure” instead. See Luk, 1989, p. 498.

⁹⁶⁶ There is a clear reference in this passage to the organization of the study theorized by Plato in his *Republic*: the “science of calculation” held a relevant position in the education of the outstanding youth, and was propaedeutic to the understanding of philosophy. It was immediately followed by the study of geometry, astronomy and music. The latter, intended as “harmony in sounds”, was based on the translation of chords into numbers, which made it deeply different from the military component it held in the early education. See *Republic*, VII. 521, 529.

Metaphysics interprets the principles above the study of the nature, therefore they generally speak of a main principle of all beings with a body⁹⁶⁷. They analyse everything on the basis of two qualities: one is called substance, the other one accident, which also divide into nine sections. The final hypothesis is the supernatural discussion, which gradually enters into the origin of all things. Ethics deals with the study of the righteous etiquette. Its tasks are mainly three: the first is self-cultivation through righteous etiquette, then the governance of family through self-cultivation, finally the administration of the state as a family. To plan self-cultivation, one must first analyse righteous etiquette, the basic similarities and differences within all virtues, and all the details [that make the virtues up], in order to recognise all the good to follow and the evil we need to avoid.⁹⁶⁸

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次論立室生產資業養育之道。使知其所當取,併其所富戒也。次區別衆政之品節,而銓叙流品。考覈政事,使其政[正]者顯且存,其邪者棄之也。若是者,人學度備矣。但人學之上尚有天學。西土所謂陡羅日亞也。此學乃依古今經典,與諸聖賢註論。剖析正道之本源,而攻闢異端之邪也。其學亦分四大支。一論物上必有一主,至大至明至善至公。即詳其性,及其妙情。

Then it discusses the Way of building a family, having children, dealing with a profession and imparting education to make us understand what we should achieve and what we should give up. Afterwards it explains the differences between the moral integrity of the government and the social status of the officials. [Ethics] examines political affairs to make righteous [behaviour] evident and preserved, rejecting evil [behaviour]. This way, human studies are complete. However, above

⁹⁶⁷ In the *Ratio Studiorum* text, it is reported that in this course, teachers should first provide a general overview on the ancient philosophers' opinions which were discussed in the first book of Aristotle's *De Anima*, but they were encouraged to refrain from dealing with anatomy and "the sense of bodies" in details, as these were "the concern of medical science". Although the interpretation of Aristotle's text was at the core of the course, only certain texts were selected and discussed in order to move forward to "the questions on God and on types of intelligence, which depended entirely or in great part on truths derived from the revelation". See *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, translated into English with an introduction and explanatory notes by Alan P. Farrell S.J., University of Detroit, conference paper: "Conference of major superiors of Jesuits", Washington D.C., 1970, pp. 42-43.

⁹⁶⁸ Vagnone's choice to shape the ethical process of the West following the Confucian model, instead of the Aristotelian one, is not random: not only was Ethics at the core of Confucian doctrine, but in Ming China it also acquired a political value. Those literati who were turning to the Western learning were particularly sensitive to the moral corruption of their political system and sought a return to the self-cultivation program described in the *Daxue* 大學.

human studies there are heavenly studies⁹⁶⁹ that are called *Theologia* in the West. These studies are based on the ancient and new testament, along with all the texts written by saints and sages. It analyses the origin of the Righteous Doctrine, confuting the evilness of heterodoxy. This learning is also divided into four great branches⁹⁷⁰: the first states that above all things there must be a Lord who is the greatest, the brightest the kindest and the fairest. His nature is complete and feelings are extraordinary.

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一論天主造成天地，及萬物之功，而萬物之中。神與人為靈貴焉。一論萬民所向之真福，及其所以得失真福之善惡，及諸善惡之正報。一論天主降生 拯世之來歷，及其化眾而登大道之奇功。以至歸天，而定後日教化之諸規也。夫天學已備，即人學無不全而修齊治平之功。更明且易，行道之力更強矣。故吾西大學之修從認己始，而至於知萬有之至尊。正所謂復其初，反其本也。

Another [branch] states that God created the sky and the earth, and [discusses] the merit of creating creatures, along with what's in the middle of all beings. Angels and men have a precious soul. Another [branch] discusses the true happiness towards which all men tend, the good and bad [deeds] that can make one achieve or lose true happiness, and the right reward for all the good and the bad [deeds]. The last branch deals with the the history of God's arrival, who made himself Man to save the world, His conversion of the masses and the miracle of His ascension. After he returned to Heaven, He set all the rules of His future teaching. Theology is complete, while human studies are perfected with the contribution of self-cultivation, regulation of the family, order of the state and

⁹⁶⁹ The loan translation 'Renxue 人學' and semantic loan 'Tianxue 天學' were just two of the terms traditionally believed to be created by Aleni. Masini's in-depth study on Aleni's contribution to the modern Chinese lexicon (1997) reveals that these were used for a long time and that at the end of the 19th century they came to refer respectively to 'human sciences' and 'sciences of the heavens', though indicating different subjects than those described by Vagnone and Aleni. (pp. 551–552). See Masini, *ibid.* pp. 551-552. It is also noteworthy that sometimes the term 'Tianxue 天學' was also used by the Jesuits to indicate 'astronomy' or 'Western learning' in general, an ambiguity, according to Luk (1989), not necessarily unintentional. See Luk, *ibid.* p. 510.

⁹⁷⁰ Here's an attempt by the author to summarise the four main chapters of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* (written between 1265 – 1274): *Prima Primae, Prima Secundae, Secunda Secundae and Tertia*. This passage will be more thoroughly described in Aleni's *Xixue Fan* 西學凡. The relevance of Aquinas' text in the Jesuits' *curriculum studiorum* is proved by the very text of the *Ratio Studiorum*, where the *Summa* features as the main study material of the course of Theology. See *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, pp. 34-35.

peace of the world.⁹⁷¹ Through a better understanding and through change, the strength to practise our beliefs will be more vigorous. Thus the cultivation of *Great Learning* in our West starts from knowing oneself, and arrives to the knowledge of the highest respect for the whole of creation. It's just a so-called return to the beginning, turning back to the origin.

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然既明於是，又從彼推廣其仁，愛人如己，使各克其職，而盡其分數焉。其中又有高誌之士，既勤苦於彼諸學，尚進習於正道之妙，而常在其中涵育，以成純德修身不已。雖文業自足聞達，乃反辭尊位重祿，離父母，骨肉，親戚。施豐貲而甘[耳]困約。煩劇身心，鏟滅名跡，以談道勸德，倘遇邪教異端。輒殫力闢之，以扶天主正傳，即致命不顧焉。此則吾太西總學之大畧也。若其詳細，則吾耶穌會中人，類能言之，倘有下問，不敢憚煩，且譯書次第出。會見天人之學，佈滿中華矣。

Once this precept is clear, we spread it to [the understanding of] His charity: to love another like ourself, makes everyone go beyond their occupation and accomplish their duties. Among these [loving people] there are some distinguished scholars, who are working diligently on these studies, to achieve the beauty of the Righteous Doctrine. They constantly immerse themselves in such comprehensive education to achieve pure virtue and an endless self-cultivation. Even if literary studies are enough to reach success, they give up a respectful position and a good salary, leave the parents – flesh and blood, and relatives. They give away their richness and enjoy living in difficulty. To talk about the Doctrine and to recommend virtue, when coming across the evil teachings of heresy, is heavy on body and mind and destroys achievements. If we refuse [heresy] with all our strength, through the help of God as a righteous master, we can fulfil our destiny no matter what. This is a summary of the general studies of the West. If you (are interested) in its details, then we, members of the Society of Jesus, can talk about that. If there are specific questions, we don't dare fear trouble, we are even translating a series of books to be published. We shall witness the diffusion of heavenly studies and human studies in China.

⁹⁷¹ In this passage, Vagnone's conception of Theology as *regina scientiarum* (superior, literally 'queen' of all sciences), by Thomas Aquinas appears evident. The author follows a precept contained in the fourth part of St. Ignatius' Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, which stated that "since the end of the Society of Jesus is to aid our fellow men to the knowledge and love of God [...] and since the branch of Theology is the most suitable means to this end, in the universities of the Society the principal emphasis ought to be put on it [...]", translated by Luk, 1989, p. 485.

飲食第六 *On Diet*⁹⁷²

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亞訥加氏，西國古賢也。嘗設三誠于學，腹其一，舌其二，色其三。蓋害正學者不止三，而腹之害尤甚。試觀凡腹充飽以酒肉，則心志墜溺于賤陋。乃舌易肆于言，而情易恣于淫也。凡甘淡薄，則美志立，慾易約，而舌亦不至縱矣。

Anacharsis⁹⁷³ was an ancient sage of the West. He set up three warnings concerning learning: the first was the stomach, the second was the tongue and the third were passions⁹⁷⁴. The harms to righteous learning are more than three, but the stomach is the most dangerous. We can see that every time the stomach is filled with meat and alcohol our willpower is drowned by vulgarity. Then, the tongue [also] gives way to talking and feelings indulge in luxury. If meals are simple, then our good aspirations stand straight, our desires are easily restrained and the tongue is not allowed to flap loose.

⁹⁷² From this chapter Vagnone begins exploring the main *topoi* of Renaissance etiquette for young boys. In doing so, he detaches from classical pedagogy and fully embraces the trends of the literary and philosophical environment he was born and raised. 16th century Italy showed a particular attention on etiquette and social development of young boys, as proved by the famous treatise *Galateo* (On Manners, 1558) by Giovanni della Casa (1503 – 1556), whose long-lasting influence on child education still endures nowadays. Precepts concerning table manners, clothing, sleeping habits, interpersonal relationship and leisure time, were dealt with by both ethical works and treatises on etiquette. The first, which dealt with in De Torres' *Philosophia Moral*, and in some ways Vegio's *De Educatione Liberorum*, emphasised their Christian component by focusing for instance on the necessity to foster temperance, one of the seven Christian virtues; the latter, such as Desiderius Erasmus' *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellus*, appeared instead as a general dissertation on etiquette and practical suggestions to achieve the children's physical and mental well-being, a general trend in Renaissance pedagogy.

⁹⁷³ Anacharsis, Scythian, is considered by some authors to be one of the Seven Sages of ancient Greece and lived in the 6th century BC. Information about his life, philosophy and works are scattered, but many anecdotes and quotations are recorded by authors such as Herodotus, Cicero and Diogenes Laertius, see [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anacarsi_\(Enciclopedia-Italiana\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anacarsi_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)/).

⁹⁷⁴ Diogenes Laertius records that Anacharsis was considered a forerunner of the Cynics and was well-known for his moderation in living and acute observations on Greek customs. It appears that his witticism was highly appreciated by the Greeks, who used to inscribe his famous motto: "Restrain your tongue, your appetite, your passions" on every statue of the philosopher. See *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers by Diogenes Laertius*, trans. By C.D. Yonge, London 1853, p. 48.

雖然飲食之欲，治之最難，蓋根乎情性，與人併生長，而不可絕也。乃取其適可，而辭其大過，在成德之士猶⁹⁷⁵難之，況始學乎。故聖教明師皆曰，凡志于清修之學，宜先克最難，克者則飲食之欲是也。稍順之則衆慾恣侈，道德傾隕，欲絕之則肢軀餒弱，學業輟息，必酌其中可耳。故父師教育之際，當于其欲之萌芽早正之，則或視農法焉，或視獵法焉。

As a consequence, the desire to eat and drink are the hardest to control, because they are rooted in human feelings and nature, are born and grow together with people and cannot be rejected. Therefore, one needs to take only what's appropriate [for him] and refuse excesses: such a thing is difficult for accomplished scholars, let alone those who are at the beginning of their learning. Wise masters of the holy religion used to say: "Those who aim at learning to leave a life of few ambitions, should first overcome the hardest [difficulty], which is just the desire to eat and drink". If we even slightly satisfy this [need], then we subvert our morality and allow our desires to run free. If we wish to refuse this need, then the body will be hungry and weak and the occupation of learning will cease, so we need to ponder [a solution] in between.⁹⁷⁶ For this reason, during the education of fathers and teachers, it is appropriate to correct such desires in the early stages, [and to do so] some look at the farmer's method and others look at the hunter's method.

農法曰，諸木植茂，時以清泉溉之，但溉之不得其時，與數反以害之。童孩者長之急，又多內火，即未免厚供之，然而或失時，或失宜，亦未免致患矣。獵法曰，欲習犬于獵，使疾趨而獲獸也，必養之薄，時空其腹焉，蓋肥者未能善走，焉能獲獸乎？夫幼者欲習于文藝之學，法莫善于育之薄，不使飽食，為美業之滯也。蓋文德全成必欲氣之清潔以受種種外物之像焉。欲司記之堅固，以含存諸像焉。

⁹⁷⁵ "Du 獨" in the manuscript edition.

⁹⁷⁶ A proper balance in diet, alongside the harms that excessive feeding poses to children's bodies and minds were a key matter in Renaissance etiquette. In this passage for instance, the influence of Desiderius Erasmus's *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellus* appears evident: when describing table manners, the author states: "Those who force children to fast, in my opinion, are just as insane as those who stuff them too full with food. For, as the former undermines the slight strenght of a tender young body, so the latter overwhelms them mind. Moderation ought to be learnt from the beginning", quoted from Erasmus Desiderius, *A Handbook on Good Manners*, translated by Eleonor Merchant, Random House Ebooks, p. 435.

The farmer's method consists of occasionally irrigating all the trees and plants with clear spring water to make them luxuriant. However, if these are not irrigated at the appropriate time, many of them will be harmed instead. Children grow up quickly and have a fiery temper, so it is inevitable for them to overeat, but sometimes they miss opportunities, sometimes they act in an inappropriate way and inevitably extend their stupidity. The hunter's method says: if you wish to train a dog to hunt, make him run fast and catch a beast. You need to raise him to be thin and sometimes leave him with an empty stomach because fat dogs don't run properly, so how can they catch a beast? [For] those children who want to practise human studies, there's no better method than raising them to be thin, not making them fat, so that their good occupation [i.e the learning] won't be held up. Because to complete [the study] of humanities and morals we need the vital energy to be pure, so that the images of all the outside creatures can be received; we[also] need our memory to be steady, so that every image can be contained and preserved.

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欲明德之靜漠，以洞徹萬物之理焉。欲志之高且定以決諸疑，而處諸事之難焉。四者廢其一，而全成其學者鮮矣。豐饗者，多血氣垢濁，記心漏散，明悟昏昧，志氣顛躓，而學尚有所立之地乎？弟呵泥恤，古為西海名島之虐王也，遇所忌賢士幼子，欲害之，時時豐宴饗之。終廢其先學，而溺于不肖，噫！惡王千計，不能害大賢之子，而惟豐飲食以敗其學，巧哉！亞日西老氏昔為名將。

We need our bright virtue to be calm, so that the principles of all creatures can be understood clearly; we [also] need our will to be high and firm, so that every doubt can be reduced and every difficulty can be dealt with. It is rare that one can complete his studies if he rejects one of these four precepts. Those in whom gluttony abound, are filthy in blood and spirit, of scattered memory, blurry in intelligence and poor in ambition, so will the learning have a starting place? Dionysius was the cruel king of a famous island in the West Sea during ancient times.⁹⁷⁷ When he encountered children of scholars he was jealous of, he wanted to harm them and frequently attracted them with abundant banquets. These children eventually abandoned their previous learning, and drowned in

⁹⁷⁷ Dionysius I of Siracuse, also called Dionysius the Elder, c. 432 – 367 BC.

unworthiness. How sad! The evil king's many plans could not harm the sage children, but excessive eating and drinking defeated their knowledge. How clever! Archelaus⁹⁷⁸ was a famous general during ancient times.

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忽帥軍經地西海，島名達瑣，眾民饋以嘉味數種，賢將惟納其最薄，而辭其旨者。使者屢慤，遂分散于下僕，不自用也。使者問故，將曰：務于道德者必不滯于穀膳也。夫形神二物最相近，形神二養又最相遠，身飮則神懼，未能專于正學之要焉。身饑則神清未逞營口腹之陋焉。加肋諾，古為大學之宗，壽至一百四十歲。或問之曰：子從何法，而學之廣，壽之長乎。曰：無他，貶食減飧，而未嘗至于飽也。

When commanders and troops quickly crossed the Aegean Sea to an island called Thassos, all the locals offered them many kinds of fine delicacies. The wise general accepted the simplest ones, refusing the most delicious. The envoys were continuously kind, but in the end he distributed [the food] among the slaves and did not consume it personally. The envoys asked the reason and the general replied: “Those who are committed to morality cannot be stuffed with lavish meals”.⁹⁷⁹ The two matters, body and spirit, are the most similar [to each other], but the ways of nourishing them could not be more distant: if the body is satiated then the spirit is frail, and won't commit to the necessity of righteous learning. If the body is hungry then the spirit is pure, and will [only] indulge and care about the triviality of the appetite”. In the past Galen⁹⁸⁰ was an ancestor of the great learning who lived until the age of 140. Somebody asked: “What method do you follow? If you expand your learning, will life be longer?” He replied: “There's no other way: reduce food, avoid evening meals and don't keep yourself always full”.

⁹⁷⁸ Archelaus, (? – 63 BC) is considered the greatest general who served under king Mithridates VI of Pontus (134 – 63 BC).

⁹⁷⁹ The source of this anecdote, which praises general Archelaus' temperance and moderation in eating, is once again Plutarch's book *Moralia*, recorded in the tenth book *Philosophia Moral*, “*De la templança en comer y beber* (On temperance in eating and drinking)”, XI.3, pp. 462 – 463.

⁹⁸⁰ Aelius Galenus or Claudius Galenus, Greek physician of the Roman Empire. He was born in September 129 CE, and died between 200 and 216. Vagnone's lack of historical accuracy is not an attempt to manipulate events for pedagogical use, as proved by Juan De Torres' same account in *Philosophia Moral*. The Spanish author indicates Gigio Artemio Giancarli from Rovigo, (a 16th century writer from Northern Italy), as his source, stating that the reason for Galen's longevity was “*in cibum & potu abstinentia usum, ut ad satietatem nunquam comedevit, et bibeat* [...] (practicing abstinence from food and drinks, as I never eat and drink to fullness [...]). See *Philosophia Moral*, XI.3, p. 466.

記者曰：多食者未能延命，而致壽，未能立志而廣學，多食之禽，常係于垢土，弗見發軔而任天遊，以享其清氣焉。豐養之幼，多滯于污陋，能立志而專于高務耶？伯兒西亞古爲道邦，其遊學者，不許任意取食，乃至學堂，賢師叫之，饑之時，始以苦者淡者與之。辣責德末納，亦古名學之邑也，于幼之飲食有分數不可踰，踰者必懲不赦。

So the records say: “Those who eat a lot cannot extend their life nor obtain longevity, and cannot be determined nor expand their learning. Animals that eat too much are always bound to the filthy ground, and they are never seen rising their bodies and being admitted to Heaven, to enjoy its pure spirit. Children who are over-nourished languish in filthy vulgarity – can they be filled with determination and turn to high commitments? Persia was a state of Doctrine, where scholars were not allowed to obtain food as they liked, but teachers in schools called them when they were starving and began offering them bitter, simple [food]. Lacedaemon was also the town of the ancient famous knowledge, where children’s diets had many rules that could not be transgressed, and those who transgressed had to be punished, with no chance of forgiveness.

幼中罕見有胖體者，每季試童子，肥者輒責罰之，減其日需，使反其原体之臞焉。試期至，即具定數之腰帶，而量各童之腹，其不入帶數者，責之。至于大節，則取醉僕置市中，使眾童圍聚隨意擊撻之，卑童子觀彼驚惶，自止其飲食之侈，而不敢肆矣。因多國古俗，于幼之育尤嚴也。學者同居，常侍師側。非師之命，弗敢聚食，將食，師先審各童之功，其敏者則譽而容于席，其惰者，則叱不容于席。

Among children, fat ones were seldom seen: every season they would test the children and punish the overweight ones, decreased their daily necessities to make them get back in shape. For the examination, every child had his waist measured with a band of a specific length. Those who didn’t fit into the band suffered reproach. This group was led to an area of drunken slaves, where they surrounded and beat [the slaves], to make the children see their sense of panic and stop them from

returning to an excess of eating and drinking, leaving them to not dare indulge in it again.⁹⁸¹ Old traditions of India were always very strict about children's education. The students lived together, and often attended upon their teachers. Without their teacher's orders, they didn't dare gather to eat: before eating, teachers first analysed the work of every child. Those who were diligent were prized and allowed to sit, those who are lazy were scolded and not allowed to sit.

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坐席之範，弗談弗笑，舉動不苟，取其淡素而起，趨學也。若近世學道，去彼世殊甚矣。親之愚者蔽於私愛，養子若養牲，無異焉。雖然，幼學之戒酒宜尤嚴，蓋幼者稟氣之旺，而因得性之急，使隨意吸啜酒，將加火於火矣。古聖曰：酒乃道德之敵，潔淨之讐神身之甘毒。好之者，焉能好道德之學乎？古聖又曰：酒之用有四級，一謂之須，一謂之喜，一謂之辱，一謂之狂。

The code for attending the dinner [did not allow] any chatting or laughing, actions were not lax: [each student] received a simple meal and went back to study. Therefore, to learn the Doctrine in modern times is extremely different from those times. Foolish parents hide behind their selfish love, and raise children as if they were raising a domestic animal. Hence, in their school years [children] should abstain from alcohol. Because they have a vigorous vital energy, and possess an impatient nature, [so] to allow them to freely indulge in drinking, would add fire to the fire.⁹⁸² The ancient sages used to say: alcohol is the enemy of the Doctrine, the rival of purity, the poison of body and spirit; how can those who love it also love the study of morals?"⁹⁸³ The ancient sages also said: "The

⁹⁸¹ The anecdote recorded in *Philosophia Moral* appears less detailed: "The Lacedaemonios were so careful in warning their children against the use of wine that, in order to make them dislike it, they used to put them in front of intoxicated slaves, so that they could see the shameful things they did and abstain as a sign of dignity". See, *Philosophia Moral*, XI.10, p. 495.

⁹⁸² "[...] et Plato monet vetans ignem igni excitare. ([...] and Plato exhorts to avoid invigorating fire with fire)". *De Educatione Liberorum* I. 8, p. 11; The very same quote is also reported in *Philosophia Moral*, XI. 11, p. 488.

⁹⁸³ Renaissance etiquette considered the use of alcohol in children both morally degrading and physically harmful. However, water was not always available during meals, sometimes because of the "nature of the region" or for other reasons, hence wine or beer were often the only options as drinks. Desiderius Erasmus recommended children not to drink more than two or three times at dinner, and to consume "light beer or wine diluted with water", in order to avoid the harms of drunkenness, such as "decaying teeth, bleary eyes, dim vision and a dull mind. In short, a premature decline", see , *A Handbook on Good Manners*, p. 332. A similar suggestion is also made by Vegio, who, in chapter *De inhibendo vino pueris* (On forbidding wine to children) exhorts children to completely abstain from drinking wine, but to replace it with milk or water. See *De Educatione Liberorum*, I. 8, p. 12.

use of alcohol has four stages: the first one is need, the second one is pleasure, the third one is addiction, the fourth one is intoxication”.⁹⁸⁴

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蓋幼者所須甚寡，漸喜嘗焉，遂至辱且狂矣。故吾泰西古今諸修幼學之都邑，或一旬，或二旬之間，必禁酒，不使童幼之心，昏迷而棄美學也。蓋早習于酒者，必遲至于知，無不然也。

Because children’s needs are not many, they slowly get to like the taste, eventually leading to addiction and then intoxication. Hence in our West, all the cities that cultivate children’s learning, imposes a ban on alcohol in the first, or in the second decade [of their lives], to prevent their minds from becoming blurry and abandoning good learning. Because it is sure that the earlier one approaches alcohol, the more he will delay knowledge.⁹⁸⁵

衣裳 第七 *Clothing*⁹⁸⁶

⁹⁸⁴ This quote appears to be a paraphrase of another famous saying by Anacharsis: “A vine bears three grapes, the first of pleasure, the second of drunkenness, and the third of repentance”. See Diogenes Laertius, “Life of Anarchasis”, in *The Lives of the Ancient Philosophers: Containing an Account of Their Several Fects, Doctrines, Actions and Remarkable Sayings*. London, 1702, p. 54.

⁹⁸⁵ De Torres reports a similar quote by philosopher Boetius: “*Ubi enim ebrietas, ibi furor dominatur; ubi furor, ibi nulla sapientia peruagatur* (Where there is intoxication, rage will dominate; where rage dominates, knowledge won’t spread)”. See *Philosophia Moral*, XI. 9 p. 486.

⁹⁸⁶ Among the *clares mores* that made up Renaissance etiquette, pertinence in dress held a relevant place. In his *De Educatione Liberorum*, Vegio gives an interesting account of classical and medieval authors’ concepts of *mundities* (i.e. elegance, cleanness) and how to foster this attitude in children. In the Italian author’s eye, clothing must be simple but not shabby, and act as a reminder of the individual modesty (*verecundia*). See *De Educatione Liberorum*, V.4. A more secular interpretation of the dressing etiquette of the Renaissance can be gathered from Desiderius Erasmus’ *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium*. In chapter 2, titled “*De Cultu* (Dress)”, the author doesn’t make any reference to God, but refers to clothes as “the body of the body (*corporis corpus*)”, indicating them as functional to understand “the nature of somebody’s mind”. See *A Handbook on Good Manners*, p. 260. As for Chinese traditional education, the main precepts on dressing habits are recorded in the “*Liji* 禮記 (the Book of Rites)” and the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects) and reported in Zhu Xi’s *Xiaoxue* 小學 (Elementary education). According to Pre-Qin etiquette, ornaments and dress fabric were age-specific: Confucius stated that children’s clothing had to be plain, not made of silk and with no ornament on the shoes. In a passage from the Analects, remarks on which colour and type of clothing to wear according to the area and the seasonal appearance. In general, Confucius advocated a certain modesty in dressing, especially among those scholars who had reached the Dao and had therefore to show contempt towards luxurious clothes as a sign of righteousness. See Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小學集註, first volume, reprinted in Qiushan Dong Shuju, 1886, f. 27.

造化主爲人具衣裳，以蔽四軀，禦外患者也。古之人奉命不違焉，後世人心漸侈，其于衣服奢華甚矣。篤瑪所聖人曰：吾先祖初生時，得性情之正，乃無衣而不耻其裸。

The Creator provided men with clothing to hide the body and protect it from external harms. Ancient people obeyed [God's] commands and did not violate them, [while] modern people's minds gradually became more extravagant, becoming very lavish with their dress. St. Thomas used to say: "Our ancestors were born righteous in nature and feelings, therefore even without clothes there was no shame in their nakedness.

即而逆命，爰始知羞，乃主慈憐以裘衣之。愚民漸侈於衣，則以元罪所遺，爲本身文飾，哀哉。譬之奴僕，或抗主，或劫家貨，而所得服飾，不以爲累辱也，反以爲本軀美飾可乎。故經戒曰勿誇於美衣，勿喜於光日，天主之命，不可測也。解之者曰：從粲粲衣服而喜，未必無愆罪焉，未必不承天主之僇焉。豈可不慎哉？至於童幼衣裳，尤宜加謹，蓋諸自外而昏惑幼心者，莫如衣裳之餘飾也。

But when they transgressed [God's] rules they began to know shame, so the Lord showed His mercy by covering them with clothes". The extravagant clothing of foolish people is a legacy of original sin – to deceive through impressive appearances. What a shame! Let us take the slaves as an example: sometimes they oppose their lord, sometimes they steal the possessions of a family, but all the clothes that they obtain cannot be used to remove their humiliation; on the contrary, they can only be used to adorn the body. Therefore, the Bible warns: "Don't take too much pride in beautiful clothes, don't be overly fond of glorious days, because God's commands cannot be foreseen". The explanation is: "Those who enjoy lavish clothes are not necessarily without sin and will not necessarily be spared God's punishment". Why not be careful? When it comes to children's clothing we should be extra careful, because of all the external elements that confuse and mislead children's minds, there is nothing as dangerous as overly decorated clothing.⁹⁸⁷

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Interestingly, Chinese classical tradition prescribed modesty in dressing only during the time of mourning for one's parents passing away. As recorded by the "*Quli* 曲禮", a chapter of *Liji* 禮記: "為人子者，父母存，冠衣不純素。孤子當室，冠衣不純采 (As a son, when parents are alive, clothing [literally: hat and dress] doesn't need to be simple.

古言曰：外修彌盛，內修彌瘁，譬之日光，愈大愈昏目。衣之光明，未有不昏其心者也。孔雀負五彩而張華輪，羽禽之中，最為奇麗，對太陽而舒顏自喜，倨傲不暇已，俯視其足之醜也，則廢然矣。幼者盛服，與孔雀無異，恆睹身之文飾驕而矜之，而不視其本情之惡邪乎。奧悟斯多，吾西古賢王也。嘗設訓曰：服之奇豔，驕傲之旗，邪淫之巢也。火得薪之乾，傲得衣之文：皆易廢焉。

An old saying goes: “The richer one is adorned on the outside, the more devious he is on the inside”. Take sunlight for instance, the brighter its light, the more it confuses the eye. The brightness of clothes has always confused [people’s] minds. The peacock wears five colours and, when it spreads its multi-coloured tail, it’s the rarest and most magnificent of birds.⁹⁸⁸ It compares itself to the sun, enjoys looking at itself and is pleased. It is so arrogant that it doesn’t care about anything else but itself, but when it looks down at the ugliness of its feet, it gets disappointed. Children [wearing] lavish clothes are no different to the peacock: they constantly stare at the rich ornaments of the body. They’re proud and arrogant, but they fail to see the evil in their own feelings. Augustus was a wise king of our West. He used to teach a lesson: “The sensuality of a dress is the standard of arrogance and the nest of evil luxury”. A fire created by dry firewood, like arrogance originating from elegant clothes can both be easily destroyed.

易云：冶容誨淫，冶容多係於衣裳之華麗，淫與傲，即入其骨髓，乃圖從學而務內修，得成？昔聞一師臨學，見門入中或袷服者，責之曰：此衣乃招淫之表，非求道之驗也。中古賢者，忽逢美少年招淫於市，譏之曰：墳兮，墳兮，外飾內醜奚可近兮？掩鼻而過之，又聞師之陳訓

When one is orphaned, clothing cannot be colourful”. Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小學集註, f. 121r.

⁹⁸⁸ The association between the peacock and vanity was a common topic of Middle Age and Renaissance popular culture: when advising children to show modesty, even when wearing lavish clothes, Erasmus makes a similar comparison: “If your parents have given you particularly tasteful clothing, you mustn’t keep twisting around to admire yourself, showing off and preening yourself in front of others, for one is the habit of apes, the other of peacocks”. See *A Handbook on Good Manners*, p. 281. The bird is not native of China, but since its introduction to the country, probably from the Malay Peninsula, it has always been regarded as a sign of beauty and dignity. Moreover, the custom of using peacock’s tail feathers to designate official rank, which started during Ming dynasty and lasted until the Republican era, is a further confirmation of the bird’s popularity and an explanation for Vagnone’s choice. See Williams C.A.S., *Outlines of Chinese symbolism and art motives*, New York, Dover Publications Inc., 1976, pp. 317-318.

曰：善且正者，若貞觀之女，不假文飾自見間美，其惡且邪者，若淫陋之妓，時時塗抹，自見其醜賤也。

The Book of Changes states: “Seductive looks incite wantonness”.⁹⁸⁹ Seductive looks are closely linked to the luxuriousness of the clothing. Once luxury and arrogance penetrate our marrow, how can we attempt to follow learning and complete inner cultivation? In the past it was heard that a teacher saw someone passing through a door before class wearing rich clothes. The teacher reproached the individual: “These clothes are a tool to attract luxury, but are not effective in seeking the Doctrine”. A sage of the Middle Ages encountered by chance a fair young person who was looking for pleasures in the city. The sage mocked him: “He’s like a tomb! He’s like a tomb! So refined on the outside but ugly on the inside, how could anyone go near him?” As [the young boy] covered his nose and hurried away,⁹⁹⁰ he heard again the master’s teaching: “Good and righteous people are like virtuous girls: they don’t need to dress themselves grandly to adorn their natural beauty. Vulgar and evil people are like lascivious prostitutes: they often daub themselves, making their natural vulgarity evident”.

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物愈命真正，愈喜質樸，不求其文，愈假邪，愈謀粧飾，不欲露其本質也。往有智者萬言曰：山鳥自醜其形，假群雀之彩羽飾之，抒翅長鳴不已，俄群雀至，聞其聲而鄙之，盡褫所假而覆其故。於戲，凡好華衣者，槩以羊以蠶之餘飾，圖遮其醜體，及其愚心，至於出聲發言之際，終爲人所笑棄耳。德抹納上古名士也。塗中遇童幼盛衣自詡，笑而提其耳曰：勿傲乎，勿傲乎，是衣乃蠶羊之衣，曷傲乎？

The more honestly creatures live, the more they admire simplicity and don’t try to cover [their image]: the more artificial they are, the more they seek decorations to hide their real nature. In the

⁹⁸⁹ In this passage Vagnone quotes for the first time the classic *Yijing* 易經 or *Zhouyi* 周易《Xici Shang 系辭上》：“慢藏侮盜，冶容侮淫。(Keeping properties improperly will cause theft, and seductive looks will incite to wantonness).”

⁹⁹⁰ This expression borrowed from the classic *Mencius*, Book IV, chap. 25: 孟子曰：“西子蒙不潔，則人皆掩鼻而過之。雖有惡人，齊戒沐浴，則可以祀上帝。(Mencius said, ‘If the lady Xi had been covered with a filthy head-dress, all people would have blocked their noses in passing her. Though a man may be wicked, yet if he adjust his thoughts, fasts, and bathes, he may sacrifice to God.’)”. See Legge, J. “The works of Mencius” in *The Four Books*, 1898, p. 330.

past, some wise men told a long story: “A blackbird disliked his appearance and adorned himself with coloured plumes from a group of birds, showing off his wings with a ceaseless whistling. A group of birds suddenly arrived, and upon hearing his sound they despised it, ending his faked happiness and bringing [the bird] back to normality”.⁹⁹¹ In plays, everybody appreciates magnificent clothing: these are almost like the excessive decorations of sheep and silkworms, which try to cover their ugly shapes and foolish minds. But, the moment they emit a sound, they are laughed at and abandoned by everybody. Demosthenes was a famous scholar of the past. On the street he encountered a young boy who was boasting about his rich dress, so he laughed and pulled the boy’s ear saying: “Don’t be arrogant, don’t be arrogant! These clothes are like those of a sheep or a silkworm, what’s to be arrogant about?”

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或借衣於友，爲頃刻之飾，君子羞之，曰：爾借諸禽之餘毛剩羽，爲本身之美飾，既不自愧，猶傲人乎哉。獼猴或得衣女衣，直似真女，即而察其情，則猴耳。幼之愚者，強飾以文繡，弗能改其稟濁也。若幼而好學者，志於內文不求外飾，計內之有餘，不患外之不足矣。彼亞氏，古七名哲之一也，嘗曰：明智多隱陋衣之下，愚鹵多藏鮮衣之中。明珠之貴，韞於粗蚌，

Someone borrowed an outfit from a friend to impersonate him. A virtuous gentleman shamed him and said: “Even if you borrow all the excess feathers or leftover plumes of all the birds to make yourself beautiful, but yet do not know shame, you’re just an arrogant man!” A macaque that wears women’s clothes might resemble a real woman, but as soon as we examine its emotions, [we understand that] it’s still a monkey.⁹⁹² Foolish children stubbornly adorn themselves with elegant clothes, but they cannot change the impurity they possess. In the same way, children and those who

⁹⁹¹ This passage appears to be a paraphrase of the classic Greek fable “The Bird in Borrowed Feathers”, usually ascribed to Aesop. It is the tale of a bird from the crow family who disliked its appearance and collected peacock feathers, to try and fit in with their species. However, his deception was soon unraveled by the birds, who plucked away his fake feathers and cast him away from their group. The sorry bird returned to his own species, only to find his old companions angry at the superior attitude he previously showed, and eventually sent him away, teaching him the vacuity of vanity and the importance of accepting himself for what he was the hard way. See Calder Alexander, *Fables of Aesop*, Courier Corporation, 1931, p. 115.

⁹⁹² A certain strictness in the Renaissance dress code, along with specific garments men and women had to avoid in order not to look ridiculous or inappropriate is depicted in Erasmus’ *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium*. The author advises children to make sure that their style in dressing fits the country’s custom and the social occasion, and warns them to avoid “embroidered or multicolored clothes”, as they are more appropriate for “fools and apes”. See *A Handbook on Good Manners*, p. 260.

like learning tend towards inner elegance and don't seek outer decorations, they strive for inner excellence and don't worry about external failings. Bias was one of the famous seven ancient sages, he often said: "Good sense always hides under modest clothes, stupidity conceals itself among new clothes". The preciousness of a clear pearl hides in a rough shell,

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薔薇之芳，產於刺木。故吾泰西學規，不許任意衣飾，厥有分數，踰者致罰。蓋幼性好奢，好文於外，未識內修之美也。自非嚴父明師，爲之指南，豈能自進乎？然童幼之衣，宜約且薄，亦宜齊且潔也。衣之盛美，率爲傲微，衣之穢惡，率爲汗微。日落泥抹聖人曰：衣之用，好學者必居其中，與其奢寧儉，儉之中與其汗寧潔，蓋外儉表心之謙抑，而外潔証心之清明也。

a fragrant rose is produced by a cut wood. Therefore, the rule of our Western learning (system) doesn't allow us to dress arbitrarily, [the clothing is divided] by phases,⁹⁹³ and those who don't respect these receive punishment. Because children love extravagance by nature, they like elegance on the outside and don't know the beauty of inner cultivation. Without the guidance of a strict father and a bright teacher how can they make progress? Children's clothes should be essential and simple and also equal and pure. The sumptuousness of clothing leads to arrogance, the viciousness of clothing leads to filthiness. St. Jerome used to say: "In the use of clothes, those who love learning must stand in the middle: it must not be too excessive, nor too simple. If one must choose, then it should rather be simple, because external modesty expresses an unassuming mind, and external cleanliness proves a pure mind".

寢寐第八 *On sleep*⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁹³ According to Erasmus' records, children's clothing styles were influenced by factors such as age, family background and social occasions. Chinese pre-Qin traditions also associated different ages to specific ornaments: for instance, a passage from the *Liji* 禮記 reported in the *Xiaoxue* 小學 suggested that at the age of five young boys wore a "belt made of leather (*pang* 鞶革)", while at the age of ten, "their clothing was yet not made of silk (衣不帛襦袴)". Only at the age of twenty did they begin wearing the typical hat 'guan' 冠 which marked the transition to adulthood and could also start dressing in silk clothing. See Zhu Xi, *Xiaoxue Jizhu* 小學集註, f. 26-27r.

⁹⁹⁴ For the dissertation of the benefits of proper sleep and the harms of its excess, Vagnone refers again to De Torres' treatise, which examines the subject from an ethical perspective, more than a ritual one. Book XII of his *Philosophia Moral*, is in fact dedicated to exhorting moderation in sleeping and avoiding "the opposite bad habit", making of temperance, one of the seven Christian virtues, the core precept of his teaching. As for the other main sources Vagnone made use of, it appears that the topic of resting was somehow neglected by Vegio and Bonifacio, whereas Desiderius Erasmus mainly emphasizes the "*mores* (manners)" to observe in the *cubiculum* (the bedroom), providing an

有寤必寐理也，故養育之道非寢不成焉。晝之所業，已殫力矣，非夜之安寧不能複補。是寢臥乃安心，裨力，清氣，消苦，奪憂，淘體之藥也。若童幼者，其所稟之質猶弱而未堅，未習苦勞不可久困，所謂寐寢乃孩童之次食也。但使寢寐不得其道，將溺清神而負美學。如旨食焉，過其宜非特不致養之功，而猶招害矣。古名醫嘗雲：

Sometimes to be awake one needs to [understand] the principle of sleep: for this reason, the Way of rising children is not complete without [managing] sleep. Each activity of the day uses up all [of one's] energies, and without the tranquility of the night [rest], these cannot be restored. Resting is the medicine that relaxes the mind, restores the energies, cleans the spirit, removes the pain, takes away the sadness, and cleanses the body.⁹⁹⁵ It seems that the character children receive is weak and flimsy, they are not used to hard work and lengthy endurance [of their work] is not possible; [hence] the so-called rest is the children's second meal. However, should they sleep without following the right Way, their clear spirit will be contaminated and their good learning will suffer. Similar to eating delicious food, excesses won't only bring failure to the education, but will also cause troubles. Therefore, ancient doctors used to say:

寢越分數，則散四體，殘元氣，昏靈才，衰記性，煽邪慾，肆懈怠。嗟夫！寢寐非他，譬閨市之徵，將取吾光陰之半而去也。乃或未厭夜寢，又耽晝眠，豈不再廢其所當用之時耶？伯兒納聖人嘗謂：吾委之去而無益者，莫如寢時也。蓋有人於此，獲金數鎰⁹⁹⁶，或採數斛⁹⁹⁷，而用之貿

interesting description of the Renaissance etiquette concerning sleeping time. See *A Handbook on Good Manners*, pp. 533-534.

⁹⁹⁵ In the second chapter of book XII of *Philosophia Moral*, De Torres makes use of a similar rhetorical strategy: a brief mention of the benefits of the sleep ("Sleeping is people's life and health: there's no happiest heart than that who can sleep until morning") only serves as an introduction to the dissertation of the harms its excess can bring to the mind and the body. *Philosophia Moral*, XII.2, p. 507.

⁹⁹⁶ *Yi* 鎰 was an ancient unit of weight equal to twenty or twenty-four taels of silver.

⁹⁹⁷ *Hu* 斛 is a dry measure mostly used for grain, equal to five *dou* 斗 (five decalitres).

布帛器物以益其家。此非謂之費，乃交易貨物，猶可謂之有也。若其費可用之時於寢臥，此非無益之費乎。往者賢師進其門人於勤學，曰：勿肆于寢，寢乃清年之虐賊也。

“Excess sleep will wreck the body, injure the spirit, confuse the soul, weaken the memory, instigate evil desires and [make one] indulge in slackness. So sad! Sleep is nothing but a tax [to be paid] at a custom check that deprives us of half of our time. Hence, don’t those who enjoy nightly rest, but also indulge in daily naps waste time that they should be using? St. Bernard used to say: “In our lives there is no bigger waste of time, than the time designated to sleep”.⁹⁹⁸ Because there are people who obtain many *taels* of gold, some pick a few *dou* and use them to trade them for clothes and utensils to benefit their families. This cannot be called a “waste”, but it means to trade goods, so it can be called “possession”. If we spend useful time in sleep, is this not unfavourable waste?⁹⁹⁹ The wise masters of the past use to say to those who entered their door to study diligently: “Don’t indulge in sleep, for sleep is the cruel thief of youth”.

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世寶無貴乎時，人資無重乎命。人命之大半，為寢所強奪而吾猶不哀猶不覺乎哉！穿窬負微貲以去，吾猶不可當而亟捕之。若吾年命之數已去，不可追，已敗不可補，吾反委擲於懈寢不悔耶？有人於是，天主賜之壽，使至耄耄焉。或計減其數之二詢，或一旬，人必不願，今爾得命於天主，未必壽也。以力以財不可延之，乃自甘分之於無益之臥寢而不惜乎？先知言寢者，或謂死之像，

The most precious treasure in life is time, whereas the most important of people’s possessions is life. Half of people’s lives are taken up by sleep without realising it or complaining about it! We wouldn’t dare break into people’s homes to take what little goods they have, as we would quickly be caught. In the same way, we can’t recall the years of our life that are gone, [because] what is lost cannot be recovered, but on the contrary we waste [these years] in sleep without regret? God granted longevity

⁹⁹⁸ According to De Torres, this quote was a warning St. Bernard addressed to “ciertos religiosos”: “*Nihil temporis tam deperit de vita nostra, quam quod somno deputatur*”. See *Philosophia Moral*, XII. 1, p. 504.

⁹⁹⁹ To compare spending money to sleeping time was a frequent rhetoric strategy in Renaissance literature. This very quote appears to be borrowed from De Torres’ treatise: “*No hay dineros mas mal empleados, ni dias mas mal perdidos, de los que se desperdecian en el sueño o en cosas tocantes a su jurisdiccion* (There is no worse way to lose money, nor worse way to spend days, than to consume them in sleep or in other matters related)”. See *Philosophia Moral*, XII.1, p. 504.

to some people and made them live into their eighties. For some people life is reduced by two decades, or perhaps by one. People should not have any expectations, because we receive our life from God and it's not necessarily a long one. It cannot be extended with strength nor with money, so isn't it a pity to willingly distribute it in useless rest? When ancient wise men spoke of sleep, some called it the image of death,

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或曰死之兄弟，或曰死者常寢而寢者暫死也，則生而好多寢者，是暫好遊死者之境界矣。傷哉！意非加厄罷迷古太西二智將也。遇國事急，深夜各巡其所督營，遇守管軍寢寐者，則撫劍死之，或異而罪之，答曰夫軍也，宜守管備患，捍國安家，而反寢寐，必自投於死者之中矣。吾遇而殺之何罪焉？嗟乎，造化主置吾生民於斯世，必計吾修道德而積美功焉。

some called it the brother of death, some said that death is a long sleep and sleep is a temporary death. Therefore, loving a long sleep while living, is akin to love wandering the boundary of death. So sad! Iphicrates and Epaminondas were two wise captains of our West.¹⁰⁰⁰ When the country faced upheaval, each night they patrolled the camp they were supervising, and when they found the guardsman sleeping they took up a sword killed him. Someone found this odd and accused them of wrongdoing, their answer was: “This soldier should have been guarding the camp and being ready [against] any trouble – protecting the country and making families safe – but instead he was asleep, casting himself among the dead. If we found him and killed him, how can it be a crime?” Alas! God made us live in this era. He planned to let us cultivate virtue and accumulate good merits.

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夫修道積功之期，至近如駒過隙，乃吾以多寐減其功，如之何？古賢嘆世曰，吾日飲食焉，禽獸亦然，吾飲食而臥焉，禽獸亦然，惟至於修人學焉，禽獸必不然也。於是為人事之多禽獸之少，不亦宜乎？自古務於正學無不欲恆寤而不息也。倘不獲已，方稍偃臥而休息焉。亞里斯多

¹⁰⁰⁰ Iphicrates (c. 418 – c. 353 BC) Athenian and Epaminondas from Thebes (418 – 362 BC) were two talented generals and statesmen who are remembered for their many military achievements and brilliant strategies. De Torres reports that they were both involved in a similar episode, the killing of a sleeping guard, which they justified by saying that “they had just left him like they found him”, as to compare sleeping to death. See *Philosophia Moral*, XII.1 p. 505.

氏古性學大宗也。向務格物窮理，屢忘日用之薄需，運星于日而不覺，苟不得已聊安以補力，必先持銅毬一枚，

The time we spend cultivating the Doctrine and accumulating merits, is similar to [when] a colt [learns to] overcome a gap. If we reduce the merits by sleeping too much, what will happen? Ancient sages lamented about life and said: “We eat and drink every day, birds and beasts do so too; we eat, drink and then sleep, birds and beasts also do so. Only when it comes to cultivating human learning do we differ from the birds and the beasts. Therefore, is it not appropriate that the many matters of men are superior to the few matters of birds and beasts?” Since ancient times, those who committed to righteous learning necessarily wanted to be constantly awake and not to rest. If they could not help it, they laid down for a short rest.¹⁰⁰¹ Aristotle was a great ancestor of physic studies. (When) he committed to philosophy,¹⁰⁰² he would repeatedly forget his daily substantial needs and was not aware of the movements of the stars and the sun; if he had no alternative he just rested a little to restore energy. First he held a bronze sphere,

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然後閉目，未久毬落於銅盤，既驚醒不使久寐也。則凡立志欲成其學，豈可懷安於寢乎？噫嘻！百工止畷賤利，無時不勤苦，起蚤眠遲，經年弗改也，乃志於大學，可寢而棄其正業乎。德抹斯，古文之名師，夜醒，忽聞百工之修業，則自責，曰，斯微民也，已起久矣。拮据於賤陋如是，而吾修文學猶不如彼乎。今之學者，聞其言而觀其行，安可不效其志而法其勤也？

¹⁰⁰¹ De Torres does not mention Aristotle, but states instead that “Plato did not sleep longer than what was necessary for his health, or, to be more specific, he slept only enough to heal his diseases”. See *Philosophia Moral*, XII.2, p. 507.

¹⁰⁰² As previously noted, Vagnone and his confrères often make use of the Neo-confucian expression “*Gewu qiongli* 格物窮理 (literally the investigation of things and the inquiring of principle)” to indicate the Western concept of philosophy. Considering ‘*Xingxue* 性學’, as the “study of the essence (*Xing* 性) of people and creatures”, Dong suggests that its Western counterpart is the subject of Physics, one of the five branches that made up the traditional study of Philosophy. See Dong Shaoxin 董少新, *Xingshen zhi jian – zaoqi Xiyang yixue ruhua shigao* 形神之間 – 早期西洋醫學入華史稿, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2008, p. 262. Furthermore, the study of nature, ‘*Xingxue* 性學’ is also often associated to heretical personages (like Epicurus), or those who lack the knowledge of God and therefore of the understanding of the principle (“*Li* 理”), which the Jesuits intended as the Aristotelian – Thomistic concept of *ratio* (reason), the master of things. See Julia Ching, *The Religious Thought of Zhu Xi*, Oxford University Press, p. 195.

then he closed his eyes. Not long after the ball would fall onto a bronze plate, and he awoke without indulging in a long rest. Therefore, how could those who wish to complete their learning carelessly indulge in sleeping. Alse! Common workmen who are limited to low and unprofitable tastes always work hard, wake up early and sleep late. This does not change as the years go by; so, can those who tend towards great learning rest and give up on such a righteous occupation? Democritus was a famous master of the West, one night he woke up and heard the workmen constructing works, and blamed himself: “These few people have already been up for a long time. They act in this way [despite] being restrained by poverty and misery, whereas I cultivate literary studies but don’t act like them”¹⁰⁰³. Today’s learners, listen to [Democritus’] words and look at his deeds, how can we not make his aspirations productive and make a model of his diligence?

交友第九 *On Friendship*

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友者人之比，宇內無人自足以生自足以事則亦無人不須友以成也。故天主歸斯民於同宇，命其結親交友，彼此相助焉。倘除友於人中，是除日月於天，除水火於地也。若童幻者，愈偏於愛情，必愈趨於結友。古所謂老者多積資，幼者多積友，是也，雖然友之積彌易亦彌危。蓋幼之成敗概係於反之善不善，何者常所聞見漸入於心，引而效彼之善惡不自覺也。

Friends are a person’s other self.¹⁰⁰⁴ No man on earth can live and attend to matters alone, which is why everybody needs friends to be complete. For this reason, God put His people in the same world

¹⁰⁰³ Although I was not able to retrieve this specific anecdote, De Torres writes an interesting passage about the ancient concept of sleep as a reward for hard workers: “Those who don’t work, and moreover indulge in excessive eating and drinking, are unworthy of the sweet and quiet rest good-tempered people deserve”. This concept was already popular in ancient Rome, as demonstrated by Cicero’s words, reported by De Torres: “*Laborum omnium et solitudinum perfugium somnus est* (Sleep is a shelter from worry and fatigue)”. See *Philosophia Moral*, XII.2, p. 507.

¹⁰⁰⁴ The opening of this chapter pays tribute to one of the milestones of classical European literature on friendship: Cicero’s *Laelius De Amicitia*, or simply *De Amicitia*. In this passage the author summarises the importance of unbiased feelings, when pursuing friendship. He states: “*Ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suae, sed quod per se sibi quisque carus est. Quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus numquam reperietur; est enim is qui est tamquam alter idem.* (People love themselves not in order to achieve benefits from their own affection, but just for the sake of love. If one doesn’t apply the same principle in friendship, he shall never find a true friend; as a friend is like another self). Cicero, *De Amicitia*, XXI.80

and commanded them to create relationships and friendships in order to render aid to each other.¹⁰⁰⁵ Removing friends from people's lives is like removing the sun and the moon from the sky, or scouring water and fire from the earth.¹⁰⁰⁶ Children need to pursue friendship in order to be better inclined to love. In ancient times, it was said that the elderly accumulated wealth, while the young would accumulate friends. Even so, the easier it is to accumulate friends, the more dangerous it is. The successes and failures of children depend on the goodness of their friends – what they see and hear gradually penetrates their minds, resulting in them not being able to distinguish the friend's good and bad.

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聖經曰與聖者交必將入聖，與善人交亦將為善，與惡人交亦將為惡。信哉！伯路氏曰：爾自謂與何人交，我亦謂爾將為何人。蓋交於儒者，多習於書，交於獵者，多從田逐獸，交於醉者多湊於酒。未見相交之久而不相從相法者也。向爾無病但親近於篤疾者，彼患將逮爾躬矣。向爾無香，但親近於懷香者，彼氣將散於爾躬矣。古明賢常謂嚴君明師之訓誨大不如朋友之語能動諸友之心。

The Holy Bible says: 'when befriending a Saint, one shall inevitably become a saint; when befriending a kind person, one shall also become gentle; and when befriending an evil person, one shall become evil.' Trust [these words]! Plutarch used to say: "Tell me who you associate with, I'll tell you what sort of person you are".¹⁰⁰⁷ Those who befriend scholars shall be more accustomed to

¹⁰⁰⁵ This passage bears a clear influence of Matteo Ricci's maxim 16 of the famous *Jiaoyou Lun* 交友论 (On friendship, 1595): "各人不能全尽各事，故上帝命之交友，以彼此胥助，若使除其道于世者，人类必散坏也。(Each person cannot fully complete every task, for which reason the Lord on High commanded that there be friendship in order that we might render aid to one another. If this Way were eradicated from the world, humankind would surely run to ruin)". The treatise, written as a translation exercise and addressed to Zhu Duojie in Nanchang, is a collection of quotations on friendship, borrowed from the main European philosophers and based on Andre De Rèsende's "Sententiae et exempla" (Paris, 1569). See Hosne, Ana Carolina, "Friendship among Literati. Matteo Ricci SJ (1552–1610) in Late Ming China" in *Transcultural Studies*, N. 1 2014, p. 195. Vagnone's familiarity with Ricci's treatise is also confirmed by Dudink's study, which proved that a copy of *Jiaoyou Lun* 交友论 was in fact found in Vagnone's Nanjing residence in 1616. See Dudink Adrian, "The inventories of the Jesuit House at Nanking, made up during the persecution of 1616–1617 (Shen Que, Nangong shudu, 1620)" in *Western Humanistic Culture presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (XVII–XVIII centuries)*, (F. Masini, Ed.). Institutum Historicum S.I., pp. 190-194.

¹⁰⁰⁶ An adaptation of a saying by Cicero: "*Amicus magis necessarius est quam ignis et aqua*". Quoted by De Torres, *Philosophia Moral*, V.3, p. 264.

¹⁰⁰⁷ De Torres reports a similar saying in Spanish, describing it as "something that we hear every day from the elders and see with our eyes": "*Dime con quien andas y direte que mañas has*". See *Philosophia Moral*, V. 4, p. 269.

books. Those who befriend hunters shall chase wild animals in the field. Those who befriend alcoholics shall become addicted to drinking. It's never the case that those who are friends for a long time avoid to follow and emulate each other. If you are always healthy but a close friend has a serious illness, his problem will [eventually] seep into your body; if you are faithful, but someone close to you is having an affair, that negative influence¹⁰⁰⁸ will [eventually] spread to you. Ancient sages often said that a strict gentleman or good instructor's teaching cannot move your heart the way a friend's words can.

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以此觀之，凡學者可不謹所交哉。吾西先知者設陳擇交真論，無不欲童幼友其益者，友其寡者，友其永者，而戒其友之損，及眾具新者也。或問：賢師與何人友可，答曰：於益者而已。又問其益者云何，曰：善於我者則謂之益。蓋真友之義以德志之相似始立，以德行之相長始成。所謂正友之結，以德為本，以德為終，是也。兩石忽值而相擊然相則著光發火。

From this we can see that scholars cannot be careless about their acquaintances. When the ancient prophets of the West spoke about the true theory of choosing friends, they necessarily wanted children's friends to be beneficial, selected and long-lasting. They would also warn children against those who could harm them and [against] large groups of new people. Someone asked: "What sort of person would a virtuous master befriend?" The answer was: "Only those who are advantageous". Someone also asked: "What is the definition of 'those who are advantageous'?", and the answer was: "Those who are good to us. This is what is meant by an advantage".¹⁰⁰⁹ The righteousness of a true friendship begins with a resonance of virtuous ideals and is accomplished through the mutual development of virtuous deeds. The so-called bond between righteous friends is built on virtue and

¹⁰⁰⁸ I liberally translate what the author indicates as 'qi 氣 (vital energy)'.

¹⁰⁰⁹ The concept of advantageous friendship holds a relevant place in Confucian tradition, as exemplified by the following passage from the Analects, Book XVI.4: "孔子曰：益者三友、損者三友、友直、友諒、友多聞、益矣、友便辟、友善柔、友便佞、損矣。Confucius said, "There are three friendships which are advantageous, and three which are injurious. Friendship with the upright; friendship with the sincere; and friendship with the man of much observation: these are advantageous. Friendship with the man of specious airs; friendship with the insinuatingly soft; and friendship with the glib-tongued: these are injurious". See Legge, J., "Analects" in *The Four Books*, p. 311. However, European Classical authors, such as Cicero and Seneca, often neglected this aspect in favour of the notion of "virtue", aimed at achieving a mutual self-betterment. Ricci Matteo, *Dell'amicizia*, edited by Mignini Filippo, Macerata, Quodlibet, 2005, pp. 158-159.

ends with virtue. Two stones have a negligible value, but when struck together they emit a spark and light a fire.

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夫石者人也，人倏會談交，如相擊然，相交而內德之光志遂顯彰矣。德顯而人情結成友焉。友以德起，相長相益，無已矣。故諺曰：燈無油，友無德，不遽滅？西史曰：善者相交謂之友，惡者相交謂之盟，傷哉！世俗之陋，交友之際，多惟計賤利之益，而未喻大德之益，則何異於商賈之徒也耶？昔者，或始交於賢而富者，未幾求以微利，賢曰：何爾必計友吾金，未計友吾身？且舍所求利，而永辭之。

People are like these stones: they gather and create relationships quickly like [stones] striking together, and when they make friends the bright ideals of their inner moralities become evident. When virtues are apparent, human feelings create a friendship. Friendship starts with virtue, and [each person's virtue] keeps on growing and benefiting from each other. An old saying goes: "If a lamp is without oil and a friendship is without virtue, won't they burn out quickly?" Western history has a saying: "When good people get together we call it friendship, when bad people get together we call it factionalism".¹⁰¹⁰ That is bad! It is a common, vulgar custom when making friends to attach greater importance to worthless material benefits and to neglect the advantages of virtue. In such a case, how it is different to being a merchant?¹⁰¹¹ In the past, someone first became friend with a sage and then became rich. Not long after he started to seek small benefits, the sage said: "Why do you calculate our friendship by money and not by conduct"? He then gave up on the profit seeker, and dismissed him forever,

¹⁰¹⁰ This is a reference to a saying by Sallust, which is quoted in *Philosophia Moral*: "*Inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est*". See *Philosophia Moral*, V.5, p. 271.

¹⁰¹¹ The concept of friendship as an unbiased feeling, has been remarked upon by many classic authors such as Cicero *De natura deorum* (On the nature of gods) and Seneca *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* (Moral letters to Lucilius). In this passage, the influence of another maxim (N. 27) from Ricci's *Jiaoyou Lun* 交友论 can be identified: "交友使独獨知利也。不復顧益其友，是商賈之人耳，不可謂友也。(When making friends, does who only seek their advantage and not to benefit their friend are (like) merchants, and cannot be called friends). Furthermore, the negative comparison with a merchant is used by both authors, and once again confirms their cultural awareness: in fact the traditional Confucian and Legalist's social division placed merchants (*shang* 商) at the bottom of the classification, after gentry scholars (*shi* 士), farmers (*nong* 農) and craftsmen (*gong* 工), and did not pay much respect to their profession.

蓋志於利而友者，至於無所望而友止矣。嗟！夫德者乃生人之寶資也，則其能益我以德，甚乎能益我以財也。西古名賢色搦加云：真友之妙在乎彼以其長增補吾短，使齊彼善。又以吾長增補彼短，使齊吾善。若其無所取以補之，則亦無所取於友之義也。或問聖人以益友之道，答曰：順我於理，逆我於非。直言吾惡，簡稱吾善。希言多行所計遂踐，夫乃益友之真者也。

because those who make friends only for material profit interrupt their relationship when the material expectations end. Alas! Virtue is the treasure of human beings, therefore people can benefit more with virtue than they can with richness. An ancient sage of the West, Seneca, used to say: “The beauty of true friendship lies in the fact that the other’s strong points supply my limits, making him as good as the other. Also, that my strong points supply the other’s limits, making him as good as me. If one hasn’t obtained anything to give [a friend], then it is fair that he also won’t obtain anything from friendship. Someone asked a sage what is the Way to foster an advantageous friendship? He answered: “[A good friend] follows me when I am right and opposes me when I am wrong. When I act unfairly, he tells me the truth and when I act fairly he remarks upon it with modesty”.¹⁰¹² Few words and many deeds are what defines the path to follow, and this indeed is the truth of a beneficial friendship.¹⁰¹³

可不從之乎？若其無順逆之殊，常飾吾非，常揚吾是，且狂於言而略於行，夫乃損友之徒也。可不戒乎？因是而幼之智者於結友必勿忽，必勿速焉。比達臥辣 上古之學宗，嘗戒曰，勿苟伸手而取友也，蓋人性情難測，友之惡者難辨，則豈可速交乎。諺曰：急於取友，未免致悔，取而旋悔不如不取矣。智者擇友之遲，猶有謬焉，愚童者於結友之速將免謬乎。

¹⁰¹² This passage recalls a popular *topos* among classical philosophers on the subject of friendship: truth and honesty as main duties of a true friend. Such matter was dealt with, for instance, by Cicero’s *De amicitia* (On friendship) and Plutarch’s *De discernendo adulate ab amico* (On distinguishing a glib person from a friend). Ricci’s *Jiaoyou Lun* 交友论 doesn’t fail to mention this precept, and deals with it in maxim 19, which appears to have been paraphrased by Vagnone: “正友不常顺友亦不常逆友。有理者顺之，無理者逆之。故直言独为友之真矣。(Righteous friends don’t always follow their friend and don’t always oppose them. They follow [the friend] when he’s right and oppose him when he’s wrong. Therefore telling the truth is a friend’s duty)”.

¹⁰¹³ This statement is a paraphrase of a famous saying by Seneca: “[...] *Longum iter est per praecepta, breve et efficax per exempla*. (Long is the path through precepts, quick and effective is the one through examples)”. Seneca, *Ad Lucilium*, I, 6, 14.

Is it possible not to comply with this [this precept]? If [the friend] doesn't differentiate when to follow and oppose [us], [if he] always adorns our wrongs and praises our rights, and he is also arrogant in his words and rough in his deeds, this indeed is the example of the harmful friend. Shouldn't we avoid this? For this reason, smart children should not be negligent nor rush into making friends. Pythagoras, a master of the Upper Antiquity, once warned: "Do not carelessly spread your palms to pick friends, because people's feelings are not easy to judge and evil friends are difficult to distinguish. How is it possible to quickly make friends"? An old saying goes: "Being eager to make friends will not spare you regrets; obtaining a friend and regretting it afterwards is no better than not getting any friends. When making friends, wise men take their time, and yet they make mistakes. Will foolish children who are quick to make friends avoid mistakes"?¹⁰¹⁴

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是以先知擇友，必欲彼此同食鹽幾斛，然後定交焉。蓋限以時日之久，而因擇其所從，與其所當避也。若吾西古俗仁親智師，多不許其幼任意取友，又不待鹽食之限也，乃自定所從友，而先察其益與害焉。若其幼者繼世，非特承父之產業，尚從父之善友。蓋父所已試忠信之友，孝子以爲美資，而終無故不肯絕也。故罷辣多曰：父卒而遺寶資之重於子，大不如遺善友之眾。

Therefore, when people of foresight choose friends, they need to eat a great many *hu* of salt together and stabilise their relationship.¹⁰¹⁵ Because in that amount of time, they can decide whether to become friends or not. According to an ancient tradition of our West, benevolent parents and smart teachers don't allow their children to arbitrarily make friends, and don't need [to take into account] the duration of the salt; so they decide which friends [the children should] follow, but they first observe their benefits and harms. If a boy carries on [the father's] legacy, he does not only inherit his property, rather he will follow his father's good friends. A dutiful son will consider those friends whose loyalty has already been tested by a father to be precious resources and won't let them go for

¹⁰¹⁴ According to Meynard, this proverb echoes a saying by Solon, reported by Diogenes Laertius: "Do not rush to make friends, and, once they are made, do not drop them". See Li, Meynard, 2014, p.307.

¹⁰¹⁵ In his famous *De Amicitia*, when praising the value of a long – lasting friendship over new acquaintances, Cicero makes use of the very same metaphor: "[...] *verumque illud est, quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiae munus expletum sit.* (Is true what many say, that people need to eat many *modios* of salt together, in order to exhaust the duty of friendship.)" Cicero, *De Amicitia*, XIX, 67.

any reason. Plato often said: “When a father dies and leaves behind an important amount of richness to his son, it’s not so different from leaving him a number of good friends”.

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豈不信哉？薄厄爵 西土大賢也。向聞其友遭患窮困，則慰唁之曰爾室豐業雖亡，信友之眾仍在，不必憂也。若伯聖人一朝聞廣業敗毀，子女壓死，屋室傾頽，眾僕虜亡，乃有三信友者終不離於側，則聖經所謂金銀之重，不可例於信友者，然矣。以此觀之，忠信之友既有數，則吾所當交者寡矣。經云：千中取居其一，凡物貴且奇者必不多，多則不奇不貴矣。昔者或誇以多密友，

How is this unbelievable? Boethius was a virtuous man from the West. He heard that one of his friends had fallen into poverty and, to express his sympathy, he said: “Your house, properties and profession might be gone, but many of your trusted friends are still here. You don’t have to worry”.¹⁰¹⁶ One morning St. Job heard that his great property was destroyed, his children were crushed to death as his house collapsed, all his servants were gone and all he had left were three trustworthy friends who never left his side. Therefore, it is right [to state] that the amount of gold and silver the Bible speaks of, cannot determine [what] a trustworthy friend [is].¹⁰¹⁷ Hence we can see that honest and sincere friends are rare, and those we should engage with are limited. The Bible says: “Take one in one thousand”. Precious and peculiar objects should not be many, if they are, then they’re not precious and peculiar. In ancient times, somebody exaggerated the number of close friends;

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賢者聞之即譏之曰：爾無密友矣，蓋友之多者，初不可證試，中不可密交，終不可存保。乃易合而易散矣。色搨加氏嘗謂，吾凡出而友彼賢之希者，必倍吾善而歸室矣。凡出而友所遇之眾者，必倍吾惡而歸室矣。可不戒哉！益友覓之久而結之固，則無大故終不可絕也。古言曰：友之無故

¹⁰¹⁶ In this passage Vagnone paraphrases two *chreiai* from De Torres’ treatise. The anecdote on Boethius’ life is actually an excerpt from his *De Consolatione philosophiae* (On the consolation of Philosophy book 2, chapter 8, p. 44), where the philosopher states: “*Nunc amissas opes querere, quod pretiosissimum divitiarum genus est amicos invenisti.* (Cease, then, to seek the wealth thou hast lost, since in true friends thou hast found the most precious of all riches)”. Quoted in *Philosophia Moral*, V.3, p. 263.

¹⁰¹⁷ The source of this *chreia* is also the fifth book of *Philosophia Moral*, V.3, p. 263.

以新易舊者，不但失往日之恩，又將致害矣。幼之愚者不知交友之妙，乃每順則相結，逆則相棄。

A sage heard this and mocked him: “You have no close friends, because when there are too many friends it’s not possible to test them, then it’s not possible to get close and in the end it’s not possible to keep them”. Therefore, what gets together easily also easily breaks apart. Seneca once said: “Every time we go out and befriend a few other sages, we will certainly return home twice as good. Every time we go out and befriend every member of the crowd we meet, we will certainly return home twice as bad”. How can we not guard against this? Advantageous friendship is sought for a long time, it is strongly bonded, and eventually it cannot be broken for any reason. An old saying goes: “When friends change the old for the new for no reason, not only will they lose the benefits of the past, but they will also be hurt.” Foolish children don’t know the beauty of friendship, so they bond with those who are convenient, and give up on those who go against them.

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古智比之淫妓焉，其與所交，時容時棄，時愛時厭，而終未能有交之密者。知道之君子既友友之德，未有不久者也。

Ancient wise men compared this attitude with that of prostitutes: they get close to everybody, sometimes give and sometimes leave, sometimes love and sometimes hate, but in the end they cannot create an intimate bond. The gentleman who knows the Doctrine befriends those with morals and does not connect long with those who don’t possess it.

閒戲第十 *Leisure time and games*¹⁰¹⁸

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人性如弓，一張一弛，皆堪修繕，豈能恆用力於正業乎？若幼之氣質猶弱，心志未堅，則非閒戲間之，弗能久也。德摸氏曰，人學如行路焉，路遙而無歇息，行可遠乎？學長且難，令無優遊之時，豈可成與？

Human nature is like a bow, sometimes it expands sometimes it contracts and it can be repaired. So how is it possible to force human nature towards orthodox duties?¹⁰¹⁹ Children's character is weak and their willpower is infirm, therefore without leisure time and games they cannot endure for long [in their activities]. Democritus used to say: "Human learning is like a path. If it's a long way and there's no time to rest, how can one go far?" Learning is a long, tough [job], if we don't allow some carefree leisure time, how can it be completed?

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線急牽，定將斷，幼者大迫於學，必將衰。西之古聖務修數載，德名藉藉。欲稍寬解，遇小鵲摩弄之，從者無異而輕之，聖人識其疑，遂命從者執弓引滿，從者如命，執而張數次。聖人又命其復張數次，從者辭曰：若是也，豈不敗乎？聖人曰：然，則彀弓有數，而分不可踰。乃大學之務，可越弱力之限耶。木性確固，猶弗甚久彀。乃骨肉之性，能久苦於業乎？

¹⁰¹⁸ The issue of how to balance study and leisure time, alongside the effects of relaxation on children's minds has been at the core of the pedagogical debate since Quintilian. Praise and rewards, games and breaks are seen by the author as a tool to boost the pupils' will to learn, alongside his capacity to acquire fresh knowledge. (*Institutio Oratoria*, I, 3, 8-12). In the Renaissance, the *topoi* of how to administrate free time, alongside which games to play and which to avoid, are mainly dealt with by Desiderius Erasmus and Maffeo Vegio. In their works, however, the children and their behaviour are at the centre of the dissertation: these are encouraged to get involved in positive games, and taught the right attitude to observe, in order comply with the spirit of the game, rather than focusing on winning. See *A Handbook on Good Manners*, pp. 522-523; *De Educatione liberorum*, VI, 6.

¹⁰¹⁹ The comparison between the human body and an arch seems to be taken from *Peri Paidon Agoges*, chap. 13, p. 37, but appears also in Antoniano's treatise *Dell'educazione cristiana e politica dei figliuoli*, book III, p. 398. In his famous *Institutio Oratoria*, Quintilian exhorts teachers to allow some relaxation time to their pupils, "[...]not merely because there is nothing in this world that can stand continued strain and even unthinking and inanimate objects are unable to maintain their strength, unless given intervals of rest, but because study depends on the good will of the student, a quality that cannot be secured by compulsion". *Institutio Oratoria*, I, 3. 8-9.

When a string is hastily pulled, it will surely break; when children are oppressed by study, they will surely weaken. An ancient saint of the West committed himself to cultivation for many years before his virtue and fame became outstanding. When he wanted to relax, he went out and found a small magpie to play with. His followers didn't understand [this] and paid no attention to him. The saint understood their doubts, and eventually ordered his followers to take a bow and draw it. The followers did as they were told, took the bow and drew it many times. Then the saint ordered them to keep drawing it and the followers said: "If we do that, are we not going to break [it]?" The saint said: "Of course, therefore one cannot pull a bow to excess".¹⁰²⁰ Can a commitment to great learning overcome the limits of weakness? A tree, by nature, is solid, so it cannot bend for long. Indeed, by their nature, can flesh and bones suffer an occupation for a long time?

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鐵柱恆磨，輒細如針。石之堅厚，恆踏薄微，而人之才力常用，豈能免於過勞乎？故先知者，雖嚴於幼學，然以理量其力，必使舒泰。或寬逞顏色，而從其當然之戲也，但於閒暇時，慎戒而不敢忍耳。罷辣多嘗曰：無事之時，為幼之所當謹也，蓋幻性迫急，所為不知適中。至於閒暇，或過佚翫，或侈肆慾不思回業也。向所習文學美藝，必見亡矣。諺曰：屋久不居則塵，斧久不擊，則鈍，木久不動則臭，而幼心就寧不用，將不失其前功與？

If we continuously file an iron rod, it will become as thin as a needle.¹⁰²¹ If we keep treading on a stout and sturdy stone, it will eventually become gravel; so, if we continuously use people's talents, how can they not be overworked? Therefore, ancient wise men, although strict about children's learning, measured their energies according to principles, in order to keep them happy and relaxed. Some children predominantly show their feelings in the games they play.¹⁰²² However, when it comes to leisure time, one should not dare neglect prudence and attention. Plato used to say: "In

¹⁰²⁰ In this passage, the saint is making another comparison between the bow and the human body, whose energies cannot be pushed too far without breaking.

¹⁰²¹ This is a paraphrase of the famous *chengyu* 成語 "Tie chu mo zhen 鐵杵磨針", which symbolizes the power of determination in overcoming all difficulties and succeeding every task. Its use proves Vagnone's attention not only for erudite knowledge, but also for people's culture.

¹⁰²² I interpreted this passage according to Quintilian's idea that "children's temperaments become most evident when they play games", which was also expressed by Erasmus (*An Handbook on Good Manners*, p. 523) Therefore, one of the teachers' duties is to be constantly vigilant on their attitude, and to suppress bad behaviour since from early age. See *Institutio Oratoria*, I, 3, 12.

idle times, children should be careful in everything they do. They are impatient by nature, their behaviour does not recognise what is appropriate. When it comes to free time, some indulge in leisure games, some give in to unrestrained desires, some don't think about returning to their duties and therefore the literature and art they have practised will be lost". A saying goes: "A long inhabited house gets dusty, a long unused axe gets rusty, hence if children's minds simply rest and go unused, won't they lose their former achievements?"

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膏腴之田，或翻勞之，或空歇之，農之常也。但以法空之，必無不倍益，倘非法空之，必荒敗矣。幼者常習於正業，而或稍休之，義也。倘得休歇之久，必將荒而棄舊學矣。何者？幼之性未有不忌苦勞而就安樂者，則雖早習於苦，但至安樂，必持之固，而捨之遲也。是以古之名賢，嘗謂夫色與閒，未試者猶易戒也。若已試者，而欲其不過宜，難之甚矣。

Like a fertile field, sometimes we plough it, sometimes we leave it fallow, but we always cultivate it. However, if we leave it uncultivated following a method it will certainly double its profit. If we leave it uncultivated with no method, it will become a wasteland. It is fair to allow children who are always engaged in orthodox occupations, to rest sometimes. [However], if they rest too long, they will eventually neglect and relinquish their previous learning.¹⁰²³ Why is that? A youngster's nature fears hard work and [longs for] tranquility. Therefore, even if they get used to fatigue at an early stage, in order to achieve tranquillity they must firmly persist and delay their surrender. Famous sages of the past used to say: "Desires and leisure time are easy to give up for those who haven't tried them, but it is extremely difficult for those who have tried them to not want to have more of them".

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故諸明智者，學修之際，常欲嗣業，而不欲間斷，常忌其閒暇如寇如讐，而不敢忽焉。日落泥抹聖人曰：吾居有事之時，未必忌鬼魔之巧媚焉，乃獨於無業之障，則不敢不戰兢也。蓋鬼魔如

¹⁰²³ A similar warning can be found in Quintilian's *Istitutio Oratoria*: "Such relaxation must not, however, be unlimited: otherwise the refusal to allow a holiday will make boys hate their work, while excessive indulgence will accustom them to idleness". See *Istitutio Oratoria*, I,3,11. Idleness is seen not only as human mind's worst enemy, but only as a danger to all the previously acquired knowledge. To prove this point, Vagnone makes use of a number of sayings from different classical and medieval authors, which, however, don't seem to be taken by his usual sources.

賊寇焉，必乘人懈而敗其貴資，以故好學者不獲已。而當稍閒，姑舍所執之業而適他事，必不敢懈於其閒焉。正所謂吾於吾閒猶未知閒也。默囊德氏古之工詩者也。常云：

Hence all smart people, while studying, always wish to be dedicated to their duties, and not to be discontinuous. They always fear that their free time is like a tyrant or an enemy, and don't dare neglect it. St. Jerome said: "Normally when I am busy, I don't need to fear the flattery of demons, but when I am left with the hassle of no occupation, I don't dare to not be on my guard".¹⁰²⁴ Demons are in fact like cruel tyrants, they surely control people's laziness and destroy their precious potential, so those who are passionate about learning cannot attain [any result]. When spending our free time, we must abandon all of our previous activities and engage in other matters; we must not dare to be lazy in our leisure time. It's rightly said that when it comes to free time, [we should] perceive it as leisure. Menander was an ancient poet, he often said:

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吾於閒暇而無疾，寧抱疾而無閒也。蓋疾雖虐，苦吾肉體而已。若閒者多溺心於惡，所謂無事之時，槩為邪事之始。吾西數國從來有律，凡遇童幼閒遊而無定業者，必責懲拘囹圄不使荒佚，而亂俗。若其修學之童，待賢師之側，有定時閒戲，聊舒懷焉。古規當此之時，既得齊年齊力，併齊其學，則可拊桀也，可歌謠也。可作詩也，可習奕也，可蹴鞠也，可較射，可擊劍，可騎馳也。

"I'd rather embrace illness with no idle time, than be slothful with no illness". Because even if illness is cruel, it can only be hard on the body. [However] if we are unoccupied, our mind will indulge to evil, and the so-called moments of idleness are generally the beginning of bad matters. In many countries of our West there have always been some rules: whenever we encounter young people wandering around with no specific occupation, we necessarily punish them by putting them in prison and stop them from becoming dissolute and [developing] bad habits. If children [want to] cultivate learning, they stay at their wise masters' sides and are allowed specific times to play and relax. As for these moments [of leisure], ancient rules put children of the same age and same strength

¹⁰²⁴ This quotation is a paraphrase of a famous saying by St. Jerome "*Facito aliquid operis ut semper diabolus te inveniat occupatum* (Keep engaged in activities, so that the devil shall always find you occupied)". See, *Letters CXXV*, 11.

together, alongside those with an equal [level of] knowledge, so that they can play instruments and sing ballads, write poems, study extensively, play ball games, take part in shooting competitions, duel with swords and ride horses.¹⁰²⁵

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若其博擲等非禮之戲，定不許焉。聖人有言曰：幼之喜戲有道，必堅其體，而養其志，非道則溺其體，而散其心。試觀童幼初得正教，常務於學，昕夕不休。今其偶值博徒而與之交密，遂忘前學不聽父師，不顧益友，飲食廢置，臥寐弗思，道德不問，生死不與。惟言思夢想在博中，所謂好博之心，多不在本身，是也。夫博之邪俗，非惟害學而散心志，抑亦破本家之業，而敗他家之產也。

At the same time, we must not allow gambling¹⁰²⁶ or the throwing of objects,¹⁰²⁷ and similar inappropriate games. The saints have a saying: “If the child’s positive games comply with the Doctrine, these will certainly make the body stronger and foster their will. If they don’t, then the games will corrupt his body and scatter his mind”.¹⁰²⁸ If we try to look at those children who, at first, obtain an orthodox education, they always commit to learning and are tireless from dawn to

¹⁰²⁵ Among the leisure activities mentioned by Quintilian, there is only reference to “games which have educational value for boys, as, for example, when they compete in posing each other with all kinds of questions, which they ask turn and turn about”. See *Institutio Oratoria*, I, 3, 11. It is noteworthy that some of the activities that were considered healthy pastimes for children, such as ball games, were in fact discouraged by Song China education. See p. 312, footnote 1010. Such an element was also noted by 17th century historian of the Society of Jesus, Daniello Bartoli, when describing the education of Chinese children in his famous account on China, *La Cina*. He commented: “When children and young boys attend schools, they are forbidden from playing any games that could distract them. Quite a strict attitude, considering their lively and combative age”. See Bartoli Daniello, *La Cina*, Milano, Bompiani, 1975, p. 121.

¹⁰²⁶ According to HYDCD, the term ‘Bo 博’ (usually translated as ‘plentiful’) in the past used to refer to a chess game, associated with gambling. See HYDCD, volume 1, p. 907. The very same term appears also in the famous primer by Zhu Xi, *Tongmeng Xuzhi* 童蒙須知 (What children should know), where gambling is also considered an unworthy activity children should abstain from: “無益之事不可為，謂如賭博，籠養，打球，踢球，放風禽等事。[Children] should not engage in unprofitable matters, such as gambling, raising animals, playing ball games, kicking balls, and flying kites.” Quoted by Bing, 2008, p. 274.

¹⁰²⁷ As pointed out by Duan, the games Vagnone considered inappropriate were famous pastimes right after the Renaissance, such as fencing and throwing darts. See Duan, 2012, p. 205.

¹⁰²⁸ Classical pedagogy considered games a way to reveal children’s characters and as a mean to educate them to righteousness. Quintilian makes use of Virgil’s words “So strong is custom formed in early years” to remind the teachers that young boys’ minds are easily malleable and that a young age is the best moment to teach them the difference between right and wrong, using educational games as a support of such instruction. See *Institutio Oratoria*, I, 3, 12.

the dusk. When they meet a gambler by chance and start a close relationship with him, they eventually forget their previous learning, don't listen to their father and teacher, don't foster beneficial friendships, put aside eating and drinking, don't think about rest, don't recognise morality and don't distinguish between life and death. All they speak of, think of, dream of and wish for is gambling, [because] the so called minds of those who love gambling, are no longer in their body. The bad habit of gambling, does not only harm learning and scatter willpower, but restrains and damages the activities of the members of a family, and destroys their property.

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蓋博非財不行，則百計千謀，必欲得所應賭之需耳。今日所輸之數，明日望復，復其金猶逐者望不止，竟終弗獲益，復輸焉。不覺漸消家產，貪賭之心尚未減焉，反愈啗人之財物，若未能順得，必強奪之矣。是以古賢論賭者於盜賊，而以盜賊之僇罰處之也，又曰：一賭之事，槩兼眾惡，好賭者多誤怨天，傷義禮，骯國法，置孝弟，廢五常，毀善俗，敗家業，奪民財。

It is not possible to gamble without wealth, therefore [gamblers] think of all the possible ways to obtain what they need to bet. What they have lost today, they hope to get back tomorrow. Once they obtain their money they keep hoping for more, but in the end they don't attain any advantage and lose again. They don't realise that they are slowly using up the family's property, as the minds of greedy people are never fulfilled, but keep wanting people's property; if they don't obtain it smoothly, they will surely take it by force. Hence, ancient sages regarded gamblers as thieves, and their faults were punished in the same way. They also said: "The gambling business combines many crimes: the many mistakes of the gamblers upset God, harm right conduct and etiquette, dishonour the country's regulations, corrupt filial piety, violate the five virtues,¹⁰²⁹ damage good customs, destroy a family's property and steal people's wealth.

¹⁰²⁹ According to HYDCD, in feudal China "*Wuchang* 五常" use to indicate the "*Wulun* 五伦", the so-called Five Cardinal Human Relationships described in the famous classic *Mengzi* 孟子. However, since Han Dynasty, the term was used to refer to the so-called five constant virtues of Confucianism, namely *Ren* 仁 (benevolence), *Yi* 義 (righteousness), *Li* 禮 (courtesy, social custom), *Zhi* 智 (wisdom), *Xin* 信 (fidelity). See HYDCD, volume 1, p. 375.

是數者之惡，皆從彼生也，則亦以眾惡之罰罰之不亦宜乎？吾西諸國，從古賭者必服重刑，其賭者所得之債，不許索之，倘索得之，其負者可以告官而反其人焉。雖然，又欲塞諸引賭之路，則凡招引舍藏賭者之流，必重懲之。乃世俗親之愚者，常怨其子之不肖，或肆賭敗家，而不知預止其將萌之愚，則惟於正學餘力，引以閒戲之近正者，勿令溺於諸邪習可也。

So many evil [crimes] are born from gambling, so is it not appropriate to punish gambling as you would these evil crimes? All the countries of our West reserve a serious penalty for gamblers: their gambling debts are not allowed to be cancelled, if a resolution is obtained, the bearer can report to the officials and turn against this person. Aside from this, [in the West] we also want to block the paths that lead to gambling, therefore all the groups that attract and gather gamblers must be punished strictly. Therefore, common foolish parents always complain that their children are unworthy, [but] some indulge in gambling and ruin the family, and don't see how to stop the stupidity of their offspring. Hence, only if the energies spared from orthodox learning are led to proper leisure activities will it be possible to stop children from indulging in evil practices.

童幼教育下卷

End of the second volume of Education of children.

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