

A NOTE ON A 16TH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT OF THE “CHINESE ALPHABET”*

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Introduction

History provides numerous instances of the Chinese language being rendered in scripts other than Chinese characters. In the later period, the most important was the Roman script, which was introduced to China by Europeans in the 16th century. The Jesuit method of transcribing Chinese into Roman script was refined gradually by Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607), Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), and others, and took final shape in *Xiru ermuji* 西儒耳目資 (1626), attributed to Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628)¹. After that, this system alone was generally used by Catholic missionaries of all orders, with minor differences reflecting national characteristics (the use of ‘-m’ in the manner of Portuguese or ‘-ng’ in Spanish to transcribe the Chinese final nasal consonant [-ŋ], for example).

There are, however, sporadic samples of romanized Chinese materials that predate the standardization of *Xiru ermuji*. As any document — although apparently of small significance — constitutes a source for linguistic research, it could be worthwhile to collect these earlier examples of transcription. In fact, in addition to their intrinsic value, they could also serve as data for comparison, in order to elucidate the phonological background of *Xiru ermuji* in a historical perspective.

This paper will consider the text of a “Chinese alphabet” in the collection of the British Library (BL), first made public by Donald Lach (Plate 1)². The text is found in fol. 279 of one of the Lansdowne Manuscripts (Lansdowne MS. 720), a volume entitled *Voyage d’Italie*, which, according to the catalogue, “contains an account of the travels in Italy of some very learned and intelligent Frenchmen between 1574 and 1578.”³

“Chinese Alphabet”

As can be seen in Plate 1, the following explanation appears above the text itself:

Alphabetum Idiomatis de Cina Ex bibliotheca Vaticana Romae. In tertia aula conclusa. Ex

*An earlier Japanese version of this study was published in Takata Tokio 高田時雄 (ed.) *Minshin jidai no on’ingaku* 明清時代の音韻學, 2001, pp.123-136, as “*Seiju jimokushi izen, Chūgoku no arufabetto*” 『西儒耳目資』以前—中國のアルファベット.

¹Among the many studies on *Xiru ermuji* and related topics, I will refer here only to Luo Changpei 羅常培, “*Yesuishi zai yinyunxueshang de gongxian*” 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻, 1930.

²Donald Lach, *Asia in the making of Europe*, Vol.II: A Century of Wonder, Book 3, 1977, p.511ff., illustration 97.

³A *Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscript in the British Museum*, 1819, p.163. In note 92, p.512, of his book Lach gives pp.275-276 instead of fol.279. As I could not have access to the original ms., it is impossible to ascertain which reference is accurate. Here I follow the *Catalogue*.

schedula manu Marcelli Papae scripta, ut aiunt. Sunt et illic libri hoc idiomate perscripti et manuscripti plures.

Marcellus II, who reigned as Pope for less than one month (from April 9th, 1555 until only May 1st of that year), is reputed to have made a copy of this text. Known as Cardinal Marcello Cervini before his election to the papacy, Marcellus was already a famous figure in intellectual circles at the time of his ascension. He became librarian at the Vatican Library in 1548, and had the distinguished scholar Ferdinando Ruano, among others, serving under him in the monumental task of cataloging the library's Latin manuscripts. Lach imagines that many examples of rare Asian script were available to him and that this text of the "Chinese alphabet" was in his hands before he was elected Pope in 1555⁴.

Lach does not seem to have been able to make sense of what the text really is, as he says that the twenty-five characters in the "alphabet" make no literary sense and hence had not come from some readily available Chinese source. However, even a rudimentary examination reveals that these are the so-called *Shangdaren* 上大人, which was employed widely in pre-modern China as a manual for children to learn characters⁵. More precisely, the *Shangdaren* is a model text for *miaohong* 描紅 the way in which children traced the characters in red ink and studied the correct strokes of the writing brush.

The question facing researchers is when and by which route this "Chinese alphabet" was brought to Rome. The oldest example of Chinese characters printed in Europe is a letter of October 29th, 1557, written by Gaspar Vilela (1526-1572), and recorded in *Cartas qve os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesus, que andão nos Reynos do Iapão escreuerão aos da mesma Companhia da India e Europa, desdo anno de 1549 até o de 66*, published 1570 in Coimbra. There a patent letter given by the daimyō Ōuchi Yoshinaga 大内義長 to the first Catholic church, Daidōji 大道寺, in Yamaguchi ken, Yoshiki gun, Suō Province⁶ is cited. If, therefore, as Lach supposes, the text of the "Chinese alphabet" had reached Cardinal Cervini before 1555, it would be the oldest sample of the Chinese script transmitted to Europe (although in manuscript — and not printed — form).

Lach lists several possibilities as to the intermediaries through whom Cervini or Ruano could have obtained the text: (1) between 1548 and 1555 Cervini received in Rome Syrian and Ethiopian prelates, who might have brought the Chinese material to him; (2) both Cervini and Ruano had friends in Iberia and in the Iberian community in Rome who might have forwarded the text; (3) it might have come through Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), to whom Joao de Barros sent "a book of the writing of the *chis*" (possibly Shiites or Chinese) while Giovio was working at the Vatican; (4) Ruano, working on the Chinese books the library already possessed, could have extracted from the Chinese writing what he thought were the root characters, copied them down, and added the romanization, perhaps with the help of a Portuguese; (5) most likely, the characters had been originally written by Bernard of Kagoshima, the young Japanese convert who visited Rome from early January to late October, 1555, i.e. during the election and brief pontificate of Marcellus II⁷.

These conjectures lack strong foundations and are largely improbable. Only the case of Bernard of Kagoshima, which Lach considers to be the most likely, apparently deserves attention, because his stay in Rome coincides with the reign of Marcellus II. However, the very fact of the text's being the *Shangdaren* deeply undermines this possibility. There is little reason to assume that Bernard as a Japanese would have

⁴Lach, 1977, pp.512-2.

⁵In the context of a non-alphabetical writing system, the title "Chinese Alphabet" would technically be inapt as a description of the text. However, the term could be employed loosely to give a general sense of the function of this text in China.

⁶The original string of Chinese characters reads as follows: 周防國吉敷郡山口縣大道寺.

⁷Lach, 1997, pp.513-514.

turned to it instead of the *Iroha* when he was asked to write a sample of Japanese characters in a foreign country. Nobody has ever showed that the *Shangdaren* was used in 16th century Japan, and besides this the pronunciations of the Chinese characters that are given are not Japanese either.

The question remains, therefore: how did this text make its way to Rome? In the lack of direct evidence, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that it was carried back to Europe by a Spanish or Portuguese vessel, either commercial or official.

Having hoped for a propagation of Catholicism in the Chinese Empire, Francisco Xavier died on the island of Sancian off the coast of China on December 3, 1552, while Jesuits began to engage seriously in their activities in China only in the 1580's, when Ruggieri and Ricci were dispatched there. However, it is safe to assume that Portuguese seamen and merchants had come into contact with Chinese people in Malacca and along the Cantonese coast several decades earlier, after the conquest of Malacca by Affonso de Albuquerque in 1511 and the appearance of Fernão Peres de Andrade as the first ambassador of Portugal in the delta of Zhujiang in 1513-15. As will be discussed in greater detail in the following section, phonetic characteristics in the text reveal Cantonese elements in the pronunciation, and suggest the likelihood of a Portuguese intermediary rather than a Spanish one. Thus, the *Shangdaren* might well have been brought back to Lisbon by one of those earlier visitors and transferred to Rome from there.

The characteristics of the transcription

Next to each of the twenty-five Chinese characters that make up the text of the *Shangdaren* is a transcription in Roman letters. It may be assumed that this transcription remained faithful to the original, although the BL text was a copy made from the manuscript of Marcellus II, which had probably passed through the hands of other persons previously. Certain minor errors may have crept in, and in cases such as the use of *sin* for 小, *textitquin* for 九, and *textitju* for 仁, the confusion between the final *u* and *n* can be safely corrected. Also, the transcription *cam* for 生 could only have been caused by the omission of a *cedilha*.

The following table takes into account these corrections, for the sake of comparison also including the transcriptions in the *Xiru ermuzi* and the pronunciation of modern Cantonese⁸.

“Chinese alphabet”		<i>Xiru ermuzi</i>	Cantonese
上	xam	xám, xàm	sœŋ
大	ta	tá, tái, t'ái etc.	tai
人	im	jîn	(j)iei
丘	heu	k'iēu, k'iū	(j)ieu
乙	y	iě, iǎ	jyt
己	qui	kì, kí	kei
化	fa	hoá	fa
三	sam	sān	sam
千	zem	çi'ēn	ts'in
七	zi	ç'iě	ts'et
十	xi	xě	səp

⁸When in the *Xiru ermuzi* more than one pronunciation is given, the first one presents the most suitable from a semantic point of view. Modern Cantonese pronunciation follow Zhan Bohui and Cheung Yat-shing, *A Study of Dialects in the Pearl River Delta*, Vol.1: “Comparative Morpheme-Syllabary”, 1987.

士	su	sù, xí	si
尔	ye	ùl	ji
小	siu	siào	siu
生	çam	sēm, sém, sím	sɛŋ
八	pa	pǎ	pat
九	quiu	kiēu, kièu	kɛu
子	zu	çù	tsi
佳	qua	kiā, kiāi	kai
作	zo	çǒ, çú, chú	tsɔk
仁	jn	jîn	(j)ien
可	co	k'ò	hɔ
知	chi	chī, chí	tsi
礼	li	lì	lei
也	ey	iè, ì	(j)ia

An analysis of the table leads to meaningful conclusions regarding initials and finals in the transcription adopted.

Initials

(1) As we observe in the examples *xam* 上 and *xi* 十, *x-* is used for the initial *sh-* of modern Peking dialect. These two characters are also transcribed with *x-* in the *Xiru ermuzi*. This is generally considered to reflect the Portuguese orthography of the time, and represents a sound close to [ʃ], or *sc(i)-* in Italian ⁹

(2) The initial consonant of 丘 in Middle Chinese (hereafter cited as MC) was **k'*-. Therefore, *k'īēu* (or *k'īū*) in the *Xiru ermuzi* shows a regular development, whereas a process of change of [*k'*-] into [*h-*] can be detected in Cantonese. Here some words with a labial medial even developed into [*f-*], as in the case of 苦 [fu]¹⁰. Yet, for 丘, modern Cantonese has an exceptional pronunciation [(j)ieŋ], and, since the local rhyme-book *Fenyun cuoyao* 分韻撮要¹¹ put it into the 憂 class of the 5th 修叟秀 rhyme, it may then be assumed that such a pronunciation already existed during the Qianlong 乾隆 period. Further examination of other Yue dialects reveals that in Gemt'in 錦田 (New Territories, Hong Kong), T'eumun 斗門, Senwui 新會, T'oisán 台山, Hɔip'eng 開平, (J)ienp'eng 恩平 and Tongkun 東莞 there is an initial that begins with [*h-*]¹². If the transcription of this text was based on some Yue dialect, this might have been one of those just cited. Worth noting is the fact that they are mostly concentrated in the coastal area which lies to the South of Macao.

(3) *c-* of *co* 可 probably represents an aspirated [*k'*-]. As we have just seen, **k'*- is in the process of changing into [*h-*] in Yue dialects. Since all of the Yue dialects as well as [*hɔ*] in modern Cantonese show a pronunciation with [textith-] for the character 可, we must conclude that this transcription in the “Chinese alphabet” reflects a Mandarin pronunciation instead.

(4) *fa* 化 is treated differently in the *Xiru ermuzi*. The change of [*h-*] into [*f-*] occurs in almost all

⁹Matteo Ricci used the Italian *sc-*, in his manuscript *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* and the *Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina*, 1942-49. Later, when he published the *Xizi qiji* 西字奇跡 in 1605, he had already adopted the Portuguese system.

¹⁰Oi-kan Yue Hashimoto, *Phonology of Cantonese*, 1972, p.642.

¹¹*Fenyun cuoyao* was compiled by Wen Qishan 溫岐山 from Wuqi 武溪 at a time predating Qianlong 47 (1782). Cf. Takata, “Kindai Etsugo no boin suii to hyōki” 近代粵語の母音推移と表記, 2000, p.753ff.

¹²Zhan Bohui and Cheung Yat-shing, *op.cit.*, p.166.

Yue dialects when the main vowel is a back vowel and is preceded by a labial medial. Therefore, this transcription is most likely based on Cantonese.

(5) *im* 人, *jn* (=in) 仁 and *ye* 尔: the initials of these three words all belong to the category of *ní*- (日母). The first two are homophonous, and the *Xiru ermuzi* renders them as *jín*. In this case, *j-* is considered to represent [ʃ]. However, this is never the case with *j-* in the “Chinese Alphabet”, where it should represent a syllable beginning with a vowel or a semivowel. In the orthography of 16th century Portuguese, *j* and *y* were used as an equivalent of the vowel *i*: *jn* was then the same as *in*¹³. These three transcriptions can also be better explained with Cantonese than with Mandarin. The character 尔, which also belongs to the category of **ní*- initials, does not show a retroflexed form *ül* as in the *Xiru ermuzi*.

(6) *çam* 生, originally written *cam*, must represent the sound [s-]. Portuguese *ç-*, together with the corresponding voiced *z-*, seems to have lost its explosive element and became a fricative in the 16th century¹⁴. This made possible a transcription such as the one that appears here. 生 has an initial consonant which comes from MC **ɣ*, but it is difficult to tell whether this transcription was adopted to mark a difference with the sound of 三 and 小 (both with **textits-* in MC, and rendered with *s-* in the “Chinese Alphabet”). The *Xiru ermuzi* uses *s-* for both initials without distinguishing between them.

(7) *zem* 千, *zu* 子 and *zo* 作 are all transcribed with *z-*. In MC 千 had an initial **ts’-*, whereas 子 and 作 had **ts-*. There is, then, no distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated. We have noted the same about the transcription *co* 可, which shows no aspiration mark. Aspiration, a distinctive feature in Chinese, may have been difficult for Europeans to grasp. In *Xiru ermuzi*, words with aspiration are transcribed regularly with *ç-* instead of *z-*. As indicated above, the Portuguese *ç-* and *z-* had a tendency to become fricative, but, as far as we can see from these examples, the process seems not to have come to an end. Some affricate elements could probably still be detected¹⁵.

Finals

(1) Generally speaking, European transcriptions of Chinese made little distinction among the final consonants. In this text, too, the three nasal finals -m, -n, -ŋ are all rendered by *textit-m*, as in *xam* 上, *im* 人, *sam* 三, *zem* 千, and *çam* 生¹⁶. This is a quite striking discrepancy with the *Xiru ermuzi*, which represents the Mandarin -n and -ŋ by *-n* and *-m* respectively. Another similar example of such a confusion is the transcription *tiem* for 天 in the *Tractado* of the Portuguese Dominican friar Gaspar da Cruz¹⁷. Therefore, *sam* for 三 cannot be taken as direct evidence that the transcription was based on a Cantonese dialect. The “Chinese Alphabet” does not sufficiently distinguish among nasal finals. However, the use of *textit-m* to transcribe [-ŋ] follows the typical Portuguese method. Later, when the system of *Xiru ermuzi* was widely adopted by European scholars, this *-m* often became a matter of discussion¹⁸.

¹³Dulce de Faria Paiva, *História da Língua portuguesa, II. século XV^e meados do século XVI*, 1988, p.38.

¹⁴Paul Teyssier, *Histoire de la langue portugaise*, 1980, p.60ff.

¹⁵As the *Xiru ermuzi* was published in 1626, even though almost the same system could have already been used in the *Xizi qiji*, this cannot date back earlier than the beginning of the 17th century. For this reason, the use of *ç-* for Chinese [ts] can perhaps be interpreted as a kind of historical transcription.

¹⁶*jín* (=in) 仁 would be the only exception.

¹⁷Gaspar da Cruz, *Tractado em que se cõntam muito por estêço as cousas da China*, Evora, 1569/70, p.162 (reference is made to the English translation by C.R.Boxer in his *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, 1953).

¹⁸For example, the following passage from an annotation added to the Chinese-Latin Dictionary in the British Library may be cited: “Comme il y a 2 sortes de *an* qui terminent les mots chinois, celui qui se prononce, comme l’on prononce en français *anne*, s’écrit *an*; et l’on écrit *ang* avec un *g* au bout, quand il faut prononcer comme en français on prononce l’*an* (annus), lent, dormant &c., ainsi prononcez *san* comme *sanne* ou *sann*; et quand vous verrez *sang*, dites *san* sans faire sonner l’*n*, et poit du tout le *g*. Ce *g* n’est placé là, que pour servir d’avis de prononcer comme je viens de dire. Ceux des autres, qui écrivent la prononciation chinoise selon la stricte manière portugaise car c’est aux espagnols qu’on attribue d’avoir ajouté le *g* au bout) écrivent *sam*, *xam*, *cam* &c., ce que je dit ici de *an* & *ang*. Cela revient au même: c’est la même manière de prononcer, tout dépend de s’entendre” (“Annotaciones quaedam gallicae circa usum dictionarii hujusce Duplicis, id est Sinico-latini, & mere Sinici”, ms. Add.23620, p.978ff.

(2) Consonant endings in entering tones are not represented in the “Chinese Alphabet”. As is well known, preservation of the *-p*, *-t*, *-k* endings constitutes a distinctive feature of the Yue dialects, but no trace of their existence can be detected here. All the five examples found end with a vowel: *y* 乙, *zi* 七, *xi* 十, *pa* 八 and *zo* 作. Moreover, the vowels in the first three do not agree with most modern Cantonese forms¹⁹, although there are in fact also dialects which pronounce 乙 as [jit] instead of [jyt]²⁰. As for 七 and 十, again it would not be entirely impossible to consider their transcriptions as based on a Yue dialect, provided that we suppose the change of *-ip* (*t*, *k*) into *-iep* (*t*, *k*), a feature of modern Cantonese, as not to have yet taken place at the time of the text’s compilation²¹. Most likely, the hardly distinguishable ending sounds of the entering tone were neglected in European transcriptions.

(3) The vowel of the *ciyin* 次音 category, which the *Xiru ermuzi* renders with *ù*, is considered to represent an apical sound [ɿ]. Although *su* 士 and *zu* 子 are transcribed in the “Chinese Alphabet” without a dot, they might represent the same sound. To the category of *ciyin* belong MC *kaikou* 開口 sounds of the rhyme category *zhishe* 止攝 with the initial groups *jing* 精 (*ts-, *ts’-, *dz-, *s-, *z-) and *zhuang* 莊 (*tɕ-, *tɕ’-, *dʒ-, *ɕ-). As these sounds also form the independent 16th rime 師史四 in the *Fenyun cuoyao*, the transcriptions may be based on Cantonese as well²².

(4) Li 禮 corresponds to *li* of the *Xiru ermuzi*, while the sound in Yue dialects is [lɐi]. Although examples in the *xie* 蟹 rhyme category read with a vowel [-i] are not unknown, it would be safer to regard this transcription as Mandarin rather than Cantonese.

(5) The transcription *xam* 上 shows a closer correspondance with Mandarin, because it is [sæŋ] in modern Cantonese. In some dialects, however, there are also examples of a pronunciation [siaŋ]²³.

(6) The transcription *siu* 小 is quite different from *siào* of the *Xiru ermuzi*, being extremely close to the Cantonese form instead.

(7) *Qua* 佳 perhaps can be corrected into *quia*. In this case, the transcription would be close to Mandarin *kiā* (as in the *Xiru ermuzi*). In the Yue dialects the sound is something like *kai*, preserving the final *-i*²⁴. Therefore, if we accept this as a transcription from a Yue form, we should assume that the final was not transcribed. It is difficult to reach a definitive conclusion on what of these two hypotheses is more likely.

These brief considerations on the phonetic characteristics of the text leave us with the impression of a heavy influence from Yue dialects, although some transcriptions may be more easily explained with Mandarin forms. The transcription itself was certainly based on the Portuguese usage. Then, we can assume a scenario in which the Portuguese obtained the original of the “Chinese Alphabet” on the Cantonese coast in the middle of the 16th century, the pronunciation of each character being added there. The Cantonese source, however, must not have been completely familiar with Mandarin Chinese, and that is why Cantonese pronunciations of the characters appear at many points.

¹⁹Modern Cantonese: 乙 [jyt], 七 [ts’et], 十 [set].

²⁰Cf. Zhan Bohui and Cheung Yat-shing, *op.cit.*, p.262.

²¹As a matter of fact, the forms [-ip][-it] appear in various dialects which are found commonly in the area around T’oisan 台山 and neighboring areas. Here too the character 丘 of the MC initial *k’- has an initial consonant [h-].

²²Although these characters are read with a vowel [i] in modern Cantonese, this is the result of a phonetic change which took place in the 19th century. Cf. Takata, “Kindai etsugo no boin suii to hyōki”, 2000, pp.754-740.

²³T’oisan 台山 and Hoip’eng 開平. Cf. Zhan Bohui and Cheung Yat-shing, *op.cit.*, p.300.

²⁴According to Zhan Bohui and Cheung Yat-shing, *op.cit.*, p.63-68, only the Nanhai 南海 dialect systematically omits the final *-i* in the case of characters with unround vowels of the second degree in the *xie* rhyme category 蟹攝二等合口字). There is no such a phenomenon in other Yue dialects.

Transmission of the text of the Shangdaren

As far as we know, the *Shangdaren* began to be used approximately from the early Song period. The oldest examples are a few manuscripts found at Dunhuang, but many citations from its text appear in later literature. From these, it is clear that a certain number of textual variations took place in the process of transmission.

The following four versions have been transmitted in Dunhuang manuscripts ²⁵:

P.3145 verso: a sequence of characters before miscellaneous texts copied on the back of a *she* association circular (*shesi zhuan tie* 社司轉帖) dating at a year *wuzi* 戊子 (988?).

上大夫丘乙己化三千七十二女小生八九子牛羊万口舍宅 (?) (Plate 2)

P. 3797 verso: among the miscellaneous texts on the verso side of the “House Instructions of the Grandfather” (*Taigong jiajiao* 太公家教) and the “Instructions of the Stern Father, Newly Collected” (*Xinji yanfujiao* 新集嚴父教). On the same side of the manuscript is visible a date: the year *bingzi*, 9th year of the Kaibao 開寶 period, Song dynasty.

上大夫丘一己化三千七十二女小生八九子牛羊千口宅字²⁶. (Plate 3)

P.tib.2219: in this fragment only the part²⁷

三千七十二女小生八九子牛. (Plate 4) P.3806 verso: copied on the verso of the “Collected Explanations to Commentaries on the *Chunqiu*” (*Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie* 春秋經傳集解) by Du Yu 杜預.

上大夫丘乙己化三千七十士二小生八九子可知其禮也. (Plate 5)

At a first glance we notice here — without exception — *shangdafu* 上大夫 in the place of *shangdaren* 上大人. Another feature of the former three texts is their curious ending with the words *niu yang* 牛羊. By contrast, the last one (P.3806 verso) looks similar to later versions of the text, although the three characters 佳作仁 are missing, probably due to a copyist’s mistake. Confusion can also be noted among the characters 二 *zi, 女 *nǐ, and 士 *si: their pronunciation sounded very similar in the Dunhuang dialect of the time, as it is clear from other examples in a number of manuscripts from the tenth century or the latter half of the ninth²⁸.

As a further sign of its popularity, the *Shangdaren* also frequently appears in texts of Chan Buddhism dating from the Song period. Among many possible examples, the following passage from the *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 quotes it in full:

郭祥正字功甫、號淨空居士、志樂泉石、不羨紛華、因謁白雲、雲上堂曰、夜來枕上作得箇山頌、謝功甫大儒、廬山二十年之舊、今日遠訪白雲之勤、當須舉與大眾、請已後分明舉似諸方、此頌豈唯謝功甫大儒、直要與天下有鼻孔衲僧脫卻著肉汗衫、莫言不道、乃曰、上大人丘乙己、化三千七十士、爾小生八九子、佳作仁可知禮也、公切疑、後聞小兒誦之、忽有省。

Guo Xiangzheng 郭祥正, with the *zi* of Gongfu 功甫 and the hao of Jingkong Layman 淨空

²⁵heng Acai 鄭阿財 “Dunhuang tongmeng duwu de fenlei yu zongshuo” 敦煌童蒙讀物的分類與總說, 2001 (pp.194, 208) cites in addition P.4990, though in fact there is no trace of the text there.

²⁶It is not clear whether the last character 字 has to be included in the text. Most probably it is superfluous.

²⁷This is a fragmentary piece detached from P.2415. Cf. *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-houang*, Vol.I, p.263, and Vol.VI, p.115.

²⁸Cf. Takata Tokio, *Tonkō shiryō ni yoru Chūgokugo shi no kenkyū* 敦煌資料による中國語史の研究, 1988.

居士, in dislike of superficial glory sought to lead a purified life; therefore he decided to pay a visit to [Master] Baiyun. Once he had taken his seat in the hall, Baiyun said: “I composed a ‘mountain eulogy’ (*shansong* 山頌) in bed last night. I cordially thank the Great Master Gongfu. Now that a friend of twenty years’ standing in Lushan came all his way to see me today, I have to ask you all to tell it clearly to everybody. This eulogy is not just for Great Master Gongfu. To monks still training can strip off the baby shirt pasted to their skin. You don’t skip a word!” Then Baiyun said in one breath: *shang da ren qiu yi ji, hua san qian qi shi shi, er xiao sheng ba jiu zi, jia zuo ren ke zhi li ye*. That gentleman remained altogether dumbfounded, but later, on hearing a little boy reciting the same phrase, all of a sudden he attained enlightenment²⁹.

Unlike the Dunhuang manuscripts, here the text begins with *Shangdaren*. This is identical with the version cited in *biji* literature from the Ming period, in works such as the *Shuidong riji* 水東日記 by Ye Sheng 葉盛 (1420-1474) and the *Weitan* 猥談 by Zhu Yunming 祝允明 (1461-1527)³⁰. The text seems then to have maintained relative stability in the later transmission through the Qing dynasty, as the following table of comparison shows:

P. 3145	上大夫丘乙己化三千七十二女小生八九子牛羊万口舍宅
P. 3797	上大夫丘一己化三千七十士二小生八九子牛羊万口宅字
P. tib. 2219	三千七十二女小生八九子
P. 3806	上大夫丘乙己化三千七十士二小生八九子 可知禮也
Chan texts	上大人丘乙己化三千七十士爾小生八九子佳作仁可知禮也
BL	上大人丘乙己化三千七十士尔小生八九子佳作仁可知礼也
Qing period	上大人孔乙己化三千七十士尔小生八九子佳作仁可知禮也

The manuscript in the British Library matches the later version exactly, apart from minor variants. Only the second three characters 丘乙己 appear as 孔乙己 in the text commonly used in China until recent times. This change apparently took place in the early Qing period³¹, since compilations like the *Eryan* 邇言³² by Qian Dazhao 錢大昭 (1744-1813) and the *Langji xutan* 浪跡續談³³ by Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅

²⁹ *Wudeng huiyuan*, juan 19, p.1249. The same dialogue between *Baiyun* and *Zheng Gongfu* continued to be handed down in later literature. Cf. for example, the following passage from *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄, juan 27:

白雲師翁遂上堂云、前來蒙次公大儒訪及、爲上堂、曾舉一遍、今日功甫到來不可隱覆、更爲舉一遍、此語甚奇特、乃曰、上大人丘乙己、化三千七十士、爾小生八九子、佳作仁可知禮也、遂下座、大眾、言雖龐淺、理實甚深、若不會上大人、如何登孔聖門、通曉六經子史百氏詩書、縱使身名顯達、不曉上大人、如何佐國安邦、使功成身退。

Master Baiyun said: “When lately we received the visit of Great Master [Yang] Cigong, I told you you that already once in the hall, but now that [Guo] Gongfu has come, I cannot keep it secret and I will tell you all once again, because this phrase is quite excellent indeed”. And as soon as he finished reciting the passage *shang da ren qiu yi ji, hua san qian qi shi shi, er xiao sheng ba jiu zi, jia zuo ren ke zhi li ye*, he left his seat. The disciples said to each other: “Even though this phrase seems easy, the inner meaning is profound. Without understanding the *Shangdaren*, how can one climb up to the gate of Vonfusius and become well versed in the Six Classics and other literature? Without knowledge of the *Shangdaren*, though successful in official life, how can one assist the state and retire with distinguished services? (p.527)

³⁰ We find the following passage in the “xueshu” 學書 chapter of Guichaogao 龜巢稿 (juan 14) by Xie Yingfang 謝應芳 (1296-1392), Yuan dynasty: 字書之學、訓蒙者率以上大人二十字先之、以爲點畫簡而易習也 “The majority of teachers begin with the twenty-five characters of *Shangdaren* when they instruct children to write, because their strokes are simple and easy to practice.” Though the full text is not cited, we can imagine that in the *incipit* the phrase *shangdaren* instead of *shangdafu* was already established.

³¹ In 1725 the Emperor Yongzheng issued a decree prescribing that the character *qiu* 丘 must be written as 邱 to avoid the name of Confucius. The change from 丘乙己 to 孔乙己 in this text of the *Shangdaren* should have something to do with this decree.

³² Juan 5, “shangdaren”, 1959, Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, p.63.

³³ Juan 7, “shangdaren”, p.367. *Shangdaren* is quoted here as a citation from *Weitan*, and so it is not impossible that the text of *Weitan* in the hand of Zhang Liangju read 孔乙己 too. Rather, it is more likely that it is a mistake made with reference to the text that was in daily use at that time.

(1775-1849) already contain 孔乙己.

Conclusion

The “Chinese Alphabet” from the British Library whose transcriptions’ phonetic characteristics I have analyzed, then, corresponds to the text of the *Shangdaren*, a sort of manual used by children to learn characters. It is a very interesting early sample of the Chinese script transmitted to Europe, as other early documents — brought to Europe by mere chance — contain only fragments. Unfortunately, this text remained in manuscript form and did not exert any influence on the development of knowledge about China. Nonetheless, it certainly deserves a place on the first page of the history of Sinological studies in Europe.

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Alphabetum Idiomatis

DE CINA

Ex bibliotheca Vaticana Roma. In tertia aula conclusa. Ex schedula manu Marcelli.

Papa scripta, ut aiunt. Sunt et illi libri hoc idiomate perscripti et manuscripti plures.

⊥ kam	∩ pa
✕ ra	ℑ quin
ℵ im	℥ zu
⊥ heu	℥ qua
ℤ y	℥ zo
⊥ qui	℥ ju
℥ fa	⊥ co
≡ sam	⊥ chi
⊥ rem	℥ li
⊥ zi	℥ cy
+ xi	
⊥ su	

In eadem Bibliotheca videntur

⊥ ye	Liber manuscriptus manu Henrici 8 ⁱ Anglorum Regis contra Lutherum ad Leonem x. missus ab eodem. cum disticho antecedente manu eius Regis perscripto. Titulus libri hic est.
⊥ sin	Assertio septem sacramentorum contra Lutherum Anglorum Rex Henricus Leo decime mittit.
⊥ cam	Hoc opus et fidei testem, et amicitiae.

上大夫五乙已化三千七十二女小生八九子牛羊萬萬會也
 不錄甲子乙丑大天大首之平者也上由山水中入坐
 升於天去首首性平子不留心以行方迴也夫才此重仁
 去年出北地今日入南陳未甲孔父志且任下公吟
 三門前出王音若餘未自玉耶此景黃金黃
 駐十方所界盡中東復不姓動心本問大東黃白
 孔目羅鎮使幕軍陳都督馬牛安校陳陽
 陳榮田曹四大口李將頭安縣縣知張要侯
 米判官王羊司高得司郭榮場石市公趙張
 董平水宅知馬官標才年大眼樊安昇韓
 翁海道范善興李存德育法律唐閣和煥煌
 甲子年花角共池共閣王周亦心慈車

Plate 2: P. 3145V°

子午羊午口宅字
 夫立己化三千七十二女小生人
 太公家老一筆
 四三年甲子德壽錄子會
 長自毛蓋託四冬一即大司本李近
 開寶九年丁丑年冒日八曰王會日
 維維王家定興頭上什
 樂宗開寶九年乙酉子歲三月十三日寫子文書了

Plate 3: P. 3797V°



Plate 4: P. tib. 2219

遠非道之財誠過度之伯傲毋起於心
僂勿宣於口尊必近羞交義擇友骨肉
貧者莫踈他門雖富勿厚常思已過之非
每慮未來之各克己儉約為先處衆謙
恭為首暫之食禄而泰切劬農力而未
有
上大夫丘乙巳化三十七年十二月生八九子可
知其禮也

Plate 5: P. 3806V°