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СОДРЖИНА / TABLE OF CONTENTS

11 ПРЕДГОВОР

Проф. д-р Виолета Димова, прв декан на Филолошкиот факултет во Штип FOREWORD

Prof. Violeta Dimova, the first Dean of the Faculty of Philology in Stip

JA3ИК / LANGUAGE

15 Marija Kusevska

DESCRIBING SPEECH ACTS FROM CROSS-CULTURAL AND INTERLANGUAGE PERSPECTIVE

27 Costanza Geddes da Filicaia

"TIRINNANZI" O "TYRYNNANZY"? IL *GIORNALINO DI GIAN BURRASCA* E LA GRAFFIANTE IRONIA ONOMASTICA DI LUIGI BERTELLI

Costanza Geddes da Filicaia

"TIRINNANZI" OR "TYRYNNANZY"? THE GIORNALINO DI GIAN BURRASCA AND LUIGI BERTELLI'S MORDANT IRONY ON NAMES

37 Paolo Orrù

STRATEGIE DISCORSIVE DELL'INFORMAZIONE TELEVISIVA NEL DISCORSO SULLE MIGRAZIONI, ALCUNI APPUNTI LINGUISTICI SUL CASO ITALIANO

Paolo Orrù

DISCOURSIVE STRATEGIES OF THE TV INFORMATION IN THE DISCOURSE ABOUT MIGRATIONS, SOME LINGUISTIC POINTS REGARDING THE ITALIAN CASE

53 Марија Гркова

ОСВРТ КОН УСВОЈУВАЊЕТО НА ГРАМАТИЧКИТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ КАЈ ИМЕНКИТЕ ВО МАКЕДОНСКИОТ ЈАЗИК КАКО СТРАНСКИ Marija Grkova

REVIEW OF THE ACQUISITION OF THE GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES OF NOUNS IN MACEDONIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

КНИЖЕВНОСТ / LITERATURE

67 Марија Ѓорѓиева-Димова

ИНТЕРПРЕТАТИВНИ ОСЦИЛАЦИИ МЕЃУ ТЕКСТОТ И КОНТЕКСТОТ Marija Gjorgjieva Dimova INTERPRETATIVE OSCILLATIONS BETWEEN TEXT AND CONTEXT

81 Весна Мојсова-Чепишевска

КУЛТУРНАТА ДРУГОСТ НИЗ "ТЕЧНИОТ ГОВОР" НА ПОЕТСКИОТ ЗБОР И ФОТОГРАФИЈАТА

Vesna Mojsova Chepishevska

THE CULTURAL DIFFERENCE THROUGH "THE FLUENT SPEECH" OF THE POETIC WORD AND PHOTOGRAPHY

93 Ивица Максимовски

СЕМАНТИКАТА И СИМБОЛИКАТА

ВО "ЛОША ТЕТКА И ДРУГИ РАСКАЗИ" ОД КОВИЛОСКИ

Ivica Maksimovski

SEMANTICS AND SYMBOLISM

IN "BAD AUNT AND OTHER SHORT STORIES" BY KOVILOSKI

101 Nazlı Rânâ Gürel

NECİP FAZIL KISAKÜREK'İN BİR ADAM YARATMA

ADLI PİYESİNDE ELEŞTİREL YAKLAŞIMLAR

Nazli Rana Gurel

CRITICAL APPROACH FOR 'TO CREATE A MAN' BY NECIP FAZIL

109 İvona Stoyanovska

BAHRÎ VE DİVANI

İvona Stojanovska

BAHRI AND HIS DIVAN

119 Славчо Ковилоски

ЗАПИСИТЕ НА КУЗМАН ШАПКАРЕВ ЗА МАШКО-ЖЕНСКИТЕ ОДНОСИ И МАКЕДОНСКОТО ОБИЧАЈНО ПРАВО

Slavcho Koviloski

KUZMAN SHAPKAREV'S RECORDS OF MALE-FEMALE RELATIONS AND MACEDONIAN CUSTOMARY LAW

127 Луси Караниколова-Чочоровска

СУДБИНСКАТА ЕНЕРГИЈА НА ПОЕТСКАТА РЕЧ (ЗА ПОЕТСКАТА СУДБИНА НА ГАНЕ ТОДОРОВСКИ, АТАНАС ВАНГЕЛОВ И ТОДОР ЧАЛОВСКИ)

Lusi Karanikolova-Chochorovska

THE DESTINAL ENERGY OF THE POETIC WORD (FOR THE POETIC DESTINY OF GANE TODOROVSKI, ATANAS VANGELOV AND TODOR CHALOVSKI)

135 Miruna Craciunescu

RÉACTIVATION D'UN IMAGINAIRE DU XVIII^E SIÈCLE DANS LES ILLUSIONS PERDUES D'HONORÉ DE BALZAC

Miruna Craciunescu

IN SEARCH OF A COLLECTIVE IMAGINARY OF THE 18^{TH} CENTURY IN BALZAC'S LOST ILLUSIONS

149 Eva Gjorgjievska

MARCEL PROUST ET LES PERSONNAGES JUIFS DANS A LA RECHERCHE DU TEMPS PERDU

Eva Gjorgjievska

MARCEL PROUST AND THE CHARACTERS OF JEWS IN THE NOVEL IN SEARCH OF LOST TIME

161 Искра Тасевска Хаџи-Бошкова

БИОГРАФИЈАТА НА КУЗМАН ШАПКАРЕВ ВО СВЕТЛИНАТА НА БИОГРАФСКИТЕ ДИСКУРСИ

Iskra Tasevska Hadji Boshkova

KUZMAN SHAPKAREV'S BIOGRAPHY IN THE CONTEXT OF BIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSES

КУЛТУРА / CULTURE

173 Diego Poli

MATTHEW RICCI - LI MADOU: A DIALOGUE ACROSS CULTURES

185 Петар Намичев, Екатерина Намичева

ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЈА НА КУЛТУРНАТА МЕМОРИЈА ПРЕКУ ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНАТА АРХИТЕКТУРА ВО МАКЕДОНИЈА

Petar Namicev, Ekaterina Namiceva

THE TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURAL MEMORY THROUGH THE TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE IN MACEDONIA

199 Стојанче Костов

ВЛИЈАНИЕТО НА ШКОЛАТА НА ИГОР АЛЕКСАНДРОВИЧ МОЈСЕЕВ ВО МАКЕДОНСКИТЕ ФОЛКЛОРНИ АНСАМБЛИ Stojance Kostov

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SCHOOL OF IGOR ALEXANDROVICH MOJSEYEV IN THE MACEDONIAN FOLK DANCE ENSEMBLE

207 Јане Јованов, Катерина Ромашевска

АЗБУКА НА ЧЕШКИТЕ РЕАЛИИ Jane Jovanov, Katerina Romashevska ALPHABET OF CZECH REALITIES

МЕТОДИКА НА HACTABATA / TEACHING METHODOLOGY

213 Igor Rižnar

BLENDED LANGUAGE LEARNING AND FLIPBOARD IN HIGHER EDUCATION

225 Mahmut Çelik, Ümit Süleymani

MAKEDONYA'DA 'TÜRK YAZI DİLİ TARİHİ' KONUSUNU ÜNİVERSİTE TÜRK DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI BÖLÜMLERİNDE "ROL OYNAMA (DRAMATİZASYON) YÖNTEMİYLE ÖĞRETİMİ" Mahmut Çelik, Ümit Süleymani

THE HISTORY OF TURKISH WRITTEN LANGUAGE TAUGHT AT UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF TURKISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN MACEDONIA WITH ROLEPLAYING (DRAMATIZATION) METHOD

237 Fausto Maria Greco

UN PERCORSO DIDATTICO DI INTERCULTURALITÀ ATTRAVERSO LA NARRATIVA DI FABIO GEDA

Fausto Maria Greco

A DIDACTIC ITINERARY TOWARDS INTERCULTURALITY THROUGH THE NARRATIVE OF FABIO GEDA

251 Snezana Petrova, Sevda Lazarevska

L'IDENTITE CULTURELLE ET LES APPROCHES ET PRATIQUES INTERCULTURELLES DANS L'EDUCATION

Snezana Petrova. Sevda Lazarevska

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND INTERCULTURAL APPROACHES IN EDUCATION

259 Brikena Xhaferi, Gezim Xhaferi

THE ROLE OF CALL IN FOSTERING LEARNER AUTONOMY – A STUDY CONDUCTED AT SOUTH EAST EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY IN TETOVO

ПРИКАЗИ / BOOK REVIEWS

269 François Schmitt

COMPTE-RENDU: «FANTASTIKA (NIELEN) VTALIANSKEJ LITERATURE» (« LE FANTASTIQUE DANS LA LITTÉRATURE ITALIENNE ET AILLEURS), PAR EVA MESAROVA

François Schmitt

REVIEW: »"FANTASTIKA (NIELEN) V TALIANSKEJ LITERATURE" (FANTASTIC IN ITALIAN LITERATURE AND ELSEWHERE), BY EVA MESAROVÁ

ДОДАТОК / APPENDIX

275 ПОВИК ЗА ОБЈАВУВАЊЕ ТРУДОВИ

BO МЕЃУНАРОДНОТО НАУЧНО СПИСАНИЕ "ПАЛИМПСЕСТ" CALL FOR PAPERS

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КУЛТУРА



CULTURE

UDC: 316.773.4:2 Theoretical paper

Diego Poli

MATTHEW RICCI - LI MADOU: A DIALOGUE ACROSS CULTURES

Abstract: How heavy is the weight of Matthew (Matteo) Ricci in Chinese culture or, in other words, did Matthew Ricci succeed in his attempt to be Li Madou? The crucial question begins with the language competence Ricci and the Fathers of his mission acquired in Mandarin and continues with the double-faced encounter on the ground of human understanding and religious persuasion. This paper aims at outlining some of the basic questions posited by the first experiment, in order to make up a cross-cultural dialogue involving philosophical, scientific and religious matters. The three parts of the paper focus on: a) the newly experimented inculturative policy aimed at persuading the Chinese literati about the feasibility of an intercultural exchange; b) the viability of a linguistic experimentation through which communication of mutual knowledge could be attempted; c) the relationship between the apostolic message and the three religions of China.

Keywords: Matthew (Matteo) Ricci; Cultures in contact; Missiology; Renaissance; Western and Eastern studies.

Towards a mutual understanding

Starting from the late sixteenth century, and until the seventeenth and eighteenth century, information the Jesuits spread all over Europe generated a fascinating utopia about the Far East and China in particular. China's complex state organization, its hierarchy and bureaucracy, the religious and ritual polymorphism, the ceremonial system, its writing culture, the technological and scientific knowledge represented characteristics that astonished missionaries and filled also with amazement about the West once again after Marco Polo's tales about Mongolian China (Cathai).

Far East represented a privileged strategic area for Counter-Reformist pastoral planning: from the point of view of Christianization, because of the rich harvests of expected conversions; on a dogmatic level, because it offered the experimental evidence for Christian truth and universality of Catholicism.

The new acquaintance served as a stimulation to inquiries based on philosophy of universalism, trying to find in the East the proof for validating the principles worked out in the West. Missionary theology acknowledged Chinese thought within its reasonings. Europe met an ethics created by the consciousness suggested by the experience that did not ensue from dogma; even though lacking of metaphysical virtues, it resulted from a balance between passion and reason.

Some western philosophers sought confirmation of their theories relying on the new acquired knowledge. With regard to foundation of learning, Lord Bacon and the Royal Society after him recognized Chinese as the original language in which there the unequivocal and firm relationship between the *ordo rerum* and *ordo nominum*, i.e. the validity of naming and the naming of reality was still impressed. Lord Bacon considered ideograms as a natural code consisting of "real characters" that do not match nouns, since they are "expressing neither letters nor words but things and notions". In this way, Eastern peoples "although differing in language, agreed in using these characters [...] communicated each other through writing so that a book drawn up with such characters could be read by anyone coming from those countries and translated into different languages" (*De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum* - VI, 5).

The Chinese language became the historical demonstration of the real characters that Lord Bacon searched for (Poli, 2011; Schreyer 1992). Its referential ability is based on ideograms through which the intermediary of the vocal component of language can be avoided, in order to focus directly on the concept, using words to portray things. Such hypothesis was corroborated by pseudo-historical or antiquarian researches that were going to enchant Europe: Chinese was connected to the language of the Noah's descendants that after being survived from the Deluge emigrated eastwards and preserved the isomorphism the flood had confused anywhere else. China could also host one of the lost tribes of Israel: Didn't Matthew (Matteo) Ricci bore witness of a Jewish presence when he referred of "a man who comes from Judaea, a Jew graduated in Chinese literature, coming from Honan and named Ngai"?

It is a well-known fact that the finest theorists on communicative aspects of evangelization were Francis Xavier and the Visitor Alexander Valignano for the East and José de Acosta for South America (Poli, 2012; Sievernich, 1990). Missions towards the Far East began with Francis Xavier, one of the first brethren of Ignatius of Loyola who, although he worked in India and Japan, felt the urge to extend evangelization to China because he understood the cultural dependence Far East had from this country. Valignano improved the strategies of Francis Xavier's method of inculturation (Poli, 2015; Witek, 2004), succeeding in characterizing the whole of Jesuit's missionary work in the Far East for its dialogical originality (Dunne, 1962; Golvers, 1999).

The outcome of the Chinese mission was put in the hands of a group of Fathers: Michael Ruggieri, Matthew Ricci, Nicolas Longobardo are among the most important planners. Later, in 1624, probably in Macau, Dias Sr. compiled a manual of Mandarin based on the ethnolinguistic principles of the adaptation to the pragmatic contexts missionaries would find in China (*Ratio studiorum para os nossos que ham de estudiar as letras e lingua da China*). The notes in Portuguese written at the margin of the manuscript and the transposition of the sounds into Latin letters, worked out according to the procedure established by Ruggieri and Ricci, point to the didactic destination of the text and the

circulation intended for and within the Society of Jesus (Norman, 1988, p. 257; Poli, 2009).

Their works opened to the perspective of experiencing the encounter with the foreign and provided the rhetorical base for an intercultural communication aimed at conveying religious teaching into other's people languages. The education of converted people was interpreted in the perspective of a re-enactment of the Pentecost. Ricci compiled the manifesto of this action just before he passed away. His *Letter to fr. Francis Pasio*, Beijing 15th February 1609 (Ricci, 2001) summarized the set of convictions by which he was guided in eight points, outlining a sort of "theology for the mission" and an "apology of his life", as well as a "confession" (Ross, 1994, p. 144).

The developing of the programme soon encountered a harsh criticism. Corrections of the perspective proposed by the Jesuits were required by the bitter controversy on the Chinese Rites and combined with the accusations made by Jansenists and Protestants (Bontinck, 1962). Meanwhile China became a consolidated subject, a topic that passed from the theological field to the philosophical and ideological ones.

If Jesuits succeeded in empowering the access to the "unknown land", the communicative denominator that allowed dialogical relationship between the two utmost ends of the world was the unitary dimension in which differences were reconciled because were perceived as if they were expressions of the same common reality.

In the frame of this policy of mutual understanding, Far East has been approached with the communicative means of Renaissance in order to appeal eastern literati and fascinate western intellectuals. The time for this historical meeting showed to be highly favourable. During the late Ming dynasty, when doubts about traditional values spread and certainty on the sciences faded, the impact provided by this new perspective must have been of remarkable momentum. Constructive proposals for an intellectual complement offered by the Jesuits to Chinese culture replaced the early disconcertment with a new orientation based on the learning offered by the Renaissance rationalism and experimentalism.

The culture of the "unknown country"

Valignano organized the Chinese mission demanding a competence in the "most universal" language, called by the Portuguese "mandarin". Ruggieri took the place of fr. Bernardine de Ferrariis who, although had been originally selected, in the meanwhile had become the Rector of the college at Cochin, in Kerala (India). When in July 20th 1579 Ruggieri arrived in Macau, he realized the difficulties interposed by the spoken local variety of Chinese to the linguistic pattern he was going to acquire and he was conscious of the uniformity the symbolic and semasiological system of Chinese writing succeeded to conform. Ruggieri called a painter to guide him in learning to write, in order to instruct him in the technique of the strokes for each character he came across (Ricci,

2000, p. 114). On November 8th 1580, Ruggieri submitted General Mercurian and Visitor Valignano the necessity that he would be supported by Ricci who succeeded in rejoining him on August 7th 1582.

Ruggieri and Ricci appear to have been deeply involved in improving their linguistic skills and enriching their knowledge of Chinese culture. This is proved by a set of clues indicated by hand-written sources and their literary production in Chinese, revealing the increasing ability in expression and sharpness in dialogical reasoning. The final achievement of the process is not to be pondered as the outcome of an individual commitment; it is rather the action of the entire community of Jesuits and Chinese scholars who collaborated together. The Ratio atque institutio studiorum itself is credited as the product of the action of the whole company. If fr. Nicolas Trigault could manipulate Ricci's commentary, the Entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina (The Christian expedition to China undertaken by the Society of Jesus), with extreme indifference as far as its authorship was concerned – so that it could be published in Europe as the Latin edition De christiana expeditione apud Sinas, Augsburg 1615 (Lamalle, 1940) -, the contribution of the Chinese literati integrating in different ways the activity of the mission seems to be ascertained. Triggered by scientific curiosity and challenged by comparison, these literati were ravished by dialogical interest and fascinated by the evangelical message. It is an established fact that some books on mathematics, geometry and astronomy devised by Ricci have been translated with the help of some of them, who cooperated as consultants (Standaert, 2003, pp. 372-374).

We may suppose that Jesuits followed the well-documented procedure implemented since the Buddhistic conversion of China, when the translation of the Indian canonical texts was the result of an interpretation shared by literati and lettered believers. Through the co-operative work of people gathered in 'fields of construing' (*yi chang*), the final translation was the achievement of a collective action under the guidance of a master. In 406 BC, the Indian monk Jiu mo luo shi assembled two hundred hearers in order to translate his preaching, and in 418 Fo da ba tuo's teachings were commuted with the support of one hundred believers (Cao Shi Bang, 1990, pp. 11-13). To the draft of the attempt of a first interpretation more details are added gradually by the comparison between the parties until an accepted and sanctioned text is attained. The procedure foresees a set of phases, starting with the initial interpreter (*shi*), down to the moderator and co-ordinator (*zhu yi* 'head of the translation'), ending up with the writer (*bi shou*) responsible for the final check. The result looms from the harmonic gathering of people.

Jesuits came to the East as members of a culture and religion based on preservation and transmission through the means of books. Ricci highlighted how the Company acquired a good reputation when the Chinese literati became acquainted with the elegantly bound and the finely printed volumes the Fathers had brought from Europe. Their esteem became higher when the Chinese

noticed the interest the Jesuits showed for their civilization they were studying with great attraction (Ricci, 2000, p. 136):

The Fathers and the religion of Christianity have been given much credit, thanks to many books on our sciences and law. Some of them were of high quality, as the canonical texts, well gilded and bound. Though Chinese could not read well or understand what was written in them, they were fascinated by the outer elegance and delicacy of printing, and they were persuaded of their high importance, since we esteemed them in our country. We surpassed other countries in this field including China that was got used to think to be superior to any other country in the world. In addition, the Fathers usually hosted some Chinese literati in their houses, diligently learning and studying theirs characters night and day, and had bought many Chinese books that filled their reading rooms. They come to know that we have always appreciated letters and sciences and that our Fathers are literati in our sciences as well as in theirs, upon which the excellence of China is founded.¹

Planning the apostolate and the evangelization through local languages without the mediation of interpreters, Valignano, aligning himself with the attention already manifested by Francis Xavier for Japan (Üçerler, 2004; Schurhammer, 1982, p. 546), pointed out to the need of developing a Christian literature for every area of the mission. Valignano had succeeded in getting a printer in India where in 1577 a catechism was published in Tamil and in 1622 the *Christian doctrine* (*Doutrina Christã*) was released in Konkani, a text written by fr. Thomas Stephens, commonly referred as Estevão (Schurhammer, 1936). Valiginano established printing activity in Japan, where a short term but intense elaboration of Christian literature (*kirishitanban*) flourished between the XVI and XVII centuries (Maruyama, 2004; Poli, 2006), and encouraged the printing of Western books in China.

Jesuits in China faced the challenge of an "apostolate of printing" and, once settled in Beijing, they assembled a significant collection of western books in the Southern Church (*Nantang*, cf. Cummins, 1967) which later was located in the library compounded to the area of the Northern Church (*Beitang*, cf.

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¹ Non fu puoco il credito che acquistorno sempre nella Cina i Padri, e conseguentemente la religione Christiana, con i molti libri de nostre scientie e legge de' nostri Regni; alcuni di essi grandi, come erano i testi canonici et altri indorati e molto ben ligati, i quali, se bene non sapevano leggere, né intendere quello che dentro si conteneva, pure dalla galanteria esteriore e finezza della stampa tutti si persuadivano che trattarebbono quei libri de cose importanti, gia ché nel nostro regno si faceva tanto caso di essi; e che in cosa di libri la nostra natione avanzava, non solo a tutte le altre nationi, di che la Cina tiene notitia, ma anco alla stessa Cina, che pensavano sin allora esser superiore in lettere a tutti i regni del mondo. A questo si aggiungeva vedere che i Padri sempre tenevano qualche buon letterato delle lettere Cinese in Casa et imparavano con grande diligentia di giorno e di notte, studiando le loro lettere, et a questo fine avevano comprato molti de' loro libri, de' quali avevano anco empito tutto lo studio. Con che vennero a intendere e che in nostra terra erano stimate le lettere e le scientie, e che i Padri erano in sua terra et in le loro scientie letterati, che, come habbiamo dichiarato, è in che solo sta posta la nobiltà della Cina.

Verhaeren, 1949). The improving in communicative means led them also to set up a publishing activity in a country where for a long time xylography had excelled (Chow, 2004). The publication of books in Chinese reached the fifth position in the scientific field, after volumes in Latin, French, Italian and German (Harris, 1988, p. 150 f.).

Interpretative strategy carried out by the Fathers stemmed from the strong humanistic character of the formulation of their Society, which was arranged into a disciplinary establishment organized through a joint cooperation. Already drafted in the fourth part of the *Constitutiones* by Ignace from Loyola and constantly re-elaborated until its publication in 1599, the *Ratio atque institutio studiorum* contained the didactic programme and the applied directives of pedagogy for the Company. Its rhetorical setting was equipped for a speculative thinking related to historical and experimental observations and presuppositions in metaphysics that had to be adapted to original communicative procedures for a ground-breaking cultural season (Trampus, 2000).

The syllabus – that goes back to that of Guarino Guarini and Battista Guarini and the *Modus Parisiensis* – devotes three years to grammar and one year each to humanities and rhetoric along with the mnemonic technique (*ars reminiscendi*). A parallel arrangement was set up for mathematics and sciences (Baldini, 2000, pp. 15-98). The first three years course was preliminary to the following philosophical and theological curricular studies. This step was conceived as a basic and unavoidable entry to the proper patterns of formal thinking (*ratio*) associated with elegance (*elocutio*). Its target was to attain the linguistic skills needed to convey the message of Salvation through the *oratoria facultas*, the *eloquentia perfecta* and the *pietas letterata* (Ó Mathúna, 1989).

A particular emphasis was placed on the study of Latin as well as any other language suitable to the needs of the mission. The Jesuits were expected to have a good command and competence: Latin through the immersion in a selection of books, the local languages through the device of elaborated interactive strategies (*Monumenta Ignatiana* = *MI*, *Constitutiones*, section IV, cp. Poli, 1989-1990, pp. 469-473). The education acquired in the exercise of rethoric, in reasoning on language structures and in the analysis of texts allowed Jesuits to develop a set of interpretative strategies for speech-acts accorded to the pragmatics of "place, time and circumstances" (*MI*, *Constitutiones* 465 and *Exercitia spiritualia* 363) and the contexts of the subjects.

Communication was conveyed by the products of an *inventio* carried out with respect to the conventions that Jesuits evaluated when they found themselves in the specific situations (MI, Fontes Narrativi 615-617). The appropriation of rhetoric tools, the development of linguistic skills and the use of Latin as an oral and written medium (Lukács, 1965, pp. 22-25) aimed at endowing pupils with a rigorous sensibility toward a communication that was becoming functional to the strategies of the missions (MI, Constitutiones 131 f.).

Within such theoretical dimension, key contents of science, concerning geometrical and mathematical principles and spatial-temporal conception, were

substantiated in a set of instrumental products such as watches, globes, maps, prisms (in order to refract sunlight), astronomical machines and musical instruments. In 1584, in Ricci's residence in Zhaoqing, a map of the world was put in the hall, shown to the admiration of the Chinese guests (Ricci, 2000, p. 143):

The Fathers had set a globe of the entire world in their hall, with the place names written in our language. Since Chinese viewed it as a never seen or never thought thing, they wanted it to be prized by every important person, translated in Chinese characters, in order to give access to its meaning. The governor himself asked fr. Matthew, who already had some knowledge of their characters, to translate that globe with all the notes contained in it, because he wanted to print it and send it everywhere in China. This is the reason why Chinese people should be grateful to him.²

Ricci remarked that scholars were at a loss when they realized that China was not the country in the "middle" of the world, but just a "district" of this earth. The sense of astonishment of the literati increased when Ricci, who had been educated in Rome by the great mathematician Clavius, succeeded in determining the longitude of China. In 1602 he revised his map – referred to as *Kunyu wanguo quantu (Complete map of all nations on the earth*, Beijing 1602; Standaert, 2000, pp. 752-770) –, complementing the data given by Mercator and Ortelius with the far-eastern ones, he was in a position to work out the most updated map.

The need to satisfy continuous requests for astronomical and mathematical notions exhorted Ricci to engage himself in this field for a long time, devoting to several scientific subjects for satisfying the Chinese audience. Clavius' doctrine assisted him, certainly through his writings, although we may suppose that, since he did not have all of them at his command, he had to reply on his memory in order to relate with the contents of the courses he had attended in Rome. That ability tremendously impressed the audience, so that Ricci dedicated *Xiguo jifa* (*Method of memory in the western countries*) to describe the mnemonic technique (the book, dated 1596, will be published after 1625, in the version edited by Alfonsus Vagnone and Zhu Dinghan).

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² Avevano i Padri posto nella loro sala un Mappamondo universale di tutto il mondo in nostra lettera. E, essendo inteso da' Cinesi che cosa era questa, come cosa mai vista né pensata, desideravano tutte le persone gravi vederlo voltato in lettera Cinese, per saper meglio quello che in essa si conteneva. Perciò l'istesso Governatore comandò al P. Matteo, che già sapeva qualche cosa delle loro lettere, che gli voltasse quel Mappa con tutte le annotazioni che in esso vi erano, perché lo voleva far stampare e comunicarlo con tutta la Cina; con che i Cinesi gliene restarebbero molto obbligati.

The "three sects" of China

The meeting with the religious dimension of China was conformed to the principles of a humanistic interpretation of the otherness. Compared to the "three sects" dominant in this country (*tres setas*, Ricci, 2001, p. 84 f.), Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, the Visitor Valignano and Ricci characterized the entire mission in the Far East in a stepwise breaking away from Buddhism, to which foreign religions were assimilated by the official Chinese perspective, and approaching to Confucianism. Buddhism is eventually felt as a "mean" religion venerating "idols". At the beginning of their mission in Japan and China, Jesuits had thought they could adapt themselves to those aspects of Buddhism that superficially looked akin to the Christian ones.

During the early years spent in China, the Fathers were the monastic frock and had the tonsure as if they were *hoxani/osciani* (as Ricci's transcription referred to the word *heshang* 'Buddhistic monk'). Words like *si* [sì] meaning *ecclesia* 'church' and *scien* [shén] for 'Saint' that Ruggieri transcribed in the attachment to the letter sent in 1584 to General Claudio Acquaviva derive from a Buddhistic terminology (Poli, 2009).

In the span of time at Nanchang, and particularly during the years 1594-1595 (D'Arelli, 1998, p. 170 f.), Jesuits began to understand the variety of the components contained in the syncretic Neo-Confucianism. Avoiding the Buddhism, they often unify with Taoism, they convince themselves of the urgency to rise to the rank of *guanfu* 'imperial officials' – literati, scholars, mandarins – to which they had been already compared by the common opinion of the literati.

The dialogue with them was about the questions the literati were raising in a whirl of conflicting interpretations of the canonical legacy conveyed by the *Five classics (Wujing)* and the *Four books (Sishu)*. The aim of Ricci's strategy was to show how identification of the basic natural principles of ethics and logic in Confucianism sustained the intuition of an "original theology": this concerned the transcendence of the 'God of Heaven' (*Tian zhu*, *Shangdi*), that had to be completed in the light of Christian Revelation.

The same situation was common to other missions. As far as Japan is concerned, Francis Xavier was unwittingly directed to the doctrines of the Shingon Buddhism by the neo-converted Anjiro. Francis Xavier understood the danger caused by this approach, because a simplified teaching of the basic catechism of the Christian Gospel could easily be overlapped to some devotional aspects of Buddhism as it was professed by commoners. In the wake of such experiences, the pastoral activity of Alexandre de Rhodes in Annam (Vietnam) will be addressed to interlocutors among local Confucians (Phan, 1998). His work represented the conclusion of a collective activity of the Society of Jesus that began in 1615 as an alternative to the dramatic end of the Japanese mission: The Annamese mission has been carried out with strategies featuring models very alike the ones elaborated in the Chinese-Japanese space.

The attitude of the Jesuits asserted that the Gospel could be accepted by the Chinese audience only if they succeeded to "flavour" it with intellectual notions. Therefore, the western wisdom was produced following the rationale and the scientific methods of Renaissance. The works of the philosophers and scholars of the West were located before the Christian authors; reasoning was preferred to the dogma; dogma is rigidly restrained by logic and mathematics in a tightened demonstrative setting. In the same Ricci's *Catechism* (*Tianzhu shiyi*, Beijing 1603), Revelation was placed in the background of a dialogue simulated with the classical texts of Confucianism. Confucianism was unfolded by the exegesis of the western philosophy and released from the pantheistical and nihilistic aspects of Neo-Confucianism.

Jesuits founded a set of parallels between the Chinese culture and the pre-Christian religious reality of the Roman world (Lundbæk 1983; Rule, 1986), based on the Renaissance's tenets, according to the critical reuse of Greek and Latin authors. These were accessed through the categories of rhetoric-interpretative and logical-mathematical speculations within the scope to commensurate Faith with Reason within an assumed scale of relations.

Ricci's commentaries allow us to keep the memory of the record of the different stages of this interpretation. In 1585, Ricci finally realized Confucianism had to be scrutinized in order to explain the gap produced by the lack of transcendental expectations. His response was to compensate it with the cult of the Heaven. At this intermediary stage, he proceeded on the identification of Confucianism with Epicureanism. The doctrine of transmigration and the discipline of nourishing abstentions urged him to associate Buddhism with Pythagoreanism (Ricci, 2001, p. 100). In 1593 Ricci assessed Confucianism following its civil features and ethical and social values. Confucius "is another Seneca from an ethical point of view" (Ricci, 2001, p. 185), whose principles were committed to the *Four Books* that represented "a good value for moral behaviour" (Ricci, 2001, p. 184). In 1597 Ricci resolved that the original Confucius' doctrine had been misrepresented by the later commentaries and integrations (Ricci, 2001, p. 349).

The mature stage in Ricci's thought equated Confucianism with Stoicism (Spalatin, 1975). On the basis of this conviction, he wrote a set of works in which he conveyed the western humanism to the Chinese literati, preparing the ground for the next step, tackling with the final preaching of the word of God. Ricci's *Treatise on friendship / Jiaoyou lun*, Nanchang 1595 (the printed edition in 1601 was edited by the scholar Feng Yingjing - cp. Ricci 2005), translated mainly Greco-Roman and few Christian aphorisms, moving towards the Chinese culture in which solidarity has been prevailing on love. It is well-known facts that in Chinese classical literature poems dedicated to friendship overcome the ones on love. Ricci's collection summarized in 77 sayings the western texts that celebrated this feeling, in support of the Confucian doctrines about the right behaviour and ritual conventions (*Li*).

Jesuits understood the strategic worth attached to friendship and played the role of people coming from far countries, in order to bring joy through the evangelical message (Bertuccioli, 1995, p. 211). Valignano presented the mission to Japan as a sign of the Christian urge to donate. Ricci's literary work on friendship will be later inspiring Martin Martini. This Father began to write in 1647 another and bigger book on the same subject (*Jiaoyou pian*, the *Treatise on friendship*, finished in 1661). Ricci got really thrilled at the idea of writing a book of sayings on friendship for Chinese readers. The improvement of this issue allowed him to understand that this concept was thought of as a part of the virtue and as a means for progressing in moral perfection, loyalty and honesty. In his *Dialogues*, Confucius remembered to "fairly admonish a friend and gently advise him" and encouraged to "study how to have new friends, so that the path becomes ever brighter [...] the virtue comes closer".

Thus, friendship as wisdom, intelligence, ability and social relations. Friendship as a model enlightened by Ricci. Chinese people understood the message as Feng Yingjing makes clear in his introduction to Ricci's Treatise on friendship: "After a long and hard journey, Xitai [Ricci] came to China in order to make friends. Many of the Chinese literati realized that Ricci had shown that West and East can work together and go the same way, on the ground of the same principles as long as they are both committed to endeavour to achieve them". We may conclude, with Feng Yingjing's words, that: "Realizing that Xitai crossed mountains and sailed across the seas, with the purpose to make friends, I feel so petty! I have been pondering on his book and I convinced myself that eastern and western doctrines are just alike". Feng Yingjing was right. In the eighteenth-century, the research for a common origin of Western and Chinese scientific knowledge became a topic for lively discussion when the French philosophical milieu became acquainted with the data produced by the "symbolist" Jesuits – or "figurists" sent to Beijing by Louis XIV, represented by Henri-Marie de Prémare, Joachim Bouvet, Jean-François Foucquet and other Fathers

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