#### Hokkien Spanish Historical Document Series I:

# Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu

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### **Foreword**

Professor Yu-Chung Lee of our college's Institute of History, Professor Tsung-jen Chen from the Institute of Taiwan History of Academia Sinica, Spanish scholars Manel Ollé and José Luis Caño Ortigosa, sponsored by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, have been surveying and organizing Spanish documents from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. They have visited libraries in Spain, the Philippines, and Germany, located several surviving Hokkien dictionaries from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and acquired permission to publish them. Among these documents, the most valuable are the *Dictionario Hispanico Sinicum* from the University of Santo Tomas in the Philippines, the *Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu* from the University of Barcelona in Spain, and the *Philippine Chinese Manuscripts* collected at the Herzog August Library in Germany. These documents contained tens of thousands of Hokkien vocabularies, and most of them were labeled with Chinese and Spanish phonetics. The discovery of these works can be considered a milestone in research fields concerning 17<sup>th</sup> century Hokkien language and the history of Hokkienese-Spanish interaction in recent years.

These documents contain plentiful of vocabulary, of which scholars may analyze and explore contemporary Chinese social life in Manila. The *Dictionario Hispanico Sinicum* from the University of Santo Tomas includes many terms concerning kindred; with the idea of "uncle/aunt" alone, more than ten entries are collected in the book. It is apparent that kinship was a great part of lifestyle at that time, and thereby produced a rich collection of vocabulary to specify familial relationship. In addition, vocabulary for sea life is abundant as well, and the dictionary contains many vocabularies related to navigation, such as names for various ships, job title for ship officials, and descriptions regarding maritime weather and phenomenon. This proves that Manila Chinese were active on the seas in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore inspiring a large list of navigation terminology. By analyzing these terms, it became possible for us to reconstruct the daily life of Manila Chinese.

Academic circles of Taiwan have always been attentive to researches concerning Chinese societies, and scholars have been very productive in the fields of anthropology, history, sociology and geography. Examples include Shao-Hsing Chen's earlier work, *Social and Population Changes in Taiwan* (台灣的社會變遷與人口變遷), as well as the work by Taiwanese historians Yung-ho Ts'ao and Fusan Huang, who conducted researches upon Chinese societies in Taiwan. My doctoral dissertation also discussed the Chinese reclamation in central Taiwan and development of social organizations. Yet the vision of academic circles in Taiwan is not limited to Chinese societies in Taiwan; many scholars extend their research to Chinese societies in home provinces of Fujian, Guangdong, or Southeast Asia. Professor Yih-Yuan Li had studied upon club organizations and leadership types in Chinese societies in Malaysia, while Professor Ying-Chang Chuang had wrote the book *Lin Yi Pu: The Social and Economic History of a Chinese Township in Taiwan* (林圯埔:一個台灣漢人鄉鎮的社會經濟史), and he also studied upon ancestral worship and integration of hometown societies of Chinese in Singapore, in turn compiling three volumes of *Symposium of Studies on Taiwan* 

and Fujian's Society and Culture (臺灣與福建社會文化研究論文集). Although "oversea Chinese societies" and "Chinese societies in Taiwan" are entirely different terms, their inner qualities are very much alike, both being groups of coastal inhabitants of China who chose to migrate overseas. Therefore, to collect, organize and publish oversea Hokkien documents not only benefit the study of Hokkien language, but also provides new research material for studies on Taiwan's Chinese societies or oversea Chinese societies, thereby deepening our understanding of daily lives in traditional Chinese societies.

Much to our delight, these scholars have already formed an international and interdisciplinary research team with excellent collaboration, based on the historical materials. With guidance from Professor Chinfa Lien from our college's Institute of Linguistics and Professor Guoping Jin from China's Jinan University, as well as assistance and participation of Professor Henning Klöter from Germany's Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Professor Luisa Shu-Ying Chang from National Taiwan University, Professor Regalado Trota José from Philippines' University of Santo Tomas, Professor Li-Mei Liu from Tamkang University, and Professor Ying Cheng from our university's Institute of Taiwan Languages and Language Teaching, they will conduct cooperative research on these newly published documents, and take a solid step forward for Taiwan's ongoing New Southbound Policy.

黄柳块

Huang Shu-Min
Dean of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences
NTHU

# 黄樹民序

本院歷史研究所李毓中教授、中央研究院臺灣史研究所陳宗仁教授以及西班牙Manel Ollé、José Luis Caño Ortigosa 等教授,在蔣經國基金會的支持下,進行十六、十七世紀西班牙文獻的調查與整理工作。他們先後在西班牙、菲律賓及德國等地圖書館,找到數本碩果僅存的十七世紀閩南語辭典文獻,並取得授權出版,其中最珍貴的是菲律賓聖多瑪斯大學所藏《西班牙-華語辭典》(Dictionario Hispanico Sinicum)、西班牙巴塞隆納大學所藏《漳州話語法》(Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu),以及德國奧斯特公爵圖書館所藏《菲律賓唐人手稿》。這些文獻收錄數萬個閩南語詞彙,且多數標注漢字與西班牙語的拼音,堪稱是近年來十七世紀閩南語及閩南、西班牙交流史料的重大成果。

這些文獻收錄豐富的詞彙,學者能透過詞彙的分析,了解當時在馬尼拉居住的華人社會生活。在菲律賓聖多瑪斯大學所藏《西班牙-華語辭典》收錄了非常多的親屬用語,單以叔伯姑舅為例,即有叔、伯、大伯、外伯、二叔、姨、姑、姑姨、嬸等十餘種用語,顯見當時是維持大家庭的生活方式,故此類親屬用語相當豐富。此外,有關海上生活的用語亦非當豐富,辭典中收錄非常多有關航行的用語,如各種船的稱呼、船上人員的職稱或是風浪的說法,顯示十七世紀馬尼拉的唐人經常在海域活動,使得他們擁有豐富的航海用語。透過這些用語的分析,可以讓我們建構馬尼拉唐人的日常生活。

臺灣學界一直很關注漢人社會的研究,不論是人類學、歷史學、社會學或地理學均有很豐碩的成果,如早期陳紹馨所寫《台灣的社會變遷與人口變遷》,或曹永和、黃富三等臺灣史學者對於臺灣漢人社會的研究,我自己的博士論文亦是寫臺灣中部的漢人開墾與社會組織的發展。然而臺灣學界的視野並不局限於臺灣的漢人社會,很多學者研究的範圍亦涉及福建、廣東原鄉或是東南亞的華人社會,如李亦園教授曾研究馬來西華人社會的社團組織與領袖形態,而莊英章教授寫過《林圯埔:一個台灣漢人鄉鎮的社會經濟史》,他亦研究新加坡華人的祖先崇拜與宗鄉社群的整合,並編纂三冊《臺灣與福建社會文化研究論文集》。「海外華人社會」與「臺灣漢人社會」雖然是兩個不同的名詞,但其內涵其實相當類似,都是十六世紀以來中國沿海居民移徙海外的群體。因此,海外閩南語文獻的蒐集、整理與出版,不僅有助於閩南語的研究,對於臺灣漢人社會或海外華人社會的研究均能提供新的研究素材,增進我們對於傳統漢人社會日常生活的認識。

更令人覺得高興的是,在這些史料的基礎上,他們已組織一個跨國際、跨領域的合作與交流研究團隊,在本院語言所連金發教授、大陸暨南大學金國平教授的指導下,再加上德國柏林洪堡(Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)大學的韓可龍(Henning Klöter)教授、臺灣大學張淑英教授、菲律賓聖多瑪斯(Santo Tomas)大學 Regalado Trota José 教授、淡江大學劉莉美以及本校的臺灣語言研究與教學所鄭縈等教授的幫助

與參與。他們將針對這些新出版的文獻,進行研究合作。為臺灣目前發展的「新南向」 政策,踏出堅實的一步。

英柳识

國立清華大學人文社會學院院長

### **Foreword**

Professor Yu-Chung Lee recently told me that, through a Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation-sponsored research project, he had acquired a Hokkien-Spanish dictionary manuscript with more than a thousand pages. Before this event, I had always believed that the number of Hokkien-Spanish dictionaries were rather limited compared to Mandarin-Latin/Portuguese/Spanish/French dictionaries. Apparently, this idea needs to be corrected. Not only are there more of such documents than expected, but they are also extremely rich in content. For instance, according to the information released by Professor Lee and his team in April, 2017, the *Dictionario Hispanico Sinicum*, collected in the University of Santo Tomas in the Philippines, contains more than 20,000 entries, which is about half of the Kangxi Dictionary's. Considering the Kangxi Dictionary was compiled half a century later by elite literati all over the Qing Empire, the Hokkien-Spanish dictionary is rather impressive. It demonstrates the deep linguistic and cultural interaction between the Hokkienese and Spaniards in Manila during the first half of the seventeenth century.

In addition to the broadness of content, the most valuable part of these Hokkien-Spanish documents is the authorship. Most works that resulted from Sino-Western interactions were usually written by Europeans from their perspectives. Although it is possible to read them from different point of views and analyze the way European terms corresponded to Chinese ones, researchers are often unsatisfied with results derived from such unilateral approach due to the limitation in materials. Hokkien-Spanish dictionaries co-edited by both communities provide an exciting new avenue of inquiry and also raises new questions. Why did the Manila Hokkienese cooperate with the Spaniards in compiling the dictionary? When learning Spanish, were they instructed by the Spaniards, or motivated by commercial, cultural, or other purposes? For a long period of time, there were no valid arguments to answer these questions, until Yu-Chung and his team made a major breakthrough. They successfully located, among the *Philippine Chinese Manuscripts* collected at the Herzog August Library in Germany, a seventeenth century dictionary used by Hokkienese to study Spanish. It may serve as the key to enlighten us on the aforementioned questions. Indeed, Hokkienese studied Spanish with personal intention, more precisely, to communicate and do business with the Spaniards.

What can the publication of these documents, including a Hokkien-Spanish co-edited dictionary, contribute to academic research in Taiwan? The answer becomes obvious if we ask the question the other way around: why were Western scholars able to produce massive results of Sinological researches, while few scholars, except for linguists like Piet van der Loon and Henning Klöter, managed to produce outstanding works in the field of Hokkienese-European interaction? Perhaps the fact that most sinologists are unfamiliar with the Hokkien language had something to do with it. This is the advantage Taiwan's academic circle possesses. By utilizing Hokkien material, such as overseas Hokkien dramas of the Ming-Qing era published by the late Professor Wu Shouli, we can definitely find new research prospects.

As a result, I believe that while the government is promoting the New Southbound Policy, it should not only focus on politics and economy, but should also make good use of Taiwan's edge on language, history and culture. The common language with the Hokkienese immigrant communities in Southeast Asia presents a unique opportunity for Taiwan to connect with its neighbors in the south and further explore our role in Asia's maritime history. Through researching the ancestral language that have been in use for some four hundred years, as well

as retelling courageous deeds of the ancestors in Nanyang ("Southern Ocean")—these acts symbolize the sincerest exchange of heart. In this critical moment, the publishing plan of the *Hokkien-Spanish Historical Document Series* deserves my highest recommendation.

Director of the Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences

NTHU

# 黄一農 序

李毓中教授最近告訴我,他透過蔣經國基金會所支持的調查計畫,尋獲一份厚達千餘頁的閩南與西班牙語辭典等手稿,在此之前,我一直以為相對於官話與拉丁文、葡萄牙文、西班牙文或之後的法文辭典而言,現存的明代閩南與西班牙語辭典,應是相當有限的。未料這樣的看法顯然需要重大調整,這些史料不但在數量上不算少,且其內容遠比我們臆測的還要豐富,例如李毓中教授等人於 2017 年 4 月已發表的消息,菲律賓聖多瑪斯大學藏《西班牙一華語辭典》(Dictionario Hispanico Sinicum)的資訊,該手稿所收閩南語詞條便有兩萬個之多,相當於半個多世紀後,集全中國文人菁英之手於 1716 年所完成《康熙字典》字條數的一半。實讓人對十七世紀上半葉馬尼拉閩南人與西班牙人在語言及文化交流上所取得的成果,感到驚訝。

這批文獻中,最特別之處還不只於此,而是讓人體會到以往研究明清之際中西交流的成果,雖豐碩卻有遺憾之處,就是所用材料皆是由歐洲人以其角度所編寫。我們或可透過另一不同的角度,瞭解此一交流過程中被隱藏的華人視野,或是一些歐洲詞彙在交流中如何被理解,然後找到「對應」中文詞彙的過程。但即使如此嘗試與努力,研究者仍然對此單方面觀點所呈現出的交流研究成果,感到有所缺憾。又在馬尼拉與西班牙人合作編寫辭典的閩南人,他們學習西班牙文,是受到西班牙人的教導或指示,還是閩南人有其自發性的目的,因貿易或文化上的需求而學習西班牙語嗎?這些疑問一直都沒有具體論據。直到毓中告訴我,他們的研究團隊找到了一份十七世紀閩南人學習西班牙語的文獻,收藏在德國奧斯特公爵圖書館的《菲律賓唐人手稿》,才終於為學界此一長期的研究困境,帶來樂觀的曙光。是的,閩南人學習西班牙文,有其自發性的目的,雖然此答案很容易猜出,就是為了與西班牙經商與來往。

透過這批豐富的閩南人與西班牙人合作編寫的辭典等文獻的出版,可以為臺灣的學術研究帶來哪些優勢呢?或許我們可以從另一個角度問問題,為何西方學者在漢學研究上有如此多的豐碩成果,但在研究閩南人與歐洲人的交流上,卻只有龍彼得、韓可龍等少數語言學學者取得傑出的成果呢?或許這與多數漢學家不諳閩南語有關,而這些便是臺灣文史學界所擁有的優勢。如能結合臺灣已有的優勢,如已故閩南語研究大家吳守禮先生,所編輯整理出版的數本流落海外明清閩南語戲曲等,必然可以為臺灣在下一波的學術前瞻研究計畫中,找到具有絕對優勢的新議題。

也因此,我認為值此政府推行所謂「新南向」政策之際,不應只是在政治、經濟上與東南亞交往,而應該將臺灣在語言、歷史及文化上的優勢,也就是借助閩南語,來與遍佈閩南移民後代的東南亞國家交流,回溯與研究四百年前相同祖先的語言,以及先人下南洋的英勇事蹟,才是最「甘心」的交心。此時此刻,Hokkien-Spanish historical document series 的出版,值得大力推薦。

艺艺

國立清華大學人文社會研究中心主任

### **Foreword**

In 2015, our institute had cooperated with NTHU's Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences (RCHSS) to carry out the *Spanish Digital Database Construction Project of South European Historical Materials regarding China in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries. With funding from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, we were able to collect and organize Spanish historical documents that concerned East Asia. In 2016, Dr. Kuo-Hsing Hsieh, then director of our institute, had led research team members Dr. Yu-Chung Lee of NTHU and Associate Research Fellow Dr. Tsung-jen Chen to Spain to visit important document collection units, including the General Archive of the Indias in Seville and the Naval Museum in Madrid. In the same journey, our institute successfully acquired image files and the right of publication of the famous Hokkien document <i>Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu* from the University of Barcelona.

After the aforementioned project concluded, we considered that among out results, certain Hokkien documents appeared more precious than others: the five grammar books and dictionaries produced by Manila Hokkienese during their cultural and linguistic exchange with the Spanish in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although a number of scholars have already conducted individual studies on these documents, these valuable documents, alongside both unique new documents, deserve immediate publication for academic employment. This resulted in the joint publishing of the *Hokkien Spanish Historical Document Series*, a collaboration project between our institute and NTHU's RCHSS.

Ever since its establishment, the Institute of Taiwan History had always placed tremendous attention upon the history of interaction between Taiwan and various East Asian regions. As a result, colleagues of our institute have produced plentiful of academic studies that were associated with early history of Taiwan and maritime history of East Asia. Moreover, the interaction between Taiwan and East Asia during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was also a major research focus of our institute, for we strove to furtherly connect Taiwan's history with East Asian history and world history. When our institute hosted the *Workshop on the Governance and Spatial Settings in Zeelandia Town* this October, other than announcing the unearthed new historical materials, we also invited scholars from the Netherlands and Hong Kong to discuss the historical connection between Taiwan, Japan, and various locations in Southeast Asia. The recently unearthed historical document *Estate Registers of Zeelandia 1643* sufficiently illustrated the broad business network developed by Chinese settlers in Taiwan, greatly deepening our understanding of Taiwan's early history. We hope to conduct a more comprehensive and thorough investigation on the history of Taiwanese activities in East Asia.

The publishing of Hokkien-Spanish historical documents in the Philippines would help the academic circle of Taiwan's history to reevaluate the demographic mobility and history of cultural exchange that occurred in areas like Minnan, Taiwan, and the Philippines during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Simultaneously, our institute can conduct long-range observation and communication between the content of these documents and the existing research results on Taiwan's history. This development echoed our institute's long term goals of "understanding

Taiwa n by keeping a foothold on Taiwan" and "stepping beyond Taiwan to study Taiwan", therefore I give this recommendation.

新雪姚

Director of Institute of Taiwan History

Academia Sinica

# 許雪姬序

2015年本所與清華大學人文社會科學研究中心合作,執行「十六、十七世紀有關中國之南歐史料:西班牙數位資料庫建構計畫」,在蔣經國基金會的經費補助下,進行西班牙有關東亞文獻的蒐集與整理。2016年當時本所所長謝國興教授亦帶領研究團隊成員清華大學李毓中教授與本所陳宗仁副研究員前往西班牙,拜訪重要的文獻收藏單位,如塞維亞的印地亞斯總檔案館(Archivo General de Indias)、馬德里的海軍博物館(Museo Naval de Madrid)等機構;同時在相關行程中,由本所取得巴塞隆納大學所藏著名的閩南語文獻《漳州話語法》(Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu)的影像檔案與出版授權。

在前述計畫結束之後,我們認為研究團隊的眾多成果中,有些閩南語的文獻相當珍貴,如五部與十六、七世紀閩南人在馬尼拉,與西班牙人進行文化及語言交流而留下的辭典與文法書籍。這些文獻雖已有個別學者進行研究,但亦有相當價值及獨一無二的新文獻,理當早日出版,以供學界更便利的使用,因此本所遂與清華大學人文社會科學研究中心共同規畫 Hokkien Spanish Historical Document Series 的出版。

臺灣史研究所自成立以來,對於臺灣與東亞各地的往來歷史,便相當重視,因此在早期臺灣史以及東亞海域史的相關領域研究,本所同仁已有許多豐碩的研究成果。但不僅於此,對於十九、二十世紀臺灣與東亞的交流,亦是本所關切的研究重心,力圖將臺灣史連結東亞史與世界史。今年十月本所主辦「大員港市的空間與治理國際工作坊」,一方面公布出土新史料,另一方面也邀集荷蘭、香港學者一起探討台灣與日本、東南亞各處的歷史關聯。所公布的出土史料《熱蘭遮市鎮地籍表》充分展現當時臺灣唐人居民廣闊的商業網絡,大為深化我們對於早期臺灣史的認識,表現可圈可點。希望能更全面地對臺灣人在東亞活動的歷史,進行深入的研究與瞭解。

此次藉由菲律賓閩南與西班牙語相關歷史文獻的出版,將有助於臺灣史學界,重新檢視十六、十七世紀閩南、臺灣與菲律賓等地的人群移動與文化交流史。同時也能與本所的臺灣史研究,進行長時段的觀察與對話,更與本所的長期發展研究目標「立足臺灣理解臺灣」、「跨出臺灣研究臺灣」,相互呼應。因此,特別為文推薦。

新雪班

中央研究院臺灣史研究所所長

# Editorial Preface

When different cultures made contact, language was naturally the primary medium used in the exchange, therefore dictionaries or grammar books compiled by persons fluent in both languages would serve as valuable materials to comprehend the history of interaction with a foreign culture. Ever since the Spaniards arrived in Manila in 1571 and got in touch with the Chinese, people from both parties have been mutually learning the each other's language and edit dictionaries and grammar books. The two parties carried different motives: the Minnan merchants, whom the Spaniards called *Sangleyes*, were eager to conduct business with the barbaric *Foranji*; on the other hand, the Spanish wished to learn more about China and evangelize the Chinese. Such documents were rich cultural assets for their historical and linguistic value.

Through acquiring image rights and making transcriptions, this *Hokkien Spanish Historical Document Series* project seeks to publish precious extant Hokkien-Spanish dictionaries and grammar books in the world. These documents included the *Dictionario Hispánico-Sinicum* held in University of Santo Tomas of the Philippines; the *Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu* held in University of Barcelona; the *Foranji Huaren Huabu* and letters among the *Philippine Chinese Manuscripts* collected at the Herzog August Library in Germany, the *Dictionarium Sino Hispanicum* held in Angelica Library in Rome, Italy; and the *Bocabulario de lengua sangleya por las letras de el A.B.C.* held in the British Library. By publishing these manuscripts, we hope to aid the academic effort of reconstructing the history of Hokkien-Spanish bilateral interaction (and, in some cases, including the Filipinos as the third party) where the exchange of language and culture occurred.

Before this project, as scholars we did not share the same field of research, but with support from the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation, we eventually stepped into this treasury together. We got to meet diligent precursors and companions, and thanks to their generous advices our visions were broadened.

Therefore, regarding the publication of this document series, we must first thank the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation and the Tsao Yung-ho Foundation of Culture and Education for being our major and secondary sponsors, respectively. We are grateful that Dr. Shumin Huang, Dr. Yi-Long Huang and Dr. Hsueh-chi Hsu were willing to write forewords of recommendation for the series. We must also express our gratitude to the following persons for the guidance and help they offered: Dr. Kuo-hsing Hsieh, Dr. Ying-Chun Tsai, Ms. Tsuiyin Sung, Dr. Kuo-tung Chen, Dr. Kai Zhang, Dr. Xiping Zhang, Dr. Guo-Ping Jin, Dr. Kai-Jian Tang, Dr. Keiichi Uchida, Dr. Chinfa Lien, Dr. Yueh-chin Chang, Dr. Henning Klöter. Dr. Luisa Shu-Ying Chang, Dr. Peter Kang, Dr. Hui-Ling Yang, Dr. Manel Ollé, Dr. Honghôan Sia, Dr. Li-Mei Liu, Dr. Ying Cheng; friends including Dr. Neus Verger Arce, Dr. Marina Ruiz Fragas, Dr. Esther González Pérez, Dr. Wei Jiang, Dr. Ubaldo Iaccarino, Dr. Montserrat Po-Jung Chen, Dr. Chiao-In Chen, Dr. Miguel A. del Rio, Dr. Kuo-Sheng Wu, and Dr. Hung-Yi Chien. They have contributed to this project in various ways, and without them the readers might have to wait for five to ten more years, or even miss the opportunity to witness these valuable documents. As a result, if this series indeed benefited the advance of studies related to Sinology or the history of Hokkien-Spanish exchange of language and culture, we ask the readers to honor these names.

Finally, we are especially grateful to National Tsing-Hua University and the Institute of History, Academia Sinica for providing us excellent research environments and financial support, so that we could publish these precious documents.

Fabio Yuchung Lee, Tsung-jen Chen, Regalado T. José, José Caño Ortigosa

## 編者序

異文化的接觸,主要的媒介便是語言,因此由通曉雙方語言人士所編輯的詞典或文法書,便成為理解異文化過往交流歷史的重要史料。1571年自稱為「Castilla」(干系蠟)的西班牙人抵達馬尼拉後,與自稱為「唐人」的華人展開接觸,這些被西班牙人稱之為「Sangley」的閩南商人,為了能與被他們稱之為佛郎機的「化人」做生意,西班牙人則為了能瞭解中國以及向華人傳教,因此雙方開始學習與編寫對方語言的詞典或文法書,而後被保留下來,成為今日豐碩的歷史、語言文化資產。

此 Hokkien Spanish Historical Document Series 出版計畫,便是希望將現今世界上珍貴的閩南-西班牙語詞典文法手稿,用取得影像授權或是傳抄的方式,將它們出版。這些文獻分別為菲律賓聖多瑪斯大學《西班牙-華語辭典》(Dictionario Hispánico-Sinicum),巴塞隆納大學的《漳州話語法》(Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu),德國沃爾芬比特爾 (Wolfenbüttel)的奧斯特公爵圖書館(Herzog August Bibliothek)所藏《奧古斯特公爵圖書館菲律賓唐人手稿》(Philippine Chinese Manuscripts collected at the Herzog August Library)中〈佛郎机化人話簿〉(含草稿)及書信,義大利羅馬安吉利卡圖書館(Bibioteca Angelica)所藏《漢文西班牙語辭典》(Dictionarium Sino Hispanicum),以及大英圖書館所藏《生理人話辭彙按 ABC 字母編排》(Bocabulario de lengua sangleya por las letras de el A. B. C.)等等。希望這些手稿的出版,將有助於學術界重新建構三個多世紀以來,閩南人與西班牙人雙方面,甚至於與菲律賓人三方,在語言及文化上屬於常民的交流歷史。

說來慚愧,我們的研究領域,原本都不在歷史語言此一範疇內,但在蔣經國基金會的支持下,讓我們意外地踏入此一寶庫,同時也因而認識許多在此一領域已耕耘許久的前輩與學友。感謝他們不吝的賜正,讓我們能夠打開原本狹隘的研究視野。

因此,這套文獻的出版,首先要感謝蔣經國基金會提供主要的出版經費,以及曹永和基金會贊助部分費用。其次,還要感謝下列人士。除了為這套文獻叢書寫推薦序的黃樹民、黃一農及許雪姬老師外,還有謝國興、蔡英俊、連金發、宋翠英、陳國棟、張鍇、張西平、金國平、湯開建、內田慶市、張月琴、韓可龍、張淑英、康培德、楊慧玲、歐洋安、謝豐帆、劉莉美、鄭縈等教授,以及 Neus Verger Arce、Marina Ruiz Fragas、Esther González Pérez、蔣薇、Ubaldo Iaccarino、陳柏蓉、陳巧穎、Miguel A. del Rio、吳國聖、簡宏逸等學友。他們給予我們的指導與幫助,雖然不盡相同,但沒有他們,讀者們肯定是見不到,或是得再延後五到十年才能見到這些珍貴的文獻。因此,如果這套書有助於漢學或閩南與西班牙語言及文化交流史研究的話,請讀者千萬要記得他們的名字。

最後,要特別感謝清華大學及中央研究院臺灣史研究所,給予我們良好的研究環境與經費,才能取得這些珍貴文獻的授權與出版。

李毓中、陳宗仁、Regalado T. José、José L. Caño Ortigosa

#### A Brief Account of Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu

Tsung-jen Chen, Fabio Yuchung Lee, Chiao-in Chen

The Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu is a Hokkien grammar book compiled by the Spanish in Philippine Islands in early 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is held at the University of Barcelona, Spain, catalogued under the archival number Ms.1027. The dimension is 19 cm long and 14.5 cm wide. Excluding the front and back covers, it contains 118 pages in total, of which 66 pages have been written and others are left blank, and comes along with a small slip of paper. Beside the preface, the whole book consists nine chapters, introducing usages of tones, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, negative sentences, and interrogative sentences in Zhāngzhōu 漳州 dialect. It also includes numerals from one to ten thousand, usages of quantitative classifiers, and expressions of years and months.

The inner pages use paper of different periods of time. These can be classified into three categories based on their material and color:

1. There are 72 pages using the most aged paper (pp. 25-96), all having red frame lines. The first 65 pages (pp. 25-89) contains written content, while the last 7 pages (pp. 90-96) are blank. All the pages were mounted, and the interleaving paper are visible. The page 25 contains a small paragraph explaining that Zhāngzhōu dialect was the most frequently used language by Chinese residents in Manila, and was spoken by most people, so the grammar and vocabulary of Zhāngzhōu dialect were introduced here. In addition, there are two identical collector's seals imprinted showing that this book was once a collection of Barcelona's Santa Catalina Monastery.



A property mark of the convent, representing the wheel of martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria



The same image in another book of the sixteenth century is clearer. (Reproduced with permission from Rare Book and Manuscript CRAI Library, University of Barcelona)

- 2. There are 32 pages using less aged paper (pp. 9-24, 97-112), of which 16 pages are placed before and after the most aged paper section. These pages were also mounted, and the interleaving paper are visible. On page 9 and 110, there are blue square seals of the Library of University of Barcelona. Page 9 also contains the texts "Gramatica China" (Chinese grammar) and "El hombre nacido de muger" (The man born of woman), and the serial number 20-9-26; these texts and numbers must be added after the book was delivered to the University of Barcelona.
- 3. There are 14 pages using the least aged paper (pp. 2-8, 113-119). They are placed before and after the less aged paper section of item 2, and all of them are blank.

Based on the aforementioned information, it is clear that the book has been bound for three times. The 72 pages of manuscript were treated first, perhaps approximately the time of the book's completion. Later, 32 pages were added at an unknown occasion. Since the seal of the University of Barcelona is shown on page 9, the first page of this edition, it shows that when the book became part of the university's collection, it had already undergone bookbinding twice. When the book was bound for the third time, 14 blank pages were joined in. All the pages were mounted this time as presented nowadays, a process supposedly happened after it was collected by the University of Barcelona.

The identity of the book's author is unknown. Page 25 contains a paragraph saying "Para el uso de Fr[ay] Ray[mun]do Feyjoó de la orden ... pred[icador]es", and a name "Fr[ay] Melchior de Mançano" is mentioned on page 111. According to scholarly research by Dolors Folch and Henning Klöter, this Melchior de Mançano was a member of the Dominican Order who worked in the province of Pangasinán of Luzon Island in 1617. After a stint in Europe, he returned to Manila and took charge of censorship in a court from 1627 to 1629. Since his name appears at the end of the second binding version instead of the first version, he probably is not the author. He could be the one who brought the book back to Europe, and therefore his name was shown in the book. As for Raymundo Feyjoó, whose name is in the text on page 25, he was a monk of Barcelona's Santa Catalina Monastery in the 18th century. The monastery only documented that he passed away as an acólito, a low level monk. He ought to have read this book in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Since the book also contains the collector's seal of the Santa Catalina Monastery, it indicates that the book was already in the monastery in the 18th century. The monastery, which held many books since the medieval period in its library, was founded in 1243 at the Ciutat Vella area of Barcelona by the Dominicans. When the Spanish government confiscated church property in the 1830s, the Santa Catalina Monastery was also seized in 1836. The monastery was demolished the next year and replaced by a market of the same name, which is still in use today. The book collection that accumulated for hundreds of years became state property, and some of them (including this book) were transferred to the University of Barcelona.

The written date of the book is unknown. When the book introduces the expressions of years and months, the term "year 48 of Wanli Emperor" is shown. The year (1620) is the last

year of his reign and the book should have been transcribed this year.

Other than the Barcelona version, the British Library also holds a similar version of the *Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu* (Add. 25 317). The two versions are mostly identical, except minor differences: The British version only has nine chapters, without the introduction to terms of numerals and classifiers; in addition, only the first chapter contains Chinese characters, and the name Melchior de Mançano is nowhere to be seen. There are also two extra versions of the book recorded in Latin: one transcription is held at the library of the University of Glasgow in Britain; the other is a publication within Theophilus S. Bayer's (1694-1738) compilation of *Museum Sinicum*. The first of the two still retains some Chinese characters, the second one omits them altogether.<sup>1</sup>

In 1967, Piet van der Loon introduced the content of the British Library version in one of his papers concering Hokkien language in Manila.<sup>2</sup> In 1995, Dolors Folch introduced the Barcelona version in the essay "Sinological materials in some Spanish libraries". In 2006, Ishizaki Hiroshi transcribed the Barcelona version into a print format. The primary researcher of this book is Henning Klöter: he released a paper in 2005 analyzing the book's content and characteristics from a linguist perspective, in which he believed that although the author of the book applied traditional European gramm ar pattern, certain traits of the Hokkien language could be identified.<sup>4</sup> In 2009, Klöter published his work *The Language of the Sangleys:* A Chinese Vernacular in Missionary Sources of the Seventeenth Century that conducted a thorough and systematic study of the book. The study was divided into two sections: the first section carried concepts from the 2005 paper, furtherly determining that Chinese immigrants in Manila had arrived from different regions. Klöter believed that the merging of these Chinese with distinct tongues formed a new hybrid language, thus he proposed the "Early Manila Hokkien" hypothesis to replace van der Loon's "transported Haicheng" hypothesis. The second section followed academic standards to transcribe and annotate the content of the Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> Ishizaki Hiroshi(石崎博志), "Arte de la Lengua Chin Cheu in University of Barcelona," Bulletin of the Faculty of Law and Letters, University of the Ryukyus 12 (2006), pp. 151-206.

<sup>2.</sup> Piet van der Loon, "The Manila incunabula and early Hokkien studies," part 2, *Asia Major* New Series, 13 (1967), pp. 100-104.

<sup>3.</sup> Dolors Folch, "Sinological materials in some spanish libraries," Ming Wilson & John Cayley eds, Europe Studies China: Papers from an International Conference on the History of European Sinology (London: Han-Shan Tang Books, 1995), pp. 157-158.

<sup>4.</sup> Henning Klöter, "Ay sinco lenguas algo difirentes: China's local vernaculars in early missionary sources," in *Missionary linguistics III / Lingüística misionera III: morphology and syntax: selected papers from the third and fourth International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Hong Kong/Macau, 12-15 March 2005, Valladolid, 8-11 March 2006* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub., 2007), pp. 191-210.

<sup>5.</sup> Henning Klöter, *The Language of the Sangleys: A Chinese Vernacular in Missionary Sources of the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011).

In recent years, Uijin Ang 洪惟仁 studied the language pattern of the *Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu* and contended that the language was still belonged to Zhangzhou family (Eastern Zhangzhou dialect) and thus not a hybrid language. These linguistic issues await further discussion from academic circles. As for the book's historical study, there were scholars who focused on the merchandises and numeral classifiers used in the book, or attempted to define the concept of Chio Chiu. It involves intercultural exchanges in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which is crucial topic of Sinology as well.

<sup>6.</sup> 洪惟仁, 〈十六、七世紀之間呂宋的漳州方言〉, 《歷史地理》30(2014年12月), 頁 215-238。

#### 略述巴塞隆納大學所藏《漳州話語法》

#### 陳宗仁、李毓中、陳巧穎

《漳州話語法》(Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu)是十七世紀初西班牙人在菲律賓群島編製的閩南語文法書籍,收藏於西班牙巴塞隆納大學,館藏編號 Ms. 1027。全書縱 19公分,寬 14.5公分,除了封面、封底外,內頁共 118頁,其中有文字的頁數 66頁,其餘為空白頁,另附小紙條一張。全書除前言外,共分九章(頁 25-53),介紹漳州話的聲調、人稱代名詞、動詞、副詞、否定句、問句等用法,另附數字一至一萬以及各種數量分類詞(如四門銃、四領皮)的說法,最後是年月的用語。

內頁紙張分屬不同時代,根據紙質與顏色的不同,大致可分為三類:

1. 最為古老的紙張, 共72頁, 依據本書之編碼,即頁25-96,這些頁數均有紅色格線。前64頁(頁26-89)有文字內容,後7頁僅有格線(頁90-96)而無文字,各頁經裱褙,故可見襯紙。頁25有一段文字說明在馬尼拉的中國人最常使用的是漳州話,也是最多人說的語言,因此介紹漳州話的文法及詞彙。此外又有兩個相同的藏書印,顯示此書曾收藏於巴塞隆納Santa Catalina修道院。



Santa Catalina 修道院的藏書章



另一本十六世紀書籍有較清晰的的藏書章 (巴塞隆納大學圖書館授權刊載)

- 2. 較新的紙張共有 32 頁,在前述頁數的前後各 16 頁(頁 9-24、97-112),各頁經 裱褙,故可見襯紙。其中在頁 9 與頁 110 有巴塞隆納大學圖書館的藍色方形印章,頁 9 另有兩行文字 "Gramatica china(中文文法)"、"El hombre nacido de muger",以及編號「20-9-26」,這些文字與編號應是入藏巴塞隆納大學後所加。
- 3. 最新的紙張共有 7 張 (14 頁),在前述頁數的前後各七頁 (頁 2-8、113-119),完全空白。根據上述跡象可斷定現存之書經過三次裝訂,最早是 72 頁的手稿,時間可能在成書之時。第二次裝訂時,加入 32 頁空白頁,時間不詳,巴塞隆納大學的印章蓋在頁 9,即此時書的內文首頁,顯示巴塞隆納大學收藏此書之時,此書已經第二次裝訂。第三次裝訂時,再加入 14 頁空白頁,亦在此次裝訂之時,前述各頁均再裱褙,成為目前書況,時間應在此書收藏至巴塞隆納大學之後。

此書之作者不詳,在頁 25 有一段文字 "Para el uso de Fr[ay] Ray[mun]do Feyjoó de

la orden ... pred[icador]es",頁 111 寫有一人名 "Fr[ay] Melchior de Mançano",據學者 Dolors Folch 與韓可龍的研究,Melchior de Mançano 是道明會士,1617 年時在呂宋島的 Pangasinán 省工作,一度回到歐洲,他於 1627 年至 1629 年在馬尼拉法庭擔任審查工作。他的名字出現在第二次裝訂版本的最後,而不見於第一次裝訂版本,說明他可能不是本書的作者,也許此書是由他帶回歐洲,故出現此一署名。至於 Raymundo Feyjoó是十八世紀巴塞隆納 Santa Catalina 修道院的修士,在修道院的資料中,僅記載他過世時的身份是 acólito,屬低階的修士。他在十八世紀時應閱讀過此一書籍,故在頁 25 有段文字特別提到他。由於此書亦有 Santa Catalina 修道院的藏書章,因此可推斷此書於十八世紀時已收藏於巴塞隆納的修道院。Santa Catalina 修道院位於巴塞羅那市的 Ciutat Vella 區,成立於 1243 年,屬於道明會,其圖書館收藏很多中世紀以來的書籍。1830年代西班牙政府沒收教會財產,Santa Catalina 修道院於 1836年亦遭沒收,修道院在第二年被拆除,原址改建成市場,亦稱 Santa Catalina,使用至今。至於數百年累積的藏書亦歸國有,部份藏書(包含本書)後來由巴塞隆納大學收藏迄今。

此書之寫作年代不詳,書中介紹年月說法時,曾介紹「萬曆四十八年」的說法。 萬曆皇帝朱翊鈞死於於萬曆 48 年 7 月 21 日(1620 年 8 月 18 日),萬曆四十八年為其 最後一年。此書應於此年抄錄成書。

《漳州話語法》除了巴塞隆納版本之外,大英圖書館另收藏一類似的版本 (Add. 25 317),兩者大致相同,但仍有一些差異,如大英版本僅有九章,而缺乏數字與分類詞的用法介紹,且僅第一章有漢字,亦未見 Melchior de Mançano 之名字。此外,又有兩種以拉丁文記載的版本,一是英國 Glasgow 大學圖書館所藏抄本,另一是 Theophilus S. Bayer(1694-1738) 所編 Museum Sinicum 書中收錄的刊本,前者尚保留一些漢字,後者則省略漢字。<sup>1</sup>

Piet van der Loon 在 1967 年發表一篇有關馬尼拉閩南語文獻的論文中,曾介紹大 英版本的內容, $^2$ 1995 年 Dolors Folch 在 "Sinological materials in some spanish libraries" 一文中介紹了巴塞隆納版本, $^3$ 2006 年石崎博志將巴塞隆納版本內容翻刻為印刷體文字。Henning Klöter 則是本書最主要的研究者,他在 2005 年發表專文,從語言學的角度,分析此書的內容與特點,認為作者雖然運用傳統的歐洲語法模式,仍能注意到閩南語的某些特徵。 $^4$ 2009 年 Klöter 出版其專著 *The Language of the Sangleys: A Chinese* 

- 1. 石崎博志, 〈翻刻資料 Barcelona 大学蔵 Arte de la lengua chin cheu〉,《日本東洋文化論集》 12 (2006), 頁 151-152。
- 2. Piet van der Loon, "The Manila incunabula and early Hokkien studies," part 2, *Asia Major* New Series, 13 (1967), pp. 100-104.
- 3. Dolors Folch, "Sinological materials in some spanish libraries," Ming Wilson & John Cayley eds, *Europe Studies China: Papers from an International Conference on the History of European* (London: Han-Shan Tang Books, 1995), pp. 157-158.
- 4. Henning Klöter, "Ay sinco lenguas algo difirentes: China's local vernaculars in early missionary sources," in *Missionary linguistics III / Lingüística misionera III: morphology and syntax: selected papers from the third and fourth International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Hong Kong/Macau, 12-15 March 2005, Valladolid, 8-11 March 2006* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub., 2007), pp. 191-210.

Vernacular in Missionary Sources of the Seventeenth Century,針對本書,進行完整而系統性的研究。全書分兩部份,第一部份延續前一論文的概念,進而認為馬尼拉的唐人移民來自不同的區域,在馬尼拉形成一種混合的語言,提出 Early Manila Hokkien hypothesis(早期馬尼拉福建話方言假說),藉以取代 Van der Loon 提出的 transported Haicheng(海澄話移入)的看法。第二部份依據學術規範,很嚴謹的抄錄、註解 Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu 的內容。5

近年洪惟仁研究《漳州話語法》的語言特徵,認為仍是漳州話(漳東腔方言),而不是一種混合的語言,6此類語言學的問題仍有待學界進一步討論。至於歷史學方面,亦有學者關注書中提及的商品與計數用語,或者 Chio Chiu 概念的定義。這些辭典文獻亦涉及十七世紀東亞海域的跨文化交流,也是漢學的重要議題。

<sup>5.</sup> Henning Klöter, The Language of the Sangleys: A Chinese Vernacular in Missionary Sources of the Seventeenth Century (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011). Klöter 另有一篇中文的論文〈早期西文文獻中的官話與方言〉亦論及此書,該文收錄於復旦大學文史研究院編,《西文文獻中的中國》(北京:中華書局,2012),頁 29-49。

<sup>6.</sup> 洪惟仁,〈十六、七世紀之間呂宋的漳州方言〉,《歷史地理》30 (2014 年 12 月 ),頁 215-238。





