



Università
Ca'Foscari
Venezia

Scuola Dottorale di Ateneo
Graduate School

Dottorato di ricerca
in Studi sull'Asia e sull'Africa
Ciclo 29°
Anno di discussione 2017

***“And the Word Became Chinese”
Gabriele Allegra and the Chinese Catholic Bible:
History, Process, and Translation Analysis***

SETTORE SCIENTIFICO DISCIPLINARE DI AFFERENZA: L-OR/21
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*To my family
mamma, papà, and Ivan
with gratitude*

*It is normally supposed that something
always gets lost in translation;
I cling, obstinately to the notion
that something can also be gained.*

Salman Rushdie

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Acknowledgments

The following thesis is the result of a three years research during which I was surrounded by precious people whose presence was essential for the accomplishment of this project. I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Tiziana Lippiello, for her support and confidence in these years. I am also thankful to Professor Ester Bianchi for her encouraging and steady presence. My special thanks go to Professor Giuseppina Caraglia, whose patience and untiring work on each of these pages made the whole text clearer and more understandable. I would also like to thank Professor Ad Dudink and Professor Paolo De Troia for their encouraging comments and helpful suggestions on the thesis draft in the review phase.

My sincere thank goes to Father Stefano Cavalli for his guidance in the study of Biblical Greek, and to Professor Nicolas Standaert and Father Francois Barriquand for the rich email correspondence exchanged. I would also like to thank Professor Francesco D'Arelli and Father Giuseppe Buffon for their encouragement and the stimulating conversations.

I am particularly grateful to the Franciscan friars of the Convent San Biagio in Acireale: Father Marcello Badalamenti, Father Lorenzo Fricano, Father Vincenzo Piscopo, and Father Nicola Lippo. They disclosed to me the treasure enshrined in the Archive of Gabriele Allegra, trusted me, and took care of me every day I spent there doing research. I also thank the Provincial Minister of the Friars Minor in Sicily, who welcomed the research project.

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Fang Zhirong 房志榮 (Theology Faculty, Fu Jen Catholic University) and Professor Sonja Huang Meiting 黃漢婷 (Monumenta Serica Sinological Research Center), for the precious support and encouraging meetings in Taipei. I sincerely thank Professor Cindy Chu and Professor Lauren Pfister of the Hong Kong Baptist University for the inspiring conversations and their real interest in my research subject. I would also like to thank Aleksandr Dmitrenko and Monica Romano for sharing our ideas and projects.

I am particularly grateful to the Franciscan friars of the Studium Biblicum in Hong Kong, Brother Raymond Mary Yeung and Father Placid Wong, for their kind welcome and enthusiasm, and for giving me the opportunity to consult precious documents in an important place. I would also like to thank Father Alberto Rossa and Miss Winnie Wong for their kindness and helpful insights, and for their passionate concern with biblical translation. A thank goes also to Father Gianni Criveller for our stimulating conversations in Hong Kong.

A special thank goes to the librarians who patiently helped me in the research: Lin Yuqing 林玉卿 of the Library of the Theology Faculty of the Fu Jen Catholic University of Taipei, and Margherita Valenti of the Library of the Istituto di Studi Ecumenici San Francesco della Vigna in Venice.

My special thanks go also to Sister Lucy Chung, whose help and enthusiasm made my stay in Hong Kong fruitful and enjoyable. Together with her, I also thank all the Franciscan Missionaries of Our Lady of Sorrows in Shatin, in particular Sister Bernadette Ng, who welcomed me and shared with me their personal acquaintance with Father Allegra.

I am sincerely grateful to Father Claudio Pegoraro who prepared my stay in Taipei, welcomed me there, and showed me the concrete joy of being a missionary. A special thank goes also to my friends in Taipei: Camilla, Emilia, Yahan, Roberta, Donato, Paolo, Simone, Ema, Ilaria and her family, Emilia, Ida, Allegra, Giorgia, Anna, and Chiara. You made possible unexpected moments of happiness and showed me that you can feel at home wherever you are: thank you.

My deepest thanks go also to my friends in Ariano, Perugia, Rome, and Venice: Nicola and his family, Claudio, Daniele, Miriam, Sara, Chiara and her family, Petia and her family, Chiara and Federico, Paola, Gaia, and in particular, Marco. These years showed us how true friendship can overcome distance, train patience, and enhance the beauty in our daily lives; you are my “sturdy shelter and treasure”: thank you. Special thanks go also to Don, Gianluca, Paolo, and Stefania, for listening to me and giving me priceless advice.

I would also like to thank all the people of “the third floor,” especially Sara, Martina, Paolo, Giulia, and my colleagues of the 29^o cycle: from you and with you I learned a lot: thank you. A special thank goes also to Elena, for her kind and ready assistance and support.

I am particularly grateful to the three who daily supported and endured me during the writing process. Eugenio, patient flat mate and strong encourager; Silvia, attentive confidant and steady presence; Marco, insightful workmate and sincere friend. Sharing deadlines and letdowns, cooking and drinking, sleepless nights and tired busy days brought us this far. You three are the most unexpected and precious gift I received in the last months: thank you. My deepest thanks go also to Chiara, whose friendship and prayer are priceless, despite distance.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the convicts of the Giudecca women’s prison: your stories and your glances strongly taught me the preciousness of our lives. Thanks also to Father Nilo, Sister Franca, Susanna, and Lucia for our weekly “entrance” together.

Words cannot express how grateful I am to my family. Thank you for the sacrifices and the support, for the love and the patience you have always shown, for holding on when I am distant, and for driving me to the next train when I am at home. Thanks to my mother, for her tireless care for me. Thanks to my father, for his steadfast belief in me. Thanks to my brother Ivan, for his invaluable and constant presence.

Thank you.

INTRODUCTION

The name of Gabriele Allegra, in Chinese, Lei Yongming 雷永明, is closely related to the *Sigao Shengjing* 思高聖經, the first complete Catholic Bible published in Chinese. This version was published in a single volume only in 1968, and today it is still largely used by Chinese speaking Catholics. Considering that the presence of Christianity in China dates back to the seventh century, and that the first Catholic missionaries arrived in the Chinese Empire in the thirteenth century, it is remarkable that such a translation was published with such a delay. Furthermore, despite the importance of the *Sigao Bible* being commonly acknowledged, this version has hardly been investigated to date.

The aim of this dissertation is that of exploring the life and works of the missionary Gabriele Allegra and the translation process leading to the publication of the *Sigao Shengjing*. Subsequently, through the textual analysis of chosen passages, the research purpose is to verify to what extent the translation principles set by the translators were effectively held, and to consider the validity of the *Sigao Bible* today, comparing it also with other Chinese Bible versions.

In the title, “And the Word became Chinese” is a modified quotation from the Gospel according to John (1:14): “And the Word became flesh.” It was chosen because in a handwritten comment to the 1968 publication of the single volume Bible, Allegra described the printing of this volume as “the Word that becomes book” and compared it to the event of the Nativity, when the “Word became flesh.”¹ The statement well summarizes the conclusion of the long process of translation of the Catholic Bible into Chinese and discloses the relevance of the event as a landmark in the context in which it is situated. Furthermore, the source Gospel of the sentence is the same analyzed in this thesis, supporting the references between the title and the contents of the text.

In the opening chapter, a brief review of the existing literature on the topic is presented, to underline the high number of studies on the general issue of Chinese Bible translation, in

¹ See: MS II C, 6, “Diario” (Diary), Macau-Hong Kong, 26 December, 1968. See also below: Chapter 3.2, “The single volume Bible,” p. 92.

contrast with the relatively scarce research on the Catholic undertakings to translate the Sacred Scriptures into Chinese. Subsequently, the Chinese historical background of the first half of the twentieth century is presented, taking into account both the history of the Catholic Church in China, and the different attitudes towards biblical translation and missions adopted by the Catholic hierarchies. Through this analysis, the causes of the lack of a Chinese Catholic translation of the Bible at the beginning of the twentieth century will be discussed, together with the features of the historical background in which the translation by Allegra was set. This section reveals that, before the twentieth century, the missionaries had transmitted the contents of their doctrine through different means compared to the Bible. This type of evangelization, noticeably created a “Chinese Christian terminology” whose usage would continue during the centuries. The arrival of Allegra in China and the possibility he had of translating and publishing the Bible are set in a historical background which is explored in three sections. The first one addresses the approach of missionaries towards the Chinese language: how they learned the language, how they used it and what they chose to write about and translate Christian texts. The second section explores the general features of the Bible as a text and the general issues connected with its translation. The last section gives an account of the situation of Catholic missions in China, presenting the important changes occurring at the beginning of the twentieth century, such as the creation of the dioceses and the attempts at supporting the indigenization of Chinese clergy. The combination of these three elements made it possible for Allegra to take on his enterprise.

In the second chapter, a detailed report on the life and works of Gabriele Allegra is presented. Allegra was an Italian Franciscan Friar who arrived in China in 1931 with the plan to translate the Catholic Bible into Chinese. The aim of this chapter is to provide a new outline of the missionary’s life, as all the accounts currently available are mostly intended to show the Christian virtues of the Friar, rather than his activity as a scholar and translator. The unpublished documents found at the Archive in Acireale were used to compile the biography. Acireale is a small town in Sicily, where Allegra lived before going to China, and where his remains lay still today. In 1986, all the books, letters and reports concerning the Friar were collected and stored in this Archive, and these were consulted and explored in three research sessions during this Ph.D. course. The opening section of the chapter describes the process of composition of the Archive, its contents and the research activity conducted there. In the Appendices the catalogues compiled and some reproductions of the documents consulted and mentioned in this thesis are available. The

following paragraph provides an outline of Allegra's biography, written according to unpublished documents with an attempt to avoid the celebratory tones commonly found in the accounts on his life. The focal point of this section is to show the close link between the personal life of the missionary and translator and the decisions connected to his activity and his translation.

The third chapter explores in depth the activity of the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Sinense*, the biblical research center founded by Allegra in 1945 in Beijing and moving headquarters to Hong Kong in 1948. In the Archive in Acireale and in the Library of the current venue of the Studium in Hong Kong, many official documents concerning the activity of the institute are kept. These were analyzed in order to outline the work of the members of the Studium and, more specifically, the process of translation presented here. From 1935 to 1961, eleven volumes of the first complete Catholic Bible in Chinese were published, and in 1968 the single volume was issued. The phases leading from the original Hebrew and Greek texts to the publication of the Chinese versions are analyzed, together with the translation and revision method. In the analysis of the translation and publication process, particular relevance is given to the single volume Bible issued in 1968, representing a fundamental achievement in the field of Chinese Bible translation. An account on the activity of the Studium after Allegra's death is subsequently offered together with a presentation of the current activity of the Studium. In the concluding section of this chapter a review of the Chinese Catholic Bibles published after 1968 is given, with a focus on the publishing activity of the Claretian Press. Data on the current activities of the Studium and of the Claretian Press were collected during research sessions in Taiwan and Hong Kong (2015). On these occasions, meetings with people who are at present personally involved in Bible translation, revision, and publication were essential to outline the current and to date undocumented situation.

In the last chapter, an analysis of the translation is provided. The text considered is the Gospel of John, chosen due to the abundance of material personally written by Allegra on it. A brief description of the general features of the Gospel precedes the examination of the specific documents and the introductions compiled by Allegra himself. This short presentation provides only the basic information on the text analyzed and does not intend to discuss the theological and exegetical issues connected. It is followed by the account on the Gospel according to John found in the two published versions of the Studium Biblicum (1957 and 1968) to report the approach of the translators and, when possible, will shed light on the translating choices. The second section of the chapter describes the documents of the

Archive dealing with the Gospel of John. Particular attention is reserved to a handwritten text reporting a list of lexical items from the Gospel and translating them from Greek to Chinese. This document is analyzed comparing the proposed translations there reported with those contained in the published versions. The following paragraph considers and describes some common features of the two versions analyzed (1957 and 1968) and, when detected, analyzes and comments the differences. The main issues addressed are the Christian terminology, the titles of Jesus and the use of proper names.

The Appendices represent a relevant section of the thesis since they summarize the research activity and support the textual analysis conducted. The first Appendix (A) includes the lists of documents of the Archive, presenting them in four groups, according to their distribution on the bookshelves. Only the folders containing documents authored by Allegra were analyzed and reported here, both original or copies, handwritten or typewritten. These catalogues compiled for Appendix A were necessary to describe the documents contained in the Archive, previously unrecorded. Appendices B and C show the reproductions of some of the consulted papers. In Appendix B there are extracts from the handwritten autobiographical memoirs (B.2) and relevant documents regarding the life and history of the Studium Biblicum (B.5, B.6) together with the reproductions of other papers from the Archive. In Appendix C a list of all the documents concerning the Gospel of John and its author was compiled and the reproductions of selected documents are illustrated. During the analysis of these documents, one in particular appeared as the most relevant and useful to support the textual analysis. It is entitled “Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann.” (Philological notes on the Gospel of John) (MA, H, 2) and consists of more than fifty handwritten sheets with Greek, Chinese and Hebrew lexical items. It is deeply analyzed in a paragraph of chapter 4.2, and is partially reproduced in Appendix D. The pictures of the original papers are followed by a table reporting the content of the whole document with the intent of supporting the analysis exposed in the chapter. Appendix E includes the reproductions of the first three pages of the four versions of the Gospel of John analyzed. These are the 1957 and the 1968 published versions, the 1957 edition with handwritten modifications and the preparatory version of the 1968 edition. Appendix F reports in a table the transliteration of proper names in the Gospel of John, providing the verses of occurrence, the Greek name, the Chinese translation and the English equivalent. The analysis of the table is reported in chapter 4.3. The chronological tables of Appendix G recording the life and activity of Gabriele Allegra and the Studium Biblicum, and the years of publications of the eleven volumes of the Chinese Catholic Bible, are provided to

summarize the most important events and stages of the activities analyzed in the text. All reproductions were carried out and reported with permission of the director of the Archive (Archivio Vice-Postulazione-Convento San Biagio dei Frati Minori, Acireale (CT), Father-Guardian of the Convent).

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The beginning of Christianity in China is historically documented in the Xi'an stele, a monument erected in 781 by a group of Nestorian, or Siro-Oriental Christians. This Christian group set foot in Chinese territory during the Tang Dynasty (618-907) in the year 635, as attested on the stele itself, and was allowed to freely practice its faith.¹ According to the data of the "2015 Statistical Update on Religions and Churches in the People's Republic of China," there are 23 million Protestants and 6 million Catholics in China.² Both Protestants and Catholics are steadily increasing in number, together with a growing public interest in Christian doctrine and acknowledgement of the Bible as a valuable work of literature. The Bible's role in the lives and work of missionaries and Chinese converts has changed throughout the centuries. It is interesting to analyze these changes bearing in mind the importance of this book in Christian doctrine.

Translation of the Bible into Chinese was a primary duty of the Protestant missionaries arriving in China at the beginning of the nineteenth century, while the first complete translation of the Catholic Bible in Chinese was not published until 1968, in the single volume translation known as *Sigao Shengjing* 思高聖經, *Studium Biblicum Version*, or *Scotus Bible*.³ This "delay" was certainly not due to the shortcomings of the Catholic

¹ On the Siro-Oriental church, the beginning of Christianity in China and the stele of Xi'an see: Peter Yoshiro Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1915); Paul Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou* (The Nestorian inscription in Si-ngan-fou) (Kyoto: Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale; Paris: College de France/Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1996); Matteo Nicolini-Zani, *La via radiosa per l'Oriente. I testi e la storia del primo incontro del cristianesimo con il mondo culturale e religioso cinese (secoli VII-IX)* (The Luminous Way to the East. The texts and history of the first encounter between Christianity and the Chinese cultural and religious world. Seventh-ninth century) (Magnano, Biella: Qiqajon Edizioni, 2006); and the detailed bibliography in: Pénélope Riboud, "Tang," in *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume I: 635-1800*, edited by Nicolas Standaert, 1-42 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 38-42.

² Katharina Wenzel-Teuber, "2015 Statistical Update on Religions and Churches in the People's Republic of China," trans. by Jaqueline Mulberge, *Religions & Christianity in Today's China* 6, no. 2 (2016): 20-43. The data reported here are those provided by the State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA). For other statistics see: *ibid.*, 34-41, and bibliographic references. The Christian Eastern Orthodox Church is not included in statistics as it is not recognized as one of the five major religions of the People's Republic of China. However, data published in 2011 report between 8,000 and 20,000 members (Roman Malek, "Statistical Overview of Churches and Religions in China of the year 2010/2011," trans. by David Streit, *Religions & Christianity in Today's China* 1, no. 1 (2011): 32-59).

³ See below: Chapter 3. This version will hereby be referred to as SBV.

missionaries in transmitting their doctrine to the Chinese from the thirteenth to the twentieth century. Moreover, it is important to underline the distribution of the Bible's contents via other sources other than the biblical text and to examine the reasons for the setback from a broader perspective. The attitude of the Catholic Church towards missions and the Scriptures, the official documents on the topics, along with the diachronic evolution of Christianity in China and Chinese history must be considered. The Studium Biblicum Version of the Chinese Catholic Bible, indeed, was the result of the combination of different historical and geographical factors that cannot be neglected.

1.1 The Bible in China and Gabriele Allegra: a literature review

Works concerning the translation of the Bible into Chinese are included within the broader context of the literature on Christianity in China.⁴ Among the studies on the Chinese Bible, a small part concentrates on the attempts of Catholic translations, and an even smaller one analyzes the SBV. A review of the current literature on Chinese Bible translations will be discussed herein to illustrate the purpose of the present study and to allocate it within the wider setting of existing research. The following two sections analyze the literature on the Bible in China and the literature on the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum and its founder Gabriele Allegra.

The Bible in China

Literature on the Bible in Chinese can be divided into two main areas: historical background and textual analysis, with some studies covering both aspects to be discussed hereafter.

The first key document regarding the history of the Bible in China, is found in the book by Marshall Broomhall, *The Bible in China*.⁵ The importance and relevance of this text is attributable to the year of publication. Written in 1934, it offers a very early account both on the standpoint of the translation of the Bible in Chinese, and on the attitude of missionaries concerning this topic at the beginning of the twentieth century. Broomhall, in fact, was a missionary, and this is clear from some of the headings of chapters and paragraphs in the book: "For the Tribes," "The Bible in Action," "The Power of the Word," "The

⁴ On Christianity in China and the related extensive bibliography see: Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China, I*, and Gary R. Tiedemann, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume II: 1800-Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). See also the "Chinese Christian Texts Database (CCT-Database)" available online at: <http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/sinologie/english/cct>, accessed March 21, 2016.

⁵ Marshall Broomhall, *The Bible in China* (London: China Inland Mission, 1934).

Bible a Uniting Force.” A similar volume was edited by Kramers in the Chinese language, and published in 1965.⁶ After a brief presentation and review of the then subsisting Bible in Chinese, he suggests the improvements required and how to go about it from a missionary and pastoral perspective.

Two volumes on the Chinese Bibles were published in 1999 by Monumenta Serica: *Bible in Modern China*⁷ and *The Bible in China*.⁸ The chapters in these two volumes focus on the Protestant enterprise of translating the Chinese Bible, leaving, nonetheless some margin for the Catholic attempts.

In the book edited by Eber there are two articles on the Catholic experience of translating (or not) the Bible in Chinese. These are “The Bible in Early Seventeenth-Century China” by Nicolas Standaert⁹ and “Father Gabriele M. Allegra, O.F.M., (1907–1976) and the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum: The First Complete Chinese Catholic Translation of the Bible” by Arnulf Camps.¹⁰ The first essay explores the texts and translations preferred by the Jesuits during the seventeenth century in China. After a presentation of both the European and Chinese background of that century, Standaert analyzes the Papal document *Romanae Sedis Antistes* (1615) that allowed the missionaries to celebrate some Christian rites in the local language and, consequently, offered them the possibility to translate the Bible.¹¹ This proposal was not welcomed by the Jesuits in China although “translation work was certainly a question of priorities,”¹² and many other books had already been translated into Chinese to effectively convey Christian doctrine to the Chinese. Standaert gives a very accurate account of the books printed in that period, referring to volumes such as *Tianzhu Jiangsheng yanxing jilue* 天主降生言行記略 (Short Record of the Words and Deed of God’s Incarnation) by Giulio Aleni, the *Shengjing zhijie* 聖經直解 (A Direct Explanation of the Holy Scripture) by Manuel Dias Jr., and the

⁶ Paul Kramers (Gu Baoluo) 賈保羅, *Shengjing Hanyu lunwen ji* 聖經漢譯論文集 (Essays on Chinese Bible) (Hong Kong: Jidujiao Fu Qiao, 1965).

⁷ Irene Eber, Sze-Kar Wan and Knut Walf, eds., *Bible in Modern China. The Literary and Intellectual Impact* (Sankt Augustin-Nettetal: Institute Monumenta Serica, 1999).

⁸ Jost O. Zetzsche, *The Bible in China. The History of the Union Version or the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China* (Sankt Augustin-Nettetal: Institute Monumenta Serica, 1999).

⁹ Nicolas Standaert, “The Bible in Early Seventeenth-Century China,” in *Bible in Modern China*, edited by Eber et al., 31–54.

¹⁰ Arnulf Camps, “Father Gabriele M. Allegra, O.F.M., (1907–1976) and the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum: The First Complete Chinese Catholic Translation of the Bible,” in *Bible in Modern China*, edited by Eber et al., 55–76.

¹¹ On this document see also: Carmelo Oliva, “Un precursore della liturgia in lingua nazionale, P. Niccolò Longobardo S.I.” (A forerunner of the liturgy in national language, Father Niccolò Longobardo, SJ) *La Civiltà Cattolica* 2833, vol. III (1968): 480–494.

¹² Standaert, “Bible in Early Seventeenth-Century China,” 37.

Kouduo richao 口鐸日抄 (Diary of Oral Admonitions).¹³ The chapter written by Arnulf Camps regards Gabriele Allegra's work and will be discussed below.

The volume by Jost Zetzsche covers the lengthy and complex process of translating the *Union Version*. The chapters give a very meticulous outline of the translation process of the most esteemed Chinese Protestant Bible. It includes details of the boards' meetings, the board members' standings, the topics discussed and an in-depth account of the growing collaboration between missionaries and translators of different denominations. This text is a valuable reference for the analysis of the *Union Version* and is often consulted and cited, also for its relevant primary source material.

The article by the Franciscan Bernward Willeke¹⁴ is the first paper devoted solely to the history of the translation of the Catholic Bible in Chinese. The perspective of the author is strictly historical and refers to the unpublished attempts of the translation of the Scriptures by the Catholic missionaries up to the nineteenth century. It also mentions every uncompleted version of biblical books, mostly concerning the New Testament, written by Chinese and European priests from the beginning of the twentieth century. The article, published in 1960, is worth mentioning for its optimistic inclination towards the presumed, albeit incomplete accomplishments of the Studium Biblicum. The most interesting aspect underlined by Willeke and found wanting in other texts, is the attention given on behalf of the SBV translators in drawing up a version for the Chinese clergy who needed a solid acquaintance of the Scriptures.¹⁵

The most important volumes regarding the textual analysis of the Chinese versions of the Bible will be presented herein according to year of publication. In 1987, Strandenaes published his Ph.D. thesis on the principles of Chinese Bible translation.¹⁶ After a brief introduction, Strandenaes presents five versions of the Chinese Bible with special reference to certain passages within, expressly to the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew and the first chapter of the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians. For each version the style, syntax, grammar and phraseology are taken into account. One of the versions

¹³ These texts are mentioned and analyzed in Standaert, "Bible in Early Seventeenth-Century China," 39-51. On the *Shengjing zhijie* see: Chen Yanrong, "The *Shengjing zhijie*: A Chinese Text of Commented Gospel Readings in the Encounter between Europe and China in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 1(1) (2014): 165-193. On the *Kouduo richao* see: Li Jiubiao, *Kouduo richao: Li Jiubiao's Diary of Oral Admonitions: a Late Ming Christian Journal*. Translated, with introduction and notes by Erik Zürcher (Sankt Augustin-Nettetal: Institut Monumenta Serica; Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà bresciana, 2007).

¹⁴ Bernward H. Willeke, "Das Werden der chinesischen katholischen Bibel" (The evolution of the Chinese Catholic Bible) *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 16 (1960): 281-295.

¹⁵ Willeke, "Das Werden der chinesischen katholischen Bibel," 291.

¹⁶ Thor Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation. As Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5:1-12 and Col 1* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1987).

presented by Strandenaes is the SBV and interesting comments are included both in the specific chapter and in the conclusions.

In 1996, a Ph.D. dissertation on a similar topic was written by Michael Tanangkingsing.¹⁷ The thesis examines some Chinese versions of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Luke and divides the analysis into four parts. These include the Protestant and Catholic versions, further subdivided into literary and vernacular language sections. The first chapter of Luke draws attention to some particular Mariological issues which determine the differences between Catholic and Protestant translations. The SBV is included in the Catholic vernacular versions.¹⁸

A further step in this field of analysis and comparison of Chinese versions of the Bible was taken by Toshikazu Foley in his book *Translating Biblical Texts into Chinese and Greek*, published in 2005.¹⁹ Foley considers more than twenty different versions of the Chinese Bible, proposing also his own translation of each passage examined. The innovative approach of the book is the detailed discussion of the Chinese translation strategies of the verbal aspect in New Testament Greek. The last two chapters of the book contain the textual analysis of chapters 18-19 of the Gospel according to John and of chapter 15 of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The SBV is also examined in this volume and interesting comments are reported on it.

The 2011 issue of the Hong Kong Journal of Catholic Studies regarded the Bible in Chinese and was edited by the MEP missionary Francois Barriquand.²⁰ Nine influential authors explore, in Chinese or in English, the issue of Chinese Bible translation considering different aspects and perspectives, covering both the historical and the linguistic areas. The volume is divided into chronological sections, containing studies on different topics in relation to the Chinese Bible. The opening paper is by Daniel Choi and explores the Catholic translations with a historical point of view. It is written in Chinese and, despite a twentieth-century perspective, there are three long interesting parts which address the previous translations. The last chapter before the conclusion examines the SBV and all other

¹⁷ Michael Cl. Tanangkingsing, "A Study of Selected Chinese Translations of Chapter One of Luke" (Ph.D. diss., Taipei Fu Jen Catholic University, 1996).

¹⁸ In the current year (2016) two dissertations were written on the compared analysis of different Chinese versions of the Bible. The SBV is analyzed in both of them. The two theses are by Aleksandrs Dmitrenko at the City University of Hong Kong and by Monica Romano at La Sapienza University of Rome. I am extremely grateful to both of them for their kind support and the opportunity to share our research experiences.

¹⁹ Toshikazu Foley, *Translating Biblical Texts into Chinese and Greek: Verbal Aspect in Theory and Practice* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

²⁰ Francois Barriquand, ed., "Shengjing de Zhongwen fanyi" 聖經的中文翻譯 (The Chinese Translation of the Bible), in *Tianzhujiao yanjiu xuebao* 天主教研究學報 (Hong Kong Journal of Catholic Studies) 2 (2011).

translations written in the same period or thereafter, including a Taiwan Romanized version, the Sheshan Seminary translation project, as well as the pastoral and the ecumenical translations.²¹

The second paper in the volume is an interesting study of the presence of *chengyu* 成語 in ten Chinese versions of the New Testament, Catholic or Eastern Orthodox.²² Foley analyzes the use of the four-character set phrases and comments on their impact on the text. The work proposes a linguistic and comparative approach, shedding, however, new light on the stylistic features of the versions. Lexical choices and differences between the editions are interestingly discussed.

The editor closes the volume by exploring the complex translation of the word “God” in Chinese.²³ After acknowledging the considerable literature on the topic,²⁴ Barriquand firstly underlines the lack of literature regarding his forthcoming considerations on two important issues, i.e. the perspective of the ecumenical translations and the implications of the Chinese debates on the translation of “God.”²⁵ The second aspect is the theological and linguistic perspective of the numerous divine appellations used to indicate God in the Old and the New Testament. This issue is presented through the analysis of five groups of divine names of God, taking into account the Hebrew or Greek word, its meaning, and the Chinese translation, finally discussing whether the choice of the latter is consistent in every passage in which the same original occurs. This consideration is noteworthy as the author himself affirms: “Special attention is devoted to the translational choices of the Sigao Bible.”²⁶

Daniel Choi, previously cited, is also co-author of a chapter in the 2014 volume on Catholicism in China edited by Cindy Chu.²⁷ Choi and George Mak provide a brief

²¹ Daniel K.T. Choi (Cai Jintu 蔡錦圖), “Tianzhujiao Zhongwen Shengjing fanyi de lishi he banben” 天主教中文聖經翻譯的歷史和版本 (The History and Editions of Catholic Chinese Bible Translations), in “Shengjing de Zhongwen fanyi,” edited by Barriquand, 11-44. These versions are presented below in: Chapter 3.3, pp. 98-99.

²² Toshikazu Foley, “Four-character Set Phrases. A Study of their Use in the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Versions of the Chinese New Testament,” in “Shengjing de Zhongwen fanyi” edited by Barriquand, 45-97.

²³ Francois Barriquand, “Biblical Names of God in Chinese: A Catholic Point of View with Ecumenical Perspectives,” in “Shengjing de Zhongwen fanyi,” edited by Barriquand, 456-560.

²⁴ Barriquand, “Biblical Names of God in Chinese,” 457-458, and the large bibliography mentioned.

²⁵ On the project of an ecumenical Chinese Bible see: Fang Zhirong 房志榮, “Jidu gongjiao yu xinjiao yijing jingyan tan 基督公教與新教譯經經驗談” (On the experience of Catholics and Protestants translating the Bible), in *Shengjingxue daolun 聖經學導論* (Introduction to Bible study), edited by Gregory W. Dawes, 124-141, vol. 94 of *Fuda shenxue congshu 輔大神學叢書* (Fu Jen Theology Series) (Taipei: Guangqi wenhua, 2010).

²⁶ Barriquand, “Biblical Names of God in Chinese,” 456.

²⁷ Daniel K.T. Choi and George K.W. Mak, “Catholic Bible Translation in Twentieth-Century China: an Overview,” in *Catholicism in China, 1900-Present. The Development of the Chinese Church*, edited by Cindy Yik-yi Chu, 105-123 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

overview of Chinese Catholic translations of the Scriptures at the beginning of the twentieth century. They later offer an analysis of selected passages from the Gospels comparing the 1922 version by the Jesuit Xiao Jingshan 蕭靜山 to the 1968 SBV, discussing how they “represent different stages of Chinese Catholic Bible translation in the twentieth century.”²⁸ More specifically, the authors focus on two aspects. The first is the adherence of the SBV to the Greek texts in some passages where Xiao retains the Latin Vulgate. The second aspect is the use by Allegra and his team of some Chinese translations of certain biblical proper names already widely used by the Protestants,²⁹ providing the most up-dated literature on the matter.

Gabriele Allegra and the Sigao Shengjing

According to this literature review, it can be assumed that the importance of the SBV is widely acknowledged and is always cited in comparative Chinese Bible studies. Nevertheless, this version, its history and the works of its translators have not yet been fully examined. In this section, only the secondary sources regarding the founder of the Studium Biblicum, Gabriele Allegra and his activity will be examined. The autograph documents and the personal memoirs of the Friar will be discussed in a specific chapter below.³⁰

The above-mentioned contribution by Camps³¹ can be regarded as the most accurate paper in English on the life of Gabriele Allegra and his works. In the first section, there is a brief history of the Chinese Bible translations from the arrival in China of John of Montecorvino, up to the years in which the paper was written. Subsequently, the life of Allegra is presented, using as source reference his autobiographical memoirs written in 1975. The author later discusses the works of the Studium Biblicum, its objectives and impact on China. The same author is co-editor of the volume *The Friars Minor in China (1294-1955)* published in 1995. In the volume, however, the life of Allegra and his translation activities are briefly disclosed in few pages.³²

²⁸ Choi and Mak, “Catholic Bible Translation,” 113.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 114-115.

³⁰ See below: Chapter 2.

³¹ Camps, “Gabriele Allegra and the Studium Biblicum.”

³² Arnulf Camps and Pat McCloskey, *The Friars Minor in China (1294-1955). Especially the years 1925-55*, based on the research of Friars Bernward Willeke and Domenico Gandolfi OFM. (New York: Franciscan Institute St. Bonaventure University; Rome: General Secretariate for Missionary Evangelization General Curia Order of Friars Minor, 1995). On Allegra and the Studium see: 255-257.

In 1993 Marek Wach published an extract of his doctoral thesis on Allegra.³³ The dissertation focuses on the missionary features of Allegra's life and, after a detailed presentation of the education and the studies of Allegra, Wach deeply analyzes his social and ecumenical activities and the spiritual and theological values of his Franciscan apostleship. These aspects of the ministry of Allegra are rarely examined, and for this reason, Wach's research is considered a valuable source of information. Notably, the establishment and the work of the Studium Sociologicum are reported together with the Franciscan values of Allegra's life and missionary methods.

The main achievements of Allegra's mission were pursued and reported by the Vatican City State daily newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* (The Roman Observer). Some articles were written by Allegra himself in 1953 and 1965, the first on the publication of the Bible and the second on the Biblical Exposition in Hong Kong.³⁴ In 1969, an interview with a PIME missionary was published.³⁵ Other articles were published to inform Italian readers of the completion of the translation of the Old Testament and of the Biblical Week of Taipei.³⁶ The newspaper notified the death of Allegra in the issue of January 30, 1976.³⁷ Some articles were even published after his death as in 1995 when Manns wrote about the foundation of the Studium Biblicum in honor of its fiftieth anniversary, and in 2008 when Buffon presented Allegra's life and translation.³⁸

Essentially based on the published autobiographical memoirs, and sometimes on personal memories of the authors and oral testimonies, many writings on Allegra and his translation of the Bible have been in circulation in Italy over the last few years, especially in 2012, when the Friar was proclaimed "Blessed" by the Holy See.³⁹ The tone of these articles,

³³ Marek Wach, *Padre Gabriele Maria Allegra OFM, missionario in Cina* (Father Gabriele Allegra OFM, missionary to China) (Assisi, PG: n.p., 1993), published extract of the doctoral thesis discussed in 1993 at the Faculty of Missiology of the Pontifical Urban University (Urbaniana).

³⁴ Gabriele M. Allegra, "Una pubblicazione della Bibbia cattolica in cinese" (A publication of the Catholic Chinese Bible) *L'Osservatore Romano*, 27 August 1953; "Una esposizione biblica a Hong Kong" (A biblical exposition in Hong Kong) *L'Osservatore Romano*, 29 April 1965.

³⁵ Giacomo Girardi, "La prima Bibbia cinese tradotta dai testi originali" (The first Chinese Bible translated from the original texts) *L'Osservatore Romano*, 19 January 1969.

³⁶ Stanislaus Lokuang (Luo Guang 羅光) "Il Vecchio Testamento tradotto in cinese da un francescano italiano" (The Old Testament translated in Chinese by an Italian Franciscan) *L'Osservatore Romano*, 4 February 1955; Anselmo Doglio, "La prima Settimana Biblica Cinese" (The First Chinese Biblical Week) *L'Osservatore Romano*, 2 March 1963.

³⁷ "È morto Padre Allegra primo traduttore della Bibbia in cinese" (Father Allegra, first translator of the Bible in Chinese, is dead) *L'Osservatore Romano*, 30 January 1976.

³⁸ Frédéric Manns, "Un centro che diffonde il messaggio cristiano. Il 50° dello 'Studium Biblicum Franciscanum'" (A center spreading the Christian message. The fiftieth anniversary of the 'Studium Biblicum Franciscanum') *L'Osservatore Romano*, 11-12 December 1995; Giuseppe Buffon, "Una traduzione lunga una vita. La Bibbia in cinese di Gabriele Maria Allegra" (A lifelong translation. The Chinese Bible by Gabriele Allegra) *L'Osservatore Romano*, 15 November 2008.

³⁹ The ceremony took place in Acireale (Italy) on September 29, 2012. On the ceremony see the English official page of the Franciscan Friars: <http://www.ofm.org/ofm/?p=2060&lang=en> and

however, is generally hagiographic with the aim of celebrating the virtues of the Friar, focusing on several aspects of his life such as his missionary attitudes, his Franciscan manners, or his spiritual and prayer experiences, but very rarely on his work as a translator.

Only some of these books and articles will be presented here. The recent volume by Vittorio De Marco is the most recent biography of Father Allegra (2014).⁴⁰ It takes into account all the previous published works on him, and in nine long chapters presents the life of the Friar in detail. The preceding biography was written by Umberto Castagna in 1997.⁴¹ Both the authors had access to some unpublished papers and were able to outline a detailed account of the life of Allegra, mainly focusing on his childhood in Sicily and his pastoral activities.

Earlier, two main authors, Murabito and Anastasi, had prepared various accounts of Allegra's life. Father Leone Murabito (1924–2010) felt a deep affection for his elder cousin Allegra and had a rich exchange of letters with him.⁴² In 2010 a book collecting all the memories of Murabito on Allegra was edited in three volumes, with the title *Fr. Gabriele nei miei ricordi* (My remembrances of Father Gabriele).⁴³ The first volume explores the biography of the Friar through many memories and unofficial documents. The section covering the childhood and the boyhood of Allegra is a very accurate and detailed description of his parents, brothers and sisters, and some relatives, including several episodes of his life. Previous writings by other authors on the life of Allegra are also mentioned and rectified if inaccurate. The second volume is on the Franciscan consideration of Allegra towards the evangelizing mission of the Church, the presence in his life of the theological virtues and his spirituality and commitment to the Church. In the third volume, some of his personal writings are analyzed and the epistolary and the autobiographical memoirs are presented. Concluding the volume, there is a section collecting all the extracts from Father

<http://www.ofm.org/ofm/?p=2039&lang=en>. See also the Italian official website of the event: <http://www.ofmsicilia.it/beatuallegra.htm>, and the special section in the website of the Franciscan Province of Umbria: <http://www.assisiofm.it/beatificazione-di-fr-gabriele-allegra-ofm-2320-1.html>. The latter is rich in links to official documents, video, pictures, articles and interviews. All the websites were accessed March 21, 2016.

⁴⁰ Vittorio De Marco, *Il beato p. Gabriele M. Allegra: dall'Italia alla Cina (1907-1976)* (The Blessed Father Gabriele M. Allegra: from Italy to China, 1907-1976) (Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice Vaticana, 2014).

⁴¹ Umberto Castagna, *La Parola è seme: vita di padre Gabriele Maria Allegra francescano* (The Word is a seed. The life of the Franciscan Father Gabriele Maria Allegra) (S. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi, PG: Porziuncola, 1997)

⁴² Leone Murabito was the son of Agata Allegra, sister of Rosario, father of Father Gabriele. On the volume collecting the letters Allegra sent to Leone Murabito see below: p. 54, n.18.

⁴³ Leone Murabito, *Fr. Gabriele nei miei ricordi* (My remembrances of Father Gabriele), edited by Salvatore Consoli (San Gregorio di Catania, CT: Klimax, 2010). The three volumes are: 1. *Biografia del venerabile Gabriele M. Allegra ofm* (Biography of the Venerable Gabriele M. Allegra ofm); 2. *Esperienza umana, francescana e spirituale del venerabile Gabriele M. Allegra ofm* (The Human, Franciscan and Spiritual Experience of the Venerable Gabriele M. Allegra ofm). 3: *Ulteriori approfondimenti e utili notizie sul venerabile Gabriele M. Allegra ofm* (Further information and useful notes on the Venerable Gabriele M. Allegra ofm).

Murabito's personal diaries that allude to Allegra. The diaries covering the years 1970-1982 and those following 1976 regard the cause of beatification and the preparation of all the documents and testimonies. The editor of the three volumes, in the "Introduction," clearly warns the readers that Father Murabito's tone is highly celebratory and some reports may have been overplayed.⁴⁴

Leonardo Anastasi, a Franciscan Friar from Sicily, is the author of many documents which attest the spiritual and Christian features of Allegra's life. He is also known for his contributions to the writing of the *Positio* published in 1989.⁴⁵ In fact, all publications by Anastasi are well-acknowledged to be connected to both the *Positio* and the process of beatification. This is further confirmed by all the volumes published between 1986 and 1991 by the convent of the Vice-Postulation for the Cause of Beatification. The convent is the Friars Minor's Convent of San Biagio in Acireale and is where Allegra lived from 1918 to 1926. Today the Archive of Allegra and his remains are therein located. Among the texts by Anastasi, the biographic compendium and the spiritual profile are by far the most interesting considerations of his works. The latter, published in 1986, is the first complete biography of Allegra.⁴⁶ It is divided into twenty chapters whose headings are excerpts taken from Allegra's diaries, with some testimonies included among the sources. The biographic compendium was published in 1988 with the title *Ho conosciuto un santo* (I met a Saint) and, as the title clearly anticipates, is a collection of personal memories and accounts on the life of Allegra supported by previously published works on the topic.⁴⁷

According to this brief review, existing literature is mainly focused on the life of the Friar and on his Christian virtues. Allegra's biography will be discussed in the following chapter from a different perspective, giving an outline of the Friar's life to better understand his work on the translation of the Chinese Bible. Before exploring this issue, the historical background will be provided to acknowledge and set the translation process in its appropriate context.

⁴⁴ Murabito, *Fr. Gabriele nei miei ricordi*, vol. 1, 11.

⁴⁵ Congregatio De Causis Sanctorum. *Positio Super Virtutibus Canonizationis Servi Dei Gabrielis M. Allegra, Sacerdotis professi O.F.M. (1907-1976)* (Position on the Virtues of the Servant of God Gabriele M. Allegra, professed priest, ofm) (Roma: Tipografia Guerra, 1989). The *Positio Super Virtutibus* is the report concerning the virtues of the person whose cause of beatification is being conducted by the promoters.

⁴⁶ Leonardo Anastasi, *Profilo spirituale di p. Gabriele M. Allegra* (The Spiritual Profile of Father Gabriele M. Allegra) (Acireale, CT: Vice postulazione Convento S. Biagio, 1986).

⁴⁷ Leonardo Anastasi, *Ho conosciuto un santo: P. Gabriele Maria Allegra: compendio biografico* (I met a Saint: Father Gabriele Maria Allegra: biographic compendium) (Acireale, CT: Vice postulazione Convento S. Biagio, 1988). Other volumes by Anastasi are: *P. Gabriele Maria Allegra: amico di tutti* (Father Gabriele Maria Allegra: a friend to everybody), (Acireale, CT: Vice postulazione Convento S. Biagio, 1989); *Servo di Dio P. Gabriele Maria Allegra O.F.M.: Profilo biografico ed eroicità delle virtù* (Servant of God Father Gabriele Maria Allegra OFM: Biographic profile and heroicity of virtues) (Acireale, CT: Vice postulazione Convento S. Biagio, 1991). On other publications regarding Allegra see the Bibliography of this thesis.

1.2 Christianity and the Bible in China: a historical outline

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a complete Catholic Bible in Chinese was still unavailable. Furthermore, the New Testament, commonly used by the Catholics had been published only in 1922 and was the translation from the Latin *Vulgate* by the Jesuit Xiao Jingshan.⁴⁸ It was the first publishable Catholic translation in Mandarin Chinese, a clear indication that things were changing. When in 1928 the Franciscan Gabriele Allegra heard that the Chinese Catholics “had only the New Testament in Chinese. As for Old Testament, we had to await, as per the decision of the Shanghai Plenary Council, the appointment of a commission of experts,”⁴⁹ he was most probably referring to the *Xinjing quanji* 新經全集.

Despite their arrival in China at the end of the thirteenth century, Catholic missionaries had never actually committed themselves to the translation of the Bible into Chinese. When they had attempted to do so, prevailing circumstances hindered all efforts to complete, publish or distribute any piece of translation. The absence of a complete translation of the Bible in Chinese until the twentieth century may be due to two key factors. Firstly, European missionaries did not translate the Bible in Chinese because of its position and the role of the Bible itself in the life of the clergy and of the laymen according to the historical context. Secondly, there was scarce use and distribution of the Bible among Catholics worldwide as well as specific restrictions on translating the Bible into languages other than Latin. The Bible itself as a missionary instrument is worthy of discussion as Buzzetti argues:

La Bibbia non è di natura tale che induca ad usarla direttamente come efficace strumento missionario od apologetico [...] non risulta concepita tanto come strumento di comunicazione con chi è all'esterno della comunità credente, quanto soprattutto come una raccolta di testi che documentano, ricordano, esprimono i momenti della storia della fede [...] il normale uso della Bibbia è possibile soltanto a condizione di presupporre note per altra via – ad esempio attraverso la predicazione – le linee maestre della fede.

The nature of the Bible is not such as it can be directly used as an efficacious missionary or apologetic instrument [...] it is not regarded as means of communication for those who are unbelievers, but rather as a collection of texts recording, remembering, and expressing the historical moments of faith [...] a common use of the Bible may be

⁴⁸ Xiao Jingshan, *Xinjing quanji* 新經全集 (The Complete New Testament) (Xianxian: Zhili Dongnan Yesuhui, 1922). On the other editions of the *Xinjing quanji* see: Choi and Mak, “Catholic Bible Translation,” 110.

⁴⁹ Domenico Gandolfi, *For China... Another Jerome. The Life and Work of Father Gabriele Allegra*. Translated and edited by Stephen Almagno and Melody Mazuk (New York: Franciscan Province of the Immaculate Conception, 1984), 21–22, n. 5.

otherwise indicated – such as, for example, in preaching – only prior to thorough knowledge of the focal elements of faith itself.⁵⁰

Buzzetti, therefore, illustrates the reasons behind the reluctance or vacillation to translate the Bible in the early missionary periods, but his text does not unfold the rationale of such a prolonged delay.

The second reason for the absence of the Chinese version of the Catholic Bible is the position assumed by the representatives of the Catholic Church hierarchy. The few attempts at translation were, indeed, prevented from being completed, published or distributed by the superiors of those who undertook the task or by the directives of Propaganda Fide.⁵¹

There are three relevant translation experiences into colloquial Chinese occurring before the twentieth century that are worth mentioning. Jean Basset (1662-1707) of the Paris Foreign Mission Society arrived in Canton by the end of 1689. He translated almost the whole of the New Testament from Latin *Vulgate* into colloquial Chinese. When he died in 1707, only the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of Revelation had not been translated. The 1655 decree of Propaganda Fide forbidding the printing of any book without the permission from Rome, however, prevented the publication and distribution of this version. Nevertheless, some copies of the manuscript were made and one of them was later conserved in the British Museum.⁵² This version was consulted and studied both by Robert Morrison⁵³ and Gabriele Allegra.

In the first half of the eighteenth century two Franciscan missionaries, Francesco Jovino (1677-1737) and Carlo Orazi of Castorano (1673-1755), exchanged some letters on the translation in vernacular Chinese of the first books of the Old Testament. This version had been started by the Franciscan Friar Antonio Laghi (1668-1727) and continued by Jovino

⁵⁰ Carlo Buzzetti, *La Parola tradotta. Aspetti linguistici, ermeneutici e teologici della Traduzione della Sacra Scrittura* (The Word in translation. Linguistic, hermeneutical and theological aspects of the translation of the Sacred Scriptures) (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1973), 264, my translation.

⁵¹ Propaganda Fide is short for the Latin *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith). It is a congregation of the Holy See established in 1622 with the main task of supervising the missionary activity of the Church worldwide. Following the Second Vatican Council, the name was changed to Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione (Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples) and its role was revised. For further information see: http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cevang/documents/rc_con_cevang_20100524_profile_en.html, accessed March 26, 2016.

⁵² The copy is known by the name of *Sloane Manuscript*, so called because it was conserved in Sir Hans Sloane's library.

⁵³ Robert Morrison (1782-1834), member of the London Missionary Society, was the first Protestant missionary to go to China. He arrived in Canton in 1807 and was the translator of the first Protestant Chinese Bible, published in Malacca in 1823 known as *Shentian shengshu* 神天聖書 (The Holy Bible). For further information see: Elizabeth Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D., Compiled by His Wife* (London: Longman, 1839); Christopher A. Daily, *Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

himself. However, Castorano firmly prohibited his addressee from distributing the text, regarding the translation of the Scriptures into the local language premature for the Chinese converts.⁵⁴

By the end of the same century, the French Jesuit Louis Antoine de Poirot (1735–1813) was translating both the Old and the New Testament from Latin into colloquial Chinese, compiling more than 34 volumes.⁵⁵ In 1803, he completed the *Guxin shengjing* 古新聖經 (Old and New Testament) where only the Song of Songs and some of the books of the Prophets were not translated. Despite the appreciation of the work, Propaganda Fide prohibited its printing and circulation, and the version of Poirot was stored in the Jesuit library in Beijing.

In this context it becomes easier to understand why Standaert describes the attitude of the Jesuits as a “missed opportunity”⁵⁶ mentioning the papal document *Romanae Sedis Antistes* in 1615 which encouraged the translation of the Bible in Chinese, but was not used to accomplish the task. On this event, it is interesting to note the comment by the Jesuit Pasquale D’Elia in 1946:

A distanza di più di tre secoli, dobbiamo noi rammaricarci che il privilegio della liturgia cinese non sia stato messo a esecuzione? Non sembra davvero. [...] pel bene generale della Chiesa di Cina e della Chiesa Universale, ci sia lecito di rallegrarci che le circostanze non abbiano permesso la messa a esecuzione di questi progetti fin troppo audaci.

More than three centuries later should we regret that the privilege of the liturgy in Chinese language has been declined? Not at all. [...]. For the sake of the Chinese and the Universal Church, let us rejoice that the circumstances have not allowed these far too audacious projects to be achieved.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ The letters (February 13, and August 26, 1726) are quoted in Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 26–27.

⁵⁵ Poirot translated also some books of the Old Testament into Manchu before 1790. See: Erling von Mende, “Problems in Translating the Bible into Manchu: Observations on Louis Poirot’s Old Testament,” in *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804–2004*, edited by Stephen Batalden, Kathleen Cann and John Dean, 149–168 (Sheffield, U.K.: Sheffield Phoenix, 2004); Hartmut Walravens, “Christliche Literatur in mandschurischer Sprache” (Christian literature in Manchurian language) *China heute* 35, 2 (2016): 110–120.

⁵⁶ Standaert, “Bible in Early Seventeenth-Century China,” 38. Another definition by Standaert is the “question of priorities,” underlining the different decisions made by the missionaries in translating other types of texts (see also: *ibid.*, 37; and above, p.19).

⁵⁷ Pasquale D’Elia, “L’istituzione della Gerarchia Episcopale e dell’Internunziatura in Cina” (The institution of the Episcopal Hierarchy and of the Internunciature in China) *Studia Missionalia* 2 (1946): 1–31, 15, my translation. Pasquale D’Elia was an Italian Jesuit who lived in China from 1913 to 1917 and from 1923–1934. For his biography see: “Pasquale D’Elia 1890–1963” in *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*, by John W. Witek, available online at: <http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/e/elia-pasquale-d.php>, accessed February 27, 2016.

This remark underlines how the times reflected the reluctance to renovate the usage of the Latin language in the Catholic liturgy. Nevertheless, Allegra was already working at the time on his translation, and some papal documents had started to authorize the translation of the Scriptures in modern languages.

Thus, bearing in mind this scenario, it is important to explore the changes occurring at the beginning of the twentieth century that made the production and circulation of Bible translations possible in China. Choi and Mak report that the first Catholic translation of a part of the Bible was published in Shanghai by the Tushanwan Press in 1887. It was the *Zongtu dashi lu* 宗徒大事錄,⁵⁸ the book of the Acts of the Apostles, translated into literary Chinese by the Jesuit Li Wenyu 李問漁. The same authors describe the situation as follows:

All Chinese versions of the Catholic Bible published between the second half of the nineteenth century and the 1920s were partial translation of the New Testament, particularly the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Most of them were in literary Chinese, the standard Chinese for publications at the time, which was commonly adopted for Chinese Catholic literature.⁵⁹

This statement, underlining the common usage of the literary Chinese in Catholic publications, does not consider the three aforementioned vernacular versions. Nevertheless, the evolution of Chinese language and the resulting changes in the use of the written and spoken forms are key factors to analyze herein.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Li Wenyu 李問漁, *Zongtu dashi lu* 宗徒大事錄 (The Acts of the Apostles) (Shanghai: Tushanwan Cimitang, 1887).

⁵⁹ Choi and Mak, "Catholic Bible Translation in Twentieth Century China," 106.

⁶⁰ In the first half of the twentieth century two remarkable Catholic translations in literary Chinese were published. The first was the volume of the Gospels by Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯 (1840-1939), published in 1949 with the title *Jiushi Fuyin* 救世福音 (The Gospel of Salvation) (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1949). The second was a group of translations by Wu Jingxiong 吳經熊 (also known as John Wu Ching Hsiung, 1899-1986). He published a version of the Psalms, *Shengyong yiyi* 聖詠譯義 (The Psalms) (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1975), one of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles: *Fuyin: Fu Zongtu dashi ji* 福音: 福宗徒大事集 (The Gospels: Gospel and Acts of the Apostles) (Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 1949), and one of the complete New Testament: *Xinjing quanji* 新經全集 (The New Testament) (Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 1949). However, these versions were not primarily intended for the preaching of the Christian doctrine. On these texts see: Choi and Mak, "Catholic Bible Translation in Twentieth Century China," 108-109.

Missionaries and Chinese language

After the signing of the “unequal treaties” concluding the Opium Wars, there was a significant increase in the number of missionaries in China.⁶¹ According to the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), missionaries and merchants were allowed to reside and work in five “treaty ports.” Later, according to the Treaty of Tianjin (1858), they could approach central and northern regions of China, with the permission to practice and teach Christianity.

Access to new cities and areas allowed the missionaries to acknowledge a linguistic phenomenon described as “diglossia” by Kaske.⁶² By the end of the nineteenth century the official written language in China was the *wenyan* 文言, “literary language.” It was the result of the codified language of the Confucian Classics and had only a written form. In the diglossic system described by Kaske, *wenyan* was the superposed written variant of the Chinese language. The opposing written form was the *baihua* 白話 “vernacular,” a language developed during the centuries through unofficial literature and the northern spoken language. The oral form used in the whole Empire was the *guanhua* 官話 translated as “Mandarin,” this being the “language of the officials.”⁶³ This variant of Chinese was based on the local dialects of the northern regions, prevailing over the multitude of other local dialects. Nevertheless, these regional dialects were still the main language spoken in the different areas of the Qing Empire. After 1860, the Beijing dialect acquired importance because, with the establishment of the foreign legations in the capital city, it became the language of diplomacy. Thus, the missionaries that arrived there, gradually recognized the role of Mandarin as a *lingua franca* and used it to preach the Gospel. Furthermore, the status of the written vernacular changed at the turn of the century in connection with the growth of Chinese nationalism, the creation of the modern school system (1902),⁶⁴ and the abolition of the examination system (1905). The *baihua* became the language used in newspapers and journals to circulate new ideas promoting the modernization of China, and to open these ideas to less educated people. Among these journals, a relevant one was *Xin*

⁶¹ On the Opium Wars, the “unequal treaties” and their relations with Christianity in China see: Tiedemann, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China, II*, 165-170, 296-331, and related bibliography.

⁶² Elisabeth Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education, 1895-1919*, vol. 82 of *Sinica Leidensia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 3-5, 74-75. The definition of “diglossia” is the one given by Ferguson in: Charles A. Ferguson, “Diglossia,” *Word* 15 (1959): 336.

⁶³ On the features of *wenyan*, *guanhua* and *baihua* see: Magda Abbiati, *La lingua cinese* (Chinese language), (Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 1992); Elisabeth Kaske, “Mandarin, Vernacular and National Language – China’s Emerging Concept of a National Language in the Early Twentieth Century,” in *Mapping meanings. The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, edited by Michael Lackner, Natascha Vittinghoff, 265-304, vol. 64 of *Sinica Leidensia* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004).

⁶⁴ Kaske, “Mandarin, Vernacular and National Language,” 272-284.

Qingnian 新青年 or *New Youth* (*La Jeunesse*), which was founded in 1915, and since 1918 had been published exclusively in vernacular. The founder of the journal, Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, and other authors such as Hu Shi 胡適 and Lu Xun 魯迅, strongly supported the need for literary revolution and an association between the spread of the vernacular and the formation of a national identity for the Republic of China founded in 1911.⁶⁵ The diffusion of these ideas prepared Chinese youth and intellectuals to react against the May Fourth Incident in 1919 and contributed to the growth of the May Fourth Movement (*Wusi yundong* 五四運動).⁶⁶ In the first two decades of the twentieth century the shift from the usage of the terms *guanhua* and *baihua* to *guoyu* 國語 occurred. *Guoyu* indicated the Chinese “national language” that would contribute to building the Chinese national identity, as it was at the time undergoing standardization (1920) and would soon become the official language in education (1930) and in academia.

In this complex historical context, “the missionaries were passively driven by Chinese linguistic realities.”⁶⁷ The attitude of the missionaries toward the Chinese language changed according to their background, their denomination, their education, and the group of Chinese people they related to. Some missionaries only preached orally through local dialects, the ones in the North enthusiastically learned and used Mandarin, others created systems to Romanize the Chinese characters, while those intending to convert the higher classes continued to write and translate texts into literary Chinese. The issue of translating the Bible using these different approaches was withal considered.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the tendency towards literary or vernacular Chinese is evident in the changes arising from the

⁶⁵ On the historical events see: Marianne Bastid-Bruguier, Marie Claire Bergère, and Jean Chesneaux, *Dalla guerra franco-cinese alla fondazione del partito comunista cinese, 1885-1921* (From the Sino-French War to the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party, 1885-1921), vol. 2 of *La Cina* (China), trans. by David Mammi (Torino: Einaudi, 1974); originally published as *Historie de la Chine. Volume II. De la guerre franco-chinoise a la fondation du parti communiste chinois, 1885-1921* (Paris: Hatier Universite, 1972); John K. Fairbank, ed., *Republican China 1912-1949. Part I*, vol. 12 of *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁶⁶ The May Fourth Incident was the demonstration of the university students in Beijing against the resolution of the Versailles Peace Conference. During the Conference it was decided that the concessions of Germany in Shandong would pass to Japan and this, together with the rejection of some requests made by China to the Conference, provoked the protest of Chinese students. The May Fourth Movement, in a broader sense, refers to the years 1915-1921, from the foundation of the journal *New Youth* to the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party. The first phase of the Movement (up to May 4, 1919) was mainly cultural (it is also known as New Culture Movement), while after the May Fourth Incident it acquired political and social features. For details on May Fourth see: Zhou Cezong (Chow, Tse-Tsung), *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960); Milena Dolezelová-Velingerová, Oldrich Král, and Graham Martin Sanders, eds., *The Appropriation of Cultural Capital. China's May Fourth Project* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001).

⁶⁷ Kaske, *Politics of Language in Chinese Education*, 65.

⁶⁸ The large number of Bibles translated between 1860 and 1919 is analyzed in detail in: Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 59-185. These different approaches refer solely to the activity of Protestant missionaries. The Catholics engaged in Bible translation only in the few cases reported above.

boards responsible for the translation of the Protestant Bible known as the *Union Version*.⁶⁹ The term “union” was to indicate the joint efforts in the translation of numerous representatives of many different churches among the Protestant denominations present in China. In the first conference in 1890, the attendants decided to prepare three translations differing in style, assuming that a version in the classical language was required, as well as a version in a lower form of literary Chinese. On the conference, a missionary wrote:

[...] it was arranged that several Versions should be made on a like basis, though in different styles – high or classical, easy and local. The former made by Dr. Medhurst & Mr. Stronach [*Delegates’ Version*] were very highly spoken of, though regarded by many as too difficult for ordinary readers, but necessary for the scholarly or better informed classes.⁷⁰

As far as the Mandarin version was concerned, however, few missionaries were willing to work on it, despite acknowledgment of the need for translation in that language.⁷¹ This particular assignment was rejected by many missionaries because it was considered an undertaking that would not grant them merit or power. Nevertheless, it took so long to complete the three versions that, during the years, too many circumstances had changed, and the literary translation was no longer imperative.⁷² It was the year 1919 when the complete *Union Version* was published in two editions, the classical and the Mandarin one, but the historical context had changed by then, bringing with it new events and features. The two editions of the *Union Version* were published in April (*baihua* version) and June (*wenli* version) 1919, when the new tendency towards using Mandarin, unpredictable thirty

⁶⁹ On the *Union Version* see: Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, and by the same author: “The Work of Lifetimes: Why the Union Version Took Nearly Three Decades to Complete,” in *Bible in Modern China* edited by Eber et al., 77-100.

⁷⁰ William Muirhead to the London Mission Society, 20 June 1890, quoted in Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 193.

⁷¹ Many years before the first conference of the translators of the Union Version, in a letter to the American Presbyterian Mission, William Martin wrote: “Books in this dialect [Mandarin] are read by multitudes to whom those in the learned language are wholly sealed. It is not too much to say, that in this belt of Provinces [from the Great Wall to the banks of the Yangtsekiang] the Bible in Mandarin will find ten readers, where the Bible in the higher style will find one” (William Martin to the American Presbyterian Mission, 12 April 1864, quoted in Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 140. For other statements of missionaries on the growing importance of the Mandarin see: Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 140-160.

⁷² It was only the New Testament that was completed in three versions. The Easy Wenli translation was published in 1902, the Mandarin version was published in 1905, and the High Wenli version in 1907. In the same year 1907 the two Wenli boards joined to prepare one version of the Old Testament in the literary language. Both the classical and the Mandarin version of the Old Testament were published in 1919. On the process of translation and publication of the *Union Version* see: Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 223-330; Zetzsche, “The Work of Lifetimes,” 94-98. In particular, on the use of the term Wenli 文理: “[...] by the missionaries of the last century it [the term] was coined to stand for classical Chinese. For sinologues outside the missionary circle, this term was not acceptable” (Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 161, n. 3).

years before, had already set in. For these reasons, the Mandarin version was well accepted by all, not only among Christians.⁷³

Languages and translations of the Bible

The term “Bible” indicates the collection of books⁷⁴ considered as sacred by all the Christian denominations, and is divided into two main sections, the Old and the New Testament.⁷⁵ The three branches of Christianity, the Catholic, the Eastern Orthodox and the Protestant all include the same books in the New Testament, but follow different criteria when defining the canonical books of the Old one. Furthermore, the books in the Old Testament are considered sacred by the Jews too, whose religious authorities had been conferring upon the issue of the translation of these texts since the first set of canonical writings.⁷⁶

The author of a text written in the year 130 BC⁷⁷ pointed out that the three authoritative sets of scripts for the Jews were the Torah (the five books of the Pentateuch), the Prophets, and the Writings. The first two sections were characterized by a fixed composition, while the books included in the Writings varied according to the doctrine of different groups of believers.⁷⁸ The need to translate the sacred texts into a different language arose under the reign of Alexander the Great (r. 336–323 BC), when Palestine and many other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean coast were undergoing Hellenization and Greek became the *lingua franca* for many Jewish communities. It was probably in the city of Alexandria, between the third and the first century BC, that the Torah, and subsequently the other sacred texts, were translated into the Greek language, constituting what today is known as the *Septuagint*.⁷⁹ The Greek edition of the Old Testament would be the first text

⁷³ On the importance of the *Union Version* in Chinese literature see: Marián Gálik, *Influence, Translation and Parallels: Selected Studies on the Bible in China* (Sankt Augustin: Institute Monumenta Serica, 2004).

⁷⁴ The word “Bible” comes from the Greek *ta biblia ta βιβλία*, and its meanings is “the books.”

⁷⁵ “Testament” is the translation of the Latin word *testamentum*. Its meaning is “covenant” and is the equivalent of the Greek *diatheke διαθήκη* and the Hebrew *berith ברית*. It refers to the covenant of God with his people.

⁷⁶ On the canon of the Old Testament see: Walter Brueggemann and Tod Linafelt, *An Introduction to the Old Testament: the Canon and Christian Imagination* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012); Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); and selected bibliography in: Rinaldo Fabris et al., *Introduzione generale alla Bibbia* (General introduction to the Bible), vol. 1 of *Logos. Corso di studi biblici* (Logos. A course of Bible studies) (Leumann, Torino: Elle Di Ci, 1994), 375.

⁷⁷ Book of Sirach, Prologue.

⁷⁸ The structure of the Torah was set around the year 400 BC (Ezr 7; Neh 7–9) and that of the Prophets was defined before the year 180 BC (Sir 46: 1–48, 24; 49: 13–15).

⁷⁹ For reference works on the *Septuagint* see: Sebastian P. Brock, Charles T. Fritsch and Sidney Jellicoe, *A Classified Bibliography of the Septuagint* (Leiden: Brill, 1973); George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars, eds., *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings. Papers presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint*,

to convey the biblical contents from a Semitic context to a Hellenistic one. The importance of the *Septuagint* is also connected to the fact that it became the source text for several other versions of the Old Testament such as the Old Latin, the Syriac, and the Slavonic, and today continues to be the version used in the liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church. Furthermore, the majority of the quotations from the Old Testament in the Greek New Testament are taken from the *Septuagint*.

During the long process of translation of the Hebrew texts, some books in the Greek language were added to the corpus of the *Septuagint* before the Canon had been established. These would be later defined as “deuterocanonical” and included seven books and some additions to already accepted texts.⁸⁰ The acceptance of these texts was variable up to the fifth century, when both the Hebrew canon and the Christian one were eventually set. In 393 and 397, the provincial Councils of Hippo and Carthage III issued documents in which the deuterocanonical books were included in the Christian canon, defining in this way a tradition that has continued ever since. The theologian Sixtus of Siena (1520–1569) was the first to use the term “deuterocanonical” referring to those seven books whose canonicity was defined later on as compared to others. According to this division, the other books of the Old Testament would be defined as “protocanonical,” and corresponded to the Hebrew Bible.⁸¹ Another official document confirming the inclusion of the deuterocanonical books in the Catholic Old Testament was a 1546 decree of the Council of Trent (1545–1563). This was the Roman Catholic response to the choice of the Reformed groups to found their Bible on the Hebrew canon, so excluding the deuterocanonical books and defining

Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990) (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint*, edited by Michael A. Knibb (London: T&T Clark, 2004). The meaning of *Septuagint* is “seventy” and refers to the legendary number of the translators of the text (precisely seventy-two). Using the Roman numerals for “seventy,” the version is also known as *LXX*. The origin of the *Septuagint* is described in the *Letter of Aristeas*, a text of the first century BC, interesting despite its dubious reliability. On it see: Moses Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)* (New York: Harper, 1951); Abraham Wasserstein and David Wasserstein, *The Legend of the Septuagint: from Classical Antiquity to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁸⁰ The seven books are: Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Wisdom, Sirach, and Baruch. The additional passages are extracts found in the books of Esther and Daniel. Studies following the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1946–1956) show that the composition language of Tobit, Judith, 1 Maccabees, and Baruch was Hebrew or Aramaic. The book of Sirach was written in Hebrew, while the additional passages to Esther and Daniel, together with the books of Wisdom and 2 Maccabees were written in Greek (Fabris, *Introduzione generale alla Bibbia*, 299). On the Dead Sea Scrolls see: Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

⁸¹ The literal meanings of the words “protocanonical” and “deuterocanonical” are, respectively, “first canon” and “second canon.” On the deuterocanonical books see: Géza G. Xeravits, József Zsengellér and Xavér Szabó, eds., *Canonicity, setting, wisdom in the Deuterocanonals: Papers Of The Jubilee Meeting of the International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books*. International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books (July 2010, Budapest) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

them as “apocryphal.”⁸² Between the eighth and ninth centuries, a group of Jewish scholars (the Masoretes) aimed to preserve the integrity and the way of reading the sacred texts. They set the Hebrew text of the Bible by adding vowels, accents, and notes and divided the continuous text into words and the content of the books into sections.⁸³ The resulting text is known as *Masoretic Text* and is the authoritative version of the Jewish Bible. It later became the source text of many versions of the Bible in modern languages, albeit lacking in the deuterocanonical books.

The New Testament is a collection of twenty seven books accepted by all three major Christian groups today. It consists of four books, known as the Gospels, presenting the life and teachings of Christ, one book on the creation of the Church and the activity of the first apostles (Acts of the Apostles), some letters and the book of Revelation. All these texts were written in the first two centuries of the Christian era and their canonicity was established by the end of the fourth century. Before the official definition of the canon of the New Testament, the acceptance of the book of Revelation and of some epistles was controversial. Consequently, they were defined as “antilegomena,” in contrast with the long-established “homologoumena.”⁸⁴ The first document including the list of twenty-seven books of the New Testament is the *Festal letter* written by Athanasius of Alexandria in 367 and the same list was confirmed in the documents of the councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage III (397). Luther did not exclude the disputed books of the New Testament from his canon but inserted Revelation, Hebrews, James and Jude into the last section of the Bible, together with some disputed passages of the Gospels in brackets. The Council of Trent responded in 1546 by issuing the *Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis* (Decree concerning the canonical Scriptures) which officially asserted the canonicity of the listed books and every passage within. The main criteria used to define the canon of the New Testament in the first centuries were three: the apostolic origin, the consistency of the message, and the liturgical use. According to these features, other contemporary texts on the life of Jesus and his disciples were thus defined apocryphal.⁸⁵

⁸² The literal meaning of “apocryphal” is “hidden.”

⁸³ The Hebrew biblical manuscripts were consonantic texts without spaces dividing the single words. The process of addition of spaces and vowels was necessary to set the meaning of the words. See: Fabris, *Introduzione generale alla Bibbia*, 299-302; Ada Rapoport-Albert and Gillian Greenberg, eds., *Biblical Hebrews, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 2001).

⁸⁴ According to Eusebius of Caesarea, the epistles whose canonicity was discussed were: James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. Previously also the Epistle to the Hebrews and 1 Peter were not commonly accepted (see: Fabris, *Introduzione generale alla Bibbia*, 388-389). The meanings of the words “antilegomena” and “homologoumena” are, respectively, “spoken against” and “unanimously accepted.”

⁸⁵ On the New Testament and its canon see: Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987); Jens Schröter, *From Jesus to the New*

The books of the New Testament are written in a language defined as “New Testament Greek.” This peculiar language, together with the Greek used to write the *Septuagint*, constitutes what is known as “biblical Greek” and is a variant of the *koine* (“common standard”) Greek. The *koine* Greek was the *lingua franca* in the territories conquered by Alexander the Great and was the result of the coexistence of different Greek dialects. This language differed from the Attic of the classical period in phonology, syntax and lexicon and is attested by informal documents, private letters, notes and lists. After the Jewish diaspora (eighth and sixth centuries BC) and the Hellenization of Palestine and the surrounding areas, the daily language used by the Jews was a *koine* Greek strongly influenced by Hebrew and Aramaic languages. It remained the common language of that region even after the Roman conquest of Judea in 63 BC and in the years when the books constituting the New Testament were written. Furthermore, the use of a widely spoken language like Greek was necessary to write the fundamental teachings of Christianity, in order to reach and convert as many people as possible.⁸⁶

Greek was the dominant liturgical language in the Roman Empire, but Latin was also widely used. From the second century, some Christian communities in Northern Africa, Southern Gaul and Italy began to translate passages of the Bible into Latin for private use. By the fourth century, the number of these translations had significantly increased to such an extent that the philosopher Augustine wrote in his *De doctrina christiana* (On Christian doctrine) that they were of “endless diversity,” and that “those who translate the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek can be counted, but the Latin translators are out of all numbers.”⁸⁷ The collection of all these Latin versions of the Bible are now known as *Vetus Latina* (Old Latin Bible), making changes to the translation according to the geographical origin and to the source text used by their translators.⁸⁸ As Latin gradually replaced Greek in the life of Christians, these translations spread among the believers, often causing confusion. For this reason, in 382 the Pope Damasus I asked the scholar Jerome (347–420) to prepare an official Latin version of the Bible. Fully aware of the difficulty of the task, Jerome embarked on the enterprise, and took one year to select and review the Latin text of the Gospels. Jerome was most likely aided by other writer assistants who revised the New Testament books, contributing to the rapid completion of the task. Concerning the Old Testament, Jerome

Testament: Early Christian Theology and the Origin of the New Testament Canon, trans. Wayne Coppins (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2013).

⁸⁶ On the language of the New Testament see: Stanley E. Porter, Jeffrey T. Reed, and Matthew Brook O'Donnell, *Fundamentals of New Testament Greek* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010).

⁸⁷ Augustinus of Hippo (Saint Augustine), *The Confessions; The City of God; On Christian Doctrine* (Chicago: Enciclopedia britannica, 1952), 641.

⁸⁸ The Old Testament was generally translated from the Greek *Septuagint* and not from the Hebrew texts.

firstly translated the Psalter from the Greek *Septuagint*, but later, acknowledged the need of a direct translation from the Hebrew texts and decided to improve his skills in that language to undertake the new version. He moved to Bethlehem and, between 390 and 406, translated the Hebrew Bible into Latin, without discarding the deuterocanonical books, but translating them from Greek. The complete work of Jerome circulated under the name of *Vulgate* that means “popular, common” (from the Latin *vulgus* “the common people”), and, despite an initial phase of strong critics against it, this text slowly replaced all the other Latin versions of the Bible.⁸⁹

In the subsequent centuries, the *Vulgate* would become the only Bible acknowledged by the Church, even though its central and exclusive position was to be established only during the Council of Trent. Latin was the language of the Roman Empire and also of Christendom, gradually replaced by the various vernaculars according to the geographical areas after the fall of the Western Roman Empire (476). During the Middle Ages, throughout Europe, Latin remained the only *lingua franca* used among sovereigns, in universities, and during ecclesiastical events, becoming a formal and official language, non-conforming to the language spoken in the regions of the previous empire which were experiencing an independent evolution of the Romance languages. This linguistic development was perceived by the Christians who, in the twelfth and thirteenth century began to partially translate the Bible into German, French, and Italian. These translations used the *Vulgate* as the source text and were distributed in the form of manuscripts among small groups of believers. It was in the second half of the fifteenth century, with the introduction of the movable types by Johannes Gutenberg, that the role of the Bible in the life of Christians changed. In 1454, the first version of the *Vulgate* was printed, published and distributed in Mainz, while in 1466 in Strasbourg, the first Bible was published in a language that was not Latin but German, by Johannes Mentelin. It was subsequently translated into Italian by Nicolò Malerbi, who later published it in Venice in 1471. The situation of the vernacular translations of the Bible had become rather complex by the turn of the fifteenth century and will not be analyzed here. However, it is worth underlining that the existence of the above mentioned translations, together with other versions in different languages, stresses the importance of rendering the Scriptures available to people

⁸⁹ On the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate* see: William E. Plater, *A Grammar of the Vulgate, Being an Introduction to the Study of the Latinity of the Vulgate Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1997); Mario Cimosà, *Guida allo studio della Bibbia latina: dalla Vetus Latina, alla Vulgata, alla Nova Vulgata* (A guide to the study of the Latin Bible: from the Old Latin, to the Vulgate, to the New Vulgate) (Roma: Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, 2008); Hugh A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament. A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

who could not understand Latin. This need to translate was already perceived before the Reformation and the Council of Trent.⁹⁰

The translation of the Bible into modern languages and its subsequent accessibility and significance in the lives of Christians was one of the controversial issues raised by Martin Luther (1483-1546) in the events that prompted the Protestant Reformation at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁹¹ In 1522, Luther printed and distributed his German version of the New Testament: it was the first biblical translation in a European language that had not recurred to the *Vulgate* as the source text. In fact, in 1516, the humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) had published and circulated the first printed version of the Greek New Testament, that would become the base of the succeeding editions of the text. In 1551, based on the text of Erasmus, the first critical edition of the Greek New Testament was published by Robert Estienne (Stephanus, 1503-1559) and in the preface of its second edition (1633), the Greek text was defined for the first time as the *Textus Receptus* (“received text”).⁹² Luther used the second edition of the Greek text by Erasmus (1519) to translate his German New Testament and a Hebrew Bible published in 1494 in Italy by a family of Jewish printers. In 1532, the Old Testament was published in German and in 1534, the whole Bible. In Luther’s version of the Bible, the deuterocanonical books were put together in a separate section under the name of “apocrypha.” The translation by Luther was of fundamental importance both for the formation of the modern German language, and for the span of translations in other European languages such as French, English, and Dutch.⁹³

⁹⁰ For further reference see: Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: la censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura 1471-1605* (Bible at the stake: ecclesiastical censorship and vernacular translations of the Scriptures, 1471-1605) (Bologna: Il mulino, 1997); Gigliola Fragnito, *Proibito capire: la Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna* (Forbidding Comprehension: the Church and the vernacular during early modern era) (Bologna: Il mulino, 2005).

⁹¹ The onset of the Reformation is usually identified in one symbolic event namely the circulation of the “Ninety-five Theses on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences” written in 1517 by Luther.

⁹² On the transmission and the critical editions of the New Testament see: Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: an Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1989); Bruce, M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁹³ On Martin Luther and his translation see: Willem Jan Kooiman, *Luther and the Bible* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1961); James Atkinson, *Martin Luther and the Birth of Protestantism* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1968); Arthur G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); Bruno Corsani, *Lutero e la Bibbia* (Luther and the Bible) (Brescia: Queriniana, 2001). Luther himself wrote an epistle on the sensibility of the translator towards the Sacred Scriptures: Martin Luther, “Ein sendbrief D. M. Luthers. Von Dolmetzchen und Fürbit der heiligenn” (A letter by Dr. Martin Luther on translation and the intercession of the saints) in *Dr. Martin Luthers Werke* (Works by Dr. Martin Luther), 632-646 (Weimar: Hermann Boehlaus Nachfolger, 1909). Also available online at: <http://www.bible-researcher.com/luther01.html>, accessed June 6, 2016.

The Catholic Church considered the issue of the vernacular translations of the Bible during the Council of Trent. First and foremost, the congregation of bishops defined the canon of the biblical books and declared that the *Vulgate* would be the one and only Latin text (IV session, 1546). An official version was thus imperative with the required adoption of the *Textus Receptus* and the pope himself would be involved in the translation. In 1590, the *Vulgata Sixtina* (from the Pope Sixtus V, 1567–1590) was published. It was revised by a body of biblical scholars and republished in 1592, 1593, and 1598. This last version is known as *Vulgata Clementina* (after Pope Clement VIII, 1592–1605) or *Sixto-Clementina*, and would be the official Latin Bible of the Catholic Church until 1979.⁹⁴ In the sessions of the Council, the debate on the possibility of translating the Scriptures in vernacular languages created a schism and divided bishops and cardinals into two factions. One group feared the diffusion of heresies or Protestantism through the personal reading of the Bible by illiterate people and thus opposed the translation. The other group was aware that fewer people were literate in Latin and acknowledged the importance of transmitting the message of God to these believers, thus accepting the translation of the Bible in modern languages. Given the opposing positions, the Council did not directly resolve the issue of translation and addressed it by creating the “List of Prohibited Books” (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*).⁹⁵ The first official document banning the printing, ownership and reading of the Bible in vernacular languages was the Pauline Index issued in 1559 by Paul IV (1555–1559) and the Holy Office. According to the aforementioned index, exceptions were granted and exclusively issued by the Roman Inquisition. In 1564, the Tridentine Index was published which allowed the local bishops to decide on the printing of the texts. This index was written by a body of appointed bishops and Pius IV (1559–1565), and allowed some former and new versions to be published.⁹⁶ The Sacred Congregation of the Index and Clement VIII prepared and issued the Clementine Index in 1596. It included more books than the previous one and banned the vernacular editions of the Bible, in keeping

⁹⁴ In 1979 the *Vulgata Sixto-Clementina* was replaced by the *Nova Vulgata* (New Vulgate).

⁹⁵ The Lists of Prohibited Books were intended to contrast heresy and some of them were issued even before the Council of Trent. In 1571, the Sacred Congregation of the Index was established to control the lists and examine the content of the books. This task was previously carried out by a special section of the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition (created in 1542 and often referred to as the “Holy Office”). On this topic see: J. M. Bujanda, René Davignon, and Ela Stanek, eds., *Index de Rome: 1557, 1559, 1564. Les premiers index romains et l’index du Concile de Trente* (The Roman Indices: 1557, 1559, 1564. The early Roman Indices and the Tridentine Index), vol. VIII of *Index des livres interdits* (List of the prohibited books) (Sherbrooke: Centre d’Études de la Renaissance, 1990).

⁹⁶ Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 106–107. On this topic see also: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, *La Bibbia e il Concilio di Trento* (The Bible and the Council of Trent), vol. 96 of *Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici* (Writings of the Pontifical Biblical Institute) (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1947); Robert, E. McNally, “The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles,” *Theological Studies* 27 (1966): 214–227.

with the 1559 index.⁹⁷ In 1757, Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758) decreed a revision of the Index which would permit the printing of the vernacular versions of the Scriptures with explanatory notes, approved by official authorities. Considering this context, we may surmise that the attitudes of the Jesuits and the other missionaries in China regarding the translations of the Scriptures or other texts in the seventeenth century, was a consequence of the complex situation in Europe.⁹⁸

From the seventeenth century onwards, the different Protestant groups continued to translate the Scriptures in different languages, while the Catholics showed little interest. In China, the Catholic missionaries Basset MEP and Poirot SJ (eighteenth century) had been banned from publishing their translations whereas Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary in China, set out to undertake the task of translating the Bible even before leaving for China. When still in London, he studied the Chinese language and consulted the Catholic translation by Basset MEP, so that on his arrival in Canton in 1807, he was able to devote himself wholly to translating the Bible.⁹⁹ The translation by Morrison was published in 1823 and, in the following century, fifteen Bible and other volumes of the Old and New Testament were prepared, printed and distributed.¹⁰⁰

For the Catholics, only at the end of the nineteenth century did a new document addressing matters concerning the Bible come to light.¹⁰¹ In 1893, Pope Leo XIII issued the encyclical letter *Providentissimus Deus* (The God of all Providence) “On the Study of Holy Scripture.”¹⁰² It was the first time that “the desire to give an impulse to the noble science of Holy Scripture, and to impart to Scripture study a direction suitable to the needs of the present day”¹⁰³ was officially acknowledged by the Church. Nevertheless, in the same document, the centrality of the *Vulgate* in the life of the Church was reasserted.¹⁰⁴ The next

⁹⁷ See: Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 173-198. Before the Clementine Index, the Sixtine and the Sixto-Clementine were written but not published.

⁹⁸ See also: Standaert, “Bible in Early Seventeenth-Century China,” 33-35.

⁹⁹ In the letter of the London Missionary Society assigning the task to Morrison, they wrote: “Perhaps you may have the honor of forming a Chinese dictionary, or, perhaps, the still greater honor of translating the Scriptures into a language spoken by a third of the human race” (LMS to Robert Morrison, 20 January 1807, quoted in Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 32, n. 49).

¹⁰⁰ For the complete list of the versions see: Foley, *Biblical Translation in Chinese and Greek*, 385-386. For detailed information on the translations see: Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 59-185.

¹⁰¹ Previously, the First Vatican Council (1869-1870) had not addressed the question. Among the documents prepared after the Council, only in the Dogmatic Constitution *Dei Filius* (Son of God), issued in 1870, the decision of the Council of Trent on the Scriptures was simply reaffirmed.

¹⁰² Encyclical letter *Providentissimus Deus*, November 18, 1893. English text available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_18111893_providentissimus-deus.html, accessed February 15, 2016.

¹⁰³ *Providentissimus Deus*, 2.

¹⁰⁴ “The Professor, following the tradition of antiquity, will make use of the Vulgate as his text; for the Council of Trent decreed that ‘in public lectures, disputations, preaching, and exposition,’ the Vulgate is the ‘authentic’ version; and this is the existing custom of the Church,” *Providentissimus Deus*, 13.

decree on the translation of the Bible was issued only in 1943, fifty years after *Providentissimus Deus*. This was the encyclical letter “On Promoting Biblical Studies,” *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (Inspired by the Divine Spirit), issued by Pius XII on September 30, 1943.¹⁰⁵ In the document there were some references to the translation issue “to dissipate the idea that the Church is opposed to, or in any way impedes the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular,” and the suggestion to translate the Sacred Scriptures “whenever the liturgical laws permit [...] with the approval of the Ecclesiastical authority, into modern languages.”¹⁰⁶ These two encyclicals vaguely hinted at the translation query while discussing matters concerning liturgy and Scriptures in general. The official documents on the Bible and its translation would be issued only as reports of the meetings of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), namely, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (This Sacred Council)¹⁰⁷ and the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum* (The Word of God).¹⁰⁸ The first document addressed the liturgy and claimed that:

Particular law remaining in force, the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites. But since the use of the mother tongue, whether in the Mass, the administration of the sacraments, or other parts of the liturgy, frequently may be of great advantage to the people, the limits of its employment may be extended. [...] Translations from the Latin text into the mother tongue intended for use in the liturgy must be approved by the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority.¹⁰⁹

The Constitution on Divine Revelation went on to defining the importance of translating the Bible from the original texts, the utility of explanatory notes, and the relevance of collaborating with the Protestant Churches:

¹⁰⁵ Encyclical letter *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, September 30, 1943, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 35 (1943): 297–325. Original Latin text available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/la/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_19430930_divino-afflante-spiritu.html; English text available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_30091943_divino-afflante-spiritu.html, both accessed February 15, 2016.

¹⁰⁶ *Divino Afflante Spiritu* 9, 51. The encyclical continues: “Nor is it forbidden by the decree of the Council of Trent to make translations into the vulgar tongue, even directly from the original texts themselves, for the use and benefit of the faithful and for the better understanding of the divine word, as We know to have been already done in a laudable manner in many countries with the approval of the Ecclesiastical authority,” *ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰⁷ Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, December 4, 1963. Original Latin available online at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_lt.html; English text available online at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html, both accessed February 15, 2016.

¹⁰⁸ Dogmatic Constitution on the Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, November 18, 1965. Original Latin text available online at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651118_dei-verbum_lt.html#; English text available online at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651118_dei-verbum_en.html#, both accessed February 15, 2016.

¹⁰⁹ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 36.1, 2, 4.

Since the word of God should be accessible at all times, the Church by her authority and with maternal concern sees to it that suitable and correct translations are made into different languages, especially from the original texts of the sacred books. And should the opportunity arise and the Church authorities approve, if these translations are produced in cooperation with the separated brethren as well, all Christians will be able to use them. [...] Editions of the Sacred Scriptures, provided with suitable footnotes, should be prepared also for the use of non Christians and adapted to their situation.¹¹⁰

These documents were issued by the Holy See in 1963 and 1965. In 1961, Allegra and his team had published the eleventh volume of the complete Catholic Bible in Chinese, translated from 1935 onwards, according to modern principles that were not yet official, thus confirming Allegra as “ahead of his times” as defined by Choi and Mak.¹¹¹

Catholic missions in China (1900-1971)

The historical context of Allegra’s works from 1931 onwards will be briefly supplied herein, reporting the history of the Catholic missions in China from the beginning of the twentieth century to the death of the Friar. At the turn of the century, dioceses were not yet established in China and the jurisdiction of the Church was divided into apostolic prefectures and vicariates.¹¹² After five years (1922-1927) of travelling through China and meeting foreign missionaries and local people, the Italian bishop Celso Costantini (1876-1958) drew attention to a serious problem: “An apostolic method was missing; missions were planted, but not the Church. Missions were confused with the Church. What was missing was not an indigenous clergy, but a local hierarchy arising out of an indigenous

¹¹⁰ *Dei Verbum*, VI.21, 25.

¹¹¹ Choi and Mak, “Catholic Bible Translation in Twentieth-Century China,” 113.

¹¹² In 1514 the diocese of Funchal, on Madeira Island, was established. It included all the territories previously accessed by the Portuguese in Asia, Africa and South America and the king of Portugal became the administrator of all the religious activities in those places. In 1557, the archdiocese of Goa was disunited from Funchal, and in 1576, the diocese of Macau was established, including the territories of China and Japan. On this topic see: Maria Jordao Levy, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae. Tomus I (1171-1600)* (Bulletin of the patronage of the king of Portugal on the Churches of Africa, Asia and Oceania. Volume I (1171-1600)) (Lisbon: Typographia nationali, 1868), 243-245). In 1690, Beijing and Nanjing were raised as suffragan dioceses of Goa. Despite the creation, in 1622, of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide) to control all the missionary activities in the world, the Portuguese *Padroado* (Right of Patronage) continued to supervise on the missions in Asia up to the second half of the nineteenth century (1846). After the Opium Wars, the French consul in China through a number of specific articles in Huangpu (1844) and Tianjin (1858) treaties gained his government the mandate to administer Catholic missions in China and protect foreign missionaries there. This situation formally ended in 1907 when France declared that it would protect only French missionaries. For detailed analysis of the Portuguese and French Patronage on Catholic missions in China see: H.M. Cole, “Origins of the French Protectorate over Catholic Missions in China,” *The American Journal of International Law* 3, no.34 (1940): 473-491; Sergio Ticozzi, “Ending Civil Patronage: the Beginning of a New Era for the Catholic Missions in China, 1926,” in *Catholicism in China, 1900-Present*, ed. by Chu, 87-104.

clergy.”¹¹³ Costantini was the first Apostolic Delegate in China, a representative of the pope with no diplomatic status and the task of reporting to Rome daily life events directly related or not to the Church. Costantini observed how some missionary stations resembled small colonies governed by the missionaries, how the local secular clergy were assigned nothing but minor duties, and how easily Chinese people linked Catholicism with Western imperialism. He wrote of “territorial feudalism” and “provincialism and jurisdictional feudalism.”¹¹⁴ Costantini’s endeavor, therefore, would be that of following the suggestions of the papal encyclical *Maximum Illud* (What is Greatest).¹¹⁵ The encyclical was issued in 1919 by Pope Benedict XV and addressed the Catholic missions around the world. It underlined the importance of leaving the leadership of the local churches to the local clergy. In addition, it stressed the value and the need to prepare and train the locals, especially those who wanted to enter the clergy.¹¹⁶ This document, addressing all the mission territories, was the first step towards the process of indigenization of the Catholic Church in China.

Costantini arrived in China in 1922 and, after some months spent in Hong Kong and Hankou, finally settled down in Beijing, where he decided to live away from the legation quarter, making a point of his non-political role. He then worked towards establishing Apostolic Vicariates administered by Chinese priests and towards the organization of the

¹¹³ Celso Costantini, *Con i missionari in Cina* (In China with the missionaries) (Roma: Unione Missionaria del Clero, 1946), 275, 484, translated and quoted in: Sergio Ticozzi, “Celso Costantini’s Contribution to the Localization and Inculturation of the Church in China,” *Tripod* 28, no. 148 (2008), available online at: http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod/en/en_tripod_148_03.html, accessed March 3, 2016. Prefects and vicars apostolic were only representatives of the Holy See, with fewer rights and duties than bishops.

¹¹⁴ Definitions translated and quoted from the original notes by Costantini in: Arnulf Camps, “Celso Costantini, Apostolic Delegate in China (1922-1933). The Changing Role of the Foreign Missionary,” *Tripod* 8, no. 44 (1988): 40-46, 43.

¹¹⁵ Encyclical letter *Maximum Illud*, November 30, 1919, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 11 (1919): 440-455. Original Latin text available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/la/apost_letters/documents/hf_ben-xv_apl_19191130_maximum-illud.html; English text available online at: <http://www.svcuria.org/public/mission/docs/encycl/mi-en.htm>, both accessed February 15, 2016. The problems noticed by Costantini were already known to the Holy See because they had been presented in a report written by the Vincentian missionary Anthony Cotta in the first years of 1900. He and his confrere Vincent Lebbe had a very active role in promoting the indigenization of the Chinese clergy and their comments on the Chinese situation were important sources for the drawing up of the encyclical letter *Maximum Illud*. See: Claude Soetens, ed., *Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe: pour l’Eglise chinoise* (Vincent Lebbe Archives Series: for the Chinese Church), 3 vols. (Louvain-la-Neuve: Universite Catholique de Louvain, 1982-1983).

¹¹⁶ “He [who has charge of a mission] must make it his special concern to secure and train local candidates for the sacred ministry. [...] For the local priest, one with his people by birth, by nature, by his sympathies and his aspirations, is remarkably effective in appealing to their mentality and thus attracting them to the Faith. Far better than anyone else he knows the kind of argument they will listen to, and as a result, he often has easy access to places where a foreign priest would not be tolerated. If, however, the indigenous clergy is to achieve the results we hope for, it is absolutely necessary that they be well trained and well prepared. We do not mean a rudimentary and slipshod preparation, the bare minimum for ordination. No, their education should be complete and finished, excellent in all its phases, the same kind of education for the priesthood that a European would receive. For the local clergy is not to be trained merely to perform the humbler duties of the ministry, acting as the assistants of foreign priests. On the contrary, they must take up God’s work as equals, so that someday they will be able to enter upon the spiritual leadership of their people” (*Maximum Illud*, 14-15).

First Plenary Council of China. The Council was held in Shanghai from May 14 to June 12, 1924, and was a remarkable event for the local Church.¹¹⁷ Among the participants there were also nine Chinese priests and two new Chinese apostolic prefects appointed only two months before.¹¹⁸ This was a definite albeit modest sign of the changing times, which would precede the ordination of the first six Chinese bishops in Rome in 1926.¹¹⁹ The Council of Shanghai addressed, among other topics, the issue of the local language and the translation of the Scriptures in Chinese, summarized in two chapters of the final document. The chapters were entitled: “De studio linguae vernaculae” (On the Study of the Local Language, Book II, Section XXXIII) and “De peritorum Commissione seu Comitatu pro Versione Sinica SS. Scripturarum” (On the Commission or Committee for the Chinese Translation of the Bible, Book I, Section VII, Point II).¹²⁰ The indications of the article on the acquisition and the mastery of the Chinese language were accessible and easy to follow because learning Chinese had been one of the main concerns of European missionaries since the arrival of Matteo Ricci and the first Jesuits (seventeenth century). On the contrary, the article concerning the setting up of a team to work on the translation of the Holy Scripture in Chinese (especially the Old Testament), could not be enacted, nor did anyone take the initiative of working on it individually. Gabriele Allegra would be the first to commit himself to the Hebrew text with a view to preparing the first Chinese version of the Catholic Old Testament.

¹¹⁷ For details on the Council of Shanghai see: Anthony Lam, “Archbishop Costantini and the First Plenary Council of Shanghai (1924),” *Tripod* 28, no. 148, (2008), available online at: http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_148.html, accessed February 15, 2016. The final document of the council is: *Primum Concilium Sinense, anno 1924. Acta – Decreta et Normae – Vota etc* (First Chinese Council, 1924. Acts – decrees – rules – votes etc.) (Shanghai, Zikawei: Typographia Missionis Catholicae T’ou-Sé-Wè, 1930).

¹¹⁸ They were the Franciscan Odoric Cheng Hede 成和德 prefect of Puqi 蒲圻 in Hubei Province and the Lazarist Melchior Sun Dezhen 孫德楨 prefect of Lixian 蠡縣 in Zhili Province. On them see: Lam, “Archbishop Costantini.”

¹¹⁹ The year 1926 was rich in important events for the Catholic Church in China. On February 28, the encyclical *Rerum ecclesiae* (On Issues of the Church) was issued. It concerned the indigenous clergy and the institutions of indigenous congregations, both for men and women. On June 15 the letter *Ab Ipsis Pontificatus Primordiis* (Since the Beginning of the Pontificate) was published, addressing the vicars and prefects apostolic in China. On October 26 the six Chinese priests were appointed bishops in Rome by Pope Pius XI. On these themes see: Ticozzi, “Ending Civil Patronage.” In particular, on the names of the six bishops see: *ibid.*, 104, n. 25; and Lam, “Archbishop Costantini.” Singularly, it was the same year in which Allegra was allowed to study to become a missionary and when he moved to Rome. Original Latin text of the letter *Ab Ipsis Pontificatus Primordiis*, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 18 (1926): 303–307, available online at: <http://www.vatican.va/archive/aas/documents/AAS-18-1926-ocr.pdf>; original Latin text of the encyclical *Rerum Ecclesiae*, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 18 (1926): 65–83, available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/la/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19260228_rerum-ecclesiae.html; English text available online at: <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius11/P11REREC.HTM>, both accessed February 15, 2016.

¹²⁰ *Primum Concilium Sinense*, 40, 73.

In 1933, Costantini left China¹²¹ and Mario Zanin was appointed as the new Apostolic Delegate, until 1946, enduring in China both the Sino-Japanese war and the Second World War, as well as all the consequences of these events. In 1946 (August 10), Zanin returned to Italy because of the new order instituted for the Church in China, which would not require the presence of an Apostolic Delegate. In 1939, Pius XII had succeeded Pius XI, marking his pontificate with many fundamental changes. On December 8 of the same year, he asked Propaganda Fide to issue a document to finally determine a clear (and modern) position of the Church on the Chinese Rites. The document *Plane Compertum* (Is clearly found)¹²² allowed the Chinese Catholics to worship Confucius and the ancestors and to perform rites during those ceremonies. In 1943, the diplomatic relations between China and the Holy See were established and a Chinese representative was sent to the Vatican. On February 18, 1946, the pope appointed Thomas Tian Gengxin 田耕莘 as the first Chinese and Asian Cardinal and, in May, assigned him the Archiepiscopal See of Beijing. On April 11, in fact, with the Apostolic Constitution *Quotidie Nos* (Every day we)¹²³ an official Hierarchy of the Catholic Church was established in China, and the former apostolic prefectures and vicariates became dioceses. Furthermore, with this new order, the former administrators of the ecclesiastical territories in China became bishops of the newly created dioceses. Among the apostolic vicars that became bishops there was the Franciscan Raffaello Palazzi (1886-1961).¹²⁴ He administered the diocese of Hengyang 衡陽,¹²⁵ and was the bishop

¹²¹ Costantini returned to Italy in 1933 and from 1935 to 1953 was Secretary of Propaganda Fide. In the same 1953 he was created Cardinal by Pius XII. In his notes on his experience in China Costantini wrote abundantly on Christian art in the mission territories and strongly supported the necessity of creating a Chinese style for the Christian art in China. See: Ticozzi, “Celso Costantini’s Contribution to the Localization and Inculturation.”

¹²² *Plane Compertum*, December 8, 1939, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 32 (1940): 24-26, available online at: <http://www.vatican.va/archive/aas/documents/AAS-32-1940-ocr.pdf>, accessed February 15, 2016.

¹²³ Original Latin text of the Apostolic Constitution *Quotidie Nos* in: *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 38 (1946): 301-313, available online at: <http://www.vatican.va/archive/aas/documents/AAS-38-1946-ocr.pdf>, accessed February 15, 2016. On the establishment of the hierarchy in China see “60th Anniversary of the Catholic Church in China,” *Tripod* 26, no. 143 (2006), available online at: http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_143.html, accessed February 15, 2016.

¹²⁴ On Palazzi see: Alfonso Casini, *I diciassette di Hengyang* (The seventeen of Hengyang) (Genova: n.p., 1961); Massimiliano Taroni, *Mons. Raffaelangelo Palazzi* (Mons. Raffaello Palazzi) (Gorle, BG: Velar, 2013). After the establishment of the episcopal hierarchy, Palazzi was appointed as first bishop of the diocese of Hengyang. In 1939 Father Palazzi, supported by Allegra, founded in Hengyang a female congregation of sisters, the Franciscan Missionaries of our Lady of Sorrows (*Shengmu tongku Fangji chuanjiao nüxiuhui* 聖母痛苦方濟傳教女修會). Through the congregation, he intended to give Chinese girls the opportunity to study and to grow their vocation to consecrated life. Furthermore, this responded to the contemporary need of giving to the locals a Christian education, in the wider frame of the indigenization of the clergy, as reported also in the document *Rerum ecclesiae*. Allegra collaborated to the foundation of the institute, however, his role became of primary importance in the 1950s in Hong Kong. After the foundation of the People’s Republic of China (1949), the sisters were expelled and took temporary refuge in Macau, then moving to the United States in 1953. Only in 1958 they went back to Hong Kong, were Father Allegra helped them to find a house, build a chapel, and establish a school in the area of Shatin. Allegra would often go there to visit the

responsible for the arrival of Allegra in China in 1931. The relevance of the year 1946 is underlined by D'Elia as follows:

L'anno 1946 resterà come una delle più importanti pietre miliari nella Storia delle Missioni Cattoliche della Cina. Esso ha visto la creazione del primo Cardinale cinese nel Concistoro del 18 febbraio; l'istituzione della gerarchia episcopale l'11 aprile [il decreto però non fu reso noto che il 24 maggio attraverso un comunicato dell'*Osservatore Romano* di quel giorno.]; il trasferimento in data del 10 maggio del Cardinale dal Vicariato Apostolico di Zimtao [Tsingtao *Qingdao* 青島] alla sede arcivescovile di Pechino ceduta dai lazzaristi francesi al Clero secolare indigeno; il Concistoro del 13 giugno in cui sono state annunziate le 99 nuove sedi episcopali di cui 20 arcivescovili; e finalmente l'elevazione il 7 luglio della Delegazione Apostolica della Cina al grado di Internunziatura in risposta alla creazione di una Legazione cinese presso la Santa Sede avvenuta nel 1943.

The year 1946 will be one of the most important milestones in the history of the Catholic Missions in China. The main events were: the creation of the first Chinese Cardinal during the February 18 Consistory; the institution of the episcopal hierarchy on April 11 [though the decree was made public only on May 24 by way of an announcement on the edition of the *Osservatore Romano* of that day]; the move of the Cardinal from the Apostolic Vicariate of Zimtao [Tsingtao or Qingdao 青島] to the archiepiscopal see in Beijing created after the cession [of the land] by French Lazarists to the indigenous clergy; the announcement of the 99 new episcopal sees, of which 20 archiepiscopal, during the June 13 Consistory; and finally, the promotion of the Apostolic Delegation in China to Internunziatura after the creation of a Chinese Legation to the Holy See in 1943.¹²⁶

After the establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy and the diplomatic relations, Pius XII appointed the first papal Internuncio to China, Antonio Riberi. He arrived in Nanjing at

sisters and preach retreats for them. Today they still manage a kindergarten, a school and a college (Sr. Lucy Chung, OSF, personal communication, Hong Kong, 26 May, 2015).

¹²⁵ Hengyang is the current name of a city in Hunan. In the documents of the Holy See and of some missionaries it is referred to as Hengchow (Hengzhou). The diocese of Hengzhou (Diocesis Hemceuvensis) was established in 1946.

¹²⁶ D'Elia, "L'istituzione della gerarchia episcopale," 1-2, my translation. In the same article the difference between Nuncio and Internuncio is clarified: "Ai governi che mantengono un Ambasciatore presso la Santa Sede, questa suol mandare un Nunzio; a quelli invece che si fanno rappresentare da un Ministro, come è il caso della Cina in questo momento, essa suol rispondere con l'invio di un Internunzio" ("to those governments who send an ambassador to the Holy See, the Holy See will send a Nuncio; to those who are represented by a Minister, as China is represented now, the Holy See will send an Internuncio"), *ibid.*, 25, n. 43, my translation. Another remarkable event of 1946 (November 24) was the beatification by Pius XII of the Franciscan bishop Antonino Fantosati, together with another twenty-seven martyrs of the Boxer revolt. They were proclaimed saints by John Paul II, on October 1, 2000. The beatification is not mentioned by D'Elia because the Journal was issued before November of the same year. On the event and the blessed martyrs see: Cipriano Silvestri, *Vita e martirio del servo di Dio mons. Antonino Fantosati, frate minore massacrato in Cina nel 1900: appunti biografici* (Life and martyrdom of the Servant of God Mons. Antonino Fantosati, Friar minor massacred in China in 1900: biographical notes) (Quaracchi, FI: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1914); Cipriano Silvestri, *La testimonianza del sangue: biografie dei beati cinesi uccisi il 4, 7 e 9 luglio 1900* (The witness of blood: biographies of the blessed Chinese killed on July 4, 7, and 9, 1900) (Roma: Scuola tipografica Don Luigi Guanella, 1943); *I Francescani e la Cina, 800 anni di storia: atti della Giornata di studio in preparazione alla canonizzazione dei martiri cinesi, Santa Maria degli Angeli-Assisi, 9 settembre 2000* (The Franciscans and China, 800 years of history. Proceedings of the conference preparing the canonization of the Chinese martyrs, Santa Maria degli Angeli-Assisi, September 9, 2000) (Assisi, PG: Porziuncola, 2001).

the end of 1946, where he officially presented his credentials to Chiang Kai-shek.¹²⁷ Only three years later (1949) the Communist party led by Mao Zedong founded the People's Republic of China, and in the following years (1951-1952) the foreign missionaries were expelled from the country. The recently established system of dioceses and archdioceses was obliged to face a delicate situation that harassed the Holy See, and in the 1950s, many documents expressly addressing the Chinese Church were issued. In 1951, the general encyclical on missions *Evangelii Praecones* (The heralds of the Gospel) confirmed the Church's refusal to participate in the "disputes which agitate nations," the call of the missionary to love his missionary country as if it were a "second fatherland," and to work for the local people, so he would "not seek any earthly advantage for his own country or religious Institute, but rather what may help towards the salvation of souls."¹²⁸ In 1952, 1954, and 1958 two encyclicals and one apostolic letter expressly addressed to the clergy and the people of China were issued.¹²⁹ These stressed once more, the importance of disclaiming the Catholic Church as a national power and praised the resistance of the Christians, encouraging them to persevere in their faith while fulfilling their duties as citizens. The encyclical *Ad Apostolorum Principis*, in particular, condemned the attitude of communism toward religions and Christianity, declaring unacceptable the establishment of an autonomous Church and the nomination of bishops without papal approval.¹³⁰ The Internuncio Riberi continued to live in Nanjing until his expulsion in 1952. He moved to Hong Kong and one year later went to Taipei and established diplomatic relations with

¹²⁷ In 1946, the official capital of the Republic of China was Nanjing.

¹²⁸ *Evangelii Praecones*, June 2, 1951, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 43 (1951): 497-528. Original Latin text available online at: <http://www.vatican.va/archive/aas/documents/AAS-43-1951-ocr.pdf>. English text available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_02061951_evangelii-praecones.html, both accessed February 15, 2016. The same document contained the indications for a more important and active role to be assigned to the laity: "the laity should in great numbers enter the serried ranks of Catholic action, and thus cooperate generously, earnestly and diligently with the Hierarchy in promoting the apostolate," *ibid.*, 37.

¹²⁹ Apostolic letter *Cupimus Imprimis* (We wish to begin), January 18, 1952, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 44 (1952): 153-158. Original Latin text available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/la/apost_letters/documents/hf_p-xii_apl_19520118_cupimus-imprimis.html. Encyclical *Ad Sinarum Gentem* (To the Chinese people), October 7, 1954, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 47 (1955): 5-14. Original Latin text available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_07101954_ad-sinarum-gentem.html. English text available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/la/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_07101954_ad-sinarum-gentem.html. Encyclical *Ad Apostolorum Principis* (At the tomb of the prince of the apostles), June 29, 1958, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 50 (1958): 601-614. Original Latin text available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/la/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_29061958_ad-apostolorum-principis.html. English text available online at: http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_29061958_ad-apostolorum-principis.html. All documents were accessed February 15, 2016.

¹³⁰ In 1957, the new Chinese government founded the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association (Zhongguo Tianzhujiao Aiguo Hui 中國天主教愛國會). On the illicit consecration of bishops is reported: "though they are valid as long as the consecration conferred on them was valid, are yet gravely illicit, that is, criminal and sacrilegious," *Ad Apostolorum Principis*, 41.

Taiwan. The successor of Riberi in Taiwan was Giuseppe Caprio who presented his credentials on October 29, 1959. In 1966, his role became that of official Nuncio. His successors were Luigi Accogli and Edward Isrid Cassidy, who would be the last Apostolic Nuncio to China. In 1971, the Holy See removed the Nunciature and decided to be represented in Taiwan only by a *chargés d'affaires*.¹³¹ The historical events that followed will not be reported here, as the purpose of presenting the historical background was only that of providing an analysis of the Chinese context in which Allegra arrived, lived and worked.

¹³¹ On the situation from 1971 to the present see: Cindy Yik-yi Chu, *The Catholic Church in China: 1978 to the present* (New York: Palgrave, 2012). See also: Tiedemann, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China, II*, 783-890; Chu, ed., *Catholicism in China, 1900-Present*, 147-218.

2. GABRIELE ALLEGRA: EXPLORING A LIFE THROUGH AUTOGRAPH DOCUMENTS

2.1 The Archive in Acireale: unpublished and precious sources

In 1986, ten years after his death in Hong Kong, the body of Gabriele Allegra was moved to Acireale, a small city in Sicily. The body is still kept there, in the church of San Biagio, the chapel of the Franciscan convent where Allegra lived from 1918 to 1923, and from 1924 to 1926. On the first floor of the convent there is a big room where, along with some personal belongings of the Friar (two cloaks, a robe, some clothes, a pen, two pairs of shoes, and some books), his writings are conserved, instituting the Archivio Vice-Postulazione – Convento San Biagio dei Frati Minori – Acireale (CT).¹ The majority of the documents was brought from Hong Kong in 1986, other papers were donated by people who were personally acquainted with Allegra, other objects were collected by the Franciscan friars of the convent who, in the years following Allegra's death, started gathering the material to promote the cause of beatification. Most of the work has been done to edit the volume *Positio Super Virtutibus*² fundamental for the instruction of the beatification cause. Nevertheless, the main purpose of the collection of these documents was to verify the Friar's Christian virtues and the organization of the material in the Archive focuses around his spirituality and the aspects that could testify his sanctity. Among the documents, however, a large part concerns Allegra's activities of translator and it is on this aspect that the present research aims to focus.

The Archive contains five bookshelves hosting the documents, two of which include records on Allegra during his lifetime and after his death, with the remaining three collecting papers written by the Friar himself. There was an additional bookshelf on the ground floor of the convent which was to store the photocopies of the most important documents, but after an initial analysis, the folders revealed a reproduction of papers whose originals are not included within the bookshelves of the Archive.

¹ This will be further referred to as "Archive."

² See above: p. 26, n.45.

In August 2016, during the last research period at the Archive, the documents in the bookshelf previously located on the ground floor had been moved to the first floor. These were divided into two more bookshelves of autograph and typewritten documents by Allegra. The Friar currently in charge of managing the Archive has communicated the intention of the superiors of moving all the material to the Provincial Library of the Friars Minor of Sicily, however, no further decisions has been made about it.³

The documents from the Archive cover Allegra's entire life, the earliest dating 1926 and the latest 1976. The collection also contains reproductions of the last pages of an unfinished Greek-Chinese dictionary that he was drawing up in the last months of his life with the last day recorded on 19 January, 1976, a week before his death. The original notebooks of the dictionary draft were found in May 2015 in Hong Kong in the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, currently located at 6 Henderson Road.⁴ Today a small group of Franciscan friars lives in the building of the Studium, and four of them attend to the continuation of the activities of the institute.⁵ Three Franciscan friars live in the convent of Acireale, and their Father Guardian is in charge of managing the Archive. The material collected and stored in the Archive in Acireale was organized by Friar Leone Murabito, Allegra's cousin, but is not catalogued. Furthermore, the papers are stored in folders without a chronological or thematic criterion and a list of the documents belonging to each folder is lacking. Analysis of the Archive included verifying the binders and the corresponding cover names. Only few folders did not correspond, the errors were thereupon notified and corrected. Unfortunately, it was not possible to catalogue the material according to chronological or thematic criteria, but the list of the materials is currently available and reported in Appendix A of this thesis.⁶ The papers in the Archive are in Italian, English, Chinese, Latin, French and German, with some notebooks with pages in Greek and Hebrew. The documents are written both on simple notebooks, bought in Italy or in China and Hong Kong, or on official letterhead paper of the Studium Biblicum or of other associations. A significant amount of material contained in the Archive consists of letters written by Allegra with some corresponding replies. The letters are mostly addressed to Allegra's relatives, his superiors or

³ Father Marcello Badalamenti, personal communication, Acireale, 3 August, 2016.

⁴ The Greek-Chinese Dictionary is constituted by ten handwritten notebooks with more than 5500 entries. It was initiated in Rome in June 1973, and the last notebook remained incomplete at the entry 5595: *phronesis* φρόνησις (“wisdom”). See: Appendix B.1.

⁵ The current activities of the Studium are presented below in: Chapter 3.3.

⁶ In the Archive, also all the published articles and books by Allegra are available. Since their contents cover a large number of topics, only those strictly related with Bible translation and the Studium Biblicum are reported in this thesis. A complete list of the published texts is available online in the official web page of the Studium in the section *Zhenfu Lei Yongming - zuopin* 真福雷永明 - 作品 : <http://www.sbofmhk.org/menu2.php>, accessed December 04, 2016.

other people relevant for the translation and for his mission. A large part of the unofficial documents consists of notebooks or diaries with drafts of letters or notes on several aspects of daily life. Many papers report the topics of lectures or spiritual exercises given by Allegra both in Europe and in Asia.

Since all the available accounts on the life of Allegra are based on published official documents, there is the likelihood that some aspects of his life and activities have been neglected. For this reason, the following outline of his life is traced according to an analysis of the material in the Archive unexplored to date. In 1975, less than one year before his death, Allegra was asked to write his autobiographical memoirs. Although reluctant, the Friar responded to the request and wrote five notebooks reporting the events of his life related to the translation of the Bible and the works of the Studium Biblicum. The handwritten notebooks of the autobiographical memoirs of Allegra, with the heading *Ideo multum tenemur Ei* (Therefore, we owe Him a lot) were written in Italian between July and October 1975 and are still kept in the Archive of Acireale.⁷ They were presented in 1975 to the then appointed Prefect of the Studium Biblicum Antonius Li Shiyu 李士漁 and their first publication is posthumous. The Franciscan Alfonso Casini was the editor of this first version of the memoirs published in 1978.⁸ The volume, however, is a long narration of the life of Allegra and contains some direct quotations of the memoirs, while the rest is presented by the editor. An improved edition of the memoirs was published in 1986, edited by the Franciscan Serafino Gozzo.⁹ Before faithfully reporting the contents of the writings, he provides a meticulous description of the five notebooks, a long and very detailed chronological table of Allegra's life, and some pictures. The last edition published in Italian was edited by Stephane Oppes and published in 2005,¹⁰ and was selected as reference edition for quotations in this thesis.¹¹ In 1984, the Franciscan Friar Domenico Gandolfi edited a volume supposedly presenting the English translation of the memoirs,¹² but it proved to be a narration of the Friar's life with some extracts from his diaries translated in

⁷ See: Appendix B.2.

⁸ Alfonso Casini, *P. Gabriele M. Allegra O.F.M. Il s. Girolamo dell'Estremo Oriente* (Father Gabriele M. Allegra O.F.M. The Saint Jerome of the Far East) (Repubblica di San Marino: Frate Francesco, 1978).

⁹ Gabriele Allegra, *Memorie autobiografiche del p. Gabriele M. Allegra o.f.m., missionario in Cina* (The autobiographical memoirs of Father Gabriele M. Allegra ofm, missionary in China), ed. Serafino Gozzo (Roma: n.p., 1986).

¹⁰ Gabriele M. Allegra, *Le memorie di fra' Gabriele M. Allegra O.F.M., il san Girolamo della Cina* (The memoirs of Friar Gabriele Allegra O.F.M., the Saint Jerome of China), ed. Stephane Oppes (Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice vaticana, 2005), later referred to as: Allegra, *Memorie*.

¹¹ For direct quotations the reference will be to the English translation by Gandolfi when possible. When the quoted parts are not translated in Gandolfi, the translation is mine.

¹² Gandolfi, *For China... Another Jerome*.

the footnotes thus considering it a partial outline of Allegra's biography.¹³ The first Chinese version of the memoirs was prepared, edited and published by the Friars of the Studium Biblicum in 2001, and a new revised edition was printed in 2015.¹⁴ Allegra's memoirs are largely used to examine the life and works of Allegra, in addition to other documents written by the Friar himself, especially "De Studio Biblico Franciscano"¹⁵ written in Latin, and two English sources, "Translation of the Scriptures into Chinese"¹⁶ and "The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible of the Studium Biblicum O.F.M. Hong Kong."¹⁷

Only recently the Friars of the Franciscan convent of San Biagio in Acireale have engaged in a series of publications on the life of Allegra, but currently only two volumes are available. Both are collections of letters of the missionary, one addressed to his cousin Leone Murabito and one to his uncle Gioacchino Guglielmino.¹⁸ As the titles suggest, these are volumes of personal letters of the friar, but it is interesting to note that from these sources many "unofficial" data can be collected, as the tone and the contents of these documents are very different from those of the official reports and autobiographical memoirs. The first two volumes containing documents from the Archive reveal a large amount of material on the life and activity of Allegra worth exploring. All relevant information gathered from the Archive has been used for the biographical outline of Allegra provided in the following paragraph.

¹³ A short and appropriate outline is given in: Camps, "Gabriele Allegra and the Studium Biblicum."

¹⁴ Gabriele M. Allegra, *Lei Yongming shenfu huiyilu* 雷永明神父回憶錄 (The Memoirs of Father Gabriele Allegra), ed. Han Chengliang 韓承良 (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing xuehui, 2001); Gabriele M. Allegra, *Lei Yongming shenfu huiyilu* 雷永明神父回憶錄 (The Memoirs of Father Gabriele Allegra), ed. and trans. Han Chengliang 韓承良, Li Shiyu 李士漁, and Hu Ande 胡安德 (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing xuehui, 2015).

¹⁵ Gabriele M. Allegra, "De Studio Biblico Franciscano Sinensi" (On The Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Sinense) *Liber Annuus* III (1953): 185-218.

¹⁶ Gabriele M. Allegra, "Translation of the Scriptures into Chinese," *Worldmission* 12 (1961): 97-105.

¹⁷ Gabriele M. Allegra, "The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible of Studium Biblicum O.F.M. Hong Kong," *Teaching all Nations* (July 1965): 345-353.

¹⁸ Salvatore Consoli, ed, *Scrivo a te, caro mio caro Leone... Lettere del beato Gabriele M. Allegra ofm al cugino e confratello Leone Murabito ofm* (My dear Leo, I am writing to you. Letters of the blessed Gabriele M. Allegra ofm to his cousin and confrere Leone Murabito ofm) (San Gregorio di Catania, CT: Klimax Edizioni, 2013); Salvatore Consoli and Marcello Badalamenti, eds., *Scrivo a te, caro zio Parroco. Lettere del beato Gabriele M. Allegra ofm allo zio mons. Gioacchino Guglielmino* (Dear Uncle Parson, I am writing to you. Letters of the blessed Gabriele M. Allegra ofm to his uncle mons. Gioacchino Guglielmino) (San Gregorio di Catania, CT: Klimax Edizioni, 2015).

2.2 Gabriele Allegra: a new biographical outline¹⁹

Giovanni Stefano Allegra, first of eight children, was born on December 26, 1907 to Rosario and Giovanna Allegra, in the small Italian village of San Giovanni La Punta (Catania, Sicily).²⁰ All the hagiographical documents consulted comment on the sanctity of his family, on the faith of his mother and on many pious episodes of his childhood.²¹ When the young Giovanni decided to enter the Franciscan Minor Seminary, he was only eleven and his mother asked him to wait for his father to come back from the war.²² Allegra finally entered the Seminary of San Biagio in Acireale on December 14, 1918. In Acireale he attended the high school courses at the Diocesan Seminary and lived in the convent with the Friars for five years. On October 13, 1923, Allegra began his novitiate in the convent of San Vito, Bronte. That day he wore the Franciscan habit and chose for his religious life the name of Gabriele Maria. In the letters of the Archive, wishes for his name day are very frequent and these all correspond to the February 27, feast day of Saint Gabriel of Our Lady of Sorrows. This confirms that he chose the name of the young Italian Passionist who lived in the second half of the nineteenth century and not the name of the Archangel.²³ The addition of the name “Maria,” is most likely due to his devotion to the Virgin Mary, who is fervently mentioned in almost all the documents he wrote.²⁴ Allegra recalls that it was during that year in Bronte that he decided to be a missionary. At first he was not sure of his

¹⁹ The present outline of the life of Gabriele Allegra is adapted from the paper: Raissa De Gruttola, “Gabriele Allegra and the *Studium Biblicum*: Translating the Chinese Catholic Bible,” in *Foreign Missionaries and the Indigenization of the Chinese Catholic Church*, ed. by Cindy Yik-yi Chu, forthcoming). The paper was presented at the LEWI International Conference “The Chinese Catholic Church: Regional and Local Studies, Late Qing-Present,” Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong, June 4-5, 2015. The new sections are the result of further research in the Archive. In this thesis a chronological table of the life of Allegra is reported in: Appendix G.1.

²⁰ Different documents report different dates of birth: December 26 or 28, 1907 and January 2, 1908. On these documents see: Wach, *Padre Gabriele Maria Allegra OFM*, 7-8.

²¹ See, for example, the episodes in Gandolfi, *For China... Another Jerome*, 19, and in Wach, *Padre Gabriele Maria Allegra*, 10-13. Among the eight children, Allegra would become a Franciscan friar, his younger brother Gioacchino would enter the Seminary in Catania and two sisters, Agata and Paola, would become Franciscan Missionaries of Mary.

²² It was the First World War (1915-1918). Allegra asked his mother to enter the Order in the summer of 1918, and he finally went to Acireale for the first time in the month of October of the same year.

²³ Wach reports a letter in which Allegra wrote to his superior Margiotti to avoid any possible misunderstanding: “il mio onomastico ricorre il 27 febbraio, giorno di San Gabriele dell’Addolorata: come mai ti salta in testa che io, tanto incapace di imitare un santo di carne e ossa come me, mi sia messo il nome di un arcangelo?” “My name day is on February 27, the day of Saint Gabriel of Our Lady of Sorrows: why did you ever think that I, so unable to imitate a man in flesh and bones like me, could choose the name of an archangel?” Allegra to Father Fortunato Margiotti, 28 March 1956, quoted in Italian in Wach, *Padre Gabriele Maria Allegra OFM*, 15, n.37, my translation.

²⁴ Almost every autograph document in the Archive has a short Latin invocation to the Virgin Mary as handwritten heading.

specific vocation, and describing himself as a “dreamer”²⁵ he noted all the other options he was considering. He longed to become a preacher like Father Balestrieri, or to restore local retreats in Sicily; he was eager to devote himself to the local missions as the Friars Leonardo of Port Maurice or Andrea da Quarata, he would have liked to become a missionary. This last desire was strengthened by the visit of a relic of the arm of Saint Francis Xavier²⁶ in Sicily in May 1924. Allegra writes that the sight of the relic was crucial for his decision, and that from that moment onwards his dream was to become a missionary. He then read the lives of missionaries like Téophane Vénard, Giovanni of Triora, Francis Solanus and the autobiography of Thérèse of Lisieux *The Story of a Soul*. Furthermore, in those years, both the Church and the Franciscan Order were looking for new missionaries. In 1923 Father Cipriano Silvestri initiated the periodical *Le Missioni Francescane* (Franciscan Missions) to invite the young Friars to go on mission, following *Maximum Illud* that deplored the small number of missionaries around the world. In the encyclical Pope Pius XI, addressing the superiors of the religious congregations wrote:

Something must be done about the scarcity of missionaries. Their number was small enough a few years ago; but now, since the war, it has been so reduced that many areas of the Lord's vineyard are without laborers [...]To the superiors of religious orders and institutes that serve the missions We address a most earnest request that they choose for this critical work only the best of their men, those who are outstanding in virtue, in devotion, in zeal for souls. [...]And remember that this type of procedure, this continual preparation of harvests, will bring down upon your congregations the richest gifts of God's divine goodness.²⁷

On October 19 1924, Allegra made his first religious profession that marked the end of his year of novitiate, and went back to Acireale where he would spend two more years. In 1926²⁸ he made an official request to become a missionary and study missiology in Rome. The request was welcomed, and the Provincial Minister of Santa Lucia Province in Sicily, Innocenzo Albanese, authorized Allegra's departure. On September 14, 1926 Allegra arrived in Rome and enrolled at the Collegio Missionario Internazionale Sant'Antonio (Saint Anthony International Missionary College) to study theology and missiology. Only few months later, the six Chinese bishops were ordained in Rome (October 28) and Allegra

²⁵ The heading of the first chapter of the *Memorie* is “Un sogno di gioventù” (A youthful dream): Allegra, *Memorie*, 58.

²⁶ Francis Xavier (1506–1552) was one of the companions of Ignatius of Loyola and founded with him the Society of Jesus, commonly known as Jesuit order. He was a missionary in Asia and died in Shangchuan Island (上川島) with the desire of preaching the Gospel in China. Together with St. Thérèse of Lisieux, for the Catholic Church, he is patron of foreign missions.

²⁷ *Maximum Illud*, 34–35. On the concern of Pius XI for the missions, Allegra will later mention also the importance of the Universal Missionary Exhibition organized for the Holy Year 1925.

²⁸ On the importance of the year 1926 for the Church in China see above: p. 45, n.119.

would read the notification of the event during a meeting at the convent where he lived. On May 20, 1928, the Pope wrote a letter to the General Minister of the Friars Minor, Bonaventura Marrani, to praise the missionary activity of the Franciscan John of Montecorvino, first bishop of China, in the sixth centenary of his death.²⁹ In the year 1928, many celebrations to commemorate John of Monte Corvino were held at the International College. During one of these meetings, Friar Cipriano Silvestri, former missionary to China, gave a speech mentioning the activity of John of Montecorvino and his translation of the New Testament and the Psalms into Mongolic language, adding that those texts had gone missing and that, even in those current years, the Chinese Catholics did not have the Scriptures in their language yet.³⁰ Allegra was dismayed by this information and many years later would comment his feelings after hearing those words: “they were a lighted match thrown into a powder-keg,”³¹ or “an electric shock.”³² Continuing to define himself as a dreamer, he also noted that: “Sognai subito che se mi fossi recato in missione avrei tradotto la Bibbia in cinese” (Immediately I dreamed that if I would go on mission, I would translate the Bible in Chinese).³³

The next year, Allegra met the Chinese Friar Gao Siqian 高思謙 in Rome and, according to his autobiographical memoirs, they soon became friends. Friar Gao informed Allegra that it was impossible to find the manuscripts of the translation by John of Montecorvino. Allegra realized that while the Protestants had produced several Chinese versions of the Bible, Chinese Catholics had only one version of the New Testament in their language. This was the *Xinjīng quanji* translated from the Latin *Vulgate* and published

²⁹ The complete Latin text of the letter: “Epistola ad R. P. Bonaventuram Marrani, Ministrum Generalem Ordinis Minorum: de Laudibus Missionalis fr. Ioannis a Monte Corvino, Sexcentesimo Exeunte ab Eius Obitu Anno” (Letter to the Rev. Father Bonaventura Marrani, General Minister of the Friars Minor: praising the missionary John of Monte Corvino, in the Sixth Centenary from his Death) is reported in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 20 (1928): 190–192, also available online at: <http://www.vatican.va/archive/aas/documents/AAS-20-1928-ocr.pdf>, accessed February 15, 2016. On John of Monte Corvino see: Pacifico Sella, *Il Vangelo in Oriente: Giovanni da Montecorvino frate minore e primo vescovo in terra di Cina (1307-1328)* (The Gospel in the East: John of Montecorvino, Friar minor and first bishop in China (1307-1328)), (S. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi, PG: Porziuncola, 2008).

³⁰ John of Montecorvino arrived in China in 1294, during the Mongol dynasty of Yuan. As he lived in the capital city and had contacts mostly with representatives of Mongolic ethnicity, Montecorvino translated into Mongolic language and not into Chinese.

³¹ Gandolfi, *For China... Another Jerome*, 21.

³² Allegra, *Memorie*, 62.

³³ Gabriele M. Allegra, “Per un fronte cattolico in Cina” (For a Catholic front in China), *Le vie di Assisi* (1961): 185–207, 186, my translation. In the Archive there is also the first draft of the article, written in 1958. At the end of the paper Allegra wrote: “Il R. P. Zavalloni mi ha invitato a scrivere qualcosa sulle esperienze della mia vita: il Signore sa quanto mi sia costato tal lavoro, ma dato che queste pagine, secondo quanto egli mi assicura, possono giovare alla gioventù serafica, mi metto a fare una chiacchierata con voi carissimi frateri, novizi e chierici dell’Ordine Franciscano, l’Ordine dell’amore” (The Rev. Father Zavalloni asked me to write something on my life. Lord only knows how much this task costs me. But, as he assures me, since these pages will be helpful for the seraphic youth, I am going to have a conversation with you all, my dearest young students, novices and clerics of the Franciscan Order, the Order of love), MA, D, 5, 3.

in 1922 by the Jesuit Xiao Jingshan. As for the Old Testament, Friar Gao told Allegra that a first complete Catholic version of the Chinese Old Testament had been considered by the 1924 Council of Shanghai, during which it was decided to create a committee to prepare it, but nothing definite had been done yet.

All these elements made Allegra eager to travel to China and translate the Holy Scriptures into Chinese. On July 20, 1930 he was ordained a priest and some months later asked his superiors to send him to China as a missionary to translate the Scriptures. In those years the Franciscan Raffaelangelo Palazzi was the vicar apostolic of the vicariate of Hengyang. He arrived in China in 1906 and was professor for many years at the local seminary. Palazzi had met Allegra in Italy in 1927, and had been impressed by his determination to study. When he became vicar, he proposed that Allegra was appointed the new rector of the Minor Seminary in Hengyang, as he knew of Allegra's request to go to China, and the Minister General of the Friars assented. Albeit disappointed by the unexpected duty, Allegra was strong in his vow of obedience and accepted the task. In the memoirs he wrote:

Umanamente fu il crollo di ogni mia speranza... per un momento mi attraversò la mente il pensiero che il Signore non mi avesse chiamato per l'opera della Bibbia cinese; ma fu solo un momento, ché subito mi accorsi che questa era una prova che bisognava superare, che dovevo restare fedele alle mie promesse [...] che avrei lavorato sempre sino a quando non avessi ultimato la versione cinese della Sacra Scrittura.

Humanly it was a total loss of hope... for a while a thought crossed my mind, as if the Lord was not calling me to the deed of the Chinese Bible. But it lasted one moment and I soon realized that this was only a test of faith and that I should remain faithful to my promises [...] I would have worked until I had finished the Chinese version of the Sacred Scriptures.³⁴

On May 31, 1931 Gabriele Allegra left for the Italian port of Brindisi, and the following day boarded a ship to Shanghai. The voyage took two months and on July 21, 1931 he reached Hengyang. Allegra spent his first months in China taking care of the young seminarians entrusted to him and studying the Chinese language, history, and literature. He read with interest the books by the Jesuit Léon Wieger as *Les Textes Philosophiques* (1906, The philosophical texts), *Histoire des Croyances Religieuses et des Opinions Philosophiques en Chine* (1917, History of religious beliefs and philosophical opinions in China), *La China à travers les ages* (1920, China through the Ages), and *Les Textes Historiques* (1929, The historical texts), and used *A Course of Mandarin Lessons* compiled

³⁴ Allegra, *Memorie*, 71, my translation.

and published by the Presbyterian missionary Calvin Mateer in 1892 as reference book to study Chinese grammar. He took lessons from Chinese teachers who helped him to read and write Chinese characters. Subsequently, these teachers would gradually introduce him to the Chinese Classics, specifically the *Five Classics* (*Wujing* 五經), the *Four Books* (*Sishu* 四書), the *Songs of Chu* (*Chuci* 楚辭), and the *Records of the Historian* (*Shiji* 史記) by Sima Qian 司馬遷. Less than a month after his arrival in Hunan, Allegra wrote to his parents:

Attualmente imparo la difficilissima lingua cinese. Quando la saprò meglio Monsignor Vescovo mi dice che mi darà molto da lavorare. Ed io son venuto in Cina per lavorare con tutto il cuore.

I am now learning the very difficult Chinese language. The Bishop says that when I acquire good command of it, he will give me a lot of work. And I came here in China to work with all my heart.³⁵

The signature on this letter, after the name and surname of Allegra, reports the title “Missionario Franciscano” (Franciscan Missionary). Allegra started to add these words to his letters as soon as he sailed from Brindisi. In the same period, on his study of Chinese language, he wrote also to his uncle, a parish priest in Sicily:

Lei vorrebbe sapere qualche cosa della Cina, non so tanto occupandomi quasi esclusivamente a imparare la lingua. Certo il divin Maestro benedice i miei sforzi giacché ho cominciato già ad ascoltar le confessioni.

Maybe you would like to know something about China, but I do not know much as I am always studying to learn the language. For sure, the Divine Master blesses my efforts as I have already started to celebrate the Sacrament of Reconciliation.³⁶

In the same month of November 1931, he made his first sermon in Chinese. On the improvements in the study of Chinese language, one year later he wrote again to his uncle:

Nel mese di febbraio probabilmente mi toccherà predicare il primo corso di esercizi ad alcune vergini cinesi. Che il Signore mi aiuti. Ho già scritto quindici prediche tutte con caratteri cinesi, se lei vedesse questi miei scartafacci: certo riderebbe di cuore, come faccio io del resto, che non pensavo l'anno passato che con l'aiuto di Dio sarei giunto a questo punto. Ciò mi conferma nella mia vocazione. Voglio dar quindi la mia vita alla Cina, impiegando tutto il tempo libero a tradurre e commentare tutta la Sacra Scrittura.

³⁵ Epistolario, 1. Ai genitori (1. Allegra to his parents), 34, Hengchow, 22 August, 1931, my translation.

³⁶ Hengchow, November 15, 1931, in: Consoli and Badalamenti, *Scrivo a te, caro zio Parroco*, 32, my translation.

Probably in February, I will be required to preach a retreat to a group of Chinese virgins. May the Lord help me. I have already written fifteen homilies with Chinese characters: if you read these pamphlets, you would surely laugh, as I do for all that: last year I could not imagine that with the help of God I would find myself doing this. This confirms my vocation. I will give all my life to China, I will use all my free time to translate and comment the whole Sacred Scriptures.³⁷

In 1932, Allegra was officially appointed as Rector of the Seminary, nevertheless, he did not give up his dream of translating the Bible in Chinese. Every day was spent according to a rather rigid plan:

The study of Chinese, the continuation of Scripture studies, and then the first steps in translating the Bible into Chinese, these are the activities which sum up all of my life and, in particular, the first phase of my life as a missionary. [...] I set down a personal *horarium*, built more or less on these principles: desire little, but desire it at all costs... not to lose time... study Chinese and sinology (history, geography, etc.) for five hours each day... and use the other three hours for Scripture studies (Greek, Hebrew, exegesis)... the remaining time was to be devoted to my spiritual life: prayer, the Liturgy of Hours, spiritual reading, etc..³⁸

It was respecting this timetable that Allegra was able to improve his linguistic and biblical knowledge, and could soon undertake a task that, indeed, seemed more a dream than a definite achievable project. The Friar himself felt the hardship of this mission, so much that he defined it “foolish,”³⁹ especially because of the lack of means such as a specialized library and skilled collaborators in the required disciplines such as Chinese, Greek, Hebrew, and the Latin language, biblical exegesis and Scriptural studies. Nevertheless, in 1935 he managed to begin his translation of the whole Catholic Bible in Chinese, starting from the book of Genesis. On April 15, 1935, Holy Monday of that year, Allegra wrote that, after sending an official document with the principles of translation to the Delegate of the Friars in the Far East, Alfonso Schnusenbergh, and having studied some previous Protestant versions, he was ready to start the Catholic version of the Chinese Bible. He would start from the Old Testament, using the *Masoretic Text* as source, and would translate into Mandarin Chinese, leaving some blank spaces in the translation to insert some notes to the text:

Oggi, dopo circa quattro anni che mi esercito sul libro di Isaia, penso di fare ancor un altro passo più vicino alla meta da raggiungere, e cioè cominciare direttamente una traduzione della S. Scrittura dell'Antico e del N. Testamento. [...] Per la lingua cinese mi gioverò, in quanto so e posso, del volgare (國語). Scriverò il cinese dopo di aver

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 35, my translation.

³⁸ Gandolfi, *For China... Another Jerome*, 25-26.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

gustato le tre versioni dei Protestanti, 和合, 官話, Delegates' Version. Comincerò, quando avrò finito il Dizionario Siriaco, dalla Genesi.

Today, after almost four years of training with the Book of Isaiah, I think I will take another step toward the goal I have to achieve, namely to start a direct translation of the Sacred Scripture, of the Old and New Testament. [...] For the Chinese language I will use vernacular (國語), as far as I know and can. I will write in Chinese after having savored three Protestant versions, 和合, 官話, Delegates' Version. As soon as I finish the Syriac Dictionary, I will start from the Genesis.⁴⁰

This document proves that the precise day of the beginning of the translation is not yet known, confirming De Marco's query about the date of April 11 reported in the *Memorie* and, consequently, in Camps and De Gruttola.⁴¹

The year 1935 was very bountiful for Allegra and his studies, as he proceeded to carry out research in the *Hunan Bible Institute*, a biblical research center founded by the Protestants. In the same period he was allowed to go to Beijing to take pictures of the manuscript of Poirot, and asked some friends to send him from London a reproduction of the Sloane Manuscript, containing the translation by Basset. This volume was among the numerous books requested by Allegra and sent to Hengyang to help and support the translation process. He wrote that those texts would be the beginning of his small and humble library, necessary for the project he had ventured on. Among the first books he collected before starting the translation there were Hebrew and Chaldean dictionaries and grammar books, including the one compiled by Francesco Scerbo, and the one by Ernst Friedrich Leopold, the lexicon of the Old Testament edited by William Gesenius, the Syriac and biblical Aramaic grammar of Ludovicus Palacios, and the commentary on the Prophets written by Edouard Tobac. For the New Testament, he received the Greek New Testament edited by Eberhard Nestle, and the Greek-Latin version edited by Augustinus

⁴⁰ "Si decide di iniziare la traduzione" (It is established to start the translation) 1935, MA, A, 1, my translation. In the documents there is no other reference to a Syriac Dictionary. It was most likely, another type of exercise or preparatory work for the translation. The reproduction of this document is stored in the Archive: MS, I, 1. "Nota biografica: lunedì santo" (Biographical note, Holy Monday), the original is reported below in: Appendix B.3.

⁴¹ De Marco, *Il beato p. Gabriele M. Allegra*, 86; Camps, "Gabriele Allegra and the Studium Biblicum," 61; Raissa De Gruttola, "La Bibbia in Cina e la Bibbia in cinese. Storia delle traduzioni da Giovanni Montecorvino a Gabriele Allegra" (The Bible in China and the Bible in Chinese. History of translations from John of Montecorvino to Gabriele Allegra), *Antonianum* LXXXIX, no. 2-3 (2014): 247-276, 270; Raissa De Gruttola, "*Sigao Shengjing*: Gabriele Allegra e la traduzione della Bibbia in cinese" (*Sigao Shengjing*: Gabriele Allegra and the Translation of the Bible in Chinese), *Studi Ecumenici* XXXIII, no. 1-2 (2015): 229-250, 239. De Marco makes reference to the unpublished detailed chronological table compiled by Father Domenico Gandolfi, probably during the preparation of the documents for the beatification of Domenico Gandolfi, "Prospetto cronologico della Vita di P. Gabriele M. Allegra, O.F.M." (Chronological prospect of the life of F. Gabriele M. Allegra, O.F.M.), Tokamachi, 11 August, 1986, 9. This copy found in the Archive reports handwritten modifications. It was probably amended by Father Leone Murabito or Father Leonardo Anastasi.

Merk, the volume on the Pauline theology compiled by Ferdinand Prat, the Latin *Vulgate* edited by Luigi Gramatica, and the Italian version of the Bible translated by Marco Sales.⁴²

Together with the translation of the Old Testament, Allegra continued to study biblical and Chinese languages, and trained in both translating Chinese prose and poetry into Latin and Italian, and vice versa. In particular, he translated and commented the poem *Lisao* 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow) written by Qu Yuan 屈原 in the third century BC, and this version was published in 1938.⁴³ In the same year he had received an important stimulus to continue his translation from a message that Pope Pius XI gave to Palazzi during a private meeting in Rome, as he had mentioned the work of Allegra to the Pope. Father Palazzi, on returning to China, reported to his confrere the words of Pius XI:

Tell that priest that *nihil impossibile est oranti, laboranti et studenti* [nothing is impossible for one who prays, works, and studies]. Tell him that he will have much to suffer, but he is not to become discouraged. Tell him to work diligently. While on this earth, I will not live to see his work, but from Heaven I will pray for him.⁴⁴

This message would often relieve the hardships experienced by Allegra during his solitary translation work, aggravated, from 1937 onwards, by the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese war. Allegra continued to translate despite the bombings, however, probably exhausted by the tight schedule he observed, at the beginning of 1939 he was forced to go back to Italy to recover from a neurasthenia attack, migraine and heart problems. After some months of convalescence in his hometown in Sicily, the Friar decided to attend some lessons at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, to improve his knowledge of exegesis and biblical languages. He started the courses of Hebrew and Syriac grammar, Old Testament and Prophets theology, and Hellenism. Afterwards, he spent a month in the Holy Land, visiting the Studium Biblicum and the École Biblique of Jerusalem, and in May 1940 he went back to Italy. Despite the long period away from China, Allegra had not abandoned the desire to continue and complete the Bible translation, so that while in Europe and in Jerusalem, he did his best to improve his preparation and to collect books and material for his work on the Chinese Bible, hoping to be able to return to China as soon as possible. The journey back to his mission, however, would prove difficult, as from almost one year (September 1, 1939) the Second World War had broken out, and on June 10, 1940 Italy entered the war. Allegra refused both the proposal of starting a course of

⁴² The titles of these volumes are all listed in: Allegra, *Memorie*, 84-85. Unfortunately the years of publication are not specified.

⁴³ Gabriele M. Allegra, trans., *Incontro al dolore di Kiu Yuen* (Shanghai: A.B.C. Press, 1938).

⁴⁴ Gandolfi, *For China... Another Jerome*, 28.

History of Religions at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan,⁴⁵ and that of entering a commission founded to edit the works of John Duns Scotus, and left Italy by the end of 1940. He had to travel via Lisbon–New York–Kobe and arrived in China after four months, reaching Beijing on April 26, 1941. Allegra would not go back to Hunan, as his new role would be that of Chaplain of the Italian Embassy in Beijing. As had already occurred ten years before, he felt disappointed with the assignment given, fearing that he would not have enough time to translate the Bible. Nevertheless, Allegra arrived in Beijing and prepared himself to deal with his new duties. Surprisingly, soon after his arrival at the embassy, the Apostolic Delegate Mario Zanin requested a private meeting with Father Allegra and explained what he was expected to do:

“Per la Cappellania e l’amministrazione lei è aiutato dai PP. Stefani e Prandi, lei è venuto a Pechino per la traduzione della Sacra Scrittura...” Gli feci presente che avevo perduto due valigie di libri, e che l’altra cassa spedita da Roma non era ancora giunta, seppure c’era speranza che giungesse... Ma lui: “Tutto questo a me non interessa, a me interessa una cosa sola che lei lavori per la traduzione della Bibbia in cinese.”

“You have the Fathers Stefani and Prandi to assist you in the chaplaincy and its management. The reason you came to Beijing is that of translating the Sacred Scripture...” I told him that I had lost two suitcases full of books, and that the box sent from Rome had not arrived yet, though there was still hope for it... But he replied “I am not concerned for this. The only aspect concerning me is that you work on the translation of the Bible in Chinese.”⁴⁶

During this meeting Father Zanin gave Allegra a folder with plans and suggestions for a Chinese Bible translation, based on the principles established during the Council of Shanghai (1924), and asked him to comment on it. In the following meeting Allegra would tell Zanin that he disagreed with the project. It was not possible to find other references to the folder mentioned, nevertheless, according to Allegra’s response, it may be assumed that a review of the existing translations from the *Vulgate* and the creation of a committee of experts were introduced in the document. The Friar, indeed, replied that a complete new translation from the original texts was necessary and that, as a group of experts was lacking, the commission could not be appointed. The *Memorie* report the conclusion of the conversation between the two:

⁴⁵ In a letter to his uncle he wrote that he preferred to be a missionary rather than a professor, and to translate the Chinese Bible, rather than to teach history in Europe. Furthermore, many confreres and the superiors in China had frequently asked him to return, and he was eager to accept all those invitations. See: Consoli and Badalamenti, *Scrivo a te, caro zio Parroco*, 49.

⁴⁶ Allegra, *Memorie*, 97, my translation.

“Se si vuole arrivare allo scopo bisogna trovare l’uomo adatto e lasciarlo lavorare come lui crede meglio di dover fare.”

“Allora, Monsignore, io continuo la versione dell’Antico Testamento secondo i principi che mi sono posto a Hengyang: tradurre dal testo originale controllandolo con le antiche versioni.”

“Cominci e non perda tempo!”

“If we want to achieve the aim, we must find the right man and let him work in the way he believes most suitable.”

“Then, Monsignor, I will continue the translation of the Old Testament following the principles I established in Hengyang: translate from the original text and check the ancient versions.”

“Please, start and do not waste time!”⁴⁷

Notwithstanding the initial discouragement after the assignment of the role of chaplain, Allegra was then eager to continue his translation with the support of the Apostolic Delegate, who spoke also for the Pope. This, indeed was the first time that a representative of the Church hierarchy had officially approved the attempt of translating the Bible in Chinese and was a clear signal that the attitude of the Catholics towards the importance and use of the Bible had changed, and was still evolving.⁴⁸ Allegra had moral and financial support also from his confreres and superiors, among those the Delegate of the Friars Minor for the Far East and the Minister General. Furthermore, he soon realized that Beijing was a more appropriate setting to accomplish his task. Differently from what had taken place in the countryside of Hunan, Beijing had a good supply of books, libraries and scholars, and the years spent there were fruitful both for Allegra’s personal learning, and for the translation he was working on. The Friar attended Chinese language and literature courses at the Fu Jen Catholic University, met Chinese writers, scholars, musicians, and philosophers, shared his ideas and projects with them, together with missionaries from other congregations and numerous countries all over the world.

In Beijing the number of books in the library of Allegra increased consistently, with a net rise by the end of 1941. After the US declaration of war to Japan (December 8, 1941), in fact, all the American Protestant missionaries were obliged to leave China, because of the Japanese occupation. Departing from Beijing, they left all their books in their former residences, so that other missionaries could collect them. In Beijing, together with the translation work, Allegra was busy with pastoral activities, such as giving spiritual assistance to the Italians living in Beijing, preaching for his confreres, teaching the Bible, and preaching sermons. During a retreat in Taiyuan, in September 1943, after Italy had signed

⁴⁷ Allegra, *Memorie*, 98, my translation. See also: Camps, “Father Gabriele M. Allegra, O.F.M.,” 62.

⁴⁸ See the documents: *Divino Aflante Spiritu* (1943), and *Dei Verbum* (1965). See also above: Chapter 1.2, “Languages and translations of the Bible.”

the armistice to exit the war (September 8), the Japanese occupying China took him and other Friars prisoners, forcing them to live in the residence where the retreat was being held. Allegra and the other Fathers lived in seclusion for at least two weeks. However, during this imprisonment he recalled translating the Book of Esther.⁴⁹ This episode shows how Allegra was committed to his project of translation, and this diligence allowed him to announce that on November 21, 1944, he had completed the translation of the entire Old Testament.

Albeit content and satisfied with the accomplishment of the first translation goal, Allegra felt that something was missing and had to be done to improve the quality of the translation he was working on. In the *Memorie* he wrote:

Man mano che mi avvicinavo alla fine del Vecchio Testamento, mi ponevo tanti problemi: Come farne la revisione e la correzione letteraria? Come presentare l'opera alla Chiesa cinese? Mi aprii su questi dubbi con alcuni amici e la maggior parte pensava che alla fine di fare in fretta, bastava invitare un letterato cristiano che comprendesse esattamente la mia versione e la correggesse quanto alla forma letteraria. Io in un primo tempo avevo chiesto al P. Delegato un solo Padre che mi aiutasse, ma ben presto mi accorsi che ciò non bastava. Occorreva formare un gruppo di Padri agli studi biblici che potessero con competenza correggere la mia versione e poi pian piano collaborare anche nello stendere le note e le introduzioni. Insomma bisognava formare una scuola biblica o Studio Biblico, aumentare la biblioteca e pubblicare al più presto il primo volume: i Salmi.

As I gradually approached the end of the Old Testament, many problems arose: How could I make the revision and the literary correction? How could I present the work to the Chinese Church? I shared these doubts with some friends of mine. The majority of them suggested that, in order to finish soon, it would be enough to invite a Christian scholar who could understand my version, to correct the literary form of it. At first, I had asked to the F. Delegate only a Father to help me, but I soon realized that one would not have been enough. It was necessary to train a group of Fathers in the biblical studies, so that they could efficiently correct my version. Afterwards, they would gradually collaborate in the writing of note and introductions. In short, it was necessary to found a biblical school, or Studium Biblicum, to broaden the library, and to publish the first volume – the Psalms – as soon as possible.⁵⁰

The idea of founding the biblical study center soon became real, as on August 2, 1945 the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Sinense* was inaugurated in Beijing. Allegra and the first five members involved in the project, started to work on the translation, notes, comments, and introduction of the Book of Psalms that would be published in 1946. The activity of the Studium will be explored in detail in the following chapter,⁵¹ therefore, here only the relevant events strictly connected with the life of Allegra will be reported.

⁴⁹ See: Allegra, *Memorie*, 100.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 103, my translation.

⁵¹ See below: Chapter 3.

Respecting the plans prepared, the first group of collaborators of the Studium worked on the revision and comment of every book of the Bible, and gradually published them. In the month of February 1946, during a visit of the bishop of Nanjing Paul Yu Pin 于斌, the team of the Studium came to know that a Chinese literate had translated the Psalms and the New Testament in Chinese:

Die 3 Feb. Habuimus visitationem Episcopi de Nankino 于斌. Ille comunicavit nobis unam notitiam quae sine dubio addet nobis animum in hoc opere exequendo. Unus novus et ferventes christianus 吳經熊 transvertit nunc Sacram Scripturam untriusque Testamenti. Novum Testamentum et Psalterium totum absolutum est, versio ejus tota est revisa et correcta ab ipso Generalissimo 蔣委員長, Praesidente Reipublicae. Mirabile istud in oculis nostris; quid et nos, o custodes Sancti Verbi et ministri?

February 3. We received the visit of the Bishop of Nanjing 于斌. He told us a news that certainly gave us courage in continuing our work. A new devout Christian, 吳經熊, had just translated the Scriptures of the two Testaments. The New Testament and Psalms had been finished, and were revised and corrected by the President Generalissimo 蔣委員長. This is admirable for us; and what are we doing, oh ministers and keepers of the Holy Word?⁵²

The reference is to the translation by Wu Jingxiong reviewed by Chiang Kai-shek and printed only in 1949. It is interesting to highlight the admiration of Allegra for other versions too, and his enthusiasm and incitation to his team to continue with the good work.

The years in Beijing passed quickly, Allegra taught biblical languages and exegesis to his co-workers, and they revised the translation he had previously made to publish, one by one, every book of the Bible. The tireless work of the team was not interrupted by the numerous changes of venue experienced in Beijing, nor by the turmoil of war, nor by the eviction order received in January 1948. This last event led Allegra and his superiors to decide to move the Studium outside China, and among the options, it was decided that the new venue would be in Hong Kong. After the publication of the third volume of the Old Testament in Beijing, Allegra and Father Victor Zuo were the last two members who arrived in Hong Kong (October 22, 1948), where the Studium had been welcomed by the Italian PIME Bishop Enrico Valtorta, and could continue its activity.

Allegra left Beijing with mixed feelings, and hoped that the work of the Studium, being relocated in Hong Kong, would be more fruitful. Recalling all the difficulties of the years

⁵² MS XIV, 3, “Relatio Sessionis die 11 feb. 1946 convocatae” (Report of the session of 11 Feb. 1946), 37, my translation.

spent in Beijing, he was to imagine that problems would have arisen in Hong Kong too,⁵³ and he was not wrong. Among the difficulties, the most relevant were the lack of money and the frequent changes of venue. In less than thirty years, the Studium in Hong Kong would be set at three different addresses, while regarding the financial problems, Allegra would write “non riesco a dormire, [...] vedo che nella mia vita i debiti mi accompagnano sempre” (I cannot sleep, [...] I recognize that in my life debts always follow me).⁵⁴ Noticeably, the determination and the confidence in the accomplishment of the translation, detectable in the official documents, often correspond to worries, discouragement, fatigue, requests of intercession and prayers contained in his private writings. For example, on the persistent concerns, he once wrote: “Da quando ho fatto il matrimonio con la Bibbia, le mie preoccupazioni crescono di giorno in giorno” (Since I married the Bible, my worries increase day by day).⁵⁵ Nevertheless, three years later, in the official periodical of the Friars Minor, he published an article on the Studium,⁵⁶ expressing in conclusion his satisfaction with the volumes already published, and the hopes for the future work. He subsequently expressed his wish to have new collaborators to improve the quality of translation, and the heartfelt gratitude to the numerous benefactors. Sometimes this was the way in which Allegra tried to keep his personal feelings away from his work, however, his strong commitment to the translation and the dream of completing it were always evident and proved to be the driving force of the whole undertaking.

In Hong Kong, besides the task of translation, Allegra participated also in many other activities, cultural events, and pastoral work. He preached retreats, gave lectures on biblical topics, offered his spiritual assistance to many missionaries, local priests, nuns, and laymen. He participated in many conferences on biblical issues, but also on themes concerning John Scotus and his philosophical thought, and the studies on the Virgin Mary. Special attention was given by Allegra to the visit and care of the lepers in Hong Kong, and later in Macau. In 1963, in fact, Father Gaetano Nicosia, a Salesian priest born in the same hometown of Allegra, his old friend, and missionary in Hong Kong since 1935, would receive the task of managing a large leper hospital in Coloane, Macau.⁵⁷ Allegra would be a very frequent visitor of the hospital, where he attended to the lepers, especially during important feast days, such as Christmas and Easter.

⁵³ See the letter to his cousin Murabito written during the sailing to Hong Kong: Consoli, *Scrivo a te, mio caro Leone*, 33.

⁵⁴ Consoli, *Scrivo a te, mio caro Leone*, 39, my translation.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 40, my translation.

⁵⁶ Allegra, “De Studio Biblico Franciscano Sinensi.”

⁵⁷ On the life and work of Father Nicosia, see: <http://www.mondoemissione.it/asia/langelo-dei-lebbrosi/>, accessed September 22, 2016.

In 1949 Allegra spent some months in Italy to raise funds for the new venue of the Studium in Kennedy Road, and during that stay in Rome, he personally met Pope Pius XII (September 30) who praised his work and encouraged him to continue.⁵⁸ He would be in Italy, once more in 1954, after the completion of the publication of the eight volumes of the Old Testament (May, 31). By the end of November 1954, he went to Jerusalem with the first group of his collaborators, in order to allow them to study the episodes reported in the Bible with more awareness. The stay of the Fathers of the Studium in the Holy Land was considered of primary importance by Allegra since he had come to know the story of Xuanzang 玄奘 (600-664) and Yijing 義淨 (635-713). These were two Chinese Buddhist monks who, after many years spent in India to learn Sanskrit, had translated the texts of the Buddhist canon into Chinese. Xuanzang lived in India for sixteen years and went back to China in 645, Yijing returned to China in 695, after living for twenty-four years in India. During their stay in India, the monks had acquired a deep knowledge of Sanskrit language and of the content of the canonical texts, so that when they returned to China, they were able to translate several texts of the Buddhist canon. Their Chinese translations received the support of the Tang sovereigns, the Emperor Taizong 太宗, and the Empress Wu Zetian 武則天, and a wide circulation throughout China, fostering the spread of Buddhism in the whole Empire. Allegra was impressed by the efficacy of the two monks' permanence in India for the expansion of Buddhism in China, and believed that a similar experience for his translators in the Holy Land would have the same effects for Christianity in China. The aim of the stay of the Chinese Friars in Jerusalem was, in fact, that of increasing their mastery of biblical languages and exegetical method, and that of acquiring geographical and archaeological knowledge in the region where the biblical episodes had taken place and had been written. The first group of Chinese Friars visiting Jerusalem spent eight months there (November 1954-June 1955), studying and attending courses at the Studium Biblicum in Jerusalem. When they returned to Hong Kong, followed by Allegra some months later, the translation of the New Testament was set in motion. Before being able to return to Hong Kong, Allegra was asked to extend his stay in Italy, as his superiors wanted to confer him an honorary degree in theology for his knowledge of the Scriptures and his commitment to the translation. The ceremony was held at the Pontifical University Antonianum in Rome on

⁵⁸ See: Allegra, *Memorie*, 115-116.

November 18, 1955, and afterwards Allegra was able to return to the Studium in Hong Kong.⁵⁹

As soon as he arrived in Hong Kong by the end of 1955, Allegra and his collaborators started the translation of the New Testament in Chinese. During the following years, besides the task of translating the sections he was in charge of, the Friar embarked in another project, namely the creation of a Christian research center on sociology in Asia. What Allegra and some other Franciscan Missionaries intended to form, was a group of Christian scholars of sociology that would present in Asian countries the Catholic social teaching, through the translation of the Church's official documents on the issue, and the organization of conferences on themes like family, wealth and solidarity, poverty and social justice. Many representatives of the Franciscan hierarchy accepted the proposal and it was decided that the venue of the new institute would be Singapore. In 1958, a first small community of Friars settled in Singapore and in 1961, Allegra was chosen as the director of the newly established Studium Sociologicum.⁶⁰ For two years he lived in Singapore but frequently returned to Hong Kong, especially up to August 2, 1961, when the eleventh volume of the Bible was published. In 1963, he was replaced in the direction of the Studium of Singapore by Father Domenico Gandolfi, and finally went back to Hong Kong. In the aftermath, recalling the experience of the Studium Sociologicum, Allegra acknowledged that the lack of a sound plan for the work had hindered the success of the Studium in Singapore, especially when compared with the achievements of the Studium in Hong Kong.

The return to Hong Kong meant for Allegra the beginning of a new phase of his life. He traveled a lot after 1963, participating in conferences in Asia, America, and Europe, giving lectures and seminars on the Bible, and meeting and sharing ideas with many representatives of the Protestant Churches. In 1965, Allegra participated with other members of the Studium in an interconfessional Biblical Conference in Hong Kong, and on this occasion he met Eugene Nida (1914–2011). Some months later he organized with some Protestants the first Biblical Exposition in Hong Kong, and in 1966 went to Tokyo to take part in the Interconfessional Bible Congress (July, 29). Despite the several undertakings, Allegra did not abandon the work of revision of the whole Chinese Scripture, nor his apostolate among the lepers in Macau. He, indeed, celebrated the publication of the single-volume Bible on 1968

⁵⁹ On this honorary degree Allegra frequently expressed his uneasiness in the private letters. See, for example: Consoli, *Scrivo a te, mio caro Leone*, 106–107; Consoli and Badalamenti, *Scrivo a te, caro zio Parroco*, 93.

⁶⁰ On the Studium Sociologicum see: De Marco, *Il beato p. Gabriele M. Allegra*, 197–211. See also the folders in the Archive: MS XV; MS XIX C; 16 DOC-A, 1; 21 DOC-A, 5.

Christmas day with his leper friends, recently joined by thirty paralyzed children. The Christmas present Allegra gave them was the single-volume Bible, warmly welcomed.

After 1968, Allegra's health problems started to be more frequent and he was hospitalized more than once for minor surgeries. Furthermore, he suffered from fatigue, as he went to the US, the Holy Land, and twice to Italy in few months. In 1971, the duty of Prefect of the Studium passed on to Father Antonius Lee, however this did not mean less work for Allegra. During his last stay in Italy he started the compilation of a Greek-Chinese Dictionary (June 6, 1973) with the aim of writing for those who wanted to acquire a deeper knowledge of Biblical Greek. By the end of August 1974, he arrived in Hong Kong, and for the first time went to the new venue of the Studium in Henderson Road, one year after moving. Allegra worked on the Greek-Chinese dictionary while still completing the edition of the Biblical Dictionary (*Shengjing cidian* 聖經辭典), which was published in 1975 (April, 15). Some months later the Friar was asked by the new Prefect Father Lee to write his autobiographical memoirs to have an official document on the life and activity of the Studium Biblicum. He obeyed and wrote the five notebooks mentioned above. On Christmas 1975 he went, as usual, to visit the leper hospital in Macau, and when he returned to Hong Kong, continued the compilation of the Greek-Chinese dictionary, whose last entries were written on January 19. Due to persisting breathing problems, on January 24 a confrere took him to the Canossian Hospital in Hong Kong, where he stayed for two days. The morning of January 26, during the preparation for a surgery, he passed away at the age of sixty-eight.

On January 28, after the funeral rite, Allegra was buried in St. Michael's Catholic Cemetery in Happy Valley, Hong Kong. In 1984, the process for his beatification started, requiring the collection of documents and testimonials in four places: Hong Kong, Taipei, Rome, and the area of Catania. Two years later the body of the Friar was brought to Acireale, where it remains still today. By the end of 1994, Allegra was confirmed as "Heroic in Virtues," and was declared "Venerable" for the Catholic Church. In 2002, a miracle attributed to his intercession was recognized by the Holy See, and the beatification rites were performed on September 29, 2012, proclaiming January 26 the feast day of the Blessed Gabriele Maria Allegra.

3. The Studium Biblicum version of the Bible

The translation of the Chinese Old Testament was completed between 1935 and 1944 by Gabriele Allegra who soon acknowledged that he needed to consult experts to achieve a sound and fluent text. The version needed reviewing, and commentaries and notes to the single books had to be written. Some Chinese native speakers were needed to revise and correct the Chinese text prepared, and biblical scholars had to verify the correctness of the interpretation and the content of the commentaries.

3.1 The foundation of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Sinense

Allegra was well acquainted with the biblical and exegetical setting of the first half of the twentieth century and specifically with three institutes founded some decades before his arrival in China. These were the Franciscan Collegio San Bonaventura in Quaracchi, near Florence, and the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem and the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, both in Jerusalem. The first of these institutes was founded to edit the works of San Bonaventura, while the two colleges in Jerusalem focused their research on biblical and archaeological issues.¹ The idea of creating a research center in China was part of Allegra's plans even before the completion of the translation of the Old Testament. Furthermore, it is highly probable that this plan evolved to satisfy the request of the 1924 Shanghai Plenary Council of forming a commission to translate the Catholic Old Testament into Chinese.

In a report written for the Apostolic Delegate in Beijing, on May 6, 1941, Allegra responded to four points of issue.² The first point concerned the necessity of the translation, and he wrote that the necessity stemmed from the need of the priests and the faithful to know the contents of the “revealed truth,” with the consensus of other missionaries and bishops besides. The second point of issue regarded the source text, mentioning the *Vulgate*

¹ The Quaracchi College was founded in 1877, and the Studium of Jerusalem in 1901. These are both Franciscan institutes, while the École biblique was founded in 1890 by the Dominican friars.

² See: MS XIV, 3, “Della traduzione della Bibbia in cinese” (On the translation of the Bible in Chinese), Beijing, 6 May, 1941, 10-11.

as a possible option. Allegra's response was that this would have been possible only if the Hebrew or Greek texts were wanting. He stressed once more the importance of an adequate mastery of biblical languages, considering Greek and Hebrew, as well as other Semitic languages, such as Syriac. After more than fifteen years, Allegra still wanted to continue and accomplish the aims set out in the final documents of the Plenary Council of Shanghai (1924), which was the essence of the third point of issue. He wrote that the commission requested by the Council could be formed in those years, choosing six or seven members, Chinese and foreigners. The final question was on the possibility of overcoming the different kinds of obstacles, such as linguistic problems, hermeneutical knowledge, lack of time and appropriate space, need of money. Allegra's reply to this ultimate point was that every problem had to be faced with trust in Providence, hard work and faith in the Virgin Mary. This is the earliest document on the Studium found in the Archive, and despite it being written four years before the foundation of the institute, it confirms that Allegra already had a clear idea of his translation plan. In particular, some years later, the Friar explained the reason why he had chosen to establish a research institute rather than a translating commission:

Una Commissione potrebbe assolvere il suo compito anche in un decennio, e, a lavoro finito, cessare di esistere, uno Studio invece anche dopo di aver finito la versione deve restare, per correggere, per pubblicare dei commentari meglio aggiornati, nonché delle monografie bibliche e altre opere sussidiarie.

A Commission could accomplish its task in a decade, and cease to exist when the work is finished. A Studium, on the other hand, should be open to revision, the publishing of updated commentaries, biblical monographies and other auxiliary works, even after the completion of the translation.³

Another document shows how the guidelines of the activity of the Studium and the translation method had already been set before 1945. This is the Report to General Delegate of the Friars Minor for the Far East, Alfonso Schnusenberg, written in Beijing on November 25, 1944, few days after the completion of the translation of the Old Testament (November 21).⁴ The report presents the translation principles held and was often the reference paper in subsequent documents on the topic.

³ MS XXIV, 4, "Lo Studio Biblico Cinese O.F.M." (The Chinese Studium Biblicum O.F.M.), 14 May 1953, 7, my translation.

⁴ See: MS XIV, 3, "Relatio circa versionem Sinicam Bibliorum Antiqui Testamenti exhibita A.R.P. Alphonso Schnusenberg Delegato Generali O.F.M." (Report on the Chinese version of the Books of the Old Testament presented to the Rev. Father Alphonso Schnusenberg, General Delegate O.F.M.), Beijing, 25 November, 1944. This document is reported in: Appendix B.4.

In 1945, on August 2, day of the Franciscan feast of Our Lady of the Angels of the Portiuncula, the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Sinense* was inaugurated. Mary, Our Lady of Sorrows and John Duns Scotus were chosen as patrons of the new institute.⁵ The latter was a Scottish Franciscan Friar who lived between the thirteenth and fourteenth century. He is also known as *Doctor Subtilis* (Subtle Doctor) and was an influential philosopher and theologian of the Middle Ages. The Chinese transliteration of his name is *Ruowang Tong Sigao* 若望·董思高 and for this reason, the Studium Biblicum in Chinese is known as *Sigao Shengjing Xuehui* 思高聖經學會 (Scotus Bible Association). Sometimes the single volume Bible published in 1968 is referred to as Scotus Bible, being the English translation of *Sigao Shengjing* 思高聖經.

During the inauguration, Allegra, elected as Prefect of the Studium, made a speech in Latin, describing the aims of the institute in three points.⁶ Firstly, Allegra claimed that the Bible was the book of the Church, inviting reader to always bear in mind the Church's interpretation. Secondly, he underlined that the translation of the Scripture was a charismatic task, as it was "the Word of God which became a book" (*Verbum liber factus*). Thirdly, Allegra stated that the charismatic version that the Studium was about to produce, was intended mainly for the use of priests, to instruct them on the contents of Catholic doctrine and the preaching of Jesus.⁷ This last point clearly explains the high degree of details and exegetical features of the translation notes written by Allegra and his team, and also the strict adherence of the Chinese text to the original. The main aim of the translators was to encourage the Chinese clergy to deepen their knowledge of the doctrine and transmit it subsequently, so it does not come as a surprise if common Christians found the translation too difficult to understand.

The first venue of the Studium was in Beijing, but this would always remain a critical issue.⁸ In the Summer of 1945, the Second World War was still under way so the translators team was unable to remain in the Franciscan residence in Beijing due to the fact that Chinese friars could not live with priests from allied nations. For this reason, the first month of work of the Studium was in a small room in a building at the Fu Jen Catholic University, in Hsi Mei Chang (*Xi Mei Chang* 西煤廠) and involved the revision of the Chinese

⁵ On the choice of the patrons of the Studium see: MS XXIV, 5 "Le ragioni per cui lo Studio Biblico scelse Scoto come patrono" (The reasons why the Studium Biblicum chose Scotus as patron), Tokyo 1966.

⁶ MS XIV, 3, "Sermo inauguralis pro Studio Biblico Sinico" (Inaugural speech for the Chinese Studium Biblicum), Beijing, 2 August, 1945, 18-21. This document is reported in: Appendix B.5.

⁷ MS XIV, 1, "Sermo inauguralis Studii Biblici in Hong Kong" (Inaugural speech for the Studium Biblicum in Hong Kong), Hong Kong, 8 November, 1948.

⁸ The details of the different relocations are in: MS XXIV, 4, "Lo Studio Biblico Cinese O.F.M." (The Chinese Studium Biblicum O.F.M.), 14 May 1953.

version of the Psalms. However, after the surrender of Japan on August 15, the group of Friars went back to the Beijing Franciscan residence in Ly Kwang Kiao, 18 (*Li Guang Qiao* 李廣橋). There, revision of the Psalter and of the Wisdom Books was completed. As the number of European missionaries arriving in the Franciscan residence was growing, Allegra and his collaborators decided to move again to a new venue not far from Ly Kwang Kiao, in Hsiao Shi Kiao (*Xiao Shi Qiao* 小石橋). In the document containing the information on the different venues of the Studium, Allegra defined this place as “tanto bello, vorrei dire troppo bello!” (a beautiful place, far too beautiful!)” but they did not stay long. Only two weeks after moving, on January 24, 1948, the owner of the house evicted the Friars. They went back to the house in Ly Kwang Kiao, but it was decided that the Studium’s country of residence was to change. Since February 1948, Allegra and his superiors started to look for a new place to set the Studium, and Hong Kong, Canton, the Philippines, Singapore, Japan, and Taiwan were considered. Their request was welcomed by the Italian bishop of Hong Kong Enrico Valtorta PIME, and the relocation began in the Summer of 1948. These events are important to underline that the foundation of the People’s Republic of China was not the main reason for the relocation of the Studium, as many accounts on Allegra report. Furthermore, all the members and the boxes with the books of the Studium were in Hong Kong by the end of October 1948, three months before the arrival of the Communist troops in Beijing (January 31, 1949), and almost one year before the foundation of the new Republic (October 1, 1949). Noticeably, there is a connection between the eviction and the political situation in China in the years of 1948-1949, however, the Friars did not come into direct contact with the new government in those years. In a report written in 1953, Allegra gave an account and a comment on what happened:

Due settimane dopo di esserci installati venne un generale nazionalista, che ci disse come quella casa essendo proprietà di un tale che aveva collaborato coi Giapponesi gli era stata ceduta dal Governo. [...] Ritornammo alla casa francescana [...] Sin da quando nel febbraio il generale nazionalista ci aveva intimato lo sfratto era parso opportuno ai Superiori di pensare al trasloco dello Studio. [...] Lo sfratto aveva salvato lo Studio. Se infatti si fosse rimasti a Pechino come molti ci suggerivano, sarebbe stato impossibile continuare.

Two weeks after our settlement, a nationalist General came to tell us that that the government had assigned him that house, as it was formerly owned by a man who had collaborated with the Japanese. [...] We went back to the Franciscan residence [...] Since February, when the nationalist General ordered the eviction, it seemed appropriate to the Superiors to organize the move of the Studium. [...] The eviction

⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

had saved the Studium. If we stayed in Beijing, as many had suggested, it would be impossible to continue.¹⁰

Allegra and Father Victor were the last components of the Studium to arrive in Hong Kong, and the move was completed on October 24, 1948. The translators team settled in the Franciscan residence in 133 Waterloo Road, Kow Loon, and on November 8 the rooms reserved for the activity of the Studium were inaugurated. On that occasion Allegra made a speech during which, he, for the first time, presented the Studium's new proposals.¹¹ In the speech, in fact, after the presentation of the completed tasks, namely the translation and publication of the Book of Psalms, the Wisdom Books and the Pentateuch, a long paragraph follows on future projects. Besides the completion of the version of the Old and New Testaments,¹² Allegra stated that a Biblical dictionary was necessary, in which the exegesis of the Church on the topics concerning the Scriptures would be explained. Furthermore, he continued, it was important to publish a periodical on biblical themes to present them to Chinese people. The part of speech that followed was on how the proposals were to be achieved, amongst which the study of the biblical languages, the preparation of indices of words,¹³ the formation of new young Chinese collaborators, the creation of a rich library, and the constant work. Some years later, in fact, on the importance of the formation of new collaborators, Allegra wrote: "The pioneers may and must dare, but the followers must be well trained and formed."¹⁴

The first venue of the Studium in Hong Kong soon became unsuitable to work in. After the foundation of the new Republic, in fact, the Franciscan residence in Waterloo Road became a place of hospitality for all the foreign missionaries expelled from the People's Republic of China and the high number of people who took refuge there, caused overcrowding of the building. The Studium team found a new house in 70 Kennedy Road, Hong Kong Island, where they stayed for more than twenty years. The new venue was inaugurated on May 20, 1950 and the publication of the volumes of the Old Testament continued from there. In 1973 the Studium was relocated to 6 Henderson Road, where it still resides.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11, my translation.

¹¹ MS XIV, 1, "Sermo inauguralis Studii Biblici in Hong Kong" (Inaugural speech of the Studium Biblicum in Hong Kong), Hong Kong, 8 November, 1948.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3: "Debemus, fratres, totam Sacram Scripturam eloquio sinico interpretari et explanare" (Dear Friars, we have to translate and explain the whole Sacred Scripture in Chinese language), my translation.

¹³ It seems that the document MA, H, 2, "Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann" (Philological notes on the Gospel of John), is one of these preparatory indices. No similar documents have been found in the Archive or in Hong Kong. See: Appendix D.

¹⁴ MS XIX A, "Report concerning the Studium Biblicum presented to the Most Reverend Father Delegate General Fr. R. Ralph O.F.M.," Macau, 27-31 December 1959, 3.

Before leaving Beijing, on April 13, 1947 a first version of the statute was written by Allegra and the others, and it was approved *ad experimentum* by the General Definitory of the Friars on September 5. In order to adapt to all the changes of the years 1948-1949, it was imperative to modify the contents in some points too, so the final version was drawn up in Hong Kong, in April 1950. It was approved by the Delegate Schnusenberg on May 20 and by the General Definitory on October 19 of the same year, when it became official.¹⁵ The final text of the statute, after the introduction, included forty paragraphs divided into five chapters.¹⁶ The first one was on the aims of the Studium, stressing once again the proposal to write the complete translation of the Old and New Testament with notes and commentaries, the single volume edition, a biblical dictionary, and a biblical journal. It also forecasted other individual or team projects on the Bible and its contents, subject to the approval of the superiors of the Franciscan Order. Bound to the same consent, was the admission of priests from other Asian countries as new members of the institute, to acquire biblical knowledge and translation method. The second chapter was on how these proposals were to be met. It principally emphasized the need of the library to include books and documents both on biblical topics as well as Chinese history and literature. Point 10 was meant for the Fathers of the Institute to commit themselves to a one-year stay in the Studium of Jerusalem to study and improve biblical archaeology, geography and history. As regards the financial matters, it was decided that the Studium would rely on donations and alms. The chapter that followed was about the status of the Studium and its hierarchy. The institute was under the government of the Minister General of the Friars and his Delegate for China. A President would manage the bureaucratic matters, while a Prefect would be in charge of the scientific part. The other positions were that of the Vice-Prefect, the Secretary, the Censor, and the Librarian, all introduced in the articles of chapter three. Every member was appointed to a particular role according to the decision of the Minister General or his Delegate. The fourth chapter regarded the religious life of the members of the Studium, establishing which liturgical festivals were to be celebrated and how, underlining the belonging of the members to the Franciscan Order and their devotion to the Virgin Mary and the Blessed John Scotus, patrons of the Studium. It also determined the daily common and individual times of prayer, necessary and preparatory for every kind of work. In the last

¹⁵ See: MS XXIV, 4, “Lo Studio Biblico Cinese O.F.M.” (The Chinese Studium Biblicum O.F.M.), 14 May 1953, 16-18.

¹⁶ See: MS XIX A “Statuta Studii Biblici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in Siniis” (Statutes of the Studium Biblicum of the Franciscan Friars in China), Hong Kong, 16 April, 1950. A copy of the first and last page of the Statute is in: Appendix B.6.

chapter, the work day was defined as well as the need for mutual respect among the Fathers during the correcting and reviewing sessions.

As Allegra recalled in his memoirs, these Statutes remained in full force and effect until 1968, completion and publication of the single volume Bible. Therefore, according to the principles established, following this accomplishment, the Statutes were to be modified, to allow a broader range of biblical works for the members. However, despite the attempts at adjusting them, the superiors of the Order of the Friars did not approve of the changes, nor did they give indications on the expected corrections. Allegra felt responsible for this indifference of the Friars in Italy, and dreaded failure of the institute he had founded.¹⁷ This did not happen immediately, but Allegra's genial plans would take on a different direction.

The first group of collaborators of the Studium was made up of five Chinese Franciscan friars. Three of them, Solanus Li Zhixian (李志先), Bernardinus Li Yutang (李玉堂), and Ludovicus Liu Xutang (劉緒堂), were from Tsinanfu (*Jinan fu* 濟南府), Antonius Li Shiyu (李士漁) was from Hengyang and was a seminarian when Allegra arrived there in 1931, Victor Zuo Weidou (左維斗) was from the Han Kow (*Hankou* 漢口) diocese. The first three of these had graduated in Chinese literature at Beijing Fu Jen University and were chosen to revise the fluency of the Chinese text. Furthermore, all the new members of the team started to take Biblical Hebrew and Greek lessons from Father Allegra.

3.2 Activity of the Studium

Translation method

After its foundation, the first purpose of the Studium was to revise and publish the Book of Psalms, chosen as the first to be published for two reasons. Firstly because of its importance in liturgies and rites and secondly because the Chinese translation manuscripts of other books of the Old Testament had been misplaced during World War II.¹⁸ This first task was accomplished on September 15, 1946 in Beijing, with the publication of the first volume of the Old Testament books, the *Shengyong ji* 聖詠集, the Book of Psalms,¹⁹ which was also the first book edited by the Friars of the Studium Biblicum.

¹⁷ See: Allegra, *Memorie*, 121.

¹⁸ See: MS XIV, 3, "Report to Msgr. Mario Zanin," Beijing, 8 September, 1945, 25. The mentioning of the World War refers to Allegra's move from Hengyang to Beijing after 1941, and the loss of some manuscripts kept in the first convent in Hunan following the war bombings.

¹⁹ *Shengyong ji* 聖詠集 (Book of Psalms) (Beijing: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1946).

Concerning the translation method, many accounts written by Allegra himself are available in the Archive, and some of them were also published. However, it must be underlined that the first document found on the topic was written in 1944. The indications to follow were: 1) translation of original text; 2) “word-for-word” translation (“*verbum ad verbum*”); 3) exegetical notes to be placed at the end of translation. Concerning the language to use, Allegra mentioned the *Guoyu* 國語 used by Lu Xun 魯迅, Zhou Zuoren 周作人, Hu Shi 胡適, Ba Jin 巴金, Lao She 老舍, and Bing Xin 冰心.²⁰ In this document Allegra exposed the different styles used in the translation of different sets of books. He chose clarity for the historical books, elegance for the poetics, earnestness for the wisdom books, while legal texts were strong and straightforward, so that “huiusmodi stylus erit proinde unus et varius prout diversitas generum litterariorum requirit” (the style will be one and different according to the variety required by the different literary genres).²¹ The lengthy paragraph that follows in the report deals with the “*terminologia sacra*” (sacred terminology) and indicates the principles of its translation. The translator discouraged the use of new words, inviting to keep to the Chinese Church’s customary terminology. Where words needed to be changed or corrected, other Chinese Catholic books should be consulted, such as liturgical texts, the missal, various editions of the catechism, some lives of saints, and Chinese translations of books in European languages containing the words needed. Allegra suggested to create the indices of the transliterated names, dividing them into three groups, namely: proper names; technical names, such as plants, animals, weight and measurement units; and “strictly sacred terms” (“*terminorum sacrorum sensu stricto*”). In the latter group, it is argued that the various transliterations, by Nestorians, Manicheans, Muslims, and Protestants, should be reported to choose the most appropriate. These indices, can be found in the 1957 edition of the Gospels and, with more details and some modifications, in the appendices of the single volume edition of 1968. In this document Allegra also confirmed his approval of the plain transliteration of Semitisms, bringing to mind that their seemingly “barbarous” sound would gradually become familiar, as occurred in the languages of Europe. On the dubious passages of the original texts, the translator stated that the contemporary exegetes were to be consulted and followed.²² Only if the ambiguity were to persist, could the *Vulgate* be consulted and used as source text. This position confirms the will of Allegra of being faithful to the tradition of the Church and his

²⁰ These are all Chinese writers contemporary to Allegra. They were among those intellectuals who promoted vernacular literature in China.

²¹ MS XIV, 3, “Report to Msgr. Mario Zanin,” Beijing, 8 September, 1945, 5, my translation.

²² The authors to be consulted are listed in this order: Zorell, Vaccari, Tintori, Dausch, Ricciotti (see: *ibid.* 8).

reluctance to discard the authority of the *Vulgate*, highlighting, at the same time, the intention of following the new exegetical and hermeneutical methods.

Two more papers on the translation method will be presented here, to give some details of the general principles abovementioned. These documents were published in 1961 and 1965 in two different missionary periodicals.²³ These have been chosen because they were originally in English, and therefore do not need translation when quoted here. In the first text mentioned, the reference to the 1944 official report is explicit, and the translation method is briefly summed up:

The basic principles regulating our translation and commentary, laid down on November 25, 1944, are: a) Translate from the original texts, correcting them, if necessary, according to the ancient versions and follow the best opinions of outstanding modern exegetes; b) Translate in the living modern language; c) Write ample introductions and clear annotations; d) Make use, as far as possible, of the Chinese cultural heritage in the commentaries.²⁴

In the Archive there is a document in Italian written a month before the English one just quoted. The two papers are very similar in contents, but the preceding one reports an interesting comment on the last point mentioned above, which is lacking in the English version. With reference to point d), Allegra wrote: “Dico subito che quest’ultimo postulato, comeché esiga profondi e diuturni studi fu rimandato ai lavori a venire” (I immediately have to precise that this latter postulate, requiring it deep and unremitting study, is postponed to future works).²⁵ Unfortunately, the revision of the commentaries according to this assumption of using the “Chinese cultural heritage” within was never accomplished. Probably, the haste to complete the 1968 single volume and publication of the Biblical Dictionary in 1975 reduced the need to have detailed commentaries.

The article published in 1965, gives details of each one of the points illustrated in the 1961 paper. In particular, it provides the order in which the different readings of the texts must be consulted, namely, first the *Masoretic Text* of the Old Testament and the Greek New Testament, second the Greek *Septuagint*, the Latin *Vulgate*, and the Syriac version, and finally also the versions in modern languages, together with the commentaries of modern and contemporary exegetes. The article specifies that the “living modern language”

²³ Gabriele M. Allegra, “Translation of the Scriptures into Chinese,” *Worldmission* 4 (1961): 97-105; Gabriele M. Allegra, “The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible of Studium Biblicum O.F.M. Hong Kong,” *Teaching all Nations*, (July 1965): 345-353. The preparatory text of the first article is kept in the Archive: MS XIV, 8, “Completion of the translation of the Holy Scripture into Chinese,” 30 August, 1961.

²⁴ Allegra, “Translation of the Scriptures into Chinese,” 101.

²⁵ MS XXIII, 4, “Compimento versione cinese S. Scritture” (Completion of the Chinese version of the Sacred Scriptures), 2 July 1961, 7, my translation.

is the *Guoyu*, and a long paragraph on Christian terminology, together with a deep analysis of the “complex and troublesome problem”²⁶ of the transliteration of proper names follow.²⁷

While the translation method employed remained almost constant during the whole translation process, the position of the members of the Studium regarding the commentaries on the biblical books changed during the years, in accordance with the comments of the addressees of the Chinese version of the Bible. Allegra noted that when the Studium was still in Beijing, no Catholic Chinese commentaries of the Old Testament existed, and only some explanations of the New Testament were available. He described the situation in these words:

However useful and pious such explanations were, they must be considered more as devotional than as literal and doctrinal explanations of the Sacred Text. To translate the Bible into a modern language and to write a kind of commentary designed to nourish the devotion of the faithful by indulging in accommodations and pious considerations would not, it seemed, meet the real needs of the Church. what was needed was a modern scientific version and a sound scientific commentary.²⁸

Given this situation, and the notes to the *Shengyong ji* added after the translation, the reaction of the keen readers to the circulation of the Chinese Book of Psalms after September 1946 is noticeable:

Immediately after its publication, the Chinese Bishops, many Chinese priests and many missionaries showed their keen interest in the introduction and notes; moreover, they expressed in letters or orally their desire to have a fuller commentary.²⁹

It was this type of response that led Allegra and his confreres to prepare more detailed notes, introductions and commentaries to the subsequent books of the Old and New Testament. The progress was seen from the Psalms with a reduced paratext to the first volume of the Prophets (1951), when the translators felt the commentaries could finally satisfy the requests of the addressees, and continued to adhere to the same pattern for the remaining books of the Old and those of the New Testament. Allegra wrote that in the Pentateuch volume, the notes in the margins were added, while “in the Historical Books

²⁶ Allegra, “The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible,” 350.

²⁷ On the transliteration of proper names see: Chapter 4.3, “Proper names,” and Appendix F.

²⁸ Allegra, “The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible,” 351.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 351.

the commentary is rather thin and timid.”³⁰ Furthermore, a new aspect to take into account was represented by the contemporary results of biblical exegesis and the new importance given to it by Church hierarchies:

It was also our intention, in writing the commentaries, to follow the principles laid down by Pius XII in his encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* [1943], in which the Pope requires that the interpreter give the literal meaning of the word of God, consulting history, philology, and the patristic interpretation, under the guidance of the Church’s magisterium.³¹

In a document written by Allegra on September 30, 1960 some important standpoints to prepare the commentaries are listed.³² Noteworthy is the requirement of remembering the explanations of all the other books, while commenting a single one, in order to create unity and consistency. Other points regard the importance of following the instructions of the Church on translation and of bearing in mind the historical context and details of the first edition of the original texts, so as to appropriately understand and translate the more difficult passages. As often argued by Allegra and his collaborators, the adherence to a scientific translation and exegetical method was fundamental. However, another key element was loyalty to the Catholic doctrine, with the commentaries necessarily delineating “the voice of the Church,” and the “clear and theologically solid exposition of the Sacred Text.”³³ In a later document Allegra defined the commentaries as a “translation of the existing Catholic exegesis.”³⁴

Translation and publication process

After the foundation of the Studium, every month, an official report of the biblical sessions was drawn up. It was generally written in Latin by the Prefect of the Studium, who listed all the progress made during the month and all the topics discussed in the meeting. Some reports are written by the Vice Prefect or by the Secretary. In the Archive, copies of the reports from September 1945 to November 1967 are kept and have been analyzed.³⁵ The majority of the reports in the Archive is typewritten, but many, especially those from 1959

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 351. A similar report on the changes in the commentaries from the first Old Testament volume to the Prophets Books was written in Italian between 1959 and 1960. See: MS XIV, 6, “Pensieri sullo Studio Biblico Cinese” (Thoughts on the Chinese Studium Biblicum), 11 July 1959–2 July 1960, 8–9.

³¹ Allegra, “The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible,” 351–352.

³² MS VI C, 30/6 “S. Scrittura, criteri di traduzione. Appunti” (Sacred Scriptures, criteria of translation. Notes), Bagheria, PA, 30 September, 1960, 1.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1, my translation.

³⁴ MS XIV, 6, “Pensieri sullo Studio Biblico Cinese” (Thoughts on the Chinese Studium Biblicum), 11 July 1959 – 2 July 1960, 9, my translation.

³⁵ See: MS XIV, 2; 3; 4; MS XIX A; MS XIX B, 1; 3; MS XXIV, 1; 6; 7.

to 1966 are handwritten, and it is not clear whether they are drafts of the subsequent typewritten copies or if they are the official versions. Furthermore, the location of the original documents is not reported in these photocopies, nor have they been found in the Archive in Acireale or in the Library of the Studium in Hong Kong. These reports are official documents, and are important to track a step by step progression of the translation, as well as an outline of the detailed works of each component of the Studium. Some extracts of these reports will be presented here to outline the process of translation of the eleven volumes of the first Chinese Catholic Bible, and the preparation and publication of the 1968 single volume edition.

The translation and publication process can be divided in two phases, one concerning the Old Testament, and the other concerning the New Testament. When the Studium was founded in 1945, the translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew had been completed by Allegra himself, therefore, only the revision of the Chinese text and the editing of the paratext needed to be prepared. The publication of the volume of the Psalms in 1946 started the issue of the Old Testament Books and was followed by the print and circulation of the *Zhihui shu* 智慧書, the Books of Wisdom, on October 4, 1947.³⁶ On the same day, one year later, the Chinese Pentateuch, *Meise wushu* 梅瑟五書 was published,³⁷ this being the last work of the Studium printed in Beijing. When it was printed, the relocation to Hong Kong was almost complete, and only Allegra and Father Victor Zuo were in Beijing. They reached the other members twenty days later. The first book prepared and published in Hong Kong was the first volume of the Historical Books, *Shi shu shang ce* 史書上冊, when the team of translators was still in the Franciscan residence of Waterloo Road (October 4, 1949).³⁸ In Kennedy Road, the second volume of the Historical Books was published (*Shi shu xia ce* 史書下冊 November 8, 1950)³⁹ followed, one year later, by the first volume of the Prophetic Books, *Xianzhi shu shang ce* 先知書上冊 (November 8, 1951).⁴⁰ This first volume included only the Book of Isaiah, while the second volume of the Prophetic Books was composed of the Books of Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, and Ezekiel and was published on December 8, 1952: *Xianzhi shu zhong ce* 先知書中冊.⁴¹ The

³⁶ *Zhihui shu* 智慧書 (Books of Wisdom) (Beijing: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1947). The complete table of the publications of the Studium Biblicum is reported in: Appendix G.2.

³⁷ *Meise wushu* 梅瑟五書 (Pentateuch) (Beijing: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1948).

³⁸ *Shi shu shang ce* 史書上冊 (Historical Books, vol. I) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1949).

³⁹ *Shi shu xia ce* 史書下冊 (Historical Books, vol. II) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1950).

⁴⁰ *Xianzhi shu shang ce* 先知書上冊 (Prophetic Books, vol. I) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1951).

⁴¹ *Xianzhi shu zhong ce* 先知書中冊 (Prophetic Books, vol. II) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1952).

third volume of the Prophetic Books, *Xianzhi shu xia ce* 先知書下冊 was published on May 31, 1954, and included the Book of Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets.⁴² This was the eighth volume published by the Studium Biblicum and completed the first edition of the Catholic Old Testament in Chinese.

During the year 1955, when the publication of the Old Testament had been finally accomplished, Allegra wrote some official documents and personal letters with considerations on the work just concluded. Unexpectedly, the impression was of discouragement and fatigue, clearly expressed, for example, in many letters to his cousin Leone Murabito. In these writings to Father Murabito, even when mentioning other episodes of his life, or asking his cousin to send him books or to send his regards to somebody or other in Italy, even when reassuring the younger Friar on spiritual questions, Allegra often expressed his desire to leave Hong Kong to retire to a new Franciscan convent in Bagheria (Sicily), especially in the years between 1951 and 1956.⁴³ He was weary of the hard translation work and his health problems. Moreover, he feared that all the energy, time, money and people involved in the project of the Bible translation had been a waste. In a report written in Madrid, where he went to personally thank the Spanish benefactors, both Franciscan friars and laymen, he argued:

A giudicare dagli eventi ulteriori, tutte le nostre speranze sono state deluse e l'opera della Bibbia cinese si è risolta in un fallimento. Fallimento finanziario per la svalutazione della moneta che non ci consentì di recuperare neppure la decima parte delle spese fatte per i primi tre volumi pubblicati a Pechino (Salmi, Sapienziali, Pentateuco); fallimento editoriale, giacché man mano che l'opera della versione e pubblicazione della Bibbia progrediva, si chiudevano pure inesorabilmente le porte del continente cinese, cosicché si è arrivati al punto che per non compromettere la sicurezza personale dei riceventi non si osa inviare la Bibbia nell'interno della Cina. E per essere esatti sino allo scrupolo, sono pochissime le missioni, e ordinariamente lontane dai centri, che possono ricevere i nostri libri. Eppure a questo fallimento sconsolante abbiamo apposto una ferma speranza, una fede inconcussa.

Looking at other events, all our hopes have been dashed, and the project of the Chinese Bible has ended in failure. Financial failure, as the currency devaluation did not allow us to recover one tenth of the costs of the first three volumes published in Beijing (Psalms, Wisdom, Pentateuch). Editorial failure, because, as the work of translation and publication of the Bible was making progress, the doors of the Chinese continent were also inexorably closing, so that now, to avoid compromising the personal safety of the receivers, we do not dare to send the Bible in China. In order to be scrupulously precise, very few missions, usually far from the center, can receive our

⁴² *Xianzhi shu xia ce* 先知書下冊 (Prophetic Books, vol. III) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1954).

⁴³ See: Consoli, *Scrivo a te, mio caro Leone*, 81-137.

books. Though, against this discouraging failure, we oppose a solid hope and an unshakeable faith.⁴⁴

The discouragement of what was happening in China was temporarily interrupted by the Hundred Flowers Campaign:⁴⁵

We were advised by our brethren, since 1953, not to send the Bible into the mainland, but when in 1957 the Central Government of Peking started its campaign of “the hundred flowers blossoming together,” we availed ourselves of this opportunity and forthwith sent to all Mission in China almost 6000 Books of the Bible.⁴⁶

Even though the distribution of the volumes of the Old Testament in China was influenced by these historical changes, the translation of the Studium was warmly welcomed by Chinese speaking communities of Catholics, both in Hong Kong, and Taiwan, and also overseas. A Taiwanese bishop praised the work of the Studium in an article published in an Italian newspaper in 1955, calling the attention to the long introductions which provided deep explanations of the author, the book, its content and the writing context: “Queste introduzioni costituiscono dei veri trattati: per esempio, l’introduzione ai libri di Mosè occupa 47 pagine e quella ai libri di Isaia ben 214!” (These introductions are real treatises: for example, the introduction to the Books of Moses is 47 pages long, and the introduction to the Books of Isaiah is 214 pages long!).⁴⁷ The same bishop confirmed the improvement in the translation method and in the style of the Chinese language used, stating that from the first to the last volume a considerable progress was evident.⁴⁸

In the first ten years of activity of the Studium many things had changed, both in the historical context, and in the institute itself. Soon after the move to Hong Kong, other collaborators had joined the original team and the enthusiasm for the enterprise of the translation of the New Testament soon replaced the discouragement for the supposed failure of the Old Testament volumes. By the end of 1948, Father Victor Zuo was obliged to return to the diocese of Hankou to continue his pastoral work, but in the same period,

⁴⁴ Gabriele M. Allegra, “Dopo dieci anni. Pechino 2 agosto 1945 – Hong Kong 1955” (Ten years later. Beijing, August 2, 1945-Hong Kong 1955) *Sicilia Serafica* Sept-Oct (1955): 6-8, 6. The draft of the article is kept in the Archive: MS XIV, 16, “Dopo dieci anni” (Ten Years later), Madrid, 10 July 1955, 2, my translation.

⁴⁵ This campaign was promoted between May 1956 and July 1957 by the Communist Party of China which invited people to present their critiques to the Party and its programs. As the critiques were plenteous and severe, the Party smothered the Hundred Flower Campaign converting it into an anti-rightist one. See: John K. Fairbank, ed., *The People’s Republic, Part I: The Emergence of Revolutionary China 1949-1965*, vol. 14 of *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 242-258.

⁴⁶ MS XIV, 8, “Completion of the Holy Scripture,” 30 August, 1961, 5; and also Allegra, “Translation of the Scriptures into Chinese,” 103.

⁴⁷ Lokuang, “Il Vecchio Testamento tradotto in cinese da un francescano italiano.”

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

there were new arrivals: Father Marcus Chen Weitong 陳維統, a graduate student in foreign languages at Fu Jen University, and the Italian Friar Tarcisius Benvegnù (Niu Hanmo 牛漢謨), well trained in biblical languages. They both gave an important contribution to the edition of the last volumes of the Old Testament and would continue to work for those of the New Testament. The number of the members of the Studium continued to grow at the beginning of the '50s, when the Chinese Friars Conradus Li Shaofeng 李少峰, Vianney Zhang Junzhe 張俊哲, Accursius Yang Henghui 楊恆輝, and Juniper Li Zhiyi 李智義 joined the team. In 1952, the Studium saw the arrival of the German Franciscan Theobaldus Diederich (Zhai Xu 翟煦) who had lived in Beijing from 1941, and had already contributed to the work of the Studium there. He had studied biblical sciences in Rome and the Chinese language in Beijing, so his preparation was complete and appropriate for the purposes of the institute founded by Allegra.⁴⁹ The last member to join the Studium team was Father Gaspar Han Chengliang 韓承良, a Franciscan born in Shandong, who had attended and later taught biblical courses in Spain, and arrived in Hong Kong to work for the Chinese Bible in 1967.

In the month of October 1955, the translation of the New Testament began. The first books to be published would be the four Gospels, and the Prefect Allegra divided the work among the members of the Studium.⁵⁰ Tarcisius Benvegnù, Antonius Li, and Juniper Li would translate the Gospel according to Matthew, while Marcus Chen and Accursius Yang the Gospel according to Mark. The Gospel of Luke was assigned to Theobaldus Diederich, Solanus Li, and Ludovicus Liu, the Gospel of John would be translated by Father Allegra and Conradus Li, with the help of Marcus Chen. After the translation of the texts of the Gospels, the Friars had to prepare other sections of the volume, namely the chronological table of the life of Jesus Christ, a table on the use of the Gospels during liturgy, maps of the places mentioned in the texts, and the index of the proper names. In the document of the biblical session held on September 17, 1956 and written on December 29, Allegra wrote that during the holidays he had finished the translation and the comment on the Gospel of John. Concerning the commentary to the Gospels, he specified that it could not be used to show the knowledge he and the other members had acquired on the topic, but on the contrary it should be “*concisum, doctrinale et theologicum*” (concise, doctrinal and

⁴⁹ In the autobiographical memoirs, Allegra reserves a complete paragraph to introduce the arrival of Father Diederich at the Studium. See: Allegra, *Memorie*, 127-128.

⁵⁰ MA, A, 12, “Ad preparandam versionem Sanctorum Evangeliorum ita labor distribuitur” (Preparing the version of the Holy, the work is divided in this way), 29 December, 1955. This document is reported in: Appendix B.7.

theological).⁵¹ For the printing of this volume, it is interesting to analyze some notes written by Allegra and found in the Archive. There is a letter to the manager of the Commercial Press in Hong Kong, written on March 19 to request an estimate of the cost of the copies he intended to print.

I would like to give you some indications that can give to you some idea of the volume. I presume it will be one volume of 1000 pages, of which 600 must be printed with small characters (六号). It shall contain five maps and some paradigms. We quote also some Greek words and there shall be also some foreign sentences on titles of books etc.⁵²

After the reply of the Commercial Press, not found in the Archive, Allegra wrote again to the same addressee to accept the proposed estimate and proceed with the work:

I have the honor to inform you that I accept your proposals. [...] I just add some remarks and some wishes. 1) The Studium Biblicum will pay the amount in three times, namely at the first consignment of the manuscript, when half manuscript is printed and at the end of the edition. 2) I shall consign the manuscript also in three times. 3) Consigning the first part at 12 April, I ask that the whole edition may be complete for August 15 or at least at September 8.⁵³

The first volume of the New Testament contained the four Gospels, and respecting the deadline proposed by Allegra to the manager of the Commercial Press, was published on September, 9 1957.⁵⁴ The next volume included the Acts of the Apostles and the letters by Saint Paul, and was published on December 2, 1959.⁵⁵ In an undated document, entitled “Monita pro secundo volumine Novi Testamenti (Actus et corpus epistolarum S. Pauli)” (Notes on the second volume of the New Testament. Acts and epistles of S. Paul),⁵⁶ the method of translation is presented. Confirming the key points of the process already illustrated elsewhere, this document is relevant as it sets the approach to the texts written by the apostle Paul, suggesting the preparatory readings and assigning a section of the volume to each member. The last volume of the New Testament was published on August 2, 1961,

⁵¹ MS XIX B, “Sessio biblica in die 17 septembris 1956 convocata” (Biblical session held on 17 September 1956), 29 December 1956.

⁵² MS XIX A “To the Manager of the Commercial Press,” 19 March, 1957, 27–28. See: Appendix B.8.

⁵³ MS XIX A “Agreement or contract with the Commercial Press for the printing of the Gospels in Chinese,” 12 April, 1957, 29–30. See: Appendix B.8.

⁵⁴ *Fuyin* 福音 (The Gospels) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1957).

⁵⁵ *Zongtu jing shu shang ce* 宗徒經書上冊 (Writing of the apostles, vol. I) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1959).

⁵⁶ MA A-14, “Monita pro secundo volumine Novi Testamenti (Actus et corpus epistolarum S. Pauli)” (Notes on the second volume of the New Testament. Acts and epistles of S. Paul).

with the Catholic Epistles (James, Peter, John, and Jude) and the Book of Revelation.⁵⁷ The issue of this book concluded the edition of the eleven big volumes containing the first complete translation of the Catholic Bible in Chinese. According to the initial project, three more volumes had been prepared, probably due to the length of the commentaries that increased during the years. This increase in the number of volumes led to a growth also in the amount of work and in the financial means needed, and Allegra expressed his opinion on this situation in a note preceding the edition of the last volume of the New Testament:

È stato utile tutto ciò? Forse il giudizio è prematuro, ma data la competenza acquistata dai padri collaboratori, e il bene che specie il libro dei Vangeli fa ai confratelli, inclino a pensare di sì. Naturalmente sino a quando lo Studium non avrà pubblicato tutta la Bibbia in un solo volume, il suo lavoro è manco, però è anche certo che l'aver dapprima sudato per dei lustri a tradurre e spiegare la parola di Dio renderà più facile e attendibile la revisione che deve precedere o seguire l'edizione in un solo volume.

Was all of this useful? Maybe this judgment is premature, but considering the skills acquired by the Fathers collaborators, and the benefit provided to the confreres especially through the volume of the Gospels, I am inclined to think it was. Naturally, until the Studium will not publish the whole Bible in a single volume, its work is lacking. However, it is certain that having striven for years to translate and explain the word of God will make easier and more reliable the revision to do before or after the single volume edition.⁵⁸

The single volume Bible

The priority given by Allegra and the other members of the Studium to the clarity of the Chinese text they were translating resulted in an increase in the number of volumes to publish the whole Bible. Nevertheless, the concern for the usability of the text and the need for the volumes to be handy often emerges in the available documents. Notably, after the completion of the publication of the eleven volumes, the work on the edition of the Old Testament, the New Testament in smaller or pocket versions, and on the single volume Bible started. In 1960, the four Gospels were published in a pocket edition: *Fuyin. Xiuzhenben* 福音袖珍本,⁵⁹ including a general introduction and a guide to read the Gospels in the opening section. The Chinese text of each of the four Gospels is preceded by a specific introduction and followed by the comment to the text. The volume concludes with four appendices including useful tables and indices, and three maps of Palestine and

⁵⁷ *Zongtu jing shu xia ce* 宗徒經書下冊 (Writing of the apostles, vol. II) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1961).

⁵⁸ MS XIV, 6, "Pensieri sullo Studio Biblico Cinese" (Thoughts on the Chinese Studium Biblicum), 11 July 1959 – 2 July 1960, 8-9, my translation.

⁵⁹ *Fuyin. Xiuzhenben* 福音袖珍本 (The Gospels. Pocket edition) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1960).

Jerusalem during New Testament times, and of Jesus' Last Passover. In 1962, the volume *Tianguo xixun* 天國喜訊 (The Good News of the Kingdom of God – Nuntius Bonus de Regno Dei) was published.⁶⁰ This is an interesting book as it presents the history of salvation and the relationship between God and mankind through the narrative of the most relevant episodes of the Old and New Testament. It is the first volume gathering texts from the two testaments and providing useful tables and maps to clarify the historical and geographical context in which the episodes presented took place. It includes, for example, a table with the proper names, of people and places, and a chronological table with the main events of the history of the people of Israel and those of the history in the rest of the world. Among the maps there is one of the Ancient Middle East, one of the Palestine during the life of Jesus, one of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, one of the missionary travels of Saint Paul, and one of the Passover of Jesus. In the year 1962, the complete New Testament was printed and distributed in one volume.⁶¹ This included the translation of all the twenty-seven books, together with introductions presenting each book, and explicative notes at the side of each left page, next to the translated text. The appendices include a table with the main events of the New Testament, a table of the weights, measures, and currency systems used at the time, a list of the passages of the Gospels used during the liturgy of Sundays and main holy days, and a thematic index. The maps reproduce those included in the volume of the Gospels, namely those of the Roman Empire, the Palestine and Jerusalem during the New Testament, the Passover of Jesus, and add the missionary travels of Saint Paul, replacing the picture of the room of the Last Supper reported in the volume of the Gospels.

After the completion of the eleven volumes edition of the Bible, besides the commitment to the preparation of the books just presented, the main duty of the members of the Studium, however, was the revision of the whole translation to publish the single volume Bible in Chinese. In the memoirs, Allegra often underlines the necessity of preparing a thorough yet handy book:

La revisione deve essere fatta al più presto e con la massima serietà. Vero è che oggi esiste tutta la versione della Bibbia in undici volumi, ma la sua stessa mole rende ancora vera la parola del profeta Geremia: *parvuli petierunt panem et non est qui frangeret eis...* una opera in undici volumi non può dirsi popolare e la Scrittura deve diventare il Libro del Popolo di Dio. L'edizione della Bibbia in un solo volume costituirà la forza del popolo di Dio, con essa comincerà una nuova epoca nella Storia della Chiesa Cinese.

⁶⁰ *Tianguo xixun* 天國喜訊 (The Good News of the Kingdom of God – Nuntius Bonus de Regno Dei) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1962).

⁶¹ *Xinyue quanshu* 新約 (The New Testament) (Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1962).

The revision must be done as soon as possible, and in all seriousness. It is true that today there is the complete translation of the Bible in eleven volumes, but its dimensions make still true what the prophet Jeremiah said: *parvuli petierunt panem et non est qui frangeret eis* ["The babes cry for food, but there is no one to give it to them" Lam 4:4]. A work in eleven volumes cannot be defined as popular, while the Scriptures must be the Book of the People of God. The edition of the single volume Bible will be the strength of the people of God, and will start a new era in the History of the Chinese Church.⁶²

The criteria of the revision were established and followed up for five years from 1963. One new criterion used in the revision of the two testaments was that of rendering the text accessible to anyone willing to approach the volume, so that many comments, particularly those concerning the textual critic, meant only for a literate reader belonging to the clergy, were deleted.⁶³ Each book was to be revised by one member of the Studium and later discussed by all the other translators of the team. This kind of team work and draft review included the method of identifying the incorrect or difficult passages and discussing them among the translators to revise on approval of each component.⁶⁴ The aim of this process was that of achieving consistency through the whole Chinese text translated, still respecting the differences in style of the several books composing the Bible. In the Latin preface to the 1968 version,⁶⁵ is found that the New Testament was modified according to the recent critical text edition of 1966, assenting with the ecumenical view proposed in those years. Furthermore, some passages of the Old Testament were corrected following the recently discovered Dead Sea Scrolls (1946-1956). The months preceding the completion of the single volume edition proved to be highly stressing and demanding for all the members of the Studium. In some letters to his cousin, Father Murabito, Allegra expressed his worries and stressed the necessity for him to work relentlessly:

Ti invio un foglio modello della futura Bibbia cinese che dovrebbe uscire per il Natale del prossimo anno. Ciò significa che durante questi quattordici mesi io non ho il diritto, non dico di ammalarmi, ma neppure di sentire anche un lieve dolor di testa. (Hong Kong, 14 ottobre 1967)

Vogliatemi bene pregando per me e per la Bibbia cinese, che mi sta sulle spalle come l'Etna. (Hong Kong, 10 dicembre 1967)

⁶² Allegra, *Memorie*, 148, my translation.

⁶³ See: Allegra, Gabriele M. "Actuositas Studii Biblici Franciscani Sinensi: 1963-1969" (Acts of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Sinense: 1963-1969) *Liber Annuus XIX* (1969): 369-373, 370: "Ut sic Verbum Dei scriptum facilius et fructuosius inter christifideles diffunderetur. Talem recognitionem perfecimus ab anno 1963 ad 1968. [...] Introductiones et notulae, prout res ferebat, ad minimum reductae sunt" (In order to spread the written Word of God among the Christian faithful in a more easy and fruitful way. We made this acknowledgement from 1963 to 1968. [...] Introductions and notes, according to the case, are reduced to the minimum), my translation.

⁶⁴ See: Allegra, *Memorie*, 121-122.

⁶⁵ The preface is reported in Allegra, "Actuositas Studii Biblici," 370-372.

I send you a sample page of the future Chinese Bible, supposed to be released on next year Christmas. This means that, during the next fourteen months I have no right to get sick, not even to feel a mild headache. (Hong Kong, 14 October, 1967)
Please, love me and pray for me and the Chinese Bible. It stands on my shoulders as if it were the Mount Etna. (Hong Kong, 10 December, 1967)⁶⁶

According to the drafts and the versions found in the present venue of the Studium, the translation for the single volumes went through more than one revision. Among the volumes found, there are handwritten drafts of the translation, the edition of the separate volumes with handwritten corrections, and some papers in the final layout for the printing of 1968, still including handwritten modifications, corresponding to those in the published version. It is probable that this last version was compiled following the criteria stated in a document of March 20, 1968. This paper mentions a group of Friars drawing up the text, and an opposing group correcting it. The third criterion described in the document allows the correction of apparent errors to provide “an amended text, more faithful and more elegant.”⁶⁷ The last point of the document states that the members of the correcting group, together with Father Antonius Lee, had the duty to set the principles to follow so as to revise and correct the punctuation. The layout of the book was decided subsequent to a survey among thirty Chinese bishops, priests and laymen. It was established that each page would be divided into two sections, writing twenty-four vertical characters in each section. The notes, in smaller types, would be printed on the outer left part of the left page only, without interruption half page, ending up with columns of fifty-six characters. The verses were numbered in Chinese numerals as smaller superscripts of the characters, while the numbers of the notes were in Arabic numerals circled, in the same size as the text, at the end of the verse. This layout and the size of the characters were chosen also considering that the complete volume needed to be handy and not too big. In fact, in the revision phase, Allegra had set some limits to the number of pages of some longer introductions and notes, with the precise intention of avoiding the creation of an unwieldy volume. For the same reason, he had proposed to print the Psalms in prose and not in verse. However, all the other members of the Studium opposed this idea, proposing to print the Psalms in verses, keeping to their poetical nature.⁶⁸ As Allegra himself argued, “Alla base dei nostri dissensi c’era in fondo in fondo inesperienza e buona volontà [...] ero molto preoccupato che stessimo per stampare un vero libro mattone” (At the origin of our disagreement deep down

⁶⁶ Consoli, *Scrivo a te, mio caro Leone*, 249, 252, my translation.

⁶⁷ MS XIX B, “Principia tenenda in adparanda editione totius Sacrae Scripturae Sinicae” (Principles to respect while preparing the complete edition of the Sacred Scriptures in Chinese), 20 March, 1968, my translation.

⁶⁸ See: Allegra, *Memorie*, 158-161.

there were inexperience and goodwill [...] I was very worried that we were going to print a real bulky book).⁶⁹ Nevertheless, he finally agreed with the verse layout.

In a handwritten page of September 1968, Allegra announced that in few months the single volume Bible in Chinese would be ready to be printed and distributed, and presented some of its new features such as the appendices and the maps.⁷⁰ As decided during the revision, the task was to be accomplished by 1968 Christmas, and in fact, in a page of the personal diary of Allegra, we find that on December 19 he was able to review a first copy of the complete work:

Il tipografo ci ha presentato la prima copia rilegata della Sacra scrittura. È un lavoro tecnicamente perfetto, che purtroppo a causa del maltempo – pioggia o umidità – deve andare a rilento.

The printer presented to us the first bound copy of the Sacred Scriptures. It is a technically perfect product. Unfortunately, it proceeds slowly due to bad weather – rain and humidity.⁷¹

The director of the press tried to solve the problems due to rain and humidity employing more personnel and increasing working hours, so that, despite the unexpected slowdown, the copies of the Bible were ready and printed some days before Christmas.⁷² On December 22 Allegra went to Coloane, where he usually spent Christmas, Easter and other feast days with the lepers, and he was there when, on December 25 the copies of the complete Bible in Chinese were distributed for the first time in Hong Kong. Among the autograph notes found in the Archive, some pages of a personal diary report the reaction of Allegra to the publication of the single volume Bible. They were written in Macau, on December 26, after the celebration of mass, reflecting on the printed volume:

Ho celebrato nella casa di S. Giuseppe, e durante la messa alcuni ragazzi poliomielitici stavano sdraiati per terra in cappella come dei cagnolini. Questo fatto mi ha tanto commosso. Tornato a Hong Kong trovo la Bibbia cinese, portata ieri, giorno del S. Natale. Veramente la Bibbia cinese è nata, il Verbo si è fatto libro in Cina lo stesso giorno in cui si fece carne a Betlem.

I celebrated the Mass in the house of St. Joseph. During the Mass, some boys and girls with poliomyelitis were laying on the floor of the chapel, like doggies. This moved me considerably. When back in Hong Kong, I will find the Chinese Bible. They brought

⁶⁹ Allegra, *Memorie*, 161, my translation.

⁷⁰ See: 22 DOC-A, 4, personal notes, 30 September, 1968.

⁷¹ MS II C, 6, “Diario” vol. II (Diary, vol. II), 19 December, 1968, 160, my translation.

⁷² See: Allegra, *Memorie*, 164.

it yesterday, the Holy day of Christmas. The Chinese Bible is really born. The Word became book in China on the same day it became flesh in Bethlehem.⁷³

The single volume Bible published by the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum is known in Chinese as *Sigao Shengjing* 思高聖經, after the name of Scotus given to the institute where it was translated. In English it is referred to as *Sigao Bible* or *Scotus Bible*, partially or wholly translating the Chinese name, or even as *Studium Biblicum Version* (SBV).⁷⁴ According to the day when it was published, the volume is also known as *Christmas Bible* or *Bethlehem Bible*.

The issue of the single volume Bible, the first complete text in Chinese for the Catholics, was warmly welcomed and soon became a landmark for the Catholic Chinese speaking communities. Besides the good quality of the translation, what enriched the volume were some useful appendices carefully prepared by the members of the Studium. Among these, worthy of mention are the chronological tables, including one which brings together the significant events all over the world and those in the Bible, one listing the events described in the Old Testament, and one listing those of the New Testament. Another table presents the events in the world in relation to the events of the life of Jesus, while the next table reports Jesus' three years of public ministry. There is also a table comparing the weights, measures, and currency systems cited in the Bible with those currently used. Two charts report the Judean, Greek and Roman calendars, and the holy days for the Jews during one year. In the autobiographical memoirs, Allegra mentioned that the most appreciated appendices for the Chinese readership were those containing historical features. Furthermore, despite acknowledging that it needed amendments, as well as being the most demanding appendix to prepare, Allegra was content with the “*Shengjing jiaoyi suoyin*” 聖經教義索引 (Index of biblical doctrine), an index presenting the explanation of twelve topics, covering all the main biblical themes and abridging the whole salvation history. The twelve small chapters were condensed in thirty pages (1979-2006)⁷⁵ and were divided as follows:

- 1) *Lun Tianzhu de qishi* 論天主的啟示 (God reveals Himself);
- 2) *Lun shengyong zhenshi de Tianzhu* 論永生真實的天主 (The one true, living and eternal God);
- 3) *Lun Tianzhu de bentu* 論天主的本體 (God's nature and attributes);

⁷³ MS II C, 6, “Diario” (Diary), Macau-Hong Kong, 26 December, 1968, my translation. This is the definition which inspired the title of this thesis. See above: “Introduction,” p. 11.

⁷⁴ *Shengjing* 聖經 (The Bible), Hong Kong: Sigao Shengjing Xuehui, 1968.

⁷⁵ See: Allegra, *Memorie*, 159-160.

- 4) *Tianzhu chuangzao wuyou* 天主創造萬有 (God, the Creator of the universe);
- 5) *Tianzhu jiushu shiren* 天主救贖世人 (God, the Saviour of man);
- 6) *Jiushizhu* 救世主 (The Redeemer of the world);
- 7) *Sheng jiaohui* 聖教會 (The Church);
- 8) *Lun Jidutu de shenghuo* 論基督徒的生活 (The Christian life);
- 9) *Sheng jiaohui yi Tianzhu de hua shenghua xinyou* 聖教會以天主的話聖化信友
(The sanctifying power of the divine Word entrusted to the Church)
- 10) *Lun qidao* 論祈禱 (Prayer)
- 11) *Lun qi jian Shengshi* 論七件聖事 (The Sacraments)
- 12) *Lun weishi* 論末世 (Eschatology).⁷⁶

The maps reproduce Palestine, the Roman Empire, the Assyrian Empire, and the Persian one, together with its process of Hellenization. Several illustrations are distributed in the text, in the places where they are pertinent. There are, for example, the pictures of the original scrolls of the Bible, or figures of the twelve tribes of Israel, and the reigns of David and Salomon in the sections where they are mentioned in the Old Testament, while pictures such as the official residence of Pilate or the structure of the cross as an instrument of punishment at the time of Jesus are found in the chapters of the Gospels narrating the Passion episodes.

When the *Sigao Shengjing* was published, it circulated in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan, and even reached some overseas Chinese speaking communities of Catholics. At the end of 1969, Allegra asked the Prefect of the Congregation Propaganda Fide for some money to support the free distribution of copies of the single volume Bible in the prisons, hospitals and schools of Taiwan, to help the local dioceses to bring to the people living in those institutes “light and consolation.”⁷⁷ In 1971, the second edition of the *Sigao Bible* was published and distributed, mostly in Hong Kong and Taiwan. With the publication and circulation of the one volume Bible, Allegra and the Studium he had founded had accomplished their main task. Furthermore, the contents of the Bible were finally available for Chinese speaking Catholics, and together with the detailed paratext, would become an important means of transmitting the main features of Christian doctrine to the Chinese.

The Studium and the *Sigao Bible* after 1968

In 1964 a branch of the Studium Biblicum was established in Taiwan, venue also of the first Biblical Week, held in Taipei in February (3-10), 1963. Other weeks of Bible study were

⁷⁶ *Shengjing*, 1979-2006. The English translations are included in the original printed version of the Bible. The Italian correspondences are reported in a list in: Allegra, *Memorie*, 160.

⁷⁷ MS XIX B, G.M. Allegra to the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, G.P. Agagianian, 26 November, 1969, my translation.

organized in Tainan and Gaoxiong, and in 1965 the first Biblical Exposition was held in Hong Kong, hosting many representatives of Protestant Churches. During the last years of revision of the single volume Bible, in fact, when organizing this kind of event, the members of the Studium wanted to address a wider audience to acquaint more people with the contents of the Bible. The Biblical Exposition in Macau, held in 1969, attracted many visitors who could listen to conferences on the Bible, see pictures from the Holy Land, and admire artifacts from the places mentioned in the Bible, as well as consulting ancient biblical manuscripts brought there from all over the world. During these events, the Scotus Bible and the other volumes published by the Studium were sold at prices lower than usual, so that a larger number of people could afford them.

This type of undertaking would be greatly appreciated both by the Chinese speaking Christians, and by the representatives of Catholic and Protestant churches. In 1963 an article in a Vatican newspaper praised the 1963 Biblical Week in Taipei and described it in detail.⁷⁸ It pointed out that the conferences covered topics such as “What is the Bible?,” “The Bible in the Church,” and “The Bible in the Chinese Church,” and there were three daily sessions during which those contents were explained for consecrated people and catechists, for priests, and for lay believers. The author of the article underlines the importance of having sold the volumes of the books of the Bible at lower prices and concludes that it was a successful initiative.⁷⁹ Allegra wrote that the venue of the Studium in Hong Kong would determine the organization and location of the first of these events there. However, Taiwan was chosen for linguistic factors. In Taiwan, in fact, the official language was only Mandarin Chinese, whereas, in Hong Kong the conference should have been in three languages: Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese, and English.⁸⁰ A Biblical Exposition was finally organized in Hong Kong in 1965. Immediately after the Biblical Week in Taiwan, Allegra wrote to his superior Father Fortunato Margiotti reporting that some representatives of the Protestant Churches, impressed by the translation published by the Studium, had asked him to collaborate for a new common version and requested permission to use the translation of the deuterocanonical books in their versions.⁸¹ At the beginning of 1965 (January 27–29) Allegra and another three members of the Studium met with six representatives of different Protestant denominations, among whom Eugene Nida, key member of the American Bible Society and the United Bible Societies was present.⁸² During this meeting, the idea of an

⁷⁸ Doglio, “La prima Settimana Biblica Cinese.”

⁷⁹ See: *ibid.*

⁸⁰ See: MS XIX A, 4, “La prima Settimana Biblica Cinese” (The first Chinese Biblical Week), 1963.

⁸¹ See: Epistolario, 7. A P. Fortunato Margiotti, 32. Singapore, 27 March, 1963.

⁸² See: Epistolario, 7. A P. Fortunato Margiotti, 57. 20 February, 1965.

ecumenical translation was discussed again and the Biblical Exposition was organized (April 20-22). Writing an article on this event a few days after its completion, Allegra expressed his satisfaction concerning the collaboration with the representatives of the Protestant Churches of Hong Kong. He also positively commented on the unexpectedly high number of visitors and on the presence of the students from every school in Hong Kong, as the days of the Exposition coincided with some school holidays.⁸³

The efforts directed in preparing the Biblical Weeks and Biblical Expositions show the growing concern of the members of the Studium regarding the importance of making the biblical contents available for a wider audience. Following the arduous task of translating and commenting the text, the work of making the translation accessible was imperative. The publication of the single volume Bible in 1968 was, at the same time, the last step of the first phase of activity of the Studium and the first step of the subsequent phase, which would deal with the diffusion of the volumes prepared.

To achieve this aim, following the completion, publication and distribution of the single volume Bible, the members of the Studium started to compile a Biblical dictionary in Chinese which would include the definitions of the main biblical themes. It was intended to sum up the contents of the previous eleven volumes, but it needed to be a small book, accessible and lightweight. In July 1970, the team of the Studium celebrated the 25th anniversary of its foundation and Allegra took advantage of the event, duly presenting in his sermon the project of the Biblical dictionary, inviting the audience to pray for its completion.⁸⁴ The work on the dictionary involved all the members of the institute and everyone was to prepare a group of definitions to be corrected by the others. In an article published in 1975, Allegra defined the aim of compiling the dictionary as that of providing Chinese people with a text which would “*praeseferat proprietatem indolemque parvae Encyclopaediae Biblicae*” (display the nature and the character of a small Biblical Encyclopedia).⁸⁵ The first issue to deal with was that of the order of the entries in the dictionary, considering the lack of an alphabetical order in Chinese. The order finally selected in the biblical dictionary was the one based on the number of strokes, preferring it to the order of radicals in the dictionary of Emperor Kangxi, and to the alphabetical order based on Romanization systems. Furthermore, an index with Latin and English translations

⁸³ Allegra, “Una esposizione biblica a Hong Kong.”

⁸⁴ See: MS XIV, 12, “Oratio Eucharistica pro XXV anniversario Foundationis Studii Biblici Sinensis” (Eucharistic prayer in the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese Studium Biblicum), Hong Kong, 26/27 July, 1970, 2.

⁸⁵ Gabriele M. Allegra, “De Lexico Biblico Sinico” (On the Chinese Biblical Dictionary), *Liber Annuus XXV* (1975): 269-277, 271, my translation. The typewritten draft of this article is kept in the Archive: 22 DOC A, “De Lexico Biblico Sinico” (On the Chinese Biblical Dictionary), Hong Kong, 15-20 October, 1975.

of the 2630 words analyzed was compiled and included in the dictionary, together with an index of both the Protestant and Catholic transliteration and translation of the words. In the article it is specified that interesting appendices were written for the dictionary, which already included the most interesting ones of the single volume Bible. Apart from the chronological and comparative tables, in fact, brief explanations on the Sacred Scriptures related to Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, and the Nestorian Stele were prepared and published in the volume.⁸⁶ The biblical dictionary was finally completed and published on April, 15, 1975 as *Shengjing cidian* 聖經辭典. Subsequently, it was reviewed and updated, and is still used today in theological and biblical studies in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

In 1971 Allegra had left his position of Prefect of the Studium and had been replaced by his former student Father Antonius Lee (March 22). Nevertheless, the Friar's commitment to biblical work did not diminish. He undertook the task of preparing a Greek-Chinese dictionary, which would be his last and incomplete work. Meanwhile, the members of the Studium continued their studies and research with some going on to teach biblical subjects in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Many documents found in the Archive refer to Allegra's future plans for the Studium, especially after the completion and publication of the single-volume Bible. The Friar wrote about his expectations on the necessity for the institute to appoint new members who could study and master several subjects. They were to include both Chinese and foreigners with the intention to master the Chinese language, history, and literature, as well as biblical languages, exegesis, theology and hermeneutics.⁸⁷ In a letter to Father Clement Vogt, in the section on the final remarks, Allegra underlined that it was a priority to enrich the library, especially with volumes on the religions in China.⁸⁸ Subsequently, a list of topics to be explored was presented for the members of the Studium. Among these are the proverbs in the Bible and in the Chinese language, the literary genres in the Bible and in Chinese literature, the allegories and the metaphors, and many other interesting topics. Unfortunately, after the death of Allegra, few efforts were made to pursue the activities of the Studium at the same pace. Furthermore, no systematic accounts on the life of the institute were found. Nevertheless, according to Allegra's intention, the Studium would later promote the work for a Chinese biblical association and a biblical periodical. In the '70s and '80s, the encouragement given by the Second Vatican Council to foster biblical

⁸⁶ See: Allegra, "De Lexico Biblico Sinico," 272.

⁸⁷ See, for example, the paragraph "Future ideal" in: MS XIV, 6, "Pensieri sullo Studio Biblico Cinese" (Thoughts on the Chinese Studium Biblicum), 11 July 1959–2 July 1960.

⁸⁸ MS XIV, 15, "De future actuositate Studii Biblici Sinensis" (On the future activity of the Chinese Studium Biblicum), Macau, 23 December, 1971.

apostolate was welcomed and some biblical associations were established in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia. Some members of the Studium Biblicum gave their support to those founded in Hong Kong and Taiwan, and in 1985 the World Catholic Federation for the Biblical Apostolate met in Hong Kong.⁸⁹ Furthermore, in 1977, the first issue of the biblical journal of the Studium was published. It was the *Shengjing shuangyuekan* 聖經雙月刊 (Bible bimonthly), and was printed up to 1998. One year later, its name was changed to *Shengjing jikan* 聖經季刊 (Bible quarterly) and fewer issues were published yearly. However, this periodical is still published and the last issue available was released in September 2016.⁹⁰ It includes several articles on the Jubilee of Mercy (2016) and on the topic of mercy in relation to Jesus, Mary, the saints, and in reference to biblical passages.

Data on the contemporary works carried out by the Studium was collected during the research periods of June and December, 2015 in Hong Kong. Four Friars currently living in Henderson Road work for the institute. They are currently preparing a revision of misprints and errors of the single-volume version of the Bible, and this year (2016) the revision and publication of the eleven volumes of the Old and New Testament with commentaries was completed. The Friars also administer the Studium Biblicum official website in Chinese language, and traditional or simplified characters are available.⁹¹ On the webpage there are many interesting sections, among which an easy access online version of the SBV, pages on the history of the Studium, the life of Allegra and the publications of the institute. The lists of books preserved in the library of the Studium are constantly updated and are available online. Furthermore, there is a section to download biblical documents and material and a news box with the Studium's recent undertakings. In particular, the section *moxiang qidao* 默想祈禱 is updated daily and contains prayers, liturgy readings and explanations. The webpage was recently upgraded by the new section *Sigao xing* 思高行, an initiative of the Friars of the Studium. They offer, monthly, the possibility of visiting the institute and of learning something about the founder, Allegra, the history of the place and the undergoing activities. The *Sigao Shengjing* is also available through a mobile app (*Sigao Shengjing* 思高聖經), and the Studium Biblicum administers a Facebook account. It is a constantly updated

⁸⁹ See: Camps, "Gabriele Allegra and the Studium Biblicum," 70-72.

⁹⁰ *Shengjing jikan* 聖經季刊, Fall: 2016.

⁹¹ The link to the website is: <http://www.sbofmhk.org/>, accessed on September 12, 2016.

page, sharing events and publications of the Studium, and posting the daily readings of the Mass every Tuesday.⁹²

If it is true that the SBV was the first complete Catholic Bible in Chinese, it must be underlined that after its publication, many other efforts were accomplished in this field. A remarkable version is the New Testament translated in the Sheshan seminary (*Sheshan xiuyuan* 佘山修院), near Shanghai, by a team of translators guided by the bishop Aloysius Jin Luxian 金魯賢. The work was based on the structure of the French *La Bible de Jérusalem*, and in 1986 the Gospels were published, followed by the complete New Testament in 1994, and its revised version ten years later (2004).⁹³

Noteworthy are two ecumenical attempts in translation, namely the *Today's Chinese Version* (1975), and the version organized by an interconfessional committee (1990, 2000). The first version (also known as TCV) was published with the aim of creating a common Chinese text for all Christian denominations.⁹⁴ The translators' group started to meet in 1971, the translation with Protestants terminology was published in 1973 and 1974 (the Gospels), and one year later the Catholic edition of this version was printed. The ecumenical approach was accomplished by systematically substituting terms such as God and Holy Spirit, with the chosen Chinese words, according to the addressees (i.e. "God" was *Tianzhu* 天主 in the Catholic version, and *Shangdi* 上帝 in the Protestant one). Nevertheless, these differences in terminology, still reiterating the old Term Question, prevented the version from being a success. The other attempt at an ecumenical translation came after the formation of a commission of expert translators and is well described by the Jesuit Fang Zhirong in a 2010 article.⁹⁵ The translators, both Catholics and Protestants, had their first meeting in 1970 in Taizhong (Taiwan), and among them were three members of the Studium Biblicum of Hong Kong. Many meetings were held to work on the translation, but despite the agreement on the use of many proper names, a common translation for the names of the Term Question was not agreed on. The final decision was that of using

⁹² The name of the Facebook group is: 思高聖經學會 Studium Biblicum (Hong Kong) (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/158779720908527/>).

⁹³ Choi and Mak, "Catholic Bible Translation," 116. The other volumes of the New Testament were published by the Guangqi publishing house in Shanghai in 1991 (Acts), 1992 (Pauline Epistles), and 1993 (other Epistles and Revelation). See: Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 422.

⁹⁴ *Shengjing. Xiandai Zhongwen yiben* 聖經.現代中文譯本 (Bible. Today's Chinese Version) (Hong Kong: United Bible Societies, 1975).

⁹⁵ Fang Zhirong 房志榮, "Jidu gongjiao yu xinjiao yijing jingyan tan 基督公教與新教譯經經驗談" (On the experience of Catholics and Protestants translating the Bible), in *Shengjingxue daolun* 聖經學導論 (Introduction to Bible studies), edited by Gregory W. Dawes, 124-141, vol. 94 of *Fuda shenxue congshu* 輔大神學叢書 (Fu Jen Theology Series) (Taipei: Guangqi wenhua, 2010).

Shangdi 上帝 to indicate ‘God’ and *Shengshen* 聖神 to indicate the “Holy Spirit.” The bishops of Taiwan, however, considered it impossible and senseless to discard the word *Tianzhu* to indicate “God,” while belonging to the Christian branch known as *Tianzhujiao* 天主教.⁹⁶ They wrote that:

合一聖經是為大家念的，把『天主』都改為『上帝』後，天主教教友在整部聖經中找不到『天主』，那大有危險。

A common Bible is to be read by everyone. If every “*Tianzhu*” is changed into “*Shangdi*,” the Catholics will not find “*Tianzhu*” in the whole Bible. It is too dangerous.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, the group of translators met in Hong Kong or Taipei on numerous occasions. In a 1995 meeting, Eugene Nida participated, and from the ‘90s onwards students from Nanjing seminary were invited to attend. In 1991 and 1995, meetings were held also in Shanghai and Nanjing. The committee finally published the Gospels of Luke and John in 1997. The translations of the other two Gospels and of the Acts of the Apostles were also completed but were not published and the project was abandoned.

After the SBV, the translation of the Chinese Pastoral Bible, known as *Muling Shengjing* 牧靈聖經 was successfully achieved.⁹⁸ The first version was published in Hong Kong in 1998,⁹⁹ and two years later it was also printed in Mainland China, with simplified characters. This translation was based on the Spanish *La Biblia Latinoamericana*, translated by Father Bernard Hurault and published in the ‘70s in South America. The aim of this Spanish version was that of writing an accessible text for the unlearned, writing pastoral notes to make the biblical contents easier to understand. The 1998 edition of the Chinese Pastoral Bible was soon revised to be republished, but in 2006 a completely new translation project was undertaken. This was accomplished in 2014 when the volume of the New Testament was published by the Claretian Press in Macau.¹⁰⁰ The Old Testament is currently under way, and a team of translators living in Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, and Mainland China is constantly working on it.¹⁰¹ Following the phase of the Chinese translation of the text, the

⁹⁶ See: Fang, “Jidu gongjiao yu xinjiao,” 134-138.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 136.

⁹⁸ I am extremely grateful to Father Alberto Rossa and Miss Winnie Wong for the precious information they gave me in the writing of this section of the thesis on their activity. They are two of the translators and collaborators of the Claretian editions of the Chinese Bible and I met and interviewed them in December 2015-January 2016 in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

⁹⁹ *Muling Shengjing* 牧靈聖經 (Pastoral Bible) (Hong Kong: Tianzhujiao guoji Shengjing xuehui, 1998).

¹⁰⁰ *Xinyue Shengjing* 新約聖經 (New Testament) (Macau: Leren Chubanshe, 2014).

¹⁰¹ In June 2016 the Book of Psalms was published in Macau.

translation process includes a series of reviews and exchange of comments among the translators to prepare a text that is later accepted by all members of the group. Another important phase is that of preparing the notes, the references, and the texts guiding the prayer of the *lectio divina* (*xie Zhu du jing* 偕主讀經, literally “reading the Scripture with the Lord,” commonly known as “divine reading”), a key element in the Claretian publication in Chinese. Subsequently, the resulting text is adapted in two versions, one for readers in Mainland China, and the other for those living in Hong Kong Taiwan and elsewhere. The Mainland China version is printed in simplified characters and traditional characters are used in the other version.¹⁰² Given the wide distribution of the 2014 volume of the New Testament, it is expected that the Old Testament too, when published, will be warmly welcomed.

Furthermore, the activity of the Claretian Press covers the issue of spreading the Good News in Chinese language through other initiatives. Besides the translation, notes, and comments of the biblical text, this publishing house develops its apostolate through the translation and printing of numerous texts with the purpose of transmitting the biblical contents to as many people as possible and through the most accessible means. Claretian Press, for example, translated and published several books in Chinese on Pope Francis and distributed the Chinese version of some of his documents. Among these are the following: the book *Laizi shijie jintou de jiaozong Fangji* 來自世界盡頭的教宗方濟 (Francis, the Pope from the end of the world),¹⁰³ and the Apostolic exhortation *Evangelii gaudium* (The joy of the Gospel, 24 November, 2013).¹⁰⁴ The same publishing house, since 2012, has been distributing small books with the daily Bible readings, commentaries, reflections, and prayers in Chinese language, covering the whole year. They are called *Meiri Shengyan* 每日聖言 (Bible diary, literally “The daily Holy word”) and are published every year in both traditional and simplified characters.¹⁰⁵ The Claretian Publications also manage a Facebook account: Claretian Publications Macau 樂仁出版社, where news and recent publications can be found.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Ms. Winnie Wong, personal communication, Taipei, 14 January, 2016.

¹⁰³ José Ruíz Márquez, *Laizi shijie jintou de jiaozong Fangji* 來自世界盡頭的教宗方濟 (Francis, the Pope from the end of the world) (Macau: Leren Chubanshe, 2013).

¹⁰⁴ *Fuyin de xile* 福音的喜樂 (The joy of the Gospel) (Macau: Leren Chubanshe, 2015).

¹⁰⁵ Father Alberto Rossa, personal communication, Hong Kong, 13 December, 2016.

¹⁰⁶ See: Claretian Publications Macau 樂仁出版社 (<https://www.facebook.com/Claretian-Publications-Macau-樂仁出版社-320176531329586/>).

The intense activity of the Claretian group shows how the editorial and publishing initiatives are an important component of the biblical apostolate.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, it is interesting to underline the fact that the Catholic or ecumenical translations completed after 1968 were not intended to replace the *Sigao Shengjing*, but to provide Chinese readers with different versions to use for different purposes. Today, in fact, the SBV is still used in the official documents of the Catholic Church and in the rite of the Mass and the liturgy of the Hours, while the Claretian New Testament is often used for catechism and preaching, due to its simplified usage of Chinese language, requiring fewer explanatory notes and comments.

¹⁰⁷ For a survey on the relation between the publication of Bibles and evangelization in China see: John Baptist Zhang Shijiang, “The Promotion of the Bible in Contemporary China and Evangelization,” *Tripod* 27, no. 144 (2007), available online at: http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod/en/en_tripod_144_03.html accessed December 04, 2016.

4. TEXTUAL ANALYSIS: THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

Some passages of the Gospel according to John in the Studium Biblicum translation were selected for textual analysis.¹ The reasons for this choice are firstly because Allegra and Fathers Conradus Li and Marcus Chen had been assigned the translation of this Gospel when the four Gospels to be translated were entrusted to the members of the Studium.² Secondly, among the documents found in the Archive, those on the Gospel of John outnumber material on any other book of the Bible, thus showing Allegra's commitment to this text. Furthermore, the existence of these documents supports the analysis of the translating choices and often provides an interpretation of the difficult passages.

A presentation of the selected Gospel is provided to better understand and analyze the translation by Allegra and his team. Subsequently, the unpublished autograph documents on the topic found in the Archive are described and discussed, preparing the study on the translated and published text. The analysis takes into account two different editions of the text (1957 and 1968) and considers common elements and differences, with the purpose of firstly, detecting the distinctive features of the translation of the Studium and, secondly, of identifying the changes occurred over ten years.

4.1 The text

Considering the large amount of research on the Gospel of John, only a brief general introduction is provided here, followed by an account drawn from the two introductions prepared by Allegra for the two editions of the translated text. This outline of the Gospel of John has not the purpose of exploring the textual criticism and theological issues it has raised during the centuries, nor does it aim to address current authorship, composition, or style issues not agreed on yet. The intention of the presentation is that of supporting the

¹ The choice has been restricted to the books of the New Testament as it was the result of the Studium's activity from the very beginning, differently from the Old Testament, whose printed version was only a revision of the translation previously written by Allegra alone. Furthermore, the analysis was narrowed down to the only New Testament in order to deal with one source language, namely Biblical Greek.

² MA A-12, "Ad preparandam versionem Sanctorum Evangeliorum ita labor distribuitur" (Preparing the version of the Holy Gospels, the work is thus divided), 29 December, 1955. See: Appendix B.7.

ensuing analysis of the Chinese text, presenting the essential features of the book. The contents of the two introductions, instead, provide Allegra's position on the issue considering his contemporary *status quaestionis* and avoiding discussion on the progress of any research carried out thereafter.³

General overview

There are four canonical Gospels included in the New Testament, namely the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The first three are referred to as Synoptic Gospels, meaning that "if seen all at once"⁴ they mainly possess the same narrative structure, the same sequence of events, and sometimes also the exact same sentences. The Gospel of John is known as the Fourth Gospel and is not included in the group of the Synoptics as it differs in both the selection and organization of the episodes reported, only partially corresponding to those included in the other three Gospels, and in the Christological and theological issues presented. Clement of Alexandria (150–215), one of the Church Fathers defined the Gospel of John as the "Spiritual Gospel," in opposition to the other Gospels that presented the "external facts" (*Hypotyposes* 6, quoted in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Church History* 6.14.5–7). The uniqueness of this Gospel has elicited research studies since the first centuries, and has led to formulate numerous theories on its author, its composition and its meaning.

The outline presented here briefly explores the issues of the author, the year and place of composition, the language and the purpose of the text. Regarding the author, tradition has it that it was Apostle John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, son of Zebedee and younger brother of James. Nevertheless, it is now acknowledged that, though the contents of the text and the episodes arose from John himself as observer and companion of Jesus, the first collection of those issues was compiled by a group of people drawn in fellowship to the apostle John (the Johannine Community), and this is evident in the frequent use of the

³ Reference volumes for the research on the topic are: Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John 1: 1–12* (New York: Doubleday, 1966); Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John, 2: 13–21* (New York: Doubleday, 1970); Ernst Haenchen, *John 1: a Commentary on the Gospel of John, Chapters 1–6*, translated by Robert W. Funk (Philadelphia: Fortress press, 1984); Ernst Haenchen, *John 2: a Commentary on the Gospel of John, Chapters 7–21*, translated by Robert W. Funk (Philadelphia: Fortress press, 1984), all currently valid, though outdated. More recent works are: Charles H. Talbert, *Reading John: a Literary and Theological Commentary on the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles* (London: SPCK, 1992); Giuseppe Ghiberti et al., *Opera giovannea* (Johannine works). Vol. 7 of *Logos. Corso di studi biblici* (Logos. A course of Bible studies) (Leumann, Torino: Elle Di Ci, 2003); Andrew T. Lincoln, *The Gospel according to Saint John* (London; New York : Continuum; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005); Jerome H. Neyrey, *The Gospel of John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For a rich bibliography up to 1988 see: Gilbert van Belle, *Johannine Bibliography 1966–1985* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988).

⁴ The literal meaning of the Greek *synopsis* σύνοψις is "to see together."

plural subject “we.” Subsequently, a “redactor” edited the text in its first version and later re-edited it in a second or maybe third version, most probably with the addition of chapter 21.⁵

According to Brown, these phases of composition of the text concern a period that goes from 75-85 to 100-110, and most probably the city of Ephesus and its surroundings in Asia Minor.⁶ The hypothesis of a preexisting Aramaic text has been discarded and it is now confirmed that the Gospel of John was written in Greek which, however, was most certainly not the editor’s native language. This is evident from the text’s numerous Semitisms and from a “religious vocabulary of Greek-speaking Judaism – a Greek which was influenced by the Semitized style of the LXX, the Greek OT.”⁷ Even Haenchen accepts this statement claiming that “the author indeed wrote in Greek, but he thought in a Semitic language.”⁸ In the text of the Gospel there are 15,416 words (76,288 characters) but the vocabulary used is of only 1,011 terms, whose frequent repetition produces a rather didactic effect.⁹ In the analysis of the reasons behind the composition of this book, Brown claims that “the various editions of the Gospel may represent the adaptation of the central message to a new need.”¹⁰ Apart from the Christians, in encouragement of their new belief, among the supposed addressees of the Gospel are groups such as the sectarians of John the Baptist, the Jewish communities and some heretics, including the Gnostics and the Docetics. These groups were addressed with an intent to contrast their doctrine.

Considering that most of this information was also available to Allegra, in the following paragraph the contents of the two introductions he wrote will be disclosed, to provide the context of his research and translation perspectives.

Published introductions by Allegra: 1957 and 1968

In the volume including the four Gospels published in 1957, a long introduction precedes the translation of each book, in line with the perspectives of the translators in providing the readers with thorough explanations of the text. For the Gospel according to John,¹¹ more than twenty titles are included in the reference section, published between 1907 and 1956,

⁵ See: Brown, *The Gospel according to John 1*, LXXXVII-CII.

⁶ See: *Ibid.* LXXX-LXXXVI; CIII-CIV. Other hypotheses on composition venues are Alexandria in Egypt and Antioch in Syria. See: *Ibid.*, CIII.

⁷ *Ibid.*, CXXIX. Both these conditions are verifiable in the historical and linguistic context of the Jew and later Christian areas in the first century.

⁸ Haenchen, *John 1*, 56.

⁹ See: *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁰ Brown, *The Gospel according to John 1*, LXVII.

¹¹ *Fuyin*, 963-1031.

in English, Italian, Chinese, French, German, Spanish and Latin, thus confirming the Studium's eagerness to keep abreast of the times as well as the willingness to consider different points of view. Furthermore, both the number of reference books and the number of pages in the introduction exceed more than twice the number of those contained in the other Gospels, confirming the relevance given to the Fourth Gospel. The text is divided into three long chapters, preceded by a presentation of the "Johannine question," translated as *Ruowang wenti* 若望問題. This topic is addressed in relation to three main questions, namely 1) whether John wrote or not the Gospel, together with the Book of Revelation and the three letters attributed to him; 2) when the Fourth Gospel was written; and 3) whether it may be considered of historical value or not. The doubts on the historicity of the Fourth Gospel derive from the contradictions found in the text comparing it to the previous three canonical Gospels. These contradictions concern the places mentioned and the times Jesus went to Jerusalem, the period of time covering the facts and the extent of descriptive data. Other differences concern the meaning of the miracles reported in the four accounts. The miracles represent the mercy of Jesus in the Synoptics, while are "symbolic acts" (*xiangzheng de dongzuo* 象徵的動作, used to translate the Greek *semeia* σημεία)¹² which manifest the divinity of Jesus in the Gospel according to John. The style in the Synoptics is plain and clear, while in John, it is highly symbolical, abstract and philosophical. Another topic broached is the authorship of the Gospel. The positions on the question are divided into three groups. The first group questioned the relationship between the author of the text and John the Apostle, claiming besides, that the author was not an eyewitness of the life of Jesus. The representatives of this group believed that the author was a "mysterious disciple" born between the end of the second and the beginning of the third century. The second group considered that the "beloved disciple" of Jesus had provided the material to write the Gospel, and that the writer was John the Presbyter of Ephesus (*Efusuo de zhanglao Ruowang* 厄弗所的長老若望, *Joannes Presbyter Ephesinus*), a figure mentioned in a text of the second century. The third group identified as the author of the Gospel (some defined passages excluded) the "disciple whom Jesus loved," referring to John the son of Zebedee. Allegra, from hereon, proceeds with his presentation assuming such authorship.

The title of the first chapter of the introduction states that John was truly the writer of the Gospel to be analyzed. In the first paragraph of this chapter, the figure of John, the apostle and evangelist is described. The name John, common at the times of the New Testament, derives from the Hebrew and means "God has favored," "God is

¹² See: *Ibid.*, 965.

merciful/gracious.” John is presented as the son of Zebedee and Salome. He and his elder brother, James the Great, were called by Jesus to follow him. A long account on the presence of both his parents and John himself in the Gospels is given, followed by a lengthy analysis of the hypotheses regarding the place and time of his death, quoting Church Fathers and other ancient writers. The second paragraph reports proofs of John’s authorship of the Fourth Gospel, dividing them into two sections. The first section explores evidence external to the text, with claims that the Church of the first centuries had included the Gospel of John in the canon implying it had been written by the Apostle, thus providing sufficient proof for its authorship. The text goes on to present numerous documents from the second century, including scripts authored by writers belonging to the Church, writings of heretics, and apocryphal texts. Among the accepted writers, the works of Ignatius of Antioch, Papias of Hierapolis, Justin Martyr and the text known as *The Shepherd of Hermas* are mentioned, with quotes or associations to themes and words used in the Fourth Gospel. The section which refers to the opposing or heretic works includes some writings by Celsus, the Odes of Solomon, some texts written by Gnostics as Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion, and the Diatesseron by Tatian the Assyrian. It is claimed that, despite the intent of these scripts to oppose the Gospel of John, their reference to it confirms its existence and importance. The same may be said for the apocryphal works, for instance, the *Acts of John* and the *Letter of the Apostles*, in which certain passages from the Gospel of John are reported. The following section of the introduction presents who approve and disapprove of the Church doctrine, whose scripts, however, confirmed that the authorship of the Gospel belonged to John the Apostle.¹³ In the paragraph on the internal proofs, it is claimed that the Apostle John was clearly a Jew living in Palestine, writing his Gospel as an eyewitness. This affirmation is based on the language used in the text, the knowledge of places and festivals, the detailed description of some episodes in which only the apostles were present (such as the Last Supper), and the frequent presence of the “disciple whom Jesus loved,” all supported by references to the chapters and verses containing these features.

The second chapter of the introduction focuses on the composition of the Gospel. In the paragraph on place and time of writing, it is stated that the text was written in Ephesus, with mention, however, of supposed alternative composition locations, such as Antioch or Syria. As regards the date, it is said that it was written during the reign of the Roman Emperors Nerva (r. 96-98) or Trajan (r. 98-117), hypotheses confirmed by the discovery in Egypt, in 1935 of scrolls written between the end of the first century and the beginning of

¹³ See: *Ibid.*, 980-991. In this section Papias, Justin, Polycarp, Irenaeus, Teophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, are mentioned, together with the Alogi (or Alogians), and the Montanists.

the second one. In the paragraph on the structure and sections of the Gospel it is specified that, among the various partitions, the one “suited most the content of the book itself”¹⁴ is chosen. The book is described as “naturally” divisible in a preface (1:1-19), a closing chapter (21) and two parts, the first from 1:19 to 12, the second from 13 to 20. The first section is on the life of Jesus proclaiming the Good News during his public ministry, giving an account of the miracles he performed, in John’s text defined as “signs,” translating the Greek *semeia* (this section is frequently called “Book of Signs”). The second (often referred to as “Book of Glory”) part narrates the death and resurrection of Jesus in two main segments, the first (13-17) describing the night before the Passion and the second (18-20) reporting the events of the Passion and Resurrection. After this description, the division of themes and chapters is presented.¹⁵ The paragraph that follows is on the aim and nature of the text. A direct quotation from the Gospel introduces the topic: “Now Jesus did many other signs in the presence of (his) disciples that are not written in this book. But these are written that you may (come to) believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through this belief you may have life in his name” (20:30-31). The identification of Jesus with the Messiah, the Christ, sent by God as his Son, implied the definition of Jesus as true God and true man, and was intended to contrast the doctrines under way during the first and second centuries. Furthermore, the close connection with the other three Gospels is highlighted and confirmed, together with the importance of the symbolic language in this Gospel and the particular use of the number seven. The last paragraph is on the unity of the text, the arrangement of the sections and the source text. Here, only section 8:1-11 and chapter 21 are mentioned, claiming that section 8:1-11 was most probably an orally transmitted episode added later, and that chapter 21 was written by the same author of the previous chapters. On the source text, the seventh edition of the *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*¹⁶ is quoted as reference.

The third chapter presents the theology of John divided into five shorter paragraphs. The first one is on the mystery of incarnation and stresses the importance of the Gospel of John for the theologians of the following centuries, exploring the main themes of the Christology derived from this book. In particular, two fundamental points are addressed: the relation between God and Jesus, his son, and the human and divine nature of Jesus. The second paragraph presents the revelation of Jesus, who offers eternal life as a response to mankind’s

¹⁴ See: *Ibid.*, 999.

¹⁵ See: *Ibid.*, 1000-1002.

¹⁶ Augustin Merk, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (Greek and Latin New Testament) (Romae: Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1951).

desire of knowledge. This section addresses the mystery of the Trinity and the threefold relationship of God the Father, Jesus the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The next paragraph regards the project of salvation of Jesus, whose life, death, and resurrection have the aim of giving eternal life to mankind. This is because Jesus is the Son of God and God, being the God of Life, bestows his life on those who believe in his Son. The fourth section is on the faith and the Church, as it is through faith that people may believe in the deeds of Jesus. Faith is the only request of God to mankind, as it is through faith that God may reveal himself, and believing in God means believing in Jesus, who is “the one he [God] sent” (6:29). The group of people sharing this kind of faith constitutes the Church, the people of the new covenant, whose duty is the absolution of sins, the preaching of the Gospel, the practice of faith and charity, with the support and guidance of the Holy Spirit. The last paragraph presents the eschatology of the Gospel of John, mentioning the incarnation and the second coming of Jesus. According to the three preceding Gospels, the text includes the Judgment Day, the resurrection of the dead, the wrath of God, the eternal condemnation, the eternal fire of hell, and the eternal joy of paradise.¹⁷

In the single volume Bible, published in 1968, there is a shortened version of the introduction to the Gospel of John. This corresponds to the objectives of the new book, intelligibility and accessibility to a wider audience, and therefore occupies just over one page.¹⁸ It provides the essential information on the text it precedes, identifying the author as John the Apostle, man of Galilee, son of Zebedee and Salome, younger brother of James. Former fishermen, baptized by John the Baptist, he and his brother were later called by Jesus to follow him. He is said to be standing by the cross beside Mary, the mother of Jesus, and later lived in Jerusalem, Samaria, Ephesus, Rome and the island of Patmos, where he peacefully died in the year 104. He most probably wrote his Gospel after the completion of the Book of Revelation. The Gospel of John, known as the “Spiritual Gospel” due to its deep theological issues, has a long and important prologue (1:1-18) in which the contents of the whole book are introduced. The two sections that follow deal, respectively with the revelation of Jesus’ mission to the world (1:19-12) and to the apostles (13-17), and with the Passion and resurrection of Jesus (18-20). The last chapter (21), considered as an appendix, concerns Peter’s assignment as the authority of the new born Church.

The reliability of these data is not questioned in the introduction to the 1968 single volume translation, differently from the contents of the introduction published in 1957 in which the Church’s traditional notions were confirmed and assumed, albeit with the

¹⁷ See: *Fuyin*, 1027-1028.

¹⁸ See: *Shengjing*, 1637-1638. This page is reported in: Appendix: E.4.

presentation of alternative theories. This change is evident also in the notes to the 1968 translated text, where only the preferential interpretation is reported, discarding the other possible options.

4.2 Autograph notes on the topic by Allegra

The choice of analyzing the Gospel of John was determined both by the fact that it was the Gospel assigned to Allegra for the translation, and by the considerable amount of documents in the Archive on this text.¹⁹ A brief description of every document found is provided here.²⁰

“Bibliografia teologia di San Giovanni”²¹

It is an interesting section of an autograph notebook reporting all the reference books on the theology of Saint John, from the texts of the Church Fathers, to the contemporary exegetes and theologians, mentioning also some biblical journals. It was probably a preparatory document listing all the works on the topic to be consulted in order to write the introduction, notes and comments to the translation of the Gospel. The date of compilation is missing, but the notebook is in a folder with other notebooks of the 40s and the 50s.

“Prologo Vangelo Giovanni”²²

This collection of more than twenty handwritten pages can be divided in four sections. The first reports all the eighteen Greek verses of the Prologue of the Gospel of John and their respective comments in Latin. Thereafter, a list of relevant theological Greek expressions in the Prologue is seen, followed by the outline of the division of the Prologue in sections according to various scholars, such as Tillmann, Lagrange, and Wickenhauser. The last section includes all the relevant locutions of the Prologue in Greek, with explanations in Latin and a Chinese translation. The list, however, is incomplete, leaving five pages of

¹⁹ Precisely, fifteen documents strictly dedicated to John the Evangelist and his Gospel were found. See: Appendix C. In the Archive there are also many documents on the Book of Revelation, attributed to the same author. See: Appendix A.

²⁰ The order of presentation is thematic as the majority of the documents does not report the year of writing.

²¹ MA, E, 2, “Bibliografia teologia di San Giovanni” (Bibliography on the theology of Saint John).

²² MA, H, 1, “Prologo Vangelo Giovanni” (The Prologue of the Gospel of John).

Greek words without translation. On this document there is no year of writing, however, it may have preceded the document MA, H, 2, where the table with Greek and corresponding Chinese words is complete up to chapter 13. As both the documents occasionally report more than one option to translate Greek words, they were most probably preparatory papers both written before the year 1957, when the translation was completed and published.

“De logos in Evangelio S. Joannis”²³

This long autograph document presents, in its first part, a study of the Prologue of the Gospel of John, focusing on three main themes, namely, the origin of the word *logos*, the structure of the text analyzed, and its doctrine. These topics are thoroughly investigated and a rich list of references is provided. Following these three sections, there is a whole paragraph with a collection of notes on *logos*. After the presentation of some Greek authors using the same word *logos*, and the claim that the meaning of the *logos* mentioned in the Gospel of John is completely different from the previous ones, Allegra wrote some considerations on the Chinese translating options. This analysis is interesting because it is the only one on this important topic found among the documents of the Archive. Allegra took into consideration that the word used in the Gospel has a conceptual and also dynamic meaning and noted down some Chinese words to capture this meaning. These are *yan* 言; *hua* 話; *ci* 詞; *ci* 辭; and *yu* 語, and are followed by some sentences with hopes of finding useful indications in the classic Chinese literature.²⁴ Nevertheless, Allegra does not find a solution to this question in this document, and continues analyzing the meanings of the word and other features of the language used in the Gospel. The date on the paper is omitted, therefore we can only deduce that it was written after 1954, as an article of that year is quoted.

²³ MS XII A, 9, “De logos in Evangelio S. Joannis” (On the *logos* in the Gospel of Saint John). The original handwritten paper is stored in the Archive: MA, F, 18, “Note sul *logos* di S. Giovanni” (Notes on the *logos* of Saint John). See also: Appendix C.1.

²⁴ See: *Ibid.*, 17.

“La preghiera sacerdotale di Gesù”²⁵

This is a typewritten document which contains a conclusion with the name of Allegra and the date of composition: Hong Kong, 19 April, 1970. It analyzes chapter 17 of the Gospel according to John, whose content is defined as the “Sacerdotal Prayer of Jesus,” recited by Jesus at the end of the last supper. The text is divided into three parts and analyzed, reporting passages from the Gospel and commenting on them.

“Riflessioni su alcuni passi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni”²⁶

These are two notebooks of photocopied material on the Gospel of John written in the French language in 1963 and 1969. Together, they cover almost all the chapters of the text analyzed, and include general information on the Gospel and the episodes it reports.

“Notulae circa theologiam S. Joannis”²⁷

This is the earliest document on the Gospel of John found in the Archive, among those on the same topic which report a date of writing. It is a typewritten paper that was probably read to a Spanish audience during one of Allegra’s stopovers in Madrid and other cities of Spain in the second half of 1955 before he started on the New Testament translation. The paper presents a first outline of the studies on the Fourth Gospel in that period, accusing some contemporary authors of neglecting the tradition of the Church and the interpretation of the Church Fathers. It later brings to light some errors committed by the modern theologians and wishfully concludes that some Spanish scholar will solve the alleged problems.

²⁵ MS XXIII, 8, “La preghiera sacerdotale di Gesù” (The Sacerdotal Prayer of Jesus), Hong Kong, 19 April, 1970.

²⁶ MS XXIII, 5, “Riflessioni su alcuni passi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni” (Reflections on some passages of the Gospel of St. John), 08 July, 1963 and MS XXIII, 7, “Riflessioni su alcuni passi di S. Giovanni” (Reflections on some passages by St. John), 18–26 November, 1969.

²⁷ MS XXIII, 3, “Notulae circa theologiam S. Joannis” (Notes on the theology of Saint John), Valencia, 14 July, 1955. The original handwritten paper is stored in the Archive: MA, F, 19, “Teologia di San Giovanni” (Theology of Saint John), Valencia, 14 July, 1955.

“Lezioni su S. Giovanni Evangelista”²⁸

This document includes the content of two lessons to be given at the Studium Biblicum in Jerusalem on April 16, to a group of Sisters. The papers were prepared and written some days before in Nazareth. One was on the life of Saint John, the other was on the message in his texts. The first lesson (April 9) is strictly biographical and presents the evangelist John as the apostle of Jesus, the one “whom Jesus loved,” the one who sat next to his Master during the Last Supper and the only one who stood by the cross, the one who remained by Mary’s side after the Resurrection of Jesus. The second lesson (April 11) gives an account of the discipleship of John, describing some relevant episodes of the Gospel which led the apostle to experience the love of Jesus which enabled him to write about. The style of this paper is rather informal and spiritual, and explicitly invites the audience to read both the Gospel and the related comments. The handwritten draft of this typewritten document is in a notebook stored in the Archive.²⁹

“Cristologia (teologia di S. Giovanni)”³⁰

This document was written in Italian in May 1974, when Allegra was in Jerusalem. The reference to a following lecture in the final sentence shows that the paper itself is a transcript of a lecture on the theology of Saint John. It focuses on the mystery of the Incarnation and the mission of Jesus as the Messiah (the Christ), briefly exploring the content of each chapter of the Gospel. A detailed analysis is made of two Greek words expressing the descent on earth and the ascent to heaven of Jesus (respectively, *katabasis* κατάβασις and *anabasis* ἀνάβασις).

“Schema prediche su San Giovanni”³¹

This handwritten document reports two schemes of sermons and the draft of a panegyric. The first two sermons take into account the life of John the Apostle and his role after the

²⁸ MS XXIII, 9, “Lezioni su S. Giovanni Evangelista” (Lessons on S. John the Evangelist), Nazareth, 9-11 April, 1974.

²⁹ 23 DOC A, 7, “Lezioni su San Giovanni” (Lessons on Saint John), Nazareth, 9-11 April, 1974.

³⁰ 4 DOC A, 6, “Cristologia (teologia di S. Giovanni)” (Christology (theology of St. John)), 22 May, 1974.

³¹ Other Folders, “Schema prediche su San Giovanni” (Outline of sermons on Saint John), 18 September, 1955.

death of Jesus, while the panegyric celebrates the sanctity of the evangelist and his fundamental role among the people of the Old and New Testament.

“Conferenza su S. Giovanni Evangelista”³²

This is a typewritten transcription of a conference held by Allegra on John the Evangelist. The text is in Italian, but the date of writing and of the conference is not reported. In the first part of the document, the history of translation of the Bible into the Italian language is presented and some versions are mentioned (Martini, Sales, Vaccari), inviting the audience to buy and explore Bibles in their own language, despite the translations were from the Latin *Vulgate* and not from the original texts. Subsequently, John the Evangelist and Apostle is presented, together with his first encounter with Jesus and episodes that follow which display his privileged role among the other apostles.

“Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann.” (Philological notes on the Gospel of John)

The document “Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann.” (Philological notes on the Gospel of John)³³ is a collection of 56 handwritten sheets and is the most interesting among the papers concerning John and his Gospel. The sheets contain a list of correspondences between Greek and Chinese words, written according to their order of appearance in the Gospel of John. At the top of each page are found the chapter (in Latin: *Caput*) and the verses in which the words are contained. Unfortunately, the folder contains only the sheets with words from 13 chapters, with no trace of the missing chapters anywhere else in the Archive or in the Library of the Studium in Hong Kong. It is highly probable that Allegra also wrote the words of the chapters 14–21, but these documents have not yet been found. In Appendix D the whole document³⁴ is reported in the table provided, to sustain the following analysis.

After the list of the words in Chapter 1, there is a section (sheets 7–8) entitled “Usus prepositionum, adv. etc.” (On the use of prepositions, adverbs etc.), reporting the most recurrent Greek prepositions and adverbs of the text and their Hebrew and Chinese translations. From this section on, between the Greek and the Chinese words, the Hebrew

³² MS XX, 7, “Conferenza su S. Giovanni Evangelista” (Conference on St. John the Evangelist).

³³ MA, H, 2, “Notulae philologicae in Ev. S. Ioannis.” See: Appendix D.

³⁴ Only pages 7–8 are missing because they concern prepositions and adverbs that are not analyzed here.

translation of almost every word of the chapters 2-13 is provided also. The document is written on unmarked sheets of paper with no indication of the year of writing. However, the document was presumably written between 1954 and 1957, the years when respectively, the last volume of the Old Testament (Prophets III) and the first edition of the Gospels were published.

The table in the Appendix, is presented in four columns. The first column reports the number of the verse in which the analyzed word appears. These are not written in the original document, but are given here to provide easy reference to their collocation in the text. The number of the chapter is found at the beginning of each section of the table, reproducing the structure of each page of the document, where the range of verses on each page are shown in brackets. The Greek words occupy the second column and are reported as in the original document, where one may see the original version of the word, a declined or a conjugated form. Among all the entries analyzed in the handwritten document, some of the Greek words are written incorrectly, and also in this table they refer to the original text. In the third column there are Chinese translations of the Greek words, and in some cases there are two or more options proposed by the translator. In the table, the underlined words are those appearing in the published editions. When the word of the published version is not found in the preparatory table, it is given in square brackets and underlined in a separate section of the column. The transliteration of the Greek alphabet and the *pinyin* transcription of the Chinese characters are not given to remain faithful to the structure of the original document. The English translation of the single words is not illustrated in the original document, however it is given in the fourth column of the table for the sake of clarity. English words and sentences are from the 2011 edition of the New American Bible,³⁵ when a slash is found, a simpler literal meaning follows. For the sake of simplicity, the English verbs are presented in the infinitive form. The original document, from page 8 onwards contains the Hebrew translation of each word, but it was not reported in the table because it is not part of the analysis, considering also that it may have been a translation exercise as the writing language of the source text was Greek.

The analysis of the documents reveals that more than seven hundred words and short sentences were selected from the first thirteen chapters of the Gospel for study. Every Greek entry has one or more Chinese translating option in the handwritten document. Each entry was compared to the respective occurrence in the 1968 published version of the Bible and it was found that, out of 777 items, only 222 reported exactly one of the options proposed in

³⁵ See: <http://www.usccb.org/bible/books-of-the-bible/index.cfm#John>, accessed September 15, 2016.

the handwritten preparatory document (29%). To these correspondences, 17 cases must be added that show an equivalence between the handwritten solutions and the words in the 1957 version published in the volume of the Gospels. These 17 occurrences, however, were modified in the following edition. In 23 cases differences were noted between the 1957 and 1968 version, however these do not correspond to the translating choices of the handwritten document. Among the entries, there are 365 items (47%) which in the 1968 published version contain at least one character corresponding to the translation proposed in the handwritten document. Furthermore, among the 365 entries, in the published volume, 66 elements (8.5% of the total and 18% of the smaller group) are monosyllabic words whose bisyllabic correspondence is the translation proposed in the document analyzed here.

Analysis of the document

In the study of these papers, some remarkable cases were found and will be explained in this paragraph. Concerning each entry presented, the chapter and verses of occurrence in the Gospel, together with the page number of the original document, are reported in the analysis. Moreover, in Appendix D, the entries analyzed are in bold type.

In the first chapter of the Gospel of John, the first occurrences in which the Greek *Christos Χριστός* is translated as *Moxiya* 默西亞 are found. The handwritten document reads *Christos* without the article *ho ó* and translates it *Jidu* 基督 (1:25), as if it were the apposition to *Yesu* 耶穌.³⁶ Nevertheless, both the published versions (1957 and 1968) contain *Moxiya*, and the reason for this choice is explained in detail in chapter 4.3, “Titles of Jesus.”³⁷

The frequently used title of Jesus *Rabbi* is reported twice in the handwritten document: 1:38; 4:31. In the first case (1:38) the word *rhabbi* ραββί is placed in brackets and analyzed together with its Greek translation *didaskalos* διδάσκαλος.³⁸ The Chinese renderings found are *laoshi* 老師 and *dashi* 大師, translating only the Greek word, meaning “teacher.” In the published version, however, *didaskalos* is translated as *shifu* 師傅. In the second case (4:31) the Greek word is only *rhabbi* and the translation proposed is *wu Zhu! Shifu* 吾主! 師傅 (“my Lord! Teacher”).³⁹ This does not correspond to the original Greek text, where no

³⁶ See: Appendix D, p. 4, 1:25.

³⁷ See below: p. 130.

³⁸ See: Appendix D, p. 5, 1:38.

³⁹ See: Appendix D, p. 20, 4:31.

explanation of the meaning of *rhabbi* is given. In fact, in the published versions the translation offered is only *Labi* 辣彼.⁴⁰

In 1:32-33 the Greek word *pneuma* πνεῦμα (“spirit”) is found three times, but it is followed by the adjective *hagios* ἅγιος (“holy”) only in the last occurrence. In the handwritten document this difference is retained, reporting two entries (*pneuma*, and *pneuma hagion*),⁴¹ translated respectively as *shen* 神 (“spirit”) and *shengshen* 聖神 (“Holy Spirit”). In the published versions, however, all three occurrences of the Greek *pneuma* (1:32,33,33) are translated as *shengshen*, most likely to avoid misunderstandings in the use of the single word *shen* which is widely used in Chinese. The adjective *sheng* with the specific meaning of “holy” is added to *shen* also in other occurrences where the Greek *pneuma*, albeit without adjectives, clearly refers to the “Holy Spirit” in the original text. This addition is found in 3:5,8,32, and in 7:39,39, but it is not indicated in the notes of the 1968 version, neither is it explained in those of the 1957 version. This choice, nevertheless, underlines the will of the translators to avoid confusion and misinterpretation.⁴²

In the first chapter of the Gospel analyzed, the character of Simon Peter is introduced together with Andrew, his brother (1:40). In the preparatory sheet the translation of the Greek *adelphos* ἀδελφός is *xiondi* 兄弟, and both words are lacking in reference to the age of the brothers.⁴³ In both the Studium’s published versions of the Gospel, as in every other reference to the family tie between Peter and Andrew in the New Testament, conversely, the word *gege* 哥哥, meaning elder brother, is used to address Andrew. The reason for this choice, consistent through all the Chinese text published, is not clear, nor are there reliable sources specifying the age of the two brothers or the elder sibling. According to tradition, Peter is thought to be older than Andrew and senior to the other apostles, due to his importance in the New Testament and in the newborn Church. Furthermore, his name always precedes his brother Andrew’s name in the texts where they are mentioned together, thus suggesting his seniority compared to his brother. These elements seem to be in contrast with the choice made by Allegra, especially when considering his purpose to strictly comply with the common tradition of the Church.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ For other considerations on the title Rabbi, and on the other appellations given to Jesus, see below: Chapter 4.3, “Titles of Jesus.”

⁴¹ See: Appendix D, p. 5, 1:33; p. 36, 7:39.

⁴² The cluster *pneuma hagion* is translated *shengshen* in all three occurrences in the Gospel of John: 1:33; 14:26; 20:22. When *pneuma* does not refer to the Holy Spirit, it is translated as *shen* alone, or with the addition of other characters to specify its meaning in the context (3:6,8; 4:23,24,24; 6:63; 11:33; 13:21; 14:17; 15:26; 16:13; 19:30).

⁴³ See: Appendix D, p. 5, 1:40.

⁴⁴ This choice is not described in the notes to the translation in either version analyzed.

In chapter 11, on the contrary, when the sisters Martha and Mary and their brother Lazarus are mentioned, their age is reported according to tradition. It is believed that Martha was the elder sister because, as in Peter's case, she is always mentioned before Mary. In the Chinese version of the Gospel of Luke (10:39-40) Mary is twice defined as *meimei* 妹妹, "younger sister," and likewise named in the Gospel of John analyzed here. In the handwritten document, only the occurrence of the Greek *adelphē* ἀδελφή, "sister" in 11:1 is reported, proposing as translations the following: *jie*, *mei*, *zimei* 姐、妹、姊妹 (elder sister, younger sister, sisters).⁴⁵ In this verse, the published versions read both *jiejie* 姐姐, "elder sister," with reference to Martha. The following occurrence (11:5), mentioning "Martha and her sister," reads *meimei* as in the Gospel of Luke, and the same occurs in 11:28, where Mary once more is presented as the "younger sister." *Jiejie* is used to address to Martha also in 11:39, referred to as "the dead man's [elder] sister," *sizhe de jiejie* 死者的姐姐. Only in 11:3 the Greek *adelphē* is in the plural form, indicating both sisters. In this verse the Chinese translation reads *zimei* 姊妹.

The issue of the translation in Chinese of the Greek word *adelphos* concerns also the SBV feature of using different terms according to the context. As Strandenaes underlined, when *adelphos* indicates brethren and members of the newborn Christian community, the translation is *dixiong* 弟兄, while *xiongdi* 兄弟 is used "for reference to natural kinship."⁴⁶ In the document analyzed here, the Greek cluster reported from 7:3 is *hoi adelphoi autou* οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ and the translation proposed is *ta de xiongdimen* 他的兄弟們.⁴⁷ In both the published versions, the translation of *adelphos* is inverted, and *ta de dixiong* 他的弟兄 is found. This shift is not explained, nevertheless, in the 1957 edition, a note clarifies the meaning of the word *dixiong*. It states that *dixiong* must not be intended in a narrow sense of blood relationship, but in a wider sense, indicating a relationship between cousins.⁴⁸ This note, in turn, is related to a short appendix at the end of chapter 12 of the Gospel of Matthew, which examines the meaning of the word *adelphos*. In Matthew 12:46, in fact, there is the first occurrence of the Greek *adelphoi* ἀδελφοί, in plural form, referring to Jesus. The appendix underlines the connection between the Greek language used to write the Gospels and the Jewish background of their writers, claiming that in Hebrew language the same word was used to refer to both natural brothers and cousins. Subsequently, in the

⁴⁵ See: Appendix D, p. 47, 11:1.

⁴⁶ Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation*, 113-114, n. 65.

⁴⁷ See: Appendix D, p. 34, 7:3.

⁴⁸ *Fuyin*, 1138, n.2.

appendix, the passages of the New Testament confirming the chastity of Mary and Joseph and therefore the certainty of Jesus having no siblings are presented and commented.⁴⁹ It seems that, making this distinction in the use of *xiongdì* and *dixiong*, Allegra and the members of the Studium meant to convey the Catholic position on the issue of the Virginity of Mary stressing the impossibility for Jesus having blood-brothers.⁵⁰ In the epistolary of Saint Paul the occurrences of the Greek *adelphoi* when addressing the members of the communities to which the apostle wrote, the translation is *dixiong*. The word indicates in this case that the Christians are in fraternal relationship and consider themselves as children of the same God.

In the document analyzed, “Cephas” is the only proper name of person reported, with the proposed translation reading: *Kefa* 克法 (1:42).⁵¹ This transliteration compared to the one used in both the published versions which read *Kefa* 刻法, differs only in the writing of the first character, being *ke* 克 and *ke* 刻 homophones also in tone. The two characters used in the document are not found in either the versions by the Jesuit Xiao (*Zefa* 則法), or in the 1919 Union Version (*Jifa* 磯法).⁵² The nouns “Levites” and “Pharisees” in the Chinese translation are regarded as proper names and are both found in the handwritten document. The Greek *Leuites* Λευϊτης is translated as *Leiweiren* 肋未人, and *Pharisaïos* Φαρισαῖος is translated as *Falisairen* 法利塞人,⁵³ both kept as such in the Chinese published versions.

Other proper names occurring in the document analyzed, regard the titles of places or feasts. The first group includes entries such as “Sheep Gate,” “Mount of Olives,” and “Sanhedrin.” The name “Sheep Gate” translates the Greek *probatike* προβατική (5:2), whose literal meaning is “pertaining to sheep.” The shift from the preparatory notes and the published versions is from the very literal *yangqun de men* 羊群的門 to the simpler *yangmen* 羊門.⁵⁴ Its meaning and position are explained in a note to the text both in 1957 and in 1968 published versions. This note presents the gate as situated at the northeastern corner of the temple, a mandatory access route for the sheep before being killed for sacrifice.⁵⁵ It is evident that in the Greek word *probatike* the reference to a door or a gate is not presented,

⁴⁹ *Fuyin*, 182-185. The reference to this note is found also in John 2:12, where, the Greek *adelphos* is once more translated to *dixiong*. In Mathew 12:46 the translation is *xiongdì*.

⁵⁰ See: Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1, 112.

⁵¹ See: Appendix D, p. 6, 1:42.

⁵² For other considerations on the name of Cephas-Peter, see below: p. 141.

⁵³ See: Appendix D, p. 3, 1:19; p. 4, 1:24.

⁵⁴ See: Appendix D, p. 24, 5:2.

⁵⁵ See: *Fuyin*, 1104-1105, n. 2; *Shengjing*, 1647, n. 5.1.

nor is anything similar mentioned in the other components of the original sentence, in particular, the adjacent *kolumethra* κολυμβήθρα (“pool”). Concerning the interpretation of this passage, in fact, Brown provides the following analysis:

The manuscript evidence is quite confused; the best manuscripts have these words [*probatike* and *kolumethra*], but with two possible interpretations: (a) In Jerusalem, by the Sheep _____, there is a pool with the Hebrew name, etc. (b) In Jerusalem, by the Sheep Pool, there is a _____ with the Hebrew name, etc. each reading seems to demand that we supply a word that has been left understood. We have opted for the second, supplying the general noun “place.” Those who opt for the first interpretation customarily supply “gate,” for we know of a Sheep Gate near the Temple. It would do less violence to the Greek in either interpretation to supply “pool,” thus indicating two pools: the Sheep Pool and the Pool of Bethesda. In any case, John is speaking of the area northeast of the Temple where the sheep were brought into Jerusalem for sacrifice, and the name of this region and/or its pool was Bethesda.⁵⁶

According to the Chinese translation, it is evident that Allegra and his collaborators had chosen the first interpretation and added the Chinese equivalent of “gate” (*men* 門), thus “doing more violence to the Greek.” Nevertheless, considering the accuracy of the description of the place and its equivalence with the one of the commentary, together with a common tendency to add the word corresponding to “gate” also in translations in other languages,⁵⁷ it is found that the interpretation is not incorrect.

The Greek *sunedrion* συνέδριον (11:47) indicates the assembly of Jewish authorities known as *Sanhedrin*. The proposed translation in the document here analyzed is *canyiyuan* 參議院, while the published texts read both *huiyi* 會議.⁵⁸ The name and meaning of this assembly are not explained in the notes of the two versions analyzed. The case of the “Mount of Olives” (8:1)⁵⁹ is discussed in detail below.⁶⁰

The second group does not analyze the translation of the feast of Passover, but includes the Feast of the Tabernacles and the Feast of Dedication, two festivals of the Jews mentioned only once in the Gospel of John and throughout the New Testament. The Greek *skenopegia* σκηνοπηγία (7:2)⁶¹ refers to the Jewish Feast of the Tabernacles or Feast of the Booths (*Sukkot*). The Greek word literally means the “pitching of a tent” and indicates the feast for the autumnal harvest, when “people celebrated it outside in the vineyards where they made huts of tree branches. By theological adaptation this was

⁵⁶ Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1, 206, blank spaces in the original.

⁵⁷ The Italian and English versions consulted read both the equivalent of “gate.”

⁵⁸ See: Appendix D, p. 49, 11:47.

⁵⁹ See: Appendix D, p. 37, 8:1.

⁶⁰ See below: p. 139.

⁶¹ See: Appendix D, p. 34, 7:2.

associated with the dwelling of the Israelites in tents during their wanderings in the desert after the Exodus.”⁶² The Chinese translation of the name of this feast is *Zhangpengjie* 帳棚節, which corresponds to the original meaning and literally reads “feast of the tents,” found both in the handwritten notes, and in the published versions. Furthermore, its meaning is clearly explained in the note to the translated text in the 1968 version,⁶³ and presented in even more detail in the note to the 1957 edition.⁶⁴

The other feast mentioned in the Gospel of John and analyzed in the paper in question is the Feast of Dedication, in Greek *egkainia êγκαινία* (10:22),⁶⁵ literally meaning “renewal,” “dedication.” It was the Jewish *Hanukkah*, the feast yearly celebrating the re-consecration of the altar in the temple, after the victory of the Maccabees on the Syrians.⁶⁶ In the document in analysis, the feast is translated as *Zhushengdianjie* 祝聖殿節, literally “feast celebrating the Temple,” which does not fully convey the meaning. The published versions, however, read a more appropriate *Chongjianjie* 重建節, literally “feast of the rebuilding.” The 1968 edition does not provide an explicative note of the Feast, but a clear presentation is given in a note in the 1957 edition.⁶⁷

An improvement in the choice of words is found in 1:41. The Greek verb *heurisko* εὕρισκω⁶⁸ expresses the conclusion of the action of searching/looking for, meaning “to find.” Thus the translation *zhaodao* 找到 (“to find”) occurring in the published editions considered here, is a valuable improvement on *xunzhao* 尋找 (“to search”) proposed in the handwritten notes. The latter, in fact, refers to the action of searching rather than to its result.

In chapter 2, on the contrary, an arguable change is noticed. The Greek *pisteuo eis to onoma* πιστεύω εἰς τὸ ὄνομα which means “to believe in the name,” in the handwritten document is literally translated as *xiangxin... mingzi* 相信...名字.⁶⁹ A similar translation is found in the 1957 Gospel volume, which reads: *xinle mingzi* 信了名字, without additional explicative notes. In the 1968 single volume, this cluster is translated using the verb *xincong* 信從, thus disregarding the reference to the belief in a name. Brown claims that: “Belief in the name of Jesus is not different from belief in Jesus, although the former expression brings

⁶² Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1, 306.

⁶³ See: *Shengjing*, 1653, n. 7.1.

⁶⁴ See: *Fuyin*, 1136-1137, n. 2.

⁶⁵ See: Appendix D, p. 45, 10:22.

⁶⁶ See: Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1, 402.

⁶⁷ See: *Fuyin*, 1179, n. 7.

⁶⁸ See: Appendix D, p. 5, 1:41.

⁶⁹ See: Appendix D, p. 13, 2:23.

out clearly that to believe in Jesus one must believe that he bears the divine name, given to him by God.”⁷⁰ Although the choice of the Chinese verb does not change the meaning of the original text, some of that meaning is not transmitted therefore supposing that they need not have modified the previous translation. The reason for this change is unclear also because in the other two occurrences of the same cluster (1:12; 3:18), it is translated in line with the literal meaning of “believing in a name.”⁷¹

The Greek *artos* ἄρτος “bread” is found 24 times in the Gospel of John, and of these, 21 occurrences are all in chapter 6.⁷² The beginning of chapter 6 reports the miracle (sign, in Johannine terminology) of the multiplication of the loaves (6:1-15) which precedes the “Discourse on the Bread of Life” (6:35-59).⁷³ In the handwritten document analyzed, the word is reported 4 times: 6:7,9,32,48, and only in the first of these entries it is not followed by other words. In this first occurrence (6:7),⁷⁴ in fact, *artos* indicates the quantity of bread necessary to feed the crowd and is translated as *mianbao* 麵飽. The word found in both the published versions, instead, is *bing* 餅, and is the same used in verses 5,9,11,13,23,26. In particular, in verses 9 and 13, in the Greek original, *artos* is followed by *ton krithinon* τῶν κριθίνων whose meaning is “barley,” which is translated as *maizi de mianbao* 麥子的麵飽 in the handwritten document,⁷⁵ and *damaibing* 大麥餅 in both the published versions. What is remarkable is the change of Chinese translation according to the meaning of the Greek *artos* in the context. In the same chapter, in fact, after the translation *bing* is used to refer to the multiplication of the loaves, when Jesus introduces the discourse on the “Bread of Life,” the word used in both the published versions is, consistently, *shiliang* 食糧, “food.”⁷⁶ In the handwritten document two Greek clusters and their translations are taken into account. The first is *artos alethinos* ἄρτος ἀληθινός (6:32),⁷⁷ “real/true bread,” translated as *zhenshi de mianbao* 真實的麵包. The second is *artos tes zoes* ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς

⁷⁰ Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1, 11. For other research on the Greek verb *pisteuo* see also: 512-513.

⁷¹ In the first case (1:12) the Greek *pisteuo eis to onoma* is translated as *xin mingzi* 信名字. In the second case (3:18) the translation is *xincong mingzi* 信從名字.

⁷² These are: 6:5,7,9,11,13,23,26,31,32,32,33,34,35,41,48,50,51,51,51,58,58. The other occurrences are: 13:18; 21:9,13.

⁷³ For details and bibliographical references on chapter 6, see: Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1, 231-304. The issues mentioned here will be considered to analyze the lexical choices solely, therefore, no theological or exegetical readings of them will be discussed.

⁷⁴ See: Appendix D, p. 29, 6:7.

⁷⁵ See: Appendix D, p. 29, 6:9.

⁷⁶ The only two exceptions regard two direct quotations from the Old Testament and both conform to the original version. In the first (6:31), quoting Exodus 16:4, the word *shiwu* 食物, “food” is used. In the second occurrence (13:18), quoting Psalm 41:10, the term used is *fan* 飯, “food.”

⁷⁷ See: Appendix D, p. 31, 6:32.

(6:48),⁷⁸ “bread of life,” translated as *shengming de liangshi* 生命的糧食. These entries are both changed in the published editions, which read, respectively, *zhengzheng de shiliang* 真正的食糧 and *shengming de shiliang* 生命的食糧. This choice is consistent with the translation of the Greek *artos* in the discourse on the “Bread of Life” and highlights the difference between the loaves of bread mentioned in the first part of the chapter and the word “bread” with its more general meaning of “food” or “nourishment.” Furthermore, this seems a good translation strategy to convey in Chinese, also, the singular and plural forms expressed in the original Greek. It is found, in fact, that every occurrence of the plural *artos* is translated as *bing*,⁷⁹ while the singular form is translated as *shiliang*.⁸⁰ This distinction is noticeable also in the English version used for this study, where the plural of *artos* in the first part is translated as “loaves,” and the singular occurrences of the Greek word considered in the speech of Jesus are translated as “bread.” In the 1968 published edition there is no reference to this choice. In the 1957 volume, despite the long explicative notes on the meaning of the “true bread” and the “bread of life,” no mention of the difference in the Chinese words is made.⁸¹

In John 12:3 the word *nardos* *νάρδος*, “nard” is found. In the entry reported in the handwritten document it is analyzed in a cluster with the adjective *pistikos* *πιστικός* “pure,” and is translated as *(baogui er) chunjie de xiangyou* 寶貴而純潔的香油, literally “costly and pure perfumed oil.”⁸² The published translations read both *chun* “*na’erduo*” 純『拿爾多』 transliterating the Greek name of the oil instead of explicating its meaning.

In 13:18,⁸³ the use of the Chinese *jiaoti* 腳蹄 in the handwritten document and *jiaoti* 腳踢 in the published versions⁸⁴ is unclear. The Greek reads *pterna* *πτέρνα* whose meaning is “heel,” which could be translated using *jiaogen* 腳跟. In the published versions analyzed, there is no clarification of this. Only a note in the 1957 edition highlights the quotation from the Psalm and provides adequate reference.

⁷⁸ See: Appendix D, p. 32, 6:48.

⁷⁹ Occurrences of *artos* in the plural form are: 6:5,7,9,11,13,26. These are all translated using *bing*, and 6:26 is also included because it directly mentions the multiplication reported some verses before. Moreover, in direct reference to the miracle already presented, the singular occurrence of *artos* in 6:23 is translated with *bing*. Two more exceptions are in 21:9,13, where the noun *artos* is in singular form, but it is translated with *bing* as it refers in both cases to real pieces of bread eaten during the event occurring in that chapter.

⁸⁰ The singular form of *artos* is found in: 6:32,32,33,33,34,35,41,48,50,51,51,51,58,58. In the Chinese volumes published in 1957 and 1968 it is always translated as *shiliang*.

⁸¹ *Fuyin*, 1118-1131.

⁸² See: Appendix D, p. 51, 12:3. On the adjectives describing “nard” in this sentence see: Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1, 448.

⁸³ In this verse there is a direct quotation from the Book of Psalms, 41:10. The Chinese translation in the Gospel corresponds to the translation in the Psalm.

⁸⁴ See: Appendix D, p. 55, 13:18.

In the Gospel analyzed and in the related handwritten document studied here, many weights, measures, and currency units are mentioned. The attention in the compilation of specific tables and comparisons in the appendices of the volumes printed in 1957, 1962 (New Testament) and 1968, shows an interest in providing the reader with the proper supports to improve the comprehension of the text.

The first measure analyzed is *metretes* μετρητής (2:6), a liquid measurement.⁸⁵ The translation in the preparatory document reads *bate* “巴特,” changed to *tong* 桶 in the published editions. The equivalence is reported in a note in the 1957 volume, where it is explained that the Greek *metretes* is equivalent to the Hebrew *bath*, corresponding to 8-9 gallons (or 36-40 liters).⁸⁶ The word chosen to correspond to *metretes* is *tong*, which, being explained in the note, does not require further explanations, and numerals may remain unvaried (“two or three *tong*”).

In chapter 12, two measure units are found, one for weight and one for currency, both referring to nard. The first is *litra* λίτρα (12:3),⁸⁷ a Roman unit for weight, corresponding to 12 ounces (or 327 grams). It is translated as *jīn* 斤 both in the document analyzed and in the published versions. In particular, in the 1957 edition there is a note explaining its equivalence in grams, affirming also that the use of *jīn* indicates a general weight, instead of the common equivalence of half a kilogram.⁸⁸ The value in money of the quantity of the nard is given in 12:5, where the currency is expressed in *denarius*, a Roman silver coin. The entry in the handwritten document is *denarion* δηνάριον (12:5), translated as *qianbi* 錢幣.⁸⁹ In the published versions, conversely, the transliteration “*dena*” 德納 is used, and in a note in the 1957 edition it is stated that one *litra* of nard corresponded to 280-300 silver coins.⁹⁰ The numeral juxtaposed to the Greek *denarion* is, in fact, “three hundred,” and in the Chinese translation it is directly translated to *sanbai kuai* 三百塊, to convey the meaning of “300 silver coins.” A silver coin was most probably the wage of one working day, so the sum of three hundred *denarion* was almost equivalent to the salary that could be

⁸⁵ See: Appendix D, p. 9, 2:6.

⁸⁶ *Fuyin*, 1070, n.2.

⁸⁷ See: Appendix D, p. 51, 12:3. The use of *litra* is found also in 19:39, and in Chinese it is once more translated as *jīn*.

⁸⁸ *Fuyin*, 1204, n. 2.

⁸⁹ See: Appendix D, p. 51, 12:5. The use of *denarion* is found also in 6:7, and in Chinese is once again translated as “*dena*.”

⁹⁰ *Fuyin*, 1204, n. 2.

earned in one year.⁹¹ As in the previous example, in this case the numerals remain unvaried and two units are mentioned whose value is expressed in the notes and in the appendices.

The same translation process is used with the unit of length *stadion* στάδιον (6:19; 11:18) which is equivalent to a furlong, an eighth of a mile (607 feet or 185 meters). The unit is only transliterated in Chinese as “*sitadi*” 『斯塔狄』, the numbers do not differ, and the equivalence is provided in the notes to the text (1957 version). A different strategy is used with the unit *pechus* πήχυς, a cubit, corresponding to 18 inches (or 44 centimeters). It is found in 21:8 and in Chinese is not transliterated, but translated as *zhou* 肘, literally “elbow.” The number juxtaposed remains the same, and the equivalence is given in a note in the 1957 edition.⁹²

The examples given here, analyzed in the preparatory document and often explained in the notes to the published text, are all included in the tables of the appendices on currency, weight and measurement units of the published volumes.⁹³ To conclude this section of the analysis, it can be said that the strategy to translate the Greek words of measure was that of transliterating the Greek word and of keeping the value of the juxtaposed numerals, presenting the value of each measure in the notes and in the appendices. This is probably a way of remaining faithful to the original text and of transmitting the historical and geographical context in which the reported episodes took place.

4. 3 Analysis of the translation

The analysis provided in this paragraph is based on a finding of May 2015 at the Studium Biblicum in Hong Kong. In the library of the institute, together with the volumes of the translations published, the handwritten drafts and printed books with handwritten modifications were found. Concerning the Gospel of John, the two handwritten volumes of the 1957 Gospel edition were consulted, but not analyzed, whereas the text taken into account was the printed version of 1957 with handwritten modifications. It was examined and compared with the 1968 published version. The comparison of the first chapters of these two versions of the Gospel suggested the existence of a further volume preceding the printed version of 1968. This hypothesis was confirmed during a subsequent research at the Studium in Hong Kong in December 2015, when the librarian showed an intermediate version prepared before the publication of the 1968 single volume Bible, and reporting

⁹¹ Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1, 233, 448.

⁹² *Fuyin*, 1325, n. 3. The equivalence given is 90 meters.

⁹³ See: *Fuyin*, 1339-1340; *Shengjing*, 2045-2047.

handwritten changes that were not marked in the previous version, but corresponded to the final version published. During the last research period at the Studium in Hong Kong some volumes of the collection had been moved to the section “Special Collection and Archives” of the Library of the Hong Kong Baptist University, under a project of digitalization of manuscripts from the Studium Biblicum. The project is part of the program “Preservation for the Documentation of Chinese Christianity” undertaken in 2012 by the Hong Kong Baptist University and the Divinity Library of Yale University, with some of the digitalized texts currently available online.⁹⁴

The four different versions of the same analyzed text were the 1957 published edition, the 1957 edition with handwritten modifications, a trial printing of the 1968 version and the published 1968 edition.⁹⁵ When the analysis of the versions of the Studium Biblicum was completed, some verses or specific words were double-checked in the previous Catholic official version (three editions edited by Xiao Jingshan), the online version of the Studium⁹⁶ and the 2014 Claretian version.⁹⁷

The members of the Studium made the revision of the volume of the Gospel setting the pages of the 1957 edition on larger separate sheets and collecting them in one big volume, where they were later modified with different colored pens. It is not clear when the handwritten parts were added, but it is supposed that this took place from 1963 (when the work to compile the single volume book had started), to the first half of 1968 (when only the editing work had yet to be completed). It is presumable that the 1968 version draft was printed only few months before the final version published at Christmas, and that the handwritten corrections were added during a revision before the last print. This collection of sheets, in fact, presents the same layout and the same number of pages of the published book, and the modifications detected concern minor discrepancies in punctuation, printing characters, side lines indicating proper and place names, and alignment and misprint of characters.

In the long process of comparison between the two versions chosen, very few relevant differences were observed. Nevertheless, it is worthy to present here some remarkable features of the translation, taking into account and exploring, when relevant, the modifications detected in the two texts. In the passages reported, the reference Chinese

⁹⁴ On the project and the list of books and manuscripts of the Studium Biblicum involved see: http://lib-nt2.hkbu.edu.hk/sca_fb/org/bhk05_sbofm.html, accessed March 25, 2016.

⁹⁵ See: Appendix E.

⁹⁶ The Bible version of the Studium Biblicum can be read online, in the official web page of the Studium, selecting the book and the chapter at: <http://www.sbofmhk.org/menu2.php>, accessed August 26, 2016.

⁹⁷ *Xinyue Shengjing*.

version, when not specified differently, is the single volume Bible of the year 1968.⁹⁸ The text used for the comparison is the volume of the Gospels published in 1957.⁹⁹ The Greek text is the critical edition by Merk published in its seventh edition in 1951.¹⁰⁰ The English translation, provided with the aim of clarifying the passages analyzed, is the one according to the 2011 revision of the New American Bible made by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Layout, graphic aspects and notes

Every page of the volume of the Gospels published in 1957 has thirteen vertical lines, each with thirty nine characters, reporting the translation of the text. The notes are found at the end of each chapter in smaller type (fifty one characters per line). The numbers of the notes in the text and at the end of the chapter are white Arabic numerals in a black circle. The numbers of the verses are Arabic black numerals aligned with the text. The punctuation is aligned with the rest of the text also, in the place reserved for one character, and leaving a blank space after the full stop. The proper names of persons and places are indicated with a line on the left hand side of the word. The layout of the pages of the Gospel of John in the 1968 single volume Bible is the same as in the rest of the volume. The text is distributed into two sections of the page, while the notes are written in smaller type at the end of every left hand side of the page, without section interruptions. The numbers of the notes in the text and in the notes section are black Arabic numerals in a white circle. The numbers of the verses use Chinese numerals, and do not occupy the space of a character, but are in smaller type on the right apex of the first character of the verse. Punctuation is placed on the right hand side of the characters and is in smaller type. The proper names are outlined with a line on the right hand side of the word.

Relevant modifications are made in the headings of the chapters and of the chapters' sections, resulting also in graphic changes. Many headings are deleted, resulting in a shorter and more fluent text, with the intention of designing a more accessible volume.

The first purpose of Allegra of translating the Bible into Chinese was strengthened by the necessity for the Chinese clergy to have a solid instrument to access the contents of the Sacred Scriptures. The eleven volumes of the Old and New Testament well satisfied this necessity and were warmly welcomed when published. More specifically, their explicative

⁹⁸ *Shengjing*, 1968.

⁹⁹ *Fuyin*, 1957.

¹⁰⁰ Merk, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*.

aim is very evident from the high number of notes in every book. When the whole Bible was published in a single volume, the great corpus of explicative notes was significantly reduced, to yield a more accessible text, easier to hold— as it was a small book – and easy to read. From the comparison of the two versions of the Gospel of John, it is confirmed that the reduction of the number of notes is evident:

Ch.	1957	1968
1	20	5
2	8	3
3	15	3
4	14	5
5	9	4
6	15	4
7	10	3

Ch.	1957	1968
8	11	4
9	12	3
10	12	4
11	20	4
12	18	6
13	13	4
14	15	5

Ch.	1957	1968
15	12	4
16	15	5
17	13	3
18	13	4
19	14	8
20	13	5
21	8	3

In an official document dated 1941, Allegra himself wrote that including in the notes to the translated text all the variants found in the manuscripts would result in a too cumbersome volume for the Chinese reader, and suggested:

Il traduttore, in un breve commento a carattere dottrinale saprà farne la scelta e senza erudizione fuor di posto, offrirà ai lettori il pane della celeste verità.

The translator, in a short doctrinal comment, will be able to choose the variant and, without amiss erudition, will provide the readers with the bread of the heavenly truth.¹⁰¹

This change of attitude towards the number and the contents of the notes underlines the different purpose and the different addressees of the eleven big volumes of the whole Scripture in Chinese, and of the single volume Bible. Even Strandenaes claims that the lack of notes presenting the alternative readings of the original text in the 1968 edition “is not an expression of neglecting the importance of text-critical notes as such, but shows pastoral concern for a reader response.”¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ MS XIV, 3, “Della traduzione della Bibbia in cinese” (On the translation of the Bible in Chinese), Beijing, 6 May, 1941, my translation.

¹⁰² Thor Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation. As Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5:1-12 and Col 1*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1987, 105.

Christian terminology

Since the foundation of the Studium and the publication of the first volumes, the clear intention of its translators was that of working on a text following the Catholic tradition and the new exegetical methods. The first point is confirmed taking into account the choice made for a set of relevant Christian words, such as God, Holy Spirit, and baptism, whose translation had divided Catholics and Protestants, and also numerous Protestant denominations, for many years.¹⁰³ Allegra and his collaborators directly used the terms already accepted in Chinese Catholic terminology, namely translating God as *Tianzhu* 天主, Holy Spirit as *Shengshen* 聖神, and baptism as *xi* 洗. Concerning the Gospel of John analyzed here, a relevant case to report is the translation of the word *logos* λόγος (the Word). The SBV reads *Shengyan* 聖言, literally “holy word,” avoiding the choice of both *dao* 道 and *wu’erpeng* 物爾朋 previously used in other translations.¹⁰⁴ The Chinese word *dao* has a strong link with other religious beliefs, thus risking confusion or misunderstandings. *Wu’erpeng* is a transliteration of the Latin *verbum*, and its presence in Chinese sentences would create an interruption in the fluency of the text. Strandenaes uses this choice as an example to sum up the attitude of the translators of the Studium towards Chinese words with religious connotations:

The SB translators’ attitude towards traditional Chinese religio-philosophical terms shows a certain tendency. If it comes to a choice between a term which adequately describes the *sensus litteralis sive historicus* of the Greek or preserves an interpretation which is doctrinally acceptable to the SB translators and a term or expression which is pregnant with Chinese traditional religio-philosophical meaning, the former is chosen.¹⁰⁵

Christian terminology, indeed, had always been a challenging issue for foreign missionaries arriving in China with the purpose of transmitting their faith to local people. On this topic Allegra himself wrote:

¹⁰³ This debate is commonly referred to as “Term question.” See: Irene Eber, “The Interminable Term Question,” in *Bible in Modern China. The Literary and Intellectual Impact*, edited by Eber et al., 135-161; Timothy Wong Man-kong, “The Rendering of God in Chinese by the Chinese: Chinese Responses to the Term Question in the Wanguo Gongbao,” in *Mapping Meanings. The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, edited by Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff, 589-615, vol. 64 of *Sinica Leidensia* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004); Chen I-Hsin, “From God’s Chinese Names to a Cross-cultural Universal God: James Legge’s Intertextual Theology in his Translation of *Tian, Di* and *Shangdi*,” *Translation Studies* 9, no. 3 (2016): 268-281.

¹⁰⁴ In the 1957 edition of the Gospels there is a long note to explain the meaning of *shengyan*: *Fuyin*, 1039-1040. Furthermore, at the end of the first chapter, a special appendix explores the origin of the Greek *logos* and all its features and interpretations. See: *ibid.*, 1039-1040, 1059-1064.

¹⁰⁵ Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation*, 115-116.

A book might be written on the origin and the development of Christian terminology in China. For my purpose, it is enough to say that not the Catholic terminology only, but the Christian religious terminology as well, was substantially formed by the founders of the modern Chinese Mission, the Jesuit Fathers of the 16th and 17th centuries, with the help of their outstanding converts. [...] The Studium Biblicum did not create in this field: we found the terminology substantially already made; we limited our activity to sometimes correcting the ancient terms, although for certain words we had to form new ones; however, these newly-coined words are not so numerous, perhaps forty or fifty.¹⁰⁶

Thus, for Allegra, following the Church tradition meant providing the readers of the Bible with terms which, despite the lack of a written official Bible, had been used during the centuries by Chinese Catholics. Furthermore, the tradition would be followed in the interpretation of the contents of the texts, with the aim of securing the correct transmission of the message in the Scripture, as intended by the Catholic Church.

Titles of Jesus

In the New Testament the person of Jesus Christ is identified with a large set of names aiming to express his role or his condition in the world and for the people he met. In some passages, the simple use of one of these appellations expresses and describes from what point of view the author or the characters in the text mean to interact with Jesus. For this reason the translation of these titles is an interesting factor to take into account. Concerning only the first chapter of the Gospel of John, Brown claims:

In John 1 a series of exalted titles is given to Jesus in the very first days of his ministry; Lamb of God (vss. 29, 35), Rabbi (38), Messiah (41), He of whom Moses and the prophets wrote (45), Son of God and King of Israel (49), and Son of Man (51). This reflects the Johannine theological view that Jesus' glory was apparent from the beginning (1:14; 2-11).¹⁰⁷

According to this statement it seems worthy to remark some translation choices for these appellations. Firstly, the person of Jesus of Nazareth is identified with that of *the Christ*, from the Greek word *Christos* that means "anointed" and translates, through a transliteration, the Hebrew *Masiah* מָשִׁיחַ, from which the English *Messiah* is also derived.¹⁰⁸ In the New Testament the word *Christ* is used in two different ways, namely to indicate that Jesus is "the anointed one," or as part of the name of Jesus itself. What denotes the

¹⁰⁶ Allegra, "The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible," 348.

¹⁰⁷ Raymond E. Brown, Karl P. Donfried and John Reumann, eds., *Peter in the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg publishing house, 1973), 131-132, n. 280.

¹⁰⁸ The Hebrew word was transliterated also in other languages such as Italian, Spanish, German. The Chinese rendering *Moxiyā* is a transliteration as well.

different use of the word *Christ* in the Greek text is the presence of the determinative article *ho ó*. In the Greek Gospel of John, the term *Christos* is found 19 times,¹⁰⁹ while *Messias* Μεσσίας occurs only twice (1:41; 4:25). In 1:41 and 4:25, where *Messias* occurs, the Greek text provides the explanation of this Hebrew word, specifying its meaning as “the Anointed.” For this reason, in these two verses, both *Christos* and *Messias* are found, and the Chinese version reproduces the two cases as, respectively, *Jidu* and *Moxiya*. In these two points the Greek text does not express the article, as the word *Christ* only generally explains the meaning of *Messiah* as “the man chosen by God.”

1:41

- GR** Εὐρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν [ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον Χριστός].
Eurekamen ton Messian [ho estin methermeneuomenon Christos].
- CH** 「我們找到了默西亞」——意即基督。(受傳者)
“Women zhaodao le Moxiya” – yi ji Jidu. (shou fu zhe)
- EN** “We have found the Messiah” (which is translated Anointed).

4:25

- GR** Οἶδα ὅτι Μεσσίας ἔρχεται, ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός [...]
Oida hoti Messias erchetai, ho legomenos Christos [...]
- CH** 「我知道默西亞——意即基督——要來 [...]
“Wo zhidao Moxiya – yi ji Jidu – yao lai [...]
- EN** “I know that the Messiah is coming, the one called the Anointed [...]

In the other occurrences of *Christos* in the Gospel of John, the word is always preceded by the article *ho*, except for the cases 1:17 and 17:3 where, however, it is found next to the name *Iesous* Ἰησοῦς and does not indicate a title of Jesus, but is juxtaposed to the name as if it were a surname. In the Chinese version of the Gospel of John by the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, both in the edition of 1957 and of 1968, in all the other occurrences of the word *Christos*, being it preceded by the article in the Greek text, it is translated with *Moxiya* instead of *Jidu*.¹¹⁰ This choice highlights a very accurate method of translation because, with the Chinese language lacking in articles, it would be very easy to misinterpret the word *Jidu* as simply a name of Jesus. Using the word *Moxiya*, Allegra retrieved the

¹⁰⁹ The places where *Christ* is found are: 1:17,20,25,41; 3:28; 4:25,29; 7:26,27,31,41,42; 9:22; 10:24; 11:27; 12:34; 17:3; 20:31, the word occurring twice in 7:41.

¹¹⁰ This translation is found in: 1:20,25; 3:28; 4:29; 7:26,27,31,41,41,42; 9:22; 10:24; 11:27; 12:34; 20:31.

meaning of the word *Christos*, conveying the correct sense to the reader without distorting the original content of the text. In 1957 edition, at the end of the verse 1:41 the characters *shou fu zhe* 受傳者 are added to clarify the meaning of the word. The link between the two words in Chinese is not explained in the notes in the Gospel of John, however, it is reported in the note when the word *Christos* first appears in the whole volume of the Gospel, namely in verse 22:42 of the Gospel of Matthew.¹¹¹

A recurrent appellation of Jesus in the Gospel of John is that of *Rhabbi*, a Hebrew word whose meaning is “teacher,” explained in the text on first occurrence:

1:38

- GR** Ῥαββί, (ὃ λέγεται μεθερμηνευόμενον Διδάσκαλε)
Rhabbi, (ho legetai methermeneuomenon Didaskale)
- CH** 「辣彼！——意即師傅——你住在那裏？」
“Labi!” – Yi ji shifu – ni zhu zai nali?
- EN** “Rabbi” (which translated means Teacher)

In Chinese, the word *Rhabbi* is only transliterated as *Labi*, while the Greek *didaskalos* διδάσκαλος meaning “teacher” is translated as *shifu* 師傅. In the Chinese version of the Gospel of John there are no explicative notes to introduce the topic, while in a preparatory document found at the Archive the translations proposed are *laoshi* 老師 and *dashi* 大師 for “teacher,” and the same found in the published editions for Rabbi.¹¹² In the Greek text this title occurs eight times,¹¹³ and in Chinese is always translated as *Labi*. The equivalent *didaskalos* is found six times¹¹⁴ and the Chinese translation is always *shifu*. John uses again *didaskalos* to translate the Aramaic *Rhabbouni* Ῥαββουνί, a title used by Mary of Magdala when she recognizes Jesus outside the tomb in chapter 20:16. The Chinese for *Rhabbouni* is the transliteration *Labuni* 辣步尼, and for *didaskalos*, *shifu* is used.

¹¹¹ The equivalence is explained in the note 17: *Fuyin*, 332.

¹¹² MA, H, 2, “Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann.,” 5, 20. See also: Chapter 4.2, and Appendix D. The same *Labi* is used in the Claretian version, but when the meaning is explained in brackets, *laoshi* instead of *shifu* is used.

¹¹³ 1:38,49; 3:2,26; 4:31, 6:25; 9:2, 11:8.

¹¹⁴ 3:2,10; 8:4; 11,28; 13:13,14. In 1:38 and 20:16 it explains *Rabbi* and *Rabbouni*.

20:16

- GR [...] λέγει αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστί, Ραββουνι [ὃ λέγεται Διδάσκαλε].
[...]*legeti auto Hebraisti, Rhabbouni (ho legetai Didaskale.*
- CH [...] 希伯來話對他說：「辣步尼！」就是說「師傅。」
[...]*Xibolai hua dui ta shuo: "Labuni!" jiu shi shuo "Shifu."*
- EN [...] said to him in Hebrew, "Rabbouni," which means Teacher.

According to the commentary of Brown, on the use of the title *Rabbi* we know that:

Only John makes frequent use of the term "rabbi." Luke does not use it; in Matthew Judas alone addresses Jesus thus. In John the frequency of the terms "rabbi" and "teacher," used by the disciples in addressing Jesus, seems to follow a deliberate plan: these terms appear almost exclusively in the Book of Signs, while in the Book of Glory the disciples address Jesus as "*kyrios* [lord]." In these forms of address John may be attempting to capture the growth of understanding on the disciples' part.¹¹⁵

In the Gospel of John the Greek *kyrios* κύριος is found more than forty times, the first being in chapter 4, during the dialogue between Jesus and the Samaritan women. McHugh underlines that: "This woman is the first person in John's Gospel to address Jesus as Κύριε, *Sir*, and does so three times, with increasing respect (4.11, 15, 19)."¹¹⁶ It is interesting to detect the feature of the "increasing respect" also in the explanation by Brown: "The Greek *kyrie* means both "Sir" and "Lord;" most likely, there is a progression from one to the other meaning as the woman uses it with increasing respect in vss. 11, 15, 19."¹¹⁷ In the Chinese translation of the Studium Biblicum published in 1957 all three occurrences in the episode of the Samaritan woman were translated as *Zhu* 主, while the 1968 edition reads *xiansheng* 先生. In the first version note number 4 explained that "那婦人尊稱耶穌為「主」(等於說「先生」)" (that woman respectfully addressed Jesus as "Lord" (which means "Sir")).¹¹⁸ In 1968 the word is changed into *xiansheng* but no comment is found. In the autograph document with the correspondences of the Greek words of the Gospel of John and their Chinese translation, the word is not found. In the other occurrences of the Greek *kyrios*, according to the different meanings of the word detectable from the context, it is translated using different terms. *Shangzhu* 上主 is found when it is referred to God

¹¹⁵ Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1, 75.

¹¹⁶ John McHugh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on John 1-4*, edited by Graham N. Stanton (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 270.

¹¹⁷ Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1, 170.

¹¹⁸ *Fuyin*, 1093, my translation.

(1:23; 12:13,38, all quotations from the Old Testament), and *zhuren* 主人 is used to indicate no specific “master” (13:13; 15:15,20). When *kyrios* refers to Jesus, it is translated as *Zhuzi* 主子 when used by Jesus himself (13:13,14), probably to underline his filial relation with God, the Father. The word is translated with *xiansheng* when the speaker is not aware of addressing Jesus as the Lord, as is found in the above mentioned episode of the Samaritan woman (4:11,15,19), in the encounter of the apostle Philip with some Greeks (12:21), and in the dialogue of Mary of Magdala outside the tomb. This episode presented in chapter 20 is worthy of analysis to show in detail the choice of the words to translate *kyrios*.

20:2.13.15.18

- GR** 2. [...] Ἦραν τὸν κύριον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου, [...] (*Eran tou **kyrion** ek tou menmeiou*)
 13. [...] ὅτι Ἦραν τὸν κύριόν μου [...] (*hoti eran ton **kyrion** mou*)
 15. [...] **Κύριε**, εἰ σὺ ἐβάστασας αὐτόν [...] (***Kyrie**, ei sy ebastasas auton*)
 18. [...] Ἐώρακα τὸν κύριον [...] (*Heoraka ton **kyrion***)
- CH** 2. [...] 有人從墳墓中把主搬走了 (*you ren cong fenmu ba **Zhu** banzou le*)
 13. [...] 有人把我主搬走了 (*you ren ba wo **Zhu** banzou le*)
 15. [...] 先生，若是你把他搬走了 (***xiansheng**, ruo shi nib a ta banzou le*)
 18. [...] 我見了主 (*Wo jian le **Zhu***)
- EN** 2. [...] They have taken the **Lord** from the tomb [...]
 13. [...] They have taken my **Lord** [...]
 15. [...] **Sir**, if you carried him away [...]
 18. [...] I have seen the **Lord** [...]

From the underlined words in the table it is evident that the same Greek word is translated differently in verse 15, when Mary of Magdala, believing she was talking to the gardener, called Jesus “Sir.” In the following verse (16), when she recognizes him, addresses him with the Aramaic title *Rabbouni*, and when she goes to tell the other disciples what she has just experienced, she announces that she has seen “the Lord” (18). In the volume of the Gospel published in 1957, a long note explains the issue of the same Greek word used by Mary of Magdala in these verses, without discarding the possibility of her using the word *kyrios* unintentionally meaning “Lord.”¹¹⁹ The choice of translating *kyrie* in verse 15 with *xiansheng* is kept also in the Claretian version. It is most likely that this was done in order to underline the change in the use of appellation by Mary of Magdala before and after recognizing Jesus. In all the other occurrences, the Greek *kyrios* is translated as *Zhu*, literally “Lord,” indicating the awareness of the speakers in addressing Jesus as the Lord.

¹¹⁹ See: *Ibid.*, 1315.

The translations of *kyrios* in the Chinese version of the Gospel of John (1968) are reported in the following table:

<i>kyrios</i> κύριος	Occurrences
<i>Zhu</i> 主,	4:49; 5:7; 6:23,34,68; 8:11; 9:36,38; 11:2,3,12,21,27,32,34,39; 13:6,9,25,36,37; 14:5,8,22; 20:2,13,18,20,25,28; 21:7,7,12,15,16,17,20,21
<i>xiansheng</i> 先生	4:11,15,19; 12:21; 20:15
<i>Shangzhu</i> 上主	1:23; 12:13,38
<i>zhuren</i> 主人	13:16; 15:15,20
<i>Zhuzi</i> 主子	13:13,14

The other titles mentioned by Brown are translated literally and explained in the notes of 1957 edition.¹²⁰ The “Lamb of God,” *amnos to theou* ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is literally translated as *Tianzhu de gaoyang* 天主的羔羊 (1:29,36). The titles Son of God,¹²¹ King of Israel,¹²² and Son of Man¹²³ are, respectively, *Tianzhu zi* 天主子, *Yiselle de junwang* 以色列的君王, and *ren zi* 人子. The translation of these four appellations of Jesus are in line with the Chinese correspondences found in the Greek-Chinese document stored at the Archive, except for the case of “Son of God.” However, the proposed translation *Tianzhu de erzi* 天主的兒子 is similar to what was later chosen for the published version.¹²⁴

*Proper names*¹²⁵

The translation of the proper names in the Bible was a difficult topic to deal with for everyone who attempted the undertaking. In an article published in 1965 Allegra wrote:

¹²⁰ See: *Ibid.*, 1055-1059.

¹²¹ *Huios tou Theou* υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ: 1:34,49; 3:18; 10:36; 11:4,27; 19:7; 20:31.

¹²² *Basileus tou Israel* βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ: 1:49; 12:13.

¹²³ *Huios tou anthrou* υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου: 1:51; 3:13,14; 5:27; 6:27,53,62; 8:28; 9:35; 12:23,34,34; 13,31.

¹²⁴ MA, H, 2, “Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann.,” 4-6. See also: Appendix D, p. 4, 1:29; p. 5, 1:34; p. 6, 1:49,51. In the same document is found the title “the Holy One of God” (6:69): *ho hagios tou Theou* ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ translated as *Tianzhu de Shengzhe* 天主的聖者 and reported in the same way in both the published versions (1957 and 1968). See: Appendix D, p. 33, 6:69.

¹²⁵ See: Appendix F.I am extremely grateful to Professor Ad Dudink and Professor Paolo De Troia for the comments and their precious advice and recommendations in the review phase. Referring to this section, they both suggested to consider the analysis of the 17th century Jesuit texts and terminology. In particular, Prof. Dudink proposed a comparison of the transliterations here analyzed with those used in the Jesuit texts such as the *Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilüe* by Giulio Aleni, and the *Shengjing zhijie* by Manuel Dias Jr.. From a first brief analysis, in fact, it is evident that many translating choices, both by Xiao Jingshan and by Allegra and his team, are Chinese transliterations already used by Catholic missionaries in the previous centuries. This kind of analysis, therefore, confirms the considerations of Allegra on this topic and discloses a wider field of research worthy of study in the near future. See above: pp. 129-130, and also: Allegra, “The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible,” 348).

We now come to the transliteration of proper names. This constitutes a problem that is apparently simple but is in fact very complex and troublesome. There are more than six thousand biblical proper names. Evidently, only about one hundred are in common use. How to render them in Chinese? We immediately discarded the opinion of some of the pious faithful, who wished to have them, not transliterated, but translated according to their meaning, so forming nice Chinese names of two or three characters. We were then faced with the other question: how should we transliterate them: according to the Latin pronunciation? According to the English? Or better, according to the spelling of the original text? We tried to solve this complicated problem by certain principles which sound like a compromise [...] The present writer is not completely satisfied with the results of our system, and for this reason one of the Fathers of our Studium is now handling radically the whole question. Perhaps the fruits of this new and vigorous treatment will be seen in the one-volume edition of the Bible, which is our next work.¹²⁶

In the same article the writer presented three strategies for transliterating the proper names, both of places and of people. According to the first strategy, the translators kept the transliteration of that set of names, already set by a long tradition of usage in the Catholic communities. Among these, Allegra listed names such as Jesus, Mary, and Abraham.¹²⁷ These are actually reported as in all the previous Catholic texts. The second strategy to transliterate the proper names concerned all those names commonly used in Chinese, outside a strictly Christian context. To transliterate these names, Allegra proposed to follow the form used by Chinese press and contemporary dictionaries. This was the case for names such as Jerusalem (*Yelusaleng* 耶路撒冷), Israel (*Yiselie* 以色列), Jordan (*Yuedan* 約但), Jews (*Youtai ren* 猶太人), Hebrew (*Xibolai yu* 希伯來語). These names were previously transliterated in a different way by the Catholics, and in the version by Allegra were modified according to the contemporary versions which, frequently, corresponded to the forms used by the Protestants. These proper names, in fact, were part of a fixed Protestant terminology and, thanks to the large diffusion of the *Union Version*,¹²⁸ soon became the commonly used Chinese transliteration. Today these names are still transliterated in this way, so this decision by Allegra to uniform the Catholic version to the current usage of those names, often borrowed from the Protestant terminology, probably contributed to the fixation and diffusion of those forms themselves. The last strategy of transliteration included all the other names, and established to adopt only Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek names as

¹²⁶ Allegra, "The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible," 350.

¹²⁷ These names in the Gospel analyzed correspond to the traditional translation: Jesus is *Yesu* 耶穌, Mary is *Maliya* 瑪利亞, Abraham is *Yabalang* 亞巴郎.

¹²⁸ Here and in the following examples, the only Protestant version mentioned is the *Union Version* because it was the most outstanding version during Allegra's working life. Hereafter this translation will be referred to as UV.

originals and to transliterate them following a “mechanical system,”¹²⁹ thus discarding transliterations from English or Latin language, previously used.¹³⁰ It is interesting to underline is the dissatisfaction expressed by Allegra in the last sentence of the passage reported above, considering that the article mentioned was published in 1965, three years before the release of the single volume Bible. The “fruits of the new and vigorous treatment” of the issue of the proper names, is actually evident in the 1968 edition and will be exposed in a paragraph below, through results of the comparison between the two versions of the Gospel of John. Before exploring the differences, however, some important translation choices, present in both versions, will be analyzed. The complete list of the proper names in the Gospel of John is in Appendix E. The cases exposed here refer to the proper names according to the order of appearance in the Gospel.

From the first chapter the translation of the same name *Ioannes* Ἰωάννης (John) is given in two different transliterations to differentiate John the Evangelist from John the Baptist. The Evangelist has the name *Ruowang* 若望, while the Baptist is identified with the name *Ruohan* 若翰. When the same proper name refers to other people called John, specifically, in the Gospel analyzed, to the father of Peter and Andrew (1:42; 21:15.16.17), the transliteration *Ruowang* is used. This distinction between the Evangelist and the Baptist is kept in the Catholic translations published after the SBV and hereby analyzed.¹³¹ The distinction between *Ruowang* and *Ruohan* is also pointed out in the 1922 and subsequent editions by Xiao Jingshan and is noticed also in Jesuit texts of the 17th century, thus assuming that this distinction is a Catholic feature, while the Protestant translations for every proper name “John” read *Yuehan* 约翰. In the *Xinjing quanji*, however, the name of the father of the two apostles is transliterated as *Ruona* 若納, meaning “Jonah.” This choice follows the original Greek name in the Gospel of Matthew (16:17), where Peter is called *Bariona* Βαριωνᾶ that means “son of Jonah,” the prefix *bar-* meaning “son of” in Aramaic. In the SBV, the Greek *Bariona* in the Gospel of Matthew is translated as *Yuena de erzi* 約納的兒子, while, curiously, in the UV it is simply transliterated as *Bayuena* 巴約拿. In the four occurrences of this name in the Gospel of John, the UV uses *Yuehan* 約翰 as in every other translation of the name John.

¹²⁹ Allegra, “The Chinese Version of the Holy Bible,” 350.

¹³⁰ An example of a name clearly transliterated from Latin is *wu'erpeng* 物爾朋 for “Verbum.” Examples of names clearly transliterated from English, and used in the Protestant versions are *Bide* 彼得 from “Peter,” and *Jialili* 加利利 from “Galilee.”

¹³¹ In particular, the version used to verify correspondences in this chapter is the New Testament published in 2014 by the Claretians: *Xinyue Shengjing*.

The toponym *Ierosalem* Ἱεροσολήμι (Jerusalem) (1:19) is transliterated as *Yelusalleng* 耶路撒冷 in both the editions of the Studium Biblicum. This is the same name used in the UV and is currently used to refer to the city it indicates. It is interesting to point out that in the version by Xiao Jingshan, the transliteration used is *Rilusaleng* 日路撒冷.¹³² However, this form was changed in the 1957 revision, where it was replaced by the same *Yelusalleng*. This confirms the aim of Catholic translators to uniform their terminology to the one currently used in Chinese, beholding an attitude far from hostile towards Protestant translating choices. The transliteration of other names followed the same pattern, both in the editions of the SBV, and in the later edition of the *Xinjing Quanji*. Such names are *Ioudaios* Ἰουδαίος (the Jews) (2:6) or *Ioudaia* Ἰουδαία (Judea) transliterated as *Youtai ren* 猶太人 and *Youtai* 猶太. In the previous editions by the Jesuit Xiao, they read *Rudeya ren* 如德亞人 and *Rudeya* 如德亞. Other examples are *Ebraisti* Ἑβραῖστὶ (Hebrew) (5:2) translated as *Xibolai yu* 希伯來語; *Romaious* Ῥωμαίους (the Romans) (11:48) translated as *Luoma ren* 羅馬人, and *Kaisar* Καίσαρ (Caesar) (19:12) translated as *Kaisa* 凱撒. These three forms are currently adopted.¹³³ In other cases, the 1957 transliteration by Xiao recalls the one by the SBV, but is different from the UV. Examples are the proper names *Ioudas* Ἰουδᾶς (Judas) (6:71) and *David* Δαυίδ (David) (7:42) translated in the SBV, respectively as *Youdasi* 猶達斯 and *Dawei* 達味, both in 1957 and 1968 versions. The previous editions by Xiao has *Rudasi* 茹答斯 and *Dawei* 達未, while the UV has *Youda* 猶大 and *Dawei* 大衛.

There are names whose transliterations are different in the SBV, in the UV, and also in the two different editions of the *Xinjing Quanji* consulted (1921 and 1957). However, this is often the case of names with two or more characters whose transliteration frequently changes only in one syllable, as for example, in *Tiberias* Τιβεριάς (Tiberias) (6:1) reading *Tibiliya* 提庇黎雅 in the SBV, *Tibiliya* 提比哩亞 in the UV, *Diboliya* 第伯理亞 in *Xinjing Quanji* 1921, *Diboliya* 第伯利亞 in *Xinjing Quanji* 1957.¹³⁴ These cases of homophony (ignoring tones) and not homography concern also translations of names in the SBV and in the UV. Examples are *Kana* Κανά (Cana) (2:1), translated as *Jiana* 加納 in the

¹³² The same transliteration was used in the *Shengjing zhijie* by Dias, while Aleni in the *Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilüe* used *Xielusaleng* 協露撒稜.

¹³³ The transliterations used in the *Xinjing Quanji* before 1957 were *Hebolai yu* 赫伯來語 for *Ebraisti*; *Luoma ren* 羅馬人 for *Romaious*, and *Zaisa'er* 載撒爾 for *Kaisar*.

¹³⁴ Other similar cases are transliterations of Aenon, Bethesda, Solomon, Thomas known as the Twin, and Joseph of Arimathea (see: Appendix F).

SBV and *Jiana* 迦拿 in the UV; *Samareias* Σαμαρείας (Samaria) (4:4), found as *Samaliya* 撒瑪黎雅 (SBV) or *Samaliya* 撒瑪利亞 (UV); *Barabbas* Βαραββᾶς (Barabbas) (18:40), transliterated as *Balaba* 巴辣巴 in the SBV and with the homophone *Balaba* 巴拉巴 in the UV.

The names whose transliteration is different in the two editions of the SBV, 1957 and 1968 are worthy of consideration. It can be underlined that some of these changes fulfill the hopes expressed by Allegra in the article mentioned above, as they present an evident improvement in transliteration. It is the case of words such as *Israel* Ἰσραήλ (Israel) (1:31) found as *Yisai'er* 伊撒爾 in the Gospel volume of 1957 and as *Yiselie* 以色列 in the single-volume version; and *Iordanes* Ἰορδάνης (Jordan – the river) (1:28), which changes from *Ruo'erdang* 若爾當 (1957) to *Yuedan* 約但 (1968). Both *Yiselie* and *Yuedan* are found in the same form in the UV and in the current Chinese language, thus showing how the purpose of using common transliterations was maintained. The modifications to other proper names deal with unremarkable differences in the choice of the syllables and characters to translate the words. This is found in such names as *Bethania* Βηθανία (Bethany) (1:28), *Nathanael* Ναθαναήλ (Nathanael) (1:45), *Siloam* Σιλωᾶμ (Siloam) (9:7), and *Arimathaia* Ἀριμαθαία (Arimathea) (19:38). The transliterations are *Beidaniya* 貝塔尼雅 (1957), and *Bodani* 伯達尼 (1968); *Nadane'er* 納塔訥耳 (1957) and *Nadanai'er* 納塔乃耳 (1968); *Xiluoya* 熹羅亞 (1957), and *Shiluoya* 史羅亞 (1968); *Alimateya* 阿黎瑪忒雅 (1957), and *Alimateya* 阿黎瑪特雅 (1968).

A significant change is seen in the translation of the toponym *Oros ton Elaion* Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν (Mount of Olives) (8:1), a hill Jerusalem often mentioned in the Gospels. In the edition of 1957, the name *Elaion* (olives) was only transliterated, without giving importance to the meaning: *Aliwa shan* 阿里瓦山,¹³⁵ while in the 1968 edition, the meaning was translated, despite the change in the sound of the word: *Ganlan shan* 橄欖山. The modification seems more accurate and conveys the description of the mount as in the original. Furthermore, this translation is the same found in the Protestant version, underlining the intent to create a common terminology. The names of two more sites where the Passion of Jesus took place are also worth analysis. They are both presented in chapter 19 with the name in Greek and the meaning in Hebrew:

¹³⁵ The same Chinese syllables (with different tones and characters) had been used by both Aleni (*Aliwa shan* 阿理襪山) and Dias (*Aliwa shan* 阿理瓦山).

19:13

- GR** [...] εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον, Ἑβραϊστί δὲ Γαββαθᾶ.
[...] *eis topon legomenon Lithostroton, Ebraisti de Gabbatha.*
- CH** [...] 到了一個名叫「石舖地」——希伯來話叫「加巴達」的地方。
[...] *dao le yi ge ming jiao 'Shi pu di' – Xibolai yu jiao 'Jiabada' de difang.*
- EN** [...] in the place called Stone Pavement, in Hebrew, Gabbatha.

19:17

- GR** [...] εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον Κρανίου τόπον, ὃ λέγεται Ἑβραϊστί Γολγοθᾶ.
[...] *eis ton legomenon Kraniou topon, ho legetai Ebraisti Golgotha.*
- CH** [...] 到了一個名叫「髑髏」的地方，希伯來話叫「哥耳哥達」。
[...] *dao le yi ge ming jiao 'Du lou' de difang, Xibolai yu jiao 'Ge'ergeda.'*
- EN** [...] to what is called the Place of the Skull, in Hebrew, Golgotha.

The first analyzed verse presents the only occurrence of the Greek word *Lithostrotos* λιθόστρωτος (19:13) in the whole New Testament. Its literal meaning is “stone pavement” and as the author of the Gospel himself specifies, it is the equivalent of the Hebrew *Gabbatha* גַּבְבַּתָּה (Γαββαθᾶ) (19:13) and indicates the specific place where Pilate sat. The SBV translation of *Lithostrotos* clearly conveys the meaning and reads *Shi pu di* 石舖地, literally “ground paved with stone.” The Hebrew is only transliterated through a three-syllable name, changing from *Jiabata* 夏巴塔 in 1957 to *Jiabada* 加巴達 in 1968.¹³⁶ The same method is used to render the names in verse 17, and again the Greek word is translated according to the meaning, and the Hebrew is only transliterated according to the sound. The translation of the Greek *Kraniou topon* Κρανίου τόπον (19:17), literally meaning “place of the Skull,” is *Dulou de difang* 髑髏的地方, clearly conveying the original meaning. The same translation is found both in the 1957 and the 1968 edition, and is also the one used in the UV. The Hebrew name of this site is *Golgotha* Γολγοθᾶ (19:17) and its transliteration in the two versions of the Studium varies only in the choice of the last character, reading *Ge'ergeta* 哥耳哥塔 in 1957, and *Ge'ergeda* 哥耳哥達 in 1968.¹³⁷ The Greek name of the site, *Kraniou topon*, is found in all four canonical Gospels and indicates

¹³⁶ The first form of transliteration, *Jiabata*, was the same found in the New Testament by Xiao Jingshan. In the UV the transliteration is *Ebada* 厄巴大.

¹³⁷ The transliterations found in the *Xinjing QuANJI* are *Ge'ergeda* 各而各大 in 1921, and *Ge'ergeda* 古而古大 in 1957. The UV uses *Gegeta* 各各他.

the place where Jesus Christ was crucified. In the New Testament by Xiao Jingshan this term is found as *Jia'erwalüe* 加爾瓦略 which is the Chinese transliteration of the Latin term *Calvaria*.¹³⁸ This Latin word means “place of the Skull” and is the term used in the Latin *Vulgate* in all the four occurrences of the Greek *Kraniou topon*. The presence of this transliteration shows the usage by Xiao Jingshan of the *Vulgate* as the source text for his *Xinjing Quanji* version, and of an already fixed terminology derived from the 17th century Jesuit texts.¹³⁹

A remarkable passage in the Gospel of John concerning proper names is the verse 1:42, where Jesus gives Simon the name of Peter:

1:42

GR Σὺ εἶ Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάννου· σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Πέτρος.

Si ei Simon ho huios Ioannou su klethese Kephās, ho hermeneuetai Petros.

CH 「你是若望的兒子西滿，你要叫『刻法』」——意即伯多祿。

“Ni shi Ruowang de erzi Ximan, ni yao jiao ‘Kefa’” – yi ji shi Boduolu.

EN “You are Simon the son of John; you will be called Cephas” (which is translated Peter).

The SBV translation strictly adheres to the original Greek text, and the two proper names are both transliterated according to the sound only. *Kephās* Κηφᾶς (“Cephas”) is the Greek version of the Hebrew word *Kepha* כֶּפֶה, meaning “stone, rock,” and is explained in the text through the Greek word *Petros* Πέτρος which has the same meaning.¹⁴⁰ However, the connection between the name “Peter” and the meaning of “rock” cannot be noticeable both in not Romance languages and in Chinese. In the verse just analyzed, the move from *Kefa* 刻法 to *Boduolu* 伯多祿 is not clear nor is there an explicatory note to illustrate the meaning of the words in the original languages. However, an explanation is given in a note in the 1957 edition, referring to an episode in the Gospel according to Matthew (16:18):

¹³⁸ The Latin *Calvaria* also has transliterated equivalents in English (Calvary), Italian (Calvario), French (Calvaire), and Spanish (Calvario).

¹³⁹ The same name *Jia'erwalüe* is found in the *Shengjing zhijie* by Dias.

¹⁴⁰ For other considerations on the name of Cephas-Peter, see above: p. 119.

Matthew 16:18

GR Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν [...]

Si ei Petros, kai epi taute te petra oikodomeso mou ten ecclesian [...]

CH 「你是伯多祿（磐石），在這磐石上，我要建立我的教會 [...]

“Ni shi Boduolu (panshi), zai zhe panshi shang, wo yao jianli wo de jiaohui [...]

EN “You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church [...]

It is evident from the table that the original Greek version easily conveys the meaning of the church built on the rock, the rock being represented by Peter, through the link between *Petros* and *petra* πέτρα. But this shift in meaning is lost in both the English and the Chinese translations.¹⁴¹ The translators of the Studium Biblicum provided the reader with the meaning of *Petros* in brackets, to show the connection between the two words. They added *panshi* 磐石 after *Boduolu* and used the same word to translate *petra*. This is a valuable addition compared to the Greek text, with no change in meaning and improvement in its transmission. The translators explained the sense of these words in the above mentioned note:

在希臘原文，尤其在阿辣美文，本句含有一種一字兩用的玩弄字眼法，這是很難完全譯出的。按伯多祿一名和「磐石」一詞，阿辣美語全為「刻法」，所以若按阿辣美語直譯，本句應作：「你是「刻法」（磐石），在這「刻法」（磐石）上，我要建立我的教會。」

In the Greek original, and even more in Aramaic, this sentence is a double play on words, and this is very difficult to translate completely. In Aramaic, both the name *Peter* and the word *rock* are “kepha,” so that a direct translation from Aramaic should be: “You are ‘kepha’ (rock) and upon this ‘kepha’ (rock) I will build my church.”¹⁴²

This addition of *panshi* in brackets is present both in the 1957 and the 1968 edition, as well as in the web version, and can be considered a well-developed strategy to clearly transmit the original meaning.¹⁴³ Furthermore, if we assume that “in recent centuries it [this passage] has become *the* text cited by the Roman Catholic Church as scriptural basis for the authority of the papacy,”¹⁴⁴ the translating choice can be included among the approaches through which the Studium Biblicum asserted its Catholicity and adherence to the

¹⁴¹ As in the previous example, in this verse the meaning is kept in the Romance languages.

¹⁴² *Fuyin*, 237, n. 8, my translation.

¹⁴³ The addition in brackets of the explanation of the name “Peter” is found also in the *Shengjing zhijie* by Dias and in the *Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilue* by Aleni.

¹⁴⁴ Brown, *Peter in the New Testament*, 83, italics in the original.

magisterium of the Church. Adding the meaning of *Boduolu*, in fact, strengthens the identification of Peter with the solid rock upon which the Church would be built.

The translation of the Jewish feast of Passover is not reported in the table of proper names but deserves mention here. In Chinese, this word is not transliterated respecting the sound but is translated according to its meaning: *Yuyue jie* 逾越節, literally “pass over festival.” The term is the same in both the editions analyzed and is consistently present in the 1957 version as *Yuyue jie* 踰越節. Differently, in the 1968 version, the first character *yu* 踰 is sometimes replaced by its variant *yu* 逾, but not consistently. On ten occurrences of the Greek *pascha πάσχα*, the change of character occurs three times only (2:23; 12:1; 13:1). The reasons for this are not clear, however, the character is currently uniform in all its occurrences (*yu* 逾) and the web version of the SBV is also updated.

In the SBV, it is interesting to underline the adherence to the Greek text when translating *Hellenes* Ἕλληνες (the Greeks) as *Xila ren* 希臘人. This modified the previous translation in the *Xinjing Quanji* that read *waibangren* 外邦人, literally “foreign people,” which sounded implicitly negative. The variation confirms again Allegra and his collaborators’ will to keep in line with the source text and highlights the influence of the biblical studies which gradually progressed during the years of the translation and required a scientific approach.

An ulterior analysis of the transliteration of the proper names in the Gospel of John was carried out on the Claretian version (2014) to verify the reception of Allegra’s new translations and their future use. It was found that every proper name in the analyzed text corresponded to the transliteration of the 1968 Bible, finally showing the achievement of a certain uniformity in the translation of proper names.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored the issue of the translation of the first Catholic Bible in Chinese made by the Franciscan missionary Gabriele Allegra. Considering the historical background of the beginning of twentieth century China, the situation of Catholic missions has been analyzed in order to provide the context in which Allegra worked and developed his activity. He arrived in China in 1931 and embarked on the translation of the Old Testament in 1935. Ten years later he founded a biblical research center and assembled a group of collaborators to continue the translation. In 1948 the Studium Biblicum moved to Hong Kong and in 1968 the single volume Bible was published, accomplishing the main objective of Allegra's initial project.

The literature review in the first chapter of this thesis underlined the importance of Allegra's activity and translation and the lack of research regarding these works, as well as documenting the future connotations and perspectives. Furthermore, the second chapter presents an unexplored archive which stores a considerable number of documents authored by the Friar, or papers strictly connected with his activity. In this Archive adequate sources are provided for the research thus confirming the relevance of the topic. The analysis regarding the papers of the Archive in Acireale is indeed relevant to outline the translation method. Moreover, documents on the publication process of the *Sigao Shengjing* were collected and illustrated herein. The data show the close link between the historical events and the progress of the translation work and confirm the significance of the activity of the Studium in that precise time framework.

The research showed that the lack of a Catholic translation of the Bible in Chinese was due to historical factors concerning the situation of the Catholic missions in China and the attitude of the Church towards biblical translations. Both these variables were gradually changing when the young Franciscan friar dreamed of preparing the Bible for the Chinese Catholics using their own language, so that when he arrived in China he found fertile ground and was able to work on the translation. The new interest in exegetical issues and the fostering of biblical studies, together with the process of indigenization of the clergy and

the consequent necessity of providing the locals with accessible texts, made the preparation of the Chinese version of the Catholic Bible a duty ready to be fulfilled. Allegra, in fact, was able to accomplish his task for several reasons, despite the hardships caused by adverse historical events such as the Sino-Japanese war, the Second World War and the foundation of the People's Republic of China. The study of missiology, theology, and of the Sacred Scriptures in Rome had provided the Friar with a solid background to deal with the translation into Chinese, provided he mastered the new language. Furthermore, Allegra's studies were part of a wider context in which Bible scholars were attempting a more scientific approach to the biblical text and its translation, although the real turning point in the usage of languages different from Latin in the life of the Church and its mission stations all over the world, would be accomplished only with the documents issued during the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). This point reveals that the attention to the translation method, the adherence to the source languages of the biblical text and the importance given to the revision process are all elements that make Allegra a forerunner in the field of biblical translation. In addition, it is noteworthy to stress that the personal commitment of the translator to his duties and responsibilities, followed by the enthusiasm of his collaborators and the warm welcome of the addressees who received the text, would have been fruitless without the support of Allegra's superiors and Catholic hierarchies. The lack of approval from the bishops and the Pope, in fact, had prevented the previous attempts of Catholic missionaries in China at translating the Bible from being published or circulated. Conversely, the encouraging words which Allegra always received when proposing his undertaking proved essential to its completion. The authorizations and the financial support given to the Friar by the Franciscan Order, the congregation of Propaganda Fide, several dioceses, and other private benefactors disclose the growing concern for the situation of the missions in China in the twentieth century. This concern is revealed also by the appointment of the first Chinese bishops (1926), the end of the Question of the Chinese rites (1939), the ordination of the first Chinese cardinal and the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in China (1946).

All these factors contribute to confirming the valuable presence of Gabriele Allegra in China, and reveal that his activity is worthy of deeper analysis. In particular, a new perspective is recommended when examining the life and activity of the Friar, as many accounts currently available tend to present him only from a spiritual point of view, neglecting his role of translator and his commitment to study. This was also the purpose of

the biographical outline given in this thesis which takes into account the documents consulted and seeks to avoid a merely hagiographic approach.

The presentation of the entire translation and publication process of the volumes of the *Studium Biblicum* had the aim of reporting the individual phases of the text before it actually became accessible to the readers, and showed the care in the preparation, the team work, and the attention to the reaction of the addressees. This point reveals the necessity of using a method as scientific as possible to deal with the translation of the Bible, the importance of the approval from the Catholic hierarchies and the aim of creating a text which could be connected to the biblical texts in other languages, and able to transmit the central message of the Church. The emphasis the *Studium* placed on the revision phase and the analysis of the translation in this thesis underlined the will of making the translated text an updated document, without disregarding the tradition and already set contents and ways of expressing them. Many of the translated passages analyzed showed how these two elements were never neglected. The differences between the 1957 and the 1968 edition reflected the development of the work on the text. The attention to the final text connected to the accuracy in explaining the contents of the original text is evident especially in the 1957 edition of the Gospels. The detailed presentations of obscure meanings in some passages were deleted in the following edition (1968) which, conversely, delineated the choice of preparing a single volume which was to be compact, easily accessible, and cheaper than the previous edition. This volume, subsequently, would be supplemented and improved by subsidiary tools such as the biblical dictionary or separate commentaries.

These decisions must be considered bearing in mind that Allegra accomplished his task in the wider context of his life as a missionary. The translation was, in fact, part of his pastoral concern for Chinese speaking people and this feature sometimes prevailed over the strict adherence to the scientific method. The acknowledgment of ambiguous passages in the Chinese version of the Catholic Bible, however, is not always necessarily the result of a failure in the translation process, but is rather due to a reproduction of sentences that remain obscure in the original text. Unintelligible clauses of this kind, because of the peculiar features of the source languages, frequently occur in the Bible and are literally translated in the SBV. This aspect is also included in the translation method of the SBV translators, which expressed the importance of adhering to the original texts. Moreover, the translation principles set by the translating team at the beginning of the undertaking were successfully respected and led to an appreciable translation.

This evaluation is confirmed by the fact that today the *Sigao Shengjing* is still the most adopted version of the Bible among the Chinese Catholics. The texts of the translation by Allegra and his team are the basis of the readings in the official Catholic liturgy and celebration of the Mass. It was also verified that the translations published after the SBV were not intended to replace it, but rather to be complementary and to provide other means to deepen the knowledge of the Bible for Chinese speaking Catholics. For this reason it can be concluded that the Chinese translation of the Bible offered by Allegra and the Studium Biblicum is yet valid and worthy of further analysis.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Catalogues of the Archive in Acireale



Section MS I-XIX



Section MS XX-XXIX



Sections MA; DOC-A; Epistolary

A.1 Section MS

The documents of this section are collected into 29 big folders (MS I-XXIX). Most of them are copies of the originals, sometimes found in the section MA or DOC-A. The titles were reported according to an already existing index, corresponding to labels placed on the documents, probably in 1993. The records respect the language of the title, the content of each document, and the date of writing. Only the names of the folders were translated.

MS I AUTOBIOGRAFIA (Autobiography)		
1	Nota biografica: lunedì santo	00.00.35
2	Ideo multum tenemur Ei. Vol. II	00.00.75
3	Ignita e melliflua vis amoris. Pechino	21.07.44
4	Ritiro spirituale personale. Pechino	04.11.48
5	Sermo eucaristicus pro collatione lurae doctoratus S. Theologiae	15.07.55
6	Ideo multum tenemur Ei. Vol. I	00.00.75
7	Ideo multum tenemur Ei. Vol. III	00.00.75
8	Ideo multum tenemur Ei. Vol. IV	00.00.75
9	Ideo multum tenemur Ei. Vol. V	00.00.75
10	Notulae bibliographichae	00.00.71

MS II A DIARI (Diaries)		
1	Diario del viaggio di ritorno in Cina	1940-41
2	Diario in cinese	1942-43
3	Diario in cinese	00.09.43
4	Diario in cinese	00.12.43
6	Il mio quarto viaggio di ritorno in Cina	20.11.60
7	Diario	31.05.61
8	Diario Vol. I	00.06.63
9	Diario Vol. II	30.06.63
10	Pagine di diario	1944.45
11	Diario	1967.68
12	Diario	00.00.44
15	Memoriale peregrinationis romanae	00.10.49

MS II B DIARI (Diaries)		
1	Diario Vol. I	30.06.64
2	Diario Vol. II	28.09.64
3	Diario Vol. I	30.06.65
4	Diario Vol. II	00.12.65
5	Diario Vol. III	31.12.64

MS II C DIARI (Diaries)		
1	Diario	02.09.65
2	Diario	00.12.66
3	Diario Vol. I	30.06.67
4	Diario Vol. II	19.12.67

5	Diario Vol. I	30.06.68
6	Diario Vol. II	31.12.68
7	Ricordi spirituali	19.10.27

MS II D DIARI (Diaries)		
1	Diario Vol. I	01.06.69
2	Diario Vol. II	00.12.69
3	Diario Vol. I	01.06.70
4	Diario Vol. II	00.12.70
5	Diario	1972.73

MS III MISTERI DI CRISTO: NATALE (Mysteries of Christ: Christmas)		
1	Apparuit benignitas et umanitas Salvatoris nostri	00.00.40
2	Ut mereamur in nomine dilecti Filii tui bonis operibus	00.00.45
3	Nomen eius et memoriale Eius in desiderio animae	00.00.46
4	Adveniat Regnum tuum	00.00.47
5	Germen odoris Israel	00.00.48
6	Angelus Faciei Jesu	00.00.49
7	Jesu, dulcis memoria	00.00.50
8	Iis qui diligunt adventum Eius	00.00.52
9	Meditatio ante praesepe	00.00.62
10	Dinanzi alla grotta di Betlem	00.00.62
11	The mysteries of Christ. Vol. I	00.00.70
12	The mysteries of Christ. Vol. II	00.00.70
13	Argomenti per la novena di Natale	00.00.73

MS IV PASSIONE DEL SIGNORE (Passion of the Lord)		
1	Le sette parole del Signore	00.00.51
2	Note sulla passione del Signore	00.00.63
3	Schemi incompleti di sermoni sulla Passione	00.00.64
4	Sermone de Passione Domini	18.08.64
5	Retraite bibliche sur la Passion du Seigneur	00.00.68
6	De Messia patiente	01.03.42
7	Le sette parole di Gesù sulla Croce	K6.04.64

MS V LA MADONNA (Virgin Mary)		
1	Fasciculus florum: quaderno sulla Madonna	07.10.39
2	De devotione erga Matrem Perdolentem	1939-40
3	De devotione erga Matrem Perdolentem	00.11.41
4	De devotione in B. Virginem	00.00.43
5	L'Addolorata: quaderni di appunti	00.00.39
6	Sermo de compassione Matris Mariae	31.03.44
7	In festo SS. Matris Dolorosae	16.03.51
8	Festum I. Cordis B.M.V.	21.08.51
9	In festo B.M.V. perdolentis	14.09.51
10	In festo Matris Dolorosae	15.09.52
11	Schemo pro conferentia ad augurandum annum marialem	06.12.53
12	La Guardia d'Onore C.I.M.	02.07.57
13	Relation conventus PP. Directorum Cohortis Praetorianae ab I.C.M.	02.08.60
14	Appunti per scrivere l'itinerario della Guardia d'Onore C.I.M.	00.00.61

15	Sua grazia la regiana di Guadalupe	14.05.62
16	Triplice missione del Santuario del C.I.M. a S. Marino	00.03.71
17	Schema di un discorsetto mariano	25.05.54

MS. VI COMMENTI ALLA S. SCRITTURA (Comments on the S. Scripture)		
1	Schemi di conferenze su S. Paolo	00.00.43
2	La vita e la dottrina di S. Paolo	00.00.43
3	La vita e la dottrina di S. Paolo	29.08.43
4	S. Paolo, maestro ed esempio di vita sacerdotale	00.00.43
5	Il "Magnificat", commento alla luce della dottrina di S. Paolo	06.09.43
6	Le lettere a Tito	21.01.71
7	La prima lettera di S. Paolo a Timoteo	04.05.71

MS VI B COMMENTI ALLA S. SCRITTURA (Comments on the S. Scripture)		
8	Pensieri sulla lettera di S. Paolo ai Filippesi	03.12.70
9	Note sulla lettera di S. Paolo a Filemone	22.12.70
10	Seconda lettera di S. Paolo a Timoteo	13.03.71
11	Un ritiro con S. Paolo	00.00.73
12	La prima lettera di S. Pietro	21.07.71
13	La seconda lettera di S. Pietro	04.04.71
14	Lettera cattolica di S. Giuda apostolo	10.02.71
15	De S. Ephrem Syro, Isaiae Prophaetae interprete	00.00.51
16	Note on the Apocalypsis	12.11.61
17	Psalmus 17 ex graeco conversus	16.12.70
18	Commento al Padre nostro (in inglese)	06.08.62
19	Introductio in Apocalypsin	15.06.60
20	Studi sull'Apocalisse	00.00.60
21	Pensè su Apocalypse	28.05.71
22	Considerazioni sul cap. II e III dell'Apocalisse	00.00.71
23	La dignità e l'autorità della S. Scrittura	07.03.69
24	Commento al Pater noster	31.12.52

MS VI C COMMENTI ALLA S. SCRITTURA (Comments on the S. Scripture)		
25	Introductio generalis in Prophetas	02.10.50
26	Bible-science and history	06.07.52
27	Quaedam specimnia expositionis vaticinorum A.T. ex Biblia sinensi	
28	De theologia Isaiae	00.00.50
29	Natulae de vita aeterna per Messiam hominibus comunicanda...	00.00.50
30	S. Scrittura. Criteri di traduzione	30.09.60

MS VII A RITIRI MENSILI (Monthly retreats)		
1	Et orent pro defunctis	07.11.42
2	Et vidi coelum novum et terram novam	30.04.43
3	Schemi di conferenze per ritiri mensili su S. Paolo	26.05.64
4	Ritiro sull'Epistola di S. Giacomo	20.05.64
5	Recollectio spiritualis	00.00.51
6	Recolectio spiritualis pro clero Macaensi	00.00.51
7	Appunti per il ritiro mariano alle superiori canossiane	00.00.54
8	Schemi per il ritiro spirituale al clero di Macau	00.15.62
9	Ritiro alle carmelitane	15.10.61

10	Schemi per ritiri annuali	00.00.55
MS VII B ESERCIZI SPIRITUALI (Spiritual exercises)		
1	Esercizi spirituali a un gruppo di signore italiane	00.00.42
2	Schema per il ritiro alle Piccole suore	00.00.42
3	Schema esercizi spirituali predicati alla Flagellazione-Gerus	07.12.54
4	Esercizi spirituali ai frati della Sicilia	13.10.55
5	Exquisse de la retraite mariale prechèe aux Peites Soeurs	00.00.57
6	De Messianismo: esercizi spir. al clero di Macau	00.00.68
7	Conferenze in francese	23.05.63
MS VII C ESERCIZI SPIRITUALI (Spiritual exercises)		
8	Esercizi spirituali in francese	00.00.63
9	Schemi per il ritiro spirituale al clero di Macau	00.00.64
10	Schemi per esercizi spirituali al clero di Macau	00.00.64
11	Esercizi spirituali alle F.M.M. di Macau	00.00.69
12	Ritiro alle F.M.M. e ai frati di Aracoeli. Triduo su S. Francesco	00.00.73
13	Esercizi spirituali in Giappone	14.11.75
14	Esercizi spirituali O.F.M.	74.75
15	Esercizi spirituali	00.00.36
16	Esercizi spirituali alle F.M.M.	00.00.60
17	Ritiro alle Carmelitane di Hong Kong (in inglese)	31.07.51
18	Esercizi spirituali allo Studio Biblico	07.12.56
MS VIII SERMONI VARI (Sermons)		
1	Sermo de S. Antonio	12.06.42
2	Meditatio in pervigilio SS. Trinitatis	03.06.44
3	Professione perpetua delle F.M.M.	17.09.44
4	Beati i pacifici...	19.08.45
5	Pro festo omnium Sanctorum	01.11.45
6	Sermo in honorem BB. Martirum Gregorii et Sociorum	01.12.46
7	Ecce Ego vobiscum sum usque ad consumationem saeculi	04.06.47
8	Appunti di discorsi sul Sacro Cuore	1949-51
9	Tre discorsi alle Carmelitane per il VII cent. Dello Scapolare	00.00.51
10	Schema pro sermone in honorem S. Patris Dominici	04.10.51
11	Triduo per la B. Assunta Pallotta	22.10.55
12	Triduo e panegirico Per. S. Giv. Battista. Discorso sull'Addolorata	00.00.55
13	Albe de la Rêvelation du Verbe Incarnè	00.00.62
14	Gloriosum Verbum (in inglese)	03.06.62
15	Fogli sparsi – Discorsetti incompleti	
16	Vado ad Patrem(pensieri sul Pater Noster)	31.12.52
17	Ai terziari francescani	30.06.61
18	Oratio memorialis 1 saeculo ex quo Missionari A.P.M....	1958
19	Discorso per le nozze di G. Virgone	00.00.60
20	Per la prima comunione di Giuliano Capuzzo	13.06.43
21	Per le nozze di diamante di Sr. Angelina Rodriguez	08.05.62
22	Pensieri per il funerale di A. Valeri	16.07.62
23	Discorso per la prima comunione (in inglese)	17.06.62
24	Meditazione sull'attività intellettuale: "Sapientiam exquisivi"	05.02.53
25	The task of the layman in the church	05.05.61
26	Appunti per il ritiro alle F.M.M.	00.00.37

27	Ricordi di S. Gabriele	19.10.40
28	Schemi di prediche	1974-75

MS IX SPIRITUALITA FRANCESCANA (Franciscan spirituality)		
1	De vocatione franciscana	00.00.41
2	In honorem S. Patris Francisci	03.10.42
3	Note sulle preghiere di S. Francesco	27.07.43
4	La regola dei Frati Minori, Liber vitae	22.08.43
5	Della vocazione all'Ordine Serafico	19.09.43
6	De spiritu franciscali	00.00.43
7	Appunti bibliografici di spiritualità francescana	00.10.43
8	Introduzione agli scritti del serafico Padre	02.08.43
9	Il lavoro nell'Ordine	00.00.43
10	La Porziuncola	02.08.44
11	Dieci conferenze sulla spiritualità francescana	00.00.45
12	In renovatione professionis	16.04.48
13	Festa del serafico Padre	04.10.50
14	Renovatio Professionis	16.04.51
15	Notes sur les discours pour la fête de S. Francois	03.10.61
16	De recrutandis novis vocationibus franciscanis in Exstremo Or.	23.08.62
17	Meditazio in vocationem ad vitam franciscalem	28.09.62
18	S. Francesco ha lasciato il Paradiso	08.01.70
19	Pensieri sulle nuove Cost. Gen., in una lettera a p. Stefano Bianchi	22.11.66
20	Appunti sulla organizzazione dell'Ordine Serafico in Cina	25.07.29
21	De vocatione seraphici Patris	00.00.42
22	Il frate minore secondo la Regola e le Costituzioni Generali	25.07.29
23	Instrumentum laboris: la vocazione dell'Ordine, oggi	01.05.73
24	Dell'utilità dei S. Ritiri nell'Ordine serafico	12.08.55
25	De spiritu S. Francisci	10.11.44

MS X B. GIOVANNI DUNS SCOTO (Blessed John Duns Scotus)		
1	Anima B. Ioannis Duns Scoti, doctoris mariani	00.11.44
2	Le pensè du B. Jean Duns Scoti	08.02.46
3	Schema officii B. Joannis Duns Scoti	08.12.49
4	Oriatiuncula pro feso B. Joannis Scoti	04.11.49
5	Sermo in honorem B. Joannis Scoti	07.11.50
6	Pro festo B. Joannis Scoti	08.11.51
7	Pensieri sulla conversazione sil B. Giovanni Scoto	08.11.66
8	Sermo pro festo B. Joannis Scoti	00.00.64
9	Angelus Faciei Jesu	00.00.64
10	Primatus absolutus apud S. Paulum et B. Joannem Scot.	00.00.66
11	The absolute Primacy of Christi...	00.00.66
12	In commemoratione B. Joannis Scoti	08.11.67
13	In commemoratione B. Joannis Scoti	08.11.69
14	Il B. Giovanni Duns Scoto, patrono dello Studio Biblico	00.00.73
15	Pagine su B. Giovanni Scoto	1972.73
16	Sermo pro die memorialis B. J. Scoti	07.11.62
17	Sermo pro commemoratione B. J. Scoti	08.11.47
18	In festo B. J. Scoti	08.11.46
19	La dottrine del B. G. Duns Scoto sul sacerdozio	00.00.27

	MS XI VARIA (Collectanea)	
1	In primitiis sacerdotilibus P. Antonii Ly	07.09.41
2	Necrologium P. Conradi Risso	00.00.43
3	Per il matrimonio di Guzzo Acampora	00.00.43
4	Messaggio ai chierici della diocesi di Catania	21.11.52
5	Pro memoria per l'attività in favore della fede in Cina	02.08.54
6	Memorandum per un centro d'informazione sulla situazione in Cina	11.09.54
7	La legione di Maria in Cina	11.09.54
8	Evangelizare pauperibus misit me	21.08.55
9	Il sacerdote dei nostri giorni	12.07.61
10	Il secolo della salute	12.07.62
11	Alla gloria dei fratelli lebbrosi	13.12.62
12	P. Urbano Devescovi	17.02.64
13	Apostolato evangelico in Cina	15.11.65
14	Ricordando p. Generoso	28.03.66
15	De Jubileo sacerdotali Pauli VI	09.06.70
16	Del giubileo d'oro del p. Fr. Ormazal	00.00.55
17	La canzone di Moulan (poesia scritta da chierico)	00.00.26
18	L'unione degli uomini nella carità cattolica (radio messaggio)	00.00.40
19	Quae fuerit apud Jeremiam coscienza sui muneris prophetici	00.00.42
20	I miei ricordi di Lucia Mangano	24.04.55
21	Lettera postulatoria per Lucia Mangano	06.05.63
22	Rec.:Bibbia e filos. Problema del male p. Di Rosa Guerra e lavoro	00.00.32
23	Indirizzi augurali	1928-29
24	Come fr. Gabriele a imitazione di S. Francesco, consacrò Sr. Chiara	00.00.58
25	Retreat to the students of Malacca Ai novizi e ai chierici dell'Ordine francescano	00.00.62 29.07.43
26	Versi in onore di p. Solano Ly	17.12.64
27	The dignity and the mission of the woman according the teaching	11.07.62
28	The holy Bible (Conferenza)	05.08.62
29	Appunti per le quarantore	05.07.39
30	Voto su l'opportunità di una condanna del mov. Scismatico in Cina	23.06.54
31	Associazione biblica cinese	01.08.64
32	La nouvelle version chinoise du Missal quotidien	19.06.54
33	Quaedam quaestiones et responsiones de S. Scriptura	00.00.54
34	Messaggio natalizio ai seminaristi puntesi	25.12.52
35	De parusia Domini et de opere missionali	05.03.47
36	Componimenti scolastici di fr. Gabriele Allegra	1925-26
37	Il sacerdote: schizzo di prediche agli ordinandi	00.00.29
38	De regno Dei (ritiro mensile)	23.01.42
39	Meditazioni sullo Spirito Santo	00.00.54
40	Festa del S. Cuore (meditazione)	25.06.54
41	Schemata pro recollectionibus menstruis	00.00.55
42	Schemi di ritiri alle Carmelitane: 30-IV; 28-V:15-10	00.00.61
43	Schemi di ritiro alle Canossiane	17.06.62
44	Pro memoria sulle missioni in Cina per l'autorità giapponesi	00.00.44
45	In primitiis sacerdotalibus p. Simonis Arnaldi	00.00.42
46	Sacer spiritualis recessus (poesia latina)	09.09.42
47	Sullo sviluppo della Catholic Truth Society	13.10.53
48	In honorem p. Solani Ly jubilarii	17.12.64

49	S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, dottore della Chiesa	00.03.59
50	Pensieri sulla Storia di Gesù Cristo di Fornari	00.07.32

MS XII A TEOLOGIA BIBLICA (Biblical theology)		
1	De Massianismo	00.00.70
2	Schema sermocinationis super Apocalypsyn	26.05.63
3	Les chapitres 4 et 5 de l'Apocalypsne	00.00.70
4	Delineatio doctrinae Eccl. in Scripturis eius praecipua nomina	20.02.64
5	De Theologia biblica in genere	04.06.55
6	De indole commentarii sinici sacrorum biblorum	12.11.60
7	Note esegetiche sui Salmi e sui cantici di Zaccaria, Giudith, Tobia	16.07.66
8	Esegesi teologica sull'Apocalisse	00.00.70
9	De logos in Evangelio S. Joannis	00.00.77
10	Exegesis theologica ai c. 2-22 Apocalypseos	00.00.70
11	Teologia biblica del N Testamento	00.00.74

MS XII B CONCILIO VATICANO II (Second Vatican Council)		
1	Animadversiones et proposita quae Concilio Ecumenico submittuntur	00.00.59
2	Animadversicula super aliqua schemata Concl. Vat. II	00.00.59
3	Note sul Concilio Ecumenico	27.05.62

MS XIII SCRITTI CINESI (Chinese writings)		
1	Poema cinese (testo cinese e versione italiana)	00.00.73
2	De religionibus sinarum (bibliografia)	00.00.64
3	Il peccato originale	00.00.70
4	Documenti nestoriani in Cina (testo cinese e italiano)	00.00.74
5	Sutra circa quelli che aspirano alla mistica cinese (cinese e italiano)	00.00.74
6	Sutra di Gesù il Messia	00.03.70
7	Diario aprile 1941-ott. 1942	1941-42
8	Ego Plantula B. Patris Francisci (S. Chiara)	11.08.43
9	Luminosae doctrinae propagationis in Sinas Stela	00.00.74

MS XIV STUDIO BIBLICO (Studium Biblicum)		
1	A-B Sermo inauguralis Studii Biblici in Hong Kong	08.11.48
2	Notulae pro sessione biblica	17.06.67
3	Acta e relationes ad St. Bib. spectantia Vol. I	1944-49
4	Acta e relationes ad St. Biblicum pertinentia Vol. II	1949-50
5	Lettera-prefazione del N.T. in cinese	00.00.62
6	Pensieri sullo Studio Biblico	1959-60
7	Memoriale circa lo St. Bibl.	1969-71
8	Completion of the translation of the holy Scripture	30.07.71
9	Memoriale circa lo St. Bibl.	19.03.71
10	Lo Stud.B. e la protezione della Madonna	27.02.55
11	Sermo inauguralis pro St. B.	02.07.45
12	Oratio pro XXV anniversario Studio Biblico	02.08.70
13	Brevis conspectus historicus ST. B. Hong Kong	00.00.70
14	Monita fraterna ante inaugurationem novi anni accademici	1957-58
15	De futura actusitate St. B. -Epistulae ad p. Clementem Vogt	00.00.71
16	Dopo 10 anni dall'inaugurazione dello St. B.	10.07.55

MS XV SOCIOLOGIA (Sociology)		
1	De doctrina sociali catholica	15.11.61
2	Tractatus de Ecclesia et Statu	28.06.63
3	Praefatio in opus p. Danielis Han	18.07.63

MS XVI DANTE ALIGHIERI (Dante Alighieri)		
1	Appunti su Dante	00.00.65
2	Universality and actuality of Dante	30.05.65
3	Meditatio de Meditatione univ. B.Mariae, sequens doctrina Dantis	30.05.55
4	Bibliografia dantesca	00.00.64
5	De universali conceptione seu de cosmonia Dantis	06.05.63

MS XVII MADONNA (Virgin Mary)		
1	Sul manuale della Guardia d'Onore C.I.M.	02.07.57
2	Commento alla preghiera: O Mère Immaculé (in francese)	03.08.63
3	Il Cavaliere dell'Immacolata: Massimiliano Kolbe	00.00.65
4	S. Massimiliano Kolbe	16.01.66
5	Sermo pro festo Assumptionis	14.08.50
6	The Immaculate Heart of Mary	17.08.63
7	De cohorte praetoriana I.C.M.	24.07.60
8	Schema sermonis pro festo B.M.Dolorosae	16.09.65
9	Meditatio pro mysterio Im. Conceptionis	00.12.45
10	Panegirico della Madonna del Carmine	16.07.39
11	Testi liturgici..appunti..pensieri sul Cuore I.M.	1944-45
12	S. Efrem Siro, cantore dell'Addolorata	00.00.45
13	Schema sermonis pro festo Matris Dolorosae	15.09.64
14	Breve commento alla preghiera: O Madre Immacolata	08.12.64

MS XVIII B VARIA (Collectanea)		
1	Diario aprile-agosto 1975. Rinnovazione dell'Ordine Franciscano	00.00.75
2	Sermo de Maria Matre nostra dulcissima	31.10.50
3	Documenti riguardanti la Guardia d'Onore del C.I.M.	00.00.60
4	Traduzione in cinese del libro di don Stefano Gobbi: "La Madonna"	00.00.75
5	Ritiro spirituale alle suore dell'Addolorata di Shatin (cinese)	11.02.65
6	Diario 1974-75. Quindicina sull'Assunta. Altri schemi di prediche	00.00.75
7	Notes on Mariam retreat to the Carmelites of Macau	23.12.75
8	Il B. Giovanni Scoto, patrono St. B	00.00.73
9	Raccomandazione ai padri dello St. B. circa l'attività futura	11.01.73

MS XVIII C VARIA (Collectanea)		
1	Dizionario greco-cinese (incompleto)	74-75
2	Commentarium in Psalmos (1_54)	00.00.76
3	Articolo sul termine "Logos"	00.00.75

MS XVIII D VARIA (Collectanea)		
1	De S. Ephrem Syro (tesi per ottenere il titolo di lettore generale)	00.00.40

MS XIX A STUDIO BIBLICO (Studium Biblicum)		
1	Documenti dello St. B. : 1944, 55, 56, 59, 63	

MS XIX B STUDIO BIBLICO (Studium Biblicum)		
1	Documenti dello St. B. : 1967-75	00.00.75
2	Sviluppo e speranza dello St.B.	00.00.75
3	Sessione biblicae: 1955-68. Cronaca della seduta plenaria St. B.	00.00.69

MS XIX C STUDIOSOCIOLOGICO (Studium Sociologicum)		
1	Lettere ed esposti, relativi allo St Sociologico: 1954-66	

MS XIX D LETTERATURA CINESE (Chinese literature)		
1	Raccolta di poemetti cinesi	00.00.66
2	Riflessioni quotidiane sul pensiero cinese	00.08.60
3	Poema cinese: traduzione del periodo 1973-74	00.00.74
4	De Religionibus sinarum	1964-73

MS XX DISCORSI REGISTRATI (Recorded speeches)		
1	La Chiesa di Dio in Cina	25.09.60
2	Conferenza al clero di Macao	21.03.69
3	Il Servo di Javeh. La Madonna. Il santuario di Guadalupe.	00.04.73
4	Conversazione alle clarisse di S. Gregorio (Catania)	00.05.73
5	Ai giovani di S. Giovanni La Punta	00.00.73
6	Alle clarisse di Biancavilla sul Messianismo	00.00.55
7	Conferenza su S. Giovanni Evangelista	00.00.73
8	Disc. a chiusura della campagna elettorale a S. Giovanni La Punta	00.07.73
9	Conferenza a S. Giovanni La Punta sulla Chiesa	00.00.73
10	Esercizi spir. Alle clarisse di S. Gregorio (Catania)	00.07.73

MS XXI SCHEMI E SUNTI DI LETTURE SPIRITUALI (Outlines and summaries of spiritual readings)		
1	La filosofia di S., Bonaventura	27.12.26
2	Il Teotimo di S., Francesco di Sales	13.3.27
3	Letture spirituali su autori mistici francescani	1927-28
4	Il sacerdote secondo il Vangelo	00.00.29
5	Il sacerdote cattolico	00.00.30
6	Sei sunti di letture spirituali	00.00.30
7	Altri sei sunti di letture spirituali	00.00.30

MS XXII DIARI (Diaries)		
1	Diario 19.12.40; 28.01.41 (Italia e Lisbona)	

2	Diario 00.10.42; 00.07.43 (Pechino)	
3	Diario 1943-44 (Pechino)	
4	Diario 1944-45 (Pechino)	
5	Diario 23.10.55; 31.10.55 (nelle Marche)	
6	Diario 8-11.11.66 (Al Congresso Scotista di Oxford)	
7	Diario 20.09.66; 01.11.66 (N. Europa-Italia-Gerusalemme-Hong Kong)	
8	Diario 26.09.66; 07.12.66 (di ritorno da Hong Kong)	
9	Diario 19.08.73; 10.11.73 (S. Marino)	
10	Diario 17.05.75 (Macau e Hong Kong)	
11	Diario 1) Pensieri sul santuario del C.I. di Maria (sett, 1966) 2) Note sulla biblioteca mariana del santuario (sett, 1966)	
12	Diario Luglio 1965 – dicembre 1965	

	MS XXIII SACRA SCRITTURA (Sacred Scripture)	
1	Si decide di iniziare la traduzione in cinese della Bibbia (lunedì santo)	
2	De munere propheticò	00.00.35
3	Notulae circa theologiam S.Joannis	00.00.42
4	Componimento della versione cinese della S. Scrittura	14.07.55
5	Riflessioni su alcuni passi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni	00.07.61
6	S. Agostino Esegeta	07.08.63
7	Riflessioni su alcuni passi di S. Giovanni	00.00.66
8	La preghiera sacerdotale di Gesù	
9	Lezioni su S. Giovanni Evangelista	
10	Vaticini messianici dell'Antico Testamento e dell'Apocalisse	00.00.66
11	Istruzioni sulla Sacra Scrittura	00.00.63

	MS XXIV STUDIO BIBLICO (Studium Biblicum)	
1	Relazione al 6° anno dello Studio Biblico	24.12.50
2	Della vita regolare dello Studio Biblico	00.00.50
3	De Studio Biblico Franciscano sinensi – in liber Annus 3	00.00.53
4	Origine, attività e ideali dello Studio Biblico	00.00.53
5	Perché D. Scoto è stato scelto patrono dello Studio Biblico	00.00.66
6	Notulae pro sessione biblica	23.08.67
7	Sessioni bibliche	1955-68
8	Dizionario biblico	1955-68
9	Oratio eucaristica nel 25° dello Studio Biblico	26-27. 09.60
10	Relazione al P. Generale O.F.M.	04.10.61

	MS XXV EPISTOLE (Epistles)	
1	Al Conte Veronesi (senza data) – Al Direttore Generale della Guardia d'Onore del Cuore Immacolato di Maria, con acclusa una lette minuta di lettera da inviare al Papa	26.07.60
2	Al Vicario Generale O.F.M.	00.00.66
3	A vari destinatari della Guardia d'Onore al C.I.M.	1958-78

MS XXVI DISCORSI E RELAZIONI SCRITTE (Speeches and written reports)		
1	Quindicina della Madonna della Ravanusa	00.08.44
2	De fine, metodo et ordine super theologiam spiritualem Ordinis Serafici	04.09.44
3	De fontibus doctrinae spiritualis franciscane	04.09.44
4	De Regula Serafica	29.11.44
5	De Regula Serafica quatenus redit fratrem minorem virum evangelicum	03.01.55
6	De studio fratris minoris	14.01.45
7	De direttore spirituali	02.02.45
8	Radio messaggio a Pechino: L'unione degli uomini nella carità cattolica	00.00.47
9	Conferenza al Congresso Mariano di Lourdes sulla Guardia d'Onore del Cuore Immacolato di Maria	08.08.54
10	Considerazioni sull'Immacolata	00.00.54
11	Storia e spiritualità della Guardia d'Onore del Cuore Immacolato M.	02.07.57
12	Conferenze su Duns Scoto	00.00.66
13	Pensieri sul Ss. Sacramento	00.00.70
14	Conferenza sulla Madonna	
15	Giudizio sull'opera di Fornari: Storia di Cristo	00.00.31

MS XVII RITIRI E MEDITAZIONI VARIE (Retreats and meditations)		
1	Il sacerdote di Cristo	00.00.30
2	Ritiro mensile del p. G.Allegra	00.02.43
3	De spiritu S.Francisci	14.11.44
4	La carità, nota distintiva della spiritualità francescana	20.12.44
5	Elevazione spirituale sull'Ascensione. Simbolo (o credo) mariano del P.G.A.	00.00.45
6	Esercizi spirituali del p. Gabriele Allegra	4-10 07.48
7	Meditazione – "Sapientiam exquisivi et amavi"	05.02.53
8	Davanti alla grotta di Betlem	00.00.54
9	Schemi di ritiri mensili, da febbraio a mercoledì santo	00.00.55
10	Meditazioni sulla Madonna	09.04- 01.05.55
11	Meditazione alla Piccola Famiglia di Ome	21.07.60
12	Meditazione ai fratini di Chiampo	23.07.60
13	Esercizi spirituali alle Orsoline	18-24 09.60
14	Ritiro su s. Paolo	18.11.64
15	Schemi di prediche	00.00.39
16	Meditazioni ai chierici salesiani e francescani	00.00.55
17	Visita Canonica al Carmelo di Hong Kong	20.07.44

MS XXVIII ARGOMENTI VARI (Various topics)		
1	Theologia spiritualis de universali Regno Domini	05.12.44
2	De sancto labore nostro	00.00.50
3	Meditazione sulla Guardia d'Onore del Cuore Immacolato di Maria	

4	Organizzazione della Guardia d'Onore C.I.M.	00.00.60
5	1) La cultura Cinese 2) Versi cinesi tradotti in latino da p. Allegra	00.00.61
6	The priest our de revvies his lifelooohig at Christ's life in the ospel	14.08.61
7	Before thr of Betlem – Notulae de vita aeterna per Messiam	12.05.62
8	Del Catechismo Olandese	1960-69
9	St. Peter in the New Testament	
10	Lettera al Car. G. Caprio sulle relazioni con i fratelli separati e lettera al Conte Veronesi, direttore dell' Italica gens	29.01.65
11	Conferenza del p. Allegra alle suore francescane di Maria	Pasqua 1968
12	Il provinciale p. Fernando Trupia ha commemorato il p. Allegra con un discorso al Capitolo Generale O.F.M. a S. Diego in California	
13	Articoli pubblicati: a) in Avvenire: "Poesia cinese attorno al presepio" – "I novi canti" – Rapsodie di Chu – "Bibbia, dalla Cina con rigore" b) In Marco Polo: "I novi canti in Chu"	
14	Luminosae Doctrinae propagationis in Sina stele	
15	Visita canonica ai Carmelitani di Hong Kong	24.07.64
16	Prospetto del "Teotimo di s. Francesco di Sales"	
17	Agenda Singapore Hong Kong	
18	Citazioni bibliche	

MS XXIX TESTIMONIANZE (Testimonies)		
1	Dei suoi seminaristi di Heng Yang (traduzione dal cinese e latino)	00.00.39
2	1) P. Norberto Pieraccini: Note sul trasloco dello Studio Biblico da Pechino a Hong Kong – Atteggiamenti di alcuni rappresentanti della S. Sede circa la traduzione della Bibbia 2) Testimonianze di p. Pieraccini sulla morte di p. Allegra	24.04.75 30.04.77
3	Testimonianze varie extragiudiziali	
4	Dr. Giuseppe Contarino: due lettere inviate al Santo Padre per la glorificazione del p. Allegra	
5	P. Giuseppe Sernagiotti	
6	Fra Giacomo Scortichini	
7	Testimonianza di p. Leonardo Tesselli	
8	Relazione di p. Allegra col generale Hidaka	
9	Testimonianze dei suoi seminaristi (in latino e in cinese)	
10	Appunti di conferenze del p. Allegra, scritti da p. Lanfranco Fidegrotti, salesiano	
11	1° commento alla Divina Commedia di Dante	00.00.65
12	2° commento alla Divina Commedia di Dante	

A.2 Section DOC-A

These documents are stored in 24 folders and are all originals, mostly handwritten. Personal diaries and notebooks are included. A list reporting the contents of the folders was missing. The one reported here was prepared, recording the titles on the labels found on the documents. The titles are in the language of the documents.

1 DOC-A

Note esegetiche sui salmi 23-24-44-45-46-74-75-95-99, cantico di Giuditta-Zaccaria,-Tobia (n. 4)]
Dei Salmi e del servo di Jahve 3
Salmi da 38 a 68
Salmi da 68 a 105

2 DOC-A

Note dei primi 11 capitoli della Genesi
Dei libri storici A. Test.
Dei libri di Tobia e dei Maccabei (I e II)
Indice in cinese dei nomi cognomi agiografici dell'A.T.
Indice dei nomi (cinesi) nel Pentateuco-Giosuè-Giudici e dei Re

3 DOC-A

Nomi dal latino in cinese – 1972
I Note filologiche e critiche sull'Ecclesiastico – 1965
II Note filologiche e critiche sull'Ecclesiastico
Teologia Isaiae

4 DOC-A

Esegesi teologica del 2° e 3° capitolo dell'Apocalisse
Note per la traduzione dell'Apocalisse
Introduzione alla Apocalisse
Critica ad alcune vite di Cristo pubblicate in cinese dai Protestanti, 1934
Osservazioni sulla Apocalisse
Cristologia (teologia di S. Giovanni) 22 maggio 1974

5 DOC-A

Memorie autobiografiche – Ideo Multum tenemur Ei!
Memorie autobiografiche – Ideo Multum tenemur Ei!
Memorie autobiografiche – Ideo Multum tenemur Ei!
Memorie autobiografiche – Ideo Multum tenemur Ei!
Memorie autobiografiche – Ideo Multum tenemur Ei!

6 DOC-A

Il Cuore Immacolato di Maria, Via a Dio
Peregrinantibus et iter agentibus
Il primato assoluto di Cristo (Dialogo con Teilhard de Chardin, 1966)
Traduzione del libro di Chu Yuan "Incontro al dolore", 1938
Tractatus: De Ecclesia et Statu, Singapore, 1963

7 DOC-A

Indice del Dizionario Biblico cinese, 27-IX-1972
Indice del Dizionario Biblico cinese, 16-X-1972
Filologiche annotazioni del V.T., 21 sett, 1962
Filologiche annotazioni al V.T., 15-XII-1962
Dizionario greco-cinese, 8° quaderno

8 DOC-A

Vita e dottrina di S. Paolo e altri scritti spirituali
Pensieri sulla lettera si S. Paolo apostolo ai Filippesi e a Filemone
Considerazioni sulla vita di S. Paolo
Vita e dottrina di S. Paolo
Prima lettera di S. Paolo a Timoteo. Prima lettera di S. Pietro
Lettera di S. Paolo a Tito, 1971

9 DOC-A

De Dottrine Sociali Cattolice Singapore, 1961
Relazione sullo St. Biblico, 1964
Note sul V. Testamento
Sermone sull'Addolorata
Orario personale 1964
Alcune lettere
Statuto dello Studio Biblico
Della futura organizzazione dello Studio Biblico, 1971
Novena S. Natale, 1947, 1948, 1949

10 DOC-A

Diario gennaio-dicembre 1964
Diario durante la permanenza a Singapore, 1963

11 DOC-A

Diario 1962 e schemi di prediche
Diario 1944: da maggio all'Assunzione
Appunti sulla Divina Commedia, 18 III 1962
Diario 1968
Diario dicembre 1972-maggio 1973
Fotocopie diario 1973 agosto-novembre
Diario 1973 (originale)

12 DOC-A

Minuta di lettere e appunti vari
Spunti di meditazioni e minute di lettere, Malacca, 5 agosto 1962
Sermoni vari
Appunti di meditazioni (e lettere in cinese)
Esercizi spirituali ai frati di S. Maria di Gesù, Palermo, 5 ott. 1965
Esercizi spirituali alle Piccole Suore dei Poveri, 1951
Sermoni sulla Passione e Resurrezione del Signore
Meditazioni sul Padre Nostro

13 DOC-A

Sullo Studio Biblico 1945
Riflessioni sulla guerra
Introduzione agli scritti di S. Francesco

Regola Scritti di Rosmini
Dello Studio Biblico, 14 agosto, 1949.1950
Studio Biblico e minute di lettere, lunga riflessione sul comunismo in Cina, 1954

14 DOC-A

Appunti per scrivere l'itinerario della Guardia d'Onore CIM
Guardia d'Onore CIM Schemi di prediche e esercizi spirituali 1960
Consacrazione CIM Meditazioni bibliche Minute di lettere
Fasciculus florum (pensieri mariani, ottobre 1939) Devozione dei frati al Cuore Immacolato

15 DOC-A

Appunti autobiografici 1957-1958
Appunti e schemi 1969
Diario 1970

16 DOC-A

Settimana biblica a Formosa 1962 Orario personale Minute di lettere Note sui Vangeli Appunti sullo studio sociologico
De messianismo
Schema per esercizi "De Passione et morte Salvatoris I.C.", agosto-settembre 1964
Schema per esercizi alle FMM di Macao, novembre 1969
Esercizi spirituali e minute di lettere: 1953-54-55

17 DOC-A

Minute di lettere e schemi di lezioni bibliche
Esercizi spirituali alle superiori canossiane, settimana santa, 1954

18 DOC-A

Esercizi spirituali sulla passione di Gesù, 1968
Appunti di archeologia e note sulle escursioni bibliche, 1954 (Terra Santa)
Introductio generalis in prophetas, 1950

19 DOC-A

Iter Japonicum pro Conventu Biblico Tokyo 14 agosto-2 settembre 1966, I
Iter Japonicum pro Conventu Biblico Tokyo 14 agosto-2 settembre 1966, I
Iter Japonicum pro Conventu Biblico Tokyo 14 agosto-2 settembre 1966, I
Novena di Natale 1950 Lettere a Mons. Costantini e altri Discorso sul S. Cuore L'ora dell'Addolorata Le sette parole di Gesù Rinnovo professione Discorso su S. Domenico Madonna del Carmine e schemi di prediche
Agenda Congresso Scotista, Oxford, 9-17 settembre 1966 Minute di lettere

Dizionario greco-latino di P. Tarcisio Benvegnù, 1955

20 DOC-A

De S. Efrem Syro. Tesi di P.A. al Pontificio Istituto Biblico di Roma, 1940
The mysteries of Christ, 1970, I
The mysteries of Christ, II Minute di lettere (p. 75) Esercizi di traduzioni bibliche (p. 76) Esercizi di traduzione di poesia cinese (p. 83) Schema di omelia domenicale (p. 90) Esercizi di traduzione di poesia cinese (p. 93) Conclusione del ritiro (p. 105) Traduzione poesia cinese (p. 108)
Cinese-italiano interlineare, 1970, <i>Mishihe jing</i> 彌師訶經 “Sutra del Messia (?)” pp. 1-66 testo nestoriano Cinese-italiano interlineare, 24 marzo 1970, <i>Yishenlun</i> 一神論 “Monoteismo”
Documenti nestoriani in Cina: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- “Discorso sull’unicità dell’universo, sutra 1”, <i>Yitian lun, di yi</i> 一天论, 第一, pp. 4-44- “Inno dei salvati della luminosa religione alla triuna maestà”, <i>Jingjiao sanwei mengduzan</i>, 景教三威 蒙度讚, pp. 46-66- “Preghiere di onore”, <i>Zunjing</i>, 尊经, pp. 67-82- “Trattato sulla misteriosa origine della religione luminosa dell’impero Daqin”, <i>Daqin Jingjiao zuan zhi ben jing</i>, 大秦 景教 宣 至 本 经, pp. 83-94- “Discorso del signore dell’universo sulla elemosina”, <i>Shizun bushi lun</i>, 世尊 布施 论, pp. 95-143
Pensieri sull’Apocalisse “Sutra circa quelli che aspirano alla mistica pace e al mistico gaudio”, <i>Zhixuan anle jing</i> , 志玄安樂經

21 DOC-A

Memoriale peregrinationis Romanae 10-26 settembre 1949
Schemi di prediche
Riflessioni su frasi evangeliche
Esercizi spirituali alle Suore Francescane di Assisi, 1973
Ottobre 1963, Singapore: minute di lettere orario personale schemi di discorsi su S. Paolo Note per la revisione dell’AT (pp. 14-16) Sessione biblica
Maggio 1963 Discorso per nozze Lettera postulazione Lucia Mangano Prefazione di un libro Pensieri su Maria Cosmogonia di Dante Riflessioni Studio Sociologico Minute di lettere
1965, minute di lettere Lettere Apostolato evangelico in Cina p. 35 Relazione su Bernardino Ly per lo stato laicale p. 70

Lettere

22 DOC-A

1962, agenda Singapore, Hong Kong Minute di lettere
Minute di lettere 1964
1967 Note sulla pubblicazione del volume unico della Bibbia (lat) Sessione biblica 1967
Studio Biblico 1968 De Lexico Biblico Sinico Minute di lettere Intervista con P. Girardi 10.12.68

23 DOC-A

Agendina 1959: minute di lettere e riflessioni
16 schemi di prediche e ritiro alle suore 1937
1939, schemi di prediche e meditazioni
Appunti e Memorandum al generale Koser, 1968
Singapore 30.IX.1961 Minute di lettere e schemi di prediche
Schemi di prediche sulla Passione del Signore
Note e appunti Osservazioni su san Giovanni Quaestiones Caelestes, <i>tianwen</i> , 天问, in latino Canti di Chu, <i>Chuci</i> , 楚辞, elenco dei canti e traduzione dei nomi propri. Bibliografia Glossario italiano-cinese: terminologia islamica e patrologia greca
Diario del 1942 scritto in cinese con traduzione in italiano
Esame e giudizio del manoscritto: Domenico Gandolfi ofm, 1985

24 DOC-A

“Bible – Science and history”, 18 pp., Malacca, 4-6 agosto 1962
Macau 22-28 marzo 1967, (da mercoledì santo a martedì in albis): scritti sulla passione di Gesù
Macau 13 ottobre 1953 “Sullo sviluppo della Catholic Truth Society”
Pregghiera, peccato, Maria, le sette parole di Gesù sulla croce, ritiro, schema di ritiro alla Furen
Numerologia e Apocalisse
Laozi de Daodejing 老子的道德经: il Classico della Via e della Virtù di Laozi (Lao-Tsu): esercitazione di scrittura (?)
Annotazioni sui testi nestoriani

A.3 Section MA

The documents of this section are collected in 8 binders (A-H). Inside the binders there are numbered folders with labels recording the contents. The titles are listed in Italian, followed by the indication of the language of redaction. When quoted in the text, the titles are translated in English.

A

1	Si decide di iniziare la traduzione, 1935 – it
2	Per la settimana biblica di Hong Kong – en
3	Le preghiere dello Studio Biblico – lat
4	La traduzione cattolica in cinese della Bibbia, 1946 – it
5	Esortazione ai collaboratori per il nuovo anno dello Studio Biblico, 1953 – lat
6	De Studio Biblico – lat
7	Relazione sullo stato disciplinare e scientifico dello Studio Biblico – lat
8	Orario della vita regolare dello Studio Biblico, 1948 – lat
9	Statuto Associazione Biblica Cinese, 1968 – lat
10	Memoriale traduzione Bibbia, 1947 – lat
11	Discorso 25° dello Studio, 1970 – lat
12	Distribuzione lavoro traduzione Vangeli, 1955 – lat
13	Relazione al Generale sull'attività dello Studio Biblico, 1958-1959 – lat
14	Indicazioni traduzione secondo volume NT – lat
15	Osservazioni redazione definitiva Dizionario Biblico, 1972 – lat
16	Criteri vaticini Antico Testamento, 1946 – lat
17	Indicazioni revisione Antico Testamento, 1956 – lat
18	Appunti lavoro e inaugurazione Studio Biblico, 1945 – lat
19	Dello studio Biblico, 1959-60 – it
20	Conclusione versione Sacra Scrittura, 1961 – it
21	Promemoria storico circa Studio Biblico, 1972 – it
22	Relazione sullo Studio Biblico al Generale, 1952-1953 – it
23	Relazione sullo Studio Biblico, 1963-1964 – lat
24	Suggerimenti per il futuro dello Studio, 1969 – lat
25	Sessione biblica 10 dicembre 1962 – lat

B

1	Discorso su Duns Scoto, 1966 – it
2	Discorso su Duns Scoto – lat
3	Discorso su Duns Scoto – lat
4	Angelus faciei Jesus (Duns Scoto) – it
5	Dottrina di Duns Scoto sul sacerdozio – it
6	Discorsi su Scoto, 1962, 1964 – lat
7	Duns Scoto, patrono dello Studio Biblico, 1946 – lat
8	La filosofia di Scoto, 1946 – fr
9	Commento al Magnificat alla luce della dottrina di Scoto, 1943 – it
10	Relazione in cinese
11	Ora santa, 1928-1929 – it
12	Recensione di un libro di Diederich, 1942 – lat
13	Lettera a P. Bernardino Manuguerra, 1929 – it
14	Schema conferenza spirituale, 1953 – lat

15	Ringraziamenti conferimento laurea, 1955 – lat
16	Discorsi in inglese, 1962 – en
17	Inizi Guardia d'Onore C.I.M., 1957 – it
18	Dignità e autorità della S. Scrittura, 1969 – it
19	Teologia biblica NT, 1974 – it
20	Teologia biblica, 1955 – it, lat
21	Teologia biblica S. Giovanni – ita

C

1	De electione Sancti Pauli – lat
2	Della Passione di Gesù – lat
3	Il servo del Signore, 1970 – it
4	Le cause storiche della morte di Gesù – it
5	Suggerimenti per la diffusione del “Poema dell’Uomo Dio” di Valtorta, 1970–it
6	Meditazione per un ritiro spirituale, 1955 – lat
7	Ritiro mensile, 1947 – lat
8	Il Sacerdote di Gesù Cristo – it
9	Intervista sulla dottrina della Chiesa – lat
10	Questioni sulla creazione dell’uomo – fr
11	Discorso di nozze – it
12	Discorso per una professione solenne – fr
13	Meditazione ai chierici salesiani, 1955 – lat
14	Appunti su S. Bonaventura – lat, it
15	De Messia Patiente, 1944 – lat
16	La Legione di Maria in Cina, 1954 – it
17	L’Addolorata, 1944 – lat
18	Discorso in onore dei martiri Gregorio Grassi e compagni – lat
19	Meditazione ritiro mensile, 1943 – lat
20	Devozione alla Vergine Maria – lat
21	Discorso su S. Antonio e S. Francesco, 1942 – lat
22	Utilità dei sacri ritiri nell’Ordine, 1955 – it
23	Messaggio ai chierici di S. Giovanni La Punta – it
24	L’Assunzione, 1950 – lat
25	L’Immacolata, 1953-4 – lat
26	Discorso per i Beati Martiri Cinesi – lat Preghiera alla Vergine per le vocazioni – it

D

1	Meditazioni ai Canossiani e ai Carmelitani 1963 – en
2	Meditazioni sulla Passione di Gesù, 1964 – lat
3	Ignita e melliflua vis amoris (meditazione personale), 1944 – it
4	“Beati i pacifici”, discorso alla comunità italiana di Pechino, 1945 – it
5	Articolo autobiografico pubblicato in “Le vie di Assisi”, 1958 – it
6	De sancto Antonio, dottore della Chiesa, 1943 – lat
7	L’anno mariano, lettera pastorale al clero e ai fedeli di Hong Kong, 1953 – it
8	Trahe nos Virgo Immacualta, 1954 – lat
9	L’Immacolata – en
10	L’Immacolata – en
11	Manuale della Guardia d’Onore del Cuore Immacolato di Maria – it
12	Appunti vari – en
13	Relazione ai direttori della Guardia d’Onore del C.I.M. – lat
14	La Guardia d’Onore del C.I.M., 1957 – it
15	Il mio quarto viaggio di ritorno in Cina, 1960 – it

16	Il messianismo, 1969 – it
17	Diari e pensieri spirituali (3 taccuini), 1939-1940-1941 – it
18	Petizione a Pio XII per la Guardia d’Onore. Lettera a P. Stanislao, 1960 – lat

E

1	Piccola agenda, 1954 – lat
2	Un ritiro con San Paolo Bibliografia teologia di San Giovanni – it
3	Diario cinese con traduzione italiana, 1943
4	Diario e appunti spirituali. Teologia mistica di San Bonaventura, 1943–lat, zh, it
5	Novena S. Natale 1946 – ita
6	Novena S. Natale 1952 – ita
7	Novena S. Natale 1945 – ita
8	Novena S. Natale 1945 – ita
9	Appunti di letture spirituali “Catholic Thought and Thinkers – en “S. Bonaventura” – lat “Il sacerdote secondo il Vangelo”, 1929 – it
10	Appunti di letture spirituali – en, it
11	Diario. Viaggio di ritorno a Hong Kong, 1966 – it

F

1	Osservazioni di critica al moralista Haring, 1972 – en
2	Osservazioni sul poema di Qu Yuan “Quaestiones caelestes” – lat
3	“Ut mereamur in nomine Dilecti Filii...”, 1945 – it
4	Della gloria dei fratelli cristiani, i lebbrosi, 1962 – it
5	S Lorenzo da Brindisi – it
6	Temi scolastici e versioni dal latino, 1926 – it
7	Sunto del Teotino di San Francesco di Sales, 1926 – it
8	I miei ricordi di Lucia Mangano – it
9	Universalità e attualità del messaggio di Dante, 1965 – en
10	Schemi di prediche, 1955 – it
11	Declinatio Doctrinae ecclesiae in S. Scripturae, 1964 – lat
12	Giubileo sacerdotale di Paolo VI, 1970 – lat Capp. 4 e 5 Apocalisse, 1970 – fr Stele del P. Giunipero Cocchi – zh, it
13	Schemi di argomenti vari – lat
14	Lettere dei mistici autori francescani, 1927 – it, lat
15	De labore ordinis, 1945 – lat
16	Del direttore spirituale, 1945 – lat
17	Lo studio dei frati minori, 1945 – lat
18	Note sul “logos” di S. Giovanni – lat
19	Teologia di San Giovanni – lat
20	La regola serafica – lat
21	La filosofia di San Bonaventura, 1927 – it
22	La vocazione alla vita francescana – lat

G

1	Opportunità di erigere un centro d’informazione della Chiesa in Cina – it
2	The New Chinese Catechism, 20.07.1969 (Il nuovo catechismo cinese, 04.08.1969) – en, it
3	La preghiera sacerdotale di Gesù, 1970 – it
4	Dottrina di San Bonaventura – lat
5	Sulla carità – lat

6	Teologia spirituale secondo i dottori francescani, 1944 – lat
7	Lo spirito di San Francesco – lat
8	Fine metodo e origine della teologia spirituale francescana, 1944 – lat
9	Le fonti della dottrina serafica, 1944 – lat
10	Vocazione francescana – lat Devozione all'Addolorata – lat Discorso per un sacerdote novello (Antonio Ly, 7 IX 1941) – lat
11	Esercizi spirituali in Giappone, 1973 – it
12	Attività in favore della fede in Cina e per la Cina, 1954 – it
13	Organizzazione dell'ordine francescano in Cina, 1946 – it
14	Sapientiam exquisivi et amavi, meditazioni, 1955 – lat
15	Carisma della vocazione francescana – it
16	La Porziuncola, 1944 – it La pietà cristiana, 1945 – it L'Ascensione, 1945 – it
17	Schema predicazione – lat
18	Ringraziamento per la laurea ad honorem, 1955 – lat
19	Meditazione all vigilia della SS. Trinità, 1944 – lat
20	Omelia Pentecoste – lat
21	Esercizi spirituali ad Acireale, 1939 – lat, it
22	Presentazione dell'opuscolo di P. Casini su Scoto – it
23	Addolorata, appunti – it
24	Presentazione opuscolo di Casini "Il poema di Maria", 1973 – it
25	Per la festa di S. Francesco, 1950 – it
26	Presentazione dell'opuscolo di Casini "Il Primogenito", 1975 – it
27	Schemi vari – it
28	Il vero discepolo di Gesù Cristo, 1930 – it
29	Gloriosum Verbum Patris, 1962 – en
30	Appunti vari – lat

H

1	Prologo Vangelo Giovanni –lat
2	Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann. – gr, zh
3	De parusia Domini e t de opere missioani, 1947 – lat
4	Struttura politica dell'Impero Romano, 1962 – it
5	Due testi nestoriani cinesi – it
6	Rivelazione del Verbo incarnato – fr
7	La sutra del Messia, 1970 – it
8	Dialogo con Teilhard de Chardin, 1966 – en
9	Note sul Vangelo della terza domenica di Quaresima (Lc 11, 14-28), 1965 – en
10	Note sul Vangelo della sesta domenica dopo Pentecoste, 1963 – en
11	Schemi vari, 1961 – en
12	San Francesco e il Vangelo, 1961 – en
13	Prima della culla di Betlemme – en
14	San Pietro nel NT – en

A.4 Epistolary

The collection of letters is stored in 38 folders, collected in 8 binders. The folders are divided according to the addressee of the letters and every folder is provided with a numbered list of the letters with place and date of writing. Here the numbered list of the addressees is reported (sections reporting only proper names are not translated).

1. Ai genitori (To his parents)
2. Ai fratelli (To his brothers)
3. Alle sorelle (To his sisters)
4. A p. Leone Murabito
5. A p. Marcellino Salamone
6. A p. Leonardo Anastasi
7. A p. Fortunato Margiotti
8. A sr. Agata Allegra
9. A sr. Angioletta
10. A mons. Guglielmino
11. A Leopoldo Intelisano e Giuseppe Balistreri
12. Allo Studio Biblico di Hong Kong e di Gerusalemme (To the Studium Biblicum in Hong Kong and Jerusalem)
13. A sr. Angelica
14. Al Ministro Generale O.F.M. (To the Minister General of the Friars Minor)
15. Al delegato generale, ai segretari delle missioni e degli studi (To the General Delegate and the Secretaries of Missions and Studium)
16. Ai padri: Vannicelli, Alaiomo, Leongo, Macciò, Martinelli, Meacci, Domenico Gandolfi, Bonasea
17. Ai sacerdoti: Nicosia, De Margeri, Di Prima, Carlo Kirshber, Praga e p. Lardo (To the priests: ...)
18. Al prof. Carlo Tamberlani, Francesco Pupino, Antonio Sacchi, Consolato Italiano in Cina, col. Antonio Costantino, cap. Valenti, giudice Fontana, A. Fortini
19. Alla Guardia d'Onore del Cuore I. di Maria (Monaco di Baviera) e alle discepoli di don Dolindo Ruotolo
20. A sr. Leonia Murabito
21. A p. Mario Crocco (cfr. n. 36) e a p. Ignazio Barbagallo, p. Teofilo Sentinelli, p. Antonio Salvo, p. Paolo Salerno, p. Antonio Garra, p. Serafino Gozzo, mons. Vota, p. Carmelo Orlando,
22. Ai parenti: Agata di Murabito, Agata Guglielmino, a fr. Giuseppe Murabito, a Tina, a vari nipoti, cugina Graziella, al cugino Ioacchino, Pippo, nipote Agatina, allo zio Sebastiano, Rosetta e altri parenti (To some relatives)
23. Sr. Carmela Balsamo, sr. Bianca dell'Immacolata, alle clarisse di Catania e Sicilia, alle clarisse di Roma di via di Selci e via Contarini, sig. Domenica Pironi, sr. Ravanusa, Grazia Canella, Carmelitane, Susanna, Teresa Margaret, carmelitani di Macao, madre Teresa, carmelitane di Catania, madre Vessana
24. Ai nipoti Giovanna, Saretto e Rosetta (To the nephews)
25. A p. Pieraccini, Pasini e Celletti
26. A mons. Guglielmino (supplemento)
27. A Ida Giovannelli
28. Alla mamma, alla sorella Sarina e altri parenti (To his mother, his sister Sarina and other relatives)
29. A p. Leonardo Tasselli

30. Agli Ordinari O.F.M. della Cina, Internuzi Vota, Riberi Costantini, prof. Daguet, Bianchi, Bernardini, Nigris, Olcomedy, Sigismondi, Caprio, Lokuang, Agagenann, Van Malckebet (cfr. 31), Capotti, Pasini, p. Gemelli
31. Stefano Leoni, Gaetano Abate, Maria Longo, Massimo Pio, Baronesse, Nicosia, Agatina, Campione, Abate e famiglia, Madame De Margeri (cfr n.36), Maria Passamonti, Nicosia Graziella, Di Gregorio, Giustapane e altri conoscenti
32. Delegato Generale, p. Antonio Lee, al Provinciale della Sicilia, Provinciale di New York, Provinciale del Belgio e dell'Olanda
33. Fernando Foschini, Genario Passavanti, arcivescovo di Catania mons. Vota, Maria Lanza, p. Vogt, Patrizio Dricken, p. Venanzio, p. Favara, Angela Merici, Moter Leola, sr. Gemma, Arcangelo Scurba, p. Verga, p. Beniamino, p. Costanzo, p. Migliazzo e altri conoscenti
34. A p. Margiotti (supplemento) e a Giuseppe Castagna
35. Mons. Maurizio Rosà, p. Gervasio Rossato, p. Gonzale Valles, Nerina Sapienza, Concetta Allegra, p. Egidio Caggiano, p. Marco Fan, Tina, Raitano, mons. Pesce, sr. Angelica Rizzi, mons. Arcuino Costa, Melchebek (cfr. 30), a Rosetta, Gianna e Marta Allegra, al fratello Iano e figli, al parroco Di Prima, p. Gippi, Di Bella Giuseppe, mons. Consoli, a p. Zavalloni, madame De Margeri (cfr. 31), Salvatore Trovato, Elena Cucchiara, arcivescovo di Catania
36. A mons. Palazzi, al provinciale di Genova, alla sorella Sarina, a mons. Guglielmino, sr. Nunziatina Dascola, a p. Benigar, a Maria Crocco (cfr. 21), sr. Angelica, Giuseppe Tomasello, p. Marco Fang, Roland De Margeri (cfr 31-35), al provinciale Ignazio Beschin, Rizzo Nunia Ridolfi, Giuseppina Verso
37. Lettere postume: alla sorella Sarina, a mons. Guglielmino, a p. Leone Murabito, alla clarissa Nunziatina, alle suore francescane d'Egitto, alla clarissa Angelia Rizzeri, alla clarissa Tomasello, alla signora Margeri, ai padri Benigar, Bianchi, Chiettini, Szabo, a p. Mario Crocco, al prof. Fausto D'Amato, a sr. Gemma
38. Ai padri: Acursio, Corrado, Ludovico Liu, sr. Domenica Pironi, p. Cerasa, al Vicario Generale, a p. Gori, alla sign. Su Sue Lin (scrittrice cinese) e a p. Innocenzo Albanese

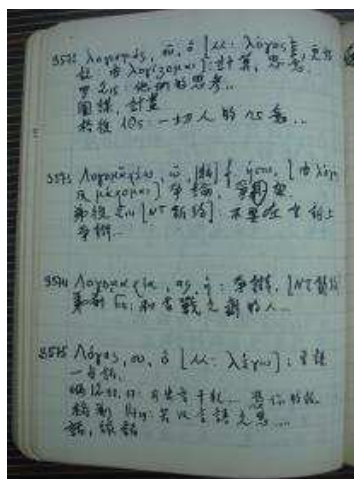
APPENDIX B: Documents from the Archive

In this Appendix the pictures of some relevant documents mentioned in the text are presented. All reproductions were carried out and reported with permission of the director of the Archive (Archivio Vice-Postulazione-Convento San Biagio dei Frati Minori, Acireale (CT), Father-Guardian of the Convent).

B.1 Greek-Chinese dictionary (MS XVIII C, 1) (see: Chapter 2.1, p. 52)



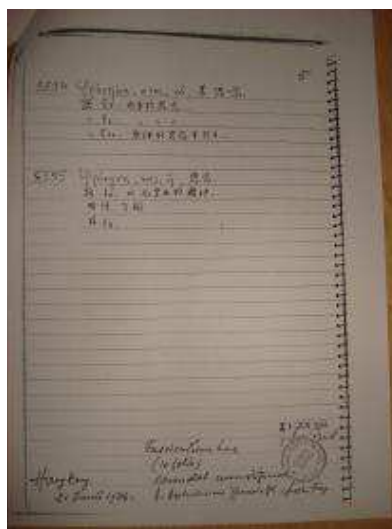
Ten handwritten notebooks



Sample page



10° notebook (incomplete), cover page



10° notebook (incomplete), last page

B.2 Autobiographical Memoirs, *Ideo multum tenemur Ei!* (5 DOC-A)



Autobiographical memoirs, five handwritten notebooks

7

All. Reverendo e diletto in Cristo
P. Antonio L. P. Presidente della
Studio Biblico Crisost.

Reverendo e amato Padre nel nostro Apostolo
Figliuolo!

Comincio oggi a comporre l'Allegoria sopra
l'anno il 18 della vostra vita, cioè di essere
nel 18 una memoria. Non fare da molto
ho scritto riguardando al vostro studio
sia del collettivo, sia da altri, onde non
mi faccia proprio effetto, consono alle
parole di mio maestro. Il numero dipende
dal Tran Sheng [?] che me non
memorerà il centesimo annuale, che
ormai, da parte nostra almeno, è quasi

Memorie, first page

30

Cara P. Presidente, il Presidente,
Ho composto l'Allegoria da lei datami il
12 giugno u.c. Ho scritto un paio d'ore
riguardo lo studio, la sua vita, e un mio
indizio. Bisognerebbe coniare la dicitura, e anche
l'ordine, al meno per fare memoria con
quella indicata nel primo capitolo. Non si
fonda un fondo, naturalmente concludo
e finisco venendo a finire per tempo.
Come nella lettera precedente, rispetto da lei
fornire al 8. Tra il P. G. ho una
da cento cose fatte, dove la Santa; molti
pagini di questa classe saranno da lei
in modo.
Il mio compito è finito, ho fatto fare 50

Memorie

questo manoscritto quello che mi resterà
doverlo, tornare di
Mi viene sempre al cuore l'immortale
di Maria, fatto manoscritto di memoria
Alc. Immacolata con!

fra questo da Aleppo da
28. Ottobre 1795

Memorie, last page

B.3 "Si decide di iniziare la traduzione" (It is established to start the translation),
1935 (MA, A, 1) (see: Chapter 2.2, p. 61)

22

A
1

Lunedì Santo 1935

Oggi dopo circa quattro anni decise
di esser partito per il libro d'Isaia penso
di fare ancora un altro passo più vicino
alla meta da raggiungere e cioè
cominciare direttamente una tradu-
zione della S. Scrittura dell'Antico e
del N. Testamento.

Stare ai criteri esposti nel memo-
randum presentato al M. Rev. Padre
Delegato Generale il P. Alfonso Schuyfer
berl l'11 Aprile di quest'anno festa
dell'Addolorato.

La traduzione sarà fatta secondo il
testo Masoretico Servandomi del
Grieco, della Vg. dei LXX, e
dell'Arabo.

La scriverò in grandi fogli, lasciando una pagina in bianco per aggiungere note filologiche.

Nell'annotare i sinonimi cinesi avrò presente che dovrò portare al suo tempo un contributo alla semantologia sacra.

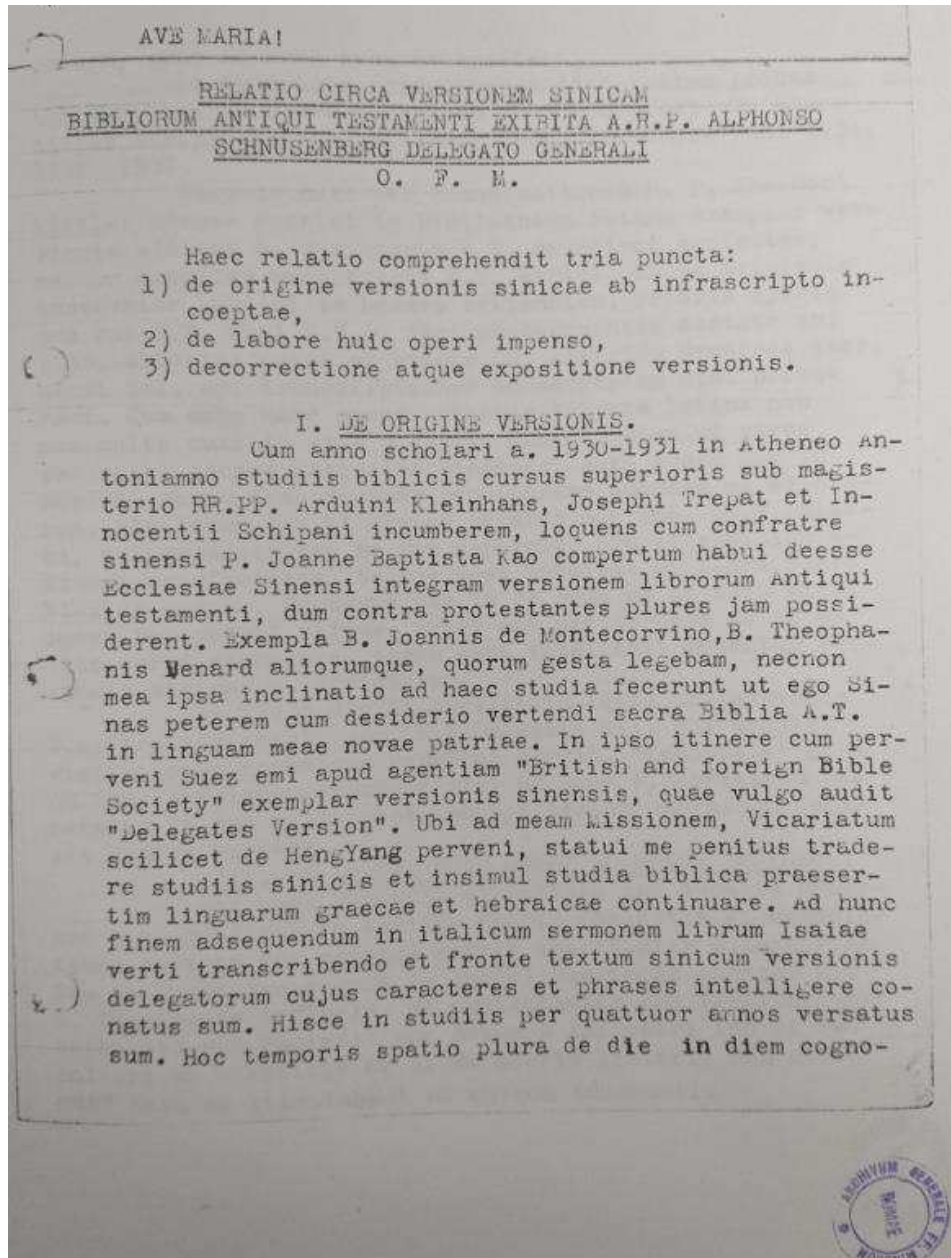
Per la lingua cinese mi gioverò in quanto to e posto del ~~xxx~~ volgare (127) ²³
Scriverò il cinese dopo di aver gustato le tre versioni dei Protestanti.

和合 官話 Delegates: Vespers.

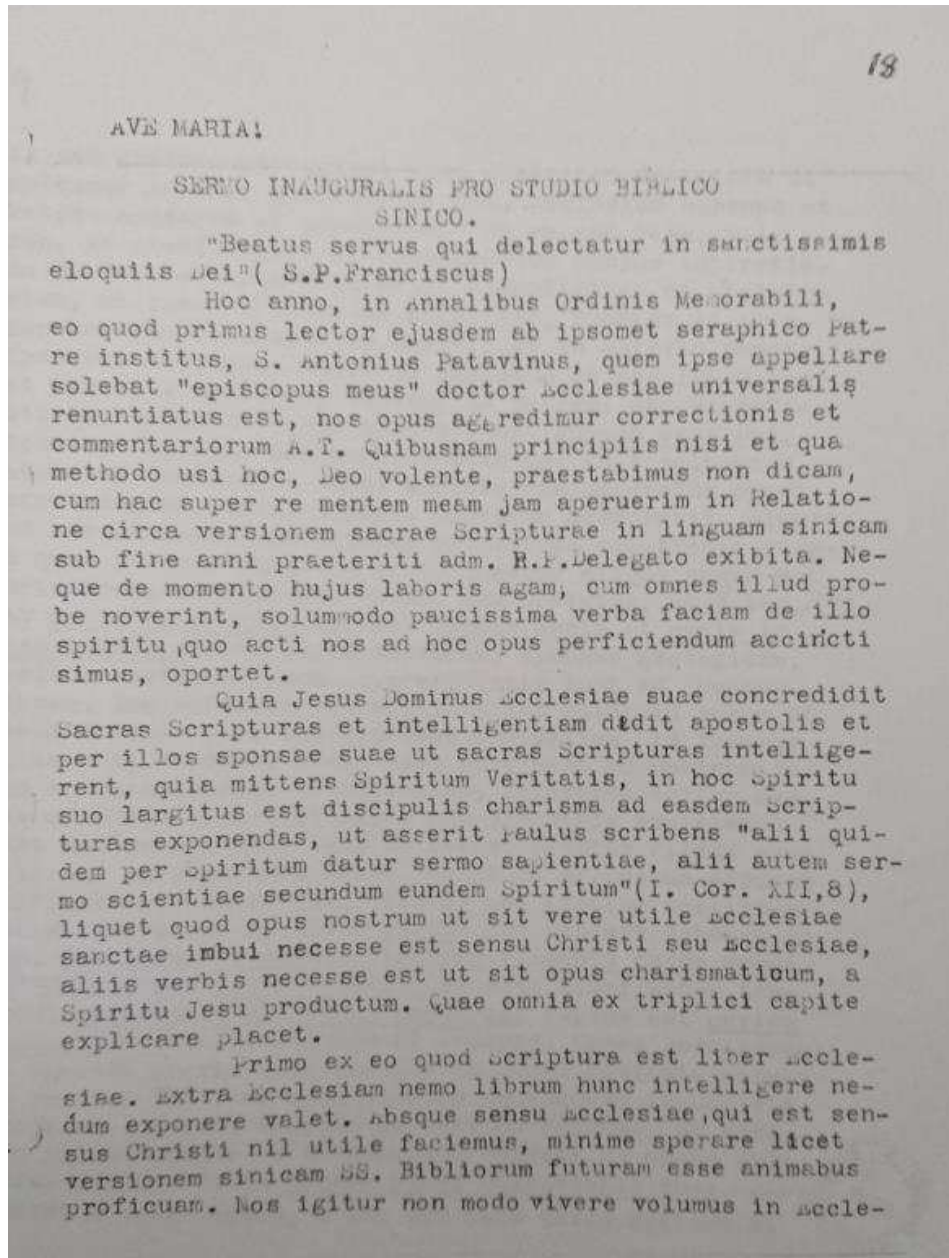
Comincerò quando avrò finito il Dizionario Swaco, dalla Genesi.

Benedic Mater Maria!
O Gesù dola! Gesù Amore!

B.4 "Relatio circa versionem Sinicam Bibliorum Antiqui Testamenti exhibita A.R.P. Alphonso Schnusenberg Delegato Generali O.F.M." (Report on the Chinese version of the Books of the Old Testament presented to the Rev. Father Alphonso Schnusenberg, General Delegate O.F.M.), Beijing, 25 November, 1944 (MS XIV, 3, 1) (see: Chapter 3.1, p. 72)

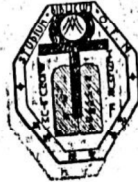


B.5 "Sermo inauguralis pro Studio Biblico Sinico" (Inaugural speech for the Chinese Studium Biblicum), Beijing, 2 August, 1945 (MS XIV, 3) (see: Chapter 3.1, p. 73)



STUDIUM BIBLICUM O.F.M.
BIBLICAL STUDY SOCIETY

70, KENNEDY ROAD
KENNEDY ROAD
HONG KONG
HONG KONG



思 高 聖 經 學 會

聖 尼 德 道 七 十 號
五 洲 地 產 十 樓
香 港

IN NOMINE DOMINI. AMEN.

STATUTA SOCIETATIS BIBLICALIS STUDII GENERALIS
HAEC STATUTA APPROBATA FUERUNT AB ADM. R. P.
ALPHONSO SCHNUSENBERG DELEGATO GENERALI IN
SINIS DIE 20 MAI 1950

ET

A REVERENDISSIMO DEFINITORIO GENERALI IN
CONGRESSU DIEI 19 OCTOBRI 1950.

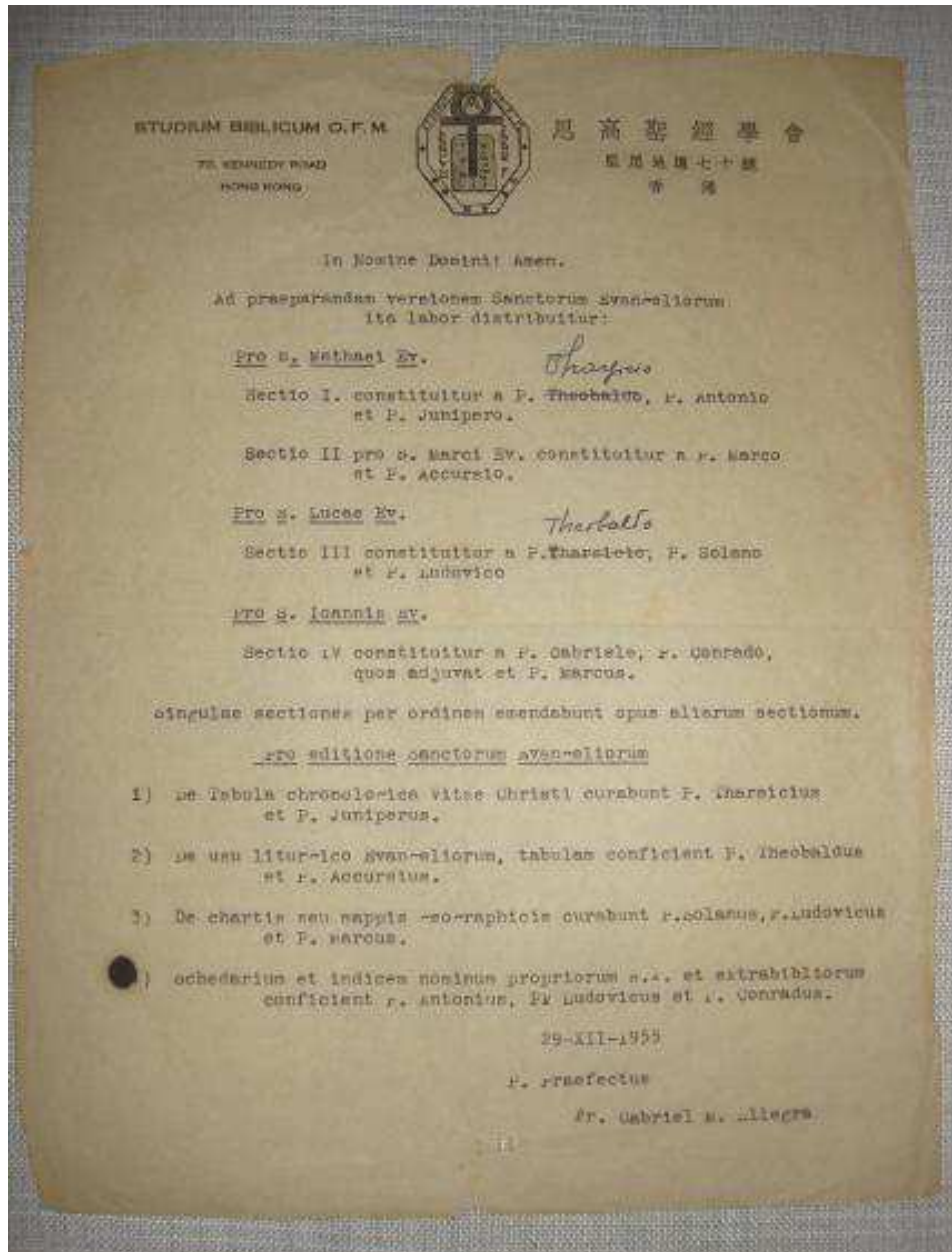
Statuta Societatis Biblicae Studii Generalis die 5
Septembris 1947 approbata, Apud Sanctam Iacobam, quae
Franciscanae sunt, respiciant, Sebastianum Yuki, Praefectum
diversarum activitatum illius domus, conveniens character, et
Praefectum
erat, quam habere solem, videri est cum. H. M. Alphonso Schnuse-
berg, Del. Gen. O. F. M. Statuta illa novis ordinibus appro-
bata et Rev. P. / Director Generalis pro distributione presentata.
Tunc statuta illi alique illa alique presentata ordinem
sanctionibus sunt ad exemplum huiusmodi institutionum
Hortus Philosophi Ordinis, ut illarum Musei Biblici Antiquariis
sunt. XVII, Institutum Biblicum Franciscanum Hierosolymitani, Col-
legii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, illis potius perpe-
tuis, cum experientia ferme quinquennalis et raris studiis suis.
Tunc statuta illa Virgo Coelestis Bernarda Regina de pace Stu-
dia accepit quae pro gloria Christi Regis militat, cum statu-
na benedictione temporis suorum, ad solisam perducit.



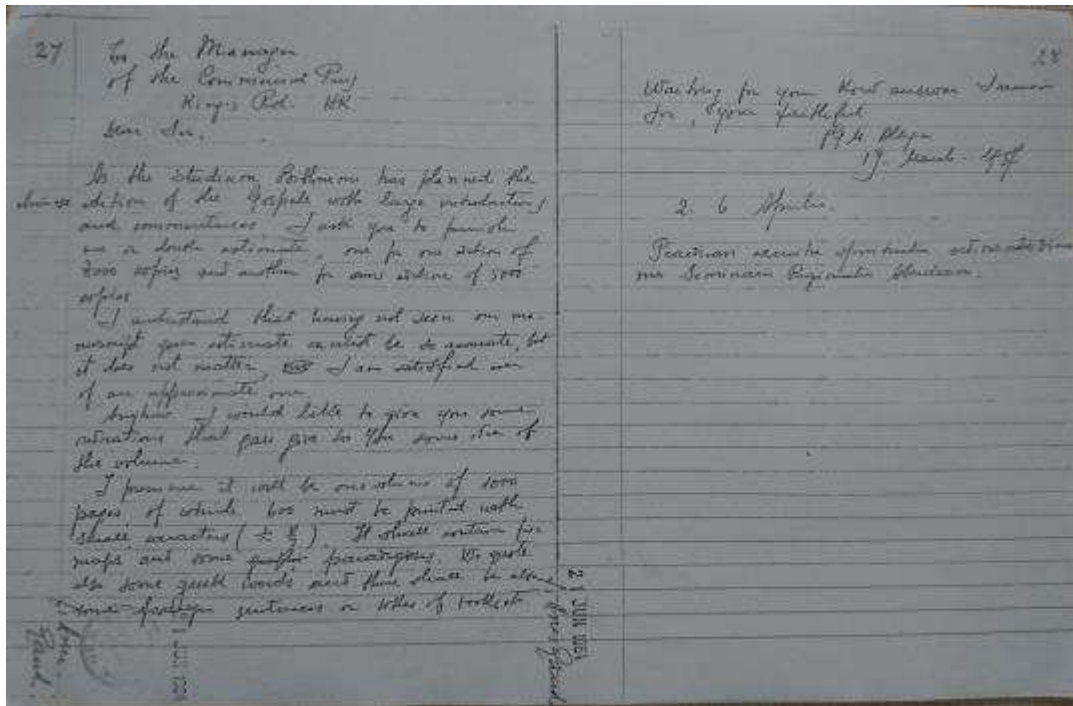
21 JUN 1984

f. Mr. Gaudolf

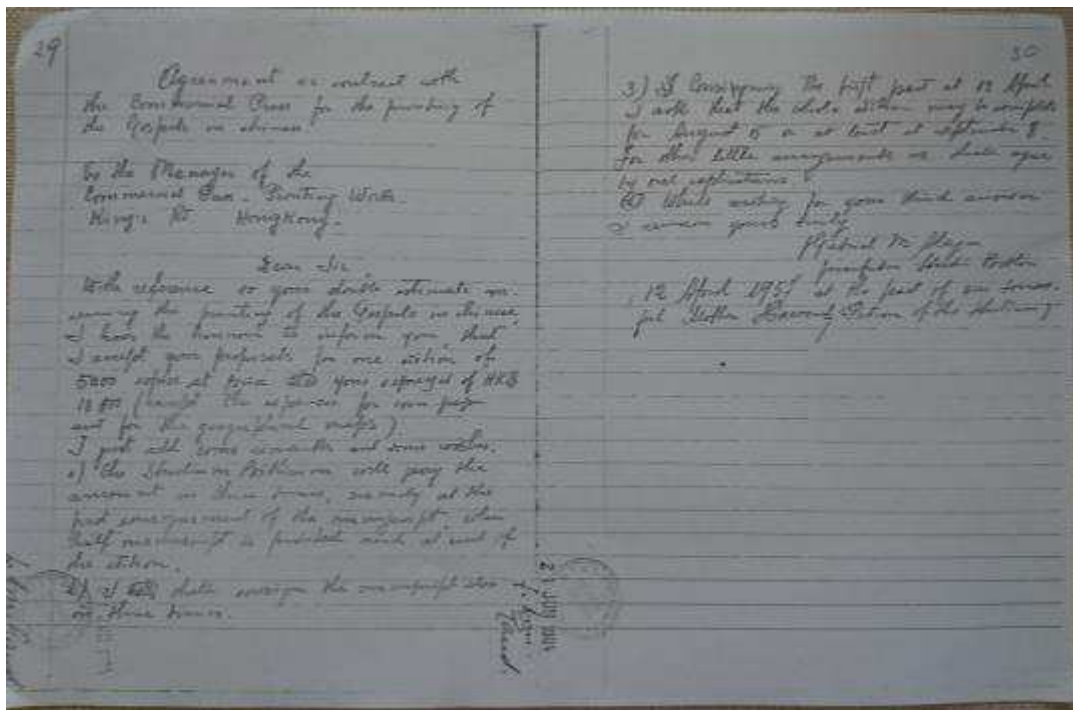
B.7 “Ad preparandam versionem Sanctorum Evangeliorum ita labor distribuitur”
 (Preparing the version of the Holy Gospel, the work is thus divided), 29 December,
 1955 (MA, A,12) (see: Chapter 3.2, p. 85)



B.8 Autograph letters (MS XIX A) (see: Chapter 3.2, p. 86)



“To the Manager of the Commercial Press”, 19 March, 1957 (27-28)



“Agreement or contract with the Commercial Press for the printing of the Gospels in Chinese”,
12 April, 1957 (29-30)

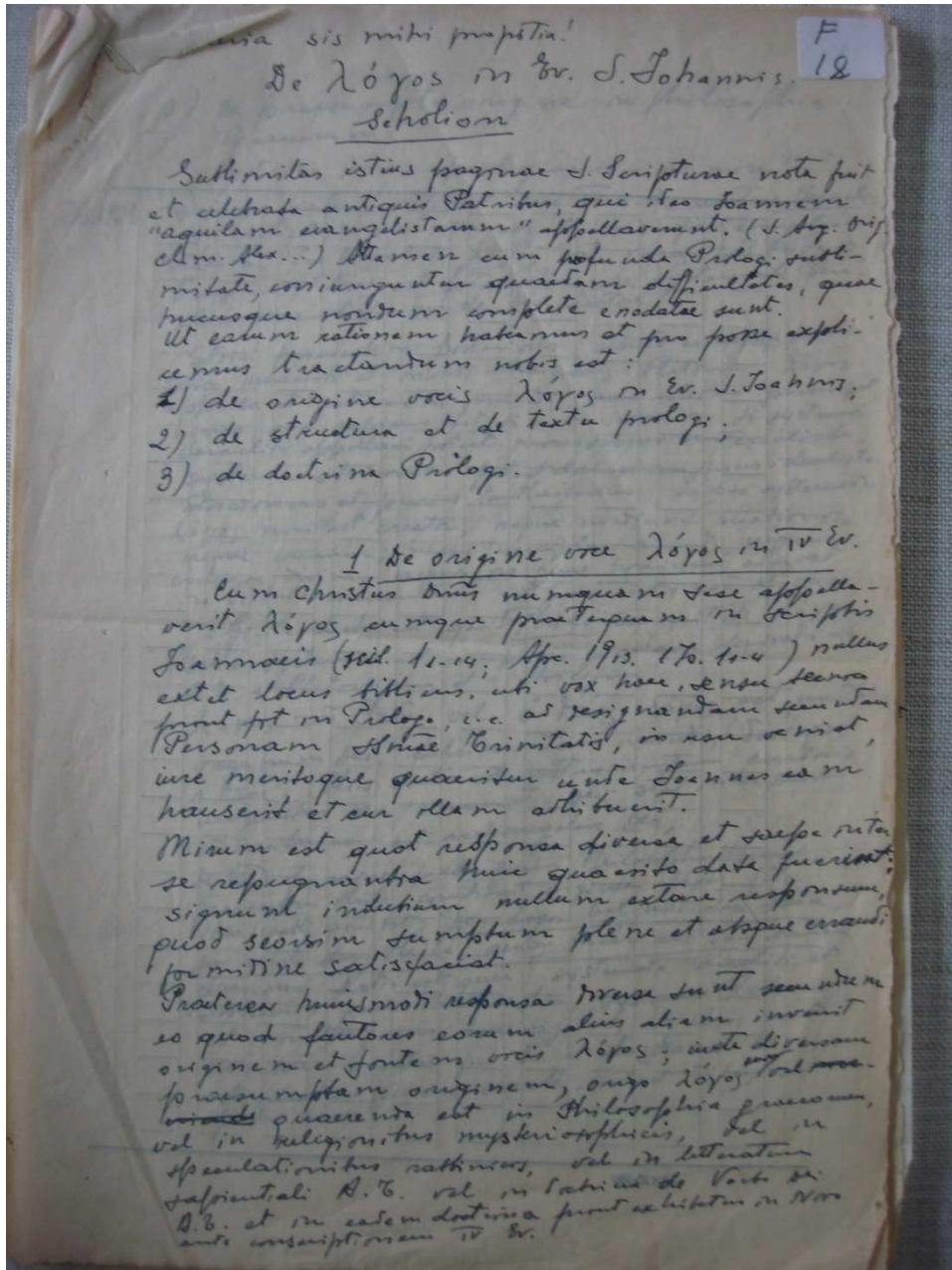
APPENDIX C: Documents on John the Evangelist and his Gospel (Archive Acireale)

In this Appendix, following the list of all the documents of the Archive related to John and the Gospel he wrote (see: p. 110), some pictures of the paper analyzed are illustrated. All reproductions were carried out and reported with permission of the director of the Archive (Archivio Vice-Postulazione-Convento San Biagio dei Frati Minori, Acireale (CT), Father-Guardian of the Convent).

4 DOC A, 6	“Cristologia (teologia di S. Giovanni)” (Christology (theology of St. John)), 22 May, 1974
23 DOC A, 7	“Lezioni su San Giovanni” (Lessons on Saint John), Nazareth, 9-11 April, 1974
MA, E, 2	“Bibliografia teologia di San Giovanni” (Bibliography on the theology of Saint John)
MA, F, 18	“Note sul logos di S. Giovanni” (Notes on the logos of Saint John)
MA, F, 19	“Teologia di San Giovanni” (Theology of Saint John), Valencia, 14 July, 1955 [handwritten]
MA, H, 1	“Prologo Vangelo Giovanni” (The Prologue of the Gospel of John)
MA, H, 2	“Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann.” (Philological notes on the Gospel of John)
MS XII A, 9	“De logos in Evangelio S. Joannis” (On the logos in the Gospel of Saint John) (1977) [reproduction]
MS XX, 7	“Conferenza su S. Giovanni Evangelista” (Conference on St. John the Evangelist)
MS XXIII, 3	“Notulae circa theologiam S. Joannis” (Notes on the theology of St. John), Valencia, 14 July, 1955 [reproduction]
MS XXIII, 5	“Riflessioni su alcuni passi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni” (Reflections on some passages of the Gospel of St. John), 08 July, 1963
MS XXIII, 7	“Riflessioni su alcuni passi di S. Giovanni” (Reflections on some passages by St. John), 18-26 November, 1969
MS XXIII, 8	“La preghiera sacerdotale di Gesù” (The Sacerdotal Prayer of Jesus), Hong Kong, 19 April, 1970
MS XXIII, 9	“Lezioni su S. Giovanni Evangelista” (Lessons on S. John the Evangelist), Nazareth, 9-11 April, 1974
Other Folders	“Schema prediche su San Giovanni” (Outline of sermons on Saint John), 18 September, 1955

C.1 "Note sul *logos* di S. Giovanni" (Notes on the *logos* of Saint John) (MA, F, 18)

(see: Chapter 4.2, p. 111)



C.2 "Prologo Vangelo Giovanni" (The Prologue of the Gospel of John) (MA, H, 1)
 (pp. 1,2,19,20) (see: Chapter 4.2, p. 110)

Reconstructio textus Prologi IV ev.
 iuxta Boismard et aliosque

1 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος
 καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν,
 καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος.

H
 1

Loci biblici textum illustrantes.

Solus Jo. adhibet ^{verbum} λόγος tanquam nomen personale Urigeni Patris inveniunt et hoc in prologo, in introit. ad 1. epistol. in Act. 19.13. Omnium nomenclaturarum scripturam appellat λόγος, contra nomen Verbum, quod tenet 17, ὁ λόγος ὁ σοφὸς ἀλογητὸς ἐστὶν Χριστὸν ἰσχυρὸν ἰσχυρῶς, ἰσχυρῶς qui in resurrectione ad specialem revelationem certo spiritus Dei assistentia admitti debet qua Jo. hoc nomen elegit ad sanctam Trinitatem personam instantem. Caput de nomine hanc de doctrina quae alij locis N.B. praesertim apud J. Paulum eadem est ac dicitur in notis prologo.

Cum assistentia Trinitas non excludat nisi cogit activitatem hominis sine quaerit debet unum Joannem hoc nomen derivavit.

Excludendus est hermetismus et doctrina inaurata, (Rechtstein etc.) nam scripta haec solus sac. III p. f. originem habuerunt.

Excludi debet philosophia graeca (Hermetismus, Plato, Stoicismus...) quae Joanni quanta mansit.

Excludi debent expressiones baguinae se καὶ λόγος vel ἡ ἀλήθεια quae sunt abstracta spiritus sancti.

nos veteris dei ad anthropomorphismum vitandem. Veris καὶ λόγος ἡ ἀλήθεια non sunt concretae hypothese sed periphrasice nomen adorandi nominis dei. "Manus vocat Verbum... ubi non videtur legit." (Balmain) Utrum Rabbinus hanc vocem καὶ λόγος a Philone mutavit, non, per se affirmant uti Hermetismus, plerumque verum.

Utrum Philo sit frater es qua Jo. hanc vocem λόγος servavit? Dualismus Philonismus omnino sese opponit conceptioni etate monothetica et creaturistica Joannis. Philo vult unum tantum Deum hebraicum cum philosophia graeca inter materiam aeternam materiam et καὶ λόγος sunt plures principia istius λόγος, quorum praecipuum est λόγος, principium dei, antiquissimum, melioribus est. Hoc unum est creatum sed instrumentum operum quo Deus usus est ad omnia creanda. Non est verus Deus, nullus modo est receptus; incarnatio = unio Dei cum materia = ut aliquis argumentum in conceptione Philoniana, et eius unitas est sine consuetudine, nulla verbo substantia.

Alqui tamen admittunt Jo. ab eo tantum unum tantum esse. Esto. Sed quod doctrinam de λόγος ipse unum pendet ab Ant. test. ut a J. Paulo, et a sua institutione de Jan hebraico cuius sunt discipulis dilectus, in quo videlicet realizari omnia quae scripturae se Moysi et 12 Profeta ev. test. dicunt.

Notum verum B. lo. quae subiacet doctrinae cui λόγος Joannis est doctrina Sapientiae, et doctrina de verbo dei, post aliquando perperam. Gen. 1.3, 9.4. A. 32, 32c ... καὶ λόγος ... ἡ ἀλήθεια ... 1.2.22

106.20. καὶ λόγος ἡ ἀλήθεια 147.15 B. 9.2.3) ep. 55.10.11 Zach. 5.14. Prov. 8. Siue. Sap. 9.

Christus praesertim appellatur λόγος a J. Jo. propter quod fecit in creatione mundi ut verbum unum. Cur i. Jo. non desinat scribere et vocem λόγος, forsitan pendet a perice, (magister) Ius cognoscit etiam hebraicum esse unigenitum Patris convenienter debet exhibere vocem unigenitum generis, prode λόγος.

Nota dicitur quod Joannes vocem λόγος recipiat ab ipse operatione, supplementum spiritus ipsius propter quod prope patet, hebraicum, et ab eodem eodem apostolo in antilegisi orbi scripturam.

Quaedam locutiones et voces Prologi J. Jo. 14

ἀρχή
principium. 14 κζ. Jo. 1. Pro. 823 κίριος... ἀρχή
μετ' ἐν ἀρχῇ.
πρὸς = παρὰ Cf. Pro. 820, Jo 1/5

γενεσθαι - "gignere" 14 κη, esse in a' pro (per creationem)

ζωή
vita seu physica, seu spiritualis. 14 κη
ep. Col. 1.11. Apo. 1.11 ὁ ζωὴ. Jo 520

φῶς
lux et vita: dei attributa. 812
光明. τὸν φῶς παρέδωκεν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου
(Phil.)

σκοτία
tenebrae (primaevae et tenebrae morales ex peccat.)
黑暗.

καταλαμβάνω
apprehendere. intelligere, superare.
抓住. 明白, 接受. 制服

20

μαρτυρέω - μαρτυρία

證明, 作証, 證據 (明) 證言

πιστεύω

crede - (aliquid, in aliquem)

ἐληθηνός (perfectus)

φαίρω

發亮

φωτίζω

照耀, 光輝

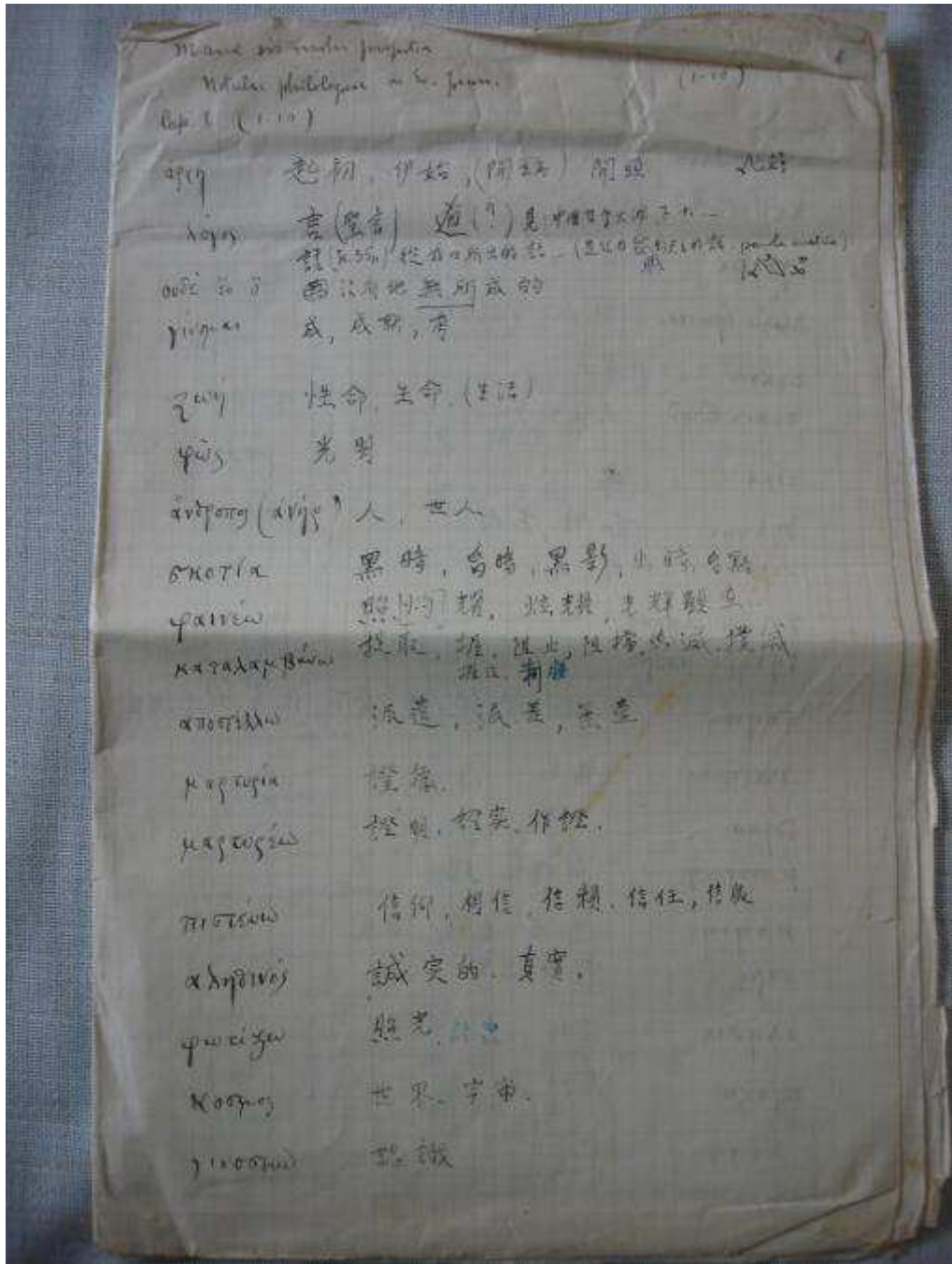
APPENDIX D: “Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann.” (Philological notes on the Gospel of John) MA, H, 2

This document, preserved in the Archive in Acireale, is a collection of 56 handwritten sheets, presenting a list of correspondences containing words in Greek, Hebrew, and Chinese. The words are analyzed according to the order of appearance in the Gospel according to John and include words from the first thirteen chapters. The year of the manuscript is not indicated but it was most likely written preparing the translation of the Gospel, namely between 1954 and 1957. It, in fact, the document often includes more than one translating option for every entry, and in many cases, the translations reported do not correspond to those chosen in the published versions of the Gospels analyzed herein (1957 and 1968).

After reproducing the pictures of some pages of the original document, a table reporting the contents of all the 56 sheets is presented. The table was compiled in order to analyze the preparation of the text in translation and the final published text, and was the basis for the study reported in chapter 4.2.: “Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann.” (p. 114).

In the table the first column reports the verses and the chapters containing the words examined. The second column presents the Greek words analyzed in the document, which were transcribed as they appear in the original, albeit with errors that were not corrected. The third column indicates the Chinese translations proposed by Allegra, underlined when corresponding to the words found in the published versions. When a different word was found in the final translation (1968), it was added in square brackets and underlined. The last column is for the English equivalents of the entries of the document, added in order to clarify the meaning of the single words (New American Bible 2011). The Hebrew translations are not reported in the table because they are not included in the analysis and are probably a translation of the Greek words. Greek and Chinese characters are not transcribed as in the original, to avoid further additions. Pages 7-8 of the document are omitted due to their reference only to prepositions and adverbs.

Twenty-nine percent of the total 700 cases is an exact correspondence to the translation found in the published version of 1968, and 47% has at least one character subsequently used in the final version. Some remarkable entries were detected and analyzed in the text and are indicated in the table here in bold.



ἴδιος	自己的
παραλαμβάνω	接受, 收受, 接收
λαμβάνω	接收
ἐξουσία	權能, 權幸
δίδωμι ἐξουσίαν	賜給 (賞賜) 權幸
τέκνον	兒子
τέκνα Θεοῦ	天主的兒子們
αἷμα	血
θήλημα	志願, 志向
σὰρξ	肉, 肉體
θήλημα σαρκός	肉慾
θήλημα ἀνθρώπου	人慾, 人情慾
σκηνοῦ	搭棚, [札棚] 居下, 住著, 住居, 居住
θεαχόμαι	看見
δόξα	光榮
μονογενής	惟獨子, 獨子
πλήρης	充滿, 充盈, 滿盈
χάρις	寵愛, 恩寵
ἀληθεία	真理 忠信
κράζω	高呼, 呼喊
λέγω	說

Cap. I (19-23)

πρώτος μου	在我以前
πλήρωμα	充滿, 滿盈, 豐盈
χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος	恩惠/恩惠, 有恩惠的恩惠
νόμος	法律
ὄραω	看見, 見
μονογενὴς θεός	惟獨子天主, 首為天主且獨子
κόλπος	懷, 胸懷
ἐξηγήσαμαι	講述, 述說, 敘述了
ἱερέως	司祭
λευνίτη	肋未人
ἔρωσάω	詢問
ὡμολογήσασθαι	承認
ἀρνησάμαι	否認
ἀποκρίνω	答覆, 答覆
ἀπόκρισιν εἶδωμι	給一個答覆
πέμπω	差遣, 打發
φωνή	聲音
βοάω	呼喊, 叫呼, 叫呼
ἔρημος	曠野, 沙漠
ζήτησίω	修行

“Notulae philologicae in Ev. Joann.”

Caput I (1-10) p. 1

1	ἀρχή	起初、伊始、(開端)、開頭		beginning
1	λόγος	言 (聖言) 道		the Word
3	οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ	沒有把無所成的	[沒有…由他而造成 的]	nothing that
3	γίνομαι	成、成就、有	[造成]	to come to be
4	ζωή	性命、 <u>生命</u> 、(生活)		life
4	φῶς	光明	[光]	light
4	ἄνθρωπος (άνήρ)	人、世人		the human race
5	σκοτία	黑暗、昏暗、黑影、幽暗、昏黯		darkness
5	φαινέω	照[灼]耀、炫耀、 老輝顯在…	[照耀]	to shine
5	καταλαμβάνω	提取、握、阻止、 阻擋、熄滅、撲滅 握住、制勝	[勝過]	to overcome
6	ἀποστέλλω	派遣、派差、差遣		to send
7	μαρτυρία	證據	[作證]	testimony
7	μαρτυρέω	證明、確實、 <u>作證</u>		to testify
7	πιστεύω	信仰、相信、信 賴、信任、信服	[信]	to believe
9	ἀληθινός	誠實的、真實	[真]	true
9	φωτίζω	照光	[普照]	to enlighten
9	κόσμος	世界、宇宙		world
10	γινοσκω	認識		to know

I (11-15) p. 2

11	ἴδιος	<u>自己的</u>		his own
11	παραλαμβάνω	<u>接受</u> 、收受、接收		to accept
12	λαμβάνω	接收	[接受]	to accept
12	ἐξουσία	權能、權幸		power
12	δίδωμι ἐξουσίαν	賜給(賞賜)權幸	[給權能]	to give the power
12	τέκνον	兒子	[子女]	children
12	τέκνα Θεοῦ	天主的兒子們	[天主的子女]	children of God
13	αἷμα	血	[血氣]	natural generation (bloods)
13	θήλημα	志願、志向	[慾]	choice/decision
13	σὰρξ	肉、肉身		flesh
13	θήλημα σαρκὸς	<u>肉慾</u>		human choice
13	θήλημα ἀνδρὸς	人慾、人之情慾	[男慾]	man's decision
14	σκηνόω	搭棚、(扎棚)居 下、住著、住居、 居住	[寄居]	to dwell/to make a dwell

14	θεάομαι	看見	[見]	to see
14	δόξα	光榮		glory
14	μονογενής	惟獨子、獨子	[獨生著]	only Son
14	πλήρης	充滿、充盈、滿盈	[滿溢]	full
14	χάρις	寵愛、恩寵		grace
14	ἀληθεία	真理、忠信		truth
15	κράζω	高呼、呼喊		to cry out
15	λέγω	說		to say

I (15-23) p. 3

15	πρῶτός μου	在我以先	[原先我]	before me
16	πλήρωμα	充滿、滿盈、豐盈		fullness
16	χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος	恩寵加恩寵、替恩寵加恩寵	[恩寵，而且恩寵上加恩寵]	grace in place/upon grace
17	νόμος	法律		law
18	ὄραω	看見、見	[見過]	to see
18	μονογενής Θεός	惟獨子天主、為天主且獨子	[獨生者，身為天主的]	the only Son, God
18	κόλπος	懷、胸懷	[懷裏]	side/bosom
18	ἐξεγέομαι	講述、述說、敘述了	[詳述]	to reveal
19	ἱερεύς	司祭		priest
19	λεβίτη	肋未人		Levites
19	ἐρωτάω	詢問	[問]	to ask
20	ὠμολόγουμαι	承認		to admit
20	ἀρνέομαι	否認		to deny
21	ἀποκρίνω	答應、答覆	[回答]	to answer
22	ἀπόκρισιν δίδωμι	給一個答覆		to give an answer
22	πέμπω	差遣、打發	[派遣]	to send
22	φωνή	聲音		voice
23	βοάω	呼喊、召叫、叫呼		to cry out
23	ἔρημος	曠野、沙漠		desert
23	εὐτυνέω	修平	[修直]	to make straight

I (23-32) p. 4

23	ὁδός	大路	[道路]	way
24	φarisαίως	法利塞人		Pharisees
25	βαπτίζω	授洗、付洗	[施洗]	to baptize
25	χριστός	基督	[默西亞]	the Christ (the Messiah)
26	ὔδωρ	水		water
26	μέσος	中間的		among (you)
26	(στήκω) ἵστημι	站立	[站著]	to stand
26	οἶδατε	知道	[認識]	to recognize
27	ἄξιος	堪當	[當不起]	worthy
27	λύω	解釋	[解]	to untie
27	ἱμάν	帶子	[帶]	strap

27	ὑποδήμα	靴、鞋	[鞋]	sandal
29	βλέπω	主視、睹視	[見]	to see
29	ἀμνός (τοῦ Θεοῦ)	羔羊		Lamb (of God)
29	αἶρω	拿去、除去	[除免]	to take away
29	ἁμαρτία	罪惡	[罪]	sin
31	ἤδειν (όρώω)	知道	[認識]	to know
31	φανερῶ	顯明、露出、顯露、現出	[顯示]	to make known
32	θεάομαι	看見		to see
32	καταβαίνω	降下、降臨		to come down

I (32-41) p. 5

32	περιστερά	鴿子		dove
32	οὐρανός	上天	[天]	sky
32	μείνω	留居、留宿、居留	[停]	to remain
33	πνεῦμα	神	[聖神]	Spirit
33	πνεῦμα ἅγιον	聖神		Holy Spirit
34	ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ	天主的兒子	[天主子]	the Son of God
35	μαθητῆς	門生	[門徒]	disciple
36	ἐμβλέπω	注視	[看見]	to watch
36	περιπατέω	往來	[走過]	to walk by
37	ἀκούω	(听)聽、(听)聽從、聞到	[聽見]	to hear
37	λαλέω	談話	[說(這)話]	to say
38	ἀκολουθέω	隨從	[跟著]	to follow
38	στραφέω	轉面	[轉過]	to turn
38	ζητέω	詢求	[找]	to look for
38	μεθερμηνεύω	翻譯	[意]	to translate
38	διδάσκαλος (ραββί)	老師、大師	[師傅]	Teacher (Rabbi)
39	ἡμέρα	日子	[一天]	day
39	ὥρα	時期	[時]	hour
40	ἀδελφός	兄弟	[哥哥]	brother
41	εὕρισκω	尋找	[找到]	to find

I (41-59) p. 6

41	Μεσσίας	默西亞		Messiah
42	ἄγω	引導	[領]	to bring
42	καλέω	招呼	[叫]	to call
42	Κηφᾶς	克法	[刻法]	Cephas
43	ἐθέλω	要、願意		to decide
43	ἐξέρχομαι	走出	[去]	to go
44	πόλις	城邑	[城]	town
45	γράφω	寫下	[記載]	to write
46	δύναμαι	能夠	[能]	can
46	ἀγαθός	善、好		good
47	ἀληθῶς	誠然	[確]	truly

47	δόλος	詭詐		duplicity
48	φωνέω	招呼	[叫]	to call
48	σύκη	無花果樹		fig tree
49	βασιλεύς	君王		King
51	ἀνεωγέμαι	打開、敞開	[開]	to open
51	ἄγγελος	天使		angel
51	ἀναβαίνω	上升	[上去]	to ascend
51	καταβαίνω	下去	[下來]	to descend
51	ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	人子		the Son of Man

Caput II (1-7) p. 9

1	γάμος	婚姻、婚禮	[婚宴]	wedding
3	ὑστερέω	缺乏、缺陷	[缺]	to run short
3	οἶνος	酒		wine
4	Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ, γύναι?	我與你有什麼相干	[女人，這於我和你有什么關係?]	Woman, how does your concern affect me?
4	οὐπω	還沒有、尚未		not yet
4	(ἡκει) ἡμι	來到		to come
4	ὥρα	時期、時候	[時刻]	hour
5	διάκονος	僕役		server
5	ποιέω	做、作		to do
6	λίθινος	石頭的	[石]	stone
6	ύδρια	缸、罐	[缸]	jar
6	καθαρισμὸς	取潔、潔清、清潔、洗清		purification/ceremonial washings
6	χωρέω	含容	[容納]	to hold
6	μετρήτα	“巴特”	[桶]	bucket (measure)

II (7-13) p. 10

7	γεμίζω	灑滿、倒滿	[灌滿]	to fill
7	ἕως ἄνω	到頭	[到(缸)口]	to the brim
8	ἀνθλέω	汲水、取水、弔水	[舀出來]	to draw out
8	φέρω	抬去	[送給]	to take
8	ἀρχιτρικλίνος	宴會長、膳夫	[司席]	headwaiter
9	νυμφίος	新郎		bridegroom
10	γευω	嘗	[擺上]	to serve
10	πρῶτον	在先	[先]	first
10	καλός	美善	[好]	good
10	μεθυσω	沉湎於酒、醉	[喝夠了]	to drink freely
10	ἐλάσσω	下等的、下流的		inferior
10	τηρέω	保存、存留	[保留]	to keep
10	ἕως ἄρτι	到現在		until now
11	ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων	這是... 所行的神蹟的開始 記號、預兆、神蹟	[這是... 所行的第一個神蹟]	... this as the beginning of (his) signs
13	ἐγγύς	近到	[近了]	near

13	ἀναβαίνω	上去	[<u>上</u>]	to go up
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II (14-16) p. 11

14	ἱερόν	聖殿	[<u>殿院</u>]	temple
14	πωλέω	賣、售賣、出賣		to sell
14	βοῦς	牛犢	[<u>牛</u>]	oxen
14	πρόβατον	羊、綿羊		sheep
14	κερματίστη	兌換家	[<u>兌換銀錢的人</u>]	money-changer
14	καθεσμαι	坐下	[<u>坐</u>]	to seat
15	φραγέλλιον	苦鞭	[<u>鞭子</u>]	whip
15	σχοινίον	繩	[<u>繩索</u>]	cord
15	ἐκβάλλω	趕驅去、追逐	[<u>趕出去</u>]	to drive out
15	κολλυβίστος	兌換錢家	[<u>換錢者</u>]	money-changer
15	ἐγκύω	傾倒		to pour out
15	κερμα	銅錢、銅圓	[<u>銀錢</u>]	coin
15	τραπέζα	棹子	<u>桌子</u>	table
15	ἀνατρέφω	(打轉)翻倒、推翻		to overturn
16	αἶρω	拿去、拿取去	[<u>拿出去</u>]	to take out
16	ἐντεῦθεν	從此[地]	[<u>從這裏</u>]	from here

II (16-23) p. 12

16	οἶκος	房子、屋子、住宅	[<u>殿宇</u>]	house
16	ἐμπορίου	市場	[<u>商場</u>]	marketplace
17	μνέομαι	紀念、憶念	[<u>想起</u>]	to recall
17	ζῆλος	熱誠	[<u>熱忱</u>]	zeal
18	σημεῖον	喻象、預像、記號	[<u>神蹟</u>]	sign
18	δείκνυμι	指示、揭示、現明	[<u>證明</u>]	to show
19	ναός	殿宇	[<u>聖殿</u>]	temple
19	λυω (ναόν)	拆毀		to destroy
19	ἐγείρω	召醒	[<u>起來</u>]	to raise up
20	έτοῦς	年歲	[<u>年</u>]	year
20	οἰκοδομέω	砌、蓋	[<u>建築</u>]	to build (to be under construction)
21	σωμα (ναός τοῦ σώματος)	身軀	[<u>身體</u>]	body
22	νεκρός	死者		the dead
22	γραφή	經典、聖經		scripture
22	λόγος	言語、話		word
23	έορτής	節期	[<u>慶節時</u>]	feast

II (23-28) p. 13

23	πολυς (πολλοί)	許多、眾多		many
23	πιστεύω εἰς τὸ ὄνομα	相信... 名字	[<u>信從</u>]	to believe in the name
23	θεωρέω	看到	[<u>看見</u>]	to see
25	χρειαν ἔχω	須要	[<u>需要</u>]	to need to have

Caput III (1-14) p. 14

1	ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων	猶太人的首領		a ruler of the Jews
2	ἔρχομαι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ διδάσκαλος	你被天主遣來當師 夫、師父、教師、 老師	[你是由天主而來的 師傅]	a teacher who has come from God
3	γεννάω ἄνωθεν	(重生)由上而生由 上界而產生	[由上而生]	to be born from above
3	ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ	見天主的國，看見 天主的國	[見到天主的國]	to see the kingdom of God
4	γέρον	老人、年老人、老 漢	[年老]	old
4	κοιλία	母胎、懷胎、母體	[母腹]	womb
5	γεννάω ἐξ ὑδατος καὶ πνεύματος	生由水與(聖)神	[由水和聖神而生]	to be born of water and spirit
5	εἰσερχομαι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ	進入天主的國	[進天主的國]	to enter the kingdom of God
6	τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς, σὰρξ	凡是由肉身生的就 是肉	[由肉生的屬於肉]	What is born of flesh is flesh
6	τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος, πνεῦμά	凡是由“聖神”生 的就是神(乃屬於神 的，乃屬於聖神的)	[由神生的屬於神]	what is born of spirit is spirit
7	θαυμάζω	希奇、驚奇、驚雅		to be amazed
7	δεῖ	應說	[應該]	must
8	πνέω	吹息	[吹]	to blow
12	ἐπίγειος	屬下地的	[地上的]	earthly
12	ἐπουράνιος	屬上天的	[天上的]	heavenly
14	ὑψώω	提高、高懸、掛上	[高舉 + 舉起來]	to lift up
14	ὄφις	蛇		serpent

III (14-22) p. 15

15	ζωὴ αἰώνιος	常生、長生、永生		eternal life
16	ἀγαπέω	愛慕	[愛]	to love
16	ἀπόλλυμι	喪亡、喪失		to perish
17	κρίνω	審判、審訊		to condemn
17	σώζω	拯救	[獲救]	to save
19	κρίσις	審判、審差		verdict/judgment
19	σκότος - φῶς	黑暗、光明		darkness, light
19	πονηρός	惡、壞、歹、人	[邪惡]	evil
19	ἔργον	行為		work/deed
20	φαύλος	不義之人、壞人	[凡作惡的]	(who does) wicked/ evil things
20	μισέω	惱恨	[憎惡]	to hate
20	ἔρχομαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς	到達光明	[來就光明]	to come toward the light

20	ἐλέγχω	指毛病、斥責、責備、責罰、責問	[<u>彰顯出來</u>]	to expose
21	ποιέω ἀλήθειαν	實行真理	[<u>履行真理</u>]	to live the truth
21	ἐργάζομαι	做、作、行	[<u>完成</u>]	to do
22	διατρίβω	住下	[<u>住在</u>]	to stay

III (22-36) p. 16

22	βαπτίζω	授洗禮、付洗	[<u>施洗</u>]	to baptize
23	παραγίνομαι	來到	[<u>來</u>]	to come
24	βάλλω	擲棄、丟、仍棄	[<u>投</u>]	to cast
24	φυλακή	監牢、監獄、牢		prison
25	ζήτησις	爭吵、爭論、爭鬥	[<u>爭辯</u>]	dispute
27	λαμβάνω οὐδέν	接收任何事	[<u>領受什麼</u>]	to receive nothing
29	νύμφη	新娘		bride
29	φίλος τοῦ νυμφίου	新郎的朋友		the friend of the groom
29	χαρᾶ χαίρει	大覺歡喜、甚喜樂	[<u>非常喜樂</u>]	to rejoice greatly (with joy)
29	πλερόω	全滿	[<u>滿足</u>]	to make complete/to fulfill
30	αὐξανω	長大	[<u>興盛</u>]	to increase
30	ἐλαττοῦμαι	減小	[<u>衰微</u>]	to decrease
31	ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος	由上界而來的	[<u>那由上而來的</u>]	the one who comes from above
33	σφραγίζω	蓋印、堅固	[<u>證實</u>]	to certify
33	ἀληθής	真實、忠實		true
34	μέτρον	量度	[<u>量</u>]	measure
34	δίδωμι τὸ πνεῦμα	施與聖神	[<u>賞賜聖神</u>]	to give the Spirit
35	χεῖρ	手		hand
36	ἀπειθω	不幅從	[<u>不信從</u>]	to disobey
36	ὀργή	忿怒	[<u>義怒</u>]	wrath

Caput IV (1-9) p. 17

2	καίτοιγε	雖然	[<u>其實</u>]	although
3	ἀφίημι	離開、離去		to leave
4	ἔδει	應當	[<u>必須</u>]	to have to
4	διέρχομαι	經過、走過	[<u>途經</u>]	to pass
5	πλησίον	在近處、離不遠	[<u>靠近</u>]	near
5	χωρίον	鄉田、田園	[<u>莊田</u>]	plot of land
6	πηγή	水泉、泉源	[<u>泉</u>]	well
6	κοπιάω	疲倦、困倦		tired
6	οἰδοπορία	路程	[<u>行路</u>]	journey
6	καθίτεμι	坐下	[<u>坐</u>]	to sit
6	οὕτως	這樣、如此	[<u>-</u>]	thus
7	γυνή	女人、婦女	[<u>婦人</u>]	woman
7	πίνω	飲	[<u>喝</u>]	to drink
8	τροφή	食物、糧食、口糧		food

8	ἀγοράζω	買		to buy
9	αἰτέω	求問、詢問	[要]	to ask

IV (10-19) p. 18

9	συνχρῶνται	和睦	[不相往來]	(not) to have something in common
10	δωρεάν τοῦ Θεοῦ	天主的恩賜		gift of God
10	ῥδωρ ζῶν	生活的水	[活水]	living water
11	ἄντλημα	汲水俱(器)	汲水器	bucket
11	φρεάρ	水井	[井]	
11	βατύς	深		deep
12	θρέμμα	羊群	[牲畜]	flock
13	διψῶ	渴		to be thirsty
14	εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	永世無盡	[永遠]	never
14	ῥδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον	[-]	[到永生的水泉]	water welling up to eternal life
15	ἐνθάδε	在此	[這裡]	here
16	ὑπάγω	行走	[去]	to go
16	ἀνὴρ	男人、丈夫		husband
17	καλῶς εἶπες	說得對	[你說... 正對]	you are right in saying
18	τοῦτο ἀλήτης εἶρηκας	你所說的真對	[你說的這話真對]	what you have said is true

IV (19-28) p. 19

19	θεωρέω	看見、見到	[看]	to see/to understand
20	οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν	我們的祖先		our ancestors
20	ὄρος	山嶺	[山]	mountain
20	προσκυνέω	崇拜、朝拜		to worship
20	τόπος	地方、地處		place
21	πατέρ	父、天父		the Father
22	σωτηρία	救恩、救援		salvation
23	ἀληθινοὶ προσκυνηταὶ	誠實的崇拜者	[真正朝拜的人]	true worshipers
23	προσκυνέω ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ	以精神、以真理崇拜天父	[以心神以真理朝拜(父)]	to worship (the Father) in Spirit and truth
23	τοιούτους	這樣的、如此的		such
23	ζητέω	喜歡、求要、要求、樂意	[尋找]	to seek
25	ἀναγγέλλω	報告、宣告、宣示	[告訴]	to tell
26	λαλέω	談話		to speak
27	καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ	正在那時(此時)	[正在這時]	at that (/this) moment
27	μέντοι	可是	[但是]	still

IV (29-35) p. 20

28	ὕδρια	缸	[水罐]	jar
28	πόλις	城池	[城]	town
29	δεῦτε ἴδετε	來！看！	[來看！]	come, see
31	ἐν τῷ μεταξύ	同時	[這期間]	meanwhile
31	ἐρωτάω	求問、哀求	[請求]	to ask/to urge
31	ραββί	吾主！師傅	[辣彼]	Rabbi
31	φαγέω	喫	[吃]	to eat
32	βρῶσις βρῶμα	食物、食糧		food
33	πρὸς ἀλλήλους	彼此		one another
33	φέρω	帶著、抬	[送來]	to bring
34	θέλημα	志願	[旨意]	will
34	πέμπω	遣差、送	[派遣]	to send
34	τελειόω	完成		to complete
34	ἔργον	工程		work
35	τετραμήνος	四個月的工夫	四個月	four months
35	θερισμός	年成	[收穫]	harvest

IV (35-41) p. 21

35	ἐπαίρω	提高、(仰眼)	[舉起]	to lift up
35	ὄφθαλμός	眼睛	[眼]	eyes
35	θεαόμαι	睹視	[細看]	to see
35	χώρα	田園	[田地]	field
35	λευκός	白的、(雪白)	[發白]	ripe
36	θερίζω	收穫 (稼穡期 收穫週期)	[收割]	harvest
36	μισθόν	工錢	[工資]	payment
36	λαμβάνω	拿著、拉取	[領到]	to receive
36	συνάγω	聚集	[收集]	to gather
36	καρπός	果實、產物		crop/fruit
36	εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον	直到永遠、以獲得 常生	[為永生]	for eternal life
36	σπείρω	撒種		to sow
36	ὁμοῦ	一共、一起、一齊	[一同]	together
36	χαιρέω	喜悅	[喜歡]	to rejoice
38	κόπος	勞役	[勞苦]	work
41	καὶ πολλῶ πλείους	更多的、許多		(and) many more

IV (42-50) p. 22

42	λαλία	說話	[話]	word/speech
42	ἀληθῶς	實在地	[確實]	truly
42	ὁ Σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου	救世主	[世界的救主]	the savior of the world
43	ἐξέρχομαι ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ...	離開...往...去		to leave from there to...
44	πατρίς	古鄉、家鄉		native place
44	τιμὴν ἔχω	獲得尊宗	[受到尊榮]	to have honor

45	δέχομαι	接收	[接待]	to receive/to welcome
45	έορτή	佳節	[節]	feast
46	ποιέω τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον	使水成酒	[變水為酒]	to make the water wine
46	βασιλικός	(王) 皇宮的官員	[王臣]	royal official
46	ἀσθενέω	患病		to be ill
47	ἴημι	走	[到]	to go
47	ιάζω	療癒、治療	[醫治]	to heal
47	μέλλω ἀποθνήσκειν	要死、臨終	快要死	to be near death
48	τέρα	記號、預兆	[奇事]	wonder
49	παιδίον	小孩		child
50	πορεύω	往	[去]	to go

IV (50-54) p. 23

50	ζάω	生活	[活]	to live
51	ὑπαντάω	碰著	[迎上]	to meet
51	παῖς	兒子、孩子		boy/son
52	πυθάνω	(思慮) 求問、詢問	[問]	to ask
52	κόμψος	治好	[好轉]	(to get) better
52	ἐχθές	昨日	[昨天]	yesterday
52	πυρετός	熱氣	[熱]	fever
53	οἰκία αὐτοῦ ὅλη	他的全家		his whole household
54	τοῦτο δὲ πάλιν δεύτερον σημεῖον	這是第二個奇蹟	[這是(所行的)第二個神跡]	this was the second sign

Caput V (1-5) p. 24

1	έορτή	節期、佳節、節慶	[慶節]	feast
1	ἀναβαίνω	登上、上去	[上]	to go up
2	προβατική	羊群的門	[羊門]	Sheep Gate
2	κολυμβήθρα	水池		pool
2	ἐπιλέγω	稱呼	[叫作]	to be called
2	στόα	門廊	[走廊]	portico
3	πλήτος	眾多、許多		large number/ multitude
3	ἀσθενέω	患病	[患病的]	ill
3	τυφλός	瞎子	[瞎眼的]	blind
3	χολός	跛子、癱子	[癱腿的]	lame
3	ξηρός	麻木的	[痲痺的]	crippled
3	ἐκδέχομαι	願望	[等候]	to wait for ¹
3	κίνησις	搖動、動盪	[動]	moving

¹ *Ekdechomai* ἐκδέχομαι, p. 24, 5:3. This verb belongs to a verse (5:4) whose canonicity is debated. It is included in many Greek manuscripts, but is missing in others. It is included and translated in the Chinese version of the Studium Biblicum. The 1968 edition does not indicate the difference in the original manuscripts, while the 1957 edition reports some considerations on it. Due to its close association with verse 7, it is acknowledged as canonical in the chapter (see: Fuyin, 1105, n. 3). Regarding the debate on the inclusion of this verse in chapter 5 see: Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, 1, 207.

4	ταράσσω (ταραχή)	動搖	[攪動]	to stir
4	ἐμβαίνω	降下	[下去]	to get in/to enter

V (5-14) p. 25

4	ὑγιής	治療的	[痊愈]	healed/recovered
4	κατέχω	握持	[患什麼病]	afflict
4	δήποτε	一定	[無論]	at the time
4	νοσήμα	症疾	[病]	disease
5	ἀσθενεία	疾病	[患病]	ill
6	κατακείμαι	坐下、橫臥、 橫陳、僵臥	[躺]	to lie down
6	πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἔχει	已有許久	[已(病)了多時]	to be already a long time
6	θέλω	願意、要求		want/to wish
7	βάλλω	丟下、仍丟、拋下	[把(我)放]	to put/to throw
7	ἐν ᾧ δὲ	正在...時	[正到的時候]	Moreover, when ...
8	κραβαττος	牀褥	[床]	mat
10	θεραπεύω	癒、醫治	[痊愈]	to cure
10	οὐκ ἐξεστίν	不可、不許、不准		not lawful
13	ιάθρομαι	治療、療癒	[痊愈]	to heal
13	ἐκνέω	溜走	[躲開]	to go away
14	ἁμαρτάνω	犯罪		to sin
14	χείρος	更惡、更壞	[更不幸]	worse

V (15-24) p. 26

16	διωκέω (διώκω)	追逐	[迫害]	to persecute
17	ἐργαζόμαι	行事、作事	[工作]	to work
18	ζητέω ἀποκτείνει	想殺死、圖謀殺 死、計畫謀殺	[想要殺害]	to try to kill
18	λύω τὸ σάββατον	不守安息日、凌辱 安息日、褻瀆安息 日	[犯了安息日]	to break the Sabbath
18	ἴσον ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν τῷ Θεῷ	自作與天空一樣的 (同一得的)相等	[自己與天主平等]	to make himself equal to God
19	ὁμοίως ποιέω	照樣做	[照樣作]	to do likewise
20	φιλέω	愛慕、喜愛、愛惜	[愛]	to love
20	δείκνυμι	指示、指明		to show
21	ζωοποιέω	使、之...生活	[復生]	to give life
22	κρίνω	審判		to judge
22	τὴν κρίσιν πᾶσαν δέδωκεν τῷ υἱῷ	將各種審判之權交 給兒子	[把審判的全權交給 了子]	to give all judgment to the son
23	τιμάω	尊崇、尊敬		to honor
24	εἰς κρίσιν οὐκ ἔρχεται	不來受審判	[不受審判]	not to come to condemnation

24	μεταβαίνω	(離死而生) 遠死而生(活)	[<u>出死入生</u>]	to pass
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v (25-39) p. 27

24	θανάτος – ζωή	<u>死 生</u>		death - life
28	μνημείον	<u>墳墓</u>		tomb
29	τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιέω	<u>行善</u>		to do good things/deeds
29	ἀνάστασις ζωῆς	復活而獲永生	[<u>復活進入生命</u>]	resurrection of life
29	τὰ φαῦλα πράσσω	行惡	[<u>作過惡</u>]	to do wicked things/deeds
29	ἀνάστασις κρίσεως	<u>復活而受審判</u>		resurrection of condemnation/of judgment
31	μαρτυρῶ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ	為(給)自己作證	<u>為自己作證</u>	to testify on my own behalf
34	παρὰ ἀνθρώπου τὴν μαρτυρίαν λαμβάνω	由於世人獲得證據	[<u>人的證據</u>]	to receive/accept the testimony from a human being/a man
34	σώζω	救護、拯救、救援	[<u>得救</u>]	to save
35	λύχνος	<u>燈</u>		lamp
35	καίω	燃燒	[<u>點著</u>]	to burn
35	φαίνω	發光、發亮		to shine
35	ἀγαλλιάομαι... ἐν τῷ φωτὶ	喜悅光明	[<u>高興(享受)光明</u>]	to rejoice in the light
36	τελείωο	<u>完成</u>		to accomplish
37	[οὔτε] πώποτε	昔日	[<u>從未</u>]	never
37	εἶδος	容貌、面容	[<u>儀容</u>]	form

v (39-47) p. 28

39	ἐραυνέω	考察、洞察	[<u>查考</u>]	to search
39	ἡ γραφή (αἱ γραφαί)	<u>經典</u>		the Scriptures
39	δοκέω	好像、好似、以為	[<u>認為</u>]	to think
39	ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχω	獲得常生	[<u>有永生</u>]	to have eternal life
41	δόξαν... λαμβάνω	接受光榮	[<u>求...光榮</u>]	to accept praise
42	ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ... ἔχω	俱有天主的愛情	<u>有天主的愛情</u>	to have the love of God
45	καταγορήω	控訴、 <u>控告</u>		to accuse
45	ἐλπίζω	盼望、希望	[<u>寄望</u>]	to hope/to place hope
46	γράφω	寫下、寫住	[<u>寫</u>]	to write
47	γράμμα	經籍	[<u>所寫的</u>]	writing
47	ῥήμα	言語、話句	[<u>話</u>]	word

Caput VI (1-10) p. 29

1	πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Γαλιλαίας	在加利肋亞海那邊(以東)	[<u>往加里肋亞海</u>]	across the Sea of Galilee
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3	ὄρος	山嶺	[山]	mountain
3	κάθημαι	臥下、坐下	[坐]	to sit
5	ἐπαίρω τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς	舉眼、仰眼、仰觀	[舉目]	to raise the eyes
5	ἀγοράζω	購買	[買]	to buy
5	φαγῶσιν	喫	[吃]	to eat
6	πειράζω	試驗	[試探]	to test
6	μέλλω (ποιεῖν)	要作、將作		to be going to do
7	ἄρτος	麵飽	[餅]	loaves
7	ἀρκέω	夠用	夠	to be enough/to be sufficient
7	βραχύ	一點兒	[一小塊]	a little (bit)
9	ἄρτος κριθίνος	麥子的麵飽	[大麥餅]	barley loaves
9	ὀψάριον	小魚	[魚]	(small) fish
9	τοσοῦτος	這麼多		so many
10	ἀναπαύω	休息、歇息	[坐下]	to recline
10	χόρτος	青草		grass

VI (11-19) p. 30

10	τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὡς	數月左右，約有... 數月		the number about
11	εὐχαριστέω	祝神、降福、感謝、稱謝	[祝謝]	to give thanks
11	διαδίδωμι	施給	[分給]	to distribute
11	ἀνακείμαι	周圍坐下	[坐下]	to recline
12	ἐνπίπλημι	飽足	[吃飽]	to fill
12	περισσέω	剩餘(下)	[剩下]	to exceed
12	κλάσμα	塊、零碎、零星、零碎物件	[碎塊]	fragments
13	γεμίζω	滿盈	[裝滿]	to fill
13	κόφινος	筐		(wicker) basket
13	βιβρώσκω	食、吃		to eat
15	ἀρπάζω	搶捉	[強迫]	to seize
15	ποιεῖν βασιλέα	主之為王	[立(他)為王]	to make king
15	ἀνεχωρέω	自退	[退避]	to withdraw
16	οψία	晚上		evening
18	πνεω	吹	[起]	to blow
18	διαγείρω	擾亂	[翻騰]	to stir

VI (20-38) p. 31

19	ελαυνω	艤、以櫓撥水、搖櫓		to row
19	φοβοῦμαι	恐懼、恐惶	[害怕]	to be afraid
21	πλοῖον	舟、船舟	[船]	boat
21	ὑπάγω	去		to go
22	πλοιάριον	小船、舢舨		boat
26	χορτάζω	吃飽		to be filled/satisfied
27	ἐργάζομαι τὴν βρῶσιν	勞力得餵食	[為食糧勞碌]	to work for food
27	ἀπόλλυμι	失掉、喪戚	[損壞]	to perish

27	σφραγίζω	蓋印	[印證]	to set a seal
28	ἐργάζομαι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ	行天主的事	[算做天主的事業]	to accomplish the works of God
32	ἄρτος ἀληθινός	真實的麵包	[真正的食糧]	true bread
35	πεινάω	饑餓		to hunger
35	διψώω	渴		to thirst
35	πώποτε	-	[總]	at any time
35	εἶμι	來、去	[是]	to be
37	ἐκβάλλω ἔξω	扔棄於外	[拋棄於外]	to reject/to cast out

VI (38-59) p. 32

-	ἀνατίθημι	安置		to lay ²
39	ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα	末日		the last day
41	γογγύζω	怨尤、怨冤	[竊竊私議]	to murmur
44	ἐλκύω	拉出、汲取	[吸引]	to draw
45	διδακτός	受教的	[蒙訓誨]	to be taught
45	μανθάνω	學習		to learn
48	ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς	生命的糧食	[生命的食糧]	bread of life
49	ἀποθνήσκω	死亡	[死]	to die
51	ζάω	生活		to live
52	μάχομαι	交戰、征戰	[爭論]	to quarrel
53	πίνω	飲	[喝]	to drink
54	τρώγω (φάγω)	吃、嚼		to eat
55	πόσις	飲料		drink
55	βρωσις	食物	[食品]	food
59	συναγωγή	會堂		synagogue
59	διδάσκω	(學)教授	[教訓]	to teach

VI (60-71) p. 33

60	σκληρός	硬		hard
61	σκανδαλίζω	使人見怪	[起反感]	to shock
62	τὸ πρότερον	先前		before
63	ὠφέλομαι	有益	[所用]	avail/profit
64	ἐξ ἀρχῆς	從原始	[從起頭]	from the beginning
64	παραδίδωμι	交給、交付	[出賣]	to betray
66	ἐκ τούτου	從此[時]	[從此]	from that (time)
66	ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω	遠離、往後去 背著 而他往	[退去]	to return to the back
68	ῥήματα ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἔχεις	你真有生命的話	[惟你有永生的話]	You have the words of eternal life
69	ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ	天主的聖者		the Holy One of God
70	ἐκλέγω	選取、選拔	[揀選]	to choose

² *Anatithemi* ἀνατίθημι, p. 32. This Greek verb meaning “to place” is not found in this verse, and was most likely confused with *anistemi* ἀνίστημι, “to rise up,” occurring in 6:39. The Chinese translation in the document is *anzhi* 安置, ‘to place,’ and is correct for *anatithemi*.

70	διάβολος	魔鬼、撒旦	a devil
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Caput VII (1-18) p. 34

2	σκηνοπηγία	帳棚節		Feast of Tabernacles
3	οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ	他的兄弟們	[他的弟兄]	his brothers
4	ἐν κρυπτῷ ποιέω	暗暗地行事、暗中、背地裡	[在暗地裡行事的]	to work/to do in secret
4	ζητέω ἐν παρρησίᾳ εἶναι	肯在光明中居、企圖居在光明中、願居在明亮中	[願意顯揚自己]	want to be known publicly
4	φανερῶ τῷ κόσμῳ	自顯給世人	[顯示給世界]	to manifest to the world
6	παρεῖμι	來到、來臨	[到]	to be present
6	ἔτοιμος	準備的	[現成的]	ready
10	ἀναβαίνω ὡς ἐν κρυπτῷ	似乎是暗暗地上去	[暗中去]	to go up in secret
12	γογγυσμός πολὺς	許多怨言	[許多私議]	considerable murmuring
12	ὄχλος	百姓	[群眾]	crowd
12	πλανάω	欺騙、迷惑	[煽惑]	to mislead
13	παρρησία λαλέω	坦白地說話	[公開地講論]	to speak openly
14	(μεσοῦμαι) μεσῶ	其中、到中間時	[已過了一半]	to be in the middle
17	πότερον... ἢ	或、或是		whether... or
17	ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ λαλέω	由自己說話	[我自己而講]	to speak on my own/from myself
18	τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἰδίαν ζητέω	尋求自己的光榮		to seek his own glory

VII (18-37) p. 35

18	ἀδικία οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν...	無不義在	[在...內沒有不義]	there is no wrong in...
20	δαιμόνιος	魔鬼	[魔]	demon
22	περιτομή	割損禮、施行割損禮		circumcision
22	περιτέμνω	-	[行割損禮]	to circumcise
23	περιτομήν λαμβάνω	受割損禮		to receive the circumcision
23	χολάω	對某某發憤怒、難為	[發怒]	to be angry
23	ἄνθρωπον ὑγιῆ ποιέω	痊癒某人	[使一個人(完全)恢復健康]	to make a person well
24	κρίνω κατ' ὄψιν	按照所見的審訂	[按照外表判斷]	to judge by appearances
24	κρίνω δικαίαν κρίσιν	施行正義的審判	[按照公義判斷]	to judge justly
26	μήποτε ἀληθῶς	也許實在地	[難道確認]	never truly
30	πιάζω	捕足、搶捉、拘捕	[捉]	to catch/to arrest
30	ἐπιβάλλω τὴν χεῖρα	由手抓住	[下手]	to lay a hand

32	ὑπηρετής	僕役、臣僕	[差役]	guard/officer
35	πορεύομαι	走去	[去]	to go
35	διάσπορα τῶν Ἑλλήνων	在異民僑居	[往散居在希臘民 中]	dispersion among the Greeks
38	ποταμός	河	[江河]	river
38	(ρέω) ῥέω	流	[流出]	to flow

VII (38-53) p. 36

38	ὑδωρ ζῶν	活水		living water
39	πνεύμα	神、聖神		Spirit
39	δοξάζω	光榮、使光榮	[受到光榮]	to glorify
42	σπέρμα (Δαβίδ)	種子、後裔		descendant (of David)
42	κώμη	莊、村莊		village
43	σχίσμα	分裂	[紛爭]	division
45	ἄγω αὐτόν	帶來		to bring him
48	ἄρχον	首領、元首	[首長]	authority/ruler
49	ἐπαρατός	可咒罵的	[可詛咒的]	accursed
52	ἐραύνω	察考	[查考]	to search/to look
52	ἐγείρω	起來、興起	[出]	to raise

Caput VIII (1-10) p. 37

1	ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν	阿里瓦山	[橄欖山]	Mount of Olives
2	ὄρθρου	早晨、到曉明	[清晨]	early morning
2	καθίζω	坐下		
3	γραμματεὺς	經士	[經師]	scribe
3	μοιχεία	淫亂、淫蕩行為	[姦淫]	adultery
4	ἐπ' αὐτοφώρω	正在犯罪時被捉著	[正在犯姦淫時被捉 住]	in the very act of
4	μοιχεύω	行淫、姦淫		adultery
5	ἐντέλλω	囑咐、吩咐、命令		to command
5	λιθάζω	以石擊死	[用石頭砸死]	to stone
6	κατηγορέω	控告、控訴		to charge/to accuse
6	κύπτω (κατωκύπτω)	屈身、曲身	[彎下]	to bend down/to stoop down
6	δάκτυλος	指頭、手指		finger
7	ἐπιμείνω	恆存在	[不斷地]	to continue
7	ἀνακύπτω	起身		to straighten up
7	ἀναμάρτητος	無罪者、無辜者	[沒有罪]	without sin/sinless
10	κατακρίνω	定罪、處懲		to condemn

VIII (12-32) p. 38

12	φῶς τοῦ κόσμου	世界的光明	[世界的光]	the light of the world
12	φῶς τῆς ζωῆς	生命的光		the light of life
15	κατὰ τὴν σάρκα κρίνω	照肉眼審判	[只憑肉眼判斷]	to judge according to the flesh
16	μόνος οὐκ εἰμί	我不是單獨的	[我不是獨自一個]	I am not alone
20	γαζοφυλάκιον	寶藏	[銀庫院]	treasury

24	ἐν τῇ ἁμαρτία ἀποθνήσκω	在罪中死亡	[死在(你們的)罪惡中]	to die in the sins
23	ὕμεῖς ἐκ τῶν κάτω ἐστέ	你們屬於下	[你們是出於下]	you belong to what is below
23	ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω εἰμί	我則屬於上	[我卻是出於上]	I belong to what is above
25	τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν	我乃是自起初對你們所說的	[從起初我對你們講論過]	I told you from the beginning
29	ἀφίημι	離棄、損棄	[留下]	to leave/to abandon
29	ἀρεστός	真善的	[喜悅的]	pleasing
31	μείνω ἐν τῷ λόγῳ	恆在無言中	[固守我的話]	to remain in a word
32	ἐλευθερώω	釋放	[獲得自由]	to set free

VIII (33-44) p. 39

33	δουλόω	事服、當奴隸	[奴隸]	to enslave
35	οἰκία	家、住宅		house
36	ὄντως	的確		truly/indeed
37	χωρέω	讓	[容納]	to have room
40	ἀλήθειαν λαλέω	說真理、講述真理	[說出真理]	to tell the truth
41	πορνεία	邪淫	[淫亂]	sexual immorality/illegitimate
41	ἐκ πορνείας γεννάω	由於淫亂而生	[由淫亂生的]	to be born from sexual immorality
42	ἀγαπάω	愛慕	[愛]	to love
42	ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἦκω	我乃由天主發出而來臨	[因為我是由天主出發而來的]	for I came from God and am here
43	λαλία	言語	[講論]	speech
44	ἐπιθυμία	心情、情慾	[慾望]	desire
44	τὰς ἐπιθυμίας θέλω ποιεῖν	-	[願意追隨慾望]	to carry out desires
44	ἀνθρωποκτόνος	殺人者	[殺人]	murderer
44	λαλέω τὸ ψεῦδος	撒謊		to tell a lie/to speak falsehood

VIII (44-59) p. 40

44	ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λαλέω	憑己心而說話	[正出於他的本性]	to speak from his own
44	ψεύστης	撒謊者		liar
46	ἐλέγχω... περὶ ἁμαρτίας	訴訟某某的罪	[指證(我)有罪]	to charge with sin
48	Σαμαρίτης	-	[撒瑪黎雅人]	Samaritan
49	τιμάω	尊敬		to honor
49	ἀτιμάζω	輕看	[侮辱]	to dishonor
51	τηρέω τὸν λόγον	保守言語	[遵行話]	to keep words
51	θεωρέω θάνατον	見死	[見到死亡]	to see death
52	γεύω θανάτου (γεύομαι)	賞死	[嘗到死味]	to taste death

55	ὄμοιος	相似的	[便像一樣]	like
56	ἀγαλλίαομαι	歡喜	[歡欣喜樂]	to rejoice
56	χαίρω	喜悅	[(極其)高興]	to be glad/to rejoice
59	κρύπτω	隱藏	[隱沒]	to hide

Caput IX (1-12) p. 41

1	παράγω	經過、走過	[行]	to pass by
1	τυφλός	瞎子	[瞎眼的人]	blind
1	γενέτη	生日、產生	[生(來)]	birth
2	γονεῖς	父母		parents
4	ἕως ἡμέρα ἐστιν	直到是白日	[趁著白天]	while it is day
4	νύξ	黑夜		night
6	πτύω	吐痰	[吐]	to spit
6	χαμαί	在地下、地下	[在地上]	on the ground
6	πηλός	泥土、泥、浮泥、泥沼、泥濘		clay
7	νίπτω	洗淨	[洗洗]	to wash
6	ἐπιχρίω	塗以...	[抹]	to smear
8	γείτονες	鄰居人		neighbors
8	προσαίτης	乞丐人、乞人	[討飯的人]	beggar
8	προσαίτέω	乞丐、乞食	[討飯]	to beg
10	ἀνοίγω	睜開、開		to open

IX (12-34) p. 42

15	ἐπιτίθημι	安置(商議、商約、暗算)	[放在]	to put
16	ἁμαρτωλός	罪人		sinful
18	ἕως ὄτου	以直到	[等到]	until
21	ἡλικία	年紀	[成年]	of age
22	φοβοῦμαι (φοβέω)	畏懼	[害怕]	to be afraid/to fear
22	συντίθημι	商量、議定		to make an agreement
22	ὁμολογέω	承認、稱呼		to acknowledge/to confess
22	ἀποσυνάγωγος	從會堂中排除	[(被)逐出會堂]	to expel from synagogue
24	ἐκ δευτέρου	第二次、重次	[再]	a second time
28	λοιδορέω	凌辱	[辱罵]	to ridicule/to insult
31	θεοσεβής	敬畏天主的人	[恭敬天主]	to be God-fearing
32	ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος	自永世、自永遠	[自古以來從未]	out of age/never
34	ὅλος	完全	[整個]	totally/entirely
34	[ἐκ]βάλλω ἔξω	擲在外	[趕出去]	to throw out

IX (35-41) p. 43

38	προσκυνέω	俯伏在地下，朝拜	[俯伏朝拜]	to worship
39	εἰς κρίμα ἔρχομαι	來實行審判	[為了判別...上來]	to come for judgement

41	ἀμαρτία μένει	罪惡存在	[罪惡便存留下]	the sin remains
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Caput X (1-10) p. 44

1	θύρα	門		gate/door
1	αὐλή	羊棧		fold
1	ἀλλαχόθεν	從別的路	[由別處]	from elsewhere /in another way
1	κλέπτης	兇徒、強盜	[賊]	thief
1	ληστής	盜人	[強盜]	robber
2	ποιμήν	牧人、牧童、牧首		shepherd
3	θυρωρός	看門的、守門的		gatekeeper/doorkeeper
3	φωνέω κατ' ὄνομα	叫某某的名字、用某人的名字叫他	[按著名字呼喚]	to call by name
3	ἐξάγω	引導、領導	[引領出來]	to lead out
5	ἄλλοτριός	外方人、生人、生客	[陌生人]	stranger/another
5	φεύγω ἀπό	自... 逃脫	[逃避]	to go away from
6	παροιμία	比喻		figure of speech/allegory
9	νομή	草場		pasture
10	θύω	宰殺	[殺害]	to slaughter/to kill
10	ἀπολέω	喪失	[毀滅]	to destroy
10	περισσός	富餘、富有、富饒	[更豐富的]	abundantly

X (11-24) p. 45

11	ὁ ποιμήν ὁ καλός	善牧		the good shepherd
11	τὴν ψυχὴν τίθημι	捨生命	[捨掉性命]	to lay down the life
12	μισθωτός	僱傭	[傭工]	hired man
12	λύκος	豺狼	[狼]	wolf
12	ἄρπάζω	搶偷	[抓住]	to catch
12	σκορπίζω	四散、流散、分散	[趕散]	to scatter
13	μελέω	照顧	[(漠不)關心]	to have concern
14	γινώσκω	認識		to know
16	ποίμνη	羊群		flock
18	αἴρω (αἴρω)	懸掛、叫...、懸心; 拿、取出	[奪去]	to take
18	ἐξουσίαν ἔχω	俱有(行某事的)權柄	[有權]	to have power/to have authority
20	μαίνομαι	風、顛狂	[發瘋]	to be possessed/to be mad
21	δαιμονίζω	附魔		to be possessed
22	ἐγκαίνια	祝聖殿節	[重建節]	Feast of the Dedication
22	χειμών	冬天、冬季、冬令		winter
23	στόα	走廊	[廊下]	portico/porch

X (24-42) p. 46

24	κυκλώω	週、圍、繞圍、 環境	[圍起來]	to gather around/to encircle
24	ψυχὴν αἴρω (αἰρέω?)	-	[心神懸疑不定]	to hold the soul in suspense
24	παρησιᾶ	坦白地、坦率、坦 然	[坦白]	plainly
31	βαστάζω	(抬)披、帶	[拿起來]	to pick up
32	δείκνυμι	揭示、指示	[顯示]	to show
33	βλασφημία	褻瀆話		blasphemy
35	λύω γραφήν	違反聖經、曲拆經 語	[經書(是不能)廢棄 的]	to set aside the Scripture
36	ἀγιάζω	祝聖		to consecrate/to sanctify
36	βλασφημίζω	褻瀆	[說褻瀆的話]	to blaspheme

Caput XI (1-20) p. 47

1	ἀδελφή	姐、妹、姊妹	[姐姐]	sister
2	ἀλείφω	塗、敷於、擦塗	[傅抹]	to anoint
2	(μύρος (μῦρος)) μύρον	香油	[香液]	oil
2	ἐκμάσσω	拭目、揩擦、拭淚	[擦乾]	to wipe
2	θρίξ	髮禿、鬢、髮髻	[頭髮]	hair
6	τόπος	地方、地處	[原地]	place
9	προσκόπτω	跌倒	[碰跌]	to stumble
11	κοιμῶ	睡覺	[睡著]	to sleep
11	ἐξυπνίζω	叫醒		to awaken
13	δοκέω	好像、好似、似乎	[以為]	to think
13	κοίμησις	安眠		rest/sleep
13	ὕπνος	睡眠		sleep
17	μνήμειον	墳墓		tomb
19	παραμυθέομαι	安撫、安慰		to comfort
20	ὑπαντάω	迎接去		to meet

XI (20-43) p. 48

22	αἰθέω	求問	[求]	to ask
23	ἀνατίθημι	復興、復活		to rise ³
24	ἀνάστασις	復活		resurrection
28	λάθρα	偷偷地、暗墮地		secretly
28	διδάσκαλος	老師、師傅		teacher
29	ταχύ (ταχέως)	迅速	[立時]	quickly
31	κλαίω	流淚	[哭泣]	to weep
32	πίπτω	跪下	[俯伏]	to fall
33	ἐμβρεμόμαι	覺急	[感傷]	to snort/to be perturbed

³ *Anatithemi* ἀνατίθημι, p. 48, 11:23. The Greek verb *anatithemi* meaning “to place” was probably confused with *anistemi* ἀνίστημι, “to rise up,” correctly translated as: *fixing, fuhuo* 復興、復活, “to rise.”

33	ταράσσω	掛慮	[難過]	to trouble
35	δακρύω	流淚、哭法		to weep
38	σπήλαιον	山洞、墓穴	[洞穴]	cave
38	ἐπικείμει	安置於上	[堵著]	to lay
39	τελοῦμαι	結果、死亡	[死]	to die
39	ὄζω	嗅氣、惡氣	[臭]	to stink
42	περίστημι	安置	[站立]	to stand

XI (43-54) p. 49

43	κραυγάζω	高聲叫呼	[大聲喊說]	to cry out
44	κειρία	襚袍	[布條]	burial band/linen strip
44	ὄψις	容貌	[面]	face
44	σουδάριον	面巾	[汗巾]	cloth
44	(περιδέομαι) περιδέω	網繫 [蒙著]		to wrap
47	συνέδριον	參議院	[會議]	Sanhedrin
47	συνάγω	召集		to convene/to gather
48	ἔθνος	民族		nation
49	ἀρχιερεύς	大司祭、司祭長		high priest
49	ἐνιαυτός	年、本年		year
50	λογίζω	(疑) 議論	[想想]	to consider
50	συμφέρω	有益...	[多麼有利]	to be better
51	προφητεύω	講預言	[預言]	to prophesy
53	βουλευομαι	商量	[議決]	to plan
53	ἀποκτείνω	殺害		to kill
54	χώρα	地域、領域	[地方]	region

XI (54-57) p. 50

54	ἔρημος	曠野	[荒野]	desert/wilderness
-	διατρίβω	逗留		to say ≠ to stop ⁴
55	ἀγνίζω	自聖潔	[聖潔自己]	to purify
57	(μηνύζω) μηνύω	居下	[通知]	to inform

Caput XII (1-13) p. 51

2	δειπνον	晚餐	[晚宴]	dinner/supper
2	διακονέω	侍奉、事服	[伺候]	to serve
2	ἀνάκειμαι	臥下	[坐席]	to recline at table
3	λίτρα	斤		litra (weight measure)
3	νάρδον πιστικῆς	寶貴而純潔的香油	[純「拿爾多」]	genuine nard
3	πολιτίμος	至寶貴的	[極珍貴]	costly/of great price
3	ὄσμη	香氣	[氣味]	fragrance

⁴ *Diatribō* διατρίβω, p. 50, 11:54. This Greek verb meaning “to say,” is not found in this verse, nor does the meaning of the Chinese verb given correspond to it: *douliu* 逗留, “to stop.” It was presumably an error.

5	πράσσω	售賣	[賣]	to do ≠ to sell ⁵
5	δηνάριον	錢幣	[「德納」]	denarius (currency)
5	πτωχός	貧窮	[窮人]	the poor
6	γλωσσόκομον	錢袋	[錢囊]	money bag
7	ένταφιασμός	埋葬、埋瘞	[安葬]	burial
11	ύπάγω	離開... 他往、走開	[離開]	to go away
13	βαῖον	棕梠枝 (probably a miswriting of 棕櫚枝)		branches of the palm tree
13	φοίνιξ	棕梠 (probably a miswriting of 棕櫚)		palm tree
13	κραυγάζω	高聲呼叫	[喊說]	to cry out

XII (14-40) p. 52

14	ὄναριον	小驢		donkey
15	πῶλον ὄνου	驢駒		donkey's colt
16	μιμνήσκω	記念	[想起]	to remember
24	κόκκος	麥粒	[一粒]	grain
24	σίτον	-	[麥子]	wheat
24	καρπός	果實	[子粒]	fruit
25	φυλάσσω	看守	[保存]	to preserve/to keep
26	διάκονος	侍臣	[僕人]	servant
29	βροντή	雷鳴	[打雷]	thunder
32	έλκύω	拉出、吸取	[吸引]	to draw
33	σημαίνω	指示、指明	[表明]	to indicate

XII (40-50) p. 53

42	ὁμως μέντοι	然而	[但]	nevertheless/although indeed
48	ἀθετέω	捨棄	[拒絕]	to reject

Caput XIII (1-12) p. 54

1	μεταβαίνω	從此地他後	[離]	to pass/to depart
1	εἰς τέλος ἠγάπησεν	至終愛慕了他們	[愛他們到底]	to love to the end
3	δίδομι εἰς τὰς χεῖρας	交在... 手中		to put into the hands
4	δείπνον	晚餐、席、桌子	[席間]	supper
4	λέντιον	腰帶、腰布	[手巾]	towel
4	διαζώννυμι	束繫	[束]	to tie around
5	νιπτῆρ	盆子	[盆]	basin
5	νίπτω	洗乾、洗清	[洗]	to wash
8	ἔχω μέρος	估有分子	[與我(無)分]	to have inheritance/ to have part
9	κεφαλή	頭顱	[頭]	head
10	λούω	洗潔	[沐浴]	to bath
10	καθαρός ὅλος	完全洗清好	[全身清潔]	clean all over

⁵ *Prasso* πράσσω, p. 51, 12:5. This Greek verb meaning “to do,” is not found in this verse, and was possibly confused with *piprasko* πιπράσκω whose meaning, “to sell,” is equivalent to the Chinese translations in the texts (*shoumai* 售賣 and *mai* 賣).

12	ἱμάτια	衣裳	[外衣]	garments
12	(ἀναπαύω) ἀναπίπτω	安下	[去坐下]	to recline at table

XIII (13-32) p. 55

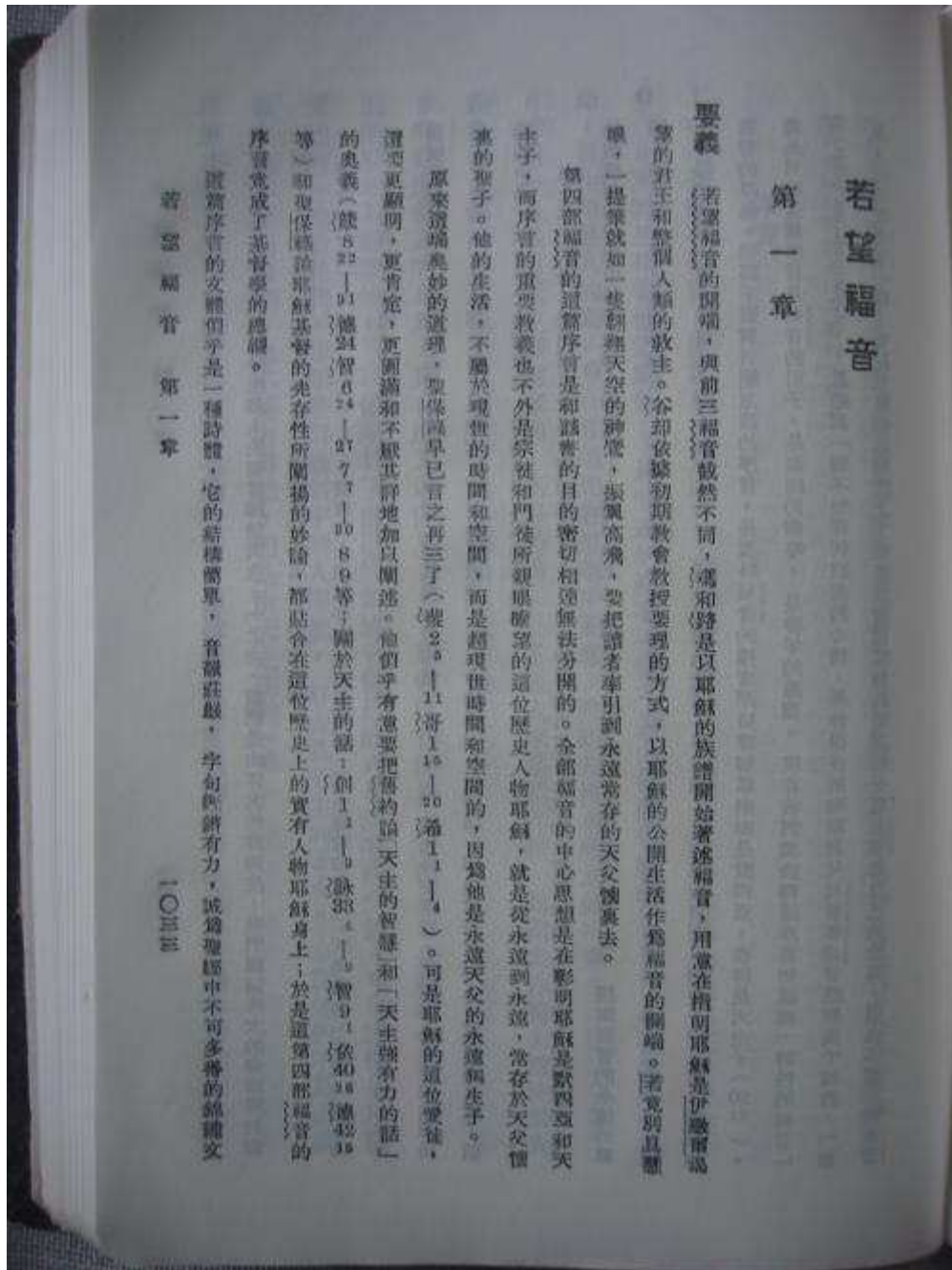
15	ὑπόδειγμα δίδωμι	立表樣	[給立榜樣]	to give a model
16	ἀπόστολος	使者	[奉使]	messenger
17	μακάριος	有福的		blessed
18	τρώγω	吃		to eat
18	πτέρνα	腳蹄	[腳踢]	heel
22	ἀποροῦμαι, ἀπορέω	疑慮	[猜疑]	to be uncertain/to be in doubt
23	κόλπος	懷、胸懷		bosom
24	νεύω	暗示	[示意]	to nod
25	αναπίπτω	-	[緊靠]	to lean
25	στῆθος	胸膛		chest
26	βαπτω	沈下	[蘸]	to dip
26	ψωμίον	一塊兒、 <u>一片</u>		morsel
27	ταχίον	立即	[快]	quickly
29	ἀγοράζω	購買	[買]	to buy
33	τεκνία	吾小子	[孩子們]	children

XIII (32-38) p. 56

33	ἔτι μικρόν	還一點兒時	[時候不多]	a little linger
33	ἄρτι	現今、如今、 <u>現在</u>		now
36	ὕστερον	末了	[後來]	later/afterwards
37	τὴν ψυχὴν τίθημι	捨命	[捨掉性命]	to lay down life
38	ἀλέκτωρ	公雞、雞		rooster
38	ἕως οὗ	在... 以前	[以前]	before
38	ἀρνέομαι	否認	[不認]	to deny

APPENDIX E: Chinese texts analyzed

In this Appendix the reproductions of some pages of the four versions of the Gospel of John analyzed (see: Chapter 4.3, pp. 126-143) are reported. These are the 1957 published version of the Gospels (*Fuyin* 福音, E.1), the pages of the same version with handwritten modifications (E.2), the draft version of the 1968 single volume of the Bible (E.3), and its final published version (*Sigao Shengjing* 思高聖經, E.4). The reproductions of sections E.2 and E.3 are reported with kind permission of the librarian of the Studium Biblicum in Hong Kong.



章。作者用了「首尾相聯法」(Anastichon)，由天主開始而仍歸結於天主(1 | 1-13)：萬物藉未降生成人的聖言受造於天主，萬物又藉已降生為人的聖言歸於天主。「上主，我們是由偉大的你而生，我們經過偉大的你而歸於你的懷抱。」聖文都練的這句話，真是這篇序言的萬古常新的注釋。

序言可分為下列四段：(一) 1-5 聖言自永遠就存在於天父懷裏，天主藉着他造化了天地萬物，他是人類的光明和生命的泉源。這光明雖然遭到黑暗的嚴密籠罩，但黑暗始終無法撲滅他。(二) 6-8 洗者若翰並非真光，他只是真光的見證人，他給降生為人的聖言作證，要萬民去信仰他。(三) 9-13 真光降來塵世，塵世的人和天主的選民却沒有接受他；然而那些接受他的人，却獲得了成為天主兒女的權利。(四) 14-18 聖言降生為人：這樣他便成了新約的中保，天主聖父的新聖殿，信徒獲得恩寵的活泉源。

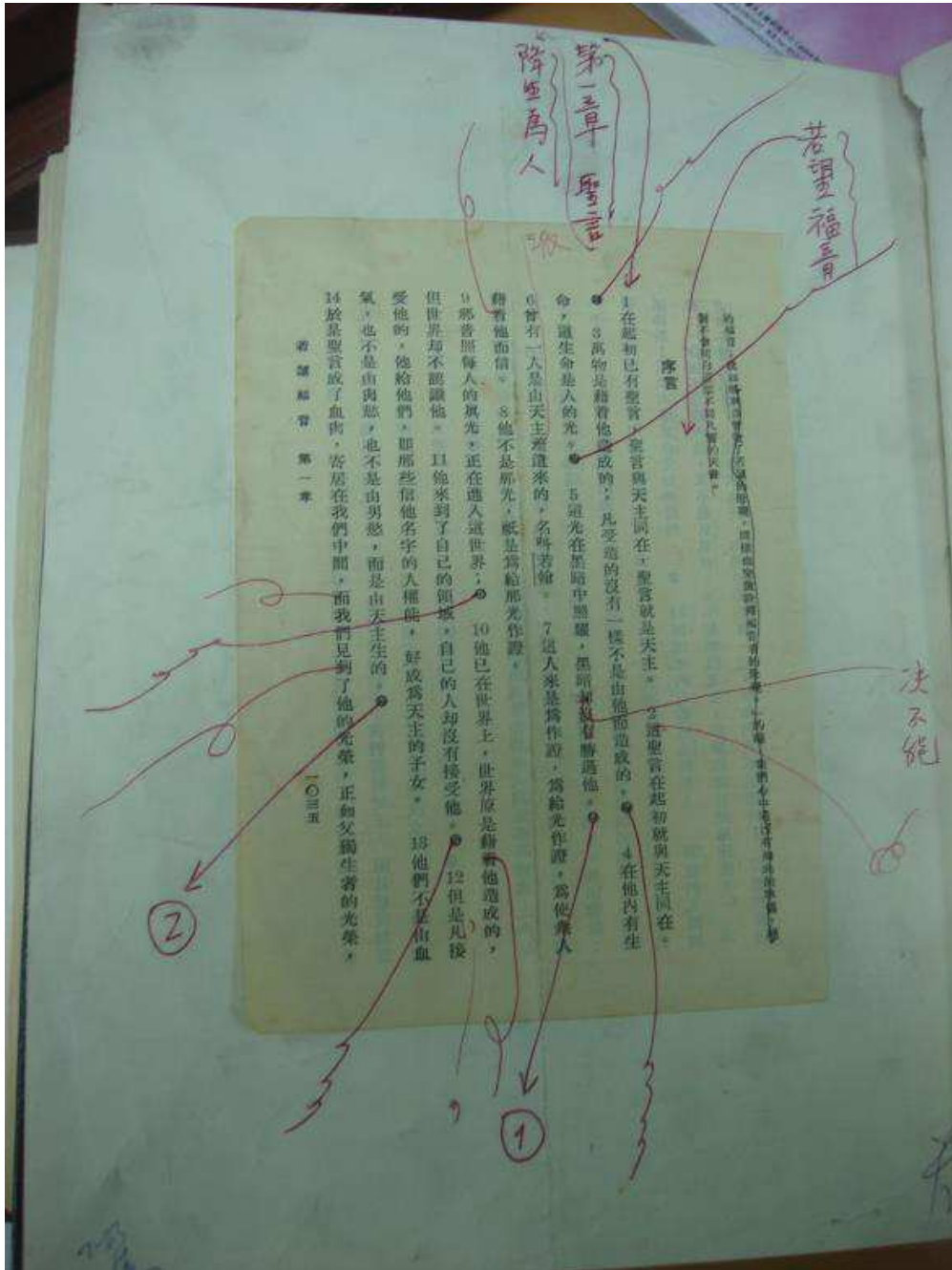
由上述的劃分，我們可以看出，若雖然在 1-5 節中特別指出聖言永遠的生活與作為，可是在全部序言內，他的視線却始終集中於降生為人的聖言——耶穌身上，並且是從這位歷史上的實有人物出發，探索聖言的永遠的尊嚴。若在這位歷史上的耶穌身上，感覺到舊約上「天主的智慧」和「天主強有力的話」的妙理，完全實現了。故此，縱使他時而用「聖言」，時而用「生命」，又時而用「光明」等詞類，但在他的整個思想中，却只有一個耶穌基督的印象。他寫下這篇言簡意賅的序言，是要叫福音的讀者深切瞭解耶穌即是默西亞，也即是天主子(20³¹)。為此可說這篇序言是福音的引子，是聖經的綱略，是啓示的撮要。現在我們要詮釋這序言和這部「神性的福音」(Evangelium spirituale)，真感到一種不知從何說起的心情。著作很多的初期教父般黎華曾感慨萬千地說：「如黑人沒有同若瑟一樣，安歇於耶穌的胸膛上，如果沒有從耶穌的手裏接受瑪利亞為自己的母親，誰也不能明瞭若瑟

的福音；就如瑪利亞曾做了若瑟的母親，同樣也來做詮釋福音者的母親。」的確，我們心中若沒有如此的準備，絕對不會明白這部不同凡響的天書。

序言

- 1 在起初已有聖言，聖言與天主同在，聖言就是天主。
- 2 這聖言在起初就與天主同在。
- 3 萬物是藉着他造成的；凡受造的沒有一樣不是由他而造成的。
- 4 在他內有生命，這生命是人的光。
- 5 這光在黑暗中照耀，黑暗却沒有勝過他。
- 6 曾有一人是由天主差遣來的，名叫若翰。
- 7 這人來是為作證，為給光作證，為使眾人藉着他而信。
- 8 他不是那光，祇是為給那光作證。
- 9 那普照每人的真光，正在進入這世界；
- 10 他已在世界上，世界原是藉着他造成的，但世界却不認識他。
- 11 他來到了自己的領域，自己人却没有接受他。
- 12 但是凡接受他的，他給他們，即那些信他名字的人權能，好成為天主的子女。
- 13 他們不是由血氣，也不是由肉慾，也不是由男慾，而是由天主生的。
- 14 於是聖言成了血肉，寄居在我們中間，而我們見到了他的光榮，正如父獨生者的光榮，

E.2 Gospel of John, *Fuyin* 福音 and handwritten modifications



前書若翰下卷

第 一 章

一〇五六

恩寵

滿溢恩寵和真理。15 若翰為他作證時說：「這是我所說的；那在我以後來的，成了在我以前的，因他原先我而有。」16 那從他的滿溢中我們都領受了，而且恩寵和真理。17 因為法律是藉梅瑟傳授的，恩寵和真理却是由耶穌基督而來的。18 從來沒有人見過天主，只有那在父懷裏，身為天主的獨生子，他給我們認識了。

天主聖子耶穌顯宗(聖)於世人
19 這是若翰所作的見證：當時猶太人從耶路撒冷派遣司祭和勒未人到他那裏問他：「你是誰？」20 他明瞭，並沒有否認，他明認說：「我不是默西亞。」21 他們又問他：「那麼，你是誰？」22 於是他們給他說：「你究竟是誰？好叫我們給那派遣我們來的人一個答覆。」關於你自己，你講什麼呢？」23 他說：「我是在曠野裏呼喊者的聲音：使直上主的道路罷！正如依撒意亞先知所說的。」24 派遣來的有些是法利塞人。25 他們又問他說：「你既不是默西亞，又不是巴里亞，又不是那位先知，那麼你為什麼施洗呢？」26 若翰答覆他們說：「我以水施洗，你們中間站着一位，是你们所不認識的；27 他在我以

前書若翰下卷
第 一 章
一〇五六
恩寵
滿溢恩寵和真理。15 若翰為他作證時說：「這是我所說的；那在我以後來的，成了在我以前的，因他原先我而有。」16 那從他的滿溢中我們都領受了，而且恩寵和真理。17 因為法律是藉梅瑟傳授的，恩寵和真理却是由耶穌基督而來的。18 從來沒有人見過天主，只有那在父懷裏，身為天主的獨生子，他給我們認識了。
天主聖子耶穌顯宗(聖)於世人
19 這是若翰所作的見證：當時猶太人從耶路撒冷派遣司祭和勒未人到他那裏問他：「你是誰？」20 他明瞭，並沒有否認，他明認說：「我不是默西亞。」21 他們又問他：「那麼，你是誰？」22 於是他們給他說：「你究竟是誰？好叫我們給那派遣我們來的人一個答覆。」關於你自己，你講什麼呢？」23 他說：「我是在曠野裏呼喊者的聲音：使直上主的道路罷！正如依撒意亞先知所說的。」24 派遣來的有些是法利塞人。25 他們又問他說：「你既不是默西亞，又不是巴里亞，又不是那位先知，那麼你為什麼施洗呢？」26 若翰答覆他們說：「我以水施洗，你們中間站着一位，是你们所不認識的；27 他在我以

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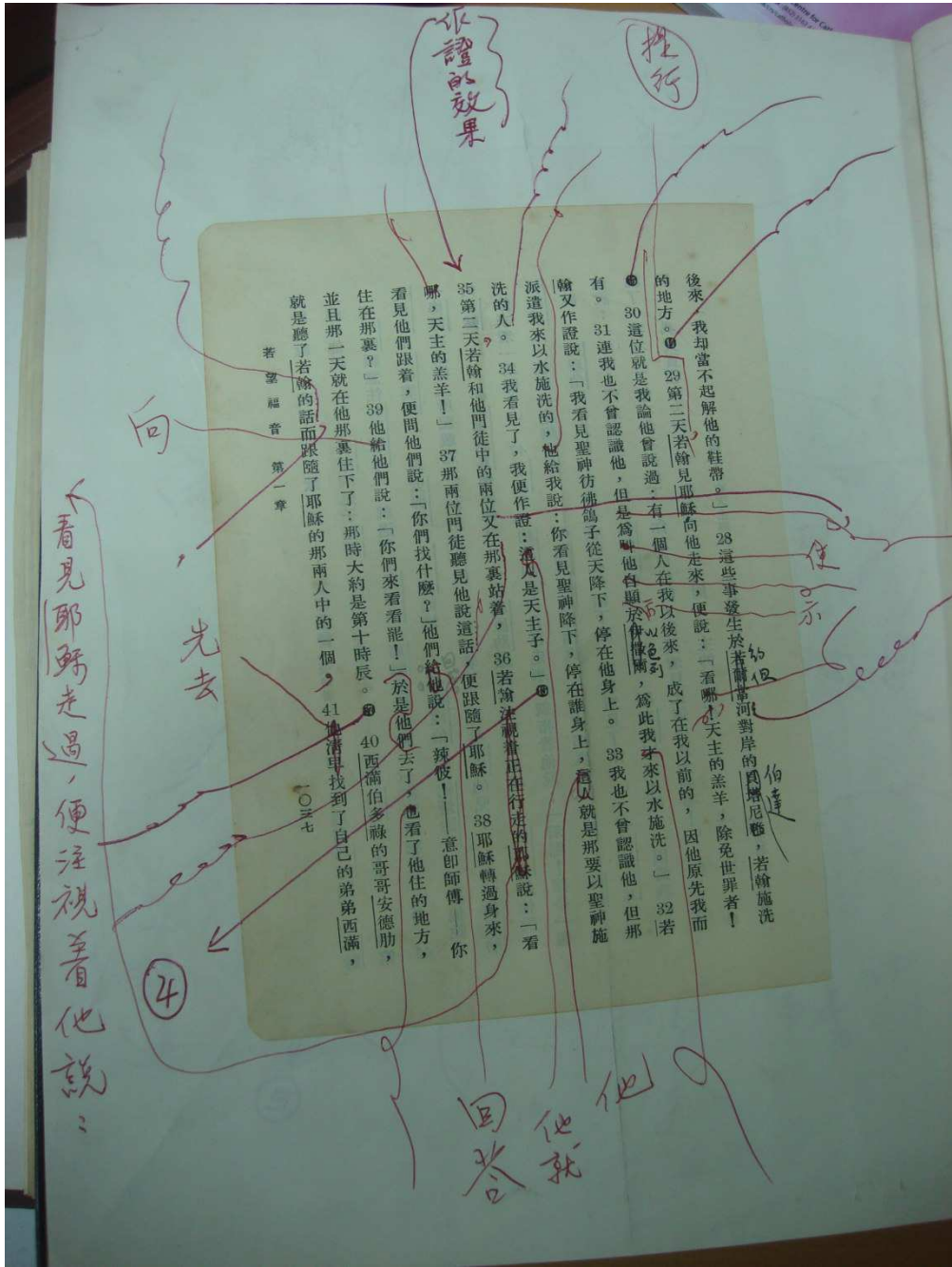
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水禮的效果

推行

看見耶穌走過，便注視着他說：

先走

4

回去他就

伯達

後來，我却當不起解他的鞋帶。」
28 這些事發生於若翰在對岸的貝特撒尼，若翰施洗的地方。
29 第二天，若翰見耶穌向他走來，便說：「看哪，天主的羔羊，除免世罪者！」
30 這位就是我論他會說過：有一個人在我以後來，成了在我以前的，因他原先我而有。
31 連我也不曾認識他，但是為叫他顯於以色列，為此我才來以水施洗。」
32 若翰又作證說：「我看見聖神彷彿鴿子從天降下，停在他身上。
33 我也不曾認識他，但那派遣我來以水施洗的，他給我說：『你看見聖神降下，停在誰身上，這人就是那要以聖神施洗的人。』」
34 我看見了，我便作證：這人是天主子。」
35 第二天，若翰和他門徒中的兩位又在那裏站着，
36 若翰注視着正在往來的耶穌說：「看哪，天主的羔羊！」
37 那兩位門徒聽見他說這話，便跟隨了耶穌。
38 耶穌轉過身來，看見他們跟着，便問他們說：「你們找什麼？」
39 他們給他說：「辣彼！」
40 西滿伯多祿的哥哥安德肋，並且那一天就在他那裏住下了；那時大約是第十時辰。
41 他清早找到了自己的弟弟西滿，就是聽了若翰的話而跟隨了耶穌的那兩人中的一個。
○二七
若望福音 第一章

本書固然是一部史書，但卻另具有一種特殊的風格，蘊藏着深奧的意義與玄妙的神學，因此，本書在古時，就有「神性的福音」的雅號。本書先以序言開端，這序言可說是全部福音的序奏（1 | 18），然後在第一部分內，敘述耶穌如何將自己顯示給世人（1 | 19 | 12^{bc}）；在第二部分內，敘述耶穌如何將自己顯示給宗徒（13 | 17），以及藉苦難聖死和復活，受到光榮而返回父懷等事（18 | 20），最後用一篇附錄，以耶穌賦給伯多祿統轄全聖教會的元首職權總結全書（21）。

若望福音

序言

第一章 聖言降生為人

在起初已有聖言，聖言與天主同在，聖言就是天主。聖言在起初就與天主同在。萬物是藉着他而造成的。凡受造的，沒有一樣不是由他而造成的。在他內有生命，這生命是人的光。光在黑暗中照耀，黑暗決不能勝過他。^①

曾有一人，是由天主派遣來的，名叫若翰。這人來是為作證，為給光作證，為使眾人藉他而信。他不是那光，祇是為給那光作

證。^h

那普照每人的真光，正在進入這世界；他已在世界上，世界原是藉他造成的；但世界却不認識他。他來到了自己的領域，自己的人却没有接受他。但是，凡接受他的，他給他們，即那些信他名字的人，權能好成為天主的子女。他們不是由血氣，也不是由肉慾，也不是由男慾，而是由天主生的。^②

於是聖言成了血肉，寄居在我們中間；我們見了他的光榮，正如父獨生者的光榮，滿溢恩寵和真理。若翰為他作證呼喊說：

「這就是我所說的：那在我以後來的，成了在我以前的，因他原先我而有。」從他的滿盈中，我們都領受了恩寵，而且恩寵上加恩寵。因為法律是藉梅瑟傳授的，恩寵和真理却是由耶

1 ①「聖言」即是天主第二位聖子，亦即舊約上所記的天主全能的「話」和「智慧」（智 7:22-27 箴 8:22-31）。他降生成人，就是歷史上的耶穌。以「聖言」指稱天主聖子，說出了他與天主、世界和人類的關係。聖言與天主有關係，因為他永遠與天主同在，永遠在父懷裏；聖言與世界有關係，因為世界是由他而有，賴他而存（哥 1:15-17）；聖言與人類有關係，因為他賜給人「生命」這「生命」稱為「人的光」，因為聖言以自己的恩寵，救人脫離現世的黑暗，領人歸向天主，因為天主是光（若 1:5）。「黑暗」（屬於撒彈權下的世界）雖然擋蔽了聖言的光，却不能勝過他天主性的德能。作者在本書內要證明的，就是基督怎樣戰勝了黑暗。

②當身為世界之光，聖言進入世界之初，雖有若翰奉遣作前驅，為給光作證，引導世人信仰聖言；然而世人，即連聖言降生所居之地，並作為天主選民的猶太人，也沒有接受若翰的作證而信仰真光；至於那接受、認識並信仰真光的人，真光就賜他成為天主的子女（12:36 若 1:12）。

若望福音引言

關於第四福音的作者若望的生平，我們知道得比前三福音較為詳盡。若望是加里肋亞人，大概生於貝特賽達村，家庭相當富有，文名顯赫，學識淵博，自幼操業漁業，心地坦白虔誠。跟隨耶穌以前，曾作過法利賽人若翰的門徒（若1:35）。他和他的哥哥及雅各，同時受耶穌召為宗徒（瑪4:22）。因兄弟二人性情暴烈，耶穌給他們起名叫「雷震之子」（谷3:17）。自從聖聖召為徒以後，始終跟隨了耶穌，直到加爾瓦利山上，在那裏耶穌將自己的重負交與他，托付給了這位置真門徒（若19:26-27）。耶穌升天後，他先在那路撒冷（宗3:1-4）做在撒瑪黎雅（宗8:14）宣講福音，自古相傳，聖母逝世後，他去了厄弗所，在那裏住了很久。羅馬皇帝多米仙在位時（81—96年），他曾被解送至羅馬，為主受過油煎煎熬的酷刑，然可惡娶妻未損，後被流配至帕特摩島（默1:9）。乃爾瓦皇帝在位時（96—198年）獲赦重回厄弗所，於特羅維斯皇帝（98—117年）在位第六年（104年）平安去世，享壽約百歲。聖教會每年十二月二十七日期祝他的瞻禮。

若望是第四福音的作者，不但可由極古老的傳說證明，而且也可由本書內容證明。作者顯然由於謙遜，從未提及自己的姓名，也未明言自己是宗徒，但從福音內容可證明他確是耶穌的門徒，且是「耶穌所愛的門徒」（21:20）。由前三福音得知耶穌共有三位愛徒，伯多祿、長雅各和若望三人（谷5:27-29；14:10）。我們確知本福音的作者不但是伯多祿，因為伯多祿在本書內顯然與作者有別（13:20, 21；20:2）。也不難是長雅各，因為他已於四三年為主殉道（宗12:2），所以本書的作者，只能是宗徒若望。他大概在高了默示錄後，於公元一〇〇年左右，在小亞細亞的厄弗所城編著了本福音。

至於編著的目的，作者已明言：「這些所記錄的，是為叫你們信耶穌是默西亞，天主子，並使你們信的人，藉他的名得有生命」（20:31）。因為在第一世紀末葉，有些邪教徒否認耶穌是天主子，若望為堅固信友的信德，並為防止信友陷於這種異端，遂在本書序言內，即對申明天主子耶穌的奧存性，和降生成人的奧跡（1:14）。他為證明耶穌的天主性，特別著重洗者若翰，十二位宗徒及耶穌自己的證言，故很少記載耶穌所行的奇跡。

此外，若望也並敘述重述前三福音已記述的事，所以儘可補遺了前三福音所未記載的事，特別是耶穌在耶京一帶傳教時所發生的事跡，和所講的言論。

本書固然是部史書，但如另具有一種特殊風格，這就著眼於的靈修與玄妙的神學。因此，本書在古時，就有「神性的福音」的雅號。

本書先以序言開端，這序言可說是全部福音的精華（1-13），然後在第一部分內，敘述耶穌如何將自己顯示給世人（1-13-12）。

在第二部分內，敘述耶穌如何將自己顯示給宗徒（13-17），以及給普羅旺斯和復活聖利光學而說四文德事（18-20），最後用一篇附錄，以能解脫給伯多祿統轄全教會的元首權總結全書（21）。

若望福音

序言

第一章 聖言降生為人 在起初已有聖言，聖言與天主同在，聖言就是天主。聖言在起初就與天主同在。萬物是藉着他而造成的；凡受造的，沒有一樣不是由他而造成的。在他內有生命，這生命是人的光。光在黑暗中照耀，黑暗決不能勝過他。^①

曾有一人，是由天主派遣來的，名叫若翰。這人來，是為作證，為給光作證，為使眾人藉他而信。他不是那光，祇是為給那光作

證。

那普照每人的真光，正在進入這世界；他已在世界上，世界原是藉他造成的，但世界却不認識他。他來到了自己的領域，自己的人卻沒有接受他。但是，凡接受他的，他給他們，即給那些信他名字的人權能，好成為天主的子女。他們不是由血氣，也不是由肉慾，也不是由男慾，而是由天主生的。^②

於是聖言成了血肉，寄居在我們中間；我們見了他的光榮，正如父獨生者的光榮，洋溢恩寵和真理。若翰為他作證呼喊說：「這就是我所說的，那在我以後來的，成了在我以前的，因他原先我而有。」從他的滿盈中，我們都領受了恩寵，而且恩寵上加恩寵。因為法律是藉梅瑟傳授的，恩寵和真理却是由耶

1 ①「聖言」即是天主第二位聖子，亦即舊約上所記的天主全能者的「話」和「智慧」（智7:22, 27; 箴8:22-24）。他降生成人，就是歷史上的耶穌，以「聖言」指稱天主聖子，說出了他與天主、世界和人類的關係。聖言與天主父有關係，因為他永遠與天主同在，永遠在父懷裏。聖言與世界有關係，因為世界是由他而有，賴他而存（若1:10, 14）。聖言與人類有關係，因為他賜給人「生命」這「生命」稱為「人的光」。因為聖言以自己的恩寵，使人脫離現世的黑暗，領人歸向天主，因為天主是光（若1:9）。「黑暗」（屬於撒但權下的世界）雖然預備了聖言的光，却不能勝過他天主性的德能。作者在末章內要證明的，就是基督怎樣戰勝了黑暗。②當身為世界之光的聖言進入世界之初，唯有若翰奉命作證，為給光作證，引導世人信仰聖言；然而世人，即應聖言降生所居之地，並作為天主選民的猶太人，也沒有接受若翰的作證而信仰真光；至於那接受、認識並信仰真光的人，真光就照他成為天主的子女（12:36, 38; 若1:13。）

APPENDIX F: Proper names in the Gospel of John

This table presents the transliterations of the proper names in the Gospel of John (see: Chapter 4.3, pp. 135-143). In the first column, together with the chapter and verse of their first occurrence, the original Greek names are reported. The translations of the 1957 and 1968 published Chinese versions are in the following columns, so as to detect which names were modified. In the last column, the English translation is given.

Greek name and first occurrence		<i>Fuyin</i> 1957	<i>Shengjing</i> 1968	English
Ἰωάννης	1:6	<i>Ruohan</i> 若翰		John (the Baptist)
Μωσῆς	1:17	<i>Meise</i> 梅瑟		Moses
Ἱεροσόλυμα	1:19	<i>Yelusaleng</i> 耶路撒冷		Jerusalem
Ἠλίας	1:21	<i>Eliya</i> 厄里亞		Elijah
Ἡσαΐας	1:23	<i>Yisaiya</i> 依撒意亞		Isaiah
Βηθανία	1:28	<i>Beidaniya</i> 貝塔尼雅	<i>Bodani</i> 伯達尼	Bethany
Ἰορδάνης	1:28	<i>Ruo'erdang</i> 若爾當	<i>Yuedan</i> 約但	Jordan
Ἰσραήλ	1:31	<i>Yisai'er</i> 伊撒爾	<i>Yiseli</i> 以色列	Israel
Ἀνδρέας	1:40	<i>Andelei</i> 安德肋		Andrew
Σίμων Πέτρος	1:40	<i>Ximan Boduolu</i> 西滿伯多祿		Simon Peter
Σίμων	1:41	<i>Ximan</i> 西滿		Simon
Ἰωάννης	1:42	<i>Ruowang</i> 若望		John
Κηφᾶς	1:42	<i>Kefa</i> 刻法		Cephas
Πέτρος	1:42	<i>Boduolu</i> 伯多祿		Peter
Γαλιλαία	1:43	<i>Jalileiya</i> 加里肋亞		Galilee
Φίλιππος	1:43	<i>Feilibo</i> 斐理伯		Philip
Βηθσαιδά	1:44	<i>Beitesaida</i> 貝特賽達		Bethsaida
Ναθαναήλ	1:45	<i>Nadane'er</i> 納塔納耳	<i>Nadanai'er</i> 納塔乃耳	Nathanael
Ἰωσήφ	1:45	<i>Ruose</i> 若瑟		Joseph
Ναζαρέτ	1:45	<i>Nazalei</i> 納匝肋		Nazareth
Κανᾶ	2:1	<i>Jiana</i> 加納		Cana
Ἰουδαῖος	2:6	<i>Youtai ren</i> 猶太人		Jews

Καπερναούμ	2:12	<i>Gefaweng</i> 葛法翁		Capernaum
Νικόδημος	3:1	<i>Nikedemo</i> 尼苛德摩		Nicodemus
Ίουδαία	3:22	<i>Youtai</i> 猶太		Judea
Αινών	3:23	<i>Ainong</i> 艾農		Aenon
Σαλείμ	3:23	<i>Salin</i> 撒林		Salim
Σαμάρεια	4:4	<i>Samaliya</i> 撒瑪黎雅		Samaria
Συχάρ	4:5	<i>Xiha'er</i> 息哈爾		Sychar
Ίακώβ	4:5	<i>Yagebo</i> 雅各伯		Jacob
Ίωσηφ	4:5	<i>Ruose</i> 若瑟		Joseph
Έβραϊστί	5:2	<i>Xibolai yu</i> 希伯來語		Hebrew
Βηθεσδά	5:2	<i>Beitezada</i> 貝特匝達		Bethesda
Τιβεριάς	6:1	<i>Tibiliya</i> 提庇黎雅		Tiberias
Ίούδας	6:71	<i>Youdasi</i> 猶達斯		Judas
Ίσκαριώτης	6:71	<i>Yisijialue</i> 依斯加略		Iscariot
Σίμων	6:71	<i>Ximan</i> 西滿		Simon
Έλλην	7:35	<i>Xila ren</i> 希臘人		Greeks
Δαβίδ	7:42	<i>Dawei</i> 達味		David
Βηθλεέμ	7:42	<i>Baileng</i> 白冷		Bethlehem
ὄρος τῶν ἔλαιῶν	8:1	<i>Aliwa shan</i> 阿里瓦山	<i>Ganlan shan</i> 橄欖山	Mount of Olives
Άβραάμ	8:33	<i>Yabalang</i> 亞巴郎		Abraham
Σιλωάμ	9:7	<i>Xiluoya</i> 熹羅亞	<i>Shiluoya</i> 史羅亞	Siloam
Σολομών	10:23	<i>Saluoman</i> 撒羅滿		Solomon
Λάζαρος	11:1	<i>Lazalu</i> 拉匝祿		Lazarus
Μαρία	11:1	<i>Maliya</i> 瑪利亞		Mary
Μάρθα	11:1	<i>Ma'erda</i> 瑪爾大		Martha
Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος	11:16	<i>Didimo de Duomo</i> 狄狄摩的多默		Thomas - known as the Twin
Ῥωμαῖος	11:48	<i>Luoma ren</i> 羅馬人		Romans
Καϊάφας	11:49	<i>Gaifa</i> 蓋法		Caiaphas
Έφραϊμ	11:54	<i>Efulayin</i> 厄弗辣因		Ephraim
Σιών	12:15	<i>Xiyong</i> 熙雍		Zion
Κεδρών	18:1	<i>Kedelong</i> 克德龍		Kidron
Μάλχος	18:10	<i>Maerhe</i> 瑪耳曷		Malchus
Άννας	18:13	<i>Yanasi</i> 亞納斯		Annas
Πιλᾶτος	18:29	<i>Biladuo</i> 比拉多		Pilate
Βαραββᾶς	18:40	<i>Balaba</i> 巴辣巴		Barabbas
Καῖσαρ	19:12	<i>Kaisa</i> 凱撒		Caesar
λιθόστρωτον	19:13	<i>Shi pu di</i> 石鋪地		Stone Pavement
Γαββαθα	19:13	<i>Jiabata</i> 夏巴塔	<i>Jiabada</i> 加巴達	Gabbatha
Κρανιούτόπος	19:17	<i>Dulou (de difang)</i> 髑髏(的地方)		(Place of the) Skull
Γολγοθα	19:17	<i>Ge'ergeta</i> 哥耳哥塔	<i>Ge'ergeda</i> 哥耳哥達	Golgotha

Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ	19:25	<i>Keluopa de qizi Maliya</i> 克羅帕的妻子瑪利亞		Mary the wife of Clopas
Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή	19:25	<i>Maliya Madaleina</i> 瑪利亞瑪達肋納		Mary of Magdala
Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας	19:38	<i>Alimateya ren Ruose</i> 阿黎瑪忒雅人若瑟	<i>Alimateya ren Ruose</i> 阿黎瑪特雅人若瑟	Joseph of Arimathaea
Ζεβεδαιῶς	21:2	<i>Zaibode</i> 載伯德		Zebedee

APPENDIX G: Chronological tables

G.1 Life of Allegra

- 1907 Giovanni Stefano Allegra is born in San Giovanni La Punta (Sicily) (26 December)
- 1918 Enters the Minor Seminary of the Order of Friars Minor (Acireale, Sicily)
- 1923 Spends the year of novitiate in the convent of Bronte.
- 1924 After the first profession of the vows, takes the name of Gabriele Maria
- 1926 Moves to Rome to study Theology and Missiology
- 1930 Ordained priest (30 July)
- 1931 Boards the ship to Shanghai (1 June). Arrives in Hengyang on 31 July.
- 1935 Begins the translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew to Chinese
- 1939 Goes back to Italy
- 1941 Appointed chaplain of the Italian embassy in Beijing and moves there
- 1944 Completes the translation of the Old Testament (21 November)
- 1945 Founds in Beijing the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Sinense* (2 August)
- 1946 The Studium publishes the first volume: the Book of Psalms (15 September)
- 1948 The Studium is moved to Hong Kong
- 1955 Begins the translation of the New Testament from Greek to Chinese
- 1957 Completes the translation of the New Testament
- 1961 Moves to Singapore and founds the *Studium Sociologicum*
- 1968 The single volume Bible is published (25 December)
- 1975 Writes his autobiographical memoirs
- 1976 Passes away during the preparation for a surgery (Hong Kong, 26 January)
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- 1984 Beginning of the process of beatification (completed in 2002)
- 1986 Transfer of his remains to Acireale
- 2012 Ceremony of beatification in Acireale (29 September)

G.2 Published volumes of the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Sinense*

Old Testament

<i>Shengyong ji</i> 聖詠集 (Book of Psalms)	15 September, 1946, Beijing
<i>Zhihui shu</i> 智慧書 (Books of Wisdom)	4 October, 1947, Beijing
<i>Meise wushu</i> 梅瑟五書 (Pentateuch)	4 October, 1948, Beijing
<i>Shi shu shang ce</i> 史書上冊 (Historical Books, vol. I)	4 October, 1949, Hong Kong
<i>Shi shu xia ce</i> 史書下冊 (Historical Books, vol. II)	8 November, 1950, Hong Kong
<i>Xianzhi shu shang ce</i> 先知書上冊 (Prophetic Books, vol. I: Isaiah)	8 November, 1951, Hong Kong
<i>Xianzhi shu zhong ce</i> 先知書中冊 (Prophetic Books, vol. II: Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, and Ezekiel)	8 December, 1952, Hong Kong
<i>Xianzhi shu xia ce</i> 先知書下冊 (Prophetic Books, vol. III: Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets)	31 May, 1954, Hong Kong

New Testament

<i>Fuyin</i> 福音 (The Gospels)	9 September, 1957, Hong Kong
<i>Zongtu jing shu shang ce</i> 宗徒經書上冊 (Writing of the apostles, vol. I: Acts of the Apostles and Pauline epistles)	2 December, 1959, Hong Kong
<i>Zongtu jing shu xia ce</i> 宗徒經書下冊 (Writing of the apostles, vol. II: Catholic epistles and book of Revelation)	2 August, 1961, Hong Kong

Single volume Bible

<i>Sigao Shengjing</i> 思高聖經 (Scotus Bible)	25 December, 1968, Hong Kong
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