

DEFENDING CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA: THE JESUIT DEFENSE OF CHRISTIANITY IN  
THE *LETTRES ÉDIFIANTES ET CURIEUSES* & *RUIJIANLU* IN RELATION TO THE  
YONGZHENG PROSCRIPTION OF 1724

By

JOCELYN M. N. MARINESCU

A. A., Harvard Extension School, Cambridge, 1978

B. A., University of Massachusetts, Boston, 1978

M. A., University of California, Berkeley, 1983

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

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## ABSTRACT

Jesuits presented evidence in both French and Chinese to defend Christianity by citation of legal and historical precedents in favor of the “Teaching of the Lord of Heaven” (Catholicism) even after the Yongzheng Emperor’s 1724 imperial edict proscribed the religion as a heterodox cult. The Jesuits’ strategy is traceable to Matteo Ricci’s early missionary approach of accommodation to Chinese culture, which aimed to prove grounds for a Confucian-Christian synthesis based upon complementary points between Christian theology and their interpretation of *Yuanru* (Original Literati Teaching).

Their synthesis involved both written and oral rhetorical techniques that ranged from attempts to show compatibility between different religious values, to the manipulation of texts, and to outright deceit. Personal witness, observation, and interpretation played a key role in Jesuit group translation projects. French and Chinese apologetic texts composed to prove grounds for the repeal of the 1724 proscription edict contain these approaches. The *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrite par des missionnaires jésuites* (1702-1776) contain examples of this approach, as well as the *Ruijianlu* (1735-1737). Memorials in the *Ruijianlu* cited favorable legal precedents and imperial patronage rendered to *Xiyangren* (Men from the West).

Jesuits presented their case for toleration of Christianity in the *Ruijianlu* in terms of Chinese notions of hospitality, diplomacy, and defense found in texts from as early as the Zhou dynasty. They cited an enduring Chinese defensive notion of “welcoming men from afar” (*rouyuanren*), but the court refused to return to this soft policy. The Qianlong Emperor rejected the Kangxi era policy of “welcoming men from afar” regarding established missions.



In 1735 the imperial Board of Punishments re-enforced the proscription order against Christianity in military units and also ruled that baptism of abandoned infants by a Chinese convert constituted religious heterodoxy based on the Qing Code (Article 162). The twenty-one Jesuits (not expelled in 1724) remained in imperial service and at liberty to practice their religion among themselves. Officials pursued a severe policy of punishing any cult deemed heterodox according to statutes of the Code. Persecution of Christians increased throughout the eighteenth century, but abated during the reign of the Daoguang Emperor (1821-1851) when most anti-Christian edicts were rescinded and a subsequent imperial edict pardoned those Christians who practiced the faith for moral perfection.

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Approved by:

Donald J. Mrozek  
Co-major Professor

Approved by:

Marsha L. Frey  
Co-major Professor

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## NOTE ON SPELLING CONVENTIONS

Chinese names, place names, and terms are spelled with mainland *pinyin*, except in cases such as Peking and Canton, and in published citations using variant spelling methods. In cases when reference is made to Chinese terms, they appear in parentheses preceded by *pinyin*. In such cases where Chinese texts are cited in notes for Chinese language readers, no *pinyin* will appear. In some cases *pinyin* reference to titles is only made because these titles have through usage appeared in *pinyin*. For example, I am the first to translate the title of the *Ruijianlu* (睿鑒錄 Record of Sage Scrutiny). Citation conventions in East Asian studies cite titles in *pinyin* with Chinese characters and an English translation of the title, name, or phrase without italics or capitalization, except for proper nouns. Every effort has been made to blend harmoniously European and Asian studies citation styles. Some unavoidable spacing irregularities may appear due to Chinese characters in the text. European works appear in the languages in which they were published. Chinese characters have been added to clarify which characters were used in original works or names because *pinyin* does not identify characters, only sounds of monosyllables strung together or appearing alone. In the appendix, first mention of names or terms used in original texts has been cited in archaic romanization once in parentheses. Thereafter, modern *pinyin* is used, unless the term is unknown.

A longstanding convention in East Asian studies has been to represent Manchu names with Manchu transliteration. In Manchu studies, the spelling of certain names has variant forms. One form will be used consistently, except when citations use variant forms.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AMEP Archives Missions Étrangères de Paris

APCJ Archives de la Province de la France de la Compagnie de Jésus, Vanves  
(formerly located in Chantilly, France.)

ARSI Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome  
Jap. Sin. Japonica Sinicae

BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana  
Bor.cin. Borgia Cinese  
Bor.lat. Borgia Latino

BC Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome

BNC.VE Bibliotheca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome  
FG Fondo Gesuitico

BNF Bibliothèque Nationale de France (formerly de Paris: BNP)  
Chinois Chinese texts or manuscripts  
Ms. fr. Manuscrit français  
Ms. fr.n.a. Manuscrit français, nouvelles acquisitions

*ce* Chinese term for a small volume

ECCP Arthur W. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, 2 vols., Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1943-1944.

FHA First Historical Archives, Beijing

Fu, Lo-shu Fu, Lo-shu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations, 1644-1820*, 2 vols. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966.

### *Handbook of Christianity in China*

Nicolas Standaert, ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635-1800*.  
Leiden: Brill, 2001.

### *Histoire générale*

Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, S.J. *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annals de cet empire; traduites du Tong-Kien Kang-Mou*. 13 vols. Paris: Pierres et Clousier, 1777-85.

*juan\** Chinese term for a volume; \*(a singular term for what corresponds to a Western Chapter, but never translated in East Asian studies)

*jinshi* “literatus presented to the emperor”  
*juren* “raised candidate”  
*shengyuan* “licentiate” refers to the graduate at the level of county, prefecture, or town

LEC *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant L’Asie L’Afrique et L’Amérique, avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions, et des notes géographiques et historiques*. Vol. III & IV. Paris: Société du Panthéon Littéraire, 1838-1843.

Pfister Louis Pfister, S.J., *Notices biographique et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l’ancienne mission de Chine 1552-1773*. 2 vols. Variétés Sinologique, 59 & 60. Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932.

*Qingzhong qianqi*

*Qingzhong qianqi xiyang tianzhujiao zai hua huodong dang’an shiliao* (清中前期西洋天主教在華活動檔案史料 Archives Concerning Western Catholic Missions From the Early to Mid Qing Dynasty in China). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003.

## INTRODUCTION:

### **The Jesuit Defense of Christianity in Response to the Yongzheng Emperor's Proscription of 1724**

An allegorical painting by the Austrian artist Johann Michael Rottmayr (1654-1730) entitled “The Triumph of Science and the Arts” exemplifies the spirit of European Counter-Reformation culture of the seventeenth-century Baroque period. (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> This art work figuratively illustrates how Jesuits in China from the late sixteenth to the seventeenth century combined arts and science, along with proselytization, as a foundation for their missionary work. The founder of the Jesuit mission in China, Matteo Ricci, S.J. (1552-1610), decided to commingle Roman Catholicism with the philosophical school of *Rujia*<sup>2</sup> of the pre-Qin period (pre-221 B.C.E.) by pointing out linkages between early *Ru* philosophy and Christian theological premises because he perceived linkages in earlier *Ru* thought and Christianity. He coined the

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<sup>1</sup> “The Triumph of Science and the Arts” is in the collection of the Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu, (formerly Hermanstadt), Romania. The complete name of the artist is Johann Michael Rottmayr von Rosenbrunn. For a black and white reproduction and introduction see, Erich Hubala, *Johann Michael Rottmayr* (Series Grosse Meister, Epochen und Themen der Österreichischen Kunst, (Wien: Verlag Herold, 1981), entry G48, plate 192. See Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> On the meaning of the term *Ru*, see Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, *Gifts, Favors, and Banquets: The Art of Social Relationships in China* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 214. Yang notes that *Rujia*, translated as “School of the Weak,” was a philosophical school of the Spring and Autumn period (772-481 B.C.E.) that stressed the importance of ritual (*li*) in socio-political life, and *li* developed into Confucianism and state orthodoxy in Han times (after 206 B.C.E.). Further elaboration of evolution of *Ruism* appears in Chapter Two in relation to other philosophical schools of thought of early China. Essentially, the contest over deciding how to order socio-political life between ritualists (*lijia* 禮家), advocates of rituals, and legalists (*fajia* 法家), advocates of strict laws, remained a fundamental point of contention from antiquity to the present in China. This topic is germane to law in China.

A note on the usage of terms that Chinese, Manchus, and Westerners all used during Ming-Qing times to refer to Europeans or themselves is introduced here. The earliest European priests in China were generally called “Men from the West” (*Xiyang ren*), Western Ruists (*Xiru*), and Scholar-Priests (*Xiushi*). They engaged in China in what they called “Heavenly Studies” (*tianxue* 天學) in an effort to introduce Christianity to China, most widely known as *Tianzhu jiao* 天主教, or the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven. When the Men from the West learned the term that designates the classical Zhou dynasty (1045-256 B.C.E.) defensive foreign policy notion of “welcoming men from afar” (*rouyuan ren* 柔遠人), they embraced it as grounds for pleading their case to remain in China. Europeans sometimes were addressed as Men from Afar, among other terms.

term *Yuanru* (translated as Original *Ru*/Original Literati Teaching 原儒) and claimed that *Yuanru* contained within it a natural religion, one that anticipated the revealed religion of Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

Ricci's mission approach evolved during an intense two-decade long period of study about China, first in Macao and then in China. During the first twelve-year stage from 1583 to 1595, he and his confrere Michele Ruggieri, S.J. (1543-1607) received permission to legally reside in Zhaoqing, Guangdong province, where they adopted the contemporary attire of Buddhist priests "to become Chinese," but soon rejected Buddhist attire and that religion's entire teaching in favor of "the habit of the [*Ru*, or Confucian] priests of Peking."<sup>4</sup> Through this transformation, the Jesuits anchored their method of evangelization upon creating a literary

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<sup>3</sup> The role of Alesandro Valignano (1539-1606) in formulating Jesuit policy follows in the next chapter, along with details on Ricci's catechism. D. E. Mungello observes that the Chinese-Christian synthesis of Matteo Ricci represented "...a two-way formula for the intellectual assimilation of China by Europeans as well as for the assimilation of information about Europe by the Chinese" in "The Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Translation Project of the Confucian Four Book" in *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773*, ed. by Charles E. Ronan, S.J. and Bonnie B. C. Oh (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988), 260. Scholars continue to survey and assess the dimensions of this early modern Sino-European encounter with special attention upon the question of the philosophical and historical accuracy of such terms as "Confucianism," "Neo-Confucianism," and "sinicization." On this point see Benjamin A. Elman, et al. eds. *Rethinking Confucianism, Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam* (Los Angeles: UCLA Monograph Series, 2002), 526-527. For the first unified narrative on the development of modern science, medicine, and technology in China since 1550 see Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms, Science in China, 1550-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), particularly "European *Scientia* and Natural Studies in Ming-Qing China" in the chapter "Natural Studies and the Jesuits," 107-132. Elman illustrates how Matteo Ricci used Scholastic reasoning that included Christian theology and Aristotelian natural studies to prove the "absurdities" of Chinese views toward nature and at the same time to construct the theological proposition that the Chinese before the time of the Qin Emperor (221 B.C.E.) had a knowledge of the monotheistic Christian religion, 117.

<sup>4</sup> Both quotes in this sentence may be found in Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions & Universal Civilization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1977), 44. See Jensen's section "Sinification and the Paths of Enculturation," in which Jensen identifies Michele Ruggieri, S.J. as having expressed the wish to wear Buddhist attire in order "to become Chinese" while his confrere Matteo Ricci, S. J. (1552-1610) became more willing to accept the suggestion of the Zhaoqing official who pointed out that "he would give them the habit of the priests of Peking [*Ru*], which is the most honored one could give," 42. See "The Bridge of Buddhism" for description of early toleration of Buddhist precepts by Francis Xavier, S.J. (1506-1552) and perceived similarities with Christianity, 40. See Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books, Penguin Books, 1986), 100-128, who also describes Ruggieri's and Ricci's ten-year plus period (from 1583 to 1595) of grappling with the question of how to formulate an approach to fitting into Chinese society, along with understanding its various religious traditions and, most importantly, how to introduce Christianity into China. After Ricci first put on his Buddhist robe and shaved his beard, he wrote back to Italy in 1585: "Would that you could see me as I am now: I have become a Chinaman..." 114. Spence stresses that Ricci's transformation to *Ru* identity was neither rapid nor easy because it entailed the need for Ricci to learn Chinese language, culture, and history, and, next, compare Christendom and Chinese civilization.



juncture between the two different civilizations' classical and religious traditions by means of synthesizing selected elements of *Yuanru* and the Chinese Classics (which they transmitted to Europe as Confucian philosophy) with Christian theology. At the end of his first two decades in China, Ricci published the Chinese language catechism *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義) (1603), one among seventeen of his works published in Chinese.<sup>5</sup> The Catechism not only elaborated his Confucian-Christian thesis, but also presented the view that Christian theology completed (or fulfilled) inadequacies of early *Ru* philosophy.<sup>6</sup>

The early Jesuits realized that in order to establish a mission in China, they needed to blend Christianity with local customs and social etiquette. As they gradually took on the identity of the *Ru* literati, they realized that the best way to survive and succeed in China was to make friendships with literati and officials, and thereby gain the opportunity to convert Chinese. In China the Jesuits coupled their respect for learning with early ritualists' discourse of "human feelings" (*renqing* 人情).<sup>7</sup> The Jesuits sought patronage relationships in the Peking court, and those who lived in the provinces did also with local officials. They engaged in translation projects, composed apologetic literature, and wrote numerous tracts in Chinese concerning

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<sup>5</sup> Matteo Ricci, S.J., *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*T'ien-chu Shih-i*), trans. with intro. and notes by Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, S.J. and Chinese-English edition ed. by Edward J. Malatesta, S.J., (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), and Li Madou, Matteo Ricci, 利瑪竇中文著譯集 (Collected works of Li Madou), ed. by Zhu Weizheng 朱維錚, (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Lancashire and Hu, see chapters I-III for Ricci's refutation of Daoism, Buddhism, and Neo-Confucianism, and see chapter IV for Ricci's introduction of Western civilization and Jesus as God. The entire Catechism consists of a dialogue in classical Chinese between a Western Gentleman *xiushi* and a Chinese Gentleman *zhongshi*.

<sup>7</sup> Yang, 67. This discourse on *renqing* may be found in ancient Confucian texts, and the discourse refers to the natural human feelings and emotions found in father-son relationships, family and kin relationships, and friendships. In her glossary, Yang further defines *renqing* as "personal tie of affect or obligation," 329. Her anthropological research on modern China and the transformation of the discourse of *renqing* in post-Liberation China to "*Guanxixue*," (the study of relationships/personal relations, which is the object of her study), defines the origin of ritualists discourse on *li*. She claims "...rituals were a constitutive component of ancient Chinese life," 223. She observes: "The early *Rujia* were probably first to thematize ritual as a general category of practices, to point out self-consciously its psychological impact on the person and its ethical and political effects on the social order," 223.

Christianity, and they often relied upon native Chinese or converts in their literary projects. The Jesuits devoted themselves to literate and artistic pursuits not only because other Renaissance-inspired Jesuit educators had so done in Europe, but also because they realized that the antiquity and sophistication of Chinese culture required them to prove to the Chinese the value of European civilization and religion, as well as the possibility that Christianity could be embraced by Chinese.

Numerous critics of the Jesuits have reviled this Jesuit “strategy” as manipulative or unethical.<sup>8</sup> However, the pioneering American historian of Sino-European relations, Donald F. Lach, claimed as early as 1941 that European exploration to East Asia and its resulting exchange represented the meeting of two civilizations.<sup>9</sup> This premise guides the present research, which aims to reveal how the Jesuits of the early China mission understood not only themselves, but also the Chinese rulers of the Ming and the Manchu rulers of the Qing. Historian John W. O’Malley, S. J., proposed a similar approach in *The First Jesuits* (1993). O’Malley maintained that his two research goals aimed to show how the first Jesuits understood themselves and the origins of the Jesuits’ self-understanding, which would provide readers with a series of windows through which they could catch glimpses of seventeenth-century Catholicism.<sup>10</sup> I maintain that

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<sup>8</sup> See Qiong Zhang, “Cultural Accommodation or Intellectual Colonization? A Reinterpretation of the Jesuit Approach to Confucianism During the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996), 20 and especially Chapter Two “The ‘Ricci Method.’” For a less critical view by Qiong Zhang of Jesuit translation projects and cultural exchange see Zhang Qiong, “Translation as Cultural Reform: Jesuit Scholastic Psychology in the Transformation of the Confucian Discourse on Human Nature,” in John W. O’Malley, et al., eds. *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 379. For other Jesuit critics see Blaise Pascal, trans. W. F. Trotter, *Pensées, The Provincial Letters* (New York: Random House, 1941), especially Letters V and XI, “Policy of the Jesuits” and “To the Reverend Fathers, The Jesuits,” respectively. Additional literature appears in following section of “Review of Literature.”

<sup>9</sup> Donald F. Lach, *Contributions of China to German Civilization, 1648-1740* (Ph.D. diss., 1941, University of Chicago), i-iv. Lach’s subsequent scholarship found in the multi-volume series *Asia in the Making of Europe* (1965-1993) minutely detail the complexities of the exchange between China and Europe and vice versa.

<sup>10</sup> John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1-4.

Jesuits in China wedded themselves to the literate classical culture and continuously worked toward widening knowledge concerning the sciences, humanities, arts, and religion not only in China, but also between China and Europe.

In the late seventeenth century, when controversy among European Catholics and Jansenists arose over Jesuit claims that ancient Chinese had knowledge of Christian Revelation, the most gifted French astronomer, Fr. Antoine Gaubil, S. J. (1689-1759), regarded the Jesuit Confucian-Christian synthesis as an example of “historiographic bluster.”<sup>11</sup> Gaubil’s attitude reveals that even among the Jesuits space for varying opinions and approaches existed. The present study aims to enlarge understanding of the spirited encounter that French, Bavarians, Italians, Slavs, Swiss, and other Europeans experienced with Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, adherents of Islam, and other minority groups in China’s long eighteenth-century. The focal point of research rests upon examining the literature the Jesuits wrote defending the Christian mission after the Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1723-1735) 1724 proscribed his subjects from practicing Christianity in 1724 and expelled those missionaries to Macao who were not useful in his court.

The original contribution of this research lies in its analysis of the manner in which Jesuits of the eighteenth-century China mission reported on and reacted to the 1724 imperial proscription of Christianity in memorials and books during the early Qing (1644-1911). The Jesuits who served in the court wrote memorials in which they cited historical and legal precedents to court officials and the emperor in an attempt to convince them that Christianity

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<sup>11</sup> Elman, 172. In personal correspondence with Dr. Elman (11/6/07), he identified Florence C. Hsia’s *French Jesuits and the mission to China: Science, religion, history*, Ph.D. diss. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1999) as the source of this observation. See Hsia who writes that Father Gaubil, regarded as the most brilliant of the French Jesuits in astronomical and historical questions, regarded French Figurists’ interpretation of Chinese observation records and other kinds of textual evidence as “flagrant disregard for the literary and historical legacy of the Chinese,” 215.

was not a heterodox belief (or cult) and that the government should rescind the proscription order and return to the open and tolerant policy of welcoming foreigners, which they pointed out the second Qing emperor had begun. Beginning in early 1724, the Jesuits continually attempted to justify the presence of all Catholic missionaries in China, as well as all Catholic communities, in response to the Yongzheng Emperor's proscription order. They hoped to convince the emperor to reverse his ruling. The memorials that they submitted to the court continually stressed the merits of the Jesuits' contributions to China, plus instances of imperial support for Christianity. Next, they published their Chinese language memorials for distribution to sympathetic officials in order to win further support.

This topic of research has not been previously undertaken, nor has the significance of the rare book entitled the *Ruijianlu* (睿鑒錄 Record of Sage Scrutiny)<sup>12</sup> (1735-1737) been treated in a paper or dissertation. No scholarly works have pointed out that a nearly fully translated text of the *Ruijianlu* appeared in the eighteenth-century collection of Jesuit letters entitled *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*.<sup>13</sup> This topic interfaces with several major fields of research in East Asian studies, namely, Chinese legal history, Chinese institutional history, the history of religion in China, anthropology, Sino-European cultural history, and the history of Christianity in China. This topic also fits into World History.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ignatius Kögler, S.J. *Ruijianlu* (睿鑒錄 *The Record of Sage Scrutiny*) (Peking: 1735-1737, no publishing house given), 16 double sided pages numbered QL1\* pages 1-6; QL2 pages 1-5; QL3 pages 1-5. (\*QL1= Qianlong reign period, first year, and QL2 and so on.) I consulted this rare book held in the Casanatense Library, Rome, Ms. 2101, microfiche 1019 and also the copy held in the BFN, Paris, Ms. 1337.

<sup>13</sup> *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ed. by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, 34 vols., (Paris: J. Cusson, 1702-1776). See footnote 29 below for further details on the French letters.

<sup>14</sup> S. A. M. Adshead, *China in World History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1999). Adshead approaches Sino-European relations from the point of view that this field is none other than World History, 269.

Just as Lach stressed that the exchange between China and Europe represented the meeting of two civilizations, the antiquity of both China and Europe's histories also must be stressed. The manner in which Ricci put on the garb of the *Ru* literati shares parallel symbolism with Rottmayr's allegorical painting of "The Triumph of Science and the Arts" because in both instances external visual symbols signified power and cultural importance. For example, we can interpret the female Roman mythological figures in Rottmayr's painting as embodiments of the political power and desire for *gloire* that the expanding Austrian Empire of Rottmayr's times aimed to fulfill. The bottom plane of the painting consists of a sturdy foundation of handsomely bound tomes of European classical learning. A powerful figure of Minerva, goddess of wisdom, invention, the arts, and martial prowess, draws the eye of the viewer to the mid-section of the painting. Her foot rests upon Saturn, god of fertility and agriculture. Around this exuberant feminine symbol of the European creative imagination appear the tools of science, calipers and measuring instruments, and muses industriously creating applied and visual arts. Two winged goddesses of victory float above Minerva, trumpeting the glory of the arts and sciences. The composition of the canvas points toward Heaven. This allegorical painting symbolizes the promise and rewards that science and Christendom, clothed in classical garb, held for the faithful. The imagery in the canvas exudes strength and determination, characteristics of Baroque sensibilities. These symbols of Rottmayr's allegory float in the space of the painter's canvas, much the same way as words flow across the written page--for both images and words have encoded meanings. This painting depicts an idealized image of the dynamic culture of seventeenth-century Europe and also the reality of the "Republic of Letters" that learned

European men sought to establish not only in their homeland, but also between Europe and China.<sup>15</sup>

However, the situation of Christianity in China by 1724 was far from such an ideal image of religious and cultural exchange because in that year an imperial edict outlawed the Christian religion in the Manchu Qing empire (1644-1912). In the memorial submitted in 1723 by the governor-general of Fujian that led to the imperial rescript outlawing Christianity, the Manchu official Gioro Mamboo (覺羅滿保) (1673-1725, *jinsi* degree) charged that Christianity violated Qing law. The governor-general pointed out that Christian teachings undermined imperial authority, destroyed cherished social mores, and contradicted the classical teachings of Chinese sages. Mamboo classified Christianity as an illegal sect, one termed “heterodox” according to the Qing Code. He further stressed that Christians failed to follow rituals of mourning and commemoration for deceased family members, which were prescribed by law.<sup>16</sup> Governor-general Mamboo’s indictments against Christianity echoed similar past complaints against the religion. His vituperative attack on the religion identified his position in the emperor’s service as one who sought to uphold Qing law. Indeed, some Christian converts and some missionaries advocated smashing ancestor tablets and carrying out Christian obsequies, and

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<sup>15</sup> In BNF Ms. Fr.: 17240 f° “*Lettre de P. Bouvet à Monsieur l’Abbé Bignon*, 15 1bre 1704,” 17-39, Joachim Bouvet, S.J. (1656-1730) uses the term *République des lettres* in the letter he wrote from China to the future director of the King’s Library. Bouvet noted the delight he felt upon hearing that the books he had sent from China to Europe arrived there safely. He observed: “This should incite you with new zeal for your project of forging an alliance in the sciences between Europe and China....” Florence Hsia notes that while the Jesuit mathematicians in China were “honorary members” of the French Academy, she points out that historian Alice Stroup characterized them more pragmatically as “the Academy’s proxy in the Far East,” 5. Hsia observes that the Academy served as adjudicator of the French scientific community and indeed of the entire Republic of Letters and that physicist Ignace Gaston Pardies (1636-1673) called the Academy “a sovereign Court” whose judgements were as “Decrees among the Savants,” 24. On the Republic of Letters also see, Noel Malcolm “Private and Public Knowledge: Kircher, Esotericism, and the Republic of Letters,” in Paula Findlen, ed. *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 297-311. Cécile and Michel Beurdeley note this ideal of world scholarship in *Giuseppe Castiglione, A Jesuit Painter in the Court of the Chinese Emperors* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972), 7. They write that Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz had envisioned a ‘Philadelphic Society’ in which scholars of the entire world, including the Far East, were fraternally to exchange ‘the light of knowledge.’

<sup>16</sup> A translation of this memorial appears in Appendix 1.6, and it is discussed further in chapters 3 and 4.

such behavior clearly broke Qing law. This confrontation over the Catholic faith in China simultaneously represented clashes over social customs, political authority, and cultural norms, and the protagonists consisted of not just Europeans and Chinese, but also Manchus and missionaries affiliated with such diverse orders as the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and other missionary groups.

Similar charges against Christianity made in 1616 may be found in the three memorials “impeaching barbarians” submitted to the throne by Shen Que, a vice-minister in the Nanking Board of Rites, which resulted in the proscription of Christianity in early 1617.<sup>17</sup> The causes of the first proscription of Christianity in China in early 1617 is the focal point of Edward Thomas Kelly’s dissertation *The Anti-Christian Persecution of 1616-1617 in Nanking* (1971). According to the three memorials Shen Que submitted to the throne, the presence of Jesuit missionaries in China went against Ming law; therefore, he recommended that missionaries should be tried according to the law and expelled. The vice-minister of the Nanking Board of Rites charged that the tenets and practice of Christianity deviated from Chinese political norms and transgressed Confucian-based law. He labeled Christianity an illegal heterodox belief and charged that missionaries abused the postal system, acted as spies, and possibly colluded with forces that were planning to invade China. He objected to the manner in which missionaries used the character *Tian* (Heaven 天) to translate the Christian God (*Tianzhu* 天主) into Chinese, charging that this undermined the imperial prerogative of the emperor of China who had the exclusive privilege of

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<sup>17</sup> Edward Thomas Kelly, *The Anti-Christian Persecution of 1616-1617 in Nanking* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971), 277-309. Kelly translated the following memorials: Shen Que’s memorials entitled *Canyuan yishu* (參遠夷疏 Memiors Impeaching Distant Barbarians) that appear in the *Poxieji* (破邪集 A Collection of Writings Exposing Heterodoxy) compiled by Xu Changzhi, 8 juan. Japanese ed. 1855, 1.5a-16b; the important memorial of Xu Guangqi that defended Christianity, namely, *Bianxue zhangshu* (辨學章疏 A Memorial in Defense of Christian Learning) in *The Collected Writings of Xu Guangqi* ed. by Wang Zhongmin, 2 vols. (Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), II: 431-36; and finally, the apologetic memorial written by Yang Tingyun entitled *Xiaohuan bu bing mingshuo* (鴞鸞不並鳴說) (The Owl and the Phoenix do not Sing Together) in *Tianzhu jiao dongchuan wenxian xubian* 3 vols. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1966), 1:39-147.

using such terms as *Tianwang* (King of Heaven 天王). Finally, he objected to novel Jesuit astronomical theories, which he claimed could destroy harmonious relationships between the celestial bodies and earth.<sup>18</sup>

After he submitted his first memorial, Shen Que, the Jesuits, and important scholar-officials such as the Christian converts Xu Guangqi (1562-1633) and Yang Tingyun (1562-1627) all presented memorials to the emperor in which they pleaded for their own interests and attempted to win imperial sympathy. Nevertheless, the Wanli Emperor (r. 1573-1620) sided with Shen Que, and the government expelled two missionaries and others went into hiding. A recent re-examination of the Nanjing persecution by the historian of Christianity in China Adrian Dudink scrutinizes the original collection of memorials and documents issued by Shen Que entitled the *Nangong shudu* (1620).<sup>19</sup> Dudink has shown how Xu Changzhi, the compiler of the *Poxieji*, left out some ninety-two folios of memorials, documents, and rescripts when he published the *Poxieji* (1640). These findings regarding the rescripts written on the inventories of seized Jesuit goods by officials who reviewed the inventories provide more examples of how late Ming officials judged many aspects of missionary activity as breaking Ming law. Dudink provides translations of rescripts that recorded that the missionaries kept in their possession Chinese books, ceramics adorned with dragons (the imperial symbol), and astronomical instruments, and according to the Ming Code possession of these items constituted a violation the Code.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, one rescript declared: “To depict someone nailed is a heterodox art for

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 35-36 and 261-262.

<sup>19</sup> Adrian Dudink, “The Inventories of the Jesuit House at Nanking Made up During the Persecution of 1616-1617 (Shen Que, *Nangong shudu*, 1620)” in *Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (XVII-XVIII centuries)* Federico Masini, ed. (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1996), 119-120.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 136-140.



incurring someone's death."<sup>21</sup> Another rescript condemned the use of such expressions by missionaries such as " '...receiving Heaven' ['s influence] (*cheng Tian* 承天) and 'entrusted by Heaven' (*fengtian* 奉天) are expressions which [use] is only allowed in reference to the dwelling of the Son of Heaven."<sup>22</sup> This rescript stipulated that missionaries' books, printing blocks, and other items should be broken into fragments and burned. Shen Que's third memorial impeaching barbarians had stressed that the missionaries' publishing activities in China constituted illegal activities according to Ming law.<sup>23</sup> Dudink's findings provide further evidence of how officials evaluated missionary activity as violating Chinese law. The first persecution in Nanjing in 1616 was a mild one, certainly in comparison to the policies of Tokugawa, Japan, of the same era, which aimed to eradicate Christianity by means of executions and trials of every Japanese subject suspected of any type of association with Christianity. In China the missionaries came out of hiding, and during the subsequent reigns of the first two Qing emperors (Shunzhi, 1644-1661 and Kangxi, 1662-1722), the missionaries received numerous imperial favors that they recorded and publicized whenever any other critic brought up similar charges. In the French and Chinese apologetic literature they composed, the Jesuits consistently attempted to deflect damaging legal judgments against Christianity.

The focal point of this study is to show how passages in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* that describe the 1724 proscription, along with Chinese language memorials composed by the Jesuits, all aimed to defend Christianity against opponents and contained evidence meant to

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 142. See footnote 30 page 139 which identifies this violation of the Ming Code under "Prohibition on the use of utensils" in the *Mingshi* (History of the Ming), and the identical text appears in the *Daming Huidian* (Collected statutes of the Ming dynasty) 1587. The Qing dynasty adopted these same regulations.

<sup>23</sup> Kelly, *The Anti-Christian Persecution of 1616-1617*, 288.

convince officials to reverse the 1724 proscription. I identify how the Jesuits used apologetic literature composed in French and Chinese in which they cited Chinese legal notions and historical precedents to defend Christianity and Christian communities in China, and my approach is unique. The Jesuits of the eighteenth century continually relied on apologetics to attempt to convince Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) officials to adopt a less harsh policy toward Christianity after the Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1723-1735) proscribed the religion in 1724.

Similarities between the first proscription in 1617 and the 1724 proscription will be pointed out continually in this study. The similarities between the first and last proscription of Christianity are numerous and striking. Critics of Christianity in both centuries voiced and penned similar objections to the foreign religion.<sup>24</sup> They raised such questions as: Was not Christ himself an outlaw, and, therefore, not worthy of emulation?<sup>25</sup> They read the first and last characters in the Chinese language combination for the term Christian monastery *Shizisi* 十字寺 as signaling death because the last character *si* for monastery also rhymed with the Chinese word for death, and they claimed superstitiously that the sound *shisi* was a bad omen?<sup>26</sup> They often pointed out that the religion was heterodox and violated Chinese law.

This charge of heterodoxy receives detailed attention throughout this study. In Chapter Two the definition of heterodoxy in relation to Confucian notions of political and religious orthodoxy aims to illuminate Chinese cultural values and beliefs regarding law, religion, and politics in relation to the re-introduction of Christianity in China in the early modern period. It must be stressed that Chinese cultural and religious beliefs were not static. For example, popular

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<sup>24</sup> Christian communities resided in China during earlier periods, but a full description of this early history is beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>25</sup> Kelly, *The Anti-Christian Persecution of 1616-1617*, see Shen Que's second memorial, 287.

<sup>26</sup> The term used for Christian places of worship since the Yuan period (1264-1368) was *Shizisi* (十字寺 Monastery of the Cross).

religious movements in China such as the White Lotus Society provide evidence of “cults” and the protean nature of religious belief, which government officials labeled as heterodoxy and as a challenge to Confucian orthodoxy. Missionaries continually tried to distance Christianity from labeling that associated it with such cults. Even though some scholar officials criticized and denounced Christianity, the Christian religion received imperial sanctions during the early Qing dynasty (1644-1911). These cases of imperial patronage and sanctions of Christianity were often described in Jesuit memorials as comprising a “near two-hundred-year presence of the European missionaries in China” and as a time when significant intellectual and cultural exchange took place between the Men from the West and East Asian literati and converts. However, the Jesuits’ presence calculated from 1583 until the 1724 proscription only equaled 141 years! This period has received renewed attention during the past three decades by Asian studies specialists in Europe, East Asia, and the United States. Present interest in this field may be characterized as a “boom of interest,” which includes approaching the field from the multiple perspectives of art history, anthropology, cultural studies, textual studies, theology, and religion.<sup>27</sup>

The fields of jurisprudence and comparative law may be added to the list of multiple perspectives from which Sino-European relations may be analyzed. This study offers the first analysis of the manner in which the Jesuits used legal and historical precedents to defend Christianity after the Yongzheng Emperor agreed with recommendations from literati-officials to outlaw the religion. A defense of the Jesuit mission and Christianity that relies on citation of

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<sup>27</sup> I quote Fr. Antoni Üçerler, S.J., resident fellow in ARSI, Rome, who used the term “boom of interest.” He said one out of four visitors to the archives comes to look at the collections relating to East Asia, (19, Jan., 2007).

Chinese historical and legal precedents<sup>28</sup> may be found in the letter of Father Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, S.J. (1669-1748) written on 24 October 1724 “On the Proscription of Christianity” to an unknown recipient in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (1702-1776),<sup>29</sup> and also in other Chinese language apologetic Jesuit literature<sup>30</sup> composed in the eighteenth

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<sup>28</sup> The terms “historical and legal precedents” in China share great similarity with the manner in which these terms were used in Europe; however, the cultural context was different, and Chapter Two addresses the context of precedents in Chinese civilization. The Dutch scholar Erik Zürcher has noted that the Jesuits cited historical precedents in Erik Zürcher, “Jesuit Accommodation and the Chinese Cultural Imperative” in D. E. Mungello, ed., *The Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning* (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag), 31-64, see especially 52; see also “From ‘Jesuit Studies’ to Western Learning,” W. Ming and J. Cayley, eds. *Europe Studies China: Papers from an International Conference on the History of European Sinology*, (London: Han Shan Tang Books, 1995), 264-279.

<sup>29</sup> The first edition of this collection has the title *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ed. by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, S.J., 34 vols., (Paris: J. Cusson, 1702-1776). When I began my research in 1999, access to early editions was limited to rare book collections. Therefore, I was only able to exhaustively read the Harvard University held Panthéon edition that circulated entitled *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant L’Asie L’Afrique et L’Amérique, avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions, et des notes géographiques et historiques*, ed. by M. L. Aimé-Martin, 4 vols. (Paris: Société du Panthéon Littéraire, 1838-1843), vol. 3: 346-366. In May 2006, books.google.com posted a version of the first two volumes of the Panthéon edition held by Harvard University. In June 2007 the University of Michigan digitalized the entire *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 26 vols. (Paris: J.G. Merigot, 1780-1783), along with the Nicolas Le Clerc 1707-1776 edition, 34 vols. in 32 vols. To view these collections and other related information go to [mirlyn.lib.umich.edu](http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu) and enter *Lettres édifiantes*, which links to UM electronic books and google.books. John Lockman’s abridged English translation of the letters is now digitalized, see UM catalogue. In my appendix introduction, I compare differences in the various French editions.

Hereafter, the abbreviation LEC is used to indicate the letters cited from the Panthéon edition and citations of other editions will be noted. In the body of this study, the shortened form of the title “*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*” is used to refer to the collection of letters. The French letters present a primary source of information on China. Indeed, assessing the question of the reliability and accuracy of the information in the published letters forms a central part of the present research. Only six original manuscript letters are extant, and four are held in the National Library in Paris and two are held in the Central Archives of the Province of Paris in Vanves, a suburb of Paris. Previously this collection had been in Chantilly, and in the late 1990s the Chantilly collection was divided between Vanves and the Jesuit Archives of Lyons. After the Paris Parlement outlawed the Society of Jesus in France in the 1770s, all Jesuit property was confiscated. On the probable destruction of the letters by fire in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près, where they had been stored, see Joseph Brucker, S.J., “Episode d’une confiscation, 1762. Les manuscrits jésuites de Paris,” *Études* 88 (1901), 497.

<sup>30</sup> It should be noted that Kelly used the term “apostolic literature” to refer to tracts the Jesuits composed to introduce Christianity, and he also uses the term “Christian apologetics” to describe works written in defense of Christianity. The second edition of *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines apologetics as the argumentative defense of Christianity. Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei* is cited as “. . .an apologetic work in so far as it endeavors to show that Christianity and the church are the only ark of safety. . .” 535.

In the online edition of *The Concise Oxford English of World Religions*, apologetics is defined as the defense, or commendation, of a religion. The name “Apologetics” is given to the earliest group of Christian writers who (c. 120-220) composed defenses of Christianity addressed to educated outsiders. The term apologetic may refer to both explaining and defending in speech or writing. Oxford Reference Online Premium, [www.oxfordreference.com](http://www.oxfordreference.com), 02/24/06.

century.<sup>31</sup>

The following chapters will show how Jesuit apologetics defended Christianity specifically by the continual citation of Chinese legal notions that made Christianity seem to fit into Qing society and by the association of Christianity with the early teaching of Confucius, or *Yuanru*. This approach represented an integral part of the mission strategy of the Society of Jesus, along with the Jesuit “apostolate through books” *Apostolat der Presse*,<sup>32</sup> namely their apostolic mission in the form of printed literature.

The reaction of the court Jesuits to the proscription of Christianity in 1724 echoed in many respects the manner in which Jesuits had weathered attacks on Roman Catholicism by anti-Christian opponents in both the Ming and early Qing.<sup>33</sup> These opponents consisted of persons or groups from various ethnicities and religious affiliations: Han literati (the historically dominant ethnic group in China); Manchu literati (descendants of the ethnic Manchu tribesman who had gained control of China in 1644); and Hui or Islamic literati. (Muslims had resided in eastern

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<sup>31</sup> “*Lettre du Père de Mailla au Père \*\*\*. Proscription de la religion chrétienne. A Pékin, ce 16 octobre 1724*” (Letter of Father de Mailla to Father \*\*\*. On the Proscription of the Christian religion. Written in Peking on 16 October 1724). The recipient of Father de Mailla’s letter remains unknown. However it is known that Father Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674-1743) served as one of the editors of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.

<sup>32</sup> Ad Dudink and Nicolas Standaert, 4.1.2. “Apostolate through Books” in Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635-1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 600-631. The authors note that the term “apostolate through books” comes from the German *Apostolat der Presse*. The apostolate through books represented the early Catholic missionaries’ desire to fully take advantage of the well-developed printing industry in China in order to both spread the Christian religion and to counter opponents of Christianity. The authors have identified 470 Chinese language texts (and some 20 Manchu texts) related to moral and religious issues that may be categorized as descriptions and translations of humanistic writings, Aristotelian philosophy, catechetical and theological writings, apologetic writings; biographies of saints and sages; the Bible; sacraments and liturgy; prayers, prayer books and spiritual writings; and books in Manchu. Earlier bibliographies of Chinese language apostolic literature were written by Henri Bernard in 1945. At present a list of Chinese language books that represent the apostolate through books is in preparation.

<sup>33</sup> Ad Dudink, “2.6.3. Opponents” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 503-526. In his chapter on “Opponents,” Dudink uses the term “anti-Christian incidents” to describe those movements in which various groups or persons criticized or attacked Christianity, and he labeled such groups or persons as “anti-Christian opponents.” Dudink describes the social or religious affiliations of those opponents. He also uses the term “anti-Christian texts” to describe the Chinese language literature that criticized Christian theology and mission work. This terminology represents usage in the field of the history of Christianity in China.

China and western cities and territories since the Tang dynasty. Some Muslims served in the bureaucracy while others had key roles in the imperial Bureau of Astronomy). Members of the Buddhist and Daoist<sup>34</sup> clergy also vehemently opposed Christianity largely because Catholics labeled these religions as superstitions. Missionaries wrote books critical of Buddhism and debated points of theology with Buddhist monks. Another category of anti-Christian opponents consisted of members of the Manchu court who perceived Christianity as a threat to political stability. No European Protestant missionaries resided in China until the nineteenth century; therefore, Protestants played no role in this religious controversy.

While historians have stressed openness to foreign influence in Chinese culture in certain periods of history (particularly the Tang [618-907] and Yuan [1264-1368]), a long, gradual process of turning inward is identifiable during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644).<sup>35</sup> Even though the Ming was remarkably prosperous, the government enacted restrictive policies on trade. Chinese ethnocentrism increased during this period and resulted in increased chauvinism, which in its most extreme form expressed itself as xenophobia.

The Manchu rulers of the Qing laid the foundation for their conquest of China by means of gradual consolidation of power in the northeast from 1610 to 1644. The chieftain Nurgaci (d. 1626) laid the foundation for the conquest of the Ming. He organized a tribal confederation of steppe chieftains, consisting of multiethnic forces of sinicized Manchus, Mongols, and Chinese “transfrontiersmen” living in the northeast. Nurgaci’s reorganization of tribal groups into units

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<sup>34</sup> The term “Daoist” is spelled using *pinyin* and follows the usage of Jonathan D. Spence and D. E. Mungello. Some scholars still use the Wade-Giles spelling of “Taoism.”

<sup>35</sup> See Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire: A History of China to 1600* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 1-15 and D. E. Mungello (2005), 30.

named “banners” had transformed a clan federation into a military state.<sup>36</sup> His successor Dorgon continued leading forces southward from the Manchu capital of Shenyang to the Shanhaiguan Pass in the Great Wall. In the spring of 1644, the Chinese general Wu Sangui (d. 1678) formed an alliance with the Manchus to defeat the rebel forces of Li Zicheng (d. 1645), which had seized the capital and looted it. Consolidation of Qing power continued into the reign of the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1662-1723), who deployed forces against Wu after the general turned on the Qing.

Multiethnic and religious concerns, which fundamentally related to issues of political control, remained an important consideration for Manchu rulers throughout the Qing. Historian Patricia Berger characterizes the Qing as “... a dynasty that funneled immense resources into their religious projects through the Imperial Household Department (*Neiwufu*) and the Ministry of Rites (*Libu*).”<sup>37</sup> The first three Qing emperors established dozens of Buddhist temples in Peking, mostly devoted to Tibetan Buddhism, and within those temples Tibetan Buddhists also carried out mandatory Confucian rituals of state. The emperors also provided funds for the following: shrines to Manchu spirits, Christian churches, and Daoist temples. Berger stresses that Manchu policy toward diverse religions did not indicate

...that they were intent on creating an egalitarian multiculturalism; but rather that they saw the value of controlling newly conquered territories by speaking to subjects in their own native languages and through the medium of their own cultural practices.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Frederic Wakeman, Jr. *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 1:58.

<sup>37</sup> Patricia Berger, “Religion” in *China, The Three Emperors, 1662-1795*, ed. by Evelyn S. Rawski and Jessica Rawson (London: Royal Academy of Arts), 130.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Berger’s chapter on religion only mentions imperial support for Christian churches in contrast to detailed description of Manchu support for various schools of Buddhism. However, the note to the painting “*Ten Thousand Dharmas Return as One*” explains that the Bohemian Jesuit painter Ignaz Sichelbarth (1708-1780) and a group of Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian artists led by the court painter Yao Wenhan produced this painting for the Qianlong Emperor to celebrate the “return” or submission of the Torghut Mongols to the Qing state. The screen painting was designed to be a backdrop for Qianlong Emperor’s reception of his Mongol allies in his yurt at Chengde. This painting and the artists who executed it attest to the multi-cultural composition of the Qing and to the complexity of religion and diplomacy in the empire.

Around 1675 the Kangxi Emperor bestowed upon the Jesuits a token of imperial favor when he wrote on a tablet the two characters *Jingtian* 敬天 (Revere Heaven, a term which came from classical texts) to be distributed to and placed in all churches. This signaled his tacit approval of Christianity at a time when imperial support for the religion was ambiguous because in 1671 a ban on the Catholic mission was partially lifted, but a qualification in the ruling stated that no new converts should be made or churches built.<sup>39</sup>

The Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736-1795), as his predecessors likewise had, considered himself the ruler of five peoples: the Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, and Chinese.<sup>40</sup> He used these five different languages as the official languages of the empire. The Qing rulers also accepted the Confucian canon as the foundation for the civil service examinations. They issued decrees with clear Confucian content and interpreted Confucian values stringently.<sup>41</sup> Finally, Qing rulers patronized Chinese arts and literature. The significance of Qing history, Manchu identity, and the assumption that non-Han peoples of the Qing underwent a total and continual process of “sinicization” remain key issues of interest for historians of East Asia.<sup>42</sup>

The survival of the Catholic mission ultimately depended upon the will of the Yongzheng Emperor and whether he wished to extend to the missionaries the patronage that his father and grandfather had bestowed upon them. The Yongzheng Emperor’s decision to proscribe

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<sup>39</sup> Ad Dudink, 2.6.3. “Opponents” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 515.

<sup>40</sup> Evelyn S. Rawski, “Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History” *Journal of Asian Studies* (1996), 835.

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, the Yongzheng edition of the Kangxi Emperor’s *Sacred Edict* discussed in Chapter Two, and the *pailou* memorials (commemorative gates for chaste widows), which extolled female chastity in Chapter Four.

<sup>42</sup> Rawski, “Presidential Address,” 829-850. These issues are separate (albeit related) subjects to this study.



Christianity represented a change in Qing policy toward the Catholic missionaries, but not a surprising or radical turn in policy as the following chapters will show.

This long list of anti-Christian opponents suggests the complexity of Ming and Qing social and political life. The first two rulers of the Manchu dynasty, the Shunzhi Emperor (r. 1644-1661) and the Kangxi Emperor, both showed extraordinary favor and openness to court Jesuits to whom they granted imperial protection and positions as astronomers, tutors, diplomats, and artists, among other vocations. The young Shunzhi Emperor developed a close relationship with the German Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666), the first European head of the Chinese Bureau of Astronomy, whom he favored so much that he allowed the Jesuit official to present memorials directly to the throne, by-passing the usual official screening process.<sup>43</sup> He summoned Schall to his personal quarters in the palace or visited the nearby Jesuit residence where he discussed religious matters and affairs of state with the priest who was then in his sixties and who the emperor affectionately addressed as *mafa*, the Manchu term for grandpa. While looking at an illustrated book of the life of Christ, the young emperor fell down upon his knees in sorrow when he learned of the crucifixion of Christ. The Shunzhi Emperor came the closest of any of the Chinese emperors to consenting to baptism.<sup>44</sup>

The Kangxi Emperor employed court Jesuits as personal tutors and appointed them to positions in the central government bureaucracy, as his father had done. He also granted gifts to them. He protected Christianity when he issued an edict in 1692 favorable to Christianity, one that Jesuits termed “The Edict of Toleration.” In response to both imperial and literati support of

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<sup>43</sup> D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 32-33.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 33. Mungello used the following source for this observation: Alfons Văth, *Johann Schall von Bell, S.J. Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592-1666*, 1933; rev. ed. (Nettetal, Germany: Steyler Verlag, 1991), 198-199.

Christianity in China, a tradition had evolved during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries among the Christian missionaries and converts to collect sympathetic memorials and edicts so that they could demonstrate how much emperors, officials, and other literati respected their doctrine.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the listing of sympathetic memorials by Father de Mailla (a technique found in other Jesuit letters in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*) was not a “new” rhetorical tactic. At the same time, Father de Mailla’s letter “On the Proscription of Christianity” also listed unsympathetic memorials to Christianity (a practice also found in other Jesuit letters in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*). The inclusion of memorials critical of Christianity in the French letters fits into the Jesuit apologetic strategy of portraying mission work in heroic positive terms and depicting adversaries as lacking in understanding of the Christian position. This example of the publication of detailed memorials likewise followed European publishing traditions traceable to the early modern era of European exploration. The European book trade had first published laws and decretals from overseas countries, and this gave way after 1550 to the publication of great collections of travel literature. Historian Donald F. Lach has noted: “While travel collections were being printed in Europe, Protestants and Catholics were compiling vast numbers of sources to support their polemical attacks upon each other.”<sup>46</sup> Lach further observed: “The interest in new lands, however, was not yet vitally affected by Christian differences....” However, beginning in the 1640s, Rome became involved in mediating and judging questions primarily concerned with Jesuit toleration of Chinese rituals for the deceased. These “intra-order disputes” that had begun in China among missionaries of various orders took on an international

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<sup>45</sup> Ad Dudink, 1.1.4. “Published collections of edicts and memorials” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 131-134. The seventeenth-century apologetic texts are held in European archives and some appear in collections published in China in the nineteenth century.

<sup>46</sup> Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe: The Century of Discovery*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 204.

dimension as they became argued not only in East Asia but also in the Holy Office and Paris.<sup>47</sup> What became known as the Terms and Rites Controversy forms a central theme in this study because the French letters may be understood as an indirect offensive response to papal rulings against Jesuit tolerance of Chinese rites, a point that is further elaborated in relation to the publication of the letters in Paris.<sup>48</sup>

Imperial protection of Christianity reached its height during the reigns of the first two Qing emperors. The issuance of an edict by the Yongzheng Emperor in 1724 that proscribed Christianity and closed churches undermined the Catholic Church in China and also drove the Church underground. Nevertheless, court Jesuits attempted to defend Catholicism during the Yongzheng Emperor's reign, as well as during the long reign of his son, the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736-1796), a time when the emperor approved the issuance of additional strict government restrictions against the Christian religion. During the Qianlong reign, the court Jesuits continued to defend Christianity by citing government cases or precedents from the past that had favored their religion.

As noted earlier, in the seventeenth century both missionaries and Chinese Christians had begun writing and collecting examples of favorable assessments of Christianity. Three major seventeenth-century collections of memorials belonging to this genre of apologetic literature exist. The first two collections were compiled during the period of anti-Christian incidents in Nanjing in 1616-1617, and then in Fujian in 1638. The famous Christian literatus Yang Tingyun

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<sup>47</sup> George Minamiki, S.J., *The Chinese Rites Controversy from Its Beginning to Modern Times* (Chicago: Loyola University Press), 1985, 25.

<sup>48</sup> Further analysis of the Terms and Rites Controversy appears in Chapter One, Section 2. On the capitalization of terms, such as the seventeenth century Terms and Rites Controversy, accepted forms of capitalization in the field of East Asian studies and the history of Christianity in China will be followed. Current conventions on capitalization in the field of the history of Christianity in China favor lower case usage, e.g., Qing court, court painters, and court artisans. The terms "court Jesuits" and "court missionaries" refer to specific groups working within the court. Jesuits predominated in the court, but priests from other orders also served there.

compiled the first collection named *A Collection of Complete Texts of the Anti-Prayer Movement* (*Juejiao tongwen ji* 絕徽同文紀) in late 1615.<sup>49</sup> Father Giulio Aleni, S.J. (1582-1649) is credited with compiling the second work *The Veneration of Orthodoxy of our Glorious [Ming] Dynasty* (*Xichao chongzheng ji* 熙朝崇正集), which was published in 1639. The third important collection compiled by Father Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) is named *Judgements of our Glorious [Qing] Dynasty* (*Xichao ding'an* 熙朝定案). The documents in this collection tell the story of his victories in the Astronomical Bureau when he managed to defend “Western” astronomy in 1669 against the attacks of the vehement Christian opponent Yang Guangxian.<sup>50</sup>

The Jesuits are considered the first Western sinologists because they were the first group to systematically undertake studies of Chinese language, literature, socio-political history, and

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<sup>49</sup> Ad Dudink, 1.1.4. “Published collections of edicts and memorials” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 131-134.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. Original copies of this may be found in BNF Chinois 1322 (2 juan printed) and in the Jesuit Archives in Rome, ARSI, Jap Sin II, 66, *Xichao ding'an* (熙朝定案 Judgements of our Glorious [Qing] Dynasty). Note: Neither Albert Chan nor Ad Dudink translate the title *Xichao ding'an* into English. However, the Latin annotations on the ARSI Chinese language text help reveal the gist of the collected memorials: “Decreta Imperatoris / in favorem mathe / maticae et PP. / Pekinensium,” and as for the contents: “1. Advocandus P. Thomas / 2. Beneficiis cumulate Patres in via Kang-hi / 3. De tomentis tchong-tien / 4. Moscoviti adorant in templo S.J. / 5. De canalibus a P. Verbiest / 6. De Religione Christiana comparata Nemepharis sectae,” 373. Jap. Sin II, 66D, *Xichao ding'an* presents a duplicate of Jap Sin II, 66. Jap. Sin. II, 68. *Xichao ding'an* contains three decrees of the Kangxi Emperor tolerating Christianity. In Jap. Sin. II, 68, 1, r, Verbiest refers to the Kangxi Emperor as “vastly brilliant,” and he notes that although the Europeans do not belong to one of the racial groups in China, the emperor who rules all under heaven employs them (聖主任用不疑苦以臣等非中國族類皇上統一天下用人無方何特... On folio 3, r, Verbiest uses terminology that describes the Jesuits in China as “orphans without anyone to rely on but the Sage (*ruijian*) Emperor (... 臣等寡子無何倚之皇上睿鑒將臣等無私何令之如察明吃...). This same language will appear in 1735-1737 in a memorial addressed to the Qianlong Emperor seeking his compassion for the missionaries and their religion. These memorials also appear in Ferdinand Verbiest, *Xichao ding'an* (熙朝定案 Judgements of our Glorious [Qing] Dynasty), 2 vols, vol. I, *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian* (天主教東傳文獻 Collection of Documents on Christianity in the East) (*Zhongguo shixue congshu*, no. 24), and in vol. II in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian* 天主教東傳文獻續編 (*Zhongguo shixue congshu*, no. 40, part 3), ed. Wu Xiangxiang (Taipei, 1965-1966). These documents also appear in the recent extensive mainland publication *Zhongguo zongjiao lishi wenxian jicheng* (中國宗教歷史文獻集成 Collection of Historical Documents on Chinese Religion) 120 vols., (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005), vol. 6: 602-667.

philosophy.<sup>51</sup> However, it should be noted that members of other Catholic religious orders also made significant contributions to this nascent field.<sup>52</sup> In their role as interpreters and critics of the entire span of Chinese civilization, the Jesuits undertook an extraordinarily large and daunting task. The depth and dimensions of their contributions to early modern Sino-European exchange, as well as those of other missionary orders, are still being assessed by scholars. The manner in which Jesuits interpreted Chinese history and contributed to the history of ideas remains a controversial area of research. To understand these controversies--and those that occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth century over Jesuit policy in the China mission--a basic understanding of Jesuit and other Catholic missionary activity in East Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must be established.

In the early eighteenth century, the court Jesuits were able to continue the roles at the imperial palace that Jesuits of the previous century had first filled. The most important positions they filled consisted of ranked appointments in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau<sup>53</sup> (also called the Astro-calendric Bureau). The Fleming Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) served as the second director of the Bureau of Astronomy upon the death of Johann Adam Schall von Bell. The first Jesuits in China had achieved prominence in this bureau because they had entered China during a time of crisis and debate over inaccuracies in the Ming calendar, and they had

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<sup>51</sup> D. E. Mungello, "The Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Translation Project of the Confucian Four Books" in *East Meets West, The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773*, ed. by Charles E. Ronan, S.J. and Bonnie B.C. Oh, (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1998), 252.

<sup>52</sup> D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Inc., 1999), 1-8.

<sup>53</sup> The term Astronomical Bureau will be used hereafter. Catherine Jami notes that European writers usually used the term "Tribunal of Mathematics" to refer to the Imperial Astronomical Bureau because the term "tribunal" stressed the hierarchical nature of sciences in China, an attitude that elevated astronomy over other sciences because of the political implications of calculating reign periods and imperial dates. The Chinese considered reign dates as markers of political legitimacy. See *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 739. The term "tribunal" is found throughout the French letters to refer to the Chinese bureaus (or boards), see, for example, "tribunal of rites" LEC 3: 354.

realized the important role that calendar reform had played in unifying faith in early modern Europe.<sup>54</sup> Thus, they readily offered their skills to the imperial court, and as Benjamin A. Elman observes:

Jesuits in China quickly adapted their religious goals to the late Ming local context and accommodated their order, with some dissent, to the inescapable priorities of the Chinese imperial system, its cultural elites, and the astrological applications of the calendar to portents and hemerology (the art of determining auspicious days).<sup>55</sup>

While Jesuits during the early Qing had achieved close relationships with the first two Manchu emperors and received imperial orders to serve as tutors, cartographers, envoys, or artists, their roles as trusted imperial confidantes diminished greatly after the third emperor, the Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1723-1735),<sup>56</sup> endorsed the proscription edict of 1724. During the reign of the fourth Qing emperor, the Qianlong Emperor, the ruler continued to grant favors to court Jesuits, but their ability to influence officials diminished.

The date 12 January 1724 represented a defeat to Catholic missionaries because on that day the third emperor of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), the Yongzheng Emperor, endorsed the

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<sup>54</sup> Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, 85-86. On reference to Jesuit realization of the role of the calendar in unifying faith in Europe, see Nicolas Standaert, "Jesuit Corporate Culture as Shaped by the Chinese," in John W. O'Malley, ed. et al., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 352-262.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> This emperor, as with the case of all Chinese emperors, had three names: Yinzhen, his personal name; Shizong, his posthumous temple name, and Yongzheng, his reign-title. Historian D. E. Mungello maintains that the most common way to refer to emperors since the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) has been by his reign-title. In the case of the third Qing emperor, he is known as the Yongzheng Emperor, rather than as the "emperor Yongzheng" because the latter form of address would turn his reign-period name into a personal name. Placing the reign-title after the title of emperor would be as if Franklin D. Roosevelt, the president well-known as the New Deal president were called President New Deal, see D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., xv. However, Jonathan D. Spence uses the style "emperor Yongzheng" in *Treason by the Book* (New York: Penguin Putnam, Inc., 2001).

recommendations of the Board of Rites (*libu* 禮部),<sup>57</sup> the government board responsible for ruling on ritual matters and regulating tributary relations with governments of neighboring countries. The emperor's endorsement of the Board of Rites' deliberation on the status of Christian missionaries in China resulted in the issuance of the expulsion edict of 1724 declaring that all Catholic missionaries must leave China via Macao, except for "useful technical experts" who resided and worked in the capital for the emperor or those qualified ones who could be sent to the capital from provincial churches rather than being expelled.<sup>58</sup>

The 16 October 1724 letter by Father de Mailla detailing the steps involved with the emperor's approval of the expulsion order contains keys to understanding how the Jesuits understood Qing government and legal affairs. De Mailla worked from 1703 until the year of his death in 1748 as a missionary, cartographer, and translator of Chinese historical texts. His letter is an example of French language apologetic literature. Other letters in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* also provided accounts of disturbances over religion, while yet others provided detailed commentary on Chinese life. In any event, Father de Mailla cited numerous

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<sup>57</sup> The term "board" is also widely translated as "ministry." French writers of the eighteenth century referred to it as "tribunal." Board will be used hereafter. The other five boards of the central government were named: personnel (*libu*), revenue and population (*hubu*), war (*bingbu*), justice (*xingbu*), and public works (*gongbu*). These six boards together served as the administrative core of the central government and carried out routine business of the empire. See Charles O. Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 306-307.

<sup>58</sup> *Veritable Records of the Qing Dynasty* (*Da Qing Shilu* 大清實錄), Reprinted in 60 vols. under the title *Veritable Records of the Qing* (*Qingshilu* 清實錄) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 65. Hereafter referred to as QSL. The terms "technical, skilled, or scientific experts" are found in Chinese documents.

“memorials” (petitions to the throne)<sup>59</sup> submitted to the throne by Qing government officials who worked within the hierarchic Manchu-Chinese bureaucracy. Indeed, the entire French collection contains numerous Qing government documents translated from Chinese into French. Father de Mailla cited memorials Jesuits submitted to officials, Manchu princes, and even to the emperor. Finally, the letter described the manner in which missionaries in the provinces and those in the court attempted to defend the Christian mission after it was ruled illegal.

This letter by Father de Mailla provides proof of how thoroughly versed Jesuits had become with life in the Qing court and of how well they understood both the local and provincial reporting system to “metropolitan”<sup>60</sup> offices and to the emperor himself. The letter depicts the facility that some Jesuits had achieved within the Qing political system in communicating with officials and attempting to lobby for the Christian cause. This was a negotiating skill, it should be noted, that many Jesuits manifested in their early dealings with Chinese officials in the late sixteenth-century, and it was this skill that the Catholic opponent Shen Que had labeled as spying.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> “Memorial” is a translation of *zou* 奏. It is used consistently in Chinese studies. The Latin term “memorial” is written upon a Chinese language Jesuit memorial to the throne, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 179, 310, r.,v., “Memorial, sive libellus oblatu duplex á Padre Ignatio Kegler,” note: hereafter, the irregular accent “á “ is removed from the title (Memorial, or petition, presented by Father Ignatius Kögler to the Emperor), and this document appears in LEC: 362-363, and my Appendix 1.12. For the many other terms that designated memorials in the Qing communication system, see the index of Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 625. Beatrice S. Bartlett notes that “memorial” is a nineteenth-century English translation of the Chinese term for a high official’s report to the throne, see *Monarchs and Ministers, The Grand Council in Mid-Ch’ing China, 1723-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 27. In Fr. de Mailla’s letter, the following terms appear, listed in order of frequency: *placet* (petition/request); *requête* (petition/request/demand); and *mémoire* (memoir/memorial/report).

<sup>60</sup> “Metropolitan” is put in quotation marks at this first mention of this term widely used in East Asian studies to designate the seat of the central government in China, as well as metropolitan graduates from the highest level of the three-tiered state bureaucratic examination system.

<sup>61</sup> Kelly, *The Anti-Christian Persecution 1616-1617*, 285.



The *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* are essentially apologetic literature because the letters in the collection defend the Jesuit mission strategy, one that adapted Christianity to Chinese culture and continually defended the mission against attacks by opponents in China and Europe. The entire question of how the Catholic religion should be introduced to China encompassed many nuanced considerations concerning interpretation of texts, customs, and cultures and how to represent such concepts in translation. Contentious arguments over such inquiry led to what is known as the Terms Controversy and the Rites Controversy, which unfolded first in China and then in Europe.

The Terms Controversy and the Rites Controversy centered upon three difficult sets of questions: 1) how to acceptably translate Christian terms; 2) whether to tolerate or reject rituals honoring Confucius, as well as Confucian rites honoring ancestors, nature gods, and city gods; and 3) whether converts could request masses for the souls of non-Christian ancestors and whether converts could contribute to or participate in temple fairs.<sup>62</sup> Regarding the Terms Controversy, late-sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century translators of Catholic religious terms into Chinese faced three choices. They could represent Christian concepts that were already in usage in the classical Chinese lexicon; introduce Catholic teaching by means of transliterations of Latin terms; or they could coin new terms. Choosing the term to express the “Christian God” was obviously a crucial question. The Jesuits faced the choice of selecting the classical Chinese term “Lord on High” (*Shangdi* 上帝, literally “high lord”) or the term *Deus* transliterated from Latin into Chinese to represent the name of God. However, they coined the term *tianzhu* (literally “heaven master” 天主) to refer to the Catholic “Lord of Heaven.” Another controversial “term” was the choice of words to represent the “Christian heaven.” From the beginning of the

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<sup>62</sup> Nicolas Standaert, 4.1.6 “Rites Controversy” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 680. The third set was of slightly less importance.

Zhou dynasty (11<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.) texts revealed that the Chinese revered Heaven (*Tian*天).

However, European critics argued that representing the Christian heaven with the same character that early Chinese had used tainted the Catholic faith with pagan traditions.

During the 1640's, Catholic missionaries in China debated the significance of rites carried out to city gods, nature gods, and particularly to explicit Jesuit toleration of funerary rites performed by Christian converts. Jesuits allowed Christian converts to practice funeral rites for ancestors prescribed in Chinese classical texts because the Jesuits realized that performance of rites of remembrance for deceased ancestors represented a critical part of Chinese tradition and that Chinese law so stipulated.<sup>63</sup> However, the Jesuits objected to some rites as superstitious, such as those that paid homage to city gods. (Additional background and citation of literature on these controversies follows in Chapter One.)

The early Jesuits realized that sensitivity to established Chinese customs and details of translation were crucial for the success and even survival of the Jesuit mission. They had to find a formula for introducing Christianity that was acceptable to both their Chinese hosts and their ecclesiastical superiors in Rome. The Jesuits' fundamental apologetic oral and written defense of Christianity in both French and Chinese language literature relied upon interpretation and a blending of European and Chinese traditions in order to prove their central position, namely, that the Christian faith [translated literally into Chinese as the "Heaven Master Teaching" *Tianzhujiao* and translated generally as the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven] fit into Ming-Qing society and Chinese tradition without warping or adulterating fundamental Catholic teachings.

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<sup>63</sup> Knud Lundbaek, "Joseph de Prémare and the Name of God in China" in Mungello, ed., *The Rites Controversy*. 141. In a nineteen-page letter written by Joseph de Prémare, S. J., to an unknown recipient just two weeks after the 1724 proscription of Christianity, the missionary who wrote in deep distress about the situation in China made the following observation: "If we order them to throw away their ancestor tablets, nobody will become a Christian. The poor neophyte will be looked upon as one who does not honor his father; that is actually a crime, something like parricide. They may be taken before the court for it, and our holy religion will be regarded as a nefarious sect by the mandarins and by the emperor." (Manuscript letter held in the BNF, Fonds Brequigny 18, 6c.)

The following chapters will illustrate how the Jesuits argued this point and used Chinese legal and historical precedents to support their position. The entire collection of the Jesuits' French letters aimed to prove that the Jesuit mission strategy of adaptation to Chinese culture was a valid approach. Questions relating to the Terms Controversy and the Rites Controversy were raised not only among members of the Qing court in Peking but also among members of the papal court in Rome and in the scholastic courts of the Sorbonne in Paris. Pope Clement XI outlawed any further discussion of the Rites Controversy in 1704; however, publication of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* served as a way for Jesuits to justify their mission strategy of adaptation to Chinese culture and to carry on a virtual literary war.

After the issuance of the 1724 proscription order, the court Jesuits depicted themselves in the French letters as defenders of the entire Catholic community in China<sup>64</sup> (This is further described in Chapters Three and Four). This observation is based upon the way in which letters reported on the efforts that court Jesuits made to sway officials to rescind the proscription edict of 1724. The Jesuit writers composed the French apologetic letters and the Chinese apologetic texts to win over the respective audiences for which they wrote, namely, in the first case, European audiences, and, in the second case, Chinese and Manchu audiences. These Jesuit literary productions resembled a war effort carried out on two fronts. In reality the letters published in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* represent intelligence reports on the mission in China, which profiled individuals and the political situation Christians faced in China. These letters were written for the officials in charge of the Society of Jesus in Rome according to the

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<sup>64</sup> Lars Peter Laamann, *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China, Christian inculturation and state control, 1720-1850* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006) also makes this observation in his discussion of the profound effect that Catholic religious tracts written in classical Chinese had on Korean communities beginning in the late sixteenth century. He observes that "As elsewhere in eastern Asia, French orders regarded themselves as the protectors of all Catholic missions....," 65-66.

Constitutions of the Society. Although all but six of the manuscript originals of the published letters have disappeared, letters with contents and form similar to Father de Mailla's 24 October 1724 report on the proscription of Christianity may be found in the Jesuit Archives in Rome addressed to the General of the Society.<sup>65</sup>

The Yongzheng Emperor sensed that the Christian religion posed a great threat to the security of China; therefore, he issued the 1724 proscription order. While the Jesuits continually attempted to convince the third Qing emperor to rescind his 1724 proscription of Christianity in memorials and audiences, they were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, they continued doggedly to draft and submit memorials to the fourth Qing ruler, the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736-1799), hoping to win his favorable response.<sup>66</sup> In subsequent memorials composed during the early Qianlong period, they further elaborated their defense of the Christian religion. The *Ruijianlu* (睿鑒錄 Record of Sage Scrutiny) (1736), a short Chinese book compiled by the court astronomer Ignatius Kögler, S.J. (1680-1746), which consists of Jesuit memorials, imperial rescripts, and one Chinese official's memorial, offers additional evidence of how the court Jesuits claimed that historical and legal precedents provided examples of Christianity's special status as an accepted religious teaching or "law" in China. This tract is an example of the Jesuit apostolate through books. No dissertations or articles have assessed the significance of this text in relation to the proscription of Christianity in 1724. Father Kögler, who was President of the Imperial Board of Astronomy from 1720-1746, compiled this short book while also carrying out his duties concerned with calendrical reform, astronomical predictions, and notation of stars.

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<sup>65</sup> These letters related to reports on the proscription of Christianity held in ARSI are introduced in Chapter Three, as well as other related ARSI holdings introduced below.

<sup>66</sup> Dynastic calendrists date the end of the Qianlong reign to 1796. In that year, the fourth Qing emperor announced that he was transferring imperial power to his son. However, the Qianlong emperor retained de facto power until 1799, the year of his death, and sinologist Jonathan D. Spence dates his reign period as ending in 1799, Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 90.

In the *Rujianlu*, Jesuit contributions to the imperial government in science, arts, and technical contributions cited as proof of the special status that their teaching or “law” (in French letters Catholicism is often referred to as a “law”) had been accorded. Furthermore, they stressed that they themselves had been granted certain privileges as “loyal subjects of the emperor,” terms they used in their memorials. In this manner, they pleaded that their religion should be accorded special consideration and status by Qing authorities. The persuasive arguments based on citation of Chinese historical and legal precedents aimed to prove three main points: that Christianity had attained a legitimate status in China; that the religion had received support from past emperors; and that the 1724 proscription edict could, therefore, be reversed.

The following points will be clarified to show how court Jesuits defended Christianity using Chinese legal notions. First, the historical setting of the mission and the significance of the Jesuit mission strategy called accommodation, or adaptation to Chinese culture, will be defined and discussed in the following chapter on historiography. An overview of literature will show that sinologists are still debating how to assess the early modern encounter of European missionaries and the people of the Qing empire, an exchange that entailed not only science, but also the transmission of the new “teaching” of Catholicism and a flood of information on world affairs. Likewise, during the same period a wave of information reached Europe concerning Asia and had a profound effect on European political thought, technology, and material tastes. Within the center of this exchange, yet another realm of complexity existed, namely, the difficult-to-define process of religious conversion, as well as the difficult-to-measure dimension of human

experience called spirituality.<sup>67</sup>

As early as the mid-sixteenth century, Jesuits of the early China mission had become aware of the breadth, sophistication, and antiquity of Chinese civilization. They realized that they needed to show respect for Chinese culture in order to have any success at proselytization. This theme is likewise identifiable in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. The French letters of the eighteenth century contain an argument in favor of the Jesuit missionary approach of “accommodation,” which refers to the earliest Jesuit mission strategy carried out by Matteo Ricci, one that encouraged missionaries to learn about local language, history, customs and so on and not thoroughly reject norms beyond the realm of European knowledge.<sup>68</sup> Such an approach aimed to win the confidence of Chinese so that Catholic missionaries could then introduce Christianity to sympathetic individuals and audiences. Sinologist Isabelle Landry-Deron has analyzed how Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, S.J., the editor of *La Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l’empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (1735), selected letters written by twenty-seven Jesuits whose letters and reports had been published originally in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* in order to “...defend [the Jesuit

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<sup>67</sup> Literature on the conversion process is relatively scarce and Lewis Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) proposes using a seven stage model of analysis to discover how converts interact in their religious conversions: context, crisis, quest, encounter, interaction, commitment, and consequences, 1-10. The late Julia Ching has written extensively on questions of spirituality, for example, *Confucianism and Christianity, A Comparative Study* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1977) and *Mysticism and kingship in China, The Heart of Chinese Wisdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>68</sup> D.E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 13-19.

position] of the compatibility of the Christian faith and Chinese culture.”<sup>69</sup> Father Du Halde had served as editor of volumes nine through twenty-six of the first thirty-four-volume edition of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (1702-1776). Landry-Deron calls the Rites Controversy the “grand intellectual controversy of the epoch,” and her research and analysis succeed in revealing how Du Halde constructed the *Description* as a piece of literature that provided “evidence” for the polemical Rites Controversy.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, the court Jesuits crafted a legal defense of Christianity based on Chinese historical and legal precedents, one that may be characterized as an example of Jesuit accommodation to Chinese culture and a continuing response to the Rites Controversy.

During the nearly two hundred years of the Society of Jesus’ presence in China, Jesuits composed works in Latin, their native languages, Chinese, or Manchu, and they published many of these works in China or other missionary centers in Asia. Compilation of accurate lists of the Jesuits’ apostolate through books is an on-going process in the study of Christianity in China; additionally, research focused on the printing houses that published these works remains an area of continued interest.<sup>71</sup> Jesuit literature has been analyzed as fitting into several diverse categories: “hybrid literature,” apologetics, *neibu* (classified information for internal use),

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<sup>69</sup> Isabelle Landry-Deron, “*La Preuve par la Chine: La «Description» de J.-B. Du Halde, jésuite, 1735*” (Paris: Éditions de L’École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2002), 21. Landry-Deron has stressed that the Jesuit letters contain abundant indirect evidence on numerous topics.

Significant portions of Du Halde’s 1735 text may be found at the ARTFL. The Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL) is a cooperative enterprise of *Analyse et Traitement Informatique de la Langue Française* (ATILF) of the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS), the Division of the Humanities, the Division of the Social Sciences, and Electronic Text Services (ETS) of the University of Chicago.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21. For further analysis of the significance Landry-Deron’s contribution to the literature on the Chinese Rites Controversy, see Susan Naquin’s review of Landry-Deron in *T’oung Pao* 90 (2004): 433-438.

<sup>71</sup> The index of the *Handbook of Christianity in China* contains over 450 entries of Chinese and Manchu books. For another indispensable finding list of documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome, see Albert Chan, S. J., *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome, A Descriptive Catalogue, Japonica-Sinica I-IV* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2002). See Chan pages 587-589 for a list of nearly ninety-five Chinese publishers and some nearly forty publishing facilities located in Catholic churches across China. The presence of such a flourishing Catholic press reflects the well-developed book industry of the Ming-Qing period.

practical ethics, works extolling European civilization and the excellence of its Christian mores and institutions, and texts on science and technology.<sup>72</sup> Erik Zürcher stresses that all this literature contains a Christian message, and the interpretation of each individual text calls for both historical grounding and delicacy of nuanced messages in the texts.

In the present study, the methodology for analyzing the court Jesuits' apostolate through books draws on the approach taken by Virgile Pinot (1935) and Jonathan D. Spence (1994). Both stress the need to examine how European translators and authors selectively presented certain pieces of evidence or distorted evidence in order to elicit sympathetic responses from audiences or to obtain other calculated results.

Virgile Pinot maintains in his classic study of the effect of the Jesuit mission in China on French society *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France (1640-1740)* (1932) that Jesuits in the China mission as well as their European editors intentionally altered, revised, and added their own interpretations of Chinese religion and society to further mission goals and make the process of evangelization easier to undertake.<sup>73</sup> These assertions relate to questions concerning the Terms Controversy and Rites Controversy for the following reason: Jesuit editing of Chinese Classical texts helps reveal their strategy of creating a Confucian-Christian synthesis and accommodating selected Confucian rituals into Christian practice. Pinot's manner of analyzing seventeenth-century Jesuit translation projects of Chinese Classics is based upon comparison of the first published Latin translations of Chinese Classical texts with extant Latin manuscripts. His analysis of the Latin manuscript of Philippe Couplet *Sinicae et aliarum extremi*

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<sup>72</sup> Erik Zürcher, "From 'Jesuit Studies' to Western Learning," in *Europe Studies China, Papers from an International Conference on the History of European Sinology*, eds. W. Ming and J. Cayley, (London: Han Shan Tang Books, 1995), 269.

<sup>73</sup> Virgile Pinot, See especially Chapter Three "*Les écrits des Jésuites sur la Chine*" in *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France (1640-1740)*" (1932; reprint, Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1971), 141-188.



*Orientis Missionum candidatis* and the published version of this text in *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (1687) provides proof that certain words in the original translation had been altered drastically so that Chinese sacrificial rites in temples could be interpreted as the performance of “civil rites in the halls of deceased parents” instead of as “sacrificial rites.” The following examples illustrate this process of manipulation of meaning through translation:<sup>74</sup>

**Manuscript :**

In majorum *temples regio* de more  
et apparatus defunctis majoribus *sacrificabat*  
(seu verius parentabat)...

**My translation of manuscript version:**

In major temples of region the customs and funerary apparatus  
used for major sacrificial rites to parents...

**Printed version in *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*:**

In majorum *aulis parentatibus* regio de more et apparatu  
defunctis majoribus *parentabat*...

**My translation of version in *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*:**

In major halls commemorating parents the customs and  
funerary apparatus used for major commemoration of  
parents...

**Manuscript :**

...A posteris vicissim tanti avi  
memoria praesertim in *gentilitiis sacrificiis* perpetuo  
conservata fuit.

**My translation of manuscript version:**

...Descendants in turn presented/preserved sacrifices to  
ancestral clans to preserve their perpetual memory.

**Printed version in *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* :**

...A posteris vicissim tanti avi memoria praesertim  
in *parentalibus officiis ac ritibus* perpetuo conservata fuit.

**My translation of *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*:**

...Descendants in turn presented parental rites and duties to  
preserve their perpetual memory.

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., The Latin texts come from Pinot, who italicized important phrases, 156.

The altered published translation that presents an interpretation of Chinese sacrificial rites as “parental rites and duties” performed in “parental halls” rather than “temples” illustrates the manner in which Jesuits and their editors in Paris presented Chinese traditional death rites as examples of “civic duty.” This is an example of the Jesuits’ accommodative approach to Chinese culture, one that aimed not only to win converts but also to not thoroughly disregard funerary customs that were mandated by the Ming and Qing law Code. Couplet explained in the preface of his manuscript, which was edited out of the European publication, that he had made the translation not for *savants* in Europe, but to ease the work of future missionaries in China, implying that such an approach of Jesuit toleration of funerary rites would lead to more conversions.<sup>75</sup>

Matteo Ricci’s interpretation of early Confucianism or *Yuanru* aimed to reconcile the contents of Chinese classical texts and Christianity in order to prove by natural theology that early Chinese worshipped a monotheistic god and possessed a natural religion. In his Chinese-Catholic catechism, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義), Ricci demonstrated his Scholastic training as a logician and dialectician, as well as his newly acquired mastery of Chinese classical texts and allusions. In the catechism, he composed a dialogue in which a Western scholar proved to a Chinese literatus that God existed.<sup>76</sup> Johann Adam Schall von Bell, whose stature as missionary, scientist, court official, and author nearly equaled Ricci,<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Pinot, 153.

<sup>76</sup> Matteo Ricci, ed. Edward J. Malatesta (1985).

<sup>77</sup> In Pfister, entry 49, vol. I, 162-182, Pfister calls Schall the second greatest missionary after Ricci.

also wrote a catechism in 1642 entitled *Zhujiao yuanqi* (主教緣起 or Catechism).<sup>78</sup>

The catechism's first line states the proposition that "the myriad things in the world cannot exist without a beginning and cannot create themselves" (*lun wanwu bu neng wu shi ji bu neng ziyou... 論万物不能無始暨不能自有...*).<sup>79</sup> The treatise proves by deductive reasoning the existence of God, the creator, invisible, eternal, always present, and consisting of three persons. This God, Schall wrote, was one clearly differentiated from Heaven. In the third *juan* Schall argued that a natural religion existed, which was common to all, and could be found in the Ten Commandments.

Subsequent translators of Confucius' works perpetuated Ricci's and Schall's accommodative approach to Chinese culture, one that stressed the role of natural religion in China's classical period. Ironically, a group of Jesuits finished important translation projects while they were under house arrest in Canton from 1666 to 1671 because the anti-Christian opponent Yang Guangxian (1597-1669) had attempted to rid China of the foreigners in charge of the Astronomical Bureau by writing three memorials to the throne in which he accused them of having falsified the calendar, of being a heterodox sect, and of plotting rebellion. These accusations resulted in the imprisonment and condemnation of Father Schall to death and the

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<sup>78</sup> Jap. Sin. II, 36, *Zhujiao yuanqi* (主教緣起 or Catechism) (1642) by Johann Adam Schall von Bell. The cover bears the title and a Latin inscription: "Chu kiao yuen ki"/ de origine Religionis christiana. 4 tomi / ap. Adamo Schall S.J. This work is found in Chan's *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome*, 318. Chan notes that The four *juan* work is translated in Pfister as "Commencement et progress de la loi chrétienne, 4 vol., Pékin, 1643" and by Philippe Couplet (1623-1693) as "Christianae legis ortus, & progressus: ubi refutation sectae gentilitiae, dein multa de Incarnatione, Passione Domini, 4 vols." In John W. Witek, S.J. *Controversial Ideas in China and In Europe: A Biography of Jean-François Fouquet, S.J (1665-1741)* (Rome: Institutum Historicum, 1982), he translates *Zhujiao yuanqi* as *The Origins and Progress of Christianity*. Witek points out that the catechism's Summary (*zonglun*) extolled the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven as a universal teaching that surpassed the laws of Buddhism and Daoism. Schall praised the *Da Ming huidian* (Institutions of the Great Ming) and its law, which he said embodied Confucian values, but he labeled the Code "not a universal law." See "Christianity and China: Universal Teaching from the West" in *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Stephen Uhalley, Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu, eds. (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), 19.

<sup>79</sup> Jap. Sin. II, 36, *Zhujiao yuanqi*, folio 1, r.

expulsion of all missionaries to Canton, where the government placed them under house arrest (25 March 1666 to September 1671). Schall was pardoned, but five Christian astronomers were executed, including Li Zubai (d. 1665), the author of *A Summary of the Spread of Heavenly Teaching* (*Tianxue chuan 'gai* 天學傳概) and an official in the Astronomical Bureau whom Schall had baptized in 1622.

The exile in Canton ironically provided all the missionaries in China an opportunity to hold a conference on the Chinese Rites (18 December 1667 to 26 January 1668).<sup>80</sup> The twenty-three participants (three Dominicans, one Franciscan, and nineteen Jesuits) together compiled guidelines in Chinese for Christian life and duties. The Jesuits collaborated on group translation projects of Chinese classics such as *The Doctrine of the Mean* (entitled *Zhongyong* in Chinese) that was translated into Latin as *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis* (*Political and Moral Learning of China*), edited by Prospero Intorcetta, S.J. (1625-1696), and published in Canton (1667) and Goa (1669) as well as *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (*Confucius Philosopher of China*, which consisted of translations of three of the Four Books)<sup>81</sup> (Paris, 1687), mainly prepared by Philippe Couplet.<sup>82</sup>

Jesuits continued to carry on similar translation projects of the Four Books mainly in south China cities, translating China's two-thousand-year-old classical texts and interpreting

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<sup>80</sup> Claudia von Collani "Missionaries" in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 312-13.

<sup>81</sup> The Four Books and Five Classics (conventionally capitalized) formed the traditional core of learning for the literati class, and the examination topics for the imperial civil service were also taken from these classics. The Four Books consist of 1) *Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu*); 2) *Mencius* (*Mengzi*); 3) *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*); and 4) *Great Learning* (*Daxue*). The Five Classics consist of 1) the *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing*); 2) the *Classic of Documents* (*Shujing*) also known as the *Book of History*; 3) *The Classic of Poetry* (*Shijing*); 4) the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*); and 5) the *Classic of Rituals* or (*Lijing*), which was actually three works in one, consisting of 1) the *Zhou Rituals* (*Zhouli*), the *Book of Propriety and Rituals* (*Yili*), and the *Book of Rites* (*Liji*). See Hucker, *Imperial China*, 69-95.

<sup>82</sup> D. E. Mungello, "The Seventeenth Century Jesuit Translation Project" in *East Meets West*, ed. Ronan and Oh, 252-272.

those texts within the Jesuit accommodative framework that considered that the “Original Literati Teaching” (*Yuanru*原儒) contained an expression of natural monotheistic religion. D. E. Mungello and Pasquale M. D’Elia have both concluded that Ricci’s translations of the Four Books (*The Great Learning*, *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Analects of Confucius*, and *Mencius*) were not lost as some scholars have maintained. Rather, Mungello observes that Ricci’s early annotated manuscripts probably served as the earliest language primers for Jesuits and also as preliminary translations of the classics that subsequent Jesuits improved upon and eventually incorporated into the published Four Books.<sup>83</sup>

Historian Jonathan D. Spence has offered an approach for understanding Sino-European relations and the Chinese Rites Controversy that is similar to Pinot’s, an approach that is adopted in this study for its useful methodology. In the keynote address Spence delivered at the 1992 “International Symposium on the Significance of the Chinese Rites Controversy in Sino-Western History” held at the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, he introduced his address as “... the hardest topic I have ever tried to tackle in a public lecture.”<sup>84</sup> Spence said that to explain Ming-Qing history and Sino-European relations, he needed to give an overview of six categories: the problem of evidence, the Kangxi Emperor’s

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid. For the earliest translation of the *Great Learning* (*Daxue*), one of the Four Books, see Knud Lundbaek, “The First Translation from a Confucian Classic in Europe” in *China Mission Studies (1550-1800) Bulletin* 1 (1979), 1-11. Lundbaek analyzes challenges that early Jesuit translators of Chinese texts faced when translating from Chinese to Latin. Lundbaek maintains that Ruggieri’s translation of the title of the *Great Learning*, which is *Humanae institutionis ratio* (the right way to teach human beings), better conveys the meaning of the text, 5. The conclusions of Lundbaek in this article support the claim that the Jesuits cooperatively worked together on the translation of classics, passing on texts one-to-the-other and using the texts as language-study resources before final publication.

Inácio de Costa’s (1599-1666) translation of the *Daxue* into Latin is in the ARSI, Jap. Sin. III, 3.2 *Sapientia Sinica Ta-hsüeh* [Great Learning 大學] (Jianchangfu: Jiangxi province, 1662). It is presented in Figure 2 and provides an example of the painstaking care given to translation.

<sup>84</sup> Spence, “Claims and Counter-Claims: The Kangxi Emperor and the Europeans (1661-1722)” in *The Chinese Rites Controversy*, 15-30.

character, the emperor's mediators, the intelligence system of China, Chinese in Europe, and finally some comments on Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century to gain a wider, ecumenical sense of the issues involved.<sup>85</sup> All these categories have relevance to the present research topic. However, his first concern, "the problem of evidence," is particularly important because the Jesuit authors of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, as well as other Chinese language tracts in their apostolate through books, used evidence found in Chinese texts in specific ways to prove the validity of their mission strategy and to defend that strategy.

Spence's approach to the "problem of evidence" proposes that the following questions must be asked: what constitutes valid Chinese texts? What are the "Classics" among those texts, and which are normative texts and which are sacred texts? Next, when Jesuits and others translated those texts, the following questions must be answered: what role did personal witness, observation, and interpretation play in the process of translation of texts? Spence identifies five key problems of evidence that posed challenges to the early translators of Chinese texts: incomprehension (of texts); reductionism (elimination of some evidence); deceit (presentation of personal views or manipulation of the text); compatibility (hiding some or highlighting other evidence); and complementarity (presenting doctrines as complementary or remaining separate).

These "five key problems of evidence" that translators of early texts confronted are applicable to the present research because Jesuit apologetic literature such as the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* contains numerous instances of translated texts, interspersed among letters and reports written by Jesuits, which were subsequently published in France. Examples of incomprehension, reductionism, deceit, compatibility, and complementarity will be identified in selected Jesuit reports about religious and political life in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* and such apologetic texts as the *Ruijianlu* to show how Jesuit writers used language to advance the

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 16.

China mission and to defend it by framing their on-going defense of Christianity in 1724 and from 1736 to 1738 in both terms and conditions favorable to their aims. These five key problems of evidence that Spence presents may also be applied to oral communication among groups, a relevant point because some Jesuit letters noted dialogues that took place in the Qing court. Essentially, Spence's approach to analyzing texts shares great similarity with Pinot's methodology, although he did not mention Pinot in his address.<sup>86</sup>

Li Jian-jun carefully analyzed the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* in his dissertation and provides outstanding insight on the literary structure and significance of the letters in terms of the propagandistic content.<sup>87</sup> Using analytical techniques suggested by Roland Barthes,<sup>88</sup> Li argues that the letters echo fundamental themes of the *Spiritual Exercises*, namely, the struggle between good and evil, as well as between God and idolatry. Li points out that an Ignatian classification system of Jesuit discoveries in China is discernible in the *Lettres*. In other words, what the Jesuits discovered in China, they put into writing, thus presenting an image of China as compatible with Christianity. The Jesuits analyzed various phenomena in China from a Christian taxonomy.<sup>89</sup> Li characterizes the literary phenomena of the publication of the letters as similar to a strategic military maneuver:

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<sup>86</sup> In Pinot's chapter "*Les écrits des Jésuites sur la Chine*," he compares manuscript versions of Jesuit letters with those published letters and provides evidence that editors in Paris suppressed certain passages that contained detailed information on Chinese superstitious beliefs and frequency of famines, 160-4. .

<sup>87</sup> Li Jian-jun, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de Chine: de l'édification à la propagande* (Ph.D. diss., 1990 Harvard University), 15-25. Both Pinot and Li are in agreement on the aim of the letters, for the former characterizes them as full lessons to illustrate the moral value of the Jesuit China mission, while the latter analyzes the literary processes involved in the creation of these Jesuit propagandistic letters, see respectively, 137 and i-ii. Li disagrees with Pinot that Parisian editors removed all unfavorable images of China from the published letters.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 56, from Roland Barthes, "L'ancienne rhétorique, aide-mémoire" *Communication* 16, December, 1970: 196.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 47-48. This analysis shares similarities with the conclusions made by Lionel M. Jensen in *Manufacturing Confucianism* discussed below.

As a literary work, the *Lettres édifiantes* became a veritable war machine by which the Jesuits opened a new battle against the condemnation of their mission by forcing the reopening of a case that Rome and their rival orders considered both a won case and a closed case.<sup>90</sup>

Thus Li draws a clear connection between the publication of the letters that commenced in 1702 and the battle over the Rites Controversy--debated not only in Europe but also in China. He stresses that the entire publication of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* represents a reopening of the Rites Controversy. (Additional background information on the letters and the Rites Controversy follows in Chapter One).

The methodological approaches utilized by Pinot, Spence, and Li that aim to discover how writers and editors engaged in omission of information in translation, suppression of information, or cleavage to a moral or propagandistic line provide a systematic method by which historical and literary texts may be examined and understood. The application of such a methodology to the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* highlights the nature of the collection as one that consists of a mélange of letters and reports, and, additionally, as a repository of Qing government documents translated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into French (or first into Latin and then translated into French). Interspersed in the collection of letters are examples of letters that have been altered to present a favorable view of the Jesuits' mission, findings that Pinot, Li, and Landry-Deron have stressed.<sup>91</sup> The French letters also contain an abundance of excerpts from Chinese literature that contain frequent classical allusions. They additionally contain a range of topics from geography and science to ceramic production and pearl cultivation.

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<sup>90</sup> Li, my translation. « *Oeuvre littéraire, les Lettres édifiantes devinrent un véritable machine de guerre, par laquelle la Compagnie de Jésus livra une nouvelle bataille contre la condamnation de leur mission en forçant la réouverture d'un cas que Rome et les ordres rivaux considéraient comme gagné, comme un cas fermé.* »

<sup>91</sup> See Pinot, 141-188, Li, 28-34, Landry-Deron, 1-34.



Examining early modern Sino-European relations in terms of legal and institutional history allows scholars to look at these translations of Qing legal and institutional documents (or “memorials”) to establish how the court Jesuits both adapted to Chinese culture and represented themselves to Manchu and Chinese authorities. The complexity of this intercultural exchange cannot be over-stressed. The Manchus presided over the Chinese empire by adapting to Chinese social and institutional practices, and, additionally, by retaining Manchu identity and culture. Both the Manchu and earlier Mongol conquest dynasty (named the Yuan, r. 1264-1368) tolerated the practice of a variety of religions within their empires.<sup>92</sup>

Because this study’s central research question focuses upon analyzing how a small group of court Jesuits adopted notions about Chinese law to argue for toleration of Christianity within the empire, it is essential to establish the way in which the religious men of the Society of Jesus, who consisted of Italians, French, Bavarians, Portuguese, Poles, and other Europeans, adapted themselves to Chinese culture and Qing politics. The Jesuits defended the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven by depicting Jesuit accomplishments as a part of Chinese history. They further cited Chinese historical and legal precedents to prove their claim and to show that their Confucian-Christian synthesis was sound. To defend the Confucian-Christian synthesis of Matteo Ricci, subsequent Jesuits needed to provide compelling evidence to maintain and defend assertions of the compatibility of Christian and Confucian values.

Examples of Spence’s categories of reductionism or deceit are readily available in the Jesuit’s apostolate through books. The Italian Guido Aleni, S.J. (1582-1649) first described

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<sup>92</sup> On the Mongols see John D. Langlois, Jr. *China Under Mongol Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 14. On the Manchus see Pamela Kyle Crossley *A Translucent Mirror, History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 13-14.

Europe to the Chinese as “...a region of lasting peace, free from war and rebellion.”<sup>93</sup> Erik Zürcher has analyzed this as “...a ‘strategic’ statement based upon conscious misrepresentation.” Another example of reductionism is found in a partial translation of Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Theologiae* by Lodovico Buglio, S.J. (1606-1682), published in 30 *juan* (1654-1678). Buglio neglected to fully translate the *quaestiones* of the *Summa*, and he omitted long expositions given by Aquinas, which deprived Chinese readers of the opportunity to learn about opposite opinions and heterodox doctrines that had been flourishing or were still flourishing in the West.<sup>94</sup> Such distortions of evidence or “conscious misrepresentation” served the cause of the Jesuits by presenting the Chinese with a positive view of European civilization, one that would forward the cause of the Catholic mission.

Finally, historian Chen Min-sun’s observations concerning the confrontation of “mythistory” in seventeenth-century Sino-European history provides a useful methodological foundation for analyzing different categories of “evidence” in historical documents and discourse.<sup>95</sup> Chen applies perspectives of world historian William H. McNeill, which assert that “myth lies at the basis of human society”<sup>96</sup> to analyze both Chinese history and Jesuit revisionist depictions of European history, as well as Jesuit Chinese language writings. First, Chen points out that the Sinocentric myth, or mythistory, was one formulated in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.-220 C.E.), further strengthened during the Tang (618-907) and reasserted by rulers

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<sup>93</sup> Zürcher, “From ‘Jesuit Studies’ to Western Learning,” in *Europe Studies China*, 268.

<sup>94</sup> Dudink and Standaert, “Apostolate Through Books” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 614.

<sup>95</sup> Chen Min-sun, “The Confrontation of Mythistory in Seventeenth-Century Sino-Western Contacts,” in *Contacts Between Cultures*, 4 vols., Amir Harrak, vols. 3-4 ed. Bernard Hung-Kay Luk (Lewiston, E. Mellen Press, 1992), 4: 293-297, and Chen Min-sun, *Mythistory in Sino-Western Contacts: Jesuit Missionaries and the Pillars of Chinese Catholic Religion* (Thunder Bay, ONT: Lakehead University Library, 2003), 1-13.

<sup>96</sup> Quoted by Chen, *ibid.*, 293-294.

of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1912). The main claims of this mythistory identified China as the center of the world with the emperor, or Son of Heaven, serving as mediator between heaven and earth, as well as suzerain of all other rulers on earth. Another cultural assumption in this system was that all people outside of Chinese civilization were “barbarians,” who could become part of Chinese culture by participating in it. Another cultural assumption was that rulers of “barbarian” countries also were obliged to send tributary missions to China according to the prescribed regulations of the tribute system. On the other hand, Chen also identifies such Jesuit authors as Aleni and Buglio as examples of Jesuit European mythistory composed in China. According to Chen, both sides in the early modern Sino-Western encounter volleyed “idealized” versions of their histories and socio-political systems at the other in an attempt to prove the superiority of their own set of beliefs.<sup>97</sup>

It is within this lively backdrop of cultural confrontation that the present study examines how Jesuit missionaries of the eighteenth century defended Christianity after an imperial edict outlawed its practice in 1724. The Jesuits also attempted to prove that legal and historical precedents favored the Christian religion. The multiple roles that Jesuits filled in China, namely as priests, astronomers, tutors, translators, diplomats, and artists, provides evidence of a degree of cosmopolitan openness in Qing society. Although Sino-European cultural confrontation occurred with regularity from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries in China, the ways that various individuals or parties adapted themselves one to the other or to *ad hoc* situations provide an excellent vantage point for evaluating both the intransigence and the adaptability of all players. Critical in this process was the way in which the court Jesuits used Chinese language legal and

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., see especially Chen pages 24-25 for longer citations of idealized European history written by various Jesuits of the early China mission.

historical precedents to forward their Christian mission and to depict Christianity as complementary to Chinese culture.

## Chapter One: Historiography on Jesuits and Sino-European Relations

### I. Background on Jesuit Mission and Matteo Ricci

Jesuits who traveled to China participated in an evangelization venture as adherents of the newly founded Society of Jesus (founded 1540). These Jesuit priests and brothers worked in missions across the world and also in China under a clear and precise set of by-laws bequeathed by the founder of the Society, Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556). Jesuits who entered the order adapted themselves to the disciplined religious life of the Society, one that was grounded in pious spirituality nurtured by Loyola's famous set of *Spiritual Exercises*.<sup>1</sup> As a young man, Ignatius began writing his *Spiritual Exercises* shortly after an intense period of spiritual questioning and mystic experiences in his hometown of Loyola in 1521. The contents and plan of Saint Ignatius' spiritual opus show a structure parallel to the spiritually edifying work by Ludolf of Saxony (c. 1300 d. 1377) entitled *The Life of Christ (Vita Christi)*, which encouraged pilgrims to practice one week of repentance and three weeks of close association with God through contemplation of Christ's life. Ignatius himself first served as spiritual mentor for some future brethren and Christians who undertook the four-week course of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Later, Jesuits served as mentors for those who desired to undertake the meditative journey, a time of prayer and reflection. Ignatius recommended that Society members repeat parts of the *Exercises* at frequent intervals, and the range of persons or situations the *Exercises* could accommodate

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<sup>1</sup> On the history of the Jesuits see, William V. Bangert, S. J., *A History of the Society of Jesus* revised ed. (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986) and George E. Ganss, S. J., ed. *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991). This collection contains the *Exercises* and also the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesuits*, as well as the *Autobiography* of Loyola.

was wide.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the Society's greatest contribution to history lay in its regard for the value of education and in the achievements of Jesuits in founding schools and in teaching. A second great achievement of the Jesuits lay in their literary compositions. What the Jesuits wrote about cultures they observed and participated in ultimately led to numerous reports on cultures and customs of kingdoms and lands distant from Europe. These reports, which were later published, stimulated European interest in other cultures.

For example, a Spanish Jesuit named Joseph Acosta, S.J. (1540-1600) in his *Natural and Moral History of the Indians* (1590) classified world civilizations outside of Europe into three main groups. The organizing principle of Acosta's classification system was based on the degree to which he believed each group accepted "reason." The Chinese and Japanese ranked highest in the scheme because their civilizations valued the literati class and had judicial codes. The Aztec and Inca ranked next because these peoples had clear power structures and organized religion, but no literature. Ethnic groups such as the "Guaranis and other savages of America" ranked last and were classified as retrograde humanity. Acosta maintained that all three groups were in need of salvation through Jesus Christ.<sup>3</sup>

Based on such writings, the Jesuits in the China mission arrived at their mission with foreknowledge and certain assumptions about the civilization they would encounter. They knew that China had a well-developed legal system. China's bureaucratic system was staffed by a disciplined and well-educated corps of literati-officials, who won their offices through a rigorous examination system, and they could trace the empire's history, politics, and philosophy to dates

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<sup>2</sup> John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 37-50.

<sup>3</sup> Claude Reichler, ed. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des missions l'Amérique Méridionale par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus* (Paris: Editions UTZ, 1991), 34.

that preceded Biblical history. The Jesuits began introducing Chinese chronology to Europe through correspondence with European savants and through translation projects, as well as by sending Chinese books and gifts to important men of letters and monarchs. While accounts concerning the antiquity of Chinese civilization stirred great interest in Europe, this “new” historical information also posed a challenge to accepted Biblical chronology.<sup>4</sup>

What has widely been known as Jesuit accommodation to Chinese culture began in the 1580s under the direction of Alessandro Valignano, S. J. (1539-1606), whose role as visitor to the East Asian missions gave him the authority to direct mission policy and to report to Rome. He urged Jesuits to adapt to Chinese culture in order to firmly plant the Catholic mission in the Chinese empire.<sup>5</sup> Valignano believed that the Chinese were an industrious and intelligent people, who would accept “a religion, which is not all opposed but even conducive to the good administration of the state--something they require--and which does so much good to the soul by opening for it the way and the gate to paradise.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Cécile Leung, *Etienne Fourmont (1683-1745) Oriental and Chinese Languages in Eighteenth-Century France* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 18, and see Chapter Four “Hebrew Studies and Biblical Polemics: Chinese Antiquity versus Biblical Chronology,” 89-120.

<sup>5</sup> The term accommodation has consistently been used by modern scholars to describe the Jesuit method of evangelizing in China, a strategy that selectively tolerated Chinese customs and rites. Critical of the Jesuit approach to conversion in Japan, around 1575 Valignano advised that “*es del todo necesario que nos acomodemos.*” Quoted from Laamann, Chapter 2, footnote 3, 119.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 503. From Pasquale M. d’Elia, ed., *Fonti Ricciane* (Rome: The State Library, 1942-1949), vol. 1: 143.

The most active phase of the Jesuit Catholic mission in China may be identified as beginning in 1583 and lasting until 1721.<sup>7</sup> At the beginning of this period, local and provincial level officials allowed the first legally sanctioned European mission to be opened in Zhaoqing city, Guangdong province in 1583.<sup>8</sup> Adaptation to local customs proved to be the most effective and diplomatic approach to achieving harmony between “foreigner” and host. The opening of the first Jesuit mission was only accomplished after some fifty-nine missionaries on fifty different occasions attempted the same task from 1552 to 1583. These included twenty-five Jesuits, twenty-two Franciscans, two Augustinians, and one Dominican.<sup>9</sup>

All Catholic missionaries of this period who wished to introduce Christianity to China believed firmly in the notion that a single Christian world, known in English as Christendom and derived from the Latin terms *Christianus orbis* and *Christianorum universitas*, could and should be established upon the entire globe. The missionaries were metaphorically “armed” with a militant Christian theology that sanctioned and encouraged the establishment of the Christian

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<sup>7</sup> Chan, xv. See also Standaert, “Missionaries, General Characteristics” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 286-306. See also Edward J. Malatesta, S.J. who presents a five-stage chronology in “The Society of Jesus and China, A Historical-Theological Essay,” *Discovery: Jesuit International Ministries*, No. 7 (June, 1997), 1-15. Malatesta stresses that an important point of the early stage of the Jesuit mission in China is its significance to the field of what he calls “international human relations” because of the ability Jesuits demonstrated in learning local language, succeeding in deflecting Chinese xenophobic reactions to foreigners, and by establishing friendships with both literati-officials and with people from lower echelons of society.

Scholars who have analyzed the different stages all generally agree that the failure of papal legations to the court of the Kangxi Emperor, which resulted in the 1708 imperial ruling that accepted the Jesuit strategy of accommodation to Chinese culture and rejected all others, represented a turning point for the Catholic missions. They also agree that the 1723-1724 imperial edict proscribing the religion represents another turning-point.

<sup>8</sup> Zhaoqing was the administrative center of the provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi, and it also had jurisdiction over the city of Macao. Chinese officials posted to Zhaoqing also closely followed commercial affairs involving the arrival of ships, traders, and missionaries in Guangzhou, formerly known as Canton, also in Guangdong province. Beginning in the late sixteenth century, Canton had become a desired destination for European traders because of the bi-annual trade fairs (January and June) held in the city. The Jesuit missionary Michele Ruggieri served as a translator for European traders who traveled to Canton for the fair. By the late seventeenth century, Canton had important missionary centers and churches, and the city served as a refuge for missionaries during periods of exile from the imperial capital of Peking in 1705-1707, 1724, and 1732.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Sebes, “The Precursors of Ricci” 19-61 in *East Meets West*, 30.



faith in lieu of all other faiths. The Bull *Romanus Pontifex* that had been issued on 8 January 1454 by Pope Nicolas V presents a vivid illustration of the universal power that the Roman Catholic pontiff credited to the Church as official arbiter for Christian nations of Europe. This bull followed a half-century of Portuguese exploration of coastal northwest Africa, an exploratory process that slowly spread southward to the Gulf of Guinea. The six-page bull, issued nearly fifty years before Columbus discovered the “new world,” minutely outlined the rights, privileges, and duty of the king of Portugal, who “as a true soldier of Christ, the creator of all things,” should spread the Gospel, combat Saracens, and other enemies in order to people the world with “orthodox Christians.”<sup>10</sup>

After Columbus’ discoveries in the western ocean, the Castilian King Ferdinand asked the newly installed pope, Alexander VI, for a ruling on colonial affairs that would ease Spanish-Portuguese colonial rivalries. The Apostolic Father issued the famous Bull *Inter Caetera* on 4 May 1493 that assigned to Castile the exclusive right to acquire territory and to trade in all lands lying west of the meridian situated one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands (except in cases where other Christian princes might have laid claim to such lands prior to Christmas 1492). This bull of Alexander VI exalted the rulers of Spain as “very dear children of Christ” and noted their responsibility to see that “the Christian religion be exalted and be everywhere increased and spread.”<sup>11</sup> This major document outlined the legal doctrine regarding the establishment of empires in the “new world” and divided the world between Spain and Portugal.

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<sup>10</sup> Frances Gardiner Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1917), 20-26.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

The power of the king of Spain increased as a result of Alexander VI's ruling and subsequent agreements. Soon after Spain entered the circle of special colonial privileges the Holy See and the Spanish crown signed an agreement in 1508, which forbade Church officials in the Spanish colonies from communicating with the Pope--except through the crown and vice versa.<sup>12</sup> Within their areas of control, both Portugal and Spain had exclusive rights over navigation, conquest, and commerce. The Portuguese and Spanish kings accepted responsibility for spreading the gospel in their areas of "royal patronage," rendered in Portuguese and Spanish as the *Padroado* and *Patronato* respectively, and used in this sense hereafter.<sup>13</sup> For nearly the entire sixteenth century, Jesuits could embark from Europe to Asia only from Portugal because of the treaties that Spain and Portugal had signed.

The Italian Jesuit missionary, Matteo Ricci, S. J., is recognized as the greatest practitioner of "accommodation," or adaptation to Chinese culture. Matteo Ricci followed the rules of the *padroado* when he left Europe at the beginning of his missionary life and embarked for India from Lisbon in 1578 after an audience with King Sebastian of Portugal, on the vessel *St. Louis*. He worked on the Malabar coast before being sent to help in the China mission. Ricci was allowed to open a mission in Peking in 1610. Before this, he had lived in several southern cities and then made his way to the capital, where he presented the Wanli Emperor (r. 1573-1620) with European gifts consisting of a portrait of the Virgin and a chiming clock. The last gift fascinated the emperor, and Ricci's ability to repair the clock ingratiated him with the monarch. Because no one else could fix the clock, Ricci was allowed to reside in Peking and open a Jesuit residence.

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<sup>12</sup> Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict, Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures 1492-1800* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1989), 56. Because King John II rejected the line established by Pope Alexander VI, the king opened negotiations with Spain, and the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) resulted, which moved the imaginary line through the Atlantic 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. The Treaty of Saragossa (1529) extended this line beyond the poles.

<sup>13</sup> Andrew C. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed, The Jesuits in Japan and China 1542-1742* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1994), xii.

Nicholas Standaert has observed a dynamic in the relationship between the emperor and the first “court Jesuit,” as well as subsequent ones, and he characterizes it as a process in which as time went by “...a subtle interplay between the missionaries and the emperor came into existence, in which both sides took advantage of the other for their own purposes.”<sup>14</sup>

Ricci and his confrere Michele Ruggieri, S. J. (1543-1607) had first attempted to blend into Chinese society to spread the “Lord of Heaven Teaching” by wearing Buddhist robes during their first twelve years of life in China.<sup>15</sup> During their initial phase in China under the sponsorship of the Zhaoqing city prefect Wang Pan, Ruggieri and Ricci were sympathetic to Buddhists, and they saw parallels between the Trinity and the three pledges of Buddhism, namely, first, to Lord Buddha, second, to the *dharmā*, or the law or teaching of Buddha, and third, to the *sangha*, or the Buddhist community.

After living in China and assessing Chinese religion and society more deeply, Ricci rejected the tenets of both Buddhism and Daoism, two religions that he considered rife with superstition. He decided to adopt the values and clothing of the followers of the “Literati Teaching,” or *Rujiao*, the scholar-officials who staffed the imperial bureaucracy of China.<sup>16</sup> Historian Lionel M. Jensen identifies this “crossing over” or “conversion” of the Jesuits to the new *Ru* identity as the most critical phase of the Jesuit endeavor in China. Jensen maintains that from this point onward, the Jesuit writers and theorists continually made linkages between “...surface similarities of the *Ru* school and the Jesuit order as formal evidence of substantive

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<sup>14</sup> Nicolas Standaert, 2.12.2 “Jesuits” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 312.

<sup>15</sup> For more on Michele Ruggieri who preceded Matteo Ricci in attempting to found a mission in China see Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1973), 219 and 235 and also George H. Dunne *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 1962), 15-25 and 138.

<sup>16</sup> Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism, Chinese Traditions & Universal Civilization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 44-46. For a critique see Nicolas Standaert, “The Jesuits Did NOT Manufacture ‘Confucianism’” *East Asian Science, Medicine, and Technology* 16 (1999):115-132.

likeness and presumed that *Ru* doctrine had shaped, as did Christianity in Europe, the language, laws, customs, and literature of the empire.”<sup>17</sup> However, no matter how much the early Jesuits seemed to cross over to a Confucian identity, they also relentlessly retained their religious allegiance to Rome, their order, and Catholicism.

The Jesuit Figurist Joachim Bouvet offered another interpretation of Chinese classical literature, namely, as symbolical compositions (of “characters” or “figures”) that contained the deepest Christian mysteries. This interpretation of Chinese literary symbolism gave rise to the terms “Figurism” and “Figurists” in seventeenth-century France, and some Figurists claimed that the remarkably accurate Chinese historical records excelled Biblical record.<sup>18</sup> The Figurists offered other interpretations of Chinese religion and philosophy. The leading Figurist, Joaquim Bouvet (1656-1730), who arrived in China in 1688 along with the five other Jesuits sent by Louis XIV, offered an interpretation of the Chinese classics, and particularly the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*) as well as some Daoist texts, which proposed that Christian Revelation might be found in those texts.<sup>19</sup> This represented a step beyond Ricci’s interpretation that the Original Literati Teaching (*Yuanru*) represented monotheism. For example, Figurists argued that the fifth hexagram in the *Yijing* (*xu*, which represents salutary rain) resembled the analogy used by the prophet Isaiah: “Shower, O heavens, from above, and let the skies rain down righteousness” (Isaiah 45: 8). Interpretations of Chinese characters, Figurists claimed, pre-figured Christian doctrine such as: the number three, (三 *san*), for the Trinity; Heaven, (天), consisting of 二 (*er*,

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>18</sup> Claudia von Collani, *Der Figuristen in der Chinamission* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), cited in *The Rites Controversy* (1994), 310. Note on spelling, “Figurism” and “Figurists” are consistently capitalized terms.

<sup>19</sup> Rule, Paul A., *K’ung-tzu or Confucius? The Jesuit interpretation of Confucianism* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin), 1986, 155.

which means “two”) and 人 (*ren*, which means “human being/man”) or the second person of the Trinity, along with numerous others.<sup>20</sup> The majority of Jesuits found these interpretations too radical.<sup>21</sup> However, both the Figurists’ and Ricci’s “accommodative” interpretations of Chinese history did reach European audiences in popular literature, and they formed the core debate in the Rites Controversy, which represents a theme intimately related to Jesuit apostolic literature and the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. The published version of John W. Witek’s outstanding dissertation on the Figurist Jean-François Fouquet, S.J. (1665-1741) reveals the complexities of not only Figurist theory and literature, but also the debates over these theories amongst missionaries in China and Jesuit superiors in Rome.<sup>22</sup>

The Jesuit missionaries in China, with their devotion to Chinese translation projects and correspondence with European savants, exerted profound effects on European intellectual life. For example, in pre-Enlightenment France the Hebraist Etienne Fourmont who corresponded with Joseph de Prémare, S.J. (1666-1736) in China is considered France’s first proto-sinologist.

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<sup>20</sup> Eighteenth-century Figurist interpretations appear in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 674-675. A further elaboration that represents a kind of Figurist approach was explained to me by an evangelical missionary working in Southeast Asia and China in 2004. He explained that the character for “come” 來 (*lai*) represented “the big man Christ, flanked by two smaller men on the cross.” This represents a reinterpretation of the dictionary form of the character. While *Mathews’ Dictionary* lists the character under the radical for “man” 人 *ren*, the first four strokes of the character represent the “tree” radical 木 *mu*, and the Christian reading of the character interprets strokes three and four as depicting “a big man,” 人 on the cross, flanked by two small men. This presents a visual symbol of Christ’s passion and the notion of “come unto me all thee that travail and are burdened....” (Personal discussion with evangelical missionary, Bangkok, Thailand, 14 May 2004).

<sup>21</sup> Mungello, *The Great Encounter*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 67-72. Louis Le Comte, S.J. included Figurist interpretations in his memoirs that described life in China from 1687 to 1692, a memoir that was condemned by the conservative French Catholic clergy of the Sorbonne. This history is briefly described in the text below.

<sup>22</sup> Witek, S.J., *Controversial Ideas in China and In Europe: A Bibliography of Jean-François Fouquet* (Rome: Institutum Historicum, 1982), 20-32. Witek presents the entire Figurist controversy within the historical-political context of the seventeenth, and early eighteenth-century Jesuit mission in China and in light of letters and documents in the Jesuit Archives, Rome, as well as numerous other European archives.

Fourmont learned about China without ever leaving France.<sup>23</sup> He was responsible for cataloging foreign acquisitions in the King's Library in Paris. He argued for a literal reading of the Old Testament and a comparative approach to discovering accurate chronology of world events.<sup>24</sup>

The Jesuit translations that presented a sympathetic interpretation of Confucius had considerable effect on European audiences. For example, Voltaire (1694-1778) advocated aspects of the socio-ethical political philosophy of Confucius he read about in Jesuit translations. He wrote essays that depicted China's socio-political system as far superior to and more equitable than the clerically dominated Christian European system of government.<sup>25</sup>

Matteo Ricci and most Jesuits rejected the religious teaching of Buddhism and Daoism as superstitious cults. They additionally rejected the various Confucian schools that developed during the Song (960-1279), Yuan (1271-1368), and Ming (1368-1644), which they labeled Neo-Confucianism (*néo-confuciens* in French and *Neoterici Interpretes*, or "Modern Interpreters" in Latin). Chinese philosophy had no such classification of revived *Ru* philosophy. Neo-Confucian philosophy, traceable to the late Song (circa 1200s), is particularly noted for the contributions of Zhu Xi (1130-1200), who maintained that literati-philosophers could identify underlying principles or *li* (理) that explained heaven's actions and guided human conduct.<sup>26</sup> Zhu Xi and his followers believed that understanding these principles could help men to live rationally and in

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<sup>23</sup> On the terms "proto-sinology" and "proto-sinologists," which describe the field of early European study of China and those engaged in this field, see Mungello, *Curious Land*, index and pages 13-14.

<sup>24</sup> Cécile Leung, *Etienne Fourmont (1683-1745) Oriental and Chinese Languages in Eighteenth-Century France* (Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2002), 18. For his work entitled *Réflexions critiques sur les Histoires des anciens peuples, chaldéens, hébreux, phéniciens, égyptiens, grecs etc. jusqu'au tems de Cyrus en trois livre* (Paris : Musier, 1735) 2 vols. in 4, see Leung page 120. An excellent summation of the evolution of the debate over Chinese chronology gathered from missionary reports and travel literature may be found in Virgile Pinot's long chapter on "l'Antiquité de l'histoire chinoise et la chronologie" in *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France (1640-1740)* (Paris: Geuthner, 1932), 189-279.

<sup>25</sup> Voltaire, François-Marie Arouet de, *Dictionnaire philosophique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), 311-35 and in *Essai sur les Mœurs* 2 vols. (Garnier, Édition de R. Pomeau, 1963), I: 785-793.

<sup>26</sup> Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 102.

tune with Heaven. They believed such cultivated, moral men could contribute to society by serving in public careers. Spence characterizes Zhu Xi's era as one in which:

Thus, there was a state-oriented tilt to Song Confucianism, even though the elaboration of such beliefs demanded multifaceted levels of cosmological speculation as individual thinkers probed for heaven's purposes.<sup>27</sup>

However, most Jesuits considered Neo-Confucianism a metaphysical accretion of the original teaching of the ancient Confucian teaching, one that had been corrupted by the influence of Buddhist and Daoist thinking. They also viewed Neo-Confucian cosmology and metaphysics as philosophically materialistic and atheistic--thus they preferred the Confucianism of the earlier Warring States (403-221 B.C.E.) and Han period (202 B.C.E.-220 C.E.), which they called *Yuanru* (Original Literati Teaching).<sup>28</sup>

## II. Intra-Order Disputes over the Rites

As early as 1643, priests of the different orders in China openly disagreed over Jesuit toleration of the observance of ancestral rituals by Christian converts. The controversy over Chinese rites reached Europe after the Dominican Juan Bautista de Morales, O.P. presented "Seventeen Questions" to Rome that attacked the Jesuit approach to rites. Namely, the Jesuits condoned observation of funerary rites among Christian converts prescribed in such ancient canons as the *Book of Ritual (Liji)* and the *Book of History (Shujing)*, canons that articulated sacred truths for the Chinese. In 1645, the Pope prohibited the practices Morales described. Then, in 1656, Pope Alexander VII (1599-1667) ruled favorably on the rites after Martino Martini, S. J. (1614-1661) explained the Jesuit position in Rome.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>28</sup> Mungello, *The Great Encounter*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 97.

The Rites Controversy intensified when the Vicar Apostolic of Fujian, Charles Maigrot, *Missions Etrangères of Paris* (MEP), condemned Jesuit accommodation to Chinese rites in a mandate issued 26 March 1693. Nicolas Charlot (MEP) submitted the mandate to the Roman Holy Office in 1697, and this action opened the Rites Controversy anew in Europe. The European disagreements over Chinese rites for the dead would soon become an extremely irritating topic for the Kangxi Emperor back in China.<sup>29</sup> An illustration of the degree to which the Kangxi Emperor made an effort to understand Jesuit views on Chinese rites for the dead is provided by the remarks he wrote on a seven-page treatise by Ferdinand Verbiest. Above the text that states the Catholic position that opposed the Chinese custom of burning facsimile paper money for the deceased, the emperor wrote two comments: “Straightforward and thorough” and “Right, right, but it may offend some.”<sup>30</sup> These editorial comments of the Kangxi Emperor provide one among many examples of the effort that the emperor made to understand the Europeans and their ways. However, by 1706 when the papal legate Charles de Tournon (legate in China 1705-1710) received an audience with the Kangxi Emperor in Rehe (Jehol, an imperial retreat, present-day Chengde) the legate’s ignorance of the Chinese language irritated the emperor, who judged him incapable of judging Chinese culture. The emperor was incensed by the audacity of de Tournon and ordered him expelled from China to Macao. Annoyed by the intransigence of the confreres of the different orders, the Kangxi Emperor declared in 1706 that any missionary who desired to remain in China must sign a statement that said he agreed with

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 345. For further background see Nicolas Standaert, 4.1.6. “Rites Controversy,” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 682-683.

<sup>30</sup> Jap. Sin. I 38/1.1 f. 007, Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J., “*Tianzhu jiao sangli wenda*” (天主教喪禮問答 Questions and Answers on Christian Funerary Ritual). The translations are from Chan, 35-38. See Fig. 2.



the missionary approach of Ricci. Then, each missionary who signed the statement received an imperial permit or patent (*piao*) to reside in the empire.<sup>31</sup>

Gallican and Jansenist opponents of the Jesuits took up the issue of the rites in Paris as early as 1700. The conservative Faculty of the Sorbonne condemned five propositions found in the 1696 publication by Louis Le Comte, S. J. entitled *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* as erroneous and wholly unacceptable.<sup>32</sup> Le Comte's views represented Jesuit accommodation. The condemned propositions contained the notion that the Chinese had preserved knowledge of the true God and had sacrificed with true devotion to that God for two thousand years; that the Chinese nation was truly favored among nations; and that his majesty the Chinese emperor need not regard Christianity as a foreign religion.<sup>33</sup> Contemporary researchers of Sino-European history urgently call for closer examination of the role that Chinese and Manchus played in all aspects of the Rites Controversy.<sup>34</sup> For example Qiu Sheng, a *jurem* degree holder from Fujian who believed that the teaching of Catholicism and Confucianism accorded, politely advised the missionaries who argued about the meaning of Chinese rites with the following: "Your Reverences who study our Chinese books ought to know when to change

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<sup>31</sup> Claudia von Colani, 2.1. "Missionaries & 2.1.1. Historical Survey," in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 298.

<sup>32</sup> Le Comte, Louis, S.J. *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine*, 2 vol. Avec Privilège du Roi. Dédicace : Au Roy (Paris: chez Jean Anisson, 1696) ; re-ed.: Paris, 1697, 1698, 1700, 1701. Trad. Eng. London, 1698. Mod. Ed. *Un Jésuite à Pékin: Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine, 1687-1692* ed. Frédérique Touboul-Bouyeure, (Paris: Éditions Phébus), 1990.

<sup>33</sup> Reichler, ed., *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des missions l'Amérique Méridionale par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 34-36 and Mungello, *Curious Land*, 333-334.

<sup>34</sup> Kristopher Schipper, "Some Naïve Questions about the Rites Controversy – A Project for Future Research," in *Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (XVII-XVIII centuries)*, ed. Federico Masini (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1996), 293-308

and adapt (to the Chinese custom). It is not expedient to stick to a word or phrase so woodenly to the detriment of the welfare of the mission.”<sup>35</sup>

Back in Europe, the ruling against Father Le Comte’s account of his mission work in China represented a victory for Jansenist opponents of Jesuit theology. Gallican Jansenists had consistently labeled their Catholic confreres as ultramontane (overly devoted to Rome and thus insufficiently devoted to France), as deficient in their understanding of proper religious attrition and overly zealous in advocating frequent communion, and as practitioners of casuistry in religious matters. The Jansenist victory at the Sorbonne deepened animosity between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. It also represented a victory for conservative thought in France, epitomized by the faculty of the Sorbonne. The ruling against Le Comte’s work stifled further inquiry about China in the Sorbonne.<sup>36</sup> In 1704 Pope Clement XI condemned the Chinese rites with the issuance of a new bull against them. However, popular interest in Le Comte’s descriptions of China, which generally oversimplified fundamental aspects of the Jesuit interpretation of Chinese history, philosophy, and institutions, was manifested in brisk sales, translations, and several editions that appeared over a short period of time.

The Vatican sent altogether three legations to the court in China to settle matters relating to the Rites Controversy: the de Tournon Legation (1705-1710), the Mezzabarba Legation (1720-1721), and the Carmelite Legation (1725-1726). However, all three papal legations ended in failure for the Europeans. The Kangxi Emperor regarded the position of Rome and its representatives as meddling in China’s internal affairs, a position his son, the Yongzheng

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<sup>35</sup> ARSI, Jap.Sin. I (38/42) 40/3, folios 1-6. “Letter of Mr. Qiu of Fujian, Jiangle county, to several fathers” *Minzhong jianglexian qiu xiansheng zhi zhu wei shenfu shu* 閩中將樂縣丘先生至諸位神父書. The cover of the letter bears the title: “Epistola unius Kiu Gin [舉人] Christiani dicti Kieu Chim de Fo Kien, praemissa suo libro circa has controversias sinicas.” Translation is from Chan, 47.

<sup>36</sup> *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 436. See also ARSI, Jap. Sin. I (38/42) 40/3, folios 1-6 cited above.

Emperor, likewise adopted. The papal ban on discussion of Chinese rites was annulled in 1939 on the grounds that similar Shinto rites were more civil and social than religious in nature.<sup>37</sup>

Much debate over the significance of the Rites Controversy still exists within the field of Chinese studies. S. A. M. Adshead maintains that "...too much has been attributed to it,"<sup>38</sup> while John E. Wills, Jr. notes that "...what we really need to know in relation to the Rites Controversy requires a great deal of sophisticated knowledge of China, and attention to Chinese Catholic phenomena that emerged out of the interaction of Chinese and Western cultures, beliefs, and institutions."<sup>39</sup> Wills' assessment shares similarities with Spence's approach to identifying "problems of evidence" because both scholars stress the need for careful examination of texts within the social, political, and religious context of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Sino-European encounter. Wills stresses that more research should be conducted using legal sources, especially in relation to the persecution of Christians from 1745 to 1747. The recent book by Lars Peter Laamann *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China* has succeeded in presenting a detailed account of the hybridization and indigenization of Chinese Christianity, which began in the seventeenth century, continued throughout the following two centuries, and as Laamann observes in his conclusion still continues at present.<sup>40</sup> Laamann's research primarily relies upon documents held in the First Historical Archives in Peking and the Archives of the Propaganda Fide in Rome. He presents copious references to archival documents that had lain hidden in archives, and he also notes related important printed sources that all pertain to the following

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<sup>37</sup> D. E. Mungello, (2005), 84.

<sup>38</sup> Adshead, 245.

<sup>39</sup> John E. Wills, Jr., "From Manila to Fuan: Asian Contexts of Dominican Mission Policy" in *The Chinese Rites Controversy*, David E. Mungello, ed. (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994), 111-128.

<sup>40</sup> Lars Peter Laamann, *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China, Christian inculturation and state control, 1720-1850* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 110.

categories: legal questions, previously unknown individuals, local and central government proscription campaigns, incidents of persecution, examples of inculturation, and dilemmas of scholar-officials. One reviewer noted that Laamann's work may pose a serious challenge to readers who are not experts in the field because of its abbreviated and technical style.<sup>41</sup>

Kristopher Schipper's recommendations for further research on the Rites Controversy echo Wills' because Schipper stresses that Qing literati pursued *kaozheng* scholarship, translated as "practicing evidential research," which meant that they devoted their energy to studies in linguistics, mathematics, astronomy, and geography. The *kaozheng* scholars rejected Song speculation on texts and pursued studies in "hard facts."<sup>42</sup> In textual exegesis they championed a return to the study of original texts and to the adoption of vernacular language. Schipper notes these developments in the Qing were very comparable to Protestant ideas that had developed in Europe a century earlier.

### III. Historiography of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.

Only a small body of literature on the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* has been written since the the publication of Pinot's classic study in 1932. However, the recent digitalization and posting to major libraries and google.books.com of the Nicolas Le Clerc 1707-1776 edition and the J.G. Merigot 1780-1783 edition of the letters suggests that the Jesuits' French letters may receive further attention. What follows is a brief introduction to recent key scholarly works that

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<sup>41</sup> Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China, Christian inculturation and state control, 1720-1850*, review in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 27 (2007): 53.

<sup>42</sup> Schipper, "Some Naïve Questions about the Rites Controversy" in *Western Humanistic Culture*, 307. The translation of *kaozheng* is from Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 103, who bases his observations on Benjamin Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

help delineate the significance of the letters, as well as their manner of composition, transmission, and publication.

Claude Reichler's introductory essay to Jesuit letters written from Central and South America describes the literary and cultural effect of the Jesuit missions on both European and world culture, noting that famous men of the Enlightenment, writers such as Voltaire in *L'essai sur les mœurs*, Denis Diderot (1728-1784), and Guillaume Thomas François Raynal (1713-1796) in *L'Histoire des deux Indes* (1770) accepted notions about indigenous people that Jesuits presented in their letters.<sup>43</sup> Missionary writers frequently used such precious language as “cultivating a field” for the action of evangelizing and “a full harvest” for numerous conversions.<sup>44</sup>

Enlightenment philosophes learned about the civilizations of China and Japan with their polite customs, literary achievements, and legal Codes from Jesuit letters. In Montesquieu's comparative study of legal systems world-wide published in 1748 *De L'Esprit des lois*, he argued that China was despotic and ruled by fear, or by the bamboo baton.<sup>45</sup> Montesquieu and Voltaire became involved in a polemical debate over the nature of law and despotism in China. Voltaire denied Montesquieu's charge in *Essai sur les mœurs*, in which he depicted Chinese government as enlightened and humane. For these European intellectuals, the study of China remained largely a ground upon which to argue questions relating to European politics and religion.

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<sup>43</sup> Reichler, ed. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des missions l'Amérique Méridionale par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 34.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>45</sup> Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, trans. T. Nugent (New York, 1949), 122-28 and 137-40, and in Montesquieu, *Œuvres complètes* (New York: Macmillan Company, Éditions du Seuil: 1964), 615 and 644-5. The footnotes in the original and translated texts cite both the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* and Du Halde's 1735 four volume text about China.

Clearly the accommodative approach of Ricci toward Chinese civilization that lauded certain aspects of local culture and political organization was in contrast to European views toward the Indians of the Americas. For the Europeans, the civilizations of these peoples centered upon questions of radical alterity, or in seventeenth-century terms, the native peoples of the New World appeared uncivilized because they were not Christians and lived without laws and customs Europeans recognized. Thus, the Europeans regarded the Native American Indians as radically different from Europeans, and most Europeans discovered few or no grounds on which their cultures could accommodate.<sup>46</sup> Questions concerning radical alterity of the “Other” became the center of an eighteenth-century debate concerning groups outside of Europe. A perennial question in cultural studies consists of determining how the adoption of the customs of the “other” transforms the identity of the individual (or group) entering into or living within a hostculture.<sup>47</sup> The terms--the Other and the other<sup>48</sup>--derive from French philosophical discussion of alterity, or *l'altérité*.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> The preface to the selected edition of the Jesuit letters (1835) characterizes the native population of North America as follows: “No other history of missions offers a more terrible example of the trials of missions than that of Canada. In those cold regions they [Jesuits] found no amiable natives as did the missionaries in Paraguay. The people of Canada were barbaric, fierce, courageous, and carried a deep hatred of foreigners.” From *Choix des lettres édifiantes et curieuses: écrites des missions étrangères, précédé de tableaux géographiques, historiques, politiques, religieux et littéraires des pays des missions* (Paris: A. Caen, 1835), xxij.

<sup>47</sup> See Willard J. Peterson, “What to wear?” Observation and participation by Jesuit missionaries in late Ming society” in *Implicit Understandings, Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schram (London: Cambridge University Press, 1994),403.

<sup>48</sup> The capitalized form “Other” indicates a specific group in contrast to an abstract “other.”

<sup>49</sup> For an introduction to alterity see Tzvetan Todorov, *La Conquête de l'Amérique: La question de l'autre* (Paris: Sueil, 1982), particularly 158 where Todorov proposes a systematic study (typology) of relations with the “other.” First, there is the value judgment (an axiological level): the individual perceives the “other” and decides whether to like or dislike the other, whether he (or she) is good or bad, or whether to consider the other as equal or inferior. Second, there is the rapprochement and removal from the other (the praxeological level): the individual adopts his (or her) values, identifies with him, or assimilates the other to himself, or he imposes his own image on him. Between submission to the other and submission of the other, the options of neutrality or indifference likewise exist. Third, the individual comes to know or ignores the identity of the other (the epistemological level): on this axis an infinite gradation between lesser and greater states of knowledge exists. Relations amongst these three levels may exist but offer no strict implications: one cannot reduce one to another, nor deduce one from another.

The Jesuits' attempt to accommodate in China brought charges of casuistry upon the Society of Jesus for opponents of the Jesuits complained that they attempted "to be all things to all people," or *tout à tous*. Reichler observes that Blaise Pascal (1656-1657) who charged the Jesuits with casuistry in the *Lettres provinciales* (1657) argued his position with unparalleled casuistry.<sup>50</sup> The caustic atmosphere of seventeenth century Catholic religious rivalries cannot be overstated in respect to their effect on East Asian missions and international relations.

What sets the letters written by Jesuits in China apart from letters written by Jesuit letter writers of the so-called "new world" is the respect the Jesuits expressed for the antiquity and accomplishments of Chinese civilization. Isabelle and Jean-Louis Vissière have edited and annotated two recent selected collections of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des Jésuites de Chine 1702-1776*.<sup>51</sup> Their perceptive introduction depicts the multiple roles of the court Jesuits: namely, their vocations as missionary, scientist, and diplomat.<sup>52</sup> The Vissières note that the Jesuits' letters during the Qianlong reign detailed the zealous persecution of Chinese Christians by mandarins. Even after the 1773 dissolution of the Society of Jesus in Europe, Jesuits remained in the Peking court and continued to work for the emperor (even during both the period of Louis XVI), where they continued to reside in the "gilded ghetto" of the court, serving as scientists, technicians, and artists. The Vissières regard the role of the court priests as "diplomatic antennae" for the French court, a role the fathers continued, for their letters written to French confreres and officials provided information on life in the Chinese empire even after

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<sup>50</sup> Reichler, ed. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des missions l'Amérique Méridionale par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 40.

<sup>51</sup> Vissière, Isabelle and Jean-Louis, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des Jésuites de Chine 1702-1776* (Paris : Garnier-Flammarion, 1979), 12, and Vissière, Isabelle and Jean-Louis, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des Jésuites de Chine 1702-1776* (Paris: Éditions Desjonquères, 2001).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-40.

the dissolution of the Society of Jesus.<sup>53</sup> The Vissières' scholarship stresses that what the Jesuits wrote about China profoundly affected European readers and intellectuals and ultimately contributed to changes in intellectual outlook and political alignments in European society, which is a finding similar to Reichler's. Paul Hazard also stresses the effect of China on Europe in his classic *The European Mind, the Critical Years 1680-1715*.<sup>54</sup>

André Rétif observes in his short history of the letters that "few works are more celebrated and less referred to than the *Lettres édifiantes*."<sup>55</sup> His article that appeared four decades before the Vissières' scholarship offers similar observations on the cultural significance of the letters, for he points out that a careful reading of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* offers the opportunity to gain a deep understanding of how the missionaries influenced the evolution of ideas in eighteenth-century Europe.

John E. Wills, Jr., a specialist in Sino-European diplomatic history, trade, and international relations, offers a keen insight into the role he believes the Peking Jesuits played during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While describing how thoroughly Father Ferdinand Verbiest, S. J. prepared the way for the Portuguese embassy of Bento Pereira de Faria in 1678, one that presented the young Kangxi Emperor with a lion in 1667, an exotic animal that the monarch had actually asked for, Wills writes: They were [the Peking Jesuits], in effect, a

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<sup>53</sup> Vissière, Isabelle and Jean-Louis, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des jésuites de Chine 1702-1776* (Paris : Desjonquères, 2001), 24-25.

<sup>54</sup> Paul Hazard, *The European Mind, the Critical Years 1680-1715* (Cleveland: New World Publishing, 1962).

<sup>55</sup> André Rétif, "Brève histoire des lettres édifiantes et curieuses" *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, hereafter cited as *NZM*, (Beckenried, Switzerland, 1951), 37.



surrogate for the resident embassy which Europeans already discussed occasionally but would not obtain for almost two centuries.<sup>56</sup>

Viewing the court Jesuits in Peking in this light provides latitude for considering a number of important questions. That the Manchu rulers of the Ming-Qing era would tolerate the presence of “a surrogate for the resident embassy” suggests great openness in early Qing Sino-European relations. At the same time, the Jesuits’ adaptive skills to Manchu court politics, along with their Confucian-Christian synthesis, illustrates how sensitive the Jesuits were to local politics and culture. Additionally, the sensitivity of the information Jesuits gathered about China, which was immediately seized during the dissolution of the Society and then lost, hints at the highly controversial nature of information the Jesuits handled. Finally, as Chapters Three through Five will show, memorials that the Jesuits wrote to the emperor aimed to influence Qing foreign policy in favor of European interests.

The success of different editions of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, and of eighteenth-century translations of those French letters into German, Italian, English,<sup>57</sup> and Polish offers evidence of the eagerness of audiences in Europe for the latest Jesuit observations on other worlds. The *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* were first translated into German by Joseph Stöcklein, S.J. (1676-1733) and published in 1726 as *Der Neue Welt-Bott*.<sup>58</sup> The *Welt-Bott* consists of thirty-eight parts, divided into five volumes, in which 780 numbered letters from missions around the world appear. Some 200 letters of the entire work consist of letters from China, indicative of the importance the editor saw in East Asian affairs for German readers. Stöcklein

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<sup>56</sup> John E. Wills, Jr., *Embassies and Illusions, Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi, 1666-1687* (Cambridge: Published by the Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984), 143.

<sup>57</sup> *Travels of the Jesuits into Various Parts of the World, Particularly China and the East Indies*, (trans. Mr. John Lockman; 1762, Reprint, New Dehli: J. Jetley), 1995.

<sup>58</sup> Claudia von Collani, “*Der Neue Welt-Bott*, A Preliminary Survey,” *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 25 (2003), 16-43.

translated fifty-five letters from the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* composed by members of the French Mission, and he included ninety-one letters written by Jesuits belonging to the *Heiliges Römisches Reich*. Of the remainder of the 200 letters from China, four were written by Portuguese Jesuits, four by Italians, and two by Polish Jesuits. One was written by the papal legate de Tournon and two others by Franciscans, and the remainder by unknown authors.<sup>59</sup> The letters in the *Welt-Bott* concerning China present less information on science than the letters found in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, while they also avoid discussion of the Rites Controversy. The German letters from China mainly focus upon affairs of the court and the situation for Christian parishes and communities after the 1724 proscription edict.<sup>60</sup>

Another important scholarly project on the German edition of the letters may be found in *Gespräch mit dem Kaiser, Auserlesene Stücke aus den "Erbaulichen und seltsamen Briefen" der Jesuitenmissionare aus dem Reich der Mitte*,<sup>61</sup> which presents a selection of annotated letters. The research for this study was directed by Swiss Sinologist Jean-Pierre Voiret (assisted by a group of his students) at the University of Zurich. Professor Voiret's study contains twenty-five annotated letters presented in modern German, along with an introduction that highlights the influence these letters had upon European readers and Enlightenment philosophers. He characterizes these groups as audiences that were receptive to Jesuit information on foreign lands, which presented "Enlightenment ideas" to Europe in a pre-Enlightenment era.

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 18-19.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 18. It should be noted that Collani identifies the 16 October 1724 letter of Father de Mailla as having been addressed to Father Du Halde. However, Landry-Deron acknowledges the recipient as "unknown" by her use of the stars "Au P.\*\*\*" in the text of the letter as it was originally published, see Landry-Deron's "Chart," 140. Comparison of the 16 October 1724 letter of de Mailla with similar original autograph copies of correspondence from China in the Jesuit Archives, Rome, of the same period suggests that the recipient of the letter was more likely the Father General of the Society.

<sup>61</sup> Jean-Pierre Voiret, ed., *Gespräch mit dem Kaiser, Auserlesene Stücke aus den "Erbaulichen und seltsamen Briefen" der Jesuitenmissionare aus dem Reich der Mitte* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1996).

Numerous translation projects on Sino-Western cultural relations and mission history have been undertaken. Selections from the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* have been translated and published in Chinese, and the scholar Geng Sheng is working on a complete translation of the French letters.<sup>62</sup> Sino-Western history (a translation of the term *zhongxi wenhua jiaotongshi* 中西文化交通史), which is also termed East-West Relations (*dongxi jiaoliu* 東西交流), and the history of Christianity in China are now respected fields on the mainland. This is in marked contrast to the years from 1949 to the mid-1980s when strict Marxist historical categorization rejected and labeled all Western thought and missionary efforts as manifestations of decadent capitalist society, a term coterminous with colonial ambition. Geng Sheng acknowledges that the Jesuits attained a broad and deep knowledge about China. However, he also notes faults among the missionaries: some retained a degree of unfamiliarity with Chinese culture and people, while others revealed colonial ambitions. He points out that some missionaries were hostile to the Chinese people. Therefore, he warns that some portions of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* contain imprecise and twisted interpretations of Chinese culture.<sup>63</sup> These points of Geng Sheng on the French letters contain are valid, and Geng's observations also resonate with observations on the interpretation of texts previously cited from Pinot and Spence. Examples follow in Chapter Two of how Jesuit letters manipulated information contained in censor Fan Shaozu's 1711 memorial, which recommended the proscription of Christianity.

A study of Ignatius Kögler entitled *Der Mandarin des Himmels, Zeit und Leben des Chinamissionars Ignaz Kögler SJ (1680-1746)* by Christian Stücken is very valuable for the

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<sup>62</sup> Geng Sheng, 耿昇, *Yesuhuishi shujianji zhongguo shujian* 耶稣会士书简集中国书简 (Jesuit Letters from China) vol. 6, *Qing Historical Documents*, Published by the Historical Research Unit of the Chinese Academy of Social Science, (Beijing: Zhonghua Publishing, 1985), 133.

<sup>63</sup> Geng, 133.

complete European archival references regarding the missionary's correspondence with European religious authorities, scientists, confreres, and family members, along with complete documentation of his published works in German and Latin. Stücken makes brief mention of the *Ruijianlu* as a composition presented to the court by Kögler and the artist Giuseppe Castiglione.<sup>64</sup> In the concluding pages of his study, Stücken raises the question that many biographers wish to answer: Did this Jesuit mandarin of the Manchu-Chinese Astronomy Bureau hold other views than those found in the 137 archival documents in German and Latin included in the study that reveal Kögler as a dedicated technocrat and bureaucrat of the Celestial Empire?<sup>65</sup> I would argue, as Stücken also points out, that Kögler's identity as a member of the Society of Jesus provides the most thorough basis for understanding his activities in China. While Matteo Ricci's method of accommodation to Chinese culture formed the basis upon which the original Jesuit mission had been built, this method of accommodation also provided a guiding principle for attempting to salvage the mission after Christianity was outlawed in 1724. This principle also served court Jesuits in the early years of the Qianlong period, as Chapter Five will illustrate.

#### IV. Historiography of Christianity in China

The strength of Zhang Qiong's dissertation<sup>66</sup> is her analysis of the emergence of the "Ricci" method and how the Italian Jesuit imposed Scholastic categories and modes of argumentation in his apologetic text *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianzhu Shiyi* 天

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<sup>64</sup> Christian Stücken, *Der Mandarin des Himmels: Zeit und Leben des Chinamissionars Ignaz Kögler SJ (1680-1746)*, (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica), 350. Note that the spelling of the title is incorrect "*Rui Qian -lu*" (sic).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

<sup>66</sup> Zhang, *Cultural Accommodation or Intellectual Colonization?*

主實義). Zhang is a critic of the term “accommodation” to explain Jesuit adaptation to Chinese society. She characterizes the entire Jesuit missionary strategy of “accommodation” as one with an intolerant and overbearing cultural agenda that sought to re-interpret Chinese classical philosophy in Christian terms. Zhang stresses that the seventeenth-century Jesuits who went to China soon after the Catholic Counter-Reformation had begun would not have engaged in any “reflective missiological inquiries” such as “cultural accommodation.” Rather she points out that it was a time of Christian-Confucian cultural confrontation.<sup>67</sup> The strength of her dissertation is her analysis of how Catholic priests composed apologetic literature in Chinese and inconsistently mixed Confucian philosophical precepts and Scholastic theological assumptions.<sup>68</sup> Zhang views individual Jesuits as detached from ethical responsibility for mission policy even though she condemned Jesuit reinterpretation of Chinese religion and philosophy.<sup>69</sup>

Matteo Ricci’s definition of Confucian rituals for deceased ancestors as neither idolatrous nor religious but rather as “civil” or “political” provides an example of interpreting Chinese norms in European categories. In the early stages of cultural transmission from one culture to

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<sup>67</sup> Zhang, 24. In Chapter 1 “Mission and Culture,” she introduces and identifies Christianity as the “...extrovert, progressive, and missionary religion” it became based upon the Scriptural account of Jesus who said: “All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age.” (Cited from *The Holy Bible*, New International Version (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Corp., 1984), Mathew 28:18:20, 870.

<sup>68</sup> See Zhang, Chapter Four “Julius Aleni’s *Xingxue chushu* (A Brief Outline of the Study on Human Nature) and the Jesuit Mission of Disciplinary Building)” for examples of Jesuit misinterpretations of Chinese philosophy. For example, Zhang contends that Aleni’s interpretation of a distinction between “soul” and “human nature” imposes “a soul-body dichotomy, along with its Platonic-Catholic nuances, on the Chinese literature where it is obviously lacking,” 266.

<sup>69</sup> See Zhang who writes: “Certainly, the Jesuit missionaries as individuals were not responsible for such unethicity, since their perspectives and approach were highly justifiable within the parameters of their inherited ideals regarding the universal validity of Catholicism and its cultural foundations,” 21.

another, the possibility for distortion or interpretation of ideas exists.<sup>70</sup> The subtleties of understanding language, custom, and religious beliefs, which the early missionaries faced, cannot be overstated. The problems the rites generated in China led to the passage of rulings in Rome against Jesuit toleration of rites in 1714, 1715, and 1742.<sup>71</sup>

Although Jesuits tolerated some rites, they did not uniformly support all rites. Ricci's interpretation of the Confucian rituals as "civil" provides an example of his attempt to blend Christian teaching with Chinese culture or "traditional" Confucianism so that the mission could survive, take root, and grow. The compromise does indeed represent a drastically altered presentation of traditional Chinese society, a society that was devoid of the conception of a split between "civil" and "religious."<sup>72</sup>

Historian John E. Wills calls the Jesuit interpretation of the rites as "civil" simply "not very convincing."<sup>73</sup> Wills stresses that in the 1660s all missionaries knew that when Chinese carried out Confucian funerary rituals they believed the following: that they directly addressed ancestors; that they had the convictions that ancestors could help or hurt living family members; and that they believed that when they placed the dot (seen at the top) on the character *zhu* 主

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<sup>70</sup> See Erik Zürcher, "Aleni in Fujian, 1630-1640: The Medium and the Message" in *Scholar from the West* Giulio Aleni, S.J. (1582-1640) and the Dialogue between Christianity and China ed. Tiziana Lippiello and Roman Malek, (Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà and the Monumenta Serica Institute, Sankt Augustin, 1997), 595-616. For questions of particular interest regarding questions of cultural and religious adaptation see Aleni's tolerant stance on accepting "deities of mountains and rivers, and especially the City God...with the guardian angels to whom God has entrusted the protection of regions and cities..." 613.

<sup>71</sup> Standaert, "Rites Controversy" in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 680-688. In 1939 the Papacy annulled the 1742 condemnation, which had ruled severely that no debate on the issue was tolerable. In 1992 the first scholarly conference was held on this topic. For literature on this topic, which remains an underdeveloped field, see the bibliography on the last two pages of the article in this citation.

<sup>72</sup> Susan Mann, *Precious Records, Women in China's Long 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 226. On this point, also see Kristopher Schipper (1996), who observes "The fact that his dichotomy [between "sacred" and "profane"] did not apply in China--or in any case concerned very different areas of human behaviour than in the West--created a number of interpretative difficulties for the Jesuits, difficulties which still exist for many western observers of China today," 296.

<sup>73</sup> Wills, "From Manila to Fuan", in *The Rites Controversy*, 124.

(which means “to reside” or “to live at”) on the funerary tablet, the spirit of the ancestor came to reside in the tablet.<sup>74</sup> The Jesuits’ tolerance of Chinese funerary rites was certainly an example of toleration of traditional expressions of revering the recently deceased, as well as ancestors.

A tremendous change in the field of the history of Christianity in China began about three decades ago and needs clarification. During these years Western scholarship on China shifted-- from a missiological and Europe-centered approach based on assessing how missionaries presented Christianity in China--to a sinological and China-centered approach, which focuses on using Chinese texts along with European texts to discover how Chinese reacted to the introduction of Christianity and other aspects of Western culture. This approach calls for “complementarity and confrontation of the various primary sources.”<sup>75</sup> The *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635-1800* reflects the trend in research of the last several decades because it offers comprehensive information on extant primary and secondary sources relating to the history of Christianity, along with succinct essays on topics relating to the missions written by scholars world-wide.

Numerous recent works, and some from earlier years, regarding the history of Christianity in China and Qing history offer valuable insights on the present research question. Another important collection of essays *Christianity in China, From the Eighteenth-Century to the Present* attests to renewed interest in this field by American scholars, an interest that the late John King Fairbank had stimulated when he observed that more research was needed in this field.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Standaert, “Introduction,” *Handbook of Christianity in China*, x. and Daniel H. Bays, ed. *Christianity in China, From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), x.

<sup>76</sup> Bays, 1-2.

A much earlier useful source of translations on Sino-Western relations from Chinese, Manchu, and Latin sources, as well as historical analysis, remains to be found in *Apostolic Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century* by Antonio Sisto Rosso, O.F.M.<sup>77</sup> Rosso presents a Franciscan perspective of the three apostolic legations sent to the court in Peking to quell problems relating to the Rites Controversy. Although Rosso's assessment of Matteo Ricci is favorable, he points out ways that this famous Jesuit blended ancient Chinese belief systems and rituals for the dead with Christianity. For example, he argues that Chinese practitioners of rites for the dead really did petition dead souls for benefits and that scholars and monarchs did erect temples where they sacrificed in the name of their subjects.<sup>78</sup> His observation, along with Wills' illustrates the legacy of the Rites Controversy throughout the twentieth century. Rosso assesses the policies of the Kangxi Emperor toward Christianity as tolerant and conciliatory, yet he notes that the emperor became disgusted with arguments amongst the various orders in China over mission strategy and issues pertaining to Confucian rites. These problems reached a boiling point during the visit of the first papal delegation of Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon in 1705. After the third papal delegation in 1720 led by Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba (ca. 1685-1741) also addressed the Chinese rites, the topic so exasperated the Kangxi Emperor that he withdrew his support of Catholicism and declared: "As your religion does not harm or benefit China in any way, it does not matter whether you go or stay."<sup>79</sup> After this legation ended, the emperor was totally disgusted with Christianity and declared:

It [Christianity] does not differ from the heterodox and inferior talk of Buddhists and Taoists; it is the acme of unlawful nonsense. Henceforward Westerners must not be

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<sup>77</sup> Antonio Sisto Rosso, O.F.M., *Apostolic Legations to China* (South Pasadena: P. D. and Ione & Perkins, 1948), 123.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-79.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 369-370.



allowed to practice their religion in China. We may as well prohibit it, so as to avoid a lot of trouble.<sup>80</sup>

This statement from the Kangxi Emperor provides a basis for understanding why the emperor's son outlawed Christianity: not only did the second and third emperors express exasperation over the Rites Controversy, but even more seriously, they both considered that Christianity should not be in conflict with the Chinese state.<sup>81</sup> Rosso characterizes the third Qing emperor, Yongzheng, as a stringent ruler who used “deceptive decrees” to stamp out Christianity because he viewed Catholicism as a menace to the security of the state. However, he does not specifically analyze why he believes the decrees were deceptive.<sup>82</sup> Historian Fu Lo-shu has compiled another excellent and indispensable volume of documents translated from Chinese to English, along with a second volume consisting of extensively researched notes that relate to the question of Christianity entitled *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations, 1644-1820*.<sup>83</sup> An example of Fu's keen sense of political analysis lies in his observation that the presence of the Catholic hierarchy in China constituted a threat to Chinese rulers because “... no ruler desires an *imperium in imperio*.”<sup>84</sup> Richard Madsen, a specialist on Chinese sociology and religion, has observed in *China's Catholic Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society* that early Catholic missionaries sometimes too closely identified themselves with the hierarchical order of Ming and Qing government for the following reason:

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 376.

<sup>81</sup> Ad Dudink, 2.6.3, “Opponents” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 504.

<sup>82</sup> Rosso, 378.

<sup>83</sup> Fu Lo-shu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations, 1644-1820* 2 vols. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966).

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., vol. 2: 486. [...no ruler desires an empire within his empire].

Precisely because the Church's conception of hierarchy seemed so "Chinese," the missionaries who implanted the Church in China in the late sixteenth century sometimes identified so fully with the Chinese imperial state that their own Catholic identity became confused.<sup>85</sup>

Jacques Gernet's *Chine et christianisme: Action et réaction* is a landmark study in the field of the history of Christianity in China.<sup>86</sup> Gernet was among the first Western scholars to analyze seldom-studied Chinese primary sources such as the *Collection for the Destruction of Vicious Doctrines*, or *Poxieji*. Gernet illustrates the contempt that anti-Christian opponents harbored for European missionaries by citing the Buddhist monk Pu Run, who observed about missionaries in the late Ming: "From the outside they [European priests] seem humble and respectful, but inside they are cunning cheats."<sup>87</sup>

Gernet's thesis is that Chinese civilization and the fundamental teaching of Christianity were incompatible.<sup>88</sup> He cites differences in linguistic structure between Chinese and Indo-European languages as a basic difference between these two civilizations, and according to his analysis, he claims that Greek and medieval Scholastic philosophy could not have been developed had they been based upon the Chinese language because they lack the verb "to be" and the concept of "being."<sup>89</sup> While he acknowledges the sophistication of Chinese philosophy, which on its own terms was as fully developed as European philosophy, Gernet ultimately posits

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<sup>85</sup> Richard Madsen, *China's Catholic Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 29.

<sup>86</sup> Jacques Gernet, *Chine et christianisme: Action et réaction* (Paris: Édition Gallimard, 1982) and J. Gernet, trans. J. Lloyd, *China and the Christian Impact* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>87</sup> In *Origin of Eradication of Depravity* (*Zhuzuoji yuanqi* 誅左集緣起) (1634) of *Collection for the Destruction of Vicious Doctrines* (*Poxieji* 破邪集) (1634), Fujian, VIII, 21b, compiled by Xu Changzhi (徐昌治) (1582-1672), cited in Gernet, 47. Available in Xia Guiqi, ed. *Poxieji* (An Anthology of Writings Exposing Heterodoxy) (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1996), 389-391.

<sup>88</sup> Gernet, 285.

<sup>89</sup> Cited in Mungello, *The Great Encounter*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 58.

the inability of the Chinese to accept Christianity as based upon cultural differences. Gernet's claims have been much disputed and acceptance of his point about the incompatibility of Christianity in China has diminished. For example, Roger Hart argues against the concept of incommensurability in his analysis of Jesuit translation projects. Rather he views ambiguities the Jesuits introduced by use of terminology such as *serving Heaven* and *Sovereign on High* as examples of expressions that provided the Jesuits the opportunity for "manipulating these translations for their own self-promotion."<sup>90</sup>

The notion of inculturation is used widely to explain the growth of Christian communities in China.<sup>91</sup> Nicolas Standaert defines inculturation in *Yang Tingyun, Confucian in Late Ming China* in the following manner:

Inculturation is the incarnation of the evangelical message into a well-determined culture, in such a way that the Christian experience not only expresses itself in elements of this culture, but becomes a force that animates, orients, and innovates this culture so as to create a new unity and communion, not only within the culture in question but also as an enrichment of the Church universal. The term "inculturation" should be discerned from the term "accommodation." Accommodation is the adaptation of Christianity to a certain culture, but this adaptation is generally limited to external elements such as language, ceremonies, clothing, and ways of life....With inculturation, the message will be rethought in terms of the other culture, in the same way as Saint Thomas Aquinas had done for the European culture.<sup>92</sup>

Standaert suggests that the processes involved with the Jesuit missionaries' accommodation to Chinese culture resulted in conditions in which Chinese could inculturate the religion into their lives and society. Standaert analyzes the Chinese language works of the Christian literatus Yang Tingyun and concludes that Yang synthesized Neo-Confucian and Christian values into his

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<sup>90</sup> For example, see Roger Hart, "Translating the Untranslatable: From Copula to Incommensurable Worlds" in Lydia He Liu, ed. *Tokens of Exchange: the Problem of Translation in Global Circulations* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 73.

<sup>91</sup> The Jesuit theologian J. Masson first coined the term "inculturation" in 1962. Some authors have used the term "enculturation" and the spelling in the text is the preferred one.

<sup>92</sup> Nicolas Standaert, *Yang Tingyun, Confucian in Late Ming China* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 219.

writings and religious life. The thrust of researchers of Christianity in China who stress that Christianity was inculturated by Chinese represents a trend of the last quarter of the twentieth-century to stress the importance of how Chinese reacted to the introduction of Christianity to China. The position of scholars who stress the process of inculturation, such as the previously cited Jesuit scholar, clearly respect or practice the teaching of the Catholic Church. They likewise recognize the capacity of converts to accept the Catholic faith, to grow in that faith, and to contribute to the Catholic Church.

In Gernet's study a long historical view of Christianity in China is presented, and readers are reminded that Christianity was not a "new" religion to China when the European missionaries arrived on the shores of the South China Sea in the late Ming (1368-1644). A stele unearthed in 1623 in the ancient capital of Chang'an (present-day Xi'an) was inscribed during the Tang (618-907) and records the first imperial edict in favor of Nestorian Christianity, a branch of Christianity that developed in Persia and acknowledged Christ as having been two persons, one with a divine nature and the other human. The 1,756 Chinese-character stele, along with about 70 Syriac words and the names of Persian and Syrian missionaries, declared that the missionary Alopen (alternatively spelled Aluoben, 阿羅本) arrived in the year 635 and that the emperor Tang Taizong recognized his virtue and gave special orders for the propagation of the faith. Because of antipathy to Christianity from the pro-Buddhist Empress Wu, Nestorian communities dispersed and the religion did not have an enduring effect on Chinese civilization. Reference to the religion disappeared from written records by the end of the Tang.<sup>93</sup> The imperial policy of the Tang toward Christianity was one that outlawed all "cults" that challenged political authority, and it discouraged anti-social or unorthodox behavior in society. Gernet

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<sup>93</sup> Gernet, 291-295.

defines the nature of imperial rule as an indivisible amalgamation of the sacred and profane: “...the Chinese concept of universal order was a global one which tolerated no divisions.”<sup>94</sup>

Arnold H. Rowbotham’s *Missionary and Mandarin: The Jesuits at the Court of China* offers a focused introduction to the China mission of the Jesuits, including their activities in religion, science, literature, geography, the arts, and court life. Rowbotham characterizes the missionaries as “courtiers,” and uses examples from the *Lettres édifiantes* to illustrate how they adapted to court life. His study does not offer detailed analysis of how the Chinese-Manchu government operated. Rather he depicts the Jesuits as clever actors within the court.<sup>95</sup> An earlier work by C. Wilfred Allan, *Jesuits at the Court of Peking*, presents a popular introduction to the Jesuit mission and is valuable for the overview of the subject provided in the book.<sup>96</sup> The author, however, is neither sympathetic to the Manchus nor the Chinese, and the work is permeated by a triumphalist view of the superiority of the Christian vision.

Jonathan D. Spence’s studies illustrate how careful attention to both Asian and Western archival sources combined with penetrating historical analysis results in outstanding scholarship. Spence’s thorough analysis of Ricci’s Chinese language works helps delineate how the Italian Jesuit succeeded in winning over influential friends by means of his translations of European works into Chinese, such as his 1607 translation of Euclid’s *Jihe yuanben* (Elements of Geometry) and by his essay composed in 1595 of the *Jiaoyou lun* (The Book of Friendship),

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>95</sup> Arnold H. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin The Jesuits at the Court of China* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1942), 193-198.

<sup>96</sup> C. W. Allan, *The Jesuits at the Court of Peking* (1936; reprint, Arlington, VA: University Publications of America, 1975).

which contained edifying and moral sentiments culled from Cicero, Plutarch, and even Erasmus.<sup>97</sup> These works are examples of the Jesuit apostolate through literature.

Numerous scholars have written about how the Jesuits operated in China in order to explain the significance of the exchange between Europe and China. As earlier mentioned, researchers in the field of the history of Christianity in China have rejected the notion that the “West” exerted a distinct and indelible influence on China; rather, they propose an examination of the dialogue that resulted from the intersection of the two cultures. Donald F. Lach’s monumental research project and indispensable introduction to this topic entitled *Asia in the Making of Europe* (published in three volumes, consisting of thirteen books published from 1965 to 1993) is a prime example of explaining Chinese influence on the West.

D. E. Mungello maintains in *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* that Jesuit accommodation must be understood within the seventeenth-century historical context of China and Europe, a time when European intellectuals were preoccupied with “curious,” or painstaking, investigation of phenomena, which they often embellished with their own interpretations and theories. He classifies Athanasius Kircher, Andreas Müller, Christian Mentzel, and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz as “proto-sinologists,” or men who had an interest in China before the field of sinology developed fully in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Only Leibniz became well-known because of his mathematical and philosophical achievements. Matteo Ricci’s method of accommodation, or Confucian-Christian synthesis, he maintains, “...was enveloped rather than rejected by history.”<sup>98</sup> In other words,

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<sup>97</sup> Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, 150. His more recent work, *Treason by the Book*, explores the extremely moral and political nature of the third Qing emperor. He reveals the efficient bureaucratic labyrinth in which the Yongzheng Emperor orchestrated an inquisition about and then a psychological re-education program of an errant subject who had criticized the Manchus for their domination of China. All of the emperor’s efforts aimed toward consolidation of his moral and political leadership of China.

<sup>98</sup> Mungello, *Curious Land*, 358.

Mungello argues that Ricci's technique of accommodating Christianity to Chinese culture--plus the actual results of that approach which fostered Christian communities, Sino-European scholarship, and cultural exchange--created the foundation for the subsequent study of China, or sinology.

Mungello's second edition of *The Great Encounter of China and the West: 1500-1800* presents, as does the first edition, a concise introduction to the three hundred-year history of Sino-European relations. However, the second edition has expanded sections on the arts, culture, technology, and gender studies.<sup>99</sup> He points out that the history of the Jesuits' accomplishments, and particularly the court Jesuits, has received a preponderant amount of attention, which has made the work of missionaries from other orders appear insignificant.<sup>100</sup> Mungello's study, *The Spirit and the Flesh in Shandong, 1650-1785*, presents the thesis that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries after Franciscan priests introduced Christianity in this province, the religion became "indigenized" because Chinese Catholic participation in all aspects of church life increased and flourished, often to the dismay of the European Church hierarchy and European missionaries resident in China because they had difficulty accepting the active, creative participation of Chinese Catholics in mission churches.<sup>101</sup> *The Spirit and the Flesh in Shandong* is an example of the trend within the field of the history of Christianity in China to conduct research on orders other than the Jesuits and on provincial affairs versus court history.<sup>102</sup> The Franciscan missionary approach differed from the Jesuit approach because the Franciscans did

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<sup>99</sup> Mungello, *The Great Encounter*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (2005).

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>101</sup> D. E. Mungello, *The Spirit and the Flesh in Shandong, 1650-1785* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001), 141.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

not favor targeting the literati for conversion; rather, they attempted to preach to the poor as the founder of their order had. They had less chance to penetrate official court circles because the Jesuits had achieved early success in this sensitive political area. Some Franciscans agreed to accept certain aspects of the Jesuit missionary approach because they realized that to prove to Qing officials and Catholic opponents that Catholics honored the dead they needed to demonstrate this point in Catholic funeral rites. However, because Chinese rites had been rejected by Rome and debated contentiously among the different orders in China, any adaptation of Chinese custom to Catholic ritual risked criticism and censure.

When the Franciscan Father Fernández-Oliver (1665-1708) presided over the 1718 funeral of his confrere Father Girolamo Franchi (1667-1718) in Jinan, Shandong province, the Franciscan father was soon accused by fellow Franciscans of performing Chinese rites that had been declared intolerable to the Church because of their superstitious nature. For the funeral service, a sign had been placed at the entrance church that clearly articulated Catholic opposition to Chinese rites that encouraged mourners to burn facsimile paper money and offer other burnt sacrifices to the spirit of the deceased. However, over Franchi's coffin banners appeared with passages cited from the Chinese classic the *Book of Rites* or *Liji* as follows: "Serve all the deceased in the same way that one serves the living" (*shi wang ru shi cun* 事亡如事存) and "Serve all the deceased as they are served [in life] (事死 如事生)."<sup>103</sup> Another succinct citation from Confucius' *Analects* that appeared directly above the coffin read: "as if present" (*ru zai* 如在), and notably the character for "sacrifice" (*ji* 祭) that appeared before the other two characters in the classical text was omitted. This example of how the character for "sacrifice" was omitted from a phrase taken from the Chinese classics provides an example of how acutely

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 98.



aware the Jesuits were of terms that related to the Rites Controversy and to performance of Catholic rites in China that would offend neither Chinese nor confreres.<sup>104</sup> In Chapter Five, I similarly analyze how Jesuits made allusions to the Chinese Classics in the *Ruijianlu (Record of Sage Scrutiny)*.

The passages above have provided examples of how European Catholics accommodated Chinese customs and literary passages to rites of the Christian faith, but partially rejected some of Chinese ritual. This accommodation aimed to foster the process of inculturating the Christian faith and message into Chinese society. The sensitivity of Europeans and Chinese officials to terms such as “sacrifice” illustrate the delicacies of translation and the perils of adaptation of customs inherent in cross-cultural encounters. In the conclusion of *The Spirit and the Flesh in Shandong*, Mungello points out that as the number of generals and diplomats who visited China increased toward the end of the eighteenth century so did the power of the West in China increase--along with the power of missionaries to control the development of Christianity in China. This trend of increased Western power in China’s affairs also had a negative effect upon the assimilation, or indigenization, of Christianity.<sup>105</sup> The same author provides compelling proof of how some Chinese Catholics of the nineteenth century fostered and protected their own Church. Chinese Christians came into open conflict with European Jesuit authorities, who had returned to China after the Jesuit order was revived, because these Chinese Catholics had attained deep understanding of Scriptural teaching and naturally had superior Chinese language skills compared to the returned missionaries. When they received directives on spiritual life and church administration from the Jesuits that they deemed less efficacious than their own decisions

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 99.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 141.

on these matters, they reacted by sending an open letter to Jesuit authorities requesting that they be allowed to administer the affairs of their own churches.<sup>106</sup>

These examples illustrate the complexity of the terms accommodation, inculturation, and indigenization. Lionel M. Jensen maintains the term “inculturation” rather than accommodation best identifies how the European religious men who went to China managed to adapt themselves to Chinese society and become “...recognized as Chinese.”<sup>107</sup> However, the scholar Benjamin A. Elman continues to use the term accommodation, as I do in this dissertation.<sup>108</sup> Jensen’s observation highlights the reciprocal nature of the early modern European-Chinese encounter, and he notes that some Chinese recognized the Westerners “as Chinese” because of the magnanimous spirit of the Chinese. In many respects the terms inculturation and “indigenization” of Christianity are synonymous, and both terms are found in the literature that describes the introduction of Christianity into China. Jensen argues that the Jesuits’ translation projects and their positive interpretations of Confucianism represent a textual labor of a “hermeneutics of belief.”<sup>109</sup> Jensen claims that the hermeneutics of the Jesuits, or their interpretation of the *Ru* (Literati) tradition, manufactured the discourse called Confucianism, one that does not always match with the historical record of the *Ru* tradition. Jensen’s work has generated much debate, and many China scholars reject his thesis. Jensen has referred to mainland born, Taiwan-educated, Harvard philosopher Tu Wei-Ming, who is a proponent of a renewed form of Confucian religion, as an example of “manufacturing a new moment of a

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<sup>106</sup> D. E. Mungello, “The Return of the Jesuits to China in 1841 and the Chinese Christian Backlash” in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 27 (2005): 9-50.

<sup>107</sup> Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism*, 41. For D. E. Mungello’s position on “inculturation” see *The Forgotten Christians of Hangzhou* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1994), 1-5.

<sup>108</sup> Elman, *On Their Own Terms*.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-11.

tradition.”<sup>110</sup> Debates on New Confucianism, along with reassessment of the “...true face of classical learning,” continue between Liu Shu-hsien (Liu Shuxian) and Yü Ying-shih (Yu Yingshi) over whether the great twentieth-century scholar of Chinese thought and history, Qian Mu, was a New Confucian.<sup>111</sup>

Historian Liam Matthew Brockey’s approach to Sino-European relations is to deliberately treat the Jesuit mission in China as a component of early modern European Catholicism in *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724* in order to “recount the story of the missionaries in a fresh light.”<sup>112</sup> He provides an overview of the well-known approaches to the history of the Jesuits’ China mission, from the hagiographical and missiological perspectives to the new wave of scholarly production that favors Asian language sources; however, he stresses the need to examine previously neglected European sources.<sup>113</sup> His research in Lisbon, Portugal--namely at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Arquivo Nacional/Torre do Tombo, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências, and Biblioteca Nacional, as well as in the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, Évora, plus the Roman Archives of the Propaganda Fide and the Archives of the Society of Jesus--has yielded very impressive results. By concentrating on these major collections that hold unpublished and rarely consulted Jesuit archival materials, he has provided readers with new sources that enlarge our understanding of how European Jesuits of the Counter Reformation era worked in China. His archival findings culled from Annual Letters, religious guidelines, statistical data, notebooks, and

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>111</sup> Benjaimin A. Elman, “Rethinking ‘Confucianism’ and ‘Neo-Confucianism’ in Modern Chinese History” in B. A. Elman et al. eds. *Rethinking Confucianism, Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam* (Los Angeles: UCLA Monograph Series, 2002), 519.

<sup>112</sup> Liam Matthew Brockey *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 16-17.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 12-17.

reports on events in China provide new perspectives on such topics as confraternities in Jiangnan, indoctrination of converts, cultivation of Christian piety, and the complexities of introducing Catholic rites and the penance of confession among converts. His analysis of the Jesuit *ratio studiorum*, which prepared missionaries for pastoral work by means of language classes, translation of Chinese Classics, and portable conversation manuals for encounters with converts or prospective ones, gives the reader a sense of both the difficulties of studying Chinese and the challenges of daily encounters between priests and converts in countryside settings.<sup>114</sup> His findings highlight that Jesuits were more successful in transmitting Christianity to commoners than to members of the elite, even though priests spent much time devoted to persuading literati of the value of Western Learning.<sup>115</sup> Brockey stresses the large number of converts from rural areas and gives the overall statistic of 200,000 converts by the 1720s. He introduces the *Monteiro Praxis* that contains polite daily conversation with exchanges that lead

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<sup>114</sup> For more on confessional practice see Brockey “Illuminating the Shades of Sin: The Society of Jesus and Confession in Seventeenth-Century China” and Brockey and Ad Dudink “A Missionary Confessional Manual: José Monteiro’s *Vera et Unica Praxis breviter ediscendi, ac expeditissime loquendi Sinicum idioma*”\* in Nicolas Standaert and Ad Dudink, eds. *Forgive us our sins: Confession in Late Ming and Early Qing China* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 55, Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumena Serica, 2006), 183-239. The latter translation of Monteiro’s confessional manual consists of Portuguese and Chinese, plus archaic romanization, translated into English with some headings and endings in Latin. Brockey clarifies in these two articles and in *Journey to the East* that the Jesuits used the terms “*Santa Ley*” or “Holy Law” and “*Ley de Deus*” or “Law of God” consistently in preaching, writing, and confessional practice. On this point see *Journey to the East*, 85, where he cites Visitor André Palmeiro (1569-1635) and the Palmeiro Orders, which advised missionaries not to antagonize the Society’s detractors stating: “Although such is good and necessary in the preaching of our holy law, do not attempt to refute the law of the idols [Buddhism] and thought of the literati [Confucianism] with scandalous words.” In “A Missionary Confessional Manual” the Portuguese terms “*Santa Ley*” or “Holy Law” and “*Ley de Deus*” or “Law of God” appear in this form in archival letters and published version, see 203. In this dissertation see Chapter Two pages 128-129 and footnote 84 for the French Jesuits’ similar usage of the terms: law, Holy Law, and Law of God, along with French Jesuits’ frequent citation in their letters of Qing legal statutes or “*loi*.”

\* The complete title of the manual is “*Vera et Unica Praxis breviter ediscendi, ac expeditissime loquendi Sinicum idioma suapte natura adeo difficile ... In usum Tyronum Missionariorum (True and Only Brief Way for Quickly Learning to Speak the Chinese Lanugage which is by its nature very difficult ... For Use in Training Missionaries)*, publication place Fujian?, late 17<sup>th</sup> century or early eighteenth century, Lisbon, Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências, Mss. Azul 421 [=Monteiro, “Praxis”], (2006), 150-151.

<sup>115</sup> Brockey (2007), 28.

to considerations of Christian life and doctrine.<sup>116</sup> The book's entire chapter eight "The Business of Conversion" depicts problematical situations priests faced in convincing rural Chinese that Christian "Holy Law" [the term widely used by Jesuits in China] exceeded Chinese customs and religion in spiritual merit. Another vivid and lengthy dialogue on the topic of persuasive conversion techniques consists of a conversation, one full of Jesuit casuistry, recorded by the Jesuit Rodrigo de Figueirido (1594-1642) that aimed to convince a farmer to reject the Chinese creation myth of Pangu and adhere to the Lord of Heaven teaching.<sup>117</sup>

This impressive book succeeds in drawing a vivid picture of Jesuit mission work in China largely based on thoughtfully presented newly-uncovered Portuguese sources. As the author stated in his Introduction, he aimed to erase some of the heroics earlier attributed to the Jesuits and "reinsert" them into their proper early modern European context. Such an ambitious aim in such a multi-faceted discipline might not fully address the many fields of study related to the history of Christianity in China. For example, while praising many contributions of the book, art historian Hui-Hung Chen notes that Brockey's characterization of a woodcut published in 1637 as "similar to the standard depiction of Jesus used in China by the Jesuits" in the seventeenth century is debatable because according to current research on devotional objects in China, "there was no standard way of depicting Jesus at the time."<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 262.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 309-315.

<sup>118</sup> Hui-Hung Chen, Review of Liam Matthew Brockey "Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724," in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 60, issue 4 (December 11, 2007):1372-1373. For an assessment of Brockey's work that questions whether this contribution to the history of Christianity in China neglects to provide a balanced account of Chinese perspectives on Christianity because of the author's dearth of analysis of European missionaries' interactions with Chinese converts, see the double book review essay by D.E. Mungello "A Journey to the East that Never Leaves Rome" of Brockey (2007) and mainland scholar Han Qi's (韓琦) work, which analyzes a collection of memorials to the throne, imperial edicts, and other documents (from 1668 to 1705) pertaining to the Christian mission and casts the Jesuits in a favorable light, entitled 熙朝崇正；熙朝定案；外三種 (The

Brockey's research has clear links to the research topic of this dissertation. However, he dismisses the French Jesuit mission as one of secondary importance to the work originally begun by Matteo Ricci, an assertion that slights the significance of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French Jesuit contributions to the mission and to their writing projects, which I argue show continuity with Ricci's original work.<sup>119</sup> This position somewhat obscures the role that French Jesuits assumed as protectors of the entire Catholic mission in China after the Yongzheng Emperor's 1724 proscription.<sup>120</sup> Brockey's index only lists the Terms Controversy, and he dismisses the Rites Controversy as having had a final resolution in 1939 while the reality of this situation in the stance of the government of the People's Republic of China toward not allowing the Chinese Catholic Church to engage directly with the Catholic Church in Rome is contrary to his claim.<sup>121</sup> Brockey's characterization of Shen Que's critical rhetoric against Christianity as "...using stock phrases from the language of orthodoxy"<sup>122</sup> undercuts the seriousness of the entire debate in late imperial China of Confucian orthodoxy versus heterodoxy and fails to tell readers that "the language of orthodoxy" Shen Que used reflected the language of the Ming Code. The Ming-Qing era debates reflect tensions over state control of religious expression versus state toleration of expression of religious sentiments, often practiced by new religions, sects, or cults.

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Veneration of Orthodoxy of our Glorious [Ming] Dynasty; Judgements of Our Glorious [Qing] Dynasty; and Three Other Works) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006) in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 27 (2007), 38-44.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>120</sup> On this point, see also Laamann, 59.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 14. The Rites Controversy is discussed in several places. For example, Brockey observes regarding the Rites Controversy and papal rulings against the Chinese Rites that "...Rome destroyed what it could not possess," 12. This is an apt characterization of Sino-European tensions over questions of political and religious sovereignty inherent in the Terms and Rites Controversy.

<sup>122</sup> Brockey, 68. Compare with Laamann Part III: A protective father: official perceptions of Christianity and government action against sectarian movements, 51-100.

Finally, Mayfair Mei-hui Yang's research on *guanxi*, an elaborate set of social practices in socialist China that underlie everyday human relations, achieves daunting results.<sup>123</sup> Through fieldwork and literature, Yang demonstrates how situations in which the giving of gifts and the cultivation of obligations, indebtedness, and reciprocity characterize the personal, professional, and consumer transactions of life in contemporary China. She suggests that the "gift economy" of the socialist state redistributive economy has helped dismantle the state-centered subject of the cult of Mao, and that the practice of *guanxi* may also form the foundation for an emerging civil society. Her inquiry focuses on identifying the locus of power in political and social relations.<sup>124</sup> To fully treat this subject, she has analyzed the significance of the "art of social relationships" in terms of China's Confucian and archaic past, when ritual prescriptions (termed, *li*) were recorded both on bronze ritual vessels and later in Chinese classical texts. Her research is of particular interest to two major concerns in the present study: one, delineating how the Jesuits understood and cultivated "the art of social relationships," which was based on *renqing* or "human feelings and ties of obligations," among Chinese and Manchus, court officials, and converts; two, identifying the significance of China's two most important schools of thought regarding socio-political organization and law, namely the *Rujia School* and the *Fajia School*, two schools of thought that we shall see influenced the Qing law Code, as well as social and political life.

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<sup>123</sup> Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, *Gifts, Favors, and Banquets, The Art of Social Relationships in China* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, see Part I: Guanxi Dialects and Vocabulary, The Scope and Use-Contexts of Guanxi; The "Art" of Guanxixue: Ethics, Tactics, and Etiquette, and On the Recent Past of Guanxixue: Traditional Forms and Historical (Re)-Emergence, 49-146.

## V. Historiography in Mainland China

The opening of the First Historical Archives (FHA) in Beijing to Western researchers in 1979 has allowed China scholars access to thousands and thousands of documents from the Ming and Qing dynasties. Indeed, FHA holds over nine million sets of documents from the Ming-Qing period and represents the biggest body of historical data that exists in the world.<sup>125</sup> Scholars have presented new findings and interpretations of Manchu rule, ritual, government, bureaucratic reform, and international relations.<sup>126</sup> For example, historian Evelyn S. Rawski's research focuses on imperial rule and how the Manchu conquest dynasty, the Qing (r. 1644-1912), organized and presided over a pluralistic, multiethnic empire, consisting of the traditional provincial territory, along with the Mongolian steppe, the Tibetan plateau, and the Tarim basin, vast areas incorporated into the Qing empire in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>127</sup> Although the Manchus adopted numerous Han Chinese cultural institutions such as the Confucian canon, the educational system of the literati, the state bureaucracy, and the primacy of filiality as a prerequisite of rulership, Rawski maintains that they also retained their

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<sup>125</sup> Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Report on Delegation to Ming-Qing Archives" at Center for Chinese Study, U.C. Berkeley, oral report, autumn, 1979. Wakeman, among the first Westerners to visit the FHA, reported that until 1979 Qing scholars did not know if the collection had survived because early in the twentieth century documents had been sold as toilet paper. No American scholars had heard about them until the late seventies when the delegation learned that in 1964 the government built five buildings in the Forbidden City to store the collection. The documents survived the Cultural Revolution. For details of dispersal of documents to a paper merchant, see, Charles S. Gardner, footnote 18, page 95, *Chinese Traditional Historiography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961).

<sup>126</sup> Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors, A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California, 1998); Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*; Mark C. Elliot, *The Manchu Way, The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001). New interpretations of Manchu rule and comments on the Manchu Way and ethnicity will be discussed below. See Beatrice S. Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch'ing China, 1723-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) for analysis of innovations in the palace memorial system. For perspectives on how the Qing tolerated equal relations without the kowtow in foreign relations in Central Asia see Joseph F. Fletcher, a) "Ch'ing Inner Asia c. 1800," in D. Twitchett and J. K. Fairbank, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 10, pt. 1:35-106, and b) "The Heyday of the Ch'ing Order in Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet," *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, pt. 1: 351-408.

<sup>127</sup> Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 2. Rawski argues against the assumption that the success of the Qing dynasty lay in its gradual adaptation to Chinese society, or "sinicization."



Manchu identity and language. She points out Manchu rulers were leaders who knew how to act expediently: they adopted Chinese customs that suited them and rejected them when it did not help them achieve their political goals.<sup>128</sup> The Qing was not a replica of previous Chinese dynasties, and to understand the successes of the Qing, the non-Han origins of the rulers must be considered. This in turn affected how the Qing dealt with the Jesuits.

Evidence exists in the record of Jesuit relations in the court for the proposition that the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1662-1722) and his father, the Shunzhi Emperor, (r. 1644-1661) considered the Jesuits as non-Han inhabitants of the Qing who showed potential for integration into the empire. The Kangxi Emperor approved of the Jesuits' fusion of the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven and the Confucian, or *Ru*, tradition. The Jesuits' adaptation to Chinese culture and language made them appear to inhabitants of the Qing empire as visitors who “*laihua*” (來華 came to China) to participate in “*wenming*” (文明 Chinese civilization). The pragmatism and openness of Manchu rulers regarding questions of international relations may be demonstrated by ways in which Qing rulers used Jesuits as interpreters, cartographers, astronomers, translators, and proxy diplomats.

The court Jesuits had developed a deep understanding of how the Chinese government and bureaucracy functioned, and they also familiarized themselves with the histories called “veritable records” (*shilu*), which were compiled by court-appointed historiographers at the end of each reign period.<sup>129</sup> These official histories drew upon other annals kept by court chroniclers, namely, the *Court Diaries*, *Records of Current Government*, and *Daily Calendars*. Only short

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 7-8.

<sup>129</sup> John K. Fairbank, *Ch'ing Documents An Introductory Syllabus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 93.

entries in the *Veritable Records of the Qing* (*Qingshilu* 清實錄)<sup>130</sup> record the 1724 proscription of Christianity. On the other hand, Father de Mailla's report on the proscription of Christianity in the French letters actually exceeds in detail what was published in the *Qingshilu*.<sup>131</sup>

A preliminary examination of holdings of the First Historical Archives in Peking in 2002 yielded no significant Chinese language or Western language documents pertaining to the proscription of Christianity under the Yongzheng Emperor--aside from documents already appearing in published collections.<sup>132</sup> However, the First Historical Archives, published in 2003 an important four-volume collection consisting of correspondence illustrating activities of the Catholic missions in China, as well as the services that missionaries rendered to the court as scientists, doctors, teachers, and artists. Nearly all the documents have never before been published, and they come from the archive of the Grand Secretariat, the Grand Council, and the Imperial Household Department.<sup>133</sup> The first three volumes, consisting of 669 memorials with imperial notations, document the first three reign periods of the Qing. The fourth volume contains 561 documents taken from the record book of work orders in the Workshop Section of

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<sup>130</sup> *Veritable Records of the Qing* (*Qingshilu* 清實錄), 251.

<sup>131</sup> LEC 3: 356. Note, Fu Lo-shu notes this also, see his work II: 504-505.

<sup>132</sup> In an interview on 3 April 2002 with Ms. Zhu Shuyuan (朱淑媛), vice-director of the FHA, she informed me that she knew of no Western language materials in the FHA, and she was not familiar with documents regarding the Westerners residing in China. She recommended looking through the following folios, which yielded no material on the anti-Christian campaign: Imperial Records of the Astronomical Observatory, folios 2395, 2399 (*qin tinlan tiben* 欽天藍題本), Miscellaneous Palace Records (*Gongzhong zajian*, 宮中雜件), and folios 001-973, Materials from the Board of Rites (*Like tiben* 禮科題本). An extended research visit to Beijing and affiliation with a research unit could help future efforts to locate further archival sources.

<sup>133</sup> First Historical Archives, editor, *Qing zhong qianqi xiyang tianzhujiao zai hua huodong dang'an shiliao* 清中前其西洋天主教在華活動檔案史料 (Archives Concerning Western Catholic Missions From the Early to Mid Qing Dynasty in China) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003). Note, the publication credits no editor but the institution of the FHA. Hereafter, cited as *Qing zhong qianqi*. An earlier publication by the First Historical Archives also contains documents on issues relating to Christianity, and it is entitled: First Historical Archives, editor, *Zhongguo Kangxi hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* 中國康熙漢文珠批奏摺匯編 (A Compilation of Chinese language vermilion rescripted memorials of the Kangxi period) (Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1984, 8 vols.).

the Imperial Household Department. Altogether, these documents consist of imperial decrees and edicts, memorials and reports to the throne by officials, communications among ministries, and copies of communications for reference purposes within ministries. Lists of gifts presented to the emperor from Westerners are included, plus deeds of land and homes negotiated with Westerners. Indicative of the constantly changing status of archival collections is the recent opening of the former Jesuit library, *Xujiahui*, also known as *Zikawei*, founded in 1939 in Shanghai, but closed after 1949 when the Communist government seized foreigners' goods and real estate.<sup>134</sup> At present the library holds 560,000 documents in Chinese and other languages.

Research conducted by Silas H. L. Wu on the Qing communication system (1970) has provided critical scholarship that has allowed students of Qing institutional history to better understand the palace "memorial" system and changes to it during the Ming-Qing transition.<sup>135</sup> Westerners in the nineteenth century used the term "memorial" to describe a high official's report to the throne.<sup>136</sup> The archival research of historian Beatrice S. Bartlett has helped clarify the role the Yongzheng Emperor played in the emergence of the Grand Council and how this council of appointed imperial advisors achieved domination over the Qing central government.<sup>137</sup> During the Yongzheng reign, the inner court (*neiting*, the emperor's faction) consisted of imperially appointed advisors and informal non-statutory groups that worked to facilitate

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<sup>134</sup> For information on archival collections in China holding Western language documents see D. E. Mungello, "Xujiahui徐家匯 (Zikawi) Library in Shanghai Reopened," *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* XXV (2003), 15. The library's recent opening represents the further liberalization of mainland policies toward academic openness.

<sup>135</sup> Silas H. L. Wu, *Communication and Imperial Control in China, Evolution of the Palace Memorial System, 1693-1735* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970). Additionally this scholar's continued research on early Qing politics and issues of imperial succession resulted in further important works, namely, Silas H. L. Wu, *K'ang-hsi and His Heir Apparent, 1661-1722* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

<sup>136</sup> Bartlett, 27.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-20.

imperial control. In contrast, the outer court (*waichao*, the bureaucracy's faction) presided over routine administration of the government bureaucracy, staffed by graduates of the imperial examination system.<sup>138</sup> Bartlett characterizes this bifurcated communication system of the Qing as one that when studied carefully is capable of revealing much about Qing politics. She stresses that the outer court relied upon what is termed the routine communication system inherited from the Ming, "an open, public, regulated bureaucratic channel, many of whose documents--both the reports as well as their responding edicts--were eventually published in the Peking gazettes."<sup>139</sup> However, the palace memorial system that began during the Kangxi period was a secret channel of communication limited to inner court and provincial correspondents. The emperor penned responses to palace memorials in vermilion ink, the emperor's color, which only he could use. The outer court operated according to statutory prescription: the administrative Code governed the outer-court staffs that ran the empire.<sup>140</sup> In contrast, the inner court owed its existence to the will of the emperor, and it changed form and function from reign to reign.

An on-going process of evaluation of the Yongzheng Emperor and his reign period is evident in the early work of Huang Pei,<sup>141</sup> Silas H. L. Wu, and Beatrice S. Bartlett. The research of these China scholars from American universities has not gone unnoticed on the mainland. The assessment of the emperor on the mainland has also shifted from one of a brutal brother-slaying autocrat to a revisionist one that presents the complexity of his middle-aged ascension to power during one of the most difficult succession struggles in Chinese history. The revisionist

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<sup>138</sup> The majority of office holders received appointments based on results from examinations; however, some offices in the traditional bureaucracy could be bought.

<sup>139</sup> Bartlett, 4.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

<sup>141</sup> Huang Pei. *Autocracy at Work: A Study of the Yung-cheng period, 1723-1735* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974).

interpretation of the emperor notes his capacities as a reformer and evaluates him on a par with his father and son, the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors, who have long been recognized as the most outstanding of the Qing emperors. Recent mainland literature on the Yongzheng Emperor offers evidence of renewed interest in the field of Qing history.<sup>142</sup>

The reevaluation of the dynamics of early modern missionary activity in China by scholars outside of China has a parallel in China. Ever since the inception of the “socialist-market economy” in China, mainland scholars have shown a renewed interest in the history of Christianity in China and have put less emphasis on Marxist-Leninist historical categorization.<sup>143</sup> Religion is a relatively open subject in China compared to the years of ideological struggle during the late years of Mao Zedong’s leadership. Freedom of religion is guaranteed in China under the Constitution, but the current communist government only recognizes five religions: Buddhism, Daoism, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Islam. Furthermore, all these recognized religions must formally register with a state board that governs religious activity--all religious assemblies not registered or forbidden are considered illegal and members are liable to punishment.

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<sup>142</sup> See Li Guorong 李国荣 and Zhang Shucui 张书才, *Shishuo Yongzheng* (实说雍正 A True Reading of Yongzheng), (Beijing: Forbidden City Publishing, 1999); Zhu Chengru 朱诚如, ed., *Qingshi tudian qingqi shi tulu, Yongzheng chao* (青史图典清期史图录, 雍正朝 *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Qing, Qingshi Tudian, Yongzheng chao*), vol 5, (Forbidden City Publishing, 2002).

“Ming-Qing Missionaries and European-Chinese Studies” (Beijing chubanshe, 2001), Chapter 2, “法國傳教區成立与法國耶穌會士大批來華 (“The Establishment of a District for French Missionaries and the Arrival of Large Numbers of Jesuits”), 155-171. Gu Weimin (顧衛民), *中國与羅馬教廷關係史* (A History of the Relations between China and the Rome), (Beijing Chubanshe, 2000), 9 and Chapter 4, 雍正帝禁止天主教 (The Yongzheng Emperor Proscribes Christianity), 87-89.

<sup>143</sup> Zhang Xiping 张西平, in preface of Yu Sanle 余三乐, *Zaoqi xifang chuanjiao shi yu Beijing* (早期西方传教士与北京 The Early Period of Western Missionaries’ Relations with Beijing), (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), 2.

Clearly scholarship on the mainland has shifted from a stress on ideological interpretation to an emphasis on historical texts. Illustrative of the more open atmosphere toward Christianity is government-financed renovation of desecrated missionary cemeteries, accompanied by official statements recognizing the contributions of missionaries to Chinese culture.<sup>144</sup> Terms anathema a quarter of a century ago, such as the word for “father” (*shenfu*) and “missionary” (*chuanjiaoshi*), are now spoken and written about. Historians Zhang Li and Liu Jiantang were among the earliest scholars in the 1980s to investigate the development of Christianity in China and all its aspects: from the inception of Christian communities to repression, proscription, and finally to the return of Christian communities.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Lin Hua 林华, ed., co-eds., Gao Zhiyu 高智瑜, Yu Sanle 余三乐, Zhong Zhiyong 钟志勇, *Lishi yihen Li Madou ji Mingqing Xifang chuanjiaoshi mudi* (历史遗痕 利玛窦及明清西方传教士墓地), (*Historical Traces: Matteo Ricci and the Ming-Qing Missionaries Cemetery*) (Beijing: Zhonghua Renmin University Publishing, 1994), 1-12. A renovated cemetery of the early missionaries of the seventeenth century is located in the interior section of the Party Training School on Cheguang Street in the capital. The renovated and newly placed (2002-2003) steles honoring the deceased French missionaries and others may be found on the grounds of a temple behind the Beijing Tiyyuguan, or Capital Sports Center. Over the past several decades churches across China that had been damaged in the frenzy of political campaigns have been renovated and services are conducted in them.

<sup>145</sup> See Zhang Li 张力和 Liu Jiantang 劉鑒唐, *Zhongguo jiao'an shi* (中國教案史 A history of China's religious court cases) (Chengdu: Sichuan sheng shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1987), 198.

## Chapter Two: How the Jesuits Attempted to Use Chinese Legal and Historical Precedents for Their Own Defense

### I. Setting: The Jesuits' Attitude toward the Chinese Law Code

During the eighteenth century, court Jesuits cited Chinese legal and historical precedents in an attempt to defend the entire Catholic mission in China, which received continual attacks from opponents just as the religion had in the late Ming and early Qing. As part of this defensive strategy, Jesuits such as Fathers Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla and Ignatius Kögler, among other eighteenth-century Jesuits, reported on specific statutes of Qing law in a vague manner in French language apologetic literature and in certain Chinese language memorials they co-authored. Seldom did they cite specific chapters and articles of the Qing Code nor give detailed descriptions of regulations and punishments--even after Qing authorities had ruled to apply statutes found in the Code. For example, among the documents, reports, and letters in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* no detailed description may be found of Article 162 of the Code entitled "Prohibitions Concerning Sorcerers and Sorceresses."<sup>1</sup>

The following sections establish the setting of this Jesuit encounter and deflective legal approach that portrayed the mission to both Qing officials and European audiences in fairly optimistic terms and within the framework of Matteo Ricci's original missionary approach of blending Catholic teaching with the teaching of Master Kong, or *Rujiao* (The Literati Teaching). The court Jesuits who labored to rescue the missions after the promulgation of the 1724 proscription edict wrote memorials and sought audiences with Qing officials to persuade them of the goodness of the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven and of the erroneousness of the ruling that

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<sup>1</sup> William C. Jones, trans. with the assistance of Tianquan Cheng and Yongling Jiang, *The Great Qing Law Code* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 174.

interpreted Catholicism as a sect. They continually stressed that Catholicism did not go against the teaching of China's sages. The Jesuits manifested an ambivalent attitude toward both the Ming and the Qing law Codes. For example, Father Schall had praised the Ming Code in the catechism he composed entitled *Zhujiao yuanqi*. Witek has stressed that in the summary of the catechism Schall extolled the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven as a universal teaching that surpassed the *dharma*, or law (*fa* 法), of Buddhism and the scriptural teaching of Daoism. Schall praised the *Da Ming huidian* (Institutions of the Great Ming) and its law, which he said embodied Confucian values, but he labeled the Code "not a universal law."<sup>2</sup> Father de Mailla also praised the moral law found in the Qing Code.

A major problem the Jesuits encountered in relation to the legal Codes of the Ming and Qing was that regulations in these Codes minutely prescribed ritual in numerous domains. Furthermore, all inhabitants of the empire were expected to carry out these rituals, which ranged from observance of death rituals to the expression of political allegiance and reverence for local gods and spirits. The Jesuits faced the problem of continually having to interpret and re-interpret which rituals in the Code were acceptable to Catholicism. They appear to have employed their deflective legal approach to the Code because specific statutes in the Code presented obstacles to the success of the mission. It should be remembered that the Jesuits of the early mission, along with missionaries from other orders in China, were true discoverers, or students, of the legal system of China. They not only needed to gain the literacy required to read and comprehend the Code, but they also needed to understand juristic traditions that the Code represented.

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<sup>2</sup> See John W. Witek, S. J., "Christianity and China: Universal Teaching from the West" in *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Stephen Uhalley, Jr. & Xiaoxin Wu, eds. (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), 19.



Letters that the French Jesuits composed such as those of Father de Mailla reveal an Ignatian perspective<sup>3</sup> on the Manchu-Chinese imperium, namely, that a power higher than the Qing government deserved obeisance. For the Jesuits, this power was the God of the New Testament. Such a supposition may be understood in terms of the juristic thinking of Thomas Aquinas who had described in his *Summa Theologica* the existence of four categories of law: divine, eternal, natural, and human. Aquinas proposed that humans could not comprehend divine law, but could discern partially eternal law, from which principles of natural law were revealed and from which human law was derived. The Catholic missionaries residing in the Qing court regarded the son of God, Jesus Christ, as enunciator of divine law and Scripture as divine word. According to Matteo Ricci's analysis of the Original Literati Teaching (*Yuanru*), early Chinese philosophy was a natural religion that contained seeds of Christian revelatory religion, and for this reason *Yuanru* was compatible with Christianity. Upon this line of reasoning, the court Jesuits continued to craft a defense of Christianity after the religion was proscribed.

The Jesuits of the eighteenth century carried on with the same missionary approach as the Jesuits of the early mission in China had so done under the guidance of Valignano and Ricci. For example, the Jesuits of the eighteenth century continued to address the emperor as "Supreme Ruler." The first two lines of the *Ruijianlu* read: "The emperor intervenes between Heaven and earth. He is relied upon as the Mother and Father of all people." The use of such terminology by European priests in written and spoken communication with the Qing ruler was not surprising in light of the special roles these guest technical experts played for open-minded Manchu rulers of the early Qing. Willy Vande Walle has pointed out that the Flemish Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest worked as a bureaucrat in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. Walle stressed that: "As a cog in

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<sup>3</sup> Discussion of Li Jian-jun's dissertation and analysis of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* as containing an "Ignatian perspective" appears in Chapter 1, section 3.

the huge cogwheel of Chinese bureaucracy, he had to conform to the rules and regulations that governed it and master its trappings.”<sup>4</sup> All the Jesuits employed by the Qing court served it as bureaucrats and were expected to conform to the regulations of the bureaucracy and laws of the Qing, except when granted special favors by the emperor. Thus, the complexity of the Jesuits’ scientific-artistic exchange with rulers of Ming and Qing times was one which was augmented in complications when questions of religion, theology, and legal regulations collided with the fundamental purpose for the presence of the Catholic missions in China, namely proselytization.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the Jesuits continually encountered tensions with Ming and Qing officials over questions relating to the propriety of Chinese and Manchus adopting Catholic religious teachings; the acceptability of Christian scientific and religious tracts; and the question of when to apply statutes of the legal Code to Christians deemed miscreants. In relation to religious questions regarding the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven, in 1737 the Board of Punishments’ interpretation of Article 162 of the Qing Code gave the opinion that Christian baptism resembled rituals common to popular religions, which were considered heterodox. This ruling proved to be crucial for both Catholic missionaries and Christians converts at the beginning of the Qianlong reign. In reality, it signaled that court officials were not swayed by Christian apologists in favor of Christianity. However, this did not stop the court Jesuits from continuing to petition for Christianity.

Article 162 appears in Part Four of the Qing Code, and it is located at the end of Chapter One, entitled “Sacrifices.” The following section entitled “Rules of Demeanor” meticulously laid out instructions for performance of numerous sets of sacrifices (to heaven, spirits, local deities, and the deceased). The Code stipulated emperors, officials, individuals, and monks and nuns

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<sup>4</sup> Willy Vande Walle, “Ferdinand Verbiest and the Chinese Bureaucracy” in *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688 Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat)*, ed. John W. Witek, S. J. (Nettetal: Styler Verlag, 1994), 494.

(Buddhist or Daoist) should carry out these rites. Each article contained clearly stated punishments for infringement or deception regarding these mandatory rites.

Article 162 stipulated that sorcerers or sorceresses could not call up evil spirits, or draw charms and chant into water (or throw water); nor could they falsely claim to be a society such as [one with the name of] the Maitreya Buddha (*Milefu*, also spelled Maitreya Buddha), the White Lotus Society (*Bailianhui*), the Enlightened and Respectful Society (*Mingzunjiao*), or the White Cloud Society (*Baiyunhui*). The Code defined all these societies as heretical. Chinese and Manchu opponents of Christianity, from local officials to members of the Six Boards in the capital, often had charged that the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven conformed to definitions of heterodoxy outlined and prohibited by the Code and should, therefore, be outlawed and punished. In 1736 and earlier, the specific regulation that caused the Jesuits the greatest troubles was Article 162 because this regulation represented a mechanism for controlling popular religious movements that the central government deemed harmful to political order.

Adherents of two entirely different approaches to organizing social-political life have dominated Chinese theoretical discussion from antiquity to the present, and this discussion is closely related to questions concerning law.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, understanding these two approaches helps illuminate how the Jesuits' represented and used Chinese law. As introduced in footnote two of the Introduction, the adherents of these two schools were called: *Rujia* (儒家),<sup>6</sup> those who wished to achieve order in society through performance of rituals (*li* 禮), and *Fajia* (Legalist

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<sup>5</sup> Yang, see Chapter Six, "Using the Past to Negate the Present?: Ritual Ethics and State Rationality in Ancient China," 209-244.

<sup>6</sup> For *Rujia* also see Hucker, *China's Imperial Past*, 84-85. The name of the most revered teacher in China's history was *Kong Qiu* (b. 551 - d. 479 B.C.). Chinese refer to him as Kong Fuzi, Master Kong, *fuzi* signifies the most respectful form of address. From Kong Fuzi Jesuit missionaries devised the latinized form Confucius. The term *Ru* is a rather baffling term, which originally meant "weakling" or a genteel, nonviolent man. *Ru* denotes a nonmilitary class in society distinct from the early Zhou warrior-official class (*shi*). Confucius' teaching consisted of *Ru* teaching that predated his life-time.

School 法家), those who maintained that order only would be achieved in society by means of enforcing clear, strict laws and punishments for transgressors.<sup>7</sup>

Legalist philosophy guided the actions of the First Emperor of China, *Qinshi huangdi*, who succeeded in unifying the Warring States in 221 B.C.E. by means of military strategy and reliance upon Legalist advisors. However, the Qin dynasty (221-206 B.C.E.) was short-lived. Leaders during the following dynasty aimed to mollify harsh measures the first unifier of China had adopted. Soon after the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.-220 C.E.), its founder Han Gaozu (b. circa, 140 B.C.E., d. 195 B.C.E) and his successors adopted Legalist-based organizational structures and administrative practices, even though eclectic religious beliefs, ranging from Daoist mysticism to naturalism and to myth and superstition, flourished during these time. By 124 B.C.E., Han Wudi, the Martial Emperor, who initially had felt contempt for Confucianists, pronounced Confucianism the ideological foundation of imperial rule. His entire government relied upon the Confucian canon and Confucian orthodoxy to rule. The Martial Emperor adopted Confucianism as the official philosophy of the Han, and an eclectic form of *Ruxue* (Literati Teaching) philosophy developed. Derk Bodde observed that a process of the “Confucianization” of the Chinese state occurred.<sup>8</sup> However, Yang has succinctly observed that

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<sup>7</sup> Yang, 242. Yang cites the contemporary mainland scholar, Li Zehou, who wrote in 1980 and 1985 an interpretation of *Rujia* thought as rooted in primitive kin-ordered society, at a time when ritual practices and ethics of kinship were important to all aspects of life, especially the political. She cites Li Zehou as an example of a post-Cultural Revolution scholar who wished to reverse the harmful effects of Maoist inspired campaigns that denigrated and criticized both Lin Biao and Confucius (*Pilin pikong*) in order to identify the socialist state with the former Legalist-inspired Qin dynasty and thereby glorify the accomplishments of the 1949 and 1966 revolutions that Maoists claimed over-threw both feudalism and capitalism, 213-214. Thus, Yang shows how Li was using the past to “rectify” the excesses of the Cultural Revolution by historical argument. Yang cites seven anthropological works by contemporary authors who aim to further understanding of the Three Dynasty period (Xia, Shang, Zhou, from 2205 B.C.E. to 221 B.C.E.) in order to establish the role *Rujia* thought played in tribal federations and political kinship and ritual orders of agnatic clan and segmentary lineage systems in order distinguish whether these groups represented “states,” “autonomous segment states,” or “resembled an enlarged household,” 219-220.

<sup>8</sup> Bodde, *Law in Imperial China*, 50. Derk Bodde coined the term “Confucianization” and uses it in his book.

the Han and later imperial dynasties preserved Legalist state structures and discourse, but replaced Legalist discourse with the moralism of Confucianism as state orthodoxy.<sup>9</sup> She sums up this political state-building strategy with the observation: “Once the imperial state system was established, pre-Qin *Rujia* oppositional discourse became state Confucianism, which was predicated on and served as a cover for Legalism.”<sup>10</sup>

Thus, Matteo Ricci’s coining of the term *Yuanru* (Early Confucianism) and the Jesuits’ accommodative strategy of condoning certain Confucian rites reveals that the Jesuits grasped some of the significance of pre-imperial *Rujia* history. It is not farfetched to pose the question: Did the Jesuits use pre-Qin *Rujia* thought to challenge late Ming-Qing historiography so that they could prove their claim that Early Confucianism (pre-Qin) contained a natural religion that anticipated the revealed religion of Christianity?

## II. Background on Classical Thought, Ritual Etiquette, and Contending Schools of Law

The term “Confucian orthodoxy” is so critical to this entire study that this section is devoted to defining how Confucian philosophy relates to the introduction of Christianity to China. Confucius (551-479 B.C.E.), the most important philosopher, teacher, and compiler of classical texts in Chinese history, argued that a ruler must lead by moral example so that all people in society would cultivate virtue. He proposed that society and government would attain good order if all members of society carried out their duties according to the prescriptions

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<sup>9</sup> Yang, 242-243.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 243.

of the Five Relationships (*Wulun*)<sup>11</sup> and correct performance of rituals or social norms (*li* 禮).<sup>12</sup>

*The Analects of Confucius (Lunyu)* set forth Chinese religious sentiment and philosophical concerns centering upon the importance of learning, hospitality, filial conduct, good government, and reverence for the living, dead, and all of Nature. The opening lines of the *Lunyu* allude to the pleasure of study and the enjoyment that comes from applying what is learned, as well as to the pleasure of welcoming friends from distant quarters.<sup>13</sup>

Confucius observed in the *Lunyu*: 子曰：學而時習之，不亦說乎？有朋自遠方來，不亦樂乎？人不知而不慍，不亦君子呼？ Having studied, to then repeatedly apply what you have learned--is this not a source of pleasure? To have friends come from distant quarters--is this not a source of enjoyment? To go unacknowledged by others without harboring frustration--is this not the mark of an exemplary person?<sup>14</sup>

Rosemont and Ames note that “distant quarters” may also be understood as “foreign places.”

Understanding Confucian (or *Ru*) thought requires not only exegesis, but also knowledge of the earliest periods of *Ru* philosophical thought, as well as knowledge of how Master Kong transmitted early *Ruism* and added his teachings to that school of thought. Finally, in order to gain perspective on the significance of Confucianism to all of Chinese history, his thought needs to be contrasted to other major Chinese philosophical, religious, and legal schools, not only of

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<sup>11</sup> The Five Relationships refer to the following relationships: between sovereign and subject, father and son, husband and wife, among brothers, and among friends. Confucius specified the appropriate virtues that ought to accompany each of the Five Relationships as filial piety, loyalty, brotherliness, love and obedience, and faithfulness, respectively. From Hucker, *China's Imperial Past*, 84.

<sup>12</sup> The direct translation of *li* is rites, code of conduct, or social norms. The character consists of the left hand radical *shi* divine manifestation, with a phonetic that means a sacrificial vessel, see Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (reprint, New York: Paragon Books, 1964), 17, and Herbert A. Giles *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1912), 873. Also see Yang's etymological notes on *li*, 223-224.

<sup>13</sup> Roger T. Ames and Henry Rosemont, Jr., *The Analects of Confucius: A Philosophical Translation* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1998), 78.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, see footnote two, which also explains that 朋 also means “students of the same master...who came from distant places,” 230.

his life-time, but also over the historical development of China. In effect, the Jesuits were attempting this task from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

The Jesuits of the early China mission may be understood as self-styled students of Master Kong because they called themselves both “Men from the West” (*Xiyangren*) and Western Scholars of the *Ru* tradition (*Xiru* 西儒). They devoted themselves to mastering the Chinese classical canon, but they interpreted Master Kong’s teaching in a manner that complemented Christian theology because they claimed that Christianity both complemented and completed the the Original Literati Teaching (*Yuanru*), which is also translated as Early Confucianism or Early Ruism. After the Jesuits had “discovered” China and Confucius, they interpreted and identified a variety of rituals meant to express filiality as secular performance of duties, which the state required. The definition of religion or “religiosity” in China remains a primary concern of current scholars.<sup>15</sup>

Kwang-Ching Liu offers a formula to explain how “orthodox belief” (*zheng* 正) became an important part of Chinese statecraft. He uses the term *lijiao* (禮教), literally, “ritual and teaching,” which he further interpretively translates as “institutionally-and ritually-based ethics” or as “socioreligious ethics.”<sup>16</sup> He locates Chinese socioreligious ethics as originating in the Han dynasty and observes that Neo-Confucians of the Song dynasty and thereafter reaffirmed these values. These socioreligious ethics constituted a belief system later accepted by the three major

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<sup>15</sup> The term religiosity is used by Keightley to describe the extrinsic ritual routines of Shang religious activity in contrast to inner “spiritual” experience which ritual performance fails to fully disclose. The author also notes that “The distinction between religion and religiosity, however, is by no means clear cut....” See David N. Keightley, “The Making of the Ancestors: Late Shang Religion and Its Legacy” in *Religion and Chinese Society, Volume I: Ancient and Medieval China*, ed. by John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2004), 4.

<sup>16</sup> See Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek, *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 1-7. Liu’s usage of the term “socioreligious” uses no hyphen, which he first presented in “Socioethics as Orthodoxy: A Perspective” in *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. by Kwang-Ching Liu (Berkeley: University of California, 1990), 53-100. On heterodoxy and Christianity, see Laamann, who notes that both eighteenth- and nineteenth-century campaigns against Christianity were part of a general government campaign against “heresy” and “heretical” movements, 83-87.

religions of China--Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism.<sup>17</sup> The definition of “orthodox” belief versus “heterodox” belief in China was one that recognized the primacy of carrying out the doctrine of the Three Bonds, namely the obligations of children to parents, wife to husband, and official to monarch.<sup>18</sup> These Three Bonds represented the first three relationships of the Five Relationships that Confucians, Buddhists, and Daoists were required to observe according to Chinese socioreligious ethics, as well as by the Qing Code’s definition of moral orthodoxy. The term heterodoxy carried further serious connotations. To Chinese of the Qing period (similar to Chinese of the present) the term for heterodoxy *xiejiao* (邪教) also meant: depraved, vicious, evil, and wicked.<sup>19</sup>

Chinese classical literature is critically relevant to the present study. It was this core of tradition, literature, and learning that the Jesuits in China familiarized themselves with so that they could understand Chinese civilization, religion, and culture, and thereby introduce Christianity to the Chinese. The classical canon was sacred. The classics were reproduced on bamboo slips, carved in stone, and then printed in books. These classics formed the core curriculum of study for the examination system that provided personnel for the state bureaucracy.

The people of ancient China did not regard law as emanating from God, in contrast to Judaic, Christian, and Islamic law. However, they did believe that Heaven (*Tian*) exerted

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<sup>17</sup> Liu and Shek, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Father de Mailla’s letter reporting on the proscription of Christianity reports on Governor-general Mambou’s charge that Christianity destroyed the Three Bonds, see LEC 3: 351 and Appendix 1.6 paragraph one.

<sup>19</sup> Liu and Shek, 4. In both ancient and modern China a notable mnemonic device of presenting categories of information in numerical groups should be accepted as a normal rhetorical technique of the Chinese language. A recent campaign is China’s Four Modernizations. This chapter cites commonly used terms such as the Three Bonds, the Five Relationships, and the Ten Great Wrongs. On the term heterodoxy, Laamann also stresses also that *xiejiao* meant not just heterodoxy but also “wicked belief,” 4.



influence over earthly and human affairs and that Heaven judged such terrestrial affairs based upon ideals of justice and upright moral behavior.

In 1967 Derk Bodde observed that the question of whether China had a tradition of natural law equivalent to natural law in the West has remained a field of study that has received little attention.<sup>20</sup> Major Western scholars of China such as Joseph Needham,<sup>21</sup> Derk Bodde,<sup>22</sup> and J. J. L. Duyvendak<sup>23</sup> all have concurred that the Mandate of Heaven and other forces fulfilled similar functions to natural law in the West. More recently legal historian William P. Alford has written also that the idea of the Mandate of Heaven, or *tianming*, may be understood as the equivalent of the Western notion of natural law.<sup>24</sup> John W. Witek, S.J. notes that the term natural theology can be traced back to the first century C.E., and he stresses that in the early modern period "...the term arose as an expression of knowing God through human reason."<sup>25</sup> Scholar Li Zehou claimed that customary law may be traced to primitive-ordered society, which had evolved out of primitive shamanistic rituals of respect for deities and later developed into worship of human ancestors.<sup>26</sup> The Jesuits' attempt to meld Roman Catholicism into Chinese tradition by claiming that the Original Literati Teaching (*Yuanru*) was monotheistic and that this

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<sup>20</sup> Derk Bodde, *Law in Imperial China Exemplified by 190 Ch'ing Dynasty Cases* (translated from the Hsing-an hui-lan) *With Historical, Social, and Juridical Commentaries* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 48-49.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Needham, ed. *Science and Civilization in China* vol. 2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 518-583.

<sup>22</sup> Derk Bodde, "Authority and Law in Ancient China," *Journal of the Oriental Society* 46 (Suppl. 17, 1954): 74.

<sup>23</sup> J. J. L. Duyvendak, trans. *The Book of Lord Shang* (London: Probsthain, 1928), 129-130.

<sup>24</sup> William P. Alford "The Inscrutable Occident? Implications of Roberto Unger's Uses and Abuses of the Chinese Past" in *Chinese Law and History*, Perry Keller, ed. (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2001), 937.

<sup>25</sup> John W. Witek, "A Dialogue on Astronomical Phenomena and Natural Theology in Eighteenth-Century China" in *Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (XVII-XVIII centuries)* Federico Masini, ed. (Roma: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1996), 309-330.

<sup>26</sup> Yang, 214-215. Li Zehou reassessed Confucius in the mid-1980s after the criticize Confucius campaign.

so-called “original Confucianism” anticipated the revealed religion of Christ remains a controversial historical question. Ricci set forth Christian theology that was meant to augment and perfect the original teachings of Confucius in his catechism *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義).<sup>27</sup> Ricci used both natural theology and law to set forth his views in this catechism. The Jesuits hoped to prove that early Chinese philosophy contained an expression of natural law that gave proof that early Chinese believed in God and that this natural law anticipated the revealed law of Christianity.

The important philosopher Mencius (ca. 371-289 B.C.E.), considered of the Confucian School, articulated a natural law philosophy.<sup>28</sup> Mencius considered Heaven the supreme ruler of the universe and proposed that Heaven bestowed upon all human beings equally the “law of nature.” Mencius maintained that the human nature of all beings contained the embryonic virtues of “love, justice, propriety, and knowledge,” which would develop naturally unless hindered by evil conditions. Finally, he theorized that the norms by which people live and seek good, instead of evil, come from Heaven rather than from human effort. Furthermore, this theory of Heaven and human nature, Mencius suggested, could be applied to moral, political, and economic realms. He believed that humans should be exhorted to follow a high moral value system because this capacity is engraved in their hearts; that the emperor must be a moral person in order to rule over society; and that his authority proceeds from his benevolence. If the emperor lacks reason, benevolence, justice, and love, he will lose the blessing of Heaven, and it then becomes the duty of the people to overthrow him. Paul Sih observed: “The recognition that the ultimate test of the

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<sup>27</sup> This catechism and its significance were introduced in the Introduction and the first paragraph of Chapter One, Section IV.

<sup>28</sup> Ralph R. Covell, *Confucius, The Buddha, and Christ: A History of the Gospel in Chinese* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1986). 46-47 analysis of Mencius summarized from Paul Sih, *Chinese Culture and Christianity* (Taipei: China Culture Publication Foundation, 1957), 30-45.

validity of authority lies beyond authority itself is essentially a natural law proposition.”<sup>29</sup>

According to Mencius, a truly benevolent ruler will concern himself with the economic life of his people, providing for them and society equal distribution of land, the use of public granaries, a system of public schools, and a concern for all the needs of the people.

The way the court Jesuits merged themselves into the Qing imperium and observed Chinese political norms presents a perplexing question: To whom did they really give allegiance? Was it the Christian God, their religious superiors, European monarchs, or Qing rulers? For example, the court Jesuits used terms of political obeisance in court exchanges and in written memorials because they were bureaucrats as Willy Vande Walle has pointed out. They wrote to the emperor: “The emperor intervenes between Heaven and Earth. He is relied upon as the father and mother of the people.” They appealed to the emperor as “ministers” [of state].<sup>30</sup> While seventeenth-century European critics of the Jesuits might have called such behavior proof of Jesuit casuistry, it appears that the Jesuits performed such political rituals with the goal of advancing their religious cause. Moreover, those French Jesuits who served Qing emperors also served their king Louis XIV, who had granted them patents to travel to China and charged them with gathering information useful for navigation, commerce, and political alliances.

How these French Jesuits understood and interpreted Chinese ritual life constitutes a major part of the Rites Controversy. An understanding of the significance of ritual (*li*, introduced above in light of Kwang-Ching Liu’s analysis) in China’s social and political history is relevant to this study because throughout Chinese history observance of ritual by all members

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., Quoted from Paul Sih in Covell, 46.

<sup>30</sup> *Ruijianlu*, Qianlong 1, f. 1 & 3. Note this follows a pattern found in Matteo Ricci’s first memorial to the Wanli Emperor in which he referred to himself as *peichen* 陪臣 “officer of a tributary state,” and he used standard terms of court communication throughout. See Zhu Weizheng, ed., *Li Madou, zhongwen zhuyiji* (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2002), 232.

of society provided social cohesion and political unity for the state. A majority of sinologists accept the view that the concept of *li* (as rituals or rites) may be traced to the Western Zhou dynasty, (while the Zhou is dated from 1045-256 B.C.E., it is broken into the Western Zhou 1045-771 B.C.E. and Eastern Zhou 770-256 B.C.E.), and perhaps earlier, to represent certain rituals that were meant to accompany set religious observances and sacrifices.<sup>31</sup> The meaning of *li* broadened to include other religious ceremonies, and gradually evolved into a Code of conduct, first among the nobility, and then more broadly. Discussing the complexity of the term *li*, Chinese legal historian Karl Büniger suggests that “their assignment [the relationships of *li*] to one of the traditional disciplines of European learning is not possible.”<sup>32</sup> Büniger’s observation highlights the point that European categories of learning should not be entirely depended upon for interpreting and understanding Chinese society.

The definition of *li* as a form of “invisible power” that could order human society, and as such the foundation of political and religious life, has been presented by Masayuki Sato. He observed: “In this way, the role of *li* in human society was comparable to the role of the Way [Dao] in the natural world and in a human body.”<sup>33</sup> Sato traces the influence that the theorist and philosopher Xunzi, (circa 300 to about 235 B.C.E., who along with Mencius are considered the two greatest philosophers of the Confucian tradition), exerted upon later Confucianists of the Han period. In analyzing Xunzi, Sato cites an even earlier work attributed to the theorist, Guan

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<sup>31</sup> Alford, 18.

<sup>32</sup> Karl Büniger, “Genesis and Change of Law in China” in *Law and State* 66, (1981), 66-89, and 74.

<sup>33</sup> Masayuki Sato, *The Confucian Quest for Order, The Origin and Formation of the Political Thought of Xunzi* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 124-125.

Zhong (d. 645 B.C.E.), the treatise entitled *Guanzi, Book of Master Guan*.<sup>34</sup> In the twelfth chapter of Book IV, entitled *Shuyan*, or “Cardinal Sayings,” Sato stresses that Guanzi’s views on *zhi* (order), *li* (ritual), and *fa* (law) influenced Xunzi:

法出於禮，禮出於治。治，禮，道也。萬物待治，禮而後定。  
Laws/regulations originate from rituals and social norms. Rituals and social norms originate from order. Order, and rituals and social norms, and order are [the manifestations of] the Way. After attaining an orderly condition by means of order and [ideal relationship] by means of *li*, the myriad things establish their own stable positions. (1:55-8)<sup>35</sup>

Sato’s free interpretation reminds us that early Chinese regarded ritual or *li* as a kind of progenitor of “order” and “ideal relationships” in society, which ensured a well-ordered political entity.<sup>36</sup> Thus, early theorists envisioned that order in both society and nature originated from *li* and that law (*fa* 法) emerged from social norms, or *li*.

Confucian social morality rested upon performance of *li*, and achieving good political order rested upon *zhi*. The Five Relationships (*Wulun*) provided a kind of map of social relationships that formed the basis for a well-regulated social and political order. Confucius’ political thinking is noteworthy for his philosophical approach toward self-cultivation and quest for moral perfection, a process that philosopher Tu Wei-ming calls continual “realization of the

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<sup>34</sup> W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). In his Introduction, Rickett cites sinologist Gustav Haloun who called the *Guanzi* an “amorphous and vast repository of ancient literature,” 3. Rickett discusses the origin of the present text, based on linguistic and archaeological analysis of numerous scholars, and he notes that none of the chapters predate the Warring States period and that most of them come from either the end of that period or from the Han, 14-15.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Compare Sato with the standard English translation of *Guanzi*: “The laws emanated from rules of propriety, and these in turn from the requirements for good order. Good order and customary rules of behavior constitute the moral way. All beginnings await the security that comes when good order and the rules of propriety prevail,” W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi*, rev. ed. (Taipei: Cheng & Tsui, 2001), 221. In the original edition of Rickett’s *Guanzi* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), this translation appears on page 219; the only difference is that “in turn” and “the requirements for” are bracketed.

self.”<sup>37</sup> Confucius maintained that government should provide for the happiness and welfare of the people, but by means of moral example and not by law. Confucius called himself a transmitter of the old ways fostered by the Duke of Zhou, the regent of the young second king of the Zhou dynasty (1045-256 B.C.E.), whom he taught the new doctrine of the “Mandate of Heaven” (*tianming* 天命), one that stressed that good kings should rule conscientiously and benevolently to receive good graces from Heaven or else lose their mandate to rule.<sup>38</sup>

The Confucian school of moral philosophy and the Legalist school of philosophy provided China with two fundamentally different views of jurisprudence. Both schools’ legal perspectives have profoundly affected Chinese political and social life from ancient times to the present. The Legalists, represented by the major theoretician Han Fei (280-233 B.C.E.), questioned the premise that humans were fundamentally good (as expressed by Mencius). Legalists maintained that harsh and clearly codified laws provided the most reliable basis for stable government, and they maintained that the law should treat all men equally. Legalists opposed the concept of ritual or *li* as a foundation for good government, charging that *li*

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<sup>37</sup> Tu Wei-ming, *Confucian Ethics Today, The Singapore Challenge* (Singapore: Federal Publications, 1984) 12. Quoting from Chapter Twenty-Two of the classic *Centrality and Commonality* (Doctrine of the Mean or *Zhongyong*), Tu stresses that Confucius proposed that the process of self-development is unceasing and endless:

“Only those who are absolutely sincere can fully develop their nature. If they can fully develop their nature, they can then fully develop the nature of others. If they can fully develop the nature of others, they can then fully develop the nature of things. If they can fully develop the nature of things, they can then assist in the transforming and nourishing process of Heaven and Earth. If they can assist in the transforming and nourishing process of Heaven and Earth, they can thus form a trinity with Heaven and Earth.”

An illustration of how Confucian ethics of the Sung period (Neo-Confucianism) placed importance on the individual’s relationship to all under Heaven may be found in the beginning lines of the leading Sung Neo-Confucian thinker Zhang Cai (12<sup>th</sup> century), who expresses the human-relatedness of all under Heaven in his essay called the *Western Inscription*:

“Heaven is my father and earth is my mother, and even such a small being as I finds an intimate place in their midst. Therefore, that which fills the universe I regard as my body and that which directs the universe I consider as my nature. All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions.”

<sup>38</sup> Bodde, *Law in Imperial China*, 23.

represented a Code that was unwritten, particularistic, and subject to arbitrary interpretation.<sup>39</sup> An example of enduring Legalist tradition in Chinese socio-political life was the “mutual security system” (*baojia*), a system in which communal security was achieved by mutual surveillance presided over by a community “headman.” The *baojia* system endured in Qing times, and Father de Mailla reported on how headmen gathered intelligence on Catholics after being ordered to by the district magistrate.<sup>40</sup>

In summary, beginning from Han times, both Legalist and Confucian thinking strongly influenced Chinese society and institutions, but Confucianism won highest rank as the official state religion or “orthodoxy.”<sup>41</sup> We find in the Qing Code the Five Relationships imbedded in clear statutes, expressed as positive law, along with clearly prescribed punishments for transgressions against the statutes. The approaches of Guanzi and Xunzi, who both believed in the importance of rites (*li*) and law (*fa*), are discernible in the legal Code.

### III. Chinese Jurisprudence and the *Great Qing Law Code*

The origin of the juridical philosophy expressed in the Qing Code may be traced to earlier periods of China’s history. The Tang Code (635) and the Qing Code are so similar that evidence exists that an active juristic tradition clearly existed within the highest levels of the bureaucracy for one thousand years.<sup>42</sup> This juristic tradition may be traced to philosophical schools of the late Zhou Dynasty. References and citations from early Chinese Classics may be

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 23-34.

<sup>40</sup> LEC 3: 348 and Appendix 1.1.

<sup>41</sup> At present the question of whether Confucian philosophy was a religion or an ideology is a focus of discussion in mainland China. The question is also still being debated by American scholars. The seventeenth century Jesuit interpretation of the *Ru* teaching as “civil” supported the proposition that the tradition represented an ideology or civil law--as opposed to a natural law that expressed religious sentiment.

<sup>42</sup> Jones, *The Great Qing Law Code*, 28.

found in the Code. Legal expert, William C. Jones, characterizes the Qing Code as “an enormously important legal document,” which embodies the legal philosophy of one of the major legal systems of the world.<sup>43</sup>

The Qing Code epitomized the political structure of the Chinese state, one in which the emperor held supreme power as Son of Heaven, or *Tianzi*. The emperor depended upon his scholar-officials who served the centralized state bureaucracy to carry out the directives of the Code and to inflict punishments upon those who infringed against the Code.<sup>44</sup> One half of the Code is devoted to describing regulation of government officials and how they should apply penalties for infringement of law when definite proof of wrongful acts existed. The Code represented a system that emphasized procedure in contrast to Western Anglo-American law in which substantive law and individual rights played a dominant role.

The organization of the Code is straightforward in design. Understanding the Code and its prescribed punishments provides a foundation upon which many aspects of the Jesuits’ French reports and letters may be understood, as well as their Chinese language compositions and memorials. As Father de Mailla, the author of the eighteenth-century *General History* noted, the laws of China nearly all contained moral philosophy found in the Classical Canon. The following paragraphs set forth the significance of the Code and its prescribed punishments in a

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., Jones maintains: “... we are a long way from understanding the Qing Code as a legal system,” 28. Jones identifies serious faults in the first three translations of the Code. In the Gui Boulais French translation, *Manuel du Code chinois, Variétés sinologiques series*, No. 55 (Shanghai, 1924), he notes that Boulais omitted large portions of the text. Jones further points out that P. L. F. Philastre used French terms too freely when translating the Code. He, thus, infused his translation of the Qing Code with French custom. Jones characterizes the translation of the Code by George Staunton, George Thomas Staunton, trans., *Ta Tsing Leu Lee, Being the Fundamental Laws of the Penal Code of China* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1810), as “...so free as to be inaccurate,” v-vi.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. 9.



historical and legal context.<sup>45</sup> Namely, it is important to understand in the context of Qing law how Christianity could be judged as high treason, rebellion, a heterodox sect, or gross unfilialness.

The introductory section of the Code consists of one section entitled “Names and General Rules.” The “Names” specify the “Five Punishments” introduced in the first Article of the Code, which were beating with light bamboo, heavy bamboo, penal servitude, exile, and death. Other punishments such as fines and the pillory (cangue) were also given. All punishments were meted out according to whether a local magistrate was able to find proof of infringement upon the General Rules of the Code or of specific articles of the Code presented in the subsequent Six Sections of the Code. The first three punishments each had five degrees of severity. Exile had three degrees, based upon distance of exile and each degree of exile was accompanied by 100 strokes of the heavy bamboo. The death penalty consisted of strangulation and decapitation. All capital offenses had to be reviewed by the emperor.

References to the Five Relationships may be found in the 24 October 1724 letter of Father de Mailla reporting on the proscription of Christianity. For example, the district

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<sup>45</sup> The Qing Code of 1740 may be briefly outlined as follows:

- I. Names and General Rules (Articles 1-46)
- II. (laws relating to) The Board of Personnel (articles 47-74)
- III. (laws relating to) The Board of Revenue (articles 75-156)
- IV. (laws relating to) The Board of Rites (articles 157-182)
- V. (laws relating to) The Board of War (articles 183-253)
- VI. (laws relating to) The Board of Punishments (articles 254-423)
- VII. (laws relating to) The Board of Public Works (articles 424-436)

Bodde, *Law in Imperial China*, presents a similar outline, 60-61. Jones and Bodde correspond in the number of Articles and Sections presented. Bodde labeled the laws introducing the regulations of each board as “civil laws.” Jones did not use the term “civil.” He classified the Chinese Code as a reversal of European contract law and law protecting private interest. He observed that the Code shows that “The state promulgated laws to make sure its interests were advanced. As this was done, the interests of individuals were often protected as an indirect result,” Jones, 7-8. Jones translates *xingbu* (刑部) as Board of Punishments. The Jesuits referred in letters to the *xingbu*, as the “tribunal of crimes,” LEC 3: 727. In Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, he defines *xingbu* 刑部 as “Bureau of Punishment, one of several major units in the Section of Justice (*tuguan*)” [都官部 Section of Justice]. Hucker notes that that the *xingbu* has been translated as “*ministère de la justice* [the Ministry of Justice]” to describe Ming-Qing affairs, 245-246.

magistrate of Fuan reported to superiors in 1723: “What a shame that it [Christianity] is being employed in favor of a false sect that destroys the Five Relationships and true virtue, and also reverses the union of families and annihilates good customs!”<sup>46</sup>

Confucius held that if a ruler excessively stressed laws and punishments, then people would only live according to the minimum requirements of the law, and they would have no sense of personal shame.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, we find a stringent codification of the Five Relationships in the Qing Code (Article 2). The first three Great Wrongs are plotting rebellion, plotting high treason (against the emperor), and plotting treason (against one’s own country). Moreover, we find that all of the other subsequent seven Great Wrongs specifically define infringements against the moral order portrayed in the Five Relations. Briefly, the violations of the moral order that follow the first three Great Wrongs (treasonous acts) consist of the following: Gross Unfilialness, Acts that are not in Accordance with the Way (Dao), Great Lack of Respect, Lack of Filial Piety, Discord, Failure to Fulfill One’s Duty, and Internal Disorder, respectively. According to a prefatory excerpt from the General Commentary on the Ten Wrongs, these acts are considered a “perversion of morality.”<sup>48</sup> The acts range from striking family members, elders, teachers, or superiors to murdering them, and from stealing articles belonging to the emperor used for Grand Sacrifice to engaging in sexual relations with relatives. All these acts were considered serious and evil crimes, and all were related to the Five Relationships. According to The Collected Explanations, which also prefaces the Ten Wrongs:

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<sup>46</sup> LEC 3: 348 or Appendix 1.3.

<sup>47</sup> Surya, Prakash Sinha, *What is Law? The Differing Theories of Jurisprudence* (New York: Paragon House, 1989), 54.

<sup>48</sup> Jones, 34.

“The [system] of the five punishments must be used by taking into account the natural relationships [of men.]”<sup>49</sup>

Legal historian Sally Falk Moore maintains that Chinese legal specialists object to the classification of *li* as a Chinese substratum of law.<sup>50</sup> She maintains that rites were certainly not an ecclesiastical law and that they were codified no later than the Han and in certain times and places enforced often by other parties than the state. She also maintains that “the rites legitimacy in a mythologized primordial tradition is not wholly unlike that of higher customary law in other societies.”<sup>51</sup> Moore’s observations echo the observations of Father de Mailla.

In both Father de Mailla’s letter reporting on the proscription of Christianity in 1724 and in the *Ruijianlu*, systematic reporting on specific statutes is absent. Absence of concrete citations of regulations suggests an intentional strategy of leaving out specific regulations found in the Qing Code that described outlawed heterodox teachings (cults) and prescribed punishments. Although the letter is full of meticulous reporting on government memorials, edicts, and communication amongst bureaucrats, no detailed analysis of regulations and punishments in the Qing Code is included.<sup>52</sup>

Another question needs to be considered: Were the court Jesuits of the early eighteenth century thoroughly versed with the Code and did they have access to it? Father de Mailla’s

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 34. The commentary is from The Collected Explanations (*Jijie*) of Wang Zhi.

<sup>50</sup> Sally Falk Moore, *Law as Process: An Anthropological Approach* (London: Routledge, 1978), 13-14.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> However, in the 1717 letter of Father de Mailla, LEC 3: 270-287, “*Lettre du Père de Mailla. Entraves mises au commerce avec les étrangers, persecution contre les chrétiens, notions des Chinois sur les îles Lieou-kieou, Formose, les îles de la Sonde et le midi de L’Asie. Pékin, le 5 juin 1717*” the writer describes steps taken against Catholic communities and legal punishments for heterodox groups. He quotes the “Deliberation of the State Council of Nine,” which declared that in the eighth year of the Kangxi reign (1670) Christians should be treated with the same rigor as rebels against the government, 273. During the Kangxi reign the emperor treated Christians favorably, and the recommendations of certain officials to proscribe the religion were not carried out.

participation in the group translation project from Chinese to Manchu of Zhu Xi's (1130-1200) abbreviated edition of the *Summary of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑒綱目) provides evidence that he had gained extensive knowledge of the history and institutional foundation of Chinese government from 403 B.C.E. to 959 C.E., which included knowledge of judicial philosophy.<sup>53</sup> He translated the *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* from Manchu into French as the *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annals de cet empire; traduites du Tong-Kien Kang-Mou*.<sup>54</sup> Additionally, he significantly added to the text by covering the history of China up to the year 1722. He also provided illustrative maps and tables for the entire *General History*. The editors of the *Histoire générale* also printed letters in the last volume of the thirteen-volume set, consisting of correspondence between French Jesuits in China and French Academicians who had communicated with each other on questions of Chinese chronology, history, astronomy, sciences, botany, and so on.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History, A Manual*, revised and enlarged ed. (Cambridge: Published by the Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute and distributed by Harvard University Press, 2000), 499-500 provides the following information. The *Summary of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* was an adaptation of the 294-chapter *Comprehensive Mirror for aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒) written by Sima Guang (1019-1086), which chronicled China's history from 403 BC to AD 959. Father de Mailla helped translate the highly moralistic adaptation of the *Tongjian* from Chinese into Manchu, one that had been devised by Zhu Xi (1130-1200) and written by his pupils.

<sup>54</sup> Father de Mailla translated the the Manchu language version of the *Summary of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*, or (*Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑒綱目) into French, and it was published as J. A. M. de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annals de cet empire; traduites du Tong-Kien Kang-Mou*, 13 vols., (Paris: Pierres et Clousier, 1777-85). Hereafter cited as *Histoire générale*.

<sup>55</sup> BNF Mss. Fr. 12210-12214 (2) Microfiche 2712 and 2713 and Ms. Fr. 19537, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, Father Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, S.J. These microfiches are of the original manuscript of de Mailla. Further helpful information on the *Histoire générale* may be found in the finding aid in the Provincial Archives of the Society of Jesus, Vanves, France, APCJ, Ms. JBM, 69 "Observations sur l'histoire manuscrit de la Chine, traduite par le P. de Mailla, d'après les originaux Tartares et Chinois, déposés à la Bibliothèque de Collège du Lyon," 1-6. The typist of these *Observations* made errors in representing the translator's name as Maillard (sic) 4-6.

Father de Mailla commented extensively on judicial matters in the *Histoire générale*. Chapter Five is devoted to *Tribunals superior de la Chine* and Chapter Six to *Loix civiles*. He made the following observation on what he called “civil” law:

They [the laws] are nearly all comprised of the moral philosophy of the Classical Canon. Filial piety is at the base [of the system], as it is also of the government. Some ordinances of the Emperors and especially of the Rites, which have metamorphosed into custom, form the rest of the Code. In a word, the jurisprudence of the Chinese offers the foundation for the best book of morality.<sup>56</sup>

Father de Mailla described sixteen points, which government officials were responsible for teaching and inculcating into people at bi-monthly village meetings. These principles followed the order: filiality, respect for family, union and harmony in villages, respect for laborers, frugality, support for public schools, respect for rank, immediate extirpation of sects, knowledge of penal law, cultivation of honesty and civility, education of children and elder brothers, avoidance of calumny, avoidance of vagrancy, contributions to Prince (sovereign), cooperation with Village Headman, and repression of anger.<sup>57</sup>

The sixteen points outlined by Father de Mailla stress the duty of officials to inculcate social and legal precepts into individuals under their jurisdiction and to punish those who did not follow these precepts. Father de Mailla’s thorough understanding of the Code among Jesuits was not unique. Father Adam Schall von Bell had praised the *Da Ming huidian* (Institutions of the Great Ming) and its laws that governed China as exemplifying Confucian values in the catechism,

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<sup>56</sup> *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou Annales de cet Empire*, Traduite du texte Chinois, par le seu Père Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyiac de Mailla, Jésuite Français, Missionnaire à Pékin (Paris: Chez Moutard, 1785), 1: 461. My translation.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 461. The sixteen points Father de Mailla enumerated are the sixteen points in the *Sacred Edict* issued by the Kangxi Emperor. Chapters eight and nine are respectively translated as “Heretical Sects” and “Laws and Penalties.” Extirpation of sects identified as heretical called for the same severe penalties as the Code did because the *Sacred Edict* was a simplified version of tenets found in the Code. Thus to extirpate a heterodox sect the leader of the sect would be found and strangled.

which he had presented to the Ming ruler, the Chongzhen Emperor (1611-1644). Furthermore, he had insisted that the teaching of the Lord of Heaven represented a truly universal teaching.<sup>58</sup>

Indeed, the sixteen points outlined by Father de Mailla are traceable to the the *Sacred Edict*, published in 1724 by the Yongzheng Emperor and based upon his father's *Hortatory Edict of Sixteen Maxims* (1670), republished as *The Sacred Edict* (1724).<sup>59</sup> The Yongzheng Emperor's sponsorship of the republication of his father's stern interpretation of orthodox Confucianism provides clear evidence of imperial disapproval of the Catholic religion. The *Sacred Edict* was widely disseminated, and it was the duty of officials to hold meetings on the first and fifteenth of each lunar month, in which they read and expounded the teachings contained in the *Sacred Edict* to the people of their prefectures.<sup>60</sup> The thirteenth section of the *Sacred Edict* declared:

Even the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven, which speaks about Heaven and Earth and the invisible and formless, does not represent the orthodox canon. It was simply because they [the missionaries] understood astronomy, and were able to calculate the rules for

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<sup>58</sup> Witek, "Christianity and China" in ed. Uhalley, *China and Christianity*, 19.

<sup>59</sup> Yongzheng Emperor, *The Sacred Edict with a Translation of the Colloquial Rendering*, trans. F. W. Baller (1921, reprint, Orono ME: University of Maine Press, 1979).

In the year 1921, F. W. Baller of the China Inland Mission completed his translation of the Yongzheng Emperor's 1724 republication of the *Hortatory Edict of Sixteen Maxims* (1670). The Yongzheng Emperor re-issued his father's maxims (written in literary Chinese) because he believed they were too difficult for common people to understand. A high official, Wang Youpu, the Salt Commissioner in Shaanxi, believed that the simpler literary style the Yongzheng Emperor used was still too difficult, so he rewrote the edict in colloquial style. This *Sacred Edict* was used for over one hundred years in compulsory monthly meetings in villages and towns throughout China in so-called mandatory study sessions where the edict was read aloud and explained to the people.

Baller employs the translation *The Sacred Edict* for the *Shengyu Guangxun*, but it may also be translated as *The Imperial Edict* because the word *sheng* carries both these meanings. Baller credited the Confucian maxims with no religious or sacred meaning. He observed that "The *Sacred Edict* well exemplifies both the strength and weakness of mere morality. There is high thinking, but the outcome is low living. These moral maxims have no life-giving power in them. They are as sterile as a schoolboy's copy book headings. However brilliant these 'Lights of Asia' may appear through the richly tinted medium of poetic imagery borrowed from Western culture, the people of China who have followed them for generations are still enveloped in a darkness which may be felt. Nothing but Divine motive power can raise fallen humanity," iv. This Protestant point of view of Confucian teaching, unlike the Jesuit approach of accommodation of Christianity and the Confucian tradition, rejected the fundamental political-religious tradition of China. Baller's comments may be understood as a continuation of the Chinese Rites controversy.

<sup>60</sup> Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, third ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 73-74.

astronomical tables, that the government made use of them to compile the calendar. This is by no means to say their sect is good: you must on no account believe them.<sup>61</sup>

To reiterate the significance of this passage--the Yongzheng Emperor regarded the Catholics as followers of a religious cult not reconcilable with the orthodox teaching of the *Ru* tradition. The first sentence of the following fourteenth paragraph of Section Nine of the *Sacred Edict* stated: “The law punishes these heretical [practices] very severely.”

The vague reporting on the Qing Code in the Jesuits’ French letters, as well as in Chinese language memorials composed by the European missionaries, appears to be part of the Jesuits’ strategy of accommodation, which aimed to show that Christianity complemented Chinese beliefs. Effectively, the letter writers skirted direct references to legal problems, and they depicted their mission activities as heroic and virtuous, while they made opponents seem needlessly ill-intentioned.<sup>62</sup> Such reporting was an obvious apologetic strategy. This approach fits into the Jesuits’ letter writing pattern of presenting an Ignatian perspective that depicted Jesuit activity as a struggle between good and evil. Furthermore, neglecting to supply thorough information about Chinese statutes also illustrates both Pinot’s and Spence’s point that lack of evidence in texts may be understood as an intentional form of manipulation of texts.

The omission of reports that systematically described stringent legal Codes, as well as persecution in Christian communities, might have discouraged continued patronage for the mission by European donors. This observation is based on the fact that had the letters fully detailed government steps that outlawed Christianity in Nanjing in 1616-1617 and in Peking in 1664-1665 (by opponents who charged the religion challenged state security and resembled

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<sup>61</sup> Baller, *The Sacred Edict*, 84-85. My translation, which is based on Baller, but with clarifications.

<sup>62</sup> Presentation of evidence in the “*Lettre du Père de Mailla. Entraves mises au commerce avec les étrangers. Persécutions contre les chrétiens. Notions des Chinois sur les îles Lieou-kieou, Formose, les îles de la Sonde et le midi de l’Asie, à Pékin, le 5 juin 1717.*” This letter contains the report on the memorial of Chen Mao, Brigade-General of Guangdong, who called for the proscription of Christianity in 1717, LEC 3: 270-287.

subversive popular movements), European audiences might have become disillusioned with mission prospects.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, reports on Christian persecution did appear with greater frequency as the eighteenth century progressed, a period when officials arrested Chinese Christians with greater frequency for practicing their religion.<sup>64</sup> These reports valorized the actions of the Christians. Throughout the eighteenth century, many other types of letters of an encyclopedic nature continued to appear. Another special theme in the letters described the frequency of infanticide in China. Writers provided both reportorial accounts and heartrending descriptions of how babies were left to die and how Chinese Christians and Jesuit fathers rescued and baptized these infants. These reports had the effect of appealing to sympathetic mission benefactors.<sup>65</sup>

#### IV. Definitions of Historical and Legal Precedents in Chinese Political and Jurisprudence Theory and How Jesuits Cited the Case of Censor Fan Shaozu as a Favorable Precedent

After the 1644 Manchu conquest of China, the Qing rulers had adopted the *Ming Law Code* of 1368 as their official law Code, whose statutes and punishments were similar to Codes

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<sup>63</sup> For an example of an annual report made to the General of the Society of Jesus in 1703, which describes the state of the mission in the late seventeenth century, see “*Mémoire sur L’État des Missions de la Chine, Présenté en Latin à Rome, Au Révérend Père Général de la Compagnie de Jésus, L’An 1703, Par Le Père François Noël, Missionnaire de la Même Compagnie, et Depuis Traduit en François,*”[sic] LEC 3:70-76. The letter stresses the support and interest of scholar-officials for Christianity, but frankly reports that few of these government officials were willing to convert, as they were devoted to the “pleasures of the senses,” 74. The letter mentions no persecutions. Father Noël reports on miracles within Christian communities and pledges to aim to carry out the ideals of the founder of the Society of Jesus, as well as the founder of the mission in Asia, Francis Xavier.

<sup>64</sup> See “the four consecutive letters from “*Lettre du Père Benoist--Persécutions contres les chrétiens*” to “*Lettre du Père Forgeot--Suite des persécutions,*” LEC 3:800-825.

<sup>65</sup> See “*Lettre Du P. D’Entrecolles à Madame \*\*\*. Enfants exposés et baptisés. État des familles chinoises. Usages relatifs aux sepultures. Édits sur les chemins, etc. A Pékin, le 19 octobre 1720,*” LEC 3:292-309.



of previous dynasties.<sup>66</sup> The *Great Qing Law Code with Collected Commentaries and Appended Sub-statutes* (*Daqing lü jijie fuli* 大清律集解附例) was first enacted in 1646, superficially revised in 1670, and significantly revised during the Yongzheng reign period from 1723 to 1727. After further minor changes, the entire Code was issued in 1740 under the title *Statutes and Sub-statutes of the Great Qing* (*Daqing lüli* 大清律例). This consisted of the 436 sections, as well as approximately 1,800 sub-statutes. The Manchu rulers perceived the law Code as a repository of legal doctrine valid for all time.

The use of a special category of *ad hoc* rulings called *li* (例) or precedents<sup>67</sup> had been formalized by the founder of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang (r.1368-98 or Hongwu), in response to changing circumstances in Ming society. Previous dynasties had used such *ad hoc* rulings but under a variety of names. The Ming precedents functioned as responses to guidelines found in the Ming Code and other imperial promulgations. Legal specialist John D. Langlois notes that the precedents functioned as sub-statutes to the extent that they were formally secondary to the law Code, or *lü*. Although legal precedents consisted of commentary or conventions expressed by past emperors, such precedents existed outside the legal Code. They were known as “imperial edicts” defined as “decisions on specific cases, though not all could be cited, or were published.”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> This Code had been compiled under the direction of the Ming founder, Zhu Yuanzhang (b. 1328-1398, r. Hongwu 1368-1398).

<sup>67</sup> The character for precedent is a character different from the character for etiquette, *li* 禮. The original meaning of *li* 例 means “principle, pattern, norm, or example” but the character’s meaning in legal terms is “precedent.” The original framers of the Ming Code had declared in a memorial that “These *li* are intended to bolster the *lü* not destroy them,” quoted from Bodde, *Law in Imperial China*, 64-65.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

Such precedents were significant because the court Jesuits used these precedents as evidence that favored their position in their written and spoken defenses of Christianity. The court Jesuits often cited the Kangxi Emperor's rejection of the recommendation to proscribe Christianity and undertake other restrictive measures against missionary activities submitted by Censor Fan Shaozu on 23 December 1711. The emperor's rejection of Fan's recommendations is a prime example of a precedent favorable to Christianity.

Historical precedents may be understood as references to fundamental values of Chinese civilization expressed in Chinese classics or ancient texts. This definition shares similarity with historical precedents in Western cultures. Many sinologists consider the most significant historical precedent of all Chinese political history to be the account of the (alleged) depravity of the last Shang dynasty king. The Chinese classic the *Book of Documents* (*Shujing*) describes how the Zhou dynasty conquered the Shang based upon their "right" to establish a new ruling house because of the tyrannical and abusive rule of the last Shang king. A chapter in *The Book of Documents* describes the king's depravity:<sup>69</sup>

...in his comments...[he] had no clear understanding of the respect due to people; he maintained and spread far and wide resentment and did not change. Therefore, Heaven sent down destruction on Yin\* [\*another name for the Shang] [and replaced it with the Zhou]... It was due to [such] excesses. Heaven is not tyrannical.<sup>70</sup>

The foundation of the Zhou Dynasty provided two important principles that have endured throughout Chinese history. The first was the notion that Heaven played the role of a moral force in earthly affairs, along with the belief that the Son of Heaven was responsible for presiding over a moral world order. The second was the notion that history provided critical evidence for the

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<sup>69</sup> The term Chinese Classics is consistently capitalized in works by East Asian scholars, as are also the canon, the Four Books and Five Classics. See Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 60.

<sup>70</sup> Bernard Kalgren, trans. "The Announcement About Drunkenness," in *The Book of Documents* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1950), note 93, 45. \*Note: "Yin" is an alternate term for "Shang."

working out of those processes over which Heaven presided.<sup>71</sup> These notions suggested a pattern, or dynastic cycle, that the Chinese adopted to explain the waxing and waning of dynasties.<sup>72</sup> This historical consciousness evident in Zhou thought remained a characteristic of Chinese civilization. Chinese consistently valued emulation of moral example and respect for the “golden age” or idealized era of Zhou kings. For example, Master Kong, or Confucius, styled himself as one who “transmitted” ancient ethical and political theory, not as the author or it.<sup>73</sup> For the Chinese, history did not provide a record of progress. Rather, they considered that the actions of past moral rulers provided examples, or precedents, to guide those living in other times.

The memorial submitted by Censor Fan Shaozu, which the Kangxi Emperor did not endorse, was often cited by Jesuits in defense of Christianity. Only a portion of the memorial is cited in the published French letters and contains the following information:

The Europeans are spreading a false and dangerous doctrine in the empire: they teach that the Lord of Heaven was born in Judea, during the time when Han-gai-ti [sic] [dynastic title Aidi 哀帝, reign title 建平, r. 6 B.C. E.- C.E.] reigned in China and that he took the most pure blood of a saintly virgin named Ma-li-ya [Mary] and from her a human was born and to whom a soul was given and this man was named Jesus. He lived 33 years. He suffered on a cross so that he could expiate the sins of man. We do not have such a belief, and in antiquity there was no such belief. Those who receive that *law* receive among themselves water of baptism. The ancient Christians were instructed in secret mysteries--they drink a sacred substance. I do not know what kind of *magic* this could be.

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<sup>71</sup> Martin Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China and Southeast Asia: Tribute, Trade and Influence* (Crow's Nest, NSW, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2003), 10.

<sup>72</sup> For more on the Mandate of Heaven, see David N. Keightley, “The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture,” *History of Religions*, 17 (1978): 211, 220.

<sup>73</sup> Theodore de Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), I:1-10.

They are called among themselves parents of the law. When they speak of themselves, they call themselves fishers of men.<sup>74</sup>

The passage cited above is only a short segment of the memorial presented to the second Qing emperor, Kangxi, on 23 December 1711 by the imperial censor in charge of overseeing provincial affairs, Fan Shaozu. Imperial censors (*yushi*) served in an autonomous agency in the top echelon of the central government and were responsible for overseeing officials and reporting on any irregularities to the emperor.<sup>75</sup> These comments of Censor Fan, a literati-official of the highest degree, reveal the skepticism with which he regarded Christianity.<sup>76</sup> However, sections of Fan's memorial that were not cited and published in the French *Lettres* contain other recommendations he believed the emperor should act upon to uphold the political and moral legitimacy of Qing rule.

Fan's other comments and recommendations are of great interest because the details reveal the stringent measures that he hoped the emperor would enact against Christians. However,

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<sup>74</sup> "Lettre du P. D'Entrecolles au P. de Broissia. Progrès des travaux apostoliques. Difficultés toujours renaissantes au-devant des missionnaires. Calomnies répandues de toutes parts contre eux" LEC 3:239-253. Note: The term *law* is rendered in italics to bring attention to the fact that Europeans of the eighteenth century translated concepts dealing with religious belief as "law." The term *magic* is in italics to stress that a responsibility of Qing officials was to prohibit religious cults that were deemed to go against Article 162 of the Qing Code, which prohibited heterodox acts of sorcery. Chinese language copies of this text are held in Paris in BFN, Chinois 9255 and in Rome in BAV, Extr. Or. 56 (A) 10. The details of Fan's memorial echo the narrative of Christ's life contained in a memorial submitted to the throne during the first persecution in Nanjing in 1616-1617 by Yan Wenhui, see Kelly, 290. Kelly details Yan Wenhui as a censor in the Office of Scrutiny of Rites in Nanjing. The original memorial is lost, but portions of it recorded in a dispatch sent to the Nanjing Censorate by the Nanjing Ministry of Rites. The complete text of the dispatch appears in *Poxieji*, (Japanese ed. 1855), 1.21b-27a.

<sup>75</sup> See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, entry 8167.

<sup>76</sup> Terms for degrees are noted in the "Abbreviations" section. The examination system of traditional China granted degrees to successful literati-candidates at levels that Matteo Ricci first considered equivalent to the Western categories of bachelor, master, and doctor of philosophy degrees. Ricci used this analogy when referring to the three levels of Chinese degrees: the "licentiate" (*shengyuan* or *xiuca*); the "raised candidate" (*juren* or *gongshi*); and the "literatus presented to the emperor" (*jinshi*). However, sinologists do not totally agree on the aptness of the analogy because the traditional system of degrees had more complexities. On this point see Benjamin A. Elman, "The Social Roles of Literati in Early to Mid-Ch'ing" in Willard J. Peterson, ed. *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 9, Part One, 360-426, *The Ch'ing Empire to 1800*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 379. According to Elman's usage, I use the terms "licentiate" to refer to the *shengyuan*; "raised candidate" to refer to the *juren*; and "literatus presented to the emperor" to refer to the *jinshi*.

these details were neither translated into French nor published in the French letters. First, Fan posed the crucial questions to the emperor: Do not the teachings of the Lord of Heaven sect reverse our government and customs? Next, he suggested that the practice of poor Chinese adorning their homes with crosses be banned. Finally, he recommended a total ban on the entire religion. Fan respectfully noted that his emperor employed many Europeans in the court with utility to teach geometry and astronomy, but he observed with alarm that Europeans would soon inundate the entire empire if the religion were not banned.

The closing lines of this memorial contained further stringent recommendations. Fan called for the immediate confiscation of all books that the Catholic missionaries had printed and distributed. He recommended that these books should all be burned. Moreover, he suggested a total ban upon all missionary publishing in China so that the government would thereby set a “precedent” (*yiqie dingwei chengli* 一切定為成例 see memorial below) and end distribution of religious literature which he, as a censor and upholder of the teachings of the classical canon, considered heterodox. Fan’s closing comments are quoted below to give the reader a sense of documentary-style Chinese and his closing argument that recommended the proscription of the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven:

而西洋人等，亦嚴行禁止，不許擅自出京，到名省府縣，  
設教度人，其已刊之書，限日燒燬，如違禁再刊，  
一經查出，作何嚴處，一切定為成例，  
異教既熄，民德歸一，將見風俗日厚，  
人心愈，即道亦賴以勿替矣，  
緣係嚴禁異教事，理字 逾格 難盡  
伏祈睿鑒，敕部義覆施行，謹題請旨。

Moreover we ought to restrict the activities of the Men from the West who are causing serious problems. They should not be able to leave the capital, nor go to provinces, prefectures, and counties to teach Catholicism and baptize people. Those books that they have already published should be burned at an appointed time. If they again violate the prohibition [and] again publish books, we can show we already examined this [problem] and made this serious decision, and [it] had already become a precedent. Once the

heterodoxy has been extinguished, then, people will return to virtue, and daily our customs will be restored. The people will recover [their purity] because truth will be relied upon without substituting [other beliefs]. This department recommends proscribing this heterodoxy.

[I] pray humbly to my Sage Emperor [ruijian].

Order ministry to deliberate and put in practice. [I] urge issuance of edict.<sup>77</sup>

The Kangxi Emperor rejected these recommendations.<sup>78</sup> The Qing emperor instead upheld the rights of Catholic missionaries and their converts by not acting on Fan's recommendations. The Kangxi Emperor based his decision not to proscribe Christianity on his 1692 imperial edict, one that the missionaries referred to as the "Edict of Toleration" because it allowed Catholics to practice their religion as a private cult--as long as they did not challenge the orthodox teaching of Confucianism upon which the government relied to provide correct teaching in moral values and to maintain harmonious social order. However, Dudink points out that the 1692 so-called "Edict of Toleration" explicitly placed Christians on an equal level with Buddhist monks and foreign lamas, who were allowed to have temples and burn incense.<sup>79</sup> The imperial edict of 1692 contained no mention of further propagation of Catholicism, nor of the founding of new churches. In reality, the edict tolerated the existing situation of the Catholic Church in China, one that had remained fairly quiet for two decades--ever since the settling of a very difficult period from 1664 to 1665, when the anti-Christian opponent Yang Guangxian had called for the total expulsion of court Jesuits from China and proscription of the Christian religion.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> BFN, Chinois, 9255, *Requête de Fan Shaozu 23 December 1711*.

<sup>78</sup> For Joachim Bouvet's laudatory portrait of this strong leader, see Joachim Bouvet, *Portrait historique de l'Empereur de la Chine présenté au Roy* (Paris: Etienne Michallet, 1697). For an excellent contemporary introduction to the emperor based on Qing primary sources see Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1975).

<sup>79</sup> Dudink, 2.6.3. "Opponents" in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 516-517.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

These incidents illustrate the controversial status of Christianity in China during the early Qing and provide vivid examples of anti-Christian sentiments of scholar officials. Had Fan's recommendations to censor and burn all Christian literature been accepted, the Jesuits' mission and their apostolate through books would have had a demise similar to the one the Catholic mission in Japan faced under Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) and the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616). These two anti-Catholic leaders required trials of all Christian converts, forced apostasy, destruction of religious objects and books, and, finally, in 1614 expulsion of all missionaries.<sup>81</sup> However, the Catholic mission in China continued in the face of numerous anti-Catholic officials to publish, serve in the court, and undertake pastoral and missionary work.<sup>82</sup>

The Jesuits' frequent usage in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* of the term "law" (*loi*) to refer to Christian doctrine is significant because the term "law" denotes multiple meanings in the letters. In the letters, the term "*loi chrétienne*" frequently appears and means "Christianity." Similar usage is found in Old French in the epic *The Song of Roland*, a narrative which depicts

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<sup>81</sup> The research fellow of ARSI, Fr. Antoni Ūcerler, S. J., made a similar observation on 19 Jan. 2007 during my visit to ARSI. He noted that the number of extant books that the Jesuits printed in Japan is a fraction of the number of books concerning the Catholic faith and European learning that were printed in China and remain extant. While some books were destroyed in Japan because of bans on the religion by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, other books never reached the printing press because the first moveable press introduced in East Asia by the Jesuits was shipped from Nagasaki to Macao in 1614 when all missionaries were expelled. Fr. Ūcerler is a specialist in the topic of print culture and intellectual and cultural history of the early Jesuit mission in Japan. See, "Gutenberg Comes to Japan: The Jesuits & the First IT Revolution of the Sixteenth Century," 1-18, at: <http://www.usfca.edu/ricci/events/Ucerler.pdf>

<sup>82</sup> See Laamann, Chapter Eight, "The perplexed official: Christianity as heterodox mystery," 83-90, particularly, "'Heretical' writings," 87-90. Laamann stresses that throughout the eighteenth century Chinese officials wrote judgments expressing both anti-and-pro-Christian sentiments. During this same time period, he notes that the third and fourth generations of missionary officials who served in the Qing court continued to author and translate meditational texts and prayer books that the Jesuits published; then, Catholics privately re-published fragments of these books. Early Christian books such as Ricci's *Tianzhu Shiyi* were also republished. Christian books such as *Xinjing* 信經 (Scripture of faith) resembled Buddhist scriptures and were also called Christian "sutras" (*jing*). Some late eighteenth and early nineteenth century anti-Christian Qing officials who judged these books to be heterodox ordered the collection and destruction of not only these texts, but also the wood blocks that produced them, 88-89.

“*seinte chrestientet*” (holy Christianity) versus “*de false lei*” of pagans.<sup>83</sup> As noted earlier, the term *jiao* 教 may mean either “teaching” or “religion.” When Father de Mailla narrated the controversies over *Tianzhujiao* in the provinces and the court, sometimes the term “*loi*” appears in translations from Chinese recorded speech into French as “law” when this term might not have been originally used, such as in the case of quoting the Yongzheng Emperor as having said that “You say that your law [religion] is not a false law. I believe you. If I thought it were false, what would have kept me from destroying your churches and expelling you from the empire?”<sup>84</sup> Finally, often the term “law” referred to biblical Scriptural Law, the Law of the Old and New Testament, or Divine Law.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, after the Yongzheng Emperor had outlawed Christianity, the Jesuits summoned to the court by the ruler reported that they were able to present the

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<sup>83</sup> For these terms see Gerard J. Brault, *La Chanson de Roland* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984) verses 430-431 and 3638, respectively. For an example in the French letters see LEC 3: 358, which states: “*Il y a près de deux cents ans que la loi chrétienne se publie à la Chine; sa doctrine a toujours été exposée au grand jour.*” In the Le Clerc edition of 1729 on vol. 19, page 64, the term appears with the following orthographical style: “*la loy du Seigneur*” or “the law of God.”

<sup>84</sup> For example compare BAV 316 (8-F) f° 17 “Provincial level secret message of Governor-general Mamboo to District-magistrate Fuzhi” with translation in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (1838-43), 3: 349 and in Appendix 1. The term “law” does not appear in Chinese characters. Additionally, the character for “heterodox sect” *xie* (邪) appears in Chinese but was translated as “false sect,” and this term softens the meaning of *xie*, which not only means heterodox but also “depraved, vicious, or evil.” The “Provincial level secret message,” which is written in documentary-style Chinese has two characteristics: it is extremely concise, and the Chinese characters contain deep meaning and cultural references, as in the case of *xie* mentioned above.

See also LEC 3: 363 for Jesuit reporting of the direct speech of the Yongzheng Emperor, whom they report said: “*Vous dites que votre loi n'est pas une fausse loi, je le crois; si je pensois qu'elle fût fausse, qui m'empêcheroit de détruire vos églises et de vous en chasser? Les fausses lois sont celles qui, sous prétexte de porter à la vertu, soufflent l'esprit de révolte, comme fait la loi de Pelien-kiao [Bailianjiao or White Lotus Society]. Mais que diriez-vous si j'envoyois une troupe de bonzes et de lamas dans votre pays pour y prêcher leur loi? Comment les recevriez-vous?*” For English translation see Appendix 1.14. As mentioned in Chapter One, Voltaire thanked the Jesuits for reporting such enlightened views of the Qing ruler in *Essai sur les mœurs* I: 792.

<sup>85</sup> See LEC 3: 628-32, for an example in the last paragraph of “*Lettre du Père De Goville, Ancien Missionnaire de la Chine à M. \*\*\**, Contenant sa déclaration au sujet des faits calomnieux qui lui sont imputés par l'auteur des *Anecdotes sur l'état présent de la religion dans la Chine.*” The paragraph sums up the duties of the missionaries by not only quoting biblical scripture, but also calling for imitation of Christ's life, which meant bearing the burdens of calumny and persecution: “*Le devoir des missionnaires est de procurer la gloire de Dieu aux dépens même de leur reputation: per ignominiam et bonam famam, ut seductores et veraces\**; et leur bonheur le plus solide en ce monde est d'être jugés dignes, en la procurant, de souffrir pour Jésus-Christ, et, comme Jésus-Christ, la calomnie et la persécution. Je suis avec bien respect, etc.” \* [Footnote two from page 632 identifies the biblical scripture: II Corinthian, vi, 8.].



emperor with a copy of the Chinese language catechism entitled *Yoyen* or *The Divine Law*.<sup>86</sup>

They wrote that this book, meant to convince him of the worthiness of Christianity, along with a memorial they presented to him, appeared to soften him. Finally, the term “law” in some cases referred to what the Jesuits considered the moral or positive law of the Qing Code.<sup>87</sup> Thus, the Jesuits used the term “law” in their letters with a variety of meanings.

The court Jesuits had realized the importance of both historical and legal precedents, by means of their studies of Chinese language, history, and culture. A specific example of a Jesuit citation of a historical precedent may be found in the court Jesuits’ memorial to the Yongzheng Emperor requesting his special consideration and grace immediately after the 1724 proscription edict. The court Jesuits stressed to the emperor in a memorial they composed as a group:

For almost two hundred years the Christian law has been offered to the public in China, and the Christian doctrine has always been openly exposed. It teaches all subjects to be loyal to their princes; it teaches children to be respectful and obedient to their parents; and it teaches all men to be virtuous and to run away from vice--and to submit to the laws of government, uphold peace, unity, and harmony.<sup>88</sup>

Here we see the Jesuits citing the last two hundred years of Qing and Ming history to prove the acceptability of the Lord of Heaven Teaching. The significance of the Jesuits’ portrayal of

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<sup>86</sup> LEC 3:356. Note: the Panthéon edition misspelled this title as “Yoyne,” and it is spelled *Yoyen* in the Nicolas LeClerc edition (Paris, 1707-1776), 17: 225. The catechism the *Divine Law* appears in Athanasius Kircher, *La Chine d’Athanasie Kichere de la Compagnie de Jésus: illustré de plusieurs monuments tant sacré que profanes, et de quantité de recherchés de la nature & de l’art : à quoy on a adjousté de nouveau les questions curieuses que le Serenissime Grand Duc de Toscane a fait depuis peu au P. Jean Grubere touchant ce grand empire : avec un dictionnaire chinois & françois, lequel est tres-rare, & qui n’ pas encores paru au jour*. Trad. F. S. Dalquié. (Amsterdam: Ches Jean Jansson à Waesberge, & les Heritiers, d’Elizée Weyerstraet, 1670), 164-172. See Appendix, footnote 32, for further details on the catechism.

<sup>87</sup> See LEC 3: 726-736 “*État de la religion dans l’empire de la Chine, en l’année 1738*” and also Chapter Five which discusses the charges against the Christian Liu Er, who the Board of Punishments judged as a criminal for being a Christian. Although this ten-page letter details the legal processes of the Board of Punishments in its investigation and prosecution of Liu Er, the Jesuits employ their deflective legal posture in the letter by not citing specific articles of the Qing Code and also denying knowledge of religious activities such as sprinkling water that Article 164 deemed heterodox behavior and, therefore, illegal.

<sup>88</sup> LEC 3:358 and Appendix 1.10.

Christianity as an openly offered “law” (meant here as “religion”) for nearly two centuries, exaggerated by some sixty years (1583 to 1724), portrayed the Christian religion as a legitimate teaching to the emperor. The two sentences that immediately follow the text quoted above read:

One only needs to take a look at the books of the Christian religion to become convinced that it [Christianity] is not a false sect, and this is the reason why it has been approved for so many years in the empire as a religion that could be freely practiced. Our religion was examined several times, and nothing was ever found in it that was opposed to the laws of good government or in any way irrational.<sup>89</sup>

This approach of adapting Catholic “law” to Qing China represents an example of the Jesuits’ on-going strategy of blending Christian teaching with canonical teachings as expressed in the Chinese Four Classics and the Five Books--sources that were sacred to the Chinese and accepted by the Manchus as foundations of China’s religious, political, and legal system. This Jesuit evangelical policy followed early Church and Scholastic traditions, ones that constantly sought to reveal parallels between classical thought and Christianity. For example, Saint Augustine believed that Neo-Platonism could be understood as heralding Christian revelation.<sup>90</sup>

However, those Manchu and Chinese scholar-officials who used the term “law” in documents concerning Christianity cited Qing statutes that represented the codification of moral law and administrative law, which was based upon Confucian morality and legalistic traditions. The opponents of the Christians charged that the European Catholic priests and their converts engaged in activities that resembled such outlawed cults as the White Lotus Society. The Qing government did not officially charge Chinese Christians under Article 162 until the early years of the Qianlong reign as Chapter Five will show. Nevertheless, court Jesuits would continually attempt to defend those Christian offenders who had been charged with going against Article 162

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Peter Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More* (New York: Nan A. Talese, 1998), 105.

of the Qing Code. During the long reign of the fourth Qing emperor, the government would increasingly and more stringently enforce the Qing Code in relation to Christian activities.

#### V. Examples of “Human Feelings and Ties of Obligation” (*renqing*)<sup>91</sup> in the Jesuit Mission

The approach adopted by the court Jesuits in 1724 of arguing for toleration of Christianity based on historical and legal precedents was not an entirely new approach. The approach was grounded in the history of the Catholic mission of the late Ming (1368-1644) when Jesuits had discovered by their persistent efforts of negotiating with local magistrates that these officials could find ways to grant favors. For example, Matteo Ricci (1522-1610) and Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607), who managed to open the first mission house in 1583 in Zhaoqing City, Guangdong Province, stumbled upon a compromise that allowed them to reside in China. That compromise was based on a precedent filed in a magistrate’s archive.

The successful opening of the first Jesuit mission in southern China, one that was legally sanctioned by local and provincial officials, had provided the precedent for allowing European religious to dwell in China. Ricci and Ruggieri had discovered the following strategies of dealing with officials: gift-giving in the form of “curious” or precious European gifts, the occasional cash gift, and cagey but polite rounds of negotiation (strategies other foreign missionaries and

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<sup>91</sup> First introduced in Introduction, page 67, footnote 6. Briefly, *renqing* discourse may be found in ancient Confucian texts, and refers to the natural human feelings and emotions found in father-son relationships, family and kin relationships, and friendships. In her glossary, Yang defines *renqing* as “personal tie of affect or obligation,” 329.

merchants also engaged in).<sup>92</sup> The precedent upon which the Italians had won the right to reside in Zhaoqing resulted from the ruling taken by the district magistrate of Zhaoqing, Wang Pan, a ruling that his superior, the governor-general of Guangdong, also approved.<sup>93</sup> Wang Pan had discovered while looking through the archive of his office that, although the laws of the empire forbade foreigners to live in the country, a provision allowed those foreigners who admired China's culture and virtue to obtain permanent residence, provided they acted quietly, humbly, and abided by Chinese law.<sup>94</sup>

In the process that Ricci and Ruggieri went through with Wang Pan, we see them enacting the core Chinese social practice of *renqing* (人情) that is based on Confucianism and early *Ruism*, defined as the cultivation of personal ties of affect or obligation. During the initial stage of negotiations to open a mission, the two Italian Jesuits and the Chinese literatus worked together to find grounds upon which a mutually beneficial relationship could be built. The presentation of gifts signifying either diplomatic or friendship relations is a world-wide practice with roots in prehistory.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, the Jesuits adapted themselves to Chinese practice because of the obvious reason that they were in China and wished to be accepted there.

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<sup>92</sup> The following contain detailed accounts of the steps leading to the opening of the first mission: Matteo Ricci's *Historia* in *Fonti Ricciane* Pasquale M. D'Elia, S.J., ed. *Storia dell'Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina* (The annotated version of Ricci's original manuscript of the *Historia*.) 3 vols. Rome (not published); and Tacchi Venturi, Pietro (ed.) *Opere storiche del P. M. Ricci*, vol. 2, *Lettere dalla Cina* (Macerata: F. Giorgetti, 1913). Additionally, these sources are cited: Louis J. Gallagher, trans. *The Journals of Mathew Ricci: 1583-1610* (New York: Random House 1953), Vincent Cronin's *The Wise Man from the West* (1955), Dunne's *Generation of Giants*, Allan's *The Jesuits at the Court of Peking* and Spence's *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*.

<sup>93</sup> Gallagher, *The Journals of Mathew Ricci*, "Guam-puon" or Wang Pan (王泮) is identified as "governor of the district," a native of the province of "Cequian", or Zhejiang, 145.

<sup>94</sup> George Harris, "The Mission of Matteo Ricci, S.J.: A Case Study of an Effort at Guided Culture Change in the Sixteenth Century," *Monumentica Serica* 15 (1966): 66. Harris notes that the Ming only allowed three classes of foreigners to enter China: one, emissaries from tributary states; two, ambassadors representing trading groups, and those who admired Chinese culture and virtue. See also, Cronin, *The Wise Man from the West*, 47.

<sup>95</sup> Ragnar Julius Numelin, *The Beginnings of Diplomacy, A Sociological Study of Intertribal and International Relations* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), 219, 156, and 257.

Furthermore, they felt affinity for the learned official-class because of their erudition and also because of the power they held. On a slightly cynical, yet still very human level, the presentation of gifts or cash to build networks of relations or attain goals remained a practice of the Jesuits and is illustrated during the negotiations to reverse the 1724 proscription edict. Further illustrations of the variety of ways *renqing* governed the actions of Jesuits in Fujian follow below.

Even though Christianity in China was a controversial topic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were never large numbers of missionaries residing in China. It appears that when Christianity was proscribed, a total of some ninety-four European Catholic missionaries were in China, more than one-third of whom were of French nationality: fifty-three Jesuits, eight Dominicans, eleven Franciscans, twelve members of the Foreign Missions of Paris (Missions Étrangères de Paris, MEP), and ten members of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, widely referred to as Propaganda Fide or simply Propaganda<sup>96</sup> (a few Lazarists and Carmelites worked within the Propaganda). Four Chinese Catholic priests brought the number of

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<sup>96</sup> The full Italian name of this organization founded in 1622 is *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith). Scholarly works refer to it as Propaganda Fide or Propaganda. Pope Gregory XV founded Propaganda Fide in 1622 in response to the need for the training of indigenous clergy in missions, as well as the need for a centralized European administration of missions. Propaganda Fide aimed to wrest power over missions from the Portuguese and Spanish, the masters of the Padroado. See *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 2.1. "Missionaries," 286-354.

Catholic missionaries to ninety-eight.<sup>97</sup> These missionaries ministered to a community of Chinese and Manchu-Christians that had grown in number from one hundred in 1596 to about 300,000 in 1700. This figure reported widely in the eighteenth century appears inflated and 200,000 seems a more realistic figure.<sup>98</sup> Over the entire course of the China mission between 1552 and 1800 some 920 Jesuits served in China, and over one-third (314) were Portuguese. A total of 99 Italian Jesuits and 130 French Jesuits respectively served in the mission,<sup>99</sup> along with Flemings, Czechs, Bohemians, and religious from other European kingdoms.

During this period a variety of missionary orders used different missionary approaches to introduce both Christianity and Western civilization to China. The mendicant orders such as the Franciscans and Dominicans shunned such Jesuit strategies as making alliances with government officials. The Dominicans, in particular, criticized Jesuit mission strategy and these misunderstandings fueled the Rites Controversy.<sup>100</sup> Jesuits faulted the Dominican evangelical policy, one that they criticized as deficient in its disregard of traditional Chinese sensitivity

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<sup>97</sup> See, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 307-308, Standaert notes that calculating the exact number of missionaries in China is an imprecise endeavor because of insufficient documentation. For the history of the evolution of Chinese clergy see *Handbook*, 456-473. The first Chinese priests were ordained outside China because fundamental questions remained unsolved during the seventeenth century regarding whether or not Chinese priests should be ordained and which language--Latin or Chinese--ought to be used during the Liturgy. Luo Wenzao (1616-1691) who was ordained in the Philippines became China's first bishop in 1685; thereafter, the first Chinese priests were ordained in China. Bishop Luo ordained Wu Yushan (style, Wu Li, 1632-1718), who received his theological training in Macao at St. Paul's College. Wu Li served as a pastor in Shanghai. He is noted for his outstanding painting and Christian poetry. During the second half of the eighteenth century, Chinese priests constituted nearly one third of the Jesuits in China and nearly all were priests, as opposed to brothers. During the anti-Christian movements of the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors, these Chinese priests remained active in Christian communities, particularly north of Peking and in the Huguang region. Officials in the Chinese government did not learn until 1784 that Chinese had actually become priests, and then they immediately forbade the practice by an imperial edict, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 462-464.

<sup>98</sup> Robert E. Entenmann points out that this figure may be inflated. The figure is based on Louis Le Comte's 1696 *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* mod. ed. Touboul-Bouyeure, ed., 463-464. The figure 200,000 is generally accepted as a more accurate approximate figure, see *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 385.

<sup>99</sup> Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 34.

<sup>100</sup> For the transmission of this controversy to Europe see, James Sylvester Cummins, *A Question of Rites: Friar Domingo Navarette and the Jesuits in China* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Scolar Press, 1993), 80-114.

regarding males and females meeting together and worshipping. The Jesuits blamed this disregard for the Chinese sensitivity of the separation of sexes as the fundamental cause for the proscription of Christianity in 1724.<sup>101</sup>

The missionary approach of the Society of Jesus in China can be summarized as having had the following four characteristics: 1) adaptation to Chinese culture; 2) the ideal of propagation and evangelization “from the top down”; 3) indirect evangelization that relied on introducing European science and technology to scholar-officials and members of the court to convince them of the superiority of Western civilization; and 4) openness to and tolerance of Chinese values.<sup>102</sup> Exceptions to these general characteristics could, however, be found. For example, intolerance to Daoist and Buddhist religion on the part of Jesuits could hardly be termed as openness. Historian Jean-Paul Wiest notes that, in theological terms, the Jesuits’ approach resembled that of the early Christian church leaders and prefigured its modern revival because the Jesuit missionaries eschewed cultural confrontation and instead followed a policy of cultural accommodation, hoping to reconcile the two disparate systems of faith and thought in China and Europe.<sup>103</sup>

The Jesuits’ attempt to defend Christianity’s place in China by means of citation of historical and legal precedents provides an example of how both Chinese and Manchu culture influenced the Jesuit missionary enterprise. The Dutch historian Erik Zürcher has argued that the Chinese administrative system also affected how Jesuits reacted to conditions because the Jesuits established “client” relationships with officials at the county level and above (namely the

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<sup>101</sup> LEC 3:348 and Appendix 1.

<sup>102</sup> *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 310-311.

<sup>103</sup> Jean-Paul Wiest “Bringing Christ to the Nations: Shifting Models of Mission Among Jesuits in China” in *The Catholic Historical Review* Vol. 83, 4 (October, 1997): 655.

provincial level) when they first entered new territories where they hoped to introduce Christianity. The Jesuits realized that whenever a crisis arose at the local level, everything depended on the authority and influence of local officials.<sup>104</sup> This point has been illustrated by the client-patron relationship Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri managed to establish with the magistrate Wang Pan who sanctioned the first Jesuit mission in China in Zhaoqing city, Guangdong province. Zürcher further points out that the spread of Christianity in China was largely a result of two features of the administrative system: the horizontal mobility built into the system by laws that stipulated that scholar-officials should never serve in their hometowns and should constantly move from one region to another and by the “rule of avoidance” that aimed to prevent the magistrate from becoming too deeply involved in local interests.<sup>105</sup> Understanding the administrative structure of the Chinese bureaucracy and its procedures is critical to understanding how the court Jesuits attempted to defend Christianity after the imperial proscription of the religion in 1724. The political system was a determining factor in conditioning Jesuit behavior.

The missionary career of Guilio Aleni, S. J. (1582-1649), the founder of the Jesuit mission in coastal Fujian province, illustrates how successful he was in developing relationships

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<sup>104</sup> Erik Zürcher, “The Jesuit Mission in Fujian in Late Ming Times: Levels of Response” in *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries* ed. by E. B. Vermeer (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 420.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 420. For further clarification of the “law of avoidance” see Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Hucker defines this institutional practice as “...established principles that generally governed personnel administration throughout imperial history, generically known as “avoidances” (*hui-pi* 迴避), which eliminated or at least minimized opportunities for officials to collaborate with one another to their selfish advantage and to the disadvantage of the state,” 5. Aleni’s apostolic achievements rested upon his ability to foster diplomatic agreements and friendships with literati and literati-officials. His mission strategy in Fujian was in response to the institutional features of local and provincial administration, and his finesse in surviving and using the administrative system to his favor illustrates how the Jesuits developed a symbiotic relationship with functionaries, governors, and, of course, converts. The entire question of the “heterodox” nature of Christianity, a charge anti-Christian opponents brought against the teaching, must be understood in terms of traditional Chinese definitions of heterodox teachings. Definitions of heterodox belief versus orthodox Confucian values of Qing society constitutes a central part of this study because Qing officials who asked for the proscription of Christianity consistently cited Christianity as a heterodox teaching that went against established Confucian values and the teaching of the sages of antiquity.



with literati based on *renqing* and of circumventing rules that discouraged the formation of client-patron relationships with local officials. This Italian missionary arrived in Fuzhou, the provincial capital, in 1625 and managed both to win Christian converts and gain literati patronage. Aleni nurtured the mission in Fujian in the following ways: by studying the Chinese Classics and publishing in Chinese and by diplomatically building a large network of local and provincial-level connections in the Confucian spirit of cultivating *renqing*. He tolerated traditional Chinese ancestral rituals that honored the dead as well as the living. Soon after arriving in Fujian he had made the decision to keep his connections with government officials incognito and advised other Jesuits in the province to keep low profiles in the communities in which they served.<sup>106</sup> Historian Jonathan Chaves considers Aleni the greatest of the Jesuit missionaries. Chaves has translated one of the eighty-four poems written by Fujian literati in honor of Jesuit missionaries, and he maintains that the poem by Zhang Ruitu, one of the greatest calligraphers in world history, presents an eloquent statement to early modern East-West friendship. The following citation of one-third of Zhang's poem illustrates diverse themes: friendship (*renqing*), Jesuit scholarship and publishing in Fujian, and questions regarding the Chinese rites, which also greatly concerned seventeenth-century Chinese literati:

A wonderful friend has arisen to succeed him.\*(see footnote 105)  
Writing books mutually complementary,  
Like rivers to the sea, one flows into the other.  
Mencius speaks of "serving Heaven;"  
Sage Confucius speaks of "overcoming self."  
Who would think this man comes from a different country?  
The words he sets forth are of this very stripe!

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<sup>106</sup> Eugenio Menegon, "Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans in Fujian" in "*Scholar from the West*" *Guilio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the Dialogue between Christianity and China* ed. Tiziani Lippiello and Roman Malek (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1997), 228-234.

Geography? -- What does it matter?  
What counts is that the frame of mind's the same.  
Scholars who treat the *Poems* and *Rites* as relics stolen from the tomb  
Scare off disciples, spear in hand!<sup>107</sup>

Such an accommodative approach as Aleni adopted allowed the Jesuits to peacefully co-exist with officials and local people of Fujian until clashes in missionary approaches between the Jesuits, on one side, and mendicant Franciscans and Dominicans, on the opposing side, led to anti-Christian incidents in Fujian during the years of 1637-1638.<sup>108</sup> Mendicant priests, who had arrived in Fujian from either Spanish-held northern Taiwan (captured in 1626) or from Manila, soon objected to the ways in which Jesuits accommodated to Chinese life. The mendicants objected to Jesuits who rode in sedan carriages and wore the silken garments of the literati class because the mendicants maintained an austere life-style and believed the poor, rather than the privileged and official classes, deserved to hear the Gospel. The mendicants deemed even more outrageous and pagan the manner in which Jesuits carried out Catholic liturgy. On a trip to Peking a mendicant discovered in a Jesuit chapel:

two altars, one dedicated to the King of China, ... which had a scroll with golden letters, which praised the King in this way: "One thousand million of thousands of millions years of life to Our King." On the altar of the Savior, God Our Lord, there was a beautiful painting of the Savior, but with his feet covered.<sup>109</sup>

The mendicants interpreted the altar as an example of the emperor of China being put on the level of God, while the image of the usually barefoot Lord on the crucifix appeared with feet

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<sup>107</sup> Jonathan Chaves, "Chang Jui-t'u (Zhang Ruitu) 張瑞圖 (1570-1641) Poem in Honor of Guilo Aleni, S.J. (1582-1649)" in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 29 (2007): 14-17.

\* First line reference to "him" is possible reference to Lu Hsiang-shan, founder of the neo-Confucian "School of the Mind," see page 17 footnote 8 of Chaves' article.

<sup>108</sup> Menegon (1997), 228-234.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 240-241, quoted from L. Perez O.F.M., "Fr. Francisco de Jesús Escalona y su Relación de China, in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 8 and 9 (Quaracchi: Grottaferrate, 1908, 1915 and 1916) 558-591. Trans. E. Menegon.

covered. The mendicants charged this represented an attempt to alter the presentation of Christ in order to please Chinese sensibilities that considered bare feet as unsuitable.<sup>110</sup> The differences between the mendicant missionary approach and that of the Jesuits, as well as animosities that this disagreement engendered, influenced the Catholic mission and Church in China, as well as in Europe and Rome.

During the 1637 to 1638 anti-Christian incidents in Fujian, Chinese officials had brought mendicant priests to the local city of Ningde in chains for trial on charges of spreading heterodox beliefs. However, no Jesuits were imprisoned or expelled, and Aleni began an apologetic campaign immediately after the incident to repair relations with Chinese officials. As early as the seventeenth century, local officials regarded the missionary approach of the Jesuits as far different and more tolerable than the approach of the mendicants.<sup>111</sup> The differences in missionary approach between the Jesuits and the mendicants remained a critical point of disagreement up until the proscription of Christianity in 1724 and even thereafter.

Diversity existed in Christian communities and among missionary orders. Four distinct regions of China may be identified in which missionary activity led to significant interaction with local communities.<sup>112</sup> In the first three regions--the capital, the lower Yangzi region, and the Shanxi-Shaanxi region--science, technology, and questions of religion played a critical role in missionary strategies that aimed to win support from scholar-officials. However, in the fourth region, that of coastal Fujian, science and technology played a very secondary role because the interest of Christian converts centered upon religious topics that focused on theological and psychological questions such as the nature and omnipotence of God; his goodness and justice;

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 244-242.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 261-262.

<sup>112</sup> Erik Zürcher, (1990), 439.

his omnipresence, the joys of Heaven and the torments of Hell; the Incarnation; man's nature, his soul and his sentiments.<sup>113</sup>

The fourth distinct region of coastal Fujian, where Christian missionaries interacted with local communities, proved to be the locale from which complaints about church construction and Catholic activities resulted in the Board of Rites' recommendation to the third Qing emperor that the religion be proscribed. The complaints of local and provincial scholar officials would identify the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven as an illegal sect, which deluded the people, wasted their money, and destroyed social mores. For the central government the presence of heterodox religious groups that resembled sects in a peripheral setting was a grave concern. As the central government became more aware of the need to control heterodox groups, officials became more aware of the need to stringently enforce the Qing Code. The missionaries who were caught up in this dilemma of Qing national security interests versus tolerance of religious belief continued to be optimistic that The Teaching of the Lord of Heaven would be tolerated in years to come, as the Kangxi Emperor had once tolerated the religion. The court missionaries pursued a policy of continually attempting to show grounds for Qing toleration of the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven.

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

### Chapter 3: The Yongzheng Emperor and the Proscription of Christianity: Actors, Setting, and Steps

He is of large stature and forty-nine years old. He expresses himself well but speaks very fast and appears to have much spirit in him, as well as a fine mien. The name of his reign is *Yong Tching, concordia recta*.

Antoine Gaubil, S.J.<sup>1</sup>

#### I. The Yongzheng Emperor

The Yongzheng Emperor approved the recommendations contained in the 1723 memorial submitted by the Manchu governor-general Fujian and Zhejiang, Gioro Mamboo (覺羅滿保) (1673- 1725, *jinshi* degree), and his endorsement of these recommendations resulted in the issuance of an imperial edict proscribing the Christian religion on 12 January 1724.<sup>2</sup> The emperor's decisive move to restrict the European missionaries and Chinese Christians attests to his deeply held belief that Christianity represented a religious teaching that threatened the political stability of his reign. His approval of the anti-Christian memorial confirmed his desire to exercise strict control over all European Christian missionaries, as well as his subjects.<sup>3</sup>

Officials in the coastal provinces had been circulating anti-Christian memorials similar to the proscription edict, which the emperor endorsed in 1724 for nearly two decades. These anti-

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<sup>1</sup> Antoine Gaubil, S.J., in *Correspondance de Pékin, 1722-1759* ed. Renée Simon (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1970), 92.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction for first mention of Yongzheng's 1724 Proscription Edict, which is treated in detail in Section II of this chapter in light of Father de Mailla's letter reporting on the proscription of Christianity. See Appendix 1.7 for translation of Mamboo's original memorial; 1.8 for Board of Rites ruling and approval of the memorial; and 1.9 for the imperial endorsement of Mamboo's memorial and the decision of the Board of Rites.

<sup>3</sup> See *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 521. Dudink points out that the Yongzheng Emperor also moved against other heresies the same year, including proscribed folk religious groups. See also footnote 49, which identifies Jan Jacob M. De Groot as having characterized the third emperor's actions as "he simply wanted to rank as the Great Exterminator of heresy generally." Quoted by Dudink in *Handbook of Christianity in China* from Jan Jacob M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and Persecution in China, A Page in the History of Religions*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller 1903-1904; repr. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1973), 274.

Christian memorials were similar to the memorial of Fan Shaozu because scholar-officials labeled Christianity as a heterodox sect that went against Chinese customs, the teaching of the Chinese Classics, and Chinese statutes. Fujian was a province noted for literati who held strong Neo-Confucian philosophical views since the time of Zhu Xi. The wording in Mamboo's memorial resembled a memorial that the governor of Fujian, Zhang Boxing (張伯行), (1651-1725) had written in 1709 calling for a full proscription of Christianity, one that had not been presented to the throne, but had circulated among students of the Neo-Confucian Zhengyi Academy. In particular, the memorial complained about numerous churches Dominicans had built and the practice of men and women worshipping together, which totally went against Chinese customs.<sup>4</sup> In 1717, Chen Mao (ca. 1651-1719), the brigade-general in Guangdong, had proposed to proscribe Christianity, and his proposal was approved by the Kangxi Emperor.<sup>5</sup> In 1718, the governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi, Yang Lin (揚林) (d. 1724), proposed proscribing Christianity, and the Kangxi Emperor approved it, but asked that the ruling not be implemented, commanding: "We order you to wait several years for another edict to authorize prohibition against the Western religion (9 March 1718)."<sup>6</sup> These comments show that the

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<sup>4</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 2: 504-5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 1: 123-4. In this memorial translated by Fu, Chen Mao observed that Catholicism had originated in Europe and that the churches the Westerners had established attracted rascals and bandits. Chen petitioned for an edict to prohibit Catholicism to stem its further development. The Board of War, which reviewed Chen's memorial, consulted a deliberation on Catholicism from the eighth year of the Kangxi reign (1680) when the emperor had ruled: "Nan Huai-jen (Verbiest) and others may exceptionally be allowed to practice Catholicism at the Court. Missionaries are still forbidden to set up churches and preach in the provinces. Our people are still strictly forbidden to follow this religion."

Chen Mao's memorial may also be found in the LEC 3: 270-287 on pages 270-273 in "*Lettre du Père de Mailla. Entraves mises au commerce avec les étrangers. Persécution contre les chrétiens. Notions des Chinois sur les îles Lieou-kieou, Formose, les îles de la Sonde et le midi de l'Asie. A Pékin, le 5 juin 1717.*"

<sup>6</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 505 and Dudink "Opponents" in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 519.

emperor was in the process of amending the generous ruling he had made in favor of the Christian religion in 1692, the ruling the missionaries had called “The Edict of Toleration.”

As soon as the court Jesuits learned of the 1724 ruling, they began a renewed defense of the Catholic mission. Ranking officials, such as Ignatius Kögler, used his privilege of sending memorials based on his official status as President of the Imperial Board of Astronomy (1720-1746).<sup>7</sup> The beleaguered missionaries also depended upon their talents for gleaned intelligence on government affairs and receiving information from influential friends, skills the Chinese referred to as *renqing*. We may also consider this skill part of the Jesuits’ acumen at gathering intelligence. The imperial proscription decree issued on 12 January 1724<sup>8</sup> stated that all missionaries in the provinces had to leave China within six months--except for those who could be employed by the court and sent to the capital to work.<sup>9</sup> The emperor’s decree endorsed the deliberations of the Board of Rites, the central government office which supervised correct observance of rituals and foreigners within the Qing empire. The Board of Rites had deliberated on the matter of Christianity after receiving the memorial from Gioro Mamboo, which he had submitted to the throne on 22 November 1723 (YZ 1.10.23). Mamboo’s memorial detailed grievances against the missionaries, Chinese Christians, and those government officials who

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<sup>7</sup> See ARSI, Jap. Sin 179, 316r.-325v., “Letter from Father Ignatius Kögler to Most Reverend Father General in Christ [Angelo Tamburini, S.J.]” from Peking, 17 March 1724. This letter contains a report on the proscription of Christianity and Latin translations of Chinese edicts, particularly compare the edict against the religion (dated according to the Western calendar 28 June 1723) issued by the magistrate of Fuan in its postscript, 324-325.

<sup>8</sup> Based on the lunar calendar, then at use in China, the decree was issued on the last month of 1723 or YZ 1.12.17)

<sup>9</sup> “*Lettre du Père de Mailla au Père \*\*\*. Proscription de la religion chrétienne. A Pékin, ce 16 octobre 1724,*” LEC 3: 346-366. The imperial decree may be found in LEC 3: 355 or Appendix 1.9.

supported the religion. The memorial described how Christianity sullied Chinese mores and violated Qing law.<sup>10</sup>

The Yongzheng Emperor's imperial decree ordering the removal of nearly all missionaries thus established the conditions against which Jesuits and fellow missionaries struggled to strike an accommodation with Qing officials. Those efforts were recounted in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.<sup>11</sup>

The complicated setting of the tug-of-war between court missionaries and Qing officials over the practice of Christianity in China is closely linked to the difficult history of the Catholic mission in Fujian province. The 1724 proscription order was essentially also related to the first proscription order of 1617, particularly the criticism of Christianity as a heterodox sect, one that undermined Confucian order and social mores. The Italian Jesuit Giulio Aleni (Ai Rulue 艾儒略) (1582-1649) had arrived in the capital of Fujian province, Fuzhou city, in April 1625. From that time and up until 1723, local officials had often charged that Catholicism and heterodox sects were the same. For example, in 1637 provincial authorities of Fuzhou ruled that the Jesuits Aleni and Manuel Dias had to leave the territory, and they issued an edict of prohibition against Catholicism, which equated the *Wuwei* sect (*Wuwei* 無為, the Daoist doctrine

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<sup>10</sup> See LEC 3: 347 for 4 June 1723 local order to proscribe Christianity or Appendix 1.1. See LEC 3: 355 for 22 November 1723 memorial to emperor asking that Christianity be proscribed in the entire empire, or see Appendix 1.7.

<sup>11</sup> “*Lettre du Père de Mailla au Père \*\*\*. Proscription de la religion chrétienne. A Pékin, ce 16 octobre 1724*” LEC 3: 346-366.



of inaction) with Catholicism.<sup>12</sup> Additional disturbances consisted of instances of local officials interpreting the ritual practices of Christianity, the icons, chapels, and processions of religious observances as outlandish and barbaric. Such charges attracted the attention of two groups who were antagonistic toward Christians: scholars who upheld the teaching of the Chinese Classics and adherents of Buddhism and Daoism. These adherents of Chinese cultural traditions either acted alone or formed into groups that attacked the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven (*Tianzhujiao*).<sup>13</sup>

The trail of paperwork that Father de Mailla used in his letter reporting on the proscription of Christianity is striking for two reasons. First, it illustrates how intimately the court Jesuits understood Qing politics and that they had access not only to documents but also to government officials. Second, the letter shows how voluminously Qing functionaries generated reports and documents. Historian Frederick W. Mote has observed that: “In traditional Chinese governing, the flow of paper made up the vehicle of administrative power.”<sup>14</sup> Father de Mailla’s

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<sup>12</sup> Menegon, “Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans in Fujian: The Anti-Christian Incidents of 1637-1638,” in *Scholars from the West*, 250-251.

On pages 250-251 Menegon’s translation of the proclamation against Christianity appears. This proclamation may be found in the collection *Poxieji* (Collection To Crush Heterodoxy), issued 20 December 1637 by the Provincial Surveillance Commissioner, which appears in *PXJ*, *juan 2*, 36a. The contents and tone of the report are similar to the 1723-1724 rulings against Catholicism:

Besides having the leaders of the Catholic religion Manuel Dias and Giulio Aleni leave the territory, we jointly issue an edict of prohibition. [We order] that this proclamation be made known to the militia and the commoners. Afterwards each [one] ought to exert every effort to practice loyalty and filial piety, to preserve and defend their families, to avoid the wicked practice of the *Wuwei* and Catholic religions. If in the past people had been misled, now each should reform and renew himself. After issuing the proclamation of prohibition, in case they still engage in superstition and do not reform, and do not make the prescribed sacrifices to the ancestors and the lord of spirits, then the said Prefects and District Magistrates and the police official bearing the authorized seal must investigate and clarify the facts. Then they have to proceed to arrest them and inform the Commissioner, and pass and explain the evidence found to the two Tribunals. Enforce the law strictly and implement this policy with severity! Each family will then respect this.

<sup>13</sup> Zürcher, “The Jesuit Mission in Fujian in Late Ming Times: Levels of Response”, in Vermeer, ed. *Development and Decline of Fukien Province*, 419.

<sup>14</sup> Frederick W. Mote, *Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 893.

letter confirms this point. The letter echoes the same concerns of seventeenth-century Jesuits who confronted officials unfriendly to the mission. It also provides documentary evidence that was not uniformly preserved in Qing historical records--namely, examples of memorials that Jesuits composed and presented to court officials and even to the emperor--along with records of conversations inside and outside of the court.

The third Qing emperor was a dedicated and stern ruler. Among Europeans of the eighteenth century, the Yongzheng Emperor was notorious for his imperial rulings prohibiting Christianity, yet lionized by Jesuit writers residing in China, by physiocratic writers in Europe, and particularly by French *philosophes*, who noted his humane policies regarding agricultural administration, along with his ethical and efficient ruling style.<sup>15</sup> Understanding the complexity of the numerous dilemmas he faced and of the decisions he made as ruler of a highly developed bureaucratic system and of an immense empire helps delineate the man. Establishing the evolution of the third Qing emperor's 1724 policy toward Christianity helps to explain why he pursued this policy. Additionally, understanding the challenges he faced as a ruler helps to explain how Christianity and Catholic priests fit into Qing society. Finally, by gaining an understanding of Qing politics and the manner in which government proceedings were reported and documented, a better vantage point for judging the fidelity of the evidence offered in the reports and letters contained in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* may be established.

The Yongzheng Emperor was an obsessive worker, a keen moralist, and an awesome autocrat, who both ruled and micro-managed the empire. An example of his attention to detail consists of the record of his twenty-thousand "rescripts," that is, the commentaries and

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<sup>15</sup> Isabelle and Jean-Louis Vissière, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des Jésuites de Chine 1702-1776* (Paris : Editions Desjonquères, 2001), 132. See also LEC 3: 489-495: "Lettre du Père Contancin au Père Étienne Souciet. Sur le gouvernement de l'empereur Yong-tching. Canton, le 2 décembre 1725," a letter which is discussed in Chapter 4.

commands that he personally wrote on original government documents (memorials and secret memorials) in his handsome calligraphy in vermilion ink.<sup>16</sup> He treated the European court missionaries politely, based upon his exalted position as Son of Heaven. He honored certain Jesuits employed in the bureaucracy with ministerial rank, such as Ignatius Kögler whom he granted the rank of President of the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy.<sup>17</sup> This followed precedents that his father and grandfather had shown in honoring the Jesuit scholar-priests Ferdinand Verbiest and Adam Schall respectively. The Yongzheng Emperor's treatment of the Europeans he employed and entitled conformed to the primary category of ideal relationships outlined in the Confucian "Five Relationships" (*Wulun*, namely the "sovereign-minister relationship" that required a minister to serve his emperor and the emperor to act as emperor). The Yongzheng Emperor continued the tradition of showing Chinese "guest ritual" to foreigners, evident in the use of such phrases as "welcoming men from afar" (*rouyuan ren* 柔遠人), recorded in conversations and written documents.<sup>18</sup>

The 1724 imperial edict that proscribed Christianity and ordered all European missionaries residing in the provinces to retire to the Portuguese enclave Macao, except for those useful to the court, complicated the lives of all Europeans in China. The proscription of Christianity required an immediate response from the court Jesuits so that they could save their mission in China. Immediately after the issuance of the imperial edict of 1724, they began

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<sup>16</sup> Mote, 887. These are published in *Yongzheng zhupi yuzhi* (雍正朱批諭旨 Vermillion Endorsements of the Yongzheng Emperor).

<sup>17</sup> See BVE, Ms. Ges., 1256, no. 46 "Simplex narration de modo & occasione, novi tituli ac dignitatis, ab Imp. Sinesi in P. Ignatium Kegler S. J. callatae anno 1725."

<sup>18</sup> Giles, entry 5653 defines *rouyuan ren* (柔遠人) as "to be kind to men from afar." Mathews entry 3133 identifies *rouyuan ren* (柔遠人) as being "gracious to strangers." This phrase has recently received attention in literature on early modern Sino-European relations and been translated as "cherishing men from afar." See James L. Hevia *Cherishing Men from Afar, Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 1-20. I have used the translation "welcoming men from afar."

contacting court and provincial officials in an attempt to engage their support in the hope that such concerted efforts might sway the emperor to rescind the ruling. The court Jesuits' lobbying in the capital and provinces did appear to succeed in convincing the emperor to seek the views of not just the missionaries on this matter but also local authorities in Canton (Guangzhou). Kong Yuxun, governor-general of the two provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi (also termed Liang-Guang, which means "the two Guang" [provinces]), wrote a memorial to the emperor in which he stated his conviction that the scientific advisers at the capital were of value. However, he added that allowing the missionaries to continue residing in the provinces might result in their misleading local people and characterized the present policy as a temporary one.

The emperor wrote a rescript on the governor-general's memorial stating: "You should carefully consider whether they are really harmful; if not, then We should be gracious in every respect to strangers from a foreign land."<sup>19</sup> The emperor's actions show that he wished to preserve his patron-client relations with the skilled Westerners employed in his court, who provided him with services in the sciences and arts. He granted them favors and titles, just as his father and grandfather had done. This patronage appears to have given the missionaries the impression that they could continue to negotiate their place in China. Even when the emperor criticized Christianity, the court Jesuits recorded these negative views, but added their own optimistic utterances that heavenly patrons of Christianity, such as the Holy Mother, would intervene. However, the Yongzheng Emperor mistrusted religious groups such as the *Bailianhui*, the White Lotus Society, which spread beliefs about metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls, and the coming of a great religious leader who would subjugate the entire universe. Even

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<sup>19</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 2: 139. Note: In Fu's translation of the emperor's rescript, the imperial "We" is capitalized to reflect the Chinese documentary-style convention of raising any utterance or reference by the imperial person above all other columns in the document or text.

though Catholicism and Buddhism were not parallel religions, the third Qing emperor saw dangerous similarities in their belief systems, and he believed the White Lotus Society and The Teaching of the Lord of Heaven were dangerous sects.<sup>20</sup>

The Yongzheng Emperor is the most controversial leader of the Qing. Furthermore, as son and successor of the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1672-1722), Prince Yinzheng inherited both tremendous imperial responsibilities and pressure to enhance the *gloire* (or “glorification of the state”) of Qing rule.<sup>21</sup> First, the succession struggle surrounding the Yongzheng Emperor’s ascension to the throne was difficult and deadly for some of his brothers and for the Jesuit João Mourão who was sentenced to death because of accusations that he plotted with Prince Yintang against Prince Yinzheng’s succession. Second, his preference for fostering inner court control over routine business traditionally managed by officials of the outer court<sup>22</sup> resulted in enhanced imperial authority and the emergence of the inner court Grand Council, which intimately worked with and advised the emperor. This reform reduced the power of Jesuits working for the court because they effectively lost access to key officials who surrounded the emperor, who was wary of the Catholics. Third, he initiated important economic and social reforms, which included

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<sup>20</sup> *Histoire générale*, XI: 378.

<sup>21</sup> See Jan Stuart, “Images of Imperial Grandeur” in *China: The Three Emperors*, ed. E. S. Rawski & J. Rawson (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), 66, & Wen C. Fong “Imperial Patronage of the Arts Under the Ch’ing” in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from National Palace Museum* ed. W. C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Distributed by H. N. Abrams, 1996), 555. In 1996 Wen C. Fong noted that the early Qing emperors used the arts as “tools for the glorification of the state,” 555.

<sup>22</sup> The term “outer court” specifically comes from the location of the administrative offices of the central government, which were located in the southern part of the imperial palace in Peking. Agencies of the outer court were responsible for solemn public ceremonies such as the winter solstice, the lunar New Year, and the emperor’s birthday. In the early years of the Yongzheng reign the outer court also was responsible for the following: administration of government affairs, management of communications underlying all operations, preservation of government documents, and publication of the dynasty’s historical records. The location of the “inner court” refers to the area around the emperor’s quarters and is located in the center and western area of the palace. During the years of the Yongzheng reign the emperor and his Grand Council took over greater control of government affairs from outer court agencies, particularly by instituting changes through greater use of the secret “palace memorial system” in preference to the routine memorial system of the outer court. See Bartlett, 20-21, and this chapter’s discussion of memorials concerning the proscription of Christianity.

campaigns against graft, improved allocation of grain and alleviation of rural hunger, policies that Jesuits would laud in letters they sent to Europe. Additionally, the emperor initiated policies and campaigns regarding religious and moral rectification that affected all people in his empire. His “literary inquisition” into the writings of Zeng Jing is an example of how he refused to tolerate Chinese criticism of Manchu rule of China and how he orchestrated a minute investigation of suspected anti-Manchu conspirators directed from his imperial seat of power down to local levels. During this moral rectification campaign, the emperor personally directed a psychological re-education program of the errant Zeng Jing so that he could prove to officials and subjects alike that moral rectification was possible, desired, and expected of all people in the Qing empire.<sup>23</sup> Political consolidation was a prime concern in the early Qing.

The Yongzheng Emperor was the fourth son of the Kangxi Emperor, born in the seventeenth year of his father’s reign, on 13 December 1678 (KX 17.10.13). For the first forty-five years of his life he was called by his personal name and title, Prince Yinzhen (胤禛 Upright Heir). The name for his reign period from 1723 to 1735 is Yongzheng (雍正 Harmonious Rule or *Concordia Recta*, as Jesuits translated the title into Latin), and his posthumous temple name is Shizong (世宗 Ancestral Manifestation).<sup>24</sup>

The Yongzheng Emperor came to power during his middle age after witnessing the succession struggle that had plagued his father’s court for fourteen years (1708-1722). Upon ascending the Dragon Throne, he adopted a style of rule that may be characterized as well

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<sup>23</sup> Spence, *Treason by the Book*, 211-222.

<sup>24</sup> Posthumous title names are composed of characters that evoke the venerable memory of deceased rulers and were placed on plaques in the imperial ancestral temples and venerated according to ritual. Posthumous title plaques were regarded as an embodiment of the deceased emperor and rituals of respect and veneration were carried out in front of them. Similarly, all subjects of the emperor were expected to pay ritual respect (also controversially known as “ancestor worship”) to the embodiment of their deceased ancestors in home temples (in the case of rich families) or in small shrines placed in the home.

thought-out, swiftly executed, and far-reaching in scope. He had witnessed state problems all his adult life: a court full of contending princes, a government and bureaucratic system suffering from increasing corruption. Additionally, he was keenly aware of the problems that growing numbers of European traders and missionaries posed to the security of the Manchu-Chinese government.<sup>25</sup> He crafted policies that aimed to avoid and rectify such problems. His management style, which may be characterized as micro-management, proved to be efficient but ultimately exhaustively demanding, for the emperor reviewed thousands and thousands of documents personally. Such an amount of personal attention to government affairs proved impossible for subsequent rulers to emulate.

The succession struggle shaped Prince Yinzhen, his subsequent reign period, and his policy toward Christian missionaries. The succession struggle cannot be regarded merely as a family squabble. Yinzhen was the fourth of fifty-six siblings, born by thirty of his father's forty consorts. Of the Kangxi Emperor's thirty-six sons, only twenty grew to maturity.<sup>26</sup> The Kangxi Emperor twice dismissed the heir apparent Yinreng (1674-1735), who had been designated when only eighteen months old in 1676. First in 1708, he rejected this son because of his profligate spending, homosexuality, and buying and selling of children for his service. The emperor declared Yinreng as lacking in filial piety and unequal to the task of inheriting the throne from his ancestors. Out of compassion, he reinstated him in 1709. But in 1712, he dismissed the heir

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<sup>25</sup> The Yongzheng Emperor's father had issued an edict on 9 December 1716 entitled "The Emperor Predicts Danger from the West," which warned officials to strengthen China's naval defense, guard against merchants who profited excessively from the sale of natural and manufactured goods. Furthermore, he warned officials to be aware of the problems of Chinese criminals who lived overseas. He characterized the Manchus and Mongols as having a united heart, but he warned that the Chinese (Han) people were divided. Regarding Europe, he said: "We are afraid that the Middle Kingdom will suffer injury from the overseas countries, for example, from the European countries. This is only a prediction." See Fu Lo-shu, 2: 122-123.

<sup>26</sup> Silas H. L. Wu, *Passage to Power, 1661-1722* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 190-191.

apparent again because he believed that Yinreng had intended to take his life when he was discovered approaching his tent at night in Rehe.<sup>27</sup>

During the second half of the Kangxi period, the first (Yinshi), third (Yinzhi), fourth (Yinzhen), eighth (Yinsi), ninth (Yintang), and fourteenth (Yinti) sons of the emperor all contended for the throne. The Kangxi Emperor adamantly refused to designate an heir because of the debacle over Yinreng. He believed that naming a crown prince hindered his capacity to rule. The vigorous but aged emperor was able to continue as a model Manchu warrior to the last days of his life, practicing the “Manchu Way,” a term found in Qing discussions of venerable Manchu activities such as archery and horseback-riding, and other valued attributes such as ability in the Manchu language and frugality.<sup>28</sup> However, on 14 December 1722, he fell fatally ill after he caught a chill while hunting in the imperial park, Nan Yuan, a vast forest six miles southwest of the capital.

Because of the Kangxi Emperor’s advanced age, the illness surprised neither the ruler himself, nor the court. He was taken to his garden-palace, Changchun Yuan, four miles west of Peking. When his condition worsened on 20 December, he called in seven of his grown sons, along with Lungkodo (*Longkeduo* 隆科多) (d. 1728), who was the general commandant of the gendarmerie of Peking.<sup>29</sup> As he lay dying, the emperor issued the terse decree:

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<sup>27</sup> Father D’Entrecolles describes what occurred in Rehe in “*Lettre du P. D’Entrecolles au Père Procureur Général des Mission des Indes et de la Chine. Disgrâce d’un prince. État de la cour. A Jao-tcheou, ce 17 juillet 1707*,” LEC 3: 161-163.

<sup>28</sup> Elliot, 8.

<sup>29</sup> ECCP, 553-554. The conventional Manchu spelling of Lungkodo’s name (also alternately Longkodo) is used in this study as are Manchu spellings for Manchu names. He served in the Yellow Bordered Banner. Nurhaci, the father of the founder of the Qing (Hong Taiji) had organized his fighting force into eight different groups of “banners,” which were distinguished according to color (yellow, red, blue, and white, four plain and four bordered). Although Lungkodo rose in position during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor and was cousin and brother-in-law to the emperor, during the Yongzheng reign he was judged guilty one year before his death of being involved with factional issues. He was stripped of all his titles, exiled, and fined.



My fourth son, Yinzhen, is a person with honorable character, resembling me. He will certainly be able to continue my task as the Emperor. Let him be enthroned!<sup>30</sup>

Yinzhen arrived hours later. He comforted his father by visiting his chamber four times. On the last vigil, his dying father took from his neck the Buddhist rosary his father, the Shunzhi Emperor (r. 1644-1661), had given him and gave it to Yinzhen. The Buddhist rosary was a token of religious sanction of the succession of the fourth son.<sup>31</sup> However, the ailing father did not tell him he was the chosen successor. Only after the emperor had died did Lungkodo tell Yinzhen in the presence of his brothers that he was the new emperor. A group of his brothers made many allegations that Yinzhen had usurped the throne, particularly because of the role Lungkodo had played as a mediator during the emperor's death. The general commandant had stationed troops all along the route from the Peking palaces to Changchun Yuan during the emperor's final days.

Stories surrounding intrigue over the succession immediately found their way abroad and are contained in Japanese and Korean records of the period.<sup>32</sup> Historian Silas H. L. Wu maintains that the third emperor of the Qing "...became a monstrous stock villain in popular fiction and drama" and that twentieth-century writers in China "created sensational details, attributed outrageous motives and finally produced a synthetic Yung-cheng much larger than life."<sup>33</sup>

Contemporary mainland historians now evaluate him as a leader equally as important as his celebrated father, the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1662-1722), and his much lauded son the Qianlong

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<sup>30</sup> Wu, *K'ang-hsi and his Heir Apparent*, 183.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 225, footnote 15. Wu cites the report of Yinzhen's succession in the Japanese source *Ka I hentai* 华夷变态 (Intelligence reports on China under the [Manchu] barbarians, 1674-1724), comp. Hayashi Shunsai and Hayashi Hoko (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1958-60). An eulogy of the Kangxi Emperor entitled "*Eloge de l'empereur Kang-hi par un missionnaire*" appears in LEC 3: 662-664. It is hagiographic and exalts the ruler as one who nearly embraced Christianity. Father J. B. Du Halde also notes Yongzheng's accession in *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine*, 4 vols. Paris: Lemercier, 1735.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* 186.

Emperor (r. 1736-1796),<sup>34</sup> for whom a small group of court Jesuits and court missionaries remained particularly active. While historian Huang Pei characterizes the Yongzheng Emperor's style of administration as both authoritarian and efficient,<sup>35</sup> contemporary mainland analysts stress his capacity as an "efficient administrator" and regard him as an "important reformer."<sup>36</sup>

The Yongzheng Emperor's reforms over the course of his entire reign are impressive and consist of six categories. As noted, he shifted control over government business to the inner from the outer court bureaucracy. He strengthened the "palace memorial" system that had been instituted by his father the Kangxi Emperor in 1693, a system that allowed the ruler to directly receive information in the form of secret memorials from a select group of trusted literati-officials as well as military officials, a system in contrast to the "routine memorial system" by which appointed scholar-officials submitted memorials to the throne.<sup>37</sup> Second, he reformed the unfair tax system, which put the burden of taxes on the poor and allowed landholders and tax collectors to grow rich.<sup>38</sup> His fiscal reforms included rationalized revenue-sharing mechanisms that enabled the government to attack the main sources of corruption within the bureaucracy and to reduce abuse of privilege and fiscal corruption among literati-officials.<sup>39</sup> Third, he ordered that the "mean people" or social outcasts in Chinese society (such as tanners, boat people, and

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<sup>34</sup> Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 116. Spence notes that Qianlong "abdicated" in 1796 as an act of filial piety so that the length of his reign would not exceed that of his grandfather's, the Kangxi Emperor. Spence dates his reign from 1736 to 1799.

<sup>35</sup> Huang Pei, 21.

<sup>36</sup> Zhong Ren, *Yongzheng Yupi* (雍正御批The Vermillion Endorsements of the Yongzheng Emperor), vol. 1, (Beijing: Zhongguo Huaqiao Publishing Company, 1999), 1-3.

<sup>37</sup> Bartlett, 17-25. Also see Beatrice S. Bartlett, *The Grand Council Communication System and Central Government Decision Making* (Ph.D. diss. Yale University, 1980).

<sup>38</sup> Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 77.

<sup>39</sup> Madeleine Zelin, "The Yongzheng Reign" Chapter 4, in Vol. 9, Part 1, *Cambridge History of China* Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978-2002), 228, 219.

entertainers) should no longer be designated as outcasts because they worked in certain professions held in low regard and that they be integrated into society. Fourth, he sponsored huge encyclopedic literary projects and elaborated on the moral maxims of his father, presented in the *Hortatory Edict of Sixteen Maxims* (1670), republished as *The Sacred Edict* (1724).<sup>40</sup> Additionally, from 1723 to 1727, he sponsored revisions of the Qing law Code. A major result of the revision was that for the first time all statutes and sub-statutes were printed in a single work. Fifth, he began to have opium users punished, realizing that drug use caused grave social problems.<sup>41</sup> Sixth, he supported military campaigns in Central Asia to subdue the rebellious Zunghars and personally communicated with military leaders, demonstrating his keen sense of leadership.<sup>42</sup>

## II. The Letter of Father de Mailla and the Qing Bureaucratic System

Returning to the 16 October 1724 letter written by Father de Mailla,<sup>43</sup> the contents exhaustively documents controversies surrounding the Catholic community in Fuan, in northern Fujian province one hundred miles from the coast. The Jesuit Giulio Aleni had introduced Christianity in 1625 in Fujian, and after 1630 the arrival of Spanish mendicant priests had led to

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<sup>40</sup> See Chapter 2 for description and significance of the *Sacred Edict*, 117.

<sup>41</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 1: 162. During the second half of his reign, the emperor enacted the first edict in Chinese history prohibiting the sale of opium and the opening of opium parlors.

<sup>42</sup> Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, 45.

<sup>43</sup> Father de Mailla's Chinese name was Feng Bingzheng (馮秉正). I have been unable to locate this letter after consulting the *Archives Françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus* in Vanves located near Paris. This archive holds most of the documents moved from Chantilly in the late 1980s while a portion of them were distributed to the National Library, Paris, and to the Jesuit archive in Lyon. After more than two years of searching for the letters, the scholar, Eugenio Menegon, told me: "It is a well known fact that the original letters from the *Lettres édifiantes* have been either destroyed or lost." I found no English language publications that tell the history of the letters, which were most likely destroyed in a fire in 1794 in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, where Jesuit property that had been seized by an order issued in 1763 by the Parlement of Paris was stored. These events are described by Joseph Brucker, S.J., "Épisodes d'une confiscation, 1762. Les manuscrits jésuites de Paris," *Études*, 88, 1901, 497, and Landry-Deron, 30.

intra-order tensions, while increasing numbers of Christians also troubled local officials. The 1724 letter describes how provincial and county level officials dealt with Chinese Christians and European missionaries, whom they regarded as disruptive members of society.<sup>44</sup> The letter presents a narrative of the 1723 disturbances in Fuan and the subsequent results of the imperial edict proscribing Christianity, garnered from documents the Jesuits collected in Peking and from conversations and audiences that took place both in the court and in corridors and doorways of the imperial palace. This mélange of documents consists of seven Qing documents (all translated into French) concerning how local, provincial, and metropolitan officials dealt with the disturbance in Fuan. Precisely how the court Jesuits and Father de Mailla obtained copies of the correspondence between the Fuan district magistrate and the governor-general, along with local and provincial rulings and secret messages, remains unclear, but it is clear that the court Jesuits had powerful patrons and networks of sympathetic friends.<sup>45</sup> It is not clear who the recipient of this letter was, but a very similar letter addressed to the General of the Society of Jesus, Angelo Tamburini, S.J., by Ignatius Kögler and dated July 1724 contains passages with some of exactly the same information as Father de Mailla's letter. For example, Father Kögler's letter cites in

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<sup>44</sup> See Appendix 1.1-1.15 for the English translation of this letter. The seven Qing documents appear numbered and indented, so that they may be easily located within Appendix 1.1- 1.3 and 1.6-1.9. Documents 1.4 – 1.5 are classified as “secret documents.” Documents 1.10 and 1.12 appear to be versions of the memorial to the emperor drafted by Father Kögler, and 1.11 presents the comments of the Jesuits' prince protector on the draft memorial. Document 1.13 records the imperial response to Father Kögler's memorial and orders that provincial and military officials in Canton should deliberate on the question of the presence of missionaries in Canton. Document 1.14 records what the emperor said to the Court missionaries during an imperial audience, and document 1.15 records the interjection that Father Parennin was able to make in defense of Christianity during the audience.

<sup>45</sup> For this letter see LEC 3: 346-366 or Appendix 1.1-1.15 for my translation of Father de Mailla's letter. Note: the documents in Appendix 1 are numbered 1.1 through 1.15, which reflects the large number of documents within this letter. The Chinese text of Mamboo's order is held in the BAV, Borgia Chinese, 316 (5). The order also appears in de Mailla's *Histoire générale*, 1785 ed. XI, 388-392. The Chinese version recorded in the *Qing Shilu* or *Qing Annals* records only a summary of Mamboo's memorial, see *Qing Shilu*, Beijing, 1985 ed. vol. 7, page 251.

Latin the memorial the court Jesuits presented to the Yongzheng Emperor, which recommended that missionaries be allowed to live in Canton rather than being expelled to Macao.<sup>46</sup> (See Fig. 4)

Father de Mailla had obtained these Chinese language documents within months after the Fuan disturbance began, and he inserted them in his October 1724 letter.<sup>47</sup> The other eight documents consisted of two secret memorials passed from the provincial official to the local Fuan official; two drafts of a memorial written by the court Jesuit Father Kögler and comments by a Manchu “prince protector” on the contents of the Jesuit memorial; a record of the imperial response to the Father Kögler’s memorial; a record of the comments of the emperor made during an audience he granted court missionaries; and, finally, a record of a short speech Father Parenin managed to make in defense of Catholics during an imperial audience.

This letter illustrates how the court Jesuits, assisted by a few missionaries from other orders, participated in the political and social rituals associated with court life and attempted to influence government affairs and officials working in it. They lobbied for the survival of the Christian mission by using their official court positions, and they composed, presented, and received responses to memorials they submitted, albeit in an irregular and erratic manner because the manner in which they submitted memorials often went against the rules of the bureaucracy.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. LEC 3: 362 [Appendix 1. 12] and Jap. Sin. 179, f 347/2 verso [unnumbered pages and note “aliud exemplar in Jap. Sin 179, 340-347] “Admodum Reverend in Christo P. Generalis [Angelo Tamburini, S.J.]” [2a via posterior], July 1724. The memorial Kögler reports on in Latin is reported on by de Mailla in French and represents the group memorial composed by the court Jesuits which aimed to convince the emperor to allow the missionaries to live in Canton after he proscribed Christianity. Chinese language holdings of ARSI also duplicate holdings of the BVE such as the Yongzheng Emperor’s rescript issued 10 January 1724 that endorsed Gioro Mamboo’s recommendation to proscribe Christianity. See ARSI, Jap. Sin 179, 312, cf. Appendix 9 and LEC 3: 355.

<sup>47</sup> Copies of some of these Chinese language documents are held in the Apostolic Library of the Vatican. See Appendix 1.1-1.15

<sup>48</sup> Father Adam Schall also had managed to by-pass the official screening process of memorials during the Shunzhi period, as noted in the Introduction.

Administrative law stipulated that only ranking officials could submit memorials to the emperor.<sup>49</sup>

The way that court Jesuits lobbied for Christianity within the Qing government illustrates how deeply these religious men understood and participated in court politics. The Jesuits' capacity to submit memorials was not new to their court service in China because a routine part of their service in the Astronomical Bureau was to submit memorials (also translated as reports, which could contain recommendations). Such memorials were recorded in the Qing histories and may be found in the *Treasury of the Four Collections (Siku Quanshu)*.<sup>50</sup> Records of their memorials relating to lobbying efforts for the mission were not collected by official Chinese or Manchu historians. Therefore, the examples of their memorials contained in the *Lettres édifiantes* are valuable, as is the collection of court Jesuits' memorials, accompanied by imperial responses, in the *Ruijianlu* (Record of Sage Scrutiny), published in Peking in 1735-1737.<sup>51</sup>

Father de Mailla's letter refers to a variety of aspects of the reporting and policy-making system of the highly centralized Chinese government. A large amount of information is presented about the steps taken against Christianity in Fuan. Appositive sentence structure and footnotes are utilized to explain new terms in the letter. Subsequent letters in the collection also record the continuing controversy over Christianity throughout the Yongzheng Emperor's reign and the manner in which the court Jesuits continued to negotiate to keep their foothold on the mainland until the last years of the Yongzheng reign. Numerous letters describe the on-going troubles during the next reign period.

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<sup>49</sup> Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, 29.

<sup>50</sup> *Wenyuan ge Siku Quanshu dianziban* (Electronic edition of the Four Collections) (Hong Kong: Youzhi Wenhua Publishing Company & Zhongwen University Publishing Company, 2000), *juan* 23, among others.

<sup>51</sup> Chapter Five will show that some of the memorials in the *Ruijianlu* echo memorials written during the Yongzheng Emperor's reign.

The Manchu rulers had adopted Chinese governmental organization and made some changes. They patterned the bureaucracy on Ming models and adopted Ming administrative Codes, which they reprinted and augmented. For example, the *Collected Institutes of the Ming* (*Daming huidian* 大明會典), contains successive categories of ordinances and supplementary enactments that detail all aspects of the Qing polity. William Frederick Mayers refers to the *Collected Institutes* as “a Code of law by which every act of the imperial government” was strictly bound.<sup>52</sup> Mayers characterizes the Chinese state as one resting upon:

...an all-pervading officialism, a bureaucracy trained through the national system of education to apply the maxims of government enunciated centuries before the dawn of the Christian era, and impelled by motives of self-interest to reject the introduction of all principles at variance with these venerable dogmas.

This characterization of the Chinese state, along with the brief description of the administrative structure of the Manchu Qing government that follows, offers a contextual framework for understanding the steps leading up to the issuance of the first imperial edict of the Yongzheng reign against Christianity.

Father de Mailla’s letter refers to numerous positions within the administrative structure of the Qing (1644-1912) government, a centralized system whose original design allowed for the flow of official government communications and business from the metropolitan boards at the capital, over which the emperor presided, down to the lowest administrative unit at the local level. The design of the system allowed local officials to send memorials up through this governing channel. In Ming times the lowest administrative unit was the county or district administration (*xian* 縣), headed by district magistrates (*zhixian* 知縣); above this came the

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<sup>52</sup> W. F. Mayers, *The Chinese Government, A Manual of Chinese Titles, Categorically Arranged and Explained with an Appendix* (1897; reprint, Taipei: Ch’eng-Wen Publishing Company, 1966), iv. Mayers notes that the *Collected Institutes* of the Qing fills 76 volumes.

prefecture (*fu* 府 and *zhou* 州), headed by prefects (*zhifu* 知府) and department magistrates (*zhizhou* 知州).<sup>53</sup> In the next level above came the provincial authorities (*sheng* 省), whose head was the provincial administrative commissioner. Above this official two higher officials held responsibility and decision-making authority over provincial affairs, and they also reported to the central government. During the Qing, the governor (*xunfu* 巡撫) had responsibility over one province and several strategic areas. (The term “grand coordinator” was used to refer to this office for the Ming period. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European writers referred to this office as “viceroy” or “vice-roi”). The governor-general (*zongdu* 總督), also referred to as supreme commander, was responsible for two or more provinces. The governor additionally had responsibility for military concerns through civil officials who worked under him.<sup>54</sup> By Qing times the offices of governor and governor-general had become permanent posts, and they held powers that were superior to the provincial administrative commissioner.<sup>55</sup> It should be noted that all local officials were agents of the central government, and no autonomy existed in the *zhou*, *xian*, or in the towns and villages that constituted them.<sup>56</sup> The central government and ultimately the emperor had responsibility for all appointments in government positions.<sup>57</sup>

Besides these three levels, a fourth level could be found between the second and third levels,

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<sup>53</sup> Tung-tsu Ch'ü, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 1. It should be noted that some independent sub-prefectures called *ting* (廳) and independent departments *zhilizhou* (直隸州) existed, and they reported directly to provincial authorities, rather than to prefectural magistrates.

<sup>54</sup> Hucker, *Imperial China*, 314.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>56</sup> Ch'ü, 1.

<sup>57</sup> This is only a brief over-view of governmental structure. As noted earlier, political structure of the Qing is a field in itself. For deeper analysis of this field see H. S. Brunnert and V. V. Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, a translation of the work by A. Beltchenko and E. E. Moran based upon the *Daqinghuidian*. (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1912).



called the branch offices of the provincial government. In Ming and Qing times the central administration sent officers down to the lowest levels of government named provincial intendants, who reported directly to the central government.<sup>58</sup>

A significant innovation of Qing rulers was the creation of dual staffing, consisting of Manchus and Chinese, in all important government positions. In this diarchy the Qing rulers made dual appointments in the following offices: Grand Secretaries, heads of the Six Boards, chief-censors, and governors (with Manchus or Mongols having higher rank than their Chinese counterparts).<sup>59</sup> The Six Boards, together with the Censorate, formed the core central government institutions that supervised government business. The names of the Six Boards (also referred to as Tribunals or Ministries) indicated their functions: Personnel, Revenue, Rites, Punishments, Public Works, and Military. A supporting staff of thousands of clerks helped process the large amount of paperwork the boards handled, which increased in volume all throughout the eighteenth century.

While early Qing rulers had adopted Ming patterns of government with minor changes, the Yongzheng Emperor significantly modified the court structure when he tightened his personal control of government affairs by relying more on the inner court to rule. His reforms diverged from political theorists of the late Ming who had advocated a decentralized political structure, based upon self-governing and self-sustaining communities guided by local elites. This approach called *fengjian* (often translated as “feudal”) contrasted to the statist approach adopted by the Qing that demanded considerable central government supervision over provincial and

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<sup>58</sup> Ch'ien Mu, *Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2000), 103.

<sup>59</sup> Mote, 863.

local affairs.<sup>60</sup> After 1729, he used the Manchu innovation called the Grand Council, consisting of six to ten high-ranking officials, half of whom were Manchu and half Chinese, as trusted, core advisors.

With this innovation, the emperor weakened the power of his Grand Secretaries in the Grand Secretariat (*neige* 內閣), whose function had been to help process the government reports, or memorials, sent to the throne by officials. He also developed a system of court letters, which were used by court officials to communicate imperial policy to bureaucrats and thereby avoid the use of imperial edicts which had the force of law.<sup>61</sup> The emperor also favored cultivating close friendships with a handful of provincial confidantes with whom he corresponded by secret memorials. The most controversial man among those advisors was the magistrate and middle-level minister, Tian Wenjing (1662-1732), who had a disdain for Confucian-steeped literati-officials. Tian maintained that the *Sacred Edict* and *Collected Statutes and Precedents* offered superior advice on practical government administration. He recommended that literati-officials would profit from apprenticeships in government before receiving official postings.<sup>62</sup>

The court Jesuits who worked within this highly developed Chinese bureaucratic structure both engaged in and accommodated themselves to the social norms or rituals (*li* 禮) of court life. They wore Chinese clothes and insignia of rank, and they strived to fit into the court by speaking Chinese or Manchu and observing all court rules. At the same time, they managed to lobby at different levels of the government to advance the cause of Christianity. These achievements were extraordinary in terms of cross-cultural and linguistic adaptation, and the

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<sup>60</sup> Zelin, "The Yongzheng Reign" in *Cambridge History of China*, eds. Twichett and Fairbank, 193.

<sup>61</sup> Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, 103-106.

<sup>62</sup> Zelin, 219-220.

political consequences of these Jesuits achievements made members of the Society of Jesus open to critical attacks not only in China but also in Europe. During the early eighteenth century in France only two native Frenchman, the Academicians Etienne Fourmont and Nicholas Fréret, could read, write, and speak Chinese. In contrast to this, the court Jesuits and other missionaries worked and survived in a totally Chinese setting.<sup>63</sup>

Father de Mailla's 16 October 1724 letter reveals his determined effort to account for, report, and marshal critical information relating to the controversy over Christianity. Although the letter reports on the destruction of Christian communities and churches, it illustrates the resolve of the Jesuits, and some fellow-missionaries from other orders, to shore up their position in the capital and empire for the cause of Christianity in China. French readers would certainly have felt sympathy for their compatriots who served as missionaries in China and for Chinese Christians who were ordered to renounce their religion.

The letter is a *précis* that presents and interprets memorials and government edicts generated by the Manchu-Chinese bureaucracy, as well as the actions and commentary of officials and the emperor. Within the *Lettres édifiantes*, this letter is the longest and most detailed explanation of the emperor's 1724 move against Christianity and a good example of the Jesuits' negotiating strategy and apologetic style. This letter illustrates how the metropolitan level of the central government communicated with the provincial and local levels in the task of implementing policy and governing. The preponderance of attention paid to the chain of Qing documents in the letter illustrates two critical points: 1) the reverence that Manchu and Chinese

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<sup>63</sup> Leung, 1-3. The two Frenchmen who worked in the Oriental section of the *Bibliothèque du Roi* studied Chinese under the tutelage of the only Chinese resident in all of France, Arcadio Huang, the cataloger of Chinese books in the library. These three men knowledgeable in Oriental affairs, which was the eighteenth-century designation for the geographic region of the Near, Middle, and Far East, were responsible for cataloging Oriental books received in the King's Library. Fourmont and Fréret, considered France's first sinologists, studied in depth and with great difficulties because they were pioneers in the field of cataloging books and tracts which Jesuit missionaries had sent to France.

officials had for the written word as a mode of governing; and, 2) the faith the Jesuits had in utilizing the written word as a means of salvation for the Catholic mission by resolutely defending Christianity in order to prove that their religion had been tolerated in China for nearly two hundred years, and therefore merited imperial approbation.

The Qing government reporting system, inherited from the Ming, was based on a flow of information either from top down or from local or provincial levels up to the metropolitan level. Authorities who made decisions on policy recommendations consulted precedents in archives before writing recommendations or rulings. Beatrice S. Bartlett characterizes it as “a precedent-building system with bureaucratic rather than imperial domination of decision-making and publicity for government operations.”<sup>64</sup> Known as the “routine system” (*zouzhang* 奏章), all incoming routine memorials passed through several offices in the central government: the Transmission Office (*tongzhengsi*); the Grand Secretariat (*neige*), the Six Boards (*liubu*), and the Metropolitan Censors at the Boards, or “Six Sections” (*liuke*). Members of each staff scrutinized memorials for inconsistencies or errors. Based on precedent, the Grand Secretariat then drafted possible imperial responses ( called “draft rescripts” *biaoni* 標擬 ). The emperor then reviewed these recommendations and if he authorized it or added more commentary, it was known as an “imperial rescript (or imperial edict)” or “decree” (*zhi* 旨).

These imperial rescripts had considerable force and were considered government policy. It is this type of imperial rescript on the memorial submitted by the governor-general of Fujian and Zhejiang that resulted in the proscription of Christianity in 1724. Imperial rescripts were considered *ex cathedra* pronouncements, rulings which reflected the authority or position of the

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<sup>64</sup> Beatrice S. Bartlett, “Ch’ing Palace Memorials in the Archives of the National Palace Museum,” *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, 13.6 (Jan-Feb., 1979), 2.

ruler, in contrast to purely personal expression of the imperial view, classified as *yu* 諭.<sup>65</sup> Scribe staff in the boards made duplicate copies of all routine memorials, many of which are extant in archives, and many more accessible in published collections. Direct communication from prefectures to the Six Boards remained the principal channel of communication of routine administration all throughout the late empire.<sup>66</sup> This memorial system differed from the “Palace Memorial System” of the inner court, which was instituted in 1693 by the Kangxi Emperor and underwent significant changes in the reign of his son. The Yongzheng Emperor favored direct reporting to his trusted inner court staff so that he could directly receive information from trusted civil and military officials.

Father de Mailla characterized the treatment Christians received early in 1723 in the city of Fuan, Fujian province, as a “persecution.”<sup>67</sup> He detailed the chain of events of this persecution and how the disturbance resulted in the issuance of an imperial decree on 12 January 1724 after the emperor ratified the deliberations of the Board of Rites and approved the memorial of governor-general Mamboo.<sup>68</sup> The imperial rescript stated that “what has been determined by the Board of Rites must be done.... Now it is necessary to adopt the proposal of the *zongdu* [governor-general] of Fujian.” (see Appendix 1.9)<sup>69</sup> This rescript thereby outlawed Christianity in China. The memorial forwarded by Mamboo requested that all missionaries must retire to Macao, except for “skilled missionaries” of service to the court. The decree provided that any

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>66</sup> Hucker, *Imperial China*, 311.

<sup>67</sup> Fuan city, a city of the third order, was dependant on Funing zhou.

<sup>68</sup> *Da Qing Shizonghai Huangdi Shilu*, chapter 14, 14 a-14 b. Also found in electronic retrieval system and in 1986 Beijing edition of *Qing Shilu*. The decree is also translated in Fu Loshu. A partial translation of it appears in Rosso, 391-392. The full text was translated into French by Father de Mailla, the most complete text extant, LEC see Appendix 1. 7.

<sup>69</sup> LEC 3: 355.

such skilled missionaries residing in the provinces and deemed useful to the court must be conducted under safe escort to the capital. The edict upheld the deliberations of the Board of Rites that charged: “Those who have been blind enough to follow this religion must be obliged to correct themselves immediately. If they continue to assemble for praying, they must be punished according to the laws...”<sup>70</sup>

Furthermore, the Board of Rites ruled that all missionaries holding imperial patents should turn them over to local authorities, who in turn should forward them to the board of the Imperial Household Department (*neiwufu*內務府), where they would be burned. Christianity was outlawed because authorities deemed it useless and pernicious, as well as being a sect that went against Article 162 of the Qing Code.

The question of the possession of “imperial patents” by individual Catholic missionaries received particularly careful attention by government authorities during the Fuan disturbance of the early 1720s. Such imperial patents had originated after the ill-fated outcome of the visit of the Papal legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon in 1708. During the legate’s first audience with the Kangxi Emperor, the ruler agreed with Tournon’s proposal to install a kind of superior-general for the whole China mission, but only if a Jesuit would receive the position. During the imperial audience Tournon made no comments upon Chinese rites, a subject and practice he wished to have totally prohibited for Catholics. When Tournon refused to acknowledge the importance of documents submitted to Rome related to the Rites Controversy, especially the *Declaratio rituum*, and shouted at the emperor, the Kangxi Emperor in disgust countered with the ruling that all missionaries who wished to remain in China had to swear an oath to follow the

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<sup>70</sup> LEC 3: 354-355 and my translation Appendix 1.8.

missionary method of Matteo Ricci.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, the Kangxi Emperor judged that Tournon's demeanor and his lack of knowledge of Chinese civilization totally disqualified him as a legate and as one capable of interpreting China's mores, religion, literature, and history. Those who took this oath in 1708 received an "imperial permit" or "patent" (*piao* 票, also translated as a "license") that stipulated that they believed in the teachings of Matteo Ricci and would live in China until their death. Soon after 1708 a dramatic decrease in the number of missionaries followed: thirty-seven were expelled, twelve died, ten left China, and five went as legates to Rome.<sup>72</sup> The total number of missionaries representing six different orders in China in 1706 had been 148, (and from that total there were 15 individuals from unnamed orders and 6 Chinese priests). In 1712 only 75 European priests remained and five Chinese, which means the numbers were fairly halved. After the anti-Christian incidents of 1746-1748, 1754, 1768-1769, and 1784-1785, the number of foreign missionaries further declined and only one or two worked in a province.<sup>73</sup>

According to the letter, troubles for Christians started in July (June of lunar calendar) of 1723 when a Christian with the rank that eighteenth-century writers called the "bachelor's degree" (termed "licentiate," *shengyuan*) became discontented with a missionary and the Christian religion.<sup>74</sup> He and several other licentiates presented the local mandarin with a

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<sup>71</sup> *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 359.

<sup>72</sup> "Missionaries," in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, see charts on 306-307 and 298.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> In correspondence (24/2/2002) with Dr. Eugenio Menegon, he stated that he believes that the Jesuits had the wrong information in the *Lettres* on page 346. He questions the veracity of this information based on information in Jose Maria González, O.P., *Historia de las misiones dominicanas de China*. 5 vol., (Madrid: Imprenta Juan Bravo, 1955-67). Indeed, in vol. 2 (1700-1800), 155 ff. an account of the Fuan persecution is given, and there is no mention of discontented *juren* (raised candidate) denouncing the Christians. I have found no evidence that the Jesuits fabricated this report of discontented licentiates. It is not surprising that the Jesuits attributed all the problems of the Catholic mission in Fujian province to two recently arrived Dominican priests from Manila because of the serious century-long disagreements between the mendicant Dominicans and the lay Jesuits

memorial that denounced Christianity. They complained of the following: missionaries built a great “temple”<sup>75</sup> at the expense of disciples; men and women gathered together for worship against Chinese moral conventions; and young girls refused to marry, which also went against Chinese custom. Fuzhi who was the district magistrate (*zhixian*) of Fuan without a doubt communicated this information to his superiors. For on 14 June 1723 the Manchu governor-general of Zhejiang and Fujian, Gioro Mamboo, issued a stern order outlawing Christianity (Appendix 1.1).

The governor-general’s order called for the closure of churches based on the fact that the Christian religion was a “sect” that went against Chinese customs. He stated: “...it is only appropriate that we defend our laws and stop its [Christianity] course” (Appendix 1.1). Nowhere in Father de Mailla’s letter does the French Jesuit identify what specific regulation in the Qing Code Christianity infringed upon. However, he does report that Mamboo considered Christianity a heterodox “sect.” According to Article 162 of the Qing Code, principal leaders of heretical sects should receive the sentence of strangulation (with delay) and “accessories” 100 strokes of the heavy bamboo baton and exile to 3000 *li*.<sup>76</sup> Governor-general Mamboo further ordered that neighborhood headmen and family heads gather as much intelligence as possible about people who did not heed his ordinance.<sup>77</sup> He ordered these headmen to write reports on the

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over mission strategy. Father de Mailla’s defense of the Jesuit mission in Fujian must be understood as part of the Jesuit apologetics of the Rites Controversy.

<sup>75</sup> Father de Mailla reports that the Chinese called places of Christian worship “Christian temples.” However, the Catholic missionaries avoided using the terms 廟 *miao*, 寺 *si*, or 觀 *guan* because these terms designate Buddhist or Daoist temples. They preferred to use 堂 *tang*, the term that designates “hall” that suggested Confucian and scholarly usage. See Zürcher, “The Jesuit Mission in Fujian in Late Ming Times,” in *Development and Decline of Fukien*, ed. Vermeer, 425.

<sup>76</sup> A *li* represents the unit of measurement of one-half kilometer. On measurement see Jones, 174.

<sup>77</sup> The “mutual security system” (*baojia* 保甲) dates to Han dynasty Legalist traditions. This neighborhood security system consisted of 1,000 households that were sub-divided into one hundred households and then into



fourteen or fifteen churches in the community, so he could decide what to do with them.<sup>78</sup>

The district magistrate Fuzhi immediately posted the governor-general's order in Fuan, to which he added a supplementary order specifying that all subaltern officials must follow the governor-general's order. He further commanded the headmen of the five quarters of Fuan to meet together and then disperse to conduct on-the-spot investigations of the "Christian temples," noting their size, seating capacity, and estimated value. He ordered that guards be posted to protect the buildings. Finally, district magistrate Fuzhi ordered a detailed accounting of the number of girls who refused to marry in the community, adding the caveat that all headmen should notify parents harboring "Christian virgins" that they would have to turn those daughters over to the officials.<sup>79</sup> The French translations in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* of Chinese language documents held in the Vatican Library, Rome, correspond to one another.

The Fuan district magistrate then sent a detailed memorial to governor-general Mamboo detailing how he had carried out the orders to interdict Christianity (Appendix 1.3). He reported that he personally inspected a church on Zhongsi Street, one he estimated to be worth two to three thousand taels, a waste of money he decried, for the funds could have helped the poor.<sup>80</sup> He called Christianity a "false sect that destroys the Five Duties [*Wulun*] and the true virtue."<sup>81</sup> He

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groups of ten households, which formed a unit called a *bao*. A "headman" appointed by the district magistrate was responsible for checking on the behavior and registration procedures of families under his scrutiny.

<sup>78</sup> See LEC 3: 347 or Appendix 1.1.

<sup>79</sup> BAV, Borgia Cinese, 316 (8-H) f° 19; LEC 3: 348-349 or Appendix 1.2.

<sup>80</sup> See LEC 3: 348 footnote one that explains: "One tael equals nearly five *livres* of French money."

<sup>81</sup> LEC 3: 348. Note that the "Five Duties" (*Wulun*) are the same as what modern scholars call the "Five Relationships" (or Five Key Relationships) of orthodox Confucian thinking. (Father de Mailla used the term "...*les cinq sortes de devoirs et la vrai vertu* ..." in his letter, LEC 3: 348). As introduced in Chapter Two, the Ten Great Wrongs of the Qing Code stressed the importance of following the moral conduct of the Five Key Relationships, and the Code proscribed punishments for perversion of morality.

reiterated to headmen of villages and neighborhood chiefs that they should be responsible for maintaining good governance of the province by maintaining the Chinese customs that perfected the hearts of the people.<sup>82</sup>

District magistrate Fuzhi carefully described to the governor-general how he encountered the two Christians responsible for the building of the church, one a writer referred to as “Kouo-yu Siun” (Domingo Guo Xianjun 郭顯均)<sup>83</sup> and the other the licentiate “Ou-ou-entcho” (Wu Wenzhuo (Wu Wenzhuo 吳文擢), who defended the teaching of the Lord of Heaven. The district magistrate chastised them for not honoring their deceased ancestors according to the laws and rites of the ancient sages of China. They responded that they had their own “European Master of the Law, who proclaimed and taught them the way of Heaven.” (Appendix 1.3)<sup>84</sup> They dared to tell the magistrate that the Chinese ceremonies for the dead had no use.

When Fuzhi asked the two Christians for the name of their “foreign Master” and if he had the imperial patent, they replied that his name was *Ouang*, adding that it was difficult to see him and neglecting to answer whether he had the patent. The district magistrate Fuzhi reported that he went back to his office, and he himself looked up the imperial order published in the 56<sup>th</sup> year

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The *Wulun* formed the core teaching of Confucian propriety and specified the appropriate virtues amongst: 1) Father-son; 2) Ruler-subject; 3) Brother-brother; 4) Husband-wife; 5) Friend-friend. The virtues are, respectively, filial piety, loyalty, brotherliness, love and obedience, and faithfulness. From Hucker, *China's Imperial Past*, 75-79.

<sup>82</sup> BAV, Borgia Cinese 316 (8) “G” f° 18.

<sup>83</sup> Domingo Guo Xianjun 郭顯均 and Wu Wenzhuo 吳文擢 were not well-known Christians, but they played important roles in their local communities. According to Menegon (see footnote 74) Wu was arrested in 1723. He is mentioned in Jose Maria Gonzalez, *Historia de las misiones dominicanas de China* (Madrid: Imprenta Juan Bravo, 1955-1967), vol. 2: 161-162 as Tou Vun-yao. In volume 2 (1700-1800) on page 155 an account of the disturbance in Fuan may be found, but with no reference to discontented bachelors/*shengyuan* denouncing Christianity.

<sup>84</sup> LEC 3: 348.

of the Kangxi reign (1707-1708).<sup>85</sup> He noted the imperial instructions allowed only those with the imperial patent to reside at their churches, while missionaries without an imperial patent would be expelled from China. District magistrate Fuzhi interpreted the Kangxi ruling as allowing Europeans to live in China and to practice their own “law” (religion) amongst themselves and within their churches. He interpreted the imperial instructions as never having anticipated or sanctioned the building of so many churches in one district, similar to the situation he faced in his small district where so many churches had sprung up.

Fuzhi pointed out that officials had the right and obligation according to Qing law to destroy these churches and rigorously defend against Christianity because the religion was undermining the authority of local government officials. In closing, Fuzhi noted that he had sent his assistant Yang Siqi (揚滋琪) to further catalog the contents of all the churches. This subaltern reported that someone sympathetic to the Christians had pasted an unsigned sheet of paper at the bottom of the governor-general’s order against Christianity expressing sentiments full of excessive pride and injurious messages.<sup>86</sup> The district magistrate asked his superior to order all civilian and military mandarin officials to unite to find a remedy for the present situation, a solution that would make none in the future dare to go against the laws of the government. (Appendix 1.3)<sup>87</sup> The tone of Fuzhi’s commands reveals the dire situation he believed he faced.

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<sup>85</sup> LEC 3: 348. The translation of the April 19, 1707 “Imperial Instruction to All Missionaries concerning the Certificate or Imperial Patent” is reproduced in Rosso, 242-245.

<sup>86</sup> I inquired in Beijing if any such edicts, documents, or ephemera existed in the archives of the First Historical Archives, and the answer was no.

<sup>87</sup> In LEC 3: 349-350 and in BAV, Borgia Cinese, 316 (8) “G” f° 18.

The two mandarins of the provincial capital, the governor-general and governor, received district magistrate Fuzhi's letter and then issued the following orders (found in Appendix 1.4).<sup>88</sup>

1) the arrest of a licentiate (*un bachelier chrétien*) and other first-level degree holders (*shengyuan*); 2) the discovery of the author of the injurious placard pasted over an official government order; 3) the discovery of the name and surname of "the foreign Master" (Christian priest) and determination of whether he had the imperial patent. Then, governor-general Mamboo sent a secret report to Fuzhi severely chiding him for what had come to pass in Fuan, namely that so many people of the city had been "seduced by the false sect of the Lord of Heaven." He urged him to continue gathering evidence on the number of Christians, their leaders, and the European priest, as well as on the culprit who had desecrated the governor-general's edict. The governor-general Mamboo also sent a message to the mandarin official in charge of the neighboring city of Funing and ordered him to choose an intelligent officer who should be secretly dispatched to Fuan. The mission of this agent was to gather as much information as possible on the disposition of the people. He sent the message with a writing brush attached to it. In the imperial Chinese communication system this indicated a matter of great urgency, which required the messenger carrying it to march day and night to promptly deliver it.<sup>89</sup>

District magistrate Fuzhi immediately replied to his superior, stressing his gratitude for the promise of military support (Appendix 1.5). He detailed the steps he was taking to carry out the governor-general's orders on how to manage the public disturbance caused by Christians. His subaltern discovered a total of eighteen churches, described as new, grand ones and older ones that had been freshly renovated. He observed that the usually economical Chinese gave

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<sup>88</sup> In LEC 3:349 and in BAV, Borgia Cinese, 316 (8-F) f° 17.

<sup>89</sup> In LEC 3: 349 and in BAV, Borgia Cinese, 316 (8-F) f° 17. A footnote in Father de Mailla's 24 October 1724 letter explains the significance of the writing brush, 3: 349.

money to the “pernicious cause” of church-building by pawning their homes and selling off their inheritances to raise the funds. Too many young people entered the religion, and most shocking of all, women went un-chaperoned to lonely places where they whispered their secrets into the ears of Europeans, a practice called “confession.” Literati who professed the religion insulted their rank. Men and women gathered together with impropriety. The followers of Christianity paid no respect to their dead parents, forgetting their family roots and the teaching of China’s sages. Widowers remained single and childless. He reiterated that girls and women who followed the foreign sect remained chaste and resolved never to marry. District magistrate Fuzhi noted that all of the findings of his subaltern concerning communities and individuals engaged with Catholic churches went against the most cherished beliefs of the Chinese and the teaching of their sages, namely, the practice of filial respect for the living and the dead. Recent research on the controversy that the presence of Christian virgins had created in Fuan has shown that the reasons for girls becoming “virgins,” or more precisely *beatas* who resembled European tertiaries such as St. Catherine of Siena, were based upon both religious devotion and the opportunities that Christian religious life offered to young girls who wished to evade the strictures of married life.<sup>90</sup> It was equally true that nuns in Buddhist orders in China, as well as some other religious groups, also evaded strict Confucian moral regulations by becoming nuns or remaining chaste.

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<sup>90</sup> See Eugenio Menegon, “Child Bodies, Blessed Bodies: the Contest Between Christian Virginité and Confucian Chastity,” *Nan Nü* vol. 6, no. 2 (2004), 177-240. Menegon demonstrates that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under Dominican Catholic missionary leadership in Fuan, local women, and particularly elite women, embraced the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven both out of devotion to Christianity and to circumvent strict rules on marriage. Many young girls chose to lead consecrated lives as tertiaries or *beatas*, and they modeled their lives after such famous European tertiaries as St. Catherine of Siena and St. Rosa of Lima. Menegon shows that the lives of religious chastity for followers of Buddhism and other Chinese religious traditions offered a way for women to evade the strictures of married life. Explaining the process of localization or indigenization of *beatas* in Fuan, Menegon observes: “To legitimize virginité as a virtue and a perpetual state of life for some Chinese women, missionaries and their converts ingeniously revised the meaning of filiality, claiming a place for Christian filiality

Between documents one and four in Father de Mailla's letter, a clear repetition of details about the Christian communities, with references to "foreign sects" reported by Chinese officials is found. This repetition is attributable to two reasons. First, the French letter writer appears to have strived to reconstruct a chronology of events. Second, those events likewise had been meticulously recorded and re-recorded word-for-word by officials because in the Chinese bureaucratic system it was the duty of officials at all levels to document thoroughly events. In many ways the Chinese bureaucracy carried out the function that all intelligence-gathering agencies strive to fulfill, namely, the collection of copious details that superior officials in the chain-of-command could analyze. In summary, the document submitted by district magistrate Fuzhi to his superiors (Appendix 1.5) expressed his conviction that the "false sect" of Christianity "perverted" Chinese customs, and he recommended the destruction of all the churches. However, Father de Mailla explained that Fuzhi suddenly changed his position by suggesting that the construction materials in the churches be used to repair his tribunal, which was very old and near ruin. However, the governor-general replied that based on district magistrate Fuzhi's report the church construction materials belonged to the people of the city. Thus, the materials and buildings should be used only for the good of the public.<sup>91</sup>

Father de Mailla wrote that in 1723 the European missionaries in the capital knew nothing about what measures the missionaries in Fuan had taken to calm the nascent persecution.<sup>92</sup> The court missionaries learned that some missionaries had gone into hiding in

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within orthodox boundaries of filial piety (*xiao*), while suggesting that Christianity offered a truer meaning of filiality, subordinated to the divine prerogatives of the Christian God," 219 and 177.

<sup>91</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 2: 504-505 notes that the local magistrates of Fuan played a large role in instigating the anti-Christian movement based on the following premise: A flood during the 59<sup>th</sup> year of the Kangxi reign period had damaged the district government offices, which had been built in the Jiajing (Chia-ching) period (1522-1566) of the Ming. The argument to confiscate church materials and to declare priests as illegal residents in the district because they had no imperial patent was persuasive evidence for this idea.

<sup>92</sup> LEC 3: 350.

Christian homes. They learned that these missionaries had sent some Christian literati to the provincial capital to present the governor-general with a memorial in which they maintained that the churches in question had been built by order of the Kangxi Emperor.<sup>93</sup>

Father de Mailla expressed the opinion in his letter that the governor-general was not persuaded by the Christian literati who traveled to the provincial capital, and for this reason, the governor-general started a persecution of Christianity in the province. Father de Mailla noted that governor-general Mamboo sent a secret memorial to the emperor listing the numerous complaints against Christianity in Fuan, along with evidence that Christianity was causing problems in other villages and cities in the province.<sup>94</sup> During the spring and early summer of 1723 governor-general Mamboo, joined by the governor of Fujian, had worked together to determine the number of churches in the provinces and the number of Europeans living in them, as well as whether they had imperial patents.

Next, the two officials issued a public edict dated 7 September 1723 (YZ 1: 8: 2), a document that is notable because of its careful structure and argument.<sup>95</sup> (Appendix 1.6). This public edict declared that the leaders of the pernicious Christian law should be seized and escorted under guard to Macao. While it summarizes all the complaints against Christianity already cited in the correspondence between district magistrate Fuzhi and governor-general Mamboo, the rationale for expelling missionaries and prohibiting Christianity in China was carefully linked to the necessity for all Chinese to follow the prescribed “sacrifices” (*ji* 祭) for

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Note: a secret memorial would be a palace memorial versus a routine memorial, which the governor-general Mamboo had originally sent.

<sup>95</sup> LEC 3: 351-352.

the spirits of the dead. The two officials also stressed that all those serving in the government of Fujian were obliged to study the teachings contained in the books of the Chinese Classics, especially the *Book of Poetry (Shijing)* and the *Book of History (Shujing)*. These canonical books consisted of treatises on social and political organization, while they also served as guidebooks on ritual propriety. Scholar officials in the Chinese bureaucracy were indeed expected to be specialists in the domain of overseeing and carrying out ritual propriety outlined in the Classical Canon. Governor-general Mamboo's public edict stressed that the Yongzheng Emperor fully advocated the Chinese Classics, including the rites enunciated in them, as the best means to achieve good government, moral rectitude, public security, and reverence for ancestors.<sup>96</sup> (Appendix 1.6)

The public edict of the governor-general and governor called for maximum punishment for all those who went against Qing law. He stressed that those found to be leaders of the pernicious Christian law should be strangled. Anyone who abetted such a person should receive one hundred strokes of the heavy bamboo baton followed by exile of 3,000 *li*.<sup>97</sup> The edict called for the destruction of Christian temples and the expulsion of all missionaries to Macao under proper guard. Additionally, the edict warned that any mandarin official who showed favor to Christianity would be deprived of his rank and punished according to the law.

### III. Yongzheng's Policy toward Manchu Christians

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<sup>96</sup> LEC 3: 352. The French letter used the measurement "300 lieues," which means a league or 4 kilometers. (2.5 miles). A Chinese *li* equals a measure of length reckoned at 360 paces, or about 1890 feet English measure.

<sup>97</sup> European missionaries noted that punishment by the "baton," or heavy bamboo cane, caused severe pain. Sentences of both light and heaving caning could rupture the flesh. Heavy caning could cause death because of the deep wounds inflicted by the many blows.



Another explanation for the emperor's antipathy toward Christianity lay in his association of Manchu Christians with conspirators working against the throne.<sup>98</sup> Ten months after his initial proscription edict against Christianity, he identified and punished opponents he considered a threat to political stability. He first attacked Sunu (蘇努) (1648-1725, also known by his Manchu name, Surinama), a member of the Manchu imperial family, in an edict issued on 8 October 1724 (YZ 2.8.22) on grounds that "Sunu and others harbored in their hearts the old grudge of their ancestors; they purposely sowed dissension among the branches of the Imperial Clan."<sup>99</sup> The emperor clearly distrusted these Manchu relatives, who, he believed, were working to undermine his power. After Sunu and his sons had embraced Christianity, other family members had also followed.

During the first two years of his reign, it appears that the emperor had not associated Sunu and the Christian religion with charges of factionalism. However, the emperor did associate Sunu with the Yintang-Yinsi faction, named after the emperor's rival ninth and eighth brothers. A second charge against Sunu issued on 25 April 1725 (YZ 3.3.13) branded him with the crime of splitting the imperial clan into factions.<sup>100</sup> By the fifth year of his reign, the emperor associated Christianity and factionalism with the Sunu clan. The Board of Punishments

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<sup>98</sup> Beurdeley, 32.

<sup>99</sup> Eugenio Menegon, "*Surniama Tragoedia*. Religious and Political Martyrdom in the Yongzheng Period," unpublished paper given at Symposium on the History of Christianity in China, Hong Kong, October 2-4, 1996, p. 8. Dr. Menegon's translation is from *Qing Shilu* (Qing Veritable Records), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju), 1985, vol 7, juan 23, 370.

Sunu, Surniama, and Surinama all represent romanized forms of his Manchu name. He was close to Prince Yintang (1683-1726) who associated closely with his brother Prince Yinsi (1681-1726), the eighth son. They were known as the Yinsi-Yintang faction, enemies of the Yongzheng Emperor.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

deliberated on the case of the sons of Sunu and demanded that they renounce the seditious religion. Two sons said in testimony: “We have long embraced this religion; therefore, even though we may be put to death, we will not renounce this religion.”<sup>101</sup> The emperor rejected a recommendation to put Sunu to death. He preferred to send Sunu and his son, referred to by missionaries with his Christian name, Joseph Wu-er Chen, into exile, where they died in stark conditions in the northwest. The emperor commented in an edict issued 8 June 1727 (YZ 5.4.19) that adherence to Christianity was not a capital crime and that to execute the Sunu clan would only make them famous in Europe. He meant that news of the execution of Christians by the Chinese government would cause a storm in Europe. While a prince, he had witnessed the visits of European legates and ambassadors in his father’s court, and he knew how fast news from China could travel to Europe.<sup>102</sup>

While observing the difficulties of the Sunu clan, Father Dominique Parenin wrote voluminously and sympathetically about their suffering in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. The priest characterized the family as Christian martyrs.<sup>103</sup> However, the emperor commented about the Sunu clan that they should study hard the “Western Doctrine” (Christianity), and “If they really understand the Worship of Heaven of the Western religion, then naturally they will confess their error.”<sup>104</sup> The emperor also charged the Portuguese missionary Fr. João Mourão,

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<sup>101</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 1: 153.

<sup>102</sup> Indeed, news of the martyrdom of the Sunu clan did travel to Europe. By the year 1750 the Jesuit Fr. Aloys Hillebrandt a consummate playwright, had used the Manchu Christian Sunu as the main character for his drama, *Surniama Tragoedia (The Tragedy of Surinama)*, written specifically for the annual dramatic competition of the Jesuit college of Augsburg and performed the same year. Hillebrandt had read about Sunu in the German edition of the *Lettres édifiantes*. The paper mentioned above in footnote 101 by Menegon provides excellent analysis of this baroque drama.

<sup>103</sup> See LEC 3:366-465. These letters immediately follow Father de Mailla’s 16 October 1724 letter on the proscription of Christianity. See the seven part series in LEC entitled “*Histoire d’une famille chrétienne--Prince du sang. A Pékin, ce 20 août 1724.*”

<sup>104</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 1:155.

tutor, spiritual mentor, and friend of the princes, with the crime of factionalism based on his close association with Prince Yintang and Sunu. The emperor charged that the Jesuit taught the prince Latin as a secret code language for messages.<sup>105</sup> After three days of torture, Fr. Mourão persisted in refusing to confess the charges against him. Then he received the sentence of suicide, which he refused. His Qing captors suffocated him on 24 August 1726.<sup>106</sup> He was the first Jesuit executed in China in the eighteenth century.<sup>107</sup> By the 1730s the Yongzheng Emperor would finally manage to destroy the power base of rival prince-siblings by placing the banner divisions of Manchu and Chinese soldiers under bureaucratic control.<sup>108</sup>

#### IV. Evolution of Manchu Policy: Application of this Policy to Ethnic Groups within the Empire and to “Men from the West”

The early Manchu rulers of China adopted many norms from Chinese social and political life such as Confucian social and legal ethics, along with the state bureaucracy. At the same time, individual rulers continually enacted policies that altered the political body over which they ruled. The numerous reforms enacted by the Yongzheng Emperor have been detailed, and in summary, the most important among them consist of initiatives he undertook relating to fiscal, administrative, moral, and literary reforms.

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<sup>105</sup> Indeed the Jesuits did use numerical codes based on Latin in communications sent to Europe. For further points on the code, see Mungello, *The Great Encounter*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 33.

<sup>106</sup> Elliot, 22.

<sup>107</sup> See Bernard H. Willeke, O.F.M., *Imperial Government and Catholic Missions in China During the Years 1784-1785* (St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 1948), 12-13. Willeke reports that during the general persecution of Christians in 1746, five more Catholic missionaries were put to death. He observed that these extreme punishments were not repeated during the reign of the Qianlong Emperor because the ruler “was apprehensive of his prestige in Europe and feared international complications.”

<sup>108</sup> Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 6.

A prime example of how Manchu rulers clearly had imposed their own imprint on Chinese politics and government is the diarchy (dual administration of the government) they adopted. Under this system Manchus held higher ranked positions than their Chinese colleague officials in the same office.<sup>109</sup> Mark C. Elliot maintains that, during the Qing, ethnicity remained a constant important consideration. He rejects the notion of race or group identities as “primordial.” He defines ethnic identity as something “contingent and malleable,” and he points out that definitions of Manchu identity and “Manchuness” were problematic and shifting. Elliot, along with Evelyn S. Rawski and Pamela Kyle Crossley, question the assumption that thorough “sinicization” of Manchu society took place during the Qing.<sup>110</sup> Elliot’s research, based on analysis of several thousand Manchu palace memorials housed in the First Historical Archives, has shown that these documents were not duplicates of Chinese documents. Rather the Manchu language documents offer markedly different perspectives on Qing history than do Chinese sources.<sup>111</sup>

The early Qing rulers presented themselves as benevolent, enlightened, and munificent emperors by upholding the teachings of the *Ru* or Confucian tradition and by adopting the

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<sup>109</sup> Ch’ien Mu, 127-129 and Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *The Great Enterprise*, vol. I: 872-877.

<sup>110</sup> See Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror, History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 3, 13-4. On page 13 Crossley points out that in Franz Michael’s *The Origin of Manchu Rule in China: Frontier and Bureaucracy as Interacting Forces in the Chinese Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1942), he incorporates the perspectives of Chinese scholars of the early nationalist period in his analysis of the Qing as a “sinicized” regime, and one that dismissed “difference” as contrived or frivolous. She notes that until rather recently the term “sinicization” was regarded as unproblematic by historians of China. She objects to the term on grounds that “the concept’s lack of specificity muddles issues of cause and effect and inhibits questioning of a series of received notions about how and why the Chinese language, Chinese customs, and social structures have spread to various parts of East Asia,” 13. Reference to this question appears in the Introduction in regard to Evelyn S. Rawski’s, “Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (1996), 625-250. For response to this article see, Ho Ping-ti’s “In Defense of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski’s “Reenvisioning the Qing” *Journal of Asian Studies*, 57 no. 1 (February 1998), 123-155.

<sup>111</sup> Elliot, xv.

imperial Confucian lexicon as the foundation of their rule.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, the Shunzhi, Kangxi, and Yongzheng Emperors all practiced shamanism and Buddhism. They adopted a style of rule and approach to religion that may be characterized as a personal approach. Their approach to gaining the allegiance of the members of the many ethnic groups in the empire aimed to persuade subjects about the correctness of their political ideology. The Manchus attempted to speak in the cultural vocabularies of the various cultural groups in the multi-ethnic empire.<sup>113</sup> However, repeated Qing campaigns against the ethnic Zunghars who posed a threat to the Qing in Inner Asia and possible alliance with the Russians against Chinese interests led to deployment of 80,000 troops against the Zunghars. This military campaign resulted in the defeat of their leader Galdan in 1696, who died the next year abandoned by most of his forces. This shows that multi-ethnic rhetoric of the Qing did not always succeed nor match political realities.

The Manchu personal approach to rule and religion fostered an open and tolerant religious atmosphere--except when religions variously referred to as “cult,” “sect,” “doctrine,” or “law” violated the law of the dynasty and were then declared heterodox. The Kangxi Emperor’s style of rule, in particular, is notable for his personal approach, and this approach tremendously influenced the status of the Jesuits and Christians for the following reasons. When the young Kangxi Emperor began his reign (1662-1722) under the Oboi regency, he made his first move to consolidate his power at age thirteen, as his father had also done. By age fifteen he deposed the Regent Oboi in 1669 with the help of his grandmother and a group of Manchu guard officers. The gifted young emperor was extremely open to European learning, and throughout his reign he enjoyed being tutored by Jesuits in mathematics and sciences. He continually questioned the

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<sup>112</sup> Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*, 232.

<sup>113</sup> Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 10.

Jesuits about life across the Western Sea, or *xiyang*. Wills maintains that the young emperor dramatically favored the Jesuits to distinguish his regime from that of his Regents.<sup>114</sup>

The Kangxi Emperor acquired knowledge about European politics, culture, and religion from his Jesuit “teachers,” whom he granted imperial patronage in the form of gifts and cash. The patron-priest relationship of the Manchu emperors with erudite European priests appears similar to the *chö-yön* (priest-patron, *mchod yon*) relationship practiced during the Mongol Yuan period—one characterized by a close relationship of religious teaching between patron ruler and priest.<sup>115</sup> However, Manchu rule recognized the *cakravartin*, or Buddhist kingly ideal of political and religious leadership, along with the Confucian ideal.<sup>116</sup> The 1652 visit of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) to Peking who traveled there to recognize the Shunzhi Emperor as “a *cakravartin* world-ruler aimed at unifying Tibet, Mongolia, and China into a single Buddhist empire” provides further evidence of the complexity of questions relating to religious, ethnic, and political alliances during the Qing.<sup>117</sup> The Jesuits strived to fit into and survive in this setting.

Evidence of how the Shunzhi and Kangxi Emperors closely welcomed Jesuit teachers into their personal quarters shows that these Manchu rulers patronized the Men from the West within the traditions of Manchu ethnicity and Qing rule that viewed outsider groups as capable of fitting into the Qing empire. This openness is in sharp contrast to the manner in which the Ming ruler Wanli shunned the Westerners. On the other hand, it is evident that the Jesuits continually interpreted Manchu imperial interest in their religion in hopeful terms parallel to the important

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<sup>114</sup> Wills, *Embassies and Illusions*, 114.

<sup>115</sup> John T. Davenport, trans. *Ordinary Wisdom, Sakya Pandita's Treasury of Good Advice* (Boston: Wisdom Publications), 2000, 4.

<sup>116</sup> Rawski, “Presidential Address,” 835.

<sup>117</sup> Patricia Berger, “Religion” in *China, The Three Emperors*.

Christian precedent of the conversion of the emperor Constantine (reign 306-337 C.E.), one that in the West marked a transition between classical and medieval Europe, as well as a transition from pagan religions to Christianity and the process of Christianization of Europe.

The early Manchu rulers were patrons of diverse religious groups. For example, the Yongzheng Emperor supported Lamaists, Daoists, and Buddhists. However, the early Qing rulers clearly wanted the Christians to fit into the diverse religious groups recognized and tolerated by the Qing. The third emperor, as well as his son Qianlong (r. 1736-1796), practiced Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. They also supported shamanistic rituals.<sup>118</sup> The language these rulers used in bureaucratic edicts, as well as the likenesses they ordered painted of themselves, presented them as multi-faceted sages. Both the Yongzheng and Qianlong Emperors patronized diverse religious communities that validated Qing rule and helped construct the emperors' identities in linear time and in "imperial non-time." Peter Burke offers discussion on this conflation of imperial time, which he calls "medallic time" versus "the time of events" in *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*.<sup>119</sup> As noted in the Introduction, a heroic image of Minerva, the Roman goddess of war, aptly serves as a visual metaphor to introduce the importance of the spirit of scientific inquiry in the seventeenth century. Rottmayr's painting "The Triumph of Science and the Arts" represents a conflation of time, that is imperial Roman time and early modern European time. The painting also attests to the importance that myth played in the formation of European identity.

During the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor, he constantly engaged in "...a process of constant revision of the imperial narrative," and an example of this revision is the emperor's

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<sup>118</sup> Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*, 224.

<sup>119</sup> Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 3 and 34-35.

devotion to fostering moral perfection.<sup>120</sup> A set of paintings that has received much attention by historians and art historians serves as an illustration of the Yongzheng Emperor's heroic *cakravartin* identity as ruler over multiple ethnic and religious groups. The two sets made by anonymous court painters are entitled "The Pleasures of the Yongzheng Emperor"

(*Yongzhengdi xingletu* 雍正帝行樂圖).<sup>121</sup> This set contains portraits of the imperial person in a variety of settings and garbs, in which he embodies multiple personas: Manchu warrior, Turkish Prince, Daoist hermit, waist-coated European wearing a curly wig and subduing a tiger in a cave, Tibetan hermit in a cave, and, finally, a Confucian scholar reading by a curio cabinet.

The album leaves may best be understood as symbolizing the emperor's identity as a universal ruler, who could embody not only Asian and Central Asians, but also Europeans. The Yongzheng Emperor was the first emperor of China ever to be depicted in Western attire. He started this trend of portraiture in China, one that his son followed.<sup>122</sup> This dressing up may also attest to the curiosity East Asians had for "things foreign." Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), the Japanese general who had outlawed Christianity in Japan in 1587, also "dressed up" in Portuguese costumes.<sup>123</sup> Likewise, Louis XIV hosted Chinese evenings at Versailles with many

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<sup>120</sup> Pamela K. Crossley, (1999), 34-35.

<sup>121</sup> Zhu Cheng Ru 朱诚如, ed., *Qingshi Tudian*, (清史圖典 *Qing Pictorial History, A Comprehensive Pictorial History of the Qing Dynasty* Vol. 5, *Yongzheng Reign* (Beijing: Forbidden City Publishing Company, 2002), 173-180 for sixteen leaf set, and 181-187 for fourteen leaf set. I prefer the translation "Pleasures of the Yongzheng Emperor." Wu Hung, "Emperor's Masquerade -- "Costume Portraits" of Yongzheng and Qianlong," *Orientalism*, 26 no. 7 (1995): 25-41, uses the other translation "Costume Portraits." The album also appears in *China: The Three Emperors*, 248-251.

<sup>122</sup> Wu Hung, 25-41.

<sup>123</sup> Conrad Schirokauer, *A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1989), 317-319. Hideyoshi also crucified six Franciscans and eighteen Japanese converts in 1597 after the pilot of a Spanish ship that ran aground in Japan boasted about the powers and ambitions of his king.



“things Chinese,” or *chinoiserie*. Chinese costumes and chopsticks could be found at the king’s table.<sup>124</sup>

These examples of cultural borrowing may be understood on two levels: one, the superficial level of “playing dressing-up or masquerade,” or, two, the interior domain of “transformation.” In the case of the album leaves depicting “The Pleasures of the Yongzheng Emperor,” the different portraits of the emperor represent the notion of the emperor’s identity as supreme ruler over the diverse ethnic groups in his empire. The act of representing himself as his subjects may be interpreted as integrating many bodies into one body. The emperor’s action of clothing himself in a variety of costumes symbolically transforms him and makes him into the enunciator and the object of the sensibilities those costumes represented.<sup>125</sup> Art historian Jan Stuart contends that the first three Qing emperors “...brilliantly employed all the arts as ‘tools for the glorification of the state’ and in this vein devoted unprecedented attention to having their likenesses produced by court painters.”<sup>126</sup>

The Yongzheng Emperor continued to act as patron of the Jesuit missionaries because he knew that these foreigners could provide him with useful services. Secondly, he was acting out theoretical terms of traditional Chinese diplomatic etiquette associated with the tribute system,

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<sup>124</sup> Adolf Reichwein, *China and Europe, Intellectual and Artistic Contacts in the Eighteenth Century* Reprint ed. (Taipei: Ch’eng-Wen Publishing Company), 156.

<sup>125</sup> See Regina Krahl “The Yongzheng Emperor: Art Collector and Patron” in *China, The Three Emperors*, 242-243. Krahl rejects the notion that the album leaves represent “dressing up,” observing that “such frivolity seems out of character for this conscientious ruler.” Krahl suggests that the emperor may have felt the need to present himself as the “polymath” he may not have been in comparison to his father. For this reason, Krahl assesses the commission of these paintings as “...his visionary performance of different roles; and there were many roles he had to fulfill, to satisfy the wide-ranging expectations in his multi-cultural empire.”

<sup>126</sup> Jan Stuart, “Images of Imperial Grandeur” in *China, The Three Emperors*, 66. Stuart points out on the same page how the magnificent costumes of Qing rulers not only expressed Chinese Codes of aesthetic taste, but also displayed conspicuous examples of Manchu ethnicity, such as side openings in robes, horse-shoe cuffs and wide, detachable collars--as well as elaborate headgear, belts, necklaces, and, for the women, the custom of wearing three pierced earrings per lobe.

one that depicted the Son of Heaven as superior to all foreign rulers and their envoys. In this tribute scheme, the emperor granted trading privileges and gifts, but asked for nothing in return because of the superiority of Chinese civilization. The Chinese assumed that “those who came to China could be transformed” (*laihua*來化) by Chinese civilization.<sup>127</sup> However, research that focuses particularly upon the tenth to the thirteenth centuries has challenged this view.<sup>128</sup> Historians who have examined Chinese foreign relations during these three centuries have shown that Chinese dynasties adopted realistic and pragmatic policies toward foreign states. During this time diplomatic parity defined the relations between China and other states. China did not maintain a monolithic policy toward foreigners.<sup>129</sup>

That the Qing government allowed foreigners to run the Astronomical Bureau, in addition to granting them other important positions such as imperial envoy, tutor, and doctor, provides evidence of how early Qing emperors adapted themselves to changing situations regarding internal and external affairs. While the Manchu leaders theoretically adopted terms of the tribute system, they also pragmatically aimed toward achieving goals in dealing with foreigners that suited their own self-interest. The Yongzheng Emperor’s decision to expel most of the Catholic missionaries, but to allow missionaries skilled in science and arts to remain in service to the court, provides evidence of how the Manchus formulated policy based on imperial interest.

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<sup>127</sup> John K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 27.

<sup>128</sup> Morris Rossabi, ed., *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1983, 1-13.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

## V. The Fujian Disturbance in Terms of Manchu Language Documents

The recommendations of the governor-general of Fujian, Gioro Mamboo, may be more clearly understood by considering the contents of a recently published Manchu-language memorial. A Manchu official in the Board of Rites wrote the memorial, dated 16 March 1723 (YZ 1.2.10), which spells out a general policy on Christianity:

[Commoners and prominent people alike] who join these teachings neglect completely their parents, brothers, wives, and daughters, and only respect the Lord of Heaven. In great numbers they are given printed symbols of the Lord of Heaven to paste on their doors, and this is truly a treasonous and heterodox act of great gravity. Without any previous relationship, and without an apparent reason, they distribute money to people, trapping their minds, and they certainly must have some [secret] intention. If we do not forbid [those teachings], they will spread everywhere. Now in the Printing Office for the Imperial Calendar we still need these [Western] people, and thus they should be allowed to continue their service. However, with the exclusion of their servants and cooks, no Manchu, Mongol, Chinese bannerman (*hanjun*) or Chinese, including also the *booyi* [bondservants] and slaves, should be allowed to come and go [from and to their quarters]. Officials and soldiers should be sent to the places where the Westerners live in the capital to exert surveillance over them, while in the provinces local military and civil officials should be given orders to enforce the prohibitions.<sup>130</sup>

It appears that the governor-general of Fujian phrased the provincial level order to proscribe Christianity, issued 4 June 1723, to suit the objectives summarized in this policy statement.

Three main reasons explain the Yongzheng Emperor's resolve to keep the European missionary savants in his court. One, by continuing to patronize the Europeans, he carried out the precedents set by his venerable father and grandfather who had granted the foreign priests the privilege of working as astronomers for the Qing, a function they still excelled at and one the Qing needed. Two, he wished to achieve harmony among the numerous ethnic groups residing in

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<sup>130</sup> Eugenio Menegon, see the chapter "The Mindong Catholic Communities in Historical Perspective, 1632-1863," in *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: The Localization of Christianity in Late Imperial Mindong (Fujian, China)*, Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2002. The translation is Dr. Menegon's and the original document appears in *Yongzhengchao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanse*, (Beijing: First Historical Archivers & Huangshan Publishing, 1998), vol. 1, no. 59, 30-31.

China and among those reaching China's shores. Therefore, the emperor continued to show his grace and beneficence to those foreigners in his court who abided by the social norms of the Qing--as well as its laws. Three, he realized how useful these men were in the sciences, translation services, international relations, and the arts, and for these reasons, he allowed the court Jesuits and other court missionaries to remain in the capital after the first imperial edict proscribed their religion.

The Yongzheng Emperor was such a gracious patron of the court missionaries and expedient ruler that he had handed a copy of the rescript to both Father Kögler and to the local authorities in Guangdong, so they might all consider the problem of Christianity and the presence of the missionaries in China.<sup>131</sup> It appears that the Yongzheng Emperor tolerated the negotiating campaign that the court Jesuits engaged in after the proscription of Christianity because he believed that their participation in court affairs did not pose a serious threat to his court. Likewise, it appears that the emperor was clearly carrying out “guest ritual” (*binli*賓禮)<sup>132</sup> toward the Men from the West. He continued to honor them on such occasions as New Year celebrations, deaths within their mission, scholarly achievements, and occasions of natural disaster and suffering. He honored the missionaries with contributions of cash, silk, rank, imperial foods, and special funds--even after his 1724 imperial proscription edict of Christianity.

The Yongzheng Emperor himself articulated the reason for his imperial edict against Christianity during an unexpected imperial audience that he granted to court missionaries in 1724. The ruler said that he had observed how quickly Christian churches had spread during his

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<sup>131</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 1: 138-139.

<sup>132</sup> For early descriptions of “guest ritual” see John Steele, *The I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial 2* vols., (London: Probsthain & Co., 1917), especially sections “the Banquet” and “Missions” vol., 1: 122-150 and 189-242; see also Hevia's section on “Guest Ritual” as one of the five imperial rites (*Wuli*), which provided the model for host/guest relations in the Qing, 22-23 [as described by the *Comprehensive Rites of the Great Qing (Da Qing tongli)*]; also see Hevia's Chapter 5 “Guest Ritual and Interdomainal Relations,” 116-133.

father's reign, but had not dared to bring up this matter. However, now that he had received information from certain high officials in the provinces reporting on social disorder caused by what he called the "foreign law,"<sup>133</sup> he declared that he was compelled to act decisively as the head of state, stressing that he could no longer act as a private prince.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> LEC 3:364 and see Appendix 1.14. Father de Mailla who was present at this audience and reported on it in the *Lettres édifiantes* used the term "votre loi" (coterminous with the current usage of the term "religion") in noting the words of the emperor. It is impossible to now determine what term the emperor actually used: it may have been *jiao* or teaching. It probably was not the term *fa* (法), or law, which indicated statutes, laws, or regulations, as well as the religious doctrines or law of the Buddha, which in Sanskrit is expressed by *dharma*.

<sup>134</sup> See LEC 3:363 The Jesuits reported that the emperor said: "*J'ai dû pouvoir au désordre; c'est une affaire de l'empire, j'en suis chargé; et je ne puis ni ne dois agir maintenant comme je faisais lorsque je n'étais que prince particulier.*" A private prince was one who may have held a title and stipend, but he had no decision-making power in affairs of state.

## Chapter 4: Jesuit Responses to the 1724 Imperial Edict Proscribing Christianity and Manchu Countermeasures

This prince is indefatigable in his capacity to work. He works night and day to establish a sage government and to procure the good feeling of his subjects.<sup>1</sup>

### I. Steps the Court Jesuits Took To Counter the 1723 Memorial that Recommended Proscribing Christianity and Manchu Countermeasures

The steps the court Jesuits undertook when they learned of governor-general Gioro Mamboo's anti-Christian memorial confirm the political finesse that these European residents of the Qing had achieved in working within the Manchu-Chinese government and legal system. They initiated a negotiating campaign with court officials to gather information on how the government was responding to the memorial submitted by the Fujian governor-general. They also began defending Christianity by discussing their dilemma with court officials and writing memorials that presented their position. Their numerous defensive actions attest to their ability to navigate within the Chinese political and legal system. They put themselves to work to salvage and defend the Catholic mission, and they sought the assistance of a large network of acquaintances, colleagues, friends, and patrons whom they had cultivated during their years of apostolic and imperial service. Nevertheless, they were unable to convince both scholar-officials and the emperor of their position, which defended Christianity.

The court Jesuits did not obtain a copy of the 22 November 1723 memorial submitted to the emperor by governor-general Mamboo that called for the proscription of Christianity until 27

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<sup>1</sup> LEC 3: 489-495, "*Lettre du Père Contancin au Père Étienne Souciet. Sur le gouvernement de l'empereur Yong-tching. A Canton, le 2 décembre 1725.*" Father Contancin penned this laudatory portrait of the emperor less than a year after the ruler proscribed Christianity.

December 1723. Then, they immediately held a meeting to plan how to deal with the difficulties they faced.<sup>2</sup>

An overview of the various defensive activities the court Jesuits embarked upon included the following steps: They gathered documentation on the events in Fuan, and they contacted officials in the capital and in the provinces to enlist their help. They bribed registry officials to obtain archival copies of earlier rulings of the Board of Rites in order to prove that past imperial rulings favored their religion. They obtained inside information on the deliberations of the Board of Rites. They sought the advice of imperial princes. Finally, they begged the emperor for leniency in a memorial and later during an unexpected audience.<sup>3</sup> The European priests argued that Christianity had achieved legal status in China. They pointed out government rulings that had been passed in their favor. Most importantly, they brought up the case of the Kangxi Emperor who had rejected the 1711 recommendation by Censor Fan Shaozu to proscribe Christianity in the empire.<sup>4</sup>

In the beginning section of Father de Mailla's letter of 16 October 1724 that chronicles the persecution in Fuan, eight government memorials appear. The court Jesuits would not have had easy access to all these documents. However, the fact that Father de Mailla intricately reported on these documents in a letter sent to France ten months after the proscription of Christianity demonstrates that the court Jesuits had reliable sources by which they could obtain

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<sup>2</sup> See LEC 3: 346-366, and Appendix 1.1-1.15.

<sup>3</sup> ARSI holds a Chinese language version of this memorial, see ARSI, Jap. Sin. 179, 310, r.,v., [entitled] "Memorial, sive libellus supplex oblatu a Padre Ignatio Kögler Imperatori," (Memorial, or petition, presented by Father Ignatius Kögler to the Emperor) and it, along with the emperor's rescript, appears in Appendix 1.13-1.12, as separated documents, because in the published French letter, intervening commentary was inserted. A Latin version of this memorial may be found in ARSI, Jap. Sin. 179, ff. 347/r., v. -347/10, r.,v., (with 4 unnumbered pages after 347/9r., "Admodum Reverend in Chro. P. Generalis," [to Angelo Tamburini, S.J.]. [note on top of first page]: "2<sup>a</sup> via (posterior) and "Ign. Kögler iul. 1724, Pekini, aliud exemplar in Jap. Sin 179, 340-347," see pages 347/3r.,v.-347/4r.,v.

<sup>4</sup> LEC 3: 359 and Appendix 1.

government documents. Chinese language facsimiles of the correspondence between the Fuan district magistrate and the governor-general, along with local and provincial rulings and secret messages, are held in the Apostolic Library of the Vatican. The 16 October 1724 letter of Father de Mailla does not say how the court Jesuits obtained the Chinese language correspondence. Those public notices posted in Fuan were copied by unknown persons. The imperial edict was published in public gazettes. Father de Mailla recorded that officials sympathetic to the Jesuits passed on information to them and that the Jesuits routinely bribed clerks to obtain documents. Father de Mailla recorded that the court Jesuits only learned on 27 December 1723 of the routine public memorial governor-general Mamboo had sent to the emperor on 22 November 1723 calling for the complete proscription of the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven.<sup>5</sup>

When the court missionaries learned about the publicly published memorial calling for the proscription of Christianity in Fujian (Appendix 1.6) and of the memorial submitted to the emperor (Appendix 1.7), they all felt greatly alarmed. Father de Mailla admitted what they had all feared: “What we have been aware of for several years, what we have often predicted has finally arrived: our sacred religion has been completely banned in China.”<sup>6</sup>

After this bad news came, they all met together and decided that they must act immediately. They feared governor-general Mamboo, a man of great authority, who held the *jinshi* degree (literatus presented to the emperor) and was a member of a highly ranked Manchu family. An even greater concern of the court missionaries was the disposition of the Yongzheng Emperor toward foreigners, an attitude which Father de Mailla characterized as not at all warm:

The newly reigning emperor did not keep many Europeans about himself, and he appeared little touched by the sciences and other curiosities of foreign countries. This disposition of the emperor had put a space between ourselves and the friends that we had.

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<sup>5</sup> LEC 3: 352-353.

<sup>6</sup> LEC 3: 346.



They were no longer in a position to render us service, and some of them did not want to maintain liaisons with Europeans.<sup>7</sup>

Faced with these dire circumstances, the court Jesuits decided they must find an official who would advocate their cause. The missionaries used the individuals or networks of special relationships that they had cultivated in the spirit of *renqing*, augmented by their political *savoir*, in an effort to lobby members of the court and bureaucracy. Father de Mailla reported that they had been given assurances by the first Manchu president of the Astronomical Bureau, who was an intimate friend of the governor-general of Liang-Guang,<sup>8</sup> Kong Yuxun (孔毓詢), that he would work on their behalf.<sup>9</sup> Father Ignatius Kögler, S.J., the director of the Imperial Astronomical Board, asked his colleague, the Manchu president, to write on behalf of the missionaries to governor-general Kong, which he did in mid October.<sup>10</sup> Governor-general Kong replied that he was reluctant to involve himself in such a “delicate” matter. However, he did write to governor-general Mamboo, and the governor-general of Fujian replied to him that “he

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<sup>7</sup> LEC 3:352.

<sup>8</sup> Liang-Guang is an expression that means the “Two Guang,” and it signifies the two provinces Guangdong and Guangxi, which were administered in Qing times by a governor-general (*zongdu*) who served concurrently as provincial governor of Guangdong (*xunfu*). The city of Canton is presently widely referred to with the pinyin spelling of Guangzhou. The city of Canton has a long and complex history. In the late Ming and early Qing, foreigners were allowed to visit the city to participate in biannual trade fairs. By the late eighteenth-century Westerners were allowed to anchor their ships, have factories, and trade in Canton under the supervision of the Chinese government. A note in the letters explains that Portuguese traders confused the name of the province “Guangdong” with the capital of the province, and began calling the city of Guangzhou “Canton” (which sounded like “Guangdong”), and they also called the province “Canton.”

<sup>9</sup> Governor-general Kong Yuxun (or as cited by Fu Lo-shu K’ung Yü-hsün in Wade-Giles spelling) is identified as a native of Qufu, Shandong, a sixty-sixth generation descendant of Confucius. The English merchants characterized him as “a quiet good mandareen” [cited from Morse, I, 188], Fu Lo-shu, 2: 504. Note that in Fu Lo-shu’s work he uses the term “Board” for “Ministry.”

<sup>10</sup> Father Ignatius Kögler (Dai Jinxian 戴進賢), a Bavarian Jesuit and respected mathematician in the court, arrived in China in 1716 (d. 1746) see Pfister, entry 297; and *Histoire générale*, XI, 395.

was no longer master of this affair,”<sup>11</sup> based on the fact that he had informed his Majesty of the matter and all would have to await his decision.

The 12 January 1724 imperial edict that called for a ban on the practice of the Christian religion by Chinese and the expulsion of Catholic missionaries residing in the provinces represented the emperor’s approval of the memorial submitted by Mamboo, the governor-general of Fujian and Zhejiang, as well as the deliberations and recommendations of the Board of Rites. The court missionaries exerted great efforts to influence the Board of Rites during its deliberations on Mamboo’s memorial, but their efforts failed. The missionaries took the following steps after they had obtained a copy of Mamboo’s memorial (27 December 1723), which called for the expulsion of all missionaries and proscription of Christianity.

The next day, Father Dominique Parennin<sup>12</sup> sent a domestic to a “mandarin friend” to try to learn how his majesty had responded. This official reported to Father Parennin that the emperor’s ruling only called for the expulsion of the European missionaries in the provinces and not those at court. This response made the court missionaries believe that the ruin of the Christian religion had already been secretly concluded between the emperor and governor-general Mamboo.<sup>13</sup>

Father Parennin then contacted a friend on the Board of Rites to gain exact information on the will of the emperor. He noted that the Board of Rites had always been opposed to

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<sup>11</sup> LEC: 3:352.

<sup>12</sup> Father Dominique Parennin (also spelled Parrenin, Perennin, Pernin, Ba Duoming 巴多明) was born in Besançon in 1665. He arrived in Canton in 1698. He was a talented linguist, diplomat, and correspondent with French savants on matters pertaining to China. He converted Manchu princes of the royal family of Sunu. He founded a Latin College at court to train Manchu diplomats and wrote a treatise on anatomy in Manchu. At his death in 1741, he received a grand funeral, supported with funds from the Qianlong emperor, the son of the Yongzheng Emperor. See Pfister, no. 233.

<sup>13</sup> LEC 3:352.

Christianity. The emperor, he discovered, had already sent the memorial to the Board of Rites, and this meant that the members of this board would determine what ought to be done. The European priests believed that they could cite rulings made during the Kangxi reign to provide examples of legal precedents that allowed missionaries to reside in the provinces. Father de Mailla stated this clearly in his letter, commenting that "...the liberty they obtained in former times to preach the law of Jesus Christ... was granted to them by the Board of Rites in a public deliberation, which the former Kangxi Emperor confirmed."<sup>14</sup> They decided to plead with government officials to allow missionaries to remain in the provinces on grounds that these religious men had received imperial patents during the Kangxi reign and resided in China because of favorable rulings from the Board of Rites.

The court Jesuits hoped to establish a legal foundation for the practice of Christianity and for allowing missionaries to legally reside in the provinces. They bribed some registry officials "for a considerable sum" to pull the Kangxi Emperor's orders.<sup>15</sup> Father de Mailla cited these orders, endorsed by the Yongzheng Emperor's father in the thirty-first year of his reign (namely, the so-called Edict of Toleration of 1692), as grounds "that permitted the free exercise of Christianity throughout the empire."<sup>16</sup> The court missionaries also asked the registry officials to extract the order from the registry files written in the fiftieth year of the Kangxi reign (1712), concerning the memorial of Fan Shaozu, the imperial censor who had called for the full

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<sup>14</sup> LEC 3:359.

<sup>15</sup> LEC 3: 354

<sup>16</sup> LEC 3: 354 and Appendix 1 (shortly after document 1.7).

proscription of Christianity, one that had not received the support or endorsement of the Kangxi Emperor.<sup>17</sup>

According to Father Parennin's assessment of their strategy, the court missionaries believed they had found good grounds for proving that missionaries with imperial patents had the right to reside in the provinces.<sup>18</sup> Their thorough network of relationships with important people gave them renewed confidence that the impending deliberations of the Board of Rites scheduled to meet on 3 January 1724 might rule in their favor by rejecting Mamboo's recommendations, even though they had expressed despair earlier over the possibility that the emperor and governor-general Mamboo had secretly decided to destroy the mission. Father de Mailla wrote: "What assured us was that the prince, the twelfth son [Yintao] of the late Kangxi Emperor, who was head of the Board of Rites and two of his assessors, had promised us their protection."<sup>19</sup> Contrary to their expectation, an official in the of Board of Rites blocked consideration of the imperial patents--even though they had been forwarded to the Board of Rites after the court Jesuits had bribed a scribe in the registry. During the deliberations of the board, the Chinese

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<sup>17</sup> LEC 3:251-252. Also see "Lettre du P. D'Entrecolles au P. de Broissia. Progrès des travaux apostoliques, difficultés toujours renaissantes au-devant des missionnaires. Calomnies répandues de toutes parts contre eux. A Jao-tcheou, le 10 mai 1715." 3:239-253. This letter has been referred to in Chapter Two and cited as an example of deliberate omission of evidence in Jesuit reports.

In a personal correspondence with Ad Dudink, he pointed out that it also appears in the 1810 Toulouse edition of the LEC volume 28:318-321. He noted that it is only a sketchy translation of Fan's memorial, which was translated into French by Father Pierre Vincent de Tartre and given to Father D'Entrecolles. In 2006, I consulted an eighteenth-century facsimile of Fan's memorial in the *Bibliothèque Nationale, Chinois* 9255.

As noted in Chapter Two, the censor Fan Shaozu presented a memorial in December 1711 asking for a full proscription of Christianity, but this was not approved by the Kangxi Emperor. Instead, the emperor reaffirmed the so-called Edict of Toleration for missionaries who had been granted an imperial patent, also known as license, permit, or *piao*. The text of this memorial (issued on 23 December 1711 or Kangxi 50. 11.14) as well as the subsequent deliberations and rescript (issued on 29 January 1712, or Kangxi 50. 12.22) are not found in the *Shilu*. Other copies and translations may be found in *Sinica Franciscana*, Anastasius van den Wyngaert (ed.) *Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum Saeculi XIII et Siv*, Firenze: Curia Generalis O.F.M., 1929, Vol VIII, p 928 (n. 3), 934 (no. 13-14) SF IX, pp. 257-258 (no. 10). See *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 518.

<sup>18</sup> LEC 3: 54 and Appendix 1 (shortly after document 1.7).

<sup>19</sup> LEC 3:354 or Appendix 1 in text between documents 1.7 and 1.8.

president and the assessor who were both friends of Father Parennin refused to sign the draft document containing the board's deliberations on Mamboo's memorial. Finally, after two days of stalling, the prince-president Yintao, the twelfth brother of the emperor, asked them why the affair had reached no conclusion. The two mandarin officials feared trouble if they did not sign the deliberations, so they gave in and signed.

The deliberation of the Board of Rites (Appendix 1.8)<sup>20</sup> voted to approve Mamboo's memorial on all the points he made against Christianity. The board approved the expulsion to Macao of missionaries in the provinces; the retention and transfer to the capital of any missionaries helpful to the court; the interdiction of the practice of Christianity among Chinese; and the transformation of churches into public buildings. The Board of Rites reiterated that any missionaries holding an imperial patent had to return that patent to the Imperial Household Department (*neiwufu*), where the patent should be burned. Such a harsh order by the Board of Rites revealed the severity of the board's position regarding foreign missionaries in China, as well as the government's disregard for the policies adopted toward Christianity in the previous reign. The conveyance of the memorial of governor-general Mamboo to the Board of Rites, and the board's subsequent deliberations, illustrates the precedent-building function of the routine memorial system. However, the announcement of the revocation of the missionaries' patents--to be followed by their burning--illustrates that board members neither had sympathy for the missionaries nor interest in perpetuating the precedent established by the Kangxi Emperor. The ruling of the board contained further strict warnings for mandarin officials to desist from assisting any Christians or missionaries in any manner, stipulating that such behavior would be punished according to Qing law.

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<sup>20</sup> LEC 3:354.

On 10 January 1724, the emperor was given the board's deliberations. The Yongzheng Emperor immediately endorsed the board's deliberations.<sup>21</sup> (Appendix 1.9) The emperor wrote on the document with his vermilion brush: "What has been determined by the Board of Rites must be done...."<sup>22</sup> The imperial rescript resulted in an imperial decree (*zhi* 旨) being issued against Christianity. The emperor additionally noted that he feared that "people might insult them [the foreigners]," so he ordered their safe passage to either the court or Macao. He further allowed the missionaries in the provinces a period of several months and up to one half year to leave their missions and retire to Macao.

During the deliberations of the Board of Rites, the court Jesuits had begun to realize that their hopes of persuading the members of the board to rule favorably on the matter of Christianity appeared slim. Therefore, they decided that they must beseech the emperor for his compassion. However, receiving an imperial audience was not easy. They believed their best hope lay in seeking the assistance of the thirteenth son of the late emperor, Prince Yi or Yinxiang the favorite brother of the Yongzheng Emperor, who had been raised to the first-degree title of Prince Yi immediately after Yinzhen became emperor.<sup>23</sup> The missionaries elected three

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<sup>21</sup> LEC 3:355.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Yinxiang, (胤祥, 1686-1730, 13th son of the late emperor), later called Prince Yi, received the first-degree designation of Yi (怡親王). The emperor also bestowed princedoms on several half-brothers, including the 13<sup>th</sup> son of the late emperor, Yinsi (胤禛), his arch enemy. Prince Yi had a prominent official career. He served as head of the mismanaged Board of Revenue, where he discovered missing funds totaling nearly three million silver taels. He worked to rectify fiscal irregularities and won the confidence of the emperor. He directed river conservancy projects in Zhili and won further accolades from his brother the emperor. Prince Yi, his son, and grandson all contributed significantly to Qing political life. The grandson Prince Yi Xin attempted to renew negotiations with the French and British in 1860 before the combined Anglo-French forces retaliated against perceived diplomatic irregularities (the arrest of Parkes by Caiyuan) by burning the imperial pleasure park, Yuan Ming Yuan, to which Jesuit artists had made significant contributions in engineering, architecture, and art. The palace of Yinxiang, called Yi Wang Fu, (怡王府), situated in *Meizha hutong*, (煤炸胡同), was converted into a Buddhist monastery in 1734.

representatives to seek the protection of Prince Yi, the Jesuit Fathers de Mailla and the talented cartographer Ehrenbert Xavier Fridelli,<sup>24</sup> along with Brother Giuseppe Castiglione,<sup>25</sup> whose extraordinary expertise in painting had won him the respect of both Prince Yi and his imperial brother. This Italian lay Jesuit served three emperors (Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong) as an admired court painter. He also played a prominent role in helping to draft memorials pleading for the cause of Christianity and presenting those memorials in court at the beginning of the Qianlong era (see Chapter Five).

To garner the protection of Prince Yi, the Fathers de Mailla, Fridelli, and Brother Castiglione waited outside the door of the prince's lodging early on the morning of 6 January 1724. They entreated a eunuch attendant to ask the prince to speak to them. The prince consented. When the missionaries met face to face with Prince Yi, they begged him for his protection. Prince Yi replied that the emperor had handed over responsibility of the case of the Europeans not to just himself, but also to his brother, Prince Yinlu, the sixteenth prince, who was also a favorite of the emperor and had been given the title of Prince Zhuang.<sup>26</sup>

Prince Yi was not sympathetic to the missionary delegates who presented themselves on his doorstep. He complained to them:

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<sup>24</sup> Ehrenbert Xavier Fridelli, S.J. (Fei Yin 費隱, 1673-1743), an Austrian Jesuit. See Pfister, no. 274.

<sup>25</sup> Brother Giuseppe Castiglione, S.J. (Lang Shining, 郎世寧, 1688-1766), an Italian Jesuit lay brother. See Pfister, no. 293. This outstanding artist who incorporated Western perspective in his paintings that also followed traditional Chinese technique became a favorite of the three emperors, Qing inhabitants called “Kang-Yong-Qian.” He painted notable masterpieces for the Qianlong Emperor. See Nie Chongzheng, “Qing Dynasty Court Painting,” in *China, The Three Emperors*, ed. Rawski, 80-81, where Nian Xiyao (fl. Early eighteenth century), the well-known painter and editor of the famous book *Shixue* (The Study of Visual Art), wrote in the preface of the treatise: “I, Nian Xiyao, conversed with Guiseppe Castiglione several times and was then able to paint Chinese paintings using European skills. I started with the method of determining the vanishing point and drawing the line and afterwards I could paint various subjects without difficulty.”

<sup>26</sup> The 16<sup>th</sup> prince was the 16<sup>th</sup> son of the late emperor, Yinlu (胤祿). Yinlu was elevated by his half-brother the Yongzheng Emperor to be the second Prince Zhuang, which bestowed upon him a fief, alternatively referred to as appanage or principality. He sided with his brother Yinzhen during the succession struggle and was present at the death of the Kangxi Emperor. Fan Chao-ying notes that the Yongzheng Emperor may have elevated his brother to such high rank as a reward for his support, ECCP, 925-926.

What pain and what fatigue it [your affairs] gave to the late emperor, my father! What would you say if our people went to Europe and there wished to change the laws and customs established by your ancient sages?<sup>27</sup>

Prince Yi further added: “The emperor, my brother, wishes to put an absolute end to all of this in the most efficient manner possible.” This statement dashed the hopes of the missionaries who responded: “There is no more to dispute--all is finished.”<sup>28</sup>

Even though they feigned defeat in the presence of Prince Yi, they managed to hand a copy of an imperial patent to him that had been issued by the Kangxi Emperor. The patent provided clear proof that many missionaries had received imperial permission to reside in the provinces. Next, the court Jesuits used another ruse to gain the prince’s protection. They said that they were mere foreigners with little knowledge of how the various boards in the government carried out business. They compared themselves to orphans and entreated the prince’s protection based on their loyal service to Prince Yi’s father, the Kangxi Emperor. Prince Yi told them that all the Europeans should appear at his palace the next morning, and he would listen to them at his leisure.<sup>29</sup>

The missionaries immediately all met together to discuss how to reply to any questions the prince might ask, so they might exude an aura of solidarity. However, on the next day, the Feast of Epiphany, the sixteenth prince did not show up for the meeting, and the thirteenth prince, Prince Yi, told them to come again the next day. He specified that only three or four Europeans with the best skills in Chinese should appear. Finally, on the evening of 7 January, they gained an audience with Prince Yi in his palace. The prince’s remarks echoed his previous observations:

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<sup>27</sup> LEC 3:357.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.



I know that your affairs have reached a point of great difficulty. I saw the other day the accusations of the *zongdu* of Fujian. They are extreme, and your disputes concerning our customs have caused you a lot of damage. What would you say if we went to Europe and we conducted ourselves as you conduct yourselves here? Would you bear this? In time I will get information on this affair, but I can declare that nothing will be missing in China if you leave and that your absence will cause no loss here. We retain no one here by force, nor do we tolerate those who break our laws and attempt to destroy our customs.<sup>30</sup>

The missionaries recorded that the prince's words were merely a repetition of the words and opinion of the emperor. So they next presented him with a memorial that they had prepared that justified Christianity, along with a catechism entitled *Yoyné*.<sup>31</sup> They had chosen the catechism carefully from the earliest sinological encyclopedia to appear in Europe, the *China Illustrata* by Athanasius Kircher. They aimed to persuade Prince Yi that Christianity was widely accepted in countries around the world and contained no subversive teachings. Prince Yi asked to see a copy of an imperial patent, and Father Parennin presented him with one. Prince Yi was surprised to learn that those missionaries who received patents had promised not to return to Europe. Prince Yi then wanted to know if all patents contained the same phrasing and promise "not to return to Europe." Upon learning of this clause, he indicated that "changes" might be made, and he counseled the missionaries to remain tranquil while he endeavored to be of service.<sup>32</sup> Despite the missionaries' diplomatic responses to Prince Yi's questions, just two days later the Board of Rites presented their deliberations to the emperor, who endorsed those deliberations, which resulted in the imperial proscription decree issued on 12 January 1724.

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<sup>30</sup> LEC 3:356-357.

<sup>31</sup> Kircher, Athanasius, S.J., *China Illustrata: with sacred and secular monuments, various spectacles of nature and art and other memorabilia*, trans. Dr. Charles D. Van Tuyl (1667, Amsterdam; reprint, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 114-120. The translation from Latin by Tuyl entitled "Compendium of the Divine Law" appears to be the catechism, 114-120. The characters and meaning of the term *Yoyné* have yet to be identified.

<sup>32</sup> LEC 3:356.

Even though it appeared that Prince Yi could not help them, the court Jesuits continued to seek his help. They next attempted to present him with a memorial for the emperor on 13 January, but were unsuccessful.<sup>33</sup> The following day a eunuch accepted the memorial and took it to the prince, but he refused to accept it. He said he did not want to keep it in his residence, a proof of the sensitive nature of the Europeans' memorial. He relayed the message by his eunuch that the missionaries should appear the next day outside the gates of the emperor's palace.<sup>34</sup>

On 15 January 1724 the missionaries went to the gates of the imperial palace at eleven, and the same eunuch now accepted the petition. However, it was not presented to the emperor because Prince Yi believed that what the missionaries had written might provoke the emperor and make him feel as if the missionaries were entering into a dispute with him. When Prince Yi saw the priests the next day he told them this. He pointed out that even though they gratefully acknowledged the Yongzheng Emperor's ruling, one that allowed the missionaries the six-month period to leave for Macao and addressed the emperor as "our prince and our father," they also dared to stress that the Yongzheng Emperor's ruling annulled his father's ruling on imperial patents. The missionaries had also dared to warn the emperor that when Europeans back in Europe read of such a ruling they would wonder why the practice of Christianity in China was considered such a crime.<sup>35</sup>(Appendix 1.10) For these reasons, the missionaries followed Prince Yi's advice and edited the memorial the same night and presented it to him at his palace the next day on 17 January, just as the prince was about to set out on a three-day hunting expedition, a Manchu pleasure that combined martial exercise with the hunt.

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<sup>33</sup> LEC 3:357.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> LEC 3: 357-358.

In the meantime, the deliberations of the Board of Rites, the emperor's endorsement, and the imperial edict were published and distributed throughout the provinces on 11 February 1724 (YZ 1.1.17). Public gazettes immediately published news of the edict, and officials without delay began seizing church property.<sup>36</sup> In Beizhili, the province around the capital, the mandarin official of Wen'an district seized the French church and turned it into a granary. At Gubeikou, near the Great Wall, officials seized church paintings (see last page of Appendix 1).

During this turmoil, the missionaries in the capital had learned from their colleagues in Canton that the governor-general there had declared that all missionaries in Canton must immediately leave. But by the beginning of June 1724 the missionaries doubted that officials were following the emperor's orders that allowed for a six-month period to exit China and guaranteed the missionaries' safe passage. The court Jesuits believed it to be in the interest of all the missionaries to write again to their protector, Prince Yi, to remind him of what he had said. They pointed out that the majority of ships bound for Europe embarked from Canton, not Macao. They wanted to request that the emperor grant permission to allow those too old to travel the privilege of remaining in Canton. However, Father de Mailla noted: "The principal reason we wished to remain in Canton, but we did not mention, was that we wanted one door open for our China mission, so that in the future missionaries could again enter."<sup>37</sup>

After some four months, the court Jesuits succeeded in presenting a new memorial to the emperor by way of Prince Yi on 24 June 1724, but only after they had made corrections to it based on the prince's suggestions. Prince Yi demanded that the name of the sixteenth prince

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<sup>36</sup> See, Laamann for extant gazettes and rare gazettes held in Japan, 166-165. Gazettes were journals that contained copies of government business, which all literate people could use as a source of information on government affairs. The Jesuits cited from these publications.

<sup>37</sup> LEC 3:361.

(Yinlu) be added to their memorial because the emperor had charged this brother with also overseeing the affairs of the missionaries. Prince Yi earnestly told the missionaries what he thought about the contents of their memorial. First, he reminded them that before his brother had come to the throne; he was deeply attached to Buddhism and Daoism, and cautioned them to listen closely to him.<sup>38</sup> While he admitted that his late father, the Kangxi Emperor, had especially favored and protected the foreigners, he pointed out that his brother, the present emperor, was unsure of what policy to continue regarding the Europeans. He told the missionaries that since this affair had arisen in Fujian the emperor had received more than twenty memorials from literati critical of the Europeans and Christian converts.

Prince Yi's main advice to the missionaries was to restrict what they wrote and to stress that ever since the times of Matteo Ricci the Europeans had never done anything against the customs of the empire. He advised them to supplicate the emperor by pointing to all the hardships the missionaries were suffering. He promised to read the draft and correct it if necessary. Prince Yi informed them that he had to leave Peking without specifying his business, and he left the responsibility to his brother Prince Zhuang.

The court missionaries' newly drafted memorial to the emperor dated 1 July 1724 closely followed Prince Yi's advice. It began by invoking the name of their famous predecessor Matteo Ricci.<sup>39</sup> They stressed how all missionaries for two hundred years had followed the customs of China. (Appendix 1.12) The memorial supplicated the emperor to allow the missionaries to remain in Canton rather than exiling them to Macao. They appealed to the "good and generous

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<sup>38</sup> In Father de Mailla's letter the terms "*heshang* and *daoshi*" (spelled in archaic romanization as "Hochang and Taossé") are used. These terms are identified in another document entitled "*État de la religions dans l'empire de la Chine en 1738*" LEC 3: 726-736, which describes the continuing problems for Christianity after the Yongzheng Emperor's death. *Heshang* and *daoshi* refer to Buddhist and Daoist clergy. The Yongzheng Emperor was deeply devoted to Chan Buddhism, widely known in the West from its Japanese name, Zen Buddhism.

<sup>39</sup> LEC 3:362-363. As noted earlier 1583 to 1724 equaled a 141 year presence in China.

heart of His Majesty, one that envelops and protects all things within and beyond the seas.”<sup>40</sup>

They called themselves his loyal subjects and called for his protection and grace.

Court rules newly established by the third emperor did not allow the missionaries to enter the interior section of the palace, the location of the inner court.<sup>41</sup> Prince Yi ordered the mandarin in charge of presenting memorials to the emperor to accept the memorial. But this official of the first rank believed it went against government rules because only certain officials could address memorials to the emperor. He accepted the memorial upon Prince Yi’s orders and carried it to the emperor. The emperor immediately wrote his response, which required that governor-general Kong Yuxun of Canton not press the Europeans to leave for Macao. He agreed that the order to expel the Europeans to Macao could be deferred for some time and sought the opinion of the local authorities in Canton on the matter. The emperor’s written response concluded with the words: “If they judge that it is not greatly harmful to the government or the people, they may allow the Europeans to live in Canton. On this matter consult well with each other and report to me!” (Appendix 1.13)

With this order, the court missionaries won a small victory because the emperor deferred the expulsion of the missionaries to Macao and allowed them to go to Canton. However, he also ordered the following officials to deliberate and report to him on the matter: the governor-general of Guangdong, the general of Manchu soldiers, and the general of Chinese soldiers. Governor-general Kong’s memorial written in response to the emperor’s order (submitted on 14 December 1724) stated that although he believed that the missionaries possessed useful skills in calendar-making, mathematics, and other technology, he considered that they practiced “...a religion

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<sup>40</sup> LEC 3:363. The wording of this memorial contains phrases similar to the history of the Jesuit mission in China found in the third memorial of the *Ruijianlu*.

<sup>41</sup> LEC 3:363. This is another example of how the third emperor strengthened his inner court and shielded it in secrecy.

which is basically not the teaching of our Chinese sages. Our foolish people may easily believe and hearken to it. This is not a permanent policy....”<sup>42</sup> The emperor endorsed governor-general Kong’s memorial with the words:

Originally We did not feel extreme detestation or intense hatred toward the European religion, believing only that it could not contribute to the way of our Chinese sages. We merely followed public opinion [in sending the Catholics to Macao]. You should carefully consider whether they are really harmful; if not, then We should be gracious in every respect to strangers from a foreign land. If you do not understand Our [gracious] idea, but press them too harshly, you do wrong. Thus, We have spoken!<sup>43</sup>

The following year on 3 February 1725 the Board of Rites approved Kong’s memorial and reported its deliberations. The Board approved that the missionaries could reside in Canton, citing the reason that Macao was very small and European ships did not frequent its shallow waters while larger numbers of foreign ships anchored at Canton. However, the ruling forcefully stated the following points: that only missionaries of advanced age could reside in Catholic churches, that no missionaries could continue to spread the foreign religion, that the majority of Catholic churches in Canton be turned over to public use, and that Chinese Christians renounce the Catholic religion. The Jesuits, who were overjoyed at this victory of being allowed to remain in Canton, never clearly reported on the other negative points of the ruling in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, namely, the reaffirmation of seizure of Church properties and the clear statement that missionaries should no longer preach among the Chinese.<sup>44</sup>

When the court Jesuits and court missionaries received news that the emperor had allowed the missionaries to reside in Canton, they quickly requested that their thanks be relayed

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<sup>42</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 2:139, English translation by Fu Lo-shu (cited from *Yongzheng chao zhupi yuzhi* 雍正朝朱批諭旨, reprinted in Peking, 1929, 60 ze 3,27 a-b.)

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 2:139-140.

to the emperor. They were surprised that the emperor summoned three of them, the Fathers Parennin, de Mailla, and Bouvet, for an unexpected audience, which lasted for more than a quarter of an hour. Father de Mailla believed that the emperor had studied the matter well for he rapidly gave the moral justification for his actions and did not solicit any response from the Jesuits. He then noted that when Matteo Ricci first came to China in the Ming, the number of Christians was extremely small. But during the reign of his father the religion had expanded with rapidity and churches had sprung up all over China. He stressed that when he was merely Prince Yinzhen, the emperor's fourth son, he had observed this phenomenon, but had said nothing. He charged that his father had lost the respect of some literati for treating the Westerners so warmly. He warned that they might fool his father, but not him. The emperor clearly stated what he believed would happen to China in the future if more and more ships brought foreign missionaries and other foreigners to his empire: He feared that China would become subject to foreign kings.<sup>45</sup> Or, in other words, the Yongzheng Emperor believed that the prediction his father had made in 1716 that the Middle Kingdom might suffer injury from overseas countries, for example, Europe, would come true.<sup>46</sup>

The emperor then turned to international relations. He brought up the question of China's relations with states and tribes inhabiting his empire's borders. He proclaimed to the missionaries that it was totally his decision to determine who could live and trade within the boundaries of China. The emperor declared that he was setting a precedent on foreign relations, one that his sons and grandsons should follow when they inherited the throne. He declared that he did not care at all that his new policy reflected the policy of the Ming dynasty Wanli Emperor toward

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<sup>45</sup> LEC 3:363-364.

<sup>46</sup> See Fo Lo-shu, 1:123 and as introduced in Chapter Three.

foreigners.<sup>47</sup> In conclusion, he stressed to the missionaries that he wanted no foreigners living in the provinces, and, if those in Peking or Canton gave him any future troubles, he declared that they too would be expelled.<sup>48</sup>

The Yongzheng Emperor concluded his speech on international relations by reminding the missionaries that he had accommodated the missionaries concerning a Christian mandarin in Liaodong when he was only a prince. The emperor hastily added that he had little time to see the missionaries because he was now observing the three-year mourning period for his father and commented that perhaps in ordinary times, he might be able to pay more attention to them. He reminded them that he worked day and night for the good of the empire, and had time to see neither his family nor the empress.

During this audience, Father Parennin managed to speak in defense of Christianity directly to the emperor. When the emperor could not immediately recall the name of the Russian ambassador Lorenz Lange during the emperor's discourse on relations with bordering states, Father Parennin, who often had served as an interpreter for the late Kangxi Emperor, immediately supplied Lange's name when the Yongzheng Emperor cued the old missionary for the name. Father Parennin had been responsible for explaining to Lange the contents of Manchu-language documents. The French priest stressed to the Yongzheng Emperor that his father had allowed missionaries to reside in the provinces because they were "religious men" who had sworn to never leave China. On the other hand, his father the Kangxi Emperor had prohibited foreign men from pursuing commerce in China on the grounds that, if they freely came and went across the borders and if they caused troubles, they would have to be punished according to

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<sup>47</sup> The Wanli Emperor of the Ming (r. 1572-1620), represented in archaic romanization in the letters as the *Ouan-ly* Emperor.

<sup>48</sup> LEC 3:364.



Chinese law. The Kangxi Emperor anticipated that such free travel of merchants would cause trouble between his government and the government of the tsar.<sup>49</sup>

According to Father de Mailla, the emperor realized that Father Parennin's response refuted the comparison the emperor had just made concerning the Russians. In other words the present emperor said that only he would decide who could reside in China. Father Parennin tried to point out that the late Kangxi Emperor had set a precedent of allowing the European religious, who pledged to remain in China until their deaths, to live in the provinces.

However, his majesty ignored Father Parennin's reference to the Kangxi precedent.<sup>50</sup> He ordered the missionaries to relate all that he had said in the audience to their colleagues. Then, Father Parennin dared to address him. He said he hoped that the emperor believed that all the missionaries had not come on such a long and arduous journey from Europe to China with malicious plans in their hearts. The emperor curtly commented on the case of Prince Sunu, the ranking Manchu Christian prince who had been exiled for crimes against the state. Father de Mailla commented that the rough manner in which the ruler spoke of Prince Sunu made it appear that the emperor had already made the resolution to extinguish Christianity. Father de Mailla's letter of 24 October 1724 ends with a description of the suffering that missionaries and Christians endured as a result of the imperial rescript that outlawed Christianity, forbade missionaries to live in the provinces, and ordered the seizure of churches.<sup>51</sup>

Father de Mailla's letter intimately described how thoroughly the court Jesuits comprehended the manner in which government decisions emanating from the boards were

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid. For translation, see Appendix 1.15.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> LEC 3:365-366.

based on previous rulings (or precedents) as well as on Qing administrative and legal Codes. Additionally, the letter revealed how the court Jesuits carried out court rituals (or, *li*) and composed their memorials according to literary and stylistic custom. A handwritten Chinese language memorial that appears in French in the 24 October 1724 de Mailla letter and was composed and edited by the court Jesuits illustrates how these Men from the West followed conventions of the court and bureaucracy. This memorial held in the Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome, is entitled “Memorial, sive libellus oblatus supplex a Ignatio Kegler Imperatori” (Memorial, or petition, presented by Father Ignatius Kögler to the Emperor),” and the Portuguese phrase “veyo de Chinkiam” or “it came from Zhenjiang” appears at the top of the page.<sup>52</sup> In fluent documentary style Chinese, the Jesuits presented their case to the emperor, pointing out that no grounds existed to condemn the Men from the West and begging for the emperor’s leniency. This memorial appears to be the one that earlier Prince Yinxiang had called quarrelsome and in need of revision.<sup>53</sup>

The court Jesuits actually duplicated patterns of political behavior the Chinese and Manchus themselves practiced such as lobbying, bribing, information gathering, and networking, as well as participation in court rituals, which expressed respect and obeisance. Such political

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<sup>52</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 179, 10, r, v, “Memorial, sive libellus oblatus supplex a Padre Ignatio Kegler Imperatori,” (Memorial, or petition, presented by Father Ignatius Kögler to the Emperor). The author of the Latin marginalia is unknown, but the Portuguese Jesuit João de Sá (1696-1731) lived in Zhenjiang, a city along the Yangtze where the Jesuits had a residence. See Hubert Verhaeren, *Catalogue du Pé-t’ang*, (Peking, 1949; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1969), xxiv. Pfister, entry 214, notes he became Vice-Provincial of China in 1727. Brockey notes that de Sá died in exile in Macao, 200.

This memorial is also published in *Qingzhong qianqi*, vol. 1, document 43, pages 58-59, with the Yongzheng Emperor vermilion endorsement and entitled: 西洋人戴進賢等奏請免令廣東驅逐西洋人并各省送往之西洋人愿往廣東居住摺, which I translate as “Memorial of Dai Jinxian and other Men from the West petitioning to remain in Guangdong and pleading [that the Emperor] not decree that [officials of] Guangdong province disperse foreigners and send them to other provinces.”

<sup>53</sup> See Appendix 1.10 for first draft and 1.12 for edited draft, and LEC 3:357 and 362, respectively.

political behavior was certainly known in Europe, where opponents of the Jesuits often incriminated Society members for such behavior. To many Englishmen and Europeans, the word “Jesuit” denoted a deceptive person, a cheat, or a spy.<sup>54</sup> The Portuguese had a saying that mockingly summed up Jesuit ingenuity: hang a Jesuit and he will steal the rope.

The court Jesuits not only understood how the Manchu-Chinese government operated; moreover, they worked within the government and expressed their opinions in memorials as described above. They received audiences from the emperor and met with princes. The ability of these religious men to serve in the court and also serve “their” emperor (Chinese or Manchu) was, they claimed, related to “the near two-hundred-year long” tradition of Jesuit service, which had begun when Matteo Ricci first was allowed to reside in Zhaoqing in 1583. However, in 1724 the Jesuits exaggerated the length of their presence in China by some sixty years. This misrepresentation of accurate chronology may be understood as manipulation of fact aimed toward strengthening the Jesuits’ case of service in the court and to Chinese culture, or *wenhua*. When the Yongzheng Emperor decided to limit the freedom of the missionaries and Chinese Christians in the provinces and to check the activities of those missionaries serving him, the court Jesuits’ power base weakened considerably. Nevertheless, the Jesuits kept penning optimistic memorials. The question might be asked, just as the Yongzheng Emperor had warned the Fathers, Parennin, Fridelli, and de Mailla when he granted them an audience after reviewing their memoria: Who did they think they were fooling? The emperor had stated that they might

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<sup>54</sup> See John Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits, into Various Parts of the World; Particularly China and the East Indies*, trans. John Lockman (1762; reprint, 2 vols. New Delhi: J. Jetley, 1995), I: 36-80, letter of “A Voyage to China. Father de Premare, to Father de la Chaize, Confessor to his Majesty, Canton, Feb. 17, 1699” and “Particulars met with in China. Father de Bouvet, to Father de la Chaize, Confessor to his Majesty, Peking, Nov. 30, 1699,” 64-80. These eighteenth-century translations present the original French letters with some fidelity, but with large amounts of cut texts. Lockman interjected numerous lengthy comments in added footnotes that illustrate widespread English suspicion of Catholic motives and distrust of the Jesuits. For example, he writes: “If *Francis Xavier* was so holy a Saint as the Jesuits declare him to be, some accuse them with making others of their Order pass for such, who were mere Cheats and Spies,” 66.

fool his father, the Kangxi Emperor, but not him. The answer to the question of who was fooling whom poses further complicated questions because while clear evidence of manipulation of fact exists in the example just cited, such as an exaggerated number of years of residence in China, the Jesuits in the court and in the provinces still did retain support from sympathetic Christians and officials in some provinces.<sup>55</sup>

The emperor's moves against the Surinama clan had implicated the Jesuit João Mourão in factional politics. The Portuguese missionary was sentenced to die based on the legal Code that proscribed factionalism and treason. The new policy toward Christianity, which the third Qing emperor launched, endorsed the assumption that the "teaching" (*jiao*) or "law" of the Christian religion opposed the orthodox teachings of *Ru*, or the Confucian teaching. Finally, the emperor clearly expressed his conviction that toleration of Christian missionaries residing in the provinces would lead to problems with the Russians to the north and neighboring Kalkha Mongols, as well as with Europeans who wished to trade in Canton (Guangzhou).

## II. A Favorable Literary Portrait of the Yongzheng Emperor Penned During Difficult Times

Ironically, the devastating news concerning the proscription of Christianity and expulsion of the European missionaries to Macao reported in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* received a positive interpretation by French *philosophes*, who interpreted the Yongzheng Emperor's position on religion as an enlightened one. Voltaire identified with the natural law propositions he discerned in Chinese philosophy, and he also felt antagonism for the revealed religious doctrine of the Catholic Church. Voltaire, in particular, depicted the Chinese emperor as a "sage"

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<sup>55</sup> Laamann, Chapter seven, "Christianity as target: a chronology of state action," 61-62. Laamann notes that in provinces other than Fujian larger numbers of officials sympathetic to Christians existed.

and model ruler, and Voltaire used letters the Jesuits published as sources for his expositions on Chinese history.<sup>56</sup> Voltaire and Diderot were particularly influenced by this letter reporting on the proscription of Christianity written by Father de Mailla. They classified the discussion between the court Jesuits and the Yongzheng Emperor found near the end of the letter (16 October 1724) as “philosophical dialogues” that were popular in eighteenth-century France. This portrait of the Yongzheng Emperor that philosophes admired contributed to diffusion in Europe of the “myth of the enlightened despot” (*le mythe du despotisme éclairé*).<sup>57</sup>

Another positive literary portrait of the proscriber of Christianity may be found in the letter written by Father Cyr Contancin, S.J. (1670-1732) “*Lettre du Père Contancin au Père Étienne Souciet [1671-1749], sur le gouvernement de l’empereur Yong-tching. Canton, le 2 décembre 1725.*”<sup>58</sup> Despite the promulgation of the imperial decree outlawing Christianity in 1724, Father Contancin’s letter positively assessed the government and moral character of the Yongzheng Emperor, while also decrying the abject state of the Christian Church in China.

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<sup>56</sup> François Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l’esprit des nations et sur les principaux faits de l’histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu’à Louis XIV*, (Paris: Garnier, 1963), 2:785-793. In Chapter CXCIV Voltaire cites from both the abridged and rearranged edition of the *Lettres édifiantes* and Father de Mailla’s *Histoire de la conquête de la Chine par les Tartares Manchous* (Lyon: Vojeude Brunem, 1754), 788.

<sup>57</sup> Isabelle and Jean-Louis Vissière, *Lettres édifiantes*, 2001 ed. 132 and 142-156. This edition of letters contains the 24 October 1724 letter, along with introduction and several footnotes notes. I have not found any complete translations of this letter into English, including in *Travels of the Jesuits into various parts of the world: particularly China and the East-Indies* London: T. Piety, 1762 nor in the Reprint ed. (New Delhi: J. Jetley for Asian Educational Services, 1995). The Vissières also include Father Contancin’s letter and note that this literary portrait also influenced Voltaire who relied upon it for his portrait of the Yongzheng Emperor in his “*Siècle de Louis XIV.*”

<sup>58</sup> LEC 3:489-495. In the original edition of the *Lettres édifiantes*, vol. XI, 308-322, the letter is entitled “2 déc. 1725, de Canton, au P. Souciet: extraits curieux et intéressants de la *Gazette de Pékin* sur le gouvernement de l’empereur Yong-tcheng, les mœurs et la police de la Chine.” Fr. Contancin (龔當信) arrived in China in 1702, and he served as head of the French Mission from 1711 to 1731, see *Pfister*, entry 256. Because of the 1724 proscription edict, he first moved to Jiangxi province, and from 1725 to 1730, he lived in Canton. The superiors of the mission sent him to Europe to report on the needs and troubles of the mission. He arrived in 1731 in France, where he assisted Père Jean-Baptiste Du Halde with his manuscript which was going to press of *Description géographique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l’empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (Paris P.-G. Le Mercier, 4 vols. Avec Approbation et Privilege du Roy, 1735).

In his letter Father Contancin reported with sadness that all that pertained to the Christian religion appeared “alienated.”<sup>59</sup> However, he lauded the emperor for his ability to rule and win the respect and love of the people. This characterization of the emperor reveals the French Jesuit’s admiration for the Qing Emperor’s rigorous devotion to good government, which was structured around the centralized bureaucracy. Matteo Ricci had similarly expressed in his diaries admiration for this efficient bureaucracy which administered the vast territory of China proper, along with states that submitted tributary delegations. Father Contancin wrote:

This prince is indefatigable in his capacity to work. He works night and day to establish a sage government and to procure the good feeling of his subjects. One can do no better for his court than to propose to it plans that tend toward the public utility and the easing of burdens of the people. He will fulfill them with pleasure and with no regard to cost.<sup>60</sup>

The letter presents many compelling examples of the emperor’s compassionate approach to government policy. Indeed, the emperor’s concern for implementing sound government policies impressed both Jesuits residing in China and, ironically, European opponents of the Jesuits. In Europe *philosophes* and physiocrats discussed and published treatises on how to foster humane efficient governments and how to enact reforms to existing political, economic, and agricultural systems. This European concern for government reform was clearly also a concern of the Jesuit savants in China. Father Contancin noted that in 1724 the emperor reduced the annual tribute payments due to the central government from the cities of Suzhou and Songjiang when he learned about the hardships that heavy payments caused his people in the

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 489. It should be noted that the French letters were not translated into Chinese in the eighteenth century. A project to translate the letters into Chinese only began in the last quarter of the twentieth century, headed by the scholar Geng Sheng, as introduced in Chapter One.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 489.

memorials he received.<sup>61</sup> He also accorded the same relief to the capital of Jiangxi province, Nanchang.

When harsh weather conditions persisted during 1724, the emperor continued to show concern for his people. While some regions suffered droughts, others were inundated by excessive rains, which caused flooding and great loss of life. The first care of the emperor was to help the poor families of the soldiers who served at court, so he distributed relief funds. Equally attentive to the needs of the people, he wrote a vermilion endorsement (*yupi*), one that resulted in issuance of an imperial edict to all high officials of the empire that first described the despair he felt for the suffering of his people. Second, the imperial edict ordered officials to be equitable and fair in the distribution of relief. Father Contancin's letter presents an ideal ruler.<sup>62</sup>

The French Jesuit noted that this edict was immediately inserted “...*dans la gazette publique et répandue dans l'empire*”<sup>63</sup> or “published in a public gazette and distributed throughout the empire” so that officials and people would know the intentions of his majesty. Father Contancin wrote in detail on how important gazettes were in China. They published news pertaining to government affairs; results of examinations for the three levels of local, provincial, and metropolitan civil service examinations; appointments of literati to government positions; and imperial decrees. The gazettes also listed names of officials who failed to carry out their

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<sup>61</sup> Songjiang is part of the present-day administrative-level unit of Shanghai, not the city proper.

<sup>62</sup> LEC 3:491.

<sup>63</sup> LEC 3:490. The term “*gazette*” [*dibao*地報] means local official journal, and shares similarity with the present-day usage of *gazette* defined as a newspaper or official journal. In Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual*, revised and enlarged ed., (Cambridge: Published by the Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, distributed by Harvard University Press, 2000), Wilkinson mentions that virtually no gazettes (*dibao*, *jingbao*) survive from this period, 152-158. Hucker observes that Chinese also compiled publications called “gazetteers” (*difangzhi*地方志). Local gazetteers contained copious materials on local administration, local economies, local cultures, local officials, and local dignitaries. Hucker remarks that “Collectively, gazetteers constitute one of the world’s greatest treasure troves of basic historical data, especially valuable for socioeconomic analysis,” *Imperial China*, 391.

responsibilities, and all sorts of information on public affairs, including financial, military, public works, and matters relating to benefits for princes. They also published information on criminal cases concerning the death penalty, for such final rulings needed to be presented to the Board of Punishment in Peking and be reviewed by the emperor, who had the power to approve, deny, or recommend further deliberations. Furthermore, gazettes described ceremonial rituals the emperor observed, such as the Sacrifice to Heaven (also known as Grand Sacrifice, a ritual in which he symbolically tilled a field near the Altar of Heaven (*Tiantan*天壇) in Peking and instructed the men of his imperium on good and moral government. The circular white marble Altar of Heaven is in the Tiantan Park complex in Peking, commonly known as the Temple of Heaven Park). The gazettes scrupulously followed word usage contained in the Four Books and Five Classics, to describe government affairs. Father Contancin noted that the Chinese believed in the ethos of government contained in the maxim: “the emperor serves as governor, supreme sacrificial agent, and Master teacher.”<sup>64</sup> Finally, Father Contancin praised Chinese gazettes as superior to European gazettes, which he characterized as containing adversarial political rhetoric.<sup>65</sup> The information contained in local Chinese gazettes concentrated primarily upon fostering efficient and good government.

According to the letter, the Yongzheng Emperor also instituted programs to encourage his people to work diligently. He ordered that within each village the person most distinguished in that district in his profession be judged on the following criteria: integrity, family life, and ability to get on with neighbors. Then, the official in charge of the village was required to report that person’s name to the capital. The emperor raised the ideal candidate to the level of mandarin of the eighth order and gave him the patents of honorary mandarin. That distinction gave him the

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<sup>64</sup> LEC 3:492.

<sup>65</sup> LEC 3:490.



right to wear the garb of the mandarin officials, to visit the head of the village, to sit in his presence, and to take tea with him. This elevated person would be respected for the rest of his days. At his death he would receive the obsequies equal to his rank and degree, and his title would be written in the hall of his ancestors.

Father Contancin reported that the emperor also encouraged chastity among women by continuing the tradition of contributing funds for the building of “commemorative gates” (*pailou*, 牌樓). These traditional monuments found in Chinese urban and rural spaces were freestanding structures, constructed of two side vertical posts and topped by a horizontal beam. *Pailou* were more elaborately constructed than the Japanese *torii*, a gate-like structure still found abundantly in Shinto shrine architecture. *Pailou* were adorned with dedicatory plaques on the upper horizontal plane, consisting of epithets extolling those exemplary widows who guarded their chastity for twenty years.<sup>66</sup> Father Contancin cited such an epithet uttered by the Yongzheng Emperor: “The beauty of government rests upon the good conduct of women.”<sup>67</sup> Historian Eugenio Menegon has pointed out: “In late imperial China chastity of a widowed or betrothed woman, rather than virginity, *per se*, was considered the core female virtue in social practice, in literary discourse, and in law.”<sup>68</sup> This helps explain the significance of the emperor’s declaration on chastity, the core female social virtue that was co-equal in importance in social practice to the standards set forth in classical texts and law for performance of male filial piety.

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<sup>66</sup> It is interesting to note that Jesuits called these *pailou* triumphal arches, and they did not always report that the monuments paid tribute to chaste private female citizens. Chastity in France was not so celebrated, except in the context of females in religious orders. In China *pailou* commemorating virtuous leaders (civilian and military) were also constructed. Ironically, by 1781, what resembled a Parisian Triumphal Arch was built by in Yuanmingyuan for the Qianlong Emperor by a Jesuit architect; see Elman, 210 for melding of European styles in China.

<sup>67</sup> LEC 3:492.

<sup>68</sup> Menegon, “Child Bodies, Blessed Bodies,” 177.

Jesuit letter writers consistently used the term “triumphal arches” when describing the large number of these *pailou* to chaste widows in China. The term triumphal arch comes from Roman tradition. A resurgence of building these arches came into vogue in early modern Europe during and after the Renaissance, based upon renewed interest in classical civilization. However, in China the symbolism of the *pailou* often referred to values entirely different from the European connotation of “triumphal arch.”<sup>69</sup> In summary, the *pailou* in China commemorated “virtuous widows” of the Qing empire. This public monument extolled those women who represented the moral values of the Neo-Confucian patriarchal system that required women to inhabit the “interior sphere” of the home and abide by the authority of male fathers, husbands, or sons. Their chastity was a matter of public interest for lessons of public morality.<sup>70</sup> However, the Christian *beatas* of Fuan and the missionaries who guided them strived to prove that that Christian filiality could exist within the orthodox boundaries of filial piety (*xiao*), and they hoped to prove that Christianity offered a truer meaning of filiality because of the divine prerogatives of the Christian God.<sup>71</sup>

Male and female filiality formed the core values of Confucian discourse and social practice. Father Contancin’s letter also reported on the emperor’s interest in public order and good government that extended to offering incentives to reward filial piety. He especially rewarded males for filial behavior. The ruler ordered that the governor-generals of all provinces should forward the names of the most filial “bachelors” to the court (successful graduates of the

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<sup>69</sup> Chinese sources (SKCS: 661:228 (79:5) and SKCS: 661:249 (79-6b) noted four “Western style *baifang*.” On these citations and points see Ellen Uitzinger, “For the Man who has Everything Western-style Exotica in Birthday Celebrations at the Court of Ch’ien Lung,” Leonard Blussé & Harriet T. Zurndorfer, eds. In *Conflict and Accommodation in Early Modern East Asia Essays in Honour of Erik Zürcher* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 226.

<sup>70</sup> Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China’s Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 23-26.

<sup>71</sup> Menegon, “Child Bodies, Blessed Bodies,” 219 and 177.

first level of examinations, now referred to as “licentiate” *shengyuan* 生員). The most worthy candidate among them would be accorded the next highest degree called “State Student” *jiansheng* 監生 (a category of degree that by Qing times was usually purchased rather than won by sitting for the difficult licensing examinations).<sup>72</sup>

Finally, Father Contancin described how the emperor, in response to a memorial from a provincial official informing him about severe drought, closed himself in his palace and fasted and prayed until rain fell abundantly. This passage is notable because the prayers of the emperor strongly resemble Christian prayer. It can be assumed that the Jesuit author identified with these so-called Christian sentiments and may have hoped that a ruler who expressed such concern for his people might also be one who would relent and allow Christians to practice their religion in China. Most hopefully, such an emperor who showed such compassion for his people might be one who could himself convert to Christianity.

The emperor issued an edict testifying to how much his peoples’ suffering had touched him. He ordered all the grand mandarins to inform him with care about the calamities that afflicted the people in their districts. He concluded the edict with the words:

There is between Heaven (*Ciel/Tien*) and man a correspondence. There is also a correspondence between faults and punishments, and between prayers and benefits. Carry out your duties. Avoid faults. For it is by our sins that Heaven punishes us. When Heaven sends some calamity, be attentive. We must mortify ourselves--correct ourselves. We must pray. It is in praying and in correcting that we move Heaven to pity us. If I make this order, it is not that I feel capable of touching Heaven, but it is to try to better persuade you of the reality of the correspondence between Heaven and man, of faults and punishments, and of prayers and benefits.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> On the structure of the civil service see Benjamin A. Elman, “The Social Roles of Literati in Early to Mid-Ch’ing” in *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 9, Part One, ed. by Willard J. Peterson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 378-379. On the rewards of the Yongzheng Emperor, see LEC 3:492-493.

<sup>73</sup> LEC 3:491.

The language in this edict contains sentiments bearing resemblance to Christian teaching about the Old Testament, namely, the admonitions of reward and punishments from Heaven for sins and directions to pray constantly. However, the Yongzheng Emperor's language and sentiments expressed Neo-Confucian values. Ever since the Neo-Confucian movement began in the late Sung (960-1127 C.E.), Neo-Confucians placed great focus upon the pursuit of sagehood and service to mankind. In the words of historian Theodore de Bary: "Neo-Confucians insisted on firm assertion of the moral will, strict self-control, and the practice of an extreme self-denial, which gave this early formulation of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy a stern, rigoristic quality."<sup>74</sup>

The Yongzheng Emperor fits this definition of the ideal Neo-Confucian man. He was a ruler who sought relentlessly to oversee political, economic, social, and moral reforms in order to provide efficient and sage government for the benefit of the people he ruled. Ironically, Father Contancin's literary portrait of the emperor lauded the emperor who betrayed the interests of the missionaries and Chinese Christians. However, he also listed admirable achievements of the ruler for his European colleague Father Souciet. The author's optimism represents the fundamental vision and hope of the Jesuit China mission, namely, the possibility that the emperor might some day convert or relent in his harsh ruling against Christianity based upon the ruler's dedication to virtue. In the last paragraph of the letter, the writer asks that God might inspire the Manchu-ruler with this hoped for benediction.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Wm. Theodore de Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 70-71. See Chapter 1 for introduction of Neo-Confucianism and the Jesuit position on Song philosophers such as Zhu Xi. Spence has also characterized Neo-Confucianism as providing "a state-oriented tilt to Song Neo-Confucianism."

<sup>75</sup> LEC 3:495. "*Dieu veuille lui inspirer des sentimens plus favorables à notre sainte religion, afin que les pasteurs, arrachés par ses ordres à leur cher troupeau, puissent quelque jour y être réunis. C'est une grâce que je vous prie de demander dans vos saints sacrifices, en l'union desquels je suis avec respect.*"

Prayers were often appended to the end of letters or in postscripts. See ARSI Jap. Sin 179, 377-377v. [address on verso] "Admodum Reverend in Christo P. Generalis [Angelo Tamburini, S.J.] from Peking 1 November 1724. At the bottom left corner, Fr. Kögler asks the Father General and confreres for their prayers. See Figure 5.

This imperial edict of the Yongzheng Emperor, which clearly expresses a Neo-Confucian political-religious ethos and at the same time contains sentiments resembling Christian values, is another example of the problems surrounding interpretation of “evidence” presented in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. European and East Asian historical and literary contexts require careful evaluation to establish contextual meaning. Father Contancin’s letter offers an illustration of the Jesuit’s policy of accommodation to Chinese culture. The Jesuit writer continually cited positive aspects of both the ruler and the system under which Christianity was condemned. Second, the letter may be understood as evidence of the trust and optimism that the Jesuits of the China mission placed in their accommodative approach. They cleaved to the Ricci method even after the pope ruled against the Jesuits regarding the Rites Controversy.

Finally, Father Contancin’s translations and reporting may be best understood in terms of one of Spence’s five key problems of evidence, namely, complementarity. Spence stressed that translators face two choices: presenting doctrines as complementary or remaining separate. Father Contancin presented evidence about the Yongzheng Emperor he discerned from Chinese materials to illustrate what he considered the humane nature and efficient quality of Qing government policies. The missionary’s point of view reflected two important points. First, the tolerant picture of the emperor fit into the Jesuits’ policy of accommodating themselves to Chinese political culture. Second, by choosing to emphasize the goodness and morality of the Qing ruler, the missionary depicted the Yongzheng Emperor as a man capable of charitable behavior. Even though the emperor had outlawed Christianity, the Jesuit reported upon the emperor’s diligence. The letter shows that the Jesuits actually admired certain procedures found in Qing government. When Voltaire read this letter, he gained respect for the third Qing emperor. While the leading French *philosophes* agreed with Father Le Comte and other missionaries “that

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the Chinese had knowledge of the true God,” Voltaire stressed the importance of the rational manner in which Chinese paid respect to Heaven. He characterized the honor that Chinese paid to the founder of Confucianism with the following words:

To his own memory they pay all honor: not those divine honors to which no man can have any title, but such as are due to a man who communicated the most rational ideas of the divinity, which human nature could conceive without the help of revelation.<sup>76</sup>

Voltaire interpreted the imperial edict of the Yongzheng Emperor reported by Father Contancin and discussed above as proof that not only the early Chinese, but also those of his era were not atheists. Voltaire perceived that the Chinese embraced a natural law or theology, which paralleled his Deist belief. He chided Europeans as “inconsiderate people” for presuming to treat a government as atheistical that nearly in all imperial edicts contained reference to:

... a Supreme Being, the father of nations, who rewards and punishes according to the rules of eternal justice; and who has established between himself and his creatures, a correspondence of prayers and benefits, faults and chastisements.<sup>77</sup>

Voltaire cited information he gleaned from the French Jesuits letters to strengthen his attack against the monopoly of power he believed the Catholic Church held. Ironically, Voltaire used Father Contancin’s letter (addressed to a fellow-Jesuit Father Souciet), which reflects the Jesuits’ missionary approach of accommodating to Chinese civilization and the court in order to survive and evangelize, as proof of the value and goodness of Confucian rationalism. Meanwhile, the Jesuits continued to work at fitting into Chinese culture. Their continued defense of the Jesuit mission that aimed to point out the complementarity of Christianity with Chinese culture will be

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<sup>76</sup> A partial translation of the emperor’s edict appears in Voltaire, “Ancient and Modern History” in *The Works of Voltaire*, vol. 24, Chapter 2 “The Religion of China,” (no editor) with notes by Tobias Smollett, revised and modernized trans. by William. F. Fleming, and an introduction by Oliver H.G. Leigh (Akron: The Werner Company, 1904), 32-3.

<sup>77</sup> Compare Voltaire’s last phrase with the citation of the emperor’s edict, which appears in the text on page 216.

further explored and illustrated in Chapter Five through examination of the Chinese language text of the *Ruijianlu*.

### III. Imperial Reception of Papal Legations and Guidelines for Foreign Guests

The first two years of the Yongzheng reign commenced with crucial events for the court Jesuits, Christian missionaries, and all Qing subjects. The emperor attacked the many responsibilities of his office with resolve, determination, and a clear intention to rein in factionalism in his court, misadministration in his empire, and heterodox belief and practices amongst his people. He received foreign envoys based upon much of the same exterior ceremony and rhetoric as had his imperial predecessors.

Qing emperors had adopted terms and exterior forms of diplomatic etiquette associated with the traditional Chinese “tribute system” practiced during the Ming.<sup>78</sup> Foreign relations in the Ming functioned upon the premise that foreigners would be attracted to pay homage to the Middle Kingdom because of the superiority of its culture. It was assumed that the emperor should neither urge nor force foreigners to submit. The Chinese assumed that their rich material culture necessitated only few imports, while foreigners needed much more from China. Thus imperial control of foreign trade constituted a means by which China could use foreign trade to

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<sup>78</sup> Wills, *Embassies and Illusions*, 19-20. In his Introduction Wills notes that characteristics of the tribute system may be traced to texts from the idealized Zhou Dynasty. Further references to management of foreigners appear in the *Zuozhuan* (左傳 Commentary of Tso). Significant references to ceremonies for receiving foreigners appear in the canon named the *Yili* (義禮 Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial). The first emperor of the Ming, the Hongwu Emperor, reasserted the ceremonial and institutional supremacy of the Son of Heaven over all other sovereigns and limited embassies. Two classic sources on the tribute system are Fairbank’s two books: *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* and *The Chinese World Order*. However, assumptions that the tribute system functioned clearly along the ideological lines of Chinese cultural supremacy have been challenged by such writers as Wills in *Embassies and Illusions* and in *Pepper, Guns, and Parleys: The Dutch East India Company and China, 1662-1681* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974). Other scholars challenge a monolithic understanding of the tribute system such as the essayists in Morris Rossabi, ed. *China Among Equals*.

make foreigners submissive or at least non-aggressive toward China. Within this scheme of foreign relations, the emperor had the right to recognize and confirm the rights of legitimate lines of succession in tributary states. Some approaches to foreign relations employed in the Ming tribute system could be traced to the first millennium B.C.E.

Ming foreign relations may be characterized as a defensive, passive, and bureaucratic mode of conducting foreign relations. The system had built into it obstacles for obtaining coherent foreign policy because the inherent culturalistic view of the Chinese toward foreigners marginalized the respectability of all outside groups. Finally, the obsessive stress on ceremony tended to focus on appearances, rather than on realities of power.<sup>79</sup> John E. Wills maintains that the Qing conquest rulers could hardly have accepted all the assumptions of the Sinocentric ideology of the tribute system. He points out that the Jürchen tribes of northeast China that had established the Jin Dynasty (Golden Dynasty) between 1122 and 1234 had by Ming times skillfully and cynically manipulated the Ming tribute system to their own advantage. Based upon these considerations, he characterizes the Qing rulers as realistic and skeptical of the tribute system of foreign relations.<sup>80</sup> He points out the Manchu Qing dynasty inherited two foreign policy traditions when it defeated the Ming. First, the Manchus inherited a nearly two millennia long Chinese approach toward foreign relations that may be characterized as one which persistently stressed defensive foreign policy. Second, they inherited the Ming tribute system, one that was specifically practiced in the Ming and full of complex regulations.<sup>81</sup> Wills argues that excessive focus on ceremony in foreign relations during the Qing resulted in dangerous

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 19-21.

<sup>80</sup> Wills, *Pepper, Guns, and Parleys*, 13.

<sup>81</sup> Wills, *Embassies and Illusions*, 187.



reliance on illusions.<sup>82</sup> Wills maintains that the best way to understand shifts in China's foreign policy consists of examination of internal, domestic political shifts.

The Vatican had hoped to establish diplomatic relations with the Chinese and also settle the controversy over Chinese rites by sending the papal legations led by de Tournon (1705-1710) and Mezzabarba (1720-1721). However, both legations had ended in failure as had the Carmelite legation (1725-1726). This papal legation left Rome when Benedict XIII learned of the death of the Kangxi Emperor and ascension of Prince Yinzhen to the throne. The pope took the opportunity to send five priests as envoys to China with gifts to congratulate the new emperor. He also hoped that the envoys could negotiate the release of two imprisoned missionaries, Luigi Appiani C.M. (1663-1732) and Antoine Guignes (MEP) (d. 1741). Guignes had been imprisoned during the controversial papal legation of de Tournon (1705-1710). The legation ended in failure, and Kangxi Emperor imposed the imperial patent on missionaries who would swear to follow both the Matteo Ricci missionary method and swear to remain in China forever. Appiani had served as interpreter to de Tournon, who had angered the aging Kangxi Emperor during his imperial audience because of his lack of knowledge about China and his outburst of anger. The emperor had Appiani imprisoned in Canton in 1706, where he remained until his death in 1726.<sup>83</sup>

The Roman pontiff had hoped to use the occasion of the third emperor's ascension as an opportunity to improve communications between the Vatican and China, and thereby establish diplomatic relations. On 7 November 1725 the Yongzheng Emperor granted an audience to the two envoys who survived the journey to China, the Carmelites Gotthard a Santa Maria (Emeric Plaskowitz, 1700-1757) and Ildefonso a Nativitate (1699-1742). He accepted from them the two

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>83</sup> Claudia von Collani, "Lazarists send by Propaganda Fide," 2.1.7. in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 349-352.

breves, or communications, they carried asking for the release of the prisoners and establishment of direct diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Peking court. The Yongzheng Emperor promised to release the two missionaries. He noted that they fit into the general amnesty he had granted upon his ascension to the throne, namely, the category of those with remissible faults--those who could rehabilitate themselves.<sup>84</sup> The emperor also carefully noted that the Westerners who resided in China received all possible courtesies and would continue to as long as they conformed to the “one body” over which he ruled and as long as they continued to follow the laws of the land. The emperor’s attitude and words revealed no intention of establishing direct diplomatic relations, and his responses to the two breves were recorded in the *Veritable Records of the Qing (Qingshilu)*.<sup>85</sup> The two envoys left Peking and traveled to Canton, where they embarked for Europe on a French ship. They carried gifts for the pope and the imperial responses to the pope’s breves. The governor of Guangdong, Yang Wenqian (楊文乾), reported to the emperor on their departure in a memorial written on 15 March 1726. The emperor made the following comments upon receiving this report in a vermilion endorsement (*yupi*):

Noted. The distant barbarians come here attracted by our culture. We must show them our generosity and virtue. Remember that under no circumstances should we compete for profits with them.<sup>86</sup>

Thus, the third papal legation failed to open direct relations between Rome and the court in Peking. The emperor characterized the Europeans as coming to China in terms reminiscent of “guest ritual,” which is traceable to traditional Chinese defensive foreign policy notions and also

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<sup>84</sup> Rosso, 402.

<sup>85</sup> A copy of the original text accords almost completely with a copy preserved in the BAV, Bor. Cin. 516.6.

<sup>86</sup> Rosso, 405.

to the Ming tribute system. The emperor was cognizant of certain realities of the international world in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, namely, the fantastic growth in international trade that Portugal and Spain had begun in the sixteenth century, which the expanding states of England, France, and Holland joined. Nevertheless, he remained determined to continue to carry out “tributary appearances.”<sup>87</sup> Although Qing emperors had learned about Europe through Jesuit sources and contact with the Russians, foreign relations was a small and declining theme in late imperial China, especially in contrast to early modern Europe.<sup>88</sup> The central government continued to organize foreign relations within the framework of the “tribute system,” one that considered “barbarian” states to be under the supervision of the Ministry of Rites and in the case of Mongols, Zunghars, and Russians to be under the supervision of the Office of Border Affairs (*Lifanyuan*).<sup>89</sup> Men from the Western Ocean also fitted under the umbrella of these supervisory boards. Zhoushan and Xiamen were open to foreign traders, in addition to Guangzhou. China managed European foreign trade by the “Canton system,” which only allowed foreign nations trading privileges with China at bi-annual intervals through the port of Canton.<sup>90</sup>

The emperor believed firmly that foreigners should observe Chinese law. He further believed that missionaries should all follow the Matteo Ricci method of accommodation to Chinese culture. Paradoxically, any suggestion that Manchu Chinese society was a “closed” society was offset by the presence of the court Jesuits. They added a hybrid-European cosmopolitan flavor to life in the capital by contributing their expertise in the sciences, arts, and

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<sup>87</sup> Wills, *Embassies & Illusions*, 178-179. Wills notes that the Peking Jesuits advised seventeenth-century European ambassadors on the importance of keeping up “tributary appearances” because the Jesuits had enough experience at court to know that “...no embassy could be received without conforming to the tribute ceremonies.”

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>89</sup> Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 117.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

international affairs. Meanwhile, the port of Canton continued to accommodate growing numbers of missionaries and traders, who embarked and disembarked on trading vessels and looked forward to expanding missionary work and trade with China.

The Yongzheng Emperor continued to use diplomatic occasions as opportunities to enunciate his attitude toward foreign relations and religious questions. Significant comments the emperor made at a diplomatic event in the fifth year of his reign serve here as a summation of his reasoning on religious heterodoxy. He issued a statement that presented his point of view on questions of heterodoxy and religious toleration in a little known edict delivered on the dual occasion in 1727 of the birthday of the Buddha and the presentation of gifts to the throne by a Portuguese envoy who sought greater leniency for missionaries.<sup>91</sup> The edict is remarkable because of its direct language, clear definitions of heterodox beliefs, and prescription for achieving religious toleration world wide.

The edict not only sums up causes of the acrimonious debate among Catholic missionaries, Neo-Confucians, Buddhists, and Daoists, the tract also aims to identify root causes of religious intolerance. The edict explores cultural relativism and suggests a theory of encounter with the “other” so that conciliation may be achieved. The beginning segment of the text deserves to be quoted:

Hitherto Buddhists and Taoists have maligned the religion of the West, and the Westerners have heaped discredit upon the falsehoods of Taoism and Buddhism. Each has slandered the other, calling attention to its heterodox ways. According to both of these views, everything which is in agreement with “me” is the orthodox way, while everything which differs from “me” is heterodox. This is hardly what the sages meant by “heterodoxy.” Confucius said, “To apply oneself to the study of heterodox ways [*yiduan*

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<sup>91</sup> Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism 1860-1870* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 287. Cohen notes that the edict was published in *Yung-cheng shang-yü, ts'ê 9:13-15b* (under Yongzheng 5<sup>th</sup> year, 4<sup>th</sup> month). An English version of the entire edict appears in T. Watters, *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, 4 (1872): 225-227.

異端] is indeed harmful.” But did Confucius thereby castigate all [teachings and practices] which differed from his own as heterodox?<sup>92</sup>

In the text of the edict, the Yongzheng Emperor then defined any teachings of Westerners, Buddhists, or Confucians as heterodox if they had the following qualities: First, Christianity was heterodox if it beguiled the people with such a farfetched teaching as claiming that Heaven came down to earth and transformed itself into a man. Second, Buddhism was heterodox if it taught that people should abandon both obligations between ruler and minister and between father and son, and so on. Third, Confucianism was heterodox if scholars used their knowledge of literature and their rank to extend their reputations and get peoples’ attention by spreading rumors and lewd songs in order to agitate their minds. In this edict, the emperor maintained that people of the world tended to make judgments based on personal beliefs, rather than on an objective standard of right and wrong. He noted that all groups had their strengths and weaknesses, and that people could be at peace with each other if they would forego the latter and cultivate their strengths.

While the emperor attempted to lay out his theory of cultural relativism, objective political realities remained paramount: he needed to stem factionalism, and he needed to retain control over his government and bureaucracy. Furthermore, the Christian notion that Heaven (*Tian*) came down to earth and became incarnate in a Virgin and then became Man remained a farfetched belief--one that was beyond the boundaries of his imagination and experience and one that represented heterodox belief.

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 13.

## Chapter Five: The *Ruijianlu* (Record of Sage Scrutiny) and its Role in the Defense of Christianity<sup>1</sup>

### I. Background on the *Ruijianlu*

The Peking Jesuits' *Ruijianlu* (睿鑒錄 Record of Sage Scrutiny) is a prime example of the Jesuit “apostolate through books.”<sup>2</sup> As such, this pamphlet of only 32 pages represents a collection of memorials to the Qianlong Emperor whose significance far transcends its small

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter originally appeared with the title “The *Ruijianlu* 睿鑒錄 (Record of Sage Scrutiny) and its Role in the Defense of Christianity” in the *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* XXVIII (2006):19-37. Reproduced here with permission of the editor with minor changes and corrections.

<sup>2</sup> Located with assistance of the article by Eugenio Menegon, “The Biblioteca Casanatense (Rome) and Its China Materials, A Finding List,” *SWCRJ* XXII (2000), 31-55. Dr. Menegon notes that the “printed collection of Chinese memorials by Ignatius Kögler S.J. and companions written to the Qianlong Emperor (1735-1737)” is wrongly labeled “Dottrina cristiana in Cinese.” The library’s original manuscript is numbered 2109 and the microfiche 1019.

Maurice Courant describes the manuscript in *Catalogue des livres chinois, coréens, japonais dans la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vols. 1, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902-1912) entry numbers 1337-1341 as “Reports on religious affairs, presented by the Frs. Kögler, A. Pereira etc., 1736-1738.” (The four copies in the Bibliothèque nationale are identical.)

Aloysius Pfister, *Notices biographique et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine 1552-1773*, 2 vols. *Variétés sinologique*, (Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932), vol. 59, entry 297, page 650, and Paul Pelliot, *Bulletin de L'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi : F.-H. Schneider, 1903), book 3, entry 398, page 116, both describe the *Ruijianlu* using the same phrase Courant used to introduce the manuscript.

Oxford University originally had an edition of the *Ruijianlu* (now held in the University of Manchester) that lacked the title page and listed the manuscript as “Xiyangren” (“Men from the West,” a citation of the first characters of the book ). See David Helliwell *A Catalogue of the old Chinese books in the Bodleian Library*, (Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 1983), p. 22, Mss. Chin. Entry 32, describes the work as “Remonstrances to the Emperor by the missionaries (dates: 1706, 1711, 1736-1738).”

In Fu Lo-shu footnote 15, vol. 2: 525, the author has noted that the copy of the *Ruijianlu* held in the Propaganda Fide Archives in Rome holds an edition of the *Ruijianlu* covered in yellow paper and with an imperial endorsement of Kögler’s memorial. This is located in *Indie Orientalie, Cina*, anno 1739, 203-214. Fu’s observations on the significance of the *Ruijianlu* provide the most significant scholarly attention the work has received.

The manuscripts in Paris also have yellow covers, with the three-character title in a white oblong box in the upper left-hand side of the page, ornamented with 2 coiled dragons placed vertically and with stylized clouds on the bottom and the pearl of wisdom above the first character. Yellow was the imperial color in China. The dragon, an auspicious symbol, symbolized the emperor, who was regarded as an imperial agent who could communicate between earth and heaven. The pearl symbolized wisdom. The sixteen-page double-sided woodblock folio is bound on the left and measures 28 cm x 17.5 cm.

The following web-site identifies the *Ruijianlu* as having been published in the first year of the Qianlong reign period: Catholiclinks/ no author, “Catholic Resources” (*tianzhujiao zixun xiaoji* 天主教資訊小集). 10/28/03. Retrived from <http://www.catholiclinks.org/ching3.htm>. I have been unable to determine if this manuscript is held in archives in China.

size. The apostolate through books (*Apostolat der Presse*) represented the early Catholic missionaries' desire to fully take advantage of the well-developed printing industry in Ming-Qing China in order to both spread the Christian religion and to counter opponents of Christianity.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the *Rujianlu* the memorialists make a subtle argument that aims to prove to the Qianlong Emperor that he ought to repeal his father's 1724 edict that proscribed Christianity. The memorialists reinforced this argument by citing past precedents that had favored the Christian religion, as well as numerous other imperial favors and acts of patronage toward Christian missionaries.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Ad Dudink and Nicolas Standaert, "Apostolate through Books" in *Handbook of Christianity in China* (2001), 600-631.

<sup>4</sup> Ad Dudink, "Published collections of edicts and memorials" in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 131-134. This article lists collections of memorials and edicts related to Christianity that missionaries and converts collected in order to illustrate how officials and emperors had favored the religion and respected their doctrine. Three major seventeenth-century collections of memorials are identifiable in which Chinese-Christians and missionaries reiterated imperial favors. (Some manuscripts of these seventeenth-century apologetic texts are held in European or Japanese archives. Some were reprinted in other collections or in off-print editions.) This literature was introduced in the Introduction.

The collection compiled after the anti-Christian incidents in Nanjing in 1616 and then in Fujian in 1638 by the famous Christian literatus Yang Tingyun (b. 1562 -1627) named *Juejiao tongwenji* 絕徼同文紀 (A Collection of Complete Texts of the Anti-Prayer Movement) in late 1615. Next, Father Giulio Aleni, S.J. (1582-1649) is credited with compiling a second work *Xichao chongzhengji* 熙朝崇正集 (The Veneration of Orthodoxy of our Glorious [Ming] Dynasty) published in 1639. The third important collection compiled by Father Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (1623-1688) is named *Xichao ding'an* 熙朝定案 (Judgements of our Glorious [Qing] Dynasty), and the documents in this collection tell the story of his victories in the Astronomical Bureau when he managed to defend "Western" astronomy in 1669 against the attacks of the vehement Christian opponent Yang Guangxian. Dudink notes that during the 1680s "the collection became more and more a testimony for the many Imperial favours accorded to Verbiest and other missionaries, as shown by the use of such terms as *lunyin* 綸音 "silken sounds" (words of the Emperor) and *tedian* 特典 (mark of distinction) in the titles given to off-prints of selected documents (*Xichao tedian* 熙朝特典, *Lunyin tedian* 綸音特典, *Lunyin dixi* 綸音疊錫),"132. Albert Chan translates *Xichao tedian* as "Decrees granting special favors," 375. I have revised my 2006 translation of *Xichao chongzhengji* and *Xichao ding'an* to conform to the translation by Mungello, which reflects the latest scholarship on this collection reviewed in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 27 (2007), 38, as noted in Introduction, footnote 16.

I maintain that *tedian* may also be understood as a rule because *dian* also means "statute, law, rule, or canon." Below I discuss the significance of the BNF Ms. Chinois 1327 *Rouyuan tedian* 柔遠特典 (Special Distinction of Welcoming Strangers/Special Rule for Welcoming Strangers) in conjunction with the notion of "welcoming strangers" cited in the *Rujianlu*, along with the Jesuits' expressed desire to secure imperial patronage by citation of former imperial decrees and favors.

The defense of Christianity presented in the *Ruijianlu* also represents a continuation of Matteo Ricci's Confucian-Christian synthesis, an approach that aimed to adapt Christianity to certain Chinese mores and classical literary traditions. Allusions to Chinese classics in the memorial are numerous. Ricci's approach was the only missionary approach that the Kangxi Emperor came to regard as acceptable. However, by the year 1706, the emperor had become thoroughly disgusted with papal legates and intra-fraternal arguments over Chinese rites. This was why he ruled that only missionaries who followed "the rules of Matteo Ricci," or the Jesuit method of accommodating to Chinese culture, could receive a permit (*piao* 票, or *yinpiao*) to reside in China and that all others must leave.<sup>5</sup>

Fu Lo-shu (1966) classified this short Chinese book as a "pamphlet," and his commentary on this collection of memorials and imperial rescripts provides the most detailed attention the work has ever received.<sup>6</sup> Fu pointed out that three years after the publication of the *Ruijianlu*, the governor of Henan Ya Ertu (雅爾圖) submitted a memorial to the emperor in which he accused Father Kögler of having used an imperial edict as religious propaganda.<sup>7</sup> The governor complained that Kögler had improperly published the Qianlong Emperor's imperial rescript on the memorial Kögler had himself submitted. He complained that Kögler, the Administrator of the

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<sup>5</sup> Dudink, "Opponents," in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 517.

<sup>6</sup> Fu Lo-shu, vol. 1, 171-172, see document: of 5:4:29 (May 24, 1740) "Kögler Accused of Using an Imperial Edict as Religious Propaganda."

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. See footnote 15 of vol. 2, page 525, in which Fu Lo-shu notes that this memorial and rescript of 1737 concerns the case of the Chinese Christian Liu Er who was arrested for "sprinkling water" on abandoned babies in a foundling home supported by the Peking government. The government ruled that Liu Er was a criminal, but the court Jesuits were not found guilty. A significant section of the Liu Er case and the *Ruijianlu* were translated into French in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* LEC 3: 726-736, (Panthéon ed.) in the letter "État de la religion dans l'empire de la Chine en l'année 1738" and in LEC 22: 205-211 (Toulouse, 1811 ed.).



Calendar (*zhili lifa* 治理曆法) (1720-1746),<sup>8</sup> had commissioned the publisher to engrave the margin with dragons, insert the emperor's comments in vermilion, and place a yellow cover over the rescript. Had the governor of Henan called for punishment according to the Qing Code, Chapter 18 "Forgeries and Counterfeiting," Article 355, of one "...who copies characters [from an official document] on to another document]...., [he] will be strangled."<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the use of the colors yellow and vermilion, along with the figure of the dragon, all constituted regalia whose sole use belonged to the emperor. Finally, the Jesuit Administrator of the Calendar also could have been charged for his infringement under Chapter 2 "Rules of Demeanor," Article 164, "Vehicles, Clothing, and [Other] Objects for the Use of the Emperor," or he could have been charged with an infringement listed in the Code's Part One, "Names and General Rules," Chapter 1C, Article 19, "Astronomers Who Commit Offences." Clearly, the Qing Code sternly regulated the lives of both the people and officials of the empire, and Qing officials sensed with alarm the many purposes of the Jesuits' apostolate through books. Governor He's memorial echoed complaints about Jesuit publishing that the Censor Fan Shaozu had raised.

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<sup>8</sup> See Nicole Halsberghe and Keizô Hashimoto "Astronomy" in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 711-737, and table of "Westerners serving at the Astronomical Bureau" in "Missionaries and Chinese Christians at the Imperial Astronomical Bureau," 721.

<sup>9</sup> Jones, (1994), 339.

The *Ruijianlu* contains eight memorials and imperial rescripts.<sup>10</sup> The Jesuits followed documentary-style conventions in these memorials. Seven were principally co-authored by the court Jesuits, Ignatius Kögler, Dominique Parennin, André Pereira, and Giuseppe Castiglione, whose names appear at the beginning of each of the seven memorials. The term *deng* appears after their names in each memorial, which indicates “and other unnamed [memorialists].”<sup>11</sup> One memorial was written by Hai Wang, Grand Minister of the Imperial Household Department and pertains to routine reporting on the transmission of documents authorizing newly arrived Jesuits to travel to Peking to serve in the court.

Understanding the meaning of the Chinese characters in the title of this short book helps illuminate the message that the Jesuit writers wished to disseminate to Manchu and Chinese

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<sup>10</sup> The first memorial of 3 May 1736 [QL1.3.23 (ff. 1-6)] Kögler, Parennin, Pereira, and Castiglione provides copious details about Jesuit contributions to Chinese society.

The second memorial of 21 September 1736 [QL 1.8.17 (ff. 6a-6b)] composed by the same Jesuits concerns the accomplishments of José Suarez.

The third memorial of 7 December 1737 (ff. 1a-4b) composed by the same Jesuits concerns the case of the Christian convert Liu Er who was arrested and punished according to the Qing Code for “sprinkling water on” (baptizing) abandoned babies.

The fourth memorial of December 1737 (ff. 5a-5b.) composed by the same Jesuits expresses thanks to the emperor for his ruling on Liu Er, one that exonerated the missionaries from criminal behavior in connection with the judgment on Liu Er that declared him a criminal for being Christian. Rescript written on QL 2.10.27. The memorial charged Yinlu (the 16<sup>th</sup> son of the Kangxi Emperor or Prince Zhuang) with overseeing missionary affairs.

The fifth memorial of 26 October 1738 [QL 3.9.14] (ff. 1a-1b) composed by the same missionaries, but with Kögler’s name omitted and the name of Valentin Chalier added, reported on the arrival of a Portuguese ship carrying newly arrived Jesuits. Contains imperial rescript ordering Hai Wang to have five Jesuits conducted to capital.

The sixth memorial of 1738 [QL 3.9] of Hai Wang reported that he communicated the imperial decree to the governor-general of Canton.

The seventh group memorial (with Kögler’s name) of 1738 [QL 3 f. 4a-4b] noted that the Kangxi Emperor had requested that the Jesuits Bouvet and Régis be sent to capital to work in court and further reported to Qianlong Emperor on the death of Jean-Baptiste Régis (Lei Xiaosi). Imperial response written on 8 December 1738.

The eighth group memorial 1738 [QL 3) (5a-5b)] expressed thanks to his majesty for the imperial recognition of the death of Jean-Baptiste Régis and for imperial gifts.

<sup>11</sup> Philip A. Kuhn and John K. Fairbank with the assistance of Beatrice S. Bartlett and Chiang Yung-chen, *Introduction to Ch’ing Documents* (Cambridge: Harvard University, John King Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, 1986), 75-76.

audiences. I have chosen the English translation *Record of Sage Scrutiny* (*Ruijianlu* 睿鑒錄) because *lu* means to record; *ru* means shrewd, astute, or the divine sagacity of sages; and *jian* means to scrutinize, examine, or criticize, and it also means a mirror made of metal. The term for an essay by the emperor was *ruicao*. Herbert A. Giles defines *ru* as perspicacious, wise, or shrewd, and notes the phrase *siyuerui* (思曰睿) means “the outcome of thought is called perspicacity.”<sup>12</sup> Both Mathews and Giles note the term was commonly used to refer to the emperor. This point is confirmed by searching in the electronic edition of the *Sikuquanshu* (Treasury of the Four Classics), which revealed a total usage of the term *ruijian* of 5,054 times. The memorialists use the term *ruijian* to address the emperor in the third memorial concerning the Catholic Liu Er who was judged a criminal for practicing his religion (QL.2, first page).

The title *Ruijianlu* may be understood metaphorically as a text that contains decisions and evidence cited from past emperors’ rulings that may be considered as sagacious precedents by which the Qianlong Emperor could formulate current policy. The memorialists suggested that in a figurative sense past imperial policy favorable to the Men from the West reflected “correct policy” like a mirror reflecting light upon present times. Additionally, the Jesuits suggested in their memorials that by following the policy of past imperial ancestors, the present emperor would carry on filial respect for his ancestors.

## II. Key Examples and Proofs Provided for Rescinding the Proscription Edict

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<sup>12</sup> Noted by Mathews, *Mathews Chinese-English Dictionary* and Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*. Giles also notes that the temple name of Kublai Khan’s father was “sage ancestor” (*ruizong*).

The first and third memorials contain the most important points that the court Jesuits wished to make with the Qianlong Emperor, his officials, and sympathetic readers. The outstanding court painter Giuseppe Castiglione, a Jesuit brother, submitted the first lengthy group-composed memorial on 3 May 1736 (ff. 1-6).<sup>13</sup> At the beginning of the memorial, the Europeans stated that they urgently awaited the new direction of His Majesty's reign. They inquired about the recent directive issued by the Office of Transmission (of memorials) that the director in charge of the Military Guard (*zongli shiwu* 總理事務), Grand Minister Wang (王大臣), sanctioned and passed. Wang based his decision upon the precedent set by the Yongzheng Emperor's approval of governor-general Mamboo's recommendation to proscribe Christianity, one that had resulted in the imperial edict of 1724. The new directive enforced the proscription order and also clearly stated that no men serving in the military should enter the Catholic religion.

The tone of this apologetic text is similar to certain letters found in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.<sup>14</sup> The memorialists outlined contributions of Jesuit missionaries to China from 1593 up until 1736 in a positive light. At the start of the memorial, the writers admitted that they had annoyed the emperor in the past with petitions. However, they noted that because of the urgency of their situation, they submitted this petition. They stated: "We particularly hope for the favor of imperial investigation [of our case] (專望明鑒察之恩)" (QL.1, f. 1b). Then, they illustrated how imperial ancestors had supported the Catholic teaching. They began by observing that after Matteo Ricci had presented books and a portrait (to the Wanli Emperor [r. 1573-1620]) more

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<sup>13</sup> For more on this painter who the Qianlong Emperor lauded as "Shih-ning has no rival in the art of portraiture..." see Beurdeley, 98; Angela Zito, *Of Body & Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 34-42; and Howard Rogers and Sherman Lee, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (Landsdale, PA: International Arts Council, 1988), 182.

<sup>14</sup> Compare with LEC 3: 340-360.

Jesuits had arrived and practiced astronomy, which they understood in great detail. The memorialists observed: “Special conditions were made so they could remain [in China] 特疏容留” (QL.1, f. 1b).

The missionaries also stressed that these Western “Scholar-Priests” (*xiushi* 修士) were men of great virtue.<sup>15</sup> They illustrated this point with the example of the title that the Shunzhi Emperor had bestowed upon the scholar-official and astronomer Adam Schall von Bell, S. J. (1592-1666) for his knowledge in both philosophy and mathematics. The emperor honored him with the venerable epithet: “The Religious Teacher who Comprehends the Mysterious” (*tongwei jiaoshi* 通微教師) (QL.1, f. 1.b).<sup>16</sup> Schall was further honored when the emperor contributed a plaque that was placed in the Catholic Church in Peking that read:

Johann [Schall] entered China several decades ago. He maintained the Catholic religion and Worshipped God (*shoujiao fengshen* 守教奉神). He worshipped in a careful way. From the beginning to the end he never changed. (QL.1, f. 2a)

The importance of citing such an imperial endorsement of Schall written by the first Qing emperor in order to convince the fourth Qing emperor of the acceptability of Christianity resides in the choice of words used to describe how Schall worshipped. The terminology that expresses “Catholic religion” as *shoujiao* and worship of God as *fengshen* are traditional terms that meant “to follow the teaching or canon” and “to honor the spirits or sacrifice.” Jesuit acceptance of

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<sup>15</sup> As noted on page one, footnote two, different terms designated missionaries: *Xiru* Western Ruists (or Western Confucians), *Xiyang ren* Men from the West, and *Xiushi* Scholar-Priests. Additionally, the term that is introduced below and designates a classical foreign policy notion of “welcoming men from afar” (*rouyuan ren* 柔遠人) was sometimes adapted to refer to “Men from Afar,” who were in the context of the present discussion “Men from the West.”

<sup>16</sup> Fu Lo-shu, 2: 525. I have changed the original translation I made of this title as: “The Teacher who Understands All Subtleties” to the one used by both Chan found in, entry II, 67 II *Hsi-ch’ao ting-an* (*Xichao dingan*) and also noted by Laamann, 67.

such traditional terms for expressing the Catholic religion is an example of Jesuit accommodation of classical language and terms.

Next the memorialists cited favorable precedents from documents of the Kangxi Emperor's reign period that had bolstered the position of Christianity in China. In 1692 (KX 31) the government issued an imperial edict favorable to Christianity after opponents of Christianity called for the proscription of the religion. This came about after the Manchu official Songgoto (索額圖) (d. 1703?)<sup>17</sup> memorialized the emperor on behalf of the missionaries. With the help of Songgoto's influence and the emperor's favorable view of the missionaries, the Kangxi Emperor issued an edict that allowed the missionaries to continue to operate in China (March 19, 1692). Three days later, the emperor endorsed another memorial favorable to the missionaries. This document came to be known as the Edict of Toleration (*zhengjiao fengzhuan* 正教奉傳 March 22, 1692).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> ECCP, 2:663-666. Jesuits referred to Songgotu as Sosan in their letters. He was a member of the Hesēri clan and of the Manchu Plain Yellow Banner. His grandfather had served Nurhaci in a literary capacity. The Kangxi Emperor charged Songgotu with instructions to settle the border disputes with Russia that were negotiated in Nerchinsk and resulted in the treaty of 1689, which was in five languages: Latin, Manchu, Chinese, Mongol, and Russian. The emperor appointed the Jesuits Jean-François Gerbillon (1654-1707) and Thomas Pereira (1645-1708) to serve as interpreters on this mission. Songgotu fell into disfavor with the emperor who accused him of improper involvement with Prince Yinreng, the heir apparent who fell out of favor with his father and was deprived of his rank.

<sup>18</sup> On the so-called Edict of Toleration see Gu Weiming, *Zhongguo tianzhujiao biannianshi* 中國天主教編年史 (A Handbook of Christianity in China) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2003), 210-211; Fu Lo-shu, 1: 105-106 and 2: 295; and Dudink "Opponents" in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 503-533, particularly pages 515-517 on "Tacit Toleration of Christianity" and "The Edict of Toleration." Dudink has observed that after the disruption of the Catholic mission caused by the Calendar Case (1664-1665) a two-decade-long period of "tacit toleration" of Christianity (1671-1691) ensued, characterized by a prohibition of further propagation of the faith while at the same time the Kangxi Emperor lent his patronage to the missionaries by personally writing the text "Revere Heaven" (*jingtian*) on a tablet to be distributed to all churches. He further points out that the Edict of Toleration put the Christian religion on the same level as Buddhist monks and foreign lamas, but that the missionaries interpreted the imperial edict and the progress made during the past two decades as evidence of the "legalization" of the progress of their mission work and of the possibility that the further spread of Christianity would be legalized in the future, 516-517. The arguments in the *Ruijianlu* all move in such a similar direction as proposing that the proscription of Christianity be repealed so that the free practice of the religion becomes legally acceptable.

After citing how the Kangxi Emperor had favored Christianity, the memorialists charged that the past Manchu governor-general of Fujian, Gioro Mamboo (覺羅 滿保 [d. 1725]), had fabricated evidence against the Catholics in 1723. They stated that when the governor-general's memorial had been endorsed by the Yongzheng Emperor, this led to the proscription of the Catholic religion in the empire. The memorialists pleaded with the Qianlong Emperor "to renew the nation's policy of welcoming men from afar" (*chen deng wen guojia rouyuan zhi dian titong xiu guan* 臣等問國家柔遠之典體統修關, QL 1, f. 4).<sup>19</sup>

This request reveals how deeply the Jesuits understood Chinese and Manchu diplomacy. Additionally, the request suggests that the Jesuits themselves were actively involved in attempting to fashion diplomatic policy within the Qing.<sup>20</sup> The Jesuits realized that "welcoming men from afar" (*rouyuan ren* 柔遠人) constituted part of China's traditional way of managing foreigners and conducting foreign relations.<sup>21</sup> The foreign policy notions of "yielding to force in order to control foreigners (barbarians)" and "using barbarians to control barbarians" are traceable to notions about international relations evident as early as the Zhou and Han dynasties.

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<sup>19</sup> Giles, *Chinese Dictionary*, entry 5653 defines *rouyuan ren* (柔遠人) as "to be kind to men from afar" and Mathews, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, entry 3133 identifies *rouyuan ren* (柔遠人) as showing "gracious to strangers." This phrase has recently received renewed attention in literature on early modern Sino-European relations. See Hevia, 1-20. For a critique of Hevia's work see Joseph W. Esherick, "Cherishing Sources from Afar," *Modern China*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Symposium: Theory and Practice in Modern Chinese Research. Paradigmatic Issues in Chinese Studies, Part V, (April, 1998): 135-161.

<sup>20</sup> Wills, *Embassies & Illusions*, 178-179. Wills notes that the Peking Jesuits advised seventeenth-century European ambassadors on the importance of keeping up "tributary appearances" because the Jesuits had enough experience at court to know that "...no embassy could be received without conforming to the tribute ceremonies."

<sup>21</sup> A search in the Electronic Edition of the *Siku quanshu* revealed 376 exact matches for the term 柔遠人. The term appears once in the classic the *Yijing*, juan 1. The term appears three times in the *Zhouyi Xiangci* (周易象辭), with one entry defining the term as "yielding to force when confronted." In the *Shuyi duanfa*, juan 4, (書義斷法) the term appears in the phrase "...in this manner treating men from afar graciously, it is possible to rule all under Heaven" (...*he yi rouyuanren er zhi tianxia*.... 何以柔遠人而治天下...). Esherick "Cherishing Sources from Afar" notes that the phrase appears in the *Book of Rites (Liji)*: "Treat men from afar flexibly, and they will resort to you from the four quarters; embrace the feudal lords and all under Heaven will submit to you," 143. Esherick stresses that *huairou* policy refers to treating guests graciously, so long as they are properly submissive. For another recent

The Manchu conquest rulers had adopted terms and exterior forms of diplomatic etiquette

associated with the traditional Chinese “tribute system” practiced during the Ming.<sup>22</sup> In this system, the emperor served as the paramount host of all foreign envoys, and in this system the Chinese had grouped the people of the world into three zones. In the first zone geographically nearest to Chinese culture lived the people who had borrowed extensively from Chinese culture. The second zone consisted of Inner Asia where people lived who were neither ethnically nor culturally related to China. The third division consisted of the distant outer zone of “outer barbarians” (*waiyi*) and included Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Europe. All who appeared before the emperor were required to show respect. In this system, the emperor’s duty was to welcome foreign guests, all of whom could potentially participate in *wenming* (“Chinese civilization” 文明). The Manchus had accepted assumptions of the Chinese, such as the notion that China was the *zhongguo* (central kingdom) and that all other countries were, by definition, peripheral, and removed from the cultural center of the universe.<sup>23</sup> However, research on the Manchu Qing rulers has stressed that these rulers accommodated themselves to some traditional Chinese political values, but also instituted their own policies. While the traditional Chinese view toward non-Han peoples was one that regarded peoples outside the Chinese cultural core as

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publication on *rouyuan* policy see, Laamann, page 123, footnote 37, Wang Zhichun王之春, *Qingchao rouyuan ji* 清朝柔遠記 (Records of Hospitality towards Strangers in the Qing Dynasty), Zhao Chunchen, ed. 趙春晨, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 18-24.

<sup>22</sup> Wills, *Embassies and Illusions*, 19-20. The first emperor of the Ming, the Hongwu Emperor, had reasserted the ceremonial and institutional supremacy of the Son of Heaven over all other sovereigns and limited embassies. Assumptions that a tribute system functioned clearly along ideological lines of Chinese cultural supremacy have been challenged by Wills in *Embassies and Illusions* and *Guns and Pepper* and in *China Among Equals* ed. Morris Rossabi.

<sup>23</sup> Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 119.



being able to be transformed and integrated into Chinese culture, the Qing ideal of “universal rule” differed from the Chinese concept on the following point: The Manchu policy toward the five major peoples of the empire (Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, and Chinese) was one that preserved cultural boundaries within these groups.<sup>24</sup>

In the first memorial in the *Ruijianlu*, it is interesting to consider how the Europeans presented their case and begged the Qianlong Emperor to favor Christianity. The court Jesuits specifically cited a *Special Rule of Welcoming Men from Afar* (*Rouyuan Tedian* 柔遠特典, QL. 1, f. 4).<sup>25</sup> The small book is striking in appearance because the text of the imperial rescript is printed entirely in red on white paper with dragon borders surrounding the text. The text consists of the 1688 imperial edict of the Kangxi Emperor, one which was issued upon the arrival of the five Jesuit “French Mathematicians.” The edict had allowed them to travel to Peking and reside in the capital. This group had been sent by Louis XIV to serve in the Qing court after the Kangxi Emperor had asked the Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest to bring such experts from Europe to China. I have found two later references to a *Special Rule of Welcoming Men from Afar* (*Rouyuan tedian*)

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<sup>24</sup> On the manner in which the Manchus adapted themselves to Chinese culture and particularly stressed the importance of the Confucian canon and filiality see Rawski, “Presidential Address” 834-835.

<sup>25</sup> BNF Ms. Chinois 1327 *Rouyuan Tedian*. Maurice Courant (1902) lists this work as “Ms. 1327 *Joey yuen té tian. Décret imperial. Relatif à cinq européens arrivés de Siam au Tche-kiang (1688) ou Grand in-8. imprimé en rouge sur papier blanc. 1 volume.*” (*Rouyuan tedian*. Imperial edict. Relating to five Europeans who arrived from Siam to Zhejiang in 1688. 8 folios. Red ink on white paper. 1 volume). *Mathews Dictionary* translates “*tedian*” as “mark of distinction,” entry 6165, no. 8. Dudink translates “*tedian*” as “mark of distinction,” which renders the title as “*Special Mark of Distinction of Welcoming Men from Afar.*” I propose that this term may be translated as “special rule” based on the fact that the edict expresses the imperial will of the Kangxi Emperor and because the Jesuits appear to be referring to these past acts of patronage as having the force of precedents or *li*... Dudink notes that this pamphlet of the *Rouyuan Tedian* appears to be an off-print from the *Xichao ding'an* (熙朝定案), held only in libraries and archives. The original first two sections (1668-1673) have been published in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian* 天主教東傳文獻 (Zhongguo shixue congshu, 24, Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1965), 71-224. See *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 132-133.

The “Five French Mathematicians” mentioned in this were given patents by the French king. From their posts in China, they also served French commercial interests and their king’s *gloire* by providing information on navigation, topography, and astronomy.

in Chinese sources, one in the *Guangdong Gazette* and the other in the *Fujian Gazette*.<sup>26</sup> Both references concern formulation of Qing policy toward nations that desired trading privileges in Qing coastal ports.

Other pieces of evidence favorable to Christianity presented in the first memorial rested upon a citation of the Kangxi Emperor's "Edict of Toleration." Next, the memorialists noted how the Yongzheng Emperor had solicited the opinion of Kong Liuxun, the governor-general of Guangdong-Guangxi, on the 1724 imperial proscription of Christianity. Kong had expressed the opinion that the churches were not bad and that the Europeans could stay in Canton. Nevertheless, the memorialists observed that the Europeans were expelled to Macao in 1733.<sup>27</sup>

Toward the end of the first memorial in the *Ruijianlu*, the Jesuits presented a classical allusion to illustrate their position that Catholicism and the teaching of China's ancient sages accorded one to the other. They made an analogy between the Catholics' worship of the Lord of Heaven and with the "Great Way of revering Shangdi with fear and respect."<sup>28</sup> With this citation, the memorialists claimed that the way that the Catholics worshipped heaven and the way that China's emperors, kings, teachers, and sages since antiquity had worshipped heaven were the

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<sup>26</sup> *Siku Quanshu*, 562-564 *ce* [Chinese term for a small volume], 320-322; and in *Siku Quanshu*, 527-530 *ce*, 285-288. These two references to the term *rouyuan tedian* may also be found in the electronic version of the *Siku Quanshu*.

<sup>27</sup> Kong Liuxun's entire response appears in *Fu Lo-shu*, vol. 1: 139. Kong had noted that the Europeans had not broken Chinese laws, but he characterized the Europeans' contributions to China as insignificant and their religion as one that "...was not basically the teaching of Chinese sages." The emperor's endorsement on this memorial stated: "We should be gracious in every respect to strangers from a foreign land. If you do not understand our [gracious idea] idea, but press them too harshly, you do wrong. Thus, We have spoken!"

<sup>28</sup> See *Ruijianlu* (QL.1 f. 4b): *nai tiandi shenren wanwu zhizai, yu zigu diwang shisheng xiangchuan, xiaoxin jingwei zhongri qianqian zhi dadao xiangtong* 乃天地神人萬物之宰，與自古帝王師聖相傳，小心敬畏終日乾乾之大道相同。 Other examples of classical allusions in this phrase follow: The use of *Wanwu* refers to all beings, the universe, and in Chinese philosophy to all kinds and varieties of beings. The word in its ancient form may be found on oracle bones and is found in the *Book of Documents* (*Shujing*) and the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing*). On this point see *Grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise* in 6 volumes (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2001), entry 12,076, Vol. 6: 490. *Wanwu* may also be found in the dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* (說文解字). The classical allusion to *wanwu* also contains the following references to the Classics: *Huiguo zixin* appears in *Mencius*, "Taijia,"

same.<sup>29</sup> The memorialists maintained that the Kangxi Emperor was able to find new benefit in different “teachings” (*jiao*) or religions, and he was able to discover truth. The memorialists’ final point was that they could endure the insults they had received, but that they had to clarify these points to the emperor because “...these insults disgraced the reputation of Catholicism and libeled the authority of sacred ancestors who put forth sympathetic laws” (*Si ci dianru jiaoming qie zhongshang liezu qin'ai zhi dian* 似此玷辱教名且重傷列祖欽哀之典) (QL 1. 4b).

Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) presented the first memorial on 3 May 1736, and the memorial was kept under consultation for ten days. Then the missionaries received an order to appear at the court in the early morning of 14 May 1736. They met with the official Grand Minister of the Imperial Household, Hai Wang, who transmitted the emperor’s order to console them. Then they expressed thanks to the emperor and left.

The second memorial in the *Ruijianlu* (also composed by the Fathers Kögler, Pereira, Parennin, and others) is less important than the first and third. However, its general content is presented now because the reporting in this memorial (as well as the other four Jesuit memorials in the short book) appears to demonstrate to Qing authorities that the Men from the West scrupulously reported their affairs according to government regulations and also showed proper respect to the emperor in reporting on the death of missionaries who had served the Qing. In the

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“...repented his errors, was contrite, and reformed himself.” *Zixin* refers to the *Great Learning*: “If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day.” In the phrase *xiaoxin jingweizhongri qianqian* the first phrase refers to revering the Sovereign on High (Shangdi); *xiaoxin* appears in the *Book of Poetry* (Major Odes) in the phrase “watchfully and reverently, with entire intelligence served the Sovereign on High,” see *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (T'ien-chu Shih-I)*, ed. Edward J. Malatesta, trans., with introduction and notes by Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), 122-124. Both *jing* and *wei* appear in the *Book of Documents*, and *Zhongri qianqian* appears in the *Book of Changes*, hexagram 1.

<sup>29</sup> This passage highlights the missionaries’ usage of Chinese terms from China’s classical canons. The passage expresses the Jesuit interpretation of early Chinese religious belief that maintained the early reverence Chinese showed for Shangdi represented an expression of early Chinese monotheism and anticipation of the revealed religion of Christianity. For example Matteo Ricci wrote in *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* that “Our Lord of Heaven is the Sovereign on High mentioned in the ancient [Chinese] canonical writings....” see Malatesta, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, 122-123.

second memorial the Westerners addressed the emperor in compliance with custom and then summarized the life and accomplishments of the Jesuit José Suarez (Su Lin 蘇林) (1656-1736), who had first worked as a missionary in Jiangnan. Upon imperial orders Suarez had been accompanied to the capital by an investigating officer because his service in optics was sought by the court. The aged Suarez who had lived in the Church near Xuanwumen in Peking died in the first year of the Qianlong reign.<sup>30</sup> The memorialists wrote that they petitioned the emperor based on such precedents as when the Westerner Gabriel de Magalhães (1610-1677) as well as others passed away because of old age and illness. An imperial order was written in response to this memorial, one that granted the missionaries 200 tael of silver from the Treasury Department.

### III. The Case of Liu Er and Its Significance in the Worsening of Conditions for Manchu and Chinese Christians and Missionaries

The third memorial by the same writers respectfully addressed the emperor and stated that they felt compelled to address him regarding recent atrocious and false accusations about Christianity in 1737 (QL.2 f. 1). They stressed that they resided alone in China and sought the sage (*ruijian*) and sympathetic assistance of the emperor (QL 2, f. 1).<sup>31</sup> They noted that on the sixth day of the tenth month, they learned that notifications issued by the Board of Justice

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<sup>30</sup> See Fu Lo-shu, 2: 523, who notes that the fourth Qing emperor followed the example of his father and observed mourning for twenty-seven months after the death of his father. During that period two princes and two grand secretaries dealt with all state affairs. Not until December 1737 did the Qianlong Emperor take over administration.

<sup>31</sup> The text of this memorial composed by Ignatius Kögler, André Pereira, Dominique Parennin, Giuseppe Castiglione, and other court Jesuits was translated into French and may be found in the text of the letter-report “*État de la religion dans l’empire de la Chine, en l’année 1738*” [no author cited of this report] in LEC 3:726-736 (Panthéon 1838-1843, ed.) and in LEC vol. 23, 85 (Paris, 1738, Toulouse, 1811, ed.). The Panthéon translation of the third memorial begins on page 728 and ends on page 730. Translations of memorials 4, 5, and 6 in the *Ruijianlu* follow, and the letter closes with examples of Christian valor displayed by Christian converts in the face of the rising persecution.

appeared affixed to walls throughout the city instructing officials of the Nine Gates, the Five Districts, and Two Counties to follow the 1724 imperial edict proscribing Christianity. The notice stated that the Christian convert named Liu Er (劉二) had been apprehended in order to punish him for his crime of sprinkling water on the heads of infants. The missionaries stated that they had never heard that sprinkling water or chanting scriptures was criminal. This assertion that the missionaries knew nothing concerning such ritual activities that the government deemed heretical and characteristic of illegal cults is questionable for the following reason: According to Article 162 of the Qing Code sprinkling water was defined as “cult” (also translated as “sect”) behavior.<sup>32</sup> Although Christian missionaries had long tried to distance their religion from cults such as the outlawed White Lotus Society,<sup>33</sup> the idea that they had no knowledge of this specific statute remains somewhat farfetched, based upon the minute reporting on government affairs found in Jesuit literature.<sup>34</sup>

In the *Ruijianlu* the memorialists defended Liu Er by stating that sprinkling water represented the Christian rite of baptism and that this could be investigated and confirmed (QL. 2 f. 1). They observed that after Liu Er was interrogated twice, he was then sentenced to a severe caning and also received the punishment of wearing a cangue, which had affixed to it the words: “Criminal who entered the Lord of Heaven Teaching [Catholic Religion].” This sentence

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<sup>32</sup> See Jones, 174. Specifically, Article 162 of the Code entitled “Prohibitions Concerning Sorcerers and Sorceresses” stipulated that sorcerers or sorceresses could not call up evil spirits, or draw charms and chant into water; nor could they claim to be a society (also termed sect or cult) such as the Maitreya Buddha (*Milefu*), the White Lotus Society (*Bailianhui*), the Enlightened and Respectful Society (*Mingzunjiao*), or the White Cloud Society (*Baiyunhui*). All these societies the Code defined as heretical.

<sup>33</sup> See Dudink, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 134. He notes that in May 1687 the Kangxi Emperor forbade local magistrates from including Christianity when proscribing teachings like the White Lotus Society upon the request of Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688). This decision appeared in the Jesuit collection entitled *Xichao dingan* (first section 1672). However, the emperor never approved Verbiest’s repeated requests for freedom to propagate Christianity. Dudink notes some ambiguous comments by the Kangxi Emperor were either omitted from some collections or inserted in others, and he points out this represents manipulation of meaning.

<sup>34</sup> For an example of minute reporting on government affairs see Father de Mailla’s letter reporting on the proscription of Christianity in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 3:340-360.

followed the penal prescriptions contained in Article 162 of the Qing Code. However, the memorialists stressed that they only engaged in China in such good acts as persuading people to respect, to love, to be knowledgeable, and to act for the public good. They again cited past favorable actions and rulings toward Christianity of the Kangxi Emperor, whom they described as one who understood them, trusted them, and promoted them without doubts (QL 2, 2a-b). They pointed out that even in 1724 after the Yongzheng Emperor had approved Mambo's recommendations there were no cases of arrests or beatings.

However, the ruling against Liu Er had actually exonerated the Catholic missionaries. An imperial edict had declared that the Board of Punishments had arrested and punished Liu Er because he broke Chinese law, not because he was related to the missionaries. In response to this ruling that exonerated the missionaries, they thanked the emperor. The fourth memorial found in the *Ruijianlu* is the memorial of thanks.

A comparison of what the court Jesuits wrote to the Qianlong Emperor concerning the Liu Er case in the *Ruijianlu* and the French language report on the same topic in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* reveals how the Jesuits modified evidence to fit the audience they were addressing. The Chinese and French language accounts both record the main events leading to the arrest and punishment of Liu Er and of the imperial exoneration of the missionaries. However, the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* offer copious extra details, such as the names of government officials responsible for prosecuting Liu Er, profiles of their positions on the case, and a record of the cross-examination of Liu Er in court, including his frank testimony regarding his faith in Christianity. Liu Er said he would not renounce the religion no matter what punishment he might receive.<sup>35</sup> Such inclusion of court testimony and witness for Christianity in

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<sup>35</sup> LEC 3:727-728.

the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* illustrates the point that Dr. Li Jian-jun has made about the significance of the letters' literary structure and propagandistic value.<sup>36</sup> Li has argued that the letters echo fundamental themes of the *Spiritual Exercises*, namely, the struggle between good and evil, as well as between God and idolatry. Li has pointed out that an Ignatian classification system of Jesuit discoveries in China is discernible in the letters.

The French-language account of the third memorial gives further detailed evidence about the China mission that would elicit deep sympathy from Jesuit supporters and admirers. The beginning paragraphs of the “Report on the State of the Religion in the Chinese Empire in 1738” state that a persecution against Christianity began in Peking in 1735.<sup>37</sup> This persecution accelerated in intensity in 1737 after the Chinese convert Liu Er, a catechist with the Portuguese fathers, was arrested for baptizing abandoned infants in what the French called a “government run hospital” for abandoned infants who were gathered into carts and delivered to such shelters each morning.<sup>38</sup> The Jesuits unanimously condemned Chinese infanticide and had taken upon themselves the mission of rescuing abandoned infants and baptizing them.<sup>39</sup> The report stated that nearly 2,000 abandoned infants had received baptism in the three Jesuit churches in Peking. It further reported that in 1723 Liu Er had been arrested for baptizing infants and brought before

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<sup>36</sup> Li, 15-25.

<sup>37</sup> LEC 3:726-736. This report notes that preceding letters detailed events leading to the present persecution. See for example, “*Lettre du P. de Mailla au R. P. Hervieu. Constance d’un Chinois convert*” LEC 3: 666-689 and “*Lettre du P. de Mailla au P. \*\*\*. Discussion des missionnaires avec les mandarins. Examens des livres chrétiens par ordre de l’empereur,*” LEC 3:680-687.

<sup>38</sup> LEC 3:726.

<sup>39</sup> For earlier reports on abandoned children see LEC 3: 327-329 “*Lettre du P. Gaubil à Monseigneur de Normond, Archevêque de Toulouse. Désolation dans les chrétientés-- Remarques sur les enfans exposés, de la province de Canton, à la Chine, ce 4 novembre 1722.*” Gaubil identified the ‘hospital’ that the Chinese call a *Yio-gin-tang* and the French called a *maison de la miséricorde* as one that was supported by the emperor, of grand proportions, and staffed with many women, which excluded any missionaries from entering the building due to the Chinese sensitivity about separation of the sexes, which was stipulated in the Qing Code. Thus, a Chinese catechist who lived near the hospital oversaw the baptism of those infants near death while some infants were delivered to churches, LEC 3:327.

the governor of Peking in his court *yamen* and interrogated. At that time, no crime was found other than his being Christian. However, in 1737 Liu Er and Tchín-tsi (correct *pinyin* and characters unknown) the guardian of the hospital, along with the man who accused both men of misbehavior, Ly-si-eou, (correct *pinyin* and characters unknown) were brought before the Manchu-mandarin Ou-che-san (*pinyin* and characters unknown), an official the report identified as “an enemy of Christianity.”<sup>40</sup>

The French letter contains an unforgettable and melodramatic scene between the Qianlong Emperor and Brother Castiglione. The emperor, who entered the artist’s studio to watch him paint, posed several questions to Castiglione, but he did not have the will to respond. When the emperor inquired whether he was ill, the painter replied: “No, Sire, but I am in a great state of despondency.” Then the Italian knelt before His Majesty and continued: “Your Majesty has condemned our sacred religion. The streets are full of placards that proscribe it. How are we then able to serve Your Majesty tranquilly? When the people of Europe learn of this order that has been given, will there be one who will come here to serve you?” The emperor responded: “I have never forbidden you [to practice] your religion. You are free to exercise your religion, but our people ought not to embrace it.”

“We have not been in China for a long time,” replied the brother, “other than to preach [to your people], and the Kangxi Emperor, your august grandfather, gave us permission to preach throughout the empire.” As the brother spoke, tears welled in his eyes, and the emperor asked him to rise, saying that he would once again examine the affair.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> LEC 3:726.

<sup>41</sup> LEC 3:732-733. This same episode is also described in Beurdeley, 40. On the same page the Beurdeleys notes that a missionary who witnessed this scene latter reported that Castiglione’s supplication had not moved the emperor. Rather he wrote: “His face filled with fury, he turned his back on him and for some days did not return to the place where he took pleasure in watching him paint.”



According to the third memorial of the *Ruijianlu*, the emperor ordered Yin Jishan (尹繼善) (1696-1771), Minister of the Board of Punishments and concurrently serving in the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner, to check into the affair. However, Yin discovered that the directive concerning the 1724 prohibition of Christianity and the forcefully worded 1736 ban prohibiting military personnel from joining the Christian religion had already been registered. The ruling was published in the empire's gazettes and made known throughout the provinces.<sup>42</sup> The French letters reported that a sympathetic governor-general named Ly-ouei (*pinyin* unknown) asked why the Jesuits had not asked that their memorial to the emperor with his response be inserted in the public gazette.<sup>43</sup>

However, surprising information was published in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. Father Dominique Parennin was identified as the person responsible for having had, as the letter reports, “three memorials” and their responses prepared for print and adorned so that the book would offer as many examples as possible (of Jesuit accomplishments).<sup>44</sup> The French report ended by describing the suffering of several Christian families in the provinces because of the decision in the Liu Er case and because of enforcement of the new directives against Christianity that aimed to ensure enforcement of the proscription edict of 1724 and prohibition against military personnel entering the religion. The final paragraph of the report summarized the present state of the mission in China with the observation:

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<sup>42</sup> LEC 3:730-734.

<sup>43</sup> LEC 3:734.

<sup>44</sup> LEC 3:735. Since eight memorials may be found in the *Ruijianlu*, it may be assumed that the writer of the “Report on the State of the Religion in the Chinese Empire in 1738” was not thoroughly versed with the contents of the published *Ruijianlu*, or he only cited the first three he considered most important, which is indeed the case.

...clear evidence [exists] of the zeal of several saintly souls for the propagation of our faith in so vast an empire, and offers their voices to our Seigneur who has deigned to give such abundant benefaction on the vine that is now in a state of desolation.<sup>45</sup>

This look at the *Ruijianlu* and the French language report in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* of memorials submitted by the Men from the West in defense of Christianity has shown that the authors pleaded with the Qianlong Emperor for a lenient Qing government policy toward the Christian religion. The punishment of the Christian convert Liu Er represents a significant case in the history of Christianity in China because the government decision to apply Qing Code statutes and punishments to Chinese Christian offenders who went against the Code signaled the resolve of the government to begin systematically enforcing the law.

The Jesuits' defense of the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven was grounded in the approach of accommodation to Chinese civilization first practiced by Matteo Ricci. The court Jesuits attempted to convince the Qianlong Emperor of the virtue of Christian missionaries and their religion, which Jesuits since the time of Matteo Ricci had claimed complemented the Chinese Classics. However, the Jesuits' defense of the Christian religion in the imperial court in the eighteenth century ended in slow failure, for persecution of Chinese Christians steadily increased during the Qianlong reign. However, the Jesuits' apostolate through books and their contributions to arts and sciences illustrate the breadth of this cultural and diplomatic exchange founded upon religion. Jesuit negotiations with Manchu and Chinese government officials reflect a deep level of mutual courtesy and patience attributable to both sides' respect for ritual etiquette, yet beneath the exterior surface of diplomacy lay grave unresolved issues of imperial interests and cultural confrontation, which anti-Christian opponents since the Ming era had voiced.

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<sup>45</sup> LEC 3: 736.

The co-authorship of the memorials in the *Ruijianlu* followed in the tradition of cooperative Jesuit group translation projects and group map-making projects, which flourished in the late Ming and Qing. A final question to ask is why the group memorialists did not include the name of the French Jesuit Joseph-Anne-Marie de Mailla as a co-author, for Father de Mailla had written extensively about the 1724 proscription of Christianity, been present at audiences with the Yongzheng Emperor, translated numerous Qing documents into French, and translated the *Tongjian gangmu* (*Summary of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*) into French after having worked on the translation project from Chinese to Manchu.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the precise authorship of the *Ruijianlu* and the “State of the Religion in China in 1738” remains a group project of somewhat shadowy dimension. Throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century, persecutions of Christians judged as heretical increased steadily and only abated over one hundred years later when the Daoguang Emperor (1821-1851) rescinded most anti-Christian edicts in 1844.<sup>47</sup> In a subsequent imperial edict, he pardoned those Christians who practiced the faith for moral perfection. By this time, Christianity had reached deep into remote areas of China, as well as into urban centers, by means of reprinted Christian tracts or indigenous proselytization. In this manner, the vision of earlier missionaries from the West lived on.

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<sup>46</sup> *Histoire générale*. This work was published posthumously.

<sup>47</sup> Laamann, 80-81, and see his Appendix, document 5 for the full rescript of the Daoguang Emperor issued 20 February 1846.

## CONCLUSION

A vantage point from which we can understand local and central government Qing affairs has opened wide by focusing attention on the reportage found in Father Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla's account of the 1724 proscription of Christianity in China. The *mélange* of documents this French Jesuit compiled shows how a group of court Jesuits from diverse European kingdoms strived to reverse the anti-Christian edict of 1724 by lobbying to get the imperial proscription edict repealed and attempting to prove that all Christians, including Chinese, Manchu, and European born Christians, abided by the laws of China and did nothing to harm society. However, in 1724, Fr. de Mailla lamented the deplorable state of the mission that he wrote had a "near two-hundred-year history" in China. In reality, the Jesuit mission founded by the fathers Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci had received official permission to open in southern China in 1583, some fourteen decades earlier in the late Ming dynasty (1368-1644).

This near sixty-year mathematical exaggeration by the learned French Jesuit represented not only his point of view, but also that of other Jesuit colleagues who worked beside him in the court in Peking. For this phrase describing the "near two-hundred-year history" of the Jesuit presence in China appeared in other memorials that the Jesuits presented to the throne during the Yongzheng reign (1723-1735) and in the early years of the Qianlong reign (r. 1736-1799). The significance of this exaggeration rests upon a key point that the Jesuits wished to prove to Chinese of the Qing period, and more importantly to the Manchu vanquishers who held ultimate power over the empire, all its inhabitants, and all European missionaries residing either as "guest" experts in the imperial court or as missionaries in the provinces. The Jesuits hoped to prove to the Manchus and Chinese that Christianity fit into the value-system of orthodox state Confucianism and that it broke no laws found in the Qing Code.

By means of exaggerating the number of years that the Jesuit mission had been in China, Jesuits lent credibility to their claim that historical precedent proved that they had been accepted as peaceable members of Chinese society. To add strength to this claim, they cited favorable legal precedents granted to them such as the Kangxi Emperor's imperial edict of 1692, which the Jesuits called The Edict of Toleration. This imperial edict stated that Christianity was not seditious and not in need of proscription, but ambiguously avoided other questions. In addition, the Jesuits often cited what they considered an important precedent set in 1711 by the Kangxi Emperor who rejected the memorial of Censor Fan Shaozu that called for the full-proscription of Christianity and the burning of Christian books and printing blocks so that the purity of Chinese customs and the teachings of China's sages would be recovered.

The Jesuits of the eighteenth century demonstrated in their citation of historical and legal precedents, as well as in their exaggeration of the number of years the mission had been in China, similarity with the historiographical and theological strategy proposed by the founder of the mission. Ricci had presented his Confucian-Christian synthesis in *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (1603), where he wrote that the early philosophy of the *Ru* school of the pre-Qin era (pre- 221 B.C.E.) contained within it a natural religion that anticipated the revealed religion of Christianity. Ricci claimed that Christianity complemented this early teaching, but he boldly rejected all subsequent schools of *Ruism* (or Confucianism as the philosophy became known in the West) of the later Han period and the Neo-Confucianism of the dynasties of the Song (960-1279), Yuan (1271-1368), and Ming (1368-1644). Ricci also rejected the teachings of Buddhism and Daoism, which he and subsequent Jesuits called superstitions. Such a broad reaching rejection of indigenous schools of Chinese philosophy and religions aimed to shore up Jesuit interpretations of Chinese history. However, this overbearing misinterpretation of China's

indigenous traditions overlooked the syncretism inherent in China's three major socio-religious traditions of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism and Jesuit understanding of it.

The early Catholic missionaries in China faced daunting challenges, and to overcome these challenges and survive, they took bold steps. They not only had to learn the Chinese language and attempt to master many dialects to carry out mission work, but they also needed to learn about the history, customs, and laws of East Asia. Additionally, the missionaries faced intra-order disputes over what constituted legitimate evangelical policy. Disagreements among Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, missionaries of the French Foreign Missions and Propaganda Fide, as well as other orders, gave rise to the Terms and Rites Controversy. These arguments over Jesuit translations of Chinese terms and toleration of Chinese rituals practiced by Christian converts were introduced to the pope as early as 1643 by the Dominican priest Juan Morales in his "Seventeen Questions," and in 1645 Pope Innocent X ruled against practices described by Morales. This intra-order animosity is echoed in the second paragraph of Fr. de Mailla's report on the 1724 proscription where he claimed that "Spanish Dominicans recently arrived from the Philippines" kindled the flames of the persecution in Fujian province.

The actions of the governor and governor-general of Fujian who had issued a provincial-wide order on 7 September 1723 prohibiting Christianity contributed to the worsening position of the Catholics, and after the emperor endorsed the local officials' recommendations, the situation became dire for Catholics. Governor-general Mamboo's edict of 1724 contained a succinct summation of the reasons the Catholic missionaries faced stiff official resistance to their efforts at winning the souls of Chinese and Manchus to Catholicism. These literati-officials stated: "The doctrine that the ancient Sages taught to men, the instructions of the emperors for the good government of the people, the good rules of conduct of our empire are all found in the

Three Bonds, Five Relationships, and in the Code of our laws.” The latter three socio-ethical and political formulaes represented more than four thousand years of the Middle Kingdom’s cultural heritage. Metaphorically speaking these bonds, relationships, and code of laws represented the adhesive that held together the Chinese state and society. While Confucian bonds and relationships may have been rooted in rituals and etiquette reaching into China’s early historical and archaeological past, as Mayfair Yang has stressed, Legalist strictures shaped and controlled China’s legal culture. The presumption that this tradition and its codes could be modified in a mere fourteen decades by European missionaries lies at the heart of this early modern Sino-European confrontation of cultures.

While the Jesuits in China agreed that their mission in China was to serve as evangelists of “The Divine Law” or “The Law of God,” names they used for Christianity, they did not uniformly agree on two main points: mission strategy and interpretation of Chinese texts. The French Jesuit Fr. Antoine Gaubil clearly criticized Figurist astronomical and textual interpretations as “flagrant disregard for the literary and historical legacy of the Chinese.”<sup>1</sup> European critics of the Society of Jesus charged Jesuits with casuistry on matters related to mission and apostolic policy, and these harsh critics did raise valid points considering the audaciousness of Ricci’s Confucian-Christian synthesis that linked the early philosophy of the *Ru* school of the pre-Qin era (pre- 221 B.C.E.) and the Christian notion of natural religion while Ricci also dismissed as superstitious China’s three major religions: Daoism, Buddhism, and Neo-Confucianism. Nevertheless, when European critics of the Jesuits such as Blaise Pascal and Antoine Arnauld charged the Jesuits as practitioners of casuistry regarding Chinese religion, ethics, and philosophy, the entire field of Sino-European relations and transfer of knowledge between these two civilizations was still only at its threshold. Thus, Jansenist-Jesuit

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<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, page 5, footnote 11.

condemnations of each other may be understood more as questions of European religious and political tensions than of the objective pursuit of various fields of knowledge such as history, linguistics, geography, the sciences, or what has become known as the discipline of sinology. Seventeenth-century debates in Europe over the nature of Chinese religiosity and arguments over of what constituted a proper definition of the “Christian heaven” versus the “Chinese heaven” may be characterized as only a shallow beginning of a search for mutual understanding. Still the nagging question persists of why the Jesuits generated such caustic European disagreements over theological and ethical questions. Clearly, the Jesuits distinguished themselves in Europe, China, and in missions world-wide by serving society and God in the dual capacities of innovative educators, as well as of serving as confessors, confidants, and advisors of powerful princes and monarchs. In terms of political rivalries, the Jesuits’ latter category of service made them highly vulnerable to shifts in political fortunes, and the suppression of the Society of Jesus in France in 1764 and its official dissolution by Rome in 1775 attest to the controversial activities of the order.

The accommodative techniques that Jesuits adopted to negotiate for their mission and to survive in China did succeed in many respects. The Jesuits managed by means of their apostolate through books to publish hundreds and hundreds of books and tracts on Christianity, which were widely distributed and reproduced in off-print editions that penetrated both Chinese cities and the countryside. They consistently maintained that the Christian religion, which contained the revealed and divine law of Christ, supplemented and complemented the early *Ru* tradition of China. Jesuit missionaries continually stressed in apologetic memorials and in memorials that reported on scientific findings that they worked to make positive contributions to Chinese civilization, or *wenhua*, which means “civilization” or “culture.” They pointed out that they had received special marks of favor from emperors--ever since Matteo Ricci had been granted



permission to live in southern China and then in the northern capital. In apologetic literature such as the memorials in the *Ruijianlu* that the Jesuits presented to the Qianlong Emperor, the co-authors of the memorials provided examples of the ways in which the Scholar-Priests from the West embodied virtues praised by past imperial authorities and of how Jesuit predecessors had devoted themselves to lives of worship that accorded with Chinese custom. The Jesuits continually stressed that they did not break any Chinese laws nor did their followers. Their evangelical approach stressed complementary points between European and Chinese civilization, which is in contrast to the twentieth-century field of defining “alterity” or the “otherness” in human relations throughout time.

The manner in which the court Jesuits reported in the French letters on the China mission has shown how they modified or deflected evidence they cited so that what they wrote might appeal to the audiences they were addressing. Thus, they often cited heroically loyal converts, Jesuit efforts to save the lives and souls of abandoned infants, and their unflinching devotion to establishing missions. In the French letters, they left out the stringent and clearly stated criticism of Christianity made by Censor Fan Shaozu, which resembled the harsh late Ming-era criticism of the Jesuits by Shen Que, vice-minister of the Nanjing Board of Rites. The Jesuits continually crafted deflective policies defending Christianity, which seem tailored to the audiences they addressed. Their exaggeration in memorials to the emperor that claimed that their mission in China had a “near two-hundred-year history” while it only had a fourteen decade long presence in China might have favorably impressed European patrons and some Chinese, for the peoples of both these civilizations respected tradition.

The Jesuits disclaimed any superficial similarity between Catholicism and popular Chinese religions--such as the Buddhist White Lotus Society and the Daoist Non-Action Sect--

precisely because both the Ming and Qing governments considered these sects as heterodox religious groups that spread wicked or evil beliefs that contradicted the classical canon and challenged imperial authority and social harmony. These religions posed serious threats because they often presented teachings that clashed with notions of Confucian political morality and social organization. From the Eastern Zhou era up to the short-lived, centralized Qin dynasty, *Ruists* and Legalists both had advocated their divergent approaches to ordering society. Even though Confucianism had become the state religion in the early Han era, Legalism became embedded in the legal Code of China in such fundamental social systems as the “Five Relationships” (*Wulun*) and the Neighborhood Security system (*baojia*). Understanding Confucian orthodoxy and its reverse, expressed as heterodoxy (*xiejiao*) or strange teachings (*yiduan*), represents the foundational step in the process of sorting out the arguments for and against Christianity in China in the early Qing. In reality, literati officials of the Qing and the emperor did not just target Christianity as a heterodox movement to root out of society, they aimed at discovering and exterminating all heterodox teachings.

Another key category of literature that the Jesuits of the early mission labored over was the translation of the Four Books and the Five Classics, which formed the core of the Chinese canon. With true Ignatian devotion to learning and spirituality, the early Jesuits worked together on translation projects of these classics. By means of these projects, they learned about Chinese language, philosophy, and culture, which helped them advance their mission. Translation was a daunting task for it entailed not only familiarity with Chinese language and literary Chinese, which is grammatically different from the vernacular, it also demanded knowledge of Chinese culture and history. The classic the *Great Learning* (*Daxue*) is a good example of fundamental challenges early Jesuits faced. Various alternate translations of this title expressed as *The*

*Education of Adults* or *Humanae institutionis ratio* (*The Learning of Adults*, suggested by Zhu Xi) suggest some of the subtleties of translation.<sup>2</sup> A literal translation of the *Daxue* is “[the] Big Learning,” and *Daxue* was the term chosen to designate the word for “university” in China in the late Qing. The French Jesuit Fr. de Mailla carried on the tradition of the first Jesuits who engaged in group translation projects when he translated the *Summary of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Tongjian gangmu*) into French from Manchu after working with Manchus and Chinese on a translation of the text into Manchu. Fr. de Mailla’s translation provided Europe with one of the most prominent works of secondary historical reference concerning Chinese history.

Examining the entire field of Confucian studies, we see that exegesis was the avocation of Chinese scholars who for more than two millennia scrutinized texts and compared and wrote commentaries. The classic the *Great Learning* was originally a chapter of the *Book of Rites*. The aim of the book entailed seven steps: the investigation of things, extension of knowledge, sincerity of thought, rectification of mind, cultivation of personal life, regulation of family, and finally attaining order in the state that fostered world peace.<sup>3</sup> This classical curriculum has an underlying logic that regarded learning and cultivation of the self as a continual process. A premise of the *Great Learning* expressed the belief that the laws of human reasoning can uncover the laws by which the universe operates. However, by the early twentieth century, reformers of the New Culture Movement attacked the traditional Confucian curriculum (starting

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<sup>2</sup> See for example, James Legge’s prolegomena and commentary on the meaning of the characters “*Da Xue*” in *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning & The Doctrine of the Mean*, trans. James Legge, (1893; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 1-3 and 355-356. Legge notes that the term may also express “the highest principle.” Although the neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi favored the interpretation of the work as “the learning of adults,” Legge prefers the literal translation expressed as the “Great Learning.” Also see my Introduction, page 39, footnote 83, where sinologist Knud Lundbaek endorsed Ruggieri’s Latin translation of the *Daxue* “*humane institutionis ratio*” as “the right way to teach adults.”

<sup>3</sup> Hyun Hochsmann, *On Philosophy in China* (Singapore: Wadsworth, 2004), 45-51.

in 1915 and continuing throughout the May Fourth period, which began on 4 May 1919). Half a century later adherents of the misleadingly entitled political upheaval the “Great Cultural Revolution” (*Wenhua da geming*, 1966-1976) also attacked Confucius. In reality, the Cultural Revolution was “anti-cultural” and resulted in not only the destruction of cultural monuments but worse the loss of life of those labeled “anti-revolutionaries” or “bad elements.” The profound affect of the Confucian cultural tradition on China and Greater Asia remains an area of recognized significance, scholastic inquiry, and renewed interest. Chinese government support for Confucian Institutes world-wide and local enthusiastic reception of these institutes attests to the enduring significance of the Confucian tradition.

Father J. B. du Halde remarked in the preface of volume seventeen of the French letters: “The letters continue in this new volume and need no explanation, for the simple reading of them will suffice in edifying your piety and stimulating your zeal.”<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the publication of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (1702 -1776) did create a strong impression upon European audiences, not merely because of the fascinating and fine material world of ceramic production, pearl cultivation, and other worldly pleasures that the letters described--but also because of the new world of ideas the letters introduced and the Christian piety expressed in the letters. Jean-Pierre Voiret has remarked that European audiences were receptive to Jesuit information on foreign lands that presented “Enlightenment ideas” to Europe in a pre-Enlightenment era. Physiocrat and *philosophe* writers, such as François Quesnay and Voltaire, admired Chinese customs, philosophy, and state public relief efforts when they read about these topics in the French letters. These European thinkers and others considered that Europeans could learn from

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<sup>4</sup> J. B. du Halde, in preface addressed to the Jesuits of France: “*Les Lettres contenuës dans ce nouveau Recueil, n’ont pas besoin d’éclaircissement. La simple lecture que vous en serez, suffira pour édifier votre piété, & affliger votre zèle*” in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, (Paris: Nicolas Le Clerc, 1726), 17: iii.

China. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz found in Confucian philosophy confirmation of universal beliefs that resembled his own philosophical views. Voltaire, in particular, praised the natural law ethos he discerned in the memorials and letters published in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. Voltaire used notions on natural law he gleaned from Jesuit letters to argue against the Catholic Church and the excesses and social misery he perceived that the Church's monopoly on power fostered.

A clear editorial strategy is discernible in the letters chosen for publication in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*: Jesuit mission achievements are presented in a favorable light and opponents of the mission appear as unsympathetic and harsh. In the copious letters and reports sent to their superiors, detailed accounts of missionaries' lives in China may be found, along with their achievements and contributions to Chinese culture. Certain very damaging descriptions of difficulties the mission faced in China were left out of the published letters, such as the entire recommendation of Fan Shaozu to burn all Christian books. In 1724, Fr. de Mailla never stressed how much the 1616-1617 criticisms Shen Que lodged against Catholics and missionaries' activities resembled the eighteenth-century charges leveled by Governor-general Mamboo. In the *Ruijianlu* the Fujian governor-general's accusations against Christianity are characterized as "fabrications." Such reporting in the letters provides cases in which facts were twisted.

The court Jesuits' manner of pleading with the Qianlong Emperor "to renew the nation's policy of welcoming men from afar" and rescind the proscription edict has shown how the Jesuits understood fundamental classical theories of Chinese diplomacy. They also understood the manner in which the Manchus carried out pretensions of the tribute system that strengthened Manchu rule. The request of the Jesuits to the Qianlong Emperor that he renew the *rouyuan*

policy (welcoming men from afar) has also shown that the Jesuits themselves were actively involved in attempting to influence internal policy of the Qing, which would in turn have affected Qing international relations should the emperor have granted the Jesuits their requests. Namely, in memorials they submitted to the Qianlong Emperor, they attempted to convince officials to reverse decisions taken against Christianity by the previous emperor and to persuade the fourth Qing emperor to welcome foreigners and allow them to reside in the provinces and minister to Christian communities. In concrete terms, the court Jesuits were asking for a more lenient policy toward Christianity and Qing tolerance for foreigners residing in the Chinese empire. They were acting as John E. Wills has observed as “surrogate ambassadors” from Europe. Through their roles in the court, they had gained access to opportunities for attempting to affect international relations. Finally, the co-authors of memorials to the emperor in the *Ruijianlu* dared to use the term *Shangdi* (Lord on High) to plead that the Catholics’ way of worshipping the Lord of Heaven accorded with the way that Chinese of antiquity had revered Shangdi with fear and respect--even though usage of the terms *tian* and *shangdi* had been banned by the bull *Cum Deus optimus*.

The Jesuits had lost the enthusiastic support of the Kangxi Emperor after 1706 because he regarded the intra-order strife among the Catholics as unsuitable behavior for religious men, and he judged the papal legate de Tournon as incapable of understanding Chinese civilization. After the Kangxi Emperor’s patience waned for the Catholic cause, it is not surprising that his son and grandson also turned away from supporting Christian interests. The Kangxi Emperor had originally considered the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven and Confucian values as complementary. He had honored Matteo Ricci in 1692 and all the Jesuits who served him during the first three decades of his reign (r. 1672-1722) with the imperial edict that the Jesuits referred

to as the Edict of Toleration. Throughout his reign he had granted Jesuits numerous favors, including stipends, titles, and gifts, and he had presented the Jesuits with a plaque he himself had inscribed with the words “Revere Heaven” (*jingtian*). This plaque had been placed in Jesuit churches. The Kangxi Emperor’s patronage of the Jesuits diminished greatly because of intra-order disputes over the Chinese rites, lack of consensus on missionary methods amongst the different orders proselytizing in China, and visits of legates from Rome who had irritated the second Qing emperor. The powerful monarch began to doubt the fundamental value of the Catholic teaching. At the same time, he began to equate Christianity with religious teachings that he considered “nonsense” or as “popular religions,” which contained heterodox (or wicked) beliefs, along with rituals deemed punishable by the Qing Code.

The Qianlong Emperor’s appreciation and admiration of the Jesuit Brother Giuseppe Castiglione’s artwork, along with his fascination with Western technology, led court Jesuits to hope for a lenient policy toward Christians at the beginning of the Hongli reign.<sup>5</sup> However, in 1737 he reinforced anti-Christian policies by approving an order that senior officials in the Board of Rites implored him to enact against sectarian movements, namely that no Manchu bannermen should embrace Christianity. Such a move was not a surprising policy, particularly because of the sentiments expressed by his grandfather and the enactment of the imperial edict against Christianity by his father. The *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* published the reasons the Yongzheng Emperor had opposed Christianity in a face-to-face audience with the missionaries. He said:

You wish to make the Chinese Christians, and this is what your law demands. I know this very well. But in this case what would become of us? Should we not soon become merely the subjects of your kings? The converts you have made already recognize nobody but you, and in a time of trouble, they would listen to no other voice than yours. I

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<sup>5</sup> Laamann , 62.

know that at present we have nothing to fear, but when foreign ships start coming in great numbers [their thousands and tens of thousands], then it may be that some serious disorders will arise.<sup>6</sup>

Clearly the Yongzheng Emperor viewed Christianity as a threat to his government's internal security--as well as international security. Likewise, his son the Qianlong Emperor fully grasped the threat to internal security that the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven posed to his empire. He refused to repeal the 1724 order. Perhaps not ironically, but as if from the guidance of the metaphorical muses of science, technology, and the arts, the Qianlong Emperor in the early years of his reign did not order the officials of his civil and military imperium to implement fully the Code's legal strictures and punishments against heterodox religious activities. However, gradually throughout the latter years of his reign (beginning in the late 1740s), persecutions against Christian communities increased drastically, and the emperor endorsed enforcement of laws in the Qing Code against sects when his officials recommended such steps. In the early years of his reign, the Qianlong Emperor's passionate devotion to the arts and sciences, as well as his admiration and fascination with the genius of the Italian Jesuit painter Brother Giuseppe Castiglione, provided Chinese Christians with a short reprieve. Although the Qianlong Emperor's reign actually exceeded his grandfather's in length, and he extended the empire's borders to their greatest extent, while also becoming the greatest art collector in China's history, the Chinese Christians fared poorly by the end of his reign because many scholar-officials began judging Christian activities by the word of the statutes of the Qing Code.

The Jesuits' desire to build a Republic of Letters between China and Europe did succeed, as witnessed by artworks produced and the numerous titles of Chinese language works the priests published in China, which included catechisms, theological works, translations of humanistic

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<sup>6</sup> See Appendix 1.14. This passage comes from LEC 3: 346-366.



literature, morality tracts, along with the entire category of scientific works they published. Technical works included translations of treatises on geometry, Western mathematical methods, astronomical methods, medicine, mechanics, linguistics, painting, and so on.<sup>7</sup> The Jesuits' sojourn in China allowed them to translate, compose, or have European editors and publishers release such works as the *Histoire générale*, *Journal des voyages*, and the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, among numerous other titles.<sup>8</sup> Neither the missions nor the publishing endeavors of the early Jesuit mission flourished in the waning years of the eighteenth century because of the 1724 proscription edict. However, much evidence of this early modern exchange still exists.

The 1724 imperial edict against Christianity forced missionaries to engage in underground church activities in order to minister to Christian communities. In terms of Qing law, these activities were illegal. Many Christian communities suffered the multiple losses of European pastoral guidance, ritual, and liturgical support. As a result indigenous individuals and communities of faithful Christians themselves nurtured the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven. This resulted in what scholars consider a further example of the indigenization of Catholicism. Christian communities that possessed a fair abundance of printed literature on the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven underwent a process of local assimilation of Catholic values into what became popular religions.<sup>9</sup> The transformative process by which Christianity became a popular

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<sup>7</sup> See Yu Sanle *The Early Period of Missionary Activity in Beijing* and see section entitled "4. Themes" in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, which includes the four major areas: 4.1 Theology and Ethics, 4.2. Science and Technology, and 4.3. Arts, Crafts, and Language, and 4.4. Cultural Transmission to Europe. Each section is subdivided into specific disciplines and the Jesuits' Apostolate through books appears in section 4.1.2. Each section cites Chinese titles by Jesuits. An expanded list of books published by the Jesuit *apostolat der presse* is forthcoming from scholars at the University of Leuven, Belgium.

<sup>8</sup> The *Histoire générale* by Father de Mailla contained translations from Manchu of Chinese annalistic history, his commentaries, and missionary letters, documents, and Jesuit correspondence with European savants. A segment of Joachim Bouvet's *Journal des voyages* was first published in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's *Description de la Chine*, and the entire work has been recently published and edited by Claudia Von Collani, ed. *Journal des voyages* (Taipei: Ricci Institute, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> On this point see Laamann, *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China*, 4.

Chinese religion has been receiving greater attention in recent years by scholars. Laamann maintains: “Christianity’s successful inculturation into the matrix of traditional values--a major reason for its survival--has been ignored or even condemned, concealing the degree of cultural hybridity Christianity had attained by the close of the ‘long century’ of prohibition.”<sup>10</sup> Jonathan D. Spence has analyzed the astounding path that led the Hakka ethnic minority examination candidate Hong Xiuquan to the juncture in his life when Protestant missionary tracts and Biblical literature effected his conversion to Christianity. Hong came to believe that he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ, and he formed the God-worshipping Society. In his quest to establish the Kingdom of Heavenly Peace in China (*Taiping tianguo*), the rebellion he inspired severely endangered the Qing dynasty, and the upheavals caused nearly twenty million deaths by war or starvation.<sup>11</sup>

As the rich collections of the former King’s Library in the French National Library attest, researchers may still find ample documents relating to the study of the exchange between Europe and China in the early modern period. The thousands and thousands of letters, documents, and books held by the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome likewise offer researchers further years of sifting among letters and apostolic tracts. The holdings in numerous archives in Asia and Europe still contain correspondence on missionary affairs that merit attention. Over the past three decades in China, archives have been publishing previously unknown documents and *dang’an*, which means “religious or legal cases,” that merit further research.

In Rottmayr’s painting *The Triumph of Science and the Arts* nine muses surround Minerva’s throne of wisdom and victory, namely the pensive muse of mathematics and the

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan D. Spence, *God’s Chinese Son, The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), xxi.

optimistic muse of astronomy, along with the muse of painting, music, and architecture, who is pictured shouldering a three-storied stone palace on her bare shoulder. With all of the goddess of war's wisdom and ingenuity, such a feminine idealization of the Republic of Letters could not inspire a solution for the discord European priests and Christians faced in China after the 1724 proscription of the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven. Nevertheless, Sino-European exchange continued.

In the confrontation of European cultural traditions and Christianity with East Asian beliefs and values of the early modern period, both men and women enacted roles ranging from emperor and priest to catechist and Christian virgin. Opponents of Christianity classified the religion as a strange, heterodox, or wicked teaching that challenged imperial authority, destroyed mores, and undermined the teaching of China's sages. By the end of the eighteenth century, Qing military power and imperial authority expanded China's empire to the greatest size China's borders had ever reached. Despite the empire's military strength not only did the Taiping rebellion undermine social stability so did mid-nineteenth century Muslim rebellions in the southwest and northwest. Re-examination of questions concerning Chinese religiosity, philosophy, science, ethnicity, nationalism, visual arts, and legal history and their intersection with European values has shown that these areas offer topics for further research. Questions related to each one of these topics are still being debated. The posting of two entire early editions of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* to the world-wide web in the middle of 2007 will afford large audiences the opportunity to continue research on Sino-European relations.

## Appendix

This is my translation of the letter that appears in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant L'Asie L'Afrique et L'Amérique, avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions, et des notes géographiques et historiques*, ed. by M. L. Aimé-Martin, 4 vols. (Paris: Société du Panthéon Littéraire, 1838-1843), 3:346-366.<sup>1</sup> In this and all earlier editions of the letters, the letter head is formatted in the style: “Letter of Father de Mailla to Father \*\*\*. Missionary of the Society of Jesus. On the proscription of Christianity. From Peking, 16 October 1724.” The stars, \*\*\*, indicate that the addressee of the letter was unknown. (See Fig. 7, F. de Mailla’s 24 October 1724 letter, N. Le Clerc ed., vol 17: 163). The Panthéon edition, as well as latter abridged collections, only omitted “Missionary of the Society of Jesus,” and except for this omission, the text accords with the earliest editions, except for the misspelling of the name of the catechism *Yoyen* (see footnote 32 below). In the earliest publications many terms were capitalized. For example, in the J. Cusson edition (1702-1776) and the N. Le Clerc edition (1707-1776) the following terms are nearly always capitalized: Religion, Christian Religion, Law (*Loi/Loy*), Sages, Mandarins, Neighborhood Heads (*Chefs*), Edict (*Édit*), Petition/Request (*Requête*), Memorial (*Mémoire*), Petition and (*Placet*). The three latter terms are used interchangeably in the text, and follow some of the rules of the Qing communication system, which govern which officials may send correspondence.

Nineteenth century editions of the letters omitted the detailed table of contents found in the back of the French editions, which provided readers with a precise overview of the letters’ contents and previewed mission activities, as well as foreign terms and place names. (See Figure 8, Table of Contents of F. de Mailla 24 October 1724 letter, N. Le Clerc ed., vol. 17: 493-495).

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<sup>1</sup> See my bibliography under “Jesuits” for publication information on the editions I consulted. For complete information on all editions up to the early twentieth century see Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca sinica dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l’empire chinois*, vol. 2, second ed., (Paris: Guether, 1904-1922), 2: 926-1086. Cordier describes all editions, and he names the authors and outlines the contents of each volume, plus other miscellaneous useful information, for example: exact locations of original volumes in European collections.

The first edition of this collection has the title *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ed. by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, S.J., 34 vols., (Paris: J. Cusson, 1702-1776). When I began my research in 1999, access to early editions was limited to rare book collections. Therefore, I relied for citations on the Harvard University held Panthéon edition entitled *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant L'Asie L'Afrique et L'Amérique, avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions, et des notes géographiques et historiques*, ed. by M. L. Aimé-Martin, 4 vols. (Paris: Société du Panthéon Littéraire, 1838-1843), vol. 3: 346-366. In May 2006, books.google.com posted a version of the first two volumes of the Panthéon edition held by Harvard University. In June 2007 the University of Michigan digitalized the entire *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*.

Latter editions also omitted the editors' introductory remarks, which contain valuable perspectives. Father de Mailla's letter consists of three components: background on the 1724 proscription, eleven Chinese language documents regarding controversies over Christianity, which he translated into French, plus four records of oral speech, which he also transcribed into French. In all eighteenth century editions of the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, documents and speeches were punctuated in the antiquated style of setting off each line with quotation marks. (See Figure 4, which illustrates this practice in the Latin account of the Jesuits' petition to the emperor, cf. Appendix 1.12 below. To help identify the structure of this letter, I have identified each document and lengthy oral speech by numbers, 1.1-1.15, and indented these fifteen discrete texts.

The earliest editions contained footnotes, and I specifically identify these. All other footnotes in the appendix are mine. To give the reader a sense of romanization styles of the eighteenth century and challenges of deciphering these names and terms, the romanization term used in the original letter for each eighteenth-century French rendering of names, terms, or place names will appear in brackets once after the term's first mention, followed by a translation if necessary. Example: "he received from the *zongdu* [*tsong-tou*, or governor-general]. Brackets [ ] indicate information added to the text, and parentheses ( ) indicate that the information in parentheses appeared in the original text. This format may help contemporary readers because spelling and transliteration of Chinese names in the eighteenth century varied widely, and some terms or names remain unidentifiable. In all editions of the letters, the Chinese term for "governor-general" *zongdu* is repeatedly used in the text. The original letter written by Father de Mailla appears to be no longer extant. However, related letters held in ARSI are similar in style to the published letters. For example, the Latin letters reporting on the mission held in ARSI reflect this convention, see Fig. 4, Jap. Sin. 179, 347/6r. and 347/7v. The consistent practice of identifying Chinese bureaucratic offices in romanized form shows that the letters' authors wished to familiarize Church officials and readers with these terms, and the publishers followed this convention. The following documents and oral records appear in Appendix 1:

1. Provincial level order issued by the governor-general (*zongdu*) of Fujian and Zhejiang Gioro Mamboo (4 June 1723) to Fuan district magistrate ordering him to prohibit Christianity, confiscate local churches, no longer allow Christian girls to remain virgins, and enlist the assistance of lineage and *baojia* leaders in carrying out the order.(LEC 3: 347).

2. Local level public edict prohibiting Christianity in Fuan written and posted by District Magistrate of Fuan, Fuzhi, immediately after receiving order from Mamboo. (BAV, Borgia Cinese., 316 (8-H) f° 19). (LEC 3: 348-349) (YZ 1.5.26)
3. Local level report of District Magistrate Fuzhi to first-level or provincial officials (BAV Borgia Cinese 316 (8) “G” f° 18; (LEC 3: 349-350). (YZ 1.6.1)
4. Provincial level secret message of Governor-general Mamboo to mandarin official (District magistrate Fuzhi) (BAV 316 (8-F) f° 17. (LEC 3: 349)
5. Local level response of District Magistrate Fuzhi to Governor-general Mamboo.
6. Public edict of Governor-general Mamboo and provincial governor (*xunfu*) against Christianity.
7. Provincial level edict of Mamboo against Christianity to His Majesty Yongzheng, 22 November 1723.
8. Central government ruling of the Board of Rites (also referred to as “Ministry” or “Tribunal”) against Christianity and in support of Mamboo’s memorial. (BAV, Borgia Cinese 316 (5) first half).
9. Imperial endorsement of Mamboo’s memorial and the decision of the Board of Rites (YZ 1.12.14) which called for the proscription of Christianity in China but also allowed for a six month period for missionaries not employed by the court to leave for Macao. (BAV, Borgia Cinese 316 (5) second half). (YZ 1.12.14) (This document appears in all versions of the *Qing Shilu* in shortened form. It is in *Qing Shilu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju chubanshe, 1985), 419. The shortened version appears in Antonio Sisto Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China* (South Pasadena: P.D. and Ione Perkins, 1948) 391-392 and in Fu Lo-shu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644-1820)* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), 138.
10. Memorial composed by Father Kögler and other missionaries begging for emperor’s grace.
11. Comments on the missionaries’ memorial made by their “prince protector,” Prince Yinxiang, the thirteenth son of the late emperor and trusted brother of the present emperor.
12. Corrected draft according to prince protector’s suggestions of the memorial of Father Kögler and other missionaries seeking emperor’s grace. Jap. Sin. 179, ff. 340-347. “Admodum Reverend in Chro. P. Generalis,” [to Angelo Tamburini, S.J.], Peking, Iul. 1724. (ARSI, Jap. Sin. 179, 310, r,v, “Memorial, sine libellus supplex oblatus a Padre Ignatio Kegler.”
13. Oral response of the emperor to the petition of Father Kögler and other missionaries that requests that the governor-general and provincial-governor of the province of Canton (Guangdong) consider allowing the European missionaries the right to reside in the capital of the province.
14. Record of the words of the Yongzheng Emperor spoken during the audience he granted to Fathers Parennin, Kögler, and Bouvet.
15. Record of the comments made by Father Parennin during the imperial audience.

## Appendix 1

“Letter of Father de Mailla to Father \*\*\*.

On the proscription of Christianity. From Peking, 16 October 1724.”<sup>2</sup>

My Reverend Father

The peace of our Lord,

How can I write to you in this state of overwhelming distress that has reached us? And by what means could I give you the details of the sad scenes that occurred before our eyes? What we have been aware of for several years, what we have often predicted has finally arrived: our sacred religion has been completely banned in China. All missionaries, except for those who were in Peking, have been expelled from the empire; the churches are being either destroyed or used for profane purposes; edicts are being published, commanding the Christians to renounce their faith and forbidding others to embrace it lest they face rigorous punishment. To such a deplorable state has been reduced a mission which for almost two hundred years has cost us so much sweat and so many efforts.

The first sparks that kindled the fire of such a general persecution started last year in July in the province of Fujian [*Fokien*]. It happened in the district city of Fuan [*Foun gan-hien*], a city dependent on the department of Funingzhou [*Fou-ning-tcheou* in Fujian Province].<sup>3</sup> A Christian community existed there guided by the Reverend Fathers Blaz de la Sierra and Eusebio Ostot, Spanish Dominicans recently arrived from the Philippines. A Christian scholar [*un bachelor Chrétien*], holder of a licentiate [“bachelor,” also called *shengyuan*, or first-level degree] degree, became discontent with one of the missionaries and had forsaken the faith. Then, he associated himself with several other licentiates to whom he had confided his disappointments. They went together to the local mandarin [mandarin] and presented him with a petition [*requête*] containing several accusations. The main ones were, as we may understand from the mandarin’s ordinance, that Europeans who lived surrounded by secrecy had built a great temple<sup>4</sup> at the expense of their disciples; that men and women gathered together pell-mell in the temple; and that young girls were from early childhood designated to remain in a state of virginity and abjure marriage, and so on. It is certain that these practices were instituted within recent years with the best intentions, but it is nonetheless certain that this was done with little knowledge of Chinese customs [*coutumes*] or without enough consideration for them. As for other missionaries who spread out through this vast empire, the Jesuits and members of other orders, such as Franciscans,

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<sup>2</sup> LEC 3: 346-366.

<sup>3</sup> Father de Mailla often used the term “Mandarin” to describe Qing officials at the local, provincial, and metropolitan level of the bureaucracy. This translation follows the style of the French author of the letter and uses the term mandarin, as well as specific titles that identify mandarin rank.

<sup>4</sup> Father de Mailla translated the word “dang” which Christians used to identify churches as “temple” in the text probably to keep the flavor of the Chinese language memorials that criticized Christianity. Christians preferred to use “dang,” a “hall,” to refer to churches. The word in Chinese designates a community hall for scholarly meetings.

Augustinians, and the gentlemen of the *Missions étrangères de Paris*,<sup>5</sup> those who are aware of the Chinese sensitivity concerning the separation of sexes, have carefully avoided vexing them in any way regarding this sensitive subject. For considering the spirit of this people, nothing would have been a more powerful reason for them to reject the [Christian] religion, which they would deem as being odious and contemptible.

There is no doubt that the city magistrate-mandarin of Fuan, to whom the petition was presented, sent it on to his superiors, as on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month, which is the 14<sup>th</sup> of June [1723], he received from the *zongdu* [*tsong-tou*]<sup>6</sup> the following order:

**(1.1)** I am informed that in your jurisdiction, there are people who profess the religion of the Lord of Heaven; that both rich and poor embrace it; that they have temples in both the city and the countryside; and what is most outrageous is that there are young girls who follow the religion to whom marriage is forbidden and to whom the name is given “virgins”; that while this religion is being preached there is no distinction between men and women; that in the region that is dependent on Fuan, there are all together about fifteen or sixteen temples of this sect. This [Christianity] is a foreign religion that seduces the people and corrupts our good customs--this is of great consequence. For these reasons, it is only appropriate that we defend against this law [*loi*] and stop its [Christianity’s] course. Therefore, I send this order, and as soon as you receive it, make sure that you make it public in the whole of Fuan, that you forbid the religion, that you take the name of each temple and describe its shape, that you close them and order the heads of all families and the heads of each neighborhood to enforce this ordinance everywhere, so that the people conform and promptly amend their past misbehavior. If after this there is anybody who would be as dauntless as to dare violate this order, you must punish these people according to the laws. For the moment, take down the names of those who follow this foreign law and acknowledge who they are, so that they can be punished for their crimes according to the law. None will be pardoned on any grounds. Therefore, examine the situation well, and draw up a report of each temple in each locality, describe the building so that I can make a judgment concerning the future purpose for which it can be used. Be sure that your examination is exact, sincere, truthful, and execute it with attention. Deliberate and send me your deliberations, so that we will only act in a reasonable manner. Execute this order without delay!<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The *Missions étrangères de Paris* (MEP) is translated as the Overseas Missions of Paris. The French name of the MEP is used in this work because virtually all scholarly works on Christianity in China use this name. The congregation was first envisioned by Alexander de Rhodes, S.J. (1593-1660) and founded by Francis Pallu (1626-1684) in 1660 and Pierre Lambert de la Motte (1624-1679) with the purpose of solely assisting missions in the Far East, helping in the transition from Portuguese foreign hierarchy to local church organization, and cultivation of indigenous clergy and hierarchy.

<sup>6</sup> A footnote in the Panthéon edition (LEC 3: 347) identifies a *zongdu* (spelled *tsong-tou* in the letter) as the name of the grand mandarin who has surveillance over two provinces and as superior in power to a provincial governor who oversees only one province and is called a *xunfu*. In the eighteenth century, a provincial governor, or *xunfu*, was commonly called a viceroy. Father de Mailla used the term viceroy in this letter, but this term is no longer used in translation or scholarly works.

<sup>7</sup> Father de Mailla’s account of the governor-general’s order is the only extant complete record of Gioro Mamboo’s memorial calling for the proscription of Christianity according to Fo Loshu, 2: 404-405. Gioro Mamboo (1673-1725) was the Manchu governor-general in charge of Zhejiang and Fujian.



The *zhixian* [*tchi-hien*] (this is the district magistrate, the name of the office of mandarin of Fuan) [his name was Fuzhi], having received this order, immediately put up a public edict [*édit public*] which he posted in the most frequently visited spots throughout the town. According to Chinese procedures, he reproduced the words of the *zongdu* to which he added his own:

**(1.2)** It is in consequence of this order that I publish the present edict so that all may be instructed before we examine the facts. The subaltern mandarins must observe and conform to this order. The chiefs of the five quarters must meet together. They must go to the Christian temple in the city and carefully examine with their own eyes the building which is being raised and determine how many rooms the structure contains and how many people the building can hold; what is the length and the width of the land the building sits upon; and what construction materials remain. They must have a full report on the current state of the building and retain these reports, because they will be asked about this information. I want to have those reports so that I myself can inform my superior mandarins. Each mandarin should inquire how many young girls are committing themselves to remaining virgins (in lieu of marriage). I order that all family and neighborhood heads seek accurate information on this matter and that they warn the girls' parents to take them home. These virgins are no longer allowed to live in the temple. This would be in violation of the order from my superior. Obey this promptly!<sup>8</sup>

When the district magistrate of Fuan had finished his inquiries, he made the following response to the first-level provincial officials:

**(1.3)** I, the *zhixian* of the district city of Fuan, in regard to an affair that ought to be severely condemned and on the orders that I have received on your behalf, etc., have issued a public edict so that none can claim the excuse of ignorance. I have banned this sect outwardly by a prohibitive sentence, which was posted on my behalf. Additionally, I have gone in person to the church that is being built in on *Zhongsi* [*Tchong-ssé* Street]. Although construction work has just begun, I judge from the materials that are to be used, and from the plans that have been designed, that the expense of the building will be at least two or three thousand taels.<sup>9</sup> That money would better be used to assist the poor. What a shame that it is being employed in favor of a false sect that destroys the Five Relationships [*cing sortes de devoirs*, or Five Duties] and true virtue, and also reverses the union of families and annihilates good customs! This is what makes the heart bleed.

Therefore, I informed the heads and chiefs of all neighborhoods of the concerns you have for the good governance of this province and for your desire to maintain order, as well as our customs, and to improve the hearts of the people. Then, the writer Domingo Guo Xianjun [*Kouo-yu-Siun* 郭顯均]<sup>10</sup> and the shengyuan graduate

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<sup>8</sup> See BAV, Borg. Cin. 316 (8-h), which holds a copy of the Chinese version of this edict.

<sup>9</sup> A footnote (LEC 3:348) identifies “the value of a tael as equal to nearly five livre of our money.”

<sup>10</sup> In González 2:155 (1700-1800) an account of the disturbance in Fuan may be found, but there is no reference to discontented bachelors/shengyuan denouncing Christianity.

Wu Wenzhuo [*Ou-ou-entcho* 吳文擢] and others who are in charge of the building of that church, responded to me in a loud voice: “The Lord of Heaven is the master of all things, who would dare not to respect and honor him?”

I immediately addressed them asking them why they did not honor their deceased ancestors; why they did not perform the ceremonies established by law when their fathers and mothers passed away; why they have living amongst them young boys and girls who never get married; why they regard our ancient revered Sages as if they were demons. To all of this, they answered that there has been a European Master of the Law, who had proclaimed it and who taught to them the way of Heaven. They further answered that regarding the ceremonies for the dead, these observances were of no use, and they said: why perform them at all? I asked them the name of that European; whether he had the imperial patent;<sup>11</sup> what was the place of his dwelling and whether I could see him. That Master of the law, [*ce Maître de la Loy*] they responded, is named Wang [presumably “Wang” *Ouang*, and the European name and identity of this man remains unidentified]; he does not go out easily, and it is difficult to see him; he never said whether he has the imperial patent or not. These responses made me judge that these people were ignorant and had embraced that law out of their simplicity and inability to examine it fully.

At the very moment when I was responding to your orders, the porter of my tribunal brought me a single sheet of paper full of writing with no signature that he had discovered pasted to the bottom of the edict that I had posted. That piece of writing was so full of pride and contained expressions so gross that I would not dare to report them to you for fear of injuring your eyes and ears.

In examining the registers of my office,<sup>12</sup> I found that in the 56<sup>th</sup> year of the Kangxi [*Canghi*] Emperor [year 1718], the imperial government had ordered that those who had an imperial patent were allowed to reside at their churches and that those who didn't have one were to be expelled. That order was published in all the empire. It came from the kind-heartedness of our late emperor regarding strangers coming to China. This order only stipulates that Europeans can live in China according to their law, and it does not allow Chinese to follow that law or to submit themselves to strangers. Moreover, of those who have the imperial patent, each one should preside over his own church, and there should have been only one church in each province. We never imagined that we should have to endure the situation that in such a small *xian*<sup>13</sup> as Fuan, more than ten of these churches where men and women assembled pell-mell, without any distinction of sex, should have been founded.

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<sup>11</sup> The “imperial patent,” also referred to as an “imperial license,” refers to the *piao* (票) that the central government issued in 1708 after the Kangxi Emperor had become exasperated over European arguments over the practice of Chinese rites and the visit of the papal legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon. The emperor demanded of all missionaries from all orders that to reside in China they must swear an oath that they supported the missionary approach of Matteo Ricci concerning accommodation to Chinese culture. See *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 298.

<sup>12</sup> Father de Mailla used the term “tribunal” to identify the offices of the district magistrate.

<sup>13</sup> A footnote (LEC 3: 348) identifies a *xian* as a city of the 3<sup>rd</sup> order. For more on traditional government see Ch'ien Mu, 45. Ranking of *xian* began in the Tang: first rank *xian* consisted of more than 6,000 households; second rank consisted of from 6,000 to 3,000; and third rank consisted of less than 3,000 households.

When I examine our Code of law [*le Code de nos Loix*], I find that it is not permitted to build temples [*Miao*], and if this should still happen, then the mandarin-officials in charge have to destroy them and ensure rigorous defenses against such further incidents.<sup>14</sup> The present development has reached a point where mandarins and their authority are about to lose popular respect. If you do not use all your power to root out this problem as soon as possible, the whole people will embrace that law distancing themselves completely from our customs in order to follow the foreigners.

I am only a low-ranked mandarin (*petit-mandarin*) and my authority is limited, and I do not have the power to reform such abuses. I am sending Yang Siqi [*Yang Tsé-ki*], as my substitute, into all the churches of the district with the order to write down every detail in a catalogue, and I will let you have it. As to the rest, I beseech you to beware of the audacity and the arrogance of those who follow that law, and I graciously ask you to order that all the military and civilian mandarins unite to bring about a remedy so efficacious that after making this defense no one will dare to disregard the wise laws of our government. The 26 of the 5<sup>th</sup> month, which is 28 June 1723.<sup>15</sup>

On the first day of the sixth month, which means 2 July 1723, the two mandarins of the capital [provincial], after having read the letter from the mandarin of Fuan, wrote to him that it was surprising that a bachelor had abandoned the sacred doctrine [of China] to embrace a foreign sect. They ordered that the bachelor and the graduate be arrested immediately; that the author of the injurious billet that had been pasted up be found; that the full name of the European master of that sect be found; that the information concerning whether or not he had an imperial patent be discovered; and that prompt and precise responses be provided for all these issues.

Moreover, the *zongdu* sent a secret note to the mandarin that contained the following:

**(1.4)** The people of the city of Fuan have been seduced by the false sect of the Lord of Heaven [*la fausse secte du Seigneur du Ciel*]. These are people who have been confined to your care. Is it not necessary to put affairs in good order in a timely manner and to interdict this religion before it starts to spread so that its progress may be arrested? Indeed, then what should you do? Would you remain careless and idle? Look how abnormal things have become by your fault. According to your report, the nobles, literati, military, and the people, in short, all those who have not allowed themselves to be seduced, have been interested to learn that we are in the pursuit of Christians and that we are making efforts to annihilate their law. Without doubt the sage and the ignorant think differently. Nothing should be overlooked in order to bring back to the right path those who have lost their way. That is why as soon as you receive this note you must endeavor to discover how many persons have embraced that law. Find out the names of those who are viewed

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<sup>14</sup> According to Article 424 of the Board of Works in the Qing Code, any civilian or military official who allowed buildings to be constructed without notifying superiors would be fined based upon a formula provided in the Code that took into account the salaries of the workers involved on the project and additionally the official would be penalized under Board of Punishments Article 345 “Affixing a Penalty for Illegally Obtained Property” according to a formula that calculated the value of the illegally obtained building goods and assigned from 20 strokes of the light bamboo for the value of 1 tael of goods and up to 100 strokes of the heavy bamboo for 80 taels. Under Article 435 “Occupying Public Ways” any one who put up a building on a street, alley or road would receive 60 strokes of the heavy bamboo. See Jones, 331, 405, 412.

<sup>15</sup> See BAV Borgia Cinese 316 (8) “G” for a copy of the original edict.

as leaders. If any of them have either a father or a brother who is the head of their family, you must use these ones to exhort the others to abandon their error and to return to the path of truth. It is also necessary to secretly employ for this purpose the nobles and literati. Perhaps by this quiet, or soft, method [*voie douce*], we will succeed in bringing them back to recognizing their duty. In regard to the European preacher, find out exactly what his name is and whether he has an imperial patent. But even if he has it, you must not allow him to preach his law in your district, nor to hold assemblies and to seduce the people. I await a prompt response on this matter. He should be captured and conducted to Canton and from there on to Macao, where he should be released after extracting from him a testimony, which can demonstrate that he has arrived there.

As for the literati [*lettrez*], who might be discovered to be [Christian] leaders, such as bachelors or others, we must use a different manner in punishing them, because that place must be cleansed and good customs re-established. If you fear some large number of people might be following this sect, do not hasten toward violence, as the affair may become serious; but examine every single aspect and inform me right away so that I may send my orders and send soldiers there to maintain the order among people. This is an affair of consequence, and cannot bear any delay; but do not do anything without reasoning, and act with prudence.

I am also sending a note to the mandarin of the city of Funing with the order to choose an intelligent officer employed in his office and to send him secretly to Fuan in order to seek to discover the disposition of the people and to keep me constantly informed. A writing brush must be attached to the sack of dispatches. Return this note to me.<sup>16</sup>

The mandarin of Fuan made the following response to the letter from the *zongdu*:

**(1.5)** You know from my previous correspondence that I issued a public edict prohibiting the foreign sect and that I sent a subaltern mandarin to the villages to examine and catalog the Christian temples. I myself went to the temple in the city, which is under construction and noted the materials on site. I had the leaders of the five neighborhoods [*quartiers* or neighborhoods] and the Christians appear before me, and I explained your orders informing them about your commitment to protecting the country from errors and re-establishing the good customs. I spoke to them time and again. But, alas!--one could think that they were drunk people. They seemed not to be willing to awake from their indifference. Far from thinking seriously about correcting themselves, they attached to the bottom of my edict some injurious writing. I thank you for the grace that you have shown me by promising to send the military to proceed with the defense.

According to the list of the temples that the subaltern mandarin has drawn up, two or three temples are missing in the report that I sent, altogether there are eighteen. Those that are tall and grand have been recently built; the older ones have been repaired and appear as newly constructed. Great amounts of money must have been spent to build such edifices, and this money was drawn from the guts of the people. The poor people who are

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<sup>16</sup> A footnote in the text (LEC 3: 349) explains that “Attaching a writing brush indicates a matter of great urgency, and the carrier of the message is required by imperial law to march day and night to deliver it promptly.” A copy of this secret message in Chinese from governor-general Mamboo to the district magistrate Fuzhi is held in BAV Borgia Cinese 316 (8-F) f° 17).

usually tight-fisted when it comes to other expenses have no regrets about giving their money for such a pernicious use: they pawn their homes and sell off their inheritances.

The young women and girls also enter into this religion. They go to a lonely place and whisper their secrets into the ears of Europeans: this is what they call “to confess.” They have no shame about assembling pell-mell, men and women. The children from good families, the bachelors and other literati do not blush when engaging in behavior and acts that are below the dignity of their rank. In this sect, no respect is paid to the dead --they no longer think of their father or mother after their passing away. They forget even the origin of their family. This is like water without a source, or like a tree without roots. They render no honor to the Sages from whom we received the doctrine: in this way, the Chinese is being turned into a sort of European. The girls who remain chaste are resolved to never marry. Those men whose wives die never remarry and consent to live their lives without children. Isn't this a sect that seduces the people, disunites families, and corrupts good customs? This affair is of consequence and should suffer no delays. That is why I am asking you to send the orders as soon as possible so that we can bring things back to normal and re-establish the customs that have been perverted. Regarding the usage that we could make of these Christian temples, it seems to me that we should destroy them.<sup>17</sup>

At this point, the mandarin proposed to the *zongdu* that the temples should be pulled down, and he suggested that the materials be used to repair his office, which was very old and in danger of ruin.

However, the *zongdu* replied that according to the exposé, which he just received, the materials appeared to belong to the people; therefore, they should be put to use for the peoples' good. He found no reason to destroy the temples and considered the most appropriate uses for them to be ones that would serve the public good.

Nothing was known about what measures the missionaries of Fuan undertook to calm the nascent persecution. It was only known that some were hidden in a certain private home, and that they had sent some Christian literati to the capital to present the *zongdu* with a memorial in which they falsely maintained that the churches in question had been built by order of the Kangxi Emperor. This is what the *zongdu* could not be persuaded about, and this is what brought the *zongdu* to start a persecution in the whole province of Fujian. He sent a secret memorial [*mémorial secret*] to the emperor in which he listed the complaints he had received against the Christian law, his actions concerning the affairs in Fuan, as well as those that he considered necessary to be taken in the rest of the province of Fujian. This is what appeared in the public memorial that he afterwards sent, in which he demanded that no European should be allowed to remain in any of the provinces of the empire.

In the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> months, only the *zongdu* took action against Christianity in Fuan. At the end of the seventh month, the *xunfu* [*Vice-roi*, provincial governor] joined in with him. The two of them sent orders all throughout the province to determine how many Christian temples existed, if there were Europeans living in them, and if they had the imperial patent. This is what appeared in the following public edict:

**(1.6)** The doctrine that the ancient Sages taught to men, the instructions of the emperors for the good government of the people, the good rules of conduct of our empire are all

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<sup>17</sup> See BAV Borgia Cinese 316 (5) for a copy of the Chinese language text of this message.

found in the Three Bonds [*les trois principaux fondemens*], Five Relationships (*les cinq devoirs*), and in the Code of our laws. For example, filial obedience does not only consist in nourishing one's father and mother well. It is possible to procure a good life for one's parents with poor and ordinary means. But at the death of one's father and one's mother, a son must weep, moan, lament, prepare with utmost care what is required for the funeral and be attentive to carrying out all the ceremonies of *Ji* (*Tsi*, or sacrifice, 祭). These are indispensable duties that all sons ought to carry out for their parents.

We read in our books that the ceremonies of *Ji* ought to be carried out with the same respect and attention as if the spirits of the dead were present. And if I do not perform these ceremonies myself, but instead I rely on others, it is as if I omit to perform them at all. Our ancient Sages established these ceremonies as one of the principal foundations of good government of the State.<sup>18</sup>

Of the three sins against filial obedience, the greatest one is to leave no posterity. It is for this reason that if a man loses his wife without having had any children, then he must remarry. When girls are of a nubile age, then their parents should find them husbands. Men and women, boys and girls should not receive anything from people of the opposite sex. These are issues of great importance amongst us.

Our emperor Yongzheng recommends that of all things filial obedience must be observed with the greatest care and that children thoroughly fulfill their duties. In our government in Fujian all apply themselves to the study of the *Shijing* (*Chiking* or *Book of Poetry*) and the *Shujing* (*Chuking* or *Book of History*), as well as to our ceremonies and laws. That study was only neglected in the region of Fuan near the sea, where a European recently arrived, who claims the title of master of the law, went into hiding there. The law that he preaches is sowing troubles among the people, which makes them doubt the goodness of our laws. Not only the laborers and the merchants listened to and followed him, the literati themselves became so much infatuated with him that they can no longer tell the truth from falsehood. He admits into his law men and women who do not blush while assembling together pell-mell, with no distinction of sexes. These poor blinded people threw away their purses and sold their most necessary furniture in order to build temples. Only in the city of Fuan, and in its dependencies, did they build eighteen churches, and those who are frequenting the churches are numerous. In such serene times when such a beautiful sun shines before our eyes, who could regard with tranquility how the devil Hy-mui<sup>19</sup> runs here and there?

We have carefully examined this law, and we have found that those who profess it regard our ancient sages, masters, and familial ancestors as devils. They have no respect for them, and they do not perform for them the customary ceremonies. At the death of their fathers and mothers, they give no sign of sadness. At the death of their first wife, they are not allowed to marry another, and they take pleasure in not leaving any posterity. They exhort girls not to marry, and those who follow this advice they call "little virgins."

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<sup>18</sup> The words "*Ji*," (sacrifice) and "*l'État*" (state) are capitalized as they are in the French text, which implies the importance of these actions and concepts or the freer usage of capitalization in the eighteenth-century. Capitalization of terms is not consistent in this text. For example "Sage" appears predominantly capitalized, but it appears in lower case occasionally. See LEC 3: 351.

<sup>19</sup> A footnote (LEC 3: 351) identifies Hy-mui as the demon of illusion and error.

Moreover, they have a sort of obscure chamber where one can observe men and women entering and speaking inside the chamber in a low voice, and this is what they call “to confess.”

This kind of conduct destroys the Five Relationships and the doctrine of our ancient sages. It annihilates the salutary teachings of our emperors, troubles the people, and casts them into endless doubts and perplexities. Of all the sects, there is none more pernicious than this one here.

It is written in the Code of our laws that the head [*Chef*] of a sect who under the pretext of religion and good works fools the people should be strangled. Those who work under him for the same goal must receive one hundred blows from the baton in a public caning, and then be banished to a distance of 300 lieus.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, it is severely forbidden to raise new temples, be they of the *heshang* (*Hochang* 和上 or Buddhist) sect or Daoist sect, (*Taosse, daosu* 道俗),<sup>21</sup> or other similar sects, and that anyone who would contravene this order must be publicly caned with one hundred blows and banished from the empire, with the prohibition that they may never come back. The temples must be destroyed; the land and the materials must be confiscated. On these grounds, we, the *zongdu* and provincial-governor, order that this master of the law be discreetly seized and conducted to Macao<sup>22</sup> under proper guard. We also order that all city mandarins, literati, doctors, bachelors, soldiers, merchants, people, etc. distance themselves from such a bad law. We order all those who are in error to correct themselves. It is necessary that they dedicate themselves to reading the books of our ancient sages, the *Shijing* (*Book of Poetry*)<sup>23</sup> and the *Shujing* (*Book of History*), as well as to devote themselves to the ceremonies, laws, and teachings of our emperors, so that no diversity should exist regarding our customs. The people should maintain their hearts in integrity and righteousness, and they should not allow themselves to be seduced to the point of following false sects.

In the city of Funing, in the place called *Si-che* [pinyin unknown], in the eastern part of the city there is one church. In the city of Ningde there is also one. These buildings must be turned into public schools. In the city of Fuan and within its district there are up to eighteen churches. These must be turned into halls for our literati, into public schools, or into halls for our ancestors. The mandarins of these places should report to us when they have executed this order.

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<sup>20</sup> One lieu = a league or 4 kilometers (2 ½ miles).

<sup>21</sup> It should be noted that a footnote in another letter (LEC 3: 726-736) identifies these terms as Buddhist and Daoist respectively.

<sup>22</sup> A footnote (LEC 3: 352) identifies this information as coming from the first edition of the LEC: “Macao is a village on an island by the river leading to Canton. The city is deemed to belong to Portugal, but the Chinese there appear to be masters.” Missionaries preferred to stay in Canton to Macao because they could carry on the China mission from Canton.

<sup>23</sup> Antoine Gaubil, S.J. identified *Chi Kim* or *Che King* as the *Book of Poetry*, a canonic anthology. *Kim*, *kin*, *king*, or *jing* (*pinyin*) means a canonical work; its etymology is linked to the radical for “weaving.” Antoine Gaubil translated *Jing* as meaning “certain and immutable doctrine” pp. 919-920. *Liji* is the *Record of Rites*. *Chou King* (also known as *Changchou*) is the title of the *Annales*, (1970), 919.

Regarding the scholars Domingo Chenchou [*Tchin Tcheou*], Pablo Zhao Wenchou [*Tchao ouen Tcheou*], Tomas Miao Tianlin [*Mou tien lin*], Domingo Guo Yuxuan [*Kouo yu siven*]<sup>24</sup>, if they repent and correct themselves, and if by their exhortations others are penetrated by sincere repentance and, therefore, renounce that law, we should be informed and provided with their names. Then, we will not only pardon their crimes, but we will also praise them for their zeal. But if their submission is only an exterior feint, and they secretly transgress our orders, the mandarin should let us know so that we may deprive them of their degree (rank), and punish them according to the law. This is a crime that will not be pardoned. If the mandarins show them favor, protect them, or fail to inform us of their conduct, we will deprive the mandarins in question of their mandarinat. Declared in the first year of the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor, the second day of the eighth month, or the 7<sup>th</sup> of September 1723.

After we learned in Peking of those orders given by the *zongdu* and *xunfu* of Fujian, we were very alarmed because we had all the reasons to fear that such a tempest might spread far and wide. The *zongdu* of Fujian governs also over the province of Zhejiang. He is a doctor of the first order and from a family with the rank of the red-belt, which means that he belongs to the first rank of families of the Tartars [Manchus] after the imperial family, and, consequently, he has great authority in the empire. Besides, the times have changed. The reigning emperor is almost not employing Europeans at all, and he appears to be hardly impressed by sciences and other curiosities of foreign countries. This disposition of the emperor separated us from the friends we used to have, some of whom are no longer in a position that would allow them to render us service, and the others do not dare maintain relationships with Europeans.

After having deliberated on the sad situation we are in, we concluded that of all human possibilities there is only one left for us, which is to have some strong recommendation. We have been assured that the first Tartar president of the Board of Mathematics [*Tribunal de mathématique*]<sup>25</sup> is an intimate friend of the provincial-governor of Fokien. We engaged Father Kögler [served 1720-1746] to ask his colleague at the same board to write a letter to the provincial governor. The Tartar president satisfied our wish, and he sent the letter to the provincial-governor in mid-October. Just about the same time, the reverend Father Munos, who is a Dominican full of zeal both for religion and the missions of his order, paid the Canton provincial-governor three visits, based upon his knowledge of this official's favorable attitude toward Europeans. He asked him to write a letter of recommendation to the *zongdu* of Fujian. The provincial-governor was reluctant to involve himself in such a delicate matter. However, he

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<sup>24</sup> Four names identified with the assistance of Dr. Eugenio Menegon in correspondence on 22 February 2002.

<sup>25</sup> Catherine Jami notes that European writers usually used the term “Tribunal of Mathematics” to refer to the Imperial Astronomical Bureau because the term “tribunal” stressed the hierarchical nature of sciences in China, a hierarchy that elevated astronomy over other sciences because of the political implications of calculating reign periods and imperial dates that the Chinese considered as foundation markers of political legitimacy. See *Handbook of Christianity in China* (2001), 739. Father de Mailla used the term “tribunal” consistently in this letter to refer to the Imperial Astronomical Bureau, as well as for the offices of magistrates and different government ministries. In this translation current usage of terms is reflected in the usage of “bureau” for “Tribunal of Mathematics,” and “board” for “Ministry of Rites” or “Tribunal of Rites.” The term “office” or “board” is used for “tribunal” when used to refer to the workplace of officials.



expressed some good words, and he did write to the *zongdu*, sending the letter by express pouch [*Exprès*]. The response he received from the *zongdu* said that he was no longer the master of this affair, that he had informed the emperor, and that it was necessary to await His Majesty's decision.

Actually, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December, the Christmas holiday, we learned that the *zongdu* of Fujian addressed a public memorial to the emperor in which he demanded that the Christian religion be extinguished throughout the empire. Upon reading that memorial, we also knew that he had certainly sent another secret one to the emperor, and that as a result he had orders from the emperor, that were not favorable at all to our sacred religion. The public memorial was formulated in these terms:

**(1.7)** I, Mamboo [*Mouan-pao*] *zongdu* of Fujian, have passed a severe sentence against an ignorant and stupid population, who, without reflecting, joined the Christian religion.

After having sufficiently examined all the evidence, I have found that in the city of Fuan, a dependency of Funing, in a place situated in the mountains and not far from the sea, there were two Europeans hiding who were disseminating their law. Those whom I sent there reported to me that several hundred people, among whom there are more than ten scholars, both in the city and in the countryside, have embraced that law, that they have built about fifteen churches inside and outside the city and that the two Europeans were hiding in the house of a scholar who would not permit anyone to approach them; that they do not care about the prohibition set up by the mandarins; that they assemble males and females pell-mell in the same place for prayer, or for what they regard as announcing their law. Finally, I have found their customs are detestable.

We, the subjects of Your Majesty, the *zongdu* and the provincial governor, have ordered to all the mandarins, of both military and scholar ranks, to carefully search for these two Europeans; to seize them and to have them accompanied to Macao in the province of Canton; to have the named churches transformed into colleges for the literati, into public schools, or into halls where the people can honor their ancestors.

We have also ordered the literati who have embraced this foreign law to correct their fault by instructing the poor people who have been seduced and by making them obey our orders and abandon the teachings of this law, and if we find out that there are still some who follow it, we will sentence them to lose their rank and be severely punished according to the laws. This is the order that we have published in this province and that we have placed in our archives.

We cannot ignore that the Europeans have built churches in first, second, and third-order cities of all the provinces and that they reside there. It seems to us that we can allow them to remain at the court to render some services, whether working on the calendar or on other tasks. But if we allow them to live in the provinces and build temples, it is feared that the people would little by little follow their law, become attached to them, and that the seduced throng would abandon our good customs. They have no utility whatsoever, neither for the good government that we have received from our sages, nor for the public good.

We therefore dare to beseech Your Majesty to permit the Europeans who are at court to remain there as before, but at the same time we beseech you to make those in the provinces leave and to order that they be either sent to the court or to Macao, in the province of Guangdong [Canton], and that their temples be used for other purposes. This

affair appears to us of the utmost importance for the good of the people and for the tranquility of the empire.

We, your loyal subjects, have already had the honor of presenting Your Majesty with a memorial [*placet*] on this affair. Your Majesty is thoroughly informed that we have executed your orders with respect, and we have forbidden the Christian religion in the province of Fujian. The 24<sup>th</sup> of the 10<sup>th</sup> month of the first year of the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor, which is the 22 of November 1723.<sup>26</sup>

We were not able to get this memorial until 27 December. On the next day Father Parennin sent a servant to a friend of his, a mandarin, who receives all the memorials addressed to the emperor, to learn how His Majesty had responded. On 29 December, the mandarin sent word to Father Parennin that the emperor's ruling touched neither on the churches nor the Europeans living at the court, but it was not the same case in the provinces, where neither churches nor Europeans would be tolerated any longer.

This response, together with the last article of the memorial of the *zongdu*, led us to judge that the situation of our religion was desperate and that its ruin had already been secretly concluded between the emperor and the *zongdu*. Meanwhile, because the response was obscure, Father Parennin addressed one of his friends who worked within the boards and who handled the emperor's ordinances to inform him exactly what was the order of His Majesty concerning this memorial. The friend informed him that the emperor had sent the memorial to the Board of Rites, in order to determine what was to be done.

Although this board had always been against [our] religion, we had some hope that by contacting the officers in charge of registering petitions that we might be able to make them pull out those orders favorable to us, which the Kangxi Emperor had passed, and to base the decision of the tribunal on those orders. We flattered ourselves believing that by this method we could at least preserve those positions of missionaries in the provinces who held imperial patents.

The registry officers promised in exchange for a considerable sum, which we gave them, to serve us as we wished. They pulled out from the registry the orders of the Kangxi Emperor, from the thirty-first year of his reign [1692], that permitted the free exercise of Christian religion throughout all the empire, as well as the emperor's order in our favor, from the fiftieth year of his reign [1711], written on a memorial presented against us by the imperial censor Fan Shaozuo. The imperial patent is mentioned in the late emperor's rescript on the memorial. These two orders gained us grounds on two points: first, it strengthened our cause with the *zongdu* of Fujian, second, it permitted missionaries with the imperial patent to live in the provinces.

What further assured us was that the prince, the twelfth son of the late Kangxi Emperor, who was the head of the Board of Rites and two of his assessors, had promised us their protection. Our hope seemed well founded. The board assembled on 3 January. One of the subaltern mandarins in charge of presenting the minutes to the president and assessors gave the president all that had been ratified by the *zongdu* in Fujian. The prince president read it. He noticed that there was no reference to any preceding orders, so he asked whether or not the registry of documents held any orders issued by the former emperor, his father, touching on the Christian religion and why they had not been presented. One of the assessors, a good friend of Father Parennin, strongly insisted on this point. The officers in charge of registering responded

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<sup>26</sup> Note: See footnote 2, in Fu Lo-shu, II: 505. Fu notes this is the complete text of Mamboo's memorial; it appears in an abbreviated version in the *Qingshilu*. A version of it is held in BAV, Borgia Cinese 316 (5) (YZ 1.12.14). The *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* version is the most complete version.

that such orders existed. They were told to cite them in the documentation. The assessor was well aware that those orders were favorable to us. Two days before Father Parennin had sent him printed copies of them.

This news filled our souls with hope, but on the following day, January 4, the information we received totally overwhelmed us. The board had assembled that day for ordinary cases. The prince president asked if the documentation for the resolution on the Christian religion was ready. The mandarin I have already mentioned above had the audacity to present him with the same document from the day before without having changed one single word. When the prince revealed his surprise to him, the mandarin responded with pride that he had no other document to present. He admitted that the prince was the master; however, he declared that he would rather lose his mandarinat than propose anything else. Under these circumstances the prince either because he had understood that a secret order from the emperor was authorizing the mandarin's boldness, or because of some other reason, which we ignored, took his writing brush, corrected a few points of no consequence, and signed the order. The Tartar president and the assessors followed his example. Only the Chinese president and the assessor, the one who was the friend of Father Parennin, took the brush, read the document and passed it to the others without signing it. They did the same thing the following two days when they were presented with the document. But finally as the prince president asked why this affair had reached no conclusion, the two mandarins, who feared some kind of troublesome outcome if they continued to refuse to sign, ceased their resistance and signed the document with the determination of the board, which is reported below:

**(1.8)** The Europeans who are at the court are useful there for working on the calendar and other services, but those who are in the provinces have no use whatsoever. They attract to their law ignorant people, both men and women. They raise churches in which the people assemble indifferently without any distinction of the sexes<sup>27</sup> on the pretext of praying. The empire receives no advantage at all. According to the proposals of the *zongdu* of Fujian, those Europeans who are of utility may reside at the court. As for those missionaries who have spread throughout the province of Beizhili (Petcheli), the province surrounding the capital, as well as other provinces of the empire, if they can be of any use, they should be sent to the court. The others must be sent to Macao. There are some of them who have received the imperial patent of the Imperial Household Department called the *neiwufu* [*noui vou fou*]. This must be given to the local mandarins, who will send it to our board, from whence it was issued, and then it must be burned. The temples that have been built must all be transformed into buildings of public use. This religion must be rigorously forbidden. Those who have been blind enough to follow this religion must be obliged to correct themselves immediately. If they continue to assemble for praying, they must be punished according to the laws. If the local mandarins are not attentive in carrying out this order, the *zongdu* and the provincial-governors must deprive them of their responsibilities and turn them over to us, so that we shall determine the punishment they deserve.

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<sup>27</sup> A footnote (LEC 3: 354) states that "what only regards one mission in Fuan has been attributed to all missionaries."

This deliberation of the Board of Rites was presented to the emperor on the fourteenth of the twelfth month, which is 10 January 1724. The following day, the emperor wrote with his vermilion brush the sentence that was formulated in this way:

**(1.9)** What has been determined by the Board of Rites must be done. The Europeans are foreigners. For many years they have been living in the provinces of the empire. Now it is necessary to adopt the proposal of the *zongdu* of Fujian. But as it is feared that the people might insult them, I order to the *zongdus* and the provincial governors of the provinces to accord them a grace period of one half year or several months and when sending them either to the court or to Macao to assign a mandarin who will accompany them on the journey, who will take care of them and guarantee that they suffer no insults. Carry out this order with respect!<sup>28</sup>

We learned on the 4<sup>th</sup> of January, as I have just mentioned, the result of the deliberation of the Board of Rites and having no more hope from this approach, we decided to appeal to the emperor himself and to ask him for his compassionate consideration. Our difficulty consisted in finding a way to transmit our humble prayers to His Majesty. Yinxiang, the 13<sup>th</sup> son of the late Kangxi Emperor and the only one who is in favor with the reigning emperor,<sup>29</sup> seemed the most appropriate one to seek out to ask for help if he would agree to accept. So we decided that Father Fredelli<sup>30</sup> and Brother Castiglione,<sup>31</sup> whose fine abilities in painting had pleased this prince, together with myself should go the next day to the prince's residence to seek an audience with him and ask for his protection.

The next day, the 5<sup>th</sup> of January, at six o'clock in the morning we were the three of us at the door of his residence, where his cortege was preparing to accompany him to the palace. At first the eunuch emphasized the difficulty of introducing us, as the prince was at the point of departure. But finally giving into our entreaties, he entered the apartments of the prince. In a moment he returned ready to accompany us to the prince. Upon seeing us the prince said:

"You have come to speak to me about the accusations made by the *zongdu* of Fujian against the Europeans."

"Yes, Prince," we responded, "and we beseech you at this very moment to honor us with your protection."

"Yesterday," he said, "the emperor handed over your affair to my brother the sixteenth prince (Prince Yinlu) and to me. But I am not knowledgeable enough concerning this matter. Since the beginning of your current disputes, you have seen the course that affairs have taken. What pain and what fatigue it gave to the late emperor, my father! What would you say if our people went to Europe and there wished to change the laws and customs established by your ancient sages? The emperor, my brother, wishes to put an absolute end to all of this in an efficient manner."

"There is no more to dispute," we replied, "all is finished."

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<sup>28</sup> This order appears in *Qingshilu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju chubanshe, 1985), 419.

<sup>29</sup> Yinxiang, (1686-1730), 13<sup>th</sup> son of Kangxi Emperor, named Prince Yi, Yi Qin Wang.

<sup>30</sup> Ehrenbert Xavier Fridelli, S.J.

<sup>31</sup> Brother Giuseppe Castiglione, S.J.

“Then, what about the two missionaries in hiding in Fujian,” he replied, “if all is finished?”

“We do not know who they are,” we replied to him, “those whom we know have imperial patents from the late Kangxi Emperor. They are spread across the different provinces. These men are all very old – the youngest among them is fifty-five. An order issued from the Board of Rites in the fifty-fifth year of the Kangxi reign approved of their residency in the empire, as Your Highness may see.”

At that moment we handed over to him that order. He read it with attention and then while handing it back to us, he said that the patent had been wrongfully given. He said that it had some use only inside the palace, but that it had no authority outside it.

At this, we replied that we were mere foreigners, little instructed with the manner in which the ministries governed, but that having received a patent from the hand of the emperor himself, we felt persuaded that we had nothing to fear.

“Oh, I know,” he said to us, “that there are several sorts of Europeans who come to China: there are those who come to serve the emperor, others come to engage in commerce, and others to preach your law. I do not have the time at this moment to examine your affairs. However, advise all the Europeans to come to the palace tomorrow, and I will listen to you at my leisure.”

“Prince,” we said, “we beseech you to pay attention to the fact that we are foreigners here and, like poor orphans, we have none to depend upon except for His Majesty and yourself. We dare to hope that you would agree to be like a father to us and take us under your protection.”

“Be at peace,” he replied, “the emperor has put your case in my charge. I will take care.”

This promise consoled us, and as we left his palace, we felt happy in direct contrast to the sad and afflicted state in which we had entered.

We immediately assembled together all of us who were missionaries in Peking, so that we might agree on how we should answer the prince. Nothing was more important than to let him know that our feelings were no longer divided and that we were all thinking in the same way. On the following day, the 6<sup>th</sup> of January, the feast of Epiphany, we all came to the palace according to the prince’s order. However, we waited in vain all day long. The sixteenth prince, who should have been there with the thirteenth prince, never showed up. The latter ordered us to come again to his residence the evening of the following day, but he advised us that it was not necessary that all the Europeans come, and rather that it would suffice if four or five of us who spoke the best Chinese presented ourselves. Therefore, six of us went to his residence at three o’clock the next day. He did not arrive at the palace until near night, and because he had some urgent affairs to deal with, we were not introduced into his apartment until six-thirty.

He allowed us to be seated and told us:

“I know that your affairs have reached a point of great difficulty. I saw the other day the accusations of the *zongdu* of Fujian. They are extreme, and your disputes concerning our customs have caused you a lot of damage. What would you say if we went to Europe and we conducted ourselves as you conduct yourselves here? Would you bear this? In time I will get information on this affair, but I can declare that nothing will be missing in China if you leave and that your absence will cause no loss here. We retain no one here by force, nor do we tolerate those who break our laws and attempt to destroy our customs.”

The prince told us this in such a tone that we understood that he was only repeating the words of the emperor himself.

As we had foreseen what he had to tell us, we presented him with a memorial that justified our religion against the chief accusations of the *zongdu* of Fujian. As he could have

suspected that we were using some kind of disguise to exclude ourselves from the affair, we told him that we did not preach our religion in secret, that the books containing it were available to everybody across the world, that it was our pleasure to distribute them, that we even had printed pages exposed for the public, so that the Christians have always in front of their eyes what they need to know and what they need to do in order to fulfill their obligations. We presented him with the printed pages containing the catechism entitled *Yoyen*, a translation of which appears in the book written by Father Kircher, which has the title: *Sina illustrata*.<sup>32</sup>

The prince appeared to soften somewhat after receiving these two items, the memorial and the catechism, which supported one another. We asked him to observe that our conduct had always been sage, that we had never been accused of violating the laws of the empire, and that we were living in good terms with the mandarins. Then the prince wanted to see the patent. Fortunately, Father Parennin had brought a copy, and he presented it to him. The prince was surprised to read in the patent that a missionary who had received the patent was not supposed to return to Europe. He asked if all the other patents contained the same clause. We told him that all of them were alike, and he replied:

“This has no authority outside the palace. It needs to be changed. A more appropriate one needs to be issued to regulate your affairs. However, do not worry about the accusation made by the *zongdu* of Fujian. I am not in charge, but I will endeavor to render you service.” With these words he took leave of us.

Two days latter, the decision of the Board of Rites was presented to the emperor, and His Majesty validated it in the manner that I have described above. We had hoped in vain that the thirteenth prince acted in our interest; meanwhile, we did not dare to put too much pressure on him for fear of losing our sole help through unwanted advances. But when we heard what had happened we decided to appeal to the emperor and to present him a memorial, which we hoped to deliver through the same prince, on whose protection we were relying. We came to his residence on the next day (the 13<sup>th</sup>) to supplicate him to accept this mission and to support us. That day the prince was extremely busy with other affairs, and the eunuch whom we asked to arrange our audience advised us to postpone it until the next day.

We therefore returned on the fourteenth at the same time. The eunuch met us and went to the prince to request an audience on our behalf. He came out in a moment and told us that the prince had no time to talk with us, but that he was reflecting on our affair, that it was in his heart, and that we should stay quiet. Not being able to speak with the prince, we gave our memorial to

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<sup>32</sup> Note: The catechism is misspelled *Yoyné* in the Panthéon edition and spelled *Yoyen* in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Nicolas LeClerc edition, (Paris, 1707-1776), 17: 225. The catechism entitled “*L’Abregé Chinois, & François de la Loy Divine*” appears in Athanasius Kircher, *La Chine d’Athanasie Kichere de la Compagnie de Jésus: illustré de plusieurs monuments tant sacré que profanes, et de quantité de recherchés de la nature & de l’art: à quoy on a adjousté de nouveau les questions curieuses que le Serenissime Grand Duc de Toscane a fait depuis peu au P. Jean Grubere touchant ce grand empire: avec un dictionnaire chinois & françois, lequel est tres-rare, & qui n’ pas encores paru au jour*, trad. F. S. Dalquié, (Amsterdam: Ches Jean Jansson à Waesberge, & les Heritiers, d’Elizée Weyerstraet, 1670), 164-172 and see original edition published in Amstelodami, apud Jacobum à Meurs (1667), 121.

The first phrase of the catechism reads: *Tien chu xim xiao io yen*, and I believe “*io yen*” or *Yoyen* is the shortened Chinese name of the catechism. No Chinese characters appear in the catechism Kircher cited.

Its romanized form reads: *Hoě uen, Tien chu guéi hó? Tui yuě. Tien chu si ta, ciě sem Tien, sem ti, sem xin, sem gin siu uan uu chi ta chu çai yě.*

In French: *Peût estre quelqu’un demandera ce qu’on pretend dire par ce mot, Dieu. On repondra que Dieu n’est siegneur de toutes choses que c’est luy qui a fait le Ciel, & la Terre, les Esprits, & les hommes.*

the eunuch, asking him to present it to the prince. He did this immediately, but then brought it back to us saying that the prince could not keep the memorial at his residence and was returning it to us so that the next day we could present it to him at an interior gate of the palace, which he indicated to us.

On the fifteenth we went to the palace at eleven. The same eunuch appeared on behalf of the prince for the memorial. When we saw the eunuch an hour later, I asked if the memorial had been conveyed to the emperor. The eunuch replied that the prince [the 13<sup>th</sup> prince, Yinxiang] was together with the three governors of the empire, as well as with the prince, [the 16<sup>th</sup> prince, Yinlu], and they had all read our memorial. But suddenly the emperor had summoned them on an important matter of state, and the 13th prince left the memorial behind not taking it with him. We did not mind that our issue had been communicated to those lords [*seigneurs*], thinking that if the memorial needed corrections, the prince would have told us and that if he got their approval we could expect a favorable outcome. Here is what we wrote in our memorial:

**(1.10)** We, Kögler, and other Europeans, offer with respect this petition [*placet*] to Your Majesty, in order to thank for your goodness, to express our current overwhelming pain, and to pray for your compassion at this moment.

We have learned that after the decision of the Board of Rites regarding the accusation of the *zongdu* of Fujian against the Europeans Your Majesty had the goodness to remember that we are foreigners who have lived for many years in China and graciously accorded six months to those who are to be sent away and ordered that they should be accompanied by mandarins. This is a precious sign of goodness for which we are extremely grateful. We would be so happy if we could be admitted to come in front of Your Majesty to offer you our very humble expression of grace! But as we are not allowed to come and present ourselves at the foot of your throne, we take the liberty of thanking you with the most profound respect by the means of this memorial that we dare to present to you.

Allow us to describe the subject of our extreme affliction to Your Majesty, who is for us our prince and our father. The orders of the Board of Rites regarding the accusations of the *zongdu* of Fujian, require the examination in the provinces of those who have the imperial patent granted by the late [Kangxi] emperor; they are obliged to return their patents so that these should be sent back to the court and annulled, etc. Those in the provinces who hold the imperial patent are no more than thirty persons. The patent made them promise not to ever return to Europe. They are all of advanced years and their health almost ruined. How could they endure the fatigue of such a disagreeable journey? Macao is not their home country. However, Your Majesty has ordered that they be sent there. We fear that when this news is heard in Europe people could think that they have made themselves guilty of some great crime against the laws [of China] and that as punishment they are expelled from the empire. If Your Majesty does not send them away immediately, this would be regarded as a result of your good-hearted generosity. However, the confusion among the missionaries is still great.

The Board of Rites added that ignorant people, men and women, follow this law, that on the pretext of reciting prayers they assemble pell-mell without distinction of sex; and that the provinces receive no advantage whatsoever from this, etc. For almost two hundred years the Christian law has been offered to the public in China, the Christian doctrine has always been openly exposed. It teaches all subjects to be loyal to their princes: it teaches children to be respectful and obedient to their parents; and it teaches all men to

be virtuous and to run away from vice, to submit to the laws of government and uphold peace, unity, and harmony. One only needs to take a look at the books of the Christian religion to become convinced that it is not a false sect, and this is the reason why it has been approved for so many years in the empire as a religion that could be freely practiced. Our religion was examined several times, and nothing was ever found in it that was opposed to the laws of good government or in any way irrational. To say that men and women assemble pell-mell without distinction of sex is pure defamation that is not even necessary to refute. Our assemblies cannot be suspicious: it is known that Christians have their feast days on which they come to church to thank God for all his continual gifts and to pray him for the peace and tranquility of their prince, their fathers and mothers, their mandarins, their friends, and of the people, etc. However, it has been commanded to the people, under the threat of severe penalties, that they renounce this [Christian] law. We, with tears in our eyes, cannot understand the excess of our misery, while we think of so many other religions, which are being tolerated and their followers are not forced to deny them, as long as they do not violate the laws of the government. We regard ourselves here as unfortunate orphans who do not have any support other than Your Majesty's justice, who showers his benevolence upon all kind of nations without distinction. With this confidence we humbly dare to beseech Your Majesty to allow in China those Europeans who have the imperial patent, and who have been living here for so many years, to have compassion on their old age, and to allow them to take care of the graves of their predecessors for the few years that are still left of their lives, as well as not to oblige the Christians to abandon the religion that they have embraced. This is a grace that we proudly hope to obtain from the great heart of Your Majesty and for which we would be eternally grateful. It is for this that while we float between fear and hope we respectfully address this petition to Your Majesty.

We waited until evening without being able to find out if our petition had been presented to the emperor. When we returned the next day on the sixteenth, the prince appeared around noon and told us:

“It appears by your petition that you would enter into a dispute with the emperor. I fear that if I present it to him as it is formulated, it will not be well received. You need to limit your appeal to just thanking the emperor and beseeching his mercy. If you however wish to take the risk at the right moment, I cannot be held responsible for the outcome.”

We responded to the prince that, since that was his judgment, we could cut out that which had the air of dispute, and we would limit ourselves to thanking His Majesty and to beseeching his mercy.

The following day, early in the morning, Father Parennin and I went to the palace to find the prince, who had been on guard during the night. We gave him the corrected version of our petition. What determined us to comply with the prince's ideas was the fact that, by the way in which he had been explaining the issue to us, we understood that the petition had been secretly presented to the emperor and that he was talking about His Majesty's real disposition and not just making simple assumptions. If we had remained obstinate and made no changes, we would have risked having even those missionaries allowed to remain in Peking being expelled; thus, we would have lost our only hope of reestablishing this devastated mission some day in the future.

The prince took our petition, read it, and took it without comment, which made us think that he approved of it. We were unable to learn anything new that day. What made us most unsettled was that the prince planned to leave the next day, the 18<sup>th</sup>, on a two- to three-day



hunting expedition. He actually was not back until the twenty-first. We hoped that by the twenty-second or twenty-third we would have been able to learn to what extent our petition had been successful. But we could not even learn whether or not it had been presented to the emperor. So Father Parennin and I decided to go to the palace the next day early in the morning using the pretext of inquiring from the prince where we were supposed to attend the ceremonies on the following day, which was the first day of the Chinese New Year, but in fact we wanted to have news about our petition. Things turned out as we had desired. When he saw us, the prince told us that urgent affairs had kept him from presenting our petition to the emperor, but that he had not forgotten us and that he intended to choose for this a convenient moment. So, we remained in a state of uncertainty until the twenty-eighth of January.

That day we went to the palace, the Fathers Bouvet, Regis, Parennin, and myself. Sometime between nine and ten o'clock the prince came out of an interior gate of the palace together with his sixteenth brother and let us approach them. He told us:

"I presented your petition, but it arrived too late. The Board of Rites had already deliberated, the emperor endorsed their ruling. The affair is decided and there is no going back."

"Nothing would be less difficult," we responded, "for so great a prince as the emperor. He is able to bestow such a grace, and that grace would not arrive too late if it were to be sent down by the Board of Rites. The mandarins will not rush to execute the orders they have received because the emperor, in his goodness, granted this grace period of six months."

"The emperor told me," the prince responded, "that for the present he could change nothing, of which he had done, but that if in the future you were to encounter any troubles, then he would come to your defense."

"When all the Europeans have been expelled from the provinces," we replied, "it is perfectly clear that none of them would have any more troubles."

"Are you not still here?" asked the prince.

"Yes, we are here," we responded, "under the eyes and the protection of His Majesty, but we are here without honor when our companions are exiled."

"It is not the emperor who is expelling them," the prince said. "It is the *zongdu* of Fujian who wants to redress the troubles caused by two Europeans in that province."

"We do not know those Europeans," we replied, "nor do we know their names. Because those two have been accused, must others be associated with their misfortune, although they have committed no offense, and they have always pleased the mandarins?"

Then the prince [Yi] turned and stood beside his sixteenth brother [Prince Lu] and told him:

"Certainly, the Board of Rites has confounded the whole affair. Its deliberation is worth nothing. I noticed this the moment I saw it."

During all this time, we had lain prostrate on the floor in supplication of the emperor's grace and of the prince's intercession.

"What do you want me to do?" he replied to us. "Do you want me to throw myself into the mess that you are in and ruin myself while trying to save you? Besides, the emperor has said that he will allow you to stay here and in Canton. I already raised the point with him that you will be expelled from Canton to Macao, where your situation will be very difficult. On this point,

the emperor told me that Nian Xiyao [*Nien-hi-yao*, 年希堯], the provincial governor of Canton [Guangzhou City, Guangdong Province], will certainly present a memorial.”<sup>33</sup>

“When the provincial governor,” we responded, “sees the decision of the ministry, he will no longer consider it necessary to present a petition on a subject which he would see as already settled. Thus, it would be fitting that you have the goodness to let him know the intentions of His Majesty.”

“That is not necessary,” he replied to us. “Write to him yourselves.”

“He will not believe us,” we said. “But what if we write a new petition to His Majesty in about two months time?”

The prince indicated to us that this would not be possible, and in an instant he left us there devastated by a feeling of sadness, which you can certainly imagine, but is impossible to fully describe.

This is the sad state our mission has been reduced to. My Reverend Father, you know how much pain and efforts its founders spent in opening the door of the Gospel for this empire. You are knowledgeable of the benedictions that God showered upon their zeal, and of the liberty they obtained in former times to preach the law of Jesus Christ. This was granted to them by the Board of Rites in a public deliberation, which the former emperor Kangxi confirmed. Who could have imagined more ideal circumstances? But the spirit of discord, enemy of the union of hearts and of salvation of souls, came to ravage all these advantages. The verdict against the religion was followed by the most deplorable events. I am only able to report part of them to you, because when the news broke in the provinces, all communication by post was interdicted to us.

The verdict was not sent to the province until the 17<sup>th</sup> of the first month that is the 11<sup>th</sup> of February [on the Western calendar]. Meanwhile, the mandarins would not cease to act against us from the first moment they learned about the verdict from the public gazettes. In this province of Beizhili [*Petcheli*], in spite of the liberty that we were granted to remain in the capital, the mandarin district official of Wen’an [*Ouen-ngan-hien* 文安縣] seized the French church that we had there, and turned it into a public granary. At Gubeikou [*Koupe-keou*] on the road to Tartary at a passage in the Great Wall where we have a French church, the mandarin officials seized it. They took the altar paintings of Our Lord, of the Sacred Virgin, and of Saint Joseph, and they burned them in a public place. We learned from the letters of Father Gaétano Lopez, a Portuguese Jesuit, that when the *zongdu* of the province of Guangxi [*Kouang-si*] heard that the Board of Rites had ruled against us, he did not wait for the formal order of that tribunal, and immediately he seized the church in the prefecture of Guilinfu [*Koueli-linfou*], the capital of that province, and had the altars overturned and the sacred images burned.

As soon as the verdict of the Board of Rites arrived in the provinces, nearly all the churches were seized that had no missionaries present in them. All the churches in the province of Fujian were either converted into public schools or granaries; or into halls for honoring ancestors [*jidang*], while some were totally destroyed. We have lost in this province the church of *Suen-hoa-fou*, where we have a large number of Christians. The Portuguese fathers have lost even more than we have. Among others, the church in Chaozhou [*Tchao-tcheou*] was completely destroyed and the materials from it were carried away. The same thing would certainly have occurred in other provinces and what brings our affliction to its climax is the fact that in some places the True God has been substituted by Belial and that the consecrated churches have been

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<sup>33</sup> The governor of Guangdong, Nian Xiyao (d. 1738), who was cordial with missionaries, collaborated with Brother Giuseppe Castiglione on the adaptation into Chinese of the treatise *Perspective Pictorum et Architectorum* by Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709), *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 826.

transformed into temples of idols, as it happened in Henan [*Honan*] as we learned from the letters of Father Gozani.

Although the emperor's order recommends to the mandarin officials to take care that the missionaries be not mistreated, they nevertheless suffered all sorts of insults. Father Bonkouski, a Polish Jesuit, would have been stoned to death in the streets of Hangzhoufu [*Hang-tcheou-fou*], capital of the province of Zhejiang [*Tche-kiang*], if he were not able to find refuge from those who attacked him with a shower of stones. Father Porquet from the district of Dinghou [*Ding Hou-hien*], in the same province, could have lost his life, had not the local mandarin official posted guards at the door of his church to protect him against the fury of the people. The Lord Bishop of Lorime, apostolic vicar of the provinces of Shanxi and Shaanxi [*Chensi and Chansi*], who was not at his church in the prefecture of Xian [*Si-ngnan-fou*], was seized together with the Franciscan father who accompanied him in one of his missions and taken back under guard to his own church. Both of them were severely mistreated by their guards during the journey. According to what the prelate himself wrote to Father Reinaldi, a barefoot Carmelite, they decided to come to Peking in order to go to Canton, for fear that they might lose their lives if they were conducted to Canton in the same way they had been conducted to the prefectural city of Xian.

We learned from the letters we received from Canton that the missionaries could no longer consider this city as a place of asylum. As soon as the provincial-governor received the verdict of the Board of Rites, he had it published throughout his district. He declared at the same time to the missionaries in Canton that they should leave as soon as possible for Macao, requiring that by the end of the sixth month, or at the latest, in the seventh month no missionary be left in his district.

The conduct of the provincial-governor of Canton was totally different from what the prince had told us. Namely the prince had said that His Majesty had instructed the provincial-governor that we were allowed to remain here [in Peking] as well as in Canton and that the provincial-governor of Canton would certainly present a petition on this subject, and that should ourselves to write to him. We were convinced that any letter we wrote would have been useless, but as we didn't want to blame ourselves for not taking every possible action, Fathers Fredelli and Parennin wrote to the provincial-governor and informed him of what the thirteenth prince had said.

But when we learned at the beginning of June of the severe orders of the provincial-governor, we decided to address a new petition to our prince protector, in which we reminded him of that which he had told us. We also informed him that most of the missionaries expelled from the provinces came from various [European] kingdoms that were not dependent on Macao. Moreover, we also informed him that the European trading ships were coming to Canton, not Macao; therefore, sending those missionaries to Macao who wanted to return to their home countries was actually putting them in an impossible situation. As for those of us whom the emperor allowed to remain at his service in Peking, it would be very difficult for us, if we had no one in Canton who could forward our correspondence to Europe. We urgently prayed him to obtain from the emperor permission for all those too old and too weak to travel back to Europe the grace of remaining in Canton. The principal reason we wished to remain in Canton, but we did not mention, was that we wanted one door open for our China mission, so that in the future missionaries could again enter.

On the twenty-fourth of the first month, the 15<sup>th</sup> of June, Father Parennin, accompanied by some other missionaries, went together at two o'clock in the afternoon to wait at the door of

the prince. They waited there until he returned home from the palace. When he came home, they approached his litter, and Father Parennin presented him with our memorial.

“Is there not some point of difficulty,” the prince asked us, “in that which you present to me?”

“None,” the father responded.

Then the prince took the memorial [*mémoire*] and read it. When he saw that we were citing the emperor’s words as we had understood them from him, he immediately said:

“Oh, you must be jesting. It was not the emperor who said what you said he said. It was I who said it myself.”

He read the rest of the petition and told us: “Take back your petition now. Correct the beginning and resubmit it to me. I will receive it.”

On the 25<sup>th</sup> we corrected the memorial, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> Father Parennin, Kögler, and myself went to the palace to present it to the prince. But on that day and the following days we could not manage to make contact him. It was not until the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the fifth month, the eve of Saint Jean-Baptiste, that he sent a eunuch to take our memorial. He read it and approved of it. However, because the emperor had charged both him and the prince his sixteenth brother [Yinlu] jointly with our affairs, he dispatched the eunuch back to tell us to add two characters, so that the document was addressed to both princes. We made the correction on the spot.

On the following day, the 4<sup>th</sup> of the month, we waited in vain at the palace for a response to our memorial. On the fifth there was a Chinese feast, a day on which no business affairs were undertaken. We went again to the palace on the sixth, Fathers Parennin, Fridelli, and myself. The prince received us at noon and told us:

**(1.11)** “I am going to tell you my thoughts on what you ask in your memorial. In addition, remember that it is I who speak, and do not delude yourselves. You know that when the emperor was only the fourth prince, he was deeply attached to Buddhist and Daoist teaching, but he was not yet on the throne. I want you to listen to me carefully. The late emperor, my father, liked you very much and extended to you many honors and good graces. You should be aware that the protection he gave you often elicited murmurings amongst the Chinese literati. This is not to say that the emperor, my brother, has something against you or that he has no consideration for you. You have not forgotten how well he was treating you before he became emperor. But now that he is upon the throne, he could not change the position he has adopted regarding your case. Since the affair arose in Fujian, he has received more than twenty memorials against you from Chinese literati and he withheld them. He does not wish that the doctrine of our ancient Sages be changed in any way, and good government requires that we follow the teachings of those Sages. Therefore, I think that instead of addressing this memorial to me, you should write a memorial to be presented to the emperor. Restrict your writing to pointing out that since Li Madou [Matteo Ricci], who was the first to come to China, you have never done anything against the customs of the empire. Explain that you are religious people seeking to better yourselves, that the doctrine you teach is not a false one, that your companions in the provinces are on the point of being exiled, emphasize the troubles and embarrassments they would face if they are not allowed to remain in Canton. Tell him how sorrowful your situation is because the provincial-governor of that province has declared that he will not allow any missionaries to remain there. Then pray for his mercy, and pray insistently. In general terms, this is how your memorial should be written. As for the rest, I wish to see the draft and correct it if necessary. When it is ready, you will

come to present the memorial through the intercession of the grand masters of the emperor's house, over whom my brother, the sixteenth prince, is head. Should they not want to receive it, then you should bring it to me, and I will pass it to His Majesty by the channel through which memorials are received from the empire.

Charmed by the goodness of this prince, we prostrated ourselves on the floor to show our thanks for his instructions and for the gestures he wished to make in our favor.

As soon as we returned to our house, Father Parennin laid out the petition, which contained nearly what had been put in the memorial. On the next day the 7<sup>th</sup>, we went to the palace to present the draft to the prince. He was so occupied that day that we could not talk with him. This caused us a great deal of worry because we had been told that he would leave the next day for the countryside, where he would spend a fifteen-day period of rest. As each moment was precious in the circumstances in which we found ourselves, this delay could mean a lot of harm to us.

The prince departed on the following day just as we had been told. However, he did not forget us and recommended our affair to his brother, the sixteenth prince, who told us to bring the petition to him. It was written as follows:

**(1.12)** We Dai Jinxian (the Chinese name of Father Kögler) together with other Europeans offer with profound respect this petition to Your Majesty, to very humbly supplicate that we be accorded a grace.

For nearly two-hundred years, since the time of Li Madou (Matteo Ricci), we your loyal subjects have been coming here, to the Orient, by the sea. Your illustrious dynasty, by an acknowledged great favor, has not considered us as foreigners, and, thus, we came to consider China as if it were our true home country. We have followed the Chinese customs. We have constantly engaged in works of piety and worked to better ourselves. The doctrine that we profess is not a false one.

The Board of Rites, regarding an affair that has occurred in the province of Fujian, has condemned all Europeans residing in the provinces, and ordered they be sent to Macao. We your loyal subjects cannot do anything but submit with respect to the orders of Your Majesty, but we supplicate that consideration be made that Macao is not the place where ships coming to China usually land. If permission is granted to the missionaries to live in Canton, those of us who wish to return to our countries will be able to find passage on board vessels, which could carry us to Europe. Except for this, they have no other means of return. Macao is a merchant port. Your loyal [European] subjects, who are spread across the provinces of China, are mostly residents of different European kingdoms. Their situation is worthy of your compassion. If they wish to stay in China, they are not permitted to remain here, and if they wish to return to Europe, they are not able to do so. They are like a traveler, who, on a dark night, is unable to find shelter where he can retire.

According to the news that we have received from Canton, the provincial-governor has publicly pasted up the decision of the Board of Rites. He has issued severe orders stating that the Europeans must all leave his jurisdiction by the sixth month, or the seventh, at the latest. When we reflect, that on one hand Your Majesty allows us to remain at Your Service at the court, and on the other hand, that should we not be able to exchange letters and receive assistance from our friends in Europe, we wonder how will we be able to get by?

The good and generous heart of Your Majesty extends its protection over all things. We old men without force, without support, without land, and without assistance, and seized with fright, we cannot help from importuning Your Majesty, and we dare to hope that from the goodness of your great heart, that, by a special grace, you will order that we be not expelled from Canton. Such a great gesture would fill our hearts with gratitude.

Your Majesty should regard with compassionate eyes those unfortunate old men who are in the provinces, and who, aged and infirm as they are, have hardly enough strength to relocate. It would be a favor so great to us, that we, your loyal subjects, can dare to ask.

We, your loyal subjects, await with confidence the orders of Your Majesty. It is with this prospect and with profound respect that we present this petition, with deep felt supplication, we pray you to read it and grant us the grace of what we ask. The eleventh of the fifth month, which means the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1724.<sup>34</sup>

This same day we went to the palace to offer our petition. In order to let the sixteenth prince know that we were coming, we went first to the ministry where he wished us to report. As according to the regulations of this emperor, we were no longer permitted to enter the palace, we asked one of the first mandarin officials of the ministry to advise the prince that we were outside the gate leading to the interior, where we were awaiting his orders.

The mandarin official willingly carried out this request, and the prince ordered him to bring forth two or three of the Fathers who had brought the petition. The mandarin official accompanied the Fathers Parennin, Bouvet, and Kögler to the prince, where they were well received. Immediately he called one of the grand mandarin officials, who was in charge of presenting memorials to the emperor, and ordered him to take the petition from the Europeans and present it to His Majesty. This mandarin official was reluctant at the beginning, claiming that only officials occupying certain specific positions had the right to present petitions to the emperor. However, finally, after listening to arguments the prince received the petition and immediately took it to His Majesty. Sometime later, he returned with our petition on which the emperor had himself written his response in the following manner:

**(1.13)** You, governors of the empire, princes, and nobles, take the petition of Dai Jinxian (Father Kögler) and send it to the *zongdu* and to the provincial-governor of the province of Canton. They have to defer the orders for a period of time, and not press the Europeans to move to Macao. The *zongdu*, the provincial-governor, *jiangjun* [*tsiang-kiun*],<sup>35</sup> and the *titou* [*titou*] should seriously deliberate on this matter and send their report to me. If they judge that it would not be a threat for the government of the people,

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<sup>34</sup> A Chinese language version of this appears in ARSI, Jap. Sin. 179, 310, r.,v., “Memorial, sive libellus oblatuſ supplex a Padre Ignatio Kögler Imperati,” (Memorial, or petition, presented by Father Ignatius Kögler to the emperor). Note, the emperor’s rescript on this Chinese language document appears below in 1.13, as it was published in the French letter [with intervening text]. A Latin version of this memorial appears in Jap. Sin. 179, ff. 340-347, “Admodum Reverend in Chro. P. Generalis,” [to Angelo Tamburini, S.J.], Peking, Iul. 1724. It is duplicated in Jap. Sin. 179, ff. 347/r., v. -347/10, r.,v., (with 4 unnumbered pages after 347/9r., “Admodum Reverend in Chro. P. Generalis,” [to Angelo Tamburini, S.J.]. [note on top of first page]: “2<sup>a</sup> via (*posterior*) and “Ign. Kögler iul. 1724, Pekini, aliud exemplar in Jap. Sin 179, 340-347,” see pages 347/3r.-v.-347/4r.-v.

<sup>35</sup> A footnote identifies *tsiang-kiun* as general of the Tartar or Manchu soldiers, and the following footnote identifies *titou* as the general of the Chinese soldiers.

we could allow the Europeans to live in Canton. In addition, also discuss with each other and report to me.

The mandarin official having brought back our petition with the response of His Majesty, handed it over to the officials of the empire, who after having read the response, informed the Fathers who were present of its contents. At this Father Parennin expressed thanks to His Majesty and made an appropriate compliment. The mandarin official thought that it might please the emperor, so he immediately went to report it to him. The emperor seemed indeed to be so pleased that he ordered the mandarin official to bring the three Fathers to him, a favor that none of us had expected.

As soon as we had been introduced to his presence, he made a speech of one quarter of an hour long, which he seemed to have studied, for he repeated very fluently all that he could to justify his conduct with respect to us, and replied to the arguments alleged in the petition (that which the thirteenth prince had obliged us to correct). This is the substance of what he said:

**(1.14)** The late emperor my father, after having instructed me for forty years, chose me in preference to my brothers to succeed him on the throne. It is my great endeavor to imitate him, and not to depart in anything from his manner of governing. Certain Europeans in the province of Fujian have been endeavoring to defy our laws and trouble our people. The high officials of that province informed against them, bringing the matter clearly under my authority. It is in my power to deal with social disorder. It is an affair of the empire of which I am in charge. I could not, and I must not act now in the same way I would have acted as a mere private prince.

You say that your law is not a false law. I believe you. If I thought that it was false, what would have kept me from destroying your churches and expelling you from the empire? False laws are those which, under the pretext of teaching virtue, fan the spirit of revolt, as that of the Bailian teaching [*Pelien-kiao*, or *Bailianjiao*]<sup>36</sup> does. But what would you say if I were to send a troop of bonzes and lamas into your country in order to preach their doctrines? How would you receive them?"

Li Madou (the Chinese name of Father Ricci) came to China in the first year of Wanli.<sup>37</sup> I will not discuss what the Chinese did at that time. I am not responsible for that. But then you were very few in numbers, and it almost did not matter. You did not have your people and your churches in all the provinces. It was only under the reign of my father that you began to build churches everywhere and your doctrines started to spread rapidly in the empire. We then saw this, and we dared say nothing on the subject. But if you knew how to deceive my father, don't expect that you can deceive me in the same way.

You wish to make the Chinese Christians, and this is what your law demands. I know this very well. But in this case what would become of us? Should we not soon become merely the subjects of your kings? The converts you have made already recognize nobody but you, and in a time of trouble, they would listen to no other voice than yours. I know that at present we have nothing to fear, but when foreign ships start

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<sup>36</sup> The Bailianjiao, or White Lotus Society, was a millennial Buddhist movement, which the government declared heterodox.

<sup>37</sup> The Wanli Emperor reigned during the Ming (r. 1573- d. 1620). In reality, Ricci arrived in Macao from Goa, India, in August of 1582.

coming in their thousands and tens of thousands;<sup>38</sup> then, it may be that some serious disorders will arise.

China has to the north the empire of the Russians, which is not to be despised; to the south there are Europeans and their kingdoms, which are still more considerable; and to the west Tse Wang Rabdan,<sup>39</sup> whom I wish to keep back within his borders, lest he should enter China and cause us trouble. Lorenz Lange, the companion of Ismalioff, the ambassador of the tsar, solicited our permission for Russians to establish trading depots for commerce in all the provinces. His request was refused, and the Russians were only allowed to trade in Peking, and at Kiakhta [*Tchu-Kou-pai-sing*], on the frontier with the Kalkha<sup>40</sup> country. I permit you in the same manner to reside here and in Canton, as long as you give us no cause for complaint. But if any should arise, I will not allow you to remain either here or at Canton. I will have none of you in the provinces. The emperor, my father, lost much of his good reputation amongst the literati by the condescension with which he allowed you [missionaries] to establish yourselves here. Nothing can be changed about the laws of our Sages, and I will not suffer that in the least degree there should be cause to reproach my reign on this score. When my sons and grandsons are on the throne, they may do as shall seem good to them. It matters not to me in the smallest what the Wanli emperor did on your account.

Do not imagine, in conclusion, that I have anything against you or that I wish to oppress you. You know the manner in which I treated you when I was only a regulo.<sup>41</sup> The family of one of your Christians, a mandarin of Liaodong province, rose against him because he was not honoring his ancestors. When you were faced with that trouble, you appealed to me, and I reestablished order. What I do now, I do in my character as emperor. My only concern is to rule the empire well, and to that end, I apply myself from morning to evening. I do not see even my children or the empress, but only those who are charged in the public administration. This will continue as long as the time of mourning, which lasts three years. After this, I will, perhaps, be able to see you more often.

This is nearly all that the emperor said. He spoke with a rapidity that made us know that he did not wish that we respond to him. However, when he was speaking about Lange, his name did not immediately come to him, and he made a sign to Father Parennin, who immediately gave his name, and seizing that occasion added:

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<sup>38</sup> A footnote (LEC 3: 364) notes that this is a Chinese expression for “in great numbers.” Herbert A. Giles defines *wan* as “myriad.” Voltaire thanked the Jesuits for reporting the Yongzheng Emperor’s sage observations on international relations, and he also thanked them for the subsequent eulogy of the emperor [Letter of Father Constancin]. Voltaire concluded that the grandeur and magnificence of this emperor’s reign and empire only had as its equal the ancient Roman empire. See Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, 2 vols. (Paris: Garnier, Édition de R. Pomeau, 1963), I: 792.

<sup>39</sup> A footnote (LEC 3:364) identifies Sse-ouan-raptan as a Prince of Tartary, who for eight years waged war against the Chinese.

<sup>40</sup> This is an ethnic Mongolian tribe.

<sup>41</sup> A regulo is a term for a ranking Manchu prince.



(1.15) When the late emperor, your father, refused the request of Lange to make trading depots for the Russians, I was charged with explaining to Lange this order, which was written in Manchu. The order stated that he could not request that grace merely based on the pretext that he saw other Europeans in the provinces. The late emperor explained that those were religious men, who preached their law. They were not engaged in commerce, and they were not going to return to Europe. Other Europeans wanted to engage in commerce, to enter, to leave, and to change personnel as they wished. These others were not religious men. If they violated laws, the emperor would be obliged to punish them. And if he punished them, the tsar would complain, and it would turn into a troublesome affair between the two of countries, and this could not happen.

The emperor realized well that those words refuted the comparison that he had made with the Russians, but he made it appear as if he ignored the fact, and he continued as if he had not paid any attention to it.

At the end, the emperor charged the three missionaries with the task of relating what he had said to their companions. After this he offered each one of them a small present, for which they most humbly thanked His Majesty. Then, Father Parennin prayed the emperor to be convinced that we were not so senseless as to expose ourselves to so great fatigues and to so many dangers as to come to China with plans in our hearts that could have been harmful.

The tough treatment applied soon after this audience to an illustrious family, who were nearly all Christians made it clear that the emperor was determined to completely extinguish Christianity. The head of that family was a royal prince [*prince du sang*], of almost eighty years old, who was a direct descendent of the elder brother of the founder of the reigning dynasty. Showing no regard for his rank, or for his age, or even for the important services that he had rendered to the State, or for the highest missions he had completed with distinction, he was exiled to Tartary together with all his offspring. I will not describe here the courage and the virtue showed by this exiled illustrious family. You will learn about this in another detailed report, which we will send.

What I could add here is the information about the departure of almost all of the missionaries, who were expelled from the provinces and sent to Canton. Monseigneur, the Bishop of Lorime, apostolic vicar of the provinces of Shanxi and Shaanxi, along with the three Franciscan fathers and the French Jesuit Father Baborier, announced that their departure was set on the first of the new moon, the 17<sup>th</sup> of October, and that the church of our Company [of Jesus] had already been changed into a public school.

We had learned from other letters that the Jesuit Fathers Simonelli and Domenge, the former Italian and the latter French, had left at the beginning of September, the first from Shandong, and the second from Hunan. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of the eighth month, the day following the Feast of Saint Michael, Father Gonzani had to leave from the same province.

The letters of Father Laureati, that we received yesterday, let us know that he was in the prefecture of Nanchang, the capital of Jiangxi province, with Father de Premare, who had been sent away from his church in Jiujiang [*Kieo-kiang*], and that they were only waiting for the arrival of Father Contancin in order to be conducted, the three of them, to Kan-tcheou-fu in the same province, where they would then take the Portuguese Jesuit Father d'Acosta and continue the journey to Canton.

Father Hervieu, the head of our French Mission, informs us that the mandarins of the province of Huguang [*Houquang*] have obliged him and Father Noël, who was in Nganlo, to

abandon their churches and go to the capital of the province to join Fr. Bayard and Fr. Le Couteux, so that they all may be conducted together to Canton. From the province of Jiangnan [*Kiangnan*], we received letters from our fathers saying that Fr. de Sylva, Fr. Mendez, Fr. de Sa, Fr. de Brito, Fr. Pinto, all of them Portuguese, Fr. Marabito, Italian, Fr. Jacquemin, French, and Fr. Bonkouski, Polish, have to leave by the middle of the eighth month, which means by the beginning of October.

The Reverend Father Saravalle, Franciscan and administrator of Huguang informs us that in September he has to leave for Macao. We could not find out yet when the other missionaries have to leave their churches.

You can judge, my Reverend Father, what our sadness was to see in the hands of the infidels over three hundred churches that had been consecrated to the True God and also to see more than 300,000 Christians without priests, without pastors, and without any spiritual support. What is even more deplorable is that unless a great miracle occurs, we do not see how we could comfort them without jeopardizing the last shadow of hope we, those of us allowed to remain in Peking, still have.

I know well the zeal that our reverend Fathers have, and I am convinced that they will continue during their sacred devotions to recommend to our God this expiring mission that we were entitled to regard as the largest and most flourishing Church of Jesus Christ. We would be so happy if by shedding our own blood we could reestablish for Him this beautiful part of his heritage. I am yours truly, etc.

Since the arrival of that letter, we have received others of a more recent date, which informed us of the following:

Fr. Hervieu, the head of the French mission, Fr. Bayard, Fr. Domenge, Fr. Premare, Fr. Le Couteux, Fr. Noël, Fr. Contancin, Fr. Baborier, Fr. du Baudory and Fr. Labbe are already in Canton, as well as the Fathers Laureati, d'Acosta, Simonelli, Lopez, Miller, Pereyra, and almost all the other missionaries.

At the first news of the decree of the Board of Rites, endorsed by the emperor, Monseigneur Mullener, Bishop of Myriophis, withdrew to Peking. Father Castorano, a Franciscan of Propaganda Fide, also plans to go.

Father Angelo Pavèse, religious member of Saint Francis, who served as a horologist to the emperor died in Peking. We also lost the French Jesuit and mathematician Father Du Tartre, who died in the capital, March, 1724.

The Portuguese Franciscan and Grand-Vicar, Monseigneur the Bishop of Nanjing, Father Miralta; a minor clerk of the Propagande; and Father Bonkouski have all retired to Canton.

On the mere news of the decree of the Board of Rites and its proclamation, the church in the prefecture of Songjiang [*Sonkiang-fou*], in Nanjing, was on the point of being vandalized by local people. The church of the Portuguese fathers in the prefecture of Changshou [*Tchang-tho-fou*] was vandalized, and while crowds were demolishing it, the mandarin officials hastened there and scattered the infidels.

The church in the prefecture of Jiangzhou [*Kiang-tcheou-fou*], in the province of Shaanxi, was converted into a college for literati.

The church in the prefecture of Guilin, the capital of the province of Guangxi was changed into a public town hall for the mandarin officials.

The churches in the districts of Wuxi [*Vousi-hien*] and of Chongming [*Tsong-ming-hien*] were not converted to other uses and have been safeguarded.

Some of the churches in the province of Fujian have been changed into schools and colleges for literati, others into rice granaries or public halls. The three churches in the capital have been designated to serve as public hostels for mandarin officials. The church in the district of Lingjiangxian [*Lin-kiang-hien*] was changed into a college; that of the prefecture of Yenpingfu [*Yen-ping-fou*] into a school; and the Church of the Virgin into a rice granary. An idol was put into the church in the district of Putianxian [*Pou-tchin-hien*], and the interior was transformed into a storehouse. The Church of the Virgin was changed into a hall in honor of a famous virtuous widow. In the month of August, our French church in the capital was made into a kind of hospital for the sick and plague-stricken.

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Figure 1: "The Triumph of Science and the Arts" Johann Michael Rottmayr, Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu, Romania.

说得爽快透理

有理、但恐  
得罪於人

者乎。豈人見爲紙灰。而神魂反獨見爲真實乎。夫  
楮錢金銀鏤當其未焚。不過紙耳。豈既焚乃有大  
能。變爲真錢真金銀乎。又有演出預修寄庫之說。  
所謂預修者。生前先備以待死後去用。寄庫者。將  
楮帛作爲金銀鏤錢衣飾冥資等物。焚之以寄於  
地獄之庫也。然地獄者。實爲受苦之監牢。世間豈  
有人不犯罪而先將銀錢買監牢去坐乎。况預修  
寄庫。而買地獄未久之殃乎。爲世俗有此等不合  
理之行。故天主教不燒紙。以免人錯想吾輩。與世  
俗同歸于謬妄矣。况世俗現今已大行設令。或有

Figure 2: *Tianzhu jiao zangli wenda* (天主教喪禮問答 Questions and Answers on Christian Funerary Ritual), Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J., ARSI, Jap.Sin. I, (38-1), 007.

+ de Pékin ce 1<sup>er</sup> Nov 1722  
P. de Mailla

Mon Reverend Père

P. P.

Les motifs qui nous engagent à vous envoyer L'écrit auquel nous joignons cette Lettre sont plus forts et plus solides q<sup>u'</sup> ceux qui ont portés les D<sup>s</sup> Bouvet et Fouquet, quelques spect<sup>es</sup> eux qu'ils paroissent, à entreprendre de trouver tous nos mystères de notre sainte Religion dans Les livres Chinois. Le D<sup>e</sup> Bouvet plein de zèle, à la vérité très ardent, mais peu selon la sagesse, pour la conversion de cet Empire, j'estoit de son propre aveu, formé ce dessein des L'Europe avant q<sup>u'</sup> d'en partir pour L'Asie; c'est à cette fin qu'il avoit fait une espede particulière de L'ancienne mythologie, principale des Egyptiens, et qu'il a employé à un projet si dangereux q<sup>u'</sup> à 40 ans d'une espede digne d'un meilleur sujet la pureté de nre foy, L'impery de la Religion dans ce vaste Empire. L'hon<sup>r</sup> de notre Comp<sup>e</sup> nous ont obligés de nous y opposer, il n'importe q<sup>u'</sup> on decouvre le poison caché sous une si belle apparence, q<sup>u'</sup> on relasche nos saints Livres du rang auquel on veut Les avilir et empêcher q<sup>u'</sup> on ne donne aux Enfants du Père de famille des pierres, pour du diam. une doctrine purement humaine et politique, pour une Loy soub<sup>te</sup> divine et surna<sup>ture</sup>lle. Les quels pench<sup>er</sup> seroient Les Chinois auxquels nous preschons L'Evangile de J. C. Si permes par ces D<sup>s</sup> il ne faisoient pas plus de zèle de nos s<sup>cs</sup> écritures q<sup>u'</sup> de Leurs Livres, n<sup>ous</sup> regarder<sup>ions</sup> Ceux cy comme des guides surs, q<sup>u'</sup> d'erreur n'en seroient pas dans Leurs Esprits à la faveur d'une s<sup>de</sup> doua et si seduisante prevention pour eux? Laisserons nous nos freres d'Europe, Les fidelles de ces missions donner dans Le piège q<sup>u'</sup> nous venons Croire bien intentionnés, mais trompés, Leurs vendent innocemment non, il faut faire connoître cette nouvelle doctrine telle quelle, L'opposition comiente de tous nos sup<sup>s</sup> en Chine, par Leurs ordres seroit reiterée, Le temoignage de plus de vingt miss<sup>es</sup> de la Comp<sup>e</sup> qui tous L'ont condamnés, La plupart avec les termes les plus form<sup>els</sup> Les preuves q<sup>u'</sup> nous apportons ne sont point tirées de notre fond, ce sont des pieces originales q<sup>u'</sup> nous nous sommes contentés de transcrire sous differens Chapitres ce sont Les D<sup>s</sup> Bouvet et Fouquet qui par leu<sup>r</sup> en faveur de Leurs igll<sup>e</sup>me ce sont Les Imp<sup>s</sup> et Les Censeurs qui L'expliquent ce sont mes en agissant ainsi n'est ce pas manquer une grande confiance dans la Justice de la Cause q<sup>u'</sup> nous defendons? et qu'est il necessaire

Figure 3: "Mon Reverend Père, de Pékin, 1 nov. 1722, P. de Mailla." With permission from ARSI, Jap. Sin. 179, f. 201, r.

Hac autem est versio libelli innovati: « Nos Europaei  
 « Tai cin hien, ceteriq, reverenter presentamus hanc supplicatio-  
 « nem, humillime rogantes comiserationem vestri, ejusq, nobis im-  
 « petrande patrocinium coram Imp<sup>re</sup>. Scimus, nostros in Provin-  
 « cijs fratres, non ausos non obedire regio mandato, se parare ad  
 « emigrandum. Cum autem Nacuum non sit locus, ubi ordina-  
 « rie appellantur Europaeae naves, si liceret illis Cantone subsiste-  
 « re, forte essent, qui optarent in Europam reverti, ut adeo oppor-  
 « tunum eis foret navigium ibi invenire atq, conscendere. Nunc  
 « vero cum subsistere ibi non detur, revertendi viam non habent.  
 « Quamvis enim Nacai sint mercatores Europaei, tamen cum  
 « nostros in Provincijs peregrini non ex uno & eodem regno, sed a  
 « valde diversis dependeant, perdifficile profecto eis accidet,  
 « suum illic desiderium consequi. Digni enimvero comiseratione,  
 « volentes subsistere, non possunt; cupientes reverti, non obtineant.  
 « Hac re rem diu noverunt, nos coarctat afflictio, ex quo Cantone-  
 « nenses nuntij retulerunt, Protegem ibi accepto Tribunalis  
 « decreto confestim publicasse edicta cum strictis mandatis, ut  
 « intra 6.<sup>am</sup> Lunam urgeantur Europaei Nacuum sese trans-  
 « ferre, aut ad summum ultra 7.<sup>am</sup> Lunam tardare non permit-  
 « tantur. Praeterea considerantes Imp<sup>re</sup> grande beneficium,  
 « quo nos Pekini ad suos usus relinquit, cum singulis annis fami-  
 « liares veniant redeantq, licere, & quae alia subsidia evitari  
 « nequeunt, si nemo sit nostrum Cantone, qui illa recipiat, diri-  
 « gatq, quomodo poterimus subsistere, ac necessaria procurare?  
 « Nostri autem hi animi sensus non habent, unde possent ad solium  
 « Majestatis penetrare; ideo suppliciter precamur vestram Re-  
 « guli utriusq, (13.<sup>ae</sup> & 16.<sup>ae</sup>) Celsitudinem, ut nostros miseri  
 « Imp<sup>re</sup> exorent, dignetur clementissimo mandato Cantone-  
 « rum emigrationem condonare; utq, Europaeis, qui e Provin-  
 « cijs eo pertingent, liberum sit Nacuum abire, si volent; aut  
 « Cantone demorari, si qui ibi malint subsistere. Sic veluti pi-  
 « sciculis, jam quasi in siccum extractis, apertum rete dabit  
 « locum effugij, simulq, de vita producenda, & ex nimia  
 « afflictione respirantibus erit rememorandi beneficij

Tunc, coar-  
 ceantur, ut  
 viatores,  
 quibus de re-  
 pente obscu-  
 rior supercei-  
 dit. Sed de  
 nyser

Figure 4: "Admodum Reverend in Chro. P. Generalis," Iulio 1724, Peking, P. Kögler. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 179, f. 347-2v.





西洋人臣戴進賢徐懋德巴多明郎世寧等謹

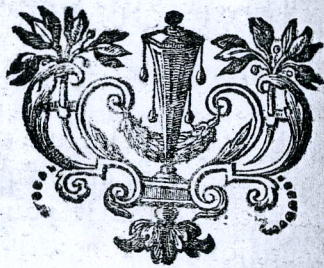
奏為誣陷實深孤踪無倚仰求

睿鑒俯賜救援事切臣等於本月初六日忽聞京城內外  
大小街衢遍張告示俱係九門提督五城兩縣各衙  
門奉刑部文禁止天主教嚴拿教中人送部治罪等  
因究其來歷緣民人劉二照依教規與小孩洗額誦  
經之故夫洗額誦經乃進教之始基正理可查從未  
聞撒水有刑誦經有罪也司官將劉二夾訊兩次並

Figure 6: *Ruijianlu* (睿鑒錄 1735-1737 Record of Sage Scrutiny). Attributed to Ignatius Kögler, S. J. With permission from Biblioteca Casanatense. Qianlong 2, folio, 1r.



162 *Lettres de quelques*  
PERE, que vous n'oubliez pas  
dans vos saints Sacrifices de prier  
le Seigneur pour cette Mission  
désolée, pour cette famille en  
particulier, & pour moi qui en  
ay plus besoin que personne, &  
qui suis avec beaucoup de res-  
pect, &c.



LETTRE  
DU P. DE MAILLA  
MISSIONNAIRE  
DE LA COMPAGNIE DE JESUS.

*Au P\*\*\* de la même Compagnie.*

A Peking, ce 16.  
Octobre 1724.



ON REVEREND PERE,

*La Paix de N. S.*

COMMENT vous écrire dans  
l'accablement de douleur où

Fig. 7: First page of Fr. de Mailla's 24 October 1724 letter of Nicolas Le Clerc edition, 1707-1776, vol. 17: 163-164. With permission from the University of Michigan Library.



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Figure 8b: Table of Contents description of F. de Mailla 24 October 1724 letter, Nicolas Le Clerc ed. vol 17: 450-452. With permission from the University of Michigan Library.



Figure 9: Illustration showing European conception of a Chinese village in a typical landscape setting. From Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, S.J. *Histoire générale*.