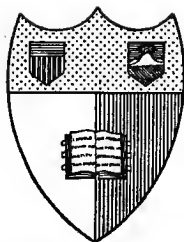


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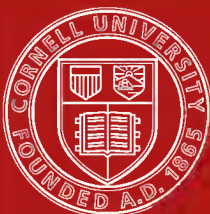
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AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN CHINA.

BY  
JOHN LAURENCE VON MOSHEIM, D.D.,  
CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,  
BY  
RICHARD GIBBINGS, B.D.,  
RECTOR OF TESSAURAN, AND VICAR OF FERBANZ, IN THE DIOCESE OF MEATH.



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TO

THE REV. WILLIAM LEE, D. D.,

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE,  
AND PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN,

FROM HIS OLD FRIEND,

R. G.

---

“ Idem velle, et idem nolle, ea demùm firma amicitia est.”

---

KILLEGALLY, FERBANE, KING'S COUNTY,  
*July 19, 1862.*





## INTRODUCTION.

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AT a time when the vast empire of China, containing, it is said, more than three hundred millions of people, has been opened to free intercourse with other nations, and when vigorous efforts will doubtless be made to extend a knowledge of the Christian faith in a kingdom so long sealed up against the light<sup>1</sup>, it would seem to be desirable that there should be placed within the reach of all who are interested in such a noble cause a sketch of the missionary operations heretofore carried on in that mysterious country.

With this object in view, the Editor has selected for republication a tract, which now for the second time appears in English, and which has become so scarce that its existence is almost unknown. It was written in German by the learned Mosheim in the year 1748, and published both as a separate work, and as an addition to the German translation of Du Halde's *Description de la Chine*<sup>2</sup>.

It was not to be expected, however, in such a case, that a narrative so simply true could be put forward without an effort being made to counterbalance it. Accordingly, three years after the death of the Chancellor of Göttingen, Florian Bahr, Rector of the College of the Jesuits in China, transmitted from Pe-kin a work which was printed at Augsburg in 1758, and which professed to set forth *The latest events in China; with a solid Confutation of many unjust and erroneous statements of Dr.*

<sup>1</sup> The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts has determined on the establishment of a mission at Pe-kin, but some delay has occurred respecting it.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. J. L. Mosheimii *Institut. Hist. Eccles.* Sæc. xvii. Sect. i. p. 884. Helmst. 1755.

*Mosheim, in his most recent Ecclesiastical History of China:* but, so far was this performance from accomplishing the purpose intended, that it serves only to confirm what Mosheim has related; and a more convincing proof of his accuracy need not be desired than that which is afforded by the vanity of the attempt to discredit what were absolutely matters of fact.

But before we enter upon Mosheim's account of the proceedings of the Jesuits in China, and of circumstances connected with their celebrated missions in that country, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is right that we should look backwards, and endeavour to glean at least a few particulars from the records of earlier and better times.

That China was evangelized by the Apostle S. Thomas in person is an opinion which has had many earnest advocates<sup>1</sup>; of whom it will suffice to mention the Augustinians De Gouvea<sup>2</sup> and Raulin<sup>3</sup>, and the Jesuits Trigault<sup>4</sup>, De Premare<sup>5</sup>, and Kircher<sup>6</sup>. It is certain too that a tradition has prevailed amongst the Syrian Christians, who inhabit the interior of Travancore and Malabar<sup>7</sup>, that the labours of this Apostle were not limited to India, but that he also visited China<sup>8</sup>. The entire of the evidence, however,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Renandot, *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, p. 251. A Paris, 1718.

<sup>2</sup> *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, L. i. C. i. Conimb. 1606. This Archbishop of Goa was the famous Aleixo de Menezes, the history of whose Visitation of the Christians of S. Thomas, composed by Antonio de Gouvea, accompanies the original Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper held in 1599.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Eccles. Malabar*. Cap. i. §. ii. p. 7. et *Dissert. i. de Apostolatu S. Thomæ*, pp. 343-4. Romæ, 1745.

<sup>4</sup> *De Expedit. Christ. apud Sinas*, Lib. i. pp. 124-5. Aug. Vind. 1615.

<sup>5</sup> *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des Missions étrangères*, Tome xix. p. 449. Conf. Mulleri *Hebdomas Observatt. Sinicar*. pp. 10, sqq. Colon. Brandenburg. 1674. Le Comte, *Mémoires de la Chine*, Tome ii. p. 140. Mosheim *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* pp. 5-9. Helmstad. 1741.

<sup>6</sup> *China illustrata*, Cap. ii. p. 57. et Cap. vii. p. 92. Amstel. 1667. Conf. *Prodromus Coptus*, Cap. iv. p. 106. Romæ, 1636.

<sup>7</sup> See Buchanan's *Christian Researches in Asia*, pp. 106, 147. Lond. 1814.

<sup>8</sup> La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, Tome i. pp. 57-64. A la Haye, 1758. This writer, before he became a Protestant at Berlin, had been a Benedictine Monk, and as such was known as Dom Mathurin Veissiere. (Tassin, *Hist. Litt. de la Cong. de S. Maur*, p. 539. A Bruxelles, 1770.) Professor Stanley's succinct description of him is, that he was a "French merchant and scholar." (*Lectures on the Hist. of the Eastern Church*, p. lxxxvi. Lond. 1861.)

that can be adduced, relative to the latter point, is utterly insufficient to show its likelihood; and, with regard to India, there is considerable room for doubt, inasmuch as Parthia, absorbed by Persia, may perhaps be the country intended when early writers have spoken of India in connexion with S. Thomas<sup>1</sup>. They were very slightly acquainted with any of the regions that lay beyond the boundaries of the Roman empire; and commonly gave the name of India to far distant lands on the eastern side, while Scythia and Ethiopia respectively served to designate all dubious territories in the north and south<sup>2</sup>.

The supposition, that in the present case we are to understand by India the kingdom of Persia, is strengthened by the fact, that the Apostolic History, written by the pseudo-Abdias<sup>3</sup>, of which the ninth book is founded on the very ancient but fabulous Acts or Voyages of S. Thomas<sup>4</sup>, contains a statement, that when this Disciple, like the Prophet Jonah, refused to yield obedience to the divine command, an Indian Merchant, who happened to be then at Jerusalem, and who was engaged in executing a commission for King Gundaphor, was chosen as a companion for him<sup>5</sup>. This King Gundaphor is clearly an imaginary character, formed by the error of a transcriber: but the King of Gundaphor was the King of Persia; for the Greeks corrupted into that word the name of the residence of the Persian Kings, which was Gund-Schavur, Ghond-Schabur, or Gandi-Sapor<sup>6</sup>, a royal city, built by Sapor I., who came to the throne of Persia A. D. 241<sup>7</sup>, and reigned for thirty years. In-

<sup>1</sup> Beausobre, *Hist. Critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, Tome i. pp. 403-407. A Amsterd. 1734. Fabricii *Codex Apocr. Nov. Test.* ii. 669. Hamb. 1703.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. Ecclés.* i. 613. A Paris, 1701.

<sup>3</sup> Conf. Blondell. *De Joanna Papissa*, pp. 118-122. Amstel. 1657. Hon. de S. Marie, *Réflex. sur les règles et l'usage de la Crit.* p. 171. A Paris, 1713. *Testimon. et Censur.* de hoc opere Abdias adscript. apud Fabricii *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* ii. 388-401.

<sup>4</sup> Fabricii *Cod. Apoc. N. Test.* ii. 689-90. Cf. Beausobre, ut sup. i. 416.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Certam. Apost.* Lib. ix. fol. 103. Paris. 1566.

<sup>6</sup> Beausobre, ut sup. Tome i. pp. 207, 405. Assemani *Biblioth. Oriental.* iii. ii. xliii.-xliv. Romæ, 1728. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. ii. coll. 1181-82. Paris. 1740.—Gund-Sapor signifies Sapor's company or multitude, and the name therefore suited his city.

<sup>7</sup> Ant. Pagi *Crit. in Annall. Baron.* i. 224. Colon. Allob. 1705.

deed Sapor (a Persian, not an Indian name,) is indiscreetly mentioned by the false Abdias<sup>1</sup>; who, by his forgetfulness of his previously asserted claim to have been a contemporary of the Apostles<sup>2</sup>, and by giving to the city in question the name which it bore in his own time<sup>3</sup>, enables us to bring down the date of his illusive composition lower, at all events, than the middle of the third century, which is a hundred years later than G. J. Vossius<sup>4</sup> had power to reduce it by means of the extract from Hegesippus occurring in the sixth book.

We learn from the fictitious Itinerary of S. Thomas<sup>5</sup>, that India fell to his lot upon the division of the world among the Apostles<sup>6</sup>; that he objected more than once to undertake the journey thither; and that, having been directed to accompany the King's emissary, Abbanes, he assumed the profession of an Architect; under which disguise he introduced Christianity into the land to which he was sent; taking care to build churches rather than earthly palaces. One can scarcely fail to observe what a remarkable precedent is here incidentally afforded for the ingenuity of those Missionaries, who in after ages have endeavoured to establish themselves in China; where the Jesuits have gained favour as Mathematicians and Philosophers<sup>7</sup>, and where some Protestant sectaries have been practising as Surgeons, and have tried with success the effect of "Medical Missions<sup>8</sup>."

The ecclesiastical books of the Malabar Christians have been appealed to by Cardinal Gotti<sup>9</sup>, and many other writers, with re-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ix. fol. 110, b.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. vi. fol. 83, a.

<sup>3</sup> Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Vol. ii. p. 1057. Dublin, 1833.

<sup>4</sup> *De Historicis Græcis*, Lib. ii. Cap. ix. p. 118. Amstel. 1699.

<sup>5</sup> The Acts of S. Thomas, of which Leucius Charinus was the author, were condemned as apocryphal in the well-known Decree of Pope Gelasius, (*Gratiani Decretum*, Dist. xv. Cap. iii.) under whom the Roman Synod of seventy Bishops was held in the year 496; not in 492, as a note in Dr. Newman's translation of Fleury states. (i. 272. Oxford, 1842.)

<sup>6</sup> "Sortitus igitur Indiam est Judas, qui etiam Thomas et Didymus." (Fabricii *Cod. Apoc. N. Test.* ii. 820. Conf. Grabii *Spicilegium Patrum*, i. 324. Oxon. 1714. Jos. Sim. Assemani *Kalendaria Eccles. univ.* Tom. vi. p. 14. Romæ, 1755.)

<sup>7</sup> Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* ed. Murdock and Soames, Vol. iv. pp. 13-15. Lond. 1841.

<sup>8</sup> *Conference on Missions, held in 1860 at Liverpool*, pp. 100, 275. Lond. 1860.

<sup>9</sup> *De veritate Relig. Christ.* Tom. v. Cap. vi. §. ii. Cf. Kircheri *China illustrata*, p. 57.

ference to the preaching of the Gospel by S. Thomas in China; and a passage in the larger Chaldaean Breviary, which is called Gaza, or the Treasure<sup>1</sup>, bears witness in very express terms, that by this Apostle “the Chinese and Ethiopians were converted to the truth<sup>2</sup>.” But evidence such as this, if it be literally interpreted, must be looked upon as unavailing. Narratives resting on traditional rumours, and inserted in documents of no sufficient antiquity, cannot be relied on as to matters of history; and are liable on every occasion to be rejected as bearing only a legendary character. In the present case, however, it is not necessary to weaken the reputation of the record in question; for we may safely assent to the opinion of Jos. Sim. Assemani<sup>3</sup>, that the words “by S. Thomas” need not be understood as implying more than that persons, whose commission had been received, directly or indirectly, from this Apostle, had proceeded to the countries spoken of to proclaim the message of salvation.

The testimony of Sobensis, in his *Epitome of the Canons*<sup>4</sup>, and that of Amrus, in his *Lives of the Nestorian Patriarchs*, will not require much discussion; as these authors are of too modern a date to be capable of establishing, simply by their judgment, the truth of the supposed labours of S. Thomas in China, though Raulin has adduced them for that purpose<sup>5</sup>. Sobensis lived in the year 1285<sup>6</sup>, and died, it is said, in 1318<sup>7</sup>; and Amrus Matthæi flourished A.D. 1340<sup>8</sup>. It must be remembered that the name of the former writer was Abd-Yeshua, or Ebedjesus; but he is frequently called Sobensis, from his having been the Metropolitan

<sup>1</sup> Vid. *Synod. Diamper. Act. iii. Decret. xv. p. 105.* La Croze, *Hist. du Christian. des Indes*, i. 367.

<sup>2</sup> “Per D. Thomam Sinæ et Æthiopes conversi sunt ad veritatem.”—For this quotation, and other extracts of a similar kind, see Trigault, *De Christ. Expedit. apud Sinas*, pp. 124–5.

<sup>3</sup> In *Dissert. de Syris Nestorianis*, p. ccccxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Par. ix. Cap. i.

<sup>5</sup> *Diss. i. de Apostolatu S. Thomæ*, p. 343.

<sup>6</sup> Raulin, ut sup. p. 358.

<sup>7</sup> Assemani *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Tom. iii. P. i. p. 325. Romæ, 1725.

<sup>8</sup> Raulin, p. 432. Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 580.

of Soba (Nisibis) and Armenia; and for the publication of his principal works we are indebted to Cardinal Mai<sup>1</sup>.

Gibbon<sup>2</sup> sarcastically speaks of "the Indian Missionary S. Thomas, an Apostle, a Manichæan, or an Armenian Merchant." To understand the meaning of this sneer, it is to be observed, in the first place, that Tillemont<sup>3</sup>, Tollius<sup>4</sup>, and La Croze<sup>5</sup> have referred to a passage in which Theodoret<sup>6</sup> states that the heresiarch Manes sent Thomas, one of his disciples, to India. It is certain, however, that this effort was not attended with the least success; for the emissary was ill-treated, and obliged to return, his work being unaccomplished; no one at that time, as Theodoret declares, acknowledging Manes as his master. Consequently, it is vain to attempt to confound the fruitless errand of a false teacher with the successful preaching of the Word of Life amongst the nations of the East in Apostolic or very early times. It is also worthy of notice, that an error may have crept into the text of Theodoret; and that Judæa, not India, may have been the country to which the Manichæan was sent<sup>7</sup>. Such a conjecture is not put forward without reason; for S. Epiphanius<sup>8</sup> distinctly affirms that this Thomas was despatched to Judæa and Syria. We learn also from Archelaus, Bishop of Carrhæ, or Carchar,

<sup>1</sup> *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, Tom. x. Romæ, 1838. The *Catalogus Librorum Ecclesiasticorum*, by Ebedjesus Sobensis, was translated into Lat. and printed at the press of the Propaganda, by Abraham Ecchellensis in the year 1653. See this Maronite's treatise *De origine nominis Papæ*, in *Ind. Auctorum*, lit. II. n. 36. Romæ, 1660. It is an unpardonable error in La Croze (*Hist. du Christ. des Indes*, i. 85.) and others, to have confounded this Ebedjesus, or Hebed-Jesu, with Mar Abdichio, Audixo, or Abdjesus, the Patriarch who came to Rome in 1562, and apologized for his absence from the Council of Trent. (Sarpi *Hist. del Concil. Trid.* p. 586. Genev. 1629. Pallavicini *Hist. Conc. Trid.* iii. 62. Aug. Vindel. 1775.)

<sup>2</sup> *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. iv. p. 379. ed. Milman. Lond. 1846.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Eccl.* i. 618.

<sup>4</sup> *Insignia Itinerarii Italici*, p. 143. Traj. ad Rhen. 1696.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. du Christ. des Indes*, i. 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Hæreticarum Fabularum Lib.* i. Cap. xxvi. Opp. Tom. iv. p. 214. Lut. Paris. 1642.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Assemani *Diss. de Syr. Nestor.* p. xxviii. Raulin, p. 358.

<sup>8</sup> *Adv. Hæres.* Opp. Tom. i. pp. 629, 647. Paris. 1622. Petavius provokingly wishes to reverse the emendation, and to read India instead of Judæa! (*Animad.* p. 264. S. Epiph. Opp. Tom. ii.)

(or rather Cascar<sup>1</sup>), in Mesopotamia, who defeated Manes in a disputation, held probably in the year 277, that Egypt was traversed by the pseudo-Apostle<sup>2</sup>. Hence that portion of Gibbon's sarcasm, which suggests a Manichæan origin for the conversion of India, seems to be invalidated on sufficient grounds.

We have next to dispose of that part of the insinuation that relates to the Armenian Merchant. Gibbon himself admits, that the Indian Missionary was famous "as early as the time of Jerom," whose Epistle to Marcella<sup>3</sup>, containing the words "cum Thoma in India," appears to have been written soon after the year 392; so that we are thus referred to the conclusion of the fourth century; whereas La Croze<sup>4</sup> places Mar Thomas somewhat later, when he says that he lived "before the sixth age." The truth is, that he who has been called the "Armenian Merchant" did not arrive in India until about the year 800; when he was sent thither by Timothy, the Nestorian Patriarch, in company with Jaballaha, Kardagus, David, and fifteen Monks<sup>5</sup>. The name of this Bishop was Thomas Hadudita, or Thomas Cana<sup>6</sup>; and having been an *Aramæan*, that is a Syrian, the Portuguese in their narratives changed him into an *Armenian*<sup>7</sup>. He is said to have had two wives<sup>8</sup>, one at Cranganor, and the other at Angamala; and to have insisted on his families being kept separate. This language may fairly be regarded as only figurative; and as such it would signify, that Mar Thomas had more than a single charge. In other words, being the administrator of two Churches,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. i. p. 555. Romæ, 1719. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. ii. coll. 1163-64. Paris. 1740. Burton's *Lect. on Eccles. Hist.* ii. 410. Oxford, 1833.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Acta Disputationis*, (distrusted by Beausobre,) in Zacagnii *Collectanea Monumentt.* p. 98. Romæ, 1698. S. Hippolyti Opp. Vol. ii. p. 192. ed. Fabric. Hamb. 1718. Gallandii *Biblioth. vet. Patrum*, Tom. iii. p. 606. Venet. 1767. Routh, *Reliquiæ sacræ*, Vol. iv. p. 271. Oxon. 1818.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. Tom. iv. P. i. col. 167. Paris. 1706. ed. Bened.

<sup>4</sup> Tome i. p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Synod. Diamper.* p. 8. Moshemii *Hist. Tartar. Eccl.* pp. 14, 15.

<sup>6</sup> Raulin, pp. 357, 434. Assemani *Dissert. de Syris Nestor.* pp. xxix, ccccxliii.

<sup>7</sup> Assemani *Bibl. Or.* iii. ii. ccccxlii.

<sup>8</sup> La Croze (T. i. pp. 68-9.) thinks that he ought not to be accused of having had them at the same time; but this explanation is inadmissible. It would deprive us of the allegory.

his children were those Christians who in each place, and under distinct control, regarded him as their spiritual parent and Diocesan.

Taking then a view of all the particulars that have been noticed, and of the entire case, it would seem, that while we cannot precisely define the limits to which the journeys and personal labours of S. Thomas extended; and while there is not the slightest proof of his having ever travelled into China; still the fact that his name has been so generally held in peculiar veneration in the East suggests the inference, that the preaching of the Gospel was actually commenced through his instrumentality in many oriental regions. He was regarded as the Apostle not only of the Syrians and Chaldæans, but also of the Parthians, Persians, Medes, and Eastern Indians<sup>1</sup>.

That the Christian religion was propagated among the Chinese as early at least as in the third century, we have the decisive testimony of Arnobius, whose books *Adversus Gentes* were written about the year 303. He reckons the "Seres" amongst the nations who, notwithstanding their dissimilar customs, were united in the faith of Christ<sup>2</sup>; and it is admitted by the best authorities that Serica<sup>3</sup>, the country of the Seres, was a portion of China<sup>4</sup>. Every scholar will at once call to mind the line in the *Georgics*<sup>5</sup>—

"Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?"

Virgil's description of the origin of silk, which he with other ancient writers supposed to have been the produce of a tree, may lead us to the next proof to be adduced of the progress of Chris-

<sup>1</sup> Assemani *Diss. de Syr. Nestor.* p. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. ii. p. 50. Lugd. Bat. 1651. Gallandii *Bibl. Patt.* iv. 150. Venet. 1768.—  
"Enumerari etiam possunt, atque in usum computationis venire, ea quæ in India gesta sunt, apud SERAS, Persas et Medos," &c.

<sup>3</sup> "Modern opinions vary respecting its site; but the best geographers, as Rennell, D'Anville, and Heeren, concur in placing it at the N. W. angle of the present empire of China." (Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.*)

<sup>4</sup> Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. ii. col. 1265. Moshemii *Hist. Tartar. Eccles.* pp. 7-8. Fabricii *Salutaris Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exorientis*, pp. 33, 658. Hamburg. 1732.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. ii. vers. 121.



tianity in China. It is clear that religious knowledge must have been widely diffused through that country when monachism had become an institution in the land<sup>1</sup>; and when Monks could be spared from their ordinary occupations to undertake the business of Merchants. We learn from Procopius<sup>2</sup> that, about the middle of the sixth century<sup>3</sup>, some Persian Monks, who had for a long time been resident in China, and who had become acquainted with the manufacture of silk, speculated on an expedition to Constantinople. Having accomplished their tedious journey, they were rewarded for their enterprise by the favour and gifts of the Emperor Justinian; to whom they disclosed their design, and explained the only practicable mode of introducing silkworms into Greece. Encouraged by imperial promises, these "Missionaries of commerce," as Gibbon<sup>4</sup> calls them, "again entered China, deceived a jealous people by concealing the eggs of the silkworm in a hollow cane, and returned in triumph with the spoils of the East;" religious sympathy and private interest having combined to overpower their love for their adopted country.

A few years previously to this adventure, Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk, composed at Alexandria an account of a voyage performed by him about A.D. 522, and his *Christian Topography* seems to have been completed in 547<sup>5</sup>. This Monk has been surnamed Indicopleustes, or the Indian navigator; and Fabricius<sup>6</sup> will not allow him to retain his real name in peace, but suggests that an anonymous writer was called Cosmas on account of his having been a cosmographer; a conjecture which Cave<sup>7</sup> pronounces

<sup>1</sup> "Itaque monachatus apud Chaldæos floruit tùm ante tùm post Nestorianismum; idque non in Mesopotamia tantùm, et Assyria, atque Perside, sed etiam in Media, Hyrcania, Bactriana, Tartaria, India, et Sinis." (*Assemani Biblioth. Oriental.* iii. ii. ccccliii. Conf. Raulin, p. 419.)

<sup>2</sup> *Gothic.* Lib. iv. Cap. xvii. pp. 845-6. ed. princ. Græc. Augustæ Viind. 1607. Opp. Tom. i. p. 613. Paris. 1662.

<sup>3</sup> The importation probably took place in the year 552; but it is difficult to deal with Procopius in chronology.

<sup>4</sup> *Decline and Fall*, Vol. iii. p. 508. ed. Milman.

<sup>5</sup> Montfaucon, Præfat. in *Topog. Christ.* Cap. i. p. iii. in *Collect. nova Patrum*, Tom. ii. Paris. 1706. La Croze, i. 56, 70.

<sup>6</sup> *Bibliotheca Græca*, Vol. iv. p. 256. Hamb. 1795. ed. Harles.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. Lit.* i. 515. Oxon. 1740.

worthy of commendation, though we may not admit its truth. Fabricius also observes<sup>1</sup>, that the author may have resembled the Jesuit Missionaries, who have been Merchants as well as Monks<sup>2</sup>; and Gibbon<sup>3</sup>, in his peculiar dialect, declares, that "the nonsense of the Monk is mingled with the practical knowledge of the Traveller." We are not concerned with his maintaining that the earth is a level plain, a parallelogram, and not a sphere; nor does the proof that he was a Nestorian<sup>4</sup> detract from his veracity when he is relating circumstances of which he was commonly an eye-witness, and describing countries with which he was much better acquainted than Strabo, or Ptolemy, or any of the old geographers could possibly have been.

Cosmas relates<sup>5</sup> that in his time, in fulfilment of prophecy, the Gospel was being preached throughout all the world. In Taprobana, or Sielediva<sup>6</sup>, now called Ceylon, there was a Christian Church, with the ordinary Ministers. Likewise in the island Dioscoridis, or Socotora: and countless Churches existed among the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, Indians, Pers-Armenians, Medes, and Elamites<sup>7</sup>. He adds that there were many Martyrs,

<sup>1</sup> Ut sup. p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> It is recorded of S. Francis Xavier, by his biographer, Joannes de Lucena, that he became the servant of a Merchant, in order that he might endeavour to effect his much-longed-for entrance into China. This circumstance is noticed in Raynaud's *Hipparchus, De Religioso Negotiatore Disceptatio*, a "lucubration" put forth under the name of Renatus à Valle, and included in the *Apopompæus*, Cracoviæ, 1669. See page 328, and compare Tursellinus, *De Vita B. Franc. Xaverii*, Lib. v. Capp. ix, x. Colon. Agripp. 1621. Raynaud's treatise was translated into French, and published at Amsterdam, in 1714, with the title, *Le Moine Marchand; ou Traité contre le Commerce des Religieux*.

<sup>3</sup> *Decline and Fall*, iv. 376. Cp. iii. 509. ed. Milman.

<sup>4</sup> Gibbon (ubi supra) twice reproaches Montfaucon for not having discovered the Nestorianism of Cosmas, which was detected by La Croze. Such keen discernment as was exhibited by the latter writer is thus accounted for by Raulin: "canis sagacius canes odoratur." (*Dissert. iii. de Apost. S. Thomæ*, p. 381. Cf. Gallandii Prolegom. in *Bibl. vet. Patrum*, Tom. xi. pp. xx, xxi. Venet. 1776.)

<sup>5</sup> *Christian. Opinio de Mundo*, Lib. iii. pp. 178, 179. ed. Montfaucon.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. pp. 137, 336-7.

<sup>7</sup> These last two names recall the words, "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites;" (Acts ii. 9.) and it is extremely probable that many of those "Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven," who were sojourning at Jerusalem on the day

Monks, and Hesychasts, or Quietists<sup>1</sup>; and, having enumerated various nations, he concludes with saying, that all these “have believed and proclaim the Gospel of Christ, and confess the Resurrection of the dead.”

The Nestorians, being placed where the heresy of the false Prophet first prevailed, were exposed to perpetual assaults upon their faith; but they steadfastly resisted the impiety and fanaticism of the arch Impostor. Had they not been in a state of separation from the Catholic Church, they might have been enabled permanently to stay the plague. Whether the compact between them and Mahomet himself, which is called his *Testament*, be authentic or not, the foundation of it is unquestionable. At the commencement of his career he promised protection, and the enjoyment of religious freedom, to those Christians who bound themselves to submit to his sway.

Availing themselves of any toleration granted by the Saracens, and of every other advantage that presented itself, the Nestorians set no limits to their zeal. At length their wonderful Church was extended from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus; its members, who do not now exceed eighteen thousand<sup>2</sup>, being reputed, together with the Jacobites, to have outnumbered, in the eleventh century, the Eastern and Western Churches taken together<sup>3</sup>.

At that period, as well as in the age of Cosmas, and until the middle of the sixteenth century, when, as usual, Rome for her own purposes promoted disunion, the obedience of all the Nestorian Clergy was considered to be due to him who was regarded as the source of their ordination, the Catholic, or

of Pentecost, having been evangelized at that time, assisted afterwards in propagating the Christian faith in their respective countries. In the preparation of multitudes for the reception of Christianity, their use of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament must have had considerable influence. There is sufficient reason also for believing, that in the Apostolic age a large proportion of the eastern Christians consisted of converted Jews, who may have sometimes retained a few of their peculiarities; and there is nothing unlikely in Dr. Wolff's opinion that the Nestorians of Persia had an Israelitish origin.

<sup>1</sup> Bingham, *Antiquities*, Book vii. Chap. ii. §. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Christian Remembrancer*, July, 1861, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Tom. i. p. 79. Paris. 1688.

Patriarch of Babylon. Our thoughts are not, of course, to be directed by such a title to the city of Nebuchadnezzar on the Euphrates<sup>1</sup>; for, in the time of Cosmas, Seleucia, situated on the Tigris, and the capital of the kingdom of Persia, had inherited

<sup>1</sup> Cosmas, an unexceptionable authority, concurs in opinion with those who believe that S. Peter's first Epistle was written from the literal Babylon, and not from Rome. (*Topog. Christ.* Lib. ii. pp. 147-8. ed. Montfaucon.) The figurative interpretation of the passage, 1 S. Pet. v. 13, has been maintained by the Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmin, in company with Valesius, (Annot. in *Hist. Eccl.* Euseb. p. 83.) Assemani, (*Diss. de Syris Nestor.* p. vii.) and the greater number of Romish advocates; as it is extremely agreeable to them to be able to prove from the New Testament that S. Peter really was at Rome. (*Conference betwene Rainoldes and Hart*, p. 261. Lond. 1584.) For a different reason, namely, in order at once to identify this city with the Babylon described in the Revelation, very many Protestant writers gladly uphold the symbolical meaning.

It would seem to be certain, however, that we have not any right to reject the literal signification of the verse; but that we should take its unambiguous language in the sense recommended by Erasmus, Drusius, Scaliger, Cappellus, De Marca, Baanage, Mede, and Wordsworth; who, with other eminent critics, maintain that S. Peter's first Epistle was written in the Assyrian Babylon; which, according to Lightfoot, was "one of the greatest" centres of the Jews in the world, and where "the Prince of the Captivity" resided; so that the Apostle of the Circumcision could not any where else have more fitly exercised his office. Josephus tells us, in the Preface to his books on the Jewish War, that his narrative had been first written in the language of his own country, for the use of his nation in the East; and that he afterwards wrote it in Greek, for the information of the Greeks and Romans; because it would have been unbecoming that these should be in ignorance as to the events of that war, when he had taken so much pains for the Parthians, Babylonians, most remote Arabians, and Jews residing beyond the Euphrates, together with those of Adiabene in Assyria. Elsewhere he observes, that many myriads of these people inhabited Babylonia; (*Antiqq.* xv. iii.) and that in the city itself there was "a multitude of Jews;" (*Ant.* xv. ii.) a statement which apparently could not be true respecting Babylon in Egypt, the claim of which to be the place whence S. Peter's salutation proceeded has been put forward by Bishop Pearson, (*De success. prim. Rom. Episc.* pp. 48-59. Lond. 1687.) and F. Spanheim. (Opp. Tom. ii. coll. 375-380. Lugd. Bat. 1703.) Vid. Sam. Basnagii *Annales Politico-Eccles.* Tom. i. pp. 561-2. Roterod. 1706.

We have to bear in mind that there were three principal Dispersions of the Jews:—

- (1) the *διασπορά* of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser, in Assyria and the cities of the Medes;
- (2) that of the two tribes, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, by Nebuchadnezzar;
- (3) the Egyptian Dispersion, effected by Ptolemy Lagus; who planted at Alexandria and thereabouts the colony of people known by the name of Hellenists. (Comp. Mede, Works, pp. 74-77. Lond. 1672.) The "strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia" were a branch that issued from the Assyrian Dispersion; and S. Peter is reasonably supposed to have provided instruction for all the *διασποραι*—by going in person to Babylon; by writing his two Epistles to the Dispersion of Asia Minor; and by sending his "son" Marcus to the Jews dwelling in Egypt. (Vid. S. Hieron.

the name of Babylon, which descended to Ctesiphon and Bagdad in succession. At Seleucia the primatial seat appears to have

*Catal. Scriptor. Eccl.* Cap. viii., and Wordsworth, note on Acts ii. page 11.) S. James also distinctly addresses "the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad."

The expression "elected together with you" we must take in connexion with S. Peter's words at the commencement of his first Epistle, where he speaks of the "*elect*" strangers of the Dispersion in Asia Minor. The "*co-elect* in Babylon," mentioned at the end of the Epistle, must therefore be the designation of those Hebrew Christians resident there, and united in the faith of the Gospel with their brethren before named.

The manner in which S. Peter enumerates the Asiatic districts, "Pontus, Galatia," &c., shows that he was writing from the *East*, and not from Rome. Had it been otherwise, he would have reversed the geographical order which he adopts; and would have begun with Bithynia in the West, and have ended with Pontus in the East. (See Dr. Wordsworth's note on 1 S. Pet. v. 13, page 67,—where, at line 25, for "western," read "eastern.")

Besides, for what conceivable reason should S. Peter have used metaphorical and circuitous language in this case? (See Bishop Barlow's *Brutum Fulmen*, p. 94. Lond. 1681.) Tropes are not admissible in a salutation like the present one: and can it be considered credible, that S. Paul should not have hesitated to specify to the Philippians (iv. 22.) the saints who were "of Cæsar's household;" and that S. Clement, also writing from Rome, should have instantly made known the fact to the Corinthians; but that S. Peter alone should have had recourse to a strange and mystical phrase, when, if he had wished to conceal his abode, he might more naturally have omitted any allusion to it?

But they who adhere to the literal interpretation of the verse are refuted, says Valesius, (loc. sup. cit.) "by the testimony of ALL the ancient Fathers," and are to be condemned for "impudence." This dogmatism is more intolerable than uncommon. Where is the opposing evidence of S. Clement of Rome, of SS. Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Cyprian; of Tertullian, Origen, and Lactantius? Bishop Pearson (ut sup. p. 56.) would refer only to "not a few" of the Fathers; and even then he is met by Tillemont with the calm expression of his desire that they had been pointed out: "Je voudrois qu'il les eust marquez." (*Mém.* i. 523.) Baronius, (ad an. 45. §. xvi.) and others following him, have appealed to Tertullian as one who recognized the figurative meaning: but it is plain that when he speaks of Babylon, as having been typical of Rome, he is not expounding the name as it occurs in S. Peter's first Epistle, but as it is found in the Apocalypse. "Apud Joannem nostrum," he twice declares, and not "apud Petrum nostrum." (*Advers. Judæos*, Cap. ix. et *Adv. Marcion.* Lib. iii. Cap. xiii. Compare S. Augustin, *De Civ. Dei*, Lib. xviii. Cap. xxii. ad init.; a sentence upon which Jo. Lud. Vives had a sarcastic note, which has not escaped expurgation.)

The main support of the metaphorical interpretation of S. Peter's words is derived from a passage in Eusebius, (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. xv.) which his faithless Latin translator Rufinus has misrepresented; and the error has been perpetuated for more than fourteen hundred years. The question is, whether S. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, a companion of S. Polycarp, and a disciple of S. John the Evangelist, has testified that Babylon in S. Peter's Epistle signifies Rome, or not. Rufinus leaves no room for doubt by saying, . . . "Papias, qui et hoc dicit, quod Petrus in prima Epistola sua, quam de urbe Roma scribit, meminerit Marci; in qua tropicè Romanam Babyloniam nominaverit,

been fixed as early as in the fourth century<sup>1</sup>. There the Prelates continued to reside until an irruption of the Saracens caused them to remove to Mosul, not far from Nineveh. They did not, however, relinquish the title of "Patriarch of Babylon."

The Nestorian Primate so denominated must not be confounded with the "Patriarch of the Chaldæans;" the latter not having been called into existence until the year 1681, when Pope Innocent XI. conferred that name upon the schismatical Metropolitan of Diarbekir. Thenceforward the Nestorian proselytes to the communion of Rome were styled "Chaldæans:" and Mr. Layard has fallen into a very unfortunate mistake when he reverses the order of things, and suggests<sup>2</sup> that the name "Nestorian" was probably first applied to the "Chaldæans" by Roman Catholic Missionaries. He adds, that by the Nestorians themselves their pe-

cùm dicit," &c. The Greek will not admit of such a version: and, Valesius having corrected the punctuation, it becomes manifest that S. Papias has not been cited for such a purpose at all; and his tendency, as Eusebius elsewhere states, (iii. xxxix.) was rather, from simplicity of mind, to take mystical expressions in a literal sense. Neither is it by any means necessary to grant that Clement of Alexandria has been adduced by Eusebius as sanctioning this fancy; though Basnage (ubi sup. p. 562.) and Dr. Routh (*Reliquiæ sacræ*, i. 34. Oxon. 1814.) were willing to concede that point. It may more probably be merely an opinion which Eusebius mentions; "*φασιν*," "they say;" an indefinite form of speech, from which nothing can be positively inferred more than that certain persons, perhaps members of the Church at Rome, had put a symbolical meaning upon the word Babylon in that verse. (Cf. Frid. Spanhemii *Miscellan. sacr. Antiq.* coll. 360, 363, 375. Opp. Tom. ii.)

At all events, Eusebius is the earliest ecclesiastical writer from whom we receive any intimation that S. Peter's language had been figuratively interpreted. S. Jerom comes next; (*Catal. Scriptt. Ecc.* Cap. viii.) and he is only cursorily copying the statement in Eusebius. It is well known that S. Jerom's book concerning Illustrious Men, composed in the year 392, is for the most part a compilation, and not always an accurate one, from the work of the father of Church history. (Cf. Vales. Annot. p. 41. Fabricii *Bibl. Gr.* vi. 59. Hamb. 1726.) That S. Jerom should have retained the opinion afterwards is not surprising: (Vid. *Comm. in Isaïæ* Cap. xlvii. Opp. Tom. iii. col. 343. Paris. 1704. ed. Bened.) and in this unmitigated manner he commences the Preface to his translation of the book of Didymus *De Spiritu Sancto*: "Cum in Babylone versarer, et purpuratæ meretricis essem colonus," &c. (Opp. Tom. iv. Par. i. Append. col. 493. ed. Ben.) As to what Tillemont's other witnesses, Beda and Ecumenius, have affirmed in their Commentaries, written in the eighth and tenth centuries, we need not pay attention to such late authorities.

<sup>1</sup> Sozomeni *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. Cap. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Nineveh and its Remains*, Vol. i. p. 259. London, 1849.

culiar appellation has “ever been disavowed;” which is only so far true, that they objected to its use as a term of reproach. Mr. Layard has also strangely erred in asserting<sup>1</sup> that the tombs of the old Nestorian Primates, in the convent of Rabban Hormuzd, bear this inscription in every case, “Patriarch of the Chaldæans of the East;” for the epitaphs referred to do not exhibit any such phraseology<sup>2</sup>.

Beyond China, Cosmas tells us, voyages are not made, nor is there any inhabited country<sup>3</sup>. Through that immense empire, nevertheless, light was greatly diffused, and barbarous nations in the remotest regions<sup>4</sup> were instructed, by means of the earnest exertions and almost incredible perseverance of the Nestorians, who were by nature fitted to impart the truth to others, being an ardent, energetic, and aggressive people. Compassing sea and land to make proselytes, they had entered China in the south at the port of Canton; and toward the north at Si-ngan, a city south-west of Pe-kin, and in the province of Xen-si, (Shen-si.) Si-ngan or Si-ngan-fu<sup>5</sup> became the seat of the Metropolitan of the Nestorian Christians<sup>6</sup>: and the providence of God has ordained that to a very singular discovery, made in its neighbourhood, we should be indebted for information of the most acceptable kind, relative to the state of Christianity in China in the latter part of the eighth century.

Xavier, the Romish Apostle of the Indies, having died in the year 1552, in sight of the coast of China, which he had struggled in vain to reach, other Jesuit Missionaries, more fortunate than he, entered that country; and Ricci especially, after

<sup>1</sup> *Nineveh and its Remains*, Vol. i. p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Badger's very excellent work, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, Vol. i. pp. 177–181. Lond. 1852.

<sup>3</sup> “Περαιτέρω δὲ τῆς Τζινίτζας οὐδὲ πλείραι οὐδὲ οἰκεῖται.” (*Christian. Opin. de Mundo*, p. 138.)

<sup>4</sup> By the names “Gog and Magog” eastern writers were wont to designate both the Tartaries; answering to the Scythia of the ancients, within and beyond the Imaus. (*Assem. Diss. de Syr. Nest.* p. ccccxvvi.)

<sup>5</sup> The last syllable denotes a town of the first class. This city is commonly called Sigan.

<sup>6</sup> Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1269–70.

long continued labour, succeeded in gaining very many converts among all classes of the people. His death having taken place in the year 1610, the work of making known the Christian faith still went forward; and an unexpected impulse was given to its progress by the disinterment of the celebrated Sino-Syriac Monument in 1625. This marble Slab, which was about seven feet and a half in height, three feet and three quarters in breadth, and nine inches in thickness, with a figure in front like a Maltese cross<sup>1</sup>, was found by some persons when digging a trench for the foundation of a wall: and it proved to be nothing less than an invaluable Memorial of the establishment of Christianity in China, A. D. 780–81<sup>2</sup>; for twelve months taken from these years answer to the year 1092 of the era of the Seleucidæ, or of the Greeks, the date inscribed on the Tablet; on which it is recorded also, that the work was executed in the days of Ananjesus, Patriarch of the Nestorians.

The discovery of this Monument occasioned immense excitement; and contributed so much to the success of the Missionaries<sup>3</sup> that it is said, that in the year 1637 there were forty thousand Christians in seven provinces<sup>4</sup>. The Emperor could no longer argue against revealed religion on the ground that it had not been promulgated in his kingdom in ancient times<sup>5</sup>; for the Jesuits were now enabled to put forward what seemed to be an indisputable proof, that the faith which they professed had been generally embraced in China a thousand years before<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "Est autem lapidis figura in modum parallelogrammi extensa, quinque palmis lata, uno crassa, longa ferè decem: in fronte crux est, qualis ferè Equitum Melitensium." (Mart. Martini *Atlas Sinensis*, p. 39. Conf. Kircheri *Prodromus Coptus*, pp. 51–2.)

<sup>2</sup> Not A. D. 782, as Kircher and others have it. (Vid. *Prod. Copt.* p. 69.)

<sup>3</sup> . . . "eo sanè animarum fructu, quo tota posteritas non immeritò gaudebit." (Kircheri *Prodromus Coptus*, p. 51.)

<sup>4</sup> *Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet*, by M. l'Abbé Huc, formerly Missionary Apostolic in China, Vol. ii. p. 290. Lond. 1857.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Le Comte, *Mémoires de la Chine*, ii. 139.

<sup>6</sup> . . . "nihil vel ante decem sæculorum decursum aliud à divini verbi prædicatoribus doctum fuisse, quod orthodoxæ horum temporum doctrinæ non sit undequaque consonum et conforme, imo idem; adeoque doctrinam, olim in China evangelica prædicatione sparsam, eandem quam universalis Ecclesia Catholica Romana hodiernâ die credendam ponit." (Ath. Kircheri *China illustrata*, p. 2.)



The inscriptions on this Stone are in two languages, Syriac and Chinese. Of these inscriptions the more remarkable, though not the more valuable, is in Chinese characters; and in it the principal truths of Christianity are first set forth. The arrival of the chief Missionary, A. D. 636, is next recorded: and an account is given of his favourable reception by the King; of the successful labours of the Clergy; of various events connected with the prosperity of the Church; and of two persecutions of the Christians, during a period of one hundred and forty-four years, down to the time of the erection of this Memorial.

As soon as the Governor of the district heard that the Monument was found, he took possession of it; and procured a Stone of equal size, on which, according to the story, when a faithful copy of the entire insculpture had been engraved, the original, as if now rendered useless, forthwith disappeared for ever. Such a statement as this is must instantly excite extreme suspicion. If an *exact* fac simile had been formed and presented to the world, why should so great an amount of trouble have been needlessly taken? A proceeding so entirely uncalled for does not admit of any simple explanation. It was not pretended that the characters on the original Monument were indistinct: on the contrary, they were confessedly definite and clear<sup>1</sup>.

The number of persons, who have any intimate acquaintance with the mysteries of Chinese literature, is always so extremely small, that it is scarcely surprising that for more than two hundred years the minds of the learned were perplexed with reference to the real nature of the whole transaction. Enmity to the Jesuits, by whom the Monument was highly extolled, was a prevailing motive with many to reject it altogether; while others,

<sup>1</sup> . . "ed avesse le lettere così chiare, e nettamente scolpite," are words cited by Kircher (*China illust.* p. 6.) from the Italian version of a work by a Portuguese Jesuit, Alvar Semmedo, who had carefully inspected the original Stone, and who was for forty-six years a Missionary in China. This translation, bearing the title, *Relazione della Monarchia della Cina*, was published at Rome in 1643. From Antonio we learn that Semmedo's *Imperio de la China, y cultura Evangelica en él por los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus*, was printed at Madrid in 1642. (*Biblioth. Hispana Nova*, Tom. i. p. 61. Matriti, 1783.)

like the candid Mosheim, refused to deny its authenticity. When Dean Milman, however, in his second edition of Gibbon<sup>1</sup>, repeated his former remark, that it "is now generally considered above all suspicion," he was not aware that the enigma had been solved six years previously, and a directly opposite conclusion arrived at, by the present Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Dr. Wall, in the second volume of his *Examination of the ancient Orthography of the Jews*<sup>2</sup>, has investigated the matter with much discernment; and, having clearly perceived where the deception lay, has patiently analyzed complicated sentences, and pointed out the series of falsehoods to which those concerned in the fraud have had recourse.

That the Monument was discovered appears to be undeniable; and the genuineness of the Syriac portion of the inscription will be admitted by every competent judge: but that "the Chinese text," to which Dean Milman confidently appeals, is fictitious has been unanswerably shown.

To understand this question we have to bear in mind, that Chinese writing is obscure and extremely vague; and that from its ideographic nature it is essentially liable to become illegible. A change in the signification of characters, entirely arbitrary in their formation, is constantly in progress: and, notwithstanding the boast of the learned in China, that the symbols which they employ have not been altered for the last two thousand years, it is impossible to ascertain the meaning of monumental inscriptions of such alleged antiquity. In fact writing of this nature is found to be unintelligible in proportion to its age, and the time during which it has been out of use<sup>3</sup>. The graphic system of the Chinese, before it received any improvement from alphabetic writing, was utterly incapable of preserving historical records: and hence it is evident that the Mandarins, who pretend to trace back national events with preciseness for four thousand years, are simply impostors; and their country is utterly destitute of any true ancient history.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 378. Lond. 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter iv. pp. 159–245. London, 1840.

<sup>3</sup> Wall, *ib.* iii. 214.

It is not surprising that the Mandarins, who owe their rank and reputation to their attainments in Chinese learning, such as it is, should be most anxious to conceal, not only from Europeans in general, but also from their own countrymen, the great imperfection of the old method of writing; namely, its inability to supply a permanent record. In truth the ideagraphic system, so obstinately retained and defended, has been the means of excluding the people of China from converse with civilized nations; and has powerfully served to obstruct the light of Christianity.

We can now comprehend the purpose of the wise men in China, when they determined on the destruction of the original Sino-Syriac Monument: and this is not a solitary instance of such conduct; for, like the Brahmins in India<sup>1</sup>, they have made incessant efforts to efface and mutilate old national records, and to annihilate every vestige of the ancient literature of their country.

But how were the Mandarins to proceed on this occasion? They could not decipher one of the ideagrams: and yet something must be done to sustain their own credit; to gratify the curiosity of others<sup>2</sup>; and to keep secret the deficiency of the old manner of writing.

They had also another, and a very serious, difficulty to contend with. If they were now to have recourse to a not untried stratagem, and were to put forward a feigned representation of the meaning of an illegible Chinese insculpture; if their performance, moreover, were afterwards to prove to be inconsistent in any measure with the second inscription on the same Monument,—the deception which they had practised could not fail to be discovered. The inscription in the Syriac language, or the alphabetic portion, was perfectly intelligible.

In this distressing emergency the guides of a people, all of whom are said to be “vastly prone to prevaricate, to deceive, to lie<sup>3</sup>,”

<sup>1</sup> Wall, ii. 385. iii. 198–202.

<sup>2</sup> “Erant autem ad interpretationem inscriptionis ritè perficiendam multi è propinquis locis, et ex Bontziis et Mandarinis, accersiti.” (Kircheri *Prod. Copt.* pp. 50–1.)

<sup>3</sup> Morrison's *View of China*, p. 123. —“Astutiam à prudentia vix, nisi fortè in literis, separent.” (*Rerum memorab. in reg. Sinæ gest. Litt. an. Soc. Jes.* p. 111. Antwerp. 1625.)

appealed for aid to the Jesuits, who, as a body, are reputed to have signalized themselves by a not dissimilar propensity.

The combination of these two parties was likely to produce a result satisfactory to both; and not to bring reproach upon the ingenuity of the artificers. It is plain that the principal object of the Mandarins was to effect the demolition of the original Monument: and as on that which was substituted for it a Chinese inscription must appear, a totally new one was excogitated, and engraved in modern characters. The Jesuits, who were excellent scholars, took care that nothing in it should be at variance with the Syriac record; but that the separate parts should correspond, and the strictest harmony subsist between them.

In the entire transaction the disciples of Loyola decidedly had the advantage; for their cause was not injured by the loss of an inscription no longer intelligible. Their own fabrication, too, served to recommend Christianity; and moreover to represent as ancient some of the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome. It may seem extremely strange that so much liberty should have been conceded to them; but the Chinese are proverbially indifferent to religion of any kind. It may be added also, that when this compact was entered into, several of the Mandarins were numbered amongst the converts made by the Jesuits; and two at least are mentioned in such a manner as to give occasion for the conjecture, that they were concerned in the preparation of the second Stone; the manufacture of which was apparently not completed for three years at all events, as Semmedo found the original still extant in 1628<sup>1</sup>.

The names of the two Mandarins, especially liable to suspicion, were Leo and Paul: the former of whom, as Kircher tells us<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> His words are thus quoted by Kircher :—"Doppo tre anni, nel 1628, passarono alcuni Padri à quella provincia, con l'occasione d'un Mandarinò Christiano, qui Philippus dicebatur, che li andava . . . . Fù conceduto à me d'essere delli primi, e stimai felice quella stanza per l'occasione di veder la Pietra, ed arrivato d'altre cose non mi curai." (*China illustrata*, p. 6.)

<sup>2</sup> "Primus omnium Leo Mandarinus, Christiana lege jam imbutus, oh ingens Christianæ fidei emolumentum, quod indè emersurum sperabat, illud exactè descriptum toti regno evulgavit." (*China illustrata*, p. 6.) Again: "tot libris eâ de re vel ab ipsis Sinensibus, magnæ autoritatis Colais, et Christiana lege initiatis, Leone et Paulo, per univèrsum imperium evulgatis." (*Ibid.* p. 1. *Conf. Prodrom. Copt.* p. 72.)

was the first person who, with a view to the advancement of Christianity, made known the contents of the inscription to the people of China; and the latter, as well as his colleague, was a man of great distinction. Some particulars respecting them may be found in the Letter for the year 1620<sup>1</sup>, sent by the Jesuits in China to Vitelleschi, the General of their Order. Of Leo, whose household consisted of more than a hundred persons, it is said<sup>2</sup>, that he is "to be separately applauded, because that he has exalted himself above the rest" of his kindred; and his zeal on behalf of Christianity is carefully described. Paul also is repeatedly mentioned with honour. His rapid promotion to dignity is spoken of<sup>3</sup>; his modesty in refusing titles is noticed; and a remarkable Diploma from the King, in reference to him, is given<sup>4</sup>. In a subsequent page it is stated parenthetically, that he contrived "to have a good share in everything good<sup>5</sup>:" and immediately afterwards we are informed, that this same Paul was a native of the province of Xensi, in which, it will be remembered, the Monument was found; so that in Sigan his authority must have had the utmost weight. All his abilities and his extraordinary influence were devoted to the service of the Christian religion; which, according to Kircher, he "wonderfully elucidated both by speaking and writing<sup>6</sup>."

Hence it appears evident, that the Jesuits had power to accomplish all that they especially desired with regard to the substituted inscription. They felt it to be advisable, however, to make some concessions to the superstitious and idolatrous practices of the people of China. Allusion is consequently made to the ancient fable of a pagan deity conveying one of their Kings

<sup>1</sup> *Litteræ Annuæ Soc. Jes. è regno Sinarum*, 8vo., Antverp. 1625.

<sup>2</sup> "Solus ipse Doctor privatim laudandus est, quia se supra cæteros extulit." (p. 90.)

<sup>3</sup> "Hos titulos diu Paulus admittere recusavit, invidiam devitans: neque enim per gradus, sed per saltum subierat: sed frustra; coactus est admittere." (p. 41.)

<sup>4</sup> pp. 42-44.

<sup>5</sup> "Qui bonam in omnibus bonis partem habere procurat." (p. 105.)

<sup>6</sup> "Qui Vir summi et perspicacissimi ingenii, uti magnus erat imperii Colaüs, et summæ apud Sinas authoritatis, ita quoque Christianam Religionem mirificè, quâ voce quâ scriptis, illustravit." (*China illust.* p. 114.) There is here a copperplate likeness of Paul, and one also of the Jesuit Ricci, by whom he was converted.

to heaven ; and Images of Emperors are spoken of as having been erected in churches, manifestly for adoration, along with those of the Saints.

But while the Jesuits were anxious to demonstrate the antiquity of their faith, they could not safely be incautious with reference to doctrinal statements ; lest opinions should be attributed to the Nestorians which they had never held, and so the imposture might be detected. In this dilemma prudential motives were not suffered to be at all times predominant : and the Jesuits chose rather to permit their new inscription to bear very plain marks of spuriousness, than to forego the advantages to be anticipated in China from testimonies in favour of such important doctrines as Purgatory, Image-worship, and the Sacrifice of the Mass.

With regard to Purgatory, it is undeniable that the Nestorians do not believe in its existence<sup>1</sup> ; nor is the name of such a place found in any of their Service-books. On the contrary, these people, unlike the Chaldæans, maintain that the state of the soul is unchangeably fixed immediately after death<sup>2</sup>.

As to the worshipping of Images, the Nestorians will not admit either Images or Pictures into their churches. They will not tolerate a Crucifix ; though they very highly reverence the Cross as the symbol of their faith<sup>3</sup>. In the Acts of the Synod of Diamper it is distinctly declared, that they “ rejected the commendable use of Images<sup>4</sup> :” and when a representation of the Blessed Virgin was exhibited to the Nestorians of Malabar by Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, he was met with the exclamation, “ We are Christians : we do not worship Idols<sup>5</sup>.”

Concerning the last-named tenet, the Sacrifice of the Mass, it is altogether certain that in early times it was not received as

<sup>1</sup> “ Denique ex dictis sequitur, à Nestorianis Purgatorium explodi.” (*Assemani Bibl. Oriental.* Tom. iii. P. ii. p. cccxlv.)

<sup>2</sup> Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, Vol. ii. pp. 130–1. Lond. 1852.

<sup>3</sup> Badger, ii. 132. Wall, ii. 195.

<sup>4</sup> “ Hæretici Nestoriani, qui olim Ecclesiis præsidebant, laudabilem usum sacrarum Imaginum respuebant.” (*Act. viii. Decret. xxix. p. 239.*)

<sup>5</sup> “ Christiaoi sumus: Idola non colimus.” (*Assemani Biblioth. Orient.* iii. ii. cccxlix.)

true by any portion of the Universal Church : and to the present day the Nestorians hold, that only a sacramental change takes place in the Eucharistic elements ; their rituals teaching merely a commemorative Sacrifice in the Lord's Supper<sup>1</sup>.

It is therefore abundantly clear, that if no other argument could be adduced to disprove the genuineness of the Chinese insculpture, this one consideration,—namely, that a belief in the three doctrines now referred to is untruly ascribed to the Nestorians,—would be amply sufficient.

There remains but one other point to be adverted to respecting the Chinese inscription. Kircher, apparently with a view to exculpate his brethren, asserts on two occasions, in the same words, that the Sino-Syriac Monument was discovered “a few years prior to the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers in China<sup>2</sup>.” Without their assistance, then, as this writer would insinuate, the Mandarins had succeeded in deciphering the ideagrams ; and might have been able to put forward a narrative quite in accordance with the contents of the Syriac part of the inscription. But those who utter falsehoods ought to have good memories. Kircher's daring statement, which is in complete opposition to all evidence, directly contradicts his own language in a preceding page ; in which it is truly related, that the Monument was found in the year 1625 ; and that a short time previously the Jesuits had come into the province of which Sigan was the chief town<sup>3</sup>.

The ideagraphic, or Chinese, inscription being manifestly worthless<sup>4</sup>, we have to rely for any true information on the Sy-

<sup>1</sup> Badger, Vol. ii. pp. 171, 176. Conf. Raulin, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> “Inventus autem est hic lapis paucis ante annis quam Patres Soc. Jesu in Chinam appellerent.” (*Prodromus Coptus*, p. 71. *China illust.* p. 34. Cf. Wall, ii. 163-4.)

<sup>3</sup> “Porro Patres Societatis nostræ, qui eo ipso tempore [scil. an. 1625] fortè in eandem provinciam recens appulerant, cum multa, fama paulatim longè lateque percrebrescente, de invento Monumento percepissent, ad id inspiciendum, non tam humano quàm divino instinctu compulsi, eò et ipsi se contulerunt.” (*Prodrom. Copt.* p. 50.)

<sup>4</sup> We shall not be led to form a higher estimate of it by reading in the sixth column, that, after the ascension of our Lord, there remained twenty-seven books which contain His doctrine. It is true that the books of the New Testament, now commonly received by the Church, are in number twenty-seven ; namely,—four Gospels ; the Acts of the

riac record. From this it is clear, that Christianity was the dominant religion in China before the conclusion of the eighth century; and that some of the Clergy by whom it was propagated had come from Tachuristan, a region included in, or adjoining, Turchestan in Western Tartary. If we could depend upon the fictitious insculpture, we should be required to believe, that the conversion of the people of China is to be attributed principally to Lo-puen, or Olo-puen, who is said to have arrived in that country in the year 636. But whether this imaginary Apostle<sup>1</sup> of the Chinese was a Bishop, or only a Priest, Le Quien<sup>2</sup> cannot decide: and there is in reality the same foundation for one opinion as for the other; and not more for his existence than for either.

On the margin of the Monument were inscribed, in the Syriac language, the names of sixty-seven persons, evidently the Clergy of the various Orders, who were resident in part of China in the year 781. It is entirely a fanciful mistake, into which Assemani<sup>3</sup>, Mosheim<sup>4</sup>, and very many other writers have fallen, that the signatures are those of successive preachers of the Gospel in China, from the year 636 to the date of the erection of the Monument. Three names have been added to the original list<sup>5</sup>: and perhaps the interpolation may be traced to a desire felt by an early transcriber to enumerate precisely seventy Disciples, as having accomplished the work of evangelizing China. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that Kircher, apparently influenced by

Apostles; fourteen Epistles of S. Paul; seven General Epistles, and the Revelation: but, at the time when the Monument was erected, the Nestorians did not acknowledge as authentic more than twenty-two books. (De Beausobre, *Hist. de Manichéisme*, i. 295-96.) The Jesuits on this occasion, if not forgetful, must have been sadly embarrassed. Their own conduct, in fact, had placed them in this position; that they were obliged to decide whether they should misrepresent the Nestorians, or recommend to the notice of the Chinese the New Testament in an imperfect state.

<sup>1</sup> That Olo-puen was not S. Thomas is an extremely safe conclusion arrived at by Renaudot. (*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, p. 251.)

<sup>2</sup> *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. ii. col. 1269.

<sup>3</sup> . . . "quarum altera continet nomina septuaginta præconum Evangelii, qui ab anno Christi 636. Christianam fidem in Sina annunciarunt: altera auctores erecti lapidis tempusque designat." (*Bibl. Orient. Clem.-Vat.* iii. ii. cxlii.)

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Tartar. Eccles.* pp. 11-12. et Append. iii. p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Wall's *Exam. of anc. Orthog. of Jews*, Vol. ii. p. 231.



the same motive, indulges still farther in invention, and asserts that *seventy-two* names of "Apostolic men" were engraven on the Stone<sup>1</sup>. The sagacious Jesuit was very well aware, that the latter number was the only one which could bring the reckoning into exact conformity with the account of the Disciples sent forth by our Lord, as given in the Latin Vulgate version of the Gospel according to S. Luke<sup>2</sup>.

The translation of three divisions of the Syriac writing is as follows<sup>3</sup>:—"In the days of the Father of Fathers, Mar Ananje-sus, the Catholic, [and] Patriarch;—[when] Adam, Priest, [was] Vicar-Bishop and Pope of China;—in the year one thousand and ninety and two [of the era] of the Greeks, Mar Jazedbuzid, Priest and Vicar-Bishop of Cumdan<sup>4</sup>, the metropolis,—son of (may his soul rest in peace<sup>5</sup>!) Millesius, a Priest from Balach, a

<sup>1</sup> "Quorum numerus ad 72 excurrit." (*Prodrom. Copt.* p. 83.)

<sup>2</sup> Chap. x. 1,—"*septuaginta duos*,"—followed of course by the Douay translation, and retained in the Prayer-book of the Church of England, in the Gospel for S. Luke's day, until the revision of the Liturgy in the reign of Charles II. (Heylin's *Ecclesia Vindicata*, Part ii. Chap. i. §. viii. p. 192. Lond. 1681. Cp. Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 380. Oxford, 1840.)

<sup>3</sup> Wall, ii. 239.

<sup>4</sup> Renaudot (*Anciennes Relations*, p. 237. : Remarks on the *Ancient Accounts*, p. 43.) conjectures, but not upon grounds which satisfy the Jesuit De Premare, that Nan-kin was formerly called Cumdan. (Vid. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, xix. 423. Moshemü *Hist. Tartar. Eccl.* Append. p. 28.) The Chinese have utterly lost the name of the chief city of their empire in the eighth and ninth centuries. Their vaunted Annals contain no allusion to the fact, that Christianity once prevailed in their country. (See Renaudot's *Inquiry into the origin of the Christian Religion in China*, pp. 106–7.) Hence we are compelled to conclude, that all that is genuine in the history of China, so far as it at present is known, has some reference to events which occurred since the time of the erection of the Nestorian Monument. (Cp. Wall, ii. 244. iii. 349.)

<sup>5</sup> Here there are only two words in the original, "soul" and "tranquil." The "*bonæ memoriæ*" of Assemani and Moshemü must therefore be at once refused; and Kircher's "*requies sit animæ ejus*" is not indubitable; for the meaning of the clause may merely be, "son of Millesius, one tranquil in soul." At all events, pious Aspirations on behalf of the departed are not to be confounded with Prayers for the dead. (Cp. Burgon's *Letters from Rome*, pp. 237–8. Lond. 1862.) Dr. Rock, in his *Hierurgia*, Lond. 1833, appeals to some inscriptions found in the Catacombs, as recognizing the Romish doctrine. He has, however, completely failed to establish the point: and on more than three thousand monumental slabs, arranged in the Lapidarian Gallery, not a vestige of this error can be discovered. (See *The Catacombs of Rome*, by Bishop Kip, p. 187. New York, 1854.

city of Tachuristan,—erected this marble Tablet; on which is inscribed [an account of] the Dispensation of our Saviour, and of the preaching of our Fathers before the [successive] Kings of the Chinese.—Adam, Deacon, son of Jazedbuzid, the Vicar-Bishop.—Mar Sergius, Priest and Vicar-Bishop.—Sabarjesus, Priest.—Gabriel, Priest, Archdeacon, and Head, of the Church of Cumdan and Sarag.”

It is a fact which cannot be questioned, that the style of the foregoing inscription affords a very strong proof of its antiquity. The writing has a smaller number of vowel letters than modern Syriac would exhibit: and, as Dr. Wall<sup>1</sup> has observed, the older any such record is, “the more sparingly will it in general be found vocalized.”

With regard to the narrative itself, the Jesuits, who were endeavouring to support the system of their Church by means of the Chinese Memorial, could not have had any motive for inventing and putting forward a testimony against the Celibacy of the Clergy. We have seen that two of the persons concerned in the erection of the Monument are mentioned in words resembling those of S. Patrick<sup>2</sup> when he said, at the

Seymour's *Mornings among the Jesuits*, p. 236, etc. Lond. 1849. Maitland's *Church in the Catacombs*, p. 235. Lond. 1846.) One of the epitaphs adduced by Dr. Rock in support of his argument is this: (p. 458.) “Exuperi, requiescas in pace, qui vixit annos xxiii.” &c. : —“Exuperius, mayest thou rest in peace, who lived xxiii. years,” &c.—We have here a good specimen of controversial dexterity. The inscription has not the word “Requiescas,” but only “Req. ;” an abbreviation which should have been taken to signify “Requiescit,” and not “Requiescat.” The language of this epitaph therefore, according to an ordinary form, should be thus understood: “The place of Exuperius. He rests in peace, who lived” &c. For instances of the use of “Requiescit,” see Burgon's *Letters*, pp. 152–54.—In the *Dublin Review* for January, 1847, the following extravagant statement was made: (p. 439.) “There is hardly a single form of phrase, in which it is possible to embody a prayer for the dead, of which we may not discover the prototype in the epitaphs of the Catacombs.” One sample of the inscriptions, alleged as *demonstrative* of a belief in the existence of Purgatory, is this: “Spiritus tuum Deus refrigeret.” (p. 448.) On the last word, after a quotation from Cicero, we read: “Its natural meaning, therefore, the very idea of refreshment by being cooled after excessive heat, is a strong confirmation of the notion of a purgatorial fire.” (!!!) Such a sentence is absolutely *unanswerable*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Orthography of the Jews*, Vol. ii. p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> *Opuscula*, ed. Waræo, p. 1. Lond. 1656.—“Patrem habui Calpornium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti Presbyteri.”

commencement of his Confession, "My father was Calpornius, a Deacon, son of Potitus, a Priest." Mar Jazedbuzid was the son of Millesius, a Priest, and the father of Adam, a Deacon. Amongst the Nestorians all Priests and Deacons are allowed to marry. Monks also may obtain a relaxation of their vows, which are not necessarily regarded as more than temporary<sup>1</sup>. But, in the case of the higher Orders of the Clergy, marriage is prohibited; and even a widower cannot be invested with the office of a Bishop, a Metropolitan, or a Patriarch<sup>2</sup>. From the beginning, however, this was not so; and the fifth of the Apostolic Canons, which were ratified by the Quinisext Council in the year 692, distinctly forbids a Bishop to put away his wife.

Mr. Badger, having stated<sup>3</sup> that, in former ages, marriage "had been permitted to all Bishops, and even to the Patriarch" of the Nestorians, receives the following reproof from his editor and annotator, the Warden of Sackville College<sup>4</sup>:—"This is not exactly correct. Babuæus, a man of bad character, and one of the principal introducers of the Nestorian heresy, who sat from 466 to 486, innovated on the more ancient customs, and permitted marriage to Bishops, and even to the Patriarch; and the innovation remained in force some little time." Does Dr. Neale really intend to intimate that, if such a concession were made, it was one which was worthy only of a heretic and a man of bad repute? The learned Henry Wharton<sup>5</sup> would have us to believe, on the contrary, that Celibacy "gained ground by the artifice of heretics, and connivance of Catholics." As to Dr. Neale's positive assertion, however, the Patriarch Babuæus was *not* "a man of bad character," but a Martyr for the Catholic faith<sup>6</sup>: and so far was

<sup>1</sup> "Nestoriani matrimonium permittunt Monachis, Diaconis, et Presbyteris, etiam post Ordinationem; nec semel tantum: immò, ex Josepho II. Patriarcha, 'possunt ducere septem uxores cum dimidia;' id est, septem Virgines, et unam Viduam." (Raulin, Dissert. iv. *Vindiciæ Synodi Diamperitanæ*, p. 411.)

<sup>2</sup> Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, Vol. ii. p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i. p. 404.

<sup>5</sup> *Treatise of the Celibacy of the Clergy*, p. 72. Lond. 1688.

<sup>6</sup> "Nestorianus scriptor, quum Barsumam Babuæo infestum fuisse, ejusque necem procurasse negare non posset," &c. (*Assemani Bibl. Orient.* iii. i. 394.)

he from countenancing the marriage of the Clergy, that he anathematized the Metropolitan of Nisibis who had done so<sup>1</sup>. Dr. Neale has evidently confounded Babuæus, the Primate of Seleucia, and Barsumas of Nisibis, the zealous Nestorian advocate. It was the latter who, citing a passage from S. Paul, synodically sanctioned the marriage both of Monks and Priests<sup>2</sup>. This Barsumas must not be mistaken for his namesake the Syrian Abbot, who was a Monophysite. Babuæus also should be kept apart from his successor (next but one) Babæus, who had a wife and children; and who, having been elected Catholicus of the Nestorians, held a Council in the year 499<sup>3</sup>; annulled the anathema of Babuæus against Barsumas; and decreed, that thenceforward no one appointed to the patriarchate should be *unmarried*, under pain of suspension from the office<sup>4</sup>. Dr. Neale<sup>5</sup> despatches him as a man of "infamous character." Mr. Badger<sup>6</sup> has given the name "Babai" both to Babuæus and Babæus; but confusion becomes thus unavoidable. A step farther from accuracy has been taken in the translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History by Murdock and Soames<sup>7</sup>, in which Babæus is disfigured into "Babacus."

The greatest Canonist of the Eastern Church, Balsamo<sup>8</sup>, Pa-

<sup>1</sup> "Hæc fuit vera causa dissidii inter Babuæum et Baraumam, quòd scilicet Barsumas in suo Conciliabulo potestatem faciebat Clericis et Monachis uxores ducendi; Babuæus in sua Synodo id fas esse negabat. Alter in alterum ob banc causam anathema intorsit." (*Assem. Bibl. Or.* iii. ii. clxxviii.)

<sup>2</sup> "Barsumas verò, Nisibenus Metropolita, Synodicam scripsit, in qua Sacerdotibus Monachisque, qui seipsos continere nequirent, potestatem nubendi faciebat; dictum Pauli usurpans, &c." (*Assemani, ibid.*)—"Amrus quoque, in Vita ejusdem Babuæi, Conciliabulum ab eodem Barsuma habitum memorat, in quo Clericis omnibua conjugii poteatas facta." (*Assem. ubi sup.* iii. i. 393-4.)

<sup>3</sup> *Assemani, ibid.* iii. ii. clxxx.

<sup>4</sup> "Babæus, laicua uxorem filioaque habens, post Acacii obitum in Episcopum Seleuciæ, seu Nestorianorum Catholicum, electus, Synodum celebravit, in qua, sub pœna suspensionis sanxit, ut omnes sui successores Catholici uxores ducerent." (*Assem. ut sup.* Tom. ii. p. 408.)

<sup>5</sup> Badger's *Nestorians*, Vol. ii. p. 425. note 34.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. i. p. 143.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. i. p. 488. Lond. 1841.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. in Can. Apostol. v. apud Beveregii *Pandectt. Canon.* Tom. i. p. 3. Oxon. 1672.

triarch of Antioch, affirms most plainly, that “before the sixth Synod held in Trullo<sup>1</sup>,” (A. D. 692<sup>2</sup>), “it was lawful for Bishops to have wives, even after their consecration; as well as Priests and Deacons, who are ordained after marriage.” Here we have the testimony of Balsamo in opposition to the assertion of Dr. Neale; whose “some little time,” for the continuance of what he wrongly calls an “innovation,” is thus extended from the year 486 to 692: and the Chinese Memorial authorizes us to add to it almost another century; for Jazedbuzid, the Vicar-Bishop of the metropolis of China, in the year 781, makes no secret of his having been a married man.

Dean Milman<sup>3</sup> has founded an ingenious argument, in support of the authenticity of the Sino-Syriac Monument, on the name of the ecclesiastic by whom it was raised, Jazedbuzid: and with his remarks, which, however, prove only the credibility of the Syriac inscription, we shall conclude our protracted notice of this singular subject:—“The name is Persian: and, at the time the Monument was discovered, it would have been impossible to have imagined it; for there was no work extant from whence the knowledge of it could be derived. I do not believe that, even since this period, any book has been published, in which it can be found a second time. It is very celebrated amongst the Armenians; and is derived from a Martyr, a Persian by birth, of the royal race, who perished towards the middle of the seventh century, and rendered his name celebrated among the Christian nations of the East.”

From “light and gladness, and joy and honour,” Christians in China fell suddenly into the deepest misery; and were ex-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Bingham, *Antiq. B.* iv. Ch. v. §. viii.

<sup>2</sup> It is strange that Bishop Beverege should in one place have set down the year 681, in which the sixth General Council was held, as the date of this Trullan Synod. (Tom. ii. Annot. p. 2. §. v.) Mr. Keble refers the latter to the year 706; (Hooker's Works, iii. 194. Oxf. 1841.) and Petavius to 707. (*Rationar. Temp.* ii. 248-9. Franequer. 1694.) To fix the date correctly, we are to count not by the Alexandrian era, but by the civil era of Constantinople. The third Canon speaks of the fourth Indiction as past. This Quinisext Council must therefore have been held in the fifth Indiction; that is, in the year ending on August 31, 692.

<sup>3</sup> Gibbon, Vol. iv. p. 378, note. Lond. 1846.

posed to such fearful distress and persecution that they seem to have been well nigh threatened with extinction. Being, as it appears, highly favoured at Court,—their religion, in fact, had been established in the country,—it would be difficult to overrate the amount of suffering which, as loyal subjects, they must needs have undergone in consequence of the outbreak of a revolution, which totally changed the state of affairs throughout the empire.

Our knowledge of this calamity is obtained from one of two Arabian Narratives, of which a French translation was published at Paris, by Renaudot, in 1718. He met with a manuscript, believed to be unique, and which, if still preserved, must be about seven hundred years old. The title of his octavo volume is: *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le neuvième siècle ; traduites d'Arabe*<sup>1</sup>.

Of these Accounts, the earlier is dated in a year which answers to A. D. 851; and the other was written perhaps a hundred years later. The author of the second Narrative describes the result of the civil war which occurred in 877<sup>2</sup>. This outbreak originated with an officer of rank, named Baichu, who, having raised the standard of revolt, resolved to place himself upon the throne, and not to leave an adversary in existence. With a horde of barbarians he besieged Can-ton, then called Can-fu<sup>3</sup>. This city was destroyed; and its inhabitants were put to the sword. Having captured various other cities, the rebel leader next advanced against Cumdan<sup>4</sup>, the metropolis, which the

<sup>1</sup> An English version was printed in 1733, London, 8vo.—The Jesuits De Premare and Parennine have raised objections against the veracity of these documents. Vid. *Lettres édifiantes*, Tome xix. p. 420, etc. Tome xxi. p. 158, sqq. Jablonski *Institt. Histor. Christ.* Tom. i. pp. 242–3. Francof. ad Viadrum, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Le Quien was mistaken in supposing that this was the date of the writer's visit to China. (*Oriens Christianus*, Tom. ii. col. 1267.) Assemani (*Diss. de Syris Nestor.* p. DXXIV.) and Fabricius (*Salut. Lux Evangel. toti Orbi exoriens*, p. 687.) have fallen into the same error.

<sup>3</sup> With respect to this final syllable, see before, p. 15, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> It is worthy of particular notice, that the Chinese capital here bears the name assigned to it on the Sino-Syriac Monument. This fact is an incidental, but no trifling, proof of the genuineness of the Arabic Narrative. In the twelfth century it was not a

Emperor abandoned in confusion. There was a general massacre<sup>1</sup>; and (as at the present time, owing to the rebellion of the Tae-pings,) blood flowed like water. At length, after a series of successes, and many hard-fought battles, Baichu was utterly defeated by the troops of a royal ally in Turchestan, to whom the Emperor had applied for aid. There is not any certainty as to the nature of the death which ended the efforts of the rebel-chief. The dismemberment of China, which the Mahometan traveller mentions, as having arisen from this great revolution, was not a permanent misfortune. The anarchy and extreme violence, which for some time prevailed in the small separate kingdoms, must have altogether disappeared long before the invasion of the empire by the armies of Jenghiz-Khan; for the Chinese, when this mighty conqueror approached, were not a disunited people<sup>2</sup>.

The first year of the eleventh century<sup>3</sup> was rendered memorable by the conversion to the Nestorian form of Christianity of the celebrated Prester John<sup>4</sup>: and the example of this Tartar Prince was followed, it is said, by two hundred thousand of his subjects. So much uncertainty has existed, and so many different opinions have been formed by learned men<sup>5</sup>, relative to this famous personage, his successors, and his kingdom, that one can-

city, but a river, probably the Kiang, which was called Cumdan. See the *Geographia Nubiensis*, (a Latin translation of a treatise by Al-Edrisi,) p. 69. Paris. 1629. Wall, *Anc. Orthog. of Jews*, Vol. iii. pp. 349-51.

<sup>1</sup> "On la trouvera expliquée dans un éclaircissement à part, qui fera connoître que quand les deux voyageurs ont dit qu'il y avoit un grand nombre de Chrestiens à la Chine, qui furent enveloppez dans un massacre general, lorsqu'il arriva une revolution qui changea toute la face de l'Empire, il n'estoit pas impossible que ces Chrestiens fussent les descendants de ceux dont il est parlé dans la Pierre Chinoise." (Renaudot, Preface, p. xxxii.)

<sup>2</sup> Wall, iii. 430. Gibbon, vi. 145. ed. Milman.

<sup>3</sup> Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 444. *Dissert. de Syris Nestor.* pp. cccclxxxiii, cccclxxxiv. Moshemii *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* p. 23.—The real author of this book was Hermann Christian Paulsen; but Mosheim supplied the materials, and revised the work.

<sup>4</sup> This remarkable event has been wrongly referred by Mosheim's translator to the year 900. (*Eccl. Hist.* by Murdock and Soames, ii. 258.)

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Ludolfi *Ad Hist. Æthiop. Comment.* pp. 218-222. Assemani *Diss. de Syris Nestor.* p. cccxciv. Fabricii *Lux Evangel. toti Orbi exor.* p. 690.

not feel surprised at Geddes<sup>1</sup> having determined in despair, "that the whole story of this enchanted Asiatic Christian empire was invented, and kept up, by the trumpeters of the Holy War."

We are not, however, to be dissuaded from reliance on the account of the conversion of the first Presbyter, or Prester, John, because of its bearing an air of romance. In the Syriac Chronicle of Abulpharagius, or Bar-Hebræus<sup>2</sup>, (A.D. 1250,) a letter is preserved, which was sent by Ebedjesus, Archbishop of Maru, to the Patriarch of the Nestorians<sup>3</sup>, whose headship over the Church in China must not be forgotten<sup>4</sup>.

This Patriarch, whose name was John, was herein informed by the Metropolitan, that it had become necessary to seek for his advice under striking and peculiar circumstances. The King of the Keraite Tartars had lost his way in a desert, while one day heedlessly hunting. Dismayed and distracted at seeing no hope of escape from a lingering or violent death, a Saint appeared to him in a vision; and undertook to guide him into the right direction, if he would profess the faith of Christ. The Prince did not hesitate to save his life by making the required promise; and he was accordingly extricated from the labyrinth. On his return to his home, he sent for some Christian Merchants, who were present in his camp; and, having been instructed by them in their religion, was forthwith baptized by the above-mentioned Ebedjesus. The name John seems to have been given to him at his baptism: and he may have assumed the title of Presbyter, or Elder, as a mark of his humility; for it is difficult to suppose that the Keraite Princes were really admitted to the Order of Priests.

When the Khan inquired how he and his people were to act on days of abstinence, as they had no food of any kind but flesh

<sup>1</sup> *Church-History of Ethiopia*, p. 22. Lond. 1696.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Dowling *Notit. scriptt. SS. Patrum*, pp. 13-14. Oxon. 1839. Renaudotii *Liturg. Orient. Collect.* ii. 469. Paris. 1716. La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, pp. 53, 60-63. A la Haie, 1739.

<sup>3</sup> *Assemani Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 444.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Le Quien, ii. 1268.



and milk, a messenger was despatched to consult the Patriarch about the matter: and the letter sent to him on this occasion is that from which we derive the interesting particulars now detailed. The decision of the Patriarch was, that two Priests and two Deacons should immediately proceed on a mission to the Tartar tribe; that the numerous converts should be baptized; and that they should partake only of milk on fasting-days.

Mosheim has suggested, that it is not essential to believe, that there was anything supernatural in the character of the Saint, who so opportunely appeared to, and befriended, the Tartar Prince. He may possibly have been a Nestorian Hermit, whose abode was in that wilderness; and who, from his acquaintance with the country, may have had a very easy task to perform, while he received for his services a great reward.

The next of the Presters John, of whom we have any certain knowledge, is he who reigned early in the twelfth century, and in whose name a vainglorious letter was sent to the Emperor of Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. In this letter the Khan is made to declare, that seventy Kings were his tributaries, and seventy-two provinces were subject to his control; that his dominions extended from farther India, in which the body of S. Thomas the Apostle rests, to near the Tower of Babel. This second Cræsus, in short, describes himself as pre-eminent in the possession of all the riches under heaven, and as the ruler of a land flowing with milk and honey. The palace, in which his Sublimeness lives, was built, we are told, upon the model of that erected by S. Thomas for Gundaphor<sup>2</sup> the Indian King. Finally, the Emperor is requested not to be astonished at finding so magnificent a potentate simply called a Presbyter. He, whose butler is a Primate and a King, whose cupbearer is an Archbishop and a King, and whose principal cook is a King and an Abbot, can well afford to think little of dignities; and may be allowed to evince his lowliness of mind by selecting for himself an inferior appellation.

This pompous and absurd production was undoubtedly com-

<sup>1</sup> *Assemani Bibl. Oriental.* iii. ii. ccccxc. *Mosheim Hist. Tart. Eccl.* Append. p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> See before, pp. 3, 4.

posed by some Nestorian Missionary: and the Khan of the Keraïtes, whose power was so vainly exaggerated, may perhaps have been incapable of reading the epistle put forth in his name<sup>1</sup>. He seems to have gained much celebrity in Europe from the account given of him by the Armenian Bishop of Gabula, who, A. D. 1145, came to Viterbo, whither Pope Eugenius III. had then withdrawn, and related<sup>2</sup> that, not many years previously, a certain John, living in the extreme East, and who was both a King and a Priest, a Christian but a Nestorian, together with his people, had vanquished the Kings of the Persians and the Medes; and, after his victory, had attempted to advance to the assistance of the Church at Jerusalem, but was unable to convey his army across the Tigris. This Presbyter John was said to be descended from the Wise Men spoken of in the Gospel; and, influenced by their example, he had resolved to go to Jerusalem. His wealth and glory were so great, that he would use a sceptre of emerald only.

It is not difficult to distinguish from his predecessors the last Tartar Prince who bore the name of Prester John, and whose skull was enchased in silver by order of his conqueror Jenghiz-Khan. Upon his accession to the throne, the Emperor of China had sent to him an ambassador, with a letter of congratulation, and had conferred upon him the complimentary title of Oungh, or Ung-Khan, that is, the Great Khan; a designation which belonged to him personally, and which was not by any

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Gibbon, vi. 138. note 2.

<sup>2</sup> "Narrabat etiam, quòd ante non multos annos, Joannes quidam, qui ultra Persidem et Armeniam, in extremo Oriente habitans, Rex et Sacerdos, cum gente sua Christianus est, sed Nestorianus, Persarum et Medorum Reges fratres," &c. . . . "Presbyter Joannes, sic enim eum nominare solent, tandem versis in fugam Persis, cruentissima cæde victor extitit. Post hanc victoriam, dicebat prædictum Joannem ad auxilium Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiæ procinctum movisse; sed dum ad Tygrim venisset, ibique nullo vehiculo traducere exercitum potnisset," &c. . . . "Fertur enim iste de antiqua progenie illorum, quorum in Evangelio mentio fit, esse Magorum, eisdemque quibus et isti gentibus imperans, tanta gloria et abundantia frui, ut non nisi sceptro smaragdino uti dicatur. Patrum itaque suorum, qui in cunabulis Christum adorare venerunt, accensus exemplo, Hierosolymam ire proposuerat." (*Ottonis Frisingensis Chronicon*, Lib. vii. Cap. xxxiii. pp. 146-7. Basil. 1569.)

means applicable to all the Keraite Princes, as Assemani<sup>1</sup> supposed. In the case of this last Prester John the efforts of the Roman Pontiff begin to be apparent. Pope Alexander III., in the year 1177, was the author of the first letter, written with a view to gain a subject, (one whom he styles “a most holy Priest<sup>2</sup>,”) in this quarter for the Church of Rome. The document is to be found in the *Annales* of the British historian, Roger de Hoveden<sup>3</sup>; and from him it has been taken by Baronius<sup>4</sup>. That Baronius, however, had not any correct idea as to the region in which the imaginary convert lived, is plain from his observation, that the Abyssinians were the people concerned; and that Pope Alexander’s letter was addressed “to the King of the Indians, whom they commonly call Preteiannus, and who reigns far and widely in Ethiopia<sup>5</sup>.”!

The village of Caracorum, where the Khans of the Keraites resided, lay to the north-west of Pe-kin, at a distance of about six hundred miles. Its site, therefore, can now be determined, though Mosheim and Paulsen<sup>6</sup> were unable to trace it. Chataia, Cathay, or Kitay, is the northern part of China; and is separated by the Chinese wall, (erected about the year 1420<sup>7</sup>), from Tangut, a province which had been subject to Prester John; whose kingdom certainly was not Chataia, as Kircher<sup>8</sup> has erroneously stated. In Tangut the posterity of the Tartar Prince retained for some time a limited degree of power; and Marco Polo<sup>9</sup>, the

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl. Or.* iii. ii. cccclxxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> “Sacerdotum sanctissimo.”

<sup>3</sup> Ad an. 1178. apud Savilii *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*.

<sup>4</sup> *Annal. Eccles.* Tom. xii. ad an. 1177. §§. liv–lvii. pp. 684–5. Antverp. 1629.

<sup>5</sup> “Ad Indorum Regem, quem vulgò nominant Preteiannum, in Æthiopia longè lateque regnantem.”

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. Tartar. Eccles.* p. 22. The place is, nevertheless, marked on their map.

<sup>7</sup> Wall’s *Anc. Orthog. of Jews*, iii. 374.

<sup>8</sup> *China illustrata*, P. ii. Cap. i. p. 49. Couf. Jobi Ludolfi *Ad Hist. Æthiop. Commentar.* p. 218. Francof. ad Moen. 1691. Pagi *Crit. in Annal. Baron.* Tom. iv. p. 649. Trigaut, *De Christiana Expedit. apud Sinas*, p. 341.

<sup>9</sup> . . . “in qua [provincia] sunt civitates, et castra multa; ubi etiam manere consuevit Rex ille magnus, et toto orbe terrarum nominatissimus, vulgò Presbyter Joannes dictus. Modò autem provincia illa tributa pendit Magno Cham, habens Regem qui est

Venetian traveller, who frequently visited that country, mentions that at the period of his sojourn there, that is about A. D. 1275-93, the majority of the inhabitants of that region still continued to adhere to the Christian faith.

Though the observations already made, introductory to Mosheim's Memoirs of the Church in China, have, as we proceeded, been unexpectedly lengthened and diversified, something more remains to be added with regard to the fortunes of that Church previously to the arrival of the Jesuits. It must not be imagined that the Jesuits were the first Missionaries employed in the East by the Court of Rome. The great Mendicant Orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, who had long preceded them, supplied emissaries who laboured anxiously, and with some measure of success, in Tartary and China.

Upon the death of Jenghiz-Khan, in the year 1227, his son Ugadai (or Octai, according to D'Herbelot,) became Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. During his reign the Nestorians prospered; and a letter is extant<sup>1</sup>, in which a certain Dominican, whose name was Philip, informed Pope Gregory IX., A. D. 1237, that the Head of all those whom the Nestorian heresy had separated from the Church was then called "Jakelinus<sup>2</sup>;" and that his authority extended through the kingdom of the Priest John, as well as over other countries. Prior Philip mentions also, that in various provinces, many of which had been laid waste by

de progenie Presbyteri Joannis. Et licet ibi sunt aliqui idololatræ, et item aliqui Mahometani, tamen major pars provinciæ fidem observat Christianam, et hi Christiani primas tenent in hac provincia." (*De Regionibus Orientalibus*, Lib. i. Cap. lxiv. apud Sim. Grynæi *Novum Orbem Regionum*, pp. 358-9. Basil. 1555.)

<sup>1</sup> Alberici *Chronicon*, ad an. mcccxxxvii. p. 562. Matthæi Paris. *Hist. Major*, ad eund. an. p. 372. ed. Wats. Lond. 1684.

<sup>2</sup> This word *Jakelinus* is a corruption of *Jakelikus*, that is, the *Catholicus* of the Nestorians. (Vid. Quetif et Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, Tom. 1. p. 105. Lut. Paris. 1719.) Another Dominican, named Brocardus, who lived in the year 1283, states, in his Description of Palestine, that the Nestorian Primate was styled "Jakelich;" and that his jurisdiction was said by some to be more extensive than that of the entire Western Church.—"Apud Nestorianos prælatu primus, qui est loco Papæ, Jakelich nuncupatur; ejus jurisdictio in Oriente latius extendi à nonnullis dicitur, quàm tota Occidentalis Ecclesia." (Quetif et Echard, ubi sup.—See before, p. 11.)

the Tartars, there were innumerable Jacobite Christians, all of whom were tributary to the Saracens, except the Monks, who were released from the payment of taxes.

When the nations of Europe were terrified by the invasion of the Tartars, there seemed to remain but a single hope of safety ; and this lay in the possible influence which Christian Missionaries might acquire. With reference, therefore, to the efforts made at this period to convert and calm a relentless conqueror, who advanced with threats like those of Sennacherib, the Roman Pontiffs can get credit only for a mixed motive.

In the year 1245, Pope Innocent IV. sent four Dominicans to the Tartars<sup>1</sup>. Three Franciscans also were despatched by him, to inculcate moderation on the Great Khan Gaiuc, the son and successor of Octai. They arrived in time to witness the coronation of the Emperor ; and received from him a letter for his Holiness, who had written to inquire whether he was a Christian or not. The reply of the Khan was, that, if the Pope wished to know, he should come to see ; and that he had better act as a suppliant, if he desired not to be involved in the general destruction. The Minorite Joannes de Plano Carpini wrote an account of his adventures on this mission<sup>2</sup> ; and returned home in the year 1247, when he was rewarded with a bishoprick for his exertions and prudence ; the Pontiff pronouncing this panegyric<sup>3</sup> : “ Blessed be thou by the Lord, and by me His Vicar ; for I see that in thee is truly fulfilled the language of the Wise Man, ‘ As the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithful messenger to him who sent him ; for he refresheth his soul.’ ‘ Well done, therefore, good and faithful servant ; because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many things.’ ”

The disrespectful treatment, which the papal agents met with

<sup>1</sup> Quetif et Echard, Tom. i. p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Biblioth. Latin. med. et inf. ætatis*, ed. Mansi, Tom. iv. p. 120. Patav. 1754. Oudin *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* Tom. iii. col. 182. Lips. 1722.—The narrative may be read in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, &c.* Vol. i. pp. 21–53. Lond. 1598.

<sup>3</sup> Moshemii *Hist. Tartar. Eccl.* p. 50.

at the court of Gaiuc, may perhaps be attributed to the existence of jealousy on the part of the Nestorians, who were high in favour with the Khan, and who did not wish to encourage the interference of strangers. In the camp it appears that there were many Nestorian Bishops, Priests, and Monks<sup>1</sup>; the Emperor's mother and his Chamberlain also being Christians<sup>2</sup>.

To the same Khan Louis IX., known as S. Louis, sent three Dominicans, A. D. 1249. When this martial Monarch was at Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, in the preceding year, in haste to advance against the Infidels, an envoy, named David, arrived with a letter for the King from Erchelchai, (otherwise called Erchalthay, or Elhetay-Yuen,) a distinguished General of the Tartars, but not of the royal race. All the particulars connected with this embassy are recounted in a narrative<sup>3</sup>, forwarded from Cyprus to Pope Innocent IV. by Odo de Château-Raoul<sup>4</sup>, Cardinal, and Bishop of Tusculum, (Frascati.) David was instantly recognized by the Dominican Friar, André de Long-jumeau<sup>5</sup>, who had been one of the pontifical emissaries before mentioned, and who had seen the envoy in the Tartar army. S. Louis, having heard many boastful statements relative to the Khan and his General, both of whom, he was assured, had been baptized, was induced to engage in this undertaking, which was not attended with any advantage to the cause of Christianity<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guillaume de Nangis, *Annales du regne de Saint Louis*, p. 199. A Paris, 1761.

<sup>2</sup> Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* iii. ii. civ.

<sup>3</sup> D'Achery, *Spicilegium veterum Scriptorum*, Tom. iii. pp. 625-27. Paris. 1723. De Nangis, *Annales du regne de S. Louis*, pp. 198-205.

<sup>4</sup> Castrum-Radulphi. The common, but incorrect, name of the town is Château-Roux.

<sup>5</sup> In Latin, Andreas de Longiumello; whose surname has been corrupted into Longiumel, and Losimer.

<sup>6</sup> "Cum pervenissent dicti Fratres, cum multis laboribus, ad caput exercitus Tartarorum, invenerunt Regem esse defunctum. Verum tamen Regina et filius ejus, visis et acceptis exeniis ecclesiasticis, honoraverunt nuncios, et munera et exenia tribuerunt; sicque remissi sunt cum honore, nullo tamen effectu alio subsequente, qui principaliter quærehatur." (Bernardi Guidonis *Chronicon*, ad an. 1248. Cf. Quetif et Echard, ubi sup. pp. 140-1.)—This Bernardus Guidonis, or Bernard de la Guyonne, was the Inquisitor of heretical pravity in France, whose decisions are contained in the celebrated Book of Sentences, or register of the proceedings of the Inquisition at Toulouse, from 1807 to

In the History of S. Louis, by his companion De Joinville, an absurd fiction is recorded, respecting the conversion of one of the Tartar Princes, whose soldiers, as the legates asserted, had eight hundred chapels erected upon chariots<sup>1</sup>. This Prince could not be found, nor were any tidings received of him, for the space of three months. At the end of that time, he averred that he had been in a very elevated region, where he had beheld persons whose beauty and apparel far surpassed in excellence anything that he had ever seen before. Their King, transcendent above all, was seated on a throne of gold. At each side were six Kings, wearing crowns, and adorned with precious stones. Near Him, at His right hand, was a Queen kneeling, and praying for the people. At His left hand was a Being eminently beautiful, with wings resplendent as the sun: and round the King was a numerous host of glorious winged creatures. The Prince was called, and directed to go to the Sovereign of the Tartars, who was commanded to give thanks to God for having given him the victory over Prester John and his people; and a declaration was added, that power was granted to the Khan to subdue the whole world. The Prince, so greatly privileged, desired the instruction of Priests: and it follows, of course, that he became a Christian; and all his subjects were baptized with him<sup>2</sup>.

1323, published by Limborch, (who had got possession of the stolen treasure,) at the end of his *Historia Inquisitionis*, Amstel. 1692. The MS. is now in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> "Le peuple à ce prince crestien estoit si grant, que les messagiers le Roy nous contèrent que il avoient en leur ost huit cens chapelles sus chers." (p. 102. A Paris, 1761.)

<sup>2</sup> "L'un des peuples de l'un des princes" [read "l'un des princes de l'un des peuples"] "devant nommé fu bien perdu trois moys que onques l'en n'en sot nouvelles; & quant il revint il n'ot ne fain ne soif, que il ne cuidoit avoir demouré que un soir au plus. Les nouvelles que il en raportèrent furent teles, que il avoit trouvé un trop haut tertre, & là sus avoient trouvé les plus beles gens que il eussent onques veues, les miex vestus, les miex parés; & ou bout du tertre vit séoir un roy plus bel des autres, miex vestu & miex paré, en un throne d'or. A sa dextre séoient six roys couronnez, bien parez à pierres précieuses; & à senestre autant. Près de li, à sa destre main avoit une royne agenoillée, qui li disoit & prioit que il pensast de son peuple. A sa senestre avoit un moult bel home, qui avoit deux èlez resplendissans aussi comme le solleil; & entour le roy avoit grant foison de beles gens à èlez. Le roy appela celi prince, & li dit: tu es venu de l'ost des Tartarius; & il respondi: sire, se sui mon. Tu en iras à li," [scil. au roy des Tartarins,]

During the short reign of the Mogul Khan Gaiuc, a letter was sent by the Constable<sup>1</sup> of Armenia<sup>2</sup> to the King of Cyprus<sup>3</sup>; and a copy of it was transmitted to Pope Innocent IV<sup>4</sup>. The writer commences in a form not unused to the present day: "I beg to let you know that I am in good health and safety; and I wish to hear the same concerning you<sup>5</sup>." He then proceeds to mention some things that he had observed, while journeying on foot through the East, for the sake of God, and the benefit of Christianity. He finds it impossible to enter into details; but states that he had crossed the greatest river which he had ever seen, the Gihon, one of the rivers of Paradise; that he had looked at more than a hundred thousand large and wonderful mounds, formed of the bones of those who had been slain by the Tartars. He speaks also of the immense wealth and vastness of the cities destroyed by these expert archers, who were not to be counted for multitude, and who were terrible in face and figure.

Describing the province of Tangut, which, we must recollect, had belonged to Prester John, he says:—"This is the country from which the three Kings came to Bethlehem, to worship the Lord Jesus at His birth. And you may understand that the power of Christ was, and still is, great, because the people of that land

"& li diras que tu m'as veu, qui suis sire du ciel & de la terre, & li diras que il me rende graces de la victoire que je li ai donnée sus Prestre Jehan & sur sa gent; & li diras encore de par moy, que je li donne poissance de mettre en sa subjection toute la terre . . . Il demanda les prouaires au grant roy, & il les y donna; & ce prince & tout son peuple requrent leur enseignemens si débonnairement, que il furent touz baptiziés." (*Histoire de Saint Louis*, pp. 101-2.)—This fable, which served to countenance the worship of the Blessed Virgin, may be read with variations in the Annals of Raynaldus; (Tom. xiii. ad an. 1248. p. 650. Romæ, 1646.) and from him Mosheim has transcribed it. (*Hist. Tart.* pp. 52-3.)

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Du Cange *Glossar.* sub voc. Comes Stabuli, Tom. ii. ed. Bened.

<sup>2</sup> "Constabularius Armeniæ" becomes "Omestabularius, an Armenian," in page 24 of a wild medley entitled *Christianity in China*, which fitly takes its place amongst "Readings in popular literature," London, 1853; and the date there assigned to the document in question is 1342!

<sup>3</sup> Henri de Lusignan.

<sup>4</sup> D'Achery, *Spicileg. vet. Scriptor.* Tom. iii. p. 626. De Nangis, *Annales*, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> "Notum facio quod ego sum sanus, et incolumis; illud idem desiderans audire et scire de vobis."



are Christians; and the whole land of Cathay<sup>1</sup> believes in those three Kings. I myself have been in their churches; and have seen paintings of Jesus Christ, and of the three Kings; one presenting gold, another frankincense, and the third myrrh. And by means of those three Kings they believe in Christ, and the Khan and all his subjects were made Christians. And before their gates they have their churches; and they ring their bells, and strike plates. So that, when they are going to their Khan, they must first enter the church, and worship the Lord Jesus Christ, and then go to do homage to their Khan; and this must be done of necessity by every person, whether he be a Saracen or a Christian. I inform you also, that we have found many Christians scattered throughout the East; and many goodly churches, lofty, ancient, and well built, which the Turks despoiled. The Christians of that country, therefore, came into the presence of the grandfather<sup>2</sup> of the Khan who now reigns; and he espoused their cause, and honoured them greatly; giving them freedom; and forbidding that any one should do or say the smallest thing by which they might reasonably be aggrieved: so that the Saracens, who had first treated them with indignity, now receive a double portion of that which they had occasioned. And because, through the want of preaching, (a punishment exacted by our sins,) Christ had not persons to proclaim, on His part, His most holy name in those regions, He Himself, as you may fully comprehend, preaches, and has preached, on His own behalf, by His most sacred excellencies, in such a manner that the inhabitants of those countries believe in Him<sup>3</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Northern China.

<sup>2</sup> Jengbiz-Khan.

<sup>3</sup> "Hæc est terra, de qua tres Reges venerunt in Bethleem, adorare Dominum Jesum natum. Et sciatis potentiam Christi fuisse magnam, et adhuc esse, quod gentes illius terræ sunt Christiani; et tota terra de Chata credunt illos tres Reges. Et ego ipse fui in ecclesiis eorum; et vidi Jesum Christum depictum, et tres Reges; quorum unus offert aurum, et alius thus, et alius myrrham. Et per illos tres Reges credunt in Christum, et per illos Chan et omnes sui modò facti sunt Christiani. Et ante portas suas habent ecclesias suas, pulsant campanas suas, et percutiunt tabulas. Ita quod euntes ad dominum eorum Chan, oportet primò ire ad ecclesiam, et salutare Dominum Jesum Christum, et post ire et salutare dominum eorum Chan, sive sit Saracenus, sive sit Christianus, velint

Upon the death of Gaiuc, his cousin Mangou succeeded to the throne. This Khan and his family are said to have been baptized, A. D. 1253, at the request of Haitho, King of Armenia<sup>1</sup>.

In the year 1254, the Mogul Prince Sartach was congratulated on his conversion by Pope Innocent IV<sup>2</sup>. The circumstances connected with this fact, as set forth in a letter brought by his own Chaplain<sup>3</sup>, are worthy of notice. The son of this Prince was labouring under an attack of illness, which his Physicians pronounced to be incurable. Sartach summoned into his presence the Armenians and other Christians; and told them briefly, that unless their God, in answer to their prayers, should restore his son to health, they must all suffer capital punishment. On the other hand, he promised, that, if his son should recover, he himself would immediately adopt their faith. The Christians therefore resolved upon the observance of a fast for three days. They invoked the name of Christ, and made the sign of the Cross over the sufferer: on which the disease departed from him, and he was suddenly restored to health. In consequence of this event, which was naturally regarded as miraculous, his father was baptized, with his entire household, and more than fifty thousand of the Tartars.

nolint quibus ista non placent. Et notum vobis facio, quòd invenimus multos Christianos per terram Orientis effusos; et multas ecclesias pulchras, altas, et antiquas, et benè ædificatas, quas Turci devastaverunt: ita quòd Christiani illius terræ in præsentia avi istius Kan venerunt; quos ille cum magno honore suscepit, et libertati donavit, et fecit prohiberi ne quis faceret vel diceret, de quo vel ad modicum possent meritò contristari. Ita quòd Saraceni, qui priùs eis verecundiam faciebant, nunc illud quod faciebant recipiunt in duplum. Et quia propter inopiam prædicationis, peccatis nostris exigentibus, non habebat Christus qui pro Ipso in illis regionibus sanctissimum nomen Suum prædicarent, Ipsemet sanctissimis Suis virtutibus pro Se Ipso prædicat, et prædicavit, sicut apertius scire potestis, ita quòd gentes regionum illarum credunt in Ipsum."

<sup>1</sup> Haithonis *Historia Orientalis*, p. 37, seq. Colon. Brand. 1671.; vel *De Tartaris Liber*, Cap. xxiii. apud Gryneæ *Nov. Orb. Region.* p. 418. Basil. 1555.

<sup>2</sup> Raynaldi *Annales Eccles.* Tom. xiii. p. 703. Romæ, 1646. Waddingi *Annales Minorum*, Tom. iii. pp. 359-61. Romæ, 1732.—"Quo ingenti gaudio delibutus, Pontifex Sattacho ipsi gratulatus est, Christianam fidem, unà cum Principibus, amplexum." (Additio August. Oldoini, in Ciaconii *Vitis et reb. gest. Pontiff. Rom.* Tom. ii. col. 110. Romæ, 1677.)

<sup>3</sup> Vid. *Vitam Innocent. Papæ IV.* script. à Nicolao de Curbio, in Baluzii *Miscellan.* Tom. i. pp. 204-5. ed. Mansi, Lucæ, 1761.

S. Louis too sent emissaries to Sartach ; the chief of whom was the Franciscan William de Ruysbrocke, (or rather Ruysbroeck,) who was admitted to interviews with the Khan Mangou, and who subsequently wrote an account of his travels in Tartary<sup>1</sup>. In Mangou's answer to the King of France<sup>2</sup> he informs him, that the envoy David, before spoken of, was a liar and an impostor. S. Louis is admonished also to send word whether he is disposed to be obedient, or not : and it is suggested to him that, in case his feelings should not be pacific, he had better not rely upon the remoteness of his country ; nor upon the height and strength of mountains, nor upon the magnitude and depth of seas, which would not suffice to separate him from his correspondent.

Cublai, the brother and successor of Mangou, and a patron of literature, was very friendly to Christians in China ; though he was himself a sceptic<sup>3</sup>, and an idolater<sup>4</sup>. His brother Holagou, who achieved the conquest of Persia, was also extremely favourable to Christianity ; and his wife induced him to persecute the Saracens<sup>5</sup>. When Bagdad was stormed by the Moguls, Machicha<sup>6</sup>, the Nestorian Patriarch, and the numerous Christians who inhabited that city, having been saved from destruction<sup>7</sup>, were treated with the utmost kindness ; and a new church was erected for them on the bank of the river Tigris<sup>8</sup>. Abaka, or Abogha, the son of Holagou, followed the example of his father ; and

<sup>1</sup> Willielmi de Rubruquis *Itinerarium ad partes Orientales* may be found, (followed by an English translation,) in the first volume of Hakluyt's collection of *Principal Navigations*, &c., pp. 71-92. Lond. 1598. A French version was published by Pierre Bergeron, Paris, 1634, entitled, *Relation des Voyages en Tartarie* ; which was reprinted in the *Recueil des Voyages*, à la Haye, 1735. See also the *Recueil de divers Voyages curieux*, by Peter van der Aa, Lugd. Bat. 1726.

<sup>2</sup> De Rubruquis, *Voyage en Tartarie*, Chap. xlviii. p. 129. dans les *Voyages en Asie*, par Bergeron, Tome i.—Moshemii *Hist. Tart.* Append. pp. 55-57.

<sup>3</sup> Moshemii *Hist. Tartar.* p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Gibbon, vi. 153. ed. Milman.

<sup>5</sup> Haithonis *De Tartaris liber*, Cap. xxvii. in Grynæi *Nov. Orb. Regionum*, p. 420.

<sup>6</sup> Ordained Patriarch A. D. 1257. (Assemani, iii. i. 620.)

<sup>7</sup> Assemani *Bibl. Or.* iii. ii. cii. Moshemii *Hist. Tart.* p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 455.

some messengers from him, who came to the Council of Lyons in 1274<sup>1</sup>, were baptized.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century, Marco Polo spent seventeen years in the northern part of China, and in Tartary. He was continually in attendance on the Khan Cublai, who resided principally at Pe-kin, a great part of which city was built by him. Pe-kin was also the seat of a Nestorian Metropolitan.

In Marco Polo's Travels mention is made of Sigan or Singan-fu<sup>2</sup>, near which the Sino-Syriac Monument was found. Marco Polo tells us, that in that city<sup>3</sup> there were two churches, which belonged to the Nestorian Christians; and which had been built by Mar-Sargis, or Mar-Sergius, a Prelate whose appointment was sanctioned by the Great Khan, A. D. 1268<sup>4</sup>.

In the year 1289, the Franciscan Joannes de Monte Corvino, an Italian, born in 1247, was sent to the dominions of the Khan Cublai by Pope Nicholas IV.; and he was constituted Archbishop of Cambalu, that is Pe-kin, in 1307, by Pope Clement V. This excellent man proved himself to be far superior to the ordinary class of papal Missionaries. He desired to give instruction in something better than unscriptural doctrines, or baseless fables: and, for this purpose, he translated into the language of the Tartars the New Testament, and the Book of Psalms<sup>5</sup>.

Two letters, written by Joannes de Monte Corvino, are pre-

<sup>1</sup> "Ibi interfuerunt nuntii Tartarorum, et sacrum susceperunt Baptisma." (Ptolemæi Lucensis *Annales*, p. 173. Lugd. 1619.)

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> "Cygianfu,"—"ubi sunt due ecclesie xpianorum nestorinorum, quas edificavit masearchis nestorinus, qui a magno kaam in illa ciuitate presulatum obtinuit Anno dñi Mcc et lxxvij." (Liber Marci Pauli de Veneciis, *de consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum*, Lib. ii. Cap. lxi. sig. g 3.—s. l. v. a.) This work was originally written in Italian. The first Latin translator was the Dominican Francesco Pipino. (Quetif et Echard, i. 540. Fabricii *Bibl. med. et inf. Lutin.* v. 25. Cf. Gibbon, vi. 141.) He was, however, an abbreviator as well as a translator.

<sup>4</sup> Le Quien (*Oriens Christianus*, ii. 1269-70.) says 1288; or 1278, according to a MS. in the Royal Library, Paris. 1288 is the year set down in the Latin version in Grynnæi Nov. *Orb. Regionum*, p. 383. In the second volume of Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, where the History may be read in Italian, the date assigned for the erection of the churches is 1274. (fol. 42, b. Venet. 1559.)

<sup>5</sup> Moshemii *Hist. Tart. Eccl.* p. 95.

served<sup>1</sup>. In the former<sup>2</sup>, dated at Pe-kin, on the 8th of January, 1305, he makes the following very interesting statements<sup>3</sup>:—"I left Tauris, a city of the Persians, A. D. 1291, and

<sup>1</sup> Waddingi *Annales Minorum*, Tom. vi. pp. 69-72. Romæ, 1733.

<sup>2</sup> See a French translation of it in Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Tome xix. pp. 86-89. A Paris, 1726.

<sup>3</sup> "Ego Frater Joannea de Monte Corvino, de Ordine Fratrum Minorum, recessi de Thaurisio, civitate Persarum, anno Domini MCCXCI. et intravi in Indiam, et fui in contrada Indiæ, ad ecclesiam Sancti Thomæ Apostoli, mensibus xiii. et ibi baptizavi circa centum personas in diversis locis, et socius fuit meæ vitæ Frater Nicolaus de Pistorio, de Ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum, qui mortuus est ibi, et sepultus in eadem ecclesia. Et ego, ulterius procedens, perveni in Katag, regnum Imperatoris Tartarorum, qui dicitur Magnus Cham: ipsum verò cum litteris Domini Papæ ad fidem Domini nostri Jesu Christi Catholicam invitavi; qui tamen nimis inveteratus est idololatria; sed multa beneficia præstat Christianis, et ego sum apud eum jam ante duos annos. Nestoriani quidam, Christianitatis titulum præferentes, sed à Christianâ religione plurimum deviantes, tantum invaluerunt in partibus istis, quòd non permittant quempiam Christianum alterius ritus habere quantumlibet parvum oratorium, nec aliam quàm Nestorianam publicare doctrinam. Ad has siquidem terras nec aliquis Apostolus, nec Apostolorum discipulus pervenit; et ideò præfati Nestoriani per se, et per alios pecunia corruptos, persecutiones mihi gravissimas intulerunt; asserentes quòd non essem missus à Domino Papa, sed essem magnus explorator, et dementator hominum: et facto aliquo intervallo temporis, produxerunt alios falsos testes, dicentes quòd aliquis nuntius fuit missus, deferens Imperatori maximum thesaurum, et quòd ego illum occiderim in India, et abstulerim quæ portabat; et duravit hæc machinatio circiter quinque annos. Ita persæpè ad iudicium fui tractus, cum ignominia mortis. Tandem, per cuiusdam confessionem, Deo disponente, Imperator cognovit meam innocentiam, et malitiam æmulatorum, quos cum uxoribus et liberis exilio relegavit. Ego verò solus in hac peregrinatione fui sine socio annis undecim, donec venit ad me Frater Arnoldus, Alemannus, de provincia Colonix, nunc est annus secundus. Unam ecclesiam ædificavi in civitate Cambaliech, ubi est præcipua residentia Regis, quam ante sex annos complevi; ubi etiam feci campanile, et ibi tres campanas posui. Baptizavi etiam ibidem, ut existimo, usque hodie circa sex millia personarum; et nisi fuissent supradictæ informationes, baptizassem ultra triginta millia; et sum frequenter in baptizando. Item emi successivè CL. pueros, filios paganorum, ætatis infra vii. et xi. annorum, qui nullam adhuc cognoscebant legem; et baptizavi eos, informavi eos litteris Latinis et Græcis ritu nostro, et scripsi pro eis Psalteria, cum Hymnariis xxx. et duo Breviaria, cum quibus xi. pueri jam sciunt Officium nostrum, et tenent chorum et hebdomadas, sicut in conventibus fit, sive præsens sim, sive non; et plures ex eis scribunt Psalteria, et alia opportuna; et Dominus Imperator delectat multùm in cantu eorum. Campanas ad omnes horas pulso, et cum conventu infantium et lactentium divinum Officium facio, et secundum usum cantamus, quia notatum Officium non habemus. Quidam Rex illius regionis Georgius, de secta Nestorianorum Christianorum, qui erat de genere illustri magni Regis, qui dictus fuit Presbyter Joannes de Iudia, primo anno quo huc ego veni mihi adhæsit; et ad veritatem veræ fidei Catholicæ per me conversus, mi-

entered India; and remained in the region of India, near the church of the Apostle S. Thomas, for thirteen months. I there baptized about a hundred persons in various places; and the companion of my life was Brother Nicolaus de Pistorio, of the Dominican Order, who died there, and was buried in the same church. Proceeding further, I reached Katag, [Cathay,] the kingdom of the Emperor of the Tartars, who is called the Great Khan. With a letter from his Lordship the Pope, I invited him to em-

nones Ordines suscepit, mihiq̃ celebranti regiis vestibus indutus ministravit: sed quidam alii Nestoriani ipsum de apostasia accusaverunt. Tamen ipse magnam populi sui partem ad veram fidem Catholicam adduxit, et ecclesiam pulchram secundum regiam magnificentiam construxit, ad honorem Dei nostri, Sanctæ Trinitatis, et Domini Papæ, vocans eam Ecclesiam Romanam. Qui Rex Georgius antè sex annos migravit ad Dominum verus Christianus, relicto filio hærede fermè in cunabilis, qui nunc est annorum novem. Fratres tamen ipsius Regis Georgii, cum essent perfdi in erroribus Nestorii, omnes quos ille converterat, post Regis obitum subverterunt, ad schisma pristinum reducendo. Et quia ego fui aolus, nec potui recedere ab Imperatore Cham, ire non potui ad illam ecclesiam, quæ distat ad xx. dietas: tamen si venerint aliqui boni coadjutores et cooperatores, spero in Deo, quòd totum poterit reformari; nam adhuc habeo privilegium prædicti Regis Georgii defuncti. Iterum dico, si non fuissent infamationes suprâ dictæ, magnus fructus fuisset secutus. Si habuissem autem duos vel tres socios coadjutores meos, fortè Imperator Cham fuisset baptizatus. Rogo ergo ut tales Fratres veniant, si venire aliqui volunt, qui studeant se in exemplum dare, et non suas fimbrias magnificare . . . . Rogo Fratres, ad quos hæc littera perveniet, ut ita studeant, quòd ejus continentia possit pervenire ad notitiam Domini Papæ, et Cardinalium, et Procuratorum Ordinis nostri in Curia Romana. Ministro Generali Ordinis nostri supplico pro Antiphonario, Legenda Sanctorum, Graduali, et Psalterio cum nota pro exemplari; quia non habeo nisi Breviarium portatile cum lectionibus brevibus, et parvum Missale: si habuero exemplar, pueri prædicti scribent. Modò sum in actu ædificandi aliam ecclesiam, ad dividendum pueros in pluribus locis. Ego jam senni, et canus factus sum potiùs laboribus et tribulationibus quàm ætate; sum enim annorum quinquaginta octo. Didici competenter linguam et litteram Tartaricam, quæ lingua usualis Tartarorum est; et jam transtuli in linguam illam et litteram totum Novum Testamentum et Psalterium, quæ feci scribi in pulcherrima littera eorum; et scribo et lego, et prædico in patenti, et manifesto testimonium legis Christi. Et tractavi cum supradicto Rege Georgio, si vixisset, totum Officium Latinum transferre, ut per totam terram cantaretur in dominio suo; et eo vivente, in ecclesia sua celebrabam Missam secundum ritum Latinum, in littera et lingua illa legens tam verba Canonis, quàm Præfationis. Et filius dicti Regis vocatur Joannes, propter nomen meum; et spero in Deo, quòd ipse imitabitur vestigia patris aui. Secundum verò audita et visa credo, quòd nullus Rex, nec Princeps in mundo, possit æquare Domino Cham in latitudine terræ, et multitudine populi, et magitudine divitiarum. Finis. Data in civitate Cambaliec regni Catan, anno Domini MCCCv. die viii. mensis Januarii."

brace the Catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. He is, however, too hardened in idolatry. Notwithstanding, he confers many favours upon Christians; and I have been staying with him now for more than two years.

“Some Nestorians, exhibiting the name of Christianity, but waundering very far from the Christian religion, have gained so much influence in these parts, that they do not allow any Christian, differing from them in ceremonies, to have ever so small a place for prayer, nor to teach any but Nestorian doctrine. Neither an Apostle, nor any disciple of the Apostles, has ever visited these countries: and consequently those Nestorians before named have themselves, or by means of others whom they have bribed, subjected me to the most grievous persecutions: asserting that I was not commissioned by his Lordship the Pope; but that I was a great spy, and a disturber of men’s minds. When some little time had elapsed, they brought forward other false witnesses, who said that a messenger had been sent, bringing very great treasure to the Emperor; and that I had killed him in India, and had plundered what he was conveying. This device was persisted in for about five years; and upon these grounds I was frequently forced to trial, with the disgrace of threatened death. At length, in consequence of an admission of guilt which some one, by the appointment of divine Providence, made, the Emperor became conscious of my innocence, and of the malice of those who felt jealousy; and he sentenced them to banishment, together with their wives and children.

“I was quite alone in this pilgrimage for eleven years; not having had a companion until Brother Arnold, a German, from the province of Cologne, came to me two years since. I have built one church in the city of Cambaliech<sup>1</sup>, where the King chiefly resides; and I finished it six years ago; and erected a belfry, in which I placed three bells. In the same city I have baptized hitherto, as I suppose, about six thousand persons; and had it not been for the calumnious charges before mentioned, I should have baptized more than thirty thousand. In the performance of this duty I am often engaged.

<sup>1</sup> Or Cambalu, that is Pe-kin.

“ I have also bought, one after another, a hundred and fifty boys, the children of heathen parents, and from less than seven to eleven years old. They were previously ignorant of any rule of action; and I baptized them, and taught them Latin and Greek, and instructed them in our rites. Moreover I transcribed for them thirty Psalters with Hymnaries, and two Breviaries; from the use of which eleven boys are now acquainted with our Office; and they form a choir, and each of them takes his turn for a week in the service, just as in monasteries, whether I am present or not. Several of them likewise write copies of Psalters, and other suitable things; and the Emperor is greatly delighted with their singing. I ring the bells at all the Hours; and I perform divine service with an assembly of infants and sucklings; and we sing according to our old routine, as we have not an Office in which the notes are marked.

“ A certain King of that country, named George, belonging to the sect of Nestorian Christians, and of the illustrious race of that great Sovereign who was called Presbyter John of India, attached himself to me in the first year when I came hither: and, having been converted by me to the verity of the true Catholic faith, he was admitted to minor Orders; and, dressed in regal apparel, served me at the celebration of the Mass. Some other Nestorians, however, accused him of apostacy. Nevertheless, he drew over a large portion of his people to the true Catholic faith; and with princely greatness he erected a beautiful church, in honour of our God, the Holy Trinity; calling it ‘The Roman Church,’ as a compliment to his Lordship the Pope. This King George departed to the Lord, being a real Christian, six years ago; leaving a son, his heir, almost an infant, and now nine years old. After the death of King George, his brothers, who were involved in the errors of Nestorius, treacherously perverted all those who had been made converts by the King, and brought them back to their former schism.

“ Inasmuch as I was alone, and unable to leave the Emperor, the Khan, I could not go to that church, which is at a distance of twenty days’ journey. However, if some good assistants and fellow-workers should come, I hope in God that everything will



be changed for the better ; for I still have a privilege granted by the late King George above-mentioned. I repeat that, were it not for the calumnies which I have spoken of, a great result would have ensued. If I could have had two or three companions to assist me, perhaps the Khan, the Emperor, would have been baptized. It is my earnest desire, then, that if any Brethren are willing to come, they may be such as would endeavour to be an example to others ; and not such as would study to enlarge the borders of their own garments." . . . .

" I beg that the Brethren, who shall receive this letter, will take care that the contents of it may come to the knowledge of his Lordship the Pope, and of the Cardinals, and of the Procurators of our Order at the Court of Rome. I entreat the Minister General of our Order to supply me with an Antiphonary, a Legend of the Saints, a Gradual, and a Psalter with the notes, for a pattern ; as I have only a portable Breviary with the short lessons, and a small Missal ; but if I shall get an exemplar, the boys who have been mentioned will transcribe it.

" At present I am in the act of building another church ; so as to separate the boys for different places. I am now advanced in years : and my hair has been made hoary by labours and afflictions rather than by age ; for I am only fifty-eight years old. I have attained to a competent knowledge of the Tartar language and idiom : and have already translated into that language, and written in its characters, the entire of the New Testament and the Psalms ; of which I have caused a transcript to be made in the very beautiful letters used by the Tartars. And I myself both write and read ; and preach in the open air ; and proclaim the testimony of the law of Christ.

" I had entered into an arrangement with the above-named King George, (if his life had been spared,) for the translation of the whole Latin Office ; in order that it might be chanted over all the land throughout his dominions. And, while he lived, I was accustomed to celebrate Mass in his church according to the Latin form ; reading in the Tartar language, and with its characters, both the words of the Canon, and the Preface.

“And the son of that King is called John, after my name; and I trust in God that he will walk in the steps of his father. But, so far as I have ever heard or seen, there is not any King or Prince in the world, who can be compared with his Lordship the Khan in the extent of his territory, the multitude of his subjects, and the vastness of his wealth.—The end.”

A claim for aid so touchingly put forward was not likely to be disregarded. Pope Clement V. not only appointed John of Mont-Corvin Archbishop of Pe-kin, and Primate of the East, but nominated seven other Franciscans as his Suffragans<sup>1</sup>. Of these Bishops only three arrived in China; and the consecration of the Metropolitan was effected by them A.D. 1308. In the year 1311<sup>2</sup>, three additional Suffragans, of the same Order, were sent by the Pontiff to preach “the divine word” to the Tartars<sup>3</sup>: and it is certain that amongst these people Christianity gained considerable influence; and that their rulers were in general not opposed to its progress.

A magnificent Cathedral was erected by an Armenian lady, at her own expense, for Joannes de Monte Corvino. The site chosen for it was in the city of “Cayton<sup>4</sup>,” which is called “Saiton” in the Itinerary of Blessed<sup>5</sup> Odoric of Friuli<sup>6</sup>; and which the Minorite Andreas de Perusio<sup>7</sup> describes as having been about three weeks’ journey distant from Pe-kin. Perhaps the city intended is Cai-fong, or Cai-fong-fu; which was once an imperial residence, and was “many leagues in circumference<sup>8</sup>.”

B. Odoric, who left Italy in the year 1314, with the consent

<sup>1</sup> Waddingi *Annales Minorum*, Tom. vi. p. 92. Tom. vii. p. 53. Romæ, 1733.

<sup>2</sup> Wadding; Tom. vi. p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Wadding, Tom. vi. p. 468.

<sup>4</sup> Mosheimii *Hist. Tart.* p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Beatification is inferior and antecedent to Canonization; and the period for conferring the higher privilege may be indefinitely postponed. With respect to Canonization the Pope is said to be infallible; but as to Beatification it is admitted that he may err.—Vid. Fortunati Scacchi Lib. *De cult. et venerat. Servorum Dei*, pp. 96–98. Romæ, 1639. Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* p. 377. Hamb. 1760.

<sup>6</sup> Bollandi et Henschenii *Acta Sanctorum*, Tom. i. die Jan. xiv. p. 990. Antwerp. 1643.

<sup>7</sup> Waddingi *Annales Minorum*, Tom. vii. p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> Gibbon, vi. 145. Cp. Wall, iii. 431.

of his superiors, (not as a papal emissary, but from a desire "to make some gain of souls<sup>1</sup>,") travelled into China, and continued for three years at "Chambalech," or Pe-kin. He is said to have baptized not less than twenty thousand of the heathen<sup>2</sup>; and he speaks of many powerful Nobles, converted by him to the faith of Christ, who were constantly in attendance on the King<sup>3</sup>. How highly esteemed the Franciscans<sup>4</sup> were will appear from the following words<sup>5</sup>:—"I have very often been present at the royal feasts: for we Friars Minor have a place in this Court specially set apart for us; and it is our duty always to take precedence, and to give the King our blessing."

One day, when B. Odoric was sitting with four Minorite Brethren under a tree, close to the road on which the Emperor and his suite were travelling, a Bishop, seeing the approach of the retinue, put on his episcopal robes, raised up a Cross, and with his Brethren loudly sang the "*Veni, Creator Spiritus*." When the Emperor heard the singing, he summoned the party to his presence. Seeing the Cross, he arose from his seat in his chariot, took off his head-dress, and reverently kissed the symbol of the Christian faith<sup>6</sup>.

These two eminent Prelates, John of Mont-Corvin and B. Odoric, died about the same time. The former remained at his

<sup>1</sup> He says himself, "ut aliquod lucrum faceret animarum."

<sup>2</sup> . . . "per spatium 17. annorum, quibus profectorem suam confecit, viginti milia infidelium sacro fonte Baptismatis regeneravit." (*Martyrologium Franciscanum*, curâ P. Arturi à Monasterio, [Du Monstier,] p. 19. Paris. 1638.)

<sup>3</sup> . . . "ab illis, qui per me ad fidem Christi conversi sunt, quorum plures in illa curiâ sunt magni Barones, aspicientes solummodò ad personam Regis." (*Peregrinatio*, Cap. v. apud *Acta Sanctorum*, ubi sup. p. 991.)

<sup>4</sup> The Dominicans likewise were not inactive at this time in Tartary and Persia. Seven Missionaries of this Order, "men learned in the law of the Lord," were appointed by Pope John XXII. in the year 1318. The chief of them, Francua de Perusio, was made Archbishop of Sultania in Persia; and the other six were consecrated as his Suffragans. (Quetif et Echard, *Scriptt. Ord. Præd.* i. 537.)

<sup>5</sup> "Festis regiis sæpiùs interfui. Nam nos Fratres Minores in hac Curia habemus locum pro nobis specialiter deputatum; et nos sæpè oportet primos procedere, et dare Domino Regi nostram benedictionem." (*Pereg.* Cap. v. apud *Acta SS.* ut sup. p. 991.)

<sup>6</sup> The foregoing narrative is given in an Appendix to B. Odoric's *Peregrinatio*, on the authority of Marchisinus de Baiadon, who states that he heard it from Brother Odoric himself.

post as long as he lived<sup>1</sup>: and the latter ended his days at Udine, in his native land, in 1331<sup>2</sup>; having returned to Europe to seek for fifty Missionaries for China. Nicolaus de Banthera, or de Bentra<sup>3</sup>, a Franciscan, was appointed by Pope John XXII., in the year 1333, as the successor of Joannes de Monte Corvino; and he was directed to take with him twenty-six companions of the same Order. The Pope, in his letter to the Khan<sup>4</sup>, commends the new Archbishop Nicholas as being "fervent in devotion, and in the Catholic faith; as remarkably skilled in the holy Scriptures, and a man of experience in words and deeds<sup>5</sup>." But what happened to this Nicolaus cannot be ascertained. It is evident that he had not reached his diocese within five years from the date of his appointment; for in 1338 ambassadors came from the Emperor of the Tartars to Pope Benedict XII<sup>6</sup>, who was then at Avignon, to represent that since the death of Joannes de Monte Corvino, eight years previously, their countrymen had been left without a Governor, and without spiritual consolation:—they had heard, it was true, that a successor to him had been elected; but he had never arrived<sup>7</sup>.

So long as the Tartar empire in China existed, there was not, for the most part, any opposition made to the extension of Christianity amongst those tribes who were so formidable to the na-

<sup>1</sup> Wadding, Tom. vii. p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Baluzii Notæ ad *Vitas Paparum Avenionensium*, Tom. i. coll. 1411-12. Paris. 1693.

<sup>3</sup> Called Nicolaus è Bantra in Raynaldi *Annales*, Tom. xv. ad an. 1307. §. 29. Romæ, 1652.

<sup>4</sup> Mosheimii *Hist. Tartar.* Append. p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> "Virum quidem in devotione ac fide Catholica fervidum, eminenter in sacra Scriptura peritum, et expertum in opere ac sermone."

<sup>6</sup> "Anno eodem quarto ejusdem pontificatus, Grandis Dominus Tartarorum misit ambassiatores, litteras, et essennia ad dictum Dominum Papam Benedictum." (Octava Vita Bened. XII., apud Baluzii *Vitt. Paparum Avenion.* Tom. i. col. 242.)

<sup>7</sup> "Qui tamen mortuus est ante octo annos, in quibus fuimus sine Gubernatore, et sine spirituali consolatione; licet audierimus quòd providistis de alio legato: ille tamen nondum venit."—It is strange that Assemani should assert, that the letter which contains these words states, that the arrival of Nicholas had actually taken place:—"in quibus de Nicolai Archiepiscopi in Cambaliensem civitatem adventu fit mentio." (*Bibl. Orient.* iii. ii. DXXXiii.)

tions of Europe. The Latins, the Nestorians, and the converts made by both, professed their religion freely. Had the Christians abstained from strife, and zealously acted in union with each other, the Faith might have been propagated in every part of Asia.

In 1368<sup>1</sup>, a hundred and forty-one years after the death of Jenghiz-Khan, the native Chinese revolted from subjection to his degenerate descendants, and quickly expelled the Tartars from their country.

As soon as the Ming dynasty got possession of the throne, foreigners were excluded from China. Violence was heard therein: wasting and destruction were within its borders. No longer do we read either of the missionary labours, or of the quarrels, of the Nestorians and the Minorites. Darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the people.

China is at the present day undergoing a mighty change. The great empire is in a state of decomposition. It may be that there is more hope for the spread of Christianity by means of the revolution than from the stability of the imperial throne. The Tae-pings, however, have not any definite policy: they are incapable of establishing an organized government. Whatever means may be used to mitigate the cruelty of this intestine conflict, Missionaries of the English Church must abstain from adopting the cause of the rebels.

It is essential that Christianity should be set forth in its distinctive features by means of the Creeds, and an orthodox ritual: it is no less essential that it should be preached by a regularly constituted ministry. There must in fact be a real representation of the Church and of her system; and the Cross must be proclaimed as in the days of Martyrs and Apostles. Then "instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree; and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree:" "in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert."—May the Lord hasten to accomplish His work; and take the heathen for His inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for His possession.

<sup>1</sup> *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, ii. 178. A Paris, 1784.—The year 1369 is fixed upon by Assemani, (*Diss. de Syris Nest.* p. Dxxv.) and Mosheim. (*Hist. Tart.* p. 119.)



[ ORIGINAL TITLE-PAGE. ]

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AUTHENTICK  
M E M O I R S  
OF THE  
Christian Church in *China* :  
BEING  
A Series of FACTS to evidence the Causes  
of the Declension of CHRISTIANITY  
in that EMPIRE.

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By JOHN LAURENCE DE MOSHEIM,  
*Chancellor of His Majesty's University of Gottingen.*

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TRANSLATED from the GERMAN.

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L O N D O N:  
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MDCCL.





AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN CHINA.

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THE following is an Account of the revolutions among that part of the Romish communion which is established in China; of the controversies which have arisen among the Missionaries; and of the disturbance occasioned thereby, even amongst the subjects of the Bishop of Rome in Europe.

It may seem proper to begin where Father Du Halde<sup>1</sup> leaves off; but I find it indispensably necessary to go farther back to the infancy of the Church in China. It will be difficult to understand what has passed of late, without knowing many of the preceding transactions. The whole history of this Church is connected: the latest events are consequences of the measures first taken. Indeed there is another reason for this retrospect. Du Halde has not related all that he might and would have related, had he been an impartial historian: and in some instances he departs from the historical character, to assume that of a panegyrist and arbitrator. I think it expedient to guard the reader

<sup>1</sup> [*Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*; four volumes folio, Paris, 1735. In the new Catalogue of the Bodleian library an edition bearing date 1725 is entered; but this must be a mistake. An English translation, by R. Brookes, was printed in four volumes 8vo, London, 1736. How far we may rely upon its correctness may be estimated from the fact, that it represents the vast lake Tongting-Hoo as being very "venomous," whereas Du Halde had remarked that fish abounded in it; his word being "poissonneux."! —See *The Chinese*; by John Francis Davis, Esqre, Governor of Hong-Kong, Vol. i. p. 152, note. Lond. 1845.]

against the influence of his eloquence, as well as of his silence. This cannot be done by a mere continuation of his history. However I shall be as concise as possible.

My authorities are unexceptionable. Most of them are borrowed from both the contending parties; neither of which will choose to dispute the equity of judgments pronounced at Rome, and of the Bulls of Pope Clement XI. and Benedict XIV. And from these authorities my Account is chiefly extracted. I shall carefully distinguish matters of doubtful or uncertain credit; and my own reflections will be easily discerned from the testimony of others.

The founders of the Romish Church in China were three Italian Jesuits; who were sent into that empire by the superiors of their Order, towards the end of the sixteenth century;—Roger<sup>1</sup>, a Neapolitan, Pasio<sup>2</sup> of Bologna, and Matthew Ricci<sup>3</sup> of Macerata in the marquisate of Ancona.

It is true, that before these some other Roman ecclesiastics travelled to China, and promised to found a Christian Church there<sup>4</sup>. Halde and all the Jesuits are cautious of mentioning these predecessors of their brethren. And the Dominicans and Franciscans, who are at enmity with the Jesuits, give them incessant praise: the effect of great partiality, envy, and indiscretion on both sides: on the one hand a needless caution; on the other an ill-grounded vanity. The Jesuits might safely mention,

<sup>1</sup> [Michaelis Rugiero. "Qui primus è Societate nostra in Sinarum fines penetravit." (*Litteræ Annuæ Soc. Jes. è Sinarum regno*, anni 1611, auctore Nicolao Trigautio, p. 211. Augustæ Vindel. 1615.)]

<sup>2</sup> [Francesco Pasio. He subsequently became missionary Visitor of Japan. In a letter to Longobardi, who succeeded Ricci as Head of the Jesuits in China, he complains that the Fathers of their Order had written books in the Chinese language, which contained errors similar to those of the heathen.—"Je reçûs une Lettre du P. François Passio, Visiteur du Japon, par laquelle il m'avertissoit, qu'en tels & tels Livres qu'il marquoit dans sa Lettre, & composez en Chinois par nos Peres, il y avoit des erreurs semblables à celles des Gentils." (Longobardi, *Traité sur quelques points de la Religion des Chinois*, p. 2. A Paris, 1701.)]

<sup>3</sup> [Matteo Ricci. "P. Matthæus Riccius, anno 1583. Sinas ingressus, immensum ibi laboravit ad annum 1610." (*De Riti Sinensium erga Confucium*, p. 232. Leodii, 1700. Conf. *De Christ. Expedit.* p. 161.)]

<sup>4</sup> [See the Introduction, pp. 36-53.]

and their enemies would suffer little by forgetting, them. Whatever their good intentions might be, their travels and labours proved fruitless<sup>1</sup>. The only merit they have is that of landing in China before the Jesuits; and wishing to preach there, if they could have obtained permission. It is certain, that the three Jesuits before-mentioned were the first founders of this branch of their Church. They had learned the Chinese language before their arrival; so that they could immediately enter upon their commission.

Pasio and Roger had not been many years engaged in it before they were recalled. Ricci was therefore the only one remaining; and he carried on his undertaking with great zeal and assiduity. In very few years he had a numerous congregation; consisting of the literati, as well as the populace. He was assisted in time by fellow-labourers: but, whilst he lived, he was at their head, in point of abilities as well as rank. He knew more perfectly than any of them how to affect and win the minds of all orders of men: and, to season the doctrine, he taught according to the palate and genius of the Chinese. So that he justly merits the title, given him by his Order, of “Father and Founder of the Church of China<sup>2</sup>.”

Ricci was a man of no common abilities. Besides a natural complacency, discretion and benevolence, he had great sagacity and learning; was patient and indefatigable to a high degree; ready in conforming himself to every one's opinions and views; and had an unbounded zeal to promote the interests of his Church. He was perfectly skilled in mathematical learning; which of all others is most esteemed in China. This opened to him the hearts

<sup>1</sup> [These words, if intended to relate to all preceding times, would require some qualification. Mosheim elsewhere admits, that the Missionaries here referred to had not been entirely unsuccessful: “non omnem itineris fructum perdiderunt.” (*Institt. Hist. Eccles.* Sæc. xiii. Par. i. C. i. §. ii.) Again he remarks with truth, that the early papal emissaries had collected “numerous and large congregations,”—“multos et numerosos cœtus,”—amongst the Chinese and Tartars. (Sæc. xiv. i. i. §. ii. p. 560.) The effect of their labours certainly was not permanent: but neither was the result which followed from the exertions of the Jesuits.]

<sup>2</sup> [“Missionis Sinicæ Fundator.” (*De Ritibus Sinensium*, p. 201.)]

of the great and learned. He spent seven successive years among those idolatrous Priests whom they call the Bonzes; and was instructed by them in the language, customs, and learning of the Chinese<sup>1</sup>. His parts and temper won him the affection and esteem of all his teachers. At leaving this school, he was well enough versed in Chinese learning to be a match for the greatest Philosophers of the empire. He laid aside the habit of a Jesuit, because he perceived it brought him into contempt; and put on that of a Chinese Philosopher<sup>2</sup>. This improved the reputation he had already acquired by his accomplishments. The Philosophers of the country embraced him as a brother, and member of their society; and the people honoured him the more, for seeing him respected by their Sages.

He wrote some books in recommendation of the Christian faith; which were eagerly read, for they were written in the language used at Court, and among the literati. The principal book he published<sup>3</sup> was printed at Pe-kin, the capital of the empire, in the year 1603, and is entitled, "Of the Divine Law." This piece is censured and extolled by different parties. If we believe the enemies of the Jesuits, it is abominable; in that it connects and intermixes the doctrine of Jesus with the morals of

<sup>1</sup> See *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des Missionnaires*, Tome viii. p. 229. [*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des Missions étrangères, par quelques Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*, p. 223. A Paris, 1708. These words follow in the place referred to:—"mais durant ce temps-là il ne convertit presque personne."]

<sup>2</sup> [Before he assumed the costume of the literati, he is said to have lived for several years in the disguise of a Buddhist Priest. The cap in use amongst the literati resembled that which is worn by the Jesuits, and was made in the form of a Cross.—"Utebatur, ut snprà dictum est, habitu litteratorum P. Matthæus; sed eorum maximè, qui se legis prædicatores appellunt. Habitus est sanè modestus; et pileus nostro non absimilis; in Crucis quoque formam constructus." (*De Christ. Expedit. apud Sinas*, p. 370.)]

<sup>3</sup> [He prepared for publication in Europe a much more important work than that here mentioned; and he was endeavouring to render it as complete as possible until within a few days of his death. His *Commentaries concerning the Christian Expedition in China, undertaken by the Society of Jesus*, which he had written in Italian, were translated into Latin by the Jesuit Nicolaa Trigault, who supplied some deficiencies, and made various additions relating chiefly to Ricci himself. This quarto volume consists of 646 pages, besides the Indexes, Dedication, and Address to the Reader. It was printed at Augsburg in the year 1615; and may be regarded not only as a Life of Ricci, but also as one of the most satisfactory accounts which the Jesuits have given of China.]

Confucius<sup>1</sup>. As I know no more of the book than what is reported by the Jesuits, and their adversaries, I cannot give my opinion. The Life of Ricci is written at large by a masterly hand; Father Orleans, a French Jesuit<sup>2</sup>. It is hardly possible to read this Life without admiring the great abilities of the man; though the application of them may not in every case be defensible.

But Ricci, with all his abilities, learning, and experience, would have been the pastor of a very small flock, had he pursued only the methods of preaching and converting common to the Romish Clergy. The prudence of his Society was of eminent use to him; and seconded his labours more effectually than the simplicity of the Gospel.

The Jesuit Missionaries preach Christianity very differently from the other Monks and ecclesiastics. A Dominican, a Franciscan, an Austin Friar, or a secular Priest, when he becomes an Apostle, carries nothing with him but a warm zeal for the faith<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> [Ricci's design, in the composition of this Catechism, was not to instruct the Chinese in the mysterious doctrines of Christianity; but to explain those points which have reference to morals only, and which are most in conformity with the dictates of natural religion.—Vid. *Christ. Expedit. apud Sinas*, p. 489.]

<sup>2</sup> [*La Vie du Père Matthieu Ricci*, par Pierre-Joseph d'Orléans; à Paris, 1693.—A sketch of the Life of Ricci will be found in the Preface to Tome xxv. of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*; à Paris, 1783. The writer apologizes (p. xxviii.) for having said, in the Preface to the sixteenth volume, that Ricci had died at the age of more than eighty years, whereas it should have been stated that at the time of his death he was only fifty-seven years old. The precise age assigned to him in the latter Preface (p. xii.) is eighty-eight: but Ricci was born in October, 1552, and died at Pe-kin in May, 1610. (Cp. Introd. p. 16.) He was buried, and a Monument to him was erected, in the suburban palace granted by the Emperor of China to the Jesuits in 1610. See the ichnography of this spacious palace in the Letter for the year 1611, sent from Nan-kin by Trigault to Aquaviva: *Litt. Soc. Jes. à regno Sinarum*, p. 140. Aug. Vindel. 1615.]

<sup>3</sup> [In a Relation concerning the state of the Chinese mission, sent by the Jesuit Francisco Furtado, Vice-Provincial of China and Japan, to Pope Urban VIII., bearing date November 1, 1639, his Holiness was informed (p. 12.) that the Franciscans were in the habit of acting "*majori zelo quàm experientiâ*." One cannot but admire that fearless earnestness which made them resolve to wear the dress of their Order; and to preach in the streets of Pe-kin, and before the palace of the Emperor:—"affirmarunt tamen se proprii instituti vestibus usuros esse, ac in eum finem attulisse, eodemque modo per publicas plateas civitatis, et ante ipsas regii Palatii fores concionaturos esse; necnon et Regi declaraturos eum longè aberrare à viâ veritatis et salutis; ac Confucium, licèt Litteratorum principem, æternis excrucuari pœnis." (*Relatio*, ut sup. p. 16: inter *Anciens Traitez de divers Auteurs sur les Ceremonies de la Chine*, à Paris, 1701.)]

his school-learning, (which is of more detriment than use to him,) and a considerable stock of superstitious opinions. Besides this, many of them are willing to make advantage of the credulity of the people; and promote the credit of their religion by a pious fraud, and a pretended miracle. This is the whole spiritual apparatus of an ordinary Romish Missionary. But a Jesuit leaves his school-learning at home; and, instead of it, carries with him some Rules of prudence<sup>1</sup>, inculcated into him by his superiors and instructors. Of these Rules the following are the principal:—

I. A Missionary, who hopes for success, must assume the character of a Divine, or Philosopher, of the country in which he preaches. This conduct removes great part of the prejudice usually entertained against foreigners. A Jesuit, therefore, as soon as he enters upon his office in a heathen country, changes his character. In India he becomes a Brahman<sup>2</sup>; in Siam a Talapoin; in China either a Bonze, or a Confucian and Philosopher;

<sup>1</sup> ["Ces sortes de politiques doivent apprehender que leurs *regles de prudence*, dont ils se parent si fort, s'accroissent plus au tems, & à l'erreur, qu'à la probité, & à la sagesse. 'Timendum est,' dit le Pere Nicolas Caussin de leur Compagnie, écrivant à leur Pere General Vitelescus, 'ne demissè potius patrocinentur errori, quàm serviaot prudentiæ . . . Timendum est, ne serviisse magis temporì videamur quàm prohibiti.'"] (*La bonne foy des anciens Jesuites Missionnaires de la Chine, sur l'Idolatrie des Chinois, dans le culte qu'ils rendent à Confucius & aux Morts, démontrée*, p. 21.—*Anciens Traitez*, à Paris, 1701.) The letter to Vitelleschi from the Jesuit Caussin, author of *The Holy Court*, and Confessor to Louis XIII., was first published in the second volume of the *Tuba magna, mirum clangens sonum*, pp. 310–343. It was written on March 7, 1638.]

<sup>2</sup> [We need not any other proof of this assertion than that which is supplied by the Jesuits themselves, in the accounts which they have given of the memorable mission in Madura. In this district, which lies in that part of Hindostan called the Peninsula, an Italian Jesuit, Robert de Nobili, or de Nobilibus, commenced his labours in the year 1606. He feigned himself to be a Brahman, who had come from a remote country; and his stained face and austere habits served to recommend him to the Hindoos. He produced an old parchment, on which he had written, in ancient Indian characters, words purporting to demonstrate, that the Brahmans of Rome could boast of greater antiquity than those of India; and that the Jesuits were directly descended from the God Brahma. (See Mosheim's *Ecccl. Hist.*, ed. Maclaine, Cent. xvii. Sect. i. §. vii.) De Nobili's conduct with reference to this forged Deed is commended, and the shameless falsehood is spoken of as a pious fraud, in Father Jouvenci's History of the Jesuits. Twelve Brahmans soon became converts; and, with their assistance as his Catechists, De Nobili in a very short time baptized forty thousand persons. Having died in the year 1656, his semi-Christian community was increased by the exertions of other Jesuits; and it is said that in 1710

in Africa he appears a Marabou. A poor Capuchin or Dominican retains his European character; and makes that of a Mendicant Friar consistent with that of a preacher. Hence he is of little or no repute; whilst the Jesuit, in his mask, gains the hearts and attention of the people.

II. A Missionary must make it his earnest endeavour to be favoured at Court. In order thereto, he must leave no means untried, by presents, by respect, by attendance, and other the like practices, to ingratiate himself with those who are at the head of affairs.

III. He must, if possible, insinuate himself so far into the confidence of the great and powerful, that he may be consulted in matters of state and government. A Missionary, who has succeeded in this, may preach on securely. There are some other Rules under this head, which, for the sake of brevity, I omit.

it consisted of more than a hundred and fifty thousand members. This mission in Madura was pronounced by the Jesuits to be "the most beautiful" one in the world,—"*la plus belle qui soit au monde*:" (*Lettres édifiantes*, Tome i. p. 9.) but, in the year 1744, Pope Benedict XIV., who could not be prevailed upon to sanction such an ingenious mode of making converts, condemned the entire system; and the effect which resulted from De Nobili's artifice speedily disappeared.—Pierre Parisot Norbert, (under the pseudonym of M. l'Abbé C. P. Platel,) makes the following statement relative to the Missionaries who were the successors of S. Francis Xavier:—"Bientôt sous le prétexte spécieux de convertir plus aisément les Nations, on les vit allier les pratiques de la Gentilité avec celles du Christianisme. Le P. Robert à Nobili fut le premier qui donna ce spectacle au monde. Environ l'an 1606, ce fameux Missionnaire pénétra dans le Royaume du Maduré, déguisé sous l'habit de Bramme . . . L'entreprise n'étoit pas facile: il étoit nécessaire qu'on se fit passer pour être de la race du Dieu Bramma; ce qui ne pouvoit s'obtenir sans employer quelque chose de plus que l'équivoque . . . Les peuples, charmés à la vue de ce nouveau Bramme, n'eurent bientôt que du mépris pour les Franciscains . . . Les Jésuites, délivrés de ces témoins importuns de leur conduite, donnerent carrière à l'étendue de leur zèle ambitieux . . . Ils concilierent sans peine les cérémonies du culte saint avec les pratiques de l'idolâtrie." (*Mémoires Historiques sur les affaires des Jésuites avec le Saint Siège*, Tome i. p. 12, etc. A Lisbonne, 1766.) See also page 107 of *An Account of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the world. Written for the use of Pope Innocent XI. by Monsieur Cerri, Secretary of the Congregation de propaganda Fide. Now first translated from an authentic Italian MS. never published.* By Sir Richard Steele. 2nd edit. London, 1716. The dedication of this English version to Pope Clement XI. (not Clement IX., as stated in Rose's *Biog. Dict.* viii. 332,) was written by Bishop Hoadly, in 1715. Mosheim, in his Ecclesiastical History, occasionally cites Urbano Cerri's work; and must have made use of a French translation of it from the English.]

IV. A Missionary must conform to the opinions and customs of the people he is sent to; provided they be not manifestly inconsistent with the faith he is commissioned to preach.

V. He must make use of whatever has the appearance of truth and piety in the religion of the country where he preaches; and endeavour to reconcile it to his own doctrine. It is not material, that this cannot be done without distorting the heathen, as well as the Christian, religion. The little sin committed upon such an occasion is amply atoned for by the benefit it produces.

VI. He must not abolish, or prohibit, ancient customs and ceremonies, to which an ignorant people is generally much attached. Let the people retain the customs of their fathers. It is sufficient to sanctify them; that is, to separate all that is manifestly idolatrous and superstitious; and, with a good design, to make the rest consistent.

VII. A Missionary must have money; and trade may enable him to procure it. If therefore he can privately carry on a little commerce, he does well<sup>1</sup>. It is no disgrace to his office, whilst he converts his gains to the service of God.

I might enumerate more of these Rules; but it would be needless, as the rest follow from these. If it be asked, what authority I have to assert, that the Jesuits observe these Rules in their missions; I answer, it appears not merely from the writings of their enemies, but from their own conduct. As this is in all their missions their constant practice, it is highly probable, that directions for those purposes are given them by their fraternity. Indeed most of these a Jesuit would hardly be ashamed to confess. Perhaps he may treat the third and the last as mere calumny; but the rest he would call instances of Apostolical prudence. The most able of their brethren have already done so. I appeal to Fabri<sup>2</sup>; to the great Gabriel Daniel<sup>3</sup>; to their

<sup>1</sup> [Comp. Introd. p. 10.]

<sup>2</sup> [Honorat Fabri, the author of *Apologeticus Doctrinæ Moralis Societatis Jesu*, Lugd. 1670.]

<sup>3</sup> [The work referred to is his Answer to Pascal's *Provincial Letters*. It was entitled, *Entretiens de Cléandre et d'Eudoxe*, and was published anonymously at Amster-



writings published in the Chinese ; and to the letters of their Missionaries.

Ricci most diligently observed the principal of these directions ; and, by their means, invited and drew many persons of all ranks in China into the Church he had founded. He lived, wrote, conversed, and dressed like a Chinese Philosopher and scholar. His learning and other merit recommended him to the persons in power. He reconciled the ancient religion of the country, in some measure, to the first principles of theology ; and united the maxims of the great Confucius<sup>1</sup> with the words of life delivered

dam in 1697. Afterwards it appeared in the first volume of the author's collected treatises. The Jesuit Gabriel Daniel is well known as the writer of the *Histoire de France* ; and his celebrated book against the Jansenists, which Mosheim elsewhere speaks of, (*Instit. Hist. Eccles.* Sæc. xvii. Sect. ii. Par. i. p. 894.) was translated into English, and printed Lond. 1704.—A more decisive, but less attractive, work than that by Pascal was, *La Morale des Jesuites, extraite fidelement de leurs livres, imprimez avec la permission et l'approbation des Superieurs de leur Compagnie. Par un Docteur de Sorbonne* ; [Perrault ;] 4to, à Mons, 1667.]

<sup>1</sup> [It seems to be impossible to ascertain with perfect preciseness when this deified Sage lived. In Ricci's Memoir of the Christian Expedition in China, edited by Trigault, it is stated, (p. 29.) that he was born five hundred and fifty-one years before the birth of Christ ; and that he was more than seventy years of age when he died. This is the opinion held commonly among the Jesuits ; and assented to in Rose's *Biographical Dictionary*, (Lond. 1853.) as well as in other books without number. It is therefore nothing but a very ordinary assertion, which is made in the Preface to the sixteenth volume of the *Lettres édifiantes*, (p. xvii. A Paris, 1781.) that the greatest Chinese Philosopher is to be regarded as having flourished about five hundred years before the coming of Christ. Perhaps, nevertheless, we should not be much mistaken if we were to decide, that the true period of his life is here antedated to the extent of not less than about fifteen hundred years. The works of Confucius were published, with an English translation, by Marshman, in 1809 ; and the *Quarterly Review* (Vol. xi. Number xxii. Art. 5.) contains some excellent remarks upon them. The critic condemns with justice and severity "that foolish or malignant admiration, which has so long laboured to persuade the western world, that their literature and religion are but childishness in comparison of the wisdom and illumination of the great Confucius ; and that the antiquity of the divine records is but of a late date, when contrasted with the countless ages of the authentic history of China."—The fabulous nature of the antiquity ascribed to Confucius has not, however, been pointed out, and proved, so clearly and completely by any writer as by the learned Dr. Wall. He has identified the Ethics of that Sage with those of the Eclectic school ; the tenets of which, he maintains, could not have been taught in China until the seventh or eighth century. He has also described certain properties belonging to the writing of Confucius, which it could not have possessed previously to the ninth century. It is,

by Jesus Christ. He suffered his converts to follow the customs of their fathers; and to observe, as before, those ancient usages and ceremonies which were founded in the laws of the empire; prohibiting only whatever admitted of no gloss or pretence, and might affect the first truths of Christianity.

The religion of China is twofold. One as ancient as the empire itself, and in all probability introduced by its founders. The other is of much later date, and imported from India not long after the birth of our Saviour. The latter has idols, temples, sacrifices, Priests, Monks, festivals, and many external rites and ceremonies. The former is free from all these; and is, perhaps, the most gross and simple of all the religions that ever were taught in the world. It prescribes reverence to an invisible Being, residing in the visible heaven, and distributing from thence happiness and misery amongst mankind: but it enjoins no particular worship to him; so that temples, Priests, assemblies, sacrifices and rites, are things entirely foreign to it. The Emperor alone, at certain times, offers a sacrifice to this powerful Being, in the name of his people.

The moral part of this old system is short and easy. It consists in honouring the servants of Tien, or Chang-Ti<sup>1</sup>; (for so the

moreover, his conviction, founded on various considerations, that we can scarcely err to the amount of a hundred years, in placing the lifetime of Confucius in about the middle of the eleventh age. See his *Examination of the Ancient Orthography of the Jews*, Vol. iii. pp. 81, 337, 421, 429, 430. Cp. pp. 115, 139, 159.]

<sup>1</sup> [The controversy concerning the name of God has been carried on with great vehemence between the Jesuits and their opponents. We shall find mention made of it in a subsequent page, when Mosheim comes to speak of the proceedings of Maigrot, Doctor of the Sorbonne. - The Chinese occasionally employ a character, which is pronounced TËEN, to denote the Ruler of the universe. But as the symbol primarily signifies only the material heavens, (Wall, on *Anc. Orthog. of Jews*, iii. 287.) a very important question arose, and is still debated, as to whether the Jesuits were justified in transferring to the true God a term, the meaning of which was so ambiguous, that there could not be any certainty as to the manner in which the Chinese might at any time understand it. Dr. Morrison, it appears, was at first perplexed as to the words which he should use to express the supreme Being; but he eventually determined to adopt TËEN-CHU, the "Lord of heaven," recommended by some of the Jesuits, and other Romish teachers. (See *Missionary Records: China*, etc., p. 8. Lond. 1841.)—"Le Docteur Cheu-Mokien, Mandarin du Tribunal des Rites, qui avoit lu les Livres du Pere Ricci, nous demanda un jour

supreme Being is called;) that is, the Spirits presiding over the mountains, rivers, forests, and other parts of the earth; and in some duties necessary to the welfare of the public, and of every particular family. Excepting these duties, it allows great latitude to the natural inclinations and appetites of men.

The later religion, that idolatry I mean which was introduced by Fo, or Foe, a celebrated Indian impostor<sup>1</sup>, has a considerable party among the populace and women; but it is only tolerated<sup>2</sup>. The wise men, and those of distinction, profess the old religion; which is, besides, the religion of the state, professed and even preached by the Emperor himself, and protected by the laws of the empire.

Ricci was too wise and cautious to embrace the other party. And this, which he did embrace, happened to be so circumstanced that he formed hopes of reconciling it to the Christian faith. He therefore signified to the people, that he was only come to renew,

'ce que nous entendions par le TIEN-CHU.' Nous répondîmes, que nous entendions une Substance vivante, intelligente, sans principe, sans fin, qui avoit créé toutes choses, & qui du Ciel les gouvernoit." (Longobardi, *Traité sur quelques points de la Religion des Chinois*, pp. 86-87. A Paris, 1701.)—With reference to SHANG-TE, "Shang" signifies "above;" (Wall, ii. 208.) and SHANG-TE is the "supreme Ruler." A remarkable work, in which this subject is considered, was published by the Rev. S. C. Malan, 8vo, Lond. 1855:—*Who is God in China; SHIN, or SHANG-TE?* The author states (p. 303.) that SHIN means "Deity," an emanation, ΔΑΙΜΩΝ; but that SHANG-TE, from Whom it emanates, is the nearest equivalent for ΘΕΟΣ, GOD. To urge SHIN, therefore, upon the Chinese "is to lead them, unwittingly, to Polytheism, if not also to Pantheism." (p. 302.)]

<sup>1</sup> [Füh, or Foë, is the Chinese name for Gótama Búddha, whose system is said to have now about three hundred and sixty-nine millions of adherents in Asia. Much information respecting it may be gained from Mr. R. Spence Hardy's work on *Eastern Monachism*, 8vo, Lond. 1860. According to Du Halde, (iii. 29.) the Emperor Ming-ti was the means of introducing the new sect of Fo, or Foë, about A. D. 65. With the idol Fo the Chinese ambassadors sent to India by Ming-ti, in consequence of a dream, brought back the doctrines of the Metempsychosis and of Atheism. The disciples of the new faith, Du Halde tells us, were called by the Chinese Ho-Chang; by the Tartars Lamas; by the Siamese Talapoins; and by the Japanese, or rather the Europeans, Bonzes.]

<sup>2</sup> [Du Halde mentions a circumstance, which shows the degree of contempt with which Búddhism was at one time treated by an Emperor of China:—"Il y eut un tems où le cuivre manqua de telle sorte, que l'Empereur fit détruire près de 1400 temples de Fo; et fit fondre toutes les idoles de cuivre, pour en faire de la monnoye." (*Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, ii. 167.)]

and, by the addition of some essential tenets, to reform, the antiquated religion of their forefathers; that he preached the same Tien, or Chang-Ti, whom the old laws of their country pointed out to them<sup>1</sup>; and that his moral system was in truth no other than that which was proposed by their great Philosopher Cum-fu-zu, or Confucius<sup>2</sup>, after the example of the first Sages and Fathers of the empire. This was naturally pleasing to a people, more vain and tenacious of the reverence due to their ancestors than any nation in the world. I will not join in the accusation, that he purposely wrested and falsified the Christian doctrine<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> ["Le P. Mathieu Ricci a été le premier qui a soutenu ouvertement, que les anciens Chinois connoissoient le véritable Dieu, qu'ils nommoient XANGTI, c'est-à dire, *Seigneur & Roy tres-haut*. . . Le P. Nicolas Longobardi, son successeur dans la charge de Vice-Provincial de cette Mission, est d'un sentiment contraire." (Antoine de Sainte Marie, *Traité sur quelques points importants de la Mission de la Chine*, pp. 55-56. A Paris, 1701.)]

<sup>2</sup> [Koong-foo-tse; at whose birth Chinese writers say that harmony was heard in heaven, and that the stars came nearer to the earth. Two dragons, they affirm, were appointed to guard the infant.—Cf. Fabricii *Salut. Lux Evangel.* p. 667.]

<sup>3</sup> [The Jesuit Jérôme Xavier, a cousin of the Romish Apostle of the Indies, audaciously perverted Scripture in his History of Christ, and in his Life of S. Peter. He did not write these works in the Persian language, as he is commonly supposed to have done, (an error from which even Fabricius is not free,—*Codex Apocryphus Nov. Test.* i. 881. Cf. ii. 828-80.) but in Portuguese; and the Persian translation of them was by an Indian Mahometan, named Abdel Senarin Kasem. (La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, Tome ii. pp. 78, 363.) The learned linguist Louis de Dieu, (whose name the Jesuit Pétiau has illnaturally grecized into 'Απόθεος,) published a Latin version of these treatises, with notes, Lugd. Bat. 1689; (Cf. De Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichée*, i. 339-40. Petavii *Dogm. Theolog.* De Incarnat. xiv. 7.) and his fidelity as a translator is not denied by Alegambe. (*Biblioth. Scriptor. Soc. Jes.* p. 189. Antverp. 1648.) Jérôme Xavier, relating the account of the Resurrection of our Lord, declares that the Virgin Mary was the person to whom He first appeared. The main design of this writer, however, was, by corrupting Scripture to uphold the doctrines of papal Supremacy and Infallibility. Instead, therefore, of "Dic Ecclesiæ," "Tell it unto the Church," he substituted "Dic Primario Ecclesiæ." (Francus, *De Papistarum Indicibus*, p. 27. Lips. 1684.) Having quoted the passage, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not," &c., he adds: (Vid. p. 616.) "Ipse Christus sermonem hunc illustravit, et dixit, *Nunquam fides Petri, qui primus successor est, deficit; et opus ejus est confirmare alios. Atque ita factum est: nam, usque ad hodiernum diem, nullus Papa, qui emanatio est ex Vicario Petro, in fide deficit.*" By a decree bearing date June 4, 1661, the Congregation of the Index condemned these books. The original sentence passed upon them is as follows:—"Historia Christi Persicè conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata à Petro Hieronymo Xavier, Latine reddita, et animadversionibus notata à Ludovico de Dieu.—Item liber huic

to adapt it to the opinions and prejudices of the Chinese. His enemies, and the enemies of his Order, have not yet clearly proved this charge. But thus much cannot be denied; that he, in several respects, misinterpreted the old Chinese faith, to render it more agreeable to nature, reason, and true religion.

China is the country where the Genius of ceremony principally resides. The people are by long tradition, and by the laws of the empire, inured to so many rites and customs, that nature seems totally suppressed in them. Whatever is done in public is done by number, weight, and measure; by a certain rule and proportion. A particular council is established to take care of the support of national customs, and to punish the contemners thereof<sup>1</sup>. Most of them were introduced chiefly for reasons of state; and have no connexion either with the old or new religion. But some few have a religious appearance; and seem to be consequences of certain doctrines.

The principal of these are, the veneration of their ancestors, and of the great Philosopher Confucius. Every family in China is bound at certain times to assemble in a Hall, which is called the Hall of the fathers and forefathers; and there to pay a kind of worship, somewhat like sacrifice and idolatry, to their ancestors; whose names are written upon little tables, or registers, hung up

annexus, cui titulus, Historia S. Petri." (*Ind. libror. prohib., Alex. VII. Pont. Max. jussu ed.*, p. 383. Conf. p. 72. Romæ, 1664.) In the very next year, namely in 1665, another Index was put forth at Rome, by the command of the same Pope, Alexander VII.; and from page 61 of the folio reprint of it, published in 1667, we learn that Xavier was then released from the charge of having "contaminated" the Gospel narrative; and the entire of the censure was transferred to De Dieu in these words: "Historia Christi, Persicè conscripta ab Hieronymo Xavier," [which is not true,] "quam Latine redditam malignis animadversionibus, pravaque doctrina contaminavit Ludovicus de Dieu." (!) In subsequent Indexes, for instance in that of Pope Benedict XIV., A. D. 1758, (p. 78.) and in that of Pope Pius VII., Romæ, 1819, (p. 89.) De Dieu alone is reprehended; and J. Xavier consequently escapes reproof.]

<sup>1</sup> ["Jam in his populis ad Dominum convertendis, illa meo quidem judicio vel maxima difficultas occurrit; quòd plebs novæ religioni se addicere, nisi Magistratibus approbantibus; Magistratus, injussu Regis, eam potestatem facere verehuntur." (Melchior Nunnes, Societati Jesu in Europ.—E Canton. 11 Cal. Decemb. 1555.—*Rerum à Soc. Jes. in Oriente gestarum* Volumen i. fol. 113. Neapoli, 1573.) "Nullos apud illos, præter Magistratus, quorum, propter eximiam severitatem, numen horrent, Deos esse credas." (B. Francisci Xaverii *Vita*, per Horat. Tursellin. p. 432. Colon. Agripp. 1621.)]

in the Hall<sup>1</sup>. They prostrate themselves before these tables; kill beasts; burn gilt paper, in honour of their fathers; and promise themselves, that heaven will reward these marks of love and respect toward those from whom they are descended. Much the same tribute of respect is paid by all the literati to the great teacher of the empire, Confucius.

Ricci, however disposed to indulge his converts in the customs and laws of their country, hesitated much at these ceremonies, which seemed to amount to a spiritual sacrifice. He deliberated eighteen years, whether he should permit them or not. The result of so long a deliberation was, to tolerate them, not as religious, but political, customs. This resolution was doubtless chiefly suggested by the desire he had to enlarge his flock, and to secure it from reproach and persecution. Whoever in China neglects the usual reverence to his ancestors forfeits the character of an honest man and good citizen; and whoever neglects that paid to Confucius forfeits all pretensions to public honours and employments. So that Ricci would have made but few disciples; and those must have been continually molested, had he prohibited this custom. He, therefore, looked about him for arguments, to reconcile the toleration of it to his conscience. Men are seldom at a loss in a case like this. The understanding is deluded by the will; and a slender reed assumes the air and strength of a pillar.

The reader will judge better of the force of those arguments, which convinced Ricci of the innocence of the ceremonies he was willing to tolerate, by perusing them<sup>2</sup>. "The Mahometans,"

<sup>1</sup> [The worship of the Ancestral Tablet is founded on the idea, that each person has three souls. One of these, at the time of death, departs into the world of spirits. A second inhabits the tomb of the deceased; and the third occupies the Tablet, or "house of the soul." (Cp. Isaiah iii. 20.) This adoration of the spirits of the dead is, we are told by the Bishop of Victoria, "the only custom of a strictly religious kind, universally observed by the literary, as well as by the uneducated, portion of the community. It forms also one of the most formidable barriers to the progress of the Missionary work." (*Narrative of an exploratory Visit to each of the Consular Cities of China*, p. 464. Lond. 1847.)]

<sup>2</sup> See Gabriel Daniel, *Histoire Apologétique de la Conduite des Jésuites de la Chine*, dans le iii. Tome du Recueil de ses Œuvres, p. 4, &c. [Recueil de divers Ouvrages, Tome iii. A Paris, 1724.]

said he, "who are enemies to idolatry, perform these honours to their ancestors, and to Confucius: therefore they are not idolatry." As if Mahometans were judges in Christian cases of conscience; or as if the opinion of a Chinese Mahometan, that is, of a half Mahometan, was of weight to determine what is superstition and idolatry. Again: "The Chinese respect neither their ancestors, nor Confucius, as Deities or Saints. Their reverence to their ancestors is only to them, as persons to whom they owe their lives: and Confucius is honoured merely as a Philosopher and Legislator." Here the matter in question is taken for granted. "Those who kill the beasts at these ceremonies are not Priests, but butchers." This would be some argument, were it essential to a sacrifice, to have it slain by the hands of a Priest. Further: "In the year 1384, the Emperor, by an edict, prohibited columns to be erected to Confucius; and that sort of honour to be paid him, which is usually paid by idolaters to persons deceased." This is supposing, that laws are always strictly obeyed; or that it is impossible for them to grow obsolete.

He alleged again; "That the same honours, which are paid to deceased ancestors, and to Confucius, are likewise paid to the living Emperors, and the great Officers of state." It is strange, so judicious a man should forget, that marks of honour derive their value from the persons to whom they are exhibited; and that, consequently, those offered to persons deceased and living are of a very different nature. A man of sense would never conclude, that because he may innocently prostrate himself before the Emperor, he may therefore, with a safe conscience, fall down before the image of a person deceased, or before the table upon which his name is recorded. Besides, the honours done to the Emperor and his ministers are not the same with those others: at least no beast is ever killed for an offering to the Emperor and his Mandarins. He urged, in the last place, "That these customs were established in China before idolatry took place there: therefore they are not idolatrous." This argument takes it for granted, that there could be no idolatry in China before that of Foe was introduced.

However, bad as these reasons were, they satisfied the doubt-

ful conscience of the Jesuit. He permitted his converts to reverence their ancestors and Confucius, after the custom of their country, with only some few limitations. Whatever was not expressly required by the laws of the empire, relating to this ceremony, he enjoined them to omit; and, at the observation of the rest, to lift up their hearts to God. That is, to outward appearance they were to worship their ancestors and Confucius; inwardly, in spirit, they were to worship God. Thus the converted Chinese deceived the unconverted, who were assembled with them in the Hall. The Christians bowed with seeming devotion to the tables of their ancestors, and thus avoided offence; whilst they were addressing their thoughts, and bending their souls, to God.

Whilst none but Jesuits were preaching in China<sup>1</sup>, Ricci's manner of converting and his connivances proved successful<sup>2</sup>. The Christians, however oppressed in some parts, increased by these means exceedingly. But their tranquillity was disturbed by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who came, in the year 1630<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> ["Cum soli in Imperio illo essent Jesuitæ, certos ibi ritus Neophytis suis permittebant; quos supersticiosos, seu idololatricos, Ecclesia postmodum declaravit; fueruntque deinde occasio turbarum et persecutionum ingentium." (Liberii Candidi *Tuba magna, mirum clangens sonum*, Tom. ii. Sect. iv. De Turbis per Jesuitas, adversus aliorum Ordinum Missionarios in Sinico Imperio, suscitatis, p. 71.)]

<sup>2</sup> [His knowledge of Music also had not been unprofitable. He had brought to the Emperor's Court a Spinnet, which had "no small share in bringing him into favour." (*Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet*, by M. l'Abbé Huc, Vol. ii. p. 313. Lond. 1857.)]

<sup>3</sup> ["Hi Religiosi [Ord. S. Francisci] Chinam ex Manila ingressi sunt anno 1630." (*Epist. Franc. Furtado*, die 10 Novemb. an. 1636, scripta P. Mutio Vitelleschi; apud *Informat. antiquiss. de praxi Missionar. Sinensium Soc. Jes. circa Ritus Sinenses*, pp. 3, 14.) Mosheim is slightly inaccurate in saying that the Dominicans arrived in China in the year 1630. The first member of this Order who came to that country upon the new mission was Angelus Coqui, or à Sancto Antonio; (Quetif et Echard, ii. 476.) and he established a firm station there in 1631. This circumstance is thus mentioned in the *Life of De Morales*:—"Dieu permit enfin que le Pere Ange Coqui, par une suite d'évenemens tous miraculeux, entra en 1631. dans cette terre infidèle, & qu'il y bâtit une Eglise à son Ordre." (*La Vie du grand Apôtre de la Chine, le venerable Pere Jean-Baptiste de Morales*, p. 11.—*Anciens Traitez sur les Ceremonies de la Chine*, à Paris, 1701.) The second Dominican who came to China at this time was De Morales. He travelled thither in 1633, in company with the Franciscan Antonius de Sancta Maria,



to assist the Jesuits in cultivating the vineyard they had planted. The new labourers, being entirely unacquainted with the Jesuitical rules of converting, were astonished when they saw Christians prostrate before Confucius, and the tables of their ancestors; and boldly declared, that their conscience obliged them to condemn so superstitious and idolatrous a practice.

A warm controversy ensued betwixt them and the Jesuits. Neither party being disposed to yield, the matter was referred to the decision of their supreme Judge at Rome. The enemies of the Jesuits were plaintiffs. A Dominican Friar, John Baptista Moralez, set out for Rome<sup>1</sup>; and laid before the Congregation *De propagandâ Fide* his own and his brethren's doubts concerning the Chinese ceremonies, tolerated by the Jesuits among the proselytes. The Congregation, as usual, called in the opinion of many Divines on the subject of this complaint; and at last determined<sup>2</sup>, that those ceremonies were superstitious and intolerable. As the Dominican had represented the Hall of the ancestors as a temple, and the whole ceremony as idolatry and sacrifice, they could not well pass a milder judgment. Pope Innocent X. confirmed it on the 12th of September, in the year 1645; and commanded all preachers of Christianity in China, under pain of excommunication, to conform to this decree, till the Holy See should determine otherwise.

The Jesuits in China received this injunction with veneration, and laid it aside with contempt. This is their usual manner of treating those decrees of the Bishops of Rome which contradict the customs, maxims, and opinions of their Society. They are bound more strictly than any other Order to obey the Pope; and no Order obeys him less than they. It may be accounted for, among other reasons, by this; that their superiors, and their

who afterwards became the Apostolic Prefect of the Missionaries of the same Order in that empire. (See this Franciscan's *Traité sur quelques points importants de la Mission de la Chine*, translated from the Spanish, p. 147. A Paris, 1701. Cf. Quetif et Echard, ii. 611. Antonio, *Biblioth. Hispan. Nov.* i. 651.)]

<sup>1</sup> ["Il arriva à Rome vers le commencement de l'année 1643." (*La Vie du Pere Jean-Baptiste de Moralez*, p. 57.)]

<sup>2</sup> [In the month of June, 1644.—*Vie du J.-B. de Moralez*, p. 60.]

learned brethren, are esteemed by them to be better judges of what is useful, and pernicious to the Church, than the Popes and their Councils. To this injunction, at least, they paid so little regard, that several years passed<sup>1</sup> before they sent a counter-representation to Rome. In the mean time, they permitted what was forbidden by the decree; and thought themselves justified, because the decree was grounded on a false report. Their disobedience, however, occasioned much disquiet and offence. At length, therefore, they judged it necessary to send one of their brethren to Rome, to solicit the repeal of the decree obtained by the Dominicans.

Martin Martini was the solicitor. He discharged his commission with the greatest dexterity. Instead of applying to the Congregation, who had passed the former sentence, and who, he foresaw, would hardly retract their own judgment, he went immediately to the then Pope, Alexander VII. himself; and represented to him, in a writing at large, that those Chinese customs were free from idolatry and superstition, and tended only to the peace and welfare of the empire. The Pope left the decision of the matter to the Holy Office, or Court of Inquisition, undoubtedly at the solicitation of the Jesuit, whose business it was to keep it out of the hands of the Congregation *De propagandâ Fide*. The event answered his wishes. The Holy Office rejected the rites which the Jesuits had rejected; and permitted those which they had permitted. Their judgment was approved and confirmed by the Pope, on the 23rd of March, 1656.

The Jesuits at first received this favourable decision as a shield, to be made use of in case of necessity. They did not publish it in China; but retained it privately, by way of answer to any future aggressors. But in time their caution abated; and their shield was converted into a sword. They produced the decree imported by Martini; and maintained it to be a rule for the conduct of all the Romish Clergy in China, since it annulled that decree which had been sent by the hands of Moralez.

<sup>1</sup> [This delay may be partly accounted for by the fact, that De Morales did not reach China, on his return from Rome, until December 23, 1649. He took with him from Spain a "præclarum supplementum" of thirty Missionaries of the Dominican Order. (Quetif et Echard, ii. 612.)]

This indiscretion renewed the war. The Dominicans and Franciscans importuned the Pope and his ministers with fresh complaints and remonstrances; protested, in the most solemn terms, that the ceremonies in question were the worst of abominations; and desired that the Holy Office would inform them, whether the former decree of Pope Innocent X. was indeed annulled by this new one produced by the Jesuits. The Inquisition gave an answer, which might seem suspicious, or forged, had we no authority for the genuineness of it besides that of the enemies of the Church of Rome. But the infallible testimony of Pope Benedict XIV., who recites it in his famous Bull, *Ex quo singulari*<sup>1</sup>, &c., renders the truth of it beyond all dispute. The Inquisition answered<sup>2</sup>, “That the former decree of Pope Innocent was by no means annulled by this of Pope Alexander: that both were to be observed; each according to its circumstances, and according to the tendency of those questions and doubts which had occasioned it<sup>3</sup>.”

The two decrees, which were both to be in some measure valid, were as different as light and darkness. The one condemns the Chinese ceremonies; the other permits them: and both were to be observed by the Missionaries in China.

There are but two solutions of this difficulty. Either the Holy Office meant, that if the Dominicans had made a true representation of the Chinese customs, then the decree obtained by them should be in force, and take place of the other; but if the Jesuits had truly represented the nature and tendency of these customs, then the decree imported by them should be valid. Or, if this

<sup>1</sup> [Datum Romæ, die 11 Julii, 1742. (Benedicti Papæ XIV. *Bullarium*, Tom. i. p. 188, sqq. Romæ, 1746.)]

<sup>2</sup> [“Respondit ad hæc Sacra Inquisitionis Congregatio, anno 1669, præfatum Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Decretum adhuc vigere.” (p. 189.)]

<sup>3</sup> I choose here to transcribe the very words of Pope Benedict XIV.:—“Respondit Sacra Inquisitionis Congregatio, præfatum Decretum adhuc vigere, habitâ ratione rerum quæ fuerunt in dubiis expositæ; neque illud fuisse circumscriptum à Decreto Sacræ Inquisitionis, quod anno 1656. exaravit: [emanavit:] immo esse omnino observandum, juxta quæsitâ, circumstantias, & omnia ea, quæ in antedictis Dubiis continentur. Declaravit pariter, eodem modo esse observandum prædictum Sacræ Congregationis Decretum anni 1656. juxta quæsitâ, circumstantias, & reliqua in ipsis expressa.”

was not their meaning, it could be no other, than that every one might follow his own opinion. Whoever was persuaded that the honours paid to Confucius, and to their ancestors, were idolatrous and superstitious, might adhere to the first decree: and whoever judged them to be innocent and indifferent might follow the second.

Whether we admit this, or the other sense, the answer of the Holy Office amounts to nothing; and leaves every Missionary in China to act according to his own persuasion and conscience. This is the practice at Rome. When two powerful parties contend about matters of religion, the judgment pronounced is commonly interpretable in favour of either side. Such are the decisions of that visible Head of the Church, who pretends to infallibility, and extraordinary illumination! This answer, which left both sides in possession of their own opinion, was given in the year 1669; and Clement IX., who was then Pope, made no scruple to honour it with his Apostolical sanction.

In the same year commenced the golden age of the Church in China. It had been long and severely persecuted. At the death of the Emperor Xung-Chi, the first of the Tartar family now on the throne, his successor Cang-hi, or Cam-hi, was not of the age for government. During his minority, his regents conspired with the nobles to extirpate the Christian doctrine, which had then spread very far<sup>1</sup>. The execution of this design was begun in a manner that struck terror into every Christian teacher and hearer in China.

John Adam Schall, the celebrated German Jesuit<sup>2</sup>, who was

<sup>1</sup> [Romanists in China, in the days of their prosperity, are said to have had more than a hundred churches, and a hundred thousand converts, in a single province, that of Kiang-nan. See a *Sketch of Chinese History*, by the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, Vol. ii. p. 139. Lond. 1834. In the year 1680, the number of Christians in the entire empire was supposed to be about two hundred and forty thousand. (Danielis Papebrochii *Conatus Chron.-Histor. ad Catalogum Pontiff. apud Bollandi et aliorum Præfat. et Tractat. præliminar.* Tom. ii. p. 502. Antwerp. 1749.) In 1715 there were, it is stated, "above three hundred churches, and three hundred thousand Christians," in China. (Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, ii. 972. Dublin, 1833.)]

<sup>2</sup> [Father John Adam Schall, a native of Cologne, arrived in China A. D. 1622. (*Christianity in China*, by M. l'Abbé Huc, Vol. ii. p. 308.) He made a Harpsichord

then seventy-four years of age, at the head of the Chinese mission, and in a considerable post at Court<sup>1</sup>, was, in the year 1664, thrown into a dungeon, and narrowly escaped a most cruel death. The next year it was unanimously resolved, by all the ministers of state<sup>2</sup>, that the Christian law was false, and dangerous to the empire ; and therefore it was forbidden, under pain of death. Upon this the Christians and their pastors endured a variety of sufferings<sup>3</sup>.

In 1669, the young Emperor took the reins of government himself ; and immediately the horrid storm against the Christians ceased. This Prince had uncommon talents. He was particularly the patron of arts and sciences ; and hence the Church derived its prosperity during his long and glorious reign. Most of the Jesuits in China were well versed in those parts of learning and mechanics which Cam-hi esteemed. He therefore invited them to Court ; availed himself of their advice in council ; gave them considerable employments with largesalaries ; and even intrusted them with a share in the government.

for the Emperor, and afterwards established a Cannon-foundry. (1b. ii. 313, 317.) In the year 1650, he laid the foundation of a large church, built in the form of a Latin Cross, in Pe-kin, on ground of considerable extent granted to him by the Emperor. (Huc, ii. 383-4.) The Chinese name given to Schall was Tang-jo-ouang.—Vid. *Hist. Gen. de la Chine*, Tome xi. p. 61. Wall, iii. 255.]

<sup>1</sup> [President of the Astronomical Board.]

<sup>2</sup> [The principal instigator of this persecution is called Yang-konang-sien in De Mailla's translation of the Chinese Annals. (Wall, iii. 213.) He was the bitter enemy of Schall, and his successor in the office of chief Mathematician. The name of this persecutor is sometimes written Yàm-quàm-sièn ; and it appears that a print of the Crucifixion of our Lord, which he had taken out of one of the books belonging to the Jesuits, became the main source of the sufferings endured by the Missionaries. Innumerable copies of the print were circulated by their artful adversary ; and it was alleged, that persons who were in the habit of worshipping a Being, who had been crucified between two thieves, must needs be favourable to the cause of those insurgents who had at that time succeeded in subjugating some of the provinces of China.—Vid. Papebrochii *Conat. Chron.-Histor.* in Tom. ii. *Prefationum Actis. Sancti. præfix.* p. 519.]

<sup>3</sup> ["Denique annis abhinc viginti, Christianæ æræ MDCLXV. gravissima denuò excitata fuit tempestas, hostibus fidei nihilominus quàm universæ rei Catholicæ apud Sinas excidium machinatis ; quando primum rei capitis omnes fuimus convocati in Regiam, deinde in Cantoniense exilium relegati, non tantum nos, [scil. Jesuitæ,] sed etiam duorum sanctissimorum Ordinum Religiosi, Franciscani et Dominicani, quotquot aditum sibi in Imperium fecerant." (Papebrochii *Conatus Chronico-historicus*, ubi sup. p. 503.)]

This favour of his to the Jesuits procured for the Church all the protection it stood in need of, and promoted its increase. It flourished considerably more, when several French Jesuits arrived; who, by their engaging address; by being conversant in the Chinese language, as well as that of the Tartars; by their skill in mathematical learning, in politics, in mechanics, in medicine, and in other branches of knowledge<sup>1</sup>, entirely won the Emperor's heart. They soon discovered the Monarch's inclinations and views; and, by employing all their genius and sagacity in pleasing and entertaining him, at last became necessary to him. They were his instructors, whom he daily attended to; his friends, his physicians, and his counsellors: they served him as painters, turners, watchmakers, founders, accountants, astronomers, and masters of the ordnance. In short they directed everything at the Court of Pe-kin.

The Christian faith and its professors shared in this extraordinary prosperity of the Jesuits. The Emperor, to gratify his favourites, published, in the year 1692, that celebrated Edict<sup>2</sup>, by

<sup>1</sup> [Such studies were regarded by the Jesuits as matters only of secondary importance. The higher purpose, to which they were subservient, was not lost sight of for a moment. —“Neque à vero alienum, Missionariorum, de quibus agis, si nihil aliud Sineses populos docuissent præter Euclidis elementa, aut Cœli accuratius systema, si quosdam dumtaxat aut de Sphæra tractatus aut de Trigonometria Sinica lingua donassent, non magnum minimeque à me approbandum operæ pretium fecisse. Non erant inter tot pericula tam vasta maria transmittenda, ut de Mathematicis disciplinis in extremo orbe scholæ erigerentur. Verum ex libris inde huc delatis, qui in Vaticana Regiaque Bibliotheca custodiuntur, videmus illorum industria Sinicè versum Novum Testamentum, vim ingentem Catechismorum, et ante alios Concilii Tridentini, Summam S. Thomæ, diversos præcationum libros, Orationis Dominicæ, Symboli Apostolici, præceptorum divinatorum explanationes, Vitam Jesu Christi et Sanctorum, Missale Romanum, et quædam sanctorum Patrum volumina, eadem lingua vulgata. Demùm, primus liber, qui typis Sinicis editus est, auctore Michaelæ Rogerio, [See before, p. 58.] anno salutis MDLXXXIV. sinceram sacræ legis Historiam complectebatur. Præcipua mysteria Verbi Divini, hominem induti, et acerbissima pro nobis in Cruce morte defuncti, accurate summa in eo elucidata leguntur.” (Vid. Papebrochii *Conat. Chron.-Histor. ad Catal. Pontificum*, ubi sup. p. 519.)]

<sup>2</sup> [For full information relating to this Edict we are indebted to the Jesuit Charles le Gobien; who, in the year 1698, published at Paris, in 12mo, his *Histoire de l'Edit de l'Empereur de la Chine, en faveur de la Religion Chrétienne*. Bayle has referred to this work in his article on Milton. (*Gen. Dict.* vii. 575. Lond. 1738.)]

which the Christian religion was declared to be good and salutary; and all his subjects were permitted to embrace it. At their request, he sent an embassy to the Pope; built them a magnificent church within the walls of his palace<sup>1</sup>; and commanded all his vicegerents and ministers to act with tenderness towards the Christians. There was but one instance in which he disappointed them. They flattered themselves with the hopes of persuading him at last to be a Christian<sup>2</sup>: and he greatly encouraged these hopes<sup>3</sup>, by attending closely to their instruction; by praising their doctrine; and by his signal favours to them, their fellow-labourers, and their followers. But he died without the pale of the Church, in the year 1722. As far as could be conjectured from his life and actions, he was of that persuasion, which among the Tartars is called the faith of the great Jenghiz-Khan<sup>4</sup>. This religion consists of some few tenets; which, excepting the Command of the Sabbath, bear great affinity to the Ten Commandments of Moses.

<sup>1</sup> [In January, 1699, permission was granted by the Emperor to Father Gerbillon to erect this church on the ground given to the Jesuits within the enclosure of the palace. The building and decoration of the church were not completed for four years. An interesting letter, in which particulars are mentioned, was written from Pe-kin on Aug. 20, 1704, by the Jesuit Jartoux. It may be read in a book entitled, *The Travels of several learned Missioners of the Society of Jesus*; translated from the French original, printed at Paris in 1713; 8vo, Lond. 1714, pp. 198–202.]

<sup>2</sup> [“Do not” (asks the Jesuit D’Entrecolles, writing to the Procurator-General of the Missions of India and China,) “these words of the Emperor, expressed in a public Act, seem to afford some glimmering hope of his conversion?” “Perhaps” (he adds) “I flatter myself with vain hopes: but those words of the Prince, *that we are to be trusted and believed*, have already forwarded the conversion of many of his subjects.”—The letter from which this extract is taken bears date July 17, 1709. See *The Travels of several learned Missioners*, p. 170.]

<sup>3</sup> [In April, 1711, the Emperor gave to the Jesuits at Pe-kin three Inscriptions for their new church, written in large characters with his own hand. Of these the uppermost was:—“To the true Original of all things.” Two of the Inscriptions were in columns. One was:—“He is infinitely good, and infinitely just. He gives light to, He supports, He rules all things, with supreme authority, and with sovereign justice.” And the other:—“He had no beginning; and will have no end. He has produced all things from the beginning. It is He that governs them, and is their true Lord.”—See these Inscriptions, in Chinese and English, in *The Travels of several learned Missioners*, pp. 175–6. Fabricius has given them in Latin, in his *Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, p. 663.]

<sup>4</sup> [Cp. Gibbon, vi. 139–40. ed. Milman.]

But the Christian Church in China, in the midst of this visible prosperity during the reign of Cam-hi, continued internally divided and torn. The Jesuits pursued their own manner of converting; and the other Missionaries were offended at it, and preached a very different Gospel. Hence arose two congregations, which hated and despised each other<sup>1</sup>. The Jesuitical Christians honoured their ancestors and Confucius: the rest abhorred this practice, as a species of idolatry. The latter treated the former as pretended, or half, Christians: and these again treated them as insolent contemnors of the laws of the empire.

The disorder was incurable, because the last answer of the Holy Inquisition had left both parties at liberty to act as they thought fit. The Dominicans and their associates had not interest to procure a fresh decree; and the Jesuits were too prudent to desire one. The former, therefore, endured with regret an evil they could not redress; and waited for a favourable opportunity, to revive the contest they could not continue.

In the year 1684, fortune favoured them with such an opportunity. A Society of Clergy had been instituted at Paris in 1663, for the propagation of Christianity among the infidel nations<sup>2</sup>. The members of this Society provide for the education and instruction of youth, in a house appropriated to the purpose, in order for their mission as Apostles of Christ to those that have not yet heard of the Gospel. The members themselves accept this office; if called to it by the Head of the Church, or by those, who, under him, have the care of the conversion of the heathens. These Missionaries are celebrated at Rome as zealous, faithful, and indefatigable men; and frequently the Bishops, or Legates of the Pope into the infidel countries, are chosen from their body. Some of them arrived, in the year 1684, in China. The most distinguished among these was Charles Maigrot, a Doctor of the Sorbonne;

<sup>1</sup> [Huc acknowledges, (iii. 327.) that this unhappy strife was "far more prejudicial to the propagation of the Faith than the most violent persecutions of the Mandarins."]

<sup>2</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. vii. p. 1039. [col. 1039. Paris. 1744.] *Congregatio Sacerdotum externarum Missionum*. ["Semiuarium Parisiense pro Missionibus ad exteras gentes; seu Congregatio Sacerdotum pro Missionibus exteris."]—Conf. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Religieux*, Tome viii. p. 86. A Paris, 1719.]



whom the Pope had dignified with the title of Apostolical Vicar ; and whom the Jesuits themselves confess to have been a man of great piety and integrity. He became afterwards Bishop of Conon<sup>1</sup>.

The new Missionaries were barely arrived in China, when the Dominicans and their associates, who had hitherto been forced to silence and submission, laid before them their complaints against the Jesuits and their converts. They were heard with attention and favour. But it was proper to attack the Jesuits with caution. Maigrot and his brethren took several years to consider the matter in dispute. At length, after a full examination, they joined the party against the Jesuits : and begun with declaring, that the Chinese words “Tien” and “Chang-Ti” were improper to denote the true God whom Christians adore, since they signify no more than the visible heaven ; and, in the next place, that no Christian could, with a safe conscience, comply with the Chinese custom of honouring Confucius and their ancestors.

This declaration was the rupture which occasioned that long and bitter animosity between the Jesuits and their fellow-labourers in China, transmitted through many changes to the present time. Maigrot used every argument and remonstrance, to bring the Jesuits over to his opinion. But it was a vain expectation, that a body of men would be flexible, who possess the heart of the greatest Monarch on earth ; enjoy affluence, dignity, and respect ; and are, besides, in their own opinion, so much more wise and meritorious than other men. They persisted in their conduct ; and threw out menaces of the Emperor’s and the Pope’s displeasure. Maigrot was so little disheartened at this, that it rather animated him. He commenced the war ; and ventured to become the aggressor in the year 1693. A Manifesto of his was published<sup>2</sup> ; in which, by virtue of his Apostolical office, he inter-

<sup>1</sup> [ He was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Fo-kien, with the title of Bishop of Conon. (Huc, iii. 241.) ]

<sup>2</sup> [This provisional Mandate, or Edict, containing seven articles, was issued on the 26th of March, 1693. It may be read in the small 8vo volume entitled, *De Ritibus Sinensium erga Confucium Philosophum, et Progenitores mortuos, Alexandri Papæ VII. Decreto permissis*, pp. 23–29. Leodii, 1700.]

dicted to all Christians and their teachers the use of the names “Tien” or “Chang-Ti,” and the worship of Confucius and their ancestors, under pain of excommunication<sup>1</sup>.

This might be truly styled a piece of spiritual heroism :—that a stranger, who wanted both money and friends, and was neither a Bishop nor Plenipotentiary from the Pope, should dare to bid defiance to men who enjoyed all the intimacy of friendship with the Sovereign of the country; and that he should venture this without applying to his Principal at Rome; and, by his own authority, supersede a decree of the Holy Inquisition, and that confirmed by a Pope! Religious zeal makes no difficulty of surmounting ordinary rules. This seems to be his only excuse.

He was sensible himself, that his conduct would require much apology. In the same year, therefore, in which he published his Injunction, he sent it to Rome, with a letter to the Pope, and an humble petition that judgment might be passed at Rome, whether he had done well or ill. In his letter to the Pope he complained strongly of the Jesuits; and assured his Holiness, that it would draw tears from his eyes, to see the mischief and abominations introduced into the Church in China by these ecclesiastics.

These papers and complaints were seconded very powerfully, in the year 1696, by the personal appearance and application of Charmot<sup>2</sup>, a fellow-labourer of his. He earnestly solicited the Pope, and the Court of Inquisition, for a due examination and judicial decision of the affair; and was vigorously assisted in his solicitation by the enemies of the Jesuits; that is, by a very considerable number of persons of rank and abilities, in all parts and countries of the Romish communion. The matter was delayed for some years at Rome; doubtless because the Jesuits employed all their friends and interest to prevent an inquiry.

At last Pope Innocent XII., who then filled the chair, was prevailed with; and appointed, in the year 1699, a committee of

<sup>1</sup> [Vid. Chr. Eb. Weismanni *Introduct. in memorab. Eccles. Hist. sac.* ii. p. 414. Halæ Magdeb. 1745.]

<sup>2</sup> [Nicolas Charmot, the author of *Annotationes ad Maigroti Historiam Cultus Sinenſium*.—Cp. Mosheim's *Ecc. Hist.*, ed. Macclaine, Cent. xvii. Sect. i. §. xiv.]

the most learned and principal members of the Holy Office<sup>1</sup>, maturely to examine and adjust this dispute. But he died in 1700, before the committee had time to make any progress in it.

His successor, Clement XI., immediately upon his promotion to the papal See, ordered them to proceed. He was more favourably inclined to the Society of the Jesuits than his predecessor. And, had he followed his inclination, he would have saved them their anxiety about the event, by dissolving the committee. But the Pope is not always at liberty to indulge his own humour. The affair was become too important to be laid aside. The Church of Rome was alarmed: and all Europe waited impatiently, to see on which side the victory would be conferred. Both parties employed the ablest hands, to set forth their cause in public writings.

The Society at Paris, to which Maigrot, Charmot, and the other combatants of that party belonged, warmly espoused the cause of their members; and printed a strong address to the Pope, in which they represented the Jesuits in China as deceivers, and corrupters of the faith. These, on the other hand, delivered a paper, which commanded attention and respect; and seemed alone more powerful than all the writing and complaints of their adversaries. The great Emperor Cam-hi sent a testimony under his own hand, that the customs rejected by Maigrot were mere political ceremonies, upon which the peace and welfare of the empire in some measure depended. And a thousand Chinese, believers as well as unbelievers, learned and unlearned, rich and poor, confirmed upon oath their Monarch's testimony. Never was an accusation opposed by more specious and respectable evidence. There was now no room to hinder the affair from taking its course.

<sup>1</sup> ["Et petente eodem Maigrot sui Mandati confirmationem, S. D. N. Innocentius XII. rem ad hanc Sacram Congregationem S. Officii diligentissimè discutiendam remisit; deputatis ad id quatuor Theologis et Qualificatoribus; videlicet, P. Gabriele, Generali Reformatorum S. Bernardi; P. Serrano, Generali Heremitarum S. Augustini; P. Phil. à S. Nicolao, Ex-Generali Carmelitarum Discalceatorum; et P. Varesio, olim Commissario Generali Ordinis Minorum."] (*Expositio Facti de Sinensibus Controversiis, à Patribus Societatis Jesu oblata Sacræ Congregationi S. Officii, jussu SS. D. N. Innocentii XII.*, pp. 2-3. ed. an. 1700.)]

After six years had been spent in consulting and deliberating, judgment was at length pronounced. On the 20th of November, in the year 1704, the Holy Office decreed<sup>1</sup>:—that the two Chinese words “Tien” and “Chang-Ti” should no longer be applied to God; but that, instead of them, the word “Tien-Chu,” which signifies “Lord of heaven,” should be introduced:—that the tables, upon which was written, in Chinese letters, “King-Tien,” or “the honour of heaven,” should be removed from the Christian churches:—that Christians should by no means assist at those sacrifices, which are offered in spring and autumn, at the time of the equinox, to Confucius and their ancestors:—that they should likewise absent themselves from those houses and temples, which are built in honour of Confucius; in order to pay to that Philosopher the worship due to him from the literati of the empire:—that they should thenceforward, upon no account, pay that worship which is paid by the Chinese to their ancestors, where, or in what manner, soever it be offered:—and, in the last place, that those tablets of their forefathers, upon which was written, in Chinese letters, “The seat of the soul or spirit of” N. should be removed from the houses of all Christians.

These severe injunctions were softened by some little indulgences. The new converts were permitted to appear, along with their relations, in the Halls of their forefathers, and to be spectators of the ceremonies there performed; but without partaking in them in the least. The Inquisition judged this might be done, to avoid hatred and bitterness; especially after a previous declaration, that they were Christians, and disapproved of the custom they were to attend. They were farther indulged in hanging up the tables of their ancestors in their houses; without any other inscription but the name of the deceased; and a declaration affixed, containing the Christian faith concerning departed souls. And they were allowed to retain such of the ancient funeral rites

<sup>1</sup> [Vide *Acta Causæ Rituum, seu Cereemoniarum Sinensium*, pp. 4–15. Romæ, in Typog. R. Cameræ Apostolicæ, 12mo. Cf. Huc, iii. 259, 410.]

<sup>2</sup> [See before, p. 66, note.]

<sup>3</sup> [“Worship heaven.”—“Cælum colito.” (*Expositio Facti*, p. 25. *De Ritibus Sinensium*, p. 25.)]

as were free from superstition, and all appearance of it; provided they were first instructed by the Bishops, and other principal Divines, which of those ceremonies might be esteemed innocent. These trivial indulgences were insufficient to soften the resentment of the Jesuits at the unexpected decree<sup>1</sup>.

Clement XI. had, two years before this, in 1702, appointed a Legate, with almost unlimited powers, to visit the new congregations of papistical Christians in Asia, particularly the Indian and Chinese; and, by wholesome laws and regulations, to accommodate the differences arisen among them<sup>2</sup>.

The person fixed upon was Charles Thomas [Maillard] de Tournon, of an ancient and noble family in Lorraine; a Divine, who, by his piety and probity, had acquired the general esteem and affection of the Court of Rome. The Pope himself, to convey the higher authority to his office, consecrated him Patriarch of Antioch<sup>3</sup>. It is common at Rome to create Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops as merely titular as theatrical Emperors and Kings; I mean, that they only represent certain Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops.

Tournon was one of these nominal Patriarchs; and had not the least jurisdiction in the city, or territory, from which his title was borrowed. He embarked on the fifth of August, 1703; and landed at Pondicherry, on the coasts of Coromandel, on the sixth of November in the same year. Here he stayed till the eleventh of July in the next year; and arrived in China in 1705<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [Vid. *Protestation des Jesuites; à l'occasion du dernier Decret sur les affaires de la Chine. Avec des Reflexions sur la Protestation de Messieurs des Missions etrangeres.* 12mo.]

<sup>2</sup> See his commission and further accounts of him in P. Norbert's *Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions des Indes Orientales*, Tome i. p. 111. [*Mémoires Historiques, présentés en 1744 à Benoît XIV., sur les Missions des Pères Jésuites aux Indes Orientales*, &c., two volumes 4to, Besançon, 1747.—Pierre Parisot Norbert was a Capuchin Friar, whose assumed name was M. l'Abbé C. P. Platel. (See before, p. 63, note.) Compare his *Mémoires Historiques sur les affaires des Jésuites avec le Saint Siège*, Tome i. p. 86, etc. A Lisbonne, 1766.]

<sup>3</sup> Du Halde is much mistaken in calling him Patriarch of India; but this is not his only mistake.

<sup>4</sup> [On the eighth of April.—See Huc, iii. 367. Lond. 1858.]

The Jesuits received him with all the marks of honour which a Legate of the Pope could expect from the subjects of his master<sup>1</sup>. They even exceeded their duty. They procured him access to the great at Court, and an audience of the Emperor; permitted the most honourable of their converts to attend him in his public entries; and prevailed with the Emperor to distinguish him, by various favours, from all other ambassadors. But this respect lasted only whilst they had hopes, that he would at least have found out a medium betwixt them and their adversaries.

The moment he declared against *them*, a terrible storm arose against *him*. Tournon was of that party in the Church of Rome who are called the Rigids; and therefore naturally an enemy to the Jesuits, and their doctrine, which is more lax and moderate. It might be easily foreseen, that one of this character would not favour them, and their manner of converting. He signified as much soon after his arrival; but for some time kept his zeal within certain bounds. Whilst he was prudent, they continued obliging and respectful. But his prudence failed him as soon as he had an account from Europe of the judgment of the Inquisition against the Jesuits.

In the year 1707<sup>2</sup>, he published a strict ordinance, in the name of the Pope, agreeably to the decree of the Holy Office; and, under pain of excommunication, prohibited all that was prohibited in that decree. This so embittered the Jesuits, that they determined he should feel the whole weight of their resentment. They and their partizans first appealed from him to the Pope; and thereby evaded the censure of disobedience. Next they represented his procedure to the Emperor, as a violation of his prerogative.

<sup>1</sup> [The Patriarch was not perfectly satisfied with the degree of attention shown to him. He complained that the Jesuits had not sent Fathers to receive and assist him on his arrival. (Huc, iii. 395.) In the *Lettre à un Prélat, sur un écrit intitulé, Lettre de M. le Cardinal de Tournon, Patriarche d'Antioche, &c., à M. Maigrot, Evêque de Conon, &c.*, it is said: (p. 15.) "Au regard de la confiance, il étoit difficile que les Jesuites en eussent beaucoup en M. le Legat aux Indes: & dès son entrée à la Chine, il avoit assez fait connoître que ses dispositions n'étoient pas favorables à leur égard."]

<sup>2</sup> [At Nan-kin, Jan. 15, 1707. See a French translation of the Decree in the *Acta Causæ Rituum, seu Cereemoniarum Sinensium*, p. 16-22.]

Indeed it is hard to acquit him of a crime like this. Cam-hi, as was related before, had sent a writing under his own hand to Rome, to disculpate the Jesuits; and attest, that the Chinese meant by the word "Tien" not heaven, but that infinite Spirit Who dwells in heaven, and governs the universe; and that the ceremonies permitted by the Jesuits were not religious, but political, and ancient customs of the empire. And here a stranger, a Legate of an European Bishop, boldly and publicly opposes the Emperor; and, in his own dominions, without his knowledge, makes a law, to prohibit the subjects from practices enjoined by the laws of the empire.

No sovereign Prince would suffer a conduct like this to pass with impunity. It is doubtless that Tournon, pious as his meaning was, far transgressed the bounds of prudence and respect. He was, in truth, not qualified to discharge reputably and usefully the great and important commission he was intrusted with. His good disposition was under the influence of a narrow spirit, and weak understanding<sup>1</sup>; of which his writings, letters, and injunctions, printed by Norbert and others, furnish abundant proof<sup>2</sup>. They contain dry and insipid thoughts; so swelled, indeed, by pompous expression, that the careless and injudicious reader can hardly distinguish their flatness and impotence.

Cam-hi was exceedingly provoked when the Jesuits informed him, that the European, to whom he had been so gracious, had presumed to withstand him and his edict; and to know more of the religion of his country than himself. He therefore immediately published a strict mandate, by which all Romish ecclesiastics in China were forbid, under severe penalties, to teach anything contrary to the laws of the empire, and to the ancient

<sup>1</sup> [Missionaries in China commonly receive Chinese names: and the designation selected by his adversaries for the Cardinal de Tournon was "To-Lo," which signifies *Imbecile*. Huc (iii. 248.) would fain persuade himself that the Jesuits were incapable of acting in such a manner: but he admits that they very well knew the meaning of the term; and De Tournon was quite unconscious of it.]

<sup>2</sup> [One of his letters, dated October 6, 1706, and addressed "à Monseigneur Maigrot, Evêque de Conon, Prisonnier chez les Jesuites," has been published among the *Acta Causæ Rituum Sinensium*, pp. 23-34.]

traditions of the Chinese. Most of them obeyed. The few who paid greater regard to the Patriarch's injunction were imprisoned, treated with great severity, and banished the empire.

Tournon himself was ordered immediately to quit the country, or to be punished as a traitor. He did not wait for the repetition of this order; but hastened to Macao, there to embark, and avoid the fury of the Emperor, or rather of the Jesuits. But whilst he was preparing for his departure, it was recollected at the Court of Pe-kin that, if he was suffered to return to Rome, he would certainly make heavy complaints of his persecutors. A fresh order was issued, to secure his person; and detain him a prisoner at Macao, till the return of two Jesuits, whom the Emperor despatched to Rome.

The unfortunate Tournon was forced to change his character of an Apostolical Legate and lawgiver for that of a state-prisoner; and to pass four years in great trouble and anxiety, under a strong guard, in the house of the Bishop of Macao<sup>1</sup>. His enemies, the Jesuits, were his keepers; and they, doubtless, were not negligent of their charge. It is possible, that their adversaries have considerably aggravated his distresses and indignities in prison. They did not, probably, so far forget the prudence essential to their Order as to treat a Legate of the Pope like a common malefactor. And they could never have been pardoned at Rome, had they been entirely unmindful of their duty to the Pope and him. But thus much is certain; that whatever little respect they may have shown him was mixed with various instances of bitterness, contempt, and mortification<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [Joannes de Casal.]

<sup>2</sup> Clement XI., in the Bull of excommunication [dated March 15, 1711,] he published against the Bishop of Macao, who was among the most bitter of Tournon's enemies, describes his sufferings in the following words:—"Innotuit nobis quod Carolus Thomas Tournonius—tametsi tunc temporis in civitate Macaonensi, non quidem à paganis, sed ab officialibus & ministris Christianis—multorum militum diurna nocturnaque custodia, ut captivus detineretur, alisque acerbissimis & plane incredibilibus injuriis & contumeliis, ipsis exhorrescentibus Ethnicis, affictus reperiretur nihilominus," &c. See Norbert's *Mémoires*, Tome i. p. 304. ["Innotuit pariter nobis, quòd præmissis attentis, dictus Carolus Thomas Cardinalis, tunc Patriarcha, ac Commissarius, et Visitator Generalis, tametsi tunc temporis in præfatâ Civitate Macaonensi, non quidem à Paganis, sed ab Officialibus



Clement XI. was amazed when he heard of the fate of his Legate; and thought the best method of alleviating his misery was to raise him to the highest dignity next to his own. He honoured the prisoner with a Cardinal's hat; in hopes that his merciless keepers would treat a Cardinal with more civility and respect than a Patriarch. But the new Cardinal, and the authority he affected, were subject of ridicule at Macao. His troubles continued till a severe fit of sickness put an end to his life, on the eighth day of June, 1711.

The adversaries of the Jesuits pretended all over Europe, that he had been poisoned; and that the poison was administered to him at Pe-kin by Pereyra a Jesuit<sup>1</sup>. But this rumour has rather the air of calumny. To what purpose can they be supposed to have imprisoned him at Macao, and prevented his voyage, if they were assured that he carried death in his bosom? The motion of the ship, and other inconveniences of so long a passage, must have hastened the effect of the poison, and soon put an end to his miserable life. It is reproach sufficient to the Jesuits, that they cannot clear themselves of the imputation of extreme injustice and violence, exercised upon a Legate of the Pope, a Cardinal, and a man of piety.

The body of the deceased Cardinal was, after some years, conveyed to Europe; and his funeral obsequies were performed at Rome, amidst the tears and lamentation of the Pope and all his Court. Clement XI., in a celebrated panegyric Oration, which he spoke in memory of him, in a full congregation of Cardinals, extols him as a Saint and a Martyr<sup>2</sup>. And if the Jesuits

et Ministris Christianis, nullâ sacri Characteris, nullâ præstantissimæ Dignitatis suæ, nullâ Ecclesiasticarum Sanctionum, nullâ denique Juris Gentium, quod apud barbaras quoque Nationes sacrosanctum atque inviolabile est, habitâ ratione, multorum militum diurnâ nocturnâque custodiâ, ut captivus detineretur, aliisque acerbissimis et planè incredibilibus injuriis et contumeliis, ipsis exhorrescentibus Ethnicis, afflictus reperiretur. Nihilominus," &c. (Norbert, *Mémoires Historiques sur les affaires des Jesuites avec le Saint Siège*, Tome i. pp. 247-8. A Lisbonne, 1766.)]

<sup>1</sup> *Anecdotes de la Chine*, Tome i. p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> It may be found, among the other speeches of this Pope, in P. Norbert's *Mémoires sur les Missions Orientales*, Tome ii. p. 6.; [or in *Mém. Histor. sur les affaires des Jésuites avec le Saint Siège*, Tome i. p. 344, etc.]

had less power at the Court of Rome than they have, he would probably before now have been admitted into the Calendar of that Church. Their enemies are waiting for a convenient opportunity, to solicit the canonization of this great sacrifice to their resentment, and to his own indiscretion.

The overthrow of Cardinal Tournon was of no use towards the recovery of the Jesuitical cause: it rather inflamed matters more. The Pope, before he received advice of the imprisonment of Tournon, had approved, and in every respect confirmed, his injunction. It was therefore necessary to carry on the same measure. The Holy Office assembled on the twenty-fifth of September, in the year 1710, in presence of the Pope; and came to a new resolution, or rather confirmed and improved that formerly made. They rejected the appeal to the Pope, with which the Jesuits in China had warded off the Cardinal's injunction; and decreed, that, without farther exception or objection, the judgment passed in the year 1704, and the injunction of Cardinal Tournon, should remain in full force. They prohibited besides, under the most severe ecclesiastical penalties, the publication of any books or pamphlets concerning the Chinese ceremonies; and declared previously, that all such as should appear from the press should be ranked among the list of Prohibited Books<sup>1</sup>.

This seems to be a clear and strong decree; but it was not strong enough to humble the mighty Jesuits. Extensive as the papal power is, it cannot reach them at the Court of Pe-kin, in the Emperor of China's palace<sup>2</sup>. The decree was immediately sent to the Bishop of Pe-kin, who resides at the city Lin-zing-teou; and he was ordered forthwith to cause it to be delivered to the Jesuits. It arrived towards the end of the year 1713; and in

<sup>1</sup> The title of this decree runs thus: "Declaratio [Decretum] super omnimoda ac in-violabili [observatione] Responsorum, alias in Causâ Rituum, seu Ceremoniarum Sinensium, à Sacrà Congregatione datorum, et à Sanctissimo approbatorum, cum aliis Ordinationibus." The present Pope has inserted it entire in his last Bull, *Ex quo singulari*, &c. [Benedicti Papæ XIV. *Bullarium*, Tom. i. p. 190. Romæ, 1746. *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, Tom. xvi. p. 106. Luxemburg. 1752.]

<sup>2</sup> The present Pope, in his Bull just mentioned, complains thus: "[At verò] nec Decretum hujusmodi ad difficiles animos subjiciendos valuit." [*Bullar.* ut sup. Tom. i. p. 191.]

January, 1714, the Bishop despatched his Vicar-general Charles Castorani, a Franciscan Monk, to deliver it into the hands of the Court Jesuits.

Castorani executed his commission with great humility; and was received with extraordinary insolence. They told him, without ceremony, that if he should presume to read this decree, or any way to divulge it, they would complain of him to the Emperor. He understood their meaning; and, having no ambition of martyrdom, retired privately; well satisfied with experiencing no other effect of their resentment but contempt<sup>1</sup>.

The Jesuits invented various apologies for this fresh instance of disobedience. But it was at length determined at Rome, to disregard their pretences, and humble their pride. Clement XI. was so provoked, upon the first news of this obstinate rebellion of his beloved sons, as he calls them, that he immediately proceeded to the celebrated Bull *Ex illa die*. It was drawn up with expedition; and issued out on the nineteenth of March, in the next year, 1715<sup>2</sup>.

This famous Bull answers in Asia to the same Pope's Bull *Unigenitus* in Europe<sup>3</sup>; the former controverted, the latter defended, by the Jesuits. The former proved the source of great

<sup>1</sup> Caroli Castorani *Notæ et Observationes in Bullam Benedicti XIV. supra Cereemonias et ritus Sinicos*, p. 35. "Non sine mei injuriâ," says he, "ad prædictum Dominum Episcopum redi.".

<sup>2</sup> It is entitled thus: "Clementis Papæ XI. Præceptum super omnimoda, absoluta, integra, et inviolabili observatione eorum, quæ alias à Sanctitate Suâ in Causa Citnum, seu Cœremoniarum Sinensium decreta fuerunt: cum rejectione quarumcumque rationum, seu excusationum ad ejusmodi Decretorum executionem declarandam [declinandam] allatarum, ac præscriptione Formulæ Juramenti, per Missionarios illarum partium præsentis et futuros hac in re præstandi." [Bened. Papæ XIV. *Bullarium*, i. 191.—This Constitution of Pope Clement XI., on the subject of the Chinese ceremonies, may be read in *Huc*. (iii. Appendix, pp. 409–419.)]

<sup>3</sup> [The Bull *Unigenitus* was issued on the 8th of September, 1713. It condemned as heretical a hundred and one Propositions, extracted from Quesnel's *Moral Reflections* on the New Testament. A very complete examination of it, and Dissertations on matters connected with it, were published by Joannes Frickius, 4to, Ulmæ, 1714. His work is entitled, *Inclementia Clementis*. An English version of the Constitution *Unigenitus* is given by Whatley, in an Appendix to his translation of the Abbé de la Berthier's *Parallèle de la doctrine des Payens avec celle des Jésuites*, Dublin, 1726–7.]

confusion among the Papists in Asia ; the latter in Europe<sup>1</sup>. Both have been the occasion of an expense, trouble, and detriment to the papal See, of which it is not easy to foretell the end. Never was Pope so unfortunate in his Bulls as Clement XI.

The Constitution *Ex illa die* is, in some measure, a contrast to that called *Unigenitus*. It redresses, as it were, by its zeal against the lax and indulgent maxims of the Jesuits, all the grievance occasioned by the Constitution *Unigenitus*, which favoured them and their doctrine. Hence the Jesuits are as much offended at the former as the Jansenists at the latter.

The Pope begins with reciting all that had been done in the Chinese controversy. Next he sets forth, with expressions of grief, the many artful inventions, wherewith the Jesuits, whom he does not mention, had presumed to invalidate the last decree of the Holy See, clear and limited as it was. To obviate at once, and for ever, this unaccountable insolence, he commands, in the strongest terms a Pope is capable of, all the Clergy in China, and the Monks in particular, under pain of that excommunication which none but the Pope himself can remit, except in the hour of death, strictly to observe, as sacred, the decrees hitherto passed by the Inquisition, and the ordinance of the Cardinal Tournon ; and under no pretence whatever to transgress them.

With the same rigour and caution, he enjoins all ecclesiastics, who should be sent to China and other Asiatic countries, to take an oath to obey his commands, without any reserve ; and that no person whatever should be admitted to the lowest office, without having previously taken this oath. To secure the observation of it more strongly, the oath was not only to be taken *vivâ voce*, but to be subscribed by every ecclesiastic ; and the oaths thus subscribed were all to be transmitted to the Holy Office at Rome.

In the last place, the Pope commands, with the highest degree of caution and severity, that no ancient indulgences, no general or particular rights and privileges, no tradition, no evasions, whether already invented, or thereafter to be invented, should

<sup>1</sup> [Vid. *Tuba magna, mirum clangens sonum* : Sect. v. De Turbis suscitatis occasione *Reflexionum Moralium*, Tom. ii. pp. 82-125. Argentinæ, 1760.]

avail in the least against these Constitutions; and that they should remain in force as an eternal and irrevocable law. It was concluded with an express order, that this Bull should be sent and notified to all the Clergy, and especially to the Jesuits.

It is needless to recite the oath at large<sup>1</sup>. The juror was to oblige himself exactly, absolutely, inviolably, and without any evasion, to obey the Bull<sup>2</sup>; and acknowledge himself worthy, in case of disobedience, of the punishment there threatened. There is not one among all the decrees of the Bishops of Rome so accurately and cautiously worded, or so minutely guarded against every possible exception and evasion. The lawyers, who prepared it, exhausted their whole stock of such words as might be effectual to disarm those men, that study to transgress under the colour of law.

An English ship carried over this terrible Bull to China; and it was dispersed amongst the Romish Clergy of the empire before the Jesuits knew of its arrival. Had these been earlier apprised of it, the Emperor would probably have sent a countermand to meet and annul it. It was necessary, however, in obedience to the Pope's order, to present it to them, and notify it in their churches at Pe-kin. This was the ruin of the Bull.

Honest Castorani, by his Bishop's command, undertook this dangerous office; and, unfortunately for himself, executed it with success. He arrived at Pe-kin on the fifth of November, in 1716; and, on the same day, without any previous notice to the Jesuits, read the decree he was charged with in three of their churches. But he was ill rewarded for his pains. On the third day after his arrival, an Officer of state, by the Emperor's order, caused him to be fettered with a chain, of extraordinary weight and strength, at his neck, hands and feet; and, thus loaded, to be thrown into a dungeon, as a traitor who had dared to introduce foreign laws into the empire.

<sup>1</sup> [See an English translation of it in Huc, iii. 275-6; 418-19.]

<sup>2</sup> "Exactè, absolūtè, inviolabiliter, et absque ulla tergiversatione." [. . . "illudque exactè, absolūtè, ac inviolabiliter observabo, et absque ullâ tergiversatione adimplebo." (Bened. XIV. *Bullarium*, i. 196. *Bullar. Rom.* xvi. 109.)]

His troubles lasted seventeen months. Sometimes he was indulged with a certain degree of liberty, and again shut up in close confinement; sometimes sent to Can-ton, and then recalled to Pe-kin. At last he obtained his liberty, upon condition that he should carry the Bull back to his Bishop, and not dare to divulge it any farther<sup>1</sup>. This secured only the capital against the thundering Bull. To defeat the terror of it in the rest of the empire, his imperial Majesty, by a severe edict, notified to all Papists, that he would immediately banish them from his dominions, and cause their Chinese converts to be put to death without distinction, if they paid more regard to the Pope than to him, and attempted to execute Romish laws. And these menaces were not merely verbal. It appeared in some places, that the government was in earnest; and would not suffer itself to be insulted with impunity.

The Jesuits, who were the original founders of this and much more mischief, lamented it no less than those who felt the weight of it. They complained heavily, in their writings and conversation, that the Court of Rome was under the influence of persons neither discreet nor experienced; that Bulls were transmitted to China, which tended to desolate the Lord's vineyard. "When will his Holiness," said they, "and our enemies who mislead him, awake and learn discretion? Not, it is to be feared, till they find it too late. We wash our hands; we have delivered our souls from the burden. Let the blood of the poor Christians in China, whom this Bull perhaps will bring to a fatal end, fall upon the counsels that dictated it. We have done our utmost to soften the Emperor's resentment. We have implored and entreated him. But he is inexorable in matters that affect the ancient fundamental laws of the empire."

These complaints, however, did not exempt the Jesuits from the duty of obeying the Bull, and every precept it contained. The subjects of the Pope, and the Jesuits as much as any, are obliged to submit to his ordinances, though all the Kings and infidels upon earth should oppose them. The supremacy he as-

<sup>1</sup> Castorani *Notæ in Bullam Benedicti XIV.*, Sect. ii. p. 35, &c.

sumes, as Vicegerent of Christ, would be merely titular indeed, if the laws and menaces of heathen Kings had power to annul and invalidate his Apostolical precepts. The Jesuits, therefore, not knowing how to palliate their disobedience in the eyes of the Emperor, resolved to seek for some subterfuge in the Bull itself. But this seemed impossible to find in a decree, penned with so much caution and subtlety as this *Ex illa die*. However, Jesuitical sagacity surmounts all difficulties.

The evasion, which the Bull itself will not afford, is discovered in the title. It was inscribed, *Præceptum de omnimodâ*, &c. This single word furnished the Jesuits with all they wanted. "A Precept," said they, "is no law. The Pope himself calls his Bull no more than a Precept. Undoubtedly a Precept from him claims the most profound respect: but it is not an indisputable Article of Faith, which must be implicitly acquiesced in. We are, therefore, not bound tenaciously to adhere to this Bull." This artifice of theirs will appear like a piece of slander. But it is attested by a hand of great authority in the present case, of the highest authority to the Jesuits themselves. The present Pope, Benedict XIV., is my author; and, to obviate all doubts on this head, I have quoted his own words in the note<sup>1</sup>.

The consternation occasioned at Rome, by this unexpected and disagreeable news from China, may be easily imagined. It was now apparent, that all orders and Constitutions would be vain; and the Jesuits prove invincible, unless the Emperor could be gained, and a protection obtained for the obnoxious Bull from him. The Pope, therefore, resolved to send a legation to the Emperor, to entreat him that he would permit the Clergy to observe his Bull. The Legate was Charles Anthony [Ambrose] Mezzabarba<sup>2</sup>, a Milanese, who died Bishop of Lodi some years ago. His Holiness created him Patriarch of Alexandria, to add lustre

<sup>1</sup> His words in the Bull *Ex quo singulari*, &c. are these: "Nihilominus inobedientes et captiosi homines exactam ejusdem Constitutionis [Clementis XI.] observantiam se effugere posse putarunt, EX [EA] RATIONE, QUOD ILLA PRÆCEPTI TITULUM PRÆFERT, quasi vero non indissolubilis Legis, sed Præcepti merè ecclesiastici vim haberet." [Bened. Papæ XIV. *Bullar.* i. 197.]

<sup>2</sup> [Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba: in Latin Mediobarbus.]

and dignity to his commission. He embarked at Lisbon March 25, 1720; landed at Macao September the twenty-sixth of the same year; and re-embarked for Europe, with the body of his predecessor Cardinal Tournon, on the thirteenth of December, 1721.

It is not above eight or nine years ago, since the world has had a circumstantial account of his negociations, sufferings, and dangers, published by his direction. The editor was P. Viani, his confessor and fellow-traveller<sup>1</sup>. All that was known of his success before that time was, that he had conducted himself with more prudence, and therefore met with better treatment, than Tournon; and that he, in some measure, explained and softened the Bull of Clement XI., according to the humour of the Jesuits. Indeed the choice of him was more judicious than that of the Cardinal.

Mezzabarba was a man of sound judgment, and quick apprehension; perfectly knew the world; possessed all the art and finesse of an Italian; was never disconcerted in the most sudden circumstances of danger; and always deliberated before he spoke. Without departing in the least from his dignity, he paid all the respect due to the person of the Emperor; and, in the midst of his zeal against the Jesuits, expressed marks of reverence to him as Sovereign of the country, and to his substitutes. The Emperor received him most graciously, and gave him frequent audience.

But, notwithstanding the honours that were shown him, he was in continual fear and danger of his life. He complains, in his Pastoral Letter, of which we shall soon have occasion to take notice, that his residence in China was attended with fear and trembling, because he knew not how to speak the wisdom of this world<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Istoria delle cose operate nella China da Monsignor Gio-Ambrosio* [Carlo Ambrosio] Mezzabarba, Patriarca d' Alessandria, Legato Apostolico in quell' Impero, et di presente Vescovo de Lodi. Scritta dal Padre Viani, suo Confessore, e Compagno nella predetta Legazione. Opera data adesso la prima volta alla luce. In Parigi. Appresso Monsu Briason, 1739. Though the title dates it from Paris, the book was without doubt printed privately in Italy. A large extract of it may be seen in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, Tom. xxv. P. i. p. 101, and P. ii. p. 326. See likewise P. Norbert's *Mémoires sur les Missions Orientales*, Tom. ii. p. 256, &c. [Compare *Mémoires Historiques sur les affaires des Jésuites*, Tome vi. p. 551. A Lisbon, 1766.]

<sup>2</sup> Quia non sapientiam hujus sæculi locuti fuimus, in timore et tremore multo fuimus apud vos. [1 Cor. ii. 3, 6.]



And indeed he might probably have found it difficult to escape imprisonment, or perhaps even death, had he not, in his greatest extremity, signified to the Jesuits the powers he had to moderate the obnoxious Bull by some favourable explanations.

He was never admitted to an audience at Court without some bitter mortification. Cam-hi was lively, ingenious, and much disposed to raillery. He frequently made his sport of the Pope, the Legate, the Bull, and the Romish faith itself. Sometimes he spoke with warmth of Tournon, Maigrot, and the other opponents of his friends the Jesuits. Mezzabarba was obliged to be cautious and respectful, in his answers to the Emperor's jests and menaces. But he was entirely disappointed in the principal subject of his legation. The Emperor subscribed the Bull, in red ink, with his *Ci*; that is, his authoritative declaration, concerning it. "The Bull," says he, "in my opinion, concerns only the common Europeans; and does not at all affect the great and venerable doctrine of the Chinese. It contains many absurdities and falsehoods: and the best step we can take, to put a final end to these disputes, is, to prohibit the Europeans from preaching their law in our empire." The Legate had nothing farther to solicit but leave to return to Europe, and inform his Holiness of the Emperor's opinion and resolution. He continued to be variously mortified for some time, both by the Jesuits and at Court, and was at last permitted to depart.

He was detained at Macao six months after his return from Pe-kin. Part of this time he spent in writing that celebrated Pastoral Letter to the Romish Clergy in China; to which alone may be attributed all the praise conferred on him by Du Halde and the rest of the Jesuits. This piece contains the eight Indulgences, or limitations of the Bull *Ex illa die*, &c., under the protection of which the Jesuits have for some time past, without hindrance or molestation, violated it. I beg leave briefly to relate the history of these Indulgences from the words of the present Pope, Benedict XIV., who hath repealed them.

Whilst Mezzabarba was at Rome, preparing for his voyage, some doubts and queries, concerning the delivery of this Bull, had been laid before two persons who had resided long in China.

These two were probably Jesuits. The Pope mentions neither their names, nor their Order. He seems displeased at them; yet studies to conceal his displeasure. They delivered in an answer to the queries and doubts proposed to them. The answer was sent after the Legate, who was then departed; that he might make use of it at his discretion, as the circumstances of times and affairs should require. The Pope expresses himself with the utmost reserve and obscurity. He seems afraid to divulge the secret of these queries and answers. But it is easy to discern his meaning, without uncommon sagacity.

The Jesuits, who apprehended great danger from a fresh legation to China, took care, by their connexions at Rome, to procure a person, who might raise certain casuistical difficulties and queries concerning the Bull; and to have the decision thereof left to their brethren or friends. It is easy to conjecture both the doubts and the answers from Mezzabarba's Indulgences. After this, methods were used to persuade the Pope, that it would be advisable to send both answers and queries after the Legate; with full powers to make use of them, in case of necessity, and mitigate the severity of the Bull. The Pope, however, was cautious enough neither to confirm, nor add to, this writing. Hence, as Benedict XIV. urges, the Apostolical See retained a right, either to approve or condemn the contents thereof, as should seem good and expedient.

Mezzabarba was very unwilling to produce this secret part of his commission. He insisted, as long as he could, with vehemence, upon the reception and observation of the Bull, without any reserve or limitation. But when he was so closely beset, both by the Court and the Jesuits, as to be in danger of his life, his fears prevailed; and incited him to confess, that he had an order from the Pope to mitigate matters in some respects. They took him at his word; and insisted, when he came to Macao, upon his performing the promise made at Pe-kin. Had he declined it, he might have met with the fate of his predecessor, and ended his days in a prison. Benedict XIV. plainly declares, that he was tortured into a compliance with their requests<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "In iis angustiis se positum intellexit, ut coactus fuerit in publicum emittere Permissiones octo." [*Bullarium Romanum*, xvi. 110.]

His Pastoral Letter to the Romish Clergy in China, which was dated at Macao, November 4, 1721, begins with a loud and heavy complaint of the sufferings and anxieties he underwent in China. Then follows a moving exhortation to the Clergy to be studious of peace, and obedient to the commands of the Holy See. "These commands," adds he, "are contained in the Pope's Bull; and I neither can, nor will, in the least invalidate from their force<sup>1</sup>."

But, as doubts had arisen concerning several Chinese customs, he desires to take notice of some few particulars, which may be tolerated<sup>2</sup>. First, he permits the Chinese Christians to hang up in their houses tables, with the names of their ancestors inscribed; and to make use thereof, provided a declaration be affixed to them, and they be guarded against superstition. In the next place, he permits all such ceremonial honours to the deceased, in use among the Chinese, as are free from superstition, and even from the imputation of it. He permits, in the third place, the honour paid to Confucius, so far as the same is political; and particularly deems it lawful to burn incense, light candles, and place meats before the tables, upon which only his name was written, and an explanatory declaration annexed. His fourth Indulgence permits incense and lights to be offered at funerals; provided only that a note be delivered in, explaining the true intention of the person offering them. Next, he permits Christians to prostrate themselves before the tables of Confucius, and the forefathers; and even before the coffins of their own kindred. In the sixth place, he indulges them in offering, in honour of the deceased, at their coffins and tablets, sweetmeats, fruits, flesh, and other meats; provided it be done without any prejudice to the Faith. From

<sup>1</sup> ["Non enim opus est, ut aliquem actum faciamus, ut sanctissimi Domini nostri Clementis Papæ XI. mandata jam promulgata vobis innotescant, vimque habeant, ut absque ulla tergiversatione executioni mandentur. Nihil proinde innovamus; sed relinquimus res prout sunt: hoc est, nullatenus Constitutionem super Ritibus Sinicis, à sanctissimo Domino nostro Clemente Papa XI. die 19. Martii, 1715. emanatam, suspendimus, aut quæ in ea vetantur permittimus."]

<sup>2</sup> [See the eight Permissions, or Indulgences, translated into English, in Huc, iii. 312-13. They have been taken from the *Journal de la Légation de Mezzabarba*, p. 118.]

this he proceeds to tolerate all prostration, on New-year's-day as well as at other times, before that table which is called Ko-teu. Lastly, he permits lights and incense before these tables; and dishes of meat to be served up at graves.

The Jesuits could have wished for no more; and more could not be done to defeat and invalidate the Bull. The Legate was sensible of this: and, being unwilling to expose the Pope, and the weakness of his decree, to all the world, added, in the conclusion of his Letter, a strict injunction to all ecclesiastics in China, to the Jesuits in particular, under pain of excommunication, not to translate this Letter either into the Chinese or Tartar tongue; nor to communicate it to any but those who came in the office of Missionaries to China. The Indulgences contained in this piece could not be entirely withheld from the people: but the Clergy were charged to dispense them cautiously; and reserve them for the highest exigency.

At Mezzabarba's return to Rome, Clement XI. was deceased. Innocent XIII. succeeded him<sup>1</sup>. The new-elected Pope was enraged at the Legate's report of his fruitless negotiations, of his perils and sufferings. In the first heat of his resentment, he resolved to abolish the Society of Jesuits. But the remonstrances of some prudent men abated the violence of this flame; which, however, they were not able totally to extinguish. The Pope commanded the General of the Order to recall all his Jesuits from China, that the refractory might be brought to condign punishment; and forbade the increase of the Society by new members, till further notice from him<sup>2</sup>.

What could be done in these circumstances? There was but one expedient left; the promise of obedience: and they had the comfort, in the meanwhile, of hoping that time would extricate them from this great distress. Their hopes were gratified sooner than could be expected. The death of Innocent vacated the See of Rome, and relieved the anxious Jesuits. His successor, Benedict XIV., the present Pope<sup>3</sup>, proved much more tractable. He

<sup>1</sup> [In May, 1721.]

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Universel*, Tome vii. p. 460.

<sup>3</sup> [This is a mistake. It was Benedict XIII. who succeeded Innocent XIII., in the year 1724.]

accepted every promise that was made him. The Jesuits recovered their former situation: and the affairs of China, in which the confidants of his Holiness did not find their account, lay dormant for a considerable time.

Whilst these matters were transacting at Rome, the Church in China lost, in the person of her protector, all her tranquillity and happiness. The great Emperor Cam-hi, the patron and disciple of the Jesuits, especially those of France, died on the twentieth of December, 1722; and before his decease placed the crown he was obliged to relinquish upon the head of Yong-Tching, his fourth son. The Emperors of China have, by the ancient laws of the empire, a right to elect for a successor, from among their sons, him who seems best qualified for a wise and happy reign. The Jesuits, by their power over the heart of Cam-hi, had contributed not a little to the election of Yong-Tching. He had discovered so early an inclination to them, and to the Christian cause, that they formed better hopes of him than of all the other sons of the Emperor. But they became sensible of their mistake as soon as he mounted the throne.

His people admired in him all the good qualities of his father, except his partiality to the Jesuits and their faith. Yong-Tching continued to esteem them; and retained them at Court, and in pay, as ingenious artists, painters, watchmakers, astronomers, geometricians, and physicians. But he neither admitted them to a share of his political cares, nor of his time, nor of his affection. They remained in his palace; but in no other condition than that of mechanics and officers, kept for certain purposes of convenience and amusement.

This gave encouragement to those among the Chinese who had been obliged, in the late reign, to stifle their dislike of the Christians and their faith. The Emperor hearkened with attention to all their representations. He unexpectedly repealed the edict, published by his father in favour of the Christian religion; prohibited his subjects from embracing the law of the Europeans; and permitted his Governors of provinces, and Officers of state, to persecute the Christians, and demolish their churches. It is needless to add, that they made use of this permission. A blind

religious zeal, that has been long under a painful restraint, is naturally apt, when indulged, to break out with additional violence.

The Emperor himself headed, and by his example animated, the party against the Christian faith. He ordered all Romish ecclesiastics in his dominions into custody, in the cities of Canton and Pe-kin, to prevent any farther exercise of their function. Some time after, they were yet closer confined; upon his being informed, that they continued to discharge their duty in private. At length all but the Jesuits, who resided at Pe-kin, were banished to the little town of Macao; which is in some measure subject to the Portuguese, and lies on the sea-coasts, in the remotest part of the empire.

The Jesuits, as their sole dependence was not upon preaching, reading Mass, or hearing Confession, suffered least by this dreadful storm; and took all opportunities to soften the Emperor's displeasure, and apologize for their persecuted brethren. But the only answer they had was a gracious repulse: and they were forced to acquiesce in a connivance for themselves; and the privilege to carry on their spiritual labours at Court, and in the capital, without interruption. Their adversaries imputed all this mischief to them: pretending that they were detected in a conspiracy against the Emperor; and thereby provoked this persecution of the Christians. But the charge is highly improbable. The Emperor would hardly have entertained at his Court, and have distinguished from the rest of their brethren by his favour, a set of men whom he knew to have formed designs against his government and life. The Jesuits, on the other hand, derive this calamity from the Bull *Ex illa die*. And doubtless they seem, in this instance, to have more reason on their side. It is possible that Yong-Tching grew impatient at the disputes, occasioned by this decree between the Romish Priests and his Christian subjects; and so, to prevent all farther animosity, prohibited the Christian religion itself.

It is usual for persecutions, if not to appease intestine controversies in the Church, at least to effect a cessation of arms. The foreign enemy pursues both contending parties indifferently; engages all the attention which before they employed against each

other; and converts their redundant spirits into fear and anxiety. By these means he unites the minds of the persecuted better than all mediators or lawgivers.

But the sufferings and adversities of the Church in China had not this happy effect. The war among the Clergy was carried on with the same life and vigour, when they were imprisoned and beset by their enemies, as in the times of peace and liberty. The Indulgences of Mezzabarba extended the wounds they were meant to heal. The adversaries of the Jesuits opposed these Indulgences as warmly as the Jesuits did the Bull itself; and absolutely refused to receive, or acknowledge them as valid. Francis Sarazeni, Bishop of Lorima, even circulated a Pastoral Letter, prohibiting, upon pain of excommunication, the observation or introduction of those Indulgences<sup>1</sup>. How strangely men are blinded by their passions! This was doing the very thing for which the Jesuits had been so bitterly reproached. They were condemned for refusing immediate obedience to the Injunctions of Tournon and Maigrot. And certainly Mezzabarba was equal in dignity to Tournon, and superior to Maigrot. Consequently his Indulgences claimed the same respect, at least, with their Injunctions.

This inconsiderate piece of obstinacy so inflamed the Jesuits, that they inconsiderately plunged themselves into a fresh offence; great enough to revive the memory of all their former transgressions, and entirely ruin their cause at Rome. Mezzabarba had expressly prohibited the translation of his Pastoral Letter, or the publication of the Indulgences it contained. The Jesuits ventured to violate this command. They dispersed his Indulgences among all the Chinese Christians; and endeavoured to impose them upon those to whom they were obnoxious.

The assistance of an eminent Bishop was requisite for this purpose. They obtained that of the new Bishop of Pe-kin, Francis de Purificatione, who was promoted in the year 1731. This Prelate perceived, soon after his arrival, that the good-will of the Jesuits at Pe-kin was of more consequence to him than

<sup>1</sup> Castorani *Observationes in Bullam Benedicti XIV.*, p. 40.

the favour of the Pope. They influenced him to charge the Clergy of his diocese, in two public Instruments addressed to them, dated July the sixth, and December the twenty-third, in the year 1733, upon pain of degradation, to pay as sacred a regard to the Indulgences of Mezzabarba as to the Bull *Ex illa die*; and publicly to read to the people, in all churches, on the four most solemn festivals of the year, both the contents of the Bull, and the reservations added to it by Mezzabarba<sup>1</sup>.

This was no less than a public challenge. The combatants on the other side hastened to arms. Castorani, Vicar to the Bishop of Pe-kin, and heretofore a martyr to the Bull *Ex illa die*, who had spent thirty-three years in his function in China, told his Bishop to his face, that he would never pay him obedience in this point. The example of so venerable a man diffused a spirit of rebellion among the Clergy. At length it became ripe enough for a resolution, to despatch the good old Castorani to Rome; in order to complain of the Jesuits, and the Bishop; and solicit the abrogation of Mezzabarba's Indulgences.

Perhaps the Jesuits and their adherents made their sport of the age and simplicity of this ambassador. He confesses himself to be neither eloquent, nor learned, nor sagacious: and those little pieces of his, that have hitherto appeared in print, confirm the truth of his confession. They discover nothing but a zealous, honest, Franciscan Friar; neither infected by the air of the Court, and a knowledge of the world, nor corrupted by the vanity of learning and science. But his want of parts and penetration was amply supplied by his zeal, integrity, experience, constancy, grey hairs, the reputation of a Confessor, and seventeen months' suffering on account of the Bull *Ex illa die*.

A pious simplicity has often got the better of worldly prudence. Castorani arrived at Rome about the end of the year 1734, in the papacy of Clement XII., to whom he immediately opened his commission. The Pope left the matter to the examination of several Cardinals: and, after ten months' entreaty,

<sup>1</sup> See Castorani *Observat.*; and the Bull of Benedict XIV. entitled, *Ex quo singulari* &c.



attendance, and solicitation, as Castorani himself relates, his Holiness by a Brief, dated September the twenty-sixth, 1735, absolutely revoked and annulled the two Letters of the Bishop of Pe-kin, who was just then deceased<sup>1</sup>.

This was Castorani's first victory. But he did not rest here. His principal point was to invalidate the Indulgences of Mezza-barba. He therefore proceeded in his undertaking with inexpressible zeal; and solicited the Pope, that the examination of this affair might be withdrawn from the Congregation *De propaganda Fide*; and submitted to the Holy Office, or Inquisition, to whose cognizance by right it belonged. His request was granted.

This change of his judges was of great consequence to him. The Jesuits had more patrons and friends in the Congregation than in the Inquisition, where their old adversaries the Dominicans prevail. As soon as he had put his cause into the hands he wished to have it in, he left nothing undone to prosecute it with the utmost vigour. The account he gives himself of his importunate and indefatigable application is so natural, that one cannot but admire his integrity: and he seems to have effected at least as much by unwearied importunities as by strength of reasoning. He was incessantly begging, attending, writing, remonstrating, and instructing. Even the Pope himself was not a day free from his company. He was constantly attending the Cardinals, the Assessors, and the Counsellors of the Holy Office. Not a Clerk of the Court was overlooked in his solicitation.

Notwithstanding all this, his progress was not equal to his endeavours. The Pope was willing that, in an affair of this importance, the judges should determine nothing hastily. He particularly enjoined, as his successor informs us, that all the Clergy residing in Rome, who had been in China, and all the young Chi-

<sup>1</sup> "Clementis Papæ XII. Revocatio, annullatio, et cassatio duarum Epistolarum Pastoralium bon. mem. Francisci, Episcopi Pekinensis, nuper defuncti, circa res [Ritus] Sineses editarum." ["Revocatio et annullatio duarum Epistolarum Pastoralium bo. me. Francisci, Episcopi Pekinen, datarum die 6 Julii, et 23. Decembris, 1733. circa Ritus Sineses editarum." (*Mag. Bullarium Romanum*, Tom. xv. p. 40. Luxemb. 1748.) Mosheim took the tenor of this Brief from the Bull *Ex quo singulari* of Pope Benedict XIV.]

nese, who were come to Rome for instruction and education, should be heard, and judicially examined. This required a considerable time; and Clement XII. did not survive the inquiry.

Benedict XIV., who now fills the chair, was elected in his room. This Prelate is said to be less favourably inclined to the Jesuits than to any other Order under his jurisdiction. His conduct hitherto has confirmed this opinion of him. Poor Castorani, however, seems to have found it a difficult matter to bring him over to his side. He even subjected himself to a severe penalty, if ever they should convict him of deceit or misrepresentation. At length, after seven years' impatience, the happy day appeared, which he had been so earnestly labouring for. Benedict XIV., in the year 1742, issued the famous Bull, which begins with the words, *Ex quo singulari*, &c. It was finished on the eleventh of June<sup>1</sup>, and issued out the ninth of August<sup>2</sup>.

The only thing omitted in this severe law, to expose and mortify the Jesuits and their adherents, is the mention of their name. But it is easy to apprehend whom his Holiness points at, when he speaks of a disobedient, crafty, malicious, and insidious set of men.

He revokes, annuls, abolishes, rejects, and totally condemns the Indulgences of Mezzabarba, as tenets extorted from the Patriarch under the apprehension of a violent death; never approved by the Holy See; and contradictory to the Bull of Pope Clement XI.; and commands them to be considered no otherwise than as if they had never been granted. He denounces his heavy displeasure, and all the punishments which the Church usually inflicts upon the transgressors of her laws, against the Clergy of

<sup>1</sup> [ . . . "quinto Idus Julii;" that is, on the eleventh of July.]

<sup>2</sup> It was published at Rome, from the printing-office of the Apostolical Chamber, under the title, "Confirmatio et innovatio Constitutionis, incipientis, *Ex illa die*, à Clemente Papa XI. in causâ Rituum, seu Cereemoniarum Sinensium editæ: nec non revocatio, rescissio, abolitio, cassatio, annullatio, ac damnatio Permissionum, super iisdem Ritibus seu Cæremoniis, in quadam Pastoralis Epistola Caroli Ambrosii Mediobarbæ, [Mediobarbi,] Patriarchæ Alexandrini, olim Commissarii et Visitatoris Apostolici in Sinarum imperio, contentarum; cum præscriptione novæ formulæ Juramenti, per Missionarios illarum partium præsentis et futuros præstandi."

every rank, and the Jesuits in particular, if they should presume to depart, in the least degree, from the Constitution *Ex illa die*. He enjoins the Superiors of every Order of Monks immediately to expel those members of their Society, who should dare to violate his ordinance; and to recall them to Europe, that they might be duly punished. In the last place, he prescribes an Oath, by which all Missionaries in China oblige themselves strictly to adhere to the Bull of Clement XI., and by no means to suffer their converts to observe any of the ceremonies permitted by Mezzabarba.

The conclusion of the Bull is, with some authority, said to be penned by the Pope himself. The language of it is strong, edifying, pathetic, Apostolical, and well worthy of a great Prelate. "We hope in God," says he, among other things<sup>1</sup>, "that the preachers of the Gospel in China will banish from their breasts that groundless apprehension, that the conversion of infidels will be in the least retarded by a strict observation of our decrees. The conversion of heathens depends principally upon the Grace of God: and the Grace of God will infallibly assist the labours of those Ministers of the Gospel, who preach the truths of the Christian religion boldly, *and in that purity in which they are delivered to them by the Apostolical See*: being ready to lay down their lives for the honour of the Gospel, according to the example of the holy Apostles, and other eminent Martyrs; whose blood, so far from retarding the progress of Christianity, rather improved the

<sup>1</sup> ["Confidimus quoque, Deo favente, ex eorum cordibus inanem illum metum sublatum iri; ne videlicet per exactam Pontificiorum Decretorum observantiam infidelium conversio retardetur. Nam hæc à divina Gratia sperari potissimum debet: quæ quidem ab eorum ministerio longè non aberit, si Christianæ Religionis veritatem impavidè prædicaverint, atque eâ puritate, qua ipsis ab Apostolica hac Sancta Sede tradita est: parati quoque ad eam propugnandam sanguinem effundere, exemplo Sanctorum Apostolorum, aliorumque Christianæ Fidei clarissimorum propugnatorum; quorum sanguis tantum abfuit ut Evangelii cursum interciperet, aut retardaret, ut potius Vineam Domini florentem magis, et fidelium animarum copiosorem effecerit. . . Verum ad eorum memoriam deducimus, ut, quando ad sacras Missiones destinantur, se tamquam veros Jesu Christi discipulos cogitent, et ab Eodem se missos fuisse, non ad gaudia temporalia, sed ad magna certamina; non ad honores, sed ad despectiones; non ad otium, sed ad labores; non ad requiem, sed ad afferendum fructum multum in patientia." (*Bullar. Rom.* xvi. 113.)]

vineyard, and produced a plentiful harvest of believers." Next he puts them in mind of the nature of their call. "Be mindful, as you are true disciples of Jesus Christ, that He hath not sent you to worldly joys, but to a difficult combat; not to the possession of honours, but to reproach and contempt; not to an inactive, but [to a] laborious life; not to indulge your ease, but to bring forth much fruit with patience."

In order to understand the meaning of this last admonition, the reader must represent to himself the Court Jesuits at Pe-kin; dressed in the sumptuous robes of Mandarins, with a dragon on their breast; and enjoying all the honours, dignities, privileges, revenues, and conveniences, which the Emperor's favour or their own services could procure them. To Missionaries in these circumstances, so full of the power and wisdom of this world, the exhortation of the Pope seems in the highest degree expedient.

This latter part of our Memoirs must be matter of great admiration to those who read it attentively. Castorani, a poor Mendicant Friar, whom the Jesuits had caused to be fettered with nine chains, engages in a contest with the most powerful Society in the Church of Rome; with that Society, before whom the Pope himself and Kings have been made to tremble; and not only gains the victory, but exposes and humbles them in a manner they had never before experienced. Such is the mischief the meanest and most impotent enemy is capable of effecting, when either despised, or too heavily oppressed.

We seem now to be arrived at the end of the Chinese controversy, which has lasted upwards of an hundred years. And doubtless this must have terminated it, had any other Order in the Church of Rome but that of the Jesuits been the parties concerned. But this Society is not so easily disheartened by Bulls from the Bishops of Rome. They have always a fund of inventions in reserve; whereby to evade, or repair, all the damage a Pope can inflict. It is currently reported, that they pay no more regard to this Bull of Benedict XIV. than to that of Clement XI.; and continue to permit their converts to do that which the Pope so expressly forbids.

Another Franciscan deputy is arrived at Rome, within the last year or two, from China; loaded with authentic evidence and testimony of the contumacy of the Jesuits, and of the calamities they bring upon their opposers. Perhaps this may produce a third Bull against them; and the third Bull may possibly hurt the two former by its vehemence. The Roman theatre is subject to many changes: and it is a thing not unusual, entirely to drop the best laws, in order to save the pains and trouble of executing them.

Matters seem at least to be ripening for a new scene in this celebrated drama. The Jesuits are gradually insinuating themselves into the strong and advantageous situation they were in at the Court of Pe-kin, in the reign of the Emperor Cam-hi. His successor Yong-Tching, who persecuted the Christian religion, and favoured the Jesuits merely for his own purposes, died in the year 1737<sup>1</sup>. Kien-Long, one of his sons, mounted the throne in his stead. He was but twenty-five years of age when the empire fell into his hands; and began his reign with various acts of clemency<sup>2</sup>. The Bonzes were the only body of men that experienced his displeasure. He expressed his zeal against them in a public writing; in which he cautions his subjects against their vices and deceits<sup>3</sup>. He gently revoked the orders issued by his father against the Christians and their teachers; and restored the Church in China, in great measure, to her former prosperity and peace. And, as to the Jesuits, he gave them fresh encouragement; embraced eagerly every opportunity of showing them favour; and did this to an extraordinary degree, of his own accord, without any solicitation of theirs. This disposition of his to those cunning and ingenious ecclesiastics is said to improve with his years.

<sup>1</sup> ["Il mourut à sa maison de plaisance, nommée Yuen-ming-yuen." (*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Tome xxii. p. 190. A Paris, 1781.) The destruction of this palace by fire in October, 1860, (a punishment inflicted by the English army on the Chinese for treachery and murder,) will be remembered.]

<sup>2</sup> [Respecting this subject, see the *État de la Religion dans l'empire de la Chine en l'année 1738*, in Tome xxii. of the *Lettres édifiantes*, p. 246, etc. A Paris, 1781.]

<sup>3</sup> *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des Missions étrangères*, Tom. xxiii. Preface, page iv, v, vi.

What will become of their antagonists, and of the Bull *Ex quo singulari*, if they gain as absolute an ascendant over the heart of this Monarch as they enjoyed over that of his grandfather ?

To this prosperity the Jesuits received an accession about three years ago, which they had long wished for, and solicited in vain at the Court of Rome. They have made it their endeavour, for many years past, to get all the Bishopricks in the heathen countries into their own hands ; that they might reserve to themselves the sole power over their converts ; and have a check upon the other Missionaries, who are not of their Society. Some of the vacant Sees they have been promoted to, through the interest of the Kings of Portugal, who have obtained the power of nominating the Bishops of Asia.

The Popes have constantly resisted their most pressing applications for the Bishopricks in China, particularly for that of Pe-kin. His present Holiness is doubtless of the same opinion with his predecessors in this respect. Notwithstanding this, in the year 1745, he promoted a Jesuit to the See of Pe-kin, with all its extensive jurisdiction. This Prelate was a Portuguese, named Polycarp de Souza ; recommended with the warmest importunity by Don Emanuel de Sampaio, the Portuguese Ambassador. And the Pope, though he seems to fear, as well as to hate, the Society of Jesuits, yet upon many accounts honours his Portuguese Majesty. Therefore the same Benedict XIV., who had so heavily mortified that Society by his Bull *Ex quo singulari*, did what none of his predecessors thought it prudent to do,—accepted the recommendation of a Jesuit. What can be expected in these circumstances ? The Jesuits being at present as powerful in the Church as at the Court of Pe-kin, it is easy to conjecture the fate of their adversaries, and of the Bull in which they are so effectually exposed<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [“Christianity subsequently underwent vicissitudes in China ; and was frequently persecuted with great harshness : then it was tolerated again. The Jesuits, after the dissolution of their Order, doubtless continued in China, without taking any further heed to the papal Bulls ; and even contrived to maintain themselves under persecution. Nevertheless, the Mission in China, after that dissolution of the Order, and during the French Revolution, suffered very considerably, since no new Missionaries were sent thither from

The attentive reader will draw many useful inferences from the facts here related<sup>1</sup>. How sick and feeble is the Head of the Church of Rome. How powerful and refractory are the Orders, over which she pretends to an absolute sway. How little regard is paid to the Pope by that Society which is bound to pay him the greatest. How much division and discord do we observe in a Church which boasts of her unity and peace. How miserably distracted is the Court of Rome. How many arts are invented to elude the strongest decrees of the Pope. How frequent is the change of those Constitutions which ought to be immutable. How inconvenient and defective is the government of that Church.—Certainly, if our Saviour subjected Christians, in all parts of the earth, to the dominion and inspection of a single Bishop, He has laid a duty upon one man, to which an hundred are not equal; and has chosen one of the most imperfect forms of government.

JOHN LAURENCE DE MOSHEIM.

Göttingen, April 6, 1748.

Europe. For the first time after the restoration of the Order, in the Spring of 1817, Jesuits (twelve in number) were sent again to China. Meanwhile, on the 30th of January, 1815, an Imperial Edict had already been issued. All diffusion of Christianity was forbidden, under threats of severe penalties; and residence in the empire was allowed only to the Europeans in Pe-kin, who were there employed as Mathematicians. This Edict has lost its force only at the present day, owing to the great Revolution in China: until now it has prevented all further spread of Christianity." (Gieseler's *Kirchengeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, von 1648–1814*. Aus seinem Nachlasse herausgegeben von D. C. R. Redepenning; S. 66. Bonn, 1857.)]

<sup>1</sup> [Information respecting later occurrences in China may be gained from the last work written by Dr. Gutzlaff, and published after his death:—*The Life of Taou-kwang, late Emperor of China; with Memoirs of the Court of Pe-king: including a Sketch of the principal events in the History of the Chinese Empire during the last fifty years*; 8vo, Lond. 1852.]

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