



JESUITS AS DIPLOMATS IN THE SERVICE OF CHINESE EMPERORS IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

Jesuitas como diplomáticos en la Corte de los emperadores chinos en la época moderna temprana

Claudia von Collani

Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg

Email: claudia.von.collani@t-online.de

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8938-3233>



Auctora

In East Asia, China played a special role spreading its superior culture to other nations. The relations between Europe and China, however, were besides trade destined by the attempts to spread Catholicism and later also Protestantism in China. Especially during the 17th and 18th centuries some of the Western missionaries bringing Western religion to China also tried to interpret traditional Chinese rituals like the veneration of Confucius and the ancestors in a pejorative way declaring these rites to be superstitious and to forbid them for Chinese Christians. The legation of the papal delegate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710) to China brought the latent quarrel between the adherents and the adversaries of the Rites to an outbreak. The Kangxi Emperor (1662-1722) tried to explain his attitude to the Holy See in Rome. Therefore, after several more general delegations of Jesuits to Europe Kangxi sent special embassies to Rome concerning the Chinese Rites. His efforts, however, to solve the problems and to protect Christianity and missionaries respecting the Chinese culture failed and the Rites were condemned.



Abstract

Jesuits; Early Modern China; Imperial China; Mateo Ricci; Ming Dynasty; Qing Dynasty; Kangxi.

Jesuitas; China moderna temprana; China imperial; Mateo Ricci; Dinastía Ming; Dinastía Qing; Kangxi.



Key words

Received: 30/11/2023. Accepted: 10/01/2024



Fechas

En Asia Oriental, China jugó un rol especial como difusora de su superior cultura a otras naciones. Las relaciones entre Europa y China, sin embargo, fueron, aparte de las comerciales, dictadas por los intentos de expansión del catolicismo y más tarde el protestantismo en China. En particular, durante los siglos XVIII y XIX, algunos misioneros occidentales intentaron interpretar los rituales tradicionales chinos como la veneración a Confucio y a los ancestros de forma peyorativa, declarando dichos ritos como supersticiones y prohibiéndolos a los cristianos chinos. La legación del delegado papal Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710) a China dio lugar a la explosión de las tensiones latentes entre los adherentes y los adversarios de los ritos. Esto dio lugar a que, el Emperador Kangxi (1654-1722) enviara varias embajadas especiales a Roma en relación a la cuestión de los ritos chinos. Sus esfuerzos, sin embargo, para solventar la crisis y proteger al cristianismo, a través del fomento del respeto de los misioneros a la cultura china fueron en vano.



1. Introduction

Within international diplomatic relations China played quite a special role. The Chinese Empire considered itself to be the centre of the world with universal importance. The Chinese emperor was as the son of Heaven in the middle of China and in this way mediator between Heaven and Earth, responsible to bring the cosmic order. This was especially valid for the whole Far East. The emperor distributed the Chinese culture, whereas the other nations delivered tribute to the Chinese emperor. This claim was demonstrated in the East Asia by the rituals and ceremonies of tribute bearing. The emperor then showed his paternal favour for the other nations by giving gifts and license for trading (Collani, 2014, p. 186f). Therefore, diplomatic relations on a same level as they were known in Europe in modern times did not exist for China. The Papal legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710) had to make this experience but did not grasp this different understanding during his stay at the imperial court in Peking (Stumpf, vol. I, 2015).

Already during the Middle Ages direct relations started between West and East. Several times members of the Franciscan order were sent as legates from the Popes or the French king to the Mongol Khans and to the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) when Mongols ruled over China. Some of them were then sent back to Europe by the Mongol Khans as their legates with the message to submit to their rule. Since early modern times, however, direct contact between Europe and China was interrupted, because of several reasons, as the pestilence (Standaert, 2001, pp. 173-178).

Whereas during the Middle Ages most travelers passed the continent of Eurasia this changed in early modern times. Portuguese ships now travelled around Africa to the East, but the journey was dangerous and took mostly two years. Only at the end of the 17th century this changed when the Kangxi Emperor (reigned 1662-1722) opened Guangzhou (Canton) as port for the external trade with European ships, mostly from France or Great Britain. Another possibility was the Spanish route via Manila and Mexico, or via Batavia (today Jakarta) and the Netherlands to Europe, or part of the way on Portuguese ships via Brazil. Nevertheless, the missionaries looked for a possibility to travel through the Eurasian continent, which was, however, forbidden for Jesuits from the side of the Russian Tsars (Collani, 2022, p. 179f).

After having expelled the Mongols of the Yuan dynasty, the new Ming dynasty (1368-1644) closed the empire against foreigners. Several legations from Europe failed. Only under the rule of the Wanli Emperor (reign 1572-1620) the first Jesuits Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) could enter China proper in 1582. Finally, Matteo Ricci reached Peking in 1601 and managed to have first contacts to the Imperial court (Sebes, 1988, p. 295f). The Jesuits gained access to the Chinese empire and succeeded to make converts by using the method of accommodation including the learning of the language, indirect mission by European science and art, and conversion from top down, namely, from the emperor or the scholars (Standaert, 2001, p. 310f). In 1588 Michele Ruggieri left China to organize a Papal legation to the Wanli Emperor, which idea, however, failed because four popes died a short time one after the other (Collani, 2012).

Only under the rule of the Wanli Emperor (reign 1572–1620) the first Jesuits Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) could enter China proper in 1582

2. The Emperors of China

Attacks from Manchu tribes from the north together with several peasant rebellions shook China during the last decades of the Ming dynasty whereas the suicide of the last Ming emperor, Chongzhen, (reign 1629-1644) meant the end of the Ming dynasty in 1644. Attempts were made to establish a new dynasty in China (Chan, 1982). Finally, the Manchus were successful founding the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) with Peking as capital, whereas the last Ming pretenders were driven to the South defending their place from there. After eighteen years of war the Manchus at the end defeated them. Members of the Society of Jesus stayed in the service of both sides, at the court in Peking, and with the Ming pretenders in the South (Collani, 2019, p. 115f). All of them set their hope in converting the emperor, and it was not clear which side would be successful (Collani, 2019, p. 112f).

The fourth emperor of the Southern Ming was the Yongli Emperor (reign 1646-1663), grandson of the Wanli Emperor. He was a friendly young man but lacking courage and responsibility. Several very selfless and noble men in his service, some of them Christians, helped him to survive until he was finally beaten by the Manchus. At his court the Austrian Jesuit Andreas Koffler (1603/1612-1652) stayed and managed to baptize important members of the imperial family, namely the Empress Dowager (Xiao Zheng, 1594?-1651) under the name Helena (Wang Liena), the biological mother of the Yongli Emperor, Empress Ma (Huangtaihou), baptised Anna, and the legitimate wife of the Yongli Emperor, Empress Wang, who became Maria (Maliya); also many other women of the seraglio desired fiercely to be baptized, about 50 concubines and 40 officials (Pfister, 1932-1934, p. 267; Standaert, 2001, p. 440f). Finally, Koffler managed to baptize the little son of the Yongli emperor under the name Constantine, in Chinese “Tam Tym” (= Dang Ding, “he is the one who determines”) as a name of hope for the future (Standaert, 2001, p. 440f; Pfister, 1932-1934, p. 267; Collani, 2019, p. 119f).

Other Jesuits joined the Qing dynasty. After the dynastical change from the Ming dynasty to the Qing dynasty the German Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666) became director of the Astronomical Bureau *Qintian jian* and kept good relations to the young Shunzhi Emperor (Reign 1644-1661), but despite his friendly relations with Schall Shunzhi never embraced Christianity and died as Buddhist of smallpox only aged 21 (Standaert, 2001, p. 495f). His son and successor, the Kangxi Emperor (Reign 1662-1722), seemed to be close to Christianity—at least in the description of Joachim Bouvet’s SJ (1656-1730) booklet *Portrait historique de l’empereur de la Chine* (Paris 1697), but despite issuing the Edict of Tolerance in favour of

Christianity in China in 1692 and his good relations to the Court Jesuits he never embraced Christianity (Bouvet, 2005, p. 50f).

3. Legate of the Southern Ming: Michał Boym – Hope for a Second Constantine

Besides Andreas Koffler the second important Jesuit at the Court of the Southern Ming was the Pole Michał Boym (1612-1659). Boym joined the Jesuits in 1631 and finally, following his desire, received the permission to travel to the East as missionary. He departed from Lisbon for China 30 March 1643 and reached Tonkin in 1645. In 1650 Boym was sent to Court of the Southern Ming to support Koffler (Pfister, 1932-1934, pp. 265-269; Dehergne, 1973, p. 137). Soon after his arrival Boym was entrusted with a special legation to Rome. The Empress Dowager Helena, the Christian princesses Maria and Anna, and the chancellor Achilles Pang sent him as ambassador back to Europe at the beginning of 1651 (Dehergne, 1973, p. 34f). He should contact Pope Innocent X (1644-1655) and European rulers for spiritual help in their battle against the Manchus. On Boym's suggestion Empress Helena and Achilles Pang wrote letters to Pope Innocent X, and to the Jesuits' General Superior dated 1 and 4 of November 1650.¹ In these letters they begged to pray for their souls, for their fight against the Manchu and for Ming restoration; they also asked to send more priests to the court. Military help from Europe, however, seemed impossible because it was too far away (Standaert, 2001, p. 441).

Boym's travel stood under a bad star for several reasons. The King of Portugal had already abandoned the cause of the Ming emperors and joined the side of the new Qing dynasty because the Portuguese enclave Macau was dependent onto the court in Peking (Collani, 2019, p. 125). Therefore, he had to take roundabout ways to Europe partly travelling on foot and on the land route via Persia, Smyrna, Venice. The next hindrance was that at the same time as Boym started for Europe, the Jesuit Martino Martini (1614-1661) was sent as procurator by the Vice-Province of the Jesuits in China concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy and other tasks. He reached Rome at the end of 1654 (Dehergne, 1973, p. 166).² This gave Boym the bad reputation to be an impostor (Collani, 2019, p. 125).

Boym arrived in Venice in 1652 where he met the Doge, then continued his way to Rome. There he had to wait with his Chinese companion Andreas (Zheng Andelei) for three whole years because Pope Innocent X did not receive him; there were even rumours that the letters from the Ming Court were fake letters, whereas the Jesuit general superior thought that Boym's mission could be dangerous for the other Jesuits in China (Rule, 2011, p. 252). Finally, the new Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667) received Boym in an audience on 7 December 1655, then answered the letters on 18 December 1655. These letters, however, were only "spiritually uplifting but political noncommittal" (Standaert, 2001, p. 441).

Empress Helena and Achilles Pang wrote letters to Pope Innocent X, and to the Jesuits' General Superior dated 1 and 4 of November 1650. In these letters they begged to pray for their souls, for their fight against the Manchu and for Ming restoration

1 The letters of the Empress Dowager and of Achilles Pan were published in Latin translation in: Kircher, 1667, pp. 100-102.

2 There were several kinds of procurators for the China mission. In Europe, they were responsible for the mission overseas, others were appointed procurators in Guangzhou (Canton), as for example from the *Propaganda Fide* providing material needs for the mission; a procurator could also be a Jesuit or missionary elected to represent a special region and sent to Europe (Witek, 1999, p. 318f).

Boym started his way back as superior of a small group of Jesuits from Lisbon to Goa on the ship “Bom Jesus do Carmo” on 30 March 1656. On his way back to the court of the Yongli Emperor Boym got to know that Portugal had joined the Qing court in Peking. Therefore, he continued his way via Ayutthaya in Siam, then travelled on a pirate ship to Tonkin (today Northern Vietnam) where they arrived on 10 August 1658. From Tonkin Boym had still to travel two months to reach the Ming Court in the South. Finally, Boym and Andreas got their passports and were permitted to leave Tonkin on February 16, 1659. Boym then continued his dangerous travel with his Chinese companion to the province of Guangxi, where he died of exhaustion on 22 June 1659 (Collani, 2019, p. 126).

4. Legates of the Kangxi Emperor

The second ruler of the Qing dynasty, Kangxi, was the emperor to whom the Jesuits had the closest relations and into whom they set their hope that he would convert to Christianity. Kangxi, enlightened and curious in all kinds of knowledge had established a kind of academy for science and arts at his court, where Jesuits worked together with Chinese and Manchus. Taught by the Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) in his youth, Kangxi considered the Jesuits as loyal men whom he could entrust with special tasks. The Jesuits on their side considered their service as important part of their missionary activities and tried to fulfill Kangxi’s tasks as good as possible always hoping for his conversion (perhaps), or at least help to consolidate the situation of Christianity in China.

4.1. Claudio Filippo Grimaldi

The Italian Jesuit Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1638-1712) arrived in Canton in 1669 and in Peking in 1671. He belonged to those versatile Jesuits who worked in different offices and could perform many tasks, he was mathematician, astronomer and engineer. During the years 1683 and 1685 he accompanied the Kangxi Emperor several times to Manchuria (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. xxvf). In 1686, Grimaldi got the double appointment as procurator of the China mission and as legate of the Emperor. He should bring more Jesuits to China, deliver a message to Tsar Peter the Great (Tsar 1682-1721, Emperor 1721-1725), and he should open the way through Eurasia to China for Jesuits to avoid the dangerous way on ship (Collani, 2022, p. 187). Besides, he had a secret mission to Lisbon, namely, to defend the right of the Portuguese Padroado in China (Rodrigues, 2013; Witek, 1999, p. 321f).

Grimaldi could fulfill his tasks in Europe, but the way back caused problems. With the help of letters of recommendation written by Kangxi, and the Polish King and Grand Duke of Lithuania Jan III Sobieski (reign 1674-1696) Grimaldi tried to take the way through the continent starting from Rome, via Bologna, Munich, Vienna, Cracow and Russia. In Europe, Grimaldi started contact with many scholars, among them with the German philosopher and polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) hoping that this would be helpful because the Russian Tsar was a great admirer of Leibniz. But at the border between Poland and Russia the Moscowites denied the transit despite all efforts of the German Emperor Leopold I (reign 1658-1705) (Collani, 2022, p. 187f; Carhart, 2019). Grimaldi had to take the way from Venice and Genova to Marseille, then by ship to Istanbul, Syria and Persia (February 1692) via Erzerum and Isfahan. To take a short-cut he continued his travel by sea from Hormus to Portuguese Goa, from there

Taught by the Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688) in his youth, Kangxi considered the Jesuits as loyal men whom he could entrust with special tasks

to China. Only in 1694, Grimaldi was back in Peking eagerly expected by the Kangxi Emperor. In absentia, in 1688, he had been elected Director of the Astronomical Bureau *Qintian jian* and Mandarin (Collani, 2022, p. 120).³

4.2. Jesuits as Negotiators: The Treaty of Nerchinsk

The Treaty of Nerchinsk between the Russian Tsar and the Qing Empire was the first treaty between China and a European state, and it is not considered to be an unequal treaty like those of the 19th century. Since the middle of the 16th century, Russia had made important conquests expanded its influence towards the Far East. In 1649, Ochotsk became the first Russian harbor at the Pacific coast (Hildermeier, 2013, p. 549f). This was followed by armed quarrels between Russian Cossacks, Mongols, troops of the Qing Empire and Zungars over decades (Collani, 2022, p. 188).

From the Chinese side Manchuria, the homeland of the Qing dynasty, bordered on Russia but the pathway of the border was not exactly defined, therefore boundary disputes and quarrels occurred. There were always accidents with rambling Cossacks crossing to China, or with Mongol tribes who were part of the Qing empire (Standaert, 2001, p. 367f; Perdue, 2010). Therefore, the Kangxi emperor and the Chinese were afraid of an alliance between the Zungars with Russia. Russian Cossacks several times founded fortifications in China, as Albazin (Yacsa), renegades from Russia came to China. Therefore, both nations were interested in fixing the way of the border and to sign a peace treaty. Already in 1687 Eberhard Isbrand Ides (1657-1708) was sent from the court of Peter the Great as special envoy to Peking for negotiations about the border and trade between the two empires, but in vain (Collani, 2022, p. 188). Only the Treaty of Nerchinsk (also Nibcu, Nibichu) of 1689 solved the problems.⁴ The language of the negotiations was Latin, the treaty at the end in the four languages Latin, Chinese, Russian, and Manchu. It finished the territorial quarrels at the Amur River and it was the first mutual agreement of a Chinese government with a European power on the same level. The treaty verified the territorial dominance of China and fixed the border between the Transbaikalian regions of Russia and Manchuria. In return Russia got trade rights in China (Perdue, 2010, pp. 161-173; Carhart, 2019, pp. 210-225). The negotiations were held by the Russian prince Feodor Alekseyevich Golovin (1650-1706) and the Manchu prince Songgotu († 1703) who both arrived with a huge entourage of soldiers. An important role for the signing of the agreement played two Jesuits from the Imperial court in Peking, namely the Portuguese Jesuit Tomás Pereira (1644-1708) and the French Jesuit Jean-François Gerbillon (1656-1707), who served as interpreters using Latin as diplomatic language (Collani, 2022, p. 189).

Tomás Pereira was an important Jesuit of the imperial household, but mostly acting in the background. He was in favour at the Kangxi Emperor not only because his technical and artistic skills (he introduced European music at the court), but also because his ability to accommodate to moral and social values of both the Manchu and Chinese cultures. After his death he was bestowed with high honors by Kangxi (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. xxxviii). Pereira's companion Jean-François Gerbillon belonged to the group of the famous five *mathématiciens du Roy* who

An important role for the signing of the agreement played two Jesuits from the Imperial court in Peking, namely the Portuguese Jesuit Tomás Pereira (1644–1708) and the French Jesuit Jean-François Gerbillon (1656–1707), who served as interpreters using Latin as diplomatic language

³ Later, Grimaldi became Vice-Provincial of the Chinese Jesuit province, and rector of the College in Peking and Visitor of the Far East 1703-1706 (Dehergne, 1973, p. 120).

⁴ On the Jesuits and their role for the treaty of Nerchinsk, especially on Pereira, see Sebes, 1961.

had been sent to China by Louis XIV as scientists and artists in 1685, but also as missionaries. They should exchange scientific data with the Académie des Sciences in Paris. In this way as scientists, they should avoid problems with the Portuguese Padroado claiming that the mission in the Far East only belonged to the Portuguese Padroado. Starting from Brest in March 1685 they reached Ningbo in July 1687 after a stay in Siam. The group arrived at the imperial court in Peking in February 1688. Two of them remained, namely Joachim Bouvet and Gerbillon, and appointed as teachers for the Kangxi Emperor in European mathematics besides the team Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas (1643-1709). These lectures lasted from the years 1689 till 1692. After the separation of the French mission from the Portuguese Vice-Province of China (30 November 1700), Gerbillon became the first Superior of the French Residence (Beitang) and General Superior of the French Jesuits in China. He accompanied the Emperor several times on expeditions outside the Great Wall and wrote accounts of these journeys. Gerbillon worked at the court as mathematician, anatomist and geographer at the court (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. XLIV).

4.3. Joachim Bouvet, the Beginning of the French Mission in China

As already mentioned, Joachim Bouvet belonged to the group of the famous five *mathématiciens du Roy*. But since the beginning of their stay, there were permanent tensions between French Jesuits and other Jesuits (German, Italian, Flemish) who being sent by the Portuguese Padroado considered China as “their” mission. This situation strengthened the wish in the French to become independent from their brethren. An important step in this context was the Edict of Toleration issued by the Kangxi Emperor in 1692 giving Christianity the same rights as Buddhism and Daoism. In 1693, the French Jesuits Jean de Fontaney (1643-1710) and Claude de Visdelou (1656-1737) succeeded to heal the Kangxi emperor with quinine from a long-lasting fever. As a recompense the French were given an area for their own residence with church on July 4, 1693, which became the later Beitang, the North Church of the French in Peking (Bouvet, 2005, p. 17f). In 1700, the general superior of the Jesuits gave them their independence from the Portuguese Vice-Province of China with an own superior only dependent on the Visitor of the Far East; the first one was Gerbillon (Standaert, 2001, p. 315).

Some days after the imperial gift of the house, Bouvet was sent back to Europe as *Qinchai*, legate of the emperor. He should bring new Jesuits to China for a kind of Imperial Academy for science and arts, comparable to the Académie des Sciences in Paris. After a long odyssey Bouvet arrived in France in 1697.⁵

In Paris Bouvet published two books which became very important for the image of China in Europe, namely the *Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine présenté au roi* (Paris 1697), which was translated in many European languages and presented the Chinese Kangxi emperor as a nearly Christian ruler. The second book was *L'estat present de la Chine, en figures dédié à Monseigneur le duc et à Madame la duchesse de Bourgogne* (Paris 1697). Advised by the French superior Antoine Verjus (1632-1706), procurator of the French mission in China (Dehergne, 1973, p. 317), he started a correspondence with Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (2006), a great

In Paris Bouvet published two books which became very important for the image of China in Europe

⁵ His report is published in: Bouvet, 2005.

admirer of China, which belongs to the most interesting correspondences between China and Europe.

After his audience at Louis XIV in Versailles on April 3, 1697, and Bouvet returned to China from La Rochelle on the ship “Amphitrite” on 6 of March 1698 with the eight French Jesuits and the Italian painter and lay person Giovanni Gherardini (1654-1723?).⁶ Bouvet reached Canton on November 2, 1698, whereas the first meeting of the emperor with the group happened on 10 of April 1699 (Bouvet, 2005, pp. 47-49).

4.4. Jean de Fontaney

Jean de Fontaney was the superior of the five French *mathématiciens du Roy* who were sent to China by the Sun king Louis XIV in 1685. When he started for the East, he was already a renowned scientist and had taught mathematics and astronomy at the Collège Louis-le-Grand (Pfister, 1932-1934, p. 421f). When after a stay in Siam the group finally arrived in China in 1688, not Fontaney was chosen for service at the imperial Court but Jean-François Gerbillon and Joachim Bouvet. The reasons were quite probably not qualification but the fact that the Portuguese at court who eagerly watched their privileges chose the two because they seemed to be easier to handle with (Bouvet, 2005, p. 10).

After working in the South of China Fontaney returned to Peking. He together with Claude de Visdelou he helped to heal the Kangxi emperor from a lost lasting fever in 1693. From 1692 to 1699 he was superior of the French Jesuits (Dehergne, 1973, p. 97). When Bouvet returned from France on the “Amphitrite” the Kangxi Emperor was so pleased with the scientific and other gifts sent from Louis XIV that he decided to send Bouvet again to France to thank for the presents. Bouvet, however, felt so exhausted that Fontaney was chosen to be the imperial legate to Europe. Fontaney left China on the “Amphitrite” in 1699, which had brought Bouvet and his companions to China. In Paris where Fontaney arrived in springtime 1700 he received presents from Louis XIV for the Chinese emperor. Together with eight Jesuits he travelled again on the “Amphitrite” back to China. In March 1703, Fontaney left China again sent to Europe as procurator of the French mission. This time, he did not return to China but stayed in France as superior until his death in 1710 (Witek, 1999, p. 326-328).

Jean de Fontaney was the superior of the five French mathématiciens du Roy who were sent to China by the Sun king Louis XIV in 1685. When he started for the East, he was already a renowned scientist and had taught mathematics and astronomy at the Collège Louis-le-Grand

5. Legates of the Kangxi Emperor to the Holy See on Behalf of the Chinese Rites

5.1. Joachim Bouvet and Sabino Mariani, the failed legation

Under the rule of the Kangxi emperor the situation for Christianity was auspicious. After Kangxi had issued the Edict of Toleration in 1692, many new missionaries from different orders came to China: Jesuits under the Portuguese Padroado, French Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, missionaries sent by the Propaganda Fide, among other members of the “Missions étrangères de Paris”, Lazarists. Only one year after Kangxi’s Edict, however, the Vicar Apostolic of Fujian,

⁶ For the ship “Amphitrite” and its travels to China, see Pelliot, 1930.

Charles Maigrot MEP (1652-1730) issued his “Mandatum seu Edictum” for his province on March 19, 1693. Therein he forbade all classical Chinese names for God as *Shangdi* (Supreme Emperor), *Tian* (Heaven), and *Taiji* (Supreme Ultimate) only permitting *Tianzhu* (Lord of Heaven) and the use of the tablets *jing tian* (revere Heaven) in churches; further he prohibited that Chinese Christians took part in the official veneration of Confucius and of the ancestors. To make his Mandate valid for the whole of China Maigrot his confrere Nicolas Charmot (1645-1714) to Rome, where Charmot submitted the Mandate with a petition and a covering letter to the Holy Office in 1697 (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. LVI).

The Jesuits at once started to defend their method of accommodation attacked by Maigrot. The defenders of both sides published masses of books and pamphlets. One counter measure from the side of the Jesuits was a petition to the Kangxi Emperor about the meaning of the Rites and of the term *Tian*, on 30 of November 1700. Kangxi answered with the *Declaratio Rituum* that the Jesuits were right with their representation. The whole was sent to the Holy Office in Rome and printed as *Brevis relatio eorum quae spectant ad declarationem Imperatoris...* (A short Account about the declaration of the emperor) (Peking 1701) but did not have the wished result because the opinion of a “pagan” emperor had no theological value (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, pp. LXXXI-LXXXIV). When Bouvet got to know about Charmot’s procedure in Rome, he started counterattacks especially on two topics of Maigrot’s Mandate, namely Maigrot’s prohibition for the Chinese Christians to use the name *taiji* for the Christian God and to deal with the “superstitious” book *Yijing* (Bouvet, 2005, pp. 42-44). The result was Bouvet’s so-called theology of Figurism (Collani, 2023, pp. 27-36).

A possibility to solve the problems before decisions were made was to send legates between the Chinese court and the pontiff in Rome. On November 20, 1704, Maigrot’s Mandate was more or less confirmed with the decree “Cum Deus optimus”, but the decision should be published in China first. Still during the debates about the Rites in Rome a papal legate, Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710), was sent to China as Legatus a latere (5 December 1701) and Patriarch of Antioch (21 December 1701). (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. LVII)

After his travel via India and Manila Tournon arrived in Canton on April 8, 1705. Helped by the Jesuits Tournon received an invitation to the Imperial court and then stayed in Peking from 4 of December 1705 until 28 August 1706. Tournon had three audiences with the Kangxi Emperor, on 31 December 1705, and 29 and 30 June 1706 (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. LIII).

During the first audience on December 31, 1705, Tournon was received by Kangxi with great honors, and Tournon had the impression that it would be possible to start a kind of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Imperial Court. Therefore, Kangxi and Tournon wanted to send a legation to Rome with gifts for the Pope and an official letter describing the good news of the successful audience. Tournon chose the auditor of his legation, Sabino Mariani (1665-1721), as his envoy whom the Manchu Mandarin Purgai (Bursai) should accompany to Canton. But as Mariani could not speak Chinese, Kangxi ordered that one of the court Jesuits should join him, namely Joachim Bouvet as Imperial legate (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, pp. 101-104). The key for the boxes with the gifts for the pontiff were entrusted to Bouvet as official Imperial legate. But even before the start in Peking, Tournon gave the keys to his legate Mariani. The two legates started their way together in company with the Purgai and their entourage on January 4 (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. 111). There were, however, no credentials, which Kangxi

Tournon had the impression that it would be possible to start a kind of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Imperial Court

considered to be unnecessary (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. 108). During the whole way, the two of them were discordant. When they arrived in Amoy and then in Canton, the ships bound to Europe had already left. During the whole time, Tournon and Mariani denied that Bouvet was the first Imperial legate. When Tournon in Peking made open accusations against Bouvet's role in the legation, Kangxi ordered that both should return and the legation failed (Collani, 1995; Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, pp. 101-118).

5.2. Antonio de Barros and Antoine de Beauvollier

The next attempt to send a legation was started by Kangxi in October 1706 when Tournon had left Peking. After the legation Bouvet-Mariani had been recalled to Peking, the Kangxi Emperor became more and more suspicious about the intentions of the Holy See concerning the Chinese Rites. Out reverence for the pontiff, however, he blamed the papal Legate Tournon for the situation between China and Rome. But Tournon also behaved in a very imprudent way against Chinese Christians and against the Jesuits. He also caused that Charles Maigrot as a great expert concerning Confucianism was ordered to Peking. During Maigrot's stay in Peking and Manchuria from July 1706 until in December 1706 Kangxi noticed that Maigrot refused the compatibility of Christianity and Confucianism, which attitude was followed by Tournon. Therefore, the Emperor decided to expel Maigrot and two other missionaries from China on December 17, 1706 (Stumpf, 2019, vol. II, p. 256; Standaert, 2001, p. 359). As a result of the situation he sent a delegation to Rome to get information, if Tournon had really acted within the intention of the pontiff and how his own Declaration concerning the Rites had been received. The chosen legates, the Jesuits António de Barros (1664-1708) and Antoine de Beauvollier (1657-1708), were armed with documents from the Palace Archives. They should inform the Holy See about Tournon's scandalous behavior and if the Chinese Rites were really prohibited; as representatives of the Emperor they should start discussions on controversial subjects with the Pope (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. XXXIX; Witek, 1999, p. 329).

When Tournon on his way to the South arrived in Nanking he issued the "Decree of Nanking" in January 1707 forbidding the participation at the Rites under punishment of excommunication (Rosso, 1948, p. 172f; Stumpf, 2019, vol. II, pp. 305-308). When Kangxi got to know this, he expelled Tournon to the Portuguese enclave Macau, where he should stay and wait until Kangxi's delegates would return from Rome with a positive answer from Clement XI concerning the Chinese Rites and Tournon (Rosso, 1948, pp. 178-181; Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, pp. LI-LIII). The two legates started on 17 October 1706 with the documents concerning the Tournon legation. The emperor and his eldest son, Prince Yinti, chose 50 documents from the Palace Archives, which were translated by the court Jesuits from Chinese and Manchu into Latin, sealed by Yinti and two Mandarins to be send to the Pope (Stumpf, 2019, vol. II, p. 186). At the same time Barros and Beauvollier were also sent as procurators by their brethren in China, by Chinese Vice-Province and by the French Jesuits with documents. The Jesuits wanted to get free from the suspicion that they were responsible for the failure of Tournon's legation (Witek, 1999, pp. 328-330).

The Portuguese Jesuit António de Barros had joined the Society of Jesus in 1681 and arrived in Peking in October 1697. After some time as a missionary in Xi'an he returned to Peking in 1701. He accompanied the Emperor several times on his travels. Antoine de Beauvollier had joined the Jesuits in 1672 and was one of those Jesuits who tried to reach China via Central

In December 1706 Kangxi noticed that Maigrot refused the compatibility of Christianity and Confucianism

Asia and Mongolia in 1688 but failed at the Russian border. So, he travelled via Armenia, Surat and Madras in India and arrived finally in China on an English vessel in November 1699. He was appointed as procurator for the French mission and then met Tournon in Canton. There a debate on the Chinese Rites took place where he defended the Jesuits' attitude concerning the Rites against Claude de Visdelou SJ, who had sided the adversaries of the Rites. Beauvillier returned to Peking and was sent from there together with Barros (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. XXXIX).

Barros and Beauvillier started their travel on sea on an English ship from Canton on 4 January 1707. Their journey brought them to Brazil, from there they set out for Portugal on two different ships to avoid that both of them could die on the same ship. Both, however, were shipwrecked and drowned at the Portuguese coast in the same storm. Some of the documents of their luggage survived, among them Stumpf's *Compendium Actorum Pekinensium*,⁷ whereas the lost documents probably also included the early part of the *Acta Pekinensia*.⁸ When the emperor in 1710 learned that his two legates had drowned, he did not really accept this information. Their names were still included in the Red Manifesto of 1716 where Kangxi asked Rome about the fate of his envoys and the attitude towards the Chinese Rites (Witek, 1999, p. 330).

5.3. Another legation to Rome: António Provana, Ramón Arxó and François Noël

Nearly at the same time when the first delegation drowned, but without knowing, a second delegation started from Peking in October 1707 towards Canton, from there on ship to Europe on 14 of January 1708 (Witek, 1999, p. 330-332). Besides the Decree of Nanking, new important events took place in the time between autumn 1706 and autumn 1707. After Charles Maigrot together with two more missionaries had been expelled on December 17, 1706, the Emperor wanted to have control over the missionaries working in his empire. Since then, the oldest son of the emperor Yinti (1672-1734), who was responsible for the foreigners, demanded in the name of his father the so-called *piao* from all missionaries who wanted to preach the Gospel in China. During the examination to obtain it they had to promise to observe the Chinese laws, to follow the method of accommodation of Matteo Ricci in China and to stay in China for the rest of their life. Otherwise, they would be expelled (Stumpf, 2019, vol. II, p 273; Witek, 1999, p. 330f). Therefore, nineteen new documents from the Imperial Archives were translated from Chinese and Manchu into Latin and added to the already existing 50 documents (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. 5). During all the time of Tournon's legation and afterwards, Kangxi was convinced that the Pope was not sufficiently informed about Tournon's behavior at court. Therefore, a new team of Jesuits was chosen for a legation, namely Antonio Provana (1662-1720), who should also act as procurator of the Jesuit mission in China, the Spaniard Ramón Arxó SJ (1663-1711) und the Belgian François Noël SJ (1651-1729). In their company was the Chinese neophyte Louis Fan Shouyi (1682-1753), who later joined the Jesuits (Meynard, 2017, pp. 21-31).

It they had to promise to observe the Chinese laws, to follow the method of accommodation of Matteo Ricci in China and to stay in China for the rest of their life. Otherwise, they would be expelled

⁷ For the English translation of the *Compendium*, see Stumpf, 2019, vol. II, pp. 34-104.

⁸ The *Acta Pekinensia* are Kilian Stumpf's SJ (1655–1720) masterpiece with ca. 1450 folios. Stumpf stayed with different offices at the Imperial court in Peking since 1696 until his death in 1720. Among others he was procurator and visitor of the Jesuits, director of the Astronomical Bureau *Qintian jian* and builder of the first modern glass workshop in China. The first two volumes were published in 2015 and 2019 in the English translation, two more are to be expected.

The group travelled to São Salvador de Bahia (Brazil), then to Lisbon where they arrived on 7 September 1708. They had an audience with king João V (reign 1706-1750) of Portugal. He decided to send an extraordinary ambassador to Rome to deal about the Chinese Rites (Menegon, 2023). Provana, Arjó, Fan and Noël reached Rome on 20 February 1709. The Chinese documents were presented to Clement XI in presence of the Jesuits general superior Michelangelo Tamburini (from 1706-1730). Clement XI made the documents be translated into Latin and convoked the Congregation of the Holy Office to debate about the material. But in Rome also started a calumniate campaign against Provana that he did not have diplomatic credentials from the emperor (Meynard, 2017, p. 24). To defend his legation and the attitude of the Jesuits concerning the Chinese Rites he presented five Memorials to the Pope in 1709 to defend his legation and the Jesuit method. The procurator of Tournon, Giovanni Jacopo Fatinelli (1653-1736), confuted the memorials on August 8, 1709. He was answered by the Jesuit Luigi Vincenzo Mamiani della Rovere (1652-1730).⁹

Among others, Provana brought to Rome the first section of the *Acta Pekinensia* and the Latin translation of 59 documents from the imperial archives relating to the Tournon-legation (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. xl). This set of documents brought to Europe was printed under the title *Atti imperiali autentici di varj Trattati, passati nella regia Corte di Pekino tra l'Imperatore della Cina, e M. Patriarca Antiocheni al presente Sig. Cardinale di Tournon. Negli Anni 1705., et 1706* (s.l., s.a., probably in 1710 or 1711), and printed a second time in vol. II of *Memorie storiche dell'Eminentissimo Monsignor Cardinale Di Tournon esposte con munumenti [sic] rari ed autentici non più dati alla luce*, vol. III (Venezia, 1761).¹⁰ Clement XI gave Kangxi an answer in form of a Brief dated 2 of March 1709. He thanked him for his original benevolence against Tournon and the missionaries but at the same time asks Kangxi to tolerate the prohibition of the Chinese Rites because they were not compatible with Christianity (Standaert, 2001, p. 361). There is, however, the question if this brief ever reached Kangxi.

For ten years Provana was denied to return to China. Only in 1719 he could start again after the Kangxi Emperor had issued the so-called "Red Manifesto" of 1716 which confirmed that Provana was an Imperial ambassador; it arrived in Rome in 1718. Only then Provana could no longer be retained in Europe and received the permission to travel to China (Rosso, 1948, p. 203). He was not entrusted with any mission from Clement XI to Kangxi, but the Pope was to send a second legate to China, Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba (1685-1741) (Meynard, 2017, p. 25). Provana, however, died on sea off the Cape of Good Hope in March 1720 and was buried in Canton in September with exceptional funeral honours given by the Kangxi Emperor to his legate. Provana's Chinese companion, now an ordained Jesuit, Louis Fan Shouyi, brought the news and Provana's papers to Peking and to the Emperor (Witek, 1999, p. 332f). Besides, Fan Shouyi also wrote a report about his impressions in Europe (Bertuccioli, 1999).

Among others, Provana brought to Rome the first section of the "Acta Pekinensia" and the Latin translation of 59 documents from the imperial archives relating to the Tournon-legation

5.4. Another failed Legation Concerning the Rites of 1712

For a long time, the Jesuits could prevent that the news about the prohibition of the Chinese Rites reached the Imperial court, because they were afraid that this would enrage the Emperor. A short time before Chinese New Year of 1712, however, the Jesuits got to know that the

9 Namely, *La verità, e l'innocenza de' missionarj della Compagnia di Giesù nella Cina...* (s.l., ca. 1710).

10 The preface of the *Atti imperiali* is translated into English in: Rosso, 1948, pp. 179-181.

Emperor had not given up his plans for a legation to Rome and that he wanted to send a new legation of Jesuits to Europe. This time, the Jesuits should travel via Moscow. After long discussions, because French Jesuits would not be welcome by Peter the Great, the Jesuits hoped that perhaps one of the missionaries sent by the *Propaganda Fide* could join the delegation. After long discussions of several days, the Jesuits proposed to send the Austrian Jesuit, Xavier Ehrenbert Fridelli (1673-1743), and the Portuguese Jesuit João Mourão (1681-1726). At first, Kangxi confirmed them as his delegates, but then stopped out of political motives because of the attitude of Moscow (Reil, 1978, p. 147-153; Standaert, 2001, p. 361).

5.5. The Hong Piao (Manifest Rouge) 1716

During the next years, the Kangxi Emperor still waited for the return of his delegates. In 1716 he made another attempt to get information from Rome. In 1715 Clement XI issued the Apostolic Constitution *Ex illa die* reinforcing all decrees concerning the prohibitions of the Chinese Rites until then. So, in the end of 1716, the Jesuits could no longer prevent that the prohibitions became known by the Emperor, for on October 29, 1716, the Emperor had received a letter from the Jesuits' Procurator in Lisbon who informed him about the intervention of the King of Portugal against the prohibition of the Rites. Kangxi who still waited for the return of his envoy António Provana from Europe with a direct answer from the Pontiff decided to send a public demand to Clement XI, a so-called *pragmatica*. He admonished Rome not to act in secrecy but openly deal with him. The document was not sent in the Emperor's name, who had written the Manchu text, but in the name of Mandarins and Europeans at court who translated it and signed the letter.¹¹ This document, the famous *Hong Piao*, "Red Manifesto", a "pragmatica", i.e. an official document of the State, also called "Litterae patentes", was printed in Manchu, Chinese and Latin (Rosso, 1948, p. 192).

This document, the famous Hong Piao, "Red Manifesto", a "pragmatica", i.e. an official document of the State, also called "Litterae patentes", was printed in Manchu, Chinese and Latin

In compliance with His Majesty's Imperial Order, We, the Intendants of the Imperial Press at the Wuyingdian, Ytouri (Yi Duli), Voamtaohoa (Wang Daohua), Tchaotcham (Zhao Chang), respectfully announce to all who have come from West the following manifesto:

In the 45th year of the Kangxi reign the Westerners Fr António de Barros, S.J. [Long Anguo] and Fr Antoine de Beauvillier, S.J. [Bo Xianshi] were appointed Imperial envoys. During the 47th year of the Kangxi reign the Westerners Fr Giuseppe Provana, S.J. [Ai Ruose], and Fr José Raimundo de Arxo, S.J. [Lu Ruose], were likewise appointed envoys, received their Imperial orders, and departed for the West.

For these many years until the present, there has not only been no written contact from them, but other missives difficult to interpret or validate have been received. For this reason, another letter [to Rome] was sent via the Russians which we hope reached its destination.

Certainly, until the men we dispatched have returned and these matters settled no credence can be placed in other explanations. If our envoys fail to return, we will have no positive evidence for whatever other letters may be had, and thus we cannot place our trust in them.

¹¹ The translation was started on November 3rd and finished the 5th.

Therefore, fearing that our [most recent] letter will fail to reach its destination, this manifesto, with Western language text appended, has been printed and given the seal of the Provincial Governor of Guangdong Province. It is an open-letter to be copied and distributed among all Westerners who arrive that they may carry back for distribution.

[Dated] 17th day of the 9th month of the 55th year of Kangxi [October 31, 1716].¹²

The “Red Manifesto” was signed by all missionaries at court and distributed in 300 copies to ships in Canton in November 1716. 500 more copies were sent via the continent with a Russian delegation.¹³

5.6. The delegation of Niccolò Gianpriamo

Only one single Jesuit succeeded to travel through the whole countryside between China and Europe as envoy of the Kangxi Emperor, namely Niccolò Gianpriamo (1686-1759). He was born nearby Naples and reached the court in Peking as a mathematician in 1717. Therefore, he was present when in 1721 a second papal legation arrived at the Imperial court, that of Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba (1685-1741). He had several audiences with the Emperor, but his hands were bound by the orders he had received in Rome from the Holy See. During the last audience the Emperor and Mezzabarba came to an agreement, namely that the status of the Rites should be maintained until he would return from Rome with new instructions from the Pontiff (Rosso, 1948, pp. 207-211). Kangxi asked Mezzabarba to bring letters, gifts and imperial decrees to Clement XI together with the so-called “Mandarins’ Diary”, a protocol about the delegation from the side of the Manchu Mandarins of the Imperial Household.¹⁴ Some days after Mezzabarba had left Peking for Canton, Niccolò Gianpriamo joined a returning Russian delegation. Kangxi had asked the Russian legate count Lev Vasilevich Izmailov (1685-1738) to allow Gianpriamo to join the Russian delegation. The delegation started in Peking on 13 of March 1721. In this case it was possible for Gianpriamo to travel with the official permission of Tsar Peter the Great through Russia and to return to Italy. Despite all hindrances through the Tsar, he reached Rome in October 1722. Gianpriamo delivered the documents concerning the negotiations between the Kangxi Emperor and Mezzabarba to Innocent XIII. The legate wished to revise several documents, which was not conceded. In Rome, Gianpriamo swore a statement that his report was true. But again, it was decided against the Jesuits’ attitude in the Rites Controversy (Witek, 1999, pp. 333-336).

In Rome, Gianpriamo swore a statement that his report was true. But again, it was decided against the Jesuits’ attitude in the Rites Controversy

6. Résumé

During the reign of the Kangxi Emperor the first real attempts started to have relations from China to Europe, and from Europe to China. Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon sent by the Holy See tried to establish diplomatic relations with the Chinese court during his legation. These plans, however, failed because Kangxi had another understanding of exchange with Rome and did not want the kind of diplomacy common in Europe at that time. On the

12 Chinese text and English translation in Rosso, 1948, p. 308f.

13 See Stumpf, K. Letter, 25th of June, 1717, and Letter, 18th of November, 1717, ARSJ, JS 177, ff. 329v and 471r.

14 For a translation of the Mandarins’ Diary, signed by the court Jesuits, see Rosso, 1948, pp. 343-374.

other hand, the Emperor tried to communicate five times his idea about the living together of Confucianism and Christianity in China by legates, and two times by statements (*Declaratio Imperatoris*, Hong Piao), but these attempts were not accepted from the side of the Holy See. That means that the planned relations failed more or less in both directions. The Emperor did not want to have relations in the European way but in the Chinese way with people whom he trusted and were loyal servants fulfilling special tasks. Therefore, he chose Jesuits as translators who signed his statements about the Rites and whom he used for his embassies to Europe, because he knew them since his youth, he trusted them, they knew the laws, customs and conventions, and languages of both Europe and China. But besides their official imperial mission to Rome, the Jesuits also worked for the exchange of culture and knowledge between the two ends of the continent. At least in this function they were more successful than in their mission of religious dialogue

References

- Bertuccioli, F. (1999). Fan Shouyi e il suo viaggio in Occidente. In M. Fatica & F. D'Arelli (eds.), *La Missione Cattolica in Cina tra i secoli XVIII-XIX. Matteo Ripa e il Collegio dei Cinesi* (pp. 341-419). Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Bouvet, J. (2005). *Journal des voyages*. Ricci Institute.
- Carhart, M. (2019). *Leibniz discovers Asia. Social networking in the Republic of Letters*. Johns Hopkins University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1353/book.66175>
- Chan, A. (1982). *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*. University of Oklahoma Press. <https://doi.org/10.1179/014703782788764684>
- Collani, C. (2012). The Kangxi emperor, Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon and Matteo Ricci. *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 34, 21-44.
- Collani, C. (2014). Kangxi's Mandate of Heaven and Papal Authority. In S-J. Deiwiiks & B. Führer (eds.), *Europe meets China. China meets Europe. The Beginnings of Europe-an-Chinese Scientific Exchange in the 17th Century* (pp. 177-209). Steyler Verlag.
- Collani, C. (2022). Der Landweg nach China: der Weg zwischen West und Ost. In C. Wiener, V. Lukas & J. Oswald (eds.), *Ein Dillinger in Indien. P. Heinrich Roth SJ (1620-1668)*. Schnell & Steiner.
- Collani, C. (2023). *Der ursprüngliche Sinn der Himmelslehre (Tianxue benyi). Joachim Bouvets (1656-1730) frühe Missionstheologie in China. Analyse, Transkription und Übersetzung der lateinischen Fassungen*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/b23049>
- Collani, C. (1995). Une légation à Rome manquée: Joachim Bouvet et Sabino Mariani. In *Actes du VI^e Colloque international de Sinologie de Chantilly 1989. Images de la Chine: le Contexte occidental de la Sinologie naissante* (vol. 78, pp. 277-301). Variétés Sinologiques – Nouvelle Série.
- Collani, C. (2019). The Jesuits Andreas Koffler and Michael Boym at the Court of the Yongli Emperor. *Guo xue yu xi xue - International Journal of Sino-Western studies*, 17, 111-134. <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12424/3962387>
- Dehergne, J. (1973). *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*. Institutum Historicum S.I.

- Hildermeier, M. (2013). *Geschichte Russlands vom Mittelalter bis zur Oktoberrevolution*. Beck.
- Kircher, A. (1667). *China monumentis: qua sacris qua profanis, nec non variis naturae & artis spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illustrata*. Joannes Janssonius.
- Leibniz, G. W. (2006). *Der Briefwechsel mit den Jesuiten in China (1689–1714)*. In R. Widmaier (ed.), *Textherstellung und Übersetzung von Malte-Ludolf Babin*. Meiner.
- Menegon, E. (N. D.). Provana, Antonio. *Treccani*. [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-provana_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-provana_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)
- Meynard, T. (2017). Fan Shouyi, A Bridge Between China and the West under the Rite Controversy. *Annales Missiologici Posnanienses*, 22. <https://doi.org/10.14746/amp.2017.22.2>
- Pelliot, P. (1930). *Le premier voyage de "L'Amphitrite" en Chine*. Librairie Orientaliste.
- Perdue, P. C. (2010). *China marches West. The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia*. Belknap Press.
- Pfister, L. (1932-1934). *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne Mission de la Chine*. Impr. de la Mission Catholique, 1932-1934.
- Reil, S. (1978). *Kilian Stumpf 1655–1720. Ein Würzburger Jesuit am Kaiserhof zu Peking*. Aschendorff.
- Rodrigues, V. L. (2013). Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, SJ, Imperial Envoy to Europe, and His Secret Mission. *Acta Pekinensia. Western Historical Sources for the Kangxi Reign. Proceedings of the International Symposium*, 341-369.
- Rosso, A. S. (1948). *Apostolic legations to China of the eighteenth century*. P. D. and I. Perkins.
- Rule, P. (2011). The Jesuits and the Ming–Qing Transition: How Did Boym and Martini Find Themselves on Opposite Sides? *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies*, 59(1), 243-258. <https://doi.org/10.1179/mon.2011.59.1.012>
- Sebes, J. (1961). *The Jesuits and the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1690): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* Institutum Historicum S.I.
- Sebes, J. (1988). The Precursors of Ricci. In C. E. Ronan (ed.), *East meets West. The Jesuits in China, 1582–1773* (pp. 19-61). Loyola University.
- Standaert, N. (ed.). (2001). *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635-1800*. Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004391857>
- Stumpf, K. (2015). *The Acta Pekinensia or Historical Records of the Maillard de Tournon Legation. Volume One: December 1705–August 1705*. Monumenta Historica S.I.
- Stumpf, K. (2019). *The Acta Pekinensia or Historical Records of the Maillard de Tournon Legation. Volume 2. September 1706 – December 1707*. Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004396579>
- Witek, J. W. (1999). Sent to Lisbon, Paris and Rome: Jesuit Envoys of the Kangxi Emperor. In M. Fatica & F. D'Arelli (eds.), *La missione cattolica in Cina tra i secoli XVIII–XIX: Matteo Ripa e il Collegio dei cinesi; Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Napoli, 11–12 febbraio 1997* (pp. 317-40). Istituto Universitario Orientale Collana "Matteo Ripa".