

Beginning with Obstacles: The First Attempts of the Propaganda Fide to Establish Relations with China

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[Abstract] During the early Qing dynasty, the situation in the China mission became more and more complex. At the beginning of early modern times, Italian Jesuits like Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) under the Portuguese Padroado succeeded in opening the China mission by the method of accommodation and in this way got into contact with Chinese scholars. The *Societas Jesu* and Portugal kept China closed off to other orders. Only after 1630 could Spanish Mendicants coming via the Philippines start their missions in Southern China. The foundation of Propaganda Fide in 1622 was done with the intention to free mission from national interests by creating the office of Vicars Apostolic in the Far East. The first Vicar Apostolic who could enter China, however, was François Pallu, MEP (1626–1684) in 1684. He started a new era of the China mission which became quite prospective with the Edict of Tolerance issued by the Kangxi Emperor (1662–1722) in 1692. More and more missionaries followed: Jesuits from Portugal, Italy and the Holy Empire of German Nation sent by the Portuguese Padroado, Spanish Mendicants from the Philippines, French Jesuits sent by Louis XIV, Italian Franciscans, Lazarists and members of the “Missions Étrangères de Paris” sent by Propaganda Fide. The good conditions and intentions to bring salvation to the Chinese people, however, did not bring success but caused new problems because of different national interests, theological backgrounds and ecclesiastical politics. In 1693 the Vicar Apostolic of Fujian, Charles Maigrot MEP (1652–1730) started anew the Rites Controversy which led to the disastrous papal legation of Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710) to the imperial court from 1705–1706.

In my paper I want to describe the first attempts of Apostolic Legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710) to establish in Peking permanent diplomatic relations between China and the Holy See through the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide). One reason why these attempts failed was the close connection with the question of the Chinese Rites and Terms whereas another reason was Tournon's personality.

Prehistory: the question of the first Vicars Apostolic

In early modern times, China was the utopia and dream of missionaries of all religious orders who wanted to convert its emperor, hoping that then his people would follow and afterwards all other tributary nations. Especially missionaries of three powers wanted to go to China for its conversion: Portugal, Spain and the Propaganda Fide. The Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuits, was the first to start mission in China with Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), followed by other Jesuits from different nations. Since 1630, Spanish mendicants (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians) from the Philippines came to China, and in 1688, French Jesuits sent by Louis XIV arrived there. In principle, the region of the Far East belonged to the sphere of influence of Portugal with its *Padroado*, meaning that only the Portuguese crown could send missionaries and had to sustain them, as well as build cathedrals, cloisters, monasteries, and convents, and to pay bishops. The Portuguese missionaries, however, were joined by missionaries from other orders, but they had to swear an oath to the Portuguese crown.¹

As it is well-known, the main purpose for founding the Propaganda Fide in 1622 was to strengthen the missions and to organize the missionary activities centered in and sustained by Rome independently from national interests and influence. An indigenous clergy with an indigenous hierarchy would be educated in and for the mission countries to create a local church instead of only a mission.² In East Asia and Southern East Asia, this procedure attacked directly the two Iberian powers of Spain and Portugal. In the course of the 17th century, however, it became clear that Portugal could no longer meet its obligations for the mission because it lacked personal and financial means. There were not enough Portuguese-run dioceses, they were too vast, and there was a considerable

¹ Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635-1800*. (Handbook of Oriental Studies, section 4: China 15/1. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 4: China 15) (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), 286.

² Standaert, *Handbook*, 289f.

lack of priests, which could not be met by Portugal even by sending missionaries of other nations. The Jesuits worked closely together with the Portuguese crown, but even by sending Jesuits from other nations it was impossible to have enough missionaries.³ Therefore, from the perspective of the papacy, the necessity of an indigenous clergy and an indigenous hierarchy became urgent, and they could continue the mission even in times of persecutions.⁴

The Propaganda Fide started founding Apostolic Vicariates, quasi-bishoprics in the Far East. Beginning in 1576, Macau was the only diocese for the whole of China and was dependent on the archdiocese Goa.⁵ The transmission to an indigenous hierarchy should be solved by the erection of Apostolic Vicariates, which should be occupied by titular bishops without jurisdiction, directly dependent to the Holy See.⁶ To get sufficient candidates for the Far East a missionary congregation was founded by the initiative of the Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes (1591–1660) in France in 1660, *the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris* (the Paris Foreign Mission Society, MEP). The secular priests of the MEP worked for a certain time in East Asia and Southern East Asia to promote the education of an indigenous clergy with hierarchy.⁷

With the papal brief, *Super Cathedram* of September 9, 1659, Alexander VII subdivided East Asia into three vast Apostolic Vicariates, independent from Macau: Nanking (China), Tonkin (today Northern Vietnam), and Cochinchina (Southern Vietnam). These Vicariates had also the administration of provinces in China. The three Vicariates were headed by members of the MEP: by François Pallu (1625–1684, titular bishop of Heliopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin); Pierre Lambert de la Motte (1624–1679, titular bishop of Beryte and Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina); and Ignazio Cotolendi (1630–1662, titular bishop of Metellopolis, Vicar Apostolic of Nanjing).⁸

³ At first the Society of Jesus had the exclusive right to spread the Gospel under the Padroado. Standaert, *Handbook*, 296.

⁴ Adelhelm Jann, *Die katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan: ihre Organisation und das portugiesische Patronat vom 15. bis ins 18. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1915), 210-213.

⁵ Jann, *Missionen*, 170-173.

⁶ Jann, *Missionen*, 214, 254. For more information about the Propaganda Fide see the articles in the volumes edited by Josef Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum I/1-III* (Freiburg: Herder, 1971-1973), 38-196.

⁷ *BM V*, Nr. 1674. Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe III: A Century of Advance. 1: Trade, Missions, Literature* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1993), 231f.

⁸ Josef Metzler, *Die Synoden in Indochina 1625–1934* (Paderborn, München: Schöningh, 1984), 11f.

The Siamese capital Ayutthaya, an important center of commerce, became the first station of the MEP in the East under its ruler, Phrai Narai (Narai the Great, 1656–1688), who favored foreigners and the Christian religion.⁹ The MEP held a synod there and issued a document, the *Monita ad Missionarios* (1664), and founded a seminary for the education of future priests for East Asia.¹⁰ These new jurisdictional appointments by Propaganda Fide came very suddenly and therefore caused conflicts with the Iberian nations.¹¹

Missionaries of the Propaganda Fide Going to China

The only one of the first Vicars Apostolic, François Pallu, reached the province of Fujian together with Charles Maigrot (1652–1730) in 1684. Three Italian Reformed Franciscans sent by the Propaganda Fide arrived in the same year, among them Bernardino della Chiesa (1644–1721, titular bishop of Argolis).¹² A short time before he died, Pallu named Maigrot as his successor as administrator and Vicar Apostolic of four Chinese provinces, while della Chiesa was made Vicar Apostolic of five provinces.¹³ The coming of Pallu, however, changed the attitude of the members of the MEP in China towards the Chinese Rites. Pallu had arrived in China with a negative attitude concerning the Jesuits and their methods of missionizing. During his travels he had met the Dominican Domingo Fernandez Navarrete (1610–1689) in 1671, and both became friends.¹⁴ Fernandez Navarrete, an adversary of the Jesuits and of their attitude towards

⁹ Metzler, *Synoden*, 14f.

¹⁰ Metzler, *Synoden*, 25. The booklet *Instructiones ad munera Apostolica ritè obeunda Perutiles Missionibus Chinæ, Tunchini, Cochinchinæ, atq[ue] Siami accommodatæ, a Missionarijs S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Juthiæ Regia Siami congregatis Anno Domini 1665, concinnatæ...* (Romæ 1669) describes the method which should be used or not used by missionaries sent by the Propaganda Fide. It promoted a kind of accommodation, which, however, should not go as far as the accommodation of the Jesuits.

¹¹ Jann, *Missionen*, 174-176.

¹² Anastasius van den Wyngaert, Georges Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana V: Relationes et epistolas Illmi D. Fr. Bernardini Della Chiesa O.F.M.*, ed. Anastasius van den Wyngaert, Georges Mensaert (Roma: Collegium S. Antonii, 1954), XXXIV-XXXVII. Della Chiesa started from Europe in 1680 and arrived in 1684 together with Giovanni Nicolai da Leonissa (1656–1737) and Basilio Brollo da Gemona (1648–1704).

¹³ van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana V*, XLI.

¹⁴ François Pallu, “Lettre, aux procureurs des Vicaires Apostoliques, Madagascar, 4 août 1671,” in *Lettres de Monseigneur Pallu écrites de 1654 à 1684* (Paris: Indes savantes, 2008), 156; J.S. Cummins, *A Question of Rites. Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 175f.

Chinese Rites and Terms wanted to fight the decision of the Holy Office that had favored Martino Martini's SJ (1614–1661) representation of the Rites in 1656.¹⁵ Even before he arrived in China, Pallu became convinced that the China mission was in a miserable condition and he was the one to solve the problems there.¹⁶ Therefore, he started the initiative that the Vicars Apostolic should govern all missionaries in China. He obtained the Brief, *Cum haec Sancta Sedes* (October 10, 1678) from the Pope that mandated an oath of obedience from all religious orders to the Vicars Apostolic to confirm the rights of the Vicars. All missionaries would have to work under this rule, under punishment of excommunication.¹⁷ We can imagine that problems soon started with the Portuguese and Spanish crowns and the religious orders.¹⁸

Whereas the Jesuits obeyed, the Spanish mendicants were forbidden by their oath to the Spanish crown to do so. When they refused, Pallu suspended them from their missionary activity.¹⁹ After Pallu's death, his successor as administrator, Maigrot, demanded the oath even from his colleagues, the Vicars Apostolic della Chiesa and Gregorio López OP (1617 – 1691, Luo Wenzao 羅文藻).²⁰ Both refused, and finally della Chiesa, the only consecrated bishop then in China, dispensed all missionaries from the oath, despite Maigrot's opposition.²¹ After an official complaint by the canonist Alvaro de Benavente OSA (1647–1709, later Vicar Apostolic of Jiangxi) sent by the Spanish mendicants and della Chiesa to Rome, Innocent XI abolished the obligation for all religious men on November 23, 1688, but they had to accept apostolic visitations.²²

The relations between Rome, the Vicars Apostolic, and the missionaries were complicated because of the vast distance to Rome and because of the special rights of

¹⁵ J.S. Cummins, ed., *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete 1618-1686*, II (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1962), 425-430; Metzler, *Synoden*, 31.

¹⁶ François Pallu, "Lettre, à M. de Nesmond, Fort-Dauphin, 4 août 1671", in: *Lettres*, 739; cf. Cummins, *Travels*, 426.

¹⁷ Jann, *Missionen*, 247-250.

¹⁸ Jann, *Missionen*, 246.

¹⁹ Van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, XXXVI.

²⁰ Gregorio López was Vicar Apostolic of Nanking since 1674 and titular bishop of Basilinopolis, he was consecrated by Della Chiesa in 1685. Van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, XLIII.

²¹ Anastase Van den Wyngaert, "Mgr Fr. Pallu et Mgr Bernardin della Chiesa. Le serment de fidélité aux Vicaires Apostoliques 1680-1688", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 31 (1938) 17-47; Van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, XXXVIII.

²² Guy Tachard SJ (1651–1712) succeeded to do the same for the Jesuits. Van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, XXXIX, 266. – Benavente was titular bishop of Ascalon, he was consecrated by della Chiesa in 1700.

the different orders. After Pallu's death in 1684, Maigrot was confirmed as Vicar Apostolic for Fujian by the Propaganda Fide in 1687, while della Chiesa still administered four provinces. Pedro II of Portugal (1683–1706), however, succeeded in receiving new concessions from Alexander VIII in 1690, so that Portugal obtained rights to two more dioceses, Peking and Nanking. In 1696, Portugal extended the boundaries of its new dioceses so that they included the whole of China. Propaganda Fide, however, continued with its efforts to establish Apostolic Vicariates. To conciliate Propaganda Fide, Portugal proposed that Gregorio López and della Chiesa should become bishops of its newly created bishoprics. It took, however, several years until they received the briefs for their nomination. In the meantime, López died, whereas della Chiesa received his nomination as bishop of Peking only in 1700. Innocent XII then ordered these dioceses to include two provinces each; the other nine provinces became Vicariates; and Maigrot was named Vicar Apostolic of Fujian and titular bishop of Conon.²³

His unpleasant experiences with Portugal made della Chiesa suspicious. He proposed that Propaganda Fide send an Apostolic Delegate to China and install a superior for all missionaries there.²⁴ In his letter to Propaganda Fide, della Chiesa complained that the Portuguese impeded the coming of new missionaries to China,²⁵ and in a letter to Innocent XII, dated October 12, 1696, della Chiesa asked again for a delegate from Rome with the complete necessary authority and independent from Portugal.²⁶ In the meantime, the situation had changed for Portugal and the Jesuits because Louis XIV of France had sent five French Jesuits to China. They arrived in China in 1688, but from the beginning of their time in China, they met the opposition of the Portuguese Jesuits.²⁷

Earlier, in 1685, Canton (Guangzhou) was opened as port for foreign trade, and then in 1692, the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (1662 – 1722) issued his Edict of Toleration in favor of Christianity.²⁸ During his fourth Southern tour of 1703, however, the Kangxi

²³ Della Chiesa as the only acting bishop in China consecrated Maigrot on 14 March 1700. *Sincia Franciscana* V, 411.

²⁴ Van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, LII; Bernardino della Chiesa, “Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., Nanking, 19 Decembris 1695”, *Sincia Franciscana* V, 336: “De necessitate in Sinis delegate S. Sedis ad dirimendas contentiones inevitabiles inter episcopos lusitanos et missionaries non lusitanos”.

²⁵ Della Chiesa, “Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., Nanking, 10 Octobris 1696”. *Sincia Franciscana* V, 347f.

²⁶ Della Chiesa, “Epistola ad Innocentium Papam XII, Nanking, 12 Octobris 1696”. *Sincia Franciscana* V, 350f.

²⁷ Standaert, *Handbook*, 313-318.

²⁸ Standaert, *Handbook*, 297; Jürgen Osterhammel, *China und die Weltgesellschaft. Vom 18. Jahrhundert bis in unsere Zeit* (München: Beck, 1989), 111-112.

Emperor found many new missionaries from different nations wandering at will who were buying houses and opening churches. Despite the fact that Kangxi was convinced of the good character of most missionaries, he remained on his guard. When he met many groups of missionaries whom he had not expected and whom he did not know, he became angry because he feared political activities.²⁹ He instructed the Jesuits at court that he wanted to have control over all missionaries under a common superior. This superior, however, should have his permission. Without the permit of this superior, no new missionary should open new churches and houses. Further, missionaries of different nations should live in one house. This general superior also should make an exact catalogue with the names of all missionaries. Fr. Claudio Filippo Grimaldi SJ (1638–1712), the Director of the Bureau for Astronomy, the oldest Jesuit at court and visitor of his order, asked for delay because in the case of the Jesuits, their superior had to be nominated by the Jesuits' general superior in Rome. Nonetheless, Grimaldo promised to deliver a catalogue with the names of the Jesuits.³⁰

The Apostolic Delegation of Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon to China

The new start of the Chinese Rites Controversy

After 1680, the situation in the China mission appeared promising. Many new missionaries had arrived in China. Besides the Jesuits sent by the Portuguese Padroado,³¹ after 1630, Spanish mendicants (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians) came via the Philippines. French Jesuits,³² secular priests and members of the Paris Foreign Mission Society sent by the Propaganda Fide arrived in China.³³ Emperor Kangxi had issued his

²⁹ See *Atti Imperiali autentici di varj Trattati, passata nella Regia Corte di Pekino tra l'Imperatore della Cina, e M. Patriarca Antiocheno al presente Sig. Cardinale di Tournon. Negli anni 1705., e 1706, s.l., s.a., document III, 5.* Della Chiesa, „Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., Lintsing, 4 Octobris 1704,” *Sincia Franciscana* V, 477. – Jonathan D. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor: Bondservant and Master* (New Haven, London: Yale Univ. Press, 1966), 131f, 134f, 137: there was no institution to deal with them. Kangxi's 4th Southern Tour was in 1702–1703 with the heir apparent, with the future Yongzheng emperor and the 13th son.

³⁰ Della Chiesa, “Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., Lintsing, 4 Octobris 1704.” *Sincia Franciscana* V, 477f; cf. Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China. Self-Portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), 81.

³¹ They belonged to the Chinese Vice-Province.

³² The French Jesuits became independent from the Vice-Province with their own superior since 1700, only under the rule of the common Jesuit visitor.

³³ Standaert, *Handbook*, 286-300.

Edict of Toleration and had a number of Jesuits in his service at court.³⁴ But China soon became the place of a new outbreak of the Rites Controversy with the Mandate of Charles Maigrot of 1693. In that document, he forbade all Chinese names for God (*Tian* 天, *Shangdi* 上帝, *Taiji* 太極) besides *Tianzhu* 天主 and the participation of Chinese Christians in the Rites for the Ancestors and Confucius. When brought to the Holy Office, his Mandate was approved with its prohibitions on November 20, 1704. This decision was to be first published in China by a special papal *legatus a latere*, Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710).³⁵

In the meantime, the Jesuits collected material from Chinese and Manchus to defend their position. They believed that the Rites had a purely political and non-religious meaning, and they refuted Maigrot's Mandate regarding the names for God. The most important expert was the Kangxi Emperor himself, to whom the Court Jesuits submitted a petition on November 30, 1700. They asked him for his expertise concerning the names for God and the Rites. In their interpretation, the souls of the dead ancestors did not reside in the ancestral tablets, but these tablets only constituted a symbol of the ancestors who should be thanked. The petition reads:

“Regarding the sacrifices accustomed to be offered to Heaven by the ancient kings and emperors, they are those which the philosophers of China call *Jiao she* [郊社]; that is sacrifices dedicated to Heaven and Earth, in which they say *Shangdi* himself, or the Supreme Lord, is cultivated, and for this same reason, the tablet before which these sacrifices are offered, bears this inscription: Shangdi, that is, the Supreme Lord. From this it is clear that these sacrifices are not offered to the visible and material sky but specifically to the Author and Lord of Heaven, Earth and all things, whom, since they out of great fear and respect do not dare to call him by his own name, they are accustomed to invoke under the names of Supreme Heaven, Beneficent Heaven and Universal Heaven. In the same way, when they speak reverently about the Emperor himself, out of respect in reference to the Emperor they use terms like: beneath the steps of the Throne, or the Greatest Hall of the Palace. These terms differ in themselves but in fact in regard to what is being named are plainly one and the same.”³⁶

³⁴ Kilian Stumpf SJ, *The Acta Pekinensia or Historical Records of the Maillard de Tournon Legation. Volume 1 December 1705–August 1706*, by Kilian Stumpf S.J., edited by Paul Rule and Claudia von Collani (Monumenta Historica S.I. Nova Series 9) IHSI-MRI (Rome-Macau: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2015), LXVI-LXVIII.

³⁵ Standaert, *Handbook*, 683.

³⁶ Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia* 1, LXXXII.

After the Emperor had read this petition, he answered: “All that is contained in this document is well expressed, and in complete agreement with the Great Teaching. It is the common law of the whole world to offer appropriate respect to Heaven, Lords, Parents, Masters and Ancestors. What is contained in this document is very truthful and there is absolutely nothing that requires amendment.”³⁷

An authenticated copy was sent to Clement XI in Rome with a covering letter. The *Declaratio*, however, was refused by adversaries of the Rites. For them it was falsified by the Jesuits, it was only issued by the Emperor to please the Jesuits, a pagan/atheist prince was no expert in theological things.³⁸ Only three weeks after the arrival of the document, Tournon was nominated as legate.³⁹ In the course of Tournon’s stay in Peking the question of this *Declaratio* played an important role.

Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (or Carlo Tommaso) was born into a noble family in the dukedom of Savoy on December 21, 1668. He had obtained a degree in *utroque iure* in Nice and started a career in Rome. Rather suddenly he was asked if he wanted to go to China as a papal legate. He accepted at the end of September 1701 and was elected titular patriarch of Antioch on December 5, 1701 and consecrated December 21, 1701. By the apostolic brief of July 4, 1702, he was appointed apostolic visitor with faculties of *legatus a latere* to China and the kingdoms of the East Indies. He started his journey to the Far East with his entourage on February 9, 1703. He landed in Pondicherry and in Coromandel in November 1703, and arrived in Macau on April 2, 1705 after a stay in the Philippines.⁴⁰

The story of this legation was told by the court Jesuit, Kilian Stumpf (1655–1720) in his masterpiece, the *Acta Pekinensia*.⁴¹ The Tournon legation was not only a significant event for the European missionaries in Chinas, but also for the Chinese

³⁷ Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia* 1, LXXXIII.

³⁸ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia*, 141.

³⁹ Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia* 1, LXXXIV.

⁴⁰ Eugenio Menegon, “A clash of court cultures: papal envoys in early eighteenth century Beijing”, in *Europe – China Intercultural Encounters (16th–18th Centuries, Lisbon 2012*, ed. Luís Filipe Barreto (Lisboa: Centro científico e cultural de Macau, 2012), 151-155, for his entourage see 157-159; Jann, *Missionen*, 397; Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia*, LI-LIV.

⁴¹ The complete title of the manuscript is: “Acta Pekinensia seu Ephemerides Historiales eorum, quæ Pekini acciderunt à 4.^â Decembris Anni 1705 1.^â adventûs Ill.^{mi} et Exc.^{mi} Dñi. D. Caroli Thomæ Maillard de Tournon Patriarchæ Antiocheni Visitoris Apostolici, cum potestate Legati de latere &c.” A copy of a great part is in: APF: Inform. liber 162 and 166. See the two volumes with an English translation of the first part of the “Acta Pekinensia” see Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1; cf. Standaert, *Handbook*, 680-688.

themselves. For the first time since the beginning of the China mission by Matteo Ricci, a Papal legate visited China and for the first time acknowledged the young Church. Therefore, the Chinese and the Europeans had high expectations which Tournon could not fulfil. In contrast, his visit accelerated the ruin of the mission. Besides the publication of the prohibitions he carried from Rome, Tournon was to investigate the missionaries' opinions concerning the Chinese Rites and Terms. Rome expected him to try to open an office for Propaganda Fide / Pope in Peking as a kind of papal Nunciature, as well as collect and unite all missionaries together under a common superior.⁴² This delegation, however, began under a cloud and was not well prepared. The first problem was that Tournon was too young, too self-confident, only used to the Roman Curia and not to real life, hoping for a future church career, and was already ill when he left Europe.⁴³ Last but not least: he had no idea about the situation at the Imperial court and about the role of the Chinese emperor.

Eugenio Menegon compared the two quite different systems of court culture in China and Europe. In his opinion, the greatest problem for Tournon was that Tournon had no information about the life at the Imperial court, because none of the Jesuits there had been asked and given their advice before Tournon's start. Propaganda Fide only knew some missionaries who came from the provinces, such as Giovan Francesco Nicolai da Leonessa OFM (1656–1737).⁴⁴ The Court Jesuits in Peking, on the other hand, were experts but they were regarded with suspicion by Tournon and his entourage. The results of these different conditions were disastrous for Christianity. The greatest problem, however, was the fact that there were two different ways to deal with other peoples and other religions in China and Europe.⁴⁵

At the least, after his arrival in Southern China Tournon should have asked for advice from the court of Peking. There was even a compatriot of his at an important place at court, namely Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1638–1712), Jesuit visitor and director of the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy, *Qintian jian*.⁴⁶ But Tournon mistrusted the Jesuits.

⁴² Claudia von Collani, "Claudio Filippo Grimaldi S.J. zur Ankunft des päpstlichen Legaten Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon in China", *Monumenta Serica* 42 (1994) 329f.

⁴³ Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia* 1, LIIIf.

⁴⁴ Menegon, "Court cultures", 148. – Giovan Francesco had been in China and been elected Vicar Apostolic of Huguang (1696 until his death). He was in China from 1684–1696, afterwards in Rome where he worked against the Chinese Rites.

⁴⁵ Cf. Menegon, "Court cultures", 141.

⁴⁶ See Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia*, XXXVf. Grimaldi had asked the Emperor several times to invite Tournon to the court. – Both were born into Savoyard nobility and Grimaldi had been guest in Tournon's family when he stayed in Europe 1688–1692 as

Supported by Clement XI, he demonstrated official Roman power with arrogance and displayed choleric behavior during his stay in China, and he condemned many missionaries, priests and books for various reasons.⁴⁷

Tournon arrived in China in the beginning of April 1705.⁴⁸ At first, he decided to go to Peking hiding his business, but then changed his opinion and he wanted the Jesuits at Court to organize an invitation from the Emperor (May 8, 1705). The Jesuit functionaries at Court (the visitor Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, the Vice-Provincial Tomás Pereira 1645–1708, Antoine Thomas 1644–1709, and Jean-François Gerbillon 1654–1707 as French Superior) therefore made the following petition to the Emperor:

“The chief vassal of the Supreme Pontiff, Superior General of all the Missionaries in China, named Duoluo [多羅], accompanied by a doctor and a surgeon, and bringing goods originating in his homeland, is coming to respectfully offer them [i.e. gifts] to Your Majesty. Now his arrival in Canton has been announced by Min Mingwo [閩明我 = Fr. Claudio Filippo Grimaldi].”⁴⁹ At first, Kangxi refused such a visit: *Bu lai ba* 不來吧 “he should not come.”⁵⁰ Only after a petition made by Grimaldi on his knees, Kangxi finally decided to invite the legate to the Imperial Court on July 22, 1705.⁵¹

Rituals and Ceremonies

This legation caused problems because diplomatic practices with other nations common in Europe and also in the Papal States were unknown in China. The Chinese considered themselves to be unique in the world and to have universal importance. The Chinese Emperor as the son of Heaven was also responsible to bring the cosmic order to other nations. Because no other nation was at the same level as China, it could only be dealt with as bearer of tribute. This claim was demonstrated in the whole of East Asia by the rituals and ceremonies of tribute bearing. The legations from special nations bringing tribute stood under the responsibility of the Libu 禮部, the Ministry of Rites. The

imperial legate, von Collani, “Grimaldi”, 333.

⁴⁷ Claudia von Collani, “Kangxi’s Mandate of Heaven and Papal Authority”, in *Europe meets China. China meets Europe. The Beginnings of European-Chinese Scientific Exchange in the 17th Century*, edited by Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks, Bernhard Führer, Therese Geulen (Collectanea Serica) (Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 2014) 185.

⁴⁸ Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia*, LIII.

⁴⁹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 12f.

⁵⁰ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 146.

⁵¹ von Collani, “Kangxi’s Mandate”, 186; Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 15f.

audiences were organized according to exact rules which were taken from Ming dynasty by the Manchus. The official accrediting letters and the gifts of the legations were given to the Libu which surrendered them to the Emperor. The date for the official audience was fixed. This audience was done in presence of the Court in a fixed ritual by reverencing the Emperor with nine kowtows 叩頭. The Emperor then showed his paternal favor for the legates and their rulers by giving gifts.⁵²

Tournon, however, received special treatment from the Emperor: “Let Duoluo, a man who follows spiritual life [xiudaode 修道地], come dressed in the clothing of this country of ours, since he comes to conduct the business of his religion and has not been sent here to bring tribute from the Kings of the Western Sea (大西洋).”⁵³

Tournon started his voyage on September 9, and finally arrived in Peking on December 4, 1705, and stayed there until August 28, 1706.⁵⁴ The ceremonies of Tournon’s reception followed the official guest ritual of the Qing dynasty, but with some modifications for a religious dignitary and because Tournon was ill.⁵⁵ He was given two audiences on December 31, 1705, and on June 29, 1706, and a fare-well audience (June 30, 1706) by the Kangxi Emperor with greatest honors and a modified guest ritual, because he was not a political ambassador but a religious legate.⁵⁶ The intermediaries between the Kangxi Emperor and Tournon were the court Manchu mandarins of the Imperial Household: Heshiheng 赫世亨 (also Hesken or Henkama), Zhao Chang 趙昌 and Zhang Changzhu 張常住, in Manchu Charki.⁵⁷

As demonstration of his power as an official *legatus a latere* of the Catholic Church, he neglected the Jesuits’ expertise about Court ritual. Tournon demanded the Jesuits display their signs of submission with a genuflection and kissing his ring. In vain the Jesuits tried to explain to him that this would be to his disadvantage. But they did as he demanded and showed their submission by bending their knees and kissing Tournon’s ring as symbol of devotion and acknowledgment of the spiritual power (December 30,

⁵² R. Machtetzi, „Tributssystem”, in Wolfgang Franke, *China Handbuch* (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1974), cols. 1419-1424; s.a. John E. Wills, Jr., *Embassies and Illusions. Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K’ang-hsi, 1666-1687* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1984), 25-37.

⁵³ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 16.

⁵⁴ von Collani, „Grimaldi”, 345-347.

⁵⁵ Wills, *Embassies*, 25-37.

⁵⁶ Antonio Sisto Rosso, *Apostolico Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century* (South Pasadena: Perkin, 1948), 159f; von Collani, “Kangxi’s Mandate”, 187.

⁵⁷ Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia*, LXVI-LXXV.

1705).⁵⁸ The Court Jesuit and procurator, Kilian Stumpf (1655–1720), instructed Tournon about the meaning of this genuflection in China. Tournon as the spiritual Master of the Jesuits should be given the reverence he was due, but the Emperor would consider such a rite of submission as an act of jurisdiction exercised in his empire by a foreign Master. But Tournon desired that the Emperor be informed that he was a Master whom this honor was due in Europe, but that the Chinese did not need to render it to him. Tournon had not realized, as Stumpf tells us, that such acts seemed to introduce to the Chinese a jurisdiction from abroad and was therefore suspect to the Emperor, who did not like to see somebody else as Master in his Empire.⁵⁹

The Question of the Superior

At the first glance, it appeared that the Kangxi Emperor and Propaganda Fide agreed in their wish for a superior, but after a closer look one notices their different expectations. On December 25, Kangxi wanted to learn about the business of Tournon's coming to China, for it seemed to be unreasonable to undertake such a long and dangerous journey just out of gratitude. Guo Shilong 郭世隆, the Viceroy of Liangguang from 1702-1707, had written to Fr Pereira in Peking that he had been told by the Patriarch that he was going to *shangliang* 商量, to hold discussions about negotiations with the Emperor.⁶⁰ When asked, Tournon answered that he came to thank His Majesty for the benefits granted to Christianity and to the missionaries. The Mandarins Henkama and Zhang (Charki) liked that answer, but Tournon added: "As for the business matters entrusted to me by His Holiness, it is not fitting that they should be made public. I shall make them known to the person whom His Majesty may wish to delegate for it."⁶¹ Because Tournon did not want to reveal these matters, he would write them down for the Emperor. He discussed the subject only with the Mandarins using the interpreter of his legation, Ludovico Appiani CM (1663–1732), to translate.⁶²

In the written report about the purpose of his coming, Tournon mentioned the Apostolic Visitation was his chief concern. He wrote that he wanted to investigate if the

⁵⁸ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 77.

⁵⁹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 78f.

⁶⁰ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 55. See *Atti Imperiali autentici di varj Trattati, passata nella Regia Corte di Pekino tra l'Imperatore della Cina, e M. Patriarca Antiocheno al presente Sig. Cardinale di Tournon. Negli anni 1705., e 1706, s.l., s.a., document XIV, 40.*

⁶¹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 56.

⁶² Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 59.

missionaries were involved in public affairs or trade. For Kangxi this question was already partly solved because he himself vouched for the Jesuits in Peking, so they needed no further visitation. Would his testimony be accepted everywhere? It was, said Tournon.⁶³ Tournon himself and the Mandarins had the impression that his business was almost completed, namely, to appoint a Superior General. Tournon was so pleased that he wanted to report that fact to the Holy Father. But the Kangxi Emperor was not convinced about Tournon's reasons of coming. When he saw the first draft of the translation of Tournon's report from the Italian language, he said: *Zhege shi wande* (這個是頑的) "This is trifling. Duoluo (the Patriarch) has other matters of greater importance." He was convinced that Tournon did not make such a long and dangerous voyage for such an unimportant matter.⁶⁴

In his letter about the reasons of his coming Tournon thanked the Emperor in the name of the Pope and again raised the question of a superior. He wanted to establish a "person of prudence, integrity, and learning, who would also be Superior for all the Europeans, in order to satisfy the desire of His Beatitude, the service of Your Majesty, and the perfect regulation of this mission."⁶⁵ This person should keep the "correspondence" (corrispondenza) with Europe, meaning to keep permanent relations.⁶⁶ Evidently, Tournon had something in mind like modern formal diplomatic relations between the Holy See and China. But in China such relations were unknown. There existed, as already mentioned, only the system of tribute bearing nations coming to China, but this did not apply to the Holy See. Nonetheless, at the end of the year 1707, Tournon was convinced that the Kangxi Emperor wanted diplomatic relations with European countries and with the Holy See. On December 27, 1707, Tournon wrote to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Fabrizio Paolucci (1651–1726): "I can attest as a matter of certain knowledge that His Majesty, desirous of glory, would like nothing better than that all the princes of Europe would send their ministers."⁶⁷

On December 28, 1705, three days before the first audience, the Kangxi Emperor before granting anything to Tournon, sent the Mandarin Henkama to question Tournon: "1. Would the Lord Patriarch be able to appoint such a Superior on his own authority or would he need to write to the Sovereign Pontiff? 2. Was it not possible for the office to be entrusted to one of the Peking missionaries? 3. Besides those personal gifts required

⁶³ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 60.

⁶⁴ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 63.

⁶⁵ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 64f.

⁶⁶ See *Atti imperiali autentici*, document X, 27 and document XV, 43.

⁶⁷ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 64, footnote 134.

in such a Superior, would it not be better that he should be a man well versed in the language and customs of the Empire and possessing at least a ten-year knowledge of the ways of the Court? This would seem extremely necessary.” If, for example, Henkama would go to Europe and treat European customs simply as he pleased and wished to rule others, this would be meaningless. In China it was the same. A European man recently come from Europe and ignorant of the customs, of the language, the literature and affairs, could not be put in charge of others and would not be acknowledged. Such a man could never decide anything sensibly and so likewise should not be in charge of others.⁶⁸

This gave Tournon the impression that the Emperor had changed his former decision favoring a superior. Henkama denied that there had been any concession, but only a possibility. This led Tournon to reproach His Majesty to have listened to other people, namely to the Jesuits, a dangerous assumption. Fr. Tomás Pereira tried to warn Tournon and his auditor Sabino Mariani (1665–1721) that the Emperor would not tolerate even a shadow of fault in him. Tournon’s interpreter, Appiani, however, translated what Tournon had said, namely that it was as if the Emperor, persuaded by other people, had changed his opinion. That made the Mandarins furious: “Is our Great Lord to be judged by you as so feeble-minded that he listens to whisperers and only after wavering makes the decisions they would want? In managing public and private negotiations he allows himself to be led by reason only, not by any human authority. You are guilty of an absolutely intolerable insult to our Great Monarch.”⁶⁹ But Tournon defended himself that he had good reasons for what he had said and started to threaten the Jesuits that they were to blame and should be recalled from China. Fr. Pereira was the main target of his suspicions, and he considered him to be the grey eminence behind the Emperor who had influenced him against Tournon.⁷⁰ The Mandarins, however, continued to be angry: “How dare they speak so about our Great Lord who has been so helpful to them and everybody else? He came to a decision without due thought? He rashly changed what he had decided? He is unjust and stupid, lending his ear and even his heart to flatterers?”⁷¹ From the Pope’s side, Tournon was free to appoint anyone he wished as superior.⁷² At this time, the Emperor did not receive the court Jesuits so that nobody could assume that he was influenced by them.⁷³ Gerbillon and Pereira were sent

⁶⁸ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 65f.

⁶⁹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 69; cf. Bernardino Della Chiesa, “Epistola ad Emos Cardinales S.C., Lintsing, 12 Novembris 1707”, in *Sincia Franciscana* V, 520.

⁷⁰ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 69.

⁷¹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 70.

⁷² Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 73.

⁷³ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 72.

to Tournon, and he should not write to the Pope without having thought about it diligently. He should be cautious; he had wicked men whose advice he was following.⁷⁴

Two years after these events, della Chiesa informed the Cardinals of the Propaganda Fide about these events and that the Emperor wanted to have as superior one of his “old” Europeans who knew the customs of China and of the court, because a newly arrived person would cause problems. This made Tournon think that Kangxi had changed his mind by giving ear to anybody and being influenced by others, an assumption that caused the anger of the Mandarins who considered this as an attack on their master.⁷⁵

The Audiences

The First Audience (December 31, 1705)

Because Tournon was not only a religious delegate, but also ill,⁷⁶ the Emperor conceded to him a special treatment before and during the first audience. He was permitted to be carried in his chair to the gate of the garden where the audience would take place, and then carried inside.⁷⁷ The place was an Imperial orchard garden in the southwestern part of the palace in a pavilion called *Jin Shan* 金山, the Golden Mountain.⁷⁸ Inside the hall, the ritual of the meeting started with the official, obligatory Imperial question about the Supreme Pontiff’s health. Following the European rules of diplomacy Tournon answered correctly with many polite sentences praising the Emperor.⁷⁹

Kangxi added: “You are quite right in saying that I have been clement to the Europeans: clemency befits a Prince, but only if combined with justice. Clemency should be innate in him, but justice is always before him, urging him to carry out his duty. Until now I have favoured the Europeans, because they have behaved well, and not one of them has done anything deserving punishment. But if they start acting against our laws they will experience the rigour of our penal laws, and I shall not spare them.”⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 73f.

⁷⁵ Della Chiesa, “Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., 12 Novembris 1707”, in *Sincia Franciscana* V, 520-534, especially 521, see also *Atti imperiali*, document VIII, 14-17.

⁷⁶ Tournon was evidently already ill when he started from Rome. He spoke himself about a „lunga malattia”, *Atti imperiali*, document XXXIV, 139.

⁷⁷ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 83f.

⁷⁸ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 80-90.

⁷⁹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 83-86.

⁸⁰ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 85.

After Tournon had been offered some food, the Emperor came back to the purpose of the legation to China and admonished him to explain freely the true reason of his coming to China. Quite probably the Emperor wanted to know how his *Declaratio* of 1700 had been received in Rome. But Tournon answered in an evasive way with polite sentences that he wanted to express the gratitude of the Pope, and to start communications between His Holiness and His Majesty because all European rulers had such relations. In Tournon's mind this agent for the future communication should have the confidence of the Pope and an exact knowledge of the European courts, especially of the Roman Curia, and that this kind of commerce was highly valued by European kings.⁸¹

Kangxi admonished Tournon: "The Chinese have no matters in common with Europe: I only tolerate you because of your religion: you should have no concerns beyond your souls and your doctrine. Even if you have come here from different empires, you all have nevertheless the same religion, and therefore each European staying here is capable of writing and receiving letters from the Pope as you have been talking about."⁸²

Concerning "a man of confidence," Kangxi said:

"Nor do we have any such distinction in China in choosing people. Some are nearer to my throne, others midway, others at a great distance: would anyone, whosoever he be, to whom I entrust some business, be wanting in his due fidelity? Who among you will dare to deceive the Pontiff? Your Religion forbids you to tell lies: whoever lies offends God."

The Patriarch was evasive: "The religious residing here (he speaks about the Jesuits) are indeed good men, but they are totally ignorant of the Papal Court. The legates of princes regularly converge in Rome, together with those who are deeply involved in so many affairs. Here, too, these are to be preferred to others."

As if agreeing the Emperor said:

"If the Sovereign Pontiff should send a man of approved morals and intellectual gifts, not inferior to the Europeans here, who does not interfere in others' affairs, and does not want to dominate others, I shall treat him with the same kindness as the others. In giving such a man authority over all others there rightly occur a number of serious

⁸¹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 88.

⁸² Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 88f. The chancellor of the Tournon legation, Andrea Candela, also mentioned this quotation: "Allora replicò l'Imperatore che la Cina non ha niente che fare con la Europa, ne gli importa niente che in essa vengono Europei, perchè non gli sturbino ne s'intromettano nelle loro Legi, &c" Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 89, footnote 164.

difficulties. You see here Europeans who have been resident for 40 years and if they are not yet fully knowledgeable about the affairs of the Empire, how will a person recently transplanted from Europe make a better superior? I shall not be able to act with such a person as I do with these. An interpreter will be needed, and that can be a cause of suspicion and distrust. And such a person will inevitably make many mistakes; if he has been constituted head, he will have to accept responsibility for the faults of all and be punished according to our custom.”⁸³

Kangxi’s question if Tournon had any commission from the side of the Supreme Pontiff was still denied, but he insisted on his idea of an upright man from Europe as superior.⁸⁴ When Tournon tried to continue and propose somebody of his entourage who could learn the language, Kangxi cut him off and said, *Zhege ba* 這個罷, “It’s enough”, and he told him: “Since the days of Li Madou Xitai 利瑪竇 (Matteo Ricci) to the present, we have Europeans at this Court and we have never had any reason to blame them. I want this my testimony to be made known in Europe.”⁸⁵

Tournon asked also for the future protection of the missionaries, which Kangxi conceded but with an addition: he would only protect those people who did not act against the Chinese laws: “For I must be impartial, this my position [as Emperor] demands, and Heaven will not leave me unpunished if I am unfair to people.”⁸⁶

This was the end of the audience. The Eunuch informed Tournon about the last imperial words “*Novi te*,” “I have got to know you.” The exit from the orchard was even more splendid than the entrance.⁸⁷

The crown prince Yinreng 胤礽 (1674-1725) supplied one of the Jesuits (Dominique Parrenin 1665 - 1741) and his 13th brother, Yinxiang 胤祥 (1686 - 1730), with further information about the attitude of his father:

“Has he anything to fear from your good old Min Mingwo 閔明我 (Father Grimaldi) or from others, so that another superior should be placed over him and over the others? A superior such as Duoluo 多羅 (the Lord Patriarch) is asking for would be a source of great harm to your religion. For if indeed a private European thereafter committed some offence, according to our custom, blame would be laid

⁸³ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 89.

⁸⁴ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 90.

⁸⁵ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 89-90.

⁸⁶ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 90.

⁸⁷ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 91.

on the superior, and from the superior would spread to his inferiors, and so you would all pay whatever penalty any individual deserved. What if the superior himself were to commit some fault? If there is no common superior, faults are the responsibility of individuals and the guilt of one person does not prejudice another. Should it occur that one European should commit a murder we should condemn the murderer to death and the whole business would be settled and no punishment would extend to other Europeans. But if it were the case that there was one Superior over all, he would have to stand trial, and at the same time others would be considered guilty of the same offence.⁸⁸ So it is for the good of your Religion alone that the Emperor does not wish to concede this to Duoluo (the Lord Patriarch).⁸⁹

In February 1706, it became clear that Tournon wanted the Emperor's permission to purchase a residence in the Palace quarter of Peking.⁹⁰ The Chinese were well informed about the controversies among the different missionaries in China. Kilian Stumpf explained the situation to Tournon and mentioned Kangxi's Southern tour of 1703. After his return he warned the Jesuits and especially Grimaldi that he had seen great differences in the *modus agendi* of the missionaries which could have consequences. These Europeans were wandering around *luanluan de, maomao de* 亂亂的貿貿的 (in a seditious and disorderly fashion), meaning contrary to Chinese customs, and with danger of being held in slight esteem. Therefore, the Emperor wanted the number of many smaller churches to be reduced to a few larger ones. The missionaries of different Orders and nations should be located at the same place, no new churches were to be established, unless permission had been requested and personally granted by himself. Also, the bishop of Peking was informed about all these matters. As a consequence, the Jesuit visitor, Fr. Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, was forced to promise solemnly that he would guarantee for everybody who was accused and pay the penalty if anyone was found guilty.⁹¹

Tournon still believed that the Kangxi Emperor desired to have a superior in the way he proposed. Stumpf instructed him that Kangxi wanted a superior chosen and

⁸⁸ The Chinese legal doctrine of collective responsibility held all members of a family or household, especially the head, responsible for the actions of all members. See R.J. Smith, *China's cultural heritage: the Qing dynasty, 1644-1912* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 274-5.

⁸⁹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 92f.

⁹⁰ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 139.

⁹¹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 145.

known to him and tested over many years. But Tournon still was convinced that he could be the future superior: “With one word brought by me from the Supreme Pontiff, I would have rendered myself better known than would another by services lasting many years. This seems the case from the fact, that on hearing of my arrival, the Emperor admitted me immediately into his court.” Stumpf told him that this proved nothing: “As regards your relationship with the Emperor, Your Excellency came as a private person. Your claim to be the superior of all the missioners and an Apostolic Visitor is an internal church matter and does not concern the Emperor.”⁹²

Tournon, however, was convinced that the Jesuits could influence the Emperor and had spoken against his plans of having superior and of buying a house in Peking: “You alone have the ear of the Emperor; therefore he heard it from you.” Which Stumpf denied. The Emperor also was disappointed that the Europeans he met in the South had no ideas about arts, mathematics and science, whereas the Jesuits told him that these men were well-instructed in the European way (perhaps in philosophy and theology).⁹³

The End of Tournon's Stay in Peking

In June 1706, the Emperor sent Tournon the message that he was going to the North, to Tartary, whereas Tournon should start his travel to the South, i.e. he should finish his stay at the court. But Tournon, who wanted to see Kangxi in a second audience, replied that this was too early, because he had not yet completed his business. The Emperor kindly allowed him to stay longer in Peking.⁹⁴

Henkama as messenger of the Emperor asked Tournon to entrust to him the secret matter he had.⁹⁵ But Tournon refused because he had to submit something concerning the Imperial family. This could mean the relatives of the Emperor, or the Inner Household, or the Jesuits, or could concern the oldest son of the Emperor. Kangxi was quite astonished and wanted to hear the Patriarch's words several times from different sides until he believed. Henkama reported to the Emperor that Duoluo had business to be communicated to the Emperor, that it was not the business of the Pontiff, nor the business

⁹² Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 145f.

⁹³ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 147.

⁹⁴ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 364f.

⁹⁵ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 366.

of Duoluo, but that it concerned the affairs of the Emperor.⁹⁶ Then the Emperor issued a rescript:

“When Duoluo arrived at the court, I, the Emperor, immediately sent men to find out the reason for his visit and according to his own words, this was the answer brought back to me: Duoluo has come here, having been sent by the Supreme Pontiff, because he had heard that the Emperor had cherished the Europeans with the greatest goodwill, and for many years they have been the recipients of the greatest possible benefits. Therefore, he was sent to this court to render thanks; and he had absolutely no other business to transact. I, the Emperor moved by a sense of duty, because Duoluo had come from another kingdom, one that was far away, summoned him to a place called Jin Shan to see me and at once I questioned him many times whether he had at that time any business to negotiate with me. Duoluo replied that there was absolutely nothing else. In addition, I, the Emperor, said to Duoluo: ‘Very many of you Europeans have come to this court; do you have any matters that need to be considered?’ [...] When you were first in my royal presence, you told me that you had nothing to discuss; but now you are saying that you do have something that must be referred to me. These statements are not consistent. [...]

Since you have come from Europe, travelling all those thousands of leagues, through so many dangers, dangers which you could not foresee, I doubt that you have no business to transact; and without doubt you do have. And therefore, when I, the Emperor, saw you in the place named Jin Shan I questioned you over and over again on this. Besides, although Europeans have been coming here for over two hundred years, I have never entrusted them with any affairs of great moment; but only with mathematics, music, art and other things of that sort.⁹⁷ Moreover, Europeans who are staying in China have no special involvement with the nobility.⁹⁸ As well as that, Hesken, whose own special office is the superintendent of works, and in that capacity is acquainted with the Europeans, cannot himself transact other business, but can only deliver messages back and forth, and nothing more.

⁹⁶ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 369.

⁹⁷ Cf. *Acti imperiali*, document XV, 43.

⁹⁸ It seems that Kangxi suspected that Tournon wished to complain about his own ‘family’, or sons and servants. Tournon may have been thinking of those who personally served the pope, see Willibald M. Plöchl, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts* (Wien: Herold, 1953-1969) vol. 3, 175 ff.

[...] But if there should be anything in your communications which is not in complete accord with Chinese customs, they will not put up with it; and not only you and your associates who have come here with you, but also those who long since arrived in China, will be permitted to remain only with the greatest difficulty. It is necessary for you to give very careful consideration as to what is advisable or not advisable. Then all will be well.

If you do have any instructions from the Supreme Pontiff, instructions that are based on sound foundations, there is nothing to worry about; but if you wish to speak about anything that concerns the government of the Empire, that is hardly a matter that concerns a man of religion.”⁹⁹

Tournon had to give a written response in Italian language to the Imperial rescript, which was translated into Chinese:

“The exemplary manner in which you govern your people and the comparable concern with which you have so long looked upon the Europeans in your kingdom and also the goodness displayed in your great and praiseworthy love of peace, has provided them with a salutary lesson in charity and helped to calm down some of their private quarrels. But I fear that unless Your Majesty is informed of the real cause of these, fresh occasions will arise to trouble your loving heart, especially on the arrival of those persons requested by Your Majesty for your service; who might give little satisfaction to Your Majesty and even less to my Lord the Pope. His Holiness wishes that Your Majesty be served to your full satisfaction and that the Europeans give an example of the charity that is the basic principle of our holy religion. It is the very risk of being involved in quarrels that restrains wise and prudent people from entering the occasion of them.

That is why I am moved to declare humbly to Your Majesty that these troubles can be traced to the fact that the Portuguese do not wish anyone to come here without passing through Portugal and submitting to the laws of the kingdom. This is the cause of the dissatisfaction with the French Fathers in spite of the fact that they are brothers in the same Order. This is why many more are opposed to others associated with a different group. If they come from all nations and from all institutes, the reputation of Your Majesty for goodness would ensure that all would

⁹⁹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 369-371. The rescript of Kangxi was translated into Latin by Ludovico Appiani CM, Jean-François Gerbillon SJ and Dominique Parrenin SJ. The original was written by Gerbillon in the Changchun Yuan, it was approved by the present, June 21, 1706.

strive in rivalry to multiply the number of those labouring in your service. Your Majesty would certainly have men more able and in greater numbers in any profession you could desire. That is why I look earnestly for instructions. His Beatitude's intention is to co-operate to the satisfaction of Your Majesty; and as the common father of all, he looks with the same paternal affection on all the Christian nations of Europe, desiring above all to ensure the pleasure of Your Majesty. When I learn what I should do, I shall enjoy the special benefit of being able to render dutiful obedience."¹⁰⁰

This so-called "response" by Tournon was in reality an accusation and kept under this title *Habsxarà Bidghe* in the palace archives.¹⁰¹ The eldest Prince said after having read it: "Vaboarou! This man deserves to die! Is someone going to deny that Bai Jin 白晋 (Fr. Bouvet) is really our ambassador? ... Your man Duoluo is a *hun zhang* 混賬."¹⁰² In this way Tournon wanted to play the French Jesuits off against the Portuguese Jesuits, which he had also attempted earlier with Jean-François Gerbillon, the French superior, trying to win him against the Portuguese Jesuits.¹⁰³

A bit later, the Kangxi Emperor instructed Frs. Pereira and Gerbillon: "Last year, did I not write to you predicting these very things which are now happening? I saw absolutely clearly that that fellow (the Lord Patriarch) would lend his ears to most worthless men and would upset everything. After he has gone so far astray in his opposition to me, will not the Pope condemn him to death when he returns to Rome?"¹⁰⁴ The Emperor responded to Tournon:

"When you speak of the source of all the discord, you say that the Portuguese do not permit men to come here unless they pass through their own kingdom of Portugal, and submit themselves to its laws. We do not know what these laws are; and the basis of your claims is not clear.... Generally speaking, I, the Emperor, do not raise any questions about the various groups from all the European kingdoms; but it will be very hard to permit those to remain who do not wholeheartedly accept the principles of the Empire of the Chinese. However, if it is permitted to those who act without prejudice to the *Great Principle*¹⁰⁵ of the Empire to foster virtue

¹⁰⁰ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 376f. See Tournon's "Memoriale" also in *Atti imperiali*, document XVI, 45-50.

¹⁰¹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 377.

¹⁰² Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 378. *Hoen cham*, a blackguard.

¹⁰³ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 53f.

¹⁰⁴ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 381.

¹⁰⁵ *Magna Ratio* may be a translation of *Da Dao* 大道, the Great Way, or of *Da Li* 大理, the Great

in their own way, this is done deliberately according to a policy that has been adopted of extending goodwill to subjects who have come from afar.”¹⁰⁶

After the Kangxi Emperor had understood that the main reason for Tournon’s coming had been to confirm Charles Maigrot’s Mandate with its prohibitions, he demanded a so-called *piao* 票 from all missionaries who wanted to spread the Gospel in China.¹⁰⁷ That *piao* not only asked the missionary to have followed Matteo Ricci’s method of accommodation and to do so also in future but also gave an opportunity to the Emperor and the first borne Prince to get an overview over the number of the Westerners in China.¹⁰⁸

The Imperial Decree May 27, 1707 stated: “If Europeans persevere in following the teaching of Li Ma Dou, they will still be able, under my protection, to preach the Law; if however they follow the rule of Yan Dang 顏璫 (Maigrot), I will regard these my subjects of the Middle Kingdom as rebels, and I declare that I will absolutely prohibit the practice of their Law.”¹⁰⁹

Résumé

With the coming of the papal legate Tournon to China, the Church in China was for the first time in early modern times officially recognized by the Holy See in Rome. The Kangxi Emperor, the missionaries of different orders and congregations, and the Chinese Christians had therefore high expectations that a wise man from Rome would come to solve all problems and controversies.¹¹⁰ The opposite, however, became true because the problem of the Chinese Rites Controversy and the choice of an unable representative. Therefore, the question of a general superior of all missionaries in China became another field of conflicting expectations and misunderstandings.

Bernardino della Chiesa, as bishop of Peking, had been informed by the Jesuits about the imperial plans to have a general superior. When Tournon arrived in China, della Chiesa thought that it would be best if Tournon would obtain this office of the general

Principle. The latter is perhaps more probable since it has legal implications as in the modern name for the Supreme Court, *Da Li Yuan* 大理院.

¹⁰⁶ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 384.

¹⁰⁷ Text of the *piao* Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 2, 273, cf. Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 2, 540; s.a. Spence, *Emperor of China*, XVIIIff.

¹⁰⁸ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 2, 540.

¹⁰⁹ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 2, 699.

¹¹⁰ Von Collani, „Grimaldi”, 329f.

superior of all missionaries in China. But della Chiesa was concerned that the emperor would prefer the Portuguese Jesuit, Tomás Pereira, as superior, and he was a strong defender of the Portuguese Padroado.¹¹¹ In fact, Tournon planned to have a general superior for all missionaries in China to open an easy way for all missionaries from the Propaganda Fide to come to China. Maybe Tournon himself wanted to be the permanent diplomatic agent between Rome and Peking, perhaps he had somebody of his entourage in mind, such as his chancellor Andrea Candela (ca. 1660–?), his auditor Sabino Mariani or his interpreter Ludovico Appiani.¹¹² In his eyes, many things in the China mission urgently needed an improvement: wrong oaths were sent to the Holy See; usurious treaties; the lack of respect by the missionaries for the Vicars Apostolic and bishops; and so on. But primarily he wanted to publish the decree of 1704 confirming Maigrot's Mandate. At this moment, della Chiesa, who knew the weak points of the China mission, tried to advise Tournon, but the legate was also suspicious about della Chiesa and chose instead to rely on his power as papal delegate.¹¹³

The Kangxi Emperor, on the other hand, knew Jesuits since his youth and trusted them. They served him as teachers, artists, and scientists at his court since his youth. With some of them he even kept a kind of friendship. Therefore, it is not astonishing that the Emperor trusted them more than newcomers to China. Tournon, however, comparably young and inexperienced, suspicious because of his illness, led by stupid, “unworthy” men of his entourage,¹¹⁴ committed one fault after the other. He did not explain the most important reason of his coming, namely, to confirm Charles Maigrot's Mandate of 1693, and he did not present his credential letters properly. It was clear that the Emperor would not tolerate such an assertion that Confucianism and Christianity are not compatible. He could not permit that Charles Maigrot with his adherents found a kind of small state within China. Concerning the relations between the Holy See and China, the Emperor's Declaration about the meaning of the rites and terms of 1700 was sent to Rome but never answered. Several times Kangxi directly or indirectly asked about it, but the answers were always evasive.¹¹⁵ Also, Kangxi's legations to Rome of 1706 and 1707 were never answered. As answer to the *Hong piao* 紅票, the “Red Manifesto” of 1716, which was distributed in many copies to Europeans, Antonio Provana was sent back to China but died during the voyage. The Kangxi Emperor must have felt rebuffed by the Pope, or, as he formulated it, Maigrot exercised his influence in Rome. Also quite

¹¹¹ Van den Wyngaert, and Mensaert, introduction *Sincia Franciscana* V, LII-LIII, 471.

¹¹² Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 161.

¹¹³ Van den Wyngaert, and Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, LIV.

¹¹⁴ Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 371.

¹¹⁵ *Atti imperiali*, document I, 4 of December 1705.

important was that he wanted to have the control over the inhabitants of China. Kangxi did not permit any threat to the imperial authority.¹¹⁶

Therefore, when Tournon left Peking, the promising first contacts and attempts to establish permanent diplomatic relations between China and the Holy See/Propaganda Fide failed because of the Rites Controversy. China was afraid of a foreign spiritual domination, Rome feared to give up its definition of essential truths of the Christian faith.¹¹⁷ Later, the attempt of the papal legate, Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba (ca. 1685–1741), who confirmed the Apostolic Constitution of 1715 forbidding the Rites and terms, also failed.¹¹⁸ Only missionaries sent by Propaganda Fide working in imperial service at the court or living hidden in the country side remained in China.¹¹⁹

【摘要】清初，中國傳教團的情況變得日益複雜。近代初期，在葡萄牙保教權之下，羅明堅（1543-1607）、利瑪竇（1552-1610）等意大利耶穌會士，以適應的方式成功地開設了中國傳教團，從而與中國學者有了接觸。耶穌會和葡萄牙使中國與其他修會隔絕。直到1630年以後，西班牙托鉢僧侶才可以經由菲律賓來到華南地區開始傳教。1622年，傳信部成立的目的是透過在遠東設立宗座代牧區辦公室，將傳教工作從國家利益中解放出來。然而，第一位能夠進入中國的宗座代牧是1684年巴黎外方傳教會士陸方濟（François Pallu，1626-1684年）。他，隨著康熙皇帝（1662-1692）於1692年頒佈的《容教令》，陸方濟在中國的傳教開啟了一個新時代。越來越多的傳教士隨之而來：葡萄牙保教權派出葡萄牙、意大利和德意志民族神聖帝國的耶穌會士，菲律賓的西班牙托鉢僧侶，路易十四派出的法國耶穌會士，意大利方濟會士、遣使會士和由傳信部派出的巴黎外方傳教會成員。然而，為中國人民帶來得救的良好條件和初衷，並沒有得到成功，反而因國家利益、神學背景和教會政治的不同，引發了新的問題。1693年，福建宗座代牧、巴黎外方傳教會士顏璫（Charles Maigrot，1652-1730）再次引發禮儀之爭，導致1705-1706年宗座特使多羅（Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon，1668-1710）出使朝廷的災難。

¹¹⁶ Spence, *Ts'ao Yin*, 138.

¹¹⁷ Sebald Reil, *Kilian Stumpf 1655-1720. Ein Würzburger Jesuit am Kaiserhof zu Peking* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978), 114; Standaert, *Handbook*, 363.

¹¹⁸ Standaert, *Handbook*, 353f.

¹¹⁹ Standaert, *Handbook*. 331-335, 340f, 344-354.

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