

FAITH AND CONTEXTUALIZATION IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY CHINA - THE JESUIT MODEL

David Wu

Historial Background

The modern history of Christianity in China is basically the result of missionary outreach which began in the late 16th century. The genesis of Christianity in China is dated as far back and credited to St. Thomas, who is thought to have brought the Christian faith to China from India. However, this is a historical uncertainty that is yet to be proven.¹

In 1625, a Nestorian Monument was discovered at Xian with an inscription written in Chinese and Syriac, stating it was erected in 781 in honor of the Nestorian Bishop Wang Shi-Cheng.² The Tablet gives a short summary of the most important Christian tenets. It also describes the vicissitudes of Nestorianism in China from the year 635 to the first half of the ninth century. According to the monument, the teaching of Nestorian Christianity was favorably received by the Emperor Tai Zhong of the Tang dynasty. He ordered the building of a Ta-chin monastery in the capital with twenty one men as monks.³

In the year of 845 Emperor Wu Zhong, an ardent Taoist, decreed the destruction of Buddhism (4,600 temples were destroyed, 260,500 monks and nuns were secularized).⁴ Affected by the same edict was the well-being of other religious sects: the Nestorians, Jews, Moslems and Manichaens. Fortunately, Wu Zhong died the following year and was succeeded by Xuan Zhong (847-859) who repealed the edict and reestablished the temples.

A second great persecution, the rebellion of Huang Chao, soon followed. The port of Khanfu was attacked, killing a great number of the city's inhabitants, among them 120,000 Moslems, Jews, Christians and Parsees. A Nestorian monk reported in 987 that "Christianity was just extinct in China; the native Christians had perished in one way or another; the church which they had used had been destroyed; and there was only one Christian left in the land".⁴

With the rise of the Mongol power in the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries, Nestorians again entered China. They became rather influential and were able to settle in different places in the land. Marco Polo encountered them during his sojourn to China.

The first Catholic Mission in China was founded by an Italian Franciscan Giovanni da Montecorvino (1247-1328). He came to Khanbaliq (Beijing) in 1294. His work was remarkably successful with a report of nearly 30,000 converts. He was later made the Archbishop of Khanbaliq. Although many other priests were sent to China, the Church was not able to sustain the work there for a very long time; there was only limited support for the venture.

When the first generation of foreign priests either died or left China, Rome had difficulty in finding replacements for them. Pope Innocent VI requested the authorities of the Franciscan Order to send a number of Friars to China, but the outcome was rather disappointing. D'elia alluded to the Annals of the Franciscans which read, "owing to the subsequent lack of zeal here and there on the part of those whose duty it was to promote this enterprise, it hardly made any progress".⁵

When the Mongol dynasty was replaced by the Ming emperors, Islam displaced Christianity as the chief foreign religion and Buddhism later surpassed them both.

The year when Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits successfully established a residence in Shaoxing in 1583, they found that the memory of Christianity in China was on the point of vanishing. The Jesuits were successful only to obtain some evidence of the traces of Christianity through a Jewish friend who related to them concerning "certain strangers whose ancestors came from abroad and who observed the religious custom of venerating a cross".⁶ He said, they were accustomed "to make a gesture with the hand in the form of a cross over their food and drink".⁷ The Jewish friend told Ricci that "he had no realization of the significance of such a rite", "neither had the people in question who were accustomed to use it".⁸ Thus, when Matteo Ricci and the other Jesuit missionaries entered China, they had to begin their mission work from the ground up since there remained no foundation upon which to build their work.

Some have doubted whether the Chinese masses were ever seriously affected by the evangelization done by the Franciscans. Most of their converts seemed to have been recruited among people foreign to China, especially the Alans and the Mongols. Almost the only authentic relic of this Franciscan Mission is a Latin Bible of the thirteenth century which was found in Zhangzhou.⁹

Nearly a thousand years of mission activities in China was recorded in history, yet Christianity left no traceable impress on Chinese culture or thought. One important reason for this failure was that little thought was given by missionaries to bridging the gulf which divided the cultures of East and West. As a consequence of this failure, when "the foreign representatives of Christendom disappeared, their religion disappeared with them, merged in the amorphous mass of Oriental religious thought".¹⁰

Moule provides us the following insightful observation:

The story of Christians in early and medieval China is not the story of the beginning of a Christian Church which has become established in the land, but rather the record of the residence in China for longer or shorter periods of larger or smaller numbers of foreigners who were in name or in fact Christians.¹¹

Seen from the background just stated, the success of the Jesuits' mission work led by Matteo Ricci is most significant. Hence, Ricci's approach merits special attention and study by all who are interested in the issue of faith and culture.

Contextualization - Matteo Ricci's Approach

Only by overcoming great difficulties and trials, were Matteo Ricci and his fellow Jesuit missionaries able to get a foothold for their mission work in China. In light of the tremendous gap that Ricci had to bridge in terms of culture, language, custom and world-view in order to introduce Christianity to China, his accomplishment in a rather short time was most remarkable. When Matteo Ricci died in Beijing in 1625, the Christian Church was established not only in the capital city of Beijing but also in other cities such as Nanjing, Shaoxia, Nanzhang and others. When the Mission in Beijing was confirmed by the Royal authority of the Emperor himself, the Mission Work became more secure and ready to spread to wider areas throughout the empire. Matteo Ricci's success was derived significantly from his ability to impress the Chinese philosophers and scholars, governors and viceroys with his ability and skill as a scholar, his masterful control of the Chinese language, profound knowledge of Chinese Classical literature and not least with the manner in which he conducted himself in China. We shall now turn to a more detailed analysis of Ricci's contextualization of the Christian faith in China.

The Jesuits who were first stationed at Macao, waiting for the opportunity to enter China, decided from the very beginning that they would become Chinese rather than attempting to convert China's millions into

Portuguese. This decision, considered as a matter of course today, was a marked departure from the practice of mission work in Macao at the time. Ricci recorded in his journal "When Portuguese were permitted to establish their first trading post with the Chinese of Macao in 1557, the first Chinese converts were taught the Portuguese language, given Portuguese names and instructed to conform to the way of living of the foreign colonists".¹²

Recognizing the impracticability of such an unwise practice in China, the Jesuits adopted the Chinese culture as far as it did not compromise the integrity of their Christian faith and conscience. The following are some examples of their adaptation: The Jesuits wore the ordinary Chinese garment from the time of their entrance into China, "which was somewhat similar to their own religious habits; a long robe reaching down to the heels and with very ample sleeves which are much in favor with the Chinese".¹³ Later, in order to gain the respect of the Chinese educated class, Ricci came to the decision that "fathers should wear the same costume and ornaments as the highly educated Chinese, and that each of them should have a silk habit which he should wear when visiting a magistrate, and without which, in the eyes of the Chinese, one was never considered to be the equal of a magistrate or even of one of the educated class".¹⁴ Again later on, in addition to the silk robe, Ricci put on a hat which was distinctive of the Literary Class. Thus, the Jesuits through their class put themselves apart from the "ministers of idols" who were regarded with low esteem by the educated class.

The practice adopted by the Jesuits was welcomed by the Literary Class of China because it placed the missionaries in the same class with themselves. This gave them a greater freedom to visit and consult with the missionaries. The significance of what the Jesuits had done can be seen in the following quotation:

Father Matthew's custom of going about in his newly adopted raiment was something unusual for a foreigner, but it had the approval of the literary class...this subject of Father Matthew's attire was a common topic of conversation among the most distinguished people, and he was always invited to the meetings of the literary leaders, as a man who adored one God, held to one religion which he believed to be true, and refused to associate with those who sacrificed to misleading deities. This same was true of many of the educated class of that period.¹⁵

The Jesuits also meticulously followed other familiar Chinese customs of the day. A few examples will be mentioned here:

- a. In accordance with the Chinese custom, the Jesuits took an honor-name.

Up to this time, the Fathers had always used their own names and were so called by their servants and domestics. To the Chinese this was, to put it mildly, quite unrefined. Therefore, in order to make themselves all things to all persons, for the winning of souls to Christ, they adopted the custom of taking an honor-name, as it is called, and this was a necessary gesture if they were to maintain their authority among an infidel people who have no idea of Christian humility. From that time on, all of our missionaries going into the kingdom took an honor-name before entering, so as to make it appear that they always had it.¹⁶

- b. When one of the Jesuits, Father Almeida, only 35 years old, died of illness, the Jesuits followed the custom of the Chinese in mourning for the dead.

The mission servants were ordered to wear the usual white dress of mourning, until such time as the visits of the friends of the deceased were at an end. The Chinese honor their dead with an elaborate casket and so, everything had to be arranged in such a way that the people would not be offended by a lack of ornamentation, while at the same time religious moderation would be properly observed.¹⁷

- c. When meeting high ranking magistrates, viceroys or governors, the Jesuits followed the custom of kneeling before them. "Bending down three times and each time touching their foreheads to the floor".¹⁸

Matteo Ricci devoted himself single-mindedly to the study of the Chinese language and the Classical literature. This proved to be a prudent undertaking which later offered invaluable advantage to Ricci himself and to the Mission. Ricci was so well versed in the Chinese literature that he "became the admiration of the Chinese lettered class who, in their reading, had never before encountered a foreigner from whom they could learn anything".¹⁹

Ricci recognized also the importance of writing books in Chinese as a means of introducing the Christian faith to a wider circle of people. He therefore, wrote a *Catechism Book*, *Dissertations on God, Immortality of the Soul, Original Sin and God-Man*. In addition, Ricci wrote the *Commentaries on the Four Elements, Treaties on Friendship*, and twenty five tracts on diverse moral questions and on control of the evil propensities of the soul.²⁰ The tracts were published in a single book by a noted Chinese scholar Fumo Can who wrote a preface in praise of the work. Another famous friend Paul Li Ying Shi added another preface and an epilogue. The prestige of these two

names were perceived as to have greatly enhanced the authority of the book.

Ricci's book on *Christian Doctrine* consisted "entirely of arguments drawn from the natural light of reason, rather than such as based upon the authority of Holy Scripture".²¹ This was the only way, in the view of Ricci, that the Chinese minds could be convinced of the truth of the gospel. The book quoted from ancient Chinese writers, especially Confucius. This was done to promote the acceptance of this book by Chinese readers. Ricci used Confucius' writings to refute the practice of idolatry as practiced by the numerous religious sects in China. Thus, we see that Ricci's apologetic method employed the authority of the Literati, especially their most honored master Confucius to his own advantage.

The method which Ricci employed to defend the Christian faith, rejecting idol-worship, is not unlike the method used by Justin Martyr who invoked Plato's name to defend Christians who were accused of criminality and disorderly conduct.²² When Ricci later became the Father General of the Chinese Mission, he gave greater emphasis on the importance of Jesuits to study Chinese Literature. Ricci noted that "here in China...literary studies are cultivated to such an extent that there are very few people who are not interested in them to some degree. It is also distinctive of the Chinese, that all their religious sects are spread, and their religious doctrines promulgated, by written books, rather than by the spoken word".²³

Ricci aptly employed the common means of spreading the Gospel of Christ through written books as used by other religious sects. It is worth noting that Ricci with the help of his Chinese friend Dr. Ciu Paul published a Chinese edition of the *Elements of Euclid*. The work later proved to render great benefit to the mission work in China. It increased the prestige of the Jesuits as mathematicians and scholars.

The most difficult problem the Jesuits confronted in their mission work in China was the custom of idol-worship so widespread in the land. The Buddhist, Taoist and animistic influences had blended together in making idol-worship a widespread practice in the temples throughout the land. At the time, there was little study about comparative religions; the Jesuits simply branded them together as "idol worshippers". As the mission work began to bear fruit with an increasing number of new converts who mostly had come from the background of giving veneration to the idols, the question of idol worship had to be addressed by the Church.

Through his study of Chinese Literature, Ricci had gained an important insight: Confucius, that most honored Master Teacher-Philosopher, born

five centuries before Christ, did not in fact worship idols. The practice of idol worship was introduced to China much later and was considered by the Literary Class as a cult introduced to China from the outside world. Ricci tried tirelessly to emphasize the fact that the Christian law was in perfect accord with the innate light of conscience. And "it was by this same light of conscience that the most ancient of the Chinese scholars had approached this same doctrine of Christianity in their writings, centuries before the appearance of the idols".²⁴ Thus, in the battle between the Chinese Literati and the idol-worshippers of different religious sects, Ricci took the decision of siding with the Literati in their position of regarding idol-worship as a foreign element which was alien to the earlier Chinese culture. Although the leaders of the Literary Class observed a solemn day of "sacrifice"²⁵ in honor of Confucius, Ricci was of the understanding that "the Chinese honor the great philosopher as a Master and not as a deity". Hence, Ricci accepted the invitation to participate in the celebration.

All magistrates in China were chosen from the educated Literary Class who had passed a rigorous examination. These Literati exerted tremendous influence, not only in the daily affairs of the empire, but also in the fields of philosophy, education and literature. The advantages which the Jesuits gained by aligning themselves with the Literary Class were invaluable. Their position in opposing the practice of idol-worship not only had the sanction of the Master Philosopher himself but also the blessings of the most powerful group in the nation. This explained the high honor and privileges accorded to Ricci and his associates in the Imperial Court in Beijing. All of their expenses were paid from the Treasury. Ricci wrote: "apart from the supplies granted by the throne, the fact that they were being subsidized from public funds made it evident to everyone that they were there with permission of the King".²⁶

It is quite apparent that there is a direct connection between Ricci's remarkable success in his mission work and his ability to contextualize the Christian faith in China. To highlight the successes of the Jesuits' mission work is not to say that all that was done was free from errors. A pioneering work as extensive as was done by the Jesuits in China must involve trial and error. There were some failures. A few examples will be cited here.

1. When the first mission house was built in Shaoxing, the Jesuits kept the door closed according to the rule of the Society. This practice was contrary to the practice done in the Chinese Temples where doors were always open for all people to visit. The closing of the Mission House caused unnecessary suspicion and resentment directed toward the Mission.²⁷

2. The Jesuits also erred in renaming the Chinese converts with foreign

names. Thus, Co Sun Soa became Giuseppe. Two Chinese converts who entered the Society of Jesus as Lay Brothers were given the names of Sabastiano Fernandez and Emanuele Pereira. Ricci wrote: "They took Portuguese names when they were baptized, and by this time they seemed to be more Portuguese than Chinese".²⁸ The Jesuits apparently modified this practice later, as can be seen further on in Ricci's *Diary* where Chinese converts retained their family names.

3. The prayer book, with prayers for various occasions was written in Chinese characters, but without changing the Latin terminology. As a result, the converts "did not understand the text". However, in fairness to the Fathers, the use of Latin was the uniformed practice of the Catholic Church at the time. The Jesuits recognized the same things happened in Europe where Christians "read the divine office in Latin with a feeling of piety, though they may not have a full appreciation of the text they are reading".²⁹

4. The new converts were given the written characters of the name of Mary and Jesus to be placed in their homes. This was done, perhaps as replacement for the idols that had been removed when they became Christians. The practice may have some psychological merit to the new converts, but it caused a great misunderstanding among the people since the characters written were not Chinese.

Nevertheless, looking at the Jesuits Mission work as a whole, their work was remarkably successful. Their failures, in comparison, were rather limited. What we have discussed thus far primarily dealt with the practical aspect of contextualization. However, most important and more controversial was Ricci's attempt at the theological contextualization which led to the outbreak of the most divisive struggle in the Catholic Church known as the "Rites Controversy".

The Rites Controversy

The so-called Rites Controversy was an unfortunate event which erupted after the death of Matteo Ricci. It disturbed the Church in China for the nearly two hundred years that followed. By far it was the most momentous struggle in the long history of Christianity in China before the modern period.

The Chinese Rites involved in the controversy were related to three specific cases:

1. The ceremony performed by the Literati in honor of Confucius.
2. The practice, so widespread in China, to honor their dead ancestors "by

forms of piety as prostrations, incense burning, serving food etc".³⁰

3. The use of names derived from the old Chinese classical text to refer to the Christian concept of God. The terms are *Tian* (literally means Heaven) and *Sbangti* (literally means Supreme Lord).

In the directive issued by Matteo Ricci in 1603, the observance of two ritual customs, namely, the traditional honors to Confucius and the ancestor ceremonies was considered as a licit and even indispensable aid in the mission work. Ricci considered "the rites morally admissible because they were isolated in their individual entity from the surrounding superstitions".³¹ Ricci based his argument on the following principles:

- a. In its earliest form, the Confucian rites had originated as social virtues in a climate of relatively pure monotheism, and only in the course of time were they overlaid with illicit accretions; by stripping these away and reeducating the people themselves in the sources of their ritual customs, the primeval core could be exposed anew in its original simplicity and meaning.
- b. The Neo-Confucian naturalism acted as a counterpoise to the superstitious pietism of the masses.
- c. Exploratory probing of individual minds by Ricci frequently revealed that there was no conclusive evidence that the rites were conceived superstitiously.³²

Ricci's position was opposed strongly by the Dominican and Franciscan Fathers who had at the time also established mission work in China. The controversy became intense. "All fought with vigor and conviction, in perfect good faith, with zeal, tenaciousness and some obstinacy. Nor were they all freed from party spirit... passion and other elements altogether too human".³³

It was nearly a century after the death of Matteo Ricci when the Vatican issued a definitive statement in 1704 concerning the Rites controversy. The Church decision was to condemn the solemn or ordinary honors to Confucius, the various ritual services to the dead and the use of the terms *Tian* and *Sbangti* for God.

The decision was most unfortunate. The result was most calamitous for the Christian Church in China. It set the tenets of the Christian faith against something that was considered important by the Chinese in their culture. The Vatican decree was issued in spite of the acknowledgement by the Emperor Kang Xi in 1700, approving as "very true" the Jesuits interpretation that certain rites honoring Confucius and the dead were national customs without religious significance and that the term *Tian* and *Sbangti* were monotheistic

in concept. This explanation by the Emperor was forwarded by the Jesuits to the Pope, along with their own expository letter dated December 2, 1700.³⁴

Gregory Lopez, himself a Chinese Dominican who held a high post in the Church as the Vicar Apostolic of Nanjing, understood the Chinese custom clearly when instead of following the Dominican position, he favored the position of the Jesuits. Indeed, it was most unfortunate that the Vatican, so unfamiliar with China at the time, was called upon to make such a difficult decision. As a result, a papal legate, Charles Maillard de Tournon was sent to Beijing to communicate the decision. He was swiftly expelled from China. A decree was issued by the Emperor Kang Xi, ordering all missionaries to accept a Biao (certificate of imperial approval) as a condition for continuing their ministry. This was given only to those who agreed to respect the rites and customs of the land.³⁵ In 1717, another imperial decree was issued, prohibiting the preaching of Christianity and ordering the deportation of missionaries from the empire with the exception of those working at the court. Under Kang Xi's successor, Yung Zheng (1724-1736), persecution became severe. Most missionaries were deported. Yung Zheng was succeeded by Qian Lung (1736-1796) who began his reign with a decree proclaiming the death penalty for preaching and embracing Christianity.

D'elia underestimated the injury and resentment felt by the Chinese people as reflected in the anger of their emperors over the condemnation of the Chinese rites by the Vatican. D'elia stated that to see the Rites Controversy which resulted in the Vatican condemnation of the rites as the primary cause for the subsequent persecutions would be excessive and historically false. However, D'elia was certainly not in the position, physically or mentally, to comprehend the significance which the Chinese at the time attached to their Rites.

If we look at the most cordial relationship that existed between the highest ranking magistrates, including the emperors and their families³⁶ and the Jesuits missionaries prior to the issuance of the Rites' condemnation, it would be almost inconceivable that almost overnight, not only the good relationship that had existed for over a century would be shattered, but that all missionaries would be banished from China and the preaching of Christianity would be prohibited with the threat of death. We can only understand the significance of the Rites Controversy if we first understand the significance of the Chinese Rites in the context of Chinese culture.

The tradition of honoring ancestors in China dates back to antiquity. During Shang dynasty (1743-1112 B.C.) the worship of ancestors was already in practice. Its root reached back to the old Chinese belief in the existence of

two souls, *Hun* and *Bo*. When a person died, his *Hun* soul returns to *Tian* (heaven), his *Bo* soul returns to *Di* (earth).³⁷ This concept in turn derives from the belief in the immortality of the soul that is rather commonly shared in the history of humanity.

The meaning and understanding surrounding the rites of ancestor worship had evolved in the course of China's long history as various influences altered the Chinese culture to varying degree. When Matteo Ricci arrived in China, Confucian ethics and philosophy had already permeated deeply into the Chinese culture for two thousand years. Therefore, when we talk about ancestor worship, we are talking about a concept and practice that was already strongly redefined or modified by Confucianism. It carried a different understanding than the concept of ancestor-worship as known in antiquity.

Confucius considered *Tian* (heaven) as the source of life and all things in the universe. He regarded the "ancestor" as the foundation or the roots of family.³⁸ Thus, Confucius' view of ancestor-worship seemed to carry a strong meaning of showing gratitude to one's roots and reaching back to one's foundation. Confucianism is of the view that when people keep in touch with their roots, their morality will be better preserved. In this way, the worship of ancestors serves as a means to keep the harmony and unity of the family, and of society in tact. The peace of the nation and the prosperity of the society are hence closely connected to it.³⁹ Each generation is responsible to carry on the family tradition. This tradition can only be maintained if one remembers one's own roots which means one's own ancestors. Therefore, taken from this point of view, to abolish the family's worship of ancestors carries far reaching implications, not only to the family involved, but to the society and to the nation as a whole. It is as if the strong cord which binds together the social structure is being cut loose! The consequences of this act in terms of social etiquette, the honoring of the elders by the young, the respect accorded to the teachers by their pupils, and the obedience and devotion rendered to the magistrates and the emperors by the people are of the very greatest magnitude. Not to honour ancestors would be to remove the foundation from under the Chinese society.

The Rites of the ancestor-worship contain also a deep psychological significance. Many Christians who were willingly, though at times fearfully, discarding their idols and had them burned often expressed the greatest reluctance to relinquish their Family Tablet. Many who did so, as demanded by the Church, did it with a feeling of great sorrow. They were stricken with guilt feelings as they perceived themselves to have repaid the kindness of their parents with an act of betrayal. Hence, we can understand Ricci's insistence

on the acceptance of ancestor-worship by the Church as a necessity if Christianity was ever to win the majority of Chinese people. The rightness of Ricci's view is amply proven by the difficulty encountered by the Christian Mission in winning Chinese to the Christian faith when they were demanded to forgo the Chinese Rites as a condition to become Christians.

Matteo Ricci, with his penetrating insight gained after long years of painstaking study of the culture of the Chinese people, was able to push the door of China open, though slightly, to the Christian faith. He was able to express that faith in terms and in ways that were closer and more familiar to the minds and hearts of the Chinese; in this way, he made the Gospel more readily acceptable. Ricci followed the example of Paul: "I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some" (1 Cor.9:22).

It is inevitable that in the effort to contextualize the faith there are areas of ambiguity where faith and culture are both equally strained. As Cochrane rightly noted: "confusion of thought was indeed an inevitable consequence of the effort to pour new wine into an old bottle without causing the bottle to break".⁴⁰ This confusion and ambiguity though unavoidable must be faced and dealt with creatively. The success of the early church was based upon her ability to find many points of contact between Christian teaching and Greek culture in which accommodation could take place. The success of the Jesuits in China depended also upon their ability to achieve a "synthesis of Chinese and Christian culture, with respect for and understanding of the former without injury to the latter".⁴¹ Matteo Ricci and his Jesuit friends adopted neither an attitude of tolerance that viewed "all religions as more or less equally good, that all have a portion of the truth, but none the whole truth"⁴² nor religious syncretism in which Christianity, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism "sacrifice some of their centrally held beliefs in order to reach a common denominator of universalism".⁴³ Matteo Ricci did not compromise the centrality of the Christian faith; he sought wisely and courageously for points of contact between Confucianism and Christianity, in order that the seed of the gospel may find a receptive soil in the Middle Kingdom.

Today those of us who are grappling with the questions of interpreting Christianity to different cultures need to do anew the difficult yet necessary task of contextualizing the gospel to our environment as Ricci did before us. The risk and peril of such a task is apparent as history has shown. However, in the arduous task of formulating Christian theology that is meaningful to the generation of one's age and place, there is no short cut. The challenge is ever before us.

NOTES

¹ Tradition concerning St. Thomas see Journals of Matthew Ricci (New York: Random House, 1953), pp.113-114, Cf. Paschal M. D'elia, The Catholic Mission in China (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1941).

² The Monument inscription tells of the diffusion of the Teaching of the Ta-Chin (Syrian) Luminous Religion. A.C. Moule, Christians in China before the year 1550. (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1930), pp. 27-41.

³ Ibid., pp. 38-39.

⁴ Ibid., p. 76.

⁵ D'elia, The Catholic Mission in China, p. 30.

⁶ Ricci, The Journals of Matthew Ricci, p. 111.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ D'elia, The Catholic Mission in China, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰ Arnold H. Rowbotham, Missionary And Mandarin, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), p. 34.

¹¹ A.C. Moule, "The Primitive Failure of Christianity in China", The International Review of Mission, 1931, vol.20, p. 459.

¹² Matthew Ricci, The Journals of Matthew Ricci, p. ix.

¹³ Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 337-338.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 178.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 242.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 447.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., p. 448.

²² Justin Martyr wrote to the Emperor Augustus: "We do not desire to live by lying, we are desirous of an eternal and good life....Plato also stated that Thadamanthus and Minos would punish the wicked who came before them. We declare that the very same thing will take place, but that it will be Christ who will assign the punishment to sinners". Justin Martyr, First Apology, ch. 8

²³ Ricci, The Journals of Matthew Ricci, p. 446.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 156.

²⁵ Ricci thought "sacrifice" may not be a proper word used to describe the honor the Literati paid to Confucius (cf. Journals, p.334).

²⁶ Ricci, The Journals of Matthew Ricci, p. 391.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 162.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 298.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 420-421.

³⁰ New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol.3, p. 611.

³¹ Ibid., p. 612.

³² Ibid.

³³ D'elia, The Catholic Mission in China, p.52

³⁴ New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol.3, p. 613.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 596.

³⁶ Prior to the Rites' condemnation, Emperor Kang Xi had shown the greatest benevolence for Father Verbiest, the successor of Father Schall. For five months, he summoned him almost daily to study European Science from him. Kang Xi also had issued an edict of freedom for Christianity. Hundreds in the imperial household had embraced Christianity and were baptised. A Christian empress who had taken the name Helena, sent a letter, written in silk, to

Pope Innocent X, asking him to send more Jesuits missionaries to China. All indications at the time give signs that China was leaning closer toward Christianity everyday. The possibility of rapid christianization of China was present once a reigning Emperor, possessing absolute power, would embrace the Christian faith. And that possibility seemed to be within reach in the persons of Emperor Sunzhi and Emperor Kang Xi during their reigns.

³⁷ Chinese Classic Li Ji.

³⁸ Chinese Classic Lun Yi.

³⁹ Chinese Classic Ta Xue. Trans: If one is able to control oneself, one is then able to bring harmony to the family, then able further to govern the nation, and bring peace to the universe.

⁴⁰ Charles Norris Cochrane, Christianity And Classical Culture, (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 217.

⁴¹ George H. Dunne, Generation of Giants, (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962) p. 368.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.