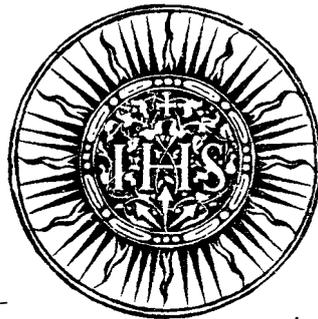


The Inscriptions on Tomás Pereira's Tombstone and the 'Edict of Toleration' from the Emperor Kangxi

Wang Bing*

The Rare Book Section of the Chinese National Library in Beijing contains three rubbings of inscriptions that relate to the activities, in China, of the Portuguese Jesuit Tomás Pereira (1645-1708), whose Chinese name was Xu Risheng 徐日升.

The First Rubbing of the inscriptions has been named 'The Stele of Xu Risheng Requesting the Safeguard of Catholicity' on the relevant catalogue card.¹ This card shows that the inscription was in regular Chinese script, the size of the stele was 184×82cm, and the stele originally stood in the Maweigou Church outside the Fuchengmen Gate of Beijing. In addition, the catalogue card gives the following information: 'See the back of the tombstone "The Tombstone of Xu Risheng", the date of the 14th day of the 11th month of the 47th year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign. Note: This stele has the same inscription as "The Stele of Xu Risheng Requesting the Defence of Catholic Churches" on the 2nd day of the 2nd month of the 31st year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign.'



The Second Rubbing of the inscriptions has been named 'The Tombstone of Xu Risheng, Thomas Pereyra' on the relevant catalogue card.² This card shows that the inscription was in regular Chinese script, as well as in Latin, the size of the stele was 184×82cm, and the stele originally stood in the Maweigou Church outside the Fuchengmen Gate of Beijing. In addition, the catalogue card gives the following information: 'This stele has the inscription of "Tomb of the Jesuit, the honourable Xu" in the middle, and an imperial edict and a brief biography on both sides separately. Note: These are inscribed on the back of "The Stele of Xu Risheng Requesting the Safeguard of Catholicity" of the 31st year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign.'

The Third Rubbing of the inscriptions has been named 'The Stele of Xu Risheng Defending Catholicity' on the relevant catalogue card.³ This card shows that the inscription was in regular Chinese script, the size of the stele was 192×76cm, and the stele originally stood in the Nantang Church at the Xuanwumen Gate of Beijing. In addition, this card gives the following information: 'Note: This stele has the same inscription as "The Stele of Xu Risheng Requesting the Defence of Catholicity" in the 31st year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign. It has suffered from serious weathering, so the date attributed was the same as the other stele.'

We are able to conclude, from the catalogue cards, that there were two steles in Beijing. Both of them were

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DOM

PHOMAS PE
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上諭

朕念徐日昇齋誠遠來効力歲久洲通律曆制造咸宜扈從
惟勤任使盡職秉性貞樸無間始終夙夜殫心忠悃日著
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徐先生諱日昇號安公泰西游
耳多阿里亞國人自幼入會真
修於康熙十二年歲次癸丑入
中國傳教卒於康熙四十七年
歲次戊子十一月十四日壽六
十四歲在會四十六年



Rubbing made from the original stele at Tomás Pereira's grave.

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inscribed with the petition requesting the safeguard of Catholicity, as submitted by Tomás Pereira, and the imperial edict issued by the Emperor Kangxi. The petition was submitted and the edict issued in 1692. The inscription consisting of the petition and edict was on the back of one stele and on the front of the other. One stele must be Tomás Pereira's tombstone; the two rubbings, made from the front and back inscriptions are, respectively, the Second Rubbing and the First Rubbing above. Obviously, these two rubbings were made from the inscriptions after 1900, given that the stele had been broken in two, although the date of the rubbing itself is not recorded. Another stele was erected in the Nantang Church at the Xuanwumen Gate; the rubbing of its inscription is the Third Rubbing above. It is unknown when this rubbing was made. All the characters on this rubbing are too indistinct to be deciphered. It is obvious that the stele was seriously weathered when the rubbing was made.

The intention of this article is to discuss the petition submitted by Tomás Pereira, the imperial edict issued by the Emperor Kangxi, and also the circumstances surrounding the tomb and tombstone of Tomás Pereira. The author would like to offer some general remarks by way of introduction so that other researchers may respond appropriately. First, the inscriptions on Tomás Pereira's tombstone will be considered.

THE INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMÁS PEREIRA'S TOMBSTONE

On the front of Tomás Pereira's tombstone eight large, regular Chinese characters '耶稣会士徐公之墓' (Tomb of the Jesuit, The Honourable Xu) were inscribed in the centre.

A special imperial decree, from the Emperor Kangxi, was inscribed on the right-hand side. At the top were two large characters '上諭' (The Imperial Decree); followed by the full text of the decree:

We think of you Xu Risheng [Tomás Pereira], who came from afar with sincerity and worked here for many years. You were proficient in music and the calendar, and the instruments you constructed were all very useful. You were diligent in your work, and you exerted yourself to fulfil every task. By nature upright and straightforward, you were devoted from the beginning to the end,

and spared no effort from morning to night. As your loyalty and single-heartedness became daily more renowned, We have, for a long time, already expressed Our appreciation [of you]. When We heard of your illness, We still had the hope that you would recover. Unexpectedly, however, you passed away and We were extremely saddened to hear of it. We grant you 200 taels of silver and 10 bolts of satin in order to express Our sympathy and compassion for a subject who came from afar. This is Our special decree.⁴

All Chinese characters were in regular script.

A brief biography of Tomás Pereira was inscribed on the left-hand side. At the top were the large, Latin letters 'D. O. M.'; followed by thirteen lines: 'P Thomas Pereyra Lusitan, IV Vota Profess, Vixit in Soc Jesu Ann XLUI In Sinensi Missione XXXVI Obiit Pekin XXIV Dec, MDCC, VIII Annos Nat LXIV'. Below this was Chinese and in regular script:

Master Xu was called Risheng and had another name, Yin'gong. He was a native of the country of Portugal in the Great West. In his youth he entered the Society in order to cultivate perfection [of virtue]. In the 12th year, *guichou* 癸丑, of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (1673) he arrived in China to propagate the [holy] teachings. On the 14th day of the 11th month of the 47th year, *wu zi* 戊子, of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (24 December, 1708) he died at the age of 64 years, of which 46 were spent in the Society.⁵

On the back of the tombstone, there was a long inscription in Chinese regular characters. The following is an English translation of the full text:

Here the Rites Section [of the Ministry of Rites] makes a verbatim transcription of a petition submitted by Tomás Pereira and Antoine Tomás, the administrators of the calendar in the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy. In the petition they respectfully recounted the full story. They begged the Emperor to arbitrate urgently, wisely and with farsightedness. The matters are as follows.

In September this year, Prospero Intorcetta, a resident of the Catholic Church in Hangzhou, sent a messenger here and told us about an incident. We heard that the Governor (*xunfu* 巡抚) of Zhejiang Province had given orders to local officers there to go and demolish the Catholic Church, destroy any printing blocks

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for books, regard Catholicism as an evil heresy, expel Catholicism from China, etc.

We Westerners consider that, if we do not complain now to the Emperor of the pain and embarrassment, which we suffered in our journey to China over several tens of thousand miles, we feel that it would be hard for us to avoid actions of revenge and unjust accusation at some later date.

We, in prostration, see that the Emperor, who governs ten thousand countries and dominates the world, treats domestic and foreign affairs as one and makes no distinction between the suburbs of the capital and far off places, and does not want anybody wronged. None of these things were achieved by the ancient rulers. So many myriads of things, even though not related to orthodox religion, are magnanimously contained between heaven and earth. It is well known that the Emperor kindly gives us instructions, and tells us what to do or not to do, when the Emperor meets the Westerners during his royal tours of inspection to South China. How can the Governor have the heart to regard Catholicism as an evil heresy?

In the past Johann Adam Schall von Bell received strong favour and deep understanding from the Late Emperor. He put his heart and soul into the revision of the old calendar, and made the new calendar correspond well with the astronomical phenomena. Only in this way could he repay the Late Emperor for his profound kindness. It was unexpected that after that he was to suffer from vilification. He was accused of the crime of being unfaithful to the Late Emperor, by those who cherished outdated ideas and were led by Yang Guangxian. Fortunately, the Emperor sees everything clearly. The Emperor ordered the Princes of the Deliberative Council, Dukes (*beile* 贝勒), Ministers, Nine Supervising Secretaries and many other officers to make a clear distinction between the rights and wrongs of the case. The unjust verdict was eventually reversed.

Afterwards Ferdinand Verbiest received orders to continue the calendar revision, because Johann Adam Schall von Bell had died. He was offered high official posts and ranks, and was in the Emperor's very good graces. As a result,

we recount all we know and recount it without reserve. We have translated and compiled a number of books on Western astronomy and calendar, mathematics, music, natural science and so on for more than twenty years in the Imperial Palace. These jobs are not yet finished. The Emperor knows all the above-mentioned matters, so we do not need to go into details.

If Catholicism was regarded as an evil heresy and it was not worthy of belief, it might well be asked why, from the early years of the Late Emperor Shunzhi's reign up to now, the late Westerners were ordered to make weaponry; Philippe Marie Grimaldi, holding the official dispatch of the Ministry of Military Affairs, was sent to Russia by sea; and Tomás Pereira and Jean-François Gerbillon, having been granted the post and rank of Counsellor (*canling* 参领) were assigned to Russia twice. Thus it can be seen that those who gave offence to us do not render services to the imperial court, but, rather, retain their selfish and unfaithful ideas. If someone is faithful and unselfish, all persons, without exception, are sincerely convinced. Otherwise, if someone demonstrates selfishness and unfaithfulness, undoubtedly others are not sincerely convinced; moreover numerous things related to this person are considered unreasonable.

The late Westerners trudged across several tens of thousands of miles to reach China; they were not attracted by fame and gain, wealth and rank. They merely wished to expound their religion when they met persons who knew them well. Since coming to China, they have won the respect and care of the Imperial Courts. The Late Emperor had ordered Johann Adam Schall von Bell to revise the calendar in the 10th year of the Emperor Shunzhi's reign (1653), and then granted land for church construction and stele erection in the 14th year (1657). The Emperor bestowed on Ferdinand Verbiest a title of honour, permitted his funeral to be held with the rank of Vice-Minister (*shilang* 侍郎), and praised him in the imperial edict, after his death from illness in the 27th year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (1688). These matters are on record. Besides, we were instructed to learn the Manchu language, because it is believed that our Western pronunciation allows us to learn it

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easily. In addition, in the Council of Ministers we translate diplomatic documents from Russia and other Western countries. Enjoying the trust and undertaking the tasks of the Emperor, how fortunate we are!

A few people do not know how to choose the right persons for the right jobs; they think of us as foreigners, even as alien enemies. Why is there no place to shelter Prospero Intorcetta himself in such a great country? He cannot, indeed, but weep all alone in a corner! All of us are persons of solitude and helplessness. We cannot argue against others

On the 2nd day of the 2nd month of the 31st year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (19 March, 1692), Yi [Sang'a] 伊桑阿 and another, both heads of the Council of Ministers, receive an imperial edict as follows: 'The resolution previously discussed by the Ministry of Rites, that the Catholic Churches in the provinces should be preserved as before and could be enshrined and worshipped only by the Westerners, had been permitted and carried out. Now the Westerners are revising and formulating the calendar. Before this, they made weaponry at the time of the



Emperor Kangxi. From J. B. du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, vol. 1, Paris, 1735.

about matters of right or wrong. We only hope that the Emperor shall take into consideration our unselfishness and pitiableness. Also we humbly request the Emperor to construct a farsighted resolution and to bring it into force.

For this purpose we submit this petition to the Emperor with extreme tremulousness and eager expectation. It is presented on the 16th day of the 12th month of the 30th year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (2 February, 1692).

The imperial order received on the 18th day of this month (4 February) is: 'The Ministry (of Rites) discusses the matters and then presents a memorial.'⁶

military operations. Moreover, they were diligent in their work. Recently, they have also showed meritorious deeds in accompanying (the Chinese officers) during the expeditions to Russia. They have no wicked or unprincipled activities. Their religion, which a few people regard as an evil heresy and want to forbid, is truly innocent. You, the Council of Ministers, jointly with the Ministry of Rites, discuss these matters and present a memorial.'⁷

The Ministry of Rites, other government offices (*yamen* 衙门), and Gu Badai 顾八代, the Minister of Rites, hereby present a

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memorial after having respectfully received an imperial edict. We have discussed the matters and reached a resolution as follows. We have ascertained that the Westerners admired sacred morals and manners, so they sailed to China for several tens of thousand miles. Now they are revising and formulating the calendar. At the time of the military operations they did their best to make weaponry and cannons. When they were assigned to Russia, they rendered the Emperor a service wholeheartedly, exerted themselves to fulfil the task, and performed a lot of meritorious deeds. The Westerners who reside in the provinces carry out no wicked or unprincipled activities. Also they are not a heretical sect to mislead people, or practising heterodoxy to make trouble. As people are even admitted to the Lamaseries, the Buddhist monasteries and the Taoist temples to look around and to burn joss sticks, it seems inadvisable that worshipping by the Westerners is placed under a ban, given that they perform no illegal activities. Accordingly, the Catholic Churches in the provinces should all remain as before. People are permitted to burn joss sticks and to worship in the churches. There is no need to prohibit people from entering or looking around inside. The imperial edict will be carried out in Zhili and other provinces once it is decreed. This memorial is jointly presented on the 3rd day of the 2nd month of the 31st year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (20 March, 1692).

The imperial order, received on the 5th day of this month (22 March), is: 'Act accordingly.'⁸

It can be seen that the long inscription on the back of the tombstone of Tomás Pereira consisted of three important documents. They were: a petition to the throne submitted by Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas (1644-1709) on 2 February, 1692, that occupied two thirds of the length of the whole inscription; an imperial edict from the Emperor Kangxi on 19 March; and a memorial to the throne presented by Minister Gu Badai of the Ministry of Rites and others on 20 March.

There is an old saying in China that final judgment can only be passed on a person when the lid is laid on his coffin. It means that all merits and demerits, rights

and wrongs, of a person come to a conclusion when he passes away. And according to Chinese tradition, the inscriptions which were engraved on the tombstone of Tomás Pereira express a very high level of formal or official appreciation of the deceased.

THE 'EDICT OF TOLERATION' FROM THE EMPEROR KANGXI IN 1692

A well-known decree, which Westerners have always known as the 'Edict of Toleration', was issued by the Emperor Kangxi in 1692. It is a famous event in both the history of cultural communication between the East and the West, and in the history of Western religion.

The origin of the Edict is traceable back to the previous year. It has been stated (see above) that in the autumn of 1691, Zhang Penghe 张鹏翮, the Governor of Zhejiang Province,⁹ gave orders to local officers there to demolish the church, destroy any printing blocks for books and forbid Catholicism to be propagated.¹⁰ The Italian Jesuit Prospero Intorcetta (1625-1696) residing in Hangzhou, sent a messenger to Beijing to tell Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas about this incident. Later Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas submitted a petition to the Emperor Kangxi on 2 February, 1692. The imperial order received on 4 February was: 'The Ministry of Rites should discuss the matters and then present a memorial.'

On 7 March, after discussion, the Ministry of Rites presented a memorial to the Emperor in which it was stated that only Westerners could follow the Catholic faith. The memorial presented by the Ministry of Rites is as follows:

The Ministry of Rites respectfully presents this memorial on the causes and effects of the matters in question, and begs the Emperor to arbitrate urgently wisely and with farsightedness. The matters are as follows.

The Rites Section (of the Ministry of Rites) has made a verbatim transcription of a petition submitted by Tomás Pereira and one other, these being the administrators of the calendar in the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy. It was presented on the 16th day of the 12th month of the 30th year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (2 February, 1692). The imperial order was received on the 18th day of this month (4 February), and

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it was: 'The Ministry (of Rites) should discuss the matters and then present a memorial.' This order has been respectfully followed.

On the 19th day of this month (5 February) the verbatim transcription and the order were sent to the Ministry (of Rites). The Ministry discussed these. It was known that Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas, the administrators of the calendar in the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy, had submitted a petition. The petition said that Prospero Intorcetta, a resident of the Catholic Church in Hangzhou, sent a messenger here and told us about an incident. The Governor of Zhejiang Province had given orders to local officers there to demolish the church, destroy any printing blocks for books, regard Catholicism as an evil heresy and expel Catholicism from China. We Westerners are persons of solitude and helplessness, and we cannot argue against others about matters of right or wrong. We only hope that the Emperor shall take into consideration our unselfishness and pitiableness, also we humbly request the Emperor to construct a farsighted resolution, and so on.

It has been established that in the 8th year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (1669) a conference was held by the Princes of the Deliberative Council, Dukes, Ministers, Nine Supervising Secretaries and many other officers. They presented a memorial that 'Catholicism has no wicked or unprincipled activities. However, Catholics congregating, distributing the booklet *Tian Xue Chuan Gai* 天学传概, bronze statues and others, should all still be forbidden. Their *Tianzhu* 天主 (God) could be enshrined and worshipped only by the Westerners.' The imperial order was 'Catholicism can be believed in by Ferdinand Verbiest and others as usual. Because it is feared that churches might be rebuilt and people might become Catholics in Zhili and other provinces, Catholicism should be still strictly forbidden. This must be known to all. Others act accordingly.' The order should be respectfully followed.

Again it is a matter of record that in the 26th year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (1687) Ferdinand Verbiest, the administrator of the calendar and the Right Vice-Minister (*youshilang* 右侍郎) of

the Ministry of Works, submitted a petition. The petition said that Westerners, who believe in Catholicism, earnestly wish that people should be able to follow that faith as they like, and that they should not be kept away from that religion, as had happened before when the Westerners had suffered from malicious prosecution in the early years of the Emperor Kangxi's reign, all this in the hope that rash criticism and defamation would disappear.

The Ministry (of Rites) and the Ministry of Works discussed these matters, based on the petition submitted by Louis Buglio, Gabriel de Magalhães and Ferdinand Verbiest in the 8th year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (1669). Then a conference was held by the Princes of the Deliberative Council, Dukes, Ministers, Nine Supervising Secretaries and other many officers. They presented a memorial that 'Catholics congregating in churches should be forbidden forever. Their congregating, distributing the booklet *Tian Xue Chuan Gai*, bronze statues and others, should all still be forbidden. Because Catholicism has only ever been enshrined and worshipped by the Westerners, it should continue to be so only by them.' An imperial order was issued declaring that 'What Ferdinand Verbiest has petitioned does not need to be discussed.' Afterwards the Ministry (of Rites) presented its memorial. As a result the imperial order is 'Act accordingly. Among local officers some measures are taken in which Catholicism is considered to be a plot and as rebellious as the White Lotus Sect. Such words should be deleted. This is so decreed by the Emperor himself.' The order should be respectfully followed.

The Ministry (of Rites) sent an official communication to Zhejiang and other provinces. It ordered that the Catholic Church in Hangzhou should remain as before, and be enshrined and worshipped by Westerners only. When the imperial order comes into force, an official communication will be sent to the Governor of Zhejiang Province. This is petitioned on the 20th day of the 1st month of 31st year of the Emperor Kangxi's reign (7 March, 1692).

On 10 March, the imperial order was issued: 'Act accordingly.'¹¹

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Later, the Emperor Kangxi ordered a reconsideration of the issues relating to the spread of Catholicism. On 17 March, Yisang'a and Alantai 阿兰泰, two chief members of the Council of Ministers, received an imperial decree from the Emperor, which was as follows:

Westerners are revising and formulating the calendar. They constructed weaponry at the time of the military operations. They are diligent in their work. Besides, Catholicism involves no wicked or unprincipled activities. People should be permitted to go and present joss sticks. The memorial presented by the Ministry (of Rites) before, should be withdrawn and destroyed by burning. You, jointly with the Manchu officers (*tangguan* 堂官) and scholars (*xueshi* 学士) of the Ministry of Rites, should discuss these matters and present a memorial.¹²

On 19 March, Yisang'a and others, chief members of the Council of Ministers, received another imperial decree from the Emperor, which was as follows:

The resolution previously discussed by the Ministry of Rites, that the Catholic Churches in the provinces should be preserved as before and could be enshrined and worshipped only by the Westerners, had been permitted and carried out. Now the Westerners are revising and formulating the calendar. Before this, they made weaponry at the time of the military operations. Moreover, they were diligent in their work. Recently, they have also showed meritorious deeds in accompanying (the Chinese officers) during the expeditions to Russia. They have no wicked or unprincipled activities. Their religion, which a few people regard as an evil heresy and want to forbid, is truly innocent. You, the Council of Ministers, jointly with the Ministry of Rites, discuss these matters and present a memorial.

So the Emperor Kangxi issued two decrees on Catholicism in two days, and the second one was the well-known Edict of Toleration. The inscription on the back of Tomás Pereira's tombstone cited precisely this edict, following the petition made by Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas.

On 20 March, after discussion, the Ministry of Rites decided that the spread of Catholicism in provinces was to be permitted. A memorial was presented to the Emperor by 17 officers of high rank,

the name of Gu Badai, the Minister of Rites, was at the top of the signature list.¹³ The inscription on the back of Tomás Pereira's tombstone cited this memorial from the Ministry of Rites, which followed the imperial edict.

This was, then, the well-known historical event of 1692. The original documents we can read now are precisely the five mentioned above. These documents brought to light the origin, development, cause and effect of the event. The five original documents comprised one petition by Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas, two memorials by the Ministry of Rites, and two imperial decrees by the Emperor Kangxi. These two imperial decrees summarised the contributions of the 'Westerners', that is, the activities of the Jesuit missionaries in China permitted the Catholic churches in the provinces to remain as before, and to be enshrined and worshipped as usual.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE 'EDICT OF TOLERATION' AND THE ROLE OF TOMÁS PEREIRA

It is well known that after the European missionaries went to the East several events took place which exhibited hatred of, and opposition to, Catholicism in China. In 1669, two years after the Emperor Kangxi took control of the affairs of state, a grievance was redressed: the well-known and unjust charge against some missionaries working on the Chinese calendar was dismissed. As a result, the Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666) was rehabilitated, and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) was entrusted with an important task in the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy. From this time on a Golden Age for Catholicism started in China.¹⁴

The Jesuits, unlike other European missionaries, played an important role in the communication of science, technology and culture between the West and the East. The activities of Jesuits in China mainly took place in the fields of science, technology, diplomacy and religion. Their contributions, or their activities in these fields, as stated above, were summarised in the imperial decrees.

The first important contribution made by the Jesuits was 'to revise and formulate the calendar', that is, the work related to astronomical observations and calendar calculations. They disseminated European

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astronomical knowledge in China by translating books into Chinese, drawing up mathematical tables and manufacturing observation instruments. In this aspect, Johann Adam Schall von Bell and his successor Ferdinand Verbiest, in particular, made great contributions. After the death of the former, and owing to the strong recommendations of the latter, some of the Jesuits went to Beijing following imperial orders. They were Christian Wolfgang Herdrich (1625-1684) and Philippe Marie Grimaldi (1638-1712) in 1671, Tomás Pereira in 1673, Simon Rodrigues (1645-1704) in 1679 and Antoine Thomas in 1685. All of them were well versed in matters relating to astronomy and the calendar, so that they were able to join the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy and assist the astronomical and calendar work going on there. After the death of Ferdinand Verbiest in 1688 (KX 27), Philippe Marie Grimaldi, Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas continued in the Bureau as 'the administrators of the calendar'.

The second important contribution of the Jesuits was 'to make weaponry at the time of the military operations'. In the early period of the Qing Dynasty, Johann Adam Schall von Bell set up a foundry to cast cannons, and instructed and taught the manufacture and use, of firearms, all in accordance with imperial orders. Later, a large number of cannons were made during the Emperor Kangxi's reign, in order to help put down rebellions, fight enemies and unify the country. According to Chinese historical records,¹⁵ from 1675 to 1721, a total of 905 of cannons, of several types, were made by orders of the Qing government. However, from 1670 to 1681, during the period of the 'Rebellion of the Three Vassals', Ferdinand Verbiest made at least 566 cannons by imperial orders. Whether it was a matter of scale, amount and type, or of technique and performance, the manufacture of cannons reached a peak during the Qing Dynasty. Ferdinand Verbiest made a great contribution to this.

Next, it was obvious that the Jesuits were 'diligent in their work'. A number visited the imperial palace, at different times and over a period of years, to give lectures on 'Western Learning' to the Emperor Kangxi. The first of these was Ferdinand Verbiest, followed by Christian Wolfgang Herdrich, Philippe Marie Grimaldi, Tomás Pereira, Antoine Thomas, Jean-François Gerbillon (1654-1707) and Joach Bouvet (1656-1730). These lectures were not suspended, even when the Emperor was making

his inspection tours outside the capital. 'Western Learning' referred to subjects such as mathematics, astronomy, medicine, cannon making, the use of instruments, music, painting and so on. Consequently the Jesuits were frequently praised and rewarded by the Emperor.

In addition, Jesuits played an important role in the diplomatic affairs of the Qing government. Johann Adam Schall von Bell and Ferdinand Verbiest were the pioneers of Jesuit diplomacy in China. They were often interpreters, usually when the Qing government received foreign envoys. Later the Jesuits were also invited to be interpreters, or advisers in diplomatic affairs, to the Qing government. In 1686 Philippe Marie Grimaldi was sent to Europe as a diplomatic envoy. In 1688 and 1689 Tomás Pereira and Jean-François Gerbillon went to the northern frontier twice as interpreters for the Chinese negotiating mission. They participated in the whole process of negotiating the Sino-Russia Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689). Indeed, 'they rendered the Emperor a service wholeheartedly, exerted themselves to fulfil the task, and performed a lot of meritorious deeds.'

All these aspects constitute a historical background to, as well as a solid foundation for, the 'Edict of Toleration', in which Tomás Pereira played an important part. His role is briefly analysed here from three perspectives.

The first is to view it from the angle of the mission undertaken by the Jesuits. Tomás Pereira was a faithful Jesuit missionary who made unremitting efforts to ensure legal status for Catholicism in China, just as his predecessors Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), Johann Adam Schall von Bell, Ferdinand Verbiest and all other missionaries had done. Tomás Pereira carried forward the tradition, started by Matteo Ricci, that scientific knowledge was to be used as a means to help the spread of religion. He was actively and enthusiastically engaged in transmitting 'Western Learning' in the fields of science, technology, diplomacy, religion, and even culture (music). He did his best to form favourable conditions for this missionary work.

The second perspective relates to the situation of the missionaries. In the early 1690s, there were few Jesuits in Beijing. Gabriel de Magalhães (1610-1677), Louis Buglio (1606-1682) and Ferdinand Verbiest had all died of illness, one after another. Christian Wolfgang Herdrich and Simon Rodrigues had left the capital to

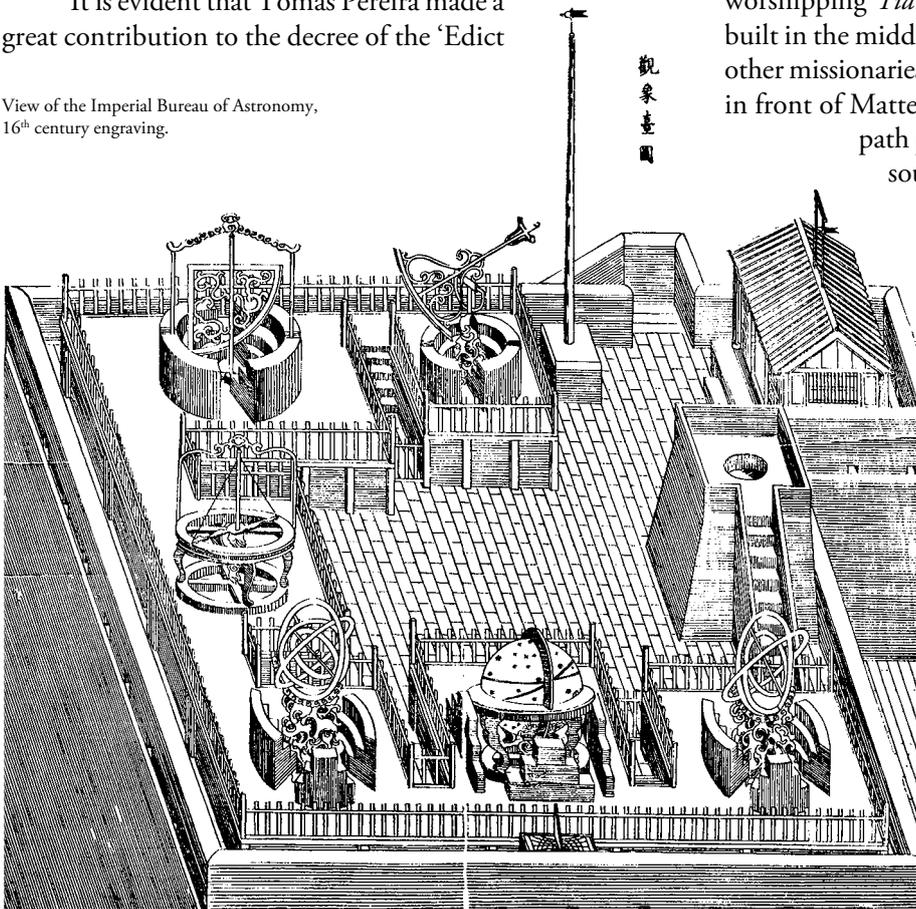
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travel to other provinces to do their missionary work. Philippe Marie Grimaldi had been sent to Europe as a diplomatic envoy in 1686. In 1688, five French Jesuits, headed by Jean de Fontaney (1643-1710) arrived in Beijing. However, only 'Joach Bouvet and Jean-François Gerbillon may stay in the capital to be used'.¹⁶ At the time, the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy was short of staff. By imperial order, and in the same year, José Soares (1656-1736) came to Beijing to work there. Therefore, in fact, only five Jesuits were in the capital at the time; they were Tomás Pereira, Antoine Thomas, Jean-François Gerbillon, Joach Bouvet and José Soares.

The third perspective considers the position of Tomás Pereira himself. In 1692, he was the Vice-Provincial (1692-1695) and Visitor (1691-1695) to the Vice-Province of China. So he had a high position, seniority and a good reputation among the five Jesuits in Beijing. Tomás Pereira did his duty in submitting the petition, together with Antoine Thomas, his signature being the first.

It is evident that Tomás Pereira made a great contribution to the decree of the 'Edict

View of the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy,
16th century engraving.



of Toleration'. This conclusion follows logically from the three perspectives considered above.

MATTERS RELATED TO THE TOMB AND TOMBSTONE OF TOMÁS PEREIRA

It is known that Tenggong Zhalan, a cemetery for missionaries who came to China from foreign countries, was near Erligou (another name for Maweigou) and outside the Fuchengmen Gate of Beijing. When Matteo Ricci died in Beijing in 1610 (the 38th year of the Emperor Wanli's reign in the Ming Dynasty), the Western missionaries in the capital submitted a memorial to the imperial court in which they asked the Emperor to bestow a graveyard for them to bury their dead. The Emperor granted them the land and buildings in Tenggong Zhalan, outside the Fuchengmen Gate (its original name was Pingzemen Gate): 'These could be accepted and inherited forever. The land is for the construction of a cemetery, and the buildings of a church, and as a place for enshrining and worshipping *Tianzhu*.¹⁷ Matteo Ricci's tomb was built in the middle of the cemetery. Later, tombs of other missionaries who died in the capital were built in front of Matteo Ricci's tomb, on both sides of a path paved with stones, and in a north-south direction leading to the tomb.

The cemetery was allowed to expand in 1655 (the 12th year of the Emperor Shunzhi's reign in the Qing Dynasty), after a memorial was submitted by Johann Adam Schall von Bell. After the unjust case against Schall von Bell was resolved, whereby he was fully exonerated and the grievance redressed, the imperial court granted 524 *liang* 两 of silver to rebuild his tomb, as if it were for a first-ranking official. His graveyard was located to the west of Matteo Ricci's and separated from it by a wall.

After Tomás Pereira died, the wall between the two graveyards was demolished,

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and replaced by a road paved with stones. An altar made of stone was set at the northern end of the road. Ferdinand Verbiest's tomb, which lay on the west side of the original path in front of Matteo Ricci's tomb, came to lie on the east side of the road and to the south of the altar. Tomás Pereira's tomb was built on the west side of the road and to the south of the altar, opposite Ferdinand Verbiest's. Later, other missionaries were buried on both sides of the road, their tombs forming a regular pattern.

In the 1730s, the Society of Jesus repaired and rebuilt the whole Zhalan cemetery in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of its arrival in Beijing. A stele was erected in 1739 (the 4th year of the Emperor Qianlong's reign) to commemorate the event. At that time the cemetery had 88 graves; of which about 70 were those of foreign missionaries. From then on the general pattern of the Zhalan cemetery remained the same until 1900.

In 1900 the Boxer Rebellion broke out. Their watchword was 'Support the Qing Dynasty and Destroy the Foreign Powers'. The foreign missionaries' cemetery was immediately attacked: many tombs were opened, all tombstones were knocked down, and the whole cemetery was destroyed. The tomb of Tomás Pereira did not escape this violence: it was destroyed, and the tombstone was broken in two. When the rebellion ended, the Qing government expressed its intention to develop friendly relations with the foreign powers and show its sympathy for the missionaries from abroad. In 1903 the government set aside 10,000 *liang* of silver for the restoration of the Zhalan cemetery, and set up a stele to record the event. However, due to a lack of historical records, little is known about Tomás Pereira's tomb and the tombstone.

Time brings great changes to the world. From then on, and over the next hundred years, the Zhalan cemetery went through further earthshaking changes. In the 1950s, the Party School of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was built on the original site of the Zhalan cemetery. The so-called 'Great Cultural Revolution of the Proletariat', which started in 1966, once again brought serious destruction to the area. The cemetery was not restored and the steles were not set upright until the end of the 1970s. In 1984, 'The Cemetery of Matteo Ricci and the Foreign Missionaries of the Ming and Qing Dynasties' was established as a site of cultural preservation by the

municipality of Beijing. However, facts about Tomás Pereira's tomb and his tombstone were still hard to come by. In any case, nothing remains of the tomb or the tombstone.

We are fortunate that the two rubbings of the inscriptions from the front and back of Tomás Pereira's tombstone have been preserved in the Rare Book Section of the Chinese National Library in Beijing, even if the tombstone itself was broken in two. A special decree of the Emperor Kangxi was inscribed on the front, and another edict of the Emperor on the back. According to Chinese tradition, such a stele, with the inscriptions of the imperial decree and the edict, should have a top part and a base. Only thus would it be complete. It may be inferable that the top and the base would be similar to the corresponding parts of Ferdinand Verbiest's tombstone.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The author would like to make the following remarks and comments.

1. As regards the information on the catalogue cards referring to rubbings of inscriptions of ancient bronzes and stone tablets preserved in Chinese National Library in Beijing:

- It is necessary to correctly distinguish *yang* 阳 and *yin* 阴, that is, the front and the back of a tombstone. According to Chinese tradition, the face with inscription 'Tomb of XXX' should be the *yang*, i.e., the front of the tombstone.
- The dates given on the catalogue cards are not exact. The compilers of the cards quoted some dates in the inscriptions so carelessly that the information has caused a certain degree of confusion and has been somewhat misleading. In fact, several dates given on the cards do not have any precise meaning. These include, for instance, the date on which Tomás Pereira submitted a petition, the date when an edict was decreed by the Emperor Kangxi, the date when Tomás Pereira died, and the date when the stele was erected.
- As to the First Rubbing, on its catalogue card, '... Note: ... "The Stele of Xu Risheng Requesting the Defence of Catholic Churches" ...', should be '... Note: ... "The Stele of Xu Risheng Requesting the Safeguard of Catholicity" ...'

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As to the Third Rubbing, on its catalogue card, 'Note: This stele has the same inscription as "The Stele of Xu Risheng Requesting the Defence of Catholicity" ...', should be 'Note: This stele has the same inscription as "The Stele of Xu Risheng Requesting the Safeguard of Catholicity" ...' In this way, the information on the catalogue cards of the two rubbings is not only consistent with that of the Second Rubbing, but they also have exact meanings.

2. The records relating to Tomás Pereira's Tombstone
 - The contents of the inscriptions of Tomás Pereira's tombstone, that is, his petition and the imperial decree, can be read in the books *Xi Chao Ding An* 熙朝定案 and *Zheng Jiao Feng Bao* 正教奉褒. In fact, these two books recorded in detail the original documents relating to the important events for Catholicity in China.
 - There are not many works in Western languages on Tomás Pereira's Tombstone. The book¹⁸ *Le cimetière et les oeuvres catholiques de Chala 1610-1927* (Peking, 1928) by Jean-Marie Vincent Planchet (1870-?), was an important and detailed early study. The inscriptions both on the front and back of Tomás Pereira's tombstone were reproduced on pages 227-8 of this book. However, these were typeset and printed according to the original inscriptions, instead of being photographs of the inscriptions.

The inscription on the front of the tombstone was reproduced on page 227 of the book. The inscription on the back was reproduced on page 228, together with a footnote 'Cf. *Zheng Jiao Feng Bao*, pages 165 et 166'. The inscription on the back was arranged into 26 vertical lines in total. As the tombstone had been broken in two, only 5 short lines were complete. As for the other 21 lines, each was lacking one to three Chinese characters. However these lost characters were not supplied in this book.

In the back inscription, which was typeset and printed, there were some misprinted characters. They are as follows:

- a. Where the text reads '加思賜予官爵' it should be '加恩賜予官爵'.
 - b. Where the text reads '諭奈之处' it should be '諭祭之处'.
 - c. Where the text reads '臣等孤子无可倚之人' it should be '臣等孤子无可倚之人'.
 - d. Where the text reads '力造军器木炮' it should be '力造军器火炮'.
 - e. Where the text reads '友行禁止' it should be '反行禁止'.
- The German scholar, Dr Gerlinde Gild, wrote a paper on the subject in the 1990s: 'The Introduction of European Musical Theory during the Early Qing Dynasty: The Achievements of Thomas Pereira and Theodorico Pedrini'.¹⁹ Attached to this paper, there was a page showing the front inscription of Tomás Pereira's tombstone. It was typeset and printed according to the original inscriptions, just as in Jean-Marie Vincent Planchet's book.
 - Another important work on the Zhalan cemetery has been published in recent years. It was *Departed, Yet Present: Zhalan, the Oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing* (Macao, San Francisco, 1995) edited by Edward J. Malatesta (1932-98), and published in three versions of English, Chinese and Portuguese. In Chapter I of this book, a detailed description of the history and changes of the Zhalan cemetery is given.

A photograph of the rubbing of the front inscription of Tomás Pereira's tombstone is reproduced on page 272 of this book. The original texts of the front inscription in Chinese and Latin, as well as their English translations, are reproduced on page 273. However, this book does not reproduce the inscription from the back of the tombstone.

On page 273, however, there are some mistakes both in the quoted Chinese original text and in the English translations. The following are some examples of obvious mistakes:

- The Chinese character '士' was lost, so '耶稣会士徐公之墓' was wrongly understood as '耶稣会徐公之墓'.
- In '上諭' ('The Imperial Decree'), on the right side of the front of the tombstone, '齋誠远来' was wrongly understood as '斋誠远来'. This was probably caused by the similarity between the two Chinese characters '齋' and '齋' in the original complex characters. While their simplified forms '齋' and '斋', differ from one other.
- In the brief Chinese biography, '自幼入会贞修' was mistaken for '自幼入会真修'.
- The Chinese sentence '上諭：朕念徐日昇齋誠远来...' was unsuitably translated as 'The

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Imperial edict says: “We remind Us, in fasting and abstinence, of you, Xu Risheng ...” There are obviously two mistakes here. Firstly, the character ‘念’ not only has the meaning of ‘想念’ (miss, remember), but also has the extended meaning of ‘想法’ (opinion) and ‘认为’ (think of). Secondly, because ‘齋诚远来’ was mistaken for ‘斋诚远来’ it was translated as ‘in fasting and abstinence’. In fact, the original text did not have this meaning at all. The meaning of the character ‘齋’ is ‘cherish’ or ‘keep in mind’. This sentence did praise Tomás Pereira for coming from afar full of sincerity. So, it could be correctly translated as ‘THE IMPERIAL EDICT We think of you Tomás Pereira, who came from afar with sincerity...’

- In the brief Chinese brief biography, the sentence ‘徐先生，讳日昇，号寅公...’ was unsuitably translated as ‘Master Xu was called Risheng and had the sobriquet Yingong’. Here, ‘sobriquet’ has the meaning of ‘绰号、浑名’ (nickname). However, in ancient China, the use of another

name, particularly in addressing scholars or literati, always carried overtones of respect and reverence. Therefore, the sentence should be translated as ‘Master Xu was called Risheng and had another name Yin’gong’.

The author of this article hopes that other researchers will focus on collecting and studying the original materials, so that further and more extensive research on the life and contributions of Tomás Pereira can be carried out in all the fields in which he had an influence: including science, technology, culture, diplomacy and religion. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 The Reading Room of the Rare Book Section, Chinese National Library in Beijing, Catalogue cards of rubbings of inscriptions of ancient bronzes and stone tablets, no. 1914 / 1915, Beijing.
- 2 Ibid, no. 1916 / 1917, Beijing.
- 3 Ibid, no. 4554 / 4553, Beijing.
- 4 朕念徐日昇齋诚远来，效力岁久，渊通律历，制造咸宜，扈从惟勤，任使尽职，秉性贞朴，无间始终，夙夜殫心，忠悃日著，朕嘉许久矣。忽闻抱病，犹望医治痊可，遽而溘逝，朕怀深为軫恻。特赐银二百两、大缎十端，以示优恤远臣之意。特俞。For the original Chinese text, cf. Pierre Huang 黄伯禄 ed., *Zheng Jiao Feng Bao* 正教奉褒 (Shanghai, Cimu Tang, 1904), fl. 128. For the English translation, cf. *Departed, Yet Present: Zhalan, the Oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing* edited by Edward J. Malatesta. Macao/San Francisco: Instituto Cultural de Macao/The Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco, 1995, p. 273. Some changes are made.
- 5 For the English translation, cf. *Departed, Yet Present: Zhalan, the Oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing*, p. 273. Some changes are made.
- 6 徐先生，讳日昇，号寅公，泰西波耳多阿里亚国人。自幼入会贞修，于康熙十二年岁次癸丑入中国传教。卒于康熙四十七年岁次戊子十一月十四日，寿六十四岁，在会四十六年。For the original Chinese text, cf. *Xi Chao Ding An* 熙朝定案, a transcription, stored in the library of the Institute for the History of Natural Science, Chinese Academy of Sciences. Again, cf. *Zheng Jiao Feng Bao*, fl. 113-114.
- 7 *Xi Chao Ding An*. Again, cf. *Zheng Jiao Feng Bao*, fl. 115.
- 8 *Xi Chao Ding An*. Again, cf. *Zheng Jiao Feng Bao*, fl. 115-16.
- 9 Zhang Penghe 张鹏翮 (1649-1725). He was Governor of Zhejiang Province 1689-1694 (KX 28-33).
- 10 *Zheng Jiao Feng Bao*, fl. 113.
- 11 *Xi Chao Ding An*. Again, cf. *Zheng Jiao Feng Bao*, fl. 114-15.
- 12 *Xi Chao Ding An*. Again, cf. *Zheng Jiao Feng Bao*, fl. 115.
- 13 This memorial was signed by 17 officers of high rank, led by Gu Baidai, the Minister of Rites. Others were Xiong Cilü 熊赐履, Xi'erda 席尔达, Wang Yangchang 王颺昌, Duoqi 多奇, Wang Zehong 王泽弘, Yisang'a 伊桑阿, Alantai 阿兰泰, Wang Xi 王熙, Zhang Yushu 张玉书, Manpi 满丕, Tunaha 图纳哈, Sigeze 思格则, Wang Guochang 王国昌, Wang Yinfang 王尹方, Wang Ji 王机 and Li Nan 李柁.
- 14 Cf. Noel Golvers, *The 'Astronomia Europaea' of Ferdinand Verbiest, S. J. (Dillingen, 1687)*. Text Translation, Notes and Commentaries (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1993).
- 15 See: Qing Shilu 清实录; Qingchao Wenxian Tongkao 清朝文献通考, vol. 194; Qinding Da Qing Huidian Shili, Gongbu, Junhuo, Zhu Pao 钦定大清会典事例·工部·军火·铸炮, vol. 894; Da Qing Huidian Tu, Wubei 大清会典图·武备, vol. 100; *Xi Chao Ding An*; etc.
- 16 *Xi Chao Ding An; Zheng Jiao Feng Bao*, fl. 93.
- 17 *Zheng Jiao Feng Bao*, fl. 6.
- 18 Cf. Jean-Marie Vincent Planchet, *Le cimetière et les oeuvres catholiques de Chala 1610-1927* (Pékin, 1928).
- 19 Cf. Gerlinde Gild, ‘The Introduction of European Musical Theory during the Early Qing Dynasty: The Achievements of Thomas Pereira and Theodorico Pedrini’. In *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S. J. (1592-1666)*, edited by Roman Malek. Sankt Augustin: China-Zentrum and Monumenta Serica Institute, 1998, pp. 1189-1200.