

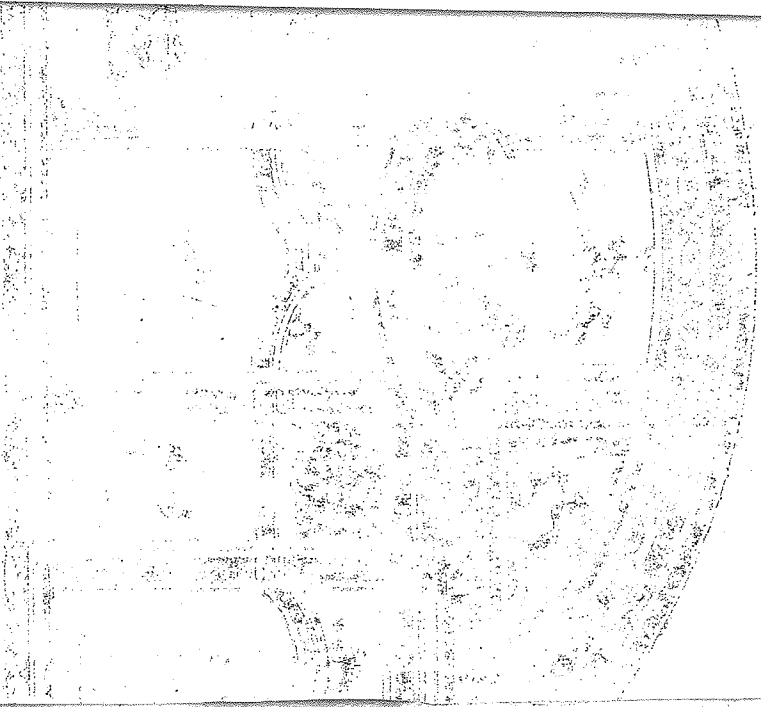
宗教与文化论丛

RELIGION AND CULTURE

(一)

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前 言

以宗教和文化为题，海内外学者已经做了不少文章。我们晚出的产儿《宗教与文化》还有什么可写的呢？还能说出点什么新名堂吗？

任何一门学科，其对象的外延是有限的，而内涵是无限的。以哲学史为例，对象的外延就是迄今为止的哲学家、哲学派别和哲学学说。能加以挖掘的只是尚未被人们注意到的哲学家，或是体现在其它意识形态和生活领域中的哲学思想。可是，随着社会的发展，认识的提高，体验的加深，总有新的成果。人们只要转换视角，从不同侧面去研究，新的领域，新的硕果就呈现在你的面前。一门科学史，就是研究者不断揭示对象的内容与方方面面的历史。同一主题不断得到深化，未被注意的方面、领域不断被触及，在此基础上又不断形成新的交叉学科，这就是学科发展的基本形式。自在的研究者（或者说自蔽的探索者）对此熟视无睹。自在的研究者（或者说自蔽的探索者）自觉置身于认识中国有的根本矛盾之中，即研究对象之无限性与研究者本人身心的有限性，所处历史条件的局限性之间的矛盾之中，因而各自的视野和心态全然两样。费希特就是一个自觉的探索者。他说：“学者要忘记他刚刚做了什么，要经常想到他还应当做些什么。谁要是不能随着他所走过的每一步而开阔他的活动的视野，谁就止步不前了。”（论学者的使命）

宗教与文化不同于宗教文化，它本身不是一门专门学科，然

Eugenio Menegon

"A DIFFERENT COUNTRY, THE SAME HEAVEN": GIULIO ALENIS, S. J. AND HIS GEOGRAPHICAL, RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL APPROACH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CHINA.

The Italian missionary Giulio Alenis (Chinese name Ai Rulue, *zi* Sijj) was one of the most prominent figures of the Jesuit Missions in China, where he worked from 1613 until his death in 1649.

He was born in Brescia, Northern Italy, in 1582 from a family of the local middle class.

In the second half of the 16th century there was in Brescia an improvement of the religious life in general, with a new impulse to the catechetical organizations and charitable institution, thanks to the reforms prompted by the bishop Domenico Bolani (1559—1579). It should not be forgotten that from 1544 to 1563, in order to counteract the protestant Reformation led by the German priest Martin Luther (1517), vainly excommunicated in 1521, Pope Paul III was forced to summon the Council of Trent, whose main purpose was to organize the Catholic

response.

The economic situation of Brescia was not stable; plagues, like those of 1577 and 1630, had weakened the local economy, based on the textile and armour—making industries. In 1607, the number of armour workshops had decreased from 80 to 16.

The city of Brescia and its territories had chosen to be part of the Republic of Venice³ in 1426, and from that year on, only the aristocracy had the right to elect the members of the City Council, some of the Problem were involved in the government of the area, others studied to become doctors or lawyers; others pursued a military career, at the service of many European princes and rulers or entered religious orders; many of them, especially the younger sons who had no inheritance rights, led an idle life, gambling and fighting amongst themselves.

Giulio Alenis, who came from a family which had recently been accepted into the nobility, could also have been an idle and dangerous youngster: instead he followed his missionary vocation, and offered his life for the missions in China.

His family whose surname was "Alenis", "De Alenis" or more simply "aleni" originally came from the village of Leno, in the province of Brescia: according to the chronicler pandolfo Nassino (16th century) the Alenises were natives of the province of Bergamo⁴, from which, beginning in the 13th century, many artisans and art craftsmen had emigrated to Brescia. The original surname of the family was "De Boldinis", but they began to be known also as "a Leno de Boldinis" which means

"De Boldinis from (the village of) Leno". The former surname was soon forgotten and "Aleni" or "De Alenis" began to be used more and more frequently our missionary signed his letters "Giulio Alenis".

The branch of the Alenis family from which Giulio came had moved to Brescia at the end of the 15th century. In the registers of the City, in the year 1475, we find the name "Bonus a Leno". Later, the Alenis were included among the notaries and in 1563 they were accepted into the nobility of Brescia. The family purchased at that time some properties in the city of Brescia itself, and in some other villages of the county, particularly in Ospitaletto and Porpenazze.

Giulio was probably born in the parish of St. Maria Calchera in Brescia in 1581 or 1582⁵, Unfortunately, the registers for the years between 1570 and 1600, once preserved in the archives of the parish church, have disappeared. His mother, Francesca, was a member of the noble Ugoni family.

After attending private lessons under the guidance of a priest, on November 18th, 1597, when he was 15 years old, he entered the College founded by the Jesuits in Brescia. The college was called "Collegio per Nobili" (i. e. College for the Aristocrats), had 40—50 students and was dedicated to St. Anthony⁶.

The Venetian Province of the Company of Jesus, established in 1578, was formed by the territories of the Republic of Venice; and by the Dukedoms of Ferrara⁷ and Mantua⁸. In the archives of, the Province there is a register for 1600, in which

we read about Giulio Alenis: "Giulio Alenis, from Brescia, 19 years old, healthy, novice, who entered (the College of Novellara) on November 1st, 1600; he has already studied humanities for three years"⁹. From this we know that he was in the College of Brescia in the years 1597—1600, and that he entered the novitiate in Novellara, not far from Reggio Emilia¹⁰, in 1600.

Giulio received a solid background and achieved good results in his studies¹¹. Thus he was readily accepted in the Company of Jesus. It was not an easy deal in those days: in the year 1605, only six applications out of twenty were accepted in Brescia. His training (novitiate) consisted of two years of intense study and spiritual preparation and ended with the taking of temporary vows. In 1602 he was sent by his superiors to the College of Parma¹² to study philosophy: first, a student had to study logics, with special regard to the universal ideas and the problem of knowledge; then he had to study physics, the science concerned with the investigation of matter natural forces, but also with the nature of the abstract quantitative shapes and which was an introduction to mathematics; and finally metaphysics, which is the science of the nature of being and its changes.

While still in his novitiate, Giulio Alenis asked to be sent to the furthest missions of the company. In 1603 he formally asked Father Claudio Acquaviva, General Superior of the Company of Jesus, to be sent to do missionary work. Here is the translation of his letter:

"Very Reverend in Christ Our Father,

One year ago, on Good Friday, while meditating on the Holy passion (of Jesus), I felt the ardent desire to use all my forces to help those poor souls (in the missions). And having manifested this desire to the Master of Novices and also to the Provincial Father, and persevering till now, also on their advice, (...) I decided to manifest to Your Paternity the desire of going to the East or West Indies, as you will decide. (...) I have been in the Company for three years and I am 22 years old. I am presently studying logic, I am of natural complexion and in good health for Our Lord's grace. Parma, May 16th, 1603. ¹¹⁰

Giulio Alenis continued his studies at Parma College until 1605. At the end of that year he was sent to the college of Aristo — crats in Bologna¹⁴ to teach humanities, and there he spent two years. In this period he read some books by the famous astronomer and geographer Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555—1617)¹⁵, who was professor of astronomy at the university of Bologna. We probably have to ascribe to the influence of Magini the interest that Alenis developed later in China on astronomy and especially geography.

According to the standard Jesuit curriculum, after two years of teaching experience, one should begin the academic studies of theology. In December 1607, Alenis went to Rome to pursue his theological studies. In the famous "Collegio Romano" (Roman College) he was a pupil of the Jesuit astronomer and mathematician Christopher Clavius (the latinized name of Klau,

1537—1612), who had supervised Pope Gregory XIII's calendar reform in 1582¹⁶. Clavius was a friend of Galileo Galilei (1564—1642) and also tried to defend him from the attacks of the Church itself.

Giulio Alenis, on December 3rd, 1607, again wrote to the General superior of the Jesuits, through his superior at the College, to be assigned to missionary work in the "Indies"¹⁷. In 1609, after only two years of theological studies, Alenis' application was accepted: he now had to go to Lisbon in Portugal, which was the departure port for the Far East. Alenis first went to Bologna, probably stopping on the way at Loreto, a famous sanctuary dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary in central Italy; then passed through Brescia, to see his family; and finally reached the port of Genova¹⁸. From there he sailed to Gibraltar and arrived finally at Lisbon. He embarked for Goa, the Portuguese colony in India, on the ship "Nostra Sra, da Piedade" on March 23rd, 1609. From that the Annals of the company of Jesus in Portugal, we learn that the expedition was composed of 12 Portuguese, 10 Italian and 2 Belgian missionaries. On the register there is a note in Latin which says: "Navigatio contigit plena laboribus", that is "the journey was very troublesome"¹⁹. The journeys were usually very hard even in normal conditions; a "troublesome" one could have killed a person not strong enough. In fact, three priests and four clerics, all from Portugal, died on this journey. The Jesuits knew very well the risks of the sea journeys: in order to make sure their mail would be received, they used to send their letters to Europe in

two copies, one to be delivered by Spanish galleons via the Philippines and Mexico, and one by Portuguese carracks via Goa. ¹

Probably during these months of forced inactivity Alenis continued his studies of theology, philosophy, mathematics and geography, which were later to be the subjects of his tracts in Chinese. ¹

He left Lisbon in the spring of 1609 and arrived at Goa in India at the end of that year. During the trip he studied the declination of the compass and sent his results to Father Athanasius Kircher (1601—1680)²⁰, who reported these data in his book *Magnes sive de arte magnetica*²¹ (On Magnetism). ¹

In January 1610 he recorded a lunar eclipse at Salsete, near Goa. We have a description of the eclipse written by Alenis himself in a letter sent from Macao on January 28th, 1611 to his teacher G. A. Magini²². In the same letter he also described a solar eclipse he saw at Macao, predicted by Chinese and Japanese astronomers, and the ceremonies performed by the locals, which took place on that occasion.

We do not have any records of Alenis' stay in Goa: he probably completed his theological studies and was ordained a priest there.

In January 1611 Alenis was certainly in Macao (we deduce it from the aforementioned letter), where he studied Chinese language in the College founded to prepare missionaries entering the Middle Kingdom. Alenis was unanimously considered the Jesuit of the second generation with the deepest knowledge of

written and spoken Chinese, and deserved the title of "Confucius of the West" (*Xi lai Kongzi*)²³. In that year he tried, together with Fr. Pieter Van Spiere, to penetrate China via Canton, but the boatman betrayed them. They were arrested and forced to pay a heavy ransom (140 golden escudos) before release.

From 1611 to 1613 Alenis was a teacher of mathematics and master of novices in the College of Macao²⁴. On November 8th, 1612, Alenis made an observation of an eclipse of the moon in Macao, which lasted from 8. 30 a. m. to 11. 45 a. m.; an observation of the same eclipse made by his confrère Carlo Spinola in Nagasaki (Japan), made it possible to discover that between Macao and Nagasaki: the difference of the meridians was exactly of one hour²⁵.

In 1611 and 1612 it was impossible to organize any expedition from Macao to the Chinese continent; in 1613 the missionaries finally found a safe way to enter China²⁶.

Alenis, together with Fr. Spiere and Sambiassi, was sent to Nanjing, where the Superior was Fr. Vagnoni. There were Twenty Jesuits in China at that time, divided among five residences: Beijing (5), Nanjing (5), Hangzhou (3), Nanchang (3) and Nanking (4). ¹

In 1613, Probably in consideration of his knowledge of the Chinese and Hebrew languages, he was sent to Kaifeng, where the last Hebrew community in China resided, to collect information on their Bible; but they refused to give any information. He then continued on to Beijing, where he met the famous

Christian convert Xu Guangqi (1562—1633), whom he accompanied back to Shanghai, his ancestral home. From 1615 on, the Jesuit enterprise experienced a first challenge: the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites in Nanjing, Shen Que²⁷, began to attack the missionaries and the Christian community of Nanjing²⁸. When the persecution grew stronger in 1616—17, some Jesuits took refuge in Yang Tingyun's house in Hangzhou. Yang (1557—1627)²⁹ was one of the most famous converts of the entire Christian community, and made use of his political influence to defend the missionaries from the fury of Shen Que. By the end of 1617, Hangzhou had become the largest Jesuit residence in China, as those in Beijing and Nanjing had been closed. The following Jesuit fathers were probably hosted at Yang's house: Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560—1640), Nicolò Longobardo (1559—1654), Francesco Sambiasi (1582—1649) and Giulio Aleni³⁰. Under Yang's direction, Aleni and his confrères studied intensively Chinese literature and language. Aleni, Yang's favourite pupil, acquired so great a mastery of Chinese literature and customs during these years of semiretirement as to be able to write treatises in Chinese and be successful in his Fujian's mission later.

After Shen Que's promotion to the post of Great Secretary in Beijing, the situation greatly improved. Early in 1620, Xu Guangqi asked Aleni to tutor in scientific subjects the official Ma Chengxiu³¹ in Yangzhou. Aleni joined Ma at his home in Yangzhou and gave him lessons in mathematics and other sciences. At the same time, he succeeded in converting Ma to

Christianity, baptizing him on March 25th, 1620, giving him the Christian name of Peter. Ma also gave Aleni part of his house as a chapel, when Ma set out for Shaanxi to take his official post at Shangzhou, Aleni accompanied him, giving him instruction in religion and mathematics for five months.

Aleni also lived in the house of the converts Han Yun and Han Lin³² in Jiangzhou. Shanxi; they were both pupils and friends of Xu Huangqi. At Jiangzhou Aleni discovered a good quality of wine. Earlier efforts to make wine in China had failed, and wine had turned to vinegar or refused to ferment, obliging the missionaries to rely solely on wine imported from Portugal.

In 1621 he went south to Zhengzhou, Henan, where in April he joined Ma Chengxiu who was on his way to Fujian to a higher official post; then he stopped at Yangzhou, while Ma continued on to the south.

At the end of 1621 Aleni was in Hangzhou, where from 1621 to 1624 he wrote and published most of his literary production in Chinese. In 1621 he baptized Zhang Geng³³, an official native of Fujian, and began collaborating with Yang Tingyun on the famous descriptive atlas of the World³⁴. Another important geography tract, the *Zhifang Waiji*³⁵ (Record of Areas beyond the Tribute State), was first published in Hangzhou in 1623; it continued to be used as a source of information about European geography among the educated Chinese down to the nineteenth century³⁶.

The *Xi Xue Fan* (A General Account of Western Studies), was

also written in 1623, with the help of three Chinese scholars and with a preface by Yang Tingyun²⁷. It was probably intended by Alenis as a general presentation of Western culture, represented by the 7000 volumes in Western languages collected by the Jesuits throughout Europe for their mission in Beijing. Alenis divided Western Knowledge into six broad categories: Letters or Rhetorics (wen ke or leduolijia), the transliteration of the Italian word Rettorica), philosophy (li xue or feilusuoifeiya, Italian Filosofia), Medicine (yi ke or modiqina, Italian Medicina), Law (fa ke or leyisi, latin Canones), and Theology (dao ke or tulurija, Italian Teologia). Philosophy was further divided into Logics, physics, Metaphysics, Mathematics and Geometry. The most praised philosopher was Aristotle (Yalisiduo), who was considered the supreme thinker in history; in the part related to Theology, some pages were devoted to Thomas Aquinas (Duomasi) and his Summa Theologica, which represented the conceptual frame of Catholic theology at the time. From 1654 to 1678, Ludovico Buglio (1606—1681) translated much of the Summa Theologica in Chinese, giving it the title Chaoxing Xueyao. Alenis however was the first to quote Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas in China.

In 1623 Alenis published his first "philosophical" work, the Wanwu Zhenyuan (The True Origin of the World), to describe some contents of the Aristotelian and Scholastic systems and to refute some common Neo—Confucian ideas on the origin of the World. This booklet was also translated into Manchu language at the beginning of the Qing dynasty, during the reign of

Kangxi. These were the main contents: 1) Everything must have a beginning; 2) Man is not self—created; 3) Heaven and the Earth cannot give birth to living beings and to man by themselves; 4) The Original Ether (Yuan Qi) did not divide by himself into Heaven and Earth; 5) The Principle (Li) cannot create beings; 6) Things exist because of an inner principle, not because of perception; 7) Heaven, the Earth and living beings were created by a Supreme Ruler (Zhuzai); 8) The Supreme Ruler exerts his control on Heaven, Earth and beings; 9) Not everything was decided by the Lord when he created the world (i. e. some freedom was left to man by God); 10) The Lord of Heaven (Tianzhu) created Heaven and the Earth; 11) God is the origin of everything, but has on origin. As Ricci had already done, Alenis tried to link the Western and Chinese philosophical traditions; rationality was—according to him—a common feature of all men, in spite of their culture and religion. Once a common intellectual ground was found, it would be much easier to understand the truths of Christianity. Alenis himself wrote in the preface:

"Those who act in accord with the principle (Li) are the Common Masters (Gong Shi) of mankind; men from the Eastern Seas and men from the Western Seas come from different countries, but share a common Heaven (Tian); their cultures are different, but they share the same rationality (Li). So nobody can be exempted from following the teachings of the Common Masters."²⁸

Some years later the ideas contained in this book were to be bitterly criticized by Neo—Confucian and Buddhist intellectuals in Fujian, the region where Alenis worked from 1625 on. In 1623 Alenis also published his Xingxue Cushu (Simple Remarks on Human Nature); the book was mainly devoted to illustrate the Christian conceptions of soul and body, the immortality of soul, the five senses, the human faculties, such as memory and will, the difference between men and angels, the meaning of human life related to its brevity and to death. Two years later he compiled the famous dialogue Sanshan Lunxueji (Record of the Discussions about the Teaching in Sanshan), where he reported the talks he had had with the Ke-lao Ye Xianggao on some important issues of the Christian religion, such as the creation of the world by God, the existence of paradise and hell, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. At the records were appended the poems written in honour of Alenis by some literati, among whom was Ye himself³⁸.

It is really remarkable the number of books Alenis was able to publish in Hangzhou in the short span of four years; he probably prepared most of this material during the persecution of 1616—17, and later published it with the help of Yang Tingyun and other Chinese converts in Hangzhou. In all his works he was a faithful adherent to the Ricci method, presenting the Western missionaries as scholars in both the Western and Chinese science, and Christianity as a necessary complement to Confucianism. An example is given in his Tianzhu Shengjiao Sizijing Wen (Beijing, 1642), the Christian "Four

Character Classic", in imitation of the famous primer "Three Character Classic" (Sanzijing). At its beginning, the "Christian primer" told the story of the three Magi visiting King Herod and that of the birth of Christ, where the Chinese original told that of Mencius and his mother.

Alenis programme of translation and intercultural exchange in well illustrated at the end of his Xixuefan:

"I am a foreigner who came from a distance of 90, 000 Li, and wish to translate into Chinese the aforesaid works (i. e. some Western books on science, philosophy and theology) on behalf of my Chinese friends. In order to regularly publish these works, whose translation will last ten or more years, we will have to select young, gifted and fresh-minded scholars, and to supervise their work year by year. (...) When this enterprise has reached a final stage and (the translation) corresponds fully to the original, we will publish these works and spread them. This will help to harmonize the teachings of the Western and Eastern Sages, This is a rare opportunity for His Majesty's government. I came from afar after a troublesome journey to bring this great benefit; but I do not know whether it will be appreciated or not."³⁹

This plan, which was a common feature of the Jesuit missionary policy, was partly realized in the following years, even though the impact of Western knowledge on China was not as great as Alenis hoped.

Alenis later went to Changshu, southern Jiangsu, at the invitation of the Christian official Qu Shigu⁴¹, and he founded a church there.

When Alenis met the Great Secretary Ye Xianggao (1559—1627) in 1624, Ye was on his way to the native province of Fujian for retirement. It was a great occasion to spread the Gospel in that still untouched province, thanks to the support and prestige of Ye. Fujian province, especially the coastal zone, was a centre of international trade; the ports of Fuzhou, Amoy and Quanzhou were the seats of great commercial houses, which had ties with Japan and South—East Asia, and with the Spanish in Manila, the Portuguese in Macao and the Dutch in Formosa. Also the Cultural level was very high, as attested by the large number of books printed and that of schools, libraries and academies. In spite of a difficult beginning, in the following years Alenis had the opportunity to make friends with scholars in Fuzhou⁴² and to travel extensively about Fujian. As a matter of fact, Wei Zhongxian (1568—1626), the notorious eunuch in power at the Imperial Court, had filled the province with spies, who reported to him about the activities of his political opponents, among whom there was also Ye Xianggao, a member of the Donglin party, Ye of course was afraid of being associated with the foreign priests, also because of the recent pillages along the Fujian coast and the seizure of a tiny island by the Dutch to build a fortified operations base. Alenis, in the eyes of the Chinese, was not different from the Dutch. Any way, in 1625 Alenis founded his first chapel in Fuzhou, Thanks

to the concern and enthusiasm of a Christian convert, Melchior Zhu, Ye Xianggao began to visit Alenis, and his example was soon followed by other officials⁴³.

Alenis spent the following years in Fujian, founding churches and baptizing hundreds of converts. He was particularly successful in Quanzhou⁴⁴, where he converted 257 people in 1634 and 130 in 1635, and Xinghua⁴⁵, where he founded a Jesuit residence and a church. A journal of the religious activities of Fr. Alenis, entitled Kouduo richao (Journal of Oral Instructions) was compiled by a devout scholar, Li Jiubiao, recording the travels, the discussions with converts and opponents and the religious methods of Alenis from 1631 to 1640⁴⁶. This book well illustrates the great number of social relations Alenis entertained with Chinese scholars, as well as the fascination he exerted on his audience when he used in his speeches the images coming from the Western tradition, unknown to his counterparts. The terminology used in the book must have been, once again, confusing for the Chinese: the philosophical and theological notions of the Scholastic tradition, especially those related to the concept of soul, were rendered in Chinese with a Neo—Confucian and Buddhist terminology. The description of “syncretic” practices, which were the result of the accommodation policy of the Jesuits, attests the emergence of a “Sinicized Christianity”: for example, Alenis permitted the Chinese converts to put the Cross near the family ancestral tablet, and to “transfer” the positive effects of the offerings and prayers to God onto their ancestors⁴⁷. The Kouduo richao also describes

the institution of many Christian "Pious Societies" (Hui), taking as a model Taoist, Buddhist and Neo-Confucian Associations. These Associations were founded by the Chinese converts, not by the Jesuits, as an evidence that these institutions were perceived as Chinese, and not as foreign.

In 1638 the Jesuits alone (in 1631 the first Dominican Friars had entered Fujian) had 17 churches in the province and missionary centers in the main citise. On February 12th, 1642, Fr. Alenis informed in a letter to the General Vitelleschi in Rome that he had personally founded 22 churches in the 8 main cities of the region.⁴⁸

The arrival of the Dominican and Franciscan Friars in Fujian began to create some problems. The new missionaries, who came from the Spanish dominions of the Philippines and Formosa, were unwilling to make concessions to Chinese customs and rites, and the new obligations and prohibitions aroused discontent among the local Christians. The reports on the missionary methods of the Jesuits sent by the Friars to their superiors in Manila and Rome beginning with 1635, gave a rise to the "Rites Controversy": according to Dominicans and Franciscans, the Jesuits had compromised too much with Chinese customs in their attempt to make the Catholic faith accepted in China⁴⁹; so they asked the Pope to intervene to settle the problem. The Controversy lasted more than three hundred years; after some prohibitions of the Chinese Rites issued in the eighteenth century, Pope Pius XII in 1699 finally accepted the rites to Confucius and to the ancestors as non-superstitious.

In 1636—37 an incident took place in the Fuzhou district: Gaspar Alenda and Francisco de la Madre de Dios, both Franciscans, reacted violently to the publication of an anti-Christian pamphlet in Fuan (a district north-west of Funing, northern Fjian), deciding to go to Beijing "to defend our immaculate doctrine with argument and with our lives, and to preach Jesus Christ, our crucified Lord"⁵⁰ at the Imperial court. They arrived in Beijing on August 14th, 1637, and were met by the Jesuit Adam Schall (1592—1666), the famous astronomer. They stayed at the Jesuit residence for a fortnight and were eventually traced by the officials of the Board of Rites, arrested and sent back to Fujian. Once back in Fuzhou, thanks to the help of the Jesuits, they were released; but after some time they were arrested again, and the military commandant issued a decree proscribing Christianity. The Franciscans thought that Giulio Alenis was responsible for the plot and that the Jesuits wanted to get rid of them. After three months, the Friars were ordered to Macao. A general persecution followed, many Christians were tortured, those who were officials were deprived of offices and titles. The commandant in Fuzhou issued new decrees of proscription and a list of missionaries to be arrested included Giulio Alenis. Some Friars, hidden in the countryside, decided to march through the street of Fuzhou, proclaiming the truth of the Christian faith and rising crucifixes in the air⁵¹. They were arrested again and ordered to leave the city, then released. Their activities continued and led to their re-arrest in April, 1638; in the following months they

finally left China for Formosa and the Philippines. 1

Some essays preserved in the famous anti-Christian collection Po Xie Ji (1639)⁵² were directed against Alenis' sermons and books. We find traces of debates between Alenis and some Neo-Confucian scholars in Fuzhou in at least two essays: the Zuo Pi (Guide to Confutation, 1637)⁵³ by Xu Dashou⁵⁴ and the Qing Yan Xiansheng Pi Tianzhujiào Shu (A letter to Mr. Yan pi, Xu Dashou reported some Christian doctrines taught by the missionaries on the creation of all things in six days, on the eternal life of the souls after death and on the original sin. In his conversations with Alenis, Xu raised some questions: if souls have no prior existence and therefore have not to expiate any crime committed in their lives, why should individuals experience poverty and wealth? How could the punishment for the original sin be extended to all succeeding generations?⁵⁵ Why did God create Lucifer (equated by Alenis to Yama, or Yanlo Wang), that is created evil?⁵⁶ It was difficult for Alenis to answer; an example is what happened when he was interrogated by Huang Zhen on the Problem of concubinage:

"Their religion has ten commandments, and they say that if concubines are taken because no son has been born, then one has broken a great commandment and must certainly enter hell. If this is so, then the sage emperors and illustrious kings who have hitherto possessed concubines will not be able to avoid the hell of the lord of Heaven. I made enquiries

concerning this matter and asked; 'King Wen possessed many queens and concubines. what do you say to this?' Alenis thought deeply for a long time, but did not reply. (...) I enquired yet again and said; 'You must explain the meaning of this clearly, setting up a principle valid for ever. Only in this way you can bring people to understand and take refuge in this religion, being completely free from doubt. 'Alenis again thought deeply for a considerable period of time, and then said with great hesitation: 'at the outset I did not wish to speak, but now I will indeed speak.

(...) I shall speak to you, elder brother, but in the presence of others I would certainly say nothing. I fear that King Wen too has entered hell!' Then hesitatingly, changing his line of speech, he said: 'Let us talk about principles instead of personalities. for it could be that King Wen later repented bitterly, and is therefore not a subject of discussion. '⁵⁶

It was difficult for the Chinese to accept some Christian beliefs and moral duties, but even more difficult for the missionaries to introduce only "rational truths", putting aside, at least at the beginning, the dogmas of the Catholic faith and those social customs which were alien to their Chinese counterparts. 1

Anyway, Alenis was able to celebrate Mass publicly in Fuzhou on July 14th, 1639, after several weeks of "quarantine" in an inn not far from the city, and to continue his apostolical work.

From 1641 to 1648 he had the post of vice provincial of Jesuit missions in South China. A catalogue of 1645 of the vice-province of China recorded Alenis as superior of the southern provinces, cut off from the North which had already been conquered by the Manchus; another five Jesuits were in Fujian, two in Guangdong, two in Nanjing and Shanghai, and one in Nanchang⁶⁰. In 1645, when the Manchus were at the gates of Nanjing, the prince of Tang proclaimed. Himself legitimate Emperor of China in Fuzhou, with the name of Longwu. When he knew of Alenis' presence in Fuzhou, he went and visited him and his church, declaring that the building was too modest for the cult of God and ordering to enlarge it. Like the last Ming pretender Yongli Emperor of the Southern Ming (reign 1643—1661), who sought support from the Christians and military aid from Macao, he probably wanted to earn the favour of the foreign priests and of the armies of their foreign protectors, the Portuguese. Alenis had great expectations, but in the years 1647—1648 everything he had done in twenty years was dispersed and destroyed⁶¹.

From 1647 to his death on August 3rd, 1649, the period of the Manchu conquest of the region, he lived in Yanping, Fujian, in semi-retirement. His remains were transferred from Yanping to Fuzhou, where he was buried on a hill outside the city, called "Shizi shan", that is "Mountain of the Cross".

A bibliography of his writings is given by Lovis pfister⁶², and includes at least 24 works in Chinese. Among the most interesting are the already quoted Zhifang Waiji (1623), Xixue

Fan (1623) and Xifang Dawen (Questions and Answers regarding the West, 1637)⁶³, all on geography and cartography; a biography of Fr. Ricci, Daxi Xitai Li Xiansheng Xingshi⁶⁴ (Deeds of Mr Li Xitai from the Great West, 1620) and one of Yang Tingyun, Yang Qiyuan Chaoxing Shiji (The Achievements of the Surpassing Nature of Yang Qiyuan, after 1627); he also edited together with Emmanuel Diaz, a commentary on the text of the Nestorian monument found at Xi'an, Jingjiao Bei Song Zhujie⁶⁵ (A Eulogy of the Nestorian Tablet); the other writings are mainly of a religious nature. A Chinese biography of Alenis', Siji Ai Xiansheng Xingji (The Biography of Mr. Ai Siji), was published soon after his death by Li Sixuan⁶⁶.

NOTES

1. Situated at the edge of the Prealps, on flat ground at the mouth of Valteompia Valley, Brescia now has the second largest population in Lombardy after Milan, which is the Main city in the region. It was an important chief town of the local Gauls, then a Roman Municipium called Brixia; after the Barbarian invasions it became a free municipality (12th century) within the Lombard League. From 1426, after the rove of some noble families (Pallavicini, Scaligeri, Torriani and Visconti), it went over to the Republic of Venice, remaining part of that until 1797, the year in which the Napoleonic Cisalpine Republic was declared. In 1814 Brescia became part of Lombard-Venetia under Austro-Hungarian rule, from which it finally liberated in 1859, joining the kingdom of Italy.

2. Much of the information on the early years of Alenis' life are drawn by

a recent essay by Fausto Balestrini, "Padre Giulio Alenis, missionario gesuita in Cina, 1582—1649", in Fausto Balestrini (ed.), Uomini di Brescia, Brescia, Giornale di Brescia, 1988.

3. Early historical information on Venice dates back to the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. when, to escape the Barbarian invasions, refugees from the Venetian countryside took shelter in the Lagoon. At first they were ruled by Maritime Tribunes, then by the Doges (the first in 627A. D.), gradually eluding Byzantine influence. Its importance increased during the Crusades, when it extended its rule over the Aegean Islands, Peloponesia, Crete and part of Constantinople. Rivalry with Genoa and the other Italian maritime republics served time the only to increase its strength, which reached its apogee in the fifteenth century. From the 11th to the 15th centuries, Venice was an important trading centre in the Mediterranean Sea and towards the time the Orient. The Mediterranean Sea was at the time the only channel of trade with the Far East. Rich merchandise from China, Persia, India and Arabia came to the Levant through the old overland caravan routes and from there was carried to Western Mediterranean ports, particularly Venice, for distribution throughout a Europe hungry for the produce of the East, Marco Polo (1254—1323) is certainly the most widely known Venetian traveller of the Middle Ages. he was in China from 1275 to 1292. During this time, he served as an official of the Mongol Empire in Hangzhou and Yangzhou. His famous book "Il Milione" was a source of information of the mythical "Gastay" for medieval Europe. Nevertheless, the precise geographical location of Cathay was a puzzle for geographers and cartographers until the Jesuits began providing reliable information about Chinese geography and cartography. Giulio Alenis did for the Chinese what Marco Polo had done for the European: he began introducing European geography to China with his "best-

sellers" like Zhifang wiji and Xixue fan, providing Chinese readers with information on Europe's geography and history.

In the 14th and 15th centuries, Venice increased its territories on the Venetian mainland, occupying Treviso, Padua, Vicenza and later Verona, Feltrina and Bassano (1404—1405). In 1426—28 Brescia and Bergamo also decided to join the Republic. The fall of Constantinople (1454), however, and the discovery of America, marked the beginning of commercial and political decline for the Republic of Venice, culminating in the loss of independence ratified by the Treaty of Campoformio (1797), an agreement between Napoleon and Austria, which gave Venice over to Austria. After the Napoleonic period (1805—1814), and the heroic events of the Risorgimento (the uprising against the Austrians in 1848), it was finally reunited with the kingdom of Italy in 1866, following the Third war of Independence.

4. Another important city in Lombardy, not far from Brescia, which from 1428 to 1796 formed part of the Republic of Venice.

5. Even if according to many sources he was born in 1582, the City Government registers and those of the Company of Jesus state he was born in 1581.

6. One of the most illustrious pupils of the college at that time was Alessandro Luzzago (1575—1602), who eventually entered the Company of Jesus. In 1592 he had founded for the students of the college the so-called "Compagnia di Santa Caterina" (St. Catharine Company), whose aim was to assist the poor and which Giulio Alenis also joined.

7. Ferrara under the rule of the Este family (13th-16th centuries) en-

joyed its period of greatest splendour. In fact the Dukes turned the city into a cultural centre of European standards, receiving famous poets and artists at court. In 1597 it was annexed to the Papal states, losing part of its importance.

8. The city of Mantua, in southern Lombardy, from 1328 was under the Gonzaga family's rule, which was to last for four centuries; under the Gonzagas the town grew in political importance and became the seat of one of the richest and most refined of the Renaissance courts.

9. Here is the original note in Latin: "Iulius, Alenis brixianus, annorum 19, robustus, novitius, ingressus 1 Novembris 1600, studuit litteris humanioribus annos tres".

10. The city of Reggio Emilia lies in a fertile plain at the foothills of the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines, not far from Parma, and the town of Novellara is 21 kms from Reggio itself. See Joseph Dehergne. Répertoire des Jesuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800, Rome—Paris, Institutum Historicum S. I., 1973, P. 6.

11. Among Alenis' teachers at Parma, there was the famous Jesuit mathematician and astronomer Giuseppe Biancani (1566—1624). He had been a pupil of Fr. clavius at Rome, and was subsequently sent to teach mathematics at Parma. Even if he was a friend of Galileo, he opposed the new astronomical theories held by Galileo, supporting instead the old Ptolemaic system.

12. Parma, a free municipality in the 14th century, passed into the possession of the Da Correggio, Estense, Visconti and Storza families until, in

1545, it became the capital of the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, constituted by Pope Paul III for his nephew Pier Luigi Farnese.

13. The original copies of the early letters of Alenis are preserved in the archives of the "Collegio del Gesù" in Rome, Fondo Gesuitico. Indisp. II. 249 e Indisp. III 53.

14. Capital of the Emilia-Romagna region, Bologna became a free municipality in the 11th century. The founding of the famous university (12th century), one of the oldest in the world, transformed the city into the cultural capital of Europe. In 1513, after being the object of struggles between the various princes and the Papacy, it became part of the Papal State to which it remained loyal, except during the Napoleonic period, until 1859 when, following the Second War of Independence, it became a part of the Kingdom of Italy.

15. Giovanni Antonio Mangini was selected as a professor of astronomy at Bologna University in 1588, a position that Galileo Galilei, then 23 years old, desired for himself. Even if in his lectures he was a supporter of the old geocentric Ptolemaic system, he accepted the new Copernican system for practical purposes and for the greater ease in mathematical calculations. Magini was a friend of Galilei, and gave him hospitality in 1610 in his house at Bologna. He was in correspondence with the most famous astronomers of his time: Tycho Brahe, Galileo, Kepler. One of his most renowned works was the Tavole Celesti (Venice, 1585), which were probably the "astronomical tables" used by Alenis during his journey to Goa. Alenis never actually met Magini himself. as we learn from Alenis' letter of January 1611 (Macao).

16. In the 16th century, papal authorities, concerned over the growing discrepancy between the calendrical accuracy of feast days and their actual celebration, moved to correct this discrepancy. The discrepancy was the result of the accumulated difference between the Julian calendar year (first established by Julius Caesar in the 1st century B. C) and the correct yearly value. This resulted in a Papal bull of 1572 by Pope Gregory XIII directing the Jesuit astronomer Clavius to draw up a new calendar. This new formulation, known as the Gregorian Calendar, was promulgated by Papal bull in 1582.

17. Here is a passage of his letter (Collegio del Gesù, Fondo Gesuitico, In-disco. III, 53): "From the Roman College, on the day of the Blessed Francis Xavier, 1607.

I pray Your Reverence for Our Lord's sake to help me to beg Our General to let me leave for the Indies, on the occasion of the new mission together with my confrères. I feel God has deen calling me for the last six years to this mission. and You have not to doubt about my health, since I am in force and healthy."

18. The chief city in the region of Liguria, near the border with France. In the Middle Ages it became a free municipality (12th century) and a formidable naval power, engaged in fierce struggles first with Pisa, and then Venice, for supremacy in Mediterranean trade. After a period of decline at the turn of the 16th century and an object of contention by France, the Duchy of Milan and Spain, it again prospered under the command of Andrea Doria, regaining in 1528 an independence which was to last, with varying degrees of fortune, until 1797, the year of the declaration of the Napoleonic Ligurian Republic.

19. See Josef Wicki, "Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541—1758", n. 550, in E. Reihle, Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte, 7. Band, Munster, 1967 (1969), pp. 252—450, where we find the name "P. Giulio De Leni". See Dehergne, op. cit. p. 6.

20. The Jesuit Father Kircher did extensive research and experimentation in medicine, mathematics, physics, music, archeology, volcanology and founded a famous ethnological museum in Rome. His interest in languages also led him to be part of the search for a universal language. See David Mungello, Curious Land: Jesuit Accomodation and the Origins of Sinology, Honolulu, Hawaii University Press, 1989, p. 30.

21. These data are recorded on page 315 of the 1654 Rome edition.

22. Here is the text of the letter: "To the Most Excellent Mr. G. A. Magion, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Bologna.

I have taken with me your astronomical tables and I have used them many times. I would like to inform you that on January 9th, 1610, when I was at Salsete, Goa, in East India, at sunset the moon, which was completely red, rose above the horizon, and there was an eclipse. The eclipse lasted from six p. m. to eight p. m., at a longitude of 105 degrees, and was almost total. Unfortunately, there was no trace of the eclipse on your tables, even if I could later calculate it using them."

This letter was published in the collection edited by Antonio Favero, Carteggio inedito di celebri astronomi e matematici con Giovanni Magini, Bologna, Zanichelli. 1886.

23. This title, according to Jesuit sources, was attributed to him by Ye Xianggao (1559—1627), a high official friend of ALEMIS, There is a poem

composed by Ye and dedicated to Alenis, preserved in the collection San shan lun xueji at the Vatican library, Borgia Chinese, 334 and 364 (see also Xu Zongze, Ming Qing jian Yesuhuishi yizhu tiyao, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1989 (original ed. 1949), p. 152). In the third and fourth lines of the second verse we read: "They (i. e. the Western missionaries) said they respected Chinese customs and were in accord with the Doctrines of our Sages". The poem has been republished by Fr. Pasquale D'Elia in Fonti Ricciane, vol. 2, p. 42, n. 1, with an Italian translation. For a biography of Ye Xiangqao, see Goodrich L. Carrington and Fang Chaoying, Dictionary of Ming Biography, New York-London, Columbia U. P., 1976, pp. 1567—1570. Fang Hao, in the first volume of his Zhongguo Tianshujiashi renwu zhuan, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1988 (original ed. Taizhong, Guangqi Chubanshe, 1970), at page 188, quotes an opponent of the Christians, a certain Chen Honguang from Sanshan (that is Fuzhou). Chen in his essay Bian xue chuyan (Simple Discourses to Dismute the Teachings) writes: "Recently some Barbarians from the Great West sailed to our country in order to spread the teachings of Heaven (...). They oppose the doctrines of Buddha and Laozi and respect those of Confucius, the people are convinced by them and believe in their teachings, and they are called disciples of the Sages". Since Aleni was one of the targets of criticism in the essay, Fang Hao deduces that he was considered in the region of Fuzhou a "disciple of the Sages", that is a "New Confucius". More likely, only among the friendly officials Alenis could have been called "Confucius of the West". The Bian xue chuyan is preserved in the collection Po xie ji (A collection to Refute Heterodoxy), fifth juan, pp. 1a-9b, edited by Xu Changzhi in 1639, and republished in Japan in 1855. Most of the essays in the collection are post-1633 and were written by Buddhist monks and Neo-Confucian scholars to oppose Alenis' sermons in southern Fujian, where he lived from 1625 until his death.

24. See the "Catalogi Societatis Jesu" of the years 1621—26—28—31—36—39—41, as reported in the article by Mario Santambrogio "Il Confucio dell'Occidente: P. Giulio Alenis" in Memorie Storiche della Diocesi di Brescia, XVII, 2, 1950, pp. 33—54.

25. See Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368—1644, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 2. The record of the observation is in Memoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, Paris, 1729, PP. 705—706; see also the article by Santambrogio, op. cit., p. 33, note 38.

26. A description of these facts can be found in a letter written by longobardo on May 15th, 1613 from the residence of Nanxiong, in Guangdong province (ARSJ, Jap. — Sin. 15/II, p. 269 and Jap. — Sin. 114, pp. 335—338).

27. A biography of Shen Que in Dictionary of Ming Biography, op. cit., pp. 1177—1178.

28. For a general account of the persecution, see George Dunne, Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty, Notre Dame (Ind.), Notre Dame U. P., 1962, pp. 128—161; a more detailed analysis in Edward Kelly, Anti-Christian Persecution of 1616—1617 in Nanking, unpublished PHD dissertation, Columbia University, 1971; see also Douglas Lancashire, "Anti-Christian Polemics in Seventeenth Century China", Church History, 38, 1969, pp. 218—241. In Chinese, see the old articles by Zhang Weihua, "Ming Qing jian FoYe zhi zhengbian", Xue si, 1, 2, 1942 and "Ming Qing jian Zhongxi sixiang zhi chongtu yu yinxiang", Xue Si, 1, 1942, both republished in Wang Xue Zhai Junwriji, Jnan Jilu Sushe, 1986, pp. 170—179 e 160—169; and the

recent article by Lu Shiqiang, "A survey of the Chinese Intellectual/ Anti-Christian Opinions as Related to the Cultural Exchange between China and the West" (in Chinese) in International Symposium on Chinese Western Cultural Interchange in Commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the Arrival of Matteo Ricci S. J. in China, Taipei, pp 11—16 September 1983, pp. 407—430.

29. A detailed study on Yang Tingyun's life and thought in Nicolas Standaert's Yang Tingyun, Confucian and Christian in Late Ming China, Leiden, Brill, 1988. Alenis himself was the author of a religious biography of Yang, Yang Qiyuan chaoxing shiji (The Achievements of the Surpassing Nature of Yang Qiyuan), compiled by Ding Zhilin after 1627.

30. See Standaert, op. cit., p. 92.

31. A biographical note on Ma Chengxiu in Dictionary of Ming Biography, op. cit., p. 3.

32. On the Han family see Arthur Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, Washington, Govern. Print. Office, 1942, pp. 274—275, and Fang Hao, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 253 ff.

33. A biographical note in Fang Hao, op. cit., pp 259—267.

34. On the atlas, see Giuseppe Caraci and Andrea Muccioli, "Il mondo cinese del padre Giulio Aleni", Bollettino della Regia Società Geografica Italiana, serie VII, vol. III, 5—6, 1938, pp. 385—426.

35. For a detailed account of the book's contents, see Bernard Hung-kay

Luk, "A study of Giulio Aleni's Chih-fang wai-chi," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. XL, part 1, 1977, pp. 58—84.

Here is a summary of the contents as given by Luk: "Aleni's description is organized into a prologue and five books—one each on Asia, Europe, Africa and the Americas, and one on the seas, and illustrated by an elliptical world map, four continental maps and two polar projection maps. The prologue provides a Ptolemaic explanation of the heavenly spheres, the immobile spherical earth, and the climes and longitudes and latitudes".

Luk also makes some interesting remarks about Aleni's book: "A realistic look at many aspects of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe—the Europe of the price revolution and of religious wars—would not have endeared Western civilization or Christianity to the Chinese. Aleni's propagandist was careful to provide a more impressive view. A view of the world that would have placed Europe in an indisputably advantageous light for the late Ming Chinese would have had to meet certain requirements. First, of course, Europe itself must be admirable, prosperous in materials, socially stable, and in a subtle but definite way, morally superior. Secondly, the civilization and benevolent power of Europe must be unrivalled in the non-Chinese world. This would imply a playing down of the splendour and might of the Muslim and Indian countries, especially the former, and the denial of civilization in the other part of the world. Thirdly, the expansion of Europe must be presented as a humanizing and civilizing force, good for the rest of the world and in no way a threat to China. Last but not least, the good image of Europe must be dissociated from the sea-roving Fo-lang-chi (that in the Portuguese) who had already earned themselves a bad reputation in China. All these considerations can be seen to be reflected in the world-picture of Chih-fang wai-chi." Luk,

op. cit., p. 65.

36. See Luk *op. cit.*, pp. 80—83. The book seems to have been very popular in the Fujian province, as attested by its presence in the collections of the famous bibliophiles Xu Bo (1570—1642) and Chen Di (1541—1617), both came originally from Fujian. See Nicolas Standaert, "Note on the spread of Jesuit writings in Late Ming and Early Qing China", *China Mission Studies* (1550—1800) *Bulletin*, VII, 1985, p. 25.

37. A summary of this booklet is in Pasquale D'Elia's "Le Generalità sulle Scienze Occidentali di Giulio Aleni", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXV, 1—4, 1950, pp. 58—76; see also Fang Hao, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

38. Introduction by Alenis to the Wanwu zhenyuan, in Xu Zongze, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

39. See note 23.

40. Final part of the Xixuefan, as translated in D'Elia, *art. cit.*, pp. 75—76.

41. A biographical note on Qu family in Fang Hao, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 274—283.

42. Some of them (a list in Fang Hao, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 186—187) also wrote poems in his honor, later published in the collection Xi-chao Chongzheng ji. An interesting picture of the Fujianese intellectual circles with which Alenis got in touch, is given in Erik Zürcher, "Giulio Aleni et ses relations avec le milieu des lettres chinois au XVII^e siècle", Venezia e l'Oriente, (Lionello Lanciotti ed.), Firenze, Leo Olshchki,

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1987, pp. 105—135.

43. See Dunne, *op. cit.*, pp. 190—191.

44. See Joseph Dehergne, "Les chrétiens de la Chine de la période Ming (1581—1650)", *Monumenta Serica*, XVI, 1957, pp. 24 ff.

45. *Ibidem*, pp. 36—37.

46. See Zürcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.; Xu Zongze, *op. cit.* pp. 89—92; Fang Hao, *op. cit.*, pp. 194—195 and 260—261.

47. See Zürcher, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

48. See ARSJ, *Jap. — Sin.* 161, 242.

49. There is a large literature on the subject. One of the latest contributions is the study by George Minamiki, The Chinese Rites Controversy: from its Beginning to the Modern Times, Chicago, Loyola U. P., 1989.

50. Quoted in Dunne, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

51. The Jesuits did not give wide public display to representations of the crucifixion. Alenis' Chu xiang jingjie (1635) was perhaps the first tract to give such a representation. The engravings were copied from those by wéixín in a famous book on the life of Christ by Fr. Jeronimo Nadal, Evangeliæ Historiæ Imagines, ex ordine Evangeliorum, Antwerpen, 1595. Many sources state that Yang Guangxian (1597—1669), the main opponent of Adam Schall in the years 1659—69, made use of Alenis' book to

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- accuse the Christian of rebellion against the State, since Christ himself had been condemned to be crucified as a criminal. In fact, Yang never spoke of Alenis' book: he instead wrote an essay, entitled "Xiejiao Santu Shuoping", where, using three engravings showing the Crucifixion from Schall's book Jingcheng Shuxiang (1640), he criticised Christianity. See Yang Guangxian, Bu de yi, 1665, in Wu Xiangxiang (ed.), Tianzhujiao dongchuan Wenxian Xubian, Taipei, Zhongguo Shixue Congshu, 1965, III pp. 1135—1142.
52. On the contents of this collection see Lancashire, art. cit. and Jacques Gernet, Chine et Christianisme, Paris, Gallimard, 1982.
53. Po xie ji, juan 4.
54. He was a native of Deqing, Zhejiang, and was the son of the famous official and philosopher Xu Fuyuen, (1535—1604). He reported in his essay the talks he had with Fr. Alenis between 1633 and 1639. On Xu Fuyuen, see Mingshi, juan 283.
55. Po xie ji, juan 3, pp. 8a—11b.
56. Huang Zhen, a native of Xianzhang, southern Fujian, wrote two prefaces (1638 and 1639) and three essays in the Po xie ji. This letter was written to Yan Zhuangqi (Yan Maoyou), who obtained his jinshi degree during the reign of Chongzhen (1628—1644) and was the compiler of an anthology of the Six Classics.
57. Po xie ji, juan 4, p. 11a—b

58. Po xie ji, juan 4, pp. 12a—13b.
59. Po xie ji, juan 3, pp. 9a—b, as translated in Lancashire, art. cit., pp. 231—232.
60. See Debergne, op. cit., p. 22.
61. See Li Sixuan, Si Ai Xiangsheng Xingji, n. d., quoted in Zurcher, op. cit., p. 113.
62. Louis Pfister, Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552—1773, Shanghai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932—34, pp. 131—136.
63. On this short book, see John Mish, "Creating an Image of Europe for China: Alenis' Hsi-fang Ta-wen", Monumenta Serica, XX III 1964, pp. 1—87. Mish gives an introduction and an English translation of a copy preserved at the Vatican Library.
64. There is a French translation of this biography: Jules Aleni, "Matthieu Ricci" (traduit par L. Desbuquois), Revue d'Histoire des Missions, 1, 1924, pp. 52—70.
65. Xu Zongze, op. cit., pp. 230—234. At the end of the book were also described three Christian tablets of the Tang dynasty discovered by Alenis in Quanzhou. See Fang Hao, op. cit., pp. 191—192.
66. Copies of this biography are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Courant's Catalogue, n. 1016, II, n. 1017 and n. 2753. The latter

bears the title Xihai Ai Xiansheng Xingshu (A Brief Biography of Mr. Ai) and contains a portrait of Fr. Alenis in Chinese robes. See Dehergne, op. cit., P. 7; Fang Hao, op. cit., P. 192.

“同一天国下的不同国度”

——艾儒略及其十七世纪中国道记行

幼根尼奥·米涅贡

意大利传教士 Ciulio Alenis (中国名艾儒略, 字思及) 是耶稣会在中国最著名的人物之一, 1582年出生于北意大利布雷西亚 (Brescia)^① 的一个中产阶级家庭。^② 他从1613年到中国布道, 直至1649年去世。

十六世纪后半叶, 布雷西亚的宗教生活总体上有了某种改善, 这主要归功于 Domenico Bollandi 主教唤起的改革对教义问答部门和慈善机构的推动 (1559—1579)。当然也不应忘记, 从1544年到1563年, 为了抵制由德国教士马丁路德1517年领导的新教改革 (1521年他被陡然地开除了教籍), 教皇保罗三世被迫召开特兰托公会议, 其主要目的是组织天主教的回应。

布雷西亚的经济状况是不稳定的: 如同1577年和1630年的灾祸一样, 瘟疫也削弱了以纺织和军械制造为基础的地方经济。1607年, 军工作坊的数量由80个骤减到16个。早在1426年, 布雷西亚市及其辖区就不得不作出抉择, 成为威尼斯共和国^③ 的一部分。从那时起, 唯有贵族才有权选举市议会成员。有的贵族步入当地政界, 有的则学当医生或律师, 另有些人选择了军旅生涯, 为欧洲的许多王室和统治者效劳, 或者跻身于教阶; 同时还有众多的贵族, 尤其是那些没有继承权的次子们, 过着游手好闲的生活, 在互相争斗和赌博中虚度光阴。

艾儒略出自一个刚被接纳为贵族阶层的家庭。他也曾有过一段懒散危险的青春期，但此后他却伴随着传教的召唤，将其一生奉献于中国的传教事业。

艾儒略家的姓氏叫“Alenis”，“De Alenis”或简称“Aleni”，他家早来自布雷西亚省莱诺(Leno)的农村。根据编年史家Pandolfo Nassino(16世纪)的说法，Alenis家族祖籍贝加莫行省，^⑨十三世纪起，有许多工匠和手艺人从贝加莫移居到了布雷西亚。Alenis家族的最初姓氏叫“波尔登人氏”，但是起初人们称之为“A leno De Boldinis”，意即莱诺村庄的波尔登人氏。往后，早先姓氏为人所忘，“Aleni”或“De Alenis”被越来越多地使用。艾儒略就是用“Giulio Alenis”来签名的。

15世纪末，Alenis家族中艾儒略所居的那一支系迁居布雷西亚。在该市1475年的名簿中，我们发现了“Bonus a leno”(莱诺的名望人氏)的记载。随后Alenis家族进入了公证人的圈子中，并于1563年被纳入布雷西亚的贵族阶层。此时，该家族在布雷西亚及其所属的某些农村(尤其是Ospialetto和Porpenazze)购置了一些财产。

艾儒略可能在1581或1582年出生于布雷西亚圣玛丽亚Calchera的教区中。^⑩遗憾的是，曾一度保存在此教区教会档案中的1570年至1600年的名簿已经遗失。艾儒略的母亲弗兰切斯卡是贵族Ugoni家族的成员。

艾儒略在一位教士的指导下接受私人教育，随后于1597年11月18日，也就是在他15岁的时候，进入由布雷西亚耶稣会士建立的学院。该学院叫“Collegio Per Nobili”意即为贵族设置的学院，有40至50名学生，是献给圣·安东尼的。^⑪

耶稣会的威尼斯教区，建于1578年，由威尼斯共和国各辖区和费拉拉^⑫及曼图亚^⑬公国组成。在教区档案中，有一个1600

年的名簿，提到了艾儒略：“艾儒略，布雷西亚人，19岁，健康，见习修士，1600年11月1日入学(诺韦拉腊学院)，已经攻读过三年人文学科。”^⑭从这里我们知道，他从1597年至1600年在布雷西亚学院学习，并在1600年进入与艾米利亚·雷吉尔相距不远的Novellara的初学院。^⑮

勤学研修使艾儒略具有了优越的背景，受益非浅，^⑯故而被迫即纳入了耶稣会。当初，这并非易事——试想在1605年的布雷西亚，20名申请者中仅有6人如愿以偿。艾儒略的这段见习修道生活包括两年的紧张学习和灵修，并以非终身愿而结束。1602年他被上司送往巴尔马学院^⑰学习哲学：作为一名学生，首先必须学习逻辑学——与普遍性观念和知识问题密切相关的学科，然后必须学习物理——关于探索物质和自然力、以及抽象的定量几何形之本质，同时也是数学入门的科学；最后是数学——关于存在及其变化之本质的科学。

早在见习修道期，艾儒略就要求被派往耶稣会最为遥远的传教团。1603年他曾正式致函恳请耶稣会总会长Claudio Acquaccia神父分派他做传教工作。这里是信件译文：

我父基督中的尊敬阁下：

一年前的耶稣受难节上，当我沉溺于耶稣圣难之时，感受到一种急切企盼，准备竭尽全力(通过传教)帮助众多可怜的灵魂。我已向the Master of Novices和the Provincial Fathet表明了 my 期望，并至今坚定如初。同时在他们的建议下，(……)，我决定向尊敬的阁下表明去东印度或西印度的心迹，在您即将做出决定之标。(……)我已入会三年，时年22岁。日前我正在学习逻辑学，托主的恩典，我气色红润，身

体健康。

巴尔马，1603年5月16日^⑧

直到1605年艾儒略仍在巴尔马学院继续他的学业。该年年末他被派往波洛尼亚^⑨的贵族学院教授人文学科，他在当地度过了两年光阴，期间他阅读过波洛尼亚大学天文学教授，著名天文学家和地理学家G·Antonio Magini (1555—1617)^⑩的一些著作。我们也许有必要提到艾儒略日后在中国于天文学尤其是地理学领域发展的兴趣方面Magini的影响。

按照标准的耶稣会课程要求，一个人获得两年教学经验后，应该开始学院式的神学学习。1607年12月，艾儒略赴罗马继续其神学学业。在著名的罗马学院，艾儒略是耶稣会天文学和数学家Christopher Clavius (Klay) 的拉丁化姓名，1537—1612) 的学生。Clavius 曾在1582年负责教皇格利高里十三世的历史改革，^⑪他是伽利略 (1564—1642) 的朋友，还曾竭力保护后者免遭来自教会本身的攻击。

1607年12月3日，艾儒略通过其学院院长再次致信耶稣会会长，请求从事“印度”的传教工作。^⑫

1609年，神学学习仅两年过后，艾儒略的申请即被接纳。当时他须前往葡萄牙的里士本，那里是前往远东的出发港。艾儒略先去了波洛尼亚，途中可能在 Loreto 稍事停留，该地是意大利中部奉献给圣母玛利亚的著名圣所；尔后途经布罗西亚告别家人；最后到达热那亚^⑬港。他从这里出发，航行经直布罗陀，最后抵达里士本。1609年3月23日，艾儒略终于搭乘“Nostri sta da piedade”号帆船赴葡萄牙在印度的殖民地果阿。从葡萄牙的耶稣会年鉴中，我们得知这趟远征共由12名葡萄牙、10名意大利和2名比利时传道士组成。该年鉴中有一则拉丁文提及“旅程

历经磨难”。^⑭

即使在正常条件下，这条航行也往往是异常艰辛；一件“麻烦”事就能夺走体质较弱者的生命。事实上这次就有3名司铎和4名教士（全都是葡萄牙人）死于途中。耶稣会士深知航海之冒险：为了确保邮件到达，他们通常以两份复印件的形式将信寄往欧洲，一份由西班牙帆船经菲律宾和墨西哥递送，另一份由葡萄牙帆船经果阿送达。

或许就在这迫于无所事事的数月里，艾儒略仍继续他的神学、哲学、数学和地理学研究，这些学科是他日后名扬中国之所在。

艾儒略于1609年春季离开里士本，抵达印度果阿则已是年底了。途中他研究了指南针的磁偏角，并将结果送给了A·基歇尔神父 (1601—1680)，^⑮后者曾在其《论磁学》一书中介绍了这些资料。^⑯

1610年1月他在果阿附近的萨尔特记录了一次月蚀。在艾儒略于1611年1月28日从澳门写给其老师G·A·Magini的信中，我们获得了艾儒略本人有关这次月蚀的描述。^⑰此外信中还描述了他在澳门看到的一次日蚀。中国和日本的天文学家都预言了这次日蚀，在日蚀发生的时节，当地人举行了一系列仪式。我们没有任何有关艾儒略在果阿逗留时的记载，也许他就是在那里完成了神学修习并晋级司铎。

我们从上述信件可以断言，1611年1月艾儒略肯定在澳门。当地为培养进入中国的传教士建立了一所书院，艾儒略在那里学习中文。他被一致推崇为精通中文读写会话的第二代耶稣会士，并有“西来孔子”之美誉。^⑱是年偕同史惟贞神父试图经广州潜入内地，然为船家出卖，被拘押重金 (140金埃斯库多) 后始得释还。

1611年至1613年，艾儒略在澳门书院当数学教师和见习修士执掌。1612年11月8日，艾儒略在澳门又观察了一次日蚀，这次日蚀从上午8：30一直持续到11：45。他的耶稣会同道Carlo Spinola在日本长崎也观察了这次日蚀，这就有可能发现澳门与长崎间正好相距一个时差。^⑨

在1611和1612年，要想组织任何澳门到中国大陆的冒险都属枉然；1613年，传教士们终于找到了一条进入中国的安全通道。^⑩

艾儒略与史惟贞神父和毕方济一起被派往南京，当地的院长是高一志神父。当时共有20名耶稣会士在中国，分在五处：北京5人，南京5人，杭州3人，南昌3人以及南雄4人。

1613年，也许考虑到艾儒略的中文和希伯来文知识，他被派往开封，向当地居留在中国的最后一支犹太人社团访求其经典，但他们拒不出示。他只好继续北上至京，在京城相遇著名基督教皈依者徐光启（1562—1633），又伴其返回故里上海。

1615年起，耶稣会的事业经历了第一次挑战：南京礼部侍郎沈淮攻击传教士和南京的“基督徒”^⑪。1616年至1617年间迫害愈演愈烈，一些耶稣会士避居杭州杨廷筠家。杨廷筠（1557—1627）^⑫是整个基督教社团中最著名的皈依者之一，他竭力用其政治影响来保护传教士名遭沈淮之迫害。及至1617年底，杭州成为中国最大的耶稣会会所，而此时北京、南京的会所已被迫关闭。可能在杨家府宅受到款待的耶稣会神父有：郭居静（1560—1640）、龙华民（1559—1654）、毕方济（1582—1649）、史惟贞（1584—1628）、费奇规（1571—1649）和艾儒略。^⑬在杨廷筠指导下，艾儒略及其同道集中钻研中国文学和语言。在这几年半隐居生活期间，艾儒略作为杨的得意学生，精通了中国文学和习俗，已能用中文写作，并为日后在福建的开教奠定了成功基础。

及至沈淮在北京升迁大学士后，状况才大有改观。

1620年初，徐光启请艾儒略为扬州官吏马呈秀教授西学。艾儒略在扬州马呈秀府宅伴其左右，讲授数学和其它自然科学。马呈秀在艾儒略的善诱下，加入基督教，并由艾儒略主持受洗于1620年3月25日，教名彼得。马呈秀还将其部分房产送给艾儒略作为礼拜堂。当马呈秀赴陝西商州任要职时，艾儒略随其前往，为其指导宗教和数学，历时五月。

艾儒略还曾在山西绛州教徒韩云、韩霖兄弟家居住；此二人是徐光启的学生和朋友。在绛州，艾儒略发现了一种优质的酿酒葡萄，解决了大批酿制葡萄酒的可能性。先前在中国酿制葡萄酒的尝试均以失败告终，其结果不是变成醋就是不发酵，迫使传教士们依赖从葡萄牙进口的葡萄酒。

1621年他南行至河南郑州，于当地四月间又与马呈秀相随至扬州，而马则继续南下，赴福建任要职。

1621年底艾儒略转赴杭州，在那里直至1624年他写作并出版了他的主要中文著述。1621年他为福建籍的张贻^⑭举行洗礼，并开始在一册著名的描述世界地图集^⑮方面与杨廷筠合作。另一册重要的地理著述《职方外记》^⑯（意即对属国以外地区的记述），在1623年首版于杭州，直到十九世纪，它仍在有教养的中国人中作为欧洲地理的信息来源。^⑰

《西学凡》（意即西方学科概述）在三位中国学者的襄助下写于1623年，杨廷筠为之作序。^⑱艾儒略打算将它当作西方文化的总体介绍，它概览了由欧洲耶稣会教士为北京的传教使团收集的七千册西方图书。艾儒略把西方知识分为三大类：文学或修辞学。（文科或勒译理加——意语 Rhetorica 的音译），哲学（理学或斐录所费亚——意语 Filosofia 的意译），医学（医科或默济纳——意语 Medicina 的音译），法律（法科或勒格斯——拉丁

语 Leges 之音译), 教律 (教科或加诺斯——拉丁语 Canones 的音译)。以及神学 (道科或第录吉亚——意语 Teologia 之音译)。哲学又进一步分为逻辑学、物理学、形而上学、数学和几何学。最受尊重的哲学家是亚里士多德 (亚里士多), 他被当作历史上最卓越的思想家。在与神学相关的部分, 用了一些篇幅介绍托马斯·阿奎那 (多玛斯) 及其代表了当时天主教神学概念构架的《神学大全》。从 1654—1678 年, 利类思 (1606—1681) 用中文翻译了《神学大全》的大部分内容, 取名为《超性学要》。而艾儒略则是在中国引述亚里士多德和托马斯·阿奎那的第一人。

1623 年艾儒略出版了他的首部“哲学”著作“万物真源” (意即世界的真正来源), 论述了亚里士多德学派和经院哲学体系的某些内容, 同时批驳了新儒学关于世界起源的某些普遍观念。这本小册子还在清初康熙年间被译成了满文。该作的主要内容是: 1. 任何事物都有其开端; 2. 人不是自创的; 3. 天地本身不能赋予生物和人以生命; 4. 原初的以太 (元气) 无法独立地分为天和地; 5. 理不能创造存在; 6. 事物之所以存在是因为为有一种内在的本原而非由于感知; 7. 天地和生命是由最高统治者 (主宰) 创造的; 8. 最高主宰对天地万物行使统治权; 9. 主创造世界, 但并非一切事物都由他命定 (即上帝将某些自由留给了人); 10. 天主创造天地; 11. 神是万物之源, 但自身并无开端。

同利玛窦一样, 艾儒略试图将西方和中国的传统联系起来, 在他看来, 尽管他们的文化和宗教存在着差异, 但理性是人所共有的特征。一旦建立起某种普遍的理智基础, 理解基督教真理就会容易得多。艾儒略本人在序言中写道: “行为符合理的人是人类的公师; 东海之人与西海之人来自不同国度, 但共有一个人

天; 他们尽管文化不同, 但共有—个理。所以人人都必须遵循公师的教诲。”⁹⁸

数年之后, 该书的观点受到了福建士大夫和佛教界的尖锐批评, 从 1625 年起, 艾儒略一直在福建活动。

1623 年, 艾儒略还出版了《性学粗述》 (意即对人性的简要评述); 该书主要用以说明基督教有关灵与肉、灵魂不朽, 五种感官、诸如记忆和意志之类人的能力, 人与天使之别、与生命之短暂和死亡相联的人生意义等观念。两年之后, 他编纂了著名的对话集《三山论学记》一卷 (意即在三山探讨教义的记录), 该集记述了他与阁老叶向高就神创世界、天堂和地狱、耶稣基督的道成肉身等基督重要问题的探讨。《三山论学记》还附录了一些文士尊崇艾儒略的诗词, 其中就有叶向高本人所作。⁹⁹

艾儒略在短短四年间出书之重卓然, 这也许是因为在 1616—1617 年迫害期间分已准备好了大部分材料, 尔后又在杭州的杨廷筠和其他中国教徒鼎力相助下得以出版。他所有的著作都表明他是利玛窦方法的忠实继承者, 亦即使西方传教士以兼通中西方学科的学者身份出现, 把基督教作为对儒学的必要完善。例如他的《天主教四字经文》 (北京, 1642), 是模仿中国著名的启蒙读物《三字经》而作的基督教“四字经”。在这本“基督教启蒙读物”开头, 进述了三贤人拜访希律王和朝拜初生基督的故事, 相对于中国《三字经》起头所讲的孟子与其母的传说。

艾儒略在其《西学凡》末尾充分说明了他翻译和推进文化交流的打算:

“我是个来自九万里之遥的外国人, 希望将上述著作 (即一

些有关科学、哲学和神学的西方书籍)译成中文以利于我的中国朋友。为了定期出版这些作品,我们的翻译工作要持续十年,因此我们必须挑选风华正茂、天赋聪颖、思想活泼的学者,同时必须年复一年地指导他们工作……当这项事业达到最后阶段,译作完全符合原意之时,我们将付之出版并予以传播。这将有助于通融东西方圣贤们的教义学说。这为皇帝陛下统治提供了绝好的机会。我们从远方经历了艰难的旅程带来这份重礼,但不知它是否会得到赏识。”⁹⁰

这项计划具有耶稣会传教政策的共同特征,它在往后的岁月中国得以部分实现,尽管西方文化对中国的冲击并非如艾儒略所期望的那么大。

艾儒略曾应入教官吏瞿式耜之邀(1623年),赴江苏常熟,并在当地建立了一座教堂。

1624年,大学士叶向高(1559—1627)罢归原籍福建,道经杭州与艾儒略相遇。这是在福建开教的绝对好机会,叶予以了支持和庇护。福建省,尤其在沿海地带,是国际贸易的中心。福州、厦门和泉州港是著名的商业集散地,它们与日本、东南亚以及马尼拉的西班牙人,澳门的葡萄牙人和台湾的荷兰人均有联系。而且福建省的文化水平也是很高的,印刷了大量的书籍,有众多的学校、图书馆和研究团体。尽管起初遇到障碍,但在随后的年月中文儒略得以与福州的学者结交为友,并在福建境内广泛游历。事实上,魏忠贤(1568—1626)这位在宫内握有大权的臭名昭著的宦官,在福建遍布间谍,他们负责向魏报告其政治对手的活动,其中就有作为东林党人的叶向高。因此叶当然惧怕把自己与外国僧侣联系起来,这也是出于当时福建沿岸猖獗的海盗行径以及荷兰人攫取一座小岛用来建造要塞,而艾儒略在中国人眼里与荷兰人并无二致。不过无论怎样,1625年艾儒略还是

在福州建起了第一座礼拜堂。由于一位基督教徒朱某的关心和热诚,叶向高开始拜访艾儒略,不久其他官员争相仿效。⁹¹

艾儒略修建教堂,为数百人施洗,在当地度过余生。他的成绩在泉州尤为显著,⁹²1634年受洗者达257人,1635年130人。在兴化,他建造了一处耶稣会士住所和一座教堂。一位虔诚的学者李九标编撰了反映艾儒略神父宗教活动的日志《口译日抄》(意即对口头教海的日记),记录了从1631年至1640年间艾儒略的游历,与信徒和抵毁者的论辩以及修道方法。该书充分显示了艾儒略与中国士大夫大量融洽的社会关系,以及他在谈话中使用那些为对话者所不知的西方传统比喻时对听众的吸引。该书中使用的术语一定会再三使中国读者迷惑不解:经院哲学传统中的哲学和神学观点,尤其是那些与灵魂观有关的思想,竟然用新儒学和佛教术语得以相应地表达。这种融合各种不同学说信仰的表述实践,是耶稣会迁就的结果,表明了“中国式的基督教”的出现。例如,艾儒略允许中国教徒将十字架放在祖先牌位边上,把对上帝的祈祷和贡奉所产生的积极效果“转移”给他的祖先。⁹³《口译日抄》还记载了仿效道教徒,佛教徒和儒士学社而创设的许多基督教度信会。这些团体是由中国教徒而非耶稣会教士建立的,以此作为它们属于中国人而非外国人的根据。1638年,仅有耶稣会(1631年首批多明我会修士进入福建)在该省据有17所教堂,并在主要城市建有传教中心。1642年2月12日艾儒略神父在给罗马General Virelleschi的信中报告说他本人已经在福建的8个主要城市建立了22座教堂。⁹⁴

多明我会和方济各会修士进入福建后开始带来了某些麻烦。这些来自西班牙在菲律宾宾领地和台湾的新传教士不愿意对中国的习俗和仪式作出让步,这种新的义务和禁令在当地基督教徒中引起了不满。从1635年起,这些修士开始将有关耶稣会传

教方法的报告送给在马尼拉和罗马的上级，于是引发了“礼仪之争”。在神明教会和方济各会看来，耶稣会在力促中国人接受天主教信仰的过程中，对中国的习俗作了过多的妥协，⁹⁸因此他们要求教皇插手解决这一问题。这一争端持续了三百多年。从十八世纪起有关中国礼仪习俗的某些禁令引起了争议，教皇庇护十二世终于在1839年裁定对孔子和祖先的崇拜不属于迷信。

1636—1637年，福州教区发生一桩事件：方济各会修士 Gaspar Alenda 和 Francisco de la Madre de Dios，对一本反基督教的小册子在福安（位于闽北）出版采取了强烈反应，他们决心在京城的金殿上“用辩论和我们的生命来捍卫我们纯洁的教义，来传扬耶稣基督，我们受难之主”，⁹⁹他们于1637年8月14日到达北京，受到著名天文学家、耶稣会士汤若望（1592—1666）的款待。他们在耶稣会居所住了两周，最终受到礼部官员的盘查，被押解回福建。幸赖耶稣会士的帮助，他们在福建得以释放。但不久他们再遭逮捕，总督发布了禁教令。方济各会认为艾儒略应对这一阴谋负责，因为耶稣会想驱逐他们。三月之后，这两位修士被勒令返回澳门。一个大范围的迫害随之而起，许多信徒惨遭折磨，其中为官教徒被罢免官职和头衔，这位福州总督发布了新的禁令，一批传教士（包括艾儒略）被捕。一些躲藏在乡间的修士，决定在福州街道游行，宣扬基督教信仰的真理，并公开举起耶稣受难像。¹⁰⁰他们也被逮捕并押离该城，然后予以释放。他们继续开展活动，结果致使1638年4月再次被捕，在随后数月，他们最终被逐离中国大陆去了台湾和菲律宾。

著名的反基督教文集《破邪集》（1639）¹⁰¹收存的某些文章是直接针对艾儒略的讲道和书籍的。我们可以从至少两篇文章中发现艾儒略与一些福州士大夫辩论的痕迹，它们是许大受¹⁰²的《左辟》（意即用以驳斥的指南，1637）¹⁰³以及黄贞¹⁰⁴的《清颜先生

辟天主教书》（1638）？¹⁰⁵在《左辟》中，许大受提到了传教士宣扬的某些教义，如上帝六天创造万物说，人死后灵魂不朽说以及原罪说。在他与艾儒略的交谈中，许大受提出了一些问题：如果灵魂并非先在地存在因而不必抵偿在其他生命形式中所犯的罪过，那么为什么众生会有贫富之别？对原罪的惩罚如何才能延及一切后代？¹⁰⁶为什么上帝创造魔鬼（艾儒略将其视为阎魔或阎罗王），即创造罪恶？¹⁰⁷这是艾儒略难以回答的，我们可以看到当黄贞就纳妾问题向他质疑时，儒略所面临的窘境：

“他们的宗教有十戒，他们说如果一个人没有儿子就可纳妾，那么就违犯了戒条，肯定要进入地狱。假若如此，那么迄今为止妻妾成群的贤君圣主们将难逃恶运。贞诘问之曰：‘文王后妃众多，此事如何？’艾氏沉吟甚久不答。第二日，贞又问，又沉吟不答。第三日贞又问曰：‘此事要讲议明白，立千古之大案，方能令人了解皈依无疑。’艾氏又沉吟甚久，徐曰：‘本不欲说，如今我亦不说，’又沉吟甚久，徐曰：‘对老兄说，别人面前我亦不说，文王亦怕入地狱去了。’又徐转其语曰：‘论理不论人，恐文王后来痛悔，则亦论不得矣。’”¹⁰⁸

要让中国人接受某些基督教信仰和道德义务是相当困难的，但让传教士更为难的是只能介绍“理性真理”，而撇开（至少在开始）天主教信条和那些异于其中国伙伴的社会习俗。

1639年7月4日，在被拘留于离福州不远的的一个客栈之后，艾儒略又得以公开主持了弥撒，并继续他的传教工作。

1641年至1648年儒略任中国南部耶稣会传教团副会长之职。据一册中国教区1645年便览记载，艾儒略是南部各省教务的

主理，当时南北割裂，北部已受满族统治。另有五位耶稣会士在福建，二人在广东，二人在南京和上海，一人在南昌。^①1645年，就在满族人逼近南京城之时，唐王在福州自立为中国的正统皇帝，国号隆武。当他听说艾儒略在福州后，即前往拜访，并参观其教会，声言教堂作为礼拜上帝之所过于简朴，下令予以扩建。南明（1643—1661）永历皇帝曾求得天主教徒的支持和澳门的武装援助，也许同他一样，隆武帝也想获得外国僧侣及其保护者（葡萄牙人）的军队的帮助。艾儒略有远大的抱负，但是他于二十年中苦心经营的一切在1647至1648年间几近毁于一旦。^②

1647年清军开始进入福建，从那时至1649年8月3日去世，艾儒略一直避难于福建延平，过着半闲居的生活，死后其灵柩从延平移至福州，葬于城外十字山。

儒略作品的书目已由 Louis Pfister^③列出，包括至少24部中文著述。其中最著名的是前文提及的《职方外记》（1623）、《西学凡》（1623）以及《西方答问》（1637），^④均与地理和制图相关。此外还有利玛窦神父传记《大西西泰利先生行事》^⑤（1620）、杨庭筠传记《杨淇园超性事迹》（1627年之后）。他还与汤玛诺一起校订了西安发现的景教碑文注释，作《景教碑颂注解》。^⑥艾儒略的其他作品主要论及宗教本质。有关艾儒略的一部中文传记《思及艾先生行迹》在其死后不久由李嗣玄刊行。^⑦

（陈志平、扬宇红译）

注 释：*

① 布雷西亚位于 Prealps 边缘，Valtrompia 河口的平地上，是伦巴第

* 本文注释提供了大量鲜为人知的资料，故择其要者而译之，书名、出版社等从略，请参见前面作者原文的注释。

地区继米兰之后的第二大城市，也是该地区的主要城市。它曾是当地高卢人的首要城镇，罗马市政府称其为 Brixia。蛮族人入侵之后，它成为伦巴族同盟的一个自由城邦（12世纪）。继少数贵族家族的统治之后，从1426年起它归随威尼斯共和国，一直持续到1797年，当年，拿破仑阿尔卑斯山南共和国宣告成立。1814年布雷西亚成为奥匈帝国统治下伦巴特——威尼斯的一部分，直至1859年最终获得自由，加入意大利王国。

② 有关艾儒略早年生活的大部分材料都收集在 Fausto Balestrini 最近撰写的一篇文章中（略）。

③ 有关威尼斯的早期历史情况可回溯至公元五、六世纪。当时，为了躲避蛮族人的入侵，威尼斯乡间的难民在水上建起避难所。起先他们由海上护民官统治，而后权力转归总督（始于627年），逐渐脱离了拜占廷的影响。十字军东征时期威尼斯的地位日趋提高，当时其统治遍及爱琴海诸岛、伯罗奔尼撒半岛，克里特岛和君士坦丁堡的部分地区。威尼斯与热那亚和其他意大利海上共和国的竞争仅仅是为了扩大其势力，并在十五世纪达到了鼎盛期。从11世纪到13世纪，威尼斯是地中海以及通往东方的重要贸易中心。当时地中海是与远东贸易的唯一水道，来自中国、波斯、印度和阿拉伯的珍奇货物通过古老的陆路商道带到地中海东部沿岸，又从那里运往地中海西部各港口，尤其是威尼斯，最后发往酷爱东方产品的整个欧洲。马可·波罗（1254—1323）无疑是中世纪最著名的西方旅行家。1275年至1292年他来到中国期间曾在杭州和扬州作过元朝官员。闻名于世的《马可·波罗游记》是中世纪欧洲对神话般中国的资料来源。然而，直到耶稣会士开始提供有关中国地理和地图的可靠情报之前，对地理学家和绘图专家而言，中国的准确地理位置一直是个谜。艾儒略为中国人所做的正是马可·波罗为欧洲人所做的贡献：通过《职方外记》和《西学凡》等“畅销书”，他开始将欧洲地理学介绍给中国，向中国读者传播欧洲地理和历史知识。

④ 14和15世纪，威尼斯在本土扩张领地，拥有特雷维索、帕多瓦、维琴

案，稍后又占据了维罗纳、费尔特雷和巴萨诺（1404—1405）。1426—1428年，布西亚和贝加莫也决定加入该共和国。君士坦丁堡的沦陷（1454）和美洲大陆的发现标志着威尼斯共和国在贸易和政治上开始走向衰败。拿破仑和奥地利签订的坎波福尔米奥条约（1797）将威尼斯归于奥地利治下，威尼斯共和国最后以丧失独立而告终。拿破仑时期（1805—1814）和复兴运动（1804年反抗奥地利人的起义）之后，威尼斯终于在1866年继第三次独立战争而归入意大利王国。

④伦巴第又一重要城市，距布雷西亚不远，1428至1796年属威尼斯共和国。

⑤据许多资料，他生于1582年，但市政记录和耶稣会名簿都注明他生于1581年。

⑥当时该院最杰出的学生是亚历山德罗（1575—1602），他最终加入了耶稣会。1592年，他为该院学生创建了旨在帮助穷人的圣·凯瑟琳会，艾儒略也参加了。

⑦费拉拉在艾斯汀家族的统治下（13—16世纪）经历了它最辉煌的时期。事实上公爵们把该城变成了一个欧洲水准的文化中心，在宫廷接纳著名的诗人和艺术家。1597年它被并入教皇管辖区，丧失了部分重要性。

⑧伦巴第南部曼图亚城，1328年起由贡扎加家族统治，历时四个世纪，贡扎加王朝治下该城政治地位日益提高，跻身于文艺复兴时期最富有最精致的宫廷所在地之列。

⑨拉丁原文（略）

⑩艾米利亚·雷吉尔城位于托斯卡亚平山脚的富饶平原，距巴尔马

不远。诺韦拉腊城距艾米利亚·雷吉尔21公里。

⑪在巴尔马的艾儒略导师之中，有著名的耶稣会数学家和天文学家 Giuseppe Bianchi（1566—1624）。他曾是罗马 Clavius 神父的学生，后被派往巴尔马教授数学。他是伽利略的朋友，即使如此他也反对其天文学新理论，而支持用古老的托勒密体系取而代之。

⑫巴尔马，14世纪曾是自治市，后沦为柯勒乔、艾斯汀、维斯孔蒂和斯福尔扎家族的领地，1545年之后，它成为教皇保罗三世封给其侄子的公国的首府。

⑬艾儒略早期信件的原文副本保存在罗马“collegio Collegio dee Gesu del Gesù”的档案中。

⑭波洛尼亚是艾米利亚——罗马涅地区首府，11世纪成为自治市。12世纪闻名的古老大学的建立使该市变为欧洲文化都市。作为诸侯与教皇的争夺对象，在1513年它成为教皇属地的一部分。除拿破仑时期外，它一直保持着对教皇统治的忠诚。1859年随第二次独立战争之后加入意大利王国。

⑮G. A. 马志尼（不是19世纪民族英雄马志尼——译者）1585年被选任为波洛尼亚大学的天文学教授，这是当时23岁的伽利略所企盼的职位。即使他的讲演支持过时的以地球为中心的托勒密体系，但为了实用目的和便于数学计算，他也接受新兴的哥白尼体系。马志尼是伽利略的朋友，1610年曾在其波洛尼亚的住所款待过他。马志尼与当时最著名的天文学家如梯柯、伽利略、开普勒均有通信往来。他最有名的著作是 Tavole Celesti（威尼斯，1585），该作也许就是艾儒略往果阿途中使用的“天文表”。从艾儒略1611年1月信件（澳门）可知，他事实上从未见过马志尼本人。

①6世纪，罗马教会当局对有关节期的历法准确性和这些节期的实际庆祝期之间不断出现的差异深感忧虑，因而着手更正这种差异。这种差异是凯撒历（公元前一世纪由凯撒首次颁发）和正确的年度值之间不断积累的误差所导致。最后，格利高里十三世1572年下令指定耶稣会天文学家Clavius编制新历，这部称为格利高里历的新历，1582年由教皇圣谕颁布。

②以下是信中一段：“从罗马学院起，即在1607年圣法兰西斯·沙勿略祭日，我就恳求尊敬的阁下为我主之故，乞请我们的会长，有派遣新的传教团时，让我和我的会士同赴印度群岛，我感到上帝已经向我召唤了六年，您不必为我的健康担忧，因为我强健有力”。

③利古里亚地区的主要城市，距意法边境不远。中世纪它成为自治市（12世纪）并拥有强大的海军力量，为争夺地中海贸易支配权，起先与比萨，而后与威尼斯进行过激烈争斗。16世纪之交衰败，沦为法国、米兰公国和西班牙的争夺对象。1528年重获独立，反反复复直至1797年，拿破仑利里亚共和国宣告成立。

④（略）

⑤耶稣会基歇尔神父在医学、数学、物理学、音乐、考古学、火山学领域进行过广泛的研究和实验，并在罗马创建了著名的人种学博物馆。他在语言方面的兴趣还使他成为努力探索世界通用语言的一员。参见David Mungello《神奇的土地：耶稣会士的迁就和汉学的起源》，檀香山，夏威夷大学出版社，1989。P30。

⑥这些资料记载于1654年罗马版315页。

⑦以下是信文：“致最卓越的波洛尼亚大学数学教授G))A)) Magino 阁下：我随身携带着您的天文表并用过多次。我想告诉您，1610年1月9日，当时我在东印度果阿的萨尔特，日没时分明月当空，这时发生了月全食，

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位于东经105°，从傍晚6时持续到晚上8时，遗憾的是，在您的天文表中没有这次月食的线索，虽然之后我可以使用它们推算出来。”

⑧根据耶稣会资料，该尊称是叶向高（1559—1627）所授。有一首叶向高赠予艾儒略的诗，保存在《三山论学记》之中（梵蒂冈图书馆，Borgia Chinese, 334和364），还可参见徐宗泽《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》（北京，中华书局，1989，P152，原版为1949年）。第二段诗节的三、四行有“他们（即西方传教士）说他们尊重中国习俗，并符合我们圣贤们的教诲。”有关叶向高传记，可参见《明人名词典》，纽约——伦敦，哥伦比亚大学出版社，1976，PP.1567—1570。方豪在其《中国天主教史人物传》第一卷中，（北京，中华书局，1988，P188，原版见台中光启出版社，1970），提到了一位反教者即三山（福州）的陈侯光，他在《辩学刍言》一文中写到：“近有大西国夷，航海而来，以事天之学倡，其标号甚尊，其立言甚辨，其持躬甚洁，辟二氏而宗孔子，世或喜而信之，且日圣人生矣。”鉴于该文中艾儒略被当作批判目标之一，所以方豪推断他在福州地区被当作“圣人”即“新孔子”。不过很可能仅在友善的士大夫中，艾儒略被称为“西来孔子”。《辩学刍言》被收入《破邪集》中（五卷，1639年徐昌治编，日本1855年再版。）该集中的大部分文章收集于1633年前，主要由佛僧和闽南反艾儒略的士大夫撰写。

⑨（略）

⑩（略）

⑪关于这些事实的描述，可参见龙华民1613年5月15日在广东南雄居所写的一封信。

⑫《明人名词典》“沈淮传”

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②⑨有关这次迫害的全面介绍，可参见乔治·邓恩《一代巨人：明末耶稣会士在中国的經歷》。爱德华特·凯利在《1616—1617年南京的基督教迫害》有更为详尽的分析。（未公开出版的博士论文，哥伦比亚大学，1970）。还可参见道格拉斯·兰开夏的《十七世纪中国的反基督教论争》，《教会史》。中文著述方面，可参见张维华旧作《明清间佛耶之争辩》以及《明清间中西思想之冲突与影响》，二文都收入《晚学斋论文集》，张维华，齐鲁书社，1986，PP.170—179及160—169。还可参见吕实强的文章《与中西文化交流相关之中国知识分子反基督教观念的探究》，收于《纪念利玛窦到中国四百周年中西文化交流国际研讨会》，台北，1983年9月11至16日，PP. 407—430。

③⑩有关杨廷筠生平和思想的详细研究可参见尼可拉·斯丹达特《杨廷筠，中国明末的士大夫和基督徒》，Leiden, Brill, 1988。艾儒略本人撰写的杨廷筠的宗教性传记《杨淇园超性事迹》由丁志麟1627年后编订。

③⑪—③⑫。（略）

③⑬有关该作内容的详细情况，可参见Bernard Hung-Kay Luk《艾儒略〈职方外记〉研究》，《东方及非洲学会会刊》，伦敦大学，1977。

③⑭以下是Luk所作的文章概要：“艾儒略的图说分为序及五卷，分记亚洲、欧洲、非洲、美洲，末卷为四海总说，并通过一幅椭圆形世界地图，四项各洲地图和两幅极地推测图予以说明。序言用托勒密体系解释了天体、静止的圆形地球以及气候和经纬线。”Luk还对该书作了有趣评价：“对十六世纪末十七世纪初欧洲（正处于价值革命和宗教战争的欧洲）许多方面作现实主义的观察无助于让中国人喜爱西方文明或基督教。艾儒略作为传播者，则是细心地提供一种颇为令人向往的景象。这种在晚明中国人面前将欧洲置于无可争议之优越地位的世界观势必迎合某种需要。首先，当然是使人感到欧洲本土令人羡慕，它物质繁荣，社会稳定，并且微妙而又确定地显示出道德的高尚。其次，欧洲的文明和仁慈的力量在中

国之外的世界是无以匹敌的。这包含了对穆斯林国家和印度的繁华和力量的蔑视，尤其表现在对待前者以及世界其它地区，而且无论如何不会对中国构成威胁。最后，但并非不重要的一点，这种良好的欧洲形象与葡萄牙毫不相干，因为后者在中国人眼里已经名誉扫地。我们可以看到，所有这些考虑都已反映在《职方外记》的世界图式中。”

③⑮—③⑯。（略）

③⑰耶稣会没有广泛地公开展示过耶稣受难像。艾儒略的《出象经解》（1635）也许是载有这类画像的首本小册子。许多资料表明，杨光先（1597—1669）这位1659—69年间汤若望的主要反对者，利用艾儒略之作来指控基督徒图谋不轨，理由是基督本人就作为罪犯而被钉在十字架上。事实上，杨光先并未提及艾儒略之作，而只是写了题为《邪教三图说评》一文，文中利用汤若望作品《进呈书像》（1640）中三幅表现耶稣受难的版画来攻击基督教。见杨光先《不得已》（1665），收于吴相湘《天主教东传文献续编》台北，中国史学丛书，1965，■，PP. 1135—1142。

③⑱（略）

③⑲（略）

③⑳许大受，浙江德清人，著名官吏和哲学家许孚远（1535—1604）之子。他在其文章中叙述了1633年到1639年间他与艾儒略的谈话。关于许孚远，可参见《明史》，卷283。

③㉑《破邪集》，卷4。

③㉒黄贞，闽南霞漳人，《破邪集》中有其两篇序文（1638和1639）和三篇论文。该信是写给颜壮其（颜茂猷）的。颜氏是崇祯年间（1625—

1644) 进士及一部六经选集的编者。

⑳—㉑。(略)

㉒关于这本小册子，可参见 John Mish 《向中国树立欧洲形象：艾儒略的〈西方答问〉》，Mish 为保存在梵蒂冈图书馆的抄本作了导言和英译文。

㉓该传有一法文译本：艾儒略《利玛窦传》。

㉔徐宗泽，同上书，PP 230—234。该作最后还描述了艾儒略在泉州发现的三块唐朝的景教碑。

㉕该传诸种抄本收于巴黎国家图书馆藏汉文抄本。后者标题为《西海艾先生行迹》，并附有艾儒略神父着儒服的画像一幅。参见 Dehergne，同上书，P7，方豪，同上书，p192。

Abstract

This paper attempts to present a comprehensive study of Michael Yang Tingyun, the first Chinese Catholic theologian, with emphasis on his attitude to the Confucian—Christian encounter. Six points will be discussed: 1) his desire of being an official who benefits people; 2) his ideal of reviving Confucianism; 3) his conversion to Catholicism and its reason; 4) his theological thinking and its features; 5) his attack on Buddhism and his praise of Catholicism; 6) his attitude to the Confucian—Christian encounter.

Yang Tingyun, Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizhao were radicals in political reform. They found the hope for the declining Ming Dynasty in the re—construction of Confucian ethics. Their patriotism led them to to ask Christian missionaries for the way to make their country rich and to build up its military power. Believing that Christianity could “complement Confucianism and rectify Buddhism”, Yang left Buddhism and converted to Catholicism in 1611. Because of his effort in extending Catholic influence in China, he was called one of the “three pillars of China’s Catholicism”.

As the first theologian of China’s Catholicism, Yang has written Daiyi Pian, Daiyi Xupian, Tianshi Mingbian, and