

**THE JESUITS IN CHINA**

by Feodosy Smorzhevsky

**An Eyewitness Account by an Eighteenth-  
Century Russian Orthodox Monk**

Translated by Barbara W. Maggs



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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Unlike the goal of the Jesuits, which was to convert the Chinese to Christianity, the purpose of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking, established in 1715, was primarily to provide Orthodox services to the small group of Russians residing or on business in the Chinese capital. The mission did not, for this reason face the recurrent persecutions that faced the Jesuits. Neither did the Russian priests serve the Chinese Emperor as scholars or artists. The Russian mission did, however, assist with trade and diplomatic matters involving the Chinese and Russian governments.

Smorzhevsky's purpose in writing this account of his Jesuit contemporaries in Peking was, as he states in Part I, No. 66, to provide helpful information to members of the next Russian Orthodox mission to Peking. The work is important to scholars today, I feel, because most contemporary accounts of Jesuit life in Peking appear in their own writings, in which they tended not to dwell on hardships, or, on the other hand, in the negative appraisals of their opponents in other orders, such as Fathers Matteo Ripa of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, and Teodorico Pedrini, a Lazarist. But Smorzhevsky in his study attempts to be objective about the Jesuits, some of whom he knew and liked personally, writing sometimes critically, but often admiringly of his Roman Catholic counterparts.<sup>1</sup>

Smorzhevsky's work also appears in another English translation: Hieromonk Fedosii Smorzhevskii, *Notes on the Jesuits in China*, translated and edited by Greg Afinogenov, Institute of Jesuit Sources, Boston College, 2016. The pictures are my addition.

## NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION ITSELF

Parentheses contained within the text are those of Smorzhevsky. I have used traditional English versions of Chinese place names, such as "Peking." Smorzhevsky and the 1822 Russian editor, Grigory Spassky, used their own Cyrillic transcriptions of various Chinese words. I have transcribed those Chinese words that I could identify into pinyin. The sectional divisions and the numbering of paragraphs in the text are

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<sup>1</sup> See also Barbara Widenor Maggs, "The Jesuits in China: Views of an Eighteenth-century Observer," *Eighteenth-century Studies* 8 (Winter 1974-75), pp. 137-52.

## THE JESUITS IN CHINA

Smorzhevsky's. The text consists of two parts: Part I and Part II. Paragraph numbering starts with “1” in each part.

The editor's notes were indicated by asterisks in the 1822 publication, however, for convenience, in this translation all notes (both those of the translator and those of the editor) are in consecutively numbered footnotes. Footnotes marked “[Tr.]” are those of the translator. Footnotes marked “[Ed. G.S.]” are notes of the Russian editor, Grigory Spassky in the 1822 publication.

Barbara W. Maggs

## ORIGINAL PUBLICATION

This work was originally published as: “Ob iezuitakh v Kitae. (Otryvok iz kitaiskikh zapisok Ieromonakha Feodosiia Smorzhevskogo)” [On the Jesuits in China (Excerpt from Notes on China by Hieromonk Feodosii Smorzhevsky)] contributed by E.F. Timkovsky, *Sibirskii vestnik* [Siberian Herald], Pt. 19 (1822), 107-32, 181-210; Pt. 20 (1822), 227-54, 295-310, 329-56.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR OF *SIBIRSKII VESTNIK*, GRIGORY SPASSKY

The editor is indebted for this excerpt to E.F. Timkovsky, Collegiate Assessor and Cavalier, former head security officer at the new Russian Ecclesiastical Mission sent to China; Timkovsky received the manuscript by chance in Irkutsk in 1820 before leaving for Peking; it is written in the hand of the author himself, Hieromonk Feodosy Smorzhevsky, who lived in Peking from 1745 to 1755 at the Ecclesiastical Mission under the direction of Archimandrite Gervasy Lintsevsky; the report appears here without any changes in the old style of writing. Smorzhevsky, a former teacher in the Kievan Academy, was elevated in Moscow from Hierodeacon of the Kiev-Sofia Monastery to Hieromonk before leaving for Peking. He returned to his native land at the age of thirty-five and was consecrated Archimandrite in Sevsky Monastery where he died in 1758. It is known that Smorzhevsky, while still at the Peking Russian Monastery composed a substantial history of our Ecclesiastical Mission there: his youth, a satiric bent, and perhaps in part the very nature of his subjects were the reasons behind his caustic appraisals of the coarse nature of the members of the Mission in Peking before his time.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> [Tr.] See Feodosy Smorzhevsky, “Vypiska iz zamechaniev o Pekinskikh duhovnykh missiakh” [Extract from Remarks on the Peking Ecclesiastical Missions], in Veselovskii, N. I., ed., *Materialy dlia istorii Rossiiskoi dukhovnoi missii v Peking* [Materials for the History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking], St. Petersburg, 1905 at pp. 65-71.

## PART I: THE GUISES IN WHICH THE JESUITIS ARE SENT TO CHINA, THEIR OCCUPATIONS, AND WHAT THEY PRACTICE THERE

### *The Ranks of the Jesuits in China and their Residential Colleges*

1. Each Jesuit is received in China as a specialist in some area, whether he is one or not. But this is not obvious, for in the midst of a large number of specialists the unskilled cannot be noticed. The specialists that are especially acceptable are these: mathematicians, and these receive little buttons,<sup>3</sup> clock makers, doctors, musicians, and painters. Of these the musicians today receive less respect, and less attention is paid to them. In the past they too enjoyed considerable honor because they taught the children of both the Emperor and of the Princes.<sup>4</sup> and recently they have been teaching some eunuchs at the court; when the Emperor travels somewhere, they play and sing various types of music, among them: Indian, Mongolian, and Nikan (Chinese).<sup>5</sup>

The good medical doctor whom we consulted is not among the Jesuits here now; even though he did not train others at the court, he was himself well known for his services and skills. The mathematicians are honored and have their own Department<sup>6</sup> where they spend their time. They publish annual calendars, maps, and other writings. But other groups from the Nikan and Manchus subscribe even more to the calendars, although they don't understand them at all.<sup>7</sup> Jesuits, however, from the very lowest ranks are included here. We found Dai-lü<sup>8</sup>, who at the time had achieved a red

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<sup>3</sup> [Ed. G.S.] Specialists in China are divided into nine ranks, distinguished from each other by the insignia of little buttons that are worn on their caps.

<sup>4</sup> [Tr.] These princes, of which there were various ranks, are referred to throughout Smorzhevsky's study by the Manchu title "Wang." They were princes at the court of the reigning Qianlong Emperor, whose reign years were 1735-1796, that is, throughout the time of Smorzhevsky's stay in China, 1745-1755.

<sup>5</sup> [Tr.] Nikan: Manchu term for Chinese.

<sup>6</sup> [Tr.] Called by Smorzhevsky a "prikaz," the name of governmental offices in Russia.

<sup>7</sup> [Tr.] The Manchu conquest of China occurred in 1644.

<sup>8</sup> [Tr.] Smorzhevsky's references to the Chinese names of Jesuits often include the suffix

button, and is still among the lower ranks of the Jesuits where he began.<sup>9</sup> The painters are now highly esteemed. The present-day Jesuit, Lang<sup>10</sup>, advanced to a blue button, though we'll get to how he did it later. They paint here with water colors but not with oils. The painters go to the court every day, and there they teach the Chinese, and they themselves paint.

The clockmakers enjoy moderate respect. They too go to court every day (horses are sent from the court): there they teach and have their meals, and do their own work. And whatever there is to be done, there are craftsmen there to do it, and one workman does not do an entire job by himself, but if, for example, there is a hole to be drilled, one will do it; let there be a nail to be driven in, then another does it, and in this way drilling specialists, nail hammerers, and others all work separately.

2. Inside Peking itself there are four residential Colleges; three are Jesuit, and one belongs to the Congregation.<sup>11</sup> The first of the Jesuit Colleges is located at the Xuanwumen Gates and is called Xuanwumen) and Southern. The Jesuit Bishop was set up there again in 1744 but he lives apart and has separate parishes. That is the oldest College of all, to which both before and after the upheaval that occurred in the time of the ruler Yongzheng,<sup>12</sup> a rather large quantity of imperial silver was donated, as is related above the gates.<sup>13</sup> On the church facade is depicted a dragon, the Chinese emblem, chiseled out of stone. Inside the church, above the altar are the Chinese characters written in gold on an azure background: *Tian di zhenzhu*, that is, “the real or true ruler or Tsar of heaven and earth.” It is said that the Kangxi Emperor<sup>14</sup> himself wrote these characters. The second College is the Eastern one, on the street called Ganyu hutong (Ganyu Lane), also called the Portuguese College, and this one is also relatively large and grand. Everyone (except the French) lives in these two Colleges although they come from different provinces. The third, the French and Northern College, palatial inside (for it contains a city, which even includes

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“lū”. This suffix means “monk” or “comrade.”

<sup>9</sup> [Tr.] In the Manchu civil service, colored buttons on the cap indicated the rank of the wearer. Red buttons designated the lowest rank, gold the seventh through ninth ranks.

<sup>10</sup> [Tr.] “Lang” is Brother Giuseppe Castiglione, 1688-1766, the well-known Italian Jesuit painter. See Part I, Paragraphs 46 and 47, and Part II, Paragraph 28.

<sup>11</sup> The Congregation of the Priests of the Mission; also called Lazarists.

<sup>12</sup> [Tr.] Reign years: 1722-1735.

<sup>13</sup> [Ed. G.S.] This is evidently a reference to the persecution of Christians under Yongzheng.

<sup>14</sup> [Tr.] Reign years 1661-1722, the first of the Qing dynasty after the Manchu conquest.

a palace) is immense, and only French Jesuits live there. The fourth Western College is small and in poor condition, but has now started to expand somewhat and to be refurbished.

3. In addition to these Colleges, the Jesuits have a small college in their Haidian<sup>15</sup> estate with gardens and orchards and a small church, but nothing can be seen in the cottages.

4. In front of their churches there are gates in the Chinese style, not right in front of the church, except for the Xuanwumen Gates, which are figured and pretentious like a Holy Gateway, right in front of the church itself, but these are never opened. Inside the gates is a rather long, wide space faced with brick, and in front of the church is a great awning, resembling a church porch, and where there isn't one, they construct shades of bast matting in the summer.

5. Near the gates there is usually a guard house in which a man lives; he observes all arrivals and must announce them.

6. From inside the first set of gates in the large Colleges, little cottages have been constructed, standing in a row, which house the catechists, people who are studying the faith. There is also a cottage set apart there where at the specified hour, the appointed person must teach.

7. Their converts enter the church wearing hats in accordance with the Chinese custom in which the servant wears a hat, but the master must be bare-headed. A drape is stretched cross the church, and in front of the drape they often place receptacles with material into which people spit.

8. The Jesuits themselves live apart from the church, and it is in no way possible to go from the church to the residence; but they take an honored guest into the hall, and there the elder receives him, along with any others. An important guest is received by all of the Jesuits, who sit on chairs on both sides of the hall. If an acquaintance comes, then one invites him into his private room; each Jesuit has his own servant.

9. Every year the Jesuits living in Peking in the three colleges receive funds sent to them from Europe, from their Provinces. Their elder lives in

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<sup>15</sup> [Tr.] Haidian, a district in the suburbs of Beijing where imperial palaces were located.

Macao, and after receiving this funding from the Dutch, Swedish, or other ships, he transfers it to Peking from time to time, either by means of a bill of exchange, a promissory note, or through trusted Chinese merchants, or sometimes even through reliable servants. The Eastern and also the Southern Colleges have their own Provincial (see Paragraph No. 2) in Macao who makes annual changes among the Jesuits in Peking who live in these two colleges, transferring them from college to college, and determining their rank with the changes. The French College has rankings from France itself, and for this reason their administrators do not often change, although according to their regulations (if their leadership were close by) the head would have to change every third year and the others every year. The French Jesuits receive their funds in the same way as do the others.

10. The Jesuits receive various packages as well, not only things for their subsistence and ordinary items from their home countries, but the European kings and royal counts and countesses, looking after the diffusion of their faith among the Chinese, send them valuable, unusual and remarkable things, for example, timepieces, organs, harpsichords, and so forth.

11. The fourth small Peking College has its own Dispenser in Macao, who is concerned with the collection and preparation there of everything that is needed, not only for the maintenance of that small Peking College, but for other Jesuits living and preaching in secret in the provinces.

12. And in this way, those of the Jesuit Order who preach in the provinces receive funds from Macao or from the Peking Jesuits, whoever happens to be close. Similarly, those of other orders receive funding every year from the Dispenser in Macao, if they are closer to him, or from Peking if they are closer here.

13. And since their ships do not come every year, and it happens that for several years there are none, the priests living in Peking have purchased shops, arable land, and estates, and the income from these is adequate to support themselves as well as those living in the provinces.

14. And the funds that are brought to them from Europe are not in bullion, but in coin: gold pieces, talers, and so forth. There are other things

on the ships too, for sale or brought as presents: for example, time-pieces, various figurines, guns such as muskets, pistols, and so forth.

### *The Jesuit Way of Life in Peking*

15. The Jesuits go about in Peking in the Chinese way: they have beards, even pigtails, and mustaches, but shave their heads completely; and at public mourning ceremonies they conduct themselves like the Chinese, except at the wailing ceremony, to which they are not invited; and they and the Tatars<sup>16</sup> are not present with the Lamas<sup>17</sup> at the bringing of offerings. The Jesuits do not trim their mustaches because the Chinese Muslims and the Tatars do. At home they wear a short, silky robe of a subdued color. But if they leave home, they wear a fine and proper robe, as do the Chinese; but those who live in the provinces go about in Chinese dress as if they were very simple peasants, differing only a little in their attire from country people. Each receives his income individually, the Peking Jesuits living as a group, and others living separately. Except where they happen to be together, if they want to pool their resources in an association. But this is up to them.

16. They travel on horseback and in carts that are constructed in the Chinese way, but are on leather support straps and decorated appropriately for the illustrious and honorable. If one drives out alone, then there is just the driver, though sometimes a man walks behind; but they don't follow the custom of having two men walking on the sides. For those who ride horseback, there is always a person behind them, and they keep their own horses for this purpose. And those who are ordered to go to the court of the Emperor, use the court's horses (as seen in paragraph No.1), and from the court they can ride these horses wherever they want.

17. They go out by themselves here and there, somewhere for a visit, somewhere for a consultation. But often they go out in order to be on guard. More will follow on this in another section.

18. As seen in connection with paragraph No. 7, Part I, they change their title every year, and so one looks after the necessities and maintenance

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<sup>16</sup> [Tr.] Smorzhevsky later states in Part II, Paragraph 47, that by "Tatars" he refers to Muslims.

<sup>17</sup> [Tr.] Lamaists or Mahayana Buddhists.

of his church, another must give the homily on holidays, and another is put in charge of giving instruction to the Catechumens. To keep this section shorter, I'll describe this more extensively later on.

19. Because the Jesuits, however wise they may be, are not able, especially in the beginning, to know all of the Chinese subtleties, they have, from the very start, persuaded certain learned Chinese, either through counsel or silver, into their faith.

20. Mendoza<sup>18</sup> writes that many Chinese cross over to the Philippine Islands with merchants, a large number of whom have both settled there and had families; where Christian converts live, they do not forget their Chinese language, and they have learned the European one perfectly. In Macao as well, the Chinese have learned both languages well, and they teach.

21. Whether this story is truth or fiction, I won't judge, I'll just relate it, keeping in mind that it could have happened: it seems that a certain Jesuit named Paul came to Guangdong (which they also call Aomyn) as a person unknown to any. Already familiar with Chinese, he became a follower of the Khotans (pagan priests),<sup>19</sup> living there for ten years; and after getting used to all of their secrets, and learning the fine points of all of their rites and their characteristics, he began to argue with them, bringing out the misconceptions in their own books and the truth of the Christian religion. After long discussion, all of the Khotans became Christians and helped him a great deal in his spreading of the faith.

### ***The Jesuits' Charge to Spread the Christian Faith among the Chinese***

22. They hire servants who work for them regularly, receiving a monthly salary. They retain those who seem better and more honest and

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<sup>18</sup> [Tr.] Juan González de Mendoza, author of *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos, y costumbres del gran reyno de las China* [The History of the Most Notable Things, Rites, and Customs of the Great Monarchy of China] (Rome, 1585), one of the first important Sinological works.

<sup>19</sup> [Tr.] Smorzhevsky uses the term "Khotan" here to mean Muslims. See Part I, No. 35. The Khotans were residents of an area in present-day Xinjiang Province of China, in Smorzhevsky's time mainly Muslim.

more faithful than the others (more on this later); those whom they see as the very brightest and also the youngest in this group they take with them and teach them Latin and the tenets of the Christian faith.

23. After teaching some of this group for a while, they send them secretly from Macao to Europe, or they take them there themselves, and there they teach them more thoroughly, not only Latin but also rhetoric and moral theology. The Chinese in turn teach the Chinese language to the Europeans there. For this purpose foundations have been established in Rome and in Naples. Having been ordained there as priests, they return to China to their order, whether it is Jesuit, or Dominican, or some other; and when they return, they receive a yearly salary from whichever order it is. Others are not sent to Europe, but study either in Macao, or in the Philippine Islands, or with the missionaries.

24. And so one can see from Part I, No. 19, which is true at present, how they have tried to persuade those philosophers to accept Christianity and how they have received and continue to receive other literate Chinese; and this is how they have made priests of those who converted as educated Chinese or the those who studied with the missionaries, or the ones who were sent to Europe. But even lay persons may be Catechists. This happens in the following way: as seen in Part I, No. 6, at designated times, they teach the catechumens; and on holidays they also teach the Chinese converts who have arrived before the High Mass. There the converts or the catechumens listen, talking to each other, one with curiosity, another wanting to learn (even if not intending to convert); and other Chinese come and listen. The appointed priest whose turn it is, the Catechist, after sitting down, begins to speak, or after speaking for a while, leaves; since he knows well their way of writing, their thought, and language, he begins to explain more extensively. Whatever needs to be explained, the Jesuits publish in Chinese, and hand out every Sunday all year long. Many come to argue, and after first being questioned about these things, the Jesuits put together advice and rebuttals among themselves, and like the above mentioned philosopher, provide information about everything, how to respond and where to direct those with questions. They do not enter into arguments if someone has only simple and empty disagreements without any basis or any desire to learn the truth. These Catechists are not only here but are also sent into the provinces, and a yearly salary is given to them.

25. With these learned converts, the Jesuits have translated into Chinese the Gospels, the books of the Apostles, and the entire dogma of the faith; and because a single character, although used for a certain meaning, strictly and properly means something different, they interpreted those characters in various ways, so that the meaning was the proper one that was needed and not something else. For this reason they added squiggles, little lines, and other additions to their characters. They have thoroughly examined all of Confucius (Kong-Fu-zi), and have translated into Latin some other Chinese books on the law, all of the conventions and ceremonies of the Chinese, and have translated and are translating the decrees and codes of the Chinese as well as those of the Manchu Emperors. They copy and translate the Chinese monthly newspapers, and with the help of those literati they produce and publish what the Jesuits themselves think up, translated into the other idiom. For this they have brought their own printing press with which they print each year the already published exposition of their teachings, the church calendar or calendar of holidays, and other works, as well as Catechisms, various books on the law and on violations of the law.

26. Where it is difficult or impossible for the Jesuits to go, the Chinese priests operate, as will be seen in another section.

27. And so on every holiday and every Sunday the appointed priest, seated on a chair in the middle of the church, delivers a sermon. In this way they have brought in various congregations with different titles, and introduced new laws regarding both sexes, and various sermons and exhortations on the meaning of these measures take place.

28. They distribute the saints' calendars to their Christians free of charge, so that everyone knows when the holidays occur; for they put all of the holidays under the Chinese months and dates. Besides this they have small notices which announce these holidays.

29. And so they have posted at their door the teachings of the faith, but above all, either one Christian encourages the non-Christian, acquaintance encourages acquaintance, or relative encourages relative, and with guidance they win them over to Christianity; or the literati themselves, walking about and circulating among the Chinese, in some cases, persuade and win over converts. For not everyone can get in to listen, except the

poorest; if it indeed happens that they persuade someone rich, then these philosophers go to his home (the Jesuits, to avoid suspicion cannot go there very often), and they teach people there. And the Jesuits pile up many converts with the following method: they visit in the name and guise of giving medical treatment or teaching, for example, giving music lessons, and so forth.

30. I recall the following about such Jesuit pupils and others who served them: there were originally more whom they were instructing in Latin and so forth, but the students in this group and others whom they see in their studies here to be the most capable, they turn into priests. But they are careful about this, so that the group not seem suspect and of limited and poor ability. Other students, who have served rather well, they use for maintaining the church, the grounds, shops, fields, for hiring, shopping, and upkeep, and for selecting their silver coins and cash coins for payments.<sup>20</sup> And this group, transformed by this glamorous calling, are usually the worst. First of all, since they have not seen silver before, when they see it at hand, they begin both justly and unjustly to become rich; because from everyone to whom they sell or rent something, or whom they hire, they take something for themselves; secondly, according to Chinese custom, it's impossible to receive silver for a percentage, except by swearing and shouting, and so the Jesuits choose the most sharp-witted for this job. But those who are chosen, even though previously good, change with handling the household's money and become spoiled, about which the Jesuits themselves say little so that those in this position might be good.

31. The servants of the Jesuits are all Chinese Christians. Besides instruction in the Christian law, the Jesuits also teach skills to the servants who live with them, but not to all of them. These Jesuit servants also stand out among other Chinese with their behavior, taking on the appearance of European politeness, modesty, and civility. Not many, however, are really like that; a large number of these workers do not give up their cheating Chinese ways, for which they are often dismissed by their employers; at the same time, many who have accepted the holy Christian faith, who are already fairly well confirmed in it, conduct themselves modestly. However, as my Jesuit friend from Khaiten was saying, "Even if my own father had

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<sup>20</sup> [Ed. G.S.] A cash (*qian*) is a small Chinese copper coin.

been brought up among the Chinese, I would not believe him about anything, ever.”

32. It happens that even some good converts who work as servants for the Jesuits become unemployed. The reason for this is either the death of the Jesuit with whom this servant lived, or even sometimes a Jesuit is cross and restless, and impossible to live with.

33. Not infrequently Jesuits perform marriages for Chinese converts, also acquiring means of support for them; they reward some who are the poorest on holidays and Sundays, giving them from the general coffers both silver and copper money for their expenses.

34. Both the converts and the non-converts call the Jesuits “shifu” (teacher) and behind their backs usually “xi yang ren” (person from the west).

### *On the Service of Worship and Various Religious and Secular Ceremonies of the Jesuits*

35. From the start of their arrival in the Chinese nation, the Jesuits (Ricci writes in his book)<sup>21</sup> were offered, more than once, vacant temples to live in; but the Jesuits did not want to accept them, fearing that because of this type of place, they would be considered Lamas. For this reason, even now they strictly distance themselves from the names of non-Christian priests such as: Lama, Khotan, Taoist; they are on guard against wearing the dress worn by the Lamas and even the colors that people of the aforesaid callings use in their clothing; and they wear the dress commonly used by all citizens.

36. The Jesuit Jacobus Tirinus writes in his Commentary<sup>22</sup> that the Jesuits in China are permitted by the Pope to celebrate the Eucharist in the Chinese language, but actually they celebrate it in Latin, and the Chinese

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<sup>21</sup> [Tr.] The Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), a founder of the Jesuit mission in China and author of influential sinological works.

<sup>22</sup> [Tr.] Jacobus Tirinus (1580-1536), *In S. Scripturam commentarius duobus tomis comprehensus*, Antwerp, 1645.

who perform the function of the singers respond in inexact Latin; for example, they cannot pronounce “Christus” because they are not accustomed to vowels and consonants being combined, and so they say “Ci-hi-si-tu-sa” instead of “Christus.”

37. Although various orders of Roman Catholics in Europe have certain differences in their services, in China they all serve in agreement. For this reason the Dominicans dropped their quarrel concerning the time of the pouring of wine into the chalice.

38. Wine for the Holy Eucharist is transported by them by ship from Europe, but as the ships do not come into Guangding every year, the wine often spoils on the ships; and so the Jesuits in Peking make their own wine. The Jesuit Wei<sup>23</sup> told me that into a hundred *jin* of grapes (that is, into 125 pounds of grapes) they put five *jin* of vodka, and others have said that they add even more vodka; with this kind of wine some of the Catholics do not dare to serve.

39. Because there was a decree by Yongzheng that females could not enter the pagan temples, a prohibition relating to the presence there of wine, and also because suspicion had fallen on the Jesuits themselves, they willingly agreed among themselves everywhere that women were not to be permitted to enter the Catholic church.

40. But because it is sometimes necessary to go with religious rites to a sick woman somewhere; and also necessary to hear confession and give the Eucharist, they selected for this some clean little cottages, and the priest goes there and serves, and performs the religious rites. They do the same for people in rural areas.

41. They observe their fasts as in Europe, but from eggs, milk and butter. The Chinese converts fast in this way too, but not strictly, which is allowed although the Chinese, quite apart from this, eat little, almost as if they are fasting.

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<sup>23</sup> [Tr.] A reference to Florian Bahr, who was born in Silesia, became a Jesuit in the province of Bohemia, and was a missionary in China at the time of Smorzhevsky's stay there. His Chinese name is given as “Wei” in entry #349 in Aloys Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jesuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine: 1552-1773*, Shanghai, 1932-34).

42. They do not open their churches to visitors at all times but only on holidays.

43. At Chinese New Year, the Jesuits follow the example of the temples, which are closed the whole summer, but at this time are open to all; for everyone wants to get a look at the Jesuits' famed churches, paintings, and ornamentation. At this time both converts and non-Christians go into the churches, and the Jesuits do this as a guise to keep the converts from the suspicion that they are Christians, and from any conclusion that at their New Year they might not glorify their idols, but instead the Lord God and so would go not to the temples, but to the churches. And even if the great Christian fast has already begun during the Chinese New Year, the Jesuits permit food to those who desire it.

44. They invite desirable guests into the reception hall; after offering them some refreshments, they invite them into the church if they wish to look at it. The Chinese, after coming into the church, usually fall down in front of the icon and bow down to the ground (even if they are not Christians).

45. At the New Year the Jesuits enter the palace in the company of others to congratulate the Emperor. They stand in a place specially designated for them. The same occurs on the name-day or the birthday of the Emperor, for Qianlong, for example, on the thirteenth day of the eighth month, and also when the Emperor enters or leaves the city. In a word, whenever it is the custom for the Ministers to congratulate or accompany the Emperor somewhere, then the Jesuits go as well. They also take some kind of small gift to the Emperor and with the presents a little list of what was brought and by whom. But the Emperor, with them as with the others, will perhaps accept something to look at, but will always return it to the giver. Not all of the Jesuits go, just several from each college. They do not see the Emperor as a result of these presents, but he may order someone to come before him for some reason. Sometimes the Emperor favors them with sable tails or brocade with silver or gold threads, and so forth, and sometimes a piece of meat (mutton that is so fatty it is almost entirely fat), or he may also give them milk, and at this point bowing repeatedly to the ground, they have to crawl on their knees and go out crawling. For when congratulations are being offered, you must always remain standing until an

order is given to someone in particular to leave or to wait.

46. The Jesuits similarly run to all the Princes with congratulations, and they receive the same presents from them with the proper ceremonies. But because not everyone receives such good fortune from the Princes, being shown kindness and respect, if even one out of seven of them is fortunate, then the other Jesuits send through this one whatever their various matters, presents, and servants there may be. They interpret his approach and success as applying to them all, as they do now through the painter Lan, though he is a simple monk.

47. At the court and in the Departments they do not consider whether a Jesuit is a Bishop or a Rector, but rather how much he is honored among the Chinese. On this basis, as opposed to an individual Jesuit's merits, they even award the little buttons showing rank as well as salary. It is said that apparently everyone among the Jesuits is assigned a salary, but they don't accept it, and therefore this salary remains in the Prikaz. The mathematicians still have white buttons; there are two of them, and a salary goes to both.<sup>24</sup> The painter, the monk Lang-lü, recently received a sky-blue button, in the following way: in 1748 the Emperor's mother<sup>25</sup> summoned him to paint her portrait; he arrived, and the Emperor was also present, and so Lang-lü, after falling to the floor, bowed low before him as usual; but the Empress began to speak, asking what type of button he now had; the Emperor said, "I gave him the sixth level, but he doesn't want it." At this the Emperor's mother says: "Give him the third;" and here Lang-lü fell to the floor again and began to ask for leave: "We are so satisfied with the kindness of Your Majesty," he said; but when the Emperor saw that Lang-lü was very much complicating things, he ordered him to get on with his work. Two days later, when Lang-lü arrived, a eunuch came up to him and said, "Either go inside with your button, or else go away without it"; and so he took the button.

48. The Bishop, when he is at home with guests, wears his violet outer garb and his cross, and on his head a biretta, that is, a four-cornered cap; if he walks or drives somewhere, then he usually dresses like the Chinese, but

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<sup>24</sup> [Tr.] White jade is the sixth rank out of nine.

<sup>25</sup> [Tr.] Empress Xiaoshengxian (1693-1777), mother of the Qianlong Emperor (reign 1735-1796).

mainly he stays at home.

49. There are other Bishops besides him, one of the Franciscan Order, another of the Dominican Order (now broken up), and also in Macao. The present Peking Bishop, named Polycarp, writes under his family name de Sousa, and from the Nikan language he devised for himself the name, or rather the nickname, So-lü.<sup>26</sup> He was the first of the Jesuit Order to go in 1744 to Macao in his position. He lives separately from the other Jesuits and has his own separate shops, estates and fields. He has no power whatsoever over the Jesuits. When he performs ceremonies, the educated Chinese play and sing. The Jesuits have arranged their songs somewhat to accommodate the Chinese voice.

50. In the beginning the French taught Latin, but they no longer do so. Sung-lü taught, as well as Sun-lü, both French Jesuits. They have compiled dictionaries on the model of Knapius:<sup>27</sup> first the Latin is given, then they added the Chinese characters signifying the same thing. These Jesuits are now in the Neige, that is, the Senate as interpreters from Chinese to Manchu and vice versa.

51. The Jesuit way of performing burials we know from seeing how they conducted one in our presence: in June of 1748 the honored Jesuit, called Chin-lü, Dominic by name, who was formerly several times Provincial, passed away.<sup>28</sup> And so first of all, they fashioned, in the Chinese way, an awning made of bast matting. Second, they refrained from going out to greet those who were arriving. Third, they placed the deceased in a simple white coffin. Fourth, on the appointed day, everyone began arriving from all of the Colleges, and here on the wide street, the Bishop picked up a small censer, and walked around the coffin three times, reading, obviously, the "Our Father." Fifth, all of their followers, dressed in white, walked around the coffin. Sixth, all of the Jesuits in white mourning clothing without tassels mounted horses and rode behind the coffin. Seventh, their

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<sup>26</sup> [Tr.] Bishop Mgr. Polycarpo de Souza (1697-1757) from Portugal: #320 in Aloys Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine: 1552-1773*, Shanghai, 1932-34).

<sup>27</sup> [Tr.] Joannes Servilius, or Jan Knaep, or Knapius, author of a 16th-century Latin-Dutch dictionary.

<sup>28</sup> [Tr.] Dominique Pinheiro who died in June, 1748 in Peking. His Chinese name was Chen: #318 in Aloys Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine: 1552-1773*, Shanghai, 1932-34.)

Chinese converts threw small pieces of paper in the Chinese manner.<sup>29</sup> And although the Jesuits say that this is not permitted, the Chinese nevertheless have not given up this habit. Eighth, they bore the coffin to their cemetery, for each College has its own cemetery where there is a chapel, a kitchen garden, and a small reception hall, and a cottage for the servants, all of these always enclosed by a wall. They themselves are buried in a row, with the name of each person standing there. And their converted servants are buried there too in another row.

52. They devise Chinese nicknames for themselves, either from their first name or from their European nickname; Theodoricus may become Te lü,<sup>30</sup> or it may turn out differently.

53. Here it is appropriate to mention something about the councils that the Jesuits have among themselves, and more will follow about other such things in another section. And so, their councils may be large, as in a major matter, and smaller, for a minor matter. If the small councils concern some private benefit, they administer them among themselves, but they register in advance where these councils have been organized, for the benefit of those who will be there. The large councils, should they meet in Peking, are attended by everyone, and they inform everyone living in the provinces when the council will be set up so that they can know if the matter might continue for some time, and they also write to those living in the provinces and in Macao, asking their advice and informing them of their own opinion, and those living in the provinces do the same thing. And what they agree upon they record and keep, and they write to Rome for further directives from there. It sometimes happens that something different comes from Rome, but this happens very infrequently. Often there is an argument with various opinions, but especially between the Jesuits and other orders preaching in the Chinese kingdom, and then of course they wait for a resolution and conclusion from Rome. From here on and in the second section of these notes there will be less about all this.

54. They have viewed the use of Chinese beads as idolatrous

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<sup>29</sup> The paper traditionally was imitation paper money.

<sup>30</sup> [Tr.] Smorzhevsky's references to the Chinese names of Jesuits often include the suffix "lü". This suffix means "monk" or "comrade."

superstition, and directed that the converts wear medals of the various Roman Catholic saints and also small crosses. Most of these they produce and distribute here, and some they import from Europe.

55. Having observed that many Chinese because of some sort of superstition refrained from eating meat after becoming Christians, the Jesuits directed that at the time of baptism the clergy inquire about eating meat, and if a person was abstaining from eating meat, they permitted this, but only if this person had not eaten meat before baptism; if afterward he continued to abstain from eating meat, then this would not be because of some kind of idolatrous superstition.

56. At the same time, especially with the intellectual converts, discussed earlier, they began to bring some Chinese characters into the language of Christianity, that is, those which pertained to Christianity and its ceremonies. In order to more properly name something, after finding some character appropriate, they introduced it so that it did not have any idolatrous meaning.

57. On the word “God,” they had intense and lengthy arguments since the Chinese bowed down to heaven and still do; then some, especially from the Jesuit order, barged into this, saying that the Chinese did not bow to the visible and material heaven, but understood by the word “heaven”<sup>31</sup> a certain different higher entity. Others argued, “We Christians reason about what the Chinese think, and assume that they think in the same way we do.” The Jesuits argued that the Chinese attribute personal qualities to a living, rational heaven, as if it were able to know and see, listen and give, and so forth, for the Chinese are not conceptualizing something material as it would not be appropriate to ascribe these attributes to matter. And the Kangxi Emperor put it this way: “This heaven that we see is without a soul, but there is a certain power over them, that thinks, and knows, and sees and listens.” Again, others disputed this saying, “Is it right when we European Christians tell ourselves that the Chinese believe about heaven just as we do, that it is inanimate, but in reality they think of it as animate the way the ancient Greek philosophers revered it as animate? For this reason it is better to make some kind of distinction, so they do not revere heaven as material, and this material heaven as God, but consider God separate and

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<sup>31</sup> [Tr.] In the Russian “heaven” is given as “nebo”.

heaven separate.”

Through such long debates the Pope, they say, decided that these terms be used: “The Tsar or Ruler of Heaven,” that is to say, heaven is not God, but there is a being who both created and rules heaven, and so they called God “Tian zhu” “Heavenly Ruler. They inscribe over the icon “The Savior,” “Tian di zhen zhu” (See Part I, Paragraph 2). And this is how it is at present.<sup>32</sup>

58. They wrote out the short and the very long Catechism and introduced Chinese characters under them, and they now print this in Chinese. They also publish other books this way, this one interpreting, this one defending the Christian law, this one against sacrifices, and they circulate them among the people.

59. For they observed that the Chinese, sometimes at New Year's, sometimes at ceremonial remembrances of the dead bow down to their ancestors and to the Chinese characters representing their ancestors' names, place bread before them, and so forth. Various Roman Orders preaching in the provinces considered this an idolatrous ceremony, saying that the Chinese superstitiously believe that the souls of their ancestors are in these characters, and that they are nourished with the aroma of the breads that were offered, and so forth. The priests of the Jesuit Order interpreted this as adiaphorous and acceptable, saying that it was only a simple and bad ceremony but not at all idolatrous. For this reason they allowed their converts to conduct these ceremonies but forbade others. In 1748 a resolution came from the Pope that they not accept these ceremonies as they were idolatrous. And other priests, also in 1748, presented this as confirmation of their own opinion. (See Section 5, book I, Part I. No. 28 under thirteen.)

60. When the converts visit a friend or relative of a deceased person, they must, according to Chinese custom, bring coins or silver because with this the Chinese can do something idolatrous, either for the people in Khotan or for a sacrifice to an idol; and so the priests counseled the Chinese converts that they should either buy fruit and other items for

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<sup>32</sup> [Tr.] On the controversy concerning the translation into Chinese of the terms “God” and “heaven,” see Arnold H. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin: the Jesuits at the Court of China* (Berkeley, 1942), 128-131.

entertaining guests, or they should purchase the coffin and so forth, or at least they should explain, "We're giving this for the sake of the deceased, and not for idols" Even if contrary to their expectation, it would in fact be used on idols.

61. I don't know if they originated this or if it is customary in Europe:<sup>33</sup> they bring in a great many religious objects in the form of various little icons and statuettes and sell them in reliquaries at night markets), and some Chinese buy them because of the ornate reliquaries.

62. Their converts of both sexes must know by heart the Short Catechism which contains the Ten Commandments.

63. The Ten Commandments, according to their Roman Catholic reasoning, while they make them into ten commandments, are not in the same order as ours because they combine two of ours, the first and the second commandments, into one, while they stretch out the last one into two. And that's the way they present them to their converts.

64. When the Jesuit converts enter someone's cottage and begin to drink or eat something, they make the sign of their Roman cross, that is, either with all the fingers, or to be more exact one might say with the whole hand or with the thumb, and move the hand from the stomach, first to the left and then to the right shoulder; they call this the great cross. Or, with the thumb, they make little crosses on the head, the lips, and the chest, and this they call the small cross. In Europe (when I also traveled to Poland) I never saw anywhere, nor did I read about the meaning of these signs of the cross such as I have heard and read about among the Jesuits' Chinese converts: first, they say, with the little three-part cross we signify three times the image of the three persons separately, and then the cross with the thumb presents the image of the unity of the entity, as if those little crosses are contained in this single large one.

65. The Jesuits have left a number of Latin words in their Catechism, untranslated in one place but translated in another: in one place "Father" is kept as "Pater," but in another it is translated "Tien zhufu"; however, in this I notice these two things: first, it seems that where the meaning is "God

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<sup>33</sup> [Ed. G.S.] This of course, is the custom in Roman Catholic countries.

the Father,” they have not simply used “fuqin” that is, “God, the Father,” but instead, in order to avoid an understanding of God the Father in simply human terms, they add: “tien zhu God.” Second, since there are no reduced vowel signs in the Chinese language, vowels are attached everywhere to consonants; but in Latin not only are there many words that end in consonants, but also sometimes consonant clusters, such as in “to est”<sup>34</sup> and so forth. For this reason it's impossible to put a Chinese character under the particular Latin word exactly as it is spelled in Latin. And so the Jesuits have arranged, extended, and stretched out so many Latin words that it is hardly possible even for a European to understand some of them; for example, instead of “spiritus” they write “sy-pei-li-fua.” This is in order to more conveniently put a Chinese character under the Latin; as there is no Chinese character for “spi,” in order to write the Chinese characters, they extended the single Latin syllable into two, “sy-pei.” For “sy” and “pei” are in fact Chinese characters. But here I just caution again that they have not placed these characters in such a way that they have a meaning similar to that of the word under which they were placed, but simply so that they represented the sound “sy” although this character will have no similarity or resemblance to what it stands for, “spiritus”; as one would put it in logic, “materialiter non formaliter.” For the words only and not for the meaning. But they have been careful so that these Chinese characters do not by themselves indicate anything idolatrous, bad, or altogether base or dissimilar to the original. Thus for “Maria,” “ma” can mean “horse,” and so they have not used this character, but have used instead the form of “ma” that means a “bead,” or some other kind of stone, and so forth.

66. I did not intend to give you that catechesis and also what they have stated about the faith -- rather I thought to take it first to the Most Holy Synod; but before this has been transmitted and decided on, you are going to be living in Peking and will need to know this, and that's why I have decided to inform you.

67. When someone asks me about things such as: do the Jesuits really have a large number of their own converts, and who are they ? -- I am getting ahead again, and so I'll write about this: their converts are indeed many, some think two hundred thousand. But in the south there are more

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<sup>34</sup> [Tr.] “That is” in Russian.

because a great many spread out from Macao and Guangdong to the nearby provinces. Hardly any converts from there have been in the Gaoli Land, that is Korea, as it is more distant; but in the south, many say, there are entire villages that have been converted. A merchant came to me to buy cloth, and I asked him, “Have you been a Christian convert for long?” – for the Jesuits had told him about our selling cloth, and he said to me, “There is hardly anyone among us who remembers the origin of his faith because the entire group has long been Christian, as our parents are Christians, and our fathers' parents were Christians.”

68. Priests of various orders have told me that there are still many obstacles even from the priests themselves and especially from the Jesuits because in regard to some matter that almost all the other orders see as evil and begin to stop, or that they consider, on the other hand, not to be evil at all, the Jesuits disagree, and what the others forbid or prohibit, the Jesuits permit; or in contrast, on something all the others are pleased with, they alone argue against it. Until it goes to Rome to be arbitrated and a resolution returned from there, and meanwhile a great deal of useful time slips away. In addition, when those of other orders happen to arrive in Macao, in order to be admitted eventually to Peking, not a single Jesuit will be there, and they create obstacles and interfere in every way, so that this person waits in Macao until some Jesuit should come, and after waiting a long time, but not long enough, the new arrival returns to Europe as, for example, at this moment an excellent painter who came to Father Sigismund of the Fourth College<sup>35</sup> in 1747 is to this day waiting in Macao, even though there has often been an opportunity to announce him to the Emperor. And all this so that there will be Jesuits in all the crafts at court, as right now, because of a very great scarcity, the Jesuits have been forced to let in that Sigismund of the Augustinian Order: but in the midst of all this, so that his lack of ability not be noticed, they have dragged in their own French Jesuit as a watchmaker, although he isn't good at anything.

69. As for the goodness of their Christians, many are indeed good, constant, and faithful. At present we don't hear of any converts being among the Princes or the lower ranking Gongs;<sup>36</sup> they say there are many

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<sup>35</sup> [Tr.] The Congregation or Lazarists mentioned in Part I, Paragraph 2.

<sup>36</sup> [Tr.] “Gong” is a Manchu title, often translated as “Duke”.

among the lower ranks and the Eunuchs. But as is generally said, a friend appears in misfortune, and so in their present persecution a small number of really good people has appeared, but there were more who became worse than the present idolaters; others though have willingly suffered.

70. Under the Kangxi Emperor a Papal Legate arrived, who, they say, wanted the names and terms in Confucianism which are very similar to those of the Christian faith, though the pagan priests interpret them differently, to be brought under a single interpretation. In addition, the Legate wanted the terms of Confucianism that were perceived differently, especially by Confucian students, and misinterpreted, to be removed through imperial decree. Apparently, the Roman Catholic priests wanted either to show evidence for the Christian faith in the learning of Confucianism itself, or else to ask if it would not be possible to end the usage of the Confucian terms by the Chinese people, especially at the time of the installation of the new Manchu government. However, while well received, the Legate was sent off pleasantly with no success whatsoever.

71. After the arrival of the Legation the Jesuits began to quarrel about the Chinese term “Sheng” (“holy”),<sup>37</sup> because this was applied both to Confucius and to other idols.”; although this does not exactly mean “holy,” as it does with us, that is, living in eternal bliss; but for them, it means, as it were, “honorable,” “glorious,” or “upright.” And so they write about former Emperors: “my glorious<sup>38</sup> forebear instituted this or that,” and so forth, that is, “highly respectable” and so forth, in a word, and since this word does not contain anything idolatrous, the Jesuits could not find a better one, and also they could not deprive Confucius of such respect, and so they calmed down about this appellation when it was applied to the Christian Saints.

72. Under the Yongzheng Emperor, there arrived, evidently through Jesuit encouragement, a Portuguese Consul of secular rank.<sup>39</sup> At this time the Jesuits were being persecuted, and so as to prevent what had happened

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<sup>37</sup> [Tr.] In Russian “sviatyi,” which means holy. The term was the ongoing cause of great argument in the Roman Catholic Church. See Arnold H. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin: the Jesuits at the Court of China* (Berkeley, 1942), 128-29, 158 et passim.

<sup>38</sup> [Tr.] sviatyi” in Russian text.

<sup>39</sup> [Tr.] See Part II, Paragraph 11. This was Alexandre Metello de Sousa e Menezes, who arrived in China in 1724.

to them earlier in Japan from also occurring in China,<sup>40 41</sup> they encouraged the Portuguese to request permission, in the guise of friendship and under the pretext of commerce, for the Jesuits to live in China, to practice their faith unmolested; and also to serve the Emperor in his commands, works and arts. This Prelate drove about *noisily*, tossed money to the crowd, and displayed a great deal of ceremony, but he received very little respect, scarcely saw the Emperor, and was dismissed having achieved nothing. The reason behind the Emperor's tolerant acceptance of the Legation will be seen in the second section.

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<sup>40</sup> [Ed. G.S.] Christianity was introduced to Japan in the middle of the sixteenth century. The first priest there was Francis Xavier. This Holy faith spread so rapidly there that by 1629 there were already up to 400,000 Christians. Later on, through the intrigues of a certain employee of the Dutch Trading Company, extremely cruel persecutions sprang up against it, so that in 1649 there were hardly any Christians left in Japan. See Gagenar, *izvestie o Iapone i o vine goneniia na Khistian* [News about Japan and about the Wrongful Persecution of Christians] second edition, St. Petersburg, 1768, page 52. It is impossible to read about the tortures of the suffering Christians there without horror and heartfelt compassion. Gagenar states (*ibid.*, 56-58) that the church never suffered in such a short time as great a persecution as this, and that the Japanese displayed as much cunning in the invention of the tortures, as they did cruelty in carrying them out.

<sup>41</sup> [Tr.] Gagenar's name is also given elsewhere in Russian as Khagenaar, Kheindrik, and in English as Hagenaar, Hendrik.

## **PART II: HOW FAVORABLE IS THE CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE JESUITS?**

1. During the reign of the Kangxi Emperor, the attitude toward the Jesuits in Peking and in the provinces was pleasantly cool and benign, and the Emperor liked them so much and discussed and asked about the faith so often that they really hoped to convert him and the Chinese government to their faith. This hope was strengthened by the fact that the Emperor had in his rooms both a Crucifix and other holy icons, and he bowed down to them. The truth is that he was of a curious nature, and because of this he was curious about Europe but not in order to accept the faith, strange<sup>42</sup> and remarkable as it was, but also because the Europeans were cheerful, artistic, and inventive. As to the bowing down, this too is perhaps not amazing; for the Chinese bow down both to the devil and to God when they come into a Christian cottage or before an icon anywhere; and especially at the New Year, they will immediately prostrate themselves in front of an icon; and so Kangxi could have acted in the same way. However, it is quite sufficient to say that whether or not it was for these reasons, he really liked and greatly respected the Europeans.

2. When Kangxi approached his death at the end of his long reign, he dismissed the son who had at first been prepared as his successor because of his bad and unstable life (having twice while on a hunt, tried to kill his father, and having been twice apprehended); instead Kangxi wanted to appoint as his successor another son, the Fourteenth Prince. But because this son was on a campaign as field marshal against Kontaisha<sup>43</sup> and because Kangxi, having waited for him day after day, could not wait any longer, and since as time went on his tongue became paralyzed, and seeing that death was approaching, looking at the Princes who were there waiting to see whom he would appoint as his successor, Kangxi waved his hand at Yongzheng who was standing there, and when the latter came before him and bowed and prostrated himself, Kangxi then laid his belt upon him, and died: this is how Yongzheng became the successor.

3. Don't get bored and think that I seem to be writing about something irrelevant; this is just to lay out a foundation first of all; a better

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<sup>42</sup> [Ed. G.S.] To the idol-worshipping Chinese.

<sup>43</sup> [Tr.] Kontaisha: the ruler of several Central Asian ethnic groups.

understanding is needed. And so there was at this time a famous priest in the little Peking residential college, by the name of Teodoricus, in Chinese: Te-lü.<sup>44</sup> He was a renowned musician, whom the Emperor ordered to teach his sons how to play.

4. After Kangxi's death Yongzheng ruled in the way that has been seen above, and those whom he found suspicious, especially those purposely rebelling – all these he began to eliminate. So first he summoned the Fourteenth Prince, mentioned earlier, with an order in the name of Kangxi that he come back from the army alone and traveling light, and soon the Prince arrived in Peking; Yongzheng did this because he feared that an insurrection might occur if the Prince were to come with the army.

5. But since we will not have further occasion to mention this Fourteenth Prince, let's finish with him here, as if enclosed by parentheses or brackets. Some said that Kangxi upon his death said “shi si” (fourteenth), others thought “si” (fourth), which was Yongzheng; and so they were divided in opinion, and at the Emperor's death some said that Yongzheng was worthy, and that the appointment was in fact made to him, and others said that the throne belonged to the Fourteenth Prince. And so, lest subversion follow Yongzheng because of this, for he himself could have been in doubt about it, Yongzheng ordered that this Fourteenth Prince, who was unsuspecting, be caught just as he entered the city, and imprisoned in his own estate with all his kin; and there he was forced to remain from 1722 to 1747.

Just as the present Qianlong Emperor ascended his throne,<sup>45</sup> he heard that the residence of this Prince had caught fire; and he gave no order to extinguish the blaze. And so this Prince waited it out on his estate with practically just the shirt on his back until everything had burned down; and afterward the Emperor ordered that the residence be rebuilt, and the Prince remained imprisoned there right up to 1747. In this year the Emperor's mother perceived that the government's administration was not going very well because her son the Emperor occupied himself only with games and

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<sup>44</sup> [Tr.] Smorzhevsky's references to the Chinese names of Jesuits often include the suffix “lü”. This suffix means “monk” or “comrade”. The reference in the text is to Teodorico Pedrini [1671-1746], an Italian Lazarist missionary.

<sup>45</sup> [Tr.] In 1735.

with Negong<sup>46</sup> and she began to advise her son to take pity on this Prince; for good rulers are a rarity. And when he agreed, the Emperor's mother informed the Prince about all this, and told him that on the date set for him to meet with the Emperor, who was to go to Yuamenyuan, that is, to Haiding, he should get out and fall prostrate on the ground; and so when the Emperor arrived and the Prince got out and prostrated himself, the Emperor got up from his sedan chair, kissed him and shed tears, and reinstated him as Prince.

6. After gripping him, Yongzheng threw himself on his brother, whom Kangxi in the beginning would have made his successor (see No. 2). And the Prince, after making his peace with Yongzheng, and having renounced any pretense to the throne, was freed. But later on, either thanks to others who did not support Yongzheng and were egging on the Prince, or else through his own desire for the throne, the Prince began to think again about overthrowing Yongzheng. Many of the Princes were accomplices and advisors in this. In this regard their main meeting took place attended by all the partisans of that first Prince as the successor, and greeting him as if he were already Emperor, feasted and celebrated. Some Jesuits were also invited, Teodoric mentioned earlier, a painter, and others as well. That painter, putting together something in praise of this successor, represented him as if he were already Emperor and also composed some allegorical verses, but Teodoric was only having a good time. When this was conveyed to Yongzheng, a guard was sent and everyone who had been there was arrested. They sent the Prince away as if on a mission and there they died of hunger; they hacked to death the painter and another one who was with him, first sending them to prison for a whole year, and tortured the others in different ways. But simply because he had been in that company, they sent Te-lü, after prison, to the French College where he was confined for two years. I saw the Latin verses that he composed while sitting there in boredom: "However luxurious this place of imprisonment may be, for me there is no freedom," he wrote. They say that when they tried to cast suspicion upon Te-lü again and failed to find anything, the Emperor sent him 500 liang of silver; he didn't want to accept it, and in addition, he said: "If this is for my patience and imprisonment, then the Lord God will give me a reward for being innocent; if it is for mercy, then I am satisfied with

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<sup>46</sup> [Tr.] A count at the court of the Qianlong.

his Majesty's mercy and his honor in this matter.” The silver was transferred to his little compound or College.

7. Although they are unrelated to this matter, I don't want to omit two points. First, when Kangxi designated his first successor, he ordered him to maintain these three things: 1) be accessible to all 2) if someone, even one whose status is not high, comes to you with a denunciation or a complaint, listen patiently, and do what needs to be done; because Chinese fiscal agents are extremely powerful and daring, Yongzheng curbed some of them, and in view of this, he just immediately reproves whatever shortcomings there are 3) at night the most important idea is what you will do the next day. Second, the Jesuits are respected above all because they really do not fear death; be aware of this: their faith is good because they do not even fear to die for it, and they wish to be rewarded for this; and secondly, they are respected for their inventiveness, artistry, and politeness. Te-lü, discussed above, died on November 29, 1747.

### *The Beginning of the Persecution of the Jesuits*

8. On November 20, 1746 there was with us at the Russian compound the Jesuit Iohann Walter,<sup>47</sup> called Lu-lü by the Chinese, a musician, from the Portuguese mission, and he told us, among other things (more on this later), that back in the time of Yongzheng, supposedly, in the province of Fujian, which the Jesuits call Fokien, there was the following tale: a certain student used to walk to his teacher's place. And one time when he was going there, an elderly gentleman met up with him and asked, “Where are you going?” He answered, “I'm going to my teacher.” The elderly man said: “Come to me and I will teach you free of charge.” And it seems that this student did follow him, and the man led him to the center of a mountain divide, where, it seems, he lived for a month in pleasant places, in huge and luxurious residences, and after learning a great deal, he left. Asked by his teacher where he had been, and why he had not been coming to school, he answered, telling everything in detail; he even demonstrated his wisdom, that he was even more learned than his teacher. With that he went into the mountains again, and was never seen afterward. From this it seems a rumor developed that in this mountain there was a great army that would

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<sup>47</sup> [Tr.] Jean Walter of Bohemia: #367 in Aloys Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine: 1552-1773*, Shanghai, 1932-34.)

at some time emerge and take over the entire Chinese nation. As a result of this, since the time of Yongzheng an immense army has been stationed in this province and there are strong garrisons in the cities. My thoughts on this are as follows: First, this story might have come into existence as it is usual for the Chinese to practice this kind of thing: because they have a great many saints that have been sanctified in this way: a Khotan, or someone or other will appear and lead a Chinese person away, and so forth. Second, the Chinese could have made this up to comfort themselves because the Manchus had conquered them, and so they cheer themselves up with the hope that from here and there a force is to come, and then, having expelled the Manchus, the Chinese lineage will rule again. Especially since the son of the last Chinese Emperor hid himself somewhere in the mountains or among the Khotans, the Chinese for their own consolation can think that if not he, then his descendants will come; and for this reason they could have woven this tale. Third, since robbers have appeared there, and quite a few Christians among them, the Jesuits themselves could have put this together so as to deflect attention from their own faith onto the Chinese prophecy. More about this soon.

9. To such Chinese (if they are indeed Chinese) fables the Roman priests added their own prophecy, which I read in Mendoza in Book 3, Chapter I, where he writes: "There is, supposedly, a Chinese prophecy or ancient prediction, that a people living very far from them, with large eyes and long beards, will, as conquerors, rule the Chinese people." I notice in this, first of all, such was the foolishness of these preachers in China as in Japan -- in sermons or in place of sermons, they moved quickly on to weapons. For at this point they had still not managed to get to China (for Mendoza wrote his *History of China* in 1581) and yet they began to prophecy subjugation. For which God does not bless them, and they are in fact harming themselves. Secondly, just as they did back home in Europe, they began to make use here of bad dreams, false revelations, and enslavement predictions. This prophesy resembles the one about the Antichrist that, starting in the year 1730, proceeded from the Jesuits going as far as if to bait, but this matter actually repelled the Chinese, hearing it from as Russia, and not without many complaints either. People rush to marvels the Jesuits; while they didn't want to be under the Manchus, the Manchus are their neighbors and fully accepted their political system and religion. How much harder to hear that you are going to be conquered by a distant people who

are different in faith and customs. It was nonsense, but it led them to disputes.

10. Consequently, whether or not from such prophecies, it was in fact from the matter discussed above, that Yongzheng set in motion his extreme persecution of the Jesuits; he gave the order to seek out all who were in the provinces, to catch them, torture, interrogate, and drive them out. He gave orders to destroy the churches, or turn them into something else, and to examine the Christian converts as to why they had converted, so that they might renounce their baptism and their faith. He commanded that all the Jesuits be expelled from the provinces and be closely watched and that his people watch everywhere in the provinces so as not to admit them, except those specifically ordered to be admitted to Peking.

11. The Jesuits, fearing that their work would end in the way it had in Japan, persuaded the King of Portugal to send his Consul, who indeed arrived -- see Section I, above, No. 72 about this. But the Chinese, first of all, took this Consul for a fool for giving money to the crowd; and in addition, they felt that he clearly wanted to bribe them but wasn't able to do so. He wanted, they said, to buy off openly the entire country; but first, they said, one would have to consult with those to whom power and the actual government belong, and indeed to do so secretly. And because in regard to their government, the Chinese think that there is no other in the whole world that is as honorable, wealthy, and famous as theirs, they're still laughing about this now: such a minor princeling (a little more about this later), and he wanted to amaze us with his money, and so forth. For besides this he did nothing; indeed Yongzheng, having dismissed him without honor, without any proper respect, issued an edict about the Jesuits, in which, in passing, he says: "And here are the *xiyang ren* (that is, Westerners, as they call the Jesuits) with their own peculiar religion, and I know," he says, "that you yourselves (speaking to the Senators) make jokes and laugh because of their foolish religion."<sup>48</sup> "Well," he said, "I retain the Jesuits, and this is not for the sake of their faith, but for the sake of mathematics, and

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<sup>48</sup> [Ed. G.S.] Such a nonsensical opinion by a blind pagan about the Christian faith reminds one of the words of Saint Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians (Chapter I, verses 23-25): "We preach the crucified Christ, for the Jews' temptation, and the folly of the Greeks; for those who are called, Jews or Greeks, we preach Christ, God's power and wisdom. Because God's folly is wiser than men's, and God's weakness is stronger than men's." (Russian translation of the New Testament, published by the Russian Bible Society).

because their minor prince (referring to the King of Portugal) serves me faithfully, and not long ago sent me tribute, and sends me as well these people (the Jesuits) who serve me, and so forth.”

12. In addition he forbade the Princes and others to gather together, or to have feasts and so forth because he said it would follow from this that those who were to serve society, becoming loyal to their own group at home, would first condemn and slander and afterward begin their evil schemes. If the Emperor should honor someone, then among themselves they capriciously evaluate not this person's worth or his services but his imperial salary and promotion; if he, the Emperor, reproves someone, then they are again indignant and reassure the person who was criticized. Parties and gatherings at home are at fault for all this. “There is a judge,” the edict went on, “a common man, and he should become acquainted in the court and the place of justice with a given case and not discuss it first in the home. I will call him up before me, and what's more, I will order the others to step close to me, though he will not look me in the eye and speak,” and so forth. I have not copied out word for word from the discussion of friendship and amicability in that edict; in the *Shu Jing*<sup>49</sup> (a law book by a certain wise man), it says, “If I do something wrong, help me out, do not let your face fall, and do not say what passes before your eyes.” This edict of the Yongzheng Emperor was composed the twelfth day of the sixth month of the quiet second year of the Green Serpent. All this piled up toward his dethronement, see Paragraph 6.

13. Some time went by, and to Yongzheng, constantly busy with other matters, it seemed that the Jesuits held back a little, but not so much so that the edict was changed. For the Chinese do not revoke an earlier edict except when the Emperor who issued it dies. But even if new favor is shown to one upon whom disfavor was previously shown, even if there should be a new edict, the old one will still not change; but they will hardly act upon it because of the new edict. And so from that time, until 1746, the eleventh year of the reign of the Qianlong Emperor, the Jesuits lived in peace. Quietly, for money, services and presents the city authorities secretly admitted them again into the province, and having grown in this way in Guan-dun and in various cities, the Jesuits built churches, purchased

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<sup>49</sup> [Tr.] The *Shu Jing*, the Book of Documents or Classic of History, one of the five ancient Chinese Classics.

homes, shops and so forth, and began to live fearlessly.

14. Here again one must write more broadly, covering all the side issues, even if they concern different matters and seem less necessary; chronology demands this. And so, during the time of persecution under Yongzheng, the Jesuits were ordered to answer about their faith and to show their books and to explain why they gave them out. And even before this, still in the reign of Kangxi, they showed the Emperor the books about which there was a debate, in particular about what might be harmful to the government.

15. Last year, on the twentieth of November, 1746, there was with us at the Russian compound the aforementioned Jesuit Walter, and he said the following: “In July of this year in Fokien (Fujian) Province a Chinese who was a drifter and a drunk, a loafer and a gambler came to the Missionary (priest) who was living there and began to ask him for a loan; the priest, who had heard about him and knew he was a bad person, did not give it to him. Then the Chinese went to the Governor, and reported in writing that *xiyang ren* (Westerners, that is, Europeans) were living in these provinces; by imperial decree they are forbidden to come here, and at present they have greatly increased in number in the provinces. They bring in a lot of money - - silver and gold from their own country, and with it they bribe people, and win them over to their side, and they bring a great many weapons to them, and they sell and distribute them to others; they carry off our people to their own land, and they influence others with incessant slander, and suggest to them rebellion and treason.” All this was reported to the Emperor by the Governor (who had a completely unfavorable and disapproving attitude toward the Jesuits).

16. These are Walter's own words: “This year, it seems in June, there appeared in that province a certain famous and powerful bandit, and he gathered around himself a large number of these people, among whom there were many Christians; and going to the city, they defeated the guard, and destroyed and seized many other cities. And so the Governor of Fujian and a *zong du*<sup>50</sup> sent a very large force there to secure the cities, but when these bandits defeated them as well, a huge force was sent with orders to capture them. During the torturing or inflicting of Chinese torments on the

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<sup>50</sup> [Tr.] A governor-general, according to the Manchu table of ranks.

captured, they found a large number of Christians. When the authorities became informed about their birth, rank, and nationality and also learned about other matters, as if unraveling a tangle, they began to confiscate their belongings and homes, and they found in them a great many weapons, money and other European things.”

17. Here are more of Walter's words: “Under torture,” he said, “a great many Christians betrayed other Christians, indeed Christians give away their own even without torture. But those who were not converts sheltered and helped the Christians better. For example, when one of the Christians at the interrogation began to say that in such and such a place (which he named) there is certain Western teacher, and a great many people are gathered with him (it was a Sunday), one of the guards near the door of that government office, who was not a Christian, having heard this, ran to the place where the priest was, and feeling sorry for him, informed him about everything; so leaving everything there, the priest mounted a white horse and fled, wherever his gaze led him.”

18. “Those who were sent from the government office to the home where the priest had been, found icons, crosses, and priests' chasubles and other European items (because of Yongzheng's destruction of the Catholic churches, they were conducting services in cottages). They came upon some money and European guns, they saw signs on the shops and the courtyards, and they seized the deeds of purchase to the arable land and so forth from the registers of purchased serfs; and they found out from the owner of the home and seized all those who had been there and regularly gathered there. And after getting the description of the appearance of that priest and the horse and its color, they distributed this information throughout all the neighboring provinces in order to catch him.”

19. “The priest, having found this out from someone (maybe through a handout of gold), dyed his horse black with soot or ink and made his way on untraveled roads to Peking. Meeting with him somewhere along the way, a non-Christian Chinese who knew him told him that it was dangerous for him to travel alone because they would catch him, and so he himself offered to take the priest, and he brought him right into Peking, and placed

him in the Xuanwumen College.”<sup>51</sup>

20. “When he got there and told the Jesuits about everything, they all gathered to confer, and they had a consultation about keeping him secretly outside of town among the graves, and meanwhile keeping an eye on where the situation was heading.”

21. “And so,” Walter continued, “we, through our own efforts or through our converts whom we could trust in this, began to listen and find things out; we learned that the Chinese were observing all of us and were diligently watching, and that there was in place, although at a distance, a special sentry.”

21.<sup>52</sup> “I rode out,” he said,” to visit someone who was sick, and I began to notice that right from the College to that place someone was following me, and when I came out of there, he went into a sentry box, so I realized that this was surveillance, and as soon as I got back to the College I informed them all about it, and I sent one of the Catechists back there to the house I had ridden to, to tell them, should they be asked who had been there, to say, “a doctor came”; and although a bit of a lie might be seen in this because I am not a doctor, I reasoned that by “doctor,” I meant a doctor of the soul, while they assumed a medical doctor. The Catechist arrived, and found watchmen already there, asking questions.”

22. “A further note in this connection,” he went on, “we have also seen that a very small number of Christians were coming to the church because guards had been posted everywhere around us although for us nothing met the eye to show this; and so together we came up with the advisory that we not go out anywhere by ourselves, neither for spiritual Christian needs, or anywhere outside the College, but that for these needs we send Chinese priests, those baptized and ordained whom we employ both inside the city and in the provinces and so forth, and that we do everything through them. If there was a need somewhere nearby, then we were to go on foot, or if it were farther, then we should drive half of the way, but even this in a simple cart to avoid being recognized, and then go on foot from the halfway point to the destination.”

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<sup>51</sup> [Tr.] See Part I, Paragraph 2.

<sup>52</sup> [Tr.] The published text in *Sibirskii Vestnik* has two consecutive paragraphs numbered “21”.

23. “In August of this year, 1746, we heard that edicts concerning us were nailed up on all of the city gates in order to investigate and cruelly track down whoever of the Chinese accepted the Jesuit faith and why; this command carried with it the penalty of death.”

### *The Investigation of Jesuit Actions*

24. Here it's necessary to depart a little from the order of events in this matter: The Jesuits in Peking, although they live under the Emperor's protection, have appointees to whom they are assigned for supervision, who must represent them in regard to their needs. At that time there were two of these: the first, Ne-gong, a Count, was high in rank, but especially powerful and a great favorite of the Qianlong Emperor; which was why the name “Ne” was added to his name, as if to say His Serene Highness. In power and access to the court he was above all the others, and he was practically the only one with whom the Emperor relaxed, enjoyed himself, went out for rides, chatted, and it was with Negong that the Emperor had grown up and been reared. Because of this Negong developed in his own mind an even better opinion of himself, and although he was just a little over thirty years of age, he considered himself above all the Princes and Ministers, overly proud, a great bribe-taker, very imperious, who was called by the Jesuits “Nequam” instead of Negong.<sup>53</sup> The second appointee was the City Police Chief, Tidu in Chinese, and the Jesuits call him “Boss of the Nine Gates” (*Praefectus novem portarum*), and these two then were in charge of supervising the Jesuits. That's how it was.

25. “By imperial decree,” he said (these are Walter's words) “the Police Chief sent to Xuanwumen College, quite disrespectfully, demanding that we hand over the priest who had fled from Fujian Province” (see Paragraph 17 about this); “We answered,” Walter said, “that he was not with us. Then after conferring, we sent, in the name of all of us, the mathematician Augustin (Liu-lü),<sup>54</sup> because he is of high rank here, and would therefore have greater access and would receive more respect. When he approached the Police Chief, the latter said inquiringly, ‘I didn't send for you,’ and

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<sup>53</sup> [Tr.] “Nequam” is Latin for “good for nothing, worthless.”

<sup>54</sup> [Tr.], A missionary from Slovenia, then part of the Hapsburg Monarchy, Augustin de Hallerstein, #351 in Aloys Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine: 1552-1773*, Shanghai, 1932-34).

Augustin replied: 'Whatever you command, I will do.' The Police Chief answered, 'The Imperial Decree that I have concerns him, not you.' Augustin replied, 'If it concerns him in regard to religion, then it concerns us all.' So he was at this point dismissed; the next morning the missing priest was sent for again, just as before, and the Mathematician went back again. Then the Police Chief swore, 'As soon as I see and find out that he is here and hasn't disappeared, I will release him, just let him come.' " "However," Walter said, "not trusting him, we sent the priest into the Mongolian steppe, while we watch for an appropriate time to send him to the border."

26. Consequently, they were ordered to gather all together in one place so as to be closer to the court, and so a convenient place seemed to be the French College. And to respond more thoroughly and better, they first all gathered together by themselves, and whatever anyone knew, they put it all together as best they could. They prepared: 1) all of their books concerning their faith, and especially those which they had presented to Kangxi and Yongzheng 2) they prepared the edicts of the previous Emperors and of Qianlong that could prove useful, and on the basis of which they live and preach 3) they prepared their deeds and privileges, how and what they are permitted to do 4) they prepared long lectures and responses concerning their point of view 5) they determined by voice vote that the spokesmen for them all should be Sun-lü, Antoine Gaubil,<sup>55</sup> then serving as Rector of the French College and Wei-lü<sup>56</sup> from the Portuguese College: for the former was very strong in Chinese and in Manchu, and the latter excellent in Chinese.

27. In October Negong and the Police Chief came to the French College, and Negong began by saying, "Why aren't you obeying the imperial edict"? They asked, "In regard to what?" He answered, "You were ordered not to live anywhere except in Peking, and not to send your people

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<sup>55</sup> [Tr.] Antoine Gaubil (1689-1759, a French missionary and prolific writer: #314 in Aloys Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine: 1552-1773*, Shanghai, 1932-34).

<sup>56</sup> [Tr.] A reference to Florian Bahr, who was born in Silesia, became a Jesuit in the province of Bohemia, and was a missionary in China at the time of Smorzhevsky's stay there. His Chinese name is given as "Wei" in entry #349 in Aloys Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine: 1552-1773*, Shanghai, 1932-34).

into the provinces, but you're sending weapons and gold everywhere, you buy off some people, and you carry others away. This is a sign of your rebellion.” They answered, “If our people are living anywhere outside Peking, then we're not sending them out of Peking because there are only as many of us here as were ordered to enter by Imperial decree. If there are some besides us somewhere or other, then no doubt they are from incoming ships, for which we are not to blame but you yourselves, for if they are not admitted, how could they have just come in by themselves? And those of us who live here in Peking could not know about them. We do not bribe people with gold and money; in fact we distribute charity. We don't give weapons to anyone, for each person is free to maintain his own protection. However, if weapons are found somewhere, we didn't provide them, but maybe they're buying them from incoming ships. In regard to the suspicion of rebellion and rioting, we are blameless; we can also be freed from that suspicion by the fact that in the past they said the same thing about us, but we turned out to be innocent.” Negong replied, “Isn't it rebellion when you do not listen to the Emperor and his decrees, and you turn the people away from obedience?” And he began to speak to them like this: “The Emperor orders you not to preach your faith, but you preach it and teach it, and you disseminate your forbidden law and teach that even though the Emperor forbade the Chinese acceptance of the Christian faith - - you Jesuits do not listen to the Emperor -- but you teach the people to listen to you and not to the Emperor. And secondly, nature itself teaches that everyone must honor his or her parents, but you do not order them to listen to their parents; you order them to change their religion against the will and without the permission of their parents, and not to listen to their parents who forbid this; and in this especially does ancestral respect consist: that as their parents' successor they follow in particular their parents' faith, so that the son not appear wiser than the father; and you order them to change their faith, and you introduce one opposed to their ancestral faith. So you wanted to set up your own directives, and you wanted the Emperor to be unable to give you any kind of order”? To this they replied: “Our service, with which we serve His Majesty, cannot change God's service, and thus we cannot do what God orders us not to do; however, this is not against His Majesty that we know and teach others how to know God. We order them to honor their parents, but not above God; and so this is not disrespectful of them if the parents are living self-indulgently and badly and

the son doesn't want to live idly, but replaces his parents' base life with an honest one. Even less is this disrespect if he changes from their religion which is against God. Furthermore, we follow all of His Majesty's decrees, and so ask for nothing more than that His Majesty order everyone to keep inviolate the decrees and the privileges that were given to us by his predecessors." Negong says, "You know very well that you are uninvited among us, having come from a foreign land, and yet you demand that you have the same freedom here as if you were in your own country?" They answered, "We demand and ask for nothing more than to keep our faith as the Taoists, the Lamas, and the Khotans preserve theirs; because these people have also come from different countries, and nevertheless they freely preserve and spread their religion." Negong: "Your faith is only a delusion, a fiction and fables, and leads to all kinds of lawlessness, to rebellion, to robbery and the destruction of a government and its people.<sup>57</sup> Because you buy bond servants so that you can live with their wives and daughters, you buy shops, fields, and properties, in order to deceptively take money away from the local residents and send it off to your own country, but you exhaust our people and weaken them in order to spread out and take possession of everything as your very own so that if someone wanted to have something it would be as if only through you could he get rich, and to do this he had to fulfill your will in everything, and so forth." They responded, "We're living far away from our own land, and so we're not always able to receive money for our subsistence; that's why we buy things and we do so very moderately; and we don't mean to offend anyone by this, or to have any kind of ulterior motive. Our faith does not command us to engage in adultery or any kind of impurity, indeed it forbids it. We have already presented our learning and our faith, already approved and examined more than once, not only before the Emperor; however, no one has censured it in any way. Not only does our holy faith not tolerate any kind of impurity, but we do not even permit females to go into a church, even if it's necessary for prayer; but just because of suspicion we do not admit them. But, the Emperor himself knows about our faith, and about us, but we and our faith are no business of yours: for the Emperor himself has

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<sup>57</sup> [Ed. G.S.] Again, an unpleasant opinion from another blind pagan, who did not know or did not want to know the teachings of Christian law, which commands one to do the very opposite of this and similar accusations.)

us under his protection.” Negong, becoming angry, says, “I know very well that you are proud by nature; only the kindness of the Emperor sustains you, though you are unworthy of it. However, I'm telling you now what the Emperor wants of you, that you do not illegally preach your religion, do not convert our people, because many such aggressive people have already been found in the provinces, and we know from them about your plots and lawless acts. Watch out, that what happened to them doesn't happen to you.”

They replied: It being the Emperor's decision in this, we in fact do not fear our deaths, but serve his Majesty faithfully. And as we have taught and propagated our religion, we will continue to preach it, and as we have not bribed or forced anyone to accept our religion, we are not going to bribe or force anyone in the future. And now we ask for nothing more than to present this petition to His Majesty.” And they gave him a petition in which they asked, on the strength of the edicts of former Emperors, that freedom and protection be given them in the practice of their religion.

I heard this from Walter on the date indicated, from Sigismund of the Augustinian Order on November 24, 1746, and from Wei-lü on January 3, 1748. In this discussion, the Police Chief was almost completely silent, saying very little indeed.

28. “In the eighth month (in September) the Emperor went on a hunting expedition to the Mongolian steppe, to the place called Seven Hills, from where he sent to Peking for the Jesuit artist Joseph (Lang-lü)<sup>58</sup>, and when he arrived there, the Emperor, taking him into the hills with himself, ordered him to paint a picture of the whole area of the hunt and to give it to him in Peking; there, seeing the Jesuit troubled, he asked, “Why aren't you happy”? The latter, seeing that the Emperor was alone, fell to the ground and began to ask for mercy. “In the persecution,” he said, “even the mind is not up to doing what is required in one's work.” The Emperor asked, “Who has offended you? I put you under the protection of Negong and the Police Chief.” The painter prostrated himself again: “We unjustly endure misfortune.” Then the Emperor told a Eunuch to remind him of this when he arrived in Peking. “I will inquire about this and other matters,”

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<sup>58</sup> [Tr] Giuseppe Castiglione.

from which statement the Jesuits surmised that the persecution was not the Emperor's wish, but moreover, that he was acting upon the slander of others, and that Negong was their very great enemy.”

29. “It is apparent from this,” Walter said, “that they are afraid not just of our religion, but even more of our ships, from a single country, and also from another country, your Russia. And because of this, we reached a general agreement among ourselves to ask your Archimandrite<sup>59</sup> not to creep into this fire right now, and to refrain from coming to us for at least a month. For not long ago, when he came to us in October, we all refused to receive him, as if we were not at home, and later he sent a letter asking if he might come. So that the Chinese won't think that we as Europeans are starting something against them, I've now been sent to your Archimandrite for this purpose, in the name of all of us.” And, in addition, the Jesuits' Bishop, Polycarp<sup>60</sup> on the 24th day of that November, sent his man, Lisan by name, to our Archimandrite, asking that the latter not be angry that when he had gone to the Jesuits, the Bishop had not met with him. For one thing, Lisar said, all the Jesuits had been gathered at the college of Sun-lü,<sup>61</sup> and also that for some reason it had been impossible to meet.

30. In December the Police Chief in Haidian (that is, in the Imperial suburban residence) ordered an immense and diligently performed search of the Jesuit homes; they pulled apart all the bricks, thoroughly inspected and searched everywhere among the cottages, on the shelves, between the books, the cupboards, boxes and cellars, and when they had finished, they left. It was apparent that they were looking for Jesuits -- any who might be hidden, or the one who had fled Fujian, or others, for rumor had it that in defiance of the edicts, some were being admitted illegally to Peking, and because it is dangerous for them to live in Peking, they are languishing, hidden away there in Haidian while they look for a convenient place and time to get to safety.

31. When on the 29th of November, the priest, Te-lü, mentioned

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<sup>59</sup> [Tr.] Archimandrite Gervasy Lintsevsky headed the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking from 1745 to 1755. See Eric Widmer, *The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976.

<sup>60</sup> [Tr.] Polycarpo de Sousa 1697-1757, Roman Catholic Bishop of Peking.

<sup>61</sup> [Tr.] Antoine Gaubil (Sun-lü) was the Rector of the French College; see Part II, Paragraph 26).

above,<sup>62</sup> died and in December when the funeral procession took place, a request came to the Jesuits from the Police Chief that Te-lü be buried according to Chinese ceremonies. When some of Te-lü's servants at the court, and some servants of the other Jesuits arrived at the funeral in Chinese funeral dress, the Police Chief ordered that the names of everyone be written down secretly. And afterwards when asked, "Have you become a Christian, why, when, and by whom were you converted?" they answered, "We became Christians because we serve them."

32. They questioned a great many other converts in the same way, of whom there were more of those who not only disavowed Christianity themselves, but who also betrayed a great many Christians. Some went away, but many were snatched into prison and tortured. The Jesuits secretly ransomed some, and assisted others.

### *The Unsuccessful War of the Manchus with the Miao*

33. The beginning of the first persecution having already been briefly discussed, it's appropriate to mention something about another evil because both stem from a single root and lead to the same end. And here it is also fitting to mention something else in order to observe the order and the similarity of circumstance.

34. *The St. Petersburg News*, in its "Calendar,"<sup>63</sup> states about Great Tartary, among other things, that still remaining unsubjected to Chinese power are Tibet and several small states in the mountains toward the Kingdom of Ava<sup>64</sup> and to the west from the Chinese province Sichuan. In addition to this, Janssonius<sup>65</sup> in his chart of China writes: "Not far from Sichuan are depicted mountains under which is written 'on these mountains is the kingdom called Jin,<sup>66</sup> which is not subordinate to the Emperors.'" And when I asked the Chinese about the Miao as the people are called, they told me similar things, that there is such a people no farther away than Sichuan Province, and their lands lie between north and west of Peking, very close to Peking and that these are the ones which the "Petersburg

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<sup>62</sup> [Tr.] Teodorico Pedrini, discussed in Part II, Paragraph 3.

<sup>63</sup> [Ed. G.S.] *Sibirskii Vestnik* Ch. XX, book 12 (329) 10.

<sup>64</sup> [Tr.] Kingdom of Ava: part of Burma.

<sup>65</sup> [Tr.] Jan Janssonius (1588-1664: Dutch cartographer and publisher.

<sup>66</sup> [Tr.] Jin: an ethnic group, a medieval empire.

Calendar” and Janssonius describe. It is of less concern that they are called by various names. For even in a small place there can be many different small groups of peoples. This is how it was.

35. There is a certain people there called Miao who, aligning other peoples with themselves, the Lalo and others, began to carry out attacks on Chinese cities.<sup>67</sup> Some say that the border authorities of Sichuan Province began to squeeze them, to take away their land, and to ignore their complaints, and so the Miao began forcibly to grab what was theirs since they had been unable to get it back legally; but the Chinese, considering everyone to be their subject, say, as they do about everything, that the Miao are traitors. This is a small nation and so it shouldn't be necessary to fear it so much, which is why even the Jesuits call the war with them fanciful, a war that is itself not as great as the harm and confusion and suspicion it has created. However, to these things the Chinese respond that these people are powerful, that they live in extremely high and practically inaccessible mountains, that they have there all the necessities of life, that they have immense rivers in the mountains, are masters of archery and not only males but females as well almost always go about with bow and arrow. Their arrows are short; they suddenly place them on the bow by fives and tens, and bending over, let them fly from behind the shoulder, having evidently pulled the bowstring taut. It is apparent that this is a cunning people, which we will see better from their plans.

36. Beginning in 1746 the Miao began to harass the Chinese more fiercely, for earlier, for several years, perhaps five, they had carried out attacks but had not become very much stronger or more numerous as a result; but especially around 1747, they became much more daring, and gained considerable advantage over the Chinese. In 1747 the provincial troops, that is, those stationed in the provinces, among whom most were Nikans and very few Manchus, were ordered to go after the Miao; they advanced, but almost all fell. Another sortie took place, but with the same result.

37. The Miao fought forcefully, never by coming out on the field and

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<sup>67</sup> [Tr.] The Miao were a people in the Tibetan area, also called Miyao, Minyak, and Minya, among other titles. The Qing dynasty fought several wars trying unsuccessfully to assimilate them.

giving actual battle, but with surprise rushes to capture as much as possible, or else they killed; this was their way. Meanwhile they coated their arrows with poison, with which they did a great deal of harm to their enemies. And so the battle raged fiercely, and still more the fear of allowing them to increase their strength.

38. They sent Negong, discussed earlier, with a Manchu and Nikan force, and assigned to him as a colleague a certain Tsumbin, that is, in rank either a General or even higher, by the name of Zhang Gongsi, sixty years of age. Negong set out from Peking on May 11, 1748.

39. After arriving there, Negong stubbornly began to do things his own way, not listening to Zhang Gongsi about anything. And this is the way they would conduct battles, but few were able to survive. There were, however, no actual battles; among other tricks the Miao did the following: first, they set out as if they were going to battle with the Chinese, but soon made off to the mountains, leaving behind their transport carts loaded with meat and other edible things, all of it, however, poisoned. The Chinese, having driven the enemy away, threw themselves into plundering the carts, and all those who ate anything became ill, and hardly any of them survived. Second, the Miao enemy sent out peasants as if they were carrying boxes of grain or food for their troops; the Chinese, seeing this, threw themselves upon the bearers, but leaving them, snatched up the boxes; but the Miaozi had loaded them with hornets, and when the Chinese opened the boxes, the hornets rushed at them, and they began to make a getaway from that spot. Then the Miao, having concealed themselves somewhere or other, attacked and killed many of them. Third, from the other side of their mountains the Miao appeared to be carrying provisions to their forces, and the Chinese guards rushed out to seize them; but the Miao had unfastened the horses from the carts and fled. The Chinese carried those carts into their camp, and so as not to be tricked as in the earlier instances, they did not open them. But during the night snakes that had been brought in inside these carts began to crawl out, causing no small amount of harm and a huge scare.

40. In August of that same year, 1748, some men who had learned how to climb walls were sent to Negong in order to climb those mountains. And when they joined up with the army, Negong ordered them to fight on

the mountain, and the troops to follow them. The Miao dammed up the river that is in the mountains, and raised the water level very high; and afterward they released the water on the approaching Chinese, and it drowned almost all of them. Negong, enraged, gave the order to proceed to the mountain with the entire army, and just as they approached, the Miao exploded gunpowder in various places in the mountain, and brought down all of the troops in the vanguard. Then with that Negong turned back. Talk got about that El-bai-wan' spent two million silver liang on the Chinese troops.

41. The Emperor, who was very angry, ordered the arrest of Negong. Negong blamed his colleague, and the colleague blamed him.

42. On December 10, 1748, Fushii, the Emperor's brother-in-law, that is, the brother of the Emperor's deceased wife, was sent to replace Negong: he departed with very great honor and the highest ceremonies; first, because the Emperor called him his treasure above all the Princes. Second, the Emperor sat on his throne for three days considering his undertaking, and the bell tolled as usual. Third, the Emperor took from the Princes a document prepared for Fushii which granted him honor, authority, and favor, and presented it to him with his own hands. Fourth, he gave Fushii three of his own horses, with yellow reins and saddles ornamented with serpents, a copy of his own horses' Imperial caparison. Fifth, the Princes departed behind him, and the Imperial sons accompanied them through the great gates, which are opposite the Qianmen Gates, and afterward the Emperor himself went out and accompanied him out of town. Sixth, the Emperor sent after him thirty philosophers as advisors and many troops from the Manchu area. Fushii was then about thirty years of age.

43. In the month of April, 1749, Fushii (as if he had conquered the Miao) returned, and with the greatest ceremony entered the city and was favored by the Grand Duke and was admitted to bow to the Empress who had been newly installed in the stead of the Empress who had died, an honor which is not even permitted to a Prince. How the army fought and if they fought was not announced, neither was there an edict, nor was it possible to inquire. Some say that Negong's colleague was a Miao by birth, and that he simply made things go wrong, and so forth, but this, as it later turned out, was a lie. Others say that no sooner had Fushii arrived with the

troops, than the Miao fled. But what more closely approaches the truth is that they caught one of the Miao, and he said, "I'll lead the others to reconciliation." And he set up a pillar on the mountain and drove into it several smoking torches, and this took the place of an oath with them. And along with this, there arose from the Manchus a song, composed in praise of Fushii, a translation of which I'm attaching.<sup>68</sup> However, it was both seen and heard that the Miao did not want to fight and that they are quiet people, asking only that one not treat them badly, perhaps that they be left in their present conditions.

44. As soon as they found Zhang Gongsì, the colleague of Negong, they placed him in the Justice Office. On the 14th of January, 1749, the Emperor ordered that he be taken from the Justice Office and brought before him, but first he asked the Justice Office officials how they were interrogating him, and when they told him, he ordered that in the palace, in front of himself, they place three sticks between the toes of the prisoner where the small bones are, also between the fingers and to pull them tight with a strap, and they tortured him like this for a long time. And the Emperor himself questioned him in a loud voice; he, being questioned, answered even more loudly, so that their voices were heard throughout the entire palace. The Emperor asks: "Why do you perform incorrectly in war?" He answered, "I perform loyally, but you are unjustly torturing me, not so much because of the battle, but because of Negong, for he is a scoundrel and disloyal; but you sent him into exile, and me you handed over to the Justice Office to prison, and you are torturing me. Torment me, cut me and chop me up, or if you want to test my loyalty, send me to the war, for I have twice been in battle, and satisfactorily so; but Negong -- he just walked away," and so on, and so they broke both arms, but his legs were not broken, just swollen. The Emperor said to him, "Can you look Negong in the eye and say that?" He replied, "I can"; and the Emperor promised to send for Negong, but changing his mind, he ordered that Zhang Gongsì's head be cut off, and it was. They say that on the way to the beheading, he said a great deal about the Emperor, and they gagged him, and many bad things were said about Zhang Gongsì at that time, but afterward, and still more when Fushii returned, they honored him as a good and innocent man.

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<sup>68</sup> [Tr.] Unfortunately the translation did not appear in *Sibirskii vestnik*.

The Emperor, feeling sorry for him, took his son into his favor, and some give his rank as Tsung-bin and others as Qiong-du.

45. At the time of battle, the Emperor ordered that Negong be sent among the rank and file, like a Iafu-ukshin<sup>69</sup> to walk behind the officers' horses to the province of Dzhindu; later, in March of 1749, he sent the Tidu or the Chief of Police in Peking, to interrogate him, and there to cut off his head. His forty wives were all sold, their means of survival confiscated; it was ordered that the first of the wives marry a serf, but, unable to bear the disgrace, she hanged herself.

46. At about this time, somewhere in Chompindzhu (a city on the road from Kalgan to Peking) robbers dug up the graves of the Nikan Emperors<sup>70</sup> and gathered up everything of value from the deceased, and found whatever there was in the burial vaults. But since the guards noticed the excavated pit, they reported the robbery, and began to search ruthlessly everywhere; and so because the robbers were making their way to the Mongolian steppe, they began to inspect the city gates in Kalgan, and they found all sorts of digging implements; and among them they also came upon various treasures, such as rare pearls, gold and gemstones, and so forth. In a workshop there were more than thirty robbers; others got away, but they found many, and turned them in to the Justice Office; at the interrogation it came out that many were Jesuit converts.

### *The Second Persecution of the Jesuits*

47. I return to the Jesuits: perhaps as a result of such a war or from previous suspicion, as I see it, the one inflamed the other; the earlier persecution had still not ended, but another began to grow even more. In August of 1748 in Peking an edict was nailed on the great city gates with the order to look extremely closely at outsiders, and not to admit them inside the city; if anyone were to see anything, to inform the sentries, and in this way to catch the robbers. Additionally, to keep out Lamaists, Khotans, Taoists, and Tatars (i.e. Muslims) so that these religions would cease to exist.

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<sup>69</sup> [Tr.] Manchu word meaning armored infantryman.

<sup>70</sup> [Ed. G.S.] This cemetery is called Shisan Ling since thirteen Emperors are buried there.

48. In the same year, at the end of the eighth month, in October,<sup>71</sup> the Emperor ordered that some kind of bombs be thrown, old ones or ones newly brought in from somewhere, and it was ordered that the Jesuit Mathematician be present at this event, and so the Jesuits all came together for a consultation on what to do and how to deal with this; for it was apparent that what cast suspicion on the Jesuits was what was described in Paragraph 40, that is, the blowing up of the mountain with gunpowder, for this was not an action the Chinese customarily took. And it was apparent to the Jesuits from this that the Chinese wanted to test them since they had already secretly agreed that such inventions seemed to come from them; or that in addition to this, Negong, as the Jesuits' enemy, could turn this suspicion on the Jesuits at the inquiry. And so the Jesuits advised that the Mathematician go, for it was impossible not to go; but that he should not give any opinion about the throwing of the bombs. And so on this advice, he went. And when the time came to the bomb throwing, the Chinese began to ask: how much gunpowder was it necessary to use so that the bomb flew here or there; how did one place the bomb, what did one have to do, and how did one test it; how many bombs did it take; Augustin answered to everything, "I couldn't know this; in our country the military purposely study these specifics, but we," he said, "know only the book and the pen, and also mathematical instruments"; and although they quite wildly fired away with questions, he, nevertheless, remained silent.

49. That war went on; and meanwhile, in the provinces terrible searches for the Jesuits took place, in which in the province of Fokien they caught the Bishop of the Dominican Order, Peter Sanz,<sup>72</sup> and with him the designated Bishop of the same order, Francisco Sorana,<sup>73</sup> and three others with them. I saw the proceedings of this whole case and the interrogation published in Spanish in a book in Manila, but since they promised me that they would translate it into Latin, I counted on that and didn't copy out the Spanish; if they translate it, I will then translate it into Russian, and will attach it here and take it to headquarters (if I have time, and if, most of all, the Lord God hastens the work). If they don't translate it, then I'll send the

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<sup>71</sup> Smorzhevsky uses the Julian calendar, the official calendar in Russia, in which October, as in the Gregorian calendar is the tenth month. The reference to the "eighth month" may be a reference to the eighth lunar month.

<sup>72</sup> Peter Sanz (1680-1747) Dominican Bishop from Catalonia.

<sup>73</sup> Francis Serrano (died 1748) Dominican priest from Spain.

Spanish. And so, for your information, I will recall here for you Holy fathers some words and material from that little book: first, one has to know the Roman Catholic Bishops' manner of service: they serve with a crosier, curved on one side, spiral-shaped throughout; they themselves perform the act of anointing during which they strike the cheek, and so forth. Second, this is what happened: after catching the group of Bishops, the Chinese put them in jail, and then taking them out, questioned them with the usual beatings, hitting them on the cheek, this one three times, that one more, now beating them with cudgels,<sup>74</sup> and interrogating them with all kinds of tortures. Third, they questioned them separately, bringing them out one by one, and they questioned them about the following kinds of things: where did they come from and why, how old were they, how long ago had they arrived, where did they live and what did they do; The bishops answered: "We are Spanish by birth; I am from one province, he is from a different one. I am a monk; I came to preach the Christian religion," and so forth. Fourth, they asked, "Who is your king, and did he send you"? They answered, "Our king is Philip V, but it was our superior at the will of the Pope who sent us, and so on." Fifth, "Why do you bring weapons, purchase shops, estates, fields, and so forth"? The Dominicans answered, "For food supplies and such things, as the Jesuits do," see No. 27. Sixth, "When the King and the Pope send you here, they know, don't they, that this is not their land? Why didn't they write to us about you"? And, in addition, "If we believed according to your religion, who would be our Emperor, the Spanish King or the Pope"? They answered: "We came here to preach; but we don't know if the people will believe, and so, how can we write about what is not known, that is, if you were to believe, would Qianlong be the Emperor?" Eighth, "Why do you carry away our people? Why do you rub with oil (anointing) -- why do you blow on the staff? Do you bewitch people this way so that they do not give birth (this refers to the crosier), in particular, so that they will have sex with you? Why do you give out medicine (theriac<sup>75</sup>) so that they will live with you and not become pregnant? Why do you pull the eyes out of the dead, are you making eye glasses? Why do you exhume the dead and take apart their members (they are referring to relics), and do you want to ensnare everyone?" and so forth.

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<sup>74</sup> [Tr.] Smorzhevsky uses the Chinese word "bangzi," for "cudgels."

<sup>75</sup> [Tr.] Theriac was a non-standardized medication with multiple ingredients. Some forms of theriac were said to have had a contraceptive or abortifacient effect.

The Dominicans answered these points, discussing each one. Ninth, the Chinese questioned, beat, and afterwards, most shockingly, imprisoned all of those with whom the priests lived as well as the converts. Tenth, "Why don't you obey the Emperor's decrees?" they asked, and so on. "Doesn't he command you not to baptize, but you still baptize? Don't you have to listen to the Emperor?" The Dominicans begin to say, "Is it of any concern to God whether or not the Chinese give orders about what one must or must not say, and when we're ordered not to say anything more?" And the interrogators talked about what was not allowed to be said, such as what was described in Section II, No. 27 where it is written, concerning parents, that the Jesuits teach that it is not necessary to listen to the Emperor; it's not even necessary to revere one's parents. Eleventh, the Governor wrote to the Emperor about this, saying that the priests had shown that they had come as spies, to intrigue so that the Chinese people would come under the Spanish king, and so forth, and it has all led up to this, that from the importing of weapons and money, from slander and bribery, it is a matter of treason and rebellion, and a decree from the Emperor is required; and their opinion was to impose the death penalty and so forth, and so there came out a decree from the Emperor to execute them. Twelfth, and so their Bishop was beheaded, and the others were detained, and afterward it was ordered that they be strangled in prison. The converts and those with whom they had first lived were ordered, after first renouncing Christ, to stamp on the cross, and so forth, and they were all sent into exile. Thirteenth, the Governor of the Philippine Islands sent a ship, purportedly commercial, but in fact for the sake of the priests, to free them. And so the Director of this escort ship sent to the Governor of Fokien: I heard," he said, "that some of our people were guilty of something in your eyes, so hand them over to us, we will punish them." When the Governor answered that on the Emperor's orders they had executed one of them (and that others were still in prison), the Spanish demanded that they hand over the body; but the Fokien Governor ordered that the rest of the prisoners be strangled at night, while to the Spanish request he answered that he would return the body in two days. The next morning he ordered that all the bodies be burned, and when the escort ship's Director heard about this, he bribed the judges and the soldier not to incinerate the bodies completely, but to spread the word that they had done so. Fourteenth, very early they carried the remains of the Bishop's body out through other gates, and as if

they had incinerated them, threw them into a charnel house. Because there were no other bones there, as they had all been taken away, and the house newly built, the watchman, who had been bribed, sent a priest there, Pavel Su, one of the Chinese converts, and he climbed in at night, pulled out the body of the Bishop and carried it to the convoy Director. He also testified in a letter that there were no other bodies there of people who had been executed, only the one, and besides this, the Bishop's head was recognizable since he was a rather admired figure. The others, after him, they incinerated completely. This priest, Pavel, who was educated by Te-lü, an elderly man probably in his 60s, met with me and related this as it is printed, for in the face of death, and during his interrogation, he remained silent. At present he has gone out of Peking again to preach. The rest, which is less pertinent, I will need to omit here.

50. They caught other priests too, but after only beating and interrogating them, they sent them out of the country; few, however, who remained alive after the beatings reached their destination.

51. To prevent the Jesuits from teaching their religion more freely, they were also ordered to give up their Latin school, so that no one studying the Jesuits' language would also study their faith; and it is true that under many letters of the Jesuits' lexicon, they brought in instruction against idolatry, for example "God is Tian zhu," "God is one", and "idols are not God," and so forth.

52. They were treated in almost the same way as in the reign of Yongzheng at the time of the war of the Chinese with the Kontaisha; the lamas living nearby were under suspicion as if they were carrying secrets to the enemies, and the officials declared a great deal of treachery, and a great many idols were destroyed and ruined so that no one would live near the enemy; and a great many idols were also cut down.

53. In Guangdong province, there was a large number of Jesuit priests, and they built great churches; and now the Chinese have converted them, here into an Academy, there into a government office. An eyewitness to this, the Peking Bishop's man Lisan, told me this after coming from there; he went there in 1750.

54. The Jesuit Wei-lü told me that after translating from Chinese into

Latin the report of the entire persecution, its reasons, tortures, decrees and pronouncements, he sent it to Rome; but the report has not turned up in the chancellery, neither in a small office nor in any office at all, though they're searching for it there, evidently with bribes, difficulties, and favors.

55. About Japan again, the Jesuits were on the point of taking hope from the following event: a Japanese ship was thrown up on the shore in Macao after a shipwreck, and the Lusitanians (that is, the Portuguese), after putting the ships in order, and after admonishing the Japanese who were from the ship, they released them, hoping that because of this favor, the Japanese heart would be softened; but when news of this came to the Emperor of Japan, he ordered that all these people be executed, simply because they had associated with Christians.

56. Some priests are still in hiding now in the provinces, but those with dark complexions, the Chinese build and language ability are better able to escape Chinese notice.

57. They send out to the provinces from Peking and from Macao priests who are baptized and consecrated Chinese. But even these go about in poverty, in secret, and completely in hiding. One of these who was previously in Naples for twelve years by the name of Ioann, called Ku, was telling me about himself, that his mission was in Sichuan Province, but as they began to revere him there, which might have soon made him conspicuous, he was pulled back to Peking. In fact, for his erudition and constancy, he is worthy of honor, and now lives in the small College with Sigismund Augustin.

58. The Jesuits say that those who were the persecutors and instigators of the persecution have all perished, for Negong has fallen, the Governor of Fujian seized, and now the last mentioned, who was one of the Ministers, has been overthrown and deprived of everything. And they attribute to the Emperor the misfortune that the wife of the heir has died, as well as two other sons, and that there are poor harvests and droughts; but he, they say, does not yet feel anything.

59. But even now the Jesuits' persecution has not ended, and as they say: *praedicatio fidei non est permessa, sed dissimulata*; so where it's possible they'll bribe or win over some official so that if he doesn't dare to

turn a blind eye, then at least he'll keep quiet. The Jesuits say that it still helps them a great deal that when Chinese officials come in from the provinces and see Jesuits being received with favor and respect -- here in the Emperor's palace, there in the homes of the Princes, which does not even happen to them themselves, it's as if the officials give in, sometimes out of fear, sometimes out of shame.

60. Not one new Jesuit is admitted to the kingdom, while many who were in the provinces have perished, and those who see that it's hopeless and who do not want to live without a purpose have almost all left for Europe, and at present the number in the provinces scarcely adds up to ten.

## **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

*(Adapted from the 1822 Introductory Note by Grigory Spassky)*

Hieromonk Feodosy Smorzhevsky lived in Peking from 1745 to 1755 at the Ecclesiastical Mission under the direction of Archimandrite Gervasy Lintsevsky. Smorzhevsky, a former teacher in the Kievan Academy, was elevated in Moscow from Hierodeacon of the Kiev-Sofia Monastery to Hieromonk before leaving for Peking. He returned to his native land at the age of thirty-five and was consecrated Archimandrite in Sevsky Monastery where he died in 1758.