The Life and Methods of Matteo Ricci, Jesuit Missionary to China, 1582-1610

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THE LIFE AND METHODS OF MATTEO RICCI, JESUIT MISSIONARY TO CHINA, 1582-1610

BY

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THESIS

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THE LIFE AND METHODS OF MATTEO RICCI,
JESUIT MISSIONARY TO CHINA
1582-1610

PART I - THE LIFE OF MATTEO RICCI
CHAPTER I.
The Years of Preparation for Work in China.

The Jesuit movement had little more than started its work in Europe when in 1541 Xavier was sent to the Orient. The one great aim of Xavier was to bring Christianity to the people of the east and especially to the people of China. He was unable to enter China but about thirty years later his work was taken up by Matteo Ricci, another Jesuit missionary. The Jesuit approach was by no means the first entrance of Christianity into China. The Nestorians had established themselves there as early as the seventh century, while according to the record of the Dominican and Franciscan Fathers, these orders had attempted to locate there all thru the centuries that followed their organization. Ricci seems to have made no statement concerning the work of the Dominican and Franciscan monks, but does say that he found near Pekin a

1. Xavier was one of the original seven, who with Loyola as their leader, founded the "Company of Jesus" in 1537.
2. Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, i. lxxxix-c.
3. Ibid, i. cxxii; John of Plano Carpini, a Franciscan, was in China in 1246. Other references in Ibid, i. cxxii-cxxxv.
   Huc, Le Christianisme en Chine, ii. 38-39; Gaspar da Cruz, a Dominican, was in China in 1555.
group of people whom he believed to be Armenian Christians.

This study will first take up the life of Ricci in a chronological order, following him somewhat rapidly from one location in China to another, and mentioning only such things as seem to mark definite steps in his career; and second, will discuss in greater detail his methods: how he found entrance, first into the country, then into the homes, and finally into the religious life of the people.

Bartoli, La Cina, i. 301-302.

Ricci wrote in 1568: "For some years we have been of the opinion that there have been Christians in China, particularly in the northern provinces, and that they were known there under the name of worshippers of the cross. They had increased to such an extent among the literati and in the army that about sixty years ago they became suspected by the Chinese, perhaps because of intrigues of Mohammedan enemies of our faith. The Chinese in order to ward off the danger to which they believed they were exposed, desired to take possession of all the Christians, but the latter having heard of their project hid themselves and become, some of them Jews, some Turks, and the most part pagans. Their churches were changed into temples consecrated to idols. Their descendants have still such a fear of being discovered that they dare not confess themselves to their own sons, although many among them have kept the custom of making the sign of the cross over what they eat and drink, without being able at all times to give a reason for this usage. Their features indicate clearly that they are foreigners to China. We have not been able as yet to learn what images and what letters they use. I have, however, seen at an antiquarie's a small bell of well-wrought bronze, on the surface of which there was in relief a chapel with a cross before it. This bell belonged, perhaps, to those early Christians. The Chinese call them by a name of which I have not been able to learn the significance, and they add to it a letter which designates the number 10 because this character has the form of a perfect cross. The Mohammedans add to the name of "Jesuits" which they apply to them, the word "Terriers", and I have heard an Armenian say that in Persia, Armenians are called this. It is quite possible then that these Christians may have come from Armenia." Yule, i. c.
Matteo Ricci was born October 6, 1552 in the city of Macerata, which is located on the shore of the Adriatic Sea in north central Italy. He was the son of Battista Ricci and Giovanna Angiolelli, persons of respectable position in their home city. He had six brothers. His father kept an apothecary shop. Until sixteen years of age Ricci studied the humanities under the private teaching of Nicholas Bencivegni, and in the public school which the Jesuits opened in 1561. He was then sent by his father to Rome to study the civil law. Though he remained in pursuit of this work for two years he was evidently turning with deep interest toward a religious life, and at the end of that time in opposition to his father's wishes, he asked permission to become a novice in the College of the Annunciation, already established in Rome by the Jesuits.

1. Bartoli, ii.523. Sainte Foi, ii. 5.

2. Bartoli speaks of the parents as of the noble class, but this may be questioned because of the occupation of his father, which is not mentioned by Bartoli but stated in Ricci's own words when he took the examination to become a novice in the Jesuit College in Rome. Venturi, nel III Centenario del P. Matteo Ricci, Apostolo della Cina (1610-1910) in La Civilta Cattolica, May, 1910, ii. 335-386, note 1.

3. Bencivegni later became a Jesuit. Bartoli, ii.523; Sainte Foi, ii.6; Venturi, loc. cit.


The story is given here of how Ricci's father was angered at the step taken by his son and set out for Rome to demand his withdrawal. He was, however, taken with a violent fever on his way to Rome, and came to feel that it was the will of Providence that caused his sickness because he was working against his son. Accordingly he returned home and soon became interested in the future work of the young man. See also Sainte Foi, ii. 8-9.

This college had been started six years previously when Giovanna of Aragon, the mother of Mark Anthony Colonna, gave the house to Francis Borgia, a grandee of Spain, who had become a monk and was made general of the order. The house was given in order that young candidates of the order might
On the day of the Assumption, August 15, 1571, he began his career in the religious life, at the time entering on probation, the test of which was to be his call to the eastern world.¹

A very interesting account of the entrance of Ricci into the college is given in an old register of the Jesuit novitiates at Rome which reads as follows: "Matthew Ricci of Macerata came to the house Aug. 16, 1571. He was examined impartially, and having no disqualification, showed himself ready so far as was proposed to him in the examination. He brought with him a satin cape, small and old, four shirts, three collars and a towel, a Lucius Florus (a book of commentaries), a Pantaleon (a grammar), and a Mirabilia Urbis Romae (a guide book to Rome)."²

₁. Ricci was the first person from Macerata to become a Jesuit. Bartoli, ii. 523.


The following extract is also given by Venturi and is taken from a book which contains the replies of candidates on being examined by the master of the novices:² "Examination of Matthew Ricci of Macerata, on the 15th of August, 1571. He was examined and is called Matthew Ricci (Mattheo Riccio). He was born in Macerata, and as for his years, he does not know whether they are 18 or 19. He has no disqualification. His father is called Master Battista Ricci, and keeps an apothecary's shop (spetiaria); his mother is Giovanna Angiolelli: both are living. He has six brothers; he has studied the humanities and two years of law; he proposes by the divine grace to observe all the constitutions and rules and manner of living of the Company, and to be indifferent and resigned as regards admission to any degree or office which the Company thinks best, and to do obediently whatever may be ordered. And in confirmation he has written his name below. Matteo Riccio."

ₐ. P. Giovanni de Polanco was governor of the society. Sainte Foi, ii. 8. He held this position until the election of P. Everado Mercuriano. Bartoli, ii. 526.
During his life in college Ricci came under the direction of men who must have had a direct influence upon his later life. While here he worked in the scientific and religious fields and was under the direction of Christopher Clavius and Alexander Valignani. Clavius was noted for his research work in mathematics and had previously been a teacher in the University of Coimbra in Portugal. Valignani was the religious teacher of Ricci. He was called to be in charge of the missions of the East Indies and went to the orient in 1573. It was he who later called Ricci to the work in China. But it was Martin de Silva who on his return from the Indies visited the college in Rome and chose Ricci for the work in the east.

On May 18, 1577, six years after his entering the college in Rome and four years after Valignani had gone to the Orient, Ricci left Italy for Portugal, thence to sail for India. Being unable to sail at once he retired to the University of Coimbra. On March 24, 1578 Ricci set sail from Lisbon on the Saint Louis, one of the three vessels which sailed that

1. The University of Coimbra was originally established at Lisbon in 1291; was transferred to Coimbra in 1306; was removed again to Lisbon; and was fixed finally at Coimbra in 1527. Encyclopaedia Brittanica, vi. 653.

2. Christopher Clavius (1538-1612) was born in Bavaria, and had entered the Jesuit order in 1555. He was chief promoter of the reform of the calendar under Gregory XIII, and was called the "Euclid of the 16th Century." Catholic Encyclopaedia, 11th Edition, iv. 9.

3. Valignani was a Portuguese prince. Pere d'Orleans, 3-4.


5. Sainte Foi, ii. 9 Bartoli, ii. 527.

year for the Indies. In the company on board were fourteen Jesuits, of whom five, Ridolfo Aquaviva, Nicolo Spinolo, Francis Pasio, Michael Ruggieri, and Matteo Ricci were Italians.

On September 13th of the same year, the vessel arrived in Goa, where Ricci remained for the next four years. During the time spent there he continued his studies and assisted the missionaries in their work in Goa and its vicinity. While there he was consecrated a priest.

1. Sainte Foi, ii. 10.

2. Ridolfo Aquaviva was to remain in Goa and become the martyr of Salsete. Francis Pasio was of Boulogne and a comrade of Ricci in the Roman College. He was later made "Pater Visitor" and Provincial of Japan. Michael Ruggieri was from Naples and had likewise been a companion of Ricci in the college. Born in 1543, he had joined the Jesuit movement in 1572. He was sent to Macao in 1579, arriving there in July. He was ordered to study Chinese in Macao and during this period made several visits to Canton in commercial interests. In 1580 he started the establishment of a mission in Chow King Fu.

   Venturi, L.C.C., May, 1910, ii. 387.
   Pere d' Orleans, 6.
   Bartoli, i. 339-344, 354; ii. 528.

3. Goa was the capital of the Portuguese Indies. Catholic Encyclopaedia, article Ricci.

4. Sainte Foi, ii. 10.
   Bartoli, ii. 528.
CHAPTER II.

The Years of Missionary Work in China.

In 1582 Valignani, now in Macao, sent for Ricci to join him. Pasio had evidently remained with Ricci in India, for at this time he accompanied him to Macao, where they arrived August 7, 1582.\(^1\) Pasio was evidently sent immediately to join Ruggieri in Chow King Fu,\(^2\) for it was because of their successful work in that place that Ricci was presently commissioned to join them.\(^3\)

Before Ricci arrived in Chow King Fu, Pasio and Ruggieri secured a patent from the viceroy for the building of a church. Soon after Ricci joined them, trouble arose, and the missionaries were forced to leave the city and return to Macao.\(^4\) Pasio at once left for Japan.\(^5\) Ricci and Ruggieri did all they could to have the patent recognized but it was not until September of the next year, that they again set sail

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1. Bartoli, i. 349-351.
2. See page 23.
3. Bartoli, i. 358-359.
   Huc, ii. 49.
   Chow King Fu was the residence of the viceroy of the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition, article under Ricci.
5. Ibid, i. 363.
for Chow King Fu\textsuperscript{1}. This time they were made welcome and were able to establish a regular station with a house and chapel. While there Ricci translated the ten commandments into Chinese and in November, 1584, he had the first edition of the catechism printed.\textsuperscript{2} There, too, he started the use of "Tien-chu" as a designation for the Christian God.\textsuperscript{3}

During their stay in Chow King Fu Ruggieri made a journey to Macao and left Ricci alone. Things went quietly until 1587 when a decree was issued against the fathers. This trouble did not last long, however. In July, 1588, Valignani visited Macao, and while there decided to send Ruggieri to Rome, in order to report to the pope on the work in China.\textsuperscript{4} Almeida\textsuperscript{5} was sent to assist Ricci, and again things went on peaceably until the coming of a new viceroy into the province controlled from Chow King Fu. This viceroy was influenced to oppose the fathers and demanded their withdrawal from the city.\textsuperscript{6} As previously, they had no more than

\textsuperscript{1} Bartoli, i. 373. Huc, ii. 59. For a discussion of the patent see pages 23 and 24.
\textsuperscript{2} Bartoli, i. 391. See pages 47 and 48.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid, i. 259-264. See pages 48 and 49.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid, i. 452-466, 473-475. Sainte Foi, ii. 50.
\textsuperscript{5} Antonio Almeida was born in Portugal, entered the Jesuit movement in 1579, and died in 1591. Bartoli, i. 526; Sainte Foi, ii. 52.
\textsuperscript{6} Bartoli, i. 491-497. Sainte Foi, ii. 61. Huc, ii. 107. This was in August, 1589, as given by Bartoli.
reached Canton, when a messenger of the viceroy met them and asked them to return.¹

Tho the return at this time was not such as made it possible for them to remain, it allowed them to establish another station within the same district.² They were sent to Chao-Chow, an eight day's journey from Canton, and were put in the charge of the sub-prefect, who wished to have them live in a Buddhist temple outside the city of Chao-Chow.³ The missionaries refused to do this and were finally permitted to locate within the city.⁴ The city of Chao Chow is situated in a low country between two rivers and in an extremely unhealthful climate, a place where malaria was common. Both Ricci and Almeida suffered from attacks of this disease.⁵ While in Chao Chow two Chinese boys from the college in Macao joined the fathers and served as interpreters to them, they having become suspicious of their heathen interpreters.

In 1591 the boys were admitted as regular members of the

1. Bartoli, i. 502.
   Huc, ii. 109.

2. See pages 24 and 25.

3. For visit to Nanhoa monastery see page 25.

4. Bartoli, i. 507-514.
   Huc, ii. 110-115.

5. Bartoli, i. 516.
Jesuit order.\footnote{1}

It is evident that the fathers visited in the surrounding villages of Chao Chow tho the visit to Nien Hang-li seems to be the only one definitely recorded. This visit was made on the urgent request of a young convert and an old merchant whom Ricci had interested in Christianity.\footnote{2} After the return from Nien Hang-li a riot occurred because of the work of the fathers, and Ricci and Almeida withdrew to Chow King Fu, where they baptized some children of parents who had been converted previously.

1. Bartoli, I. 520.

Just how rapidly Ricci advanced in his study of the Chinese language may be estimated from a few statements made as follows:

"Ricci was now so far instructed in the Chinese language that he preached all day in the chapel of his house, and he attracted a large audience who marvelled at the sublime doctrine which he spoke." This was in Chow King Fu and previous to Ruggieri's leaving for Europe in 1588. Sainte Foi, ii. 25.

Sainte Foi also speaks of the perfection with which Ricci spoke Chinese soon after arriving in Choa Chow. Ibid, ii. 78.

Ricci was called before the lieutenant governor just after Ruggieri left for Europe (1588-9). He defended the cause so well "both orally and in writing" that they allowed him to remain within the city of Chow King Fu. Ibid, ii. 54; Bartoli, i. 484.

Père d'Orléans gives the account of Ricci's appearance before the viceroy previous to their final separation from Chow King Fu, and says that as Ricci was not well understood, one of the guards interpreted. Père d'Orléans, 45-47.

In 1596 Ricci writes as follows: "Italian has by lack of use become more foreign than the barbarous tongue I now use." Venturi, L.C.C., July, 1910, iii. 44, note 1.

2. Bartoli, i. 536-541.

Sossigni; \textit{Entrata nella Cina di Padri della Compagnia de Gesù}, 217.

Sainte Foi, ii. 87.
When the riot started in Chao Chow Ricci sprang from a window to call for help and in so doing wounded his foot. This troubled him all his life.¹

In December, 1591, Almeida died and Petris was sent to join Ricci. He died within a period of two years,² and Cattanei took his place.³

In 1595 Ricci made his first attempt to go to Pekin. Ever since coming to China he seems to have had this one aim in view, but he had waited until a definite opportunity might present itself. In April of 1595 he left Cattanei in charge of the work in Chao Chow, and he, with the two Chinese boys from Macao, in the company of a mandarin who had invited his friendship, left hoping to reach Pekin.⁴ Before they had arrived at Nankin the party was shipwrecked, and the mandarin left Ricci, urging him to return to Chao Chow.⁵ By this time Ricci was too determined in his desire to reach Pekin to go

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1. Bartoli, i. 546-549. Sainte Foi, ii. 95-97.

2. Petris had come to Macao from Europe, destined for the work in Japan. Valignani assigned him to China. Bartoli, i. 536. He was an Italian by birth, entered the company in 1583, and died in 1593. At his death he spoke the Chinese language well. Ibid, ii. 14-19. Huc, ii. 117.

3. Lazarus Cattanei had arrived recently from Goa, and had already been destined for China by Valignani. Huc, ii. 118. Bartoli, ii. 20.


5. Bartoli, ii. 35. Huc, ii. 121.

Père d’Orléans (71) says that one of the novices with Ricci was drowned here, and that Ricci himself was for some time under water, and only saved himself by being able to grasp the rigging of the boat.
back to Chao Chow, and thus waited in the nearby districts for another opportunity to enter the capital city. He next made an attempt to enter Nankin. Conditions there would not allow his remaining within the city. At that time trouble existed between Japan and China concerning Korea, and all over the city of Nankin orders against the entertainment of foreigners were posted. Here Ricci met a man whom he had known previously, but his friendship was there impossible. He then withdrew to Nan Chang Fu. In Nan Chang Fu Ricci took refuge with a learned physician from whom he had received visits while in Chao Chow. The viceroy of this place offered him a dwelling place. After the work was started Ricci sent to Macao for Soërius to join him.

In 1598 Ricci found another opportunity to go to Pekin. This time it was in company with one whom he had previously met. Kou-ang had been appointed president of the Supreme Court of China and was on his way to Pekin. Cattanei

   Huc, ii. 123-125.
   Nan Chang Fu was the capital of Kiang-si province.

2. Huc, ii. 125.

3. Bartoli, ii. 47.
   Sossigni, 244-246.
   Huc, ii. 126.

   Huc, ii. 128.
   Soërius joined Ricci in 1595.

   Huc, ii. 134-135.
probably joined Ricci at this time in order to make the journey with him. At the end of about two and one half months they arrived at the gate of Pekin, where Kou-ang left them, possibly because he was fearful of bringing strangers into that city. After spending a month in Pekin and without having secured admission to the presence of the emperor, the fathers decided to leave the city, and await a better time. Accordingly they went to Linchin in December of the same year. In Linchin Ricci met Kiu Tai-sse, the young man whom he had visited in Nien Hang-li. From that city the fathers went again to Nankin at which time they were well received. The following year they remained in Nankin and succeeded in establishing a permanent mission.

During the year Cattanei went to Macao for supplies, and on his return Ricci made his third and final attempt to establish a mission in Pekin. On May 18, 1600, Ricci, Pantoya, Giovanni della Rocca, and Bastien left Cattanei

1. Sossigni, 263-279.
2. Bartoli, ii. 105.
4. See page 10; 33 and 34.
5. Sainte Foi, ii. 185.
7. Diego Pantoya went with Cattanei from Macao to Nankin for the purpose of accompanying Ricci to Pekin. Sainte Foi, ii. 38.
8. Frère Bastien was one of the Chinese brothers from the College of Macao.
in charge of the work in Nankin, and travelled by river and canal to Pekin. This time they went in the company of a eunuch who was charged with gifts for the emperor. In order to reach Pekin they had to pass by the cities of Lintsin and Tientsin. At Lintsin they were asked to pay duty by an unjust and insatiable official named Ma Tang. The eunuch with whom the fathers had taken the journey was in league with Ma Tang and delivered Ricci and his companions into that official's hands because they refused to grant the unjust demands made upon them. Ma Tang held the fathers in Tientsin for six months during which time he tried to raise his own position before the Emperor by advertising the wonderful gifts that Ricci had with him. For the time Ricci's influence among the literati was greatly lessened. Finally the emperor decided to meet the foreigner. He sent to Ma Tang and de-

1. Sainte Foi, ii. 188.
   Huc, ii. 168-170.
   Bartoli, ii. 182-187.
   Père d'Orléans, 102-108.
3. Eunuchs were employed as palace officials, servants, and tax gatherers of the emperor.
4. Sainte Foi, ii. 197-206.
5. This was the emperor Wan-li whose rule lasted from 1572 to 1619.
6. It is quite evident that the emperor must have heard of Ricci previous to this time for leading mathematicians had already visited him in Nankin, see page 37; and he had been a friend of prominent mandarins of the empire.
manded that Ricci be permitted to come to Pekin.\textsuperscript{1} Altho Ma Tang made trouble for the fathers after their arrival in Pekin, it was but a short time before he was so humiliated that he withdrew all his connections with them. From the time of Ricci's separation from the eunuchs his relation to the literati and to the Emperor was much closer. He was welcomed to the palace of the Emperor and was urged by the emperor to remain within the city of Pekin.\textsuperscript{2} By 1610 there was a well established mission within the capital city of China.

The death of Ricci occurred on the 11th day of May, 1610, after an illness of about one week. Three Chinese doctors were summoned to his bedside, but from the accounts given, the doctors did little for him, as they disagreed both as to the trouble and likewise the remedy needed.\textsuperscript{3} His death caused much weeping and much sorrow, as well among the literati and official classes as among the less distinguished Chinese. The emperor felt that he had lost a real friend. The body of Ricci was buried in a beautiful spot just outside the wall of Pekin, but not until after the custom of keeping the dead for several months before burial had been observed. Thus in

\begin{enumerate}
\item Sainte Foi, ii. 191-215. Bartoli, ii. 178-208.
\item Bartoli, ii. 252-255.
\item Bartoli, ii. 516. Hue, ii. 239. Sossigni, 479.
\end{enumerate}
October of the year 1610 the body of Matteo Ricci was laid to rest, twenty-seven years after the great missionary had entered China.

1. Bartoli, iii. 33. Sossigni, 484.
PART II. - THE METHODS OF MATTEO RICCI
CHAPTER III.

Business Methods.

There is no chapter in the history of this early period and in the methods adopted by the Catholic fathers so important as that of the method of obtaining entrance into, and permission to locate within the most important cities of China. It is true that the missionaries expected the Portuguese in Macao and the home government to support the work carried on, but the actual wealth of the missionaries meant nothing when it came to obtaining a right in Chinese territory, and only as they went about their work in the most business-like and tactful manner, were they able to make themselves secure. Having once gained the friendship and confidence of the Chinese, their financial trials were lessened and work was carried on with little difficulty. It is therefore necessary to observe what support was given the missionaries thru Macao, what part the Chinese had in the financial side of the undertaking, how the Jesuits obtained permission to locate, and what districts came to be the center of their work.

During the years 1584 and 1585, a definite financial grant was made by the government of Portugal thru Philip II for the work of the interior, and the viceroy of India added some money received from duties paid at Malacca, along with furniture which he sent for the fitting up of the mission station.1 Previous to that date the Portuguese in Macao

1. Sainte Foi, ii. 27.
   Bartoli, i. 422-423.
had evidently borne all the expense, for after the banishment from Chow King Fu in 1583, Ruggieri and Ricci were called to return to that city, but waited long enough to obtain money to build a house. There was little to be had in Macao at that time, but thru the help of a rich Portuguese merchant, Gasper Vera, and others, they were able to secure most of the necessary funds.\(^1\) When they returned to Chow King Fu they dwelt in an old cave-like building, in the vicinity of a ruined tower. Ricci and Ruggieri were interested in securing some of the stones of the tower for their new house and pawned a picture of the Virgin in order to do so, the pledge being made for about twenty-five dollars.\(^2\) As finances were low, a one story building was erected, and not until Ruggieri returned from Macao at a later period was the second story added. Upon the latter occasion they first paid their debts and then built another story to the house.\(^3\) In Chao-Chow the missionaries received money from Macao, for Valignani while visiting there sent money enough for the building of a

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2. Sainte Foi, i. 297. Bartoli, i. 379-380. Bartoli gives the amount of money pledged as 20 crowns. One crown in bullion was equal to about $1.25. The money was of much greater purchasing power in this century, and the picture was therefore evidently of much value, due undoubtedly to its costly frame.
house and chapel, at the same time that the two Christian Chinese boys were sent from the college. In Nan Chang Fu the first house was purchased with money sent from Macao, for in 1595 Ricci sent thither to summon Soërius for help in the mission and to obtain money. In Nankin in April of 1599 the "house of evil spirits" was purchased. Half the price of the house was paid in the beginning, and the remaining part was paid a year later, evidently after more money had been sent to them. The last reference to definite support from Macao is in regard to the return journey of Cattanei, made in 1599, just before Ricci's final attempt to enter Pekin. At that time the College in Macao was receiving annually from the home government an income of approximately three hundred and seventy-five dollars. As the need for money to enter Pekin was so great, the Jesuits in Macao decided to depend for their own support upon the piety of the local people, and to send all the money they could possibly raise to Ricci. This amounted to about eleven hundred and twenty-five dollars or three years income. Approximately

1. Sainte Foi, ii. 80.  
See page 9.

2. Huc, ii. 128.  
Bartoli, ii. 76.

Sainte Foi, ii. 180-182.  
Bartoli, ii. 160-165.

4. 300 crowns. See page 18.

5. Sainte Foi, ii. 187-188.  
Bartoli, ii. 174-176.  
Huc, ii. 163.
eight hundred dollars were sent by Valignani in 1605, for the purpose of purchasing a house in Pekin. Inasmuch as the house was thought to be haunted by demons, they bought it at a good bargain. The old, it was large and well located. They were at this time unable to pay the full amount. 1

Thus far only the support given by the Portuguese has been considered. The part done by the Chinese in this work, tho seldom consisting in the actual giving of a large sum of money, was nevertheless of great importance. In Chow King Fu the land on which their house was built was lent them by the governor, after they had refused to occupy the temple he offered them. 2 When Ricci went to Nan Chang Fu, the viceroy urged him to occupy his palace, but Ricci refused the offer, because of the inconvenience of carrying on his work in a place of such splendor. The viceroy then offered to pay the house rent of the missionary and to support his servants. 3 In Nankin Kou-ang, the president of the tribunal of rites and foreigners, offered him the palace of a high functionary as a dwelling place, but Ricci refused it and rented one of lesser importance. 4

On arriving in Tientsin in 1600, the missionaries were supported for sometime at the expense of the Chinese. Ma Tang, the eunuch who kept the fathers from entering Pekin, was under obligations to pay their expenses while they were under his care. Thus for six months the fathers were supported by this eunuch.¹ When the emperor finally demanded that Ricci be brought to Pekin, he ordered Ma Tang to bring him in an honorable manner and at the expense of the government. Ma Tang then provided eight horses and thirty men for the journey.² It is interesting to note that Ricci did not pay the eunuch in whose company he had made the journey to Pekin, for he felt that the eunuch had not brought him safely to his destination.³ On arriving at Pekin, Ma Tang succeeded in having the party taken before the tribunal and then to the "palace of the strangers," for he claimed that Ricci had violated the laws of the land by refusing to pay the toll demanded on entering the city. They were lodged in the apartment of the commandant of the palace and continued to be cared for at the public expense.⁴ Finally when they were permitted freedom thru a mandarin whose friendship Ricci had

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1. Sainte Foi, ii. 235.
2. Ibid, ii. 213.
3. Sainte Foi, ii. 196.
   Bartoli, ii. 186.
4. Ibid, ii. 238-239.
   The "palace of the strangers" was just outside the city wall and was a building in which ambassadors and foreign travellers were kept.
obtained, and who was president of the tribunal, they were given a dwelling within the city itself, still being supported at the expense of the government, by order of the emperor himself.\(^1\) When in 1605 these Catholic missionaries were about to purchase a dwelling of their own, before final arrangements had been agreed upon, the land was declared tax free.\(^2\) This support and the immunity which the missionaries received caused some dispute among the Chinese officials, for it seems that it was a recognized custom that only those holding official positions should have such privileges. Several times Ricci was offered positions by the government but always declared his unwillingness to accept, because of his religious work. Thus a number of the mandarins opposed Ricci, and one, named Hou-pu, went so far as to present his objections in person. Ricci at once threatened to leave the country if the trouble continued. Hou-pu, knowing that Ricci was on the best of terms with the emperor, and that he was under definite orders to remain in Pekin, promptly became quiet.\(^3\)

The financial interests of the work in China have thus been considered as far as the records permit. What part the converts played must have been very slight. The omission of any mention that the Chinese themselves bore the

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2. Ibid, ii. 380-381.
support of a part of the work would lead one to believe that the missionaries did not expect the new converts to help in this way.¹

Connected with the financial methods of Ricci is the manner of his approach to the leading officials, of whom he was accustomed to demand the very best places to live, not as regards actual richness of dwelling, but in location; and in the persistency with which he secured an official document, in confirmation of the right to hold any territory upon which they might locate or to dwell in any house in which they might live.

The first instance of this is seen when the missionaries were driven for the first time from Chow King Fu. The actual method of securing a patent to the land was introduced by the Macao mission possibly without Ricci's having had a part in it. When Ruggieri and Pasio entered Chow King Fu, they secured a patent from the viceroy giving them a right to live there. The secretaries of the Canton district neglected to make record of this act,² and when the new viceroy was urged to put them out, he did so. When the missionaries arrived in Macao they were urged by the Chinese officials in and about that city to give up the patent. Ricci seems to have been the leader in the refusal to do this, and with Ruggieri made a journey to Canton to see if it were not pos-

¹ Huc (ii.162) says that the fathers did not believe in asking the new converts to give much money, but preferred to look to Macao.

² Bartoli, i. 364.
sible to have it recognized. In the meantime the viceroy learned more about the Jesuits, and not being personally opposed to them, he called them back to Chow King Fu. The journey to Canton was not successful, the very fact that the foreigners held this patent no doubt helped toward their return. On arriving in Chow King Fu the governor offered them a place to live in and a temple for worship. He was surprised to learn from the interpreters of the Christians that they could not use a temple which had been given over to the worship of idols.

Another instance of Ricci's insistence upon rights once granted by the Chinese is shown when the Jesuits were a second time banished from Chow King Fu. This time they were forced to leave their new residence. They were again recalled, but only to be urged to accept money in payment for the house. The viceroy said they must accept this or he would be accused of theft. Ricci at first absolutely refused to consider taking the money, and consented only on being promised permission to locate elsewhere in the province. Finally with this agreement Ricci accepted about one hundred and thirty-seven dollars

1. The approach of the fathers to Canton on this occasion was extremely difficult and they were not received within the city itself. This was explained only on their return, for when passing thro the port of Shan-Chau, a little town on the island of Macao, they saw a placard which read that no foreigners were to be permitted within the Canton province. Huc, ii. 54-58; Bartoli, i. 368-370.

2. Sainte Foi, i. 294.
Bartoli, i. 377-379.
in payment for the house. The viceroy gave him books and also his own boat for the voyage to Chao Chow, the city to which they were to go. Ricci then left the house and church to the viceroy who converted the latter into a temple in his own honor.

Just before they reached Chao Chow the Christians were taken to the Buddhist monastery which was situated a short distance from the city. The governor wished them to remain here, but Ricci immediately opposed this and demanded that they be given a place within the city, saying that they were "not hermits, but evangelists." In the end Ricci again received a patent from the viceroy which gave him permission to build a house and chapel within a definite quarter of the city.

The account of the purchase of the "house of evil spirits" shows also Ricci's persistency in business dealings. The house was owned by a leading official, Leu Teu Hiu, of Nankin, who after building it would not live in it, for he said it was inhabited by evil spirits. The missionaries obtained the house and after doing so insisted upon being given the deed or official title to the dwelling.

1. Sainte Foi says that Ricci was paid sixty ducats. One ducat was equal approximately to $2.285.

2. Sainte Foi, ii. 57-64.
   Bartoli, i. 502-504.
   Huc, ii. 107-110.

3. Bartoli, i. 507-517.
   Huc, ii. 114.

   Sainte Foi, ii. 180-182.
   Guerrieri, 72.
When one realizes how easily at a time like this the Chinese could have been persuaded to demand the return of the house, the necessity of having an official grant is readily to be seen.

The last two examples to be given are not strictly speaking methods of Ricci himself, and yet they show so distinctly the spirit and ideas of the man that they can scarcely be omitted from this discussion. They have to do with the very modest expenditure in connection with the death and burial of Ricci. At his death the companions of Ricci wished to secure a very simple coffin for the body, but the Chinese doctor insisted that they must have a respectable one, even tho it cost more than they wished to pay. Finally they consented to the payment of about five dollars. Even this was a small sum when compared to the two hundred and fifty dollars which the Chinese often pay.\(^1\) As for a burial ground it seems that Ricci had been thinking of purchasing a place for a cemetery for the Jesuits, but had not been able to do so. After his death the missionaries considered it would be the best plan to buy a place near Pekin and bury their leader there. The distance to Macao was great, and the fathers felt that the presence of Ricci's body in the vicinity of the capital city might be of influence. On the suggestion of Dr. Leh On, one of the Chinese doctors, Pantoya went to the emperor with the request for a burial place. There was outside

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1. Sainte Foi, ii. 331-332.
the city of Pekin a heathen temple, which a eunuch who was then in prison, had built in honor of himself. The property was confiscated and given to the Jesuits. They purified it by burning the heathen pictures, breaking the idols, and burning incense within it. Thus they changed it into a Christian temple. The emperor then caused the inscription of rightful ownership and government protection to be placed above the entrance.1

1. Sainte Foi, ii. 334-339.
CHAPTER IV.

Social Methods.

The social methods of Matteo Ricci may be classed in two divisions, first the attempt made by him to adopt the social customs of the Chinese, a plan which Ricci developed thru his experience in living in China, and second the attempt made by him to gain the confidence and friendship of the Chinese by visiting their homes and inviting them to visit the Jesuit home, by giving gifts, and by exciting their interest in himself, thru the curiosities which he had brought with him from Europe and his scientific interests. It has been said that Ricci was in China, "not in the guise of a fugitive who day by day would run from hiding place to hiding place, but as a guest, if not accepted, yet tolerated, and left free to attend to the actualization of a very lofty idea."  

Ricci learned that if the missionaries were going to accomplish anything they must submit themselves to the ways of the people with whom they worked, in so far as it was possible, and they must give the Chinese as much freedom as possible in the religion which the Christians were asking them to accept. Ricci seems however to have weighed carefully such allowances in order not to permit the Chinese

more freedom than the Christian religion would allow. In such instances as the worship of ancestors, which he undoubtedly permitted as the omission of any statements to the contrary would suggest, one cannot but feel that Ricci did not consider this a religious practice.

On entering China, the fathers put on the dress of the ordinary Chinese, for they thought it was considered more modest by the Chinese even tho it was slightly different from their own European dress. They did not, however, shave their beards or change the manner of wearing their hair.\(^1\) In the year 1593-4, on the approval of Valignani, they decided to make a more marked change in their attire. The style which they had been wearing resembled that of the "bonzi" or Buddhist priests and since these priests were held in more or less disrepute by the general public, such a change was considered necessary. The new dress assumed by the fathers was that of the literati and without the tonsure.\(^2\) Ricci describes this new costume in a letter dated November 4, 1595. He said it was one which answered for state occasions and gave him much authority in making and receiving visits. It was a robe of dark violet silk, with sleeves wide and long. On the edge of the bottom of the gown, the sleeves, and the ends of the girdle which fell nearly to the ground, were strips half a hand wide of turquoise silk very light at the

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1. Sossigni, 135.
   Bartoli, i. 384-385.
2. Bartoli, ii. 20-23.
   Huc, ii. 118.
   Sainte Foi, ii. 106-107.
inner side. Their shoes were silk embroidered. The biretta worn on the head was much the same as that worn by the European bishops. 1

Another custom which the Christians willingly accepted was that of assuming Chinese names. There are many reasons suggested for this such as the fact that the Chinese found Ricci's own name difficult to pronounce and again that the Chinese themselves assumed new names at different times in their lives. 2 Thus Ricci was sometimes called "Ki-jen" which was a name of honor given by the Chinese and at other times "Si-tai" which meant "great man of Europe." 3

In the plan of their dwellings the Europeans found that it was best to hold to Chinese form. This was learned as the result of a rather trying experience. When their house was built in Chow King Fu Ricci was very anxious to follow the European plan of having two stories, a terraced porch or gallery in front, and a number of windows. Tho in the beginning they built but one story, the more elaborate plan was later completed. 4 Not long after they were forced out of the city. The missionaries decided that one of the

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2. "Matteo Ricci" appears later in the Chinese records as "Li Ma-teu," "Li" being the Chinese name for Ricci, and being placed first according to the Chinese custom. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, article "Ricci." Purchas, His Pilgrimes, xii. 278. Sainte Foi, ii. 27-28. Bartoli, i. 427.
4. Bartoli, i. 380-381. Huc, ii. 69.
greatest reasons for their banishment was the jealousy of the Chinese because of their dwelling. Therefore when they went to Chao Chow they built a house with only one story and no gallery. After this the Jesuits bought houses already planned and built by Chinese.

Other customs which the missionaries kept are so closely connected with the subject of visitation that they will be considered more appropriately along with that question. The distinct place of visitor was given to Matteo Ricci. Ricci states that the work of catechizing and instructing those who were to be baptized was given to Pantoya since he was so well versed in the Chinese language, while the work of visiting Chinese gentlemen and receiving like honors from them was done by himself. He goes on to say that "in China, especially at court, such paying of visits from both parties is so customary that he who has not seen it with his own eyes and actually experienced it, cannot believe it. In this point the Chinese are very courteous and noble. They are so careful in the receiving and returning of visits that it requires special attention to use the art of politeness." In 1604 Ricci wrote of the advantage of this sort of occupation: "Since to this court of the residence of the emperor and the mandarins, a great number of people from all parts of the empire come daily, we have an opportunity of dealing with all kinds and all ranks of people. We are treated very courteously and

1. Sainte Foi, ii. 81.
Bartoli, i. 519-521.
nobly by all (as takes place not only here but in all of our other residences). As a result of it our esteem and authority grow day by day so that we find ourselves in such freedom and esteem at this court that neither those, who are at the head of the king's council and persons of highest position in the Empire; nor those, who are at the head of the tribunals and judges of the domain lands, the keepers of the treasury, the keepers of the king's household, the examiners of the learned, the handlers of trade with foreigners and with the king; nor the blood relatives of the king fail to show themselves friendly or hesitate in having dealings with us, just as if we were of the same standing with themselves. For this reason the other mandarins show us like honor and goodwill."¹

Ricci went to the homes of the leading officials, was sometimes invited to spend several days with them,² and often dined with governors, viceroys, and mandarins.³ He always took gifts with him, such as the famous clock that struck the hours, the prism, spheres, maps, and tracts.⁴ The tactfulness with which he entered upon a conversation and with which he made friends is readily seen. When in Chow King Fu

2. For the Visit to Nien Hang-li, see pages 10; 33 and 34.
3. Sainte Foi, ii. 21.
4. Sossigni, 119-120.
   Hue, ii. 95.
   Sainte Foi, i. 295.
   Guerreiri, 13-14, 20-22.
he presented a map of the world to the governor, he found that it caused much excitement and some disgust among the official classes for those people had always considered China to be the center of the entire world, whereas this map had given their country a very insignificant position. Ricci, immediately upon hearing this, drew another map in which he placed China in the center, and the other countries in their correct relative positions but at the sides of the map, and in such perspective as greatly to diminish their size. He then presented the new map, and it was very differently received.¹

While in Chao Chow Ricci made a visit to the city of Nien Hang-li, a three days journey from Chao Chow. Previous to this time he had become a close friend of a resident of this city, Kiu Tai-sse, a young alchemist who was lieutenant governor of the province. He had also converted an old merchant who was a friend and fellow townsman of Kiu Tai-sse. It was on the urgent request of these two men that Ricci made the journey. When Ricci arrived in Nien Hang-li, he did not go to the home of the merchant first as would have been the more natural thing for him to do, for he knew that if he recognized the friend of lower rank first, he would not gain the friendship of those of higher rank. Therefore he visited Kiu Tai-sse first. In his residence he was welcomed at a

banquet served to prominent officials and mandarins. After completing his visit here, he went to the house of the old merchant, and was again welcomed by a great many people but of lower rank. The merchant had interested many of these in Christianity and they were anxious to be baptized by Ricci.¹

When the Chinese returned the visits made by Ricci, they were made extremely welcome and were shown thru the mission house. In the library the visitors found books, spheres, mathematical instruments, and maps, which always excited their curiosity. In the chapel they found pictures, images, candles, the crucifix, and other like things, which caused them to ask questions regarding the significance and meaning of it all. The Chinese never failed to give due respect and honor to the Christians by paying reverence to the pictures of the Virgin which ordinarily stood upon the altar. This ceremony was done by bowing their heads to the ground. In Chow King Fu the question arose as to whether the Christians were actually worshipping the Virgin or the Christ, and thus for a time Ricci removed the Virgin's picture, using only the one of Christ.² In like manner Ricci, when visiting and when receiving Chinese, carried out as many of their customs

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as was possible. He would have his servants teach him the ways of the people in whom he was particularly interested. This work of visiting must have taken much time and much energy upon Ricci's part for it is stated that in Nan Chang Fu he received so many visits from the literati alone, that he was compelled to hire a palanquin in order to return the visits, and again that the porters found it hard to travel as the crowds who desired to see him were so great.

1. Sainte Foi, ii, 123. An interesting account is given of a visit which Ricci made to the palace of the emperor. He entered the palace and was taken before the "empty" throne but did not fail to do homage, even tho not in the presence of the emperor himself. From Bartoli's description it is evident that the paying of homage to the throne irrespective of the emperor's presence was a Chinese custom. Huc would insinuate that the emperor was at this time opposed to seeing Ricci. The conclusion of Huc seems impossible, however; he himself goes on to show that the prime minister wished the emperor to give Ricci an honorable escort to Canton in order to get the latter away from Pekin, but the emperor refused. Huc, ii. 178-179; Bartoli, ii. 188-192; 241-244.

2. Bartoli, i. 384-385.

3. Ricci states in one of his letters that visits were received daily and paid every three or four days. He says that they always kept servants at the door and these servants took down the name and quality or rank of the visitor in a book used for the purpose. Venturi, L. C. C. July, 1910, iii. 48.

4. Sainte Foi, ii. 124.
CHAPTER V.

Educational Methods.

In the study of the educational methods of Ricci it is necessary to consider the personal ability of the man, much of which was due to his mathematical mind and his ability to memorize, and to know his work as a teacher. While a pupil of Clavius¹ his interest in mathematics and geography had been awakened, and now that the opportunity afforded itself to work out problems of practical value, he was interested in investigating the latitude and longitude of locations, and in studying astronomical and meteorological conditions. It was this interest that helped him prepare a map of the world for the Chinese and write a detailed description of the world to accompany the map.² In 1604 Ricci wrote to Valignani regarding some of the things which he was teaching the Chinese: that the earth is round; that it is peopled on all sides; how eclipses of the sun and moon occur; the causes of the difference between day and night, and how this varies with location; and the divisions of latitude and longitude.³ In 1596 an eclipse

1. See page 5.
2. Bartoli, iii. 11-12.
3. Guerrieri, 12.
of the sun occurred unexpectedly to the Chinese, and the mathematicians in Pekin were discomfited because they had failed to calculate its appearance correctly. Some literati thereupon visited Ricci in Nan Chang Fu and discussed the matter with him. He discerned at once the imperfection in their calculations, and some of them suggested that he go to Pekin and reform the Chinese calendar. Tho Ricci did not go with them, his fame spread, and later when in Pekin he helped in revising the calendar.¹

One interesting geographical accomplishment for which Ricci is given much credit, is that of the identification of Cathay as China. For some time Ricci had written letters to Europe urging that a change be made in the map of Marco Polo, which made two separate countries of these, but the leaders

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¹ Sainte Foi, ii. 101, 137. Bartoli, ii. 82; iii. 12.
Ricci describes the mathematicians in China as follows: "Not only in Peking, but in this capital also (Nanking), there is a College of Chinese Mathematicians, and this one certainly is more distinguished by the vastness of its buildings than by the skill of its professors. They have little talent and less learning, and do nothing beyond the preparation of the almanacs on the rules of calculation made by the ancients: and when it chances that events do not agree with their calculations, they assert that what they had calculated was the regular course of things, but that the aberrant conduct of the stars was a prognostic from heaven of their fancy and so spread a veil over their blunders. These gentlemen did not much trust Father Matteo, fearing, no doubt, lest he should put them to shame; but when at last they were freed from this apprehension they came and amicably visited the Father in hope of learning something from him. And when he went to return their visit he saw something that really was new and beyond his expectation...." Yule, The Book of Ser Marco Polo, i. 451. (This has been translated from the Latin of Trigaut.)
in Europe had hesitated to make the change. In 1603, however, Benedict Goës left Goa for the purpose of making an inland journey to the west of China and incidentally determining whether the Cathay of the earlier travellers was not the same as the China in which Ricci was working. In 1605 Ricci heard of Goës, but not until after the latter had met with a caravan from Pekin, in which there were merchants who had known Ricci while he was staying in the "house of the foreigners,"¹ and who had in their possession letters from Ricci. As a result of this identification the map was changed according to the suggestion previously made by him.²

In addition to the scientific achievements already mentioned, Ricci planned a practical arithmetic, a geometry and a study of cosmography, wrote a work on the constellations, translated many of the writings of Clavius, supervised the translation of the six books of Euclid and adapted the Gregorian Calendar to the use of the Chinese, thus giving the dates for Christian feast days and days of church observance to the converts. While in 1598 he and Cattanei were returning from Pekin to Nankin, he planned a system of marking words so as to indicate their tonal quality, a system which he afterwards used in his Chinese-European dictionary. In doing this Ricci would pronounce a Chinese character and Cattanei, who was well versed in music,

¹. See page 21 "Palace of the strangers".  
². Euc, ii. 211-221.  
Bartoli, ii, 435-446.  
Yule Cathay and the Way Thither, i. Preliminary essay, cxlii- 
cxliii.  
Père d' Orléans, 86.
would mark the character according to musical notation.\footnote{1}

The ability to memorize which Ricci possessed must have been of great advantage to him in arousing an interest among a people who prided themselves upon an accomplishment of that kind. He found it of importance in studying the writings of the sages. In 1593 after he had read and studied five or six of the classics, he had practically committed them all to memory.\footnote{2} He was also able to recite lists of Chinese characters backward and forward. He would sometimes ask the Chinese to write a long series of characters having no connection of thought, and after looking them over rapidly he would repeat them, sometimes beginning with the first one, at other times starting with the middle character, and giving them both forward and backward.\footnote{3} While still in Chao Chow the Chinese considered him learned enough to receive the degree of the "Doctorate," which was ordinarily given only after three years

\footnote{1. The Chinese have five "tones" or inflections, which may enable the same monosyllabic expression to represent several distinct words. For example: the characters (grow) 生, (rope) 绳, (province) 省, (sage) 聖, and (nephew) 甥 are pronounced "shon", each with its individual inflection and one of musical ability is able to distinguish the fine differences of the tones. Bartoli, \textit{ii.} 106-109. Sainte Foi, \textit{ii.} 155-157.}

\footnote{2. In the same year he translated into Latin four of the Chinese books on moral philosophy, in order that his successors might study them previous to going to China and thus be able to meet the arguments of the Chinese when they arrived in the country. Bartoli, \textit{ii.} 27.}

study in Pekin.1

The work of Ricci as a teacher is one of marked importance, yet almost impossible to separate from his other interests. In his home, in the houses of his friends, on boats while travelling, and elsewhere, he took occasion to arouse the interest by entering upon a scientific and educational discussion. In so doing he would have an opportunity to teach new methods in mathematics, to introduce new astronomical ideas, and to explain religious truths.2 In 1599 he opened an "Academy in Nankin for the purpose of giving religious and secular knowledge to the many literati who visited him. This was not a school for children. He began by teaching mathematics and the natural sciences in daily lessons. He prepared and published treatises of his own for the use of the pupils, and made instruments for purposes of demonstration. The pupils of this school would often

1. Bartoli, ii. 26-27. (a) In Pekin Fu Ma-cam gathered together all the works of Ricci and had them printed. He then gave him the title of the "Doctorate," and from then on Ricci was called "Doctor." Sainte Foi, ii. 257. The title of the "Doctorate" was given after having received the degree of "Chin-shih" or the last of three degrees given for educational work in China. This was confirmed on those passing the final examination held in Pekin, although in few instances the degree was given without the examination, to those considered worthy of the honor and distinction. The two lesser degrees were those of the "Siu-ts'ai" conferred after passing the provincial examination, and "Chü-jên," a degree corresponding somewhat to the Master's Degree of the European countries.

2. He was entertained at a banquet and seized the opportunity to excite interest by teaching. Bartoli, ii. 63-64; Sainte Foi, ii. 126-127.

(a) See page 48.
take down his oral lectures and have them printed at their own expense.\footnote{1} One mandarin\footnote{2} was so interested in advancing the study of geography that he assisted Ricci in having a wood cut made from which to reproduce the map of the world.\footnote{3}

In Pekin Ricci spent much time in teaching the other missionaries as well as the leading Chinese. In 1609 and 1610 he instructed the fathers and brothers of the mission in the Chinese characters, composition, and philosophy, and at the same time taught mathematics to the Jesuit who was to succeed him at his death,\footnote{4} and to four prominent mandarins. Along with these various duties he noted down everything that went on in the mission in a diary, which was later sent to Rome.\footnote{5}

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1. Sainte Foi, ii. 167-169.

2. The name of this mandarin is given by Bartoli alone (ii.137) in the form, "Uzohai".

   Sainte Foi, ii. 167.

4. This father was P. des Ursius, whom Ricci had as his personal confessor, and whom he considered more humble than Pantoya and thus better fitted for the position of leader. 
   Sainte Foi, ii. 327.

5. Sainte Foi, ii. 319-320.
CHAPTER VI.

Religious Methods.

The work of Ricci was in general scientific, and practically all that he undertook was done by means of secular agencies. In spite, however, of his wonderful mathematical ability and his educational advantages, there was in the centre of his life and the life of his companions the one aim of bringing Christianity to the people of China. The methods to be discussed in this chapter are those which wear a distinctly religious aspect, in so far as it is possible to separate the religious from the secular. Under this general heading will be considered the moral character of Ricci, the charitable work of the mission, the preaching of Ricci, the teachings of the missionaries, the rites of their worship, their deputation work, and lastly the ideas of the missionaries as regards miracles.

Ricci was a man of strong character, with a capacity to work with others, a genius for making friends, and an ability to keep friends. He loved to do for others and to serve those of lower as well as those of higher rank. His devotion to his church is evident, tho there can be felt beneath it all the tendency to be broad and open minded. At one time he questions the necessity of baptism as an absolute

1. Père d' Orléans, 170.
means of salvation and at another time he wishes that Pope Gregory XIII might have been influenced to change the teachings of the church so as to permit polygamy under certain circumstances. In all his work his life was consistent with his teachings. This fact was evidently true of all the Jesuits, for at one time, when trouble arose, a councillor gave the following testimony in favor of the missionaries, "...in re-

1. Guerrieri, 39. The story is told that Ricci and Paul, one of the leading Chinese Christians of Pekin, were one day discussing the question of baptism and that one asked the other whether baptism was absolutely necessary in order to receive the blessing of God and be saved. That such questions were asked may be explained by the following incident: Paul had a cousin who was not a Christian. The latter's child having fallen ill, Paul told him of a means whereby the child's soul might be saved, even though his physical body should perish. The child was baptized and died. Paul urged his father to be baptized also, but he said he could not, since the devil worship in which he was engaged was his only means of support. But he thanked the Christians for saving the soul of his child.

2. The story is given in Guerrieri (51-55) of a young man named Fu Gu-aa, who had two wives and several children. This young man professed conversion, but could not be baptized. The missionaries wrote to the pope asking if it was not possible for Fu Gu-aa to keep the second wife as a sister. The request was not granted. Whereupon, it is stated, the missionaries wished they might have written "another Gregory who would have seen in this man's sons 'Angels not Angels'", and thus would have been willing to sacrifice the teachings of the church in order to permit the salvation of the sons.

(a) Paul was one of the strongest of the Christian converts in Pekin. After Ricci's death, in the year 1615 the Jesuits were banished from Pekin. In 1622 they were permitted to return. "This was brought about by the instrumentality of a native Christian, a mandarin of great talent and influence, whose Chinese name was Siu, but who at his baptism had received the name of Paul. His conversion had been effected by the arguments of Ricci. To him and his daughter, Candida, that cause was already indebted for the erection of thirty-nine churches in various provinces, and the printing of one hundred and thirty Christian Books in Chinese, for the instruction of the people." Père d'Orléans, History of the two conquerors of China, Introduction, iv.
gard to the learning, so far as concerned the mathematics, he knew not, if it was true. What they preached in regard to the virtue of the pious and unworldly life he knew was in accordance with reason, and was the teaching of their holy and learned ancestors, since he had seen it sufficiently in the books and writings of the Fathers.\(^1\)

The character of Ricci may be compared with that of Ruggieri. Tho Ruggieri was his forerunner in China, he was there but a very short time before Valignani sent him with a commission to Rome. Valignani seems to have seized this opportunity of separating him from the work in China. All during the time that Ricci and Ruggieri were together there was opposition on the part of the Chinese caused by the extreme methods and too zealous spirit of Ruggieri. When Ricci was alone he had very little trouble, undoubtedly due to his slower, quieter, and more tactful manner.\(^2\)

Another characteristic of Ricci was that of absolute honesty. This can be seen in an incident where he refused to carry out a Chinese custom because he felt that his honesty might possibly be questioned. In Nan Chang Fu he was so overburdened with visits that he wished he might do something to lessen the number of the people who came to see him. It was suggested that he request his servant in answering the door to say he was not at home, or not free to receive callers, as was customary among the Chinese when they were too busy to

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2. See page 8.
entertain visitors. But Ricci felt that this was against the principles of the Christian religion, and would not practice it.  

There are many examples given in Ricci's own writings of the charitable work of the missionaries. They never claimed to be physicians of the body, and helped those who were physically in need of assistance only by the giving of shelter, food, and the like. But they gave also a promise of a future life, which meant much to those who were seriously ill, and to those who were in sorrow because of the death of a friend or relative. A very splendid example is that of the first convert made in Chow King Fu. He was a poor, sick, and extremely weak man whom the Chinese doctors had given up to die, and whom his parents had deserted. The fathers found the man, took him under shelter, provided him with food, cared for him, taught him, and finally baptized him. They did not claim to cure his disease, but only to pray for him and secure his eternal happiness. However, as this man was an outcast among his own people, he felt very grateful. The missionaries were somewhat criticized for what they had done for him, possibly because the Chinese felt that they were expecting material gain, inasmuch as they emphasized the treasure which the man possessed, meaning thereby his soul.  

In Chow King Fu, at the time of a great flood, the fathers

1. Sainte Foi, ii. 135.  
   Bartoli, ii. 81.  
   Fere d' Orleans, 79.

2. Bartoli, i. 392-395.  
   Sossigni, 137.  
   Purchas, xii. 273.
showed their charitable interest in the people, by giving attention to the safety of the latter in spite of the fact that their own house was in need of protection. As has been said, "...the whole town was witness to their work of charity." In Pekin Ricci had under his care a few homeless children. These and other children he would use as altar boys and chorus boys and in the deputation work, for they could enter the homes of the women.

A much more unique form of charity, and one which had much influence on the work done among the official class, was the feeling which Ricci expressed toward the Chinese who tried to make trouble for him. In Chow Kins Fu some boys had thrown stones at the mission house and were brought before the tribunal. They told falsehoods accusing the fathers of kidnapping children. The boys were sentenced to be beaten, but Ricci asked that they be released without punishment. A similar story is told of the time when Ricci and his companions were forced to flee from Chao Chow. When the fathers returned to the city the rioters were on trial. Ricci plead for their release and thus won the friendship of a great number of the people.

2. Guerrieri, 120.
3. Guerrieri, 125. Sainte Foi, ii. 308-309. The Chinese women were not expected to leave their homes but this rule was not always kept.
4. Sainte Foi, ii. 16.
5. Bartoli, i. 554.
The amount of Ricci's actual preaching is hard to determine, since so much of it was done in unusual and out of the way places. The definite planning and preaching of a sermon in the modern sense of the word seems never to have been his way. He would gather together a number of people, sometimes in his house, and at other times in the street or in the homes of the converts and would tell them in a narrative and conversational manner the history of the Catholic Church and the biblical truths. Among the subjects discussed were the church, the catechism, the ten commandments, the future life, and the question of polygamy. The history of the organization of the Catholic Church was a subject which the fathers emphasized distinctly. This was done no doubt because of their strong belief in the church and its power, and also because they found thus a definite means of approaching religious questions. Before entering upon a discussion of this kind the fathers would arouse the interest of the people until they would ask questions about the picture of the Virgin, the candles, the crucifix, and other symbolic Christian objects. It is said that the Chinese would sometimes become so interested in the accounts of the wonderful hierarchy with the pope at its head, of the Catholic schools in Europe, and of the charitable work of the church, that they would wish that their sons might some day rise to the honor of the papal chair.¹

The first book which was published by the fathers was a catechism which Ricci wrote and had printed in November, 1584.

¹ Huc, ii. 162.
Guerrieri, 40.
This was written in the form of a dialogue between a European and a Chinese, in which religious truths were brought forth by means of questions and answers. A revision and second publication of the catechism was made in Pekin, and was brought about thru the aid of a Chinese named Fu Ma-cam, a young official who had been ruling over one of the provinces of China. When Ricci knew him in Pekin he had been forced to give up his official position and suffer punishment in prison, because of his refusal to permit a eunuch to exact unreasonable taxes from the people of his province. While in prison he assisted Ricci in revising the catechism and in putting it into the best form for publication. To the catechism Fu Ma-cam added a preface which was "so learned and masterful that it was a great cause of the authority and admiration which the book attained in all the land. There was not a learned man in the whole country who did not strive to get possession of it. For this reason all the copies which had been printed were disposed of, being sold at a high price.3

In Chow King Fu Ricci translated the ten commandments into Chinese.4 This translation made it necessary for the Jesuits to decide upon some word as a designation for the Christian God. The Chinese had two expressions which Ricci con-

1. Bartoli, i. 390.
Sossigni, 390.

2. See page 40, note 1.

Sainte Foi, ii. 346-347.
Père d'Orléans, 117-119.

4. Sossigni, 135.
sidered, "Tien-chu," which means "Lord of Heaven," and "Shang-ti," which means "Sovereign Lord." The expression "Tien-chu" had already been used by Francesco Buzomi of Cochin China. He had consulted learned men, and found that it was not the name of an idol, but a term used to express something most sacred, a power solemnly invoked at funeral ceremonies of important people. Nicolo Longobardi object ed to the use of "Tien-chu" and wanted Ricci to use "Deus" which in Chinese would have had to be "Teu-su," as the Chinese have no "D" in their language. This would have been the coining of an entirely new term and Ricci disliked doing this. Thus after much consideration and with the approval of the congregation of theologians in Macao, including Valignani and some learned Chinese doctors, Ricci decided to use the expression "Tien-chu."

The teaching in regard to the future life was one of unique importance in that it touched the lives of the missionaries rather peculiarly. They claimed that when a person had entered the company of the Jesuits he had withdrawn himself from this world, and that death caused no great change in the life of one who lived separate from the world. Thus the fathers could show no signs of sorrow and mourning. This must have necessitated much strength on the part of Ricci at the time of the death of

1. Longobardi was a Jesuit in Macao who later worked in the district of Canton. Guerrieri, 72.

2. Bartoli, i. 259-264.
Sossigni, 135.
Purchas, xii. 273.
Almeida and Petris, as he was the only European in the mission when these deaths occurred.\(^1\)

Polygamy was by far the greatest question which the fathers had to consider. Numerous instances are given of men who wished to be baptized but were refused by the fathers, because they were married to two or more wives. At no time did the fathers permit baptism unless some argument was reached whereby separation from all but one wife was brought about.\(^2\)

Soon after entering Pekin Lin Go-gua, a mandarin at court, became a friend of Ricci and assisted him in writing books, making globes, and drawing maps, having many of the writings put in print at his own expense. He also assisted Ricci by overseeing those who were learning the catechism. Even tho Lin Go-gua took such a part in the Christian work, he could not be baptized as he had two wives and would not put away either one.\(^3\)

Another nobleman who had two wives lived as a Christian and carried the Jesuit teachings to his home city. He studied the catechism and taught Christian ideas to his servants and his first wife, but could not be baptized.\(^4\)

The next step in this discussion concerns the rites of the church and the aim here is simply to show that such rites as were customary in the European church were used in China. No instance has been found which would show that the Jesuits ever gave up or neglected the use of any one of these

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1. Père d'Orléans, 63. See page 11.
2. See page 43.
cere monial services or excused their followers from doing so. Baptism was considered necessary to salvation, and therefore the baptism of infants was encouraged. This rite was conferred with much ceremony and with many marks of rejoicing. Ricci demanded either a public reading or a written document of confession previous to baptism. The rite of confession caused some trouble in the work with women. Those fewer women than men were baptized the women were encouraged to go to confession and to discuss spiritual things with the Christian missionaries. The use of the rosary was common, while prayer before the pictures of Mary and of Christ was customary. In regard to the prayers which were evidently given in Latin, the converts were not only to commit them to memory but were to be able to interpret them in Chinese, the very ability to do this showing that they were required to grasp the meaning at least to some extent.

The Confraternity in Pekin, tho in itself not a rite, was organized for the purpose of encouraging the new converts and lay members in the Christian religion, and of helping them to maintain the ceremonial and ritual observances of the church.

2. Père d'Orléans, 149.
3. Sainte Foi, ii. 289.
This organization was formed by Ricci on September 8, 1609, in Pekin. ¹

Another of the religious methods of the missionaries was that which today is considered deputation work or the work of the touring missionary. Tho Ruggieri attempted this while he and Ricci were located in Chow King Fu, Ricci seems not to have engaged in such work until he had definitely become located in Pekin, and then only at certain specified times. In 1605 while he was supervising the translation of Euclid which Paul Sin² was doing for him, he took no part in the deputation work.³ Whenever work of this kind was undertaken it was at the request of some convert from a nearby town who wished that the Christian faith might be taken into his own district. One tour that Ricci made was to the city named Pao-ting Fu, a three days' journey from Pekin. He remained in the city six days, preaching, teaching, and baptizing. During his stay with the people of Pao-ting Fu he was entertained at a banquet to which nine or ten mandarins were invited.⁴ Ricci describes one journey which he took in the year 1606 as follows: ".....

On our way to the city called 'All Holy', in which we were to put our residence, we were met by many heathen who were following one Christian, ..........we were made of as old friends and

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1. Bartoli, ii. 483.
2. Both the Christian and Chinese names are given. See page 43, Note 1.
3. Sainte Foi, ii. 300.
acquaintances. They helped us from our seats and asked us to be their guests and to preach to them from the holy law, for they had already heard of this from the Christian. Though we were with them a short time they did not wish to let us go. On our arrival in the place 'All Holy' we were greeted by a great number of men, women, and children. One would have thought they were all good Christians. The most prominent women prepared for us. It was commanded that all idols be burned and a picture of Christ be put up. Everyone sought to honor this. Our coming was soon heard of in the whole place and the number of people that came to hear us was so great that we were compelled to preach in the night as well as in the day.

The last subject to be considered here is the ideas and beliefs which were held in regard to miracles. Ricci believed in miracles from what might be called a modern rather than a mediaeval point of view. That is to say, he felt that the superhuman power had been working when some unusual event occurred, but he did not himself claim to work miracles. On leaving Nanking the first time Ricci says he received a vision which told him that he would establish work in Nanking and would then go on into Peking. This was evidently Ricci's way of expressing his call to push on and continue his work in the districts of north China. The miraculous as shown in the following examples was but a term used by the fathers to indicate their belief in the answer to prayer and their ability to discern superhuman action in many natural conditions. One

1. Guerrieri, 121-123.
2. Bartoli, ii. 239-240.
Sossigni, 242-243.
example tells the story of a woman who was about to die; her husband prayed the Christian God that her health might be restored and the wife became well.\(^1\) Another story is told of a home where a son was desired and the Christians were called in to pray their God that such might be granted; the prayer was answered.\(^2\) Other examples show a slightly different point of view. A woman had her oldest child baptized and in a few days the child became so beautiful that none could be compared with her; the rest of the family became Christians.\(^3\) A Christian's daughter-in-law had a child that was helpless; the mother went to a fortune-teller in vain; the Christian prayed to his God, the child was made well, and the son and his wife became Christians.\(^4\) A young man was converted by a Chinese Christian who was teaching in a school; the young man was struck down in a faint; while in this condition he had a vision in which the Saviour appeared to him and said, "For this time I give you back your life;" the teacher had hesitated to present his pupils for baptism but on hearing of this vision he did so.\(^5\) There was a great drought and the heathen prayed to their gods for rain, but no rain came; the Christians held mass and prayed; rain came by night even tho there was no sign

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2. Sainte Foi, ii. 40.
4. Ibid, 64.
5. Sainte Foi, ii. 296-297.
of such at noon. A man tried to make trouble for the Christians, but God punished him wonderfully; he could not see what was around on the earth, but when he lifted his eyes to heaven he could see well; he then noticed that the punishment followed him because he was troubling the Christian belief; he made up his mind to become a Christian; in a short time he was helped: after awhile he turned back to his wicked doings, and again the Lord made him blind; this time he was converted absolutely and was baptized.

In ending the discussion of the religious work of Ricci and of his activities in general it seems but justice to this pioneer worker to say, that whatever methods the Jesuits in China may have used after his death, the methods of Ricci, the experimental, were not employed without due consideration of the interests of his church, and careful study of the people whom he taught; the result of which was a strong growth, during more than a century, of the work which he established in the Chinese Empire.

2. Ibid, 127.
Forms of Chinese Names.

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Tien Tsing..............................................Hue
Tien Tsin................................................Sainte Foi

Canton

Quamecu................................................Sossigni

PERSONS:

Kiu Tai-sse

Chiu taisu..............................................Bartoli
Giutaiso..................................................Sossigni
Kiu Tai-sse.............................................Hue
Chiu taiso................................................Orleans

Kou ang

Guan......................................................Bartoli
Kouang....................................................Hue
Guanciun-min.............................................Sainte Foi
Kouan-tchium-min

Fu Ma-cam

Fumocam..................................................Sainte Foi
Fumocham................................................Orleans

Ma Tang

Mathan......................................................Bartoli
Mathana....................................................Sossigni
Matan......................................................Sainte Foi
Mathan.....................................................Orleans
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This work was written by Bartoli in 1663. He evidently had access to Ricci's own writings as well as Tricart's translation of the history of the work in China written by Ricci. This writing is very valuable because of its accuracy and its detailed accounts.

C. Raymond Beazley was a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. His work is especially valuable for the history of the Nestorians and the early Roman Catholic work in the east.


Cordier, Henri. L'Arrivée des Portugais en Chine. In T'oung Pac. 2nd series, xii. 483-543. Leyden, 1911. T'oung Pac is a publication of writings concerning the history, language, geography, and ethnography of oriental Asia.

Cordier, Henri. Bibliotheca Sinica. 2nd edition. 4 vols. Paris, 1904. This is a bibliography of works which relate to the empire of China, the religious writings being listed in the second volume.


Douglas, Sir Robert K. China. In the Story of the Nations Series. New York, 1899. Sir Robert K. Douglas was the late keeper of oriental printed books and manuscripts at the British Museum, and was Professor of Chinese at King's College, London.
This is a writing in regard to the work in China, taken from Portuguese letters in Lisbon.

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This life, tho brief, gives much not found elsewhere. (All notes to Père d'Orléans, the
title of work not given, refer to this writing.)

Samuel Purchas was an Englishman who lived from 1575 to 1626. His writing is of value in a general way, although it must be read very critically, as it is somewhat carelessly and injudiciously done.

Sainte Foi (i. preface xiv) states that much of his work is taken from Bartoli, tho he had access to various writings, such as Pere d' Orleans' life of Ricci. This work is well written and seems to be very accurate.

This is a translation into the Italian of the Latin translation made by Trigaut of the history of the work in China as written in Italian by Ricci. Trigaut's translation was made in 1615. Bartoli (i.168) says Trigaut is falsely claiming authorship to this work. He claims it to be similar in all respects to Ricci's own writings and that Trigaut has used Ricci's own form and merely made the translation.


The notes and quotations are of special value.


The book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the kingdoms and marvels of the east. 3rd edition. 2 vols. London, 1903.

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Scientific:

Treatise on the science of memory
Huc, ii. 126; Venturi, L.C.C.,
July, 1910, iii. 46. 1595-1598

" " physics
Bartoli, iii. 12. 1598-1599

" " astronomy
Bartoli, iii. 12.

" " cosmography
Bartoli, iii. 12.

Practical arithmetic
Bartoli, iii. 12. 1595-1600

Practical geometry
Bartoli, iii. 12.

Universal description of the world
Bartoli, iii. 12.

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markings.
Bartoli, ii. 106-109 1598-1600

History of 27 years in China
Bartoli, iii. 12.

Translated;

Six books of Euclid (supervised)
Bartoli, iii. 11 1605-1606

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Venturi, L.C.C., July, 1910,
iii. 44 1595-1610

Work of Clavius
Bartoli, iii. 11
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Catechism Bartoli, i. 389-391 1582-1588

Revision Sainte For, ii. 346-347; Guerrieri, 14-20 1600-1610

Book of Friendship Bartoli, iii. 7 1595-1596

Story of the God of Heaven Huc, ii. 250. 1600-1610

Translated:

Ten Commandments Bartoli, i. 389 1582-1588

Four doctrines of moral philosophy Bartoli, ii. 27 1593

Moral Sentiments Sossigni, 394 1600-1610

Chants Bartoli, iii. 7 " "

Eight European hymns Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, article "Ricci." 1608-1609
The following work was received too late to be used in this thesis but because of its importance a brief synopsis of the material found in it is added.


v. i: I Commentari della Cina. This volume contains a description of China and the history of the work of the Jesuits in China as given by Ricci himself, a chronological table of the events of his life, a discussion of the early compilers who used Ricci's writings, and several illustrations which are of special interest. Among the illustrations are the autograph of Ricci, a picture of Ricci and Paul Siu (the same as given in the Catholic Encyclopaedia) which shows the dress of the literati class, the plate which the governor of Chow King Fu caused to be put above the entrance into the mission house in Chow King Fu in honor of Ricci and Ruggieri, a section of the map of China made by Ricci in 1601, and a map of the palace used for the burial of Ricci with a picture of the monument placed before the sepulchre.

v. ii: Le Lettere dalla Cina. This volume contains the letters of Ricci, with a chronological and analytical study of them, together with other letters and documents which supplement the writings of Ricci, a list of Chinese persons who are frequently mentioned by Ricci, a catalogue of the Chinese writings of Ricci and a picture of Ricci placed in the House of the Jesuits in Rome in 1617. Of special interest is a letter of Pope Sixtus V written to the emperor in 1590.