

# Michele Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shilu* (The True Record of the Lord of Heaven, 1584)



*Edited and Translated by Daniel Canaris*

*with contributions by*

WANG Huiyu, WANG Yuan, and WANG Qi

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# Abbreviations

I-54	Ruggieri, Michele [Luo Mingjian 羅明堅]. <i>Tianzhu shengjiao shilu</i> 天主聖教實錄. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [ARSI], <i>Jap.-Sin.</i> I-54.
I-189	Ruggieri, Michele [Luo Mingjian 羅明堅]. <i>Xinbian xizhuguo Tianzhu shilu</i> 新編西竺國天主實錄. ARSI, <i>Jap.-Sin.</i> I-189.
I-190	Ruggieri, Michele [Luo Mingjian 羅明堅]. <i>Xinbian xizhuguo Tianzhu shilu</i> 新編西竺國天主實錄. ARSI, <i>Jap.-Sin.</i> I-190.
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome.
<i>Jap.-Sin.</i>	<i>Japonica-Sinica</i> Collection at ARSI.
OS	Tacchi Venturi, Pietro. <i>Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci, s.l.</i> , 2 vols (Macerata: F. Giorgetti, 1911–1913).
TZSL	<i>Tianzhu shilu</i> . See I-189/I-190.
TZSY	Ricci, Matteo. <i>True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven</i> [ <i>Tianzhu shiyi</i> ], translated by Douglas Lancashire and Hu Guozhen, revised by Thierry Meynard (Chestnut Hill, MA: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2016).
VB	Ruggieri, Michele. “Vera et brevis divinarum rerum expositio.” Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, <i>Fondo Gesuitico</i> , 1276.

# Figures

- 1 Preface of the *Tianzhu shilu* and first page of the earliest extant copy. ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.* I-190, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Used with permission of the archivist of the Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu 10
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# Introduction

## 1 Rediscovering Ruggieri

The Jesuit missionary Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) was one of the most significant figures in the history of Sino-Western cultural exchange. Largely through his diplomatic maneuverings and punctilious respect for Chinese etiquette and culture, he was the first Jesuit missionary to obtain official permission to reside in China and thus should be regarded as one of the founding fathers of the Jesuit China mission. He was one of the first Europeans to gain command of the Chinese language, daring even to express himself in verse like a Confucian literatus. His pioneering studies of the Chinese language laid the groundwork for future missionaries through the dictionaries and romanizations that he devised in collaboration with his confrère Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). After his return to Europe in 1589, he completed the first European translations of the Confucian classics and the first detailed geographic description of China based on Chinese sources.

The work for which he achieved greatest fame was the *Newly Revised True Record of the Lord of Heaven from Western India* (*Xinbian xizhuguo Tianzhu shilu* 新編西竺國天主實錄, henceforth *Tianzhu shilu*). This work was not only the first Chinese-language Catholic catechism but also provided China with the first window into late Renaissance conceptions of cosmology, ethics and natural philosophy. Printed in late November 1584, it sought to introduce the Chinese reader to the fundamentals of the Catholic faith through a mixture of traditional doctrinal exposition and innovative accommodations of scholastic reasoning to the Chinese reader. The work remained the primary textual means by which the Society of Jesus diffused and explained the Catholic faith in China until 1596, when it was suppressed in favor of the new catechism, the *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義), which Ricci had begun to circulate in manuscript form and eventually published in 1603.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Pasquale M. D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane: documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579–1615)* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1942–1949), 1:379. For the early circulation of the *Tianzhu shiyi*, see Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, ed. Thierry Meynard, trans. Douglas Lancashire and Hu Guozhen (Chestnut Hill, MA: Institute of Jesuit Sources, Boston College, 2016), 8.

Despite this litany of impressive achievements, Ruggieri became increasingly marginalized from the China mission.<sup>2</sup> Most probably on the advice of Ricci, the Jesuit Visitor to the East Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) questioned Ruggieri's competency in Chinese and his suitability as a missionary. While initially Ricci waxed lyrical about the success and literary quality of *Tianzhu shilu*, he became increasingly critical of it after Ruggieri's departure and insisted that it needed to be replaced. Ruggieri was prohibited from publishing his seminal translations of the Confucian classics and the Latin edition of his Chinese catechism. Though he went to Europe on the pretext of leading a papal embassy to Japan, he was not allowed to return to China, and his papal embassy project fizzled under the weight of European politics.

The antagonism of Ricci and Valignano towards Ruggieri came to be reflected in official Jesuit histories on the Jesuit China mission and in the work of later scholars. The Jesuit historian Daniello Bartoli (1608–1685), unwilling to be so openly critical of Ruggieri, nonetheless damned him with faint praise, concluding that Ruggieri should not be praised as “glorious” for his own achievements but for having “paved the way for ministers of the Gospel to China [...] without God wanting anything else from him.”<sup>3</sup>

This reduction of Ruggieri as a forerunner—or, as Pasquale d'Elia puts it, Ricci's John the Baptist<sup>4</sup>—has survived even until very recently. Many of Ruggieri's achievements were simply not mentioned or were mistakenly (or disproportionately) attributed to Ricci. Perhaps the most egregious example is Ruggieri's translation of the Confucian classics. When these Latin manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Rome were studied in the twentieth century, there was a serious debate as to whether this translation could have been made by Ruggieri given his reputedly poor knowledge of Chinese. Although the manuscripts were almost entirely in Ruggieri's hand and were autographed by Ruggieri after his return to Europe, it was argued even in the 1990s that he must have copied from a translation made by Ricci, who has been universally regarded as the superior Sinologist.<sup>5</sup>

2 The marginalization of Ruggieri from the mission is discussed in greater detail in the Life of Michele Ruggieri that follows this introduction.

3 Daniello Bartoli, *Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Giesù. La Cina. Terza parte dell'Asia* (Rome: Nella Stamperia del Varese, 1663), 223.

4 D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, 11c.

5 For the attribution of the manuscripts to Ricci, see Francesco D'Arelli, “Matteo Ricci s.i. e la traduzione latina dei *Quattro libri* (*Si shu*): dalla tradizione storiografica alle nuove ricerche,” in *Le marche e l'oriente: una tradizione ininterrotta da Matteo Ricci a Giuseppe Tucci*, ed. Francesco D'Arelli (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 1998), 163–175. For a more convincing attribution of authorship to Ruggieri, see Michele Ruggieri, *Il primo Confucio*

Some significant discoveries in European archives have radically undermined the primary premise of authorial attribution to Ricci, namely Ruggieri's allegedly poor Chinese. The poems discovered by Albert Chan in the Roman archives are undoubtedly Ruggieri's work since they reflect experiences that only he had in China and are even mentioned in passing in his autobiographical account of the China mission.<sup>6</sup> The rediscovery of Ruggieri's Spanish translation of the Confucian classics that he presented to Philip II of Spain are also unambiguously Ruggieri's because Ruggieri met Philip II in 1590, well before we have any record of Ricci commencing his own translation of the Confucian classics.<sup>7</sup> Ruggieri's competency in written Chinese is now generally regarded as being much better than what Ricci and Valignano allege. However, questions still remain about Ruggieri's proficiency in spoken Chinese, given that according to both his and Ricci's account he still relied upon interpreters until his departure from China.<sup>8</sup>

Over the past decade or so there has been a concerted attempt by scholars to rehabilitate Ruggieri's reputation.<sup>9</sup> At the end of 2012 in Macau, there was a major exhibition dedicated to Ruggieri;<sup>10</sup> and, more recently in September 2017, an international conference was held in Rome and Naples in Ruggieri's honor.<sup>11</sup> A number of Ruggieri's unpublished works have been transcribed and translated into European languages. Notably, Chinese scholars based at Bei-

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latino: *Il grande studio; La dottrina del giusto mezzo; I dialoghi*, ed. Michele Ferrero (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 2019); Thierry Meynard, *The Jesuit Reading of Confucius: The First Complete Translation of the Lunyu (1687) published in the West* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 2–6.

6 Albert Chan, "Michele Ruggieri, S.J. (1543–1607) and His Chinese Poems," *Monumenta Serica* 41 (1993): 129–179.

7 For a modern edition and Italian translation, see Thierry Meynard and Roberto Villasante, eds., *La filosofía moral de Confucio, por Michele Ruggieri, SJ: La primera traducción de las obras de Confucio al español en 1590* (Madrid: Mensajero–Sal Terrae–Comillas, 2018). For an Italian translation, see Michele Ruggieri, *Confucio: La Morale della Cina*, ed. Eugenio Lo Sardo, trans. Isabel Turull (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2016).

8 Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552–1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 101.

9 See for example Francesco Antonio Gisondi, *Michele Ruggieri: Missionario in Cina e primo sinologo europeo* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1999); Yu Liu, "The True Pioneer of the Jesuit China Mission: Michele Ruggieri," *History of Religions* 50, no. 4 (2011): 362–383.

10 See Eugenio Lo Sardo, Antonella Parisi, and Raffaele Pittella, eds., *Hai guo tian ya: Luo Mingjian yu lai Hua Yesuishi lunwen ji* 海國天涯：羅明堅與來華耶穌會士論文集 (*Journey to the Ends of the Earth: Michele Ruggieri and Jesuits in China*), vol. 2 (Macau: Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau–Museu de Macau, 2013).

11 "Michele Ruggieri: Portrait of a Jesuit Missionary at the Dawn of the Dialogue between China and Europe," Rome and Naples, 25–27 September 2017. The acts of this conference

jing Foreign Languages University are embarking on an ambitious project to publish Ruggieri's *opera omnia* in Chinese. English scholarship lags far behind continental and Asian scholarship in this respect. To this day very few of Ruggieri's writings have been translated into English.

Scholars still nurse deep reservations about the *Tianzhu shilu*. While frequently discussed and acknowledged in scholarship as the first work published in Chinese by a European, it is still unfavorably compared to Ricci's later and more sophisticated *Tianzhu shiyi*. Scholars endlessly criticize Ruggieri's awkward mix of colloquial and classicizing styles, the perceived incoherency of Ruggieri's presentation of Catholic teaching, and even the inferiority of Ruggieri's supposed Buddhist sympathies to Ricci's accommodation of Confucianism.<sup>12</sup>

Some of these stylistic criticisms are not unfounded, though they are manifestly unfair. Ricci's catechism was published some twenty years after his arrival in Macau whereas Ruggieri's was published after only four years of language study. But the aspersions that have been cast on Ruggieri's catechism as an intellectual artefact are often based on fundamental misunderstanding of Ruggieri's missionary strategy. Perhaps the biggest barrier to dispelling these misconceptions is the fact that the *Tianzhu shilu* has never been translated into a modern European language. Whereas European scholars could refer to multiple editions and translations of Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi*,<sup>13</sup> the *Tianzhu shilu* could only be read in its original Chinese text, or until more recently, a Japanese

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have not yet been published. For the conference program, see [http://www.istitutoconfucio.it/ckfinder/userfiles/files/eventi/Timetable\\_last.pdf](http://www.istitutoconfucio.it/ckfinder/userfiles/files/eventi/Timetable_last.pdf).

- 12 Léon Wieger, "Notes sur la première catéchèse écrite en chinois 1582–1584," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 1 (1932): 72–84; Pasquale M. D'Elia, "Quadro storico-sinologico del primo libro di dottrina cristiana in cinese," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 3 (1934): 193–222; Joseph Shih, *Le Père Ruggieri et le problème de l'évangélisation en Chine* (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, 1964); Jacques Gernet, "Sur les différentes versions du premier catéchisme en Chinois de 1584," in *Studia Sino-Mongolica*, ed. Wolfgang Bauer (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1979), 407–416; Paul Rule, *K'ung-Tzu or Confucius?: The Jesuit Interpretation of Confucius* (Sydney and Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 3–10; Gianni Criveller, *Preaching Christ in Late Ming China* (Taipei: Ricci Institute, 1997), 91, 101–102; Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "The Jesuit Encounter with Buddhism in Ming China," in *Christianity and Cultures: Japan & China in Comparison, 1543–1644*, ed. M. Antoni J. Üçerler (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2009), 19–43; Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 93–96; Liu, "The True Pioneer of the Jesuit China Mission: Michele Ruggieri"; Chloë Starr, *Chinese Theology: Text and Context* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 18–21.
- 13 Some examples of European language editions and translations of the *Tianzhu shiyi* include: Matteo Ricci et al., *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985); Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*; Matteo Ricci, *Il vero significato del Signore del Cielo*, trans. Alessandra Chiricosta (Rome: Urbaniana University

translation.<sup>14</sup> The sources of *Tianzhu shilu*, its relationship to its draft Latin manuscript and its composition have only been studied in a piecemeal fashion. The revised edition of the *Tianzhu shilu* that was posthumously published sometime after 1637 with the title *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu* 天主聖教實錄 (*True Record of the Holy Religion of the Lord of Heaven*) has long been easier to access than the 1584 edition. Consequently, numerous scholars have mistakenly referred to this edition as if it were Ruggieri's original text, unaware of the significant textual differences between the two editions.<sup>15</sup> This critical edition and translation of the *Tianzhu shilu* restores a focus on Ruggieri's original text while revealing his complex negotiation with the Chinese language and Chinese intellectual traditions.

## 2 The Composition of the *Tianzhu shilu*

Soon after arriving in Macau on 20 July 1579, Ruggieri began working on a catechetical text that would become the *Tianzhu shilu*. In a letter dated 25 January 1584 he reveals that he spent over four years drafting the text.<sup>16</sup> Although in

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Press, 2006); Matteo Ricci, *Le sens réel de "Seigneur du Ciel,"* trans. Thierry Meynard (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2013).

- 14 Nicolas Standaert and Ad Dudink, eds., *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anquan Ming Qing Tianzhu-jiao wenxian* 耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻, 12 vols. (Taipei: Ricci Institute, 2002); Huang Xingtao 黃興濤 and Wang Guorong 王國榮, eds., 明清之際西學文本, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013); Michele Ruggieri, "『新編天主實錄』 訳注 (1)," ed. Michiko Ishii and Seiji Nagatomi, 人文社会科学研究 57 (2017): 129–176; Michele Ruggieri, "『新編天主實錄』 訳注 (2)," ed. Michiko Ishii and Seiji Nagatomi, 人文社会科学研究 58 (2018): 43–75.
- 15 In addition to mistaking the title of Ruggieri's catechism, Cawley claims that Ruggieri did not overtly criticize Buddhism in his work, maintaining a "neutral" attitude to Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. Kevin N. Cawley, "De-Constructing the Name(s) of God: Matteo Ricci's Translational Apostolate," *Translation Studies* 6, no. 3 (2013): 293–308. Cho-yun Hsu also mistakes the title, and discusses the terms such as *tianshen* 天神 which appear in the revised edition, unaware that Ruggieri's original vocabulary was in fact different. Cho-yun Hsu, *China: A New Cultural History*, trans. Timothy D. Baker and Michael S. Duke (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 357. Under the same misapprehension, Joachim Kurtz mistakenly attributes the vocabulary of substance and accident, which appears in the seventh chapter of the revised edition, to Ruggieri. Joachim Kurtz, *The Discovery of Chinese Logic*, *Modern Chinese Philosophy* 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 32. Sophie Ling-chia Wei similarly attributes to Ruggieri the use of *shengren* 聖人 to translate *sanctus* despite the fact that this translation is only used in the revised edition. Sophie Ling-chia Wei, "Sheng Ren in the Figurists' Reinterpretation of the *Yijing*," *Religions* 10, no. 10 (2019): 35–44.
- 16 Pietro Tacchi Venturi, ed., *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci, S.I.* (Macerata: F. Giorgetti, 1911–1913), 2:412.

his writings he normally assumes sole responsibility for authorship of the text, many hands were involved in its composition. Pedro Gómez (1535–1600), then rector of the College of Macau, mentioned in a letter dated 25 October 1581 that he had been collaborating with Ruggieri on a “brief history from the beginning of the world to serve together as a Christian doctrine in the form of a dialogue that is to be translated into Chinese.”<sup>17</sup> The text to which Gómez is most likely referring is the Latin text “Vera et brevis divinarum rerum expositio” (“True and Brief Explanation of Divine Things”), because it matches Gómez’s description and is to be dated between 1581–1582.<sup>18</sup> The Latin text that Gómez and Ruggieri composed was largely a unique work tailored for the Chinese cultural context, though citations and phraseology suggest that they derived significant material from other sixteenth-century catechisms and spiritual works, such as the *Catechismus romanus*, the *Summa doctrinae christianae* by the Jesuit theologian Peter Canisius (1521–1597), the sermons of Louis of Granada (1504–1588), and unpublished catechisms used by the Jesuits in the Japan mission, possibly including drafts of Valignano’s *Catechismus christianae fidei* (published in 1586).

Ricci also claimed to have had a role in the composition of the *Tianzhu shilu*, though the exact nature of his contribution is unclear.<sup>19</sup> Joseph Shih has speculated that the overview of Ptolemaic cosmology in chapter 4 of the *Tianzhu shilu* was added by Ricci on the strength of the significant textual correspondences between this chapter and Ricci’s *Mappamondo*.<sup>20</sup> However, most of the cosmological content in the Chinese text is already found in the Latin text, which had been composed before Ricci’s arrival in Macau in August 1582. Ricci’s contribution to this chapter must have been minimal, though he may have been responsible for the shift from the description of ten concentric layers in the Latin text to that of nine concentric layers in the final Chinese text.

Instead, it is more likely that the direct inspiration of this cosmological content was Gómez, who incorporated similar cosmological content in his three-part compendium of the Catholic faith composed in the 1590s for the Japan

17 “El p. Ruggerio y yo, estos meses que aqui està, nos ocupamos en hazer huna breve historia del principio del mundo, que serve juntamente de doctrina christiana por modo de dialogo para tresladarla em lengua de China.” Gómez to Acquaviva (25 October 1581), cited in Tacchi Venturi, *Opere storiche*, 2:35, n. 3.

18 See *Tianzhu shilu*, chapter 4.1 for discussion of the dates of the manuscript. For a Chinese translation of this text, see Michele Ferrero and Cai Changhui 才常慧, “Luo Mingjian: *Zhongguo jianjie* he *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao jiaoyi shiyi*, 1582 nian 羅明堅:《中國簡介》和《中國天主教教義釋義》, 1582年,” *Guoji hanxue* 國際漢學 8, no. 3 (2016): 60–83.

19 Ricci, Letter to Acquaviva (30 November 1584), in Tacchi Venturi, *Opere storiche*, 2:50–51.

20 Shih, *Le Père Ruggieri et le problème de l'évangélisation en Chine*, 37.

mission. In fact, just as in the “Vera et brevis,” Gómez measured the circumference of the earth as 6,300 leagues (*leucæ*) in his *De sphaera*, an adaptation of Sacrobosco’s *De sphaera mundi* for Japanese novitiates.<sup>21</sup> In the Chinese text of the *Tianzhu shilu*, the circumference is given as 72,000 *li* 里 to reflect the different units of measurement used in China.

Ruggieri’s Chinese interpreters also played an essential role in the publication of the *Tianzhu shilu* by translating the text into Chinese.<sup>22</sup> As Ruggieri records, before 12 November of 1581 he had already presented drafts of a Chinese catechism to officials in Guangzhou.<sup>23</sup> The Spanish Jesuit Alonso Sánchez (1547–1593) who visited Ruggieri in Guangzhou in May 1582 also mentions a Chinese-language catechism which Ruggieri had given to the *zongbing* 總兵 (Regional Commander) of Guangzhou, who read and praised it.<sup>24</sup> While Ruggieri may have acquired some command of colloquial Chinese and passive understanding of some written Chinese, it is inconceivable that he could have produced such a sophisticated written document so soon after arriving in Macau. Indeed, Ruggieri reveals that at the time he could only read a little Chinese and only planned to learn how to compose in Chinese to rebut Chinese religious errors after he had perfected his reading skills.<sup>25</sup> After his return to Europe, he more candidly confesses that he needed to write the catechism because his initial efforts to explain the faith through interpreters faltered.<sup>26</sup>

The identity of the first translators of Ruggieri’s catechism is unknown, though Pasquale D’Elia proposed some possible candidates among several young Chinese catechumens in Macau, namely Balthazar, Gonzalo, Diego, Manuel Antonio, and Felipe Mendez, as well as Alonso “the Bengal”, who despite not being Chinese, could understand Mandarin well.<sup>27</sup> While the manuscript of this early catechism is not extant, Albert Chan speculated that the brief catechism of four and a half pages at the end of the Portuguese-

21 Ryuji Hiraoka and Akihiko Watanabe, “A Jesuit Cosmological Textbook in ‘Christian Century’ Japan: *De Sphaera* of Pedro Gomez (Part II),” *SCIAMVS* 16 (2015): 156. For a discussion of Gómez’s calculations, see José Miguel Pinto dos Santos, “As distâncias dos céus aos infernos na cosmologia Nanban,” *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 5 (2003): 415–479.

22 The hidden role of Chinese interpreters is mentioned in some sources. See Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica: ministerios apostolicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas*, ed. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona: Imprenta y Litografía de Henrich y Compañía, 1900–1902), 1:280; D’Elia, “Quadro storico-sinologico,” 198, n. 17.

23 Ruggieri, Letter to Mercurian (12 November 1581), in Tacchi Venturi, *Opere storiche*, 2:403–404.

24 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 1:280, note.

25 Letter of Ruggieri to Mercurian (12 November 1581), in Tacchi Venturi, *Opere storiche*, 2:401.

26 ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.* 101 I, fol. 33<sup>v</sup>; ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.* 101 I, fols. 106–106<sup>v</sup>.

27 D’Elia, “Quadro storico-sinologico,” 198.

Chinese dictionary is a remnant of this early version of the *Tianzhu shilu*.<sup>28</sup> As Ruggieri's instructors in the Chinese language and literature, these interpreters most probably were responsible for the various literary allusions to the Chinese classics and insights into Chinese customs and values which are found throughout the *Tianzhu shilu*. However, since many of these allusions are also found in the Latin text, Ruggieri clearly understood their significance and approved them as part of his catechetical method.

In 1582, discussions were held with other Jesuits stationed in Macau about the possibility of printing the *Tianzhu shilu*. Valignano, who had returned to Macau from Japan in March, read the Latin text of the *Tianzhu shilu* and before his departure to Goa at the end of the year ordered Ruggieri to print the catechism as soon as possible.<sup>29</sup> According to Ruggieri, he was also pressured to publish with haste by high-ranking officials in Zhaoqing 肇慶, who received manuscript copies of the catechism after his arrival in the city with Francesco Pasio on 27 December 1582. Yet Ruggieri, who was gradually improving his knowledge of Chinese, realized that the text was not yet ready for circulation. By his own admission, the text needed stylistic revisions.<sup>30</sup>

In the year following Ruggieri's return to Zhaoqing with Ricci on 10 September 1583, the Jesuit fathers spent significant time revising the Chinese text of the *Tianzhu shilu*. They received assistance from a Fujianese scholar, who stayed with them for four or five months to teach them Chinese letters.<sup>31</sup> Sometime between June to July 1584, this scholar, despite not yet being Christian, was invited to help the Jesuit fathers to improve the literary style of the text. In the midst of his editing, he became convinced of the truths of Christianity and was later christened Paul by Francisco Cabral (1529–1609), then superior of the mission, on the Feast of the Presentation (21 November 1584).<sup>32</sup> The extensive revisions made during this time are acknowledged in the full title of the work.

Another individual who has been identified as making a contribution to the final form of the *Tianzhu shilu* is Cin (Chen 陳) Nicò, who would be baptized as John at the same time as Paul.<sup>33</sup> Ruggieri had catechized Chen when he and Pasio lived near Tianning Si 天寧寺, a temple in Zhaoqing. According to Ricci's

28 Albert Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents from the Jesuit Archives in Rome: A Descriptive Catalogue, Japonica-Sinica I–IV* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 90–99.

29 Ruggieri, Letter to Acquaviva (25 January 1584), Tacchi Venturi, *Opere storiche*, 2:421.

30 Ruggieri, Letter to Acquaviva, (25 January 1584), Tacchi Venturi, 2:421.

31 Tacchi Venturi, 2:429.

32 Cabral, Letter to Valignano (5 December 1584), Tacchi Venturi, 2:429–430.

33 Albert Chan speculates that the appearance of the character 陳 on fol. 26 of *Jap.-Sin.* 1–189 is a possible reference to Cin Nicò's editing. Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents from the Jesuit Archives in Rome: A Descriptive Catalogue, Japonica-Sinica I–IV*, 90–99.



recount, when Ruggieri and Ricci came to retrieve an altar that Ruggieri had left with Chen, they chanced upon the characters “Tianzhu 天主” (Lord of Heaven) above the altar.<sup>34</sup> If the traditional interpretation that the Jesuits only adopted this term for God after their meeting with Chen is correct,<sup>35</sup> “Tianzhu” could only have been added to the catechism sometime after late 1583. Such a reading would agree with the fact that no Latin expression equivalent to “Tianzhu” can be found in the 1581–1582 Latin text of “Vera et brevis divinarum rerum expositio”. However, Ricci never explicitly says that Chen inspired this lexical choice, and a plain reading of Ricci’s narrative implies that the Jesuits used a Chinese equivalent to the “Lord of Heaven” prior to their meeting with Chen. Moreover, “Tianzhu” was used in Japan as early as 1581 and texts with the designation had traveled to Europe with Valignano’s Japanese embassy, which departed from Macau in 1582. For this reason, this lexical choice was most likely made in 1582 while Ruggieri was in Macau with Valignano.<sup>36</sup>

The translation process would have posed immense linguistic hurdles for Ruggieri’s Chinese interpreters. Ruggieri most likely orally summarized the content of the “Vera et brevis divinarum rerum expositio” in a mixture of Portuguese and rudimentary Chinese which his interpreters then rendered into literary Chinese. Without any previous Chinese Catholic works to refer to, the interpreters had to devise a new Catholic vocabulary drawing on Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist analogues and neologisms, as well as phonetic transliteration. Some of these conceptual and phonetic transliterations were successful and have been retained in the modern Chinese Catholic vocabulary. For instance, hell is rendered with the Buddhist term *diyu* 地獄 and the soul is rendered with the neologism *hunling* 魂靈, which survives in modern Chinese with the characters reversed following Ricci’s formulation (*linghun* 靈魂). Some conceptual translations were theologically problematic, such as the Taoist *zhenren* 真人 for “saint” and *tianren* 天人 (literally “heavenly person”) for “angel”. While phonetic transliterations such as *Meise* 梅色 for Moses were arguably acceptable, the transliteration of Jesus as *Resuo* 熱所 is most unfortunate, because it literally translates to “Hot Place”, which makes one think more of eternal damnation than salvation.

Another linguistic hurdle is that Latin subordination simply cannot be rendered into literary Chinese, which is largely paratactic in structure and elliptical in expression. Complex decisions had to be made about what information to exclude and to retain in the Chinese version. Much nuanced argumentation

34 D’Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, 1186; 1193.

35 Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 82.

36 This is discussed in greater detail in the biography of Ruggieri that follows.

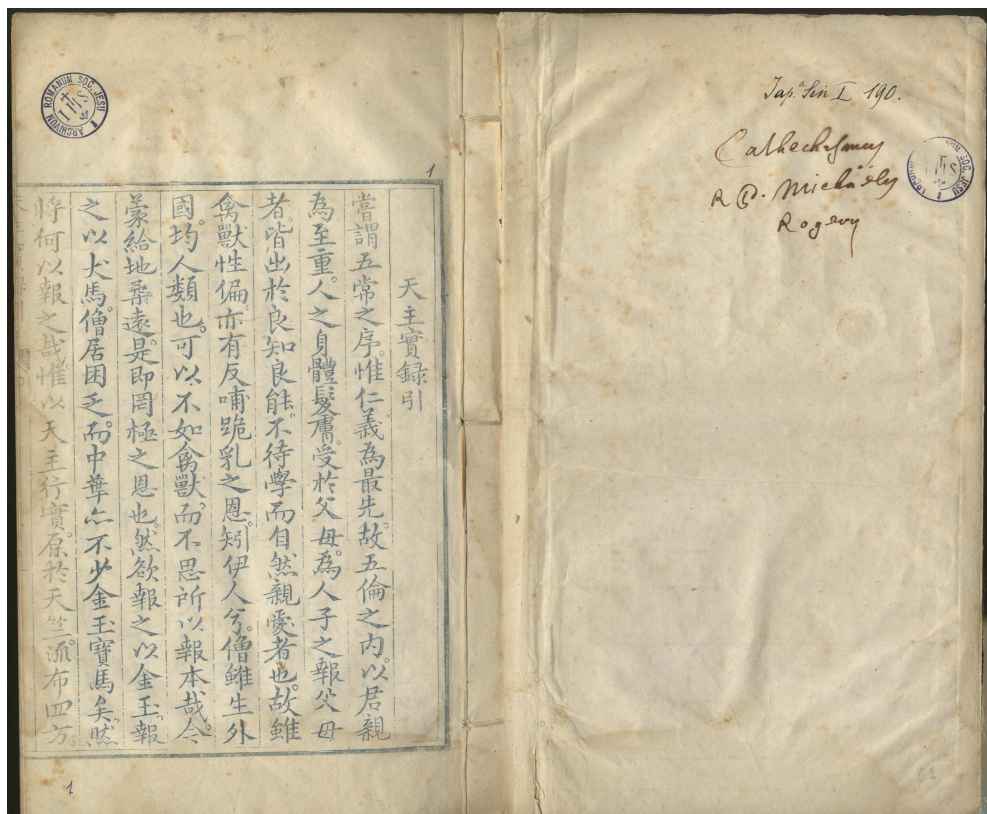


FIGURE 1 Preface of the *Tianzhu shilu* and first page of the earliest extant copy. ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.* I-190, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>

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in the Latin text is excised from the Chinese text. The most significant structural change between the two versions is the substitution of thirteen, sometimes lengthy, chapters with sixteen much briefer chapters. According to the transcription in this edition, the Latin text contains 16,230 words whereas the Chinese text contains 13,117 characters—a substantial reduction considering that Chinese words often consist of multiple characters. Some material is also presented in a different order. For instance, the content of final chapter of the Latin text (chapter 13), which concerns the Last Things, is moved to chapter 7 of the Chinese text. Only the conclusion of the chapter is retained in the final chapter of the Chinese text (chapter 16).

The preface of the *Tianzhu shilu* bears a Chinese date corresponding to 21 September 1584 (萬曆甲申歲秋八月望後三日); however, Cabral reports that

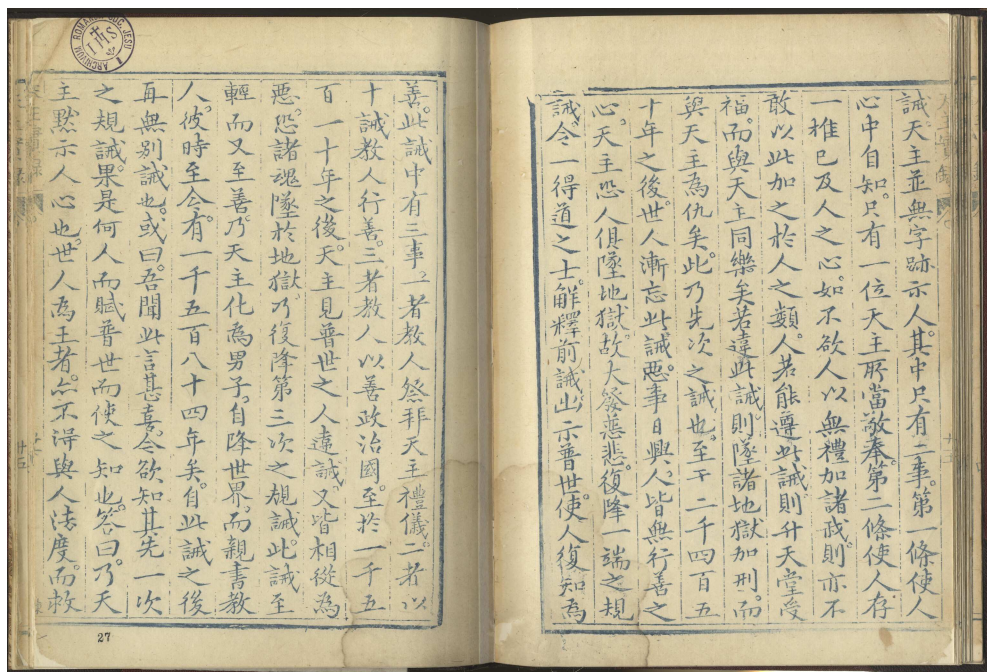


FIGURE 2 Extract from Chapter 8 of the *Tianzhu shilu*. ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 1-189, fol. 26<sup>v</sup>

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the text was only printed the day before his departure from Zhaoqing around the end of November.<sup>37</sup> Despite the delay, it was still a rushed publication. The Jesuit fathers in Zhaoqing wanted to have the work printed in the presence of their Superior, who would then transport the book back to Macau from where it would be forwarded to Rome. The book was printed without a title page and sent to the Superior General as an attachment to Ricci's letter dated 30 November from Guangzhou, where Ricci had presumably accompanied Cabral on his return to Macau.<sup>38</sup> Another (and presumably complete) copy of the book was sent to the Superior General as an attachment to a letter that Ricci sent on 20 October 1585, together with a Chinese translation of the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria* and the Decalogue.<sup>39</sup>

A copy of the *Tianzhu shilu* without the page title was also presented to Wang Pan 王泮, who as *zhifu* 知府 (prefect) of Zhaoqing facilitated Ruggieri

37 Cabral, Letter to Valignano (5 December 1584), in Tacchi Venturi, *Opere storiche*, 2:430.

38 Ricci, Letter to Acquaviva (30 November 1584), in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere* (1580–1609), ed. Francesco D'Arelli (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2001), 92.

39 Ricci, Letter to Acquaviva (20 October 1585), in Ricci, 98.

and Ricci's passage to the city. Since it was customary in China to invite distinguished personages to write prefaces to new books, the Jesuits believed that Wang Pan, as their most prominent supporter in Zhaoqing at the time, would adorn the *Tianzhu shilu* with some verse. While Wang Pan received the book with great enthusiasm, he politely declined, claiming that the book did not need anything added to it.<sup>40</sup> Wang Pan was likely wary of publicly supporting the book given its foreign authorship and its significant criticisms of Buddhism.

Two woodblock prints of the first edition of the *Tianzhu shilu* are currently held in the Jesuit archives in Rome (ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.* I-189 and ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.* I-190). There are minor differences between the specimens. The two most conspicuous differences are that the I-189 volume is adorned with a title page whereas the I-190 volume lacks it and that the authorship of the I-189 is attributed to an anonymous "monk" (*seng*) while in the I-190 volume Ruggieri's Chinese name is indicated (Mingjian 明堅). Albert Chan has argued that the I-190 volume is a superior edition to I-189 with better paper and binding and even reads better.<sup>41</sup> Hence he infers that I-190 is a newer revised edition of the *Tianzhu shilu*. However, Xie Hui 謝輝 disagrees, arguing not only that the format and makeup of the two volumes are exactly the same but also that both volumes feature the same smooth fonts. Moreover, mistakes which could have been corrected if I-190 were a second edition are left uncorrected. For instance, in chapter 7 of both exemplars "刑十" occupies the space of one character. The second character was most likely omitted during the engraving process and the mistake was discovered during a trial print run and corrected by the insertion of a small character.

While both I-189 and I-190 are to be regarded as belonging to the same edition, Xie convincingly argues that I-189 was in fact printed after I-190 by demonstrating that the few textual discrepancies in I-189 are in fact corrections and stylistic improvements. He groups these textual discrepancies into three categories: i) correction of erroneous characters; ii) corrections of the inconsistencies in the numbering of chapters and between the table of contents and the chapter titles; iii) correction of inappropriate translations, i.e. the Garden of Eden is translated as *ji le zhi guo* 極樂之國 (Kingdom of Supreme Bliss) in I-190 but more accurately as *ji le zhi yuan* 極樂之園 (Garden of Supreme Bliss) in I-189.<sup>42</sup>

40 Ricci, Letter to Acquaviva (20 October 1585), in Ricci, 98.

41 Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents from the Jesuit Archives in Rome: A Descriptive Catalogue, Japonica-Sinica I-IV*, 96–97.

42 Xie Hui 謝輝, "Luo Mingjian *Tianzhu shilu* kanyin liuchuan kao 羅明堅《天主實錄》刊印流傳考," *Hanji yu hanxue* 漢籍與漢學, no. 1 (2017): 102–110.

One piece of corroborating evidence that seems to have escaped Xie's attention is the fact that the title page was not included in the first printing. Hence it is thus entirely possible that the missing title page in I-190 was not lost, but simply never printed and that I-190 might have been the exemplar that Cabral took when departing Zhaoqing in late November 1584. The content of I-189 also matches the description of the bundle that Ricci sent to the Superior General the following year since it includes a Chinese translation of the Decalogue, *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*.

### 3 *Tianzhu shilu* and the Catechism Genre

In the wake of the doctrinal uncertainty caused by the Protestant Reformation, the sixteenth century saw a resurgence in the catechism genre. However, since most of Europe was in essential agreement about the core metaphysical claims of Christianity, such as the existence of God and the immortal soul, there was little need to provide rational proof for such dogmas in catechetical texts. In the main, catechisms would substantiate doctrinal claims with reference to Scripture, which was not questioned, and Church tradition. The most celebrated example of this approach was the *Roman Catechism* (1567), which provided copious arguments to respond to key points of contention with the new Protestant communities, such as the sacraments. Besides weighty theological tomes, there were countless catechisms for children, which often consisted of short question and answer dialogue designed for easy memorization.<sup>43</sup>

When missionaries first began to engage with non-Christian cultures in Asia and the New World, they largely looked to these children's catechisms as models. They did not see the catechism as a means for convincing their interlocutors but as a repertoire of facts that needed to be impressed on the catechumens' minds. The derivative nature of these early missionary catechisms is evinced by the fragments of catechisms that Francis Xavier (1506–1552) designed for

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43 Following Matteo Ricci, most scholars of catechisms in the Jesuit China mission draw a generic distinction between *doctrina* and *catechismus*. According to this view, *catechismus* is an apologetic text that introduces Christian theology through reason alone, whereas *doctrina* is a primer of theological doctrines and prayers that corresponds more closely to the modern meaning of catechism. Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 609. However, in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century European context, the terms *doctrina* and *catechismus* were loosely interchangeable appearing in the titles of countless texts without any clear difference of meaning. Indeed, Ruggieri described his *Tianzhu shilu*, which incorporates both natural theology and revealed dogma, as a catechism.

use in India and the catechisms employed in the New World such as the *Doctrina christiana y catecismo para instrucción de los Indios* (*Christian Doctrine and Catechism for the Instruction of the Indians*, 1584). The colonial context of these catechisms afforded the missionaries with significant governmental support for imposing Christianity on the native population. When evangelization is backed by arms, rational proof is superfluous.

In East Asia, however, the missionaries operated on the periphery of the Portuguese *padroado* and relied upon the wavering support of indigenous authorities. Moreover, from their first arrival, they were struck by the sophistication of the cultural and intellectual traditions. Francis Xavier noted that the Japanese were highly argumentative and would only convert to Christianity if convinced of its truths. Xavier would employ dialectic to demonstrate the existence of God, explain the natural law and rebut Buddhist errors. This apologetic approach to catechesis became codified in catechetical texts of the Japan mission, such as the catechism of Luís Fróis (1532–1597).<sup>44</sup> While these early catechetical texts were used on the mission field, they were never printed, since the first European printing press was brought to Japan only in 1590.<sup>45</sup> The first Japanese catechism to be published in this apologetic tradition was Valignano's *Catechismus Christianae fidei* (*Catechism of the Christian Faith*), which was printed at Lisbon in 1586. This work, which constituted a Latin translation of lectures delivered in Portuguese by Valignano in January 1581 to Jesuits stationed in Japan and Japanese novitiates, featured the most sophisticated description and rebuttal of Japanese religion to date. It had a decisive influence over catechetical methods in both Japan and China.<sup>46</sup> Its division of Japanese Buddhism into exoteric and esoteric traditions would shape European perceptions of Japanese and Chinese religion up until the eighteenth century.<sup>47</sup>

44 Luís Fróis, "Fragmentos dum catecismo para os catecúmenos japoneses da segunda metade do século XVI," in *Historia de Japam*, ed. Josef Wicki, 5 vols. (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1983), 4:541–564; Minako Debergh, "La première évangélisation du Japon au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: catéchismes sommaires, prédications, catéchèse graduée," in *Transmettre la foi: XVII<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles: 2. Pastorale de la mer et missions extérieures* (Paris: C.T.H.S., 1984), 1175–209.

45 Yoshimi Orii, "The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan: Trends in Bibliographical Research and in Intellectual History," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2, no. 2 (2015): 189–207.

46 Thierry Meynard, "The Overlooked Connection between Ricci's 'Tianzhu Shiyi' and Valignano's 'Catechismus Japonensis,'" *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 40, no. 2 (2013): 303–322.

47 Urs App, *The Cult of Emptiness: The Western Discovery of Buddhist Thought and the Invention of Oriental Philosophy* (Kyoto: UniversityMedia, 2012).

However, the first printed text to incorporate these catechetical innovations in the Japan mission was in fact Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shilu*. While the *Tianzhu shilu* is much less detailed than Valignano's catechism, it contains similar features: proofs for the existence of God and the immortal soul, a refutation of Buddhism, and a basic summary of Christian doctrine. However, unlike Valignano's catechism, which was intended not for general distribution in Japan but for use as a missionary manual by the Jesuits and their Japanese catechists, Ruggieri's catechism freely circulated in China and was read by the general population, which was not necessarily sympathetic to Christian teaching. Hence the polemical tone of Valignano's catechism yields to Ruggieri's much gentler approach to Chinese philosophy and religion. Ruggieri freely cites Confucian texts and praises Chinese statecraft and mores, while extensively using Buddhist vocabulary to represent his origins (*Tianzhu* 天竺 or India for Europe), status (*seng* 僧 or bonze for priest) and religious doctrines (i.e. *huasheng* 化生 or metamorphosis for creation).

These textual features have led scholars to charge Ruggieri of seeking an accommodation between Christianity and Buddhism just as Ricci sought an accommodation between Christianity and Confucianism.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, Ruggieri's Chinese interlocutors were probably confused about Ruggieri's religious identity at first, especially because the Jesuit fathers wore Buddhist garments in Zhaoqing. However, such an interpretation of Ruggieri's missionary strategy is inaccurate. Whereas Ricci's accommodation of Confucianism appeals to a perceived unity of purpose binding the ancient beliefs of Confucianism and Christianity, Ruggieri consistently rejects the metaphysical foundations of Buddhism. He unambiguously differentiates Christianity from Buddhism in the preface of the *Tianzhu shilu* by claiming (somewhat disingenuously) that followers of *Tianzhu* are not required to fast (持齋), sit still in meditation (坐守禪定), renounce their career (屏棄舊業) or travel long distances with their master (從師遠遊). In the third chapter, he explicitly condemns Buddhist doctrines such as metempsychosis, the prohibition on killing animals, rebirth, the ability of animals to reach nirvana, and the possibility to achieving salvation through the recitation of the Mahayana Sutra. Shockingly, he concludes that the oracular pronouncements of Sakyamuni Buddha are the workings of evil spirits (邪魔惡鬼) inhabiting statues of the Buddha to deceive people. It is difficult to imagine any devout Buddhist reading the *Tianzhu shilu* with comfort. This may have been a reason why Wang Pan refused to honor the work with a preface.

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48 Hsia, "The Jesuit Encounter with Buddhism in Ming China."

Instead, the strongest accommodation that Ruggieri seeks is with the Confucian tradition, which in the *Tianzhu shilu* is valued in ethico-political terms. In the preface, his missionary enterprise is couched in a cosmopolitan humanism that stresses the ethical norms binding China and the West. Evoking Mencian and Confucian virtues, Ruggieri attempts to argue that he was conducting his mission in China not merely to save souls but to repay his Chinese hosts for having so graciously welcomed this travel-weary foreigner. Similarly, in the first chapter, he demonstrates the existence of God by analogizing the Divine Order to the Chinese political system, upon which he repeatedly lavishes praise.<sup>49</sup> He returns to this analogy later in the text to configure Christianity as the ideal embodiment of Confucian social relationships, suggesting that governance (*zhiguo* 治國) and social harmony (*hemu* 和睦) derive from belief in God. In Ruggieri's portrait, Christianity enjoins not merely the cult of *Tianzhu* (*jibai Tianzhu liyi* 祭拜天主禮儀) and commandments for virtuous living (*xingshan* 行善) but also precepts for virtuous governance (*shan zheng zhiguo* 善政治國). Ruggieri's knowledge of Confucianism was undoubtedly superficial when he finished the *Tianzhu shilu*, but never before had a missionary catechism so consciously attempted to incorporate the philosophical and political doctrines of its target culture.

These appeals to Confucian virtues are strategically placed in the opening and closing chapters of the *Tianzhu shilu*, suggesting that Ruggieri wanted his Chinese reader to perceive on a rational level continuity between Christian teaching and certain ethico-political doctrines indigenous to China. But the Confucian orientation of the catechism is only incipient, and the bulk of the catechism consists of more traditional expositions of Catholic doctrine.

Moreover, whereas Valignano's catechism rigorously delineates a strict boundary between natural theology and revelation, the *Tianzhu shilu* attempts to convey Catholic doctrine holistically. For instance, in Valignano's catechism, the proofs for the immortality of the soul are delivered in the third lecture (*concio*), prior to the introduction of any doctrinal content that can be known only on the authority of Scripture and Church tradition. In the *Tianzhu shilu*, however, the proofs for the immortality of the soul are presented in the sixth

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49 This topic is more extensively discussed in Daniel Canaris, "Relaying the Epistemic Foundations of a Transcultural Natural Theology: Proving the Existence of God in Valignano's *Catechismus christianae fidei* and Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shilu*," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 44, no. 1 (2021): 19–48. See also Wang Huiyu 王慧宇, "Zuowei chuanjiaoshi he 'Hanxuejia' de Luo Mingjian ji qi sixiang zhuzuo yanjiu 作為傳教士和‘漢學家’的羅明堅及其思想著作研究" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Guangzhou, Sun Yat-sen University, 2016).



chapter, after the chapter detailing the Fall of the angels and Adam. While this shift between natural theology and revelation creates a certain awkwardness in the rational structure of the work, it is in fact a much more traditional thematic order, mirroring the order of topics in Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*.

#### 4 The Reception of the *Tianzhu shilu*

According to all accounts at the time, the *Tianzhu shilu* was incredibly successful. Both Ruggieri and Ricci remark in their letters that it was well received by government officials and local literati.<sup>50</sup> Alonso Sánchez, who traveled from the Philippines to China between May to November 1584, claimed that the catechism was distributed throughout the kingdom and enjoyed the esteem of the literati.<sup>51</sup> In his "Relatione," most likely written after his return to Europe, Ruggieri is even more grandiloquent, claiming that over three thousand copies of the book were disseminated across China. Here Ruggieri brags that it caused such a stir that many Chinese literati would prostrate themselves at Ruggieri's feet with the catechism in hand, seeking baptism.<sup>52</sup> Ricci makes similar remarks in a letter of 20 October 1585 to Acquaviva, adding that ambassadors from Cochinchina (South Vietnam) visited them and requested many copies to take to Beijing and their home country.<sup>53</sup> The Portuguese Jesuit Duarte de Sande (1547–1599), Superior of the China Mission from 1585 to 1597, relates that the *Tianzhu shilu* was distributed in Japan and Korea, and was reprinted many times.<sup>54</sup>

A copy of the *Tianzhu shilu* must also have traveled to the Philippines because it influenced the composition of another pioneering Chinese catechism, the *Bian zhengjiao zhenchuan shilu* 辨正教真傳實錄 (*Apología de la verdadera religión*, 1593), by the Spanish Dominican Juan Cobo (1546/1547–

<sup>50</sup> Tacchi Venturi, *Opere storiche*, 2:50–51; 2:421.

<sup>51</sup> "Danle sus hijos los principales al P. Rogerio (P. Miguel Ruggieri), para que los instruya y enseñe. Los mil y quinientos cuerpos que se imprimieron del catecismo se han repartido por todo el reino: andan en las manos de la gente más principal; y se lee con gusto y se estima en mucho." Francisco Zambrano, *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México* (S.A. México: Editorial Jus, 1962), 2:119. For the dates of Sánchez's stay in Macau, see Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773*, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la mission catholique Orphelinat de T'ou-Se-We, 1932), 1:17, n. 1.

<sup>52</sup> ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.* 1011, fols. 34<sup>r</sup>–34<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Tacchi Venturi, *Opere storiche*, 1:56–57.

<sup>54</sup> D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, 1:379, n. 4.

1592).<sup>55</sup> Published in an uncompleted state after the author's untimely death, the *Apologia* was among the first works ever printed in the Philippines. Although Cobo's most likely primarily relied upon the *Introducción del simbolo de la fe* by the Dominican Louis of Granada (1505–1588), there are strong suggestions that he had read and absorbed elements of the *Tianzhu shilu*. Indeed, Cobo references the Chinese ability of a certain “Frankish priest” who could not have been anyone but Ruggieri.<sup>56</sup> Both works are conceived as a dialogue between a monk (rendered by Cobo as *sengshi* 僧師) and a scholar (rendered by Cobo as *xueshi* 學士), use the term *Tianzhu* to designate the Christian God, incorporate a natural theology to prove the existence of God and introduce China to some basic Western cosmological concepts. However, Cobo's catechism is much more detailed in its presentation of Western science and more freely employs neo-Confucian terms such as *taiji* 太極 and *wuji* 無極 to demonstrate the commonalities between Western and Chinese metaphysics. It is not clear how the *Tianzhu shilu* arrived in the Philippines, but it is possible that Sánchez had brought back a copy after returning there from Macau.

Once he arrived in Europe, Ruggieri made plans to publish the Latin version of the *Tianzhu shilu*. He forged a collaboration with the Jesuit encyclopedist Antonio Possevino (1533–1611) who published some of Ruggieri's writings and partial translation of the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學) in a chapter of the *Select Library* (*Bibliotheca selecta*, 1593). In this work, Possevino published the thirteen chapter titles of the “Vera et brevis divinarum rerum expositio” with the promise that the catechism would soon be published in its entirety.<sup>57</sup>

Unfortunately, the initial euphoria over the *Tianzhu shilu* soon dissipated. Writing to Acquaviva in December 1593 Ricci opined that the first catechism “was not as successful as it should have been” and announced that he was working on a new catechism.<sup>58</sup> In his memoirs, he criticizes the use of Buddhist

55 Song Gang, *Giulio Aleni, Kouduo Richao, and Christian-Confucian Dialogism in Late Ming Fujian* (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2019), 50–54. For discussion of this work, see Jose Antonio Cervera Jimenez, “The *Shilu* by Juan Cobo, O.P. (1593): A Paradigm of Scientific and Philosophical Exchange between East and West,” in *The Scientific Dialogue Linking America, Asia, and Europe between the 12th and the 20th Century*, ed. Fabio D'Angelo (Naples: Associazione culturale Viaggiatori, 2018), 2–28; Albert Chan, “A Note on the Shih-Lu of Juan Cobo,” *Philippine Studies* 37, no. 4 (1989): 479–487.

56 Lucille Chia, “Chinese Books and Printing in the Early Spanish Philippines,” in *Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities, and Networks in Southeast Asia*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo and Wen-Chin Chang (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 262.

57 Antonio Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda* (Rome: Ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1593), 584–585.

58 Tacchi Venturi, *Opere storiche*, 2:117.

terminology in the *Tianzhu shilu* and relates that by the mid-1590s the Jesuits had decided to break its plates in order to end circulation.<sup>59</sup> Valignano then learnt of Ruggieri's plan to publish the *Tianzhu shilu*. Writing to the Superior General on 16 December 1596 he warned that Ruggieri's Chinese was not up to scratch and that his catechism was soon to be superseded by Ricci's new catechism.<sup>60</sup> The final verdict of Jesuit historiography on Ruggieri's catechism was stridently critical. Trigault's Latin version of Ricci's memoirs claimed that readers of the *Tianzhu shilu* would recoil in horror at the similarities between Christianity and the "notorious" (*infamis*) name of the "idolaters" (*sacrificuli*).<sup>61</sup>

Yet Ricci's new catechism was still heavily indebted to the *Tianzhu shilu*. Ricci retained Ruggieri's conception of a dialogue between a Western scholar and a Confucian intellectual (identified more clearly in Ruggieri's Latin text as a "philosophus"), though in Ricci's catechism the religious identity of the Western scholar is obscured as Ruggieri's bonze (*seng* 僧) is morphed into a secular scholar (*shi* 士). About thirty passages of *Tianzhu shilu* are reproduced word for word in the *Tianzhu shiyi*, amounting to around a twentieth of the entire text.<sup>62</sup> In particular, Ricci retained the sections of Ruggieri's catechism that are more philosophical in nature, such as his proofs for the existence of God and the Creation of the world, the nature and immortality of the human soul and its contrast to mortal animal and vegetative souls.<sup>63</sup> However, he removed most of the sections dealing with Catholic doctrine, such as the Ten Commandments, the Fall of the Angels and Adam, and the Crucifixion, while adding significant material on philosophical questions such as human nature, allowing him to engage more deeply with the Confucian tradition while explaining the Catholic faith. The result was a work that much more rigorously adhered to the rationalist strictures of pre-evangelization, affording the reader with the necessary predisposition for accepting the more difficult dogmas known by revelation alone.

But the *Tianzhu shilu* continued to be read even after the decision to discontinue its circulation. Remarkably, one Sunday in the late 1620s, Alexandre de Rhodes (1591–1660) likely chanced upon a copy of the work in Vietnam. In the *History of the Kingdom of Tonking* (*Tunchinensis historiae libri duo*), de Rhodes

59 Tacchi Venturi, 1:271–272.

60 D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, 1:43, n. 2.

61 Nicolas Trigault and Matteo Ricci, *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Iesu* (Ausburg: Apud Christophorum Mangium, 1615), 314.

62 Ricci, *Le sens réel de "Seigneur du Ciel,"* xv–xvi.

63 In our notes we have indicated the passages which have been reproduced or drawn upon in the *Tianzhu shiyi*.

recounts how a Buddhist monk had come to the Catholic Church with a book in Chinese with the Holy Name of Jesus written on the first page. De Rhodes recognized this book immediately since he had used a number of Chinese religious texts in his evangelization. Seeing de Rhodes' astonishment that such a work could have arrived in the hands of a Buddhist monk, the bonze explained that his father had once accompanied one of the embassies to Beijing which take place every three years to pay homage and tribute to the Emperor. His father had apparently received the work from the Court in Beijing and kept it in his possession as a treasure.<sup>64</sup>

This work has been identified by Peter C. Phan as Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi*, and Phan proceeds to argue that Ricci's catechism had a formative influence over de Rhodes' catechetical methods.<sup>65</sup> But it is much more likely that the work in this monk's possession was in fact Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shilu*. To begin, the work is described as having the name of Jesus on its title page. Jesus' name cannot be found on the title page of any surviving copy of the *Tianzhu shiyi*, but it appears on the title page of the I-189 copy of the *Tianzhu shilu*. Moreover, we know that in 1585 ambassadors from Cochinchina (South Vietnam) passed through Zhaoqing on their way to Beijing and had specifically requested copies of the *Tianzhu shilu* from the Jesuit fathers.

While de Rhodes was certainly influenced by Ricci's missionary methods, his own catechetical writings were arguably closer in spirit with the *Tianzhu shilu* than the *Tianzhu shiyi*. In 1651, de Rhodes published a pioneering bilingual catechism in Latin and the romanized Vietnamese script that would become the national script of Vietnam.<sup>66</sup> Unlike Ricci's catechism, which focused on a pre-evangelization through natural theology, de Rhodes devotes nearly half his work to discussing the mysteries and doctrines of the Christian faith. Yet he also objected to the polemical approach of Xavier, Valignano and Ricci who insisted on the systematical refutation of pagan error before establishing and teaching the doctrines and principles of the Christian religion. He believed that such an approach could harden the hearts of his listeners.<sup>67</sup> Instead, he sought to estab-

64 Alexandre de Rhodes, *Tunchinensis historiae libri duo* (Lyon: Sumptib. Ioan. Bapt. Devenet, 1652), 60–61.

65 *Mission and Catechesis: Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2005), 116–117. A similar view is articulated in Anh Q. Tran, *Gods, Heroes, and Ancestors: An Interreligious Encounter in Eighteenth-Century Vietnam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 58.

66 Alexandre de Rhodes, *Cathechismus pro iis, qui volunt suscipere baptismum in octo dies divisus* (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1651).

67 De Rhodes describes his catechetical methods in de Rhodes, *Tunchinensis historiae libri duo*, 2:55. For discussion, see Tran, *Gods, Heroes, and Ancestors: An Interreligious Encounter in Eighteenth-Century Vietnam*, 61.

lish truths knowable by natural reason as a foundation for narrating Biblical stories, such as the universal flood and the confusion of languages to inspire fear of God. Only then is there a refutation of idolatry. He avoids lengthy philosophical discussion and does not quote extensively from Chinese or Western sources, instead illustrating his points with local proverbs and sayings. All these features also characterize the catechetical approach of the *Tianzhu shilu*. Evidently, de Rhodes recognized the catechism given to him by that bonze because he was in fact familiar with its contents and had incorporated it into his missionary practice.

## 5 The Revised Edition Published under the Vice-Provincial Francisco Furtado

Remarkably, the *Tianzhu shilu* was republished as the *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu* 天主聖教實錄 sometime after 1637 by Manuel Dias, Jr. (1574–1659), Gaspar Ferreira (1571–1649) and João Monteiro (1604–1648) when Francisco Furtado (1589–1653) was Vice-Provincial. As the revised edition was not dated, it is difficult to pinpoint with certainty when it was published. It could not have been published before 1637 because Monteiro only entered China in that year. Since Furtado was Vice-Provincial of China between 1635–1641 and Vice-Provincial of Southern China from 1646 till his death, the revised edition must also have been published within these dates.<sup>68</sup> On this basis, Fang Hao 方豪 proposed that it was published between 1637 and 1641.<sup>69</sup> Gernet speculated that the authors possibly decided to not indicate the date of republication in order to avoid political repercussions. Chinese dates required the expression of political allegiance, which would have been a thorny issue during the transition between the Ming and Qing.<sup>70</sup>

Substantial changes were made in the revision of the *Tianzhu shilu*. Besides modifying the title, the vocabulary of the text was thoroughly modernized to reflect developments in the Jesuits' Chinese vocabulary for Christian concepts. For instance, Ruggieri's neologism for the soul *hunling* becomes Ricci's *linghun*

68 Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1973), 103.

69 Li Xinde 李新德, "Cong xi seng dao xi ru: cong *Tianzhu shilu* kan zaoqi yesu hui shi zai hua shen fen de kun jing 從西僧到西儒：從《天主實錄》看早期耶穌會士在華身分的困境," *Journal of Shanghai Normal University (Philosophy & Social Sciences Edition)* 34, no. 1 (2005): 88.

70 Gernet, "Sur les différentes versions du premier catéchisme en Chinois de 1584," 411.

while Ruggieri's awkward rendering of angel as *tianren* 天人 yields to Ricci's *tianshen* 天神 and Holy Water is changed from *jingshui* 淨水 to *shengshui* 聖水. Many Buddhist and Taoist terms in the text are removed and replaced with a vocabulary more in keeping with the Confucian emphasis of Jesuit missionary practice: Ruggieri no longer refers to himself as a [Buddhist] monk (*seng* 僧); he comes not from Tianzhu 天竺, but from a Western Country (西國); and Ruggieri's Taoist translation of *sanctus* as *dedao zhi zhenren* 得道之真人 is simplified to the more Confucian *shengren* 聖人 (sage).<sup>71</sup>

Although both editions have sixteen chapters, there are significant differences in their contents. The most conspicuous change is the insertion of a completely new chapter on the Trinity as the seventh chapter. As Ruggieri makes clear in his Latin text, he believed that the topic of the Trinity was simply too complicated for this first introduction of Christianity into China. Indeed, Jesuit writings until Ricci's death generally avoided the discussion of the Trinity out of fear that it would confuse the Chinese. Hence the 1584 version of the *Tianzhu shilu* only vaguely hinted at the Trinity in the ninth chapter when discussing the incarnation of the Lord of Heaven through the bestowal of His *qi* 氣 (spirit or air) on the Virgin Mary. However, the relationship between Tianzhu, the *qi* of Tianzhu and Jesus is not clear. In 1615 Alfonso Vagnone (1566–1640) published the *Jiaoyao jielüe* 教要解略, with a section on the three persons and one substance of the Trinity (*Tianzhu yiti sanwei lun* 天主一體三位論). This was the source for the revised version of chapter 7 of the *Tianzhu shilu* (天主聖性章之七), which uses Vagnone's *Shengshen* 聖神 for the Holy Spirit, replacing *Lingsheng* 靈聖 that was used in the earlier *Shengjing yuelu* 聖經約錄, a primer of Catholic prayers and dogma attributed to Matteo Ricci.

The addition of this also required refinements in other parts of the text. In the 1584 version, chapter 1 is titled "There is Truly One Lord of Heaven" (真有一位天主章之一), which contains the measure word *wei* 位 in reference to God. As Catholic language developed in China, *wei* 位 came to form the measure word for the divine persons (Father, Son and Holy Spirit). Hence, for a Chinese Catholic reader in the 1640s, the original title of this chapter would imply that God only had one person, which was obviously theologically incorrect. Consequently, in the revised version the measure word is removed from the title.

Another significant change in the revised edition is a revised account of the afterlife. In the seventh chapter of the 1584 edition, only four places of the afterlife are mentioned (heaven, hell, limbo and purgatory). In the revised edition, the discussion of the afterlife is moved to chapter eight, and is rewritten

71 Li Xinde 李新德, "Cong xi seng dao xi ru."

to update the vocabulary (i.e. *tiantang* 天堂 for heaven instead of the phonetic transliteration *balayisuo* 巴喇以所) and, more strikingly, to include the Bosom of Abraham, which was the abode of the saints (*shengren* 聖人) of antiquity. The revisors evidently added this place to reassure the Chinese that their ancient sages were not condemned to eternal suffering.

Although Dias and Ferreira are named as first and second revisors respectively, Monteiro was likely the leading protagonist in the republication of the work. Dias had been in China since 1610 and Ferreira since 1604, but there is not any record of either Jesuit having pushed for the republication of Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shilu* in their long career in China. Monteiro also wrote a work on the Trinity entitled *Tianzhu yiti sanwei lun* 天主一體三位論 (1643), which already borrowed heavily from the *Jiaoyao jielüe* 教要解略. Much of the same material reappears as the new seventh chapter of the revised edition of the *Tianzhu shilu*.<sup>72</sup>

The decision to republish a work which had been officially discarded was certainly unusual. As Xie Hui points out, there are only a handful of Chinese-language Jesuit works which are marked as republished (*chongding* 重訂).<sup>73</sup> The revisors and Furtado must have had a particular reason to resurrect a text which had been superseded by later Jesuit publication. Li Xinde 李新德 argued that the work was republished with modifications in order to emphasize the Confucian identity of the Christian missionaries and to make more evident the distinction between Christianity and Buddhism.<sup>74</sup> This thesis is not convincing, because the Confucian orientation of even the republished work is still not as strong as other Jesuit works, such as Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi*.

My own tentative view is that Furtado's approval to republish the *Tianzhu shilu* was related to the Terms controversy. Ricci's successor as Superior to the Jesuit China mission, Niccolò Longobardo (1559–1654) led a long campaign against Ricci's use of Chinese terms for Christian theological concepts, such as *Shangdi* 上帝 and *Tian* 天 for God, *tianshen* for angel and *linghun* for soul. He was supported in this endeavor by Jesuit missionaries exiled from Japan, especially João Rodrigues Tçuzu (1561–1633), who was one of the most proficient European speakers of Japanese and could understand written Chinese.<sup>75</sup>

72 He Xian Yue 何先月, "Wei yu ti: Ming mo Qing chu san wei yi ti de Hanyu shuxie 位與體: 明末清初三位一體的漢語書寫," *Hanyu Jidujiao xueshu lunping* 漢語基督教學術論評 23 (2017): 195.

73 Xie Hui 謝輝, "Luo Mingjian *Tianzhu shilu* kanyin liuchuan kao 羅明堅《天主實錄》刊印流傳考," 109.

74 Li Xinde 李新德, "Cong xi seng dao xi ru," 91.

75 For a biography, see Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and*

After the Jiading 嘉定 conference held in December 1627, the Visitor Andre Palmeiro (1569–1635) decided to ban the use of *Shangdi* and *Tian* as equivalents for the Christian God. This edict problematized the status of Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi*, which rested upon a presumed commensurability between *Shangdi* and *Tianzhu*. Rather than withdraw from circulation all the copies of the *Tianzhu shiyi*, Palmeiro chose to encourage the Jesuits to embark upon new publications without the offending terms.<sup>76</sup> The Vice-Provincial in China was given permission to publish Chinese works without outside oversight. Sometime in the late Ming, the Jesuits prepared a revised version of the *Tianzhu shiyi* which systematically modified all references to *Shangdi* in Ricci's text to *Tianzhu*, *Shangzhu* 上主 or *Zhenzhu* 真主, excepting citations from the Chinese classics.<sup>77</sup> Proposals were made to author a new replacement catechism, but possibly the Jesuits thought it would be easier to resurrect Ruggieri's text, while updating it to fit the current Confucian emphasis of the mission.

Interestingly, both Manuel Dias, Jr. and Gaspar Ferreira had been identified by João Rodrigues as members of the party opposed to Ricci's terms.<sup>78</sup> However, as Ferreira coauthored with Giulio Aleni and Alvarez Semedo a treatise refuting Longobardo's position in 1633,<sup>79</sup> it is not clear whether Rodrigues was mistaken in his description of Ferreira's views or whether Ferreira had simply changed his mind. However, in a letter to the Superior General Muzio Vitelleschi (1563–1645) dated 1 October 1634, Manuel Dias, Jr., then Vice-Provincial of China, expressed his approval of Palmeiro's publication plan.<sup>80</sup>

As the *Tianzhu shilu* makes no mention of *Shangdi* and makes no claim about the metaphysical compatibility of ancient Confucianism with Christianity, the work did not conflict with the resolutions of the Jiading conference. Instead, it proposed a gentler accommodation of Confucianism that focused

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*China* (New York: Weatherhill, 1974). An English translation of Rodrigues' letters opposing Ricci's use of Chinese terms can be found in Michael Cooper, "Rodrigues in China. The Letters of João Rodrigues, 1611–1633," in *Kokugoshi e no michi: Doi Sensei shōju kinen ronbunshū* 国語史への道: 土井先生頌寿記念論文集, by Tadao Doi, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1981), 2:352–224.

76 Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 88–89.

77 Ricci, *Le sens réel de "Seigneur du Ciel,"* lxxv.

78 Isabel Pina, "João Rodrigues Tçuzu and the Controversy over Christian Terminology in China: The Perspective of a Jesuit from the Japanese Mission," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 6 (2003): 53–54.

79 Henri Bernard-Maitre, "Un dossier bibliographique de la fin du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle sur la question des termes Chinois," *Recherches de science religieuse* 36 (1949): 74.

80 Dias, Jr. to Muzio Vitelleschi (1 October 1634), ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico*, 730 I, fol. 21<sup>v</sup>, cited in Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 89.



on ethical and political commonalities between China and West. By returning to the work of a missionary who preceded Ricci, the revisors perhaps believed they could salvage the Confucian orientation of the mission.

## 6 This Present Edition and Translation

This critical edition of the *Tianzhu shilu* is based on the copy found in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus [ARSI] with the catalog number *Jap.-Sin.* I-189. Prof. Wang Huiyu 王慧宇 prepared the original transcription and critical apparatus, which I then revised and translated into English. A general attempt has been made to preserve as much as possible variant characters in the transcription. In the first instance of a variant character, the corresponding standard traditional character is indicated in the footnotes.

As mentioned above, this copy represents a minor revision of the only other extant text printed in Ruggieri's lifetime, *Jap.-Sin.* I-190. The two texts have been systematically compared and discrepancies have been pointed out in the critical apparatus. The changes made in the revised version approved by Furtado (*Jap.-Sin.* I-54) have also been systematically indicated in the critical apparatus. However, chapters 7, 8, and 11 of the revised text have been transcribed in full by my wife Lily Canaris (Wang Yuan 王元) in appendix 1 because the changes are so extensive that they cannot be placed in footnotes.

The Latin text of the "Vera et brevis divinarum rerum expositio" found in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma (*Fondo Gesuitico*, 1276) has also been transcribed and, for the first time, translated into English. In the critical apparatus are indicated corrections of the manuscript and discrepancies with the text previously published by Tacchi Venturi.<sup>81</sup> Cross-references have been added to facilitate comparison between the Latin and Chinese texts. Interventions are only made to correct obvious errors or to expand abbreviations.

The translations proposed in this volume aim to be as close to the original text as possible while being readable. Detailed annotations have been prepared to explain the historical, cultural and intellectual significance of the *Tianzhu shilu*. Prof. Wang Huiyu and Prof. Thierry Meynard contributed to some of the annotations. It is hoped that this edition will facilitate and inspire future scholars to look more closely at this pioneering but often misunderstood text.

A special thanks is owed to Prof. Thierry Meynard, who provided meticulous suggestions throughout the production of this volume, as well as my colleagues

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81 Tacchi Venturi, *Opere storiche*, 2:498–540.

in the Philosophy Department of Sun Yat-sen University for their support and feedback, especially Mr Wang Qi 王琦 who proofread all the Chinese text in this volume. Paul Hosle (Fudan University) also made some precious editorial suggestions for my transcription and English translation of the Latin text. I am indebted to my aunt Yvonne Woźniak for her professional proofreading of the book manuscript. I am also most grateful to the anonymous reviewers who provided excellent suggestions and kindly pointed out some factual inaccuracies and typographical errors during the peer review process. All remaining errors are my own.

Above all, I must express my thanks and debt to the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco. Much work on this volume was completed while I was resident there as a Luce Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the summer of 2019. During my sojourn I benefited from the mentorship of Prof. Antoni Üçerler and Dr Wu Xiaoxin 吴小新, as well as the expert bibliographic assistance of the archivist Mr Mark Mir. I express my profound appreciation to Mr Stephen Ford, the editorial assistant of the series *Studies in the History of Christianity in East Asia*, for his punctilious editorial support.

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# The Life of Michele Ruggieri

Wang Huiyu 王慧宇 and Daniel Canaris

While<sup>1</sup> the illustrious career of the Jesuit China missionary Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) has been retold in a number of excellent and detailed biographical studies, the biographies of his confrère Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) are scanty and often inaccurate. The only monograph-length biography of Ruggieri was written by Francesco Antonio Gisondi and was published in Italian almost twenty years ago.<sup>2</sup> Although Gisondi's study provides an accessible overview of Ruggieri's life, a number of important archival discoveries have changed significantly our understanding of Ruggieri's career prior to joining the Jesuits and after his return to Europe. For want of a sorely needed book-length study of this dramatic life, we propose here a brief sketch of Ruggieri's life in light of these recent discoveries and our own research.

## 1 Before China

Like many Jesuit missionaries, there is much obscurity about Ruggieri's career before his departure for the East. As Ruggieri's university education and Jesuit formation was highly structured and unremarkable, many crucial details about Ruggieri's early life were considered unworthy of being recorded. Yet by careful analysis of documents, we can construct a relatively rich narrative of Ruggieri's early years and make inferences about his intellectual formation.

Michele Ruggieri was born to Ludovico Ruggieri and Giulia Fanella in 1543 at Spinazzola, a small town in the southern Italian region of Puglia.<sup>3</sup> Though

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1 This biography is based on the first chapter of Wang Huiyu's doctoral dissertation and has been expanded by Daniel Canaris with additional sources and materials. See Wang Huiyu 王慧宇, "Zuowei chuanjiaoshi he 'Hanxuejia' de Luo Mingjian ji qi sixiang zhuzuo yanjiu 作為傳教士和‘漢學家’的羅明堅及其思想著作研究" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Sun Yat-sen University, 2016), 14–32.

2 Gisondi, *Michele Ruggieri: Missionario in Cina e primo sinologo europeo*.

3 Some sources suggest alternative birthplaces. The Jesuit historian Francesco Schinosi claims to have consulted some "antichi manuscritti" which indicate that Ruggieri was not born in Spinazzola but in Gravina. Francesco Schinosi, *Istoria della compagnia di Giesù, appartenente al regno di Napoli* (Naples: Nella Stampa di Michele Luigi Mutio, 1706), 1:340. Another manuscript "Catalogus primus personarum provinciae Neapolitanae anni 1593, mense augusto" calls Ruggieri a Capuan "P. Michael Rogerius, Capuanus, 50 annorum." Cited in Tac-

# Critical Edition of the *True Record of the Lord of Heaven* 新編西竺國天主實錄

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## 天主實錄引

[1] 嘗<sup>a</sup>謂五常之序，惟仁義為最先<sup>b</sup>，故五倫之內<sup>c</sup>，以君親為至重<sup>d</sup>。[2] 人之身體髮膚，受於<sup>e</sup>父母，為人子之報父母者，皆出於良知、良能<sup>f</sup>，不待學而自然親愛者也<sup>g</sup>。[3] 故雖<sup>h</sup>禽獸性偏，亦有反哺跪乳之恩，矧伊人兮？

<sup>a</sup>“嘗” is a variant character for “嘗”. <sup>b</sup>In I-54, “惟仁義為最先” is written as “仁義最先”. <sup>c</sup>“內” is a variant character for “內”. <sup>d</sup>In I-54, “君親為至重” is written as “君親至重”. <sup>e</sup>“於” is a variant character for “於”. <sup>f</sup>“能” is a variant character for “能”. <sup>g</sup>In I-54, “者也” is omitted. <sup>h</sup>“雖” is a variant character for “雖”.

- 1 The *wuchang* 五常 (Five Constant Virtues) in the Confucian school are *ren* 仁 (benevolence), *yi* 義 (righteousness), *li* 禮 (ritual propriety), *zhi* 智 (wisdom), *xin* 信 (trustworthiness). The first four of these are cited by Mencius 孟子 (372–289 BCE or 385–303 BCE), whereas *xin* was added by Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BCE).
- 2 The *wulun* 五倫 (five cardinal relationships) are understood as being between *junchen* 君臣 (sovereign and subject), *fuzi* 父子 (father and son), *xiongdidi* 兄弟 (elder brother and younger brother), *fufu* 夫婦 (husband and wife), and *pengyou* 朋友 (friends).
- 3 The phrase “良知、良能” is taken from *Mencius* 7.1.15: “The ability possessed by men without having been acquired by learning is intuitive ability, and the knowledge possessed by them without the exercise of thought is their intuitive knowledge. (人之所不學而能者，其良能也，所不慮而知也，良知也。)” James Legge, *The Works of Mencius*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 456. *Liangzhi* 良知 (innate knowing) is a core concept in the philosophy of Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529), also known as *Xinxue* 心學 (School of the Heart). In the *Da xue wen* 大學問, Wang writes, “Innate knowing is the same as Mencius’ concept that all people have knowledge of right and wrong. Knowledge of right and wrong does not require either contemplation or learning for it to be known or put into practice. Hence, we call it innate knowledge. (良知者，孟子所謂‘是非之心，人皆有之’者也。是非之心，不待慮而知，不待學而能，是故謂之良知。)”
- 4 Ruggieri here is providing an *a fortiori* argument for reciprocating benefits. Even in nature, animals, which are inferior to humans, have been observed to reciprocate parental affection. Hence, all the more are we humans bound by such a duty. What is interesting here is how he re-expresses a scholastic argument in Confucian terms. In the Latin text, Ruggieri

# The Newly Revised *True Record of the Lord of Heaven* from Western India

## Preface to the *True Record of the Lord of Heaven*

[1] It is said that among the five constant virtues (*wuchang* 五常),<sup>1</sup> benevolence (*ren* 仁) and righteousness (*yi* 義) are foremost. Hence, among the five cardinal relationships (*wulun* 五倫),<sup>2</sup> those that we have with our sovereign and parents are considered the most important. [2] Our body, hair and skin are received from our parents. As their children, we repay our parents because of conscience (*liangzhi* 良知) and natural capacity (*liangneng* 良能).<sup>3</sup> Our love for our parents does not come from learning but nature. [3] Hence even birds and beasts, despite their imperfect nature (*xingpian* 性偏),<sup>4</sup> show gratitude towards their parents by feeding their mothers or kneeling when sucking their mothers' milk.<sup>5</sup> Wouldn't it be more so with humans?

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describes animals as being "devoid of reason" (*rationis expertes*). In Chinese, however, Ruggieri describes the nature of animals (*xing* 性) as being *pian* 偏, that is morally askew. In Zhu Xi's thought, animals were considered moral agents, and their subordinate status in nature was a reflection of their inferior moral status. There were two sets of binaries for qualifying *qi* 氣: *zheng* 正 (upright) or *pian* 偏 (inconstant); and *tong* 通 (subtle) or *se* 塞 (obtuse and dense). The nature of a thing is determined by the interaction of these binaries. "或問: '人物之性一源, 何以有異?' 曰: '人之性論明暗, 物之性只是偏塞。暗者可使之明, 已偏塞者不可使之通也'" Zhu Xi 朱熹 and Li Jingde 黎靖德, *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, *juan* 4, *xingli* 1, in Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Zhuzi quanshu* 朱子全書, 2nd ed., (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), 14:183. For a summary of Zhu Xi's views, see Youngsun Back, "Are Animals Moral?: Zhu Xi and Jeong Yakyong's Views on Nonhuman Animals," *Asian Philosophy* 28, no. 2 (2018): 97–116.

- 5 This evocative expression is found in the *Zeng guang xian wen* 增廣賢文, a Ming dynasty text for educating children. In this text the phrase is given as, "羊有跪乳之恩, 鴉有反哺之義." It is not known exactly when the text was composed, though it most likely was composed sometime during the reign of the Wan Li Emperor. The earliest reference to this text apparently is the play *The Peony Pavilion* (*Mu dan ting* 牡丹亭) by Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (1550–1616), which appeared in 1598. We cannot be sure if Ruggieri read *Zeng guang xian wen*, but the simple Chinese used in the text would have been very accessible for a beginner in Chinese like Ruggieri.

[4] 僧雖生外國<sup>a</sup>，均人類也，可以不如禽獸，而不思所以報本哉？今蒙給地柔遠<sup>b</sup>，是即罔極之恩也<sup>c</sup>，然欲報之以金玉，報之以犬馬。僧居困乏，而中華<sup>d</sup>亦不少金玉寶馬矣<sup>e</sup>，然將何以報之哉<sup>f</sup>？

2<sup>v</sup> [5] 惟以天主行實，原於天竺<sup>g</sup>，流布四方，|得以掾<sup>h</sup>援<sup>i</sup>魂靈<sup>j</sup>升天<sup>k</sup>，免墜地獄。其俯視金玉寶馬，徒為玩好而無益於世者，相遠果何如耶？

[6] 僧思報答無由<sup>l</sup>，姑述《實錄》而變成唐字，畧<sup>m</sup>酬其<sup>n</sup>柔遠之恩於萬一云爾。況能從此聖教者，其事亦不難矣，何者<sup>o</sup>？

<sup>a</sup> In I-54, “僧雖生外國” is written as “余雖西國”. <sup>b</sup> “遠” is a variant character for “遠”. <sup>c</sup> In I-54, “也” is omitted. <sup>d</sup> “華” is a variant character for “華”. <sup>e</sup> In I-54, “然欲報之以金玉，報之以犬馬。僧居困乏，而中華亦不少金玉寶馬矣” is omitted. <sup>f</sup> In I-54, “然將何以報之哉” is written as “將何以報”. <sup>g</sup> In I-54, here and below “天竺” is rendered as “西國”. <sup>h</sup> “掾” is a variant character for “救”. <sup>i</sup> “援” is a variant character for “拔”. <sup>j</sup> “靈” is a variant character for “靈”. In I-54, here and below “魂靈” is written as “靈寃”. “寃” is a variant character for “魂”. <sup>k</sup> In I-54, “天” is written as “天堂”. <sup>l</sup> In I-54, “其俯視金玉寶馬，徒為玩好而無益於世者，相遠果何如耶” and “僧思報答無由” are omitted. <sup>m</sup> “畧” is a variant character for “略”. <sup>n</sup> In I-54, “其” is omitted. <sup>o</sup> In I-54, “其事亦不難矣，何者” is written as “其事不難”.

6 *Seng* 僧 (monk) is an abbreviation for *sengqie* 僧伽 (sangha). It originally referred to a monk who believes in and practices the law of Buddha. Ruggieri uses this term here to express his own religious identity. In the first edition of the *TZSL*, Ruggieri uses much Buddhist and Taoist vocabulary. For this reason, scholars have mistakenly believed that Ruggieri sought to lean on Buddhism for his proselytization. However, the *TZSL* explicitly criticizes central tenets of Buddhist doctrine.

7 The expression *rouyuan* 柔遠 is found in the *Shujing* 書經 in reference to appeasing distant peoples or lands. See *Shujing*, Canon of Shun (舜典): “柔遠能邇”. In the Chinese text, Ruggieri is most likely referring to the benevolence of officials in providing land for the Jesuit mission in Zhaoqing 肇慶. First, the viceroy of Guangdong 廣東 and Guangxi 廣西, Chen Rui 陳瑞 (in office 1582–1583), granted Ruggieri and his companion Francesco Pasio (1554–1612) in late 1582 the right of abode in Zhaoqing within some rooms of the Buddhist Tianning 天寧 temple. This right of abode was invalidated after Chen Rui was dismissed from his post in early 1583 because of corruption charges. However, his successor Guo Yingpin 郭應聘 renewed the permission, allowing Ruggieri, together with Ricci, to return to Zhaoqing on 10 September 1583. Importantly, the Latin text does not make any reference to this land grant, only referring to an unnamed magistrate in charge of “this province and this city” who welcomed Ruggieri under his roof: “Sinenses enim magistratus, qui hanc provinciam et hanc urbem administrant, me inopem et egentem et veluti extorrem tectis suis exceperunt.” (“Vera et brevis divinarum rerum expositio [vB],” 6<sup>r</sup>–6<sup>v</sup>). This description strongly suggests that in the Latin text Ruggieri is referring to events that took place in Guangzhou 廣州, which besides Beijing is the only city referred to by name in the Latin text. Before settling in Zhaoqing, Ruggieri had visited Guangzhou on a couple of occasions. We learn from the Spanish Jesuit Alonso Sánchez who

[4] Although I am a monk (*seng* 僧) born in a foreign country,<sup>6</sup> we are all human. How could I be inferior to the beasts and not think of repaying my benefactor? Now I have been given this land as a conciliatory gesture to a man from afar (*rouyuan* 柔遠).<sup>7</sup> This is such an immense favor that one would wish to repay with gold and jade or dogs or horses.<sup>8</sup> I am but a poor monk, and China has no shortage of riches and fine horses. How then can this favor be repaid?

[5] None other than by spreading to the four corners of the world the story of the Lord of Heaven from India (*Tianzhu* 天竺),<sup>9</sup> so that souls (*hunling* 魂靈)<sup>10</sup> may be saved and raised to heaven and escape from plunging into hell (*diyu* 地獄).<sup>11</sup> When you look down upon gold, jade and fine horses, [you will realize that] they are merely playthings of no benefit to the world. How far apart are [salvation and worldly things]?

[6] Since I realize I have no other way of repaying this favor, I decided to give an account of this *True Record* and translate it into Chinese, so that I might repay just a little bit of this kindness towards a foreigner. Moreover, it is not difficult to practice this sacred teaching (*jiao* 教). Why is that?

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visited Ruggieri in Guangzhou in 1582 that the Chinese were so fond of Ruggieri that he was invited to the home of the *zongbing* 總兵 (regional commander) of Guangzhou: "So he presented to the *zongbing* a copy of the doctrine or catechism which he had composed with the help of some translators. He [the *chumpin*] read it and declared that the doctrine is good." Cited in Chan, "Michele Ruggieri, S.J. (1543–1607) and His Chinese Poems," 131. This reveals firstly that Ruggieri updated the Chinese text to reflect his new circumstances in Zhaoqing and secondly that the Latin text reflects an earlier stage of composition.

8 The expression *quanma* 犬馬 (dogs and horses) could indicate service, but in the Latin text Ruggieri writes "canibus venaticis, equis ad cursum velocissimis", which strongly suggests that the literal meaning is intended here.

9 *Tianzhu* 天竺 was historically used by China and other East Asian countries to signify South Asia. Here Ruggieri is supposedly referring to Palestine, though his Chinese reader would most likely be confused by this term. In fact, Valignano later made clear that the Jesuits deliberately exploited the similarities between Christian Europe and Chinese conceptions of the homeland of Buddhism to garner sympathy from the Chinese. Alvarez-Taladriz, "El proyecto de embajada del papa a la China y el padre Alejandro Valignano, S.J. (1588)."

10 *Hunling* 魂靈 (soul) is a neologism coined by Ruggieri used to translate the Christian concept of *anima*. Ricci reverses the order of the characters (*linghun* 靈魂) to create a clearer and more logical comparison of rational souls with vegetative (*shenghun* 生魂) and sentient souls (*juehun* 覺魂). *Linghun* survives in modern Chinese as the standard translation of soul.

11 *Diyu* 地獄 (hell) is a Buddhist term which Ruggieri has borrowed to denote the Christian abode of the damned.

[7] 不必逐日持齋<sup>a</sup>, 坐<sup>b</sup>守禪定, 亦不必屏棄舊<sup>c</sup>業, 從師遠遊<sup>d</sup>。一惟誠心奉敬, 無有疑二, 則天主必降之以福矣。但<sup>e</sup>《實錄》未見之先, 有<sup>f</sup>如黑夜無光, 不知生死之原。《實錄》既見之後, 自明天主根因, 而知所<sup>g</sup>以善善而惡惡者, 眞若撥<sup>h</sup>雲霧而覩<sup>i</sup>日月矣。抑或視為故紙, 則受刑入地獄, 終難克見天主矣。夫誰咎? 夫誰咎?

[8] 然<sup>k</sup>天主義理精微<sup>l</sup>, 難以闡發, 故作二人問答於是篇云。

<sup>3v</sup> [9] 崑<sup>m</sup> 萬曆甲申歲秋八月望後三日天竺國僧書<sup>n</sup> | [Blank] |  
<sup>4r</sup>

### 新編西竺國天主實錄目錄

真有一位天主章之一

天主事情章之二

解<sup>o</sup>釋世人冒<sup>p</sup>認天主章之三

<sup>a</sup>In I-54 “逐日持齋” is omitted. Fasting practices were of course an important part of Jesuit spiritual discipline, so this sentence may have struck the revisors of this text as slightly disingenuous. <sup>b</sup>“坐” is a variant character for “坐”. <sup>c</sup>“舊” is a variant character for “舊”. In I-54, “舊” is written as “正”. <sup>d</sup>In I-54, “從師遠遊” is omitted. <sup>e</sup>In I-54, “但” is omitted. <sup>f</sup>In I-54, “有” is omitted. <sup>g</sup>“所” is a variant character for “所”. <sup>h</sup>In I-54, “撥” is written as “扒”. <sup>i</sup>“覩” is a variant character for “睹”. <sup>j</sup>In I-54, “刑” is written as “永刑”. “永” is a variant character for “永”. <sup>k</sup>In I-54, “然” is written as “第”. “第” is a variant character for “第”. <sup>l</sup>“微” is a variant character for “微”. <sup>m</sup>“崑” is a variant character for “時”. <sup>n</sup>In I-190, “萬曆甲申歲秋八月望後三日天竺國僧書” is written as “萬曆甲申歲秋八月望後三日遠西羅明堅撰 耶穌會 後學羅明堅述 同會陽瑪諾費奇規孟儒望重訂 值會傳汎際准”. <sup>o</sup>“解” is a variant character for “解”. <sup>p</sup>“冒” is a variant character for “冒”.

- 12 From the outset of the *TZSL*, Ruggieri has emphatically distinguished the doctrine he is about to preach from Buddhism. Indeed, in his zeal Ruggieri even rejects Buddhist practices such as fasting and meditation which arguably are also part of the Christian tradition. This would be reinforced in Chapter 3 where Ruggieri argues against other important Buddhist doctrines, such as the transmigration of souls and proclaims that the Buddhist scriptures are false. It has been argued by some scholars that Ruggieri had a certain sympathy for Buddhism, and that this perhaps contributed to his falling out with Ricci and Valignano. A cursory reading of the *TZSL* reveals that this view is fundamentally mistaken.
- 13 Ruggieri points out the dialogical writing style employed in the *TZSL*. Ruggieri's choice of the the question-answer format was no doubt influenced by its established role in the European catechetical genre. Fortunately, however, dialogue featured prominently in the quotation genre (*yuluti*) that was very popular in the late Ming.



[7] You do not have to observe fasting on a daily basis and sit still in silent meditation or give up your former occupation or roam the world with a master.<sup>12</sup> As long as you serve the Lord of Heaven faithfully and worship no other, the Lord of Heaven will shower you with blessing. Before reading the *True Record*, your life is dark as the night, and you do not know the origin of life and death. After reading the *True Record*, you shall understand the fundamental reasons for [our belief in] the Lord of Heaven, and why we love good and shun evil, just as if the clouds and mist shrouding the sun and moon were lifted. But if you were to disregard this as just an old piece of paper, you would plunge into hell for punishment and would never be able to see the Lord of Heaven. Who would be to blame? Who would be to blame?

[8] But since the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven is profound and subtle, it is hard to explain. Thus this record is written in question and answer form between two people.<sup>13</sup>

[9] Written by a monk from India on the eighteenth day of the eighth month of the twenty-first year of the sexagenary cycle during the reign of Wan Li Emperor (21 September 1584).<sup>14</sup>

### Contents of the Newly Revised *True Record of the Lord of Heaven* from Western India<sup>15</sup>

Chapter 1: There truly is one Lord of Heaven

Chapter 2: Attributes of the Lord of Heaven

Chapter 3: Explanation of people's misconceptions about the Lord of Heaven

14 In I-189, the author of the text is anonymous, whereas in I-190, which was printed earlier, Ruggieri signs with his Chinese name (Mingjian 明堅). It is not clear why Ruggieri omitted his name from the revised text.

15 The original Latin text has only thirteen chapters. Although I-189, I-190 and I-54 all have sixteen chapters, there are some differences in the numbering of I-54 from chapter seven onwards because this revised edition adds information on the Holy Trinity. Neither I-189 nor I-190 makes any explicit reference to the Holy Trinity. The Latin text reveals that this omission was deliberate. "Sunt etiam, praeter has et alias infinitas virtutes, tres aliae res in Deo, quas nostri sapientes proprietates personales appellant; ita ut divina substantia in tribus personis subsistat, quarum alteram Patrem, alteram Filium, alteram Spiritum Sanctum nuncupamus. Sed, quoniam ut intelligantur longius tempus maioremque indaginem postulant, prudens eas praetermitto." (VB, 13<sup>v</sup>–14<sup>r</sup>). The Table of Contents of I-54 is published in full in the Appendix.

# Vera et brevis divinarum rerum expositio

6<sup>r</sup>

## PROOEMIUM

[1] Certum et exploratum est inter eas quinque virtutes, quae etiam apud Sinas perpetuae vocantur, eam, qua grati animi signa exhibentur, coeteris longe multumque antecellere. Unde fit, ut inter illas, quae mutuae dicuntur, populorum erga regem suum fides, filiorum erga parentes suos caritas magni momenti esse censeantur. [2] Nam, ut interim populorum fidem erga regem omittamus, profecto filij corporis membra partesque omnes optime coagmentatas a parentibus suis accipiunt; et ideo iisdem reddendam esse gratiam, etiam, nullo docente, unusquisque naturae instinctu cognoscit. [3] Hic autem naturae instinctus etiam ipsas animantes rationis expertes attingit, quae<sup>a</sup> parentibus suis aetate vel morbo confectis etiam ipsos cibos comminutos et mansos in os inserunt. Quod si id in brutis cernimus, quid de homine dicendum sit facile unusquisque iudicat.

6<sup>v</sup>

[4] Hanc igitur naturae normam ego sequutus, quamvis in externo regno natus, humanitatem tamen retinens, non patiar me animantibus esse inferiorem, nec beneficia ab huius urbis magistratibus accepta ex animo penitus excidere aequa mente feram. Sinenses enim magistratus, qui hanc provinciam et hanc urbem administrant, me inopem | et egentem et veluti extorrem tectis suis exceperunt. Et post longi itineris incommoda me magna benevolentia complexi sunt. Hoc ergo tantum et singulare beneficium si oblivione sepeliam, etiam hominis nomine indignus videar. Jam vero, si ad referendam gratiam animum applicem, an ne auro, margaritis, canibus venaticis<sup>b</sup>, equis ad cursum velocissimis id mihi praestandum est? Minime vero; tum quia ego ipso vivendi genere paupertatem prae me fero, tum etiam quod amplissimum Sinarum regnum his fere omnibus, quae sunt a me commemorata, abundat.

[5] Quapropter aliam mihi rationem respondendi beneficijs ineundam arbitror; ea autem est, ut iuxta propositum vitae institutum nationem hanc nobilem, sed divinarum rerum cognitione nondum imbutam, verae fidei praeceptis

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<sup>a</sup> OS: "ipsos [...]" qui.    <sup>b</sup> OS: "venaticis".

# True and Brief Exposition of Divine Things

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

[1] Experience has certainly revealed that among those five virtues, which are called constant among the Chinese, the virtue by which gratitude is shown greatly surpasses the others. Hence it happens that, among those known as reciprocal virtues, the loyalty of the people towards the king, and love of children towards their parents are considered the most important. [2] Indeed, let us leave aside for the moment the loyalty of the people towards the king. Children certainly receive all their bodily limbs and all their excellently joined together parts from their parents. Thus, each child by natural instinct knows without any instruction that they owe a debt of gratitude to them. [3] This natural instinct even pertains to those animals lacking reason. They place food which has been already broken down and chewed in the mouth of their parents when dying of old age or sickness. If we observe this in beasts, it is obvious what we must conclude about humankind.

[4] Although I was born in a foreign land, I have abided by this law of nature and partake in humanity. I would not therefore accept that I am inferior to animals nor could I bear to forget with equanimity those favors that I have received from the officials of this city. For the Chinese officials who govern this province and this city, took me under their roof while I was needy and destitute like an exile. And after the hardship of a long voyage they embraced me with great benevolence. Thus, if I were to bury this great and singular favor in oblivion, I would not be worthy of being called a man. Now then, if I am to direct my attention to expressing my gratitude, should I bestow it with gold, pearls, hunting dogs, or fast racing horses? Absolutely not! Not only do I spend my life in poverty, but also the great kingdom of China abounds with nearly all the things which I have just mentioned.

[5] For this reason, I thought that I should embark on another way of returning the favors, namely teaching the precepts of the true faith to this nation which is noble in its rule of life but not yet steeped with knowledge of divine things.

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<sup>1</sup> The section numbers provided for the Latin text are cross-references to the Chinese text. Those sections of the Latin text which find no correspondence in the Chinese text are not numbered. Since sometimes the Chinese text presents information in a different order or even in different chapters, the section numbers of the Latin text are not always sequential.

## True Record of the Holy Religion of the Lord of Heaven

Most of the differences between the 1584 edition and the revised edition published with the permission of Francisco Furtado have been indicated in the footnotes of the critical edition of the 1584 text. However, chapters 7, 8 and 11 exhibit such significant differences that they have been reproduced here in full with an English translation.

4<sup>r</sup>

### 天主聖教實錄總目

真有一天主章之一

天主事情章之二

解釋世人冒認天主章之三

天主制作天地人物章之四

天神亞當章之五

論人覓不滅大異禽獸章之六

天主聖性章之七

4<sup>v</sup>

解釋覓歸五所章之八

自古及今天主止有降其規誡三端章之九

解釋第三次與人規誡事情章之十

解釋人當誠信天主事實章之十一

天主十誡章之十二

解釋第一面碑文章之十三

解釋第二面碑文章之十四

解釋天主勸諭三規章之十五

解釋聖水除罪章之十六

## **Contents of “A True Record of the Holy Religion of the Lord of Heaven”**

Chapter 1: Truly there is one Lord of Heaven

Chapter 2: The nature of the Lord of Heaven

Chapter 3: Explanation of people’s misconceptions about the Lord of Heaven

Chapter 4: The creation of the world

Chapter 5: The angels and Adam

Chapter 6: On the immortality of human souls, which distinguishes them from animals

Chapter 7: The divine nature of the Lord of Heaven

Chapter 8: The five places where souls return

Chapter 9: The Lord of Heaven has only given commandments on three occasions to this day

Chapter 10: Explanation of the third time commandments were given to people

Chapter 11: Explanation of the truths about the Lord of Heaven that people must believe

Chapter 12: The Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven

Chapter 13: Explanation of the inscription on the first tablet

Chapter 14: Explanation of the inscription on the second tablet

Chapter 15: Explanation of the three precepts of the Lord of Heaven

Chapter 16: Explanation of how holy water removes sins

## 天主聖性章

23<sup>r</sup> 天主一性而包含三位，西土謂之伯瑣亞也。第一曰罷德肋，譯言父也；第二曰費畧，譯言子也；第三曰斯彼利多三多，譯言無形靈聖，或聖神也。分別位有三者，合性體言之，總一天主而已。須知此三者更無大小、無強弱、無先後可言也。且約舉兩三端以推之：其一曰，凡有神性者，本有明悟，亦有愛欲也。司明悟者，先引而使知；司愛欲者，後從而使行。無明悟，則昏昧，不得知所當行也；無愛欲，則虛弱，不得行所已知也。兩者相須相賴也。司明悟者，既明事物，必生事物之象而含存之。司愛欲者，愛一物，必生一愛情而內含存之。此神性之妙用也，凡有神性者皆然矣。

其二曰，夫物之宗品有二：有自立者，有依賴者。物之不恃他體以爲物，謂之自立；物之不能自立而託他體以爲其物，謂之依賴。自立之物，或有形者，如天地、人身等類是也；或無形者，如天神、人之靈魂等類是也。依賴之物亦然，或有形而賴有形自立之體，如五色之類是也；或無形而賴無形自立之體，如五常、明才、七情等是也。人物及鬼神皆如此。極于天主至精至純之情性，豈有自立、依賴之殊也乎？則明悟、愛欲等內發之情用，本自立無賴，而成一純性、一純體矣。

1 The seven affects (*qiqing* 七情) of traditional Chinese medical theory and therapy are joy (*xi* 喜), anger (*nu* 怒), anxiety (*you* 忧), thought (*si* 思), grief (*bei* 悲), fear (*kong* 恐), fright (*jing* 惊). In the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites), the *qiqing* are listed differently. While the first two are still *xi* and *nu*, the last five are sorrow (*ai* 哀), fear (*ju* 懼), love (*ai* 愛), hatred (*wu* 惡) and desire (*yu* 欲).

## Chapter 7: Divine Nature of the Lord of Heaven

“The Lord of Heaven is three persons in one nature. Western countries call them *personae* (*bosuoya* 伯璣亞). The first person is called *pater* (*badelei* 罷德肋), which means father; the second is called *filius* (*feiliie* 費畧), which means son; the third is called *spiritus sanctus* (*sibiliduo sanduo* 斯彼利多三多), which means a bodiless holy ghost, or Holy Spirit. These three distinct persons form a single nature which are known together as the Lord of Heaven. It must be known that these three persons cannot be ranked according to size, strength or precedence.

“Here are a couple of examples to explain this:

“Firstly, anything that has a divine nature has innate intelligence and also will. Intelligence first guides us to know; then the will makes us act accordingly. Without intelligence, we are stupid and cannot know how to act. Without will, we are weak and cannot act upon our knowledge. The two are necessary conditions of each other and mutually dependent. The intelligence, in understanding a thing, must produce and preserve an image of the thing. The will, in desiring a thing, must produce and preserve love (for it). This is the extraordinary power of the divine nature that applies to all divine things.

“Secondly, things are divided into two categories: substance and accident. Those things which do not rely on other bodies for their existence are called substances (*zilizhe* 自立者, literally ‘that which is independent’); those things which cannot stand on their own but rely on other bodies for their existence are called accidents (*yilaizhe* 依賴者, literally ‘that which is dependent’). Some of those things we call substances are corporeal, such as the sky and earth, and human bodies; others have no form, such as angels and human souls. Accidents are also like this: those which are corporeal depend upon corporeal substances, such as colors; those which are incorporeal depend upon incorporeal substances, such as the five constant virtues, intelligence and the seven affects.<sup>1</sup>

“Both human beings and spirits are like this. When it comes to supreme intelligence and purity of the Divine Nature, how can there be any distinction between substance and accidents?<sup>2</sup> Rather, innate attributes such as intelligence and will are completely independent and constitute a pure nature and a pure substance.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, I, q. 3, art. 6.

*The True Record of the Lord of Heaven (Tianzhu shilu, 1584)* by the Jesuit missionary Michele Ruggieri was the first Chinese-language work ever published by a European. Despite being published only a few years after Ruggieri started learning Chinese, it evinced sophisticated strategies to accommodate Christianity to the Chinese context and was a pioneering work in Sino-Western exchange. This book features a critical edition of the Chinese and Latin texts, which are both translated into English for the first time. An introduction, biography, and rich annotations are provided to situate this text in its cultural and intellectual context.

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