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# The Jesuits Andreas Koffler and Michael Boym at the Court of the Yongli Emperor

Claudia von COLLANI

**Abstract**: This article has studied the Jesuits Andreas Koffler and Michael Boyam at the Court of the Yongli Emperor. First, the author has studied the Conversion of Rulers in Europe and Asia and has introduced the Sources, based on which the present study is. Then, the auhor has studied the Southern Ming and the Yongli Emperor. The following continues a sudy on Andreas Wolfgang Koffler, which includes the early life of the Jesuit Andreas Wolfgang Koffler, Koffler and the conversion of the Yongli Emperor's family, and Koffler's further fate. Also Michał Boym is studied, and it includes the early life of Michał Boym, and Michał Boym's delegation to Rome. The final past is the conclusion.

**Key Words**: the Southern Ming; the Yongli Emperor; the Jesuits; Andreas Koffler; Michael Boy

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## 1 The Conversion of Rulers in Europe and Asia

As it is well known one of the main features of the Jesuit policy of accommodation was mission from the top down, i. e. to start with the conversion of the Chinese emperor because they hoped that the whole Chinese people and then the whole Far East would follow this prestigious example.〔16〕 In this way, great parts of Europe had become christianized when the rulers (kings, dukes, leaders) of the nations and tribes converted to Christianity in the early Middle Ages. The change from one religion to another, namely from the believe into pagans gods to the Christian monotheistic God could mean a destabilization of the political order. Therefore it needed the legitimization of the ruler, who with his conversion to Christianity or the Catholic Church also paved the way to salvation for his tribe or people, for he as the leader had a special responsibility. People believed that earthly and heavenly wellfare and blessings went parallel, for direct award was given, as they thought, for the obedience. So God sent direct help in battles as he did with the Roman emperor Flavius Valerius Constantinus (birth between 270/288, Roman emperor 306－337), who granted religious freedom in the Roman Empire with the Edict of Milan in 313, whereby Christianity became the

〔16〕 Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China*. Volume One: 635-1800. (Handbook of Oriental Studies, section 4: China 15/1. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 4: China 15) (Leiden, Boston, Köln 2001) p. 310.

privileged religion.[17] The victory over menacing other rulers and powers was interpreted as a victory of the church.[18] In this way also the conversion of the Franconian king Clovis I (birth 466, ruled 481/482-511) in 498 or 508 under the influence of his Catholic wife Clotilde was interpreted as the Christian God helping him to fight the Alamans. Jesus Christ proved to be more effective than the pagan god Odin. This meant the end of pagan and Arianic Western Europe.[19] The adoption of Catholicism by Clovis led to widespread conversion among the Frankish peoples, to religious unification of great parts of Europe (France, Belgium and Germany), and at the end of the birth of the early Holy Roman Empire of the German nation.[20]

It is not sure if the Jesuits had these historical facts in mind when they planned their policy of accommodation. In the Far East, the Jesuits saw several times a chance to convert the rulers, as in Japan, in Siam and especially in China, the culturally leading nation in East Asia. In Southern Japan several daimyōs had embraced Christianity at the end of the 16th century, and even the unifiers of Japan, Oda Nobunaga 织田信长 (1534－1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537－1598), were for some time friendly to the missionaries, but at the end they feared an invasion or at least too much influence from abroad.[21] At the end of the 17th century the Jesuits had gained influence at the court of the Siamese king Phra Narai (birth 1632, ruled 1656－1688) through his advisor, the adventurer Constantin Phaulkon (1647－1688), who became Catholic. This hope failed with a revolution when the king and Phaulkon, whom the people hated, were killed.[22] In China, this hope of converting the emperor seemed to be very close several times. Johann Adam Schall von Bell 汤若望 (1592－1666) who worked for the Chongzhen Emperor 崇祯 (Reign 1629－1644) at the Astronomical Bureau for the reform of the Chinese calendar kept this hope but he failed, Chongzhen committed suicide when Beijing was conquered by rebels in 1644.[23] After the change of the dynasty from the Ming dynasty (1368－1644) to the Qing dynasty (1644－1911) Schall became director of the Astronomical Bureau and had good relations to the young Shunzhi Emperor 顺治 (Reign 1644－1661), who called him respectfully "Mafa", but the emperor died of smallpox as a young man aged only 21 and as a Buddhist.[24] Also his son and successor the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (Reign 1662－1722) seemed to be close to Christianity——at least in the description of Joachim Bouvet's 白晋 (1656－1730) booklet Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine (Paris 1697), but despite issuing the Edict of Tolerance in 1692 and his good relations to the Court Jesuits he never embraced Christianity.[25]

The story, which is told here, took part during the time of rebellions and wars during the dynastic change from the Ming to the Qing dynasty. When the Manchus were on their way also to

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〔17〕 Jochen Martin, "Konstantin(os)", *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 6 (Freiburg 2006) col. 295-298.

〔18〕 Lutz E. von Padberg, *Mission und Christianisierung. Formen und Folgen bei Angelsachasen und Franken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 1995) pp. 231-235.

〔19〕 Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart 1998) pp. 46-54.

〔20〕 von Padberg, *Christianisierung Europas*, pp. 54-62.

〔21〕 Arcadio Schwade, "Die Frühgeschichte des Christentums in Japan im Überblick", in: Adrian Hsia, Ruprecht Wimmer (eds.), *Mission und Theater. Japan und China auf den Bühnen der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Jesuitica 7) (Regensburg 2005) pp. 289-353.

〔22〕 Joachim Bouvet, S. J., Journal des voyages (Variétés Sinologiques New Series 95), ed. Claudia von Collani (Taipei 2005) pp. 7-10; Friedrich Huber, Das Christentum in *Ost-, Süd- und Südostasien sowie Australien. Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen IV*/8 (Leipzig 2005) p. 174.

〔23〕 Claudia von Collani, "A Missionary on His Journey: Michał Boym and Religions in East Asia", *Monumenta Serica* LIX (2011) p. 338.

〔24〕 Standaert, *Handbook*, pp. 495f.

〔25〕 Claudia von Collani, "Portrait of an Emperor: Joachim Bouvet's Picture of the Kangxi Emperor of 1697", *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* XXIV (2002) pp. 24-37.

conquer Southern China and the Shunzhi emperor was already ruling in Beijing, the Southern Ming established their own court with several emperors, all being descendants or at least relatives of the Wanli Emperor 万曆 (Reign 1572－1620). The last of them was the Yongli Emperor 永曆 (1623, reign 1646－1662), and he was the one who together with his family and the court seemed nearly to be Christian. Yongli's reign was parallel to that of the Shunzhi Emperor in Beijing. Therefore, the Jesuits, deliberately or not, worked at the two courts fighting each other at the same time. It was possible that, both courts in the North and in the South of China would survive and thus be established as two empires, but it was more probable that only one of the two dynasties with one emperor would be victorious, so the Jesuits hoped that at least some of them would be on the side of the conqueror serving as astronomers and scientists. In this way Christianity could survive under one dynasty with one emperor. The Jesuits of the defeated dynasty, however, would quite probably not survive and even could become martyrs for their faith. This situation of Jesuits in the north and south of China corresponded to the Jesuit Far Eastern provinces. In 1615 the Vice-Province of China of the Jesuit order became independent of the Province of Japan (since 1611) thanks to the efforts of the Jesuit procurator Nicolas Trigault (1577－1628). When Japan was closed by the Tokugawa Shogunate and all missionaries were expelled (from 1610), many Japanese Christians fled to Portuguese Macau or to other countries of East Asia. As consequence the Jesuit province of Japan moved to Macau and took responsibility for Tonkin;[26] after 1656, the Chinese provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi were added.[27]

In this paper, I am dealing with situation of the Jesuits in the service of the Southern Ming. The main topic here is the fate of two Jesuits in the service of the Yongli Emperor, namely of the Polish Jesuit Michał Piotr Boym 卜弥格 (1612－1659) and the Austrian Jesuit Wolfgang Andreas Xavier Koffler 瞿安德 (1603/1612－1652).

## 2 Sources

Concerning Koffler's and Boym's relations to the Southern Ming several sources are used. The main source for this paper is a manuscript written by Boym, namely his "Status Christianæ Religionis in China, ut nunc se habet" (Situation of the Christian religion in China as it is at the moment).[28] This report deals with the two Imperial "cases" concerning the emperors of the Ming dynasty, namely of the Chongzhen emperor in the North and the Yongli emperor in the South and their relations to Christianity and to the missionaries. The purpose of this document was to demonstrate that the conversion of the Yongli Emperor was not far and that it would be the rational fulfilment of the hopes the Jesuits, especially of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, who tried to convert the last Ming

[26] Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de* 1552 *à* 1800 (Paris, Rome 1973) p. 327.

[27] See Onofre Borges, letter to the General Superior Goswin Nickel, 20 October 1659, ARSI (=Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), Jap. Sin. 80, ff. 147-148.

[28] München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Jesuitica 589.

emperor Chongzhen.[29] Parts of this manuscript and related manuscripts were printed in several editions and translations with more or less slight changes. The following edition tells only the story of the Yongli emperor: Breve Relazione della China, E Della Memorabile Conversione Di Persone Regali di quella corte alla Religione Christiana (Roma 1652), French translation: Briefve Relation de la Chine et de la notable conversion des Personnes Royales, & de l'estat de la Religion Chrestienne en la Chine (Paris 1654). An expanded German translation of this report was published in: Joseph Stöcklein (1676－1733) (ed.), Der Neue Welt-Bott, an edition of Jesuit letters about 70 years later.[30] In Der Neue Welt-Bott we also find other relevant sources, namely a letter written by Andreas Xavier Koffler,[31] a letter written by Michał Boym about Koffler,[32] and a letter written by a Hungarian Jesuit Johannes Nadasy (or Nadasi). These are the printed sources mostly used here. The complete title of this collection of letters from the Jesuit missions all over the world is:

> Welt-Bott＝Der Neue Welt-Bott. Allerhand so Lehr-als Geist-reiche Letter/Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibungen/Welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschafft JEsu Aus Beyden Indien, und andern Über Meer gelegenen Ländern Seit An. 1642 biß auf das Jahr 1726. in Europa angelanget seynd. Jetzt zum erstenmal Theils aus Handschrifftlichen Urkunden/theils aus denen Französischen Lettres Edifiantes verteutscht und zusammen getragen von Joseph Stöcklein gedachter Societät JEsu Priester, vol. I (Augspurg, Grätz, 1726).[33]

In this paper three letters fromDer Neue Welt-Bott are used, namely letter no. 10, letter no 13 and letter no 219.

1. Letter by Fr. Andreas Koffler SJ:

"Brief Des gottseeligen Manns P. Wolfgangi Andreæ Koffler der Gesellschafft JEsu Missionarii, aus der Oesterreichischen Provinz von Crembs gebürtig. An R. P. Joannem

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[29] The history of the court in Beijing is dealt with in Johann Adam Schall von Bell's *Historica relatio de ortu et progressu Fidei Orthodoxae in Regno Chinensi per missionarios Societatis Jesu ab Anno* 1581 *usque ad Annum* 1669 … (Regensburg 1672), which is the second edition of Schall's *Historica Narratio de initio et progressu Missionis Societatis Jesu apud Chinenses* … (Wien 1665).

[30] The ca. 800 letters in Der Neue Welt-Bott were from the Jesuit missions around the world. Ca. 200 of them were sent from China. Stöcklein translated French letters from the Lettres édifiantes et curieuses (since 1703) into German, and added translations of letters from Latin, Italian or German. Claudia von Collani, "*Der Neue Welt-Bott. A Preliminary Survey*", *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* XXV (2003) pp. 19-21; Renate Dürr, "Der" "Neue Welt-Bott" als Markt der Informationen? Wissenstransfer als Moment jesuitischer Identitätsbildung, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 34 (2007) H. 3, pp. 441-466, id., "Wissen als Erbauung-zur Theatralität der Präsentation vin Wissen aus aller Welt im Neuen Welt＝Bott", http://diglib. hab. de/ebooks/ed000156/id/ebooks_ed000156_article11/start. htm (last access June 11, 2018).

[31] For Koffler see Harry Kühnel, "P. Andreas Koffler SJ, Kremser Missionar in Ostasien", 4000 *Jahre Ostasiatische Kunst* (1978), pp. 1-12.

[32] See Robert Chabrié, *Michel Boym, Jésuite Polonais er la fin des Ming en Chine* (1646－1662) (Paris 1933). The papers of the workshop on Boym in 2009 were published in Monumenta Serica LIX (2011).

[33] Joseph Stöcklein SJ (1676－1733), army chaplain of the Imperial Habsburg soldiers, participated, for exmplae, for the Spanish War of Succession. Later, he was in the army of Prince Eugen (1663－1736) in Hungary during many battles. He spent his last years in Graz until his death translating (especially from the French language), writing and editing Der Neue Welt-Bott.

Rumer[34] gedachter Societät in gemeldeter Provinz damahls vorgesetzten Provincial. Geschrieben zu Batavia in Ost-Indien auf der Insul Java gelegenen Holländischen Vestung/ den 3. Decembris 1642."[35]

2. Letter by Fr. Michał Boym SJ:

"Bericht Patris Michaëlis Boym, der Gesellschafft JESU Missionarii in Sina, aus der Polnischen Provinz/welchen er zu Rom im Jahr 1653. abgestattet hat".[36]

3. Letter by Fr. Johannes Nadasi SJ:[37]

"Brief R. P. Joannis Nadasi der Gesellschafft JEsu Priesters. An Den Ehrwürdigen damals in der Provinz Oesterreich gedachter Societät vorgesetzten Patrem Provincialem. Geschriben zu Rom den 2. Februarii im Jahr 1662".[38]

## 3 The Southern Ming

The conquest of China took the Manchus eighteen years.[39] When the north of China was already under Manchu rule, in the south there were still several pretenders descending from the Imperial Ming family who tried to establish their own courts, to reconquer China and to restore the rule of the Ming dynasty. All last emperors of the Ming in the north and in the south, however, had the problem that the country was impoverished, and therefore it was difficult to sustain their armies and courts.[40] In Nanking a grandson of the Wanli Emperor called "Hum Quam" 弘光 (Hongguang, 1607－1646) reigned as the first emperor of the Southern Ming from 1644－1645,[41] but it seems that he had no relations with the Jesuits. Though he was a formidable rival to the Manchus, he lost the province because of his vices. He was followed by Zhu Yujian 朱聿键, 1602－1646, the Prince of Tang, who ruled as Longwu 隆武 Emperor (1645－1646) in Fujian from 18 August 1645 until 6 October 1646. He was of royal blood, but no descendant of Wanli. He was a learned man, courageous and a friend of the Jesuits and the Christians. However, he also reigned for only one year. He was captured by the Qing and executed.[42] His brother "Xau V" (Shaowu 绍武, reign 1646－1647) became emperor in the province of Guangdong but was captured and killed by the Manchus. Within

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[34] Johannes Rumer was the provincial of the Austrian province of the Jesuits.

[35] *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. I, part 1 (Augspurg 1726), letter no. 10, pp. 28-34.

[36] *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. I, part 1 (Augspurg 1726), letter no. 13, pp. 40-46.

[37] Johannes (or János) Nádasi or Nádasy, born in Tyrnau, Hungary, in 1613, Jesuit since 1633, was at first teacher at Jesuit colleges in Hungary, then stayed in Rome, where he worked as secretary for the Latin letters of the Jesuits' general superior, for the "Litterae annuae" of the Jesuits. From 1658 he was in Austria as preacher, confessor and author. He died in 1679.

[38] *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. Ⅱ, part 9 (Augspurg 1727), letter no. 219, pp. 2-3.

[39] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Dreaming of Constantine: the Jesuit Mission and Princely Conversions in the Southern Ming", in: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute (eds.), *History of the Catholic Church in China. From its beginning to the Scheut Fathers and 20th Century. Unveiling some less known sources, sounds and pictures* (Leuven Chinese Studies XXIX) (Leuven 2015) p. 67.

[40] Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1644－1912) (Washington 1943, Taipei 1970) p. 191.

[41] Lynn A. Struve, "The Southern Ming, 1644－1662", in: Mote, Frederick W. / Twitchett, Denis/Fairbank, John K. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 7. The Ming Dynasty*, 1368－1644, *Part* Ⅰ (Cambridge 1997) pp. 641-660.

[42] Struve, "Southern Ming", p. 676-693. Von Collani, "Michał Boym", pp. 334f; idem, "Astronomy versus Astrology. Johann Adam Schall von Bell and his "superstitious" Chinese Calendar", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* LXXXII, fasc. 164 (2013) pp. 421-457.

three years there were three emperors,all of whom disappeared.〔43〕

At the same time as Shaowu also another competitor reigned,namely the Yongli emperor. Before Longwu died he sent a legate called Achilles Pang Tianshou 庞天寿 to the Ming prince Zhu Youlang 朱由榔 (1623－1662),who later became the Yongli emperor. Achilles or Achilleus Pang Tianshou was a eunuch from Beijing. Born ca. in the year 1588 he died in 1657. Achilles is perhaps identical with Achilleus,who was Director of Ceremonial at the Imperial court in Beijing. He and his brother Nereus belonged to the first eunuchs within the Imperial palace in Beijing who were baptised during the reign of Chongzhen Emperor,he was quite probably baptised by Niccolò Longobardo 龙华民 (1565－1655),Matteo Ricci's 利玛窦 (1552－1610) successor as the mission superior.〔44〕 After the conquest of Beijing he moved evidently to the south to join the Southern Ming.

Several Jesuits had relations to the different emperors of the Southern Ming,as Francesco Sambiasi 毕方济 (1582－1649),who served the emperors Longwu and Hongguang. They sent him together with Pang Tianshou to Macau to get military help from the Portuguese.〔45〕 Martino Martini 卫匡国 (1614－1661) from Trento (today northern Italy) came into contact with the Longwu Emperor;together with Giulio Aleni 艾儒略 (1582－1649),Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki 穆尼各 (1610－1656) and Pascoal Fernandes (1609－1681) he stayed in Yanping 南平 where Longwu had his Court.〔46〕 The Longwu Emperor and his entourage were especially interested in Martini's knowledge about military affairs,such as ballistics,gun powder and the casting of cannons.〔47〕

## 4 The Yongli Emperor

The last emperor of the Ming and one of the tragic heroes of our story was Zhu Youlang,the son of ZhuChangying 朱常瀛 (1597－1645). Zhu Changying,Prince of Gui,was the seventh and youngest son of the Wanli Emperor. Zhu Youlang was Prince of Yongming 永明. Also,other members of his family are known because they are mentioned in the Jesuit letters and reports as Christians. The most important members of the family were the empress Dowager Wang (1594? －1651) (Xiaozheng 孝正太后),who had been the main consort and widow of Zhu Changying,and who was Yongli's honorary mother;followed by the Empress Dowager Ma (Huangtaihou 皇太后),Yongli's real mother,and Yongli's wife Empress Wang. Later the heir apparent to the throne belonged to this group,too.

When Zhu Youlang was asked to ascend the throne as the emperor of the Southern Ming,the Empress Dowager Wang refused in his name,stating that he was too young (only 23 years old),

〔43〕 Struve,"Southern Ming",pp. 676-579;Paul Rule,"The Jesuits and the Ming－Qing Transition:How Did Boym and Martini Find Themselves on Opposite Sides?",Monumenta Serica LIX (2011) pp. 243-258.

〔44〕 Standaert,*Handbook*,p. 438.

〔45〕 In fact,he was able to return with a contingent of Portuguese soldiers. See Chabrié,*Michel Boym*,pp. 75f Standaert,Handbook,p. 439.

〔46〕 Dehergne,*Répertoire*,p. 166.

〔47〕 Giuliano Bertuccioli,Appendice 1:Cronologia della vita e delle opere di Martino Martini,in:Martino Martini,*Opera* 1 (Trento 1998) p. 516;s. a. Claudia von Collani,"Two Astronomers:Martino Martini and Johann Adam Schall von Bell",in:Luisa M. Paternicò,Claudia von Collani,Riccardo *Scartezzini*,*Martino Martini*,*Man of Dialogue*. Proceedings of the International Conference "Martino Martini (1614－1661),Man of Dialogue" held in Trento on October 15－17,2014 for the 400th anniversary of Martini's birth (Trento 2016) p. 71.

inexperienced and not strong enough for such a heavy burden.[48] In fact the prince is described being a friendly and nice man, but weak and lacking courage and the responsibility. He could only survive as emperor because he had several very selfless and noble men in his service.[49] At the end the prince was persuaded by the officials Ding Kuichu 丁魁楚 (+ 1647), baptised as Lucas, and Qu Shisi 瞿式耜 (1590－1651), baptised as Thomas, and Lü Daqi 吕大器 to accept the offer.[50] Zhu Youlang started his reign in Zhaoqing 肇庆, a former Ming estate and headquarters of the governor of Guangdong province and the Viceroy of Liang-Guang 两广, in November 1646. Ding and Qu became grand secretaries at the new court.[51] On 24 December 1646, Yongli was installed as emperor in Zhaoqing. Besides his two secretaries Yongli had also other Christians in his service, namely besides Achilles Pang also Lucas Jiao Lian 焦琏 (－ 1651).[52] For a decade, the Yongli Emperor and his troops were successful fighting against the Manchu, and it was not sure if the Manchu conquerors would win against the Southern Ming, but it seems that he was overstrained. His regime became more and more instable and he had to flee to the West into Burma.[53] At the end the Burmese were forced to surrender him to the Chinese general Wu Sangui 吴三桂 (1612－1678), who had joined the Manchus, and who put him and his young son to death by strangulation.[54]

Initiated by Francesco Sambiasi (1582－1649) the Yongli emperor received military help from Macau under Nicolas Ferreira, who brought 300 Portuguese and Chinese Christians from Macau armed with muskets and cannons in 1647. This contributed much to the victory of the Ming troops in the battle of Guilin. Koffler served as chaplain to these troops.[55]

## 5 Andreas Wolfgang Koffler

### 5.1 The early life of the Jesuit Andreas Wolfgang Koffler

Andreas Wolfgang Koffler was born in Krems, Austria, in 1612. His family was a Lutheran Protestant, his father was a rich merchant. When the mother became a widow, she left Austria, because there was pressure on her because of their religious denomination as a Protestant. Therefore, together with her children she moved to Regensburg (Ratisbonae), an Independent City of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation in the South, meaning that there was no pressure concerning Christian denominations, one could freely decide to be Protestant or Catholic. Koffler, however, stayed in Vienna, converted to Catholicism and started his university education there in 1623, at first

[48] Struve, "Southern Ming", p. 677.

[49] Fr. Jäger, "Die letzten Tage des Kü Schï－sï", *Sinica* Ⅷ (1933) p. 197.

[50] For Thomas Qiu see Jäger, "Kü Schï－sï", p. 197.

[51] Struve, "Southern Ming", p. 677; see also Standaert, *Handbook*, p. 440, Albert Chan, "A European Document on the Fall of the Ming Dynasty (1644－1649)", *Monumenta Serica* XXXV (1981－83) document 93.

[52] Standaert, *Handbook*, p. 440.

[53] Alfons Väth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S. J. Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking* 1592－1666 (Köln 1933) (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXV) (Nettetal, St. Augustin 1991²) pp. 149f; Struve, "Southern Ming", pp. 681－710.

[54] Struve, "Southern Ming", pp. 709f; Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 194.

[55] Chabrié, *Michel Boym*, pp. 60f, 85; Hsia, "Dreaming of Constantine", pp. 77f. Sambiasi had also close connections to Yongli who sent him as his ambassador to Macau and later created him a mandarin. S. Dehergne, Répertoire, p. 238.

in the "artes liberae", then in theology.[56] In 1627 he joined the Society of Jesus in Vienna and took the name Andreas Xavier.[57] Koffler was not a scientist comparable to Johannes Schreck (Terrentius) 邓玉函 (1576－1630) or Johann Adam Schall von Bell, however he had knowledge of astronomy. In 1639 he succeeded in his wish to be sent to the East Asian mission. His departure by ship from Lisbon, however, had to be postponed until 1640.[58]

Koffler reached Portuguese Goa in January 1642. From there he travelled on an English vessel together with four other Jesuits to Dutch Batavia (today Jakarta) on Java, in June 1642. When a Portuguese ship bound to Macau arrived in Batavia the Jesuits hoped that they could travel to Macau on this ship. However, the ship was not in a good condition, therefore only three of them could leave, namely the Swiss Jesuit Onuphrius Bürgi (also called Onofrius, Onofre Borges, later Jesuit superior of Tonkin), the Tridentine Jesuit Martino Martini and Paolo Calopresio from Naples.[59] They started in October 1642. Koffler and another Portuguese Jesuit, João Borges, stayed in Batavia until 1644. Koffler acted as a priest and presided over the Eucharist for the few Catholics in Batavia.[60]

Koffler described his stay with the Dutch in Batavia as being quite agreeable, because he profited from his knowledge of the Flemish language. The Calvinist Dutch were friendly and helpful, Koffler was often invited for dinner, where they discussed about the faith. When he lacked money the governor helped him. At his arrival Koffler was without equipment for the Eucharist and he was lacking books. The Dutch provided him with all these things and books which they had taken when they conquered Malakka. The Dutch, however, had the wrong opinion about the Jesuits's plans thinking that they wanted to go to the silver mines of Japan, but Koffler told them that they wanted to save souls to China. In reality the Jesuits really wanted to go to the closed Japan secretly, not to look for silver mines, but to save souls and to become perhaps martyrs for their faith, a wish which was shared by other missionaries until nearly the end of the 17th century.[61] However, they kept these plans secret, because the Japanese accepted only the Dutch as European trade partners, because they did not have missionaries and preferred to profit by commerce in Japan. For this reason, Koffler and his companions pretended to go as missionaries to China; they even changed their outfit and hair adapting to the Chinese custom. The Dutch warned them that the Chinese mandarins would kill them. The Jesuits, however, were not afraid of a martyr's death for their faith. Koffler noticed that the Dutch Protestant preacher men would never do the same because they had wives and children. At the end Koffler defended in his letter the celibacy of the Catholic Church: without marriage, i. e. without wife and children, the priests could decide and act in a free way.[62] Finally Koffler and

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〔56〕 Kühnel, "Andreas Wolfgang Koffler", p. 7.

〔57〕 Gert Naundorf, "Koffler, Wolfgang Andreas" in: Neue Deutsche Biographie 12 (1979) pp. 419 f. [Onlinefassung]: URL: http://www.deutsche－biographie.de/pnd131711350.html NDB.

〔58〕 Josef Wicki, "Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541－1758", *Portugiesische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft. Aufsätze zur portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte 7. Band* (Münster 1967) p. 296.

〔59〕 Kühnel, "Andreas Koffler", p. 7.

〔60〕 Koffler, Letter, 6 December 1642, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 10, pp. 29-31; Dehergne, *Répertoire*, p. 137.

〔61〕 Claudia von Collani, "Between Mission, Martyrdom and Mathematics: Antoine Thomas and Japan", in: Ku Weiying, Zhao Xiaoyang (eds.), *Multi-aspect Studies on Christianity in Modern China. From Antoine Thomas S. J, to Celso Costantini* (Beijing 2011) pp. 598-639.

〔62〕 Koffler, Letter, 6 December 1642, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 10.

Borges went by ship to Macau. Their superiors there and the inhabitants of Macau evidently had convinced them that it was impossible to go to Japan.

### 5.2 Koffler and the conversion of the Yongli Emperor's family

In his report Boym described the conversion of several important persons of the family of Yongli. However, we can assume that he wrote this report with the help of Koffler and perhaps of Achilles Pang. Koffler got to know Zhu Youlang, the later Yongli Emperor, when he was still a Prince. During the time when Achilles Pang stayed with the Prince in Wuzhoufu (Guangxi), the Christian general Lucas Jiao Lian 焦琏 arrived there together with 10.000 soldiers and with Fr. Andreas (Xavier) Koffler. Koffler had learned from Pang that the prince never stayed on the land or in a palace, but only on ships travelling on the rivers, because he was afraid of demons plaguing him otherwise. Achilles Pang gave him his "Lipsanotheca," a box containing relics, which partly helped. Pang told Koffler: "If Your Reverence would like to talk with the prince, I will provide you with an audience."

Koffler agreed and was received with much love by the prince who did not permit that he make any reverence to him. Koffler gave him the obligatory presents consisting of technical instruments, namely optical tubes, cylinders, mathematical instruments, and a picture of the Holy Virgin holding her son in the arms, St. John the Baptist standing nearby. The prince enjoyed these small presents and talked with Koffler. He was invited to return to the prince again.

When Yongli was crowned with the help of Pang he invited Koffler to his court in Zhaoqing. Because of tumults the emperor had to change the place soon and leave Zhaoqing. Pang did all he could to persuade Yongli to embrace Christianity and to permit that the empress received baptism. Together with the empress the emperor daily prayed the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria with the Apostolic Creed, bowing his knees. Later, the emperor dreamt three times, as he told Boym, of a little boy with a cross who said: "If you will not follow my law, I will make you die." The emperor recognized that this boy was identical with the child held by the Virgin in the picture and that the cross was similar to the one of St. John depicted at the side of Mary.[63]

Finally, the Empress Dowager decided to receive baptism and admonished Achilles Pang: "I see well that baptism is necessary for salvation. But who will do that? Did you not say that the fathers in the imperial city of Peking gave the faculty to baptize the virgins and matrons of the palace to the chamberlains because no man from outside can come to our conclave, much less a priest from a foreign country, because otherwise he would be punished severely?"

Achilles answered that he could not make any decision on this behalf but wanted to talk to Koffler about it. Koffler answered that many emperors and empresses suffered in the eternal flames and that it was an easy way to go to hell without baptism. But if the empress wanted to be saved it was best to be baptized by the Jesuit himself. A short time afterwards the empress heard the false rumours that the capital had been conquered by rebels and decided to commit suicide, a kind of death considered noble by the Chinese, in contrast to the shame of falling into the hands of the enemy. But Achilles Pang told her: "God wants that Your Majesty receive baptism from the hand of the Fathers. Then nobody can rob you of your eternal salvation." These words filled the empress and the consorts with new courage. Kneeling before the pictures

[63] In *Der Neue Welt-Bott* it was the empress who dreamt, see the letter by Michael Boym, 1653, in: Der Neue Welt-Bott vol. 1, part 1, letter no. 13.

of the Saviour and the Holy Virgin they promised to receive baptism with the holy ceremonies of the Roman Church. Koffler baptised the three empresses in April 1648. The Empress Dowager received the name Helena (Wang Liena 王烈纳), the biological mother of the Yongli Emperor, Empress Ma, was baptised Anna 亚纳, and the legitimate wife of the Yongli Emperor, Empress Wang from Suzhou, obtained the Christian name Maria (Maliya 玛利亚); also the other women of the seraglio desired fiercely to be baptized.〔64〕 So besides them around 50 concubines and 40 officials were baptised, also the mother of Helena, Julia.〔65〕

The next day the emperor returned and was invited to adore the pictures of Christ and the Holy Virgin. He stated: "The idol Fo (佛 = Buddha) shall not be adored, but Christ the true God." He praised the decision of the empress. "I, too," he said, "will follow your example." But he postponed baptism for some reason and remained a catechumen, daily reciting the prayers of the catechism and burning precious perfumes before the pictures of the saints. Boym hoped that he would be baptized soon after he left the court for Europe.

In the meantime, five provinces sent petitions that they wanted to become subjects of the Yongli emperor and to receive Viceroys from him, which was done. One of the concubines of the emperor bore a daughter, who died at once. Koffler when asked for the reason had the explanation that God's law forbids having a concubine besides the legal wife, and therefore the little girl from a sinful relation had to die. Instead he adviced the emperor to pray that the empress would have a son. The next day the Empress Maria sent a message to Koffler that she daily prayed to have a son as successor to the throne, that she recommended herself to her guardian angel for an easy delivery, whereas Koffler as a help sent her consecrated candles to be burnt before the images of Christ and the Holy Virgin. During the next night, the empress happily gave birth to a son. The emperor sent the astronomical signs of the time of the birth in Chinese language to Koffler who should explain them, i. e., make a Christian horoscope. Koffler answered that the imperial son would be happy because he was born in the middle of the night like the son of God when he decided to become a human being born from the virgin. At that time the sun and the dragon were in conjunction, the dragon being the symbol of imperial rule in China. This Christian interpretation of the horoscope pleased the Emperor and the whole court. The empress and the consort wanted to have the baby baptized, but Koffler refused and wanted to do so only with the consent of the emperor. The emperor answered that the son should be educated in the Christian way and should have only one wife later.

But the emperor himself postponed the baptism, which caused a great discord between him and the empress, and the son was only baptized after a dangerous illness. So the boy with Chinese name Cixuan 皇子慈烜 (1648—1662) was baptized with Achilles Pang being his godfather. He received the name of Constantine, in Chinese "Tam Tym" (= Dang Ding 当定), meaning: "He is the one who determines". The emperor was quite pleased by this name. All felt edified by this event and the holy faith was held in high esteem from that time.〔66〕 Koffler hoped that the boy as the future emperor

〔64〕 Sometimes the name of the mother of Yongli is given as Maria and that of his wife Anna, which seems to be illogical, because according to Christian and Islamic tradition, Anna or Hanna was the mother of the Virgin Mary. However, she is not mentioned in the canonical gospels.

〔65〕 Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne Mission de la Chine* (Chang-hai 1932—1934) p. 267; Standaert, Handbook, pp. 440f.

〔66〕 Pfister, *Notices biographiques*, p. 267; Standaert, *Handbook*, pp. 440f.

would follow the example of the Roman Emperor Constantine, who was victorious under the sign of the cross and made his empire Christian, whereas his mother was also an Empress Dowager Helena.

The emperor ordered Achilles Pang to send Christian mandarins on ships with gifts to the Jesuit Church in Macau, the ships being equipped with silken sails and bearing the sign of the Cross. When they approached Macau they proclaimed in a loud voice that they were Christians. The inhjabitants of Macau guided them to the Jesuit College and they handed the letters to the Jesuit Visitor (perhaps Sebastião de Maia, visitor from 1650 to 1658). In these letters, the emperor asked the Fathers to accept his gifts as a sign of his gratitude. They were sent in his name and in that of his son. The presents consisted of two candelabra of silver, two thuribles made of silver, two silver baskets for flowers, and Chinese incense and damask clothes. The legates made their reverence in the Chinese way and gave the gifts to the Jesuit Church.

Boym finished his report with the remark: "May God grant the emperor many victories against the rebels." Concerning Yongli, Boym's report, of course, ends before his death. Joseph Stöcklein, the editor of Der Neue Welt-Bott, finished the story: after his long flight through South Western China to Burma Yongli was finally captured by the "Tartars" (i. e. Manchus) and killed. [67]

### 5.3 Koffler's further fate

Koffler's life and death is described in some lines at the end of Boym's letter no. 13 in Der Neue Welt-Bott. These additions, however, were made by Stöcklein, the translator and compiler of Der Neue Welt-Bott, and he mentioned that the further fate of Koffler was unknown: "Some believe that he perished when a certain city was conquered. Others think that he was executed together with his emperor Yum-liè (Yongli)." [68] In a later letter written by the Jesuit Johannes Nadasi dated 2 February 1662, also published in Der Neue Welt-Bott as no. 219, Koffler's probable fate is described. The information was given from the Portuguese from Tonkin to the General Superior of the Jesuits, the Portuguese assistent gave it to Nadasi, and then it was transmitted to the Province of Austria. When the court of the Yongli emperor was on its flight on ship, Koffler was shipwrecked on a sandbank nearby Tianzhou. A "Tartarischer Hauptmann" (Manchu captain) assailed him and he was asked who he was. Koffler answered in Chinese that he was a teacher of the Divine Law (= Christianity), whose contents were in the sign of the holy cross. When the Tartar asked him to show him such a sign, Koffler performed three little crosses it starting with his front, the mouth, then the breast, followed by the big cross from the front to the belly, then the left and the right shoulders and he said in Chinese: "With the sign of the holy cross deliver us, o Lord, from our enemies in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen." When he had finished these words, the Tartar cut him with his sword from the front to the belly and from the left shoulder to the right shoulder thus making Fr. Koffler a sacrifice. In this way, as Fr. Nadasi says, Koffler became a martyr of Jesus Christ and triumphed by the sign of the cross. This story was told by a chamberlain and confirmed by

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[67] Boym, Letter, 1653, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. 1, no. 13, p. 45. Struve, „Southern Ming", pp. 709f.

[68] Boym, Letter, 1653, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. 1, no. 13, pp. 45f. Stöcklein wrote about the fate of Koffler: "Wie es aber dem Apostolischen Mann Patri Andreæ Wolffgango Koffler, welchem die Portugesen den Nahmen verändert und Andream Xavier genannt haben/ferner ergangen seye/hab ich nach fleißiger Nachforschung nicht erfahren können. Einige glauben/er wäre in dem Sturm einer gewissen Stadt mit in die Pfannen gehauen worden. Andere meynen/er seye mit seinem Käyser Yum-liè hingerichtet worden."

several Chinese Christians and by the superior of the Jesuit mission in Tonkin.[69] So at the end Koffler went to the Far East because he wanted to become a martyr in Japan, but he reached his destination in China.[70]

In Fr. Marini's report it was Fr. Boym who had heard the story from a eunuch, attested by several Christians.[71] The story is also attached to Boym's letter together with the description of the sad end of the Yongli emperor: the siege of Canton, conquered on 24 November 1650, with 100.000 inhabitants killed. Then the Tartars went further to Zhaoqing to attack Yongli, but he did not wait but fled through Guangxi to Yunnan and finally to Pegu. He was surrendered to the Qing army and killed in 1662. The letter mentions that his widow and the other women were brought to Peking where they were well treated and lived there as Christians until their death, which is, however, not proven. The editor Fr. Stöcklein also sees clear parallels to the death of the Shunzhi Emperor at nearly the same time: both died in the same year, and the empire was given to the eight years old Kangxi emperor.[72]

## 6 Michał Boym

### 6.1 The early life of Michał Boym

The second important Jesuit at the Court of the Southern Ming was the Pole Michał Boym. His life is much better known than that of Koffler. Boym was born in Lvov, Poland-Lithuania, in 1612, his father was acting physician at the court of the Polish King Sigismund Ⅲ. Boym joined the Jesuits in 1631; after his studies at several Polish Jesuit Colleges, he finally obtained the permission to travel to the East as a missionary.[73] He departed from Lisbon for China 30 March 1643 and reached Tonkin in 1645. At first, he worked on the island of Hainan, where he made studies in the flora there. In 1649 Boym stayed for a short time in Macau. In 1650 Boym was sent to Court of the Southern Ming by Álvaro de Semedo 曾德照 (1586－1658), the Vice-Provincial of China to support Koffler.[74] Boym did not stay at the Court for a long time but was soon entrusted with a special legation to Rome. Already at the end of 1650 the Empress Dowager sent him as ambassador back to Europe.[75]

### 6.2 Michał Boym's delegation to Rome

At the end of the year 1650 Boym was made ambassador of the Southern Ming Court and sent to Europe by the Empress Dowager Helena and the Christian princesses of the Southern Ming Court. They sent him to Pope Innocent X (ReignSeptember 1644-7 January 1655) and to European rulers.

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〔69〕 Johannes Nadasi, Letter, 2 February 1662, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. 2, 1727, no. 219.

〔70〕 Boym, Letter, 1653, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. 1, no. 13, pp. 45f. Cf. Edward J. Malatesta, "The Tragedy of Michael Boym", in: *Actes du VI^e Colloque international de Sinologie, Chantilly* 1989 (Taipei, Paris 1995) pp. 353-370.

〔71〕 Giovanni Filippo Marini, *Delle Missioni de' Padri della Compagnia di Giesv nella Provincia del Giappone, e particolarmente di quella di Tumkino* (Roma 1663) p. 346.

〔72〕 Boym, Letter, 1653, in: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 13, pp. 45f.

〔73〕 Monika Miazek-Męczynska, "*Indipetae Boymianae*. On Boym's Requests to the Jesuit General for a Missionary Appointment to China", *Monumenta Serica* LIX (2011) pp. 229-242.

〔74〕 Pfister, *Notices biographiques*, pp. 265-269; Dehergne, Répertoire, p. 137.

〔75〕 Dehergne, *Répertoire*, pp. 34f.

On Boym's suggestion Empress Helena wrote letters to Pope Innocent X,[76] to the Jesuits' General Superior dated 1 and 4 of November 1650, and to Cardinal Lugo.[77] The chancellor Achilles Pang did the same.[78] In these letters they begged to pray for their souls and for their fight against the Manchus and therefore for Ming restoration, and also so send more Catholic priests to the court, but they did not beg for military help from Europe, because it was too far away.[79] Empress Helena's letter as published in Latin translation in Athanasius Kircher's famous book China … illustrata reads in English translation as follows:

"The empress Helena, the most just, the most wise, the most clement, and most venerable, addresses the throne of the most holy father, the most mighty prince, the doctor of Catholic church, and the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth.

I, Helena, who blush with shame to remain in the imperial palace, though I am a humble grand-child of the Chinese emperor; I, who have no knowledge of strange laws, and who have only studied those that regard a retired life, have been happy enough to find a man called Andrew Xavier, of the company of Jesus, who came to settle at our court, to publish there a holy doctrine, whereby he has acquired a great reputation. I had a desire to see him, and after having satisfied my curiosity, I was sensible that what was said of him was true, and that he was an extraordinary man.

The esteem I entertained for his merit, made me easily relish his doctrine. I have received holy baptism from his hand, and he has been partly the cause that the empress Mary, mother to the emperor, I his lawful wife, and Constantine, son and heir of the said emperor, were, three years ago, likewise regenerated by the waters of baptism, after having been sufficiently instructed in the truth of religion. As I wish to be grateful, even at the hazard of my life, for all the grace I have received from Heaven, I have often cherished the desire and thought to repair to your holiness, that I might by yourself be instructed in my duty, but the distance of place hindered me. For this reason I write this to your holiness, to the end that by your holy prayers you may render the divine majesty favourable to poor sinners, such as we are; and that you might be pleased to grant us plenary remission of our sins at the hour of death.

We likewise entreat you, most holy father, to beg of God, in conjunction with the holy church, that he may vouchsafe to take our empire under all his protection; but above all that may grant our imperial house the blessings of peace, and teach the emperor (who is the

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〔76〕 The letter published in: Marini, Delle Missioni…, pp. 545-546, in Latin translation in: Athanasius Kircher, China … illustrata (Amsterdam 1667) pp. 101f: "Interpretatio Literarum Sinicarum ab Imperii Sinici Imperatrice D. Helena, nomine suo, & Reginæ Matris D. Annæ, & Reginæ uxoris D. Mariæ, nec non filii Imperatoris Principis & Hæredis D. Constantini missarum. Ad Sanctissimum D. N. per Patres Andream Xavier, & Michaelem Boym, Societatis JESU, in Aula Imperatoris Sinensis pro tempore Assistentes, facta,"; then in French translation in Du Halde, p. 83. "Litterae Helenae Tamingae, Sinarum reginae, ad S. Pontificem, 4 Novembris 1650," Du Halde, Description de la Chine (Paris 1735) p. 83.

〔77〕 Cardinal Lugo is quite probably identical with Juan de Lugo y de Quiroga (1583—1660), entered the Society of Jesus in 1603 and became a Cardinal in 1643.

〔78〕 "Litterae Pan Achillei, Eunuchi Sinarum regis, ad S. Pontificem, 1. Novembris 1650", in: Athanasius Kircher, China... illustrata (Amsterdam 1671) p. 100f; Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, Description de la Chine Ⅲ (Paris 1735) pp. 83f; Launay, Histoire des Missions, pp. 11f. Additional letters were written to the Doge of Venice and to the King of Portugal.

〔79〕 Standaert, Handbook, p. 441.

eighteenth of this line,and nephew of the twelfth successor of the founder of this monarchy,) and all his subjects,to know and to adore the true God,Jesus Christ. We likewise beseech you,that you would show us the favour of sending other holy persons of the Society of Jesus, in order that they may publish throughout the empire the holy laws of the Gospel,which would lay us under great obligation. For this end,we send your holiness Michael Boym,who is perfectly well acquainted with the affairs of the empire,to present these our humble petitions. He can declare to you verbally all that we more particularly desire,and he will make you acquainted how great is our submission to the church. Whenever our empire shall enjoy full peace,we hope to send back some of these fathers,to present our vows and persons before the altars of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul,as we do at present with profound respect.

Lastly,we kneel and fall prostrate,craving the favour of your holiness,in hopes that you will look upon us with a gracious eye.

Fourth year of Yung-lieh,—11th of 10th month (corresponding to the 4th of November 1650)."[80]

And the letter written by Achilles Pang:

"Pan Achilles,a Christian,universal proregent of Quam Tum,Quam Sy,and Fo Kien provinces,by order of the emperor of the illustrious Chinese Empire;military commissioner for land and sea;leader of the subordinate kings of Quam Sy,treasurer of revenues;solicitor; absolute and sole judge in the emperor's absence;supreme prefect of the imperial guard; master of the horse;great chancellor;private imperial secretary;servant of the bedchamber. With knees bent and head toward the ground I stand before the throne of Jesus,and the vicar of God on earth,the universal teacher of the Catholic church,the true Lord,the Most Holy Father.

I,Achilles,having been led from error,am guardian of the emperor's inner chambers, and,at the same time,in charge of the responsibility for war. Once I harmed myself. Removed from the light and discipline,I increased the number of sinners. Then,by the auspices of God, in the Northern Court I met Jesuits who,though I was ignorant,taught me. They exhorted me,a sinner,to follow the faith. Therefore I was reverently cleansed with the sacred washing. I began to understand the documents of the Holy Faith and its hidden excellence and deep profundity. Then I was immersed in zeal and day and night I followed the truth for more than twenty years,nor did I dare to give any of it up. So I sought the help of the King of Heaven,since I did not know how to proceed. I often planned to visit the sacred throne and to satiate my eyes by venerating the holy countenance,but the imperial concerns are so various and royal matters so perplexing that my heart could not follow its desire. I am sorry about this. The sole excuse of my sinful heart is that calamity has never departed from the empire.

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〔80〕 Karl Gützlaff,A sketch of Chinese history,ancient and modern,vol. 2 (London 1834) pp. 122-124;cf. Athanasius Kircher, China illustrata by Athanasius Kircher,S. J. ,transl. by Dr. Charles D. Van Tuyl from the 1677 (sic!) original Latin edition (Muskogee, Oklahoma,1987) pp. 92f.

Therefore, I requested Fr. Boym to go by ship to the Far West and to approach you, great pontiff, as suppliant. Most Holy Father, when you raise your eyes to heaven before the altar of St. Peter and Paul, please pray with the church of the whole world that God might look down in mercy on this imperial house, that He aid and preserve the empire by setting up the borders of future peace. May He cause our wise emperor, who is the eighteenth successor in this royal house and the twelfth descendant from the first founder of the empire and family, himself a lord, to worship Jesus, the Lord of heaven, along with his servants. That will be a blessing for our Chinese Empire. In this present time the most upright, wise, merciful, venerable empress of the Christian name Helena, the queen mother named Maria, the imperial legitimate wife Anna, and the emperor's son, prince, and heir Constantine-may all these humbly believe and cultivate the holy doctrine which contains the words of truth that approach the Holy Throne. As regards me, an unlearned sinner, I humbly beseech you, Most Holy Father, that your grant a full remission of sins in the hour I depart this life, and that you send many other Jesuits to the Chinese Empire to convert with their doctrines all those of this generation so they will repent and decide to cultivate and venerate the Holy Law, and these Jesuits won't shake the dust from their feet after a vain journey. I hope finally to achieve unending happiness. With veneration, I have explained these secret thoughts of an ignorant mind. I throw myself to the earth hoping for your merciful consideration. That is all.

In Yum lie, that is the fourth year in the order of revolution of the Literary Annals Kem Yn, the tenth moon, the eighth day, which is November 1, 1650 A. D."[81]

Sent by the Court of Yongli with the permission of the Vice-provincial Alvaro Semedo (1586—1658) and with the two letters in his luggage, Boym started his voyage by sea from Macau on 1 January 1651 to Portuguese Goa (May 1651).[82] There he learned that the King of Portugal had already abandoned the cause of the Ming Emperors and that his mission to Europe was considered as dangerous for the relations between Qing China and Portugal. The Jesuit superiors also thought that the Order should not interfere into political matters. Therefore, Boym was placed under house arrest, but succeeded in escaping. He continued his travel on foot and on the land route via Persia, Smyrna, Venice. There he met the Doge on 16 December 1652, presented himself dressed in Chinese clothes and then continued his travel to Rome. In Rome he had to wait with his Chinese companion Andreas (Zheng Andelei 郑安德勒) for three whole years because Pope Innocent X did not receive him; there were even rumours that the letter from the Ming Court were fraudulent,[83] and the Jesuit general superior thought that Boym's mission was dangerous for the other Jesuits in China.[84] Finally, after

[81] Kircher, China illustrata (1687) pp. 91f.

[82] Paul Rule, "The Jesuits and the Ming-Qing Transition: How Did Boym and Martini Find Themselves on Opposite Sides?", Monumenta Serica LIX (2011) p. 246.

[83] Monika Miazek-Męczynska, "The Roman Troubles of Michael Boym S. J. described by Thomas Szpot Dunin in Historiae Sinarum Imperii and Collectanea Historiae Sinensis", in: Rooted in Hope. In der Hoffnung verwurzelt. Festschrift in Honor of Roman Malek S. V. D. on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series LXⅧ/1) (Sankt Augustin 2017) pp. 178f.

[84] Rule, "Jesuits and the Ming-Qing Transition", p. 252.

the decisions of the Congregatio particularis of the Propaganda Fide (1653,24 August 1654 and 24 September 1655) and after letters sent by bishops of Goa and Macau asking for the recall of Boym's mission the new Pope Alexander VII (Reign 1655—1667) decided to receive Boym in an audience on 7 December 1655. On 18 December 1655 he answered to the letters sent from China.[85] These letters written by the Pope for the last Ming ruler and his Christian family,however,were only "spiritually uplifting but political noncommittal".[86] Then he started his way back to China as superior of a small group of Jesuits from Lisbon to Goa on the ship "Bom Jesus do Carmo" on 30 March 1656.[87] Their destination was Portuguese India,but some travelled on to China.

In his luggage Boym carried the encouraging letters written by Alexander VII to Empress Helena and to the great chancellor (18 of December 1655).[88] Boym still hoped that the cause of the Christian Ming Court would turn a turn for the better now,that the Yongli emperor would embrace Catholicism as the first Chinese emperor,that his Court would follow him and that the Southern Ming would become the dominant ruling dynasty of China and of the Far East,as envisioned by the promising strategy of accommodation of the Jesuits.[89] However,things did not go this way. Starting from Goa in 1657 Boym arrived in Siam in 1658. There he received message from the Senate of Macau to avoid the city,because the Portuguese were dependent on the Qing Court in Peking and did not want to endanger these relations.[90] Boym therefore continued his way via Ayutthaya in Siam. There he hired a ship from pirates which brought him to Tonkin (today Northern Vietnam) where they arrived on 10 August 1658.[91] From Tonkin there was still a two months journey left for Boym to reach the Ming Court in the South. In Tonkin he met two brethren,namely Fr. Onufre Borges and Fr. Joseph François Tissanier (1618—1688),who informed him that King Trinh Tac (1654—1682) of Tonkin had ordered the other six Jesuits to leave the country for Macau on 17 July. Finally,Boym and Andreas got their passports and were permitted to leave Tonkin on February 16,1659.[92] Boym then continued his dangerous travel with his Chinese companion to the province of Guangxi,where he died of exhaustion on 22 June 1659.[93]

At the same time when Boym started his travel for Rome,namely in 1650,another delegate was sent to Rome,namely the Tridentine Jesuit Martino Martini,who was also sent by Vice-Provincial Manuel Dias(1559—1639),on behalf of the Chinese Rites and with a dossier about Johann Adam

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〔85〕 "Litterae responsoriae ab Alexandro VII ad Helenam,Sinae Imperatricem",and "Litterae responsoriae Alexandri VII ad Pan Achilleum,eunuchum Sinarum regis,both Romae:18. Decembris 1655,in:Kircher,China … illustrata (1667) pp. 102f;English translation Kircher,China illustrata (1987) pp. 93f;cf. Robert Streit (ed.),Bibliotheca Missionum V (Freiburg 1929) p. 80. S. a. Robert Chabrié,Michel Boym,p. 181;von Collani,"Boym",p. 316;Miazek-Męczynska,"The Roman Troubles",p. 179.

〔86〕 Standaert,Handbook,p. 441.

〔87〕 Wicki,"Jesuiten-Indienfahrer",p. 300. Boym's companions were among others the Jesuits Philippe Couplet (1623—1692),François de Rougemont (1624—1676),André Gomez (1622—1681) and Ignatius Hartegovelt (1629—1658). Wicki,"Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer," p. 300. Other companions were George Brett Keynes (1629—1658 died on sea),António Saldanha (1619—1656?),Francisco Velho (1631—?) and João de Abreu (1635—1663).

〔88〕 Kircher,China … illustrata,pp. 102f.

〔89〕 Standaert,Handbook,pp. 310f.

〔90〕 Pfister,Notices biographiques,p. 273.

〔91〕 Malatesta,"The Tragedy of Michael Boym",p. 364.

〔92〕 Von Collani,"Boym",p. 330.

〔93〕 See the report by Borges,in:Malatesta,"The Tragedy",pp. 365—368.

Schall von Bell.[94] After a long and dangerous voyage he finally arrived in Rome at the end of 1654.[95] He submitted new material concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy and managed to obtain a positive answer from the Holy Office 23 March 1656.[96] His way back started in the beginning of 1656 and he arrived in Hangzhou in June 1659. He died there already in June 1661.[97]

The story about the last Ming Emperor Yongli, his Christian family, the Christians in his entourage and the fate of the two Jesuits in his service is a tragic one. Both Jesuits tried to convert him to Christianity, but they failed. Boym and Koffler both died for their faith, for their Lord the Yongli Emperor and for the Society of Jesus, because they tried to serve all of them.

It is astonishing in what extent the events and persons of the Qing dynasty in Northern China and those of the Southern Ming were parallel. Both emperors Shunzhi, the first emperor of the new Qing dynasty, and Yongli, the last emperor of the old Ming dynasty, died as comparably young men at about the same time, 1661 and 1662 respectively. Both of them had a Jesuit astronomer in their service. From both courts, from the North and from the South, delegates were sent to Rome at the same time, from the North Martino Martini was sent, from the South Boym. However, events concerning the two dynasties went in opposite directions. Martini was successful in many respects, whereas Boym failed in many ways: His delegation as such failed more or less, his maps of China were never published, whereas Martini's petition to the Holy Office was successful and he also published among others the Novus Atlas Sinensis (Amsterdam 1655) and the first history of the Chinese empire, namely Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima (Monachii 1658).[98] Boym's book on Chinese medicine Clavis medica ad Chinarum doctrinam de pulsibus … (1686) was published only posthumously.[99] Only his Flora Sinensis, fructus floresque humillime porrigens (1656) was printed during his lifetimes when he had already left Europe. He was not treated well either by the Jesuit province of Japan nor of that of the Vice-Province of China.[100] His companion Koffler succeeded in converting parts of the Imperial family in the South, but they were defeated and killed. He published even less. Together with Boym he was quite probably the author of the report on the conversion of the Imperial family of the Southern Ming Court, which appeared in several versions and translations, namely Summa del estado del imperio de la China, y Christiandad del, por las noticias que dan los padres de la Compañia de Iesus…, (1650), and a posthumously published letter in Der Neue Welt-Bott in 1726. It seems, however, that he became one of the few martyrs of the China mission of early modern times.

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〔94〕 Dehergne, Répertoire, p. 103. See Collani, "Two Astronomers", pp. 88f.

〔95〕 Dehergne, Répertoire, p. 166.

〔96〕 Martini also obtained a good solution for the cause of Schall. Von Collani, "Two Astronomers", p. 78.

〔97〕 Dehergne, Répertoire, p. 166.

〔98〕 Noël Golvers, "Michael Boym and Martino Martini: A Contrastive Portrait of Two China Missionaries and Mapmakers", Monumenta Serica LIX (2011) pp. 259-271.

〔99〕 See Edward Kajdanski, „Michael Boym: The First European Expert in Chinese Medicine and Pharmacy", in: Actes du V^e Colloque international de Sinologie de Chantilly 1986. Succès échecs de la rencontre Chine et Occident du XVIe au XXe siècle (Variétés Sinologiques-Nouvelle Série Vol. 74) (Taipei, Paris 1993) pp. 133-144 and Erhard Rosner, "Michael Boym and the Introduction of Chinese Medical Knowledge to the West: A Reappraisal", Monumenta Serica LIX (2011) pp. 401-416.

〔100〕 Onofre Borges, Letter to Goswin Nickel, 20 October 1659, ARSI, JS 80, ff. 147r-148r.

## 7 Conclusion

The Jesuits' efforts to convert persons of the top of the society and especially members of ruling houses (emperors, kings, princes, daimyos etc.) aimed to help the spread of Christianity among the subjects of these persons. It was they might avoid conflicts between the rulers and their peoples. In Europe the Jesuits following theirmotto "to become all for all" used different methods in the Counter Reformation to regain lost territories for Catholicism: catechetic work among the Catholic people,[101] education of the future elite of the countries at their colleges,[102] serving as confessors at Catholic courts. In this role they worked at courts of the dukes of Wittelsbach, such as Maximilian I of Bavaria (birth 1573, reigned 1597－1623) in Munich——his confessor was Adam Contzen (1571－1635); for the House of Habsburg, with emperor Ferdinand Ⅱ from Austria (birth 1578, 1619－1637) whose confessor was Wilhelm Lamormaini (1570－1648); and of Louis XIV (birth 1638, reigned 1643－1715) in Paris with well-known Jesuit confessors, François d'Aix de (le Père Lachaise) la Chaise (1624－1709) and his sucessor Michel Le Tellier (1643－1719), confessor of the sun king until the death of Louis in 1715.[103] The Jesuits, of course, would have liked to have comparable influence at the courts of East Asian as in Japan, China, Siam, first as missionaries and then as confessors. They did what they could working as astronomers, mathematicians, military experts, artists, their hope, however, failed for different reasons. European Catholic nations of that times seemed to be too threatening for the East Asian countries, the Catholic Church tried to gain influence over inner political affairs. Polygamy constituted one of the greatest obstacles concerning the upper classes.[104] So at the end only a few of the Japanese daimyos were converted and Catholicism was more or less extirpated in Japan; in China there were several high ranking scholars such as Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao, but Christianity failed among other reasons because of the Rites Controversy and became a religion which lived under the control of the court in Beijing or which had to live underground.[105]

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Onofre Borges, Letter to Goswin Nickel, 20 October 1659, ARSI, JS 80, ff. 147r-148r.

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[101] Especially Peter Canisius became one of the Catholic forerunners of catechetical work. See Julius Oswald, Peter Rummel, Petrus Canisius-Reformer der Kirche. Festschrift zum 400. Todestag (Augsburg 1996).

[102] Michael Müller, Die Entwicklung des höheren Bildungswesens der französischen Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Aufhebung 1762－1764. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kollegien von Paris und Moulins (Mainzer Studien zur Neueren Geschichte Band 4) (Frankfurt/Main 2000); Vicent J. Duminuco, The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum. 400th Anniversary Perspectives (New York 2000).

[103] Robert Bireley, "Hofbeichtväter und Politik im 17. Jahrhundert", in: Michael Sievernich, Günter Switek (eds.), Ignatianisch. Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu (Freiburg 1990) pp. 386-403; Markus Friedrich, Die Jesuiten. Aufstieg, Niedergang, Neubeginn (München 2016) pp. 270-284.

[104] Claudia von Collani, "Mission and Matrimony", in: Ku Wei-ying (ed.), Missionary Approaches and Linguistics in Mainland China and Taiwan (Leuven Chinese Studies X) (Leuven 2001) pp. 15f.

[105] Claudia von Collani, "Parishes, Priests and Lay People: Christian Communities as Described in the Neue Welt-Bott", in: Noël Golvers, Sara Lievens (eds.), A lifelong dedication to the China Mission. Essays presented in Honor of Faher Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K. U. Leuven (Leuven Chinese Studies XⅦ) (Leuven 2007) pp. 669-704.

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**中文题目:**

# 永历朝廷里的耶稣会士瞿安德和卜弥格

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**提要:**本文主要研究南明永历朝廷里的耶稣会士瞿安德和卜弥格。作者首先研究了欧洲和亚洲统治者德信仰皈依,并介绍了作为本文研究对象德原始资料。其次,作者研究了南明和永历朝廷。接着研究了瞿安德德早期生平、他与永历皇帝家族的信仰皈依情形,和瞿安德的进一步的命运。作者还研究了卜弥补格的早期生平、及其赴罗马的代表团。最后得出了本文的结论。

**关键词:**南明;永历朝廷;耶稣会士;瞿安德;卜弥格