

Kangxi Emperor Viewed by the Kings'  
Mathematicians: Focusing on the Travel  
Writings of Louis Lecomte  
and Joachim Bouvet  
by *Feng-Chuan Pan*

I  
**Introduction**

In the middle and late seventeenth century, the Sun King: Louis XIV (1638-1715, R. 1643-1715) attempted to expand the political influence of France over the Far East for years, trying to replace the Portuguese monopoly of the Far East enterprise. Before «the king's mathematicians» were sent to China, the mission in Siam of Paris Foreign Missions Society (Société des Missions étrangères de Paris, M. E. P.) was established in 1662. Although the diplomatic relationship between both sides was established, the French missionary's effort to convert Siam king was not successful.

Promoted by Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) and Philippe Couplet (1623-1693), the «king's mathematicians», including Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730), Louis Lecomte (1655-1728), Jean de Fontaney (1643-1710), Claude de Visdelou (1656-1737), Jean-François Gerbillon (1654-1707), and Guy Tachard (1648-1712), were appointed by the Sun King. Accompanied by a delegation to Siam, they departed on 3 March 1685, from France and arrived in Siam in September 1685. On 2 July 1686, the next year, five of them decided to move to China, and only Guy Tachard stayed back. Approximately 3 weeks later, the five of them arrived in Ningbo on 23 July 1687. Bouvet and Gerbillon stayed back to serve in the court of Beijing, but the other three Jesuits proceeded to other provinces. During 1688-1693, Bouvet served as the Kangxi Emperor's teacher of Western learning and as a mediator between the Kangxi Emperor and Louis XIV. In 1693, after the edict of the toleration of Christianity was issued by the Kangxi Emperor, Bouvet was sent back to Europe to promote the greatness of the Chinese emperor, to apprise his courtesy to the Jesuits of China, and to recruit a higher number of excellent French Jesuits

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for Beijing'. Bouvet finally arrived in Paris at the end of March 1697 and published the *Historical Portrait of the Emperor of China* (*Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine*) in the same year. As one of the king's mathematicians, Bouvet's book can be considered as a work report to Louis XIV concerning the Far East expansion project, the connection between the two kings at both ends of Eurasia was established<sup>2</sup>. Shortly after the publication of Bouvet's book, the English edition of the book was published in London. Two years later, Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716) translated the book to Latin and included the translated version in the second edition of his work *Novissima sinica* (1699). The book and its translations soon drew the attention of European intellectuals because it presented the ideal system of morals and politics practiced in the Chinese Empire under the reign of the Kangxi Emperor.

One year before the publication of Bouvet's book containing the biography of the Kangxi Emperor, his colleague Lecomte published *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* (*New Briefs on the Present State of China*, 1696) in Paris. This book contains a record of the works of the king's mathematicians in China during 1687-1692, comprising the book comprises 14 letters that were written to important French political and religious people. The letters include the narratives of their journey to the East, their meetings with the emperor of China, and descriptions of China's natural landscape, cities and cultures. More importantly, the letters include reports of the Chinese missionary undertakings and the issuance of edict of evangelism of the Catholic Church by the Kangxi Emperor in 1692. In his book, Lecomte emphasised on the approval given by the Kangxi Emperor for the Jesuit mission in China.

Philippe Couplet (1623-1693) published the translation of the three books under the authorship of Confucius, entitled: *Confucius sinarum philosophus* in 1687<sup>3</sup>. In which Confucius is portrayed as a philosopher whose books were widely read among the European intellectuals. Several decades later, François Noël (1651-1729) published *Six classical books of Chinese empire* (*Sinensis imperii libri classici sex*) in 1711, which first contained a new translation of the *Four Books*. Two more books were also included – *Book of filial piety* (*Filialis observantia*) and *Book of infant education* (*Parvulorum schola*) – to introduce the ideas and systems of the Chinese government and education. François Noël was in close association with the Kangxi Emperor and was one of his ambassadors sent back to Europe to defend the Chinese rites. When the Riccian Jesuits and Sorbonne's theologians were in a dilemma of whether the Chinese rites

were religious or civil<sup>4</sup>, François Noël attempted to refocus the debate to Chinese «filial piety», highlighting its ethical orientation.

At the end of the seventeenth century, Louis XIV dispatched his mathematicians to Beijing. This action can be considered as a symbol of gradual supremacy of a secular king's power over the pope's power. At the culmination of the debates over the Chinese rites, the Kangxi Emperor was portrayed as the most powerful defender of the Riccian Jesuits in China. Here, I observed a change in strategy to relay on imperial support. Note that the content written in defence of their China mission included a large part of the Kangxi Emperor's interpretation of Chinese traditional classics and rites. For example, the Kangxi Emperor's interpretation of the Chinese classics was emphasised in the works of François Noël (1651-1729) and his colleagues on Chinese rites: *Historical Notices of Chinese Rituals and Ceremonies in the Veneration of Deceased Parents and Benefactors* (*Historica notitia rituum ac ceremoniarum sinicarum in colendis parentibus ac benefactoribus defunctis*, 1711)<sup>5</sup>. Moreover, the Jesuits in Beijing more directly and comprehensively translated the «imperial works» (*les œuvres Impériales*) of the Qing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, thus giving European readers an image of China different from that presented by the «literary works» (*les œuvres littéraires*) provided by the literati. This can be seen as a transformation from the cross-cultural «Europe-China» to «pope-emperor» (or «the sacred-secular») contend. The European monarchies gradually became independent of the control of the Catholic Church, indicating that the subsequent effects of the writings had progressed beyond the expectation of the Jesuits<sup>6</sup>.

Thus, it is worthwhile to see how the Chinese monarch was introduced in the travel writings of Bouvet and Lecomte and by contemporary writers such as Nieuhof and Leibniz. In the following sections, I discuss their writings from a two-fold perspective – narration and illustration – to analyse how the king's mathematicians reported to the Sun King about the ideal monarch of the oriental empire through their writings.

## 2

### Jesuit's Political Idea of Monarchy: Single Ruler

Louis XIV was one of the longest-reigning monarch (72 years), the sole ruler and the absolute monarch of France, and the most important monarch to weaken the aristocratic power in the history of Europe. On

the basis of the letter of the Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) to the Coimbra College in Portuguese, Harro Höpfl pointed out in his book on Jesuit political thoughts that unity is necessary for the society of Jesus. The unity depends on a type of hierarchy to ensure obedience of a subject to his or her superior. The aforementioned statement can be understood by considering the analogy of the human body – the mind dominates the movement of all parts of the body. If a body is dominated by several minds or if a government is ruled by several governors, the result is disorder and even immobilization. Thus, the «single ruler» system of a government is crucial; this applies not only to the internal administration of the Jesuits but also to the society of the general public. A «single ruler» is the best for all forms of governments and public administrations<sup>7</sup>. The will of the ruler is interpreted as a positive law. The duty of the subjects is to obey the will of the ruler. This is interpreted as the manifestation of the law-abiding behaviour. He also stresses that for a Jesuit, such a will has to respect the «natural law». The natural law is highly pervasive; thus, it requires certain norms to be used as the code of conduct. The norms come from an authoritative decision-making process. However, the monarch who makes the decision is «not legally bound» (*princeps legibus solutus*) by the natural law<sup>8</sup>.

Concerning the political thought of the Jesuits, Thierry Meynard pointed out in his article on Leibniz that for the Jesuits, «politics is a necessary part of redemption, because politics provides a social structure in which people experience and seek God». Politics and religion are not mutually exclusive but rather are the means to salvation. However, politics must be governed by the Church, which implies that the pope has an indirect authority over the world that is ruled by kings<sup>9</sup>. The Jesuits in China believed that a single ruler should have the authority to take decisions and argued that this was the optimal model for the secular world, thus implying that they favoured monarchy (*Monos archos*)<sup>10</sup>. It is not surprising to see that they confirmed the importance of imperial monarchy for maintaining order of the vast empire. Due to the foundation of universal rationality, the emperor of China was endowed with two-fold power that included the sacred and secular power. This two-fold power resembles the power of a pope, who obtains the mandate of God that transcends the secular monarch. This highly developed system of civilisation and the establishment of ethics can be fulfilled in the secular world independent of the Catholic Church. Meynard also mentioned that in the history of Europe, the Jesuits often served as the priest of confession for the king and were

very active in the court. On the basis of Leibniz's *Novissima sinica*, Meynard discovered that the discourses on politics played a key role among intellectuals in the early modern Europe. This suggested that although the Jesuits could not provide a theological legitimacy of the Chinese monarchy, they could focus on the civilised aspects while introducing the Chinese society and politics to the European audience. They eventually created a new concept of a society: a completely secular, moral society without Christianity. The Jesuits believed that China followed the Confucian tradition without offering sacrifices to God. The behaviour of worshipping the ancestors, Confucius, and emperors had nothing to do with religion but was only related to social, cultural, and political factors. The most typical example of this secular narrative of Confucianism is found in *Confucius sinarum philosophus* published by Couplet. This work by Couplet has constructed an image of Confucius and the related tradition. Confucianism is a civilisation that is not related to the religious society of China<sup>11</sup>. Although they were not able to be the father confessor of the Chinese emperor, the mathematicians of the French king had been very active in the emperor's court since the time when Matteo Ricci began his missionary work.

Their active behaviour in the court is in line with the Jesuit mission strategy in China; Matteo Ricci's missionary track also hinted about the Jesuit's understanding of politics. After coming to China, Ricci made every effort to be part of the centre of power and eventually entered the court in Beijing. However, the church-state dilemma did not seem to be a major problem for the Jesuits before the involvement of Louis XIV in the Far East. Unlike the predecessors of the Jesuits in previous centuries, these king's mathematicians stood between the pope and the King of France during the initial phase of serving at their selected position and were bestowed with a dual ambassadorship both of the church and the secular world. The land that Bouvet travelled to no longer belonged to the Ming dynasty ruled by the Han Chinese regime. The Chinese empire selected by these king's mathematicians was the Qing dynasty, one of the most powerful totalitarian dynasties in history that was ruled by a single ruler. There were words such as «To the king (au Roy)» and «With the privilege of the king (avec privilège du Roy)» on the cover page of Bouvet's books. Thus, we can observe that the books were published with the permission of the king and not the pope. The primary discussion in the books published by this group of Jesuits sent to China by the Sun King is no longer the literati tradition represented by Confucius but the Kangxi Emperor and the political aspects of the empire.

### 3 The Double Image of the Kangxi Emperor: Picture and Narrative

In the year in which Bouvet published the *Historical Portrait of the Emperor of China* (*Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine*, 1697), he also published the book *The Present State of China, in Figures* (*L'estat present de la Chine, en figures*). This is a book dedicated to the grandson of Louis XIV, a 15-year-old Duke of Burgundy (1682-1712), and the duchess. This book only contains pictures and a six-page preface, which discusses about the «Idea of government of China» (*Idée du gouvernement de la Chine*). In addition to a picture of the Duke, this book contains 43 pictures of the Chinese people in total. The first 23 pictures of the 43 pictures are of males, in which four are Han Chinese mandarins – two emperors of the Ming dynasty and two prime ministers (*Gelao*). Figures 5-23 present pictures of Manchu mandarins with male costumes. These mandarins are listed in the descending order of their ranking from the prince to the different officials. Figures 24-41 present pictures of females, including nine Manchu ladies and nine Han Chinese ladies. Figures 42 and 43 present pictures of a Buddhist monk and a Taoist priest, respectively. Each figure is displayed by two methods: in the form of a black-and-white sketch and in the form a colourful picture.

However, I found no picture of the Kangxi Emperor in Bouvet's travel writings. In his message to King Louis XIV, he describes and introduces the Kangxi Emperor very vividly by writing a lengthy text as if there was a picture at hand while introducing the emperor to Louis XIV. The content of his description includes the appearance of the Kangxi Emperor, such as his facial features and even the smallpox scars on his face. Bouvet stressed that the image of the Kangxi Emperor was portrayed in detail in accordance with the actual appearance of the emperor. Bouvet emphasised that Kangxi's spirit was more beautiful than his physical appearance and that his spirit could not be explained in words or through a picture<sup>12</sup>. From the textual description of Bouvet, it is very likely that a portrait of the Kangxi Emperor was dedicated to Louis XIV during a meeting. So far, I have not found any evidence to explain why the picture of the Kangxi Emperor was not added to Bouvet's *Historical Portrait of the Emperor of China* or the Duke of Burgundy's book. At the end of his preface to the Duke of Burgundy, Bouvet's expectation from the grandson of Louis XIV has been clarified. The duke is encouraged to continue to support the mission in China, for the sake of France and the Catholic Church, when the duke becomes the patron of the China mission.

Two points of Bouvet's introduction to the concept of the Chinese government grabbed our attention<sup>13</sup>. The first point is about the symbolic meaning of the dragon images on the emperor's costume. He explained to his readers that only the emperor was allowed to put on a costume that contained the decoration of a five-clawed dragon, which was the symbol of the emperor. He stressed that in the Chinese empire, since the beginning of the empire, dragon had always been an imperial totem<sup>14</sup>. He also pointed out that in China, «dragon» represents positivity and signifies a sacred and good fortune, which is different from the negative image and implications of a dragon in the Western countries. The second point is that Bouvet concluded his introduction to the Chinese government with the analogy of Plato's philosophy and the European politicians under the influence of Christianity. He stated the following:

To sum up, if China is fortunate enough to have the illumination of the gospel, we can hope so, that such wise government will be given the ultimate fulfilment of the laws of Christianity, which can be regarded as more perfect than Plato's *Republic*. All the good ideas of this government are never imagined by our most intelligent politician<sup>15</sup>.

In Bouvet's description, the Chinese emperor is given a better title – a wise king who was never imagined by all the politicians in the European tradition – than the title «philosopher king» given by Plato in *Republic*.

Although no picture of the Kangxi Emperor was present in Bouvet's books, Lecomte, another king's mathematician, presented a picture in *New Briefs on the Present State of China (Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine, 1696, 1697, 1698)*<sup>16</sup>. On the bottom of the picture, the following was written: «Kangxi: The Emperor of China and Eastern Tatar, 41 years old, portrait painted at 32 years old». These words attracted my attention. That is, in the territory of the Kangxi Emperor, China was distinguished from Tartar; there was a distinction between «China», «Eastern Tatar» (Manchu), and «Western Tatar» (Mongolian). This type of distinction of China from Manchu or Tartary is also seen in Bouvet's book.

The second letter of Lecomte during his travel is a letter to the Duchess of Nemours (À Madame la Duchesse de Nemours). In this letter, Lecomte described about his interview with the Kangxi Emperor in Beijing. He mentioned that the king's mathematicians performed the most solemn rite (*San gui jiu kou*, kneeling three times and bowing low to have one's head touching the ground nine times) to the Kangxi Emperor. They were also allowed to gaze at the face of the emperor, which was prohibited to



the Chinese mandarins. This is a reason why Lecomte stressed that the description of the Kangxi Emperor was noteworthy. In his description, he specified that the Kangxi Emperor had a medium physique, slightly fatter than an average European but thinner than an average Chinese. He called the Kangxi Emperor as an extraordinary person, «the most powerful king in Asia»<sup>17</sup>, and «the most powerful monarch in the Universe»<sup>18</sup>.

Lecomte wrote a lengthy text on how the Kangxi Emperor treated Ferdinand Verbiest kindly by giving him a burial tomb and repairing the tombs behind his tomb, thus showing that the emperor was ready to grant the mission privileges to the Catholic Church missionaries.

In the ninth letter to the Cardinal of Estrée on Chinese politics and government<sup>19</sup>, Lecomte introduced the «government idea» of the Chinese empire and believed that the establishment of a single monarchy in all Chinese political ideas was the most perfect decision. It is noteworthy that Lecomte found that China seemed to be free from the natural law. The system of unitary kingship, which is directly regulated by God and was established in the ancient times, is prevalent to date with slight changes even after 4,000 years of quenching and refining. He stressed that the emperor of this empire is known as «the Son of Heaven» and «the unique master of the world» and that «his orders are deemed holy, his words takes place in oracles: everything that comes from him is sacred»<sup>20</sup>. From another viewpoint, Lecomte clarified that although the emperor has the supremacy of power, the power was in conformity with ethical rules and appropriate conditions. There was a complete bureaucracy system, and there were norms for appointment, promotion, reward, punishment, defamation, etc. Lecomte also introduced the system of imperial examination (*Keju*), civil and military official, civilian affairs, etc. Despite the shortcomings in the empire, Lecomte stated, at the end of the letter, that the government of China is «indeed admirable for its antiquity, for the wisdom of its maxims, for the panels and uniformity of its Laws, for the exemplary Virtue which it has produced in a long succession of emperors for that regularity and order which it has kept the people in, in despite of Civil or Foreign wars»<sup>21</sup>. He stressed that the credibility of good politics was present in China. Similar to Bouvet's viewpoint of the Chinese government system, Lecomte also praised the imperial government system of the Chinese empire.

Their positive introduction to the Chinese empire was not without criticism. Louis Cousin (1627-1707) was one of the objectors. He published an article in *Journal des Savants* that raised questions and criticised the «king's mathematicians» introduction of China as fraud. Lecomte responded to this criticism in the preface of the second edition



of *Memoire* of 1697. He added an approximate seven-page description of the interaction between Verbiest and the Kangxi Emperor to counter Cousin's claim. With the affirmation and support of the Kangxi Emperor, the Jesuits in China highlighted their selfless enthusiasm and defended themselves as follows:

Sir I am glad, since I have employed almost every moment of my life in the service of Your Majesty. But I humbly beg her to remember after my death, that in all that I have done, I have never seen such a great person, the greatest Prince of the Orient, a protector to the most holy religion of the universe<sup>22</sup>.

As Verbiest had a good relationship with the Kangxi Emperor, he provided a strong support to the king's mathematicians when they arrived to Beijing and also analogised the emperor to the kings of the Orient who worshipped baby Jesus. He wrote the following:

In the past, the stars in the sky led the three kings of the East to worship the Lord and now guide the Chinese emperor to come into contact with the essence of European astronomy. We hope that his understanding of the stars (European astronomy) can also successfully guide the people of the Far East to worship and to believe in the true Lord of Heaven<sup>23</sup>.

Between the lines of the preface, while defending the mission in China through the contribution of Verbiest, Lecomte showed great respect to Kangxi and titled him as «the world's most sacred religious protector». The French king's mathematicians specified that Kangxi was «about to accept Christianity. This image of the Chinese emperor was constantly reminded through their writings to the European readers. This consistent statement and the way in which Kangxi is described can be understood in two ways. On the one hand, it proves that their work in China was in the right direction. On the one hand, it presents the need for more support and assistance from Europe, especially from the King of France.

#### 4 Three Main Themes

Bouvet's narrative of the Kangxi Emperor *Historical portrait of the emperor of China* has approximately 250 pages. In addition to the dedicated messages to the king, the book is written in a narrative format in which Bouvet has cited his experience in China. Bouvet's narrative can be summarised using three themes: (a) The governmental system of the

Chinese empire, (b) the Kangxi Emperor and Western learning (*Xixue*), and (c) a dilemma between the Kangxi Emperor and the Sun King Louis XIV. I elaborate on these three themes in detail as follows.

In the first step of Bouvet's narrative of the Kangxi Emperor, he related the emperor to his famous ancestors and the history of the Chinese empire in the seventeenth century, especially the Shunzhi Emperor of Manchu who was described in *China Illustrated* published by Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) and had been well known by European readers. Bouvet assembled the various details of this gentle and open-minded emperor and wrote as follows:

The emperor, who is ruling China and the great Tartar region, is named «Kangxi», meaning peace. He was the son and heir of Emperor Shunzhi, the king of the Manchurian (East Tartar)... Aged 44, has reigned for 36 years<sup>24</sup>.

Bouvet presented in a long text that the so-called Manchurian Tatars, who were also known as «Oriental Tatar», were established in the north-east of China. The Kangxi Emperor was the governor of the Han Chinese and the Manchu and was well versed in literature and military technology. The emperor was majestic and merciful and was respected by the people of the neighbouring countries. More importantly, he was good at managing the administration of the country, including internal affairs and diplomacy. In this manner, Bouvet turned his narrative to the governmental system of the Chinese empire. Bouvet specified an example of *Ao Bai*, the regency minister. He indicated how *Ao Bai* strengthened the emperor's power to retake the regency minister's rights<sup>25</sup>. He explained how the Kangxi Emperor faced the diplomatic problem of a conciliatory attitude of highly courteous diplomatic envoys, and how the king's mathematicians during this diplomatic incident participated in the political and diplomatic affairs of the Chinese empire. Concerning the interior affairs, Bouvet presented an example of *Wu Sangui*. He explained how Kangxi wisely sent troops to resolve the internal tension between the Manchu and the Han Chinese while resisting attacks from Mongolians<sup>26</sup>. Bouvet attributed all the victories of the Emperor to the single royal governmental system of the Chinese empire. In this system, the Kangxi Emperor stood at the commanding heights to respond to all the urgent situations in a very flexible, efficient way that is free from the restrictions of the law. He stated that the system in China was a system of «unitary monarchy in which everyone reported to one person (depending on one person)»<sup>27</sup>. One can also be reminded that, in the English edition the statement is

translated in a stronger tone. It is to be observed that the Constitution of the *Chinese* Government is absolutely monarchical, depending on the one single head<sup>28</sup>. The *Yiren* in Chinese, was for both French and British readers. *Yiren* is an affirmation that the ruling system contains a single head of the country, a rather positive description to the Chinese empire.

Bouvet stressed that the emperor lived a thrifty and simple way of life, although the Chinese empire was more rich and powerful than all other countries. The emperor had power over the neighbouring countries, but he followed the law and rites of the empire. More than most scholars, the emperor gave offerings to «the true Lord of Heaven and Earth», which was in accordance with the religion practiced in the Chinese empire from the ancient time. Bouvet also pointed out that Kangxi was familiar with Confucian classics to convince Han Chinese not only through his power but also through his knowledge<sup>29</sup>.

Thanks to the Jesuits and the king's mathematicians who served in the court, Kangxi was directly trained in Western learning every day. Bouvet recorded how the mathematicians taught Western sciences to the Kangxi Emperor. This description by Bouvet occupies nearly 80 pages, approximately one-third of the book. The book also has a long text that specifies how the emperor was interested in Western scholarship. It is noteworthy that, Kangxi held a Sino-western Astronomical Conference and a competition to encourage debates over the astronomical theories known in China and Europe. Moreover, he encouraged the establishment of the observatory by Verbiest. Bouvet also highlighted that Kangxi set up an institution in the court that was similar to the French Academy of Sciences. The institution involved the gathering of painters, blacksmiths to make clocks, craftsmen of astronomical instruments, etc. They had report about the progress of their work to Kangxi regularly. As Bouvet's introduction is similar to most of the discussions about Kangxi's acceptance of Western studies, I restrict myself to the aforementioned brief discussion on the theme<sup>30</sup>.

As the master of both Manchu and Han Chinese, Kangxi had to learn the languages of the two groups and be familiar with the culture of the two communities, especially the traditional Confucian studies and rituals. Bouvet's discussion on Kangxi's morality mainly focused on the ethical principles of China, especially filial piety. He presented Kangxi's gratitude to his grandmother and specified the education provided by him to the prince. He stressed especially that Kangxi was very concerned about whether the crown prince would be as courteous as he was to the Western Jesuits. Bouvet's interpretation of the Kangxi

Emperor's concern implied that Kangxi intended to pass on his good will for the missionaries to the crown prince. In particular, in the same year of the Kangxi Emperor's promulgation of the mission permission in 1692, Kangxi visited the observatory established by Verbiest and asked the prince to study Western science with the Jesuits. Bouvet explained that the key to the emperor's permission was the idea that the Chinese and Western culture shared the same origin. In other words, he regarded that the perfection of the natural laws embodied in both Catholicism and Confucianism, especially in «the doctrine of Confucius and ancient Chinese» rather than in the contemporaries of neo-Confucianism. He thought that the Kangxi Emperor had already held this view for a long time<sup>31</sup>. He stressed on the following:

For the rest, the authority given to this great Prince [Kangxi] by his long-term study of their ancient books, which is due to his perfect knowledge of his religion, and the perfect knowledge he has acquired of them, give his testimony of a very great weight in this matter<sup>32</sup>.

In other words, the authoritativeness of the Kangxi Emperor due to his position as a Confucian cult leader and the perfect understanding of the Confucian philosophies gained through the long-term study of the ancient Chinese books are undoubtedly of great importance to his views on religious issues.

Bouvet summed up in the book that the Kangxi Emperor was not far from the kingdom of heaven. He specified the similarities between the Kangxi Emperor and Louis XIV. Moreover, he stated that if the Kangxi Emperor would become a Catholic, then the two monarchs would be more alike. Citing the letter of a Dutch, Bouvet revealed the missionary victory all over the country after the promulgation of the mission permission by the Kangxi Emperor in 1692. To promote the mission, Bouvet more actively requested assistance from Louis XIV and requested to send more mathematicians to China. This was also the reason why the Kangxi Emperor sent him back to Europe. The Kangxi Emperor was highly satisfied with the people sent by Louis XIV. Bouvet stressed that finally, Louis XIV himself would benefit the most from the completion of the mission in China because his work was in line with the will of God. The success of the mission in the Chinese empire would be followed by the neighbouring countries. Bouvet said to Louis XIV that the honour of having an opportunity to participate in fulfilling God's plan was reserved for him by God<sup>33</sup>.

However, in his title message to Louis XIV, Bouvet mentioned that although the Kangxi Emperor was very friendly and respectful to the Catholic Church, he still indulged in the pagan faith. Unlike King Louis XIV, the Kangxi Emperor still needed conversion to God. Bouvet stressed on the following: «Regardless of how we are favored by the Chinese emperor, we are not at all fooled by it. And because of the genuine Christian interests that are completely in harmony with the interests of your majesty, we are naturally filled with the due respect for truth and honor». Bouvet showed his allegiance to Louis XIV and the Catholic faith and presented an eagerness to cast doubt on such an outward tone from the betrayer of faith. After all, Bouvet was still the king's mathematician.

Two years after the publication of Bouvet's biography of the Kangxi Emperor, another edition was published in the Hague in 1699, and the English edition of it was entitled *The history of the emperor of China, presented to the king*, published in London. The words: «Au Roy» and the five pages of dedication to the French King were deleted. In addition to the change in the title, another picture of the Kangxi Emperor provided in Lecomte's book was added to it.

We can observe that in the text below the picture was changed; not only that the narrative text was relatively simplified but also Kangxi's age was changed from 41 years (appears in Lecomte's book) to 44 years. Please be reminded that the latter book's publication was 3 years later, and it seems that the latter publisher was very careful with the age of the Kangxi Emperor. It is noteworthy that the early 1697 edition and the 1698 Paris edition of Bouvet's biography of the Kangxi Emperor does not provide any picture of the emperor. However, this edition published in the Hague not only includes a bust of an unknown origin but also the words «With the privilege of the king», which were originally at the bottom of the title page of the early 1697 edition, were deleted. Although the words «To the king» and the first five pages of the text of the title were reserved, the title message to the king was deleted. This reminds me of Isabelle Landry-Deron's research on Jean-Baptiste du Halde's (1674-1743) *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la tartarie chinoise* (Paris, 1735). She draws the readers' attention to the edition published in 1736 in the Hague. The latter one was smaller, cheaper though with poor quality; it was more popular than the Paris edition<sup>34</sup>. I am unsure whether the Dutch publishers were also interested in Kangxi's biography by Bouvet; it seems that they widely circulated the book among the European readers. A fact that draws my attention is that both editions (1735 and 1736) provide a picture of the

Kangxi Emperor, which is similar to the one in Lecomte's book. This can be considered as an evidence that at the end of the seventeenth century, nearly 40 years later, the introduction of the Kangxi Emperor and his image were still translated and read.

When du Halde published *Description* in Paris, 1735, the *Yongzheng* Emperor was reigning. This was several years after the Jesuits' Chinese mission strategy and the Chinese rites were banned and before the prohibition of the discussion on Chinese rites in 1742. In the book of du Halde, he termed the *Yongzheng* Emperor as the present ruler and the third emperor of the Qing dynasty although the Qing dynasty was termed as the 22nd dynasty of the Chinese empire.<sup>35</sup>

Unlike the European monarch's picture, Kangxi Emperor was decorated with many pictures of the dragon and various instruments and flags. From these instruments presented in the picture, we can identify the Jesuits and the emperor in the Qing dynasty. The second half of du Halde's book, that is, from page 262, presents the introduction of the emperors of the past dynasties. The portrait of the Kangxi Emperor is one of these. The following words can be found in pages 540-550: «Kangxi, the Chinese emperor. Died 20 December 1722, in 61, painted at the age of 32». Different from the works of Bouvet and Lecomte about the Kangxi Emperor, the date of death of the Kangxi Emperor was recorded. The image of a living and active emperor, who was full of vigour, could imagine future, and had made all efforts to establish diplomatic relations with Louis XIV, was merely a historical figure. In du Halde's book, the Kangxi Emperor was described as one of the historical Chinese empire figure in a distant country.

## 5

### **Predecessors and Successors: Kircher, *China illustrata* (1667)**

In addition to the pictures of the Kangxi Emperor, the pictures of the Shunzhi Emperor are presented in European books on China and are mostly presented with a standing figure with a typical costume of the Chinese emperor. The picture in *China illustrata*, published by Kircher in 1667, is the most famous example.

Please refer to the text presented on the top within the picture above: «Supreme MONARCH of the Sino-Tartar Empire» (*Imperii sino-tartarici supremus MONARCHA*). In the picture, the monarch has a cane in one hand and bends with his elbow upright; this posture symbolises the mighty

power of the emperor. One can observe that the interior configuration of the picture's background, including murals, curtains, and black-and-white chequered flooring, which resembles the European style court. There is a dog at the foot, and there is a sun ornament on the ceiling in another space. In the background, there is a king sitting at a distance, and there are subordinates sitting or kneeling down in front of him. Obviously, the picture of the Sino-Tartar monarch and the layout of the court presents a mixture of the Chinese and European cultural elements<sup>36</sup>. One can also see that the so-called The Renaissance elbow appears in the picture. The standing posture with a long stick in one hand and a bend at another hand was probably influenced by the figure paintings of Netherlands.

The English translation of Kircher's *China illustrate* was attached to the English translation of the travel account of Joan Nieuhof (1618-1672), the Dutch ambassador, *An embassy from the East-India company of the united provinces to the grand tartar Cham, emperor of China* (1669, 1673)<sup>37</sup>. This standing image of the Sino-Tartar monarch was also included. The English translation of the text on the top of the picture is as follows: «The Supreme MONARCH of CHINA TARTARIAN Empire». In the English translation published in 1669, one does not see the picture of Manchurian Khan. There is only the picture of a Sino-Tartar monarch. However, there are two pictures on the cover page of the English version published in 1673: a sitting and a standing picture of the Sino-Manchurian emperor. The English version of the cover description displays a partial message from Kircher's book: «with an appendix of several remarks taken out of Father ATHANASIUS KIRCHER». Nieuhof's book was originally written in Dutch and was published in Amsterdam in 1665. The emperor's pictures are also different in the translations. However, the Dutch original version published in 1665, the French translation published in 1665<sup>38</sup>, the German translation published in 1665, and the Latin translation published in 1668 have not included the text from Kircher's book or the emperor's picture. Another fact to be considered is that the Kangxi Emperor was still a child when Kircher's book was first published. However, the picture of the Chinese emperor provided in Kircher's book was that of an adult. One can reasonably assume that the picture was of the Shunzhi Emperor, who had been ruling China from 1644 to 1661. One may also note that Nieuhof visited China between 1655 and 1657 with the aim of securing the Sino-Dutch trade relationship with the *Shunzhi* Emperor. Due to the change in the emperor's pictures, the contemporary European readers could observe changes or transitions between Chinese dynasties. As for us – the contemporary readers – we can also observe when and



how the Europeans described and interpreted the changes. For example, in the book *Description de l'univers contenant les differents systeme du monde* published by Alain M. Mallet in 1683 in Paris, Figures 18 and 19, respectively, demonstrate «The Chinese Emperors and Queens before the Qing dynasty»<sup>39</sup>, and «the Qing Emperor (after entering the country)»<sup>40</sup>. As presented below: The left picture contains the words: «Emperors and Queens of China before the invasion of Tartar». The picture presents the Emperor and Queen of the Ming dynasty sitting on chairs with costumes that have long sleeves. The picture on the right states the following: «Chinese Tartar King» (Roy Tartar de la Chine). This picture is quite similar to that of the Shunzhi Emperor in Kircher's book except the fact that the sceptre is not present. The readers can clearly distinguish between the emperors of the Ming and Qing dynasties, which indicated the change in the political system of China.

## 6

### Leibniz:

#### A Reader of Bouvet and Lecomte

Gottfried Leibniz had never visited China in his lifetime. His knowledge of China was indirectly obtained from the Jesuits' writings and through correspondence. From Leibniz's viewpoint, China and Europe complemented each other just as one eye assists the other for proper functioning. In 1689, he heard Kangxi's reputation through the writings of Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1638-1712), who praised the emperor for his intelligence, kindness, and interest in Western learning<sup>41</sup>. *Novissima sinica*, a famous book first published by Leibniz in 1697, includes all the reports of China's missionary work undertaken in 1689-1697, the Sino-Russian Nerchinsk Treaty, and Kangxi's permission of mission. In the first edition of this book in 1697, the picture and biography of the Kangxi Emperor was not included. In 1699, when Leibniz published the revised edition of *Novissima sinica*, Bouvet's narrative and Lecomte's picture of the Kangxi Emperor were included. He added a Latin translation of Bouvet's narrative of the Kangxi Emperor. The translation was done by his friend Caspar Corbër (?-1700), a rhetoric Professor, and was added as the seventh document of *Novissima sinica*<sup>42</sup>, entitled *Icon regia monarchae sinarvm nunc regnantis* (The monarch's portrait of the Reign of China Today)<sup>43</sup>.

Leibniz was in correspondence with Bouvet at that time; thus, Kangxi's biography was immediately incorporated into Leibniz's book.

Moreover, this version also contains a picture of the Kangxi Emperor, which is very similar to that in Lecomte's book. However, the orientation of the body turned from the right side to the left side, and the picture had a relatively poor quality. The picture of a dragon in front of the chest was in the opposite direction, but the two dragons on the border were not changed. Although the body leaned in a different direction, the two pictures resemble each other when the other elements of the picture are considered. The pictures are as follows:

In the «To the reader» section of *Novissima sinica*, Leibniz emphasised his admiration and appreciation for the Chinese empire and the emperor in a rhetorical tone:

The greatest civilizations and the most elegant cultures of humankind, Europe and the other side of the earth - like *Tschina* (Oriental Europe, as they pronounce it), have finally come together on the both sides of our continent today. Who would have believed in the past that there is such a national existence on the earth that he has a more ethical citizen life than our own people who think that they are educated in all fields?<sup>44</sup>

Leibniz's description of the Kangxi Emperor presented as follows is even surprising:

Who is not surprised by such an imperial monarch? His greatness is almost beyond the possibility of man, he is regarded as the god of the Earth (Deus), and people are committed to his purpose. Nevertheless, he is accustomed to so cultivate his own moral and intelligence: with all power but abides the law. [...] China's present emperor Kangxi is even more so...[He] allowed the Europeans to preach the Christian religion legally and openly. [...] He tried to integrate European culture with Chinese culture. [...] Perhaps the whole Chinese empire had not yet learned and benefitted from Western science as what he had done. His knowledge and vision had naturally surpassed that of the other Han Chinese and Tatars, as a European spire had been added to the pyramids of Egypt<sup>45</sup>.

Being a German protestant philosopher, Leibniz often wrote letters to the Jesuits about the civilisation of the Chinese empire. He even expressed the hope that China would send «Chinese missionaries» to teach practical philosophy in Europe. He considered that if a wise man was invited to judge which nationality's culture would be the most outstanding one, the winner will be China rather than Europe<sup>46</sup>. The Kangxi Emperor of the Chinese empire, which practised the system of a single ruler (monarchy), became the ideal king. Can we say that the king's mathematicians have

succeeded in promoting the Kangxi Emperor as a perfect image to the intellectuals in European knowledge circles, such as Leibniz?

The biography of the Kangxi Emperor published by Bouvet and the emperor's official permission for propagation in 1692 proclaimed the success of the Jesuit mission throughout the Chinese empire. It not only caused great events inside the church but also drew the attention of secular scholars. I found that a number of related articles were published in *Journal des savants* (1665-1793, 1816-) during the most difficult years of the Chinese rites controversy for the Jesuits. For example, there is a review of the biography of the Kangxi Emperor by Bouvet published in the issue of number 21 (2 June 1698). The review introduced basic information of the Kangxi Emperor, such as his life, reign, and age. The author of this review even described that the Kangxi Emperor was almost like a Christian. The portrait of the Kangxi Emperor that Bouvet dedicated to Louis XIV is also mentioned, thus describing how similar the two monarchs were. Moreover, the Kangxi Emperor was praised to be one of the most perfect kings in the world, if he could convert to Christianity<sup>47</sup>. Another article published in the same year provided a discussion on Jean-François Gerbillon's (1654-1707) book on the Kangxi Emperor's permission for mission: *Histoire de l'édit de l'empereur de la Chine en faveur de la religion Chrétienne, en faveur de la religion Chrétienne* (1698)<sup>48</sup>. In the commentary, the author criticised the Dominicans' and the Franciscans' accusations on the Jesuits as a very serious criminal act<sup>49</sup>. In addition to the two examples mentioned above, this journal served as a platform for knowledge exchange among scholars and continued to publish many articles about China. From these reviews or public debates, we can observe that the Kangxi Emperor, the system of the government in the Chinese empire, and the Chinese empire in general had been one of the most topics discussed among scholars of the time.

## 7

### Concluding Remarks

In his book *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, Peter Burke offered an interesting approach to Louis XIV. He reviewed and re-evaluated the Sun King through relevant paintings, engravings, sculptures, literature, medals, dramas, ballet, and operas. By using these materials, he dismissed the notion that Louis XIV was a powerful and perfect king and thus revealed the reality of the king. In the years when Bouvet, Lecomte, and Leibniz published books on the Kangxi Emperor, the oriental ideal monarch, Louis XIV had grown old. The Sun King was, as described by

Peter Burke<sup>50</sup>, in the «sunset» period, lacked teeth, etc. His kingdom was also declining. The «God-building movement» in the seventeenth century France ended here<sup>51</sup>. In addition to the imperial figure, the giant of the Chinese literati tradition, Confucius, was also one of the targets in the debates of scholars over the question whether Confucius was a production of «manufacture». Paul Rule pointed out in *K'ung-tzu or Confucius?: the jesuit interpretation of confucianism* that the term «Confucius» is a Jesuit invention<sup>52</sup>. Lionel M. Jensen severely criticised that Confucianism was manufactured by the Jesuits in *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese traditions and universal civilization*<sup>53</sup>. The tradition of the Chinese empire may be regarded as a two-fold tradition, literati and imperial, which can be appropriately represented in Europe by Couplet's *Confucius sinarum philosophus* (1687) and Bouvet's *Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine* (1697). In Couplet's book, the picture of Confucius is reconstructed in a space such as a European library<sup>54</sup>, similar to the way in which the picture of the Kangxi Emperor was presented in a European royal layout as aforementioned. The books of Bouvet and Lecomte were published in the early days of enlightenment, were immediately translated into a variety of European languages, and were widely circulated. Some of the published materials spread even more widely as their pirated versions were circulated.

After examining and analysing the picture and narrative of the Kangxi Emperor, some questions merit future investigations: «Was it only a strategy to highlight the role of the Kangxi Emperor as a perfect monarch by the end of the seventeenth century?» or «Was it a type of religious identity within the group of the Jesuit figurists?» If it is the former case, then they were indeed in an awkward situation when they highlighted Kangxi's interpretation of the ancient Chinese classics as the most powerful defence to Chinese rites and the Jesuit mission in China. This interpretation was embarrassing because it caused a competition between *Louis XIV* and the Pope and Portuguese king, who had been involved in the Far East enterprise. The *Kangxi* Emperor, directly or indirectly, was portrayed as a perfect monarch to several important thinkers who were seeking an ideal ruler in Europe. The introduction of the *Kangxi* Emperor by the Jesuits in terms of his support to their mission in China eventually weakened and even threatened the authority of the pope. If these issues can be further explored, it would shed light on our understanding of the changes in the church-government relationship in Europe after the eighteenth century and the formal establishment of the French sinology in the nineteenth century.

## Notes

1. Cf. C. von Collani (ed.), *Joachim Bouvet, S. J. journal des voyages*, Taipei Ricci Institute, Taipei 2005, pp. 3-35.
2. According to Claudia von Collani, Bouvet testified for Emperor Kangxi to the Pope and was given a certificate of faith to prove that Emperor was not an atheist dated on 1 December 1697. Cf. C. von Collani (ed.), *Joachim Bouvet, S. J. journal des voyages*, pp. 43-4.
3. Cf. D. E. Mungello, *The First Complete Translation of the Confucian Four Books in the West*, in *International Symposium on Chinese Western Cultural Interchange in Commemoration of the 400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Arrival of Matteo Ricci, S. J.*, Fu-Jen Catholic University, Taipei 1983, pp. 516-39.
4. Cf. St. Sure, F. Donald, R. R. Noll, E. Malatesta, *100 Roman Documents Concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy (1645-1941)*, Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, San Francisco 1992, pp. 10 and 19.
5. For the details, see my *Zhongguo li yi zhi zheng mai luo zhong de xiao dao: Wei Fangji yu «Xiao jing» fan yi chu tan, The Filial Piety in the Context of the Chinese Rites Controversy: François Noël's Translation of Xiaojing*, in "Logos & Pneuma: Chinese Journal of Theology", XXXIII, 2010, pp. 67-95.
6. For the details, see my *Filial Piety, the Imperial Works and Translation: Pierre-Martial Cibot and «The Book of Filial Piety»*, in L. Wang-chi Wong, B. Fuehrer (eds.), *Sinologists as Translators in the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, Asian Translation Traditions Series, The Chinese University Press, Hong Kong 2015, pp. 87-126.
7. Quoted in H. Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: the Society of Jesus and the State*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, pp. 27-8, 39-41.
8. Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, cit., pp. 88, 226-7, 367.
9. Th. Meynard, *G. W. Leibniz's Novissima Sinica and the Value of Its Thought*, in "Macau Historical Studies", V, 2006, pp. 160-71.
10. Meynard's discussion is based on Höpfl, *Jesuit political thought*, cit., p. 41.
11. Meynard, *G. W. Leibniz's Novissima Sinica*, cit., pp. 160-71.
12. Quoted in G. Leibniz, *Zhōngguó jìn shì-wèile zhào liàng wǒmen zhège shidài de lishǐ* [chinese trans. of *Novissima Sinica*, cit.], p. 53.
13. For the details of Chinese Mandarin's ranking, please see <http://archive.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/officer/officerkm2?!FUNC2> (access 20 April 2017).
14. J. Bouvet, *L'Estat present de la Chine, en figures: dédié a Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne*, Pierre Giffart, Paris 1697, p. 2.
15. Bouvet, *L'Estat present de la Chine*, cit., p. 4. Underline is mine. Please see Plato, *Republic*, Book VI, cf. <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.7.vi.html> (access 5 Apr. 2018).
16. This book was reprinted three times in Paris during 1696-1698. English translation was published in 1697, by Benjamin Tooke and Sam Buckley in London. German translation was later published by Fleischer in 1700, Frankfurt, Leipzig and Nürnberg.
17. L. Lecomte, *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine*, Jean Anisson, Paris 1696, vol. 1, p. 89.
18. Lecomte, *Nouveaux mémoires*, cit., p. 91.
19. Lecomte, *Nouveaux mémoires*, cit., vol. 2, p. 3.
20. Lecomte, *Nouveaux mémoires*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 5-6.
21. Quoted in the English edition: *Memoirs and observations... made in late journey through the empire of China*, s.e., London 1697, p. 310. Cf. Lecomte, *Nouveaux mémoires*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 129-30.

22. The defence is not seen in the first edition of Lecomte's book in 1696. Lecomte, *Nouveaux mémoires*, cit., vol. 1, "avertissement", p. eij.
23. Cf. Th. Meynard, *Yoguan xiangzai zhongguohuangdi xuexiyouzhoukexue deqingkuang*, in Leibniz, Meynard, Yang, *Zhōngguó jìn shì*, cit., p. 39.
24. Cf. J. Bouvet, *Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine*, E. Michallet, Paris 1697, pp. 10, 34-46.
25. Bouvet, *Portrait historique*, cit., pp. 17-9.
26. Bouvet, *Portrait historique*, cit., pp. 46-62.
27. Bouvet, *Portrait historique*, cit., p. 62.
28. J. Bouvet, *The History of Cang-hy, the Present Emperour of China Presented to the Most Christian king*, F. Coggan, London 1699, pp. 23-4. Underlines mine.
29. Bouvet, *Portrait historique*, cit., p. 74.
30. Bouvet, *Portrait historique*, cit., pp. 116-200.
31. Bouvet, *Portrait historique*, cit., pp. 225-32.
32. Bouvet, *Portrait historique*, cit., p. 232.
33. Bouvet, *Portrait historique*, cit., pp. 242-60.
34. I. Landry-Deron, *La preuve par la Chine. La «description» de J. -B. Du Halde*, Jé suite, Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris 2002, p. 39.
35. J.-B. du Halde, *Description de l'empire de la Chine*, vol. 1, Paris 1735, p. 550.
36. Cf. Zhu Longxing, *Miàohuì hélán rén--cóng xiè suì Zhìgòng Tú kàn hélán huìhuà zài zhōngguó de kěnéng yǐngxiǎng* (Illustrating the Dutchmen: the Influence of the Dutch Painting on Chinese Arts), in «Gùgōng wénwù yuèkān, The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art», CCCXXXVI, 2011, pp. 100-9.
37. For the English edition, see J. Nieuhof, P. de Goyer, J. de Keizer, J. Ogilby, *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham: Emperour of China, Delivered by Their Excellcies Peter de Goyer, and Jacob De Keyzer at His Imperial City of Peking*, J. Macock, London 1669, pp. 402-3.
38. J. Nieuhoff, *L'ambassade de la compagnie orientale des provinces unies vers l'empereur de la Chine, ou grand cam de tartarie, faite par les srs. Pierre de Goyer, & Jacob de Keyser*, Pour J. de Meurs, Leyde 1665.
39. See Alain Manesson Mallet, *Description de l'univers contenant les differents systeme du monde*, vol. 2, D. Thierry, Paris 1683, p. 41.
40. Mallet, *Description de l'univers*, cit., p. 43.
41. Cf. Leibniz, *Zhōngguó jìn shì*, cit., p. 004.
42. Leibniz mentioned this friend's name as Caspar Corbër in his letter to Antonio Magliabechi 1699, see Li Wenchao, *Un commerce de lumière. Leibniz' Vorstellungen von kulturellem Wissensaustausch*, in F. Beiderbeck, I. Dingel, Wenchao Li (Hrsg.), *Umwelt und Weltgestaltung: Leibniz' politisches Denken in seiner Zeit*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2015, p. 295, note 10.
43. I refer to the Chinese translation of Baoyun Yang, see Leibniz, *Zhōngguó jìn shì*, cit., pp. 50-100. The Latin title is as follows: J. Bouvet, *Icon regia monarchae sinarum nunc regnantis* à R. P. Joach. Bouveto Jesuita Gallo, ex Gallico versa, G. W. Leibniz, *Novissima Sinica historiam nostri temporis illustratura*, Förster, Hannover 1699.
44. T. Meynard, Wen-chao Li, *Leibniz to the Reader*, in Leibniz, *Zhōngguó jìn shì*, cit., pp. 1-4. Cf. also Leibniz, *Benevolo Lectori, Novissima Sinica*, cit., p. 2.
45. I refer to the Chinese translation of these passages, quoted in Leibniz, *Zhōngguó jìn shì*, cit. The original is in Leibniz, *Benevolo lectori*, cit., pp. 4-5. The Latin edition uses the controversial term "Deus".
46. I refer to the Chinese translation of these passages, quoted in Meynard, Wenchao Li, *Leibniz to the reader*, in Leibniz, *Zhōngguó jìn shì*, cit., p. 6.
47. *Le journal des savants*, Jean Cusson, Paris 1698, p. 246.

48. This book was later collected in *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine*, vol. 3, Jean Anisson, Paris 1700, pp. 1-216.

49. *Le journal des savants*, cit., pp. 385-9. J. Suarez's *De libertate religionem christianam apud sinas propagandi nunc tan-dem concessa 1692. relatio composita a R. P. Josepho suario lusitano collegii pekinensis rectore* is collected in Leibniz's *Novissima sinica* and in Leibniz, *Zhōngguó jīn shì*, cit., pp. 1-36.

50. P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, Yale University Press, New Haven-London 1992.

51. Xinghuang Xiao, *Introduction to «The Fabrication of Louis XIV»*, pp. VII-XI.

52. P. Rule, *K'ung-tzu or Confucius?: The Jesuit Interpretation of Confucianism*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney-Boston-London 1986, p. IX.

53. L. M. Jensen, *Manufacturing confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization*, Duke University Press, Durham 1997.

54. Chao-Ying Lee, *Integration of Foreign Culture with Local Culture: The Icons of Confucius in «Mémoires concernant les Chinois (1776-91)» in France*, in "Sino-Christian Studies: An International Journal of Bible, Theology & Philosophy", IV, 2007, pp. 109-35.