

**Life, Thought and Image of Wang Zheng,  
a Confucian-Christian in Late Ming China**

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## 1. Introduction

In late 16<sup>th</sup> century, through the new sea route established by navigators, many Jesuits missionaries brought Christian gospels into the Ming Empire, which was in a negative spiral during that period. Western religion, philosophy and science was akin to clear fresh water being poured onto a declining imperial society. Some of Confucian literati, with the motivation of reforming the country, accepted Christian doctrine, and are generally termed Confucian-Christians. In the definition, I should point out that the Confucians were those who at lowest obtained the title of Shengyuan 生員/Student member (common title, Xiucai).<sup>1</sup> Some such people are: Xu Guangqi 徐光启 (1562-1633), Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠(1557-1627) and Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565-1630), all of whom are quite famous because of their contributions to the spread of Christian beliefs, coming be called the three great pillars<sup>2</sup> of Christianity in late Ming China.<sup>3</sup> There have been some excellent research monographs published about them.<sup>4</sup> Naturally, a lot of outstanding articles on the other Confucian-Christians appear in various academic periodicals. This research will explore the life, thought and image of Wang Zheng 王徵(1571-1644), a Confucian-Christian from Shaanxi 陝西 province. Wang Zheng and these three pillars were addressed together as the Four Sages of Christian history in the late Ming era.<sup>5</sup> In *HDCC*, the author placed these most famous four converts together and also enumerated several reasons for these being

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<sup>1</sup> Shengyuan 生員, the Confucian intellectual, one who passed the imperial elementary examination at the county level. Sometimes it is translated into the Confucian scholar who gets the bachelor degree. Xiucai 秀才 is a common address. Cf. *ZGLD*, vol. Shang, pp.797-798. & pp.1480-1481. *Cihai* 辭海, Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, vol. Zhong, 1980, p.3269.

<sup>2</sup> Pillar was originally used in the singular by Ricci and Nicolas Trigault for Xu Guangqi; FR II, p.308: “la magior colonna”, cf. Nicolas Standaert, ed., *HDCC*, p.405.

In the Bible, pillars were used for James, Cephas, and John, who were very important for Christians. Cf. Gal.2:9. And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision. Bible, Douay version.

<sup>3</sup> Fang Hao, *ZGTR*, vol. shang, p.99.

<sup>4</sup> About Xu Guangqi; cf. Luo Guang 羅光, *Xu gaungqi zhuan* 徐光啟傳(The Biography of Xu Guangqi), Catholic Truth Society of Hong Kong 香港真理學會, 1953. Chen Weiping 陳衛平 and Li Chunyong 李春勇, *The Critical Biography of Xu Guangqi* 徐光啟評傳, Nanjing University Press, 2006. Monika Übelhör, *Hsü Kuang-ch'i (1562-1633) und seine Einstellung zum Christentum: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der späten Ming-Zeit* (Diss.), 1970. etc. About Yang Tingyun; cf. Nicolas Standaert, Yang Tingyung, Confucian and Christian in Late Ming China: His Life and Thought, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988. This work has been already translated into Chinese (Tianzhujiao ruzhe: Yang Tingyun, Social Science Academic Press, 2002). About Li Zhizao: cf. Fang Hao, *The Study of Li Zhizao* 李之藻研究, Taipei; Shangwu Press, 1966.

<sup>5</sup> Fang Hao, 1966, p.5.

seen as the four principal converts (1600-1620).<sup>6</sup> Therefore, it is quite significant to undertake systematic research on Wang Zheng.

### 1.1 Brief Biography of Wang Zheng

Wang Zheng, who was known as one of the first batch of Confucian-Christians in the Late Ming Dynasty, is believed by some scholars to be the first Christian (Catholic) in Shaanxi. He also made outstanding contributions to the history of Sino-Western cultural exchanges.

Wang Zheng, was born on April 19<sup>th</sup>, the fifth year of Ming Dynasty under Emperor Longqing 隆慶 (1571), in Yingcun li 盈村里 Jiandan bu 尖擔堡 of Shaanxi Jingyang 涇陽. His style name was Liang Fu 良甫, the assumed name was Kui Xin 葵心, in old age he used Zhili sou 支離叟 and Liaoyi daoren 了一道人 as assumed names, after being baptised, his Christian name was Philippe (Feili bai 斐理柏). After his death, the people of his hometown called him Duanjie xiansheng(端節先生). He received a classical Confucian education from childhood, learning especially from his maternal uncle. At the age of 15, he married Shang Shi 尚氏 as his wife. In 1587 (the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Wanli 萬曆), he got the degree of Xiucai 秀才. After seven years, he passed the provincial test and got the degree of Juren 舉人/Recommended man.<sup>7</sup> He progressed from Xiucai to Juren at an incredibly early age. But later he was quite unfortunate in being trapped in the national examination for nearly three decades, however, during this long period, each time when he arrived in Beijing for the test, he got acquainted with a lot of famous Confucians, and what's more he met many Western Jesuits. In the meantime, in 1616 under the guidance of missionaries, he was baptised into Christianity. After six years (1622, the second year of Emperor Tianqi 天啟), he passed the palace test and got the degree of Jinshi 進士<sup>8</sup>. Thus, at the age of 52, having been appointed Tuiguan 推官(the Judge of one prefecture), he started his

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<sup>6</sup> Standaert, 2001, pp.404-405.

<sup>7</sup> Juren 舉人, the Confucian intellectual, one who passed the provincial examination. Sometimes it is translated into the Confucian scholar who gets the master degree. Cf. *ZGLD*, vol. Xia, p.2294.

<sup>8</sup> Jinshi 進士, the Confucian intellectual, one who passed the metropolitan and Palace examinations. Sometimes it is translated into the Confucian scholar who gets doctor degree. Cf. *ZGLD*, vol. Xia, p.2194.



official career. During that time, he also married a concubine for male offspring. The pity was that his official only lasted just over 3 years, although he was appointed as Tuiguan twice. However, he enacted some significant changes for local people.

Perhaps the most significant act of Wang's life came in 1625 when he invited Jesuit missionary Nicolas Trigault (Jin Nige 金尼閣, 1577-1628) to spread Christianity in Shaanxi. From that time, the Christian church (Catholic) started their mission in Shaanxi. Wang Zheng proceeded to cooperate with Trigault on the work *XREMZ*, on the topic of linguistic comparisons between Roman Latin and Chinese. Subsequently, he and another Jesuit, Johann Schreck (Deng Yuhuan 鄧玉函 1576-1630), together translated one mechanical work *QQTS*. Afterwards, he finished another two mechanical works, *ZQTS* and *EZQTS*.

In 1628, he wrote one philosophical and theological work *WTARJL*, which integrated Confucian and Christian doctrines. As well in this, Wang returned to his hometown because of his father's death, during the mourning period, for the purpose of resisting attacks from roving rebel bands, he organised a militia camp (Zhongtong ying 忠統營) to protect the local town and people. The next year, he frequently visited Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell (Tang Ruowang 湯若望 1591-1666) in Revering Uniqueness Hall (Chongyi tang 崇一堂) of Xi'an, later he finished *RJSB*, which was narrated by Schall von Bell. In 1631, because of his military capability, Wang Zheng was appointed as the secretary of Shandong (Shandong qianxian 山東簽憲) and the military supervisor of Liaohai (Liaohai jianjundao 遼海監軍道) to join the battle against Manchu. Wang Zheng tried to restore rivers and mountains, actively strengthening them for military affairs. Due to internal mutiny, ultimately, he was punished by the Ming court to guard a nearby town, and then absolved to return home.

After experiencing frustration throughout his life, Wang Zheng believed in the Lord of Heaven quite ardently. He financed the construction of the local church building. In his old age, he actively translated and introduced Western works to China. Meanwhile he edited and published his own works. In 1634, out of his learning of revering the Lord of Heaven and loving people, facing crowds of refugees in famine, Wang and

the other local Christians founded the Humanitarian Society (Ren Hui 仁會) in the countryside, saving many people.

In 1643 (the 16<sup>th</sup> year of Chongzhen Emperor), Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606-1645) and his army captured the city of Xi'an, and he sent his subordinates to invite Wang Zheng to join his group. Wang Zheng brought his sword into the church and refused Li's demand with death. In the following year, when Wang heard that the rebel army occupied Beijing, he ate nothing for seven days and died for the Ming Dynasty at the age of 74.

## 1.2 Research Stance

I have divided this part into three subsections. The first one is about the research history from early Qing Dynasty to the late 1970s. After the late 1970s, there are a lot of new outstanding works on Wang Zheng, which use more scientific methods to analyse Wang's contributions. The third section concentrates on my former research works on Wang.

### 1.2.1 During the Qing Dynasty

After Wang Zheng's death (1644), Wang's cousin Zhang Bingxuan 张炳璿 wrote not only one biography but also one epitaph of Wang. The former still exists,<sup>9</sup> and the latter was discovered in 2011 during the removal of Wang's tomb.<sup>10</sup> Through a comparative study, the contents of these two texts are very similar, in other words, these two earliest sources about Wang refer to Wang's life, filial piety, political career, loyalty, learning and family. Afterwards Zhang Jinyan also wrote one epitaph of Wang, which is preserved in *BTTJC* but not buried underground.<sup>11</sup> Thereafter, Wang's life story was collected in history books or other corpuses. For instance, Cha Jizuo's *Zui*

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<sup>9</sup> *BTTJC*, vol.5.

<sup>10</sup> My article, Wang Zheng muzhiming dianjiao ji chubu tanxi 王徵墓志铭点校及初步探析(The Preliminary Study and Collation of Wang Zheng's Epitaph), in *World Religious Study*, 2012, pp.120-127.

<sup>11</sup> Zhang Jinyan 張縉彦(1599-1670), Qianxian Wang duanjie gong muzhiming 僉憲王端節公墓誌銘 (The Epitaph of Master Wang), cf. *BTTJC*, vol.5.

*weilu*,<sup>12</sup> Wan Sitong's *Mingshi gao*,<sup>13</sup> Qu Dajun's *Wenshan wenchao*,<sup>14</sup> Xu Bingyi's *Mingmo zhonglie jishi*,<sup>15</sup> Zou Yi's *Qizhen yecheng*,<sup>16</sup> Fang Bao's *Wangxi xiansheng wenji*,<sup>17</sup> Wang Xinjing's *Guanxue xubian*,<sup>18</sup> Wang Jie's *Zhengxuezhai wenji*,<sup>19</sup> etc. Besides, in the local chronicles, Wang's brief biography was collected, the topic of which was similar to above quotations, such as chronicle of Shaanxi,<sup>20</sup> the chronicle of Jingyang<sup>21</sup> and the chronicle of Luqiao.<sup>22</sup>

In the Late Qing era, some scholars started to pay attention to Wang Zheng's life and faith. Wang was mentioned in the work (1905) of Xiao Ruose.<sup>23</sup> Huang Jie wrote one biography of Wang, which mainly introduced his mechanical thought.<sup>24</sup>

### 1.2.2 From the Beginning of Minguo to the Late 1970s

During the Minguo period (Chinese Republic), some scholars paid more attention to collecting Wang Zheng's works and identifying the position of Wang Zheng in Sino-Western cultural exchange. Bai Kun collected some of Wang's works in his compilations of Jingyang (Wang duanjie gong yiji).<sup>25</sup> In 1934, in *the Bulletin of the National library of PeiPing*, more than twenty pieces of Wang's work were newly and published by Xiang Jueming.<sup>26</sup> Later, Wang's biography was also collected in the

<sup>12</sup> Cha Jizuo 查繼佐(1601-1676), *Zuiwei lu* 罪惟錄(The History of Ming), Liezhuan, vol.12,

<sup>13</sup> Wan Sitong 万斯同(1638-1702), *Mingshi gao* 明史稿(The Draft of Ming History), vol.271.

<sup>14</sup> Qu Dajun 屈大均(1630-1696), *Wengshan wenchao* 翁山文鈔(The Collected Works of Wengshan), cf. Li Zhiqin, 1987, pp.319-321.

<sup>15</sup> Xu Bingyi 徐秉义(1633-1711), *Mingmo zhonglie* 明末忠烈紀實(The Records of Martyrs in Late Ming), Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe 浙江古籍出版社(Zhejiang Ancient Books Press), 1987.

<sup>16</sup> Zou Yi 邹漪(?), *Qizhen yecheng* 启祯野乘(The Biographical History of Tianqi and Chongzhen).

<sup>17</sup> Fang Bao 方苞(1668-1749), *Shu jingyang wangqianshi jiachuan hou* 书泾阳王金事家传后(The Letter to Wang Zheng's Descendent), cf. Son Boying, 2004, pp.218-219.

<sup>18</sup> Wang Xinjing 王心敬(1656-1738), *GXB*, pp.80-83.

<sup>19</sup> Wang Jie 王介, *Zhengxuezhai wenji* 正學齋文集(The Collected Works of Zhengxue zhai), vol.1&3. Cf. Bai Kun, *JXWC*.

<sup>20</sup> *Shanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志(The Chronicle of Shaanxi), Qing Yongzheng 雍正.

<sup>21</sup> *Jingyang xianzhi* 涇陽縣志(The Chronicle of Jingyang), Qing Xuantong 宣統.

<sup>22</sup> *Luqiao zhenzhi* 魯橋鎮志(The Chronicle of Luqiao), Qing Daoguang 道光.

<sup>23</sup> Xiao Ruose 蕭若瑟, *Tianzhujiao chuanxing zhongguo kao* 天主教傳行中國考(The History of Christianity in China), Hebei Xianxian tianzhu tang 河北獻縣天主堂(The Church of Hebei Xianxian), 1905, p.209.

<sup>24</sup> Huang Jie 黄节(1873-1935), The Biography of Wang Zheng, in *The Journal of The Quintessence of Chinese Culture* 國粹學報, 6(1905).

<sup>25</sup> *Wang duanjie gong yiji* 王端節公遺集, cf. Bai Kun, *JXWC*.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Bulletin of the notional library of PeiPing* 北平圖書館館刊, vol.8,6(1934). Xiang Jueming 向覺明 (1900-1966).

Local Sages Histories of Shaanxi.<sup>27</sup>

Chen Yuan gave Wang a high evaluation because of his work on Christianity in the biography.<sup>28</sup> Liu Xianzhou explored the mechanical contributions of Wang, in his article he thinks that *QOTS* is the first mechanical engineering work in China.<sup>29</sup>

In 1944 especially, the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Wang's death, many scholars wrote memorial essays on Wang's work. Some scholars republished their articles on the memory of Wang Zheng in the *Journal of Truth*.<sup>30</sup> For instance, Chen Yuan,<sup>31</sup> Cun Sou,<sup>32</sup> Liu Xianzhou.<sup>33</sup> It is worth mentioning that Shao Lizi as the provincial Chairman of Shaanxi wrote one article to commemorate Wang Zheng's death. In the article he provides an important evaluation on Wang, "Nanxu (Guangqi) Beiwang (Zheng) 南徐北王", which means Wang Zheng of the north and Xu Guangqi of the south are of equal importance from the perspective of learning and religious belief.<sup>34</sup>

Song Boyin started to study Wang's thought and faith as derived from his poetry,<sup>35</sup> and produced another article about Wang's religious beliefs between Confucianism and Christianity.<sup>36</sup>

Additionally, some scholars tried to search for Wang Zheng's works in spite of all kinds of hardships. Li Xuanyi introduced a lot of printing blocks of Wang's works in

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<sup>27</sup> Wang Ruqing 王儒卿, eds., *Shaanxi xiangxian shilue* 陝西鄉賢事略( The Local Sages Histories of Shaanxi), Xi'an, The Education Department of Shaanxi, 1935.

<sup>28</sup> Chen Yuan 陳垣(1880-1971), *The Biography of Wang Zheng*, in *Bulletin of the notional library of PeiPing* 北平圖書館館刊, vol.8, 6(1934).

<sup>29</sup> Liu Xianzhou 劉仙洲, *Wang Zheng yu woguo diyibu jixie gongcheng xue* 王徵與我國第一部機械工程學 (Wang Zheng and The First Mechanical Engineering Work), in *Xin gongcheng* 新工程(New Engineering), 3(1940). Also see *Journal of Truth* 真理雜誌, vol.1, 2(1944).

<sup>30</sup> Fang Hao, ed., *Journal of Truth* 真理雜誌, vol.1, 2(1944).

<sup>31</sup> Chen Yuan, 1934.

<sup>32</sup> Cun Sou 存叟, *Du mingmo jingyang wangzheng suo zhu ela jiya youzao zhuqi tushuo ziji shougao luhou* 讀明末涇陽王徵所著額辣濟亞牖造諸器圖說自記手稿錄後(The Comments on the Transcript of Wang Zheng's ela jiya youzao zhuqi tushuo ziji), in *Xibei lunheng* 西北論衡(Forum of Northwest), vol.9, 7(1940).

<sup>33</sup> Liu Xianzhou, 1940.

<sup>34</sup> Shao Lizi 邵力子, *Zhenli bumie xueshu wu guojie: jinian wangzheng shishi sanbai zhounian* 真理不滅 學術無國界; 紀念王徵逝世三百周年(The Truth is Immortal and The Learning is borderless: in the Memory of the 300<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Wang Zheng's Death), in *Journal of Truth* 真理雜誌, vol.1, 2(1944).

<sup>35</sup> Song Boyin, *Cong shanju yong kan wangzheng de sixiang he xinyang* 從山居詠看王徵的思想和信仰(To explore Wang Zheng's Thought and Belief from Shanju yong ), in *The Humanity Weekly of Yishi Paper* (益世報人文週刊), vol.62, 1947. And also see Song Boyin, 2004.

<sup>36</sup> Song Boyin 宋伯胤, *Wang Zheng de tianxue yu ru xu* 王徵的天學與儒學(Wang Zheng's Christianity and Confucianism), in *Shangzhi bianyiguan guankan* 上智編譯館館刊(The Journal of Sapientia Press), vol.3(6), 1948. And also see Song Boyin, 2004.

Tongyuan 通遠 Church, which can testify to the preserved works,<sup>37</sup> he also discovered some Wang's texts, which were published in the *Journal of Sapientia Press*.<sup>38</sup>

*Eminent Chinese scholars of the Ch'ing period* (1644-1912) collected biographies of Wang, writing the first English introduction (the first edition in 1943).<sup>39</sup> This has subsequently been translated into Chinese.<sup>40</sup>

Fang Hao also collected some of Wang's works,<sup>41</sup> and then he systematically reviewed Wang's family, life, scientific works, religious belief and his descendants in the article,<sup>42</sup> from which the scholars can acquire more research ideas. He also wrote biography of Wang Zheng's, which was collected in his work (*The Biographies of Historical Figures of Catholicism in China*).<sup>43</sup>

In short, at the preliminary research phase, scholars usually paid attention to collecting sources, a fundamental act that allows newcomers to deeply explore the truth. Undoubtedly, some views of the above precursors enlightened researchers enabling them to make further findings.

### 1.2.3 After the Late 1970s

A lot of excellent studies on Wang Zheng have appeared in the past nearly 40 years. Some researchers give a general introduction on Wang's life, career and belief in their articles. For instance, Zhang Zhongzheng,<sup>44</sup> Ren Dayuan,<sup>45</sup> Wang Ruiming,<sup>46</sup> and

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<sup>37</sup> Li Xuanyi 李宣義, Wang Zheng zhushu yiban souji xulüe 王徵著述遺版搜輯序略(The Introduction of the Remaining Printing Blocks of Wang Works), in Shangzhi bianyiguan guankan 上智编译馆馆刊(The Journal of Sapientia Press), vol.2, 2(1947).

<sup>38</sup> *The Journal of Sapientia Press*, vol.2, (2,6)&3(3,4), 1947.

<sup>39</sup> Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period(1644-1912)*, Taipei: Literature House, 1964, pp.807-809.

<sup>40</sup> The Institute of Qing History of RenminUniversity, transl., *Qingdai mingren zhuanlue* 清代名人傳略,shang, Xining: Qinghai People Press, 1990, pp.91-94.

<sup>41</sup> Fang Hao, Youlao dui guxiang wenxian de zhongshi 右老對故鄉文獻的重視(Yu Youren Paid Attention to The Literature of Hometown), Taipei: *Central Daily(Supplement)*中央日報(副刊), 1964.

<sup>42</sup> Fang Hao, Wang Zheng zhi shiji jiqi shuru xiyang xueshu zhi gongxian 王徵之事蹟及其輸入西洋學術之貢獻(Wang Zheng's Story and the Contributions on The Learnings), in *Fanghao liushi ziding gao* 方豪六十自定稿(Fang Hang's Collected Works at the Age of 60.), vol. II,Taipei: Taiwan Student Press,1969, pp.319-378.

<sup>43</sup> Fang Hao, *ZGTR*, vol. Shang, pp.226-233.

<sup>44</sup> Zhang Zhongzheng 張中政, Ming Jingyang Wang Zheng xiansheng xinshi shuping 明涇陽王徵先生行實述評(The Introduction of Jingyang Wang Zheng in Late Ming),in *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊, vol.4, 1994, pp.50,&70-74.

<sup>45</sup> Ren Dayuan 任大援, Wang Zheng: Xifang sixiang de chuanbozhe 王徵: 西方思想的傳播者(Wang Zheng: the

Da Tong.<sup>47</sup> Feng Riqian's book narrates Wang's whole life story from a literary perspective.<sup>48</sup> Especially for the study on *XREMZ*, *QQTS* and *ZQTS*, which have explored Wang's contributions to Chinese Linguistics and Mechanics. For instance, the articles of Du Songshou,<sup>49</sup> Tan Huiying,<sup>50</sup> Zhang Huimin,<sup>51</sup> Zou Zhenhuan.<sup>52</sup> Qiu Chunlin have all explored Wang Zheng's design thought in *QQTS*.<sup>53</sup> Another research monograph on *QQTS* is quite valuable, having been undertaken by Chinese and German researchers.<sup>54</sup>

Furthermore, in some other articles and works, authors spend a few pages introducing Wang's life, political career and his scientific contributions. In 1985, the Chinese encyclopaedia collected Wang Zheng's biographies and introduced his mechanics.<sup>55</sup> In 1995, the Chinese History Dictionary also has collected Wang Zheng's biographies.<sup>56</sup>

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Disseminator of Western Thoughts), in Rem Jiyu 任繼愈, ed., *Guoji hanxue* 國際漢學(International Sinology), vol.3, Zhengzhou 鄭州: Elephant Press, 1999, pp.267-290. Another his article, Wang Zheng: A Scientist, Philosopher and Catholic in Ming Dynasty China 王徵: 西學與新思想的傳播者抑或天主教徒? in Roman Malek, ed., *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J.(1592-1666)*, Jointly publ., by Sankt Augustin: China-Zentrum and Monumenta Serica Institute, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, vol. II., 1998, pp.339-370.

<sup>46</sup> Wang Ruiming 王瑞明, Mingdai jixie famingjia wangzheng de chaoxing shenghuo 明代機械發明家王徵的超性生活(The Transcendent Life of Mechanical Inventor Wang Zheng), in *Catholic Church in China*, 3(2008).

<sup>47</sup> Da Tong 大通, Wang Zheng: *Mingdai aiguo aijiao de tianzhujiao xuezhe* 王徵: 明代愛國愛教的天主教學者(Wang Zheng: The Christian Scholar Who Loved Both Motherland and Religion in Ming Dynasty), in *Catholic Church in China*, 6(1994),1&2(1995).

<sup>48</sup> Feng Riqian 馮日乾, *Wanming qishi Wang Zheng* 晚明奇士: 王徵(The Unusual Literatus: Wang Zheng), Northwest University Press, 2012.

<sup>49</sup> Du Songshou 杜松壽, Luomahua zhongwen pinyin de lishi yuanyuan: jianjie mingji zai Xi'an chuban de XREMZ, 羅馬化中文拼音的歷史淵源: 簡介明季在西安出版的<西儒耳目資>(The Historical Origin of Chinese Romanization Pinyin: The Introduction of XREMZ), in *The Journal of Shaanxi Normal University*, 4(1979), pp.64-70.

<sup>50</sup> Tan Huiying 譚惠穎, *XREMZ yuanliu tanxi*<西儒耳目資>源流探析(On the Formation and Effect of An Audio-Visual Aid to Western scholars), Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 2008.

<sup>51</sup> Zhang Huimin 張惠民, Mingmo Wang Zheng de fanyi chuban huodong jiqi lishi yingxiang 明末王徵的翻譯出版活動及其歷史影響(Wang Zheng's Translation and Its Historical Impact in Late Ming), in *The Journal of Xi'an Jiaotong University*, 2(2001), pp.88-91.

<sup>52</sup> Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振環, Shaanxi qiren Wang Zheng yu qishu *QQTS* 陝西奇人王徵與奇書遠西奇器圖說錄最(Shaanxi Unusual Person Wang Zheng and His Unusual Book *QQTS*), In Zhang Zhuhua 張柱華, ed., *Caoyuan sichou zhilu xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 草原絲綢之路學術研討會論文集(The Symposium of Prairie Silk Road Proseminar), Lanzhou 蘭州: Gansu People Press 甘肅人民出版社, 2010, 384-385.

<sup>53</sup> Qiu Chunlin 邱春林, *Huitong zhongxi: wanming shixuejia wangzheng de sheji yu sixiang* 會通中西: 晚明實學家王徵的設計與思想 (Integrating Sino-West: The Design and Thought of Wang Zhnegin Late Ming), Chongqing: Chongqing University Press, 2007.

<sup>54</sup> Zhang Baichu 張柏春, Tian Miao 田淼, Matthias Schemmel, Jurgen Renn, Peter Damerow, *Chuanbo yu huitong QQTS yanjiu yu jiaozhu* 傳播與會通: <奇器圖說>研究與校注(Transmission and Integration: The Study and Annotation of *QQTS*), vol. Shang&Xia, Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu Technique Press 江蘇科技出版社, 2008.

<sup>55</sup> Dian Nianzu 戴念祖, Wang Zheng's Biography, cf. *Chinese Encyclopedia* 中國大百科全書, Lixue juan 力學卷(Mechanics vol.), Chinese Encyclopedia Press 中國大百科全書出版社, 1985, p.491.

<sup>56</sup> Zheng Tianting 鄭天挺, Tan Qixiang 譚其驥, ed., *The Dictionary of Chinese History*, Mingshi juan 中國歷史大

The research into Wang's religious beliefs has been highly successful. Some articles open new fields of research vision, which can promote the subsequent study to increase the academic level.

Guo Xiwei confirms that Song Boyin's book<sup>57</sup> has significant academic value, because Song gives Wang Zheng a just evaluation. Based on Song Boyin's book, Guo Xiwei analyses Wang Zheng's thoughts and religious faith, especially Christian belief, in his article and tries to explore the integration between Confucianism and Christianity.<sup>58</sup>

Wang Zheng's thoughts, learnings and official career had a close relation with his belief. However he was in favourable circumstances or in adversity, the belief was his dependency of Anshen liming 安身立命 (existence and development).<sup>59</sup>

Chen Junmin has one important long article, which inspired subsequent researchers to go further.<sup>60</sup> Later this article became the preface to Sun's book.

Based on the collected sources, he used the methods of concept discrimination and history reconstruction to restore history to the original fact. The question formed in this article asks us to ponder the profound meaning between Confucian scholars in the late Ming era and how missionaries integrated Sino-Western cultures.

In the philosophical pattern which produced the discussion between Neo-Confucianism and Christian theology in the late Ming era, he comparatively analysed Confucian-Lixue 理學 (Neo-Confucianism) and Christian-Tianxue 天學 (Christianity), in order to explore their influence and significance upon each other. Factually, in the former five parts, the author discusses the historical background of his research topic. In the sixth part, he introduced Wang's life. In the last part, through an analysis of Wang's *WTARJL*, he aimed to explore how Confucian-Christian Wang

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辭典·明史卷, Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary Press 上海辭書出版社, 1995, p.59. & *ZGLD*, p.261.

<sup>57</sup> Song Boyin, *Ming Jingyang Wang Zheng xiansheng nianpu* 明涇陽王徵先生年譜, Xi'an 西安: Shaanxi Normal University Press 陝西師範大學出版社, 1990.

<sup>58</sup> Guo Xiwei 郭熹微, Wang Zheng San Lun 王徵散論 (A Remark on Wang Zheng), in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 (World Religions Study), 2(1994), pp.135-146.

<sup>59</sup> Guo Xiwei, 2(1994), p.145.

<sup>60</sup> Chen Junmin 陳俊民, Lixue and Tianxue : Lun Wanming Shidafu yu chuanjiaoshi huitong zhongxi zhi zhexue shenyi (shang, xia) 理學、天學之間——論晚明士大夫與傳教士“會通中西”之哲學深意(上、下) (Between Neo-Confucianism and Christianity: the Philosophical deep meaning of Integration by Confucian Scholars and Missionaries), in *The History of Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學史, 1(2004), pp.16-26. & 4(2004), pp.121-128.

built up to replacing Buddhist thinking and making up for Confucianism. Although he explained the sequence of Wang's thought, in some parts the integration between Confucianism and Christianity was clearly elucidated, however, the system of Wang's thought is not rendered entirely clear.

He also found that most of the text *WTARJL* had been copied from Ricci's *TZSY*, but did not go into detail about this. In addition, he mentioned that Wang accepted the doctrine of the Trinity from de Pantijo, but through my research and careful reading, I have not found any evidence of Wang discussing the Trinity. At the end of the article, he gave us a simple conclusion. "Wang's revering Heaven 畏天 is not revering the mandate of Heaven 畏天命 in Confucianism, but loving the Lord of Heaven in Christianity. The Sangang 三綱 and Wuchang 五常 in Confucianism are completely replaced by the Great Parents, the Great Orthodox--- the Lord of Heaven."<sup>61</sup>

In one Master's thesis written in 2010,<sup>62</sup> the author used the method of sociology of religion to interpret Wang's conversion. Although there are some unreasonable statements in the thesis, the analysis also can enlighten researchers to the essential problem in Wang's integration between Confucianism and Christianity.

In 2010, Lin Lechang published an article about new thinking about Heaven by Confucian-Christians during the late Ming era in the *Journal of Humanities*.<sup>63</sup> Mainly based on Wang Zheng's *WTARJL*, the author believed that Confucian-Christians reinterpreted traditional concepts of Tian/Heaven and used Christian doctrines to establish a new theoretical system: revering the Heaven and loving people which differed from traditional Confucianism. Although the author laid special stress on analysing the concept of Heaven, he came to an illuminating conclusion, stating that,

In short, Confucian-Christians' reinterpretation on the view of Heaven in late Ming have its special traits, firstly, they wanted to establish the external Transcender and Creator of the universe as the position of unique and supreme God, and also made it as the ultimate basis of rebuilding the social morality and value; secondly, they used the general love of supernaturalism and mentalism to replace the different love based on the

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<sup>61</sup> Chen Junming, 4(2004), p.128.

<sup>62</sup> Yao Wen 姚雯, the master degree thesis, *The Preliminary Study on Wang Zheng's Thought* 王徵宗教思想初探, Xidian University, 2010.

<sup>63</sup> Lin Lechang 林樂昌, Mingmo rujia jidutu de tianguan chonggou jiqi yiyi 明末儒家基督徒的天觀重構及其意義(Reconstructing the View on Heaven and the Meaning of Confucian-Christians in Late Ming), in *the Journal of Humanities*, 2(2010), pp.32-40.



patriarchal system; finally, they thought that human being is one kind of creature, who could not be equal with Heaven/God, but Heaven/God is open to every creature, so in order to raise our personality, everyone should revere the Heaven, serve the Heaven and learn from the Heaven.<sup>64</sup>

Afterwards, Lin Lechang undertook further research into Wang Zheng's life and thought in the preface to *WZQJ* which he by himself compiled. Having introduced Wang's life and religious conversion, he raised three important research questions on Wang Zheng's Weitian airen--revering Heaven and caring of Human Beings. Later, Lin published an edited version of this preface in a journal.<sup>65</sup>

The first point made is that Weitian airen is the central theme in Wang Zheng's works. I could agree with this view slightly, because some of his works are not directly related to Weitian airen, such as *Xueyong shujie*,<sup>66</sup> and *Shiyue*.<sup>67</sup> After Wang finished his text of *WTARJL* in 1628, his theoretical system of Weitian airen came into being. Thus, it is improper to state that the works prior to the completion of *WTARJL* have the topic of Weitian airen. In the second question, Lin explains the structure of Weitian airen through three parts. Although he analysed the contents of *WTARJL*, the inherence of Wang's thought has not been explicitly explored. In the last point, Lin thinks that Wang reformed the concept of Confucian Jingshi zhiyong 經世致用 (Governing the country and making practical use) with modernised thinking.

Both of the two articles by Chen Xinyu and Hou Xiaoxiao have paid close attention to the relation between Wang Zheng's Christian belief and cultivating virtue.<sup>68</sup> Sun He's article focuses on Wang's Christian belief, which is based on the texts of *WTARJL*, *RHY*, *DHKJ* and so on. Although he simply analysed the influence of *Qike*, *TZSY* and *AJXQ* of Jesuits on Wang's belief, the division of two phases about Wang's

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<sup>64</sup> Lin Lechang, 2(2010), p.39.

<sup>65</sup> Lin Lechang, Guanxue daru Wang Zheng weitian airen zhixue yanjiu 關學大儒王徵畏天愛人之學研究 (Research on Wang Zheng's Thought of Awing Heaven and Loving Human Being), in *Difang wenhua yanjiu* 地方文化研究(Local Culture Research), 6(2013),pp.21-32.

<sup>66</sup> Wang, *Xueyong shujie* 學庸書解( the Interpretation of Daxue and Zhongyong), 1628.

<sup>67</sup> Wang, *Shiyue* 士約( the Rules of Confucian Scholars), 1628.

<sup>68</sup> Chen Xinyu 陳欣雨, Zunzhu weitian keao xiude: Pang Diwo dui Wang Zheng tianzhujiao sixiang zhi yingxiang 尊主畏天, 克傲修德: 龐迪我對王徵天主教思想之影響(Revering the Lord of Heaven and Overcoming Pride to Cultivate Virtue: Diego de Pantoja's Impact on Wang Zheng's Christian Belief), in *Journal of Southwest Minzu University*, Humanities&Social Sciences Edition, 5(2013), pp.79-82.

Hou Xiaoxiao 侯瀟瀟, Wang Zhengtianzhujiao yili sixiang fawei 王徵的天主教義理思想發微 The Study of Wang Zheng's Christian Belief, in *Journal of Ningxia University*, Humanities&Social Sciences Edition, 4(2014), pp.61-66.

Christian belief is partly reasonable.<sup>69</sup>

There is another valuable question about the relation between Wang Zheng and Guanxue. As is well-known, Guanxue is one school of Neo-Confucianism 宋明理学 (Songming lixue), which was founded by Zhang Zai 张载(1020-1077) in the Guanzhong area of Shaanxi province.<sup>70</sup> In the late Ming era, Feng Congwu 冯从吾 (1557-1627) collected 33 biographies of famous Confucians from the Guanzhong area (the middle region of Shaanxi) and compiled *Guanxue bian* 關學編 (The Compilation of Guanxue).<sup>71</sup> Another Confucian scholar of Shaanxi Wang Xinjing, collected Wang Zheng's biographies in the sequel compilation of Guanxue 關學續編(*Guanxue xubian*). In the middle Qing era, Wang's decendant Wang Jie 王介 used the title of Famous Confucian of Guanxue 關學名儒 for Wang Zheng in his preface to Wang Zheng's works.<sup>72</sup> Lin Lechang also used Great Confucian of Guanxue 关学大儒 (Guanxue daru) as Wang's title in his article.<sup>73</sup> Wei Dong thinks that Liu Guyu 刘古愚(1843-1903) confirmed that Wang Zheng's biography was collected in the work of Guanxue Compilation, which was an innovative breakthrough of the Guanxue system since Feng Congwu, as he argues that, in the post Neo-Confucian era, the concept of Guanxue went beyond any traditional understanding. In other words, the learnings interlinked with Zhang Zai's theory are the modern statements of Guanxue, which pay attention to the practice and carry on the thoughts of traditional Guanxue.<sup>74</sup> Xie Mingguang states that Wang Zheng accepted Xixue/Christianity on the basis of the thoughts of Guanxue. In the meantime, he thinks that Wang Zheng did not desert the teaching of Guanxue, thus Wang's thought could be regarded as believing in an

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<sup>69</sup> Sun He 孫赫, Wang Zheng tianzhujiao xinyang fazhan de liangge jieduan 王徵天主教信仰發展的兩個階段 (The Two Phases of Wang Zheng's Christian Belief), in *Culture Journal* 文化學刊, 10(2018), pp.204-211.

<sup>70</sup> Chen Junmin, *Zhangzai zhexue sixiang ji guanxue xuepai* 張載哲學思想及關學學派(Zhang Zai's Philosophy Thought and The School of Guanxue), Beijing: People Press 人民出版社, 1986.

<sup>71</sup> Feng Congwu, *Guanxue bian* 關學編 (The Compilation of Guanxue), Chen Junmin & Xu Xinghai 徐興海 ed., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.

<sup>72</sup> Wang Jie 王介, *Zhengxue zhai wenji* 正學齋文集(The Works of zhaixue zhai),vol.1, cf. Baikun 柏堃, ed., *Jingxian wencun* 涇陽文獻叢書(the Series of Books of Jingyang),vol.5,1925.

<sup>73</sup> Lin Lechang, 2013.

<sup>74</sup> Wei Dong 魏冬, Liu Guyu yi Wang Zheng ru guanxue de yiyi zhixiang: hou lixue shidai xia guanxue gainian de tuozhan yu zouxiang chulun 劉古愚以王徵入關學的意義指向：後理學時代下關學概念的拓展與走向初論 (The Meaning Orientation of Liu Guyu and Wang Zheng' s Study of Neo-Confucianism Developed in Central Shaanxi Area: A Preliminary Discussion of the Development and Trend of the Concept of Guanxue in the Post Neo-Confucianism era), in *Journal of Xinyang Normal University*, 1(2018), pp.111-115.

integration between Guanxue and Xixue.<sup>75</sup>

In addition, some chapters of the relevant monographs are also involved in the study of Wang Zheng. For example, Nicolas Standaert and Sun Shangyang collaborated on a work about Christianity in China prior to 1840, which is mainly based on Wang Zheng's *WTARJL* and *RHY*, in which the authors explored Wang's belief and the religious practice. They state that Wang's experience highlighted the theme of Holy Love /Agape. Possibly because this study was confined to just one chapter, the authors did not pay attention to Wang's other Christian practices.<sup>76</sup>

There is an outstanding monograph published in 2006 by Huang Yinong. In the fourth chapter of this work, the author mainly analysed Wang Zheng's life and belief, including Wang's descendants and Christianity. Especially through Wang's concubinage and death for Ming, the author thinks that Wang was a Rujiahua de tianzhu jiaotu 儒家化的天主教徒(Confucianised Christian). We can certainly state that Huang accurately discusses Wang's beliefs based on sufficient resources, but he used the title 'Confucianised Christian', which does not accurately represent Wang's identity.<sup>77</sup>

Shen Dingping generally analysed Wang Zheng's life, contributions and beliefs from the perspective of Sino-Western cultural exchange in his work.<sup>78</sup> The author believes that Wang integrated Confucianism and Christianity, Shixue and Xixue, which was Wang's supreme intention. He subsequently generalises four points to state his view. This work could inspire researchers to explore more questions. In the text, he also states that Wang returned to Confucianism (Kongmeng zhi dao 孔孟之道) after indulging himself in Taosim for more than twenty years. In fact, Wang never

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<sup>75</sup> Xie Mingguang 谢明光, *Tianzhu jiaotu Wangzheng he XREMZ: cong guanxue dao xixue* 天主教徒王徵和西儒耳目資：從關學到西學(Christian Wang Zheng and *XREMZ*: from Guanxue to Tianxue), in *Tangdu Journal* 唐都學刊, 3(2018),pp.69-76. And also see Xie's other English article, Chinese Collaborators and the Making of the Xi Ru Er Mu Zi(1626), in *Missioni, saperi e adattamento tra Europa e imperi non cristiani*, Macerata,2015, pp.99-128. Some parts of the article (2018) come from sections of Wang Zheng in the 2015 article.

<sup>76</sup> Sun Shangyang 孫尚揚 & Nicolas Standaert, *Yiba siling nianqian de zhongguo jidujiao* 一八四零年前的中國基督教(Christianity in China before 1840), Xueyuan Press 學苑出版社, 2004, pp.230-251.

<sup>77</sup> Huang Yinong 黃一農, *Liang Toushe :the First Generation Catholics in the Late Ming and early Qing Dynasties* 兩頭蛇：明末清初第一代天主教徒, Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House 上海古籍出版社, 2006, pp.130-174.

<sup>78</sup> Shen Dingping 沈定平, *Ming Qing zhiji Zhongxi wenhua jiaoliushi: Ming Dai, Tiaoshi yu Huitong* 明清之際中西文化交流史——明代：調適與會通 (The History of Sino-Western Cultural Exchange in Late Ming and Early Qing: Ming, Adaption and Integration), Beijing: Shangwu Press, 2007, pp.558-583.

abandoned his Confucian beliefs, because he pursued the degree of Jinshi for thirty years. If the author studied sources about Wang more thoroughly, he would certainly have changed the opinion stated above.

In another monograph, Cai Shumin used one chapter to concentrate on Wang Zheng's learning of revering Heaven and loving people in two ways. Although the internal logic of Wang's integrated thought is not clearly demonstrated here, the author states that Wang's thought was Christian and was based on Christian doctrines introduced by Jesuits, while at the same time integrating it with classical Confucian works.<sup>79</sup>

Li Shixue discussed *RJSB*, which was finished by Adam Schall von Bell and Wang Zheng. In the fourth chapter of his monograph, the author deeply explored *RJSB* by using philosophical and Christian concepts from the viewpoint of translation literature, in which he explained Wang's concubinage and other life events, in doing so he stressed the topic of Taishang wangqing 太上忘情 (Giving up feelings to reach the supernatural world).<sup>80</sup>

Mao Ruifang's monograph *Wang Zheng and Western Learning Spreads to the East in Late Ming* was published in 2011, which presents Wang's life, political career, works and Christian belief, mechanical and linguistic contributions.<sup>81</sup> The book does not lack of novelty, and it has a clear structure. Especially noteworthy is the analysis of Wang Zheng's Western learning (mechanics and linguistics) contributions and the effect they had. In the second chapter of this book, the author introduced Wang's Christian belief, but factually, the inherence of Wang's integrated thought is not represented. Moreover, she states that Wang's religious belief moved from Confucianism to Buddhism, and then from the latter to Taoism, after more than 20

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<sup>79</sup> Cai Shumin 蔡淑閔, *Mingmo qingchu jingtian airen sixiang yanjiu: yi tianzhujiao ruzhe weili* 明末清初敬天愛人思想研究：以天主教儒者為中心 (The Study of the Thought of Revering the Heaven and Loving People in Late Ming and Early Qing: From the Example of the Christian-Confucians), Wenshizhe Press, 2016, pp.69-158.

<sup>80</sup> Li Shixue 李奭學, Taishang wangqing 太上忘情: Tang Ruowang and Wang Zheng translated Chongyi tang riji suibi 湯若望與王徵譯<崇一堂日記隨筆>, in *Yishu* 譯述: *Mingmo yesuhui fanyi wenxue* 明末耶穌會翻譯文學論 (The Translated Literature of Jesu Society in Late Ming), Hongkong Chinese University Press 香港中文大學出版社, 2012, pp.107-149.

<sup>81</sup> Mao Ruifang 毛瑞方, *Wang Zheng he wanming xixue dojian* 王徵和晚明西學東漸 (Wang Zheng and Western Learning Spreads to the East in Late Ming), Shanghai: East China Normal University, 2011.

years in Taoism he returned to Confucianism, finally choosing Christianity.<sup>82</sup> This opinion is not scientific, simply tracing Wang's beliefs. In addition, Mao also published one book about Wang Zheng's Christian texts, in which she collated and annotated these texts.<sup>83</sup> Although she undertook this work according to her methods, it seems useless as all of these texts have already been collated in Lin Lechang's *WZQJ*.

In non-Chinese native countries, some sinologists and other scholars have also paid attention to the study of Wang Zheng. Often, when researching Jesuits missionaries, in some chapters or articles Wang Zheng is mentioned. For instance, Alfons Vāth,<sup>84</sup> Claudia von Collani,<sup>85</sup> Liam Matthew Brockey<sup>86</sup> and Isaia Iannaccone<sup>87</sup> all mention him. In the Italian work, *La Prefettura Apostolica Di Sanyuan Cina-Shensi*, the portraits of Wang and his wife are attached to his simple introduction.<sup>88</sup> In *Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, Hubert Germain Verhaeren introduced Wang Zheng and his mechanical work *QQTS*.<sup>89</sup> One must also make reference to Joseph Needham who mentioned his mechanical works *QQTS* and *ZQTS* many times in *Science and Civilisation in China* (vol.4, part II).<sup>90</sup>

In the 1980s, the sinologists started to pay special attention to Wang's conversion and thought. Jacques Gernet thinks that Wang Zheng produced one kind of syncretism between Confucianism and Christianity in the quite influential work only based on Wang's *WTARJL*.<sup>91</sup> He solely wished to support his viewpoint that the Chinese

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<sup>82</sup> Mao Ruifang, 2011, p.88.

<sup>83</sup> Mao Ruifang, *Weitian airen jilun: Wang Zheng tianzhujiao wenxian ji* 畏天愛人極論：王徵天主教文獻集 (Revering the Heaven and Loving People: The Christian Texts of Wang Zheng), Taipei: Ganlan huaxuan chubanshe 橄欖華宣出版社(Olive Chinese Church Press), 2014.

<sup>84</sup> Alfons Vāth SJ, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell SJ: Missionar in China, Kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592-1666*, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1991.

<sup>85</sup> Claudia von Collani, Erich Zettel, eds., *Johannes Schreck-Terrentius SJ: Wissenschaftler und China-Missionar (1576-1630)*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016.

<sup>86</sup> Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China 1579-1724*, Cambridge of Massachusetts: the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008.

<sup>87</sup> *Johann Schreck Terrentius: Le Scienze rinascimentali e lo spirito dell'Accademia dei Lincei nella Cina dei Ming*, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1998.

<sup>88</sup> Amedeo Cracco, *La Prefettura Apostolica Di Sanyuan Cina-Shensi*, Tungyuenfang 1933.

<sup>89</sup> Hubert Germain Verhaeren, Wang Tcheng et la mécanique. *Bulletin catholique de Pékin*, 34 (1947), pp. 178-189. This article was already translated into Chinese, cf. Jing Ming transl., Wang Zheng and His *QQTS*, in *The Journal of Sapientia Press*, vol.2, 1(1947).

<sup>90</sup> Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol.4, Physics and Physical Technology, part II, Mechanical Engineering, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965, p.66(a), p170-I, p.220, p.255, p.467, pp.513-515, p547.

<sup>91</sup> Jacques Gernet, *Chine et christianisme: Action et réaction*, Paris: Gallimard, 1982. English edition, China and

converts did not receive the true Christianity. Following this he mentioned Wang Zheng many times in other articles.<sup>92</sup> In one of these articles, J. Gernet explored Wang's *RHY* and argues that the Humanitarian Society established by Wang Zheng was the only way for Christianity to keep a foothold in China.<sup>93</sup>

Erik Zürcher mentioned Wang Zheng in his article, which is the earliest research on Wang's integrated belief. But he thinks that Wang's beliefs belong to Confucian monotheism.<sup>94</sup> Through the concentrated study on Wang's *WTARJL*, Nicolas Standaert disagrees with his professor's viewpoint, and he also analysed the structure and contents of *WTARJL*.<sup>95</sup> Subsequently, E. Zürcher explored Wang's thought in *RHY*.<sup>96</sup> Adrian Dudink explored the original texts of *RHY* and *RJSB* in two articles.<sup>97</sup> In *HDCC*,<sup>98</sup> the editors see Wang as an important figure in the Christian history of the late Ming era, one of the four principal converts. Meanwhile, in the following part of the handbook, the editors analysed their conversion from the perspective of sociology of religion.<sup>99</sup> Some views on the achievements of the above outstanding research will be mentioned in main part of this study. An unpublished dissertation named, *Wang Zheng and His Attempt to Inculturate Christianity in Late Ming China*,<sup>100</sup> argues from the perspective of inculturation, according to Wang's *Xueyong shujie*, *WTARJL* and *RHY*, that Wang utilised a cultural theme, the parent/child relationship from the

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the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures, Janer Lloyd, transl., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Chinese edition, *Zhongguo yu jidujiao* 中國與基督教: *zhongxi wenhua de shouci zhuangji* 中西文化的首次撞擊 (revision edition), Geng Shen transl., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Jacques Gernet, the Chinese edition, 2003, pp.233-245, pp.325-335, pp.349-358.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Jacques Gernet, the Chinese edition, 2003, pp.352-353.

<sup>94</sup> Erik Zürcher, Confucian and Christian Religiosity in Late Ming China, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 83, No.4, 1997, pp.614-653.

<sup>95</sup> Nicolas Standaert, Wang Zheng's Ultimate Discussion of the Awe of Heaven and the Care of Human Beings, in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, vol. 29, 1998, pp.163-188.

<sup>96</sup> Erik Zürcher, Christian Social Action in Late Ming Times: Wang Zheng and his "Humanitarian Society", in Jan A.M. de Meyer & Peter M. Engelfriet ed., *Linked Faiths: Essays on Chinese Religions and Traditional Culture in Honour of Kristofer Schipper*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, pp.269-286.

<sup>97</sup> Adrian Dudink, The Zikawei 徐家匯 Manuscript Copy(1885)of Wang Zheng's Rehui yue 仁會約(1634) [revised, with footnotes], in *Sino-Western Cultural relation Journal*, vol.36, 2014, pp.14-26. And the Addendum in *Sino-Western Cultural relation Journal*, vol.37, 2015, p.91.

Ad Dudink, The Religious Works Composed by Johann Adam Schall von Bell, Especially His Zhuzhi qunzheng and His efforts to Convert the Last Ming Emperor, in Roman Malek, ed., *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592-1666)*, (Sankt Augustine: China-Zentrum and the Monumenta Serica Institute), 1998, vol.2, pp.805-809.

<sup>98</sup> Nicolas Standaert ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, volume One: 635-1800, Leiden: Brill, 2001.

<sup>99</sup> They used Lewis Rambo's theory of sociology of religion. Cf. Lewis Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993.

<sup>100</sup> Kai Tai Tony Wong, (Diss), *Filial Piety and Christian Piety: Wang Zheng and His Attempt to Inculturate Christianity in Late Ming China*, La Trobe University, 2009. The author only sent me the introduction of the dissertation.

normative Five Human Relations (wu lun) of standard Confucianism, to enculturate Christianity.

Although these research articles explore the conversion of Wang's beliefs and his thoughts, arousing the researchers' inspiration and curiosity, most of them are based on parts of Wang's texts, not the whole catalogue, so it is unlikely to represent Wang's systematic theoretical structure. We still need to find coherence in Wang's integrated thoughts, and then interpret the relationship between his life and faith.

### 1.3 The Collection of Wang Zheng's Works

When Wang was alive, he sorted his works and published most of them,<sup>101</sup> such as *XREMZ*, *QQTS*, *ZQTS*, *WTARJL*, *RHY*, *RJSB*, *DHKJ*, these texts in their original editions have been preserved until now and supply us with reliable sources to research. After his death, during the Qing Dynasty (in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century), Wang's seventh generation grandson, Wang Jie, collected Wang Zheng's works and edited five kinds of corpus,<sup>102</sup> but unfortunately these have ultimately been lost. In 1925, Baikun collected some of Wang's works in his *the Series of Books of Jingyang*, in the preface to *Wang Zheng's Collected Works* he states that Wang's learning is useful to Confucianism.<sup>103</sup>

Li Zhiqin researched Wang Zheng during the 1950s, afterwards, he published *Wang Zheng's Collected Works* in 1987, which collected most of Wang's works except *QQTS* and four kinds of Christian texts.<sup>104</sup>

Song Boyin published the *Chronicle of Wang Zheng's Life* in 1990, receiving a positive review from Guo Xiwei.<sup>105</sup> In 2004, a revised version of this book came out, in which Song added four research articles.<sup>106</sup> In this book, Song spent 92 pages on

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<sup>101</sup> In the list of works of Baotian tang, in which Wang Jie mentioned Wang Zheng had written 43 kinds of works. See *BTTJC*, vol.1.

<sup>102</sup> Wang Jie, *BTTJC*, vol.1.

<sup>103</sup> Bai Kun, ed., *JYWX*.

<sup>104</sup> Li Zhiqin 李之勤, ed., *Wang Zheng yizhu* 王徵遺著 (Wang Zheng's Collected Works), Xi'an: Shaanxi People Press, 1987.

<sup>105</sup> Song Boyin, *Ming Jingyang Wang Zheng xiansheng nianpu* 明涇陽王徵先生年譜 (The Chronicle of Wang Zheng's Life), Xi'an 西安: Shaanxi Normal University Press 陝西師範大學出版社, 1990.

<sup>106</sup> Guo Xiwei, 1994.

the Chronicle of Wang's life, which basically summarises Wang's life, contact, experience and learnings for readers and researchers. In 1948, he published two articles on Wang's brief chronicle.<sup>107</sup> The second part of this book collects some of Wang's selected works, such as Christian texts *WTARJL*, *RHY*, *DHKJ* and *RJSB*. The last part includes a lot of research materials, e.g. Wang's biographies and some valuable articles from the Minguo period.

Many research achievements are based on books of Li and Song. From the late 1970s to now, these two resources play an quite underlying role in the study of Wang Zheng. However, we should appraise these two scientifically. From the perspective of research resources, each of them is short of some texts, i.e. the four Christian texts are not collected in Li's book, but can be found in Sun's book. *Liangli lüe* is not included in the latter. Both of them lack the main texts of *XREMZ* and *QQTS*.

In 2011, Lin Lechang published *WZQJ*, which is more complete than former editions.<sup>108</sup> 22 volumes, 5 appendices, all of his preserved mechanical works, and 4 kinds of Christian texts were collated with Song's edition, a huge number of mistakes were also corrected. Furthermore, Wang's prefaces, poetry, letters, essays, many prefaces, postscripts to Wang's works, various biographies and so on were all gathered. Undoubtedly, that is the outstanding and convenient corpus for research into Wang's life and thought. Through my reading and study in recent years, I have found some collated mistakes, meanwhile some unreasonable places are appearing. Besides, some new discovered texts are waiting to be gathered. Possibly, in the future I will publish a complete photocopy of Wang's works.

#### 1.4 My Former Research on Wang Zheng

Since 2009, I have studied and read Wang Zheng's texts intensively, more and more research questions have continued to progressively arise in my mind. Prior to this

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<sup>107</sup> Song Boyin, Wang Zheng xiansheng jianpu 王徵先生簡譜(the Brief Chronicle of Wang's life), in *The Journal of Sapientia Press* 上智编译馆馆刊, vol.3, 2,34(1948).

<sup>108</sup> Lin Lechang, *Wang Zheng quanji* 王徵全集(The Collected Works of Wang Zheng), Xi'an 西安: Sanqin Press 三秦出版社, 2011.



research, I have published one monograph and several articles on Wang Zheng. Amongst these articles,<sup>109</sup> two valuable ones are often cited by other scholars.

Wang Zheng's new epitaph stone was discovered in 2010, an important new source for studying Wang Zheng, in this article I collated the whole text of the epitaph and undertook some research into it.<sup>110</sup> The content of the epitaph is close to Wang's biography written by Zhang Bingxuan.<sup>111</sup> The second article an analysis of Wang's concubinage and death for Ming, in the conclusion I posit that the title of Confucian-Christian is a suitable description of Wang Zheng's identity.

My Monograph is the *Critical Biography of Wang Zheng*, which was published in Beijing by the Religious Cultures Press in 2016.<sup>112</sup> This work delineates the whole life of Wang Zheng clearly and provides some comments on his experience and belief but does not do so deeply and theoretically. The inheritance of Wang's belief is still not fully uncovered.

## 1.5 Research Questions

A research question is the main thread and fundamental core of a study. The discourse

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<sup>109</sup> Academic Summarization of Wang Zheng's study(1979-2009)王徵研究綜述, in *Tangdu Journal* 唐都學刊, 6(2010).

The Description of the Moving of Wang Zheng's Tom 王徵墓遷建記, in *Catholicism in China* 中國天主教, 3(2011).

The Review of Wang Zheng Scientific Achievements 興實學, 拯弊時——王徵科學成就述評, in *The Symposium of the 15th Anniversary of the Establishment of Institute of Religious Studies* 循理探玄——陝西省社會科學院宗教研究所成立 15 周年紀念文集, Shaanxi People Press 陝西人民出版社, 2011.

The Primary Study and Collating of Wang Zheng's Epitaph Written by Zhang Bingxuan 張炳璿<王徵墓誌銘>點校及初步探析, in *Studies in World Religions* 世界宗教研究,1(2012).

Collision and Reconciliation Between Confucianism and Christianity in the Late Ming Dynasty and the Early of Qing Dynasty: Based on the Analysis of Wang's Concubinage and Death for Ming 明末清初天主教與儒教的衝撞與調適——以王徵納妾與殉明的探析, in *Journal of Lanzhou University* (social sciences) 蘭州大學學報<社科版>,1(2012).

Review of Wang Zheng quanji ——edited by professor Lin Lechang 搜羅完備 體例合理 校勘精審——評林樂昌教授編校<王徵全集>, in *Studies in World Religions* 世界宗教研究,4(2012).

The Exploration of Integration of Confucianism and Christianity in Wang Zheng's Weitian airen jilun 王徵<畏天愛人極論>中的儒耶會通之探微, in *The Symposium of Catholic Studies* 天主教研究論輯, vol.9, Religious Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 2012.

The Study of the Conception of Love of the Integration of Confucianism and Catholicism by Wang Zheng 王徵儒耶會通中的愛觀研究, in *The Symposium of the Tenth Scholastic Philosophy Workshop and Teaching* 第十屆士林哲學講習會論文集, FuJin University Press 輔仁大學出版社, 2013.

<sup>110</sup> My article, in *Studies in World Religions* 世界宗教研究, 1(2012).

<sup>111</sup> *BTTJC*, vol.5.

<sup>112</sup> *The Critical Biography of Wang Zheng* 王徵評傳, Religious Cultures Press 宗教文化出版社,2016.

will progress from the research questions. In the meanwhile, this research also has its basic questions.

As a traditional Confucian, Wang Zheng received a systematic Confucian education. Did he ever believe in Buddhism and Taoism? With this strong religious upbringing, why did he decide to accept the Christian baptism? After the baptism, he had a new Christian identity, the relationship between traditional religions and Christianity for him must be solved. Wang said that he had deserted the beliefs of Buddhism and Taoism before accepting Christian doctrine in *WTARJL*.<sup>113</sup> Through reading his texts intensively, we see that he did not give up the main cultural context, Confucianism, thus, how did he treat with the relation between Confucianism and Christianity? As a Confucian literati with a classical Chinese tradition and education, how did he interpret the Christian teachings and set up his thought system? After an analysis of his thought, we may find his real motivation in embracing Christianity. Therefore, these questions form the main part of this research. Besides, this study will explore the relationship between Wang's extraordinary life and his beliefs. The images of historical figures are quite important for researchers in evaluating their influence and position. This study will demonstrate Wang Zheng's image in history objectively.

## 1.6 Research Approaches

In this research, I use the following approaches to analyse and interpret the research object.

From the perspective of Studies of Historical Literature, I will identify the original texts of Wang Zheng. Usually, the original texts are the closest to the truth. Regarding Wang's life, *BTTJC* is an important source preserved by Wang Zheng's 12<sup>th</sup> generation descendant, which I copied for the study. Wang's biographies are collected in some local chronicles, which also constitute the primary sources base. In fact, some of Wang's works are preserved in different places. Regarding Wang's thoughts, the

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<sup>113</sup> Cf. *WTARJL*, ff.12-13.

original Confucian texts *Xueyong shujie* and *Shiyue* are preserved by Wang's descendant; the original Christian texts *WTARJL*, *RHY* and *DHKJ* are preserved in the French national library, *RJSB* is preserved in the Vatican library. In this research, in order to be faithful to the historical original appearance, I try to use the original text.

I will also use the perspective of Historical Narration to explore Wang Zheng's life. Based on scattered sources, his legendary life is described. The chronicle of Wang Zheng briefly introduces his life and relevant historical facts.

From the perspective of the History of Sino-Western Cultural Exchange, to assess Wang's contributions to Mechanics and Chinese Linguistics, the texts *QQTS*, *ZQTS* and *XREMZ*, will be used to identify that Wang, with the help of Jesuits, definitely introduced Western knowledge to the Chinese.

The perspective of Religious Studies will be utilised to analyse Wang Zheng's religious beliefs. The identity of Confucian-Christian shows that two religions are implemented in Wang's thoughts. For instance, the concepts of Heaven, the mandate of Heaven in Confucianism, God, heaven and hell and the Ten Commandments of Christianity are all included. What's more, Wang Zheng's integrated religious thought is the key.

## 1.7 The Structure of this Research

This research has been conducted in five parts. The first part is the introduction of this research. The second part is made up of one chapter, and discusses Wang Zheng's life, in which Wang Zheng's family, growth, imperial examination, scientific contributions, official career and his military capability are introduced and analysed.

The third part is about Wang Zheng's thought and is made up of three chapters. Wang Zheng's theoretical system: Revering the Heaven/the Lord of Heaven and Caring for Human beings is mainly interpreted from chapter three to chapter five. In chapter three, I focus on the text of *WTARJL*, and explore the structure, the relationship between *WTARJL* and the quoted texts *TZSY*, *Qike* and *JRSP*, the characteristics of the quotations. Following this, I analyse the first part of Wang's

thought: to search for the Mandate of Heaven and recognising the Lord of Heaven. Chapter four focuses on revering the Lord of Heaven, meanwhile, I analyse Wang's interpretations in the text of *WTARJL*. Chapter five is concerned with the third part of Wang's learning or theoretical system, i.e. serving the Heaven/the Lord of Heaven, which is also the learning of his religious practice.

Chapter six is the fourth part of this research and focuses on Wang Zheng's historical image. The images include Wang's self-description, historical evaluation and modern image.

The fifth part has two appendices, one is Wang Zheng's life chronicle, another is Wang Zheng's works.

Part I.

奇人幸得多奇遇  
The unusual stories of an unusual person

2. Extraordinary Life

2.1 Wang Zheng's Upbringing

Wang Zheng's family was a traditional household of farmers and readers (Gengdu 耕讀) in the countryside. His ancestors worked in the fields never forgot to read the books of Sants and Sages. Wang Zheng's personality was rooted in this household. From childhood, he received a completely Confucian education. There is little doubt that he inherited the excellent moral character of the family. Although his hometown was far from the economic, political and cultural centre Beijing, the imperial order and belief were the same as in other areas.

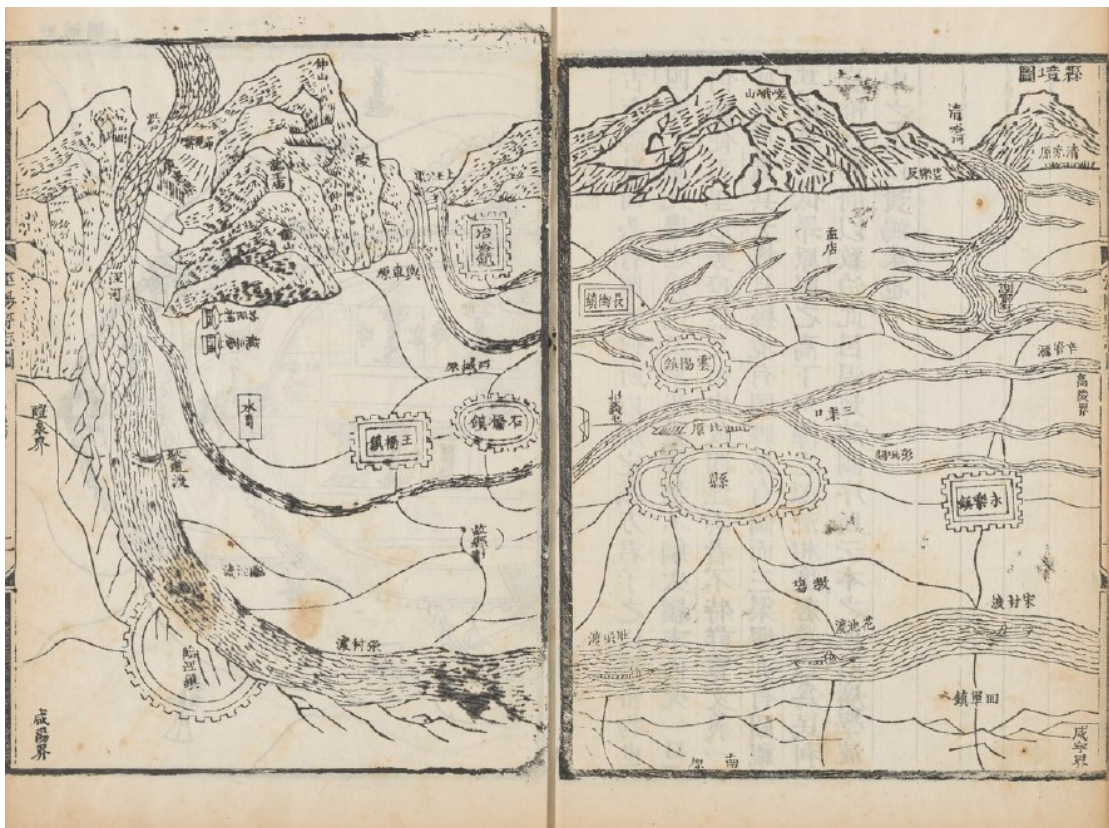


Fig. 2.1 Map of Jingyang county(1778).<sup>114</sup> Wang Zheng’s hometown was beneath the Mountain Cuo’e 嵯峨山 and near the River Qing 清河.

Wang Zheng was born in 1571, the fifth year of Longqing Emperor in the late Ming Dynasty. His birthplace was in the village Yingcun li Jiandan bu<sup>115</sup> of Jingyang county 涇陽縣,<sup>116</sup> which in that time belonged to Xi’an, but today it is one county of Xianyang. The village Jiandan bu was named as Golden Medal Wang(See Fig.2.3),<sup>117</sup> so the village has a long and reputable history.



<sup>114</sup> *Jingyang xianzhi* 涇陽縣誌(The Chronicle of Jingyang), the 43<sup>rd</sup> year of Qianlong 乾隆 43 年(1778). HYL.

<sup>115</sup> Yingcun li Jiandan bu 盈村里尖擔堡, see *BTTJC*, vol. 1. Now the birthplace is Wang village 王家村 of Anwu town 安吳鎮, Jingyang county 涇陽縣 of Xian yang 咸陽, Shaanxi province 陝西省. Cf. *ZGDMD*, p.581. & *ZGDM*, p.575.

<sup>116</sup> Jingyang lies in the north of the Jing river, which is the ancient cultural city. Wang Guowei made the textual research that Qin Linggong (424 -415 B.C.) ever built his capital in Jingyang. Qin Zhaoxiang Wang (307 - 221 BC) bestowed his same mother brother as Jingyang Jun and Jingyang as his feud. During the Warring States period, the irrigationist Zheng Guo excavated canal for the Qin in Jingyang territory, and the water channel could irrigate the field more than forty thousand Qing 頃. In Han Dynasty Jingyang was replaced with Chiyang. Tang Dezong (780 - 804) Li Shi's Chong Ling 崇陵 and Xuanzong (847 -859) Li Chen's Zhen Ling 貞陵 in Jingyang. Ming Hongwu the second year (1369) Jingyang County belonged to Xi'an fu.

<sup>117</sup> See the epitaph of Hubei xian sheng(Wang Zheng' s father), written by Zheng Man 鄭鄴, *Miyang caotang wenji*, vol. 15, 峯陽草堂文集, 卷十五.

Fig.2.2 The Map of Sanyuan 三原 County(1783).<sup>118</sup> In the north of Sanyuan is Luqiao zhen 鲁桥镇, where Wang Zheng lived for a long time.

According to the Book of Clan's History of the Wang Family,<sup>119</sup> which was compiled by Wang Zheng's seventh generation descendant Wang Jie, Wang Zheng's oldest ancestor lived in the Hongtong Shanxi province. In the late North Song Dynasty the ancestor changed the residence of the family and migrated to Jingyang. His ancestors engaged in farming and were known for having a high moral character in the village.<sup>120</sup>

Wang Yun, who was Wang Zheng's grandfather, was a charitable person in the countryside and concentrated on farming all his life. He had never been to the government office, died at the age of 87 and was known as a real recluse/Chushi.<sup>121</sup> Wang Zheng's father Wang Yinxuan was the fourth generation offspring of the clan of Wang family from Wang Zan.

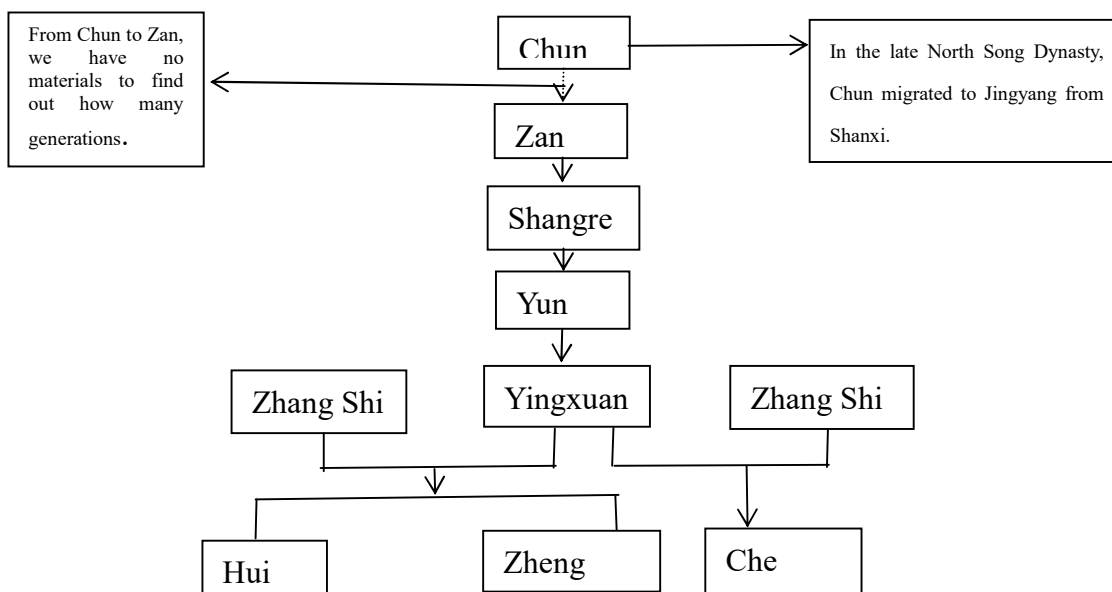


Chart2.1 The family tree of Wang clan, from Chun to Zheng, all of the names in drawing are given names.<sup>122</sup>

Wang Yinxuan, whose courtesy name was Hubei, was born in the twenty-ninth year of

<sup>118</sup> *Sanyuan xianzhi* 三原縣志(The Chronicle of Sanyuan), the 48<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong 乾隆 48 年(1783). HYL.

<sup>119</sup> Wang shi jiasheng 王氏家乘, see *BTTJC*, vol.6. Wang Jie compiled.

<sup>120</sup> See the Shared Epitaph of Hubei xian sheng (Wang Zheng's father)and Zhang Shi (Wang Zheng's mother), written by Zheng Man 鄭鄭(1594-1639), *Miyang caotang wenji*, vol. 15.

<sup>121</sup> Chushi 处士, cf. *ZGLD*, p.831&p.2810.

<sup>122</sup> This chart is based on *BTTJC*, vol.1.

Jiajing (1550) and died in the first year of Chongzhen (1628). Yingxuan also inherited the family's tradition of farmers and readers. While he was engaged in farming, he never forgot to read the historical books as well. "Although he undertook the farming works, he read the ancient books with joys. Usually he transcribed the sentences from the history and the classics."<sup>123</sup> He also had a lot of expertise knowledge in mathematics, astronomy and geography. "His character was one of keenness and ingenuity. He was an expert in mathematics, geography and aspect astrology, etc..<sup>124</sup> This way of life, which Mr. Hubei learned from his ancestors had an important influence on the offsprings of Wang family. His words and deeds became the greatest wealth of the family, and all of his virtues and scholarship were passed on to his descendants. He never forgot the cultivation of his sons, nephews and grandsons. Therefore he composed some beneficial songs with some aphorisms from ancient books such as *Jiuzhang* 九章,<sup>125</sup> *Mingxin baojian* 明心寶鑒<sup>126</sup> and *Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇,<sup>127</sup> in order to teach his descendants and the villagers.<sup>128</sup> An example was, *Hubei shanweng xunzi ge* 潯北山翁訓子歌, an educational songs that not only enlightened the minds of the children, but also brought them various historical knowledge. The children of the Wang family, including Wang Zheng, were able to build a traditional attitude towards life during childhood, as well as a virtuous mode of behaviour. "Fine words and lofty deeds of the ancient sages, which would be as pattern for the later generations. If you put it into practice after reading one sentence, however you could not reach to the position of the sages, after all, you could yet be regarded as a good man. If a book is only the book, which man uses for the official rank, but it is hardly helpful to your mind and body, what if you have countless number of books?"<sup>129</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Zheng Man, the Shared Epitaph of Hubei Xian Sheng and Zhang Shi, *Miyang caotang wenji*, vol. 15.

<sup>124</sup> Zheng Man, *the Shared Epitaph of Hubei Xian Sheng and Zhang Shi*.

<sup>125</sup> Nine Chapters, One section of *Chuci* 楚辭, which was written by Qu Yuan 屈原 (339- 278 B.C.), who was the patriotic poet in the Period of Warring States. Some scholars in the history didn't think that some chapters of *Jiuzhang* were written by Qu Yuan.

<sup>126</sup> The Treasury Book of Brightening Heart, written by Fan Liben 範裏本, finished during late Yuan and early Qing Dynasties.

<sup>127</sup> The Supreme Book of Rewards and Punishments, a Taoist scripture.

<sup>128</sup> Wang Zheng: *the Postscript of the Educational song of Mr. Hubei for the Children* 潯北山翁訓子歌

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.



Wang Yingxuan did charity work kindly in the village, often offering relief to families in the poverty.<sup>130</sup> From this we can conclude that Wang Zheng's father kept his word and turned it into action. When Wang Zheng passed the national official exam, his family became slightly wealthier, and his father donated the warm tea to thirsty people in the high summer. Occasionally when some families were forced to dispose of their possessions due to disease, Wang Zheng's father would buy them for several times their worth. In 1627, Wang Zheng as Tuiguan<sup>131</sup> was in the official position of Yangzhou,<sup>132</sup> and after some days he picked up his father to come live with him for some months. When he handled the Huangshan case,<sup>133</sup> he did so hesitantly struggle to make a decision, because the case was quite sensitive and interwove and overlapped with multiple relations. But even so, his father cautioned that "you are a judge, please don't maltreat the men with injustice. Even if you would be dismissed from the office, you should not conform. How can you acquire your official position by exploiting your power? And how can you prioritise your power over common people's lives and wealth? I've told you before that the result of the interaction between Heaven and Human Being is apparent (rewarding the good people and punishing the wicked). The inspection of Heaven is really awesome, caution yourself and encourage yourself."<sup>134</sup> This quoted passage is related to Wang Zheng's revering Heaven and caring for man. When Wang Zheng's father returned to their hometown village it was not long until it was trapped by the drought. Every day he would walk many miles to the temple of Dongyue<sup>135</sup> out of compassion, and there he would kneel down and prayed for the impoverished drought victims in the burning

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<sup>130</sup> Wang Zheng: the Request for My Father's Epitaph. 為父求墓誌狀稿, see *BTTJC*, vol.6.

<sup>131</sup> Tuiguan 推官, prefectural judge. This official position started from Tang Dynasty, in that time it was subordinate to the provincial governor, which was in charge of settling a case. Five Dynasties and Ten States inherited this position from Tang. The prefectural judge was under the Sansi 三司 and Zhoufu 州府 in Song Dynasty. Yuan and Ming also inherited from the past dynasties. Cf. *ZGLD*, pp.2683-2684.

<sup>132</sup> Yangzhou 揚州, today's Yangzhou, in the Ming dynasty Yangzhou belonged to Nan Zhili, which had some counties, Jiangdu, Gaoyou, Taixing and so on. The yamen (the government office of the Fu) lied in Yangzhou. Cf. *ZGDMD*, p.384.

<sup>133</sup> I will explain the case in the following part of this chapter.

<sup>134</sup> Wang Zheng: the Request for My Father's Epitaph. 為父求墓誌狀稿, see *BTTJC*, vol.6.

<sup>135</sup> Dongyue Temple 東嶽廟 is for people to worship Dongyue dadi (The King of Eastern Mountain) in Taoism. Cf. Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛, ed., *Zhonghua dao jiao da cidian* 中華道教大辭典 (The Great Dictionary of Chinese Taosim), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社 (China Social Sciences Press), 1995, p.1462.

sun, even though his knees were bleeding.<sup>136</sup> A little while later he died of fatigue.

Wang Zheng's father was a quite virtuous man, possibly he was a Christian.<sup>137</sup> However, his characters had a strong influence on his son Wang Zheng. It is obvious that they cared about common people.



Fig.2.3 The Stone Tablet of Golden Medal Wang  
金牌王 for Wang's Earlier Ancestors



Fig.2.4 The Tombstone of Wang Zheng's Parents .

Wang Zheng's mother was the eldest daughter of Zhang Zhaochong 張朝寵, whose official title from the emperor was Fengzhi dafu 奉直大夫. Her brother was Zhang Jian 張鑿, whose official title from the emperor was Fengyi dafu 奉議大夫. The clan of Zhang family clan belonged to the village Wozi Zhang 窩子張, Anwu town 安吳鎮 of Jingyang county 涇陽縣. This village is located near the walled-village of Wang family, which is also famous for its morality and customs in Jingyang. Wang Zheng's mother had two son, the eldest one was Wang Zheng and the youngest one was Wang Hui.<sup>138</sup> She was born in the thirtieth year of Jiajing (1551) and died in the twenty-third year of Wanli (1595) when Wang Zheng was 25. She was a traditional and totally unpretentious woman and took care of her family everyday. "She has been

<sup>136</sup> Wang, the Request for My Father's Epitaph. See *BTTJC*, vol.6.

<sup>137</sup> Wang, the Request for My Father's Epitaph. See *BTTJC*, vol.6. Wang Zheng says that his father prayed to God every morning.

<sup>138</sup> Wang Zheng has another young brother, whose name is Wang Che 王徹, the son of Wang Zheng's stepmother.

married with Mr. Zhang Yingxuan for thirty years, not only benevolent and mild, but also diligent and thrifty, she never spends money on herself. She keeps house and looks after all the minor details, like washing the writing brushes for writing, collecting water from the well and removing the husks from grains in the stone mortar, all of which were neglected or other were unwilling to do. Even after Wang Zheng's birth when she gets ill, she never stops doing housework. As a daughter, a woman, and a mother, she tries her best to support the household. Even though Wang Zheng acquired the title of Juren for one year, she died thirty years before his husband, and never got to experience it. Her virtues are clear from the words and deeds of her husband and sons."<sup>139</sup> The moral excellence of Wang Zheng's mother naturally exerted a profound influence on her children's character. The development of morality and way of living for children were influenced by the attitudes of their parents. Similar virtues as his parents can be found in Wang Zheng's life. In 1624, the emperor granted Wang Zheng's parents a high honor to praise their moral excellence. When his father died, Wang set up a tombstone in front of his parents' joint tomb, which was inscribed with the words of the emperor's imperial edict.(See Fig.1.4)

Wang Zheng, as the eldest son of the family, started to receive enlightening education in the private school of the village before the age of 7. His teacher were surprised to see that he often understood the meanings of the books he read without explanation.<sup>140</sup> After the age of 7 Wang followed his uncle Zhang Jian's lead and learned to read the classics, history books and so on. Zhang taught Wang to read chapters and sentences of Confucian Classics, and Wang recited the sentences and responded fluently. Every day he would learn many sentences by heart, and he had the ability to write a composition which was full of literary talent and grace. Thus it can be seen that Zhang Jian gave Wang Zheng careful guidance in reading and writing, and Wang used uncle-master (Jiushi 舅師) or uncle-father (Jiufu 舅父) to express his gratefulness to Zhang.<sup>141</sup> Zhang Jian was born in the twenty-fifth year of Jiajing (1546) and died in thirty-third year of Wanli (1605). Zhang Jian was the elder brother

<sup>139</sup> Zheng Man, the Shared Epitaph of Hubei Xian Sheng and Zhang Shi, *Miyang caotang wenji*, vol. 15.

<sup>140</sup> Zhang Bingxuan 張炳璿, the Biography of Master Wang 王公葵心傳, see *BTTJC*, vol.5.

<sup>141</sup> Wang Zheng, *the Preface of Questions for Heaven* 天問詞序.

of Wang Zheng's mother, whose hometown was near Wang's family. He was also the famous Confucian of Guanxue 關學, which is one of the Neo-Confucian schools in Guanzhong 關中, Shaanxi province.<sup>142</sup> He compiled *the Initial Songs of the Brief History of the Past Dynasties* (Lidai shilüe fameng ge 歷代事略發蒙歌), which was recited by his nephews. Wang Zheng did not forget the historical songs until he obtained the title of Xiucai. Even at the age of 68 he wrote one postscript for the songs and recompiled the songs for his descendants, in that time he said he could remember some sentences.<sup>143</sup> The songs contained a lot of stories about celebrities, from which Wang Zheng received the enlightenment of life. He also acknowledged that he learned his methods of reading history from the songs.<sup>144</sup> Mr. Zhang also handed down another hobby imperceptibly to Wang Zheng, which was machinery production. Zhang was able to make mechanical appliances, for example, a crossbow, war chariot and some of military appliances which were used in the defensive projects. When Wang met some western missionaries, he started reading some western mechanical works that re-activated his interest. He also translated some western mechanical works into Chinese with the help of Jesuits missionaries.

Zhang was a magistrate in the counties of Hebei 河北 and Shanxi 山西, and in his official position he loved helping the local people. When they were in poverty, Zhang exempted them from the taxes and in the meantime encouraged them to develop production. Because of his responsible work ethic, he was promoted to the vice-magistrate of Taiyuan fu 太原府, where he enforced the laws impartially and reversed the unjust verdicts. Finally he was promoted to a superior official position, not long time he died of exhaustion. After his more than twenty years official position, he left almost nothing to his descendants, only a small bit of land which could not support the household, and a small house which was not large enough for them to reside in. With the local common people he had the reputation of being incorruptible. The minister of personnel of the late Ming government Sun Piyang<sup>145</sup> conferred a

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<sup>142</sup> See Guanxue xubian 關學續編(The Continuation Compilation of Guanxue), in *GXB*.

<sup>143</sup> Wang Zheng, *the Postscript of the Initiation Songs of the Brief History of the Past Dynasties* 歷代事略發蒙歌.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Sun Piyang 孫丕揚 (1531-1614), his birth place was Fuping of Shaanxi, and he was the famous minister of

posthumous title of Zhenhui xiansheng 貞惠先生 (virtuous and benevolent master) upon him. Wang Zheng said his uncle Zhang was a perfect Confucian scholar, who executed everything with Worth, Work and Word.<sup>146</sup> Zhang also taught Wang self-discipline 慎獨 and to avoid self-deception 毋自欺.<sup>147</sup> From this we can assume that Zhang was an important person in Wang's growth. Zhang's influence on Wang was well rounded, from being an upstanding person to a machinery scientist, from being an incorruptible official to a benevolent Confucian, which we will explore further in the following chapters.

Wang Zheng received his enlightenment education (Qimeng jiaoyu or kaimeng 啟蒙教育或開蒙) in the family of farmer and reader. In 1585, when Wang was 15, he married his 14-year-old-wife, Shang Shi. When Shang Xiu'an 尚修庵, brother of Zhang Jian's wife and also familiar with Zhang met Wang Zheng during a visit, he thought to himself that he had never seen such a good-looking young man. He let Wang write a formal essay, which Wang finished quickly. Mr. Shang was amazed at Wang's very impressive talent, and married his daughter to him.<sup>148</sup> After he received the title of Shengyuan, then he went to the national school of Jingyang county at the age of 17 (1587). Here he learned from Fan Wenzheng<sup>149</sup> and decided to study for the whole country as his own responsibility. Wang obtained the title of Juren at the age of 24 (1594), 12 years earlier than Xu Guangqi, who acquired his title at the age of 36. After he received his Juren title, he spent nearly 30 years (1595-1622) before receiving his Jinshi title. Receiving two titles, Xiucai and Juren at such an early age was impressive, but the road to the title of Jinshi/Advanced scholar was very long and tortuous. He sat the national exam ten times and eventually at the age of 52 managed to acquire the title of Jinshi. Although it took him almost 30 years, he met a lot of Confucian intellectuals and Jesuit missionaries along the way, and during the thirty

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Ming Dynasty.

<sup>146</sup> Wang Zheng, *Lidai shilue fameng ge*. 立功、立德、立言, Zuozhuan 左傳, “豹聞之, ‘太上有立德, 其次有立功, 其次有立言’, 雖久不廢, 此之謂三不朽。” Cf. Chinese Text Project. The following Chinese Classical Texts are quoted from the same place (<https://ctext.org/ens>).

<sup>147</sup> Wen Ziru 溫自如, *He Zhang Yizhao qijun jiuru deng xinshu xu* 賀張儀昭器君九如登賢書序 (the Preface of Celebrating Zhang Yizhao as Juren), *Haiyin lou wenji*, vol.2, 海印樓文集卷二 (the Corpus of Haiyin lou vol.2).

<sup>148</sup> Zhang Bingxuan 張炳璿, the Biography of Master Wang, see *BTTJC*, vol.5.

<sup>149</sup> Fan Wenzheng 範文正, i.e. Fan Zhongyan 範仲淹 (989-1052), the famous politician and Confucian in the North Song Dynasty, his posthumous title is Wenzheng.

years he changed his private religious beliefs from Buddhism and Taoism to Christianity. Afterwards he integrated the teachings between Confucianism and Christianity and created one learning of revering Heaven and caring for Human Beings.

## 2.2 Wang Zheng Accepted Christian Baptism

In *Weitian airen jilun* /WTARJL( the Ultimate Discussion of Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings), the first and the second dialogue show us Wang's conversion story. This dialogue was carried out between Wang and an anonymous guest.

According to Wang's own statement in *WTARJL*, the doctrine of Christianity made him find the mandate of Heaven. Most of scholars believe that Wang accepted the baptism around 1616.

We can not ascertain when Wang Zheng started to believe in Buddhism, only that he was involved in Buddhism for a long time. In that time he thought Buddhist doctrine was philosophical, and full of good knowledge. After some time, however Wang gave up the Buddhist belief and converted to Taoism. Unfortunately, the guest in the dialogue did not tell us the reasons for the conversion, however, we can infer some reasons from the context. The key reason is the quest for mandate of Heaven, which is the reason for the second conversion to Taoism and also for the third transformation to Christianity. Here we can not neglect the important element, of the decline of Buddhism in the Early and Middle Ming.<sup>150</sup>

Wang Zheng revised the comments on *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, a Taoist

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<sup>150</sup> Here I mean Buddhism had no new theory for intellectuals. The situation of Chinese Buddhism appeared revival to some extent in late Ming, e.g. four famous Buddhist monks, Yunqi zhuhong 雲棲株宏(1535-1615), Zibai zhenke 紫柏真可(1543-1603), Hanshan deqing 憨山德清(1546-1623), Ouyi zhixu 藕益智旭(1599-1655).

Cf. Guo Peng, *Mingdai fojiao* 明代佛教 (The Buddhism of Ming Dynasty), Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1982. Chen Yongge 陳永革, *Wanming fojiao sixiang yanjiu* 晚明佛教思想研究(The Study of Buddhist Thoughtds in Late Ming), Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe 宗教文化出版社, 2007. Xia Qingxia 夏清瑕, *Wanming fojiao fuxing de tedian ji qingxiang* 晚明佛教復興的特點及傾向(The Characteristics and Tendency of Buddhism in Late Ming), *Wutaishan yanjiu* 五臺山研究, (1)2002, 12-16.

book of alchemy theory, written by Wei Boyang<sup>151</sup> of the East Han Dynasty, and additionally, he commented on Baizi jie 百字解(the Explanation of One Hundred Characters of Taoism).<sup>152</sup> Wang also interpreted Tao by writing some Taoist works, such as *Biandao pian* 辨道篇( the Chapter of Interpreting Tao ), *Yuan zhenren zhuan* 元真人傳 (the Biography of the Great Immortal), and *Liaoxin dan* 了心丹 (the Realizing Pill). Based on these texts we believe that Wang was a Taoist believer formerly and that it was a certain fact that Wang observed Tao profoundly. In the dialogue the guest remarked that Wang was involved in Taoism for more than twenty years before he accepted Christianity at the age of 46. The following is an impressive story regarding Wang's Taoist faith. When Wang's mother was struggling with a serious illness, he walked to the temple of Medicine King (Yaowang miao),<sup>153</sup> This was 60 Li<sup>154</sup> far away from Luqiao of Jingyang, and here he prayed to Medicine King for his mother's health. Wang was about 24 years old at the time, and a pious Taoist follower. As he was grieving his mother's death, he read one sentence from the Taoist book, in which one son becomes immortal and his nine ancestors will ascend to heaven.<sup>155</sup> He decided then to cultivate himself according to a Taoist doctrine and repay his parents' loving-kindness. When a friend<sup>156</sup> offered Wang D. de Pantoja's *Qike*,<sup>157</sup> he read it and described that, "the message touched my heart and pierced into my bones".<sup>158</sup> He related it to the quotation of Mencius and he exclaimed in joy, "This is the right thread which leads to not being ashamed and not blushing."<sup>159</sup> At that time he became sick for more than twenty days during which he realized that he had never

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<sup>151</sup> Wei Boyang 魏伯陽, who was the famous Taoist and alchemist in East Han Dynasty. Cf. *ZHDJCD*, p.75.

<sup>152</sup> *Baizi jie*, a Taoist book, which was written by Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, but it is not definite.

<sup>153</sup> The temple of Medicine King (Yaowang miao 藥王廟). Medicine King is Sun Simiao 孫思邈(581-682), who was the famous doctor and Taoist in Tang Dynasty. After his death, people addressed him respectfully Medicine King.

<sup>154</sup> Li 里, the Chinese unit of length(1 Li=572.4 metres, in Ming). Cf. *ZGLD*, p.3460,

<sup>155</sup> Yizi chengxian, Jiuzu shengtian 一子成僊, 九祖升天. See Wang's Preface to *LLL*.

<sup>156</sup> This friend may be Li Zhizao 李之藻, who met Wang in 1598 when they participated in the national official test together, that time Li passed and Wang failed.

<sup>157</sup> Diego de Pantoja, the Chinese name is Pang Diwo 龐迪我(1571-1618), Jesuit missionary, from Spain.

*Qike* 七克, written by D. de Pantoja, 1614 edition, reprinted many times.

<sup>158</sup> *WTARJL*, f.18.

<sup>159</sup> Mencius said, "When looking up, the man has no occasion for shame before Heaven, and below, he has no occasion to blush before men." (yang bu kui tian, fu bu zuo ren. 仰不愧天, 俯不作人.) See *Mengzi Jinxin shang* 孟子·盡心上. Regarding the translations of the Chinese classical texts, I have referred to Chinese texts Project, as well as in the following Chinese classical quotations.

obtained illuminating understanding but only felt illusion. This time *Qike* helped him to find out regarding the destiny of Heaven.<sup>160</sup> After recovering from his illness, he went to the capital where he met with D. de Pantoja in 1616, the same year as Wang took his eighth metropolitan examination, but still failed. However, at the same time the religious turning event happened to him, under the guide of Jesuit missionary D. de Pantoja, Wang became a Christian.<sup>161</sup>

Lewis Rambo's work *Understanding Religious Conversion*<sup>162</sup> is useful for us to interpret Wang's conversion experience. The work discussed "religious conversion" from the perspective of the sociology of religion. Rambo discerns different stages in one conversion process: context (the ecology of the conversion process); crisis (catalyst for change); quest (active search); encounter (advocate and potential convert in contact); interaction (the matrix of change); commitment (consummation and consolidation of transformation) and consequences (the effects of converting process).<sup>163</sup> These seven stages for Wang's conversion process are like this: context (Chinese society, Confucianism [mainly], Taoism and Buddhism); crisis (social crisis of Ming Dynasty and his private crisis on the value and significance of life from the three religions); quest (Tianming/the Mandate of Heaven); encounter (Chinese Christian texts and Jesuits missionaries, Weitian airen/revering Heaven and caring for human beings); interaction (learned and discussed the teachings of Christianity with missionaries); commitment (the chapter of serving the Lord of heaven); consequences (Confucian-Christian). Prof. Standaert also thinks that these stages can be easily

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<sup>160</sup> I explain how did *Qike* play a great impact on Wang's conversion in chapter 3.

<sup>161</sup> Fang Hao, *ZGTR*, vol. Shang, p.227. Additionally, see *The Chinese translation of the Annual Letter of 1618 of the Society of Jesus in China* (the original material is Portuguese), unpublished, Dong Shaoxin 董少新, transl. Prof. Dong supplied the Chinese translation text to me. In the letter we can only find Wang's information from 1618. Therefore, it is unlikely that Wang became a Christian before 1616. The Annual Letter of 1618 of the Society of Jesus in China, which are from Instituto Cultural De Macau Instituto, Portugusês Do Património Arquitectónico /Biblioteca da Ajuda edição, Francisco G. Cunha Leão coordenação, Jesuítas na Ásia, Catálogo e Guia, vol.I&II, Tipografia Welfare Limitada,1998. And in *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 1116-1167. Fortunato Margiotti thinks that this might happen between 1601 and 1602, see Fortunato Margiotti, *Il cattolismo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, Roma, Edizioni, *Sinica Franciscana*, 1958, p.83. D'Elia also insisted that Wang Zheng was baptized much earlier, certo nel gennaio 1603 era già battezzato, see Pasquale M. D'Elia (a cura di), *Fonti Ricciane*, Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, 1942, vol. II, p.593, note 1. On 18 March 1617, Father Pantoja was exiled from Beijing.

Also See, Xie Mingguang, *Chinese Collaborators and the Making of the Xi Ru Er Mu Zi (1626)*. Dr. Xie supplied this article to me.

<sup>162</sup> Lewis R. Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.* pp.165-170.



found in Wang's story.<sup>164</sup> From the analysis, we can infer that Wang's conversion is an intellectual process, in which Wang faced the social and private crises and actively quested for the true meaning of life, when he read *Qike* which is an ethical Christian text and met Jesuits, he decided to choose Christianity. Wang Zheng had strong aspirations for a new learning in which Christian doctrine provided him with a new orientation. In addition, Wang's story belongs to the type of ethical conversion, which perfectly occurs in his thoughts and religious practice.<sup>165</sup>

After accepting his baptism, Wang returned to his hometown and continued to prepare for the next national examination. As a Confucian Christian, Wang had great confidence in, and decided to spread Christian doctrine in Shaanxi. While staying in his hometown, he wrote several letters to the President of the missionaries and asked for one priest be sent to Shaanxi. Later two priests and two friars arrived in Shaanxi, but because Wang was involved in some difficult affairs, these missionaries had no choice but to return, so as to not be an inconvenience at such a time.<sup>166</sup> During the period of mourning for his stepmother, Wang also wrote letter to the President of the Missionaries and invited Nicolas Trigault to preach in Shaanxi.<sup>167</sup> Thus, it is clear that Wang's enthusiasm of Christian faith was so strong.

### 2.3 Wang Zheng Acquired the Degree of Jingshi

Between 1616 to 1622, Wang had took part in the metropolitan examination three times. According to the the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China, Wang arrived in Beijing for the last time exam in 1621, possibly in the winter. Once he arrived in Beijing, he went to missionaries' residence and prayed to the Lord of Heaven, as well as visiting Matteo Ricci's graveyard. He also introduced his Confucian friends to the missionaries. The youngest son of Zhang Wenda, Zhang

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<sup>164</sup> N. Standaert, 1998, p.173.

<sup>165</sup> Prof. Standaert also thinks that Wang Zheng's conversion story is primarily an ethical conversion, which is based on the sentence of Mencius mentioned in Wang's *WTARJL* and de Pantoja's *Qike*, and he also relates this to Wang's Humanitarian Society. Cf. N.Standaert, 1998,p.174. The five dimensions of conversion: affective, intellectual, ethical, religious and social. Cf. Lewis R. Rambo, 1993, pp.146-148.

<sup>166</sup> Dong Shaoxin, transl., *the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China (1618)*

<sup>167</sup> Dong Shaoxin, transl., *the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China (1625)*.

Zhongfang was baptised during that time.<sup>168</sup> The effect of the Christian teachings was expanded through their personal relationship. Eventually, Wang passed the supreme official examination, which meant that although Wang had participated in the examination ten times(1595-1622), he acquired the title of Jinshi only after his Christian baptism. He attributed his success in passing the examination to the Lord of Heaven. Therefore, he stayed in the residence of the missionaries and fasted for three days. After that he made the Sacrament of Reconciliation to the priest.<sup>169</sup>

In June 1622, Wang was appointed the Tuiguan of Guangping fu<sup>170</sup> of Bei Zhili 北直隸. He returned to hometown to keep mourning until April 1624 because of his stepmother's death,<sup>171</sup> so it looks like he only held the office of Judge for twenty-one months (June 1622 to April 1624). In May 1627, he was again appointed the Tuiguan of Yangzhou fu of Nan Zhili. A year later, his father died and he went back to Jingyang. Therefore his Tuiguan life totalled only 3 years. Although the period of holding the Tuiguan position was short for him. He devoted himself to the work, in the meantime he made great achievements in his official career and acquired a good reputation from the common people.

## 2.4 Social Network

Through combing the related texts, a wide social network of Wang appears in front of us. As he was in a quite long way of imperial examination, however, he knew a lot of famous Confucians, Confucian-Christians and Jesuits.

### 2.4.1 Confucians

Name	Date of Birth and Death	Jinshi (Y/N)	The Supreme Official Position	Birthplace
Wei	1525-1596	Y	Bingbu shangshu/兵部尚書	Jingyang of Xi'an fu

<sup>168</sup> Dong Shaoxin, transl., *the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China (1621)*.

<sup>169</sup> Dong Shaoxin, transl., *the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China (1622)*.

<sup>170</sup> Guangping fu 廣平府, the south area of Heibei province, today only a town named Guangping. In history, Guangping fu contained Handan 邯鄲, Jize 雞澤, Guangping 廣平, Qinghe 清河, etc. Cf. *ZGDMD*, p.325.

<sup>171</sup> Shouxiao 守孝, Dingyou 丁憂, it means the officials should leave the official positions and keep mourning for their parents three year(normally 27 months). Cf. *ZGLD*, p.27.

Xuezheng 魏學曾 <sup>172</sup>		1553	/Head of the Ministry of War	西安府涇陽
Zhang Wenda 張問達 <sup>173</sup>	?-1625	Y 1583	Libu shangshu/吏部尚書 /Head of the Ministry of Official Personnel Affairs	Jingyang of Xi'an fu
Niu Yingyuan 牛應元 <sup>174</sup>	1573-1619	Y 1583	Zuo shilang/左侍郎 /Assistant Minister	Jingyang of Xi'an fu
He Zongyan 何宗彥 <sup>175</sup>	1559-1624	Y 1595	Libu shangshu Jianji dian daxueshi/吏部尚書, 建極殿 大學士 /Head of the Ministry of Official Personnel Affairs and Grand Secretary of Jianji dian	Jinxi of Jiangxi 江西金溪
Zhu Guozuo 朱國祚 <sup>176</sup>	1559-1624	Y 1583	Libu shangshu jian dongge daxueshi/禮部 尚書兼東閣大學士 /Minister of Rites and Grand Secretary of dongge	Xiushui of Zhejiang 浙江秀水
Shi Kefa 史可法 <sup>177</sup>	1601-1645	Y 1628	Bingbu shangshu /兵部尚書 /Head of the ministry of War	Kaifeng of Henan 河南開封
Dong Qichang 董其昌 <sup>178</sup>	1555-1636	Y 1589	Libu shangshu /禮部尚書 /Minister of Rites	Shanghai of Songjiang fu 松江府上海縣
Zhang Jinyan 張縉彥 <sup>179</sup>	1599-1670	Y 1631	Bingbu shangshu 兵部尚 書/Head of Ministry of War	Xinxiang of Henan 河南新鄉
Wen Chun <sup>180</sup> 溫純	1539-1607	Y 1565	Gongbu shangshu/工部 尚書/Head of Ministry of Works	San Yuan of Xi'an fu 西安府三原
Sun Piyang 孫丕揚 <sup>181</sup>	1531-1614	Y 1556	Libu shangshu/吏部尚書 /Head of the Ministry of Official Personnel Affairs	Fuping of Shaanxi 陝西富平
Liu Sike 劉四科 <sup>182</sup>	?	Y 1571	Bingbu shangshu/兵部 尚書 /Head of the	Ziyang of Shaanxi 陝西紫陽

<sup>172</sup> Wei Xuezheng, cf. Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, et al. eds., *MS*, vol. 228, Liezhuan 116, p.5975.

<sup>173</sup> Zhang Wenda, cf. *MS*, vol. 241, Liezhuan 129, p.6260.

<sup>174</sup> Niu Yingyuan, cf. Shen Qingya 沈青崖, ed., *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, Yongzheng 雍正 of Qing., in *ZGDF*.

<sup>175</sup> He Zongyan, cf. *MS*, vol. 240, Liezhuan 128, p.6252.

<sup>176</sup> Zhu Guozuo, cf. *MS*, vol. 240, Liezhuan 128, p.6249.

<sup>177</sup> Shi Kefa, cf. *MS*, vol. 274, Liezhuan 162, p.7015.

<sup>178</sup> Dong Qichang, cf. *MS* vol. 288, Liezhuan 176. p.7395.

<sup>179</sup> Zhang Jinyan, cf. *Qingshi liezhuan* 清史列傳, Erchen zhuan 貳臣傳乙.

<sup>180</sup> Wen Chun, cf. *MS* vol. 220, Liezhuan 180, p.5800.

<sup>181</sup> Sun Piyang, cf. *MS* vol. 224, Liezhuan 112, p.5900.

			Ministry of War	
Li Shida 李世達 <sup>183</sup>	? -1600	Y 1556	Bubu zhushi/戶部主事/ Secretary of the Ministry of Revenue	Jingyang of Xi'an fu 西安府涇陽
Han Jisi 韓繼思 <sup>184</sup>	?	Y 1613	Xingbu shangshu/刑部 尚書 /Head of the Ministry of Punishments	Jingyang of Xi'an fu 西安府涇陽
Hu Jiamo 胡嘉謨 <sup>185</sup>	?-1595	Y 1562	Duchayuan Youdu yushi/ 都察院右都禦史/Vice Censor of the Court of Censors	Jingyang of Xi'an fu 西安府涇陽
Tang Daoheng 湯道衡 <sup>186</sup>	?	Y 1616	Xunfu/巡撫/Governor	Danyang of Jiangsu 江蘇丹陽
Fan Yiheng 樊一衡 <sup>187</sup>		Y 1619	Xunfu zongdu/巡撫，總 督/Governor	Yibin of Sichuan 四川宜賓
Zhang Pengxuan 張蓬玄 <sup>188</sup>		Y ?	Shangshu 尚書/Minister	Fengxiang of Shaanxi 陝西鳳翔
Jiao Yuanqing 焦源清 <sup>189</sup>	?-1643	Y 1607	Youqian duyushi 右僉都禦史 /Vice Secretary of the Cencor	Sanyuan of Xi'an fu 西安府三原
Jiao Yuanfu 焦源溥 <sup>190</sup>	?-1643	Y 1607	Anchashi xunfu/按察使， 巡撫/Governor	Sanyuan of Xi'an fu 西安府三原
Sun Chuanting 孫傳庭 <sup>191</sup>	1593-1643	Y 1619	Bingbu shilang/兵部侍 郎/Vice minister of the Ministry of War	Daizhou of Shanxi 山西代州
Chen Qiyu 陳奇瑜 <sup>192</sup>	?-1645	Y 1616	Xunfu zongdu/巡撫，總 督/Governor	Baode of Shanxi 山西保德
Lai Fu 來復 <sup>193</sup>	?	Y 1616	Buzhengshi Beibing/布政使 備兵 /Vice Governor and Commander	Sanyuan of Xi'an fu 西安府三原
Liu Shilian 劉士璉 <sup>194</sup>	?	N Juren	Canzhen/ 參政/Secretary	Sanyuan of Xi'an fu 西安府三原

<sup>182</sup> Liu Sike, cf. *Daqing yitong zhi* 大清一統志. & *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, in ZGDF.

<sup>183</sup> Li Shida, cf. *MS*, vol. 220, Liezhuan 108, p.5795.

<sup>184</sup> Han Jisi, cf. *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志 in ZGDF. & Chen Ding 陳鼎, *Donglin liezhuan* 東林列傳.

<sup>185</sup> Hu Jiamo, cf. *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, in ZGDF.

<sup>186</sup> Tang Daoheng, cf. Zhao Hongen 趙宏恩 et al. eds., *Jiangnan tongzhi* 江南通志 and *Donglin liezhuan*.

<sup>187</sup> Fan Yiheng, cf. *MS*, vol. 279, Liezhuan 167, p.7145, and Huang Tinggui 黃廷桂 et al. eds., *Sichuan tongzhi* 四川通志, Yongzheng of Qing, in ZGDF.

<sup>188</sup> Zhang Pengxuan, cf. Wang Shizhen, *Chibei outan* 池北偶談.

<sup>189</sup> Jiao Yuanqing, cf. *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志 in ZGDF. & *MS* vol. 264, Liezhuan 152, p.6824.

<sup>190</sup> Jiao Yuanfu, cf. *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, in ZGDF. & *MS* vol. 264, Liezhuan 152, p.6823.

<sup>191</sup> Sun Chuanting, cf. *MS*, vol. 262, Liezhuan 150, p.6785, and Chu Dawen 儲大文 ed., *Shanxi tongzhi* 山西通志, in ZGDF.

<sup>192</sup> Chen Qiyu, cf. *MS*, vol. 260, Liezhuan 148, p.6729.

<sup>193</sup> Lai Fu, cf. *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, in ZGDF.

<sup>194</sup> Liu Shilian, cf. *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, in ZGDF.

Wang Yuli 王豫立 <sup>195</sup>	?	Y 1595	Zhixian, Zhushi/ 知縣, 主事/County Magistrate	Jingyang of Xi'an fu 西安府涇陽
Yang Guozhu 楊國柱 <sup>196</sup>	?-1642	?	Zongbing/commander 總兵	Jingyang of Xi'an fu 西安府涇陽
Han Lin 韓琳 <sup>197</sup>	?	Y 1613	Huguang bingbeidao/ 湖 廣兵備道 /Commander of Huguang	Jingyang of Xi'an fu 西安府涇陽
Wen Zhenmeng 文震孟 <sup>198</sup>	1574-1636	Y 1622	Libu zuoshilang dongge daxueshi/禮部左侍郎, 兼東閣大學士 /Vice Minster of Rites and Grand Secretary of dongge	Changzhou of Zhili 直隸長洲(江蘇蘇州)
Chen Renxi 陳仁錫 <sup>199</sup>	1581-1636	Y 1622	Guozi jian jijiu/國子監 祭酒 /Head of the Imperial College	Changzhou of Zhili 直隸長洲(江蘇蘇州)
Ni Yuanlu 倪元璐 <sup>200</sup>	1594-1644	Y 1622	Libu shangshu/禮部尚書 /Head of the Ministry of Rites	Shangyu of Zhejiang 浙江上虞
Huang Daozhou 黃道周 <sup>201</sup>	1585-1646	Y 1622	Bingbu shangshu Wuyingdian daxueshi/兵 部尚書, 武英殿大學士 Head of the Ministry of War and Grand Secretary of Wuying dian	Tongshan of Fujian 福建銅山
Lu Xiangsheng 盧象升 <sup>202</sup>	1600-1639	Y 1622	Bingbu shangshu/ 兵部 尚書 /Head of the Ministry of War	Yixing of Changzhou 常州宜興
Zheng Man 鄭鄴 <sup>203</sup>	1594-1639	Y 1622	Shuji shi/庶吉士/Hanlin bachelor	Heng Lin of Changzhou 常州橫林
Nan Juren 南居仁 <sup>204</sup>	?	Y 1622	Zhanshi/詹事	Weinan of Shaanxi 陝西渭南
Wu Xianzhe 武獻哲 <sup>205</sup>		Y 1622	Anchasi fushi/按察司副 使/Vice Censor	Lintong of Shaanxi 陝西臨潼

<sup>195</sup> Wang Yuli, cf. *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, in *ZGDF*.

<sup>196</sup> Yang Guozhu, cf. *MS*, vol. 272, Liezhuan 160, p.6974.

<sup>197</sup> Han Lin, cf. *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, in *ZGDF*.

<sup>198</sup> Wen Zhenmeng, cf. *MS*, vol. 251, Liezhuan 139, p.6495.

<sup>199</sup> Chen Renxi, cf. *MS*, vol. 288, Liezhuan 176, p.7394.

<sup>200</sup> Ni Yuanlu, cf. *MS*, vol. 265, Liezhuan 153, p.6835.

<sup>201</sup> Huang Daozhou, cf. Wan Sitong, ed., *MS*, vol. 256, Liezhuan 144.

<sup>202</sup> Lu Xiangsheng, cf. *MS*, vol. 261, Liezhuan 149, p.6759.

<sup>203</sup> Zheng Man, *Yuding zizhi tongjian gangmu sanbian* 欽定資治通鑒綱目三編 vol. 36.

<sup>204</sup> Nan Juren, cf. *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, in *ZGDF*.

Min Xinjing 閔心鏡 <sup>206</sup>	?	Y 1622	Shaanxi tixue/陝西提學 /Head of the Department of Education of Shaanxi	浙江烏程
Feng Congwu 馮從吾 <sup>207</sup>	1557-1627	Y 1589	Gongbu shangshu/工部 尚書 /Head of the Ministry of Works	Changan of Xi'an fu 西安府長安
Lu Zhenfei 路振飛 <sup>208</sup>	1590-1648	Y 1625	Libu shangshu Bingbu shangshu/吏部尚書兼兵部 尚書/ Head of the Ministry of Official Personnel Affairs and Head of Ministry of War	Quzhou of Beizhili 北直隸曲周
Zhu Wanling 祝萬齡 <sup>209</sup>	?-1643	Y 1616	Zhifu youcanzheng/知 府, 右參政/Magistrate of a Prefecture	Xianning of Xi'an fu 西安府鹹寧
Tang Jisheng 唐際盛 <sup>210</sup>	?	Y 1607	Zhixian duyushi tidu 知縣, 都禦史提督 /County Magistrate	Putian of Fujian 福建莆田
Chen Meigong 陳眉公 <sup>211</sup>	1558-1639	?	Famous Calligrapher and painter	Huating of Songjian 松江華亭
Jin Zhengxi 金正希 <sup>212</sup>	?	Y 1628	Fu zongbing/副總兵 /Vice Commander	Xiuning of Anhui 安徽休寧
Ma Shiqi 馬世奇 <sup>213</sup>	?-1644	Y 1631	Zhifu/知府/Magistrate of a Prefecture	Wuxi of Jiangsu 江西無錫
Luo Yuyi 羅喻義 <sup>214</sup>	?	Y 1613	Libu youshilang/禮部右 侍郎/Vice Assistant of the Ministry of Rites	Yiyang of Hunan 湖南益陽
Sun Chengzong 孫承宗 <sup>215</sup>	1563-1638	Y 1604	Bingbu shangshu /兵部尚書/Head of the Ministry of War	北直隸高陽
Meng Daohong <sup>216</sup> 孟道宏	?	N Gongshe ng/xiucai	?	Wuchang 武昌

<sup>205</sup> Wu Xianzhe, cf. *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志, in *ZGDF*.

<sup>206</sup> Min Xinjing, cf. Ji Zengyun 嵇曾筠 et al. eds., *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志, in *ZGDF*.

<sup>207</sup> Feng Congwu, cf. *MS*, vol. 243, Liezhuan 131, p.6315.

<sup>208</sup> Lu Zhenfei, cf. *MS*, vol. 276, Liezhuan 164, p.7074.

<sup>209</sup> Zhu Wanling, cf. *MS*, vol. 294, Liezhuan 182, p.7549.

<sup>210</sup> Tang Jisheng, cf. *Fujian tongzhi* 福建通志, in *ZGDF*.

<sup>211</sup> Chen Meigong, cf. *MS*, vol. 298, Yinyi zhuan 隱逸傳 (the Biographies of Recluses).

<sup>212</sup> Jin Zhengxi, cf. the Biography of Jin Zhengxi, *Mingru xuean* 明儒學案, Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲.

<sup>213</sup> Ma Shiqi, cf. *MS*, vol. 266, Liezhuan 154, p.6855.

<sup>214</sup> Luo Yuyi, cf. *MS*, vol. 216, Liezhuan 104, p.5717.

<sup>215</sup> Sun Chengzong, cf. *MS*, vol. 250,

<sup>216</sup> Meng Daohong, cf. *Huangguang tongzhi* 湖廣通志, vol.37, in *ZGDF*. Meng wrote one postscript to Wang's *LLL*.

Liang Erzhuang <sup>217</sup> 梁爾壯	?	?	?	Shaanxi Jingyang
Qian Hongmo <sup>218</sup> 錢洪謨	?	?	?	?
Wang Mingshi <sup>219</sup> 王名世	?	?	?	Daliang

Chart 2.2 Wang Zheng's Confucian friends.

For some of the Confucian names whom I can not find out much detailed information, for example, Li Songyu 李松毓, Zhang Yuanxun 張元勳, Liu Jun 劉俊, Qin Suoshi 秦所式, Yang Xiuling 楊修齡, Qin Yipeng 秦一鵬, Li Shizhuang 李士狀, Xu Guohan 許國翰, Liu Bida 劉必達, Guo Fu 郭郭, Chen Dashi 陳大士, Wen Xiaojing 溫孝靖, Qiao Weiyue 喬維嶽, Zhang Dixiang 張帝鄉 and Liwa yizhen 利瓦伊貞.<sup>220</sup> These Confucian scholars most likely held the titles of Juren or Jinshi, some were the members of the Donglin Faction (Donglin Dang 東林黨),<sup>221</sup> but most of them were xunli 循吏 (upright official).<sup>222</sup> Wang also had a lot of friends who received the title of Xiucai. Of course, these Confucians came from all over the country, and Wang also had a lot of fellow townsmen who came from Shaanxi. From this we can conclude that Wang had a wide circle of Confucian friends, and through the imperial examination, Wang obtained several of his friendships. We can assume from this that Confucian doctrines formed the cultural and religious fields that surrounded him.

#### 2.4.2 Confucian-Christians

Name	Years of Birth and Death	Title of degree	The year of baptism and the Christian	The supreme official title	Birthplace
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<sup>217</sup> Liang Erzhuang, cf. *Shaanxi Tongzhi*. Liang wrote a small preface to Wang's Jianer wen.

<sup>218</sup> Qian wrote one introduction to Wang's *Bingyue*.

<sup>219</sup> Wang wrote two postscripts to Wang's *Xueyong shujie* and *shiyue*.

<sup>220</sup> The names of the Confucian in the table and the other Confucians are all from the Poetry of Duanjie Gong's (Wang Zheng) Martyrdom 讀明史甲申之變先端節公殉國略述梗概百韻, Wang Jie 王介 wrote, cf. *JXSC*, vol.3.

<sup>221</sup> Donglin Dang was a political group of Confucian scholars in late Ming. Donglin Dang played an important role in the late Ming Dynasty. The members came from southeast China and were famous for their critical stance towards social problems and the domination of the eunuchs at the court. Cf. *ZGLD*, p.718.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. *ZGLD*, p.2930.

			name		
Xu Gunagqi <sup>223</sup>	1562-1633	1604/Jinshi	1603/Paul	Libu shangshu jian wenyuange daxueshi 禮部尚 書兼文淵閣大 學士 /Minister of Rites and Grand Secretary of Wenyuan ge	Shanghai 上海
Yang Tingyun <sup>224</sup>	1557-1627	1592/Jinshi	1611/Michael	Duxue 督學 /Educational Inspector	Hangzhou 杭州
Li Zhizao <sup>225</sup>	1565-1630	1598/Jinshi	1610/Leo	Taipu si shaoqing 太 僕寺少卿	Hangzhou
Sun Yuanhua <sup>226</sup> 孫元化	1581-1632	1612/Juren	1621/Ignacio	Denglai xunfu 登萊巡 撫 /Governor of Denglai	Jiading 嘉定
Duan Gun <sup>227</sup> 段袞	?	?	?/Stephan	?	Jiangzhou 絳州
Han Yun <sup>228</sup> 韓雲	? Han Lin's old brother	1612/Juren	Before 1624/ Wei daer 未達爾 (Michael)	Zhizhou 知州 /Chief of a prefecture	Jiangzhou
Han Lin <sup>229</sup> 韓霖	ca.1600-164 4	1621/Juren	1624/Thomas		Jiangzhou
Han Xia <sup>230</sup> 韓霞	? Han Lin's young brother		?/Peter	Qianshi 簽事 /secretary	Jiangzhou
Zhang Zhongfang <sup>231</sup> 張鍾芳	?	Xiucui	?/Paul	Hubu langzhong 戶 部郎中 /	Jingyang

<sup>223</sup> Cf. ZGTR, vol.shang, pp.99-111. Xu recommended Wang and Sun Yuanhua to lead troops in Dengzhou. Cf. Wang Chongmin 王重民, ed., *Xu Guang qi ji* 徐光启集 (Xu Guangqi's Collected Writings), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984, p.313.

<sup>224</sup> Cf. ZGTR, vol.shang, pp.125-138. Wang wrote one preface to Yang's *Daiyi pian* 代疑篇. See BnF, Chinois 7111.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. ZGTR, vol.shang, pp.112-124. Wang recommended Li in his memorial to the throne. Cf. JXWC, vol.1.

<sup>226</sup> Cf. ZGTR, vol.shang, pp. 234-239. Cf. Sun's *Yu Wang Zheng jiaoyi shimo* 與王徵交誼始末.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. ZGTR, vol.shang, pp.271-273. Duan and Wang edited Gao's *Xiushen xixue* 修身西學, cf. BnF, Chinois 3396.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. ZGTR, vol.shang, pp. 253-258. Han Yun was mentioned in Han Lin's letter to Wang. Cf. SYQS.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. ZGTR, vol.shang, pp. 253-258. There were two letters between Wang and Han. Cf. SYQS.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. ZGTR, vol.shang, pp. 253-258. Possibly, Wang knew Han Xia through Han Lin.

<sup>231</sup> Zhang wrote one preface to XREMZ, his birthplace was Jingyang. Cf. Văth, 1991, p.73. Paul Zhang.



				Ministry of Revenue.	
Zhang Bingxuan <sup>232</sup> 張炳璿	?	Xiucan	?	County magistrate	Jingyang
Shang Yingchang <sup>233</sup> 尚應昌	?	?	?	?	Jingyang
Wang Hui <sup>234</sup> 王徽		1615/Xiucan	?		Jingyang
Wang Che <sup>235</sup> 王徹	1597-1665	/Xiucan	?		Jingyang
Wang Yongchun <sup>236</sup> 王永春		Xiucan	?		Jingyang
Wang Yongshun <sup>237</sup> 王永順	1628-1704	Xiucan	?		Jingyang

Chart 2.3 Wang Zheng's Confucian-Christians friends.

In the few available sources, the above Confucian-Christians who had contacted with Wang were found. Some of them like Xu Guangqi, Yang Tingyun and Li Zhizao, who introduced Jesuits to Wang which led to Wang accepting baptism. It is possible that he met Sun Yuanhua, Han Lin and others in the Christian churches or Jesuit residences. Wang might have introduced Christian doctrine to Zhang Bingxuan, Shang Yingchang and his family.

### 2.4.3 Jesuit Missionaries

Name	Years of Birth and Death	Birthplace
Diego de Pantoja /Pang Diwo <sup>238</sup>	1571-1618	Valdemora/Spain

<sup>232</sup> Cf. Jingyang xianzhi. Zhang was Wang's cousin. Possibly Zhang was Confucian-Christian. Cf. Zhang's preface to *RHY*.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. Shang's preface to *RHY*.

<sup>234</sup> Wang Zheng's brother. Cf. *BTTJC*, vol.1.

<sup>235</sup> Wang Zheng's brother. Cf. *BTTJC*, vol.1.

<sup>236</sup> Wang Zheng's son. Cf. *BTTJC*, vol.1.

<sup>237</sup> Wang Zheng's son. Cf. *BTTJC*, vol.1.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.69-73. Wang met Pang in Beijing in 1616. Cf. *WTARJL*.

龐迪我		
Nicolas Trigault/Jin Nige <sup>239</sup> 金尼閣	1577-1628	Flemish Douai/France
Giulio Aleni/Ai Ruolue <sup>240</sup> 艾儒略	1582-1649	Brescia/Italy
Alphonse Vagnoni <sup>241</sup> 高一志	1568-1640	Bartoli//Italy
Alvare de Semodo <sup>242</sup> Lu Dezhao 魯德照	1585-1658	Nizea/Portugal
Emmanuel Diaz <sup>243</sup> Yang Manuo 陽瑪諾	1574-1659	Castelblanco/Portugal
Jacques Rho <sup>244</sup> Luo Yagu 羅雅谷	1593-1638	Milan/Italy
Jean Adam Schall von Bell <sup>245</sup> Tang Ruowang 湯若望	1591-1666	Cologne/Germany
Jean Terrenz/Johann Schreck <sup>246</sup> Deng Yuhan 鄧雨函	1576-1630	Suisse/Germany
Nicolas Longobardi <sup>247</sup> Long Huamin 龍華民	1559-1654	Sicile/Italy
Etienne Faber ou Le Fevre <sup>248</sup> Fang Dewang 方德望	1598-1659	Avignon/France
Augustin Tudeschini <sup>249</sup> Du Aoding 杜奧定	1598-1643	Sarzana/Italy
Ingnace de Costa <sup>250</sup> Guo Chongren 郭崇仁	1599-1666	Fayal/Portugal
Ioceph-E to Enned Almeida <sup>251</sup> Mei Gao 梅高	1612-1647	Ezqueirra/Portugal

Chart 2.4 Wang Zheng's Jesuits friends.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.111-120. Wang helped Jin revised *XREMZ*. Cf. *XREMZ*.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.126-136. Likely they met each other. Wang quoted some passages from Ai's *ZFWJ*.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.85-95. Wang took part in editing Gao's *Xiushen xixue*. Cf. BnF, Chinois 3396.

<sup>242</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.143-147. Cf. Vāth,1991, p.74.

<sup>243</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.106-111. Cf. Vāth,1991, p.74.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.188-191. Cf. Vāth,1991,p.74.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.162-182. Wang and Tang collaborated in the work of *RJSB*.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.153-158. Wang and Deng collaborated in the work of *QQTS*.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.58-66. Wang met Long at Beijing in 1626. Cf. Wang's preface to *QQTS*.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.202-207. Wang and Fang collaborated in the work of *DHKJ*.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.215-216. Possibly, Wang met Du in Shaanxi.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.218-220. Possibly, Wang met Guo in Shaanxi.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. *BBJC*, pp.248-249. Possibly, Wang met Mei in Shaanxi.

In the group of Jesuits missionaries, it is possible that de Pantoja was Wang's Pater of baptism. Wang invited Trigault to preach in Jingyang and helped the Jesuit edit *XREMZ*, and he also worked together with Terrenz on the work *QQTS*. When Wang met the other Jesuits, like Schall von Bell who spreaded Christian doctrine in Shaanxi, he could gradually understand Christianity more deeply, then he practiced his Christian faith quite diligently. Wang Zheng never travelled to any other countries, but he met missionaries who came from Europe (Portugual, Spain, Italy, France, Germany and France), and learned a variety foreign subjects. Especially his belief and views on traditional culture were changed.

## 2.5 Wang Zheng's Official Career

When Wang passed the metropolitan examination at the tenth attempt in 1622, he received the degree of Jinshi, which means he joined the superior branch of Confucians. Also previous to this year, Wang had been a Christian for 6 years. From June 1622 to March 1624 Wang was in the official position Tuiguan<sup>252</sup> of Guangping fu, and from May 1627 to Octorber 1628 he was in the position Tuiguan of Yangzhou fu, in total he served 38 months in this position. It might seem unjust that he spent nearly 30 years to pass the examination and only worked for more than 3 years in the official position. Perhaps Wang had great political ambition, but limited time. In fact, it it was a tragedy to him. However, although his official career was short, he made a good amount of political achievements and had a high reputation. It was important to remind himself of his belief. "At every moment, I have never forgotten the belief of revering Heaven and caring for man, in order not to blush to my heart."<sup>253</sup>

In Wang's *Liangli lüe*, he states that one principle run through his entire official career, and that principle was related to his belief, "The Heaven is on the top of my head, whose supreme just judgement is quite awing; The people are in front of me,

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<sup>252</sup> Tuiguan, the title of Judge in one prefecture. *Mingshi*, vol.75, Zhiguan si 職官四.

<sup>253</sup> Wang, the Preface to *LLL*, 独时时将畏天爱人念头提醒, 总求无愧寸心。See Baikun 柏堃, *JXWC*, vol.7.

that everyone's life and death should be taken care of. ”<sup>254</sup>

In the next section we take a look at some cases where he treated political matters during the two positions of Tuiguan to demonstrate his principle.

### 2.5.1 Treating Flood

Before Wang took up to the official position of Tuiguan Guangping fu, he had heard the water in Zhang He 漳河<sup>255</sup> had risen seriously and caused the city of Feicheng 肥城<sup>256</sup> to be flooded. Immediately, after learning this, he ordered the local officials to check the status of the flood damage. Upon arrival, they found a small boat they could use to investigate the situation. The whole city was like in a lake, Wang said in his records that he was very sad about the victims of the flood. He made his decisions at once, and arranged to resolve the problem in two days. Even after his subordinates repaired the large broken riverbank, the flood of Feicheng remained as before and did not recede. Wang recognised the problem, and later he made the craftsmen make the draining mechanical tools devised by himself. Fortunately, when they used the tools, the damaged city returned to the original state. In addition to this, he presented six key points to treat flood. His advice was theoretical to make more appliances for treating flood; to block the tributaries of the rivers immediately; to regularly to repair the river banks; to build up curve banks around the main bank; to put guards to protect the bank; and to punish the violaters who destroyed the banks.

Having treated the flood of Feicheng, Wang also had some work done on the riverbanks. He ordered the workers to build firm walls by laying bricks or stones at the water gate of the broken sites of the river. Outside the water gate, two high and strong diversion channels were built. This way, in the dry season, the local people could irrigate crops with water from the sluice. When the river water rose in the rainy season, after opening the water gate, the river water would flow into the further fields,

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<sup>254</sup> Wang, the Preface to *LLL*, see Baikun 柏堃, *JXWC*, vol.7. 頭上青天, 在在明威真可畏; 眼前赤子, 人人痛癢總相關。

<sup>255</sup> It lies in the northwest of Guangping county of Hebei province 河北廣平縣。

<sup>256</sup> Nowadays it is Feixiang county of Hebei 河北肥鄉縣。 Cf. *ZGDM*, p.555.

and most importantly the riverbank would never crack.

In addition to this there are other cases about Wang treating rivers and preventing floods.<sup>257</sup> Examples of this are, dredging the river of Qingyi 清邑開河; using flexible sluice to save seedlings 活閘救秧; discharging the flood to irrigate 洩漲引溉; dredging the silted field for one pond 開淤成塘; closing the sluice gate to dredge river bed 閉隄滋深; changing the sluice to benefit the transport 易閘利運.<sup>258</sup> From this we can conclude that Wang was talented in treating flood and irrigation works.

### 2.5.2 Dealing with Social Cases

In the complicated social cases, Wang relied on his principle resolutely so that he could treat the cases fairly.

During the middle period of Wanli emperor of Ming Dynasty, one leather craftman named Wang Miao 王淼 organized a sect of Bailian jiao (白蓮教 White Lotus Society)<sup>259</sup> to carry out secret activities. Its followers came from all over the area of Shandong, Shanxi, Henan and Shaanxi, etc. From then on, the White Lotus rebellions were becoming increasingly fierce.

In 1622, the second year of Tianqi emperor, the force of the White Lotus Society of Shandong Yuncheng 鄆城 grew quickly. Xu Hongru 徐鴻儒 who was a disciple of Wang Miao led the revolt troops that overcame Yuncheng, Zhouxian 鄒縣, Tengxian 藤縣 and so on. His troops reached over ten thousands, and they cut off the path from south to north for transporting foodstuffs to the court. The Ming government immediately dispatched their army from the border in the north to suppress the revolting troops. In the same year, Chief Xu Hongru of the rebels was captured by the

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<sup>257</sup> See Wang Zheng, *LLL*. (the Brief Compilations of Documents during Guangping and Yangzhou Judge Offices).

<sup>258</sup> See *LLL*

<sup>259</sup> Bailian jiao (白蓮教 White Lotus Society) was originated as a folk secret religion in the late South Song Dynasty. During the Yuan Dynasty the White Lotus sect took part in popular demonstrations and rebellions against the rule of Yuan. In the late Yuan White Lotus was separated into two big parts. During the Ming Dynasty it also divided into other sects, their recolts movement spreaded all over China. The members of White Lotus Society were basically from the poor peasants. There were many different forms and factions of Bailian jiao reemerged in the late 18th century. See, Pu Wenqi 濮文起, ed., *Zhongguo minjian mimi zongjiao cidian* 中國民間秘密宗教辭典 (the Dictionary of Chinese Folk Secret Religion), Chengdu 成都: Sichuang cishu chubanshe 四川辭書出版社 (Sichuang Dictionaries Press), 1996, pp.8-12. & Cf. *ZHDJCD*, p.1750.

government army. The provincial governor of Shandong Zhang Fengxiang 張鳳翔 exterminated the remaining forces. Under this tense situation there was a tailor named Du Guanghui 杜光輝 of Yongnian Beixiang 永年縣北鄉, who called himself the head of White Lotus Society. He assembled his followers and collected donations from those who followed him. After investigating the situation thoroughly, Wang decided that Du was taking advantage of the people. Therefore, the governor capture Du to appease the local society. When Du saw the official declaration, he escaped with fear. The governor Zhang ordered his subordinates to arrest Du's relatives and disciples, but because of the intense heat and lack of foods and water, some of the arrested died in the prison. As the suffering continued, Wang was moved with compassion, and he advised governor Zhang to forgive and release the innocent men. The officials could give one statement to the group, in which the government would say that, if the followers of Du repented and mended their way, they were still considered law-abiding residents. In that time the officials did not know where Du hid himself, and when the released residents returned, there would be a glimmer of hope to arrest Du. Otherwise, to catch him by arresting his relatives and disciples was like the proverb, "taking a stick, and calling a dog, which will be far away."<sup>260</sup> The governor Zhang followed Wang's idea, and the local society recovered orderly in a few months. Naturally, it was hoped by Wang, that the innocents returned home from the prison. After a period of time, the head Du was still not caught by the government, and governor Zhang still wanted to catch Du. When the order to arrest Du spreaded throughout the local area, the rebels took the opportunity and encouraged the innocents to escape. Eventually a serious riot happened in the area. So the situation did not unfold the way Wang wished it, thousands of local people ran away from the city. Wang worked with the county magistrate of Yongnian and dispatched soldiers to guard the gates of the city strongly. They declared that the government would only catch the ringleaders and the criminals who robbed anyone during the riot. This was done so that the riot was appeased quickly, and once they arrested the ringleaders, the

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<sup>260</sup> Nagun jiaogou yuejiao yueyuan 拿棍叫狗——越叫越远.

escaped residents came back and restored their daily life. However, governor Zhang still thought of Du not being caught yet. Wang persuaded governor Zhang again not to catch Du, he said that Du fled to escape punishment and could not secure himself, so we should raised the arresting surge, otherwise, the local society would be disordered, to make matters worse, we could not deal with the riot again. At last the governor Zhang made a decision and listend to Wang’s viewpoint. The local society restored the former order. Here we can infer from the case that Wang treated with the social problem based on the care of commen people.

As the Tuiguan (Judge) of Yangzhou fu, he also solved the case of Wu Yangchun 吳養春, which was that one family servant murdered his owner, which destroyed the owner’s family, and the event nearly caused a riot. In time, Wang brought the criminal to justice and overcame interfered pressures of the high officials, so that thousands of merchants abandoned the massive riot.<sup>261</sup>

### 2.5.3 The Upright Official

In 1627, three kings of Wanli emperor went to their fiefs one after another, they chose to take their ships along the Grand Canal to their destinations, and Yangzhou was one of stops of the distance. When they arrived in Yangzhou and had a rest for some days, the local officials would supply foods and cash. This obligatory reception was a heavy burden, they greedily asked the officials of Yangzhou to change out their ships and other attachments, and their subordinates demanded gifts and money. The local officials could not afford such demands, however, they yielded and could not do nothing other than obey. But Wang, however, who was a new official of a few days, told the King’s subordinators outright that the King’s ships were strong enough, and he refused their demands. In the end the King’s ships went past Yangzhou and never asked for anything.

During the period of the Tianqi emperor (1621-1627), Eunuch Wei Zhongxian

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<sup>261</sup> Wang Zheng, *LLL*.

grasped the power of the court. In 1626 there were some subordinates built up lifetime temples for Eunuch Wei. At the same time, the officials of Yangzhou fu also set up one lifetime temple for Wei, and when the temple was nearly finished, the local officials went to the temple and prayed except for Wang and his hometown fellow Laifu 來復 of Sanyuan, who were known as Guanxi erjing 關西二勁 (two right-minded men of Guanxi).<sup>262</sup>

Additionally, there are still a lot of instances about Wang's Judge career in his the text of *LLL*. Unfortunately, it was not enough for Wang to show his talent of governance in a short time. Nevertheless, when Wang's cousin Zhang Bingxuan evaluated his political achievement, he said "it is difficult to count out his prominent managing talent."<sup>263</sup>

## 2.6 Military Capability

Wang Zheng also had a great talent for military theory and practice. It would seem that the traditional Confucian scholars have plenty of military knowledge in their history. Maybe it was related to their Confucian education and self-cultivation. The intention of all the capabilities which Confucians possessed was to serve the country and make it peaceful.

At the beginning of his career as a judge in Guangping fu, Wang was appointed to reorganise a troop of ten thousands soldiers. In the first instance, he was so quite bewildered and he did not know how to treat. Having read the enrollment list of the soldiers, he knew the true situation of the troops, and then started to organise the soldiers through a simple method: he let soldiers stand along a line based on the register in order to sort out the strong, the weak, the sick and the disabled. It was clear that when ten soldiers stood in one line after half a day, he finished the task of counting and sorting out the soldiers. When he submitted his report to the superior, who could not believe that someone finished the task perfectly in such a short time,

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<sup>262</sup> Guanxi 關西, the west of Hanguguan 函谷關.Cf. *ZGDM*, p.593.

<sup>263</sup> Zhang Bingxuan, the Biography of Wang Zheng. See *BTTJC*, vol.5. Meizheng nanyi zhishu 美政難以指數.



because of this the superior asked Wang about some suggestions for governing the troops, and because of Wang's foresighted plan and method, he was appointed to train the troops again. His methods of training made him gain a higher reputation, "inheriting the learning of military strategy and tactics on the bridge, consulting on plentiful strategies in secluded mountain (Shenchuan sishang, ceyu longzhong 神傳圯上, 策裕隆中)." In this quotation, there are two military masters mentioned, Zhang Liang and Zhuge Liang, who are famous sages with talented strategies.<sup>264</sup> Wang gained such high appraisal, apparently, and we can infer that his superior thought highly of him. This evaluation with a comparison with Zhang Liang and Zhuge Liang is higher.

When Wang accepted the task of training troops, he used the method of Bazhen 八陣(Eight Arrays) to divide the troops into eight arrays. In the following workdays, he make one array train one day, recycling this way three times, so that each array could have seven days of break, and during the rest time all of the soldiers could restore energy and the morale was raised. In this way the combat power would be boosted. The method of Eight Arrays which Wang used was from his uncle Zhang Jian's work *Bazhen hebian tujie* 八陣合變圖解(The Illustration of Eight Arrays Changes).<sup>265</sup> Shortly afterwards, he summarised the methods of his training and wrote one military book *Bing yue* 兵約 (The Agreements of the Armed Force) based on the his uncle's work *Bazhen hebian tujie*. The work of *Bing yue* has three parts, *Bingzhi* (兵制, the rules of training), *Bingshuai* (兵率, the rules of reward and punishment) and *Bingshi* (兵誓, the pledge of encouraging troops).<sup>266</sup> In the text Wang states the theory of training troops, which has its own system and logic. With the guide of his training theory, and after a period of time, the appearance of the troops changed in a visible manner. Having seen the soldiers parade, Wang's superiors were quite surprised, and

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<sup>264</sup> Shenchuan sishang, ceyu longzhong 神傳圯上, 策裕隆中, cf. *Shiji liuhou shijia* 史記·留侯世家. Sishang is the name of the bridge, where Zhang Liang gained the book of art of war from Huang Shigong 黃石公 (292-195B.C.). Zhang Liang 張良(c.250-186 B.C.), Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮(181-234), cf. *Sanguo zhi*, vol. 35, Shushu, the biography of Zhuge Liang.三國志·卷三十五·蜀書·諸葛亮傳.

<sup>265</sup> Bazhen tu 八陣圖 (The Illustration of Eight Arrays), which is originated from pre-Qin and perfected by Zhuge Liang. The concrete texts was lost. Wang's quoted text is from his uncle's work, which is mentioned in Wang's work *Bingyue* 兵約, (The Agreements of the Armed Force, 1 volume,1623).

<sup>266</sup> Wang, *Bingyue*.

they said they had never seen the morale of the troops before. They even praised the new troops as the Camp of Xiliu ying 細柳營(the camp of Zhou Yafu).<sup>267</sup>

In 1623, Wang also wrote another text *Kewen* 客問(the Questions of the Guest), in which he used the method of dialogue to talk about the defense situation in Liaodong 遼東. In that time, Ming Dynasty had a war against Manchu, and as the responsible Confucian, Wang was concerned about the frontline situation. In this text, through the dialogue between him and his guest, Wang demonstrates his opinion on the defense measures from five aspects: not considering the government's financial problem, the troops leaders asked for too much military expenditure; the imperial court should post the announcements of engaging the capable persons formally and distinctly; the reward and punishment should be fair; to build military fortresses and train riders outside the Shanhai Pass 山海關;<sup>268</sup> the troops must be picked not relying on quantity, so that the military expenditure would be cut.<sup>269</sup> All of these are concrete measures. We can infer that Wang observed and analysed the situation quite profoundly and accurately.

In 1622, Wang took part in the metropolitan examination for his degree of Jinshi, and as a Juren wrote a memorial to the emperor of Ming, which was actually not submitted to emperor afterwards. There is no evidence to show why he did not submit it to the emperor, although there is some military thoughts for defending against Manchu in the text. He states that in order to defeat the enemy we should make three essential things: retrieve the will of Heaven; stabilise the hearts of the people and boost the garrison of the city. Besides, he mentioned revering Heaven in the first part of the text.<sup>270</sup> It is possible that this statement is related to Wang's religious conversion.

Another military ability of Wang's appears in his organising of local troops. In 1628,

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<sup>267</sup> The Camp of Xiliu 細柳營, which was the garrison camp of Zhou Yafu 周亞夫(199-143 B.C.) in Han Dynasty. Because the name of place was Xiliu, they used Xiliu ying as the name of the camp. Zhou Yafu managed the troops strictly, who had a prominent military talent. Thus, his camp was quite orderly and the morale of the soldiers were very high. Cf. Sima Qian 司馬遷, the Chapter of *Shiji* Zhou Bo shijia 史記·周勃世家.

<sup>268</sup> Cf. *ZGDM*, p.72.

<sup>269</sup> Wang, *Kewen*.

<sup>270</sup> Wang, *Zou nufeng richi renxin dongyao jingqing qitian guben yi zuo moyi shu* 奏奴氛日熾人心動搖敬請祈天固本以佐末議疏(The Memorial to The Emperor For Defending Manchu),1622. 一在挽回天意, 一在固系人心, 一在添設城守。

Wang zheng was in the official position of Yangzhou fu, when he received the message of his father's death, and went back to hometown. According to the rules of Ming Dynasty, when the parents (including stepparents) and grandparents of an official die, the official has to resign and return to their hometown to do the mourning, which is called Dingyou. During the mourning period, because of the increasing number of hungry and poor people, Wang and some local Confucians founded Zhongtong ying 忠統營(the Camp of Loyalty Unity), which was an organisation of village militias. In order to get the materials required, the uprising troops invaded the villages and towns of Sanyuan and Jingyang frequently. The intention of the village militias camp was to protect the local people against the uprising troops. Due to the dysfunction of the government, they should protect themselves by the camp actively. At the beginning, Wang wrote one text named *Xiang Bingyue* (鄉兵約 the Agreements of the Village Armed Force), which has five parts: the encouraging announcement and four methods of organising and training the troops.<sup>271</sup> In the section of Village Militias Constraints (*Xiangbing yueshu* 鄉兵約束), Wang talked about the composition of the troops. He also stated that the camp should raise five great yellow flags, on which there were some encouraging slogans written, one of them being Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings.<sup>272</sup> In 1629, Wang had already been baptized for 13 years, and he also finished his text of the *Ultimate Discussion of the Awe of Heaven and the Care of Human Beings* (*Weitian airen jilun* 1628). Therefore, the activity of fighting against invasion was related to the idea of Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings, which played on a basic principle in Wang's official and social careers. In the last two sections of *Xiangbing yue* especially, it is apparent that the idea of Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings is present. An example of this is in the section of Persuading the Rich (*Quanfu* 勸富): "All of the human beings, who are born by the Heaven",<sup>273</sup> "Let us think about the circumstances of the people who are in hunger and cold, we could presume that the

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<sup>271</sup> Wang, *Xiang Bingyue* 鄉兵約 (the Agreements of the Village Armed Force ),1629.

<sup>272</sup> Wang, the Chapter of *Xiangbing yueshu*, see *Xiang Bingyue*.

<sup>273</sup> Wang, the Chapter of *Xiangbing quanfu*, see *Xiang Bingyue*. 凡我世人，皆天所生，則皆天之所愛。

benevolent gentleman would be touched and can not have heart to see ”;<sup>274</sup> in the section of admonishing the poor (Yupin 諭貧), “I advise us to think about carefully, the Heaven send downs the famine not limited to us, factually, wherever it appears. Because we make evils in the daily life, the Heaven punishes us through the misfortunes and order us to reflect ourselves. But you do not correct your deeds, even not to raise your kind heart, however to follow the robbers to plunder the villages. Will it not make our sins heavier and accelerate ourselves’ destruction ?”<sup>275</sup>

The camp at Zhongtong lasted no more than five months from founding to dissolution, although under the guide of Wang and his Confucians friends it efficiently defended the local people against the invasion and attack. The uprising troops spread across ten thousands of li. In the whole area of Shaanxi province, there were no complete towns left, other than the towns of Jingyang and Sanyuan, which were left, thanks to the strategies and plans of Wang Zheng and Jiao Yuanfu.<sup>276</sup>

Wang also had made a lot of military appliances and weapons. For example, *Zhuqi tushuo xiaogao*, *Cangqi tushuo xiaogao*, *Xin liannu tushuo* and *Shouyu qiju tushuo*.<sup>277</sup> In the text of *Shouyu qiju tushuo*, Wang described four kinds of military appliances, such as mobile roller wood (Huo gunmu 活輓木), the mobile pole (Huo jiegan 活揭竿), the mobile pestling pole (Huo chungan 活舂竿), and the repeating crossbow (Liannu 连弩).<sup>278</sup> The above mentioned weapon appliances were used during the period of Zhongtong Camp. Thus, we can assume the fact that Wang had a great talent in military theory and practice.

In 1630, the war situation of Liaodong was worse for the Ming government. Wang’s friend Sun Yuanhua was appointed as the governor of Denglai 登萊.<sup>279</sup> He was also a Confucian-Christian. Sun knew that Wang’s militay capability was

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<sup>274</sup> Wang, the Chapter of Xiangbing quanfu, see *Xiang Bingyue*. 试想冻饿流亡之情状，谅亦仁人君子所必动心而不忍见者也。

<sup>275</sup> Wang, the Chapter of Xiangbing yupin, see *Xiang Bingyue*. 奉劝饥民大家仔细思量：天降灾荒，不止我们一处，到处都是这样。皆因平日心肠不好，积有罪过，故天心示罚，降此灾荒，令其省罪改过。乃你们不自悔过，更起不良心肠，跟上贼徒，抢掠杀人，岂不益重罪恶，自速其死？

<sup>276</sup> Cf. Qu Dajun 屈大均, *the Biography of Jingyang Wang Zheng* 泾阳死节王徵传. 往来飘忽数千里，秦无完城，独泾阳、三原安堵，大抵多徵与方略云。Jiao Yuanfu 焦源溥 was from Sanyuan. Cf. His biography is in *MS*, volume 264. He wrote the preface to Wang Zheng’s *Liangli lüe*.

<sup>277</sup> About these four text, I mentioned in the part of mechanical talent of Wang.

<sup>278</sup> Cf. Wang, ed., *Zhongtong rilu*(the Daily Records of the Loyalty Unity), *Shouyu qiju tushuo* 守禦器具圖說.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. *ZGDMD*, p.679.

excellent, and therefore he recommended Wang to the imperial court.<sup>280</sup> Having being approved by the court, Wang was appointed as the secretary of Shandong and the military supervisor of Liaohai,<sup>281</sup> and his work was mainly to help Sun make strategy decisions. As the responsible Confucian officials, they could use the opportunity to realise their dream of giving the country peace. Unfortunately, because their subordinates mutinied in Dengzhou,<sup>282</sup> Wang and Sun did not manage to display their abilities in time. Finally, Dengzhou was occupied by the mutinied troops, and then the troops surrendered to Manchu.<sup>283</sup> These two Confucian-Christians were brought back to the capital Beijing, where Sun was sentence to death. With the help of his Confucian friend Lai Fu, Wang was sent to his hometown. After the event of Liaodong, Wang's official career ended.

## 2.7 Wang Zheng's Scientific Contributions

### 2.7.1 All under Heaven Are of One Family

In 1625, Wang was in his hometown mourning the bereavement of his stepmother, when he was informed of Nicolas Trigault who was on a missionary trip in Shanxi 山西 province, which lies on the east of Shaanxi. He subsequently invited Nicolas via letters to preach in Shaanxi. This introduced the Christian missionaries into the Guanzhong area (關中地區) of Shaanxi province, this was to become the hallmark event of Christian history in Shaanxi. Before Nicolas arrived in Shaanxi, he had visited Henan 河南 and Shanxi, this was because he was fluent in Chinese, as a result he acquired a lot of Chinese cultural knowledge.<sup>284</sup> When Trigault preached in Shanxi

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<sup>280</sup> Sun Yuanhua, *Denglai xunfu Sunyuanhua wei qingshe haiwai jianjun yizi fenli bingjian Wang Zheng wei liaohai jianjun dao shi tiben* 登萊巡撫孫元化為請設海外監軍以資分理並薦王徵為遼海監軍道事題本(The Recommendation to the Imperial Court for nomination of Wang Zheng), 1631.

<sup>281</sup> *Libu qingming jiang Wang Zheng sheng Shandong anchasi qianshi liaohai jianjundao fu deng renshi tiben* 吏部請命將王徵升山東按察司僉事遼海監軍道赴登任事題本(the Document of Ratification for Wang Zheng's Appointment), 1631.

<sup>282</sup> Cf. Kong Youde 孔有德(1602-1652), *ZGLD*, pp.601-602. & *CHoC*, Part I, pp.617-618.

<sup>283</sup> Wang Zheng 王徵, *Kenqi zhaocha dengzhou bingbian qianhou shiqing jietie* 懇祈照察登州兵變前后事情揭帖(the Request for Investigating the Event of Dengzhou Mutiny), 1631.

<sup>284</sup> Cited from Xie Mingguang, *Chinese Collaborators and the Making of the Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* (1626). In a letter to the Duke of Bavaria, Maximilian I, dated 30 October 1624, Trigault wrote, "quod ad me attinet, jam hujus linguae difficultater oblivione diuturna oblitteratus, Deo laus, et in hac aestate resarcivi: jam expedite sine interpreter cum omnibus ago, et jam annus est ubi in remotissimis provinciis solus peregrinor, Christi fidem disseminans", in

with the help of Han Lin<sup>285</sup> and Han Yun, they propagated Christian teachings and worked together in compiling the preliminary draft of *XREMZ*, which is not only a linguistic work but also one dictionary between Chinese and Latin.<sup>286</sup> This included the first volume *Yiyun shoupu* 譯韻首譜, the middle volume *Lieyin yunpu* 列音韻譜 and the last volume *Liebian zhengpu* 列邊正譜.

When Trigault received Wang's invitation, he had already finished the draft of *XREMZ*,<sup>287</sup> he then bade farewell to the Han brothers and went to Shaanxi. Trigault arrived in Luqiao of Jingyang and baptized Wang's family. Out of Christian piety, Wang offered part of his residence for prayer gatherings and helped Trigault raise money to set up a church in Xi'an, which was named Chongyi tang 崇一堂.<sup>288</sup> When the church of Wu xingjie 五星街 of Xi'an was built, Chongyi tang was renamed Beitang 北堂.



Fig.2.5 The last page of *XREMZ* vol.1.<sup>289</sup>

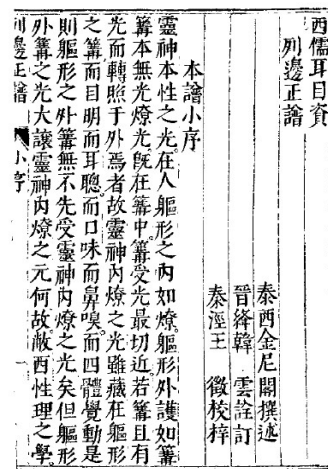


Fig.2.6 The first page of *Liebian zhengpu*.<sup>290</sup>

Nicolas Trigault, Chrétien Dehaisnes, *Vie du père Nicolas Trigault de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Tournai, Casterman, 1864, p.275. The article was sent to me by Dr. Xie.

<sup>285</sup> Han Lin (1601-1644), the style name was Yugong 兩公 and pseudonym was Yuan 寓庵.

<sup>286</sup> Han Yun, the Preface of *Xiru ermu zi* 西儒耳目資序. See *XREMZ*, vol.I.

<sup>287</sup> Wang Zheng, *Xiru ermu zi shiyi* 西儒耳目資釋疑 (the Explanation of *XREMZ*).

<sup>288</sup> Chongyi was from one of Ten Commandments 十誡, which means revering the unique Supreme God. Chongyi tang lied in the Tangfang street of Xi'an, which was near to the north gate of Xi'an ancient city.

<sup>289</sup> See *XREMZ*, vol.1, p.274.

<sup>290</sup> See *XREMZ*, vol.3, p.1.

Wang Zheng helped Nicolas Trigault to finish the *XREMZ* and he further wrote the preface. At the same time, Trigault taught Wang Zheng Latin. One can then imagine the picture where Wang Zheng studies Latin from the missionary and helps the missionary to finish *XREMZ*. In fact, as a scholar, Wang Zheng was a trailblazer for the Chinese people in the learning of Western languages, by virtue of this route, it facilitated the exchange between Chinese and Western cultures. More importantly, in the preface to *XREMZ*, Wang had put forward a significant concept of global history, “all under heaven are of one family.”<sup>291</sup> In late Ming era, one Confucian scholar met a Western Jesuit and studied Western language, and then he realized that the whole world is a community.

Before Trigault’s self-preface of *XREMZ*, on the cover page there is a work title about Wang Zheng, i.e. 秦涇王徵校梓 Qinjing Wang Zheng Jiaozi, Qinjing indicates Jingyang of Shaanxi, Jiaozi 校梓 denotes double tasks which are made up of collating and publishing, it also means Wang contributed a lot of work. As Wang said in *XREMZ*, “I have devoted myself to the compilation and publishing of this work.”<sup>292</sup> In fact, Wang contacted other Confucian intellectuals with regards to the expenditures needed to publish the work in Shaanxi successfully.

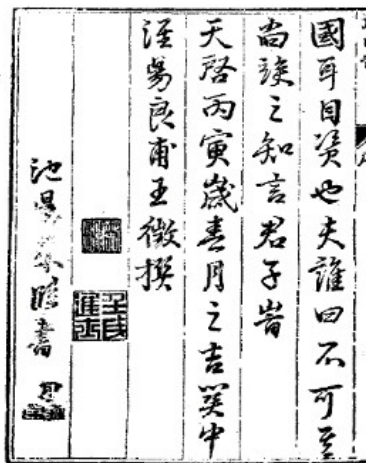


Fig. 2.7 Part of Wang Zheng’s preface to *XREMZ*.<sup>293</sup>



Fig. 2.8 Wang Zheng’s *XREMZ* shiyi.<sup>294</sup>

<sup>291</sup> 天下一家 Tianxia yijia, cf. Wang, the Preface to *XREMZ*. See *XREMZ*, vol.I, p.11.

<sup>292</sup> Wang Zheng, Xiru ermu zi shiyi. See *XREMZ*, vol.I, p.48.

<sup>293</sup> See *XREMZ*, vol.I, p.24.

<sup>294</sup> Wang Zheng, Xiru ermu zi shiyi. See *XREMZ*, vol.I, p.37.

Besides the preface, Wang wrote two other parts of the *XREMZ*, one chapter was the *XREMZ shiyi* 西儒耳目資釋疑 ( Fig. 1.8) (the explanation of *XREMZ*), which is at the beginning of *XREMZ* after the prefaces; the other one is *Sanyun duikao* 三韻兌攷, which is in the first volume *Yiyun shoupu*, these two parts are his creative contributions. His contributions have had profound influences on the Romanization of Chinese pronunciation. In the *Shiyi* chapter, Wang summarized the innovations of *XREMZ* and enumerated 51 clauses, in which he pointed out the deficiencies of Chinese traditional Linguistics.<sup>295</sup> He also pointed out that the Latin letters could be used to pronounce the Chinese characters precisely, “獨辟直捷之路，不左不右，絕無一毫之差, it introduces the direct and efficient way of phonetic notation to aid in the learning of Chinese characters, not to the right and not to the left but absolutely no difference.”<sup>296</sup>

Additionally, he collaborated with Trigault on the main part of the first volume *Yiyun shoupu*,<sup>297</sup> which is made up of three dialogues (questions and answers). The three dialogues are *Lieyin yunpu wenda* 列音韻譜問答, *Sanyun duikao wenda* 三韻兌考問答, *Liebian zhengpu wenda* 列邊正譜問答, which are used to explain the second and the last volumes of *XREMZ*, including *Sanyun duikao*. Trigault is quoted in the preface of *XREMZ* as saying,

“今寓關中，良甫王君酷愛其書，必欲授之剞劂。輒又互相質證，細加評核，而成此問答之篇。此則旅人問答之所由作也。 Now I live in Guangzhong 關中 (the middle area of Shaanxi), Wang is very fond of the work and we are sure to publish it. We have cross-examined each other and furthermore judged and verified meticulously the work, eventually we completed these three dialogues. This is also the reason why I wrote the dialogues.”<sup>298</sup>

Apparently, they introduced many new linguistic concepts and terms into Chinese, such as, *ziming* 自鳴, *tongming* 同鳴, *zifu* 字父, *zimu* 字母, *zizi* 字子; *qing* 輕, *zhong*

<sup>295</sup> The Chinese traditional methods of phonetic notation are *zhiyin* 直音 and *fanqie* 反切.

<sup>296</sup> Wang Zheng, *Xiru ermu zi shiyi*. See *XREMZ*, pp.37-38.

<sup>297</sup> Nicolas Trigault, *the Little Preface of XREMZ Yiyun shoupu wenda* 西儒耳目資譯引首譜問答小序. See *XREMZ*, pp.109-111.

<sup>298</sup> Nicolas Trigault, *the Little Preface of XREMZ Yiyun shoupu wenda*. See *XREMZ*, pp.110-111.



重, qing 清, zhuo 濁, shang 上, qu 去, ru 入.<sup>299</sup>

Wang also persuaded Chinese scholars to learn Latin letters actively which he encouraged was useful and simpler to master the Chinese characters other than through the traditional way. “肯一記憶，一日可熟。視彼習《等韻》者，三年尚不能熟，if someone wants to remember the phonetic notations, a day is enough, if he learns from the ways of Dengyun three years is short.”<sup>300</sup> Wang Zheng compared Latin syllables with the three works of Chinese phonology<sup>301</sup> in *Sanyun duikao*, he discovered that there were only 50 syllables in the Chinese works of phonology which corresponded to the Latin syllables. Through this comparison he discovered the insufficiencies of Chinese phonology. Eventually he intended to complement his body of work,<sup>302</sup> with perhaps more evidence with a compiled dictionary but it is unfortunate it was uncompleted due to the difficult and disordered era.

*XREMZ* was the first completed linguistic work<sup>303</sup> which integrated Latin and Chinese. European missionaries brought Latin phonology into Chinese linguistics. Du Songshou<sup>304</sup> stressed that, “it was by no means a reference book for Westerners in the learning of Chinese characters, and also it was an integral part of our language. Speaking from a comparative perspective in the study of Chinese and Western languages, it had the essence of ordinary language learning especially with international significance. Even in one sense, it was a work of Chinese and Western scholarly collaboration.”<sup>305</sup>

On January 10th, 1958, Premier Zhou Enlai published a report on language reform entitled, “*The Task of the Current Language Reform*” at the National Political Consultative Conference. In this report he said, “the use of Latin letters for the Chinese phonetic notations has been ongoing for the past 350 years. In 1605, the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci first used the Latin alphabets to indicate phonetics of

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<sup>299</sup> See *XREMZ*, vol.I.

<sup>300</sup> Wang Zheng, *Xiru ermu zi shiyi*. See *XREMZ*, p.46.

<sup>301</sup> The Chinese three phonetic works are *Shenyue* 沈韻, *Dengyun* 等韻, *Hongwu zhengyun* 洪武正韻.

<sup>302</sup> Wang Zheng, *Xiru ermu zi shiyi*. See *XREMZ*, p.46.

<sup>303</sup> Before the publishing of *XREMZ*, the missionaries had compiled *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* 葡漢詞典, which was not completed. Li Madou also wrote one phonological work *Xizi yao jue* 西字要訣, which was the basis for *XREMZ*.

<sup>304</sup> Du Songshou (1906-1991), his birthplace is Huaxian of Shaanxi 陝西華縣. He was the famous philologist.

<sup>305</sup> Song Boyin 宋伯胤, *The Chronicle of Wang Zheng*, Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2004, 281.

the Chinese characters. In 1625, another French missionary Nicolas Trigault also used the Latin alphabet to denote the Chinese characters and authored the work titled *XREMZ*, in order to meet the needs of foreigners learning the Chinese language and culture.”<sup>306</sup>

In 1933, the National Library of Beijing reprinted *XREMZ* which Prof. Liu Bannong<sup>307</sup> wrote the introduction. Subsequently, in 1957, *XREMZ* was republished by the Language Reform Press, as a reference book of *Hanyu pinyin fangan* 汉语拼音方案 (the project of Chinese Pinyin), furthermore the State Language Work Committee<sup>308</sup> constituted the project of Chinese Pinyin. Since 1958, the period within which the project of Chinese Pinyin was carried out, the Romanized alphabet--Chinese Pinyin has played an important role in Chinese education, economy, politics and culture among others. Therefore, undoubtedly, *XREMZ* has been quite essential to the phonological advancement of Chinese modern Pinyin.

## 2.7.2 Mechanical Works

In the late Ming Dynasty, an apparent cultural phenomenon occurred between China and Europe. The Jesuits introduced European science and technology into China. The missionaries and Confucian intellectuals who undertook this task were often referred to as a cultural medium of intercourse between these two great civilizations. Such intellectuals included Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and Xu Guangqi who translated *Jihe yuanben* 幾何原本,<sup>309</sup> Xiong Sanba 熊三拔 (Sabatino de Ursis, 1575-1620)<sup>310</sup> who collaborated with Xu Guangqi to translate *Taixi shuifa* 泰西水法,<sup>311</sup> Matteo Ricci and Li Zhizao also worked together on the translation of *Tongwen zhisuan* 同文

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<sup>306</sup> Zhou Enlai 周恩來: *Zhou Enlai xuanji* 周恩來選集 (The Selected Works of Zhou Enlai), vol. xia, Beijing: Renmin Press 人民出版社, 1984, 291. Dangqian wenzi gaige de renwu 當前文字改革的任務 (The Task of the Current Language Reform).

<sup>307</sup> Liu Bannong 劉半農 (1891-1934), his birthplace is Jiangyin of Jiangsu 江蘇江陰. He was a famous phonologist and a professor of the Beijing University.

<sup>308</sup> Guojia yuyan wenzi gongzuo weiyuanhui 國家語言文字工作委員會 (the State Language Work Committee).

<sup>309</sup> *Jihe yuanben* is a mathematical work which was written by ancient Greece mathematician Euclid.

<sup>310</sup> Sabatino de Ursis was an Italian Jesuit missionary.

<sup>311</sup> *Taixi shuifa* is a book of water conservancy engineering technology.

指算,<sup>312</sup> while Fu Fanji 傅泛際(Francisco Furtado,1589-1653)<sup>313</sup> and Li Zhizao translated *Huanyu quan* 寰宇詮.<sup>314</sup>

In the winter of 1626 (the sixth year of Tianqi 天啟 Emperor), Wang completed the period of mourning for his stepmother and went to Beijing to take up a new official position. During the waiting period, he met three important Jesuit missionaries, namely, Long Huamin 龍華民,<sup>315</sup> Deng Yuhan and Tang Ruowang 湯若望.<sup>316</sup> Wang was very pleased when he consulted with them about western knowledge, including Christianity.<sup>317</sup>

Deng Yuhan was a German missionary who had good knowledge of the natural sciences, that is, in astronomy and mathematics. He showed Wang some mechanical works which reactivated Wang's unique interest. From then onward, he collaborated with Deng Yuhan on the translation of mechanical works, which they named in Chinese, *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui* 遠西奇器圖說錄最 (*QQTS*). The reason why Wang Zheng had developed interest in mechanics was that his uncle Zhang Jian (1545-1605), who was an upright official in the late Ming Dynasty, had influenced him. Additionally, Wang had been very fond of making mechanical appliances from his youth, which he chronicles in his preface to *Liangli lue* 兩理略, “顾颇好奇, 因书传所载化人奇肱, 璇玑指南, 及诸葛氏木牛流马、更枕石阵、连弩诸奇制, 每欲臆仿而成之。‘I'm full of curiosity, owing to the magical strange arm, armillary sphere compass, wooden ox and gliding horse of Zhuge shi, stone pillow and stonehenge, machine crossbow and the other singular appliances in the ancient books, in the meantime I want to produce models of them.’”<sup>318</sup>

Wang also said Ai Rulue's *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀<sup>319</sup> guided him to explore the

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<sup>312</sup> *Tongwen zhisuan* is a book about arithmetics

<sup>313</sup> Francisco Furtado was a Portuguese Jesuit missionary.

<sup>314</sup> *Huanyu quan* is a work about astronomy.

<sup>315</sup> Long Huamin (Nicholas Longobardi,1559-1654) was a Sicilian Jesuit missionary. Cf., Nicolò Longobardo, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicolò\\_Longobardo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicolò_Longobardo).

<sup>316</sup> Tang Ruowang 湯若望 (Johann Adam Schall Von Bell, 1591-1666) was a German Jesuit missionary. Cf. Johann Adam Schall von Bell, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann\\_Adam\\_Schall\\_von\\_Bell](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Adam_Schall_von_Bell).

<sup>317</sup> Wang Zheng, *the Preface to Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui* 遠西奇器圖說錄最, the edition of Qing, BnF, Chinois 5661, f.4a.

<sup>318</sup> Wang Zheng, *Liangli lue* 兩理略 (the Brief Compilations of Documents during Guangping and Yangzhou Judge Offices), the edition of Ming. See Li Zhiqin 李之勤, ed., *WZYZ*, p.12.

<sup>319</sup> Ai Rulue 艾儒略 (Giulio Aleni, 1582-1649) was a Italian Jesuit missionary. *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 is a geographic work which was written by Ai Rulue.

surprising appliances, and that it was a significant drive for him to have asked for mechanical works from the three missionaries. In view of Wang's great curiosity, the missionaries introduced him to their mechanical works.<sup>320</sup>

In 1626, *QQTS* was dictated by Deng Yuhan and translated by Wang Zheng. In 1627, Wang Zheng wrote the preface to *QQTS*, and then the work was published in Yangzhou in 1628. This book was one of the more than seven thousand books, which were brought into China by Trigault during his second missionary trip<sup>321</sup> According to Wang Zheng's preface, *QQTS* was one of the works, which were brought in by western missionaries. Besides that, Wang wrote two additional mechanical works named *Xinzhì zhuqì tushuo* 新制諸器圖說 (*ZQTS*) and *Ela jiya youzao zhuqì tushuo* 額辣濟亞龐造諸器圖說 (*GZQTS*).<sup>322</sup> *ZQTS* was finished in 1626 but the finish date of *GZQTS* was not confirmed, although it may had been finished in Wang's old age. Normally, *QQTS* and *ZQTS* would have been printed together. Since the first edition in 1628, there has been 30-reprinted editions.<sup>323</sup> (See Fig.1.9) Moreover, two editions spread through Japan during the Edo Period,<sup>324</sup> as well as one manuscript edition in Korea.<sup>325</sup> Hence one can see that *QQTS* and *ZQTS* has been producing obvious impact.

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<sup>320</sup> Wang Zheng, *the Preface to QQTS*, f.2a, f.3b.

<sup>321</sup> Qiqian bushu 七千部書, it means Nicolas Trigault brought more than seven thousand western books into China at his second mission time.

<sup>322</sup> *Ela jiya youzao zhuqì tushuo* 額辣濟亞龐造諸器圖說 is only saved some parts and the whole text is lost. Ela jiya 額辣濟亞 means the Latin Gratia.

<sup>323</sup> Zhang Baichun 張柏春, *Chuanbo yu huitong Qiqi tushuo yanjiu yu jiaozhu* 傳播與會通——<奇器圖說>研究與校注(Transmission and Integration: The Study and Annotation of qiqi tushuo), vol. shang 上篇, Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu Technique Press 江蘇科技出版社, 2008, p.181.

<sup>324</sup> Zhang Baichun, 2008, pp.219-224.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid. pp.208-210.

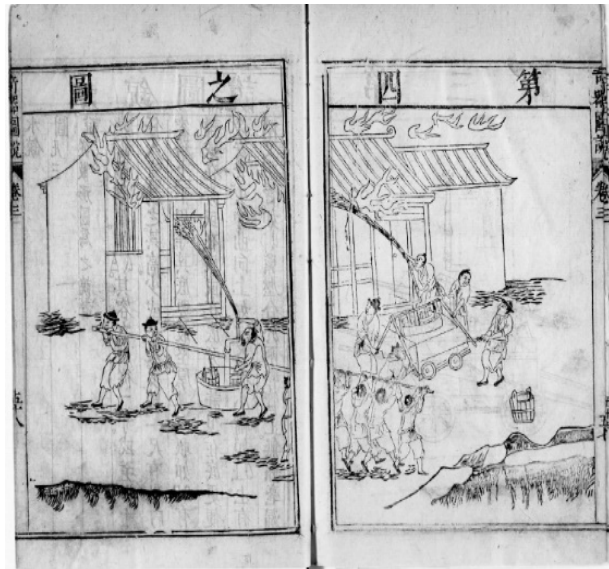
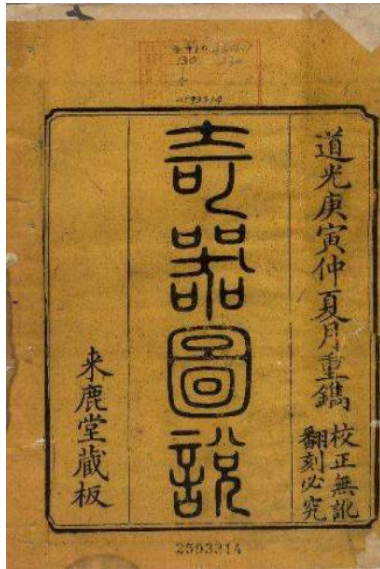


Fig.2.9 The cover page of the edition of Lailu tang.<sup>326</sup> Fig.2.10 One drawing of QQTS, named Shuicho 水鏡.<sup>327</sup>

Wang said in *QQTS* that before he proceeded to translate and draw the mechanical pictures, he had to master the basic knowledge of mathematics, mechanics and measurement.<sup>328</sup> He also stressed that there were three principles in the translation of the work – the drawings should be readily available to the interpretation of those who necessarily need it, and most convenient and most ingenious. However, all the appliances should be practically applicable for the daily use and livelihood of the ordinary folk.<sup>329</sup>

Owing to the fact that Wang lived in the countryside for a long time, he was familiar with the daily work of peasants, and so understood that an efficient and convenient equipment was quite important for the peasants. Because of his observations and practical thinking, he had an insightful impact on science.

In that age of the Ming Dynasty, many Confucians thought the western appliances belonged to *qi ji yin qiao* 奇技淫巧, and were not worth mentioning. But Wang Zheng thought that one ought not to neglect their value, and so wrote in his preface to *QQTS*, “學原不問精粗，總期有濟于世人，亦不問中西，總期不違于天。 Learning is always hoped to benefit people, we should not ask for what is incisive or simple;

<sup>326</sup> The cover page is from Google.

<sup>327</sup> *QQTS*, ff.57b-58a.

<sup>328</sup> Wang Zheng, the Preface to *QQTS*. See *QQTS*, f.6a,b.

<sup>329</sup> Wang Zheng, the Preface to *QQTS*. See *QQTS*, f.6a,b.

learning is always hoped not to violate the Heaven, we should not ask for what is Chinese or the Occident.”<sup>330</sup>

Although *QQTS* was translated from western works, it has its own logical structure, which includes Wang’s preface, introduction, three content volumes and Wu Weizhong’s preface.<sup>331</sup>

The introduction contained nine items, which were as follows: (1) Zhengyong 正用 (Proper use), the basic knowledge of mechanics; (2) Yinqu 引取, reference books; (3) Zhiqi zhiqi 制器之器, the implements for making appliances; (4) 記號, 20 letters of Latin alphabet; (5) Yongwu mingmu 用物名目, 66 terms of mechanical appliances; (6) Zhuqi suoyong 諸器所用, 29 kinds of sources of power and manipulation; (7) Zhuqi nengli 諸器能力, the ability of every appliance; (8) Zhuqi liyi 諸器利益, the benefit of every appliance; (9) Quanqi tushuo 全器圖說, the introduction and drawing of every appliance.<sup>332</sup>

The first volume content is the main introductory part, in which one can find that Wang and Deng used many new mechanical concepts. For example, 力藝, 重學, the art of force, is the study of weight/mechanics.<sup>333</sup> The expression of every concept is formulated scientifically. In this volume there is another part for Zhongjie 重解, the explanation of weight, in all 61 items. Here it states the concepts and principles of mechanics by drawings and professional language, including gravitational force, centre of gravity, specific gravity, ratio, buoyant force, hydraulic pressure, etc. Some of them concern the concepts of geometry, astronomy and geography. In the third item, Wang used Chinese place names to explain the longitude spacing and the distance of the radius of the earth.

In the fourth item, Wang interpreted earth’s gravitational pull. As is well known, Isaac Newton (1643-1727) discovered the earth’s gravitational force. But here, one finds that before Newton’s birth, Wang Zheng and Jonannes Schreck Terrenz had already talked about it. In the sixth item, they gave the concepts of geometry, such as,

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<sup>330</sup> Wang Zheng, the Preface to *QQTS*. See *QQTS*, f.9a.

<sup>331</sup> Wu Weizhong 武位中 was Wang’s student (門生) in Yangzhou fu.

<sup>332</sup> Wang Zheng, *the Introduction of QQTS*. See *QQTS*, ff.1a-11b.

<sup>333</sup> *QQTS*, f.1a.

point, line, plane and form.

In the following items, they also analysed the way to solve the centre of gravity by planar graphs and solid figures. Surprisingly, at the end of this volume they narrated a story about Archimedes (287-212 B.C.), who solved the conundrum of one King through the concept of specific gravity.<sup>334</sup>

The second volume contains 62 items, and narrates the constructional details and application of appliances. From the first item to the eighth, are the related basic knowledge of appliances. The other items concern components, uses of balances, small steelyards, levers, pulleys and circular wheels. Mr. Yan Dunjie 嚴敦傑 states that this volume has something to do with Galileo Galilei's (1564-1642) *Le Meccaniche* (1600) and *Discorso intorno alle cose che stanno in sull'acqua* (1612), in which we can find some sources.<sup>335</sup>

The third volume is about 51 kinds of western mechanical appliances and 54 drawings in all. The first type of drawings are about Qizhong 起重(weight lifting), which are 11 in total; the second ones are about Yinzhong 引重(weight pulling), 4 in total; the third ones are about Zhuanzhong 轉重(weight rotating), which are only 2; the fourth ones are about Qushui 取水(water intaking), which are in all 9; the fifth ones are about Zhuanmo 轉磨(grind rotating), 15 in all; the sixth ones are about Jiemu 解木(timber making), 4 in all; the other ones are Jieshi 解石(stone making), Zhuandui 轉碓(pestle rotating), Shujia 书架(bookshelf), Shui rigui 水日晷(water horologe), Daigeng 代耕(plough helping), Shuichong 水銃(See, Fig.1.10) (water blunderbuss, 4 in all). All of the drawings in *QOTS* are very ingenious and full of aesthetic.

Maybe someone wants to know the origins of these drawings. According to some researchers' explorations, the items of the first volume from the 47th to the 55th are the works of Dutch scientist Simon Stevin (1548-1620), and named *Hypomnemata Mathematica* (1605-1608).

The items of the second volume, the No. 15, No. 17, No. 19, and from No. 27 to No.

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<sup>334</sup> *QOTS*, f,1b.

<sup>335</sup> Yan Dunjie, Galileo degongzuo zaoqi zai zhongguo de chuanbu 伽利略的工作早期在中國的傳佈(The Spreading of Galileo's Work in the Early Period), in *Kexuishi jikan* 科學史集刊(The Collected Papers of Science History), 4(1964),pp. 8-27.

33, are also from Stevin's book. In the second volume, the items of No. 36, No. 37, No. 39, No. 41, No. 42, No. 43, No. 45, No. 46, No. 47, No. 53, No. 54, No. 55, No. 60, No. 63 and No. 82 are from the work of Italian dynamicist Guidobaldo del Monte (1545-1607), and named *Mechanicorum liber* (1577).

Furthermore, there are 20 kinds of drawings in the third volume from the work *Le Diverse et Artificiose Machine del Capitano* (1588) of Agostino Ramelli (1531-1590); 13 from Fraustus Verantius's *Machinae Novae* (1615); 7 from the book *Theatre de Instruments Mathmetiques et Mecaniques* (1578) of Jacques Besson (1540-1576); 11 from Zeising Heinrich's works, etc.<sup>336</sup> (See Fig.1.11&Fig.1.12; Fig.1.13& Fig.1.14)

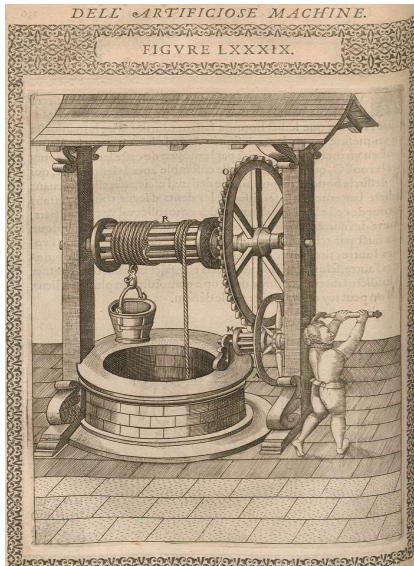


Fig.2.11 Ramelli,1588, CHAP.89.<sup>337</sup>

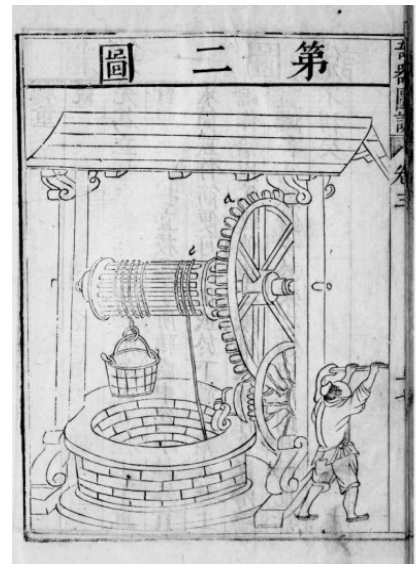


Fig.2.12 The second drawing of Zhuanzhong 轉重, *QOTS*.<sup>338</sup>

<sup>336</sup> Zhang Baichun, 2008, pp. 124-153.

<sup>337</sup> Agostino Ramelli, *Le Diverse et Artificiose Machine del Capitano*, 1588, p.120.

<sup>338</sup> *QOTS*, vol.III, f.17b.



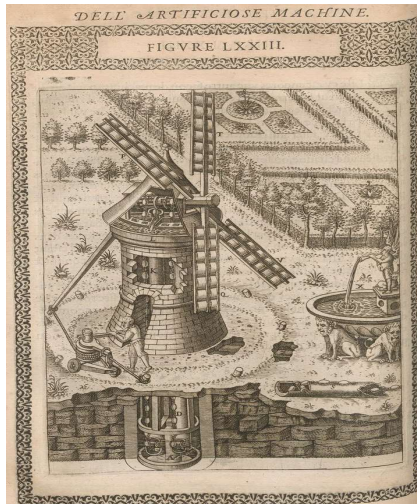


Fig.2.13 Ramelli,1588, CHAP.73.<sup>339</sup>

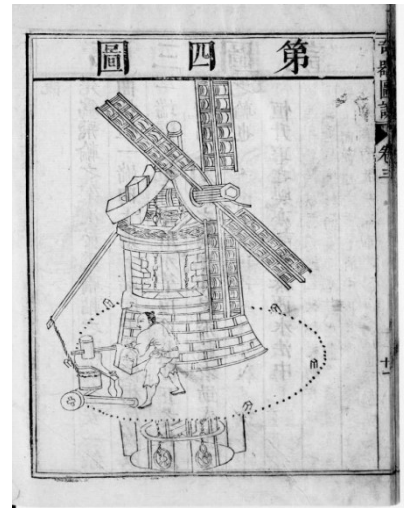


Fig.2.14 The fourth drawing of Qushui 取水, *QQTS*.<sup>340</sup>

In *QQTS*, undoubtedly, Wang used many Chinese traditional mechanical terms, such as Ji 機 (machine), Qi 器 (appliance), Lun 輪 (wheel), Zhou 軸 (axle), Fengche 風車 (windmill), Shuiche 水車 (waterwheel), etc. More importantly, he worked with Jonannes Terrenz and created a lot of new terms, such as Zhongxue 重學, Liyi xue 力藝學, Zhongxin 重心 (centre of gravity), Benzong 本重, Qizhong 起重, Ganggan 杠桿, Liuti 流體 (fluid), Ningti 凝體 (coagulation), Xinglun 行輪 (walking wheel), Talun 踏輪 (tread wheel), Feilun 飛輪 (fly wheel), Qubing 曲柄 (crank), Chilun 齒輪 (gear), Gulun 鼓輪 (drum wheel), Luosi 螺絲 (screw), etc. Some of them like Liyi 力藝 (art of force), Zhongxue 重學 (the study of weight/mechanics), Lun 輪, Zhou 軸, Bing 柄 (handle) were used by scientist Li Shanlan 李善蘭<sup>341</sup> in the late Qing Dynasty. Some of them like Zhongxin 重心 (centre of gravity), Ganggan 杠桿 (lever), Xiemian 斜面 (inclined plane), Liuti 流體 have been used till now in the subject of mechanics since its first appearance in the *QQTS* until today in the subject of mechanics. In the 1930s, when Liu Xianzhou 劉仙洲<sup>342</sup> edited Terminology of Mechanical Engineering, he referred to the *QQTS*, from which he assimilated some

<sup>339</sup> Agostino Ramelli, *Le Diverse et Artificiose Machine del Capitano*,1588, p.112.

<sup>340</sup> *QQTS*, vol.III, f.11b.

<sup>341</sup> Li Shanlan 李善蘭(1811-1882) was a famous Mathematician, Force scientist, Astronomer, his birthplace is Zhejiang Haining 浙江海寧.

<sup>342</sup> Liu Xianzhou 劉仙洲(1890-1975) was a famous mechanical Engineer, his birthplace is Hebei Wanxian 河北完縣.

concepts and terms.<sup>343</sup> Here, we should acknowledge the fact that the effect of *QQTS* is limited, and as a result, does not really promote the establishment of modern mechanics.<sup>344</sup> The key reason for this is that traditional Chinese appliances can just meet the needs of an agricultural society, which is based on the small-scale peasant economy. While some of the western appliances were so complicated that they could not be made and used in practice. Therefore, this book did not spread among the common people. As I mentioned above, until date, there are 30 editions of *QQTS*, which means that this could only be an intellectual fact.

*QQTS* is a work which integrated the theory of mechanics and the practice of appliance technique, and also involved Chinese traditional knowledge of craftsmanship. It supplied the possibility of integration and development in some aspects of Chinese and Western science and technology. Meanwhile, it was able to open the Chinese intellectuals' visions, especially, that of Wang who used the Chinese traditional way of drawing to depict western appliances. In the view of some scholars, *QQTS* is a perfect example of transcultural exchange.<sup>345</sup>

In 1626, Wang also finished one mechanical work named *ZQTS*, on his own and normally would have been printed together with *QQTS*. The first edition of this work was printed in 1628 in Yangzhou. The content of *ZQTS* is fewer than *QQTS*, although some scholars claim that this work is the summarization and quintessence of Chinese traditional mechanical appliances. There are 17 kinds of drawings in *ZQTS*, 2 kinds of Qushui 取水 (water in taking), Hongxi 虹吸 (siphon), Heyin 鶴飲 (crane drinking); 3 kinds of Zhuanwei 轉碓 (mill rotating), Lunji 輪激 (wheeling swash), Fengwei 風碓 (wind mill), Zixing mo 自行磨 (automatic mill driven by a quasi-striking clock); one kind of Zixing che 自行車 (automatic car driven by a quasi-striking clock); one kind of Lunhu 輪壺 (kettle wheeling); one kind of Daigeng 代耕 (plough helping); 6 types of Liannu 連弩 (repeating crossbow), 9 kinds of drawings of repeating crossbow.

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<sup>343</sup> Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振環, Shaanxi qiren Wang Zheng yu qishu yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui 陝西奇人王徵與奇書遠西奇器圖說錄最 (Shaanxi Unusual Person Wang Zheng and His Unusual Book yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzu), Zhang Zhuhua, ed., 張柱華主編, *Caoyuan sichou zhilu xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 草原絲綢之路學術研討會論文集 (The Symposium of Prairie Silk Road Proseminar), Lanzhou 蘭州: Gansu People Press 甘肅人民出版社, 2010, pp.384-385.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid., 385.

<sup>345</sup> Zhang Baishu, 2008, pp.169-170. & pp.176-179.

Every drawing with its introduction is quite ingenious. From the introductions of these appliances for daily civil, we can find that Wang very cherished manpower. He states that man likes animals to work without mechanical appliances.<sup>346</sup> This is related to his thought of caring for man, which is also reflected in his military appliances. He expresses his viewpoint that the intention of making military appliances is to use for killing in order to prevent fighting.<sup>347</sup>

In 1640, Wang wrote one mechanical work named *GZQTS*, which contained 24 items. Unfortunately, the whole text of *GZQTS* is lost. Only a few parts of it, such as Wang's preface to *GZQTS*, postscript, catalogue of the mechanical appliances survived. Besides that, Wang finished some military works, for example, *Zhuqi tushuo xiaogao* 諸器圖說小稿, *Cangqi tushuo xiaogao* 藏器圖說小稿, *Xin liannu tushuo* 新連弩圖說, *Shouyu qiju tushuo* 守禦器具圖說.<sup>348</sup>

As mentioned above, one finds that Wang wrote many mechanical works for the people and the government. In fact, he not only made theoretical contributions, but also produced some of the mechanical appliances used in the practice, such as *Zixing che* 自行車 (automatic car), *Zizhuan mo* 自轉磨 (automatic rotating mill), *Daoshui qi* 導水器 (water deflector), *Huozha* 活閘 (flexible floodgate), *Huogun* 活輓 (flexible water rolling), *Yunshi ji* 運石機 (the machine of moving stone). This career period of Wang happened during the era of Tuiguan (Judge of Guangping and Yangzhou). Wang earned a high reputation because of the mechanical appliances he made for the common people and for the soldiers. Apparently, we can infer from Wang's words of *Liang lilüe* that he was a responsible Confucian who always cared about what the society needed.

In brief, we can find that Confucian-Christian Wang had close contact with the Jesuit missionaries and he made great contributions to phonology and mechanics. In the phonological work—*XREMZ*, he completed *XREMZ shiyi* 西儒耳目資釋疑, *Sanyun duikao wenda* 三韻兌攷問答 and *Sanyun duikao* 三韻兌攷; and in the

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<sup>346</sup> *QQTS*, f.185,b2. 每歎人若畜。

<sup>347</sup> The preface to *EZQTS*. 以殺止殺。

<sup>348</sup> Wang Zheng, ed., *Zhongtong rilu* 忠統日錄 (the Daily Records of the Loyalty Unity), vol.I, the edition of Ming, ff.29-36..

mechanical work-*QQTS*, he designed many mechanical drawings from western works. Meanwhile, he integrated the western theory of mechanics and Chinese traditional science and technique. Additionally, he wrote his own mechanical works, such as *ZQTS* and *GZQTS*. He collaborated with missionaries on the introduction of new things, encompassing many new concepts, in order to ensure a profound cultural exchange that would go on to be mutually beneficial, mutually influential and far-reaching.

When the Ming Dynasty was at the verge of collapse, Wang Zheng, who served as an intellectual representative, acquired Western scientific knowledge with a pragmatic attitude. As a Confucian-Christian, he was in awe of Heaven and cared about human beings, which is actually evident in these his works, including *XREMZ*, *QQTS*, among others.

From the above narrative and analysis, Wang Zheng's extraordinary life presents in our minds. First of all, he spent nearly 30 years on his metropolitan examination, but only more than three years in his official position. He almost would have lost his life in the position of the military supervisor of Liaohai. Secondly, he liked designing and making unusual mechanical appliances. When he met Jesuit missionaries, he collaborated with them on the translation of Western Mechanical. Especially, he worked with Nicolas Trigault together on the Chinese-Latin linguistic dictionary. His education experience and family virtues rebuilt his outstanding character, which are kindness, benevolence and uprightness. Finally, when he accepted Christian baptism, he restrained himself more strictly, which we can find not only in his private life but also in the official career. When he formed his theoretical system— "Revering the Lord of Heaven and Caring for Human Beings," he used practical actions to finish it.

## Part II. Wang Zheng's Thought—Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings

立心必以盡性至命為歸，學不至此則不可以對天；  
講學皆為拯溺救焚之務，學不至此則不得言體天。<sup>349</sup>

We should set our mind on the purpose of making an effort to exert all the natural ability and know the mandate of Heaven, not to which our learning cannot face Heaven; we should teach on the purpose of saving the people in hardship, not to which our learning cannot realise Heaven.

覓天之所以命我者，求不負乎人之名<sup>350</sup>

To search for the Mandate of Heaven, and never to humiliate Man

### 3. Knowing the Lord of Heaven

Wang Zheng's thoughts on Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings consists of three parts: knowing the Lord of Heaven, revering the Lord of Heaven and serving the Lord of Heaven, which is based on Confucian teachings integrated with Christian doctrines. In Confucianism, knowing Heaven 知天, revering Heaven 畏天 and serving Heaven 事天 are the pillars of Confucian belief. Wang also mentioned this structure in his text of *WTARJL*.<sup>351</sup> The first part, knowing the Lord of Heaven, is the premise of Wang Zheng's belief.

#### 3.1 The Text of *Weitian airen Jilun*

The text of *WTARJL* marked the formation of Wang Zheng's theory: Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings. Therefore, this text is the foundation of this research.

In 1628, the first year of Chongzheng, Wang Zheng was fifty-eight years old and in the official position of Yangzhou fu Tuiguan/prefectural judge. In the meantime he finished writing his text, *Weitian airen jilun* 畏天愛人極論 (the Ultimate Discussion

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<sup>349</sup> Baikun, ed., *JXSC*, vol.4.

<sup>350</sup> *WTARJL*, f.10b,7-8.

<sup>351</sup> *WTARJL*, f.18b &f.21a.

of Revering the Heaven and Caring for Human Beings). In this year his Christian age was about 12 years old. We have never found the original edition of *WTARJL* in China. Normally, the editions of Chinese texts include the block-printed edition, the printed edition and the hand-copied edition. Now we have the original edition of the text, which is a transcript found in the France National Library, the catalogue number is Chinois 6868. In China, the first edition was transcribed from the France National Library by Xiang Da in 1937,<sup>352</sup> from which there are two kinds of modern collated editions.<sup>353</sup>

### 3.1.1 The Type of Writing

In the text we find the foreword, written by Zheng Man in the first year of Chongzhen (1628). Therefore, we are able to speculate that the text may have been published in 1628. Some scholars say this text seems never to have been published.<sup>354</sup> After my research, I can provide three kinds of materials in which we can see the list of *Weitian airen*,<sup>355</sup> undoubtedly proving that the text was published. The text is written in the form of dialogue, Guest-Question 客曰: I-Answer 余曰(Wang Zheng), like other Christian literature in the late Ming era.<sup>356</sup> In the main part of the text there are more than ten dialogues, as well as a postscript written by Wang Zheng at the end. We have no apparent evidence to say whether the guest in the text is a specific or an anonymous person. Usually speaking, we think that this text *WTARJL* is Wang Zheng's monograph. Therefore, the method of keyue--yuyue is just one genre of writing. As is well-known, catechism as doctrinal manuals to Christian believers, is in

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<sup>352</sup> Xiang Da 向達(1900—1966), another name Xiang Jueming, the famous scholar in history. The professor of the department of history of Beijing University after 1949. From 1935 to 1938 he searched for the research sources in Europe.

<sup>353</sup> Lin Lechang, *WZQJ*, pp.117-138. Song Boyin, *Ming jingyang Wang Zheng xiansheng nianpu* 明涇陽先生年譜(revised edition), Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2004, pp.117-141.

<sup>354</sup> Like Nicolas Standaert's article, see N.Standaert, 29(1998), p.164.

<sup>355</sup> These three resources, one, *Qing Xuantong ,Jingyang xianzhi* 涇陽縣誌(the Chronicle of Jingyang); another one, Wang Jie 王介 ed. *Baotiantang lishi zhujì mulu* 寶田堂曆世諸集目錄, see *BTTJC*; the third one, *Luqiao zhenzhi* 魯橋鎮志.

<sup>356</sup> For example, Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* (the True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven)(TZSY). *Jiren shipian* 畸人十篇(Ten Paradoxes)(JRSP).

the form of questions followed by answers. In the late Ming era, the missionaries often used the form of question-answer to introduce Christian doctrine to Confucian scholars. Naturally, we find that some Confucian classical texts are in the form of question-answer, such as *the Analects of Confucius* 論語, *Mencius* 孟子 and *the Quotations of Zhu Zi* 朱子語錄. Therefore, the form of question-answer is a popular way of writing or explaining a particular teaching. Of course, although we cannot know whether Wang Zheng uses this question-answer from due to the tradition of Confucian classical texts or due to missionary catechetical writings, we clearly see that he uses it to explain his views on Christian doctrine. It is possible that this genre of writing was influenced by Chinese catechetical works of missionaries, which he had read. In fact, in 1623 (the third year of Tianqi Emperor), he had already used the genre of writing (question--answer, Keyue--yuyue) to write the text *Kewen* (客問, the questions of the guest).<sup>357</sup>

### 3.1.2 The Structure of *WTARJL*

As mentioned above, the Preface was written by Zheng Man, on July 15<sup>th</sup> of 1628.<sup>358</sup> The first to twelfth page amount to 6 folios, 12 pages. At the end of the preface, Zheng says he wrote the preface on July 15<sup>th</sup> of the first year of Chongzhen 崇禎元年七月之望. Besides, in the preface Zheng claims he added some comments to the text of *WTARJL*, but today we do not find them.

The writing type is in vertical rows, from right to left. The place it was written was Jingjiao tang 景教堂 of Yangzhou, which N. Standaert states was probably a smaller chapel in Yangzhou.<sup>359</sup> Zheng Man's preface was also written in Yangzhou, because in 1628 Zheng stayed in Yangzhou with Wang Zheng for a period of time.<sup>360</sup> Possibly, the text of *WTARJL* was finalized in Wang Zheng's hometown.

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<sup>357</sup> Wang Zheng, *Kewen*.the edition of Ming.

<sup>358</sup> Chinese lunar year in the Gregorian calendar is August 14<sup>th</sup>. It also can be found in N. Standaert's article (1998). See N. Standaert, 1998, p.164.

<sup>359</sup> N. Standaert,1998, p.165.

<sup>360</sup> Zheng Man's autobiography mentioned he stayed with Wang Zheng in Yangzhou in 1628. *Tianshan zixu nianpu* 天山自敘年譜 in *Zheng Man shiji* 鄭鄭事蹟 in *Guxue huikan* 古學彙刊 19(1969), III. p.1514.

The main part of the text, seven thematic dialogues (a total of 14 dialogues) and the postscript written by Wang, totals 50 folios, 100 pages. From the table, we can see an outline of the content of *WTARJL*. The third part is the postscript of *WTARJL*, 2 folios, 3 pages.

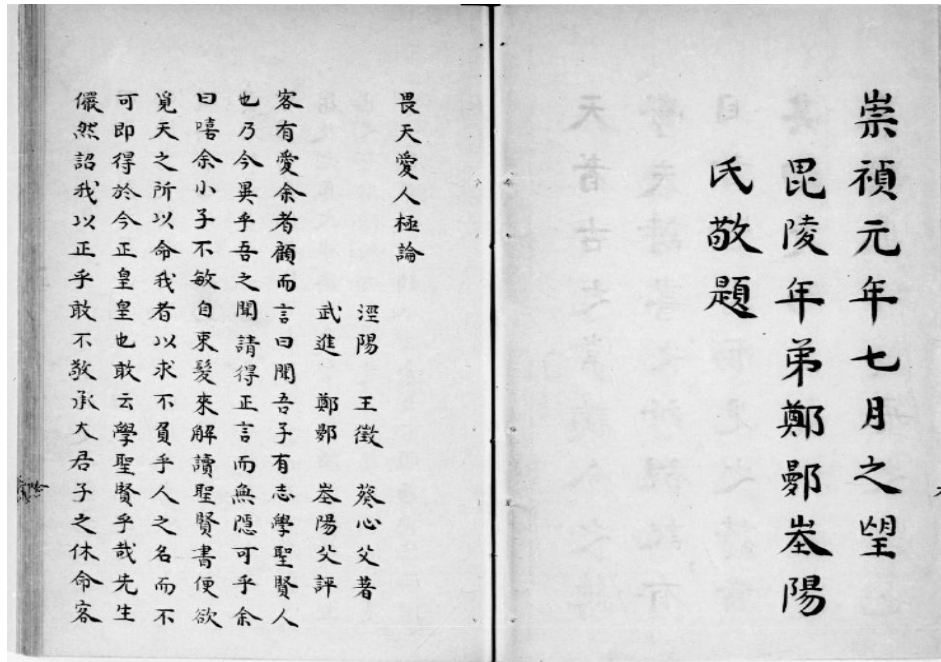


Fig. 3.1 The 10<sup>th</sup> folio of *WTARJL*, BnF.

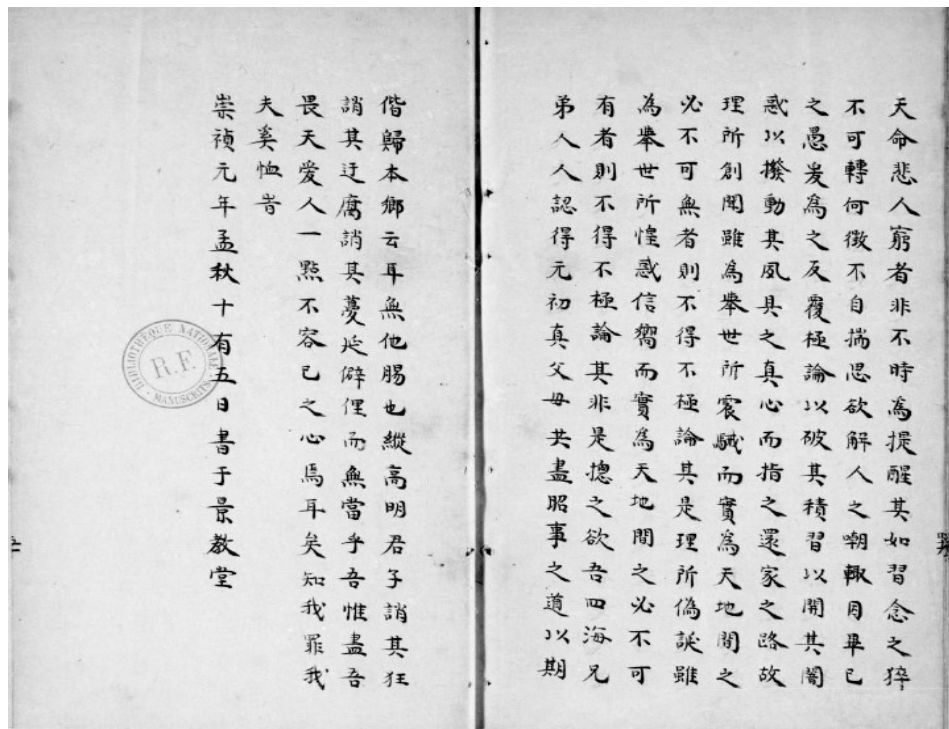


Fig. 3.2 The 59<sup>th</sup> folio of *WTARJL*, BnF.



### 3.1.3 The Themes and Contents of *WTARJL*

Part I. The Preface to <i>WTARJL</i>	
Part II. Weitian airen	
D1 The motive of conversion to Christianity for Wang Zheng/ f. 10b	
D2 The conversion story and the concept of God	
D2.1 The conversion story told by the guest and Wang's explanation	ff.11a-13b
D2.2 The concept of God	
D2.2.1 The supreme Dominator	ff.13b-15b
D2.2.2 The supreme Creator	ff.15b-17a
D2.2.3 Names for God	ff.17a-18a
D2.2.4 In awe of Heaven interpreted by Wang	ff.18a-19b
D2.2.5 Refuting Li 理 and Qi 氣	ff.19b-21a
D2.2.6 History of the attitude of the Confucian towards God	ff.21a-23a
D2.2.7 Refuting concept of Buddhism (extensively) and Taoism (limited)	ff.23a-25b
D2.2.8 Veneration for God	ff.26a-27b
D2.2.9 The uniqueness of God	ff.28a-29a
D3 Heaven and hell	
D3.1 Human beings possess intelligence	ff.29b-30b
D3.2 Heaven, hell and world	ff.30b-32b
D3.3 God blesses the good and punishes the evil	ff.32b-33b
D3.4 Reward and punishment, heaven and hell in the Chinese Classics	ff.33b-34b
D3.5 Happiness in heaven, Suffering in hell	ff.35a-41a
D3.6 Reward and punishment in this world and after death	ff.41b-43b
D3.7 Benefit and harm in the next life	ff.44a-46b
D4 The future life /ff.46b-48a	
D5 Human soul, the eternal life, the immortality of the soul	
D5.1 Three different types of souls	ff.48a-49a
D5.2 Difference to animals	ff.49b-51a
D5.3 Man's soul cannot be destroyed	ff.51b-52b
D6 The value of weitian airen	ff.52b-53b
D6.1 Ten commandments	ff.53a-b

D6.2 Cultivation of virtue	ff.53b-55a
D6.3 On love	ff.55a-57a
D7, The guest's decision/f.57a-57b	
Part III. Wang's postscript to <i>WTARJL</i> /ff.58b-59b	

Chart 3.1 The themes of *WTARJL* (D= dialogue)

Clearly, the text consists of three parts. The second part is the main body, in which related themes are demonstrated, such as the conversion story, the concept of God, heaven and hell, the future life and the immortality of the soul. These topics are the key points in *Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings*.

### 3.1.4 The Sources of *WTARJL*

By comparing with other texts written by missionaries Matteo Ricci and Diego de Pantoja and Confucian-Christian Li Zhizao, many sections of *WTARJL* are quoted from Li Madou's *Tianzhu shiyi (TZSY)* and *Jiren shipian (JRSP)* and de Pantoja's *Qike*.

As mentioned above, the main part of *WTARJL* has nearly 50 folios, one hundred pages, the quotations section has nearly 23 folios, 46 pages, the proportion of which reaches 46%. Among these quotations (*TZSY*, *JRSP* and *Qike*), which are relevant to one preface to *TZSY* and five chapters of *TZSY*, one preface to *JRSP* and the eighth chapter of *JRSP*, and the seventh chapter of *Qike*. Especially, the majority of the discussion on heaven and hell is quoted from three texts, *TZSY*, *Qike*, *JRSP*. As N.Standaert states,

In the section starting with the discussion on heaven and hell more than 56% of the text has been identified as taken from other works. Most copied passages are taken from *Tianzhu shiyi* (The Solid Meaning of the Lord of Heaven) (46%), and some from de Pantoja's *Qike* 七克(Seven Overcomings) (1614) (7%) or Ricci's *Jiren shipian* 畸人十篇(Ten Paradoxes) (1607) (3%). No explicit mention is made to the *Tianzhu shiyi*. As will be pointed out further, *Qike* play some role in Wang Zheng's conversion; short mention is made to *Jiren shipian* when it is said that "details can be found in *Jiren pian* 畸人篇".<sup>361</sup>

<sup>361</sup> N. Standaert, 1998, p.168.

The Table of Relation between *WTARJL* and the Quoted Texts<sup>362</sup>

WTARJL Manuscript of BnF	Sources/References	Tianxue chuhan TXCH <sup>363</sup>	Notes
f.26a,1-4 <sup>364</sup>	TZSY (Li Zhizao's preface )	p.353,1-5 <sup>365</sup>	Di 帝→Tianzhu 天 主 Emperor→the Lord of Heaven
f.26a,5-7	TZSY(ch.8)	p.623,7-8	彌山徧市→徧市彌山不止 all of the mountains and towns→ not only all of the mountains and towns
f.26a,7-26b,1	TZSY(ch.8)	p.622,5-7	fu→mozhi(can not)
f.28a,7-28b,1	TZSY(ch.7)	pp.592,9-593,3	same
f.28b,2-8	TZSY(ch.7)	pp.593,4-594,1	Shangdi→Tianzhu
ff.28b,8-29a,2	TZSY(ch.7)	p.594,1-3	Ziren 自任→changkuang ziren 猖狂自任 obstinate →furious and obstinate
f.30a,6-30b,7	TZSY(ch.1)	pp.379,2-380,4	Shenling 神靈→Lingcai 靈才, omission,addition
ff.30b,7-31a,3	TZSY(ch.1)	pp.380,6-381,2	Yi 異→Qiang 強
ff.33a,8-34a,3	TZSY(ch.6)	pp.530,6-532,2	Cheng 懲→Fa 罰 Punishment
ff.34b,8-35a,3	TZSY(ch.6)	pp.551,7-552,1	omission , addition
f.35a,4-7	TZSY(ch.6)	p.552,3-6	same

<sup>362</sup> The formation of this table is inspired by Prof. N. Standaert's article and table. Cf. Standaert, 1998, p.188. In his table, I found some mistakes and confusions. He even told me that the text version of *WTARJL* he used was not of the best quality. I used the Manuscript from the BnF, in the meantime I revised some mistakes in Standaert's table and added some quotations origins.

<sup>363</sup> *TXCH*, which is a series collection books, compiled by Li Zhizao 李之藻(1565-1629) and published in 1628. The series books contain Matteo Ricci's *TZSY*, *JRSP* and Diego de Pantoja's *Qike*, Li Zhizao's translated works and so on. About *TZSY*, see N. Standaert, ed., *HbCC*, p.612. "Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義(1603) that became the fundament for introduction of the basic Christian teachings and this far beyond the seventeenth century. Not only was it reprinted several times, but also translated into several languages (including Japanese and Korean) until modern times. *Tianzhu shiyi* was written in the form of a dialogue between a western and Chinese scholar. It is a typical example of the use of natural theology as a way to approach Chinese literati. As a good logician and dialectician, Ricci uses rational arguments to prove the existence of God. Only in the last chapter does he treat the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ and his ascension, without speaking of his passion and crucifixion. As part of his argumentation, Ricci quotes the Chinese Classics to show that in ancient times Chinese had a natural knowledge of God. This approach was in accordance with Thomas Aquinas' opinion that, although philosophy is distinct from theology, human reason has its own value and consistency apart from grace. Besides exposing Christian truths (God's existence, creation, human soul, the remuneration of good and evil, heaven and hell), it is also apologetic (refutation of reincarnation, discussion of the original goodness of human nature). Ricci discusses these topics by way of natural reason and arguments. *Tianzhu shiyi* resembles very much Alessandro Valignano's catechetical method as reflected in his *Catechismus Christianae Fidei*(1586)."

<sup>364</sup> About the sign of f.26a,1-4: **f.26** means the 26<sup>th</sup> folio, **a** is the right side of this folio, **1-4** is from the first vertical line to the fourth vertical line.

<sup>365</sup> p.353,1-5 means the 353<sup>rd</sup> page of *TXCH*, from the first vertical line to the fifth vertical line.

f.35a,7-35b,6	JRSP (Li Zhizao's pref.)	pp.115,2-116,1	same
f.36a,2-36b,2	TZSY(ch.6)	p.547,2-9	Xi 悉→ Xin 信 know-believe
f.36b,2-7	TZSY(ch.3)	pp.443,8-444,3	same
ff.36b,8-37a,3	TZSY(ch.3)	p.444,5-8	西土(west) omitted
f.37a,3-5	TZSY(ch.6)	p.559,1-3	same
f.37a,5-6	TZSY(ch.6)	p.559,3-5	Tiandi wanwu→ Mengduo shijie
ff.37b,6-38a,1	TZSY(ch.6)	pp.559,8-560,3	same
f.38a,1-9	TZSY(ch.6)	pp.560,9-561,8	same, a few changed
f.38b,3-6	JRSP(ch.8)	p.230,4-7	same
f.38b,6-7	JRSP(ch.8)	p.231,9-10	same
f.38b,7	JRSP(ch.8)	p.233,4	same
f.38b,7-8	JRSP(ch.8)	p.235,8-9	same
f.38b,8-9	JRSP(ch.8)	p.237,6-7	same
ff.38b,9-39a,1	JRSP(ch.8)	p.238,7-8	same
f.39a,1-2	JRSP(ch.8)	p.239,8-9	same
ff.39a,4-40a,7	Qike(ch.7)	pp.1099,10-1101,9	a few changed
f.40b,4-7	TZSY(ch.6)	p.543,3-6	same
ff.41a,8-42a,2	Qike(ch.7)	pp.1106,10-1108,1	A few changed Tiantang 天堂→Tianshang 天 上 (Heaven)
f.42a,3-9	TZSY(ch.6)	p.558,2-7	same
f.42a,9-42b,3	Qike(ch.7)	p.1109,2-5	same
f.42b,3-6	Qike(ch.7)	p.1108,5-7	same
ff.42b,8-43a,1	JRSP(ch.8)	p.222,2-3	世病柄世權者→又或見柄世權者
f.43a,1-43b,7	JRSP(ch.8)	pp.222,6-223,9	a few changed
ff.44a,8-45b,1	TZSY(ch.6)	pp.544,5-546,4	西土曰,本世之報微矣→豈知 本世之報微矣 Er 爾→Wo 我(You→I)

f.45b,6-7	TZSY(ch.6)	p.546,6-8	Zhongshi yue 中士曰, Xishi yue 西士曰→Keyue 客曰,Yue 曰
ff.46b,3-47b,2	TZSY(ch.6)	pp.537,3-538,9	(Western scholar says)西士曰→曰(without Xishi)
ff.47b,2-48a,1	TZSY(ch.6)	p.534,1-7	實 shi→真 zhen 益 yi→利 li
f.48a,5-6	TZSY(ch.3)	p.429,6	中士 zhongshi→客曰 keyue;樂 le→真福 zhenfu
f.48b,1-2	TZSY(ch.3)	p.429,7-8	omitted 西士曰,吾入中國
ff.48b,5-50a,6	TZSY(ch.3)	pp.430,2-432,9	扶 fu→附 fu Omitted 中士曰賴身與否,西士曰 and the other
ff.50a,6-51a,2	TZSY(ch.3)	pp.434,2-435,8	a few changed
f.51a,2-51a,9	TZSY(ch.3)	p.436,1-7	Hao 好→Ai 愛(love),Xiwu 喜惡→Aiwu 愛惡(Joy and evil)
f.51a,9-51b,3	TZSY(ch.3)	p.437,6-8	same
ff.51b,3-52a,8	TZSY(ch.3)	pp.440,4-441,8	a few changed
ff.53b,7-54a,1	TZSY(ch.7)	p.579,5-8	same
f.54a,8-9	TZSY(ch.7)	pp.579,8-580,1	same
ff.54b,1-55b,6	TZSY(ch.7)	pp.580,4-582,8	a few changed
ff.55b,9-56a,5	TZSY(ch.7)	p.586,4-9	彼異端者 omitted
f.57a,4-5	TZSY(ch.7)	pp.561,9-562,1	same

Chart 3.2 The table of quotation between *WTARJL* and the copied texts.

### 3.1.5 The Characteristics of Wang's Quotations

#### 3.1.5.1 Direct Quotation

In the text of *WTARJL*, Wang incorporated the ideas of Ricci, Pantoja and Li Zhizao for his demonstration. The method of direct quotation is quite apparent. From the above table, there are many places in *WTARJL* that seem very similar to other texts.

## For instance, about the topic of D2.2.9 --The Uniqueness of God,

然天下萬國九州島之廣，或天主分委此等佛、菩薩、神仙諸名聖，保固各方。如天子宅中，而遣官布政於九州島百郡然者。<sup>366</sup>

But the world, with its numerous nations and nine regions, is so extensive that the Lord of Heaven has delegated such place. Would it not be like the Son of Heaven, (the Emperor) who resides at the centre and deposes his officials to exercise government on his behalf in the nine regions and hundred districts? <sup>367</sup>

As to D3.5 Happiness in heaven, Suffering in hell, at the end of the quotation Wang clearly says that this part originates from *JRSP*, which is the only place Wang mentions the origin of a quotation in his text.

夫《經》中稱天堂之景有曰：“居彼之處，一切聖神具無六禍，此世中無人無其一；具有六福，此世中無人有一。”六者雲何？一謂聖城，則無過而有全德也。二謂太平域，則無危懼而恒恬淡也。三謂樂地，則無憂苦而有永樂也。四謂天鄉，則無冀望而皆充滿也。五謂定吉界，則無更變而常定於祥也。六謂壽無疆山，則人均不死而常生也。壽無疆則並前諸福，俱永久不滅，此天主切答仁人之情也。其詳悉具《畸人篇》。<sup>368</sup>

In the Bible, it looks forward to the sight of Heaven, in paradise the entirety of Holy Spirit does not have six misfortunes, which nobody owns in this world, and the entirety of Holy Spirit has six fortunes, which nobody owns in this world. What are the six fortunes? The first one is holy city, where there is no negligence but perfect virtue. The second one is Taiping area, where there is no danger and fear but constant tranquillity. The third one is pleasurable places, where there is no worry and pain but perpetual pleasure. The fourth one is the land of Heaven, where there is no hope but it is full of all. The fifth one is the universe of constant luck, where there is no change but constant auspiciousness. The sixth one is immortal mountains, where one never dies but is immortal. Immortality and the six fortunes can never be extinguished, which is the precise answer of Lord of Heaven to benevolent men. The detailed description is in the text of *JRSP*.

## About D3.6 Reward and Punishment in this world and after death,

此處之掌戮，則鬼魔也。其惡劇大，甚強有力，酷虐無比。其恨我人類最深，無絲發慈潛。凡所能加，惟力是視。其所加苦難，又孰尚乎？<sup>369</sup>

The ghosts and monsters administer slaughter, whose evils are quite serious, even more forceful and their cruelty incomparable. They hate us human beings bitterly and have no mercy for us. What do they actively give to society? Nothing but suffering.

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<sup>366</sup> See *TZSY*, pp.592,9-593,3→*WTARJL* f.28a,8-28b,1.

<sup>367</sup> Regarding the translations of quotations from *TZSY*, I have referred to *The True Meaning of The Lord of Heaven*(1985), as well as in the following parts.

<sup>368</sup> See *JRSP*(ch.8), p.230,4-7,p.231,9-10,p.233,4,p.235,8-9,p.237,6-7,p.238,7-8,p.239,8-9→*WTARJL* ff.38b,3-39a,2.

<sup>369</sup> See *Qike*(ch.7), p.1109,2-5→*WTARJL* f.42a,9-42b,3.

### 3.1.5.2 Indirect Quotation

Another apparent characteristic of Wang's quoted texts (*TZSY*, *JRSP*, *Qike*) is indirect quotation. He uses concrete methods, such as displacement, deletion, transformation, summarisation and addition to strengthen his arguments. In some paragraphs he utilises more than one of these methods in his discourse on a theme. Wang did not copy the logic sequence of the original text, rather, he made some structural adaptations and rearranged the materials in quite a coherent manner.

From the above two tables, in the text of *WTARJL*, factually, Wang didn't copy the original order of demonstration from the other texts in the quotations. When he talks about how to worship God, he quotes a few passages from the eighth chapter of *TZSY*, and then, when discussing the uniqueness of God, he quotes some passages from the seventh chapter of *TZSY*. In part D3, Heaven and hell, some quotations are from the first, the third and the sixth chapters of *TZSY*. He makes use of the passages or the paragraphs for his own purposes, so that he can dismantle the original texts into pieces and reorder them for his own purpose.

In the text of Ricci's *TZSY*, the catechetical style appears as a dialogue between a Western scholar 西士 and a Chinese literatus 中士. But the style is changed a little as Yuyue 余曰 (Wang Zheng) and the guest 客曰 (Keyue). The anonymous guest's role in Wang's text is solely to put forward questions, i.e. introducing the themes. In part D3.5, Happiness in heaven, Suffering in hell, Wang uses Gusheng 古聖 (Ancient sage)<sup>370</sup> instead of Xitu gusheng 西土古聖 (Western ancient sage) of *TZSY* in his quotation.<sup>371</sup> Likewise, there are five places without Xishi 西士 (Western scholar) in Wang's text. One instance, in part D3.7, Benefit and Harm in the next life, is where Wang uses “豈知本世之報微矣 why not know the reward in this world is slight”<sup>372</sup> to replace “西士曰，本世之報微矣 the Western scholar said, the reward in this world is slight” of *TZSY*.<sup>373</sup> An another case, an explicit reference to Ricci's coming to

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<sup>370</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.36b,9-37a,1.

<sup>371</sup> *TZSY*, p.444,6.

<sup>372</sup> *WTARJL*, f.44b,1.

<sup>373</sup> *TZSY*, p.544,6-7.

China “吾入中國...”<sup>374</sup> is also omitted. In his text, clearly, the term “Western scholar” is omitted and forgotten. Additionally, it is certain that most of the quoted texts which Wang has taken from *TZSY* as his own are stated by the Western scholar. It seems that Wang integrates identity differences between Western scholars and Chinese literati, he transcends the boundary between foreigners and natives. As N. Standaert says, “It shows that a Western argumentation about Christian and Chinese traditions could well be adopted by the Chinese.”<sup>375</sup>

### 3.1.5.2.1 Displacement

In *TZSY*, the conversations take place between a Western scholar and a Chinese literati. The Chinese literati calls the Western scholar “Sir” (xiansheng 先生) while the Western scholar calls the Chinese scholar “Master” (zi 子, one respected address to the man “西士曰:子...”),<sup>376</sup> “My master” (wuzi 吾子, it means “您, you” ). In *WTARJL*, the conversations take place between Wang Zheng and the guest. The guest calls Wang “My master” (wuzi) or “Master” (zi) while Wang uses “Sir” to address the guest in the first dialogue and the last dialogue. Wang also uses one general term, that is “Confucian scholars of the world (shizi ru 世之儒...)” in the third and fourth dialogues, but this address possibly doesn’t include the guest. (See, 曰: 聞吾子...<sup>377</sup> 先生..., <sup>378</sup> 子...; <sup>379</sup> 吾子..., <sup>380</sup> 先生...; <sup>381</sup> 客曰: 吾子..., <sup>382</sup> 曰: 世之儒...; <sup>383</sup> “中士曰: 先生..., 西士曰: 吾子...”<sup>384</sup>)

In *TZSY*,<sup>385</sup> Ricci uses four times er 爾, while Wang replaced with wo 我 in *WTARJL*.<sup>386</sup> The reason behind this could be that the Western scholar used er to

<sup>374</sup> *TZSY*, p.429,8. The phrase was erased in *WTARJL*, f.48b,2.

<sup>375</sup> N. Standaert, 1998, p.169.

<sup>376</sup> *TZSY*, p.381,2.

<sup>377</sup> *WTARJL*, f.10b,4.

<sup>378</sup> *WTARJL*, f.10b,8.

<sup>379</sup> *WTARJL*, f.11a,1.

<sup>380</sup> *WTARJL*, f.57a,6.

<sup>381</sup> *WTARJL*, f.57b,3.

<sup>382</sup> *WTARJL*, f.45b,6.

<sup>383</sup> *WTARJL*, f.45b,7.

<sup>384</sup> *TZSY*, p.546,6-7.

<sup>385</sup> *TZSY*, pp.545,1-546,2.

<sup>386</sup> *WTARJL*, f.45a,5-8.



discuss with the Chinese literatus in *TZSY*, so Wang uses *wo* to express the view as his own.

Wang replaced the term *Shenling* 神靈 (spirit/soul)<sup>387</sup> with *Lingcai* 靈才 (spirit/soul),<sup>388</sup> which was also used by Ricci in his text. He also replaced *Tiandi wanwu* 天地萬物<sup>389</sup> with *Mengduo shijie* 蒙鐸世界<sup>390</sup>, *Tiandi wanwu* and *mengduo shijie* have the same meaning: this world.

### 3.1.5.2.2 Deletion

In the text of *WTARJL*, Wang made some structural adaptations. In some parts of the text, Wang deleted some words expressed by the Chinese scholar in the conversations. For instance, in text of *TZSY*, there is one passage in which the Chinese scholar *Zhongshi* says, “to look over these classical texts one finds that the sages of ancient times already believed that after death there assuredly was a place of joy reserved for the good. But you definitely cannot discover any reference to hell in the canonical writings.”<sup>391</sup> This is a connecting passage which was placed between two utterances of the Western scholar in *TZSY*. Wang erased this passage and quoted the first and last paragraphs directly in *WTARJL*. He also deleted one linking sentence, “The Chinese scholar says, What is meant by the expression ‘dependent on a body’?”<sup>392</sup> It is possible that Wang viewed these passages as useless for his discourse.

Contrary to the treatment of the Chinese scholar’s statements, the statements of the Western scholar in *TZSY* are quoted by Wang (*Yuyue* 余曰) himself in the text of *WTARJL*.

In Wang’s text, the reference to the Chinese ancient rites are left out. “彼孝子慈孫，四季休其祖廟， these filial sons and worthy grandsons must keep the ancestral temples in good repair throughout the year,”<sup>393</sup> the original expression in *TZSY* is,

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<sup>387</sup> *TZSY*, p.379,6.

<sup>388</sup> *WTARJL*, f.30b,1.

<sup>389</sup> *WTARJL*, f.37a,5.

<sup>390</sup> *TZSY*, p.559,4.

<sup>391</sup> *TZSY*, p.552,1-3.

<sup>392</sup> *TZSY*, p.431,4-5.

<sup>393</sup> *WTARJL*, f.52a,5.

“彼孝子慈孫，中國之古禮，四季休其祖廟， according to the Chinese ancient rites, filial sons and worthy grandsons must keep the ancestral temples in good repair throughout the year.”<sup>394</sup> It seems that “the Chinese ancient rites ” in Wang’s text is not useful but natural. Besides, some omissions refer to the content.

In some places, Wang deleted short interventions by the Chinese scholar in arguments by the Western scholar so that they instead become continuous arguments. In other cases, he starts with a statement by the Chinese scholar and moves to the text of the Western scholar by transforming the last and first sentences into a rhetorical question. Finally, Wang integrates the words by the Chinese scholar in his own discourse by having them preceded by introductory phrases like yuyun 語云 (a saying states).<sup>395</sup>

#### 3.1.5.2.3 Transformation

One typical case for transformation in the quotation of *TZSY* is, “世人不信天堂地獄，或疑或誚，豈不悲哉？”<sup>396</sup> The people in the world who do not believe in Heaven and Hell, some of them are doubting or mocking, are they not to be pitied?” As in *WTARJL*, “世人不信有天堂也，因不信有身後無窮之真樂，而遂以現在之苦世，恬然為樂地也。悲哉！囚子之見也。”<sup>397</sup> The people in the world who do not believe in Heaven, because they do not believe in the true joy after death, and then they regard the bitter world as the land of joy. What a pity! Such a view the prisoners hold!” However, in reality, the expression in *WTARJL* is closer to that in *TZSY*, Wang compares this world with the afterlife.

#### 3.1.5.2.4 Summarisation

In part D3.5, Happiness in Heaven, Suffering in Hell, when Wang discusses the sight

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<sup>394</sup> *TZSY*, p.441, 5.

<sup>395</sup> N. Standaert, 1998, pp.168-169.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid.*, p.561,8-9.

<sup>397</sup> *WTARJL*, f.38a,9-38b,3.

of Heaven, he quoted the six fortunes 六福 from *JRSP*. Clearly, he deleted the detailed explanations of the six fortunes, only keeping the names and a few brief words. In fact, Wang uses this method of quotation to summarise the six fortunes in his text.

In the meantime, Wang also summarised the fourteen bodily and spiritual works of mercy, “故經有形神哀矜之十四端,以着其愛人之實. Thus, the Bible has fourteen bodily and spiritual works of mercy, in order to actualise the reality of caring for people.”<sup>398</sup> This sentence comes from a paragraph in *TZSY*, “愛人非虛愛, 必將渠飢則食之, 渴則飲之, 無衣則衣之, 無屋則舍之、慰之; 愚蒙則誨之, 罪過則諫之, 侮我則葬之, 而為代祈上帝, 且死生不敢忘之。The love of mankind is not fake, since it must result in the feeding of the hungry, in quenching the thirsty, in clothing those without clothes, and in the provision of places to live for homeless. Love has compassion for and comforts those who experience disaster; it instructs the ignorant, corrects the wrong-doers, forgives those who humiliate me, buries the dead, and dares not forget to pray God for all men, living or dead.”<sup>399</sup>

#### 3.1.5.2.5 Addition

Most of the ancient classical passages of Chinese that Wang quoted are from *TZSY*, exceptionally, the sentence “金滕云, 乃命於帝庭, 敷佑四方. *Jinteng* says, then he received the mandate of Heaven in the hall of God and extended his control all over the kingdom”<sup>400</sup>, which is a piece of commentary added by Wang himself.

Wang also adds some sentences between different quotations in *WTARJL*. For example, in *TZSY*, “世人不信天堂地獄, 或疑或諂, 豈不悲哉? the people of the world don't believe in Heaven and Hell, to suspect or to deride, is this tragic?”<sup>401</sup> Meanwhile, in *WTARJL*, “世人不信有天堂也, 因不信有身後無窮之真樂而遂以現在之苦世恬然為樂地也, 悲哉. The people of the world don't believe in Heaven,

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<sup>398</sup> *WTARJL*, f.56a,5-6.

<sup>399</sup> *TZSY*, p.586,6-9.

<sup>400</sup> *WTARJL*, f.35a,1-2, see the Chapter of *Jinsheng zhoushu of Shangshu* 尚書·周書·金滕.

<sup>401</sup> *TZSY*, p.561,8-9.

because they believe in the worldly possessions instead of the infinite real happiness after death, this is tragic.”<sup>402</sup>

Another case in *TZSY*, “凡人之異於禽獸，無大乎靈才也, regarding differences between human beings and animals, none is greater than the intellect.”<sup>403</sup> While Wang added Tianfu 天賦 (be conferred upon by Heaven) in *WTARJL*, “凡人之異於禽獸，無大乎天賦之靈才, regarding differences between human beings and animals, none is greater than the intellect, which is conferred upon by Heaven.”<sup>404</sup>

### 3.2 To Search for the Mandate of Heaven

However, in the text of *WTARJL*, the consistency of internal structure is apparent. From the perspective of Wang’s discourse, it accords with the logic of his thought-Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings.

With the question of why did Wang convert to Christianity, the main reason should be focused on his theory of revering Heaven and loving others. As the anonymous guest inquired, “why did you believe what you had not yet learned (undefined learning, Weixue 未學) while you so easily rejected what you had already learned (finished learning, Yixue 已學); and why did you believe a new learning (new learning, Xinxue 新學) and reject the old learning (old learning, Jiuxue 舊學); and why did you believe a learning that came from far away (distant learning, yuanxue 遠學) while rejecting the learning from close by (present learning, Jinxue 今學)? I am afraid that among the ancient saints and sages there is no such heterodox teaching. And now you are so pious that every morning and evening you pray to the Lord of Heaven?”<sup>405</sup> Xue here means that one kind of theory or learning.<sup>406</sup> The guest uses Yixue, Jiuxue and Jinxue when referring to Wang’s former learnings, such as Buddhism and Taoism. Meanwhile he used Weixue, Xinxue and Yuanxue when referring to the doctrine of Christianity.

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<sup>402</sup> *WTARJL*, f.38b,1-3.

<sup>403</sup> *TZSY*, p.379,2-3.

<sup>404</sup> *WTARJL*, f.30a,6-7.

<sup>405</sup> *WTARJL*, f.11b,1-2.

<sup>406</sup> Cf. *GDHY*, p.1045.

It seems that Wang Zheng faced a noticeable dilemma, he explained the transformation to a new belief was not done in order to escape from the tradition, but rather a continuation of a new tradition.<sup>407</sup> Wang revealed the truth that the continuation was his pursuit of the Mandate of Heaven in *WTARJL*.<sup>408</sup>

The concept of Tian/Heaven is quite an important concept in Chinese religious and philosophic histories.<sup>409</sup> The Mandate of Heaven/天命 Tianming is the traditional religious belief in Chinese history, especially for the Confucian literati, which plays an important or essential role in their religious lives, beliefs and study.<sup>410</sup>

The term Tianming occurs in *Shangshu* 尚書 originally, 先王顧諟天之明命 the former king kept his eye continually on the bright Mandates of Heaven,<sup>411</sup> here it means that man should pay attention to their virtues because of the Mandate of Heaven. Therefore, Zhu Xi 朱熹 reinterpreted the bright Mandates of Heaven (Tian zhi mingming) thusly, “that is what Heaven has conferred on me, and what I have done for a virtuous man.”<sup>412</sup> The Mandate of Heaven is related to the man’s virtues.

The first dialogue of *WTARJL* is a conversation between Wang and an anonymous guest about Wang’s religious conversion, in only two sentences, the guest asks Wang about his learning from the sages, Wang’s conversion surprises him. Following this, Wang’s answer mainly shows the key reason for his conversion to Christianity; he is still searching for the Mandate of Heaven/Mi Tianming 覓天命, which plays a dominant role in the religious faith of Wang Zheng. He states that, “覓天之所以命我者,求不負乎人之名, to search for the Mandate of Heaven, and never to humiliate man.”<sup>413</sup> The term Tianming appears in the text about 15 times. Wang wants to find

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<sup>407</sup> N. Standaert, 1998, p.172.

<sup>408</sup> *WTARJL*, f.12b,4.

<sup>409</sup> The famous Chinese philosopher Feng Youlan said, in Chinese, the so-called Tian (天), that is Heaven in English, also der Himmel in German, has five meanings. So they are, the material or physical Tian or sky, Wuzhi zhitian 物質之天, it means the sky, which is opposite of the earth. The ruling or presiding Tian, the heaven of the Dominate, Zhuzai zhitian 主宰之天, here Tian is God, that is anthropomorphic. The fatalistic Tian, the heaven of Destiny, Mingyun zhitian 命運之天. The naturalistic Tian, Ziran zhitian 自然之天. The ethical Tian, Yili zhitian 義理之天, it has a moral principle, which is the highest primordial principle of the universe. Cf. Feng Youlan: *The history of Chinese Philosophy (Shang)*, Shanghai: The Normal University of Eastern China Press, 2000, p.35. & Cf. *ZGLD*, p.318.

<sup>410</sup> Cf. *ZGLD*, p.321.

<sup>411</sup> *Shangshu Taijia shang*. 尚書·太甲上.

<sup>412</sup> See *Zhu Zi yulu* 朱子語錄, vol.16,卷十六, *Daxue san* 大學三, 天之所以命我, 而我之所以為德者也。

<sup>413</sup> *WTARJL*, f.10b,7.

what Heaven has conferred upon him. In the classical work of *Zhongyong* (the Doctrine of the Mean), the first sentence is Tianming zhi weixing 天命之謂性,率性之謂道,修道之謂教.What Heaven has conferred is called the Nature, an accordance with this nature is called the Principles, the cultivation of the Principles is called teaching.<sup>414</sup> Wang says this sentence is the primary principle for the literati, and then he points out the Mandate of Heaven is the Nature/Xing 性. Having established this concept, he could define the Nature of the Mandate of Heaven as the Principles.

Furthermore, Xing is the original nature of human being. Thus, from this classical sentence, we can infer that Wang's intention is not to humiliate the nature of human beings by searching for the Mandate of Heaven. He states that, from Tianzhi mingming of Taijia, Tianming zhi xing of *Zhongyong*, to the consistent principles of Confucian disciples<sup>415</sup> and the conception of primary kindness of Mencius, the Heart Seal of inheritance 相傳之心印 for the Confucians is that original appearance of human beings 本來面目.<sup>416</sup>

In the answer of the dialogue, Wang Zheng says humbly, when he read the Confucian Classics as a child, he wanted to learn from the ancient sages and find the mandate of Heaven. In fact, in the first dialogue Wang gives us the core reason for his religious conversion.

In the second dialogue, we find the belief transformation story of Wang Zheng not only interesting, but also thought-provoking. The story is presented by the anonymous guest. At the beginning of the section, the guest asks one key question, "Although the mandate of Heaven is not far, the way of man is close, why do you then seek it in what is distant and difficult?"<sup>417</sup> It is easy to see that Wang Zheng is in the process of pursuing the mandate of Heaven continually, in which he thinks about the significance of man. Ultimately, he accepted the baptism and became a Confucian-Christian

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<sup>414</sup> See *Zhongyong* 中庸, Zhuxi, Sishu zhangju jizhu 四書章句集註, Zhonghua shuju, 2012, p.17.

<sup>415</sup> *Lunyu liren* 論語·里仁, 子曰: 參乎! 吾道一以貫之。曾子曰: 唯。子曰: 門人問曰: 何謂也? 曾子曰: 夫子之道, 忠恕而已矣。Confucius said, "Shen, my doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity." The disciple Zeng replied, "Yes." The Master went out, and the other disciples asked, "What do his words mean?" Zeng said, "The doctrine of our master is to be true to the principles of our nature and the benevolent exercise of them to others, this and nothing more."

<sup>416</sup> Wang Zheng, The Second Chapter of *Xueyong shujie* 學庸書解( the Interpretation of Daxue and Zhongyong), 1628.

<sup>417</sup> *WTARJL*, f.11a,1. 天命匪遙, 人道伊迓。子顧遠且難, 焉求之?

named Phillippe. The conversion story of Wang Zheng was stated in the first chapter.

In his texts on Confucianism, *Xueyong shujie* 學庸書解 (the Interpretation of Daxue and Zhongyong), Wang states his views on the mandate of Heaven,

What is the mandate of Heaven? Heaven is displaying the Destiny 命, that is what I express in the above chapter. It could not run and maintain without the people's whole body, so we name it Destiny. For one's body, there is only this Destiny living in the supreme place, which is peaceful, quiet, vacant and etherealised, it also has pure essence and full brightness, indeed it is one original key pivot and the gate to all kinds of goodness, thus named the mandate of Heaven. Generally speaking, it is the natural and self-existent conscience of human beings, we can express it as benevolence, enlightened virtues, supreme goodness, natural instincts, all kinds of statements and schools, and so on, but all of them are interconnected.<sup>418</sup>

Ultimately, Wang relates Tianming/ the Mandate of Heaven to the virtue of human beings, so that the Mandate of Heaven is the supreme Existence and the gate of all kinds of goodness.<sup>419</sup> Wang also gave a biting remark on the morality of the literati at that time, they regarded the classical works of sages and saints as symbols of wealth and nobility, as well as regarding schools as their field of interest.<sup>420</sup> We can see from this that the pursuit of Confucians were declined, i.e. the transcendental faith of the Mandate of Heaven was turned into wealth and interests. Wang was a responsible Confucian scholar, who wanted to make the sleeping literati wake up.

From the two dialogues of *WTARJL*, undoubtedly, in that time *Qike* was the first step for Wang to find out the true mandate of Heaven /Tianming. It is, however, the first gate to Christianity. When Wang visited de Pantoja around 1616, he asked some questions about *Qike*, however, de Pantoja replied to him that *Qike* was low learning (xiaxue 下學) in the awe of Heaven and care of Human beings 畏天愛人, in fact, de Pantoja's meaning indicated the metaphysical ultimate reality, or the core dogma of Christianity, and de Pantoja showed Wang several full shelves of Western works, the sheer scale of books surprised Wang, he exclaimed that he had entered the Treasure

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<sup>418</sup> 蓋天命者，天之明命，即愚前篇所指本來面目而已。四肢百骸，非此無以綱維而運旋，故名之曰命。一身之中，惟此命居之最上，清虛靈妙，精粹圓明，誠一元樞，而萬善之門也，故名之曰天命。總之，乃吾人天然自有之良心，而曰仁，曰明德，曰至善，曰形色天性，千枝萬葉，千流萬派，咸一以貫之者也。

Wang Zheng, *The Second Chapter of Xueyong shujie* 學庸書解 (the Interpretation of Daxue and Zhongyong), 1628.

<sup>419</sup> Wang, *the Second Chapter of Xueyong shujie* 學庸書解.

<sup>420</sup> Wang, *the Second Chapter of Shiyue* 士約 (the Rules of Confucian Scholars), 而今把一部經史,當作聖賢遺留下富貴的本子;把一段學校,當作朝廷修蓋下利達的教場,1628.

Garden (Baibao yuan 百寶園) and the Valley of Flowers (Wanhua gu 萬花谷). At that time, the turning point of Wang's religion transformation took place; Western learning and Western religion attracted the curious Wang to Christianity. After the visit, during his period of residence in Beijing, he often met de Pantoja and discussed Christianity. In the process of interaction, Wang reiterated the importance of Babi 巴鼻 (reason), he was delighted to receive Babi through de Pantoja's guidance. After days of discussion, de Pantoja led Wang to see the paintings of God, possibly at this moment Wang chose to accept the doctrine of Christianity.

The seven victories of the *Qike* originate from the Seven Deadly Sins: Pride, Envy, Avarice, Wrath, Gluttony, Lust, Sloth.<sup>421</sup> The seven victories help us to avoid the Seven Deadly Sins: to overcome pride, to keep envy away, to solve greed, to temper wrath, to eat and drink soberly, to oppose Lust, and to avoid laziness.<sup>422</sup>

Wang possessed rich Confucian knowledge, whereas *Qike* has a Christian moral content, which gives him a new realm of ethics, thus he had a basis in Confucianism and then was illuminated and guided by *Qike* into Christianity. To overcome one's own desires and cultivate his virtue are the principles of daily lessons for Confucians. When Wang found that *Qike* also demands discipline, as a Confucian who is strict with his self-cultivation and who aims to constantly improve his character, he claimed he thus discovered how to avoid being ashamed of Heaven and not blushing of man (bukui buzuo 不愧不作). The ethical norms in *Qike* are quite concrete and practical, the nature of which attracts Confucian-Wang. In that time of the late Ming Dynasty, *Qike* was published many times,<sup>423</sup> one can imagine that the work aroused sympathy among the Confucian intellectuals. For instance, the topic of restraining one's selfishness and virtues-cultivating (keyu xiude 克欲修德) in *Qike*<sup>424</sup> is close to the

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<sup>421</sup> D. de Pantoja, *Qike*(七克 the Seven Victories).& Cf. *EoF*, vol.5, pp.25-26.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*,p.23.

<sup>423</sup> The first edition was in 1604, cf. Xu Zongze 徐宗澤, *Mingqing jian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao* 明清間耶穌會士譯著提要, Shanghai: Shanhai Bookstore Press, 2010, p.38. It was reprinted in 1614, de Pantoja's preface, cf. Wang Ruchun 汪汝淳, The Postscript to *Qike* 七克後跋, in Liu Ning 劉凝, *Tianxue jijie* 天學集解, vol.2, pp.48a-49a. , In 1626 it was collected in Li Zhizao's *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函(TXCH). Adrian Dudink, "The Rediscovery of a Seventeenth-century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: The Manuscript *Tianxue Jijie*", in *Sino-Western Cultural Relation Journal* XV (1993), p.7, note 15.

<sup>424</sup> D. de Pantoja, *Qike*, in *TXCH*, p.710.



Confucian teaching of keji fuli 克己復禮 (to subdue one's self and return to propriety, the Analects<sup>425</sup>). Another instance, in *Qike* de Pantoja discourses upon one of the seven Deadly Sins, Pride. He enumerates many kinds of derived sins from Pride, such as: contempt, complacency, obstinacy, indulgence, boast, curiosity, ambition, insult, quarrel, disrespect, impiety, deception, hypocrisy. He says Pride is like a ferocious lion which should be overcome by Humility.<sup>426</sup>

Wang also discourses on Pride in his writing named *Shiyue* (士約, the Rules of Literati, 1628), which was written by Wang in the same year as the text of *WTARJL*. He criticised the pride of the young Confucian literati,

Comparatively, recently I have heard that gentries talk about the literati, and they are really worried about young new scholars disrespecting the elder generations. What is the rite? Doesn't it demand respect for others? It is to follow our supreme rules. Thus, if someone does not conform to the rites, if they disrespect others, they give up on our supreme rules. To respect one's elders humbly, is it proper for young men to live with pride? When the young men become the elders, and they are disrespected by the young, could they endure it?<sup>427</sup>

Wang believes that the learning of lofty men throughout history aims at cultivating one's moral character,<sup>428</sup> thus at the end of the chapter of *Xueyong shujie*, he summarises in one short classical sentence, the mind/the skull is only lying in self-cultivating 頭顱只在修身. Obviously, the moral value plays an important role in the Confucian significance system.

The text of de Pantoja's *Qike* is one ethical work in which Wang encountered his context, i.e. he related Christian ethics to Confucian teachings, so the interaction made Wang further think about the ultimate significance of mankind. If Wang desired to solve the essential problem of self-cultivating, he ought to explore the problem of ultimate existence. With regard to this point, de Pantoja also talks about it in *Qike*, he says, "If some wants to promote himself much more by restraining one's selfishness

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<sup>425</sup> *Lunyu yanyuan* 論語·顏淵, 子曰: 克己復禮為仁。

<sup>426</sup> D. de Pantoja, *Qike*, in *TXCH*, p.717.

<sup>427</sup> 比見近日縉紳談天下士, 率以新進少年, 侮慢長者為憂。夫禮非以尊人, 盡吾道耳。不循禮, 非以慢人, 自棄其道耳! 尊長尚存謙虛, 卑幼豈宜倨傲? 況尊長之年輪到我身, 卑幼如斯, 果能堪否? Wang Zheng, *The Third Chapter of Shiyue* 士約(the Rules of Literati), 1628.

<sup>428</sup> Wang Zheng, *The First Chapter of Xueyong shujie* 學庸書解( the Interpretation of Daxue and Zhongyong), 1628.

and cultivating virtues, he should pursue the ultimate Existence, that is to know and believe in Heaven.”<sup>429</sup> Finally, after the consonant point, Wang approached Christianity gradually and accepted baptism.

### 3.3 Recognising the Lord of Heaven

In the second dialogue of *WTARJL*, after the conversion story, the following theme is about Tianzhu (God). This part takes place between Wang and de Pantoja, Wang addresses de Pantoja respectfully as Pangzi (龐子, Pang master), Pang introduced the concept of God in Christianity to Wang, and then he recognised the Lord of Heaven/Zhi Tianzhu 知天主.

#### 3.3.1 The Names of God

This section is about the existence of God (Tianzhu 天主) or the similar expressions that can be found in the other Chinese Christian texts and the missionaries' works, for example, the names of God, the Creation, the Almightyness and the Supreme of God, the difference between God and Li or Qi, the conflict with the veneration of Buddha. God (Tianzhu) in the text of *WTARJL* is apparently related to the view of Matteo Ricci's *TZSY*, in which Tianzhu appears more than 350 times, Shangdi occurs 94 times.

Tianzhu as the Chinese term of Christian Deus/God first appears in the Chinese work *Tianzhu shilu* 天主實錄(1584)<sup>430</sup> of Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607), after Ruggieri's mission, the Jesuits such as Ricci generally used the term Tianzhu. Ricci states in his text *TZSY*, in which he says, “He who is called the Lord of Heaven in my humble country is He who is called Shangdi (Sovereign on High) in Chinese,”<sup>431</sup> and, “Our Lord of Heaven is the Sovereign on High mentioned in the ancient Chinese

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<sup>429</sup> D. de Pantoja, *Qike*, in *TXCH*, p.717.

<sup>430</sup> Luo Mingjian, *Tianzhu shilu* 天主實錄, 1584 (the 12th year of Wanli Emperor), N. Standaert and Ad. Dudink, ed., *YSHL*, vol.1, pp.1-80. *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu* 天主聖教實錄 was another version of the text, BnF, Chinois 6815.

<sup>431</sup> *TZSY*, in *TXCH*, p.415,1-2. 吾國天主, 即華言上帝.

canonical writings.”<sup>432</sup> Ricci not only used the term of Tianzhu, but also expresses Tianzhu is Shangdi.

We should confirm, however, the term Tianzhu was not invented by Jesuit missionaries. Tianzhu as a term in the Chinese text earliest appears in the Chapter Fengshan shu 封禪書 of *Shiji* 史記,<sup>433</sup> Tianzhu in the text means the Lord of Heaven, one of eight Gods.

In *WTARJL*, the use of the transliterated word Tusi 徒斯(Deus)<sup>434</sup> appears 13 times, most of them appear in the dialogue in which de Pantoja explains God. This is a way to differentiate the new teaching from the local culture. Wang uses Tusi in the conversation with de Pantoja, “I asked, ‘Is the so-called tianzhu Tusi?’ de Pantoja answered, ‘Yes, then why don’t we continue to call him Tusi? Why should we change it into the name of Tianzhu? Here in China one will find it difficult to understand the meaning of Tusi”, in the following part, he explains the word formation of Tianzhu (天主) consists of Tian /Heaven and Zhu/Master. It is not unfit to use Tian, we just worry about people misunderstanding the sky in nature as Heaven and not searching for the supreme Dominator, the concept of Heaven is wide. Finally, in order to reveal the uniqueness of God, we added Zhu 主 to Tian 天, there is no difference between them (Tian and Tianzhu).<sup>435</sup> By analysing this statement, Wang wanted to express that Tian is the religious Tian/God/Tianzhu and not the objective natural sky.

Additionally, Wang states clearly that the Mandate of Heaven is from the Lord of Heaven, not to regard the Lord of Heaven as the natural sky, in the text of *WTARJL*. Therefore, to illuminate the Mandate of Heaven, and then to illuminate the Mandate of Heaven is originated from the Lord of Heaven 故明乎天之有命,明乎天命之出於天主. Because the Heaven has the Lord, we should not revere the natural sky 蓋天既

<sup>432</sup> *TZSY*, in *TXCH*, p.415,4. 吾天主, 乃古經書所稱上帝也。

<sup>433</sup> Sima qian 司馬遷, the Chapter Fengshan shu 封禪書 of *Shiji* 史記, and also in Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu Jiaosi zhi diwu shang* 漢書·郊祀志·第五上. Cf, *Scripta Sinica database*/<http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm>. 《史記·封禪書》, “八神: 一曰天主, 祠天齊。天齊淵水, 居臨菑南郊山下者。二曰地主, 祠泰山梁父。…” See Sima qian, *Shiji*, *Zhonghua shuju*, 1959, p.1367.)

<sup>434</sup> Generally, Deus is the name of God, it comes from the Latin translation of the Greek term “Theos” in the New Testament, which means the only true God, the Transcendent and the Savior. In Old Testament the “Elohim” is also a general term, which means powerful and almighty God, it appears 2310 times in the Old Testament. In the Bible, the term Yhwh of God is used most frequently.

<sup>435</sup> *WTARJL*, f.17b,1-4. 單言天非不可, 但恐人錯認此蒼蒼者之天, 而不尋認其所以主宰, 是天者似涉於泛。故於天加一主字, 以明示一尊, 更無兩大之意。

有主，則不得徒視為形色蒼蒼之天。<sup>436</sup> In the religious world of Wang, Tian/Heaven is just the Lord of Heaven, and the Mandate of Heaven is just the Mandate of the Lord of Heaven.

Tianzhu is appearing 68 times in the whole text of *WTARJL*. Additionally, he also used Dazhu/大主(Great Master),<sup>437</sup> Zhuzai/主宰(Great Dominator),<sup>438</sup> Zhenzheng dazhuzai/真正大主宰 (the true Great Dominator),<sup>439</sup> Shangdi/上帝 (God),<sup>440</sup> Zhenzhu/真主 (the true Lord),<sup>441</sup> Tianshang zhu/天上主 (the Lord of Heaven),<sup>442</sup> Tianshang zhizhu/天上之主 (the Lord of Heaven),<sup>443</sup> Zhenzheng dazhu/真正大主 (the true Great Lord),<sup>444</sup> Gongzhu/共主(Common Lord),<sup>445</sup> Dagong zhifu/大公之父 (the Grand Common Father),<sup>446</sup> Gongjun/共君(the Common Emperor),<sup>447</sup> Zaowu zhu/造物主 (Creator),<sup>448</sup> Da fumu/大父母 (Great Parents)<sup>449</sup> and Zhen fumu/真父母 (the true Father and Mother)<sup>450</sup> as the names of God in the text. Shangdi/上帝 appears 19 times, some of which come from Chinese classical texts, for instance, *Shangshu* 尚書.

By comparing with other texts, especially from *TXCH* 天學初函, which is a collection of works containing Ricci's *TZSY* and *JRSP*, de Pantoja's *Qike*, and so on, I found that some terms for God used by Wang are not his creations, here it shows that Dazhu, Dayuan zhi zhu 大原之主 originally appears in *TZSY*,<sup>451</sup> which is near to Dazhu. Another term Dajun 大君<sup>452</sup> is also close to Dazhu. Zhuzai appears in *TZSY* several times.<sup>453</sup> Zhenzhu also appears several times in *TZSY*.<sup>454</sup> Dagong zhifu is

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<sup>436</sup> *WTARJL*, f.21b,5-8.

<sup>437</sup> *WTARJL*, f.14a, f.15a, f.33a.

<sup>438</sup> *WTARJL*, f.15a.

<sup>439</sup> *WTARJL*, f.15a.

<sup>440</sup> *WTARJL*, f.17b, f.18a, f.32b, f.34b, f.44a, f.44b, f.56a.

<sup>441</sup> *WTARJL*, f.22a, f.22b, f.23a, f.25b, f.27b, f.28a, f.45b, f.47a.

<sup>442</sup> *WTARJL*, f.20a, f.23b, f.25a, f.31a, f.31b, f.32a, f.34b, f.41b, f.43b.

<sup>443</sup> *WTARJL*, f.23b.

<sup>444</sup> *WTARJL*, f.41a.

<sup>445</sup> *WTARJL*, f.22a.

<sup>446</sup> *WTARJL*, f.26a.

<sup>447</sup> *WTARJL*, f.26a.

<sup>448</sup> *WTARJL*, f.42b, f.43a.

<sup>449</sup> *WTARJL*, f.26a.

<sup>450</sup> *WTARJL*, f.59a.

<sup>451</sup> *TZSY*, p.418,5.

<sup>452</sup> *TZSY*, p.420,7.

<sup>453</sup> Matteo Ricci, the Preface to *TZSY*, p.369,2. Zhuzai appears more than 5 times in the first chapter of *TZSY*.

<sup>454</sup> Matteo Ricci, the Preface to *TZSY*, p.365,5, and p.538,5-6.

akin to Dafu 大父 as used in *TZSY*.<sup>455</sup> Gongjun also occurs in *TZSY*.<sup>456</sup> Zaowu zhu appears in *JRSP*.<sup>457</sup> Da fumu appears in *TZSY*.<sup>458</sup> The occurrence of these terms, such as Zhenzhu, Gongjun, Da fumu, Zao wuzhu express the supremacy and creativity of God. Undoubtedly, we can confirm one truth that Wang comes to an overall understanding about the Lord of Heaven. Besides, he uses several terms which are created by himself, such as, Zhenzheng dazhuzai, Tianshang zhu, Zhenzheng dazhu, Zhen fumu. From these terms, it is clear that Wang's faith in the supreme God is building as he writes.

In the dialogue between Wang and de Pantoja, we find Wang accepting the term Tianzhu for God, as de Pantoja says in *WTARJL*, in the beginning we used Shangdi as the name of God, but the Chinese people also enshrine and worship Shangdi as their God in the temples, so that Shangdi cannot be equal to Tusi/Deus, if they know the dominance of Shangdi who created the whole world, and then in this case, they would be in awe of God and worship God, eventually, we can say Tianzhu, Shangdi and Tusi (Deus) have the same meaning.<sup>459</sup> It is clear that the Chinese term Tianzhu was more admissible than Tian and Shangdi among missionaries, especially as we find that Diego de Pantoja agreed with the precedence of this term at that time.

In 1627, at Jiading (嘉定) there was a conference about the translation of the name of God and the Chinese rites held by 9 Jesuit missionaries and 4 Confucian-Christians (Chinese literati converts) took part in the meeting<sup>460</sup>, while almost all of the Jesuits agreed that the term Tian could not signify the Christian God, Shangdi presented more problems.<sup>461</sup> Even so, Matteo Ricci's successor Niccolò Longobardo (Long Huamin 龍華民, 1559-1654) insisted that the term Tianzhu was freighted with idolatrous

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<sup>455</sup> *TZSY*, p.421,1.

<sup>456</sup> *TZSY*, p.622,6.

<sup>457</sup> *JRSP*, p.222,3.

<sup>458</sup> *TZSY*, p.420,7.

<sup>459</sup> *WTARJL*, f.18a. Another piece of evidence is that, Brochey says in his book, 2007, p. 87, "In the opinion of several of the missionaries who were considered to be 'most well read' in Chinese texts—Alfonso Vagnone, Giulio Aleni, Diego de Pantoja, Nicolas Trigault, and Rodrigo de Figueiredo—careful analysis had shown Shangdi to be admissible." See *Antônio de Gouvea to Domingo de Navarrete*, Canton, 3 December 1669, BA44-XII-40:164.

<sup>460</sup> Gu Weimin 顧衛民, *The Chronicle of Catholic History in China* (Zhongguo tianzhujiao biannianshi 中國天主教編年史), 2003, p.136.

<sup>461</sup> Liam Matthew Brockey, 2007, p.87.

connotations and should be banned.<sup>462</sup> In fact, there was a deep divergence on the term of God amongst the missionaries. Some scholars have counted the total number of meetings between Jesuit missionaries to discuss the correct Chinese term for God between 1603 and 1665 to be 74.<sup>463</sup> As is well-known, because of the controversy over the Chinese term of God and Chinese rites, Christianity/Catholicism was forbidden in the early Qing era, late period of Kangxi.

Possibly, the decisions of Jiading conference made an impact on Wang's view, in the section of God (Tianzhu) or the whole text of *WTARJL*, he replaced the term Shangdi 上帝 with Tianzhu 天主, including the quotations from Ricci's *TZSY*, e.g., in *TZSY*, “設上帝之教是，則它教非矣；設它教是，則上帝之教非矣”(Suppose Christianity is right, the other religions would be wrong).<sup>464</sup> In *WTARJL*, “設天主之教是，則它教非矣；設它教是，則天主之教非矣”(Suppose Christianity/Catholicism is right, the other religions would be wrong).<sup>465</sup>

In the meantime, Wang also continues using the term Shangdi when quoting, such as, “上帝賞善之力量，...上帝之尊，...上帝之酬，...”(the power of rewarding good by God..., the honour of God..., the reward of God...),<sup>466</sup> which comes from *TZSY*.<sup>467</sup>

The quotation from de Pantoja's *Qike* also maintain the term Tianzhu, such as, “天主之所願，...天主之全能，...天主鐘愛，...” (the power of rewarding good by the Lord of Heaven..., the honour of the Lord of Heaven..., the reward of the Lord of Heaven...),<sup>468</sup> in *Qike* and *WTARJL*.

The term of Pater/Ba de le (罷德肋) for God the Father is used in 4 times. Ba de le occurs in the context of creation, “...in the beginning, before the existence of heaven, earth, human beings and all things, there was an all-powerful Ba de le, who produced

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<sup>462</sup> Liam Matthew Brockey, 2007, p.87.

<sup>463</sup> Li Tiangang, Long Huamin dui zhongguo zongjiao benzhi de lunshu jiqi yingxiang 龙华民对中国宗教本质的论述及其影响 (Niccolo Longobardi's Discourse on the Nature of Chinese Religion and Its Influence), in *Xueshu yuekan* 学术月刊 (Academic Monthly), 5(2017), p.172.

<sup>464</sup> *TZSY*, p.593,8-9.

<sup>465</sup> *WTARJL*, f.28b,6-7.

<sup>466</sup> *WTARJL*, f.44b,3-7.

<sup>467</sup> *TZSY*, p.544,8-545,2.

<sup>468</sup> D. de Pantoja, *Qike*, p.1101,6-8. And Wang, *WTARJL*, f.40a,4-6.

heaven, earth and created man and all things, ...”,<sup>469</sup> These words also appear in de Pantoja’s answer, meanwhile, we can assert that Wang accepted the view by repeating them in his own writing. It seems that in these statements there are no terms related to Jesus, Trinity or Christ. Wang concentrates his attention on God, the Lord of Heaven, possibly because he is attempting to accommodate Christian teachings to Confucianism.

Wang focuses on the omnipotent God, the Creator of all things, and Judger of good and evil. “The figure of Jesus has been completely eliminated. The figures of Adam and Eve, on the contrary, receive ample attention.”<sup>470</sup> This style of introduction of text is similar to the text of *TZSY*, where Jesus is only mentioned in the final chapter.

### 3.3.2 The Sovereignty of the Lord of Heaven

In *WTARJL*, as mentioned above, Wang uses the terms of Dazhu (Great Master), Zhuzai (Great Dominator), Zhenzheng dazhuzai (The True Great Dominator) as other expressions of God by Pantoja’s answers to interpret the Dominance of God.<sup>471</sup> Additionally, he says Tianzhu is Da fumu (Great Parents).<sup>472</sup> Possibly, Wang quoted these terms from *TZSY*, Zhuzai appears many times in the first chapter of *TZSY*, Da fumu occurs in the second chapter of *TZSY*,<sup>473</sup> which also appears in Li Zhizao’s preface to *TZSY*.<sup>474</sup> In fact, Dazhu, Zhuzai and Da Fumu exist in Chinese texts before the late Ming era, these texts include Confucian and Buddhist classics.<sup>475</sup> Therefore,

<sup>469</sup> *WTARJL*, f.16a, 6-7.

<sup>470</sup> N. Standaert, 1998, p.174.

<sup>471</sup> *WTARJL*, f.15a.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, f.26a.

<sup>473</sup> *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.420.

<sup>474</sup> Li Zhizao’s Preface to *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.353.

<sup>475</sup> Dazhu 大主，可见漢書郊祀志，自大主將相以下，皆置酒其家，獻遺之。

Sima qian , *Shiji xiaowu benji dishier* 史記·孝武本紀第十二, also in Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu Jiaosi zhi diwu shang* 漢書·郊祀志·第五上. Dazhu also appears in Buddhist texts, e.g., *Zhuanji baiyuan jing* 撰集百緣經, *Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經. See Scripta Sinica database/<http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm>.

Zhuzai 主宰,天地非有主宰，何得有心，以人事之心託天地以示法爾。

見十三經注疏附校勘記·周易注疏·周易兼義上經隨傳卷第三。Zhuzai also appears in Buddhist texts, e.g., 白衣金幢二婆羅門緣起經, 佛說頻婆娑羅王經. See Scripta Sinica database/<http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm>.

Da Fumu 大父母,佛是大如意寶，一切眾生咸由依佛得大安樂；是大父母，眾生善本，因佛父母得見正路。  
。 *Dacheng xianshijing juanshang* 大乘顯識經卷上。 Da Fumu also appears in 佛說佛印三昧經, and so on. It can be found in *Shiji dawan liezhuan diliushisan* 史記·大宛列傳第六十三, *Hanshu beji juanliu* 漢書·本紀

Wang uses one more acceptable method to explain the concept of God for Chinese scholars. First of all, he expresses the sovereign position of God, and then creationism is introduced. This method of introducing God is different from how it is done in the West, that is, in Bible or Catechisms, creationism is placed in the first position. By comparison, Wang's demonstration method of God comes from Matteo Ricci's *TZSY*,<sup>476</sup> which also demonstrates the concept of Dominator/Zhuzai at the beginning.

### 3.3.3 The Creativity of the Lord of Heaven

The image of the Lord of Heaven showed to Wang by de Pantoja made Wang deeply explore the unique Lord. These visible icons and portraits of God usually attract more and more seekers, new believers and growing Christians to the church. As some scholars say, "The revealing of God's image not only leads the audience, though not yet converted, to bow and even to pray for their well-being but also facilitates the catechesis process that follows."<sup>477</sup> The moment that Wang saw the image was the key point for him to convert to the belief. Wang states in *WTARJL* that de Pantoja showed him the holy image of God, and God was like one man, caressing one round globe,<sup>478</sup> which may be found in the work *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* 天主降生出像經解(The Images and Explanations of the Lord of Heaven) compiled by Giulio Aleni (Ai Rulüe 艾儒略 1582-1649) in 1637. In the image, we can find that many religious symbols occur, a kindly man (God) and his head with a round of holy lights, angels are around him full of joy. All of the elements are like a magnet and formed a field of Christian God, in which Wang had no choice but to approach the Lord of Heaven.

Although this icon appears ten years after de Pantoja showed it to Wang, it (Fig. 3.3) highly resembles Wang's description in his text. Some scholars have found that the images of Giulio Aleni's *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* originate from the Latin

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卷六, and so on. See Scripta Sinica database/<http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm>.

<sup>476</sup> *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.377-399.

<sup>477</sup> See Junhyoung Michael Shin, The Jesuits and the Portrait of God in Late Ming China, in *Harvard Theological Review*, vol.107, 2 (2014), p.201.

<sup>478</sup> *WTARJL*, f.14b, 7-8.



work *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*.<sup>479</sup> The figure 3.4 is the first image in this Latin work, which is also about the Creator—God. We can find that figure 3.3 has a little similarity to figure 3.4. The symbol of the Society of Jesus appears on the top of both of them. The angels around God are thankfully in the Latin work too. God has a benevolent look which appears in the two images. Presumably, the Latin images were changed with inculturation in Chinese text, which promoted Wang’s acceptance of Christian God.



Fig. 3.3 The image of Incarnation of God in Chinese Christian work.<sup>480</sup>

<sup>479</sup> See Junhyoung Michael Shin, The Supernatural in the Jesuit Adaptation to Confucianism: Giulio Aleni’s *Tianzhu Jiangsheng Chuxiang Jingjie* (Fuzhou, 1637), in *History of Religions*, vol. 50, No. 4, Jesuit Missionaries in China and Tibet (May 2011), p.361.

<sup>480</sup> The image is from Giulio Aleni’s book, *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* 天主降生出像經解 (The Images and Explanations of the Lord of Heaven), 1637. See BnF, Chinois 6750, f.9b.



Fig. 3.4 The image of Incarnation of God in Latin work.<sup>481</sup>

<sup>481</sup> The image is from *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, M.D.XCIII(1593).

Wang's descriptive image on Creation, which is based on his illustration.

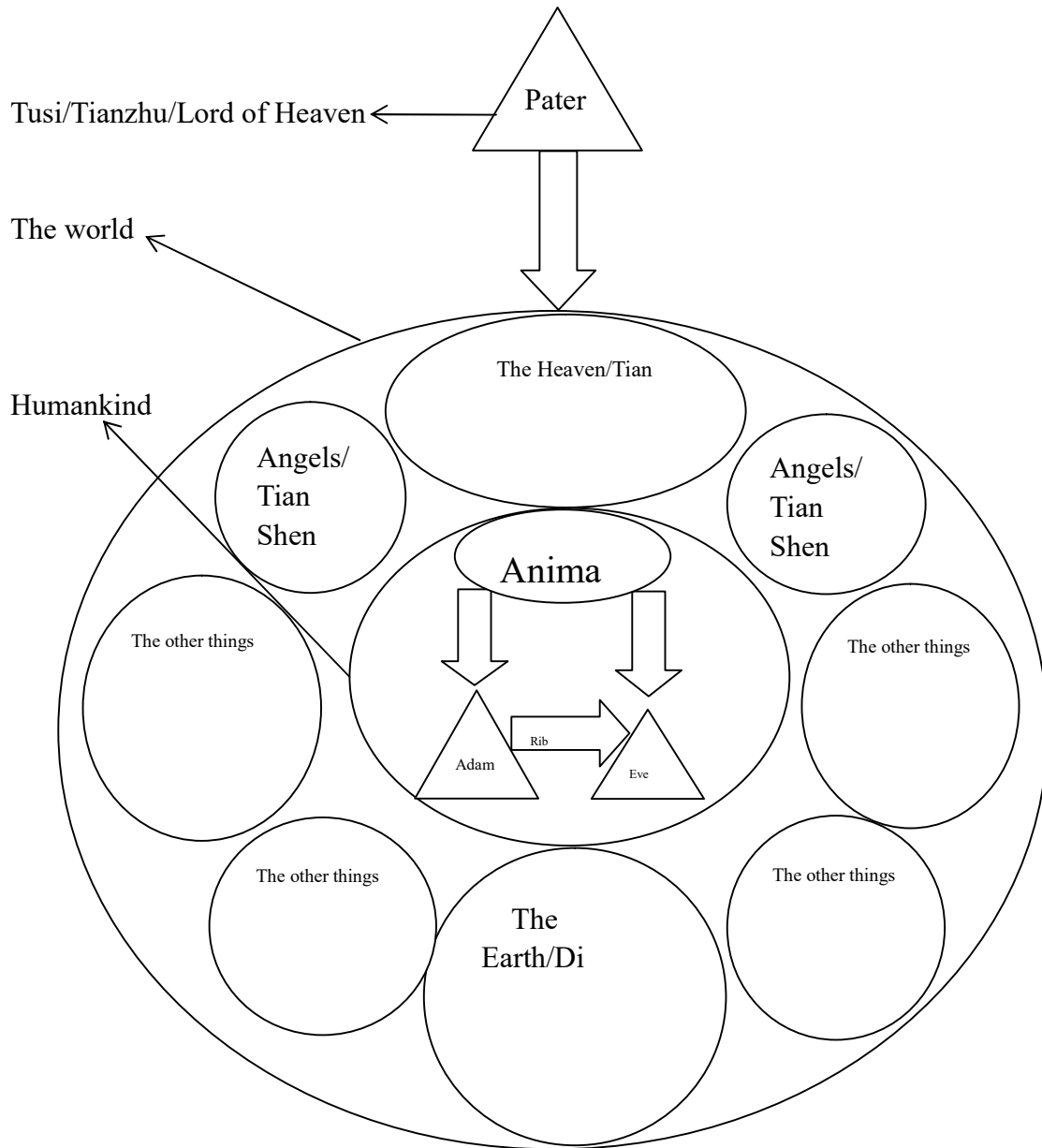


Chart 3.3 The world creation image of Wang Zheng's understanding

Obviously, God is in the supreme position, everything, including mankind, was created by God. The difference between mankind and other things is that man was given with Anima by God. This depiction is from the chapter Genesis of the Old Testament, which is one part of Christian doctrine. Wang's statements clearly show he accepted this creation story.

In the whole of *WTARJL*, the name Adam (Ya Dang 亞當) appears 5 times, Eve (E Wa 厄襪) 4 times, Adam and Eve appear during the explanation of God, de Pantoja states Tusi created the heaven and the earth, and then man, the first ancestors are Adam and Eve, de Pantoja's uses Adam 4 times and Eve 3 times in his dialogue. Comparatively, Adam and Eve also appear in the late chapter of *TZSY*. At the end of *WTARJL*, Wang explains the human soul, referring to both Adam and Eve one time, in the text when it discusses God creating Adam and Eve, Anima (Ya ni ma 亞尼瑪) appears 3 times, additionally, Lucifer (Lu ji fu er 露祭弗【拂】爾) appears 3 times. Wang Zheng uses these creationist terms in his text, which mirrors him as a Confucian convert accepting this view. Undoubtedly, he has accepted that Adam and Eve are the first ancestors.

The term Meng duo 蒙鐸, meaning the world, occurs 6 times in *WTARJL*. Meng duo is also found in the text of *Tianshi mingbian* 天釋明辯.<sup>482</sup> In *WTARJL*, Meng duo appears at the beginning of part D3.2 (Heaven, hell and world), “The world where people dwell now is called Meng duo, which is a general term for the place where good and evil are not separated, where the holy and common, the pure and filthy, sorrow and joy appear together.”<sup>483</sup>

Ba De Lei 罷德肋	4 times	Pater	God of Heaven
Tu Si 徒斯	13 times	Deus	God
Yang Dang 亞當	5 times	Adam	The first man
E Wa 厄襪	4 times	Eve	The first woman
Ya Ni Ma 亞尼瑪	3 times	Anima	Soul
Lu Ji fu Er 露祭弗 (拂) 爾	3 times	Lucifer	Satan
Meng duo 蒙鐸	6 times	Mundo	The world

Chart 3.4 The Latin terms used in *WTARJL*,

<sup>482</sup> Yang Tingyun, *Tianshi mingbian*, in Wu Xiangxiang 吳相湘, ed., *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian* 天主教東傳文獻續編, Taipei: 1964, vol.1. p.249,3.

<sup>483</sup> *WTARJL*, f.31a,4-6.

### 3.3.4 The Uniqueness of the Lord of Heaven

Regarding the topic of the Uniqueness of God, Wang discusses it at the end of the second subtitle, the concept of God. He uses one question sentence to connect the quotations of *TZSY*,

“Now that God is the only one, why does religion have another? Zhuji weiyi, jiao qi you er 主既惟一,教豈有二?”<sup>484</sup> The question indicates that Wang has confirmed the Sovereignty and Uniqueness of the Lord of Heaven, whilst at the same time it also shows that Wang has denied other religions. The guest says, he has no doubt that the Lord of Heaven is the one most deserving of respect in the universe, but the world, with its numerous nations and nine regions, is so extensive that perhaps the Lord of Heaven has deputised some responsibilities to such beings as the Buddha, the Immortals, and the Bodhisattvas to protect each place.<sup>485</sup> Wang refutes this, arguing that the Lord of Heaven is not like a lord of Earth who lives only in one place, and who cannot control other places without delegating his responsibilities, the knowledge and capabilities of the Lord of Heaven are unlimited, and He can complete any task without any external action, the Lord of Heaven is omnipresent and takes control over the “nine heavens and all nations”, the Lord of Heaven controls creatures more easily than a man can lift his hand, so he would hardly have to wait for all those people to act on his behalf. Furthermore, there cannot be two truths which are both correct, if the religion of the Lord of Heaven is true, then all other religions are wrong, if any one of the other religions is true, then the religion of the Lord of Heaven is wrong.<sup>486</sup>

Ricci in *TZSY* criticises Buddhism and Taoism, he thinks that both of these religions are essentially different from each other, so much so that they must be different from the religion of the Lord of Heaven.<sup>487</sup> But Wang criticises Buddhism fiercely, stating that a Buddhist refuses to respect the Lord of Heaven and respects only himself, even so he has not understood the Lord of Heaven and the Root of all

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<sup>484</sup> *WTARJL*, f.28b,2.

<sup>485</sup> *WTARJL*, f.28a,7-9.

<sup>486</sup> *WTARJL*, f.28b,2-7.

<sup>487</sup> *TZSY*, p.594,1-3.

things and what he proclaims and teaches is decidedly not what the Lord of Heaven ordained, one might say that he is recklessly self-appointed.<sup>488</sup> From Wang's statements, he clearly expresses the opinion that Buddha is under the Lord of Heaven.<sup>489</sup> On the contrary, Wang only points out the misunderstandings of Taoism and criticises Taoism slightly, stating that the Immortals of Huang Lao 黃老(Huangdi 黃帝 and Laozi 老子)<sup>490</sup> stole the radicals of heaven and earth, and the spirit of nature to cultivate themselves, although their doctrines cannot accord with the main purpose of the supreme Dao for the public, they always revere Heaven but not for self-esteem.<sup>491</sup> Wang positively states that Taoism reveres Heaven, but in contrast sharply criticises Buddhist beliefs. He uses metaphor to criticise the Confucians who flattered Buddha 佞佛/媚佛, he states that, when Wang Mang 王莽<sup>492</sup> usurped the regime of the Han Dynasty, a lot of flatterers praised Wang's merits and virtues, which were not recorded in the history books. Then in Zhu Xi's *Zizhi tongjian gangmu*,<sup>493</sup> in order to degrade the renegade, Zhu used a satirical sentence to say Yang Xiong<sup>494</sup> as the Dafu<sup>495</sup> of Mang died, because he wrote flattering articles for Wang Mang. Wang Zheng further states that the wise Confucians who abandoned the Lord of Heaven to worship Buddha are the same as the Dafu of Mang.<sup>496</sup>

Wang thinks that Buddhist practitioners overstepped the unique and supreme Lord by worshipping Buddha. Especially, he indicates that the Confucian literati who have read many books about saints and sages have abandoned the true great Lord. Another metaphor is used in Wang's text to refute the persons who flattered Buddha,

<sup>488</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.28b,8-29a,2.

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid.*, f.24a-b.

<sup>490</sup> Cf. *ZHDJCD*, p.493.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibid.*, f.29a,2-4.

<sup>492</sup> Wang Mang (c. 45 BC- 23 AD), was a Han Dynasty official who seized the throne from the Liu family and founded the Xin Dynasty (新朝), ruling 9-23 AD. Cf. *ZGLD*, p.267.

<sup>493</sup> Zhu Xi 朱熹(1130-1200), *Gang mu /Zizhi tongjian gangmu 資治通鑒綱目* is one historical work based on Si Maguang's *Zizhi tongjian*, which was compiled by Zhu Xi and his students. Cf. *ZGLD*, p.1053.

<sup>494</sup> Yang Xiong 楊雄(53 BC-18AD) was a Chinese poet, philosopher, and politician of the Han dynasty known for his philosophical writings and fu poetry compositions.

<sup>495</sup> Daifu 大夫, a superior official position. Cf. *ZGLD*, vol.shang, p.105.

<sup>496</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.25a,8-26a,1.即彼為之徒者，崇信其說而推尊之，猶無足怪。獨怪夫讀聖賢書者，舍吾聖賢帝王所尊事之天不畏，而反佞佛、媚佛若此也，不知出吾聖賢何書乎？故新莽篡漢，一時稱功頌德者，四十八萬七千餘人，史不之書也。而紫陽《綱目》，獨於《劇秦美新》之人，筆之曰《莽大夫楊雄死》，其所以誅亂臣賊子之於讀聖賢書者，最深且嚴。嗟夫！人流之抗罔，無罪不犯；巧奪人世，猶未饜足，至敢於圖僭天主之位而欲越居其上。而聰明才智之儒，又為之吹其唇而助其焰，不顧叛我聖賢帝王所昭事之真主，而反作彼之忠臣，吾不知視莽大夫有異乎。

Immortals, gods and ghosts. He thinks these followers' style of demonstrating their religious faith style is similar to that of the believers who prayed to Ao 奧(a god worshipped the family god in the southwest corner) or Zao 竈(god of the furnace), in this classical allusion which is from the *Analects* (Lunyu), Confucius states, “not so (it is better to pay court to the furnace than to the southwest corner), he who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray.”<sup>497</sup> Wang quotes this allusion three times<sup>498</sup> to express that the persons who flattered Buddha, Immortals, gods and ghosts have already offended Heaven, hence it is useless for them to pray to Buddha, Immortals, gods and ghosts, since they have already acquired sins from Heaven. In fact, carefully comparing Wang's points on Buddhism with Ricci's text of *TZSY*, we find a common trait in neither of them criticising the core creeds but instead the superficial doctrines. As is well known, Wang believed in Buddhism for many years of his youth, thus he would undoubtedly be familiar with Buddhist doctrine, however he only makes a shallow and critical argument against Buddhism, the reason that we can infer being the obvious influence of the missionaries he was in contact with.

Wang insists that the people who lived in the early pre Qin eras revered the unique and supreme Lord of Heaven, after Zhanguo 戰國 (5c.B.C.-221B.C.), more and more traitors who stole the name of the true Lord of Heaven appeared and usurped authority, so that groups of flatterers followed them gradually and neglected the Sovereignty of the true Lord, and what was worse, they violated the ethical principles of the true Lord and praised usurpation. He continues to state that the followers were loyal to the traitors, on the contrary, they are thieves to the true Lord 於篡逆名忠，於真主必為賊。<sup>499</sup>

The leading figure of the School of Principle Zhu Xi, who is the most influential Neo-Confucian in Chinese Philosophy, thanks to his annotations of the *Analects*, raised the important topic, i.e. Heaven is the Principle 天即理也,<sup>500</sup> which is the fundamental point of his theoretical system. Zhu further expresses that what makes

<sup>497</sup> *Lunyu bayi* 論語·八佾，王孫賈問曰：與其媚於奧，寧媚於竈，何謂也？子曰：不然，獲罪於天，無所禱也。

<sup>498</sup> *WTARJL*, f.19b,6;f.22a,6;f.23b,1-2.

<sup>499</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.22b,1-23b,1.

<sup>500</sup> Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集註, *Lunyu bayi disan* 論語·八佾第三.

Heaven true, Heaven is Principle; if Heaven is without Principle, it cannot be Heaven, so that the nature is the Heaven of Principle.<sup>501</sup> Hence, one can see that in Zhu's thoughts, Li is the Supreme law in the universe and no other thing can transcend its unique position. So that, the Heaven also becomes the ethical law. Wang in his *WTARJL* rejected this idea, "although the interpreter thought that Heaven was Principle, did the powerful and treacherous court officials know to revere the Principle? When we only talk about Heaven, the Principle/Li is obtained, the Way/Tao is obtained, and the Nature is also obtained."<sup>502</sup> It is clearly that Wang objected to thinking of Heaven as Principle, which cannot replace the Sovereignty of the Lord of Heaven. Wang's friend Zheng Man stated his view in the preface to *WTARJL*, "later saying, Heaven is Principle, nevertheless, to offer sacrifices to Heaven is to Principle?"<sup>503</sup> When Zheng Man read Wang's *WTARJL*, he got this idea from the text and wrote the preface to it, it seems, however, that the Confucian scholar Zheng Man disagreed with Zhu's viewpoint on the concept of Heaven.

The concept of Qi can be traced back to the Pre-Qin era, from Song to the late Ming, the concept of Qi had already formed a complete philosophical system. In the text of *WTARJL*, Wang did not indicate which specific philosopher he is criticising, he just refutes the theory of accumulating air-Ji qi 積氣, an idea arguing that all things of the world are composed of a primordial substance called qi, the Heaven and the earth are also generated from qi, and Heaven is the natural sky, which is empty. Wang believes that these ideas neglect the existence of the supreme Dominator, and so must be unscrupulous. Furthermore, Wang uses several rhetorical questions to state his view, "if the Heaven is formed by the accumulating air, after a long time, why doesn't the accumulating air go away and maintain an unchangeable shape? Why do the sun, the moon and the stars run regularly in the Heaven, even if Qi drives all things naturally, who is the generator at the beginning? When we see kites flying in sky,

<sup>501</sup> See Li Jingde 黎靖德, ed., *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子语类, Beijing:北京, Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1999, p.621.天之所以為天者, 理而已, 天非有此道理, 不能為天, 故蒼蒼者即此道理之天。

<sup>502</sup> *WTARJL*, f.19b,7-9.而解者乃謂“天即理”也, 權奸寧知畏理乎哉? 祇以天言, 說理得, 說道得, 說蒼蒼亦得。

<sup>503</sup> Zheng Man's preface to *WTARJL*, cf. *WTARJL*, f.6a,5-6b,2.後乃曰: “天即理也”, 然則祭天乃所以祭理歟?



someone may think that they are driven by Qi because of wind, nevertheless, who makes the kites, draws the line and drives them to fly? We can't say there is no master.”<sup>504</sup> Wang doesn't deny the existence and the working functions of the accumulating air, he just wants to illuminate that Qi is not the true supreme Dominator of Heaven, and the Lord of Heaven is the unique and true supreme Dominator.

At the end of this part, Wang summarises the fact that many men do not recognise the true Lord of Heaven, “for a long time human beings have not believed what is in their minds but rather what they have seen and heard, they always think what they have been accustomed to hearing is usual, on the contrary, it is peculiar; when they have seen something, then they will think what exists, on the contrary, it does not exist. Thus, they think, the Heaven is indifferent and high up, that it has no relation with the misfortune, fortune, goodness and evil of man, they will blaspheme the Heaven, desert Heaven and even violate Heaven. Someone who has not lost his conscience knows he should serve the Heaven, but he only knows to serve the boundless heaven---the sky, and never knows the Lord of Heaven.”<sup>505</sup> He points out that human beings have not found the true Lord of Heaven but misrecognised the objective natural heaven. In fact, people have not recognised the transcendence of the Lord of Heaven.

### 3.3.5 Wang Zheng's Tianzhu

Wang has explained the attributes of the Lord of Heaven, which are the supreme dominant nature, the supreme creativity and the Uniqueness of the Lord of Heaven, ultimately, the image of the Lord of Heaven is shaped in his spiritual world. This is

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<sup>504</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.20b,6-8, 21a,1-5. 使天果積氣乎？氣即積久，亦未有不散者。胡為乎萬古恒如斯？且日月星辰之昭垂者，胡其佈置位列，毫髮不爽，從無一日一時之散亂錯動也邪？就使為氣機所動，自然而然，借問起初使之自然而動者為誰？今人見風鳶凌空而起，乘風而動，以為是氣機所使，自然而然乎。然誰制風鳶？誰提線索？誰促之乘風而動也耶？則必有所以使之者矣，不可謂無主人翁也。

<sup>505</sup> *WTARJL*, f.26a,2-8. 世之人信耳目而不信心也久矣，輒以耳所習聞者為常，以所不習聞者為怪；以目所習見為有，以所不見者謂為必無。故謂天為漠漠然，無與世人之殃祥善惡也者，褻天、棄天而甚且逆天，無足論矣。間有良心不昧，夫亦知事天矣，乃徒知事蒼蒼有色之天，而不知天之上更有主也。

comparable with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity,<sup>506</sup> i.e. the Lord of Heaven is one but three coeternal and consubstantial persons: the Father, the Son (Jesus Christ),<sup>507</sup> and the Holy Spirit; as one God in three Divine Persons. In Wang's discourse on the Lord of Heaven, he concentrates his attention on the attributes of the Lord of Heaven: the Father; the other two Persons: the Son and the Holy Spirit are neglected. In the whole of *WTARJL*, there is no mention of Jesus, in another of his texts, *Ren Huiyue* 仁會約(*RHY*),<sup>508</sup> Jesus occurs 15 times, but in only one of these places is it mentioned that Jesus was born a man and saves the world,<sup>509</sup> the other places are just repetitions of the sayings and miracles of Jesus.<sup>510</sup> Wang wrote one couplet on the image of the Ascension of Jesus,

無始無終，立天地之主宰，留降世聖容，顯慈愛以拯救斯世；  
全能全善，肇人物之根宗，樹升天宏範，大教化而羣姓瞻天。<sup>511</sup>

Without beginning and end, the supreme Dominator stands between Heaven and Earth, and remains the holy Transfiguration in this world, in order to save the world through love; with omnipotence and omnibenevolence, he created man and establishes the great model of moving up to heaven, so that all officials and common people revere the Lord of Heaven by brightening the teachings.



Fig.3.5 The image of the Ascension of Jesus.<sup>512</sup>

<sup>506</sup> See *TCE*, vol.VI, pp.608-621. & vol.XV, pp.47-57.

<sup>507</sup> See *TCE*, vol.VIII,pp.374-385.

<sup>508</sup> *RHY*, BnF, Chinois 7348.

<sup>509</sup> *RHY*, f.36b,5-8.

<sup>510</sup> *RHY*, f.16a,9; f.17b,6; f.20b,5;f.23a,9;f.23b,2; f.23b,4;f.24a,2;f.25a,6;f.26b,1,2,4,5;f29b,7;f.39a,9.

<sup>511</sup> Wang, Wang Duanjie gong's Poetry,王端節公詩文, see *WZYZ*, p.281.

This couplet on the Ascension of Jesus aids us in analysing how Wang accepted the doctrine of the Resurrection of Jesus<sup>513</sup>, despite a lack of textual evidence confirming this.

The Holy Mother Mary<sup>514</sup> appears 3 times as Shengmu (聖母 Holy Mother) only in the text *RHY*.<sup>515</sup> Furthermore, Wang wrote one couplet on the image of Holy Mother,

卒世童貞，貞德若規矩範世，世人永賴，下上而上乃下，無始之始；  
開天誕聖，聖教如日月光天，天路斯通，上下而下始上，非常之常。<sup>516</sup>

She keeps her virginity throughout her entire life, and her virtue is an example to the world, the people depend on it, from the very beginning, before everything, from the highest to the lowest; she has born Jesus, and then the holy religion (Christianity) is just like the sun and the moon, the way to the Heaven is open, from the height of heaven to the low mundane earth, it is eternal.



Fig. .6 The image of Assumption of Mary.<sup>517</sup>

Obviously, this couplet not only focuses on praising the Holy Mother for her virtue, but it also mentions that Jesus was born for redemption. If Wang had not understood

<sup>512</sup> The image is from Giulio Aleni's book, *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie*, 1637. See BnF, Chinois 6750, f.41b.

<sup>513</sup> See *TCE*, vol. XII, pp. 789-793.

<sup>514</sup> See *TCE*, vol. XV, pp. 464-475.

<sup>515</sup> *RHY*, f. 2b, 2-3.

<sup>516</sup> Wang, *Wang Duanjie gong's Poetry*, 王端節公詩文, see *WZY*, p. 280.

<sup>517</sup> The image is from Giulio Aleni's book, *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie*, 1637. See BnF, Chinois 6750, f.42b.

the doctrine of Christianity completely, he could not write so perfect a couplet.

Additionally, Wang also mentioned the three kings of the Orient and three supernatural virtues of God: Faith, Hope and Love in two couplets.<sup>518</sup> Thus, we cannot deny that Wang accepted the complete theological system of Christianity.

Zürcher claims that there is, “extreme emphasis [in *WTARJL*] on God-the-Father, and, consequently, the minor role allotted to Jesus”,<sup>519</sup> Standaert agrees with this viewpoint, “at first sight, *Weitian airen jilun* seems to be a typical case of Tianzhu-ism, which means an extreme emphasis on God (-the-father) and a minor role allotted to Jesus.”<sup>520</sup> Here he quoted Zürcher’s opinion, but he states one new term, “Tianzhu-ism”. Furthermore, Standaert explains that this does not mean that Jesus is completely absent from Wang’s universe. Although *WTARJL* focuses on an omnipotent God, Creator of all things, and Judge of good and evil, even Adam and Eve was mentioned several times more, on the contrary, Jesus has been eliminated, factually, the text of *WTARJL* serves as a first introduction to Christianity. Jesus was mentioned in *RHY*, which serves as a text for those already initiated.<sup>521</sup> Standaert’s explanation is reasonable, and we also should pay attention to the two texts, which marked two phases of Wang’s Christian belief, in other words, *WTARJL* is a milestone, which means his understanding of the Lord of Heaven had reached a superior extent, *RHY* is the footstone of another phase, in which Wang indulged himself in Christianity. From the aspect of Wang’s Christian belief, his acceptance of its theology was a gradually step-by-step process.

However, it is possible that this way of holding imperfect or limited knowledge of the Lord of Heaven originated from Ricci’s *TZSY*, in which the Son of the Father, the Resurrection and the Trinity are not mentioned. The reason for Ricci and Wang paying such little attention to Jesus and Trinity can be discovered in the method of introducing Christian doctrines to Chinese literati, thus, them receiving an imperfect

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<sup>518</sup> Wang, *Wang Duanjie gong’s Poetry*, 王端節公詩文, see *WZYZ*, p.281.

<sup>519</sup> Erik Zürcher, Christian Social Action in Late Ming Times: Wang Zheng and his “Humanitarian Society”, in Jan A.M. de Meyer & Peter M. Engelfriet ed., *Linked Faiths: Essays on Chinese Religions and Traditional Culture in Honour of Kristofer Schipper*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, p.274.

<sup>520</sup> N. Standaert, 1998, p.174.

<sup>521</sup> N. Standaert, 1998, pp.174-175.

introduction to this new theological system is not necessarily wrong. Even so, this adoption method would be attractive for late Ming Confucians. Factually, the Creed was familiar to Confucian-Christian thought, additionally, however, the missionaries that followed Matteo Ricci wrote a great deal about Trinity and Jesus. Ricci's *TZSY* and Wang's *WTARJL* are missionary works aimed at non-Christians, finally, this incomplete theological concept of the Lord of Heaven played an important enlightening role in late Ming era among the literati. Zürcher has analysed the views of Confucian-converts towards the Lord of Heaven in another article, stating,

Christianity was rightly denoted by the name "the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven" and not by any term literally corresponding to "Christianity." One of the most outstanding characteristics of late Ming lay Christianity is that in the writings of Chinese converts only a minor role is played by what in the European perspective always has constituted the very essence of the creed: the Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection. In their works the absolutely central role is played by the person of God as the creator, the supreme ruler of the universe, the "great Father-and-Mother," and the righteous but stern judge of souls, even to such an extent that in some of their writings the person of Jesus does not figure at all.<sup>522</sup>

Zürcher indicated the differences between the viewpoints of Chinese converts and the very essence of the Christian Creed. The view of "lay Christianity" is not objective, even he attributed the writings of Chinese converts to "Confucian Monotheism", which included Wang's *WTARJL*. In my opinion, Zürcher's view tends towards Christian fundamentalism, Wang's point in *WTARJL* is one kind of supreme-theism, which integrated the religious thought of Confucianism and Christianity.

At the beginning of *WTARJL*, Wang says he is continually searching for the mandate of Heaven, from Buddhism to Taoism, he has not found the true Root. When he read de Pantoja's *Qike*, he found the ethical standard of not being ashamed and not blushing.<sup>523</sup>

The mandate of Heaven is the original motive drawing him to Western learning, which promoted him to ponder the significance of human life, he encountered a deficiency in the Chinese tradition and his background culture.

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<sup>522</sup> Erik Zürcher, Confucian and Christian Religiosity in Late Ming China, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No.4 (Oct., 1997), p.623.

<sup>523</sup> *WTARJL*, f.13a,3.

*Qike* is the enlightening gate that brought him towards Christianity, while Jesuit missionary de Pantoja is the guide and the Baptist. Wang's consciousness of the problems surrounding the mandate of the Lord of Heaven is ever-present, he communicated with Jesuit missionaries in his transcultural dialogue. In the late Ming era, as is well-known, the political stage was lost due to serious corruption, the peasant uprisings became stronger, gradually threatening the sovereignty of Ming, and even more disastrously, the minor tribe Manchu founded their regime in the Northeast of Ming and attacked the border ceaselessly, the whole country, especially the superior rulers were in a state of panic. The responsible Confucian literati started to think the problems may be due to their culture and belief. Wang accurately described that situation of late Ming society, "the way of great learning, previously the true meaning, consists of manifesting one's bright virtue, consists of loving the people, consists of stopping in perfect goodness. But now the meaning consists of manifesting one's bright acquisition, consists of infringing upon the people, consists of stopping in perfect richness. Formerly, whether it be the son of the Heaven or a common person, all regarded cultivation of the self as the most essential thing. But now all regard personal glory as fundamental."<sup>524</sup> From bright virtue (Mingde) 明德 to bright acquisition (Mingde) 明得, from loving the people (Qinmin) 親民 to infringing upon the people (Qinmin) 侵民, from perfect goodness (Zhishan) 至善 to perfect richness (Zhishan) 至贍, from the cultivation of the self (Xiushen) 修身 to the glory of themselves (Rongshen) 榮身, the degenerated image of people in the late Ming era was depicted vividly. It is clear that Wang indicated the central social problem and found the crucial reason in that time, which was the minds of the people. Meanwhile, by searching for the mandate of Heaven, he raised the question of what the essence of ultimate reality truly is.

Under the guide of Jesuits, Wang accepted the Christian God, and then he integrated ancient Confucian views with the former. Tianzhu, as the Chinese term of

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<sup>524</sup> Wang, *LLL*, vol.I, *Jiejing churong*, the Ming edition. "The way of great learning, previously the true meaning consists in manifesting one's bright virtue, consists in loving the people, consists in stopping in perfect goodness. Formerly from the son of the Heaven down to the common people, all must regard the cultivation of the self as the most essential thing." See *Daxue* 大學.

God/the Lord of Heaven was accepted by Wang and the other Confucian-Christians. In the text of *WTARJL*, additionally, Wang demonstrates another attribute of the Lord of Heaven, which is the supreme Judge of the universe. Wang quoted 惟上帝不常，作善降之百祥，作不善降之百殃<sup>525</sup> twice, which means that the mandate of God is not invariable, he sends down all blessings on both the good and the evil, just as he sends down all miseries. Apparently, Wang found ancient Chinese source that testified that the Lord of Heaven is the supreme Judge. From the above interpretation, the Lord of Heaven in Wang's text is the Dominator, the Creator, the supreme Reality and the Judge of the universe. The order of Wang's demonstration is quite important in his text, he explains firstly the Sovereignty of God, and then moves on to the theme of Creationism. He avoided perplexing Confucian thought, as Confucians cannot easily accept the Creator position of God, i.e. for Wang God is the supreme Dominator of the universe first, not the Creator. This method of interpretation on the Lord of Heaven is different from the Christian Catechism. The order of attributes of God was displaced, which refers to the integration or adaptation between Confucianism and Christianity. Having paid attention to the Dominator position of the supreme God, Some Confucians became the friends of Jesuit missionaries, gradually they accepted the doctrines of Christianity and became converts. The attribute of the supreme Dominator is a common characteristic of the supreme Gods of Confucianism and Christianity, which is the linked point for Confucian converts. Additionally, the supreme Judge of the universe also plays an interlinked role with the Lord of Heaven of Wang's discourse. In Wang's text, he used very specific vocabulary to express the attributes of the Lord of Heaven, such as Omnibenevolence, Omnipotence and Omniscience. He states that, to illuminate the Mandate of the Lord of Heaven is not non-benevolence 無不善, not-violated 無可違, not-prayed 無所禱, don't dare to revere it? 明乎天主之命之無不善，無可違，無所禱，則雖欲不畏烏乎敢?<sup>526</sup> By differentiating the implications of these words, you can find that not non-benevolence is close to Omnibenevolence 全善, unviolated is close to Omnipotence 全能,

<sup>525</sup> See the Chapter of *Shangshu Yixun of Shangshu* 尚書·商書·伊訓.

<sup>526</sup> *WTARJL*, f.21b, 6-7.

not-praying is close to Omniscience 全知.

Please see the analysis chart below, A is the concept system of the Christian God, which included the attributes of: Uniqueness (U), Creator (C), the supreme Ruler (R) and Judge (J) of the universe, Ubiquitous (U1), Omniscience (S), Omnipotence (P), Omnibenevolence (B), Trinity (T) and so on. B is the concept system of Wang's demonstration, which contains the attributes of: the supreme dominant nature/sovereignty, the supreme creativity and the Uniqueness of the Lord of Heaven. I is the concept system of the Confucian supreme God, which has the attributes of: the supreme Ruler and Judge of the universe. II is formed on the basis of III and I (R & J), meanwhile, there are two attributes (C&U) of II originating from I, which do not exist in III. Wang abandoned some attributes of I, such as Ubiquitous, Omniscience, Omnipotence, Omnibenevolence, Trinity and so on, the main reason is that acceptance of Christianity for Confucian literati is not a simple procedure.

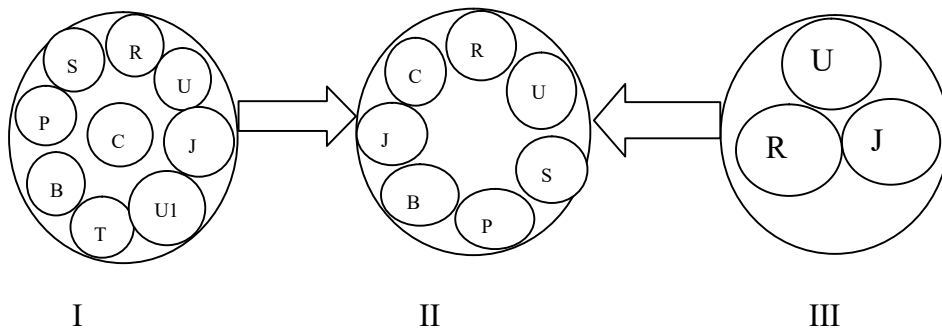


Chart 3.5 The attributes of the Lord of Heaven

We can see that other Confucians also discussed Heaven, and raised the same question, what is Heaven? For instance, Li Zhizao 李之藻 said that Confucians revered Heaven originally, however, over the course of two thousand years, they inferred rather than testified to its existence, unrealistically meaning that they discussed the existence of Heaven but did not demonstrate it, sometimes they demonstrated it but did not discuss it. When it is not discussed, how can we understand it? Where is the evidence of its existence, if it is not demonstrated.<sup>527</sup> He confirmed the concept of Heaven in the

<sup>527</sup> Li Zhizao, the preface to *Huan you quan* 寰有詮, 1628. See BnF, Chinois 3384. 儒者本天，然而二千年來，



ancient Confucian texts, whilst also indicating that the theoretical system of Heaven was not completed. Yang Tingyun also insisted upon this view, that the ancient texts, only instructed people to believe in and worship Heaven, to know and to be familiar with Heaven; however, there was no clear words to express Heaven actually was.<sup>528</sup> He thus confirms the same point: ancient texts had not successfully and systematically demonstrated Heaven. Thus, when Wang accepted the doctrine of Christianity, he began to discuss Heaven/the Lord of Heaven and transplanted new things into the conceptual system of Heaven, ultimately he rebuilt his own viewpoint on Heaven.

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推論無征，謾云存而不論，論而不議；夫不議則論何以明，不論則存之奚據。

<sup>528</sup> Yang Tingyun, *Daiyi xubian* 代疑續編, 1635. BnF, Chinois 7111. 古來經典，只教人欽天奉天，知天達天；未嘗明言：何者為天？

餘始知天命之真可畏矣<sup>529</sup>

I started to know that the Mandate of Heaven is awing.

#### 4. Revering the Lord of Heaven

Although the concept of the Lord of Heaven formulated by Wang is not quite the same as a Christian statement, this adapted God is established in his mind and in religious system. In other words, Wang has already searched for the sovereign Lord of Heaven and comprehended the attributes of the Lord of Heaven.

Wang quoted three awe-inspiring qualities of a gentleman 君子(Junzi)<sup>530</sup> from Confucius' analects, which explain his viewpoints:

Confucius said, there are three things of which the gentleman stands in awe. He stands in awe of the Mandate of Heaven. He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages. The mean man does not know the Mandate of Heaven, and consequently does not stand in awe of them. He is disrespectful to great men. He mocks the words of sages.<sup>531</sup>

He believes the first quality is the method of restraining oneself Shexin fa(攝心法) for the literati. The first one is in awe of the Mandate of Heaven, which is aptly drawn into his theoretical system. The three qualities invoking 'awe' are the foundation stones of self-cultivation for gentleman. If someone cannot know the Mandate of Heaven and not revere Heaven, he will be a mean man. Wang also reordered Confucian philosopher Zhou Dunyi's well-known saying, the saints learn from Heaven, the sages learn from the saints, and the literati learn from the sages (Sheng

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<sup>529</sup> *WTARJL*, f.18b,2-3.

<sup>530</sup> Junzi 君子, cf. Lunyu xue'er 人不知而不愠，不亦君子乎。(Is he not a man of complete virtue, who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?)

<sup>531</sup> See Lunyu jishi 論語·季氏.

xitian 聖希天, Xian xisheng 賢希聖, Shi xixian 士希賢),<sup>532</sup> like this, the literati learn from the sages, the sages learn from the saints, and the saints learn from Heaven, 士希賢, 賢希聖, 聖希天.<sup>533</sup> Factually, the meanings of the front and latter sayings are the same, however, it is Wang's intention, which is difficult to comprehend. Furthermore, Wang states that someone cannot learn from the Heaven until becoming saints; likewise, someone could not revere Heaven until learning from Heaven; so that someone could not know the Mandate of Heaven until revering Heaven. In order to become saints for Confucian literati, they should learn from Heaven and sages; the essential condition which interpreted by Wang is to revere Heaven, to know the Mandate of Heaven or the Lord of Heaven is then better to revere Heaven or the Lord of Heaven. As a saint, Confucius said, at the age of 50 he could know the Mandate of Heaven.

From the chapter analysing of the Lord of Heaven's attributes, we can find that Wang had known the Lord of Heaven, the following point is to revere the Lord of Heaven, which is the interlinked part of Wang Zheng's thought in his text.

Revering Heaven/ the Mandate of Heaven is the basic theme of Confucian teachings. Wang transplanted new contents into the theoretical system, in awe of Heaven, and reconfigured his own theoretical system. The following reasons are used to explain why he presented the viewpoint of revering the Lord of Heaven.

#### 4.1 Heaven and Hell

In the section of D3 of *WTARJL*—heaven and hell, Wang demonstrates his opinions upon the theme of heaven and hell, which is the basic doctrine of Christianity.<sup>534</sup> Wang employs the Chinese terms Tiantang 天堂 and Diyu 地獄 for the name of heaven and hell, so this translation style is different from the transliteration of Tu si, Ba de le, and so on, see the above table(Chart 2.4 ).

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<sup>532</sup> See Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073), *Tongshu zhixue* 通書·志學.

<sup>533</sup> *WTARJL*, f.18b,5.

<sup>534</sup> Cf. Heaven in *TCE*, vol.VII, pp.170-175. Hell, in *TCE*,vol. VII, pp.207-211.

#### 4.1.1 The Existence of Heaven and Hell

The anonymous guest mentioned two times about the fact that there is no existence of the idea of heaven and hell in Chinese classical texts, “in our classical books of saints and sages, why not mentioned the idea of heaven and hell?”<sup>535</sup> The idea of heaven and hell is the important and indispensable part of the view of life and death, to this, in the Chinese ancient texts, especially in the Confucian texts, it is quite vague. In the text of *Lunyu*, we can find some sentences referring to the view of life and death, such as, while you do not know life, how can you know about death?<sup>536</sup> While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?<sup>537</sup> While revering ghosts and gods, but to keep aloof from them.<sup>538</sup> Clearly, the view of life and death focuses on the world moral life, and the idea of heaven and hell is played down. However, this subtle and implicit expression does not confirm that the ancient saints and sages are against the existence of heaven and hell, the words imply that one should believe in the afterlife.

Wang Zheng compares the idea of heaven and hell to Christian creeds and uses this standard to find the deficiency of Confucianism. From his quotations, we can affirm that his statements are taken from Ricci’s *TZSY*.<sup>539</sup>

Firstly, Wang refuted the anonymous guest’s view, when the guest raised the question, why did Christianity steal the idea of heaven and hell from Buddhism? He states that Buddhism stole the main idea of western teachings, and ambitiously attached the fallacious words of Pythagoras<sup>540</sup> to it, and added the samsara/six ways cycle-rebirth to it, then he sold the idea of heaven and hell to the common people to gain more followers.<sup>541</sup> Wang uses the metaphor to make an analogy, Qi Qiuqi 齊丘

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<sup>535</sup> *WTARJL*, f.12a,7-8; f.29b,4-5.

<sup>536</sup> *Lunyu xianjing* 論語·先進, 未知生, 焉知死.

<sup>537</sup> *Lunyu xianjing*, 未能事人, 焉能事鬼.

<sup>538</sup> *Lunyu yongye* 論語·雍也, 敬鬼神而遠之.

<sup>539</sup> *TZSY*, pp.530,6-532,2.

<sup>540</sup> Pythagoras of Samos (c. 570 -c. 495 BC), was an Ionian Greek philosopher and the eponymous founder of the Pythagoreanism movement.

<sup>541</sup> Wang, *WTARJL*, 29b,2-8. In fact, here Wang only indirectly quoted the viewpoints of Ricci’s *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.492,3-9. The Western scholar says, In ancient times, in our Western region, there was a scholar called Pythagoras who was a man of uncommon, heroic abilities, but who was not always as artless as he might have been. He loathed the unrestrained evil-doings of the inferior men of his own day, and taking advantage, therefore, of his personal fame, he created a strange argument to restrain them, insisting that those who did evil were bound to experience retribution when reborn in a subsequent existence: they might be born into a family engulfed in

子 was Song Qiqiu (887-959) who plagiarized Tan Qiao's *Huashu* 化書,<sup>542</sup> which is one important Taoist work written by Tan Qiao 譚峭 (? during Wudai period), thus by quoting this satirical story, Wang expresses that the idea of heaven and hell comes from Christianity. Buddhism was compared to Qi Qiuzi, and the idea of heaven and hell was as *Huashu*. Here, Wang attempts to remove the incorrect ideas out of non-believers minds.

He also found the common theorem, rewarding the good and punishing the evil (賞善罰惡 Shangshan fa-e), which exists in both Christianity and Confucianism. In the last chapter, I demonstrated Wang's points on the attributes of the Lord of Heaven, he states apparently the view that the Lord of Heaven is the supreme Ruler and Judge of the universe, in order that Wang believes the Lord of Heaven is the supreme and ultimate Judge of the universe. In other words, at the end of this world, only the Lord of Heaven will decide to reward the good and punish the evil. He subtly laid the constant law-rewarding the good and punishing the evil in front of the existence of heaven and hell to respond to the question of anonymous guest.



hardship and poverty or be transformed into an animal; tyrannical men would be changed into tigers and leopards; arrogant men into lions; the licentious into pigs and dogs; the avaricious into oxen and mules, and thieves and robbers into foxes, wolves, eagles, and other birds and beasts. The transformation was bound to correspond to the evil done.

<sup>542</sup> Qi Qiuqi fan qiao jingsheng dao huashu 齊丘子翻請景升盜《化書》.

Fig.4.1 The image of Hell.<sup>543</sup>

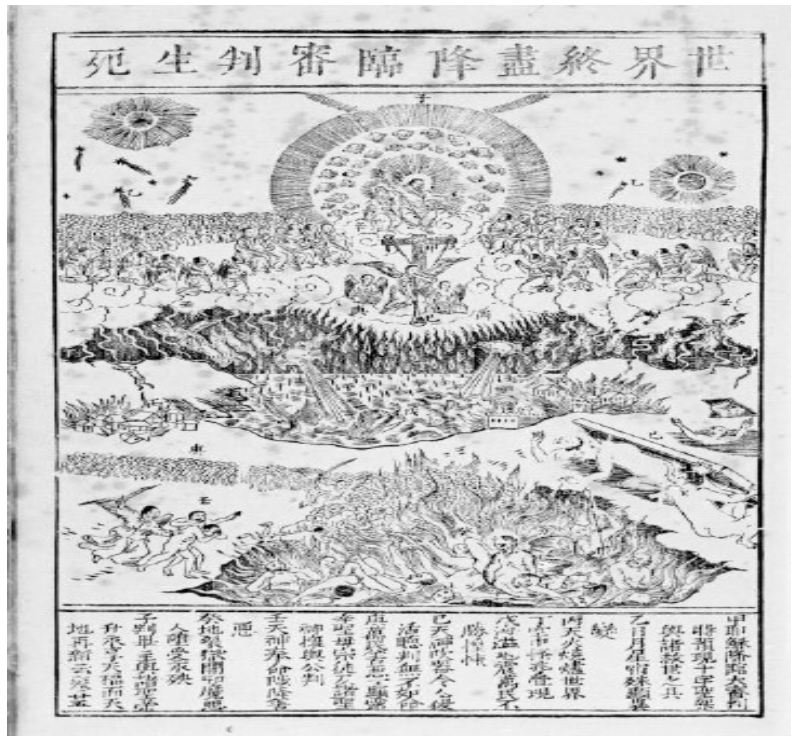


Fig.4.2 The image of Judgment Day.<sup>544</sup> Wang mentioned the Judgment Day in the text of RHY,<sup>545</sup> in which he used an evil day as the term of Judgment Day and he also explained that the evil day was the Judgment Day.

He uses the sentence from *the Book of Documents/Shangshu* 尚書 as mentioned in the last chapter. Shangdi/the Lord of Heaven holds the supreme judge power and could send down blessings and miseries on people, so that the Lord of Heaven is the true supreme Judge, who has the Great power to reward and punish (Dashang dafa 大賞大罰).

He states, as for the rewarding and punishing of the world, the governors manipulate the small cases, the Kings treat the greater ones. Therefore, the Lord of Heaven will treat the people by rewarding and punishing, all the people in the world who has the judge power to treat the saved and condemned.<sup>546</sup> He quoted the point

<sup>543</sup> The image is from Giulio Aleni's book, *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie*, 1637. See BnF, Chinois 6750, f.39a.

<sup>544</sup> Ibid., f.34b.

<sup>545</sup> RHY, f.17b,5, ff.17b,9-18a,1.

<sup>546</sup> WTARJL, f.32a, 1-4.

from *Lunyu*, it is only for the virtuous man, who can love, or who can hate, others.<sup>547</sup> At this point, he did one kind of integration, he explains that only the Lord of Heaven could be the Virtuous Man (Renzhe 仁者), otherwise, as a sage, Confucius said, “the sage and the man of perfect virtue, how dare I rank myself with them.”<sup>548</sup> Furthermore, even that Yao 堯 in Heaven, whose virtues are only reputed as the Lord of Heaven. He indicates, the human being in the world, who can love, or who can hate, usually, they cannot meet their affections, such as, the senior officials (Dafu 大夫) can recommend someone to the princes (Zhuhou 諸侯). However, they cannot make him as Dafu; the princes can recommend someone to the King (Tianzi 天子, the Son of Heaven), but they cannot make him as prince, in order that we can know the other thing. Besides, when they will exist but cannot for the feelings of extreme love; when they will die but cannot for the feelings of extreme evil. Wang uses the method of the analogy and concludes that people who can love and hate others are few, even though the sage Confucius has no power of rewarding and punishing, he asks, how about the other?<sup>549</sup> Wang goes on expressing his ideas, factually, in the integrated style, he says who cannot manage his family because of unclearness of love and hate; who cannot govern one brigade because of unfairness of reward and punishment; if someone gives up the classical texts which highlight the virtues and abhor the evils, he cannot manage the family, govern the country and make the world peaceful even though he is the sage. Here, we can find that Wang uses the Confucian basic doctrine—to manage the family, to maintain the state rightly and make everything peaceful (Qijia zhiguo ping tianxia 齊家，治國，平天下),<sup>550</sup> in order to demonstrate that reward and punishment are essential for human beings. Ultimately, he thinks that, as the supreme virtuous being 至仁者 and the Great Lord of the universe (Liuhe zhi dazhu 六合之大主), the Lord of Heaven has the ultimate power to reward and punish.

Wang states that the terse words 微言(Wei yan) in the ancient classical texts have the hidden meanings 隱意(Yin yi), and certainly the teachings of the saints and sages

<sup>547</sup> *Lunyu liren* 論語·裏仁，唯仁者能好人，能惡人。

<sup>548</sup> *Lunyu shuer* 論語·述而，若聖與仁，則吾豈敢？

<sup>549</sup> *WTARJL*, f.32a,7-32b,8.

<sup>550</sup> See *Daxue* 大學(Great learning).

are present in the classical texts, where the Principle 理(Li) of rewarding the good and punishing evil exists and can never change.<sup>551</sup> In fact, it is clear that Wang reinterprets the classical texts. In order to testify the law of rewarding the good and punishing evils in the classical texts, he quotes eight sentences from *Shangshu* (the Book of Documents) which he has copied from Ricci's *TZSY*.<sup>552</sup> For instance, "I will make decisions whether the man as being more distantly or more nearly related to me; the criminal shall die, and the good men shall display his virtues."<sup>553</sup> "Then to deal speedily with such according to the penal laws of king Wen, punishing them severely and not pardoning."<sup>554</sup> Wang summarises that no one cannot confirm the principle of rewarding the good and punishing evils during the Er di san dai 二帝三代.<sup>555</sup>

Wang has already confirmed that the Lord of Heaven has the supreme or ultimate Judge power to reward the good and punish evils, but there are a few people who doubt the existence of the Lord of Heaven, because of the unfair social phenomena, e.g., some criminals could not be punished; the rulers treat the cases partially.

In order to answer this question, he quoted a few sentences of Ricci's another book *JRSP* to clear up the perplexities of doubters.

The secular rulers who do the judge work of the rewarding the good and punishing evils, even though they do it unbiasedly, could they reach the level of complete fairness? When they appraise the merits according to the proofs of feelings (hearings and sights), if there is no evidence, it will be not clearly treated. The ordinary feelings of Human being, such as jealousy and abhorrence, because of them so that the kindhearted feelings and behavior will be suppressed. When the evils would be promoted, the truth must be covered. Usually, mankind is prone to prefer considering their close persons, those who are in the senior position, sometimes they could not thoroughly find out one's merits and crimes, how can they reach the spirit of the laws? Is it only for the human being, what is already concealed. The quintessence of virtue is internalised, but not externalised, when you find a little virtue displaying outside, which is just the natural reveal, but not someone's whitewash. As the kind-hearted man is more sincerer, he will conceal his virtues much more, furthermore his own virtues would be concealed, even to say he has no virtue. How to praise one's virtues, when he and the others do not know. The wickedness usually comes from the mind and is not exposed outside, what we have seen the expressions are the ends of the wickedness, thus, does the pretended man hide his talent easily? The evil person hides wickedness

<sup>551</sup> *WTARJL*, f.33a,6-9.

<sup>552</sup> In N. Standaert's article(1994, p.178.), he says, Wang quotes nine sentences from *the Book of Documents* which he has taken from *Tianzhu shiyi*. In fact, only 8 sentences are from *TZSY*, another one is quoted from *Shangshu* directly.

<sup>553</sup> *Shangshu shangshu pangeng shang* 尚書·商書·盤庚上, 無有遠邇, 用罪罰厥死, 用德彰厥善。

<sup>554</sup> *Shangshu zhoushu kanggao*, 尚書·周書·康誥, 乃其速由文王作罰, 刑茲無赦。

<sup>555</sup> Er di 二帝, Yao 堯, shun 舜. San dai 三代(三王), Xia 夏, Yin 殷, Zhou 周. Cf. Bangu 班固, *Hanshu yangxiong zhuan* 漢書·揚雄傳 (the Biography of Yang Xiong).



more and more, is the wickedness 慝(te) only called concealment 匿(ni)? Even he does not think that is wickedness. How to degrade one's evils, when he and the others do not accord with each other. The person who accumulates what he has not; the person of the same kind would again suppress him; the monarch and his subjects could not know him in time, only does the Lord of Heaven judge the goodness and evil righteously and majestically, could it violate the Principles of ultimate Judge?<sup>556</sup>

Wang analysed the deficiency of human beings. The treating of a world judge would never be truly fair, to the contrary, the Ultimate Judge of the Lord of Heaven will be righteous. In fact, Wang indicates that the finiteness of Human being, because of Omniscience, Omnipotence and Omnibenevolence of the Lord of Heaven, in the afterlife, the Lord of Heaven would judge the goodness and evil righteously and majestically, and He would never violate the Principle of supreme Justice. Finally, Wang removed the doubts of the injustice of the world, and in the afterlife the Lord of Heaven should reward the good and punish evil justly.

Now that Wang has demonstrated that the Lord of Heaven is the true ultimate Judge of rewarding the good and punishing evil, where is the place for rewarding and where is the place for punishing?<sup>557</sup> Wang says the people who get rewards will go to heaven, the persons who get punishments will go to hell?<sup>558</sup> Thus, what is the heaven and hell? The rewarded people will stay in the bright heaven, in contrast, the punished ones will be judged into hell.<sup>559</sup>

Wang drew the concept of heaven and hell into his theoretical system, which is expanded by the integrated method gradually. He says that the name of world, where people live in, is Mengduo 蒙鐸, which comes from the transliterated Latin word Mundo. Obviously, here Wang used a Christian Latin term to restructure the traditional concept system of Tian. Mengduo is the place where good and evil could not be differentiated, the holy and the secular inhabit together, the polluted and the

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<sup>556</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.42b,8-43b,7. 柄世權者之賞罰，縱不偏私而公平乎，其所褒貶功績與否，亦維耳目是憑信耳，無審據者弗克洞燭也。民之庸情，有所妬憎，則泯其善，揚其惡，壅蔽莫達。有所親愛者，反是則在上者，時或不能周悉其人之功罪，何能盡得法意？豈惟人乎己，亦掩己矣！雋惠之精，多含於內，不露於外，發外者德之餘耳，非其人易粉飾焉。善者彌誠彌隱，己德不但曰隱也，且不有其德也。人與己不知之，則疇從而褒之？惡慝之恨，素釀於心，不泄於外，見外者慝之末耳，詐善者不難文藏焉。惡者滋熟滋匿己，慝豈但曰匿也，且不覺為慝矣。人與己弗達，又誰從而貶之？夫己自蘊蓄己不有之，同類之人又覆蓋之，秉法君臣不及盡知之，非天上主明威神鑒，豈得按審無爽也哉？

<sup>557</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.32b,9-33a,2.

<sup>558</sup> *WTARJL*, f.31b,6-7.

<sup>559</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.32b,9-33a,2.

pure contain each other, and happiness and worry are tangled up mutually.<sup>560</sup> This is an objective description of our world, Wang uses three couples of antonyms to illuminate the key problems of the secular world. Meanwhile, Wang states, people usually think the world is a defective place, where there is no absolute happiness, where the rich and powerful never satisfy with their status, even though they possess the superior privileges and unlimited wealth, they cannot be contented. Wang points out the key reason is that the world which human being inhabit is a temporary accommodation.<sup>561</sup> Hence, human beings want to pursuit the infinite happiness and the immortal life, which are in heaven.

It is heaven, which is up to the Mundo where, Wang describes the structure of the Heaven, which is so quite spacious that it has 9 layers 九重 Jiuchong,<sup>562</sup> the toppest layer is Mingguang tian 明光天 (bright light of Heaven), where the Lord of Heaven lives, all of the angels, the people who revere Heaven and love others, and who cultivate virtue strictly inhabit there together. The Heaven of Jiuchong/ 9 layers is one kind of traditional concept of a heavenly structure. Besides in classical texts, it also appears in some poetry.<sup>563</sup> In the minds of ancient Chinese people. Heaven has 9 layers. Wang has added the Christian elements into the Chinese concepts of Heaven. Mingguang tian is extremely similar to the term Guangming tian 光明天, or which is directly cited from the Buddhist texts.<sup>564</sup> In the Taoist texts, Guangming tian is one kind of heaven in the concept system of 36 heavens.<sup>565</sup> We can confirm, however, Guangming tian is not the highest heaven in the universal concept system of Taoism and Buddhism. However, Wang has already stated that Mingguang tian lies in the highest layer of Heaven. Thus, the place of heaven which named Mingguang tian is defined by his integrated method. Besides, he says that the meaning of heaven is definitely included in the ancient texts. For instance, “King Wen is on high, he is

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<sup>560</sup> WTARJL, f.31a,4-5.

<sup>561</sup> WTARJL, f.36a,9-36b,8.

<sup>562</sup> See *Huainan zi tianwen xun* 淮南子·天文訓：天有九重，一為月天，二辰星，三太白，四日，五熒惑，六歲星，七鎮星，八恒星，九左旋天。Lvshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋，天有九野，何謂九野，中央曰鈞天，東方曰蒼天，東北曰變天。北方曰玄天，西北曰幽天，西方曰顛天，西南曰朱天，南方曰炎天，東南曰陽天。

<sup>563</sup> Cf. Tang Hanyu 唐 韓愈，左迁至蓝关示侄孙湘，“一封朝奏九重天，夕贬潮阳路八千。”

<sup>564</sup> Cf. *Za a han jing* 雜阿含經，vol.48，有拘迦尼，是光明天女，容色絕妙，於後夜時來詣佛所，稽首佛足，身諸光明遍照山谷。In the concept system of 33 heavens, there is no Guangming tian.

<sup>565</sup> Cf. ZHDJCD, p.1455.

bright in heaven. King Wen ascends and descends, on the sides of God. The country has wise Kings, three sovereigns were in heaven.”<sup>566</sup> “When Heaven terminated the destiny of the great dynasty of Yin, there were many of its former wise kings in heaven.”<sup>567</sup> “He received the mandate of Heaven in the hall of God and extended his control all over the kingdom.”<sup>568</sup> Wang quoted these sentences from *Shijing* and *Shangshu* to testify the existence of the heaven in ancient texts, in other words, the idea of heaven existed in the ancient people’s minds. Meanwhile, he thinks, these phrases, Zaishang 在上 (on high), Zaitian 在天 (in heaven), Zaidi zuoyou 在帝左右 (on the sides of God) and Diting 帝庭 (the hall of God) are names of heaven.

Since heaven has existed, the existence of hell is natural as they are a couple of opposite concepts, which is relative to the concepts of good and evil, reward and punishment. Wang describes the place where hell lies, which is down the Mundo, the earth is deep about 30 thousand Li, and there is a cellar in the core of underground named Wanku ju 萬苦聚 (accumulation of ten thousands of sufferings), where the haughty Satan Lucifer and the evil companions of demons live, all of the evil people and criminals are installed there, which was created at the beginning of the world.<sup>569</sup> Hell is the opposite place to the heaven, which is full of evils. The concept of hell is an important key part of Taoism and Buddhism, which have the detailed description in the doctrines. The Christian concept of hell which Wang introduces into his text is different from that in Taoism and Buddhism, the latter two religions have complex structures and notion systems of hell, however, all of them have the same term hell (Diyu 地獄).

Eventually, as the supreme Ruler and Judge, the Lord of Heaven should have a couple of places to dispose of the goodness and evil, undoubtedly, they are heaven and hell, where the Lord of Heaven rewards good and punishes evil. Wang persuades the guest into believing in the notion of heaven and hell, however, the Books of saints

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<sup>566</sup> *Shijing daya wenwang zhishen* 诗经·大雅·文王之什，文王在上，於昭於天。文王陟降，在帝左右。世有哲王，三後在天。

<sup>567</sup> *Shangshu zhoushu, zhaogao* 尚書·周書·召誥，天既遐終大邦殷之命，茲殷多先哲王在天。

<sup>568</sup> *Shangshu zhoushu, jinteng* 尚書·周書·金縢，乃命於帝庭，敷佑四方。

<sup>569</sup> *WTARJL*, f.31a,9-31b,5.

and sages have not clearly mentioned the notion, but the Principle of rewarding good and punishing evil is quite definite.<sup>570</sup>

#### 4.1.2 The Joys of Heaven

Wang uses perfect words to describe the joys of heaven, in order to remind human beings to do goods. He says, the joys of heaven are more perfect, much greater and even more true.<sup>571</sup>

Heaven possesses infinite joy and happiness, and immortal life. Wang uses the metaphor to express the finite world and human being cannot completely mirror the infiniteness of heaven, e.g., so small is a mosquito, which cannot satisfy the dragon and elephant; so tiny is a grain of rice, which cannot please one's stomach.<sup>572</sup> So he says continually, the ancient saints realised the truth and principle, who toward the Heaven exclaimed, "Shangdi (God) was the Great Father, who created our human beings, only your Country could satisfy me, the human beings who could return to you would be unsatisfied."<sup>573</sup> Wang also quoted some sentences from Ricci's *TZSY* to discuss the sights of heaven, for instance, "If a person wishes to conjecture the circumstances of heaven, he ought to observe the world of Mundo (heaven, earth, nature and all things). Many strange and beautiful things that exist elicit from people unceasing admiration."<sup>574</sup> Wang also used several parallel sentences to describe the constant and infinite features, constant spring, constant brightness, constant happiness, immortal life and constant youthfulness, "It must provide constant, mild spring weather without the alternations of winter and summer; it must constantly be light, and there must be no night. The inhabitants must constantly be happy and suffer no grief, anger, or tears. They must enjoy constant comforts and never experience dangers. The countenance of youthfulness must be constant and unchanging; the years

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<sup>570</sup> *WTARJL*, f.34b,1-6.

<sup>571</sup> *WTARJL*, f.34a,6-7.

<sup>572</sup> *WTARJL*, f.36b,8-9.故一蚊之小，不足飽龍象；一粒之微，弗克實太倉。

<sup>573</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.36b,9-37a,1-3.上帝公父爾，實生吾人輩於爾，惟爾國能滿吾心也。人不歸爾，其心詎能安足哉？

<sup>574</sup> *WTARJL*, f.37a,3-5. Matteo Ricci, *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.559,1-3. In this quotation, Wang changed the words Tiandi wanwu which are in *TZSY* into mengduo shijie in his text.

may come and go, yet men's lives must not be shortened because they must live forever and not die, ever dwelling to the left and right of Shangdi (God or the Lord of Heaven). How can the secular people of this world reach; and how can human language explain such a place?"<sup>575</sup> Then he turns to give a summary by quoting the classical sentence of Corinthians in the Bible, "the joy of heaven is ready for the virtuous men by the Lord of Heaven, which cannot be seen and heard of, and it would be not speculated by men's minds too."<sup>576</sup> Here it is clear that Wang has already related heaven to virtues, heaven becomes the goal which directs someone to do good in the world, which also is from the ethical dimension to evaluate virtues of human beings.

In the meantime, Wang quoted some phrases from Ricci's *JRSP* to describe the sights of heaven. "In the Bible, it says something about the sights of heaven, that place where someone inhabits, all of the holy spirits possess no six misfortunes,<sup>577</sup> but none of the human beings in the world cannot have; all of the holy spirits possess six fortunes, but none of the people of this world have. What are the six fortunes? The first one is the holy town, where there is no fault but perfect virtues. The second is the peaceful realm, where there is no danger and fear but tranquility. The third is the joyful place, where there is no melancholy but ever joy. The forth is the heaven town,

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<sup>575</sup> *WTARJL*, f.37a,5-6. Matteo Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.559,3-5. 必也常為暄春，無寒暑之迭象；常見光明，無暮夜之屢更；其人常快樂，無憂怒哀哭之苦；常舒泰，無危陷；韶華之容常駐不變，歲年往來，大壽無減；周旋左右於上帝，世俗之人烏能違之？烏能言釋之哉？

<sup>576</sup> *WTARJL*, f.37a,3-5. Matteo Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.559,1-3. 天堂之樂，天主所備以待仁人者，目所未見，耳所未聞，人心所未及忖度者也。See Bible, 1-Corinthians 2:9, But as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.

<sup>577</sup> Six misfortunes 六禍, cf. Bible, Luke Gospel 11:42-52. 42 "Woe to you Pharisees, because you give God a tenth of your mint, rue and all other kinds of garden herbs, but you neglect justice and the love of God. You should have practiced the latter without leaving the former undone. 43 "Woe to you Pharisees, because you love the most important seats in the synagogues and respectful greetings in the marketplaces. 44 "Woe to you, because you are like unmarked graves, which people walk over without knowing it." 45 One of the experts in the law answered him, "Teacher, when you say these things, you insult us also." 46 Jesus replied, "And you experts in the law, woe to you, because you load people down with burdens they can hardly carry, and you yourselves will not lift one finger to help them. 47 "Woe to you, because you build tombs for the prophets, and it was your ancestors who killed them. 48 So you testify that you approve of what your ancestors did; they killed the prophets, and you build their tombs. 49 Because of this, God in his wisdom said, 'I will send them prophets and apostles, some of whom they will kill and others they will persecute.' 50 Therefore this generation will be held responsible for the blood of all the prophets that has been shed since the beginning of the world, 51 from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah, who was killed between the altar and the sanctuary. Yes, I tell you, this generation will be held responsible for it all. 52 "Woe to you experts in the law, because you have taken away the key to knowledge. You yourselves have not entered, and you have hindered those who were entering."

In the Isaiah 5:8-25, there is another saying, God said, "the misfortune comes" six times.

where there is no wish but satisfaction. The fifth is the constant lucky circle, where there is no change but constant luck. The sixth is the immortal mountain, where people never die and have eternal life.”<sup>578</sup> Wang summarises that these six fortunes would be combined and perpetually immortal where the Lord of Heaven replies to the virtuous men.

From his description of heaven, one apparent characteristic occurs in front of us, that is, Wang tries his best to demonstrate the joys of heaven. In the process of discourse, some of his original materials for description are from Ricci’s *TZSY* and *JRSP*.

Besides, Wang uses the metaphor of the prisoned child (Qiuzi 囚子),<sup>579</sup> to refute the people of the world who do not believe heaven. However, we who are surrounded by things constantly seen with our eyes cannot understand this truth which cannot be seen with physical eyes. It is like a woman with a child who is incarcerated in prison. She gives birth to the child in the dark prison, and the child knows nothing of the light of sun and moon or of the goodness of mountains, rivers, and people until he has grown to maturity. Only the light of a large candle serves as his sun and the light of a small candle as his moon. He regards the people in prison as being exceedingly orderly, and never has the superior pursuit, perhaps even feels that the sufferings he experiences in prison are happiness, and consequently does not think of leaving prison. If his mother should explain to him the nature of the light of sun and moon; show him the dress and adornments of noble men, and acquaint him with the unexpected size of each of the realms of heaven and earth-their breadth which extends to tens of thousands of Li, and their height which measures millions of Zhang,<sup>580</sup> he will then come to realise how small are the lights in the prison; how painful the shackles on hands and feet, and how narrow and filthy is the prison. When he has realised all this, he will no longer be willing to accept the prison as his home, and he will begin, day

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<sup>578</sup> *WTARJL*, f.38b,3-6. Matteo Ricci’s *JRSP*(ch.8), see *TXSH*, p.230,4-7. 夫《經》中稱天堂之景有曰：‘居彼之處，一切聖神具無六禍，此世中無人無其一；具有六福，此世中無人有其一。’六者雲何？一謂聖城，則無過而有全德也。二謂太平域，則無危懼而恒恬淡也。三謂樂地，則無憂苦而有永樂也。四謂天鄉，則無冀望而皆充滿也。五謂定吉界，則無更變而常定於祥也。六謂壽無疆山，則人均不死而常生也。

<sup>579</sup> *WTARJL*, f.38a,2-9, f.38b,1-3.

<sup>580</sup> Zhang 丈, the Chinese unit of length (1Zhang=10Chi 尺, 1Chi=31.8cm). Cf. *Gudai hanyu cidian* 古代漢語字典 (Ancient Chinese Dictionary), Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2014, p.1295. & *ZGLD*, p.3460.

and night, to work out how to rid his hands and feet of their shackles, and how to leave the prison in order to look for the happiness of friends and relatives. Of those in the world who do not believe in heaven, because they cannot believe in the infinite true joys after life, to the contrary, they think this world of sufferings as the joyful land. It is a pity that they possess the viewpoint of the prisoned child.

#### 4.1.3 The Sufferings of Hell

The part of the sufferings of hell is almost from de Pantoja's *Qike*. Several sentences are from the text of Ricci's *TZSY*.

Hell lies in the lowest, filthiest and darkest place of the earth, of which is difficult to describe the condition. Wang says that the misfortunes of the world would be ended, but the sufferings of hell are continuous and unlimited. All of the sufferings are sorted out in two kinds, the sufferings of feeling 覺苦 (Jue ku) and the sufferings of soul 失苦 (Shi ku). The sufferings of feeling are cold and heat, hunger and thirst, stink and filth, darkness and obscurity, melancholy and indignation, and all of the tortured penalties. This kind of suffering is prepared too many in hell, compared with the sufferings of the world, the latter are not the true sufferings.<sup>581</sup> Wang uses the metaphor again to express, which is like paintings to the true substance.<sup>582</sup> The sufferings of feeling are so terrible, which are named as the external sufferings. The sufferings of the soul are the sadness, which operate outside the Lord of Heaven and the perpetual loss of all of the fortunes of Heaven, then named internal sufferings. To compare these two kinds of sufferings, the sufferings of the soul are more grievous. Basically, the above part is from the seventh chapter of de Pantoja's *Qike*, but it is also similar to several sentences of the sixth chapter of Ricci's *TZSY*.<sup>583</sup> Additionally, the pair of concepts-the sufferings of feeling and the sufferings of soul is from de Pantoja's *Qike*, the couple of concepts-external sufferings and internal sufferings is

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<sup>581</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.41b,6-42a,1. De Pantoja's *Qike*, see *TXCH*, p.1107,3-8.

<sup>582</sup> *WTARJL*, f.42,1.

<sup>583</sup> *WTARJL*, f.41b,6-42a,3. De Pantoja's *Qike*, see *TXCH*, p.1107,5-7. Matteo Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.557,7-558,2.

from Ricci's text *TZSY*. Wang integrated both of couples of these concepts in his text cleverly in order to remind human beings.

Wang continuously uses Ricci's text to explain the dreadful punishment in hell. "What hurts the guilty most is their loss of great blessings. They therefore constantly mourn and cry with regret, Alas! When I was alive I gave up inexhaustible blessings and joy for the sake of a little lewd pleasure, and addicted myself into the accumulated valley of infinite sufferings. Even though I now want to reform and to escape these sufferings it is too late. Even if I wish to seek death by committing suicide in order to escape from this place, I cannot do so, since the time for reform and renewal has already passed. The just laws of the Lord of Heaven are such that he uses punishment to cause men to suffer, but he does not permit men to destroy their bodies as they must experience prolonged suffering."<sup>584</sup> There is one key sentence in this paragraph, i.e. "since the time for reform and renewal has already passed", it means human beings should do goods in their lifetime, otherwise, the sufferings of hell would be unchangeable.

Wang explains the hell further, where the demons possess the power of death, whose evils are extremely horrible, which are not only strong, but also cruel incomparably. The demons hate human beings rather bitterly and have little charity. What can they add to the sufferings, only by their forces to decide. The sufferings which they have added are infinite. The sufferings of the world are heavy, however, which could get the consolation, or which would be limited. By comparison, the infinite sufferings of hell are ferocious and heavy. Man who enters hell cannot escape, therefore, all of the sufferings have no consolation which can help them escape from the suffering.<sup>585</sup> Wang summarises in one brief sentence, it is rather dreadful that this suffering cannot be escaped.<sup>586</sup>

After the explanation of the concept of heaven and hell, Wang gives some case to

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<sup>584</sup> *WTARJL*, f.42a,3-9. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.558,2-7. 罪人所傷痛，尤莫深乎所失之巨福也，故常哀哭自悔曰：悲哉，吾生前為淫樂之微，失無窮之福，而溺於此萬苦之聚穀乎！今欲改過免此而已遲，欲死而畢命以脫此而不得。蓋此非改過之時，乃天主公法所使以刑具苦痛其人，不令毀滅其體，而以悠久受殃者也。

<sup>585</sup> *WTARJL*, f.42a,9-42b,5.

<sup>586</sup> *WTARJL*, f.42b,5-6.不能脫之苦忱。吁！可畏哉！



demonstrate the authenticity and dreadfulness of heaven and hell.

If King Wen,<sup>587</sup> the kings of Yin<sup>588</sup> and the Duke of Zhou<sup>589</sup> really are in heaven, then King Jie<sup>590</sup> and King Zhou,<sup>591</sup> and the Robber Zhi<sup>592</sup> must be in hell. In Wang's historical views, King Wen, the kings of Yin and the Duke of Zhou are virtuous kings, who did goods in their positions, and certainly they went to heaven after death,. To the contrary, the evil King Jie and King Zhou, and the Robber Zhi must be in hell because of their bad deeds. It is an implausible viewpoint, however, Wang expresses one kind of interpretation of Christian theology, undoubtedly, his intentions lie in morality improvement of the human being, because he pays more attention to the realistic society in late Ming. By accepting the Christian doctrines of Ricci's *TZSY*, Wang has already built up his own concept of heaven and hell. He thinks that there is a constant principle which does not permit to suspect, i.e. each behave in a different way, each is rewarded and punished differently.

Although there are some unfair phenomena in our world, he points out that the Principle of ultimate Judge of the Lord of Heaven will be fair.

Wang says, even Yan Hui<sup>593</sup> lived in poverty and died young, Robber Zhi<sup>594</sup> did live in a wealthy condition and have longevity, it is possible that the inexistence of heaven and hell, isn't it? Clearly, Yan Hui is as a sage, but he was rewarded unjust treat. To the contrary, Robber Zhi had received wealth and longevity. Wang always seems to inquire the problem of ultimate injustice. He comes to his topic, the great virtuous man received the mandate of Heaven, and then his virtues were wider, he

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<sup>587</sup> King Wen, was Zhou Wen Wang 周文王, West Duke of Shang. Cf. *ZGLD*, p.1899.

<sup>588</sup> Yin 殷, the another name of Shang dynasty. Cf. *ZGLD*, p.2490.

<sup>589</sup> The Duke of Zhou 周公, Cf. *ZGLD*, p.1892.

<sup>590</sup> King Jie 桀王, the last King of Xia.. Cf. *ZGLD*, p.2500.

<sup>591</sup> King Zhou 紂王, the last King of Shang. Cf. *ZGLD*, p.2255.

<sup>592</sup> Robber Zhi 盜跖, one robber leader in Chunqiu period, Cf. *ZGLD*, p.2747.

<sup>593</sup> Yan Hui 顏回 (c.521-490B.C.), the disciple of Confucius. Cf. *ZGLD*, p.3200. He is venerated in Confucian temples as one of the Four Sages.

<sup>594</sup> Robber Zhi 盜跖 see *Zhuangzi zapiian daozi* 莊子·雜篇·盜跖, 孔子與柳下季為友。柳下季之弟名曰盜跖。盜跖從卒九千人, 橫行天下, 侵暴諸侯, 穴室樞戶, 驅人牛馬, 取人婦女, 貪得忘親, 不顧父母兄弟, 不祭先祖。所過之邑, 大國守城, 小國入保, 萬民苦之。Confucius was on terms of friendship with Liu-xia Ji, who had a brother named Dao Zhi. This Dao Zhi had 9,000 followers, who marched at their will through the kingdom, assailing and oppressing the different princes. They dug through walls and broke into houses; they drove away people's cattle and horses; they carried off people's wives and daughters. In their greed to get, they forgot the claims of kinship, and paid no regard to their parents and brethren. They did not sacrifice to their ancestors. Wherever they passed through the country, in the larger states the people guarded their city walls, and in the smaller the people took to their strongholds. All were distressed by them.

rewarded the life, who was expelled by felled tree and obliged to disappear,<sup>595</sup> ultimately, after the dream of Liang Ying<sup>596</sup> and Su Wang (the Holy King)<sup>597</sup> Confucius died, and then would he be revered and offered sacrifices from generation to generation?<sup>598</sup>

Here Wang uses the case of Confucius to explain his viewpoints, although Confucius had not received the wealthy and fair rewards in his life, but after death he was revered and worshipped by the generations. Nevertheless, Confucius should receive reverence, it seems that it is not the true intention of Wang's discourse. He continues his explanation, the sages did not do but enjoyed the offerings. Would his generations get the retributions? Like the haughty Dan Zhu,<sup>599</sup> Bing Ren died young,<sup>600</sup> Bo Yi Kao was chopped into sauce,<sup>601</sup> why did they get the retributions? Only could the rank of nobility prolong, however, we cannot know all of the situations of the offsprings of the sages, such as the titles, wise and fool, good and bad, but they got the rewards instead of the sages, could it be beneficial to the sages? Thus, it is impossible that heaven does not exist.<sup>602</sup> Wang uses four questions to interpret the existence of heaven, which will solve the injustice of the world.

Furthermore, Wang states that, according to the dissatisfied feelings of human beings, we can testify the existence of heaven. He says, the talkers said the politics of Qin 秦 Dynasty was quite brutal that the significance did not exist, naturally the Books

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<sup>595</sup> Famu xueji 伐木削迹, see *Zhuangzi* 庄子, the chapter of the Tree on the Mountain 山木篇,孔子問子桑雎曰：“吾再逐於魯，伐樹於宋，削迹於衛，窮於商、周，圍於陳、蔡之間。吾犯此數患，親交益疏，徒友益散，何與？” Confucius asked Zi Sanghu, saying, “I was twice driven from Lu; the tree was felled over me in Song; I was obliged to disappear from Wei; I was reduced to extreme distress in Shang and Zhou; and I was kept in a state of siege between Chen and Cai. I have encountered these various calamities; my intimate associates are removed from me more and more; my followers and friends are more and more dispersed - why have all these things befallen me?”

<sup>596</sup> LiangYingdian 兩楹奠, see *Liji zhushu* 礼记注疏, vol.7, *Tangong* 檀弓, 梦坐奠于两楹之间.

<sup>597</sup> Su Wang 素王 (the Holy King), it means Confucius. Cf. *ZGLD*, p.2357.

<sup>598</sup> Xueshi wanshi 血食萬世, Xueshi means the offerings which are sacrificed to gods. See *Zuozhuan zhuanggong liunian* 左傳·莊公六年：“若不從三臣，抑社稷實不血食，而君焉取餘？”

<sup>599</sup> Dan Zhu 丹朱, the son King Yao, cf. *Shangshu yi ji* 尚書·益稷, 無若丹朱傲，惟慢遊是好，傲虐是作。Be not haughty like Zhu of Dan, who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppressive course.

<sup>600</sup> Zhong Ren 仲壬(?-1582 B.C.), the third King of Shang. Cf. *Zhushu Jinian* 竹書紀年.

<sup>601</sup> Bo Yi kao 伯邑考, cf. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, Yin benji disan 殷本紀 第三.

<sup>602</sup> *WTARJL*, f.35a,7-35b,6. Li Zhizao's preface to *JRSP*, see *TXCH*, pp.115,2-116,1. 況顏貧夭，躋富壽，令不天堂不地獄也而可乎？大德受命，受命而德施彌溥，報以蒼梧伐木削迹之身，兩楹奠而素王終，即血食萬世，得身後榮？聖人不起而享也，報在子孫乎？丹朱傲外，丙仲壬殤，伯邑考醢，奚報焉。惟是衍聖之爵延世，顧易世而子孫之面目名號賢愚好醜悉不可知，以代聖人受賞，此足以厚聖人乎？不天堂又不可也。

of our sages and saints could not record. However, the politics could not be suspected when it was not recorded. Therefore, the absurd views of six ways cycle-rebirth and other doctrines of Buddhist texts are not described in the Books of our sages and saints, even though the insightful Confucians struggled to evade and critique those views, however, the people of the world believe in them and never doubt.<sup>603</sup> Therefore, even though the concept of heaven does not exist in the Books of sages and saints, the Principle really exists. He uses the method of analogical reasoning to interpret, from the politics to Buddhist doctrines, and to the existence of heaven, finally to enlighten the man who does not believe in the idea of heaven and hell.

Wang quoted Ricci's viewpoint to state, everything has targets to which their natures direct themselves, and they must attain to these targets if they are to enjoy serenity and stability. When they have attained them, they will have no further desire. Men also must have a target (which, when reached, will give them serenity and stability). Nevertheless, when one observes man's normal circumstances, one finds that nothing in this present life fully satisfies him, and it becomes clear that the serenity and stability which will satisfy his mind is not to be found in heaven in the next life? For that for which a man's mind craves is only to be found in perfect blessedness, and the place where all blessings are perfectly complete is called heaven. Thus, so long as man has not reached heaven, his state of mind will constantly be one of unsatisfied hopes.<sup>604</sup> Wang has seen the finiteness of human being, what is more important, he points out that it is the human nature for man to find heaven.

Wang uses the sayings of Confucius, such as, "do not complain about Heaven and also do not blame men for something. To study the knowledge downwards and reach the wisdom. Who knows me, that is Heaven?"<sup>605</sup> Wang thinks that those who go upwards would be in heaven, thus, otherwise, Confucius travelled all his life and suffered a lot of hardships, who claimed no one knew him, but why did he say again, "Heaven knows me." Wang thinks that Confucius knew Heaven and revered it, so that

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<sup>603</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.35b,5-36a,2. 说者谓秦焰酷而其义弗存，故吾圣贤书中不具载，然政不得因其不载而有疑，不然彼轮迴六道之诞言，凡出佛书无理之谈，悉吾圣贤书中所不载，且皆有识之儒所力辟者，何世之人反信之而不疑耶？吾且就世人缺望之情，而益征天堂之必有。

<sup>604</sup> *WTARJL*,f.36a,2-7. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.547, 2-7.

<sup>605</sup> *Lunyu xianwen*, 論語·憲問，子曰：不怨天，不尤人，下學而上達，知我者其天乎？

he could endure the sufferings of the world. The essential intention for Confucius is that he would be in Heaven and enjoy the eternal joy of heaven. Wang continues to quote the saying of the Analects, “The gentleman goes upwards; the mean man goes downwards.”<sup>606</sup> He says there is a far distance between the upper and the under, why does not the limit exist between heaven and hell?<sup>607</sup> We can conclude, Wang thinks the gentleman goes upwards and reached heaven, the mean man goes downwards and falls down to hell. He gives the Christian interpretation to the Confucian classical saying, so that such integration is frequently occurred in the Confucian-Christian’s text in the late Ming of China.

Finally, Wang gives a summary of his demonstration, which points to the moral dimension. He states, it is because heaven is nothing other than that glorious place where those of the past and present who have cultivated humanity and righteousness foregather. And hell is nothing other than that filthy place where the wrong-doers meet in the past and present. Those who go to heaven have already set their minds on goodness, and cannot be changed. Those who go to hell have fixed their minds on evil and it can no longer change them.<sup>608</sup>

He uses six sentences of questions to express the different deeds (good and evil), which would be different retributions (reward and punishment) afterlife, i.e. heaven or hell. “In my life, why not make the mind stabilise on virtues? Why not abandon the evils in time? Why not often approach the virtuous men? Why not avoid far away the evil and mean men? Why not hope to the eternal joy of heaven all the time? Why not fear to fall into the perpetual misfortunes of hell?”<sup>609</sup>

#### 4.2 Retributions for Goodness and Evil

This part discourse is in from D3.6 to D4 of the text *WTARJL*, including two dialogues between Wang and his anonymous guest. The key meaning of this part also

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<sup>606</sup> Lunyu xianwen,子曰：君子上達，小人下達。

<sup>607</sup> *WTARJL*, f.40b,4-7. Ricci’s *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.543,3-6.

<sup>608</sup> *WTARJL*,f.40b,4-7.

<sup>609</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.40b,7-41a,2.今吾中處，烏可不定心於德？烏可不速改其不善？烏可不長近仁義之君子？烏可不遠避罪惡之小人？烏可不時時望嘗天上之永福？烏可不刻刻思墮地中之永殃？

reminds human beings of fearing hell and dying to heaven.

The concept of “Retribution for Goodness and Evil” also appearing in Chinese classical texts, such as, “The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have super abundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery.”<sup>610</sup> In the Chinese Buddhist text, it also occurs, like this, “Good will be rewarded with good, and evil with evil, when the time arrives, one will get all the rewards he deserves.”<sup>611</sup> In the Taoist text, such as, “the retributions of good and evil are following us as shadow.”<sup>612</sup> So we can find it already existed for Chinese people to believe in the idea of retribution for good and evil before Christianity. Besides the classical sentence of *Zhouyi*, Confucian texts have little concern with the concept of retribution for good and evil.

Wang points out that some Confucian scholars extravagantly discussed in a high tone, doing good. In order to get the reward of Heaven, what is not the virtue but benefit. If you do good without the intention of gaining the reward of Heaven, isn't it quite fine? Wang says this opinion seems to be at the high level of virtue, which can lead human beings to reach the supreme virtue, however, it will make people slacken their cultivation, factually, it induces people to do evils unscrupulously. What is the virtue that people do good? How truly beautiful this kind of ambition is! Even though the sages cannot get to this level, because they do good all for God and the beautifulness of virtue, not only eagerly for the reward of this world. They are really hopeful for the reward of Heaven afterlife, even can the common people be slack to hope for blessings. To encourage someone to do good and give up the joy of this world, only if someone fears the sufferings of hell, he will remove the evils and restrain his selfishness. Nowadays, some Confucian scholars believes in the Lord and the idea of retribution, however, they are in the status of self-deception, self-forgiveness, self-connivance, self-slackness, and they cannot cultivate themselves deeply. How can they get the retribution of the Lord of Heaven? There is also some

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<sup>610</sup> Zhou Yi Kun Wenyan 周易·坤·文言，積善之家，必有餘慶；積不善之家，必有餘殃。

<sup>611</sup> Cf. Yuan, Wuming shi, *Pang Jushi (Lay Buddhist Pang) wufang laisheng zhai* 元·无名氏·庞居士误放来生债，善有善報，惡有惡報；不是不報，時辰未到。

<sup>612</sup> Cf. *Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇，善惡之報，如影隨行。

Confucians are bound with the prejudice, which is, good is rewarded with good and evil with evil, but one need only assert that these rewards are bound to be met with in this world, if not by oneself, then by one's sons and grandsons. There is no need to introduce the doctrine of heaven and hell. Retributions in this life are very small indeed and cannot satisfy the eagerness of men's minds; they are inadequate to the merit of virtue sincerely cultivated and are insufficient to express the power of the Sovereign on High/the Lord of Heaven to reward good. Aristocratic and ministerial ranks represent very great rewards, but if they are used to remuneration of the value of virtue, they will not equal one ten thousandth of that value. There is nothing in the world which can match the value of virtue. Although men who cultivate virtue may not seek for any reward, would anyone as honorable as the Sovereign on High refrain from rewarding such virtue in full? Kings reward ministers for their services by simply conferring one of the three ranks of nobility upon them. But would the Sovereign on High consider such a reward sufficient? Man's way of looking at things is ultimately as limited as this.<sup>613</sup>

In this part, Wang mainly refuted two kinds of viewpoints, which are: 1) the opinion, the intention of doing good is to acquire the reward of Heaven, some Confucian scholars think that it is utilitarian motivation but not for virtue; 2) based on the idea of Goodness is rewarded with good and evil with evil, the retributions will be on himself in this world or on his descendants. For the first point, Wang says that hoping for the blessings of heaven and fearing the sufferings of hell is the only true way to do good and abandon evil. The second point is from Ricci's *TZSY*, thus, Wang confirms the opinion of Ricci in the text *TZSY*, the retributions of this world are small and not truly fair, the descendants have their own retributions, the ultimate

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<sup>613</sup> Wang, *WTARJL*, ff.43b,7-44b,8, the part of f.44a,8-44b,8, Ricci's *TZSY*, cf. *TXCH*, pp.544,5-545,3.乃世之儒者，修為高遠之談曰：行善而望天報，此非德，乃利也。爾行德，不望天報，不尤精美乎？此言似高遠，似乎引人進於至德，而其實使人怠於修德，誘人恣行諸惡者也。何者行德為德？此物此志洵美矣！第非聖人弗及此也。即聖人之行德也，其大意悉為上帝，為德美，特不汲汲望世報耳，亦何嘗不希望於身後之天報？況眾人乎，非望福安能策怠？勵行德之苦，謝隨世之樂，非畏害安能去惡克己乎哉？今信有主有報，猶多自欺、自恕、自縱、自怠，難於精修，況去主報歟？又有拘儒，狃於成說，曰：善惡必報，信矣，第在本世，或不於其身於其子孫耳，何必言天堂地獄？豈知本世之報甚微，不足以克人心之欲，又不足以盡償誠德之功，且不足以顯上帝賞善之力量也。公相之位，極重之酬矣，若以償德之價，猶為萬不償一，天下固無可以償德之價者也。修德者雖不望報上帝之尊，豈有不報之盡滿者乎？王者酬臣之功，賞以三公至足矣。上帝之酬，而於是止乎？人之短於量也如是。

retributions of the afterlife are supreme and for everyone. Undoubtedly, Wang here intends to remove the confusion of some Confucian scholars.

By using the methods of metaphor and analogy, Wang indicates that his forbears and the descendants would receive their own rewards and punishments afterlife, the Lord of Heaven can judge everyone with rewards and punishments, certainly it is unnecessary for the Lord of Heaven to use virtues and offences of the forbears to reward and punish their descendants. He gives an example to demonstrate, like this, the kings or even the tyrants also will not punish the descendants for the offences of their forbears, in fact, here is a metaphor which states the Lord of Heaven would punish everyone based on his own deeds.

Both the humane and the inhumane in this world are frequently without progeny; how are they to be rewarded for the good and evil they do? I am myself and children and grandchildren are themselves. Is it justice if the rewards and punishments for the good and evil that I personally do were to fall solely on the person of sons and grandsons? May I ask why it is that, since the Lord of Heaven is able to reward and punish people for the good and evil they do, He is only able to reward and punish their sons and grandsons and not the people themselves? And if He is able to reward them, why does He neglect them and wait until their sons and grandsons come along? Moreover, sons and grandsons perform their own good and evil deeds; how are they to be rewarded? Has (the Lord of Heaven) to wait until their sons and grandsons are living before dispensing retribution? If you do good and your sons and grandsons are evil, will it be right for the reward you ought to receive to be given to your evil sons and grandsons? If you do evil and your sons and grandsons do good, is it humane if the punishments due to you fall on your good sons and grandsons? Not only the laws of a good king, but even those of a tyrant will not make later generations culpable for the crimes of their forbears; will the Lord of Heaven then allow a man's offences to pass and visit them upon his descendants?<sup>614</sup>

We believe in the principle of the reward and punishment of heaven and hell, undoubtedly which is the supreme law of the Lord of Heaven's supreme justice, supreme beneficence and supreme righteous. Even though some Confucian scholars are obsessed with the six-cycle rebirth of Buddhism, why do they doubt the so-called absurd idea of heaven and hell? Wang indicates that there is a logic contradiction in the belief of some Confucian scholars, which is, since they have believed in the idea of heaven and hell in the Buddhist doctrine for a long time, why do they deny the idea

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<sup>614</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.44b,8-45b,1. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.545,3-546,4. 夫世之仁者、不仁者，皆屢有無嗣焉者，其善惡何如報也？我自為我，子孫自為子孫。夫我所親行善惡，盡以還之子孫，其可為公乎？且問天主既能報人善惡，何能報其子孫，而不能報及其躬？苟能報及其躬，又何為遠俟其子孫？且其子孫又有子孫之善惡，何以為報？亦將俟其子孫之子孫以酬之歟？我為善，子孫為惡，則將舉我所當享之賞，而盡加諸其為惡之身乎？可為義乎？我為惡，子孫為善，則將舉我所當受之刑，而盡施諸其為善之躬乎？可為仁乎？非但王者，即霸者之法，罪不及胄。天主舍其本身，而惟胄是報耶？

of heaven and hell? Wang ironically explains this by metaphor, i.e. to allow the robbers to kill persons, but it is forbidden for scholars to do so. Although this metaphor is a little unconvincing, Wang pinpoints the deficiency of the key views of some Confucian scholars.

In this part, in fact, in the tenth dialogue the anonymous guest asks Wang, “My master, have you seen heaven and hell that you should assert their reality so firmly?”<sup>615</sup> His problem represents the view of some Confucian scholars, which needs empirical evidence to confirm the transcendence of heaven and hell, of course that is difficult to express the transcendental world by the physical world evidences. Wang uses rhetorical question to respond the guest’s question, “Confucian scholar, have you seen that there is no heaven and hell, so that you should so firmly assert their nonexistence?”<sup>616</sup> Furthermore, he states that, if there is no eternal retribution after life, there will be no the true Lord of heaven and earth (the Lord of Heaven). There is a true Lord of all thing (Heaven, Earth and human being), there must be the eternal retribution of good and evil after life. Someone may say, when I see the true heaven and hell after life, I will believe. Wang points out that if like this, he may lose the eternal joy of heaven and then fall into hell, it would be so late that at that time he would start to believe in the idea, also it would be meaningless to even believe. Some wise and intelligent Confucians who possess intellect firmly believe in the existence of heaven and hell, however, they are rigidly adhered to the customs and cannot abandon evils and follow the goodness. What’s worse, they said ironically, although the religion of the Lord of Heaven was perfect, we Confucians did not believe in it, so that those who did not know the principle would not be punished. Wang used analogical method to refute this viewpoint, he thinks that the court set up the legal system, which made everyone conform to the rules. Is it only for those who know the law but break it? So that the people who live in the rural area would be not punished, just because they do not know the law? Thus, Wang concludes that Heaven cannot be deceived, as well as the mind of ourselves. The metaphor appears again, he says that

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<sup>615</sup> *WTARJL*, f.45b,6-7.

<sup>616</sup> *WTARJL*, f.45b,7-8.



the viewpoint of these Confucian scholars likes the fable of plugging one's ears while stealing a bell.<sup>617</sup> In the text of *WTARJL*, it means that is self-deception, because these Confucian scholars who really believe in the idea of heaven and hell in their minds but do not say verbally.

After responding to the third kind of dubious view, Wang starts to refute the fourth opinion in this part. Wang continuously uses the same method to discourse, i.e. through the question of the anonymous to set one stand. The guest asks, “a superior man is not concerned to do goods in order to win benefits in his life and to steer clear of worldly loss. Then, how can the question of gain or loss in the next life be worth discussing?”<sup>618</sup> He states, the question of gain or loss in the next life is a very real and very great question, and cannot be compared with gain and loss in this life. What we see now are no more than the shadows of gain and loss. Therefore, the matters of this world, whether bad or good, are not worth talking about.<sup>619</sup>

Wang says that he once heard his teacher told the following allegory. When a man is born into this world he is like an actor on a stage. His practice of a profession in this common world is like the playing of a role in comedy. People such as kings, prime ministers, officials, educated men and slaves, queens, female slaves, wives and concubines are all no more than actors temporarily made up and playing a part. The garments they wear are not their own clothes, the beneficial and harmful circumstances they encounter cannot impact on them. When the performance ends, and they have divested themselves of their costumes and removed their make-up, these things cease to be of any concern to them.<sup>620</sup> Meanwhile, Wang combined his teacher's view with his comprehension to demonstrate the differences of gain or loss between this world and afterlife. Thus, an actor is neither distressed nor elated by the rank or qualities of the person he plays. He simply dressed up for the parts, and even if he is to play a beggar he will do it as conscientiously as he can, thinking only of how he might satisfy the intentions of his master. An actor is assigned a part by his

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<sup>617</sup> The Chinese fable, Yaner daoling 掩耳盜鈴. Cf. *Lüshi chungiu zizhi* 呂氏春秋·自知.

<sup>618</sup> *WTARJL*, f.46b,3-5.

<sup>619</sup> *WTARJL*, f.46b,5-7. Ricci's *TZSY*, cf. *TXCH*, p.537,4-6. 來世之利害甚真大，非今世所可比也。吾今所見者，利害之影耳。故今世之事或吉或凶，俱不足言也。

<sup>620</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.46b,7-47a,2.

master, but the filling of his role rests with the actor himself. Although we may live to be a hundred years old in this world, our lives will not even be the equivalent of the shortest day in winter when they are compared with the endless ages of the afterlife. The riches we acquire are merely borrowed for our use, and we are not the true masters of them. Why, then, should we rejoice over the amassing of wealth, and be distressed when it is reduced? Whether people be the superior man or the mean man, they all enter this world naked and depart from it naked. Although we may have a thousand cases of gold stored away in a treasury when we are at the point of death, we can take nothing of it with us. Why then, should we concern ourselves with it? The ending of the vain affairs of this life represents the beginning of the real things in the next life when each person will occupy the position, whether honorable or mean.<sup>621</sup>

He also explains the true situation of that time-Late Ming Dynasty, “when I am rich, and then the other persons should be poor; only do the others keep poor, and then I should be rich; when you do not get this one, and then you should not give him that one.”<sup>622</sup> Wang points out the benefits of the world are smallest, however, people struggle for benefits without a moral bottom line.

He explains that the benefits of the next world are both supremely great and supremely real and do not hinder everyone. Since everyone can obtain them there is no need to fight each other for them. If these benefits are regarded as gain, then kings will want their states to enjoy them, the great officers will want to provide them for their families, and both the educated scholars and common people will want to acquire them for themselves. All classes of men will rush to obtain this kind of benefit, and only then will the world be at peace and be properly governed. As people who pursuit the benefits of the next world are bound to look down on the benefits provided in this world. We have never heard of someone who looks down on the benefits to be

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<sup>621</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.46b,6-47b,2. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.537,4-538,9. 吾聞師之喻曰：“人生世間，如俳優在戲場；所為俗業，如搬演雜劇。諸帝王、宰官、士人、奴隸、後妃、婢媵，皆一時妝飾之耳。則其所衣衣，非其衣；所逢利害，不及其躬。搬演既畢，解去妝飾，漫然不復相關。”故俳優不以分位高卑長短為憂喜，惟扮所承腳色，雖丐子亦真切為之，以中主人之意而已。蓋分位在他，充位在我。吾曹在於茲世，雖百歲之久，較之後世萬禩之無窮，烏足以當冬之一日乎？所得財物，假貸為用，非我為之真主，何徒以增為悅，以減而愁？不論君子小人，鹹赤身空出，赤身空返，臨終而去，雖遺金千笈，積在庫內，不帶一毫，奚必以是為留意哉？今世偽事已終，即後世之真情起矣，而後乃各取其所應得之貴賤也。

<sup>622</sup> *WTZRJL*, f.47b,3-4. 非他人貧，我不得富；非多人貧，我不得獨富；不取之此，不得予彼。

gained in this world, and who, at the same time, enjoying defying authority, struggling for power and gain. If one can make all the people look forward to the benefits of the next life, one will have no difficulty in ruling the state.<sup>623</sup> Wang imagines a perfect vision of harmony and peace, apparently, in order to improve the moral situation of this world, he pays his attention on the next world where the Lord of Heaven will reward and punish everyone. So that, at the end of this part, he emphasises the eternal joy of heaven is the true blessing for mankind. The sages said that the world has neither perfect blessings nor true blessings, only can the virtuous men get the true blessings, in this world whether the good or the evil can get the happiness, even the evil men could gain the blessings and benefits, however, the virtuous men do not. Does someone think the blessings of the world is true? Nevertheless, if someone wants to get the true and eternal blessings and immortality, he must believe in the heaven of afterlife and the Lord of Heaven, which is the only way to reward good men.<sup>624</sup>

#### 4.3 The Soul of Human Being Is Immortal

The concept of the soul is an indispensable part in religion and philosophy, which is also considered to be the immaterial aspect or essence of a human being. In Christianity, the soul of Human Being is immortal.<sup>625</sup>

This part is in the D5 of the text *WTARJL*, Wang's demonstration is nearly originated from Ricci's *TZSY*. Having raised the question by the anonymous guest, Wang intends to explain the immortality of human being's soul, which is related to the theme of revering the Heaven. The guest asks, eternal life and the enjoyment of inexhaustible happiness are man's greatest desires. However, the Confucian scholars

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<sup>623</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.47b,5-48a,1. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.2-7.吾所指來世之利，至大也，至真也，而實無相礙，縱盡人得之，莫相奪也。以此為利，王欲利其國，大夫欲利其家，士庶欲利其身，上下爭先，天下方安方治矣。重來世之利者，必輕現世之利。輕現世之利，而好犯上爭奪，未之聞也。使民皆望後世之利，於為政乎何有？

<sup>624</sup> *WTARJL*, f.48a,1-5.先賢謂世界無全福，且無真福，蓋真福惟善人得而有之。世界之福，善與惡均受焉，甚且惡者反享福利，而善人弗得享也，則誰謂世福之果真哉？然則長生而享無窮之真福，信非身後之天堂、天主，無以酬善人矣

<sup>625</sup> Cf. *TCE*, vol.XIV, pp.153-157.

says that when a man dies, his Po 魄 (spirit)<sup>626</sup> will be transformed and dispersed and returns to the earth, and then his Hun 魂 (soul)<sup>627</sup> will ultimately extinguish too. The guest raised one key question to Wang, “even if the true enjoyment exists, how can a man enjoy it after death?”<sup>628</sup> This question is occurring as the interlinked point between revering Heaven and the Principles of reward and punishment. The answer is in the following demonstration.

Wang explains that this above view has equated human being’s soul with the souls of plants, birds and beasts. Whereas, the soul of human being is distinct from the others. Man has both a soul and a spirit, and when these two are united he has life. When a man dies, his spirit is transformed and dispersed and returns to the earth, however, his soul continues to exist and is not extinguished. Wang emphasises that it must be that man’s soul is never extinguished, and then exhorts people to do good and punish evil, because the retribution of goodness and evil is inexhaustible, if the soul will be extinguished, how can punish the mean men and reward virtuous men?<sup>629</sup>

Wang quotes Ricci’s text to further explain, in this world there are three kinds of souls. The lowest is called the life principle—the vegetative soul, which supports vegetation in its growth, and when the vegetation withers the soul is also destroyed. The second class of soul is called the sentient soul, which is possessed by birds and beasts. It allows the birds ears and eyes to be able to hear and see, their mouths and noses to be able to taste and smell, and their limbs and bodies to be aware of things, though not to be able to infer truth. When these creatures die their souls are destroyed along with them. The most superior of the souls is called the intellectual soul. This is the soul of man which includes the vegetative soul and the sentient soul. It enables people to grow to maturity; it causes people to be aware of things outside themselves, and it allows people to make inferences as to the nature of things and to distinguish

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<sup>626</sup> About Po 魄, in Chinese text, cf. *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字(Origin of Chinese Characters), 魄, 陰神也 Po is spirit of Yin. *Zuozhuan*, the seventh year of Zhaogong 左傳 • 昭公七年, The origin of human being is Po, 人生始化曰魄.

<sup>627</sup> About Hun 魂, in Chinese text, cf. *Shuowen jiezi*, 魂, 陽氣也 Hun is air of Yang. *Zuozhuan*, the seventh year of Zhaogong 左傳 • 昭公七年, 人生始化為魄, 既生魄, 陽曰魂.

<sup>628</sup> *WTARJL*, f.48a,5-8.

<sup>629</sup> *WTARJL*, f.48b,2-5. 必如是, 然後善惡之報無盡, 然後可以勸善而懲惡。顧猶有不覺不力者焉, 藉其盡歸散滅, 豈不令小人倖免而君子枉受為善之苦勞乎哉?

between one principle and another.<sup>630</sup> This classification method of souls is first appearing in Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu*.<sup>631</sup> Certainly, this concept is originated from the philosophy of Aristotle.<sup>632</sup>

Wang states the concept of the soul of man is immortal in the following part. Although the body of man dies, his soul exists all the time since it is eternal and inextinguishable. All awareness is dependent on bodies. When bodies die and are dispersed, the sentient soul is of no further use. So, the vegetative soul and the sentiment soul of birds and animals are attached to their bodies as their final abodes. When these bodies die, they die with them. But the soul of man/the intellectual soul which can infer and distinguish is not dependent on a fleshly body, and such a soul can, therefore, exist on its own. Though the body may perish, a man's soul still has its functions. Thus, human beings are different from vegetation, birds and beasts.<sup>633</sup> According to the statements of Wang, amongst these three kinds of souls, we can infer that the soul of man is superior to the others and possesses the other two, moreover, it is immortal. In addition, Wang adds one key sentence to this section, "the Lord of Heaven created Adam and Eve firstly, and then gave them Anima. When the soul exists, and it will be immortal."<sup>634</sup> In fact, this expression of the sentence plays an important role in the whole text, which connects the front part to the back.

Here Wang mainly differentiates the soul of man from the sentient soul. He says, that which is dependent is something which is born, develops and matures through attachment to a body. If there were no body it would not be able to be born and to grow. For example, the eyes can see, ears can hear, noses have a sense of smell, mouths drink and eat, and the four limbs have the sense of touch. Nevertheless, if

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<sup>630</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.48b,5-49a,4. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.430,2-8. 夫世界之魂有三品。下品名曰生魂，即草木之魂是也。此魂附草木以生長，草木枯萎，魂亦消滅。中品名曰覺魂，則禽獸之魂也。此魂附禽獸以長育，而又使之以耳目視聽，以口鼻嗅，以肢體覺物情，但不能推論道理，至死而魂亦滅焉。上品名曰靈魂，即人魂也。此兼生魂、覺魂，能附人長養，及使人知覺物情，而又使之能推論事物，明辨理義。

<sup>631</sup> See Luo Mingjian 羅明堅(Michele Ruggieri), *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu*, ff.25b,3-30a,8, BnF, Chinois 6815.

<sup>632</sup> Cf. *TCE*, vol.I, pp.713-718. & vol.XIV, pp.153-157.

<sup>633</sup> *WTARJL*, f.49a,4-49b,1. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.430,8-431,4. 人身雖死，而魂非死，蓋永存不滅者焉。凡知覺之事，倚賴身形。身形死散，則覺魂無所用之。故草木禽獸之魂，依身為本情，身歿而情魂隨之以殞。若推論明辨之事，則不必倚據於身形，而其靈自在。身雖歿，形雖渙，其靈魂仍復能用之也。神故也，故人與草木禽獸迥不同也。

<sup>634</sup> *WTARJL*, f.52a,9-52b,1. 夫靈魂者，正前所云天生造成亞當、厄禮之身，而賜之以亞尼瑪者也。靈性一賦，常存不散。

there were no colour before the eyes they would not see anything; if a sound were not close to the ears, it would not be heard. Only when a scent is near can the nose distinguish it. The saltiness, pungency, sweetness and bitterness of a flavor can only be known when it enters the mouth. If it does not enter, one would not know about it. A body is required if someone is to be aware of cold and heat, softness and hardness; but if these are at some distance from me, someone can cease to be aware of them. Moreover, a deaf man cannot hear what the other persons can hear, and a blind person cannot see what the other persons can see. Therefore, Wang says that the awareness of the sentient soul is dependent on the body, and that when the body dies it is extinguished as well. The activities of the intellectual soul, however, are not dependent on the body. What is dependent on the body is controlled by the body and cannot differentiate between right and wrong. When birds and beasts, for example, see things that are edible, they go ahead and eat them, being incapable of self-control. How could such creatures begin to distinguish between the rightness or wrongness of such an action? If a man, on the other hand, is told that it would be unrighteous for him to eat something, he will choose not to eat even though he may be hungry. The food set before him may be delicious, but he will still refuse to eat.<sup>635</sup> A person who travels abroad but who pines for home, and then the landscape of his hometown will appear in his mind. Thus, the intellectual soul does not depend on the body which causes men to behave in such ways.<sup>636</sup>

Wang emphasises that bodily souls (the sentient soul) cannot be masters of their bodies, only the soul of man is capable of being the master of his body, which leads it to act or hold it back, in accordance with its intentions. Thus, when the soul resolves on a certain course of action, the body immediately responds with vigor. Men may have selfish desires, but it is impossible for them to defy the commands of universal principles. Thus, the human soul really does hold authority over the whole body, pertains to spirit, and is quite distinct from bodily souls.<sup>637</sup> It is not difficult to find out Wang's explanation of the soul of man by one dimension of ethics. The universal

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<sup>635</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.49b,1-50a,6. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.431,5-432,7.

<sup>636</sup> *WTARJL*, f.50a,3-6.

<sup>637</sup> *WTARJL*, f.50a,6-50b,1.

principles could through the soul of man hold down the desires of the bodies. Thus, the soul of man has the ability of rational judgment.

In the meantime, Wang explains further the traits of the soul of man by the comparative method.

A living creature has only one mind, but a man has two at the same time: an animal mind (Shouxin 獸心) and a human mind (Renxin 人心). Thus, a man also has two natures; a nature appropriate to a body, and a spiritual nature. Opposing emotions must derive from two opposing natures. When a man is confronted by something, he can react toward it in two apparently opposing ways at one and at the same time. A man misled by wine and woman will simultaneously be captivated by them and wish to pursue them, and he will think of the nature of his action being unprincipled. To follow after wine and women is to be animal-minded. And in this, man is no different from birds and beasts. To follow after the rational is to be human minded, and, in this, man is the same as the angels (Tianshen 天神). Whenever a man is devoted with singleness of mind to one thing, two incompatible dispositions cannot exist together. It is like the eyes, to see one thing, and then we cannot express that I have seen the thing and I have not seen the thing at the same time, the same as to hear at the same time. Thus, two opposing feelings must be derived from conflicting minds, and two conflicting minds must stem from two opposing natures.<sup>638</sup>

Wang states that there is a natural affinity between a thing and the object of its love or hate. Things with the nature of physical form always love or hate things with physical form. Things which the nature of transcendent physical form love or hate things which are free of physical form.<sup>639</sup> Thus, the physical form is related to the animal mind, which cares about the visible things; the transcendent physical form is related to the human mind, which cares about the transcendental values.

Here, Wang uses three couples of concepts, the animal mind and the human mind, the bodily nature and the spiritual nature, the physical nature and the transcendent nature. These concepts interpret the identity of the soul of man from two aspects. The

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<sup>638</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.50b,1-51a,2. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.434,7-435,8.

<sup>639</sup> *WTARJL*, f.51a,2-4. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.436,1-2. 故着形之性，惟着形之事為愛惡。而超形之性，則恒以無形之事為愛惡。

transcendent nature is the specific property of the soul of man, which makes the human being superior to the other beings, and it also leads man to choose the ethical judge in daily life.

Wang continues to state, when we examine the inherent quality of living creatures, we find that what birds and beasts covet is merely food, sex, and physical freedom. What they fear is nothing more than hunger, toil and harm to their limbs. Thus, one can assert with certainty that the natures of all the varieties of living creatures are not spiritual, but physical natures. When we come to the objects of man's loves or hates, we find that although these include things with bodily form, he has special feelings for, what is virtuous and good, criminal and hateful, and all things are spiritual forms. We can, therefore, assume that human nature is a combination of that which has physical form and spiritual form. This is sufficient proof that the soul of man is spirit (靈魂之為神).<sup>640</sup> Clearly, Wang insists that the physical nature is one aspect of human being, but the other aspect is spiritual nature, which is the distinct from the other living creatures.

Wang thinks that it is also like a person who, having seen a town which has a wall of three hundred Zhang (丈) long and one Zhang high (Baizhi zhicheng 百雉之城),<sup>641</sup> can retain, could a square inch of mind contain so large town? If the mind of man himself were not spirit he would never be able to spiritualise the things he accepts. The physical bodies will be extinguished, but the spirit/the soul of man will be immortal.<sup>642</sup> In short, Wang returns his viewpoint to the initial topic of this part.

Additionally, he uses some arguments to discourse this point. Everyone has minds that like to spread a good reputation and to prohibit the handing down of a bad reputation to later generations. Thus, whenever they do anything, men always hopes that their actions will accord with public opinion in order to invite men's praise and obtain achievements. Anyone who hopes to win a good reputation in this world either tries to accomplish something outstanding, or (to establish his teaching) by writing a

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<sup>640</sup> *WTARJL*, f.51a,4-9. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.436,2-7.

<sup>641</sup> The town of Baizhi 百雉之城, cf. *Liji* 礼记 (The Book of Rites) • the chapter of Fangji 坊记, the capital is no more than Baizhi 都城不过百雉. And cf. Zheng Xuan 郑玄, the Annotation of *Liji*, Zhi 雉, the unit of measure 度名也, one Zhang high 高一丈, three Zhang long 长三丈.

<sup>642</sup> *WTARJL*, f.51a,9-51b,3. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.437,6-8.



book, or to become an expert in the arts, or to risk his life he will not regret it. Probably most people have this kind of mind; but foolish people do not, and it in his mind. If the mind of man were not spiritual, how the more foolish they are the less they have it.

Wang uses one rhetorical question, that is, “shall I be able to hear or know of the reputation I have left behind me after my death?”<sup>643</sup> From the point of view of the physical body, how can man hear of it once his bones and flesh have rotted away and turned to dust? But the soul continues to exist and is not extinguished; and the goodness or evilness of the reputation man leaves behind remains entirely the same as when he was living. If someone says the soul is destroyed after a person dies, then to trouble one’s mind about a good reputation is like preparing a beautiful painting for viewing after we are blind, or a beautiful piece of music so that we can listen to it after we have turned deaf. What has such a reputation to do with us? Yet people seek after it and are unwilling to give it up even at death. The filial sons and worthy grandsons must keep the ancestral temples in good repair throughout the year, make clothes, enter the temples and present food appropriate to the time of the year in order to win the approval of parents already departed from this world. If the flesh and spirits of these parents have all been destroyed, they cannot listen to the importuning’s and cannot see the heads striking the ground in worship. It will be obvious that “serving the dead as if they were living and serving those who have perished as if they still existed.”<sup>644</sup> Wang emphasises that the important rites practiced by all, from the sovereign of the nation down to the common man, could someone think that it is no more than games played by children?<sup>645</sup> In this part, he used two metaphors (a beautiful painting—the blind, a beautiful piece of music—the deaf) to explain people’s pursuit of reputation after death even if there is no immortal soul. Besides, he quotes the classical sentence from *Zhongyong* of Confucian text to explain the immortality of the soul of man.

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<sup>643</sup> *WTARJL*, f.51b,8. Ricci’s *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.440,8-9.

<sup>644</sup> *Zhongyong* 中庸 (the Doctrines of Mean), Shisi ru shisheng, shiwang ru shicun 事死如事生，事亡如事存.

<sup>645</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.51b,8-52a,8. Ricci’s *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.440,9-441,9.

In the beginning of the section of Heaven and hell, Wang also quoted some texts from Ricci's *TZSY* to explain human being is superior to the birds and beasts because of intelligence of man (Lingcai 靈才). Here we can confirm that Lingcai is the intelligent soul of man.

Of all things which mark off all men as being different from animals, none is greater than the intellect. The intellect can distinguish between right and wrong, and between that which is true and that which is false, and it is difficult to deceive it with anything which lacks rationality. The stupidity of animals is such that although they possess perception and are capable of motion in much the same way as men, they are incapable of understanding the principles of causality. Man, then, transcends all other creatures since he is endowed with a spiritual soul within, and the ability to observe the principles of things without. By examining the outcome of things, he is able to know their origins, and by observing their existence he can know that by which they exist. Thus, without leaving this world of toil, he can devote himself to the cultivation of the Way and prepare himself for an eternity of peace and joy following his death. That which is brought to light by the intellect cannot forcibly be made to comply with which is untrue. Everything which reason shows to be true. I must acknowledge as false. To abandon principles affirmed by the intellect and to comply with the opinions of others is like shutting out the light of the sun and searching for an object with a lantern.<sup>646</sup>

Wang mentioned the flesh body of man is in the part of the joy of heaven. Although he does not explain the concept of Christian resurrection,<sup>647</sup> he has transmitted one kind of faith expression. He says that the true blessings will reach the flesh body of man, "these who are in heaven, whose spirits are full of the true blessings, the glorious light and auspicious happiness of which will be attached to the flesh body of

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<sup>646</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.30a,6-31a,3. Ricci's *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.379,2-381,2 凡人之所以異於禽獸者，無大乎天賦之靈才。靈才者，能辨是非，別真偽，而難欺之以理之所無者也。彼禽獸之愚，雖有知覺運動，差同於人，而不能明達先後內外之理。惟人則超拔萬類，內稟靈才，外通物理，察其末而知其本，視其固然而知其所以然。故能不辭現世苦勞，以專精修道，圖身後萬世之安樂也。靈才所顯，不能強之以殉夫不真。凡理所真是，我不能不以為真是；理所偽誕，我不能不以為偽誕。舍靈才所是之理，而殉他人之所傳，無異遮日光而持燈燭也。

<sup>647</sup> The concept of resurrection, cf. *TCE*, vol.XII,pp.789-793.

man.”<sup>648</sup> Here, there’s no denying that the spirit is the soul of man. The soul of man has the function which can make the true blessings attach to the flesh body in heaven. Thus, this statement as the bridge has connected those two sections of the text of *WTARJL*, i.e. the part of heaven and hell, and the part of the soul of man. Additionally, he states that the flesh body of man will be perfect when it arrives in heaven, “those who are in heaven for ever will receive the true and perfect blessings. When the flesh body enter heaven, it will be strong enough, not hurt and immortal, the limbs are coordinated, the body is with great glorious light and flighting in the universe, which can go through the mountains.”<sup>649</sup> Possibly, this will be the image of heaven for human beings. In fact, it points to ethical life in the world, human beings should revere Heaven and do goods.

Therefore, we can find that the coherence of Wang’s demonstration is quite clear. As the Lord of Heaven will make judge through retributions—heaven and hell for Good and Evil after life, to revere the Lord of Heaven is unavoidable, meanwhile the soul of man is immortal and superior to the other beings, eventually revering the Lord of Heaven is a natural things for human being. As Wang states in his text, “We don’t know the Mandate of Heaven, and then do not know the reverence of the true Great Lord (the Lord of Heaven), so that I cannot believe, we could say conceitedly we do goods not evils by ourselves. Although everyone knows the reverence of the Mandate of Heaven, we are indifference to the passing of time day by day, and do goods insincerely and irresolutely, and cannot abandon evils fiercely and effectively. It is the reason that we really don’t know heaven and hell after life, and do not have hope to go upward-heaven. We also have no reverence to downward-hell. Therefore, when we really and sincerely know the inevitable existence of heaven and hell, will nobody hope to go heaven and fear to fall into hell?”<sup>650</sup>

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<sup>648</sup> *WTARJL*, f.39a,2-5. de Pantoja’s *Qike*, p.1099,10. 蓋升天堂之人，靈神既飽飫於真福，其光輝吉樂因達於肉身。

<sup>649</sup> *WTARJL*, f.39b,2-6. de Pantoja’s *Qike*, p.1100,7-10. 惟是永居天堂者，始得其真且全。蓋肉身躋此，百體固強，無受損害，常生不死，四肢協稱，無餘無虧，放有光明，七倍於日，周旋六合，不待俄頃，速如心目，透山入石，竟無留礙。

<sup>650</sup> *WTARJL*, f.41a,2-8. 夫吾輩不知天命，不知真正大主之可畏，即妄自謂我為善而不為惡也，我不敢信。乃既知有天命之可畏矣，而悠悠忽忽，日復一日，為善不誠且不堅，去惡不猛且不力者，正不知此身後天堂地獄，上無所望，下無所畏焉耳。倘誠真知其必有，即不望天堂乎，寧能不畏地獄也耶？

空洞中三仇盡掃，十誠恒遵，乃思乃言乃行，念念恪守聖經，敬躋光明聖域；  
層臺上萬慮都清，一誠獨注，所信所望所愛，心心欽崇天主，欣登樂福天鄉。<sup>651</sup>

To remove all of the three hatreds (the world, the flesh and the devil) in the universe, observing the Ten Commandments, to think, to say and to practice, scrupulously abiding by the holy Bible, and hope to the luminous town; In the high platform a multitude of things are clear, to concentrate on the Uniqueness, to believe, to hope and to love, revering the Lord of Heaven dedicatedly, and be happy to reach heaven.

## 5. Serving the Lord of Heaven

In the preface to Yang Tingyun's *Daiyi xupian*,<sup>652</sup> Wang states a couple of concepts, which are Sixin 死信 (dead belief) and Huoxin 活信 (alive belief). He expresses that,

“...This is the explanation for the belief/xin 信 of western countries. There is a division of dead belief and alive belief. The latter means a believer practices the teachings with understanding, who can integrate learning with pleasure. .... The former means a believer who runs after the superficial things, who does it without mind and effort, and his belief will be withered.”<sup>653</sup>

This division of the couple of concepts indicate that Wang insists on practising his belief. So, the term of alive belief is a lively statement, which leads Wang to serve the Lord of Heaven.

After building the conceptual systems of recognising the Lord of Heaven and revering the Lord of Heaven, Wang enters his discourse into serving the Lord of Heaven, in other words, how to practice his theory of revering the Lord of Heaven and loving people.

Wang states his view in the part of the concept of the Lord of Heaven through the quotation of Li Zhizao's preface, “He who cannot serve his parents, would not be the son of the parents; he who cannot recognise the orthodoxy, would be not the official of the regime; he who cannot serve the Lord of Heaven, would be not the person of

<sup>651</sup> Wang, *Wang Duanjie gong's Poetry*, 王端節公詩文, cf. Li Zhiqin, ed., *WZY*, p.280.

<sup>652</sup> See Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠, *Daiyi xupian* 代疑續編(1635), BnF, Chinois 7111, ff.6b,1-9b,3.

<sup>653</sup> Wang, The preface to *Daiyi xupian*, see Yang Tinyun, *Daiyi xupian*, BnF, Chinois 7111, ff.8b,6-9a,5. 此西國信字詮解。而又雲有死信，有活信。活信者行解齊到，知與好樂一時都有。...死信則浮慕而已，衷不熱，力不注，究必中槁焉。

being.”<sup>654</sup> So, serving the Lord of Heaven is quite important in Wang’s faith world. In order to respond to the anonymous guest’s problem, “Since people did not believe in the eternal blessings in heaven and the endless sufferings in hell, they would be the same as the birds, beasts, and plants at present. How can they look forward to enjoying the eternal blessings of heaven on the high and escaping from the endless sufferings of hell under the earth?”<sup>655</sup> He says that it seems like a supremely difficult and great problem, but in fact it is quite flat and simple.<sup>656</sup> That is revering the Lord of Heaven and caring for Human Beings.<sup>657</sup>

In the part of D6 of *WTARJL*, Wang starts to demonstrate the theoretical system of serving the Heaven/the Lord of Heaven. Additionally, Wang also wrote other texts to explain his views. Furthermore, his related religious practices are quite apparently. From this part, we can see clearly that Confucian-Christian Wang did a lot for the integration between Confucianism and Christianity.

### 5.1 Abiding by the Ten Commandments

Wang placed the Ten Commandments/Decalogue<sup>658</sup> as the connected step between revering the Lord of Heaven and serving the Lord of Heaven, which points to Wang’s religious practice.

Wang says that someone should do no other than that, revering the Lord of Heaven and caring of Human Beings and then he can enjoy the eternal blessings in heaven. Wang thinks that revering the Lord of Heaven and loving people could be summarised in the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven, which are quoted from the Text of *Tianzhu Jiaoyao* 天主教要 (the Key Doctrines of the Lord of Heaven).<sup>659</sup> The

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<sup>654</sup> *WTARJL*, f.26a,2-3. Li Zhizao’s preface to *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.353,3-5. 不事親不可為子，不識正統不可為臣，不事天主不可為人。

<sup>655</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.52b,8-53a,2. 夫夫也弗信天堂之永福，因弗信地獄之永苦，而實先自今同於禽獸草木也而可乎？然必何如而後可望天上之永福，可免地下之永苦？惟吾子昌言之。

<sup>656</sup> *WTARJL*, f.53a,2-3.

<sup>657</sup> *WTARJL*, f.53a,4.

<sup>658</sup> Cf. *TCE*, vol.IV, pp.153-154.

<sup>659</sup> Cf. Matteo Ricci ed. *Tianzhu jiaoyao*, 1605. BnF, Chinois7373. And also see N. standaert and Ad. Dudink, ed., *YSHL*, vol.1, pp.307-374. Possibly, it is from *Jiaoyao jielüe* 教要解略, cf. Wang Fengsu 王豐肅 (Alfonso Vagnoni, 1566-1640), *Jiaoyao jielüe*, 1615, BnF, Chinois 6855. The contents of Ten Commandments are same in these two texts. Wang mentions that in the text of *WTARJL*, the Ten Commandments are from *Jiaoyao*, 此教要也。其詳，

following translation is the content of the Ten Commandments in *WTARJL*, 1) Venerating the unique Lord of Heaven above everything. 2) Do not exclaim the name of the Lord of Heaven and make false oath. 3) Observing the feast day of the church. 4) Showing the filial piety to your parents. 5) Do not kill human beings. 6) Do not commit adultery. 7) Do not steal anything. 8) Do not make perjury against someone. 9) Do not covet the wives of other people. 10) Do not covet the goods of the other people. He thinks that Commandments 1), 2), 3) relate to revering the Lord of Heaven, and Commandments 4), 5), 6), 7), 8), 9), 10) refer to loving people.<sup>660</sup> Therefore, someone who abides by the Ten Commandments will enter heaven and enjoy happiness, or on the contrary, he will fall into hell and will endure many more punishments.<sup>661</sup>

The Ten Commandments of Christianity originate from the two books of Exodus<sup>662</sup> and Deuteronomy<sup>663</sup> of the Old Testament. In the New Testament, during his Sermon on the Mount, Jesus definitely mentioned the prohibitions against murder and adultery. In Matthew,<sup>664</sup> Jesus repeated five of the Ten Commandments, followed by that commandment called the second after the greatest commandment.<sup>665</sup> In the Epistle to the Romans, Paul the Apostle also mentioned five of the Ten Commandments and associated them with the commandment of love thy neighbour.<sup>666</sup> The Ten

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另有專書備論。(It is from *Jiaoyao*, in which the detail is.) See *WTARJL*, f.53b,4-5.

<sup>660</sup> *WTARJL*, f.53a,4-53b,3. 祇予前所常言畏天愛人四字而已。四字總括天主十誡之義。十誡雲何？一欽崇一天主萬物之上。二毋呼天主名而設發虛誓。三守瞻禮之日。此三者，愛敬天主之事也。四孝敬父母。五毋殺人。六毋行邪淫。七毋偷盜。八毋妄證。九毋願他人妻。十毋貪他人財物。此七者，皆推廣愛天主之心以愛人事也。右十誡，總歸二者而已：愛慕天主萬物之上，與夫愛人如己。

Ten Commandments of Orthodox,

1. You shall have no other Gods but me.
  2. You shall not make for yourself any idol, nor bow down to it or worship it.
  3. You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God.
  4. You shall remember and keep the Sabbath day holy.
  5. Respect your father and mother.
  6. You must not kill.
  7. You must not commit adultery.
  8. You must not steal.
  9. You must not give false evidence against your neighbour.
  10. You must not be envious of your neighbour's goods.
- You shall not be envious of his house nor his wife, nor anything that belongs to your neighbour.

<sup>661</sup> *WTARJL*, f.53b,4.

<sup>662</sup> Exodus 20:2-17, 34:10-27.

<sup>663</sup> Deuteronomy 5:6-21.

<sup>664</sup> Matthew 19:16-19.

<sup>665</sup> Matthew 22:34-40.

<sup>666</sup> Romans 13:8-10.

Commandments is a foundation of the Christian beliefs, which is essential for a Christian's spiritual life.

In the earliest catechetical Christian text (Michele Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu*, 1584), the Ten Commandments was introduced first, and another version named *Zuchuan tianzhu shijie* 祖傳天主十誡 was attached to the back of *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu*. In the late Chinese Christian texts translated by the missionaries, the Ten Commandments was introduced again, for instance, *Tianzhu jiaoyao*, *Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan* 天主聖教約言,<sup>667</sup> *Shengjing yuelu* 聖經約錄<sup>668</sup> and *Jiaoyao jielue*. Thus, it is clear that the Ten Commandments as the fundamental belief of Christianity is quite important for the of converts in the late Ming era. Due to it having great ethical values, the Confucian Christian paid much more attention to it in the texts.

The Ten Commandments is the core of Wang's theory system, which interlinks the parts of recognising the Lord of Heaven and revering the Lord of Heaven with the section of serving the Lord of Heaven. Recognising the Lord of Heaven is the prerequisite of the other two parts. Revering the Lord of Heaven and loving people are the cores of the Ten Commandments, the former is the greatest Commandment. When the essential precondition of Christian faith is confirmed, Wang explains that man should serve the Lord of Heaven. From his statement, it is quite apparent that revering/loving the Lord of Heaven and caring for Human Beings are the principles of serving the Lord of Heaven.

## 5.2 To Accept Baptism

Baptism is the first Christian religious ceremony for someone who wants to become Christian. It is one of the Seven Sacraments of the Christian Church, frequently called the "first sacrament", the "door of the sacraments", and the "door of the Church."<sup>669</sup>

Wang uses the Confucian concept *Gongfu* 工夫 to explain the significance of Christian baptism. In fact, *Gongfu* is quite important not only in Confucianism, but

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<sup>667</sup> Cf. *YSHL*, vol.2, pp.253-280. The author of the text is Su Ruhan 蘇如漢 (João Soerio).

<sup>668</sup> Cf. *YSHL*, vol.1, pp.87-116.

<sup>669</sup> Cf. *TCE*, vol.II, pp.258-274.

also in Buddhism and Taoism. Gongfu is the method of self-cultivation, if someone wants to reach a high moral character, he should follow some methods of Gongfu and cultivate himself much more, and then he will gain a superior mind. In *WTARJL*, Wang inputs new things into the concept of Gongfu by stating that man should be baptized by holy water in order to desert the evils, and then believe in the Lord of Heaven and make goodness. After expressing his opinion, Wang uses a simile to further explain where he compares the Gongfu of baptism to managing the animal enclosure park (You 園). First of all, man should renovate the ground and turn up the soil, and then pull up the weeds and root out thorns, pick up the pieces of rock and pour out the muddy water into the ravine and then finally to sow the best seeds.<sup>670</sup> Here, to renovate the ground means correct someone's mind, the weeds, the thorns, the pieces of rock and the muddy water are the vivid symbols of evils, and the best seeds are the ideas of goodness. Wang points out that the Confucian scholars want to do goods only when they give up evils.

Wang quotes some passages to take his points further. The selected sections are from *TZSY*, in which he wants to express that although it is really difficult for someone to desert evil, when he tries his hardest to eradicate the roots of evil and improve the moral level of his deed and mind and to examine himself regularly, that will be perfect for his virtue.

“Before beginning his study, someone's bad habits run around wildly, which have penetrated deep into his mind. Will he try his best to uproot the evil practice outrageous. The meaning of courage is self-conquest. How is a spirit of courage to be established in a student whom we know has fallen into concupiscence because of what he has learnt thus far? How can the virtue of modesty be fostered in one who is still arrogant, and who thinks only of cheating others? How can a person preserve his honesty when he is still bewitched by ill-gotten wealth and refuses to return it to its rightful owner? How can a person possess a superior morality when he is still drowned in greed for glory and fame? How can one who is forever blaming Heaven and a man stands firm on humanity and righteousness? If vinegar and the like is poured into ritual vessels meant for the offering of wine in a sacrifice they can no longer be used by a priest for their original purpose. A man who knows his faults will find it easy to move on to the path of virtue when he has seen the first shoots of goodness.

If you wish to eradicate the many roots of evil and establish yourself in goodness, you can do no better than to keep the rules of my humble society, and to examine yourself twice a day, reviewing each half-day's thoughts,

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<sup>670</sup> *WTARJL*, f.53b,5-9. *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, p.579,5-7. 其工夫下手，則在先以聖水洗其習染之汙，而以淨心歸誠於天主，痛悔其過而遷善焉。嘗譬此工如治園然：先繕地，拔其野草，去其荆棘，除其瓦石，注其泥水於溝壑，而後菽嘉種也。



words, and actions to determine whether they have been good or evil. Where they are found to be good, one disciplines oneself and cuts them off. If this practice is continued over a long period of time one is not likely to fall into any great error, even if one has no teacher or protector to exercise close supervision.

When one has worked diligently to improve one's moral conduct and has attained to the highest level of perfection, one will habitually see the Lord of Heaven in the eye of one's mind as if one is really face to face with Him. When the supremely honored (the Lord of Heaven) does not leave a man's mind, evil thoughts will naturally cease to put forth shoots, and there will be no need to employ any other technique. A man's four limbs will naturally cease to engage in unrighteous activities, and will need have no restraint put on them. The most essential thing in turning away from evil is a profound remorse; one will determine that the wrongs done prior to being deeply remorseful will not be committed again. Since the mind is cleansed, it then becomes possible to put on the precious garment of virtue."<sup>671</sup>

Thus, from Wang's statement, Christian baptism is not only a religious ceremony but is also a new point of doing goodness, in other words, under the holy ritual man should eradicate the root of evil and make a fresh start in life. From the aspect of ethics, baptism marks the new moral life for the converts.

When a man accepts the Christian baptism, he is a Christian. Having discussed the themes of recognising the Lord of Heaven and revering the Lord of Heaven, Wang emphasizes that baptism is the first step of serving the Lord of Heaven. Definitely, according to Wang's explanation, a man cannot really serve the Lord of Heaven without baptism.

### 5.3 To Build Churches

Chongyi tang 崇一堂/ The Temple of Revering the Uniqueness

Jingtian ge 景天閣 /The Pavilion of Revering the Heaven

A church/building is an indispensable part of Christian religious life, especially for Catholic Christians, where they celebrate the Eucharist and take part in the celebration

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<sup>671</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.54a,8-9. *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.579,8-9. 當其未學之初，習心橫肆，其惡根固深透乎心，抽使去之，可不力乎？勇者，克己之謂也。 *WTARJL*, ff.54b,1-55a,5. *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.580,4-581,8. 既已知學矣，尚迷乎色欲，則何以建於勇毅？尚驕傲自滿欺人，則何以進乎謙德？尚惑非義之財物，不返其主，則何以秉廉？尚溺乎榮顯功名，則何以超於道德？尚將怨天尤人，則何以立於仁義？梏桎盈以醞醞，不能斟之鬱鬱矣。知己之惡者，見善之倪，而易入於德路者也。欲剪諸惡之根，而興己於善，須逐日再次省察。凡已半日間所思所言所行善惡，有善者自勸繼之，有惡者自懲絕之。久用此功，雖無師保之責，亦不患有大過。然勤修之至，恒習見天主於心目，儼如對越至尊，不離於心，狂念自不萌起。不須他功，其身莫之禁而自不適於非義矣。故改惡之要，惟在深悔。悔其昔之已犯，自誓弗敢再蹈。心之既沐，德之寶服可衣焉。

of Mass, and other Christian religious activities. In the late Ming era, when the number of converts was on the rise, Christian communities were gradually formed, and then the church buildings were set up. At the beginning, the church buildings were quite rare, the neophytes of Christianity gathered together in the residences of missionaries or the Christian houses and celebrated the holy Mass. When the missionaries collected money and had stable residences, the churches would subsequently be built.

In 1625 (the Fifth year of Tianqi being Emperor), Wang Zheng invited Trigault (Jin Nige) to missionise in Jingyang of Shaanxi.<sup>672</sup> When some members of Wang's family accepted baptism, Wang's family supplied Trigault with residence in Luqiao, where there was possibly a place for praying and for religious rituals. During his time in Luqiao, Trigault got sick for about five or six months. After recovery, he was accompanied by Wang and another Confucian Christian Zhang Zhongfang,<sup>673</sup> and they found a new residence for Trigault in the city, where he started to spread the Christian doctrine.<sup>674</sup> In the summer of 1627, Trigault was dispatched to Hangzhou. In a short time, Johann Adam Schall von Bell (Tang Ruowang) came to Xi'an and continued Trigault's mission.<sup>675</sup> In the spring of 1628, Wang may have returned to his hometown from Yangzhou fu, where he invited the Jesuit Alvaro Semodo (Lu Dezha) to come to Shaanxi with him together.<sup>676</sup> In order to maintain the presence of these two Jesuits, thus enabling them to continue preaching in Shaanxi, Wang donated 300 tael to them for residence. But in the next year, Alvaro Semodo was recalled to the headquarters of mission. Thereafter, only in Xi'an did Schall von Bell keep missionising. Wang zealously supported him to set up a small church, to which he donated another 50 tael. Shortly after Wang organised some officials and local

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<sup>672</sup> Alfons Vāth SJ, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell SJ: Missionar in China*, Kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592-1666, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1991, p.73.

<sup>673</sup> Zhang Zhongfang 張鍾芳 was also a Confucian Christian, who was the youngest son of Zhang Wenda 張問達 (?-1625). The Christian name of Zhongfang is Paul. About Zhang Wenda, cf., *MS*, liezhuan 129, vol.241. And also cf., *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志.

<sup>674</sup> Alfons Vāth SJ, 1991, pp.73-74.

<sup>675</sup> Ibid. p.74.

<sup>676</sup> Alfons Vāth SJ, 1991, p.74. Hereby in the book, the author says at the beginning of 1628 Wang and Alvaro Semodo went to Shaanxi together, because Wang should go into mourning for his father. According to Wang's text *Weifu qin muzhi zhuanggao* 為父求墓誌狀稿 (The Manuscript for Epitaph of My Father), Wang's father died in the winter of 1628. cf., *BTTJC*, vol.VI.

wealthy people who were not Christian, to contribute finances for a large church. When the church was built, the small one was consecrated to Maria of God and was designated for women only. The image of Christ was hung inside the new church, the apparent plated gold cross was set up on top of it. Some local people came to visit the church and were astonished by the architectural features and interior decorations, and then they accepted baptism by Schall von Bell.<sup>677</sup> The new church was named as Chongyi tang 崇一堂 (The Temple of Revering the Uniqueness), which was built in 1628. The name of Chongyi tang is composed of chongyi 崇一 and tang 堂, the former is from the first and greatest Commandment of Decalogue, which means to venerate the unique Lord of Heaven.<sup>678</sup> Wang also wrote one couplet for the church,

自生天生地生人生物以來，兩間無兩主宰；  
從有帝有王有聖有賢而後，一總是一欽崇。<sup>679</sup>

Having created the heaven, the earth, the human being and the other things, there is no the other Supreme Ruler in the world; from the Emperors, the Kings and the Sages to the Saints, no one fails to revere the Uniqueness.

The site of the Chongyi tang is in the street of Tangfang 糖坊街 in Xi'an, which was near to the north gate of Xi'an town. Having built the Church of Wuxing jie (Nantang 南堂) during the early Qing Dynasty, the church of Tangfang jie was called Beitang 北堂.<sup>680</sup> During the period of mourning for his father in Luqiao from the winter of 1628 to the spring of 1631, Wang visited Schall von Bell frequently in Chongyi tang from his hometown Jingyang to Xi'an. The Jesuit talked with Wang about the Christian doctrine day and night in the church. Wang recorded the contents of their conversation, which centred on the devotional stories of Christian Sages and

<sup>677</sup> Alfons Vāth SJ, 1991, pp.74-75. "Um die beiden Patres trotz der geringen Aussichten zum Bleiben zu bestimmen, kaufte ihnen Dr. Philipp für 300 Tael einige Häuser in der Stadt. ...Semedo wurde 1629 abberufen, und so war Schall allein. Er baute mit Hilfe Dr. Philipps, der 50 Tael stiftete, eine Kapelle und bald darauf mit freigelegter Unterstützung heidnischer Beamten auch eine Kirche. Die der Mutter Gottes geweihte Kapelle war anscheinend für den Gottesdienst der Frauen bestimmt. Die bedeutendste Persönlichkeit der Nachbarschaft, bisher ein Gegner, leistete beim Kirchenbau Hilfe, indem er gleichsam als Bauführer die Arbeiten überwachte. In der Kirche wurde ein Christusbild aufgestellt; über dem Gotteshaus erhob sich ein vergoldetes Kruzifix. Viele Neugierige fanden sich ein, das Werk zu bewundern. Schall behandelte sie mit grosser Freundlichkeit. Die Volksstimmung schlug in ihr Gegenteil um, so dass der Missionar bald 50 Taufen spenden konnte."

<sup>678</sup> Cf. Wang, the Preface to *RJSB*, BAV, f.3b.

<sup>679</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>680</sup> This information is from my survey research. From 2009 to 2014, I have carried out a lot of field work about the history of the Catholic Church in Shaanxi province.

Saints.<sup>681</sup> Afterwards, in 1638, he collated the stories in one book named *Chongyi tang riji suibi* (the Diary of Chongyi tang).<sup>682</sup> In the meantime, they also founded Jingfeng guan 景風館 (The House of Nestorianism)<sup>683</sup> in Xi'an, and published books including Wang's writings and the translated Western works.

The term tang is a building term which means a great house or a hall, or the principal room of a house, the principal hall in a yamen of administrative and juridical place, or a name for shops, stores, etc.<sup>684</sup> In the house of a lay buddhist and some small Buddhist temples, the place of shrine to Buddha and Boddhisattva is also called Fo tang 佛堂. In Confucianism, the hall of one family for their deceased ancestors is named as Ci tang 祠堂. It is apparent that the term Tang refers to a gathering space which possesses a religious function.

In the late Ming and early Qing, gradually, Tang as the end of the Chinese term for church was used.

By adopting this term, Christians clearly dissociated themselves from Buddhist or Taoist monasteries (si 寺, guan 觀, gong 宮). A church or church-complex was not only a place for liturgical gathering. Books were often printed at these locations, and printing blocks were preserved there afterwards. The general term for a church was Tianzhu tang 天主堂. After the discovery of the Nestorian monument in 1623(1625) and up to ca. 1660 one sometimes also called churches Jingjiao tang 景教堂. As time progressed there were more specific names. Some churches obtained names with an explicitly Christian meaning: such as the Chaoxing 超性堂, or church of the Supernatural, at Hangzhou; the Lingbao tang 領報堂 or Annunciation church (since 1694) and Shitai datang 始胎大堂 or Immaculate Conception cathedral (since 1790) at Beijing (South Church); the Ruose tang 若瑟堂 or Joseph church at Beijing (East Church); the Fuyin tang 福音堂 or Gospel church (Franciscans) and the Quanneng tang 全能堂 or Almighty church (Augustinians) at Canton; the Meigui tang 玫瑰堂 or Rosary church (Dominicans) at Fu'an and Fuzhou. Churches for women were called Shengmu tang 聖母堂 or Holy Mother church. In most cases, however, the names for churches, although having a Christian meaning for insiders, were hardly to be distinguished from the names which Chinese gave to their "halls": Shoushan tang 首善堂(North Church, Beijing), Dayuan tang 大原堂(Canton); Zhenyuan tang 真原堂(Augustinians, Zhaoqing); Qinyi tang 欽一堂(Wuchang); Jingyi tang 敬一堂(Shanghai); Zhengxue tang 正學堂(Nanjing); Tianqu tang 天衢堂(Franciscans, Ji'nan). Some names were explicitly taken from the Classics and more in particular the Book of Odes, such as the Yiyi tang 翼翼堂 in Nan'an (Jiangxi), the Zhaoshi tang 昭事堂 in Hangzhou and the

<sup>681</sup> Cf. Wang, the Preface to *RJSB*, BAV, ff.1b-2b.

<sup>682</sup> See Wang, the Preface to *RJSB*, BAV, f.6a. The text of *Chongyi tang riji suibi* was finished in 1629, Johann Adam Schall von bell narrated the stories and Wang Zheng transcribed the text. In 1638, Wang wrote the preface to the text and published it.

<sup>683</sup> Because the Nestorian monument(Jingjiao bei 景教碑) was discovered at the suburbs of Xi'an in ca.1625, some of Chinese Christian and missionaries set up their churches or the other buildings named after Jingjiao 景教. Jingfeng guan 景風館 is the last page of the first volume *XREMZ*, cf., *XREMZ*, vol.I, 1956

<sup>684</sup> Cf. *ZGLD*, p.2689. & *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典 (Modern Chinese Dictionary), Beijing;Shangwu yinshuguan Hongkong fenguan, 1977.p.998.

Although the above terms of church mentioned in the quotation appear in the printed texts of Chinese Christianity publications, the concept Tang as the space of religious ritual of Christianity has been accepted among Chinese believers.

In fact, before Wang contributed finance to set up Chongyi tang in Xi'an, he had organised to build Jingtian ge 景天閣(The Pavilion of Revering the Heaven) in Yangzhou. Jingtian ge consists of jingtian and ge, in which the former term means revering the Heaven, the latter means a pavilion which is built on the high place. The Chinese word Jing 景 has many kinds of meanings, one of which is to look up to or worship something or someone.<sup>686</sup> So, Wang chose Jing as a Chinese term to name church. Possibly, Jingtian could have some relation with Jingjiao/ Nestorianism 景教.

In 1628, Wang was in the official position of Yangzhou fu possibly after the Spring festival of 1628 and he took his father to stay in Yangzhou with him for a period of time. Wang says in his text when he had hesitation about judicial cases that he could not make a decision. He father told him not to mistreat people based on unreasonable principles, as the punishment of Heaven was quite fearful. Wang kept to his father's teachings and dealt with the cases justly.<sup>687</sup> After several months, when he escorted his father back home they passed by Shugang 蜀崗<sup>688</sup> and visited the place, Wang Zheng found the old site of Song Pingshan tang 平山堂.<sup>689</sup> Between the Song to late Ming eras, Pingshan tang was destroyed. After visiting the place, Wang decided to set up the Pavilion of Revering the Heaven on the old site of Pingshan tang. According to the description in his text, the upper space was enshrined for people to worship Haotian shangdi 昊天上帝. In that time, as a Confucian Christian, Wang had already confirmed that Shangdi was the Lord of Heaven. Here, undoubtedly, the Pavilion had

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<sup>685</sup> N. Standaert, ed., 2001, pp.580-581.

<sup>686</sup> Cf. *HYDD*, vol.5,1990, pp.769-774.

<sup>687</sup> Wang, *Weifu qin muzhi zhuanggao*(The Manuscript for Epitaph of My Father), cf., *BTTJC*, vol.6.

<sup>688</sup> Shugang 蜀崗 lies in the northwest of old Yangzhou suburb. Now it is the Landscape and Famous Scenery of Slender West Lake.

<sup>689</sup> Pingshan tang 平山堂 has been built on the top of Shugang since 1048. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修(1007 -1072) organised and set up it, in that time Ouyang Xiu was the magistrate of Yangzhou fu, because he found the scenery was beautiful. But in the *Pingshan tang zhi* 平山堂志 (the Annals of Pingshan tang) of the 43rd year of Kangxi has not recorded the event of the Pavilion of Revering the Heaven.

some relation with Christian doctrine.

The lower space of the Pavilion for people to revere the Sages and Saints, including Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179 -104 B.C.), Fan Zhongyan 範仲淹 (989-1052), Han Qi 韓琦(1008-1075), Ouyang xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), Zhao Bian 趙忭 (1008-1084), Bao Zheng 包拯(999-1062), Wang Shu 王恕(1416-1508), Zeng Xian 曾銑 (1509-1548), Hu Yuan 胡瑗(993-1059), Wang Gen 王艮(1368-1402) and Wen Tianxiang 文天祥(1236-1283).<sup>690</sup> All of these sages and saints are not only the representatives of Confucianism, but also the famous officials and sages of the Yangzhou area. This kind of arrangement for the Pavilion appears to have been Wang's idea of revering the Lord of Heaven, which integrates Christian doctrine and Confucian tradition.

In Wang's old age, his Christian faith became quite pious. Having experienced the incident of Dengzhou 登州 in 1632,<sup>691</sup> Wang thought deeply about life and death. Since he returned from jail, he started to spread his Christian teachings. Occasionally, he took in the missionaries to join some parties and sincerely introduced the teachings of Christianity to the local officials. The themes of conversations between Wang and these officials were concerned about the concept of Heaven (Tian) and the stories of Saints. In the meantime, with great enthusiasm he printed a lot of Christian texts to promote the teachings of Christianity in the local district. He also edited one kind of catechism, the content came from the works of missionaries. He helped spread Christianity through the work of catechism to believers of other religions. When the local officials came to his house, he only talked about the concepts of the soul and the Lord of Heaven. Furthermore, he persuaded the local Christians to join the Holy Sacrament. Meanwhile, it took Wang one day from his hometown to arrive in Xi'an, so that he could join the Mass and confess his sins to the priests.<sup>692</sup>

In 1638, Wang supported the missionaries to set up another Chongyi tang in Luqiao

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<sup>690</sup> Wang, *LLL* (the Brief Compilations of Documents during Guangping and Yangzhou Judge Offices).

<sup>691</sup> Wang, *Kenqi zhaocha dengzhou bingbian qianhou shiqing jietie* 懇祈照察登州兵變前後事情揭帖(The Report

on Explanation for Mutiny of Dengzhou ), the edition of Ming. And also cf. *Qingshi gao* 清史稿, Liezhuan 21.

<sup>692</sup> Dong Shaoxin, transl., *the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China (1634,1637)*.

town. Due to commitment to his faith, he actively prepared funds for the church building. “Unintentionally, I had an idea that I wanted to establish one church/Jingtian ge. Thus I collected funds from local senior officials or relatives and friends, in that time I looked like a fund-beggar (Muyuan chao huazi 募緣抄化子). Even my family affairs could be not cared for, nevertheless, I concentrated all my energy on the church. My wife and daughters contributed their ornaments and presents as funds to the construction of the church.”<sup>693</sup>

Wang also wrote some information about the church in his preface to the Diary of Chongyi Tang, he states that the Pavilion was already built.<sup>694</sup> In the letter of Wang in 1637 to Han Lin, he mentioned that he would build a Pavilion for revering the Heaven in his hometown Luqiao, where he could pray to the Lord of Heaven for eternal life.<sup>695</sup>

In the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China (1637), Wang Zheng’s name is mentioned several times, of course including the building of churches. About the Chongyi tang of Luqiao it is states, “ when the local people wanted to build a castle to prevent roving bandits, they need to find the leader of officials, Wang Zheng promised to help them. Since the castle was finished, Wang Zheng called the local people together and said that it was useless to build the firm castle, if there was no the protection from the Lord of Heaven. Thus, we should build one temple to revere the Lord of Heaven in the town. Under the encouragement of Wang, the local people were so quite exhilarated that they donated money generously. In a short while, a church was built in the town. One missionary, Meng Ruwang (João Monteiro, 1602-1648), said that this church was the best one he had seen at that time. Wang Zheng also asked the president of the Christian church to send at least one priest on a mission of the church.<sup>696</sup> In 1639, with the help of Wang, another church was built in one city.<sup>697</sup> Based on my field work in the area of Wang’s hometown, it is possible that this

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<sup>693</sup> Wang, *XZWB*, the transcript in Qing dynasty. 又無端起念，營建景天閣一所，或請助於公祖父母，或請助於戚友朋親，一似募緣抄化子之所為。甚且家事一毫不理，而心心念念，時時刻刻，只向此事著力。即妻女之簪珥，囊篋之餘物，交際之饋遺，一一捐之此中甘心焉。

<sup>694</sup> See *RJSB*, f.4b.

<sup>695</sup> Wang, *the Letter to Han Lin in 1637*, see *SYQS*,

<sup>696</sup> Dong Shaoxin, transl., *the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China (1637)*.

<sup>697</sup> Dong Shaoxin, transl., *the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China (1639)*.

church was built in the city of Sanyuan 三原, which is near to Luqiao.

From the aspect of constructing churches to explore Wang's Christian faith, he was a warm-hearted Confucian-Christian, who was keen on the development of the Christian church in Shaanxi province. As is mentioned in the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China, Wang Zheng was the pillar of the Christian church in Shaanxi.<sup>698</sup>

Obviously, Wang contributed a lot to the construction of churches, which is related to his faith in the Lord of Heaven. To make a contribution to the church is a kind of religious responsibility, his feeling of this responsibility is implied in the text of *RJSB*, which is an important text to explore Wang's thinking towards serving the Lord of Heaven.

In *RJSB*, Wang introduces a story, which is about Ospitone 歐塞卑約, who revered the Lord of Heaven quite sincerely, thus he provided 10 percent of the whole country taxes to the church for saving the souls in purgatory. When his neighbouring country attacked his towns, the Lord of Heaven sent a mysterious army to save his country. Wang thinks that Ospitone gained salvation from the Lord of Heaven because of his faith and contribution. Thus, he insists that revering the Lord of Heaven faithfully should be our primary concern, and then we should serve the Lord of Heaven in practice (Fengtian zhishi 奉天之實), such as making the benevolence of saving souls in purgatory (Pudu zhiren 普度之仁).<sup>699</sup> Accordingly, making a donation to the church (institution) and establishing a church (building) are the inseparable parts of Wang's teachings about how to serve the Lord of Heaven.

#### 5.4 The Concept of Love

Love is an essential and eternal theme for human beings, which plays an important role in the significant world of human beings. Undoubtedly, the concept of love is the

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<sup>698</sup> Dong Shaoxin, transl., *the Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus in China (1637)*.

<sup>699</sup> *RJSB*, ff.33b,1-35a,4.



basic doctrine in Confucianism and Christianity.<sup>700</sup> In Wang's theoretical system, the concept of love is not only the indispensable part, but also the enlightened integration.

In the texts *WTARJL* and *RHY*, Wang mentions several times about the central doctrines of the Ten Commandments which are revering the Lord of Heaven and caring for Human Beings. He uses Confucian concept of love, Ren ai 仁愛, to interpret Christian doctrine of loving God and loving others as self.

Wang quoted the Confucian classical statement from *Yijing* 易經 to express Shan 善(goodness) should be the first position of man, meanwhile he indicates that Ren 仁(benevolence) is the essential quality for gentlemen. Therefore, here Wang confirms that Shan is Ren and goodness means benevolence. Additionally, he states that benevolence contains two dimensions: to love the Lord of Heaven and to love others as you would yourself. Here the new connotation is implanted in the Confucian concept of Ren (benevolence), which is to love the supreme Existence, the Lord of Heaven. Of course, the meaning of loving the Lord of Heaven is to revere the Lord of Heaven. He emphasises that the Lord of Heaven loves people and human beings really love the Lord of Heaven, so that people love each other. Additionally, the Confucian concept of the Love of Ren just means to love other people, whereas in Wang's statement, the difference is the that concept of Love means not only to love the other people, but also to love others as you would yourself. Therefore, from loving people 愛人 to loving others as you would yourself 愛人如己, is a progressive contribution.

*Yi* 易(the Book of Changes) states, what is called great and originating is the first and chief quality of goodness. The gentleman embodying benevolence is fit to preside over men. The definition of humanity can be summed up in the following two sentences: Love the Lord of Heaven, for He is supreme; and love others as you love yourself for the sake of the Lord of Heaven. If you carry out these two commands, everything you do will be perfect. However, these two commands, are only one command. If one loves a person passionately one will love what that person loves. The Lord of Heaven loves people; if I genuinely love the Lord of Heaven can I fail to love the people He loves? The reason why the virtue of humanity is so noble is precisely that it signifies love for the Sovereign on High. If the Lord of Heaven were to rely on some other external thing to bring me to perfection, I might seek it without being able to obtain it and thereby remain in a state of imperfection. However,

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<sup>700</sup> Cf. *TCE*, vol.IX, pp.397-399.

everything rests with my inner mind on love. Who can say I cannot love?<sup>701</sup>

The concept of benevolence love/Ren ai is one essential point of Confucian teachings. During the pre-Qin period, Confucius put forward the idea of Ren ai, and then Mencius further developed and interpreted this thought. Confucius mentions benevolence/Ren many times in the text of the Analects, where there are 58 chapters discussing Ren, whereby the character 仁/Ren appears 105 times. With Confucianism, the concept of benevolence means loving men, “Fan Chi asked about benevolence. The Master said, it is to love all men. He asked about knowledge. The Master said, it is to know all men.”<sup>702</sup> The concept of benevolence directs to men, the object scope of love is limited to men. Besides, the love of benevolence is different. “Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives. Righteousness is the accordance of actions with what is right, and the great exercise of it is in honoring the worthy.”<sup>703</sup> To one person, who would love others, should love his parents and brothers first. It means that he loves his relatives first, and then he could love others. The relatives are before other men in terms of love. The concrete behaviours of loving men are mentioned in the text of the Analects, for instance, “Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others. To be able to consider others above ourselves, this may be called the way of practicing benevolence.”<sup>704</sup> “What is forbearance? Do not do to others what you would not want them to do to you.”<sup>705</sup> From these two quotations, it cannot be denied

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<sup>701</sup> *WTARJL*, f.55a,6-b,6. *TZSY*, see *TXCH*, pp.581,9-582,8. 易雲：元者善之長。君子體仁，足以長人。夫仁之說，可約而以二言窮之。曰：愛天主，而天主無以尚。而為天主者，愛人如己也。行斯二者，百行全備矣。然二亦一而已。篤愛一人，則並愛其所愛者矣。天主愛人，吾真愛天主者，有不愛人者乎？此仁之德，所以為尊。其尊非他，乃因上帝。故曰：仁，天之尊爵也。借令天主所以成我者，由他外物又或求得之而不能得，則尚有歉，乃皆由我心中一念，特在一愛雲耳。孰曰吾不能愛乎？

<sup>702</sup> 樊遲問仁，子曰愛人。問知，子曰知人。

Cf. *Lunyu yanyuan* 論語·顏淵, Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, transl., *Lunyu*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2006, p.146.

<sup>703</sup> 仁者人也，親親為大，義者宜也，尊賢為大。

Cf. *Zhongyong* 中庸, Song Tianzheng 宋天正, transl., *Zhongyong jinzhuyinyi* 中庸今注今譯, Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館, p.35.

<sup>704</sup> 夫仁者，己慾立而立人，己慾達而達人。能近取譬，可謂仁之方也。

Cf. *Lunyu yongye* 論語·雍也, Yang Bojun, transl., *Lunyu*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2006, p.72.

<sup>705</sup> 其恕乎！己所不欲，勿施於人。

Cf. *Lunyu weiling gong* 論語·衛靈公, Yang Bojun, transl., *Lunyu*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2006, p.188.

that Confucian love is differentiated. However, it is clear that to put the interest of others above one's own is one type of altruism, especially on forbearance, to treat others as you want to be treated.

Based on the thought of Confucius' benevolent love, Mencius enriched the connotation of benevolence. The essential meaning is that benevolence is human beings, i.e. as the human being, we should make benevolence. "Benevolence is the distinguishing characteristic of man, as embodied human and benevolence, it is called the right path."<sup>706</sup> Meanwhile, as for the human being, who should have four principles, i.e. the sense of commiseration, the sense of shame and dislike, the sense of modesty and complaisance, the sense of approving and disapproving. According to these four senses, the virtue of gentleman will be formed. "From this case we may perceive that the sense of commiseration is essential to man, that the sense of shame and dislike is essential to man, that the sense of modesty and complaisance is essential to man, and that the sense of approving and disapproving is essential to man. The sense of commiseration is the principle of benevolence. The sense of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness. The sense of modesty and complaisance is the principle of propriety. The sense of approving and disapproving is the principle of knowledge."<sup>707</sup> The moral practice of these four senses is the virtue presence of love. "That whereby the superior man is distinguished from other men is what he preserves in his heart, namely benevolence and propriety. The benevolent man loves others. The man of propriety shows respect to others. He who loves others is constantly loved by them. He who respects others is constantly respected by them."<sup>708</sup> Thus the superior man loves others in daily life, who will gain the love and respect of other men.

During the dynasty of Song, Zhu Xi developed the thoughts of benevolence and

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<sup>706</sup> 仁也者，人也；合而言之，道也。

Cf., *Mengzi jinxin xia* 孟子•盡心下, Fang Yong 方勇, transl., *Mengzi*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2010, p.283.

<sup>707</sup> 由是觀之，無惻隱之心，非人也。無羞惡之心，非人也。無辭讓之心，非人也。無是非之心，非人也。惻隱之心，仁之端也。羞惡之心，義之端也，辭讓之心，禮之端也，是非之心，智之端也。

Cf., *Mengzi gongsunshou shang* 孟子•公孫醜上, Fang Yong, transl., *Mengzi*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2010, p.44.

<sup>708</sup> 君子所以異於人者，以其存心也。君子以仁存心，以禮存心。仁者愛人，有禮者敬人。愛人者，人恒愛之；敬人者，人恒敬之。

Cf., *Mengzi lilou xia* 孟子•離婁下, Fang Yong, transl., *Mengzi*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2010, p.149.

love. “Benevolence is the principle of love, which is the appearance of benevolence; benevolence is the essence of love, which is the appearance of benevolence.”<sup>709</sup> Here you can find that Zhu Xi differentiates benevolence and love from the metaphysical aspect. The relation between benevolence and love is interpreted thoroughly.

Therefore, Wang’s statement on the concept of benevolence and love is rooted in the Confucian tradition viewpoint. After learning Christian doctrine, he put new content into Confucian Ren ai. As mentioned above, Wang put loving the Lord of Heaven and loving others as yourself into Ren ai, apparently loving the Lord of Heaven is from Christianity. We can confirm that loving others is the connected point between Confucianism and Christianity. Although loving others as you would yourself is the Christian expression, which is not the same as Confucian Ren ai, Wang has made an interpretation on the opinion of loving others.

Furthermore, Wang quotes some viewpoints from Diego de Pantoja’s *Qike*, which are about the classification of love. He states that love has three types, which are Xi’ ai 習愛 (habitual love), Li’ ai 理愛 (friendly affection) and Ren ai 仁愛 (benevolence). Wang indicates that habitual love and friendly affection are not the virtue of love accepted by the Lord of Heaven. Benevolence is the only real one which is accepted by the Lord of Heaven. He supplies the explanations to this viewpoint. Habitual love is generated from common habits which are cohabitation, common work, sympathy and cooperation. Both human beings and animals have this kind of love. Regarding friendly affection, Wang explains that everyone knows the principle, those who were born in this world, could not be friendly and social, would not make up the world and affairs of human life, so that usually a man seeks help from someone he loves and who loves him in return. Thus, his kind of love makes tiny virtue, which is from the selfness. The wicked man also has this kind of love-friendly affection, which is not required by the Lord of Heaven.<sup>710</sup> Finally, his demonstration focuses on the love of benevolence. “The benevolent men treat humans as the son of the Lord of Heaven,

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<sup>709</sup> 仁者，愛之理，愛者，仁之事，仁者，愛之體，愛者，仁之用。

See Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲, eds., *Songyuan xuean Huiweng xuean* 宋元學案·晦翁學案, Taipei: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局 (The Press of Student), 1978, p.36.

<sup>710</sup> *RHY*, f.42a,2-42b,6. *Qike*, see *TXCH*, pp.821,2-7.

because they have the same nature, and then love them. They hope the others acquire blessings. What are true blessings? By having perceived the Lord of Heaven in his life, he does goodness and then he will enjoy the true blessings after death. The benevolent men love the Lord of Heaven and turn the love of the Lord of Heaven to love others, so that they hope everyone realises the Lord of Heaven and enjoy true blessings. This is in order to escape from the eternal sufferings, to give up all kinds of wickedness. If the worldly happiness holds back the way to true blessings, we should desert the worldly things. This is the love of benevolence, what is required to us by the Lord of Heaven. If we love each other sincerely, we will gain true virtue. Only when the feelings of avarice, envy, pride and obscenity are deserted and only when the mind could agree with the requirement of the Lord of Heaven, can we not reach, even if the deeds correspond to external conditions. St. Augustine said, “If you don’t love the Lord of Heaven, you will not be the men created by the Lord of Heaven.” Therefore, who loves the Lord of Heaven will love men easily too. The love of benevolent men is originated from the love of the Lord of Heaven. The Love of the Lord of Heaven is bred from the love of human beings. It seems like clothes get warmth from the body and then it can warm the body.”<sup>711</sup> Wang thinks that habitual love and friendly affection are inferior to the love of benevolence, which is originated from the Lord of Heaven. Thus, as a man he should love the Lord of Heaven and then he could love other men. Obviously, the prerequisite of benevolence is to love the Lord of Heaven. Ultimately, it is taken for granted that a man loves others.

In fact, these words of Wang’s statement are from Ricci’s *TZSY* and de Pantoja’s *Qike*. Although Wang copied the passage from *TZSY* and *Qike*, he not only accepted the viewpoints of missionaries’ work, but also put his demonstration at the back of this part.

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<sup>711</sup> *RHY*, ff.42b,7-43b,1. *Qike*, see *TXCH*, pp.821,7-822,8.其一仁愛，仁者視人為天主之子，與己同性。故愛之。”而願其得福。孰為福？生時能識天主，行實德；死時生享天福，則真福大福也。“仁者先自真愛天主，轉以天主之愛愛人，故望人識愛天主，以享生死真福，冀改諸惡，脫永殃。若他福無妨於此福，望之；否則惡之，是謂仁愛，乃天主所責於我焉。”若以是相愛者，真德也。非除貪妬傲淫諸惡情，非心契於天主真道實德，雖合於外事，弗能得焉。故聖亞吾斯丁雲：“爾不愛造人之天主，不能善愛天主所造人。”泉上出，易下；愛天主者，易愛人。仁者之人愛，原於天主之愛。天主之愛，又受育於人愛。如衣取熱於身，又自保身熱也。

Everyone knows love, and men love each other and only need one moment while one is thinking, does not anyone say it is quite easy? Who really loves the Lord of Heaven must be from fear to reverence and at the end to love, so that his merits and virtues will be manifested, in the meanwhile the teaching will be carried forward. Perhaps the effectiveness of loving the Lord of Heaven is to love men. Who is called the benevolent men to love other men. If someone does not love men, how to testify the reverence to God? To love men is not imaginary love. They should supply foods to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, houses to the people who are living in the streets; to comfort the anxious, enlighten the ignorant, exhort the criminal and forgive the people who insult you.<sup>712</sup>

From this part, Wang consistently insists that loving the Lord of Heaven means loving men. In the text of *RHY*, the term Love/Ai 愛 appears 91 times, and Benevolence/Ren 仁 occurs 58 times, among which loving the Lord of Heaven (Ai tianzhu 愛天主), loving people (Ai ren 愛人) and benevolent love (Ren ai 仁愛) have a high frequency of appearance. The distinct characteristic of integration between Confucianism and Christianity proves that Wang has made an effort of exploration.

Wang also states seven instances of the virtues of benevolent love, which are the typical reflections of loving the Lord of Heaven and loving others as they would themselves.<sup>713</sup> Additionally, it is clear that he had already put the love of benevolence into the practice.

## 5.5 Humanitarian Society

The Humanitarian Society/Ren Hui(仁會) was one kind of charitable association, which was founded by Confucian-Christian in the late Ming era. Through this association, they could practice Christian faith, especially for them to realise the integrated view of benevolent love.

In late Ming China, society was quite confused, together with the constant natural and man-made calamities, therefore, there were a large number of displaced victims all over the country. Out of compassion, the gentries and Confucian scholars supplied financial support to establish a lot of charitable associations, which had the invention

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<sup>712</sup> *WTARJL*, ff.55b,6-56a,5.人人知愛，人人相愛，止一轉念間即是，孰謂不至平至易乎哉？然真愛天主者，必由畏起敬，由敬起愛；必顯其功德，揚其聲教，傳其聖道。其愛天主之效，又莫誠乎愛人也。所謂仁者，愛人。不愛人，何以驗其誠敬上帝歟？愛人，非虛愛，必將渠饑則食之，渴則飲之，無衣則衣之，無屋則舍之，憂患則恤之慰之，愚蒙則誨之，罪過則諫之，侮我則恕之。

<sup>713</sup> *RHY*, ff.40b,1-46a,9.

of rescuing famine victims. For instance, Tongshan hui 同善會(the Society for Common Goodness), Fangsheng hui 放生會(the Society for Releasing Animals),<sup>714</sup> which brought great impact on local society. In the same way, Confucian-Christians founded the Humanitarian Society as their philanthropic organisation. The title of Ren Hui is composed of two Chinese characters, Ren 仁 and Hui 會. Ren means benevolence, Hui is one kind of organisation, which is based on some specific intentions and established voluntarily by people.<sup>715</sup> To go through the related materials, there were five Ren Hui founded by Confucian-Christians in the late Ming era. For instance, the Humanitarian Society of Wulin founded by Yang Tingyun,<sup>716</sup> the Humanitarian Society of Changshu 常熟 founded by Qu Shisi 瞿式耜,<sup>717</sup> the Humanitarian Society of Jiangzhou founded Duan Gun,<sup>718</sup> the Humanitarian Society of Sanshan founded by Ye Yifan,<sup>719</sup> and the Humanitarian Society of Luqiao founded by Wang Zheng.

Perhaps there is other information about Ren Hui, but we should look forward to new materials.

According to the available sources, in the seventh year of Emperor Chongzhen (1634), in order to practice his view, “ To Revere the Heaven and to Love the Human Beings ”, Wang Zheng founded the Humanitarian Society in the town of Luqiao. Not the same as the other Confucian-Christians, Wang not only founded the Society, but also wrote *Renhui yue* 仁會約(Rules of the Humanitarian Society). From the text of *RHY*, it was a sound charitable organisation with perfect rules and regulations, with good management and a clear duty was occurring in front of us.

### 5.5.1 The Text of *RHY*

<sup>714</sup> Joanna Handlin Smith, *the Art of Doing Good: Charity in Late Ming China*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California, 2009, pp.15-16.

<sup>715</sup> Cf. *HYDD*, vol.5, pp.782-792.

<sup>716</sup> Ding Zhilin 丁志麟, *Yang Qiyuan xiansheng chaoxing shiji* 楊淇園先生超性事蹟 (The Supernatural Story of Gentleman Yang Qiyuan), BnF, Chinois 1097.

<sup>717</sup> Qu Shisi (Thomas) 瞿式耜 (1590-1651; jin shi 1616), cf., *Changshu xian zhi* 常熟縣誌: vol.16, Qing Kangxi ding mao (26 nian, 1687). *Qu Shisi ji* 瞿式耜集, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1981.

<sup>718</sup> Duan Gun 段袞, *Da youren lun chugeng jiti* 答友人论初更鸡啼, cf., Han Lin 韓霖, *SYQS*, pp.666-668.

<sup>719</sup> Ye Yifan 葉益蕃, *Sanshan renhui yin* 三山仁會引, cf., Liu Ning 刘凝, *Tianxue jijie* 天學集解.

In the Bibliothèque nationale de France of Paris, the only printed copy of *Renhui yue* is conserved, the serial number is Chinois 7348, which has missed one folio between Quanren 勸人 and Fanren 凡人, the postface of Zhang Bingxuan 張炳璿 and short note about the printing by Shang Yingchang 尚應昌, additionally towards to the end of the text, a few characters disappeared. The early transcript copy edition of *Renhui yue* was made by Xiang Da in 1937 in Paris. The collated editions are from the transcript of Xiang Da.<sup>720</sup> Zhang's postface and Shang's short note are in the Leiden copy, which is from the edition of Zikawei.<sup>721</sup> Ad Dudink thinks that the last folios in Chinois 7348 may have contained the postface and the note, but being damaged they eventually got lost.<sup>722</sup>

In this research, the edition of BnF and the two postscripts of Zikawei are used. The references texts of *Renhui yue* are from *AIXQ* (Comments on the works of mercy)<sup>723</sup>, *JYJL* (The Introduction of Christianity)<sup>724</sup> and *ZFWJ* (The Introduction of World Geography).<sup>725</sup> The detailed quotations are showed in the below table.

The BnF text of *Renhui yue* consists of two parts, the first part is Wang's introduction (Yin 引), three folios, dated September 22<sup>nd</sup> of 1634 (the seventh year of Chongzhen emperor); the main part has 45 folios, there are items (relief targets and prerequisites), the organisational requirements, explanations and appendix, which comprises detailed information of Humanitarian Society.

<sup>720</sup> Lin Lechang, *WZQJ*, pp.139-156. Song Boyin, *Ming jingyang Wang Zheng xiansheng nianpu* 明涇陽先生年譜 (revised edition), Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2004, pp.141-162.

<sup>721</sup> The information was supplied by Prof. Ad Dudink, who also gave me the manuscript copy of these sources. Also see CCT Database of Sinology research unit of Leuven University.

<sup>722</sup> Ad Dudink, the Zikawei Manuscript of Copy of Wang Zheng's *Renhui yue*, in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 35(2013), p.19. And the Addendum to the article, in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 37(2015), p.91. He cites the letter of Francesco Iovino da Ottaviano(1677-1737) in 17 July 1730 to shows us the lost folios may have been removed intentionally, because of the use of the term Tian 天 for God(prohibited by the Constitution Exilla die of 1715).

<sup>723</sup> The author of *AJXQ* is Iacomo Rho (S.J., Luo Yagu 羅雅谷 1593-1638).

<sup>724</sup> The author of *JYJL* is Alfonso Vagnone (S.J., Wang Yiyuan 王一元/Wang Fengsu 王豐肅/Gao Yizhi 高一志 ,1568-1640).

<sup>725</sup> *ZFWJ*, Giulio Aleni (S.J., Ai Rulüe 艾儒略 1582-1649), transl., Yang Tingyun, recorded. The work is partly based on Giovanni Antonio Magini, "Moderne tavole di geografia, dalle quali, secondo, che hoggidi si trova l'universo, vedesi la faccia del mondo, tutte le sue parti, provincie, regioni, e ciascuno suoi imperij, et altri dominij, con espositioni ampissime dell'eccellentiss., Sig. Gio. Ant. Magini padovano, lettore delle matematiche nel pubblico studio di Bologna. Tradotte dal R. D. Leonardo Cernoti vinitiano canonico di S. Salvatore", Venezia, 1598 (which is the second part of Magnini, "Geografia, cioè descrizione universale della Terra, partita in due volumi, nel primo de'quali si contengono gli otto libri della geografia di Cl. Tolomeo, nuovamente con singolare studio rincontrati, & corretti dall'eccell.mo. Sig. Gio. Ant. Magini..."); see Paolo de Troia, 'Zhong xi di li xue zhi shi ji di li xue ci hui de jiao liu: Ai Rulüe "Zhi fang wai ji de xi fang yuan ben"',(2006). Cf. CCT Database.



The table of relation between Renhui yue and the quoted texts.<sup>726</sup>

RHY Manuscript of BnF	Sources/References	
ff.4b,2-5a,1	Qike	p.818,5-10
ff.8b,2-10a,7	AJXQ	ff.35b,3-36b,7
ff.16a,9-16b,4	AJXQ	f.22a,4-22b,8
ff.16b,5-17a,9	AJXQ	f.24a,4-24b,8
ff.17b,1-18a,1	AJXQ	f.26a,9-26b,8
f.18a,2-18b,1	AJXQ	f.27b,2-9
f.18b,2-5	AJXQ	f.30a,5-7
ff.18b,6-19a,2	AJXQ	f.30b,3-8
f.19a,3-9	AJXQ	ff.31b,6-32a,2
f.19b,1-8	AJXQ	ff.32b,8-33a,5
ff.19b,9-20a,3	AJXQ	f.33b,4-7
f.20a,4-7	AJXQ	f.35a,7-9
f.20a,8-20b,4	AJXQ	ff.36b,8-37a,4
f.20b,5-8	AJXQ	ff.37b,7-9
ff.21b,5-23a,1	AJXQ	ff.41b,2-44a,7
ff.23a,2-24a,6	AJXQ	ff.44b,9-46a,8
ff.24a,7-25b,7	AJXQ	ff.48a,1-49a,9
ff.25b,8-26a,9	AJXQ	ff.51a,1-52a,2
f.26b,1-8	AJXQ	f.53a,9-53b,7
ff.26b,9-27a,2	AJXQ	f.55b,5-8
f.27a,3-6	AJXQ	f.56a,1-4
ff.27a,7-28a,9	AJXQ	ff.56b,1-57b,3
f.28b,1-6	AJXQ	f.58a,9-58b,5
ff.28b,7-29a,7	AJXQ	f.61a,3-61b,8
f.29a,8-29b,6	AJXQ	f.62b,1-8
ff.29b,7-30b,4	AJXQ	ff.63b,9-64a,4
ff.30b,5-31b,4	AJXQ	ff.67b,3-68b,3
ff.31b,5-32b,1	AJXQ	ff.69b,1-70b,5
f.32b,2-5	AJXQ	f.71a,8-(lost?) pp.139,6-9 ARSI, vol.5
ff.32b,6-33a,4	AJXQ	pp.140a,6-141b,4 ARSI, vol.5
f.33a,5-33b,9	AJXQ	ff.73b,1-74b,4
f.34a,1-34b,5	AJXQ	f.76a,1-76b,4
ff.34b,6-35b,4	AJXQ	f.77b,1-8
f.35a,5-35b,3	AJXQ	f.79b,1-8

<sup>726</sup> This table is inspired by Prof. N. Standaert's article (1998) and Prof. Ad Dudink's article : the Zikawei Manuscript of Copy of Wang Zheng's Renhui yue, in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 35(2013).

ff.35b,4-36a,1	AJXQ	f.80a,7-80b,4
f.36a,2-5	AJXQ	f.81a,1-4
ff.36b,5-40a,6	JYJL (ARSI,vol.1)	pp.245b,5-251b,4
ff.40b,6-42b,7 (41reprinted)	Qike (TXCH)	pp.817,6-818,4
ff.42a,8-44b,9	Qike(TXCH)	pp.821,2-824,9
f.45a,2-6	Qike(TXCH)	p.825,2-7
f.45a,8-9	ZFWJ (TXCH)	p.828,2-3 P.1364,2-3
f.46 same as f.45	ZFWJ	
ff.46b,7-47b,1	ZFWJ	pp.1364,3-1365,2 similar
ff.48a,6-50b,7	ZFWJ	pp.1365,2-1370,3

Chart 5.1 The table of quotation between *RHY* and the copied texts.

Although most part of the text of *RHY* is copied from *AJXQ*, *JYJL* and *ZFWJ* of missionaries, the obvious coherence and logicity of *RHY* appear in front of the readers. Besides, Wang mentioned the sources of *RHY* from Rho's *AJXQ* two times in the text, "Have been inspired by Western Confucian Master Luo's *AJXQ*, I establish Regulations of Humanitarian Society,"<sup>727</sup> "Humanitarian Society is founded on the basis of *AJXQ*, so I extract several items from the general discourse part."<sup>728</sup> Therefore, it is clear that the contents of *AJXQ* takes up most places in the quotations of the text in *RHY*.

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<sup>727</sup> *RHY*, f.5a,8-9.

<sup>728</sup> *RHY*, f.15b,4-5.



Fig. 5.1 The first and last pages of the preface to RHY.<sup>729</sup>

### 5.5.2 The Significance of Yue

The concept of Yue 約 (Agreement)<sup>730</sup> in the text of *RHY* has a long history in Chinese context.<sup>731</sup> Basically, it means that some people make an agreement in unwritten or written forms to restrict the members, so that they can finish some common tasks. An approximate concept is Xiangyue 鄉約 (Rural Regulations), which could be originated from Zhou dynasty. “Assumably, Xiangyue is originated from the decrees and regulations of Zhouli 周禮, Zhouzhang 州長, Dangzheng 黨正, Zushi 族師, all of them let their people learn the laws of state; which was started from Four Lv brothers of Lantian 藍田 in North Song dynasty, who made the *Lüshi xiangyue* 呂氏鄉約 as the regulations for later generations.”<sup>732</sup> Because the method of learning state regulations and the practice are near to the functions of Rural Regulations, that is, the

<sup>729</sup> *RHY*, f.3a & f.5b.

<sup>730</sup> Some of scholars (Erik Zürcher, *Christian Social Action in Late Ming Times: Wang Zheng and his “Humanitarian Society”*, 1999. Ad Dudink, *the Zikawei Manuscript of Copy of Wang Zheng’s Renhui yue*, 2013.) use the term “statute” as Yue. Normally, a statute is a formal written enactment of a legislative authority that governs a city, state, or country (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statute>). I try to use the term “agreement” as Yue, because the Yue is unofficial and without legality and punishment.

<sup>731</sup> Cf. *HYDD*, vol.9, pp.720-724.

<sup>732</sup> Cao Guoqing 曹國慶, *Mingqing xiangyue tuixing de tedian* 明清鄉約推行的特點 (The Traits of Promotion of Rural Regulations of Ming and Qing Dynasties), in *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu* 中國文化研究 (Chinese Culture Studies), 1(1997), p.17.

common people learned regulations from regional leaders and then conformed to the rules and the social activities of them were constrained in a scope, there is some relation between the method of learning state regulation and Rural Regulations. Therefore, some scholars define Xiangyue that the Confucian scholars in Song and Ming dynasties founded and promoted the written regulations and the common orders, which were based on the spirits of Confucian ritual and ethical ideas; through the teaching and mutual supervision and help, the autonomous regulations, institutions and organisations in local society had been put into practice.<sup>733</sup> Thus, “Rural Regulations are not only the normative clauses, but also the contacted organisation.”<sup>734</sup>

The definition of Yue in the text of *RHY* is that in order to pursue true blessings of afterworld, under the belief of the Lord of Heaven, practicing the works of mercy and then make an agreement to restrict the members.

### 5.5.3 The Structure of Humanitarian Society

#### 5.5.3.1 The Idea of Humanitarian Society

The two essential doctrines of Ten Commandments, loving the Lord of Heaven and loving others as themselves are not only the nucleus of theoretical systems of revering the Lord of Heaven and loving people, but also the pillars of Humanitarian Society, meanwhile the latter is the practice of the former. Wang underlines the significance of the practice of loving people in the preface to *RHY*,

The Lord of Heaven actually is our great Father-and-Mother, and the ren by which one loves others is the first and most important duty imposed by Him. I therefore deeply believe in the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven spread by western Confucians, which is most true and effective, most correct and great, most impartial and universal, and, moreover, most lucid and easy to understand. It is what all people are able to practise; it is what

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<sup>733</sup> Cao Xi 曹熹, Xiangyue de mingyue jiqi qishi: cong lvshi xiangyue dao nangan xiangyue 鄉約的命運及其啟示：從呂氏鄉約到南贛鄉約 (The Destiny and The Revelation of Rural Regulations: From the Rural Regulations of Lvshi to The Rural Regulations of South Gan), in *Jianghuai luntan* 江淮論壇 (The Forum of Jianghuai), 6(2016), p.24.

<sup>734</sup> Chen Lai 陳來, *Zhongguo jinshi sixiangshi yanjiu* 中國近世思想史研究(The Study of Chinese Modern Intellectual History), Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館(Business Press), 2003, p.389.

they should practise in their daily lives, and what they must practise as a matter of urgency, always and everywhere.<sup>735</sup>

It is quite natural that from Wang's expression to find his faith practice. Wang says, "I wrote the text of *Ultimate Discussion of the Awe of Heaven and the Care of Human Beings*(WTARJL), which is my experience on the religion of the Lord of Heaven spread by Western Confucians and try to explain the teachings explicitly, so to encourage our brothers to believe in the religion. Although I have done some practice out of consciousness, it cannot meet the desired outcome. Sometimes, I decided to put all my energies into practice, nevertheless, I could not meet the aim because of weak determination. Thus, I invited our brothers to wholeheartedly afford contributions to the Humanitarian Society, in order to realise the aspiration of practicing the doctrines of the Lord of Heaven."<sup>736</sup> Moreover, by integrating Confucian teachings into his explanation, Wang explains the relation between compassion and benevolent practice, and also he emphasises that mutual love can bring true deserts and the importance of assembled strength of all people. Wang says in his preface to RHY, "All kinds of sufferings are countless in this world, could we determine to resolve them? When we see and hear about the suffered situation, could we not touch our heart of sympathy? It is not benevolent that someone has not the heart of sympathy. Also, it is not benevolent when someone has the heart of sympathy but no charitable practice. We try to love each other, relieve redress, in order to make the suffering people feel fortunate in a lifetime and peaceful after death, perhaps which are the true deserts of loving people? We cannot save suffering people without strength, and also we cannot save the whole suffering people without all strength."<sup>737</sup> Here Wang uses the concept of commiseration implying the principle of benevolence which is from the text of

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<sup>735</sup> RHY, f.4a,7-4b,2. 蓋天主原吾人大父母，愛人之仁，乃其喫緊第一義也。餘故深信天主之教，最真切，最正大，最公溥，且最明白而易簡，乃人人所能行，人人日用所當行，人人時時處處所不可不急行者。

<sup>736</sup> RHY, f.3b, 2-6. 向餘為《畏天愛人極論》，蓋有味乎西儒所傳天主教義，竭力闡明，用勸我二三兄弟之崇信。第論焉已耳，未克實行。即行矣，悠悠忽忽，未克力。間即憤志力行乎，其力小，其行微，終未克。約我同志，共捐全力，以暢我實行之志願。

<sup>737</sup> RHY, f.5a, 2-7. 人生世間，種種苦趣，不可勝言，疇克盡免？凡觸於耳與目者，那能弗惻於心？弗惻於心，非仁；惻於心，而不見之行，無濟於彼，猶非仁也。其必盡我相愛能力，救之補之，使之存以順，歿以寧，愛人之功其庶幾乎！然匪有力不能濟，匪藉眾多全力亦不能廣濟。

*Mengzi*<sup>738</sup> to explain the mutual love. Additionally, he quoted the classical saying of Zhang Zai<sup>739</sup> to express the effect of loving people. Therefore, we cannot deny the fact that Wang attempted to integrate doctrines between Confucianism and Christianity.

### 5.5.3.2 Relief Targets

In the beginning of the text of *RHY*, Wang explains the Relief targets of Humanitarian Society, which contains two kinds, i.e. seven bodily and seven spiritual works of mercy. The seven bodily works of mercy include providing foods for the hungry (Shi jizhe 食饑者), supplying water to the thirsty (Yin kezhe 飲渴者), offering clothes to the naked (Yi luozhe 衣裸者), caring for the sick (Gu bingzhe 顧病者), accommodating the homeless (She lüzhe 舍旅者), redeeming captives (Shu luzhe 贖虜者) and burying the dead (Zang sizhe 葬死者). The seven spiritual works of mercy contain enlightening the ignorant (Qihui yumeng 啟悔愚蒙), persuading others by kindheartedness (Yiquan shanren 以善勸人), comforting the anxious (Wei youzhe 慰憂者), exhorting the negligent (Ze you guoshi zhe 責有過失者), pardoning the repentant (She huiwozhe 赦悔我者), forgiving someone's weakness (Shuren zhi ruoxing 恕人之弱行), praying for the living and dead to the Lord of Heaven (Wei shengsizhe qidao tianzhu 為生死者祈禱天主). These fourteen works of mercy are explained in one of earliest catechisms, *Tianzhu jiaoyao*.<sup>740</sup> Naturally, these works of mercy are originated from Bible.<sup>741</sup> Here, I cannot confirm which text of missionaries Wang quoted the fourteen works, but *AJXQ* is very near to his text. Undoubtedly, the

<sup>738</sup> *Mengzi*, the chapter of Gaozi shang 告子上, 惻隱之心, 仁也。

<sup>739</sup> Zhang Zai, *Zhengmeng Qiancheng pian* 正蒙·乾稱篇, 存, 吾順事; 歿, 吾寧也。

<sup>740</sup> *Tianzhu jiaoyao* 天主教要, cf. Ad. Dudink, 2013, p.16. And also cf., his another article, *Tianzhu jiaoyao: The Catechism(1605)* Published by Matteo Ricci, in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 24( 2002), p.40. It (fourteen works of mercy) also appears in *JYJL*.

<sup>741</sup> The spiritual works of mercy, to instruct the ignorant(e.g. 2 Chronicles 17:7-9; John 1:46-49), to counsel the doubtful (e.g. Isaiah37:10; 1 Corinthians 7:1 ), to admonish the sinners(e.g. 1 Samuel 15:16; 2 Samuel 12:1), to bear patiently those who wrong us (e.g. 2 Samuel16:10; Matthew 12:24), to forgive offenses (e.g. Genesis 45:1-5, 21, 22; 50:15-21; Matthew 6:12), to comfort the afflicted (e.g. Luke 7:13; John11:19-44), to pray for the living and the dead (e.g. Genesis 18:23; Exodus 17:9; 32:31, 32). The bodily works of mercy, to feed the hungry(e.g. Isaiah58:7; 1Kings18:4), to give water to the thirsty (e.g. Matthew 14:13-21; 15:32-38), to clothe the naked(e.g. Genesis 24:18; John 4:8), to shelter the homeless(e.g. Isaiah 58:7; Titus 1:20), to shelter the homeless(e.g. Isaiah 58:7; Genesis 18:2), to visit the sick(e.g. 2 Kings 8:29; John 5:2), to visit the imprisoned, or ransom the captive(e.g. Isaiah58:6; 2 Chronicles 28:9), to bury the dead ( e.g. 1 Samuel 31:11-13; Titus1:20).

Christian attribute of Wang's Humanitarian Society is definite. Meanwhile, Wang states that the corporal works of mercy are the urgent things, because that is related to the social situation of that historic period as I analysed above.

Furthermore, Wang explains the prerequisites for someone to make the works of mercy, which contains modesty, not for sham reputation but the Lord of Heaven, making up one's mind with joy, resoluteness, with moral integrity and righteousness, generousness not stinginess, providing one's own things, purifying one's mind firstly, contribution with sincerity.<sup>742</sup> These conditions indicate an orientation of ethics, exceptionally, the second and eighth items are the requirements of metaphysical value. Wang explains the second item like this the works belong to the Kingdom of Heaven and not this world. As well in the explanation of the eighth one, Wang explicitly states if his heart is free from sin, he will receive love from the Lord of Heaven, because the sin is that the Lord of Heaven hates.<sup>743</sup>

### 5.5.3.3 The Organisation of Humanitarian Society

By careful comparison, the section of *RHY* about the organisational structure is not quoted from other texts. It means this part is created by Wang himself.

Wang explains the structure from seven aspects, balance of Society (Hui zhi heng 會之衡),<sup>744</sup> finance of Society (Hui zhi zi 會之資), member of Society (Hui zhi ren 會之人), manager of Society (Hui zhi du 會之督), auxiliary of Society (Hui zhi fu 會之輔), supervisor of Society (Hui zhi he 會之覈),<sup>745</sup> extension of Society (Hui zhi tui 會之推).<sup>746</sup> Under every title of the component parts, Wang details the contents, which reflect his inventive consideration.

#### Balance of Society(B)

During the period of chaos caused by war, the hungry, the sick and the dead are the

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<sup>742</sup> *RHY*, ff.8b,3-10a,7. See *AJXQ*, ff.35b,3-36b,7. 一曰：謙。二曰：真心為主，不為虛名。三曰：發歡喜心。四曰：欲行即行，勿持兩可。五曰：有倫有義。六曰：寬廣。七曰：所施，宜慎所從來。八曰：先宜洗心，斯主欲爾獻。九曰：所與之物，用爾大願將之。

<sup>743</sup> *RHY*, f.8b,6. & f.10a,1. See *AJXQ*, f.35b, 4-5. & f.36a, 1-3.

<sup>744</sup> Heng 衡, Cf. *HYDD*, vol.3, pp.1099-1105.

<sup>745</sup> He 覈, cf. *HYDD*, vol.8, pp.772-773.

<sup>746</sup> *RHY*, ff.10b,1-14b,5.

most relieved objects which are most urgent. When the hungry emerge, they will open Soup Kitchen. Also, then pharmacy will be set up for the sick and bury the dead who have no family.<sup>747</sup>

#### Finance of Society(F)

Every member donates one Fen 分 of silver to the Society per day, and then he will supply three Qian 錢 one month, three Liang 兩 and six Qian in one year.<sup>748</sup> However, that is not obligatory, someone could afford this based on his economic capability. Those who wants to contribute much money will be welcomed. The material objects like rice, clothes, woods and so on will be converted into money.<sup>749</sup>

#### Member of Society(M1)

Whoever, gentries, the civil and military officials, royal family, the rich, peasants and merchants, and craftsmen can join the Society, only if they accept the idea of loving the Lord of Heaven and loving people. He also stresses that Buddhist and Taoist monks cannot join, because they also need donations. The women may contribute something to the Society, nevertheless, they cannot join it.<sup>750</sup> In the text, Wang has not mentioned that the member should be Christian, although he explicitly indicates the member should insist on the idea of loving the Lord of Heaven and loving people, we cannot confirm that the member of Humanitarian should be Christian. Undoubtedly, Wang expresses one kind of sexual inequality in his text, relative to society's institution of that time.

#### Manager of Society(M2)

The Society needs several managers to administrate accounts and plan expenses, whose function is like the bean-counter.<sup>751</sup> In Shang Yingchang's short note, he mentions that Wang asked him to as the supervisor.<sup>752</sup>

#### Auxiliary of Society(A)

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<sup>747</sup> *RHY*, ff.10b,2-11a,6.

<sup>748</sup> Fen 分, Qian 錢, Liang 兩 are the units of weight and currency. Ten Fen=One Qian, Ten Qian=One Liang. Cf. *HYDD*, vol.11, p.1318.

<sup>749</sup> *RHY*, f.11a,7-11b,5.

<sup>750</sup> *RHY*, f.11b,6-12a,5.

<sup>751</sup> *RHY*, f.12a,7-12b,1.

<sup>752</sup> Shang Yingchang, the postscript to *RHY*.



The Society needs auxiliary staff to help the managers deal with daily affairs.<sup>753</sup>

### Supervisor of Society(S)

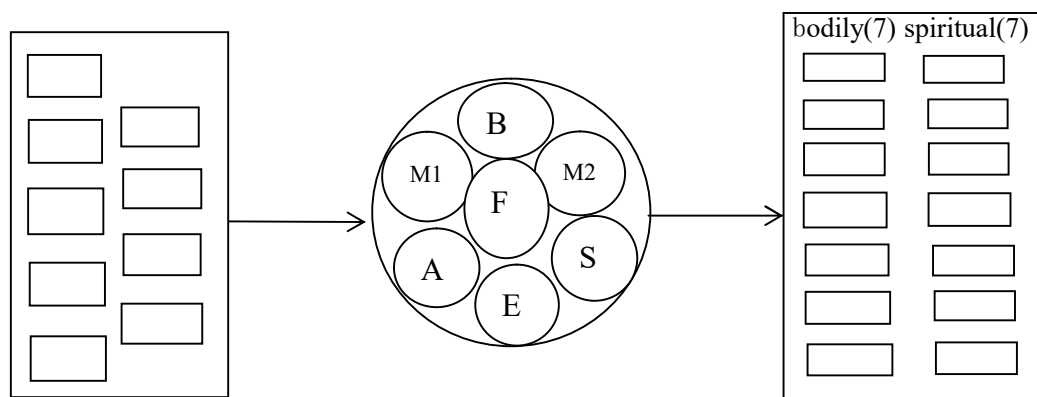
The Supervisor examines donations and financial records of the Society, whose responsibility is like a modern accountant and auditor of financial management. There are five account books for the supervisor, which are affiliated to manager of Society.<sup>754</sup>

### Extension of Society(E)

In this section, Wang expresses goodwill cordially, which is to extend the establishment of humanitarian society. In a town or a city, even a prefecture or a province, when all of people have the idea of love, so that the world situation and the heart of human beings will be changed for the better.<sup>755</sup> Here, he mixes the values between Christianity and Confucianism, he thinks that the works of Compassion will play an important complementary role in realising Confucius' precept that the man of perfect virtue "wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to perfect himself, seeks also to perfect others."<sup>756</sup>

After introduction of components of Humanitarian Society, here a diagram is sketched for us to analyse the formation of the Society intuitively. The numbers in the round brackets mean the parts in each unit.

the prerequisites(9) → Humanitarian Society(7) → works of mercy(14)



<sup>753</sup> RHY, f.12b,2-6.

<sup>754</sup> RHY, ff.12b,7-13a,5.

<sup>755</sup> RHY, ff.13a,6-14b,5.

<sup>756</sup> RHY, f.14b. and see Lunyu yongye, 己欲立而立人, 己欲達而達人。

Chart 5.2 The sketch drawing of organisation structure on Humanitarian Society.

A complete and strict organisation is set up under Wang’s meticulous design. As mentioned above, other humanitarian societies founded by other Confucian Christians have no traces of texts to the organisation’s structure. Only Wang Zheng wrote the agreement of Humanitarian Society and created the organisational structure. Although it is one kind of charitable association, the contents of Wang’s creation grow one bud of modern social security system.

The Humanitarian Society is a non-profit organisation whose primary objectives are philanthropy and social well-being, in which all of members are pursuing the value of next world. According to Aquinas, charity is an absolute requirement for happiness, which he holds as man’s last goal. As Wang states in the preface to *RHY*, “From now on I should do my best with united strength. In order to look up to the supreme benevolence of the Lord of Heaven, we should perfect this inadequate world which we live in. Soon after to practice the love of people, and then I encourage the members of our Society to raise the true mind of loving the Lord of Heaven silently. Ultimately, everyone will acquire the true blessings of heaven.”<sup>757</sup>

The third section of *RHY* is the explanation about the works of mercy, which has four parts, for instance, the general discourse of works of mercy, the elaboration of bodily works of mercy, two virtues of works of mercy and seven virtues of benevolent love. Among these contents, the first two parts are quoted from Rho’s *AJXQ*, and the others are from Vagnone’s *JYJL*, de Pantoja’s *Qike*.

The distinct characteristic of the first two parts is that a lot of sayings of Christian saints and excerpts from the Bible are quoted. Here, I just show the biblical quotations of the part of the general discourse of mercy.

Chinese/ Occurrence times	Latin	English
耶穌 Yesu 3	Jesu	Jesus

<sup>757</sup> *RHY*, f.5a,8-5b,4.蓋欲從今以後，自竭心力，合眾全力。俾人遊樂郊，補此有憾世界，以仰副天主愛人之至仁。於以少少行其愛人之實功，且勸我會中人，緣此愛人功行，默啟愛天主之正念，庶人人可望天上之真福云。

聖王達味德 Shengwang Daweide 2	Sanctus rex Davidus	Saint King David
聖葆祿 Sheng Baolu 2	Sanctus Paulus	Saint Paul
挪略 Nuolüe 2	Noah	Noah
聖額我略 Sheng Ewolüe 1	Sanctus Gregorius	Saint Gregory
聖亞瑪斗 Sheng Yamadou 1	Amadeus	Blessed Amadeus of Savoy
聖亞吾斯丁 Sheng Yawu Siding 1	Sanctus Augustinus	Saint Augustine

Chart 5.3 The Christian names are appearing in this part.

All of the above saints' names of Bible are used as the speakers of the classical sayings in the text. The paragraph sections like this structure, a point of topic + the names of Jesus or Saints +sayings.

The biblical sayings in this part, for instance, Jesus tells his disciples, “You want to practice virtues of benevolence, and you’d better learn from the Father of Heaven. Because He created everything and cultured human beings, no one is absent, just like the sun, everyone is enjoying the sunshine. As well as rain, everyone can be moistened comfortably, why do we differentiate beauty and ugliness, big and small?”<sup>758</sup> Saint King David says, “The achievement of the Lord of Heaven is greatest, whatever, the benevolence is on high beyond the others.”<sup>759</sup> Saint Paul says, “The wealthy must be rewarded, when they donate alms.”<sup>760</sup> Saint Gregory says, “Who makes goodness will plant the blessings seed of afterworld.”<sup>761</sup>

Part of the elaboration of bodily works of mercy has seven subsections, which are detailed explanations of seven bodily works of mercy. Because the bodily works of mercy provide urgent relief, there is no explanation of the spiritual works of mercy. In every part of the bodily works of mercy, at first Wang analyses what are the hungry, the thirsty, the naked, the homeless, the sick, the captive and the dead, then he uses miracles of Jesus, Saints' stories and biblical sayings to explain the reasons.

Basically, the other two parts of the third section of *RHY* are also quoted from

<sup>758</sup> *RHY*, f.16a,9-b,3. See *AJXQ*, f.22a,4-7. 耶穌訓宗徒曰：“汝等欲行仁慈，宜法天上父。彼其造物養人，無不得養者，如日以照之，人炙其輝；雨以潤之，人濡其澤，奚分妍媸纖巨乎？”

<sup>759</sup> *RHY*, f.16b,3-4. See *AJXQ*, f.22a,7-8. 聖王達味德曰：“天主功業甚大，而其仁獨居萬跡之上。”

<sup>760</sup> *RHY*, f.17b,7-8. See *AJXQ*, f.26b,5-6. 聖葆祿曰：“富者施與，必有與爾者。”

<sup>761</sup> *RHY*, f.18b,4-5. See *AJXQ*, f.30a,7. 聖額我略稱：“人行仁，為後福種子。”

missionaries' works, which have the same characteristic of writing. The saints' stories and the biblical sayings make the text very Christian. Additionally, the appendix text about two points of practicing love in Western countries, Wang quoted the contents from Aleni's *ZFWJ*. He also expresses admiration for religion and morality in Western country. "The general name of western countries is Europe, which is lying in the west of Asia, where most people believe in the religion of the Lord of Heaven. This religion has two essential loves, which are loving the Lord of Heaven above everything and loving people as they would do themselves. That is the place where to practice works of mercy."<sup>762</sup> At the end of this part, he mentions that all kinds of good customs in Europe cannot be excerpted completely in his text, only the two kinds of love are introduced, which is also one of the testifications of the Humanitarian Society.<sup>763</sup>

Although Wang copied these contents from *AJXQ*, *JYJL*, *Qike* and *ZFWJ*, these excerpts could inspire him go deep into Christianity. The last two sections of *RHY* have transcended the charitable function of Humanitarian Society, which have the intention of motivating the members to practice benevolent love.

#### 5.5.3.4 The Effect of Humanitarian Society

In fact, about the reasons of the Humanitarian Society founded by Wang in Guanzhong area, we should not neglect the specific cause of the regional situation in Shaanxi. According to the records of local chronicles, from the first year of emperor Chongzhen (1628) to the end of the Ming dynasty, almost every year a natural disaster happened to the people of this province, such as drought, flood, and a plague of locusts.<sup>764</sup> Especially, these disasters appeared in the north and south of Shaanxi. Ultimately, vast crowds of famine victims swarmed to Guanzhong, the relative rich area of Shaanxi, where a lot of natural disasters also occurred. Although the

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<sup>762</sup> RHY, f.45b,2-5.

<sup>763</sup> RHY, f.51a, 2-3.

<sup>764</sup> Yan Ruyi 嚴如燧,(Minguo) *Hannan xuxiu junzhi* 汉南续修郡志, Minguo 13 nian ke ben, Beijing: Beijing Ai ru sheng shu zi hua ji shu yan jiu zhong xin 北京愛如生數字化技術研究中心, 2009.

government provided relief for some of the suffering people,<sup>765</sup> the effect was quite weak. Thus, the non-government charitable organisations emerged to provide relief of famine. Factually, in a particular local area the nongovernmental Society played an important role in the relief activity. Wang's Humanitarian Society made an important effect in local society. Zhang Jinyan 張縉彥(1599-1670) who was the county magistrate of Sanyuan wrote some information in Wang Zheng's epitaph, "It is full of misfortunes of that time. He (Wang) organised the Humanitarian Society to save the victims, so that hundreds of people survived."<sup>766</sup>

Meanwhile, Shang Yingchang's note shows us that he has printed *RHY*, so that everyone who wants to join the Society will get a copy, and in this way the Humanitarian Society may spread everywhere.<sup>767</sup> Therefore, we cannot deny a fact that the Humanitarian Society was familiar to local people because of the propaganda of *RHY*. Until now, I have not found other texts about the effect of Wang's Humanitarian Society. Only the above two findings are evidence of the social effect of the Society.

Because of the declining Ming dynasty, his highest social aim of "fortifying man's heart and restoring the ways of the world (Pei renxin er wan shidao 培人心而挽世道)"<sup>768</sup> were never realised.

Except for the social values of the Society, possibly, Wang's ultimate idea lies in metaphysical faith, in other words, the spiritual belief is higher or more important than the other values. He states that in his preface to *RHY*,

The religion of the Lord of Heaven preached by Western Confucians (Jesuits missionaries) is quite significant, which has the main idea of Ren/Benevolence. This Ren is manifested (yong 用, "operationalized") as love (Ai 爱), in two ways: by loving the one Lord of Heaven above all, and by loving others as one loves oneself. If one truly knows how to stand in awe of the Mandate of Heaven, one will thereby naturally love the Lord of Heaven, and if one is truly able to do so, one will thereby naturally be able to love others. Thus, one should be truly able

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<sup>765</sup> *RHY*, f.13b,5-6. After a while, Tianzi(the emperor) is caring for the famine of victims and frequently sending imperial edicts to supply the victims of Shaanxi with state funds. 頃聖天子軫念民窮，屢下德音，出帑金數萬，專遣一禦史大夫，賑我秦饑。

<sup>766</sup> Zhang Jinyan, *Ming shandong anchasi qianshi jian liaohai junwu wanggong muzhiming* 明山東按察司僉事監遼海軍務王公墓誌銘 (Wang Gong's Epitaph). See *BTTJC*, vol.5.

<sup>767</sup> Shang Yingchang, the postscript to *RHY*.

<sup>768</sup> *RHY*, f.14b,3.

to love others, and then he will truly love the Lord of Heaven.<sup>769</sup>

Through the statement, it is clear that he relates the idea of love in *RHY* to the whole part of the learning of serving the Lord of Heaven. Finally, his texts compose one entirety theoretically.

## 5.6 Overcoming Desires and Cultivating Virtues

Before accepted Christian baptism, Wang concentrated a lot of his thinking on overcoming desires and cultivating virtues (Keyu xiude 克欲修德), possibly, it is because that he was educated by a traditional family with the doctrines of Confucianism. Besides, having read de Pantoja's *Qike*, he was determined to be baptised by a Jesuit missionary and through the analysis in chapter two, we can confirm that restraining selfishness and cultivating virtues play quite an important role in his life. After having converted into Christianity around 1616, when Wang knew more information about Christianity, he restrained desires and cultivated virtues more strictly.

### 5.6.1 Wang Zheng and Johann Adam Schall von Bell

Johann Adam Schall von Bell was a German Jesuit and astronomer. From 1619 to his death, he spent most of his life as a missionary in China. In 1626, Wang got acquainted with Schall von Bell in Beijing, and during the time he consulted the Jesuit about Christianity.<sup>770</sup> As above mentioned, Wang visited Schall von Bell frequently in Chongyi church of Xi'an during the period of mourning for his father (1628-1631), he consulted Schall von Bell about Christianity, and ultimately he wrote down the saint stories, which was interpreted by Schall von Bell. As mentioned in the first chapter, Wang had learned Latin from Nicolas Trigault and therefore maybe he could

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<sup>769</sup> *RHY*, ff.3b,8-4a,6.然必真真實實能盡愛人之心之功，方是真能愛天主。夫西儒所傳天主之教，理超義實，大旨總是一仁。仁之用愛有二：一愛一天主萬物之上，一愛人如己。真知畏天命者，自然愛天主；真能愛天主者，自然能愛人。

<sup>770</sup> Wang, the preface to *QQTS*.

polish and reorganise the saints' stories according to Schall von Bell's interpretation. In 1638, he wrote one preface and published *RJSB*, especially in which behind every story Wang added one comment of spiritual experience. These notes reflect that Wang has an explicit determination to cultivate virtues, which points to Wang's learning of serving the Lord of Heaven.

#### 5.6.2 The Stories of *RJSB* Motivated Wang Zheng's Spiritual Life

In the text of *RJSB*, there are 14 Saints' stories translated by the cooperation, among these contents, 11 of them are from the Desert Fathers (Shamo shengfu zhuan 沙漠聖父傳),<sup>771</sup> 2 are from the Dialogues of St Gregory (Dialogi de vita et miraculis partum Italicorum),<sup>772</sup> and the other one is unknown. The themes of these stories involve monasticism, asceticism, obedience, overcoming lust, pursuing perfect virtue and so on.

The first story is about St. Paphnutius (Banu shengren 巴孛聖人), who cultivated himself in the mountain for a long time. But he was already proud of his virtues and then he prayed to the Lord of Heaven for the grace of his virtue. Under revelation of the Angel, Paphnutius visited three kind-hearted men, a flute player, a good-doer of a village, a merchant, all who were exhorted by Paphnutius and went into the mountain and restrained their desires for three years. Finally, these three men went up to heaven. Since then Paphnutius made the renunciation more serious, under the guidance of an

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<sup>771</sup> Ad Dudink, The Religious Works Composed by Johann Adam Schall von Bell, Especially His Zhuzhi qunzheng and His efforts to Convert the Last Ming Emperor, in Roman Malek, ed., *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592-1666)*, (Sankt Augustine: China-Zentrum and the Monumenta Serica Institute), 1998, vol.2, pp.805-809.

Li Shixue 李奭學, Taishang wangqing 太上忘情: Tang Ruowang and Wang Zheng translated Chongyi tang rijì suibi 湯若望與王徵譯<崇一堂日記隨筆>, in *Yishu 譯述: Mingmo yesuhui fanyi wenxue* 明末耶穌會翻譯文學論 (The Translated Literature of Jesu Society in Late Ming), Hongkong Chinese University Press 香港中文大學出版社, 2012, pp.107-149.

In addition, cf. Benedicta Ward, SLG, "A Note on the Text," in his trans., *The Desert Fathers: Sayings of the Early Christian Monks* (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. xxix-xxxi.

<sup>772</sup> Pope Gregory I (540-604), (Latin: Gregorius I), commonly known as Saint Gregory the Great, was Pope of the Catholic Church from 3 September 590 to 12 March 604 AD. The Dialogues of St Gregory (Dialogi de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum, in four books (PL 77, 127-431) were written c.593-594, in the early years of Gregory's papacy. They record the stories and miracles of Italy's great Saints and holy men and women, in order to prove that ascetic saints were not only at work in the orient, but in Italy too. The second book focuses exclusively on Benedict of Nursia, whereas books one and three recount the lives of numerous lesser known saints. The fourth book is devoted to visions of the after. Cf. <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/20412/lot/111/>.

Angel and he also went into heaven and became a saint. Wang quoted the classical sentence of *Shijing* (Book of Poetry) to express his insight, “God is with you, while you should have no doubts in your heart.”<sup>773</sup> It implies that Paphnutius had some doubt about his cultivation, even though he was complacent about his virtues. Wang confirms that Paphnutius kept the progressive determination on cultivating virtues three times after the visit. Besides, Wang wrote some comments about the three men. About the flute player, who was a robber in the past, but it is quite commendable that he could confess the sin and his improvement in front of Paphnutius. Wang mentions that even the men with the reputation of benevolence cannot reach this perfection. Meanwhile, he uses the phrase from *Daode jing* to definite the improvement of the player, “(The sage) wears a poor cloth, while he carries his jade in his bosom”,<sup>774</sup> which means the person who was born in poverty has superior virtue. Wang also affirms that the good-doer of the village could restrain lust for thirty years after having a son. As for the merchant, Wang explains that the man belongs to heaven, because this man gave up all of his property and **mortified** himself in the mountain. Hereby Wang cited Taoist dictum, “If you are eager for the blessings of heaven, you should give up worldly possessions.”<sup>775</sup> Thus, he concluded from the story that everyone can join the way/Dao, and everyone can restrain himself in order to get to Heaven.<sup>776</sup>

In the story of Antony and Paul the first Hermit, Antony also became self-satisfied in his penance. Having visited Paul the first Hermit in the remote mountain under the guide of an angel, he continued with the life of penance and at last went to heaven. Factually, Wang detailed the story of Paul the first Hermit by the visit of Antony. Paul who was born into a wealthy family decided to cloister at the age of 15, because his sister’s husband wanted to murder him. In the mountain, he wore cocoa leaves as clothes and drank the spring water, ate coconuts and then half a piece of bread through a crow, which was sent by the Lord of Heaven, for several decades. Paul told

<sup>773</sup> See *Shijing*, Decade Of Wen Wang, Daming 詩經·文王之什·大明, 上帝臨女, 無貳爾心。

<sup>774</sup> The 70<sup>th</sup> Chapter of *Daode jing*, 是以聖人被褐懷玉。

<sup>775</sup> See *Wuyan lüshi* 五言律詩, *Lüzu quanji* 呂祖全集, Yao tan tianshang bao, xu qi shijian zhen 要貪天上寶, 須棄世間珍。

<sup>776</sup> *RJSB*, f.11b,1-2.



Antony the whole truth about him and then died. Wang not only affirmed the penance story of Paul, but he also drew Confucius's instance into interpretation. He states that Paul knew to worship the Lord of Heaven at the age of 15, in which Confucius also made the determination to study, so he believes that Paul was endowed with determination of penance by Heaven not man. Paul found the real value of life (Anshen liming 安身立命 settle down and get on with his pursuit) through the holy religion (Christianity) and chose to cloister far away from worldly possessions. Wang also says Confucius has abandoned four things (Yi 意, Bi 必, Gu 固, Wo 我, foregone conclusions, arbitrary predeterminations, obstinacy, and egoism).<sup>777</sup> It is not difficult for Confucius to abandon them, because his mind belongs to the Uniqueness. Comparatively speaking, he thinks that Paul also has abandoned four things, such as profit, reputation, lust, the world and only the Lord of Heaven has been in his mind. Therefore, Paul has revered the Lord of Heaven over all things, so that he would never regret to cloister in the mysterious cave. Moreover, Wang compares Paul with Yan Hui 顏回<sup>778</sup> and Great Shun 大舜<sup>779</sup>,

With a single bamboo dish of rice, a single gourd dish of drink, and living in his mean narrow lane, only Yan Hui never changed his joy. Living with trees and stones, visiting with deer and hogs, only Great Shun took this for granted, even though he looked like a savage in the remote mountain. Paul ate coconuts and drank spring water, the sheep and horses protected him, the wolf and lions guarded him. If he was not the Great Saint, he would freeze or starve to death, even to be frightened to death. Was he a Saint? Was he a Sage? Was he the people of heaven?<sup>780</sup>

Obviously, Wang places Yan Hui, Da Shun and Paul in the same position, however, there is no religious difference, all of them are Sages. Their austere life is the common trait amongst them.

It is remarked that Wang wrote a lot about the above two stories. Another one

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<sup>777</sup> *Lunyu zihan* 論語•子罕, 子絕四: 毋意, 毋必, 毋固, 毋我。There were four things from which the Master was entirely free. He had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism.

<sup>778</sup> *Lunyu yongye* 論語•雍也。

<sup>779</sup> Cf. *ZGLD*, p.2935.

<sup>780</sup> Yan Hui, cf. *ZGLD*, p.3200. *RJSB*, f.171,1-5. 一簞食, 一瓢飲, 在陋巷, 不改其樂, 惟顏子為然。與木石居, 與鹿豕遊, 一似深山野人, 惟大舜為然。今葆祿食椰實, 飲泉水; 羊馬當路, 狼獅排衙。倘非大聖大賢, 不是餓煞凍煞, 必定唬煞。聖人哉? 賢人哉? 天人哉?

ascetic story is about the humble Macarius of Alexandria 莫間利約.<sup>781</sup> Wang states that Macarius would be the warning example (Dingmen zheng 頂門針, a needle at the top door) of anchorites, because he mortified himself quite strictly by only eating one meal per seven days.<sup>782</sup>

There are five stories about obedience in the text of *RJSB*. For instance, Paul the Simple (Laoshi baolu 老實葆祿),<sup>783</sup> Piôr (Bi yue'er 畢約爾) who conformed to the orders extremely,<sup>784</sup> the miracles of Maurus (Mao luo 卯羅)<sup>785</sup> and the young ascetic of drawing water.<sup>786</sup> In the story of Paul the Simple, Wang compares Paul with Zeng Shen and Yan Hui, "People believed that Paul was very honest and none of them could not laugh at his stupidity, nevertheless, how did they know that ghosts and monsters avoided him, thus, what the Lord of Heaven did destine because of his honesty. As is well-known, Zeng Shen was dull and Yan Hui was stupid, but they were the best disciples of Confucius."<sup>787</sup> From the miracles of Maurus, we can infer that humility is implied, which is also emphasised in his thinking by Wang.

The key theme of the other four stories is about overcoming lust. Paternutius (Meijue 每爵) overcame lust and lived an enclosed life, because of his strong determination of penance and the confidence in the Lord, he performed a mysterious miracle to cure the dying man. Evagrius Ponticus (Ai sake bala yue 艾薩克巴刺約) who was the son of a wealthy family gave up his rich lifestyle and mortified in the mountain at an early age in order to avoid lascivious women, but at last he made the determination to serve the Lord of Heaven as an ascetic. With the help of an old man, the young ascetic gave up the intention of marrying a wife and carried on with his penitential life. Another miraculous story of an ascetic through Wang's comments shows that the determination of overcoming lust with revering the Lord of Heaven is quite unimaginable.

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<sup>781</sup> *RJSB*, ff.17b,1-18a,8.

<sup>782</sup> *RJSB*, f.18a,5-8.

<sup>783</sup> *RJSB*, ff.20b,1-22a,4.

<sup>784</sup> *RJSB*, ff.22b,1-24a,1.

<sup>785</sup> *RJSB*, ff.24b,1-25a,5.

<sup>786</sup> *RJSB*, f.25b,1-9.

<sup>787</sup> *RJSB*, f.22a,1-4. 見老實太甚，未有不笑其癡愚，詎知鬼魔畏懼遠遁，天主顧獨鑒其誠實乃若此耶！參魯回愚，孔夫子最得意弟子也。

In fact, to this aspect of overcoming lust, Wang obeyed the principle quite strictly. At the age of 15, Wang married Shangshi 尚氏 as his wife. In later years, he and Shangshi had two daughters and two sons, but the latter died young.<sup>788</sup> Additionally, when he got his doctoral degree, his social position was raised. So, then his father ordered him to marry a concubine, as well as his wife, daughters and nephews implored him to marry a concubine. Around 1624, Wang married one who was aged 15, in that time, he had accepted Christian baptism for 8 years. It is clear that marrying a concubine is to violate one of Ten Commandments of Christianity, i.e. debauchery is forbidden. So much so that one scholar wrote in his book, “Wang was excommunicated from Christianity because of concubinage.”<sup>789</sup>

At the end of the text of *RJSB*, Wang added his confession of concubinage in writing, in which he sincerely confessed his sin of marrying the concubine. Wang states that in order to conform to his father’s strict order and fulfil his family’s expectation that he married a concubine. Although Wang knew his deed was sinful based on the Christian doctrines, finally he married a concubine. There are some reasons for us to analyse this case objectively. As a Christian, Wang had no intention of marrying a concubine. His family’s expectation was from Confucian idea and teaching. Wang did not have a son until the age of 55 and in order to increase the number of descendants and finish the future rituals of offering sacrifices to the ancestors, marrying a concubine and having sons became common. Moreover, one reason originated from Mengzi, “There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them.”<sup>790</sup> This belief placed an important position in ancient traditional families. Besides, the governmental laws of the Ming dynasty stipulated that after the age of 40, those who had no son could marry concubines.<sup>791</sup>

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<sup>788</sup> Wang, *XZWB*.

<sup>789</sup> Xiao Ruose 蕭若瑟, *Tianzhujiao chuanxing zhongguo kao* 天主教傳行中國考(The History of Christianity in China), Hebei xianxian tianzhu tang 河北獻縣天主堂(The Church of hebei xianxian), 1905, p.209.

In fact, it is unlikely that the excommunication could occur. After 1624, Wang met many missionaries and also wrote some works on Christian doctrine. Additionally, Giulio Aleni(Ai Rulüe 艾儒略 1582-1649) mentioned that the other Christians should learn from Wang, because Wang were not willing to marry a concubine after getting Jinshi. See Ai Rulüe, *Kouduo ri chao* 口铎日抄, BnF, Chinois7114, vol.2(1631), f.58a,4-9.

<sup>790</sup> Mengzi, *Li lou shang* 離婁上, 不孝有三, 無後為大。 Some scholars think that Wuhou weida 無後為大 means the descendants should be responsible to their ancestors.

<sup>791</sup> *Da Ming lü, huli san, hunying*, 大明律•戶律三•婚姻, vol.6.

In the background of monogamy and concubine system, it was quite incredible that a Jinshi (Doctor) who was at the age of 55 had no son. As a result, it is understandable why Wang married a concubine.

When the missionaries spread Christian doctrines in late Ming China, they also found the marriage customs of concubinage, especially for the superior Christians who had married concubines, but they wanted to convert to Christianity. Undoubtedly, they criticised this marriage institution sharply. Missionaries insisted that monogamy (one man and one wife) was the right marriage based on the Ten Commandments.<sup>792</sup> It is definite that Wang knew he had sinned through concubinage. Thus, in 1638 when he commented on the stories of Saints (*RJSB*), he also introspected himself in the mirror of Saints. Factually, in his confession text of *RJSB*, at the beginning he believes that it was a serious sin to marry a concubine and therefore he also asked the priests several times to get rid of his sin. Nevertheless, the priest refused his requirement unless he eradicated the concubinage. But the resistance was from his family and his wife implored him to keep the concubine. Especially, the concubine as vestal virgin would even join Christianity and did not leave Wang's family.<sup>793</sup> As a result, after 14 years, he confessed his sin on the text thoroughly in front of the Lord of Heaven, and then in order to break off the idea of debauchery he made a decision, which was to treat his concubine as a relative and friend.<sup>794</sup> There are also some reasons to explain this decision. Four stories of Saints about overcoming their lust aroused his determination to treat the sin. In that time, when he wrote the comments on the Saints stories, having read the texts of *Zhang Mige er yiji* (the Story of Michael Zhang)<sup>795</sup> and *Kouduo richao*,<sup>796</sup> in which the topic is also about overcoming desires and cultivating virtues, he regretted deeply about the concubinage.<sup>797</sup> He expresses his feeling of self-examination like this, "In these texts, when I saw one letter in which one sinner said he would not marry a concubine,

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<sup>792</sup> Michele Ruggieri, *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu* 天主聖教實錄, Chinois 6815, ff.45b,9-46a,3. & Giulio Aleni, *Kouduo richao* 口鐸日抄, Chinois 7114, ff.81b,9-83a,3..

<sup>793</sup> *RJSB*, f.40b,3-4.

<sup>794</sup> *RJSB*, f.41b,1.

<sup>795</sup> Xiong Shiqi 熊士旗 and Zhang tun 張焯, *Zhang mige er yiji* 張彌格爾遺跡, Chinois 1016, ff.97-113.

<sup>796</sup> Giulio Aleni, *Kouduo richao*, Chinois 7114.

<sup>797</sup> *RJSB*, f.40b,7-8.

immediately, I have felt abashed and regretted it extremely. I think about it all night, I am an old man of nearly 70, but not as good as a 17-year-old young man. Although I never said I could not marry a concubine, factually I made the sin of debauchery nominally which is not removed.”<sup>798</sup>

Hereby, from the confession of Wang, we should not deny that he was so strict to his practice of serving the Lord of Heaven.

The topic of the last story in *RJSB* is about pursuing perfect virtue (Juede 絕德). Marinos who dressed up as male, entered the Order to live in an enclosed life. Then, he was framed by a lascivious woman because of his beauty, however he never justified for herself. Until her death, the other ascetics found the truth. Therefore, Wang confirms that no one could surpass the perfect virtue of Marinos. Factually, in the story of Saint Paul, Wang also mentions that Paul pursued the perfect virtue, who gave up profit, reputation, lust and the world. Another text named *DHKJ*, also shows that Wang had an immense courage and determination to restrict himself.

Since 1635, the Jesuit missionary Etienne Faber<sup>799</sup> preached in Shaanxi province. That was a good opportunity for Wang to study the teachings of Christianity from Faber. In 1637 (the tenth year of Emperor Chongzhen), they cooperated closely on one work—the Story of Pater Augustin Tudeschini Sailing across the Sea (abbr. *DHKJ*). The text of *DHKJ* is conserved in BnF,<sup>800</sup> in which they described the miracle story of Jesuit missionary Du Aoding (Augustin Tudeschini), who suffered a lot of hardship during the travel on the sea and then arrived in China. In the text of

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<sup>798</sup> *RJSB*, ff.40b,8-41a,2. 內刊有罪某向日移書不娶妾一款，不覺慚愧之極，悔恨之極！終夜思維，年將七十，反不如十七少年功行，且虛傳不娶，而實冒邪淫之罪於莫可解。

<sup>799</sup> Etienne Faber, his Chinese name is Fang Dewang 方德望(1598-1659). He was born in France. In 1618, he joined the Society of Jesus, and he arrived in China in 1630. Initially, he spread Christianity in Shanxi province. Three years later, he came into Shaanxi, which is the neighboring province of Shanxi, where Faber preached all the time until his death. Because his miracles in the local area was quite popular, he was worshipped as a local god of the land (Fang tudi 方土地爺). Cf. Par Le P.L. Gain S.J., *Biographie du Pere P. Etienne Le Fèvre*, Changhai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1922.

<sup>800</sup> *Du Aoding xiansheng donglai duhai kuji* 杜奧定先生東來渡海苦跡(the Story of Pater Augustin Tudeschini Sailing across the Sea), BnF, Chinois 1024. Augustin Tudeschini, his Chinese name is Du Aoding 杜奧定 (1598-1643). He was born in Italy. In 1622, he joined the Society of Jesus, and he arrived in China in 1631. He came into Shaanxi in 1637. Two years later he spreaded Christianity in Fujian province and also died there. Cf. Fei Laizhi 費賴之(L. Pfister), Mei Chengqi 梅乘騏 and Mei Chengjun 梅乘駿, *Mingqing jian zaihua yesu huishi liezhuan* 明清間在華耶穌會士列傳(1552-1773) (The Biographies of Jesuits during Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties), Shanghai:Tianzhujiao shanghai jiaogu guangqi she 天主教上海教區光啟社(Guangqi Association of Diocese of Shanghai ),1997, pp. 220-221.

*DHKJ*, Faber and Wang affirmed that Tudeschini revered the Heaven devotionally, and loved people completely, so that miracles could occur.<sup>801</sup> Especially in the note of *DHKJ*, which was written by Wang himself, he comments on Tudeschini like this, “The master did not marry and never joined the official group, and he also did not pursue reputation and wealth. Only with the idea of revering the Heaven and loving people, he sailed across the remote sea to our eastern land. Having experienced hundreds of hardships, he never moved backwards.”<sup>802</sup> Meanwhile, he reminds himself and other Christians about the learning of serving the Lord of Heaven, “We are obsessed with the worldly affairs, even though the distance of the river, which is from Luqiao to Xi’an, we cannot suffer the hardship, so that it is ridiculous and abashed that we cannot experience the light of virtue.”<sup>803</sup>

From the above description and analysis, we can infer that Wang cultivated himself quite strictly. The ascetic life style is associated with Wang’s personality. The stories about overcoming lust in the text of *RJSB* and the other two texts, *Zhang Mige er yiji* (the Story of Michael Zhang) and *Kouduo richao* inspired his confidence and determination on debauchery. In short, when he became a Christian, Wang restricted himself based on the teachings of Christianity quite sincerely and practically. It is also the key part of his learning of serving the Lord of Heaven.

Wang describes the state of cultivating virtues in Europe, at the end of the text of *RHY*, which was quoted from Aleni’s *ZFWJ*, he states that cultivating virtues and reforming the others are merits of serving Heaven, which is summarised by himself,

“Some Christians in this holy religion have strong aspiration and would like to abandon the happiness and entertainment of this world, and then go to dwell in the mountain valley seclusively or join the Orders of the Saint for their whole life, who understand clearly the finiteness of this world and infiniteness of the afterworld. The members of the Orders have to make three vows, remaining pure all of one’s life and to cast aside the lust; remaining poverty and to give up avarice; taking orders from the superiors and to give up obstinacy. All the countries in Europe, from kings to ministers, the noble and the wealthy, there are countless men and women remaining pure and joining the Orders from teenagers. Some who want to give up their family, his parents will not force him stay. In the Orders of Saints, some members cultivate themselves and not reform anyone; some of

<sup>801</sup> *DHKJ*, ff.9b,9-10a,2.

<sup>802</sup> *DHKJ*, f.10a,3-5. 先生不婚不宦，不名不利人也。祇為敬天愛人一念，不遠九萬裏惠顧我東土，歷絕盡百險百危，曾不一毫退轉。

<sup>803</sup> *RJSB*, f.10a,5-7.

them reform the others but not travel far away; there is one kind of member who wants to cultivate themselves and the others, and then they travel far from their countries, relatives and friends, and see the world as family, everybody as brothers, who never dread of fatigue and hardship, even they enter the country of cannibals and urge the people to do good, in order to make them know the true Lord and return to the true way of heaven, not perplexed by heresy. Thus, they treat risks of mountain and sea, and sufferings as sweet joys. Therefore, the virtues of reforming others are the extreme merits of serving Heaven.<sup>804</sup>

In Wang's old age, having experienced a short official career and vital incident, he chose a hermit lifestyle and lived in the foot of the South Mountain.<sup>805</sup> He found a beautiful place for his cultivation and retreat. Most ancient Confucians were hermits, in which the reasons are various. Wang's grandfather was a famous Chushi 處士, who as an intellectual worked in the field but not joined the official group.<sup>806</sup> Wang's father was a good man who cultivated himself in the countryside. Probably, his family tradition had some impact on his life. The ascetics in the text of *RJSB* and the Jesuit missionaries' stories promoted him to retreat in the foot of mountain. Maybe he was attracted toward a harmonious and wonderful society.

During the hermit period, Wang created a lot of Chinese poetry, which express his metaphysical spirit life. For instance,

(朝天子)<sup>807</sup>近離了錦屋，遠結下草屋。身似貧，心則富。還思百歲等朝晡，喜得藏修處。買鼎安爐，傍門外戶，那個識天真主？飯青精幾斛，插秧田幾畝？盡兒輩，聊看顧。<sup>808</sup>

(Chao tianzi) Escape from the magnificent mansion, and to live in the thatched cottage. Although I look like a poor man, my spirit is rich. When someone thinks

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<sup>804</sup> *RHY*, ff.50a,3-50b,9. *ZFWJ*, see *TXCH*, pp.1368,8-1370,3. 聖教中人，有慕道更深者，知目前受用有限，身後受用無窮，發意拋棄世間榮福娛樂，或避居山谷，或入聖人聖女所立會山修道，終身不復出。入會者，必設三誓：其一，一生守貞，以絕貪色；其一，守貧，以絕貪財；其一，從掌會者之命，以絕自用。各國各郡縣，從十六七歲，自願入會，生平守童身者，男女不可勝計，自國王至大臣、宗室、富貴人，皆有之。子欲棄家，父母亦不強留。凡聖人所立會，有專意自修不及化人者，有務化人而不及遠遊者，又有一等欲正己以及天下，其恒辭去本國，離朋友親戚，生平遠遊，以天下為家，天下人為兄弟，不畏勞苦，不懼險難，周行四方者。此等雖食人之國，亦不敢避，務求勸化世人，使識其真主，歸於升天真道，不為異端所惑。其視山海危險，經歷苦難，甘之若飴。蓋視此化人為善，為事天極大功行。

<sup>805</sup> South Mountain 南山, the south side of Qin Ling 秦嶺, which lies in the south of Xi'an.

Wang, Wuyun taishoulaigong muzhiming 五雲太守來公墓志銘(The Epitaph of Master Lai), Cf. *JXWC*, vol.11.

Wang, *Tongchun yuan jishi houji* 同春園即事後記(The postscript to the Texts of Tongchun Garden), *Jianer wen ziji* 簡而文自記 (The Essay on the Garden of Jianer wen), cf. *JXWC*, vol.5.

<sup>806</sup> Zheng Man, *Miyang caotang wenji*, vol. 15.

<sup>807</sup> Chao tianzi, Sisha and Sansha are the title of the tunes to which ci poems are composed.

<sup>808</sup> Wang, *Shanju ziyong* 山居自詠(the Poetry during the Life in Mountain), cf. Lu Qian 廬前, ed., *Yinhong yisuo kequ* 飲虹篔所刻曲, 1936, edition of Jinling 金陵刻本.

about life and meals, I joyfully have found the place where I can cultivate myself. To buy a pot and set up the stove, come in and go out the door, can he know Heaven and the true Lord? How much rice does he have? He will have several seedling fields. Looking forward to the growing up his children, and see the future.

(四煞) 糊塗帳，何須算？神明鏡，樂有餘，分明認得來時路。半生潦倒從人笑，百樣顛危賴主扶。自在鄉，由人住，灑聖水消除了百業，歎南柯勞攘殺玄駒。

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(Sisha) Why do you work out the confused account? The Lord supervises all things, although a lot of joys for us, and He can discern the way which I come from. Even though I am frustrated in the past, I totally depend on the Lord, then I can stand. We can live in the comfortable land (Heaven) at liberty, we need the holy water to eradicate the sin, thus we cannot be so amazed at Nan Ke 南柯<sup>810</sup> was so anxious that he killed the mysterious ants.

(三煞) 守枯禪單尋智果，戀凡情雙扯仙裾，三仇七濁誰人去？防淫緊似防奔馬，策怠還如策蹇驢。蚤脫那凌雲渡，甘從隱遯，喚醒冥愚。<sup>811</sup>

(Sansha) In order to find the wisdom alone, to insist on monotonous meditation; to be reluctant to leave the secular affection and then cannot depart; who can give up three evils (demon, body and secularity) and seven deadly sins? It is urgent that overcoming lust like the fleeing horse, To get rid of sluggishness likes whipping the slow donkey. Earlier to escape from the Lingyun du 凌雲渡 (canyon), and in order to inspire the stupid, and to be willing to live in a reclosed life.

In this selected three poems, you can see that there are several Christian words appearing in them, such as Zhenhu 真主 (the true Lord), Zhu 主(the Lord), Shengshui 聖水 (Holy Water), Sanshou 三仇 (three evils, the world, the flesh and the devil) and Qizhuo 七濁 (the seven deadly sins). Undoubtedly, the Christian doctrines are rooted in his mind.

Additionally, he also translated many Western works with missionaries, one

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<sup>809</sup> Wang, *Shanju ziyong*.

<sup>810</sup> Nan Ke, cf. Li Gongzuo 李公佐, *Nan Ke taishou zhuan* 南柯太守傳( the Biography of Nan Ke Prefecture Chief).

<sup>811</sup> Wang, *Shanju ziyong*.



compiled work named *Xiru piaoxiang yaolie* 西儒縹緲要略 (the Synopsis of Western Confucians' Works), which is only reserved by title. According to the title, I guess that this work collects a lot of information on Christianity. It is quite unfortunate that we cannot find the text. Wang says in his correspondence to his young cousin, "Recently, I have nothing to bother my mind, after three meals every day and then go to sleep. I do lessons and compile *Xiru piaoxiang yaolie*, thus every day I transcribe five to seven folios, and now half of the work is finished, which will be a unique book with hundreds of folios. I make peaceful things of heaven in order to escape worldly affairs."<sup>812</sup> In his hermit life, which is similar to an ascetic, Wang spent his whole time on religious faith and spiritual cultivation. As a result, he states, "When we make the determination and confidence to give up reputation, wealth, lust and power and desire, we will arrive in the Holy land."<sup>813</sup> As above mentioned in the first chapter, Wang wrote one mechanical work *EZQTS* independently, in which he related mechanical capability with his belief of the Lord of Heaven. He used the Latin word *Ela jiya* 額辣濟亞- Gratia (holy grace) in the title of the work.<sup>814</sup> He explains that Gratia is the name of Grace bestowed from the almighty Creator (the Lord of Heaven), which develops scholars' minds. Youzao is the unusual title of creation, which is enlightened under the wisdom of Heaven.<sup>815</sup>

## 5.7 The Four Dilemmas in Wang Zheng's Belief

Wang's learning of serving the Lord of Heaven is the main part of his thoughts on revering the Lord of Heaven and caring for Human Beings. But there are three dilemmas in his religious faith.

### I.

As mentioned above, Wang married a concubine after he accepted Christian baptism. Although he was forced to marry the concubine by his family, moreover, he confessed

<sup>812</sup> Wang, *Yu Zhang Yizhao shu* 與張儀昭書 (the Correspondence with Zhang Yizhao), see *WZQJ*, p.318.

<sup>813</sup> *RJSB*, f.11b,2-3.

<sup>814</sup> *Ela jiya buzao zhuqi tushuo* 額辣濟亞鑪造諸器圖說 (the Manuscript of Gratia Mechanical Drawings).

<sup>815</sup> *EZQTS*, 額辣濟亞, 乃全能造物主開發學人心靈, 獨賜恩佑之異名也。鑪造雲者, 正是天鑪厥衷, 創作非常之謂。See *Cun Sou*, 1940.

this to missionaries through his devotion. Nevertheless, the dilemma of his belief is apparent. Wang wanted to insist on his Christian principle, but his family used the family ethics of Confucianism to persuade him to marry a concubine. In fact, the concubinage problem concerns the marriage ethical conflict between Confucianism and Christianity. Confucius explains Xiao 孝(filial piety) to his disciple Fan Chi 樊遲, “When parents are alive, be served according to propriety that, when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed too according to propriety.”<sup>816</sup> Thus, the idea of offering sacrifices to someone’s ancestors is quite important in the minds of Confucians. After the death of their ancestors, the descendants should finish sacrifice rituals, which is not only a religious requirement, but also the family’s ethical responsibility. Therefore, in a family the ancestors should be offered sacrifices, if without male descendants, the sacrifice ritual will disappear, so he who has no male descendants will be unfilial. As is well-known, filial piety is the essential principle of Confucianism. Before Wang married the concubine, his two sons died very young, thus he had no male descendants. Seemingly, it is reasonable that he married a concubine.

But according to the Ten Commandments of Christianity, concubinage is a deed of debauchery, moreover, everyone is born equal in front of the Lord of Heaven. The missionaries might have told him that the concubinage is quite a severe problem.

Ultimately, Wang treated his concubine as a relative or a friend, and later he adopted two nephews as his own sons from his brothers. Perhaps, this is appropriate for him to reconcile two teachings between Confucianism and Christianity.

## II.

After he got the degree of Jinshi, Wang was in his official position of Guangping fu from 1622 to 1624. As mentioned in the first chapter, he did a lot of good deeds for the local people. Here I take aim at his religious events.

When the area of Guangping fu was subjected to serious drought, local peasants longed for refreshing rain to grow rice seedlings. Having investigated the facts of the

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<sup>816</sup> *Lunyu weizheng* 論語・問政, 樊遲曰：何謂也？子曰：生事之以禮；死葬之以禮，祭之以禮。

situation in order to pray for rain, for two days he abstained from meat and walked to Nantan 南壇(South Altar), which is used to pray for wind, cloud, thunder and rain. When he arrived at the Altar, he prostrated on the ground in front of the tablet of Haotian shangdi 昊天上帝, and burst into tears. The other prayers also followed him to cry for rain. In the third day, it rained heavily and timely. In that year, the peasants in the region had a bumper rice harvest.<sup>817</sup> Even Wang treated the flood of Feicheng 肥城- one town of Guangping fu, he mentioned He Bo 河伯(the god of yellow river),<sup>818</sup> “But I do not know if the god of yellow river agrees with us?” I cannot confirm whether Wang’s words were true or just a joke.

When Wang was in Tuiguan position of Yangzhou fu, because of a long rainy period, he wrote three texts which are used to pray for good weather to Shangdi (God). The first one is Gaoshen wen 告神文(the Statement of Telling to God). The second text is Qiqing wen 祈晴文(the Statement of Hoping for sunshine to God), another one is Xieshen wen 謝神文(the Statement of Giving thanks to God). In the text of Qiqing wen, Wang sincerely prayed for ceasing the rainy weather to Shangdi, when the sunny days came, then he wrote Xieshen wen to express his appreciation to God.<sup>819</sup> Afterwards, even in 1628, Wang and his friend Zheng Man went to visit a fortune teller.<sup>820</sup> Obviously, fortune-telling is forbidden in the Christian Bible.<sup>821</sup> Wang also finished his *WTARJL* in the same year, thus only through Zheng’s text it cannot totally show Wang’s idea on fortune-telling.

In these events of Wang’s religious practices, although he prayed to the supreme God, the praying for rain and sunny days are deeply originated from Confucianism.<sup>822</sup> It is clear that Wang did these religious acts to the supreme God-Shangdi, possibly, after Christian baptism he should insist on his theological concept, which is one part of his revering the Lord of Heaven and loving people. Thus, he used the form of Confucian tradition to pray for something to the Lord of Heaven. At last, the dilemma

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<sup>817</sup> Wang, *LLL*. See Bai Kun, *JXWC*, vol. 7.

<sup>818</sup> Cf. *ZHDJCD*, p. 1491.

<sup>819</sup> Wang, *LLL*. See Bai Kun, *JXWC*, vol. 7.

<sup>820</sup> Zheng Man, *Miyang caotang wenji*, vol. 12, p. 1. cf. Huang Yinong, 2006, p. 166.

<sup>821</sup> Cf. Bible, Leviticus 19:26 Neither shall ye use enchantment, nor observe times.

<sup>822</sup> For example, cf. Alvin P. Cohen, Coercing the Rain Deities in Ancient China, in *History of Religions*, Vol. 17, 1978, pp. 244-265.

in this part is not very intense.

### III.

In 1626, because of the attack of roving rebel bands, out of protecting their own possessions, Wang organised Zhongtong Camp together with the local retired officials and the wealthy. In the beginning, they came into the temple of Chenghuang 城隍 (town gods, wall and moat), put the table, offered sacrifices to Chenghuang, and then made an oath of alliance with bloods. Additionally, they also announced the oath to god (*Zhushen shiyan* 祝神誓言).<sup>823</sup> In the end, they also assembled in the temple of Chenghuang, worshipped all of the gods and declared the dissolution of alliance to god (*Jiemeng zhushen wen* 解盟祝神文).<sup>824</sup>

I cannot be sure that the two texts to god (town gods) are written by Wang, even they are collected in *Zhongtong rilu* and compiled by Wang. However, definitely Wang had read them and collected them into his work. Besides, it is a fact that Wang took part in the sacrificial ceremonies both the founding and dissolution of alliance. Obviously, worshipping town gods is not allowed in Christian monotheism. Incidentally, there are some proper reasons to explain Wang's religious behaviors in the temple of town gods. Nevertheless, this is one apparent dilemma in his learning of serving the Lord of Heaven.

### IV.

In 1643, when Li Zicheng seized the city of Xi'an, he then dispatched his subordinates to invite Wang Zheng to join his group. Wang sit in the church of the Lord of Heaven (Tianzhu tang) and brought a sword with him for the purpose of refusing the requirement with death. Then his son Yongchun 永春 who was adopted from Wang's brother substituted his father to be taken away, Wang expressed some words to Yongchun, " My son replaced me to die, which is to die for filial piety; I choose to kill myself, which is to die for loyalty. Although I could not have deplored

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<sup>823</sup> *Zhushen shiyan*, cf. Wang, ed., *Zhongtong rilu*, the edition of Ming.

<sup>824</sup> *Jiemeng zhushen wen*, cf. Wang, ed., *Zhongtong rilu*, the edition of Ming.

the loss of you, it is so happy that we will die for loyalty and filial piety.”<sup>825</sup> After a series of events, Li Zicheng gave up the intention and then he led his army to seize Beijing and terminate the Ming court the next year. When Wang heard the news, with the worry about the Ming Dyansty and care for the Emperor, he chose to commit suicide by fasting for seven days.<sup>826</sup>

At the end of his life, Wang chose to kill himself by fasting because as a Christian, he violated one Commandment of the Decalogue, i.e. we should not kill anyone, including ourselves. However, in Confucian teaching, it is completely significant that Wang gave his life to the Ming dynasty as a martyr. We cannot ignore Confucian beliefs which is rooted in his mind, that is to sacrifice his life to preserve his complete virtues (Shashen chengren 殺身成仁 and Shesheng quyì 舍生取義).<sup>827</sup> Definitely, this dilemma is related to the fundamental beliefs between Confucianism and Christianity.

Confucian Classic texts are quoted in Wang Zheng’s texts.<sup>828</sup>

<p><b>Mengzi sanle shu 孟子三樂書</b> The book of three delightful things of Mengzi Quoted from, 孟子曰：君子有三樂，而王天下者不與存焉。父母俱在，兄弟無故，一樂也；<b>仰不愧于天，俯不忤于人</b>，二樂也；得天下英才而教育之，三樂也。《孟子·盡心上》 <i>WTARJL f.13a,2-3.</i></p>	<p>Mencius said, the gentleman has three delightful things, which the King has nothing. The first one delightful thing is that his parents are both alive, and his brothers have no complaints among them; <b>the second one is that when looking up, he has no occasion for shame before Heaven, and, below, he has no occasion to blush before men</b>; the third one is that he can get all the most talented individuals, and teach them. (The Chapter of Jinxin shang of Mengzi)</p>
<p><b>Kongyan lechu 孔顏樂處</b> The joys of Confucius and Yan Hui 子曰：飯疏食，飲水，曲肱而枕之，樂亦在其中矣。不義而富且貴，于我如浮雲。《論語·述而》 子曰：賢哉，回也！一簞食，一瓢飲，在陋巷。人不堪其忧，回也不改其樂。賢哉，回也！《論語·雍也》 <i>WTARJL f.13a,5-6.</i> <i>RJSB f.17a, 1-5.</i></p>	<p>Confucius said,with coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow; I have still joy in the midst of these things. Riches and honors acquired by unrighteousness, are to me as a floating cloud. (The Chapter of Shuer of the Analects) Confucius said, admirable indeed was the virtue of Hui! With a single bamboo dish of rice, a single gourd dish of drink, and living in his mean narrow lane, while others could not have endured the distress, he did not allow his joy to be affected by it. Admirable indeed was the virtue of Hui! (The Chapter of Yongye of the Analects)</p>
<p><b>Weitian 畏天</b> To revere Heaven 孔子曰：君子有三畏：畏天命，畏大人，畏聖人之言。</p>	<p>Confucius said, there are three things of which the gentleman stands in awe. He stands in awe of the mandate of Heaven. He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages. The mean man does not know the mandate of Heaven, and consequently does not stand in awe of them. He is disrespectful to</p>

<sup>825</sup> Zhang Bingxuan, *Duanjie xiansheng kuixin wanggong zhuan* 端節先生葵心王公傳(the Biography of Master Wang), see Wang Jie, ed., *BTTJC*, vol.5. 兒代我死，死孝；我矢自死，死忠。雖不能不痛惜兒，顧以忠孝死，甘如飴也。

<sup>826</sup> Zhang Bingxuan, *the Biography of Master Wang*.

<sup>827</sup> Lunyu weiling gong 論語·衛靈公，子曰：志士仁人，無求生以害仁，有殺身以成仁。The Master said, the determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete.  
Mengzi gaozi shang 孟子·告子上，生，亦我所欲也；義，亦我所欲也，二者不可得兼，舍生而取義者也。I like life, and I also like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go, and choose righteousness.

<sup>828</sup> This table is placed at the end of part two-Wang Zheng’s thought. Because it includes all the quotations in Wang Zheng’s texts.

<p>小人不知天命而不畏也，狎大人，侮聖人之言。 《論語·季氏》 WTARJL ff.18b, 19a,b. /RHY f.4a,1.</p>	<p>great men. He mocks the words of sages. (The Chapter of Jishi of the Analects)</p>
<p>Shi xi xian, xian xi sheng, sheng xi tian/ 士希賢，賢希聖，聖希天 聖希天，賢希聖，士希賢。（宋，周敦頤《通書·志學》） WTARJL ff.18b.5.</p>	<p>The literati learn from the sages, the sages learn from the saints, and the saints learn from Heaven.  The saints learn from Heaven, the sages learn from the saints, and the literati learn from the sages. (Song, Zhou Dunyi, Tongshu zhixue)</p>
<p>Tianzong zhi le 天縱之聖 A sage who was endowed unlimitedly by Heaven 固天縱之將聖 《論語·子罕》 WTARJL f.19a,2./RJSB f.15a,3.</p>	<p>Certainly Heaven has endowed him unlimitedly. He is about a sage. (The Chapter of Zihan of the Analects)</p>
<p>Airen 愛人 Caring for Human Beings 樊遲問仁，子曰：愛人。《論語·顏淵》 仁者愛人，有禮者敬人。愛人者，人恒愛之；敬人者，人恒敬之。《孟子·離婁下》 WTARJL f.55b, f.56a./RHY the whole text.</p>	<p>Fan Chi asked about benevolence. Confucius said, it is to love all men. (The Chapter of Yanyuan of the Analects) He who loves others is constantly loved by them. He who respects others is constantly respected by them. (The Chapter of Lilou xia of Mengzi)</p>
<p>Huaide yu huaixing 懷德與懷刑 子曰：君子懷德，小人懷土；君子懷刑，小人懷惠。 《論語·里仁》 WTARJL f.19b,3-5.</p>	<p>Confucius said, the gentleman thinks of virtue; the small man thinks of comfort. The gentleman thinks of the sanctions of law; the small man thinks of favors which he may receive. (The Chapter of Liren of the Analects)</p>
<p>Confucius zhe Wang sunjia aozao zhiwen 孔子折王孫賈奧竈之間 王孫賈問曰：與其媚於奧，寧媚於竈，何謂也？子曰：不然，獲罪於天，無所禱也。《論語·八佾》 WTARJL f.19b,6.</p>	<p>Wang Sun Jia asked, saying, What is the meaning of the saying, It is better to pay court to the furnace than to the southwest corner?" Confucius said, not so, he who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray. (The Chapter of Bayi of the Analects)</p>
<p>Ziyang gangmu 紫陽《綱目》/《資治通鑒綱目》 WTARJL f.25b,3.</p>	<p>Ziyang is the pseudonym of Zhu Xi(1130-1200), Gang mu /Zizhi tongjian gangmu is one historical work based on Si Maguang's Zizhi tongjian, which was compiled by Zhu Xi and his student.</p>
<p>Mang Dafu Yang Xiong si 莽大夫楊雄死 WTARJL f.25b,4.</p>	<p>It is quoted from Gangmu. It means Yang Xiong(B.C.53-18) who was the official of Han Dynasty and then in Wang Mang Dynasty he renegaded as Dafu.</p>
<p>Juqin meixin 劇秦美新 WTARJL f.25b,3-4.</p>	<p>Yang Xiong criticized tyrannical rule of Qin Dyansty and praised Wang Mang's Dynasty in his essay.</p>
<p>Qi Qiuzi fan qiao jingsheng dao huashu 齊丘子翻銷景升盜《化書》 WTARJL f.30a,3.</p>	<p>Qi Qiuzi plagiarized Tan Qiao's Huashu. Qi Qiuzi was Song Qiqiu(887-959). Tan Qiao(? during Wudai period), the courtesy name was Jingsheng, he wrote Huashu. Huashu has 6 volumes, which was one important taoist work.<sup>829</sup></p>
<p>唯仁者能好人，能惡人。《論語·裏仁》 WTARJL f.32a,4-5.</p>	<p>Confucius said, it is only for the virtuous man, who can love, or who can hate, others. (The Chapter of Liren of the Analects)</p>
<p>若聖與仁，則吾豈敢？《論語·述而》 WTARJL f.32a,6.</p>	<p>The sage and the man of perfect virtue, how dare I rank myself with them. (The Chapter of Shuer of the Analects)</p>
<p>子曰：君子上達，小人下達。 子曰：不怨天，不尤人，下學而上達，知我者其天乎？ 《論語·憲問》 WTARJL f.40a,2-40b,3.</p>	<p>Confucius said, the gentleman goes upwards; the mean man goes downwards. Confucius replied, do not complain about Heaven and also do not blame men for something. To study the knowledge downwards and reach the wisdom. Who knows me, that is Heaven?</p>
<p>惟上帝不常，作善降之百祥，作不善降之百殃。 《尚書·商書·伊訓》 WTARJL f.17b,5-7. f.32b,8-9.</p>	<p>The mandate of God are not invariable, he sends down all blessings on the goodman, and on the evilman he sends down all miseries. (The Chapter of Shangshu Yixun of Shangshu)</p>
<p>象以典刑，流宥五刑。 三載考績，三考，黜陟幽明。</p>	<p>He issued the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five punishments.</p>

<sup>829</sup> Luoxiang 罗翔, *Tnaqiao ji huashu yanjiu* 譚峭及《化书》研究, the master thesis of Chongqing University,2014.

《尚書·虞書·舜典》 WTARJL f.33a,9-33b,1.	Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving were advanced. (The Chapter of Yushu shundian of <i>Shangshu</i> )
天命有德，五服五章哉。 天討有罪，五刑五用哉。 《尚書·虞書·皋陶謨》 WTARJL f.33b,1-3.	Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous - are there not the five habiliments, five decorations of them? Heaven punishes the guilty - are there not the five punishments, to be severally used for that purpose? (The Chapter of Gaotao mo yushu of <i>Shangshu</i> )
迪朕德，時乃功，惟敘。 皋陶方祗厥敘，方施象刑惟明。 《尚書·虞書·益稷》 WTARJL f.33b,3-4.	That my virtue is followed is the result of your meritorious services so orderly represented. And now Gao-Yao, entering respectfully into your representations, is displaying the enacted punishments with brightness. (The Chapter of Yiji yushu of <i>Shangshu</i> )
無有遠邇，用罪罰厥死，用德彰厥善。 《尚書·商書·盤庚上》 WTARJL f.33b,4-5.	I will make decisions whether the man as being more distantly or more nearly related to me; the criminal shall die, and the goodmen shall display his virtues. (The Chapter of Pangeng shang shangshu of <i>Shangshu</i> )
爾眾士其尚迪果毅，以登乃辟。 功多有厚賞，不迪有顯戮。 《尚書·周書·秦誓下》 WTARJL f.33b,5-6.	You, all my officers, march forward with determined courage to sustain your prince. Where there is much merit, there shall be large reward; where you do not advance actively, there shall be conspicuously punished. (The Chapter of Taishi xia zhoushu of <i>Shangshu</i> )
乃其速由文王作罰，刑茲無赦。《尚書·周書·康誥》 WTARJL f.33b,6-7.	Then to deal speedily with such according to the penal laws of king Wen, punishing them severely and not pardoning. (The Chapter of Kanggao zhoushu of <i>Shangshu</i> )
爾克敬，天惟畀矜爾； 爾不克敬，爾不啻不有爾土，予亦致天之罰於爾躬。 《尚書·周書·多士》 WTARJL f.33b,7-9.	If you can reverently obey, Heaven will favour and compassionate you. If you do not reverently obey, you shall not only not have your lands, but I will also carry to the utmost Heaven's punishments on your persons. (The Chapter of Duoshi zhoushu of <i>Shangshu</i> )
爾乃惟逸惟頗，大遠王命，則惟爾多方探天之威， 我則致天之罰，離逖此土。 《尚書·周書·多方》 WTARJL ff.33b,9-34a,2	Thus you will be slothful and perverse, greatly disobedient to the royal decrees. Throughout numerous regions you search for the awes of Heaven, and I will get punishments of the Heaven, and be removed far from the lands. (The Chapter of Duofang zhoushu of <i>Shangshu</i> )
天既遐終大邦殷之命，茲殷多先哲王在天。 《尚書·周書·召誥》 WTARJL ff.34b,9-35a,1	When Heaven terminated the destiny of the great dynasty of Yin, there were many of its former wise kings in heaven. (The Chapter of Zhaogao zhoushu of <i>Shangshu</i> )
乃命於帝庭，敷佑四方。《尚書·周書·金縢》 WTARJL f.35a,1-2.	He received the mandate of Heaven in the hall of God and extended his control all over the kingdom. (The Chapter of Jinsheng zhoushu of <i>Shangshu</i> )
文王在上，於昭於天。 文王陟降，在帝左右。 世有哲王，三後在天。 《詩經·大雅·文王之什》 WTARJL f.34b,8-9.	King Wen is on high, he is bright in heaven. King Wen ascends and descends, on the sides of God. The country has wise Kings, three sovereigns were in heaven. (the Chapter of Wenwang zhishi daya of <i>Shijing</i> )
元者，善之長。 君子體仁，足以長人。 《周易·上經第一·乾》 WTARJL f.55a,6-7.	What is called the greatness and is the first and chief quality of goodness. The gentleman possessing benevolence, is enough to cultivate men. (The First Chapter Qian of <i>Zhouyi</i> )
Ce yu xin 惻於心 惻隱之心，仁也。《孟子·告子上》 RHY f.5a,3.	The feeling of commiseration implies the principle of benevolence. (The chapter gaozi shang of <i>Mengzi</i> )
使之存以順，歿以寧 存，吾順事；歿，吾寧也。《正蒙·乾稱篇》 RHY f.5a,5-6.	Living is a fortunate things, death will make me peaceful. (The chapter Qiancheng of <i>Zhengmeng</i> )
Liren daren zhixun 立人達人之訓 己欲立而立人，己欲達而達人。《論語·雍也》 RHY f.14b,4-5.	wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to perfect himself, seeks also to perfect others. (Lunyu yongye)
上帝臨女，無貳爾心 《詩經·文王之什·大明》 RJSB f.9b,5.	God is with you, while you should have no doubts in your heart. ( <i>Shijing</i> , Decade Of Wen Wang, Daming)
孔夫子志學之年 Zhixue zhinian 《論語·為政》吾十有五而志于学 RJSB f.15a,2.	At the age of 15, I determined to study. (Lunyu weizheng)

<p>孔子絕四 Juesi 《論語·子罕》子絕四：毋意，毋必，毋固，毋我。<i>RJSB f.15a,6.</i></p>	<p>There were four things from which the Master was entirely free. He had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism. (Lunyu zihan)</p>
<p>Anshen liming 安身立命 Anshen 安身：君子有四時，朝以聽政，晝以訪問，夕以脩令，夜以安身。《左傳·昭公元年》 Liming 立命：夭壽不貳，修身以俟之，所以立命也。 《孟子·盡心上》<i>RJSB f.15a,3-4.</i></p>	<p>The gentleman has four period, in the early morning to know society situation, in the daytime to visit, at dusk to revise the laws, to settle down at night. (Zuozhuan the first year of Zhaogong) When neither a premature death nor long life causes a man any double-mindedness, but he waits in the cultivation of his personal character for whatever issue; this is the way in which he establishes his Heaven-ordained being. (Mengzi Jinxin shang)</p>
<p>Shenlu huiyu 參魯回愚 柴也愚，參也魯 《論語·先進》 吾與回言終日，不違，如愚 《論語·為政》 <i>RJSB f.22a,3.</i></p>	<p>Chai is simple. Shen is dull. (Lunyu weizheng) I have talked with Hui for a whole day, and he has not made any objection to anything as if he were stupid. (Lunyu xianjin)</p>
<p>Pihe haiyu 被褐懷玉 《道德經·第七十章》 <i>RJSB f.10b,1. Only this from Daode jing.</i></p>	<p>(The sage) wears a poor cloth, while he carries his jade in his bosom. (The 70th Chapter of Daode jing)</p>

Chart 5.4 The confucian quotations in Wang Zheng's texts.



## Part. III.

精心一白事上帝，全忠全孝更無疑

It is undoubted that with complete loyalty and filial piety to serve God whole-heartedly and purely.

### 6. The Image of Wang Zheng in History

This section will show the historical image of Wang Zheng, which can help researchers and other readers understand Wang's life, beliefs and thoughts completely. This chapter consists of three subsections, self-description, historical evaluation and contemporary image.

#### 6.1 Self-Description

We should not ignore the image described by Wang himself. Factually, before his death, Wang had already written some words about himself.

In Chinese culture, the people's names usually represent this person's ambition, ideals, personality and so on. Especially, a name that someone gives himself often has a profound significance. Wang's given name, Zheng 徵, might have been given by his father. It is likely that the names Liangfu 良甫 and Kuixin 葵心 were decided by Wang himself, the former meaning one kind gentleman and the latter literally presents the heart of a sunflower which implies someone expects promising things.

In 1623, at the age of 53, Wang started to use his assumed name “Liaoyi daoren 了道人” in two works *Bingyue* (the Agreements of the Armed Force) and *Kewen* (the Questions of the Guest). It is not sure whether Liaoyi daoren occurs the first time in these works because some of his works are lost and only these titles are preserved. Through the retrieval of the classical works, a huge number of Liao 了 (know clearly) appear in the Buddhist texts, some of which are added with Yi 一 (everything). For

example, “Jueliao yiqie yi,”<sup>830</sup> “Liao yiqie fa jie fofa gu,”<sup>831</sup> in which Liao means “making something clear,” Yi means everything. Possibly, Liaoyi 了一 Wang uses is from the Buddhist texts. In addition, there is a Confucian origin from Zhu Xi’s text, Yiliao yiqie liao,<sup>832</sup> which means “making everything clear”. In one piece of his verse, Wang expresses that Yiliao douliao 一了都了 means when one thing is made clear, all the other things are explicit. The meaning is close to the texts of Buddhism and Zhuxi mentioned above, which also interprets Liaoyi.

Daoren consists of Dao and Ren, which means the person who achieved enlightenment or wisdom. Daoren is from a Taoist background.<sup>833</sup> In Taoism, Taoist male monks use Daoshi 道士 as a title, and female monks use Daogu 道姑 as their title. Therefore, the name of Liaoyi daoren has two kinds of religious backgrounds, which shows a Buddhist-Taoist integrated image of a Confucian name.

Afterwards, the name of Liaoyi daoren also occurs in *QQTS* (1627),<sup>834</sup> *ZQTS* (1627),<sup>835</sup> *RHY* (1634)<sup>836</sup> and *EZQTS* (1640).<sup>837</sup> In 1626, at the age of 56, Wang used his other assumed name “Liaoyi zi 了一子”, which means Master of Liaoyi. Liaoyi zi appears in the texts of *XREMZ* (1626)<sup>838</sup> and *DHKJ* (1637).<sup>839</sup> The above works were finished by Wang and Jesuits missionaries and *RHY* and *DHKJ* are Christian texts. However, he used the Buddhist-Taoist integrated names—Liaoyi daoren and Liaoyi zi to express his original beliefs. It could be possible that he imported Christian meanings into these two names. Therefore, it is also possible that Yi could mean the Uniqueness of the Lord of Heaven. In *QQTS*, he used Jingjiao houxue 景教後學 (young scholar of Nestorianism) on the first page of volume

<sup>830</sup> 覺了一切義, in *Foshuo deguang taizi jing* 佛說德光太子經, *Dazheng xinxiu dazang jing* 大正新脩大藏經. Benyuan bushang 本緣部上, vol.170. Cf. SS-Database and CBETA.

<sup>831</sup> 了一切法皆佛法故, in *Dacheng liqu liu boluomi duojing* 大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經, vol.8, *Dazheng xinxiu dazang jing* 大正新脩大藏經, Boruo busi 般若部四, vol, 261. Cf. SS-Database and CBETA.

<sup>832</sup> 一了一切了, cf. Zhu Xi (1130-1200) *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, vol.8. 有資質甚高者, 一了一切了, 即不須節節用工也。

<sup>833</sup> Cf. *ZGLD*, vol., pp.2950-2951.

<sup>834</sup> Cf. *QQTS*, f.17a,4.

<sup>835</sup> Cf. *ZQTS*, f.181a,1.

<sup>836</sup> Cf. *RHY*, f.5b,6.

<sup>837</sup> Cun Sou 存叟, Du mingmo jingyang wangzheng suozhu ela jiya youzao zhuqi tushuo ziji shougao luhou 讀明末涇陽王徵所著額辣濟亞膺造諸器圖說自記手稿錄後(The Comments on the Transcript of Wang Zheng’s ela jiya youzao zhuqi tushuo ziji), in *Xibei lunheng* 西北論衡(Forum of Northwest), vol.9(7),1940.

<sup>838</sup> Cf. *XREMZ*, vol.1, p.47

<sup>839</sup> Cf. *DHKJ*, f.10a,8.

one.<sup>840</sup> Generally speaking, in 1625 the Nestorian Monument was discovered in Xi'an,<sup>841</sup> whereby Wang possibly accompanied Trigault to visit the stele. Through the name of young scholar of Nestorianism, we can confirm that Wang thought his Christian belief was the same as Nestorianism. It is clear that he could not explore the differences and relationship between his belief and Nestorianism, however, he had traced his Christian belief to an older period by the discovery of the great stone.

Another exceptional instance is that he used Liaoyi daoren and his Christian name Philippe together in the text of *RJSB* (1638), especially he added Zi/Master to Philippe, “Philippe zi,”<sup>842</sup> which is quite an integrated and Confucian style. Undoubtedly, in that time, Wang’s Christian faith was deeply rooted in his mind. Therefore, in his confession text of concubinage, he only used the name “Philippe,”<sup>843</sup> which appears at the start of the text. As is well-known, Philip is one disciple of Jesus, who is mentioned in the Gospels.<sup>844</sup> The Synoptic Gospels list Philippe as one of the apostles, and the Gospel of John recounts Philippe’s calling as a disciple of Jesus.<sup>845</sup> Philippe the disciple was evangelized in Greece, Phrygia, and Syria,<sup>846</sup> and later died for preaching as a martyr.<sup>847</sup> Wang accepted this Christian name from a Jesuit missionary, perhaps because he knew the story of Saint Philip. After having invited Trigault to preach in Shaanxi, Wang ardently supported missionaries to spread evangels to Shaanxi, meanwhile he also transmitted Christian doctrines through writings and other ways. Therefore, his experience of evangelising was comparatively similar to Philippe the disciple.

In 1636 (the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Chongzhen), at the end of the preface to *Liangli lü* e Wang used another name “Zhili sou 支離叟 (deformed old man)”, which is from one fable of *Zhuangzi* 莊子.<sup>848</sup> Before using this name, he had received a discarded

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<sup>840</sup> Cf. *QOTS*, f.31b,3.

<sup>841</sup> Arthur Christopher Moule, *Christians in China Before the Year 1550*, Taipei: Ch’eng-wen, 1972, pp. 34-42.

<sup>842</sup> Cf. *RJSB*, f.6a,4.

<sup>843</sup> Cf. *RJSB*, f.39b,2.

<sup>844</sup> Cf. Butler, Alban. “*St. Philip, Apostle*”, *The Lives or the Fathers, Martyrs and Other Principal Saints*, vol. V, D. & J. Sadlier, & Company, 1864.

<sup>845</sup> John 1:43.

<sup>846</sup> Cf. “Acts of Philip -especially Book 8”, meta-religion.com. Retrieved 14 March 2007.

<sup>847</sup> Cf. *The Apostles -Saints & Angels-* Catholic Online. Catholic.org (11 June 2008). Retrieved on 28 July 2011.

<sup>848</sup> Cf. *Zhuangzi* 莊子, renjianshi 人間世, 支離疏者, 頤隱於臍, 肩高於頂, 會撮指天, 五管在上, 兩髀為脅。挫鍼治癩, 足以餬口; 鼓篋播精, 足以食十人。上徵武士, 則支離攘臂而遊於其間; 上有大役, 則支

strange piece of wood as a present from his friend Zhu Xiaotian 朱肖天. Then, he wrote a short essay on the strange piece of wood, which he described it being as, “Its head and horns are quite obvious, and you can find the eyes and mouth in it. It looks like one tiger with four feet and one tail standing there.”<sup>849</sup> Wang liked the wood very much and named it Zhili sou, which means “old deformed man”. We can find that Wang made fun of himself in that period, after the setback in 1632 and Wang was in a passive condition and expressed his confused feelings through the wood. Meanwhile, he implied his idea in the text, “I keep strange piece of wood which was discarded by other people. No one enquires about it and it will exist for a long time.”<sup>850</sup> It is a tragedy for Wang that his political capability ends because of the event of Wuqiao, nevertheless, from that event he reactivated his Christian belief.

During his hermit period, Wang assessed himself as Qiren 奇人/ which means “an unusual person in a piece of poetry”, i.e. “The unusual person has experienced a lot of unusual stories 奇人幸得多奇遇.”<sup>851</sup> After going through all his texts and the incidents which he had experienced, this title of Qiren/unusual person he named himself is a suitable evaluation. His cousin, Zhang Bingxuan, also confirmed Wang’s unusual talent, unusual quality, unusual insight and unusual experience in the epitaph.<sup>852</sup>

As mentioned above, in 1643, when Li Zicheng forced Wang to join his regime, Wang wrote the couplet of his coffin chamber, which infers how Wang appraised himself. He expressed his title on the door of his tomb, “The tomb of Jinshi

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離以有常疾不受功；上與病者粟，則受三鐘與十束薪。夫支離其形者，猶足以養其身，終其天年，又況支離其德者乎！There was the deformed object Shu. His chin seemed to hide his navel; his shoulders were higher than the crown of his head; the knot of his hair pointed to the sky; his five viscera were all compressed into the upper part of his body, and his two thigh bones were like ribs. By sharpening needles and washing clothes he was able to make a living. By sifting rice and cleaning it, he was able to support ten individuals. When the government was calling out soldiers, this poor Shu would bare his arms among the others; when it had any great service to be undertaken, because of his constant ailments, none of the work was assigned to him; when it was giving out grain to the sick, he received three kung, and ten bundles of firewood. If this poor man, so deformed in body, was still able to support himself, and complete his term of life, how much more may they do so, whose deformity is that of their faculties!

<sup>849</sup> Wang, *the Essay on the Strange Wood* 怪木供贊(Guaimu gongzan), cf. Baikun, ed., *JXWC*, vol.12,1925, pp.6-7.

<sup>850</sup> Ibid. p.7.

<sup>851</sup> Wang, *Shanju ziyong* 山居自詠 (the Poetry during the Life in Mountain), cf. Lu Qian 廬前, ed., *Yinhong yisuo kequ* 飲虹蓂所刻曲, 1936, edition of Jinling 金陵刻本.

<sup>852</sup> Wang Zheng’s Epitaph, cf. my article, in *Studies in World Religions*, 1(2012), p.125. Caiqi 才奇, Pinqi 品奇, Shiqi 识奇, Yuqi 遇奇.

Fengzheng daifu Liaoyi daoren liangfu Wang Zheng of Ming, who was the secretary of Shandong (Shandong anchasi qianxian 山東按察司簽事) and the military supervisor of Liaohai (Liaohai jianjundao 遼海監軍道).<sup>853</sup> Wang stated clearly that he was the official of the Ming court, which explains that not only it is a fact, but also that his loyalty is unchangeable. The couplet is as follows, “From my childhood, I embraced filial piety, fraternal duty, loyalty and forgiveness in the virtue of one term-Benevolence; I dare to say that I inherit and pass the coherent tradition of Sages and Saints. Till my old age, I have never separated the two ideas of revering Heaven and loving human beings; I always contribute my heart and nature to them.”<sup>854</sup> Wang appraised himself objectively and he had the virtue of Benevolence, which can be found from his religious practice serving the Lord of Heaven. His learnings of revering Heaven and loving human beings are based on *WTARJL* and *RHY* are quite meaningful, which he explored and integrated Confucianism with Christianity.

On the gates of the coffin chamber, the description is, “What is the intention of Heaven but to give me life? The principle of Heaven is so bright, but all the time I am perplexed. To serve Shangdi/God purely and wholeheartedly, and also it is undoubtful to make things full of loyalty and filial piety.”<sup>855</sup> In these appraised words, it is not difficult to find the trace of Wang’s thoughts, to search for the mandate of Heaven, knowing Heaven and serving Heaven. Additionally, Wang states that loyalty and filial piety are the patterns of serving Heaven.

## 6.2 Historical Evaluation

If we want to know someone’s historical image, the evaluations made by others are

<sup>853</sup> Youming jinshi fengzheng daifu shandong anchasi qianshi fengchi jian liaohai junwu liaoyi daoren liangfu wangzheng zhimu. 有明進士奉政大夫山東按察司僉事奉敕監遼海軍務了一道人良甫王徵之墓。 Cf. Zhang Bingxuan, *the Biography of Master Wang*. In *BTTJC*, vol.5.

<sup>854</sup> Zi chengtong shi, zongkuo xiaodi zhongshu yu yiren ganwei danchuan shengxian zhi yiguan; qichui laori bufen weitian airen zhi liangnian zongqi zijin xinxiang yu liangjian.

自成年時，總括孝弟忠恕於一仁，敢謂單傳聖賢之一貫；迄垂老日，不分畏天愛人之兩念，總期自盡心性於兩間。

Cf. Zhang Bingxuan, *the Biography of Master Wang*. In *BTTJC*, vol.5.

<sup>855</sup> Laotian shengwo yi heru tiandao mingming ren zimi; jingbai yixin shi shangdi quanzhong quanxiao geng wuyi 老天生我意何如？天道明明忍自迷！精白一心事上帝，全忠全孝更無疑。 Cf. Zhang Bingxuan, *the Biography of Master Wang*. In *BTTJC*, vol.5.

useful for us to analyse.



Fig. 6.1 The Portrait of Wang Zheng who was in a Ming official robe, which was preserved by Wang Zheng's twelfth generation descendant Wang Keju 王可舉.



Fig. 6.2 The whole-length portrait of Wang Zheng. Fig. 6.3 The whole-length portrait of Wang Zheng's wife. See, Amedeo Cracco, *La Prefettura Apostolica Di Sanyuan Cina-Shensi*, Tungyuenfang 1933, p.41 & p.42.

## 6.2.1 The Evaluation from Wang Zheng's Friends

Wang's friend Zheng Man, who also got a degree in Jinshi in 1622. He addressed Wang Zheng as Wang Zi 王子 (Master Wang) several times in the preface to *WTARJL*.<sup>856</sup> It can be inferred that Wang's morality and learning had a high position in Zheng's mind.

Sun Chengzong was one of Wang's friends too, who wrote a congratulating essay on Wang's 60<sup>th</sup> birthday, in which he wrote complimentary words. Nevertheless, it is a mirror to see Wang's image from another point of view.

Master Kuixin (Wang's style name) was not only an excellent literatus of Guanxi, but also a striking hero all over the country. He gathered the afflatus of Hua Mountain and Zhongnan mountain, who was a true Confucian among the literati. He was born in the hometown of celebrities, who have succeeded the orthodox teachings. He was talented and he was acquainted with the three religions and the nine schools of thoughts; his moral character is very high, which practically promotes the Confucian ethic (Wuchang shiyi). With great humanity in mind, he did everything kindly. His goodness benefitted the people of his hometown and in the whole land. So that he is the man of true great virtue and with five happiness must get (reputation),<sup>857</sup>

In this evaluation, these words such as Jieshi (excellent literatus), Qiyong (striking hero), Zhenru (true Confucian) and Zhen dade (a man of true great virtue), which shows that Wang is a great Confucian master. Wang's figure was shaped by the

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<sup>856</sup> Zheng Man, *the Preface to WTARJL*, cf. Wang, *WTARJL*, f.6b,4;f.7b,1&5;f.8a,3;f.8b,1&3.

<sup>857</sup> Sun Chengzong 孫承宗, *the Congratulating Essay on Wang's 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, Cf. *BTTJC*, vol.2. 葵心先生，關西傑士，天下奇英。萃太華終南之秀，九千里靈毓真儒；紹外王內聖之傳，五百年篤生名世。才高北斗，嘗徹通乎三教九流；品重南金，實力振夫五常十義。仁愛居心，慈祥成性。惠早孚乎桑梓，澤更被及寰區。斯真大德之必得，允宜五福之兼備者也。

Sanjiao 三教(three religions), Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism.

Jiuliu 九流, Rujia 儒家(the Confucian school), Daojia 道家(Taoist school), Yinyangjia 陰陽家(the Yin-Yang School), Fajia 法家(Legalists), Mingjia 名家(the School of Logicians), Mojia 墨家(Mohist School), Zongheng jia 縱橫家(Political Strategists), Zajia 雜家(the Eclectics), Nongjia 農家(Agriculturist). cf. Bangu 班固, *Hanshu yiweizhi 漢書·藝文志*. Also see Sanjiao jiuliu 三教九流, Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中, *Sanguo yanyi 三國演義*, chapter 23.

Wuchang 五常, Ren 仁(Benevolence), Yi 義(Righteousness), Li 禮(Courtesy), Zhi 智(Wisdom), Xin 信(Trust). Cf. Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒, *Chunqiu fanlou 春秋繁露*.

Shiyi 十義, cf. Liji liyun 禮記·禮運, Fuci 父慈, Zixiao 子孝, Xiongliang 兄良, Dii 弟弟, Fuyi 夫義, Futing 婦聽, Zhanghui 長惠, Youshun 幼順, Junren 君仁, Chengzhong shizhe 臣忠十者, Weizhi renyi 謂之人義. Kindness on the part of the father, and filial duty on that of the son; gentleness on the part of the elder brother, and obedience on that of the younger; righteousness on the part of the husband, and submission on that of the wife; kindness on the part of elders, and deference on that of juniors; with benevolence on the part of the ruler, and loyalty on that of the minister - these ten are the things which men consider to be right.

Wufu 五福, cf. Shangshu zhoushu hongfan 尚書·周書·洪范, 五福: 一曰壽, 二曰富, 三曰康寧, 四曰攸好德, 五曰考終命. the five happiness. The first is long life; the second, riches; the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth, the love of virtue; and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will (of Heaven).

Confucian morality-Wuchang 五常 and Shiyi 十義 which are the supreme principles of how to treat all things. Moreover, Sun thinks that Wang should obtain the supreme reward of life-Wufu 五福. From Confucian life values, Sun praises Wang's life and personality.

In the end of Sun's text, he also mentions that Wang had contacted missionaries (Western Confucians) and his Western learnings by saying, "He (Wang) studies teachings from Western Confucians, who are full of learning, sailed across the sea in a distance of 90000 Li (1Li=1/2 kilometre) to China."<sup>858</sup> In short, to Sun's mind, Wang is a man with true virtue. Furthermore, Sun mentions the fact that Wang contacted Western missionaries, which shows us that Sun positively paid attention to Western learnings. Therefore, an open-minded and progressive image of Wang is appearing in front of us.

In 1632, Wang and his Confucian-Christian friend Sun Yuanhua were sentenced to imprisonment because of the mutiny of their army subordinates. Afterwards, Wang was remitted to leave for his hometown and Sun was sentenced to death. Before leaving the capital, Wang asked for Sun's writing with a silk ribbon. Sun tolerated the suffering of cruel torture and wrote some words to Wang. In the text, Sun mentions how they knew each other. The Jesuits missionaries were the connected bridge of their friendship. He evaluated Wang like this, "The Western Confucian said, a friend is the second you. Thus Wang is the second me, but I was not the second Wang."<sup>859</sup> It is obvious that Sun confirmed Wang was his true friend. Owing to Wang's virtuous personality, Sun could give this acknowledged comment.

## 6.2.2 Wang Zheng's Titles

### 6.2.2.1 Famous Confucian of Neo-Confucianism

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<sup>858</sup> Sun Chengzong, the Congratulating Essay on Wang's 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday, Cf. *BTTJC*, vol.2.

<sup>859</sup> Sun Yuanhua, *Yu wang zheng jiaoyi shimo* 與王徵交誼始末 (the Whole Story of Contact with Wang Zheng), cf. Fnag Hao 方豪, Sun Yuanhua shoushu yu wang zheng jiaoyi shimo zhushi 孫元化手書與王徵交誼始末注釋 (Sun Yuanhua's note on the Whole Story of Contact with Wang Zheng), in *Zhenli zazhi* 真理雜誌 (the Magazine of Truth), vol.1(2),1944.



The titles of Lixue mingru 理学名儒/Guanxue mingru 关学名儒 (Famous Confucian of Neo-Confucianism) was conferred by local Confucians of Shaanxi.



Fig. 6.4 The coffin chamber of Wang Zheng, his wife and concubine, which has the couplet written by Wang Zheng. In 2010, Wang Zheng’s tomb was removed from the original place to his hometown village.

As mentioned above, Wang wrote the couplets in his coffin chamber for himself. In 2010, Wang’s tomb was unearthed, the couplets are the same as what he wrote, but only one thing is different, the title might have been changed by his descendents. The new one is: “Mingci jinshi fengzheng daifu shandong qianxian lixue mingru sishi duanjie wanggong mu 明赐进士奉政大夫山东佥宪理学名儒私谥端节王公墓”,<sup>860</sup> the former is “Youming jinshi fengzheng daifu shandong anchasi qianshi fengchi jian liaohai junwu liaoyi daoren liangfu wang zheng zhimu 有明进士奉政大夫山东按察司僉事奉敕監遼海軍務了一道人良甫王徵之墓”, in which we can find that Fengchi jian liaohai junwu liaoyi daoren liangfu WangZheng zhi mu 奉敕監遼海軍務了一道人良甫王徵之墓 was replaced by Lixue mingru sishi duanjie Wanggong mu 理学名儒私谥端节王公墓. One explanation for this is that Wang was dispatched to supervise the army by Ming court and fought against Manchu, and his burial was held in the period of Qing dynasty (Manchu regime), thus, the title “fengchi jian liaohai

<sup>860</sup> Wang Zheng’s Epitaph, cf. my article, in *Studies in World Religions*, 1(2012), p.126.

junwu 奉敕監遼海軍務” might incur some misfortune to the descendants. Secondly, Wang’s descendants utilised the title “Lixue Mingru sishi duanjie wangong 理学名儒私谥端节王公 (The famous Confucian of Neo-Confucianism and unofficial posthumous title duanjie)” for their forefather’s image. In other words, in the mind of Wang’s descendants, Wang’s learning and virtue were quite important.

During the early Qing, Wang Xinjing (1656-1738) collected Wang Zheng’s biography in *Guanxue xubia* (The Sequel of Guan school of Neo-Confucianism),<sup>861</sup> which shows us that Wang Zheng’s learning and personality accords with the intrinsic spirit of *Guanxue*. Later Wang’s descendant Wang Jie also used the title of the “Famous Confucian of *Guanxue* 關學名儒” for Wang Zheng in his texts.<sup>862</sup> Although Wang accepted Christian baptism, the authors of *Guanxue bian* paid more attention to his loyalty and filial piety and therefore Wang Zheng was placed in the group of *Guanxue* literati. Amongst the Confucian scholars in the Qing dynasty, especially in the group of Shaanxi, the image of Wang was one of a Great Confucian or Guan school of Neo-Confucianism.

#### 6.2.2.2 Master of Integrity and Martyr

Wang Zheng ever got the title *Guanxi erjing* 關西二勁 (Two Upright Men of Guanxi) in the position of Yangzhou fu, which was mentioned in many of his biographies. After his death, the local Confucians utilised the title “Duanjie xiansheng 端節先生” (Master of Integrity and Martyr) for his life.

When Wang died for Ming as a martyr, the literati of his hometown conferred him an unofficial posthumous title *Duanjie xiansheng*, which confirmed his personality and loyalty. *Duan* means uprightness,<sup>863</sup> and *Jie* means moral integrity.<sup>864</sup> The title *Duanjie* is a perfect moral identity for Wang. Zhang Bingxuan explained the reason

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<sup>861</sup> Cf. *GXB*, pp.80-83.

<sup>862</sup> Wang Jie, *Zhengxue hai wenji*, vol.1.

<sup>863</sup> Cf. Xu Shen 许慎, *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, 端,直也。Guangya 广雅, 端,正也。

<sup>864</sup> Cf. *Zuozhuan* 左傳, the fifteenth year of Chengong 成公十五年, 聖達節, 次守節, 下失節 The sages realize moral integrity, the normal people keep the moral integrity, the inferior have no moral integrity. *Xunzi wangba* 荀子·王霸, 士大夫莫不敬节死制 The literati should revere the moral integrity and die for it.

why the local literati conferred Wang this title in the epitaph, “At that moment, a lot of literati grieved over Wang and used Duanjie as Wang’s title, they utilised the meaning of Liu Xia 柳下 and Qian Lou 黔婁, and the three generations (Wang’s grandfather, Wang’s father and Wang) of the Wang family are upright men. Wang never had evil ideas and he served the emperor faithfully. Therefore, the title of Duanjie is quite suitable for him.”<sup>865</sup>

Here Zhang quoted two famous literati Liu Xiahui and Qian Lou from the pre-Qin history. Liu Xiahui 柳下惠 (720-621B.C.) was a sage because of his virtue, in Analects Liu is mentioned two times, the Master said, “Was not Zang Wenzhong one who had stolen the official position? He knew the virtue and the talents of Liu Xiahui, and yet he did not recommend Liu to stand with him in court.”<sup>866</sup> “Liu Xiahui, being chief criminal judge, was thrice dismissed from his official position. Someone said to him, “Is it not yet time for you, sir, to leave this?” He replied, “Serving men in an upright way, where shall I go to and not experience such a thrice-repeated dismissal? If I choose to serve men in a crooked way, what necessity is there for me to leave the country of my parents?”<sup>867</sup> Qian Lou 黔婁 was also a sage in the Zhanguo period, whose biography was collected in Gaoshi zhuan 高士傳 (The Biographies of Sages).<sup>868</sup> In the biography, Qian Lou’s virtue Xiushen qingjie 修身清節 is quite prominent, which means cultivating moral character with high principles. These two sages had the same virtue of uprightness, which is similar to Wang. Therefore, on the basis of the stories of these two famous sages, the meaning of the title Duanjie for Wang Zheng came into being. Zhang Bingxuan also praised Wang highly in the biography,<sup>869</sup> “In history, there are some famous literati who are mirrors of Master

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<sup>865</sup> Wang Zheng’s Epitaph, cf. my article, in *Studies in World Religions*, 1(2012), p.126.

一時賢士大夫惜公思公，七以慰藉，乃援柳下黔婁之義，私以“端節”易名，亦三代之直道也。居心靡邪，事主靡貳，其於“端節”有當。

<sup>866</sup> Cf. *Lunyu weiling gong* 论语·卫灵公，子曰：臧文仲其竊位者與？知柳下惠之賢，而不與立也。

<sup>867</sup> Cf. *Lunyu weizi* 论语·微子，柳下惠為士師，三黜。人曰：子未可以去乎？曰：直道而事人，焉往而不三黜？枉道而事人，何必去父母之邦。

<sup>868</sup> Huangfu mi 皇甫謐, *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳(The Biographies of Sages), cf.Chinese Text Project, <https://ctext.org/text.pl?node=604862&if=gb&remap=gb>.

<sup>869</sup> Zhang Bingxuan, Wang Zheng’s biography, cf. *BTTJC*, vol.5. 一時提陽秋之鏡者，擬先生孝謹如石建，平恕如劉寬，籌邊如仲淹，直節如汲長孺。

Wang, filial piety of Shi Jian,<sup>870</sup> forgiveness of Liu Kuan,<sup>871</sup> defending strategy of Fan Zhongyan,<sup>872</sup> uprightness of Ji Zhangru.<sup>873</sup>” A perfect Confucian with worthy virtues is developing. Therefore, Zhang Bingxuan used “Wanren 完人 (Perfect Person)” and “Wangong 完公 (Perfect Master)” to praise Wang for his personality in the text of the epitaph for Wang.<sup>874</sup> Wan means something is complete.<sup>875</sup> In other words, Wang’s virtue all his life was perfect without any other flaws. Thus, Zhang states that the name of Perfect Master, the moral integrity of Perfect Master, the virtues of Perfect Master, the blessings of Perfect Master are not added privately by destiny,<sup>876</sup> which means all of Wang Zheng’s virtues are perfect by nature.

In the epitaph written by Zhang Jinyan, he also explained that the implication of the title Duanjie, “To die for a just cause or as martyr, which the people name integrity and uprightness. For Master Wang, if he went forward, he would have no worry; if he retreated, he could avoid the weapon. But the Master chose to be on a hunger strike for 7 days and even smiled when dying. Even Wenshan<sup>877</sup> and Xie Die shan<sup>878</sup> of the Song Dynasty could not be compared with Wang’s great integrity. Thus, the unofficial posthumous is Duanjie.”<sup>879</sup>

During the period of Emperor Qianlong the Qing court conferred him an official posthumous title Zhongjie 忠節 (Loyalty and Martyr).<sup>880</sup> The title Duanjie originally appeared in Zhang Bingxuan’s essays, which are Wang’s epitaph and biography.<sup>881</sup>

<sup>870</sup> Shi Jian 石建(?-B.C.123), cf. Sima Qian, *Shiji* 史記, *Wanshi zhangshu liuzhuan disiahisian* 萬石張叔列傳第四十三.

<sup>871</sup> Liu Kuan 劉寬(120-185), cf. Fan Ye 範曄, *Houhan shu* 後漢書, vol.25.

<sup>872</sup> Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹(989-1052), cf. *Songshi* 宋史, vol.314.

<sup>873</sup> Ji Zhangru 汲長孺(?-B.C.112), cf. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, *Jizheng liezhuan diliushi* 汲鄭列傳第六十.

<sup>874</sup> Wang Zheng’s epitaph, cf. my article, in *Studies in World Religions*, 1(2012), p.123&p.125.

<sup>875</sup> Cf. Xu Shen 許慎, *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, 完,全也。

<sup>876</sup> Wang Zheng’s epitaph, cf. my article, in *Studies in World Religions*, 1(2012), p.123&p.125. 之所以完公之名、完公之節、完公之德、完公之福, 非造化小兒所私添也。

<sup>877</sup> Wen Tianxiang 文天祥(1236-1283), his assumed name was wenshan 文山, cf. *Songshi*, vol.418.

<sup>878</sup> Xie Die shan 謝疊山(1226-1289), cf. Xie Fangde 謝枋得, *Xiedie shan quanji jiaozhu* 謝疊山全集校注, East China Normal University, 1995.

<sup>879</sup> Zhang Jinyan, Wang Zheng’s Epitaph, cf. *BTTJC*, vol.5. 曰殉身, 曰與難, 人即稱之曰節, 曰烈。若公者, 進不與其憂, 退可避其刃, 而七日絕粒, 談笑自若。視有宋文文山、謝疊山, 其大節炳燦, 豈有讓耶! 謚曰端節,

<sup>880</sup> Wang Jie, *Zhengxue hai wenji*, vol.1.

<sup>881</sup> Cf. *BTTJC*, vol.5. And my article, Wang Zheng muzhiming dianjiao ji chubu tanxi 王徽墓志銘點校及初步探析(The Preliminary Study and Collation of Wang Zheng’s Epitaph), in *World Religious Study*, 1(2012), pp.120-127.

This title also occurred in other biographies, which were written by Cha Jizuo,<sup>882</sup> Qu Dajun,<sup>883</sup> Wan Sitong,<sup>884</sup> Wang Xinjing,<sup>885</sup> Wang Jie.<sup>886</sup> As well as in the epitaph written by Zhang Jinyan.<sup>887</sup>

In the above texts, all of them mentioned the title “Guanxi erjing 關西二勁 (Two Upright Men of Guanxi)” of Wang and his friend Lai Fu, because they refused to worship at Wei Zhongxian’s life-time temple in Yangzhou fu. Jing for someone means tenacious character. Wang’s unyielding disposition obtained a reputation for himself. The statement “Quanzhong quanxiao 全忠全孝(Complete Loyalty and Filial Piety)” or “Zhong 忠”and “Xiao 孝” nearly appeared in the above mentioned texts. It is a great pity that in the official Mingshi of Qing court only Wang Zheng’s name was attached to the biography of Zhu Wanling (?-1643),<sup>888</sup> who hanged himself for the Ming dynasty, because Li Zicheng’s army seized Xi’an in 1643.

Zhang Bingxuan composed a eulogy on the portrait of Wang, in which he characterised Wang, “Diligently, he insisted on revering Heaven and loving others; although he seemed to crave for the study of Jesus, this was just a curiosity of his life. What remained amidst that all, was solely a complete loyalty and filial piety, a continuous line to the end, unchanged by whatever wind (custom).”<sup>889</sup> So, loyalty and filial piety were the standards by which Zhang judged Wang, who was his cousin and close friend, and these comments conformed to the Confucian belief.

Obviously, these texts concentrated on Wang’s political career, loyalty and filial piety, which shows that in a time of imperial dynasties, loyalty to the dynasty and the emperors was of supreme value and significance for the Confucian literati. Therefore, in the minds of these Confucians who wrote the biographies, Wang’s image was reshaped by the beliefs of Confucianism. In the light of Wang’s perfect virtues and his

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<sup>882</sup> *Zuiwei lu* 罪惟錄(The History of Ming), Liezhuan, vol.12,

<sup>883</sup> *Wengshan wenchao* 翁山文鈔(The Collected Works of Wengshan), cf. Li Zhiqin,1987, pp.319-321.

<sup>884</sup> *Mingshi gao* 明史稿(The Draft of Ming History), vol.271.

<sup>885</sup> *Guanxue xubian* 关学续编(The Sequel of Guanxue), cf. *GXB*,pp.80-83.

<sup>886</sup> Wang Jie, *Zhengxue hai wenji*, vol.1. & Bai Kun, *JXSC*, vol.3.

<sup>887</sup> *Qianxian wang duanjie gong muzhiming* 僉憲王端節公墓誌銘 (The Epitaph of Master Wang), cf. *BTTJC*, vol.5.

<sup>888</sup> Cf. MS, 2011. The Biography of Zhu Wanling 祝萬齡 is in the vol.294.

<sup>889</sup> Zhang Bingxuan, The Praise for Master Wang’s Image 端節王公像讚, cf. *BTTJC*, vol.5. 孜孜乎畏愛天人, 雖似癖耶穌之學, 此生平好奇則然。然中之所存, 壹以忠孝爲基, 一綫到底, 八風弗移。

remarkable achievements, the local people of Wang’s hometown Luqiao set up a temple for him.<sup>890</sup> After his death, Wang possibly became a local god in the minds of the people.

### 6.2.3 Christian Image



Fig. 6.5 The upper part of Wang Zheng’s epitaph, in which Tianzhu (the Lord of Heaven) and Jesus appear in the middle column. The epitaph was discovered in 2010, when the tomb was unearthed.

Regarding Wang Zheng’s Western learning and Christian belief, Zhang Bingxuan mentioned in the epitaph, “Qinchong tianzhu yesu shengjiao 欽崇天主耶穌聖教 (Revering the holy religion of the Lord of Heaven and Jesus),”<sup>891</sup> and in the biography he also mentioned that Wang was diligent in serving Heaven for twenty years with the ardent heart of revering Heaven and loving people.<sup>892</sup> The same statement also appears in the biography written by Wang Xinjing.<sup>893</sup> There is one

<sup>890</sup> Zhao Rui 赵睿, *Luqiao zhen dongmennei chuangjian donglinan baogongci beiji* 魯橋鎮東門內創建東林庵報功祠碑記(1666)(The Inscriptional Record of the East Gate Temple of Sages), Wang Jie 王介, *Luqiaozhen chuangxiu ximen baogongci wen* 魯橋鎮創修西門報功祠文(1816)(The Inscriptional Record of the West Gate Temple of Sages), cf. *The Historical Texts of Sanyuan* 三原文史資料, vol.18, p.171. Qu Dajun, Wang Zheng’s Biography.

<sup>891</sup> Wang Zheng’s epitaph, cf. my article, in *Studies in World Religions*, 1(2012), p.122.

<sup>892</sup> Zhang Bingxuan, Wang Zheng’s Biography, cf. *BTTJC*, vol.5.

<sup>893</sup> Wang Xinjing, Wang Zheng’s Biography, cf. *GXB*, pp.82.

important sentence in the epitaph written by Zhang Jinyan, “Master Wang knew Western leaning, and he made friends with the disciple Luo Junshan 羅君善(?) of Matteo Ricci and also built church buildings. Meanwhile he had written the ‘Ultimate Discussion of Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings (*WTARJL*)’, which was never discovered by predecessors.”<sup>894</sup> This information was wiped off in the local chronicle of Kangxi Jingyang (1670).<sup>895</sup> Very possibly, the reason for this is that in 1664 Yang Guanxian (杨光先 1579-1669) evoked the anti-Christian movement through the Calendar Case,<sup>896</sup> and the spread of Christianity was repressed to a certain extent after that event. Therefore, Wang’s Western learning and Christian belief were veiled in history. Most texts about Wang’s life had not recorded Wang’s Christian belief. In Wang’s biography written by Cha Jizuo, he simply mentioned that Wang believed in the religion of the Lord of Heaven (Christianity) and refuted Buddhism acutely.<sup>897</sup> Nevertheless, Cha’s historical work wasn’t discovered until the period of the Republic of China, because Cha opposed the Qing Dynasty and hid the book in the wall. In the whole Qing Dynasty, Wang’s Christian image was so quite indistinct that it could be hardly be shown in front of readers.

#### 6.2.4 A Few Words on Wang’s Mechanics

Although Zhang Bingxuan, Zhang Jinyan and some other authors had only brushed lightly over Wang’s *QQTS*,<sup>898</sup> they paid some attention to the military appliances in *QQTS* in order to care for the frontier defense. The images of a mechanical engineer and designer were not totally reflected in the Qing Dynasty. Therefore, the effect of the mechanical works could not be developed for the social economy and the people’s

<sup>894</sup> Zhang Jinyan, Qianxian wang duanjie gong muzhiming 僉憲王端節公墓誌銘(The Epitaph of Master Wang), cf. *BTTJC*, vol.5. 公通西學，與利瑪竇之徒羅君善，造天主堂居之。著有《畏天愛人極論》，為前人所未發。

<sup>895</sup> *Jingyang xianzhi* 涇陽縣誌, the ninth year of Kangxi Emperor.

<sup>896</sup> N. Standaert, ed., *HDCC*, pp.513-515.

<sup>897</sup> Cha Jizuo, Wang Zheng’s biography, cf. *Zuiwei lu* 罪惟錄(The History of Ming), Liezhuan, vol.12, 徵奉天主教，最闢佛事。

<sup>898</sup> Zhang Bingxuan, Wang Zheng’s Biography, cf. *BTTJC*, vol.5. Zhang Jinyan, Qianxian wang duanjie gong muzhiming 僉憲王端節公墓誌銘 (The Epitaph of Master Wang), cf. *BTTJC*, vol.5. Cha Jizuo, *Zuiwei lu* 罪惟錄 (The History of Ming), Liezhuan, vol.12,

livelihood.

In addition, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Wang Zheng's posterity Wang Jie, wrote a poem about Wang's whole life, in which Wang was introduced by detailed elegant verses, naturally including Wang's Christian belief and mechanical works.<sup>899</sup> However, that was only an unofficial text in Wang's descendant families. In other words, Wang's complete image existed in his family.

### 6.3 Modern Image

French Jesuit Pfister<sup>900</sup> described Wang Zheng, "He was decisively the first 'modern' Chinese engineer, indeed a man of the Renaissance, though so far from its birthplace."<sup>901</sup> When history entered the 20<sup>th</sup> century, globalisation of the world was more and more distinct and Chinese society acknowledged the situation and started to study Western techniques and cultures. Researchers had discovered the historical facts of Sino-Western cultural exchange transmitted by missionaries and Confucians in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, and then they further explored the truth about the historical phenomenon. Wang Zheng was one of the witnesses and experiencers of this history, whose learning and religious beliefs were gradually researched. Wang's other image will be reshaped.

In 1905, Huang Jie introduced Wang and *QQTS* in the biography.<sup>902</sup> With the intention of national development, he focused on some new concepts of mechanics in *QQTS*, and he pointed out that when the nation had studied these concepts three hundred years ago, the development of the country could never have been so poor and weak. What's more, he praised Wang as Chinese Hu Weili 胡威力(William Whewell, 1794-1866)<sup>903</sup> for his mechanical contribution. Bai Kun mentioned not only Wang's

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<sup>899</sup> Wang Jie, Du Mingshi jia shen zhibian xian duanjie gong xunguo lueshu genggai baiyun 讀明史甲申之變先端節公殉國略述梗概百韻(The Memorial Poetry on Duanjie gong) Zhengxue zhai wenji, vol.3, cf. Bai Kun, ed., *JXSC*, 1925.

<sup>900</sup> Louis Pfister, (Fei Laizhi 費賴之, 1833-1891) was a French Jesuit pater.

<sup>901</sup> Louis Pfister, *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur les Jesuites de l'Ancienne Mission de Chine* (from 1552-1773), Shanghai: Mission Press, 1932. p.157.

<sup>902</sup> Huang Jie, 1905.

<sup>903</sup> William Whewell was an English polymath, scientist, Anglican priest, philosopher, theologian, and historian of science. Cf. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William\\_Whewell](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Whewell).



mechanical works but also the learning of Revering Heaven and Loving People in the preface to Wang duanjie gong yiji, “Master Wang wrote *QQTS* and Shuangshan wrote *Youfeng guangyi*,<sup>904</sup> which show us that they placed stress on practical work/industry (shiye 实业) and learned from the merits of foreigners, in order to change the status of Chinese learning. Based on the principle of revering Heaven and loving people, the spirit is useful for Confucian teachings and not bad for Confucianism.”<sup>905</sup> Afterwards, in 1934, with many new articles about Wang Zheng in *The Bulletin of the National library of PeiPing*,<sup>906</sup> his story and learning attracted a lot of interested people. Wang’s other mechanical works were mentioned and introduced in some periodicals, such as *ZQTS*, *EZQTS*.<sup>907</sup> Even his story was collected in *the Local Sages’ History of Shaanxi*.<sup>908</sup> Wang’s story was again mentioned in the book, which showed that Wang’s spirit and contribution were recognised by local people. A mechanical engineer image appeared to people. In Wang’s biography written by Chen Yuan, Wang’s Christian belief and contribution to Chinese linguistics were highlighted. Chen states that Wang was the earliest scholar to learn Latin.<sup>909</sup> During the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Wang’s death, his learning and contribution were mentioned many times by scholars and officials. One quite influential title ‘Nanxu (Guangqi) beiwang (Zheng)’<sup>910</sup> first appeared in that period.

When the rare sources about Wang Zheng were discovered, his complete image would be restored. In the *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing period (1644-1912)*, Wang’s Christian name ‘Philippe’ was first mentioned, including Wang’s religious texts *WTARJL*, *RHY*, *RJSB* and *DHKJ*.<sup>911</sup> Afterwards, Fang Hao also referred to this information.<sup>912</sup> In the 1970s, Wang Zheng’s linguistic contribution was discovered,<sup>913</sup>

<sup>904</sup> Yang Shen 杨岫(1687-1785) was a agricultural scientist in Shanxi province. *Youfeng guangyi* 豳風廣義 was his work, which is about planting mulberry and raising silkworms. Cf. Yang Hucheng 楊虎城, Shao Lizi 邵力子, ed., *Xuxiu Shaanxi tongzhi* 续修陝西通志, 1934.

<sup>905</sup> Bai Kun, the preface to Wang Zheng’s works, cf. *JXWC*,1925. 先生著《奇器圖說》，與雙山著《豳風廣義》，皆注重實業，兼取外人之長，以救中國末流之失。其精神以敬天愛人爲宗旨，悉有功於儒術，非有病於儒教也。

<sup>906</sup> Cf. *Bulletin of the notional library of PeiPing*, vol..8(6),1934.

<sup>907</sup> Liu Xianzhou,1940. & Cun Sou,1940.

<sup>908</sup> Wang Ruqing,1935.

<sup>909</sup> Chen Yuan, 1934.

<sup>910</sup> Shao Lizi,1944.

<sup>911</sup> Arthur W. Hummel, ed.,1964.

<sup>912</sup> Fan Hao,1988.

and Wang's linguistic image occurred in research articles. Factually, Wang's linguistic contribution was seldom known about during the Qing period, possibly the reason for this is that traditional Chinese linguistics was the main language tool.

In the contemporary research circle, Wang Zheng's images of mechanical engineer and linguist are confirmed through excellent professional works and articles as mentioned in the introduction of this research. Guo Xiwei points out that Wang Zheng was a reformer and mechanical engineer in the late Ming Dynasty, but was ignored for a long time by old historians.<sup>914</sup> Li Zhiqin also highly evaluates Wang's learning and position,

Wang Zheng was one of the first scholars who paid attention to learning by introducing Western science and technology in ancient China. He was one of the first scholars who studied Latin and used Western phonetics to study Chinese phonology and Pinyin. He was also one of the Confucian scholars who accepted Western Christian thought earlier in Chinese history. Whether in the history of science and technology development, language and literature, and the history of cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries, he took up a very important position.<sup>915</sup>

One prominent distinguishing feature is that Wang's Christian belief are more and more important between Confucianism and Christianity in the history of Sino-Western cultural exchange. French sinologist Jacques Gernet thinks that Confucian Wang Zheng was a syncretist who did not accept true Christianity.<sup>916</sup> Netherlandish professor Erik Zürcher thinks that Wang Zheng was a Confucian monotheist.<sup>917</sup> Both of these experts think that Confucianism and Christianity were incompatible in the late Ming era, in which they mainly have utilised Wang's *WTARJL*. Having explored the thought of Wang's *RHY*, they find that Wang practised Christian belief in a enculturated way in the late Ming era.<sup>918</sup> Huang Yinong uses one caption “Rujia hua de tianzhu jiaotu 儒家化的天主教徒 (Confucianised Christian)” for Wang Zheng in one chapter of his monograph.<sup>919</sup> In addition, he thinks that the group of Confucian-Christians belonged to the type of Calamaria (two heads snake), because he quoted one piece of poetry from Sun Yuanhua's text, in which Sun expressed that

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<sup>913</sup> Du Songshou, 1979.

<sup>914</sup> Guo Xiwei, 1994, p.135.

<sup>915</sup> Li Zhiqin 李之勤, *Mingmo shanxi jingyang Wang Zheng zhuyi kao 明末陝西涇陽王徵著譯考* (Textual Research of Wang Zheng's Works), in *Xibei lishi yanjiu 西北歷史研究* (The Research on Northwest History) No.1986, Xi'an: Sanqin Press 三秦出版社, 1987, pp.214.

<sup>916</sup> Jacques Gernet, 1982.

<sup>917</sup> Erik Zürcher, 1997.

<sup>918</sup> Jacques Gernet, 2003. & Erik Zürcher, 1999.

<sup>919</sup> Huang Yinong, 2004, p.130.

his feelings were in two minds after seeing one two heads snake.<sup>920</sup> In fact, Huang also insists that Confucianism and Christianity could not be compatible in late Ming. But it is a real contradiction that he has used Confucianised Christians to name the group of Confucians who accepted Christian belief.

In fact, the title of Confucian-Christian for Wang Zheng is suitable, which means a Confucian accepted Christian belief. Confucian culture is the main or basic context of him, i.e. he believed in Confucianism earlier than Christianity, and naturally he did not give up Confucianism, and the Confucian tradition and teachings dominated his mind and deeds. In the study of natural sciences, there is an important concept field /Chang 場 used to explain the physical and chemical phenomena. Field is a basic form of matter that has energy, momentum and mass. The interaction between objects depends on the field such as electric field, magnetic field and gravitational field.<sup>921</sup> Here, the use of the concept of field is used to explain cultural integration between Confucianism and Christianity. Wang was in the strong Confucian field, which meant he could not become a Christian like a Western man. His Christianity should be closely related to local culture and naturally he could not desert his mother culture or religion, which is a vital and forceful religious field around him. Therefore, the method of dealing with his concubine and as a Ming martyr are the inevitable choices for Wang in the late Ming era. Furthermore, Wang is not only a Christian but also an ardent pillar of the local church. N. Standaert used the title of “Christian and Confucian” for Yang Tinyun in his monograph.<sup>922</sup> “Christian and Confucian” is the same as “Confucian-Christian” and the title of “Rujia hua de tianzhu jiaotu” has reversed the order of these two beliefs, which is not scientific.

Wang Zheng’s image exists in history, which reflects distinguishing characteristics in different historical periods. During the Qing dynasty, the authors of Wang’s biographies had immersed themselves in Confucian teachings, in which they could not pay attention to Wang’s Christian faith and Western learning, only through the

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<sup>920</sup> Huang Yinong, 2004, p.iv.

<sup>921</sup> Cf. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Field>. & Iain T. Adamson, *The Introduction to Field Theory*, Mineola: Dover Publications, 2007.

<sup>922</sup> N.Standaert, 1988.

Confucian dimension to evaluate Wang. From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, because the texts of Wang were discovered and the idea of studying Western advanced knowledge was increasingly popular among Chinese scholars, the image of Wang Zheng re-entered people's view. With the progress of research, Wang will be recovered and reinserted to the public's imagination.

## 7. Conclusion

Wang Zheng was born into a strong traditional and cultural place, which was also a rich area in the Shaanxi province in the late Ming era. He inherited the traditional quality of his family of farmer and reader, which means he had a good habit of learning new knowledge and putting things into practice. Having explored Wang's whole life, the characteristics of learning and practicing are quite noticeable. There were two important men for Wang Zheng in his family. One was his father, who not only had a lot of knowledge of history, mathematics, astronomy and geography, but also possessed an excellent personality, for instance, he relieved poor families and prayed for the impoverished drought victims. Another was his uncle—Zhang Jian, who guided him to receive complete Confucian education and cultivated mechanical interest. Especially Zhang's upright personality and clean-fingered official style have a deep influence on Wang Zheng's life and official career.

The degrees of Shengyuan and Juren came quite early to him, but the title of Jinshi came to him later on in life. It took him nearly thirty years to go from Juren to Jinshi. However, during his study he got acquainted with many famous Confucian scholars, and some of Jesuits missionaries and Confucian-Christians. Some of the Confucian scholars were quite famous, such as Zhang Wenda, He Zongyan, Zhu Guozuo, Dong Qichang, Shi Kefa, Sun Piyang, Sun Chuanting, Wen Zhenmeng, Huang Daozhou, Feng Congwu, Lu Zhenfei and Sun Chengzong. This circle of Confucian friends formed a strong field of Confucianism. The group of missionaries introduced Zheng to another world in the form of European culture even though he had never travelled to other countries. Meanwhile, his belief and views on traditional culture were changed. The Confucian-Christian friends were not only his fellow officials, but were also co-religionists in Christianity. In 1616, at middle age Wang Zheng accepted a Christian baptism during the eighth metropolitan examination in Beijing. In 1622, at the age of 52, ultimately Wang obtained his title of Jinshi at the tenth imperial examination. Since then, Wang entered the Confucian official group and started to realise his political ambition. In fact, to practice Confucian teachings was the greatest

goal of Confucian scholars.

Wang Zheng spent nearly 30 years trying to pass the imperial metropolitan examination, but it was unjust in that he only worked for more than 3 years in the official position which means that his political talent was not shown to the public. However, under the belief of revering Heaven and caring for Human Beings, he tried to practice his political principles, and so he did many good deeds for the local public. The text of *LLL* collected all his political activities during the period of Tuiguan, which is indispensable in exploring Wang Zheng's political career. He had vast knowledge in treating water and irrigation works, such as controlling the flood of Feicheng, dredging the river of Qingyi and discharging the flood to irrigate. Wang Zheng also had a striking ability to resolve complicated social events, such as solving the cases of Du Guanghui and Wu Yangchun. Especially, in the event of refusing the requirements of three Kings, Wang Zheng's upright personality was quite prominent.

Wang Zheng also had an excellent talent in military theory and practice. At the beginning of his Tuiguan/Judge career in Guangping fu, he reorganised and trained the troop of ten thousand soldiers in scientific methods, so that his ability earned high recognition. In fact, he wrote one text named *Kewen*, which is about the defense situation against Manchu in Liaodong. In addition, in the tenth metropolitan examination he also wrote a memorial of Emperor Ming on the Liaodong military status. Both of these two texts reflected Wang Zheng's penetrating judgement. In 1628, because of the invasion of roving rebel bands, Wang Zheng and the local Confucians set up the Camp of Loyalty Unity to protect the towns. He wrote a text *Xiang Bingyue* and commanded the village militia to fight against the invaders. He used a great flag with the slogan "Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings". Afterwards, he was recommended by Xu Guangqi and Sun Yuanhua to be appointed as the military supervisor of Liaohai against Manchu. Because the mutiny of their subordinates, Wang Zheng's military career ended. His military talent was not totally revealed to the nation.

In 1625, Wang Zheng invited Nicolas Trigault to preach the Christian doctrines in his hometown. Besides spreading Christianity, Trigault brought a draft of Chinese -

Latin dictionaries which is also a linguistic work to Shaanxi. Wang Zheng had a very strong interest in this work—*XREMZ*. Then he helped Nicolas Trigault to finish the *XREMZ* and furthermore, he wrote a preface and two other parts—*XREMZ shiyi* and *Sanyun duikao*. At the same time, Trigault taught Wang Zheng to learn Latin. In modern China, *XREMZ* is the origin of the Romanised alphabet—Chinese Pinyin, in which they introduced many new linguistic concepts and terms. Possibly, Wang Zheng helped Trigault determine the title of the work. In the preface to *XREMZ*, Wang raised an important concept of global history, “All under heaven are of one family.” Definitely, this concept is related to his religious thought.

Wang Zheng made another scientific contribution which was translation and creation of Mechanics. *QQTS* was finished by him and Jesuit Johann Schreck. Wang Zheng completed *ZQTS* and *EZQTS* independently. Naturally, he inherited his unique interest in Mechanics from his uncle. However, the works brought by Jesuits made him more focused on mechanics. In the works—*QQTS*, *ZQTS* and *EZQTS*, a lot of scientific concepts were introduced and the drawings present profound design philosophy. These works reflect the principles of caring for Human Beings, which is based on Wang Zheng’s religious beliefs. The idea of revering Heaven is also clear to them, especially in the text of *EZQTS*.

Wang Zheng had an extraordinary life, in which he described himself as an unusual person who had undergone a lot of legendary experiences. Beneath his experience, his religious belief—Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings is quite prominent, which is mainly based on the texts of *WTARJL*, *RHY*, *RJSB*.

*Weitian airen Jilun/WTARJL* was finished by Wang Zheng in 1628, 12 years after baptism (1616), which marked that his religious thought had been formed. Although most parts of the text of *WTARJL* are quoted from Matteo Ricci’s *TZSY* and *JRSP*, Diego de Pantoja’s *Qike*. Wang Zheng used the methods of direct quotation and displacement, deletion, transformation, summarisation and addition to rearrange the structure of his text. Through intensive exploration, we can find that Wang Zheng’s thought has its logic and coherence. When we go on studying his other texts, such as *RHY*, *RJSB* and *DHKJ*, in which the coherence of Wang Zheng’s thought is quite

definite. This religious thought—Revering Heaven and Caring for Human Beings appears to have two parts. In fact, it consists of three parts; knowing Heaven, revering Heaven and serving Heaven. In the text of *WTARJL*, Wang Zheng definitely indicates that Heaven is the Lord of Heaven.<sup>923</sup> Thus, the three parts could be named as knowing the Lord of Heaven, revering the Lord of Heaven and serving the Lord of Heaven. Furthermore, Wang Zheng confirmed that serving the Lord of Heaven of Western Confucians—Jesuits Missionaries, is the same as knowing Heaven and Revering Heaven of Confucianism.<sup>924</sup>

In the part of knowing the Lord of Heaven, through his conversion story, Wang Zheng states that his motivation for converting from Buddhism and Taoism to Christianity, which is to search for the Mandate of Heaven. It is a key theme for Confucian scholars in Confucianism. Wang Zheng did not find the Mandate of Heaven in Buddhism and Taoism. When he was bewildered about his belief, in addition he failed in the metropolitan examination many times, Wang Zheng read Diego de Pantoja's *Qike*, which conformed to his moral cultivation and also played a preliminary role in his religious transformation. Ultimately, Wang Zheng accepted Christian baptism from Diego de Pantoja.

After having found the Mandate of Heaven, he explained the concept of God/Tianzhu. Firstly, he used a lot of Chinese terms to express the names of God, such as Dazhu (Great Master), Zhuzai (Great Dominator), Zhenzhu (the true Lord), Tianshang zhu (the Lord of Heaven), Gongzhu (Common Lord), Zaowu zhu (Creator), Da fumu (Great Parents), and he confirmed that Tianzhu, Shangdi and Tusi (Deus) have the same meaning. Secondly, he explained the Sovereignty, Creativity and Uniqueness of the Lord of Heaven. He placed the Sovereignty of God at the first position, and then to the attribute of Creationism. This method is different from the Christian Catechism, which would be accepted easily by Confucians. At last, the image of the Lord of Heaven was shaped in his text, which is the Dominator, the Creator of all things, the supreme Reality and the Judger of the universe. Meanwhile,

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<sup>923</sup> *WTARJL*, f.18a, 8-9.

<sup>924</sup> Wang, the Preface to *XREMZ*, 先生學本事天，與吾儒知天畏天、在帝左右之旨無二。Cf. *XREMZ*, vol. Shang, p.70.



he illuminated the attributes—Omnibenevolence, Omnipotence and Omniscience of the Lord of Heaven. Wang Zheng used hardly mentions Jesus and the Holy Maria and even no information about the Trinity, although he wrote some couplets about these, nevertheless, his learning was mainly from Matteo Ricci's *TZSY* and his text was introduced to the Confucian literati who had an interest in Christianity.

Having found the Mandate of Heaven and knowing the Lord of Heaven, Wang Zheng further states that the Mandate of Heaven is really awesome by quoting three awe-inspiring qualities of a gentleman in Confucianism. Here, revering the Mandate of Heaven is to revere the Lord of Heaven.

First of all, Wang Zheng interpreted the concept of heaven and hell, which is vague in the Confucian texts. He refuted the anonymous guest's view and states that Buddhism stole the main idea of heaven and hell. Furthermore, he presents the common principle of rewarding the good and punishing the evil between Christianity and Confucianism, in order to point out the Lord of Heaven, who owns the Great power of rewarding and punishing, is the supreme and ultimate judge of the universe, from which he used the classical sentence from *Shangshu*. He confirmed that in the afterlife the Lord of Heaven should reward the good and punish evil justly. Therefore, the places for reward and punishment are heaven and hell. He says that the world/Mengduo where people live in goodness and evil could not be differentiated. Heaven is above the world, which God and all sages and saints live in. Hell is the opposite place to Heaven, which is full of evil. Wang Zheng explained heaven has infinite joy and happiness, and immortal life through quotations in the Bible, *TZSY* and *JRSP*. Meanwhile he used the metaphor of the imprisoned child, to refute the people of the world who do not believe in heaven. Hell lies in the lowest, filthiest and darkest place of the Earth. The suffering in hell are continuous and unlimited. He points out that the principle of the ultimate judge, the Lord of Heaven, will be fair despite some unfair phenomena which occurs in our world. Thus, the evil people will fall down into hell.

Furthermore, Wang Zheng discussed the concept of retribution for goodness and evil, which also exists in the Buddhist and Taoist texts, but besides *Zhouyi*, Confucian

texts have little concern with the concept. He responded to four kinds of doubting views of Confucian scholars, for instance, the intention of doing good for benefit; goodness is rewarded with goodness and evil with evil in this world. When someone sees the true heaven and hell after life, he will believe in the gain or loss of doing good in this world. Wang thinks that retributions in this life are inadequate to show the reward and punishment—the power of the Lord in Heaven. The gain or loss in the next life is very real. Therefore, he believes that the principles of the rewards in heaven and punishment of hell is the supreme law of the Lord of Heaven’s supreme justice, supreme beneficence and supreme righteousness. He also explained that the benefits of the next world are supremely great and real.

The last theme of this part is that the soul of human beings is immortal. Wang Zheng responded to the question; how can a man enjoy true blessings after death, he thinks that the soul of human beings is distinct from the souls of plants, birds and beasts. The latter two souls will extinguish, but the soul of human beings will be immortal, if it disappears, the ultimate retribution of goodness and evil will be impossible. He classified the concepts of souls, i.e. the vegetative soul, the sentient soul and the intellectual soul. The latter is the soul of man which includes the vegetative soul and the sentient soul. The classification was cited from the text of *TZSY*. Furthermore, he pointed out that the transcendent nature is the specific property of the soul of man, which makes human beings superior to other beings. The intellect is the distinct characteristic of man, which can not only make human judgements and think rationally, but also choose a moral life. Therefore, the Lord of Heaven uses heaven and hell to judge human beings according to their goodness and evil and the man with intellect should revere the Lord of Heaven, because the joy of heaven is eternal and the suffering of hell is dreadful.

Serving the Lord of Heaven is the theme of the third part of Wang Zheng’s thought, which points to his religious practice. Wang expresses the concept of ‘alive belief’ (Huoxin) in the preface to *Daiyi xupian*, which also means that the belief must be in practice. Firstly, Wang Zheng introduced the Ten Commandments into his text, which plays an interlinked role between revering the Lord of Heaven and serving the Lord of

Heaven, because revering the Lord of Heaven and caring for Human Beings are the two essential doctrines of the Ten Commandments. Wang emphasises the holy ritual—baptism is the first step of serving the Lord of Heaven, which means to desert evil and make goodness. It also marks that the new moral life has started for the converts.

In Wang Zheng's Christian practice, one apparent characteristic is that he actively supported the building of churches. He contributed towards the cost of setting up Chongyi tang in Xi'an and also wrote a couplet for it. Chongyi tang is the name of the church, which integrated Christian belief and Chinese culture. In fact, before Chongyi tang in Xi'an, he organised the building of Jingtian ge (The Pavilion of Revering the Heaven) in Yangzhou, the name Jingtian ge being quite an inculturated term. After the incident of Dengzhou, he also collected funds to set up another Chongyi tang in his hometown.

More importantly, Wang Zheng used the Confucian concept of love—Renai 仁愛 to interpret Christian doctrines of loving God and people loving others as themselves. He implanted new contents into the Confucian concept of love. In addition, the Confucian concept of the Love of Ren just means to love other people, in Wang's statement, the difference is that Love means not only to love other people, but also to love others as you would love yourself. Therefore, from loving people 愛人 to loving others as yourself 愛人如己, is a great progression. In fact, we can find that loving others 愛人(Ai ren) plays a connected point in this part. Wang Zheng quoted Diego de Pantoja's view and states that benevolence is the only real virtue accepted by the Lord of Heaven, not the habitual love and friendly affection.

Another important religious practice for Wang Zheng is to establish Humanitarian Society, which was a charitable association based on Christian doctrines in the late Ming era. Wang Zheng not only founded the Society, but also wrote *Renhui yue* (Rules of the Humanitarian Society) for the association. In the text of *RHY*, although most of the discussion parts are quoted from *Qike*, *AJXQ* and *ZFWJ*, one complete charitable institution was formed by Wang Zheng himself. The terms Yue (Agreement) and Ren hui are the results of inculturation. In the part of the structures of Humanitarian Society, Wang Zheng introduced the idea of the association and relief

targets; the institution includes balance of Society (Hui zhi heng), finance of Society (Hui zhi zi), members of Society (Hui zhi ren), manager of Society (Hui zhi du), auxiliary of Society (Hui zhi fu), supervisor of Society (Hui zhi he) and extension of Society (Hui zhi tui). The institution of society was created by himself, which mirrored some new thoughts about the modern social security system. From the prefaces to *RHY* and other biographies of Wang Zheng, we can find that this Humanitarian Society saved a lot of victims, which also had a profound effect on local society. Wang Zheng's supreme idea of establishing the Society was to restore social order and awaken people's benevolent heart through charitable activity.

Wang Zheng had received a traditional Confucian education before the Christian baptism. One of themes in Confucianism is to cultivate virtues. From his experience, we can find that he cultivated his virtues very strictly. When he accepted Christian doctrines, and then finished his learning, revering Heaven and caring for human beings, he tried to practise his principle of overcoming desires and cultivating virtues. Johann Adam Schall von Bell and Wang Zheng collaborated on the work of *RJSB*, in which 14 Saints' stories were translated. The themes of them are related to asceticism, obedience, overcoming lust and pursuing perfect virtue. In the comments section of *RJSB*, which was later added by Wang Zheng, he expresses his understanding and opinion on cultivating virtues. There are four stories about overcoming lust, possibly, Wang Zheng was illuminated by them, and then confessed his sin of concubinage in the confession text, which was attached to *RJSB*. In the texts of *DHKJ* and *RHY*, he also states cultivating virtues is the merit of serving the Lord of Heaven. During his later years, Wang Zheng chose hermit lifestyle and wrote some poetry, which reflected that he pursued a pure metaphysical religious life.

In fact, through Wang Zheng's life (after baptism in 1616), we can find that there are four dilemmas in his religious belief. For instance, marrying a concubine, praying for rain and sunny days, worshipping town gods (Chenghuang) and fasting to death for Ming. Although we can interpret these religious events reasonably, the dilemma of beliefs is quite distinct. In the late Ming China, especially with the context of Confucianism, Wang Zheng had practiced his belief perfectly.

In the section of thought, Wang Zheng used a lot of Confucian sayings and stories to interpret Christian teachings (see the Chart 4.4.). This style of writing is one kind of inculturation, which means that he used local languages and thoughts to interpret Christian teachings. In fact, Wang Zheng's learnings and thoughts are not regarded until Minguo, as mentioned above. Although Christian doctrines were accepted by the open-minded Confucians, most of the traditional Confucians laid stress on Dao 道 (Metaphysics) and looked down on technique, especially as they had a negative attitude of Christianity. Therefore, it seems reasonable that Western knowledge is not underlined in the long term. Exactly as Chen Shouyi says in his article,

Chinese scholars are constrained by their partial opinions and deep-rooted habits, and they never paid attention to them (Western learnings). The history of Christianity spreading in China is not written in Mingru xuean 明儒學案, which is known as the academic history of Ming Dynasty.<sup>925</sup>

From the whole system of his thoughts, revering the Lord of Heaven and caring for Human Beings, which consists of three parts; knowing the Lord of Heaven, revering the Lord of Heaven and serving the Lord of Heaven, we can conclude that there are some reasons for Wang Zheng's true motivation to accept Christian doctrines. Wang Zheng started from the basic Confucian theme, searching for the Mandate of Heaven, and then he gave up Buddhism and Taoism. In the meantime, he met Jesuit missionaries and recognised their religion and soon afterwards he found the Mandate of Heaven in Christian doctrines and accepted the baptism. However, Wang Zheng never gave up Confucianism. Some scholars think that Wang changed his beliefs from Confucianism to Buddhism and then to Taoism but at last he converted into Christianity. Song Boyin wrote in the postscript of his book as follows,

“Wang Zheng's belief was from Confucianism to Buddhism, from Buddhism to Taoism, and then from Taoism to Christianity. Although he became a Christian, his Confucian belief was quite clear too, because he usually considered himself as Confucian.”<sup>926</sup>

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<sup>925</sup> Chen Shouyi 陳受頤, *Mingmo qingchu yesu huishi de rujiaoguan jiqi fanying* 明末清初耶穌會士的儒教觀及其反應(The Confucianism View and Its Reaction of Jesuits during Late Ming and Early Qing), in *Zhongou wenhua jiaoliu shishi luncong* 中歐文化交流史事論叢(Sino-Europe Culture Exchange History Symposium ), Taiwan: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館, 1960, p.1. Cf.Guo Xiwei, 1994, p.136.

<sup>926</sup> Song Boyin, 2004,p.343.

Responding to this viewpoint, there is powerful evidence appearing in Wang Zheng's text. He says, "Revering the Mandate of Heaven first, I believe in Confucian teachings. Knowing Heaven and serving God, I cultivate myself and keep the idea. Worshipping the unique Lord, which is the revered God."<sup>927</sup> Thus, Wang Zheng affirmed that the question of searching for the Mandate of Heaven is from Confucianism, and his religious belief was established on the basis of Confucian teachings. Certainly, Wang Zheng had found some deficiencies in Confucianism, as he responded to the anonymous guest in the text of *WTARJL*. At the end of the Ming Dynasty, the old religious system could not meet the requirement of society as a whole, they needed fresh ideas to be poured into their minds.

Through the integration of Christian teachings, he restructured the relation of Heaven and human beings in Confucianism and enriched the practice of serving Heaven. His thoughts and religious practices show that he wanted to improve human being's hearts and restore social order.

In fact, before *WTARJL* Wang mentioned the thought of revering Heaven in the memorial to the throne.<sup>928</sup> In the text, he thinks that, in order to restore the Will of Heaven, the whole country should revere Heaven.<sup>929</sup> When Wang Zheng formed this teaching of revering the Lord of Heaven and caring for Human Beings in the text of *WTARJL*, he actively practiced his belief. The part of serving the Lord of Heaven was his religious practice. Besides, he put his teaching into political career and military activity. Therefore, since the thought of revering Heaven and caring for Human Beings was born, it became the core principle of his life, career and beliefs.

In the third part of this research, I analysed the image of Wang Zheng in history. From Wang Zheng's names, we can also find his character expression. Especially, the name of Liaoyi daoren integrated Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist and Christian elements.

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<sup>927</sup> Wang, He taojing jie guiqu laici ba 和陶靖节归去来辞跋(The Postscript of Echoing the Return Home of Tao Qian), 首畏天命, 归依孔门。知天事神, 曰养曰存。钦崇一主, 惟上帝尊。 Cf. Fang Hao, ed., *Journal of Truth*, vol.1, 2(1944).

<sup>928</sup> Wang, *Wei nufen richi renxin dongyao jingchen qitian guben jianyao sanshi yi zuomo yishi jietie* 为奴氛日熾人心動搖敬陳祈天固本簡要三事以佐末議事揭帖(The Memorial to Throne about Manchu), 1622. Cf. *JXWC*, vol.1.

<sup>929</sup> *Ibid.*

In addition, he also used other names to describe himself, for instance, Qiren, Zhili sou which is from *Zhuangzi*. The historical evaluation on Wang Zheng shows the theme of the era. Before his death, because of his superior virtues, he acquired the title of Master Wang and other high reputations. After his death, the local Confucians conferred him as Lixue mingru, Guanxue mingru (Famous Confucian of Neo-Confucianism) and Duanjie xiansheng (Master of Integrity and Martyr). The image of one perfect Master with worthy virtues appears in front of us. His Christian beliefs were mentioned in some texts, but only a few words, the same situation for his Mechanics. From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, according to the discovery of Wang Zheng's texts, researchers started to pay more attention to him from multiple angles. Gradually, Wang Zheng's reputation of being a linguist and mechanical engineer appeared to public view. Having explored Wang Zheng's religious texts, his image of Confucian-Christian was discovered.

## Appendix I. The Chronicle of Wang Zheng

**Gongyuan 公元 1571<sup>930</sup> • Ming Muzong <sup>931</sup>Zhu Zaihou 明穆宗朱載屋 <sup>932</sup> • The fifth year of Longqing 隆慶 <sup>933</sup> • Xinwei 辛未 <sup>934</sup> • 1/One year old <sup>935</sup>**

The Chinese lunar calendar, April 19<sup>th</sup> <sup>936</sup>(The Gregorian calendar May 12<sup>th</sup> ), Wang Zheng was born in Jingyang County Luqiao town Jiandan bu of Shaanxi province 涇陽縣盈村里尖擔堡 (now Jingyang County Yingcun li jiandan bu of Shaanxi).

At the end of the Northern Song Dynasty, Wang Zheng's ancestor, Chun 春, began to move to Jingyang. Gao Zu 高祖 great-great-grandfather Zan 瓚, Zeng Zu 曾祖 great-grandfather was Shang Ren. Wang Zheng's grandfather Yun 雲, was a farmer throughout his life and died at the age of 87 years old. Yun had two sons, the oldest was Wang Zheng's father.

Wang Zheng's father was born in the twenty-ninth year of Jiajing 嘉靖(1550), on January 16<sup>th</sup>, the courtesy name was Hubei 濟北. In that year, he was twenty years old. In the village he read historical books about farming, and often did things with the saints' aphorisms, compiled Hubei weng xunzi ge 濟北翁訓子歌 (The Training Songs of Father Hubei ), and he was also proficient in arithmetic.

His mother, madam Zhang, was born in the thirtieth year of Jiajing (1551), on October 15<sup>th</sup>. In this year, she was twenty years old. She was the eldest daughter of doctor Zhang Zhaochong and the younger sister of Wang Zheng's Uncle, doctor Zhang Jian. She was conferred the title of nobility, 'Ruren 孺人.' She bore two children, the eldest was Wang Zheng, the youngest was Wang Hui 王徽.

In that year, Yang Tingjun was fifteen years old (1557-1627) and lived in Zhejiang Renhe 浙江仁和 (杭州 Hangzhou).

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<sup>930</sup> Gongyuan 公元, cf. ZGLD, p.1812.

<sup>931</sup> Ming Muzong 明穆宗 was the temple title of the emperor. Cf. ZGLD, p.1812.

<sup>932</sup> Zhu Zaihou 朱載屋 was the name of the emperor (1537-1572).Cf. ZGLD, p.1812.

<sup>933</sup> Longqing 隆慶 was the reign title of the emperor (1566-1572).Cf. ZGLD, p.1812.

<sup>934</sup> Xinwei 辛未, Chinese calendar which is made up of the ten celestial stems(tiangan 天干)and twelve branches (dizhi 地支).

<sup>935</sup> The age of Wang Zheng in the year.

<sup>936</sup> Here and below, all the date use the Chinese lunar calendar.



Xu Guangqi was ten years old (1562-1633) and lived in Shanghai Xujia hui (上海徐家匯).

Li Zhizao (1571-1630) was born in Zhejiang Renhe 浙江仁和 (杭州 Hangzhou).

In that year, Matteo Ricci was twenty years old and he joined the Society of Jesuits in Rome.

### **1572 • The sixth year of Longqing • Ren Shen 壬申• 2**

In May, the Emperor of Muzong died.

In June, the Prince Zhu Yujun 朱翊鈞 ascended (inherited) the throne, and he changed the following year for the first year of Wanli 萬曆.

### **1573 • Ming Shenzong Zhu Yijun 明神宗朱翊鈞 • The first year of Wanli 萬曆<sup>937</sup> • Guiyou 癸酉• 3**

In this year, Wen Zhenmeng 文震孟 was born in Changzhou of Suzhou. Wen Zhen Meng (1574-1636), the style name Wenqi and the courtesy Zhan Chi. His great-grandfather was Wen Zhengming 文徵明, who was the famous calligrapher and painter. You can find his biography in the volume 251 of Ming history 明史.

### **1575 • The third year of Wanli • Yi hai 乙亥• 5**

In April, Weinan 渭南, Yaozhou 耀州, Jingyang 涇陽, Ganxian 幹縣, Changan 長安 and other counties of Shaanxi were changed to belong to the Internal Armed Force 關內兵備道.

### **1576 • The fourth year of Wanli • Bingzi 丙子• 6**

On January 23, Macau was allowed to set up a diocese.

### **1577 • The fifth year of Wanli • Dingchou 丁丑• 7**

Wang Zheng read historical books from his uncle Zhang Jian (his mother's brother), recited the Initiation Songs of the Brief History of the Past Dynasties 歷代事略發蒙歌 which was compiled by Zhang Jian (1545-1605), who was born in Jingyang, the posthumous title was Zhen Hui 貞惠. In this year, he was thirty-two years old. Mr. Zhanchuan was good at thinking and liked learning new concepts, he also was the famous Confucian of Guanxue 關學 (one school of the neo-confucian in Guanzhong

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<sup>937</sup> Ming Shenzong Zhu Yijun 明神宗朱翊鈞(1563-1620), Shenzong was the temple title, the reign title was Wanli 萬曆(1572-1620). Cf. ZGLD, p.1811.

Shaanxi province). You can find his biography in the Guanxue xubian 關學續編(The Continuation Compilation of Guanxue) .

**1578 • The sixth year of Wanli • Wuyin 戊寅 • 8**

In this year, the Italian missionary of Jesuit Society Alexandre Valignani (Chinese name Fan Lian 范禮安) arrived in Macau as a church inspector of India, Japan, and China. Alexandre Valignani (1538-1606), whose Chinese style name was Lishan 立山, lived in Macau, or sometimes in Japan, but never entered onto the Chinese mainland.

**1579 • The seventh year of Wanli • Jimao 己卯 • 9**

In this year, Wang Zheng's uncle Zhanchuan was thirty-five years old and went to the capital where he was then he was granted the official position county magistrate of Zhao (Shanxi 山西 province).

In this year, Yang Tingyun was twenty-three years old and he got the title of Juren 舉人, the master degree.

In July, the Italian missionary Michel Ruggieri, whose Chinese name was Luo Mingjian 羅明堅, he was ordered by Alexandre Valignani and arrived in Macau. Michel Ruggieri (1543-1607), another Chinese name 複初, wrote the Shenjiao shilu 聖教實錄 (the True Record of the Holy Christianity).

**1580 • The eighth year of Wanli • Geng Chen 庚辰 • 10**

In January, his brother of the same parents was born. Wang Hui (1580 -1629), style name Ren Fu and courtesy name Quan Xin, was quite filial and kind to people in the country, and taught literature to the Confucian students. All of the local people admired his virtues. The Luqiao chronicle of the first year of Daoguang has his biography.

In July, Matteo Ricci became priest.

This year, Luo Ming Jian arrived in Guangzhou.

**1581 • The ninth year of Wanli • Xin Si 辛巳 • 11**

In the year, Beijing was in drought, the South of Beijing was in famine.

**1581 • The tenth year of Wanli • Renwu 壬午 • 12**

In June, Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525-1582) died.

On September 19, Matteo Ricci crossed the sea and arrived in Macau.

At the end of the year, Luo Mingjian and Ba Fanji 巴范劑 and others arrived in Guangdong Zhaoqing 肇慶, they lived in the Tianning Temple. Therefore, it became the first house of the Jesus society in mainland China. Ba Fanji (Francois Pasio,1551-1612), whose Chinese style name was Yongle 庸樂, was Italian and in 1572 he joined the Jesuits.

### **1583 • The eleventh year of Wanli • Kuiwei 癸未 • 13**

In Spring, Luo Mingjian was forced to return to Macau.

In October, Luo Mingjian and Li Madou went to Zhaoqing and missionized.

In this year, Zhang Wenda 張問達 got Jinshi (doctor's degree). Zhang Wenda (?-1625), whose Chinese style name was Deyun was from Shaanxi Jingyang, the same hometown as Wang Zheng. He became the minister of the Ming government personnel. His biography is in vol. 204 of the History of the Ming Dynasty.

In this year, Nurhachi was elected as chief of Jianzhou Jurchens.

### **1584 • The twelfth year of Wanli • Jia Shen 甲申 • 14**

In this year, Wang Zheng followed his uncle Zhanchuan to Dingxing (a county of Hebei province).

Also in this year, Luo Mingjian and Matteo Ricci set up a church in Zhaoqing. Luo Mingjian wrote and published the work, the True Record of Christianity 天學實錄. Matteo Ricci drew Shanhai yudi tu (The Map of the territory of the Mountains and Seas) (also it is known as Kunyu wanguo quantu), which was published by Zhaoqing magistrate, Wang Pan 王泮. This map was the earliest one in the modern world map, so from that time the Chinese people knew the world had five continents. Luo Mingjian, Matteo Ricci also brought the glass prism, clock, the painting of holy Maria and so forth.

### **1585 • The thirteenth year of Wanli • Yiyou 乙酉 • 15**

He married a wife, Miss Shang. There was an old man, Shang Xiuan, who was familiar with Wang's Uncle. When Mr. Shang met Wang Zheng and let him write a formal essay, not long after Wang finished, Mr. Shang was very surprised at Wang's impressive talent and then married his daughter to Wang Zheng.

In July, at the invitation of Fan Li'an, the two missionaries of Mai Andong and Meng Sande came to Macau, and Matteo Ricci replaced his Italian name with the Chinese name, and then all the missionaries did the same.

Mai Andong is Chinese name of the Portuguese name of Antoine d'Almeida (1556-1591).

Meng Sande, the Portuguese name is Edouard de Sande (1531-1600).

**1586 • The fourteenth year of Wanli • Bing Xu 丙戌• 16**

As a Jingyang County student, he studied at the official school of Jingyang County.

In the year, Luo Mingjian, and Ma Andong went to Zhejiang.

**1587 • The fifteenth year of Wanli • Ding Hai 丁亥• 17**

Wang Zheng passed the official exam of Jingyang and got the title of Xiucui.

When he read the history book, he found the sentence that Fan Wenzheng 範文正 as a Xiucui took the responsibility of the whole world, then he also was determined to take the responsibility of the whole world.

In January, Luo Mingjian and Ma Andong arrived in Hangzhou, then to Shaoxing.

In this year, Nurhachi constantly expanded his power limits, and had a peaceful relationship with Ming. In the following year, Nurhachi paid tribute to Beijing for the Ming government eight times (from the True Records of Ming Shenzong 明神宗實錄)

**1588 • The sixteenth year of Wanli • Wuzi 戊子• 18**

In this year, Nurhachi merged the five tribes of Jianzhou Jurchens into unity.

**1589 • The seventeenth year of Wanli • Jichou 己丑• 19**

In the year, his uncle Zhang Jian in the town promoted to set up the sage's temple, gathered Confucian students and taught them. Wang Zheng also took part in this activity.

In this autumn, Qu Taisu 瞿太素 in Zhaoqing visited Matteo Ricci as his teacher. They studied Astronomy and Mathematics. Qu Taisu was born in the twenty-eighth year of Jiajing 嘉靖 (1549), the given name Rukui, from Jiangsu Changshu. His father was Qu Jingchun and the official position reached the Minister of Rites.

**1590 • The eighteenth year of Wanli • Gengyin 庚寅 • 20**

Matteo Ricci set up a Jesuit House in Shaozhou.

In July, Fan Li'an went to Japan.

**1592 • The twentieth year of Wanli • Renchen 壬辰 • 22**

Wang Zheng followed his Uncle Zhang Jian to the official position and became a tutor in the local school.

In February, Yang Tingyun went to Beijing and acquired the title of Jinshi, and then he was appointed as magistrate of Jiangxi Anfu County.

Feng Yingjing 馮應京(1555-1606) went to Beijing and acquired the title of Jinshi, was granted the position of the Ministry of Revenue and Population and then was replaced with the position of the Ministry of War. Feng Yingjing was from South Zhili, Fengyang fu, Yutai. Mingshi has his biography.

**1593 • The twenty-first year of Wanli • Guisi 癸巳 • 23**

In this year, Xu Guangqi was aged of 32 and went to Shaozhou as a teacher.

Matteo Ricci was 42 years old, he translated the Chinese Confucian Classics *Sishu* 四書 into Latin.

**1594 • The twenty-second year of Wanli • Jiawu 甲午 • 24**

Wang Zheng passed the national official test of province level and acquired the title of Jurenas. He also met Lai Yuting 來於廷.

Lai Yuting (1562-1635) also acquired the title of Juren in this year, he was from Yangling (now it is Gaoling County of Shaanxi ), the style name being Jinguang 觀光, a pseudonym 五雲. He was in the official position for 14 years, and retired from the position of Fenzhou 汾州 vice-magistrate of Shanxi province to his hometown.

Wang Zheng wrote the Epitaph for Lai.

In the fall, Matteo Ricci and other missionaries put on a Confucian robe to preach.

In September, Zheng Man (1594-1638) was born. His style name was Qianzhi 謙止 and Zuochang 祚長, pseudonym Miyang 峯陽, of Jiangsu Wujin people. He and Wang Zheng in the same year (1622) passed the national official test and obtained the title of Jinshi. They were friendly to each other.

The Italian missionary Guo Jujing 郭居敬 arrived in Shaozhou. Matteo Ricci went to the North and missionized. Guo Zujing (Lazare Cattaneo, 1560 - 1640), the style name was Yangfeng 仰鳳, He wrote *Lingxing yizhu* 靈性詣主 (The Spirituality), *Huizu yaozhi* 悔罪要旨 (The Essentials of Repentance) and so on.

**1595 • The twenty-third year of Wanli • Yiwei 乙未 • 25**

On February 23, Wang Zheng's mother died at the age of forty-five. In March, he went to Beijing to participate in the test of national official. It was the first time for him but he did not pass.

Matteo Ricci finished the True Significance of God, and published it in Nanchang.

**1596 • The twenty-fourth year of Wanli • Bingshen 丙申 • 26**

Matteo Ricci was 45, he served as the new president of the Chinese Jesuits.

**1597 • The twenty-fifth year of Wanli • Dingyou 丁酉 • 27**

On the sixth day of May, Wang Zheng's youngest brother Che 徹 (1597 - 1665), the pseudonym Huixin 蕙心, Xiucan of the county.

In September, Xu Guangqi participated in the official test of Shuntian fu, and acquired first place.

**1598 • The twenty-sixth year of Wanli • Wuxu 戊戌 • 28**

In February, Wang Zheng went to Beijing and did not pass the official national test.

In this year, Li Zhizhu was 28, he passed the national test and obtained the title of Jinshi. Yang Tingyun was 32 and he was granted the official position of the censor in the department of Supervision.

**1600 • The twenty-eighth year of Wanli • Xinchou 辛丑 • 30**

In April, Matteo Ricci led Diego de Pantoja from Nanjing to Beijing.

**1601 • The twenty-ninth year of Wanli • Gengzi 庚子 • 31**

At the beginning of the year, Matteo Ricci and Diego de Pantoja arrived in Beijing, and presented the bells and Christian paintings, such as Maria, Jesus with Baptist John, the Saviour, triangular glass and so on to Emperor Wanli. Then they were allowed to stay in the capital. Since then, Matteo Ricci lived in Beijing until his death.

In February, Wang went to Beijing and participated in the national official test, but failed.

### **1603 • The thirty-first year of Wanli • Guimao 癸卯• 33**

Xu Guangqi visited two missionaries, Guo Jujing and Luo Ruwang in Nanjing. Luo taught Xu Guangqi the Christian doctrine, and presented Li Madou's Tianzhu shiyi, and Tianzhu jiaoyao which was translated by other missionaries, etc. Xu Guangqi was baptised into Christianity by Luo, his Christian name was Paul. After baptism, he returned to Shanghai. Luo Ruwang (Jean de Rocha, 1566 -1623), the style name he took on was Huaizhong 懷中. He was Portuguese and in 1583 he joined the Jesuits Society, and went to China in 1598. He wrote Tianzhu shengxiang lueshuo 天主聖像略說 (the Summarization of the Holy Icons of God), and translated Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng 天主聖教啟蒙 ( the Enlightenment of Catholic Church) and so forth.

### **1604 • The thirty-second year of Wanli • Jiachen 甲辰•34**

In February, Wang went to Beijing and participated in the national official examination, but failed.

In this year, Xu Guangqi was forty-three years old, passed the examination and got the title of Jinshi.

Sun Chengzong 孫承宗 also got Jinshi. Sun Chengzong (1563-1638), the style name being Zhisheng 稚繩, and pseudonym being Kaiyang 愷陽. He was from Baoding Gaoyang of Hebei province. His supreme official position reached the Minister of department of Troops and East Cabinet Grand Secretary (兵部尚書兼東閣大學士).

Matteo Ricci was fifty-three years old, and reprinted Tianzhu shiyi 天主實義/TZSY (the True Meaning of God) in Beijing.

Pang Diwo wrote *Qike* 七克 (the Ways to Overcome Seven Deadly Sins/the Controls of Seven Selfishness), and printed it.

### **1606 •The thirty-fourth year of Wanli • Bingwu 丙午• 36**

In the Autumn, Wang finished the Preface of Questions for Heaven 天問詞序 to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of his uncle Zhang Jian.

In this year, Li Zicheng 李自成 was born. Li Zicheng (1606-1645), Shaanxi Mizhi people.

Zhang Xianzhong 張獻忠 was born. Zhang Xianzhong (1606-1647), Shaanxi Yan'an people.

**1607 • The thirty-fifth year of Wanli • Dingwei 丁未 • 37**

In February, Wang went to Beijing and participated in the national official test but did not pass.

Li Madou collaborated with Xu Guangqi in the translation of the first six volumes Euclid's Elements.

**1608 • The thirty-sixth year of Wanli • Wushen 戊申 • 38**

In June, Matteo Ricci's Jiren shipian (Ten Paradoxes) was published, Li Zhizao and other Confucians wrote prefaces for the work.

In November, Matteo Ricci dictated and Li Zhigong wrote the geometry work Yuanrong jiaoyi 圓容較義.

In winter, Xu Guangqi invited Guo Jujing from Nanjing to Shanghai. Xu Guangqi set up a church for Guo.

In this year, Sun Yuanhua wrote the work, Jihe yongfa (geometric usage 幾何用法). Sun Yuanhua (1581-1632), the style name was Chuyang 初陽, the pseudonym was Huodong 火東, from Jiangsu Baoshan. His deeds are in the Ming History Book and the Biography of Xu Congzhi. Sun was the student of Xu Guangqi, and he had mastered a lot of Western mathematical knowledge. He was good at artillery technology and his official position reached to governor of Deng Lai 登萊巡撫, and he had a good friendship with Wang.

**1610 • The thirty-eighth year of Wanli • Gengxu 庚戌 • 40**

At the beginning of the year, Matteo Ricci finished the work and the 'History of Christianity' entered into China 天主教傳入中國史. This book was translated into Chinese Li Madou zhongguo zhaji 利瑪竇中國劄記.

In February, Wang went to Beijing and participated in the national official test, but failed. This was the sixth time for him to take part in it.

In February, Li Zhizhu was baptised into Christianity in Beijing and his holy name was Leo.

In the leap month of March, Matteo Ricci died in Beijing at the age of 58.



### **1611 • The thirty-ninth year of Wanli • Xinhai 辛亥 • 41**

At the beginning of the year, Nicolas Trigault/Jin Nige went from Macao to Nanjing and learned Chinese under the guidance of Lazare Cattaneo/Guo Jujin and other missionaries.

In Spring, Li Zhizao kept mourning for his father and returned home and then invited Guo Jujin and Jin Nige to Hangzhou to preach.

In May, Yang Tingyun went to Hangzhou and mourned for Li's father, met Guo and Jin, not a long time after he was baptised into Christianity and his holy name was Michael.

This year Tingyun was fifty-five years old.

### **1612 • The fortieth year of Wanli • Renzi 壬子 • 42**

In this year, Sun Yuanhua passed the provincial official test, and got the title of Juren. Taixi Shuifa 泰西水法 had six volumes, which was written by Xiong Sanba 熊三拔 and translated by Xu Guangqi was completed and then was carved in Beijing. Xiong Sanba (Sabbathin de Ursis, 1575-1620), whose style name was Yougang. In 1597, he joined the Society of Jesuits and in 1606 he arrived in China. He wrote Jianping yi 簡平儀, and so forth.

### **1613 • The forty-first year of Wanli • Guichou 癸丑 • 43**

In February, Wang went to Beijing and participated in the national official test, but still did not pass.

In this year, Jiao Yuanfu 焦源溥 acquired the degree of Jinshi. Jiao Yuanfu, whose style name was Hanyi 涵一, was born in Shaanxi Sanyuan. His biography is in Mingshi volume 264. He wrote the preface to Wang Zheng's Liangli lue.

### **1614 • The forty-second year of Wanli • Jiayin 甲寅 • 44**

Diego de Pantoja finished the book Qike, and published it.

### **1615 • The forty-third year of Wanli • Yimao 乙卯 • 45**

Wang got Qike and read it from a friend.

According to Prof. Song Boyin's 宋伯胤 research, perhaps the person who gave the book to Wang was Yang Tingyun or Li Zhizao.

#### **1616 • The forty-fourth year of Wanli • Bingchen 丙辰 • 46**

In February, Wang went to Beijing and participated in the national official test, but failed. During this period in the capital, he met Diego de Pantoja/Pang Diwo. Probably at that time in Beijing, he was baptised into Christianity and his Christian name was Philippe.

In May, the assistant minister of the Ministry of Rites of Nanjing Shen Que and some of his colleagues asked the emperor to expel the Western missionaries. Shen Que (?-1624), whose style name was Ming Zhen 铭缜, was born in Zhejiang Wucheng 乌程 (now Huzhou). In 1592, he acquired the degree of Jinshi, the official position reached the minister of the Ministry of Rites 禮部尚書 and the Scholar of East Cabinet Grand Secretary 東閣大學士. He was the disciple of Lianchi master and at last he colluded with Wei Zhongxian.

In July, Xu Guangqi submitted Bianxue zhangshu 辨學章疏 to the Emperor Wanli and defended the missionaries.

#### **1617 • The forty-fifth year of Wanli • Dingsi 丁巳 • 47**

In February, Emperor Wanli decreed to expel the missionaries.

#### **1618 • The forty-sixth year of Wanli • Wuwu 戊午 • 48**

In January, Pang Diwo and other missionaries were expelled, Pang Diwo arrived in Macau and got sick, then died there at the age of forty-eight years old.

In March, the Ming government relieved Shaanxi hunger.

In April, the Emperor of Manchu Nurhachi revolted Ming at the reasons of Seven Grievances, then seized Fushun 撫順.

This year Nicolas Trigault returned to China and brought more than seven thousand books. During this journey, there were the other 22 missionaries, such as Tang Ruowang, Deng Yuhan and Luo Yagu.

#### **1619 • The forty-seventh year of Wanli • Jiwei 己未 • 49**

In February, Wang went to Beijing and took part in the national official test, but failed.

#### **1620 • The forty-eighth year of Wanli • Gengshen 庚申 • 50**

In July, Emperor Wanli Zhu Yijun 朱翊鈞 passed away, temple title was Shenzong

神宗.

In July, Nicolas Trigault returned to Macau.

In August, the Crown Prince Zhu Changluo 朱常洛 ascended the throne, but only one month later in September, the new Emperor died. The temple title was Guangzong 光宗. The Prince Zhu Youxiao 朱由校 ascended the throne, and decreed that the next year would be Tianqi yuannian 天啟元年.

In this year, Ai Rulue 艾儒略 went to Shaanxi. He was the first missionary to Shaanxi. Ai Rulue (Jules Aleni, 1582-1649), the style name was Siji 思及. In 1600 he joined the Society of Jesuit and in 1613 he went to China. He wrote *Wanwu zhenyuan* 萬物真原, *Sanshan lunxue ji* 三山論學記 one volume, *Daxi lixiansheng xingji* 大西利先生行跡 one volume and so forth.

**1621• Ming Xizong Zhu Youxiao 明熹宗朱由校•The first year of Tianqi 天啟<sup>938</sup>• Xinyou 辛酉• 51**

In this year, Wang wrote the preface to *Daiyi pian* 代疑篇 of Yang Tingyun.

Sun Yuanhua 孫元化 in Beijing was baptised into Christianity, his holy name was Ignacio.

**1622• The second year of Tianqi • Renxu 壬戌• 52**

In February, Wang passed the national official test and got the degree of Jinshi, this was the tenth time for him.

In June, Wang was appointed as Tuiguan of Guangping fu.

**1623 • The third year of Tianqi • Guihai 癸亥• 53**

Wang Zheng was in the official position of Guangping fu tuiguan.

Ai Rulue and Yang Tingyun translated *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 and published it. *Daqing jingjiao liuxing zhongguo bei* 大秦景教流行中國碑 (the Nestorian stele) was unearthed in the outskirts of Xi'an.

In the early summer, Wang finished *Bingyue* 兵約 and *Kewen* 客問.

Wei Zhongxian was in charge of Dongchang 東廠.

**1624 • The fourth year of Tianqi • Jiazi 甲子• 54**

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<sup>938</sup> Ming Xizong Zhu Youxiao 明熹宗朱由校(1605-1627), Xizong was the temple title, the reign title was Tianqi 天啟(1620-1627). Cf. ZGLD, p.1812.

Wang Zheng was in the official position of Guangping fu tuiguan.

During this period, he married a fifteen-year-old concubine, Shenshi 申氏.

In March, he returned to his hometown and kept mourning for his stepmother.

At the beginning of the year, Jin Nige was invited by Han Lin 韓霖 and Han Yun 韓雲 to missionize in Shanxi Jiangzhou 山西絳州.

#### **1625 • The fifth year of Tianqi • Yichou 乙丑 • 55**

Wang Zheng kept mourning for his stepmother.

During the period, he invited Jin Nige to preach in Jingyang of Shaanxi, his family were baptised into Christianity.

Wang not only helped Jin Nige to finish the linguistic book *Xiru ermu zi* 西儒耳目資, but also donated and raised money to help Jin build a church in Xi'an.

In this year, Jin Nige visited the Nestorian Stele 大秦景教流行中國碑.

#### **1626 • The sixth year of Tianqi • Bingyin 丙寅 • 56**

In the Leap June, some people started to build Wei Zhongxian's Live Temple.

Wang Zheng wrote the preface to *Xiru ermu zi* of Nicolas Trigault. He also asked the former Minister of the Ministry of Official Personnel Affairs Zhang Wenda 張問達 to write the preface for the book and donated for the publishing of it. Wang wrote *the Explanation of Xiru ermu zi* 西儒耳目資釋疑 and *the Dialogue of Sanun duikao* 三韻兌考問 for *Xiru ermu zi* and also finished *Xinzhi zhuqi tushuo* 新制諸器圖說.

In August, Nurhachi 努爾哈赤 died.

In September, the eighth son Huang Taiji 皇太極 of Nurhachi ascended the throne, he was the Taizong Emperor of Qing and changed the reign title to Tiancong 天聰 for the next year.

In winter, Wang went to Beijing. There, he met Long Huamin, Deng Yuhan and Tang Ruowang asked them about the Christian doctrine. Deng Yuhan instructed and Wang translated *the Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui* 遠西奇器圖說錄最/QQTS. In December, Wang was appointed as the Judge of Yangzhou fu, South Zhili .

#### **1627 • The seventh year of Tianqi • Dingmao 丁卯 • 57**

Wang zheng acceded to the position of Tuiguan of Yangzhou fu.

Meng Chun (In the late Spring), his book *Yuanxi Qiqi tushuo* was published.

He and his fellow Laifu, who was also from Shaanxi, refused to visit the Live Temple of Wei Zhongxian. Then they were known as Guanxi erjin 關西二勁 (the two obstinate men of Guanxi).

Later, the Wei Zhongxian party was removed.

In August Xi Zong Zhu Youxiao died and his younger brother, Zhou Youjian, ascended the throne. Zhou Youjian was the Emperor of Sizong, and changed the reign title to Chongzhen 崇禎 the next year.

For the occasion of Summer and Autumn, Tang Ruowang was sent to Xi'an and Shaanxi was in charge of Xi'an's church affairs. He lived in Xi'an for nearly three years, and kept very close contacts with Wang.

In November, Wei Zhongxian hung himself.

In December, the Ming court ordered to pull down all of the Live Temple Wei Zhongxian.

In December, Yang Tingjun died at the age of 71.

**1628 • Ming Sizong Zhu Youjian 明思宗朱由檢 • The first year of Chongzhen 崇禎元年<sup>939</sup> • Wuchen 戊辰 • 58**

Wang Zheng was in the official position of Yangzhou fu.

At the beginning of the year, under the insistence of Long Huamin 龍華民 (Niccolò Longobardo 1565-1655), eleven members of the Jesuit Society in the south of the Yangtze River held the “Jiading Conference”. They agreed to abolish the translation use of “Tian” (Heaven,天) and “Shangdi” (God,上帝) during Matteo Ricci's period, and to remain “Tianzhu” (天主).

When Wang saw off his father to Jingyang, they visited the relics of Pingshan tang 平山堂 of Yangzhou 揚州. Later he donated more than 400 jin (Chinese money) and raised more than 600 jin as funds to build Chongxian ge 崇賢閣, then he ordered to tear down the live temple of Wei Zhongxian and used the building materials to build Chongxian ge in April. In September, it was finished.

In the middle of Summer, Wang wrote *Shiyue* 士約 (*the Agreements of Confucian*

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<sup>939</sup> Ming Sizong Zhu Youjian 明思宗朱由檢(1611-1644), Sizong was the temple title, the reign title was Chongzhen 崇禎(1627-1644).

*Scholars*), three volumes. Yangzhou Confucian instructor 儒學教授 Wang Mingshi published the book of Wang Zheng, *Xueyong shujie* 學庸書解 (*the Interpretation of Daxue and Zhongyong*).

In July, Wang finished *weitian airen jilun* 畏天愛人論 (*the Ultimate Discussion of the Awe of Heaven and the Care of Human Beings*).

Around the mid-Autumn Festival, Yangzhou Confucian scholars Wu Weizhong 武位中 compiled *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui* 遠西奇器圖說錄最 (the Selected Compilations of the Western Mechanical Drawings) and *Xin zhiqi tushuo* 新制器圖說 (the Introduction of the New Mechanical Drawings) together and published them.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> September, Wang Zheng's father died at the age of 79. When he heard the message, he returned to his hometown.

On 14<sup>th</sup> November, Nicolas Trigault (Jin Nige 金尼閣) died in Hangzhou at the age of 52. Buried in Dafang jin 大方井 in the outside of Wulin 武林 gate of Hangzhou.

In November, Shaanxi was in a successive famine and hungry people rose up against the government, Wang Er 王二 of Baishui 白水 Shaanxi advocated the revolt in the first place, to which Fugu 府穀 Wang Jiayin 王嘉胤, Ansai 安塞 Gao Yingxiang 高迎祥 successively responded. Gao Yingxiang was called “Chuang Wang 闯王”. Gao Yingxiang (?-1636).

### **1629 • The second year of Chongzhen • Jisi 己巳 • 59**

Wang was in mourning for his father.

In the first month, Gao Yingxiang headed his troops to the area of Jingyang and Sanyuan. In order to resist the troops, Wang Zheng and Qiao Yuan pu 焦源溥, Ma Yunlu 馬雲麓 led the local gentries and village militias to organise the military camp “loyalty unity”, and these three gentlemen were called “three masters of loyalty unity”. The organisation existed in June of this year. Wang Zheng wrote *Xiangbing yue* (鄉兵約 *the Agreements of the Village Armed Force*) for the ‘loyalty unity.’

Tang Ruowang (湯若望, Johann Adam Schall von Bell) was in Xi'an, he managed to build a great church and a lot of local people converted to Christianity.

In March, it was the hundredth day of his aunt's death, Wang Zheng wrote a memorial article for her.

In the Leap April, the youngest brother of Wang died at the age 50.

In that time Xu Guangqi was appointed as Zuoshi lang 左侍郎 of the Ministry of Rites 禮部.

In Autumn, Wang Zheng asked Zheng Man 鄭鄞 to write an epitaph article for his father.

In this year, Wang adopted two sons from his two younger brothers, one was Yongchun 永春 who was the son of his young brother Wang Hui, the other one was Yongshun who was the son of his youngest brother Wang Che.

Li Zhizao published Tianxue chuhan 天學初函.

Tang Ruowang told the holy stories to Wang Zheng, and he recorded the contents and wrote some reflective words.

### **1630 • The third year of Chongzhen • Gengwu 庚午• 60**

Wang Zheng was mourning for his father.

On April 2<sup>nd</sup> (May 13<sup>th</sup>), Deng Yuhuan died of illness. Then the Ming court recruited Tang Ruowang and Luo Yagu 羅雅穀 (Giacomo Rho,1593-1638) from Xi'an to Beijing and modified the calendar.

On April 19<sup>th</sup>, it was his sixtieth birthday. Sun Chengzong 孫承宗 wrote an essay to celebrate Wang's birthday.

In June, Sun Yuanhua 孫元化 was raised as Youqiandu yushi 右金都御史 (censor) to inspect Denglai 登萊.

In August, Xu Guangqi was promoted to the minister of the Ministry of Rites 禮部尚書 and Scholar of Hanlin yuan 翰林院學士.

In September, Sun Yuanhua was appointed as the governor of Denglai.

On September 27<sup>th</sup>, Li Zhizao died at the age of 66.

In October, Qu Dajun was born. Qu Dajun 屈大均(1630-1696), whose courtesy name is Wengshan 翁山, and title is Huaifu 華夫 and Luofu shanren 羅浮山人. His birthplace is Fanyu of Guangdong. He is famous for his learning and literature. In the early Qing, he had been to Jingyang and visited the temple of Wang Zheng, and wrote the biography for Wang Zheng.

In this year, Li Zicheng 李自成 led his group to revolt, and later he turned to Gao Yingxiang 高迎祥.

Around this time, he published Zhongtong rilu 忠統日錄 (the Daily Records of the Loyalty Unity - local military defense organisation).

#### **1631 • The fourth year of Chongzhen • Xinwei 辛未•61**

On the ninth of February, Wang Zheng finished the mourning period for his father.

Sun Yuanhua 孙元化 reported to the Ming court and appointed Wang Zheng as the Secretary of the Liaohai military of Shandong 山東按察司僉事遼海監軍道.

In July, Wang Zheng stepped into the position.

#### **1632 • The fifth year of Chongzhen • Renshen 壬申•62**

The Subordinate Kong Youde 孔有德 of Sun Yuanhua munitied in the army. Dengzhou 登州 fell into the munitied hands. Wang Zheng and Sun Yuanhua were arrested. After returning to the capital, Sun Yuan was executed and Wang Zheng was sent to guard the Garrison.

Sun Yuanhua and Wang Zheng clasped hands with each other to say farewell, when they were in prison. Sun Yuanhua wrote an essay about the friendship between them.

#### **1633 • The sixth year of Chongzhen • Guiyou 癸酉• 63**

Wang Zheng was absolved from guarding work and returned home.

On the seventh of October, Xu Guangqi died.

#### **1634 • The seventh year of Chongzhen • Jiayu 甲戌• 64**

In March, Shanxi and Shaanxi were in serious drought and famine.

Wang Zheng founded the Humanitarian Society in Luqiao of Jingyang 涇陽魯橋, and he also wrote *Renhui yue* 仁會約 (the Statutes of the Humanitarian Society).

#### **1635 • The eighth year of Chongzhen • Yihai 乙亥• 65**

Wang Zheng bought one area of Fan Chuan 樊川 (the south part of Xi'an suburb) as the habitat place of his retired life.

On ninth of May, Lai Yuting 來於廷 died. Wang Zheng wrote the epitaph for him.

#### **1636 • The ninth year of Chongzhen • Bingzi 丙子• 66**

In April, Huang Taiji 皇太極 changed the title of the kingdom into Qing, claiming



himself to be the emperor, and changed the reign title for Chongde 崇德.

Wang Zheng completed *Liangli lüe* 兩理略 (the Brief Compilations of Documents during Guangping and Yangzhou Judge Offices), which was four volumes.

On the tenth of December, Wang Zheng wrote *Qiqing jiezui qigao* 祈請解罪啟稿 (the Manuscript of Praying for Atonement).

In this year, Gao Yingxiang was captured by Sun Chuanting 孫傳庭 the governor of Shaanxi 陝西巡撫, and then he was sentenced to death after being sent to Beijing. Li Zicheng was known as Chuang Wang 闖王, he led the rebelling army to fight through the area of Shaanxi, Gansu and Sichuan.

### **1637 • The tenth year of Chongzhen • Dingchou 丁丑 • 67**

*Liangli lüe* (four volumes ) was published by Wang Zheng's disciple Wuchang Meng Daohong 武昌孟道宏.

Missionary French Jesuit Fang Dewang (Etienne Le Fevre,1598-1659) interpreted the sailing story of Italian Jesuit Du Aoding (Agustin Tudeschini,1598-1643), and Wang Zheng wrote it in his records and called it, *Du Aoding xiansheng donglai duhai kuji* 杜奧定先生東來渡海苦跡 (the Story of Pater Agustin Tudeschini Sailing across the Sea). Agustin Tudeschini joined the Society of Jesuits in 1622, and reached China in 1631. Etienne Le Fevre joined the Society of Jesuits in 1618, and reached China in 1630.

### **1638 • The eleventh year of Chongzhen • Wuyin 戊寅 • 68**

The church of Chongyi tang 崇一堂 of Luqiao 魯橋 was built.

Wang Zheng wrote a postscript to his uncle's work '*The Song of Lidai fameng*' 歷代發蒙歌 (The Song of Enlightening Education of Past Dynasties). He also wrote a preface to *Chongyi tang riji suibi* 崇一堂日記隨筆 (the Diary of Chongyi Church), and the diary was published in that year.

In the preface, he began to use the Christian name Philippe.

### **1639 • The twelfth year of Chongzhen • Jimao 己卯 • 69**

In February, Wang Zheng wrote *Xizhu wenbu zixu suoyan* 析箸文簿自敘瑣言 (the Preface to the Dividing up the Family Property and Living apart).

Wang Zheng's cousin and good friend Zhang Bingrui 張炳璿 was appointed as Mancheng magistrate 滿城縣令. Wang Zheng wrote an essay for him.

**1640 • The thirteenth year of Chongzhen • Gengchen 庚辰 • 70**

Wang Zheng wrote *Ela jiya youzao zhuqi tushuo shougao* 額辣濟亞牖造諸器圖說手稿 (the Manuscript of Gratia Mechanical Drawing) but only a few sections of the manuscript and not the publishing edition.

He also compiled *Xiru piaoxiang yaolue* 西儒縹緲要略 (The Outline of Western Works).

**1641 • The fourteenth year of Chongzhen • Xinsi 辛巳 • 71**

In the spring, Li Zicheng captured Henan fu 河南府, and killed Fu King Zhu Changxun 福王朱常洵, then his troops became more and more powerful. Zhang Xianzhong seized Xiangyang fu, and killed Xiang King Zhu Yiming 襄王朱翊銘, and Guiyang King Zhu Changfa 貴陽王朱常法.

In the winter, he wrote the postscript to his father's *Training Songs for the Descendants*.

**1642 • The fifteenth year of Chongzhen • Renwu 辛巳 • 72**

Wang Zheng was at home.

**1643 • The sixteenth year of Chongzhen • Guiwei 癸未 • 73**

In August, Qing Taizong 清太宗(Aisin Gioro Huang Taiji) died, his son Fulin 福臨 ascended the throne, who was the emperor of Shizu 世祖. He changed the following year for the first year of Shunzhi 順治.

On October 6<sup>th</sup>, Li Zicheng captured Tongguan 潼關. On 11<sup>th</sup> of October, Li Zicheng occupied Xi'an, and he changed Xi'an into Chang'an.

Li Zicheng invited local literati to serve his army in all places. Wang Zheng knew that he could not escape and then wrote the couplet for his tomb chamber.

**1644 • The seventeenth year of Chongzhen • Jiashen 甲申 • 74**

In the first month, Li Zicheng established a regime in Xi'an, title of the reigning dynasty was Dashun 大順 and this year was the first year of Yongchang 永昌.

Li Zicheng dispatched his messengers to invite Wang Zheng. In order to refuse the request, Wang Zheng brought a sword and sat in the Church of the Lord of Heaven.

Wang Zheng's son Yongchun 永春 said to the messengers that his father was old and ill and he could substitute his father for the conscript. At last, the soldiers took Yongchun away. At that moment, Wang Zheng told his son that he died for loyalty, and his son died for filial piety. Since then, Wang Zheng was ill in bed.

On March 4<sup>th</sup>, after seven days of hunger strike, Wang Zheng died. After his death, the local literati conferred him the unofficial posthumous title of Duanjie xiansheng 端節先生. His tomb was in Lulu bayuan majiapo beiling of northeast Luqiao Jingyang 涇阳鲁桥东北五里辘辘把塬马家坡北岭.

On March 19<sup>th</sup>, Li Zicheng seized Beijing, where the Emperor was trapped in the capital and Ming Sizong Zhu was persecuted to death. However, Ming Sizong hanged himself.

In April, Li Zicheng was defeated by the allied troop of Wu Sangui 吴三桂(1612-1678) and Qing in Shanhaiguan 山海關, and then rushed back to Beijing.

In May, Li Zicheng took the place of Emperor in the Forbidden City. Soon after, he withdrew troops from Beijing and went back to Shaanxi. At the same time, the Qing army occupied Beijing.

In October, the emperor of Qing Shizu arrived in Beijing and ascended the throne as emperor. The title of dynasty was replaced by Qing. This year was the first year of Shunzhi.

Appendix II. Wang Zheng's Works

The Table of Wang Zheng's Works<sup>940</sup>

Title	Finished date	State
<i>Yuan Zhenren zhuan</i> 元真人傳, the Biography of the Great Immortal.	unknown	unknown
<i>Liaoxin dan</i> 了心丹, the Realizing Pill	unknown	unknown
<i>Shouding guben zhouyi cantong qi</i> 手訂古本周易參同契 the Revised Edition of Zhouyi cantong qi.	unknown	unknown
<i>Douliao ge</i> 都了歌, the Song of making everything clearly.	unknown	unknown
<i>Baizi jie</i> 百字解, the Explanation of One Hundred Characters of Taoism.	unknown	unknown
<i>Tianwen ci</i> 天問辭 or <i>Tianwen jie</i> 天問解, the Interpretation of Questions for Heaven.	unknown	unknown
<i>Lidai fameng biandao shuo</i> 歷代發蒙辨道說, Enlightening Education and Interpreting Tao of Past Dynasties.	unknown	unknown
<i>Zhang Zhenhui gong nianpu</i> 張貞惠公年譜, the Chronicle of Master Zhang.	after 1605	unknown
<i>Sanyu</i> 三論 and <i>Eryi</i> 二議,	unknown	unknown
<i>Ming tianqi renxu ke jingyang Wang duanjie gong huishizhujuan</i> 明天啟壬戌科涇陽王端節公	1622	unknown Some parts are preserved in Zhang Pengyi's article(1934).

<sup>940</sup> This table is mainly based on two sources, one is *BTTJC*, vol.1.

Another is Li Zhiqin's article, *Mingmo shanxi jingyang Wang Zheng zhuyi kao* 明末陝西涇陽王徵著譯考(Textual Research of Wang Zheng's Works),1987.

會試朱卷, the Metropolitan Examination Articles of Wang Zheng.		
<i>Xueyong shujie</i> 學庸書解, the Interpretation of Daxue and Zhongyong.	about 1623. published in 1626.	preserved.
<i>Biandao pian</i> 辨道篇, Distinguishing Tao	unknown	unknown
<i>Kewen</i> 客問, the Questions of the Guest.	1623	preserved
<i>Bingyue</i> 兵約, the Agreements of the Armed Force.	1623	preserved.
<i>Bingshi</i> 兵誓, the Pledges of the Armed Force.	after 1623	preserved
<i>Youhan daotian ge</i> 憂旱禱天歌, the Song of Praying to the Heaven for Raining.	1623	unknown
<i>Lugong huixin lu</i> 路公繪心錄, the Biography of Lu Zhenfei.	after 1625	unknown
<i>Xiru ermu zi</i> 西儒耳目資, the Chinese-Latin Dictionary for Western Scholars, 3 volumes.	Nicolas Trigault compiled, some parts were finished by Wang Zheng. 1626	preserved. published many times.
<i>Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui</i> 遠西奇器圖說錄最 QQTS, the The Wonderful Machines of the far West in Words and Pictures, 3 volumes.	1627 The first edition was published in 1628.	preserved. published many times.
<i>Xin zhiqi tushuo</i> 新制器圖說 ZQTS, the Introduction of the New Mechanical Drawings.	1627 The first edition was published in 1628.	preserved. published many times.
<i>Shiyue</i> 士約, the Rules of Confucian Scholars.	1628	preserved
<i>Weitian airen jilun</i> 畏天愛人極論 WTARJL, the Utimate Discussion of the Awe of Heaven and the Care of Human Beings.	1628	preserved
<i>Zhongtong rilu</i> 忠統日錄,	1629	preserved

the Daily Records of the Loyalty Unity.	Published in 1630	
<i>Xiangbing yue</i> 鄉兵約, the Covenant of Village Militia.	1629	preserved
<i>Teminglu zouyi</i> 特命錄奏議, the Special Command and Proposals to the Emperor.	(Jietie 揭帖)1622, (other)1631&1632.	preserved
Chixiang yu 癡想語, the Silly Thoughts of Troops.	1631	unknown
<i>Caoye qitan</i> 草野杞談, the Meaningless Discourse of the Ordinary People.	after 1632	unknown
<i>Yutai zhongyan</i> 籲泰衷言, the Heartfelt Words of Appeal for Goodliness.	after 1632	unknown
<i>Jiaxu jishi</i> 甲戌紀事, the Records of Jiaxu.	1634	unknown
<i>Renhui yue</i> 仁會約 RHY, the Agreement of the Humanitarian Society.	1634	preserved
<i>Shanju tiyong</i> 山居題詠, the Poetry of Mountain Life.	1635	preserved
<i>Liangli lue</i> 兩理略, the Brief Compilations of Documents during Guangping and Yangzhou Judge Offices.	1636	preserved
<i>Qiqing jiezui qigao</i> 祈請解罪啟稿, the Manuscript of Praying for Atonement.	1636	preserved
<i>Du Aoding xiansheng donglai duhai kuji</i> 杜奧定先生東來渡海苦跡 DHKJ, the Story of Pater Agustin Tudeschini Sailing across the Sea.	1637	preserved
<i>Chongyi tang riji suibi</i> 崇一堂日記隨筆 RJSB, the Diary of Chongyi Church.	1638	preserved
<i>Huoren danfang</i> 活人丹方, the Prescription for Living	unknown	preserved

Person		
<i>Xiru shu</i> 西儒書, the Works of Western Confucians.	unknown	unknown
<i>Chongzhen shulue</i> 崇禎述略, the Brief History of Chongzhen period.	after 1628	unknown
<i>Shitian shixue</i> 事天實學, the Practical Learning of Serving Heaven.	unknown	unknown
<i>Tunbing moyi</i> 屯兵末議, the Simple Discourse upon Station Troops.	unknown	unknown
<i>Zhenfu zhizhi</i> 真福直指, the Real Significance.	unknown	unknown
<i>Qijing</i> 耆鏡, the Old Men's Mirror.	unknown	unknown
<i>Jingtian ge duilian</i> 景天閣對聯, the Couplets of the Pavilion of Revering the Heaven.	unknown	unknown
<i>Zhuqi tushuo xiaogao</i> 諸器圖說小稿, the Manuscript of Mechanical Drawings.	unknown	unknown
<i>Cangqi tushuo xiaogao</i> 藏器圖說小稿, the Manuscript of Hidden Mechanical Drawings.	unknown	unknown
<i>Xishu shice</i> 西書十冊, Ten Volume of Western Books.	unknown	unknown
<i>Yutai sanyin</i> 籲泰三因, the Three Reasons of Appeal for Goodliness.	unknown	unknown
<i>Shengjing yaolue huiji</i> 聖經要略彙集, the Compilation of Bible Synopsis.	unknown	unknown
<i>Ganshi liyan</i> 感時俚言, the Informal Words of Reflection.	unknown	unknown
<i>Shengjing zhijie</i> 聖經直解, the Direct Explanations of Bible.	unknown	unknown
<i>Xishu shiyi</i> 西書釋譯, the	unknown	unknown

Interpretations and Translations of Western Books.		
<i>Renzhenyu chidu</i> 任真語尺牘, the Letters of Ren Zhenyu.	unknown	unknown
<i>Chidu yigao</i> 尺牘遺稿, the Manuscripts of Letters.	unknown	unknown
<i>Xiyang yinjue</i> 西洋音訣, the Western Syllable.	unknown	unknown
<i>Zake</i> 雜刻, the Miscellaneous Books.	unknown	unknown
<i>Xiru piaoxiang yaolie</i> 西儒縹緲要略, the Synopsis of Western Confucian's Works.	unknown	unknown
<i>Xizhu wenbu zixu suoyan j</i> 析箸文簿自叙瑣言, the Note to the Account Book of Dividing up Family Property.	1639	preserved
<i>Ela jiya youzao zhuqi tushuo shougao</i> 額辣濟亞牘造諸器圖說手稿 (EZQTS), the Manuscript of Gratia Mechanical Drawings.	1640	unknown Most of parts are preserved in Cun Sou's article(1940) and Liu Yaoli's articles(1945).
<i>Jianer wen</i> 簡而文	unknown	unknown



The Table of Wang Zheng's Collected Works <sup>941</sup>

Title	Finished Date	Editor	Status
<i>Wang duanjie gong wenji erjuan</i> 王端節公文集二卷	1816	Wang Jie 王介	unknown
<i>Wang duanjie gong shiwen erjuan</i> 王端節公時文二卷	about 1817	Wang Jie	unknown
<i>Wang duanjie gong chidu quanji yibu</i> 王端節尺牘全集一部	1818	Wang Jie	unknown
<i>Wang duanjie gong wenji sijuan</i> 王端節公文集四卷	1819	Wang Jie	unknown
<i>Wang duanjie gong jingji quanshu yigao ershiqi juan</i> 王端節公經濟全書遺稿二十七卷	1820	Wang Jie	unknown
<i>Wang Duanjie gong yiji</i> 王端節公遺集, other essays and poetry in Jingyang wenxian congshu J 涇陽文獻叢書	1925	Bai Kun 柏莖	preserved
<i>Wang Zheng yiwen chao</i> 王徵遺文抄	1934	Xiang Juemin 向覺明	preserved
<i>Wang duanjie shiwen</i> 王端節詩文	unknown	unknown	unknown
<i>Wang Zheng yizhu</i> 王徵遺著, Wang Zheng's Works.	1987	Li Zhiqin 李之勤	preserved
<i>Ming Jingyang Wang Zheng xiansheng nianpu</i> 明涇陽王徵先生	1990&2004	Song Boyin 宋伯胤	preserved

<sup>941</sup> This table is based on *BTTJC*, vol.1. Wang Jie, *Zhengxue zhai wenji*. Bai Kun, *JXWC. Bulletin of the notional library of PeiPing*, vol.8(6),1934. Li Zhiqin's article, *Mingmo shanxi jingyang Wang Zheng zhuyi kao* 明末陝西涇陽王徵著譯考(Textual Research of Wang Zheng's Works). Li Zhiqin's *WZYZ*. Song Boyin's *Ming, Jingyang Wang Zheng xiansheng nianpu*. Lin Lechang's *WZQJ*.

年譜,the Chronicle of Wang Zheng's Life.			
<i>Wang Zheng quanji</i> 王徵全集,the Collected Works of Wang Zheng.	2011	Lin Lechang 林樂昌	preserved

## List of Abbreviations

- AIXQ Giacomo Rho(Luo Yagu 羅雅穀), *Aijin xingquan* 哀矜行詮  
(Comments on the works of mercy), BnF, Chinois 6869.
- ARSI Nicolas Standaert 钟鸣旦 and Ad Dudink 杜鼎克, ed., *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Ming Qing tianzhujiao wenxian* 耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献(Chinese Christian texts from the Roman archives of the Society Jesus[Archivum Romanum Societas Iesu]), Taipei: Ricci Institute 利氏學社,12 vols.,2002.
- BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome.
- BBJC Louis Pfister, *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur les Jesuites de l'Ancienne Mission de Chine(552-1773)*, Shanghai: Mission Press, 1932.
- BBLJ Rong Zhenhua 榮振華, (*Rèpertoire des Jèsuites de Chine de 1552-1800*)*Zaihua yesu huishi liezhuan ji shumu bubian* 在華耶穌會士列傳及書目補編(The Biographies and Book List of Jesuits in China), 2 vols.,Geng Sheng 耿昇, transl., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973.
- BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
- BTTJC Wang Jie, ed., *Baotian tang wangshi jiacheng* 寶田堂王氏家乘 (Books of Wang Clan's History of Baotian tang), in the middle of Qing Dnasty.
- CBETA <http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/> 漢文大藏經, Dazheng xinxiu dazang jing 大正新脩大藏經.
- CCT Database Ad Dudink & Nicolas Standaert, Chinese Christian Texts Database. (<http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/sinology/cct>).
- DHKJ Wang Zheng, *Du Aoding xiansheng donglai duhai kuji* 杜奧定先生東來渡海苦跡(the Story of Pater Agustin Tudeschini Sailing across the Sea), BnF, Chinois 1021.
- EZQTS *Ela jiya youzao zhuqi tushuo ziji shougao* 額辣濟亞牖造諸器

圖說自記手稿, cf. Cun Sou 存叟, Du mingmo jingyang wangzheng suozhu ela jiya youzao zhuqi tushuo ziji shougao luhou 讀明末涇陽王徵所著額辣濟亞牖造諸器圖說自記手稿錄後(The Comments on the Transcript of Wang Zheng's ela jiya youzao zhuqi tushuo ziji), in *Xibei lunheng* 西北論衡 (Forum of Northwest), vol.9,7(1940). Liu Yaoli 劉耀藜(Cun Sou), Qiqi tushuo zhuozuo zhe zhi xuzhi weikangao 奇器圖說著作者之續製未刊稿(The Unpublished Manuscript of Wang Zheng's Mechanical Work), in *The Culture of Northwest* 西北文化, vol.17&18, 1945.

- GGHY *Zhongguo gudai hanyu dacidian* 中國古代漢語大詞典(The Dictionary of Ancient Chinese), Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2014.
- CHoC Frederick W. Mont and Denis Twitchett, eds., *The Cambridge of History of China*, vol.7, The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part I & II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- GXB Feng Congwu 馮從吾, *Guanxue bian* 關學編(The Compilation of Guanxue), Chen Junmin & Xu Xinghai 徐興海 ed., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.
- HbCC Nicolas Standaert ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Volume One: 635-1800, Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- HYDD Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, ed., *Hanyu daci dian* 漢語大詞典(Chinese Great Dictionary), Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe 漢語大詞典出版社.
- HYL Hafo yanjing tushuguan 哈佛燕京圖書館, Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.
- JRSP Matteo Ricci, *Jiren shipian* 畸人十篇 (Ten Paradoxes), in *TXCH*, vol.1, pp.93-298.
- JXSC Baikun 柏塋, ed., *Jingxian shicun* 涇獻詩存(The Works of Jing Yang), 1925. In *JYWX*, vol.1.

- JXWC Baikun 柏莖, ed., *Jingxian wencun* 涇獻文存(The Works of Jing Yang),1925. In *JYWX*, vol.2.
- JYWX Baikun 柏莖, ed., *Jingyang wenxian congshu shizhong* 涇陽文獻叢書十種(The Ten Series of Books of Jingyang),1925.
- JYJL Alfonso Vagnone (Wang Fengsu 王豐肅), *Jiaoyao jielüe* 教要解略(The Introduction of Christianity),in *ARSI*,vol.1, pp.117-306.
- LLL Wang Zheng, Liangli lüe 兩理略(the Brief Compilations of Documents during Guangping and Yangzhou Judge Offices), in *JXWC*, vol.7.
- MS Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, eds., *Ming shi* 明史, Dianjiao ben 點校本, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011.
- Qike Diego de Pantoja (Pang Diwo 龐迪我), *Qi ke* 七克(Seven Overcomings), in *TXCH*, vol.2, pp.698-1126.
- RHY Wang Zheng, *Renhui yue* 仁會約(the Agreement of the Humanitarian Society), BnF, Chinois 7348.
- RJSB Wang Zheng and Johann Adam Schall von Bell, *Chongyi tang riji suibi* 崇一堂日記隨筆(the Diary of Chongyi Church), BAV.
- QQTS Wang Zheng and Johann Schreck, *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui* 遠西奇器圖說錄最(the The Wonderful Machines of the far West in Words and Pictures), the edition of Qing, BnF, Chinois 5661.
- SS-Database Institute of History and Philosophy, Academy Sinica, 漢籍电子文献资料库 Scripta Sinica database.  
(<http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm>)
- SYQS Han Lin 韓霖, *Shouyu quanshu* 守圉全書 (The Book of Defending the City), vol.32 &33, Beijing: Beijing Press, 2005.
- TCE Charles G. Herbermann, eds., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York: Robert Appleton Company,1907.
- TXCH Li Zhizao 李之藻, ed., *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函, In Wu

- Xiangxiang 吳相湘, ed., *Zhongguo shixue congshu* 中國史學叢書 (Collected Works of Chinese History), Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, vol. 23, 1965.
- TZSY Matteo Ricci (Li Madou 利瑪竇), *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 (The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven), in *TXCH*, vol.1, pp.351-636.
- XREMZ Nicolas Trigault, *Xiru ermu zi*, 3 vols., Beijing:Wenzi gaige chubanshe 文字改革出版社(The Language Reform Press), 1956.
- WTARJL Wang Zheng: *Weitian airen jilun* 畏天愛人極論, BnF, Chinois 6868.
- XZWB Wang Zheng, *Xizhu wenbu zixu suoyan* 析箸文簿自叙瑣言(The Note to the Account Book of Dividing up Family Property). the 12th year of Chongzhen Emperor (1639), the transcript in Qing dynasty.
- WZYZ Li Zhiqin 李之勤, ed., *Wang Zheng yizhu* 王徵遺著(Wang Zheng's Works), Xi'an: Shaanxi People Press, 1987.
- WZQJ Lin Lechang 林乐昌, ed., *Wang Zheng quanji* 王徵全集 (The Collected Works of Wang Zheng), Xi'an 西安: Sanqin Press 三秦出版社, 2011.
- ZFWJ Giulio Aleni ( Ai Rulüe 艾儒略), *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 (The Introduction of World Geography), in *TXCH*, vol.3, pp.1269-1502.
- ZGDF *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng Shaanxi fuxian zhiji* 中國地方志集成·陝西府縣志輯(The Collections of Chinese Local Chronicle/ Prefectures and Counties Chronicles of Shaanxi Province ), 57 vols., Nanjing: Phoenix Publishing House, 2007.
- ZGDM *Zhongguo diming cidian* 中国地名词典(Chinese Dictionary of Geographical Names), Shanghai:Shanghai Cishu Press, 1989.

- ZGDMD Liu Junren 劉君任, *Zhongguo diming dacidian* 中国地名大辭典(Chinese Great Dictionary of Geographical Names), Taipei: Wenhai Press,1967.
- ZGLD *Zhongguo lishi da cidian* 中國歷史大辭典 (The Dictionary of Chinese History),vol.shang&xia,Shanghai:Shanghai Dictionary Press, 2000.
- ZGTR Fang Hao 方豪, *Zhongguo tianzhujiao renwu zhuan*, 3 vols. 中國天主教史人物傳(上, 中, 下)(The Biographies of Historical Figures of Catholicism in China), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1988.
- ZHDJCD Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛, ed., *Zhonghua daojiao dacidian* 中華道教大辭典(Chinese Taoism Great Dictionary), Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社(Chinese Social Science Press),1995.
- ZQTS Wang Zheng, *Xinzhi zhuqi tushuo* 新制諸器圖說, BnF, Chinois 5661.

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