CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Illustrations</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Maps</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Riddell, <em>Introduction: Christian-Muslim Relations in the 17th Century (Asia, Africa and the Americas)</em></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Watson Andaya, <em>Islam and Christianity in South-East Asia 1600-1700</em></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha Frederiks, <em>Enforced migration: an Indian Ocean Africa narrative</em></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David D. Grafton, <em>Enforced migration: an Atlantic narrative in Christian-Muslim relations</em></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1600-1700</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East Asia, China and Japan</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa and the Americas</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Names</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Titles</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Lodovico Buglio**

Lodovico Buglio, Li Leisi, Louis Buglio

**DATE OF BIRTH** 26 January 1606  
**PLACE OF BIRTH** Mineo, Sicily  
**DATE OF DEATH** 7 October 1682  
**PLACE OF DEATH** Beijing

**BIOGRAPHY**
Lodovico Buglio was a Sicilian Jesuit (born in Mineo, Sicily) and one of four who remained captive in Beijing following the exile of the Jesuits from the country. In Chinese he is known as Li Leisi. In 1622, he joined the Society of Jesus, working at the Roman College (Collegio Romano) before leaving for China in 1634. He arrived in Macau in 1636 and undertook missionary work in Fujian and Jiangxi. He was joined by Gabriel de Magalhaes (1610-77) in 1642 and began work in Sichuan. The area was captured by the rebel Zhang Xianzhong in 1644, and Buglio and Magalhaes were made the astronomers of his court. Zhang was defeated by the Manchus in 1647 and the two Jesuits were captured and sent for imprisonment to Beijing. They were released after four years, and built a church (called the Dongtang or East Church) with an imperial mandate. Thereafter, he assisted Johann Adam Schall, Ferdinand Verbiest and Magalhaes in their astronomical and calendrical work. Buglio played a prominent role during the anti-Jesuit persecutions and associated astronomical controversies of the late 1660s. He wrote and translated in excess of 30 texts, including Chinese translations of parts of Aquinas’s *Summa theologiae*, and the Roman *Missal*, *Breviary* and *Ritual*. Prominent amongst his works for this entry are his 1665 *Bu de yi bian*, his *Tian zhu jiao yuan you* published the same year, and his 1668 *Zhu jiao yao zhi*, which all sought to defend Christianity against claims made by its opponents. He died in Beijing in 1662 and was given a state funeral.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Bu de yi bian*, ‘A refutation of “I cannot do otherwise”’

“I cannot do otherwise” refuted’

DATE 1665
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Chinese

DESCRIPTION

*Bu de yi bian* (sometimes referred to as *Bu de yi bian (1)* in order to distinguish it from Ferdinand Verbiest’s work of the same name) is a direct refutation of the Chinese Muslim Yang Guangxian’s *Pi xie lun* (as published in *Bu de yi*), in which Buglio contests 33 statements against Christianity and the missionaries that are made in Yang’s text. The work usually consists of 54 folios in one binding on Chinese paper. The bulk of the text (folios 2-49) consists of the aforementioned 33 refutations. Folios 50-4 are two appendices, the second of which (*Zhongguo chu ren bian*, folios 53-4) defends claims made by Li Zubai in his *Tian xue chu gai* that the Chinese were the descendants of Adam and Eve. This was a work that Yang had particularly taken issue with. The preface (folio 1) provides the date, the name of the author, and the censors (Magalhaes and Verbiest).
A variant, which appears to have once been bound in two volumes but has since been rebound into one, also exists. This version has a number of character and line differences, and omits two lines of annotations. It does not include Zhongguo chu ren bian as an appendix, but instead includes the text Tian zhu jiao yue zheng. It is believed that this version of the text is older, and that it was later redacted in order to simplify the language for common readership.

Unlike the majority of other works written at the time of the Chinese astronomical controversy, Bu de yi bian does not address issues of astronomy, but of religion. Each half folio is divided into nine columns that usually each contain 18 characters, unless they are quotations of Yang, in which case they usually contain 16 characters. As noted, 33 of Yang’s claims are refuted individually. The text uses some stylistic patterns similar to those in Yang’s work, such as the inclusion of pictures. Whilst Yang’s images had been used to ridicule Christian claims, Buglio includes a picture of Tang of Shang (Cheng Tang, r. 1675-46 BCE) praying for rain in order to illustrate that, like Christ, the emperors of the past suffered for the welfare of others (folio 31). It also includes sections from Buglio’s earlier Tian zhu jiang sheng (1645).

The text does not attack Islam directly, rather it attacks Yang and his claims, arguing that these have resulted in people turning away from orthodox Confucianism to heresy. Whilst a number of Buglio’s refutations are Christian in approach, others attempt to illustrate Yang’s incorrect interpretation of Confucianism, reflecting not only the intended readership of the text, but also the competing Jesuit and Muslim efforts at enculturating their respective religions into the Chinese context. The text is therefore primarily apologetic in nature, seeking to defend Christian truth claims against Yang’s polemic.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is of great interest to note the lack of direct references to Islam in the text. This illustrates the greater concern on the part of Buglio with the fact that Christianity was criticised and ill-affected by Yang’s claims, than with the religious identity of those with whom the anti-Jesuit movement had originated. As noted, another point of significance is the text’s focus on religious rather than astronomical concerns. To that extent, the text moves away from the majority of scientific-oriented Jesuit apologies written during the astronomical controversies.
Ludovico Buglio (Li Leisi), *Bu de yi bian*, 1665 (original copies of the manuscript, duplicates and facsimilies are kept at Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, BNF, the Bodleian Library, and Fujen University. The variant version mentioned above is found at Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, JapSin I, 92)

Ludovico Buglio (Li Leisi), *Bu de yi bian*, Shanghai, 1847

Ludovico Buglio (Li Leisi), *Bu de yi bian*, Shanghai, 1926

Wu Xiangxiang (ed.), *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian*, Taibei, 1965, pp. 225-332

Zhou Yang, *Ming mo Qing chu Tian zhu jia shi zi liao xin bian*, Beijing, 2013, vol. 1, pp. 483-530


**STUDIES**


J.D. Young, *Confucianism and Christianity. The first encounter*, Hong Kong, 1983, pp. 97-108
**Tian zhu jiao yuan you, ‘The purpose of Christianity’
‘The cause of Christianity’**

**DATE** 1665  
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Chinese

**DESCRIPTION**
In 1665 Buglio published *Tian zhu jiao yuan you*. Although the text is anonymous, the style suggests it was a product of his own hand. The text consists of eight folios and, like *Bu de yi bian*, each half folio is divided into nine columns consisting in this case of 19 characters each.

The text was presented to the Ministry of Rites as a counter to the claims of the Chinese Muslim Yang Guangxian and others, in similar fashion to *Bu de yi bian*. It similarly provides a basic summary of Catholicism, and is primarily apologetic in style and tone.

Like *Bu de yi bian*, the text does not address Islam directly but instead seeks to counter accusations made against Christianity by explaining Christian doctrine.

**SIGNIFICANCE**
Like *Bu de yi bian*, the lack of direct references to the religion of Buglio’s opponents is noteworthy, illustrating the lack of importance for Buglio (or his Chinese audience) of this aspect of the controversy. And, as with his *Bu de yi bian*, the religious rather than scientific focus of the text makes it stand out among the works written during the controversy.

**PUBLICATIONS**
Ludovico Buglio (Li Leisi), *Tian zhu jiao yuan you*, 1665 (an original copy of the MS and a facsimile are kept at Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu)  
Nicolas Standaert (Zhong Mingdan) and Ad Dudink (Du Dingke), *Ye su hui Luoma dang an guan Ming Qing tian zhu jiao wen xian*, Taipei, 2002, vol. 8, pp. 139-56

**STUDIES**
Chan, *Chinese materials in the Jesuit Archives in Rome*, pp. 454-5
Zhu jiao yao zhi, ‘The fundamentals of Christianity’
Shengjiao yaozhi, ‘A summary of Christianity’
‘Essential meaning of Christianity’

DATE 1668
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Chinese

DESCRIPTION
In 1668, Buglio followed up Bu de yi bian and Tian zhu jiao yuan you with Zhu jiao yao zhi (also known as Shengjiao yaozhi). The text consists of 28 folios in a single binding. The first folio is an introduction, including the name of the author and the text’s censors (Gabriel de Magalhaes and Ferdinand Verbiest), the second consists of a table of contents, and the remainder comprises the main text. As in Buglio’s other works, each half folio is divided into nine columns. In this text, each column contains 20 characters. It is effectively identical to his Sheng jiao jian yao, published between 1670 and 1680, which summarises Christian doctrine for potential converts. Zhu jiao yao zhi is divided into 12 sections that cover various doctrinal elements including creation, the Trinity, the Incarnation, treatises on the soul, heaven and hell, the Decalogue, and sections on baptism, confession and good governance under Catholicism. Its contents are therefore laid out like other contemporaneous catechisms. There is some debate on its date; it is possible that the text was written earlier than 1668, perhaps in 1665. No copies of the alternative titled version exist, and it is believed that this title was created through an error of early 20th-century bibliographers.

Like Tian zhu jiao yuan you, the work seeks to refute Yang’s charges against Catholicism by way of an explanation of Catholic doctrine. Like Bu de yi bian and Tian zhu jiao yuan you, the text does not address Islam directly, although a later redacted note, written in French on the cover of the manuscript at Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, links it to the astronomical controversy and explicitly notes Yang Guangxian and his Muslim religious identity. Further, the final section of the text contains some unfavourable remarks about Buddhism and Taoism.

The section on the Incarnation builds and expands on a similar sentence found in Bu de yi bian and an original part of Buglio’s Tian zhu jiang sheng (1645). The final section, on the positive effects of Catholicism on governance (its easing of governance), is directly reproduced from Bu de yi bian and was later included in some versions of his Tian zhu zheng jiao
There is also evidence that Buglio made use of a text written around 1665, which has not survived to the modern day.

SIGNIFICANCE
The text indicates the ongoing need for apologetic and explanatory works on Christianity, which had been affected by the fallout from the astronomical controversy. Sections taken from *Bu de yi bian* are especially pertinent for illustrating the continuing relevance of such works. Like *Bu de yi bian* and *Tian zhu jiao yuan you*, the lack of references to Islam perhaps suggest that religious identity is unimportant to Buglio. Nevertheless, because he attacks Buddhist and Taoist critics directly, indicating their religious identity, this text perhaps casts new light on the concept that the general existence of opposition rather than the religious nature of the Jesuits’ opponents was of greater importance to Buglio. Rather, on the basis of this text, it could be posited that, because the Muslim scholars had been moved to a position of power, it was in the interests of self-preservation that Buglio did not directly attack these opponents on religious grounds. This text is therefore significant as, in attacking Buddhism and Taoism, it indicates another possible aspect of Buglio’s thought, and the possible reason here and elsewhere for his silence on Islam.

PUBLICATIONS
Ludovico Buglio (Li Leisi), *Zhujiao yao zhi*, 1668 (original manuscripts and facsimilies are kept at Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, and BNF)

STUDIES
Chan, *Chinese materials in the Jesuit Archives in Rome*, pp. 138-9

James Harry Morris