

The German Protestant Scholar Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1733–1811) and his Defence of the Suppressed Society of Jesus

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This essay explores the writings of the Protestant scholar and prominent citizen of the city of Nürnberg (Nuremberg), Christoph Gottlieb (also: Theophil) von Murr, one of the very few German Protestants who defended the suppressed Society of Jesus. The approach of the article is biographical and bibliographical; it draws on a selection of Murr's publications to explore his relations with Jesuits, with particular reference to the China mission. The main documentary focus of the study is Murr's book, published in 1774, *Eines Protestanten, Herrn Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, der Reichsstadt Nürnberg Zollamtmanns, und Mitglieds des königlichen historischen Instituts zu Göttingen, und der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Berlin &c. Acht und zwanzig Briefe über die Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens* (*Twenty-eight letters about the suppression of the Society of Jesus [written] by a Protestant, namely Mr. Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, weight master of the Independent City of Nürnberg and member of the Royal Historical Institute in Göttingen and of the scientific society in Berlin &c.*).¹ The most pertinent sections of this text (the thirteenth, concerning Japan, fourteenth and fifteenth letters, both on China) are provided in the original German in an appendix. Other sources

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1 In subsequent citations, the work's title will be abbreviated to *Briefe eines Protestanten*. The work was published as one volume and in three separate parts, in 1774. Here and throughout, important titles relating to the main themes of this essay are given in their original language followed immediately by their English translation.

enlisted here include several issues of Murr's famous *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur* (*Journal on Art History and General Literature*), which appeared in seventeen volumes in Nürnberg between 1775 and 1789, and contained material about the China mission, including several books written by Jesuits in China and reprinted by Murr.

These publications, together with the books about China that were to be found in Murr's vast personal library, provide the main documentary foundations of this essay. In exploring these sources, the essay seeks to shed more light on this unusual Protestant figure of late-Enlightenment Europe. While for most of his life Murr stayed in his hometown of Nürnberg, during the years 1756 to 1761 he toured through Europe and established contacts with many of the intellectual leaders of the day, including many Jesuits. In later years he continued these contacts by correspondence, with (ex)Jesuits in Europe as well as in China, and with theologians of other orders, establishing an important and well-documented network that warrants further attention.

This analysis is located in the context of the current growth in scholarship concerning the suppression of the Society of Jesus, prompted by the recent bicentennial of its restoration in 2014. Of particular relevance to this essay are two recent edited essay collections, including useful studies of the complex situation relating to the Jesuits in China a short time before and after the suppression.² Murr is an interesting figure within this historical and historiographical framework: only one year after the suppression, he published his book defending the Jesuits, focussing on their China mission. His defence of the Jesuits was remarkable because he was a German and a Protestant from the late-Enlightenment intellectual milieu in Germany. Most of his peers looked at the Jesuits with suspicion or even with contempt. There were exceptions, however: for example, seventy years

2 Robert A. MARYKS, Jonathan WRIGHT (ed.), *Jesuit Survival and Restoration. A Global History, 1773–1900*, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2015 and Jeffrey D. BURSON, Jonathan WRIGHT (ed.), *The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context, Causes, Events, and Consequences*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2015. For defenders of the Society, see Thomas Worcester's article, "Friends as Liabilities: Christophe de Beaumont's Defense of the Jesuits", pp. 65–82. For the China mission, details are given below at n. 9. See also, Christine VOGEL, *Der Untergang der Gesellschaft Jesu als europäisches Medienereignis (1758–1773); publizistische Debatten im Spannungsfeld von Aufklärung und Gegenklärung*, Mainz, von Zabern, 2006.

before Murr published his defence, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) famously defended the Jesuits in the Chinese Rites Controversy.³ It is well known that such defences, although broadly well intentioned, tended to damage the Jesuit cause: many of the Society's Protestant advocates, including Murr, while pro-Jesuit, were generally anti-Catholic and specifically anti-papal, blaming the Catholic monarchs and the papacy for Jesuit misfortunes, thus often exacerbating the divisions between the Jesuits and many already-hostile fellow-Catholics. Indeed, intra-Catholic tensions were especially strong in this period, and some Protestants looked more benignly on Catholic orders than the Catholics themselves, often unwittingly fuelling tensions between them.⁴ It is in the context of this complex and unusual apologetic position from the Protestant sphere that the figure of Murr will be investigated.

There are only a few studies dealing with Murr, the most important of which is by Johannes Ferdinand Roth, who provided a biography in the introduction to his 1811 publication, *Catalogus Librorum quos V.C. Christophorus Theophilus de Murr...* (*Catalogue of books collected by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr...*).⁵ This catalogue is an immensely valuable source of information about Murr's library, and is enlisted for the bibliographical data and discussion contained in this essay. Other studies dealing with Murr include those by Ernst Mummenhoff, Peter Wolf, Renate Jürgensen, and Christoph Nebgen. Of these publications, Wolf and Nebgen are the only ones dealing explicitly with Murr's controversial position as a Protestant supporter of the Jesuits.⁶ In this essay, we shall trace this position from its origins in late-Enlightenment Germany to its place in the debates about the Jesuit presence in China.

The study thus is located within Jesuit missionary history

- 3 For Leibniz and the Chinese Rites Controversy see, Wenchao Li, "Cultus religiosus und cultus civilis – Leibniz und der Ritenstreit", *Studia Leibnitiana* 36 (2004), pp. 109–27.
- 4 Peter WOLF, "Protestantischer, Jesuitismus' im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1733–1811) und die Jesuiten", *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 62 (1999), pp. 99–137, here p. 99.
- 5 Johannes Ferdinand ROTH, *Catalogus Librorum quos V.C. Christophorus Theophilus de Murr ... collegerat Noribergae a. MDCCCXII, d.6.m. Aprilis et diebus seq. publicae auctionis lege/Catalogue of books collected by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr in Nürnberg, sold at public auction on 6 of April, in the year 1807*, Noribergae, Lechner, 1811.
- 6 Christoph NEBGEN, "Christoph Gottlieb von Murr: ein Protestant erhebt die Stimme gegen die Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu", *AHSI LXXIII* (2004), pp. 127.

as well. It is well known that, apart from the Society's leading contribution to Catholic Europe – for example, as educators of the elite and as confessors of monarchs and the nobility – Jesuits also played key roles in missionary contexts outside Europe, especially in South America, as well as in China, as we shall see. These roles sometimes extended to the elites of these regions too: for example, they were assigned as teachers to the Chinese Kangxi 康熙 (1661–1722) Emperor. Through their many publications on all kinds of subjects, furthermore, they were responsible for constructing the positive image of China that was transmitted to the European Enlightenment,⁷ and were leaders in founding Sinology in Europe.⁸

During the eighteenth century, however, the positive image of the Jesuits faded, as did that of China.⁹ Especially damaging to the Jesuit presence in China was the impact of the arguments and decisions relating to the Chinese Rites Controversy, and the prohibitions of the 1742 Bull, *Ex quo singulari*, concerning the use of certain Chinese terms for God in China, and the participation of Chinese Christians in the Confucian Rites of China (previously held to be “propably not superstitious”). As well as giving rise to anti-Chinese sentiment in Europe, these developments contributed significantly to arguments in favour of the suppression of the Society of Jesus.¹⁰

Jesuits were presented as scheming, avaricious, power-hungry

7 René ÉTIEMBLE, *L'Europe chinoise. I: De l'Empire romain à Leibniz. II. De la sinophilie à la sinophobie*, Paris, Gallimard, 1989; David E. MUNGELLO, “Confucianism in the Enlightenment: Antagonism and Collaboration Between the Jesuits and the Philosophers”, in: Thomas H.C. LEE (ed.), *China and Europe. Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, Hong Kong, Chinese University Press, 1991, pp. 99–127; Eun-Jeung LEE, „Anti-Europa“. *Die Geschichte der Rezeption des Konfuzianismus und der konfuzianischen Gesellschaft seit der frühen Aufklärung* (Politica et ars 6), Münster, LIT-Verlag, 2003.

8 David E. MUNGELLO, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Studia Leibnitiana Supplementa 25), Stuttgart, Steiner-Verlag-Wiesbaden, 1985.

9 ÉTIEMBLE, *L'Europe chinoise II*. For an English overview about the end and subsequent re-entry of the Jesuits into China, see, R. PO-CHIA HSIA, “The End of the Jesuit Mission in China”, in: WRIGHT (ed.), *Jesuit Suppression*, pp. 100–16, and IDEM, “Jesuit Survival and Restoration in China”, in: MARYKS, WRIGHT (eds), *Jesuit Survival*, pp. 245–60. See, also, Jeremy CLARKE, “The Chinese Rites Controversy's Long Shadow over the Restored Society of Jesus”, in: MARYKS, WRIGHT (eds), *Jesuit Survival*, pp. 245–60, resp. 315–30 (cf. Ann. 2).

10 “Ritenstreit”, *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 7, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2004, cols. 530–32.

priests; they were seen, including by members of other religious orders, as adapting to everything and everybody, even to crimes and paganism.¹¹ When the Society was suppressed in Portugal and its territories in 1759 (through the decisive actions of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis de Pombal (1699–1782), then in France, Spain and its Empire, culminating in the 1773 brief of suppression. among the reasons given were apparent Jesuit success and wealth in the “reducciones” of South America, as well as their adaptation to the Chinese Rites.¹² Even after the suppression of the Society the campaign was continued with books and pamphlets, often based on fictitious documents and reports from “secret archives” by “former Jesuits”. Their detractors identified them as reactionary enemies of the Enlightenment, and conspirators working towards a despotic Europe.¹³ This war of words was fought through contemporary media and, as Christine Vogel wrote, it “contributed to the polarization and politicization of the European public sphere in the age of enlightenment”.¹⁴

Out of this war against the Jesuits – led by Jansenists, the philosophers of the Enlightenment and Protestants – many protesting voices emerged. Such protests were prompted largely by the Society’s valued role in education, including in Germany, where Jesuits were permitted to stay in some regions.¹⁵ Indeed, several sovereigns gave the Jesuits special rights to adhere to their task of education at their colleges, out of recognition of their contribution as educators: it was for this reason that they were allowed to remain in Prussia, although only until 1781. Among these defenders was the unlikely champion of Enlightenment values from the Protestant Free Imperial City of Nürnberg in Franconia, Christoph Gottlieb von

11 See NEBGEN, “Christoph Gottlieb von Murr”, pp. 122–23.

12 “Reduktionen”, *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 7, cols. 142–43; Manfred BARTHEL, *Die Jesuiten – Heilige oder Giftmischer*, Gernsbach, Katz, 1991, pp. 248–59; Claus Peter HARTMANN, *Der Jesuitenstaat in Südamerika: 1609–1768. Eine christliche Alternative zu Kolonialismus und Marxismus*, Weihenhorn/Bayern, Konrad, 1994.

13 WOLF, “Protestantischer ‚Jesuitismus‘“, pp. 134f. See also Bernhard DUHR, *Jesuiten-Fabeln. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte*, Freiburg, Herder, 1891, where he deals with rumors and myths about the Jesuit order.

14 For a useful general overview of the subject, see Christine VOGEL, “The Suppression of the Society of Jesus, 1758–1773”, *European History Online*, p. 1, <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/european-media/european-media-events/christine-vogel-suppression-of-the-society-of-jesus-1758-1773>

15 VOGEL, “The Suppression”, p. 24.

Murr, the prominent scholar whose detractors saw him as a crypto-Catholic and who suspected him of crypto-Jesuitism.¹⁶ China was one of the centrepieces of Murr's defence, while his weapons were his books, constituting, as we shall see, one of the many textual paths that paved the way eventually to the restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814.¹⁷

Christoph Gottlieb von Murr's biography

Murr was born into an upper class family in the Franconian City of Nürnberg on 6 August 1733.¹⁸ His parents were Georg Christoph von Murr (1693–1756), who worked in the service of the city, and Clara Susanna von Murr (1699–1795). Christoph Gottlieb was given an excellent education, at first with house teachers, then at the grammar school where he learned the Classical languages and received a strong formation especially in geography, Hebrew and French. From 1751, he studied jurisprudence at the University of Altdorf near Nürnberg. This education, however, did not fulfil his real interests, and he added other fields to his studies, such as philosophy, history, mathematics, science, archaeology, art history, medicine and anatomy, thus establishing the foundations for his evolution into a polymath, bibliophile, and linguist. Murr completed his studies with his dissertation in jurisprudence in 1754.¹⁹

Following his father's death, in the years between 1757 and 1761, Murr started a kind of educational trip through Europe, a customary undertaking for European men of his rank at the time. He first travelled to Straßbourg, where he heard lectures in physics and was in contact with the local Jesuits, especially the prefect of

16 See especially Nebgen's article "Christoph Gottlieb von Murr". Cf. ROTH, *Catalogus*, p. XIV: "Ex frequentissimo cum patribus societatis Iesu literarum commercio et ex singulari, quae inter eos et Murrium nostrum semper intercesserat, familiaritate, Cryptocatholicismi et Iesuitismi orta est suspicio, quam omnino effugere nequiverat." / "From Murr's frequent correspondence and friendship with certain Jesuits, suspicion was aroused over his Crypto-Catholicism and Jesuitism, which he did not try to deny".

17 WOLF, "Protestantischer 'Jesuitismus'", p. 99f.

18 "...ex gente, a virtutis studio et ab antiqua nobilitate laudatissima...", Renate Jürgensen, *Bibliotheca Norica. Patrizier und Gelehrtenbibliotheken in Nürnberg zwischen Mittelalter und Aufklärung 2*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2002, p. 1311.

19 ROTH, *Catalogus*, pp. Vf; JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, p. 1325; WOLF, "Protestantischer 'Jesuitismus'", p. 105.

the Jesuit library there, Fr. Le Fevre.²⁰ From there, Murr continued his journey to the Netherlands, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Leyden, Utrecht, then to London (where he was introduced to the English King), to Oxford, and Cambridge. After his return to Nürnberg, he made his way South, to Vienna, Venice, Padua, Vicenza and Verona. Throughout his travels, Murr visited libraries and important collections of books and art; he also met the most famous scholars and artists of his day, and became an expert in art and literature.

In 1770, after a second visit to London, Murr obtained a position at the city of Nürnberg as *Zoll- und Waagamtmann (mercaturae vectigalibus praefectus*, that is, weighmaster and customs magistrate). This was quite agreeable to him because Murr was not interested in a career and the role did not entail a significant amount of work. Thus he was relatively free to pursue his many other interests, which covered quite a variety of fields: numismatics, the local history of Nürnberg, art and art history, linguistics, medicine, literature, and translation. In his historical studies, he expanded his studies from the history of Nürnberg to the history of the German emperors (the Staufer dynasty) and their connection to Nürnberg. When his city of Nürnberg – an important European city of commerce and handicraft at the time – was incorporated into the newly established kingdom of Bavaria in 1806, Murr became a Bavarian officer. He never married, as he had promised eternal fidelity to a young woman whom he had met in London, but who died prematurely of small-pox. Murr therefore spent his life, not only without luxury, but also alone, until he passed away on 8 April, 1811.²¹

One important feature of Murr's travels was the contacts he established in all the places that he visited, and which he maintained after his return to Nürnberg. He exchanged extensive correspondence with scholars, poets, and artists, whom he befriended in the German Empire, France, England, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Russia, Spain, and Portugal; these epistolary contacts also extended to China.

20 Jacques Antoine Fèvre, * 20.IV.1689, S.J. 13.IX.1704, † 4.VII.1768 Baume-les-Dames (*Sommervogel* III, col. 709-10).

21 ROTH, *Catalogus*, p. 19; Clemens Alois BAADER, "Murr, Christoph Gottlieb von; 06.08.1733-08.04.1811; Zollbeamter": http://personen.digitale-sammlungen.de/pnd/bsb00000282_00020-00.html?pos=1&suche=pndid:11906362X%20AND%20%28bsbID:bsb00000273%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000274%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000279%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000280%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000281%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000282%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000283%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000284%29 (July 12, 2016); JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, p. 1325; WOLF, "Protestantischer, Jesuitismus", p. 105.

Among his correspondents were the Augustinian Jacobo Morelli (1745–1819); the eighteenth Jesuit Superior General, Lorenzo Ricci;²² Cardinal Stefano Borgia (1730–1804), secretary of *Propaganda Fide* and collector of books and manuscripts;²³ the sinologist Antonio Montucci (1762–1829), who lived in Edinburgh;²⁴ the encyclopedist and mathematician Jean le Rond d’Alembert (1717–83); the astronomer Joseph Jérôme le Francois de Lalande (1732–1807); the mathematician Jean Etienne Montucla (1725–99); the sinologist Joseph Hager (1757–1819); one of the Bernoulli clan, namely, the mathematician Jean Bernoulli (1744–1807) in Brandenburg; Carl von Linné (1707–78) in Uppsala, and others.²⁵

His most prolific exchanges were with Catholic scholars, priests and other religious, as well as Jesuits, including former members of the Society after its suppression. As a result, he quickly acquired the (negative) reputation of being a crypto-Catholic and was suspected of the more damaging trait of Jesuitism, enduring open attacks by other Protestants, such as Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811).²⁶ However, in terms of his religious beliefs, while identifying himself as Protestant (that is, from the Protestant sphere and associated with its value systems and *mores*) in fact he was a Deist rather than a practising member of the Protestant faith, and he was known never to visit any churches.²⁷ His indifference to the Protestant faith despite his Protestant background and baptism no doubt informed his otherwise-surprising sympathies and friendships with Catholics, allowing him a certain freedom from the denominational constraints typical of his generation.

22 Murr published his *Eulogy* in the *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur* II, Nürnberg, 1776, pp. 353–58. Lorenzo Ricci, * 2.VIII.1703 Florence (Italy), S.J. 16.XI.1718 Rome, † 24.XI.1775 Rome (Italy) (DHCJ II, p. 1656).

23 S. Maria STUIBER, *Zwischen Rom und dem Erdkreis: Die gelehrte Korrespondenz des Kardinals Stefano Borgia (1731–1804)*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 2012.

24 For Montucci see Hartmut WALRAVENS, *Antonio Montucci (1762–1829), Lektor der italienischen Sprache, Jurist und gelehrter Sinologe; Joseph Hager (1757–1819), Orientalist und Chinakundiger*, zwei Biobibliographien, Berlin, Bell, 1992. Murr possessed Montucci’s, *De studiis sinicis in imperiali Atheno Petropolitano recte instaurantis dissertatio isagogica*, Berlin, Quien, 1808, see ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 997.

25 JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, presents the list of Murr’s numerous correspondents on pp. 1317–1324; WOLF, “Protestantischer ‘Jesuitismus’”, p. 103.

26 JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, p. 1317. 196 of Murr’s letters are in Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. Ms. 657.

27 JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, p. 1324.

Despite his unusual views, by the end of the eighteenth century, Murr was a senior figure in Nürnberg's educated circles: it was customary for scholars visiting the city to meet with him and pay their respects, while admirers, especially those from afar, liberally acknowledged his scholarly merits. As a reflection of his intellectual stature, he was a member of several learned societies, the *Historische Gesellschaft* in Göttingen; the *Gesellschaft der Naturforscher zu Berlin*; and the *Société d'agriculture, Sciences et arts du département du Bas-Rhin zu Straßburg*; he was also an honorary member of the *Académie française* and of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.²⁸

In many senses, Murr was a cultural broker in his city, providing through his erudition a window onto Nürnberg's illustrious past as a Free Imperial City and onto the German Middle Ages, providing the means to celebrate this past in his own day, at the dawn of German Romanticism. His *Beschreibung der vornehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten in des H.R. Reichs freyen Stadt Nürnberg und auf der hohen Schule zu Altdorf* (*Description of the most noble curiosities of the Free Imperial City of Nürnberg and of the university of Altdorf*), is still one of the most important descriptions of the city of Nürnberg from the eighteenth century.²⁹

Christoph Gottlieb von Murr's books

Besides maintaining his correspondence, Murr collected all sorts of rarities, especially books and manuscripts; occasionally he was also a dealer in manuscripts.³⁰ This kind of interest developed during his youth, when he used his uncle's rich library, and came into contact with the precious manuscripts that his father brought from Italy.³¹ On Murr's death, the inherited nucleus of this library, and the very many additions he made to his well-organized collection

28 ERNST MUMMENHOFF, "MURR, Christoph Gottlieb", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (1886), pp. 76–80 [Online]; URL: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd11906362X.html?anchor=adb> (July 13, 2016); Baader.

29 CHRISTOPH GOTTLIEB VON MURR, *Beschreibung der vornehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten in des H.R. Reichs freyen Stadt Nürnberg und auf der hohen Schule zu Altdorf* (*Description of the most noble curiosities of the Free Imperial City of Nürnberg and of the university of Altdorf*), Nürnberg, Monath und Kußler, 1778, 1801; WOLF, "Protestantischer Jesuitismus", p. 103.

30 For example, manuscripts written by the German astronomers Regiomontanus and Johannes Kepler, which he sold to the Academy in St. Petersburg. JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, pp. 1325f.

31 JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, p. 1332.

over the course of his life, were left for the most part to his friend Johann Albert Colmar (1759–1834). Colmar in turn ordered the pastor Johann Ferdinand Roth to write up the catalogue, mentioned above.³² This part of the library alone runs to 5835 titles.³³ The library held a “complete” collection in the tradition of a learned universal library, including theology.³⁴ The books were mostly written in Latin, but also in Greek, and Oriental languages: Armenian, Chaldean, Hebrew, Arab, Persian, Malay, and modern Western languages, such as French, Italian, English and Spanish. Among the many books on Oriental languages and travels to the East, there were several on Japan, China, and Cochinchina.³⁵

Concerning the subject of the China mission, among the titles that Murr possessed in his library were: Ferdinand Verbiest’s *Astronomia europaea* of 1687,³⁶ the anonymous published book, *Die Jesuiten in China* of 1782,³⁷ *The Morals of Confucius*, published in 1691,³⁸ Juan Palafox y Mendoza’s *Historia de la conquista de la China por el tartaro*,³⁹ Johann Adam Schall von Bell’s, *Historica Relatio de*

32 ROTH, *Catalogus*.

33 JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, pp. 1327–30.

34 JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, p. 1403.

35 JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, only mentions some of these books on pp. 1392f. See also ROTH, *Catalogus*, pp. 54–66 as: “Sinica, Aethiopica, Persica &c.”

36 Ferdinand VERBIEST, *Astronomia europaea sub Imperatore Tartaro Sinico Cam Hy appellato*, Dilingae, Federle, 1687. New annotated edition: Noël GOLVERS, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687). Text, Translation, Notes and Commentaries*, (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXVIII), Nettetal, SteylerVerlag, 1993; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 987; Ferdinand Verbiest *9.X.1623 Pitthem nearby Courtrai (Belgium), S.J. 29.IX. 1641 Malines, † 28.I.1688 Peking (China) (1623–1688), was a Jesuit missionary to China and president of the Astronomical Tribunal in Peking (Joseph DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1973, pp. 288-290).

37 [Anonymous], *Die Jesuiten in China, oder das Aufkommen, der Fortgang und jetzige Zustand der christlichen Religion in diesem Reiche und was solche für Streitigkeiten zwischen ihnen und den Dominikanern verblasset, welchem auch noch ein kurzer Entwurf der ganzen Chinesischen Politik der Gebräuche und Karakters dieser Nation beygefügt worden* (*The Jesuits in China, or the origins, progress and present state of the Christian religion in that empire, also concerning the controversies between them and the Dominicans, with the addition of a short essay with a comprehensive treatment of the Chinese position concerning its customs and the character of this nation*), Nürnberg, Bauer, 1782; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1003.

38 *The Morals of Confucius*, London, Randaell Taylor, 1691; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1015.

39 Juan PALAFOX Y MENDOZA, *Historia de la conquista de la China por el tartaro*, Pa-

ortu et progressu fidei orthodoxae in regno Chinensi,⁴⁰ and Leibniz's *Novissima Sinica*, which was bound together with Joachim Bouvet's *Icon Regia Monarchae Sinarum*, both from 1699.⁴¹ Murr even owned the book written by Matteo Ricci,⁴² translated by Nicolas Trigault,⁴³ and published in 1618 (the first edition was from 1615): *De expeditione Christiana apud Sinas suscepta, ex M. Riccii Comment. libb.V* (*The Christian expedition undertaken to the Chinese, from M. Ricci's commentaries*).⁴⁴ His library also contained the last three volumes of the famous *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les mœurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*.⁴⁵

ris, Bertier, 1670; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1018. Juan Palafox y Mendoza (1600–1659), bishop of Puebla de los Ángeles in Mexico and for some time Viceroy of New Spain, and adversary of the Jesuits.

40 Johann Adam SCHALL VON BELL, *Historica Relatio de ortu et progressu fidei orthodoxae in regno Chinensi*, Ratisbonae, Emmrich, 1672; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1019; Johann Adam Schall von Bell, * 1.V.1592 Cologne or nearby (Germany), S.J. 21.X.1611 Rome, † 15.VIII.1666 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 241f), was a Jesuit missionary to China and the first European president of the Astronomical Tribunal in Peking. Alfons VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J. Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592–1666*, Köln, Bachem, 1933, (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXV), Nettetal, St. Augustin, Steyler Verlag, 1991); see also DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 241f.

41 Gottfried Wilhelm LEIBNIZ, *Novissima Sinica*, [Hannover] [Förster] s.l., 1699; Joachim BOUVET, *Icon Regia Monarchae Sinarum*, [Hannover] [Förster], 1699; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1022. These titles are also mentioned under numbers 5448 and 5449, so it is possible that Murr had two copies or else Roth mentioned them twice. Joachim Bouvet, * 18.VII.1656 Le Mans (France), S.J. 9.X.1673, † 28.VI.1730 Peking, French Jesuit and creator of Chinese Figurism. The booklet at first appeared in the French language. Later, it was translated into different languages, among others, German, Italian and Latin. see also DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 33f.

42 Matteo Ricci, * 6.X.1552 Macerata (Italy), S.J. 16.VIII.1571 Rome, † 11.V.1610 (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 219f).

43 Nicolas Trigault, * 3.III.1577 Douai (Belgium), S.J. 9.IX.1594 Douai, † 14.IX.1628 Hangzhou (China) (Dehergne, *Répertoire*, pp. 274f).

44 Matteo RICCI, *De expeditione Christiana apud Sinas suscepta, ex M. Riccii Comment. libb.V* (translated by Nicolas Trigault), Coloniae, Gualtherus, 1618; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1072. The first edition was in 1615.

45 *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les mœurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois, par les missionnaires de Pékin*, tom. XIII, XIV and XV, Paris, Nyon, 1788–1791; ROTH, *Catalogus*, nn. 5363–5365. Joseph DEHERGNE, "Une grande collection: Mémoires concernant les Chinois (1776–1814)", *Bulletin de l'Ecole française de l'Extrême-Orient* t. LXXII (1983), pp. 285–89.

The library's section concerning Japan contained, among others, Jean Crasset (1618–92) and his *Histoire de l'Eglise du Japon*,⁴⁶ and the *De trium regum Iaponiorum legatis*, about the first delegation of young Japanese to Europe in 1585,⁴⁷ and, on the same subject, Guido Gualterio's *Neue, warhaffte, außführliche Beschreibung der jüngstabgesandten Japonischen Legation gantzen Raiß, auß Japon biß gen Rom*.⁴⁸ Murr also had a copy of Alexandre de Rhodes' catechism for the mission in Tonkin (present-day North Vietnam), published in Rome by *Propaganda Fide* in 1651.⁴⁹

The scientific exchange between China and Europe (conducted by the Jesuits on the European side), was represented in the library by the following books: Etienne Souciet (1671–1744),⁵⁰ *Observations mathematiques, astronomiques, geographiques, chronologiques et physiques tirées des anciens livres chinois*,⁵¹ and Chrétien-Louis-Joseph De Guignes (1759–1845), *Planisphère céleste, chinois*.⁵² Murr's

46 Jean Crasset, *Histoire de l'Eglise du Japon*, Paris, Montalant, 1715; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 988. Jean Crasset, * 3.I.1618 Dieppe (France), S.J. 28.VIII.1638 Paris, † 4.I.1692 Paris (France) (DHCJ II, p. 992).

47 [Hendrik VAN CUYCK] *De trium regum Iaponiorum legatis, qui nuper Romam profecti...*, Antverpiae, Nutius, 1593; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1000.

48 Guido GUALTERIO, *Neue, warhaffte, außführliche Beschreibung der jüngstabgesandten Japonischen Legation gantzen Raiß, auß Japon biß gen Rom...* (New, accurate, expanded description of the complete journey made by the recent Japanese legation from Japan to Rome...), Dillingen, Mayer, 1587; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1014.

49 Alexandre DE RHODES, *Catechismus pro iis, qui volunt suscipere baptismum in octo dies divisus*, Romae, Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1651; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 5379. Alexandre de Rhodes, * 15.III.1593 Avignon (France), S.J. 14.IV.1612 Rome, † 5.XI.1660 Ispahan (Persia) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 215f).

50 Étienne Souciet, * 12.X.1671 Bourges (France), S.J. 8.IX.1690 Paris, † 14.I.1744 Paris (France) (DHCJ IV, p. 3614).

51 Etienne SOUCIET, *Observations mathematiques, astronomiques, geographiques, chronologiques et physiques tirées des anciens livres chinois; ou faites nouvellement aux Indes et à la Chine par les Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 3 vols, Paris, Rollin, 1729–1732; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 967. Contributions were by the China missionaries Karel Slavicek, Charles Jacques and Antoine Gaubil. Karel Slaviček, * 24.XII.1678 Ingerwitz (Slowakia), S.J. 9.X.1694 Brno, † 24.VIII.1735 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 255); Charles Jacques, * 27.XII.1688 Vesoul (France), S.J. 7.XII.1704 Paris, † 31.VIII.1728 Canton (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 131); Antoine Gaubil, * 14.VII.1698 Gaillac (France), S.J. 12.IX.1704 Toulouse, † 14.VII.1759 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 106f).

52 Chrétien-Louis-Joseph DE GUIGNES, *Planisphère céleste, chinois: avec des Explications, le Catalogue alphabétique des Etoiles, & la suite de toutes Comètes observées à la Chine*,

interest in the beginning of sinology in Europe is evidenced by the following works in his collection: *Lettre de Peking sur le Genie de la langue chinoise* (1773),⁵³ Georg Bernhard Bülfinger (or Bülfinger, 1693–1750), *Specimen doctrinae veterum Sinarum moralis et politicae* (1724),⁵⁴ Theophil Siegfried Bayer, *Museum Sinicum* (1730),⁵⁵ and Antonio Montucci, *De studiis sinicis in imperiali Atheneo Petropolitano recte instaurandis dissertatio isagogica* (1808).⁵⁶ Last but not least, Murr also possessed a book of the early German Enlightenment influenced by the Jesuits, written by the German philosopher, Christian Wolff (1679–1754), *Oratio de Sinarum philosophia practica* (1726).⁵⁷

depuis l'an 613 avant J.C. jusqu'à l'an 1222 de l'Ere Chrétienne, tirées des Livres Chinois, Paris, Moutard, [1782] 1785; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 5340. De Guignes used the dates given by Jesuit missionaries in China, as Ferdinand Verbiest, Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, François Noël, Antoine Gaubil. Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, * 27.IX.1638 Cuneo (Italy), S.J. 13.I.1658 Chieri, + 8.XI.1712 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 120f); François Noël, * 18.VIII.1651 Hestrud (France), S.J. 30.IX.1670 Tournai, + 17.IX.1729 Lille (France) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 185f).

53 *Lettre de Peking sur le Genie de la langue chinoise*, Bruxelles, De Boubers, 1773; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 5361. The author of the letter, dated 20 October 1764, is Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot SJ (1718–1793). Later, the letter also was included in the *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les mœurs... t. I*, Paris, Nyon, 1776. See also DEHERGNE, "Une grande collection", p. 271. The letter and its introductions discuss the question of whether the (Egyptian) characters found by the English Catholic priest, scholar, biologist and member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in London, John Turberville Needham (1713–1781), on a bust of Isis, could be identified and read by Chinese people as Chinese characters or not. Needham had published a booklet on the subject: *De inscriptione quadam Ægyptiaca Taurini inventa et characteribus Ægyptiis olim et Sinis communibus exarata...*, Romae, Typographica Palladis, 1761. He was convinced that there was a correlation, but Amiot refuted him. Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot, * 8.II.1718 Toulon (France), S.J. 27.IX.1737 Avignon, + 8.X.1793 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 12f).

54 Georg Bernhard BÜLFINGER, *Specimen doctrinae veterum Sinarum moralis et politicae ...*, Frankfurt, Andreae, 1724; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 999.

55 Theophil Siegfried BAYER, *Museum Sinicum*, vols I and II, Petropoli, Typographia Academiae Imperatoriae, 1730; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1002. Cf. Knud LUNDBÆK, *T.S. Bayer (1694–1738). Pioneer Sinologist* (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series 54), London and Malmö, Curzon Press, 1986.

56 ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 997. See WALRAVENS, *Antonio Montucci*.

57 Christian WOLFF, *Oratio de Sinarum philosophia practica*, Frankfurt/Main, Andreae & Hort, 1726; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 985; new edition *Rede über die praktische Philosophie der Chinesen* (Lat.-dt.), übers. u. hrsg. v. Michael Albrecht, Hamburg, Meiner, 1985; see also Claudia VON COLLANI, "China in the German 'Geistesgeschichte'"

Christoph Gottlieb von Murr's publications

Murr was a prolific writer and he produced approximately 200 publications; of these, several shall be considered here in some detail on account of their dealings with Jesuit subjects, the Jesuit mission, and especially China and the Jesuit mission there. Murr used the missions in Japan, China and Paraguay as his main weapon to defend the Jesuits. In enlisting this strategy – although from the opposite viewpoint – Murr's work was comparable to that of Blaise Pascal (1623–62), the French mathematician and adherent of Jansenism, and author of the famous work first published in 1657, *Les Provinciales ou les Lettres écrites par Louis de Montalte à un Provincial de ses amis...*, in which the fifth *Lettre provinciale* uses the China mission to attack the Jesuits.⁵⁸ The following century, we find the subject of the Jesuit overseas missions appear once more in publications from the Protestant sphere, but in Murr's case the subject was used to defend the Society, especially in his *Briefe eines Protestanten*, and his most famous publication, the seventeen volumes of the *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur*, covering the fields of art history and literature, published in Nürnberg between 1775 and 1789. These were followed by two volumes of the *Neues Journal zur Litteratur und Kunstgeschichte*, published in Leipzig between 1798 and 1799.⁵⁹ Both represented the kind of journals that were *en vogue* at the time, where different subjects were treated in several languages (Latin, German, French, Portuguese) for an educated readership.⁶⁰ For many of the topics covered in these journals, Murr enlisted material from and about the Jesuits and their missions in Asia and the Americas, but, unusually, and in contrast with the likes of Pascal, he dealt with these themes within the subject of linguistics, which at the time included the Chinese language, and languages of the South American Indians.

Murr's interest in China developed early. In 1766, while still a relatively young man, he published anonymously his *Haoh Kjö*

in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in: Stephen UHALLEY JR., Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity. Burdened Past and Hopeful Future*, Armonk NY, London, Sharpe, 2001, pp. 159–61; 384–85.

58 Blaise PASCAL, *Les Provinciales ou les Lettres écrites par Louis de Montalte à un Provincial de ses amis...*, Cologne, LaVallée, 1657.

59 Christoph GOTTLIEB VON MURR, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur* (Journal on art history and general literature), Nürnberg, Zeh, 1775–1789; and IDEM, *Neues Journal zur Litteratur und Kunstgeschichte* (New Journal on literature and art history), Leipzig, Schäfer, 1798–1799.

60 WOLF, "Protestantischer Jesuitismus", p. 105.

Tschwen, d.i. die angenehme Geschichte des Hao Kjöih; the work was a Chinese novel from the seventeenth century and it ran for 660 pages.⁶¹ Murr, of course, could not read or translate from the Chinese, but he translated from the English version, *Hau Kiou Choaan, or the Pleasing History* (London 1761), and included further material such as Chinese poetry, linguistics, proverbs, and a drama. Together with the English version, Murr's work was the first Chinese novel to be translated into Western languages.⁶² With this translation, Murr started his studies in the Chinese language and it seems that he used his own, German, transcription.

Christoph Gottlieb von Murr and the Society of Jesus

During his travels, especially to Straßbourg and Vienna, Murr was in contact with the local Jesuit houses, on account of their renown as cultural hubs and repositories of learning. The Jesuits opened their libraries for him and impressed him with their learned scholarship and friendship; they also helped him with the publication of some of his books. All his life, Murr was grateful to them, admired them greatly and maintained friendships with several of them. Murr's scholarly indebtedness to the Jesuits, as well as the friendships that he developed with some members of the Society, no doubt informed his defence of them, rendering him a singular advocate within Protestant circles.⁶³ While this association with the Jesuits is discernible in Murr's publications, the precise details, traceable

61 Christoph Gottlieb VON MURR (published anonymously), *Haoh Kjöih Tschwen, d.i. die angenehme Geschichte des Hao Kjöih*, Leipzig, Junius, 1766. In modern transcription: Haoqi zhuan 好述傳, with the subtitle: *Ein chinesischer Roman in vier Büchern: Aus dem Chinesischen in das Englische, und aus diesem in das Deutsche übersetzt. Nebst vielen Anmerkungen, mit dem Inhalt eines chinesischen Schauspiels, einer Abhandlung der Dichtkunst, wie auch von den Sprüchwörtern Chineser, und einem Versuche einer Sprachlehre für die Deutschen* (A Chinese novel in four books: translated from the Chinese into English and then into the German language. With many annotations, with the contents of a Chinese drama, an essay about poetry and about the proverbs of the Chinese and an attempt at a language primer for the Germans), Leipzig, Johann Friedrich Junius, 1766.

62 Yuan TAN, *Der Chinese in der deutschen Literatur: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung chinesischer Figuren in den Werken von Schiller, Döblin und Brecht*, Göttingen, Cuvillier, 2007, pp. 40–46. In the same year as Murr's translation, a French translation appeared, and one year later, a Dutch one. At the end of the book on p. 623, Murr also mentioned the correspondence between Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Joachim Bouvet, as well as Leibniz's binary arithmetic.

63 ROTH, *Catalogus*, p. VII, X: "Patres Societatis Iesu (...) ambabus ut dicitur manibus Murrium susceperunt liberaliterque foverunt." The Jesuits contributed to Murr's *Bibliothèque glyptographique* (Dresden 1804) on gems.

above all in his correspondence, have not been very accessible on account of remaining unpublished.⁶⁴

During the period after the suppression of the Society, he offered ex-Jesuits the opportunity to publish their books in collaboration with him, or in his *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur*.⁶⁵ Among his associations with former Jesuits, Murr's friendship with, and assistance of, Anselm von Eckart (1721–1809), is well known.⁶⁶ The ex-Jesuit was born in Mainz and went to Brazil as a missionary. Two years after his arrival he was arrested, together with the other Jesuits there, and sent to Portugal. For eighteen years, he was detained in underground prisons; he was released finally in 1777, when Pombal fell into disgrace after the death of King José I. On his release, Eckart returned to Germany and for some time lived in his older brother's house in Bingen, where he wrote his memoirs. In 1790, he applied for re-admission to the remaining Jesuits who were permitted to continue operating under their Society's name in one part of the German Empire, namely, in Prussia. In 1792, he fled to Nürnberg on account of the political chaos in Europe in the wake of the French Revolution; he then stayed in Augsburg for some time and finally went to Polotsk, Byelorussia in 1803, where the Society of Jesus was not forbidden. Eckart worked there for another thirty-two years and died at the age of eighty-seven. His memoirs were published by Murr in his *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur*.⁶⁷ It seems that during his stay in Nürnberg, he and Murr worked closely together and prepared the publication of some of his confreres' books, namely, Johann Koffler's *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio Historical description of Cochinchina*,⁶⁸ in

64 Murr's correspondence and manuscripts are at least partly in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich: <http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/die-bayerische-staatsbibliothek/abteilungen/handschriften-und-alte-drucke/nachlaesse-und-autographen/nachlaesse-l-q/> (12 July 2016).

65 NEBGEN, "Murr", p. 123.

66 Anselm von Eckart, * 4.VIII.1721 Mainz (Germany), S.J. 12.VII.1740, † 29.VI.1809 Dünaburg (Daugavpils, Latvia) (*DHCJ* II, p. 1176).

67 *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* VII, Nürnberg, Zeh, 1779, pp. 293–320; *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* VIII, Nürnberg, Zeh, 1780, pp. 81–288; *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* IX, Nürnberg, Zeh, 1780, pp. 13–254, 344–52.

68 Johann Koffler, * 19.VI.1711 Prag (Slovakia), S.J. 9.X.1726 Brno, † 8.I.1785 Sibiu (Hungaria) (*DEHERGNE, Répertoire*, pp. 137f).

1803.⁶⁹ He also contributed to the 1785 publication of Murr, *Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika* (*Travels of several missionaries of the Society of Jesus in America*); in addition, he and Murr edited João de Alorna, *Beschreibung der Gefängnisse von Junqueira in Portugal...* (*Description of the prisons of Junqueira in Portugal...*).⁷⁰ His book, *Specimen linguae Brasilicae vulgaris*, was published posthumously in 1890.⁷¹

Another of Murr's Jesuit contacts was the Bavarian Ignatius (Ignaz) Bonschab (died in 1780), who as part of the Society's network provided Murr with letters from the China mission, namely, from the Silesian Jesuit Florian Bahr⁷² and the Austrian Jesuit August(in) von Hallerstein.⁷³ Murr also referred to one of his direct correspondents,

69 Johann KOFFLER, *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio. In epitome redacta ab Anselmo Eckart, edente Christophoro Theophilo de Murr*, Norimbergae, Monath et Kussler, 1803.

70 Christoph Gottlieb VON MURR, *Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika*, Nürnberg, Zeh, 1785; João DE ALORNA, *Beschreibung der Gefängnisse von Junqueira in Portugal; mit Nachrichten von dasigen Staatsgefangenen bis 1777. Aus dem Portugiesischen von Herrn Abbé Anselm von Eckart. Herausgegeben von C. G. (Description of the prisons of Junqueira in Portugal; with news from prisoners of the state there, edited by Anselm von Eckart and Christoph Gottlieb von Murr)*, Nürnberg, Monath & Kußler, 1803.

71 Anselm VON ECKART, *Specimen linguae Brasilicae vulgaris*, Lipsia, G. Teubner, 1890; JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, p. 1636.

72 Florian Bahr, * 14.VIII.1706 Falkenberg (Silesia, today Poland), S.J. 9.X.1726 Brno, † 7.VII.1771 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 22), was also a correspondent of the countess Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg, on which see R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *Noble Patronage and Jesuit Missions. Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690–1762) and Jesuit Missionaries in China and Vietnam* (Monumenta Historiae Societatis Iesu – Nova Series vol. 2), Rome, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2006.

73 “Hic, et PP. Augustinus Hallerstein atque Florianus Bahr erant intimi amici P. Ignatii Bonschab, cum quo iucundissimum mihi fuit litterarum commercium.” See MURR, *Litterae patentes Imperatoris Sinarum Kang-hi. Sinice et latine cum interpretatione R.P. Ignatii Koegleri, S.I...*, Norimbergae, Monath et Kussler, 1802, p. 24. A letter of Hallerstein was included in, Georgius PRAY, *Imposturae CCXVIII in dissertatione R.P. Benedicti Cetto, Clerici Regularis e Scholis Piis de Sinensivum imposturis detectae et convulsae. Accedunt Epistolae anecdotae R.P. Augustini e Comitibus Hallerstein ex China scriptae*, Budae, Typ. Reg. Univ., 1781, pp. LV. Hallerstein was an Austrian Jesuit-astronomer in Peking, author of *Observationes astronomicae ab anno 1717 ad Annum 1752 Pekini Sinarum factae*, 2 vols, Vindobonae, Trattner, 1768. August(in) von Hallerstein, * 27.VIII.1703 Laibach (Slovenia), S.J. 27.X.1721 Vienna, † 29.X.1774 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 122f); Ignatius Bonschab, * 1708 Ingolstadt (Bavaria), S.J. 1728, † 24.VII.1780 Ingolstadt (Bavaria) (SOMMERVOGEL I, col. 1760).

the German-Hungarian astronomer based in Vienna, Maximilian Hell,⁷⁴ as “amicissimus celeberrimusque” (dearest and most renowned): he provided Murr with copies of letters from the China Jesuits.⁷⁵ We also know about his friendship and sustained contacts with several Jesuits in Vienna, such as Josef Khell von Khellburg,⁷⁶ Joseph Franz,⁷⁷ Erasmus Fröhlich,⁷⁸ Theodor Carvina von Kronstein (1720–89), and the astronomer Christian Rieger.⁷⁹

Christoph Gottlieb von Murr’s defence of the Jesuits

The context for Murr’s defence of the Jesuits of course was the suppression of the Society of Jesus. In the German-speaking lands of the Holy Roman Empire the suppression first took place in its Catholic regions: Austria, Bavaria, in the Silesian areas of Prussia, and in the ecclesiastical territories. Public debate on the subject, however, took place throughout the German-speaking territories and well before the suppression. Much of the debate was conducted through articles, books, and collections of documents, mostly translated from the Portuguese literature concerning the suppression in its territories. In Leipzig, the *Geistliche Altertümer* professor, Anton Ernst Klausning (1729–1803), translated from the Portuguese and published four volumes on the Jesuits, consisting of a collection of Pombal’s accusations, royal edicts and some apologies of the Jesuits translated into German.⁸⁰ Yet, as is well known, the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 and its proclamation did not put a stop to the debates about the reasons and justifications for doing so, and there remained an almost pathological fear of the

74 Maximilian Hell, * 15.V.1720 Schemnitz (Selmecebánya, Hungary), S.J. 1738, † 14.IV.1792 Vienna (Austria) (DHCJ II, p. XX).

75 MURR, *Litterae patentes*, p. 3.

76 Josef Khell von Khellburg, * 15.VIII.1714 Linz (Austria), S.J. 14.X.1729 Vienna, † 4.XI.1772 Vienna (Austria) (DHCJ III, p. 2192).

77 Joseph Franz, * 23.II.1704 Linz (Austria), S.J. 9.X.1719 Vienna, † 12.IV.1776 Vienna (Austria) (DHCJ II, p. 1522).

78 Erasmus Fröhlich, * 2.X.1700 Graz (Austria), S.J. 10.X.1716 Vienna, † 7.VII.1758 Vienna (Austria) (DHCJ II, p. 1535).

79 JÜRGENSEN, *Bibliotheca Norica*, pp. 1313f. Christian Rieger, * 14.V.1716 Vienna (Austria), S.J. 17.X.1731 Vienna, † 26.III.1780 Vienna (Austria) (DHCJ IV, 3360).

80 Anton Ernst KLAUSNING, *Sammlung der neuesten Schriften, welche die Jesuiten in Portugal betreffen*, Frankfurt, Leipzig, no publishing house, 1760–62; WOLF, “Protestantischer Jesuitismus”, p. 113; VOGEL, “The Suppression”, p. 6.

Jesuits, who were depicted regularly as an apocalyptic adversary.⁸¹

Within the *Republica litteraria* of Europe, and as a participant of enlightened Protestant discourse, Murr took the position of an outsider.⁸² He was not entirely alone, however: even among those loyal to Protestantism and Enlightenment ideals, there were some who defended the Jesuits, on occasion for political reasons; more often in acknowledgement of their contribution to European culture through their apostolate of education; and commonly on account of the conviction that Jesuits, far from being anti-Enlightenment, were actually key protagonists of it. Murr can be counted at the forefront of this attitude.⁸³

Murr started writing his apology shortly after the suppression, on 12 March 1774. As we have already noted above, the full title of the work is: *Eines Protestanten, Herrn Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, der Reichsstadt Nürnberg Zollamtmanns, und Mitglieds des königlichen historischen Instituts zu Göttingen, und der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Berlin &c. Acht und zwanzig Briefe über die Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens*. The work is presented in the form of twenty-eight letters exchanged with a fictitious partner. In this, the format is reminiscent of Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales*. While of course lacking the brilliant, polemical style of Pascal, like the French writer (who published in his native French), Murr chose to write in his vernacular, German, and not Latin, with the aim of attracting a broad range of readers and not just scholars. He chose to underline his Protestant identity as proof of his impartiality; he insisted that he was writing in the name of erudition, and he did not mention his personal connections with the Jesuits. He wrote: "These letters do not contain anything that could not clearly be proven from the cited authors".⁸⁴

The twenty-eight letters are arranged to proceed from a general description of the situation concerning the Society of Jesus, to specific

81 WOLF, "Protestantischer 'Jesuitismus'", p. 135.

82 WOLF, "Protestantischer 'Jesuitismus'", p. 136.

83 Only WOLF, "Protestantischer 'Jesuitismus'", p. 114, and NEBGEN, "Christoph Gottlieb von Murr", dealt with the question of a Protestant defence.

84 "Es ist in diesen Briefen nichts enthalten, das nicht aus den angeführten Schriftstellern sonnenklar erwiesen wäre. Wenn mir, als einem Protestanten, die Aufhebung des größten und wichtigsten Ordens, den die Welt je aufzuweisen hatte, und desgleichen sie niemals mehr haben wird, gleichgültig wäre, so kann es mir doch niemand wehren, als Mensch, ihn zu bedauern, und als Liebhaber der Gelehrsamkeit, ihn zu vertheidigen" (translation made by the author).

areas in the various Jesuit apostolates and to a number of topics specifically concerning the Jesuits. Overall, the line of argument presented in this work (and clearly the most compelling in Murr's eyes) is that the Jesuits are very learned men, and that this has been brought to bear to very good effect on the education of the young and work in the missions, the latter being especially important in saving the souls of pagans. For Murr, as we have already noted, the Catholic countries and the papacy were to be blamed for the Society's misfortunes, whereas he omitted any mention of the Jesuit role in the religious conflicts and debates of Counter-Reformation Europe. With Murr's position firmly established in favour of the Jesuits and against the papacy, he singled out Clement XIV's culpability in allowing to circulate the suspicion that the pope hated the Jesuits; as far as Murr was concerned, he had abolished the Society without due process or indeed the right to do so. Murr goes on to trace a series of cases where religious orders were abolished by popes, for example, the Knights Templar.⁸⁵ In subsequent letters in the work, he insisted that councils should have power over the papacy, arguing that the abolition of the Society without such recourse reflected the dark and despotic nature of the Holy See, constituting thereby a natural enemy of all enlightened people.⁸⁶

The eighth letter deals with the suppression and the French clergy (*Von den Gesinnungen der französischen Geistlichkeit*). Here, he expresses astonishment that France bowed to papal authority so readily by accepting the brief of suppression, given that in former times France had fought strenuously to secure control over its ecclesiastical affairs, at the expense of papal authority in its territories. In this letter, Murr also expresses outrage that the pope demanded a statement of the accounts of the Society from its superior general, Lorenzo Ricci, which had never been done before.⁸⁷

In the ninth letter, Murr asks several rhetorical questions about the widespread understanding that the pope was "forced" to suppress the Society. It was simply absurd and ridiculous, he argued, to believe that France, Spain and Portugal could force the pope to such an action. In light of the will of individual countries, Murr held that it would have been sufficient for those countries

85 MURR, *Briefe*, pp. 3–7.

86 MURR, *Briefe*, pp. 10–30.

87 MURR, *Briefe*, pp. 30–34.

to abolish the Society without a universal suppression. He insisted that if any order were to have been suppressed, then the pope should have started with the Franciscans, including the Capuchins and Minorites. But he conceded that these orders were useful too, especially in sending educated men to the missions in Tonkin, Cochinchina, Tibet and America, and thus leading “blind pagans” to Christianity.⁸⁸

In letters ten to twelve, Murr continues his description of the many merits of the Society of Jesus. When his fictitious correspondent asks why the pope should keep the order, Murr replied that the most important task of the Jesuits and their founder was the spread of the faith within and outside Catholicism. This was achieved by means that were twofold, namely, the Jesuit colleges and the missions: for Murr, they were closely connected to each other, although he considered the missions as the greatest glory of the Society.⁸⁹ In his extensive commentaries about the missions to the “Indies” – including Francis Xavier’s travels and the foundation of the Jesuit College in Goa as the training hub for future missionaries in Japan, China, Ethiopia and Persia – Murr took his information from Daniello Bartoli’s famous history of Asia.⁹⁰

Letter thirteen deals with the Jesuit mission in Japan, including the arrival of the Jesuits and their persecution from 1585.⁹¹ He drew on a number of accounts for this section, such as the work of Protestant German physician, Engelbert Kämpfer.⁹² He also used material taken from Orazio Torsellini’s, *Vita Francisci Xaverii* (1596); Emanuel Acosta, *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente* (1572);⁹³ and Pierre

88 MURR, *Briefe*, pp. 35–37.

89 *Constitutiones Societatis Iesv, anno 1558*, reprinted from the Original Edition with an Appendix, London, J.G. and F. Rivington, 1838, p. 78.

90 Daniello BARTOLI, *Asiae pars prima* [the life of Francis Xavier], *Asiae pars secunda* [mission in Japan], and *Asia pars tertia* [China, Cochinchina and Tunchino], Lugduni, Demen, 1670; MURR, *Briefe*, p. 49. Daniello Bartoli, * 12.II.1608 Ferrara (Italy), S.J. 10.XII.1623 Novellara, † 13.I.1685 Rome (Italy) (*DHCJ* I, pp. 360-361).

91 MURR, *Briefe*, pp. 50–63.

92 Engelbert Kämpfer (1651–1716) worked as physician in Japan in the service of the VOC from 1690–92, *Histoire naturelle, civile, et ecclesiastique de l’empire du Japon*, vol. 2, La Haye, Gosse & Neaulme, 1729, pp. 50f. In ROTH, *Catalogus*, nn. 945 and 956 we find Kämpfer’s *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediciarum fasciculi V* (Lemgo, 1712), and his *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan, t. I u. II, Lemgoviae, Meyer, 1777*, ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 965.

93 ORAZIO TORSSELLINI, *De vita Francisci Xaverii, qui primus e Societate Iesu in Indiam*

Quesnel, *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus* (4 volumes, 1741). Murr included mention of the Jesuit martyrs in Japan, such as Pedro Paulo Navarro,⁹⁴ who was burnt alive in 1622; Camillo Costanzo,⁹⁵ martyred in the same year;⁹⁶ the nine Jesuit martyrs of Nagasaki in 1626;⁹⁷ and Sebastián Vieira,⁹⁸ who died in the pit at Edo in 1634. The learned Murr used a large number and variety of sources for his accounts of these deaths.⁹⁹

In Murr's eyes, the prohibition and the extirpation of the Christian religion in Japan in 1640 was not the fault of the Jesuits, whom he saw as acting prudently, but due to the rash decision of the Franciscan missionaries to build a church in Miyako (modern-day Kyōto) in contravention of the Japanese emperor's prohibition (that is, the Shōgun). At this point in his narrative, Murr introduced an adversary of the Jesuits, namely, Gaspar Schoppe (1576–1649) (Scioppius, Scioppio),¹⁰⁰ who published

& Iaponiam Euangelium inuexit..., Romae, Zanetti, 1596; Emanuel ACOSTA, *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum ad annum usque 1568*, Parisiis, Somnius, 1572. Another edition was Dillingen, Mayer, 1571.

94 Juan RUIZ-DE-MEDINA, *El Martirologio del Japón 1558–1873* (Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I. vol. LI), Roma, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1999, p. 476, n. 0552. Pietro Paolo Navarro (Pedro Paulo Navarro), * 1560 Laino (Italy), S.J. 25.XII.1578/79 Naples, † 1.XI.1622 Shimabara (Japan) (*DHCJ* III, p. 2803).

95 Camillo di Costanzo, * 1571 Motta Bovalino (Italy) S.J. 8.IX.1591 Naples, † 15.IX.1622 Tabira (Japan) (*DEHERGNE, Répertoire*, p. 66).

96 RUIZ-DE-MEDINA, *Martirologio*, p. 470, n. 0531. See also Stefano DE FIORES, *Il Beato Camillo Costanzo. Con 17 lettere inedite dal Giappone e dalla Cina*, Vibo Valentia, Qualecultura, 2000.

97 RUIZ-DE-MEDINA, *Martirologio*, pp. 552–56.

98 Sebastião Vieira, * 1574 Castro Dairo (Portugal), S.J. 3.II.1591, † 6.VI.1634 Edo (Tokyo, Japan) (*DEHERGNE, Répertoire*, p. 292).

99 Pedro GOMEZ, *Historia mortis trium Martyrum e Societate, qui anno 1597. in Japonia cum aliis cruci affixi sunt*, Roma, 1628; Giovanni Pietro MAFFEI, *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum*, Cologne, Calenius & Quentel, 1574; Luis FROIS, *Epistolae amplius quinquaginta*, Evora 1598; Pedro DE MOREJON (also Moreion), *Relatione del Martirio de' nove Padri Giesuiti nel Japon*, Rome, 1632. Giovanni Pietro (Giampietro) Maffei, * 1538 Bergamo (Italy), S.J. 26.VIII.1565 Rome, † 19.X.1603 Tivoli (Italy) (*DHCJ* III, p. 2466); Pedro Gómez, * 1535 Antequera (Spain), S.J. 21.XII.1553 Alcalá, † 1.II.1600 Japan (*DEHERGNE, Répertoire*, p. 113); Luis Frois, * 1532 Lisbon (Portugal), S.J. 1548 Lisbon, † 8.VII.1597 Nagasaki (Japan) (*DHCJ* II, p. 1535); Pedro de Morejón (also Moreion), * 1562 Medina del Campo, S.J. 1578, † 11.XII.1639 Macao (China) (*DHCJ* III, p. 2743).

100 Schoppe had converted from Protestantism to Catholicism; he fought the

a letter of the Franciscan martyr, Luis Sotelo (1574–1624), in a booklet under the pseudonym of “Juniper of Ancona”, pretending (according to Murr) to have translated the original Spanish letter into Latin. Sotelo is said to have written the letter from his prison in Ōmura in Japan to Urban VIII on 20 January 1624. In this letter, the Franciscan blamed the Jesuits for impeding the work of all other missionaries, whereas they themselves neglected the conversion of the pagans.¹⁰¹ Unsurprisingly, Schoppe’s account did not go unanswered by the Jesuits,¹⁰² while in Murr’s opinion, Pope Paul V did not care much for Sotelo’s complaints tabled during his stay in Rome as legate from Japan: if he had done, he would have informed the superior general. More broadly, and despite the failed attempts of the Jesuits to re-enter Japan, Murr maintained that they were the most prepared and suited for the task of converting the Japanese to Christianity, citing as proof their several dictionaries and grammars of the Japanese language printed at the Japanese colleges.¹⁰³

Protestants, but also the Jesuits. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Band 33 Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1891, pp. 479–84.

101 *Lvdovici Soteli, Minoritae, Regii ad Apostolicam Sedem Legati, & Regni Oxensis Apostoli ac designati Martyris, ad Urbanum VIII. Pont. Max. De Ecclesiae Japonicae statu relatio*, s.l., 1634; STREIT, *Bibliotheca Missionum* V, n. 1492; cf. n. 1336. The letter caused heated discussions. Murr owned the book: РОТН, *Catalogus*, n. 1168. It was in a special section of Murr’s library, under “Scoppiana”, that is, books published by Gaspar Schoppe.

102 The Swiss Jesuit, Laurenz Forer, refuted Schoppe’s booklet with his *Mantissa ant-anatomiae Iesuiticæ, opposita famosis quibvsdam contra Societatem Iesv sparsis libellis...*, Coloniae, Henricus Krafft, 1635. Laurenz Forer, * 20.VIII.1580 Lucerne (Switzerland), S.J. 20.X.1600 Landsberg (Germany), † 7.I.1659 Ratisbon (Germany) (DHCJ II, p. 1486).

103 João Rodrigues SJ (1558/62–1633), published his *Dictionarium Japonicum & Sinicum, Ra cu yo xu*, also called: *Dictionarium Japonicum*. “In der Mitte des Titelblattes ist das Portugiesische Wappen, und unten steht lateinisch, in Collegio Japonico Nagasoccano Societatis Jesu, cum facultate superiorum, anno MDCXCVIII”. MURR, *Neues Journal zur Litteratur und Kunstgeschichte* I, Leipzig, Schäfer, 1798, pp. 129f. The booklet was in the Royal Library in Paris (today Paris, Bibliothèque nationale): FOURMONT, *Catalogue*, p. 503, as n. CCCLXXXI. Rodrigues’ book on the Japanese language is entitled *Arte da lingua de Iapam composta pello Padre João Rodriguez, Portugues...* (Nagasaki 1604), but it is not certain whether it is identical to the manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale mentioned by Fourmont. See also Michael COOPER, *Rodrigues the Interpreter. An Early Jesuit in Japan and China*, New York, Tokyo, Weatherville, 1974, pp. 220–38. Another book which Murr would have liked to own (but did not) was the *Sinarum scientia politico-moralis, cum characteribus sinicis, et versione latina*. In *Vrbe Kangtscheu* (1667), by Prospero Intorcetta. João Rodrigues, * 1561 Sarnancelhe (Portugal), S.J. XII.1580 Japan,

The fourteenth letter is dedicated to Jesuit missionary work in China.¹⁰⁴ Of course this mission was among the most admired of the Jesuit enterprises: it was founded in 1583 by Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri,¹⁰⁵ after Francis Xavier died in 1552 on the island of Shangchuan off the mainland coast during his attempt to enter China.¹⁰⁶ The Jesuit presence there was celebrated for the spread of Christianity, the scientific and mathematical work undertaken, the published descriptions of the empire, and initiatives such as the reform of the Chinese calendar by Johann Adam Schall von Bell,¹⁰⁷ which was undertaken together with the Milanese Giacomo Rho.¹⁰⁸ In this context, the bibliophile Murr dedicated a long footnote to the beautiful Jesuit library in Rome containing numerous Japanese and Chinese books.¹⁰⁹ He mentions Jesuit cultural prowess in China in other ways as well: how Schall presented his life of the saviour to the Chinese emperor, based on the original booklet given by duke Maximilian of Bavaria (1573–1651) to Nicolas Trigault,¹¹⁰ and how he wrote more than 140 Chinese books;¹¹¹ how many other books were produced as well, by

+ 1.VIII.1633 Macao (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 227f); Prospero Intorcetta, * 28.VIII.1625 Piazza Ameriana (Italy), S.J. 31.XII.1642, + 3.X.1696 Hangzhou (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 129f).

104 Murr, *Briefe*, pp. 64–72.

105 Michele Ruggieri, * 1543 Spinazzola (Italy), S.J. 28.X.1572 Rome, + 11.V.1607 Salerno (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 235f).

106 Francisco de Xavier, * 7.IV.1506 Xavier (Spain), S.J. 27.IX.1540 Paris, + 2.XII.1552 (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 297–299).

107 Johann Adam Schall von Bell, * 1.V.1592 Cologne or nearby (Germany), S.J. 21.X.1611 Rome, + 15.VIII.1666 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 241f).

108 Giacomo Rho, * 29.I.1592 Pavia (Italy), S.J. 24.VIII.1614 Arona, + 26.IV.1638 Peking (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 215).

109 Albert CHAN, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. A Descriptive Catalogue. Japonica-Sinica I-IV*, Armonk, London, Sharpe, 2002.

110 Schall's book has the title 進呈書像 (*Jincheng shuxiang*, 1640). Nicolas STANDAERT, *An Illustrated Life of Christ Presented to the Chinese Emperor. The History of Jincheng shuxiang (1640)* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series LIX), Sankt Augustin, Nettetal, Steyler Verlag, 2007, and Yan WANG 進呈書像, *Jincheng shu xiang (1640). Ein Leben Jesu in Bildern für den chinesischen Kaiser verfasst von Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J. (1592–1666)* (Mainzer Studien zur Neueren Geschichte 31), Frankfurt/Main, Peter Lang, 2014.

111 Fourteen of them are in the Vatican library. Paul PELLIOT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits et imprimé chinoise de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, Tokio TAKATA (ed.),

the likes of Giulio Aleni,¹¹² Lazzaro Cattaneo,¹¹³ Martino Martini,¹¹⁴ Niccolò Longobardo,¹¹⁵ Rodrigo de Figuereydo,¹¹⁶ Sabbatino de' Orsi (de Ursis),¹¹⁷ and Ferdinand Verbiest.¹¹⁸ Murr adds, to support his argument, that all of the Franciscans, “monks”, and Canons combined did not write as many useful Latin books as the Jesuits wrote in the Chinese language, including on complex topics. Murr goes on to describe how the Kangxi Emperor recognised this Jesuit talent when he made Verbiest president of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau in Peking in 1678; when he ennobled the Jesuit and his ancestors, according to Chinese custom; and how Kangxi even studied mathematical science under Jesuit instruction.¹¹⁹

Murr underlines the continuation of Chinese esteem for the Jesuits by describing how in Murr's own time the ruling emperor, Qianlong 乾隆 (1736–96), called several Jesuits to his court to work as astronomers, artists and scientists, namely: August von Hallerstein, (João) Damasceno (Salutti, 1727–81),¹²⁰ Jean

(Italian School of East Asian Studies Reference Series 1), Kyoto, Scuola di studi sull'Asia, 1995.

112 Giulio Aleni, * 1582 Brescia (Italy), S.J. 1.XI.1600 Novellara, † 10.VI.1649 Yanbing (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 7).

113 Lazzaro Cattaneo, * 1568 Sarzana (Italy), S.J. 27.II.1581 Rome, † 19.I.1640 Hangzhou (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 49f).

114 Martino Martini, * 1614 Trento (Italy), S.J. 8.X.1632 Rome, † 6.VI.1661 Hangzhou (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 166f).

115 Niccolò Longobardo, * 10.IX.1565 Caltagirone (Italy), S.J. 1582 Messina, † 11.IX.1655 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 153f).

116 Rodrigo (Rui) Figueiredo, * 1594 Curuche (Portugal), S.J. 17.II.1608 Evora, † 9.X.1642 Kaifeng (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 94).

117 Sabbatino de' Orsi (Sabatino de Ursis), * 1575 Lecce (Italy), S.J. 1597 Naples, † 3.V.1620 (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 75).

118 Ferdinand Verbiest, * 9.X.1623 Pitthem (Belgium), S.J. 29.IX.1641 Mecheln, † 28.I.1688 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 288f).

119 Murr mentions in this context Leibniz's letter to Johannes Bernoulli, dated 12 October 1707, in: *Virorum celeberr. Got. Gul. Leibnitii et Johan. Bernoullii commercium philosophicum et mathematicum, t. 2. Ab Anno 1700. ad Annum 1716, Lusannae, Genevae, Bouscquet, 1745, p. 181*: “Ante aliquot dies locutus sum cum Missionario ex China reduce, qui Medicum illic utcunque egit. Is mihi, inter alia, dixit, Imperatorem Sinensem etiam Algebrae rudimenta a Patre Verbiestio didicisse, eaque re fuisse imprimis delectatum”.

120 Here Murr erred – Salutti or Salusti was not a Jesuit, but an Augustinian sent by

Denis Attiret,¹²¹ Giuseppe Castiglione,¹²² Ignaz Sichelbauer ([sic] Sichelbarth),¹²³ and François Bourgeois.¹²⁴ Besides the well-known *Description de la Chine*, in four volumes by Jean Baptiste Du Halde,¹²⁵ Murr mentioned several books that were, as far as he knew, mostly unknown to other Protestants, including: Johann Adam Schall von Bell's, *Historica narratio, de initio & progressu missionis Societatis Jesu apud Sinenses* of 1655, which is a combination of Schall's letters and reports;¹²⁶ Nicolas Trigault's *De Christiana expedition ad (sic!) Sinas suscepta*;¹²⁷ and Martino Martini's 1655 *Brevis relatio de numero et qualitate Christianorum apud Sinas*.¹²⁸ He mentioned, too, the work of Antoine de St. Marie OFM (Antonio a Santa Maria Caballero, 1602–1669), *Traitez sur quelques points importants de la mission de la Chine*, which he had sent to the Jesuit visitor Luis da Gama (1610–1672) in 1668,¹²⁹ as well as Niccolò Longobardo's 1701 publication, *Traitez sur quelques points importants de la mission de la Chine*.¹³⁰ The

the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*.

121 Jean-Denis Attiret, * 31.VII.1702 Dole (France), S.J. 31.VII.1735 Avignon, + 8.XII.1768 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 17f).

122 Giuseppe Castiglione, * 19.VII.1688 Milan (Italy), S.J. 16.I.1707 Genoa, + 16.VII.1766 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 48f).

123 Ignaz Sichelbauer (sic! = Sichelbarth), * 26.IX.1708 Neudeck (Slovakia), S.J. 20.X.1736 Bohemia, + 6.X.1780 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 247).

124 François Bourgeois, * 21.III.1723 Remicourt (France), S.J. 17.IX.1740 Nancy, + 29.VII.1792 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 33).

125 Jean Baptiste DU HALDE, *Description de la Chine*, Paris, 1735, 4 volumes. Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, * 1.II.1674 Paris (France), S.J. 8.IX.1692 Paris, + 18.VIII.1743 Paris (France) (DHCJ II, p. 1152).

126 Johann Adam SCHALL VON BELL, *Historica narratio, de initio & progressu missionis Societatis Jesu apud Sinenses*, Viennae, Cosmerovius, 1665; Murr had the other edition in his library, namely, the *Historica Relatio de ortu et progressu fidei orthodoxae in regno*, Ratisbonae, Hanckwitz, 1672, see ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1019.

127 Nicolas TRIGAULT, *De Christiana expedition ad (sic!) Sinas suscepta*, Augustae Vindelicorum, Mangius, 1615; German: Cölln, Antonij Hierat, 1617; French 1616; Spanish 1621); ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1072.

128 Martino MARTINI, *Brevis relatio de numero et qualitate Christianorum apud Sinas*, Coloniae, Buseus, 1655.

129 Luís da Gama, * 1610 Laure (Portugal), S.J. 1625 Portugal, + 5.VIII.1672 Macao (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 105).

130 Antoine DE ST. MARIE, OFM (Antonio a Santa Maria Caballero, 1602–1669), *Traitez sur quelques points importants de la mission de la Chine*, Paris, Guerrin, 1701:

latter was published later together with Leibniz's annotations and refutations in his *Lettre sur la Philosophie Chinoise à Mr. de Rémond*, of 1716.¹³¹ He also mentioned Leibniz's *Novissima Sinica* (s.l. 1697); its second edition of 1699 was published, together with Joachim Bouvet's biography of the Kangxi Emperor, in Latin translation: *Icon regia Monarchae Sinarum nunc regnantis ex Gallico versa* (1699).¹³²

The fifteenth letter deals with a number of criticisms made against the missionaries of the Society. Murr starts his discussion with a quite rare book, namely, the *Caduceus Sinicus modernorum Decretorum explanatio theologica, Apostolicae Sedis iudicio subjecta*, which defended the Jesuits against the papal legate, Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710), who stayed at the Imperial Court of Peking from December 1705 until the end of August 1706.¹³³ The book reproached Tournon for incorrectly describing as infallible the Holy See's Decree of Nanking (condemning the Chinese Rites, 20 November 1704). Murr then jumped to the 1773 papal Brief of suppression, outlining especially the part accusing the Jesuits of allowing their neophytes to take part in pagan customs. Murr's inclusion of this accusation was intentional, since the subject represented a humorous paradox for Protestant observers, who viewed Catholics as engaging in unacceptably superstitious practices themselves.

Niccolò Longobardo, *Traitez sur quelques points importants de la mission de la Chine*, Paris, Guerrin, 1701.

131 This famous letter, which was never finished because Leibniz died in the course of writing it, was printed in several editions of Leibniz's letters, on occasion together with the two *Traitez* by Antonio a Santa Maria and Niccolò Longobardo, as in: Christian KORTHOLT, *Viri illustris Godefredi Guil. Leibnitii Epistolae ad diversos, theologici, iuridici, medici, philosophici, mathematici, historici et philologici ...*, vol. 4, Lipsiae, Breitkopf, 1742, pp. 413–94, English translation of Leibniz's *Lettre* in: Gottfried Wilhelm LEIBNIZ, *Writings on China*, transl., intr. and notes by Daniel J. COOK and Henry ROSEMONT, Jr., Chicago and La Salle, Illinois, Open Court, 1994, pp. 75–138 as "Discourse on the Natural Theology of the Chinese". The most recent critical edition is Wenchao LI, Hans POSER (eds.), *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Discours sur la theologie naturelle des Chinois. Mit einem Anhang: Nicolas Longobardi, Traité sur quelques points de la religion des Chinois* (Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-Archivs), Frankfurt: Klostermann, 2002, with Leibniz's *Lettre*, the two *Traitez*, and the facsimile of Leibniz's original manuscript.

132 These books belonged to Murr's library, see ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1022, 5448–5449. The original of the biography was in French: *Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine*, Paris, Michallet, 1697.

133 *Caduceus Sinicus modernorum Decretorum explanatio theologica, Apostolicae Sedis iudicio subjecta*, Colonia Agrippina, Egmond, 1713.

In letter sixteen („Kritisches Verzeichniß einiger theologischen sinesischen Schriften der Missionarien; aus dem Fourmont“), Murr presents a list of forty-one Chinese books with theological and religious subjects written by the Jesuits in China. He took the titles from the catalogue of the Royal Library in Paris written by the French sinologist, Étienne Fourmont (1683–1745), the *Linguae Sinarum Mandarinicae Grammatica duplex, Latinè, & cum Characteribus Sinensium*, published in 1742: the catalogue contained large Chinese characters, but he used his own German transcription.¹³⁴ His list also included a theological section,¹³⁵ and Murr indeed was proud that, besides Fourmont, he also used as a source the *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu*, published by Philippe Couplet,¹³⁶ with further information about the names of the authors, but with the titles only in Latin and without Chinese characters.¹³⁷

In letter seventeen, Murr reports about the Jesuit missions in Tonkin, Cochinchina, Tibet, Malabar, and Amboina (Indonesia), which began in Tonkin (North Vietnam) under Fr Alexandre de Rhodes in 1627, who left a written account of his success. Murr's linguistic interests are reflected in his mention of Rhodes' Grammar of the Annamite language and his catechism in Latin-Vietnamese.¹³⁸

134 Étienne FOURMONT, *Linguae Sinarum Mandarinicae Grammatica duplex, Latinè, & cum Characteribus Sinensium. Item Sinicorum Regiae Bibliothecae Librorum Catalogus, denuò, cum Notitiis amplioribus & Characteribus Sinico, editus, jussu Ludovici Decimi Quinti*, Paris, Guerin, 1742.

135 FOURMONT, *Catalogue*, pp. 434–73. The catalogue starts on p. 343 (title page). The Christian books belong to section six, whereas the theological literature covers pp. 434–73 with n. 168–289. See Cécile LEUNG, *Etienne Fourmont (1683–1745). Oriental and Chinese languages in Eighteenth-Century France* (Leuven Chinese Studies XIII), Leuven, University Press, 2002, pp. 212–19.

136 Philippe Couplet, * 31.V.1622 Maline (Belgium), S.J. 11.X.1640 Belgium, † 16.V.1693 on sea nearby Goa (India) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 66f).

137 The full title is: *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu, qui post obitum S. Francisci Xaverii ab Anno 1581. usque ad annum 1681. In Imperio Sinarum Jesu Christi Fidem propagarunt, ubi singulorum nomina, ingressus, praedicatio, mors, sepultura, libri Sinicè editi recensentur*, Paris, J.B. de la Caille, 1686; it follows Verbiest's *Astronomia Europæa, Dilingae, Federle*, 1687, pp. 100–26. Verbiest's book is in ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 987.

138 Alexandre DE RHODES, *Catechismus pro iis, qui volunt suscipere baptismum*, Romae, Typ. Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1651, and Rhodes' *Dictionarium Annamiticum Lusitanum, et Latinum...*, Romae, Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1651. Both books were printed by the *Propaganda Fide* in Rome at the "Polyglotta". For Rhodes see Peter C. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis. Alexandre de Rhodes & Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*, Maryknoll,

For Murr, the mission was worthy of praise: in fact, the mission was so successful that eight years after its foundation there were an estimated 30,000 Christians; after Rhodes it was continued by Frs Hieronymus Majorica (Girolamo Maiorica),¹³⁹ Christoforo Borri¹⁴⁰ and Filippo de Marini,¹⁴¹ who all left books on their missionary activities and on linguistics. Thus the Chinese theme favoured by Murr was resumed here, since many missionaries in these areas used Tartar, that is, the Manchu language, a specialisation of Jean Domenge.¹⁴² In Tibet, instead, Murr notes how António de Andrade started the mission in 1624,¹⁴³ but that from 1707 the Capuchins were working there.¹⁴⁴

Letter eighteen deals with the Jesuit missions in Ethiopia, Congo and Angola, while letter nineteen looks at the missions in Brazil, Peru and Chile; letters twenty, twenty-one and twenty-two deal with the Jesuits in Paraguay. Letter twenty-two refutes the criticisms against the Jesuits in Paraguay contained in the second part of the book, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Espèce humaine* (Berlin, Decker, 1768),¹⁴⁵

Orbis Books, 2005 and Klaus SCHATZ, „...Dass diese Mission eine der blühendsten des Ostens werde...“ P. Alexander de Rhodes (1593–1660) und die frühe Jesuitenmission in Vietnam, Münster, Aschendorff, 2015.

139 Gerolamo Mayorica, 1590 Naples (Italy), S.J. 17.IV.1605 Naples, + 27.I.1656 Hanoi (Vietnam) (DHCJ III, p. 2588).

140 Cristoforo Borri, * 1583 Milan (Italy), S.J. 16.IX.1601 Arona, + 24.V.1632 Rome (Italy) (DHCJ I, p. 495).

141 Filippo de Marini, * 1608 Taggia (Italy), S.J. 18.II.1625 Rome (Italy), + 17.VII.1682 Macao (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 72f).

142 He wrote the *Dictionarium Tartaro-Sinicum* in 14 volumes. DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 79. Jean Domenge, * 8.IV.1666 Bordeaux (France), S.J. 30.X.1681 Aquitania (France), + 9.XII.1735 Macao (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 78).

143 António de Andrade, * 1580 Villa-de-Oleiros, Portugal, S.J. 16.XII.1596 Coimbra, + 19.III.1634 Goa (India) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 14).

144 MURR, *Briefe*, pp. 94–99. For Andrade see Jürgen C. ASCHOFF (ed.), *Tsaparang – Königsstadt in Westtibet: die vollständigen Berichte des Jesuitenpaters António de Andrade und eine Beschreibung vom heutigen Zustand der Klöster*, Eching vor München, MC-Verlag, 1989; Ulm, Fabri-Verlag 1997.

145 The book was published anonymously. Its author was the Dutch historian, philologist and philosopher of culture Cornelis de Pauw (1739–1799), contributor to the great enterprise of the French *Encyclopédie*, edited by Denis Diderot. His book about the American Indians was full of prejudiced and fanciful topics: he considered them to be deprived of any culture because of the climate and

whereas letter twenty-two tells the story of the martyrs of the Society of Jesus in Paraguay. Letter twenty-three contains the subject of the missions in Mexico, the Philippines, California and Canada. The rest of the letters mention learned Jesuits, who were still alive: those in Bavaria and Mainz, as well as Jesuit cardinals. Finally, letter twenty-eight mentions once more the honours bestowed on the Jesuits throughout their existence, and their good relations with Catholic rulers as confessors. Murr notes how the Jesuits governed nearly the whole of Paraguay; they received high and special honours in China from the Kangxi Emperor, and from his son Yongzheng 雍正 (1722–1735); as well as from the now ruling emperor Qianlong, honours which had never been given to any ministers in Europe from their sovereigns. In the meantime, Murr lamented, all Catholic rulers forgot their former good relations with the Jesuit order, while only some protect the Jesuits, and they are not Catholic, namely: Catherine the Great of Russia, an Orthodox; Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, a Protestant; and the Chinese emperor Qianlong, a pagan.

Christoph Gottlieb von Murr and the Chinese Rites Controversy

From 1710 it was forbidden for Catholics to write about the Chinese Rites Controversy without explicit permission from authorities, but Murr as a Protestant was not bound to any Catholic prohibition. Other Protestants were outspoken like Murr, but most took a different stance from him: several theologians openly fought the Jesuits or were at least quite critical against their method of accommodation in China, such as the church historian, Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1693–1755) in his “Erzählung der neuesten Chinesischen Kirchengeschichte”, which served as introduction to the German translation of Johann Baptista du Halde, *Ausführliche Beschreibung des Chinesischen Reichs und der grossen Tartarey*,¹⁴⁶ and in the anonymously published book, *Die Jesuiten in China*.¹⁴⁷ Other similar works were produced by the Protestant theologian, Johann Christoph Harenberg (1696–1774), with his 1773 *Pragmatische Geschichte des Ordens der Jesuiten* in two volumes, or the

therefore warned against sending any people there.

146 Johann Baptista du HALDE, *Ausführliche Beschreibung des Chinesischen Reichs und der grossen Tartarey*, Band 2, Rostock, Johann Christian Koppe, 1748.

147 Johann Lorenz von MOSHEIM, *Die Jesuiten in China, oder das Aufkommen, der Fortgang und jetzige Zustand der christlichen Religion in diesem Reiche...*, Nürnberg, Martin Jacob Bauer, 1782; Walter DEMEL, *Als Fremde in China. Das Reich der Mitte im Spiegel frühneuzeitlicher europäischer Reiseberichte*, München, Oldenburg Verlag, 1992, pp. 277f.

above mentioned Anton Ernst Klausling, who published four volumes with documents against the Jesuits, namely, his *Sammlung der neuesten Schriften, welche die Jesuiten in Portugal betreffen* (1760–62).¹⁴⁸ Murr, who himself possessed several books written by adversaries of the Jesuits,¹⁴⁹ took his information about the Chinese Rites Controversy from two books in his library by Georg Pray,¹⁵⁰ one published in 1781,¹⁵¹ and the other – *Historia Controversiarum de Ritibus Sinicis* – published in 1789.¹⁵² Unsurprisingly, however, Murr’s interest in the China mission was less concerned with theological matters than it was with language studies, and he presented several documents from this perspective concerning the Rites Controversy in several issues of his *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur*. In all cases, therefore, information about the China mission is to be found under the topic, “Sinische Litteratur”, including the latest information from the China mission. Several pieces also deal directly with the Rites Controversy, because it constituted an important part of Clement XIV’s brief of suppression, *Dominus, ac Redemptor*. A particularly relevant section states:

... as with regard to the missions; which gave rise to great disputes and oppositions on the part of the Company with the ordinaries, with other religious orders, about the holy places, and communities of all sorts in Europe, Africa, and America, to the great loss of souls, and great scandal of the people; as likewise concerning the meaning and practice of *certain idolatrous ceremonies*, adopted in certain places, in contempt of those justly approved by the Catholic Church; and further, concerning the use and explanation of certain *maxims*, which

148 Christoph HARENBERG, *Pragmatische Geschichte des Ordens der Jesuiten*, 2 volumes, Halle/Helmstedt, Hemmerde, 1773; Anton Ernst KLAUSING, *Sammlung der neuesten Schriften, welche die Jesuiten in Portugal betreffen...*, Frankfurt, 1760–62.

149 ROTH, *Catalogus*, pp. 207–11, where collected the titles of books pro and con are presented all together.

150 Georg Pray, * 11.IX.1723 Neuhäusel (Hungary), S.J. 14.X.1740 Vienna, † 23.IX.1801 Pest (Hungary) (DHCJ IV, p. 3215).

151 Georg PRAY, *Imposturae CCXVIII. in Dissertatione R.P. Benedicti Cetto, Clerici Regularis e Scholis piis De Sinensium imposturis detectae et convulsae*, Budae, Reg. Univ., 1781; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1070. This book also includes *Epistolae anecdotae R.P. Augustini e Comitibus Hallerstein ex China scriptae*, LV pp.

152 Georg PRAY, *Historia Controversiarum de Ritibus Sinicis*, Pestini, Strohmayer, 1789; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1071. Also in a German expanded version: *Geschichte der Streitigkeiten über die chinesischen Gebräuche, worinn ihr Ursprung, Fortgang und Ende dargestellt wird*, 3 vols, Augsburg, Doll, 1791–92.

the Holy See has with reason proscribed as *scandalous, and manifestly contrary to good morals*.¹⁵³

Four years after his defence of the Jesuits, in the sixth issue of his *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur* (Nürnberg 1778), Murr presented “Ad controversiam de Ritibus Sinensium. Ex Litteris R.P. Castner, e S.I., Cantone datis 6ta Sept. 1707 ad R.P. Assistentem Germaniae”,¹⁵⁴ “Litterae Benedicti Werkmaister, Soc. Jesu, Bahiâ datae 8. Augusti 1708”,¹⁵⁵ and “Collocutio Cang Hi, Imperatoris Sinarum, cum Reuerendmo Carolo Maygrott, Episcopo Cononensi, Vicario Apostolico, excerpta ex relatione, e Sinis missa 1707”.¹⁵⁶ All three pieces dealt with the Rites Controversy between 1700 and 1707, and two of them reported on the Tournon legation to the Imperial Court in Peking. The letter by Caspar Castner¹⁵⁷ was written soon after his return to Canton after having been sent to Europe as Jesuit procurator in 1702. Benedict Werkmaister (1676–1709) had no direct connection with China, but stayed in Brazil, where he came into contact with the Jesuits François Noël (1651–1729) and Antonio Provana,¹⁵⁸ two more procurators sent to Europe

153 *Dominus, ac Redemptor*, nr. 21.

154 MURR, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* VI, pp. 165–67. The Jesuit Gaspar (or Kaspar) Castner, from Munich, was sent to Rome in 1702, together with François Noël as procurator of the Jesuit mission and of the bishops in China; they submitted documents concerning the Chinese Rites to the Holy Office. See Nicolas STANDAERT (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 1635–1800* (Handbook of Oriental Studies, section 4: China 15/1. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 4: China 15), Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2001, p. 357. The Jesuit assistant of Germany was Andreas Waibl, * 20.V.1642 Überlingen (Baden), S.J. 29.IX.1658, † 20.IV.1716 Rome (Italy) (*Sommervogel* VIII, col. 952). He taught as a professor of languages and mathematics at the University of Ingolstadt.

155 MURR, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* VI, pp. 168–80. Benedikt Werkmaister, * 26.I.1676 Augsburg (Germany), S.J. 9.X.1691 Landsberg, † September 1709 nearby Mozambique (*Sommervogel* VIII, col. 1675).

156 MURR, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* VI, pp. 180–90.

157 Gaspar Castner, * 7.II.1665 Munich (Germany), S.J. 18.IX.1681 Landsberg, † 9.XI.1709 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 49).

158 Paul RULE, “François Noël, SJ, and the Chinese Rites Controversy”, in: W.F. Vande WALLE, Noël GOLVERS (eds), *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644–1911)*, Leuven, University Press, 2003, pp. 137–65. Antonio Provana, * 23.X.1662 Nizza (Italy), S.J. 15.II.1678 Milan, † 15.III.1720 at sea near the Cape of Good Hope (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 211f).

by the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuits travelling via Brazil.¹⁵⁹ Both letters describe how terribly Maillard de Tournon misbehaved in the presence of the emperor and that he was expelled to Macau. The third piece is quite a famous one, describing the failed dialogue between the Kangxi Emperor and the Vicar Apostolic of Fujian, Charles Maigrot (Murr wrote: Maygrott, 1652–1730), where Maigrot denied the compatibility between Christianity and Confucianism.¹⁶⁰ This “Collocutio”, a kind of interview, which took place in Rehe, Manchuria, in August 1706, is described in the “Acta Pekinensia” written by Kilian Stumpf.¹⁶¹

In 1802, Murr published another defence as a monograph, entitled *Litterae patentes Imperatoris Sinarum Kang-hi. Sinice et latine cum interpretatione R.P. Ignatii Koegleri, S.I.... Ex archetypo Sinensi edidit additis notitiis Sinicis Christophorus Theophilus de Murr. Cum tabula aenea*.¹⁶² These so-called “Litterae patentes” (open letters) are the Hongpiao 紅票, the “Red Manifesto”, dated 31 October 1716, sent by the Kangxi Emperor in many open copies by different means to European rulers and countries. In this document the Emperor asked for his legates to formulate specific questions for presentation to the Holy See, but a reply was never sent back. This document was published trilingually, in Manchu, Chinese and Latin, and signed produced by several Court Manchu Mandarins and missionaries.¹⁶³

159 STANDAERT, *Handbook*, p. 360f.

160 Charles Maigrot was the Vicar Apostolic of the province of Fujian and had published the prohibition for Chinese Christians to take part in the Rites for Ancestors and Confucius and to use certain Chinese names for God. See Claudia von COLLANI, “Charles Maigrot’s Role in the Chinese Rites Controversy”, in: David E. MUNGELLO (ed.), *The Chinese Rites Controversy. Its History and Meaning* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 33), Nettetal, Steyler Verlag, 1994, pp. 149–83.

161 Kilian STUMPF SJ, *The Acta Pekinensia or Historical Records of the Maillard de Tournon Legation*. First transcribed edition and English annotated translation, ed. Paul RULE and Claudia von COLLANI. Volume One: *December 1705 – August 1706* (Monumenta Historica S.I. Nova Series 9), Rome - Macau, IHSI - MRI, 2015, pp. 689–98. Kilian Stumpf, *13.IX.1655 Würzburg (Germany), S.J. 17.VII.1673 Mainz, † 24.VII.1720 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 261f).

162 Christoph GOTTLIEB VON MURR, *Litterae patentes Imperatoris Sinarum Kang-hi. Sinice et latine cum interpretatione R.P. Ignatii Koegleri, S.I.... Ex archetypo Sinensi edidit additis notitiis Sinicis Christophorus Theophilus de Murr. Cum tabula aenea*, Norimbergae, Monath et Kussleri, 1802.

163 The “open letters” (*litterae patentes*) of the Kangxi Emperor were sent in many copies to Europe in 1716 to ask about the different legations that he had sent on account of the Chinese Rites question, but he never received an answer. See

It is no surprise that he included this important document in his book, and Murr as a historian of course was interested in the historical background and linguistics of the Hongpiao, which he described following Georg Pray's *Historia Controversiarum* (1789).¹⁶⁴ At the end of the booklet Murr reproduced a copy of the thirteen lines of Chinese text of the Hongpiao, followed by the transcription and Latin translation, then signatures and short biographies.¹⁶⁵ As confirmation of his own attitude, Murr included a copy of the letter that encapsulated the opinion of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz nearly one hundred years earlier: in 1707 Leibniz had written to his correspondent, the Orientalist Maturin Veyssière de La Croze (1661–1739),¹⁶⁶ about Tournon's legation that, "Si le Pape approuve ce que le Cardinal de Tournon a fait il y a de l'apparence que tous les religieux, même les Jésuites seront obligés de sortir du pays." And in another letter, also reproduced by Murr, Leibniz had observed: "J'ai toujours trouvé le procédé de ce Cardinal plus convenable à un saint visionnaire, qu'à un home dont le zèle fut réglé par la science."¹⁶⁷ This was followed in Murr's book with the short piece, "Status Missionis Sinensis Iesuitarum ab anno 1766 ad a. 1800", a biography of Ignatius Kögler (1680–1749), who sent the *Litterae patentes* and their translation to Europe and therefore appeared with his name in the title page, together with a list of Kögler's astronomical works.¹⁶⁸ Murr then included a catalogue of books written by the Jesuits in China on mathematics, astronomy, geography, and natural philosophy. In compiling this catalogue,

Antonio Sisto Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century*, South Pasadena, Perkins, 1948, pp. 191–93, the texts pp. 303–09.

164 ROTH, *Catalogus*, p. 69, n. 1071.

165 These appear on pp. 11–21, and pp. 21–25 respectively. Cf. Rosso, *Apostolic Legations*, pp. 308–09, facsimile of the document with English translation. Quite probably, Murr had a copy of the *Red Manifesto* in his possession.

166 La Croze was the librarian of the elector Friedrich III (1657–1713) of Brandenburg-Preußen (reg. 1688) since 1697. When Friedrich became King Friedrich I in Prussia in 1701, La Croze advanced to be the royal librarian.

167 Quoted in MURR, *Litterae patentes*, p. 4; cf. Christian KORTHOLT, *Viri illustris Godefredi Guil. Leibnitii Epistolae ad diversos, theologici, iuridici, medici, philosophici, mathematici, historici et philologici ...*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1734, p. 392, and vol. 4, Leipzig, 1738, p. 337.

168 On pages 28–32. For Kögler's biography see Christian STÜCKEN, *Der Mandarin des Himmels. Zeit und Leben des Chinamissionars Ignaz Kögler SJ (1680–1746)*, Sankt Augustin, Steyler Verlag, 2002.

Murr quite probably also used Philippe Couplet's catalogue.¹⁶⁹ At the end of his book, Murr reported about the history of early sinology in Berlin under the rule of elector Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg (r. 1640–88) with reference to Andreas Müller (1630–94)¹⁷⁰ and Christian Mentzel (1622–1701),¹⁷¹ and later in France, Étienne Fourmont, Nicolas Fréret (1688–1749), Joseph De Guignes (1721–1800), and others. He also did not fail to mention his own sinological merits, namely, his translation of the Chinese novel, *Haò kiéu tschwén*, from English into German, which he included together with Chinese characters.¹⁷² It seems that Murr saw himself in the tradition of the early sinologists in the Berlin of the Holy Roman Empire during the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁷³

Christoph Gottlieb von Murr's further contacts with the Jesuit China mission

Besides China, Murr dealt with themes concerning the Jesuit presence in other regions, including Paraguay and North America. In his publications on these subjects, Murr drew on a variety of material already published in several books, for example, his 1785 work: *Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika*.¹⁷⁴ Another book was published in 1787–88, the *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Portugal unter der Staatsverwaltung des Marquis von Pombal. Aus Handschriften und sichern Nachrichten herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von Christoph Gottlieb von Murr* (*The History of the Jesuits in Portugal under the administration of the Marquis de Pombal. Edited from manuscripts and reliable information accompanied*

169 As the second part of Verbiest's *Astronomia Europæa*, pp. 100–26.

170 Murr had two of his books in his library, namely, Andreas MÜLLER, *Abdallæ Beidavæi Historia Sinensis, persicè è geminò Manuscripto edita, Latinè quoque reddita*, Ienae, Bielkuis, 1689 (ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 986), bound together with *Imperii Sinensis nomenclator geographicus, ut et ejusdem imperii Mappa geographica plane nova*, s.l. [Berlin], 1680.

171 For both, see MUNGELLO, *Curious Land*, pp. 208–46.

172 MURR, *Litterae patentes*, p. 51f.

173 MUNGELLO, *Curious land*, pp. 208–46.

174 Christoph GOTTLIEB VON MURR, *Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika. Aus ihren eigenen Aufsätzen herausgegeben von Christoph Gottlieb von Murr* (*Travels of some missionaries of the Society of Jesus in America. Published from their own essays by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr*), Nürnberg. Zeh, 1785.

by annotations by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr).¹⁷⁵ Closer to our subject of the Far East is the book entitled, Johannes Koffler *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio*.¹⁷⁶

Murr's dedication to learned and rare books prompted him to be always on the lookout for interesting titles. Already a short time after the suppression of the Jesuits, Murr visited their former College in Bamberg, where the librarian, a former Jesuit, showed him some rare Chinese books, namely, the ten volumes of the *Chongzhen lishu* 崇禎曆書 (Calendar Classic of the Chongzhen emperor) and an almanac or book on astronomy and astrology, the "Tiên vên tá chím" (*Tianwen dacheng*) 天文大成.¹⁷⁷

Concerning Murr's probable or possible correspondents in Peking we can only make some assumptions. Several letters of contemporary Jesuits in Peking were included in some issues of his *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte*. André Rodrigues,¹⁷⁸ an astronomer in Peking and Vice-President, later became president of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. Murr published his "Fidelis translatio Litterarum, Lusitanicè scriptarum à P. Andrea Rodriguez, Tribunalis Mathematici Praeside tertio, Pekini in Residentia S. Josephi 15 Augusti 1777".¹⁷⁹ Murr also mentioned that he sent letters to the Macartney delegation (the first British diplomatic mission to China), dated May 7 and August 6, 1793.¹⁸⁰

175 Christoph Gottlieb VON MURR, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Portugal...*, Nürnberg: Felßecker, 1787–88. He is missing the "audiatur et alter pars" (*Vorrede*, p. VI). Murr compared Pombal to a rat in a statue, as written in his *Haoh Kjȫh Tschwen*, Leipzig, Johann Friedrich Junius, 1766, p. 597. The rat is protected by reverence shown to the statue. *Vorrede*, pp. VIII f.

176 Christoph Gottlieb VON MURR, JOHANNES KOFFLER, *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio. In epitome redacta ab Anselmo Eckart, edente Christophoro Theophilo de Murr*, Norimbergae, Monath et Kussler, 1803; ROTH, *Catalogus*, n. 1029.

177 MURR, *Litterae patentes*, p. 38; FOURMONT, *Catalogue*, pp. 492f: "Caeli scientia magnum opus", author was "Hoâm lo gân", alias "hoâm tím yo ùlh", alias "hoâm tím yo". Book by Huang Ding on astronomy.

178 André Rodrigues, * 2.II.1729 Mortagua (Portugal), S.J. 23.IV.1745 Arroios, + 2.XII.1796 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 225).

179 André RODRIGUES, "Fidelis translatio Litterarum, Lusitanicè scriptarum à P. Andrea Rodriguez, Tribunalis Mathematici Praeside tertio, Pekini in Residentia S. Josephi 15 Augusti 1777", in: MURR, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* VII (1779), pp. 264–67.

180 MURR, *Litterae patentes*, p. 26. GEORGE STAUNTON, JOHANN CHRISTIAN HÜTTNER (transl.), *Reise der englischen Gesandtschaft an den Kaiser von China, in den Jahren 1792 und 1793*, t. 2, Zürich, Gefßner, 1799, p. 60.

Another letter published by Murr was that written by the bishop of Nanking, Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven:¹⁸¹ “Epistola Episcopi Nankinensis, a) Godefredi de Laimbekhoven, e Societate Iesu, b) datae 25. Iul. 1780 ad P. Timotheum de Oliveira, Reginae Fidelissimae regnantis olim Confessarium, Lusitano e Sermone in latinum translatae”.¹⁸² Other letters from Peking were printed in the 1798 *Neues Journal zur Litteratur und Kunstgeschichte*; Murr placed them in the section on Chinese literature and “Jetziger Zustand der Mission in Sina”. The latest information about the situation in China also was provided in the letter by José Bernardo de Almeida.¹⁸³ Almeida had reported in his letter that the mission in China, which previously had been seen as so glamorous among Christian mandarins and other elites, now had been reduced to quite a low status, and there were several (local) persecutions, and a number of missionaries sent by *Propaganda Fide* had been imprisoned.¹⁸⁴ The next letter was written by Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven, the bishop of Nanking: “Episcopi Nankinensis Epistola lusitanica. Revmo Sur P. Timotheo de Oliveira”,¹⁸⁵ followed by “Aliae Litterae Episcopi Nankinensis, Godefridi Laimbekhoven, e Societate Jesu a. 1785 exaratae ad P. Laurentium Kaulen, Provinciae Paraensis Lusitana in America olim Missionarium”, concerning the latest persecution in China.¹⁸⁶ These were followed by a short letter written by the Lazarist, Fr. Nicolas-Joseph Raux (1754–1801), titled, “Ex Epistola alia ejusdem argumenti, a D. Raux, Presbytero Congregationis Missionum et Superiore Missionis Gallicae, perscripta Pekini 20.

181 Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven, * 9.I.1707 Vienna (Austria), S.J. 27.I.1722 Vienna, † 22.V.1787 (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 141f).

182 MURR, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte XI* (1783), pp. 193–227. Timothée de Oliveyra, * 3.II.1707 Lisbon (Portugal), S.J. 24.II.1721, † after 1773 Lisbon (Portugal) (*Sommervoegel V*, col. 1897).

183 *E Litteris R.P. Josephio Bernardi, S.I. Tribunalis Astronomici Adessoris, Pekini 1782 perscriptae ad R.P. N.N. Vlyssipone commorantem*. José Bernardo de Almeida, * 18.IX.1728 Penella (Portugal), S.J. 23.II.1746 Arroios, † 12.XI.1805 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 9).

184 MURR, *Neues Journal zur Litteratur und Kunstgeschichte I*, Leipzig, 1798, pp. 99–103.

185 MURR, *Neues Journal I*, pp. 104–14. cf. MURR, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte XI*, p. 193.

186 MURR, *Neues Journal I*, pp. 115–23. Laurenz Kaulen,* 4./6.V.1716 Cologne (Germany), S.J. 20.X.1738 Trier (Germany) (DHCJ III, pp. 2179–2180).

Nov. 1785".¹⁸⁷ The next letter by François Bourgeois contained the eulogy of Laimbeckhoven, who died on May 22, 1787, "Ex litteris P. Francisci Burgeois Residentiae Gallicae Superioris. Pekini d. 21. Octobr. 1787."¹⁸⁸ "Excerpta non nulla e litteris 1784. prope Ulyssiponem datis, ac 3. Januar. 1785 redditis".¹⁸⁹

Christoph Gottlieb von Murr and the history of the Jews in China

In a brief final note about Murr's writings, we can observe that Murr's interest in the Hebrew language, the history of the Jews in China, and the China mission in general, extended to his admiration for the German Jesuit, Ignaz Kögler,¹⁹⁰ who worked on the subject of the Jewish presence in China and their holy books. Initially, Murr published three articles on the subject in several of his *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte*, under the section, "Hebrew linguistics": "Notitiae quaedam circa SS. Biblia Judaeorum in Cai fung, metropoli Provinciae Ho nân in Imperio Sinarum",¹⁹¹ "Zusätze zu den Nachrichten P. Ignaz Köglers, S.I..." – concerning the Hebrew scriptures, "kept in their synagogue in Kaifeng fu, capital of the province of Henan in the empire Da Qing or Sina"¹⁹² – and "Nachtrag zur Köglerschen Notitia de Bibliis hebraicis in Regno Sinarum" ("Addition to Kögler's notice about Hebrew Bibles in the Chinese empire").¹⁹³ Later, Murr edited Ignaz Kögler's, *Notitiae*

187 MURR, *Neues Journal I*, p. 124.

188 MURR, *Neues Journal I*, pp. 125–26.

189 MURR, *Neues Journal I*, pp. 126–29. On subsequent pages Murr mentioned some Chinese and Japanese books, one among them a Japanese dictionary, indicating that he would like to get a copy from his Jesuit friends if they happened to possess duplicate copies, namely, Prospero Intorcetta, *Sinarum scientia-politicomoralis, the Novum testamente Japonice* (1613), and *Ra cu yo xu*, the Japanese dictionary, mentioned in Fourmont's *Catalogue*, p. 503.

190 Ignaz Kögler, * 11.V.1680 Landsberg (Germany), S.J. 4.X.1696 Landsberg, † 30.V.1746 Peking (China) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 136).

191 MURR, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte VII* (1779), pp. 240–52.

192 Christoph Gottlieb von MURR, "Zusätze zu den Nachrichten P. Ignaz Köglers, S.I von der heil. Schrift A.T., welche die Juden in Cai fung fu, der Hauptstadt der Provinz Ho nang im Kaiserthume Tai tsing, oder Sina, in ihrer Synagoge aufbewahren, VII Theil, S. 240 u.f." ("Additions to communications made by Fr. Ignaz Kögler S.I. about the holy scripture the Old Testament, which the Jews keep in their synagogue in Kaifeng fu, capital of the province of Henan in the empire Da Qing or Sina"), *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte IX* (1780), pp. 93–95.

193 MURR, *Neues Journal I*, pp. 147–50.

*S.S. Bibliorum Jodaeorum in imperio Sinensi.*¹⁹⁴ It was also published in German translation: *Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, Versuch einer Geschichte der Juden in Sina. Nebst P. Ignaz Köglers Beschreibung ihrer heiligen Bücher in der Synagoge zu Kai-fong-fu, und einem Anhang über die Entstehung des Pentateuchs* (Halle: Hendel, 1806).

Conclusion

Murr's activities, and especially his defence of the Jesuits, must be considered in light of his linguistic and humanistic interests, his comprehensive library and in particular, the cultural milieu of his native Nürnberg, located in the heart of Europe. The city was not among the more famous metropolitan centres of the Enlightenment, such as Paris, London, or St. Petersburg, and all renowned for their academies; it was not even among the leading German cities of princes of the day, such as Hannover or Munich. However, as a Free Imperial City it was more or less self-governed with its own jurisdiction and was responsible only to the German emperor. Moreover, it belonged to the powerful European commercial networks, and because of its libraries it was part of the *Republica Literaria*, which covered the whole of Europe. As we have seen, through his collaboration and contact with Jesuit correspondents and friends, the scholar, Murr, was part of an even vaster network than those within European borders, namely, that of the world missions from the Far East to the Far West.¹⁹⁵ For Murr, this network opened to him, in the relatively restricted world of the Franconian city of Nürnberg, the wide horizon of universal mankind.

His unusual position in Germany, and indeed in Europe, to date has not been thoroughly investigated, including his many writings. From the data presented in this biographical and bibliographical essay – intended as a first step in opening up this field of research to current scholarship – we thus may begin to ascertain the nature and significance of Murr's contribution. Although a Protestant, Murr

194 Ignaz KÖGLER, edited by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Notitiae S.S. Bibliorum Jodaeorum in imperio Sinensi. Editio altera, avctior. Seriem Chronologicam atque diatriben de Sinicis S.S. Bibliorum versionibus, with Series chronologica atque diatribe de Sinicis. S. S. Bibliorum versionibus*, Halae ad Salam, Hendel, 1805. The last Jews in China had a synagogue in Kaifeng, province Henan, where the Jesuits adopted the scholarly practice of seeking out old Hebrew books.

195 For Jesuit missionary networks, see Luke CLOSSEY, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 136–62.

appreciated and admired the educational and cultural role of the Jesuits, and maintained close friendships and contacts with them. Such associations were part of his intellectual milieu, and were informed by his identification as a scholar, keeping him removed from confessional debates and considerations, and separate from the religious or theological spheres. Instead, his interest in the Society of Jesus was in the areas of Jesuit science, scholarship, and the pedagogical enterprise, which Murr believed brought the humanistic values of Europe to the whole world.¹⁹⁶

We have seen how, in order to document this global humanistic development, Murr established a comprehensive library, which turned out to be an effective instrument to fight what he saw as the injustice of the Jesuits' adversaries, who also fought the battle through polemical books. In fact, Murr introduced into his body of scientific and linguistic work the information from the missions sent to Europe by the Jesuits, where the theology of the Rites Controversy had no place. Jesuit defences of the kind promoted by Murr, and years earlier by Leibniz, nevertheless were an important part of the Rites Controversy. Yet a consequence of the arguments presented by Protestants such as Murr in defence of the Jesuits, was that they served to strengthen anti-Jesuit convictions on the Catholic side.

Murr died in 1811, only three years before the new Society of Jesus began in 1814. He thus could not see that his prediction in the introduction of his *Briefe eines Protestanten* would not be fulfilled: "Even if I, as a Protestant, were indifferent to the abolition of the greatest and most important order that the world has ever seen, and will never see again, nobody can humanly deny me the right to feel sorry for it, and, as a champion of erudition, to defend it".¹⁹⁷

196 Galaxis BORJA GONZÁLEZ, *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung über die Neue Welt. Zur Veröffentlichungs-, Verbreitungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte jesuitischer Americana auf dem deutschen Buchmarkt im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Göttingen, 2011, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, p. 220f.

197 "Es ist in diesen Briefen nichts enthalten, das nicht aus den angeführten Schriftstellern sonnenklar erwiesen wäre. Wenn mir, als einem Protestanten, die Aufhebung des größten und wichtigsten Ordens, den die Welt je aufzuweisen hatte, und desgleichen sie niemals mehr haben wird, gleichgültig wäre, so kann es mir doch niemand wehren, als Mensch, ihn zu bedauern, und als Liebhaber der Gelehrsamkeit, ihn zu vertheidigen". (Translation made by the author). MURR, *Briefe*, p. 3.

Appendix 1

Christoph Gottlieb VON MURR, *Eines Protestanten, Herrn Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, der Reichsstadt Nürnberg Zollamtmanns, und Mitglieds des königlichen historischen Instituts zu Göttingen, und der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Berlin &c. Acht und zwanzig Briefe über die Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens, s.l., 1774.*

Document 1

Letter 13, concerning Japan, pp. 50–63.

Dreyzehenter Brief.

[...] Im J. 1549. kam Xaverius mit einem jungen Japoner und einigen anderen Jesuiten nach der Insel Kiusju, wo sie mit offenen Armen empfangen wurden, und die Bekehrung der Japoner hatte den erwünschtesten Fortgang, bis sich 1585. die erste Christenverfolgung anfieng. Die Missionarien des Ordens ließen sich aber durch nichts abschrecken. Viele krönten de Missionsarbeit durch den rühmlichsten Märtyrertod. Der Vater Piedro Paolo Navarro war 37. Jahr Heidenbekehrer in Japon. Nach vielen ausgestandenen Gefahren, wurde er endlich im J. 1622. zum Feuer verdammt, von dem er sich mit der Freudigkeit, die nur wahren Christen eigen seyn kann, verzehren ließ, so wie auch Camillo Costanzi in eben diesem Jahre, und neun Jesuiten im J. 1626. P. Sebastian Vieira war im J. 1634 vor den Kaiser gebracht, und, als er standhaft blieb, zu dem schmerzlichsten Tode verurtheilt. Man hieng ihn bey den Füßen auf, so daß der Körper in einer Grube hieng, in welcher ein kleines Kohlfeuer unterhalten wurde. So lebte er noch drey ganzer Tage. [...]

Da die Jesuiten unter allen katholischen Missionarien die geschicktesten sind, so ist es nicht ihnen, sondern vielmehr der Unbedachtsamkeit der Franciscanermönche zuzuschreiben, daß die christliche Religion in Japon auf ewig im J. 1640. verbothen und ausgerottet wurde. Denn diese ließen gegen das ausdrückliche Verboth des Kaisers eine Kirche zu Miacō bauen, so viele Vorstellungen ihnen auch die Jesuiten deswegen thaten, welche ohnehin bey dem Volke mehr beliebt waren, weil sie den Japanern die Lehre von Versorgung der Armen mit großem Eifer täglich einschärften, und sich durch ihre Wissenschaften und Lebensart bey den Großen sehr in Gunst zu setzen wußten.

Es ist sonderbar, daß bereits vor hundert und vierzig Jahren Caspar Scioppius, der heftigste Feind, den die Jesuiten noch jemals hatten, unter dem Namen zweyer Minoriten gegen die Gesellschaft zwey giftige Schriften zugleich heraus gab, und daß es sich fügte,

daß die Gesellschaft Jesu von einem Papste, der ein Minorit war, aufgehoben wurde. Die erste ist ein Brief, den Luis Sotelo, ein Minorit und Märtyrer in Japon, an Papst Urban VIII. aus seinem Gefängnisse zu Omura geschrieben haben soll. Dieser nachherige Märtyrer des Minoritenordens gab in seinem den 20ten Januar 1624. datirten Schreiben, den Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu schuld, sie trügen in Japon wenig zur Bekehrung der Heiden bey, und suchten vielmehr den Heidenbekehrern anderer Orden allerley Hindernisse in Weg zu legen. Aber zeigte nicht der Augenschein das Gegentheil? Wem hatte man den Fortgang der Bekehrung zu danken, als den Jesuiten? [...] Sie waren schon seit 75 Jahren Missionarien, schon im J. 1555 verfassete der P. Eduard de Sylva eine japonische Sprachlehre und Wörterbuch, zum Gebrauch der Mission, so wie nachher die Väter Fernandez und Rodriguez. Im J. 1598. gab dieser letztere ein japonisches Wörterbuch mit beygesetzten sinesischen Sprachzeichen, so wie man sie in Japon zu schreiben pfllegt, heraus, und ließ es im japonischen Collegio drucken. Der Eifer der Missionarien ist bekannt, und so gut, als Sotelo aus seinem Kerker sich über die Jesuiten beklagte, so gut beklagten sich die Jesuiten über ihn, daß er bey allen Gelegenheiten sich als ihren unversöhnlichen Feind bezeichnet habe. Warum trug er denn im J. 1615, da er in Rom als angeblicher Legatus Japonicus war, dem Papst Paul V, der sich die indianischen Missionen sehr angelegen seyn ließ, die Beschwerden gegen die Gesellschaft Jesu nicht vor? Man muß in Rom dieses Schreiben, das der Dominicaner Didacus Collado in Madrid drucken ließ, wie Wadding versichert, wenig geachtet haben; sonst würde doch der Papst es dem General der Jesuiten zur Beantwortung haben zustellen lassen. [...] Forer nennet es daher mit Recht in einer andern Vertheidigungsschrift wider Scioppius, epistolam [...] Es ist also unläugbar, daß dem Papst das Schreiben gar nicht übergeben worden, und daß es, als ein mangelhaftes, und aus Neid, Rachgier u.v. geschriebenes Document gar keinen Glauben verdiene. [...]

Was die andere Schrift anbetrifft, so ist sie niemals italiänisch von einem Minoriten geschrieben worden, der, wie S. 27 vorgegeben wird, aus Japon nach Rom kam; sondern Scioppius verbarg sich unter diesem Namen Juniperi de Ancona, wie er bey mehreren seiner Schriften zu thun gewohnt war. [...]

Diese (die Jesuiten) unterließen es nicht, nachdem im J. 1640 Japon auf ewig allen Ausländern, (die Holländer und Sineser ausgenommen) verschlossen wurde, zu verschiedenen malen, sowohl von Manilla aus, als von Macao, Versuche zu wagen, ihre Mission in Japon fortzusetzen [...].

Document 2

Letter 14, concerning China, pp. 64–71.

Vierzehnter Brief

Niemals werden die heftigsten und unbilligsten Feinde des Ordens die großen Verdienste der Missionarien in Sina um das Christenthum sowohl, als um die Wissenschaften, läugnen können, und alle Freunde der höhern Mathematik müssen gegen die Jesuiten unendlich dankbar seyn. Ihnen allein haben wir die Kenntniß des größten und ältesten Reiches auf unsrer Erde zu danken.

Franciscus Xavier war eben im Begriffe, sich nach Canton bringen zu lassen, als er im J. 1552 seinen Geist aufgab. Die Väter Matteo Ricci, und Michael Ruggieri waren am ersten so glücklich, im J. 1583 in Schan-king ein Haus und Kirche für sich bauen zu dürfen. Beyde kamen auch nebst dem P. Diego de Pantoja zu Anfange des Jahres 1601. nach Pe-king. Im J. 1610, da P. Ricci starb, waren schon fünf Kirchen erbauet. Er machte sich sowohl bey dem Volke, das ihn anfangs zu Quang-tong heftig verfolgte, als auch bey dem Kaiser und den Mandarinen, sehr durch seine mathematische Wissenschaften beliebt, und hinterließ verschiedene sinesisch gedruckte Foliobände, die nach Rom gesandt wurden. Joh. Adam Schall fieng nebst Jacob Rho an, den sinesischen Kalender zu verbessern, und machte sich unsterbliches Verdienst durch die Ausbreitung der christlichen Religion. Er verfertigte eine sinesische Erklärung der vortrefflichen gemahlten Vorstellungen des Lebens unsers Erlösers, welche ihm der Herzog von Bayern, Maximilian, durch den V. Nikolaus Trigault zustellen ließ, und überreichte sie dem sinesischen Monarchen. Er verfaßte über 140. sinesische Schriften, davon 14 Quartbände in der vaticanischen Büchersammlung aufbewahret werden. Man muß über die Menge der sinesischen Schriften in Verwunderung geraten, welche die Missionarien Giulio Aleni, Lazaro Cataneo, Martinus Martini, Nikolao Longobardi, Rodriguez de Figueyredo, Sabbatino de' Orsi, Ferdinand Verbiest, u.a.m. herausgaben.

Alle Domherren, Canonici und Franciscaner miteinander haben nicht so viel nützliche lateinische Bücher geschrieben, als die Jesuiten sinesische, und noch darzu in den schwersten Wissenschaften. Der Kaiser Kang-hi erzeugte den Jesuiten die größte Gnade, die man sich nur wünschen kann. Er begnügte sich im J. 1678. nicht damit, daß er den Vater Verbiest zum Präsidenten des mathematischen Collegii zu Peking, welches ein Reichs-Tribunal ist, machte; sondern er ließ ihm noch vorher einen Adelsbrief sowohl für ihn, als auch besondere für die Aeltern und Großältern dieses gelehrten Ordensmannes

ausfertigen. Denn es ist in Sina gewöhnlich, den Adel auch auf die Vorältern zu erstrecken, (blos die Nachkommen des Kong-fu-thee haben einen angeerbten Adel) davon ich bey anderer Gelegenheit ausführlicher gehandelt habe. Verbiest überreichte zwar dem Kaiser eine Bittschrift, und suchte alle diese Ehrenstellen, die ihn zur Würde eines Reichsmandarins (dergleichen Gnade auch dem P. Joh. Adam Schall schon vorher wiederfuhr) erhoben, von sich abzulehnen. Allein der Monarch blieb bey seinem gefaßten Entschluß, Verdienste nicht nur zu belohnen, sondern sie glänzend zu machen. Er ließ sich in allen mathematischen Wissenschaften von ihm unterweisen, auch sogar in der Algebra, wie Leibniz versichert, da er an Joh. Bernoulli 1707. schrieb: Ante aliquot dies locutus sum cum missinario ex China reduce, qui medicum illic utcumque egit (Es war P. Cima, ein Augustiner, der mit ihm zu Hildesheim sprach. [...]). Is mihi, inter alia, dixit, Imperatorem sinensem etiam Algebrae rudimenta a Patre Verbiestio didicisse, eaque re fuisse imprimis delectatum.

Daß die Missionaries auch europäischen Monarchen in Sina nützlich waren, davon habe ich in dem unten angeführten Buche eine ausführliche Nachricht gegeben, bey Gelegenheit der portugiesischen Gesandtschaft nach Sina, im J. 1727.

In unsern Zeiten hat sich bey dem itzigen Kaiser Kien long der Vater Hallerstein um die Astronomie, so wie mehrere, um andere Wissenschaften und Künste, am Hofe zu Pe-king verdient und beliebt gemacht, z.E. die Väter Damascenus, Attiret, Castiglione, Sichelbauer, Bourgeois u.a.m. Von diesem letztern hat man erst seit kurzem: *Lettre au P. Ancemot, contenant la relation de son voyage à la Chine, en 1767*. Was werden diese Missionarien zum Suppressionsbreve sagen? Sie werden es mit Verachtung weglegen. Und wer wird es ihnen in Pe-king publiciren?

Von der sinesischen Mission handeln noch ausser dem bekannten Werk des du Halde, nebst den *Lettres édifiantes*, folgend besondere, und bey uns Protestanten fast ganz unbekannte Schriften:

Historica narratio, de initio & progressu missionis Societatis Jesu apud Sinenses. Viennæ Austriae, 1665. 8. Ist aus den Briefen des P. Schalls zusammengetragen.

Nic. Trigaultii de christiana expeditione ad Sinas suscepta a Societate Jesu, Libri V. Augustæ, 1615. 4. auct. Colon. 1617. 8. Französ. 1616. 8. Spanisch. 1621. 4.

Martini Martini *brevis relatio de numero & qualitate Christianorum apud Sinas. Romæ, 1654. 4.*

Traitez sur quelques Points importants de la Mission de la Chine. à Paris, 1701. 12. Die eine Abhandlung ist vom P. Nikolao Leonardi

[sic!]; die andere vom Franciscaner Antoine de Sainte Marie, die er an den Jesuiten Luis de Gama im J. 1668. aus Quang-tong (Canton) schrieb. Leibniz hat einige Anmerkungen dazu gemacht, die Kortholt im zweyten Band seiner Briefe mit dem Texte selbst, und mit dem letzten Werke dieses großen Geistes, *Lettre sur la Philosophie Chinoise à Mr. de Rémond*, hat abdrucken lassen. Ferner gehören des P. Bouvet *Icon regia Monarchæ Sinarum nunc regnantis ex Gallico versa*. Leibniz gabe diese Schrift 1699. heraus, und begleitete sie mit einer Vorrede, welches selbst dem Herausgeber dieser Werke, Hr. Dutens, unbekannt ist.“

Document 3

Letter 15, concerning China, pp. 72–77.

Fünfzehnter Brief.

„Ich sende Ihnen hier eine seltene Schrift, in welcher die sinesischen Missionarien sich gegen den Cardinal Tournon vertheidigen (*Caduceus Sinicus modernorum Decretorum explanatio theologica, Apostolicæ Sedis judicio subjecta*. Colon. Agripp. 1713. 8.). [...]

Der Papst wirft den Jesuiten in seinem Suppressionsbreve vor, daß sie den neubekehrten Sinesern heidnische Gebräuche erlaubt hätten. Allein wer konnte denn in Europa von diesen Gebräuchen urtheilen? Die Dominicaner und andre Mönche konnten hier keine Zeugen abgeben; sie waren Feinde der sinesischen Missionarien. Ueber dieses hat jadierömische Kirche selbst Gebräuche, welche zwar in ihrer Absicht gut seyn mögen, aber doch von Unpartheyischen und von uns Protestanten verlachtet und als ungereimt, ja anstößig und heidnisch angesehen werden. Ein gelehrter Engländer hat davon eine eigene Abhandlung geschrieben, und ausserdem gab es, oder giebt es noch viele Localgebräuche und Ceremonien an den römisch-katholischen Orten Europens, die wahrlich mehr Aufsehen machen, als die unschuldigen erlaubten *Adiaphora* der sinesischen Christen; [...]

Bey einem Missionar kommen bisweilen solche Umstände zusammen, die ihm nur kurze Zeit zur Ueberlegung übrig lassen, etwa zu erlauben oder zu verbiethen, das an und für sich zwar unschuldig ist, aber doch zu Mißdeutungen, zumal bey neidischen Mönchen andrer Orden, Gelegenheit geben kann. Es verfaßte daher der japonische Provincial, P. Sebastian de Amaja, ein großes Werk von einer Casuistik für die Missionarien. Er gab ihm den Titel: *India Christiana, seu Instructiones morales pro casibus apud Indos occurrentibus*. Es wird noch in der Handschrift im Archiv

des Ordens zu Rom aufbewahret. Gott gebe, daß diese und andere Sammlungen in die Hände geschickter Bibliothecare, bey itziger Zerrüttung des Ordens, mögen gerathen seyn!

Kong fut tsee, oder Confucius, der größte Sittenlehrer der Sineser, wird von ihnen der Heilige, der mit vortrefflicher Weisheit begabet ist, genennet. Sein Andenken wird jährlich in einem ihm zu Ehren erbauten prächtigen Tempel verehret, der insgemein der Saal der himmlischen Weisheit (Ta sching tjen) genennet wird. Kein Mandarin wird vorbegetragen, der nicht aus seiner Sänfte steigen, und viermal mit seinem Haupte die Erde berühren sollte. Selbst die Bedienten des Tribunals der Gelehrten bringen Wein, Gewächse, Blumen, und Hülsenfrüchte, die sie auf eine Tafel hinlegen. So viel ist wohl ausgemacht, daß diese Art der Hochachtung auch gegen verstorbene Aeltern, nicht sowohl als eine gottesdienstliche Handlung, sondern vielmehr als ein bloßer eingeführter Gebrauch, anzusehen, wie Leibniz und Bülfinger richtig geurtheilet haben. Der Papst, oder vielmehr der Cardinal Tournon, hätten billig vorsichtiger handeln, und dem Missionswerke durch unzeitigen Eifer nicht schaden sollen.“

Appendix 2

Works written, translated and edited by Murr (chronological order)

- 1) *Haoh Kjöh Tschwen, d.i. die angenehme Geschichte des Hao Kjöh*, Leipzig, Junius, 1766
- 2) *Eines Protestanten, Herrn Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, der Reichsstadt Nürnberg Zollamtmanns, und Mitglieds des königlichen historischen Instituts zu Göttingen, und der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Berlin &c. Acht und zwanzig Briefe über die Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens, s.l., 1774*
- 3) *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur*, 17. vols, Nürnberg, Zeh, 1775–1789
- 4) *Beschreibung der vornehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten in des H.R. Reichs freyen Stadt Nürnberg und auf der hohen Schule zu Altdorf*, Nürnberg, Monath und Kußler, 1778, 1801
- 5) *Together with Anselm von Eckart, Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika*, Nürnberg, Zeh, 1785
- 6) *Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika. Aus ihren eigenen Aufsätzen herausgegeben von Christoph Gottlieb von Murr*

(*Travels of some missionaries of the Society of Jesus in America. Published from their own essays by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr*), Nürnberg, Zeh, 1785

7) *Neues Journal zur Litteratur und Kunstgeschichte*, 2. vols., Leipzig, Schäfer, 1798–1799

8) Together with Ignaz Kögler, *Litterae patentes Imperatoris Sinarum Kang-hi. Sinice et latine cum interpretatione R.P. Ignatii Koeجلي, S.I. . . . Ex archetypo Sinensi edidit additis notitiis Sinicis Christophorus Theophilus de Murr. Cum tabula aenea*, Norimbergae, Monath et Kussleri, 1802

9) Together with Anselm von Eckart: Johann Koffler, *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio. In epitome redacta ab Anselmo Eckart, edente Christophoro Theophilo de Murr*, Norimbergae, Monath et Kussler, 1803

10) Together with Anselm von Eckart: João de Alorna, *Beschreibung der Gefängnisse von Junqueira in Portugal; mit Nachrichten von dasigen Staatsgefangenen bis 1777*, Nürnberg, Monath & Kußler, 1803

11) Edition of Ignaz Kögler, *Notitiae S.S. Bibliorum Iudaeorum in imperio Sinensi. Editio altera, avctior. Seriem Chronologicam atque diatriben de Sinicis S.S. Bibliorum versionibus, with Series chronologica atque diatribe de Sinicis. S. S. Bibliorum versionibus*, Halae ad Salam, Hendel, 1805

11) German translation: Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Juden in Sina. Nebst P. Ignaz Köglers Beschreibung ihrer heiligen Bücher in der Synagoge zu Kai-fong-fu, und einem Anhang über die Entstehung des Pentateuchs*, Halle, Hendel, 1806

Books in Murr's library mentioned in Johannes Ferdinand Roth's *Catalogus* (alphabetical order)

1) Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot, *Lettre de Peking sur le Genie de la langue chinoise*, Bruxelles, De Boubers, 1773, n. 5361

2) Anonymous [Hendrik van Cuyck], *De trium regum Iaponiorum legatis, qui nuper Romam profecti...*, Antverpiae, Nutius, 1593, n. 1007

3) Anonymous, *The Morals of Confucius*, London, Randaell Taylor, 1691, n. 1015

4) Anonymous, *Die Jesuiten in China, oder das Aufkommen, der Fortgang und jetzige Zustand der christlichen Religion in diesem Reiche und was solche für Streitigkeiten zwischen ihnen und den Dominikanern verblasset, welchem auch noch ein kurzer Entwurf der ganzen Chinesischen Politik der Gebräuche und Karakters dieser Nation beygefügt worden*, Nürnberg, Bauer, 1782, n. 1003

5) Theophil Siegfried Bayer, *Museum Sinicum*, t. I and II, Petropoli, Typographia Academiae Imperatoriae, 1730, n. 1002

- 6) [Joachim Bouvet], *Icon Regia Monarchae Sinarum*, [Hannover], [Förster], 1699, n. 1022, 5448
- 7) Georg Bernhard Bülfinger (or Bilfinger, 1693–1750), *Specimen doctrinae veterum Sinarum moralis et politicae...*, Frankfurt, Andreae, 1724, n. 999
- 8) Chrétien-Louis-Joseph De Guignes (1759–1845), *Planisphère céleste, chinois : avec des Explications, le Catalogue alphabétique des Etoiles, & la suite de toutes Comètes observées à la Chine, depuis l'an 613 avant J.C. jusqu'à l'an 1222 de l'Ere Chrétienne, tirées des Livres Chinois*, Paris, Moutard, [1782] 1785, n. 1041
- 9) [Guido Gualterio] *Neue, warhaffte, außführliche Beschreibung der jüngstabgesandten Japonischen Legation gantzen Raiß, auß Japon biß gen Rom...*, Dillingen, Mayer, 1587, n. 1007
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- 4) "Nachtrag zur Köglerschen Notitia de Bibliis hebraicis in Regno Sinarum", pp. 147–50

Summary

This essay explores the writings of the Protestant scholar from Nürnberg, Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1733–1811), one of the very few German Protestants during the Enlightenment who defended the suppressed Society of Jesus. The essay traces the contexts for such a position and the specific reasons for Murr's spirited published defences of the Jesuits. It takes a biographical and bibliographical approach to explore Murr's scholarly milieu, his many contacts with Jesuits, and his huge library containing numerous materials written by and about Jesuits. It considers how Murr enlisted his bibliographic collection to defend the Society of Jesus in several books and articles, with a particular focus on the Jesuit China mission. It shows that, rather than engaging in the religious aspects of the suppression, Murr's defence was grounded in the merits that he saw in the Jesuits' educational and missionary enterprises, as well as in his identity as a scholar, especially in his linguistic interests and shared intellectual outlook and friendship with a number of Jesuits. Murr himself, however, died in 1811 and thus did not see the restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel untersucht die Schriften des protestantischen Gelehrten Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1733–1811) aus Nürnberg. Er war einer der wenigen deutschen Protestanten während der Zeit der Aufklärung, die die Gesellschaft Jesu verteidigten, da er zu ihren großen Bewunderern zählte. Unter Murrs zahlreichen gelehrten Korrespondenten gab es daher auch viele Kontakte mit Jesuiten, während sich in seiner umfangreichen Bibliothek viele von Jesuiten geschriebene Bücher befanden. Murr setzte dieses Material ein, um die Jesuiten in mehreren Büchern und Artikeln zu verteidigen, wobei die Jesuitenmission in China eine Hauptrolle

spielte. Die Gründe für seine Verteidigung lagen jedoch nicht in der Religion, sondern es waren die Verdienste der Jesuiten auf dem Gebiet der Erziehung, Murrs Sprachstudien und seine persönliche Freundschaft mit einigen Jesuiten. Murr starb jedoch im Jahr 1811, so dass er die Neugründung der Gesellschaft Jesu nicht mehr erlebte.

