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THE IMAGE OF XU GUANGQI AS AUTHOR OF CHRISTIAN TEXTS (a bibliographical appraisal)

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Table of contents:

pp. 99-101	introduction
pp. 102-104	<i>Da xiangren shu</i>
pp. 105-114	<i>Zizou oubleian</i>
pp. 115-124	<i>Piwan</i>
pp. 124-134	<i>Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo</i>
pp. 134-144	eight religious poems
pp. 135-139	five in the collection <i>Shengjiao</i> <i>guijie zhenzan</i>
pp. 139-140	<i>Yesu xiang zan</i>
pp. 140-141	<i>Shengmu xiang zan</i>
pp. 141-144	<i>Zhengdao tigang</i> .
pp. 145-152	tables

Introduction

The present chapter does not deal with the question how Xu's Christian belief has to be evaluated. As a contribution to an answer to this question, however, it treats, mainly from a bibliographical point of view, the following works attributed to Xu: five religious poems in the collection *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan*, three other religious poems (on Mary, on Jesus and on the Orthodox Way), the letter *Da xiangren shu* and the tracts *Zizou oubleian* and *Piwan*, in addition to a work that is

usually not mentioned as a work by Xu, *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* and its appendix, *Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo* (usually attributed to Yang Tingyun).¹

In his introduction (1962) to Xu Guangqi's collected works (XGQJ), Wang Zhongmin explains not to have included certain religious works attributed to Xu,² because missionaries already quite early used Xu's scientific [p.100] and political fame as a means to spread Catholicism. This process of falsely attributing religious works to Xu became, according to Wang, even stronger during the last hundred years: Li Di and Xu Yunxi (Chinese Jesuits), the compilers of Xu's collected works (*Xu Wending gong ji*, 1896, 1909), under the cloak of spreading Catholicism became lackeys of Western imperialism.³ Wang gave two examples of texts falsely attributed to Xu, *Da xiangren shu*

¹ As to the manuscript *Pomi* (BNF Chinois 7110, 55 folios), said to have been "translated by Xu Guangqi" (f. 55), already Xu Zongze (1949, p. 111) and Fang Hao (1969, p. 1717) showed that this is not by Xu. I have not been able to locate the following quotation of a statement by Xu Guangqi: *dang ran zhe ... Tianzhu ye* (see Liu Ning, *Yuanben lun*, BNF Chinois 7172, f. 2a; cf. Fang Hao 1969, p. 239).

² Besides prefaces to works by missionaries, Wang only included *Bianxue shugao* (1616) and the inscription for the Jingjiao church at Jiangzhou (Shanxi), see XGQJ 2.431-437 and 531-533. As to *Bianxue shugao*, Wang pointed out (p. 437, note) that there are several versions, which he did not compare, and he reproduced the version reproduced by Li Di (XWDGJ, ch. 5, pp. 1-8), a version which is slightly different from other versions. The main difference with the text reproduced in WXXB (pp. 19-36) is that the terms *Tianzhu* (f. 1b8, 2a8, 3b3) and *Shangdi* (f. 3a3, 4a7) have been replaced by *Shangzhu*, and the term *yi* (barbarian; f. 6a4, 6b2) by *yang*. This indicates that Li Di reproduced a later edition. Moreover, two passages (in all 46 characters) have been erased, one before and one after the sentence *lu bu shi yi, ye bu bi guan* (XGQJ 2:432-433). The first passage (after *shang xia xiang an*) reads: *fengqiang ... zhi su* (f. 3a8-9; WXXB 25) and the second: *zhi yu ... er wu zhi* (f. 3b9-3b1; WXXB 25-26). That these two passages belong to the original text is confirmed by a quotation of the second passage in Ludovico Buglio's *Budeyi bian* of ca. 1665 (f. 33b1-2; WX 290; without mentioning his source). Apparently later editors felt the need to mitigate to some extent the excessive idealization of the West found in the original text. The version of the never presented memorial *Bianxue zhangshu* reproduced in XGQJ is also unauthentic in another respect: it contains an Imperial approval (*zhidaole*, 2.437), not found in other and more reliable versions.

³ XGQJ, *fanli*, p. 38; reprinted in Wang Zhongmin, *Lenglu wensou* (Shanghai 1992), pp. 543-549 (p. 544).

and the eulogy on Jesus, *Yesu xiang zan*. Given these two false attributions, Wang concluded that one may strongly doubt that Xu composed the poems collected in *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan*, printed during the late Ming or early Qing. Unfortunately, Wang did not supply further arguments for this supposition nor give further examples of false attributions. Certainly, a compiler like Li Di, basing himself on a manuscript (dating from after the early 18th century) of *Zizou oubian*, which attributed the text to Xu Guangqi, uncritically took this work as a text by Xu. The attribution to Xu of *Da xiangren shu*, however, dates from before at least ca. 1750. The five poems in *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* had already been attributed to Xu around 1670 and the first of these poems already around 1637. It is unlikely, therefore, that compilers like Li Di attributed texts to Xu. The only thing for which one can blame them is that they included texts, already attributed to Xu, without critically reviewing these attributions. Moreover, Western sources written during Xu's life testify that he helped missionaries in composing books and tracts. That *Jihe yuanben*, *Taixi shuifa* and *Lingyan lishao* are products of Xu's collaboration with Matteo Ricci, Sabatino de Ursis and Francesco Sambiase is well known. *Lingyan lishao* shows that this was not restricted to only scientific tracts. Another example is *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* which has probably been composed by João da Rocha in collaboration with Xu. The fact that Xu collaborated with missionaries in writing texts and that, in my opinion, texts have not been attributed to him indiscriminately, makes it difficult to know to which degree certain texts, attributed to Xu since quite early on, are the result of a collaboration between missionaries and Xu. An example is *Piwang*, usually attributed to Xu, but in one instance to Jesuits. *Piwang*, however, appears relatively early, i.e.

towards or during the 1670s, which also applies to most poems in *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan*. On the other hand, the existence of the eulogy on Mary (*Shengmu xiang zan*) and of the poem *Zhengdao tigang* is not attested before ca. 1800. Although it is possible that texts or poems composed by Xu did not circulate during his lifetime and were published posthumously, this relatively late appearance (towards ca. 1800) probably indicates that there was a need for more orthodox texts such as the eulogy [p.101] on Mary, which Xu probably did not compose, or that there was a desire to make certain poems, not composed by Xu, more orthodox in content and attributed it to him such as the eulogy on Jesus and on the Orthodox Way (*Zhengdao tigang*). On the other hand, the probably authentic poems in the collection *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan*, which in any event circulated was in circulation around the 1670s, seem to have disappeared rather soon in China. The reason apparently is that they are not very specifically Christian or orthodox in content and therefore did not fit the image of Xu Guangqi as a pious and traditional Catholic convert. These poems were rediscovered in the Jesuit Roman Archive at the beginning of the 20th century.

This article confirms Wang Zhongmin's conclusion that *Daxiangren shu* and *Yesu xiang zan* are false attributions, to which I would add *Shengmu xiang zan* and *Zhengdao tigang*. The attribution of *Zizou oubian* to Xu (a text written by Vagnone and only collated by Xu) is the result of uncritical scholarship and perhaps of an eagerness to add a text to the few religious texts Xu composed. As to the five poems in *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan*, however, it is not yet certain at all that Xu did not compose them. *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* was certainly not written by Xu, although he may have collaborated in its composition. The same may apply to *Piwang*, but this is a mere

supposition, and the conclusion should perhaps be that it has been falsely attributed to Xu.

In general, I do not agree with Wang Zhongmin's conclusion that texts have been were falsely attributed to Xu merely because of his prestige (in other words, one just took a text and put it on Xu's name). Although some works have been falsely attributed to Xu, this applies after all to only a few texts. There is no question of all kinds of texts having been indiscriminately attributed to him, as in most cases there was some connection with Xu either as a collaborator or collator of the text or because the text had already been attributed to him. Though not agreeing with all of Wang's statements, the present article confirms Wang's conclusion that several texts have been falsely attributed to Xu.⁴

[p.102]

DA XIANGREN SHU

Further evidence confirms Wang Zhongmin's conclusion (1963, 1984) that Xu Guangqi has not been the author of this letter.

Without indicating his source, Li Di included this "letter in reply to a fellow-countryman" (351 characters) in Xu Guangqi's collected

⁴ In this respect, it is astonishing to read in Wang Xiaochao's *Christianity and Imperial Culture* (1998) that Wang Zhongmin's conclusion "may have been based more on political grounds than on scientific examination" (p. 110) and that as to the "many religious works which were in old collections and circulated everywhere, it is wrong to delete them for merely political reasons" (p. 111). Subsequently, Wang Xiaochao translated all these works (including the two of which Wang Zhongmin had already shown that they are false attributions) and used them in depicting Xu's religious thinking.

works (1896).⁵ Xu wrote the letter, according to Li, during his retirement at Tianjin (October 1613 - February 1617).⁶ It has certainly not been Li who attributed *Da xiangren shu* to Xu, because this letter (attributed to Xu) is found in an untitled collection of three texts, a copy of which collection (Chinois 6875) entered the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris) around the middle of the 18th century.⁷ *Juejiao tongwen ji*, however, compiled by Yang Tingyun (d. 1627), attributes *Da xiangren shu* to Liu Yinchang. Therefore, Wang Zhongmin concluded that the attribution is false: Yang knew Xu well and, when including *Da xiangren shu* in his *Juejiao tongwen ji* printed at the end of the Wanli reign, he would not have attributed to Liu a letter actually written by Xu.⁸ Wang Zhongmin's conclusion, followed by among

⁵ Li Di (Laurentius Li), *XWDGJ* (1896, enlarged editions: 1909 by Xu Yunxi; 1933 by Xu Zongze), j. 1, pp. 13-14, reproduced and translated in Wang Xiaochao 1998, pp. 126-128 (1997, pp. 162-165). Due to a haplography the latter edition omitted 23 characters and left them untranslated (*lai xiang ... zhishi*, after *ru zhishi*, p. 127 [p. 163], xxvi). Other copies of the text (see below) are the same as that in *XWDGJ*, the main variants being *zi nan de ken* for *shi nan de zhe* (part of the characters omitted by Wang) and the attribution to Liu Yinchang.

⁶ *XWDGJ*, *juan shou*, *xia*, p. 20. The reason apparently is that certain ideas in the letter are found in Xu's memorial in defence of the missionaries (*Bianxue shugao*, 1616). The similarity is found at the beginning of the letter: since its introduction in China, Buddhism has only harmed the good governance of the state; but the introduction of Christianity could be expected to be of great benefit to good governance, and this should be tested district by district.

⁷ BNF Chinois 6875 (ms., front cover: *Tianxue chuangai*), apparently a traced copy (in a Western hand?) of a printed booklet, contains three texts (in different layouts): *Tianxue chuangai* (Huang Mingqiao, 1639), *Da xiangren shu* by Grand Secretary (*daxueshi*) Xu Guangqi and a pro-Christian edict (1635) by Mr. Lei, magistrate of Jiangzhou (Shanxi). BNF Chinois 6875 "porte une estampille 'Bibliothèque Royale' de type B de grand module (29mm de diamètre) qui fut mise en service en 1735 pour être utilisée jusqu'à la fin de l'Ancien régime. La qualité de l'impression, particulièrement nette, laisse penser que l'estampille n'était pas usée; elle pourrait avoir été appliquée vers le milieu du XVIIIe siècle" (Monique Cohen, Conservateur général, Division orientale du département des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; E-mail to the author, dated 10 April 1998).

⁸ *XGQJ*, *Fanli*, p. 38. This argument should (perhaps) be slightly modified, because *Da xiangren shu* was absent in the first edition (1 *juan*, preface of 1615 XI). This edition has been lost, but its content is known (see Kanda, "Zetsuku ...", pp. 113,

others Fang Hao,⁹ is [p.103] confirmed by Ludovico Buglio's *Budeyi bian* (1665). Buglio quotes the first sentences of the letter (without mentioning a title) as a statement by Liu. The collections *Tianxue jijie* (ca. 1680) and *Qinming chuanjiao yueshu* (compiled in or after 1714) also attribute the letter to Liu.¹⁰ Therefore, the attribution to Xu apparently dates after the Ming.¹¹

115-116). *Da xiangren shu* is found in a later edition consisting of 5 *juan* (*juan* 2, ff. 4-5; incomplete copy in Naikaku bunko), cf. Kanda, pp. 118, 122. This edition was published after January 1627 (date of the latest dated document; Kanda, p. 126), but before the autumn of 1630 (date of Aleni's Ricci-biography, at the end of which there is a document reproduced from *JJTWJ*, *juan* 5, ff. 10-13; cf. Paul Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 20 / 1920, p. 37, note) and probably before Yang Tingyun died (late December 1627 or early January 1628). This edition included Li Zhizao's undated preface to *Tianxue chuhan* (Kanda, p. 118), which is usually dated 1628 or 1629, but this preface may well date early 1626; see *SWCRJ* 15 (1993), p. 7, n.15. Another enlarged edition (BNF Chinois 9254) also includes Liu's *Da xiangren shu* (f. 151; cf. *FR* III, p. 14, note 5). This edition (not divided into *juan*, although the index divides it into 2 *juan*) must date from the Tianqi period too, as it contains Zhang Geng's *Yong Xia jie* (Zhang had been baptized in late 1621).

⁹ *RWZ* 1.101. Without mentioning the attribution to Xu, D'Elia takes it as a work by Liu, referring to *JJTWJ* (*FR* III, p. 15, note). Xu Zongze (1949) and Liang Jiamian (1981) do not mention *Da xiangren shu*. Wu Deduo (1986, p. 153) agrees that there is a problem (attribution to both Liu and Xu), but blames Wang for not having included it in an appendix as a text for which Xu's authorship is uncertain. Wang Xiaochao (1998) reproduces the opinions of Wang Zhongmin and Wu Deduo (pp. 109, 110), but uses *Da xiangren shu* for his description of Xu's religious ideas because, even if it was not written by Xu, "it was still written by someone within his circle and remains good evidence for the outlook of the seventeenth century apologists" (1998, p. 111). This statement was omitted, however, in the Chinese version of Wang's book (1997, p. 148).

¹⁰ *Budeyi bian* (ff. 36b8-37a4; *WX* 296-297). Full text of *Da xiangren shu* (Liu Yinchang) in: *TXJJ* 9.34b-35b; *Qinming chuanjiao yueshu*, ff. 27a-28a (*WX*, 3.1304-1306). For *Tianxue jijie*, see *SWCRJ* 15 (1993), pp. 1-26; for *Qinming chuanjiao yueshu*, see Xu Zongze (1958), p. 229 and *SWCRJ* XVIII (1996), p. 26 (096R).

¹¹ The fact that it was attributed to Liu until at least ca 1715 (*Qinming chuanjiao yueshu*) does not necessarily mean that the attribution to Xu in BNF Chinois 6875 -- a collection dates from ca 1735-1789 -- was made during the first half of the 18th century. That the attribution might be older is suggested by the following circumstance. The appendix to *Qinming chuanjiao yueshu* contains five texts: [1] *Da xiangren shu* (pp. 1304-1306); [2] *Tianxue chuan'gai* (pp. 1307-1317); [3] Wang Yinglin's inscription of 1615 for Ricci's grave (pp. 1318-1324); [4] Zuo Guangxian's pro-Christian edict of medio 1641 (pp. 1325-1328); [5] Mr. Lei's edict of 1635 (pp. 1329-1331). The collection Chinois 6875 consists of three of these five texts: 2, 1 and 5. However, Chinois 6875 did not take these three texts from *Qinming chuanjiao*

Liu, a *jinshi* of 1604 and native of Tongcheng district in Anqing Prefecture (Nan Zhili), died in ca 1618. He wrote *Da xiangren shu* probably around 1607, when he was magistrate of Linchuan district in Fuzhou Prefecture (Jiangxi). In that year, its Prefect Weng Rujin (1555-1634) published Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* and *Jiren shipian*. For the latter edition Liu wrote a preface.¹² *Da xiangren shu* is an enthusiastic reaction on *Tianzhu shiyi*, which book his addressee apparently knew, because Liu does not even mention Ricci and [p.104] refers to the book by the abbreviated title *Shiyi*. Liu realizes that the book merely contains a summary of the teaching on the Lord of Heaven. However, as long as other books had not been translated, and maybe would not be during his lifetime,¹³ he gives full credit to Ricci's book for showing that one should believe that there is a Lord of Heaven, who is none other than the Lord-on-High of which the Classics speak (TXCH 415), and should obey his commandments (TXCH). *Da xiangren shu* touches on several other ideas found in *Tianzhu shiyi*: e.g. the invisibility of the Lord of Heaven (TXCH 420 and Ricci's

yueshu. Besides the different attribution of *Da xiangren shu* (Xu instead of Liu), the text of *Tianxue chuan'gai* (1639) in BNF Chinois 6875 is probably the original one, because in *Qinming chuanjiao yueshu* (ca. 1715) some references to the Ming dynasty (*wo Ming, wo chao*), an unfavourable reference to the Manchus and the name of the Philippines (Lüsong) have been left out, besides a few other significant changes. Therefore, the attribution of *Da xiangren shu* to Xu Guangqi in Chinois 6875 might date of a period before 1715. On the other hand, the fact both Chinois 6875 and *Qinming chuanjiao yueshu* reproduce *Da xiangren shu* with *Tianxue chuan'gai* (1639) suggests the attribution date after 1639.

¹² This preface is included in *Juejiao tongwen ji* (cf. FR III, p. 14, note 5) and *Tianxue jijie*. For Liu Yinchang and Weng Rujin, see my "A Previously Unknown Preface (1607) by Zhou Xianchen to Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi*" in *SWCRJ* XVI (1994), pp. 19-36, esp. pp. 21-22; add: Weng had been appointed Prefect in the year *bingwu* (7.2.1606 - 27.1.1607), see *Xuelin waibian* 26.12a. Weng's edition of *Jiren shipian* was published in the year before the edition (1608) published by Ricci himself (o.c. pp. 20-21, notes 9-10).

¹³ This translation differs from that by Wang Xiaochao (1998, p. 127: ... "I had no opportunity to see these texts at that time").

preface); and that one can avoid eternal suffering by sincerely repenting one's sins shortly before dying (TXCH 554).

The content of *Da xiangren shu* confirms, in my opinion, that Xu Guangqi did not write it. The author's knowledge of Christianity is based only on *Tianzhu shiyi*. The letter *Da xiangren shu* apparently follows the publication of the book in 1603 (Ricci's preface is dated 22 August 1603) and can hardly have been written at a time when *Tianzhu shiyi* circulated in a limited numbers of manuscript copies.¹⁴ Xu Guangqi had been baptized toward the middle of medio January 1603, after spending the preceding weeks reading the not yet published *Tianzhu shiyi* and learning the catechism *Tianzhu jiaoyao* by heart (FR N. 682). The latter text contained, among others, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the most important prayers such as the Our Father and the Hail Mary, and an explanation of the seven sacraments. Therefore, it is unlikely that a convert or catechumen like Xu Guangqi was the author of *Da xiangren shu*, who mentions only knowing the summary description of the Christian teachings in *Tianzhu shiyi*, since other books have not yet been translated. That Xu might have written the letter before he became a catechumen is unlikely, because according to Ricci before that time Xu knew nothing more than that "there is a God, Creator of heaven and earth and maker of all things, whom we revere" (FR N.681; II, p. 253), a subject (i.e. creation) the author of *Da xiangren shu* did not touch. Therefore, besides the fact that until at least the early 18th century *Da xiangren shu* was attributed to Liu Yinchang (who is not known to have been a

¹⁴ The preface by Feng Yingjing (who corrected the text in 1601 or 1602) dates 3 February 1601 (FR N. 709; II, 292, note 1). For several years the text circulated in manuscript among missionaries (FR N. 709) and after 1600 among a few Chinese (Feng Yingjing, Huang Hui, Xu Guangqi). Before the publication (1603: FR II, 293, note) Ricci added the conversation (1602) with Huang Hui in chapter 4 (FR N. 633; II, 182).

convert),¹⁵ the assumed date of the letter (after 1603 and probably around 1607) contraindicates an attribution to Xu Guangqi (baptized in 1603).

[p.105]

ZIZOU OUBIAN (or *Zizhou oubian*)

Xingshi wenbian (Questions to awaken the world) or *Zizhou oubian* (Random inquiries) is an anonymous appendix to *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* (Tracing back the orthodox way) written in 1610 by Alfonso Vagnone for Xu Leshan (since ca 1623 the grandfather-in-law of Xu Guangqi's granddaughter Candida). Shortly after Xu Leshan's death (in ca 1626) Xu Guangqi published both texts. In fact, Vagnone was also the author of the appendix. A manuscript of it, entitled *Zizhou oubian* and attributed to Xu Guangqi, only exists in the Zikawei library and must have been attributed to him after the early eighteenth century.

According to Li Di, Xu wrote *Zizhou oubian*, a refutation of popular superstition, during his retirement at Tianjin (October 1613 - February 1617).¹⁶ It seems that there is only one copy of it attributed to Xu -- that in the Zikawei library. Xu Zongze (p. 118) gave a short

¹⁵ According to d'Elia (*FR* III, p. 14, note 5), *Da xiangren shu* suggests that Liu may have been a Christian, which to me seems to be unlikely.

¹⁶ *XWDGJ*, *juan shou*, *xia* (p. 20), cf. *ECCP* 317a. Other references (of which I know) to *Zizhou oubian* (or *zizhou*, i.e. "to probe good things with a reliable person") all date from after Li Di's mention of it: Xu Yunxi, preface to *Ming xiangguo Xu Wendong gong moji* (1903); Xu Zongde (Xu Zongze's brother), list, published in 1906, of Xu Guangqi's works (see Fang Hao 1969, p. 1906); Xu Yunxi, *Yiwei Zhongguo fengjiao taitai* (Shanghai 1938; reprint, Taizhong 1965), p. 18, note 6. Also Wang Xiaochao (1998, p. 108, nos. 12-13; p. 111) takes *Zizhou oubian* and *Piwang* as works composed by Xu, but does not treat them because of their length.

description of it. Liang Jiamian (1981, p. 109) listed the text under the year 1615 (referring to Li Di), with the remark that the question whether perhaps Xu really wrote it and when awaits further research. Wu Deduo (1986) remarks (referring to Xu Zongze) that Xu is possibly the author, although this is not certain because the text is not mentioned in Xu Ji's biography (ca. 1635) of his father, and in Xu Ermo's preface (1663) to Xu Guangqi's collected works (a collection that has not been preserved).¹⁷ When Li Di attributed it to Xu, he may have based himself on the Zikawei copy of *Zizou oubian*, which is entitled "*Zizou oubian*, composed by Xu Guangqi of Shanghai, of the Ming dynasty."¹⁸ This wording shows that it dates from after the Ming. A short note precedes it, [p.106] saying that of old the Confucians used *Tian* and *Shangdi* to designate the ruler of Heaven and regarded Heaven as the material heaven. However, because the Taoists speak of *Tiandi* and *Shangdi*, the use of such terms to designate the Lord of Heaven had been forbidden. At the time of Lord Wending (Xu Guangqi), however, these terms were not forbidden yet. As the editor did not want to alter the text, he had it printed without any change.

¹⁷ XGQNP 109-110. Wu Deduo (1986), p. 154, note 2. For the biography by Xu Ji, and Xu Ermo's preface, see XGQJ 2.551-563 (esp. p. 562), 599-601.

¹⁸ p. 1, col. 9; cf. Xu 118. The handwritten copy (at the Sinological Institute, Leiden) made from the Zikawei manuscript (no. 230.16; Xu 425) consists of 10 pages, each page having 14 columns with ca 23 characters per column. The text ends at column 3 of page 10, at the very end of which there is a note by the 20th century copyist saying that the text he copied is a manuscript.

The beginning of the manuscript (before the introductory note) reads: "Combined edition (*he ding*) of *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* and *Zizhou oubian*". This does not correspond with the content, as *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* is lacking and the title reads *Zizou oubian* instead of *Zizhou oubian*. The text that in the Zikawei collection follows *Zizou oubian* (230.16) is *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* (230.17), a printed text consisting of *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* and *Zizhou oubian*. For this copy, see WX, vol. 1: *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* (pp. 463-474); *Zizhou oubian* (pp. 475-490). There are some minor differences between the manuscript and the printed text of *Zizhou oubian*, such as the addition of a few particles and an empty space before terms like *Shangdi* and *Tianzhu*.

Thus one should concentrate on the essential meaning of what Lord Wending wrote (p. 1). The manuscript therefore has to date from after the prohibition of these terms in the early eighteenth century. Although Li Di (1896), Xu Zongde (1906) and Xu Zongze (1949) mention *Zizhou oubian* as a text by Xu, it seems never to have been printed or even quoted. The manuscript was apparently intended for publication, but for some reason did not appear.¹⁹

Before dealing with *Zizhou oubian*, we will have a look at *Tuiyan zhengdao lun*, "composed by Wang Yiyuan, (*hao*) Taiwen, Jesuit of the Extreme West, and edited by Xu Guangqi, (*hao*) Xuanhu, of Yunjian, disciple of the Luminous Teaching (*Jingjiao houxue*)". Although in 1681 Couplet took a copy of *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* with him to Rome, it is absent in his *Catalogus Patrum* (1686) and its counterpart *Shengjiao xinzheng*. It was among the books he donated to the Pope in 1685. The cover reads: "De vera lege, et Numine discursus P. Alphonsi Vagnoni."²⁰ The latter took the name Gao Yizhi, when he returned to China after his banishment to Macao in early 1617. Before that time his name was Wang Yiyuan (*hao* Taiwen) or Wang Fengsu (Alfonso).²¹

¹⁹ The author once speaks of "my humble country and China" (see below). This sentence may have raised doubts on the attribution and been a reason for not printing it. Another reason may have been the presence of too many forbidden terms. The copy reproduced in *WX* (see note 14) has been corrected here and there by pasting strips of paper with handwritten characters over the original text.

²⁰ BAV, *Racc. gen. or.* III, 213.9. The list, compiled in 1686, of the books donated by Couplet (BAV, *Vat.Lat.* 13201, ff. 281-293, no. 52) gives the same Latin title, undoubtedly based on information provided by Couplet. Agustín de San Pascal O.F.M. in *Opusculum de ritibus sinicis* (1694) also refers to *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* as a work by Vagnone; *SF*, VII, p. 257. The same applies to modern bibliographies (Pfister p. 95; Xu Zongze 1958, p. 359; Bernard 1945, no. 176; Cordier 336; cf. *RWZ* 1.147).

²¹ He used the latter name in his *Jiaoyao jielüe* (1615) and Shen Que mentioned him under this name in his anti-Christian memorials (1616). For the name Wang Yiyuan, see also Pfister, p. 95. Li Shaowen (fl. late Ming) in his *Yunjian zazhi* tells that he saw in Nanking a Western self-sounding clock at the place of Wang Taiwen. Taiwen is the *hao* (or *zi*) of Wang Yiyuan and clearly refers to Vagnone, see Wang Qingyu, "Li

The edition of *Tuiyan zhengdao lun*, however, dates from after the spring of 1625, because Xu designates himself as "disciple of the Luminous Teaching" (in the spring of 1625 came the first mention of the discovery of the Nestorian monument in Xi'an in 1623). According to Bernard, the edition dates ca 1629 (i.e. between 1625 and 1633, the year of Xu's death). It may have been printed after the Chongzhen emperor ascended the Throne (October 1627), because the text uses the character *jiao* (part of the personal [p.107] name of the Tianqi emperor, Zhu Youjiao). By that time Vagnone already called himself Gao Yizhi, so he wrote the text before 1617.

In an addition (written by Nicolas Trigault towards the end of 1612) to Ricci's *Storia*, there is a long episode on the conversion of Dr John Hiu [Xu].²² As Chancellor of the Nanking Office of Transmission he was one of the four most important officials there and at that time the highest official ever baptized.²³ He had been on friendly terms for several years already with missionaries, whom he had come to know by way of Xu Guangqi. He had not shown, however, any sign of wanting to become a Christian nor experienced any pleasure in reading Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi*. Given his aversion Vagnone decided in 1609 to introduce him to Christianity by way of "what he liked, namely

Madou xiuwu kao", in: *CMSB* 8 (1986), p. 15 (pp. 1-40, reproduced from *Zhongwai guanxishi luncong*, no. 1 [1985], pp. 78-116).

²² First chapter: "(Capitolo XVIII) Da born progresso da Christandade de Nankim" (*FR* NN. 908-927; II, pp. 494-501). Trigault added these chapters to Ricci's manuscript in December 1612 or January 1613. The source for the first chapter (cap. XVIII) was probably Vagnone (*FR* II, p. 484, note). For the story of the conversion of 'Hiu', see *FR* NN. 918-927 (pp. 494-500). Trigault translated the Portuguese text into Latin, which was published in his *De Christiana Expeditione* (1615). John Gallagher translated the Latin text into English (*China in the Sixteenth Century. The Journals of Matteo Ricci, 1583-1610*, New York 1953); for the story on John Xu: pp. 545-548.

²³ Pfister, p. 86; for "the highest official", see *FR* 918, p. 495, note 1 (quoting the *Annual Letter* of 1610).

mathematics, by which most mandarins had been attracted when they became Christians". One day he praised Vagnone for all he had learned from him. The latter answered that "this was nothing compared to the matters of the holy religion that are much more sublime and more needed than mathematics." He advised Xu to read *Tianzhu shiyi* again. To clarify certain details he wrote four essays, dealing with (1) God, (2) the soul, (3) original sin and (4) the life of Jesus (cf. Bernard no. 85). After reading them, Xu realized how true and solid the things were Vagnone had written (*FR* N.919; II, 495-496). Intellectually convinced of the force of truth, he still hesitated to be baptized. He had always been interested in "the rules for long life" and had written several essays on this subject. Therefore, he had difficulty in forsaking these rules in which he had put so much hope. Moreover, he was reluctant to forsake the belief in lucky and unlucky days and his habit of consulting diviners. Despite his doubts on these and similar matters, he finally saw that all these things were false and idle (*FR* N.920). Shortly after his decision to be baptized, he heard that there was in Nanjing a literatus, able to make genuine portraits of people who had lived even hundreds of years before. Xu had lost portraits of his ancestors, when Japanese marauders had robbed his house that was close to sea. He wanted to contact the man to retrieve the portraits in this way. He wrote Vagnone about this, and received the answer that the man was a charlatan or, if he were able to make genuine portraits, could only do so 'por obria do demonio' (*FR* N.921). A few days before his baptism he asked Vagnone to bring to his house an **[p.108]** image of the Redeemer to revere it, and he received it with much ceremony. Around Christmas 1610 he was baptized as John (*FR* N.922). Shortly afterwards his mother died. When he left Nanjing for the mourning period, he gave Vagnone a great sum of money for the church that was being built there (and which opened on 3 May 1611). He left on a

day deemed unlucky for travelling to show that he had freed himself of such superstition (*FR* N. 925).

Thus Dr John²⁴ is the above-mentioned Xu Leshan, a *jinshi* of 1571 and native of Huating in Songjiang Prefecture. He was the grandfather of Xu Yuandu, who ca. 1623 married Candida Xu (born 1607), granddaughter of Xu Guangqi.²⁵ In his preface of 1625 (5th month) to Xu Leshan's *Shizhi zhai gao* Xu Guangqi wrote that the Transmission Commissioner (*nayan*) is now almost 80 *sui* old.²⁶ Shortly afterwards Xu Leshan died at the age of 80 *sui*. On 15 December 1609, he had become Commissioner of the Nanking Office of Transmission. He did not occupy the post a long time. On 19 April 1610 he asked to be dismissed because of illness, which request was not granted. At the metropolitan evaluation of 1611 the Ministry of

²⁴ D'Elia (*FR* II, p. 494, note 2; cf. II, 277, note) identified him as Xu Xuchen, a native of Hangzhou (*MRZ* 487), because Manoel Dias Sr. (letter of 6 Nov. 1611) wrote that he was a countryman of Doctor Leo (Li Zhizao of Hangzhou). The information provided by Dias must be erroneous: Bartoli (p. 597) calls Dr John a countryman of Dr Paul (Xu Guangqi), the Annual Letter of 1615 a native of Songjiang (see below, note 31), and Sambiasi visited Dr John in Songjiang in 1619 (see below, note 43). Moreover, Xu Xuchen was not a *jinshi* (d'Elia remarks that he does not seem to have been a *jinshi*). Possibly he was not even a *juren* or *xiuca*, as the *Siku quanshu* reviewers do not mention that he held any degree (*SKQSZM* 14.113.1). This makes it impossible for him to have occupied so high an office as Transmission Commissioner (rank: 3a). Bernard also identified him as Xu Xuchen and possibly the father-in-law (i.e. grandfather-in-law) of Candida Xu (*Le Père Matthieu Ricci et la société chinoise de son temps*, Tientsin 1937, vol. I, p. 337, note 18). Dunne calls Dr John, without further identification, the grandfather-in-law of Candida Xu (1962, p. 121). Another argument against the identification of Xu as Xu Xuchen is that we hear of the latter for the first time in 1623 (undated prefaces to Aleni's *Xixue fan* and *Zhifang waiji*, *TXCH* 1.25, 3.1304).

²⁵ *XGQNP* 94 (n. 15), 155 (n. 5); Dunne 1962, pp. 121, 308; Fang Hao, *RWZ* 2.68; *ECCP* 318b.

²⁶ *dadie* (= 80 *sui*), *XGQJ* 1.91; *nayan* (Hucker 4079). The third and final preface to *Shizhi zhai gao* is by Qian Xiyan, written in 1625, 9th month (1-30 October). Dong Qichang (1555-1636; *ECCP* 787-789) composed the funeral inscription for Xu's grave (absent from Dong's collected works, *Rongtai ji*, 1629?). *Songjiang fuzhi* (ca. 1631) partly quotes this inscription; see *Riben cang Zhongguo jianjian difangzhi congkan* (1990), 8.1267 (48.47b). For the biography of Xu Leshan (zi: Xiuzhi), see *o.c.*, 40.35b-36a (8.1046-1047).

Personnel rated him as inadequate (*buzhi*) but, awaiting further decision, did not dismiss him (19 June).²⁷ Two months later the Ministry appointed a successor,²⁸ apparently without having to decide on a dismissal. During the first month of 1611 Xu had returned home for the mourning period of his mother, deceased on 11 February 1611 (Wanli 38/12/29).²⁹ This accords with Trigault's [p.109] information that she died shortly after his baptism (around Christmas 1610).³⁰ The information that he donated money for a church in Nanking is confirmed, to some extent, by Yang Tingyun. In his *Shengshui jiyan* (1615) we read that Xu Xingsuo of Yunjian of the Office of Transmission -- like Xu Guangqi -- supported missionaries financially when they did not receive money from their country.³¹ His

²⁷ *Shenzong shilu* 436.7b (115.8252); 464.8a (117.8761); 468.13b (117.8848); 483.9a (117.9103).

²⁸ 25 September 1611. On 15 December 1611 the Emperor granted funeral sacrifices to the mother of Xu Leshan, former (*yuanren*) Commissioner of the Nanking Office of Transmission; *Shenzong shilu* 486.3a, 489.1a (118.9157, 9211); *Guoque* 81.5037.

²⁹ *Shizhi zhai gao* (Xu Leshan's collected works, 10 *juan*), 5.45a, 46a. For this work (consulted at the National Central Library, Taipei, i.e. a photocopy made from a copy preserved in Japan), see QQ 24.619; *Mingshi* 99.2488.

³⁰ Xu Leshan mentions the date of his mother's death in *Shizhi zhai gao* (see preceding note). Trigault gave 1609 as the year of Xu's conversion. D'Elia gave good arguments that it took place towards the end of 1610 or even in early 1611 (*FR* II, p. 499, note 1). According to Trigault, "shortly after it (his baptism) his mother died. So he retired and went to his home" (*FR* N. 924; II, p. 499). He has then been a convert since a few months (*FR* N. 924, p. 500; cf. *FR* II, p. 494, note 2). Therefore, 1609 must be the year he began to study mathematics with Vagnone.

³¹ *Shengshui jiyan* (BNF Chinois 6845), f. 7b8; cf. *FR* II, 499, note 4. Xu Xingsuo clearly refers to Xu Leshan, although his *hao* is slightly different: Xingsuo instead of Xingchu (cf. XGQJ 2.626). Ye Mengzhu in his *Yueshi bian* (completed in 1693) also calls him Xingsuo (juan 5; Shanghai 1981, p. 119). Cf. *Jap.Sin.* 113, f. 485: Dr Hiusimso João (= John Xu Xingsuo) is living in Hum si ham in 1615, a city between Shanghai and Hangzhou; see J. Dehergne in "Les chrétientés de Chine de la période Ming (1581-1650)", *AHSI* 16, 1957, pp. 1-136, p. 65 (for Hum si ham, read: Sum ciam [see below, after note 39], or better: Sum kiam, i.e. Songjiang).

participation in the second edition, 1611, of Ricci's *Jihe yuanben* edition (published by Xu Guangqi), and in the edition of Manuel Dias' *Tianwen lüe* (1615), confirms his interest in sciences like mathematics and his contacts with missionaries then.³² The information that he wrote on the rules for long life (*FR* N.920) further confirms the identification, as Xu Leshan is the author of "Essential directions for preserving life" (*Zunsheng yaozhi*).³³

The first essay (that on God) which Vagnone wrote for Xu Leshan to clarify Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* must have been *Tuiyan zhengdao lun*. This essay clarifies *Tianzhu shiyi* and virtually repeats all passages Ricci had quoted from the Classics to show that the Sovereign-on-High is the Lord of Heaven (*TXCH* 415-416). The second essay (that on the soul) is likely to be *Xingling shuo*, which follows *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* in two copies:

[p.110]

1) BAV, *Racc. gen. or.* III, 213.9 (three texts):

³² *TXCH* 4.1947 (*Jihe yuanben*). The edition of *Tianwen lüe* in *TXCH* 5.2619-2718 mentions three collaborators; other copies mention another six, among whom Xu Leshan and Xu Guangqi; see Pasquale d'Elia, *Galileo in China* (Rome, 1947), p. 90, note 61.

³³ *QQ* 16.437 (in the section Taoism). In his preface (1625) to *Shizhi zhai gao* Xu Guangqi writes of Xu Leshan's nearly twenty years of unemployment: "Refined in his intentions he was fond of the Way (*hao Dao*) and well versed in the sayings of the Nurturing Life School (*yangsheng jia*). He built a studio called "Doing as one pleases" (*shizhi*, as did the butterfly Zhuangzi dreamt to be). Daily he only burnt incense, sat in meditation and lived there peacefully. Now he has reached the age of nearly 80 *sui*" (*XGQJ* 1.91). In August 1601, the Ministry of Personnel recommended the censor Xu Leshan, unemployed since more than 20 years, for appointment (*Shenzong shilu* 361.8b, 112.6748) and in July 1603 commissioned him with Henan Circuit (385.3a, 113.7239). In July 1604 he was promoted to Vice Minister of the Nanking Court of Imperial Entertainments (397.5a, 114.7467).

Tuiyan zhengdao lun (ff. 1a-6b6); *Xingling shuo* (ff. 1a-6a3);
Tianzhu zhengjiao yuezheng (Ludovico Buglio, 1669; Bernard
425).³⁴

2) ARSI, *Jap.Sin.* I, 111 and 111a:

Tuiyan zhengdao lun (ff. 1a-6b) and *Xingling shuo* (ff. 1a-6a).

Xingling shuo is anonymous,³⁵ but the very beginning shows that it is a continuation of *Tuiyan zhengdao lun*: "The origin of giving life to men (*shengren zhi ben*), and the Way of returning to the origin (*fanben zhi dao*), I have already explained in detail. Knowledge of the origin (*ben zhi zhi*), however, is still incomplete, when it is unclear what the soul is." *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* concludes: "Then the task of giving life to men (*shengren*) is completed. This is how I explain the theory of 'knowing the origin' (*zhi ben*) and 'returning to the origin' (*fan ben*)" (f. 6a). Therefore, *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* and *Xingling shuo* are the first two of the four essays Vagnone wrote for Xu Leshan.

³⁴ The title-strip of the first text adds: *fu ding Xingling shuo Zhengjiao yuezheng deng ji*, and that of the second (*Xingling shuo*): *fu Zhengdao lun*. In two untitled and undated collections of texts (printed in different types and layouts, BNF Chinois 6915 and 6916) these three texts are the first three (printed in the same type and, except the first, the same layout):

Buglio, *Tianzhu zhengjiao yuezheng* (6 folios; 6915 II, 6916 I);
Anonymous, *Xingling shuo* (6 folios; 6915 I, 6916 II);
Vagnone, *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* (6 folios; 6915 III, 6916 III);
Xu Guangqi, *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* (7 folios; 6915 IV, 6916 IV);
Yang Tingyun, *Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo* (4 folios; 6915 V, 6916 V);
Longobardo, *Linghun daoti shuo* (1636) (12 folios; 6915 VI);
Xu Guangqi, *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* (4 folios; 6915 VII).

³⁵ See also BNF Chinois 6915 I and 6916 II, mentioned in the preceding note. A copy of *Zhengdao lun*, followed by *Lingxing shuo* (i.e. *Xingling shuo*), was present in Qi Chenghan's library (1565-1628, *DMB* 216-220), see N. Standaert, "Note on the spread of Jesuit writings in late Ming and early Qing China", *CMSB* 7 (1985), pp. 25, 27 (pp. 22-32). The editors of Pfister's *Notices* (1932) took *Xingling shuo* as a variant title of Buglio's *Ren linghun* (p. 239, no. 6; Bernard 1945, no. 489). The latter text, however, is a translation of a part of *Summa Theologiae* (I, q. 75-89) and consists of 203 folios (BNF Chinois 6909, *juan* 17-22). Also Cordier (no. 55), Courant (Chinois 6915 I, referring to Cordier) and Xu Zongze (1949, p. 207) took *Xingling shuo* as a work by Buglio.

There are copies of *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* followed by another text than *Xingling shuo*, viz. *Xingshi wenbian* (also entitled *Zizhou oubian*):

Tuiyan zhengdao lun (ff. 1a-6b6) and *Zizhou oubian* (ff. 7a-14b9):
Zikawei 230.17 (Fujen 039R, see note 18).

Tuiyuan zhengdao lun (ff. 1a-6b6) and *Xingshi wenbian* (ff. 7a-14b9):
(BNF) Chinois 7100 I-II.

Tuiyan zhengdao lun (ff. 1a-6b6) and *Xingshi wenbian* (ff. 1a-8a3):
(BNF) Chinois 7099 I-II, 7379 IV-V, (BAV) *Borg. cin.* 350.4.³⁶

[p.111]

Xingshi wenbian (*Zizhou oubian*) is anonymous, but the author is again Vagnone. It consists of 26 rhetorical questions.³⁷ Apparently these are the answers that he gave to Xu Leshan concerning his "doubts on these and similar matters" (see above). It does not contain his answer to the question about new portraits of Xu's ancestors, because this episode took place after he had already decided to be baptized. Several of these questions precisely deal with the practices that Xu (according to Trigault) found difficult to forsake: lucky and unlucky days (16, 18), foretelling the future (19), Taoist rules for long life (20-

³⁶ Of *Xingshi wenbian* there are two versions: ff. 7a-14b9 and ff. 1a-8a3 (both in the same layout, 9/20); the second version is 15 columns shorter (see next note). Chinois 7100 is the sole edition with the variant title *Tuiyuan zhengdao lun*; another copy of it (Ming edition) was in the possession of Fang Hao (*RWZ* 2.147-148).

³⁷ In one edition (*Borg. cin.* 350.4, Chinois 7099 and 7379) two questions are lacking, viz. no. 24 and 25 (ff. 14a1-14b1, 14b2-6), dealing with the seven stars of the Pole Star, *Beidou*, and physiognomy. Chinois 7379 is a collection of several late 17th-century editions (in different formats): 7379 III (1684: Bernard 1945, no. 535), 7379 VII (with a note dated 1668) and 7379 VIII (fragment of a work printed for the first time in 1680; cf. Bernard 1945, no. 502). This suggests that the version with 24 questions is a late 17th-century edition and not the original version.

21). Moreover, the first questions deal with the Sovereign-on-High, discussed in *Tuiyan zhengdao lun*.³⁸ All questions apparently deal with beliefs and practices only cherished by Xu Leshan, so that the text does not show any system. Therefore, an editor (possibly Xu Guangqi) gave it the appropriate title *Zizhou oushan* (Random inquiries). The author once remarked: "although my humble country and China are in distance far apart, they happen to agree in their principles" (*li*, f. 8a). This shows that the author was a Western missionary, and apparently the same as the author of the preceding *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* -- a possible reason why the editor did not repeat the names of author and collator. Xu Guangqi may have edited *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* and *Xingshi wenbian* for the first time. In 1625, he wrote a preface for Xu Leshan's *Shizhi zhai gao*. As editor he must have had access to writings owned by Xu Leshan. Then, he found *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* and *Xingshi wenbian* in the latter's papers and decided to have it printed.³⁹ This probably occurred after the Tianqi emperor had died (September 1627) and, in any event, after the spring of 1625 (see above).

The editor of the Zikawei manuscript apparently overlooked the sentence "my humble country and China," which shows that the author was not Chinese. The rather specific knowledge of Chinese beliefs, of which this essay testifies, may suggest that its author was not the Western missionary who wrote the preceding essay (*Tuiyan zhengdao lun*). For example, question 2 quotes the hymn *Zhonghe* from the

³⁸ Four of the first six questions (nos. 1, 2, 4 and 6) repeat quotations from the Classics quoted in *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* (ff. 3b, 3a, 2a and 3b). The following six (7-12) deal with Buddhism (7-10: reincarnation). The first two of them (7-8) deal with the soul (*hun*), a subject discussed with reincarnation and Taoist immortality in the essay *Xingling shuo*, which follows *Tuiyan zhengdao lun*.

³⁹ Xu Guangqi (the editor, see XGQJ 1.91) may have entitled the second essay *Xingshi wenbian* c.q. *Zizhou oushan*, because Vagnone wrote it as a mere letter to Xu Leshan.

musical section of *Da Ming huidian* (The institutions [p.112] of the Great Ming); question 10 tells of the vegetarianism of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty; question 14 refers to *Wenchang hua shu* (Book on the transformations of Wenchang) and *Ganying pian* (Treatise on response and retribution); question 17 gives details about the life of Wenchang, the God of Literature; question 19 mentions Jing Fang and Guo Pu, specialists in the Book of Changes, and 23 criticizes the geomantic handbooks *Hanlong jing* and *Qingnang xu* by Yang Yunsong of the Tang dynasty and his disciple Zeng Wendi. It was evidently Xu Leshan who touched on these matters in his questions to which Vagnone responded in his answers. As the text is anonymous, it was therefore probably assumed that it is was by the hand of the editor, Xu Guangqi. When *Zizhou oubian* was attributed to him (probably during the nineteenth century), there was already a tradition that he had composed refutations of Buddhism, Taoism and popular religion. Moreover, the last question reads:

May I ask you? Among the saints and sages of China, during and before the Three Dynasties, there was no one who did not revere the Sovereign-on-High. There was then only one Way and the customs were uniform. It was one long period of peace and good government (*jiu'an changzhi*). Towards the end of the Han dynasty, however, Buddhism entered China and attracted many followers. What is the reason that [today] the prevailing customs and people's morality (*shidao renxin*) do not match Antiquity?

Liu Yinchang in his *Da xiangren shu* (attributed to Xu) used the same wording (*shidao renxin jiu'an changzhi*) and Xu said something similar in his 1616 memorial (XGQJ 2.433). It may have been this question (n. 26) that confirmed someone in the attribution of *Zizhou oubian* to

Xu. However, the question how and when precisely one attributed it to Xu is difficult to solve and of secondary importance.⁴⁰

Assuming that Xu Guangqi found the essays *Tuiyan zhengdao lun*, *Xingling shuo*, and *Xingshi wenbian* (*Zizhou oubian*) in the legacy of Xu Leshan and published them,⁴¹ there still remains an unanswered question. Why did he not write a preface to explain where he found these texts and for whom they were written? The reason may be that Xu Leshan did not remain a Christian, or had merely added a few Christian ideas to his Taoist rules for long life. Trigault's report of his conversion testifies of an enormous enthusiasm: after thirty years (since 1583) the time of 'sowing' finally ended. The Emperor [p.113] had granted Ricci a burial place; since 1611 there had been plans to involve Jesuits in an official project of translating Western books in view of a reform of the calendar; the Christian community in Nanking, the secondary capital, was steadily growing; and there had just been the conversion of the highest official ever baptized. This all seemed to augur the 'harvest'. Trigault was sent to Europe to recruit missionaries and astronomers, to collect scientific and religious books and large sums of money for the China mission. The publication of *De Christiana Expeditione* was one means to make propaganda for the China mission. The success story of John Hiu's conversion fit that aim well. However, Vagnone and Trigault may have overestimated the

⁴⁰ Xu Zongze included *Zizou oubian* in his list of texts preserved at the Zikawei library and dating of late Ming and early Qing times. His book (1949) is based on Pfister's *Notices* which covers the period up to 1776. In his review of Xu's book, Fang Hao pointed out that the Zikawei-list contains several texts dating of a later period (1969, p. 1717); cf. *SWCRJ* XVIII (1996), p. 3 (pp. 1-40). So the presence of *Zizou oubian* in this list is not a guarantee that it dates from before 1776.

⁴¹ There are two sets of *Tuiyan zhengdao lun*, one followed by *Xingling shuo* and the other by *Xingshi wenbian* (see above). It remains unclear whether these sets are two later and partial editions of an edition published by Xu that contained all these three essays and maybe even the third and fourth essay Vagnone wrote for Xu Leshan.

importance of his conversion. Xu Leshan had already known missionaries for a long time, but had not shown any inclination to become a convert. Vagnone tried to convert him by way of lessons in mathematics. After putting much effort in writing the four essays and answering his doubts, Vagnone supposed, as we have seen, that Xu was convinced of the truth of the Christian teachings but hesitated to receive baptism because of his addiction to superstitious practices. One wonders if Vagnone, in his eagerness to convert a high official, too quickly concluded that he could now baptize Xu, and if the latter regarded baptism in the same way as Vagnone did. A few days after he had revered the image of Jesus, he baptized Xu, having just finished the reading of the *Catechism*.⁴² When shortly afterwards his mother died and he left Nanjing, Vagnone travelled with him for one day, instructing him how he had to bury his mother according to the rules of his new faith. He advised him to earnestly observe the Commandments. Vagnone's concern may have been inspired by the knowledge that mere baptism (after a short period of religious instruction) did not guarantee that a convert remained firm in his just adopted convictions. Western sources do not tell what happened after early 1611, when Xu returned to Huating. In any event, he collaborated in the 1611 edition of *Jihe yuanben* and in the 1615 edition of *Tianwen lüe* (both texts dealing with western science). In 1615 Yang Tingyun mentions him as someone who financially supported the missionaries (see above). Strikingly, Xu Guangqi does not say anything about Xu Leshan's conversion, nor of his contacts

⁴² "o *Catechismo*" (FR N.922, II, p. 498) may refer to "o *Catechismo* do P. Matheus Ricio" (FR N.919, see above), i.e. *Tianzhu shiyi* (which Ricci himself called his Catechism). One wonders if it here refers to *Tianzhu jiaoyao*, called *Dottrina Christiana*. The latter text was a catechism in the proper sense of the word, and every catechumen had to learn it by heart.

with missionaries or collaboration in the edition of texts on Western science. While converts like Xu Guangqi and Yang Tingyun defended the missionaries during the Nanjing persecution. Western sources do not mention Dr John in this respect. Semedo tells of an official in Shen Que's Ministry who defended them and who was a countryman of "Doctor [p.114] Paul and Doctor John", without telling of any activity of the latter. The *Annual Letter* of 1619 has the following passage:⁴³

The Father (Sambiasi), finally returning to his home, passed the city of Sum Ciam (Songjiang), where Doctor John stayed. We had not often visited this city, because it is a little far of the road. While passing he also visited the licentiate Ignatius (Sun Yuanhua), who stayed there as an official, heard his confession and gave him the communion, and baptized a little child of his.

Any further detail on a meeting with Dr John is lacking, so it remains unclear whether Sambiasi met him.⁴⁴ His grandson, Xu Yuandu, married Candida Xu in ca 1623 and was baptized only in 1651, which suggests that his father, Xu Leshan's son, had not been a Christian.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Annual Letter* 1619, pp. 82-83: "Le Pere retournant en fin à sa Residence passa par la ville de Sum Ciam, où estoit le Docteur Iean. Cette ville n'est pas beaucoup visitée des Nostres pour estre un peu escartée du chemin. Il visita aussi en passant le licentié Ignace, qui estoit en son Mandarinat, le confessa & communia, & baptisa un sien petit enfant."

⁴⁴ Towards 1623, Longobardo wrote his *Reposta breve* on the controversies on such terms as Shangdi (the Sovereign-on-High). He consulted several Chinese scholars, including converts. In his introduction he mentions that the "docteurs Paul, Michel et Iean" (Xu Guangqi, Yang Tingyun, Xu Leshan) had repeatedly stressed that the missionaries should keep to the text of the Classics and discard the commentaries. In the text itself he gives the opinions of Yang Tingyun (in extenso), Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizao, Sun Yuanhua and "docteur Athanase" (?), but not of "docteur Iean". See *Traité sur Quelques Points de la Religion des Chinois* (Par le R. Pere Nicolas Longobardi [...]). Nouvelle edition faite depuis celle de Paris de l'an. 1701 [...]), in: *Anciens Traitez de Divers Auteurs sur les Ceremonies de la Chine avec des notes de Monsieur de Leibniz* (Leibnitii epistolae ad diversos, vol. 2, Leipzig 1735, ed. Chr. Kortholtus), pp. 258-266.

⁴⁵ Xu Yuandu, who died in 1653 (Shunzhi 10), was baptized two years before his death, see Chen Yuan (1980), p. 198.

Xu Yuandu's son, Xu Zuanzeng (1627-after 1696), was raised Christian. In 1936 Chen Yuan pointed out that his Christian convictions were not very deep, as he edited an illustrated edition of the Treatise on response and retribution (*Taishang ganying pian tushuo*).⁴⁶ A biography of Xu Zuanzeng, compiled by Xu Caibo and published in 1882, includes a short biography of Xu Leshan, which tells of Xu Zuanzeng's admiration for his great-grandfather. Apparently he had 'inherited' his interest for *Taishang ganying pian* from Xu Leshan who mentioned this text to Vagnone (see above).

Xu Guangqi must have valued *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* and *Xingshi wenbian* because of the answers they gave on the type of questions Chinese literati usually posed, and therefore had it published. Assuming that Xu Leshan did not remain Christian, it would have been rather ineffective to tell that after reading these texts Xu Leshan decided to be baptized, but did not remain Christian. This may have been the reason Xu Guangqi did not write a preface.⁴⁷

[p.115]

PIWANG (or *PI SHISHI ZHUWANG*)

Although all editions attribute *Piwan* to Xu, there are serious problems with this attribution. A first problem is that it appears for the

⁴⁶ Chen Yuan, "Ji Xu Zuanzeng jike Taishang ganying pian tushuo", in: Chen Yuan (1980), pp. 232-238. Cf. the biography of Xu Zuanzeng, *o.c.*, pp. 126-131.

⁴⁷ By way of this publication (ca 1629) Xu may have supported the use of the term 'Sovereign-on-high' as designation for God, a question discussed at the Jiading conference of late December 1627 (Dunne 285; Rule 86-87). The publication puts into question Longobardo's information that, according to Xu, the Chinese Classics did lack an equivalent of *Tianzhu* (the Lord of Heaven). Paul Rule (p. 84) remarked that this information contradicts other sources on Xu's ideas. Cf. below (note 101).

first time during the 1670s. A second problem arises from the existence of two or even three versions of old editions of *Piawang*. There is an 'original' version (A) and a corrected version of it (B), both in eight sections. What are perhaps the earliest editions of version A contain a ninth section which, despite differences in language, is also attributed to Xu. A third problem is that in 1683 Francisco Gayosso speaks of *Piawang* as a text written by Jesuits. The attribution to Jesuits alone, however, is problematic too. Certain aspects of *Piawang* show that it must have been composed in close collaboration with a Chinese convert. It remains unclear whether this convert may have been Xu.

In his 1896 biography Li Di states that Xu wrote *Piawang* (like *Da xiangren shu*) during his retirement at Tianjin (Oct. 1613 - Feb. 1617). According to Fang Hao, Xu composed it in 1612 (Wanli 40). It circulated widely during the late Ming and early Qing, and the edition reproduced in *WXXB* (*Borg. cin.* 324.18) dates back to Ming times.⁴⁸ Liang Jiamian (1981) and Wu Deduo (1986), however, remain uncertain whether *Piawang* is a work by Xu. His son Xu Ji and grandson Xu Ermo do not mention it. In the same way Liang and Wu cast doubt on his authorship of *Zizou oubian* (which Xu did not compose), and the argument makes sense for *Piawang* too. One would expect Xu Ji and Xu Ermo to have mentioned *Piawang*, as it is a separate and not too short

⁴⁸ *XWDGJ*, juan shou, xia, p. 20 (cf. *ECCP* 317); Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotong shi* (Taipei, 1954; reprint 1983, 2 vols.), 2.997; Fang Hao 1969, pp. 233, 2284; cf. Chen Yuan 1980, p. 106 (list): Xu Guangqi, *Piawang*, Wanli period. Fang Hao does not give any further justification for the date 1612. Apparently he supposed that Xu wrote *Piawang* in the same year as his preface to *Taixi shuifa* (Xu 308), in which he made his well known statement that Christianity "supplements Confucianism and does away with Buddhism" *bu Ru yi Fo*, which should probably be taken to mean: "instead of Buddhism it is Christianity that supplements Confucianism".

essay (ca. 5400 characters).⁴⁹ It is also absent in Couplet's biography of Xu (*Xu Guangqi xinglüe*, ms., 1678), composed after 1672 in collaboration with three of Xu's grandsons.⁵⁰

[p.116]

The attribution to Xu is not merely problematic, because Xu Ji, Xu Ermo and Couplet do not mention *Piwang*. If Xu did compose it around 1614, it is curious that, given its later popularity, it is absent in the 1627 list of printed texts composed by Chinese converts.⁵¹ More significant is that in late Ming texts, both Christian and anti-Christian, there is no mention of *Piwang*, a text which refutes Buddhist doctrines. *Bianxue yidu* (ca 1623), *Yuandao pixie shuo* (1636), *Poxie ji* (1640) and *Pixie ji* (1643) all testify to debates of missionaries and converts with Buddhists such as Yu Chunxi (1553-1621) and Zhuhong (1535-

⁴⁹ They also do not mention Xu's memorial of 1616 (*Bianxue shugao*) and his inscription for the church at Jiangzhou (*Jingjiao tang beiji*), both of which are genuine works. However, memorials and inscriptions are not taken as separate works and are therefore not mentioned by them.

⁵⁰ See the end of the biography (BNF Chinois 1023). The three grandsons were Xu Erjue (Shunzhi), Xu Erjue/Erjiao (Mozhi) and Xu Erlu (Xingzhi). Couplet mentions *Jihe yuanben*, *Taixi shuifa*, the books written for the calendar reform (*Chongzhen lishu*), *Nongzheng quanshu* and (*Xu shi*) *paoyan*, and quotes the memorial of 1616 (*Bianxue shugao*); see ff. 3b-4a, 5a-6a. The biography was recorded, or copied, in 1678 (*Kangxi xuwu ji*) and is found in a collection of biographies of converts (*Zhongguo fengjiao xiushi kao*). Zhang Xingyao (for whom see below) compiled this collection as appendix (*fubian*) to his *Tongjian jishi benmo bu (houbian)*. Of this appendix only Xu's biography has been preserved. Couplet composed it after 1672, as he mentions that Xu Zuanzeng had served as Administration Commissioner of Yunnan (i.e. 1670-1672). For Xu's term (retiring in *guichou* / 1673), see his preface (1694) to *Baolun tang gao* quoted by Xu Yunxi (1938, see note 16) p. 53, note. Possibly Couplet composed the biography in 1678, while Zhang copied it after having completed his *Tongjian jishi benmo bu houbian* (preface, 1690). Cf. P. Pelliot, *L'Inscription ...*, p. 15, note 29.

⁵¹ See below (before note 87). Bernard (1945) did not include *Piwang* in the first part (1514-1688) of his bibliography, which contains only a few works by Chinese converts (cf. 1945, p. 57).

1615) and to the controversy on Zhuhong's *Tianshuo* (a refutation found in *Bianxue yidu*) and on Yang Tingyun's colophon to the Fujian edition of *Bianxue yidu*. Also Yang's *Daiyi bian* (1621) and Li Zhizao's preface to it became the target of Buddhist critique.⁵² All these texts have prefaces or colophons, or mention names of revisers or the place of printing. The Buddhist critique on these texts shows that these works circulated,⁵³ but *Piawang* did not circulate during the late Ming, it seems. The early editions do not mention the date and place of printing, and prefaces by Chinese literati or converts are lacking. The author's introductory remark does not give any indication of the time of its composition.⁵⁴

The earliest indication for the existence of *Piawang* is the refutation written by the monk Jieliu Xingce of the Puren monastery located on mount Yu in Changshu district (Suzhou Prefecture). He stayed there from 1670 until his death in August 1680 (or 1682).⁵⁵ In

⁵² For Yu Chunxi, Zhuhong and the controversy (around 1635) on Yang's postscript see, among others, Standaert 1988, pp. 175-182. For *Daiyi bian* and Li's preface, see o.c. 164-165.

⁵³ In 1635 Aleni gave to Lin Qilu several books, all anti-Buddhist in content: *Tianzhu shiyi* (Ricci, 1603), *Shengshui jiyuan* (Yang Tingyun, 1615), *Bianxue yidu*, *Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo* (Yang, 1616) and *Daiyi xubian* (Yang, published in 1635). *Piawang*, however, is absent. See *Poxie ji* 5.2b (Lin Qilu, *Zhuyi lunlüe*, 5.1a-7a).

⁵⁴ Besides the edition reproduced in *WXXB* (*Borg. cin.* 324.16), I have consulted *Borg. cin.* 334.11, 349.3 and *Racc. gen. or.* III, 219.8 (BAV), Chinois 7101-7106 (BNF) and *Jap. Sin.* I, 139, 139a, 159 (ARSI, all present there before ca 1705). For these copies, see below.

⁵⁵ At the age of 23 (22) he became a monk at Hangzhou, where he stayed until 1670 (Kangxi 9), see his biography in *Chang Zhao hezhi* (Gazetteer of Changshu and Zhaowen districts, 1904), j. 41, f. 11a, a biography taken from *Yuxue zhai ji*. It states that he died on 11 Aug. 1682 (Kangxi 21/7/9) at the age of 55 (54), cf. Chen Yuan, *Shishi yinian lu* (Peking 1964, 1988), p. 460, who gives Xingce's dates as 1628-1682. Chen refers to another biography in *Xigui zhizhi* (composed by Zhou Mengyan, 1656-1739), according to which he died in Kangxi 19/7/9 (3 August 1680), without mentioning his age; j. 4, pp. 85d-86a (*Da Riben Wan Xuzang jing*, series 2, case 14, vol. 2). Still another biography gives 21 Aug. 1682 (Kangxi

his *Piwang pi lüeshuo* he refuted three [p.117] (1, 2, 5) of the eight sections of *Piwang*. In 1687 Mathias Xia of Ganzhou (Jiangxi) wrote a refutation of it.⁵⁶ Around that time Zhang Xingyao and Hong Ji of Hangzhou wrote another refutation of it (*Piwang lüeshuo tiaobo*), published in 1689 with Xu's *Piwang* under the title *Piwang tiaobo heke*.⁵⁷ The text of Xingce's *Piwang pi lüeshuo* has been lost, and it is only known by way of quotations in the two just mentioned refutations. When exactly Xingce wrote his tract, is unclear. Since two separate refutations of it were written around 1687, it probably dates from only a few years earlier and may have been published posthumously.⁵⁸ It is

21/7/19) as the date of his death, without mentioning his age (*Xinxu Gaoseng zhuan* 45.4a; reprint of 2nd edition, Taipei 1974, p. 1335). This biography apparently based itself on the same source that the author of *Yuxue zhai ji* consulted, who abridged it, however, as he did not mention the miraculous events at the time of Xingce's death, told in the other two versions (*Xigui zhizhi*, *Xinxu Gaoseng zhuan*). Weng Shuyuan (1633-1701, *ECCP* 859-860) mentions these events too in a note, dated 7 Feb. 1697, at the end of Yu Xingmin's *Jingtu quanshu* (*Xuzang jing*, 2nd series, case 14, vol. 3, p. 206a). All three versions of Xingce's biography (in *Chang Zhao hezhi*, *Xigui zhizhi* and *Xinxu Gaoseng zhuan*) tell that he had been born in the third year (or three years) after the monk Deqing had died (3 Nov. 1623; *DMB* 1272), i.e. in 1626. According to *Yuxue zhai ji* (quoted in *Chang Zhao hezhi*) he died at the age of 55 *sui*, so *Xigui zhizhi* gives 1680 as the year of his death (having been born in 1626) without mentioning his age. The other two versions, however, give 1682, in which case Xingce had been born in 1628, i.e. the 5th (instead of the 3rd) year after Deqing died.

⁵⁶ *Paozhi Piwang pi*, undated ms. (ARSI, Jap.Sin. I, 156), which has on the cover a note by Francesco Saverio Filippucci S.J. (1632-1692), saying that the catechist (*xianggong*) Xia wrote it and sent it to him in 1687 (see the unpublished catalogue by Albert Chan).

⁵⁷ *Piwang tiaobo heke*, BNF Chinois 7107 (In all 70 ff.): 7107 I (*Pi Shishi zhuwang*, running title: *Piwang*) and 7107 II (*Pi lüeshuo tiaobo*, 37 ff., main text). This collection opens with a preface (*Heke Piwang tiaobo xu*, 5 ff.) by the editor, dated 1689, 5th month (17.6-16.7). *Piwang lüeshuo tiaobo*, the prefaces by Zhang and Hong (4 and 3 ff.; Xu Zongze 1958, pp. 106-109) and the unsigned introduction (3 ff., by Zhang, not reproduced in Xu) are undated. As Hong says the Qing dynasty is ruling the country for more than forty years (Xu, p. 107), his preface cannot date from before 1684.

⁵⁸ Hong's preface suggests this too: the damage this refutation will bring to souls is now only restricted to that of the monk Jie; therefore, one should refute his tract to prevent that many souls will be lost (Xu Zongze 1958, p. 107). He apparently knew that Xingce had died rather recently (in 1680 or 1682). As Xingce had heard of

likely that for his part Xingce refuted a recently published text. In his preface to *Piwanf lüeshuo tiaobo*, Hong tells that the recently deceased Xingce wrote the refutation because he feared that *Piwanf* would spread widely (Xu 107). Therefore, the publication of *Piwanf* cannot date long before Xingce's refutation. If it had been published ca 1614 and circulated widely since the late Ming, and really been so threatening to Buddhist monks, as Hong claimed, it is not easy to understand why they waited some sixty years before refuting it.

[p.118]

The text of *Piwanf* published in 1689, which I call version A,⁵⁹ is slightly different from the undated but old edition (version B) reproduced in *WXXB*.⁶⁰ According to the 1689 preface by John Wang Shiqi, his edition contains the original text (*yuanwen*, Xu 110).

Christianity without accepting it, his soul was lost, Hong believed. His remark suggests that Xingce's refutation (published posthumously?) circulated only recently.

⁵⁹ BNF Chinois 7107 I (*Pi Shishi zhuwanf*): index, 1 f.; main text: ff. 1a-16b4 (9/20); introductory remark, f. 1a4-7 (9/19); section titles in a separate column, each section starting at the top of the next column. Besides the reprint in *Piwanf lüeshuo tiaobo* (1689), version A (8 sections) has been preserved separately: BNF Chinois 7105 (same layout as the 1689 reprint). Another copy is BAV *Racc. gen. or.* III, 247.13 (see below).

⁶⁰ BAV *Borg.cin.* 324.16 (*WXXB* 2:617-652), 17 ff.; f. 1, index; introductory remark (f. 2a4-7); main text (ff. 2a8-17a4; 9/20); section titles followed in the same column by the text. BNF Chinois 7106 is a copy of the same edition as that reproduced in *WXXB*. There is, however, one difference: 7106 reads at the top of f. 13a4 *Shangdi*, while *WXXB* (p. 643) has *Shangzhu*, but *di* has evidently been changed by hand into *zhu*. At the two other occurrences of *Shangdi* or *di*, the term is also found at top of a new column (see ff. 14b6 and 17a4; pp. 646, 651). On f. 4b8 (p. 626) *Shangdi* is also written by hand, while in all other copies *Shangdi* has been printed at this spot (originally it may have been *Shangzhu*, as it is not at the top of a new column).

Other copies of version B are Chinois 7101 and 7102 (index, 1 f.; main text: ff. 1a-16a4) and Chinois 7104 (index: f. 1; main text: ff. 2a-17a4). The layout is the same as the edition reproduced in *WXXB*, but both editions (7101/7102 and 7104) differ from 7106, e.g. 7106 (f. 9a1; cf. *WXXB* 636) reads *gao*, while 7101 and 7104 read *nuo* (as in version A).

Therefore, version B already circulated then (for another explanation, see below). If so, he must have published the original version (A), because it was the version Xingce had refuted. Besides a few differently formulated sentences, version A (ca 5400 characters) contains four additional sentences and is ca 125 characters longer than version B. These sentences must have been left out in version B and not added to version A. One sentence speaks of the Last Judgement and the resurrection of the dead (f. 12a). First it says that when the body has died, the task of the soul is finished (f. 10b, see below); then that the soul will return to its resurrected body. As the resurrected body is a transformed body (not subject to illness and decay), one may say that a pre-existing soul returns to another or new body, which to some extent confirms the possibility of reincarnation. Another sentence, absent in version B, states that the Highest Lord for his incarnation availed himself of the Holy Mother Mary, a person of unblemished virtue and the highest good (f. 13b). Some readers may have known that the Lord of Heaven was regarded as the highest form of spirit or soul, and that there was a similarity between him and the human soul. In other words, people might have taken his incarnation as another example of an incarnation of a pre-existing soul, although, according to the orthodox idea, the soul of Jesus was created at the time of the Annunciation. Version A, after the sentence about Mary, asks why the Buddha should have been born of a lotus, and not of a person with a pure womb (*jingtai zhi ren*), which refers to Mary. Version B did not omit this question, but because the sentence about Mary is lacking, the meaning of "a pure womb" became [p.119] unclear. This shows that the sentence about Mary belongs to the original text and that version B omitted it. One might assume for a moment that version A added the sentence about Mary to clarify the meaning of "a pure womb." This is unlikely, however, as other

differences show that version B is a corrected and slightly more orthodox version. For example, when refuting the Buddhist idea of reincarnation, according to which a fixed quantity of old souls are reincarnated, *Piwan* explains that when the body has died, the soul is rewarded or punished and its task finished. Version A (f. 10b) continues by saying that the soul is replaced by a new soul (*xinhun*) and does not wait for this or that body (to be reincarnated). By putting it this way, the text may give the impression that a new soul is created earlier than the body, in other words, a pre-existing soul incarnates. Version B corrected this by speaking of a new soul created when a new body is created (f. 11b, p. 640; for these changes, see table A). On the one hand, version B corrected or omitted some expressions and sentences to avoid misunderstanding.⁶¹ On the other hand, it left out the sentences speaking of the Last Judgement, the resurrection of the dead and the incarnation of Lord of Heaven by way of Mary, because readers may have asked what after all the difference is between these ideas and the Buddhist ideas they refute. Apparently, a reviser deemed it better to omit themes that were not explicated (and could not be within a few pages) and to restrict the refutation to some general and not too specific Christian ideas.⁶² This suggests that the revisions in version B made *Piwan* accessible to a larger group of readers, while

⁶¹ Such as the omitted *yang shi* (the world of the living), a term frequently used by Zhang and Hong. According to dictionaries, this term is the opposite of *yin shi* (the world of the dead), a very real and lively world that constantly interferes with the world of the living. Another example is the correction of *linghun* (soul, spiritual substance) into *daneng* (great power): as burnt paper money has spiritual substance, it changes into real money (see Table A sub 5).

⁶² Carlo Orazio da Castorano's *Parva elubricatio super quosdam libros Sinenses* (Roma, 1739; BAV, Vat. lat. 538), f. 6, indicates that *Piwan* and Soeiro's catechism (*Shengjiao yueyan*) were frequently distributed to "Gentilibus ordinariis ac rusticis", but the book yan vo cin iuen (Aleni's *Wanwu zhenyuan*) to literati.

the original version in first instance had been written for converts.⁶³ Another argument that version A is older is the circumstance that in none of the consulted copies of version A one finds *zhu* instead *di* (*WXXB*, f. 17a4, p. 651), a correction found in editions of version B, which editions were published from the early eighteenth century on. Moreover, towards 1750 and probably already several decades earlier, version B had definitely replaced **[p.120]** version A⁶⁴ and, albeit with some further changes and corrections, this version circulated until recently.⁶⁵

It remains unclear, when version B appeared for the first time. It was definitely in circulation by 1697, because it was among the Chinese books which Giovanni Francesco Nicolai da Leonessa (in China

⁶³ In their refutation of Xingce's tract, Zhang Xingyao and Hong Ji mention several times the Last Judgment (Chinois 7107 II, ff. 4b5, 7a9, 37a9) and once the resurrection of the dead (f. 20b6). This shows again that the original text did touch these subjects. Note that they are found in section 7 and 8, both of which Xingce did not discuss.

⁶⁴ At the beginning of the 18th century (before 1731) Andreas Müllener had *Piwang* reprinted, with corrections of its errors concerning ancestor worship (letter of L. Appiani, 15 Dec. 1730; *SF*, 8, 720, n. 137). This reprint may be the corrected edition of version B of which there is a copy (donated to Propaganda Fide in 1785) at the Vatican Library (*Borg. cin.* 349.3; index, 1 f.; main text, ff. 1-19, 8/18). At the end it has *zhu* for *di* (for other corrections, see Table B). Like other editions of version B (*Borg. cin.* 334.11, *Racc. gen. or.* 247.12 and Chinois 7104), it mentions the author as *Neige daxueshi Wusong Xu Guangqi zhuan* (in *Borg. cin.* 334.11 these characters were added in a different type of print). In the copy (*Racc. gen. or.* 247.12) that in 1734 da Castorano took to Europe *Shangdi* and *di* were changed, in a different type of print, into *Tianzhu* and *zhu*, so version B, reading *Shangdi* and *di*, already existed before 1734.

⁶⁵ An edition published around 1850 follows version B (copies: Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, nos. 72 A.261 and 72 C.55; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Sinica 1044). All later editions seem to follow version B too, e.g. an edition at Shanghai in 1914 (copy: East Asian Library of the Catholic University of Louvain), reprinted at Hongkong in 1938 (copy: library of the Jesuit Theologate at Fujen University). For the additional revisions in the latter edition, see Table B (sub 2). I have not searched out when the later revisions of version B were first made, a question which is not related to that of Xu's authorship.

since 1684) took with him to Rome in 1697.⁶⁶ *Piwang* circulated already during the 1670s, but thus far there is only evidence that this refers to version A. Other evidence for the existence of *Piwang* at that period, i.e. the lists (ca 1684) of printing blocks kept at certain churches, lack indications as to which version circulated.⁶⁷ The earliest quotation I know of (besides the quotations given by Xingce), that in Li Jiugong's *Wenxing cuichao* (1680), concerns a part which is the same in both versions.⁶⁸ So it is possible that version B did not yet exist in 1689. In that case, 'the original text' reproduced in the 1689 reprint does not refer to version A as opposed to B (both in eight sections), but to version A in eight sections as opposed to version A in nine sections. Before 1682 there already circulated an edition of version A with an additional ninth section, a copy of which (*Racc. gen. or.* III, 219.8) Couplet took with him when he left China in December 1681. This ninth section is entitled: "Refuting the rumour that we do not venerate our ancestors" (*Bian bu feng zuxian shuo*, ff. 16b5-17b3).⁶⁹

⁶⁶ BAV, Borg.cin. 334 (11). See Francesco d'Arelli, "I libri cinesi di G. Francesco Nicolai, O.F.M., nel fondo Borgia Cinese della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 90 (1997), pp. 505-533, esp. pp. 506-507, 524. This copy is virtually the same as that reproduced in WXXB (see note 60). The only difference is that before the name of the author (*Wusong Xu Guangqi zhuan*) the characters *Neige daxueshi* have been added in a different type of print (see note 64), which suggests that this edition is a reprint made from the same printing blocks.

⁶⁷ Bernard 1960, p. 351, no. 13 (Peking); p. 358, no. 253 (Fuzhou), 300 (Hangzhou). These manuscript lists are undated. Henri Cordier consulted a printed list of printing blocks kept at Peking; on the cover it has the date 1684 in handwriting (see Bernard 1945, p. 19). The Hangzhou list mentions *Piwang tiaobo heke* (no. 298) and therefore dates from 1689 at the earliest.

⁶⁸ *Wenxing cuichao* (BNF Chinois 3433-3334; *juan* 1-4 and 5), a collection (prefaces 1678, 1680) of quotations, arranged according to themes, from mainly non-Christian books (of which Li Jiugong does not mention the authors). For the (slightly abbreviated) passage of *Piwang* (7a8-8b7; WXXB 631-634) that Li quoted, see 5.23b1-24a9.

⁶⁹ (BAV) *Racc. gen. or.* III, 219.8; (ARSI) *Jap.Sin.* I, 159 and (BNF) Chinois 7103, all copies of an edition in 18 ff. (9/20, columns not separated by lines): index (1 f.),

[p.121] The index mentions it, which implies Xu composed it too. The language in this section, however, is simple.⁷⁰ It uses the terms *shengjiao*, *zhengjiao* and *zhenzhu*, absent in the preceding sections. On the other hand, it does not use the terms *Shangdi* and *shangzhu*, terms that the preceding sections, along with *Tianzhu*, *dazhu* and *zhu*, use frequently. Moreover, there is evidence that missionaries wrote this section. In an appendix (Canton, 9 Dec. 1668) to his *Quelques points importants de la mission de la Chine*,⁷¹ Antonio Caballero (1602-1669) remarks that to contradict the rumour that Christians do not honour their ancestors, the (Jesuit) missionaries had printed a text on single sheets ("feuilles volantes"). They pasted them on the walls of their churches or gave them to converts to be distributed among those who took such rumours seriously. Caballero gives an apparently full (although sometimes free) translation of this text, entitled Distinction sur ce qu'on dit, que les Chretiens ne servent et n'honorent point leurs Ancêtres. Besides the same title (*Bian bu feng zuxian shuo*) it has virtually the same content as section 9 of *Piwang*. The main difference is that he does not present it as a text by Xu. Caballero only speaks of "l'Auteur du Livre" without mentioning him by name. He concludes his translation:⁷² "Voilà ce que contient la feuille que les Peres font

main text, ff. 1a-17b3 (section 1-8: ff. 1a-16b4; section 9: ff. 16b5-17b3), giving the section titles in a separate column. See also ZKW 230.2 (Xu 425), published in *WX*, vol. 1, pp. 37-70 (ff. 1a-17b3), a ms. copy (without index) of this edition. Another (undated) edition is *Jap.Sin.* 139a, printed by Franciscus Zhou of Gupi (not further known), consisting of 20 ff. (8/20), including the index, and giving the section title at the top of the first column (as in the edition reproduced in *WXXB*).

⁷⁰ See Albert Chan's unpublished catalogue (sub *Jap.Sin.* I, 139a). Chan concludes that it is an addition to the original text.

⁷¹ *Leibnitii epistola ad diversos* (Leipzig: Chr. Kortholtus, 1785), vol. 2: appendix, pp. 372-412 (ff. 110-152 of the French edition, Paris 1701), to the main tract (Canton, 9 April 1668), pp. 267-371 (ff. 1-109).

⁷² *Leibnitii epistola ad diversos*, vol. 2, pp. 399-403 (ff. 138-143).

imprimer et afficher aux murailles de leurs Eglises." This strongly suggests that the missionaries who had the pamphlet printed were the authors of it. If the text had circulated under the name of Xu, Caballero would have mentioned him, because elsewhere in his *Quelques points* he mentions works by Jesuits and Chinese converts by name.⁷³ This suggests that section 9 did not belong to the original text. In their prefaces Hong Ji and Zhang Xingyao speak of eight sections (*Piwang bazhang*) and the editor of the 1689 reprint mentions the titles of the three sections Xingce refuted and the five sections he did not (Xu 106, 108, 109). So, like version B, the original text consisted of eight sections.⁷⁴ The copy of [p.122] version A that in 1734 Castorano took with him (*Racc. gen. or.* 247.13) consists of eight sections, but the index still mentions the ninth section.⁷⁵ For this edition apparently a copy of version A in nine sections was used, but with the last section omitted (thought left in the index), which by then was no longer regarded as a part of the original text.⁷⁶

⁷³ For example, p. 313: "TA KE VVEN ... sous le nom d'un bon Chretien gradué qui s'appelloit CHU VVEI CHING", i.e. *Dake wen* of Zhu Zongyuan (zi: Weicheng), cf. *DMB*, p. 29.

⁷⁴ The Manchu translation of *Piwang* also consists of 8 sections; see G. Stary, *Opere mancesi in Italia e in Vaticano* (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 1985), pp. 18, 29, 63 (nos. 24, 37, 70). While Manchu translations of Chinese Christian texts were printed not earlier than 1694, F. Verbiest (d. 1688) had already made such translations (F. Margiotti, "Congregazioni mariane della antica missione cinese", in: J. Specker & W. Bühlmann eds., *Das Laienapostolat in den Missionen*, NZM Supplementa, vol. X, Immensee 1961, pp. 131-153; p. 148, note 146). The earliest Manchu translation is that of *Xifang yaozhi*, made in 1669; see N. Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J.* (Nettetal 1993), p. 268, note 100. Therefore, the Manchu translation of *Piwang* (in whatever version) cannot date from before the 1670s.

⁷⁵ Section 9 (mentioned in the index, f. 1b1) cannot have been torn off, as the text ends at f. 16b4 (empty columns in the remaining part of f. 16b), and in none of the consulted editions a section starts on a new folio.

⁷⁶ In two copies of version A in nine sections (Chinois 7103 and *Jap.Sin.* I, 159) one appended another essay, *Bianhuo lun*, as announced on the printed title-strip on the

Summarizing, there are two versions, an original (A) and a revised version (B), both in eight sections. There also existed an edition of version A with an additional ninth section, not written by the author of the preceding sections. All editions are undated, except for the 1689 reprint of version A in eight sections. Version A in nine sections circulated before 1682. From Caballero's testimony one may conclude that the ninth section had been added after 1668. All editions of *Piwan* lack prefaces and other indications for the time of its composition. While this already raises doubts about the authenticity of Xu's authorship, the existence of different versions during the late seventeenth century reinforces such doubts. There is in addition one testimony which does not attribute it to Xu. Francisco Gayosso S.J. (1647-1702) in a letter of 23 Nov. 1683 (Xi'an, Shenxi) to Ferdinand Verbiest, advocated that, besides allowing the offering of food and incense, Chinese Christians should be allowed to burn paper money if they are aware that it did not provide any material benefit to their ancestors and was only meant as a way of honouring them. This would not denigrate the authority of former missionaries who had condemned the burning of paper money. In this respect he remarks that the burning of paper money had been condemned as idle and futile "in that booklet, written by ours, entitled *Piwan*" (in illo libello, a nostris

cover (*fu Bianhuo lun*), although in both copies it is absent. Since the index does not mention it, one did not take it as an essay composed by the author of *Piwan*. It may have been the same text as the undated *Bianhuo lun* (4 ff.) composed by Qian Mingyin of Changshu (*ju ren* 1639), see Chinois 6945 (cf. Bernard 1945, no. 398). It was published by Girolamo de Gravina, who since 1648 and until his death in September 1662 was staying in Changshu (where during the 1670s Xingce wrote his refutation of *Piwan*). Like section 9 of *Piwan*, it discusses ancestor worship, condemns the mixture of it with Buddhist and Taoist rites and disproves the rumour that Christians do not venerate their ancestors. For de Gravina, see *Répertoire*, p. 119; for Qian, cf. Xu 78 (line 1).

scripto, qui titulo prænотatur Pie Vam).⁷⁷ Both the fourth [p.123] (WXXB 2.629-634) and ninth section of *Piwan* contain such a condemnation, but only the latter section speaks of the offering of food being allowed (to be distributed to the poor afterwards). So one wonders whether Gayosso was referring in the first place to this section, which at the time he wrote his letter formed part of *Piwan*. As this section is by another author than that of the preceding sections, its author may have been a Jesuit.

That Jesuits composed the entire *Piwan* is doubtful. One may point to lists (ca 1684) of printing blocks kept at churches in Beijing, Fuzhou and Hangzhou, which only mention titles without names of authors. In one version of the Beijing list, however, all works by Chinese converts, including *Piwan*, were replaced with works by Jesuits. This shows that one took *Piwan* as a work composed by a Chinese convert.⁷⁸ This can hardly surprise, as it testifies of a detailed knowledge of Chinese history. It mentions Kou Zhun (961-1023) and Deng You (d. 326), the inventor of paper Cai Lun (d. 121), the Taoist Wang Yu (d. 768), the painter Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322), and quotes Zhuangzi, Dong Zhongshu and Zhu Xi.⁷⁹ The last section, which deals

⁷⁷ See a not yet published study by Noël Golvers for the text and a summary of the letter (Latin autograph in Arch. Hist. Nac., Madrid: Jes., Leg. 270, no. 161; copy in Ajuda, 49-V-19, no. 111, ff. 408-425r) [cf. Golvers, *Letters of a Peking Jesuit*, Leuven, 2017, p. 512]. Conform the romanization system of that time, Gayosso writes pie with the 5th tone mark (ˇ), instead of pi (tones 1-4).

⁷⁸ See *Catalogus Librorum Sinicorum a PP. Soc. Jesu editorum* (BAV, Racc. Gen. Or. Stragande 13), cf. note 67. The omitted works are: nos. 13 (*Piwan*), 14, 37, 59, 72, 101, 122 (see Bernard 1960, pp. 351-355). For a photocopy of this list, see A. Grafton (ed.), *Rome Reborn. The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture* (Washington, Library of Congress, 1993), p. 285.

⁷⁹ Ff. 4b, 7b, 12a, 13b, 15b. Wang Yu, as Director of the Imperial Sacrifices (*ciji shi*), introduced in 738 (Kaiyuan 26) the burning of paper money during these sacrifices, see Hou Ching-lang, *Monnaies d'offrande et la notion de trésorerie dans la religion chinoise* (Paris 1975), p. 8.

with Chan Buddhism, refers to the monks Kumârajîva (d. 413) and Baozhi (ca 500); it quotes the stanzas the Buddha spoke when he transmitted the highest truth to the elder Kâsyapa, and the Diamond Sutra (*Jingang jing*) which states that *a-nou duo-luo san-miao san pu-ti* (anuttara samyak sambodhi) means "unexcelled complete enlightenment" (*wushang zhengdeng zhengjue*).⁸⁰ Evidently, Jesuits alone did not compose *Piwang* (version A). On the other hand, the mention of Mary's immaculate conception, the Last Judgement and the resurrection of the dead -- subjects omitted in version B -- indicates that it is the collective work of a missionary and a convert. This could explain that one felt free to add a section (and later remove it) and to revise the text. An unsolved question remains whether the convert who wrote it (in collaboration with a Jesuit) has been Xu, as there is no evidence for its existence before (approximately) the 1670s. It is possible that *Piwang* was only one discovered towards the 1670s. Several of Xu's writings got lost and are still lost today, while some were discovered even quite recently. So why could *Piwang* not have been discovered rather shortly after Xu's death? For example, towards 1642 his "Instruction on the Song of the Iron Cross" (*Tie shizi ge xunyi*), dated 13 July 1627 (*Tianqi dingmao liuyue shuo*) was discovered. The colophon, written by Francesco Brancati on 23 March 1642 [p.124] (*Da Ming Chongzhen renwu eryue chunfen hou sanri*) and translated by Tang Jiong, states that Xu's grandson Ermo (the editor of Xu's collected works, 1663) was in the possession of this manuscript.⁸¹ However, the absence of such a colophon explaining its

⁸⁰ Ff, 16a, 16b. For Kâsyapa, see Zürcher, "Xu Guangqi and Buddhism" (in *Statecraft* ...), p. 162.

⁸¹ Louis Gaillard, *Croix et Swastika en Chine* (Shanghai 1893), pp. 243-244, 273-274 (Chinese text). Xu's *Tie shizi ge xunyi* and the colophon are included (ff. 23-25) in an undated manuscript, entitled *Shengjiao shici gefu*, acquired by Arthur Wylie in ca.

discovery and posthumous publication (during the 1670s) reinforces the doubts on the authenticity of *Piwan* as a work by Xu. Further research should test whether such doubts are justified.

ZAOWUZHU CHUIXIANG LÜESHUO or TIANZHU SHENGXIANG LÜESHUO, and XIAOLUAN BU BING MING SHUO

Neither Li Di (1896) nor Liang Jiamian (1981) and Wu Deduo (1986) mention *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo*, while Xu Zongze (1949) mentions it as a work by João da Rocha. Wang Xiaochao (1998) treats it as a work by Xu Guangqi without further justification. Copies or reprints of the first edition (1615) attribute it to Xu or to an anonymous Jesuit. Copies or reprints of the revised edition (1619) attribute it to da Rocha or mention no author at all. Da Rocha may have composed the text in collaboration with Xu Guangqi. On the other hand, Xu may have the author of *Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo* (probably 1616), appended to *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* and usually attributed to Yang Tingyun.

1860 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, old number: d.51). The absence of it in *XWDGJ* (Shanghai 1896), also in later enlarged editions, does surprise, as Gaillard's book was published at Shanghai in 1893. Gaillard's opinion on this piece, however, is rather negative. He reproduced it because of its extreme importance for the history of the mistaken (according to Gaillard) opinion on the Iron Cross prevailing among European authors. One wonders, therefore, whether this piece was discarded (if it is genuine) because it would diminish Xu's prestige, in the same way as (according to Wang Zhongmin) texts Xu which Xu did not compose were attributed to him, because his prestige gave more weight to such a text. *Tie shizi ge xunyi* is absent in modern collections of Xu's works; Liang Jiamian (1981) and Wu Deduo (1986) do not mention it. Paul Pelliot expressed some doubt about its authenticity; see id., *L'inscription ...*, p. 46

"Short explanation of the hanging picture of the Creator" (*Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo*)⁸² is an introduction to the Christian doctrine. It speaks of a holy image of the Lord of Heaven (*Tianzhu shengxiang*, f. 7b), i.e. Jesus, by stating that "what [we] worship there above is the holy image of Jesus" (f. 5a).⁸³ This must refer to an image or picture on an altar or another [p.125] elevated place in a church. Apparently the text was distributed to visitors of a church. It refers to the catechism *Tianzhu jiaoyao* and explicitly asks the reader to turn to the missionaries for further instruction (ff. 4b, 7b). *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* is a simple text not only because of the vernacular it uses, but also because of its contents: being a first introduction it does not speak of the crucifixion, the sacraments or even baptism.

The text starts by saying that in the West the Creator (*zaowuzhu*) is called *Dousi* (Deus), the Chinese translation of which is *Tianzhu* (the Lord of Heaven). The latter term is used throughout the text, while *Shangdi* (the Lord-on-High) does not occur. Yang Tingyun's colophon (not put in the vernacular) reads like a critique:

Every scholar knows that the phrase 'the sole August Sovereign-on-High' is found in the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of History*, and nobody doubts that it is not found there. Lord of Heaven is merely another name for Sovereign-on-High. Now, to disapprove of this and to doubt that it is found there (the Classics) and to assume that it is something different, is like knowing of 'two times five'

⁸² (BAV) *Borg. cin.* 334.21 (reproduced in *WXS* 2:547-563); main text, ff. 1a3-7b3 (pp. 549-562); colophon by Yang Tingyun, ff. 7b4-8a4 (pp. 562-563). Text and translation of Yang's colophon are not included in the translation of *Zhaowuzhu chuixiang chuixiang lüeshuo* (*WXS* edition) made by Wang Xiaochao (1998), pp. 135-140.

⁸³ *shangbian gongjing de zheng shi Yesu shengxiang ye*. Only the title (f. 1a1) uses the term 'hanging picture' (*chuixiang*: *xiang* without radical 9). As the text is written in the vernacular, the term has probably another meaning than in the Great Appendix (I.11) to the *Book of Changes*: "In the heavens hang images (*chuixiang*) that reveal good fortune and misfortune" (Baynes, 1967, p. 320).

but not of 'ten', like knowing that in the state of Lu there was a Kongzi (Confucius) but not that there was a Zhongni (Confucius' appellation).⁸⁴

The text was published in 1615, because it states that "the Lord of Heaven incarnated 1615 years ago" (f. 5a). As Table F at the end of this chapter shows, there have been several editions or reprints (probably all published during the 17th century) of the '1615' edition, usually followed by Yang Tingyun's colophon and the essay *Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo* (1616) which also has a colophon by Yang.

All these editions are undated.⁸⁵ As several of them circulated at a same period,⁸⁶ it is difficult to determine which edition represents the original 1615 edition. Some editions attribute the text to Xu (f. 1a2: *Wusong Xu Guangqi shu*), [p.126] but others to an anonymous Jesuit or anonymous Jesuits (f. 1a2: *Yesu huishi jinshu*). The attribution to Xu certainly dates from his lifetime, because the oldest bibliographical list (1627) of Chinese Christian works (consisting of texts not later than 1624), mentions three printed works by Chinese converts:

⁸⁴ WXS 2.562. In his *Daiyi bian* (1621), however, Yang does not directly say that the Lord of Heaven is the Sovereign-on-High, and explains it too as a translation of *Dousi* (Deus), see *juan xia*, f. 1a (WX, p. 583).

⁸⁵ Actually the nine 1615 'editions' mentioned in Table F below may represent fewer editions. If one does not take into account title-strips, the nos. 1 and 2 (same printing type) are copies of the same edition. As to no. 7, the appendix *Xiaoluan shuo* (not announced on the title-strip) might be accidentally absent, in which case the nos. 6-9 are copies of the same edition.

⁸⁶ No. 8 was among the books Couplet took with him, when he left China in December 1681. No. 3 is included in a collection of texts (see note 34), the latest of which dates 1669, and therefore this collection cannot date before ca. 1670. No. 4 was in Berlin since the 1670s. A manuscript copy of *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* (like nos. 1 and 2 attributed to an anonymous Jesuit and without colophon and the essay *Xiaoluan shuo*) was appended to the manuscript *Feng Tianxue Xu Qiyuan xingshi xiaoji*, written in the ninth month of 1701 (Zikawei 540.2, Xu 431, cf. Xu 226; consulted by way of a recently made copy, cf. note 14).

- 1) a much pious book on the Picture of the Redeemer, composed by Dr Paul (= Xu Guangqi, *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo*);
- 2) another on the great difference that exists between our holy faith and the erroneous sects of China, by Dr Michel (= Yang Tingyun, *Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo*);
- 3) another composed by the same author [...], in which he gives an extensive answer to all difficult questions [...] (= Yang Tingyun, *Daiyi bian*, 1621).⁸⁷

However, a 1619 edition of Xu's work (*Borg.cin.* 350.18) mentions no author at all⁸⁸ and only gives the names of three Jesuit collators (f. 7a9): Luo Ruwang (João da Rocha), Li Ningshi (Pedro Ribeiro) and Qiu Liangbing (Domingos Mendes).⁸⁹ The text (without Yang's colophon) is entitled *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo* (f. 1a1) and has virtually the same content as in the 1615 editions: only the first sentence is

⁸⁷ Bernard 1945, p. 21 (list A, nos. 10-12), identifies these three works with the following numbers of his bibliography: 105c (read 112, = A 10; *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo*), 125 (= A 11; *Daiyi bian*, 1621) and 158 (= ? A 12; *Daiyi xubian*, ms. 1627). The publication of the last work (*Daiyi xubian*), however, dates from 1635 (as Bernard also says). *Xiaoluan shuo* deals with the difference between Christianity and heterodox teachings such as the White Lotus (A 12: "las sectas errades"). In several editions (see Table F) it was appended to *Shengxiang lüeshuo*, the first work (A 10). Therefore, the second work (A 11) seems to refer to *Xiaoluan shuo*, while the third work (A 12) is *Daiyi bian*.

⁸⁸ The main text starts at f. 1a2 (on which column the '1615' editions mentions the author). The 'title-page' (recto; verso: empty) only contains an emblem of the Jesuit order (IHS).

⁸⁹ After *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo zhong* and two empty spaces follows: *Yesu huishi Luo Ruwang Li Ningshi Qiu Liangbin tongjiao*, but because of lack of space the last 13 characters (after *Yesu*) have been printed in a smaller type. Note that *ru* in Luo Ruwang is *ru* ('Confucian'), as in *Poxie ji* 2.14a10 (1617), instead of *ru* ('like'); cf. Fang Hao, *RWZ* 1.176. For da Rocha (1565-1623), Ribeiro (1570-1640) and Mendes (1582-1653, a native of Macao), see Dehergne, *Répertoire*, pp. 223, 218, 173. The use of the character *jiao* [tree radical] (in *tongjiao*) suggests that this edition was published during the Wanli period.

different,⁹⁰ while in the sentence saying that the Incarnation occurred 1615 years ago, 1615 was changed into 1619. In another copy of this same edition (published shortly after 1624), preserved in the Naikaku bunko at Tokyo, the names of these three revisers [p.127] are lacking, however.⁹¹ Besides these copies in Rome and Tokyo, there were two copies of a 1619 edition in Berlin.⁹² Julius Klaproth described it as follows:⁹³

⁹⁰ Instead of *Zaowuzhu zhe Xiguo suo cheng Dousi, ci Zhong yi wei Tianzhu shi, dangchu ...* (f. 1a3-5; p. 549), it reads: *shangbian gongjing de shi Tianzhu, ji Daxiyang yu tianxia wanguo suo cheng Dousi shi, dangchu ...* (f. 1a2-3).

⁹¹ *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo*, Naikaku bunko, Chinese books no. 2928 (box 311, no. 95), cf. *Naikaku Bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku* (Tokyo 1956), p. 314. The text ends with the sentence *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo zhong* (f. 7a9, cf. note 92). It has been appended (in a different layout) to Vagnone's (Wang Taiwen), *Tianxue shijie jielüe*, which is an off-print of the explanation of the Ten Commandments in Vagnone's *Jiaoyao jielüe* (1615; BNF Chinois 6855, j. 1, ff. 12a-25a). When explaining the first commandment, Vagnone refers to *Jing shengxiang lun* "the essay on revering the holy image" (f. 15a5), which may well refer to *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo*, reason why it was appended to *Tianxue shijie jielüe*. This off-print, taken from a reprint published by the Qinyi tang of Fuzhou, is preceded by a preface of Ye Xianggao (1559-1627) written for Yang Tingyun's *Xixue shijie chujie* (lost) and dated the autumn of Tianqi 4 (1624, 14 August - 10 November); cf. Standaert, *Yang Tingyun...*, pp. 186-187. This reprint of *Tianxue shijie jielüe*, with Ye's preface, and *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo*, probably dates from the late 1620s. A reprint of Aleni's *Xixue fan* (1623), published by the same Qinyi tang, has a preface by He Qiaoyuan, dated Tianqi 6/6/5 (28 June 1626); BNF Chinois 3379.

⁹² See no. 11 of the list (1683) of books in the library of the Elector of Brandenburg: "De Formâ Christi Domini. Exstat bis. Excusus anno Kl-ui Regis Van-lie [56. Cycli LXXI] H.e. anno Christi 1559", see *China und Europa* (Ausstellungskatalog, Berlin 1973), p. 166 (F 3). For LXXI read LXXII (cf. Couplet, *Catalogus Patrum*, 1686, p. 3: "Cycli autem LXXI anno 49 [...] qui fuit 1552") and for 1559 read 1619. For this collection, see Eva Kraft, "Die Chinesischen Büchersammlung des Großen Kurfürsten und seines Nachfolgers", *China und Europa* (Berlin 1973), pp. 18-25.

Although there are said to have been two copies ("exstat bis") of the 1619 edition, presently there is in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin only a copy of the 1615 edition (no. 9 in the table), which was present there since the 1670s (according to Frau Keller of the Oriental collection). Therefore, the two copies present in 1683 may actually have consisted of a copy of the 1619 edition and one of the 1615 edition.

⁹³ *Verzeichnis der chinesischen und mandshuischen Bücher und Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Paris, 1822), p. 183, no. 5. See Eva Kraft (cf. note 92) and Pasquale d'Elia, *L'origini dell'Arte Cristiana Cinese* (Rome, 1939), p. 72 (cf. Bernard 1945, no. 120).

說略像聖主天. *Thian-dschü-sching-siang-lio-schue*. KURZE ERKLÄRUNG VOM HEILIGEN BILDE DES ERLÖSERS. Verfasst im Jahre 1619 von dem Portugiesischen Jesuiten *Juan da Rocha*, oder wie er im Chinesischen heisst 望如羅 *Lo-shü-wang*.

Referring to Klaproth, Henri Cordier took *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo* as a work by da Rocha. Since da Rocha was not known as the author of such a work, Sommervogel suggested it to be the same work as his *Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng*.⁹⁴ However, Paul Pelliot in his review of Cordier's book remarked that Klaproth's description is right, as a copy with the same title and by the same author, also dating 1619, was in the Bibliotheca Lindesiana.⁹⁵ [p.128] Moreover, another copy of

⁹⁴ *L'imprimerie sino-européenne en Chine* (Paris 1901), nos. 247 (*Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo*) and 245 (*Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng*; Bernard 1945, no. 121); Sommervogel, VI.1931. Cordier (speaking of an 1719 edition) refers to *Catalogue ... M. Klaproth* (see next note), vol. II, p. 16, no. 54, 2: "Thian tchu ching siang lio choué ... Cet opuscule du P. Jean de Rocha, portugais, est de l'année ki wei, de Wan ly (1719)" (for 1719 read 1619). According to Pfister, p. 69, *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo* dates from 1609 (a misprint of 1619, as he refers to Klaproth) and is a variant title of da Rocha's *Song nianzhu guicheng* (Bernard 1945, no. 122). Bernard (1945) took *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo* as a separate text, attributing it to both Xu Guangqi (no. 112, ca. 1617) and da Rocha (no. 120, ca. 1619).

⁹⁵ *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 1903 (pp. 108-116), pp. 113-114 (sub no. 247), referring to *Catalogue*, p. 57, no. 30 *b* (*Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, *Catalogue of Chinese books and Manuscripts*, privately printed, Aberdeen University Press, 1895). In 1901, Mrs. Rylands bought the Chinese collection of Bibliotheca Lindesiana (of the Lindsay's), and since then it forms a part of the John Rylands Library at Manchester; cf. F. Taylor, "The Oriental Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* vol. 54, no. 2 (Spring 1972), pp. 449-478. In July 1996 I visited this library to consult the 1619 edition. Unfortunately, it then appeared that in 1901 some items (e.g. nos. 31, 69-73, 436-437 and 441-442, all Jesuitica) of this Chinese collection (466 numbers, including 31 manuscripts) had not entered the library, among others, no. 30, a volume consisting of *Shengjiao xinzheng*, *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo* and *Wanwu zhenyuan*. According to a manuscript catalogue of the Chinese collection at Bibliotheca Lindesiana, *Catalogue of Chinese Books* (183 ff.), made in 1863 by John Williams and now at the John Rylands Library, this volume came from the collection (no. 2514) of the book collector Van Alstein (Ghent, Belgium), who had bought it from Julius Klaproth (referring to *Catalogue des livres imprimés, des manuscrits et des ouvrages chinois, tartares, japonais, etc., composant la bibliothèque de feu M. Klaproth*, Paris: R. Merlin, 1839, vol. II, no. 54); cf. *Catalogue des livres et manuscrits formant la bibliothèque de feu Mr. P. Léopold van Alstein ...*, tom. I (Ghent, 1863), p. 181, no. 2514 (2): "Explication abrégée de la sainte image du maître du ciel, par le P. J. de

Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo at Zikawei claims to be "reverently narrated by the Jesuit João da Rocha" (*Yesu huishi Luo Ruwang jinshu*).⁹⁶

As the 1619 editions attribute the text to da Rocha or mention three Jesuit collators and no author, and the 1615 editions attribute it now to an anonymous Jesuit (or anonymous Jesuits) and then to Xu Guangqi, one cannot but wonder whether a Jesuit composed the text.⁹⁷ Yang's undated colophon is found in all editions attributed to Xu

Rocha, 1719 (= 1619)". So the copy of *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo* to which Pelliot referred is the same copy to which Cordier referred (once owned by Klaproth). The present location of this volume (no. 30) is not known to me.

⁹⁶ Zikawei 200.4 (*Shengxiang lüeshuo*, Xu 423). Xu Zongze gives da Rocha's name as Luo Ruwang (*ru* 'like', cf. note 87) and dates the text 1609 (p. 176, cf. p. 355). The source of this date apparently is Pfister, p. 69, where 1609, however, is a misprint of 1619 (see above, note 94). Unfortunately, Xu does not tell how many years ago, according to this copy, the Incarnation took place. When Xu Zongze says that *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* is a variant title, he may have found this information (absent in Pfister) in the copy he described, but possibly in another source (cf. note 86). The short summary Xu gives (p. 176) accords with the content of other editions, except that these do not use the terms *shouku* (the passion) and *fuhuo* (the resurrection), but these terms might be those used by Xu Zongze to describe ideas which are only implicitly present in the text (e.g. "with his own body he atoned for the sins of people", which refers to the passion). Another possibility is that it is a copy of another revised edition. An indication for the existence of such a revised edition is found in *Tianxue chuzheng* (in *Pixie ji*, 1643; WXXB 2.905-960), in which the monk Zhixu (1599-1655) refuted 22 incoherent statements (*butong zhe*) found in *Shengxiang lüeshuo* (without mentioning its author). Statements nos. 16 (there is in heaven place for all souls; p. 920) and 17 (nobody has ever seen the Buddhist heavens; p. 921), however, are absent in the 1615 edition and in a copy of the 1619 edition (BAV, *Borg. cin.* 350.18).

⁹⁷ Except the oldest list, which attributes it to Xu Guangqi (see above), later Western lists (17th century) of Chinese books on Christianity do not take it as a work by da Rocha (Bernard 1945, pp. 25, 33, 43 and 49). It is also absent in *Shengjiao xinzheng* (the Chinese counterpart of Couplet's *Catalogus Patrum*). Lists (ca. 1684) of printing blocks kept at churches in Peking, Hangzhou and Fuzhou include *Shengxiang lüeshuo*, see Bernard 1960, p. 354, no. 95 (Peking) and p. 358, no. 256 (Fuzhou), but these lists do not mention authors. One version of the Peking list (*Strag.* 13) replaced works by converts with works by Jesuits (see note 78), but not *Shengxiang lüeshuo*, which confirms that at least in the late 17th century it was not taken as a work by Xu.

and once in that attributed to an anonymous Jesuit and signed "Michael" instead of "Yang Tingyun". So it is possible that Yang originally criticized not Xu but a Jesuit for not mentioning the Lord-on-High. Moreover, editions attributed to Xu have *Shengxiang lüeshuo* as running title, while the other editions, like the 1619 edition or reprint, have *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo*. The latter title is mentioned in an inventory [p.129] of books present in the library of the Jesuit residence at Nanjing before 1 September 1616.⁹⁸ Though all 1615 editions are entitled *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* on the first column of the first folio (copies with a title page are not known to exist), the official who made the inventory may have taken the title *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo* from the running title, and thus from an edition attributed to a Jesuit. Another indication that the original edition was attributed to a Jesuit is the circumstance that Yang's colophon is lacking in most editions attributed to a Jesuit. In other words, Yang probably wrote it when the text had already been circulating for some time, for it is unlikely that his critical colophon had been appended to a first edition published by missionaries. Also the essay *Xiaoluan shuo*, which dates from shortly after August 1616 (see below), cannot have been appended to the 1615 edition. Therefore, if the first edition did include neither Yang's colophon nor the essay *Xiaoluan shuo*, the copies of editions (nos. 1-2 in the table)⁹⁹ which lack both Yang's

⁹⁸ An inventory of the Jesuit house at Nanking, made up in April 1617, mentions thirteen copies of *Tianzhu shengxiang lüe* (without *shuo*, possibly omitted by mistake); see Shen Que, *Nangong shudu* (1620), j. 3, f. 43a6. All items in this inventory were already in the house on 1 September 1616, when the inhabitants were arrested and the house was sealed. See Dudink (1996a).

⁹⁹ The presently current edition (*WXS*B, no. 3 in the table) is the only other copy without *Xiaoluan shuo*, but it has Yang's colophon, signed "Yang Tingyun" instead of "Migezi" (the latter signature probably being the original one, see below). Moreover, the title "*Tianzhu shengjiao lüeshuo*" (mentioned in the inventory of books present in the Nanjing residence before September 1616) is not found in this copy. Therefore it is unlikely that this is a copy of the original edition.

colophon and the essay *Xiaoluan shuo* are likely to be copies, or unaltered reprints, of the first edition. As these editions are attributed to an anonymous Jesuit, the conclusion should be that Xu Guangqi was not the author but that for some reason it was attributed to him. A final argument for concluding that the original edition was attributed to a Jesuit is the circumstance that the signature (to the colophon) "Migezi" (Michael) is found only in an edition attributed to a Jesuit (no. 4) and the signature "Yang Tingyun" only in editions attributed to Xu (nos. 5-9). It is likely that the signature "Migezi" is the original one.¹⁰⁰

Thus, although Juan da Rocha must have been the actual author, there may still be a connection with Xu. Da Rocha had baptized Xu and the latter took him (as Western sources say) as his spiritual father, so Xu may have helped him in writing a text intended for the common people. The text, clearly written from the viewpoint of a Western missionary, is quite simple in language and content. It does not use any Confucian terminology. One feature of this text that might suggest Xu agreed with its content is that *Shengxiang lüeshuo* is silent on the Sovereign-on-High. According to Longobardo (ca. 1623), Xu [p.130] did not regard the Lord of Heaven as the Sovereign-on-High of which the Classics speak.¹⁰¹ Yet although Xu's collaboration in writing

¹⁰⁰ Besides the colophons to *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* and *Xiaoluan shuo* (table, nos. 4, 5, 11), the signature "Migezi shi" is found in the colophon to the Fujian edition of *Bianxue yidu*, see *Poxie ji* 7.31b4 (Xia Guiqi, 1996 edition, p. 354); cf. Standaert, *Yang Tingyun ...*, pp. 57 (n.28), 179 (n.58).

¹⁰¹ "Je voulus encore sçavoir le sentiment du Docteur Paul, qui m'avoüa sincerement qu'il étoit persuadé, que le Roy d'enhaut ne pouvoit pas être nôtre Dieu, et que les Lettrez anciens ni les modernes, n'avoient eu aucune connoissance de Dieu; mais que nos Peres ayant pour de bonnes raisons, et principalement pour ne pas aliener les Letrrez, jugé à propos de donner le nom de Dieu au Roy d'enhaut, ils seroient aussi fort bien [bueno, y necessario] de luy donner les attributs qu'on donne au vray Dieu" (pp. 265-266), *Traité sur Quelques Points*, pp. 265-266 (cf. note 44 above). For further discussion of this passage, cf. Gernet 1985: 34, and Rule 1986 (see n. 47 above). The latter quotes the corresponding passage from Longobardo's text as translated in Navarrete's *Account of the Empire of China ...* (1704): "I put the

Shengxiang lüeshuo may testify to his idea that the Lord of Heaven is not the Sovereign-on-High, according to Longobardo Xu still defended the missionaries when they equated the Lord of Heaven with the Sovereign-on-High. This is confirmed by the fact that he published *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* and *Xingshi wenbian*.

The essay *Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo* figures as an appendix in several editions of *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* (see Table F, nos. 3-6). A short essay of which there are separate copies (nos. 11-12), it enumerates in fourteen points the differences between Christianity and heterodox Buddhist sects (White Lotus and Wuwei). In most copies the text is anonymous (nos. 4-6, 11-12) and, like *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo*, has a colophon signed by Michael or Yang Tingyun ("Migezi shi" or "Yang Tingyun shi"). Both the colophon and signature are printed in small type, and the signature follows the last character of the colophon (after four empty spaces and in the same column). In one copy (no. 12), however, the signature reads "signed by Michael Yang Tingyun, (*hao*:) Qiyuan, of Wulin" (f. 5a7) and appears after the colophon (ff. 4a7-5a6). As this signature is in the same size of characters as the main text (ff. 1a-4a6), Fang Hao took it as belonging to the main text and not to the colophon. Moreover, another copy of *Xiaoluan shuo* (no. 3), found in the untitled collection BNF Chinois 6915 (consulted by Fang; see Table F, note 4), explicitly mentions Yang as the author of *Xiaoluan shuo* (f. 1a2: *Qiyuan Yang Tingyun zhu*). Fang therefore wondered who has been the author of the

same question to Doctor Paul, who answered very ingeniously, that he was of the opinion, the king of the upper region could not be our God, and he believ'd neither the antient nor modern Chinese had any knowledge of God. But since the fathers upon good motives call that king God, that the learned Chinese might take no objections, and because this epithet was decent, he judged it good and requisite to give him the attributes we give to God. As for the soul, he said, he fancied the Chinese had some knowledge of it, but imperfect." For Navarrete's presentation of Longobardo's position, see Chapter 1, n. 83. [cf. D. Navarrete, *Tratados* (1676), f. 287 (n. 15).]

unsigned colophon. Western sources tell that when Shen Que had presented his first memorial (1616, fifth month) against the missionaries, one of them went to Li Zhizao with an *Apologia* that Yang Tingyun had composed to refute Shen's memorial. Li decided to have it printed and added a preface. As the unsigned colophon to *Xiaoluan shuo* strongly resembles Li's preface to Yang's *Shengshui jiyuan*, Fang concluded that it came from [p.131] the hand of Li.¹⁰² However, Ludovico Buglio in his *Tianzhu zhengjiao yuezheng* (1669) quotes the greatest part of this colophon as a statement by Yang.¹⁰³ This accords with those editions (table, nos. 4-6, 11), in which the colophon has been signed by Yang Tingyun or Michael.¹⁰⁴

When Western sources speak of an *Apologia* or booklet ("libretto") written by Yang, for which Li wrote a preface, this apparently refers to Yang's *Shengshui jiyuan*. Yang wrote an *Apologia* at a time when he had only heard that Shen Que was going to present a memorial, (which was actually presented during the fifth month, 14 June - 13 July, probably during its first half, i.e. the second half of June). Yang wrote it, while Longobardo was in Hangzhou. The latter took the text with him, when he visited Li Zhizao at Gaoyou (northeast

¹⁰² RWZ 1, p. 132; Kelly, p. 40, cf. p. 200. Fang Hao's source apparently was Semedo's *Histoire universelle du Grand Royaume de la Chine*, see the translation into modern French (Semedo 1996), p. 186; cf. Dunne, p. 131.

¹⁰³ BNF Chinois 6912, ff. 5a3-5b4 (without mentioning a title or speaking of a colophon) = *Xiaoluan shuo*, ff. 3b7-4a4 (pp. 46-47) .

¹⁰⁴ As to the edition (Table F, no. 12) reproduced in WXXB (for a 19th- or early 20th-century handwritten copy of the same edition, see WX 4.1815-1821), one wonders whether it reproduced an edition with the signature "Migezi shi", which signature one erased and replaced, on the next column and also after four empty spaces, with "Wulin Qiyuan Migezi Yang Tingyun shi" (WXXB 1.47). These eleven characters, however, do not have the same size as those in the main text. They are slightly smaller, as they occupy the space of only nine characters. The 'column' with these eleven characters is also slightly oblique. This all indicates that this signature is not the original one.

of Nanjing, along the Grand Canal), where Longobardo stayed for twenty days. Li wrote a preface ("prologo" or "proemio") and had it printed. Then Longobardo went to Nanjing with many copies (Vagnone, letter 1619, f. 2v). Longobardo left Nanjing at the end of August. Therefore, Yang must have written his *Apologia* in June, which was printed in July or early August. Yang sent Shen a copy, but Shen replied he was not willing to retract his memorial, which he had presented already more than a month earlier. In June 1616 Yang did not know the contents of Shen's memorial, so he refuted calumnies which he assumed would be in the memorial ("ribbatteva le calumnie di cui pensava essere gravido il memoriale", LA 1617). Moreover, Yang did not write this response under his own name, but pretended to be someone else who was completely unaware of Shen's intrigues ("infingendosi per altro ignorante d'ogni sua trama", LA 1617). Vagnone wrote in 1619 that Yang had composed an *Apologia*, in which he presented and examined, in the form of a dialogue, some calumnies and falsities told by people who are not well informed ("puoco intendati"). These descriptions of Yang's *Apologia* conform to his *Shengshui jiyan*, a text of nine folios (a "libretto"), which is written in the form of a dialogue and has a preface, not a colophon, by Li Zhizao. Moreover, the author, Mr. Yang, called himself Wuzhizi, "Mr. Ignorant" (cf. "ignorante d'ogni sua trama"), and answered to **[p.132]** the calumnies presented by Mr. Yuan or Duowenzi, "Mr. Heard A Lot" (i.e. relies on hearsay, cf. "puoco intendati"), who at the end of the dialogue excuses himself for his stupid questions. Another circumstance confirms that Yang's *Shengshui jiyan* is to be equated with his *Apologia* as described in Western sources: not all calumnies it refutes are found in Shen's memorial (such as practising alchemy), so it indeed deals with calumnies of which Yang assumed Shen would include in his memorial. Neither *Shengshui jiyan* nor Li's preface are

dated, but both speak of the arrival of the missionaries in China "more than thirty years ago" (f. 9a3; preface, f. 1a). This indicates that *Shengshui jiyān* dates at least from after 1611 (Ricci having arrived in China in Wanli 9 or 1681, according to Chinese sources).¹⁰⁵ Li's preface is found in Yang's *Juejiao tongwen ji*, for which collection Yang wrote his preface during the twelfth month of 1615, but this does not imply that Li's preface dates before that month, because the latest and last document in this collection dates 27 February 1617 (Wanli 45/1/22).

If Yang Tingyun's *Apologia* (1616) is not to be equated with *Xiaoluan shuo* (as Fang Hao thought) but with his *Shengshui jiyān*, and if the author of the colophon to *Xiaoluan shuo* is not Li Zhizao (as Fang Hao assumed) but Yang Tingyun, the latter can hardly have been the author of *Xiaoluan shuo* itself. In fact, *Xiaoluan shuo* is absent in the list of his Christian works enumerated in Yang's biography, composed by Ding Zhilin and Giulio Aleni around 1631.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the 1627 bibliography mentions a book by Yang, which cannot but refer to *Xiaoluan shuo* (see note 87). Moreover, according to the *Annual Letter*

¹⁰⁵ Compare in this respect Li Zhizao's preface to *Tianxue chuhan* (Xu Zongze 1949, p. 286), written in 1629 or 1630 (Liang Jiamian 1981, p. 180, note 25) and Li Jiubiao's postface (BNF Chinois 996 II.2, f. 1a2) to Aleni's Ricci-biography (autumn 1630), which both state that Ricci arrived fifty years before. Although Ricci and Ruggieri arrived in China (Zhaoqing, Guangdong) in September 1583 (in 1581 and 1582 Ruggieri stayed in Canton for short periods), in 17th-century Chinese sources the year of Ricci's arrival, regarded as the beginning of the mission, is unanimously given as Wanli 9 or "1581" (4.2 1581 - 23.1 1582), which might refer to his arrival in Macao.

¹⁰⁶ Standaert, *Yang Tingyun...*, p. 70 (not mentioned in YQ); for this biography (YQ), see WX (1996), 2.217-237, esp. p. 236 (f. 10b, list of Yang's works). In an anti-Christian essay (PXJ 6.2b; Xia, p. 283), Lin Qilu tells that in 1635 he met Aleni in Zhangzhou (Fujian) who gave him several books (of which he does not mention the authors): *Tianzhu shiyi*, *Shengshui jiyān*, *Bianxue yidu*, *Xiaoluan shuo* and *Daiyi xubian*. Therefore, Aleni must have known this text when he composed Yang's biography. This biography dates after Li Zhizao's death on 1 November 1630 (see f. 1b1; WX 1.218: Li Wocun hui Zhizao).

of 1623, Yang is the author of both *Xiaoluan shuo* and the "concluding discourse" (i.e. the colophon):

Dr Michael composed a book entitled Hiao Luon Pu Pim Mim Xue (*Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo*), which means: Discourse that the eagle and the owl do not sing in the same way. In this tract he concisely and elegantly set forth 28 differences between the Law of God and the other forbidden sects in China. ... he concluded [this tract] with a discourse in praise of its preachers, in which he [p.133] states that there is infallible proof of the truth someone preaches through the way he lives. (f. 399v)¹⁰⁷

The passage then mentions another, later book, namely Yang's *Daiyi bian* (1621) and confirms that *Xiaoluan shuo* dates from before 1621, as already suggested by the colophon which states that Ricci had arrived in China "more than thirty years ago" (f. 4b9, WXXB 1.46).

During the short anti-Christian incident of 1622 in Nanjing following the White Lotus rebellion of that year in Shandong, Xu Guangqi sent a letter to Xu Bida, a censor at Nanjing in charge of the troops along the Grand Canal. Xu Bida had included Christianity among the sects to be prosecuted, and according to the *Annual Letter* of 1622 (compiled by A. de Semedo), Xu Guangqi presented in his letter "fourteen principal points by which he showed that the Law of the Lord of Heaven was clearly different from the Pelien (White Lotus)."¹⁰⁸ From

¹⁰⁷ "fez o Doutor Miguel hum livro, cujo titulo he Hiao Luon pu pim Mim Xue, que quer dizer, Discurso de como a Aguia e Coruja Não Cantad da Mesma Maniera. Neste tratad con brevidade e elegancia aponta 28 differencas da Ley de Dios con as outras seitas reprovadas na China ..., conclude con hum discurso em louvar dos Pregadores della, onde diz, que he infalivel prova da verdade que hum prega a vida que vive", see *Annual Letter* of 1623; Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon), Jesuitas na Asia, 49-V-6, ff. 105r-131v (Portuguese version by Francisco Furtado, Hangzhou, 10 April 1624); 49-V-7, ff. 377r-409v (Latin version by Johann Schreck, Hangzhou, 10 May 1624). Compare the beginning of the colophon: "In order to see whether a doctrine is orthodox or heretical, one should examine the quality of its leaders ..." (Kelly, p. 306, line 7 from the bottom; 凡教之邪正當觀主教之何如人, WXXB 1.46).

¹⁰⁸ A. Semedo (comp.), *Annual Letter* 1622, p. 185. Semedo states the same in his *Histoire universelle*, p. 343 (Duteil ed., p. 209). Cf. Standaert, *Yang Tingyun* ..., p.

Xu Bida's letter to Xu Guangqi we know that the latter had sent him *Xiaoluan shuo*, which essay Xu Bida literally quotes several times.¹⁰⁹ Xu Bida does not mention the author of the essay, but states: "First, when I had read your letter (*shoujiao*), I greatly felt that the hatred of vicious youth as a cause (for the accusations against Christianity) had not yet been investigated, but when I had read *Eluan bu bing ming shuo* ...".¹¹⁰ This may indicate, as also Semedo's report does, that Xu Guangqi himself has been the author of the essay sent to Xu Bida. Another indication for Xu's authorship might be the circumstance that in some editions an anonymous *Xiaoluan shuo* follows *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* carrying Xu Guangqi's name (see Table F, nos. 5-6). In other words, in these editions the author's name was perhaps not repeated when *Xiaoluan shuo* was appended to *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo*. [p.134] This argument is not very strong, however, since an anonymous *Xiaoluan shuo* also follows a *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* carrying the name of a Jesuit (see Table F, no. 4). The argument that Xu was much concerned about the accusation that Christianity was an heterodox sect like the White Lotus, is not very strong too. This accusation was put forward implicitly by Shen Que, but explicitly by Yu Maozi in his memorial of 31 August 1616. In a letter to his family

93. Instead of Pelien (White Lotus), the Latin version of this *Annual Letter* has Unguei kiao (Wuwei jiao, Non Action Teaching).

¹⁰⁹ Xu Bida, *Nanzhou cao*, 21.33a-b (Yu Xu Xuanhu gongzhan); cf. Ter Haar, *The White Lotus* ..., p. 235; Standaert, *Yang Tingyun* ..., pp. 70-71, sub no. 4; Dunne, *Generations of Giants* ..., p. 160. Xu Bida quoted five of the 14 differences mentioned in *Xiaoluan shuo* (nos. 1, 2, 5, 6 and 14).

¹¹⁰ *Nanzhou cao*, j. 21, f. 33a6-7 (reading e for xiao): chu du shoujiao shen yi wei jiu suo you eshao wei hen ji yue Eluan bu bing ming shuo ze you buneng wu yi yu ci jiao ye. For 'eshao', see *Xiaoluan shuo*, f. 3b3-4 (p. 44), referring to a petition against Christianity presented by a group of *xiucai* in Nanchang (Jiangxi) in late 1607, which petition Shen Que had used when formulating his accusations (*Annual Letter* 1616-1617, p. 177). For this petition, see Ter Haar, *White Lotus* ... , p. 219; Kelly, p. 115. [Cf. my article in Mon.Ser. 48 (2000), p. 231]

written shortly afterwards (11-30 September), Xu stated that Yu "does not know the priests very well, but in a memorial he outlined some even-handed arguments, which have been very effective".¹¹¹ Still this statement does not prove that Xu wrote *Xiaoluan shuo*. Unfortunately, contemporary Western sources are rather vague on the precise nature of the apologies and tracts written by Xu Guangqi and Yang Tingyun to refute the memorials by Shen Que and others. The *Annual Letter* of 1617 enumerates these memorials presented up to medio October 1616 and then continues:

In the meantime, Dr Paul answered to all these [memorials] with his second *Apologia*, which he joined to the first and another one by Dr Michel, with a memorial and with other tracts composed during this period of persecution, [all of which writings] constituted quite a big volume of disputes.¹¹²

This testimony thus only shows that during these years Xu did not confine himself to writing his well-known memorial of August 1616 (*Bianxue zhangshu*) in which he refuted Shen Que's first memorial.

¹¹¹ XGQJ 2.492 (translation: Gail King 1991, p. 25). The handwritten description on the cover of *Zhaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo* (BAV, RGO III, 221.6), to which *Xiaoluan shuo* must have been appended (see Table F, no. 8), reads: "Sæ Imaginis Salvatoris explicatio, et Sæ Legis Antithesis cum Bonzaico, sub nomine Doctoris Pauli", which suggests that also Philippe Couplet took *Xiaoluan shuo* as a tract by Xu; for the Latin titles of the books Couplet presented to the Pope in 1685, see Secondino Gatta, *Il natural lume de Cinesi* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 37), Nettetal, 1998, esp. p. 127, no. 112 (= RGO III, 221.6).

¹¹² "Con tutto ciò dormivano i memoriali appresso al Rè; e tra tanto il Dottor Paolo rispose a tutti essi con la seconda Apologia, che aggiunta alla prima, & ad un'altra del Dottor Michele, col memoriale, e con altri trattati in questo torchio di persecutione espressi, formano un ben grosso volume di dispute" (LA 1617, p. 207). Semedo in his *Histoire universelle* states virtually the same: "Tous ces mémoires entrèrent au Palais impérial, sans qu'il en sorte jamais aucune réponse. Pendant ce temps, le Docteur Paul composa une seconde Apologie, pour répondre aux calomnies que nos ennemis nous imposaient. De ce texte et de celui du Docteur Michel, ainsi que d'autres traités et requêtes, on composa un volume entier" (Semedo 1996, p. 194).

EIGHT RELIGIOUS POEMS, attributed to Xu Guangqi

The five poems included in *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* could well be authentic. Xu certainly did not compose the eulogy on Jesus, and in all probability the same may be concluded of the other two poems, the eulogy on Mary and *Zhengdao tigang*.

[p.135]

1) *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* (or *Guijie zhenzan*)

Shengjiao guijie zhenzan (f. 1a1), "composed by Xu Guangqi of Wusong, disciple of the Luminous Teaching (Jingjiao houxue)" (f. 1a2), contains five tetrasyllabic poems (reproduced in *XWDGJ*, j. 1, pp. 3-5). *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* is included in an untitled and undated collection of short texts in different and undated editions (see note 34). As the latest text in this collection dates from 1669, the edition of *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* may be from before the 1670s. Of this undated edition there are separate copies: (ARSI) *Jap.Sin.* I, 138 and (BNF) Chinois 7176.¹¹³ In Xu's collected works, compiled by Li Di (1896), the five poems are absent. Xu Yunxi, who received an old print of *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* from the Jesuit Archive (ARSI), included them in the second edition (1909).¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Same print and layout as the copy included in the just mentioned untitled collection. For text and translation of the five poems, see Wang Xiaochao (1998), pp. 115-122.

¹¹⁴ This might be the copy (*Shengjiao guijie*) in the Zikawei library (section 220, Xu 425), a copy that Xu Zongze in his catalogue did not describe. It came from a rich collection of Chinese texts kept at E-ke-sa-dun in Austria (Aoguo), as Xu Yunxi tells in his preface (reprinted in the 1933 edition and in *XGQJ* 2.605; cf. Wu Deduo 1986,

The first poem (52 lines) is a general hymn on the Christian teachings. According to a note (*XWDGJ*, j. 1, p. 3), it is found in *Suzhou fuzhi*.¹¹⁵ Wu Deduo (1986, p. 153) emphasises the importance of this note (without further explaining it). He blames Wang Zhongmin (*XGQJ*, *Fanli*, p. 38) for omitting this information and immediately concluding that these five poems had been falsely attributed to Xu. A note on the church at Suzhou (*Suzhou Tianzhu tang ji*) in *Suzhou fuzhi* (ca 1691) does indeed contain the first poem in *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan*. The note states that in the early Shunzhi period Brancati and de Gravina came to Suzhou and built a church there. In 1680 (Kangxi 19) Couplet and Gabiani rebuilt it in the present location. In this church one finds the text of the Nestorian stele, a eulogy by Xu, a tablet (*qinchong Tiandao*, Revering the Celestial Way) and a inscription, both by the Shunzhi emperor, as well as a tablet with the characters *jing Tian* written and presented by the present emperor in the winter of *xinhai* (1671). The note concludes with the texts of Xu's eulogy (*Xu Guangqi zan*) and the Shunzhi emperor's inscription (*Shizu Zhang huangdi yuzhi Tianzhu tang beiming*).¹¹⁶ [p.136] When in 1658

p. 153; Wang Xiaochao 1998, p. 110, identifying the place with Achesbaden, without further justification). E-ke-sa-dun, however, is the castle Exaeten near Baexem in the Dutch province of Limburg. A part of the Roman Jesuit Archive was transferred in 1890-1893 to Exaeten, then in 1927 to the Jesuit college at Valkenburg (in Dutch Limburg) and in August 1939 again to Rome. See J. Tetschitel S.J., *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 4 (1961), pp. 247-254 (with thanks to Dr. Noël Golvers for referring me to this article). Cf. *Momumenta Serica* 41 (1993), pp. 129, 139: an anonymous note, dated 1912, on a *Jap.Sin.* document, which note Léon Wieger S.J must have written "cum esset in Exaten".

¹¹⁵ This note is absent in the other copies (ARSI, BNF). Xu Yunxi probably added this note, as it is likely he received a photocopy from ARSI (not a duplicate). He may have taken the information from elsewhere, e.g. *Tianzhu tang jishi ji* (see next note).

¹¹⁶ For the 'note' in *Suzhou fuzhi* (j. 39, f. 48), see *Tianzhu tang jishi ji*, a manuscript made after 1892, once kept in the Zikawei library (number 640 C) and published in *WX*, vol. 5, pp. 2391-2438 (for the passage quoted from *Suzhou fuzhi*, see ff. 8a-9a2, pp. 2402-2404). Cf. H. Havret, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, vol. II,

Brancati opened a church in Suzhou (with financial support of Candida Xu), the Shunzhi emperor sent a tablet with the text *qinchong Tiandao*. On one side of this tablet a copy of the Nestorian stele was placed and on the other side the text of Xu's eulogy (Pfister 225). This eulogy is found in late Ming editions of Aleni's *Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilüe* and may have been there since the first edition (1635). It was printed on one folio (8 col. / 14 char.) with the title "Poem of the great hymn" (*Dazan shi*), composed by "Grand Secretary, (*hao*:) Xuanhu, Xu Guangqi". Like the first (untitled) poem in *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan*, the eulogy starts with *wei huang* and ends with *de xin* (f. 1a2-1b8). In some copies this folio is found at the beginning of *Yanxing jilüe* (even in copies consisting of only the last chapters) and in other copies at the end. So it may have been stitched to it in later editions.¹¹⁷ The same folio is found at the end of a copy of Aleni's *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* (1637).¹¹⁸ In ca. 1643 Andrea-Xavier Koffler S.J. donated this copy to William Thurston and it is probably a copy of a reprint made around that time at Nanking.

Histoire du monument (Shanghai 1897), pp. 87, 92-93; P. Pelliot, *L'Inscription ...*, pp. 77-78, note 88.

¹¹⁷ Bibl. Naz. Centr. (Rome), no. 72 C.496. This is the same edition as BNF Chinois 6709, with even the same date (1635, VII), but instead of "reverently printed by the Jingjiao church of Jinjiang," it reads "collated and printed by the scholar Han Yun of Sanjin (Shanxi)," see the end of *juan* 8. This edition is likely to be a late Ming reprint. The poem, on one folio in the same layout as mentioned above, is also found at the end of a late Ming (?) reprint of Aleni's *Yanxing jilüe* (main text as Chinois 6709) published by the Jingjiao church at Minzhong (Fuzhou, Fujian). Couplet took a copy of it to Europe when he left China in December 1681 (BAV, Racc. gen. or., III, 219.5-6). The poem is absent in Chinois 6709 itself and in the incomplete copies 6710, 6712, 6714, but it is present in several other editions, e.g. Chinois 6717 (dated 1704, poem at the end). The poem is even present in incomplete copies: at the end of Chinois 6711 (j. 3-8) and the beginning of 6713 (j. 5-8).

¹¹⁸ Bodleian Library, Oxford, Sinica 60. On the front cover Koffler wrote in Portuguese a dedication to Thurston. A copy of the same text Koffler donated in ca. 1643 to Jan Maetsuyker (1606-1678), see E. Kraft, "Ein Koffler Autograph", in *China und Europa* (see note 92), pp. 26-29, but Kraft does not mention the presence of a folio containing Xu's poem.

After this eulogy on the Christian teachings, there follow four eulogies on separate subjects: the Ten Commandments (*Shijie zhenzan*), the Seven Virtues Overcoming Sin (*Kezui qide zhenzan*), the Eight Beatitudes (*Zhenfu baduan zhenzan*) and the Fourteen Works of Mercy (*Aijin shisi duan zhenzan*).¹¹⁹ They are preceded by the texts of the Ten Commandments, the Seven Virtues Overcoming Sin, the Eight Beatitudes and the Fourteen Works of Mercy, [p.137] texts taken from the catechism *Tianzhu jiaoyao* (but slightly different from early seventeenth-century versions such as Vagnone's *Jiaoyao jielüe*, 1615). These introductory texts contain short notes (in a smaller type) with additional explanation. Moreover, notes after the poems 2, 4 and 5 refer for further explanation to *Shijie zhiquan* (Dias, 1644), to a tract on the Eight Beatitudes (probably Schall's *Zhenfu xunquan*, 1634) and to *Aijin xingquan* (Rho, 1633).¹²⁰ So these notes were added after 1644. The collection *Tianxue jijie* (ca. 1680) reproduces the four eulogies also under Xu's name, but calls them inscriptions (*ming*) instead of eulogies (*zhenzan*). They lack a collective title, have a different order and precede the 'introductory' texts (in which the notes are lacking) taken from the catechism.¹²¹ Therefore, the *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* edition (Chinois 6915 VII, 7176 and *Jap.Sin.* I, 138),

¹¹⁹ As these four eulogies deal with commandments (*guijie*) and the first is a general eulogy on the Christian teachings, one may translate *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* "eulogies on the Holy Teaching and its commandments". Possibly Xu Yunxi gave the first eulogy (also known as *Dazan shi*, see above) the title *Guijie zhenzan* (which in other copies is the running title of the collection *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan*).

¹²⁰ BNF Chinois 6915 VII, 7176, *Jap.Sin.* I, 138: eulogy 1 (ff. 1a3-1b4); eulogies 2-5: title, introductory text and main text (ff. 1b5-2a4, 2a5-2b3, 2b4-3a7, 3a8-4a1); notes, ff. 2a4, 3a7, 4a1-2. Wang Xiaochao (see note 113) translated the *XWDGJ* edition (1909), which did not reproduce the introductory texts and the notes.

¹²¹ *TXJJ* 2.4b-8b (order: 2, 4, 5, 3). The additional notes mentioning the books by Dias, etc., are lacking. The eulogy (no. 1) on the Christian teachings is absent.

published between 1644 and probably the 1670s, has not been the sole edition of these four eulogies, and possibly not the first edition. As such, *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* is not a work by Xu, but only the eulogies, which are typographically set apart (19 instead of 20 characters per column). Although the five eulogies were already attributed to Xu shortly after his death, this does not solve the question whether he actually composed them. When they are presented as poems of Xu, "disciple of the Luminous Teaching" (*Jingjiao houxue*), this does not guarantee that Xu, who called himself this way, was the actual author or that he composed them after the spring of 1625 (when the discovery of the Nestorian stele in 1623 was first heard of).¹²² In any event, *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan* is a collection of Xu's religious poems, collected during the first decades of the Qing from two sources: one source containing a eulogy on the Christian teachings and another four eulogies on subjects treated in the Catechism (*Tianzhu jiaoyao*). While the first poem already existed in 1635 or shortly afterwards and is found in *Suzhou fuzhi* (1691), the other four poems existed from at least the 1670s. For the moment, I cannot find arguments to seriously doubt their attribution to Xu.¹²³

[p.138]

¹²² Xu used this name, when he edited *Tuiyan zhengdao lun*, see above (sub *Zizou oubian*).

¹²³ Liang Jiamian only mentions Xu's *Kezui qide zhenzan*, under the year 1604, when Xu collaborated on the edition of de Pantoja's *Qike* (p. 73). Apparently he found the date of 1604 in the review of this book in *Siku quanshu* which erroneously dates it 1604 / *jiachen* (instead of 1614 / *jiayin*). As the eulogy, like the other three, deals with a subject treated in the catechism, it is not certain at all that there is any connection with the publication of *Qike*.

2) The poems "Eulogy on the image of Jesus" (*Yesu xiang zan*), "Eulogy on the image of Mary" (*Shengmu xiang zan*) and "The principal traits of the orthodox Way" (*Zhengdao tigang*).

Without indicating his source, Li Di included these three poems in *XWDGJ*.¹²⁴ The earliest source which to my knowledge includes these poems as Xu's is *Daoxue jia zhuan* (henceforth: *DXJZ*). In a bibliographical note on this text, Wang Zhongming mentions that this contains writings by Xu, without specifying which writings.¹²⁵ According to Wang, *DXJZ* was compiled by an unidentified person in 1816.¹²⁶ He deduced this date from the remark in the text that 5,816 years have elapsed from the Creation to Jiaqing 21 (1816). Other

¹²⁴ *XWDGJ* (1933), *juan* 1, pp. 1-2. In his preface (reproduced in *XGQJ* 2.602) Li Di stated that he had acquired three eulogies (*xiangzan*, i.e. including *Yu Ziru xiansheng xiangzan*) and one item (entitled) *Yuandao* (i.e. *Zhengdao*). For the text (reproduced from *XWDGJ*) and a translation of these three poems, see Wang Xiaochao (1998), pp. 112-117.

¹²⁵ Wang 1983, appendix (*Zhongguo shanbenshu tiba*), pp. 3-4 (no. 8). *DXJZ* contains the following writings of Xu's: these three poems and *Bianxue zoushu* (1616). For a copy (made in 1865) of *DXJZ* (Fujen 091R, cf. *SWCRJ* XVIII/1996, p. 25), see *WX*, vol. 3, pp. 1025-1228 (the three poems: pp. 1132-1135). The Zikawei library owned a second copy of *DXJZ* (Fujen University, no. 090R), presently at the library of the Academia Sinica, Taipei, like the other Zikawei documents which until recently were kept at Fujen University.

¹²⁶ Alias: Puxuan houxue (signature of the undated introduction). In the ms. copy (119 ff. [7/20], i.e. 118 ff., f. 88 numbered 89, etc.) preserved at the Korean Christian Museum, Seoul (libr. no. 377, photocopy at Ferdinand Verbiest Project, Catholic University of Louvain) the signature 'Puxuan houxue' is found after the poem (on p. 1029), which follows the introduction (pp. 1026-1028). In the Zikawei copies and the copy at the National Library of Australia, Canberra (Fang Hao, *RWZ* 3.63), the name Puxuan houxue is lacking.

copies speak of 5,808 years and Jiaqing 13 (1808).¹²⁷ So around 1800 the three poems already existed as a set.¹²⁸

The eulogies on Jesus and Mary (but not the poem *Zhengdao tigang*) are included in *Bianxue*, a unique manuscript (owned by Fang Hao) dating of the second half of the nineteenth century. Most texts in it date of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The collection opens (after an untitled and anonymous poem in praise of the missionaries) with eight items:

- 1) *Chidao gonggui lue* (Summary of the sundial);
- 2-5) four eulogies on Church Fathers (Augustine, Gregory, Ambrose and Jerome);
- 6-7) two eulogies on Jesus and of Mary;
- [p.139]**
- 8) a text on the special head-gear worn during the Mass (a privilege Pope Paul V in 1615 accorded to the missionaries in China), for the first time during a Mass at the house of Sun Yuanhua at Jiading on 14 November 1618 (Wanli 46/11/28).

The source for the last item is *Xu Wending gong cungao*. This collection, as Fang remarks, apparently included all eight items, because the eulogies on Jesus and Mary are those that elsewhere are attributed to Xu. When Fang points out that the eulogies on Church

¹²⁷ Fujen 090R, f. 19b; 091R, f. 19b (p. 1063); the copy consulted by Fang Hao (RWZ 3.63).

¹²⁸ The latest text mentioned is de Mailla's *Shengnian guangyi* of 1738 (p. 1104), but *DJXZ* cannot date from much before 1808. It mentions Directors of the Bureau of Astronomy during the Yongzheng, Qianlong and Jiaqing periods (pp. 1211-1212). Moreover, its first part heavily relies on names and data found in especially the Book of Genesis and supplied to the author by a priest (see pp. 1026, 1028). Towards 1800 Louis de Poirot S.J. (1735-1814) made the first Chinese translation of the Old Testament.

Fathers are absent in Li Di's *XWDGJ*, it remains unclear whether he meant that this shows that they are not authentic and, therefore, justifies his decision not to reproduce the texts. But he also did not reproduce the text of the other four items.¹²⁹ It seems that he wanted to give a description of the manuscript *Bianxue* without having to solve the problem of the authenticity of several unique items.¹³⁰ I could not find any further reference to the collection *Xu Wending gong cungao*. As the other six items are absent in *XWDGJ*, Li Di and subsequent editors apparently did not know of this collection. The eulogies on Jesus and Mary in *XWDGJ* slightly differs from those reproduced in *Bianxue*, and *Zhengdao tigang* from that in *DXJZ*. Therefore, Li Di must have reproduced these three poems from another source.

a) "Eulogy on the image of Jesus" (*Yesu xiang zan*)

This eulogy, entitled *Tianzhu xiang zan* (10 lines), is found in Xu Leshan's *Shizhi zhai gao* (6.53a), edited by Xu Guangqi (see above note 26). It is entirely unlikely, as Wang Zhongmin remarks, that the latter wrote the eulogy and included it in *Shizhi zhai gao*.¹³¹ Moreover,

¹²⁹ Fang Hao, "*Bianxue* chaoben jilüe", in: *Fang Hao liushi ziding gao, bubian* (Taipei, December 1969), pp. 2905-2913 (first published in 1944). According to Fang, the latest date mentioned is 1811 (*Jiaqing* 16), although the manuscript, when he acquired it, was certainly not older than a hundred years (p. 2905). However, the memorial in which the date 1811 occurs is a memorial by Huang Entong, dated 4 September 1848 (reproduced in *WX*, vol. 5, pp. 2121-2132; cf. *SWCRJ* 18/1996, p. 29, no. 117R). I wish to thank Dr. Chu Pingyi (Academia Sinica, Taipei) for having sent me a photocopy of the ms. *Bianxue*, kept at National Zhengzhi University (Shehui kexue ziliao zhongxin).

¹³⁰ He only gave a summary of the last item (p. 2907). For the version of Xu's poem on Jesus as reproduced in *Bianxue*, see Fang Hao, "Xu Wending Yesu xiang zan jiaoyi" (1942; Fang 1969, pp. 1604-1606).

¹³¹ *XGQJ*, *Fanli*, p. 38. The first two lines of this poem are found in a text (undated) on a banderol composed by Wang Zheng (d. 1644): *wu shi wu zhong, li tiandi zhi zhuzai* ... / *quan neng quan shan, zhao renwu zhi genzong* ... ; see Li Zhiqin, *Wang*

the version attributed to Xu Guangqi is two lines longer. These lines (7-8) deal with the incarnation (*ben wuxing zhi keyi, nai jiangsheng zhi yirong*). They must have been inserted to make the eulogy more orthodox. Other slight revisions served the same purpose. As to the Lord of Heaven's position, the original line 12 says that "its principle is mysterious and difficult to investigate" (*nanqiong*), instead [p.140] of "cannot be investigated" (*wuqiong* c.q. *muqiong*).¹³² The original line 6 reads: the Lord of Heaven "pervades the creatures, and is alike to them (*guan shulei, xi, you tong*)", instead of "transcends the creatures, and is not alike to them (*chao shulei, xi, fei tong*)". This revised version circulated at least since 1637, when it was included in *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie*, the book that contains 55 illustrations to Aleni's "Life of Jesus" (*Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilüe*, 1635). The poem is found in a cartouche below the picture of Jesus (on the folio after the preface). Fang Hao says that Aleni's *Chuxiang jingjie* is the oldest source for Xu Guangqi's poem on Jesus (p. 1605). In fact, the poem is anonymous there and it is only the oldest source for the revised version. At least since ca. 1800 (*DXJZ*) it has been attributed to Xu Guangqi.¹³³ Since it is absent in *Shengjiao guijie zhenzan*,

Zheng yizhu (Xi'an: Shenxi renmen chubanshe, 1987), p. 281, reproduced from the manuscript *Wang Duanjie gong shiwen*.

¹³² The eulogy in *DXJZ* reads *nan qiong; niyi* (l. 7) for *keyi* and *zhi da gong* (l. 10) for *yi da gong* (090R, f. 73b; 091R, f. 54b, p. 1133). For these corrections and minor variants in other versions, see Fang Hao's article mentioned in note 130. He assumed that the 'corrected' version is the original and that Xu Leshan revised it (p. 1605). Later he pointed out that Wang Zhongmin rightly remarked that Xu Guangqi did not compose *Da xiangren shu* and *Yesu xiang zan*, although this does not justify the conclusion that also other religious writings attributed to Xu are not genuine (*RWZ* 1.101). Wang Xiaochao, although reproducing Wang Zhongmin's arguments, does not mention the existence of different versions of *Yesu xiang zan* (also not mentioned by Wang Zhongmin either) which he takes as a text by Xu (1998, pp. 109, 111); for text and translation of the revised version, see pp. 112-113.

¹³³ Besides four versions (in *Chuxiang jingjie*, *Shizhi zhai gao*, *Bianxue* and *XWDGJ*), Fang consulted three other versions. However, he merely concentrated on variants

published between 1644 and ca 1670, the attribution apparently dates from after 1670.

b) "Eulogy on the image of Mary" (*Shengmu xiang zan*).¹³⁴

Against Wang Zhongmin's doubt about the authenticity of Xu's religious poems, Wu Deduo (1986, p. 153) replies that there are no arguments why Xu could not have composed such poems. Nevertheless, Wu does not give real arguments for such a supposition. He only points out that the language in the eulogy on Mary is quite formal and without real content and that it is not surprising that Xu, being both an official and a convert, wrote such a poem. The question is, however, whether the language in this poem should be characterized as formal and without real content.¹³⁵ It treats Mary in a [p.141] very traditional way: her immaculate conception and her

and did not say how old these three versions are (one of them contains an inscription of 1736) and whether they attribute the poem to Xu Guangqi. One copy of *Chuxiang jingjie* includes Xu's poem *Wei Huang* (see note 118), which may have induced someone to attribute the anonymous poem below the picture of Jesus also to Xu.

¹³⁴ In the text reproduced by Li Di there are two variants as compared with the text in *DXJZ*. Instead of *zunmu* it reads *zhenmu*, and *tezhang* for *xianzhang*. The version in the ms. *Bianxue* has the following variants: *jiushi zhu* for *zuo zaowu*, *tongshen* for *zhenshen*, *ciren* for *quanren*. For text (as reproduced by Li Di) and translation, see Wang Xiaochao (1998), p. 114.

¹³⁵ Wang Xiaochao (1998, p. 111) expresses the same doubt on this argument of Wu Deduo's (quoted on p. 110). However, I much doubt Wang's interpretation that the poem treats Mary as a female deity (p. 114, note 15) in a very Chinese way (cf. p. 188, note 80), is a rather questionable interpretation, and is presented without further justification. For example, *shen* (line 9) is translated as 'gods' instead of 'angels' (i.e. *tianshen*); subsequently this is explained as a possible misunderstanding of the orthodox Christian doctrine that regards Mary as more honourable than the angels (p. 187, note 73; p. 188, note 78). On the other hand, Wang sees in the third line "she is sinless in the womb of time" (*yuan zhi yu tai wu zui*) an incidental reference to the Catholic theology of the immaculate conception of Mary (p. 114, note 23). In my opinion, this is not incidental, as the entire poem expresses such theological ideas.

becoming the mother of God (l. 1-4), her role in man's salvation as 'mediatrix' of all grace (l. 5-8), her position above the angels and saints (l. 9-12). The first line (*zuo zaowu zhi zunmu*) reads like the beginning of the hymn *Alma Redemptoris Mater*: "Alma... mater... tu quae genuisti... tuum sanctum Genitorem."¹³⁶ The last line (*mei feichang er mo lun*) reminds of a line in the hymn *Ave Regina*: "super omnes speciosa, vale, o valde decora." This hymn calls Mary "Domina angelorum" and line 9 says something similar (*wei yue zhushen, xi, yi shang*). Hymns such as *Alma Redemptoris Mater* and *Ave Maris Stella* call her "caeli porta," which is reminiscent of *tian men* (l. 8). All this is so traditional that one wonders whether such hymns stood as models for the eulogy.¹³⁷ If so, the attribution to Xu Guangqi becomes doubtful, quite apart from the circumstance that the eulogy might be of a rather late date.¹³⁸

c) The poem *Zhengdao tigang*.

¹³⁶ The version in the ms. *Bianxue* (see note 119) reads *jiushi zhu* instead of *zuo zaowu*, which (*jiushi zhu zhi zunmu*) is a literal translation of the line "alma redemptoris mater".

¹³⁷ Chinese hymns on Mary of an earlier date may have served as model for this eulogy. A short poem on Mary (anonymous and untitled), probably meant to be written on a banderol (*duilian*), is found on p. 108 of an account book (1674-1676) of François de Rougemont, a missionary at Changshu, Jiangsu (with thanks to Dr. Noël Golvers, who in 1999 published a critical edition of the account book). Several parts of it are the same as, or similar to, parts of the eulogy on Mary (12 lines) attributed to Xu (and entirely the same as a variant version of the eulogy on Mary, see Table C). Probably de Rougemont himself did not compose this poem. He may have reproduced parts of hymns on Mary circulating then.

¹³⁸ First trace around 1800 (see above). Note in this respect that the anonymous and corrected version of Xu Leshan's poem on Jesus was appended to Aleni's "Illustrated Life of Jesus" (1637). The first edition of Vagnone's "Life of Mary" (*Shengmu xingshi*, 1629) and its 1680 reprint (reproduced in *WXS*), however, do not include Xu's poem on Mary. This suggests it did not yet exist during the 17th century.

There are two versions of this poem, which I call version A and B. Li Di reproduced the latter version (60 lines of varying length, in all 345 characters) in *XWDGJ* (1896) without indicating his source.¹³⁹ Version A, found in [p.142] *Daoxue jia zhuan* (1808), is shorter (301 characters) and differs in content, especially the second part of the poem (see table D). The poem first speaks of the Creation and the Fall. During the several thousands of years after the Fall various heterodox teachings developed, but Confucius and Mencius remained aware of the true origin. In version B, "the several thousands of years" (l. 19) extend to the present time, and people believing in Confucius and Mencius only have a sketchy knowledge of the origin. Because complete knowledge of the origin is the result of revelation, version B erased the statement (l. 20-21) that relying on one's innate abilities it is difficult -- and not impossible -- to understand (*wu*) what heterodoxy is. The poet speaks of "realising (*jue*) that the universe has a beginning and an end," but version B changed *jue* into *gan* (l. 54), because such knowledge is based on an influence from outside (i.e. revelation). Version A, while praising the Christian teaching, remains Confucian in outlook. Amid a variety of heterodoxies Confucius and Mencius kept to true knowledge. We, Chinese, turn to the learned men from the West who help us to return to Confucius and Mencius instead of following Buddhism and Taoism. Version B changed 'learned men' (*boshi*) into 'missionaries' (*chuanjiao shi*, l. 41) and omitted *shi* (to

¹³⁹ *XWDGJ*, j. 1, p. 2 (version B, lines counted according to the interpunction); for a summary, see *FR*, II, p. 252, note 4; for text and translation, see Wang Xiaochao (1998), pp. 123-126 (divided into 44 lines). Version B is also found in the copy of *DXJZ* preserved in Korea (see note 126) and made in 1851; see f. 25a: from the Incarnation to Xianfeng 1 (1851), 1,850 years have elapsed.

For version A, see *DXJZ*, Fujen 090R (not reproduced in *WX*), ff. 73b-74b; 091R, f. 55 (*WX*, pp. 1134-1135). In the latter copy, made in 1865, someone inserted the text of version B between the columns. Because of these insertions (and deletions) the original text is sometimes hard to read (see, however, 090R). Note that table D, at the end of this article, does not include a few minor variants.

take as a teacher) because missionaries transmit a revealed message which is not their own. Version A certainly condemns Buddhism and Taoism, but the tone is mild. It merely asks whether following these teachings and performing their rituals has ever resulted in happiness and fortune. In version B the tone is sharp. Rethorical questions are omitted (l. 33-34) and outright condemnation follows in the inserted lines 35-38: by beating and cursing Buddhist and Taoist monks one does not enter hell; serving the Buddha means becoming the slave of monks (l. 37), and revering the Ten Kings of Hell eventually results in misfortune (l. 38).

These differences show that version B is a revised and more orthodox version (the Christian teaching is superior, not equal to that of Confucius and Mencius). Relying on the tradition that Xu is the author of the poem one should conclude that he wrote version A. Moreover, this version seems to fit what we know of Xu's ideas better than version B. Such considerations, however, do not guarantee that Xu has been the author of the poem (version A). The thusfar earliest trace of the present version B (reproduced by Li Di) dates back to 1850. Another version, which is very close to version B but two lines longer besides a few other differences,¹⁴⁰ is found in the anonymous [p.143] *Xingli canzheng* (Sichuan, 1816). However, here the poem is anonymous and is entitled *Xingmi ge*.¹⁴¹ The apologetic *Xingli*

¹⁴⁰ WX, 3, pp. 1377-1584, ff. 89b-90b (pp. 1558-1560). The lines 15-18 have a different order (17, 18, 16, 15); for the other more important variants, see the end of table D. The omission of terms like *sanjiao*, *shenming*, *kaipi* and *shimo* suggests this version represent an older version of version B, the latter containing some further revisions.

¹⁴¹ The text was composed in a *bingzi* year (date of introduction, f. 2a; p. 1381; cf. f. 65a, p. 1509: *zhi jinnian bingzi nian*), after the Ming (f. 54b, p. 1488: *xian Ming Wanli*). As the author states that presently the world is more than 7,000 years old (ff. 75a, 88b; pp. 1529, 1556; f. 96b, p. 1570: 7,000 years), *bingzi* must refer to 1816. According to the chronology in *Martyrologicum Romanum* (in which the

canzheng includes several poems, and once the author explicitly states that he took a poem from someone else.¹⁴² So we may assume that the author of *Xingli canzheng* himself had not composed *Xingmi ge*. He reproduced a poem that then —possibly in another part of China — had already been attributed to Xu, viz. version A in *DXJZ* (1808). In a copy of *DXJZ*, made in 1850, one finds version B instead of version A, while in a copy made in 1865, which reproduces version A, someone inserted the text of version B between the columns of the main text. Thus during the nineteenth century version A of the poem *Zhengdao tigang* attributed to Xu Guangqi was gradually replaced by version B. The author of *Xingli canzheng* (1816), however, reproduced version B (albeit slightly different) under the title *Xingmi ge* and without mentioning Xu Guangqi as the author. It is hard to imagine that the author of *Xingli canzheng* knew of version A attributed to Xu and suppressed Xu's name because Xu could not be regarded any longer as the author of its revised version (B). One may therefore doubt whether Xu composed version A of the poem -- thusfar attested for the first time in 1808.

In an essay at the end of *DXJZ* -- an essay composed shortly after 1800 and maybe by the anonymous compiler of *DXJZ* -- we read: "Therefore, Xu Guangqi said: 'All under heaven have the same ancestor', which is precisely what Zhang Zai said: 'all people are my

Nativity is dated 5,199 years after the Creation), the world was then 7,015 years old (5,199 + 1,816). According to another more common chronology, the Nativity took place 4,000 years after the Creation, a chronology used in *DXJZ*, see ff. 19b-20a, pp. 1063-1064: Creation till Flood, 1,056 years; till Abraham, 922 years; till Moses, 425 years, till Nativity 1,597 years; see also f. 20a: in 1808 the world existed for 5,808 years.

¹⁴² pp. 1386, 1395-1400, 1503-1505, 1511, 1512 (*jie xian shi*), 1561, 1562, 1563-1568, 1578-1581.

brothers and sisters' ".¹⁴³ As the preceding sentence is found in *Zhengdao tigang* (l. 15), the source of this [p.144] quotation is *Zhengdao tigang* (l. 23, see table E).¹⁴⁴ In his introduction the compiler of *DXJZ* quotes the same statement (without comparing it with Zhang Zai's): "Therefore, Grand Secretary Xu Guangqi said: 'All under heaven have the same ancestor' " (p. 1028). Both quotations date shortly after 1800. However, in his essay *Daoyuan* composed towards 1735 the convert Zheng Jiaozan makes the same statement without mentioning Xu: "Since the time human beings exist, all under heaven have the same ancestor; this is what Zhang Zai called 'all people are my brothers and sisters' ".¹⁴⁵ Moreover, another part of this essay is close to some lines in *Zhengdao tigang*.¹⁴⁶ Apparently,

¹⁴³ pp. 1219-1220 (essay no. 3, pp. 1217-1220). According to Wang Zhongmin, the author is probably Zheng Jiaozan (see below), because the language is much alike to that in his essay *Daoyuan*. However, the last essay (no. 4, *Xiezheng bianlun*) says that the incarnation took place more than 1,800 years ago (f. 115a; *DXJZ*, copy preserved at Korea, ff. 110b-119b). In the third essay there is a part (p. 1219, cols. 6-7) that is quite close to a part in compiler's introduction to *DXJZ* (f. 2a1-2, p. 1027). Moreover, the quotation of Xu Guangqi (see below) is found both in the third essay and the introduction. Therefore, the compiler of *DXJZ* may have composed these essays.

The third essay is absent in the copy preserved in Korea, while the fourth essay is absent in the two Zikawei copies. The copy at Canberra consulted by Fang Hao contains only two essays, nos. 1 and 3 (*RWZ* 3.64), while that at the Beitang consulted by Wang Zhongmin contains all four essays.

¹⁴⁴ p. 1028. Line 23 is the same in both versions (A and B). The slightly different text of version B reproduced in *Xingli canzheng* reads *gongjie* for *tonggui* (f. 90a, p. 1559). I did not succeed in finding this statement (including the comparison with Zhang Zai's) in Xu's collected works.

¹⁴⁵ *DXJZ* (ff. 6b-12b; pp. 1037-1049, *Daoyuan*), p. 1039. Zhang Zai (1020-1077, a native of Hengqu) made this statement in his "Western Inscription" (*Ximing*). Yang Tingyun quoted it in his preface to *Qike* (Xu 53; Standaert 1988, pp. 120, 118). For Zheng Jiaozan, a *juren* of 1726 and native of Shunde near Canton, see Wang Zhongmin's description of *DXJZ* (see above, note 109); Fang Hao, *RWZ* 3.65. In *SWCRJ* XVIII (1996), I erroneously stated that Zheng, according to Wang, is the probable compiler of *DXJZ* (p. 25; read 6 August for 8 August).

¹⁴⁶ Compare p. 1043 with p. 1135 (*Zhengdao tigang*, line 41-44), see table E (sub 2). The similarity is not very specific, as *pixing zaiyue* and *xulu canfeng* are virtually

Zhengdao tigang did not yet exist around 1730, unless it has been composed by Zheng Jiaozan.¹⁴⁷ Although Zheng's authorship remains speculation, the poem apparently does not date from the seventeenth century and may have been composed not very long before 1808, when there is the first trace of it. So, besides the existence of two significantly different versions, there is ample reason to seriously doubt the attribution of *Zhengdao tigang* to Xu Guangqi in whatever version.

[end of p.144]

'topoi' (see dictionaries, sub *pixing zaiyue* and *canfeng xulu*), which may also apply to the combined use of both phrases. See also table E (sub 3).

¹⁴⁷ In his introduction Li Di, who reproduced the poem from an unknown source, calls the poem *Yuandao* (see note 124) instead of *Zhengdao tigang*. The former title is the reverse of *Daoyuan*, the title of Zheng's essay.

quotation is *Zhengdao tigang* (l. 23, see table E).¹⁴⁴ In his introduction the compiler of *DXJZ* quotes the same statement (without comparing it with Zhang Zai's): "Therefore, Grand Secretary Xu Guangqi said: 'All under heaven have the same ancestor'" (p. 1028). Both quotations date from shortly after 1800. However, in his essay *Daoyuan* composed towards 1735, the convert Zheng Jiaozan makes the same statement without mentioning Xu: "Since the time human beings exist, all under heaven have the same ancestor; this is what Zhang Zai called 'all people are my brothers and sisters'."¹⁴⁵ Moreover, another part of this essay is close to some lines in *Zhengdao tigang*.¹⁴⁶ Apparently, *Zhengdao tigang* did not yet exist around 1730, unless it had been written by Zheng Jiaozan.¹⁴⁷ Although Zheng's authorship remains speculation, the poem apparently does not date from the seventeenth century and may have been composed not very long before 1808, when there is the first trace of it. So, besides the existence of two significantly different versions, there is ample reason to seriously doubt the attribution of *Zhengdao tigang* to Xu Guangqi in whatever version.

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¹⁴⁶ Compare Standaert 1996: 1043 with 1135 (*Zhengdao tigang*, line 41-44), see table E (sub 2). The similarity is not very specific, as *pixing zaiyue* and *sulu canfeng* are virtually "topoi" (see dictionaries, sub *pixing zaiyue* and *canfeng sulu*), which may also apply to the combined use of both phrases. See also table E (sub 3).

¹⁴⁷ In his introduction Li Di, who reproduced the poem from an unknown source, calls the poem *Yuan dao* (see n. 124) instead of *Zhengdao tigang*. The former title is the reverse of *Daoyuan*, the title of Zheng's essay.

TABLE A: The most important differences between version A (ff. 1a-16b) and version B (ff. 2a-17a, *WXXB*: 617-652) of *Pi wang*

- (1) [A] 1b7-2a1 地獄可以不設矣，且佛言既有靈驗，何不將陽世因圈，念動真言，一試其能破否乎，夫不能破之於陽，而專能破之於陰，此必不得之數也
倘地獄可破則人...
- [B] 2b6 (622) 地獄可以不設矣，且使念動真言，地獄即破，則人...

cf. Xingce's refutation (Chinois 7107, II: f. 18a):
[substitutions between square brackets]

(天主) 既有靈驗，何不〔現攝爾身升天堂受樂仰望太虛〕一試其能〔攝〕否乎，不能〔攝〕之於〔身〕，而專能〔攝〕之於〔魂〕此亦必不得之數也。

- (2) [A] 2a1 然陽世雖極惡人
[B] 2b8 (622) 雖極惡人
- (3) [A] 3a9 游魂 則或升天堂
[B] 4a6 (625) 游魂為變或升天堂〔游魂為變 = 易經，繫辭，上，4〕
- (4) [A] 3b4-4a4:
3b4 而生饜飮乎且 [B] 4a9-4b9 (pp. 625-626):
4a9 而生饜飮乎且人死
3b4-5 天命為性無論人與鬼皆上帝為主 (cf. 4b8)
3b5 即飄泊數萬里外盡為上主統攝 omitted
3b5-6 非無主者無則 (cf. 4b8-9)
3b6 雖子孫滿前 4b1 雖子孫滿前
死魂亦孤 其魂自孤
3b6-4a4 其福也禍也 4b1-7 福也禍也
總由...上主賞罰 總由...上主賞罰
(cf. 3b4-5) 4b8 蓋天命謂性無分人鬼
(cf. 3b5-6) 4b8-9 皆上帝為主
豈得以孤魂謂之無主哉

4a4 謂有主孤魂可也 4b9 故謂有主孤魂可也

(5)

[A] 6a9 豈既焚乃有靈魂變為真錢

[B] 7a4 (631) 豈既焚乃有大能變為真錢

(6)

[A] 10b6 ...已畢，又有新魂以禪之，如肉身既朽，不使彼肉身
以為此肉身矣，有形...

[B] 11b1 (640) ...已畢，而新生之人，自有新魂猶肉身新生，不得指
是既朽之肉身，有形...

(7)

[A] 11a7 曰，正謂無輪迴，方有富貴貧賤之不同，即
人身，有首有足，如人皆為首，無手足...

[B] 12a2-3 (641) 曰，世人有富貴貧賤之不同，此如
人身，有首有足，如只有首，而無手，足...

(8)

[A] 11b9-12a3 不足為信，蓋 上主日後審判，肉身復活，各還原體，
倘有輪迴，將還前生之原體乎，後生之原體乎，信
上主，自不信輪迴矣，人且無輪迴...

[B] 12b4 (642) 不足為信，故輪迴之說，人所必無者也，人且無輪迴

(9)

[A] 13b6-9 何獨信蓮花生人乎，即 上主之降誕也，亦借 聖母
瑪利亞，純德至善人類以生，未聞生于慶雲景星也，
況蓮花乎，且釋氏...

[B] 14a8 (645) 何獨信蓮花生人乎，
且釋氏...

Compare [A] 14a1-2 and [B] 14b1 (646): 何不生於淨胎之人而必
生於無情之花耶

(10)

[A] 14b8 而又動稱山河，震動乎大地，不知無須彌山。

[B] 15a7 (647) 而又動稱山河大地乎，且不知大地無須彌山。

TABLE B: The most important differences between version B of *Pi wang* (Borg. cin. 324.16, reproduced in *WXXB*) and the two revised editions of it:

(1) Borg. cin. 349.3, an 18th century edition

(2) Bibliothèque Asiatique des Missions Etrangères de Paris, Z 70
(old edition, same general layout as 1)

(3) an edition published in 1914 (Shanghai) and 1938 (Hongkong)

2b4	(2) (3)	天綱 <i>changed into</i> 法綱
3b8	(2)	天子 <i>changed into</i> 皇上
4a6	(1) (2)	游魂為變 <i>changed into</i> 魂受審判
4a5-6	(3)	沉人魄降尸僵業已死矣游魂為變或升天堂 <i>replaced with</i> 且人已死 其魂 或升天堂
4a6-8		〔入地獄〕即孝子慈孫四時享祭不過盡生者心異其洋洋如在耳是有主之魂尚不敢必其來格況〔無主〕 <i>replaced with</i> 〔入地獄〕即所謂孝子慈孫照依敗俗妄設祭奠以供祖先如尚不能引彼有主之魂來格而饗祭況〔無主〕 〔入地獄〕豈能自由，安有〔無主〕 身形既無復有何嗜欲而生饜飫 <i>replaced with</i> 在天地中間
4a9	(3)	
4b3	(2)	季札所謂魂氣無不之者何為乎 <i>omitted</i>
4b8	(1) (2)	蓋天命謂性無分人鬼皆上帝為主 <i>changed into</i> 蓋主賦之性無分人鬼皆 上主統攝
5a1	(3)	上帝為主 <i>changed into</i> 天主作主
5a3	(2)	〔主謂上主〕原非人主 <i>omitted</i>
6a8-b1	(1) (2)	〔下不由〕冥司 <i>changed into</i> 鬼魔 44 <i>characters erased</i> : 惟用牲體所謂事死如事生事亡如事存也故設其裳衣薦其時食即祀天地山川諸神不過牲牢圭璧幣帛止耳
7b4	(3)	23 <i>characters erased</i> : 所謂事死如事生事亡如事存也故設其裳衣薦其時食即
8b7	(2)	吾雖欺欺天乎 <i>changed into</i> 其獲罪孰甚焉
9a5,7	(2)	存主像 <i>changed into</i> 記上主
9a7	(2)	〔代祈〕上主 <i>changed into</i> 求清天
9a8	(2)	人或可自祈 <i>changed into</i> 清天全屬虛氣無耳以聞之
9a9	(2)	僕僕作通事作稟事吏耶 <i>abridged to</i> 作稟事吏
10a7	(2)	〔又去〕稟其事 <i>changed into</i> 代換氣
10a8	(2)	死生有命富貴在天〔各有定限〕 <i>changed into</i> 人之生死富貴上主
10a8,9	(2)	〔逆〕天 <i>changed into</i> 主 天主 <i>changed into</i> 皇王

- 10b4 (2) 不功天而功佛: 天 *changed into* 主
(3) 不功天而功佛 *changed into* 不歸功上主而歸功佛
- 10b5 (2) 作善降祥積善餘慶此天主咒當持請思之 *changed into*
其生前之當責不能使之免死後之苦何可取哉
- 11a5 (3) 此天主咒 *changed into* 此咒
(1) (2) 天命之性 *changed into* 魂由主賦
(3) 天命之性無時不生 *replaced with* 上主全能可以隨...賦
昇
- 11a7 (1) (2) 大哉乾元至哉坤元 *changed into* 全能全智搏完萬物
- 11b6 (2) 皆天心所不忍 *changed into* 原理之所難容
- 13a3 (2) 風雲雷雨之司與社稷山川之吏 *changed into* 上下善惡
之神皆僊上主所造
- 14b5 天命謂則天是本鄉當念念不忘自可在帝左右〔如不〕
replaced with
- (1) 天主賦性則天是本鄉當念念不忘自可陟主左右
- (2) 天主已定則天是本鄉當念念不忘自勉以趨之可陟
- (3) 性從主賦則主是本根當欽崇弗替自可歸根復命
- 14b6 如不升天則入土非佛命之謂性也佛生乃人也死乃鬼也
changed into
- (1) 非佛能賦人性也佛生乃人也佛死亦人也
- (2) 如不...天則下地獄彼此非由佛令佛生乃人也死亦人也
- (3) 非佛能操其權也佛生乃人也死下地獄
- 15a3 (2) 〔不知〕有天命之性故言性不言天又言 *changed into*
性之所由來故不言其由來反言
- 15b5 (2) 董子謂道之大原出於天 *omitted*
- 15b7 (2) 認為 *changed into* 妄呼
- 15b8 (2) 我可以安身立命乎 *changed into* 此可謂明心見性乎
- 16a7 旨即蔬食菜羹瓜祭亦為報本追遠 *changed into*
並自責以贖惡自勉以進善之旨
- 16b4 (2) 天命之 *changed into* 人之
- 17a4 (1)-(3) 帝豎 *changed into* 主豎

TABLE C: Comparison of the two versions of the "Eulogy on Mary"

rise 137

de Rougemont (complete text) *Shengmu xiangzan* (12 lines)

至潔至貞
位越諸神之上 (line 2)
當愛當敬 位越諸神兮益上 (line 9)
德超眾聖而純 德超眾聖兮特張 (line 10)

The version of *Shengmu xiangzan* in the ms. *Bianxue* reads for the lines 9-10
(precisely as the lines 2 and 4 in the Rougemont's poem):

位越諸神之上，德超眾聖而純

TABLE D: The most important differences between two versions of *Zhengdao tigang*

- version A
- 1) 數千載，迷途難悟任己，
- 2) 唯孔孟識得真宗，
- 3) 齋僧佈施，略知根宗，
未見降人福祿，
誦經禮懺，
何曾顯示靈蹤，
x
- version B (number refers to line)
- [19-21] 到於今數千載迷卻真，
遲已綱，說己能，
[30] 信孔孟 略知根宗，
[33] 說甚麼 齋僧佈施，
[34] 受福重重，
[35] 打僧罵道 [36] 地獄魔
中，
[37] 事釋迦而為僧役 [38] 禮
十王借道行咒
[39] 嗚呼惜哉，[40] 何不返本
追蹤，[41] 傳教士捨西顧東
[42] 九萬里過海飄蓬
[43] 不辭披星戴月
[44] 何憚 信露餐風，
[45] 惟願人人各正性命
[46] 惟願人人體道k宗，
[47] 淵微莫測，[48] 細味其中
[49] 可比
[53] 賢君...，[54] 感...
[55] 正道本無窮 [56] 古今暨
正道本無窮
- 鳴呼，何故不師博士
棄西顧東
想他九萬里
披星戴月
宿露餐風
惟願人人各正性命
體道歸宗
淵源莫測
致理難窮可比
吾輩...，覺...
4) 正道本無窮

- 包涵萬彙
誰能
將來
[57] 萬彙總涵容 [58] 無物不同
[59] 一氣內誰能
- another version of B (see note 140):
- (1) 誰制天地 for [9] 誰置世冊 ...
 - (2) 立三教而道各異, 雖孔孟未指根宗
for [29-30] 立多教而遂各異, 信孔孟略知根宗
 - (3) 傳教士復入中國, 遵神命體至受人, 捨己命西來顧東
for [41] 傳教士捨西顧東
 - (4) 開闢至世末 for [56] 古今暨將來.

TABLE E: *Zhengdao tigang* (version B), *DXJZ* (ca 1806)
and *Daoyuan* (ca 1730)

- 1)
 - a. *Zhengdao tigang*
分姓氏而各居一隅 (1.15), 殊不知 普天 下同歸一祖 (1.23)
 - b. essay at the end of *DXJZ* (1219-20):
方分姓氏而各居一隅焉 故徐光啟曰 普天 下同歸一祖,
橫渠張先生曰 民吾同胞者是也
 - c. introduction to *DXJZ* (1028):
故光啟徐相國曰 普天之下原同一祖
 - d. *Daoyuan* (1039)
自生民以來 普天之下原同一祖,
橫渠張先生所謂 民吾同胞者是也
- 2)
 - a. line 41-44:
傳教士捨西顧東, 九萬里, 過海飄蓬, 不辭披星戴月,
何憚宿露餐風 (1135)
 - b. *Daoyuan*:
西儒... 九萬里, 航海東來, 不辭披星戴月,
宿露餐風, 以為真天主傳教 (1043)
 - 3)
 - line 7-8: 上古之世, 洪荒之風 cf. 1037: 上古洪荒之世
 - line 31: 李老燒丹煉汞 cf. 1040: 李老子... 燒丹煉汞

TABLE F: Versions of *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo*^{1,2}.

Copy "date"	Title, f. 1a1	Margin strip	Title strip	Author phon	Colo- phon	(Appendix) ³ author, XL + colophon (<i>signature</i>)	Layout
1 (1615)	ZW	TZ	SX	Jesuit	-	-	9/20
2 (1615)	ZW	TZ	TZ	Jesuit	-	-	9/20
3 (1615)	ZW	TZ	-	Jesuit	-	Yang, XL (-) ⁴	9/20
4 (1615)	ZW	-	TZ	Jesuit	Migezi	an., XL (Migezi)	9/19
5 (1615)	ZW	SX	SX	Xu	Yang	an., XL (Migezi)	8/18
6 (1615)	ZW	SX	TZ	Xu	Yang	an., XL (Yang)	9/19
7 (1615)	ZW	SX	ZW	Xu	Yang	-	9/19
8 (1615)	ZW	SX	TZ	Xu	Yang	-	9/19
9 (1615)	ZW	SX	TZ	Xu	Yang	-	9/19
10 (1619)	TZ	TZ	TZ	anon.	-	-	9/20
(11)						an., XL (Migezi)	9/19
(12)						an., XL (Yang) ⁵	9/19

1. Abbreviations: ZW = *Zaowuzhu chuixiang lüeshuo*; SX = *Shengxiang lüeshuo*; TZ = *Tianzhu shengxiang lüeshuo*; Jesuit = anonymous Jesuit[s] (*Yesu huishi*); Yang = Yang Tingyun; Migezi = Michael (Yang Tingyun); XL = *Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo*.

2. Versions: [1] Zikawei, Fuzhen 022R; [2] Borg. Cin. 334-22; [3] Chinois 6915 IV-V, 6916 IV-V (duplicate); [4] (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) Libri sinici 121 (the only edition with folios without margin and fish-tail); [5] (ARSI) Jap.Sin. I, 140; [6] BNF Chinois 6691, 6692 (duplicate); [7] BAV Borg. Cin. 334.21 (*WXXB*, 2: 547-563); [8] (BAV) Rac. Gen. Or. III, 221.6; [9] BNF Chinois 6690; [10] BAV Borg. Cin. 350.18; [11] ARSI Jap.Sin. I, 53.5; [12] BAV Borg. Cin. 334.27 (*WXXB*, 1: 37-47).

3. In the copies 8-9 *Xiaoluan shuo* is missing, although its presence is announced on the title strip on the cover of these copies. *Xiaoluan shuo* is announced on the title strips of copies 4-6. In no. 3 it is present, although not announced, because this collection of several texts (cf n.34) does not contain covers with title strips.

4. As this copy contains only the first part of the colophon (= *WXXB*: 46 ff. 3b7-9, except the last character), the signature is missing, or rather, it has been transferred to the beginning of the

main text (f. 1a); see Fang Hao's bibliographical note on *Xiaoluan shuo* (WXXB, vol. 1; reproduced in Fang Hao 1969: 2275).

5. Copy no. 12 is found in the same box (BAV, Borg. Cin. 334) as the copies nos. 2 and 7, which two copies do not have *Xiaoluan shuo* as appendix. This may suggest it belongs to copy no. 7 (both with a layout of 9/19). However, the printing type of nos. 7 and 12 is different (copy no. 12: cursive type or *xingshu*). Moreover, copy no. 12 has a separate title page (WXXB, 1: 37).

PART TWO

STATESMAN, CONFUCIAN, AND CHRISTIAN

The following pages reproduce the Glossary (pp. 411-426), the Abbreviations (pp. 427-428) and the Bibliography (pp. 429-455) for the entire *Statecraft* book.

To the Abbreviations add:

QQ = Huang Yuji, *Qianqing tang shumu*, 1990
(see Bibliography, p. 439)

RWZ = Fang Hao, *Zhongguo Tianzhu jiao renwu zhuan*, vol. 1, 1967
(see Bibliography, p. 435).

Bernard 1960 (see below)

To the Bibliography add:

Bernard[-Maître], Henri. 1960. "Les adaptations chinoises d'ouvrages européens: Bibliographie chronologique. Deuxième partie: Depuis la fondation de la Mission française de Pékin jusqu'à la mort de l'empereur K'ien-long, 1689-1799", *Monumenta Serica* 19 (1960), pp. 349-383).

GLOSSARY

Ai Kejiu 艾可久	Biaodu shuo 表度說
Ai Tinghuai 艾庭槐	bienao 繁臘
Aijin shisi duan zhenzan 哀矜十四端箴	bingshu 兵書
贊	boshi 博士
Aijin xingquan 哀矜行詮	bowu 博物
aiming 愛命	Boxue hongci ke 博學宏詞科
Anguo quanjun ping Liao jinglu da jiangjun 安國全軍平遼靖虜大將軍	bu 補
anou duoluo sanniao san puti 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提	bu ke de 不可得
Anqing 安慶	Bu nongshu 補農書
Aoguo 奧國	bu ru yi fo 補儒易佛
bai 稗	bu wei wu li 不為無理
Baoding 保定	bubi 不必
Baolun tang gao 寶輪堂稿	Bubitan 補筆談
Baoxiao shimo shu 報效始末疏	Budeyi bian 不得意辨
Baozhi 寶誌	buru 補儒
Beidou 北斗	bushou 部首
beile 貝勒	butong zhe 不通者
Beiyong 北雍	buyong wenzi 不用文字
ben wuxing zhi keyi, nai jiangsheng zhi yirong 本無形之可擬，迺降生之遺容	buzhi 不職
ben zhi zhi 本之知	Cai Lun 蔡倫
benben yuanyuan 本本元元	cangfeng sulu 餐風宿露
Bencao gangmu 本草綱目	cansang 蠶桑
benye 本業	Cansang guanglei 蠶桑廣類
Bi Gongchen 畢拱辰	canyue 參閱
Bi Maokang 畢懋康	Cao Xuequan 曹學佺
bi yi xu, wo yi shi 彼以虛，我以實	Cao Yubian 曹于汴
Bilei 比類	Caohe yi 漕河議
Bisuan 筆算	Caoman zhiyan 操緘扈言
Bitawola 閉他臥剌	Cehou tushuo 測候圖說
Bian bu feng zuxian shuo 辨不奉祖先說	Celiang fayi 測量法義
Bianhuo lun 辨惑論	Celiang mingyi 測量名義
Bianxue 辨學	Celiang quanyi 測量全義
Bianxue shugao 辯學疏稿	Celiang yitong 測量異同
Bianxue yidu 辯學遺牘	Ceyuan haijing 測圓海鏡
Bianxue zhangshu 辯學章疏	Ceyuan haijing fenlei shishu 測圓海鏡分類釋術
Bianxue zoushu 辯學奏疏	Cenxi 岑溪
biao 表	chanzong 禪宗
	Changping 昌平
	Changsheng qiao (Bridge) 長生橋
	Changshu 常熟
	chao shulei, xi, fei tong 超庶類兮非同

Chen Baisha 陳白沙

Chen Di 陳第

Chen Fu 陳敷

Chen Fuliang 陳傅良

Chen Jiru 陳繼儒

Chen Jisheng 陳繼盛

Chen Liangcai 陳亮采

Chen Minzhi 陳民志

Chen Shilian 陳士蘭

Chen Suoyun 陳所蘊

Chen Yidian 陳懿典

Chen Yujie 陳于階

Chen Zilong 陳子龍

cheng 乘

Cheng Bai'er 程百二

Cheng Dawei 程大位

Cheng Jiasui 程嘉燧

Cheng Junying 程俊英

Cheng Shisui 程世綬

cheng tian ce xiang 稱天測象

Cheng Tingrui 程廷瑞

Cheng Yi 程頤

chengjun 成均*chi* 尺

Chidao gonggui lue 赤道公畧略

Chidao liang zong xingtu 赤道兩總星圖

Chong Tu-won 鄭斗源

Chongfu an (Chapel) 崇福庵

Chongzhen lishu 崇禎曆書

Chouren zhuan 瞿人傳

Chouren zhuan huibian 瞿人傳匯編

chu 除

Chu Hua 褚華

churu xiangbu 出入相補*chuanjiao shi* 傳教士*chuixiang* 垂象*Chuogeng lu* 騷耕錄*ci* 次*ciji shi* 祠祭使*cijie* 次解*cilun* 次論*ciren* 慈仁

Cisheng 慈聖

Ciue Fò Pu Giu, see qufo buru

Congshen 從諗

Cui Chang 崔澥

Cui Ruxiu 崔儒秀

cungu 存古

Da Ming huidian 大明會典

Da Ming lu 大明律

Da xiangren shu 答鄉人書

Da Xiyang 大西洋

da yi 大儀*dadie* 大蠟

Daguan 達觀

Dalinghe 大凌河

dama 大麻*Daming li* (Calendar) 大明曆*daneng* 大能

Dateng 大藤

datong 大同*Datong li* (Calendar) 大統曆*Daxi suanfa* 大西算法*Dazhan shi* 大讀詩*dazhu* 大主

Dai Zhen 戴震

Daisan 代簪

Daiyi bian 代疑編*Daiyi xubian* 代疑續編*Daiyuan zhong zhu tushuo* 代園重竹圖說*daizong pingfang* 帶縱平方*dang ran zhe... Tianzhu ye* 當然者... 天主也*daoli* 道理

Daoyuan 道原

de xin 德馨

Deqing 德清

Deng You 鄧攸

Deng Yuhan 鄧玉函

Dengtai 登萊

dengyin 等因

Dengzhou 登州

di 帝*Dihuan sanlun* 地圖三論*dijian shu* 遞兼數*Dijian shuli* 遞兼數理*dize* 帝則*dian* 點

Dianbai 電白

Dianle 典樂

Ding Shi 丁氏

Dingfa pingfang 定法平方算術*dingti* 定體

Dingxing 定興

dingzheng 訂正*Dong ge da xueshi* 東閣大學士

Dong Qichang 董其昌

Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒

Dongfang 東方

Donghai 東海

Dongjiang 東江

Donglin 東林

dongyue 冬月

Dousi 陡斯

du 度*dushu* 度數*dushu pangtong shishi* 度數旁通十事

Duzhi 都致

dui zhijiao bian 對直角邊*duilian* 對聯*dunjia* 遁甲

Duowenzi 多聞子

E'ertai 鄂爾泰

Ekesadun 額克薩頓

Eluan bu bing ming shuo 鸛鷺不並鳴說*eshao* 惡少*Ershiwu yan* 二十五言*fa* 法*fa fa ben wu fa, wu fa fa yi fa* 法法本無法，無法法亦法*fa qianren suo wei fa* 發前人所未發*Fajie anlitu* 法界安立圖*Fajie biaozhi* 法界標旨*faq* 法器*fashu* 法數*fasuan* 法算*fayuan* 法原*fan ben* 反本

Fan Dingyu 樊鼎遇

Fan Fang 范方

Fan Shenzhi shu 范勝之書

Fan Shichun 範時春

Fan Shouji 範守己

fanben zhi dao 反本之道*fanli* 凡例

Fang Lian 方廉

Fang Yi 方毅

Fang Yizhi 方以智

Fang Yuegong 方岳貢

Fang Zhongtong 方中通

Fangcheng lun 方程論*fangcheng* 方程*fei mi* 費密*fen* 分

Feng Qi 馮琦

Feng tianxue Xu Qiyuan xingshi xiaoji

奉天學徐啟元行實小記

Feng Yingjing 馮應京

Feng Youlan 馮友蘭

Feng Yuanbiao 馮元標

fengjiang... zhi su 封疆... 之俗*fu* 附*fu ding Xingling shuo Zhengjiao**yuezheng deng ji* 附訂性靈說正教約徵等籍*fuho* 復活*Fushe* 復社*fushui* 符水

Fuzhou (Fujian) 福州

Fuzhou (Jiangxi) 撫州

fuzi 父子

Gaizhou 蓋州

gan 感*Ganshu shu* 甘薯書*Ganying pian* 感應篇*Ganzhou* 贛州*gao* 誥

Gao Di 高第

Gao Yizhi 高一志

Gaomiao 高妙

Gaoyang 高陽

Gaoyou 高郵

Gaozhou 高州

ge 葛*gewu qiongli* 格物窮理*Gezhi cao* 格致草

Geng Zhongming 耿仲明

Gengzhi tang 耕織堂

Gengzhi tu 耕織圖

Gong Daoli 龔道立

Gonggeng tang 躬耕堂

gongjie 共皆*gonglun* 公論*Gongyang zhuan* 公洋傳*Gongyu* 工虞*gou* 句*Gougou guwen* 句股古問*Gougou juyi* 句股舉隅*gougou suanshu* 句股算術*Gougou yi* 句股義*Gougou yuanyang tuzhu* 句股圓方圖註*gougou* 句股*gu* (cereal) 穀*gu* (greater side of right triangle) 股

Gu Chaozong 顧超宗

- Gu Congli 顧從禮
 gu hun 孤魂
 Gu Qing 顧清
 Gu Yanwu 顧炎武
 Gu Yingtai 谷應泰
 Gu Yingxiang 顧應祥
 Gu Zhou 顧周
 Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成
 gumu 孤木
 Gupi 古邳
 gushu 穀樹
 Guwen 古問
 guan shulei, xi, you tong 貫庶類彙攷同
 guanzheng 觀政
 Guangfu si 廣福寺
 Guanghai 廣海
 Guangning 廣寧
 Guangqi xuehui 光啟學會
 Guangxin 廣信
 Guangyang zaji 廣陽雜記
 guangyi 廣義
 Guangzhen 廣臻
 Gu'an 歸安
 Guiping 桂平
 guo 果
 Guo Pu 郭璞
 Guo Shoujing 郭守敬
 Guochao zhongnong kao 國朝種農考
 guojia 國家
 Haikang 海康
 Haizhou 海州
 Han E 韓鄂
 Han Kuang 韓嶺
 Han Lin 韓霖
 Han yu tong 函宇通
 Han Yun 韓雲
 Hanlong jing 憾龍經
 hao 號
 hao Dao 好道
 haojia 豪家
 He 和
 He Guanyao 何冠彪
 He Guozong 何國宗
 He Zhaowu 何兆武
 He Zongyan 何宗彥
 heding 合訂
 Heké Piwang tiaobao xu 合刻關安條駁序
 Henan dao jiancha yushi 河南道監察御史
 Hengqu 橫渠
 Hengxing biao 恒星表
 Hengxing jingwei biao 恒星經緯表
 Hengxing jingwei tushuo 恒星經緯圖說
 Hengxing li 恒星曆
 Hengxing libiao 恒星曆表
 Hengxing tuxiang 恒星圖象
 Hengxing zongtu, ba fu 恒星總圖八幅
 Hengxing zongtu, yi zhe 恒星總圖一折
 Hengzhai suanxue 衡齋算學
 Hong Ji 洪濟
 Hong Weilian 洪煥蓮
 Hongwu 洪武
 Hongzhi 弘治
 Hou Han 侯涵
 Hou Tongzeng 侯桐曾
 Hou Zhenyang 侯震鳴
 houjie 後解
 Houle yuan 後樂園
 hou lun 後論
 Hu Bendu 胡本篤
 Hu Shi 胡適
 hushi suanshu 弧矢算術
 hushou tianshen moqi 護守天神默啟
 Huzhou 湖州
 Hua Henfang 華蘅芳
 Huating 華亭
 Hualiu 驊驢
 huai 槐
 Huang Baijia 黃百家
 Huang Biao 黃標
 Huang Chengji 黃承吉
 Huang Daopo 黃道婆
 Huang Entong 黃恩彤
 Huang Hui 黃輝
 Huang Long 黃龍
 Huang Ruliang 黃汝良
 Huang Tiren 黃體仁
 Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲
 Huangdao ershi fen xingtu 黃道二十分星圖
 Huangdao liang zong xingtu 黃道兩總星圖
 huangming 黃精
 Huangming jingshi shiyong bian 皇明經世實用編
 huangzheng 荒政
 Huihui 回回

- Jiang Xuji 江旭奇
 Jiang Yunlong 姜雲龍
 Jiangdong 江東
 Jiangdu 江都
 Jiangxing zashi 江行雜詩
 Jiangzhou 絳州
 jiao 校
 Jiao Hong 焦誼
 Jiao Xun 焦循
 Jiaoyao jielie 教要解略
 Jiaoyou lun 交友論
 jie 解
 jie xian shi 借賢詩
 jietie liu mu 節次六目
 jiegenfang 借根方
 Jieliu Xingce 截流行策
 jieshuo 界說
 jieshuo sanshiliu ze 界說三十六則
 jin 斤
 Jin Guochen 靳國臣
 Jin Sheng 金聲
 Jingang jing 金剛經
 Jinjiang 晉江
 Jinshan 金山
 Jinshan wei (Guard) 金山衛
 jinshi 進士
 Jinwen zhengshu 今問正數
 Jinzhou 錦州
 Jing Fang 京房
 Jing shengxiang lun 敬聖像論
 jing Tian 敬天
 Jing'an si (Monastery) 靜安寺
 jingcha 京察
 Jingjiao houxue 景教後學
 Jingjiao tang (Church) 景教堂
 Jingjiao tang beiji 景教堂碑記
 jingshi 經世
 jingshi zhiyong 經世致用
 jingtai zhi ren 淨胎之人
 Jingtian gai 經天該
 Jingwu quanbian 經武全編
 jingyan, jiangguan 經筵講官
 Jiu kan 九坎
 jiu shen 舊神
 jiu'an changzhi 久安長治
 Jiuhuang bencao 救荒本草
 jiushi zhu 救世主
 Jiuzhang suanfa bilei daquan 九章算法比類大全
 Jiuzhang suanshu 九章算術
 hui tong 會通
 hui tong zhongxi 會通中西
 hun 魂
 huntianyi 渾天儀
 hunxiangtu 渾象圖
 huoshi wumin 惑世誣民
 Ji'an 吉安
 Jibei shu 吉貝書
 jiben wu mu 基本五目
 Jigu suanjing 繼古算經
 jihe 幾何
 jihe da 幾何大
 jihe duo 幾何多
 Jihe tongjie 幾何通解
 Jihe yao fa 幾何要法
 Jihe yongfa 幾何用法
 Jihe yuanben 幾何原本
 Jihe yuanben zaji 幾何原本雜議
 jihe zhong 幾何眾
 jihejia 幾何家
 jikeng fuchen yi 環銜燕辰儀
 Jiliao 薊遼
 jimen 奇門
 Jinan 濟南
 Jinan zongyi 畿南奏議
 Jinong cang 濟農倉
 jixian da yi 紀限大儀
 jizhu 輯著
 jia 加
 Jia Sixie 賈思聰
 Jia Xian 賈憲
 jia yi bing ding 甲乙丙丁
 Jiading 嘉定
 Jiading xian 甲丁線
 Jiajian chengchu shi 加減乘除釋
 jiaru 假如
 jia shu 家書
 jiaxun 家訓
 jia yi xian 甲乙線
 jian 減
 jiancha yushi 監察御史
 jianfu 監副
 Jianjie zong xingtu 見界總星圖
 Jianpingyi shuo 簡平儀說
 jiansheng 監生
 jiantao 檢討
 jianzheng 監正
 Jiang Fan 江藩
 Jiang Xingzhong 蔣性中

ju 矩
Jiujie 具揭
juren 舉人
jue 覺
Jue jiao tongwen ji 絕微同文記
Juehua 覺華
junchen 君臣
jungianzi 君遷子
kai daizong pingfang 開帶縱平方
kai fang 開方
kai pingfang 開平方
Kaifang shuo 開方說
Kaifang tongshi 開方通釋
Kaiyuan 開原
Kaizhou 開州
Kaogongji 考工記
kaowen 考文
kaozhengxue 考證學
ke 刻
kexiao 可笑
keyi 可擬
Kezui qide 克罪七德
Kezui qide zhenzan 克罪七德祿贊
kong 空
Kong Youde 孔有德
Kong Zhenshi 孔貞時
konglun 空論
Kongzi shijia 孔子世家
Kou Zhun 寇準
Kouang K'i Sù Houei, see Guangqi
xuehui

Li Jiantai 李建泰
Li Jiucheng 李九成
Li Jiugong 李九功
Li Madou zhuan 利瑪竇傳
Li Mengchen 李夢辰
Li Ningshi 黎寧石
Li Rui 李銳
Li Shanlan 李善蘭
Li Shaoven 李紹文
li shi qiu ye 禮失求野
li shi ze hun 禮失則混
Li Shizhen 李時珍
Li Shouji 李守節
Li Tianjing 李天經
Li Wocun hui Zhizao 李我存諱之藻
Li Wocun ji 李我存集
Li Ye 李冶
Li Yingshi 李應試
Li Yingyuan 李應元
Li Zhi 李贄
Li Zhizao (Wocun) 李之藻 (我存)
Li Zhuowu 李卓吾
Li Zubai (Baiye) 李祖白 (白也)
Libu shangshu 禮部尚書
Libu zuo shilang 禮部左侍郎
Lishu zongmu biao 曆書總目表
Lishuo 曆說
Liti lie 曆體略
lifa 曆法
Lifa yi 曆法議
Liju 曆局
Lixiang kaocheng 曆象考成
Lixiang kaocheng houbian 曆象考成後編
lixue 曆學
Lixue huitong 曆學會通
Lixue yiwen 曆學疑問
Lixue yiwen bu 曆學疑問補
Liyun 禮運
Lizhi 曆志
Lizhi zhuiyan 曆志贅言
lian 廉
Liang Jiamian 梁家勉
Liang Qichao 梁啟超
Liang Tingdong 梁廷棟
liangfa 量法
liangfajia 量法家
Liangxuan hegong ji ceyan dishi fa 量算河工及測驗地勢法
Liangyi xuanlan tu 兩儀玄覽圖

Li Chunfeng 李淳風
li cun yu li fa zhi qian 理存於立法之前
Li Dai 李戴
Li Daiwen 李待問
Li Fengjie 李逢節
Li Guangdi 李光地
Li Huang 李潢

Liao 遼
Liaohai 遼海
Liaoyang 遼陽
liexiu jingwei tianqiu yi 列宿經緯天球儀
lin jiansheng 廩監生
Lin Qilu 林啟陸
Lin Qingzhang 林慶彰
Lin Zhao'en 林兆恩
Linchuan 臨川
ling zao huntianyi deng qi 另造渾天儀等器
linghun 靈魂
Linghun daoti shuo 靈魂道體說
Lingyan lichao 靈言靈勺
Liu Hui 劉徽
Liu Ning 劉凝
Liu Xianting 劉獻廷
Liu Xingzhi 劉興治
Liu Yikuang 劉一燝
Liu Yinchang 劉胤昌
Liu Yulie 劉宇烈
Liu Zongxiang 劉宗祥
Liu Zongzhou 劉宗周
liudu shidafu 留都士大夫
Liugeng tang 留耕堂
Liuqing leiya 六經類雅
liuren 六壬
liuyi 六藝
Long Huamin 龍華民
Longhua 龍華
Longhua si (Monastery) 龍華寺
Longhua Zhang 龍華張
Lou Shou 樓壽
Lu 鹿
lu bu shi yi, ye bu bi guan 路不拾遺，夜不閉關
Lu Dingyi 陸定一
Lu Shanji (Boshun, Qianyao, Qianyue) 鹿善繼 (伯順，乾耀，乾嶽)
Lu Shen 陸深
Lu Shiye 陸時伊
Lu Zhaolong 盧兆龍
Luling 廬陵
lu 率
Lü Huangzhong 呂黃鍾
Lü Zuqian 呂相謙
Lili rong tong 律曆融通
lülü yuejia 律呂樂家
Lüshun 旅順

Luanzhou 瀋州
lun 論
luo 盧
Luo Ruwang 羅如 (儒) 望
Luo Yagu 羅雅谷
Ma Shilong 馬世龍
Man Gui 滿桂
Mao Heng 毛亨
Mao Wenlong 毛文龍
Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀
Maoshi guxunzhuan 毛氏故訓傳
Maoshi liutie (jiangyi) 毛氏六帖 (講意)
Maoshijian 毛氏箋
mei feichang er mo lun 美非常而莫倫
Mei Juecheng 梅堯成
Mei Wending 梅文鼎
Meng Qi 孟祺
Meng yang zhai 蒙養齋
mi 稊
Migezi shi 彌格子識
miqi 欸器
mian 面
Miandui sanze 面對三則
miao 秒
min 民
Minzhong 閩中
ming 銘
mingdao 明道
mingjing 明經
mingli 名理
mingshi 明時
Mingshi 明史
Mingshi guan 明史館
Mingshi juewei 明史抉微
Mingshi kaozheng juewei 明史考證抉微
Mingshi lizhi 明史曆志
Mingshi lizhi fazai Xiyang falun 明史曆志附在西洋法論
Mingshi lizhi hou lun 明史曆志後論
Mingshi lizhi lun 明史曆志論
Mingshi lizhi ni gao 明史曆志擬稿
Mingshi yiwenzhi 明史藝文志
Mingshiyao 明史稿
Mo Ruzhong 莫如忠
Moling jiwen 秣陵紀聞
mu 木
mumian 木棉
Mumian pu 木棉譜

muqiong 莫窮
 muyang 牡養
 muyi er lai 慕義而來
 muyi yuandai 慕義遠來
 Nahuo xiedang hou gaoshi 拿獲邪黨後
 告示
 nayan 納言
 Naikaku bunko 內閣文庫
 Nanchang 南昌
 nanqiong 難窮
 Nanzhou shishuo 南州詩說
 Neige daxueshi 內閣大學士
 neiting 內庭
 neng 能
 Nifu zhuchuang tianshuo 擬復竹窗天
 說
 niyi 擬議
 nian fo 念佛
 Nie Rongzhen 聶榮臻
 Ningguo si (Monastery) 寧國寺
 Ningxia 寧夏
 Ningyuan 寧遠
 nongben 農本
 Nongji 農輯
 Nongju tupu 農具圖譜
 Nongsang jiyao 農桑輯要
 nongshi 農事
 Nongshu 農書
 Nongyi zashu 農遺雜疏
 Nongzheng quanshu 農政全書
 nizhen 女貞
 nuo 諾
 Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修
 Pajing dizheng 葩經嫡證
 Pan En 潘恩
 Pan Lei 潘耒
 Pan Yuwang 潘于王
 Pan Yunduan 潘允端
 Pan Yunzhe 潘允哲
 Pan Yunzhu 潘雲柱
 Pang gong hao Shunyang 龐公號順陽
 pangtong 旁通
 Paotai tushuo 砲台圖說
 Paozhi piwang pi 袍製闕妄闕
 peichen 陪臣
 Peng Duanwu 彭端吾
 Peng Jigu 彭簪古
 Peng Weicheng 彭惟成
 Peng Yumo 彭有謨
 Pi Shishi zhu wang 闕釋氏諸妄

Qingdai xueshu gailun 清代學術概論
 qingma 頃麻
 Qingnang xu 青囊序
 Qingpu 青浦
 qingzhexing 聲折形
 qiu 求
 Qiu Hejia 丘禾嘉
 Qiu Liangbing 丘良秉
 Qiushuo 求說
 quzuo 求作
 Qu Rukui (Taisu) 瞿汝夔 (太素)
 Qu Shigu 瞿式是
 qu sui erdeng gong 去歲爾等公
 Qu Yuan 屈原
 qufo buru 去佛補儒
 quji du 去極度
 Quanzhou 泉州
 Ren linghun 人靈魂
 Renchao 仁朝
 Renxue 仁學
 ri 日
 ri suan ye ce 日算夜測
 Rijiang guan 日講官
 Rijiang qifu zhu guan 日講起居注館
 rong bifang zhi caizhi ru Datong zhi
 xingmo 鐙彼方之材質入大統之型
 模
 rongfang 容方
 rongji jie yi fangji wei zhun 容積皆以
 方積為準
 Rongjiao tuyi 容較圖義
 Rongtai ji 容臺集
 roumu 肉目
 ru taxue 入太學
 ruxiu du 入宿度
 ruzhe zhi xue 儒者之學
 Ruan Yuan 阮元
 run 潤
 san jiao 三教
 sanbian zhijiaoxing 三邊宣角形
 sanchen gonggui yi 三辰公晷儀
 sanchenyi 三辰儀
 Sandai 三代
 Sandaoguan 三道關
 sanjiao 三教
 Sanshan tian 三十三天
 se jie 色界
 Sha 沙
 Shancigu 山慈姑
 Shanhaiguan 山海關
 Shanzhou 陝州
 Shanzi 刺子
 Shang Gao 商高
 shang tian 上天
 shang xia xiang an 上下相安
 shangbian gongjing de zheng shi Yesu
 shengxiang ye 上邊供敬的正是耶穌
 聖像也
 shangbian gongjing de, shi Tianzhu, ji
 Daxiyang, yu tianxia wanguo suo
 cheng Dousi, shi dangchu... 上邊供
 敬的是天主即大西洋與天下萬國
 所稱 陡斯是當初
 Shangdi 上帝
 Shanglin 上林
 Shangzhu 上主
 shaobao 少保
 Shaozhou 韶州
 She (county) 歙
 sheyou 社友
 shen 神
 shen 參
 Shen Buqi (Yihan) 沈卜起 (一韓)
 Shen Buwei 沈卜璋
 Shen Gua 沈括
 Shen Liusu 沈履素
 Shen Que 沈澹
 Shenmi 身彌
 Shennong 神農
 Shenqi tongpu 神器統譜
 Shenshi nongshu 沈氏農書
 Shenshou yaolu 慎守要錄
 Shenyang 瀋陽
 Shengde laiyuan xu 聖德來遠序
 Shengji baiyan 聖記百言
 shengjiao 聖教
 Shengjiao guijie zhenzan 聖教規戒誠贊
 Shengjiao shici gefu 聖教詩辭歌賦
 Shengjiao xinzheng 聖教信證
 Shengjiao yueyan 聖教約言
 Shengjiao zazhi 聖教雜誌
 Shengmu jing jie 聖母經解
 Shengmu xiang zan 聖母像讚
 Shengnian guangyi 聖年廣益
 shengren 生人
 shengren zhi ben 生人之本
 Shengshou wan nian li 聖壽萬年曆
 Shengshui jiyuan 聖水紀念
 Shengxiang lueshuo 聖像略說
 Shengzhu shilu 聖祖實錄

shi 時
 Shi Dajian 施大諫
 Shi Dajing 施大經
 Shi Kefa 史可法
 Shi Shaoxin 施紹莘
 shi shi 施食
 Shi shi xingxing 石氏星經
 Shi Yingping 史應聘
 shidao renxin 世道人心
 shidu xueshi 侍讀學士
 shifan 示范
 Shihu 釋狐
 Shiji 史記
 Shijie zhenzan 十誠嚴贊
 Shijie zhiqian 十誠直詮
 Shijing 詩經
 Shijing jizhuan 詩經集傳
 Shijing zhiyi 詩經質疑
 Shijing zhuangao 詩經傳稿
 Shijizhuan 詩集傳
 shilang libu 侍郎禮部
 shiwu yinzun 十五因循
 Shixian li (Calendar) 時憲曆
 shixin 實心
 shixing 實行
 shixue 實學
 Shiyi 實義
 Shiyi shuo 詩翼說
 shiyi zhong tiantu 十一種天圖
 shiyong 實用
 shizhi 適志
 Shizu Zhang huangdi yuzhi Tianzhu tang beiming 世祖章皇帝御製天主堂碑銘
 shouku 受苦
 shoulü 首率
 Shoushan 守山
 Shoushi li (Calendar) 授時曆
 Shoushi tongkao 授時通考
 shu (algorithm) 術
 shu (number) 數
 shu (vegetable) 蔬
 shu zhi li 數之理
 shuji shi 庶吉士
 Shujing 書經
 Shuli jingyun 數理精蘊
 Shushi zhi xue 術士之學
 Shushu jiu zhang 數術九章
 Shushu jiyi 數術記遺
 shushu zhi xiaozhi 術數之小知

shuyi 樹藝
 shuifa 水法
 shuili 水利
 Shuili quanshu 水利全書
 Shun 舜
 shun di zhi ze 順帝之則
 shun tian zhi fa 順天之法
 shun ziran zhi li 順自然之理
 Shuntian 順天
 Shuowen jiezi 說文解字
 si yuan xinglun 四元行論
 Sibi suanfa duanshu 四壁算法段書
 Sikong 司空
 Simin yueling 四民月令
 Sishi zuanyao 四時纂要
 Sishu cantong 四書參同
 Sishu daquan 四書大全
 Sishu yuanzhi 四書原旨
 song 松
 Song Guanglan 宋光蘭
 Song Maocheng 宋懋澄
 Song nianzhu guicheng 誦念珠規程
 Song Xian 宋賢
 Song Yingxing 宋應星
 Songjiang 松江
 Su Jiayu 蘇及寓
 Suning 肅寧
 Suzhou fuzhi 蘇州府志
 Suzhou Tianzhu tang ji 蘇州天主堂記
 suanchou 算籌
 suanfa 算法
 suanfa jia 算法家
 Suanfa tongzong 算法統宗
 Suanfa zuanyao 算法纂要
 suanli 算理
 suanshu 算術
 Suanyong mingyi 算用名義
 Sun Chengzong (Zhisheng, Kaiyang) 孫承宗 (維繩, 愷陽)
 Sun Hedou 孫和鼎
 Sun Hejing 孫和京
 Sun Sanjie 孫三杰
 Sun Xueshi 孫學詩
 Sun Yuanhua (Chuyang, Huodong) 孫元化 (初陽, 火東)
 Sun Zhimi 孫致彌
 taibao 太保
 Taicang 太倉
 tajiji 太極

Taishang ganying pian tushuo 太上感應篇圖說
 Taiwen 泰輿
 Taixi shuifa 泰西水法
 Taixi suanyao 泰西算要
 Taiyi 太乙
 Taizi binke 太子賓客
 Taizi taibao 太子太保
 Tan Sitong 譚嗣同
 Tanzi 鄉子
 Tang 唐
 Tang Bin 湯斌
 Tang Guoshi 唐國士
 Tang Jin 唐錦
 Tang Jiong 唐罔
 Tang liudian 唐六典
 Tang Ruowang 楊若望
 Tang Shunzhi 唐順之
 Tang Yijie 湯一介
 Tang Zifang 唐子方
 Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀
 te 特
 tezhang 特張
 ti (proposition) 題
 ti (solid) 體
 Ti wangguo er yuantu xu 題萬國二圖序
 tian 天
 tian guan ri li suan shu 天官日曆算數
 tian men 天門
 Tianbu zhenyuan 天步真原
 Tiandi 天帝
 Tiandi yi jie 天地義解
 Tiangong kaiwu 天工開物
 Tianguan juzheng 天官舉正
 Tianjin 天津
 Tianlun zhi rumen, tiantang zhi yinlu 天論之入門, 天堂之引路
 Tianmu bilei chengchu jiefa 田畝比類乘除捷法
 tianshen 天神
 Tianshuo 天說
 tianti 天體
 tianwen 天文
 Tianwen 天問
 tianwen lijia 天文曆家
 Tianwen lie 天問略
 tianxue 天學
 Tianxue chuhan 天學初函
 Tianxue chuzheng 天學初徵

Tianxue chuanguai 天學傳概
 Tianxue jijie 天學集解
 Tianxue shijie jielie 天主十誠解略
 tianyuan 天元
 tianyuan shu 天元術
 Tianyuan yi shi 天元一釋
 tianzhi 田制
 Tianzhu 天主
 Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilue 天主降生言行紀略
 Tianzhu jiaoyao (jietie) 天主教要 (解略)
 Tianzhu jing jie 天主經解
 Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng 天主聖教啟蒙
 Tianzhu shengxiang 天主聖像
 Tianzhu shengxiang lueshuo 天主聖像略說
 Tianzhu shengxiang lueshuo zhong 天主聖像略說終
 Tianzhu shiyi 天主實義
 Tianzhu tang jishi ji 天主堂基石記
 Tianzhu zhengjiao yuezhang 天主正教約章
 Tianzhu zhi jiao 天主之教
 Tie shizi ge xunyi 鐵十字歌訓義
 tiebiqi 鐵筆齊
 tongbian 通編
 Tongcheng 桐城
 tonggui 同歸
 Tongjian gangmu 通經綱目
 tongjiao 同校
 tonglun 通論
 tongshen 董身
 tongwen 同文
 Tongwen suanzhi (tongbian) 同文算指 (通編)
 Tongxiang 同鄉
 Tongzhou 通州
 tu (map, diagram) 圖
 tuibu 推步
 Tuiyan zhengdao lun 推驗正道論
 tunitian 屯田
 waiting 外庭
 Wan Sitong 萬斯同
 Wanwu zhenyuan 萬物真原
 Wang 王
 Wang Anshi 王安石
 Wang Ao 王鏊

Wang Bingyuan 汪秉元
Wang Chenkui 王臣夔
Wang Duanjie 王端節公詩文

Wang Fengsu 王豐肅
Wang Hongxu 王鴻緒
Wang Ji 王紀
Wang Jiazhi 王家植
Wang Pan 王盤

Wang Qi 王圻
Wang Qingyu 王慶余
Wang Ruchun 汪如淳
Wang Shenxiang 王申祥
Wang Shiqi 王世其
Wang Shouren 王守仁

Wang Tao 王綽
Wang Xichan/Xishan 王錫闡
Wang Xijue 王錫爵
Wang Xiangchun 王象春
Wang Xiaotong 王孝通

Wang Xun 王恂
Wang Xunming 王陽明
Wang Yiyuan (Taiwan) 王一元 (泰源)
Wang Yingjiao 王應蛟
Wang Yinglin (Fujian) 王應麟
Wang Yinglin (Yunnan) 王應遴 (雲南)

Wang Yingming 王英明
Wang Yingxiang 王應熊
Wang Yu 王瑗

Wang Yuanlai 汪元泰
Wang Zaijin 王在晉
Wang Zhen 王慎
Wang Zheng 王徵
Wang Zhong 王尊德

Wang Zunde 王尊德
wanghua 王化
Wei Dazhong 魏大中
Wei Guangwei 魏廣微
wei huang 魏皇
Wei Liduo 魏黎多
Wei Xuelian 魏學瀛
wei yue zhushen, xi, yi shang 位越諸神兮益上

Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢
weicheng zhi li 維乘之理
weidu 緯度
weijing zhi ye 未竟之業
weili 尾率
weiwu wuxing 威侮五行

wen 文
Wen Zhengming 文徵明
Wenchang hua shu 文昌化書
Wending 文定
Wending gong xingshi 文定公行實
Wenlan ge 文瀾閣
Wenxing cuichao 文行粹抄
Wenxuan 文選
Wenyan 文僊

Wenyan ge da xueshi 文淵閣大學士
Wenyuange shumu 文淵閣書目
Weng Rujin 翁汝進
Weng Shuyuan 翁叔元
wo Ming, wo chao 我朝，我朝
Wu 吳

wu (negation) 無
wu (understand) 悟
Wu Daonan 吳道南
Wu Jing 吳敬
Wu Mingzhu (Dechang) 郎明著 (得常)

wu qiu gui yi 務求歸一
Wu Renchen 吾任臣
Wu Shizheng (Zuolang) 吳世徵 (作郎)
wu Song 吾松
Wu Xiaoci 吳小溪
Wu Zhongming 吳中明
Wuyang wanguo, fengxi qianbian, zhiyu suanshu wu fu tongzhe 五方萬國風習千變至於算數無弗同者

Wuhuliedi 兀忽列的
wujing 無菁
Wujing shu 無算菴
Wujing daquan 五經大全

wujiu 烏臼
wuli 物理
Wulin 武林
Wulin Qiyuan Migezi Yang Tingyun shi 武林棋園彌格子楊廷筠識

Wumijing 烏泥壚
Wuqiao 吳橋
wujiong 無窮
wuse jie 無色界
wushang zhengdeng zhengjue 無上正等正覺

Wusong 吳松
Wusong Xu Guangqi shu 吳淞徐光啟述
Wuwei jiao 無為教
Wuwei lizhi 五緯曆指
wuyong 無用

Wuyuan 婺源
Wuzhizi 無知子
Xi 羲
xi 系
Xi xian 西賢
xicao 細草
xifa 西法
Xifa shenji 西法神機
Xifang yaoji 西方要紀
Xigui zhizhi 西歸直指
Xining 西寧
Xiru ermu zi 西儒耳目資
Xisheng qibian 西聖七編
xixue 西學
Xixue fan 西學凡

Xixue shijie chujie 西學十誠初解
Xixue zazhu 西學雜著
xixue zhongyuan 西學中源
Xiyang xinfu lishu 西洋新法曆書
Xia (Mathias) 夏
xia que 下闕
xiawei 下帷
xian (hypotenuse) 弦
xian (limit) 限
xian (line) 線

xianjie 先解
Xiankao shilue 先考事略
xianlun 先論
xianzhang 咸彰
xiang 鄉
xiangong 相公
xianghua tai jing 向化來京
xianghua yuanlai 向化遠來
Xiangjie jiuzhang suanfa 詳解九章算法

Xiangshan 香山
xiangshu 象數
xiangshu zhu shu 象數諸書
xiangtian zhe huan ye 象天者圓也
xiangyu zhi shi bu shi ben li ye 相與之勢不失本率也
xiangzan 像贊
Xiao Yifu 蕭奕輔
Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo 鸚鵡不並鳴說

Xiaoluan shuo 鸚鵡說
xiaoxue 小學
Xie ji bianfang shu 挾紀辨方書
Xie Lian 謝蓮
Xiedu shiju 邪毒實據

Xu Erlu (Xingzhi) 徐爾路 (行之)
Xu Ermo 徐爾默
Xu Ermo Wending gongji yin 徐爾默文定公集引
Xu Fuyuan 徐孚遠
Xu Guangqi (Xuanhu) 徐光啟 (玄扈)
Xu Guangqi xinglie 徐光啟行略
Xu Guangqi zan 徐光啟讚

Xu Ji 徐驥
Xu Jingxian 徐景賢
Xu Leshan (Xiuzhi) 許樂善 (修之)
Xu Qianxue 許乾學
Xu Ruyi 徐汝翼
Xu Shan 許善
Xu Shen 許慎
Xu shi jiapu Wending gong jiazhuan 徐氏家譜文定公家傳
Xu shi paoyan 徐氏袍言
Xu Shimian 徐時勉
Xu Sicheng 徐思誠

Xiezheng bianlun 邪正辨論
xin hun 新魂
xin shen 新神
xin tong li tong 心同理同
Xinfa suanshu 新法算書
Xinzheng zhu xingbiao 新增註星表
xing 性
Xing Yunlu 邢雲路
xingguan 星官
Xingli canzheng 性理參證
Xingli daquan 性理大全
Xingling shuo 性靈說
Xingmi ge 醒迷歌
Xingshi wenbian 醒世問編
xingzhu 行書
Xiong Kaiyuan 熊開元
Xiong Mingyu 熊明遇
Xiong Tingbi 熊廷弼
xiu 宿
xiushen 修身
xiushen shitian 修身事天
Xiuzhi 修之
Xu Bida 徐必達
Xu Chang 許昌
Xu Changji (Shizhang) 徐常吉 (士彰)
Xu Erdou 徐爾斗
Xu Erjue (Mozhi) 徐爾爵 (際之)
Xu Erjue / Erjiao (Shunzhi) 徐爾覺 (順之)

- Xu Weizhen 許維楨
 Xu Wendong 徐文定公存稿
 Xu Ximan 徐西滿
 Xu Xiaoman 徐小蠻
 Xu Xingsuo / Xingchu 許惺所 / 惺初
 Xu Xuichen 許習臣
 Xu Xuandu 許遠度
 Xu Yunxi 徐允希
 Xu Zhenming 徐貞明
 Xu Zongde 徐宗德
 Xu Zuanzeng 許鑽曾
 Xugu zhagqi suanjia 顧古摘奇算法
 Xujiahui 徐家匯
 xuyan 緒言
 Xuanhu 玄扈
 Xuanhu xiansheng 玄扈先生
 Xuansha 宣沙
 xue bu bing yu tian er wei xin 學不稟於天而惟心
 Xue Fengzuo 薛鳳祚
 xueshi 血湖
 xueshi 學士
 xun tian li 循天理
 xundao 訓導
 Xunzhou 濬州
 Yalu 鴨綠
 Yan Wenhui 晏文輝
 Yan Yuan 顏元
 yanfu 燕窩
 Yanran 燕然
 yang 洋
 Yang Guangxian 楊光先
 Yang Hao 楊鶴
 Yang Hui 楊輝
 Yang Jingchun 楊景淳
 Yang Lian 楊漣
 Yang Qiyan 楊起元
 yang shi 陽世
 Yang Tingyun (Qiyuan) 楊廷筠 (滇園)
 Yang Wenyan 楊文言
 Yang Yunsong 楊筠松
 Yangjie tang ji 仰節堂集
 yangsheng jia 養生家
 Yangyan xiansheng ji 楊園先生集
 Yao (tribe) 僚
 Yao (mythical emperor) 堯
 Yao Yongji 姚永濟
 Yaozhou 耀州
 ye 也
 Ye Mengzhu 葉夢珠
 Ye Xianggao 葉向高
 Ye Yifan 葉益蕃
 Yecai pu 野菜譜
 Yesu huishi jinsu 耶穌會士謹述
 Yesu huishi Luo Ruwang jinsu 耶穌會士羅儒望謹述
 Yesu huishi Luo Ruwang Li Ningshi Qiu Liangbin tongjiao 耶穌會士羅儒望黎寧石丘良葉同教
 Yesu xiang zan 耶穌像讚
 yi (Barbarian) 夷
 yi (doubt) 疑
 yi (justice, principle) 義
 yi da gong 以大公
 yi lun ming pian 以論名篇
 yi ying bu xu 以盈補虛
 Yicheng 翼乘
 yijiao 異教
 Yijing 易經
 Yiken ling 宜壘令
 yishu 藝數
 Yixiang kaocheng 儀象考成
 Yixue xiangshu lun 易學象數論
 Yizhou 義州
 yizhuan 翼傳
 yin shi 陰世
 Yin Tingshu 殷廷樞
 Yinge 因格
 Yinlu 胤祿
 ying 影
 Yingkou 營口
 yong 用
 Yong Xia jie 用夏解
 Yongle dadian 永樂大典
 Yongqing dawen 永慶齋問
 Yongzi fanli 用字凡例
 You Yi 游藝
 youmiao er wu dang 幽邁而無當
 yu ("comer") 隅
 yu (tar) 芋
 Yu 禹
 Yu Chunxi 虞淳熙
 Yu Dacheng 余大成
 yu ge guan 與各官
 Yu Xingmin 俞性敏
 Yu Yingui 余應桂
 Yu Yongning (Changji) 余永寧 (常吉)
 Yu Ziru xiansheng xiangzan 俞子如先生像贊

- yu'an 余按
 yugou 餘句
 yugu 餘股
 Yulei 語類
 Yulongzi ji 御龍子集
 Yushan (mount) 虞山
 yushi 御史
 Yuxue zhaji 餘學齋集
 Yuan Chonghuan 袁崇煥
 Yuan Haowen 元好問
 Yuan mishu jianzhi 元秘書監志
 Yuan Pei 元配
 yuan shu xun li 緣數尋理
 Yuan Yingtai 袁應泰
 yuan zhi yu tai wu zui 原之於胎無罪
 Yuanben lun 原本論
 Yuandao 原道
 Yuandao pixie shuo 原道闢邪說
 Yuanjie 圓解
 yuanren 原任
 Yuanrong jiaoyi 圓容較義
 Yuanshi 元史
 Yuanwen 原文
 Yuanwu 圓悟
 yuanyi muyi 遠夷慕義
 Yue 粵
 Yuegeng lu 閱耕錄
 Yunjian 雲間
 Yunjian zazhi 雲間雜誌
 Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲株宏
 yunyun 云云
 zabu 雜部
 zao qi 造器
 zao tian zhe huan ye 造天者圖也
 zaojia 皂莢
 zaowu zhu 造物主
 Zaowuzhu chuxiang lueshuo 造物主垂象略說
 Zaowuzhu zhe Xiguo suo cheng Dousi, ci Zhong yi wei Tianzhu, shi dangchu... 造物主者西國所稱陡斯此中譯為主是當初
 ze ri da yu yue 則日大於月
 Zegu nongshu 澤谷農書
 zeguo 澤國
 zeng 增
 Zeng Guofan 曾國藩
 zeng libu 曾禮部
 Zeng Wendi 曾文迪
 Zhaike 齋克
 Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水
 zhanshi fu shao zhanshi 詹事府少詹事
 Zhang Bi 張弼
 Zhang Chenji 張宸極
 Zhang Chi 張枏
 Zhang Dunren 張敦仁
 Zhang Geng 張賡
 Zhang Guowei 張國維
 Zhang Jingyuan 張京元
 Zhang Keda 張可大
 Zhang Luxiang 張履祥
 Zhang Nai 張鼐
 Zhang Suojing 張所敬
 Zhang Suowang 張所望
 Zhang Tao (convert) 張燾
 Zhang Tao (general) 張縉
 Zhang Wenda 張問達
 Zhang Wenhui 張文虎
 Zhang Xingyao 張星躍
 Zhang Yicheng 張以承
 Zhang Zai 張載
 Zhang Zhixiang 張之象
 Zhang Zhuo 張拙
 Zhangjiabang 張家浜
 Zhao (hao) Fengyu 趙 (號) 鳳宇
 Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫
 Zhao Shuang 趙爽
 Zhen Luan 甄鸞
 Zhenfu baduan zhenzan 真福八端箴贊
 Zhenfu xunquan 真福訓詮
 Zhenhai 鎮海
 Zhenjiang 鎮江
 zhenmu 真母
 zhenzan 箴贊
 zhenzhu 真主
 Zheng Fuguang 鄭復光
 Zheng Jiaozan 鄭交贊
 Zheng Xuan 鄭玄
 Zheng Yiwei 鄭以偉
 Zheng Zongzhou 鄭宗周
 Zhengdao 正道
 Zhengdao lun 正道論
 Zhengdao tigan 正道提綱
 zhengjiao 正教
 zhengxie 正叶
 Zhengxue bian 證學編
 zhi 至
 zhi (administrator) 知
 zhi ben 知本
 zhi da gong 之大公

<i>zhi jimin bingzi nian</i> 至今年丙子年	Zhu Xi 朱熹	<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i>
Zhi Ting 智筵	Zhu Xiao 朱櫛	<i>ARSI</i>	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
<i>zhi yu...er wu zhi</i> 至于...而無之	Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊	<i>BAV</i>	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
<i>zhidaole</i> 知道了	Zhu Youjiao 朱由校	<i>BNF</i>	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
<i>Zhifang waiji</i> 職方外紀	Zhu Yunming 祝允明	<i>BNF Chinois</i>	<i>Catalogue des livres chinois, coréens, japonais...</i> Courant, Maurice. 1902-1912.
<i>zhili</i> 治曆	Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉	Borg. Cin.	Borgia Chinese collection, BAV
<i>zhiman</i> 枝蔓	Zhu Zhucui 朱倬灌	<i>DMB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Ming Biography</i> . Goodrich, L. Carrington and Fang, Yingchao, eds. 1976.
<i>zhiren</i> 治人	Zhu Zongyuan (Weicheng) 朱宗元 (維城)	<i>DSB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Scientific Biography</i> . Gillespie, Charles C., ed. 1970-1980.
<i>zhixu</i> 智旭		<i>DXZ</i>	<i>Daoxue jia zhuan</i> 道學家傳. Puxuan Houxue. 1816.
<i>zhizao</i> 製造	Zhuohong 株宏	<i>ECCP</i>	<i>Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period</i> . Hummel, Arthur H., ed. 1943.
<i>Zhong mianhua fa</i> 種棉花法	<i>Zhukesi</i> 主客司	<i>FR</i>	<i>Fonti Ricciane</i> . Ricci. 1942-1949.
Zhong Xing 鐘惺	<i>zhuma</i> 苧麻	Fujian	Fujian University Theologate Library shelfmark.
<i>zhongfa</i> 中法	<i>Zhuqi</i> 朱翼	Jap. Sin.	Japonica Sinica collection, ARSI.
<i>zhongfa</i> 種法	<i>Zhuqi lunlue</i> 誅夷論略	<i>JJTWJ</i>	<i>Juejiao tongwen ji</i> 絕徼同文紀. Yang Tingyun [1617] 1629.
<i>Zhongguo fengjiao xiushi kao</i> 中國奉教修士考	<i>Zhuqi qunzheng</i> 主制群徵	<i>MRZ</i>	<i>Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin</i> 明人傳記資料索引. 1965-1966.
<i>Zhonghe</i> 中和	Zhuang Qiyuan 莊起元	<i>NZQS</i>	<i>Nongzheng quanshu</i> 農政全書. Xu Guangqi [1639] 1979.
Zhonghou 中後	Zhuangzi 莊子	Rac. Gen. Or.	Raccolta Generale Orientale collection, BAV.
Zhongji 中極	Zhuo Erkang 卓爾康	<i>SCC</i>	Needham, Joseph, 1954-. <i>Science and civilisation in China</i> .
<i>zhongfu</i> 中率	<i>zi yimao yiqian</i> 自乙卯以前	<i>SKQS</i>	<i>Yingyin Wenyuange Sikü quanshu</i> 影印文淵閣四庫全書. 1983-1986.
<i>Zhongxi suanxue tong</i> 中西算學通	<i>zichen</i> 自陳	<i>SKQSZM</i>	<i>Siku quanshu zongmu</i> 四庫全書總目. [1781] [1965], 1987. Unless otherwise specified, the 1987 edition is used.
<i>Zhongxi shu</i> 種藝疏	Zikawei, sec Xujiahui	<i>SWCRJ</i>	<i>Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal</i>
Zhongyou 中右	<i>Zishizhai</i> 子史摘	<i>TXCH</i>	<i>Tianxue chuhan Tianxue chuhan</i> 天學初函 Li Zhizao ed. [1626] 1965.
<i>zhongzhi</i> 種植	<i>Zishuji</i> 子書輯	<i>WX</i>	<i>Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian</i> 天主教東傳文獻. Wu Xiangxiang ed. 1965.
Zhou Bingmo 周炳謨	<i>Ziwei yuan</i> 紫微垣		
Zhou Fangji 周方濟	<i>Zizou/zhou oubian</i> 諮諏/周偶編		
Zhou Mengyan 周夢顏	<i>zong</i> 縱		
Zhou Wenyu 周文郁	<i>Zonglu minghao</i> 總率名號		
Zhou Xiling 周希令	<i>zonglun</i> 總論		
Zhou Yanru 周延儒	Zou Zhilin 鄒之麟		
Zhou Ziyu 周子愚	Zu Dabi 祖大弼		
<i>Zhoubi jingtian ji</i> 周髀井田記	Zu Dashou 祖大壽		
<i>Zhoubi suanjing</i> 周髀算經	Zu Kuan 祖寬		
<i>Zhouli</i> 周禮	<i>zuaxiu</i> 纂修		
<i>Zhousui jingyan</i> 周歲警言	<i>zui</i> 犄		
<i>zhu</i> 注	<i>zummu</i> 尊母		
<i>zhu</i> (Lord) 主	<i>Zunsheng yaozhi</i> 尊生要旨		
Zhu Bao 朱豹	<i>zuo chunfang zhao zanshan</i> 左善坊左贊善		
Zhu He 朱佑	Zuo Guangxian 左光先		
Zhu Honglin 朱鴻林	<i>zuo jiaoguan</i> 做教官		
Zhu Jiafa 朱家法	<i>zuo shan jiang shan, ji shan yu qing</i> 作善降善，積善餘慶		
Zhu Lin 朱琳	<i>Zuo zaowu zhi zummu</i> 作造物之尊母		
Zhu Maoyuan 祝懋元	<i>zuopai</i> 左派		
Zhu Shijie 朱世傑	<i>Zuozhuan</i> 左傳		
Zhu Weisheng 朱惟生			

ABBREVIATIONS

- WXS*B* *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian sanbian* 天主教東傳文獻三編. Wu Xiangxiang ed. 1976.
- WXX*B* *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian rubian* 天主教東傳文獻續編. Wu Xiangxiang ed. 1966.
- XGQ*J* *Xu Guangqi ji* 徐光啟集. Xu Guangqi [1963] 1984.
- XGQ*NP* *Xu Guangqi nianpu* 徐光啟年譜. Liang Jiamian 1981.
- XGQZ*YJ* *Xu Guangqi zhuyi ji* 徐光啟著譯集. Xu Guangqi 1983.
- XWDG*J* *(Zending) Xu Wendeng gong ji* (增訂) 徐文定公集. Xu Guangqi. [1896] 1909, 1933, 1962.
- Zikawei Part of the former Zikawei Library collection, previously kept at the Fujen University Theologate Library, now at the Central Library of Academia Sinica, Taipei.
- ZKJ*DT* *Zhongguo kexue jishu dianji tonghui* 中國科學技術典籍通彙. *Shuxue* 數學: Guo Shuchun ed. 1993; *Tianwenxue* 天文學: Bo Shuren ed. 1993; *Jishu* 技術: Hua Jueming ed. 1993.

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