

THE JAPONICA-SINICA COLLECTIONS I-IV IN THE ROMAN ARCHIVES OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AN OVERVIEW

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AD DUDINK

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List of Abbreviations

BAV Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (Roma)

Bernard 1945

Henri Bernard S.J., "Les adaptations chinoises d'ouvrages européens: bibliographie chronologique depuis la venue des portugais à Canton jusqu'à la Mission française de Pékin, 1514-1688," in: *Monumenta Serica* 10 (1945), pp. 1-57; 309-388 (nos. 1-550).

Bernard 1960

Henri Bernard S.J., "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," in: *Monumenta Serica* 19 (1960), pp. 349-383 (nos. 551-656).

BNF Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris)

Catalogue

Albert Chan S.J., Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. A Descriptive Catalogue: Japonica-Sinica I-IV (New York 2002).

Cordier

Henri Cordier, L'imprimerie sino-européenne en Chine. Bibliographie des ouvrages publiés en Chine par les Européens au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle (Paris 1901).

- DMB L. Carrington Goodrich Fang Chao-ying (eds.), Dictionary of Ming Biography (1368–1644), 2 vols. (New York London 1976).
- FR Pasquale M. d'Elia, S.J. (ed.), Fonti Ricciane. Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina, 3 vols. (Roma 1942-1949).

Xu 1949

Xu Zongze 徐宗澤, Ming Qing jian Yesuhuishi yizhu tiyao 明清間耶穌會士譯著提要 (Shanghai 1949; reprints: Taibei 1957, Beijing 1989).

Zikawei (Xujiahui 徐家匯), see Xu 1949, pp. 421-436.

Introduction

The Japonica-Sinica (Jap. Sin.) collections I-IV in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (ARSI) constitute a relatively small library of mainly Chinese texts. The four collections consist of 451 numbers. In the recently published catalogue compiled by Albert Chan¹ there are descriptions of 426 numbers, because 25 numbers are lacking.² These 426 numbers cover 578 titles (see the list appended to this article), including duplicates, reprints, and other editions of certain texts.

numbers	lacking	remaining	titles	list
Jap. Sin. I, 1-224	15	209	330	[001] - [330]
Jap. Sin. II, 1-173	3	170	192	[331] - [522]
Jap. Sin. III, 1-24	1	23	41	[523] - [563]
Jap. Sin. IV, 1-30	6	24	15	[564] - [578]
451	25	426	578	

Most of the 578 titles are in Chinese. Except for some twenty titles, they all date back to the late Ming or early Qing. The first books were already sent to Rome in the early seventeenth century³ and gradually the library expanded. Although some books and manuscripts of the late Ming or early Qing were acquired during the nineteenth century and the present numbering, at least partly, dates from the late nineteenth century, the present arrangement of most books must have been made on the basis of an earlier arrangement.

This article will first, on the basis of Chan's catalogue, give an overview of Jap. Sin. I-IV with a tentative reconstruction of various historical layers within

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Arabicus – opuscula et Bernini hist. incompl., II, 28 [I, 212]; Canarim vocabularium, I, 9 [I, 217]; Maya et Yucatanica ling. SS. Evangelia, I, 5 [I, 218]; Marianae linguae grammaticae institutiones, I, 20 [I, 219].
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Albert Chan, S.J., Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome, A Descriptive Catalogue: Japonica-Sinica I-IV (New York 2002) (henceforth abbreviated: Catalogue). The four collections are preceded by the collection Jap. Sin. (without Roman numeral) which contains documents and manuscripts in mainly Western languages.

I, 25, 200, 208-220; II, 78-79, 90; III, 9; IV, 1, 10-12, 26, 29. Some or even most of these lacking numbers may concern documents moved to other sections of the Archives (cf. n. 59). After the following four titles in the late 18th-c. ms. catalogue (Jap. Sin. II, 152.2) someone added in pencil the Jap. Sin. numbers (here between square brackets):

This indicates that an "empty" number not always represents a lacking text, but sometimes a text in another "foreign" language (cf. *Catalogue*, p. 436, sub Jap. Sin. II, 152.2: "Linguae Orientalium et extran.") such as Maya that was only removed from the Jap. Sin. collections.

³ Jap. Sin. I, 45 (see below, n. 20).

these four collections. Then follows a survey of the entire four collections as regards technical details such as the number of separate titles. In addition, it will explain that these collections do not constitute a complete library of the Jesuit China Mission of the late Ming and early Qing. The article will conclude with a survey of the unique or in any event rare texts.

1. Overview of Jap. Sin. I-IV and Various Layers in these Collections

a) Jap. Sin. I

The first collection starts with a small corpus of Chinese literature (I, 1-32): copies of the Chinese Classics (such as the *Book of Changes* and the *Book of History*, though most books concern editions of the *Four Books*); the *School Sayings of Confucius*; *Family Rituals* of Zhu Xi 朱喜 and his *Elementary Studies* (the primer for basic Neo-Confucian ideas and precepts) that opens the collection (I, 1.a). Most commentaries on the Classics are those by Zhu Xi, but there are also late Ming commentators, e.g., Zhong Xing 鍾性 and Zhang Nai 張鼐 (an acquaintance of the convert Xu Guangqi 徐光啓, 1562–1633). The other commentaries on the Classics are lectures given to the young Wanli emperor (r. 1573–1620) by Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525–1582) and to the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662–1722) during the early years of his reign.

This homage to "Chinese wisdom" (sapientia sinica) is followed by the commentary (1644) of Manuel Dias (1574-1659) to a large part of the inscription on the Xi'an stele of 781 (found in 1623), which proved that Christianity had been present in China long before the Jesuits arrived there. That this book (Jap. Sin. I. 33) was placed here shows that the person who put it there took the sapientia sinica itself as another trace of an earlier presence of Christian ideas in China. This is confirmed by the fact that Dias' book is not followed by other writings of missionaries, but mainly by books and documents in which Chinese converts explain the Classics (Jap. Sin. I, 34-42), or as a note on the cover of 37.1 reads: "Christianae Considerationes et Annotationes in libros classicos Sinarum." The way to explain the Classics, and especially the "Chinese rites," had already become the subject of controversy during the last decades of the seventeenth century. This part of Jap. Sin. I (34-42) gives much attention to the opinion of Jesuits and converts on the way the Dominican missionary Francisco Varo (1627-1687) explained the Classics. When Charles Maigrot, Vicar Apostolic of Fujian, in his mandate of 1693 forbade the use of Tian and Shangdi, he mainly relied on Varo's explanations. Most converts whose opinions are given in this part of collection were from Fujian, where Varo and Maigrot were staying.⁵

⁴ Catalogue, p. 30.

Most of the forty-three texts in this part (I, 34-42, nos. 037-079) are manuscripts. Twenty-four texts were written by people from Fujian, including the Jesuit Simão Rodrigues (list, no. 057). See below, n. 98.

The presence, in this part, of a booklet by Ferdinand Verbiest on Catholic funeral rites and prayers for the dead is explained by the fact that it contains handwritten remarks (1689) in which the Kangxi emperor expressed his consent with certain ideas:⁶ a vague echo of the consent that Tang emperors accorded to Christianity, as testified in the Xi'an inscription.

Condensed in the arrangement of books, this first part affirms that not only the Xi'an inscription testifies of an earlier presence of Christianity in China, but that the Chinese Classics are even earlier traces of the presence of Christian ideas in China. These are the material on which the renewed introduction of Christianity in China should be based, as stated by Chinese converts themselves.⁷

Only after this part on the Chinese Classics follow the books that the missionaries wrote in order to "reintroduce" Christianity (Jap. Sin. I, 43-130). It opens, in a more or less chronological order, with the catechisms composed by Jesuit missionaries (I, 43-58) during the late Ming and very early Qing: first the catechisms composed by João da Rocha (said to have been printed already before 1600)⁸ and by Matteo Ricci (his *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 of 1603, which he himself called his "catechism"). Then follow other writings by Ricci, dealing with Christian ethics and apologetics (Jiaoyou lun 交友論, Bianxue yidu 辯學遺牘, Jiren shipian 畸人十篇, and Ershiwu yan 二十五言). That Ricci's writings (except the scientific ones), though they do not deal with all the aspects of Christian faith, are included in this section of "basic" writings, only shows that his method of evangelisation was regarded as obligatory. After Ricci's writings comes the earliest catechism, that of Michele Ruggieri (1584), but in its revised version of ca. 1640,9 followed by that of Antonio de Gouvea (1655). Then follows the "Dottrina Christiana" (Tianzhu jiaoyao 天主教要), written and revised by the Jesuits collectively in the course of the years (a text given to catechumens) and the explanation of it (1615) by Alfonso Vagnone. The last text in this "section" (I, 43-58) is Life of the Incarnated Lord of Heaven (Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilüe 天主降生言行紀略, 1635), written by Giulio Aleni on the basis of the Gospels.

After these "basic" writings follow those by individual Jesuit authors (I, 59-115). The first two parts, 59-86 and 87-109, are neatly arranged: first the late Ming authors and then those of the early Qing, more or less alphabetically (for further details, see below):

I, 38.1.1; Catalogue, p. 38, photocopy of fol. 7r with Kangxi's remarks in the upper margin. These remarks, found too in the duplicate copy (38.2.1), were reproduced from an original copy, not preserved in the Archives.

See, for example, the remarks which Li Jiugong made in his *Zhengli chuyi* and *Lisu mingbian* (1, 40/8, 42/2a; *Catalogue*, pp. 56, 68).

⁸ According to the Latin note on the cover (*Catalogue*, p. 70).

⁹ For copies of the original edition, see Jap. Sin. I, 189-190.

(late Ming:)		
I, 59-65	Alphonsus Vagnone	(1568-1640)
I, 66-70	Emmanuel Dias Jr.	(1574–1659)
I, 71-81	Julius Aleni	(1592-1649)
I, 82-86	Jacobus Pantoja	(1571–1618)
(early Qing:)		
I, 87-96	Ludovicus (Aloysius) Buglio	(1606-1682)
I, 97-98	Andreas Lobelli	(1611-1685)
I, 99	Jacobus Motel	(1619-1692)
I, 100-101	Martinus Martini	(1614–1661)
I, 102-104	Philippus Couplet	(1622-1693)
I, 105-107	Franciscus Brancati	(1607-1671)
I, 108	Gabriel de Magalhães	(1610-1677)
I, 109	Simon D'Acunha	(1589–1660)
(late Ming:)		
I, 110-111	Joannes Soerius	(1566–1607)
I, 112	Joannes Froes	(1591–1638)
I, 113-115	Nicolaus Longobardi	(1565–1655)

Then follow seventeenth-century religious writings composed by Dominican and Franciscan missionaries (I, 116-122), a rather short "section" because, relatively, Friars published far less books than Jesuits. ¹⁰ That some of their published writings are lacking should not be taken as a sign of disdain, because also quite a number of Jesuit writings published during that century are absent (see below).

Finally, one apparently reserved a short section (I, 123-130) for hard to classify items: a catechism (I, 123) without title page, with the first folios torn out and with a Latin note on the first remaining folio (fol. 10): "Catechismus antiquus; incompletus ab initio" (in fact, Vagnone's explanation of the catechism *Tianzhu jiaoyao*); an anonymous catechism (I, 126, in fact, by Ricci); four Manchu translations of Chinese Christian books, composed by Buglio (I, 125; Chinese original: I, 124), an anonymous author (I, 128; Chinese original: I, 127), ¹¹ Soeiro (I, 129) and Xu Guangqi (I, 130).

The next section (I, 131-146) covers religious writings of Chinese converts (late Ming and early Qing). One finds here *Zhengxue liushi* 正學鏐石, attributed to the Franciscan Antonio Caballero, but actually composed by the convert Shang Huqing 尚祜卿. By mistake, Lin Yijun 林一儁, who wrote an introduction to

There are fourteen titles by non-Jesuits, mainly Dominicans and Franciscans: Jap. Sin. I, 116-122, 134, 151 (duplicate of I, 122), 170, 171, 171a (duplicate), 173.1 (173.3, duplicate), 174.1; Jap. Sin. II, 86, 160 (by Giovanni Donato Mezzafalce [1661-1720], a member of the Congregation of St. Philip Neri). Jap. Sin. I, 199 is by Diego Collado, a Dominican in Japan, I, 202 is by Luis de Granada O.P. (1504-1588), and I, 170-171 by Dominicans working among the Chinese living in Manila, the Philippines.

The author of *Tongshan shuo* is Li Zubai 李祖白, according to the Franciscan missionary Antonio de Santa Maria Caballero (1602–1669), see Bernard 1945, p. 365, no. 384 (see also p. 385, addenda).

Aleni's Shengmeng ge 聖夢歌, is taken as the author of that book.¹² This section also contains two texts not written by converts: Cangju 藏句 by Xiong Ding 熊定 (late Ming), a refutation of Chinese superstition (I, 133, manuscript copied by a convert), and the anonymous Mingxin baojian 明心寶鑑 (I, 137), a book much admired by missionaries and converts.¹³

Summarising, Jap. Sin. I, 1-146 (nos. 001-212)¹⁴ has been well arranged: the Chinese Classics as the basis on which Christianity has to be (re)introduced, followed by the Chinese writings of missionaries, first the basic texts, *viz*. the catechisms (composed by Jesuits) and Ricci's writings, then those of individual authors (Jesuits, Friars, and anonymous authors), texts in Manchu and finally the first results of the China mission: the religious writings of Chinese Christians.

The dated texts in Jap. Sin. I, 1-146 were written or published in the period from 1579 (I, 58 A 2) to autumn 1699 (I, 38/3), while two undated texts (I, 40.3-4) apparently were composed in 1701 (see n. 101). Moreover, texts written or published later than ca. 1675, are spread throughout this part. This indicates that the present arrangement cannot be earlier than approximately 1705 (a few years after 1701). This *terminus post quem* is confirmed by the fact that on three texts (38/1.1; 89; 89.1-2) in this part (I, 1-146) there is a note written in the autumn of 1701 by Antoine Thomas in Peking, the which texts can only have entered the Archives after 1701.

Some texts, however, were present there before 1675. In the list of writings by China Jesuits in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, ... recognitum et productum ad annum 1675 a Nathanaele Sotuello S.J. (Roma 1676), Southwell sometimes mentions copies present in the Jesuit General Archives at Rome.¹⁷ He

See the Latin note on the cover of I, 143 (Catalogue, p. 189).

¹³ See *Catalogue*, pp. 182-183.

¹⁴ Five texts (I, 187-189, 189a, 190), which in the *Catalogue* (pp. 90-97, 110-112), for convenience's sake, are described within the part Jap. Sin. I, 1-146 (pp. 1-194), are not included in the number of 212 texts.

Except for the cluster of the nos. 048-079 (roughly dating from the 1680s and 1690s), the following late 17th-century texts (44 items) are spread throughout this part (nos. 1-212): 014 (preface 1677), 021 (preface 1684), 022 (1693), 023-024 (late Ming or 1696), 028 (1690), 030 (preface 1680), 039 (after 1681), 043-046 (1689), 047 (1699), 086 (Manchu transl., 1694), 090 (reprint 1695), 106 (reprint 1680), 107 (reprint 1694), 121 (Manchu transl., 1694), 122 (reprint 1694), 140 (reprint 1694), 150-151 (1676), 154-155 (1673), 156 (1674), 157 (1689), 161 (1675), 163 (1675?), 168 (1677), 176 (reprint 1679), 178 (1677?), 179 (1673), 180-182 (1690s), 183 (1681 or 1700), 187, 190-192 (Manchu transl., 1694?), 194-195 (1689), 197 (preface 1698), 208 (reprint 1684), 212 (reprint 1697). Note the increase of reprints, esp. Manchu translations, of earlier published texts, shortly after the Edict of Toleration (March 1692).

 ²⁶ October 1701 (I, 38/1.1-2 and I, 89.1-2) and 5 November 1701 (I, 89); see *Catalogue*, pp. 35 (photocopy: p. 37), 140, 142.

¹⁷ Cf. Bernard 1945, p. 40: Southwell "introduit l'heureuse innovation de mentionner parfois les exemplaires des ouvrages qui se trouvent dans les Archives romaines de la Compagnie de Jésus."

mentions the following texts (the numbers between brackets were inserted by Henri Bernard):

Alphonsus Vagnonus

Extant illius duo volumina Sinensibus caracteribus excusa de Doctrinae Christianae explicatione, Romae in tabulario generali Societatis in-folio. [Jiaoyao jielüe 教要解略] This refers to Jap. Sin. I, 61.¹⁸

Didacus de Pantoja

- {18} Septem victorias
- {19} Explicationem exactissimam et extensam 12 articulorum Symboli fidei.
- {20} Probationes evidentes
- 21 De natura, statu et operationibus angelorum bonorum et malorum.
- {22} De origine primi hominis

Exstant sex volumina horum librorum characteribus sinensibus excusa, Romae in tabulario generali Societatis, in-folio.

[Qike 七克] [Pangzi yiquan 龐子遺詮]

[Tianzhu shiyi xubian 天主實義續編] [Tianshen mogui 天神魔鬼]

[Renlei yuanshi 人類原始]

These six volumes refer to Jap. Sin. I, 82b (*Pangzi yiquan*, one volume, the last *juan* of which consists of *Tianshen mogui* and *Renlei yuanshi*), Jap. Sin. I, 83 (*Tianzhu shiyi xupian*, one volume) and Jap. Sin. I, 85 (*Qike*, four volumes). 19

Matthaeus Riccius

{101} - {117} (seventeen titles)
Ex his libris sinensibus exstant tria
volumina in-folio, characteribus sinensibus
impressa, De Deo vero, de Amicitia et aliis
argumentis, Romae in Archivio Generali
Societatis. ...

This refers to Jap. Sin. I, 45 (*Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義) and Jap. Sin. I, 49 (*Jiaoyou lun* 交友論).²⁰

- Of the copies present (I, 57, 61, 123), I, 123 is incomplete and has no cover or title page; it was rather late recognised as a text by Vagnone, see the note on the actual first folio (fol. 10) which refers to Pfister's *Notices* of 1932, vol. I, p. 91 (*Catalogue*, p. 104). The Latin note on I, 57 gives the title "Cathechismi explicatio" as found in Couplet's *Catalogus Patrum* (1687). The note on the cover of the remaining copy (I, 61) gives the title "Doctrinae christianae explicatio" as given also by Southwell.
- Of *Qike* there are three copies: an incomplete one (1 vol.) without a Latin note on the cover (I, 84); an edition in four volumes with Latin notes (I, 85); a reprint of 1694 (I, 86, which entered the Archives after 1675). Of *Pangzi yiquan*, with the appendices (j. 4) *Tianshen mogui* and *Renlei yuanshi*, there is one copy in one volume with the note: "Simboli Apostolorum explicatio" (I, 82b; the other volume, 82a, is incomplete and only contains j. 1-2 (*Catalogue*, p. 133, incorrectly speaks of a single, complete copy in two volumes). Of *Tianzhu shiyi xubian* there are three copies (I, 83a, 83b, 83c), each in one volume, without notes on the cover.
- Of *Tianzhu shiyi* (De Deo vero) there are five copies, all with notes on the cover. Two copies are in one volume: I, 44 (Dei solida Ratio) and I, 53 A (modern note, as it mentions Wieger). Three copies are in two volumes: I, 45 (de vero Deo), 46 and 47 (both: de vera Dei essentia). As Southwell calls the copy in the Archives "de Deo vero," it is likely that Jap. Sin. I, 45, the only copy with this title, is the one present in the Archives in 1675. According to a note by D'Elia on this copy, it was sent by Ricci to Rome in 1607 or 1608, but Albert Chan questions this judgement (*Catalogue*, p. 74). Of *Jiaoyou lun* (de Amicitia et aliis argumentis) there are

In 1675, at least these eleven volumes were in the Archives, which volumes, as I assume, are still there.²¹ It is not clear whether Southwell mentioned all the books present there in 1675. For example, of the five writings by Ricci in Jap. Sin. I, 44-53 (*Tianzhu shiyi*, *Jiaoyou lun*, *Bianxue yidu*, *Jiren shipian*, and *Ershiwu yan*) Southwell mentions only the first two; of the remaining three, in any event *Jiren shipian* cannot have been in the Archives in 1675, because it is a reprint published in 1695.

Besides the presence of some texts in the Archives before 1675, there are indications that the present arrangement is based on an earlier arrangement by adding newly acquired texts. At least the following texts were inserted in this part (I, 1-146) later on:

1) Jap. Sin. I, 22-24 (I, 25 absent)

Though correctly "appended" to commentaries on the *Book of Changes* (I, 18-21), the *Latina interpretatio veterrimi libri dicti* 易 Y (I, 22), composed by Joseph de Prémare S.J. in 1720–1721, 22 is the sole text in Jap. Sin. I, 1-146 that is not in Chinese. Then follows a book on divination (I, 23: *Bushi quanshu* 卜筮全書, incomplete). The subject of divination is closely related to that of the *Book of Changes*, and a more close look should reveal whether this book (I, 23) has any connection with that Classic and whether *Latina interpretatio* (I, 22) deals with this subject too (reason why *Bushi quanshu* was "appended" to it). It is hard to see, however, how the next book ("Parvi tractatus populares Taoismi"), dealing with the gods of the Three Religions (I, 24: *Sanjiao soushen daquan* 三教搜神大全 and *juan* 7 of the illustrated *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義 "The Investiture of the Gods"), fits within the theme of this section (I, 1-42): traces of Christian ideas in ancient China.

2) Jap. Sin. I, 53 (1-5 and A-B)

The first five texts of this number (the last number of the section I, 44-53, containing Ricci's writings) are part of a small collection: two texts by Ricci (including one duplicate: 53.2, cf. I, 49) and three by Chinese converts (two by Yang Tingyun and one by Li Zhizao), followed by two duplicates of texts by Ricci: 53 A (cf. 44) and 53 B (cf. 53.1). Not only are in this part (Jap. Sin. I, 1-146) the duplicates always put together (e.g., 45, 46, 47), but also the presence of texts by Chinese converts is "irregular": these should have been placed in the section

two copies (both in one volume): I, 49 (de Amicitia) and 53.2 (de Amicitia Ciceron.). The note on the last copy slightly differs from the one given by Southwell; moreover, this copy is part of a "European" volume containing five texts (53.1-5, two works by Ricci and three by converts). This makes it likely that Jap. Sin. I, 49 is the copy to which Southwell refers. Together Jap. Sin. I, 45 and 49 consist of three (mentioned by Southwell) volumes.

²¹ Jap. Sin. I, 45, 49, 61, 82b, 83 (a, b, or c) and 85; for Jap. Sin. II (20, 60 and 74, in all six volumes), see below.

Paul A. Rule, K'ung-tzu or Confucius? The Jesuit Interpretation of Confucianism (Sydney 1986), p. 292, n. 207.

of writings by converts (I, 131-146), where we find the same two texts by Yang Tingyun (131 and 140a).

3) Jap. Sin. I, 87-115

The late Ming authors (I, 59-86) are arranged alphabetically according to baptismal names (mentioned in Latin on the covers), as found too in Alegambe's Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu (1643) and in Southwell's catalogue.²³ Although some texts in this section (I, 59-86) were already present in 1675 (see above), the arrangement is of a later date, because the last text (I, 86) is a reprint of 1694. The early Qing authors, in first instance, are also arranged alphabetically (I, 87-104): Ludovicus Buglio (but the note on the cover of I, 124 calls him Aloysius), Andreas Lubelli, Jacobus Motel, Martinus Martini, and Philippus Couplet. Then a new series of early Oing authors starts (I, 105-109): Franciscus Brancati, Gabriel de Magalhaes, and Simon D'Acunha. Finally, there follow some other late Ming authors (I, 110-115): Joannes Soerius, Joannes Froes, and Nicolaus Longobardi.²⁴ Therefore, the sets I, 105-109 and 110-115 must have entered the Archives after Jap. Sin. I, 87-104. The latter series, with writings by early Qing authors, cannot have entered the Archives before ca. 1704, because on the covers of two texts there is a note by Antoine Thomas, dated the autumn of 1701. These texts, Tianxue chuan'gai 天學傳概 by Li Zubai 李祖白 (I, 89) and Budeyi 不得已 by Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (I, 89.1-2), though not works by Buglio, precede his Budeyi bian 不得已辯 (I, 90), a refutation of Yang's Pixie lun 闢邪論 (included in Budeyi), which latter text had refuted Li's Tianxue chuan'gai. Not only is this arrangement by theme irregular within a section arranged by author, but the way of numbering the writings of Buglio and also of Lubelli deviates from the way texts are usually numbered.²⁵

For the Chinese books mentioned by Alegambe, see Bernard 1945, pp. 24-27 (liste B). In the Latin note on the cover of Jap. Sin. I, 82b, Diego de Pantoja (1571-1618) is not called Didacus, as usually, but Jacobus.

The Latin catalogue (by Léon Wieger) attributes I, 111 (two texts by Wang Yiyuan or Vagnone), to Soeiro, author of the preceding text (I, 110); see *Catalogue*, p. 160. The three writings by Longobardi (d. 1655) were written before the fall of the Ming (1644). An archivist might have been aware of it, as they are mentioned in early Western bibliographies, see Bernard 1945, no. 44 (B 56b), 146 (B 57, C 93), 266 (C 45, D 9). One of these texts (I, 114, on earthquakes, a reprint of 1679) is a scientific text, which kind of texts are usually found in Jap. Sin. II. But this text actually is more a religious tract than a scientific one. See Alegambe (1642) and Southwell (1676): "Tractatum de causis terraemotus Pekinensis anni 1624, quo libro magnam nostris doctrinae opinionem comparavit" (Bernard 1945, p. 26, no. 57, and p. 46, no. 126); cf. Xu 1949, p. 280.

Tianxue chuan'gai is numbered "89" and Budeyi (two volumes) "89.1-2." In the usual way of numbering this should have been "89.1" and "89.2-3." Buglio's Siduo dianyao (two volumes) is numbered "93 1&2" and the duplicate of it "94 3&4." Lubelli's Zhenfu zhizhi (two volumes) is numbered "97 1&2" and the duplicate of it "97a." Except for 97a, this way of numbering is not found elsewhere in the collections Jap. Sin. I-IV. Another inconsistency is that the four copies of Budeyi bian are numbered "90, 90a, 91, 92" instead of e.g., "90, 91, 92, 93." The slightly different way of numbering used in this section (I, 87-115) is confirmed by the fact that only in the preceding sections (I, 1-86; cf. n. 61) some texts and their duplicate(s) are num-

The next part (Jap. Sin. I, 147-166; nos. 213-261) - which comes before the first nineteenth-century text (I, 167) - hardly shows any consistency. First, there is a collection of the religious writings composed by Giacomo Rho (1592–1638). writings that are lacking in the sections of late Ming authors (I, 59-86 and 110-115). Then follows a collection of essays by Chinese seminarians (I, 148), written in 1686, and an incomplete copy (I, 149) of a text by Joseph de Mailla (1669-1748), published in 1733. Also the other texts show a mix of authors: the Jesuits Ricci, Buglio and Brancati, the Franciscan Caballero, Chinese and anonymous authors. The Latin notes on the covers of several of these texts suggest this section deals with apologetics:²⁶ for example, the incomplete copy of de Mailla's book (five parts) only containing the last part, yiduan pian 異端篇 (on heterodox teachings). But there are several books that do not deal with this subject, e.g., Buglio's translation of Manuale ad Ecclesiae sacramenta ministranda (I. 161). followed by an incomplete copy of a commentary on the Book of Rites (I, 162). So it would be forced to mark Jap. Sin. I, 146-166 as an "apologetic" section: books by missionaries and converts are often of an apologetic nature.²⁷ Although. except for de Mailla's book published in 1733, all the texts in this "section" (I, 147-166) were also published not later than the 1690s, ²⁸ a closer look shows that the arrangement of this section is of a later date than that of the preceding ones arranged during the early eighteenth century. Besides duplicates of texts within this section (e.g., no. 215, duplicate of 213; no. 248, duplicate of 247), there are also duplicates of texts found in the preceding part (I, 1-146).²⁹ This indicates that the preceding part had already been arranged, so that these duplicates could not be put there, e.g., Jap. Sin. I, 160 (Bianxue yidu) after the two copies of this text found in Jap. Sin. I, 50 and 51. This also explains the presence of Rho's re-

bered by a subdivision of the number into "a" and "b", or into "a, b, c" (34a, 34b; 71 A, 71 B, 71 C; 73a, 73b; 77a, 77b; 82a, 82b; 83a, 83b, 83c). The usual numbering should have been, e.g., "34, 34a" or "34, 35."

²⁶ Jap. Sin. I, 150: "... refutatio idolatriae et superstitionum sinicarum" (*Catalogue*, p. 202).

²⁷ Jap. Sin. I, 132: "Refutatio falsitarum Bonziorum seu idolatrarum ..." (Catalogue, p. 175).

Jap. Sin. I, 165.c (Daiyi bian 代疑編) was published by the Lingbao tang 領報堂 in Peking, but the edition is not dated. Another copy of this edition, now in BAV (Raccolta Generale Oriente III, 248.9), belonged to Carlo Horatii da Castorano OFM (1673–1755), who left China in 1734. So the edition dates before 1734. This is more or less confirmed by still another copy, BNF Chinois 7093, which has a Fourmont number (i.e., pre-1742). Preserved and dated publications of the Lingbao church are of 1694 (three titles), 1719 (one, reprint of 1694 ed.), 1738 (two) and 1739 (one title): BNF Chinois 6702, 7120, and 7182 (prints of 1694, cf. Jap. Sin. I, 60, 73.a and 86; for the third title, see also BAV, Raccolta Generale Oriente III, 250); Chinois 6832 (reprint of 1719; Jap. Sin. I, 52 is a copy of the 1695 reprint of the first ed. of 1694); Chinois 7195 and 7230 (prints of 1738); Chinois 6722 (print of 1739). Note the absence of copies of the 1738 and 1739 editions in ARSI (as well as in BAV).

Duplicates of texts in the preceding sections: no. 236 = no. 184; 244 = 202/203; 246 = 088; 257 = 210 (211, duplicate); 258 = 212; 260 = 039/199. Two texts in Jap. Sin. I, 166.a-e (nos. 257, 258) are duplicates of the last two texts (I, 145 and 146; nos. 210, 212) of the preceding part.

ligious writings (I, 147): they must have been acquired later, otherwise they would have been put in the section of late Ming Jesuit authors.³⁰ Although this section does not show much consistency, it deals in any event with religious texts, virtually all dating from the seventeenth century.

The texts at the end of Jap. Sin. I (167-224, ca. fifty titles: nos. 262-330) are an unusual mixture as regards dates, subject, author, language (Chinese, Japanese, and European) and place of publication (China, Japan, Philippines, and Europe):

Jap. Sin. I		date			remark	language
	subject	17th	18th	19th		(if not Chinese)
167-169	language			х	1821-1850	
170-175	religion	х			170-171:	
					Manila	
176-184	religion			х	1857-1869	
185-190	religion	х				185: Portuguese
191-193	catalogues	х				193: Latin
194	language		x		late 18th	Latin
195	figurism		х		early 18th	Latin/French
196	language			х	1859	Latin
197	language	x ?				Portuguese-
						Chinese
198	language	х				Portuguese-
						Chinese
199	language	x			Japan	Latin
200 lacking						
201-202	language	x			Japan	Chinese-
						Japanese
203-204	religion			x	Japan;	Japanese
					1868, 1869	
205-206	rites		X		early 18th	206: Latin
207	religion	x				Latin
208-220 lacking		1				
221	religion			х	Protestant	
					text	
222	religion			х	1863	
223	classics		x ³¹	1		Latin
224	religion		x		on Kaifeng	Latin
					synagogue	

Texts in this section date from the seventeenth, eighteenth, or nineteenth century, but all intermingled. The subjects are: language (dictionaries, grammars); religion (mainly Catholicism, in China as well Japan and the Philippines); figurism; rites controversy; catalogues. The languages used are: Chinese, Japanese, Latin, Portuguese, French. Fourteen of the twenty-five lacking numbers are found here

So it is hard to determine the date of the list of luggage (I, 159 A), the sole undated text in this section (except undated reprints). If it was found in the section 1-146, the probability that this text dates before the early eighteenth century would have been greater.

I, 223 was written by Vincent du Tartre (1669–1724, in China since 1701), according to Paul Rule (see n. 22), p. 284, n. 53.

(I, 200, 208-220), at least four of which are in yet another language (Arab, Maya, etc., see note 2). In contrast to the preceding sections, in which writings by Friars are grouped together (I, 116-122), there are two collections of texts containing writings by both Jesuits and Friars (I, 173: one Dominican and one Jesuit author; I, 174: four Jesuits and one Franciscan). The nineteenth-century texts are not arranged in a chronological order, therefore the numbers apparently reflect the order of acquisition.³²

b) Jap. Sin. II

The collection Jap. Sin. II, apparently reserved for scientific texts composed by missionaries and converts, shows a similar kind of arrangement as the preceding collection: an eighteenth-century layer with traces of an earlier arrangement, followed by additional material on diverse subjects and of various dates (the first nineteenth-century text is II, 157).

The eighteenth-century layer closes with two texts (bound together): Brevis Relatio de numero & Qualitate Christianorum apud Sinas (1654) by Martino Martini (II, 152.1) and Index Librorum Sinensium juxta rerum classes distributus (152.2). The latter text is a catalogue of the Chinese books in the Archives, compiled ca. 1840 (after 1833, the latest date mentioned, but before 1857, the date of the earliest text not included: I, 177). Undoubtedly it was bound with Martini's Relatio, because the latter contains a list of the religious texts composed by the early China Jesuits (pp. XXVIII-XXXVI);³³ these writings are mainly found in the collection Jap. Sin. I. Apparently, these two catalogues (II, 152.1-2) close the core of the first two collections (I, 1-166 and II, 1-151).

The dated texts in Jap. Sin. II, 1-151 (nos. 331-491) are not later than the seventeenth century. While the remaining part (II, 153-173) shows a mix of subjects and dates (see below), the arrangement of II, 1-151, however, is relatively clear. It opens with the scientific writings by Jesuits (and a few converts), roughly divided according to subject: philosophy (Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas) and mathematics, including astronomy and geography.³⁴ These writings are presented

See preceding table (column 5). Note that I, 203-204 (printings of 1868 and 1869) were donated to the Archives in December 1869, and that I, 192 (a seventeenth-century text) was given to a Jesuit in 1834 and donated to the Archives on an unspecified later date. See *Catalogue*, pp. 262 and 250-251.

This list is reproduced in Bernard 1945, pp. 32-35 (list D). Note that *Catalogus Patrum* ... (Couplet) and its Chinese counterpart *Shengjiao xinzheng*, found in the last part of Jap. Sin. I (I, 191-193), contain a quite complete bibliography of the works of the China Jesuits (up to ca. 1681; Bernard 1945, pp. 48-56: list G).

This kind of division is found too in the *Annual Letter* of 1637 (Jap. Sin. 115 II), fols. 433-435: list of published and unpublished Chinese writings by Jesuits (titles only given in Latin). The first part mentions the religious and the second part the scientific books, divided into two sections: philosophy and mathematics. For a similar list (ca. 1642), see Bernard 1945, pp. 27-31 (list C, nos. 1-68 and 69-119). The second part, like Jap. Sin. II, opens with a translation by Francisco Furtado of a "Coimbra course" (*De Mundo et Coelo*), *Huanyou quan* 宴有詮 (not present in the Archives).

according to author, but neither alphabetically nor strictly chronologically. After the writings by Ricci (II, 10-14) follow writings related to the reform of Chinese calendar (from II, 15 on, see below). At the same time, however, other writings of an author are given: in the case of Giulio Aleni his other scientific writings, and in the case of Adam Schall and Ferdinand Verbiest their religious writings. Moreover, Verbiest is placed immediately after Schall and before the other late Ming authors. The last items in this first part of Jap. Sin. II (1-74) are sets of memorials and decrees which mainly deal with the defence of Western astronomy, but also with that of Christianity. This section closes with one set of such documents, reproduced in Chinese and Manchu, and translated into Latin (*Innocentia Victrix*, 1671).

	- philosophy:
II, 1	Francisco Furtado (1589-1653), translation of the Coimbra course
	In universam Dialecticam Aristotelis Stagiritae;
II, 2-9	Lodovico Buglio (1606-1682), partial translation of Thomas Aquinas'
	Summa Theologiae
	– mathematics (geography, astronomy): ³⁶
II, 10-14	Matteo Ricci (1552–1610)
II, 15	memorials and documents regarding the reform of the calendar.
	[the other texts included in the astronomical encyclopaedia of 1635/1645
	are: II, 17-18 (Aleni), 25-41 (Rho and Schall), 51-52 (Schreck) and 64.] ³⁷
II, 16-24	Giulio Aleni (1582–1649)
II, 25-35	Giacomo Rho (1592-1638)
II, 36-41	Adam Schall (1592–1666), including three religious texts (II, 36)
II, 42-49	Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), including three religious texts (II, 47-49)
II, 50-53	Johann Schreck (1576–1630)
II, 54-57	Alfonso Vagnone (1569–1640)
II, 58	Li Zhizao (Ricci)
II, 59-60	Francesco Sambiasi (1582–1649)
II, 61-63	Sabatino de Ursis (1575–1620)
II, 64	anonymous (Schall)
II, 65-74	memorials, decrees, etc.

Like in the first part of Jap. Sin. I (see above), also some books in Jap. Sin. II, 1-74 entered the Archives before 1675, because they are mentioned by Southwell:

Their religious writings are not found in Jap. Sin. I, except for two copies of two books, bound together, by Verbiest (nos. 043-046), apparently because of the remarks by the Kangxi emperor (see above). The religious writings by Manoel Dias (I, 66-70) includes his *Tianwen lüe* 天問略 (I, 69) and those by Niccolò Longobardo (I, 113-115) his *Dizhen jie* 地震解 (I, 114), but both texts are strongly religious in outlook.

The first book by Ricci, *Jifa* 記法 (II, 10), and that by Aleni, *Xingxue cushu* 性學觕述 (II, 16), are filed as "philosophy" in the *Annual Letter* of 1637 (cf. n. 34): *Ars memoriae* and *De Anima*. Vagnone and Sambiasi's writings (II, 54-57 and 59-60) deal with philosophical subjects too.

For a list, see *Catalogue*, p. 306.

Antonius de Gouvea

[17] Innocentia victrix. Quam-cheù 1671. Hujus libri exempla duo perlata sunt Romam anno 1674.

Franciscus Sambiasi

(29) edidit lingua sinensi tractatum de Anima triplice, vegetativa, sensitiva et spirituali 2 vol. in-folio, quæ extant in Pinacotheca generali Societatis Jesu.

Iulius Aleni

{80} - {93} (fourteen titles)

Ex his exstant Romae in Tabulario Societatis Generali duo volumina in folio characteribus sinensibus, De Theatro Orbis seu Cosmographia.

Cf. {89}: Theatrum orbis divisum in quinque libros

Probably these two copies are among the twelve copies found in Jap. Sin. II, 74 (two cases).

The sole copy of *Lingyan lishuo* **靈言蠡**勺 is Jap. Sin. II, 60 (De Anima vegetativa, sensitiva, rationali), two *juan*, in a paper case.

There are two copies of Zhifang waiji 職方外紀, both two ce 冊 in one volume: Jap. Sin. II, 19 (six juan ed.) without note on the cover, and Jap. Sin. II, 20 (five juan ed.) with the note "Cosmographia Pars 1a & 2a." So the copy present in the Archives in 1675 ("in five books") must be Jap. Sin. II, 20.

Not all the volumes mentioned by Southwell were sent from China directly to the Archives or presented by missionaries returning from China. In 1627, Andrius Rudomina (1594–1632), a native of Lithuania, sent from Hangzhou some books (aliquos libros) published in Chinese by Jesuits to the Provincial of Lithuania in order to "decorate" – because people could not read them – some library (ad aliquem ornatum alicuius Librariae), preferably for that of the Jesuit college at Vilnius (where Rudomina had entered the Society and studied theology). Among these books was a copy of Pangzi yiquan 龐子遺詮 (Jap. Sin. I, 82b), which ended up in the Jesuit Roman Archives, possibly together with the other books sent by Rudomina from Hangzhou. 39

Like in Jap. Sin. I, 1-146 (see above), also in this part (II, 1-74) the covers of some documents have a note written by Antoine Thomas in Peking during the autumn of 1701 (nos. 376, 381, 426, 427, 435, 440, 441). All dated books and

³⁸ See his letter of 31 July 1627 (Hamcheu), once inserted in a copy of *Pangzi yiquan* (I, 82) and now found in Jap. Sin. 161 (f. 98).

Three (I, 45 and 61; II, 60) of the books, identified as possibly being those mentioned by Southwell, concern books published in Hangzhou (Yanyi tang, Shenxiu tang), one in 1607 (I, 45) and one in 1624 (II, 60); Catalogue, pp. 74, 103, 366. Another such book, Qike (I, 85), may have been published in Hangzhou too (Catalogue, p. 137). Zhifang waiji was published there in 1623 in 5 juan: Jap. Sin. II, 20 (of which the title page is lacking) could well be a copy of that edition (II, 19 is a copy of the edition published in Fujian ca. 1626; Catalogue, p. 300). Finally, Jap. Sin. I, 45 and 61 both have a few folios with, in a European handwriting, romanization, and Latin translation of a part of the Chinese text. Albert Chan remarks of Jap. Sin. I, 61: "Probably this copy was to be sent to Europe and the romanizations and translations were to satisfy the curiosity of their European readers" (Catalogue, p. 103).

documents in this part too do not date after the seventeenth century:⁴⁰ the latest document (II, 68, part of *Xichao ding'an* 熙朝定案) is the well-known Edict of Toleration of March 1692.

After this first part follow three texts (75-77) which fall outside the preceding pattern. Jap. Sin. II, 76 contains congratulatory essays for Johann Adam Schall (1661), and II, 77 is a small collection (preface of 1643) of anti-Christian essays. IJap. Sin. II, 75 is an apologetic text by a convert, copies of which are already found in Jap. Sin. I, 146 and 166. Of the second copy (166) we have remarked (see above) that it must have been acquired when the first part of Jap. Sin. I (1-146) had already been arranged. This third copy (II, 75) was likely acquired when the parts I, 1-146 and 147-166 had already been arranged.

After a gap of two numbers (II, 78-79) there follows a small collection of fourteen medical texts by Chinese authors (II, 80-85)⁴² and one Chinese text on pharmacopoeia by Pedro de la Piñuela O.F.M. (II, 86, "Medicinae herbariolum," preface of 1697).

The next part (II, 87-151) opens with a fifteenth-century synopsis of the Neo-Confucian philosophy of Song times, Xingli daquan 性理大全 (II, 89) and "adaptations" of it (II, 87-88). Then (II, 90 is lacking) follows a collection of "eight-legged" essays (II, 91) and a manuscript commentary by the convert Xu Guangqi on the Classic Shangshu (II, 91 A). The next twenty-one numbers cover a small corpus of four commentaries on the Book of Odes (II, 92-95), eight commentaries on the Book of Rites (II, 96-112), 43 and a work on ritual and music in the Confucius temple (II, 113). The last eight texts (II, 114-151) in this part are: three Chinese dictionaries (including the Classic Erya); two encyclopaedia (II, 123-126); a work by Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628) on the pronunciation of Chinese (II, 127); a historical treatise on government (II, 128-148), and an encyclopaedia for examination candidates (II, 149-151). The latest date of publication is 1688 (II, 92).

Compared with the preceding section (II, 1-74), dealing with Western learning (cf. II, 23 and 24.2: Xixue fan 西學凡), one might label this section (II, 80-151) a survey of Confucian learning (medicine, philosophy, etc.). Several texts

In Jap. Sin. I, 1-166, several texts date from the 1680s and 1690s, but in Jap. Sin. II only a few texts date from that period. Verbiest's writings, except II, 45a (1682) and 39a.3 (reprint of a text by Schall edited by Verbiest in 1683), were published in the period 1668-1674.

Thong Shisheng 鍾始聲 (who signed as the author of this collection) is the lay name of Zhixu 智旭 (1599-1655; *DMB*, pp. 246-266), one of the four leading Buddhist abbots of late Ming times. For the identification of Zhong Shisheng with Zhixu, see *Chen Yuan xueshu lunwen ji* 陳垣學術論文集 (Collected scientific articles of Chen Yuan), vol. 1 (Beijing 1980), p. 207.

List, nos. 449-460, 462, 464. There are no indications that the undated texts are later than ca. 1700.

Note the absence of, among other texts, the *Four Books* and the *Book of Changes*; commentaries on these Classics are only found in Jap. Sin. III, 6-7 and IV, 9, and in the opening section of Jap. Sin. I, 1-32. In this opening section there is only one copy of the *Book of Odes* (I, 29.2) and of the *Book of Rites* (I, 8; see also I, 34/37.4 and I, 162).

were composed especially for examination candidates (II, 87, 88, 91, 92, 102, 149-151). Also some commentaries on the Classics (II, 94 and 109-110) were required reading for them. ⁴⁴ This section (II, 80-151) on Confucian learning contains much less titles than that on Western learning (II, 1-74). Several titles, however, in the second section are quite voluminous works (twelve titles cover together fifty-one Jap. Sin. numbers) and the first section contains much more duplicates than the second. ⁴⁵

Jap. Sin. II	numbers	titles	singles	duplicates
1-74	74	115	88	27
75-77	3	3	3	
80-89, 91-151	71	43	40	3
total	148	161	131	30
lacking: 78-79, 90	3			
	151			

Like the last part of Jap. Sin. I (167-224) also the last part of Jap. Sin. II (153-173) – which follows after the two catalogues (II, 152.1-2) – is an unusual mix of dates (ca. 1585 – ca. 1725, besides two nineteenth-century texts) and languages (Chinese, French, Latin, and Portuguese), as well as subjects, which are not confined to Western or Confucian learning.

Jap. Sin. II		date			remark	language
	subject	17th	18th	19th		(if not Chinese)
152.1	catalogue	х				Latin
152.2	catalogue			x	ca. 1840	Latin
153*	itinerary				?	
154*	astronomy		х		ca. 1715	French
155*	figurism		х		ca. 1715	French
156	Verbiest	х				
157	religion			x		
158	the West	х				
159*	poetry	16th			1580s	
160*	religion		х		ca. 1705	
161*	manual				?	

Wujing Sishu daquan, see DMB, p. 363a (Jap. Sin. II, 94 and 109-110 were published probably during the late Ming). Possibly the Jigu Pavilion editions by Mao Jin of the Thirteen Classics (cf. II, 95, 97-99, 100-101, 105-108, 114; Catalogue, p. 410) were used by examination candidates too.

The first section contains one voluminous title (29 ce, covering seven numbers), the partial translation of the Summa (II, 3-9). Note that in the table (II, 1-151; nos. 331-490) which follows, five singles are counted as "singles" only in this table: they actually are duplicates of texts in Jap. Sin. I: nos. 350 (= 088), 401 (= 044, 046), 425 (= 243), 446 (= 212, 258) and 461 (= 227). Two other copies of no. 447 are nos. 558 and 563.

162*	rhymes				?	
163	astronomy	x				
164	military	х				
165	biographies	х				
166	Yi jing		х			
167*	religion	х				
168*	figurism		х		ca. 1720	Latin
169.1-3*	religion	х			?	
169.4*	religion	х				
170	religion			Х	Russian	
					Orthodox	
171	religion		х		1700	Latin
172*	rites controversy		х		1704	Latin
173	rites controversy		х		1712	Latin

The presence of two nineteenth-century texts (II, 157 and 170) may indicate that all these texts have been acquired during the nineteenth century. Striking is, however, that about half of them are manuscripts (the numbers with an asterisk in the preceding table), all written by anonymous authors (according to notes on the cover). One of them (II, 167) also bears a note by Antoine Thomas, dated 5 November 1701.⁴⁶ Moreover, besides Jap. Sin. II, 154-155 (anonymous, but in fact by Jean-François Foucquet), all these manuscripts are rare or even unique documents (see below), so they may already have entered the Archives before the nineteenth-century and have been placed together (later mixed up with other titles), because their titles are not to be found in bibliographies.⁴⁷

c) Jap. Sin. III-IV

The collection Jap. Sin. III, 1-24 contains 41 titles or (without the duplicates) 32 separate titles. 48 These are not later than ca. 1725. The first text in this collection (III, 1) was printed in 1717, so the arrangement of this collection seems to date from the eighteenth century. Of the 23 numbers (III, 9 is lacking) sixteen numbers or thirteen titles deal with Chinese Classics and history: a Latin translation of the *Four Books* (III, 3-4); Chinese commentaries to some of the Chinese Classics (III, 5-7); a philosophical text of an encyclopaedic nature (III, 8); three encyclopaedia of Chinese history (III, 10-18, together 66 *ce*). The other titles deal with various subjects: Rites controversy (III, 1-2, 20), Buddhism (III, 19), calen-

Catalogue, p. 455. Another manuscript sent during the first years of the eighteenth century is Jap. Sin. II, 172 (Refutatio libri...), which was sent to Tirso González (Jesuit General, 1687-1706); the preceding number, II, 171, also sent to González, is a printed text (Relatio Sepulturae ... MDCC); Catalogue, pp. 462-463.

⁴⁷ E.g., the anonymous *Itineran[dum] Sinice factum* (II, 159), a collection of fifty-two Chinese poems, attributed to Michele Ruggieri (see n. 93).

Nine duplicates: list, nos. 524 (two copies), 527, 529, 543, 559-563; moreover, 558 (563) is a duplicate of 447.

dars (III, 21), miracle stories (III, 22), and contemporary biographical material on seventeenth-century missionaries (III, 23-24).

The collection Jap. Sin. IV consists of 30 numbers, of which six are lacking (1, 10-12, 26, 29). Of the remaining 24 numbers twelve (13-24) cover the extensive collection on the government institutions of the Ming dynasty, *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典. ⁴⁹ Four numbers cover figurist writings by Foucquet and Bouvet (IV, 3-5 and 25). ⁵⁰ The subjects of the other eight numbers (2, 6-9, 27-28, 30) do not show any consistency. The arrangement of Jap. Sin. IV must date from the nineteenth century: two texts (IV, 9 I-II) were printed in Saint Petersburg in 1823 and the following year donated to the Archives by the editor, Paul Schilling von Canstadt (1786–1837); ⁵¹ also the preceding text (IV, 8) could be a copy of an edition published by Schilling von Canstadt in Saint Petersburg. ⁵²

d) Conclusion

Summarising, Jap. Sin. III-IV and the last parts of Jap. Sin. I (167-224) and II (153-173) do not show a consistent arrangement: they comprise texts which apparently were acquired when the first two collections (I-II) had already been arranged, in addition to texts that may have been present in the Archives already for a long time but were difficult to classify or did not match the initially chosen arrangement. In any event, Jap. Sin. I, 1-166 and II, 1-151 (i.e., 313 numbers covering 422, or 73 per cent, of the 578 titles)⁵³ forms the oldest layer (with traces of earlier arrangements) and the core of the Chinese library in the Archives. These titles are not later than the first years of the eighteenth century, except two: I, 22 (ca. 1721) and I, 149 (1733), which indicates that the final arran-

⁴⁹ The Decree of the Holy Office of November 1704, which confirms Maigrot's Mandate of March 1693, refers to this collection (*Ta Ming Hoey Tien*), see Ray R. Noll (ed.) - Donald F. St. Sure (transl.), 100 Roman Documents concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy (1645–1941) (San Francisco 1992), pp. 13, 14.

List, nos. 565-567, 574. For a full table of contents and for extensive descriptions, see *Catalogue*, pp. xxxii-xxv and pp. 514-538, 549-557.

Catalogue, p. 546; Abel Rémusat, "Sur les éditions chinoises de M. le baron Schilling de Canstadt," in: Journal asiatique 4 (1824), pp. 165-170, also in Hartmut Walravens, Zur Geschichte der Ostasienwissenschaften in Europa: Abel Rémusat (1788-1832) und das Umfeld Julius Klaproths (1783-1835) (Wiesbaden 1999), pp. 91-95 (pp. 85-100: Paul Schilling von Canstadt).

⁵² Gaochang guan laiwen 高昌館來文, fifteen Chinese-Uighur documents, see Catalogue, pp. 544-545 (the copy does not contain information on its publisher and its date and place of publication). For the Schilling edition, see Walravens (cf. preceding note), p. 98. The copy in the library of the Société Asiatique at Paris is entitled: "Lettres et suppliques de Kao Tchang ou Ouigours de la collection d'Amyot. Imprimées sous la direction du Baron Schilling de Canstadt à St. Petersbourg." Cf. BNF Chinois 9188; see Pelliot, in: T'oung Pao 38 (1948), p. 140. For transcription (Uighur), translation (French) and photocopies of these fifteen and of twenty-six other documents, see Louis Ligeti, "Documents sino-ouigours du Bureau des Traducteurs," in: Acta Orientalia Hungaricae 20 (1967), pp. 253-306; 21 (1968), pp. 45-108.

³¹⁷ numbers (minus 4 that are lacking) and 422 titles; Jap. Sin. I, 1-166 (I, 25 lacking): 261 titles (nos. 001-261); Jap. Sin. II, 1-151 (II, 78-79, 90 lacking): 161 titles (nos. 331-491).

gement dates from the second half of the eighteenth century. Despite some irregularities, this arrangement is quite specific; it starts with the Chinese Classics and its Christian "commentaries" (I, 1-42) and, after the Christian texts composed by missionaries and converts (I, 43-166) and texts about Western learning (II. 1-74), it concludes with texts about Chinese or Confucian learning (II. 87-151), in which those Classics occupy a central place. Moreover, within the section of basic Christian writings or catechisms (I, 43-58) one finds Matteo Ricci's writings (see above, after footnote-number 8); this reminds of the promise "to follow the rules of Matteo Ricci" which since 1706 missionaries had to make in order to receive from Chinese authorities a permit to stay in China. So the core of the four collections (I, 1-166 and II, 1-151) constitutes itself a "document" of the early China Mission, being a testimony, condensed in the arrangement of books, of a missionary approach that at the moment of its arrangement had been or was going to be condemned, first by the Decree of November 1704, confirming Charles Maigrot's Mandate (1693), and then by the Apostolic Constitutions Ex illa die (1715) and Ex quo singulari (1742).⁵⁴

Outside the just surveyed collections Jap. Sin. I-IV, there are Chinese documents – not yet fully listed – in the collection Jap. Sin. (without Roman numeral). The most voluminous document seems to be Jap. Sin. 160, a collection of testimonies (all written in the autumn of 1702) by Chinese Christians and non-Christians in favour of the Jesuit interpretation of "the Chinese rites", a collection once shelved as Jap. Sin. III, 20 (now vacant). A similar collection of testimonies is Jap. Sin. 157. Chinese documents in Jap. Sin. (without Roman numeral) mainly seem to concern letters inserted or appended to documents in European languages. Jap. Sin. 186 is a box with only Chinese items (some twenty), among which, for example, three copies (186.4) of the well-known *Red Manifesto* (1716) and a letter (1839) of Chinese Christians to the Jesuit General P. Roothaan (186.13). Another letter (1651, second month), written by Yan Zanhua 嚴贊化 (gongsheng of 1651) and signed by six other Christians (three *jinshi* and three *juren*), asks the General to send a bishop (for administering the sacrament of confirmation) and more missionaries, because "the harvest is

⁵⁴ Cf. Noll – Sure (see n. 49), documents 6, 15 and 24.

[&]quot;Originalia Sinicorum oblatorum circa controversiam de ritibus. MS 1704. vide Jap Sin 160" (see *Catalogue*, p. 492, where no further description follows). For an extensive (but not complete) list of the ca. 35 small sets of "originalia," see *Sinica Franciscana* VIII, pp. 751-752 (n. 133); cf. *Catalogue*, p. 270 (Jap. Sin. 160, no. 3).

⁵⁶ Sinica Franciscana VIII, p. 752 (second part of n. 133): nine small collections of testimonies; cf. Catalogue, p. 267 (北京教友公書, 1702).

See Catalogue, pp. 45, 48, 473 (Jap. Sin. 178, fol. 35; Jap. Sin. 112, fols. 160-161; Jap. Sin. 137, fols. 113-114). Other examples are mentioned in Sinica Franciscana VI, p. 567 (Jap. Sin. 165, fol. 200); vol. VIII, p. 470, n. 4 (Jap. Sin. 171, fol. 84, the Chinese version of Charles Maigrot's mandate of 1693; cf. Bernard 1960, p. 367, no. 566). See also Han Qi, "Zhang Xingyao and the Collected Discussions on the Imperial Decrees concerning the Missionaries," in: Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal 22 (2000), pp. 1-10 (two letters in Jap. Sin. 150).

great."⁵⁸ Two "Buddhist" items in this box have been transferred to Jap. Sin. IV, 29 (*Dafangguangfo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, *juan* 52) and IV, 30 (picture of the goddess Guanyin).⁵⁹

2. Technical Details

Irrespective of the several layers within the four collections, one may also look at these collections as a whole, because since ca. 1870 no titles have been added. 60

The 426 numbers in Jap. Sin. I-IV cover 578 titles. Extensive texts have a number for each "volume" into which several Chinese volumes (ce 冊) were bound, e.g., Wenxian tongkao 文獻通考 (348 juan, 121 ce) consists of 21 "volumes" (II, 128-148) and Da Ming huidian 大明會典 (228 juan, 140 ce) of 12 "volumes" (IV, 13-24). In this way, 81 Jap. Sin. numbers cover only 18 titles. Some numbers cover two or more titles: e.g., Jap. Sin. I, 40 sixteen and II, 39 thirteen. Finally, some texts are incomplete: besides texts with a limited number of missing folios, there are fifteen texts in which one or more chapters (juan) or volumes (ce) are lacking and of which there is no (complete) duplicate. Sin.

⁵⁸ Libellus supplex christianorum sinensium ad P. Generalem S.I. (186.15), composed by gongshi 貢士 Ambrosius Yan 嚴盎博削 (= Yan Zanhua), signed by the jinshi Franciscus Shen 沈方濟 (=? Shen Guangyu 光裕, jinshi 1640), Paulus Yang 楊保琭 (=?) and Basilius Xu 許西略 (= Xu Zuanzeng 續曾, jinshi 1649), and by the juren Cosmas Zhu 朱思默 (= Zhu Zongyuan 宗元, juren 1648), Matthaeus Zhang 張瑪寶 (=? Zhang Geng 廣, juren 1597) and Thomas Yang 楊多默 (=?).

⁵⁹ IV, 30 (first copy); Catalogue, p. 559; for a photo of another copy, see East Asian Books, Catalogue 19 (Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts London), 1998, p. 33, no. 23. The present IV, 29 is a manuscript (gold-ink on black, 75 pages of six columns with 17 characters per column, preceded by three pages with illustrations) made by the Commissioner for Imperial Seals 典瑞院使 Liang Wanzhe 梁完者 in 1345 至正五年乙酉十二月 (copies of juan 53, 56, and 59 are in BAV: Barb. Orient., 148, and Vat. Estr. Oriente, 1). This manuscript ("ex Jap. Sin. 186, Magna regula Fe Hoanien [佛華嚴], vol. 52, editio pretiosa") was probably transferred to a previously "empty" Jap. Sin. IV, 29 (see above, n. 2). Another example of a transferred text is [393] Jap. Sin. II, 42 A, formerly: 147 (a number struck out on the cover).

Except I, 189a (photocopy of I, 189), 201a (the 1962 reprint of I, 201) and IV, 2 (photocopy apparently of IV, 1, now lacking or removed, cf. n. 2). The latest dates of publication are: 1857 (I, 177), 1858 (I, 176 and 178; II, 157), 1859 (I, 196), 1862 (I, 182 and 184), 1863 (I, 222), 1865 (I, 183), 1868 (I, 179 and 203) and 1869 (I, 180 and 204).

II, 3-9 (one title), 12-13 (one), 97-101 (two), 103-112 (four), 115-151 (seven); III, 11-18 (two); IV, 13-24 (one). Some of these texts consist of only seven or eight *ce* (II, 121-122 and 123-124). In Jap. Sin. I, 1-166, however, texts consisting of seven or more (up to twenty-six) *ce* are counted as one number (I, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26, 28, 70, and 148). This mainly occurs in the section I, 1-86, which is another indication that that section is arranged in a slightly different way than other sections (cf. n. 25) and constitutes another (earlier) layer.

These fifteen texts are (including one duplicate that is incomplete too): nos. 026, 109, 234, 249, 312, 331, 333, 336, 410, 412, 451 (453), 468, 488, 506. Not included are incomplete texts of which there is a complete duplicate; for example, Jap. Sin. I, 85 is an incomplete copy of *Qike*, but it is followed by two complete copies of another edition of it.

The counted total of 578 titles needs some explanation. For convenience's sake, I counted the four sets of mainly manuscript texts in Jap. Sin. IV, composed by Jean-François Foucquet, Joachim Bouvet, and Philippe Couplet, as four titles (IV, 4, 5, 6, 25). The collection of eleven sets of essays, *Bingyin huike* 丙寅會課 (I, 148, 148a-n), composed by Chinese seminarians in 1686, I counted as sixteen titles (including five duplicate sets). Another collection of texts (memorials and edicts), *Xichao ding'an* 熙朝定案, apparently was reprinted several times, and each time some items were replaced by new items; one also distributed off-prints of selected items. There are in Jap. Sin. II and III together twenty numbers (or subdivisions of a number) having the title *Xichao ding'an* or a variant title (see list, nos. 428-444, 504-505, 553). Because of the complexity of this collection and the difficulty of reconstructing the "original" *Xichao ding'an*, I counted them as twenty "titles," which are included among the 578 titles. When counting, however, the separate titles in the collections Jap. Sin. I-IV (see below), I took *Xichao ding'an* as a single title.

These 578 titles include duplicates and reprints or other editions of a text.⁶⁴ So there are less separate titles. Only those duplicates have been counted which are numbered as such.⁶⁵ There are, however, more duplicates; for example, there are twelve copies of *Innocentia Victrix* (II, 74), kept in two paper cases.⁶⁶ Titles with most of the numbered duplicates are Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* (four duplicates)⁶⁷ and *Brevis Relatio* of 1700 (I, 206; 206a-g, seven duplicates). As to indi-

In all 216 folios (not including the duplicate sets: nos. 223, 226, 229, 231, and 461). Because each set of essays (by different anonymous authors) treats a separate subject, I took them as eleven separate titles. Nevertheless, there remains an inconsistency in this respect: in his bibliography Bernard counted, with good reason, the different parts of Lodovico Buglio's (incomplete) translation of the *Summa* (Jap. Sin. II, 3-9) as eight separate titles (Bernard 1945, nos. 342, 362, 471, 478, 479, 485, 486, 489); I have counted them as a single title in accordance with other single texts which cover several Jap. Sin. numbers (see above).

Included are a few earlier versions of a manuscript text (nos. 071, 079, 517), except *Collectiones Sinicae* (no. 496, an earlier version of no. 565). For convenience's sake, I am often using the word "duplicate" also for a copy of a reprint or of another edition.

They are usually numbered by a subdivision of the concerned number, but sometimes given a new number (e.g., I, 54 and 55). A different number is, of course, also given when a duplicate is found elsewhere in the collection. The incomplete duplicates of *Cetian yueshuo* (II, 50), II, 40.3, and 50 D, are counted as one duplicate; together they make up one complete duplicate (50 D not counted). *Shuihua erda* (II, 59 D) is counted as two duplicates, *viz.* of *Huada* (II, 59a) and *Shuida* (II, 59b). Not counted are III, 23.1-2 (two biographies), off-prints from Jap. Sin. I, 65 (seventy-two biographies).

See also list, nos. 100 (three copies), 113 (two), 287-288 (both two), 333 (there is a duplicate of the volume comprising *ce* 11-15), 524 (two). One-folio sheets: 542 (five copies) and 546 (five copies).

Four copies (I, 44-47, different editions) and one Manchu translation (I, 48 [no. 086]). Of Michele Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shilu* (1584) there are four copies (I, 54-55, 189 [189a, photocopy] and 190), but two of them (I, 54-55) concern a much revised edition of ca. 1640 (*Catalogue*, pp. 90-99).

vidual authors, the texts by Giulio Aleni have most of the duplicates.⁶⁸ The six Manchu translations of Chinese Christian texts are also a kind of duplicates, because the Archives own the original Chinese texts too.⁶⁹

Leaving apart the six titles in Manchu, and counting the twenty Xichao ding'an "titles" as a single text (with nineteen "duplicates"), there are 421 separate titles. Of 94 of these titles there are one or more duplicates or other editions, together 132.

421	separate titles
132	duplicates
553	
6	Manchu titles
559	
19	Xichao ding'an "duplicates"
578	

Besides the six titles in Manchu, 61 of the 553 titles are not in Chinese: 54 (including 13 duplicates) in Western languages, 50 six (including one duplicate) in Japanese, 11 and one in Uighur (IV, 8; see n. 52). Some of these texts are bilingual and include material in Chinese. About 87 per cent of the 578 titles were written or published during the seventeenth century (including a few from the second half of the sixteenth and from the first years of the eighteenth). The titles dating before the nineteenth century even cover 96 per cent, and the few nineteenth-century texts are not later than 1869 (see n. 60).

⁶⁸ List, nos. 119-120, 123, 126, 128, 296, 340, 342-343, 345-346, 349, 351. No. 548 (by Zhang Weishu) is based on 549 (*Catalogue*, p. 499).

List, nos. 086, 121, 187, 190-192. For some twenty other texts of which Manchu translations were made (not preserved in the Jesuit Roman Archives), see Giovanni Stary, "Christian Literature in Manchu," in: *Central Asiatic Journal* 44 (2000), pp. 305-316; Hartmut Walravens, "Christian Literature in Manchu. Some Bibliographic Notes," in: *Monumenta Serica* 48 (2000), pp. 445-469.

List, nos. 025, 292-293, 302-309, 318-326, 329-330, 445, 464, 492-493, 495-496, 513, 519-530, 543-547, 565-569, 574-576; includes one nineteenth-century book (305, plus the duplicate 306).

List, nos. 310-315; cf. the Latin texts related to Japan: no. 309 (Ars Grammaticae Iaponicae Linguae) and no. 326 (Manuale Ad Sacramenta ...). The latter copy lacks the appendices in (transliterated) Japanese; for the text (with added characters and kana) and German translation, see Johannes Laures S.J. (Hrsg.), Japanische Ansprachen und Gebete aus einem alten Rituale, gedruckt zu Nagasaki 1605 (Tokyo 1941).

Century	Jap-Sin	I	II	III	IV	Total	
17		293	174	29	7	503	(87 %)
18		16	10	11	5	42	(75 %)
17 or 18 ⁷²			6	1	1	8	(15%)
17-18		309	190	41	13	553	(96 %)
19		21	2		2	25	(4 %)
		330	192	41	15	578	

As regards authors, approximately 52 per cent of the 421 separate titles were composed by Jesuit missionaries and 18 per cent by converts, while Chinese "literature" constitutes 20 per cent of the collection. Together these three groups of texts cover ca. 91 per cent of the collection. The following table outlines the entire collection:⁷³

	total	singles	duplicates	Manchu
Jesuits (-1688)	281	195	82	4
Jesuits (1689 - ca.1800)	37	26	11	
Xichao ding'an "duplicates"	19		19	
	337	221	112	4
Friars (17th)	17	14	3	
converts (17th)	102	77	23	2
	456	312	138	6
Classics, etc. ⁷⁴	92	85	7	
Japan	5	4	1	
	553	401	146	6
19th century	25	20	5	
	578	421	151	6

As to texts written by Jesuits, Friars and converts before the nineteenth century, there are 312 single titles. This number does not represent the total amount of texts written by them during this period, as shown in the following table:⁷⁵

⁷² List, nos. 494, 502-503, 514-516, 538, 570.

The texts composed by Jesuits are divided into two groups: up to 1688 and 1689–1799, in accordance with the latest bibliography (Bernard 1945 and 1960).

See list, nos. 001-024, 026-035, 042, 105, 145, 200, 240, 249, 448-460, 462, 464, 466-469, 471-488, 490-491, 506, 531-538, 570, 573, 577-578, not including writings on a Classic by the converts Zhang Geng (no. 041) and Xu Guangqi (no. 470).

	singles	lacking	total	(present)
Jesuits (-1688)	195	86	281	(69 %)
Jesuits (1689 - c. 1800)	26	45	71	(37 %)
	221	131	352	(63 %)
Friars	14	21	35	(40 %)
Converts	77	39	116	(66 %)
	312	191	503	(62 %)

So the collections Jap. Sin. I-IV in the Jesuit Roman Archives do not constitute a complete library of the early China Mission of the Jesuits. As for the 86 lacking texts written by Jesuits up to 1688, Couplet in his *Catalogus Patrum* (up to ca. 1681) mentions 70 of them, and in the list (*Shuban mu* 書版目, ca. 1684) of printing blocks kept in churches at Beijing, Hangzhou, and Fuzhou (Fujian) one finds 57 of them. ⁷⁶ Even Martini in his list of only the religious works published up to 1642 (*Brevis Relatio*, 1654) mentions twelve of them. ⁷⁷ Striking is the absence of maps made by Jesuits in China: Matteo Ricci, Francesco Sambiasi,

As to the Jesuits, the number of lacking texts for the period up to 1688 is based on Bernard 1945, but only those texts have been counted of which the Chinese title is known (see below, appendix, table A). Bernard also included texts of which the Chinese title is not known, and texts which may never have been completed. As to the period 1689 - ca.1800, the second part of Bernard's bibliography (1960) does not pretend to be exhaustive, as he writes himself (p. 364); for "Jesuit" texts, see below, appendix, Table B. For this period I also consulted Henri Cordier, and Hartmut Walravens, *Preliminary checklist of Christian and Western material in Chinese in three major collections* (Hamburg 1962).

To make the comparison more precise, one should subtract the lacking works of Motel and Pacecho (together three works) from the 86 lacking texts, because they are not mentioned in Couplet's Catalogus nor in Shuban mu (four lists). Shuban mu (BNF, Chinois 7046 VII-X) has been reproduced in Bernard 1960, pp. 351-359. As to the 70 or 57 lacking texts that are mentioned in Couplet's Catalogus or in Shuban mu, most of them are also absent in the set of 316 volumes of together 155 titles which Couplet presented in 1685 to Pope Innocentius XI and which were deposited in the Vatican Library (Raccolta Generale Oriente III, 202-245), Only the following 11 titles, mentioned in these two "catalogues" but lacking in the Archives, are present in this set: Bernard 1945 [B.], no. 496 (Buglio); B. 374+463 (Dias); B. 348 (de Gravina); B. 326, 327 (Monteiro); B. 281 (Rho); B. 64 (Ricci); B. 449 (de Rougemont); B. 213, 283 (Vagnone); B. 540 (Verbiest). Also present in this set are the following four titles, lacking in the Archives, and mentioned in Couplet's Catalogus but not in Shuban mu: B. 480 (Buglio); B. 162 (de Figueiredo); B. 364 (de Gouvea); B. 228 (Vagnone). Vagnone's Dadao jiyan 達道紀言 (1636; B. 271) and Verbiest's Kunyu gezhi lüeshuo 坤輿格致略説 (1676; B. 484) are two titles which are present in this set (RGO III, 227.6, 228.5) but lacking in the Archives, and they are also not mentioned in the Catalogus of Couplet (who presented these two texts). This shows that Shuban mu and Couplet's Catalogus do not mention all the texts printed up to the early 1680s.

⁷⁷ "Liste D" (Bernard 1945, pp. 32-35; for the numbers 52, 52-53, 54-55, read: 52, 53-54, 55-56), nos. 16, 21-22, 24, 30, 40, 46, 49, 52-53, 55-56 (cf. below, table A: the numbers with an asterisk in the column "Couplet").

Nicolaus Smogulecki, Ferdinand Verbiest.⁷⁸ Also lacking are works – preserved elsewhere – not mentioned in the lists of Couplet and Martini and in *Shuban mu*; for example, Alfonso Vagnone's *Dadao jiyan* 達道紀言 (1636),⁷⁹ and Manuel Dias' *Tianxue juyao* 天學舉要 (1642/1644).⁸⁰ The Chinese writings of some au-

Bernard 1945, nos. 45, 223, 368, 465. Only of Smogulecki's *Mappa mundi elliptica* (Bernard: printed ca. 1656) it is unclear whether it has been preserved today. Around 1800, Christoph-Gottlieb von Murr (1733–1811) had a copy of it, see his *Litterae patentes Imperatoris Sinarum Kang-hi* (Norimbergae 1802), p. 38: "Nic. Smogolensky, *Mappa mundi elliptica*. Est in mea collectione." The collection Jap. Sin. I-IV mainly comprises 17th-century items, therefore one can hardly speak of a striking absence of 18th-century maps, such as the well-known Kangxi Atlas (1721); for these maps, see Bernard 1960, nos. 597+617, 615, 640, 642, 644, 646, 649 (not included in Table B, see below).

⁷⁹ BNF, Chinois 3395; BAV, Borgia Cinese 364.6, and Raccolta Generale Oriente III, 227.6. See also the end of n. 76.

Bernard 1945, nos. 321 (copy: Beitang 2010 [not: 2026], Shengjiao zongcuo 聖教總撮) and 381 (later version, entitled *Tianxue juyao*; copy: BNF Chinois 6900-6901), both in manuscript. See also the catalogue of Chinese books in the Beitang: Feng Zanzhang 馮瓚璋, "Beiping Beitang tushuguan zanbian zhongwen shanbenshu mu"北平北堂圖書館暫編中文善本書目, in: Shangzhi bianyiguan guankan 上智編譯館館刊 2 (1947), p. 366 (pp. 63-72, 152-161, 231-234, 363-367). For a description of the Beitang copy of Shengjiao zongcuo, see Hubert Verhaeren, "Notes bibliographiques: Cheng Kiao Tsong Ts'ouo," in: Bulletin Catholique de Pékin 30 (1943), pp. 111-114. This copy is now in the National Library of China in Beijing, section Rare Books, no. 19513 (consulted in June 2001). The title Shengjiao zongcuo is not found in the published catalogue (Beijing tushuguan guji shanben shumu 北京圖書館古籍善本書目, 1989), but only in the card-files at the Rare Books Room. Another Beitang copy (no. 1911) kept at the National Library is the next number, 19514: Alexandre de la Charme, Xingli zhenquan 性理真詮, consulted by way of a microfilm. The Beitang number (1911) is found on a piece of paper with a descriptive note in French (written by the Beitang librarian Hubert Verhaeren, according to Fang Hao who consulted this copy in 1946, see Fang Hao liushi zidinggao 方豪六十自定稿 [Taibei 1969], p. 1888). So these two numbers (19513-19514) are certainly Beitang copies, but the numbers 19512 and 19515 could be Beitang copies too: Yang Tingyun, Daiyi bian 代疑編 (cf. Beitang no. 1930) and Alfonso Vagnone, Kongji gezhi 空際格致 (cf. Beitang no. 1063), which I could consult only by way of a microflim (the Beitang numbers might be found on the not microfilmed covers). The Beitang copy of Daiyi bian is described as a Qing edition; this also applies to 19512, in which the preface is signed by Lin Qi 林起 (instead of Leon 良庵子, i.e., Li Zhizao 李之藻), and editions with a "Lin Qi" preface are considered to be later editions of Daiyi bian (1621); see Fang Hao, op. cit. (1969), p. 2265. So the entire "set" 19512-19515 might come from the Beitang. Except possibly no. 19507 (Lodovico Buglio's Misa jingdian, see below), however, neighbouring numbers are not books from the Beitang. Of a selected thirty numbers (19500-19529) nineteen are mentioned in the Catalogue (1989): 19500-19503 (pp. 784, 2427, 2565, 838), 19506-19507 (2416, 1671), 19509-19511 (2651, 56, 2496), 19516-19521 (2140, 1208, 1104, 96, 2781, 2781), 19523-19525 (792, 783, 793), 19529 (2636) and seven numbers I could not find: 19504-19505, 19508, 19522, 19526-19528, in addition to 19512-19515 (only found in the card-files, see above). The highest number in the entire collection of ca. 11.000 books is no. 19560. The absence of ca. 8.560 numbers in the Catalogue is apparently due to the fact (see the prefatory note 編例, p. 2, no. 6) that not more than three copies of a Qing title are mentioned and too much damaged items are excluded as well. At least a few Christian texts appear to have been excluded too, though the catalogue gives the impression that all such texts were included, because on p. 1671 it mentions three Christian texts in the section "other religions" (其它宗教, six titles): Ricci's Tianzhu shiyi (no. 956) and two copies of Lodovico Buglio's Misa jingdian (Missale Romanum), one in five vol-

thors mentioned in Couplet's *Catalogus* are altogether lacking in the collections Jap. Sin. I-IV: in addition to João Monteiro, who is also mentioned in Martini's list, these authors are Lazzaro Cattaneo, Inácio da Costa, Simão da Cunha, Etienne Faber, Girolamo de Gravina, Adrien de Grelon, Prospero Intorcetta, François de Rougemont, Alvaro Semedo, and Nicolaus Smogulecki. Lacking too are the Chinese works, not mentioned by Couplet, of Chinese Jesuits (included in the number of lacking texts written by converts), Lu Xiyan 陸希言 (1630–1704) and Wu Li 吳歷 (1632–1718). Most of the lacking texts are found in other libraries and archives. Not every copy sent to Jesuit superiors at Rome is now found in ARSI; for example, in 1605 Ricci sent a copy of *Tianzhu jiaoyao* 天主教要 to the (Jesuit) Assistant of Portugal at Rome, which copy is now preserved in the Archives of Propaganda Fide (Rome). Some texts, however, have been lost for a long time and one may have expected to finally locate them in ARSI, but none of these lost texts are found there.

umes (no. 19507, consulted on microflim in June 2001: no visible signs of provenance) and one in one volume (no. 18872). The copy of *Tianzhu shiyi* is different from the two owned by the Beitang (nos. 1901-1902), but of *Misa jingdian* the Beitang also owned two copies, also one in five volumes (no. 2090) and one in one volume (no. 2091). One might assume for a moment that the other Chinese books related to Christianity or Western science (ca. 110 titles, mainly mentioned on pp. 363-366 of the above mentioned catalogue published in 1947) are also preserved in the Beijing National Library, but were excluded from the Catalogue (1989). In that case, however, one wonders why only four titles (19512-19515) are found in the card-files. Therefore, it seems that at the time of the confiscation of the Beitang Library these four rather disparate titles were not present there (apparently having been borrowed by someone) and later entered the National Library.

- In 1685, Couplet presented writings by only three of these eleven authors: Monteiro, de Gravina, and de Rougemont; see n. 76.
- An important collection of Chinese Christian texts is found in the former Jesuit library of Zi-kawei (Xujiahui) at Shanghai. A list of its holdings is found in Xu 1949 (pp. 421-436). Not all the texts preserved in the collections Jap. Sin. I-IV are found there (I have counted 61 texts lacking in Zikawei). About one third, however, of the texts lacking in Jap. Sin. I-IV are found in Zikawei: 24 of the 86 texts written by Jesuits up to 1688 and 23 of the 45 texts written in the period 1689 ca.1800; six of the 21 texts written by Friars and 17 of the 39 texts written by converts. Together 70 of the 191 texts lacking in the collections Jap. Sin. I-IV (see table on p. 504) are preserved in Zikawei. The fact that Jap. Sin. I-IV do not contain texts printed after 1869 suggests that around that time it was decided that instead of the Archives in Rome the Jesuit library of Zikawei should serve as the repository of newly edited Chinese texts and of older Chinese editions acquired since then.
- Pasquale d'Elia discovered it there in 1934; see FR II, p. 290, note. Ricci, according to his letter of 22 August 1608, also sent a copy of his Jihe yuanben to the Jesuit General (see FR II, 358, n. 2), but it is not known to have been preserved; Jap. Sin. II, 12-13 (Jihe yuanben) is an incomplete copy of the edition revised by Xu Guangqi shortly after Ricci's death (Catalogue, pp. 290-292).
- E.g., the following texts (of which the Chinese title is known and which are mentioned in [see n. 76] Shuban mu) written by Gaspar Ferreira (Bernard 1945 [B.], no. 248; Shuban mu [S.], no. 6), Giacomo Rho (B. 262, 1-2; S. 128, 126), Lazzaro Cattaneo (B. 291; S. 42), Adam Schall (B. 340; S. 149), Manuel Dias (B. 377; S. 49), François de Rougemont (B. 450; S. 123), and Philippe Couplet (B. 509; S. 109).

Still, quite unexpected is the number of some seventy to eighty texts that were hitherto unknown and probably are unique. So As to Chinese books not dealing with Christianity (the Classics, etc.), usually other copies can be found elsewhere, for example in Naikaku Bunko (Tokyo) or Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris), to mention the two libraries to which Chan's *Catalogue* mainly refers when mentioning copies preserved elsewhere. A few of such Chinese books in the collections Jap. Sin. I-IV are not found in these libraries, but without having consulted catalogues of other libraries it is hard to tell whether one is dealing with a unique text or edition. So

As to texts printed in Western languages, a possibly unique document is the anonymous *Considerações mui provetosas* (Macao, 1681; Jap. Sin. I, 185, 185a), and, as to manuscripts, *Latina interpretatio veterrimi libri dicti Y* (I, 22) and *In librum Ye kim brevis Annotatio* (I, 223). The *Refutatio libri D. Nicolae Charmot*, printed in 1704, was still lacking in the 1920s, so the present manuscript of this book (II, 172) might be unique. Probably there are also some unique documents among the writings of Jean-François Foucquet (I, 195 and 224; II, 154-155; IV, 3-4) and those of Joachim Bouvet (IV, 5 and 25).

As to Chinese printed texts, composed by missionaries, there are several that seem to be unique, e.g., the copy of Verbiest's *Yutui jiyan* 預推紀驗 (II, 45a).⁹⁰

There are some eighty unique or, in any event, rare titles (including the eleven sets of essays in Jap. Sin. I, 148) and ten duplicates of them (including the five duplicates of sets in Jap. Sin. I, 148, see n. 63). Most of these unique titles, mentioned in the following alineas, have been photomechanically reproduced in *Yesuhui Luoma dang'an guan Ming Qing Tianzhujiao wenxian* 耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻 (Taibei 2002, 12 vols.), see the table of contents appended to the list of Jap. Sin. I-IV at the end of this article, just before Table A.

The manuscripts Shanghan zuanyao, Shanghan bilun, and Shanghan biyao, composed by Min Shouquan (II, 83.1, together 90 folios), might be unique. Shanghan zuanyao (2 juan) has not been preserved (cf. Catalogue, p. 392), so it is not clear whether these manuscripts constitute a complete copy of this text. Further research should reveal whether other texts are unique or rare, e.g., Zengpu Mengye shu (I, 168-169) and Shiwen (II, 91), or the ephemerides and almanach of the year 1702 (III, 21.1-2). Worthwile to note, but not rare, are the printings by the Jigu studio of Mao Chin (Catalogue, pp. 409-410) and those by Min Qiji (Catalogue, pp. 414-415).

According to Paul Rule, the first text was composed by Joseph de Prémare (1720/1721), and the second possibly by Vincent du Tartre; see above, notes 22 and 31.

See Paul Pelliot in *T'oung Pao* 23 (1924), pp. 360-361, referring (p. 361, n. 1) to the note by the editors of the letter of Gozani (Peking, 5 November 1704) in *Lettres Édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. XVIII (Paris 1781), pp. 32-33 (n. 1). See also *Bibliotheca Missionum*, vol. VII (1931), p. 90 (no. 2318). Both Pelliot and Streit give a summary of the contents of the book (of which the title is not mentioned), as given in the note of the editors of the *Lettres Édifiantes et curieuses*, which accords with the contents of the *Refutatio* (Jap. Sin. II, 172).

⁸⁹ Note the presence of some Chinese essays by Bouvet: Shi genben zhenzai mingjian 識根本真宰明鑒 and Tianzhu sanyi lun 天主三一論 (IV, 5 C), Tianzun di bei tu 天尊地卑圖 (IV, 25.1) and Liushisi gua tu 六十四卦圖 (IV, 25.2); Catalogue, pp. 523-524, 549.

Josson and Willaert could not locate a copy of it, see H. Josson - L. Willaert, Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus /1623-1688), directeur de l'observatoire de Pékin (Bruxelles 1938), pp. 571, 577 (no. 19). Cf. Bernard 1945, no. 529.

Unknown printings are *Cixian wenda* 辭銜問答 (II, 156, probably composed by Verbiest) and the biography of Lodovico Buglio (II, 165.1), composed by Verbiest, Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, and Tomé Pereira. 91

Besides texts that are unique or in any event rare, there are also rare editions. For example, the seventeenth-century edition of Yang Guangxian's *Budeyi* 不得已 (I, 89.1-2) or the (late Ming) edition of *Mingxin baojian* 明心寶鑑 (I, 137). Though probably not a rare edition, the copy of *Sishu jizhu* 四書集註 (I, 10) is interesting because it shows in which pace newly arrived missionaries learned to read the *Four Books*; moreover, it is likely this edition on which the partial Latin translation of it (III, 3a) was based. ⁹² *Tianzhujiao sangli wenda* 天主教喪禮問答 (I, 38/1.1 and 2.1) by Verbiest is a rare text, but the hand-written note (1689) by the Kangxi emperor (see note 6) makes it an even more rare document.

Most interesting are some manuscripts of hitherto unknown texts. The anonymous *Itinerandum Sinice factum* (II, 159) appears to be a collection of 52 Chinese poems composed by Michele Ruggieri (but polished by an unknown Chinese). In the unfortunately incomplete *Xiangshu lun* 象數論 (II, 166), composed by an anonymous author who must be Sabatino de Ursis (1575–1620), Neo-Confucian philosophy is refuted by way of a philosophy of mathematics. *Tianzhujiao yuanyou* 天主教原由 (II, 167), presented to Ministry of Rites and possibly written by Lodovico Buglio, defends the Christian teaching against the accusations of Yang Guangxian. The anonymous *Huigui zongyao* 會規總要 (II, 169.1-3) is a collection of the rules for three sodalities. Jap. Sin. I, 173.2 is another small collection of rules for sodalities, composed by Humbert Augery (1618–1673). Also a hitherto unknown text, dealing with Christian funeral rites, is the anonymous *Linsang chubin yishi* 臨喪出殯儀式 (1685), in two versions (II, 169.4 and I, 153).

Another interesting category are the manuscripts which do not deal with the propagation of the Christian faith, but with an important tool for it, the learning and writing of Chinese. There are two Portuguese-Chinese vocabularies (I, 197 and 198), one of them by Ruggieri and Ricci (I, 198),⁹⁴ and one Chinese-Portuguese vocabulary (IV. 7). *Tongsu gushi* 通俗故事 (I, 58 A 1) is an exercise text, signed by Lu Zixiu 魯子秀 (not further known, probably a Jesuit missionary) and followed by an old edition (1579) of the *Thousand Character Text* (I, 58 A 2). Another exercise text is *Tongjian zonglun* 通鑑總論 (I, 40/1). There is also

This biography might be based on Buglio's biography, which Grimaldi in 1682 composed in Italian (Robert Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, vol. V [1929], p. 878, no. 2502).

⁹² Catalogue, pp. 9-10, 475.

Catalogue, p. 445. For the Chinese text and an English translation of these poems, see Albert Chan, S.J., "Michele Ruggieri, S.J. (1543–1607) and His Chinese Poems," in: Monumenta Serica 41 (1993), pp. 129-176.

⁹⁴ For a facsimile edition of fols. 32r-169r (the dictionary proper), see pp. 221-502 of John W. Witek (ed.), *Dicionário Português-Chinês / Pu-Han cidian* 葡漢辭典 / *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* (Lisbon - Macau - San Francisco 2001).

a manual for learning the epistolary style of writing (II, 161) and a list of Chinese rhymes (II, 162, incomplete). Also the two lists of luggage of a missionary (I, 159 A and II, 85.3) are interesting and unique documents.

As to printed texts composed by converts, there are two unique works by Zhang Geng 張賡 (Fujian, juren of 1597, baptized in 1621), Xiantian Yi yi 先天 易義 (I, 34/37, 3/1-3/3) and Tianxue zhengfu 天學證符 (I, 141), of which only the titles were known. St Xu Guangqi's Shangshu zhushi 商書注釋 (II, 91 A) seems to be a unique manuscript. Unique or at least rare manuscripts, written by converts, are quite numerous in the first collection, such as Jap. Sin. I, 133, 135, 148 (a collection of some hundred short essays composed in 1686 by Chinese seminarians), 152, 154, 156, 157, 164. In the section Jap. Sin. I, 34-42 (see above) most manuscripts are rare or even unique, such as Wenda huichao 問答彙抄 (I, 34/37, 2/2-4/4, 8 juan) by Li Jiugong 李九功 (d. 1681). Also a rare document seems to be Tan You's 談猷 paper for the juren examination of 1699 in Guangdong (I, 38.3). Virtually all manuscripts in Jap. Sin. I, 39-42 (32 texts, including three earlier versions of a text) were unknown until recently: St

39/1-5 five titles by Mathias Xia (夏相公瑪第亞) of Jianzhou 建州, or Xia Dachang 夏大常, catechist (相公) at the church of Ganzhou 贛州 (Jiangxi);99

⁹⁵ For Zhang Geng, cf. n. 58. Xiantian Yi yi is quoted by Li Jiugong in his Wenxing cuichao (I, 34.a). Zhang Weishu (fellow townsman of Zhang Geng) mentions Tianxue zhengfu in his personal remarks at the end of his Ricci biography (III, 23.3a). The monk Xingyuan 行元 (hao Baichi 百癡, 1611-1662) quotes and refutes Tianxue zhengfu, without mentioning title and author, in his Wujing zhenglüe 誣經證略, included in (fols. 33a-43a) the collection Yuandao pixie shuo 原道闢邪説 (1636, 1 juan) compiled by the monk Tongrong 通容 (hao Feiyin 費隱, 1593-1661), which collection in its turn is included (juan 2) in the collection Pixie ji 闢邪集 (1861) published in Japan by the monk Ugai Tetsujô 鵜飼徹定 (1814-1891, religious name: Kiyû Dônin 杞憂道人).

[%] Catalogue, pp. 402-405 (pp. 403-404: two photographs of a page). It is not mentioned, not even as "lost" or "never seen," in the list of Xu's writings in Liang Jiamian's 粱家勉 Xu Guangqi nianpu 徐光啓年譜 (Shanghai 1981), pp. 230-239.

⁹⁷ Tan You, who did not become a *jinshi*, was magistrate of Xuancheng 宣城 district (Hubei) during the period 1716–1720 (Kangxi 55–59), see *Fengchuan xianzhi* 封川縣志, p. 145 (Daoguang 15 ed.; Zhongguo fangzhi congshu, Huanan difang no. 282, Taipei 1974) and *Xuancheng xianzhi* 4.25b (Qianlong 11 ed.; Huabei difang no. 494, Taipei 1976).

Nineteen texts were written by people from Fujian, including the Jesuit Rodrigues (list, no. 057): nos. 054-059, 062, 064-065, 069-075, 077-079; six by Mathias Xia from Jiangxi (048-052, 067); two by people from Hangzhou (060, 063); two by people from Shenxi (061, 066) and three by anonymous people (053, 068, 076). The nos. 037-041 are by people from Fujian too. For several of these texts, see Lin Jinshui, "Chinese Literati in the Rites Controversy," in D.E. Mungello (ed.), The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXXIII (Sankt Augustin – Nettetal 1994), pp. 65-82 (for Jap. Sin. "139" read "1, 39," etc.). For a summary of all 32 texts (based upon consultation of these texts and of Albert Chan's Catalogue), see Li Tiangang 李天綱, Zhongguo liyi zhi zheng: Lishi, wenxian he yiyi 中國禮儀之爭: 歷史, 文獻和意義 (Shanghai 1998), pp. 139-149; also on pp. 158-238 Li Tiangang deals with several of these texts.

⁹⁹ Of Jap. Sin. I, 39.4 there is a similar copy in BNF (Chinois 7157), which copy gives Xia's per-

40/6-10

40/1-5 five titles by several authors: one anonymous, one by Yan Mo 嚴謨,100 two (probably written in 1701) by Qiu Sheng 丘晟,101 one by Simão Rodrigues SJ (李西滿); eleven titles by several authors: 102

sonal name (Dachang) and native place (Jianwu 建武, or Jianchang 建昌 Prefecture, Jiangxi); see Huang Yilong 黃一農, "Beihulüede shengyin: Jieshao Zhongguo tianzhujiaotu dui 'Liyi wenti' taidu de wenxian" 被忽略的聲音: 介紹中國天主教徒對「禮儀問題」態度的 文獻, in: Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies 清華學報 25 (1995), p. 146 (pp. 137-160); Li Tiangang [see preceding note], pp. 139, 157 (n. 12). Without good reason (cf. Huang Yilong, op. cit.), Lin Jinshui [see preceding note] took Xia as a native of Jian'ou 建歐 district (Fujian) and apparently xianggong 相公 as a honorific for a degree-holder, because he identified him as Xia Shuhun 夏書渾, an early Qing gongsheng 貢生 of Jian'ou (Lin, p. 67, etc.; see index, p. 354). According to a note on the cover of Jap. Sin. I, 40/10.a, Xia was merely a "bacharel" or xiucai 秀才 (Catalogue, pp. 39, 60).

- For this (Jap. Sin. I, 40/2) and other texts by Yan Mo (Jap. Sin. I, 40/6, 41/1-4), see Nicolas Standaert. The Fascinating God: A Challenge to Modern Chinese Theology Presented by a Text on the Name of God Written by a 17th Century Chinese Student of Theology (Roma 1995), esp. pp. 15-20.
- 101 Qiu, a native of Jiangle 將樂 district, Yanping Prefecture (Fujian), was a juren of 1693 and jinshi of 1706 (Lin Jinshui [see n. 98], pp. 66-67). For an interesting letter on the "rites controversy" (preserved in Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda) which Matthew Qiu Sheng of Jiangle 將樂縣教下罪人瑪竇丘晟 wrote to the Jesuit Carlo Turcotti (都加祿) in probably 1702, see Sinica Lusitana I ("Fontes Chinesas em Bibliotecas e Arquivos Portugueses, 1668-1871"), Lisboa 2000, pp. 24-29 (Chinese text with Portuguese and English translation). The editors of Sinica Lusitana took this letter, appended to a copy of Francesco Brancati's Apologia (Canton 1669), as a letter written to Brancati in probably 1668 (translating 都大神父 as "the Superior"). However, the letter speaks of the addressee's appointment to bishop of Guizhou. This can only refer to Turcotti, appointed vicar apostolic of Guizhou (and titular bishop) in October 1696 (from 1698-1701 he was also Jesuit Visitator of China and Japan). Qiu also speaks of "Father Hua (華神父) of our city," which refers to Diego de Santa Rosa O.F.M. (Hua Xia'ning 華夏 寧, 1659-1740), who stayed in Jiangle from March 1700 to medio 1705 (A.S. Rosso, O.F.M., et al. [eds.], Sinica Franciscana, vol. X [Madrid 1997], p. 3). More in particular. Oiu speaks of "bishop Yan of our province" (i.e., Charles Maigrot, 1652-1730, vicar apostolic of Fujian since 1687) and "Father Hua of our city" who did not agree with the contents of Qiu's Shuwen pian 述聞篇 (= Jap. Sin. I, 40/4; see Sinica Lusitana I, p. 25: "Not long ago, I wrote an essay" 前妄著 述聞一編). This is confirmed by a letter of 8 February 1703 written by Diego de Santa Rosa to Maigrot in which he reminded him of the discussion they had in 1701 with the "licenciado Mattheo" (and with three "bachiller" or xiucai, among whom were León and Nicolao, brothers of Mattheo) the day after Mattheo had presented to Maigrot an essay ("papel"), apparently his Shuwen pian; see Sinica Franciscana, vol. X, pp. 19-20. Therefore, Qiu's letter to Turcotti dates from the same period, apparently 1702, because Oiu, a jinshi of 1706, writes that the coming winter, instead of going to Peking to attend the jinshi examination (spring 1703), he will possibly go to Canton and visit Turcotti there (Sinica Lusitana I, p. 27). Catalogue, p. 48, erroneously equates Qiu Sheng 丘晟 with Augustine Qiu Yuezhi 斤日知 of Shanghai, active in ca. the 1660s, and also with Ren Sheng 任晟 (reading Qiu 丘 for Ren 任) of Changshu, active in the 1660s too. Li Tiangang (see end of n. 98), p. 230, repeats this mistake.
- The author of 40/9.b (list, no. 064), the juren He, a catechist from Fujian, probably is He Ruling 何如答 (juren 1663), a native of Lianjiang 連江 and one of the proofreaders of Li

- 41/1-4 seven titles by Yan Mo 嚴謨;
- 42/1-4 four titles: one by an anonymous author and three by Li Jiugong 李九功 (cf. 40/8).

These manuscripts (which cover some 40% of the unique or rare titles) concern essays and letters written for and sent to missionaries, mainly to clarify the meaning of "sacrifice" and to question the interpretation given by missionaries like Francisco Varo and Charles Maigrot (see above). The presence of these manuscripts in a library of the early China Mission is somehow odd and is due to the particular arrangement of this part of the collection (I, 39-42) which concentrates on the way Chinese Christians explain the Chinese Classics.

List of Successive Titles (Jap. Sin. I-IV)

[001]	I, 1.a	Zhu Xi 朱熹, Xiaoxue jizhu daquan 小學集註大全
[002]	I, 1.b	Cai Chen 蔡沈, Shujing jizhuan 書經集傳
[003]	I, 2	Wang Su 王肅 (comm. 注), Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語
[004]	I, 3	Zhang Nai 張鼐, (Xinke Zhang Tongchu xiansheng yongsizhai 新刻張侗初先生永思齋) Sishu yan 四書演 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 12)
[005]	I, 4	Zhang Mingbi 張明弼 - Huang Guoqi 黃國琦 (eds. 鑑定), (Xi-Han mingwen pangxun 西漢名文旁訓) Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語
[006]	I, 5	Xia Yunyi 夏允彝, (Sanding 三訂) Kongzi jiayu zhijie 孔子家語直解
[007]	I, 6	Zhu Xi 朱熹 (comm. 註), Mengzi 孟子
[800]	I, 7	Huang Ruheng 黄汝亨 - Li Zhizao 李之藻 (eds. 校) (Minjia sanding 閔家三訂) Yijing zhengwen 易經正文
[009]	I, 8	Liu Xiang 劉向 - Liu Xin 劉歆 (ed. 條目, 補闕), Gu Zhouli 古周禮
[010]	I, 9	Zhu Xi 朱熹 (Yang Shen 楊慎), Wengong jiali yijie 文公家禮儀節
[011]	I, 10	Zhu Xi 朱熹, Sishu jizhu 四書集註
[012]	I, 11	Zhao Qi 趙岐 - Sun Shi 孫奭 (comm. 註, 疏), (Maoshi 毛氏) Mengzi zhushu zhengben 孟子註疏正本
[013]	I, 12	Zhang Nai 張鼐, (Xinke Zhang Tongchu xiansheng yongsizhai 新刻張侗初先生永思齋) Sishu yan 四書演 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 3)
[014]	I, 13	(Fengzhi banxing 奉旨頒行) Rijiang Sishu jieyi 日講四書解義
[015]	I, 14	Zhang Juzheng 張居正,(Zhang gelao zhengzi 張閣老正字) Sishu zhijie 四書直解
[016]	I, 15	Cai Qing 蔡清, Sishu mengyin 四書蒙引
[017]	I, 16	He Yan 何晏 - Xing Bing 邢昺 (comm. 註, 疏), (Maoshi 毛氏) Lunyu zhushu zhengben 論語注疏正本

Jiugong's Shensi lu (no. 039), in which He's personal name is sometimes read as Ruda 如答 (Catalogue, p. 31).

[018]	I, 17.1	Zhu Xi 朱熹, Sishu huowen 四書或問
[019]	I, 17.2	Xing Bing 邢昺 (ed. 校), (Jigu ge Maoshi 汲古閣毛氏) Xiaojing shu 孝經疏
[020]	I, 17.3	Yao Zhangbin 姚張斌 (comm. 注) - Li Chunpei 李春培 (ed. 較), Xiaoxue daquan 小學大全
[021]	I, 18	(Fengzhi kanxing 奉旨刊行) Rijiang Yijing jieyi 日講易經解義
[022]	I, 19	Wu Quan et al. 吳荃等 (eds. 彙輯), Zhou-Yi zhengjie 周易正解
[023]	I, 20	Xu Qian 徐汧 (rev. 訂), Zhou-Yi daquan 周易大全
[024]	I, 21	Yijing daquan 易經大全 (incomplete duplicate of Jap. Sin. I, 20)
[025]	I, 22	Latina interpretatio veterrimi libri dicti 易 Y cum "Prolegomenes sur l'Y Kim"
[026]	I, 23	Yao Jilong 姚際隆, Bushi quanshu 卜筮全書
[027]	I, 24	Sanjiao soushen daquan 三教搜神大全
-	I, 25	not present
[028]	I, 26	Wu Quan et al. 吳荃等 (eds. 彙輯), Shangshu zhengjie 尚書正解
[029]	I, 27	Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (comm. 疏), (Maoshi 毛氏) Shangshu zhushu zhengben 尚書註疏正本
[030]	I, 28	Rijiang Shujing jieyi 日講書經解義
[031]	I, 29.1	Zhong Xing 鍾惺, (Zhong Bojing xiansheng zuanji biaoti 鍾伯敬先生纂輯標題) Chunqiu Zuozhuan jujie 春秋左傳句解
[032]	I, 29.2	Zhong Xing 鍾惺, Shijing pangxun yuanben 詩經旁訓原本
[033]	I, 30	Wei Zhao 韋昭 (comm. 解), Guoyu 國語
[034]	I, 31	Zhu Xi 朱熹, Wengong jiali 文公家禮 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 9)
[035]	I, 32	Zhu Xi, Wengong jiali (other edition)
[036]	I, 33	Manuel Dias, Jr. 陽瑪諾, Tang Jingjiao beisong zhengquan 唐景教碑頌正詮
[037]	I, 34.a	Li Jiugong 李九功,Wenxing cuichao 文行粹抄
[038]	I, 34.b	Li Jiugong, Wenxing cuichao (other edition)
[039]	I, 34/37, 1	Li Jiugong, Shensi lu 慎思錄
[040]	I, 34/37, 2	Li Jiugong, Wenda huichao 問答彙抄
[041]	I, 34/37, 3	Zhang Geng 張賡, Xiantian Yi yi 先天易義
[042]	I, 34/37, 4	Zhong Xing 鍾惺, Zhouli zuanzhu 周禮纂註
[043]	I, 38/1.1	Ferdinand Verbiest 南懷仁, <i>Tianzhujiao sangli wenda</i> 天主教喪禮問答
[044]	I, 38/1.2	Verbiest, Shan'e bao lüeshuo 善惡報略説
[045]	I, 38/2.1	Verbiest, Tianzhujiao sangli wenda (duplicate)
[046]	I, 38/2.2	Verbiest, Shan'e bao lüeshuo (duplicate)
[047]	I, 38/3	Tan You 談猷, Yijing zhujuan 易經硃卷
[048]	I, 39/1	Mathias Xia 夏瑪第亞, Ganzhou tang Xia xianggong shengming Madiya hui Fang laoye shu
[049]	I, 39/2	Mathias Xia, Shengci yuanyou ce 生祠緣由冊

[050]	I, 39/3	Mathias Xia, Shengci gushi 生祠故事
[051]	I, 39/4	Mathias Xia, <i>Jili paozhi</i> 祭禮泡製
[052]	I, 39/5	Mathias Xia, Liji jizhi cuoyan 禮記祭制撮言
[053]	I, 40/1	anon., Tongjian zonglun 通鑑總論
[054]	I, 40/2	Yan Mo 嚴謨, Lishi tiaowen 李師條問
[055]	I, 40/3	Qiu Sheng 丘晟, Minzhong Jiangle xian
		Qiu xiansheng zhi zhuwei shenfu shu 閩中將樂縣丘先生致諸位神父書
[056]	I, 40/4	Qiu Sheng, Shuwen pian 述聞篇
[057]	I, 40/5	Simão Rodrigues 李西滿, Bianji canping 辯祭參平
[058]	I, 40/6.a	Yan Mo 嚴謨, Bianji 辯祭 (later version of 41/1c)
[059]	I, 40/6.b	Yan Mo, Kaoyi 考疑
[060]	I, 40/7.a	Zhang Xingyao 張星曜, Sidian shuo 祀典説
[061]	I, 40/7.b	anon., [Liyi wenda 禮儀問答]
[062]	I, 40/8	Li Jiugong 李九功, Zhengli chuyi 證禮蒭議 (later version of 42/2.c)
[063]	I, 40/9.a	Ignatius Hong 洪依納爵 - Simon Zhu 朱西滿 - Petrus Yang 楊伯多祿, Jisi wenda 祭祀問答
[064]	I, 40/9.b	He 何 (某), Chuyan 藝言
[065]	I, 40/9.c	anon., Sangli ailun 喪禮哀論
[066]	I, 40/9.d	Zhang Xiangcan 張象燦, Jiali hejiao lu 家禮合教錄
[067]	I, 40/10.a	Mathias Xia 夏瑪第亞, [Liyi dawen 禮儀答問]
[068]	I, 40/10.b	anon., Zhongguo gesheng simiao lu 中國各省寺廟錄
[069]	I, 41/1.a	Yan Mo 嚴謨, Jizu kao 祭祖考
[070]	I, 41/1.b	Yan Mo, Muzhu kao 木主考 (cf. 40/2, appendix)
[071]	I, 41/1.c	Yan Mo, Bianji 辨祭 (earlier draft of 40/6.a)
[072]	I, 41/2.a	Yan Mo, Caogao 草稿
[073]	I, 41/2.b	Yan Mo, Bianji houzhi 辨祭後誌
[074]	I, 41/3	Yan Mo, Zhi Mu laoshi wen liangshou, fu ba yishou 致穆老師文兩首, 附跋一首
[075]	I, 41/4	Yan Mo, Caogao 草稿 (chaobai 抄白)
[076]	I, 42/1	anon., Yishu 易書
[077]	I, 42/2.a	Li Jiugong 李九功, Lisu mingbian 禮俗明辨
[078]	I, 42/2.b	Li Jiugong, Zhaichu wenda huichao 摘出問答彙抄
[079]	I, 42/2.c	Li Jiugong, Zhengli chuyi 證禮荔議 (earlier version of 40/8)
[080]	I, 43a	João da Rocha 羅儒望, Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng 天主聖教啓蒙
[081]	I, 43b	da Rocha, Song nianzhu guicheng 誦念珠規程

[082]	I, 44	Matteo Ricci, 利瑪寶, Tianzhu shiyi 天主實義,
50001	T 15	1607 edition (Yanyi tang)
[083]	I, 45	Ricci, <i>Tianzhu shiyi</i> , Yanyi edition, with postface
[084]	I, 46	Ricci, Tianzhu shiyi, Qinyi tang edition, Fuzhou
[085]	I, 47	Ricci, Tianzhu shiyi, early Ch'ing edition?
[086]	I, 48	Ricci, Tianzhu shiyi (Manchu)
[087]	I, 49	Ricci, Jiaoyou lun 交友論
[088]	I. 50	Ricci et al., Bianxue yidu 辯學遺牘, 2nd edition, Xishi zhai
[089]	I. 51	Ricci et al., Bianxue yidu, Qinyi tang edition, Fuzhou
[090]	I, 52	Ricci, Jiren shipian 畸人十篇
[091]	I, 53.1	Ricci, Ershiwu yan 二十五言
[092]	I, 53.2	Ricci, Jiaoyou lun 交友論 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 49, other edition)
[093]	I, 53.3	Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠 (Sun Xueshi 孫學詩, 述), Shengshui jiyan 聖水紀言
[094]	I, 53.4	Jingjing 景淨 - Li Zhizao 李之藻 (postscript),
		Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo beisong bingxu 景教流行中國碑頌并序
[095]	I, 53.5	Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠, <i>Xiaoluan bubing ming shuo</i> 鴞鸞不並鳴説
[096]	I, 53 A	Ricci, Tianzhu shiyi (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 44-45)
[097]	I, 53 B	Ricci, Ershiwu yan (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 53.1, other edition)
[098]	I, 54	Michele Ruggieri 羅明堅, Tianzhu shengjiao shilu 天主聖教實錄 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 189-190)
[099]	I, 55	Ruggieri, Tianzhu shengjiao shilu (other edition)
[100]	I, 56	Antonio de Gouvea 何大化, Tianzhu shengjiao mengyin yaolan 天主聖教蒙引要覽 (three copies)
[101]	I, 57	Alfonso Vagnone 王豐肅, <i>Jiaoyao jielüe</i> 教要解略 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 61 and 123)
[102]	I, 57a	anon. (S.J.), <i>Tianzhu jiaoyao</i> 天主教要
[103]	I, 58	Giulio Aleni 艾儒略, <i>Tianzhu jiangsheng</i> yanxing jilüe 天主降生言行紀略 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 76, other edition)
[104]	I, 58 A 1	anon., Tongsu gushi 通俗故事 (ms.)
[105]	I, 58 A 2	Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣, <i>Qianzi wen</i> 千字文
[106]	I, 59	Alfonso Vagnone 高一志, Shengmu xingshi 聖母行實
[107]	I, 60	Vagnone, Shengmu xingshi (other edition)
[108]	I, 61	Vagnone, Jiaoyao jielüe (duplicate of JS I, 57)
[109]	I, 62	Vagnone, Zesheng shipian 則聖十篇
[110]	I, 63	Vagnone, Xiushen xixue 修身西學
[111]	I, 64	Vagnone, <i>Qijia xixue</i> 齊家西學
[112]	I, 65	Vagnone, <i>Tianzhu shengjiao shengren xingshi</i> 天主聖教聖人行實
[113]	I, 66	Manoel Dias, Jr. 陽瑪諾, Tianzhu shengjiao shijie zhiquan 天主聖教十誠直詮 (two copies)

[114]	I, 67	Dias, Daiyi lun 代疑論
[115]	I, 68	Dias, Tang jingjiao beisong zhengquan
		唐景教碑頌正詮 (duplicate of JS I, 33)
[116]	I, 69	Dias, Tianwen lüe 天問略
[117]	I, 70	Dias, Shengjing zhijie 聖經直解
[118]	I, 71 A	Giulio Aleni 艾儒略, Wanwu zhenyuan 萬物真原
[119]	I, 71 B	duplicate
[120]	I, 71 C	Aleni, Wanwu zhenyuan (other edition)
[121]	I, 72	Aleni, Wanwu zhenyuan (Manchu)
[122]	I, 73.a	Aleni, Sanshan lunxue ji 三山論學紀
[123]	I, 73.b	Aleni, Sanshan lunxue ji (other edition)
[124]	I, 74	Aleni, Wushi yanyu 五十言餘
[125]	I, 75	Aleni, <i>Misa ji yi</i> 彌撒祭義
[126]	I, 76	Aleni, Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilüe
		天主降生言行紀略 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 58, other edition)
[127]	I, 77.a	Aleni, Tianzhu jiangsheng yinyi 天主降生引義
[128]	I, 77.b	duplicate
[129]	I, 78	Aleni, Shengti yaoli 聖體要理
[130]	I, 79	Aleni, <i>Dizui zhenggui</i> 滌罪正規
[131]	I, 80	Aleni, Huizui yaozhi 悔罪要旨
[132]	I, 81	Aleni, Kouduo richao 口鐸日抄
[133]	I, 82a	Diego de Pantoja 龐迪我, Pangzi yiquan 龐子遺詮 (j. 1-2)
[134]	I, 82b	de Pantoja, <i>Pangzi yiquan</i> (j. 1-4)
[135]	I, 83a	de Pantoja, <i>Tianzhu shiyi xupian</i> 天主實義續篇
[136]	I, 83b	de Pantoja, Tianzhu shiyi xupian (other edition)
[137]	I, 83c	duplicate
[138]	I, 84	de Pantoja, <i>Qike</i> 七克 (incomplete)
[139]	I, 85	de Pantoja, Qike (other edition)
[140]	I, 86	de Pantoja, Qike (other edition, reprint 1694)
[141]	I, 87	Lodovico Buglio 利類思, Shengjiao jianyao 聖教簡要
[142]	I, 88	Buglio, Zhujiao yaozhi 主教要旨
[143]	I, 88a	Buglio, Wuyuan shizheng 物元實證
[144]	I, 89	Li Zubai 李祖白, Tianxue chuan'gai 天學傳概
[145]	I, 89.1-2	Yang Guangxian 楊光先, Budeyi 不得已
[146]	I, 90	Buglio, Budeyi bian 不得已辯
[147]	I, 90a	duplicate
[148]	I, 91	duplicate
[149]	I, 92	Buglio, Budeyi bian 不得已辨 (other edition)
[150]	I, 93,1-2	Buglio, Siduo dianyao 司鐸典要
[151]	I, 94,1-2	duplicate
[152]	I, 95	Buglio, Shanzhong yiying lidian 善終瘞塋禮典
[153]	I, 96	Buglio, Yiwangzhe rike jing 已往者日課經
[154]	I, 97,1-2	Andrea Lubelli 陸安德, Zhenfu zhizhi 真福直指

[155]	I, 97a	duplicate (incomplete)
[156]	I, 98	Lubelli, Tianzhu shengjiao lüeshuo 天主聖教略説
[157]	I, 99	Jacques Motel 穆迪我, Shengxi guiyi 聖洗規儀
[158]	I, 100	Martino Martini 衛匡國,
		Zhenzhu lingxing lizheng 真主靈性理證
[159]	I, 100 A	duplicate
[160]	I, 101	Martini, <i>Qiuyou pian</i> 逑友篇
[161]	I, 102	Philippe Couplet 柏應理, Simo zhenlun 四末真論
[162]	I, 103	Couplet, Tuiding linian zhanliri fa 推定歷年瞻禮日法
[163]	I, 104	Couplet, Tianzhu shengjiao bai wenda 天主聖教百問答
[164]	I, 105	Francesco Brancati 潘國光, Tianshen huike 天神會課
[165]	I, 106	Brancati, Shengjiao sigui 聖教四規
[166]	I, 106a	duplicate
[167]	I, 107	Brancati, Tianjie 天階
[168]	I, 108	Gabriel de Magalhães 安文思, Fuhuo lun 復活論
[169]	I, 109	anon. (S.J.), Tianzhujiao yao 天主教要 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 57a)
[170]	I, 110	João Soeiro 蘇如望, Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan
		天主聖教約言 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 174.2)
[171]	I, 111	Wang Yiyuan 王一元 (i.e., Alfonso Vagnone 王豐肅, after 1624 高一志), Tuiyan zhengdao lun 推驗正道論
[172]	I, 111a	Wang Yiyuan, Xingling shuo 性靈說
[173]	I, 112	João Frois 伏若望, Shanzhong zhugong guili 善終諸功規例
[174]	I, 113	Niccolò Longobardo 龍華民, Sheng Ruo-sa-fa shimo 聖若撒法始末
[175]	I, 113a	duplicate
[176]	I, 114	Longobardo, Dizhen jie 地震解
[177]	I, 115	Longobardo, Linghun daoti shuo 靈魂道體説
[178]	I, 116	Francisco Varo (O.P.) 萬濟國, Zhujiao mingzheng 主教明徵
[179]	I, 117	Raimundo del Valle (O.P.) 賴蒙篤, Xingshen shiyi 形神實義
[180]	I, 118	Pedro de la Piñuela (O.F.M.) 石鐸琭, Moxiang shengong 默想神功
[181]	I, 119	de la Piñuela, Chuhui wenda 初會問答
[182]	I, 120	Francisco Peris (O.F.M.) 卞方世, Jinjiao lingxi jielu 進教領洗捷錄
[183]	I, 121	Agustín de San Pascual (O.F.M.) 利安定, Yongfu tianqu 永福天衢
[184]	I, 122	Antonio de Santa María Caballero (O.F.M.) 利安當, Tian Ru yin 天儒印
[185]	I, 123	Alfonso Vagnone 王豐肅, <i>Jiaoyao jielüe</i> 教要解略 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 57 and 61, other edition)
[186]	I, 124	Lodovico Buglio 利類思, Tianzhu zhengjiao yuezheng 天主正教約徵
[187]	I, 125	Buglio, Tianzhu zhengjiao yuezheng (Manchu)
[188]	I, 126	anon. (Matteo Ricci), Shengjing yuelu 聖經約錄
[189]	I, 127	anon. (Li Zubai 李祖白), Tongshan shuo 同善説

[190]	I, 128	anon., Tongshan shuo (Manchu)
[191]	I, 129	João Soeiro 蘇如望, Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan
		天主聖教約言 (Manchu)
[192]	I, 130	Xu Guangqi 徐光啓, Pi Shishi zhuwang 闢釋氏諸妄
		[or: Piwang 闢妄] (Manchu)
[193]	I, 131	Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠 (Sun Xueshi 孫學詩, 述),
ļ	I, 132-132a	Shengshui jiyan 聖水紀言 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 53.3) Piwang tiaobo heke 闢妄條駁合刻:
[194]	I, 132-132a	Yu Guangqi 徐光啓, Piwang 闡妄
[194]	I, 132a	Zhang Xingyao 張星曜 - Hong Ji 洪濟,
[193]	1, 1324	Pilüe shuo tiaobo 關略說條駁
[196]	I, 133	Xiong Ding 熊定, Cangju 藏句
[197]	I, 134	Shang Huqing 尚祜卿 (載言) (and Antonio Caballero O.F.M.), Zhengxue liushi 正學鏐石
[198]	I, 135	Matthias Xia 夏瑪第亞, Xingshuo 性説
[199]	I, 136	Li Jiugong 李九功, Shensi [lu] 慎思 [錄]
		(duplicate of Jap. Sin. I, 34/37, 1)
[200]	I, 137	anon. (Fan Liben 范立本), Mingxin baojian 明心寶鑑
[201]	I, 138	Xu Guangqi 徐光啓, Shengjiao guijie zhenzan 聖教規誠箴贊
[202]	I, 139	Xu Guangqi, Piwang 闢妄 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 132)
[203]	I, 139a	other edition
[204]	I, 140	Xu Guangqi (述), Shengxiang lüeshuo 聖像略説 (or: Zaowu chuixiang lüeshuo 造物垂象略説)
[205]	I, 140a	Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠, Xiaoluan bubing ming shuo 鴞鸞不並鳴說 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 53.5)
[206]	I, 141	Zhang Geng 張賡, Tianxue zhengfu 天學證符
[207]	I, 142	Zhu Yupo 朱毓朴, Shengjiao yuanliu 聖教源流
[208]	I, 143	anon. (Giulio Aleni), Shengmeng ge 聖夢歌
[209]	I, 144	Han Lin 韓霖, <i>Duoshu</i> 鐸書
[210]	I, 145	Zhu Zongyuan 朱宗元, Zhengshi lüeshuo 拯世略説
[211]	I, 145a	duplicate
[212]	I, 146	Zhu Zongyuan, Da ke wen 答客問
[213]	I, 147	Iacomo Rho 羅雅谷, Aijin xing quan 哀矜行詮
[214]	I, 147a	Rho, Tianzhu jing jie 天主經解
[215]	I, 147b	Rho, Aijin xing quan (duplicate of Jap. Sin. I, 147)
[216]	I, 147c	Rho, Shengmu jing jie 聖母經解
[217]	I, 147d	Rho, Qiu shuo 求説
[218]	I, 147e	Rho, Shengji baiyan 聖記百言
	I, 148, 148.a-n	anon. (Chinese seminarists),
[210]	T 140	Bingyin huike 丙寅會課:
[219]	I, 148	zhengyue huike 正月會課: 辯持齋
[220]	I, 148.a	eryue huike 二月會課: 符咒
[221]	I, 148.b	sanyue huike 三月會課:放生戒殺
[222]	I, 148.c	siyue huike 四月會課: 雷震人畜等物之故

[223]	I, 148.d	duplicate
[224]	I, 148.e	run siyue huike 閏四月會課:
		佛之世尊,道之元始天尊,其説何居
[225]	I, 148.f	wuyue huike 五月會課: 釋氏所言地獄與正教
[226]	I, 148.g	duplicate
[227]	I, 148.h	liuyue huike 六月會課: 文昌化書
[228]	I, 148.i	qiyue huike 七月會課: 輪迴
[229]	I, 148.j	duplicate
[230]	I, 148.k	bayue huike 八月會課: 數術
[231]	I, 148.1	duplicate
[232]	I, 148.m	jiuyue huke 九月會課: 鬼崇
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[238]	I, 153	(Francesco Xaverio Filippucci 方濟各),
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[245]	I, 160	Ricci et al. 利瑪竇等, Bianxue yidu 辮學遺牘
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[249]	I, 162	Zhang Cai 張采, Zhouli zhushu hejie 周禮注疏合解
[250]	I, 163	Francesco Brancati 潘國光, Tianzhu shijie quanlun shengji 天主十誡勸論聖跡
[251]	I, 164	Antonius Li 李安當, Sangzang yishi 喪葬儀式
[252]	I, 164a	Antonius Li, Sangzang yishi (amended version)
[253]	I, 165.a	Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠, Tian Shi mingbian 天釋明辨
[254]	I, 165.b	Yang Tingyun, Daiyi bian 代疑編
[255]	I, 165.c	Yang Tingyun, Daiyi bian (other edition)
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[257]	I, 166.a	(duplicate of Jap. Sin. I, 145)

[259] [260]	I, 166.c I, 166.d	(duplicate of Jap. Sin. I, 146) Zhu Zongyuan, <i>Huoyi lun</i> 豁疑論
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	1 1. 1UU.U	Li Jiugong 李九功, Shensi lu 慎思錄
[261]	,	(cf. Jap. Sin. I, 34/37, 1 and Jap. Sin. I, 136)
[261]	I, 166.e	Li Jiugong, Lixiu yijian 勵修一鑑
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[264]	I, 168a	duplicate
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[266]	I, 169	duplicate
[267]	I, 170	Domingo de Nieva O.P. 羅明敖黎尼媽, (Xinkan 新刊) Liaoshi zhengjiao bianlan 僚氏正教便覽 / Memorial de la vida christiana
[268]	I, 171	Tomás Mayor O.P. 哆媽氏, (Xinkan 新刊) Gewu qiongli lu 格物窮理錄 / Símbolo de la Fe
[269]	I, 171.a	duplicate
[270]	I, 172	Lodovico Buglio 利類思 - Ferdinand Verbiest 南懷仁 (rev. 重訂), Shengjiao rike 聖教日課
[271]	I, 173.1	Juan García (O.P.) 施若翰, Tianzhu shengjiao rumen wenda 天主聖教入門問答 (ms.)
[272]	I, 173.2a	Humbert Augery 洪度貞, Shengmu huigui 聖母會規
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[274]	I, 173.3	García, Tianzhu shengjiao rumen wenda (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 173.1)
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[277]	I, 174.3	Andrea Lubelli 陸安德, Tianzhu shengjiao cuoyan 天主聖教撮言
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[293]	I, 185a	duplicate (without list of errata)
[294]	I, 186	João Froís 伏若望, Shanzhong zhugong guili 善終諸功規例 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 112)
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[296]	I, 188	other edition
[297]	I, 189	Ruggieri 羅明堅, Xinbian xizhuguo Tianzhu shilu 新編西竺國天主實錄 (cf. Jap. Sin. I, 54-55, other edition)
[298]	I, 189a	photocopy of Jap. Sin. I, 189
[299]	I, 190	other edition
[300]	I, 191a /191b	Han Lin 韓霖 - Zhang Geng 張賡, Shengjiao xinzheng 聖教信證 / appendix: Xilai zhuwei xiansheng xingshi 西來諸位先生姓氏
[301]	I, 192	Han Lin - Zhang Geng, Shengjiao xinzheng / Xilai zhuwei xiansheng xingshi (other edition)
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[304]	I, 195	[Jean-François Foucquet], ms., Latin / French
[305]	I, 196	Angelo Zottoli, Institutio grammatica
[306]	I, 196a	duplicate
[307]	I, 197	anon., Portuguese-Chinese Vocabulary
[308]	I, 198	anon. (Michele Ruggieri - Matteo Ricci), Portuguese-Chinese Vocabulary
[309]	I, 199	Diego Collado, Ars Grammaticae Iaponicae Linguae
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[310]	I, 201	Racuyoxu 落葉集 (Rakuyôshû)
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[312]	I, 202	Giya do pekadoru (Guía do pecador)
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[314]	I, 204a	Kisei chishi 歸正痴士, Musei Shinron 夢醒真論
[315]	I, 204b	anon., Misa hairesishiki 彌撒拜禮式
[316]	I, 205	Jingdu zonghuizhang Wang Baiduolu deng 京都總會長王伯多祿等十八人致外省各堂會長書, 告康熙五十五年九月諸人與山東臨清堂代主教康神父談 禮儀問題事
[317]	I, 205a	duplicate
[318]	I, 206	Brevis Relatio eorum anno 1700 (Peking ed.)
[319]	I, 206.a	Brevis Relatio (Peking ed. without corrigenda)
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[321]	I, 206.c	Brevis Relatio (Canton ed. without corrigenda)
[322]	I, 206.d	Brevis Relatio (Canton ed. without corrigenda)

[323]	I, 206.e	Brevis Relatio (duplicate of Jap. Sin. I, 206.c)
[324]	I, 206.f	Brevis Relatio (incomplete)
[325]	I, 206.g	Brevis Relatio (ms. copy, without Manchu text)
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[327]	I, 221	anon., Xiyangdao Huaren shu 西洋島華人書
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[331]	II, 1	Francisco Furtado 傳汎際 (譯義) – Li Zhizao
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[332]	II, 2	Lodovico Buglio 利類思, Chaoxingxue yao mulu 超性學要目錄
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[336]	II, 12	Ricci (口譯) - Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 (筆受),
[880]	1,	Jihe yuanben 幾何原本 (j.1)
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[337]	II, 14	Ricci (授) - Li Zhizao 李之藻 (演), Yuanrong jiaoyi 園容較義
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[339]	II, 16	Giulio Aleni 艾儒略, Xingxue cushu 性學觕述
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[343]	II, 18a	duplicate
[344]	II, 19	Aleni, Zhifang waiji 職方外紀 (6 juan edition)
[345]	II, 20	Aleni, Zhifang waiji (5 juan edition)
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[351]	II, 24.2	Aleni, Xixue fan (cf. Jap. Sin. II, 23; other edition)
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[362]	II, 35	Rho, Johann Schreck 鄧玉函 – Johann Adam Schall 湯若望, Geyuan baxian biao 割圓八線表
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[380]	II, 39a.1	Schall, Yuanjing shuo (cf. Jap. Sin. II, 39.2; other edition)
[381]	II, 39a.2	Schall, Xinli xiaohuo (duplicate of Jap. Sin. II, 39.6)
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[412]	II, 54	Alfonso Vagnone 高一志, Tongyou jiaoyu 童幼教育
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[421]	II, 60	Sambiasi (口授) - Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 (筆錄), Lingyan lishao 靈言蠡勺
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[423]	II, 62	de Ursis (口授) - Zhou Ziyu - Zhuo Erkang 周子愚卓爾康 (筆記), Biaodu shuo 表度説
[424]	II, 63	de Ursis (撰説) – Xu Guangqi 徐光啓, Jianpingyi shuo 簡平儀説
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[426]	II, 65.1	Libu tigao 禮部題稿 (ms., ten folios [about Schall])
[427]	II, 65.2	Libu tigao (another copy)
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[428]	II, 66	Xichao ding'an 熙朝定案
[429]	II, 66 D	duplicate
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I, 76 Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilüe 4	
I, 79 Dizui zhenggui 4	
I, 81 Kouduo richao 7	
I, 82b Pangzi yiquan 2	
I, 103Tuiding linian zhanliri fa5	
I, 106 Shengjiao sigui 5	
I, 110 Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan 2	
I, 126 Shengjing yuelu 1	
I, 127 Tongshan shuo 8	
I, 131 Shengshui jiyan 8	
I, 132 Piwang tiaobo heke 9	
I, 135 Xing shuo 10	
I, 136 Shensi lu 9	
I, 138 Shengjiao guijie zhenzan 8	
I, 141 Tianxue zhengfu 8	
I, 142 Shengjiao yuanliu 3	
I, 143 Shengmeng ge 6	
I, 147 Aijin xing quan 5	
I, 150 Xingmi pian 9	
I, 152 Luodu shanfang xuanzhong ji 8	
I, 153 Linsang chupin yishi 5	
I, 154 Huguang shengji 12	!
I, 156 Paozhi piwang pi 10)
I, 157 Pixie lun 8	
I, 161 Shengshi lidian 11	
I, 164 Sangzang yishi 5	
I, 164a Sangzang yishi 5	
I, 165.d Juesi lu 9	

I, 173.2a	Shengmu hui gui	12
I, 173.2b	Tianzhu Yesu ku'nan hui gui	12
I, 173.3	Tianzhu shengjiao rumen wenda	2
I, 174.2	Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan	2
I, 174.5	Tianzhu shengjiao sizi jingwen	2
I, 174.6	Zhenxin zongdu	3
I, 174.7	Moxiang guiju	3
I, 186	Shanzhong zhugong guili	5
I, 187	Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie	3
I, 189	Tianzhu shilu	1
I, 205	Jingdu zonghuichang	10
II, 16	Xingxue cushu	6
II, 39a.4	Minli puzhu jiehuo	6
II, 45a	Yutui jiyan	6
II, 57	Fei-lu huida	12
II, 59a	Hua da	6
II, 59b	Shui da	6
II, 65	Libu tigao	12
II, 69	Zoushu	12
II, 86	Bencao bu	12
II, 153	[Guangdong zhi Beijing lucheng biao]	12
II, 156	Cixian wenda	12
II, 165.1	Li xiansheng xingshu	12
II, 166	Xiangshu lun	6
II, 167	Tianzhujiao yuanyou	8
II, 169.1	Renhui hui gui	12
II, 169.2	Sheng Fangjige hui gui	12
II, 169.3	Shengmu hui gui	12
II, 169.4	Linsang chupin yishi	5
III, 23.1	Sheng Yinajue zhuan	12
III, 23.2	Sheng Fangjige Shawulüe zhuan	12
III, 23.3a	Daxi Li Xitai zi zhuan	12
III, 23.3b	Daxi Xitai Li xiansheng xingji	12
III, 23.4a	Xihai Ai xiansheng xinglüe	12
III, 23.4b	Xihai Ai xiansheng yulu	12
III, 23.5	Yuanxi Jingming An xiansheng xingshu	12
III, 23.6	edicts and memorials	12

Table A
Pre-1689 Titles by Jesuits not Preserved in ARSI

Couplet = number in Couplet's Catalogus Patrum ... (1686), see Bernard 1945,

pp. 48-56. [number with *, see above, note 77]

Shubanmu = number in 北京刊行天主聖教書板目 (etc.), ca. 1684, see Bernard

1960, pp. 351-359.

	Bernard 1945	Couplet	Shubanmu
not included	nos. 210- 211, 452- 453, 515		
Giulio Aleni (1582-1649)			
Biography of Michael Zhang 張彌格爾遺 跡	126	96	204
Biography of Yang Tingyun 楊淇園先生 事跡	161	97	185
Xichao chongzheng ji 熙朝崇正集	284	98	52
Meigui jing shiwuduan tuxiang 玫瑰經十 五端圖像		93	111
Francesco Brancati (1607-1671)			
Shengti guiyi 聖體規儀	374	204	4
Weilai bian 未來辯	410	207	27
Lodovico Buglio (1606–1682)			
Misa jingdian 彌撒經典	432	179	1
Siduo kedian 司鐸課典	462	192	23
Shengmu xiao rike 聖母小日課	480	197	
Shizi shuo 獅子説	496	201	211
Jincheng Ying lun 進程鷹論	498	202	136
Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640)			
Shenhou bian 身後編	151	22	117
Xingling yizhu 性靈詣主	291	19	42
Inácio da Costa (1603-1666)			
Zhu sumi pian 燭俗迷篇 (ms.)	322		
Yuanran kuiyi 原染虧益	404	168	11
Laoren miaochu 老人妙處	408	172	
Philippe Couplet (1623–1693)			
Sheng Po'er'riya xingshi 聖玻爾日亞行 實	508	219	82
Zhousui shengren xinglüe 週歲聖人行略	509	220	108
Biography of Xu Guangqi 徐光啓行略 (ms.)	501		
Simão da Cuñha (1589-1660)			
Jingyao zhizhi 經要直指	385	166	32
Manoel Dias, Jr. (1573-1659)			
Shengjiao zongcuo 聖教總撮,	321		
or: Tianxue juyao 天學舉要 (ms.)	381		

Sheng Ruose xingshi 聖若瑟行實	374+463	66	40
Qingshi jinshu 輕世金書	376	68	96
Bizui zhinan 避罪指南	377	69	49
Etienne Faber (1597–1657)			
Duhai kuji ji 渡海苦績紀	336	167	
Gaspar Ferreira (1571-1649)			
Zhounian zhubao shengren dan 周年主保 聖人單	248	* 40	6
Moxiang gongfu 默想工夫	249		
Rui de Figueiredo (1594–1642)			
Zongdu nianjing 總牘念經	162	*142	
João Frois (1591-1638)			
Wushang jing guicheng 五傷經規程	278	*145	
Francisco Furtado (1589-1653)			
Huanyou quan 寰有詮	163	*112	171
António de Gouvea (1592-1677)			
Inscription for the church at Fuzhou 福州, 1655	364	174	
Girolamo de Gravina (1603-1662)			**
Tizheng bian 提正編	348	178	57
Bianhuo lun 辨惑論	398		
Adrien de Greslon (1618-1695)			
Gusheng xingshi 古聖行實	505	215	
Prospero Intorcetta (1625-1696)			
Yesu hui li 耶穌會例	418	225	51
Exercitia spiritualia S. P. Ignatii	469	226	
Niccolò Longobardo (1565-1655)			
Sishuo 死説	179	29	90
Andrea Lubelli (1611–1685)			
Wanmin simo tu 萬民四末圖	513	245	
Shengjiao yaoli 聖教要理	435	248	119
Moxiang daquan 默想大全	531	250	
João Monteiro (1602-1648)			
Tianxue lueyi 天學略義	326	*175	85
Bianjing lu 辨敬錄	327	*176	28
Zhaomi jing 炤迷鏡	329	177	47
Jacques Motel (1619-1692)			
Chengxiu shenwu 成修神務	547		
Simo nianxiao 四末念效	548		
Feliciano Pacheco (1622-1687)			
Shengjiao guicheng 聖教規程	416		
Diego de Pantoja (1571-1618)			
Bianjie 辨揭	107+118	39	165
Iacomo Rho (1592-1638)			
Zhaike 齋克	229	*147	112

Zhousui jingyan 週歲警言	281	*153	48
Liyin 曆引	262, 1	164	128
Richan kao zhouye kefen 日應考畫夜刻分	262, 2	165	126
Matteo Ricci (1552-1610)			
Xizi qiji 西字奇跡	64	10	184
Celiang fayi 測量法義	76+108	12	150
Qiankun tiyi 乾坤體義	49	13	152
Gougu yi 勾股義	73	14	189
World Map	10, 20, 23, 24, 27, 34, 45, 46, 50, 59, 77	18	
François de Rougemont (1624–1676)			
Shengjiao yaoli 聖教要理	449	221	38
Wenshi bian 問世編	450	222	123
Francesco Sambiasi (1582-1649)			
World map	223		
Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666)			
Jincheng shuxiang 進呈書像	297	114	83
Zhenfu xunquan 真福訓詮	230	117	9
Huogong qieyao 火攻挈要	334		
Xiyang ce rili 西洋測日曆	340	120	149
Johann Schreck (1576–1630)			
Renshen shuogai 人身説概	141+335	106	209
Alvaro Semedo (1586–1658)			
Zikao 字考	313	104	137
Nikolaus Smogulecki (1610-1656)			
Renming bu 人命部	339		
Mappa mundi elliptica	368	214	
Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628)			
Tui linian zhanli fa 推曆年瞻曆法	143	* 70	77
Kuangyi 況義	142	72	164
Alfonso Vagnone (1568-1640)			
Simo lun 死末論	136+173	* 46	60
Lixue guyan 勵學古言	213	* 52	193
Pixue 	226	* 54	202
Huanyu shimo 寰宇始末	283	56	71
Shengui zhengji 神鬼正紀	228	58	
Dadao jiyan 達道紀言	271		
Xixue zhiping 西學治平	189, 3	45	132
Minzhi xixue 民治西學	189, 3		

Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688)			
Yixiang tu 儀象圖	468	232	146
Kangxi yongnianli 康熙永年曆	542	233	124
Yanqi tushuo 驗氣圖説	540	237	183
World Map	465	238	143
Chidao nanbei xingtu 赤道南北星圖	455	239	200
Jianping gui zongxing tu 簡平規總星圖	534	240	131
Kunyu gezhi lüeshuo 坤輿格致略説	484		
Qiongli xue 窮理學	533		
Verbiest biography (by Thomas - Pereira)	550		

Table B
Texts by Jesuits, 1689 – ca. 1800, not Preserved in ARSI

Not including geographical maps (cf. note 78), maps of stars or eclipses (Bernard 1960, nos. 619, 629), and texts that have not been preserved or may never have been written or completed (Bernard 1960, nos. 551, 552, 557, etc.). In general this table is less exhaustive than table A (cf. note 75); on the other hand, much less titles were published during the 18th century (Bernard 1960, p. 364). This table stops at ca. 1750. The few texts composed later may all have been printed only in the next century, e.g., João de Seixas's *Zhaoyong shenjing* (Cordier 296), composed in 1769 and printed in 1878.

			Bernard 1960	Cordier	BNF Chinois
01 (1690)	Gerbillon	Jihe yuanben (Pardies)	556		
02 (1690)	Thomas	A-er-ri-ba-la xinfa (ms.)	558		
03 (1694)	Suarez	Shengmu lingbao huigui	568		7413
04 (1697)	anon.	biography of Intorcetta	577		1096
05 (1698)	Noël	Renzui zhizhong	578		7041
06 (1701)	Bouvet	Tianxue benyi	586		7160
07 (ca.1702)	Parrenin	Anatomie Mandchoue	587		
08 (1707)	id.	Gujin jing Tian jian	595		7161
09 (1708)	Duarte	Batian bijing shenshu	596		Zikawei
10 (1703)	Grimaldi	Jiaoshi biao	х		5007
11 (1711)	id.	Fangxing tujie	599		4928
12 (1713)	Pereira, et al.	Lülü zhengyi	601		3221
13 (1716)	Foucquet	Lifa wenda	604		
14 (1718)	Chavagnac	Zhendao zizheng	612		7047
15 (1719)	de Mailla	Shengti ren'ai jing gui- tiao	614		7293
16 (1720)	de Prémare	Liushu shiyi	х		906
17 (1721)	Hinderer	Yu Misa gongcheng	х	131	7438
18 (ca. 1725)	de Prémare	Sheng Ruose zhuan	х		6744 II
19 (1726)	Parrenin	Dexing pu	621		6772

20 (1727)	id.	Jimei pian	623		6776
21 (1728)	de Prémare	Notitia linguae sinicae	624		printed in
					1831
22	id.	Rujiao shiyi	Х		7152
23	id.	Jingchuan yilun	598		7164
24	id.	Tianxue zonglun	598		7165 I
25	id.	Jingchuan zhongshuo	598		7165 II
26	id.	Rujiao xin	598		7166
27	id.	Auctoritates	598		7167
28	id.	Shengxiang jielüe	Х		7325 II
29 (1730)	d'Entrecolles	Xunwei shenbian	625		6782
30 (1730)	id.	Ni'er zhongyan	626		7018
31 (1734)	de Mailla	Shengjing guangyi	628		6804
32 (1737)	Pereira, et al.	Lixiang kaocheng	630		
33 (1737)	Castiglione	Shixue (Pozzo)	631		5533
34 (1738)	Kögler	Ruijian lu	632		1337
35 (1738)	de Mailla	Shengnian guangyi	633		6786
36 (1738)	da Silva	Chongxiu jingyun	х	298	Zikawei
37	de Mailla	Penglai jishuo	х	159	7055
(ca.1740)					
38	id.	Shengxin guicheng	х	160	7442
39	id.	Bijing huichao	х	165	Zikawei
40 (1741)	Bahr	Sheng Ruowang Niepomu zhuan	635		Zikawei
41 (1743)	d'Entrecolles	Zhujing tiwei	636		7319
42	id.	Moju xiong'e quan	Х	95	7243
43 (1746)	Pereira, etc.	Yixiang kaocheng	638		4932
44 (1750)	de la Charme	Xingli zhenquan	641		3448
45	des Roberts	Moxiang guicheng	х	97	Zikawei
(ca.1750)					