Kouduo richao.
Li Jiubiao's *Diary of Oral Admonitions*. A Late Ming Christian Journal.
Translated, with Introduction and Notes by ERIK ZÜRCHER
Volume 1
Kouduo richao

Li Jiubiao’s
Diary of Oral Admonitions
A Late Ming Christian Journal

Translated, with Introduction and Notes
by
ERIK ZÜRCHER

Volume 1
CONTENTS

Volume 1

Preface ........................................................................................................................................ 7

Introduction

I. The Text .................................................................................................................................... 9
   Prologue: Fuzhou 1628/1629 (9)
   The Nature of the Diary and its Limitations (11)
   Title, Composition, and Successive Editions (14)
   Time Span and Geographical Range (21)
   Types of Entries: Dialogues, Stories, and Sermons (22)
   Intended Readership (25)
   The Diary and the Recorded Sayings (27)

II. The Scene ................................................................................................................................ 29
    Fujian as a Missionary Region (29)
    Church and Residence (33)
    Local Christian Communities and Associations (43)
    Christian Households (45)

III. The Actors: Missionaries ........................................................................................................ 51
    The Scholars from the West (51)
    Giulio Aleni (Ai Rulüe, 1582–1649) (54)
    Andrzej Rudomina (Lu Ande, 1594–1632) (74)
    Bento de Mattos (Lin Bendu, 1600–1651) (76)
    Simão da Cunha (Qu Ximan, 1589–1660) (77)

IV. The Actors: Converts ............................................................................................................. 77
    Numbers, Composition, and Geographical Distribution (77)
    Haikou: Stephen Li Jiubiao (d. 1647) and Thomas Li Jiugong (d. 1681) (80)
    Quanzhou: Matthew Zhang Geng (ca. 1570–1646/1647) (86)
    Zhangzhou: Ambrose Yan Zanhua (d. ca. 1695) (94)
    Jianning: Stephen Li Sixuan (d. after 1661) (97)

V. The Actors: Outsiders .............................................................................................................. 102

VI. Doctrine .................................................................................................................................... 106
    The First Steps: “Entering the Doctrine” (106)
    The Lord of Heaven: Creator, Great Parent, and Supreme Ruler (113)
    Incarnation, Passion, and Redemption (118)
    Supernatural Powers of Good and Evil: Angels and Devils (121)
    Mediators and Patrons: The Holy Mother and All the Saints (126)
    Death and the Hereafter (136)
Contents

Body and Soul (142)
Merit and Grace, Sin and Penance (148)

VII. Communal Rituals: Holy Mass and Funeral.................................156

VIII. Social Aspects............................................................................162
  Tension and Conflict (162)
  Gender Relations: Marriage and the Prohibition of Concubinage (164)
  Social Inequality: In Praise of Poverty (167)

IX. “Western Studies”: (Pre)history, Science, and Technology ..........169
  The Sciences and the Primacy of Religion (169)
  Prehistory: “The Chronicles of Judea” (171)
  Natural Science (173)

Appendix: In memoriam Giulio Aleni by Antonio de Gouvea..............176

The Diary of Oral Admonitions
Annotated Translation

Preface to The Diary of Oral Admonitions by Zhang Geng..................181
Preface to The Diary of Oral Admonitions by Lin Yijun.....................183
Brief Introduction to The Diary of Oral Admonitions by Li Jiubiao........186
The Diary of Oral Admonitions. Editorial Principles (fanli)..............188
BOOK I (13 March 1630 – 24 March 1631)....................................191
BOOK II (1 May – 28 November 1631)........................................253
BOOK III (7 January – 12 September 1632)....................................319
A Note about Book III, by Li Jiubiao...........................................322
BOOK IV (14 March – 16 October 1633)........................................379
A Few Words about Book IV, by Li Jiubiao...................................382
BOOK V (24 November 1633 – 29 June 1634)...............................427
BOOK VI (29 July 1634 – 25 September 1636)...............................475
BOOK VII (22 January – 28 October 1637)....................................523
BOOK VIII (23 September 1638 – 4 July 1640).............................571

Volume 2

The Chinese Text of Kouduo richao (from ARSI, vol. 12)..............619
Bibliography.....................................................................................771
Index and Glossary..........................................................................815

Illustrations and Maps

For detailed description of illustrations and maps, see the captions on pp. 20, 47, 49, 50, 72, 190, 195, 209, 213, 226, 249, 250, 252, 265, 270, 271, 318, 380, 426, 473, 476, 524, 543, 570, 617.
Some twenty years ago, when I first came across the *Diary of Oral Admonitions*, I was struck by the uniqueness of the work: a compilation of notes made by Li Jiubiao and other Christian literati during their conversations with Jesuit missionaries in Fujian between 1630 and 1640. Among the dozens of texts composed by late Ming and early Qing converts it stands out as the only source that allows us a glimpse of Jesuit missionary practice - “accommodation in action” - and of the various responses of their Chinese audience, both converts and interested outsiders. It also shows us the working of the underlying processes of selection, adaptation and integration by which, in the milieu of local Confucian elites, the foreign creed was transformed into a marginal Chinese minority religion.

So far only a few historians of the early Jesuit mission - and, in a wider context, of seventeenth century Sino-Western relations - have made full use of the information contained in the *Kouduo richao* (*KDRC*). This is not surprising, given the format of the text: a compilation of some five hundred notes “about everything,” arranged in chronological order. In order to find information on a specific topic, the researcher has to plod through the eight-juan text from cover to cover. The *Diary* as a whole is an invaluable mirror of early Chinese Christianity, but the mirror has been shattered into a thousand pieces.

The present work is meant to be a tool for further research. The annotated translation is preceded by a rather lengthy introduction in which the disparate bits of information are brought together and placed in the context of early Chinese Christianity, and is followed by the Chinese text and an analytical index that will enable the reader to trace specific data in the text.

It would have been impossible to produce this book without making use of the vast stores of insights and information supplied by many workers in the field, of past and present. I am particularly grateful for the constant encouragement I have received from colleagues in the field of early Chinese mission studies, in China (especially Professor Lin Jinshui of Fuzhou University and Prof. Zhang Xianqing of Xiamen University); in the United States (especially Dr. Xiaoxin Wu and the other colleagues at the Ricci Institute of the University of San Francisco), and, above all, the members of the research team at the Catholic University of Louvain, in particular Professor Nicolas Standaert and his collaborators Adrian Dudink and Eugenio Menegon. The debt I owe to Ad Dudink as an inexhaustible source of information, both orally transmitted and derived from his many publications, does
not need any further comment, for it is testified by countless references in this book. I also am very grateful to our former librarian Ms. Joyce Wu for having supplied me with photocopies of two rare early KDRC editions from the Fu Sinian Library of the Academia Sinica in Taipei.

Only very recently, in August 2006, a voluminous Ph.D. dissertation entitled “Learning from the Other: Giulio Aleni, Kouduo richao, and Late Ming Dialogic Hybridization,” was presented by Dr. Gang Song at the University of Southern California (only available on microfilm). Thanks to Prof. Nicolas Standaert I have been able to read the text, but unfortunately at this very late stage it was no more possible to do justice to Dr. Gang Song’s interesting and thought-provoking study in the present work. In the near future I hope to have the opportunity to react more adequately to it.

It takes some hubris to make a translation of a text like the KDRC in a language that is not one’s own, and I only am too aware of its general weakness as regards choice of words, idiom, and fluency of style. If the text does not contain too many factual errors or mistranslations, this is due to the invaluable help of my good friend and erstwhile close collaborator Ellen Uitzinger, who has read and corrected the whole manuscript. I also am very grateful to Ms. Kim van der Zouw for having read and corrected my translation of the Portuguese text of Aleni’s obituary that has been appended to the introduction, as well as to my son Erik-Jan for having come to my rescue so many times during my constant struggle with the computer. In spite of all that help and assistance, I naturally am fully responsible for whatever errors of commission or omission that the text still contains.

The Western protagonist in the Diary is a great Italian, or, more accurately, a great son of Brescia: “Master Ai [Rulüe],” alias Giulio Aleni (1589–1642), who rightly has been called “the Apostle of Fujian.” As a tribute to him a conference was held in 1994 in the city of Brescia,1 the results of which were published in 1997 in the Monumenta Serica Monograph Series.2 I am therefore very happy that the editor, Prof. Dr. Roman Malek, has accepted the present study for publication in the same series, to serve as a companion volume to Scholar from the West.

ERIK ZÜRCHER
Leiden

---


INTRODUCTION

I. THE TEXT

Prologue: Fuzhou, 1628/1629

In 1628 Giulio Aleni still had to move cautiously. Three years before, the Jesuit missionary had been asked by his patron, the retired Grand Secretary Ye Xianggao (1562–1627), to accompany him to Fuzhou city, and Aleni had gladly consented, for he welcomed the opportunity to open up the province of Fujian for the propagation of Christianity. But during those first years the situation did not favor overt missionary activity: the agents of the notorious eunuch leader Wei Zhongxian were everywhere, and the confrontation with Western powers (the recent occupation of Taiwan by the Dutch; the Spanish massacre of the Chinese in Manila, and the collaboration of European merchants with Chinese pirate leaders) had created an atmosphere of anti-foreignism. Apart from a first reconnaissance in 1627, Aleni did not yet undertake any of the proselytising tours all over the province that were to become the hallmark of his missionary method. In Fuzhou itself, however, he had become quite active right from the start. Ever since Ye Xianggao had introduced him into the circle of his literati friends and clients, Aleni had been able to make many contacts with local scholars and officials, whom he impressed by his genteel manners, his amazing mastery of spoken and written Chinese, and his familiarity with the Confucian classics. In fact, soon after his arrival he already had attended a meeting of a Confucian academy where he had presented a new and intriguing interpretation of the opening words of the Doctrine of the Mean. Thus by 1628 he had become something like a local celebrity, and the church and mission house in Palace Lane attracted many visitors. Most of them may have been driven by curiosity. To them, the “Masters Ai and Lu” (Aleni and his Lithuanian companion Andrzej Rudomina, who in 1626 had been sent to assist him) were sources

---

1 In references to the translation each of the eight books (juan) is indicated by a Roman numeral, and the individual entry by an Arabic one (e.g. VII.2 = second entry of Book VII). References to information contained in the annotation following each entry is indicated by the same, followed by an asterisk VII.2*. In the translation each entry is preceded by the Chinese folio numbering of the original and by the page number (preceded by the letter A) of the text as reproduced in vol. VII of the Chinese Christian Texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (ARSI), and that is also reproduced in volume 2 of the present book.
Introduction

of exotic information – also by demonstration, for the missionaries could show them fine specimens of European art and ingenuity, like oil paintings, allegorical copperplate prints, illustrated books, a telescope and a harpsichord. But some of them also were fascinated by their religious message, and the Li brothers from Haikou certainly belonged to that category.

In the early autumn of 1628 Aleni was visited by two young bachelors (xiucai) from the garrison town of Haikou (in the district of Fuqing, southeast of Fuzhou city): Li Jiubiao and his younger brother Li Jiugong. They were staying in Fuzhou to undergo the annual re-examination in which xiucai from all the districts in Fuzhou prefecture had to take part. However, they also may have had a special reason to see the missionaries. The family mansion of Ye Xianggao was situated in their district, and after his death in 1627 the patronage had been continued by some of his relatives (in fact, two of his grandsons actually became Christians). Stories about the friendly relations between that very prominent family and Aleni must have circulated in the district, and these may have prompted the Li brothers to pay that first visit.2

In any case they responded promptly and positively to Aleni’s religious message. About three months later, in December 1628, they were baptized, the elder brother adopting the Christian name of Stephanus (“Dewang,” after the Portuguese [E]stevão), and Li Jiugong that of Thomas (“Duomo”). Such a short period of preparation was by no means exceptional. In the case of adult conversion the procedure was simple: after having formally forsworn all superstitious beliefs and practices, the candidate was given a booklet containing the most important prayers and some other essential texts like the Creed and the Ten Commandments. These then were memorized and (ideally) explained by the priest or by a Chinese catechist, after which baptism was administered.

However, Li Jiubiao (probably together with his brother) subjected himself to a more rigorous program of religious study and training. According to the Christian leader Zhang Geng, he stayed on in order “to meditate and practise at the church in Fuzhou, pondering and discussing for a whole year” – an overstatement, for according to Li Jiubiao himself he took leave of Aleni and Rudomina in March 1629.3 Once returned to Haikou the Li brothers became Christian activists carrying out a very successful lay apos-

2 Or they could have read about it, for Aleni did not fail to publish his conversations with Ye Xianggao in his Sanshan luxue ji, “Discussions on Learning Held in Fuzhou,” first printed in 1628 or 1629.

3 Cf. Zhang Geng’s preface to KDRC. Li Jiubiao did not stay on beyond March 1639, for in the opening phrase of the first entry of the Diary, dated 13 March 1630, he states “to have been away from the two masters for a full year.”
Introduction

I
tolate. Li Jiugong remembers: “I found ever more favorable response in my native town; with united effort we built a church to be a place for sacrificing to the Lord and for the propagation of virtue,” and Li Jiubiao is said after his return to have converted several hundreds of people.

In the years that followed Li Jiubiao cultivated his relations with the missionaries in Fuzhou. During his visits to the provincial capital, or whenever Aleni came to Haikou, he attended sermons and took part in discussions on a great variety of topics, and soon he began to make notes. In his own words:

Since the gengwu year (1630), after I had established close relations with the two masters, I spent all the time I had in frequent encounters. Sometimes we came together in church; sometimes we met at informal occasions; sometimes a master would address me [and start the conversation], or friends would stimulate me [to ask questions]. In the end my notes came to fill a book-wrapper.

At an early date he also decided to edit and publish his notes for the benefit of fellow believers. Shortly after 1631 he produced a first version in two juan, which he called Kouduo richao, “A Diary of Oral Admonitions” (for the implications of the title see below). During the following eight years the work of compilation and editing went on in stages. From 1632 onward Li Jiubiao’s own record was enriched by the incorporation of materials supplied by other Christian scholars from different parts of Fujian, and in the latter part of 1640 the manuscript was completed. The final version, in eight juan, was printed in Fuzhou in the mid-1640s. It is this final version that is presented here in translation.

The Nature of the Diary and its Limitations

In spite of its rather unsatisfactory form – a mosaic of bits of conversation “about everything” presented in chronological order – the KDRC is a source of exceptional value. It is true that early Chinese Christianity is more richly documented than any other minority religion of late imperial China (more than three hundred Chinese texts for the seventeenth century alone, not to mention the mass of materials in Western languages). However, it should be added that the bulk of that large corpus consists of texts that are normative and prescriptive rather than descriptive. Religious texts produced by Jesuits in China, whether translated from Western originals or produced independently, generally either are expositions of the Christian articles of faith and ethics, or they are apologetic and polemic in nature. Works written by Chi-

---

4 Li Jiugong’s preface to his Lixiu yijian (1639), p. 1b.
5 Zhang Geng in his preface to KDRC.
6 Li Jiubiao’s own preface to KDRC.
nese converts contain somewhat more concrete information about their religious life, but here again most texts are apologetic, defending Christian beliefs against attacks and answering critical questions posed by outsiders. The doctrine of the Lord of Heaven is presented as an ideal system of beliefs and moral rules, not as a living religion.

In that respect the Diary truly is unique. Of course the information contained in it is restricted to a number of localities in one province, and to a mere ten years; it cannot always be extrapolated and applied to early Christianity in all of China. Its value lies in the fact that it is the only extant first-hand account of the practice of religious life and of missionary activity in a specific social milieu (the lower fringe of the literati elite), as recorded by Chinese converts. Through their eyes we observe the missionary in his many different roles: as priest, teacher, moral guide, story-teller, scientist, and provider of exotic information. We meet different types of interlocutors, ranging from docile disciples to sympathizing but critical outsiders (really hostile opponents do not figure in KDRC; their arguments are set forth at length in many anti-Christian texts). And we accompany Aleni on his journeys: we find him talking in a hostel underway, enjoying the sight of a bustling crowd at the ford, paying a courtesy call to Li Jiubiao’s former teacher, and complaining about the difficulty of hearing confessions that he cannot fully understand.

The Diary certainly cannot be regarded as a kind of protocol, a verbatim record of sermons and dialogues. It is obvious that only a mere fraction of the words spoken has been preserved in writing. Sermons have been reduced to one or a few essential passages; of conversations that may have lasted for hours just some highlights have been recorded, sometimes in only a few lines. However, this weakness also is an asset, for by its very selectiveness the Diary reflects the nature and range of the compilers’ interests: it demonstrates what subjects were considered so essential, instructive or interesting that they deserved to be recorded.

Another question is to what extent the missionary’s words as recorded in the Diary can be taken at face value, as a faithful rendering of his statements.

---

7 In any case it is the only compilation of this kind that has been preserved. In his Annual Letter of 1636 (published in H. Araújo, 1998, p. 61) António de Gouvea mentions the activities of a Christian lay association in Beijing, called Zhenshe, “the Society of Truth,” that had been founded in the 1630s by a group of literati to perform acts of piety. According to de Gouvea the members put their academic skills to work, “commenting on and recording the sermons and exhortations they had heard from the priests, so as to print them for the benefit of all.” If the record indeed ever was printed, it may well have been similar to the Diary, but unfortunately it has not survived.
and sermons. There can be no doubt that on its way from the missionary preaching or conversing to Li Jiubiao's notes the information had to pass through several screens, and that much has been lost in the process. Let us consider those screens and their consequences.

The first question to be answered concerns the kind of Chinese spoken by the missionary. The answer is certain: the language in which the Jesuits had been trained for oral communication was what much later was called "Southern Mandarin," originally the variety of Chinese that had been spoken at the court in Nanjing, and that functioned as the official *lingua franca* for the educated elite (and primarily for the members of the imperial bureaucracy), until it was replaced by a Beijing-based *guanhua* in the nineteenth century. There is no evidence that Jesuits ever tried to master any local dialect (unlike the Spanish friars from the Philippines, who had learned to speak one or more dialects of southern Fujian). This focus on the *koiné* of the educated elite had momentous consequences to which so far no attention has been paid. As long as they operated in northern and central China, the missionaries could make themselves reasonably well understood. However, for the Jesuits working in Fujian it meant that oral communication virtually was limited to the kind of people who figure in the *Diary*: the low-level literati (students, schoolmasters, and clerks) who had learned to speak and understand *guanhua*, however imperfectly. Even in northern Fujian the missionary could neither address nor understand the majority of Christians – the illiterate or semi-literate, and most of the women – without using an interpreter, and during his travels in southern Fujian, a region of many mutually unintelligible Minnan dialects, the language barrier would be absolute. The literati who recorded the missionaries' words in the *Diary* no doubt had learned Mandarin, but it must be kept in mind that the conversations were held in a language that was not their own.

Secondly, there is the problem of the missionary's command of that official idiom. In the case of Aleni there can be no doubt: when he arrived in Fuzhou he had spent twelve years in China, and both Chinese and Western sources testify of his remarkable mastery of spoken and written Chinese. As regards two of the three other Jesuits who figure in *KDRC* this is much more questionable. Rudomina had arrived in Macao in 1626 and was sent straight on to Fuzhou; the same happened with Bento de Mattos in 1630. They must have been less proficient in Chinese, and it may have been more difficult for Li Jiubiao to summarize their words.

---

8 For the use of Southern Mandarin by the Jesuits, see the discussion in *Handbook*, pp. 861-868.

9 Simão da Cunha was better prepared, for he had spent five years in Macao (where the Jesuits had excellent language training facilities) before he entered Fujian in 1629.
Thirdly, the most far-reaching operation was the translation of the bits of sermon or conversation from the vernacular into literary Chinese. Because of its conciseness wenyan was used as a kind of shorthand, so we may assume that the original notes already had been written in that artificial medium. However, as is evident from almost every entry in the Diary, the notes then were transformed into a standard literary text, with all the stylistic conventions and trappings of wenyan rhetoric: sentences were given a metric form by dividing them into prosodic units, and sometimes by applying the rules of parallelism, and the text no doubt was embellished by adding refined expressions and classical allusions.

We must conclude that the finalized text only can give us a vague impression of the oral communication that constituted its raw materials. On the other hand, in those cases in which the original phraseology still can be ascertained (notably quotations from the Bible) it appears that in spite of all stylistic re-working the essence of the message has been preserved. Of the fifty-four scriptural passages that occur in KDRC only four are so garbled that they cannot be identified. We are looking through a glass darkly, but the contours still are quite visible.

Title, Composition, and Successive Editions

By calling his work Kouduo richao Li Jiubiao may have intended a double entendre. Duo commonly means a tocsin or alarm bell with a wooden tongue that anciently was used to call people together or to mobilize them in times of danger, the locus classicus being a phrase from the Analects: “Heaven is about to use the Master as a duo (to arouse the world).”

However, in a Christian context the word also could be associated with the Western missionaries, who in their priestly role often are called duode (for saze’erdudo, a transcription of sacerdote). Kouduo would then have the connotation of “religious instruction.”

For the sake of brevity the compound richao in the title has been translated as Diary; a more accurate rendering would be “excerpts made from day

---

10 In cases in which the text gives a very free and/or simplified version, we of course always must consider the possibility that the preacher has adapted the scriptural passage to his Chinese audience. An interesting case of such adaptation is found in VII.14: while quoting Jesus’ words about the rich young man (Matthew 9:24: “It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle ...”) Aleni replaces “camel” (an animal unknown in Fujian) by “thick rope,” making use of a rare variant reading in the Greek original, apparently to make the simile more understandable to his audience. Cf. A. Dudink (1997), p. 148.

to day." Chao here stands for huichao, "collected excerpts," i.e., a compilation of fragments copied from different sources.

In its final eight-juan version the KDRC is a compilation of 496 fragments of conversation recorded in the course of slightly more than ten years (12 March 1630 – 4 July 1640).

As explained in his "Editorial Principles" (fanli, see below), Li Jiubiao has chosen to follow the model of the chronicle (biannian) style of historical writing, i.e., to arrange the materials in strictly chronological order, each entry exactly dated and localized, rather than to arrange them topically. As a result, the Diary shows no coherence in its presentation. Each of its eight books contains a sequence of entries on the most diverse subjects, ranging from theological discussions, sermons held in church and edifying tales to topics of natural science, anecdotes and witty sayings. With the exception of sermons, nearly all the entries are in dialogue form. They are of very uneven length, varying from a few columns to several pages. The text contains a small number of notes printed in smaller characters; they were added by Li Jiubiao to explain Western terms or to refer to other texts.

The Diary is a composite text; it is based on notes that were made by different reporters. Under the heading of each juan Li Jiubiao is mentioned as the "recorder" (biji) or "general recorder" (huiji), but actually only the first two juan are based on notes made exclusively by himself. The other six books consist partly, or even largely, of fenlu, "separate records," that had been supplied by seven other converts from four other prefectures: Xinghua, Quanzhou, Zhangzhou, and Jianing. In his introductory notes to Books III and IV (cf. translation below) Li Jiubiao reports on the acquisition of such additional materials from Yan Zanhua of Zhangzhou and Yan Weisheng from Quanzhou, and in his fanli he also gratefully acknowledges the contributions made by fellow Christians: he has edited and incorporated them into his work, but the reader should know that these are not "tales from the same nest." Li Jiubiao's own geographical range of activity (as recorded in KDRC) was rather limited; with one exception (II.39-48: notes which he made at Putian, when he was on his way to Guangdong to visit his parents) his meetings with missionaries all took place in Fuzhou city and in his native Hai-kou.

That the production of the Diary was the result of a collective effort appears even more clearly from the roster of co-editors, correctors and text-readers that figures under the heading of each juan: altogether twenty-three persons from various parts of Fujian, among whom we find the leaders of the main Christian communities, as well as two collaborators from Hang-
We may assume that some members of the editorial teams also have financially supported the printing of the *Diary*.

For obvious reasons the *juan* headings also include the names of the Jesuit missionaries who had delivered the "oral admonitions": Aleni (in all the eight books); Rudomina (in I and II), de Mattos (in IV and VI), and da Cunha (in VI). However, Giulio Aleni plays the leading part; he clearly was considered the Master *par excellence*. In fact, occasionally the *Diary* is attributed to him, as is done in Aleni’s Chinese biography by Li Sixuan. Actually there is no reason to suppose that Aleni has played any part in the production of the work; at most he may have read the manuscript and given his approval for publication.

---

12 For the names and biographical data of the members of the editorial teams, see the introductory notes that precede each of the eight books in the translation. Most of them also figure in the much longer list (215 names!) of collaborators and sponsors of the two editions of a later compilation made by Li Jiubiao, the *Zhenshu* or *Pillow Book*. This much more extensive “*Pillow Book* network” included both Christians and non-Christians. For an exemplary analysis of the two lists, see A. Dudink (1997), pp. 153-187.

13 In the list of works by Aleni in Li Sixuans’s *Taixi Siji Ai xiansheng xingshu* (“The Life of Master Ai [styled] Siji from the Great West,” shortly after 1649); cf. E. Zürcher (1997a), p. 122. The same wrong attribution is found in Ph. Couplet, *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu qui post obitum Sti. Francisci Xaverii, ab anno 1581 usque ad annum 1681 in imperio Sinarum Jesu Christi fidem propagarunt* (Paris 1686); cf. Bernard, p. 51, no. 101: “Responsa ad quaesita litteratorum in omni materia tam sacra quam profana.” Couplet has based his *Catalogus* on a Chinese text, the *Shengjiao xinzheng*, “Reliable Evidence of the Holy Doctrine,” a bio-bibliographical list of Jesuit missionaries (originally compiled by Han Lin and Zhang Geng in 1647, but with later additions until ca. 1678); however, in that compendium *KDRC* is not mentioned among the works by Aleni (*Shengjiao xinzheng* 2.9a-b; *WXSB* I, pp. 311-312). The wrong attribution to Aleni (or even to Rudomina) has been taken over by Pfister (p. 193), and even by Bernard himself (Bernard, p. 354, no. 295). On the other hand, Gabriel de Magaillans (= de Magalhães) correctly refers to *KDRC* as “les Livres appellez Keù to ge chaû, composez par les Lettrez Chrétiens de la Province de Fo-kién” (*Nouvelle Relation de Chine*, Paris 1688, pp. 111-112; completed in 1669).

14 It seems that during the late Ming Chinese Christian authors were not yet obliged to submit the manuscripts of their religious works to a missionary for approval, as they later were, according to the rules promulgated by the exiled missionaries after the persecution of 1665 (formulated at the “Canton Conference” of 1667/1668; cf. H. Verhaeren 1940b). However, before that time the practice was not unknown. According to the Jesuit *Pontos* report of 1646 on the mission in Fuzhou Aleni had “given permission” to Li Jiugong to print his *Lixiu yijian* (cf. A. Dudink 1997, p. 163).
The final eight-juan edition of the Diary has been preceded by earlier shorter versions; it is the result of a process of compilation and publication that has taken place in four stages.

(1) The original manuscript only comprised the first two books, which consist of notes exclusively made by Li Jiubiao, from 18 March 1630 to 28 November 1631. The two prefaces by Zhang Geng and Lin Yijun, as well as Li Jiubiao’s own introduction of 1631 clearly have been written for that first manuscript version.

(2) In his introductory notes to Book III and IV (see below) Li Jiubiao reports how at two occasions in 1632 he has received notes from Yan Zanhua and Yan Weisheng, made in, respectively, Zhangzhou and Quanzhou. He incorporated these into Books III and IV of the Diary, and then made a printed edition of this four-juan KDRC. To my knowledge no copy of this first edition has been preserved, but its existence is proved by the fact that in the table of contents of the later and more comprehensive versions the juan headings are followed by the words si ke, “subsequently engraved,” i.e., “printed afterwards.” This four-juan version must have been printed at some time between 1632 and 1636. The latter date can be inferred from a testimony of the well-known Christian scholar and technologist Wang Zheng (1571–1644). After he had been excommunicated for having taken a concubine, Wang produced a written statement of remorse, dated 5 January 1637. The whole story is told in III.18*. What matters here is that in that document Wang Zheng tells how he had been overwhelmed with shame when reading a praising comment on his own moral purity in the KDRC (no doubt II.6), and his use of the word kan, “printed,” proves that the copy he has seen was not a manuscript.

(3) A third phase of recording and compilation resulted in a six-juan KDRC; the two additional books consisted of notes made between November 1634 and September 1636. It is probable that for the first four juan use was made of the printing boards of the four-juan edition. A single copy of this edition has been preserved; it is kept in the Fu Sinian Library of the Academia Sinica in Taibei.

---

15 According to the [Tianzhu shengjiao] shuban mu (a late 17th century anonymous list of Christian and scientific books, the printing blocks of which were kept in churches in Beijing, Hangzhou and Fuzhou), the Beijing store of printing blocks included a KDRC in three juan. I have found no further information about such a version in three books; perhaps the entry just refers to an incomplete set of boards. Cf. Shuban mu (ms. BNF, Courant 7046.7-10) 4b.

16 Rare Books Collection nr. 177243-48. I may express my gratitude to Ms. Joyce Wu for having supplied me with photographs of some sample pages of this version (as well as of the edition mentioned in the next note).
Finally the last two books (notes made between January 1637 and July 1640) were added, thus completing the definitive eight-juan version that has been translated here. Before the end of the Ming this final version has appeared in two printed editions. They are identical as regards content, but are very different typographically.

(A) A first edition, at least two copies of which have been preserved.\(^1\) It is a direct continuation of (3). Books I to VI have been printed from the existing boards, adding the last two juan in the same format. It is a very fine print, technically far superior to the next one.

(B) The most common edition probably is somewhat later than (A); it has been made from a new set of printing boards; as the execution is much less sophisticated, it probably is a cheaper edition produced for a wider distribution. It is the most common edition of the eight-juan final version, and it also has been used as the basis for the present translation. This edition is not rare; copies are found in several libraries.\(^2\) A copy from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus has been reproduced in the collection of Christian ARSI texts.\(^3\) For the present translation no use has been made of later editions (Shanghai, Zikawei, 1872, and Cimutang, 1922), nor of the version in simplified characters published in Beijing in 2000.\(^4\)

The final eight-juan version in any case must have been printed between the early 1640s (allowing some time for finalizing the last two juan) and early 1647 (the destruction and massacre of Haikou in May of that year, during which Li Jiubiao must have lost his life). However, thanks to an (intentional) anachronism that occurs in one of the KDRC entries, the year of publication can be defined more precisely. In VIII.1 (dated 23 September 1638) the former high official Zhu Jizuo, who at that time was living in retirement in

\(^1\) Fu Sinian Library, Rare Books Collection nr. 134537-40; another copy is owned by the library of Furen University, cf. Pan Feng-chuan (2002), p. 353.

\(^2\) E.g., in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV Racc. Gen. Or. 222.1-4), the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (ARSI Jap. Sin. 1.81), the Bibliotheca Nazionale “Vittorio Emmanuele II” (72 B 350), all in Rome, and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF, Courant 7114-7119). It is surprising that according to the title list in Xu (1949, pp. 421-426) the Xujiahui (Zikawei) Library in Shanghai did not possess a single copy of the Ming edition.


\(^4\) In vol. IX of Zheng Ande / Andrew Chang (ed.), Mingmo Qingchu Yesuhui sixiang wenxian huibian, Institute of Religious Studies of Beijing University (Beijing 2000; private distribution).
Putian, is referred to as “the present xiangguo” (i.e., Grand Secretary). It is certain that Zhu only was a Grand Secretary, and concurrently Minister of Rites, during the brief reign of the Longwu emperor, who ruled from July 1645 to October 1646, with his court established in Fuzhou. For the Jesuits and the Christian minority in Fujian it was a very special episode. The Longwu court patronized Christianity (no doubt mainly for political reasons, for the Ming pretender hoped to obtain military support from Macao), and that sponsorship sparked off a whole series of Christian activities in Fuzhou. Aleni himself published no less than four Christian texts in the first half of 1646; around the same time Li Jiugong appears to have presented a memorial recommending Aleni to the Longwu court, and according to a later source Li Jiubiao himself served as an official at Longwu’s Court of Imperial Sacrifices that belonged to the Ministry of Rites presided over by Zhu Jizuo. In addition, Li Jiugong’s collection of edifying stories Lixiu yijian (“A Mirror of Earnest Self-Cultivation”) probably also appeared in print in 1646.

The publication of the Diary in 1645/1646 must be viewed in that context. It formed part of an upsurge of Christian enthusiasm and activity during that one year of great expectations that had been raised by the signs of imperial favor. These had been quite unprecedented: the Ministry of Rites had permitted the building of churches in all the prefectures within Longwu’s territory; and the emperor himself had ordered the enlargement of the church in Fuzhou, provided it with a honorific arch, and granted it an imperial inscription that confirmed its official status. In that atmosphere the publication of KDRC could serve as an excellent acte de présence: the result of the combined effort of leading Christian literati from the whole province, and a tribute to Aleni.

---

21 For the activities deployed by Aleni and the Li brothers during the Longwu episode see A. Dudink (1997), pp. 147 and 163.

22 For a long time Li Jiugong had been engaged in collecting exempla from a large number of Christian sources; he first had done so for his own use, but later his friends persuaded him to have the collection published. His own preface is dated 1639, but for several years the work appears to have remained in manuscript. The latest of the four prefaces, written by Chen Zhongdan, is dated August/September 1645, which makes it probable that the printed edition of the first juan also dates from the Longwu period (the second one only is known in a unique manuscript copy in BNF, Courant 6878).

Sketch map of Fujian showing the location of the dialogues contained in the KDRC. In the text they are called by their literary equivalents as follows: Dehua = Longxun; Fuqing = Futang; Fuzhou (City) = Sanshan, Gutian; Haikou = Longjiang; Jian’ou = Jianning; Putian = Gupu; Quanzhou (City) = Jinjiang, Wenling; Shaowu = Jiaochuan; Xianyou = Xianqi; Yongchun = Taoyuan; Zhangzhou = Qingzhang.
Time Span and Geographical Range

The statement that the Diary covers a time span of ten years is somewhat misleading, for the recorded conversations have been held during forty periods of contact that are very unevenly spread in time. The notes only were made on 336 days, and there are many gaps, varying in length from a few weeks to eleven months (the latter occurs between Books VII and VIII; it lasts from October 1637 to September 1638: a spell of silence that coincides with a period of repression, during which the missionaries had to keep a low profile). As a result the Diary consists of a large number of separate time blocks, each block corresponding to a period of contact. The density of reporting is highest in the first five books that cover the period from March 1630 to June 1634; it sharply declines in the last three books, that together span almost six years (29 July 1634 – 4 July 1640).

Li Jiubiao had good reasons to limit the time span of his compilation to the ten years from early 1630 to mid 1640. His meeting with Aleni reported in the first entry took place on 12 March 1630, somewhat more than one year after he and his brother had been baptized. He may have returned to Fuzhou once more in the spring of 1629 (cf. 1.1*), but soon afterwards Aleni set out on a tour through southern Fujian. The talks held in the spring of 1630 therefore constitute a logical starting point.

It also is reasonably clear why the record has not been continued beyond the summer of 1640. In that year the unstable political situation in China prompted the General Mutio Vitelleschi to appoint two Vice-Provincials for China: Aleni for the southern provinces, and Francesco Furtado for northern China. Aleni remained Vice-Provincial till his death in 1649. His new task left him little time for leisurely discussions. According to his Chinese biographer he was constantly on the move, visiting missionary residences and Christian communities, also outside Fujian.24 Li Jiubiao could of course have continued recording talks with other missionaries like Antonio de Gouvea (He Dahua, 1592–1677, Aleni’s successor as the superior of the Jesuit residence in Fuzhou), but Aleni always had been his first and favorite teacher, and he apparently chose not to carry on without him.

The geographical range of the entries in the Diary does not match the extent of Aleni’s peregrinations all over Fujian. According to his own testimony made in 1642, Aleni had founded twenty-two Christian communities

---

24 Cf. Li Sixuan’s Taixi Siji Ai xiansheng xingshu 5b (ARSI XII, p. 254; trans. E. Zürcher 1997a, pp. 112-113). According to Li Sixuan’s somewhat hyperbolic statement Aleni’s “tours of inspection covered Jiangsu, Guangdong, Nanjing, Zhejiang, Fujian and the region beyond the [Mei]ling Pass; he visited even the most out-of-the-way and remote districts.”
in seven of the eight prefectures of the province.\textsuperscript{25} Li Jiubiao himself was not a traveller; almost all his own notes were made in Fuchou and Haikou. For all other materials he depended on a rather limited number of informants. As a result, the geographical range of \textit{KDRC} is almost totally restricted to the coastal prefectures of Fujian: Fuzhou (representing about two-thirds of the entries), Xinghua, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou.\textsuperscript{26} The text therefore reflects the situation of Christianity in the coastal zone, the most developed part of the province, and contains virtually no information about Christian life in the mountainous inland prefectures. And even within that geographical range there is a further limitation, for practically all the recorded conversations are situated in ten cities or towns.\textsuperscript{27} This is not amazing – it aptly illustrates the orientation of the Jesuit mission on the urban educated elite, that so clearly differed from the village-oriented missionary efforts of the Franciscans and Dominicans.

\textbf{Types of Entries: Dialogues, Stories, and Sermons}

The discourses recorded in the \textit{Diary} have taken place at some two hundred different occasions. They all are dated and localized, and in most cases there is a brief introductory passage indicating the identity of the interlocutor(s), or the nature of the meeting (e.g., a sermon held in church; a courtesy call paid to some scholar or retired official; an informal conversation with con-

\textsuperscript{25} In his letter of 12 January 1642 to the General Mutio Vitelleschi (cf. Dehergne, p. 23). In Aleni’s Chinese biography Li Sixuan speaks of “more than twenty churches, built in seven prefectures” (trans. E. Zürcher 1997a, pp. 108-108), and in his obituary of Aleni António de Gouvea even states that he had established churches in the administrative centers of all the eight prefectures, as well as many others in the major cities and localities (\textit{Annual Letter} of 1649, published in H.P. Araújo 1998, p. 419: “Em todas as 8 cidades de Fô Kiên, ... afora outras muytas em villas e lugares grandes”). On Martino Martini’s map of Fujian in his \textit{Novus Atlas Sinensis} (Amsterdam 1655, reflecting the situation of the late 1630s) seventeen places are marked as having Jesuit churches.

\textsuperscript{26} The only exception is V.1-8: notes made by Yang Kui of Aleni’s conversations with the critical scholar Lai Shizhang at Jian’ou, in the northern prefecture of Jianning.

\textsuperscript{27} In Fuzhou prefecture: Fuzhou city, Fuqing and Haikou; in Quanzhou prefecture: Quanzhou city, Yongchun and Dehua; in Xinghua prefecture: Putian and Xianyou; in Zhangzhou prefecture: Zhangzhou city; in Jianning prefecture: Jian’ou. Conspicuously absent is Xiamen, at that time already the most important harbor for the maritime trade with Southeast Asia, Taiwan, and the Philippines. The Jesuits apparently avoided Xiamen because it was the power base of the erstwhile pirate leader (and, since 1628, naval commander) Zheng Zhilong, who entertained relations with Manila. It is not fortuitous that Vittorio Riccio, who somewhat later (around 1650) had a church in Xiamen, was a Dominican.
verts; a dinner party). Sometimes such introductory lines also inform the reader about the external circumstances under which a meeting took place, or about some happening that triggered off the discourse, like a raging typhoon, a recent resurgence of piracy, or the sight of sand-flies perishing in a flame.

In the opening lines of dialogues the interlocutors nearly always are identified by their names and/or titles, but here a subtle distinction is made between converts and non-believers.

As Li Jiubiao explains in his “Editorial Principles” (fanli), Christians are called by their “style” (zi), as would be done in informal conversation, whereas outsiders are referred to by their more formal personal names (ming) or by their titles. A special case is the Christian leader Zhang Geng, who because of his status as a retired magistrate invariably is called Zhang ling-gong, “His Honor Zhang.”

Most often the talks are held with persons (both converts and outsiders) who have come to see the missionary in the church-cum-residence in Fuzhou, or wherever he may stay during his visits to other centres. In other cases the conversations take place elsewhere, the master having “gone out to make calls,” or having been invited by a host at the latter’s home or in a restaurant, or while staying in a hostel on the road. Some meetings are of a more ceremonial nature, like the talk held by Aleni at the inauguration of a church in Haikou (II.12), or when addressing, at various occasions, the members of Christian lay associations in Yongchun, Haikou and Quanzhou (VI.24, 29; VI.48; VII.35).

Apart from the dialogues, which cover a wide variety of topics, the text also contains quite a number of statements made by the missionary on his own initiative: anecdotes, edifying tales, and sententiae (wise or witty sayings) which the recorders considered worth reporting.

Some of these contain a specifically Christian message, or are interpreted in a “theologically correct” way; thus the originally rather cynical (Italian?) proverb “Better get something than pray for it” (II.3) is explained as an exhortation to “be receptive” to God’s will. In many other cases the statements belong to a general, not specifically religious, kind of Western “words of wisdom,” like “Your eyes can see anything but your own face” (I.1); the three ways of dealing with bandits (I.25); human life being compared to an examination (III.17), or to a journey (III.11), or to sailing a stormy sea (III.29).

The sermons held in church constitute a special category. In his “Editorial Principles” Li Jiubiao excuses himself for not having recorded much of the masters’ exposition “on the days when the great Rite of Worship (zhanli, Holy Mass) was celebrated,” because it was difficult to do so from memory – he apparently considered making notes during the sermon as too irrever-
ent. In fact, in the first two books we only find fragments of five sermons, all held in the church in Fuzhou. However, while compiling the later books, in which he incorporated notes made by other converts, he appears to have abandoned that principle. The space occupied by homilies steadily increases, culminating in the last two books, which contain fragments of twenty-three sermons.

They indeed appear to be "fragments," i.e., striking statements made by the preacher in the course of his sermon, rather than attempts to summarize the content of the homily as a whole. They invariably are introduced by the phrase: "After the Rite of Worship had been completed, the master told the congregation ...," which shows that in early Chinese Christianity the liturgical practice differed from the modern one (where the sermon is held halfway the Mass celebration, between the Gospel and the Creed). It may be that the sermon was separated from the proper ritual of the Mass, because it was held in vernacular Chinese, and therefore was the only part of the liturgy the Chinese audience could understand. On the other hand, the separation of Mass and sermon also is attested in Jesuit circles in sixteenth century Europe, so the missionaries in China simply may have followed the liturgical practice they were accustomed to.

The sermon entries in KDRC show that the Western liturgical calendar was followed. The subjects of the sermons generally agree with the prescribed pericopes or Gospel readings for those days, e.g., I.39 (22 March), the parable of the Prodigal Son (corresponding to the pericope for the Saturday after the second Sunday of Lent), or V.19 (18 June), the parable of the Supper with the Poor, which indeed is the prescribed Gospel reading for that day. A number of recorded sermons are held on the main feast days of the Church, such as Pentecost (III.7; VII.16), Good Friday (VI.34), Palm Sunday (VI.28), and Resurrection Day (VII.8 and V.10: illustrating the event by a story about the phoenix). In most sermons of this kind the priest summarizes the Gospel texts, adding some explanations and moral exhortations.

28 Cf. Aleni's *Misa jiyi* ("The Meaning of the Mass Sacrifice," 1629) 40b: "Right after attending Mass, reverently listen to the explanation of the Doctrine." Aleni apparently had every reason for this exhortation, for according to Zhang Geng (*Tinixiao shiji* 1b) many church-goers hardly are interested in hearing the sermon: one half of them will leave before it has started, while the other half will stay on but pay little attention to it.

29 Cf. J.W. O'Malley (1993), p. 93: in sixteenth century Jesuit practice sermons held in church usually were preached before or after Mass, or at some other time of the day. On the other hand, A. Dudink (2004, p. 43, n. 172) states that this was quite exceptional.
Quite a number of recorded sermons deal with saints, whose feats of piety, endurance and martyrdom are commemorated on their own feast days: Benedict (I.5: 21 March), the Apostles John (II.4: 6 May) and James (VII.11: 1 May), the Forty Crowned Martyrs of Sebaste (VI.25: 10 March), John the Baptist (VII.33: 24 June), Ignace of Loyola (VIII.12: 31 July), and Augustine (VIII.19: 28 August). In one case Aleni’s presentation is guided by his local patriotism: when extolling the virtues of Faustinus and Jovita, two saints from Aleni’s native Brescia, he does not concentrate on the official account of their martyrdom, but instead treats his audience to an obscure local tradition about the two saints saving the city of Brescia during a siege (VIII.7: 15 February). An interesting case of adaptation is VIII.6 (6 February 1639, the Sunday following Chinese New Year, that had taken place three days before): since, according to Chinese custom, everybody had dressed up in new clothes, Aleni expatiates on Saint Paul’s discourse on “the old man and the new man” (Ephesians 4:22-24).

Only converts living in a few larger cities would have the opportunity regularly to attend Mass and to listen to sermons on Sundays and feast days, as most devotees in Europe could do. To all the others hearing a priest’s sermon must have been a very special experience, limited to the rare occasions when a missionary visited their community (to some extent the lacuna may have been filled by Chinese lay catechists).

Doctrinally sermons also were very significant, because, as we shall see below, the average believer’s knowledge of the Holy Scripture (shengjing) was extremely limited and fragmentary; the doctrinal basis of their faith mainly consisted of a number of ritual formulas and moral prescriptions as contained in the catechism. For them the sermon probably was the only occasion to become acquainted with some essential passages from the Gospels.

**Intended Readership**

The Chinese religious writings by the Jesuits and their converts belong to two distinct categories: works produced for a more general readership of interested literati, and “internal publications” (neibu documents, as they nowadays might be called) especially produced for the inner circle of Christian believers. Texts of the first category comprise general expositions of the Christian doctrine mainly based on rational argumentation and partly appeal-

---

30 Some Christian literati no doubt were familiar with the account of Jesus’ Passion in D. de Pantoja’s Pangzi yiquan, and (since 1635) with Aleni’s voluminous Gospel synthesis (Tianzhu jiangsheng yanxing jilüe), but they must have constituted a small minority.
ing to the authority of the Confucian classics (the classical example being Ricci’s *Tianzhu shiyi*), and works of an apologetic and polemic nature in which Christianity is contrasted with indigenous Chinese beliefs and defended against its opponents. Some of such texts are provided with prefaces by sympathising non-Christian scholars.

Texts of the *neibu* type are directly related to the practice of the religious life of the Christian minority, like catechisms (*Tianzhu jiaoyao*, “Essentials of the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven”), containing the most important liturgical texts and articles of faith, to be memorized before baptism), prayer books, collections of saints’ lives, and explanations of the Sacraments and of the Mass ritual. They are full of technical theological terms in translation or in transcription; the emphasis is on revelation and faith, and there are no quotations from the Confucian classics or other signs of “accommodation.” If there are any prefaces, they have been written by the missionary himself and/or by converts. In principle such texts were not intended to be read by outsiders, although it is not clear to what extent they really constituted a body of esoteric lore not accessible to non-believers.31

To some extent the *Diary* occupies an intermediate position, because it only partially deals with theological subjects. However, it is clear that the intended readership was, first and foremost, the community of believers. Many terms and concepts that figure in the text form part of the typically Christian discourse and would not be understood by an uninitiated reader; there are frequent references to prayers and other liturgical texts, and the compiler, the sub-editors and others who have contributed to the work all were Christians. It also is confirmed by the writers of the two prefaces (by Zhang Geng and Lin Yijun), who praise Li Jiubiao for having preserved the masters’ words for the benefit of “the members of our community.” The *Diary* primarily was composed for the Christian in-group, and not, as has been supposed, as a first introduction to Christianity for a more general public.32

31 On the one hand, one of the arguments presented by Yang Tingyun in his *Xiao luan bu bing ming shuo* (“The Owl and the Phoenix do not Sing Together,” a treatise demonstrating the difference between Christianity and sectarian beliefs) is that Christian texts are public and can be read by whoever wants to do so, unlike sectarian ones that are kept secret and are not accessible to outsiders. On the other hand, the anti-Christian tract *Bian tian shuo* (“On Discerning Heaven,” by the Buddhist master Yuanwu, 1635–1636; cf. I. Kern 1992, pp. 93-139) contains an interesting story about a lay Buddhist who, in spite of repeated attempts, did not succeed in getting hold of a Christian tract at the church in Hangzhou: he was told that such texts could not be obtained by any outsider, even if he were prepared to pay for them (*SCPXJ* 7.14a-17a).

32 For this view see Okamoto Sae (1992).
The Diary and the Recorded Sayings

As we have seen, many KDRC entries are preceded by an introductory passage indicating the nature and circumstances of the meeting, and identifying the interlocutors by their names and/or titles. By that feature, and also by the chronological arrangement and the exact dating and localization of entries, the KDRC format is distinguished from a related genre: that of the yulu or "Recorded Sayings."

The yulu genre originally had developed in Tang times in the Buddhist (notably Chan) sphere; since the early Song the practice of composing and publishing "Recorded Sayings" also had been adopted in Neo-Confucianism. The typical yulu is a compilation, made by one or more disciples, of a certain master's exemplary sayings and of fragments of conversation between him and his followers. Like the KDRC entries, the sayings cover a wide range of subjects and are not arranged topically. On the other hand, the entries are not dated and only rarely localized; there are no introductory passages, and the interlocutors mostly are anonymous (huo wen ..., "Someone asked: ...”). Yet the two genres are so similar that it would take little effort to transform the Diary into a regular yulu, and that actually was done, shortly after 1649.

To Li Sixuan, the compiler of Aleni's Chinese biography, we also owe the composite text entitled [Taixi] Siji Ai xiansheng yulu, "Recorded Sayings of Master Ai [styled] Siji from the Great West.” It only has survived in manuscript copies, and apparently was intended as a sequel to the biography. The text consists of two juan, the first of which contains selected passages from Aleni’s Sanshan lunxue ji (“Discussions on Learning Held in Fuzhou,” 1628/1629); the second one is a compilation of thirty-five “Aleni-logia” selected from all the eight books of the Diary.33

The compiler certainly was qualified to compose this text. In his native district of Jianning Stephen Li Sixuan was the very active leader of the Christian community and a scholar of more than local distinction. He had not be-

---

33 Manuscript copies in BNF (Courant 1016 III: longer version containing all the thirty-five quotations; Courant 1017 I-III: shorter version, lacking the last twelve entries); ARSI Jap. Sin. 23.4b, longer version, entitled Xihai Ai xiansheng yulu,” collated and complemented by Li Jiugong,” reproduced in ARSI XII, pp. 265-322. In all these copies the text is preceded by Li Sixuan’s Aleni biography. The first version of the second juan must have consisted of the first twenty-three entries, for these follow the order in which the quoted passages occur in the KDRC, up to 2.12a-b (= KDRC V.16). The compiler then has jumped back to V.3, continuing till entry 33 (2.18a-b = KDRC VIII.4), at which point another jump takes us back to KDRC I.32. It therefore appears that the last twelve quotations have been added afterwards, in two phases, probably by Li Jiugong.
longed to the inner circle of Aleni’s disciples in the coastal region, but he no doubt entertained relations with the Li brothers: he had acted as one of the revisers of the Diary and had written a preface to Li Jiugong’s Lixiu yijian. In fact, in the ARSI copy of the “Collected Sayings” Li Jiugong is stated to have “collated and complemented” the text.

In order to adapt the text to the yulu format a number of minor changes have been made. Apart from many stylistic alterations, the introductory passages have been deleted, and the text has been “depersonalized,” the names of interlocutors mostly being replaced by huo, “someone.” As regards content the Aleni yulu obviously does not supply any new information. Its interest lies in the selection of topics. Li Sixuan has been very selective, for only about 7% of the KDRC entries has been included. By having a closer look at the type of materials included or excluded we can draw some conclusions about the nature and purpose of the anthology.

In the first place, a number of subjects that figure prominently in the Diary have been left out: there are no passages of a purely scholastic nature (relating to, for instance, the persons of the Trinity, the three faculties of the soul, or the relation between free will and divine providence); no entries dealing with supernatural visions, miracles and apparitions, and almost no attention is paid to the mysteries of Incarnation, Passion and Redemption, nor to prayer and ritual. And (although that omission is of another order) the Aleni yulu hardly ever touches upon Western natural science.

Secondly, there are signs that certain “delicate” subjects consciously have been avoided. Thus the controversial issue of Christian monogamy (an important topic of discussion in KDRC) is conspicuously absent; in a quotation about the worship of God the comparison made between the priest performing the Mass sacrifice and the emperor sacrificing to Heaven has been left out, and of a KDRC entry discussing the popular worship of the deified general Guan Yu only the first part is quoted. In the Diary this is followed by Aleni’s remarkably vehement diatribe against the historical Guan Yu and against his supposed protective power as the God of War, all of which has been omitted – probably the compiler did not want to damage the reputation of a deity whose cult formed part of the official state religion.

34 Significantly this has not been done in the case of the (future) Grand Secretary Zhu Jizuo – the only top-ranking official in the Diary!

35 The only exception being 2.8b-9a (ARSI XII, pp. 306-307) about the nature of Original Matter.

36 Yulu 2.4a-5a (ARSI XII, pp. 298-299), cf. KDRC II.28.

37 Yulu 2.14b-15a (ARSI XII, pp. 318-319), cf. KDRC VIII.4