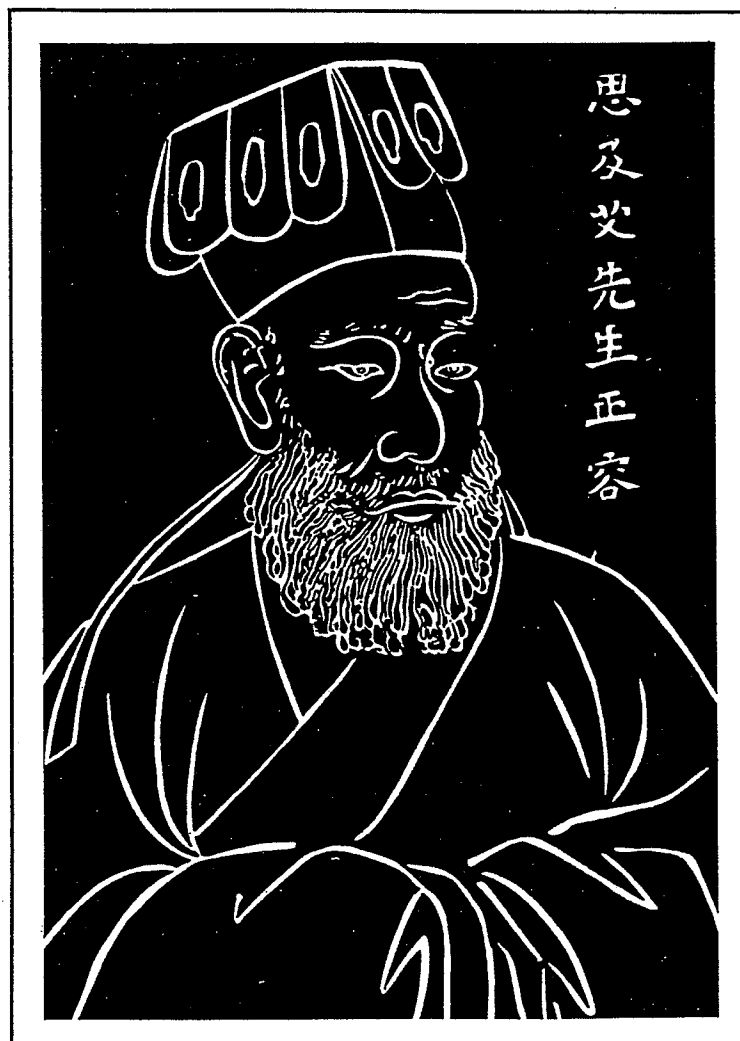


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中國天主教史研究

Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal XV - 1993



formerly China Mission Studies (1550-1800) Bulletin

中西文化交流史杂志 (中国天主教史研究)

SINO-WESTERN CULTURAL RELATIONS JOURNAL - XV (1993)
[formerly *China Mission Studies (1550-1800) Bulletin*]

cover A portrait of the Italian Jesuit missionary to China, Fr. G. Aleni (Aleni) (1582-1649), reproduced from his biography, *Xihai Ai xiansheng xingshu* (ca. 1649) by Li Sixuan.

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A DIFFERENT COUNTRY, THE SAME HEAVEN: A PRELIMINARY BIOGRAPHY
OF
GIULIO ALENIS, S.J. (1582-1649)
by
Eugenio Menegon*

In the last few years some studies on the life and works of Fr. Giulio Alenis (more commonly, but less accurately spelt "Aleni") have appeared, scattered in conference volumes and different journals, often quite difficult to obtain. Moreover, some of the earlier studies are in Italian, a fact that limited their diffusion.

A new English biography of Fr. Alenis, giving particular attention to the years of his formation in Italy, could help to better clarify the facts of his life and to stress the importance of this figure for the development of the mission in South China at the end of the Ming dynasty. The city of Brescia plans to celebrate this citizen of hers in 1994; on that occasion new research will certainly be presented, and new facets of Alenis' work will be acknowledged. The aim of this brief account of Alenis' life is to collect the data scattered among many sources, as a contribution towards a fuller biography of this illustrious Jesuit.

The Italian missionary Giulio Alenis (Chinese name Ai Rulüe 艾儒略 "Ai of Confucian Talent", 字 Siji 思及) was one of the most prominent figures of the Jesuit missions in China, where he worked from 1613 until his death in 1649.

He was born in Brescia,¹ Northern Italy, in 1582 from a family of the local

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¹Situated at the edge of the Prealps, on flat ground at the mouth of the Valtrompia valley, Brescia now has the second largest population in Lombardy after Milan, the regional capital. It was an important chief town of the local Gauls, then a Roman *municipium* called Brixia; after the barbarian invasions it became a free municipality (12th century) within the Lombard

middle class.² The second half of the 16th century was a period of great reformist activities in the Catholic Church. From 1544 to 1563, Pope Paul III was forced to summon the Council of Trent, in order to counteract the Protestant Reformation led by Martin Luther, vainly excommunicated in 1521. Also Brescia experienced the fervor of the Counter-Reformation; in the last decades of the century the vigorous policy of Bishop Domenico Bollani (1559-1579) led to an improvement of the religious life in general, with a new impulse to the catechistical organizations and charitable institutions.

The economic situation in Brescia was not stable; plagues, like those of 1577 and 1630, had weakened the local economy, based on the textile and armour-making industries. In 1607 the number of armour workshops had decreased from 80 to 16. The city of Brescia and her territories had chosen to be part of the Republic of Venice in 1426,³ and from that year on, only the aristocracy had the right to elect the members of the City Council. Some of the noblemen were involved in the government

League. From 1426, after the rule of some noble families (Pallavicini, Scaligeri, Torriani and Visconti), it went over to the Republic of Venice, remaining part of that until 1797, the year in which the Napoleonic Cisalpine Republic was declared. In 1814 Brescia became part of Lombard-Venetia under Austro-Hungarian rule, from which it was finally liberated in 1859, joining the Kingdom of Italy.

²Much of the information on the early years of Alenis' life are drawn from Mario Santambrogio, "Il Confucio dell'Occidente. P. Giulio Alenis, Gesuita Bresciano, Missionario e Scienziato in Cina (1582-1649)", Memorie Storiche della Diocesi di Brescia, vol. XVII, 1950, fascicolo 1, pp. 21-32 and fascicolo 2, pp. 33-54, where primary sources are cited and some autographs are reprinted; and from a recent essay by Fausto Balestrini, "Padre Giulio Alenis, missionario gesuita in Cina, 1582-1649", in F. Balestrini (ed.), Uomini di Brescia, Brescia, Giornale di Brescia, 1988, pp. 350-371.

³In the 14th and 15th centuries, Venice increased its territories on the Venetian mainland, occupying Treviso, Padua, Vicenza and later Verona, Feltre and Bassano (1404-1405). In 1426-28 Brescia and Bergamo also decided to join the Republic.

of the surrounding territories; others studied to become doctors or lawyers; others pursued a military career, at the service of many European rulers, or entered religious orders. Many of them, especially the younger sons who had no rights of inheritance, led an idle life, gambling and fighting amongst themselves.

Giulio Alenis, who came from a family which had recently been accepted into the nobility, chose to follow his vocation to the priesthood, which led him to devote his life to the mission in China. His family, whose surname was "Alenis", "De Alenis" or more simply "Aleni", originally came from the village of Leno, in the province of Brescia. According to the chronicler Pandolfo Nassino (1486-1541), the Alenises were natives of the province of Bergamo,⁴ from which, beginning in the 13th century, many artisans and art craftsmen had emigrated to Brescia. The original surname of the family was "De Boldinis", but they began to be known as "a Leno De Boldinis", which means "De Boldinis from [the village of] Leno". The former surname was soon forgotten and "Aleni" or "De Alenis" began to be used more and more frequently. Our missionary signed his letters "Giulio Alenis". The branch of the Alenis family from which Giulio came had moved to Brescia at the end of the 15th century. In the registers of the City, in the year 1475, we find the name "Bonus a Leno".⁵ Later, the Alenis were included among the notaries and in 1563 they were accepted into the nobility of Brescia. The family purchased at that time some properties in the city of Brescia itself, and in some other villages of the county, particularly in Ospitaletto and Porpenazze.

Giulio was probably born in the parish of St. Maria Calchera in Brescia in 1581

⁴Bergamo is another important city in Lombardy, not far from Brescia, which from 1428 to 1796 formed part of the Republic of Venice. On Pandolfo Nassino and his chronicles, see G. Treccani, Storia di Brescia, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1961-64, vol. II, p. 493.

⁵As recorded in the genealogical tables by A. Lodrini, Alberi Genealogici, manuscript, 1587 (?); see Santambrogio, op.cit., p. 22, note 3.

or 1582.⁶ Unfortunately, the registers for the years between 1570 and 1600, once preserved in the archives of the parish church, have disappeared. His mother, Francesca, was a member of the noble Ugoni family. After attending private lessons under the guidance of a priest, in the year 1597, at the age of 15, he entered St. Anthony college, founded by the Jesuits in Brescia in 1567.⁷ The Venetian Province of the Society of Jesus, established in 1578, was formed by the territories of the Republic of Venice, and by the Dukedoms of Ferrara and Mantua. In the archives of the Province there is a register for the year 1600, in which we read about Giulio Alenis: "G.A., from Brescia, 19 years old, healthy, novice; he entered [the College of Novellara] on November 1st, 1600; he has already studied humanities for three years".⁸ From this we know that he was in the College of Brescia in the years 1597-1600, and that he entered the novitiate in Novellara, not far from Reggio Emilia, in 1600.⁹ Giulio received a solid background and achieved good results in his studies.¹⁰

⁶According to most sources he was born in 1582; the City Government registers and those of the Company of Jesus imply that he was born in 1581. See Santambrogio, *op.cit.*, p. 23, note 4.

⁷One of the most illustrious pupils of the College at that time was Alessandro Luzzago (1575-1602), who eventually entered the Company of Jesus. In 1592 he had founded for the students of the College the so-called "Compagnia di Santa Caterina" (St. Catherin Company), whose aim was to assist the poor and which Giulio Alenis also joined.

⁸The original note in Latin is as follows: "Iulius Alenis, brixianus, annorum 19, robustus, novitius, ingressus 1 Novembris 1600, studuit litteris humanioribus annos tres." In ARSJ, Ven. 185-II-Cat. n. 37, 234. See Santambrogio, *op.cit.*, p. 26, note 12.

⁹The city of Reggio Emilia lies in a fertile plain at the foothills of the Tusco-Emilian Apennines, not far from Parma, and the town of Novellara is 21 kms from Reggio itself. On Alenis' stay in Novellara, see Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jesuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Rome-Paris, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1973, p. 6.

¹⁰Among Alenis' teachers at Parma, there was the famous Jesuit mathematician and astronomer Giuseppe Biancani (1566-1624). He had been a pupil of Fr. Clavius at Rome, and

Thus he was readily accepted in the Society of Jesus. It was not an easy deal in those days: in the year 1605, only six applications out of twenty were accepted in Brescia. His novitiate consisted of two years of intense study and spiritual preparation, and ended with the taking of temporary vows. In 1602 he was sent by his superiors to the College of Parma to study philosophy. First, a student had to study logic, with special regard to the universal ideas and the problem of knowledge, followed by physics. This science investigated matter and natural forces, but also the nature of the abstract quantitative shapes, which served as an introduction to mathematics. Finally he studied metaphysics, which is the science of the nature of being and its changes.

While still in his novitiate, Alenis asked to be sent to the furthest missions of the Society. In 1603 he formally asked Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, General Superior of the Society of Jesus, to be sent to do missionary work. He wrote:

One year ago, on Good Friday, while meditating on the Holy Passion [of Jesus], I felt the ardent desire to use all my forces to help those poor souls [in the missions]. And having manifested this desire to the Master of Novices and also to the Provincial Father, and persevering till now, also on their advice, ... I decided to manifest to Your Paternity the desire of going to the East or West Indies, as you will decide.... I have been in the Society for three years and I am 22 years old. I am presently studying logic, I am of natural complexion and in good health for Our Lord's grace.
Parma, May 16th, 1603.¹¹

Alenis continued his studies at Parma College until 1605. At the end of that year he was sent to the College of Aristocrats in Bologna to teach humanities, and there he

was subsequently sent to teach mathematics at Parma. Even if he was a friend of Galileo, he opposed the new astronomical theories held by Galileo, supporting instead the old Ptolemaic system.

¹¹The original copies of the early letters of Alenis are preserved in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (ARJS) Fondo Gesuitico, Indipetae II, 249 (letter from Parma) and Indipetae III, 53. They have been published in an appendix to Santambrogio's article, *op.cit.*, pp. 51-52.

spent two years. In this period he read some books by the famous astronomer and geographer Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555-1617),¹² who was professor of astronomy at the University of Bologna. We probably have to ascribe to the influence of Magini the interest that Alenis developed later in China on astronomy and especially geography.

According to the standard Jesuit curriculum, after two years of teaching experience, one should begin the academic studies of theology. In December 1607, Alenis went to Rome to pursue his theological studies. In the famous "Collegio Romano" he was a pupil of the Jesuit astronomer and mathematician Christopher Clavius (the Latinized form for Klau, 1537-1612), who had supervised Pope Gregory XIII's calendar reform in 1582. Clavius was a friend of Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) and also tried to defend him from the attacks of the Church itself.

On December 3rd, 1607 Alenis again wrote to the General Superior of the Jesuits, through his superior at the College, to be assigned to missionary work in the "Indies."¹³ In 1609, after only two years of theological studies, Alenis' application was

¹²Giovanni Antonio Magini was selected as a professor of astronomy at Bologna University in 1588, a position that Galileo Galilei, then 23 years old, desired for himself. Even if in his lectures Magini was a supporter of the Ptolemaic system, he accepted the new Copernican system for practical purposes and for the greater ease in mathematical calculations. Magini was a friend of Galilei, and gave him hospitality in 1610 in his house in Bologna. He was in correspondence with the most famous astronomers of his time: Tycho Brahe, Galilei, Kepler. One of his most renowned works was the Tavole Celesti (Venice, 1585), which were probably the "astronomical tables" used by Alenis during his journey to Goa. Alenis never actually met Magini himself, as we learn from Alenis' letter of January 1611 from Macao.

¹³Here is a translation of a passage in his letter (ARSJ, Fondo Gesuitico, Indip. III, 53): "From the Roman College, on the day of the Blessed Francis Xavier, 1607. I pray Your Reverence for Our Lord's sake to help me to beg Our General to let me leave for the Indies, on the occasion of the new mission together with my confrères. I feel God has been calling me for the last six years to this mission, and You have not to doubt about my health, since

accepted; he now had to go to Lisbon in Portugal, which was the departure port for the Far East. Alenis first went to Bologna, probably stopping on the way at Loreto, a famous sanctuary dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary in central Italy, and finally reached the port of Genoa. From there he sailed to Barcelona and Gibraltar and arrived finally at Lisbon. He embarked for Goa, the Portuguese colony in India, on the ship "Nostra Sra. da Piedade" on March 23rd, 1609. From the annals of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, we learn that the expedition was composed of 12 Portuguese, 10 Italian and 2 Belgian missionaries. On the register there is a note in Latin which says: "Navigatio contigit plena laboribus", that is "the journey was very troublesome." The journeys were usually very hard even in normal conditions, a "troublesome" one could have killed a person not strong enough. In fact, three priest and four clerics, all from Portugal, died on this journey.¹⁴ The Jesuits knew very well the risks of the sea journeys; in order to make sure their mail would be received, they used to send their letters to Europe in at least two copies, one to be delivered by Spanish galleons via the Philippines and Mexico, and one by Portuguese carracks via Goa.

Probably during these months of forced inactivity Alenis continued his studies of theology, philosophy, mathematics and geography, which were later to be the subjects of his works in Chinese. He left Lisbon in the spring of 1609 and arrived at Goa in India at the end of that year. During the trip he studied the declination of the compass and sent this results to Fr. Clavius; later they were included by Fr. Athanasius

I am in force and healthy."

¹⁴See A. Franco, Synopsis annalium S.J. in Lusitania, 1540-1725, Augusta Vindibona (Vienna), 1726, pp. 191 and 197; in an appendix the name of Alenis is misspelled as "Julio de Clonis, italus" (Santambrogio, op.cit., p. 30, note 30); in Josef Wicki, "Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541-1758", n. 550, in E. Reihe, Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte, 7. Band, Münster, 1967 (1969), pp. 252-450, we find the name "P. Giulio De Leni.". See also Dehergne, op.cit., p. 6.

Kircher (1601-1680)¹⁵ in his book Magnes sive de arte magnetica (On Magnetism).¹⁶ We do not have any records of Alenis' stay in Goa; he probably completed his theological studies and was ordained a priest there. In January, Alenis recorded a lunar eclipse at Salsete, near Goa. We have a description of the eclipse written by Alenis himself in a letter sent from Macao on January 28th, 1611 to G.A. Magini. In the same letter he also described a solar eclipse he saw at Macao, predicted by Chinese and Japanese astronomers, and the ceremonies performed by the locals, which took place on that occasion.¹⁷

In January 1611 Alenis was certainly in Macao (we deduce it from the aforementioned letter), where he studied the Chinese language and taught mathematics in the College founded to prepare missionaries entering the Middle Kingdom. Alenis is unanimously considered the Jesuit of the second generation with the deepest knowledge of written and spoken Chinese.¹⁸ In that year he tried ,

¹⁵On Fr. Kircher, see David E. Mungello, Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology, Honolulu, Hawaii U.P., 1989, p. 30.

¹⁶These data are recorded at page 315 of the 1654 Roman edition.

¹⁷Here is a partial translation of the letter: "To the Most Excellent Mr. G.A. Magino [sic], Professor of Mathematics at the University of Bologna.... I have taken with me your astronomical tables ... and I have used them many times.... I would like to inform you that on January 9th, 1610, when I was at Salsete near Goa, in East India, at sunset the moon, which was completely red, rose above the horizon, and there was an eclipse. The eclipse lasted from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m., at a longitude of 105 degrees, and it was almost total. Unfortunately, there was no trace of the eclipse on your tables, even if I could later calculate it using them." This letter was published in the collection edited by Antonio Favaro, Carteggio inedito di celebri astronomi e matematici con Giovanni Magini, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1886, pp. 347-348.

¹⁸According to Jesuit sources, he received the title of "Confucius of the West" (Xilai Kongzi 西来孔子). This title was apparently attributed to him by Ye Xianggao 叶向高 (1559-1627). For a biography of Ye Xianggao, see Goodrich L. Carrington and Fang Chao-ying,

together with Fr. Pieter Van Spiere, to penetrate China via Canton, but the boatman betrayed them. They were arrested and forced to pay a heavy ransom (140 golden escudos) before release. From 1611 to 1613 Alenis was a teacher of mathematics and

Dictionary of Ming Biography. New York, Columbia U.P., 1976, pp. 1567-1570. There is a poem composed by Ye and dedicated to Alenis, preserved in the collection San shan lun xue ji 三山论学记 (see Xu Zongze, Ming Qing jian Yesuhuishi yizhu tiyao 徐宗泽, 明清间耶稣会士译著提要, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1949, p. 152). In the third and fourth lines of the second verse we read: "They [i.e. the Western missionaries] said they respected Chinese customs and were in accord with the doctrines of the Sages." The poem has been republished by Fr. Pasquale D'Elia in Fonti Ricciane, vol. 2, p. 42, n. 1, with an Italian translation; an English translation in B. Hung-kai Luk, "A Serious Matter of Life and Death: Learned Conversations at Foochow in 1627", Ronan and Oh (eds.), East Meets West. The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773, Chicago, Loyola U.P., 1988, pp. 200-201. Fang Hao in the first volume of his Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shi renwu zhuan 方豪, 中国天主教史人物传, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1988 (original ed. Taizhong, Guangqi Chubanshe, 1970), p. 188, quotes an opponent of the Christians, a certain Chen Houguang 陈侯光 from Sanshan 三山 (i.e. Fuzhou). Chen in his essay Bian xue chuyan 辩学刍言 (Simple Discourses to Discriminate Teachings) writes: "Recently some barbarians from the Great West sailed to our country in order to spread the teachings of Heaven. [...] They oppose the doctrines of Buddha and Laozi and respect those of Confucius, the people are convinced by them and believe in their teachings, and they are called disciples of the Sages." Since Alenis was one of the targets of the criticisms in this essay, Fang Hao deduces that he was probably called in Fujian a "disciple of the Sages". It is unlikely that he was called "Confucius of the West". The Bian xue chuyan is preserved in the collection Po xie ji 破邪集 (A Collection to Refute Heterodoxy, 1639), fifth juan, pp. 1a-9b, edited by Xu Changzhi 徐昌治 and republished in Japan in 1855. Most of the essays in the collection are post-1633 and were written by Buddhist monks and Neo-Confucian scholars to oppose the sermons of Alenis and other Jesuits in southern Fujian.

master of novices in the College of Macao.¹⁹ On November 8th, 1612, Alenis made an observation of an eclipse of the moon, which lasted from 8.30 p.m. to 11.45 p.m.; an observation of the same eclipse made by his confrère Carlo Spinola in Nagasaki (Japan), made it possible to discover that between Macao and Nagasaki the difference in the meridians involved exactly one hour.²⁰

In 1611 and 1612 it was impossible to organize any expedition from Macao to the Chinese continent but in 1613 the missionaries finally found a safe way to enter China.²¹ Alenis, together with Fr. Van Spiere and Sambiasi, was sent to Nanjing where the superior was Fr. Vagnoni. There were twenty Jesuits in China at that time, divided among five residences: Beijing (5), Nanjing (5), Hangzhou (3), Nanchang (3) and Nanxiong (4). In 1613, probably in consideration of his knowledge of the Hebrew language, he was sent to Kaifeng, where the last Jewish community in China resided, to collect information on their Bible; but they refused to give any information.²² He

¹⁹For this information I rely on M. Santambrogio, who consulted the *Catalogi Societati Iesu* of the years 1621-26-28-31-36-39-41, as reported in his article, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

²⁰See *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 2. The record of the observation is in *Memoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, Paris, 1729, pp. 705-706; see also the article by Santambrogio, *op.cit.*, p. 33, note 38.

²¹A description of these facts can be found in a letter written by Longobardo on May 15th, 1613, from the residence of Nanxiong 南雄, in Guangdong province (ARSJ, Jap.-Sin. 15/II, 269 and *Jap.-Sin.* 114, 335-338).

²²Michael Pollak in his *Mandarins, Jews, and Missionaries*, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980, p. 365, note 4, writes: "Aleni's experiences in Kaifeng are reported very briefly by Semmedo [Alvaro Semedo, *Imperio de la China*, Madrid, 1642, pp. 152-154], although some doubts exists as to whether Aleni did actually go to Kaifeng in 1613." However, at pp. 16-17, Pollak seems to believe in the visit of 1613 and also gives some tentative explanations for the refusal of the Jews to show Aleni their sacred books: he could have tried to buy them, offending the local *rabbi*, or could have preached against Judaism. Pollak does not offer any proofs of his statements. See also Donald D. Leslie, *The Survival*

then continued on to Beijing, where he met the famous Christian convert Xu Guangqi 徐光启 (1562-1633), whom he accompanied back to Shanghai, his ancestral home.

From 1615 on, the Jesuit enterprise experienced a first challenge: the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites Shen Que 沈澗 (157?-1624)²³ began to attack the missionaries and the Christian community of Nanjing. When the persecution grew stronger in 1616-17, some Jesuits took refuge in Yang Tingyun's house in Hangzhou.²⁴ Yang Tingyun 杨廷筠 (1557-1627)²⁵ was one of the most famous converts of the entire Christian community, and made use of his political influence to defend the missionaries from the fury of Shen Que. By the end of 1617, Hangzhou had become the largest Jesuit residence in China, as those in Beijing and Nanjing had been closed. The following Jesuit fathers were probably hosted at Yang's house: Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640), Nicolo Longobardo (1559-1654), Francesco Sambiasi (1582-1649), Pieter Van Spiere (1584-1628), Gaspar Ferreira (1571-1649) and Alenis. Under Yang's direction, Alenis and his confrères studied Chinese literature and language intensively. Alenis, possibly Yang's best pupil, acquired so great a mastery of Chinese literature and customs during these years of semiretirement that he was able to write treatises in

of the Chinese Jews, Leiden, Brill, 1972, p. 174, note 2.

²³A biography of Shen Que in *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, *op.cit.*, pp. 1177-1178.

²⁴For a general account of the persecution, see George Dunne, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty*, Notre Dame (Ind.), Notre Dame U.P., 1962, pp. 128-161.

²⁵For a detailed study of Yang's life and thought see Nicolas Standaert's *Yang Tingyun, Confucian and Christian in late Ming China*, Leiden, Brill, 1988. Alenis himself was responsible for a religious biography of Yang, *Yang Qiyuan Chaoxing shiji* 杨淇园超性事迹 (The Achievements of the Surpassing nature of Yang Qiyuan). The biography was actually compiled by Ding Zhilin 丁志麟 from Jinjiang 晋江 (Fujian): Alenis told him the life of Yang while both were travelling from Hangzhou to Fuzhou. The book was published after Yang's death, i.e. after 1627. See Standaert, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

Chinese and be successful in the Fujian mission later.

After Shen Que's promotion to the post of Grand Secretary in Beijing, the situation greatly improved. Early in 1620 Xu Guangqi asked Alenis to tutor the official Ma Chengxiu 马呈秀 in Yangzhou 扬州 in scientific subjects.²⁶ Alenis joined Ma at his home in Yangzhou and gave him lessons in mathematics and other sciences. At the same time, he succeeded in converting Ma to Christianity, baptizing him on March 25th, 1620, giving him the Christian name of Peter. Ma also gave Alenis part of his house as a chapel. When Ma set out for Shaanxi to take his official post at Shangzhou 商州, Alenis accompanied him, giving him instruction in religion and mathematics for five months. Alenis also lived in the house of the converts Han Yun 韩云 and Han Lin 韩霖 in Jiangzhou 絳州, Shanxi; they were both pupils and friends of Xu Guangqi.²⁷ At Jiangzhou Alenis discovered a good quality of wine grape, solving the problem of securing wine for the mass. Earlier efforts to make wine in China had failed, and wine had turned to vinegar or refused to ferment, obliging the missionaries to rely solely on wine imported from Portugal. In 1621 he went south to Zhengzhou 郑州, Henan, where in April he joined Ma Chengxiu who was on his way to Fujian to a higher official post; then he stopped at Yangzhou, while Ma continued on to the south. At the end of 1621 Alenis was in Hangzhou, where from 1621 to 1624 he wrote and published most of his literary production in Chinese. In 1621 he baptized Zhang Geng 张庚, an official native of Fujian, and began collaborating with Yang Tingyun on the famous descriptive atlas of the world, the *Zhifang wai ji* 职方外纪 (Record of Areas Beyond the Tributary States), which was first published in Hangzhou in 1623, with a preface by Yang Tingyun. It continued to be used as a source of information about European

geography among the educated Chinese down to the nineteenth century.²⁸ Probably dating back to the same period is a rare map, attributed to Alenis, entitled *Wanguo quantu* 萬國全圖 (Map of the Ten Thousand Countries), derived from Ricci's world map. It was probably attached to the *Zhifang wai ji*, and was first printed in the Ming period, and again between the beginning of the Qing in 1644 and Alenis' death in 1649.²⁹ The *Xixue fan* 西学凡 (A General Account of Western Studies) was also written in 1623, with the help of three Chinese scholars and with a preface by Yang Tingyun. It was intended by Alenis as a general presentation of Western culture, represented by the numerous volumes in Western languages collected by the Jesuits throughout Europe for their mission in Beijing. Alenis divided Western knowledge into six broad categories: Letters or Rhetorics (*wen ke* 文科 or

²⁶For a detailed account of the book's contents, see Bernard Hung-kay Luk, "A Study of Giulio Aleni's *Chih-fang wai-chi*", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XL, 1, 1977, pp. 58-84. The book seems to have been very popular in the Fujian province, as attested by its presence in the collections of the famous bibliophiles Xu Bo (1570-1642) and Chen Di 陳迪 (1541-1617), both originally from Fujian. See Nicolas Standaert, "Note on the spread of Jesuit writings in Late Ming and Early Qing China", *China Mission Studies (1550-1800) Bulletin*, VII, 1985, p. 25. On the diffusion of the book in 19th-century China, see Luk, *op.cit.*, pp. 80-83. Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-1897) in his *Faguo zhilüe* 法國志略 (General History of France, 1890), second preface, pp. 3a-b, wrote: "Europeans arrived in China to trade ... as early as the Wan-li period of the Ming. Yet, when it came to writing the chronicles for the *Ming-shih*, [the compilers] were still unable to show the location of France, treating it as if it were one of the island kingdoms of the South Seas. They failed to consult Giulio Aleni's *Chih-fang wai-chi* or any of the other works [on foreign geography]. Is it any wonder that the foreigners laugh at them?" Quoted in Paul Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang t'ao and Reform in Late Ch'ing China*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard, U.P., 1974, p. 120.

²⁹A copy is preserved in Milan, Brera National Library. On this world map, see Giuseppe Caraci and Andrea Muccioli, "Il mappamondo cinese del Padre Giulio Aleni", *Bollettino della Regia Società Geografica Italiana*, serie VII, vol. III, 5-6, 1938, pp. 385-426.

²⁶A biographical note in *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

²⁷On the Han family see Arthur Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1942, pp. 274-275, and Fang Hao, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 253 ff.

leduolijia 勒铎理加, the transliteration of the Latin rethorica), Philosophy (li xue 理学 or feilosuofeiya 斐希所费亚, Latin for philosophia), Medicine (yi ke 医科 or modiqina 默第济纳, Latin for moedicina), Law (fa ke 法科 or leyisi 勒义斯, Latin for leges), Canon Law (jiao ke 教科 or jianuonuesi 加诺孺斯, Latin for canones) and Theology (dao ke 道科 or tuluriya 陡录日亚, Latin for theologia). Philosophy was further divided into Logic, Physics, Metaphysics, Mathematics and Geometry. The most praised philosopher was Aristotle (Yalisiduo 亚理斯多), who was considered the supreme thinker in history; in the part related to Theology, some pages were devoted to Thomas Aquinas (Duomasi 多玛斯) and his Summa Theologica, which represented the conceptual frame of Catholic theology at the time.³⁰ From 1654 to 1678, Ludovico Buglio (1606-1681) translated much of the Summa into Chinese, giving it the title Chaoxing xueyao 超性学要. Alenis however was the first to cite Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas in China.

In 1628 Alenis published his first "philosophical" work, the Wanwu zhenyuan 万物真原 (The True Origin of the World), to describe certain aspects of the Aristotelian and Scholastic systems and to refute some common Neo-Confucian ideas on the origin of the world. This booklet was translated into the Manchu language at the beginning of the Qing dynasty, during the reign of Kangxi, and later also into Mongolian and Korean.³¹ These were the main contents: #(1) every thing must have

³⁰A summary of this booklet is given by Pasquale D'Elia in his "Le Generalità sulle Scienze Occidentali di Giulio Aleni", Rivista degli Studi Orientali, XXV, 1-4, 1950, pp. 58-76; see also Fang Hao, op.cit., p. 195. A reprint is in Wu Xiangxiang (ed.), Tianxue chuhan 天学初函, Li Zhizao 李之藻 compiler, Taibei, Xuesheng Shuju, 1965, vol. 1, pp. 21-60.

³¹See J.L. van Hecken, "Une version mongole du Wan-Ou-Tchen-Yuen du P. J. Aleni SJ (1582-1649)", Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 2, 1966, pp. 100-101, where are given the titles and locations of these different Mongol, Manchu and Korean versions. A French translation is Hubbert Otto's "Premier traité du 'Tao Yuan Tsing Ts'oei', Wan Ou Tchen Yuan, Véritable Origine des Créatures", Dossiers de la Commission Synodale, Peiping, vol.

a beginning; #(2) man is not self-created; #(3) Heaven and Earth cannot give birth to living beings and to man by themselves; #(4) The Original Ether (Yuan Qi 元气) did not divide by himself into Heaven and Earth; #(5) The Principle (Li 理) cannot create beings; #(6) things exist because of an inner principle, not because of perception; #(7) Heaven, the Earth and living beings were created by a Supreme Ruler (Zhuzai); #(8) The Supreme Ruler exerts his control on Heaven, Earth and beings; #(9) the Lord of Heaven (Tianzhu 天主) created Heaven and the Earth; and #(10) God is the origin of everything, but has no origin himself. As Ricci had already done, Alenis tried to link Western and Chinese philosophical traditions: rationality was - according to him - a feature of all men, in spite of their culture and religion. Once a common intellectual ground was found, it would be much easier to understand the truths of Christianity. Alenis himself wrote in the preface:

The Principle [Li 理] is the Common Master [Gong Shi 公师] of mankind; men from the Eastern Seas and men from the Western Seas come from different countries, but share a common Heaven; their cultures are different, but they share the same rationality. So nobody can be exempted from following the teachings of the Common Master.³²

Some years later the ideas contained in this book were to be bitterly criticized by Neo-Confucian and Buddhist intellectuals in Fujian, the region where Alenis worked from 1625 on. In 1623 Alenis also completed his Xingxue cushu 性学粗述 (Simple Remarks on Human Nature); the book was mainly devoted to illustrate the Christian conceptions of soul and body, the immortality of the soul, the five senses, the human faculties, such as memory and will, the difference between men and angels,

VI, 1933, n. 6/7, pp. 813-817; 953-961; 1031-1048.

³²Introduction by Alenis to the Wanwu zhenyuan, as quoted in Xu Zongze, op.cit., p. 174. In this passage Alenis refers to a famous sentence by the Neo-Confucian thinker Lu Jiuyuan 陆九渊 (1139-1192) in his work Xiangshan quanji 象山全集, juan 36, p. 3 (Sibu beiyao 四部备要 ed., 1936): "Sages appear in the Eastern Seas; they have the same mind, the same principle. Sages appear in the Western Seas; they have the same mind, the same principle."

the meaning of human life related to its brevity and to death. It could be seen as a general course of psychology as it was intended at that time in Europe; it was an adaptation (*yi zhu*, i.e. translated and composed) of a Coimbra course on Aristotelian psychology, summarizing the first six chapters of Aristotle's *De Anima* (Coimbra, 1598) and the last two chapters of Aristotle's *Parva Naturalia* (Lyon, 1594 and Lisbon, 1598).³³

The number of books that Alenis was able to publish in Hangzhou in the short span of four years is really remarkable. He probably prepared most of this material during the persecution of 1616-17, and later published it with the help of Yang Tingyun and other Chinese converts in Hangzhou. In all his work he was a faithful adherent to the "Ricci method", presenting the Western missionaries as scholars in both Western and Chinese science, and Christianity as a necessary complement to Confucianism. A Confucian pedagogical pattern was used to convey a Christian content in his *Tianzhu shengjiao sizijing wen* 天主聖教四字經文 (Beijing, 1642), the Christian "Four Character Classic", in imitation of the famous primer "Three Character Classic" (*Sanzijing* 三字經). This was another example of the accommodation method of the Jesuits.³⁴ Alenis' programme of translation and intercultural exchange is well illustrated at the end of his *Xixue fan*:

I am a foreigner who came from a distance of 90,000 li, and wish to translate into Chinese the aforementioned works [i.e. some Western books on science, philosophy and theology] on behalf of my Chinese friends. In order to regularly publish these works, the translation of which will last ten or more years, we will have to select young, gifted and fresh-minded scholars, and to supervise their work year by year. When this enterprise has reached a final stage and [the translation] corresponds fully to the original, we will publish these works and spread them. This will help to harmonize the teachings of the Western and Eastern Sages. This is a rare opportunity for His Majesty's government. I came from afar after a

³³I am indebted for this information to Dr. Albert Chan S.J. A copy of this tract is preserved in ARSJ, *Jap.-Sin.*, II, 16.

³⁴A study on this Catholic primer and on Jesuit pedagogy in China is being prepared by the author.

troublesome journey to bring this great benefit, but I do not know whether it will be appreciated or not.³⁵

This plan, which was a common feature of the Jesuit missionary policy, was partly realized in the following years, even though the impact of Western knowledge on China was not as great as Alenis hoped.

Alenis later went to Changshu 常熟, southern Jiangsu, at the invitation of the Christian official Qu Shigu 瞿式穀,³⁶ and he founded a church there. When Alenis met the Great Secretary Ye Xianggao (1559-1627) in 1624, Ye was on his way to his native province of Fujian for retirement. It was a great occasion to spread the gospel in that still untouched province, thanks to the support and prestige of Ye. Fujian province, especially the coastal zone, was a centre of international trade; the ports of Fuzhou 福州, Xiamen 廈門 (Amoy) and Quanzhou 泉州 were the seats of great commercial houses, which had ties with Japan and Southeast Asia, and with the Spanish in Manila, the Portuguese in Macao and the Dutch in Formosa. Also the cultural level was very high, as attested by the large number of books printed and the schools, libraries and academies. In spite of a difficult beginning, in the following years Alenis had the opportunity to make friends with scholars in Fuzhou and to travel extensively about Fujian.³⁷ However, Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1568-1626), the

³⁵Final passage of the *Xixue fan* as translated in D'Elia, *op.cit.*, pp. 75-76.

³⁶A biographical note on the Qu family in Fang Hao, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 274-283.

³⁷Some of these literati (a list in Fang Hao, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 186-187) also wrote poems in his honor, later published in the collection *Xichao Chongzhen ji* 熙朝崇正集. An interesting picture of the Fujianese intellectual circles with which Alenis got in touch is given by Prof. Erik Zürcher in two pieces: "Giulio Aleni et ses relations avec le milieu des lettres chinoises au XVIIe siècle", in L. Lanciotti (ed.), *Venezia e l'Oriente*, Firenze, Leo Olschki, 1987, pp. 105-135; "The Jesuit Mission in Late Ming Times: Levels of Response", in E.B. Vermeer, *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Leiden, Brill, 1990, pp. 417-457. The most detailed reconstruction of Alenis' acquaintances in Fujian is offered in Prof. Lin Jinshui's unpublished paper: "Giulio Aleni in Fujian Province", Second

notorious eunuch in power at the Imperial Court, had filled the province with spies, who reported to him about the activities of his political opponents, among whom there was also Ye Xianggao, a sympathizer of the Donglin party. Ye of course was afraid of being associated with the foreign priests, also because of the recent pillages along the Fujian coast, and the seizure of a tiny island by the Dutch to build a fortified base of operations. Alenis, in the eyes of the Chinese, was no different from the Dutch. Anyway, in 1625 Alenis founded his first chapel in Fuzhou. Thanks to the concern and enthusiasm of a Christian convert, Melchior Zhu, Ye Xianggao agreed to exchange visit with Alenis, and his example was soon followed by other literati.³⁸ Around 1627 Alenis compiled the famous dialogue Sanshan lun xue ji (Records of the Discussions about the Teachings in Sanshan), where he reported the talks he had had with Ye Xianggao that year on some important issues of the Christian religion, such as the creation of the world by God, the existence of Paradise and Hell, and the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. To this were appended the poems written in honour of Alenis by some literati, among whom was Ye himself.³⁹

Alenis spent the following years in Fujian, founding churches and baptizing hundreds of converts. He was particularly successful in Quanzhou,⁴⁰ where he

symposium of the History of Christianity in China Project, Lawrence (Kansas), June 17-22, 1990. On the Chinese popular Christianity, see E. Zürcher, "The Lord of Heaven and the Demons - Strange Stories from a Late Ming Christian Manuscript" (on Lixiu yijian 勵修一見), in G. Naundorf et al. (eds.), Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien, Würzburg, Königshausen-Neumann, 1985, pp. 359-375.

³⁸See Dunne, op.cit., pp. 190-191. Dunne does not identify his sources: he probably draws mainly on D. Bartoli's Dell'Istoria della Compagnia di Giesù. La Cina. Terza Parte dell'Asia, Rome, 1663 (ed. Ancona, Aureli, 1843, vol. IV).

³⁹On the contents of Sanshan lunxue ji see Bernard Hung-kai Luk, "A Serious Matter of Life and Death: Learned Conversations at Foochow in 1627", op.cit., pp. 173-206.

⁴⁰See Joseph Dehergne, "Les chrétientés de la Chine de la période Ming (1581-1650)", Monumenta Serica, XVI, 1957, pp. 24 ff.

converted 257 people in 1634 and 130 in 1635, and Xinghua 興化, where he founded a Jesuit residence and a church.⁴¹ A journal of the religious activities of Fr. Alenis, entitled Kouduo richao 口鋒日抄 (Journal of Oral Instructions) was compiled by a devout scholar, Li Jiubiao 李九標, recording the travels, the discussions with converts and opponents and the religious methods of Alenis from 1631 to 1640. This book well illustrates the great number of social relations Alenis cultivated with Chinese scholars, as well as the fascination he exerted on his audience when he used in his speeches the images coming from the Western tradition, unknown to his counterparts. The terminology used in the book must have been, once again, confusing for the Chinese; the philosophical and theological notions of the Scholastic tradition, especially those related to the concept of soul, were rendered in Chinese using Neo-Confucian and Buddhist terminology. The description of "syncretic" practices, which were the result of the accommodation policy of the Jesuits, attests to the emergence of a "sinicized Christianity". For example, Alenis permitted the Chinese converts to put the Cross near the family ancestral tablet, and to "transfer" the positive effects of the offerings and prayers to God to their ancestors. The Kouduo richao also describes the institution of many Christian "Pious Societies" (hui 會), taking as a model Taoist, Buddhist and Neo-Confucian associations. These associations were founded by the Chinese converts, not by the Jesuits, and this is evidence that these institutions were perceived as Chinese, and not as foreign.⁴² In 1638 the Jesuits alone (the first Dominican friars had entered Fujian in 1631) had 17 churches in the provinces as well as missionary centres in the main cities. On February 12th, 1642, Fr. Alenis informed the General Vitelleschi in Rome that he had personally founded 22 churches in the 8 main cities of the region.⁴³

⁴¹Ibidem, pp. 36-37.

⁴²See Zürcher, "Giulio Aleni et ses relations...", op.cit., pp. 115 ff. and p. 126; Xu Zongze, op.cit., pp. 89-92; Fang Hao, op.cit., pp. 194-95 and 260-261.

⁴³See ARSJ, Jap.-Sin., 161, 242.

The arrival of the Dominican and Franciscan friars in Fujian began to create some problems. The new missionaries, who came from the Spanish dominions of the Philippines and from Formosa, were unwilling to make concessions to Chinese customs and rites, and the new obligations and prohibitions aroused discontent among the local Christians. The reports on the missionary methods of the Jesuits sent by the friars to their superiors in Manila and Rome beginning in 1635, gave rise to the "Rites Controversy". According to Dominicans and Franciscans, the Jesuits had compromised too much with Chinese customs in their attempt to make the Catholic faith accepted in China, so they asked the Pope to intervene to settle the problem. The Controversy lasted more than three hundred years; after some prohibitions of the Chinese Rites issued in the eighteenth century, Pope Pius XII in 1939 finally accepted the rites to Confucius and to the ancestors as non-superstitious.⁴⁴

In 1636-37 an incident took place in the district of Fuzhou. The Franciscans Gaspar Alenda and Francisco de la Madre de Dios reacting violently to the publication of an anti-Christian pamphlet in Fu'an 福安 (a district north-west of Funing 福宁, northern Fujian), decided to go to Beijing "to defend our immaculate doctrine with argument and with [our] lives, and to preach Jesus Christ, our crucified Lord"⁴⁵

⁴⁴There is a large literature on this subject. See G. Minamiki, The Chinese Rites Controversy: from its Beginning to the Modern Times, Chicago, Loyola U.P., 1989; forthcoming are the Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Chinese Rites Controversy, University of S. Francisco, 16-18 October 1992.

⁴⁵Quoted in Dunne, op.cit. p. 247. For a "pro-Jesuit" account of these facts, see Dunne, op.cit. pp. 247-259. For the Friars' version, see Francisco de Escalona O.F.M., "Relacion del Viaje al Reino de la Gran China", Sinica Franciscana (A. van den Wyngaert ed.), Florence, 1933, vol. II, pp. 217-314; on the Franciscans' relations with Fr. Alenis, and on some negative remarks regarding his lenient attitude towards Chinese customs and rites, see pp. 280-288. At pp. 282-285 under accusation are some books written by Alenis' Chinese friends (these works are not clearly identified; Escalona probably refers to the eulogies published in the Sanshan lun xue ji), for being repleted with praises of the Jesuits "in order to allow Fr. Julio

at the Imperial Court. They arrived in Beijing on August 14th, 1637, and were met by the Jesuit Adam Schall (1592-1666), the famous astronomer. They stayed at the Jesuit residence for a fortnight and were eventually traced by the officials of the Board of Rites, arrested and sent back to Fujian. Once back in Fuzhou, thanks to the help of the Jesuits, they were released, but after some time they were arrested again, and the military commandant issued a decree proscribing Christianity. The Franciscans thought that Alenis was responsible for the plot and that the Jesuits wanted to get rid of them. After three months, the friars were ordered to Macao. A general persecution followed in which some Christian were tortured and those who were officials were deprived of offices and titles. The commandant in Fuzhou issued new decrees of proscription and a list of missionaries to be arrested, including Alenis. Some friars, hidden in the countryside, decided to march through the streets of Fuzhou, proclaiming the truth of the Christian faith and raising crucifixes in the air.⁴⁶ They

Aleni, who was not touched by the persecution, to go back [to Fuzhou] and to his abode and to his church." (p. 283). This was something the Friars were not allowed to do.

⁴⁶The Jesuits did not give public display to representations of the crucifixion. Alenis' Chuxiang jingjie 出象经解 (1635) was among the first tracts to give such a representation. The engravings were copied from those by Wiérx in a famous book on the life of Christ by Fr. Jeronimo Nadal, Evangelicae Historiae Imagines, ex ordine Evangeliorum, Antwerpen, 1595. Some sources imply that Yang Guangxian (1597-1669), the main opponent of Adam Schall in the years 1659-69, made use of Alenis' book to accuse the Christian of rebellion against the state, since Christ himself had been condemned to be crucified as a criminal. In fact, Yang never spoke of Alenis' book: he instead wrote an essay, entitled "Xiejiao san tu shuoping" 邪教三图说评, contained in his Bu de yi 不得已, where he criticized Christianity by using three engravings showing the Crucifixion from Schall's book Jincheng shuxiang 进呈肖像 (1640). See Yang Guangxian, Bu de yi, 1665, in Wu Xiangxiang (ed.), Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian 吴相湘 天主教东传文献续编, Taipei, Xuesheng Shuju, 1965, III, pp. 1135-1142; see also J. Dehergne, "Une vie illustrée de Notre-Seigneur au temps des Mings", Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 14, 1958, pp. 103-115.

were arrested again and ordered to leave the city, then released. Their activities continued and led to their re-arrest in April, 1638; in the following months they finally left China for Formosa and the Philippines.

Some essays preserved in the famous anti-Christian collection *Po xie ji* (1639)⁴⁷ were directed against Alenis' sermons and books. We find traces of debates between Alenis and some Neo-Confucian scholars in Fuzhou in at least two essays: the *Zuo pi* 佐辟 (Guide to Confucianism, 1637)⁴⁸ by Xu Dashou 许大受 and the *Qing Yan xiansheng pi Tianzhujiao shu* 請顏先生辟天主教書 (A Letter to Mr. Yan to Refute Christianity, 1638?)⁵⁰ by Huang Zhen 黃貞. In his *Zuo pi*, Xu Dashou reported some Christian doctrines taught by the missionaries on the creation of all things in six days, on the eternal life of the soul after death and on original sin. In his conversations with Alenis, Xu raised some questions: if souls have no prior existence and therefore have no crimes committed in other lives to expiate, why should individuals experience poverty and wealth? How could the punishment for original sin be extended to all succeeding generations?⁵² Why did God create

⁴⁷On the contents of this collection see Douglas Lancashire, "Anti-Christian Polemics in Seventeenth Century China", *Church History*, 38, 1969, pp. 218-241; and Jacques Gernet, *Chine et Christianisme*, Paris, Gallimard, 1982, *passim*.

⁴⁸*Po xie ji*, *juan* 4.

⁴⁹He was a native of Deqing 德清, Zhejiang, and was the son of the famous official and philosopher Xu Fuyuan 许孚远 (1535-1604). He reported in his essay the talks he had with Fr. Alenis between 1633 and 1639. On Xu Fuyuan, see *Mingshi*, *juan* 283.

⁵⁰*Po xie ji*, *juan* 3, pp. 8a-11b.

⁵¹Huang Zhen, native of Xiazhang 霞漳, southern Fujian, wrote two prefaces (1638 and 1639) and three essays in the *Po xie ji*. This letter was written to Yan Zhuangqi 颜壮其 (Yan Maoyou 颜茂猷), who obtained his *jinshi* degree during the reign of Chongzhen (1628-1644) and was the compiler of an anthology of the Six Classics.

⁵²*Po xie ji*, *juan* 4, pp. 11a-b.

Lucifer (equated by Alenis to Yama, or Yanlo Wang 閻羅王), that is why did He create evil?⁵³ It was difficult for Alenis to answer as is shown in the following discussion he had with Huang Zhen on the problem of concubinage:

Their religion has ten commandments, and they say that if concubines are taken because no son has been born, then one has broken a great commandment and must certainly enter hell. If this is so, then the sage emperors and illustrious kings who have hitherto possessed concubines will not be able to avoid the hell of the Lord of Heaven. I made inquiries concerning this matter and asked: 'King Wen possessed many queens and concubines, what do you say to this?' Aleni[s] thought deeply for a long time, but did not reply. [...] I inquired yet again and said: 'You must explain the meaning of this clearly, setting up a principle valid for ever. Only in this way you can bring people to understand and take refuge in this religion, being completely free from doubt.' Aleni[s] again thought deeply for a considerable period of time, and then said with great hesitation: 'At the outset I did not wish to speak, but now I will indeed speak. I shall speak to you, elder brother, but in the presence of others I would certainly say nothing. I fear that King Wen too has entered hell!' Then hesitatingly, changing his line of speech, he said: 'Let us talk about principles instead of personalities, for it could be that King Wen later repented bitterly, and is therefore not a subject of discussion.'⁵⁴

It was hard for the Chinese to accept some Christian beliefs and moral duties, but even harder for the missionaries to introduce only "rational truths", putting aside, at least in a preliminary phase, the dogmas of the Catholic faith and those social customs which were alien to their Chinese counterparts.

Anyway, Alenis was able to celebrate mass publicly in Fuzhou on July 14th, 1639, after several weeks of "quarantine" in an inn not far from the city, and to continue his apostolic work. From 1641 to 1648 he served in the post of Vice-Provincial of the Jesuit missions in South China. A catalogue of 1645 of the Chinese Vice-Province recorded Alenis as superior of the southern provinces, cut off from the north which had already been conquered by the Manchus; another five Jesuits were in

⁵³*Po xie ji*, *juan* 4, pp. 12a-13b.

⁵⁴*Po xie ji*, *juan* 3, pp. 9a-b, as translated in Lancashire, *op.cit.*, pp. 231-232.

Fujian, two in Guangdong, two in Nanjing and Shanghai, and one in Nanchang.⁵⁵ In 1645, when the Manchus were at the gates of Nanjing, the Ming pretender Prince of Tang 堂 proclaimed himself legitimate Emperor of China in Fuzhou, with the name of Longwu 隆武. When he knew of Alenis' presence in Fuzhou, he went and visited him and his church, declaring that the building was too modest for the cult of God and ordering it to be enlarged. Like the last Ming pretender Yongli 永曆 Emperor of the Southern Ming (reign 1643-1661), who sought support from the Christians and military aid from Macao, he probably wanted to earn the favour of the foreign priests and of the armies of their foreign protectors, the Portuguese. Alenis had great expectations, but in the years 1647-48 everything he had done in the previous twenty years was dispersed and destroyed.⁵⁶ From 1647 to his death on August 3rd, 1649, the period of the Manchu conquest of the region, he lived in Yanping 延平, Fujian, in semi-retirement. His remains were transferred from Yanping to Fuzhou, where he was buried on a hill outside the city, called "Shizi Shan" 十字坡, that is "Mountain of the Cross".

A bibliography of his writings is given by Louis Pfister,⁵⁷ and includes at least 24 works in Chinese. Among the most interesting are the already cited Zhifang waiji (1623), Xixue fan (1623) and Xifang dawen 西方答問 (Questions and Answers regarding the West, 1637),⁵⁸ all on geography and cartography; a biography of Fr. Ricci, Daxi Xitai Li xiansheng xingshi 大西西泰利先生行事 (Deeds

⁵⁵See Dehergne, Répertoire, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

⁵⁶See Li Sixuan 李嗣玄, Si Ai xiansheng xingji 思及艾先生行迹, n.d., quoted in Zürcher, "Giulio Aleni et ses relations...", *op.cit.*, p. 113.

⁵⁷Louis Pfister, Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773, Shanghai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932-34, pp. 131-136.

⁵⁸On this book, see John Mish, "Creating an Image of Europe for China: Aleni's Hsi-fang ta-wen", Monumenta Serica, XXIII, 1964, pp. 1-87.

of Mr. Li Xitai from the Great West, 1620)⁵⁹ and one of Yang Tingyun, Yang Qiyuan chaoxing shiji (The Achievements of the Surpassing Nature of Yang Qiyuan, after 1627); he also edited together with Emanuel Diaz, a commentary on the text of the Nestorian monument found at Xi'an, Jingjiao bei song zhujie 景教碑颂注解 (A Eulogy of the Nestorian Tablets)⁶⁰; the other writings are mainly of a religious nature. A Chinese biography of Alenis, Siji Ai xiansheng xingji 思及艾先生行迹 (The Biography of Mr. Ai Siji),⁶¹ was published soon after his death by Li Sixuan.

⁵⁹There is a French translation of this biography: Jules Aleni, "Matthieu Ricci" (traduit par L. Desbuquois), Revue d'Histoire des Missions, 1, 1924, pp. 52-70.

⁶⁰See Xu Zongze, *op.cit.*, pp. 230-234; Fang Hao, *op.cit.*, pp. 191-92.

⁶¹Copies of this biography are preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, see Maurice Courant, Catalogue des Livres Chinois..., Paris, Leroux, 1910, ns. 1016-II/III; 1017-I/II; 1018. Number 1017-II bears the title Xihai Ai xiansheng xingshu 西海艾先生行述 and contains the portrait reproduced in the cover of this issue of the Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal. A manuscript copy is also in ARSJ, Jap.-Sin., III, 23.5. See Dehergne, Répertoire, p. 7; Fang Hao, *op.cit.*, p. 192.