

HANDBOOK OF ORIENTAL STUDIES HANDBOOK OF CHRISTIANITY
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SECTION FOUR
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2.5.2. (Chinese Christians: Well-known individuals), Sections: Leading Christians in the transition period (1640-1665), Leading Christians after 1665;

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2.6.2. Emperors;

4.1.3. Key theological issues;

4.3.1. Prints and painting in the seventeenth century.

In contradistinction to the Ming, there is a *National History* of the Qing. It only lacks the last reign-period (Xuantong, 1909-1911). The first part, covering the period up to the Shunzhi reign (1644-1661), was compiled in 1690. During the years 1924-1928, the bibliophile Liu Chenghan 劉承幹 had a manuscript copy made of the original manuscript of *Qing guoshi* 清國史 (1875 j.). This copy, preserved at Fudan University (Shanghai), was photomechanically published in 1993 (Beijing: Zhonghua; 14 vols., with an index of personal names), with exclusion of duplicate biographies (if they are the same) and nine *juan* with well-known mathematical tables.

There is no *Standard History* of the Qing dynasty. A draft (*Qingshi gao* 清史稿, ed. Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽) was published in haste in 1928 (punctuated repr.: Zhonghua, 1976).⁶ An annotated version is *Qingshi gao jiaozhu* 清史稿校注, 15 vols., Taipei: Guoshiguan, 1986-1990, (appendix-vol., 1991). A *Qingshi* 清史 (History of the Qing Dynasty) was published in 1962 (Taipei: Guofang yanjiuyuan), mainly based on *Qingshi gao*. These sources, including *Qing guoshi*, remain largely unused.

Biographies of Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666; Tang Ruowang 湯若望), Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (1597-1669) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688; Nan Huairan 南懷仁) can be found in *Qingshi gao* (j. 272, *liezhuan* 59). For text and translation of Schall's biography, see "Lebensbild Schalls in der amtlichen Geschichte Chinas unter der Mandschu-Dynastie", in *Johann Adam Schall* (1991), pp. 372-380.

There are also some private histories of the Ming dynasty. At least in *Mingshu* 明書 (171 j.), compiled by Fu Weilin 傅維麟 (d. 1667) during the first years of the Kangxi period, there is a rather positive section on Europe.⁷ It is silent on the expulsion of mis-

Jinrong 馮錦榮, "Minmatsu Shinso ni okeru Kô Hyakuka no shôgai to chosaku 明末清初における黄百沙の生涯と著作", in *Chugoku shiso shi kenkyû* 中國思想史研究, no. 20 (一九九七年度論文集), Kyoto, 1997, p. 82 (pp. 61-92).

⁶ For names of persons (based on the 1976 edition), see: He Yingfang 何英芳 (ed.), *Qingshi gao ji biao zhuan renming suoyin* 清史稿紀表傳人名索引 2 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996.

⁷ *Mingshu*, j. 166, pp. 3284-3287 (*Congshu jicheng*, vol. 3958). For this and other private histories, see Franke, pp. 46-48; Struve, pp. 30-34

sionaries in 1617 and extensively relates Adam Schall's activities during the last years of the Ming. The aforementioned section on Europe in the unofficial draft of *Mingshi* (416 j.) is a revised version of it (abridged to about one third) which omitted overly laudatory statements in Fu's *Mingshu*.

1.1.3. Archival sources

There are no existing archival materials from the Ming period regarding the history of Christianity in China, although Ming government papers on Christianity and the Jesuits were printed in collections of various natures, and a few original items have been preserved outside of China.

The situation is different for the Qing period, since a good number of documents regarding Christianity and the Court Jesuits has survived to this day. Besides offering knowledge on the various activities of the missionaries at the imperial service, such materials provide rich information on the interaction between Chinese Christians and their local communities in the provinces. Without underestimating the negative impact that Qing religious prohibitions had on Christianity, the palace memorials preserved in Taipei (Archives of the Palace Museum) and Beijing (First Historical Archives) suggest that Christianity, albeit underground, continued to develop in certain regions of China between the Yongzheng and the Daoguang periods. These materials are largely unused, and, with few exceptions, scholars have started exploring them only in the 1990s.

This section will deal exclusively with Chinese- and Manchu-language governmental materials. The vast majority of these documents are memorials and reports produced by the imperial bureaucracy. They mainly cover the following areas: anti-Christian campaigns; bureaucratic matters related to the arts and sciences involving the Western missionaries and their converts; the Chinese Rites Controversy; the religious and missionary dimensions of the activities of Portugal and other Catholic countries.

A smaller number of archival documents are petitions, memorials or other documents by missionaries, Chinese Christians and foreign governments in response to imperial actions or local problems involving the central or provincial authorities.

(the *Mingshu*, mentioned on p. 32, is the *Mingshi jilüe* 明史輯略; cf. Franke, p. 46).

Here an overview will be given of the available materials according to their typology. For further readings on the organisation and contents of the archives in China and Taiwan, see the aforementioned book of Wilkinson (*Chinese History: A Manual*, 1998), pp. 865-881 and 898-901.

Secret palace memorials

The great majority of archival documents on Christianity are secret palace memorials. The palace memorial system took form during the Kangxi reign (1662-1722) as the emperor's private channel of communication. Secret memorials from the provinces were read by the emperor, who would jot in red his own comments and commands on the original memorial, which was returned to the memorialist for implementation; thus the name of "vermilion rescripted palace memorials" *zhupi zouzhe* 硃批奏摺.

A number of Manchu and Chinese rescripted memorials from the Kangxi reign regarding Christianity has been preserved. Many of these memorials were produced by officials of the Imperial Printing Office (*xiushu chu* 修書處), the agency informally charged with the handling of missionary matters and the papal legations of de Tournon (1704) and Mezzabarba (1720). They have all been published, and can be found in the following collections:

- Guoli Gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院 (comp.), *Gongzhong dang Kangxi chao zouzhe* 宮中檔康熙朝奏摺, 9 vols., Taipei: Guoli Gugong bowuyuan, 1976-1977.
- Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (comp.), *Kangxi chao Hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* 康熙朝漢文硃批奏摺匯編, 8 vols., Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1984; see esp. pp. 252, 254, 262. (Except for a few Manchu memorials, the previous Taipei collection is all contained in this one.)
- Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Kangxi yu Luoma shijie guanxi wenshu yingyin ben* 康熙與羅馬使節關係文書影印本, Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan, 1932; repr. in *Zhongguo shixue congshu xubian* 中國史學叢書續編 23, Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1973, pp. 1-96. (The originals are now in Taipei.)
- Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (comp. & trans.), *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyu*

康熙朝滿文硃批奏摺全譯, Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996.

On the materials pertaining to Christianity and Sino-Western relations, see:

- Lambert, Sigrid, "Beelden van de Kangxi Keizer: Confucianistisch Monarch of Manchu-heerser?: Een analyse van de geheime Manchu-memories van de Kangxi keizer met betrekking tot de missionarissen", K.U. Leuven: Licentieverhandeling, 1999.
- Menegon, Eugenio, "Newly Available Manchu Documents Pertaining to Sino-Western Relations in the Kangxi Period", *SWCRJ* 19 (1997), pp. 22-46.
- Wu Boya 吳伯姬, "Cong Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zhouzhe kan Yesuhuishi yu Zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu" 從康熙朝滿文硃批奏摺看耶穌會士與中西文化交流, *Qingshi luncong* 清史論叢 (1999), forthcoming.

In 1724, imperial authorities decreed Christianity to be a forbidden heterodox sect, and they subsequently launched periodical nation- and province-wide anti-Christian campaigns. Therefore, the majority of the memorials related to Christianity from the Yongzheng (1723-1735) to the Qianlong reigns (1736-1795)—as well as for the Jiaqing (1796-1820) and Daoguang reigns (1821-1850), for that matter—are police reports from provincial high officials on the discovery and arrest of clandestine missionaries and underground Christians. A smaller number of documents are related to the Court missionaries and to diplomatic exchanges with Catholic powers.

The Manchu and Chinese rescripted memorials of the Yongzheng reign have been published:

- Guoli Gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院 (comp.), *Gongzhong dang Yongzheng chao zouzhe* 宮中檔雍正朝奏摺, 32 vols., Taipei: Guoli Gugong bowuyuan, 1977-1980.
- Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (comp.), *Yongzheng chao Hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* 雍正朝漢文硃批奏摺匯編, 40 vols., Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1989. (The previous Taipei collection is all contained in this one.)
- Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (comp. & trans.), *Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe*

quanyi 雍正朝滿文硃批奏摺全譯, 2 vols., Heifei: Huangshan shushe, 1998.

The Qianlong-reign memorials preserved in Beijing are so numerous, that until now no publication of them has materialised. The following article, however, presents Qianlong-reign archival materials on Christianity in Beijing:

Ma Zhao 馬釗, "Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan cang youguan Qianlong chao chajin Tianzhujiao dang'an lunshu" 中國第一歷史檔案館藏有關乾隆朝查禁天主教檔案論述, *Lishi dang'an* 歷史檔案 (1999:2), pp. 85-89.

The portion of Qianlong-reign memorials preserved in Taipei has been published, and contains some materials related to Christianity:

Guoli Gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院 (comp.), *Gongzhong dang Qianlong chao zouzhe* 宮中檔乾隆朝奏摺, 74 vols., Taipei: Guoli Gugong bowuyuan, 1983.

On materials regarding Christianity kept in Taipei see:

Fang Hao 方豪, "Gugong bowuyuan xiancun Qianlong jian Tianzhujiao dang'an" 故宮博物院現存乾隆間天主教檔案 *Tianzhujiao xueshu yanjiusuo xuebao* 天主教學術研究所學報 4 (Oct. 1972), pp. 139-160.

Zhuang Jifa 莊吉發, "Qing Gaozong jinjiao kao" 清高宗禁教考, *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan guankan* 國立中央圖書館館刊 7,1-2 (1974), pp. 105-114; 137-147.

Zhuang Jifa, "Qingdai jiao'an shiliao de souji yu bianzuan" 清代教案史料的搜集與編纂, in id. (ed.), *Qingdai shiliao lunshu* 清代史料論述, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1979, vol. 1, pp. 139-153.

Zhuang Jifa, "Qing Shizong jinjiao kao" 清世宗禁教考, *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 62,6 (June 1981), pp. 26-36.

Grand Council copies of secret palace memorials

Starting from the reign of the Qianlong emperor, a large number of copies of palace memorials (*lufu zouzhe* 錄副奏摺) has survived. These copies, written in cursive script, were produced for the reference files of the Grand Council (*Junjichu* 軍機處), a new

institution which took shape between the accession of the Yongzheng Emperor and the beginning of the Qianlong reign (1723-1738). In many cases, copies of lost original memorials have been preserved in the files of the Grand Council.

Among these a number of copies are related to Christianity, especially to the suppression of local communities in different parts of the country. In Beijing, such materials, as well as the unpublished Qianlong and Jiaqing rescripted memorials, are to be found mainly under the archival sections on "Diplomacy" (*Waijiao* 外交), and "Imperialist Aggression" (*Diguo zhuyi qinlüe* 帝國主義侵略). In addition, the Qianlong Grand Council copies have been indexed under the category "Christianity" (*Jidujiao* 基督教) in a new computer-generated catalogue available *in situ* (*Qianlong chao Hanwen lufu zouzhe jiansuo mulu*, 乾隆朝漢文錄副奏摺檢索目錄, 1985-1996, 249 vols.). In Taipei, memorials are indexed under the heading "Western Religion" (*Yangjiao* 洋教), while copies are indexed chronologically. For a selection of Grand Council copies of palace memorials concerning the great anti-Christian campaign of 1784-85, see:

Gugong wenxian guan 故宮文獻館 (ed.), *Wenxian congbian* 文獻叢編, 44 ce, Beijing: Gugong yinshuasuo, 1930-42, esp. ce 15, 16, 17; repr. Taipei: Guofeng, 1963.

For a list of the memorials concerning this campaign (1784-1785) in *Wenxian congbian*, see:

Willeke, Bernward H., *Imperial Government and Catholic Missions in China during the years 1784-1785*, New York: The Franciscan Institute St. Bonaventure, 1948; pp. 197-208. (list of 75 official Chinese documents, among which 35 memorials in *Wenxian congbian*).

Scattered materials on eighteenth-century Christianity can be found in the periodical:

Gugong wenxian guan 故宮文獻館 (ed.), *Shiliao xunkan* 史料旬刊, 40 ce, Beijing: Jinghua yinshuju, 1930-1931; esp. ce 7, 12, 13, 15, 17; repr. Taipei: Guofeng, 1963.

Attachments to secret palace memorials

Sometimes, together with a palace memorial, local officials would send additional documents to the capital, providing detailed information for a case, such as maps, confessions, lists of confiscated objects or of arrested individuals. Usually, these materials were retained by the Grand Council in order to prepare the recommendations for the Throne, and occasionally such items are still attached to Grand Council copies of palace memorials. These documents are readily identifiable since they are not written in cursive script like the memorial copies, but in clerical script.

Some confessions of Christians and missionaries arrested by the imperial authorities have been preserved. Other items which can be seen in Beijing today are, among others, a letter confiscated from Christians, some lists of sacred images and books found during perquisitions, and even the text of a Christian song. On this kind of materials, see

Naquin, Susan, "True Confessions: Criminal Interrogations as Sources for Ch'ing History", *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 11 (1976), pp. 1-17.

For details on related Christian materials, see the aforementioned book by Bernward Willeke (*Imperial Government and Catholic Missions*).

Grand Secretariat routine memorials

Generally speaking, Christianity as such did not fall under the ordinary administration of the imperial bureaucracy. This was due not only to the little relevance of the Christian communities in daily administrative affairs, but also to the prohibition of Christianity after 1724, which made of missionaries and Christians in the provinces outlaws. Except for the activities of Court missionaries, other Christian activities could be reported to the central government by local officials only as criminal cases. Since such cases were deemed urgent and important matters, they were usually communicated through the secret palace memorial system, bypassing the ordinary administration.

Nevertheless, occasionally one can find some materials on Christianity and Western missionaries in the files of the Grand Secretariat, preserved in Beijing and at the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan. A few items are to

be found among routine memorials of the Punishments Office of Scrutiny (*xingke tiben* 刑科題本), especially those of the Autumn and Court Assizes (*qiushen chaoshen* 秋審朝審), items that are related to arrests and executions of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. The Manchu proceedings of the trial against Schall and his collaborators during the Oboi Regency are kept in the 'Secret Section' (*Miben dang* 密本檔) of the Grand Secretariat Manchu documents in Beijing. Other materials on tributary missions or scientific and religious matters can be found in the Grand Secretariat files pertaining, among others, to the Boards of War, Public Works, and Rites.

While the memorials in the Academia Sinica (Taiwan) have been indexed on computer, the search in Beijing must be done by leafing through the memorials and files.

An introduction to this kind of material is:

Park, Nancy & Robert Antony, "Archival Research in Qing Legal History", *Late Imperial China* 14,1 (1993), pp. 93-137.

The Grand Secretariat memorials kept in Taiwan are being published in the series:

Zhang Weiren [Chang Wejen] 張偉仁 (ed.), *Ming Qing dang'an* 明清檔案, 295 vols., Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1986-1995 (to be continued on CD-ROM).

For further information, consult:

Liu Zhengyun 劉錚雲, "Jiu dang'an, xin cailiao: Zhongyanyuan Shiyusuo cang Neige daku dang'an xiankuang" 舊檔案, 新材料—中研院史語所藏內閣大庫檔案現況, *Xin shixue* 新史學 9,3 (Sept. 1998), pp. 135-160.

On the Manchu documents on Adam Schall, see:

An Shuangcheng 安雙成, "Tang Ruowang an shimo" 湯若望案始末, *Lishi dang'an* 歷史檔案 (1992:3), pp. 79-87.
Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks, "The Secret Manchu Documents on the Trial against Jesuit Father Adam Schall (1592-1666) at the Supreme Court of Peking", conference volume of *Between Ming and Qing: The Jesuits, Dynastic Decline, Internal Strife, and the*

Establishment of a New Order in Seventeenth Century China, Berlin (1998), forthcoming.

Imperial edicts

Once a memorial received special imperial attention, and the emperor or the Grand Council decided that the matter warranted the Court's action, an Imperial Edict (*shangyu* 上諭) was issued and widely disseminated. Other edicts, generally known as 'Court Letters' (*tingji* 廷寄), and containing decisions on cashiered officials, financial matters, punishments and the like, were confidential and were communicated only to the administrative organs directly involved.

A number of public and confidential edicts are related to Christianity. Many can be found in the Dynastic Veritable Records (*shilu*), but some did not appear in traditional published collections, and can be mostly found in the record books of the Grand Council starting from the Qianlong period. One example of extant record books is the published facsimile edition:

Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (comp.), *Qianlong chao shangyu dang* 乾隆朝上諭檔, 18 vols., Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1991. The introduction is an excellent presentation of the way edicts were drafted and disseminated, and offers a list of the different types of record books available in Beijing.

Other archival records

A few documents relevant to the history of Christianity in China can be found in a number of archival sections pertaining to different Qing bureaucratic bodies. Such materials are contained, for example, in the partly-published Diaries of Activity and Repose (*qijuzhu* 起居注) preserved in Beijing and Taipei (see above: Annalistic sources). Scattered files on the real estate dealings of the missionaries can be retrieved in the Archives of the Imperial Household Bureau (*neiwufu* 內務府, Beijing), a body in charge of the well-being of the Imperial family, which also owned large properties in the capital area and elsewhere, and managed some trade in luxuries with Westerners for the profit of the imperial private coffers. Materials by Jesuit astronomers at the court can be found in the archives of the Board of Rites and of the Astronomical Bureau (Beijing).

On the kinds of Imperial Household Bureau financial materials available in Beijing, see:

Lai, Huimin 賴惠敏, *Tian Huang Gui wei: Qing Huangzu de jieceng jiegou yu jingji shenghuo* 天潢貴胃：清皇族的階層結構與經濟生活 - *The Qing Imperial Lineage: Its Hierarchical Structure and Economic Life*, Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo, 1997.

For astronomical materials, see:

Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan & Beijing Tianwenguan guangxiangtai 中國第一歷史檔案館 - 北京天文館古觀象台 (eds.), *Qing dai tianwen dang'an shiliao huibian*, 清代天文檔案史料匯編, Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 1997.

Documents on Christianity from local yamens are preserved in several European archives (e.g. AMEP, Paris; BAV, Rome; Torre do Tombo, Lisboa).

See, for example, the documents (1706, Chaozhou, Guangdong) preserved in the Biblioteca Casanatense (Rome), photomechanically reproduced in *SF VIII*, pp. 217-227, with a modern annotated translation in Latin.

The Sichuan Archives have published three collections of their materials, containing some memorials on Christianity:

Sichuan sheng dang'an guan 四川省檔案館 (ed.) *Sichuan jiao'an yu Yihequan dang'an* 四川教案與義和拳檔案, Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1985.

Sichuan sheng dang'an guan (ed.), *Qingdai Baxian dang'an huibian - Qianlong juan* 清代巴縣檔案匯編 - 乾隆卷, Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1991.

Sichuan sheng dang'an guan & Sichuan daxue lishi xi 四川大學歷史系 (eds.), *Qingdai Qian-Jia-Dao Baxian dang'an xuanbian* 清代乾嘉道巴縣檔案選編, 2 vols., Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1989-1996.

For a catalogue of the Chinese-language memorials on Christianity in the Torre do Tombo Archives, see:

Santos, Isau and Lau Fong (eds.), *Chapas Sincicas: Macau e o Oriente nos Arquivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo (Documentos em Chinês)*, Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1997; Chinese version: Liu Fang 劉芳 (Lau Fong) & Xin Yaohua 辛耀華 (Isau Santos), *Hanwen wenshu: Putaoya guoli Dongbo Ta dang'anguan guicang Aomen ji dongfang dang'an wenxian 漢文文書: 葡萄牙國立東波塔檔案館度藏澳門及東方檔案文獻*, Macao: Aomen wenhua sishu, 1997.

An introduction to these materials is:

Lee, Yu-chung 李毓中, "Putaoya guoli Dongbo Ta dang'anguan 'Hanwen wenshu' dang jianjie" 葡萄牙國立東波塔檔案館《漢文文書》檔簡介, *Hanxue yanjiu tongxun 漢學研究通訊* (Newsletter for Research in Chinese Studies) 18,1 (1999), pp. 89-94 (p. 93 reproduces the text of a memorial by Louis Lamiot MEP (1767-1831) on the revenues and properties of the Beitang).

The 'Torre do Tombo' Chinese-language materials on Macao have been published in:

Liu Fang 劉芳 & Zhang Wenqin 章文欽 (eds.), *Putaoya guoli Dongbo Ta dang'anguan cang Qingdai Aomen zhongwen dang'an huibian 葡萄牙國立東波塔檔案館藏清代澳門中文檔案匯編*, 4 vols., Macao: Aomen Jijinhui (Fundação Macao), 1998.

For a presentation of this collection, stressing the value of the documents on the financial and economic situation of the mission (e.g. a 1908 memorial tracing the Beitang's old properties in Beijing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), see:

Wei Qingyuan 韋慶遠, "'Putaoya guoli Dongbo Ta dang'anguan cang Qingdai Aomen zhongwen dang'an huibian' xu" 葡萄牙國立東波塔檔案館藏清代澳門中文檔案匯編序, *Lishi dang'an 歷史檔案* (1998:3), pp. 121-126.

1.1.4. Published collections of edicts and memorials

For the Ming and Qing periods there are several collections of imperial edicts or memorials by officials which contain material related to Christianity.

Collections of memorials concerning the project to reform the calendar which started in 1629 (under supervision of Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562-1633) until 1633) can be found in the officially published astronomical compendia *Chongzhen lishu 崇禎曆書* (1635) and *Xiyang xinfa lishu 西洋新法曆書* (1645), for which see below. Memorials of the period 1629-1633 have been published by Wang Zhongmin 王重民 in his compilation *Xu Guangqi ji 徐光啟集* (Shanghai: Guji, 1984), pp. 319-430. Memorials by Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565-1630) are for example in the collection *Huang Ming jingshi wenbian 皇明經世文編* (1638), compiled by Chen Zilong 陳子龍 (1608-1647) and others.⁸ Many collections of memorials by individual officials have been preserved, especially for the late Ming period.⁹ How many references to Christianity are to be found in these collections still needs to be explored.

Compilations more directly related to Christianity can be divided in those compiled by missionaries and converts, and those by opponents.

Missionaries and converts themselves collected memorials and edicts related to Christianity in order to show how much the Emperor, officials, and other *literati* favoured the missionaries and respected their doctrine. In addition to memorials and edicts, such collections also contained prefaces to works by missionaries or converts. There are three major contemporary collections of this type.

The first two were compiled during a time of anti-Christian incidents (Nanjing 1616; Fujian 1638). *Juejiao tongwen ji 絕徼同文紀* was compiled by Yang Tingyun in late 1615 and received a few additions in the following two years.

In two *juan* (the second, much shorter *juan* contains memorials and edicts): BNF Chinois 9254, dating back to ca. 1628. For a

⁸ See Wilkinson (1998), pp. 850-851. For Li Zhizao, see also the appendix (j. 5) at the end of Xu Yunxi 徐允希 (ed.), *Zengding Xu Wending gong ji 增訂徐文定公集*, Shanghai, 1933.

⁹ Franke, pp. 148-175, mentions ca. 150 collections; for the Qing period, see Wilkinson (1998), pp. 921-922.