




## A New Exploration of Li Wenyu's Life and Works

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**Abstract:** Li Wenyu (李问渔) was a prominent Chinese Jesuit theologian, philosopher, educator, and pioneer of the Catholic press in late Qing China. This paper aims to systematically examine and verify the major events of Li Wenyu's life as well as his corpus of authored and translated works. A total of 78 works have been identified, of which approximately two-thirds are directly related to Catholic doctrine, catechism, liturgy, Church history, and hagiography. The remaining works span a range of disciplines, including the natural sciences, philosophy, history, and social institutions. His contributions on Western learning aligned with the societal demand for knowledge from the West in modern China, objectively advancing the nation's modern development.

**Key words:** Li Wenyu, Jesuit missionary, Authored and Translated works

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Current studies on Li Wenyu's life and works remains limited to fragmented commemorative biographical sketches with insufficient details. There is a notable lack of systematic collation and research on his works and translations, particularly concerning unresolved discrepancies among scholars about the number and titles of his writings. Building upon previous studies, this paper employs newly discovered archival materials and genealogical records to comprehensively reconstruct Li Wenyu's biographical trajectory. Concurrently, it undertakes a critical examination to verify the corpus of his authored and translated works, analyzes their historical contexts and creative motivations, thereby laying a material foundation for further exploration of his thoughts.

### Chronicle of Li Wenyu's Life

Li Wenyu (1840–1911), personal name Di (杕), literary name Damu Zhai Zhu(大木斋主),<sup>1</sup> and Christian name Laurentius, was born in Tangmuqiao Town, Chuansha County, Jiangsu Province, which today is part of Pudong, Shanghai. At the time, the Li family belonged to a small Catholic community,

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<sup>1</sup> In *Biographies of Figures in the History of Chinese Catholicism* 中国天主教史人物传 by Fang Hao(方豪), it is recorded that Li Wenyu was originally named Hao Ran during his studies at the St. Ignatius College in 1853. In a work “Guanguang Riben 观光日本”, printed by the Shanghai Cimitang(上海慈母堂) press in 1871, translated by François Giaquinto (1818–1864), the proofreader noted as “Yun Jian Tong Hui Shi-Wenyu Li Haoran” (云间同会士 问渔李浩然). Likewise, in Angelo Zottoli's (晁德莅) *The True Religion Proven from Within*(Zhen Jiao Zi Zheng 真教自证 1872), the proofreader noted as “Li Haoran Wenyu (李浩然问渔), indicating that he had not yet changed his name to Di 杕, and at the time went by the Literary name Da mu Zhai Zhu(大木斋主).” However, the *Genealogy of the Li Clan* 李氏家乘, revised in the 14th year of the Republic (1925), records in the eighth generation: “Zhongjun(钟俊), personal name Guofan(国范), had sons Haodi(浩杕) and Haoran (浩然), and four daughters without personal name.” In the ninth generation, it records: “Haodi, named Wenyu, was a Catholic priest and academic work abounds,” suggesting that Li Wenyu had a younger brother named Li Haoran. (The character “Hao” 浩 was used for the ninth-generation naming convention in the Li family. Based on various scholarly studies and historical records, there remains some disagreement as to whether “Li Haoran” was an earlier name or alias of Li Wenyu. This matter warrants further scholarly investigation. Regarding the origins of his name “Wenyu”, some scholars interpret it as subtly expressing his Catholic faith. See Leopold Leeb, “On Names: The Dialogue Between Christianity and Chinese Civilization (Cong Renming Shuoqi: Jidujiao Yu Huaxia Wenhua De Duihua, 从人名说起: 基督教与华夏文化的对话),” Institute of Christian Culture, Renmin University of China, *Journal of Christian Culture*, vol. 4, ed., Beijing: People's Daily Press, 2000, p. 81.

possessing a chapel, with over a hundred parishioners.<sup>2</sup>

According to historical records, "Catholicism has a long history in Pudong. As early as the Wanli period of the Ming Dynasty, the earliest group of Catholic believers had already appeared. In its early stages, Catholic missionary activities in Pudong centered around Zhangjialou and Jinjiaxiang in Yangjing, while in modern times, Tangmuqiao became the focal point."<sup>3</sup> The Gazetteer of Chuansha County states: "Among the local people, aside from the majorities who traditionally believed in Buddhism, Catholicism was the most prevalent religion."<sup>4</sup>

According to the Li family genealogy, the Li family's conversion to Catholicism dates back to the Kangxi or Yongzheng reigns of the Qing Dynasty. What prompted the family to adopt the Catholic faith? In the Li Family Records, under the section "Additional Notes from Madam Fang: Anecdotes of Ancestors," it is recorded: "Our clan has long practiced the Catholic faith, though the exact origin can no longer be traced. During the Kangxi and Yongzheng periods, due to the social situation, the second branch of the fourth generation, represented by Rubin (如滨), converted to Buddhism after moving to Shen (i.e., Shanghai). However, the first branch (Ruwei Gong 如渭), third branch (Ruyuan Gong 如渊), and fourth branch (Ruyuan Gong 如源), who remained in Zhangjiangzha, continued practicing Catholicism to this day."<sup>5</sup>

In the preface to his work *Liku* 理窟, Li Wenyu mentioned: "Since our

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<sup>2</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu." (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Rrshiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine* (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志), 25, no. 12 (1936): 723.

<sup>3</sup> Tang, Guoliang, "Old Place Names of Pudong (Pudong Laodiming, 浦东老地名)". Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2007, p.149.

<sup>4</sup> Fang Hongkai (方鸿铠) & Huang Yanpei (黄炎培), "Chuan-sha County Gazetteer (Chansha Xianzhi 川沙县志)", vol. 13. 1937, p.2.

<sup>5</sup> Li Zengyao, "Genealogy of the Li Family (Lishi Jiacheng 李氏家乘)". 1925, p.29a.

ancestors embraced the faith, it has been eight generations now, and I have been nurtured in this atmosphere, so my understanding is exact and detailed.”

<sup>6</sup>According to Xu Zongze's Account of the Visit to the Family of Father Li Wenyu, “They say that the Catholic faith was first embraced by Yongxi Gong 永锡公, and counting from him, Father Li (the author notes: Li Wenyu) is the seventh generation.” Li Wenyu's third generation ancestor, Yongxi Gong, married into the Gong family in Zhangjiangzha, Nanyi. He had four sons. The second son, Rubin, inherited the ancestral property and followed his grandfather Tianpei(天培) to reside in Shanghai. The other three brothers remained in Zhangjiangzha. From the aforementioned “Anecdotes of Ancestors,” we learn that Rubin converted to Buddhism. According to Account of the Visit to the Family of Father Li Wenyu, “Because Rubin followed his grandfather Tianpei, who was of another religion (i.e., Buddhist).” From these materials, we can deduce that Li Wenyu's second-generation ancestor, Tianpei Gong, was a Buddhist, while his third-generation ancestor, Yongxi Gong (son of Tianpei), was a Catholic. Xu Zongze inferred: “Yongxi married into the Gong family, which was likely Catholic at the time, and thus naturally converted upon joining the family. Since Yongxi was Tianpei's only son, his second son Rubin inherited the family property and followed his grandfather in not adopting the Catholic faith—though perhaps he had been baptized at some point.”<sup>7</sup>

Li Wenyu was born on August 12, 1840. He had one elder sister, one younger brother, and three younger sisters. In his early years, he studied for the imperial examination under Mingjing Scholar Zhuang Songlou of Chuansha (dates of birth and death unknown). In 1851, due to a famine in

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<sup>6</sup> Li Wenyu, *Li Ku*.理窟, Shanghai: Tushanwan Press, 1886, Preface 1b.

<sup>7</sup> Xu Zongze, “Interview with the Family of Father Li Wenyu” (Li Wenyu Jiashu Fangwen Ji 李问渔司铎家属访问记), *The Holy Teachings Magazine* (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志), 25, no. 12 (1936): 730–731.

Shanghai, Li Wenyu was sent to study at St. Ignatius College in Xujiahui, where he learned both science and French. He studied alongside Ma Xiangbo 马相伯. At that time, Italian Jesuit missionary Angelo Zottoli (1826–1902) was the rector of the college, and both Li and Ma were his students. On August 18, 1856 he joined the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception and subsequently held various positions such as vice leader, secretary, and convener over the next six years.<sup>8</sup> In 1859, Li Wenyu gave up the pursuit of the imperial examination and dedicated himself to the study of Latin, philosophy, theology, and Catholic doctrine. He graduated from St. Ignatius College in 1862. On May 29, 1862, the Jesuit Novitiate was established, admitting eleven novices in its first class. Nine came from St. Ignatius College, including Li Wenyu and Ma Xiangbo, while two came from the monastery.<sup>9</sup> Father Zottoli served as the spiritual director of the novices. Between 1863 and 1864, as a novice, Li Wenyu and others such as Ma Xiangbo engaged in relief work in places like Suzhou and Taicang, helping refugees and tending to the wounded.<sup>10</sup> After completing his two-year novitiate, Li took his first religious vows: poverty, chastity, and obedience.<sup>11</sup> In 1865, Li continued his philosophical studies at the Dongjiadu Major Seminary. Three years later, in 1867, he began studying theology. On June 29, 1869, during the Tongzhi reign, he was ordained a priest by Bishop Adrien Languillat (1808–

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<sup>8</sup> Zhi Mao, "Father Li Wenyu, the Missionary Writer" (Xiezuo Chuanjiao de Li Wenyu Shenfu 写作传教的李问渔神父), *Merciful Sound: Bulletin of the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception, St. Ignatius College, Xujiahui, Diocese of Shanghai* (Ciyin: Shanghai Jiaoqū Xujiahui Sheng Yinaque Gongxue Shengmu Shitai Hui Huikan 慈音: 上海教区徐家汇圣依纳爵公学圣母始胎会会刊), vol. 8, no. 9–10 (1942): 252.

<sup>9</sup> Fang Yunfang, *Both Writing and Praying: Li Wenyu in the Context of the Introduction of Western Learning in Late Qing China* (Yixie Yidao: Wanqing Xixue Dongjian zhong de Li Wenyu 亦写亦祷: 晚清西学东渐中的李问渔), Shanghai: Xuelin Publishing House, 2020, 65.

<sup>10</sup> Bao Zhaohui, "No. 42 in the Series on Famous Historical and Cultural Figures of Faith: Li Wenyu" (*Lishi Wenhua Mingren Xinyang Xilie zhi Sishier: Li Wenyu* 历史文化名人信仰系列之四十二: 李问渔), *Tianfeng*, no. 6 (2017): 54.

<sup>11</sup> Fang, Yunfang, *Both Writing and Praying: Li Wenyu in the Context of the Introduction of Western Learning in Late Qing China* (Yixie Yidao: Wanqing Xixue Dongjian zhong de Li Wenyu 亦写亦祷: 晚清西学东渐中的李问渔), Shanghai: Xuelin Publishing House, 2020, 67.

1878).<sup>12</sup> He graduated in theology in 1870. After earning his doctorate in

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<sup>12</sup> There are differing scholarly views on the date of Li Wenyu's ordination and the period during which he engaged in missionary work. According to Fang Hao, *Biographies of Chinese Catholic Figures*, (*Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shi renwu zhuan*, 中国天主教史人物传), Li Wenyu was ordained in the eleventh year of the Tongzhi reign (i.e., 1872) and preached for six years. In 1878, he taught Latin at the Dongjiadu Minor Seminary. Similarly, Sha Baili, *History of Chinese Christians*, (*Zhongguo Jidutu shi*, 中国基督徒史) states: "He entered the Jesuit novitiate and, ten years later (editor's note: 1872), was ordained. After six years of missionary service, he was appointed rector of a minor seminary near the Huangpu River in Dongjiadu, Shanghai, where he taught Latin." Leopold Leeb, *On the Great and the Small Christ: Chinese Intellectuals' Views on Christianity*, (*Lun Jidu zhi da yu xiao*, 论基督之大与小: 1900–1950 年华人知识分子眼中的基督教) also records: "In 1872 (some say 1866), he was ordained and preached for six years. In 1878, he taught Latin at the Dongjiadu Minor Seminary in Shanghai." Joachim Kurtz, in an article "Messenger of the Sacred Heart: Li Wenyu (1840–1911) and the Jesuit Periodical Press in Late Qing Shanghai," asserts that Li Wenyu was ordained along with his classmate Ma Xiangbo in 1872 as a priest of the Shanghai diocese. (This claim may be incorrect, as discussed below) These scholars generally agree that Li Wenyu was ordained in 1872 and preached for six years. However, an article titled "The Death of Father Li Wenyu of Our Institution," published in 1911 in *Shengxinbao* 圣心报, reports: "In the summer of the eighth year of the Tongzhi reign (editor's note: 1869), he was ordained and then served in missions in Songjiang, Qingpu, Nanhui, and Shanghai in Jiangsu Province, as well as in Yingshan, Jianping, and Ningguo in Anhui Province." The *Genealogy of the Li Family*, (*Lishi jiacheng*, 李氏家乘) biography of Li Wenyu directly cites this *Shengxinbao* article, also affirming that he was ordained in 1869. A 1911 article titled "Brief Biography of the Founder and Editor-in-Chief of the Huibao for Thirty-Two Years" (*Huibao*, 汇报) also states: "He entered the Society in 1862 and was ordained in 1869. He preached in Yingzhou, Ningguo, and Songjiang for ten years." Zhi Mao, in "A Writing Missionary: Father Li Wenyu" (*Xiezuo chuanjiao de Li Wenyu shenfu*, 写作传教的李问渔神父), citing Xu Zongze's "25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu," (*Li Wenyu siduo shisi zhounian jinian* 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念) and a French biography co-authored by Zhang Boda and Fu Yagu, notes: "After his ordination, he preached for six years in Songjiang, Nanhui, Qingpu, and in Anhui's Yingshan, Jianping, and Shuidong, before being transferred in 1878 to teach Latin at the Dongjiadu Minor Seminary." In 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu, Xu Zongze wrote: "On June 29, 1869, he was ordained by Bishop Lang. The following year, he completed his theology studies with distinction and earned doctorates in philosophy and theology. He then began missionary work... In 1878, he was appointed professor at the Dongjiadu Seminary." This record provides clear timelines and locations: he preached from 1871 to 1875, returned to Xujiahui to teach Chinese, and then resumed preaching in Anhui in 1876–1877, amounting to six years of missionary service. An article in *Fujian Catholic Weekly*, (*Fujian Gongjiao Zhoukan*, 福建公教周刊), titled "In Memory of a Philosopher: 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu," states "After graduating from Xujiahui College, he joined the Jesuit order and was ordained, preaching for ten years in Yingzhou, Ningguo, and Songjiang in the Shanghai Diocese." Hu Duan, in "A Catholic Writer: Father Li Wenyu" (*Yi wei gongjiao zuojia Li Wenyu siduo*, 一位公教作家李问渔司铎), also cites the *Shengxinbao* article, confirming that Li was ordained in 1869. In *Tianjin Catholic Daily*, (*Tianjin Yishi Zhu Ribao*, 天津益世主日报), an article marking the 25th anniversary of Li Wenyu's death recounts "He and a classmate joined the Jesuits in the first year of Tongzhi (editor's note: 1862) and were later ordained, becoming the first Chinese priests ordained after the Jesuits' return. He preached for ten years in Yingzhou and Ningguo in Anhui and Songjiang in Jiangsu." In *Biography of the Classical Scholar Li Wenyu*, (*Guwenjia Li Wenyu zhuan*, 古文家李问渔传), Zhang Ruogu writes "At the age of thirty (editor's note: 1869), he was ordained as a Jesuit priest. The following year, he received doctorates in philosophy and theology and was assigned to preach in Anhui and Jiangsu. In the first year of the Guangxu reign (1875), he returned to Xujiahui Seminary to teach Chinese and in the fourth year (1878) taught Latin at Dongjiadu." These records reveal discrepancies regarding Li Wenyu's ordination and missionary dates. He was ordained either in 1869 or 1872, and his missionary period lasted either six or ten years. According to Zhang Ruogu's chronology of Ma Xiangbo: "In the ninth year of Tongzhi, gengwu (1870), at age thirty-one, he received a doctorate in theology and was ordained." Zhu Weizheng et al., in *A Brief Biography*

philosophy and theology, he began his missionary work. In 1871, he served in Songjiang. In 1872, he was transferred to Nanhui, and in 1873, he returned to Songjiang. At that time, a special Catholic deanery had been established in Ningguo, staffed by six foreign priests and two Chinese priests, managing 27 churches, over 1,650 baptized believers, and more than 20,000 catechumens. Li Wenyu was one of the two Chinese priests. In September 1873, Father Joseph Seckinger assigned him to Lu'an to care for catechumens and newly baptized Christians who had migrated from Henan Province due to religious persecution.<sup>13</sup> In 1874, he was posted in Yingzhou. In 1875, he returned to Xujiahui Minor Seminary to teach Chinese. From 1876 to 1878, he resumed missionary work in places such as Shuidong, Ningguo, Anhui Province. Due to the "Southern Anhui Persecution," Li Wenyu, who was then at Xujiahui, together with Father Qiao Qianyu (pastor of Ningguo) and Father Joseph

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of Ma Xiangbo, (Ma Xiangbo zhuanlüe, 马相伯传略), include a chronological table by Liao Mei that likewise states Ma was ordained in 1870 and began preaching in Ningguo and Xuzhou. However, Li Tiangang in *Faith and Tradition: Ma Xiangbo's Religious Career*, (Xinyang yu chuantong—Ma Xiangbo de zongjiao shengya, 信仰与传统—马相伯的宗教生涯) notes that "in 1869, Ma Xiangbo earned his doctorate and was ordained. As a priest, he began preaching in Ningguo and Xuzhou." Although these three sources differ slightly on Ma Xiangbo's year of ordination, we need not delve deeper into that here. What they do indicate is that Joachim Kurtz's statement that "Li Wenyu and Ma Xiangbo were ordained together in 1872" is inaccurate, since Ma Xiangbo was not ordained in 1872. In the preface to *Liku* 理窟, Li Wenyu recalls his own timeline: "I have long wished to write a book to expound the Way and publish it to the world. But after ordination, I traveled extensively in Anhui and Jiangsu for eight years, constantly occupied and unable to fulfill my wish. In the spring of the year Jimao (1879), I was appointed editor-in-chief of the *Yiwenlu* 益闻录." This suggests he preached for eight years and became an editor in 1879, meaning his missionary work spanned 1871–1878. Since this was post-ordination, his ordination must have occurred before 1871. Based on the above sources, this article preliminarily concludes that the oft-cited date of 1872 is doubtful. While it remains unclear whether he began preaching immediately after ordination, the ordination almost certainly occurred before 1871. Given the textual evidence, especially the 1911 *Shengxinbao* obituary, and the common claim that he was ordained the same year as Ma Xiangbo, we tentatively identify 1869 as the most plausible date of Li Wenyu's ordination. As for the duration of his missionary work: assuming he was ordained in 1869, received his doctorate in 1870, began preaching in 1871, returned to Xujiahui to teach Chinese in 1875, resumed preaching in Anhui in 1876–1877, and taught Latin at Dongjiadu in 1878, the total duration of his missionary service would be from 1871 to 1877—six years. The "ten years" often cited likely refers to the span from ordination to his return to Shanghai in 1878, that is, roughly 1869–1878.

<sup>13</sup> Fang Yunfang, *Both Writing and Praying: Li Wenyu in the Context of the Introduction of Western Learning in Late Qing China* (Yixie Yidao: Wanqing Xixue Dongjian zhong de Li Wenyu 亦写亦祷：晚清西学东渐中的李问渔), Shanghai: Xuelin Publishing House, 2020, 71–72.

Seckinger (then in Zhenjiang), went to Wuhu to receive and support fleeing priests. In September, Father Shen Zekuan was the first to be reassigned to Ningguo, and Li Wenyu was also assigned to return to continue his missionary work in Anhui.<sup>14</sup>

In 1878, Li Wenyu was transferred back to the Dongjiadu Minor Seminary to teach Latin. On July 31, he professed his final vows.<sup>15</sup> From this point on, Li Wenyu remained in Xujiahui, ceased traveling for missionary work, and began his writing career. On December 16, 1878, Li Wenyu launched a trial issue of *Yiwen Lu* 益闻录, a semi-monthly Catholic newspaper published in Shanghai.<sup>16</sup> On March 16, 1879, the official launch took place, and on August 16 of the same year, it was converted into a weekly publication. "At that time, apart from *Shen Bao* 申报 in Shanghai, newspapers were as rare as morning stars. Once *Yiwen Lu* was launched, it quickly gained popularity."<sup>17</sup> In 1880, Li also oversaw the Major Seminary and Lady's Convent. He preached and supervised spiritual formation at the girls' school, managing multiple roles. Father Gong Guyu assisted him in editing *Yiwen Lu*.<sup>18</sup> On May 3, 1882, beginning with issue No. 151, *Yiwen Lu* became a semimonthly publication. In 1887, Li Wenyu launched another Catholic newspaper, *Shengxin Bao* 圣心报, as a semi-monthly

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<sup>14</sup> Fang Yunfang, *Both Writing and Praying: Li Wenyu in the Context of the Introduction of Western Learning in Late Qing China* (Yixie Yidao: Wanqing Xixue Dongjian zhong de Li Wenyu 亦写亦读: 晚清西学东渐中的李问渔), Shanghai: Xuelin Publishing House, 2020, 72.

<sup>15</sup> Information on Li Wenyu's missionary activities—including dates and locations—mainly comes from Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu" (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Ershiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念) and Fang Yunfang, *Both Writing and Praying: Li Wenyu in the Context of the Introduction of Western Learning in Late Qing China*.

<sup>16</sup> For the naming and publication cycle of *Yiwenlu* (益闻录) see Fang, Yunfang, *Both Writing and Praying: Li Wenyu in the Context of the Introduction of Western Learning in Late Qing China*, 101-112.

<sup>17</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu." (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Ershiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine* (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志), 25, no. 12 (1936): 723.

<sup>18</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu." (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Ershiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine* (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志), 25, no. 12 (1936): 723.



publication. Since he held multiple responsibilities, from 1887, Li focused on *Shengxin Bao*, while Father Gong Guyu took over *Yiwen Lu* and the Major Seminary, with Li continuing to provide support.<sup>19</sup> In 1888, Pope Leo XIII (1810–1903) awarded Li the Order of the Star in recognition of his service.<sup>20</sup> In 1890, Li resumed his role as chief editor of *Yiwen Lu*, while continuing as chief editor of *Shengxin Bao*. In 1891, he also resumed oversight of the Major Seminary and supervised spiritual formation for students of St. Ignatius College. These roles remained unchanged for the next five years. In 1897, he became the spiritual director for the Sisters of the Presentation while resigning from the administration of the Major Seminary.<sup>21</sup> In 1898, *Yiwen Lu* merged with *Gezhi Xinbao* (a Catholic-affiliated newspaper) to form *Gezhi Yiwen Huibao* 格致益闻汇报, which was renamed *Hui Bao* 汇报 beginning with issue No. 100 on August 9, 1899. In 1904, Father Pan Qiulu succeeded Li as editor of *Hui Bao*, with Li remaining as associate editor and continuing to oversee *Shengxin Bao*.<sup>22</sup> That same year, Li Wenyu drafted the charter for Qiming Girls' School, formally named the institution, and oversaw its establishment.<sup>23</sup> In 1906, Li became president of Aurora College (Zhendan Xueyuan) and a professor of philosophy, while also serving as chief editor of both *Hui Bao* and *Shengxin Bao*.<sup>24</sup> As Li Wenyu held multiple positions and struggled to achieve perfection

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<sup>19</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu." (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Rrshiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志)*, 25, no. 12 (1936): 723.

<sup>20</sup> "A Short Biography of the Founder and Editor of Huibao", (Hui bao faqiren jian zhubi zheng sanshier nian zhi xiaozhuan 汇报发起人兼主笔政三十二年之小传), *Huibao 汇报*, no. 38, (1911): 598.

<sup>21</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu." (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Rrshiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志)*, 25, no. 12 (1936): 723.

<sup>22</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu." (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Rrshiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志)*, 25, no. 12 (1936): 723.

<sup>23</sup> Xuhui jilue, 徐汇纪略, regarding "Qiming nuxiao", no pagination available.

<sup>24</sup> Fang Hao 方豪, *Biographical Dictionary of Figures in the History of Catholicism in China (Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shi renwu zhuan 中国天主教史人物传)*, Beijing: Religious Culture Press, 2007, p. 651.

in all duties, Father Xu Yunxi took over *Hui Bao* in 1907, enabling Li to devote himself exclusively to Aurora College (震旦学院) and *Shengxin Bao*. In February 1908, *Huibao* was split into two publications: *Shishi Huilu* 时事汇录, which remained semiweekly, and *Kexue Zazhi* 科学杂志, which became semimonthly. As Li Wenyu approached his seventies and his energy diminished daily, the superiors instructed Father Xu Boyu to assume control of both *Hui Bao* and *Shengxin Bao*, with Li serving as his assistant.<sup>25</sup> On February 5, 1909, the two publications were re-merged. As Father Xu took on other responsibilities, Father Zhang Yushan assisted, and Li resumed editorial duties for both papers until his death.<sup>26</sup> In 1910, Li taught philosophy and ethics at Nanyang Public School.<sup>27</sup> On May 7, 1911, falling ill, Li spoke with his associate editor about arrangements after his death. He expressed satisfaction that all his translated works had been completed and entrusted the editor with proofreading the unpublished ones. Li Wenyu passed away on May 12, 1911.<sup>28</sup> *Hui Bao* ceased publication thereafter.

### Textual Research on Li Wenyu's Writings and Translations

Li Wenyu produced an extensive body of writings and translations during

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<sup>25</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu." (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Ershiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志)*, 25, no. 12 (1936):724.

<sup>26</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu." (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Ershiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志)*, 25, no. 12 (1936):724.

<sup>27</sup> Zhang Ruogu 张若谷, "Annotations to the Letters of Priest Li Wenyu" (Li Wenyu siduo shouzha bazhu, 李问渔司铎手札跋注), *Shangzhi Bianyiguan Guankan* 上智编译馆馆刊, vol. 2, no. 2(1947):56. The author records that Li Wenyu's "Letter to Mr. Fu on the Way" (Yu Fushuo jia xiansheng lun daoshu, 与傅硕家先生论道书) was written in May of the second year of the Xuanton reign (1910), while Li was teaching philosophy and ethics at Nanyang Public School. However, the exact date of his appointment at the school remains unknown.

<sup>28</sup> "A Short Biography of the Founder and Editor of *Huibao*", (Hui bao faqiren jian zhubi zheng sanshier nian zhi xiaozhuan 汇报发起人兼主笔政三十二年之小传), *Huibao* 汇报, no. 38, (1911): 597. The 1911 article "The Death of Our Institute's Priest Li Wenyu" (Benguan Li Wenyu siduo shishi, 本馆李问渔司铎逝世), published in *Shengxin bao* 圣心报, provides a detailed account of his death.

his lifetime. As recorded, he “simultaneously managed two newspaper affairs, ceaselessly reading with eyes and writing with hands. His works piled up to his height, yet he never complained of fatigue.”<sup>29</sup> “The quantity of his writings and translations established a new record in Catholic literary history. Although missionaries like Matteo Ricci, Johann Adam Schall von Bell, Ferdinand Verbiest, and Ludovico Buglio had contributed many valuable works, none could match Li's erudition and productivity.”<sup>30</sup> In his *Divine Work Diary*, Li Wenyu wrote that he “wrote at least one book annually.”<sup>31</sup> However, scholars have presented divergent views regarding the exact number, titles, and other details of Li's works, with some offering only general descriptions. This section first collates and verifies the quantity, titles, and editions of Li Wenyu's works based on previous research and collections from major domestic libraries. Subsequently, it analyzes the background and purposes underlying Li's literary creations: Was his motivation solely “writing for the pursuit of true human happiness,” as suggested by others?<sup>32</sup> Or were there other considerations and concerns?

In “A Brief Biography of the Founder and Chief Editor of The Bulletin Over Thirty-Two Years,” the author provides a comprehensive inventory of Li Wenyu's works, totaling 61 titles<sup>33</sup> (see Table 1). According to the *Fujian Catholic Weekly* 福建公教周刊, Li Wenyu authored 18 original works, translated

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<sup>29</sup> “The Death of Our Institute's Priest Li Wenyu” (Benguan Li Wenyu siduo shishi, 本馆李问渔司铎逝世), *Shengxin bao* 圣心报, vol. 25, no. 7(1911) 213.

<sup>30</sup> Hu Duan 胡端, “A Catholic Writer: Priest Li Wenyu” (Yi wei gongjiao zuojia Li Wenyu siduo 一位公教作家李问渔司铎), *Wo cun zazhi* 我存杂志, vol. 5, no. 1(1937)33.

<sup>31</sup> Zhi Mao, “Father Li Wenyu, the Missionary Writer” (*Xiezu Chuanjiao de Li Wenyu Shenfu* 写作传教的李问渔神父), *Merciful Sound: Bulletin of the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception, St. Ignatius College, Xujiahui, Diocese of Shanghai* (Ciyin: Shanghai Jiaoqu Xujiahui Sheng Yinaque Gongxue Shengmu Shitai Hui Huikan 慈音: 上海教区徐家汇圣依纳爵公学圣母始胎会会刊), vol. 8, no. 9–10 (1942): 252.

<sup>32</sup> Hu Duan 胡端, “A Catholic Writer: Priest Li Wenyu” (Yi wei gongjiao zuojia Li Wenyu siduo 一位公教作家李问渔司铎), *Wo cun zazhi* 我存杂志, vol. 5, no. 1(1937)35.

<sup>33</sup> “A Short Biography of the Founder and Editor of Huibao”, (*Hui bao faqiren jian zhubi zheng sanshier nian zhi xiaozhuan* 汇报发起人兼主笔政三十二年之小传), *Huibao* 汇报, no. 38, (1911):598-599.

39 works, and compiled 4, making him not only a pioneer of Catholic journalism in China but also one of its most prolific writers.<sup>34</sup> The author of the biography reports a total of 61 works authored and translated by Li Wenyu. Xu Zongze's statistics list 17 original works, 39 translations, and 4 compilations, amounting to 60 distinct works, with a detailed enumeration of each title<sup>35</sup> (see Table 2). Hu Duan conducted a more meticulous categorization of Li Wenyu's literary output, identifying 66 titles (though one was a duplicate, the actual number is 65)<sup>36</sup>(see Table 3). Zhang Ruogu notes that Li Wenyu "translated and interpreted approximately sixty works on religious doctrine and academic inquiry. His prolific writings were the result of tireless dedication. His most renowned works include *Li Ku* 理窟, *Xinjing Yiyi* 新经译义, *Xixue Guanjian* 西学关键, *Xingxing Xueyao* 形性学要, *Xingfa Xueyao* 性法学要, and so on. He also compiled such collections as the *Collected Works of Xu Wendin Gong* 徐文定公集 and *Mo Jing Ji* 墨井集, among four compilations in total."<sup>37</sup> An article published in the *Tianjin Yishi Catholic Daily* 天津益世主日报, titled The 25th Anniversary of the Death of Father Li Wenyu, states: "In addition to his editorial work for the two Catholic journals, he was devoted to writing. He authored 18 works, translated 39, and compiled 4"<sup>38</sup>, making a total of 61 works. In Writing as Evangelism: Father Li Wenyu, the author further elaborates:

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<sup>34</sup> "In Memory of a Great Mind: The 25th Anniversary of the Death of Priest Li Wenyu" (Zhuishi xianzhe: Li Wenyu siduo shishi ershiwu zhounian jinian 追思先哲: 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *Fujian gongjiao zhouban* 福建公教周刊, no. 11(1936):5.

<sup>35</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu" (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Rrshiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine* (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志), 25, no. 12 (1936): 727.

<sup>36</sup> Hu Duan 胡端, "A Catholic Writer: Priest Li Wenyu" (Yi wei gongjiao zuojia Li Wenyu siduo 一位公教作家李问渔司铎), *Wo cun zazhi* 我存杂志 vol. 5, no. 1(1937)34-35.

<sup>37</sup> Zhang Ruogu 张若谷, "A Biography of the Classical Chinese Writer Li Wenyu" (Guwenjia Li Wenyu zhuan 古文家李问渔传), *Shengjiao zazhi* 圣教杂志, vol. 27, no. 6(1938):421.

<sup>38</sup> "Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Death of Priest Li Wenyu" (Li Wenyu siduo shishi ershiwu zhounian jinian, 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *Tianjin Yishi zhuri bao* 天津益世主日报, vol. 25, no. 25(1936):591.

*He also authored many books, of which more than sixty were published. In addition, quite a few of his works appeared in Yi Wen Lu, The Bulletin, and Sacred Heart News but were never printed as standalone volumes. Among the published works, there are 17 original writings, 39 translations, and 4 edited volumes.*<sup>39</sup>

The author counted a total of 60 works authored and translated by Li Wenyu and briefly categorized their subject matter. In Postscript to the Letters of Father Li Wenyu, Zhang Ruogu recorded: "During his lifetime, Mr. Li translated and authored over sixty works expounding on doctrine and academic discourse. Notable titles include *Li Ku* 理窟, *Xinjing Yiyi* 新经译义, *Xixue Guanjian* 西学关键, *Xingxing Xueyao* 形性学要, *Xingfa Xueyao* 性法学要. He also compiled *Collected Works of Xu Wendin Gong* and *Collected Writings from the Wu Li*." <sup>40</sup>Fang Hao cited the biography of Li Wenyu written by Chen Baixi, who in turn quoted Mr. Gong: "There was no year without a new book." The biography listed 58 book titles and noted that during a 32-year span, Li Wenyu authored and translated a total of 60 works—17 original compositions, 39 translations, and 4 editorial works.<sup>41</sup> Jean Charbonnier echoed Fang Hao's assessment: "Li Wenyu wrote or translated approximately 60 works. Over a span of 32 years, he independently authored 17 works, translated 39 titles, and led the compilation of 4 collections." <sup>42</sup> Leopold Leeb also recorded that Li Wenyu authored and translated a total of 60 works, listing a selection of them,

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<sup>39</sup> Zhi Mao, "Father Li Wenyu, the Missionary Writer" (*Xiezuochuanjiao de Li Wenyu Shenfu* 写作传教的李问渔神父), *Merciful Sound: Bulletin of the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception*, St. Ignatius College, Xujiahui, Diocese of Shanghai (Ciyin: Shanghai Jiaqū Xujiahui Sheng Yinaque Gongxue Shengmu Shitai Hui Huikan 慈音: 上海教区徐家汇圣依纳爵公学圣母始胎会会刊), vol. 8, no. 9–10 (1942): 254.

<sup>40</sup> Zhang Ruogu 张若谷, "Annotations to the Letters of Priest Li Wenyu" (Li Wenyu siduo shouzha bazhu, 李问渔司铎手札跋注), St. Thomas Institute (Shangzhi Bianyiguan Guankan 上智编译馆馆刊) vol. 2, no. 2(1947):56.

<sup>41</sup> Fang Hao (方豪), *Biographical Dictionary of Figures in the History of Catholicism in China* (*Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shi renwu zhuan* 中国天主教史人物传), Beijing: Religious Culture Press, 2007, p. 651.

<sup>42</sup> Jean-Pierre Charbonnier, *History of Christianity in China*, Translated by Geng Sheng and Zheng Dedi, Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Press, 1998, 270.

though not comprehensively.<sup>43</sup> Joachim kurtz, in his academic article, carefully compiled detailed information about the titles, sources, and editions of Li Wenyu's writings and translations, tallying 70 works in total<sup>44</sup>(see Table 4). Fang Yunfang also reviewed Li Wenyu's works, concluding that "a relatively reliable count of Li Wenyu's published works, including original writings, translations, and edited volumes, comes to 69. This figure is based on the 68 titles recorded by Guo Jianbin and Xiao Qinghe, minus a duplicate entry for *Tianyan Boyi* 天演驳议, and plus two overlooked titles: *Kewen Tiaoda* 客问条答 and *Lianyu Lueshuo* 炼狱略说. If further verified, three additional titles found by Joachim kurtz—*Feizhou Youji* 斐洲游记, *Riyong Baoshu* 日用宝书, and *Questions on Daily Communion for Children* 幼童日领圣体之问题—would bring the total to 72"<sup>45</sup> (see Table 5). The present author has previously published an article compiling Li Wenyu's works, identifying 68 titles at the time. However, subsequent scholars pointed out certain errors in that compilation. This paper seeks to correct those earlier inaccuracies and advance the research based on prior studies.<sup>46</sup>

### Comparative research reveals discrepancies among earlier scholars

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<sup>43</sup> Leopold Leeb, *On the Greatness and Smallness of Christ: Chinese Intellectuals' Views of Christianity, 1900–1950* (Lun Jiduzhi da yu xiao 论基督之大与小: 1900–1950 年华人知识分子眼中的基督教), Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2000, 182–183. As cited by Leopold Leeb, Robert Streit (ed.), *Bibilotheca Missionum*, vol. 12, Herder, 1959, 556. The author lists 68 works.

<sup>44</sup> Joachim Kurtz, "The Works of Li Wenyu (1840-1911): Bibliography of a Chinese -Jesuit Publicist", *WAKUMON*, no.11, (2006) pp. 152-158.

<sup>45</sup> Fang Yunfang, *Both Writing and Praying: Li Wenyu in the Context of the Introduction of Western Learning in Late Qing China* (Yixie Yidao: Wanqing Xixue Dongjian zhong de Li Wenyu 亦写亦祷: 晚清西学东渐中的李问渔), Shanghai: Xuelin Publishing House, 2020, 151.

<sup>46</sup> Xiao Qinghe and Guo Jianbin, "The Forgotten Catholic Writer Li Wenyu: A Preliminary Study of His Works and the Current Research" (Bei yiwang de 'Gongjiao zuojia' Li Wenyu: Li Wenyu zhu yi kao ji yanjiu xianzhuang chutao 被遗忘的“公教作家”李问渔: 李问渔著译考及研究现状初探), in *Religion and History 5* (Zongjiao yu lishi 5 宗教与历史 5), edited by Xiao Qinghe, Shanghai: Shanghai University Press, 2016. Fang Yunfang has pointed out some errors in this study. See: Fang, Yunfang. *Both Writing and Praying: Li Wenyu in the Context of the Introduction of Western Learning in Late Qing China* (Yixie Yidao: Wanqing Xixue Dongjian zhong de Li Wenyu 《亦写亦祷: 晚清西学东渐中的李问渔》), Shanghai: Xuelin Publishing House, 2020, 151.

regarding the total number of Li Wenyu's works. Joachim kurtz and Fang Yunfang both undertook detailed inventories of titles and editions, but errors and omissions remain. For example, According to *A Brief Biography of the Founder and Chief Editor of Hui Bao over Thirty-Two Years* (hereafter referred to as the "*Hui Bao Biography*"), "*Xu Liku* 续理窟 was not yet published, and *Original Theology* 原神学 was still being serialized." (see Table 1) Since the biography was published in May 1911—the month of Li Wenyu's death—it is likely *Original Theology* had not yet been completed or published. As for *Xu Liku*, the biography states: "After his passing, colleagues at the publishing house compiled and printed *Xu Liku* in two volumes in 1915. This book was a manuscript finalized by Mr. Li during his lifetime."<sup>47</sup> Therefore, *Xu Liku* was unpublished during Li Wenyu's life. Xu Zongze's inventory (hereafter referred to as Xu's research or article) includes an entry for *Liku Zhengxu* 理窟正序(see Table 2), which likely refers to both *Li Ku* and *Xu Liku* as a single work. However, since *Li Ku* was published during Li's lifetime and went through multiple editions, while *Xu Liku* was first printed in 1915, each with standalone editions, the two should be regarded as separate works. In a catalog (see Table 3), Hu Duan listed *Zengbu Quanhuoji* 增补拳祸记 (in two large volumes) as a single work (hereafter referred to as Hu's research or article). Fang Hao, when discussing Li Wenyu's more academic works, referred to *Quanhuoji* 拳祸记 (two types) .<sup>48</sup> The term "two types" may imply two meanings: first, that the two volumes—*Quanfei Huoguoji* 拳匪祸国记 and *Quanfei Huojiaoji* 拳匪祸教记—deal with different subject matters; second, that after publishing the original, Li Wenyu solicited feedback from missionaries, revised errors and omissions,

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<sup>47</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu" (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Rrshiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine* (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志), 25, no. 12 (1936): 726. LI Wenyu, *Xu Likui* 续理窟, Shanghai: Tushanwan Press, 1915.

<sup>48</sup> Fang Hao 方豪, *Biographical Dictionary of Figures in the History of Catholicism in China* (Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shi renwu zhuan 中国天主教史人物传), Beijing: Religious Culture Press, 2007, p. 651.

and later reissued a revised edition—*Zengbu Quanfei Huojiaoji* 增补拳匪祸教记<sup>49</sup>. In either case, since both volumes were published independently and most scholars treat them as separate titles, they should be regarded as two distinct works. Li Wenyu also compiled and published a lithographic edition of *An Account of the 1900 Church Persecutions* (*Gengzi Jiaonanjì* 庚子教难记) in 1902, based on reports from priests across dioceses affected during the Boxer Rebellion. In its preface, Li stated: “Fearing the potential inaccuracies in reporting incidents from thousands of miles away, and recognizing that much may still be missing, I have had this lithographically printed and distributed to priests in the afflicted regions. They are kindly asked to point out inaccuracies and supply missing information before sending it back. — Jesuit Father Li Laolengzuo, October, Guangxu 28 [1902].”<sup>50</sup> This indicates the edition was intended as a draft for verification by contributors. Upon comparing this version with the 1905 *Quanfei Huojiaoji* published by the Tushanwan Press, it is evident that while the content is largely similar, the lithographic version lacks publication data and shows minor variations in structure, content, and prefaces. Thus, the lithographic edition of *An Account of the 1900 Church Persecutions* appears to be a preparatory version for the later formal publication of *Quanfei Huojiaoji* and can be considered its earliest version.

In the article in *Huibao Xiaozhuan*, as well as the articles by Xu Zongze, and Fang Yunfang, the book titled *Gongyibu Zouding Hunli* 公议部奏定婚例 is listed. However, in the articles by Hu Duan and Joachim Kurtz, a similarly titled work, *Hunpei Tiaoli* 婚配条例, is recorded. As I have not yet located the relevant book, it is provisionally categorized as the same work based on the

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<sup>49</sup> Li Wenyu, *Zengding Quanfei Huo Jiao Ji* 增订拳匪祸教记, “Expanded Preface”, Shanghai: Tushanwan Press, 1909.

<sup>50</sup> Li Wenyu, *Gengzi Jiaonan Ji* 庚子教难记, Lithographed edition, 1902.



literal meaning of the titles.

*Huibao Xiaozhuan*, Xu Zongze, and Kurtz all mention that *Shengmu Zhuan* 圣母传, *Zongtu Dashilu* 宗徒大事录, and *Jiaohuang Hongxu* 教皇洪序 were extracted from the book *Daoyuan Jingcui* 道源精萃.<sup>51</sup> According to my research, these three works were translated by Li Wenyu. The work *Zongtu Liezhuan* 宗徒列传, included in *Daoyuan Jingcui*, was edited and polished by Li Wenyu based on a fragmentary manuscript by Gao Yizhi, and should be classified as a compiled work by Li Wenyu.<sup>52</sup>

The 1926 edition of *Zongtu Liezhuan* is held in the Peking University Library, and library catalog records also register Li Wenyu as its editor. *Shengmu Zhuan*, *Zongtu Dashilu*, and *Jiaohuang Hongxu* were all published as standalone editions and should be counted as three distinct works. *De Jing* 德镜 is divided into two volumes: the first volume is *Shengmu Zhuan*, and the second is *Muxiang Sanshiyi Shou* 默想三十一首.<sup>53</sup> The *Shengmu Zhuan* in the first volume of *De Jing* is identical to the version included in *Daoyuan Jingcui*.

Fang Yunfang correctly pointed out errors in my previous textual research articles, and these have now been addressed. First, due to my oversight, *Kewen Tiaoda* 客问条答 was not included in the initial compilation, but it has now been added. Second, since I had not yet consulted *Lianyu Lueshuo* 炼狱略说 (held at the National Library of China) at that time, I failed to conduct a comparative study between *Lianyu Lueshuo* and *Lianyu Kao* (炼狱考), and superficially categorized them as a single work based solely on literal

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<sup>51</sup> Valentinus Garnier ed, *Daoyuan Jingcui* 道源精萃, Shanghai: Cimitang 慈母堂, 1887.

<sup>52</sup> For specific textual research, see Xiao Qinghe and Guo Jianbin, "The Forgotten 'Catholic Writer' Li Wenyu: A Preliminary Study on Li Wenyu's Works and Translations and Research Status" In Xiao Qinghe (ed.), *Religion and History (Zongjiao yu Lishi)* 宗教与历史, Vol.5, pp. 227–228.

<sup>53</sup> Li Wenyu, *Dejing* 德镜, Shanghai: Cimu Tang 慈母堂, 1889.

interpretation of their titles, when in fact they are two distinct texts. These have now been properly reclassified. Finally, in Hu Wen's bibliography under the "Theological and Philosophical" category, both *Tianyan Boyi* 天演驳义 and *Tianyan Lun Boyi* 天演论驳义 were listed. I concur with Fang's assertion that these two titles should be considered a single work. This conclusion is supported by the fact that only Hu's bibliography contains both similar titles, while Kurtz's records list only *Tian Yan Lun Bo Yi*. Furthermore, modern scholarly research on Li Wenyu's "evolutionary views" primarily references *Tianyan Lun Boyi*, with no extant citations of *Tian Yan Bo Yi* as a separate work.

Kurtz's research verified that Li Wenyu authored or translated a total of 70 works. Building upon Kurtz's study, Fang's article added *Zongtu Liezhuan* and *Mojing Shuhuaaji* 墨井书画集, bringing the total to 72 works. Zhang Ruogu mentioned in *Biography of the Classical Prose Master Li Wenyu* and *Postscript and Commentary on the Letters of Priest Li Wenyu* that *Mojing Shuhuaaji* was compiled by Li Wenyu. Xu's article and the article in *Huibao Xiaozhuan* also listed *Mojing Shuhuaaji* as one of Li's compilations (see Table 1 and Table 2). Although *Mojing Shuhuaaji* is housed in the Shanghai Library, its authorship by Li Wenyu has yet to be conclusively confirmed. In the preface written by Ma Xiangbo for *Mojingji*, it is mentioned that "My friend Wenyu has always been strictly self-disciplined regarding indulgence in trivialities. Though his words are known throughout the land, they are all writings on basic human necessities. Yet for the poetry of *Mojing*, he not only praised and compiled them, but also included its calligraphy and paintings."<sup>54</sup> This suggests that beyond editing the poetry and works of Wu Yushan, Li also compiled his paintings.

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<sup>54</sup> Li Wenyu, ed. *Mo Jing Ji* 墨井集, Shanghai: Tushanwan Press, 1900, Preface by Ma Xiangbo, 2.

In Kurtz's text, the book *Dawen Xinbian* 答问新编 is listed, and the author asserts that it remains an unpublished manuscript. This work is cataloged alongside *Kewen Tiaoda* 客问条答, suggesting they might be regarded as the same or closely related texts. This is incorrect. First, *Dawen Xinbian* was in fact published in 1880 by the Xujiahui Printing House in Shanghai. In the preface by Ni Huailun (Valentin Garnier), it is stated: "Therefore, key doctrines of the Church, and several dozen common doubts held by people at the time, were explained in detail in the form of questions and answers, and Priest Li was entrusted to carefully review and translate the material into this volume."<sup>55</sup> This clearly identifies the work as a translated piece by Li Wenyu. I have also examined an unpublished manuscript version of *Dawen Xinbian*, and found its content nearly identical to the published version, with only minor differences in wording. Secondly, *Dawen Xinbian* and *Kewen Tiaoda* are two distinct works. Although the main content is largely similar, a comparative analysis shows additions and omissions in each; parts of their prefaces are identical, both written by Ni Huailun. While both texts adopt a question and answer format, *Dawen Xinbian* includes specific characters, settings, and narrative context, whereas *Kewen Tiaoda* is structured in a concise one-question-one-answer format. Moreover, *Dawen Xinbian* concludes with an essay titled *Piqi Qianlun* 辟畦浅论 by Ni Huailun. Fang's article also omits *Dawen Xinbian*.

Li Wenyu once authored *Shengxinyue Xinbian* 圣新月新编, and due to the excellence of its writing, Zhou Fengqi adapted it into the Yanbei dialect and republished it under the title *Shengxinyue Xinbian Yixiang* 圣心月新编遗响. Fang noted: "Li Wenyu also excerpted, translated, and edited *Shengxinyue*

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<sup>55</sup> Li Wenyu, *Dawen Xinbian* 答问新编, Shanghai: Xuhui Press, 1880, Preface, 2.

*Xinbian Yixiang*, published by the Catholic Church in Hejian, 1903.”<sup>56</sup> This statement may not be entirely accurate, as the work should be considered an adaptation rather than an excerpted and edited translation. Thus, *Shengxinyue Xinbian Yixiang* should be treated as an independent title. In the process of collecting Li Wenyu's works, I discovered two handwritten thread-bound manuscripts that were never published: *Lixue Boyi* (理学驳议) and *Mousiduo Hangao* 某司铎函稿. The preface of *Lixue Boyi* states: “Written by Li Di in the second month of the 13th year of Guangxu.” *Mou Siduo Hangao* is a collection of correspondence between Li Wenyu and his friends, which was also unpublished at the time. Accordingly, *Lixue Boyi* and *Mousiduo Hangao* should be recognized as two distinct works by Li Wenyu.

To further explore the background and motivations of Li Wenyu's works and translations across different historical periods, this paper undertakes a detailed investigation and chronological arrangement of the first editions of his publications. Both Kurtz's and Fang's articles date the first edition of *Aizhu Jinyan* 爱主金言 to 1902. However, a edition held in the Shanghai Library shows the publication year as 1900, with the publisher listed as the “Cimutang Movable Type Press,” and the imprint on the last page indicates that it was “published by *Shengxin Bao*”<sup>57</sup>. Since the founding of *Shengxin Bao*, Li Wenyu had served as its editor-in-chief and principal writer. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that he contributed to this work, and that this is the *Aizhu Jinyan* referred to by scholars. Thus, the first edition of *Aizhu Jinyan* should be dated to 1900. Regarding *Bian'ao Jinzhen* (砭傲金针), Kurtz dates the first edition to 1882, while Fang records 1883. The reprinted 1884 edition includes a preface

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<sup>56</sup> Fang Yunfang, *Both Writing and Praying: Li Wenyu in the Context of the Introduction of Western Learning in Late Qing China* (Yixie Yidao: Wanqing Xixue Dongjian zhong de Li Wenyu 亦写亦祷: 晚清西学东渐中的李问渔), Shanghai: Xuelin Publishing House, 2020, 154.

<sup>57</sup> Li Wenyu, *Aizhu Jinyan* 爱主金言, Shanghai: Cimutang 慈母堂, 1900.

titled "Re-engraved Preface to *Bian'ao Jinzhen*," written by Li Wenyu in the winter of the ninth year of (1883) at Yiwen Guan. In the preface, he notes: "Last year I translated *Bian'ao Jinzhen* ... the initial print run was extensive... within less than a year, the copies were exhausted. To meet continued demand, I revised several dozen words and had the book reprinted."<sup>58</sup> This suggests that the first edition appeared in 1882. For *Bianhuo Zhiyan* (辯禍厄言), Kurtz and Fang respectively date the first edition to 1880 and 1902. The Shanghai Library holds a version published by the Xujiahui Press in 1880, with the imprimatur of Bishop Valentin Garnier.<sup>59</sup> Other versions in the collection contain labels such as "reprinted" or "revised preface," indicating that this 1880 edition is the earliest extant version.

Fang dates the first edition of *Jiaohuang Hongxu* to 1886, but the earliest version I have found is from 1888. The eighth volume of *Daoyuan Jingcui* includes this text and was published in 1888. In the absence of evidence for an earlier edition, 1888 is adopted as the first publication date. Kurtz and Fang list the first edition of *Kewen Tiaoda* 客问条答 as 1881 and 1910 respectively. However, the Xujiahui Press printed an edition in early 1882, with a preface by Bishop Valentin Garnier dated to the same period.<sup>60</sup> In the 1897 reprint, Valentin Garnier wrote a new preface referencing: "*Kewen Tiaoda*, written in Renwu year [i.e., 1882], has since circulated widely for fifteen years." This confirms that the earliest edition appeared in 1882. As for *Meigui Jingyi* 玫瑰经义, Kurtz was unsure of its initial publication year, while Fang lists it as 1886. The Shanghai Library holds an 1886 version published by Cimu Tang 慈母堂, with a preface by Li Wenyu dated summer of 1886, consistent with the publication year.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Li Wenyu, *Bianao Jinzheng* 砭傲金针, Shanghai: Cimu Tang, 1884.

<sup>59</sup> Li Wenyu, *Bianhuo Zhiyan* 辯惑厄言, Shanghai: Xuhui Press, 1880.

<sup>60</sup> Li Wenyu, *Kewen Tiaoda* 客问条答, Shanghai: Xuhui Press, 1882.

<sup>61</sup> Li Wenyu, *Meigui Jingyi* 玫瑰经义, Shanghai: Cimu Tang, 1886.

Thus, this edition is likely the first. Regarding *Mo Jing Ji*, Kurtz records the first edition as 1908, which appears to be inaccurate. A 1909 edition includes a preface by Li Wenyu. In it, he writes, "In the summer of 1909, I opened an old box at the Xujiahui Library and found an unprinted manuscript by the master, along with *San Ba Ji* 三巴集, containing more material than that compiled by Mr. Gu. The writings deal extensively with matters of the Church and are of great significance. I sought approval from the superiors to compile both the printed and unprinted materials into a single volume, titled *Mo Jing Ji*."<sup>62</sup> Therefore, the book was published in 1909. For *Qidao Huiyou Bianlan* 祈祷会友便览, both scholars date the first edition to 1896. However, I have examined an 1887 edition printed by the Ci Mu Tang Movable Type Press at Tushanwan. The preface concludes with the notation: "Mid-autumn 1887, recorded by Shengxin Bao." I suspect this version may be the earliest edition.

Kurtz did not specify the first publication date of *Shengmu Zhuan* 圣母传, while Fang listed it as 1886. However, Volume 6 of *Daoyuan Jingcui* is *Shengmu Zhuan*, published in 1887, with a preface by Jesuit Li Wenyu dated to the summer of 1887. It can thus be inferred that the first edition was issued in 1887. Regarding *Sheng Ruose Yue Xinbian* 圣若瑟月新编<sup>63</sup>, Kurtz recorded the first edition as 1888. The 1892 edition printed by Ci Mu Tang in Shanghai contains a preface by Jesuit Li Wenyu dated 1892, and there are no markings indicating a reprint or revised edition, suggesting this was the first edition. As for *Shengxin Yue Xinbian* 圣心月新编<sup>64</sup>, Fang dated the first edition to 1900. However, the Shanghai Library holds a copy published by the Ci Mu Tang Ju Zhen Press in 1879, which includes a preface by Li Wenyu dated 1878.

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<sup>62</sup> Li Wenyu, *Mo Jing Ji* 墨井集, Shanghai: Tushanwan Press, 1909.

<sup>63</sup> Li Wenyu, *Sheng Yuese Yue Xinbian* 圣若瑟月新编, Shanghai: Cimitang, 1892.

<sup>64</sup> Li Wenyu, *Shengxin Yue Xinbian* 圣心月新编, Shanghai: Cimitang Movable Type 慈母堂活板, 1879.

Therefore, this earlier version should be regarded as the first edition. Concerning *Tianshen Pu* (天神谱), Kurtz and Fang respectively list the first edition as 1885 and 1876. I consulted an 1886 edition<sup>65</sup>, printed by Ci Mu Tang Movable Type Press, with a preface written by Li Wenyu in June of 1885. The preface predates the publication by one year, which is reasonable, and no indication of reprinting appears in the text. In the preface, Li Wenyu mentions, "It has now been six years since I began managing *Yi Wen Lu*, and though the newspaper has widely circulated...". *Yi Wen Lu* was formally launched in 1879. This disproves the claim of an 1876 edition. The earliest reliable publication date should therefore be 1886. Fang suggests that the first edition of *Tianti* 天梯 was in 1891, which appears to be inaccurate. Ci Mu Tang in Shanghai published an edition in 1888<sup>66</sup>, accompanied by a preface authored by Li Wenyu in the same year. Thus, the 1888 edition should be considered the first. Both scholars date the first publication of *Tianyuan Lun Boyi* 天演论驳议 to 1910. However, this work was included as an appendix to *Zhexue Tigang·Shenglixue* 哲学提纲·生理学, published in 1907, and was later issued as a standalone volume. Therefore, the earliest publication of *Tianyuan Lun Boyi* should be dated to 1907. Regarding *Wuli Tuiyuan* 物理推原, Kurtz did not provide a first publication date. I consulted an 1896 edition which bears two imprints on the cover, "Printed in 1892" and "Reprinted in 1896".<sup>67</sup> The edition also contains a preface by Li Wenyu dated "early spring of the 18th year of Guangxu" (1892). It can thus be inferred that the first edition of *Wuli Tuiyuan* was published in 1892.

Regarding *Funü* 福女 (Maliyana Zhuan 福女马利亚纳), Kurtz dates the first

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<sup>65</sup> Li Wenyu, *Tianshen Pu* 天神谱, Shanghai: Cimitang Movable Type 慈母堂活板, 1886, Preface, 1b.

<sup>66</sup> Li Wenyu, *Tianti* 天梯, Shanghai: Cimitang, 1888.

<sup>67</sup> Li Wenyu, *Wuli Tuiyuan* 物理推原, Shanghai: Xuhui Press, 1896.

edition to 1904, which may be inaccurate. A 1906 edition printed by the Ci Mu Tang Press in Shanghai includes a preface by Li Wenyu, dated "January 6, 1906," which matches the publication date. This edition is likely the first. As for *Xin Zhen* (心箴), Kurtz and Fang list the first edition as 1893 and 1889 respectively. I have consulted both the 1893<sup>68</sup> and 1905 editions, both of which contain a preface by Li Wenyu dated to 1890. This suggests that the first edition may have been issued in 1890. Regarding *Sheng Liunaduo Zixiuzhi* 圣留纳多自修志, both scholars mark the first edition as "unknown," with the second edition dated 1924. In fact, the work was originally serialized in *Shengxin Bao* between 1904 and 1906, and was later compiled and published by scholars from the same press. The 1924 preface states, "Father Li Wenyu, former director of the *Shengxin Bao* at Xujiahui, once translated *Sheng Liunaduo Zixiuzhi* and published it in the 1904–1906 issues of *Shengxin Bao*. Focused on the Saint's love for God and mankind, and his example of personal cultivation, the articles, when read thoroughly, greatly aid spiritual development. Yet no independent volume had ever been published, a source of some regret... It was thus decided to commit it to print for wider circulation."<sup>69</sup> This preface, written by Chen Dong of Sheshan Observatory in the summer of 1924, confirms that the 1924 edition is in fact the first published version. As for *Shengli Xue* 生理学 and *Lingxing Xue* 灵性学, Kurtz dated the first edition to 1907, while Fang listed 1908. I have reviewed the 1907 edition of *Shengli Xue*, which includes a preface by Li Wenyu dated "Spring of the 33rd year of Guangxu" (1907), stating, "Now that the works on *Shengli Xue* and *Lingxing Xue* are completed, I shall proceed to print them in order."<sup>70</sup> Additionally, the cover of *Lingxing Xue* is marked as having

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<sup>68</sup> Li Wenyu, *Xin Zhen* 心箴, Shanghai: Cimu Tang Press, 1893.

<sup>69</sup> Li Wenyu, *Sheng Liunaduo Zixiu Zhi* 圣留那多自修志, Shanghai: Catholic Progress Association Press, 1924, Preface, 1.

<sup>70</sup> Li Wenyu, *Zhexue Tigang: Shenglixue* 哲学提纲·生理学, Shanghai: Tushanwan Press, 1907.



been typeset and printed by the Tushanwan Printing House in Shanghai in the “33rd year of Guangxu, dingwei year” (1907).<sup>71</sup> This indicates that both works were first published in 1907. Regarding the first publication of *Zhenjiao Wenda* 真教问答, Kurtz marked the date as unknown, while Fang listed 1895. I have examined an 1899 edition, which contains a preface by Li Wenyu dated “May, 25th year of Guangxu” (1899). This suggests that the 1899 edition was the first.

The first edition date of Acts of *Zongtu Dashi Lu* 宗徒大事录 is disputed by Kurtz and Fang, who respectively state it as 1907 and 1886. However, I believe both dates to be inaccurate. Volume 5 of Selections from *Daoyuan Jingcui* is titled *Zongtu Dashi Lu* and was published in 1887 by the Ci Mu Tang Press in Shanghai. The 1926 edition of *Xinjing Yiyi*, *Zongtu Dashi Lu* appears as an appendix. In the preface to *Xinjing Yiyi*, written in 1907, it is mentioned, “in former times, translations of the New Testament were rarely available or circulated. This deeply troubled the devoted. Fortunately, in the bingshen year of the Guangxu reign, four volumes of the *Wanri Lue* 万日略 were translated, and in the autumn of the yisi year, a volume of *Zongtu Dashi Lu* was translated and sequentially published to promote wider dissemination and to glorify God, while also praying for mercy upon the humble translator.”<sup>72</sup> This suggests that *Zongtu Dashi Lu* was translated in 1905. The cover bears the note, “translated by Jesuit Li Wenyu in 1907. Reprinted by the Tushanwan Press in Shanghai in 1914.” Therefore, the first edition of this version of *Zongtu Dashi Lu* dates to 1907. A comparison between the version in Selections from *Daoyuan Jingcui* and that appended to *Xinjing Yiyi* reveals that the two works narrate essentially the same apostolic stories from the Bible. However, they differ significantly in terms of linguistic style, vocabulary, length, and annotations. Furthermore, the

<sup>71</sup> Li Wenyu, *Zhexue Tigan: Lingxingxue* 哲学提纲·灵性学, Shanghai: Tushanwan Press, 1907.

<sup>72</sup> Li Wenyu, *Xinjing Yiyi* 新经译义, Shanghai: Tushanwan Cimu Tang, 1926, Preface, 4.

Selections from *Daoyuan Jingcui* includes a note at the beginning of the main text: "Excerpt-translated by Jesuit Li Wenyu." Based on this, it can be inferred that the two works are distinct translations of *Zongtu Dashi Lu*.

Based on the above analysis, a total of 78 works authored or translated by Li Wenyu have been identified (see Table 6 for details)<sup>73</sup>. The majority of these are translations. As Kurtz noted, "more than two third of which were translations or digests of works originally written in French or Latin, on a brand range of subjects ranging from Catholic doctrine and liturgy to history, science, philosophy, and logic."<sup>74</sup> Approximately two-thirds of Li Wenyu's works are directly related to Catholic teachings, catechism, liturgy, history, and hagiography. The remainder primarily address the dialogue between Catholicism and traditional Chinese culture and religions, or promote Catholicism through the dissemination of Western learning. This distribution reflects not only Li Wenyu's personal identity and missionary vocation, but also the Jesuit publication strategy in China and the socio-historical context of the late Qing period. Kurtz examined the publishing history of the Tushanwan Printing House between 1874 and 1917. According to the publisher's categorization, the ratio of religious to non-religious Chinese-language publications was roughly 2.5:1. The proportion of religious to non-religious works in Li Wenyu's corpus corresponds closely to this ratio.<sup>75</sup> Why does such

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<sup>73</sup> I was unable to identify five works during research: *Feizhou Youji* 斐洲游记, *Hunzi Tiaoli* 婚配条例, *Shencha Jianze* 省察简则, *Shencha Guishi* 省察规式, *Youtong Riling Shengti Zhi Wenti* 幼童日领圣体之问题. These were included based on the bibliographies compiled by Joachim Kurtz and Fang Yunfang.

<sup>74</sup> Joachim Kurtz, "The Works of Li Wenyu (1840-1911): Bibliography of a Chinese-Jesuit Publicist", p.149.

<sup>75</sup> Joachim Kurtz, "Messenger of the Sacred Heart: Li Wenyu (1840-1911) and the Jesuit Periodical Press in Late Qing Shanghai", Edited by Cynthia Brokaw and Christopher A. Reed, *Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Print and Publishing Culture in Transition, circa 1800 to 2008*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, p91. Based on my collation of Li Wenyu's works, approximately 50 are religious books and over 20 are non-religious books, with a rough ratio of 2.5:1. As Joachim Kurtz categorized works by publisher while I classifies them by content, some books cannot be strictly divided into "religious" and "non-religious". Hence this is the approximate figures.

a proportional allocation exist? It is well known that the Jesuits maintained a rigorous system of publication review. Each of Li Wenyu's works includes approval marks such as "Approved by the Vicar Apostolic of Jiangnan," attesting to this control. After the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773 and its restoration in 1814, the reestablished Jesuits aimed to continue the overseas missionary legacy of their predecessors. They planned to revive the missionary strategy of the Ming and Qing Jesuits, which integrated the dissemination of scientific knowledge with evangelization. Through this strategy, they sought to maintain continuity with the work of earlier Jesuits.<sup>76</sup> However, upon re-entering China, the new Jesuits faced a variety of missionary challenges. First, following the Rites Controversy, Emperor Kangxi banned Christianity. Consequently, missionary work went underground, and Chinese Catholics, lacking clerical oversight and guidance, had to pass on their faith independently. "The Qing Christians inevitably compromised with local culture and transformed many of their practices in order to survive. When the new Jesuits and other Christians missionaries arrived in China in the mid-nineteenth century, the Christian communities they encountered were usually detour though unconscionably heterodox in the missionaries' view."<sup>77</sup> Second, the arrival of Protestant missionaries introduced significant competition. "Since the mid-19th century, the Protestant missionaries and foreigners who had taken the place of the original Jesuits became new culture intermediaries. They worked with Chinese intellectuals to translate the latest Western learning into Chinese."<sup>78</sup> Finally, the late Qing Jesuits may have believed that "the scientific

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<sup>76</sup> Hsin-fang Wu, "The transmission of memories: reprints, historical studies, sang commemoration in the Jesuit Shang Hai mission, 1842-1949", a dissertation in History Department, The Pennsylvania State University, 2017, p2-8.

<sup>77</sup> Hsin-fang Wu, "The transmission of memories: reprints, historical studies, sang commemoration in the Jesuit Shang Hai mission, 1842-1949", p11.

<sup>78</sup> Hsin-fang Wu, "The transmission of memories: reprints, historical studies, sang commemoration in the Jesuit Shang Hai mission, 1842-1949", pp12-13.

knowledge in the old texts was now out of date. Certainly scientific advances in Europe since the eighteenth century had changed the old system such that new disciplines had come into existence and the outer world had come to be understood in radically new ways.”<sup>79</sup> In light of these new circumstances, Jesuit missionaries in the late Qing period concluded that “imposing European Christian practices on the Chinese was more important than winning support by showing their knowledge of science and Chinese culture.”<sup>80</sup> As a result, to reinforce their connection to the Jesuit legacy of the Ming and Qing periods while differentiating themselves from Protestant and other missionary groups, the late Qing Jesuits prioritized the re-publication of devotional and faith-centered works by their predecessors. “As for the scientific texts that had won acclaim far beyond the Jesuit sphere, the new Jesuits had no thought of them.”<sup>81</sup>

Due to the publishing strategy of the Jesuits in the late Qing period, the majority of Li Wenyu's works focused on the promotion of Catholic doctrines and teachings. However, he also published a number of "non-religious" works, primarily dealing with themes such as Chinese culture, interreligious dialogue, Western science and technology, institutions, and thought. These works most clearly reflect the evolution of Li Wenyu's intellectual trajectory, as well as the purposes and contextual background of his writings. What changes, then, occurred in Li Wenyu's thought? Why did these changes take place? What were the purposes and circumstances of his publications? First, through a study of Li Wenyu's *Li Ku* and *Xu Liku*, we can trace changes of his intellectual thinking with some clarity. *Li Ku* was first published in 1886. It compiled essays that had

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<sup>79</sup> Hsin-fang Wu, “The transmission of memories: reprints, historical studies, sang commemoration in the Jesuit Shang Hai mission, 1842-1949”, p55.

<sup>80</sup> Hsin-fang Wu, “The transmission of memories: reprints, historical studies, sang commemoration in the Jesuit Shang Hai mission, 1842-1949”, p8.

<sup>81</sup> Hsin-fang Wu, “The transmission of memories: reprints, historical studies, sang commemoration in the Jesuit Shang Hai mission, 1842-1949”, p32.

originally been serialized in the *Yiwenlu*. In the preface to *Li Ku*, Li wrote, "In the spring of the year Ji Mao (己卯), Yiwen office was established and I was appointed its director. I thus began composing essays explaining the essentials of our religion, arranging them by topic and publishing them regularly. Eight years have since passed, and over 300 essays were written. I have now selected and edited them down to 100, organized into nine volumes."<sup>82</sup> Over the following two decades, Li continued to publish essays in the newspaper *Huibao*. After his death, these writings were compiled and published by his Jesuit colleagues as *Xu Liku*. This book contains "109 essays personally approved by Mr. Li during his lifetime."<sup>83</sup> Its purpose was "to rectify social customs, debunk superstitions, integrate scientific understanding, and return to true moral principles, forming a coherent system of thought." Its content is diverse, and each essay stands independently. "Its materials may be drawn from varied sources, and its arguments strive for balance." According to contemporaries, "Readers may treat it as an alternative gospel, a scientific reference, or even a collection of universal maxims."<sup>84</sup> The content of *Liku* primarily focused on proving Catholicism as the one true faith and refuting the errors of other religions. *Xu Liku*, in contrast, encompassed a much broader range of topics, including theological arguments, science and education, and the improvement of social customs. In 1887, Li Wenyu also wrote *Lixue Boyi*, a critical work on Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism. However, this manuscript survives only as a handwritten copy and was never formally published. I speculate that this may be due to changes in the missionary strategy of both the Jesuits and Li himself—polemics against Confucianism were no longer prioritized in the evolving

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<sup>82</sup> Li Wenyu, *Li Ku* 理窟, Shanghai: Cimitang, 1886, Preface, 2.

<sup>83</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu" (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Rrshiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine* (Shenjiao Zazhi 圣教杂志), 25, no. 12 (1936): 726.

<sup>84</sup> Li Wenyu, *Xu Li Ku* 续理窟, Shanghai: Tushanwan Press, 1915, Preface, 2–6.

context of missionary work, and thus the work remained unpublished. From the above materials, it is evident that not only did the content of Li Wenyu's evangelism change, but his missionary strategy also underwent adjustments. In terms of content, he expanded from a single focus—proving Catholicism as the sole true religion and refuting other beliefs—to include broader themes such as science, education, and the advocacy for social reform. In terms of strategy, Li initially followed the traditional Jesuit model from the Ming and Qing dynasties—"harmonizing with Confucianism while opposing Buddhism," incorporating ancient Confucian thought, and criticizing Neo-Confucianism. However, with the shift in historical and social conditions, he gradually turned his attention to public welfare and social concerns as a means of advancing the missionary cause.

The transformation of Li Wenyu's thought is also evident in the Western scientific works he translated. In his 1892 publication *Wuli Tuiyuan* (物理推原), the content covered topics such as "astronomy, physical forms, plants, humans, animals, insects, mollusks, and microscopic organisms, as well as the underlying principles behind their existence." Li's purpose in translating this work was to demonstrate that the observable natural phenomena of the universe—its myriad forms and the intelligence of mankind—ultimately testified to the governance and providence of God. The preface reveals his method of argumentation:

The origins of the natural sciences (referred to in classical Chinese as *ge zhi zhi xue*, or the study of investigating things) can be traced back to antiquity. As early as the era of Yao and Shun, astronomical observation was employed to formulate calendars and regulate governance—practices that may be considered the embryonic stage of this discipline. During the reign of Yu, efforts to control floods led to a clearer understanding of geographical

principles. By the Zhou dynasty, rudimentary trigonometric techniques—such as those recorded in the *Zhoubi Suanjing*—had emerged, including the use of gnomons and square tools to measure shadows and distances. Following the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, successive regimes placed varying emphasis on different branches of knowledge. The Jin dynasty prioritized philology and the study of script; the Tang dynasty valued poetic competence as a key criterion for talent selection; the Song dynasty revered Neo-Confucian metaphysics; the Yuan dynasty favored the visual arts; and the Ming dynasty championed classical exegesis. However, these intellectual traditions often focused narrowly on specific disciplines, neglecting the broader philosophical and empirical pursuit of understanding the fundamental principles governing the cosmos—the quest to return to origins and seek first causes (*gui yuan fan ben* 归原返本).

As a result, Buddhist monks pursue emptiness and non-being, yet prattle endlessly—for them, reincarnation alone is the Way, with no other doctrine; Daoist adepts pursued esoteric longevity practices, largely concerned with immortality cults; and Confucian scholars, motivated by worldly ambition, confined their studies to civil service examinations, with little attention paid to knowledge beyond classical texts and literary composition.

In contrast, my examination of modern Western intellectual traditions reveals a profound divergence. Western scholars' investigations into the natural world—spanning the mysteries of astronomy, the foundations of geography, the dynamics of climate and atmospheric change, the circulation of rivers and oceans, the life cycles of flora and fauna, the instincts of birds, beasts, fish, and insects, and the physiological functions of the human body—demonstrate a deep commitment to systematic inquiry. Their method proceeds from surface to substance (*you xian ru wei* 由显入微) and from phenomena to underlying

causes (tan yuan jiu wei 探原究委), enabling groundbreaking technological innovations such as railways, steamships, gas lamps, telegraphs, steam engines, and photography. These inventions have not only proliferated in use but have also attained increasing levels of refinement, reflecting the widespread influence and prestige of Western scientific thought.

Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that even within Western academic circles, there exist those who are content with the mere observation of natural phenomena (the “what is” of physics) without delving into the deeper causality or theoretical principles underlying them (the “why it is” of physics).<sup>85</sup>

From the preface, it is evident that Li Wenyu revered the teachings of the Three Dynasties (Xia, Shang, Zhou). He believed that after this period, scholars became overly focused on specialized disciplines and neglected the concept of “returning to the origin and essence”. As a result, Buddhism emphasized reincarnation, Daoism pursued immortality, and Confucian scholars became preoccupied with fame and official titles. Even modern Western naturalists, though proficient in the study of the natural world, failed to trace the fundamental origins of physical phenomena. At this stage, Li Wenyu primarily employed “a reverence for antiquity to critique Buddhism while promoting the social functions of Christianity.”<sup>86</sup> In his writings, through the introduction of modern science and technology, Li continued to criticize traditional Chinese religions and culture, using this as a means to advocate for Catholicism. In his 1899 work *Xingxing Xueyao* 形性学要, Li Wenyu discussed Western disciplines such as mechanics, hydrodynamics, pneumatics, acoustics, thermodynamics, optics, magnetism, and electricity — clearly presenting it as a treatise on physics.

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<sup>85</sup> Li Wenyu, *Wuli Tuiyuan* 物理推原, Shanghai: Xujiahui Press, 1896, Preface.

<sup>86</sup> Sun Shangyang and Nicolas Standaert, *Christianity in China before 1840 (1840 Nian Qian de Zhongguo Jidujiao)* 1840 年前的中国基督教, Beijing: Xueyuan Publishing House 学苑出版社, 2004, 146.



However, Li did not emphasize tracing the origins of physical phenomena. Instead, he argued for the adoption of Western learning as a path toward national prosperity and strength. He wrote, "Today, Western methods are prevalent, competing in ingenuity and innovation, and are generally derived from the latest developments in these sciences. When Chinese people encounter Westerners and witness their inventions—steamships, locomotives, gas lamps, electric wires, solar photography, telegraphs—they often marvel in admiration, yet remain unaware of the principles behind them. Why? Because they have not studied the nature of things (Xingxing Xue 形性学). Why have they not studied them? Because such books are unavailable. And even when available, they are difficult to comprehend. Without familiarity with Western learning, how can one establish the foundation for national prosperity and strength?"<sup>87</sup> In his 1903 publication *Xixue Guanjian* 西学关键, Li Wenyu addressed subjects such as astronomy, mechanics, acoustics, thermodynamics, optics, magnetism and electricity, and pneumatics. In the preface, he identified the study of investigating things as equivalent to Western learning. He observed that Western nations have developed this field to increasing levels of precision, and that their investigations are inevitably translated into practical application. This has led to their advancements in politics, economics, military affairs, agriculture, and manufacturing. In contrast, after the Three Dynasties, Chinese scholars neglected practical knowledge concerned with statecraft and real-world application. During the reform era of the Hundred Days' Reform (1898), the Qing government began to revise its talent selection system and promote Western learning. In this context, Li Wenyu advocated for the Chinese to embrace Western studies as a means to strengthen and enrich the nation.

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<sup>87</sup> Li Wenyu, *Xingxing Xueyao* 形性学要, Shanghai: Xujiahui Huibao Press (徐汇汇报馆印), 1899, Preface, 1–2.

With the flourishing of commerce, the advancement of weaponry, the abundance of agricultural harvests, and the proliferation of manufacturing, human footprints now reach the ends of the earth, and authority extends overseas—by all accounts, Europe and America have truly reached a height of prosperity in our day. Tracing the roots of this success, it is clear that they have benefited from Western learning and the ingenuity of its practical applications. By contrast, since the era of the Three Dynasties, China has devoted itself primarily to literary pursuits, the Jin dynasty prized calligraphy, the Tang esteemed poetry, the Song emphasized ritual and metaphysics, the Yuan valued painting, and the Ming favored exegetical commentaries. All these remained confined to the narrow domain of literary arts and scholarly writing. To attempt to govern a nation on this basis is no different from seeking sharpness from a leaden blade—even a child would recognize the futility of such an endeavor. Now, the Majesty, with keen insight into the perils of the times and an urgent desire to remedy them, issued an edict in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, abolishing the eight-legged essay and the traditional examination essays. Academies across the provinces, both large and small, were ordered to reform into schools that combine the study of Chinese and Western knowledge. Our mission, while upholding reverence for the Divine Creator and adherence to the sovereign's commands, has accordingly renamed *Yiwen lu* as *Huibao*. The publication now includes substantial content on Western learning, supplemented with current news, in hopes that Chinese across the twenty-two provinces may come to understand the essential principles of scientific and practical knowledge. In this way, the intellectual climate may be transformed, talent may emerge, and the foundations of

national wealth and power may thus be established.<sup>88</sup>

That same year, Li also translated and published *Taixi Shiwu Congkao* 泰西事务丛考, another work promoting Western learning. In 1904, he translated and published *Xingfa Xueyao* 性法学要, which addressed subjects such as: Discipline of Right Conduct (Zhengxing Xue 正行学)<sup>89</sup>: cultivating correct thought, speech, and behavior, Guiding Principles for Solitary Practice (Duxing Fa 独行法)<sup>90</sup>: maintaining discipline in one's household and profession without forming exclusive groups; Mutual Aid Covenant (Hehui Fa 合会法)<sup>91</sup>: cooperation among people to achieve common benefits; Protocol for Inter-state relations (Bangjiao Fa 邦交法). These are our codes of conduct for personal behavior, the principles governing how we relate to ourselves and others, family members, the government, and the nation, as well as the norms governing diplomatic interactions between states. Li argued that only by understanding the nature and principle of things (xingfa 性法) could the customs of the people be purified and the nation flourish. As he wrote, “the nature and principle of things is the standard for correct intention, proper speech and action, and righteous interaction. It governs commerce, education, sovereign-subjects relations, and international diplomacy—everything is rooted in natural law.”<sup>92</sup>

In the 1907 preface to *Philosophical Outlines* (Zhexue Tigang 哲学提纲), a textbook for the Collège Saint Ignace (Zhendan Academy), Li further advocated the importance of philosophy in modern China: “Later generations

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<sup>88</sup> Li Wenyu, *Xixue Guanjian* 西学关键, Shanghai: Hong Baozhai Lithographic Press 洪宝斋石印, 1903, Preface, 2.

<sup>89</sup> Li Wenyu, *Xingfa Xueyao* 性法学要, Shanghai: Xujiahui Movable Type Press 徐家汇书馆活板, 1909, 1.

<sup>90</sup> Li Wenyu, *Xingfa Xueyao* 性法学要, Shanghai: Xujiahui Movable Type Press, 1909, 25.

<sup>91</sup> Li Wenyu, *Xingfa Xueyao* 性法学要, Shanghai: Xujiahui Movable Type Press, 1909, 46.

<sup>92</sup> Li Wenyu, *Xingfa Xueyao* 性法学要, Shanghai: Xujiahui Movable Type Press, “Preface” 1909, 2.

reading the works of philosophers must select what is good and follow it. This establishes personal cultivation, clarifies kinship duties, distinguishes social roles, and demarcates personal rights and obligations. All disciplines have their roots here. Other nations understand this well, which is why they require philosophical examinations for civil service selection system. This practice has long-standing precedent. Recently, the Majesty issued a sacred decree establishing constitutional governance. Schools now prioritize Western learning, and government policies draw from Western models. The spread of philosophy in China is thus imminent.”<sup>93</sup>

The thematic focus of Li Wenyu's dissemination of Western learning evolved over time, beginning with translations of works in astronomy and physics and later expanding to encompass Western legal, ethical, and philosophical thought. His approach shifted from continuing the Jesuit tradition of combining science and missionary work during the Ming and Qing dynasties, to emphasizing the application of practical Western knowledge in light of China's national conditions and historical context, aiming ultimately at enriching the nation and strengthening the people. This transformation was closely linked to the socio-political environment of late Qing China and Li Wenyu's personal sense of identity. “People showed more interest in Western learning particularly after China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895.”<sup>94</sup> Li's translated works—*Xingxing Xueyao* (1899), *Xixue Guanjian* (1903), *Taixi Shiwu Congkao* (1903), *Xingfa Xueyao* (1904), and *Outline of Philosophy* (1907)—coincided with the Qing government's reform efforts, from the Hundred Days' Reform to the New Policies and the constitutional preparations in the late Qing. These works reflect the process of China's learning from the West, progressing

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<sup>93</sup> Li Wenyu, *Zhexue Tigan* 哲学提纲, Shanghai: Tushanwan Press, 1907, Preface, 3.

<sup>94</sup> Hsin-fang Wu, “The transmission of memories: reprints, historical studies, sang commemoration in the Jesuit Shang Hai mission, 1842-1949”, p59.

from military technologies to political-legal institutions and ultimately to intellectual and cultural thought. As Xu Zongze noted, "Li's thought underwent considerable transformation over these thirty years, largely as a result of changing circumstances and environments. At the end of the 19th century, China still clung to outdated traditions and revered the literary examination system, leaving little room for reformist ideas to penetrate the minds of Confucian scholars. Hence, Li's writings and public arguments at the time had to align with this context. However, after the Boxer Rebellion, Chinese perceptions began to shift significantly. Especially in the two to three years before the revolution, Li paid particular attention to introducing new ideas and theories from Europe and America. He was, indeed, highly adept at responding to change."<sup>95</sup> In terms of personal identity, Li Wenyu was not only a Jesuit missionary and Catholic priest, but also a Chinese intellectual. He had received traditional Confucian education and only later renounced the imperial examination system to join the Jesuits. Catholicism and Chinese culture thus coexisted harmoniously within him. Deeply aware of the nation's backwardness and crisis, he hoped to promote practical Western knowledge through translation, awakening national consciousness and offering a practical path to national salvation, ultimately achieving prosperity and military strength. This sense of identity is also reflected in Li's esteem for classical Chinese literature. He compiled *Steps to Classical Prose* (*Guwen Shiji* 古文拾级), in whose preface he argued that "Though ornate compositions may please the emotions, they contribute little to practical utility. Only robust and lucid prose can sustain the moral order and enlighten the people. This is the value of

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<sup>95</sup> Xu Zongze, "The 25th Anniversary Memorial of the Death of Father Li Wenyu" (Li Wenyu Siduo Shishi Rrshiwu Zhounian Jinian 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念), *The Holy Teachings Magazine* (*Shenjiao Zazhi* 圣教杂志), 25, no. 12 (1936): 726.

classical prose, and every student ought to read it... In recent years, with the Imperial Court initiating reforms and diversifying education, fewer children devote themselves to classical prose. The existing anthologies are overly complex and deep, unsuited to the average student.”<sup>96</sup> With the help of a friend, he compiled *Steps to Classical Prose* in two volumes, intended for use in elementary and secondary education.

In sum, although the new Jesuits were generally less enthusiastic about the scientific missionary strategies of the Ming-Qing Jesuits, scientific works continued to emerge. Li Wenyu, as a representative figure among late Qing Jesuits in China, not only fulfilled his religious duty of “writing for the true happiness of mankind,” but also expressed profound concern for China’s situation, using his pen to articulate a heartfelt commitment to national salvation and public enlightenment.

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<sup>96</sup> Li Wenyu, *Guwen Shiji* 古文拾级, Shanghai: Tushanwan Press, 1909, Preface, 6.

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## Appendix

**Table1: according to “A Brief Biography of the Founder and Chief Editor of The Bulletin Over Thirty-Two Years”(汇报发起人兼主笔政三十二年之小传)**

Works	<i>Shengxin Yue Xinbian</i> 圣心月新编, <i>Bianhuo Zhiyan</i> 辨惑厄言, <i>Bian'ao Jinzhen</i> 砭傲金针, <i>Tianshen Pu</i> 天神谱, <i>Liku</i> 理窟, <i>Meigui Jingyi</i> 玫瑰经义, <i>Shengti Ji</i> 圣体纪, <i>De Jing</i> 德镜, <i>Xin Zhen</i> 心箴, <i>Dawen Lucun</i> 问答录存, <i>Zhong Yan</i> 忠言, <i>Sheng Ruose Yue Xinbian</i> 圣若瑟月新编, <i>Misa Xiao Yan</i> 弥撒小言, <i>Fengci Zhengyi</i> 奉慈正义, <i>Aizhu Jinyan</i> 爱主金言, <i>Quanhuo Ji</i> 拳祸记, <i>Zengding Quanfei Huojiao Ji</i> 增订拳匪祸教记, <i>Xu Liku</i> 续理窟 (unpublished)
Chanslations	<i>Lianyu Kao</i> 炼狱考, <i>Sheng Yinnajue Shengshui Ji</i> 圣依纳爵圣水记, <i>Shengmu Zhuan</i> 圣母传, <i>Zongtu Dashilu</i> 宗徒大事录, <i>Jiaohuang Hongxu</i> 教皇洪序 (The three books mentioned above are sourced from <i>Daoyuan Jingcui</i> 道原精萃) , <i>Tianti</i> 天梯, <i>Beizhong Lu</i> 备终录, <i>Sanyuan Wenda</i> 三愿问, <i>Shengxin Jinjian</i> 圣心金鉴, <i>Yawu Yanyi</i> 亚物演义, <i>Ling Shengti Xuzhi</i> 领圣体须, <i>Qidao Huiyou Bianlan</i> 祈祷会友便览, <i>Wuli Tuiyuan</i> 物理推原, <i>Mosi Shengnan Lu</i> 默思圣难录, <i>Shengti Yue</i> 圣体月, <i>Funu Majialida Zhuan</i> 福女玛加利大传, <i>Zhenjiao Wenda</i> 真教问答, <i>Xingxing Xueyao</i> 形性学要, <i>Yesu Shounan Jilue</i> 耶稣受难记略, <i>Xunmeng Shi'er De</i> 训蒙十二德, <i>Xixue Guanjian</i> 西学关键, <i>Qian Pu</i> 潜德谱, <i>Xingfaxue Yao</i> 性法学要, <i>Funü Maliya Ya'na Zhuan</i> 福女玛利亚亚纳传, <i>Sheng Rilae'er Zhuan</i> 圣日辣尔传, <i>Xinjing Yiyi</i> 新经译义, <i>Shenglixue</i> 生理学, <i>Lingxingxue</i> 灵性学, <i>Sheng Anduoni Zhuan</i> 圣安多尼传, <i>Gongyibu Zou Dinghun Li</i> 公议会奏订婚例, <i>Moxiang Shengxin Jiuzhe</i> 默想圣心九则, <i>Minglixue</i> 名理学, <i>Tianyuxue</i> 天宇学, <i>Lunlixue</i> 伦理学, <i>Tongshi Jilan</i> 通史辑览, <i>Ling Shengti Qianhou Reqing</i> 领圣体前后热情, <i>Bai Shengti Wen</i> 拜圣体文, <i>Qin Ling Shengti Shuo</i> 勤领圣体说, <i>Yuanshenxue</i> 原神学 (Uncompleted Publication)
compilations	<i>Xu Wending Gong Ji</i> 徐文定公集, <i>Gu Wen Shiji</i> 古文拾级, <i>Mo Jing Ji</i> 墨井集, <i>Mo Jing Shu Hua Ji</i> 墨井书画集

**Table 2: according to Xu Zongze, Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the Death of Li Wenyu 李问渔司铎逝世二十五周年纪念**

Works	<i>Shengxin Yue Xinbian</i> 圣心月新编, <i>Bianhuo Zhiyan</i> 辨惑厄言, <i>Bian Ao Jinzhen</i> 砭傲金针, <i>Tianshen Pu</i> 天神谱, <i>Liku Zhengxu</i> 理窟正续, <i>Meigui Jing Yi</i> 玫瑰经义, <i>Shengti Ji</i> 圣体纪, <i>De Jing</i> 德镜, <i>Xin Zhen</i> 心箴, <i>Dawen Lucun</i> 问答录存, <i>Zhong Yan</i> 忠言, <i>Sheng Ruose Yue Xinbian</i> 圣若瑟月新编, <i>Misa Xiaoyan</i> 弥撒小言, <i>Fengci Zhengyi</i> 奉慈正义, <i>Ai Zhu Jinyan</i> 爱主金言, <i>Quanhuo Ji</i> 拳祸记, <i>Zengding Quanfei Huojiao Ji</i> 增订拳匪祸教记
Chansla tions	<i>Lianyu Kao</i> 炼狱考, <i>Shengmu Zhuan</i> 圣母传, <i>Zongtu Dashilu</i> 宗徒大事录, <i>Jiaohuang Hongxu</i> 教皇洪序, <i>Sheng Yinnajue Shengshui Ji</i> 圣依纳爵圣水记, <i>Tian Ti</i> 天梯, <i>Bei Zhong Lu</i> 备终录, <i>San Yuan Wenda</i> 三愿问答, <i>Shengxin Jinjian</i> 圣心金鉴, <i>A Wu Yanyi</i> 亚物演义, <i>Ling Shengti Xu Zhi</i> 领圣体须知, <i>Qidao Huiyou Bianlan</i> 祈祷会友便览, <i>Wuli Tuiyuan</i> 物理推原, <i>Mo Si Shengnan Lu</i> 默思圣难录, <i>Shengti Yue</i> 圣体月, <i>Fu Nu Majialida Zhuan</i> 福女玛加利大传, <i>Zhenjiao Wenda</i> 真教问答, <i>Xingxingxue Yao</i> 形性学要, <i>Jidu Shounan Jilue</i> 耶稣受难记略, <i>Xun Meng Shi'er De</i> 训蒙十二德, <i>Xixue Guanjian</i> 西学关键, <i>Qian Depu</i> 潜德谱, <i>Xingfaxue Yao</i> 性法学要, <i>Fu Nu Maliya Yana Zhuan</i> 福女玛利亚亚纳传, <i>Sheng Rilae'er Zhuan</i> 圣日辣尔传, <i>Xin Jing Yi Yi</i> 新经译义, <i>Shenglixue</i> 生理学, <i>Lingxingxue</i> 灵性学, <i>Minglixue</i> 名理学, <i>Lunlixue</i> 伦理学, <i>Yuan Shenxue</i> 原神学, <i>Tianyu Xue</i> 天宇学, <i>Sheng An Duo Ni Zhuan</i> 圣安多尼传, <i>Gong Yi Bu Zou Ding Hun Li</i> 公议会奏订婚例, <i>Mo Xiang Shengxin Jiu</i>

Jianbin GUO  
A New Exploration of Li Wenyu's Life and Works

	<i>Ze</i> 默想圣心九则, <i>Tongshi Jilan</i> 通史辑览, <i>Ling Shengti Qianhou Reqing</i> 领圣体前后热情, <i>Bai Shengti Wen</i> 拜圣体文, <i>Qin Ling Shengti Shuo</i> 勤领圣体说
compilations	<i>Xu Wending Gong Ji</i> 徐文定公集, <i>Gu Wen Shiji</i> 古文拾级, <i>Mo Jing Ji</i> 墨井集, <i>Mo Jing Shu Hua Ji</i> 墨井书画集

**Table 3: Based on Hu Duan's A Catholic Writer: Li Wenyu (一位公教作家李问渔司铎)**

Classics, Sacraments Category	<i>Xinjing Yiyi</i> 新经译义, <i>Zongtu Dashilu</i> 宗徒大事录, <i>Qinling Shengti shuo</i> <sup>97</sup> 勤领圣体说, <i>Misa Xiaoyan</i> 弥撒小言, <i>Hunpei Tiaoli</i> 婚配条例
Theological and Philosophical Doctrines	<i>Zhe Xue Ti Gang Ming Li Xue</i> 哲学提纲·名理学, <i>Zhe Xue Ti Gang Sheng Li Xue</i> 哲学提纲·生理学, <i>Zhe Xue Ti Gang Tian Yu Xue</i> 哲学提纲·天宇学, <i>Zhe Xue Ti Gang Ling Xing Xue</i> 哲学提纲·灵性学, <i>Zhe Xue Ti Gang Lun Li Xue</i> - 哲学提纲·伦理学, <i>Zhe Xue Ti Gang Yuan Shen Xue</i> 哲学提纲·原神学, <i>Tian Yan Bo Yi</i> 天演驳义, <i>Xing Fa Xue Yao</i> 性法学要, <i>Tian Yan Lun Bo Yi</i> 天演论驳义, <i>Li Ku</i> 理窟, <i>Xu Li Ku</i> 续理窟, <i>Bian Huo Zhi Yan</i> 辨惑厄言, <i>Da Wen Lu Cun</i> 答问录存, <i>Zhong Yan</i> 忠言, <i>Wu Li Tui Yuan</i> 物理推原, <i>Zhen Jiao Wen Da (Ke Wen Tiao Da)</i> 真教问答 (客问条答)
Historical Biographies and Chronicles	<i>Sheng Ti Ji</i> 圣体纪, <i>Ye Su Shou Nan Ji Lue</i> 耶稣受难纪略, <i>Sheng Ri La Er Zhuan</i> 圣日辣尔传, <i>Sheng An Duo Ni Zhuan</i> 圣安多尼传, <i>Sheng Yi Na Jue Sheng Shui Ji</i> 圣依纳爵圣水记, <i>Sheng Liu Na Du Zi Xiu Zhi</i> 圣留纳多自修志, <i>Dao Yuan Jing Cui</i> 道原精萃, <i>Fu Nü Ma Jia Li Da Zhuan</i> 福女玛加利大传, <i>Ma Li Ya Ya Na Zhuan</i> 玛利亚亚纳传, <i>Zeng Bu Quan Huo Ji</i> 增补拳祸记
Spiritual Cultivation and Liturgical Rites	<i>Bian Ao Jin Zhen</i> 砭傲金针, <i>Sheng Ti Yue</i> 圣体月, <i>De Jing</i> 德镜, <i>Xin Zhen Xin Jian</i> 心箴, <i>San Yuan Wen Da</i> 三愿问答, <i>Xing Cha Jian Ze</i> 省察简则, <i>Xing Cha Gui Ze</i> 省查规则, <i>Bei Zhong Lu</i> 备终录, <i>Xun Meng Shi Er De</i> 训蒙十二德, <i>Qian De Pu</i> 潜德谱, <i>Sheng Xin Yue Xin Bian</i> 圣心月新编, <i>Mo Si Sheng Nan Lu</i> 默思圣难录, <i>Sheng Xin Jin Jian</i> 圣心金鉴, <i>Ling Sheng Ti Xu Zhi</i> 领圣体须知, <i>Ling Sheng Ti Qian Hou Re Qing</i> 领圣体前后热情, <i>Bai Sheng Ti Wen</i> 拜圣体文, <i>Qin Ling Sheng Ti Shuo</i> 勤领圣体说, <i>Ai Zhu Jin Yan</i> 爱主金言, <i>Mo Xiang Sheng Xin Jiu Ze</i> 默想圣心九则, <i>Qi Dao Hui You Bian Lan</i> 祈祷会友便览, <i>Feng Ci Zheng Yi</i> 奉慈正义, <i>Ya Wu Yan Yi</i> 亚物演义, <i>Tian Ti</i> 天梯, <i>Mei Gui Jing Yi</i> 玫瑰经义, <i>Sheng Ru Se Yue Xin Bian</i> 圣若瑟月新编, <i>Lian Yu Kao</i> 炼狱考, <i>Tian Shen Pu</i> 天神谱
Science	<i>Tai Xi Shi Wu Kao</i> 泰西事务考, <i>Xi Xue Guan Jian</i> 西学关键, <i>Xing Xing Xue Yao</i> 形性学要
Literature	<i>Mo Jing Ji</i> 墨井集, <i>Xu Wen Ding Gong Ji</i> 徐文定公集, <i>Tong Shi Ji Lan</i> 通史辑览, <i>Gu Wen Shi Ji</i> 古文拾级

**Table4: According to Joachim Kurtz "The Works of Li Wenyu(1840-1911): Bibliography of a Chinese-Jesuit Publicist**

Titles	Publisher and editions
<i>Aizhu Jinyan</i> 爱主金言	Tushanwan Press, 1902; 1925
<i>Bai Shengti Wen</i> 拜圣体文	Tushanwan Press, 1907;; 1911; 1923
<i>Beizhong Lu</i> 备终录	Tushanwan Press, First edition unknown; 1902; 1907; 1913; 1926
<i>Bian' Ao Jinzhen</i> 砭傲金针	Tushanwan Press, 1882; 1902; 1908; 1922
<i>Bianhuo Zhiyan</i> 辨惑厄言	Tushanwan Press, 1880; 1884; 1931
<i>Dawen Lucun</i> 答问录存	Tushanwan Press, 1890; 1904; 1909; 1937

<sup>97</sup> In Hu Duan's writings, the work *Qinling Shengti Shuo* is duplicated in both the "Classics and Sacraments" category and the "Spiritual Cultivation and Liturgical Rites" category.

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<i>Dawen Xinbian</i> 答问新编 (未出版手稿) <i>Kewen Tiaoda</i> 客问条答	Tushanwan Press, 1881; 1911, Third Edition
<i>Daoyuan Jingcui</i> 道原精萃 (8 卷)	Tushanwan Press, 1888; 1926; Li Wenyu is the author of Volumes 5, 6, and 8.
<i>Dejing</i> 德镜	Tushanwan Press, 1889; 1896; 1909; 1910
<i>Feizhou Youji</i> 斐洲游记	Tushanwan Press, 1905.
<i>Fengci Zhengyi</i> 奉慈正义	Tushanwan Press, 1895; 1931
<i>Funü Magalida Zhuan</i> 福女玛加利大传	Tushanwan Press, 1895; 1909; 1914; 1931
<i>Funü Maliya'Na Zhuan</i> 福女玛利亚纳传	Tushanwan Press, 1904
<i>Guwen Shiji</i> 古文拾级	Tushanwan Press, 1909; 1920 Third Edition
<i>Hunpei Tiaoli</i> 婚配条例	Tushanwan Press, 1908
<i>Liku</i> 理窟	Tushanwan Press, 1886; 1901; 1909new version; 1916; 1920Sixth Edition; 1930 Seventh Edition
<i>Lianyu Kao</i> 炼狱考	Tushanwan Press, 1886; 1905; 1921; 1927
<i>Lianyu Lüeshuo</i> 炼狱略说	Tushanwan Press, 1871 ; New version of Hejian Shengshitang1877
<i>Ling Shengti Qianhou Reqing</i> 领圣体前后热情	Tushanwan Press, First edition unknown; 1911; 1924Fourth Edition; 1931 Fifth Edition
<i>Ling Shengti Xuzhi</i> 领圣体须知	Tushanwan Press, 1891; 1902; 1907; 1915 Fourth Edition; 1924 Eighth Edition
<i>Meigui Jingyi</i> 玫瑰经义	Tushanwan Press, First edition unknown; 1888; 1920
<i>Misa Xiaoyan</i> 弥撒小言	Tushanwan Press, 1894; 1902; 1903; 1922
<i>Mojing Ji</i> 墨井集	Tushanwan Press, 1908
<i>Mosi Shengnan Lu</i> 默思圣难录	Tushanwan Press, 1893; 1907; 1917; 1928
<i>Moxiang Shengxin Jiuzi</i> 默想圣心九则	Tushanwan Press, 1897; 1908; 1923
<i>Qidao Huiyou Bianlan</i> 祈祷会友便览	Tushanwan Press, 1896; 1911
<i>Qiande Pu</i> 潜德谱	Tushanwan Press, 1904; 1906; 1924 Fourth Edition
<i>Qinling Shengti Shuo</i> 勤领圣体说	Tushanwan Press, 1906; 1911; 1927
<i>Quanhuo Ji</i> 拳祸记	Tushanwan Press, 1905; Huoguoji 祸国记 1923; Huojiaoji 祸教记 1927
<i>Riyong Baoshu</i> 日用宝书	Tushanwan Press, 1903
<i>Sanyuan Wenda</i> 三愿问答	Tushanwan Press, 1891 ; new edition1904 ; 1910 Second Edition; 1924 Fourth Edition
<i>Sheng Anduoni Zhuan</i> 圣安多尼传	Tushanwan Press, 1908; 1915
<i>Sheng Liunaduo Zixiu Zhi</i> 圣留纳多自修志	Tushanwan Press, First edition unknown; 1924
<i>Shengmu Zhuan</i> 圣母传	Tushanwan Press, Publication date unknown
<i>Sheng Rilaar Zhuan</i> 圣日辣尔传	Tushanwan Press, 1906; 1922
<i>Sheng Ruose Yue Xinbian</i> 圣若瑟月新编	Tushanwan Press, 1888; 1914
<i>Shengti Ji</i> 圣体记	Tushanwan Press, 1889; 1893; 1912
<i>Shengti Yue</i> 圣体月	Tushanwan Press, 1893; 1906
<i>Shengxin Jinjian</i> 圣心金鉴	Tushanwan Press, 1891; 1909
<i>Shengxin Yue Xinbian</i> 圣心月新编	Tushanwan Press, 1879; new edition1889; 1900; 1909; 1920
<i>Sheng Yinajue Shengshui Ji</i> 圣依纳爵圣水记	Tushanwan Press, 1886
<i>Taixi Shiwu Congkao</i> 泰西事物丛考	Tushanwan Press, 1903
<i>Tianshen Pu</i> 天神谱	Tushanwan Press, 1885; 1916

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<i>Tianti</i> 天梯	Tushanwan Press, 1888; 1899; 1905; 1916; 1930 Seventh Edition
<i>Tianyan Lun Boyi</i> 天演论驳议	Tushanwan Press, 1910; 1923; 1930 reprint
<i>Tongshi Jilan</i> 通史辑览	Tushanwan Press, First edition unknown; 1915; 1920; 1924; 1929
<i>Wuli Tuyuan</i> 物理推原	Tushanwan Press, First edition unknown; 1896; 1905; 1915; 1922
<i>Xixue Guanjian</i> 西学关键	Shanghai Hongbao Zhai Publishing House, 1903
<i>Xinjing Yiyu</i> 新经译义	Tushanwan Press, 1897; 1907; 1912; 1926
<i>Xinzhen</i> 心箴	Tushanwan Press, 1893; 1905; 1914; 1922; 1930
<i>Shengcha Guishi</i> 省察规式	Tushanwan Press, First edition unknown; 1905Third Edition; 1922; 1929 new edition
<i>Shengcha Jianze</i> 省察简则	Tushanwan Press, First edition unknown; 1924 new edition
<i>Xingfa Xueyao</i> 性法学要	Tushanwan Press, 1904; 1918
<i>Xingxing Xueyao</i> 形性学要	Tushanwan Press, 1899; 1906
<i>Xuliku</i> 续理窟	Tushanwan Press, 1915; 1926
<i>Xu Wendin' Gong Ji</i> 徐文定公集	Tushanwan Press, 1896; 1909
<i>Xunmeng Shier De</i> 训蒙十二德	Tushanwan Press, 1902; 1907; 1922
<i>Yawuwu Yanyi</i> 亚物演义	Tushanwan Press, 1891; 1911
<i>Yesu Shounan Ji Lue</i> 耶稣受难记略	Tushanwan Press, 1889; 1893 new edition; 1900; 1914; 1929
<i>Youtong Riling Shengti Zhi Wenti</i> 幼童日领圣体之问题	Tushanwan Press, First edition unknown; 1922 Third Edition
<i>Zengding Quanfei Huo Jiaoji</i> 增订拳匪祸教记	Tushanwan Press, 1909
<i>Zhexue Tigang: Lingxing Xue</i> 哲学提纲·灵性学	Tushanwan Press, 1907; 1914; 1931
<i>Zhexue Tigang: Lunlixue</i> 哲学提纲·伦理学	Tushanwan Press, 1909; 1921
<i>Zhexue Tigang: Minglixue</i> 哲学提纲·名理学	Tushanwan Press, 1908; 1916
<i>Zhexue Tigang: Shenglixue</i> 哲学提纲·生理学	Tushanwan Press, 1907; 1914; 1927
<i>Zhexue Tigang: Tianyuxue</i> 哲学提纲·天宇学	Tushanwan Press, 1908; 1916
<i>Zhexue Tigang: Yuanshenxue</i> 哲学提纲·原神学	Tushanwan Press, 1911; 1922
<i>Zhenjiao Wenda</i> 真教问答	Tushanwan Press, First edition unknown; 1902; 1913; 1923 Fifth Edition
<i>Zhongyan</i> 忠言	Tushanwan Press, 1892; 1904; 1931
<i>Zongtu Dashi Lu</i> 宗徒大事录	Tushanwan Press, 1907; 1914

**Table 5: Based on Fang Yunfang, "Yi Xie Yi Dao: Wanqing xixue dongjian zhong de Li Wenyu".<sup>98</sup>**

Titles	First Edition	Reprint
<i>Aizhu Jinyan</i> 爱主金言	Tushanwan Press 1902	Tushanwan Cimitang 1925
<i>Bai Shengti Wen</i> 拜圣体文	Cimitang 慈母堂 1907	
<i>Beizhong Lu</i> 备终录		Cimitang1915 , Cimitang1926(5th

<sup>98</sup> This table is transcribed from Fang Yunfang's book, *Yi Xie Yi Dao: Wanqing xixue dongjian zhong de Li Wenyu*, 230-234.

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	Unknown	Edition)
<i>Bian' Ao Jinzhen</i> 砭傲金针	Tushanwan Press1883	Tushanwan Press1908、1922、1933
<i>Bianhuo Zhiyan</i> 辯惑卮言	Cimutang1902	Tushanwan Press1935
<i>Dawen Lucun</i> 答问录存	Xuhui Printing Press1890 年	Huibao Printing Press1904 , Tushanwan Press1909、1937
<i>Dejing</i> 德镜	Cimutang1889	Cimutang1896,1910
<i>Feizhou Youji</i> 斐洲游记	Tushanwan Press1905	
<i>Fengci Zhengyi</i> 奉慈正义	Cimutang1895	Tushanwan Press1920、1931
<i>Funü Magalida Zhuan</i> 福女玛加利大传	Cimutang1895	
<i>Funü Maliya'Na Zhuan</i> 福女玛利亚纳传	Cimutang1906	Tushanwan Press1937
<i>Gongyi Bu Zou Dinghun Li</i> 公议部奏订婚例	Tushanwan Press1908	
<i>Guwen Shiji</i> 古文拾级	Tushanwan Press1909	Tushanwan Press1922、1930
<i>Jiaohuang Hongxu</i> 教皇洪序	Cimutang1866	Tushanwan Press1924Second Edition
<i>Kewen Tiaoda</i> 客问条答	Tushanwan Press1910	Tushanwan Press1937
<i>Liku</i> 理窟	Cimutang1886	Cimutang1901 , Tushanwan Press1909、1916、1920、1930、1936
<i>Ling Shengti Qianhou Reqing</i> 领圣体前后热情	Unknown	
<i>Ling Shengti Xuzhi</i> 领圣体须知	Cimutang1891	
<i>Lianyu Kao</i> 炼狱考	Cimutang1885	Cimutang1886 、1905 、Tushanwan Press1909、1916、1920、1930、1936
<i>Lianyu Lüeshuo</i> 炼狱略说	Cimutang1871	Shengshitang, Hejian, Hebei 1871 、1877
<i>Meigui Jingyi</i> 玫瑰经义	Cimutang1886 年	Cimutang1888 , Tushanwan Press1920、1935
<i>Misa Xiaoyan</i> 弥撒小言	Cimutang1894	Cimutang1903reprint , Tushanwan Press1922、1935
<i>Mojing Ji</i> 墨井集	Xujiahui Press1909 , Tushanwan Press1909	
<i>Mojing Shuhua Ji</i> 墨井书画集	Unknown	
<i>Mosi Shengnan Lu</i> 默思圣难录	Cimutang1892	Cimutang1906、1917
<i>Moxiang Shengxin Jiuze</i> 默想圣心九则	Tushanwan Press1897	Tushanwan Press1923
<i>Qidao Huiyou Bianlan</i> 祈祷会友便览	Tushanwancimutang1896	Tushanwancimutang1911
<i>Qiande Pu</i> 潜德谱	Tushanwan Press1904	Tushanwan Press1906、1924、1937
<i>Qinling Shengti Shuo</i> 勤领圣体说	Tushanwan Press1906	Cimutang1911, Tushanwan Press1927
<i>Quanhua Ji</i> 拳祸记	Tushanwan Press1905	Tushanwan Press1909,1923
<i>Riyong Baoshu</i> 日用宝书	Tushanwan	



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	Press1903	
Sanyuan Wenda 三愿问答	Cimutang1891 年	Cimutang1904 、 1910 , Tushanwan Press1924、 1933
Sheng Anduoni Zhuan 圣安多尼传	Tushanwan Press1908	Tushanwan Press1937
Sheng Liunaduo Zixiu Zhi 圣留纳多自修志	Unknown	Shanghai Catholic Association1924
Shengmu Zhuan 圣母传	Cimutang1886	Cimutang1889 , 1924Tushanwan Presssecond Edition
Shengti Ji 圣体记	Cimutang1889	Cimutang1893, Tushanwan Press1912
Sheng Rilaar Zhuan 圣日辣尔传	Cimutang1906	Tushanwan Press1922
Sheng Ruose Yue Xinbian 圣若瑟月新编	Cimutang1892	Cimutang1914
Shengti Yue 圣体月	Tushanwan Press1893	Tushanwan Press1906
Shengxin Jinjian 圣心金鉴	Cimutang1891	Cimutang1909
Shengxin Yue Xinbian 圣心月新编	Cimutang1900	Catholic Church In Hejian Prefecture, Hebei1903 、 1907 、 Tushanwan Press1920、 1934
Sheng Yinazhué Shengshui Ji 圣依纳爵圣水记	Cimutang1886	
Taixi Shiwu Congkao 泰西事物丛考	Hongbao Zhai 1903	
Tianshen Pu 天神谱	Cimutang1876	Cimutang1886, Tushanwan Press1916
Tianti 天梯	Cimutang1891	Cimutang1905 , Tushanwan Press1921、 1930、 1937
Tianyan Lun Boyi 天演论驳议	Tushanwan Press1910	Tushanwan Press1932
Tongshi Jilan 通史辑览	Unknown	Tushanwancimutang1915、 1929
Wuli Tuyuan 物理推原	Tushanwan Press1892	Tushanwan Press1894、 1896, Xuhui Press1915、 1916
Xixue Guanjian 西学关键	Hongbao Zhai1903, Huibao Press1903	
Xinjing Yiyu 新经译义	Tushanwan Press1897	Tushanwancimutang1926
Xinzhén 心箴	Cimutang1889	Cimutang1893 、 1901 、 1905 , Tushanwan Press1914、 1922
Xingfa Xueyao 性法学要	Xujiahui Press1904	Tushanwancimutang1918
Xingxing Xueyao 形性学要	Xujiahui Huibao Press1899	Xujiahui Huibao Press Second Revised Edition, 1906
Shengcha Guishi 省察规式	Unknown	Tushanwan Press1905(3rd Edition), 1922( 4th Edition), 1929reprint
Shengcha Jianze 省察简则	Unknown	Tushanwan Press1924
Xuliku 续理窟	Cimutang1915	Tushanwan Press1920、 1926、 1936
Xu Wendin'Gong Ji 徐文定公集	Cimutang1896	Cimutang1909, Xujiahui Catholic Church Library1933
Xunmeng Shier De 训蒙十二德	Tushanwan Press1902	Tushanwan Press1907
Yawuwu Yanyi 亚物演义	Cimutang1891	Cimutang1911
Yesu Shounan Ji Lue 耶稣受难记略	Tushanwan	Tushanwan Press1929(4th Edition)

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	Press1889	
Youtong Riling Shengti Zhi Wenti 幼童日领圣体之问题	Unknown	Tushanwan Press1922(Third Edition)
Zengding Quanfei Huo Jiaoji 增订拳匪祸教记	Tushanwan Press1909	
Zhexue Tigang: Lingxing Xue 哲学提纲·灵性学	Tushanwan Press1908	Tushanwan Press1915、1931
Zhexue Tigang: Lunlixue 哲学提纲·伦理学	Tushanwan Press1909	Tushanwan Press1916、1921、1935
Zhexue Tigang: Minglixue 哲学提纲·名理学	Tushanwan Press1908	Tushanwan Press1916、1935
Zhexue Tigang: Shenglixue 哲学提纲·生理学	Tushanwan Press1908	Tushanwan Press1914、1927
Zhexue Tigang: Tianyuxue 哲学提纲·天宇学	Tushanwan Press1908	Tushanwan Press1916、1935
Zhexue Tigang: Yuanshenxue 哲学提纲·原神学	Tushanwan Press1911	Tushanwan Press1922
Zhenjiao Wenda 真教问答	Cimutang1895	Cimutang1899, Tushanwan Press1923
Zhongyan 忠言	Tushanwan Press1892	Tushanwan Press1904、1931、1936
Zongtu Dashilu 宗徒大事录	Cimutang1886	Cimutang1907; Tushanwan Press1924年 Second Edition
Zongtu Liezhuan 宗徒列传	Cimutang1886 年	Tushanwan Press1924 年 Second Edition

**Table 6:**

Titles	First edition date	Publisher
lianyu lüeshuo 炼狱略说	1871	Shanghai Cimutang
Shengxin yue xinbian 圣心月新编	1879	Shanghai Cimutang Juzhen Edition
Bianhuo zhiyan 辩惑厄言	1880	Shanghai Xuhui Printing Press
Dawen xinbian 答问新编	1880	Shanghai Xuhui Printing Press
Bian'ao jinzhen 砭傲金针	1882	Shanghai Cimutang
Kewen tiaoda 客问条答	1882	Shanghai Xuhui Printing Press
Liku 理窟	1886	Cimutang
Lianyu kao 炼狱考	1886	Shanghai Cimutang movable type
Meigui jingyi 玫瑰经义	1886	Shanghai Cimutang
Sheng Yinazhue shengshui ji 圣依纳爵圣水记	1886	Tushanwan Cimutang
Tianshen pu 天神谱	1886	Shanghai Cimutang movable type
Qidao huiyou bianlan 祈祷会友便览	1887	TushanwanCimutang movable type
Shengmu zhuan 圣母传	1887	Shanghai Cimutang movable type
Zongtu dashilu 宗徒大事录	1887	Shanghai Cimutang movable type
Zongtu liezhuan 宗徒列传	1887	Shanghai Cimutang
Lixue boyi 理学驳议	1887	Handwritten copy
Jiaohuang hongxu 教皇洪序	1888	Shanghai Cimutang
Tianti 天梯	1888	Shanghai Cimutang movable type
Dejing 德镜	1889	Shanghai Cimutang movable type
Shengti ji 圣体记	1889	Shanghai Cimutang

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<i>Yesu shounan ji lue</i> 耶稣受难记略	1889	Tushanwan Press
<i>Dawen lucun</i> 答问录存	1890	Xuhui Printing Press movable type
<i>Xinzhén</i> 心箴	1890	Shanghai Cimitang
<i>Ling shengti xuzhi</i> 领圣体须知	1891	Cimitang
<i>Sanyuan wenda</i> 三愿问答	1891	Shanghai Cimitang movable type
<i>Shengxin jinjian</i> 圣心金鉴	1891	Shanghai Cimitang
<i>Yawu yanyi</i> 亚物演义	1891	Shanghai Cimitang
<i>Sheng Ruose yue xinbian</i> 圣若瑟月新编	1892	Shanghai Cimitang movable type
<i>Wuli tuiyuan</i> 物理推原	1892	Xuhui Printing Press
<i>Zhongyan</i> 忠言	1892	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Mosi shengnan lu</i> 默思圣难录	1892	Shanghai Cimitang
<i>Shengti yue</i> 圣体月	1893	Shanghai Cimitang movable type
<i>Misa xiaoyan</i> 弥撒小言	1894	Shanghai Cimitang movable type
<i>Fengci zhengyi</i> 奉慈正义	1895	Shanghai Cimitang movable type
<i>Funu Magalida zhuan</i> 福女玛加利大传	1895	Shanghai Cimitang
<i>Xu Wendin'gong ji</i> 徐文定公集	1896	Shanghai Cimitang
<i>Moxiang shengxin jiuze</i> 默想圣心九则	1897	Tushanwan Cimitang movable type
<i>Xinjing yiyu</i> 新经译义	1897	Tushanwan Press
<i>Xingxing xueyao</i> 形性学要	1899	Xuhui Huibao Press
<i>Zhenjiao wenda</i> 真教问答	1899	ShanghaiCimitang movable type
<i>Aizhu jinyan</i> 爱主金言	1900	Cimitang movable type
<i>Xunmeng shier de</i> 训蒙十二德	1902	Shanghai Cimitang movable type
<i>Gengzi jiaonan ji</i> 庚子教难记	1902	Unknown Lithographed Edition
<i>Riyong baoshu</i> 日用宝书	1903	Hongbao Edition
<i>Taixi shiwu congkao</i> 泰西事物丛考	1903	Hongbao Zhai Edition
<i>Xixue guanjian</i> 西学关键	1903	Shanghai Hongbao Zhai
<i>Shengxin yue xinbian yixiang</i> 圣心月新编遗响	1903	Hejian Catholic Church
<i>Qiande pu</i> 潜德谱	1904	ShanghaiCimitang movable type
<i>Xingfa xueyao</i> 性法学要	1904	Xujiahui Press movable type
<i>Feizhou youji</i> 斐洲游记	1905	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Quanhao ji</i> 拳祸记	1905	Tushanwan Press
<i>Qinling shengti shuo</i> 勤领圣体说	1906	Shanghai Cimitang movable type
<i>Sheng Rilaar zhuan</i> 圣日辣尔传	1906	Tushanwan Cimitang
<i>Funu Maliya'na zhuan</i> 福女玛利亚纳传	1906	Shanghai Cimitang movable type
<i>Bai shengti wen</i> 拜圣体文	1907	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Tianyan lun boyi</i> 天演论驳义	1907	Tushanwan Press
<i>Shenglixue</i> 生理学	1907	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Lingxing xue</i> 灵性学	1907	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Zongtu dashilu</i> 宗徒大事录	1907	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Gongyi bu zou dinghun li</i> 公议部奏订婚例	1908	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Sheng Anduoni zhuan</i> 圣安多尼传	1908	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Minglixue</i> 名理学	1908	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Tianyuxue</i> 天宇学	1908	Shanghai Tushanwan Press

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<i>Guwen shiji</i> 古文拾级	1909	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Mojing ji</i> 墨井集	1909	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Zengbu quanfei huo jiaoji</i> 增补拳匪祸教记	1909	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Lunlixue</i> 伦理学	1909	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Yuanshenxue</i> 原神学	1911	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Xuliku</i> 续理窟	1915	Shanghai Tushanwan Press
<i>Sheng Liunaduo zixiu zhi</i> 圣留纳多自修志	1924	Shanghai Catholic Association of the Public
<i>Ling shengti qianhou reqing</i> 领圣体前后热情	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Mojing shuhua ji</i> 墨井书画集	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Beizhong lu</i> 备终录	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Tongshi jilan</i> 通史辑览	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Shengcha guishi</i> 省察规式	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Shengcha jianze</i> 省察简则	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Youtong riling shengti zhi wenti</i> 幼童日领圣体之问题	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Mousiduo hangao</i> 某司铎函稿		Handwritten copy