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كلية أصول الدين

**A Comparative Study of the Practice of
Integrating Chinese Traditions
Between Hui Hui Muslim Scholars of Han
Kitab Literature and Jesuits Missionaries
during 1600—1730**

Supervised by: Prof Dr Anis Ahmad

Submitted by: Wu Juan (吴娟 Aisha)

Reg.: 98-FU/PHD/S08-F

In Partial Fulfillment of the Award of Phd Degree in Comparative Religions

Safar, 1440AH/October, 2018



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Preface

Allah (S.W.T.) created human being and guided them to the right path as mentioned in the Holy Quran:

O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other. Verily, the most honored of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. And Allah has full knowledge and is well acquainted with all things. (Surah Al-Hujurat 49.13)

The main reason of selecting this subject resulted from my interest in the issue of converted Muslims, the history of Islam in China, in interfaith religious dialogues among all the religious sects in modern China and in introducing Islamic faith the Chinese. A case study, the Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholars during the period of 1640-1730 was first of all. Dawood Wang Dai Yu¹ (1570-1660) published his three books in Han Chinese around 1640 and another famous writer of Han Kitab Literature Salih Liu Zhi (1660-1730)² passed away in the year of 1730. During my studies of those books of Hui Hui Muslim scholars, the history of Christianity in China also aroused my interest. I used to read those books on both Muslims and Christians in China, and wondered how great is the divine power who guided the people whom He wished.

¹ Dawood Wang Dau Yu (王岱輿) was born in the year between 1573 to 1619 and died in the year of between 1657 and 1658. See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu, p. 63-64. He was a decedent of Muslim scientists of astronomy from Central Asia, who was hired as an astronomer in the very beginning of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty. In Ming dynasty, they were hired also by the Emperors of Ming as the officers of in charge of calendar and stayed in the first capital city Nanjing. Except the family education, he got his Islamic education from the *Mosque Scripture Hall* education under Sheikh Zhang Shaoshang, and stayed in the mosque *Jingjue* before the fall of Ming dynasty in 1644, where he completed his three books about Islam in Han Chinese. His book of *The Real Commentary on the True Teaching* was printed in 1642. He left Nanjing for Beijing after the fall of Ming in 1644. His life in Beijing remained unknown.

² Salih Liu Zhi (刘智 1660-1730), was born in Nanjing city. His father Liu Sanjie (刘三杰) was an Islamic scholar, whom Yusuf Ma Zhu met and discussed the book of *The Guidance of Islam*. He mastered Arabic and Persian languages, and studied the books of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism.

During my reading, I noticed phenomena that before Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholars around 1640, Matteo Ricci³ and others from the Society of Jesus made their great efforts for the Chinization of Catholicism in the history of Christianity even before 1600. After some comprehensive reading, a hypothesis gradually emerged that perhaps there was relationship between the work of Hui Hui Muslim scholars and the work of Jesuits in China in that period. If the cultural accommodation of Jesuits in China had impact on Hui Hui Muslims scholars of Han Kitab Literature, the ways of their integration with Chinese traditions would be their common points during their process of Chinazation. A comprehensive comparative study of the work between the both came to my mind with the following **research questions**:

1. How and why did the Jesuits missionaries make the policy of cultural accommodation? How did they manage their huge net work in other couturies and areas? Did the fouders of the Society of Jesus lay down the foundation of cultural accommodation since its establishment?
2. Under the Confucian imperial circumstance, how did the early Jesuits fathers treat the local native Chinese? What were the impressions of Jesuits fathers about the Chinese culture and civilization? Did they treat Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism and other folk religions equally?
3. Did the Jesuits missionaries in China encounter with Hui Hui Muslims? If yes, how did they think about Hui Hui Muslims? Did they have interfaith dialogues or got inspirations from the peaceful co-existence of Hui Hui Mulims with native local Chinese since almost thousand of years? If yes, how?
4. In order to preach Christianity among local native Chinese, the Jesuits missionaries had to get close to the locals and talk with them about Christianity, in the Han Chinese language and with the terms or concepts that were familiar to the locals, i.e. ingegration of Chinese traditions. How did the Jesuits fathers manage that?
5. Did the Jesuits fathers compromise some of their basic beliefs in their culcural accommodation? Why and how?

³ Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), born in Macerata Marche in Italy in 1552. He joined Roman Collage of the Society of Jesus, in which he met the great German mathematician Clavius who was named the Euclid of 16th century. In 1578, he reached Gua, India by sea with some other Jesuits. He studied theology in the Collage of the Society established by St Francis Xavier in Gua. He spent twenty-eight years in China and died in Beijing on 11th May, 1610. He was given permission by the Emperor of Wanli to be buried in China. See, Pfister, The Notices, p.31-46

6. Did the movement of Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholars around 1640's have any link with the work of Jesuits missionaried in China? How?
7. If the impact of Jesuits missionaries on Hui Hui scholars was there, then to which extent? Did Hui Hui Muslim scholars compromise some of the basic Islam for the Islamic accommodation of Chinese culture or traditons? If yes, then how and why?
8. How did Hui Hui scholars treat the Chinese or Confucian traditons? And what was their attitude towards the Jesuits missionaries in China and Christianity?
9. What kind of Ijtihad did those Chinese Muslim scholars make? How and why? In which ways, Han Kitab Literature's approach of Chinazation of Islam benefited Islam and Hui Hui Muslim community?

After submitting synopsis of the thesis, I went back to China for carrying out the research. By the grace of Allah, the research work went on successfully. It was clear to me that the former hypothesis was right. No research was done earlier on this topic by scholars inside or outside China.

Statement of problems during the research:

1. The research work at hand was quite challenging due to the big time stretch, spanning over one hundred and thirty years. I have to cut short and narrow down my research.
2. Due the research relates with Chinese Muslims scholars and Jesuits missionaries in China, there was not much reference in Pakistan. I decided to go back China for the completion of the thesis. Due to far from the supervisor, I had problems of using and contacting supervior by net. Many times, all my writtings just disappeared in the computer in one second.
3. Because of many Jesuits fathers and Hui Hui scholars were involved in the research, I have to try getting all their original writings, articles and books. That work took a lot of time from me.
4. Some of the materials were hand writtings almost four centuries ago in old or ancient Chinese Characters which were not familiar to me, especially I spent almost twenty years out of China.
5. After reading those books, including books written by every writer of Han Kitab Literature, Jesuits fathers, the history book of both

- side and other books relating to the topic, I had to find out the possible hints which were related to my research. That was not a easy work, because no any research of comparative study the work of Jesuits missionaries and Hui Hui scholars had been done before.
6. I always feel pity that I do not understand the Italian language or any the Eropean languages, in which Jesuits missionaries used in that time. When I read their writings in Han Chinese, I used to think that if those books were written in their mother togues, they would be more delicate, as if I write this research in Chinese rather than in English.
 7. Because of the topic of this research is Chinese culture and scholarship in Chinese language, I have to cite the Chinese words and phrases in Chinese language. Due the sounds of Chinese characters are not reliable, which differ from time to time, and from person to person. So, I have to write the Han Characters together with Pin-Yin transliteration system and English translation as well, so that it might be easier for others' refences. Unfortunately, some times, I used Wade-Giles transliteration system because of its common usage in Western scholarship since long, while the history of Pin-Yin is less than seventy years. I apologize for the inconvienece.

As far as the the

Literature Review of this research, Alhadulillah, I benifited from all the references listed in the end of research. I got the basic data from those books for the history and general knowledge about the Society of Jesus, fathers of Jesuits in China and their work,etc and history of Han Kitab Literature, and contexts of Han Kitab Literature,etc. Especially, I benifited from the article of Kristian Peterson's 'Reconstructing Islam: Muslim Education and Literature in Ming-Qing Dynasty', from here I got to know the books of those Hui Hui Muslim scholars was named in English as Han Kitab Litearure.

But, all the above books are talking about two sides separately and none of any researcher has done the relations between the two and the comparative study between the two.

Introduction

The ancient Chinese civilization, culture and traditions were recorded in Han language, which was used by all Han nation, who were over ninety percent of the total population of mainland China, Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao. On the basis of inscriptions on bones and on tortoise shells, the writing ways of Chinese characters developed gradually. The history of writing ways goes back to the Qin Dynasty, while Qin Shihuang (秦始皇 the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty) and got united China in 221 B.C. For a better administration in the large empire, the Emperor ordered standardization of the Chinese script, designating *Xiao Zhuan* (小篆) or the seal script as the state script. Later, an easier script *Li Shu* (隶书) literally official script was developed, which gradually shaped into the regular script known as *Kai Shu* (楷书).

As one of the oldest civilizations of the world, the Chinese civilization is composed of several sources of origin in various areas in different historical periods. The Xia Dynasty (about 2070 B.C.-1600 B.C. 夏朝) established in the Yellow River Valley was the first dynasty that had oral history. The Shang Dynasty (1559 B.C.-1046 B.C. 商朝) was the second dynasty that had written evidences. Inscriptions on bones and on tortoise shells appeared in this period and it was the earliest Characters of Han Chinese. The Zhou Dynasty (about 11th Century B.C.-256 B.C. 周朝) replaced the former Shang and established a hereditary regim of more than seven hundred years.

Confucius (551 B.C. -479 B.C.) lived in the Period of Warring States of disorder. The country was divided into several states and they always tangled warfare among those states each. Confucius was very upset about the situation of the country and used to give advices and suggestions to kings or authorities so that they should observe the laws and principles brought Zhou Wenwang (周文王). In another hand, he started teaching pupils of every kind when he was thirty years old. He compiled six ancient Classics of Zhou Dynasty for the textual books of his teaching. They were called later the *Six Scriptures: Shi* (The Poetry 诗经), *Shang Shu*

(Shoo King 尚书), *Li* (The Rites 礼经), *Yi* (The Book of Changes 易经), *Chun Qiu* (The Spring and the Autumn 春秋) and *Yue* (The Music 乐). The last book of *Yue* (The Music) was lost completely during the Burning Scriptures/Books movement in Qin Dynasty (221B.C.-207B.C.).

The thought of Confucius was recorded by his pupils mainly in the book of *Lun Yu* (论语 Analects), *Da Xue* (大学 The Great Learning), *Zhong Yong* (中庸 The Book of Middle Way). Another book of *Mencius* of Mencius(孟子 385B.C.-304B.C.) was added to the list of Books of Confucianism in Song Dynasty. These *Four Books* (四书) and the above *Five Scriptures* (五经) compiled by Confucius formed the main teaching of Confucianism. In the year of 134B.C. Confucianism was adopted as a state ideology by Han Wudi (汉武帝 157B.C.-88B.C.) in Han Dynasty.

In the history of Confucianism, many scholars interpreted the *Four Books* and *Five Scriptures*. In Ming dynasty, the interpretations by scholars of Song and Ming dynasties, for example Zhu Xi (朱熹 1130-1200), were the highest authority of the country. In the early years of Ming (13th year of Yongli), the eight-part essay was officially prescribed for the imperial civil service examinations and the interpretations of Zhu Xi and two brothers of Cheng to these classics were considered as the orthodox, were selected for the contents of the imperial examinations of all the country.

Except Confucius, Laozi (老子 571B.C. - 471B.C.) would be one of the greatest thinkers in the history of China. His book of *Tao De Jing* (道德经) talked about the 'Tao' which was the origin of the universe. The later different Taoist schools used to claim that their founder of Taoism was the owner of book *Tao De Jing*, whose real name was Li Er (李耳). But, actually Taoism went far away from the original teachings of *Tao De Jing* which focused on the existence of a Creator in the universe. The main object of Taoism in late periods was corrupted as to gain eternity of human being in this earthly world.

Except Taoism and Confucianism, Buddhism would be the only foreign religion, which interacted with local culture and has survived until today. However with the passage of time, all of the three religions changed their

own original teachings. Confucianism remained the official ideology of Chinese feudal dynasties since Han dynasty except Mongol Yuan Dynasty. Despite many anti-Buddhism movements, the religion, which had its origin in India, gradually changed its original form in order to correspond to the Chinese environments and became a mutually complementary for the native Chinese⁴. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism used to interact one another and became different angles of a triangle in traditional Chinese society: i) Confucianism deals with how to lead the earthly life. ii) Taoism mainly concerns about how to get eternity in this earthly world and iii) Buddhism teaches people how to gain a successful life in hereafter. Without breaking this triangle, no other religion could get native Chinese converted on a large scale.

Many other religions like Monism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, etc. were introduced into China in different historical periods. Only Christianity and Islam are intact until today, while other foreign religions have no more followers in China. It would be a valuable work to explore for the factors as to how the two religions managed to transplant the Chinese traditions (a cultural process of localization or Chinanization) keeping their basic religious principle intact.

Moreover, the reasons should be found out as to why the Christianity today is more popular among Chinese than Islam. Unfortunately, the number of Muslims is increasing mainly of births and not due to other reason. Majority of the Chinese do not share the incidents of converting to Islam. It has been observed that apart from some social factors peculiar to the Chinese society, cultural accommodation played a very important role in spreading Christianity and Islam among the Chinese. The two religions managed their survival and growth due to their interaction with Chinese traditions. It is evident from their current status that the two had intergrated with Chinese culture and traditions in their earlier past.

⁴ For example, the school of Tian-Tai(天台宗) adopted the Taoist concept of Dan-Tian(丹田), Lian-Qi(练气) and introduced them to their meditation process and the school of Huayan (华严宗) not only adopted five virtues of Confucianism of 'Ren', 'Yi', 'Li', 'Zhi', 'Xin', but also some moral values of Buddhism like 'not killing', 'not lying', 'not drinking wine', etc. and some teachings from 'the Book of Changes'.

The research at hand seeks to understand the nature of relationship between the followers of this two religions in China during 1600-1730 and their integration with Confucian Chinese traditions. Moreover, the study also analyse the impact of Christian and Islamic works on the native Chinese. It would provide some suggestions for promoting the message of Islam in China and increase the prospects interfaith dialogues among followers of different religions.

FIRST BATCH OF CHRISTIANS:

The rulers of the Tang Dynasty, which was established in the year of 618 not only managed the domestic administration successfully and made great improvements in every field like economics, trade, culture, etc., but also developed ties with foreign countries.

They expanded their territory too much that many small neighbouring countries in West Region became their affiliated countries. The rulers, diplomats, and traders from those countries made frequent sojourns to and from China through the Silk Road using both land and sea routes. Tang thus got a chance to stay in touch with multiple cultures and civilizations and adopted friendly policies towards them.

Due to the indirect result of Islamic expenditures in West Region in the early Tang dynasty, many people fled from those areas. Some of them came to China with their religions. Chinese gave them a general name of *Bo Si Jia* (波斯教 the Persian religions). A stone-carving tablet of *the Monument of Nestorian in China* was found in 1625 in Xi'an, which showed that a group of Nestorian Christians reached Changan in the 9th year of Zhenguan (635). The rubbing of that monument was sent by the local Chinese to Li Zhizao, a Chinese convert of Jesuits for examination. It was called *Daqin Jing Jiao Liuxin Zhongguo Bei* (大秦景教流行中国碑). According to Li Zhizao, in Chinese language, Bei (碑) means monument, *Daqin* (大秦) refers to the Roman Empire since Han Dynasty, *Jiao* (教) means religion and *Jing* (景) related to the Sun (日) which literally means great or bright, and *Liuxin* (流行) means spreading. There were some lines written in Syrian language in the bottom of the monument and two sides of the

monument, which, according to the Jesuits' scholars, they were the names of the priests.

According to the monument, the Nestorian church was called *Bo Si Si* (波斯寺 the Temple of Persia), which literately means *Persian Temple*. The priests of Nestorians were called also *Bo Si Seng* (波斯僧 the monks from Persia). Probably, this group of Nestorians fled from Persia or Central Asia, due to the threatening situation in the Persian Empire caused by the Arab Muslims, in the reign of Khalifah Omar Bin Khatab (R.A.). It was also written on the monument that on his arrival the preist was received by the chief minister of the Tang, Fang Xuanling at the western suburb of Changan, the capital of Tang. The Nestorians was allowed by the Emperor to build a church in China.

It seems that Nestorian Christianity was perhaps preached among native Chinese. From the tablet of *Monument of Nestorian in China*, we also come to know that some of the books of Nestorian Christianity were translated into Chinese with the help of Tang government.

The tablet carved in the 2nd year of Jiande (around 749) applied many Buddhist terms, which showed the deep influence of Buddhism on Nestorian Christians. The priest was driven out of the Nestorian church in Xian, which was reportedly turned into a Taoist temple, and at least three thousand Christians announced leaving their religion during the anti-Buddhism movement in 847 during regime of Emperor Wuzong. The persecution of Buddhists affected Nestorian Christians, who disappeared from China.

SECOND BATCH OF CHRISTIANS

During the Yuan Mongol dynasty, the second batch of Christian priests arrived in China. Some Dominican priests were sent by Rome to the Mongol rulers and some noble Mongols converted into Christians. Some churches were established in the capital city and other places. At many important Mongols gathering places, pray halls, both for the Muslims and the Christians, were present there. But, all the Mongol Christians disappeared in the land of Han Chinese after the Ming dynasty was

established. It seems that the priests could not build any Christian community of Han Chinese. The missionaries reportedly translated some of their books into the language of Mongol. But, but they were not known to the Chinese scholars.

THE THIRD BATCH OF CHRISTIANS:

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Contrary to the above-mentioned two batches of missionaries, the pioneers of Jesuits paid great attention to cultural accommodation in China from the beginning. The Society of Jesus was a religious order of Catholic missions organized by the Spaniard St. Ignatius de Loyola in Paris in 1534 with other six persons. It was rectified by Pope Paul III on 27th September 1540. Its aim was to strive especially for the propagation and defense of the faith and progress of souls. Its members were called Jesuits by other religious orders.

In order to make Catholic faith growing in China, a group of Catholic preachers from the Society of Jesus, headed by Father Matteo Ricci made a deep study of Chinese traditions and local culture in the very beginning. They adopted certain ways by intergrating with Confucian traditions and introduced the Catholic faith to local Chinese. After the death of Matteo Ricci, some other Jesuits headed by Father Nicolas Longobardi⁵, however, drifted off his course in their work of preaching.

During the regime of emperor Yongzhen (one of the sons of emperor Kangxi) in 1620's., the activities of the Jesuits missionaries had been banned in the later regimes of Qing dynasty until 1840's. Of course, the secret activities of Christians were always there in all over China. It was estimated that, by the year of 1839, there were about 300,000 Christians.

⁵Nicolas Longobardi (1559-1654 龙华民) was born in a noble family of Italy. He came to China in 1597 and stayed in China for fifty-eight years until died in China. He was appointed as the Major Superior of the Mission in China after the death of Father Matteo Ricci in 1610.

ISLAM IN CHINA

The case of Islam, as foreign religion in China, seems to be exceptional case. It has survived since it was introduced into China during Tang dynasty. According to the official scrolls of Tang dynasty, the envoys of *Da Shi Guo* (大食国 the country of Arabs)⁶ came to the capital of Tang first time in the second year of Yonghui (651) and introduced their countries to the Emperor of China.⁷ Since then, the official relationship between the Chinese Empire and Islamic world was established and continued.

During the periods of Tang and Song dynasty, Muslims in China were mainly foreign traders, who came to China by Silk Road, both sea and land. They lived mostly in main commercial cities like the capital and coastal cities. The Chinese government used to allocate a special place named 'Fan-Fang (Foreigner Settlement 番坊)', where they had a Qazi (Juge) , who was responsible to run their affairs according to the Islamic Shariah. Fan Fang was separated with local Chinese settlements by walls or fences. It is not difficult for us to image that the interfaith dialogues between those foreign Muslim traders and native Chinese were limited at individual levels. There was no any historical evidence to show that there was any native Chinese Muslim community in those main international trade cities like Canton, Yangzhou and Quanzhou.

With the conquest of Mongol armies in the vast area of Central Asia and Arab countries, a large number of Muslims were brought into inland areas of China. They were hired by the Mongol rulers mainly as soldiers, administrators, advisors or technicians, etc. It is not difficult to image that the possibility of their spreading their Islamic faith among native Chinese was rare, partly because of their language problems and partly due to the hostilities of Han local Chinese towards Mongol conquest of South-Song empire. During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), a lot of Hui Hui Muslim immigrants started to settle in different parts of China and adopted gradually Han Chinese as their language. The issue of keeping their Islamic religious identity in that big empire of the East became the most important task for the Hui Hui scholars. Meanwhile, in order to have better

⁶ The word of 'Da Shi' came from the Persian word 'Tazi' in Canton dialect , See Bai Shouyi, the Essays

⁷ See, The Old Tang Books, Vol.639, p.4115

coexistence with the native non-Muslim Chinese, it was necessary for them to explain systematically to them what Islam was.

The establishment of *Mosque Scripture Hall Education* by sheikh Idris Hu Dengzhou(1522-1597) after 1560's played a great role of training imams and teachers for the mosques of Muslims' settlements, which united Hui Hui Chinese Muslims under the banner of Ahlul-Sunah wa Jamaa and Abu Hanifah jurisprudence school, by selecting certain textual books like Aqaeed Nasafi (Maturidiah) and Sharahah Weqayah (Hanafiah). The Hui Hui Muslims borrowed the word of *Jing* (The Scripture) from Confucian Academics and they also called the Islamic Books in Arabic or Percian language was *Jing* (经 The Scripture) or *Titab* (الكتاب). Even upto today, the Chinese Muslims are calling any book about Islam as 'Jing (经)' with full respect.

On the basis of "Mosque Scripture Hall Education", some Hui Hui Muslim scholars in Nanjing areas wrote books in Han Chinese language about Islam around 1640-1730 , they called those books as *Han Jing*(汉经 i.e. Han Kitab Literature) for high respect. The Han Kitab Literature movement was a revolutionary step in the history of Islam in China, which not only helped the Han majority Chinese to understand the basic Islamic faith of Hui Hui people, but also helped the Hui Hui Muslims, scattered in the vast land of China and whose language were also Han Chinese, to study their religion and to keep their Islamic identity. Because of role played by the Han Kitab Literature movement, some modern scholars considered it as the 'Renaissance of Islam in China'.⁸

It was a historical fact that prior to the Chinese Muslim scholars, some Jesuits missionaries came to south China and started their systematic work of intergrating Chinese traditions around 1590's. They did not only introduce the Chinese classics to the West, but also wrote a lot of books about Christianity in Chinese language. The similar practice of 'integration of Confucian traditions and against Buddhism' of Jesuits was also observed in the Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholars after several decades or a century.

In this humble research, a comparative study of Hui Hui Muslim scholars' Han Kitab Literature and the practice of Jesuits, headed by Matteo Ricci, in this period (1600-1730) have been made. I have tried to find out

⁸ See, Peterson, Kristian, *Reconstructing Islam: Muslim Education and Literature in Ming-Qing China*, American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, Vol. 23, No. 2/2007 and see, Saif Al-Haq, *The Culture of Islam in China*, Ph.D. thesis of Peshawar Univ., Pakistan, 2007

the possible cultural, religious, and social interactions between Christianity and Chinese traditions, between Islam and Chinese traditions, and between Hui Hui Muslims and Jesuits, so that we can learn from the past.

Chapter 1 Jesuits Missionaries in China

After two hundred years of the disappearance of the first Christians from its soil, China received third batch of Christian missionaries. Among them were missionaries from the Society of Jesus, who, being the most outstanding religious order, had approached the Palace of Chinese emperors and worked on the Imperial Court.

When many European colonies were established along the coast areas of Africa and Asia during 16th century, priests and fathers were also brought there for religious services and preaching Christianity among native people. Different Catholic orders started to sponsor, train and send missionaries to those places. At the same time, the Catholics in hometown of St. Ignatius de Loyola, Spain, were kicking the last Muslim power out the country. Founder of the Society of Jesus, St. Ignatius de Loyola, had some background of anti-Islam sentiments. St. Ignatius de Loyola converted to Christianity in 1522. During his staying in hospital, he made up his mind to devote himself for defending the Pope and fighting the Muslims, who were making “troubles” for Christians in the holy land of Jerusalem and other areas. In 1523, he left for Jerusalem to perform a pilgrimage and wage a holy war against Muslims there, but he had to abandon the journey due to some disease. In 1534, he along with six colleagues formed the Society of Jesus in Paris, vowing to save the Holy Land of Jerusalem as their first task, or otherwise severing the Pope. On 25th March of 1537, they went to Rome and got the permission to perform pilgrimage to Jerusalem. They again failed to reach the Holy Land due to the wars on the way. They then started their preaching Christianity among the Jews in Rome⁹. Some scholars even concluded that the *Spiritual Experiences* or *Salvation of the Souls* of Jesuits were similar to the Tasauwuf of Muslims.

When the Society of Jesus was established in 1534 in Paris, its founders had vowed that they would devote themselves for the task of

⁹ See, Harmann, the Brief History of the Society of Jesus, p.3-4.

freeing the Holy Land of Jerusalem from ‘the occupation of Muslims’ first and if not, then they would remain royal to the Holy See.¹⁰

The Society followed the teachings of the Catholic Church. Its priests and brothers were also called sometimes as ‘the Company’ or ‘God’s Marines’ and they were ready to bear any difficulty at any place of the world for the purpose of apostolic evangelization as per the Society’s motto “*Ad Maiorem Dei gloriam*”. The overseas propagation of faith had been paid great attention by the Society of Jesus since it was established. St. Ignatius de Loyola did not make rules for preaching work, but encouraged Jesuits studying local languages and culture, as the cases of Ireland and Ethiopia.¹¹ Many Jesuits set out their hard journeys all over the world. St. Francis Xavier¹² was sent by St. Ignatius de Loyola to India in 1542. After eleven months of travelling by sea, Francis Xavier arrived at Gua, India and started his missionary work there. College of St. Paul in Gua became the first center of Jesuits in Asia. It was in India that Father Francis Xavier developed the idea of learning local languages and culture. After several years, he travelled to the Far-East and landed in Japan in 1549. He liked the people there due to their keen interest in new knowledge and their good moral characters. When he heard about from Japanese that their culture originated from China, he developed a strong desire of spreading the Gospels among Chinese. He realized that the Chinese civilization was the highest in the Far-East Asia. But, unfortunately, he could not fulfill his desire of mainland of China, due to Chinese government’s strict restrictions for the foreigners during that period. He died on the island of *Shangchuan* (上川島) which was not far from Macao¹³ in 1552. The desire of St.

¹⁰ See, Holmes, J. Derek and Bickers, B.W., A Short History of the Catholic Church, Chinese translation by Wang Weijia, Beijing, Sapientia Press House, 2008, p.160 and see, Hartmann, The Brief History of the Society of Jesus, p.4

¹¹ See, Zhang Guanggang, From the Beginning of the West Meeting with the East to the Ritual Controversy, (Beijing: People’s Press, 2003). p.211

¹² St. Francis Xavier (1505-1552), Spaniard, was one of the first six members who gathered with St. Ignatius de Loyola Paris on 15th August 1534 and they together professed vows of poverty and chastity formed the new religious order ‘The Society of Jesus’. He was a beloved pupil of St. Ignatius, the first Superior General of the Society of Jesus... See, Pfister, The Notices, p.20-23

¹³ Macao is an Island in the South China Sea, in the west of Hong Kong. It was belong to China since 3th Century B.C. In the end of 15th century, the people of Macao built a temple there named ‘Temple of Ma Ge’, in order to ask protection

Francis Xavier would be fulfilled by the other Jesuits by those who came afterwards.

In 1552, the Portuguese traders on the excuse of getting mended their ships, landed at the island of Macao and built the first settlement for westerners in China. A large number of Portuguese rushed to Macao as soon as they got permission from local government of China. According to some report, at that time, among five thousands residents of Macao, nine hundred were Portuguese. At that time, Portugal had the right of protecting churches. Soon, a center of Chinese Language and Culture Study Center was established there by Jesuits.

In the year of 1563, eight Jesuits members worked at the center. In early period of their stay in Macao, they adopted a wrong mission strategy and paid no attention to study the local culture. The Portuguese culture dominated their preaching work, like speaking Portugal language and wearing Portugal dresses, even asking the converts to change their nationalities as Portuguese. Those in charge of Jesuits work at that time did not respect local culture and were very rude to the local convert¹⁴. Spanish priest Juan Bautista Ribeira had stayed in Macao for three years and transpired that all his efforts ended in smoke. He then returned to Europe and cried out desperately that there was no way for the Chinese accepting gospels unless we fought them with guns. Another Jesuit member Melchior Nunes Barreto who worked in Macao also agreed this dangerous point of view and he even wrote a letter to suggest the emperors of Europe should help missionaries entering mainland of China by threatening the Emperor of China by army forces. Such kind of weapon and gospels policy was practiced in Philippine. The Spanish Augustinians even suggested opening the doors of mainland of China by guns¹⁵.

from the Status of 'Ma Ge' for the fishers. Macao was the Sound of 'Ma Ge' in Portugal language. In 1514, the first Portugal trader Jorge Alvares reached Tunmen, a place near the mouth on the shore Pearl River. After that, many others also came to this area, but their request of landing on the mainland of China was rejected by the Ming government.

¹⁴ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p.6-7

¹⁵ See, Qi Yingping, *A Study of History of Jesuits in Far-East*, p.

The Jesuits work started to take a turn when another giant of Jesuits Father Alexandro Valignani (1538A-1606)¹⁶ came to Macao in July 1578 as the Superior Mission, India. His missionary work was successful in Japan and he even established good relations with the local Buddhist monks there. Soon, many native Japanese were baptized, because he introduced flexibility and cultural accommodations in his evangelizing work¹⁷. He was well aware that some European people were doing propaganda of attacking China by force. He carefully assessed the then prevailing situation in Macao, and proposed a policy of accommodation rather than that of using weapons. He stayed in Macao for ten months and wrote a letter to the Superior General of the Society, suggesting the policy of cultural accommodation for China. The *Letter* also emphasized the need to learn Chinese language, develop orientation with the local culture and customs.¹⁸

The salient features of the proposed cultural accommodation of Father Alexandro Valignani included giving respect to the culture or traditions of locals, developing congenial ties with the noble class of the society and pleasing people with earthly interest, etc.

Keeping this backdrop in view, Michel Ruggieri¹⁹ and Matteo Ricci were sent, one after another, from India to Macao for studying the Chinese language and culture. Michel Ruggieri visited Canton (Guangzhou) several times during 1580-1582 as a translator for Portugal. He was permitted to stay in Zhaoqing, Canton in the end of 1582 by the governor of Canton and his residence in Zhaoqing was the first residence of Jesuits in China. The

¹⁶ Alexandre Valignani (1538-1606), came from a noble family of Italy. In 1566, he joined the Society of Jesus. Soon, he was appointed as the Vistator of the Far-East. After the death of Francisca Xavier, he became Bishop of Asia diocese. He made the general guidelines for the evangelization work in China in the very beginning.

¹⁷ See Hartmann, P.C., the Brief History of the Society of Jesus, p.37-39

¹⁸ See Jiang Weihai, the Jesuits in Ming-Qing China, Shanghai, the knowledge press, 1987, p.7-9.

¹⁹ Michel Ruggieri (1543-1607), from Italy, entered the theological Institute of the Society when he was twenty-eight years old. In 1578, he boarded the same ship with Matteo Ricci at the port of Lisbon, Spain and started the long journey for the East. He reached Macao in July, 1578 and started to learn Chinese there and was one of the pioneers of Jesuits missionary in China.

first person in Chinese main land was baptized by him in Zhaoqing. Even upto 1584, a Jesuits member named Alonso Sanchez reached in Macao, and suggested that a joint army of Spain and Portugal should be sent to China for fortifying the residence of Jesuits in Zhaoqing. This suggestion was turned down.

In order to have better work in the Chinese Confucian impire, Jesuits in East mission thought that Rome would send a Papal delegation to the emperor of China in Beijing as the case of India. Michel Ruggieri went back to Rome for this appeal in 1589. But, he did not get any answer from the Papacy before his death in 1607 in Italy.

In 1596, Matteo Ricci was pointed as the Vice Provincial of China Mission. The policy of cultural accommodation suggested by Alexandro Valignani continued to be practised. After that, Matteo Ricci made a personal example of cultural accommodation for the other Jesuits in China and in India. The practices of Father Ricci were named the *Principles of Matteo Ricci* by the Emperor of Kangxi during the 'Chinese Rites Controversy'.²⁰

²⁰ 'Chinese Rites Controversy' was a discussion between Jesuits and other religious orders in China about some Chinese traditional rites of reverencing Confucius and the ancestors of the Chinese converts. At last, it became a religious dispute between the Society of Jesus and the other religious orders in Europe, and the Holy See and the emperor Kangxi of China also evolved.

Chapter 2 Main Books of Jesuits in Han Chinese

While staying in Macao, the Jesuits realized that the Chinese people were intensively interested in reading books and learning about outside world. In order to show superiority of the Catholic faith to the Chinese, the Jesuits Fathers had to prove that they knew well the Chinese Classics and were able to write like Chinese men of letters. After having studied Chinese in Macao, they started writing books in Han Chinese with the help of some Chinese scholars. It was said that, from 1580's to date, around one thousand books and articles of such nature have been produced in Chinese language. Many manuscripts of those books and articles have been kept in different libraries in China, Rome and Europe.

Father M. Ruggieri was the first Jesuits who wrote books or booklets about Catholicism in Han Chinese. *The Ten Commandments* was translated by him into Han Chinese for the new converts of Chinese in the title of *The Ten Commandments of Lord of Heaven Handed Down from our Ancestors* (祖传天主十戒), when he was in Macao. In 1584, his another book in Han Chinese *Newly Edited True Teaching of Lord of Heaven and Holy Religion from the Country of West India* (Xin Bian Xi Tian Zhu Guo Tian Zhu Sheng Jiao Shi Lu 新编西天竺天主圣教实录) was printed in Zhaoqing. This book was no more published with its original title, perhaps it contained many Buddhist terms and the Jesuits in China changed their policy of interaction of Buddhism in their early period to against it. In the later editions of the book, the title of the book was revised as *Tian Zhu Sheng Jiao Shi Lu* (天主圣教实录 The True Teaching of Lord of Heaven and Holy Religion). A word of Buddhist terminology *Xi Tian Zhu* (西天竺国 the Country of West India) was omitted from its title when it was printed in Zhaoqing at its first time.²¹ It seems obviously that the Jesuits

²¹ Father Xu Zongce mentioned that there was copy of old manuscript in the Xu Jiahui Library, Shanghai with the title of "Tian Zhu Sheng Jiao Shi Lu(天主圣教实录)", See Xu Zongce, a Abstract,p313 and one copy in the National Library of France, Paris with the reference no of 6816 with the title of "Tian Zhu Sheng Jiao Shi Lu(天主圣教实录)",See Xu Zongce, a Abstract,p.321 and also in the library of Vatican with the same title. According to Pftister, there was a copy of manuscript

tried to hide their close relationship with Chinese Buddhism in their early history in China.

With the publication of the book of *the True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (Tian Zhu Shi Yi 天主实义) in 1603, Matteo Ricci opened new era of Christianity in the history of China. Matteo Ricci not only wrote books and articles in Chinese, but also printed the same on his own. His policy of cultural accommodation²² was rectified by the Society of Jesus after Matteo Ricci was appointed as the Provincial Superior of China Mission in 1596 and in 1597 as the Major Superior of the Mission in China by the Visitor A. Valignano.²³ The practice of Matteo Ricci's anti-Buddhism criticism and his efforts to integrate Confucianism had continued for almost one century even after his death in 1610. Many books and articles were written by other Jesuits to defend the practice of Matteo Ricci. However there were some Jesuits in China like Father Nicolas Longobardi (1559-1645) did not agree the policy of Matteo Ricci. Their work would be not focused in the current study.

These books and articles could be found in manuscripts in the library of Xu Jiahui Church of Shanghai in China, the library of Vatican in Rome, the library of the Society of Jesus in Rome, and the National Library of France Paris. Xu Zongce compiled all the books and articles of Shanghai in his book of *An Abstract of the Writings of Jesuits* and mentioned other books in the libraries mentioned above. The writings of Jesuits in the library of Vatican were photocopied and compiled in the form of a book titled *Xupian of the Documents of Catholic Eastern Mission*. In the thesis, I would

of this book also in the library of Vetolioe-Imanur (维托利奥-伊曼纽尔) of Rome with the title "The Chinese organizations of Human" with the no.1185(3314)(the manuscripts of Jesuits).See Pfister, Notices Biographiques,Vol.1.p.30

²²According to Prieto, accommodation is the adaptation of one's message to one's audience,see,Andres I.Prieto "The Perils of Accomodation:Jesuit Missionary Strategies in the Early Modern World",Journal of Jesuit Studies 4(2017):395-414

²³ See, Pfister, Life of the Society of Jesus in The Biographies China (1552-1773) and their Books (Notices Biographiquee p. Louis Pfister, the Biographies of the Society of Jesus et Bibliographiques Sur les Jesuit's de L'aneienne Mission De Chine 1552-1773), translator of Chinese Feng Zhengjun, Beijing, China Book Town,1995 ", Vol.1, p.20-22

briefly discuss the selected books and articles produced by noted Jesuit Fathers and Chinese converts.

1. Matteo Ricci

The Diary was the most important book of Matteo Ricci. It was published by Nicolas Trigault²⁴ in Latin in 1614. The following three books authored by him are closely relevant to the current study.

Tian Zhu Shi Yi (天主实义 The True Meaning of Lord of Heaven) of two volumes was translated into Japanese in 1604 and reprinted three times by Father Alexandre Valignani in Macao. It was also adapted into Korean and French languages in 1818.²⁵ It was considered one of the most important books of Jesuits in China.

Another book of Matteo Ricci *Ji Ren Pian* (畸人十篇 Ten Articles for the Abnormal People). It was printed in Beijing in 1604. It was a critique on Buddhists and superstitions in Chinese traditions²⁶.

The third book was his *The Correspondences* which contains letters written by Matteo Ricci to the Headquarters of the Society of Jesus in Europe.

2. Paul Xu Guangqi and Yang Tingjun

²⁴ Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628), a French, reached Goa, India in 1607 and worked there for about two years. In 1611, he reached Nanjing and other places of China. He started his journey back to Rome in the early of 1613 and at last reached Rome in the end of 1614.

²⁵ See Pftister ,Notices Biographiques, Vol.1,p.41,There are manuscripts of this Book in Xujiahui Library, Shanghai , in Vatican Library(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) with the reference No. Borg.Cine332, 335, Barb.Or132,Rac.Gen.Or.3-223,247, and according to Father Xu Zongce, see Xu Zongce, an Abstract of the Works of Jesuits, p313, p.334, and in the National Library of France(Biblioth e que nationale de France) with reference no. of Maurice Courant 6820, 6821,6823,6824...,see Xu Zongce, an Abstract,p321.

²⁶According to Father Xu Zongce, there is a copy of this book carved in Ming Dynasty in Xujiahui Library, Shanghai (p.313), an copy of in the National Library of France with the reference no. 6830(p.321), and a copy of it in the Library of Vatican (p.335).

Paul Xu Guangqi (徐光启) and Yang Tingjun (杨廷筠) were Chinese converts who played great roles in preaching Catholicism and promoting western sciences and technologies. Paul Xu Guangqi not only translated *The Geometry of Eulid* into Chinese, but also wrote many books and articles on Catholics, which among other include the articles *Pi Wang* (辟妄 *A Refutation of Misconceptions*) and *Po Mi* (破迷 *A Refutation of Superstitions*). Yang Tingjun's articles titled *Tian Shi Ming Bian* (天释明辨 *A Comparative Study Between Catholicism and Budddhism*) and *Dai Yi Bian* (代疑编 *A Collection of Questions*) were the most popular.

3. Jules Aleni

Father J. Aleni (1582-1649 艾利略) was a very important figure in the history of Jesuits in China. He continued Matteo Ricci's practice of cultural accomodation in China. He preached in many provinces of China for more than forty years and had very close relationship with many high officers on the imperial court, like Paul Xu Guangqi, Ye Xianggao, etc. In Fujian province, he worked successfully among the local people, and intellectuals. The local Chinese people were greatly impressed by his frofound understanding in both Confucianism and Catholicism. He was called by local Chinese the 'Confucius of the West', a great honor even not given to Matteo Ricci.

His famous books on Catholic faith were *San Shan Lun Xue Ji* (三山论学记 *A Discussion of Catholicism in San Shan*)²⁷ and *Wan Wu Zhen Yuan* (万物真原 *The Reality of the Universe*).

²⁷ San Shan (Three Moutains) was another name for Fuzhou, the capital city of Fujian province

Chapter 3

Islam and the Hui Hui Muslims in China

In present China, Islam is the religion of ten nations of minority and converts from other nations, including from the majority Han nation. According the official census of government of China in 2010, the total population of Muslims in China is about twenty three million. However, the actual number should be higher because many Muslim families do not share the data of their newly born children in government due to strick birth-control policy in the contry. Additionally, many new converts from other nations were not counted in the census.

The Muslims in China today can be categorized into two main groups. The first group consists of those Muslims who live in the north-western area of Xinjiang who have their own mother languages like the Uighurs, the Kazaks, the Khalkhas, the Uzbeks, the Tajiks and the Tatars. The other group comprises those Muslims who use Han language and live across. They include the Huis, the Salas, the Dongxiangs and the Bao'ans. The converts from Han people or any other nation can be included in the second group.

The term of Hui Hui Muslims used in this thesis was a general name for those people who believed in Islam before 1949. The case study of second group Chinese Muslims, their history of interaction with Chinese Han culture and traditions, would create promising prospects for the Muslims to spread the message of Islam among Chinese.

1. A Brief History of Islam in China

The transportation and communication linkages both by the sea and road between ancient China and West Region had existed as early as 5th

54/5041

century A.D.²⁸ Many Chinese historians believed that Arabs and Persians reached the south-eastern coast areas of China as businessmen before the start of the Islamic era in Arabia peninsula. Those traders used to settle down in those major cities, like Canton (now is called Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong province), Quanzhou in Fujian province and Hangzhou, the capital city of Zhejiang province, etc. They usually travelled between those Chinese cities and their home towns by sea. It was probable that some of them brought the new faith of Islam to their country fellows in China shortly after the announcement of prophethood of Mohammed (S.A.W.). After the rise of Islam, many Muslims came to China as businessmen²⁹, envoys and soldiers, through its western border of Silk Route.

Islam entered China peacefully. According to the Chinese official record, in August of 651, the envoys of Khalifah Usman Bin Affan (R.A.) came to Chang'an, then capital city of Tang. The Islamic faith and the country where it emerged were introduced to the Chinese emperor. This was recorded officially by Chinese historian as the year of establishing formal diplomatic relationship between these two great empires³⁰. With establishment of official relationship between Chinese Tang and Muslim world, many foreign Muslims thronged Chinese cities and towns as traders, soldiers or diplomats.

Meanwhile, after about one hundred years another big event happened in the country that changed the circumstances altogether. In the winter of 755, there was rebellion called 'Rebellion of An-Shi', inside China. The rebellion was so tumultuous that it threatened the Chinese government. An army of Arab Muslims comprising two thousands soldiers was requested by the Chinese emperor to help him. The army of Muslims and they fought side by side with the Chinese armies against the rebellion. While staying in China, those Muslim soldiers started to learn Chinese language. The present mosque of Da Xue Xi Xiang (大学习巷 *the Lane of Great Learning*) in Xian Muslim Compact Community (西安回坊) was the site of the learning center of Chinese for those Muslim soldiers. At last, the rebellion was put down by Tang government and peace returned to the country. After the victory, many foreign soldiers chose to settle down in

²⁸See, Bai Shou Yi, *Essays on History of Islam in China*, p.2-11.

²⁹See, Ibrahim, T. Y. Ma 'Muslims in China', p. 9-11.

³⁰See ,*The Old Book of Tang*,Vol.639,p. 4115

China permanently³¹. Those Muslim soldiers married local Chinese women and their wives were perhaps the first batch of Chinese converts.

During Tang and Song dynasties (618-1279), Muslims were mainly foreign traders and they mostly lived in compact communities called *Fan Fang* (i.e. *Foreinger Settlements* 番坊)³². The Muslims in Fan Fang were separated with local Chinese by walls and fences and they enjoyed their religious freedom there. There was a foreign Qazi (Judge) selected by themselves, who were responsible to deal with the internal affairs inside Fan Fang.

The Muslim population of China was greatly increased during Mongol Yuan dynasty. Muslims from the West Region were brought by Mongols as technicians, soldiers, etc. They were sent by the Mongols to every place of deep inside the provinces as fighters against the government of South Song dynasty or technicians to build the country. It was not difficult to imagine that those Muslims who worked with Mongol rulers communicated each other in Mongol language. There were many Mongols who converted to Islam as the cases in vast land of Central Asia. The history recorded that, during this period, one of a Mongol general from noble family converted into Islam and so did all his army of 150,000 Mongol soldiers. During the period of Yuan, the Muslims in China consisted of different nations and their languages surely were different dialects of Central Asia, Persian, Arabic, or Mongol, etc. Han Chinese language surely used as a spoken language by some Muslims for the purpose of communication with local native Chinese. Al-Sayyid Shams Addin Omar (1211-1279 赛典赤) from Bukhara advocated greatly the Han Chinese language and its culture when he was appointed as administrator in Yunnan province.

During period, the term of Hui Hui meant the Muslim people of the West Region. Some other Muslim scholars contend that the word of Hui (回) in Han Chinese language has multiple meanings. For example the Character of Hui '回' is composed of two '口 (Kou, meant the mouth)'. While the outside one of '口' refers to the people who recite the Kalimah

³¹ See, Bai Shou Yi, *Essays on the History of Islam in China*

³² According to the historical records, such 'Fan Fang' of Muslim settlements were present, at least in two Chinese cities. One was in Changan, the capital city of Tang dynasty and another one was in Canton.

with their physical mouths and the inside one of ‘口’ refers to the people who should confirm their faith in their hearts. Another explanation of the Chinese character of ‘回’ seems plausible that it came from the meaning of ‘returning or going back’. It refers that the Hui Hui Muslims in China had always desired returning back to their home town of Tian Fang i.e. the Arabia world or Jannah - the final destination.

During Ming dynasty, Han Chinese culture and Confucianism again dominated the country. Some Chinese Muslim scholar even held that the first emperor of Ming dynasty Zhu Yuanzhang was born in a Muslim family in Anhui province with many evidences³³. Nanjing was selected as the capital of this new dynasty. During the first one hundred and fifty years of Ming dynasty, government encouraged the immigrants from West Region to inland provinces of China. The Hui Hui Muslims in main cities moved further to small cities, towns and countryside. Many stable compact communities of Muslims were spread across China, such as in Gansu, Qinghai, Shanxi, Ningxia, Shansi, Henan, Hebei, Anhui, Shandong, Guangdong and Fujian, etc. during the period of 1368-1521. All those immigrants and non-Han Chinese from Yuan dynasty were called people of *Se Mu*, many of them were Hui Hui Muslims. Due to several reasons, many other foreign Muslims traders and envoys from other Muslim countries like India, South-East Asia, Philippine, Saudi Arabia, etc also came to Ming and settled in different parts of China.³⁴ Muslims and other nations from the West Region, including the Mongols were named “Hui Hui 回回”. Hui Hui people were registered first time in the history by Ming government as citizens of China and an independent nation.

With the development of cultural sinization or localisation of adopting Chinese names, changing their foreign style clothes into native Chinese styles, speaking Han Chinese language, etc., many Hui Hui Muslims lost gradually their Islamic identities and adopted Han Chinese way of life as Matteo Ricci mentioned in his *Diary*. In the later period, due to many internal problems, Ming closed both its doors toward the West Region and south-east coast areas so that the foreigners could not enter China easily.

³³ See, Ibrahim, T.Y. Ma, Muslims in China, p 21

³⁴ See Yahya, Linsong, The History of Hui Hui and Islamic Culture, China Today Publishing House, p.39-53, 1992

The Ming government became more nervous and alert about their security of south-eastern coastal areas, when they heard the news of some western colonizers evading the adjacent counties like Indonesia, Philippine and other islands in South-East China Sea.

During the time of Michel Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci stayed in Zhaoqing, the Hui Hui Muslim scholar Idris Hu Dengzhou (胡登洲 1522-1597) and his followers were having a religious educational reform in Shanxi province firstly, then all over China by establishing the *Mosque Scripture Hall Education System* (经堂教育). The *Mosque Scripture Hall Islamic Education System* (经堂教育) was similar to today's Deeni Taleem of Deobandi in India or Pakistan. About thirteen famous books from the Muslim world, including Arabic grammar, Persian grammar, Tafseer, Hadith, Figh of Sharih Wiqayah (a book of Fiqh in Hanafi School), Tasauwaf, etc. Teachers read the original textbooks in Arabic or Persian language, and then translated orally into Han Chinese, which was also the language of Hui Hui Muslims in Ming Dynasty. Gradually, many terminologies in Han Chinese language were formed among Hui Hui Muslims, which were called 'Jing Tang Yu', the Islamic terminologies in Han Chinese.

The Islamic *Mosque Scripture Hall* education system was introduced in South-East region including Nanjing, Shandong area at least two decades after Jesuits came to this region. The most famous Muslim scholars in this area were Ma Zhengwu (马真吾), Zhang Shaoshang (张少山), Mohammed Chang Zhimei (常志美 1610-1670)³⁵. The newly introduced educational system played a great role for the emergence of the famous Han Kitab Literature movement in 17th century in Nanjing.

2. Interactions between Hui Hui Muslims and the Jesuits

Perhaps Matteo Ricci was cognizant of the fact from the very beginning, particularly when he experienced with India Muslims, that it was very

³⁵ Mehammed Chang Zhimei, the founder of Shandong school of *Mosque Scripture Hall education* system, came from Central Asia to the capital of Ming, accompanying his uncle as attributor of lions for the Emperor, when he was very young. He started his private Chinese traditional education when he was seven and Islamic education in Arabic and Persian when he was eleven.

difficult for Muslims to convert to Christianity. The Muslim by birth Confucian scholar Li Zhi did not convert to a Christian, though he had very close relation with Matteo Ricci. Perhaps he treated Muslims as the religious rivals. Matteo Ricci did not discuss Islam and Muslims in China openly in any his book or article published in China during his life time. Matteo Ricci mentioned almost all religious sects in China in his writings, except the Hui Hui Muslims. Some scholars tried to find out the reasons by saying that he ignored Muslims in China in his writing due to their weak position in China and foreign origin.³⁶ But, the historical facts did not substantiate this assumption, because in all the places he stayed, or visited, the Hui Huis not only were big in number, but even many of them had held high status in the government. Matteo Ricci could not deny the powerful present of Hui Hui Muslims in China, as Bernard wrote the following comments about Matteo Ricci's deep impressions about Muslims in China:

'There was a notable thing in China that a foreign religion next to Buddhism put its feet deeply on the soil of China and attracted the attention of the Chinese government. That was Islam, a religion that Matteo Ricci knew well.'³⁷

In the late Ming dynasty, there were a lot of Muslim traders, soldiers, government officers, etc came to Zhaoqing, the capital city of Guangdong and Guangxi. For example, during the period of Jiaqing (嘉庆 1522-1566), the Ming government sent soldiers of "Da Guan Jun (达官军)" to different places, Gungzhou two hundred and seventy six, Zhaoqing forty...³⁸. In 4th year of Chenghua (1468), Ming dynasty, including four hundred Muslim soldiers with their families, came to Zhaoqing and were on garrison duty there. During 1522-1566, the government of Ming sent again Muslim soldiers again to Zhaoqing.³⁹ The fact that the establishment

³⁶ See, Ronnie Po-Chia HSIA, Catholicism and the Late-Ming Society: Several Issues on Long Huamin's preaching in Shangdong in Chongzhen Period, Journal of the Research on History, Vol.2, 2009.

³⁷ See, Bernard, the Bibliography, p.78

³⁸ See, Ma Jian Zhao, The Historical Culture of Hui Muslims in Guangdong, The Nation Publishing House, and 2012.p.96.

³⁹ See, The Historical Culture of Hui Muslims in Guangdong, The Nation Publishing House, 2012, p.96

of first mosque of Zhaoqing in the end of Ming and early of Qing, shows in that time the Muslim population at that time was not small⁴⁰.

Guangzhou, the most important international trade city of China, locates in the Eastern side- about one hundred and twenty kilometers away from Zhaoqing. As early as in Tang dynasty, a lot of Muslim foreign traders came to Guangzhou for international business or making their livings. The local government, in order to separate them with local Chinese and make the management easier, located certain areas for those foreign traders specially *Fanfang* (番坊 *The Foreigner Compact Settlements*). Pray halls, madarasas, and mosques were thus built in their residential areas. The first Mosque of China was built in Guangzhou during the rule of Tang dynasty. The mosque was named *Guangta Si* (光塔寺 *a Temple of Light Tower*) beside the River of Pearl. Its round high minaret (about 35.75 meters high and diameter of 8.85 meters in its bottom) was used for giving light to direct the ships of the traders in the night, by putting lamps or making fires on the top of the minaret. In this period, most of foreign Muslims lived in those foreigner's settlements as guests, and they did not have so much cultural mutual interactions with the native Chinese, except on some occasions. When Jesuits came to Guangdong, except the ancient mosque of *Guangta Si* and traditional Muslim settlement area nearby the mosque in Guangzhou city, there were also another four Muslim soldiers' gathering places in the city of Guangzhou, Which were no far from the *Guangta Si* (*The Mosque of Manar*): Dadongying(大东营), Xiaodongying(小东营), Xiying(西营) and Zhutongying(竹筒营), where gathered Muslim soldiers of more than one thousand who were sent by the Ming government from Nanjing in 1468. Those soldiers were manily Monguals called by Han Chinese as "Da Guan Jun i.e. the Mongol soldiers hired by the government" During the period of Chenghua, Ming Dynasty three other mosques Dong Ying (东营), Nansheng (南胜) and Hao Pan(濠畔) were built in Guangzhou.

Like the founder of the Society of Jesus, Matteo Ricci would not neglect the existences of the large population of Muslims in China. His manuscripts in Italian revealed that as soon as he arrived in China, he noticed the large population of Muslims in China and even in Canton,⁴¹ He

⁴⁰ Ibid,p.167

⁴¹ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Diary*, p.114 and 140.

stayed in Nanjing quite a long time and praised it greatly that it was the most beautiful city in the world. In this first capital city, there were a big Hui Hui Muslims population and many mosques. It was said that, the earliest mosque in Nanjing was built in Song dynasty. Eleven mosques were built in Ming dynasty⁴². In his first of visiting Nanjing, Matteo Ricci was arranged to stay in a Buddhist temple named 'Cheng En Si (承恩寺)'. This temple was on the same street with the Emperor Granted mosque of 'Jing Jue Si (净觉寺)'. This mosque was built by the first emperor of Ming Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋) for the Muslim government officers. Matteo Ricci desired to remain in Nanjing and build a Jesuits center there. The local Chinese officers even gave suggestion to Matteo Ricci that he should try to stay in Nanjing and China as the Hui Hui Muslims did⁴³.

According to Matteo Ricci himself, he even visited the huge astronomical observatory built by Muslim astronomers in the early years of Ming dynasty. This visit inspired Jesuits that they were able to have high position in the country by working for the empire as scientists or technicians. After he managed to enter the Forbidden City, he soon found out that a team of Hui Hui Muslim astronomers were working inside the Palace. In 1605, he wrote to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus and requested the Society sending the best mathematicians to China in order to translate the western calendar into Chinese language so that the Jesuits in China could stay in China with dignity and honor⁴⁴. The world map drawn by Matteo Ricci carried the names of Arab Peninsula, Mecca, Medina, and Palestine etc. in Han Chinese language. Matteo Ricci even used the name of 'Hui Hui Guo (回回国)' referring to the Central Asia. Similarly, the word of *Tian Fang* (天方) was also used on the map. The words of *Tian Fang* has been borrowed by the Hui Hui Muslim scholars in Han Kitab Literature. Salih Liu Zhi titled many of his books with *Tian Fang*. It later became a popular Islamic terminology in Han Chinese. He could not hide his feelings in his writings that whenever Muslims were the 'worst enemy of Christians.'⁴⁵

⁴² See, Ma Te, Du Yi Zhai, 2016/11/21

⁴³ See, Matteo Ricci, The Diary, p.114

⁴⁴ See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.128

⁴⁵ See, Matteo Ricci, The Diary, 121

Beijing, the capital of Ming-Qing China, in which Matteo Ricci spent his last ten years, was very important for the Jesuits in China. The history of Muslims in Beijing goes back to Yuan Mongol period. After the conquest of the West Region, the Moguls brought many people from Arab Peninsula and Persia to Beijing, then called Zhongdu, for building new capital of Dadu. The two tombs (inside Niu Jie mosque today) with the monuments inscribed in Arabic around 1280 suggested that Muslims were using Arabic language at that time. The grand Palace of Beijing was designed and managed by a Muslim engineer in the 1260's. Marco Polo called it Cambalu.⁴⁶ Many Muslims also entered Beijing, when the Ming shifted its capital from Nanjing to Beijing in 1420's. When the portrait of Matteo Ricci was showed to the Emperor of Wanli, the Emperor said 'oh, he is a Hui Hui' and then gave the reception at the imperial court.

Matteo Ricci did not publish his books and articles in Chinese language until he had developed strong links with some high officers in the Court of the Emperor. In his writings, he mentioned almost all the religions in China except Islam. The reasons of such conclusion were not known to us. But it is obvious that the early Jesuits M. Ruggier and Matteo Ricci were fully aware of the huge population of Muslims in Canton, Zhaoqing, Nanjing and Beijing, etc.. His *Diary* published posthumously by Nicolas Trigault in European languages⁴⁷ revealed that Matteo Ricci had profound

⁴⁶ Matteo Ricci found, when he lived in Beijing, that the country of 'Cathy' and its capital 'Cabalu' described by Marco Polo were China and Beijing.

⁴⁷ Matteo Ricci recorded many events, Diary in Italian in his last years of his life. Nicolas Trigault brought all the manuscripts of Matteo Ricci with him and started his journey back to Rome in 1614. On the way, he translated them from Italian to Latin. Then, addition to that, Nicolas wrote something more about Matteo Ricci and the work of Jesuits in China and compiled a book named "The History of Christian Expedition in China (De Christian Expeditione in Apvd. Sinas Suscepta a Societae Jesus). This book was translated into many other European languages like German, French, and Italian, etc. A complete English translation of this book was done by Louis J. Gallagher in 1942 with the name of 'China in 17th Century-The Diary of Matteo Ricci (1583-1610)'. The manuscripts of Matteo Ricci in Italian was not lost, but kept well in the Library of Society of Jesus in Rome. In 1910, Pietro Tacchi Venturi published them with some other letters of Matteo Ricci in a book of two volumes named 'Opere Storiche de P. Matteo Ricci'. The first volume was the manuscripts and the second was the correspondences of Matteo Ricci with others. In this thesis, considering the separation of the manuscripts and the

understanding about the present of Islam and Muslims in China. He called the Chinese Muslims *the Saracens* in all his writings pertaining to Muslims and observed:

‘It was apparent that the Muhammedians rushed into China from the West and Persia... especially during the regime of the Tatar. At that time the Saracen entered China without any control. Even now, the Persian merchants came to China once a year in the name of official delegation. Such delegations used to bring more other Saracens to China...However in which way they came to China, there are Saracens everywhere in China.’⁴⁸ His travelling in Zhaoqing, Canton, Nanjing and Beijing enriched his understanding about the status of Islam in China. He even mentioned that there were a lot of Muslims in Canton⁴⁹. He also pointed out the ignorance of Chinese Muslims in that time that “they forgot completely the religion of their accentors and did not know anything about their religion except non-pork diet... the Chinese Muslims did not do any work to introduce their religion to other Chinese...⁵⁰ In his *Diary*, he recorded a full story of the Portugal Jesuit Bento de Goes’s adventure through Muslim areas for confirming the country of *Cathy* mentioned by Marco Polo was China, and that he mentioned Saracens always not in a respectful tone.⁵¹ In another place of this *Diary*, Matteo Ricci even described the Muslims as the worst enemy of the Christians.⁵² It seems that he expressed his hatreds towards all the Muslims because the war between the Turkey and some countries of Europe was underway at that time. Moreover, he had some bad experiences with Muslims in India or China. But, he did not mention in his *Diary* and *Correspondences* of direct contact with any Chinese Muslim except Li Zhi in Nanjing. In 1616, Paul Xu Guangqi asked the government to give Christians freedom to practice their religion, citing the precedence that the

correspondences in Chinese translations , ‘The Diary’ of Matteo Ricci is referring to the Chinese translation of the book of Nicolas Trigault’s ‘the Expedition’ and ‘the Correspondences’ is referring to the Chinese translation of ‘the Correspondences’ of Matteo Ricci.

⁴⁸ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Diary*, p.114

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 140.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.114

⁵¹ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Diary*, p.541-567

⁵² *Ibid*, p.121

Hui Hui Muslims had enjoyed their complete religious freedom, though they did not have books about their religion in Chinese.⁵³

⁵³ See, Xu Guangqi, Pi Wang,

Chapter4 Hui Hui Scholars' Han Kitab Literature

Both Matteo Ricci and Paul Xu Guangqi noticed that the Hui Hui Muslims in China did not have books about their religion in Chinese even up to the early of 1600's. It would be possible that the activities of Jesuits in China also stimulated Han Kitab Literature movement of Hui Hui Muslim scholars in Nanjing.

Han Kitab Literature movement was a very important development in the history of Muslims in China. It was a sad fact that the Muslims had been in the land of China for nearly a thousand years, but they could not write a book about full message of their religion in Han language. The emergence of Han Kitab Literature in Nanjing around 1640's opened a new era that the Muslims in China could be able to introduce Islam to Han Chinese in Han Chinese. Its' emergence was the result of many factors.

The policy of national assimilation of Ming government caused gradual dilution of the Islamic identity of the Hui Hui Muslims. *The Mosque Scripture Hall initiative* seemed to have taken as a response in the face of such attempts of cultural assimilation. The spread of Mosque Scripture Hall education across Nanjing might have spurred the emergence of Han Kitab Literature in this area because many writers of Han Kitab Literature had been educated from the Mosque Scripture Hall. For example, Zhang Zhong(1584-1670), Dawood Wang Dai Yu (1570-1660), Wu Zhongqi (1598-1697) and Salih Liu Zhi (1660-1730) had the educational background of *Mosque Scripture Hall Education*.

Admittedly, the bilingual training in Han Chinese and Arabic/Persian in *Mosque Scripture Hall* education significantly contributed in the emergence and advancement of the Han Kitab Literature movement. Notwithstanding, it is inexplicable as to why the Han Kitab Literature movement could not be launched in the North Wester Region, where *Mosque Scripture Hall* education had been booming since the days of the founder Sheikh Idris.

The first book of Han Kitab Literature perhaps was Sheikh Zhang Zhong's *Ke Li Mo Jie*(克里默解 the Explanation of Al-Kalimat of

Shahadah), which was the book of *Zheng Zhu Mo Jie* (证主默解) mentioned and criticized by Dawood Wang Daiyu.⁵⁴ There were perhaps another two Han Kitab of Hui Hui Muslim scholars, like *Qing Zhen Jiao Kao* (清真教考 The Examination of Islam) mentioned by Salih Liu Zhi in the preface of book of *The Seerah of Last Prophet (S.A.W.)* produced around 1634 and *Qun Shu Hui Ji Shi Yi* (群书汇辑释疑 A Collection of Books and Removing of Doubts) written in about 1636⁵⁵. But unfortunately, those books were lost.

In the beginning, some people from Muslim community had negative view of writing books about Islamic teachings in Han Chinese. Perhaps, they were afraid of the translation of Han Chinese would not remain the message in its original language of Arabic or Persian.⁵⁶

Another noted writer of Han Kitab Literature was Yusuf Ma Zhu (1640-1711)⁵⁷. He got his Islamic education when he was in Beijing. He was widely connected with the Hui Hui Muslim scholars in Beijing, Shandong and Nanjing. He visited Sheikh Li Yanling in Shandong and many other Muslim scholars in Nanjing on his way back to Yunan in 1684-1685, in order to seek an expert advice for his book *The Guidance of Islam*.

Besides the factors mentioned above, the activities of Jesuits missionaries in China, especially in Nanjing and its adjacent area of South-Eastern China like Zhejiang, Shandong, and Beijing stimulated Han Kitab Literature Movement. With the growth of Catholic in China, the battles between Chinese and Jesuits' missionaries also took place from time to time. The anti-Catholics movements in China launched after the death of Matteo Ricci made the Jesuits and their work popular. The first such

⁵⁴See, Yang Xiaochun, A Discourse of Stilly Explanation of Kalimat Criticized by Wang Daiyu in his *The Real Commentary on the True Teaching*, Journal of Nanjing Univ.(Social Sciences), Vol.42(1),2005.

⁵⁵ See, Li Yunfei, A History of Islam in China, p.209-210.

⁵⁶ See, Dawood Wang Daiyu, *The Right Answer*, p.491

⁵⁷Yusuf Ma Zhu (马註 1640-1711), was born in Yunnan. He introduced himself in the Memorial to the Throne of presenting his book of *The Guidance of Islam* in the early of 1700's that, he was the 45th grand-grandson of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.). He started his first education with the Confucius Scriptures in his hometown of Yunnan and served the South Ming government as an officer. Then, he travelled to the capital city of Beijing in about 1669 and stayed there until 1684.

movement was launched in 1616. A big church of Hong Wu Gang established in 1610 in Nanjing was damaged and the priests of Jesuits were deported by the government⁵⁸. Another anti-Catholics movement was launched in 1637 in Fujian province. The third one was the Event of Calendar between Hui Hui astronomer Yang Guangxian (杨光先) and the astronomer of Jesuits in Beijing during 1665-1669. The fourth movement of anti-Catholics would be the *Chinese Rites Controversie* between the Emperor of Kangxi and Papacy in Rome.

The careful examination of Han Kitab Literature suggests the sequences between Jesuits missionary activities and Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholars. The Islamic *Mosque Scripture Hall* education was introduced in Nanjing area around 1620's. The famous Hui Hui scholars were Zhang Shao Shan (张少山), Ma Zhen Wu (马真吾), and their pupils Ma Jun Shi (马君实), Ma Zhi Qi (马之祺) and Yuan Sheng Zhi (袁盛之), etc. Some foreign Muslims also came to Nanjing during that period. Nanjing soon became a center of Islamic studies in South-East China. During that period, some foreign Sufi scholars also came to Nanjing, and taught about Sufism to some Hui Hui Muslims in Nanjing. For instance, an Indian Sufi master named Ashiq came to Nanjing in 1638 and one of the authors of Han Kitab Literature Zhang Zhong was his student. Zhang Zhong wrote a book about Sufism according to Ashiq's teaching.

Mohammed Chang Zhimei (1610-1670) and his cousin Li Yanling came to Nanjing from Jining, Shandong province for completion of their *Mosque Scripture Hall* education there. They studied with Sheikh Ma Zhenwu at first and then with Sheikh Zhang Shaoshan. They returned back to Jinning in 1637. And established the Shandong school there. Many of the Hui Hui Muslim students from all over China went to Jining and studied with them. Among them, Wu Zhunqi and Zhang Zhong from Nanjing area who were also the writers of Han Kitab Literature.

Besides creating a favorable Han Chinese cultural environment in the former capital city, Matteo Ricci had developed thorough understanding

⁵⁸ See, Zhou Pingping, *The Catholicism Dispersing*, p. 48-49

about Hui Hui Muslim astronomers who worked in the imperial court. He discussed the same in his book *the Diary*.

Now, it becomes clear as to why Matteo Ricci wrote to Rome and asked to send the best astronomers to China. Later on, the event of the *Chinese Calendar Controversy* between the Hui Hui astronomer Yang Guangxian and the astronomers of Jesuits took place in the end of 1660's and it ended with dismissal of Muslim astronomers from the royal post. Matteo Ricci mentioned also that "the Saracens in China have very little to do the preaching work among Chinese, and they were ignorant about their religious teachings except non-pork dieting."⁵⁹ The only mention of Chinese Hui Hui Muslims in Jesuits writings in Chinese was in the article titled *Dai Yi Pian* authored by the Chinese convert Yang Tingjun in 1621 That Hui Hui (the Muslims) did not translate the teachings of their religion in Chinese, and they practise their religion with freedom in China.⁶⁰

Jesuits' preaching among Hui Hui Muslims stimulated a large number of Muslim scholars. In 1641, there was a religious polemic between Father Nicolas Longobardi and a Hui Hui Muslim scholar in the Palace of King Ningyang, in Qingzhou, Shandong province.⁶¹ As reported by Nicolas Longobardi, the Hui Hui Muslim scholar was defeated because he couldn't explain the Virgin birth of the Lord and at last, the King accepted the Catholic faith⁶².

Probably, this story was received with surprise in Hui Hui Muslim society. The King Ningyang was probably already a Muslim, because his forefathers built the Qingzhou mosque in the 25th year of Jiaqin, Ming dynasty (1546). Nicolas Longobardi also mentioned in his writing that the King Ningyang preferred the Monotheism of Islam.

⁵⁹See, Matteo Ricci, *The Diary*, p.114

⁶⁰ See, Yang Tingjun, *Dai Yi Pian*.

⁶¹ See, Ronnie Po-Chia HSIA, *Catholicism and the Late-Ming Society: Several Issues on Long Huamin's Preaching in Shandong in Chongzhen Period*, *Journal of the Research of History*, Vol.2, 2009.

⁶²The name of this Muslim scholar was not mentioned in the writing of Father Nicolas as Longoardi. There was a famous mosque built in Mongol Yuan dynasty in 1302 and the first Emperor of Ming dynasty Zhu Yuanzhang named it as 'Zhen Jiao Si (真教寺 the Mosque of True Religion)'.

At the time when this incident took place in 1641, Sheikh Mohammed Chang Zhimei had come back to Shandong from Nanjing for about four years and taught in the 'Western Mosque' for about two years. It seemed plausible to infer that this that encounter between Islam and Catholicism, the episode of the King's conversion to Christianity and the activities of Jesuits in South Eastern area and Beijing might have proved instrumental in speedy the emergence of Han Kitab Literature among the Hui Hui Muslim scholars in Nanjing.

At the same time, the Jesuits in China had increased the publications of their books in Han Chinese. Beijing, Hangzhou and Jiangzhou (Shanxi province) were three centers of their publishing. By the year of 1642, there were ninety-seven books were published by the Jesuits in Han Chinese⁶³.

The book of Emmanuel Diaz Junior's (1574-1659)⁶⁴ *Sheng Jing Zhi Jie* (圣经直解 *The Commentary of Holy Bible*) was published in 1636 and 1642 in Beijing. This book might have sought inspiration from the work of Dawood Wang Daiyu. In the preface of this book written by the writer himself, a Chinese word of *Zhen Zhu* (真主 *the Real Lord*) was used referring to God.⁶⁵ The term of *Zhen Zhu* was applied by the Nestorian Christians in Tang danasty on 'the Monument of Nestorian (大秦景教流行中国碑)'. In the later period, Hui Hui Muslim scholars borrowed the word of *Zhen Zhu* (真主 *the Real Lord*) in their Han Kitab Literature. This term of *Zhen Zhu* (真主 *the Real Lord*) is still widely used among Chinese Muslims.

Nanjing and Beijing became two centers for Muslim scholars and Jesuits in Ming-Qing dynasty, as scholars from both sides would travel to the centers. A further research is needed to explore the nature of contacts between the two sides. The historical facts showed that Dawood Wang

⁶³ See, Xu Gongce, An Abstract, p.338-342

⁶⁴ Emmanuel Diaz Junior (1574-1659) was born in Purtugal. He completed his studies of theology in 1601 on Gua, India. Then he taught theology in Macao for six years. In 1611, he reached Shaozhou, Canton. He joined the work of making canons with Adam Scahall and appointed as the vice Major Superior of Mission in China in 1623. He worked in Nanjing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Ningbo, Nanchang and Fuzhou. He wrote many books in Han Chinese.

⁶⁵ See, Xu Gongce, An Abstract, p.18

Daiyu left Nanjing and settled down in Beijing after the fall of Ming dynasty. Yusuf Ma Zhu carried his book of *The Guidance of Islam* in 1684 and followed the Kangxi Emperor down to the south of China. He met many Hui Hui scholars in Shandong and Nanjing during this trip. Salih Liu Zhi started to write his book of *The Seerah of the Last Prophet (S.A.W.)* after having his visit to the tomb of Confucius in Shandong province.⁶⁶

But it was more likely that they both had the intention of replacing the Buddhism and Taoism in the triangle of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. The Jesuits started studying Chinese language and learning Confucian Classics of *Four Books and Five Scriptures* since they entered Macao. After studying Buddhism and Taoism, the early Jesuits in China realized that Confucianism was closer to the Catholicism. Matteo Ricci himself admitted that among three traditions of China at that time, the Confucianism was the closest to the Catholic truth.⁶⁷ Soon after Matteo Ricci arrived in mainland China and noticed that “Confucius was so much respected by his pupils and cults that they all gathered in public lecture halls and offered incenses and Kowtow of in the front his portraits ... We should admit that no any other thought of Chinese schools was closer than Confucianism to the truth...”.⁶⁸ The Chinese convert Xu Guangqi expressed his desire to replace Buddhism with Catholicism.⁶⁹

As far as the writers of Han Kitab Literature, all of them were born and brought up in the land of Confucianism, whose ancestors had migrated from Islamic land to China for more than hundreds of years, like the family of Dawood Wang Daiyu and Yusuf Ma Zhu.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ See, Liu Zhi, the Preface of ‘the Seerah’.

⁶⁷ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*

⁶⁸ See, Bernard, *LE PERE MATHIEU RICCI ET LA*, P. 142-143. It was written in the letter of Matteo Ricci to Roman dated on 13th Sept. 1584, after and M. Ruggieri were deported by the governor of Chaoqing. By that time, he was at Macao and Zhaoqing for only two years.

⁶⁹ See, Paul Xu Guangqi, *An Appeal for the Western Studies*, (an Xupian of Documents of Catholic Eastern Mission, Vol.1), p.24-25

⁷⁰ Dawood wrote in the preface of ‘The Real Commentary’ that his ancestors came to China in the early Yuan dynasty from Muslim world as the specialists of Astronomy and their family had been looked after well by the Chinese governments since then. Yusuf Ma Zhu wrote in his ‘Memorial to the Throne’ that

It may be concluded that Confucianism and Islam both were the cultural heritage of Hui Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature ⁷¹. So, integration of Confucian traditions in their books in their inter-faith dialogue was a very natural phenomenon and had not been incorporated as a policy for preaching their religion as the Jesuits did.

The Hui Hui scholars were cognizant of the fact that any foreign religion could not exist in China if it went against the State's ideology of Confucianism. For instance, the Buddhism of India origin could have existed only when it brought changes in its original teachings and reconciled with the Chinese features.

Some others completely disappeared after they were introduced into Chinese society for certain period which included Nestorian, Yelikewen, Judaism, Monism, and Zoroastrianism, etc. Islam and Muslims remained alive since they were brought to China that they were saved in the anti-all-religions except Buddhism movement in the late period of Tang dynasty. Muslim scholars in Nanjing witnessed the four big anti-Christianity movements during a century.

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars sought inspiration from the work of Jesuits in China that they could also defend their religion by writing books in Han Chinese. After about one thousand years of unnoticeable existence in the Confucian country, Hui Hui Muslim scholars in Nanjing area started writing books about Islam in Han Chinese language, though the numbers of the books, compared with the works of Jesuits in China, were limited. But, it was a watershed development that Muslims in China started writing books about their religion in Han Chinese language. Some scholars mentioned that during the whole Han Kitab Literature movement (1640-the end of 19th century), about sixty-six Islamic books were written in or translated into Han Chinese. ⁷² Some scholars regarded Han Kitab

he was the grand-son of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) of 45th generation. See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, the Preface of 'The Guidance of Islam'.

⁷¹ The Sufi movement developed in the North-West areas of China in the early of 18th century may be regarded as another direction of Islamic movement in China. See, Ma Tong, Chinese Islamic Sects and Systems of Chinese Sufi Schools, from p.145 and afterwards.

⁷² See, Saif Al-Haq, The Culture of Islam in China, Ph.D. thesis of Peshawar Univ., Pakistan, 2007,

Literature movement as Renaissance of Islam in China. The comparison between the books produced by Jesuits in China and Hui Hui Muslims suggests that Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholar were limited to religious studies, though Muslims did contribute a lot to the development of Chinese civilization.⁷³ For example, there were a lot of astronomers who served in Mongol Yuan and Ming two dynasties, but there was only one book on astronomy titled *Qi Zhen Tui Bu*, produced in Han Chinese during Ming dynasty⁷⁴. The following Hui Hui scholars were the main contributors of Han Kitab Literature.

1. Dawood Wang Dai Yu

Before the publication of *Po Xie Ji* (破邪集 *A Collection of against the Catholic Superstitions*) in 1637, the activities of Jesuits in China revived. In South-East China, many Chinese also converted into Christians. At last, the preaching of J. Aleni in Fujian province angered some Buddhists and they raised the voice of against Christianity with Confucian literati in Fujian and Zhejiang provinces in 1637.

The same thing happened also in the capital city of Beijing. An eunuch of the Court named Wang learnt about the Catholicism from some Jesuits and decided to be baptized with the name of John. He spread the Catholicism among the noble ladies in the "Forbidden City". By 1639, there were thirty-eight converted ladies, including the former Empress. In 1638, the number of the converts on the Court increased to fifty. Adam Schall even predicted at that time that the Emperor and Empress were not far from the Kingdom of God. According to the report of Martino Martini, in 1640, the Gospel had reached thirteen out of fifteen provinces of China and there were sixty to seventy thousand of Catholics.⁷⁵

⁷³ A medicine book was written in Chinese, mainly translated from the famous book of Ibn Sina's *Ashifa* in Ming dynasty. A small part of this book was remained up to now. A study towards it was engaged by Chinese researchers in different fields. See, Yu Zhengui, *An Abstract*, p.273-276

⁷⁴ See, Yu Zhengui, *An Abstract*, p.276

⁷⁵ See, A. Lazzarotto, *Christianity in China according to 'Brevis relation'* (Brief Account on the Numerical Strength and Qualities in China), *Essays on Religion*

Dawood Wang Dai Yu was encouraged by Muslims to write books on Islam as he mentioned in the preface of his book⁷⁶. He was considered as the founder of the Han Kitab movement⁷⁷, not because his books were pioneering contribution to the movement, but they were featured with all-encompassing themes and insightful arguments. He wrote three books. According to some scholars, his first book was probably *the Great Knowledge of Islam* (Qing Zhen Da Xue 清真大学)⁷⁸. *The Real Commentary on the True Teaching* (Zhen Jiao Zhen Quan 正教真詮), was published in 1642 and *Questions and Answers about Islam* (Xi Zhen Zheng Da 希真正答) was his third book. There some similarities between the book of Dawood Wang Daiyu's *Questions and the True Meaning of Lord of Heaven* written by Matteo Ricci as both the publication were featured with question-answer style. Of course, this style was not only used by St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica*, but also was the accepted and general style of philosophical and theological debates at the Paris University in the 13th century.⁷⁹

2. Zhang Zhong

In about 1631, Zhang Zhong wrote a book *The Explanation of Al-Kalimat Shahadah* as mentioned by Dawood Wang Daiyu in *The Real Commentary on the True Teaching*. With the recommendation of Sheikh

and Culture, p.14-15. 'Brevis relation' was a report written by Martino Martini in the end of 1654 in Rome, in order to create public opinion favorable to the missionary methods of Jesuits in China.

⁷⁶ See, Dawood, Wang Daiyu, And The Real Commentary.

⁷⁷ But, professor Yang Xiaochun held the opinion that the book of Zhang Zhong's 'Ka Li Mu Jie (the Explanation of the Al-Kalimat Shhadah)' which was found in 1980's was the book mentioned in Dawood Wang Daiyu's work of *The Real Commentary on the True Teaching*. This book of Zhang Zhong was written in about 1631. See, Yang Xiaochuan, A Discourse of Stilly Explanation of Kalima, Criticized by Wang Daiyu, Journal of Nanjing Univ. (Social Science), Vol.42(1), 2005.

⁷⁸ See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu's Thought, p.218

⁷⁹ See, Schabel, Chris., Theological Quadlibeta in the Middle Ages, The Thirteenth Century, Leiden, Brill, 2006

Zhang Shaoshan, he got to know an Indian Sufi teacher named Ashiq⁸⁰ who came to Nanjing in 1638 and followed him for three years. It was likely that Sheikh Ashiq encouraged him to do so, because the Muslim scholars in India already started to write Islamic books in Urdu and the works of Jesuits were well known to the Indian Muslims. His book of *General Introduction of the Faith* (Gui Zhen Zong Yi 归真总义) published around 1640 was a gist of the Sufi teacher Ashiq's teachings and other books. This book was not published until 1661.⁸¹

Zhang Zhong wrote another book *The Four Topics about Islam* (Si Pian Yao Dao 四篇要道). In this book, four topics about Islam including the Beliefs, Allah and the Religion of Islam, Prayers and their Obligatory, Ablution and its Obligatory, were discussed.

3. Wu Zun Qi

He was the pupil of the famous Sheikh Chang Zhimei⁸², and Dawood Wang Daiyu. Wu Zun Qi wrote a book for children named *An Introduction of Islam* (Xiu Zhen Meng Yin 修真蒙引) in 1668. It gave general introduction of basics of Islam. Moreover, in 1678, he translated *Mirsad* (المرصاد), a textbook of *Mosque Scripture Hall Education* in Persian⁸³. Into Han Chinese language titled as *Gui Zhen Yao Dao* (归真要道). Mostly, his book, like the books of Zhang Zhong were mainly the translation Chinese from the foreign sources as mentioned Bai Shouyi⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ Not so much was mentioned about his religious background in Chinese source except his name. He was observed that 'sitting in a cave, remembering Allah and eating a few dates daily'.

⁸¹ See, Wu Yan Dong, Thinkers of Hui Muslims, p.64

⁸² Mohammed Chang Zhimei (1610-1670) was the pupil of Sheikh Zhang Shaoshan, the 3th generation student of Sheikh Idris Hu Deng Zhou. Chang Zhimei and his Cousin Li Yangling studied with Sheikh Zhang Shaoshan in Nanjing and returned back to Jinning, Shandong province in about 1637.

⁸³ This book was written by Persian Scholar Abdulah Abu Bakr in 12th century. It was dealing with Islamic theology of Sufi's approach.

⁸⁴ See, Bai Shouyi, The Essays

4. Yusuf Ma Zhu

Yusuf Ma Zhu was born in Yunnan province. He mentioned in the memorial to the throne of his book *The Guidance of Islam* that he was at the 45th link of the progeny of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W). He completed his early education according to Confucian system and became a government officer in South-Song dynasty. In the 8th year of Kangxi (1669), Yusuf arrived in Beijing and became a teacher of Han Language for the children of Manchu nobles in Beijing. It was the end of the *Calendar Controversy* between the Muslim astronomers and Jesuits. In Beijing, Yusuf Ma Zhu got opportunities of meeting Islamic scholars and discussed with them thoroughly the issues regarding Islam⁸⁵. Yusuf wrote that he started learning Islam in Beijing when he was thirty-five years old⁸⁶. That would be the year of 1674. In this time, the astronomers of Jesuits like Ferdnand Verbiest⁸⁷ got the favor of the Emperor of Kanxi and the Hui Hui Muslim astronomers were driven out from the imperial court. Dawood Wang Daiyu passed away around 1660 before Yusuf Ma Zhu traveled to Beijing. Yusuf knew well Dawood's work as he mentioned that in his preface of *The Guidance of Islam*.

In the preface of Yusuf Ma Zhu's book of *The Guidance of Islam* , he wrote a story that related to the Emperor of Kangxi, which perhaps was one of the reasons that he wrote this book. It was told that in the year of 1679 the Emperor Kangxi came across a mosque on his inspection tour nearby Beijing. He entered a mosque and saw a copy of the Quran in a high place of the mosque. He asked the people of mosque about the contents of the Quran, but nobody could explain it to the Emperor. The Emperor was extremely disappointed about that and asked the ministers of the court to inform all people in the country that anybody who knew the meaning of the Quran could come to the Palace to explain him the meaning of the Quran. At last, only one Hui Hui scholar came to his court. Unfortunately, this

⁸⁵ These Muslim scholars in Beijing remained unknown. He only mentioned in the self-introduction of *The Guide to Islam* that he started Islam with some good scholars. He mentioned that he arrived in Beijing and there were a lot of books about Islam there.

⁸⁶ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, The self-introduction of *The Guidance of Islam*.

⁸⁷ Ferdnand Verbiest (1623-1688 南怀仁), from Belguim, arrived China in 1659.

scholar could only read the Quran but could not explain the meaning of the Quran to the Emperor.

It is obvious that Yusuf Ma Zhu was much worried about the support of the Emperor for the Catholicism in China. In order to neutralize the influence of Jesuits on the Emperor of Kangxi, or to defend the position of Hui Hui Muslims in China, or to introduce Islam to the Emperor of Kangxi or native Chinese, Yusuf Ma Zhu wrote his book of *The Guidance of Islam* (清真指南).

The first volume of the book was completed in 1683 before his departure from Beijing for Yunnan. This book was dedicated to the Emperor. He followed Emperor Kangxi in his first south inspection tour in September and tried thrice to meet the Emperor on the way, but he could not succeed. He did not give up and managed to complete his eight volumes in 1702 while the 9th volume and the 10th volume appeared around 1710.⁸⁸ That was after the *Chinese Rites Controversies* and the relationship between the Emperor of Beijing and Papacy in Rome was at worst. Catholicism was mentioned in Yusuf Ma Zhu's book *The Guidance of Islam* titled *Tian Zhu* (天主). He even criticized the concept of Trinity.⁸⁹

5. Salih Liu Zhi

In the whole life of Salih Liu Zhi, Christianity in China witnessed phase of rise and fall. The famous *Calendar Controversy* on the Imperial Court took place when he was a child of less than ten years old. The Jesuits got the favor of the Emperor of Kangxi when he was a young man. He was in his twenties when Yusuf Ma Zhu came to his father in Nanjing with his book of *The Guidance of Islam* and many stories of Jesuits. The work of Jesuits in South-East China was greatly encouraged, after the Emperor Kangxi's five south inspection tours during 1684-1706. The Emperor used to meet the Catholic priests in every place he went and asked about the affairs of Christians and churches there. Especially, during his third south

⁸⁸ See, Gao Zhangfu, Humanitarianism in Ma Zhu's *The Guidance of Islam*, Journal of China Muslim, vol.3, 2011

⁸⁹ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Guidance of Islam*, p.685.

inspection tour in Feb. 1699, the Emperor brought along the two Jesuit scientists i.e. Father Jean-Francois Gerbillon and Father Joachim Bouvert⁹⁰. Within only two years, from 1699 to 1701, the number of churches in South-East China were rapidly increased from eight-nine to one hundred and thirty.⁹¹ Beijing had been the printing center of books for Jesuits since the end of *Calendar Controversies*. By the early 1700's, there were about one hundred and ninety books of Jesuits published.⁹² During 1700-1712, fifty thousands Chinese were baptized.⁹³

Salih Liu Zhi, perhaps, was the only one Muslim scholar in south China who wrote books about Islam in classical Chinese. Furthermore, Salih Liu Zhi was the only writer of Han Kitab Literature who studied the European language. In the preface of Salih's *The Nature and Principle of Islam*, Fang Fei mentioned that he learnt "the language of Europe", but did not specify. It is not known how he studied this language. But, he learned it from teachers of Jesuits. It was obvious that the learning of Salih Liu Zhi aimed to know thoroughly Christianity introduced by Jesuits from its original sources for the purpose of defending Islam. Salih Liu Zhi mentioned in the preface of his *The Seerah of the Last Prophet(S.A.W.)* that he read more than one hundred books from 'Xi Yang Shu', while the words of *Xi Yang* was referring to the Europe instead of 'Xi Shu (西书 books from western Muslim World)'. In the book of *The Shariah of Islam*, he mentioned the book of J. Aleni's *Zhi Fang Wai Ji* (职方外记)⁹⁴. It suggests that Salih Liu Zhi was doing comparative studies of Catholicism from its original sources.

Most of the books written by Salih Liu Zhi were titled as *Tian Fang*(天方 *Cubic of the Heaven*) which perhaps referred to the Kaba in Makkah. This Chinese word was used by Matteo Ricci in his map of the world, referring to the Muslims, or Islam. It was not known whether or not this

⁹⁰ Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) was a French scientist (in Mathematics), born in Le Mans. He was sent by Emperor Louis XIV to China as a scientist in 1685. See, Pftister, *The Notices*, p.434-440

⁹¹ See, Zhou Pingping, *The Catholicism Dispersing*, p.98

⁹² See, Xu Zongce, *An Abstract*, p.338-346

⁹³ See, Zhang Zhigang, *From the Beginning of the West Meeting with the East to the Ritual Controversy*, Beijing, People's Press, 2003, p.218

⁹⁴ See, Salih Liu Zhi, *Preface of Nature and Principle of Islam, The Shariah of Islam*,

combination of two characters was used by Hui Hui Muslims before Matteo Ricci. The character of *Tian* means the Sky, the Heaven and *Fang* means the cubic, square or Kaba in Makkah. The sound of *Tian Fang* (天方) is also similar to the sound of another Chinese words *Tian Fang* (天房) which also means the House of Allah. Based on the work of Hui Hui scholars and Jesuits, Salih Liu Zhi used the classical Han Chinese language to explain Islam, which marked the transition of Han Kitab Literature from *Jing Tang Yu*. Prior to Salih Liu Zhi, *Jing Tang Yu* (经堂语 a language of Mosque Scripture Hall Education, mixed with Persian and Arabic terminologies) was popular among the Hui Hui scholars. Salih Liu Zhi certainly made a big step forward by explaining the basic belief Islam in pure Han Chinese language and academic terminologies as Jesuits did before in China. He produced a lot of books about Islam, but the few are available now. Following are some of his important books:

Tian Fang Xing Li (天方性理 *Nature and Principle of Islam*) was completed in 1704A.D..In this book, Salih explained Islamic Creationism by integration of Sufi school of thought with the Chinese cosmology in Neo-Confucianism.

Another book of Salih was *Tian Fang Dian Li* (天方典礼 *The Shariah of Islam*), which was completed in around 1706.In this book, he tried to describe Muslims' way of life in terms of Confucianism in order to persuade Chinese that Islam was not heresy and could do no harm to the country.

His book of *Tian Fang San Zi Jing* (天方三字经 *The Islamic Scripture of Three Characters*) was written for the Muslim children. Salih Liu Zhi borrowed the style of *San Zi Jing* which was then popular to impart Confucian education to the children. Salih mentioned *Tian Fang* in the title of the book to immediately draw attention of Hui Hui Muslim children to Islamic contents .

Salih Liu Zhi's book of *Tian Fang Zhi Sheng Lu*(天方至圣录 *The Seerah of the Last Prophet*) had great significance in the history of Islam in China. Unlike *Tian Fang Xing Li* (Nature and Principle of Islam) and *Tian Fang Dian Li*(Shariah of Islam), the book of *Tian Fang Zhi Sheng Lu* (the Seerah of the Last Prophet (S.A.W.)) was not written by integrating

the terms of Chinese philosophies and traditions. The materials used in this book was original and authentic. It was first published in 1778 and was translated into English, Russian, French and Japanese languages. The reverend title of this book was carefully chosen by him. In Chinese tradition, the title of *Zhi Sheng* (至圣 *the Greatest Saint*) was granted only to Confucius in the history of China. The style of *Lu* (录 Recording) was also specified for the daily life recording of emperors. This book was written between 1721- 1724 and was completed after the death of Emperor of Kangxi in 1722.

The fate of Catholicism in China also rapidly changed after the death of Emperor Kangxi. The new Emperor of Qianlong, son of Kangxi, had no good feeling toward the Christianity and banned the spreading Catholicism inside China. Except the Catholic priests in Beijing, all the priests in other places of China were expelled to Macao. Most of the churches inside China were destroyed.⁹⁵ All the efforts made by the Jesuits during one hundred and fifty years seemed futile.

A Comparison regarding the number of books published by the Jesuits and the Hui Hui Muslim scholars suggests that the number of writers and books written by Muslims in Han Chinese were much less than that of Jesuits. According to Xu Zongce, there were about two hundred and seven books or articles written by Jesuits and Chinese converts in Chinese⁹⁶. As for the books and the writers of Muslim scholars, the above mentioned Han Kitab Literature largely contain the books produced by Hui Hui Muslim scholars during this period. Many books of Salih Liu Zhi was lost unfortunately.

The poor reservation and delay in publishing the books were the two important issues of concern as well. If the life stories of the writers of Han Kitab Literature are carefully examined, it transpires that they worked almost individually. For example, Salih Liu Zhi expressed his woes saying that he had to suffer due to his utmost devotion to writing, leaving no time to earn livelihood for his family⁹⁷. Similarly, Yusuf Ma Zhu went back to his home town in Yunnan and had a poor life of a farmer, while he

⁹⁵ See, Zhou Pingping, *The Catholicism Dispersing*, p.116-121

⁹⁶ See, Xu Zongce, *An Abstract*, p.338-346. As for the books and the writers of Muslim scholars, only the above mentioned in the thesis are known to us.

⁹⁷ See, Salih Liu Zhi, *the Preface of the Seerah*

continued writing his book titled *The Guidance of Islam*⁹⁸. Dawood Wang Daiyu could not continue his writing after the three books as he went for Beijing to take the imperial exam.⁹⁹ That suggests that the Muslim societies in Nanjing and Beijing did not pay attention to this great scholar.

The delay in publishing the books produced by Hui Hui Muslim scholars for want of financial resources became an important reason behind the less publications.. If the scholar had been awarded to the scholars, the number of book could have been immediately published and it was unlikely that their manuscripts had been damaged or lost, as the case of Dawood Wang Daiyu's *The Real Commentary*, and Salih Liu Zhi's *The Nature and Principle of Islam*.

So, without having such preservation mechanism, many manuscripts had to keep in the homes of individuals where they were exposed to loss. For example, the publisher of the book of *The Seerah* mentioned in the preface of the book that Salih had written more than ten books during his life time¹⁰⁰ but nobody knows where the rest are except few mentioned above.

Some books of Hui Hui scholars are perhaps still kept well somewhere. For instance, a manuscript of the very important book of *Alsanad of the Jing Tang Scripture Hall Education* written during the period of Kangxi was found in 1980's.¹⁰¹ Yusuf Ma Zhu completed the first portion of his book *The Guidance of Islam* in 1683 and he continued to write and revise this book until ten volumes before his death around 1710. This valuable book remained manuscript until its first printing in 1828 and second time of 1870.¹⁰² The books of Hui Hui scholar's books in Ming-Qing dynasty could not be encircled among people, even among Hui Hui Muslims themselves. The aforementioned issues proved a setback in the spreading of Islam among the Chinese.

However, the Jesuits unlike the Hui Hui Muslims, worked in a group of an organized fashion. The Jesuits from Rome, Europe, Gua, Macco and inland places of China all worked tandem. The articles and books produced

⁹⁸ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, the Self-introduction of *The Guidance of Islam*

⁹⁹ See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu' Thought, p.73-75

¹⁰⁰ See, Yuan Guozha, the Preface of Printing book of *Seerah* in the 43th year of Qianlong ,p.380

¹⁰¹ See, the preface of *the Assanad*,p.1-2

¹⁰² See, Gao Zhanfu, Humanitarianism in the Book of *The Guidance of Islam*, Journal of China Muslim,vol.3,2011

by Jesuits in Chinese were brought out of China and were well kept in the libraries at different places in the world. The reports and correspondences of Jesuits in European languages recorded the history of Jesuits in China. All these original documents provided basis for the researchers to carry out further studies in this area..

Part One:

Authentication Religious Faith

Both Jesuits and Hui Hui scholars were fully aware of that the beliefs of unseen world was absent partly or completely in Confucianism. They also knew that the Chinese in Confucian society did not accept the Bible or the Quran as an authority. So, any quotation from the Bible or the Quran would not be regarded as evidence. They realised that, instead of the Bible or the Quran, the authentication from Confucian scriptures had strong bearing on them.

The first book of M. Ruggieri used some Chinese Buddhist terms to explain the Catholic teachings¹⁰³. Until the time of Matteo Ricci, a practice of 'Integrating Confucianism against Buddhism' was being observed in his book *Tian Zhu Shi Yi* (The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven). Such practice of Matteo Ricci earned wider support from Confucian Literati in Chinese society and was followed by many other Jesuits and Chinese converts in their later writings. Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits who followed the line of Matteo Ricci tried to find out, as much as possible, the similarities between Confucianism and Catholicism.

¹⁰³ In the first edition of this book, M. Ruggieri applied *Xi Zhu Guo* (西竺国 the Country in the West of India) referring to Rome or Christian West and *Xi Seng* (西僧 the Buddhist Monk from the West) referring to the priests of Jesuits. According to Fang Hao, only one copy of this edition is remaining in the Library of Society of Jesus, Rome with the Reference no. "ARSI, Jap.-Sin., I, 189". In the later editions, the words of *Xi Seng* referring to the links with Buddhism were replaced by *Yuan Xi* (远西 the Far West) and the title was changed to *Tian Zhu Sheng Jiao Shi Lu* (天主圣教实录). See, Fang Hao, A Preface for the photo copy of *Tian Zhu Sheng Jiao Shi Lu*, The Additional Catholic Documents Eastern Mission, p. 25-26 and see, Xu Zongce, An Abstract, p. 109.

After Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits, the Hui Hui scholars launched their movement of Han Kitab Literature after 1630's to write about Islam in Chinese and a similar practice of 'integration of Confucianism anti-Buddhism' was observed in their books. The phenomena of Chinese traditions in describing Islam might be much earlier than this. For example, a Han Chinese word of *Tian* (天), was employed by a non-Muslim Du Huan in his book *Jing Xing Ji* (经行记 The Recording of my Journey) to describe the subject of Muslims worshipping after "Talas War" in 751. Du Huan was a secretary of the army which was sent to Central Asia by the Tang government at the request of the local people, when some dependency countries felt threatened by the Islamic Alfutuhah and asked Chinese Tang for military assistance. Due to some accidents, Chinese army led by General Gao Xianzhi had a war with troops of Arab. The Arab Muslim army defeated the Chinese Tang army in a place named Talas. Du Huan (杜环) was captured by the Arab Muslim army. He was taken to capital of Baghdad, Mecca, etc. He came back to Canton by the sea from the Persian Gulf after spending in Muslim world about ten years. He wrote a book titled *Jing Xing Ji* (经行记 the Records of my Journey) about his this journey in Muslim world.¹⁰⁴

The word of 天(*Tian*) was an important terminology in the ancient Chinese philosophy. The character of 天 (*Tian*) which is composed of another two characters of 人(*Ren*, which means human being) and two lines above 二 (*er* which means the number of two) or 大 (*Da*, which means big or great) and one line 一 (*Yi*, the number of one). The word appeared in *the Scripture of Shi* (The Poetry 诗经) 118 times and of *Shang Shu* (Shoo King 尚书) 116 times. The concept of *Tian* in those classics was close to the concept of Creator or the Heaven in religions of Monothesis but corrupted by personification. As early as in Yin-Zhou time (before 770 B.C.), the concept of 'Tian Ming (天命 the Mandate)' was employed by the rulers to certify the orthodoxy of their ruling that they were authorised by the 'Tian (sky)'. For example, the emperors were called Tian Zi (天子 the son of Heaven) and only they had the right to offer sacrifices to Heaven on behalf of their subjects. The concept of 'Tian Ming' was kept in the Confucian Books as mentioned in *Lun Yu* (论语) that

¹⁰⁴ The original book was lost, but some portions of this book were reserved in Du Huan's uncle, a famous historian Du You (杜佑)'s book *Tong Dian* (通典).

‘Afraid of the Tian Ming, afraid of the Da Ren and afraid of the words of Shen Ren(畏天命，畏大人，畏圣人之言). After that, in the book of *Tian Zhi* (天志), Mencius developed the concept of Confucius’ ‘Tian Ming’. He held that ‘Tian’ was a conscious personalized super power and the ‘Tian’ gave punishments or good rewards for the people who had good or evil deeds.

But, some later philosophers like Xun Zi (荀子) and scholars of New-Confucianism in Song-Ming dynasty held that ‘Tian’ was only a natural and material object.

So, the word ‘Tian’ in the Chinese Classics had two meanings: the natural object above our heads which was opposite to the earth or the Super Power which was beyond the capability of human being.

The same word ‘Tian’ also appeared in writings of the stone tablets of some Mosques and Muslim graves during the end of Yuan dynasty and the middle of Ming period. But, at the same time, some attributes of the ‘Tian’, as a Creator, like shapeless were stressed¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁵ See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu’s Thought, p.33-34

Chapter2.1 Existence of the Creator

When we examine the Scriptures of Confucianism, another word of 'Di(帝 the Giant) or 'Shang Di(上帝 an Upper Giant or a Supper Being)' was frequently applied with 'Tian (天 the Sky or the Heaven)' referring the Super Power or the Creator. Some modern scholar counted up that in the *Scripture of the Poetry* the word 'Di or Shang Di ' was mentioned 43 times and the word of 'Tian' mentioned 118 times, in *Shang Shu* the words of 'Di or Shang Di was mentioned 25 times and 'Tian' mentioned 116 times.

The interpretations of Confucius towards the word of 'Tian' in the Scriptures could be two meanings. One referred to the superpower of the world. His conversations with his students recorded in the book of 'Lun Yu' might be the best proof for that. In this book, Confucius mentioned the word of 'Tian (天)' nineteen times alone without using the word of "Di (地 the earth). He agreed with the belief of the people of 'Zhou' mentioned in the Scripture of *Shang Shu* (尚书) that the rises of fall of the dynasty was due to the 'Tian Ming (天命 the Mandate)', and nobody including himself ,could do anything only with the will of 'Tian'. When his student Yan Hui ()died, Confucius cried with grief and said, 'Tian made you dying, Tian made you dying!'... There were many other verses in *Lun Yu* ,which showed that Confucius held that since the changes of the natural world was also due to the will of the 'Tian', so he held that the reverence or worship of the 'Tian' and 'Di (the earth)' should be there¹⁰⁶ .

The other interpretation of the word of 'Tian' in the Scriptures and Books of Confucian classcis might refer to the meaning of natural phenomena, because the word of 'Tian' sometimes was mentioned together with the word of 'Di (地 the earth).¹⁰⁷The famous verse of Confucius that 'he did not mention the strange forces and gods' had stronger influence on the psyche of Chinese. So, the Confucians, in their long history of China, concentrated mainly on the orders of the society, and least concerned about the things beyond human intellect, like the origin of the world or the fate of

¹⁰⁶ See, Confucius, *Book of Lun Yu*.

¹⁰⁷ See,Zhao Fasheng, *Journal of The Religion of Confucius, Study of the World Religions*, vol.4,2010

human being, etc., though Confucius did not confirm nor deny the existence of the Creator in the universe. The concept of the existence of the Creator was ambiguous or lost in the teachings of Confucian Books and Scriptures.

Matteo Ricci, did study all the Confucian traditions. Matteo Ricci completed his translation of the *Four Books* of Confucianism into Latin as early in 1594. In order to transplant his Catholic concept of God to Confucianism, he selected the first meaning of 'Tian' as superpower in those classics. According to him, with the passage of time, Buddhist concept of 'emptiness or non-existence of anything in the universe' finally permeated into the teachings of Confucianism and consequently the word 'Tian' in those Scriptures and Books was understood as the second meaning of the natural phenomena.

The tendency of denying the existence of the Creator was strengthened in the Chinese wisdom because the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism were mixed up. The Buddhism, due to its conflict between its practices of monk / nun life and principles of family ethics in Confucianism had been attacked by the Confucians time and again since it was introduced into China in Han dynasty around 1st century.

1. Anti-Buddhism

(1) In the Books of Jesuits

Buddhism was new religion with which the Jesuits were exposed to when they entered Eastern Asia. Their first encounter perhaps took place in Japan. When Matteo Ricci was in Macao, he observed the idol worship practices of local Chinese there and disliked it.¹⁰⁸ They viewed that the Chinese also respected Buddhist monks like Japanese. When Matteo Ricci entered Zhaoqing with Machel Ruggieri, they both wore robes of Buddhist monks and named themselves as '*Xi Seng* (西僧 the monks from the West)'. The people in Zhaoqing and Shaozhou also thought that they were one of the Buddhist sects and called their residence as 'Si (寺 the

¹⁰⁸ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondence*, P. Antonio Sergianni P.I.M.E.p142-144

temple)’. In fact, the early Jesuits in China like Father A. Valignani, M. Ruggieri, and Matteo Ricci had spent some years in India. In the minds of Chinese Buddhists, India (called the country of Tianzhu in Han Chinese) was a holy land. Soon after his arrival in Macao, M. Ruggieri translated the *Ten Commandments* in Chinese by using the Buddhist term of “Jie (戒)”. It seemed that he introduced the *Ten Commandments* earlier than other Catholic beliefs in order to get close to the Buddhism. When M. Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci came to Zhaoqing first time, they were advised by A. Valignani to wear the gowns of Buddhists, because the Buddhist monks were respected in Japan. They also claimed to the local Chinese that they came from the country of ‘Tianzhu’. They were also regarded as the Buddhist monks by the local government and were arranged staying with the Chinese Buddhist monks in ‘Tian Ning Temple(天宁寺)’, which was about one kilometre away from the city of Zhaoqing. When they built their own residence in Zhaoqing, the governor of the Zhaoqing presented them two horizontal boards inscribed with the writing in Han Chinese of ‘Xian Hua Si (仙花寺 the Temple of Fairy Flowers)’ and ‘Xi Lai Jing Tu (西来净土 the Clean Land from the West)’. When the first book of M. Ruggieri *The Real Teachings of the Lord of Heaven* was printed first time in the end of 1584, three characters of ‘Xi Zhu Guo (西竺国 the country in West India)’ was added. In the preface of the book, M. Ruggieri used the word ‘Seng (僧 the monk of Buddhism)’ four times to describe himself as modest. About 1200 copies of this book’s first edition were published and the words of ‘西竺国 (Xi Zhu Guo country in West India)’ were deleted in its later editions. It was said that the Jesuits did so in order to cut off their former links with Buddhism.¹⁰⁹

It may be concluded from the writing of Matteo Ricci that they had hard life in Canton¹¹⁰. At last, Matteo Ricci understood that the Buddhist monks did not have respectable position in Chinese as they had in Japan. He practically seemed to have come to know well about the status of Buddhism and Taoism in Chinese society and his criticism towards the two showed his desire to replace them with Catholicism in the traditional

¹⁰⁹. See, Li Xinde, From the West Buddhists To the West Confucians, Journal of Shanghai Normal Univ.(Philosophy & Social Sciences), Vol.1,2005

¹¹⁰ See, Matteo Ricci, The Diary and the Correspondence.

cultural triangle of Confucianism-Taoism-Buddhism in Ming China. The main theme of traditional Chinese feudal culture was orthodoxy of Confucianism, and the existence and proper status of Buddhism and Taoism which served the former. The Indian origin Buddhism gradually changed its original form in order to suit the Chinese environment and became a mutually complementary for the native Chinese Confucianism and Taoism, due to its spiritual struggle of moral values, despite many anti-Buddhism movements in the history of China. Since Han-Tang dynasty, Buddhism had become a tradition of many native Chinese, like Confucianism and Taoism.

Matteo Ricci noticed that some of the Confucian literati did not like the Buddhism. When he stayed in Beijing after 1600, the then emperor of Wanli did not like Buddhism and was angry with the officials, who believed in that religion. There was a rule during his regime that in the imperial examinations, every examinee should write a composition of against Buddhist Zeng (禪), otherwise, he would not pass the examination. There were perhaps many reasons that Buddhism became the target of Jesuits' attacks. Since the Buddhism was introduced into China, it confronted many movements from Confucian literati. It was mostly criticized its monk system which conflicted with the ethical teachings in Confucianism and tained the traditional interpretations of the Confucian Books and Scriptures.

In contrast to Confucian criticism of Buddhism in the Chinese history, Jesuits attacked its origin of the scriptures and teachings. M. Ruggieri observed that the Buddhist books were not reliable¹¹¹. Matteo Ricci developed the above opinion of M. Ruggieri. There was a story in the '*Post-Han Books* (后汉书)' that, in the 7th year of Yongping (64), the Emperor of Mingdi saw a dream that a fairy with shining light was flying in the front of his throne. Next morning, he asked the people around him who that fairy was and he was told by a minister that it was Buddah in the West Country. The Emperor sent some officers to the West. In the 10th year of Yongping, they reached the West Country of India and met some Buddhist monks. They got some Buddhist scriptures and took them back to the then capital of Luoyang (洛阳). Many Chinese historians opined that

¹¹¹ See, M. Ruggieri, *Tian Zhu Shi Lu*, And Chapter Three.

this story was fabricated by the Buddhist monks, in order to make the Buddhism high in the eyes of the Chinese.¹¹²

In order to meet his Catholic needs, Matteo Ricci even interpreted the famous story that the emperor Mingdi, Han dynasty (around 65) sent his envoys to get Catholic Scriptures instead of Buddhist books in India. But the envoys of the emperor committed mistakes and brought the Buddhist scriptures to China. According to him, at that time, two pupils of Jesus (A.S.), Thomas Aposteles and Bartho Lemen were in India¹¹³. Even up to the last century, someone even held that of Jesus (A.S.) came to Kashmir and left his tomb there. The same story was repeated by Chinese convert Yang Tingjun¹¹⁴ who backed the standpoint of Jesuits that the Buddhist Scriptures in Chinese were not the teachings of the founder of Buddhism, but the Chinese translators changed the same.¹¹⁵ Matteo Ricci even said that many of the teachings in Buddhism were borrowed from Greek or Catholic traditions.

Except the social elements of Chinese societies, the Buddhism was attacked by the Jesuits as some of the teachings or practices of Buddhist cults obviously contradicted with the teachings of Catholicism. It might be possible that initially M.Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci had not made deep studies about the Buddhist scriptures as Matteo Ricci did with the Confucian Books and Scriptures. It seemed that they soon became aware of the Buddhists and Taoists' practices of polytheism, which contradicted with monotheism practices in Catholicism. Chapter three of the first edition of M. Ruggieri's book of *Tian Zhu Shi Lu* had the title of *The Mistakes of Other Religions on taking Lord of Heaven*" without mention the details while in other editions of the book, eight subtitles of this chapter were mentioned including 'The Unbelievable Beliefs of Buddhists'¹¹⁶. The

¹¹² See, Chen Yuzheng, A Abstract of Chinese culture, Beijing, Foreign language teaching and Research Press, 1998, p.97-98.

¹¹³ See, Matteo Ricci, The Real Meaning of Lord of the Heaven,

¹¹⁴ See, Yang Tingjun, Dai Yi Pian, p.529-535

¹¹⁵ Jesuits did not mention anything about Islam and Muslims in India, though they knew them well.

¹¹⁶ The book of first edition of M. Ruggieri was copied again and published some years before as mentioned Li Xinde in his article of "From a West Buddhist to a West Confucius-A Comparison of Two Versions of Veritable Records of Catholic Saints by Michel Ruggieri", Journal of Shanghai Normal University, Vol.1, 2005. I

Buddhism was attacked by M. Ruggieri in his book saying ‘the books of Buddhists are full of false claims. Their belief of Samsara (transmigration of the souls) is nonsense... Some Buddhists claimed that if a person could read the book of *Lotus Scripture*, he would enter the Paradise. How funny is the saying! How does a rich man with many bad deeds enter the Paradise only if he buys a copy of it and a poor man with many good deeds will enter the Hell only because he can’t afford to buy a copy of it?!’¹¹⁷.

In the winter of 27th year of Wanli (i.e. 1599), Matteo Ricci had a religious debate with a famous Buddhist master Xuelang in Nanjing about the issues of existence of the Creator and the essence of the universe. The Buddhist master and his twenty pupils were on one side and Matteo Ricci alone was alone side on the other (in the presence of more than forty Confucian literati). ¹¹⁸ Matteo Ricci challenged the proud Buddhist master with strong evidences and made him leaving the place in anger. To take revenge of that defeat, a student of the Buddhist master named as Shengque, who was an officer in the Ministry of Rites, Nanjing wrote a Memorial to the Throne which resulted in the famous persecution of Christians in Nanjing in 1616.

Matteo Ricci Critised the Buddhism in his book of *The True Meaning of Lord of Heaven*, as far as basic Buddhist beliefs, like the previous existence (a life before this earthly life), Samsara (the transmigration of the souls), and the emptiness of the universe which denies totally existence of the Creator were concerned.

Lianchi (1535-1615), One of the four most famous Buddhist monks in China wrote an article as response to the Jesuits, but his main points were in defence of Neo-Confucianism instead of Buddhism. For instance, he held that ‘Tian (天)’ in the classical Scriptures and Books was ‘Li(理)’ in the Neo-Confucianism, that the soul is transmigration and not ever-lasting, that the Confucianism and Mencius were perfect and there was no need of the Catholic teachings. The Jesuits in return framed a response in a book

got the catalogue of the topic list from the article of Zhang Fengqian “M.Ruggieri-The Forerunner of Matteo Ricci” , Journal of Furen University (Theology) No.07

¹¹⁷ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Real Teaching of Lord of Heaven*

¹¹⁸ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p141 and Bernard, *Le Pere*, p.281-284

titled *Bian Xue Yi Du* (辨学易牍)¹¹⁹, which was featured with observations i.e. ‘Tian Zhu(天主)’is God, not ‘Li(理)’, therefore ,He is the Creator and Lord, that the soul is ever-lasting and not transmigration, even it is transmigration, it should be firstly ever-lasting, that the aim of Catholic teachings was to get the original meaning of Confucius and Mencius in their books, which were lost or not-completed after the movement of Books Burning of the First Emperor of Qin and the emergences of Taoism and Buddhism.

The later polemics between two sides followed this pattern of endless wrangling. The conversion of Yang Tingjun from Buddhism to Catholicism made the Buddhists in South East China shocked. In order to explain his conversion, Yang Tingjun wrote some articles in which he attacked the Buddhism. For example, in the article titled *Tian Shi Ming Pian* (天释明辨 An Open Debate between Buddhism and Catholicism), he discussed many Buddhist concepts like the transmigration of the souls and pointed out their mistakes.¹²⁰ In his another article titled *Dai Yi Pian* (代疑辨), Yang Tingjun criticised the practices of Buddhists that they made the founder of Buddhism a deity.¹²¹

J. Aleni who also continued the practice of Matteo Ricci’s anti-Buddhism, mentioned the historical fact that in India, the hometown of Buddha, many people accepted Catholicism¹²².

Except the Buddhism, some superstitions of Taoists and other Chinese traditions were criticised by M. Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci in their books¹²³, which showed that the early Jesuits had some studies towards the Chinese societies.

¹¹⁹ Jesuits said this book was written by Matteo Ricci and published in Beijing in 1609. See, Xu Zongce, An Abstract, p91-92

¹²⁰ See, Yang Tingjun, *Tian Shi Ming Bian* (An Open Debate between Christianity and Buddhism).

¹²¹ See, Yang Tingjun, *Dai Yi Pian*

¹²² See, J. Aleni, *San Shan Lun Xue*, p.437.

¹²³ See, M. Ruggieri, *Tian Zhu Shi Lu*, chapter Three and see, Matteo Ricci, *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*.

(2) In the Han Kitab Literature

When Muslims entered the areas of Buddhism, the influences of Buddhism were reflected in their religious terms in Chinese language. Mosques of Muslims were called 'Si (寺 temple)' by the Chinese and the object of Muslims worshipping was also called 'Fo (佛 the Buddha)'.¹²⁴ The Monument of 'Guang Ta Si (光塔寺 the Mosque of Manar)' in Canton showed that the Buddhist terms were applied to explain Islam as late as in 1439. But, no evidence showed that Muslims in China attacked Buddhism openly before Han Kitab Literature. Contrarily, many Muslims in South area even converted to Buddhist, as Li Zhi did before Matteo Ricci came to Nanjing. Li Zhi was quietly listening to the debate between Matteo Ricci and Master of Xue Lang, without any open comment.

Almost all the Hui Hui Muslim scholars of Han Kitab Literature, like Dawood Wang Daiyu, Yusuf Ma Zhu and Salih Liu Zhi, like the Jesuits, wrote a lot to refute the Buddhism and other superstitions in Chinese folk religions, like fortune-telling, or practicing geomancy, etc. as mentioned by Dawood Wang Daiyu in his book of *The Real Commentary* and Salih Liu Zhi in his book of *Nature and Principle of Islam*.

It was likely that the book of collaboration between Confucians and Buddhists against Catholicism in *Po Xie Ji* (破邪集) was studied by the Hui Hui scholars in Nanjing. Dawood Wang Daiyu's criticism to the Buddhism and Taoism in his three books reflected his profound understanding of the two traditions, which made their criticism more persuasive. Except that, all the Hui Hui scholars also evaluated the Taoism from the Islamic standpoint. They attacked the later practices of Taoists' polytheism in the first place and then explained the concept of 'Tao' of Laozi in *Tao De Jing* and in the cosmology of Neo-Confucianism with the cosmology of Sufi school of thought.

Hui Hui scholars expressed their strong desire for replacing the Buddhism and Taoism in the traditional triangle of 'Confucianism-Taoism-Buddhism' with Islam. The eagerness of Yusuf Ma Zhu of presenting his

¹²⁴ See, *The History of the Mosques in the Coast Areas of South-East China*.

first volume titled *The Guide to Islam to the Emperor of Kangxi* could be explained by the worries of Hui Hui scholars that the Jesuits would have strong positions in China¹²⁵. Yusuf Ma Zhu stayed in Beijing in early Qing dynasty during 1665-1684.

During this period, Jean Adam Schall was appointed in a very important position by the Emperor of Shunzhi as an astronomer and counselor of the Emperor. The astronomers of Jesuits got upper hand in the 'Calendar Controversy' of 1668-1670 at last. Ferdinand Verbiest worked for the Emperor as the astronomer after Jean Adam Schall. Another Two Jesuits Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) and Jean Francois Gerbillon (1654-1707) worked as scientists and envoys on the court of Kangxi since 1687.

Yusuf Ma Zhu, carried his 'Memorial to the Throne' and the first volume of *The Guidance of Islam*, followed the Emperor who went out of Beijing to visit the South China in 1684. Yusuf Ma Zhu also believed that the conversion of the Emperor to Islam was better for him and for the country. Unfortunately, Yusuf Ma Zhu could not approach the Emperor during this trip, but he did not give up his. He continued his writing and even tried again to write another Memorial to the Throne in 1707, when he was in his hometown in Yunnan province, hoping that the Emperor would read his book. In his words to the Emperor, Yusuf wrote that Buddhism and Taoism spoiled the teachings of Confucianism, and Islam was close to the Confucianism. If Islam could be practiced together with the Confucianism in China, China and Chinese people would be prospereous.¹²⁶

Integration of Confucianism was a preface to make sure that Islam was not a heresy but was similar to or the same truth as Confucianism. The Hui Hui scholars' refutation to both the godless teachings of Buddhism and polytheism in the Buddhist practices among the normal people were merciless. For example, in order to explain the existence of the Creator in the universe, Dawood Wang Daiyu wrote the same story told by Mutakalimin that a ship on the river sailed itself without any sailor and loaded down its goods by itself without any worker. When the Buddhist monk heard of it and said it was unbelievable, the teller of the story refuted

¹²⁵ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Preface of The Guidance of Islam*, p.27-29

¹²⁶ *ibid*, p.74-75

him and said then, how could you tell us that there was not a Creator who created and managed this well organized universe and we should believe?¹²⁷ . Another example was his refutation of the Buddhist concept of emptiness of the universe , saying that they held the universe was empty and could they also agree that their parents, who gave birth to them, were never existed ?¹²⁸

No doubt, the cultural interactions between Chinese Buddhahists and Chinese Muslims have been there , that is because the Buddhism was introduced into China much earlier and made its popular among the native Chinese. For instance, some Buddhist terms in Chinese like ‘皈依(Fan Yi - conversion)’, ‘归真(Gui Zhen-passt away)’, ‘无常(Wu Chang-past away)’, ‘信道(Xin Dao- Having faith)’, ‘信士(Xin Shi- the male believer)’, ‘信女(the femal believer)’, 三乘(San Cheng-three steps of religious practices in Chinese Sufi group) etc. All these terms were present in the Han Kitab Literaure and are still used by Chinese Muslims.

It is obvious the practice burning joss stick before tombs of Sheikhs or walis of some Chinese Sufi groups came from the practices of Chinese Buddhists. The influences of Buddhism on Chinese Muslims can be reflected in many other aspects.¹²⁹

2. The Existence of ‘God’ in Confucian Traditions

The concept of God was the most important concept in both revealed religions of Christianity and Islam. How to express it in Han Chinese would be a most important issue for the Jesuits and Hui Hui Muslims. It could be translated in Han Chinese exactly only after a thorough study of the Scriptures, Books and all the interpretations, in the light of monotheism.

The written ancient Chinese history started with the Zhou dynasty. Zhou Wenwang (周文王) was the first king of Zhou dynasty and the second one was his son of Zhou Wuwang (周武王). The Zhou dynasty was established

¹²⁷ See,Dawood wang Daiyu,The Real Commentary,p.202

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.418.

¹²⁹ See, Wu Hua Guo, A Comparative Study Between Islam and other Religions,p.38-43

around 11th century before the Common Era. It was an astonishing event in the history of China that the small country of Zhou defeated the powerful country of Shang and established Zhou dynasty. The book of *Shang Shu* (尚书 The Shoo King)" recorded Zhou Wenwang's explanation of the establishment of the dynasty of Zhou as 'Tian Ming (天命 the Mondate)'. In the history of Confucian academics, there were many interpretations for the word of 'Tian Ming'. The scholars of Neo-Confucianism in Song-Ming dynasty explained it as a material body. But the Jesuits and Hui Hui Muslim scholars held that the meaning of 'Tian Ming' in the original texts of the Scriptures was 'the will of God' or Allah¹³⁰.

(1) In the Books of Jesuits

The *Ten Commandments of Lord of Heaven* was translated by M. Ruggieri into Chinese in 1582. Two Han Chinese character of 'Tian Zhu (天主 the Master of Heaven) were borrowed from the book *Shi Ji* (史记 the Records of History)¹³¹ by him referring to the meaning of 'Deus (the Lord of Heaven)' in Latin.

Father Gao Mu Qian in Manila, Philippine transliterated the word 'Dios' in Spanish into 'Jai Liou Si (借僚氏)' in south Fujian dialect, because at that time, Philippine was under the Spanish colonists. There were many Chinese in Philippine and most of them spoke the dialect of south-Fujian (Taiwan). The Spanish Dominican order was working there at that time. This term of "借僚氏" has no popular meaning in Han Chinese language.

Comparing the term of God in Han Chinese language, M. Ruggieri's translation of 'Deus' as 'Tian Zhu (天主)' in Han Chinese was much better than that of father Gao Mu Qian's. The combination of character of 'Tian (天)' and character of 'Zhu (主)' referring to the Creator was widely accepted by Han Chinese people due to its links with Chinese Han classics. 'Tian (天)' was undertood in the Scriptures as a kind of superpower which controlled the fates of human being. Literally, the character of "Zhu (主)"

¹³⁰ See, James Legge, *The Chinese Classics-The Shoo King*, p.7.

¹³¹ The original verse was: "八神：一曰天主，祠天齐". See, *Shi Ji* (The Book Fengshan).

refers to ‘the one who owns or controls or manages). M. Ruggieri explained the reason that he selected the combination of the two characters of ‘Tian Zhu’ in Han Chinese referring to ‘Deus’ in Latin by saying that ‘The Chinese don’t know the Lord of Heaven, the Supper Governor. They attribute everything to the Heaven (Tian), who gives everything to them like a father.’¹³²

The book *Apologetics* in Latin written by M. Ruggieri in 1581 was translated into Han Chinese with the title *The Newly Edited True Teaching of Lord of Heaven from the Country of West India* (Xin Bian Xi Tian Zhu Tian Zhu Shi Lu 新编西竺国天主实录)” with the opening chapter ‘The Existence of the Lord of Heaven’.

Matteo Ricci continued to employ this term of ‘Tian Zhu’ in his books. He adopted totally the new terminology of ‘Tian Zhu(天主 the Lord of Heaven)’ as ‘Deus’ in Latin in all his books like *On Friendship, The True Meaning of Lord of Heaven, The Twenty-Five Sayings, Ten Discourses by an Extraordinary Man*, etc.

Matteo Ricci developed the concept of necessary existence of the Creator in the universe based on the ‘Five Ways’ of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) in his *Summa Theology* in the tradition of scholasticism, of evidencing the existence of the God. Matteo Ricci illustrated the concept of Catholic creation by using the ‘Four Causes’ of Aristotle that ‘for the existence of everything there must be an actor, a form, a material and an end’. In his book of *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*, Matteo Ricci applied three ways of St. Tomas Aquinas’ evidencing existence of the God which he mentioned in his book of *Summa Theology*. The first was Prima Causa-the First Cause of the movements. The second was First Beginner of the time. The third was all the objects, living or non-living, and their reasonable movements can be explained only by the existence of a Super Being¹³³.

In order to certify the application of ‘Tian Zhu (天主 the Lord of Heaven)’ was not Catholic innovation, but a term, which was already there in Confucian classical Scriptures and Books, Matteo Ricci racked his brains. He went through all the *Five Scriptures* and the *Four Books* of Confucia

¹³² See, M. Ruggieri, Tian Zhu Shi Lu, Chapter Three

¹³³ See, Matteo Ricci, The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven.

classics¹³⁴. Matteo Ricci, with his Catholic view, held that these classics of Confucianism were closer to the truth and the popular scholar of Zhu Xi(朱熹)¹³⁵ committed many mistakes when he gave commentary to some verses of the classical Scriptures and Books. The concept of existence of the ‘Shang Di’ or ‘Di’ in the interpretations of Zhu Xi was corrupted by introducing some other concepts, like ‘Li’, ‘Taiji’, etc. To Matteo Ricci, ‘Li’ and ‘Taiji’ were dependable things and they could not exist by themselves, so they could not be the Creator. In his book *The Real Meaning of Lord of Heaven*, Matteo Ricci recorded eleven verses from the Chinese classics like *Zhong Yong*(中庸 the Book of Mean), *Shi Jing*(诗经 the Book of Poetry), *Yi Jing*(易经 the Book of Changes), about ‘Tian(天 the Heaven)’ and ‘Shang Di(上帝 the Supper God)’. In order to get the conclusions of “Our ‘Deus’ in Latin is the ‘Shangdi (上帝)’ in the classical Books or Scriptures of yours.”¹³⁶

Actually, as far as the word of “Tian (天)” in the Chinese classics was concerned, there was no clear margins between the meanings of natural sky and the personified Heaven. Traditionally, the Chinese awe ship towards the sky was joined closely with the awe ship towards the earth. Confucius did not appreciate the view of gods in Yin-Zhou time. The ‘Heaven’ in some Confucius Books was not a personalized God, but a ‘god’ who embodies philosophy, politics, and ethics only and religion was left out. According the early Jesuits’ for example, Matteo Ricci and other Chinese converts like Paul Xu Guangqi and Yang Tingjun, subjective assertion of ‘Tian or Shang Di’ in Chinese classics was exactly the concept of ‘Lord of the Heaven’ in Christianity, which, however, was too sweeping, and was criticized by the later Confucians in the time of Aleni.

Matteo Ricci used his tool of interpretation. If the meaning of the verse met his needs, Matteo Ricci would use it directly; if the verse was ambiguous meaning, he would interpret it himself; if the late Confucian scholars’ interpretations were not the meaning he wanted, he would declare the same wrong. For example, there was a verse in *Zhong Yong* (中庸 the Book of Mean) of “郊社之礼所以事上帝也 (that the Emperors went to

¹³⁴ ibid

¹³⁵ Zhu Xi, one of the founder of Neo-Confucianism in Song dynasty.

¹³⁶ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Real Meaning of Lord of Heaven*, p.21.

outside of the palaces for the sacrifices was to serve ‘Shang Di’”. Zhu Xi wrote in his interpretations to this verse that ‘不言后土者，省文也（‘Hou Tu’ was not mentioned in this verse after ‘Shang Di’ was for the consideration of briefness.)’. According to Zhu Xi, ‘Shang Di’ and ‘Hou Tu’ together were the original meaning of Confucius. In the traditional sacrifices of Chinese emperors, this two objects were not separated and the sacrifices towards the both made at one time but with the sequence: ‘Tian(the sky)’ first then the ‘Tu(the earth)’ after the sky. All the previous interpretations of the Confucius classics held the opinion of omission of ‘Hou Tu (the earth)’. Zhu Xi followed the previous scholars of commentary.

Matteo Ricci rejected such interpretations which contracted the Catholic teaching of the Oneness of ‘Tian Zhu’. He refuted the sayings of Chinese Confucian literati that Confucius knew well that the only one object of sacrifices was ‘Shang Di’ and he had no any reason to omit ‘Hou Tu’ in the Books.¹³⁷ He argued that, as far as another term of ‘Tian (the sky)’ in the Confucian Books and Scriptures was concerned, if in the interpretations of Zhu Xi, it (Tian) was referring to the Super Power with the consciousness , then it was as same as ‘Shang Di’ as said by Zhu Xi. If the ‘Tian’ was referring the natural phenomena or bodies, then the ‘Tian’ was not ‘Shang Di’, because there were nine celestial bodies in the sky and how all these bodies could be equal to the one ‘Shang Di’. In this way, Matteo Ricci rejected the theory of Neo-Confucianism and confirmed that ‘Tian’ was ‘Shang Di’. The famous Confucian scholars of his time Feng Yingjing and Li Zhizhao supported the opinion of Matteo Ricci in their preface of the book of *The True meaning of Lord of Heaven*.

As far as the nature or attributes of ‘Tian Zhu’ concerned, Matteo Ricci followed the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Theologica* that ‘Tian Zhu’ is simple, without composition of parts, such as body and soul, or matter and form and ‘Tian Zhu’ is perfect, infinite, immutable, the one without diversification within ‘Tian Zhu’ itself. Similar to Matteo Ricci, J.Aleni also talked about the attributes of ‘Tian Zhu’¹³⁸. But the Chinese intellectuals seemed somewhat confused by the concept of ‘Tian Zhu’,

¹³⁷ See, Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*.

¹³⁸ See, J. Aleni, *San Shan Lun Xue*,p.443

introduce by Father Matteo Ricci and J. Aleni. Nicolas Longoardi did not agree with Matteo Ricci's integrating the Confucian classics in the very beginning.

Matteo Ricci held the view that Confucius was an atheist and the words of 'Shang Di' and 'Tian' in his Books did not have the meaning of 'Deus (God)' in Latin. After the death of Matteo Ricci in 1610, Father Nicolas became the Superior provincial of China Mission. The practice of Matteo Ricci's integration of Confucian classics and upper class preaching was not followed. He wrote an article titled *The Chinese concept of God*, in which he expressed his above view. In 1628, he collected more than ten Jesuits in China and held a meeting in Jiading to discuss the above Chinese terminology of 'Deus' in Latin. Many of them sided with Matteo Ricci, while some were with Nicolas Longoardi. At last, a decision was made that the Chinese term of '天主(Tian Zhu)' could be continued to use and other two terms of '上帝(Shang Di)' and '天(Tian)' were prohibited. A copy of above article of Nicolas Longoardi was disclosed to a Dominican priest Anntonio a Sancta Maria Cabalern(利安当) in Jinan by a Jesuit Jean Valat (汪儒望) in 1659 and he published it in a book to support their claims against the policy of Matteo Ricci's integrating Confucianism that resulted in 'the Chinese Rites Controversy' among the different religious orders of Catholics.

In order to defend the practice of Matteo Ricci, some Jesuits further thought to use the term of 'Shang Di (上帝)' together with the term of 'Tian Zhu'. For this purpose, a Chinese convert of Paul Yan reviewed almost all the classics of upper ancient and collected eighteen paragraphs from *Shangshu*(尚书), fourteen section from *Shiji*(史记) and many other classics about 'Tian (the Heaven) and 'Di (the Lord)' in *Analects*, *Mengzi*(孟子 the Book of Mencius), and *ZhongYong*(中庸 the Book of Mean)". He concluded:

"Our research shows that the 'Shang Di (上帝)' in Chinese classics is the 'Tian Zhu' in the West Scriptures". We observed that during quite a long time, the issue of name of God in Chinese was discussed among the late Jesuits in China. An article was written for supporting the policy of Father Matteo Ricci and against the decision of Nicolas Longoardi before

1623 by a Chinese convert Yan Paolu .The written year of this article was not mentioned, but it seems to me that this article was used by Father Emmanuel Dias senior as an attachment of his letter to Rome. Father Emmanuel Diaz senior wrote a letter to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus requesting the usage of the word ‘Shangdi’ in Han Chinese instead of the word of ‘Deus’ in Latin. The answer from Rome was positive.¹³⁹

The Chinese convert Yang Tingjun even applied the typical Confucian term ‘Da Fu Mu (大父母 the Biggest Father and Mother)’ referring to ‘the Lord of Heaven’ in his book of *Dai Yi Pian* written in 1621. The concept of ‘the Biggest Father and Mather’ invented by Matteo Ricci in his *Tian Zhu Shi Yi* was a great coincide of Jesuits in China of intergrating the Confucian ethics. That was different with the oneness God or the Creator in Christianity or Islam, as in Chinese traditions, everything was a pair, Ying-Yang, the Sky-the Earth...In the Confucianism, father and mother both were the origin of human being and that they were always mentioned together respectfully¹⁴⁰. The term ‘Da Fu Mu’ was first used by Matteo Ricci in his *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*. It seems that, in Matteo Ricci’s opinion, ‘Da Fu Mu’ was between the ‘Tao’ of *Tao De Jing* and the God of Matteo Ricci¹⁴¹. J. Aleni also used this typical Chinese term of ‘Da Fu Mu’ to name the God, the Creator.¹⁴²

The Protestant missionaries have used the Chinese term ‘Shang Di’ referring to ‘God’ since 1830 .At present China, the same Creator is called by different terms in Han Chinese. The Catholics call Him ‘Tian Zhu’,the Protestants call Him ‘上帝 Shang Di’ and the Muslims call Him ‘真主 Zhen Zhu’ or ‘安拉 An La’.

Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) was the apex of Jesuits’ integration of Chinese classics, which formed the school of Figurism of French Jesuits in

¹³⁹ See, Yan Paoluo, A Research for the Chinese names of ‘God’, compiled in the book of *The Documents of East Missions* by Fang Hao, p.49-92. Also , See, Gong Daoyun, The Contact between the Confucianism and Christianity in Modern History, p.52-54 .

¹⁴⁰ See, Zhang Xiaolin, Tian Zhu Shi Yi and the Chinese Academic Traditions,p.214-220

¹⁴¹ See, Yang Tingjun, Dai Yipian, p.

¹⁴² See, J.Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue, p.437,p.491

the early of 18th century. After the comparative studies between the Bible and Chinese Scripture *Yi Jing* (易经 Book of Changes), He held that the main beliefs of Catholicism were predicted in *Book of Changes* and *Yi Jing* (易经 The Book of Changes) was the revelation of God to Chinese people. He believed that many of the Chinese saints were prophets of God primarily sent to guide the Chinese people and were later made the objects of worship by the people. In 1703, Joachim Bouvet produced a two-volume book titled '*Tian Xue Ben Yi* (天学本义 The Original Meaning of the Study of Theology)'. This book was recorded by father Xu Zongce in his *An Abstract* with another name of *Gu Jing Jin Tian Jian Tian Xue Ben Yi* (古今敬天鉴天学本义 The Textual Studying of Worshipping of 'Tian' in Ancient and Modern Time-The Original Meaning of the Study of Theology)' and it was also mentioned that some copies of this book were kept in Shanghai Xujiahui library, National library of France and library of Vatican. He stated in the preface of the book that, the original book of *Yi Jing* was lost during the movement of 'Burning Books' in Qin dynasty in around 3rd century B.C. He was backed by the Emperor Kangxi of writing this book¹⁴³. He pointed out that the Holy Mother and the Holy Son were also mentioned in the Chinese classics. He praised the Emperor Kangxi so high that he was as great as the Emperor of France Louice¹⁴. The Emperor of Kangxi was certainly pleased with Joachim Bouvet for his work on studying the *Book of Changes*. He wrote the biography of Emperor Kangxi in his book titled *Portrait historique de l'Empereur de la Chine*.¹⁴⁴

More Jesuits came to China and joined such work of cultural accommodation. Another three Jesuits from France, Joseph-Henrg- Marie de Premare¹⁴⁵, Jean-Francois Fouquet¹⁴⁶ and Jean Alexis de Gollet¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ See, Claudia von Collani, P. Joachim Bouvet S.J., p.003-015

¹⁴⁴ See, Claudia von Collani, P. Joachim Bouvet S.J. Sein Leben und sein Werk.

¹⁴⁵ Joseph-Henrg-Marie de Premare (1666-1735), from France, came to China in Nov. 1698. He worked in Jiangxi province as a priest in the beginning. He joined the work of Joachim Bouvet in 1713 by the order of the Emperor of Kangxi in 1713. He was called back to Vatican in 1727 with some other Jesuits like Dominique Parrenin (1665-1741) due to their mistake of agreeing to Matteo Ricci's 'Chinese Rites'.

¹⁴⁶ Jean-Francois Fouquet (1663-1740), from France, reached China in June 1699. He worked in Fujian, Jiangxi and Hangzhou. In the year of 1710, he came to

were called to the Palace by the Emperor of Kangxi to help the studies of Joachim Bouvet. Joseph-Henrg-marie de Premare did comparative studies of *the Bible* and *Book of Changes*, *Tao De Jing* and some other Confucian classics. He concluded that the Catholicism was as old as the world and there were ‘Tian Zhu (the Lord of Heaven)’ and other teachings of Catholicism in the classics of Chinese.¹⁴⁸ Jean-Francois Fouquet studied also the Chinese classics like the *Book of Changes*, *Tao De Jing*, *Lie Zi* (列子), *Xun Zi* (荀子) and *Han Shu* (汉书). He held that there were numerous prejections of Catholicism in the classics of Chinese like the mountain in which Jesus(A.S.) was crucified ,the praising words for the Messiah (the words for praising the King of Zhou Weiwang), and the tribe leaders of the Bible (they were the emperors of ancient China)¹⁴⁹.

(2) In the Han Kitab Literature

Far before Jesuits’ work in China, Muslims in China encountered with Chinese and studies of their culture. The famous Arabic saying of ‘Seeking the knowledge even as far as in China’ is even today repeated in the speeches and books of Chinese Muslims as an encouragement for learning from the Chinese¹⁵⁰. At least, as early as in the middle of 14th century, *The Monument of Rebuilding the Mosque of Qingjing* (Quanzhou, Fujian province) written in 1349 would be the evidence of writings about Islam in Han Chinese after the book of Du Huan in 760’s. In this monument, the Muslims’ worshipping the “Tian (天 the Sky, or the Heaven)” only, the name of Holy Prophet Mohammed (S.A.W.), prayers, fasting, Zakat and Juma prayers were mentioned.¹⁵¹

Beijing and helped Joachim Bouvet to study the *Book of Changes* by the order of Emperor Kangxi.

¹⁴⁷ Jean Alexis de Gollet (1666-1741), from France, came to China in Aug.1700. He worked in Jiangxi, Ningbo (Zhejiang province), etc.He was called by the emperor of Kangxi to join the work of Joachim Bouvet in 1713. He died in Macao in 1741.

¹⁴⁸ See, Louis Pfister, Notices, p.527-528

¹⁴⁹ Ibid,p.556

¹⁵⁰ Some scholars of Hadith held the opinion that in the narration system (Al asnad)of it, a narrator (rawi) was a liar. So they classified it to the category of Hadith Maudua.See, Alajilun, and the Hadith Maudua.

¹⁵¹ See, Bai Shou Yi, the Essays,p.314-317

The monument of *Lai Fu Ming* (来复铭 the Monument of Coming From and Going Back) written in Han Chinese language by Sheikh Chen Si¹⁵² in 1528 showed that Hui Hui Muslims in Shandong province had already been using popular terminologies of Neo-Confucianism for more than one hundred years to interpret Islam. The texts of *Lai Fu Ming* contains nine lines with one hundred-fifty-five words of Han Chinese characters, in which explained the Islamic truth i.e. ‘we came from Allah and to Him we shall return’.

Sheikh Chen Si mentioned in that monument different concepts of Chinese traditional philosophical schools, like ‘Wu Ji(无极)’, ‘Tai Ji(太极)’, ‘Liang Yi(两仪)’, ‘Wu Xing(Five Elements 五行)’, etc., but he said ‘Huang (皇 the Grand, the Greatest)’ is the original of all these things. The word of ‘皇 (Huang)’ came from *Shi Jing* (诗经 the Poetry or the Odes) was used to referring Allah (S.W.) in Islam. The term ‘Shang Di (上帝)’ which was applied by Matteo Ricci referring to ‘Deus’ in Latin also appeared in the same verse. It is obvious that the practice of Sheikh Chen Si of integrating the Chinese traditions was continued by Hui Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature afterwards.

The existence of Allah is the most important belief in Islam. We observed that before the end of Ming dynasty, the word of ‘Zhu’ referring to Allah was not at all present in any writing of Chinese Muslims. The word of ‘Zhu’ was mentioned along with ‘Tian’ in one verse at the first time in the form of *Jing Tian Zun Zhu* (敬天尊主 Respecting the ‘Tian’ and Obeying the ‘Zhu’) in 1602 in Beijing. It was written on the stone tablet of Niu Jie Mosque, Beijing in 1602. It is interesting to mention that the introduction of the Chinese word of ‘Zhu(the Lord)’ into Islamic terminologies and linking the two words of “Tian” and “Zhu” together in Chinese was after the Jesuits’ writings.¹⁵³ At this time, Matteo Ricci had been in Beijing for more than one year. The tablet in the same mosque of Nie Jie, Beijing written in the 41th year of Wanli (1613) directly pointed

¹⁵²Sheikh Chen Si (陈思)’s fore-father Chen Ying (陈英) was a diplomat to the Muslim countries in the beginning of Ming dynasty. He served the Jinan mosque as the Imam, after he resigned from the government services. See, Jin Ji Hou, the *Monument of Lai Fu Ming*(来复铭), *Journal of China Muslim*, Vol.1,2000,p.25-28

¹⁵³ See, Jin Yijiu, *A Study of Wang Daiyu*, p.34

out that ‘Zhu’ is the Creator of the ‘Tian’ by saying that ‘people knew only the name of ‘Tian’, but did not know why it was called ‘Tian’. The Creator of the ‘Tian’ was the Oneness of ‘Zhu’”.¹⁵⁴

The Hui Hui scholars began their work from this point, observing the fact of non-Creationism in Confucianism. The recent research showed *The Explanation of Kalimat Shahadah* was written by Zhang Zhong in the year of 1631¹⁵⁵, after the Jesuits started work in this area and Jing Tang Scripture Hall Education System was introduced into Nanjing around 1620’s¹⁵⁶. The Mosque Scripture Hall Education laid down the foundation for Han Kitab Literature movement. Hanafiah Jurisprudence school with Sufi tendency was the main color of Han Kitab Literature¹⁵⁷.

The Jesuits in China printed many books about Catholicism and circulated among the Chinese people. During 1584-1622, the Jesuits published about thirty-five books in Han Chinese, while during the period of 1622-1642, sixty-four more books (including many important authors like Jean de Rocha, Emmanuel Dias Junior, Alphonsegnoni, Jules Aleni, etc) were published. According to Martini, in 1640, the Gospel had reached thirteen of the fifteen provinces of the country, and every year almost six thousand people were baptized. In the year of 1651, the number of the converts in China was at least one hundred fifty thousand.¹⁵⁸ They were extremely active in the South- East area of China during this period. Up to the end of Ming (before 1644), there were about four thousand Catholics in Nanjing, more than five thousand in Hangzhou, about three hundred in

¹⁵⁴ *ibid*, p.34-35

¹⁵⁵ See, Yang Xiaochun, A Discourse of, *Journal of Nanjing Univ. (Social Sciences)*, Vol.42(1), 2005 and A Study of Early Islamic Literature in Han Chinese, p23-38

¹⁵⁶ Ma Zhenwu, was the founder of Mosque Scripture Hall Education System in Nanjing. Ma Junshi, from Nanjing, followed Sheikh Zhang Shaoshang in Henan for about five years and then went back to Nanjing. Sheikh Zhang Shaoshang stayed in the Mosque of ‘Jingjue’ in the end of Wanli (around 1622). See, Zhao Can, The Transmission Chain of Mosque Scripture Hall Education System (*Jing Xue Xi Zhuan Pu*, *经学系传谱*, p.41, p.50, p.51

¹⁵⁷ See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Liu Zhi, p.19-21; and see, Sachiko Murta, The Sage Learning of Liu Zhi, p.10-14; Saif al-Haq, The Islamic Culture in China, p.280-282

¹⁵⁸ See, Chen Cunfu, p.15

Songjiang , about one thousand and five hundred in Changshu and fourty-five thousand in Shanghai. All these places were very close to Nanjing ¹⁵⁹ .

Under such circumstances, Hui Hui Muslim scholars felt serious pressure from the two sides, Hui Hui Muslim people and the local Han Chinese that they could not explain clearly their own religion in Han Chinese language though Muslims had lived in the land of China for hundreds of years. Dawood Wang Daiyu mentioned that one book titled *Sheng Mi Zhen Yuan* (省迷真原) in Han Chinese about Islam was present in his time. But Dawood criticized that writer of this book for being ‘full of ridiculous stories on the name of true religion...’¹⁶⁰, but he did not mention the context of this book. It was likely that this book was influenced by the work of Jesuits.¹⁶¹ Dawood Wang Daiyu described the Catholicism as ‘a religion resembling Islam, but not the true religion’ with many proofs¹⁶². There was a chapter in his book *The Real Commentary*, titled *A Religion Pretenting as the Truth* (Si Zhen 似真) which mainly criticized the practice of Jesuits, who regarded the ‘Tian’ ,’Shangdi’ in Chinese classics as the ‘Lord of Heaven.’¹⁶³

Dawood Wang Daiyu is perhaps the greatest Hui Hui scholar who started the movement of integrating Confucianism in the Han Kitab Literature. He showed his strong desire of differentiating the concept of ‘Allah’ with other concepts in Chinese traditions. He selected two Chinese characters ‘Zhen Zhu (真主 the Real God)’ as the Chinese translation of ‘Allah’ in Arabic and another two characters “Qing Zhen (清真 the Pure and Fine) which employed by the first emperor of Ming as the Chinese translation of Islam.

The two words of ‘Zhen Zhu(the Real Lord) referring to the ‘Tian Zhu’ were also employed in the works of Yang Tingjun, J. Aleni and other

¹⁵⁹ See, Zhou Pingping, the Catholicism Dispersing, p.52-66.

¹⁶⁰ See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.107.

¹⁶¹ In the descriptions of Russian Priest Palladii, this book used many biblical terminologies. See, Yang Xiaochun, A Study of Islamic Literature in Han Chinese, p.26

¹⁶² See, Dawood Wang Daiyu, The Real Commentary, p.99.

¹⁶³ Professor Jin Yijiu, held that Dawood was properly talking about the Neo-Confucianism. See, Jin Yijiu, A Study, p.189-190.

Catholic religious orders in China in 17th century.¹⁶⁴ But, the term of ‘Tian Zhu’ was more frequently used by them in their writings. Perhaps, the term ‘Zhen Zhu’ was also used by other Jesuits together with ‘Tian Zhu’ in the early time and it became an Islamic term in Han Chinese after the appearance of the Han Kitab Literature. Furthermore, Yang Tingjun explained six meanings of ‘Zhen (the Real or True) in the Catholic term ‘Zhen Zhu’.¹⁶⁵

Prior to Dawood Wang Daiyu, the Hui Hui scholars already paid attention to the movement of Catholicism in China. An examination of the difference between the two words of ‘Tian’ and ‘Zhu’ was done also by Zhen Yinbeng even before Dawood Wang Daiyu in his book *A Collection of the Books and their Examinations* in 1636 .He stated that in Islam Worshipping ‘Zhu’ is not worshipping ‘Tian’, because all the things with shapes were the creation of the shapeless ‘Zhu’¹⁶⁶.

Similar to Matteo Ricci, Dawood Wang Daiyu criticized that the Neo-Confucianism was totally wrong that they identified ‘Tian’ with ‘Taiji’ and ‘Li’ without any supporting evidence from the classics or contradicted each other¹⁶⁷. But he did not give any comment to the term of ‘Shang Di’ in the Confucian Books and Scriptures and the option of Matteo Ricci. According to him, Allah alone was the Creator of everything, including ‘Taiji’, ‘Li’and ‘Tian’, etc.

Dawood Wang Daiyu refuted the Jesuits’ term of “Tian Zhu’ as the Creator. He argued that the combination of these two characters ‘Tian’ and ‘Zhu’ had proper meaning only ‘Tian’ referred the physical body of sky, not the Heaven as interpreted by Neo-Confucianism.¹⁶⁸ In fact, the uses of ‘Tian’ referring to its second meaning of ‘the Super Power or the Creator has been kept in many Islamic terms in Han Chinese language,

¹⁶⁴ See, Yang Tingjun, Tian Shi Ming Pian and Dai Yi Pian; see also J. Aleni, Sa Shan Lun Xue, p. 437, p.439; see, the book of “Zhen Xue Liu shi (正学鏐石)” written by some of the Franciscan fathers (南怀德), Baneza(利安宁), and Incarnatine (郭纳璧) in 1664.

¹⁶⁵ See, Yang Tingjun, Dai Yi Pian.

¹⁶⁶ The original book was lost and some portions of it were kept in the preface of the book of Salih Liu Zhi’s “The Seerah of Last Prophet (S.A.W.)”. See, Salih, Liu Zhi, The Seerah of Last Prophet (S.A.W.),p.366

¹⁶⁷ See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.103

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p.105.

such as ‘Tian Tang (天堂 Paradise)’, ‘Tian Ke (天课 Zakat)’, ‘Tian Xian/Shi (天使 The Angel)’, ‘Tian Qi (天启 Revelation)’, ‘Tian Fang(天房 the Kaba)’,etc.

Yusuf Ma Zhu employed the term of ‘Zhen Zhu’ for Allah all the occasions in his book *The Guidance of Islam*.

A century later, Salih Liu Zhi in his book *Nature and Principle of Islam*, again quoted the evidences of mentioning ‘Shang Di’ or ‘Di’ in the Confucian classics and their interpretations by the later Confucian scholars like Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, to substantiate that ‘Zhen Zhu’ in Islam was the ‘Shang Di’ in these classics. In contrast to Matteo Ricci, Salih Liu Zhi did not criticize the Neo-Confucianism, but defended the interpretations of ‘Tian’ in Neo-Confucianism, saying that it referred to the Super Power not the natural bodies. He, at last, concluded with many evidences that ‘Shang Di’ in the Confucian Books and Scriptures was the ‘Zhen Zhu (真主 Allah, the Real God) in Islam.¹⁶⁹ But he criticized the confusing names of ‘Li(理 the Principle) and ‘Qi (气 the Air)’ for the origin of the world¹⁷⁰.

The similarities between the discussions of ‘Tian Zhu’ in the books of Jesuits and that of ‘Zhen Zhu’ in the books of Hui Hui Muslim scholars were clearly observed. Some Chinese researchers even held that the Hui Hui scholars plagiarized the work of the Jesuits.¹⁷¹ It was no more a secret that St. Thomas Aquinas got benefit from the Jewish philosophers Maimonides (Musa Bin Mamun 1135-1204) and Sadia al-Fuyumi (881) on the issue of attributes of God. Both Sadia al-Fuyumi and Maimonides lived in Egypt and got great benefit from the Muslim theologians (Al-mutakalimin). They re-interpreted the attributes of God in al-Talmud and rebuilt the Jewish theology. Maimonides defended Jewish beliefs in his book *The Guidance for the Perplexed*. It was a natural thing that the two textual books of Islamic Mosque Scripture Hall Education “al-Aqaid al-Nasafi”

¹⁶⁹ See, Salih Liu Zhi, *The Shariah of Islam*, p.92

¹⁷⁰ See, Salih Liu Zhi, *Nature and Principle of Islam*, p.38, p.55-57

¹⁷¹ See, Wen Yongning, *A Study of Wang Daiyu’s interpreting Confucianism by Islam*, (not published, on net of china-sufi. com ,03/2009 and see also, Mansur Musa, *Comments on Wen Yongning’s Saying of Wang Daiyu plagiarizing Matteo Ricci, Islam and Confucianism*, Vol.6/2007.

written by Najm al-Din Abu Hafs Umar Bin Mohammad Al-Nasafi(d.537H or 1142-1143) ,explained by Saad al-Din Masud al-Taftazani(d.791H or 792H or 1389-1390.) and “al-Mawaqif fi ilm al-kalam (The Standpoints in Ilm al-Kalam)”by Adud al-Din al-Iji(d.1355) were widely quoted by Hui Hui scholars at that time. That perhaps the main reasons that the views of Hui Hui Muslim scholars of Han Kitab Literature were seemed similar to that of St. Thomas Aquinas.

In fact, Dawood Wang Daiyu in his first book *The Right Answer* (Xi Zhen Zhen Da) ” even used the same style of Father M. Ruggieri’s in his book *Tian Zhu Shi Lu* and Father Matteo Ricci’s *Tian Zhu Shi Yi* by putting questions and then answering the them¹⁷². This was also the style of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) in his book of *Summa Theologica*.

3. Trinity and Incarnation

M. Ruggieri used a full chapter (chapter Seven) to talk about the Trinity and Incarnation in his book *Tian Zhu Sheng Jiao Shi Lu*. But in Matteo Ricci’s *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*, some other basic beliefs like Trinity, Incarnation and Crucifixion¹⁷³, etc were absent. The reason behind that might be that Matteo Ricci found it was difficult for the Chinese to understand and it was not wise to have troubles on this issue with Chinese in the beginning of their mission. But the article of Yang Tingjun *Dai Yi Pain* which was written in 1621 showed that Yang Tingjun learnt the teachings of Trinity from Matteo Ricci or someone else, because there was a full discussion about the Trinity.¹⁷⁴ Of course, some Confucian scholars, in later period,

¹⁷² A Chinese scholar Chou Wangjun (仇王军) noticed this similarity between Dawood and M. Ruggieri. See, Chou Wangjun, A Comparative Study on Dawood’s ‘The Real Commentary on the True Meaning’ and M. Ruggieri’s ‘Tian Zhu Shi Lu’, Journal of Social Sciences of Ningxia Academy ,Vol.2, 2011

¹⁷³ An image of Crucifixion appeared at first time in China in Juan da Rocha’s ‘Tian Zhu Sheng Jiao Qi Meng (天主圣教启蒙 Introduction of the Holy Religion of the Lord of Heaven)’ in 1619. There was also an image of Crucifixion in J. Aleni’s ‘Tianzhu Jiangsheng Chuxiang Jingjie (Explanation of Images Concerning the Incarnation of the Lord of Heaven)’ printed in 1635.

¹⁷⁴ See, Yang Tingjun, *Dai Yi Pian*; and see, Xu congce, An Abstract, p.120

expressed openly that these issues were beyond their intellectual comprehension and refused to accept the Catholicism.

According to Matteo Ricci, the Chinese officers at the Imperial Court were horrified when they saw the stature of Christ crucified on the cross. The Jesuits were attacked by the Confucian literati due to their ‘concealing their devil faith and committing the biggest crime.’¹⁷⁵ Even after many years, J. Aleni could not make the Chinese understand this basic Catholic belief.¹⁷⁶ Many questions were raised such as since Lord can create the world, why he could not save the world but was born as a man, why Lord was born in a woman’s pregnancy instead in a fashion of descending from the Heaven, why Lord was not born in China but in that far place, why did not the incarnation happened to any Chinese saint like Confucius or the Emperor and King of Yao-Xun ...The questioner was Yie Xianggao, a former minister of the Imperial Court and a very important member of ‘Donglin Party’. At last, he was not satisfied with the answers of Aleni and did not accept the Catholic faith.¹⁷⁷

Based on the Chinese cultural background, many Confucians and Buddhists also raised many questions about the Trinity in the *Po Yie Ji* (A Collection of Essays on Refutation of Catholic Superstations), which reflected the intellectual questioning of Chinese about this Catholic faith: “You claimed that ‘Tian Zhu (the Lord of Heaven) creates and maintains the world day and night without any moment of rest, but you also said that ‘Tian Zhu’ lived only thirty-three years. The two saying contradicted each other. If ‘Tian Zhu’ lived only for such short of time, why the creation was not stopped? Why was the world not destroyed? If you say that the ‘Tian Zhu’ is still in the Heaven and creates the world, and another ‘Tian Zhu’ was born, then, one ‘Tian Zhu’ in the Heaven and the other one incarnated would be the second ‘Tian Zhu’. If so, why do you claim that there is only one ‘Tian Zhu?...”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ See, Yang Guangxian, *Bu De Yi* (I Have no Alternative).

¹⁷⁶ The book of ‘San Shan Lun Xue’ was written in Fujian in 1625. ‘San Shan’ was the former name of ‘Fu Zhou’, the capital city of Fujian province now.

¹⁷⁷ See, J. Aleni, *San Shan Lun Xue*, p.483-489

¹⁷⁸ See, Dai Qifeng, *Po Xie Ji*.

Based on the Christian Creationism, Joachim Bouvert interpreted *Yi Jing* (the Book of Changes) with the Catholic point of view. According to him, 'Tian Zhu (the Lord of Heaven)' was the 'Qianyuan (乾元)' in *Yi Jing*, and 'Holy Mother' was the 'Kun (坤)' and 'Trinity' was 'Zhen (震)', Kan(坎), and Gen(艮)'.¹⁷⁹

Islam rejects totally the Catholic doctrine of Trinity. Based on the pure Taoheed, the Hui Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature refuted Trinity in their books without any hesitation. This perhaps it was the first time that Hui Hui scholars openly criticized the faith of Catholicism of Jesuits in written Han Chinese. Dawood Wang Daiyu wrote that "the God should be the Creator of the world, and how can He was born to a human being? If so, what is the difference between the Creator and the creature? ..." ¹⁸⁰. Yusuf Ma Zhu also talked about the Trinity in Catholic faith with firm refutation. He argued that, Isa (A.S.) was the Prophet of Allah and he was a human being, therefore he could not be the God incarnate ¹⁸¹ If Jesus (A.S.) was the Heavenly Lord as the Christians claimed, then we should say that he revealed the Scripture instead of saying that he received the revelations. ¹⁸²Salih Liu Zhi also openly attacked Trinity in Catholicism in his books. For example, in his book of *The Islamic Shariah* published in 1708, he declared the Catholicism as a ridicules heresy, when he explained the meaning of Surah al-Ikhlās. ¹⁸³

3. The Cosmology of Neo-Confucianism

The Chinese philosophers had discussed the origin of the world since very long time. There were different schools with different points of view.

¹⁷⁹ The same sayings were found in the article of Shao Puzhong's 'Tian Xue Shuo(A introduction of the Western Studies)', See, the Xupian of Documents of Catholic Eastern Mission. According to Fang Hao's preface of this article, this article was found only in the Library of Vatican, not anywhere else. It was said by the author himself in the preface of the book that his name was Shao Puzhong living in the late Ming .

¹⁸⁰ See, Dawood, *The Real Commentary*,p.112-113

¹⁸¹ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Quidance of Islam*, p.676-677

¹⁸² See, *ibid.* p.622-623,p.676

¹⁸³ See, Salih Liu Zhi, *Shariah of Islam*,p.45-46

For example, Zhang Zai (张载), a philosopher in North Song Dynasty, held that 'Qi (气 the Air)' was the origin of the world and the rules or formula of changes of 'Qi' were called 'Li' as claimed by Cheng Yi and his brother Cheng Ying (1032-1085). Two brothers of Cheng held that 'Li' and 'Qi' depended each other and 'Li' was the essence. Zhu Xi held that 'Li' was prior to 'Qi' and 'Li' gave birth to 'Qi'. The above point of view formed the Cosmology of Neo-Confucianism.

The Jesuits introduced the Catholic Creationism to the Chinese. The biblical stories of creation were repeated many times in the books of both M. Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci. Matteo Ricci explained the creation of the sky and the earth in his book of *Tian Zhu Shi Yi* (the True Meaning of Lord of Heaven). The ancient Greek geocentric astronomy of Claudius Ptolemaeus was applied. This Ptolemy's geocentric astronomy was introduced by Thomas Aquinas into the theology of Catholicism in his *Summa Theologica*. So did J. Aleni when he explained the creation of the world, though he mixed with Neo-Confucianism concept of 'Li (理 the Principle – Qi (气 the Air)'. What they introduced to Chinese were the theologies of Augustine and Aquinas, or even of Plato and Aristotle. The view that God is living beyond the ninth sky was a Thomas Aquinas' belief. The later Copernican theory of heliocentric astronomy replaced the geocentric astronomy of Ptolemy. According to Copernicus, the earth moves round the sun, not the sun round the earth as the Christian Church claimed.¹⁸⁴ For example, Matteo Ricci applied Aristotle's 'Four Causes' theory to explain the creation: 'For the existence of everything, there must be an actor, a form, a material and an end.' J. Aleni also applied the above Aristotle's 'Four Causes' in his explanation of the creation. After that, he added the 'Li (理 the Principle) – Qi (气 the Air)' could not generate anything as claimed by scholars of Neo-Confucianism. But, the later astronomers of Jesuits like Adam Schall, introduced the system of Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) which compromised between the theory of geocentric astronomy of Claudius Ptolemaeus and heliocentric theory of Copernicus (1473-1543), when they were asked by the Chinese emperors of making calendar.

¹⁸⁴ See, W.T. Stace, *Religion and the Modern Mind*, New York, J.B. Lippincott Company, 1960, p.91

Perhaps as a consideration of preaching policy, though Matteo Ricci did not agree to the cosmology of Neo-Confucianism, he did not refute it immediately as he did to the Buddhism. According to his Catholic creationism, Matteo Ricci held that if all the concepts of ‘Li (理 the Principle)’ , ‘Qi (气 the Air)’ and ‘Taiji (太极 the Great Ultimate)’ in Neo-Confucianism were independent and having spirit, that they should be called ‘Tian Zhu (天主 God of the Heaven)’ instead all these names in Chinese. In his *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*, Matteo Ricci discussed the difference between the concepts of ‘Tai Ji’, ‘Li’ in the books of Neo-Confucianism and ‘Tian Zhu’. He concluded that ‘Li (the Principle)’ in Neo-Confucianism was a material concept without spirit or soul. So, it was not suitable to be the Creator of the world. ¹⁸⁵

In the book of *Bian Xue Yi Du (辨学易牍)*” published in 1609, Matteo Ricci criticized the cosmology in Neo-Confucianism and stated that ‘Li (理 the Principle)’ was not the origin of the world, because ‘Li’ was dependant to other thing, having no soul, etc. At the same time, Matteo Ricci proclaimed his Catholic Creationism that ‘Tian Zhu (the Lord of Heaven)’ is the Creator and the Lord of the universe. ”¹⁸⁶ J. Aleni followed Matteo Ricci and stated that all the concepts of ‘Li(the Principle)’, ‘Qi(the Air)’ and ‘Taiji(太极)’ in the Neo-Confucianism were not the Creator of the world, because they were not conscious or having soul. ¹⁸⁷

But, for the Chinese convert Yang Tingjun, his concept of creation would be the mixture of the Catholic Creationism and the cosmology of Neo-Confucianism. Unlike the western Jesuits’ cultural accommodation, the Chinese convert Yang Tingjun seemed undergo a process of enculturation. It was not easy for him to get rid of all the Chinese traditions immediately after he converted into Catholicism. Perhaps he believed there was some truth in the teachings of Confucianism which formed his blood and soul ¹⁸⁸ . He could not even accept Matteo Ricci’s classifying Confucianism into two portions, i.e. the classical Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism. For him, the Confucianism was a complete system and the

¹⁸⁵ See, Matteo Ricci, *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*.

¹⁸⁶ See, Xu Zongce, *An Abstract*, p91-92

¹⁸⁷ See, J.Aleni, *San Shan Lun Xue*, p.444

¹⁸⁸ See, Nicols Standaert, *A Study of the Catholic Confucian-Yang Tingjun*.

interpretations of the scholars in Song dynasty was a necessary complement for the classical Scriptures and Books. He did not refute the Neo-Confucianist's theory of 'Li (the Principle) –Taiji (the Great Ultimate)' of Zhu-Cheng. But he added Zhang Zai's 'Qi (the Air)' to the 'Four Elements' of Aristotle as the origin of the world.

Apparently, the Hui Hui Muslim scholars of Han Kitab Literature were not satisfied with the cosmology of Neo-Confucianism at all, because the concepts of 'Li' or 'Qi' or 'Taiji' were products of human being only, without the guidance of revealed truth and were surely not the same as 'Zhen Zhu (真主 Allah)', the Creator, in Islam. But those Muslim scholars tried to study those Confucian classics in the light of Islamic revelation. Dawood Wang Daiyu held that the original teachings of the existence and Oneness of the Creator in the ancient books before the era of Yao-Shun (尧舜)¹⁸⁹ and Confucius were lost during the movement of 'Burning the Scriptures and Burying the Confucian Literati' in Qin dynasty.¹⁹⁰ For example, after the first Emperor Ying Zheng of Qin dynasty united all the other six states in 221 B.C., he wanted to perform the ancient ritual of 'Feng shan(封禅)' to express his thanks towards 'Tian(天 the Heaven)'. He asked the Confucian literati to find out how to perform it from the ancient classics. They all had different views about it.

In the view of the Hui Hui scholars, the interpretations of Cheng-Zhu's Neo-Confucianism changed the original teachings and made their own gods as mentioned Dawood Wang Daiyu in his *The Real Commentary*. For example, Dawood pointed out that there was a verse in *Yi Jing* (易经 the Book of Changes) that 'Shang Di came from Zhen (Di Chu Hu Zhen 帝出乎震)'. Zhu Xi, the master of Neo-Confucianism gave the interpretation of this verse that 'Shang Di' was born from 'Taiji (太极)' and 'Taiji' and 'Taiji' was above 'Shang Di'. Similar to Yang Tingjun, the writers of Han Kitab Literature rejected Zhang Zai's theory of 'Qi', but did not reject cosmology based on Zhu-Cheng's theory of 'Li--Taiji'. Instead of throwing away all the Confucian Zhu-Cheng's cosmological system, they

¹⁸⁹ Yao and Shun were two famous ancient kings in the ancient Chinese tales. They had a lot of merits and were loved by their people.

¹⁹⁰ See, Dawood, *The Real Commentary*, p.103

introduced some Islamic elements to it. The modifications kept its general chain: Wuji--Taiji--Liangyi (The Sky and the Earth or Ying and Yang)--Five Elements--all creatures, by putting Allah (S.W.T) in the first beginning as the Creator of 'Wuji'. By doing so, the traditional Chinese cosmology was modified to the Chinese Islamic Creationism.

Instead of mentioning 'Zhen Zhu', all the Hui Hui scholars introduced another Islamic term of 'Zhen Yi(真一 the Real One) referring to the creation of the universe. Further more, Dawood introduced Islamic Sufi concept of 'Haqiqatul Muhammadiyah' to explain the creation of the universe. He held that 'Wuji (the Atmost Ultimate)' in *Tao De Jing* of Laozi or Neo-Confucianism was the 'Haqiqatul Muhammadiyah'¹⁹¹. Similar to Jesuits, All those Hui Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature, from Dawood Wang Daiyu, Yusuf Ma Zhu to Salih Liu Zhi , replaced the 'Five Elements' in Chinese traditions by the Aristotle's 'Four Elements'. 'Qi (the Air)' in Zhang Zai's theory became only an element of the four. This modification started in the books of Dawood Wang Daiyu¹⁹². But he did not mention the reasons why he did so. It seems that he benefited from the Jesuits. So did Yusuf Ma Zhu and Salih in all their books. The modern researcher Sha Congping called the 'Four Elements' as the materials of 'Tian Fang (from Islamic world)'.¹⁹³ Perhaps, both scholars of Catholicism and Hui Hui Muslims all benefited from some Muslim philosophers like Farabi. Dawood Wang Daiyu rejected purely all these concepts of 'Li(the Principle)', 'Taiji (the Great Ultomate)' and 'Qi(the Air)' as the origin of the world in Neo-Confucianism, without mentioning the reasons like the Jesuits .But, firmly, he stated that the real Creator of the universe is 'Zhen Zhu(真主)' only.

Yusuf Ma Zhu also introduced the Sufi concept of 'Haqiqatul Muhammadiyah' in his book. At the same time, he also tried to make the picture of Creationism as: Zhen Yi--Wuji--Taiji--Liang Yi (the Sky and the Earth).¹⁹⁴ Salih Liu Zhi, developed a broader Creationism by introducing the Sufi and philosophical thoughts to the cosmology of Neo-Confucianism,

¹⁹¹ See, Dawood, *The Real Commentary*, p. Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Guidance of Islam*; Salih Liu Zhi, *Nature and Principle of Islam*

¹⁹² See, Dawood, Wang Daiyu, *The Real Commentary*, p.63

¹⁹³ See, Sha Congping, *A Study of Liu Zhi's Philosophy*, p.138-139

¹⁹⁴ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Guidance of Islam*, p. 126

and modified it. In the book of *Nature and Principle of Islam*, he referred to Zhou Dunyi's book of *The Diagrams of Taiji* (太极图说), other Muslim Sufis' and Chinese Confucian philosophers' thought. He made sixty diagrams to explain the origin of the universe and the origin of human being. He kept the Chinese terms of Neo-Confucianism, perhaps for the consideration of avoiding any trouble with Confucian literati, but put Allah in a name in Chinese language 'Zhen Yi (真一 the Real One)' in the front of everything. After his modification, the process of the world became: Zhen Yi--Wuji--Taiji--Liang Yi (the Sky and the Earth) - Si Xing (Four Elements)- all the creation. Like Matteo Ricci, the cosmology introduced by Salih Liu Zhi was based on the ancient Greek geocentric astronomy of Claudius Ptolemaeus and Aristotle¹⁹⁵.

We observed that the Hui Hui scholars, tried to integrate the Chinese traditions as much as possible, so that their books would not be attacked by the Chinese as heresy as the case of Jesuits in the anti-Christianity movement in 1616, 1637 and in the 'Calendar Controversies' between Muslim astronomer Yang Guangxian and Jesuit astronomer John Adam Schall in 1660's. In order to keep the names of some Chinese concepts, they applied their Islamic knowledge at the utmost scale. For example, in order to keep the name of 'Wuji' mentioned by Laozi in *Tao De Jing*, they introduced the concept of 'Haqiqatul Muhammadiyah, i.e. The Reality of Muhammed (S.A.W.)' from Sufi school of thought. 'Haqiqatul Muhammadiyah' refers to "the Light of Muhammediah", which originated a Narration stating that before creating anything else, Allah created the 'Light of Muhammediah'. From that light, Allah created everything in the universe. Sufis used this Hadith widely for explaining the unique roles of their Walis. But, some scholars are holding the opinion that this Hadith is Maudua, i.e. the fabricated Hadith. According to them, 'Wuji' was the first seed for all creatures; then, 'Taiji' was the fruit of all essences; and then, 'Two Yi (Yin and Yang or the Sky and the Earth) were the shape of all shapes'¹⁹⁶; at last, 'Four Xiang (the Fire, the Water, the Wood, and the Air)' came into being, from which all the creatures were created.

¹⁹⁵ See, Shang Zongping, *The Tian Fang Studies of China*, p.127

¹⁹⁶ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Guidance of Islam*, p.248-248

According to the Hui Hui scholars, 'Wuji' was created by 'Zhen Yi'. The new term of "Zhen Yi (真一 Real One or Tauheed)" invented by the Hui Hui Muslim scholars "Yi(一 One)" was a important concept in Chinese philosophy. It came from at first Laozi(571B.C.-472B.C.)'s *Dao De Jing* that 'Tao gave birth to Yi; Yi gave birth to Two; Two gave birth to Three, and Three gave birth to all the creatures'¹⁹⁷. After that, Zhuangzi(庄子 369 B.C.-286B.C.), the second master of Taosim explained these veres that ' the Sky and the Earth and I came into being at the same time; everything and I became Yi (One)'¹⁹⁸. According to the theory of 'Oneness' in Taoism, there was no any difference among all things in the universe. When the adjective word of 'Zhen (the Real)' was employed in the front of the word 'Lord' in the books of Jesuits and a new term of 'Zhen Zhu' was formed with the meaning of 'the Real God'. Again, when the two characters of 'Zhen Yi' were combined, a new Islamic term in Chinese with the meaning of 'the Real One' which was not the one as anybody else claimed was thus formed.

The terminology of 'Zhen Yi' was an new Chinese philosophical term appeared firstly in the book of Dawood Wang Daiyu, which was the result of integration of Taoist tradition with Islam. The modern Chinese scholars highly praised Dawood Wang Daiyu for his great contribution to the Chinese philosophy.¹⁹⁹ Actually, 'Zhen Yi' meant Tauheed in Islam. The word of 'Zhen Yi' was employed when Tauheed of the essence (Ben Ran 本然), Tauheed of the attributes "Ben Fen 本分 (الصفات)" and Tauheed of the actions (Ben Wei 本为 (الافعال)) of Allah were talked about all these three aspects of the 'Zhen Zhu of the One' .

Accordingly, another two terminologies were introduced with it, 'Shu Yi (数一 the Numerous One)' and 'Ti Yi(体一 the Experienced One)" were also invented in Hui Hui scholars books. 'Shu Yi' was the Oneness of the creature (وحدة الشهود), that is to say, the entire creature in the universe came from the only 'One', the 'Real One'. And 'Ti Yi' was to assure that all the

¹⁹⁷ See, Laozi, Tao Den Jing, Chapter39 and Chapter42.

¹⁹⁸ See, the Book of Qi Wu Lun(Everything), Chunzi

¹⁹⁹ See, Sun Zhenyu, A Study of Wan Daiyu and Liu Zhi,p. and Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu,p.224

stages of experiencing with Allah came from the same source, i.e. Allah²⁰⁰. It seems to me that 'Ti Yi' was related to the al-Ahwal (Situations) who practises Tasaowaf and whatever the Assalik (the pupil) experiences during his spiritual struggling, are all come from Allah, the only One. All these three concepts of 'Zhen Yi', 'Shu Yi' and 'Ti Yi' introduced by Dawood Wang Daiyu were accepted by the later Hui Hui scholars like Yusuf²⁰¹ and Salih.²⁰²

The Hui Hui scholars also employed a lot of new knowledge of the west and seldom mentioned the original sources. For example, Yusuf Ma Zhu explained scientifically the cause of the elapse of the Moon and the Sun²⁰³. Salih Liu Zhi tried specially to demonstrate the whole picture of creation in his famous book *Nature and Principle of Islam*, published in 1704.²⁰⁴ It is likely that they drew up from Muslim Sufis or philosophers, and might also benefited from the books of Jesuits written before them. For example, the names of the planets, places in Han Chinese in the books of Hui Hui scholars were same as mentioned in the books of Jesuits published earlier.²⁰⁵ It is obviously that Hui Hui scholars, Dawood Wang Daiyu and Salih Liu Zhi all adopted the ancient Greek Ptolemy cosmology. It was also possible that they got this knowledge from both the books of Muslim scholars in Arabic or in Persian, but that can not explain the exact same charachers or terms in Han Chinese as in the books of Jesuits. It was stated by Dawood and Salih that the earth was the center of the universe, and there were seven planets moving in circles around the earth, and another

²⁰⁰ See, Dawood Wang Daiyu, *The Real Commentary*, p.38; *The Great Learning of Islam*(Qing Zhen Da Xue),p.379-402

²⁰¹See, *The Quidance of Islam*, p.112-126, p.249

²⁰² See, Salih Liu Zhi, *The Nature and Principle of Islam*,p.288-312

²⁰³ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Guidance of Islam*, p.650.

²⁰⁴ Perhaps, Salih used some books of famous Muslim scholars in Persian and Arabic: *Mirsad al-ibad* by Najm al-Din Razi, *Maqsad-l aqsa* by Nasafi, *Ash'at allamat* and *Lawa'ih* by Abduraman Jami, *al-Mawaqif fi ilm al-kalam* by Adud al-Din al-Iji. See, Sachiko Murata, William C. Chittick, and Tu Weiming, *The Sage Learning of Liu Zhi*,p.10-14

²⁰⁵ See, Dawood Wang Daiyu, *The Real Commentary*, p.60 and See, Matteo Ricci, *The Structure of the Universe* (Qian kun Ti Yi 乾坤体义),

two move less bodies in Jesuits books were changed into ‘al- Kursi’ and al-Arsh’.²⁰⁶

Except the creation of the universe, Salih Liu Zhi explained also the formation human being in his book *Nature and Principle of Islam* ,by application of Zhou Dunyi’s *The Diagrams of Taiji* , in which the concept of ‘Ren Ji(人极 the Utmate Person, the Pole of Human Being)’ was very similar to the concept of “ the Perfect Person(Insanu al-Kamil) in Ibn Arabi’ school of thought²⁰⁷ . The concept of microsmology of Ibn Arabi School was introduced fully in Salih Liu Zhi’s book of *Nature and Principle of Islam*.

²⁰⁶ See, Dawood, *The Real Commentary*, p.60 and see Salih Liu Zhi, *Nature and Principle in Islam*, p.121

²⁰⁷ Ibn Arabi had the concept and Abdul Karim al-Jili developed it into a complete theory. See, Abdul al-Kalim al-Jili, *Abal-Insanu al-Kamil* and See, R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*.

Chapter1.2 the Life after Death

Catholicism and Islam both believe in the life hereafter that there is a day of judgement after the resurrection. Unlike the Catholicism and Islam, the concept of the life after death is completely missing in Confucianism.

In *Lun Yun*(论语), there was dialogue between Confucius and his pupil Jilu 季路: ‘季路问事鬼神。子曰：未能事人，焉能事鬼？敢问死。曰：未知生，焉知死?’ that Jilu asked Confucius about the affairs of unseen matters ,he replied that you have not yet learnt how to handle the affairs of human being,and how can you manage the affairs of the unseen world? When the affairs after death were asked, he replied that we have learnt yet the matter of how to live, how can we know the matter after death?

Matteo Ricci was full aware of this difference Confucianism²⁰⁸ and mental troubles of Chinese due to lack of belief system in the life after death²⁰⁹. Many Confucian scholars also got convinced by him²¹⁰. Matteo Ricci tried to explain the reasons behind eschatological gap. He tried to rationalize the absence of the of concept of life fter eadth by saying that, some of Confucius’s books were lost in the time of the First Emperor of Qin and the teachings of the life after death were in those books. On many occasions, Matteo Ricci candidly discussed with his Catholic followers that Confucianism, like Taoism and Buddhism, was devil like heresy²¹¹, though there was excellent administration in China.²¹²He identified two major issues in Confucianism, i.e. absence of concept of God and the life after death.²¹³ The Hui Hui Muslim scholar Dawood Wang Daiyu also mentioned that the Scriptures and Books of Confucianism were corrupted due to the ‘Burning Books and Burying Confucian Literati’ in Qin dynasty.

²⁰⁸ See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.102

²⁰⁹ See, *ibid*,p.73

²¹⁰ See, Matteo Ricci, the Correspondences,p.102; R.P.Henri Bernard, the Bibliography of Matteo Ricci, p.224

²¹¹ See, The Correspondences, p.134,

²¹²*ibid*,p.86-87

²¹³ *ibid*,p.87, p.102

In order to substantiate Confucianism, the Jesuits discussed some issues related to the Catholic faith.

1. Eternity of Human Soul

In order to convince Chinese to accept the concept of Catholic Eschatology, Jesuits immediately turned down the concept of transmigration of the souls in Buddhism. Soon afterwards, Matteo Ricci and M.Ruggieri just arrived in Zhaoqing, wearing Buddhist robes. M.Ruggieri published a book in Han Chinese language in 1584 and discussed the human man soul. This was the first book of Jesuits in Han Chinese.²¹⁴ He combined two Han Chinese characters of 'Ren (人 human)' and 'Hun(魂 the soul or spiri)' and coined a new term of 'Ren Hun' referring to the 'Human Soul' in Chinese.

M. Ruggieri, following Thomas Aquina, classified the souls into three kinds: life soul of plants, perceiving soul of animals and spirit soul of human being, its ever-lasting nature, how it is different from the souls of animals and salvations in that book.²¹⁵

The soul of human being also was equally significant topic in Matteo Ricci's *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*. In this book, Matteo Ricci applied the theory of Thomas Aquino (from Aristotle) and stated that the souls of animals and plants were different from the soul of human being. The former were material and would disappear when the animals and plants died. The later was spiritual and shapeless. It was ever-lasting and would not vanish when the body died²¹⁶.

Later, Matteo Ricci found out some verses from Chinese Scriptures about existence of human soul and its eternity. In his book of *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*, he interpreted some verses from *Shang Shu* of 'Xi Bo Kan Li (西伯戡黎)' that eternity of human soul²¹⁷. J. Aleni also answered such questions in

²¹⁴ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p.69

²¹⁵ See, M. Ruggieri, *Tian Zhu Shi Lu* (Chapter Three), and Xu Zongce, *An Abstract*, p.109

²¹⁶ See, Matteo Ricci, *Tian Zhu Shi Yi* (Chapter Three).

²¹⁷ See, James Legge, *The Shoo King, The Book of Shang*, p.268

later period.²¹⁸ J. Aleni followed the same pattern with the dialogue of Yie Xianggao.²¹⁹

Based on the ever-lasting human soul, M.Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci both refuted the Buddhist concepts of Samsara (the Transmigration of Souls) and Previous Existence²²⁰. Following them, the Chinese converts Paul Xu Guangqi and Yang Tingjun refuted the transmigration of souls in Buddhism.²²¹ The two Chinese terms of “Tian Tang (天堂 the Paradise)” and “Di Yu (地狱 the Hell)” were firstly in the books of Buddhism in Chinese. There were introduced into Catholicism by Jesuits. And after that, Hui Hui Muslim scholars used the same Chinese terms in their Han Kitab Literature.

J.Aleni discussed about the difference between the Catholic death, reward or punishment and the Buddhist reincarnation with the Chinese Confucians.²²²

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars, also rejected firmly the Buddhist concept of Samsara in their Han Kitab Literature. Dawood Wang Daiyu argued that if it were true, how could a person know his wife in this life would not be his real mother or real sister? If so, according to the Confucian ethics, he would be a biggest sinner.²²³ Dawood Wang Daiyu used to use the Buddhist terms and answer back the Buddhist masters questions, raised by the proponents of the Buddhism, in his book *The Right Answer*. Comparing with the Jesuits, the refutations of Dawood regarding the Buddhist Samsara and Previous Existence more to the convincing.²²⁴

²¹⁸ See, J.Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue

²¹⁹ Ibid, p.469-477

²²⁰ See, M.Ruggieri, Tian Zhu Shi Lu (Chapter Three), Matteo Ricci, Tian Zhu Shi Yi, Chapter Four.

²²¹ See, Xu Guangqi, Pi Wang (辟妄 A Refutation of Superstitions), and see, Yang Tingjun, Tian Shi Ming Bian (A Debate Between Catholicism and Buddhism) and Dai Yi Pian and also see,J.Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue,p.481

²²² See, Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue , P448-491 , and see also, Chen Fucun, Trying to Assess Aleni's Mission, A Collection of Essays, p.138

²²³ See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.341-343,p347,p.354

²²⁴ See, Matteo Ricci, Tian Zhu Shi Yi, And Chapter Four.

2. *Explanation of Mysterious Forces*

Surely, Allah (S.W.T.) sent Prophets to teach the Chinese people to worship Him only in oral or written ways. With the passage of time, the concept of Oneness of the Creator was gradually lost among Chinese. Some revelations might be kept in those Confucian Scriptures or Books and other classics like *Tao De Jing* of Laozi.

In the Scripture of *Shi Jing* (The Poetry) and *Shang Shu* (The Book of Shang), the word of 'Di(帝)' was used for the Creator along with another word of 'Tian(天)' as mentioned before in this thesis. In order to stress the Greatness of the Creator, some words of adjective were put before them. For example, the two words of 'Shang (上 the upper/ super)' and 'Huang (皇 the greatest/ the most high/the majestic)' were usually put before the word of 'Tian' or 'Di' and combined the terms of 'Shang Di (上帝)', 'Shang Tian (上天)', 'Huang Tian (皇天)' and 'Huang Di (皇帝),etc.All those terms , in those Scriptures referred to the Super Power of the universe, the Creator of the worlds.For instance, there are verses in *the Poetry* 'Huang Yi Shang Di,Lin Xia You He(皇矣上帝 临下有赫 How majesty is the Shang Di ,He maintains and looks after all the world)',in which the word of 'Huang (皇)' was used to describe the greatness of the 'Di(帝)'. Another example is from the Scripture *Shang Shu* '皇天无戚 唯德是辅 Huang Di does not have relative or He is the justest and operates with His perfect merit'. The word of 'Huang' was used to describe the 'Tian' in this verse.

The usage of these two words of 'Di (帝)' and 'Huang(皇)'started to change gradually. In Shang dynasty, the title of 'Di' was given to Tang (汤), a former tribe leader firstly and after that it became popular title for the kings or leaders of the tribes. In Qin dynasty, the word of 'Huang (皇)' was at first time used by the first emperor of Qin- 'Qin Shi Huang(秦始皇 the First Emperor of Qin) around 221B.C.. After that, the term of 'Huang Di (皇帝 the emperor)' had been referred to human being, the rulers of the country in all the federal Chinese dynasties.

Another term ‘Tian Zi (天子 the son of the Heaven)’ was also used for the emperor. Matteo Ricci held that the traditional title for the Chinese emperors of ‘Tian Zi 天子 the son of Heaven or the representative of the Sky)’ was not correctly used and the Chinese treated their emperors as a God in the Neo- Confucianism. In the *Three Guide Relitions* of New-Confucianism, it was the obligatory duty for all the people in China to obey the emperors absolutely. People offered sacrifices and prayers to him, and were royal to him. Matteo Ricci argued that, the Emperor was unable to create human being, the skies and the earth...Matteo Ricci did not dare to refute the widely accepted concept of ‘Tian Zi (the emperor was the son the the sky)’ among Confucianism only in last years of his life, after he lived in China for almost thirty years.²²⁵

In some verses of *the Poetry* and *Shang Shu*, we could get a general picture of the direction relationship between ‘Di or Tian’ and the human being in the ancient time of Yin and Zhou dynasty (before 770B.C.). The mutual correspondence between the Creator and human being revealed the concept of Taoheed still remained in the minds of the people, but was corrupted with personification as in *the Old Testament*. The concept of ‘Heaven or Sky’ was closely related with the ‘kings or tribe leaders’, for only kings or emperors had the right to worship the ‘Heaven’.

The awe and veneration towards ancestors originated as early as Zhou dynasty (841 B.C.).After that, it became a tradition of all the Chinese, including the emperors, officers and normal people, as a sign of forgetting-not the origin of human being. There were certain ceremonies for the ancestor veneration and building a memorial archway, making a memorial tablet, offering scarifies or incenses or even doing prostrations in the front of the tablets and tombs were the common ones. How to value such practices of Chinese concerning their ancestors, became a moot point among the Jesuits and other religious orders in China, which resulted in the famous ‘Rites Controversies’ in the regime of Emperor Kangxi , Qing dynasty .

²²⁵ See, Lin Jingshui, *The Western Confucian Matteo Ricci*, p.126

The concept of saints in Confucianism was different with that of Islam or Christianity. The saints in Confucian traditions were not the ‘Awlia-Allah” in Islam, but they were named based on the standard of secular ethics of Confucius and Mencius. According to the Confucian ethics, ‘everyone could be a saint’, if he practiced certain moral principles and norms. Many famous personalities in the history of ancient China were regarded as saints in the Chinese classics. Confucius himself was regarded by the later Chinese as a saint or a great educationist for his distinguished contributions in the field of education. Confucius was never considered as a superman or God to be worshiped. The issue of how to understand the position of Confucius himself and the ceremonies of veneration towards him became the central point of conflict among the members of Jesuits themselves, or other Catholic religious orders in China, or the Papacy of Roman, or Chinese Emperor of Kangxi, which resulted in the ‘Chinese Rites Controversy’ during 1620-1720.

Xunzi(荀子)²²⁶ and the Chinese historian Si Maguang(司马光) both confirmed that the awe ship or worship of the above three objects, the sky, the earth, their ancestors or their saints, were the essential elements of Chinese traditions since the upper ancient period.

The Chinese tradition of ancestors worshipping resulted perhaps mainly from the ambiguous picture of the unseen creatures from tales and folk religions. Perhaps, some thoughts of other philosophical schools like Mozi(墨子), the concept of transmittion of the souls in Budihhism also contributed that.

In those Chinese ancient classics, there were some words used for description of mysterious forces, like Shen (神), Gui (鬼), Hun (魂), Po (魄) But, there was no clear picture about their nature. Confucious did not give any further explanation about them.

Mozi(墨子) who lived nearly same historical period of Confucius held that the human being should serve two unseen powers :the ‘Tian’, the

²²⁶ Xunzi (313B.C.-238B.C), was one of the masters of the early Confucianism. Opposite to Mencius, Xunzi held that the human nature was bad and cruel. Based on the badness of human nature, education after the birth was emphasized by Xunzi.

'Gui' and then love human being. According to him, 'Gui' stayed in three places: the sky, the forest or water and homes.²²⁷ This perhaps was one of the ancient classics of existence of unseen 'Gui'. Mozi could not explain the nature of these 'Gui'.

The Buddhism introduced after Mozi the concept of transmission of the soul into Chinese. The Chinese then interpreted that the 'Gui' dwelt in homes were the souls of the dead family members or ancestors and the souls had power to benefit or harm living people.

The Confucism did not go deep into these unseen matters. In *Lun Yu* (论语 Analects), it was recorded that Confucius that '子不语乱力怪神'(Confucius never talked about those mysterious forces and odd gods). 'Luan Li (乱力 the strange forces) would be referring to the unseen creatures like Angels, Jins, Devil, etc; and 'Guai Shen(怪神 the strange gods)' referred to the gods in Yin-Zhou time that they participated in the battle fields with human being. It is possible that 'Li (力)' and 'Shen (神)' were referring to the same mysterious unseen forces.

The presence of unseen creatures, like angels, jins, devil, soul, etc could not be explained by Confucian scholars. The quest for knowing those unseen mysterious forces provided chances for black magic, superstitions, etc. to mislead people.

Matteo Ricci recorded a lot of stories that he cured people who suffered from unseen creatures like Jins while he was in China. The local Chinese did not know how to deal with such persons who were disturbed by the Jins/devils and they asked help from the Jesuits.²²⁸ In this way, Jesuits obtained fame among Chinese people.

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars followed the Quranic teachings and did not go further to discuss about the issue of soul in their books. They talked about the life after the death directly in all their books.²²⁹

The Hui Hui scholars discussed in detail the nature of the different names of 'Shen(神 the deity)', 'Gui(鬼 the ghost)', 'Xian(仙 the fairy)' and

²²⁷ See, Mo Zi-Tian Zhi

²²⁸ See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p146-p148

²²⁹ See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.354-358

many wrong practices of Chinese. For example, Dawood Wang Daiyu criticised the practices of Kan Feng Shui (看风水 the Gemonancy)' with the belief that the dead ancestors or unseen mysterious forces had the power of protecting people.²³⁰ Another example, after introducing the angels, Yusuf Ma Zhu discussed the popular terms of 'Shen (神 the deity or saint)' and 'Gui 鬼 (the gost)'. He said, the so called 'Shen' and 'Gui' in Chinese traditions were all al-Jins in Islamic Scriptures and al-Jins were creature of 'Zhen Zhu' whose status were perior to the angels and human being. They were created from fire. The soul of a good person after his death would not became 'Xian 仙 (the fairy or angel)' as claimed by the Taoists²³¹.

²³⁰ See, ibid, p.330

²³¹ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, The Guidance of Islam, p.291-294

Part Two: Integration of Confucian Code of Life

In Ming dynasty, the Confucianism was again selected as the official ideology of the country and the Four Books ‘*Da Xue* (大学 The Great Learning)’, ‘*Zhong Yong* (中庸 Book of Middle Way)’, ‘*Lun Yu* (论语 Analects)’, ‘*Mengzi* (孟子 Mencius)’ and Five Scriptures ‘*Shi* (诗经 The Poetry)’, ‘*Shang Shu* (尚书 Shoo King)’, ‘*Li* (礼经 The Rites)’, ‘*Yi* (易经 Book of Changes)’, ‘*Chun Qiu* (春秋 The Spring and Autumn)’ compiled by Confucius, with the interpretations by scholars of Song and Ming dynasties were the highest authority of the country.

Based on the thought of ‘Ren(仁 the Benevolence)’, Neo-Confucianism built his moral code for ruling the country. After that, ‘San Gang (三纲--君臣--父子--夫妻 the Three Cardinal Guides of ruler guides subject, father guides son, and husband guides wife)’ and ‘Wu Chang of Ren, Yi, Li, Zhi, Xin (五常-仁义礼智信 the Five Constant Virtues of Benevolence, Righteousness, Rites, Propriety and Fidelity)’ became the political and moral principles in Chinese Confucian society. But it was believed that the Five Virtues of ‘Ren (仁 the Benevolence)’, ‘Yi (义 the Righteousness)’, ‘Li(礼 the Rites)’, ‘Zhi (智 Propriety)’ and ‘Xin (信 the Fidelity)’ were the basic Ethic Values in Confucianism.

How to evaluate the above “Three Cardinal Guides” and “Five Virtures” and explain their religion of Catholicism and Islam in the framework of Confucian code of life was a very important issue for both Jesuits and Hui Hui Muslim scholars.

In the Han Kitab literature, Hui Hui Muslim scholars interpreted their religion in the terms of Confucianism. Dawood Wang Daiyu, Yusuf Mazhu and Salih Liuzhi all stressed in their books that the objective of teachings of Islam brought by Muhammad (S.A.W.) and Confucianism were almost identical.

Chapter 2.1 Status of Confucius

Confucius (551B.C.-478B.C.) was the greatest educationist in the history of China. The Chinese showed great respect to Confucius. He was conferred upon the title of ‘Zhi Sheng (至圣 the Greatest Saint)’ in the 9th year of Jiaqin, Ming dynasty around 1530.

He observed that ‘Ren (仁) the Benevolence or Kindness or Mercy’ should serve as the guiding principle for the rulers of the country and that, ‘Ren’ was the tradition of “Yao and Shun”²³², and they should rule the people like the kings of Zhou dynasty²³³. He tried through teaching to revive the ‘Li (礼 Rituals or Social Orders or Principles)’, a tradition earlier practiced in Zhou dynasty because in West Zhou dynasty, a number of social reforms and civil laws were introduced in the dynasty. The rulers of Zhou dynasty claimed that they were selected by the ‘Tian (the Heaven)’ and the establishment of their country was due to ‘Tian Ming (天命 the Mandate of the Heaven)’²³⁴.

The main teaching of Confucianism revolves around the establishment of Zhou dynasty. It was an out of ordinary event in the history of China that a small country of Zhou defeated the powerful country of Shang and established the strong Zhou dynasty. The book of ‘Shang Shu (尚书 The Shoo King)’ recorded Zhou Wenwang’s explanation of the establishment of the dynasty of Zhou as ‘Tian Ming (天命 the Mandate)’. The word of ‘Tian Ming’ had many interpretations since thousands of years. The meaning of ‘the will of God’ would be confirmed by the recent discovery of the ‘the Bamboo Slips of Qinghua’. In the first days of 2012, a study of eleven

²³² Yao and Shun were the two ancient Chinese kings.

²³³ The people of Zhou (around 11th century B.C) lived in the west side of China. They traveled to the place of Fenggao (now area of Xian, Shanxi) and settled down there in the time of ‘Zhou Wen Wang’. His son ‘Zhou Wu Wang’ defeated successfully a powerful country of ‘Shang’ and established a new country named as ‘the West Zhou’. They then shifted the capital to ‘Luoyi (now Luoyang in Henan province)’ in 841B.C.

²³⁴ See, The She King (Greater Odes of the Kingdom Odes of the Temple and The Altar), James Legge, p.1 and p.9

bamboo slips of Warring State Period in Qinhua University was published. A group of Chinese specialists studied them and concluded that those slips recorded the dying words of Zhou Wenwang to his son and successor Zhou Wuwang that he should stick to the teachings of 'Zhong (中 the Middle Way)', as Yao and his son Shun did before. Some of those Chinese scholars said 'Zhong' in the will of Zhou Wenwang was referring to the common religion which the ancient tribes followed. It was possible that the religion of 'Zhong (中 the Middle Way)' was the religion of Islam, a common religion brought by all Prophets of Allah and that those forefathers of Chinese 'Yao and Shun', two kings of Zhou dynasty followed the revealed Shariah²³⁵.

Matteo Ricci was the first westerners who studied these Confucian Classics including the original texts and the interpretations of the Confucian scholars in later periods. He soon noticed that the original texts had kept more informations of revelation like the existences of God, Prophethood, etc. and the interpretations by the scholars of Neo-Confucianism tried to get rid of any hint of revelation. Matteo Ricci completed his translation of the 'Four Scriptures' of Confucius into Latin in 1594 and named them as 'Tetrabiblion'. The name of Confucius in Latin was applied by him at the first time. It was the Chinese translation of 'Kong Fuzi (孔夫子)', while 'Kong' was his family name and 'Fuzi' was referring to great master. When we compare the sound of Confucius with the Chinese Characters of '孔夫子', we can easily differentiate that the former is the sound of the second one in Jiangsu or Nanjing Dialect. Obviously, That was the language of Cui Taisu, a Confucian scholar from Shangshu, which was nearby Nanjing, who lived in Shaozhou when Matteo Ricci was there. Matteo Ricci introduced in his *Diary* and *Correspondences* that Confucius was a greatest philosopher in the history of China and his greatness was not less than any other great thinkers of non-believers in the history of human being. Of course, in his Catholic view, the Confucianism was a philosophy of ethics based on the human intellect only, not on the revelations.

²³⁵ The first king of Zhou dynasty was Zhou Wenwang and the second one was his son of Zhou Wuwang. The Zhou dynasty was established around 11th century before the Common Era. See, Xinhua net, 2012.

In order to find some evidences in Confucian Books to support the Catholic teachings among Chinese, we found that both Jesuits and Muslim scholars interpreted verses from Confucian Classics. For example, in the book of 'Lun Yu (Analects)', there was a dialogue between Confucius and one of his students. Confucius was questioned by the student that whether the early kings and emperors were 'Sheng Re (圣人 the saints, holy men)' and he replied that they were not. He also refused to admit that he himself was a 'Sheng Ren'. But he said that there would be a great 'Sheng Ren' who would come out from the west and rule the world. The concept of 'Sheng Ren (圣人 the saints or holy men)' in Confucian point of view was different with that in Laozi's *Tao De Jing*. 'Sheng Ren' in *Tao De Jing* referred to the persons who obeyed absolutely the Natural Laws or Superpower and knew well that the will of human being was nothing. But, in Confucianism, 'Sheng Ren' was those who had perfect morals and everyone could be 'Sheng Ren' if he struggled hard to make himself morally perfect.

The Jesuits in China showed great interest towards the sayings of Confucius of 'Xi Fang You Da Sheng Ren (西方有大圣人 The great Sheng Ren will come out in the West)'²³⁶ and the above words of Confucius became the strongest proof for Jesuits. Matteo Ricci claimed that the great 'Sheng Ren' from the west mentioned by Confucius was Jesus (A.S.).²³⁷ J. Aleni followed the same claim of Matteo Ricci.²³⁸ Joachim Bouvert even wrote a Memorial to the Throne of Emperor Kangxi that the 'Sheng Ren (圣人 the Saint)' talked about in many Confucius Classics was the Meseeh of Jesus (A.S.), and the right way lost in Chinese could be found in the beliefs of Catholicism.²³⁹ The Jesuits also used the same title of 'Zhi Sheng (至圣 the Great Saint)' for Jesus (A.S.) as the Chinese Emperor titled Confucius in the year of 15

It is obvious that Confucius was treated in the eyes of the Jesuits only as a philosopher of unbeliever, not a deity. They allowed the Chinese

²³⁶ See, Confucius, Lun Y. The original texts was '某闻西方有大圣人焉 不治而不乱 不言而自信 不化而自行 荡荡乎民无能民焉'. The translation of these verses was that I heard there will a big 'Sheng Ren' appeared from the West who is greater than me, who had great merits and people obeyed him without any doubt in him.

²³⁷ See, Matteo Ricci, Tian Zhu Shi Yi.

²³⁸ See, J. Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue, p.490

²³⁹ See, Xu Zongce, An Abstract, p.102

converts to participate the Chinese traditional ceremonies of ‘Zun Kong Ji Zu (尊孔祭祖 Respect of Confucius and Reverence of Ancestors)’. As for the rituals of memorial Confucius and reverence of their ancestors, Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits who followed his practices had the opinion that those were only for reverence of them and not worshipping them as idols. A prostration in China was only a proper rite to the one they respected, and did not mean worshipping in the Chinese cultural term as it was in the Catholic terms. In Matteo Ricci’s time, the Chinese converts of Confucians were allowed to attend the sacrificial rites of Confucius and their ancestors. Matteo Ricci and some Jesuits held that these rites were only memorial ceremony, having no religious meaning.

But, other religious orders like Dominigius had a contrary opinion. In 1639, the Dominican Father Jean Baptiste de Moralez(范玉黎) accused the Jesuits in China that of the Jesuit priests allowed their Chinese converts attending such polytheist ceremonies, such as bowing heads or prostrations in the front of the statures or pictures of Confucius, offering incenses or fruits, etc.. And so did them towards the rest personalities of ancient Chinese.

Huangzhen, the compiler of *Po Xie Ji* (A Collection of Essays against the Catholic Superstitions), was very angry when he got to know from J. Aleni that the emperor of ‘Zhou Wenwang’ would be in the hell because he had many concubines²⁴⁰. The status of Confucius in Chinese traditions was very significant among the Jesuits, other religious orders. It became one of the important causes of the ‘Chinese Rites Controversy’.

It was a wise policy for both Jesuits and Hui Hui scholars that they did not go further to discuss the status of the Chinese saints after the death, because the Chinese were not ready at all that their saints with perfect moral characters would be in the Hell. In the Confucian Books, the person who had perfect ethics was called ‘Shen(the Saint)’.According to the Confucian teaching, everyone could become a ‘Shen’ like the ‘three Emperors and Five Kings’, if he struggled for his moral perfection. The Confucian Ye Xianggao was very upset when he heard from J.Aleni that the king Zhou Wuwang would not enter Paradise.

²⁴⁰ See, Huang Zhen, *Po Xie Ji*. Having more than one wife was a popular customs of Chinese Confucian society.

As for the origin of Chinese people, there was no exact record in the Books in Chinese. The tales of 'three Kings and five Emperors' in the Classics generally accepted by the Chinese would suggest the origin of Chinese people may be traced back in the remote past. The names of these 'Three Kings and Five Emperors' in Chinese historical recordings in different books were much confusing. The Title of 'Three Kings and Five Emperors' had not been used until the books of Confucius were compiled.

Fuxi, according to the legends, was believed as the first ancestor of human being on the earth.²⁴¹ Instead of the teaching of Oneness of the Creator, many other ancient personalities were recorded in the Classics. Appreciation of the deeds of these personalities was emphasized. Chinese who Worship the sky and the earth, their ancestors, and their saints were developed gradually. The concept of saint in Confucianism was different than that of Islam. The saints in Chinese traditions were based on the standard of secular ethics of Confucius and Mencius. According to the Confucian ethics, 'everyone can be a saint', if he practiced certain moral principles and norms. Many famous personalities in the history of ancient China were regarded as saints in the Chinese Classics. Confucius himself was regarded by the later Chinese as a saint or a great educationist as a human being due to his unique role in the field of education. Confucius was never considered as a supper power being worshiped.

In the later period, the different understanding towards the Chinese traditional veneration of Confucius and saints resulted in the famous 'the Chinese Rites Controversies'. Differences emerged among the various religious orders inside the Christian missionaries in China, among the Papacy of Rome and the Chinese Emperor of Kangxi. The similar cultural accommodation of Matteo Ricci in China was also practiced in India which at last caused the 'Indian Rites Controversies'. The disputes between the Jesuits in India and other Catholic religious orders were raised to Roman Popes and a delegation of Papacy led by Toro was sent to the East. In the end of 1703, the delegation arrived at Pondichery, India. After six months, a negative report was given by Toro to the practice of Jesuits in India on 8 July, 1704. In the end of 1705, the delegation of Rome arrived at Beijing.

²⁴¹ The Muslim scholars believed that the Chinese people were the children of the son of Noah (A.S.) Yafis. See, Almasudi, the Golden Gulf, Vol.1, p.79.

The Emperor of Kangxi was very angry when Toro, the envoy of Pope conveyed the decision that the practice of Matteo Ricci was prohibited by Rome. The Kangxi Emperor ordered that the Jesuits who followed the practice of Matteo Ricci were allowed to remain in China as Chinese citizens and the others who obeyed the orders of Papacy of Rome should leave China immediately. The decision of Papacy had remained effect until 1939.

After a few decades, Dawood Wang Daiyu argued that Jesuits that the great 'Xi Fang You Da Sheng Ren (西方有大圣人 The saint from the West)' predicted by Confucius was the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad (S.A.W.)²⁴². And the words of Lu Jiuyuan's 'Xing (the Heart) and Li (the Principle) of the Saint of the west and Saint of the east were same' in Song dynasty were quoted by Salih Liu Zhi in his *Shariah of Islam*. After, Hui Hui scholars differentiated the Holy Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) was 'Sheng Ren' of the west and Confucius was the 'Sheng Ren' of the east.²⁴³ Hui Hui Muslim scholars kept the great respect for Confucius as a 'Sheng Ren (the Saint)', but changed his title to be 'Dong Fang Sheng Ren (东方圣人 the Saint in the East)'. Like Jesuits, they also applied the same title of 'Zhi Sheng (至圣 the Greatest Saint)' in Chinese to describe the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) only. Dawood Wang Daiyu refuted the Buddhists claim of Liu Jiuyuan (1139-1193) that the 'Sheng Ren' of the west mentioned by Confucius was Buddah.

According to Dawood, the best role model of a Prophet should be that of having family life, and obeying the rulers of the country etc. It was imaginable that Buddah was regarded as 'Sheng Ren' by the people.²⁴⁴ Yusuf Ma Zhu praised Confucianism in his works in the later portions which was written in Yunnan.

Yusuf Ma Zhu explained the nature of 'Shen (神 the deity or saint)' in Chinese traditions only a man-made title in the earthly world. It does not affect his own fate after this death. It seemed to me that the pronous " he "

²⁴²See, Dawood, *The Real Commentary*, p 32; Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Guidance to Islam*, p.144-145; Salih, *Nature and Principle of Islam*, p.36

²⁴³ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Guidance of Islam*, p.65

²⁴⁴ See, Dawood, *The Real Commentary*, p.32

in Yusuf Ma Zhu's book here was referring to Confucius himself, and he did not mention his name here was for consideration of respect. Some modern Chinese Muslim scholars are still having researches about the status of Confucius and Confucianism in the light of Islam. As a part of the civilization of human being which was created by Allah, the Chinese civilization could not be evaluated without Confucius.

No doubt, it was a significant issue for the Hui Hui Muslim scholars to evaluate Confucius under their then political and cultural environment. The Muslims would not regard anyone as the Prophet of Allah unless mentioned in the Quran, and would reject anyone as a Prophet unless Tawheed was taught by him to his people. The only possible entrance of examining the teachings of Confucius is his teachings and thoughts in his books of *Lun Yu*, *Da Xue* and *Zhong Yong*. Due to lack of continuous narration chains like Quran and Hadith in Islamic tradition, even the Scriptures and Books of Confucianism could not be considered as the original. There were many verses talking about 'Tian' by Confucius, which referred the existence of the Creator. For instance, there is a verse in *Lun Yu*: '巍巍乎，唯天为大，唯尧则之（Oh, how great the Tian is, and only He is the greatest）'. But, there were many evidences from his teaching or life stories which did not support the prophethood of Confucius. For example, he travelled to many states to remind people of sticking to the laws introduced by Zhou Wenwang, not worshipping the Creator as those Prophets mentioned in the Quran. Another evidence was from *Lun Yun* (论语) that when his pupil asked him about the matter of life after death, Confucius refused to talk about it. If he were the Prophet, he would never conceal such a most important belief.

Sufi's Approach towards the Prophet (S.A.W.).

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars followed Sufi approach regarding the distinct status of Holy Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). Dawood Wang Daiyu held that the Chinese concept of 'Wuji' was 'the light of Muhammad

(S.A.W)' in Islamic Sufism²⁴⁵. Yusuf Ma Zhu held that 'Wuji' as well as the 'Pen' was created by Allah before all things²⁴⁶. Salih Liu Zhi , in his book of *Principles of Islam (Tian Fang Xing Li 天方性理)*, explained the concept of the world in the view of Muslims Sufis that Allah created the Light of Mohammed (S.A.W.) before all other creations. And because of the Holy Prophet Mohammed (S.A.W.), Allah created the universe.

²⁴⁵ See, *The Real Commentary*, p.92

²⁴⁶ See, Yusuf, *The Guidance of Islam*, p.641 and p.644.

Chapter 2.2 the Position of Chinese Civilization

Until the Ming dynasty, the Chinese Confucians believed China to be the center of the world and their Confucian civilization was the most advanced. In comparison, other people and the countries of surrounding areas were considered less civilized.

In the Warring State period (around 450B.C. to 230B.C.) , the prince of Zhao, Chen described China and Chinese ‘Zhong Guo (中国 the country of middle)’ was the home land of the most intelligent people ... the saints left their teachings here, so the people followed the of rites ‘Ren(仁)’ and ‘Yi(义)’... people came from very far places to Zhong Guo in order to learn the advanced culture”. The lingual meaning of China (Zhong Guo 中国) was a country in the center. Other countries were small and they surrounded Zhong Guo from all sides.²⁴⁷A Chinese philosopher Shi Jie (石介) in Song dynasty expressed such superiority of Chinese culture and inferior of other civilizations in his words: ‘The Sky is on the above; the earth is under breath; and in the middle was ‘Zhong Guo (China)’; and the ones who live in the sides of the sky and the earth were the “Si Yi (四夷 savages or uncivilized foreigners of four uncivilized areas of the east, west, north and the south), the ‘Si Yi’ are edge areas and ‘Zhong Guo’ is in the center.”

Matteo Ricci observed that the normal Chinese had little interest in theological issues, and were more concerned with practical and material matters. In order to win their attention and admiration, he drew a map of the world,using his mathematic and geographical knowledge learnt from the famous Father Clavius,.However, in order to please his countrymen, Matteo Ricci made a huge allowance- he placed China in the middle of the map. In 1584, Matteo Ricci held an exhibition at his residence in Zhaoqing. Displaying many antiques from Europe.The exhibits included a set of beautifully decorated “Bible” and a map of the world²⁴⁸.The people were

²⁴⁷ See Liu Ye Hui, The History of Chinese Culture, Vol.2, p.306

²⁴⁸ See,Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.65 , p.66,p.108

shocked by the world map of Matteo Ricci as it showed that there were many other countries, people and high civilizations beyond “Zhong Guo” and Chinese Confucianism. Jesuits’ maps of the world were printed many times in Zhaoqing in 1584, in Nanchang during 1595.-1598, in Nanjing in 1600, in Beijing in 1602 and 1608.

The exhibition was followed by M. Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci introducing the Catholic concept of common origin of entire human race. Adam (A.S.) was translated into Chinese as “Yadang (亚当)”. In order to gain currency, Jesuits sought to describe ancient Chinese civilizational makers with biblical evidences. Matteo Ricci even transferred the Chinese chronology into the western chronology²⁴⁹. He tried to explain the history of China through biblical argument that, all the human beings of the world were related to the Flood and Noah (A.S.). Jesuits that followed Matteo Ricci reimagined the history of China by using the same methodology. Alvare de Semedo (曾德昭)²⁵⁰ in his book *Empire of China* (Imperio de la China 大中国志) in Latin sought to concord the Chinese history with the Biblical descriptions about the origin of human races.²⁵¹ Any conflicts were blamed on the inaccuracy of Chinese way of recording.

The later Jesuits followed this trend religiously. Martino Martini (卫匡国)²⁵² was the most important Jesuit in this field. In his book of the *Upper- Ancient History of China* (Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima 中国上古

²⁴⁹ He mentioned in his ‘Diary’ that the technology of making silk was invented by Chinese as early as 2636 B.C. See, Matteo Ricci, the Diary, p.4

²⁵⁰ Alvare de Semedo (1585-1658), came from Portugal. In 1608, he was sent to Guo, India and in 1613, he was sent to Nanjing. He worked mainly in south of China. He was sent by the Society of Jesus to Rome to defend the practice of Matteo Ricci in 1637. He completed his famous book of “Imperio de la China (the Empire of China)” in Goa, India in 1638, on his way back to Rome. He died in Guangzhou, China.

²⁵¹ See, Wu Liwei, *When the Ark of Noah Met Fuxi and Shenlun*, Beijing, Chinese People’s Univ. Press, 2005, p.86

²⁵² Martino Martini (1614-1661) was also a giant figure among the Jesuits in China. He was Italian and in 1640 reached Goa, India. In 1643, he arrived in Zhejiang province, China. In 1650, he was sent by the Society of Jesus, China to Rome as the defender of Jesuits in China also. In 1654, he arrived at Rome and discussed the ‘Chinese Rites’ with the Papacy. He came back to Hangzhou in 1658 and built the first church there. He died in Hangzhou in 1661.

史) written in 1658, he introduced the history of China from “Fuxi” that was around 2952B.C. to the end of West Han dynasty (i.e. one year before the Common Era). While reconciling the Biblical and Chinese sources, he noted the inaccuracy was in the Biblical data and not the later.²⁵³

Philippo Couplet (柏应理)²⁵⁴ continued this tradition of Jesuits. In the book of *the Tablet of Chinese Monarchy Chronology*(*Tabula Chronologica Monarchiae Sinicae* 中国帝王年表) published in 1686 in Paris, he completed the work of M. Martino that he made “Fuxi” as the beginning of Chinese monarchy and ended with the year of 1683. According to the Jesuits, up to the year of 1683, the history of China was as old as 4635 years. A problem was raised here that, this data had contradiction with biblical view of human race. According to the Bible, the Flood should be not as early as 2500B.C. The later Jesuits like Jean Baptists du Halde were fully aware of this contradiction. In order to defend the orthodoxy of the Bible, they reinterpreted the timelines of M. Martini by claiming that the real history of China started from ‘Yao’ around 2357B.C. and that the history before ‘Yao’ was unreliable or tales only, like Jean Baptists du Halde in his book of *Description Geogrape* in 1735 follows the method and excises the period before Fuxi as not reliable and based on fancy and tales.

The study of the history of China could be regarded as a part of the work of “Cultural Accommodation” of Jesuits in China. Such study might increase the interest of Papacy and the people of Europe towards China and their support for the work of Jesuits in China. Many of the books of Jesuits were published in Europe during the period of ‘Chinese Rites Controversy’, which aimed to defend their policy or practice in China that the ancient Chinese had the concept of monotheism and the rites of Confucian literati were not idol worshipping. In 1687, the book of Philippo Couplet (柏应理)’s *Confucius- the Philosopher of China* (*Confucius Sinarum Philosophia*)

²⁵³ See, Wu Liwei, *When the Ark of Noah*, p.86

²⁵⁴ Philippe Couplet (1624-1692), from Belgium, arrived in China in 1659. He preached in Jiangxi, Fujian, Zhejiang and the area of Shanghai. He was in Nanjing in 1663 until the anti-Catholicism movement of ‘Calendar Controversy’. He was appointed as the Superior Provincial of China Mission in 1680 and went for Rome. He died on the sea near Gua on his way back to China in 1692.

was published in Paris. In this book, the standpoint of Jesuits towards Confucius and his books were stressed again that Confucius was respected as a great person by the Chinese, not a deity. In this book, the translation of Confucius' three books *Da Xue* (大学 the Great Learning), *Zhong Yong* (中庸 The Book of Middle Way) and *Lun Yu* (论语 Analects) were attached.²⁵⁵

Joachim Bouvet, after studying many Chinese classics, held that there was recording about the Flood in the Chinese classics and 'Fu Xi' in Chinese classics was Henoah, from offspring of Noah (A.S.).²⁵⁶

Similar to the pursuits of the Jesuits, the Hui Hui Muslim scholars tried to expound explain the origin of Chinese people in the books from the Islamic standpoint. Adam (A.S.) lived in 'Tian Fang (天方 Arabia or Macca)' after his fall from the Heaven and that monotheism was practiced there. The Chinese translation of Adam (A.S.) in the books of Hui Hui scholars' Han Kitab Literature was 'A Dan (阿丹)' with due references to the Islamic source of their sayings. Dawood wrote that, all the ancient people were children of Adam (A.S.) and they all lived in 'Tian Fang (Arabia)' in the beginning. After the fall of the Babylon Tower, some people came to China and they were the ancestors of Chinese.²⁵⁷ Dawood mentioned that source of this story was a book named 'Tian Fang Guo Ji (天房国纪 the History of Arabia)'. He further concluded that it was the time of Fuxi mentioned in the Chinese ancient books. Yusuf Ma Zhu even held that Adam (A.S.) was 'Pan Gu (盘古)', the first man who created the sky and the earth mentioned in the Chinese classics. He even mentioned that Adam was named as 'Ya Dang (亚当)' in the western books²⁵⁸. It was obviously the books of Jesuits. Salih Liu Zhi also mentioned the Flood after Adam (A.S.) and Noah (A.S.). It seemed that he used the same book of Dawood Wang Daiyu, with only slight difference in Chinese translation.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ See, Louis Pfister, Notices, p.317

²⁵⁶ See, Joachim Bouvet, Gu Jin Jing Tian Jian (古今敬天鉴 The Worshipping of Tian in the Ancient and Modern Ages)

²⁵⁷ See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.185-186

²⁵⁸ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, The Guidance of Islam, p.98

²⁵⁹ See, Salih Liu Zhi, The Shariah of Islam, p.28. The name of the book mentioned by Salih was *Tian Fang Gu Shi* (天方古史 the Ancient History of Arabia).

Different from the Jesuits, Hui Hui Muslim scholars held that instead of 'Fu Xi', 'Da Yu (大禹)' lived in the period of Flood²⁶⁰, citing Chinese tales wherein, Da Yu was a hero who helped the people negotiate with the changes during the Big Flood. These scholars even claimed the practices of polytheism in the Chinese societies was due to gradual departure from the "Tian Fang" and the influences of the Buddhism and Taoism in China²⁶¹.

²⁶⁰ See, Zhou Pingping, *The Catholicism Dispersing*, p.37

²⁶¹ See, Dawood, *The Real Commentary*, p.186-187; see, Yusuf, Ma Zhu, *The Guidance To Islam*, p.36; see, Salih, *The Shariah of Islam*, p.29

Chapter 2.3 Jesuits' Integration of Confucian Life

When Matteo Ricci was in India, he had an opinion that local converts should study theology of Catholicism, so that they could work with local people²⁶². With the ambition of preaching the Gospels among Chinese people, Jesuits overcame all the difficulties they met in China.²⁶³

The Jesuits realized that if they wanted to stay and survive in the land of Confucianism, they had to study Chinese language and culture first. As such Chinese center was set up in Macao as soon as the Portuguese entered there. The local Chinese government was not happy about it, perhaps feeling the western interest in their language was for some sinister purposes. Perhaps one of the reasons for mistrust was the behavior of the western colonists during the Ming dynasty when pillage and piracy by the western colonists provoked fear and anger. Raising the fear in 1583, the government of Canton issued a public notice that condemned the locals in Macao who helped foreign priests studying Chinese language as criminals. It threatened heavy punishment for those who breached the directive and claimed these priests wanted to enter the mainland China with an intention to cause trouble²⁶⁴.

After they entered China, the priests sought the attention of the Emperor for they understood his consent was needed to operate in the country. They wanted an official permission to operate the country, a similar arrangement that the Hui Hui Muslims possessed. For that purpose, Matteo Ricci overcame many difficulties during his way to entering the Forbidden City. He realized that, without the permission of the Emperor, the conversion of common people in a large number was dangerous for Jesuit priests.²⁶⁵ Instead of seeking attention via loud voices, the Jesuits in China focused their work on high class noble people and paid much more attention to cultural accommodation of the converts.

²⁶² See. Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p.5,p.96-97

²⁶³ See, *ibid*,p.43

²⁶⁴ See, Zhou Pingping, *The Catholicism Dispersing*,p.37

²⁶⁵ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p.125

In 1583, M. Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci reached Zhaoqing, Canton province. They disguised themselves as Chinese. They shaved their heads, wore robes as Buddhist monks and took Chinese names. They claimed that have come from Tianzhu (天竺 name of the place referring to India).²⁶⁶ The locals saw them as Buddhist monks and accommodated them in a Buddhist temple where they lived with Buddhist monks for quite some time until the governor Wang Ban built them a separate residence called “Xian Hua Si (仙花寺 Temple of Fairy Flower)”. When they found out that Buddhist monks were not respected by the people due to their poor education,²⁶⁷ Jesuits turned their sight to a new direction of intergrating Chinese traditions with their teachings. They selected the Confucianism as their base to work on.

After more than ten years of his stay in Canton, Matteo Ricci understood way forward for the Jesuits in China was to gain a respectable position as members of the Confucian society for the later preaching of Catholicism. After that, they could gradually to modify the Confucianism with the teachings of Catholicism. As a part of his plan, Matteo Ricci, apart from studying the Confucian literature, paid great attention to cultivate personal links with Confucian scholars. His friend Cui Taisu, a former Confucian officer from Changshu (a place near Nanjing) who had good knowledge in Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism advised him that he should take off the Buddhist gropes and put on clothes of Confucian literati when he was in Shaozhou, Canton province. After obtaining the permission from the Visitor Alexandre Valignani, Matteo Ricci wore Confucian elite dresses of “Ju Ren (举人 the holder of master degree in the west)”, when he was on his way to Nanchang in 1595. Besides changing his attire, Matteo Ricci wrote an article *On Friendship* in a very fine Chinese when he stayed in Nanchang, to express his keenness for making friends with the Chinese. His writing style attracted attention of the educated Confucians. So did his western technical instruments like triangular prisms or the map of the world. He made public claims of his love for the Chinese people and his pursuit for friendship for he admired the highly civilized Chinese culture and civilization²⁶⁸. No doubt, such as articulation was seen in consonance with the traditional concept “Zhong Guo, i.e. China was center of the world”. This greatly pleased the Chinese. His writings supported by a

²⁶⁶Tianzhu (天竺) Was a holy land to the common Chinese Buddhists due to the famous Pilgrim of Xuanzang in early Tang dynasty.

²⁶⁷ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p.15

²⁶⁸ See Bernarrd, Vol.1. p188

strong memory and a cultivated demeanour endeared him to the people of Nanchang . Soon, he gained a place for residence that was turned into a center for evangelizing work in this area.²⁶⁹

1. Jesuits' Integration of Confucianism

By the time he arrived in Canton, Matteo Ricci gained much knowledge about the Chinese culture and society. He was fully aware of the fact that the Confucian Scriptures were the only orthodox that dictated the authority and opinion and that the Confucian literati strongly believed that the life code taught by Confucian Books was the best, worthy of no new inquiry or beliefs. Matteo Ricci captured this through several entries in his *Diary* and *Letters* testifying this blind confidence that they were the most civilized people and the superiority of the Confucianism thought and legacy.

Matteo Ricci soon realized that improbability of spreading a faith among the Chinese, because the *Law of Ming* prohibited the spreading of any heresy. There were strict regulations in the *Da Ming Hui Dian* (大明会典 the General Law and Regulations of Ming) that the religious gatherings, practices, and forming associations without the permission of the government were not allowed and the ones who violated the regulations would earn severe punishment of one hundred stick beatings or exile to one thousand and five hundred kilometers away.

Matteo Ricci recognized that in order to preach Catholic faith, it was not only to obtain a permission from the Emperor, but also important to build close relations with the Confucianism. The integration of Catholicism with Confucian traditions was necessary for proselytizing.

On his way to Nanchang in 1595, Matteo Ricci changed his robes to that of Confucian scholar gaining entry into the local Confucian literati. He gained local popularity for his knowledge about Confucius Books and good command of the language. The Confucian literati gave him unprecedented respect as they called him “Li Zi 利子” as “the Master”, as they called “Kong Zi(孔子 Confucius)”.

²⁶⁹ See Jiang Wenhan, *The Jesuits in Ming-Qing China*, p.12-19.

The process of Catholic integration with Confucianism would be concluded as the different degree of operations towards the Confucianism as mentioned by the anti-Catholic activists. Firstly, they accepted the classical Confucian Books generally and tried to give their own explanations in light of Catholic faith, and meanwhile, rejected some explanations of some popular scholars in Song-Ming dynasties, i.e. Neo-Confucianism. So, they talked about the common points between the Catholic teachings and the Confucianism, which was called in Chinese “Fu Ru or He Ru (附儒 或合儒 Chiming in with Confucianism). Secondly, they complemented the insufficient teachings in Confucianism, called “Bu Ru (补儒 Supplement of Confucianism) in Chinese. For that purpose, a lot of books and articles were written by the Jesuits and the Chinese converts.

In order to find common ethical ground, Matteo Ricci led a deep exploration of the pondered the Confucianism and the teachings of Catholicism carefully. He highlighted the similarities between the concept of “Ren (仁 the Benevolence)” in Confucianism and the concept of “Ai (爱 Love)” in Catholicism. In his book *The True Meaning of Lord of the Heaven*, Matteo Ricci stressed the likeness of the two concepts. He observed that “ ‘Ren’ in Confucius means loving of others ...The person who has ‘Ren’ is the one who loves the Lord of the Heaven and the people.”²⁷⁰ In his another treatise *Twenty-Five Sayings* written in Nanjing during 1599-1600, He observed that “the Great “Ren” lies in the love of ‘Shang Di’ who created everything and put ‘Ren’ in the heart of human being, so that human may follow His order and perform “Ren” each other. In this article, he applied other four terms of Confucian ethics like “ Yi (Righteousness)”, “Li(Propriety)”, “Zhi(Wisdom)” and “Xin (Fidelity)” to describe the Catholic beliefs and rituals.

Contrast to Matteo Ricci’s inventive interpretations, the concept of ‘Ren’ in Confucianism is quite different from ‘Love’ in Catholicism. The basis of ‘Ren’ in Confucianism is the human intellect and the basis of ‘Love’ in Catholicism is the faith of believing in the existence of God. Matteo Ricci conveniently mixed the two interpretations to reconcile the concept of Catholic ‘Love’ with the Confucian thinking. Hui Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature also applied the term of ‘Ren’ in Confucianism to

²⁷⁰ See, Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of Lord of Heaven*, Chapter Seven.

describe one of the names of Allah. Arrahman was translate into Chinese as ‘Zhi Ren (至仁的 the Most Beneficiary)’.

2. Jesuits’ Against Buddhism and Taoism

When Jesuits entered India, they enter counted with a new religion and its followers: Hinduism and Hindus. Surely, Buddhism was another new religion encountered by Jesuits when they moved into Far East like in Japan and a few decades later Macao. Most of their experiences with Buddhism and Buddhists came from those who worked in Japan like Alessandro Vilignano. So far, there is no evidence –empirical anecdotal – to suggest that the Jesuits studied the Scriptures of Buddhism in Chinese language in the first decades of their arrival at Macao. By the time Michale Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci entered Zhaoqing in 10th September, 1583 wearing robes of Buddhist monks and staying in Buddhist temple, they had plenty of knowledge about Buddhism in China. After settling down in Zhaoqing, the young and erudite Matteo Ricco got ample chances to learn about the practices of Chinese Buddhism prevalent at that time. Soon, they found that the Confucian Classics and scholars were more respected in the Chinese society. They soon changed their direction of work, i.e. studying Chinese Confucian Books and tried to understand the mentality of Chinese people, and found out a better way to communicate with them.

In order to decrease the influences of Buddhism and increase the currency of Christianity among Confucian intellectuals and officers, Matteo Ricci started to attack the Chinese Buddhism openly. It was recorded that before he entered the Forbidden City of Beijing, he made a lot of Chinese friends including government officers and Confucian intellectuals in the area of Nanjing. When Matteo Ricci was in Nanjing, his former friend, a Confucian scholar, Cui Taisu, introduced him to many Confucian literati there. Matteo Ricci was invited by friends to a gathering in the winter of 1599. A very famous Buddhist master and his pupils were also invited there. This was a religious debate between Matteo Ricci and the Buddhist master, arranged intentionally by Chinese friends of Matteo Ricci. About forty high Confucian officers and intellectuals were present there. The topic of this debate was about the existence of Creator. Matteo Ricci made a simple example from daily life and made the Buddhist mater embarrassed in front of all people. A senior officer of Ming government Li Zhi (李贽), a famous

scholar of Confucianism, a Buddhist as well at that time, listened to the debate silently. Though Li Zhi was born in a Hui Hui Muslim family in Quanzhou, Fujian province, there was no any evidence to show the Li Zhi was a practising Muslim. Contrast to that, he agreed with many some Buddhist thought of certain schools at that time. Though he was a famous scholar of Confucianism, he disliked the godless based Neo-Confucianism. Perhaps, the strong evidences of existence of Creator in the universe attracted him and reminded him of the Islamic Taoheed of his family teachings. Li Zhi's admiration for Matteo Ricci and his work made Matteo Ricci known within the Muslims in Nanjing area. After that, he met with Matteo Ricci many times in Nanjing and in Jiling, Shandong province. Except the Confucianism which Matteo Ricci knew well, Islam, Buddhism and Taoism were present in Nanjing²⁷¹.

For the Jesuits posterity in China, Matteo Ricci pave the way for the “integration of Confucianism against Buddhism” in his book of *The True Meaning of Lord of Heaven* (天主实义 Tian Zhu Shi Yi) published in Beijing in 1603. He justified it as thus: “though the Confucianism did not talk about the Super Nature, the ethics of Confucianism was the same as the Catholicism ...I did not criticize the Confucianism but employed it, in the very beginning, to attack the other two religion s of idols worshipping (Buddhism and Taoism).I used to explain those teachings in Confucianism that contradicted with our faith...If we attack the three in one time, we would be in big trouble. But I should not give up any chance, to refute the claims of some modern Confucian literati which were not compatible to the classics.”²⁷² Such practices of cultural accommodation were followed and further refined by many Jesuits and Chinese converts. After Matteo Ricci, Buddhism and Taoism were continuously criticized by many other Jesuits and Chinese converts.

In order to gain respectable social positions in Confucian society and while simultaneously work to decrease the influence of Buddhism among Chinese, the early Jesuits in China started to criticize Buddhism harshly and openly. After the formerly mentioned open debate of Matteo Ricci with a very famous Buddhist monk in Nanjing in the winter of 1599, a senior

²⁷¹ See, Li Junping, the Meetings of Li Zhi with Matteo Ricci, Journal of National Literature Studies, Vol.1,2010

²⁷² See,R.P.Bernard,The Bibliography of Matteo Ricci, p.225

Chinese government officer Xu Guangqi²⁷³ converted who adopted Paul as his Christian name. He joined the new religion at the hand of Matteo Ricci, and he concluded the general characteristics of the work of Jesuits in China as “supplementing Confucianism and against Buddhism”.

Another important factor which resulted in the successes of Matteo Ricci’s preaching in China was his rich knowledge about Chinese late Ming society and the academic tides at that time. Matteo Ricci stayed in Nanchang and Nanjing for a long period before he entered the Forbidden City. The multiple culture and academic freedom²⁷⁴ of this area attracted Matteo Ricci, which perhaps was one of the reasons that he could attack the Neo-Confucianism in his book of *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*.

The fact that *The Ten Admonitory* was translated firstly into Chinese by M. Ruggieri after they arrived at Macao would explain the early Jesuits tried to advance the common ground between their proselyting and the Chinese traditions. The publication also revealed their eagerness of Jesuits as notices within Buddhist monks. M. Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci had many troubles in Canton with the people and local government during their staying in Zhaoqing and Shaozhou of Canton province during 1583-1596.

In the beginning, Matteo Ricci was very careful to avoid any clash with the teachings of Confucianism openly and avoid any potential troubles. During this period, he placed the teachings of Catholicism within the framework of Confucianism. The guideline of ‘*San Gang* (三纲 the Three Cardinal Guides)’, ‘*Wu Chang* (五常 the Five Constant Virtues)’ and ‘*Wu Lun* (五伦 the Five Ethic Relations)’ in Confucianism was put in consideration of Matteo Ricci. For example, Matteo Ricci, in his book of *The True Meaning of Lord of the Heaven*, did use Biblical material or Catholic theology to support his idea. Instead he borrowed heavily from Confucian classics and other intellectual evidences which were familiar to

²⁷³ Xu Guangqi (徐光启 1562-1633), came from Shanghai. In the spring of 1600, he met with Matteo Ricci in Nanjing, and listened to his preaching of Catholicism. When Matteo Ricci went to Beijing, Xu was baptized by Lazare Cattaneo and was named Paul.

the minds of Chinese. At the same time, he omitted many basic teachings and rituals of Catholicism which did not concord with the moral teachings of Confucianism. Two noted Confucian literati ‘Jin Shi(进士 the owner of Ph.d degree)’ like Feng Jing and Xu Guangqi agreed with Matteo Ricci and wrote prefaces for Matteo Ricci’s that book.

After Sheng Que’s *Imperial Memory of anti-Catholics to the Throne* in 1616, Xu Guangqi also wrote a famous *Imperial Memory to the Throne* in which he made rich claims that the teachings of Catholicism were almost similar to that of Confucianism. He wrote that “ the people of the Catholic countries, all ‘Xiu Shen (修身 to make oneself morally perfect)’ and serve ‘Tian Zhu(天主 the Lord of the Heaven)’, and the aim of Chinese saints was also to ‘Xiu Shen’ and serve the ‘Tian’. So, there was no difference between the two.”²⁷⁵

The fact that Matteo Ricci omitted many basic teachings of Catholic in his book of *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* could be explained that he chimed in with Confucianism. Actually, the Five Ethical Principles in Confucianism were based on relations of human being while God was the only authority in the ethical system of Catholicism. The criteria of conduct of human being is based on the relationship with one another, not in the faith system. For example, the belief in Catholicism that a person of same faith i.e. Christianity was dearer than his real brother was not acceptable in Confucianism; and the story of Ibrahim (A.S.) sacrificed his son for the sake of Divine Will could not be understood by Confucian Chinese. The unmarried life of priests of Jesuits and their royal to Papacy than the Emperor, the illegality of multiple marriages²⁷⁶, etc. were turned down by the ethics of Confucianism. Paul Xu Guangqi was openly advocating his thoughts that saw complementary between Catholic teachings and to Confucianism: ‘... Catholicism talks about the salvation of the human soul that the one who does good work will enter the Paradise and the one who comittes sins will go to the Hell’. According to Xu Guangqi, the main reason of moral degradation in the Confucian societies was due to lack of believing in the unseen power in Confucianism. The

²⁷⁵ See, Xu Guangqi, *Bian Xue Zhang Shu* (辨学章疏)

²⁷⁶ The multiple marriages were allowed in the Confucianism. Many Chinese were refused to be baptized by the Jesuit priests due to this reason.

Buddhism failed to figure it out and hence cure it. So, the Catholicism could help the Confucianism to realize better social orders as in the west countries.²⁷⁷

In order to not contradict with the teachings of Confucianism and explain the unmarried life of the priests, Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits wrote variously that their intention of adopting such kind of life was not an obligatory duty for all the Catholics, but they chose it circumvent the troubles of long traveling, so that they could devote themselves to their work. Considering the prime importance of parents in the ethical framework of Confucianism, Matteo Ricci invented a Chinese catholic term of 'Da Fu Mu (大父母 the Great Father and Mother)' referring to God in Catholicism.²⁷⁸ The Chinese convert Yang Tingjun explained and frequently referred in his writings.

3. Acquaintances with Confucian Literati

Matteo Ricci classified the Confucianism into two parts: the Classical Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism. He believed that certain elements of revelation such as the Creator, the punishment after death, and eternity of human soul, etc. etched in those Classical Confucian Scriptures. The Neo-Confucianism was corrupted into idolworship or atheism due to lack of such elements. He did not outrightly reject Neo-Confucianism as he did with Taoism and Buddhism. He thought that the Neo-Confucians could accept Catholic thoughts if they realized the concepts of Creator, which was already present in their Classical Scriptures. Therefore, he considered the Neo-Confucianism as a philosophical school or a set of rules to govern the country. So, a Neo-Confucian literati could be at the same time a Catholic.

Matteo Ricci also knew well that in the late Ming dynasty, some Confucian literati started their negative thinking towards the orthodoxy ideology of Confucianism. They started to look at Confucianism with doubt and believed that the inflexible form of Confucianism was

²⁷⁷ See, Xu Guangqi, *Bian Xue Zhang Shu* (辨学章疏)

²⁷⁸ See, Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of Lord of Heaven*.

responsible for the social problems of China at that time. There were many academic groups in south-east China of Nanjing and its surrounding areas. The free academic discussions among the different groups were there. The appearance of Dongling Party was an example of such trend of thought. Matteo Ricci was fully aware of this trend of thought among the Confucian scholars. His Catholic thought influenced many Confucian scholars who took part in this movement of disforming Confucianism with his Catholic point of view. The 'Donglin Academics or Donglin Part' who advocated social and political reforms was very active in that time. With the help of some important members of 'Donglin Party' who worked at the Imperial court of Wanli, Matteo Ricci could remain in Beijing. Later on, all the three pillars of Catholics in China, Paul Xu Guangqi, Li Zhicao and Yang Tingjun had very close relationship with the 'Donglin Party'. Aleni's 'San Shan Lun Xue (the Discussions about Catholicism in San Shan)' recorded his theological discussions between him and Yie Xianggao, a senior member of 'Donglin Party'. The later at last did not accept Catholicism due to the unintelligible issues of Trinity and Incarnation, etc. The suspicions towards their own traditions among some Confucian literati were increased in late Ming dynasty. Jesuits' policy of supplement of Confucianism or rejection of Neo-Confucianism contributed to that doubt points of view towards Confucianism also.²⁷⁹

For example, Matteo Ricci's induction of the world map to the Confucian scholars in every place was a big step to shake the confidence of Chinese towards their cultural heritage. It was a preface of spreading 'Tian Xue (天学 the Studies of Catholic Theology)' among Chinese in the later period. The Fathers of Jesuits paid great attention to learning Chinese language, culture, traditions as early as they were in Macao. Many Fathers of Jesuits mastered Chinese language and knew well the Chinese culture.²⁸⁰ After Matteo Ricci entered China, he not only continued his studies of Confucian Classics, but translated some of them into Latin language also. In 1596, he wrote a letter to the General of the Society of Jesus, in which Matteo Ricci told him that he could be able to use Chinese to express whatever he wanted²⁸¹. They even used the Confucian literati

²⁷⁹ See, Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue.

²⁸⁰ See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.73

²⁸¹ See, *ibid*, p.90

tittles to call themselves like ‘Jinshi (进士 the owner of Ph.D. degree)’ so that they could easily make friends with the Chinese Confucian scholars and officers. In his *Diary*, Matteo Ricci even wrote many pages about the Imperial Examination system in China, which was the only way for the Chinese government selecting officials of the government. Matteo Ricci compared the three degrees of ‘Xiu Cai (秀才)’, ‘Ju Ren (举人)’ and ‘Jin Shi (进士)’ with the academic degrees in the western countries. He concluded that they were equal to the degrees of Bachelor, Master and Phd. in the west.

when sitting with Confucian literati, Matteo Ricci had to firstly deal with the ‘Five Virtures’ or the Five Ethic relations in Confucianism, i.e. ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and young brother, and friend and friend. But we found him focusing only on the relation of friend and friend and avoided talking about the rest. In this way, he could run away from the conflicts between Catholicism and Confucianism on those issues. He talked about it largely the importance on his article *On Friendship*, after he changed his outlook into a Confucian scholar in Nanchang in 1595. He stressed that the relationship between friends was also one of the Five Relations in Confucianism after ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and young brother. Matteo Ricci did not forget to please the Chinese by saying that he had admired the great civilization of China for long. He used many mottoes of Greeks and did not forget his mission by stating that making friends was one of the orders of ‘Shang Di (上帝 God)’ that ‘Shang Di’ created two eyes, two ears, two hands, two feet for everyone, He also made the two friends to help each other. Martino Martini continued this tradition of Matteo Ricci and wrote another famous article of *Seeking for Friendship* when he was in Zhejiang province in 1647. He used many materials from the famous works of Cicero, Seneca and P. Scibani, verified the value of friendship and the proper behaviors between friends. The Chinese were impressed by his words and actions that he traveled so far and overcame so many hardships just for making friends with Chinese.

The acquaintance of Matteo Ricci with Li Zhi perhaps was one of the examples of such category. The famous religious debate between Matteo

Ricci and the Buddhist monk was held in residence of a high officer of the government in Nanjing in the end of 1599. Among those audience, a famous Confucian officer of high rank Li Zhi (李贄) was present, and he listened to the debate silently. Li Zhi was born in a Muslim family in Quanzhou, Fujian province, where was one of the most important Chinese port for international business in Song and Yuan dynasties. The famous Arab Travaler Ibn Batuta visited this city in 1346 and called it *Madinah Alzaitoon* (the City of Olive).He mentioned in his book that it was the biggest port in the world. He mentioned also that there were a lot of foreign Muslim traders from different countries of Arab, Persian and Central Asia were living there at that time.Among them, there were scholars of Qazi and Hafiz Quran.²⁸² The mosque of Qing Jing (清淨寺) there was built around 1350.Due to many factors, the numbers of Muslims in Quanzhou gradually decreased. Buddhism dominated this area and most descendants of the Muslims gradually became idol worshippers. According some sources, one of the forefathers of Li Zhi came to Quanzhou in the end of Yuan dynasty from central China and one of his offsprings became sailor. He travelled to Persian and married a Muslim woman there. They came back and settled down in Quanzhou. In the time of Li Zhi's father, the family had little to do with Islamic culture.

Li Zhi was educated as Confucian literati firstly, and then stayed in Buddhist temple as monk. At last, he started attack Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism harshly. It is probably that Li Zhi and Matteo Ricci benefited academicy each other. Matteo Ricci mentioned him many times in his *Diary* and *Correspondence*. Li Zhi also mentioned Matteo Ricci with admiration of Matteo Ricci's personality in his book of "*Ji Fen Shu*(继焚书 The Continuation of Scripture Burning)". Li Zhi met with Matteo Ricci many times after the debate in Nanjing and in Jiling²⁸³. And he was so much astonished about the good knowledge of Matteo Ricci in Chinese classics. He wrote that "he lived in the south of China more than twenty years²⁸⁴ and read all our classics...I never met such an intelligent

²⁸² See,Ibn Batuta,The Travel Notes,p.399

²⁸³ See, Li Junping, the Meetings of Li Zhi with Matteo Ricci, Journal of National Literature Studies, Vol.1,2010

²⁸⁴ It would be a mistake. Matteo Ricci entered Zhaoqing with M.Rugggieri around 1583 and he met Li Zhi before he entered Beijing in Jan. 1601.

person before...”²⁸⁵ . Li Zhi was famous for his critising the rigid Neo-Confucianism in the late period of his life. No doubt, his strong emotion of against Neo-Confucianism was inspired mostly by Matteo Ricci or perhaps partly by his Islamic family backgroud²⁸⁶ .

In his *Diary* and *Correspondence*, we may notice that Matteo Ricci was very busy every day for meeting with those Confucucian scholars .In order to have more effect on local Chinese people, Matteo Ricci selected candidates of conversts who had better cultural qualifications among native Chinese converts. Many converts were famous Confucian scholars or high officers²⁸⁷ on the Imperial Court. Paul Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizhao and Yan Tingjun were three famous Chinese Confucian scholars and became three pillars of Catholicism soon after their conversion. Those Chinese converts not only translate books into Chinese or wrote books themselves in every field, but also helped Jesuits to revise their books and articles in Chinese.

Matteo Ricci entered Jiangxi province wearing his new clothes and hat of ‘Ju Ren (举人 the owner of master degree)’²⁸⁸ .With this respectful title of ‘Ju Ren’ and good knowledge in Chinese, Matteo Ricci obtained great fame among the Chinese officials and literati, wherever he went in the country.In Nanchang, Matteo Ricci started to live like a Confucian literati. He sit on the sedan going here and there, meeting with noble people and exchanging gifts with them.He made his residence a gathering place and received there local Chinese as friends. Instead of openly preaching Catholicism, he made his residence an academic center or exhibition hall of map of the world, books, printings and other attractive things from the west. He had to receive daily massive guests and discussed various issues with them. He was accepted by Chinese literati due to his excellent knowledge

²⁸⁵ See, Li Zhi, Xu Hunshu, Vol.1, p91-92

²⁸⁶ Li Zhi died later in Beijing, and he left his will of raping his body with white clothes (Kafan) as his family’s tradition. Some modern Chinese Muslim scholars held the opinion that Li Zhi died as a Muslim. Allah knows the best.

²⁸⁷ See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.166

²⁸⁸ In Ming dynasty, there were official restrictions for the colors and styles of the clothes of the officials, so that people could easily recognize their status according to the clothes. Matteo Ricci described his Chinese cloth in many occasions in his ‘Diary’ and ‘Correspondence’. We may judge from his descriptions of dark purple color, that he wore the cloth of ‘Ju Ren (举人 the holder of master degree)’.

in Chinese traditions and a respectable title of ‘Tai Xi Ru Si (泰西儒士 the Confucian from the West)’ was given to him. In Beijing, he extended his circle of friendship to the Imperial Court and earned the high fame from the literati. They started to call him ‘Li Jin Shi (利进士 Dr. Ricci)’, a high title given to only those who passed the imperial examinations.²⁸⁹ For many years, Matteo Ricci had been the teacher of mathematics for Dr. Paul Xu Guangqi, and it would not be proper in the eyes of Chinese if the teacher of ‘Jing Shi’ had no title of ‘Jing Shi’. The honorable title of ‘Li Jin Shi’ represented the acceptance of Chinese literati towards the new knowledge brought by Jesuits. These new knowledge were composed of, except sciences of various fields, the Catholic teachings. Of course, in the beginning, these Catholic teachings were packed by Matteo Ricci with the packing of Confucianism. With the passage of time, the differences between the two became apparent gradually, and the Catholic teachings were described by the Jesuits as the complement of Confucianism. Instead of further confusion, a term of ‘Tian Xue(天学 the Study of the West or Catholicism)’ which was opposite to ‘Ru Xue (儒学 Confucianism)’ was developed. The conversion of many Chinese literati of high class strengthened the base of Catholicism in China. Three Chinese converts Paul Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizhao and Yang Tingjun played very important roles in spreading Catholicism and western sciences in China. The above practices of Matteo Ricci were continued by J. Aleni in Fujian province. The local Confucian literati were so highly impressed by his excellent knowledge of Confucian Classics that he was titled by the local Confucian literati in Fujian province as ‘Xi Lai Kong Zi (西来孔子 the Confucius from the West)’, a title even not given to Matteo Ricci.

Comparing with the numbers of Chinese converts, Matteo Ricci paid more attention to candidates’ qualifications of intellectuals. He selected some qualified persons and concentrated working on them. Some Chinese scholars did a research about the Confucian literati with whom Matteo Ricci had relation. Matteo Ricci lived in Canton, Jiangxi, Nanjing and Beijing for about twenty eight years. He was acquainted with one hundred

²⁸⁹ The title of ‘Jin Shi(进士)’ was found firstly in the article of Feng Yingjing(冯应京).

and twenty-nine Confucian scholars.²⁹⁰ So did J.Aleni in Fujian province. They knew well that in the Chinese society, majority of common people did not think too much and they used to follow the thought of their scholars or government officers. The government officers were usually selected from the examinations of Confucian Scriptures. Matteo Ricci made his mind that, from long term, Confucians could be the best media for Jesuits to transfer the Catholicism to common Chinese.

Unlike the upper class preaching policy of Matteo Ricci, Father Nicolas Longgobardi (1559-1654 龙华民) preferred to working on common Chinese people. He thought Matteo Ricci's ways of cultural accommodation was just wasting time only.

4. Introduction of 'Tian Xue (天学 the Studies of the Heaven)'

The Society of Jesus used to pay great attention to its members professional qualifications, not only in the field of theological studies, but also in the field of science and technologies. For example, Matteo Ricci himself studied with the great German mathematician Clavius who was named the Euclid of 16th century before he came to the east and later he learnt how to make clocks, mechanics and printing of books when he was in India.²⁹¹ When he came to China, he studied the Chinese printing. He even recorded the Chinese way of printing in details in his *Diary*. He was kept by the Emperor Wanli in the Palace of Beijing as a clock repairer only. Sciences and technologies were applied by Jesuits as useful tools to get close to local people and the Emperor, because the Confucianism did not pay any attention to them. As the faithful defenders, Jesuits would never inform Chinese the reality of the autocratic Church in Europe of Dark Ages that it rejected any modern science or scientific hypothesis if it contradicted with the views of the Catholic theologians, and that Papacy had executed Bruno openly in Rome when he held the Copernicus theory that the Sun, instead of the Earth, was the center of the universe, and that they put Galileo in trial when he discovered the imperfectness of the Moon, instead of a perfect body as the Catholic Fathers claimed, etc. That Kepler's theory of planets moved in ellipses not in circles as the Church

²⁹⁰ See, Wu Liwei, *When the Ark Met with Fuxi*, Chapter One

²⁹¹ See, R.P. Henri Bernard, *The Bibliography of Matteo Ricci*, p.50.

said was published only after his death, because he was afraid of the persecution of the Church.

In the late of Ming dynasty, there were many social problems. Many Confucian scholars were tired of the rigidity of Neo-Confucianism. They longed for new thoughts so that the society would be better. The establishment and flourishing of Wang Yangming's philosophical school which focused on "the Study of Hearts" in the period of emperor Wanli was a great threaten towards the orthodoxy Neo-Confucianism. Some of followers even went to the extrem that they rejected totally Neo-Confucianism openly. Li Zhi was one of the most important members of this sect (Taizhou School 泰州学派), who met Matteo Ricci three times, in in Nanjing and Jining. The establishment of Donglin Academy by Gu Xiancheng (顾宪成 1550-1612), a former high officer on the imperial court, in Wuxi (a place not far from Nanjing) around 1595. The Donglin Academy attracted a lot of scholars and politicians, who discussed the hot issues of the country. Many members of Donglin had very important posts in the court of emperor Wanli and his successors. Matteo Ricci and Paul Xu Guangqi had very close relationship with many members of Donglin members.

The above certain social and polical environments in the late Ming dynasty, perhaps offered a good chance for Matteo Ricci implementing his cultural accommodation among some Confucian literati. In the eyes of those Confucian scholars, comparing with Confucianism, the 'Tian Xue (天学 Catholic Theology plus Sciences and Technologies)' introduced by Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits Fathers was more useful and beneficial for the country and its people. The Confucian high officer Paul Xu Guangqi was a sincere person and he was very fond of Matteo Ricci's 'Tian Xue' which combined the theology of Catholicism and modern sciences and technologies. The term of 'Tian Xue' became a synonym of Catholic theology in the books of later Jesuits while sciences and technologies had no place in it in late period. For example, Joachim Bouvet gave a tile for his book in Catholic theology with 'Tian Xue Ben Yi (天学本义 the Original Meaning of the Study of Theology)' in 1703.

In Europe, India etc., Jesuits had a tradition of working with kings and noble people. They though that those people were respectful in the eyes of

people, and had more influence on local people. When Matteo Ricci stayed in Gua, India in 1580, the Society of Jesus sent two delegations to the King Akbar, with great hope that the King will accept Catholic faith. But, they returned back to Gua disappointedly²⁹². When Alexandre Valignini reached Macao, he had also the opinion that it was necessary to get support from Chinese Emperor so that the work of spreading of Gospels could be properly progressed in mainland China. Michel Rugeiri was sent to Rome in 1588 for requesting the Pope of sending a high delegation from Rome to the Chinese Emperor.

After entering mainland of China, Matteo Ricci considered how to enter the Palace of the Emperor in the Forbidden City. He thought that the Jesuits' work in China would never be succeeding, if they did not get permission from the Emperor in the 'Forbidden City'.²⁹³ Before starting his journey to Beijing during 1595-1596, Matteo Ricci wrote to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, stating that: 'If we can't reach the two capitals Nanjing and Beijing²⁹⁴ and explain our evangelization work in front of the Emperor, then we will not completely succeed.'²⁹⁵

In order to enter the 'Forbidden City', Matteo Ricci worked very hard. With the intention of evangelizing the Emperor²⁹⁶, Matteo Ricci acted like an attributors as the foreign Muslim traders did always and started his journey to Beijing. He brought with special gifts, like a automatic ringing clock, three pieces of European oil paintings, some other religious paintings, some articles of glasses, a prayer booklet and a piece of musical instrument²⁹⁷. The Chinese Emperor Wanli liked the automatic ringing

²⁹² See, R.P. Henri Bernard, *The Bibliography*, p.50

²⁹³ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p.64

²⁹⁴ Nanjing was the first capital when the Ming established in 1369. In 1420's, Ming government shifted its capital to Beijing. But some government departments still remained in Nanjing.

²⁹⁵ See, Bernard, Vol.1,p and See Jiang Wenhan, *the Jesuits in Ming-Qing China*,p.11.

²⁹⁶ See, See Harman, P.C., *the Brief History of the Society of Jesus*, p.32-36.

²⁹⁷ See, *Life of the Society of Jesus in The Biographies China (1552-1773) and their Books (Notices Biographiquee p. Louis Pfister, the Biographies of the Society of Jesus et Bibliographiques Sur les Jesuit's de L'aneienne Mission De Chine 1552-1773)*, translator of Chinese Feng Zhengjun, Beijing,China Book Town,1995, Vol.1, p.38

clock the most. Matteo Ricci was called into the 'Forbidden City' whenever the clock was out of order. He thus stayed in the capital beside the Palace as a royal clockmaker and made his residence a center for the Jesuits in China. The residence of Matteo Ricci became the first center of Jesuits in Beijing.

They selected the field of astronomy as they planned so in the time of Matteo Ricci. Matteo Ricci taught Paul Xu Guangqi not only Catholic theology, but also mathematics and technology of irrigation of Europe. According to the teachings of Matteo Ricci, Paul Xu Guangqi wrote two famous books in Han Chinese, one was on mathematics "几何原理" and another on irrigation "泰西水法". After the death of Matteo Ricci, many Memorials to the Throne of applying the western astronomers were sent to the Wanli Emperor through the Chinese converts Paul Xu Guangqi and Zhi Zhizao before 1614. At last, Father John Adam Schall (1592-1666 汤若望) was hired by the imperial court as a scientist in 1621. At that time, Tatar in the north-east of China was a big danger to the Ming dynasty. Paul Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao further suggested the Ming government to buy cannons from Portugal in Macao. John Adam Schall became the supervisor to train the Chinese how to use and make cannons. A Christian Chinese officer named Sun Yuanhua (孙元化) was trained by the Jesuits and performed well to defeat the Tatar by using those cannons in 1626 and secured the safety of the capital. Sun Yuanhua was heavily awarded by the emperor Tianqi. The Jesuits got the favor of the imperial court.

Another German Jesuit astronomer Schreck Terrenz (邓玉函)²⁹⁸, was employed by the Emperor for making the calendar. Schreck Terrenz was a famous scientist in Germany of various fields like medicine, philosophy and mathematics. He had preached in Hangzhou since he entered China in 1621. In September 1629, he was hired by the emperor Congzhen working in the Imperial Observatory for making a better calendar. Since then, due to the different ways of observations and calculations, the Imperial Observatory was divided into three sections: the Chinese traditional way, the Hui Hui Muslims' way and the Western Jesuits' way. Due to more accurate in the calculation of the Sun eclipse, the Jesuits' astronomers

²⁹⁸ Schreck Terrenz (Terentio 1576-1630) was a friend of Galileo and Kepler, who came to China in 1621

gradually got upper hand in the Imperial Observatory and almost monopolizing the post of the director of Calendar Department and the Imperial Observatory between 1629 to 1775 for more than one hundred and fifty years. John Adam Schall (汤若望), Ferdinand Verbiest (南怀仁), a Belgian Father, worked as astronomers in the Imperial Observatory, mending the Chinese Calendar and making new one according to the west calculations or making cannons.

Jean Francisco Gerbillon (张诚)²⁹⁹ and Joachim Bouvert (白晋) worked with the Emperor Kangxi in the fields of Mathematics, Geometry, Chemistry and Medicines, etc. The later two Jesuits even learnt the native language of Emperor Kangxi, the Manchurian. The books of Mathematics of 'Eulide' were also translated by them into the language of Manchu. They taught the Emperor Kangxi Mathematics of 'Eulide' in Manchurian language. Jean Francisco Gerbillon even was appointed by the Emperor as Latin language translator, when the Qing government had negotiations of borders with the government of Russia in the year of 1688. In 1696, Jean Francois Gerbillon and other two Jesuit Fathers accompanied the Emperor of Kangxi to the Muslim area of 'Gardan(葛尔丹 a place of Uighurs, Xinjiang)' for conquest the Muslims. He also used to accompany the Emperor in his inspection tours.

Among those scientists of Jesuits, Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) was most outstanding one. He was a French scientist (in Mathematics), born in Le Mans. He was sent by Emperor Louis XIV to China as a scientist in 1685. He brought with him a lot of scientific instruments. He arrived in Beijing in Feb. 1688 and was kept working in the Imperial Court. He learnt Manchu language soon and taught the Emperor math in Manchu language. Also, a laboratory of Chemistry was established by him in the Palace of Beijing. In 1693A, he was sent as the apostle of the emperor Kangxi to the Emperor of France and the Pope. In March 1699, he came back to China. He had very close relationship with Emperor of Kangxi and wrote many books in Han Chinese on sciences and on Catholic faith. He past away in Beijing in 1730.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹ Jean Francois Gerbillon (1654-1707), from France, came to China in 1687.

³⁰⁰ See, Pftister, The Notices, p.434-440

During this long period, many priests of Jesuits were sent to the Chinese empire from Rome. Many of them became workers and advisors of the Emperors like the Chinese subjects. They served the country as specialists in different fields. During the period of peace in the country, the Jesuits on the Courts were astronomers of calendar makers, doctors, painters, teachers of mathematics and sciences, etc. However, when threat was looming large on the country, they were the engineers of making guns and cannons. John Adam Schall taught Sun Yuanhua the ways of using and making cannons, when the Ming dynasty was in the danger of Tartar in its North-East side. In 1636, a factory of making cannons was set up beside the Palace of Beijing and Adam Schall was the supervisor. The factory manufactured twenty big and many other long cannons. The Emperor of Zongzhen rewarded him with a golden horizontal inscribed board³⁰¹.

Though there was none of those Emperors converted into Christian that was the fact that many of the people in the “Forbidden City” became Christians, especially during the regime of the last Emperor of Zongzhen. After the fall of Ming in 1644, a dynasty of “South Ming” was claimed in the south of China by a former prince from the imperial family, who had very close relationship with Jesuits. Many people, including the Queen, the princes, etc. in the ‘South Ming’ dynasty were baptized³⁰².

It was an astonishing historical fact when the Tartar storm raged over China and Ming dynasty was overthrown, Jesuits avoided the fate of swamping in the inner wars like the Christianity in the end of Mongol regime in 14th century. Jesuits served both the new Manchu rulers and the “South Ming” emperor who tried to keep alive the old dynasty. For example, Adam Schall was highly honored by the emperor of the last emperor of Ming, Chongzhen (1628-1644) due to his work of making the cannons to defeat the Tatar in the end of 1630’s. But when the capital of Ming was taken over by the army of Tartar and the Imperial Palace dilapidated, the Emperor of Chongzhen suicided in 1644, Adam also soon changed his identity quickly from the advisor of last emperor of Ming to the ‘Fama (means tutor or teacher in Manchuria language) of first Emperor of Qing, Shunzhi. He presented the same calendar made in the regime of

³⁰¹. See, Louis Pfister, Notices, p.171

³⁰² See, Chen Cun Fu, A Collection of Essays on Religion and Culture, p.21-23

Congzhen, Ming dynasty to the first Emperor of Qing, by changing only the name of dynasty. The services of Jesuits to the Chinese Emperors reached their zenith in the regime of Emperor Kangxi, Qing dynasty. If the year of Matteo Ricci entering Beijing is taken as the beginning, Jesuits could remain in the “Forbidden City” and China for more than one hundred and fifty years.

With such services in the Imperial Court, Jesuits pushed Hui Hui Muslims and their influences away from the Palace of Emperors. In fact, it would not be something desirable for Matteo Ricci to witness the Hui Hui Muslims’ presence in all over China with great numbers when he was in Canton, Nanjing and Beijing. Matteo Ricci used the word of “Saracens” when Muslims were mentioned in his writings with much envy that those Hui Hui Muslims were native Chinese. The only difference of Hui Hui Muslims with other Chinese was that they did not eat pork as mentioned by Matteo Ricci in His *Diary*. When he was in the south capital city of Nanjing, Matteo Ricci noticed not only the existence of large number of Muslims there and the religious freedom they had. Matteo Ricci was even advised by the Chinese officer in Nanjing that he should find a suitable reason to stay in China as the Muslims did³⁰³. It was well known that Muslim astronomers had helped the Chinese government to make calendars since Yuan dynasty³⁰⁴. In Matteo Ricci’s Memorial to the Throne in the 28th year of Wanli, he pledged himself that he would learn astronomy in his home town and he would serve the Emperor as an astro-officer in China. He mentioned in his *Diary* and *Correspondences* that he wrote to the Superior General of Society of Jesus many times requesting him that some best astronomers should be sent to China from Europe³⁰⁵. Matteo Ricci, in his Memorial to the Throne, did not mention his real intention of spreading Gospels in China, but introduced himself that he was good at the science of astronomy and that he was ready to serve the Emperor. This Memorial was written in the end of 28th year of Wanli in 1601.

³⁰³ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Diary*, p.346

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p.33

³⁰⁵ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p128

Chapter 2.4 Islamic Shariah in Cofucian Society

In the Yuan dynasty, Muslims had very higher social status than majority Han Chinese people. They were only next to the Mongol rulers. A lot of Muslim high officers served the Mongol government in administration, military expeditions against the former South-Song dynasty of Han people in the vast territory of China, science and technology, farming, etc. In this way, Muslims were brought in many areas of mainland China: North-West, Central, and soldiers settled down these places and a lot of Muslims settlements were thus formed in Yuan dynasty. Surely, majority of those Muslims had to marry local Chinese women as their wives, because it was not possible that they could bring families with them during their long journey from Central West Region. It is not difficult for us to image that the family and social life in those Muslim settlements intergrated largely with Chinese local culture.

The founder of Ming dynasty Zhu Yuan Zhang came from a Muslim settlement in Anhui province, and some scholars even held that he was a Muslim actually. A lot of Hui Hui Muslims generals followed him and helped him in establishing the Ming dynasty. The propaganda of Ming's "go back to Han ruling" expressed their full acknowledgement and acceptance towards Han Confucian traditions. Actually, when Nanjing was made as the capital of the new dynasty, a lot of Muslims followed the Ming rulers and settled in it also. It was said thirty percent of total population in Nanjing in that period were Muslims. But, Islamic Shariah perhaps was not known to the people except in mosques and some homes.

Ming dynasty was a secular Confucian dynasty. In order to unite the country and people of different races of the vast land under the Confucian ideology and life code, the Ming government announced the movement of de-foreign culture, which forced all people speaking Han Chinese language , adopting Han Chinese names and wearing Han Chinese clothes, etc. At the same time, Ming government gave all people official registration and accepted everyone as the formal citizen of Ming. All these administration management strengthened the links between Muslims and Han-Chinese Confucian society. Even in Yuan dynasty, as soon as many

Muslims lived in areas of Han Confucian culture, they found out that the merits of Han Chinese culture which encouraged them to learn Han Chinese language and its traditions. The most outstanding example was Sheikh Said Shamsuddin Omar (1211-1279) in Yunnan province. Under such a social environment, the majority of Muslims in China was also facing the danger of assimilation by Han Confucian Culture and lost their Islamic identities. The establishment of Mosque Hall Scripture Education by Sheikh Idrees Hu Dengzhou (1522-1597) was mainly for that purpose of anti-assimilation of Hui Hui Muslims all over China in that period.

For several hundred years, the Muslims who lived in inland areas of China had depended on verbal teachings to pass their religious knowledge to their new generations. It was not possible for Han Chinese to have proper knowledge about Islam except after it was expressed in Han Chinese language with Confucian terminologies. Hui Hui Muslims scholars had to find similarities between Confucianism and Islam. The monument of re-building mosque of Dingzhou (a place not far from Beijing) written in the year of 1368 showed us that Muslims in China were aware of the similarities between the earthly virtues of Confucianism and that of Islam. They had to wrap Islam in an orthodox Confucianism packaging and explain it with ethic terms of Confucianism such as ‘San Gang (三纲 the Three Cardinal Guides)’ and ‘Wu Chang (五常 the Five Constant Virtues)’ in Islam.³⁰⁶

In Confucianism, the aim of human life in this world, was to ‘Xiu Shen(修身 make morally perfect)’ - ‘Qi Jia (齐家 manage his family affairs)’ - ‘Zhi Guo (治国 to manage the affairs of the country)’ - ‘Pin Tian Xia (平天下 rule the world)’. The way of moral perfection, was to have proper behaviors or to perform the rites, according the five ethic relations, i.e. ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and young brother, and friend and friend, so that the five virtues would be developed accordingly.

In fact, all the writers of Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslims knew well about Confucian Scriptures and Books themselves. That was because, in Ming dynasty, anyone wanted to join civil services in the

³⁰⁶ See, Yu Zhengui, The Historical Documents of Islam in China, 1st Volume, p.376

government had to to participate the Imperial Examinations after they learnt the Confucius classics and the interpretations of Zhu-Cheng by heart. Many Hui Hui Muslims were selected as the government officials through the Imperial Examinations. For example, Dawood Wang Daiyu took part in the examinations for selecting Confucian literati in Nanjing and Beijing³⁰⁷. Yusuf Ma Zhu was serving the South-Ming government as an Confucian literati in Yunnan province for many years before his learnt Islamic learning. Salih Liu Zhi, together with the Islamic training of his father Sheikh Liu Sanjie, also spent many years in his childhood to learn the Confucian books. He wrote that ‘after more than ten years of my Islamic studies in this quiet place far from the crowds, I found that the Confucianism is very close to our religion of Islam.’³⁰⁸

1. Tian Dao (天道) and Ren Dao (人道)

In the Han Kitab Literature, in order to differentiate Islam from Confucianism, the Hui Hui scholars confirmed that worshipping of ‘Zhen Zhu(真主 the Real God)’ was the obligatory duty of human being. They called that in Chinese as the ‘Tian Dao (天道 the Way of the Heaven)’. Besides that, the ethics of Confucianism called in their books as ‘Ren Dao (人道 the right behaviors among human being) were fully appreciated in their books. They stressed that a Muslim should perform both ‘Tian Dao’ and ‘Ren Dao’.

Dawood Wang Daiyu wrote that ‘the better thing in our religion of Islam than that in Confucianism is the present of ‘Tian Dao’ in Islam, while the Zhong (忠 Faithfulness), Xin (信 Fidelity), Xiao (孝 Filial Piety), and You (友 Kindness) in it were as same as in Confucianism’.³⁰⁹

The impacts of Jesuits work on Hui Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature were also noticeable in their interpretation of Confucian ethics by the Islamic rituals. In Dawood wang Daiyu’s work, the Confucian terms

³⁰⁷ See, Jin Yijiu, p. 73-75

³⁰⁸ See, Salih Liu Zhi, the Preface of ‘Nature and Principle of Islam’ written by Salih himself, p.43

³⁰⁹ See, Dawood, The Real Commentary

of 'Five Constant Virtues' were explained by the five pillars of Islam. Dawood Wang Daiyu named the five pillars of Islam as 'Wu Chang (五常)'.³¹⁰ He, then, explained them that the Shahadah in Islam i.e. there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger was 'Ren(仁)', because the Shahadah keeps the origin or nature for a Muslim, and Allah is the original source of all benevolences; Al-zakat was "Yi(义)", because the alms-giving of a Muslim to his brother was righteous action; the prayer of a Muslim was "Li(礼)", because his prayers showed his obedience to the One who gave him everything and that was the real rites; the fasting of Ramadan was "Zhi(智)", because the fasting keeping a Muslim away from many physical desires and developing his intelligence and wisdom; the last pillar of Islam "Al-Haji" was "Xin(信)", because it fulfilled the treaty between Allah and human being that Allah would call human being back to Him and reminded a Muslim that his real home was not the place in which he dwelled in this earthly world.

In such way, Dawood Wang Daiyu kept the names of the 'Five Virtues' of Confucianism only, and changed the range of their application from 'among human being only' to 'between human being and their Creator of 'Zhen Zhu (真主 the Real God)'. He also mentioned, like Matteo Ricci, that except the 'Three Cardinal Guides and Five Ethic Relations (三纲五伦)' mentioned in Confucianism, there were 'Da Gang and Da Lun (大纲大伦 the greatest cardinal guide and the greatest ethic relation)' of worshipping of Allah. In his opinion, the life code of human being in Confucianism of 'Xiu Shen(修身 to make morally perfect)-Qi Jia (齐家 to manage his family affair)- Zhi Guo(治国 to manage the affairs of the country) -Pin Tian Xia (平天下 to rule the world)' would not be possible without worshipping of Allah³¹¹. Dawood Wang Daiyu changed the sequence of 'Five Ethic Relations' in Confucianism and made the relationship between husband and wife the most important relationship with the reason that there would be no any ruler, subject, father and son in the world if there were no husband and wife. Dawood and all the other Hui Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature criticised in their books, the life style of some people's non-

³¹⁰ See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.207

³¹¹ See, *ibid*, p.225

marriage life, on the common bases of Confucianism and Islam.³¹² It is likely that they aimed the Fathers of the Jesuits or Buddhist monks.

Yusuf Ma Zhu continued and developed the work of Dawood Wang Daiyu. He pointed out repeatedly that the right way of human life in this world was to obey 'Tian Dao' first I.e, perform the duties towards Allah and then perform 'Ren Dao' i.e. the duties towards his different relations like the rulers, parents, children, relatives, friends. The Islamic code of human life was presented in the books of Hui Hui scholars' books which was different to the teachings of Confucianism. For example, Yusuf Ma Zhu mentioned clearly the seven stages of human life: the origin of his soul, the creation of his body, his death, his life in tomb, the Resurrection, the Judgment, and Passing the Bridge.³¹³ Meanwhile, he attacked the Chinese Buddhist monks that they cut their relationship totally with their families and never took care their parents.³¹⁴

Salih Liu Zhi held that a Muslim's practice of Shariah i.e. five pillars of Islam was same as the personal moral perfection practice of 'Xiu Shen (修身)' in Confucianism. He also agreed with Dawood and Yusuf that 'Tian Dao (the obligatory duties)' of a Muslim was to perform the five pillars of Islam.³¹⁵ Salih Liu Zhi's 'Ren Dao (人道)' was the same 'Five Ethic Relations' in Confucianism. But, following Dawood Wang Daiyu, he put the relationship between husband and wife as the most important.³¹⁶

2. Double Royalties (二元忠诚)

Muslims in China had a tradition in their history in China of showing full respect towards Chinese government and cooperated with government in all the historical period of time. In Tang dynasty, the Muslim soldiers were invited by the government of China in the middle of 8th century to

³¹² See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.168

³¹³ See, Yusuf, Ma Zhu, The Guidance of Islam, p.472

³¹⁴ See, *ibid*, p.110

³¹⁵ See, Salih Liu Zhi, The Shariah of Islam, p.32

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.34

help the then Emperor to finish a serious internal revolt threatening the Throne. After peace was gained in the country, many soldiers remained in China and became the forefathers of many Chinese Muslims today.

In both Tang and Song dynasty, Muslims in China mainly were foreign traders or envoys, living in different cities or towns along the Silk Road by land or the those big coastal cities like Quanzhou (泉州 City of Zaitoon in Arabic documents), Guangzhou (广州), Hangzhou (杭州) and Yangzhou (扬州), etc. The Chinese government respected them and relocated them to some special areas so that they could live and do their business peacefully. They built mosques in these places and the Imam of the mosques used to pray for the Emperors in their Juma Khutubah's.

By the divine wisdom of Allah, in one hand, the Mongol armies brought dreadful damages to the Islamic civilization in Muslim world. In another hand, the Muslims were brought by those Mongols to China and they were the seeds of Islam in the land of China. Those Muslims were helpers of Mongol rulers to deal the domestic affairs and build the country. They enjoyed their religious freedom in this new land. A few Muslims played great role in the establishment of Ming dynasty, and the relationship between Muslims and government was also in peace and harmony generally. The first Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang even built a mosque beside the palace in the capital in 1591, so that his Muslims officers could perform their religious duties conveniently and he could find them easily. He even wrote a poem of one hundred words to praise the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.).

In the Neo-Confucian system, Emperor of the country was the only absolute authority for everyone and everything. According to the ideology of Neo-Confucianism, the subjects must obey the rulers absolutely, and performing 'Koutow (叩头 prostration)' in the front of emperors, the sons of 'Tian (the Heaven)' was an obligatory rite for the subjects.

Matteo Ricci did such 'Koutow (叩头 Prostration)' when his request of meeting the Emperor was granted in 1601. Matteo Ricci recorded in his the *Dairy* that after he performed his 'Koutow', he raised his head and was surprised to find that the Throne was empty, because the Emperor of Wanli was always absent from his work. But he considered such posture only a formal rite for showing respect towards a human being, not worshipping

him as a deity. The issue of relationship between rulers or kings and the Papacy of Rome in Catholic countries had been settled for a long time. The intention of Jesuits missionaries in China was to make Chinese Catholics and to make the Chinese Emperor accepting the absolute authority of Papacy in Rome like the rulers in European countries. The uncompromising attitude on this issue, the Jesuits were accused of establishing another kingdom of their own inside the Empire of Confucian China. Perhaps, this was the main cause of all anti-Christians movements in the history of China. The Christians in China still face the same problems with the government of China.

Hui Hui Muslim scholars of Han Kitab Literature in late Ming dynasty had to firstly give answer to the issue. They had to explain the relationship between Hui Hui Muslims and non-Muslim rulers and un-Islamic government within the frame of Confucian ethics. Actually, it was the first problem Muslims met in the Confucian empire. In 713, some Arab envoys came to the Imperial Court of Chinese Tang dynasty. They were asked by the Confucian literati to perform a traditional etiquette of greeting the Emperor by 'Koutow'. The Arab envoys refused to do so, because it was like the 'Sajida' in their prayers. Obviously, they thought the Chinese made the Emperor a deity of worshipping. The refusal of Muslim envoys' 'Koutow' made the Chinese displeased. Fortunately, those Muslim envoys were excused by the Emperor that they could keep their own traditions. But, after that, all the Muslim envoys and contributors were persuaded to perform 'Koutow', whenever they came to the court of the Chinese Imperial Court.³¹⁷

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars in late Ming dynasty knew well that Hui Hui Muslims were citizens of the country and inside the Chinese Confucian Empire and the relationship between the Emperors and Hui Hui Muslims were rulers and subjects. But at the same time, worshipping Allah is the obligatory duty of Muslims. They also had full information about the anti-Catholic movement's after 1616 and damages of churches, Jesuits centers, persecutions of Christians, etc. The center of this first anti-Catholic Christian movement was in Nanjing, the home town of Dawood Wang Daiyu and Salih Liuzhi. During or before Dawood writing his book of 'The

³¹⁷ See, The Book of Old Tang(旧唐书), Vol.198

Real Commentary', a massive anti-Catholics movement spread in Fujian, Zhejiang and Nanjing areas ³¹⁸. Many Confucian and Buddhist scholars joined this movement. They wrote articles and refuted the Catholicism as heresy and enemy of Orthodoxy Confucianism. The ten volumes of *Po Xie Ji* (破邪集 A Collection of against the Catholic Superstitions) were a collection of those articles. This collection was sent to a Buddhist master Feiyong and Confucian Xu Changzhi in Zhejiang province for circulation and publication in 1639. Xu Changzhi came from a respectable family which played a role in the first anti-Catholic storm in Nanjing in 1616. ³¹⁹

In order to save Hui Hui Muslims from such disasters, Hui Hui scholars had to seek a wise way and solve this problem. A term of 'Double Royalties' was invented by the Hui Hui scholars in their Han Kitab Literature. They gave religious evidence and made a fatawa that the Chinese Muslims should be royal for both Allah and the Chinese Emperors. Dawood Wang Daiyu lived in the end of Ming dynasty. As an offspring of Muslim astronomers who served the Chinese government of Yuan and Ming, he knew well the Islamic relations with the previous Ming courts. The first Emperor of Ming dynasty Zhu Yuanzhang perhaps was a Muslim by birth as some scholars claimed. But at least, no evidence showed that he was a practical Muslim and he did not enforce Islamic Shariah in his regime. He established Ming dynasty on the basis of Han Chinese Confucianism. The Ming dynasty was a possible combination of Hui Hui Muslims and Han Chinese. It was a historical fact that the first Emperor of Ming dynasty had a lot of great generals of Hui Hui Muslims. The establishment of mosque 'Jingjue' beside palace of Ming dynasty and his poetry of for praising Prophet Mohammed (S.A.W.) 'Praising Poetry for Islam of One-Hundred Words' in the early years of Ming openly at least revealed the harmony relations between Hui Hui Muslims and the Emperor. In this poetry, two Han Chinese characters of 'Qing Zheng (清真 the pure, the shining and the beautiful)' were used to describe the religion of Islam and the worship

³¹⁸ Jin Yijiu held that Dawood Wang Daiyu wrote his first book during the period of 1630-1635. See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu' Thought, p.35

³¹⁹ See, Zhen Cunfu, A Collection of Essays: On Religions and Culture, Hangzhou, Dong Fang Publishing House, 1994, p.184

of Muslims was described as worshipping 'Tian' and 'Zhen Zhu'.³²⁰ Some Islamic identities were kept in the Imperial Court at least upto the regime of Wuzong. According to Sa'id Ali Akbar Khatai, in 1516, the Emperor of Wuzong who was on the throne during 1505-1521 was a Muslim. He built four mosques in Beijing and he used to perform his prayers in the mosque. Many Muslims were working on his court.³²¹ The Chinese official records also showed that in the ninth month of the fourteen year in the regime of Wuzong (1520), the Emperor of Wuzong decreed a prohibition of rearing of and trading pigs and the offenders will be sent to the frontiers to be permanent guards. Another evidence was that when Yusuf Ma Zhu was in Beijing, he got a book titled *Questions and Answers about Islam* used by the Emperor of Wuzong. According to Yusuf Ma Zhu, there were more than one thousand of questions and answers; the questioner was Abdullah and the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) was the one who answered all the questions.³²²

However, the Ming dynasty was a secular dynasty of Confucianism. The government of Ming prohibited Hui Hui Muslims from speaking Arabic or Persian language, interfaith marriages, wearing Islamic clothes, etc. Islamic Shariah was not practiced among majority of Hui Hui Muslims. During the period of Dawood writing his books around 1640, the Emperor of Congzhen was on the throne. The Jesuits astronomer Adam Was working on the Imperial Court. Many people in the Forbbitten City, including the former emperess were baptized. The Emperor himself, according to Adam, was going to be baptized.

Dawood Wang Daiyu firstly declared the Islamic Tawhid by saying that, the royalty of human being towards Allah was the more important for them than their royalty towards the rulers and their fathers. The best royalty was

³²⁰ Many Chinese scholars held the opinon that the founder of Ming Zhu Yuanzhang was a Muslim, though there was no official record in the books. There were many evidences to support such saying. See, Ibrahim T.Y. Ma, Muslims in China, p.45-52.

³²¹. See, Sa'id Ali Akbar Khatai, Khatay Namih, (translated by Zhang Zhishan into Chinese from German), Beijing, San Lian Book Store, 1988.

³²² See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, The Guidance of Islam, p.385.

the royalty of the rulers towards Allah, because it was Allah who raised him to the Throne as mentioned in the Chinese traditions that the 'Tian Zi (the son of the Heaven)' was selected by the 'Tian (the Heaven)'.³²³ So, obeying the Emperor was the most important duty of citizens of the country, together with obeying Allah and obeying parents.³²⁴ He did not reject the Chinese traditional rites of 'Koutow(叩头 prostration)' in front of the Emperors and elders. But he did a long explanation that it was only a posture of greeting each other like 'Zuo Yi(作揖 noding one's head)' between two persons of same status. It was a custom in Ming dynasty that, when the people of same status met each other, they greeted each other by nodding head, bowing the back, putting the two hands together and raising them in the front of chest or head. Dawood analysed that there was big difference between the 'Koutow' in front of Emperor of China and the 'Koutow' of Muslims in front of the Creator of the world. The later 'Koutow' was to worship, to submit both soul and body to the Creator of the world. To show the differences of these two kinds of 'Koutow', Dawood further gave suggestions for Hui Hui Muslims practically. He suggested, when the Muslims performed 'Koutow' in the front of Allah, they should put their forehead on the earth as the teaching of Islamic Fiqh, while they performed 'Koutow' in the front of the Emperor or their elders, and they should put their ears and the side of their heads on the earth³²⁵.

Yusuf Ma Zhu followed the same sayings in his book *The Guide to Islam*. He wrote his book for the Emperor of Kangxi as a royal subject. He wanted to show the truth of Islam to the Emperor and Chinese people. He was so eagle to meet with the Emperor and explain to him the truth of Islam that he tried repeatedly to meet him³²⁶. He wrote that Hui Hui Muslims prayed in their every Juma pray for the long life of the Emperor, thriving and prosperous of his Empire.³²⁷ The Emperor of Kangxi was not only a capable ruler for the administration affairs of the country, but also a keen learner for knowledge of every kind, for example, he studied mathematics from fathers of Jesuits. He had open heart towards different cultures. He

³²³ See, Dawood, *The Real Commentary*, p.223

³²⁴ *Ibid*, p.225

³²⁵ See, Dawood Wang Daiyu, *The Real Commentary*, p.225-228

³²⁶ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Guidance of Islam*, The Preface.

³²⁷ See, *ibid*, p532-532

was also interested in knowing about Islam and hoped to know the meaning of the Quran, but no body at that time could explain it to him.³²⁸ He conquered the Muslim area of the West Region and made Muslims of Uighurs his subjects. He even had a political marriage with a Uighur woman (容妃) from a noble family of Khwaja and built a mosque for her beside her residence. He even had an intention of knowing about Islam.

During the end of 17th's century, the Jesuits enjoyed their time on the Imperial Court. They were working on the Imperial Court as advisors of the Emperor. It is obvious that the Emperor had enough knowledge about Catholicism from those Jesuits Fathers. Also, the advisors of Jesuits never gave up preaching Catholic faith to him as they did with the last Emperor of Ming dynasty. The fact that he did not convert to Catholic faith probably either because he was not persuaded by the doctrines of Catholicism, or he considered the Confucian traditions were better for his country and people.

In those books of Salih Liu Zhi, we also find such expression of 'Double Royalties' as Dawood Wang Daiyu did. In the early years of Qing dynasty, some Hui Hui Muslims like Mi Layin and Ding Guodong showed their royalty towards Ming dynasty and had revolts against the Qing rulers in 1648. Perhaps, for that reason, the Qing rulers were not friendly with Hui Hui Muslims at most of time. They used to be on guard with the activities of Hui Hui Muslims. Salih Liu Zhi (1660-1730) lived in the regime of Kangxi (1662-1723) and regime of Yongzhen (1623-1636) and he completed his book of *The Shariah of Islam* around 1710 after the 'Chinese Rites Controversies'. The Emperor Kangxi had open mind towards other religions and he earned the respect from Hui Hui Muslims as well. Perhaps, the experiences of Jesuits in China taught Hui Hui scholars that they had to proclaim their royalty towards the Chinese Emperor openly. Instead of the traditional title of 'Tian Zi' for the emperors, a title of 'the Shadow of Allah on the earth' was given to them. Salih Liu Zhi wrote that 'the Emperor was the shadow of Allah on the earth... A person who was royal to the Emperor, he should also be royal to

³²⁸ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Guidance of Islam*, p.63-64

Allah...Whoever was faithful for the Emperor; he was faithful for Allah also...³²⁹

Of course, the term of ‘Double Royalties’ was only an innovation of Hui Hui scholars under the typical political environments, though it was not that much accurate in the view of Islam. The Emperor was a human being only, it was not believable that a creature could be the ‘Shadow of the Creator’. But such interpretation had political significance. It gave Hui Hui writers of the Han Kitab Literature and all Muslims living in Confucian feudal China a shelter. It was a wise solution for this issue. With the theoretical guidance of ‘Double Royalties’, the Han language speaking Muslims in China, as an absolute minority, could deal with their any government flexibly and live in the land peacefully in most historical periods .

Comparing with Hui Hui Muslims scholars, the Jesuits were more straightforward. Matteo Ricci not only regarded Confucius as an atheist, but also rejected Neo-Confucianism’ explanation about ‘Tian’ in the classical Confucian Scriptures and insisted that the real meaning of ‘Tian’ in them was ‘the Heaven, God’, not “the sky, physical phenomena only”. They tried to explain to the Chinese people that worshipping the ‘Tian(Creator)’ was the real tradition of ancient Chinese. They tried not to discuss openly about this sensitive issue of relation of the Emperor and God in public in the beginning of their work in China. But with the spreading of Chatholicism in the country, the conflicts came out between Jesuits and Confucians. When Ye Xianggao learned from J.Aleni that the most respectable king of Zhou Wuwang would go to the Hell because he had many concubines, he had doubt that the new faith J.Aleni introduced to him was true. He could not believe that the Emperor, follower of king of Zhou Wuwang was inferior to those common Catholics and would go to the Hell. When later Jesuits declared that the Chinese converts should subject to the Pope in Rome, instead of Kangxi Emporer, the activities of Jesuits were thus banned in China. The Emperor of Kangxi perhaps did not know that royaful to the Papacy was the unshakable belief of all Jesuits. Other wise, he would not allow those Jesuits who followed the practices of Matteo Ricci remaining in China. The emperor of Kangxi, of course, could

³²⁹ See, Salih Liu Zhi, *The Shariah of Islam*, p.132 and p.137.

not accept such a fact that the Chinese converts would not perform the memorial rites of Confucius and their forefathers, and that those Catholics of his subjects should obey the orders of Papacy in Rome instead of his.

3. Status of Women

Women were taught in Confucian society to obey their fathers, husbands, even sons. How to change the obedience of Chinese women to the Creator was a big task for both Jesuits and Hui Hui scholars.

In traditional Confucian society, the status of women was very low. They were usually subjects of men. As soon as Matteo Ricci arrived in China he noticed that the chastity of women was strongly emphasized in the Chinese Confucian society. Almost all Chinese women were living in a protected environments and it was very difficult for the Jesuits missionaries to reach them directly.³³⁰ Considering the Chinese feudal ethics, Jesuits in China built churches especially for women in Nanjing, Hangzhou, Shanghai, Beijing, etc. around 1627. The Pope Alexander⁷ gave an approval to the suggestion of Jesuits in China in 1656. There was women's church in Henan at least as early as 1732.³³¹ Women's churches in China were earlier than the women's mosques of Hui Hui Muslim women.

According to Father Martini, a eunuch of the Court introduced the Catholic faith to a noble lady of the imperial palace in the year of 1637. It did not take long before there were 18 Christian ladies at Court, but none of them could be able to meet the Fathers of Jesuits. By 1639, there were 38 converted noble ladies. Even the widow of the former Emperor also became a convert. In 1640, one of the ladies was named president of the community. The Catholic faith was preached on the Imperial Court so quickly that even the Empress was nearly to accept this new faith.³³²

Hui Hui Muslim scholars of Han Kitab Literature did not, of course, neglect the important issue of women in their books. According to them, the Muslim women and men were equal spiritually in the front of Allah. But, at the same time, they also had to adjust the teachings of Islam and

³³⁰ See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p.59-60

³³¹ See, Zhou Pingping, *The Catholicism Dispersing*, p. 214-224

³³² See, Chen Cunfu, *A Collection of Essays: On Religions and Culture*, Hangzhou, Dong Fang Publishing House, 1994, p.22

Confucianism towards this issue. They added further that under the precondition of worshipping Allah, the Muslim women also should practice these women's virtues of Confucianism. Salih Liu Zhi in his book of *Shariah of Islam* and Yusuf Ma Zhu in his book of *The Guide to Islam* explained that there was no any contradiction between a good servant of Allah and good woman in home and society. A Muslim woman could perform simultaneously, the obligatory duties towards her Lord and towards her father and her husband. She was promised good rewards from Allah when she performed her duties as a worshipper. She had rights and duties as a mother, a wife, and a daughter. For example, a woman had right to study her religion of Islam. They also explained the high status of mother in Islam, which was different with mother in Confucianism.

The emergence of *madaris* or praying halls or woman's mosque was due to two reasons. Firstly, the requirements of Muslim women' seeking religious knowledge, and secondly, the impact of Jesuits' establishing woman churches in certain areas of Hui Hui Muslims. In some Muslim settlements in provinces of central China like Henan, Shanxi, Shangdong, Anhui, etc., there are many mosques only for female Muslims. Actually, they are pray halls or *madaris* for *Muslimat*. There are no *azan*, imams there. It is a peticular phenomenon in the history of Islam that mosques were built only for female offering prays there. There was not much information available about the history of such praying halls for female Muslims or women mosques and we know little about the causes of establishment of them. We hope that a brief study of the women's church of Jesuits in China could link with women mosques in these areas.

Women churches in China, were first came to being in the area of Nanjing-Hangzhou-Shanghai in 1627-1640. At that time, Sheikh Zhang shaoshang and Mohammed Chang Zhimei³³³, Zhang Zhong were all in Nanjing, and they knew the establishment of women churches well. Chang Zhimei and his Cousin Li Yangling studied with Sheikh Zhang Shaoshan in Nanjing and returned back to Jinning, Shandong province in about 1637. They established *The School of Shandong* of 'Mosque Scripture Hall

³³³ Mohammed Chang Zhimei and his cusion Li Yanling (1610-1670) were the pupil of Sheikh Zhang Shaoshan, the 3th generation student of Sheikh Idris Hu Deng Zhou. See, Zhao Can, *The Transmission Chains of Mosque Scripture Hall Education*, p.41-42

Education’ which was famous for its excellent Persian language teaching, due to the Persian origin of its founder Sheikh Mohammed Chang Zhimei. Sheikh Zhang Shaoshan, who gave the ‘Mosque Scripture Hall Education’ in the mosque of Jingjue during 1621-1644.³³⁴

It is quite possible that the rising of Hui Hui Muslim women’s mosques or praying halls in late Ming and early Qing dynasty in central provinces, like Shandong, Henan and Anhui, etc. might be a reaction to the Jesuits’ establishing Catholic centers or churches for female Chinese converts in 1620’s.

The book of *The Transmission of the Chains of Mosque Scripture Hall Education* written in 1665 recorded some famous scholars like Sheikh Ma Rongwu(马戎吾), Sheikh Ma Minggao(马鸣皋) who gave female Muslims religious teachings.³³⁵ Sheikh Ma Minggao was the favorite student of Sheikh Chang Zhimei, the founder of the Shangdong School which was famous for its Islamic teaching in Persian language. Sheikh She Qiling(舍起灵 1630-1710) was another famous student of Sheikh Chang Zhimei, who also started mosques or praying halls of Hui Hui Muslim women in these areas after he completed his studies with Sheikh Mohammed Chang Zhimei. Some women mosques or praying halls in Zhoukou, Henan province were built this period. For example, the mosque of Tianfangjie was built in 1655 and Donglaosi in 1697.³³⁶

Sheikh Chang Zhimei perhaps was the first person who had the idea of women mosques or *madaris*. He travelled with his cousin Li Yanling to Nanjing and studied there in a mosque named Han Ximen. Later, they both studied with Sheikh Zhang Shaoshan, the famous pupil of 3rd generation of Sheikh Idris Hu Dengzhou. In 1637, he returned back to Jinning, Shandong and started his teaching there. A new mosque named the West Grand Mosque was built for him and his cousin Li Yanling by some of their supporters in Jinnang in about 1639. This mosque and the teaching of Sheikh Mohammed Chang Zhimei attracted a lot of Hui Hui Muslim youth from all over the country. Sheikh Hassan She Qiling (舍起灵) was one of their most outstanding students. The Shandong School got his great

³³⁴ See, Zhao Can, *The Transmission Chains of Mosque Scripture Hall Education*,

³³⁵ See, *ibid*, p.63, p.70

³³⁶ See, Shui Jinjun, *The History of Women Mosques in China*, p.109

fame due to its his excellence in Persian language. Sheikh Mohammed wrote a famous book of Persian grammar named *Alhawayi* in Persian language.

In women's mosques, there is a tradition of studying Persian language and books in Persian language. One of the books of *Alfasul* in Persian was translated into Han Chinese by one of the Hui Hui Muslim scholar Zhang Zhong (1584-1670) from Suzhou, a city near Nanjing. Salih Liu Zhi mentioned in his book *The Shariah of Islam* (天方典礼) that there were books especially for Muslim women. These books were present before the time when Salih Liu Zhi completed this book in 1703.

Foot-binding of women was a vile practice in Confucian China. When a girl grew up to the age of about seven or eight, her family would bind her feet with strong bandages so that her feet would not grow anymore. In this way, the women had to accept forefully her ferrior status to men in homes and societies. Of course, such Chinese traditions were not acceptable in both Catholicism and Islam. Upto to now, we have not yet known how the Jesuits Fathers and Hui Hui scholars deal with this issue.

Another issue related to women was how to deal with the co-wives or concubines in Confucian society. The Confucian scholars had a tradititon that they used take other women as concubines after their first marriage. The statuses of these concubines were inferior to the first wife. The Jesuits did not compromise with this popular custom and they refused to bapitise any man who had concubines. If a man had more than one woman with him, he could keep only one with him and divorced the rest. Due to this problem, Li Zhizao was not baptized until before his death. For Hui Hui Muslim scholars, they needed not to deal such problems.

4. A Comparative Studies for Some Issues

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars were fully aware of the absent of the matters of unseen world and the life after this life in Confucianism.³³⁷ They

³³⁷ See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, *The Guidance of Islam*, p.143

also noticed that the earthly life code or ethics in Confucianism was very similar to that of Islam.

Both Yusuf Ma Zhu and Salih Liu Zhi did not explain the five pillars of Islam with the 'Five Virtues' of Confucianism as Dawood Wang Daiyu did, but discussed them directly. Perhaps, for Yusuf Ma Zhu and Salih Liu Zhi, there was no need for him explaining their religion by the terms of Confucianism. The time of Yusuf Ma Zhu and Salih Liu Zhi was different to the time of Dawood Wang Daiyu. Dawood Wang Daiyu's book of *The Real Commentary* was completed after the publication of Huang Zhen's *Po Xie Ji* (破邪集 A Collection of against the Catholic Superstitions) written by Buddhists and Confucians, in which the catholic faith was harshly attacked as a heresy. In such circumstances, Dawood Wang Daiyu had to pack the teachings of Islam with a Confucian cover.

There were many anti-Christians movements all over the country after the death of Matteo Ricci. Perhaps, the autocratic feudal Confucian system and mysterious Catholic theology and misbehaviors of some Jesuits in China together led to at last the expel of Jesuits by the Emperor Kangxi in early of 1700's. But the deviations of Jesuits from practices of Matteo Ricci aroused many worries, abhors and envies of Confucian society towards the activities of Jesuits. Confucian literati, as the tongues of the society, started to attack the Jesuits on the basis of orthodoxy of Neo-Confucianism. With the passage of time, the Confucian literati realized cultural clashes between Catholicism and Confucianism that not only the term of 'Tian (天)' introduced by Jesuits was not the same as the one in Neo-Confucianism, but also the Jesuits brought heretical ways of life in Chinese Confucian societies. At last, the Jesuits in China were accused of overturning the government. The Jesuits in China were always marked with various names of former anti-government secret organizations, like the famous secret organization of anti-government 'white Lotus (白莲教)', etc.³³⁸. Some famous Buddhist scholars jointed with Confucian literati and refuted Catholicism openly. The Hui Hui Muslim scholars of Han Kitab Literature were basically Confucian literati. They were fully aware of the dangerous ambition of Jesuits to the Confucianism firstly, and to Islam secondly. They participated positively in this anti-Catholic movement all over the country.

³³⁸ See, Chen Cunfu, A Collection of Essays on Religion and Culture, p.122-123

During the period of 1610-1710, there were about four big country-wide anti-Jesuits Catholics movements. After the death of Matteo Ricci in May, 1610, another Italian Father Nicolas Longobardi (1559-1654 龙华民) was appointed as the Major Superior of the Mission in China. Before that, he had worked in China for about thirteen years. He stayed in China for fifty-eight years until died in China in 1654. His point of view towards work ways of Gospels preaching was different with that of Matteo Ricci's. Even during the life time of Matteo Ricci, Nicolas Longobardi did not agree to practice of Matteo Ricci's 'Upper Class' preaching. He preferred to preaching common people. He thought the preaching way of Matteo Ricci was time consuming and a direct preaching like in Europe countries was necessary. He went to the homes of Chinese, and the fields of farmers in Shaozhou, Canton province and talked about the Gospels with the people directly. Many people became Christians. With the preaching going on, many Chinese converts destroyed the idols and the memorial tablets of their fore-fathers, and they refused to attend the memorial rites for Confucius. Nicolas Longobardi disagreed the policy of supplementary of Classical Confucianism, with the opinion that both the classical and Neo-Confucianism were not god-based theologies. He tried to not use the Han Chinese terminology of 'Shang Di (上帝)' or 'Tian(天)' instead of the word of 'Deus(the God)', but 'Tian Zhu(天主)' only in the books of Catholicism in Han Chinese. His opinion became the evidence of other religious orders against the policy of Matteo Ricci, in the movement of 'Rite Controversies' which lasted more than half century among the different religious orders inside the circle of Catholicism and between the Papacy of Rome and the Chinese Emperor of Kangxi during 1650's-1720's.

During the period of 1611-1646, both the numbers of Jesuits Catholic centers and Christians increased rapidly compared to the period of 1583-1610. For example, the centers of Jesuits in Jiangsu (Nanjing area) increased from three increased to twenty-four, Zhejiang province from two increased to seventeen, Shandong province from zero increased to twelve, Beijing from zero increased to ten. The people were baptized yearly by Jesuits Fathers in Nanjing and adjacent areas were also increasing quickly after 1630. For example, the number in 1627 was thirteen thousand people, in 1637 forty thousand, in 1650 one hundred and fifty thousand, in 1664

nearly two hundred and fourty-eight thousand, in 1667 two hundred and sixty thousand, and in 1687 one hundred thousand.

The number of baptized people in Beijing increased year by year: seventy in 1602.-1603, five hundred in 1653, five thousand in 1658, three thousand and nine hundred in 1694, four thousand and twenty six in 1696 and the total number during 1700 -1712 was fifty thousand.

The number of churches of Jesuits was also increasing quickly after 1640. For example, in 1644, there were one hundred fifth-nine churches of Jesuits in all over China, and in 1687A, there were more than one hundred churches in the area of south-east China only³³⁹.

During this time, more than forty cases of clashing between the Chinese and Christians happened in China before the anti-Catholicism movement in 1616, and majority were in Canton³⁴⁰.

The first anti-Catholic movement was in 1616. The open preaching of Catholicism in church of Nanjing resulted in the resentful feelings of some Chinese. Shen Zhe, a high officer in Nanjing raised the issue of anti-Catholicism three times in the year of 1616 by Memorial to the Throne. At last, the Emperor of Wanli granted the memorial and all the priests of Jesuits were disported to Macao. The movement of anti-Catholic started in all the country. The churches were closed forcibly and the priests of Jesuits were driven out from all the other places of China to Macao. Some Jesuits hide in the homes of Chinese converts. For example, there were more than ten Jesuits in the home of Yang Tingjun alone in Hangzhou.

The Buddhists used to join the Confucians to answer back the Jesuits. In 1637, another anti-Catholics movement started in Fujian province, J.Aleni faced a counter attack from the united Confucians and Buddhists against Catholics. In 1639, some Confucians and Buddhists in two provinces of Fujian and Zhejiang jointed hands and wrote many articles of anti-Catholicism. Those articles were collected by Huangzhen and published in a book of many volumes named *Po Xie Ji* (破邪集 A Collection of against the Catholic Superstitions). This book was a combined

³³⁹ See, Zhang Guogang, *From the Beginning of the West Meeting with the East to the Ritual Controversy*, Beijing, People's Press, 2003, p.218-223

³⁴⁰ See, Louis Pfister, *Notices*, p.66

work of anti-Catholic faith written by Confucians and Buddhists from south China provinces since 1607. The last two volumes of this book were written by many Buddhist monks. In these articles, Catholicism and the cross were described as the 'secret weapon of heretic religion' used to 'tempt illiterate people'³⁴¹, and that the Fujian churches conspired with cults of many other heresy folk religions, gathering many people for its assistants.³⁴² Based on the tradition of Chinese centralism, the Confucians and Buddhists united and fought together with the Catholicism or all the western studies brought by the Jesuits. It was possible that this work of openly anti-Christianity movements in the country developed the interest of Hui Hui scholars' practice of 'replacing Buddhism and Taoism and even changing Confucianism by Islam' in their Han Kitab Literature.

The main reason of anti-Catholicism stated by the Chinese in all the anti-Catholicism movement of three times was almost the same, i.e. the Jesuit priests or the Chinese converts did not follow the teachings of Confucianism and they intended to attack the 'Three Cardinal' and 'Five Virtues' by changing the five ethic relations. The Chinese converts, of course, wrote back to defend the teachings of Catholicism. They tried to approve that the Catholics were not heresy and they did not reject the life Confucian life code, especially in the time of anti-Catholicism movements in 1616 and 1637. For example, Yang Tingjun wrote an article of *Ying Bu Bin Ming Shuo* (鸚不并鸣说) refuting the claim of Shen Zhen and the Catholics were accused of like the followers of 'white Rotus', a secret organization in Ming dynasty aiming to overturn the government. His another article of *Dai Yi Pian* defended the Catholic rites that they were not contradicting with the rites in Confucianism. For example, he was asked that there were five ethic relations in Confucianism and why Catholic priests mentioned only the relationship of friends, Yang Tingjun replied that the normal Catholics did not reject anything of Confucian ethics and they are having the same moral life in their countries. The priests selected single life due to many considerations, and the work of the priests earned great honor for their families and parents in their countries as

³⁴¹ See, Po Xie Ji(破邪集) A Collection of Essays on Anti-Superstitions of Catholicism, Vol.2, p2

³⁴² See, Po Xie Ji(破邪集) A Collection of Essays on Anti-Superstitions of Catholicism, Vol.9, p.33-34

one of us succeed passing the Imperial Examinations in China.³⁴³ Paul Xu Guangqi stated that the purpose of Catholicism was also like the Confucianism, to take care of the welfare of the subjects. In the Catholic countries, there was also good social order without thieves and any other trouble, and the people there was having happy life. The above descriptions of the west must be informed by the Jesuits. It is obviously that Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits in China never mentioned the problems in the West to the Chinese. Actually, in the 16-17th century, Europe was undergoing many big troubles, like the Religious Reform, and wars with Turkish Muslims, etc.³⁴⁴

Matteo Ricci held that, in Confucian traditions, performing 'Koutow' in the front of a living person, or memorial tablets of the ancestors, etc. were rites for showing respect only, not worshipping deities. But, In 1643, a priest from Dominican reported to the Vatican that Jesuits in China were allowing the Chinese converts to practice the rites of idol worshiping. Innocent X issued a Papal Encyclical in Sept. 1645 that all the Catholic in China were prohibited strictly to attend any memorial rites of Confucius and their ancestors due to their nature of idol worshiping. When the Papal Encyclical reached China, Jesuits in China decided to defend themselves. In the 7th year of Shunzhi (1650), the Chinese Catholic Mission assigned Martino Martini returning to Rome for reporting the work of Jesuits in China. Martino Martini defended the practices of Matteo Ricci. He explained all these rites of Chinese, when he went to Europe during 1653-1657.

The 'Calendar Controversy' between the Hui Hui Muslim astronomer Yang Guangxian and Adam Schall during (1664-1669A) pushed the movement of defenders of Confucians against the Catholicism to the zenith. The Hui Hui Muslim astronomer Yang Guangxian compiled a collection to against the Jesuits. In Yang's collection of *Bu De Yi* (不得已 I Have no Alternatives), twenty-two essays, memorials and prefaces which were written between 1659-1665 were concluded. Among these articles, *Pi Xie Lun* containing three parts was the most famous for its piercing attack on Christianity from an ideological point of view. The first part was a

³⁴³ See, Yang Tingjun, *Dai Yi Pian*

³⁴⁴ See, Paul Xu Guangqi, *Pian Xue Shu Gao*.

summary of some of the contents of the Catholic doctrine like God attributes, the Creation, Heaven and Hell and the Incarnation, a criticism towards the formal conditions of the evangelical tales was also included in the first part.

We observed that Hui Hui astronomer Yang Guangxian refuted the astronomers of Jesuits on the basis of the orthodoxy of Confucianism. The Jesuits asstonomers, as same as in the former anti-Christian movements, were accused of changing the rules or laws of Chinese ancestors by changing the calendar. Yang Guangxian even wrote that what is the better for China, to have a western calendar or not a calenda at all. Having no good calendar is worse than the Han astronomers who, not knowing the method of comparing sun and moon, predicted all solar eclipses on the last day of the month. Still (the Han) enjoyed four hundred years of prosperity.”³⁴⁵ In Yang Guangxi’s collection of *Bu De Yi* (不得已 I Have no Alternatives), Christianity and the Jesuits were attacked on ideological front. There were no any theological discussions in his article, but defending the orthodoxy status of Confucianism. Even Yang Guanxian committed many mistakes of common religious knowledge that he had doubt that Jesus (A.S.) was born by the virgin mother. Of course, Hui Hui Muslim astronomers had no much interest in spreading Islam on the Imperial Court; they were not willing to give up their traditional positions of Imperial astronomers since Yuan dynasty.

In the 45th year of Kangxi (1706), the Emperor of Kangxi received Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon, the nuncio of the Vatican, and told him that all the westerners who would not abide by the practices of Matteo Ricci would not be allowed staying in China and they had to go back to their own countries. Emperor Kangxi believed that only those Jesuit Fathers and Chinese converts who followed the practices of Matteo Ricci were the obedient subjects of him.

In the next year of 1707 in Nanjing, Tournon announced the Papal Encyclical that all the practices of Jesuits in China of reverencing Confucius and their ancestors were prohibited. After that, those Christian missionaries in China who vowed to follow the practices of Matteo Ricci and never go back to Europe would get a special written permission from the

³⁴⁵ See, Yang Guangxian, *Bu De Yi* (I Have no Alternatives)

Emperor of Kangxi for staying China, but those who did not get the written permission had to leave the country. After the death of the Emperor Kangxi in 1722, preaching Christianity was totally prohibited by his successor of Emperor Qianlong. The door of China had been closed tightly for Christian missionaries until the Opium Wars in 1840's. The fourth batch of Christian missionaries poured into mainland of China with gospels again behind the guns and ships of western colonists after 1840's.

The movements of anti-Catholics during 1616-1710 seemed like battles of politics. But they were wars of culture and religions. The real problem of anti-Catholics movements was the different base of the secular Confucian ethics and Catholic religious ethics. In the beginning of their preaching, Jesuits were more careful of not conflicting with the Confucian ethics. They used to talk about the common moral ethics. For example, Father M. Ruggieri talked about filial piety, non-stealing, non-adultery, non-greedy, etc. Of course, the basis of Confucian ethics was secular ethics and it believed that everyone could be a saint if he followed the teachings of ethics and norms. There was no place for repentance, the Day of Judgement, Hell, or Paradise, etc. in Confucianism.

In Matteo Ricci's time, the doctrines of Catholic were not so much widely discussed among the Confucian literati. In order to facilitate his preaching work, Matteo Ricci intentionally avoided mentioning some theological terms such as original sins, incarnation, etc. During his life time, the contradictions or conflicts between Confucianism and Catholicism were not that much serious. But, with the widely spreading of Catholicism, the Confucian literati found out that there were some uncompromising contradictions between the two ethics systems. For example, the Jesuits had to give clear answers for those important relations of Confucianism, ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife. For example, Hui Hui Scholars solved the problem of relationship of the Emperor and the Muslim subjects by the 'Double Royalties'. But, this issue was avoided by the early Jesuits. Surely, they would not reveal their intention that the Emperor of China would be baptized and become subject of the Papacy. The Catholic ethics demanded all the secular moral ethics should obey the Catholic faith, that the Lord (天主) was the highest and best moral behavior. In the eyes of Confucian, The biblical story of Ibrahim (A.S.)' killing his son was considered as murdering, an evil action. Jesuits' Fathers might discuss some

moral ethics such as respecting parents, etc., but at the same time, they would add that the love of Lord was the highest. Another issue was the status of those great Chinese personalities like Wenwang of Zhou dynasty, Confucius, etc.. They, according to Catholic ethics, would enter the Hell. The Confucians naturally concealed that the final target of Jesuits was to destroy the cultural heritages of Chinese people. The Confucians gradually understood that their orthodox Confucianism was transformed or annexed by those Jesuits theologians.

Different with the Jesuits, the Confucian ethics were positively responded by Hui Hui Muslim scholars in their Han Kitab Literature. For example, Dawood Wang Daiyu, Yusuf Ma Zhu and Salih Liu Zhi all talked a lot about them in their books. Yusuf Ma Zhu explained the virtue of filial piety of Confucianism in the light of Islam in his book of *The Guidance of Islam*.

When we read today the books of Jesuits in Chinese written by Jesuits Fathers, we would easily find that the level of their Han language was very fluent. Almost all the Catholic terminologies got suitable terms in classical Han Chinese. We could not imagine that those books and articles were written by foreigners. No doubt, those writing books and articles got revised by local Confucian scholars before their publications and the Jesuits admitted in their books. But, the Jesuits' hard and continuous working on Han Chinese language left a deep impression on us. Comparing with the Jesuits missionaries, the Hui Hui Muslim scholars were luckier. They were local Chinese and knew well the Chinese language and classics. The style of their writing was classical Han Chinese with grace. To translate terms of Islam into Han Chinese, they introduced some terms from Buddhism and Taoism like the Paradise (天堂 Tian Tang), the Hell (地狱 Di Yu), Death (无常 Wu Chang), etc. At the same time, they wrote down many Islamic terms into Han Chinese according to their sounds, like the *Fard, Sunnah, Haji, Pray, Azan, Ghaib, Dua, Ayat, etc.* It perhaps was the tradition of 'Mosque Scripture Hall Education System' that they were afraid of that the real meaning of these terms would be lost when they were translated into Han Chinese

Conclusion

Allah (S.W.T.) in his infinite wisdom knows His creatures and their limited mental capacities. He assures us that:

I did not send any messenger except that he spoke the language of his people to explain to them. (Surah Ibrahim 14.4)

By the grace of Allah, the research will end with this conclusion. It would be more detailed and convincing if I worked harder on it. Perhaps, the study so far under went can be summarized shortly as below:

- i. Islam and Christianity have their own histories in the land of China independently. They enter-countered in the late Ming and Qing dynasty when Jesuits Missionaries entered in China. The well established Hui Hui Muslim communities and their good status in China gave Matteo Ricci ideas in details of how to practice cultural accommodation in the Empire of Ming China, by working on the Imperial Court with the emperors as scientists, technicians and advisers, etc. At the same time, they published a lot of books about Catholicism in Han Chinese language, by integrating Confucianism and anti-Buddhism. The introduction of “Tian Xue” by combination of science and technologies with Catholic theology was a new preaching way of Jesuits in China. Partly inspired by the work of Jesuits missionaries, some Hui Hui Muslim scholars in south China of Nanjing area started to write books about Islam in Han Chinese language also around 1640’s with the similar policy of integrating Confucianism and anti-Buddhism. The movement of Han Kitab Literature of Muslim scholars was one of the impacts of Jesuits’ practice of cultural accommodation on Hui Hui Muslim scholars.
- ii. In their Integration of Confucian Classics, Metteo Ricci and other Jesuits used their tool of interpretation of Confucian classics skillfully. If the verses of Confucian classics did not meet their Catholic points of view, they would declare the verses were wrong or the original texts were lost in the movement of ‘Burning Confucian Scholars’ in Qin dynasty. Matteo Ricci

classified the Confucianism in to two parts, the classical Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism. He rejected the thoughts of Neo-Confucianism due to lack of the existence of the Creator in it. In this way, the Jesuits used to integrate with the Confucian traditions by ways of chiming in with it firstly, then replenishing it and replacing of it at last.

Comparing with Jesuits fathers, the Hui Hui scholars were much careful towards the Confucian heritage and treated it as a whole as any native Confucian scholar. They tried to adjust Islamic teachings in the frame of Confucianism, in order to provide Muslims a safe shelter in that Confucian empire. Sometimes, they had to compromise with non-Islamic concepts in Chinese philosophy. For example, they took some terms from Chinese philosophers like “Wuji”, “Taiji”. And “Liangyi”, etc for granted to explain the cosmology, which had no any evidence in Shariah. Another example was that the five pillars of Islam were explained resembling the “Five Ethic Virtures” in Confucianism, which could be understood easily by non-Muslim Confucians. Actually, Hui Hui Muslims knew well that performing the five pillars of Islam was taught in mosques and could never be replaced by implementing the “Five Ethic Virtures”.

- iii. In order to avoid the eyes or any clash with local Chinese, a careful policy of “step by step” was observed in Jesuits’ integration of Chinese traditions. The Catholic Concepts of Trinity and Incarnation were not introduced openly by the Jesuits in their books in Han Chinese. Highly academically qualified Confucian scholars were focused on by Matteo Ricci due to their big influence in the society and their good mental capabilities. Instead of establishing huge churches, Jesuits’ fathers’ frequent meetings with Chinese local people in the residences and having discussions with Confucian scholars helped the spreading of Catholic thought in their early period. Comparing with the practices of directly imbuing on the local people in some other areas, the conversion by such cultural accommodation took long time with limitation of numbers. But, it brought good result in the

point of long term and laid good foundation for the speedy spreading of Christianity among local Chinese in later centuries.

Comparing with Jesuits, the Hui Hui scholars were more open. They were not hesitated to discuss any issue about Islam in their books. For example, “The Guide of Islam” provided full picture about Islam. The Islamic Chinazation of Han Kitab Literature opened a door for non-Muslim Han Chinese to know about Islam and Muslims.

- iv. The Fathers of Jesuits focused on the main Scriptures and Books of Confucianism and little attention was paid to other Chinese classics. For example, Laozi’s *Tao De Jing* seemed not much studied by the Jesuits, but some Taoists’ practices of poly-theism were criticised by the Jesuits. So were the other Chinese classics scarcely quoted by the Fathers of Jesuits as their evidences.

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars were themselves Confucian literati and they knew well all Scriptures or Books of Chinese classics. They showed their fullest respect towards Confucius himself and they regarded Confucius. In order not to contradict with the teachings of Islam, the Hui Hui scholars did not declare the prophethood of Confucius. The ‘Five Ethic Virtures’ in Confucianism were explained by the Hui Hui Muslim scholars as the five pillars of Islam, as Matteo Ricci tried to intepretate them according to his Catholic needs.

- v. A comparison regarding the number of books published by the Jesuits and the Muslim scholars suggests that the numbers of writers and books written by Muslim scholars were much less than that of the Jesuits. The topics of Han Kitab Literatue were limited in the field of religious studies only, while topics of the books and articles of the Jesuits were various, not only on theological issues, but sciences, technologies, arts, history, etc. were included.
- vi. The Hui Hui Muslim scholars worked almost individually. The poor preservation and delay in publishing their books affected negatively the circulation of them among people. Only a few

people had the chance to read those books before they were published. It seemed that most of those Han Kitab Literature remained unknown.

Contrast to that, the Society of Jesus in Rome, India, Japan and China formed a network and they worked cooperatively most of the time. They used to print the books and distribute them among local people as soon as they got the permissions of publication from their head office in Europe.

vii. One of the aims of comparative religions study is for Islamic Dawah work. A lot of lessons we can take from the integration of Chinese traditions of Hui Hui Muslim scholars and Jesuits missionaries of three or four centuries ago. At present time, millions of native Chinese are searching for the spiritual truth. Christian missionaries are very active in present China. Unlike the time of Jesuits missionaries before hundreds years ago, all the Fathers and preachers are native Chinese now. No doubt that the modern ways of cultural accommodation help them in their preaching work. But, Allah guides those servants He wants, the truth will always remain true, there are many Christians also in China who converted to Muslims.

viii.

Comparing with the Christian missionaries, the present Chinese Muslims seem not yet well prepared for that. The progress of Islamic Chinazation is rather far away. There is still hot discussion whether the Han Chinese word of 'Tian (天)' can be used to express the Arabic term of Allah or not. The present operation of "anti-Arabinization & anti-Saudinization" of local government in some areas is giving us a painful lesson that we perhaps have paid more attention to imitate the outward actions like styles of clothes, architectures, etc. than to understand the spirit of Islam.

In the end of this thesis, we pray to Allah that He forgive us all and guide the Chinese to the way of salvation. Indeed, the life after death is better and forever. *Ameen*

ABSTRACT

This research deals with the following points:

A group of Catholic fathers from the Society of Jesus, headed by Matteo Ricci, had a policy of cultural accommodation around 1600's in their preaching work in China and their work partly inspired the Hui Hui Muslim scholars after 1630's. Jesuits' integration of Confucian traditions & anti-Buddhism had impact on Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholars which helped spreading both Christianity and Islam among local Chinese during 1600-1730.

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars had open minds and they were keen to learn from Chinese cultural heritage, as well as from Jesuits missionaries. In the light of Quran and Sunnah, they did many Ijtihad to solve the problems which the Hui Hui Muslims met in the empire of Confucianism.

A comprehensive study between Jesuits missionaries' integrating classical Confucian Scriptures to authenticate existence of the Creator and the Life after Death and that of Hui Hui Muslim scholars, and integration of Confucian code of life between the both are included in this research.

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كلية أصول الدين

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Between Hui Hui Muslim Scholars of Han
Kitab Literature and Jesuits Missionaries
during 1600—1730**

Supervised by: Prof Dr Anis Ahmad

Submitted by: Wu Juan (吴娟 Aisha)

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