

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY  
ISLAMABAD FACULTY OF USULUDIN

A Comparative Study of the  
Practice of Integrating Chinese  
Traditions Between Hui Hui  
Muslim Scholars and Jesuits  
Missionaries during 1600A.D.-  
1730A.D.

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In partial fulfillment of the award of Ph.D  
degree in Comparative Religion  
Department of Comparative Religion

Ramadan 1440A.H./ June,2017

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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## **Acknowledgement**

All the praise belongs to Allah (S.W.T), the Lord of all worlds. May Allah bestow His blessings and peace on our Holy Prophet Mohammed (S.A.W.), his companions and his family.

Thanks to Allah that He guided me to Islam and enabled me to love true knowledge of Islam. By the grace of Allah, I came to the land of Pakistan in the end of 1992 and had been deeply linked to International Islamic University, Islamabad since then. The first person I met in IIUI was the former president of IIUI, Dr. Mahmood Gazi in the early of December, 1992. At that time, he was the director of Dawah Acedemy. He gave me valuable advice that I should learn Arabic language and study Islam from its original sources. And I never forgot Dr. Ahmed Assal, the former president of IIUI, who devoted all his life to the noble work of educating the new generation. He took care of all of student like a father. May Allah accept their great efforts for the benefit of humanity and bestow them the best rewards.

Indeed, my studies in Usuluddin department, were a great blessing in my life. After about four months of my conversion, I came to IIUI. With the passage of time, the beautiful knowledge of Islam absorbed my soul and gave me the greatest satisfaction in my heart. Islam changed not only my worldview towards the world, human life, but also to my lifestyle. May Allah give the best rewards to all our dearest teachers, professors, administrators of IIUI. I would also take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to the authority of IIUI, that they gave me another extension of submitting thesis as a special case.

My special thanks should go to my supervisor, the most respected Professor Dr. Anis Ahmad. It was Allah's mercy for me that I met Dr. Anis in 1994 in a Chinese female students' meeting. At that time, he had just returned from IIU, Malaysia and was the Director General of Dawah Academy, IIUI. Since then, he and his family have taken care of me as a family member. In the end of 1997, my brother Abdullah declared Shahadah at his hand and entered the fold of Islam. During so many years, he never hesitated to offer any help and guidance whenever we needed. It is imaginable that I could complete this research work only with his help and encouragement. May Allah bless him and his family for his sincere devotion to Islam and Muslims.

My thanks and duas go to mama Bilqis Sophie and her family, who treated me as a family member during the past more than twenty years. My dua goes to Justice Cheema, the former Chairperson of Rabita Alalamil

Islami, Islamabad, who made my trip to Makkah and Umul-Qura University possible. May Allah accept their efforts and grant them higher ranks in Jannah.

My special thanks go to my dearest classmate sister Maryam Sulaiman (Ma Yue Xiang). It would have been impossible for me to complete all the formalities of the university i.e extension and submit this thesis. I have been in China since I left Pakistan in September 2010 with the synopsis of this thesis. May Allah reward her and her family the best.

My thanks also go to all my family members and my children for their love and company in the last so many years. All my kids were born in Islamabad during the period of my studies in IIUI. They left their footprints in the gardens, libraries, hostels, offices and even classrooms of IIUI. May Allah guide them to the right path.

## **Preface**

The main reason of selecting this subject resulted from my interest in the issues of converted Muslims, the history of Islam in China, interfaith religious dialogues among all the religious sects in modern China and introducing Islamic faith to the Chinese. A case study, the Han Kitab

Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholars was first of all. 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. During my reading, I noticed a phenomena that before Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholars around 1640 A.D., Matteo<sup>1</sup> Ricci and others from the Society of Jesus made their great efforts for the Chinization of Catholicism in the history of Christianity even before 1600 A.D. After some comprehensive reading, a hypothesis gradually emerged that perhaps there was a 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 an impact on Hui Hui Muslim scholars of Han Kitab Literature, the ways of their integration with Chinese traditions would be their common points of during their process of Chinaization. A comprehensive comparative study of the work between the both came to my mind.

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

The research work at hand was quite challenging due to the big time stretch, spanning over one hundred and thirty years. I had to cut short and narrow down my research. May Allah (S.W.T) accept this humble work.

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<sup>1</sup> Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), born in Macerata Marche in Italy in 1552. He joined Roman College of the Society of Jesus, in which he met the great German mathematician Clavius who was named the Euclid of 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1578, he reached Gua, India by sea with some other Jesuits. He studied theology in the College of the Society established by St. Francis Xavier in Gua. He spent twenty-eight years in China and died in Beijing on 11<sup>th</sup> May, 1610. A piece of land in Beijing was given to him by the Emperor of Wanli and he was buried there. (See, Pfister, The Notices,p.31-46)

## Introduction

Confucius (551 B.C - 479B.C) had left several ancient classics. Ming and Qing were the dynasties of Confucianism. His thoughts and ideas were compiled by his students in the book *Lun Yu* (论语 Analects). His system of philosophy and teachings, known as Confucianism, was accepted as state ideology since Han dynasty.

### BOOKS OF CONFUCIOUS AND HAN CHINESE LANGUAGE

Originally there were six books of Confucius. However, one book had gone missing and the rest known as *Five Scriptures* included *Shi* (the Book of Poetry), *Shang Shu*, *Li* (Record of Rites), *Yi* (the Book of Changes), *Chun Qiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals) and *Yue* (the Book of Music). Besides the *Five Scriptures*, other *Four Books* included in Confucianism were three for Confucius *Da Xue* (大学 the Great Learning), *Zhong Yong* (中庸 the Book of Mean) and, *Lun Yu* (论语 Analects) and one for Mencius (385B.C.-304B.C) *Mengzi* (孟子 the Book of Mencius). The last one was added to the list of books of Confucianism during the Song dynasty. In the early years of *Ming dynasty* (13<sup>th</sup> year of Yongli), the eight-part essay was officially prescribed for imperial civil service examinations. The interpretations made by Zhu Xi and Cheng's two brothers of the classics were considered orthodox and selected as curriculum for the imperial examinations across the country.

The ancient Chinese civilisation, culture and traditions were recorded in Han language, which was spoken by the majority Han tribe, who were over ninety per cent of the total population of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao<sup>2</sup>. The history of Han language can be traced back to the Qin dynasty. Qin Shihuang (秦始皇 the First Emperor of the Qin dynasty) conquered all

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<sup>2</sup> Macao is an Island in the South China Sea, in the west of Hong Kong. It remained under China's rule since 3<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. In the end of 15<sup>th</sup> Century, its people built the "Temple of Ma Ge", named after the goddess "Ma Ge" in order to seek her protection for fishers. Macao was the Sound of "Ma Ge" in Portuguese language. In 1514 A.D., first Portuguese 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.



the six warring states and got united China in 221 B.C. For a better administration in the large empire, Qin ordered standardisation 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) was developed as an official script, which gradually shaped into the regular script known as *Kai Shu* (楷书).

Except Taoism<sup>3</sup> and Confucianism, Buddhism was the only foreign religion in China, which interacted with local culture and has survived till today. However with the passage of time, all the three religions changed their original teachings. Confucianism remained the official ideology of Chinese feudal dynasties since Han dynasty, except Mongol Yuan. 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 environment and became a mutually complementary ideology for the native Chinese<sup>4</sup>. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism used to interact with 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 religious triangle, no other religion could get native Chinese converted on a large scale.

Many other religions, including Monism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, etc., were introduced in China in different historical periods. Only Christianity and Islam are intact until today, while other religions have no more followers in China. It would be a valuable work to

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<sup>3</sup> Taoists used to claim that the founder of Taoism was the owner of book "Dao De Jing" Li Er (李耳). But, actually Taoism went far away from the original teachings of "Dao De Jing", which 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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 teaching from "the Book of Changes".

explore the factors as to how the two religions managed to transplant the Chinese traditions (a cultural process of localization or Chinization), keeping their basic religious principles intact.

Moreover, the reasons should be found as to why the Christianity today is more popular among the Chinese than Islam. Unfortunately, the number of Muslims in China is increasing mainly because of births and not due to other reasons. Majority of the Chinese do not share the dividends 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 integrated with Chinese culture and traditions in their earlier periods.

The research at hand seeks to understand the nature of relationship between the followers of two religions in China during 1600 A.D.-1730 A.D and their integration with Confucian Chinese traditions. Moreover, the study would 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 of interfaith dialogue among the followers of different religions.

### FIRST BATCH OF CHRISTIANS:

The rulers of the Tang dynasty, which was established in the year of 618 A.D., 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 the 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. Tangs thus got a chance to stay in touch with multiple cultures and civilisations and adopted friendly policies towards them.

Due to the indirect result of Islamic expansion in the Western 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 Jiao* (波斯教 the Persian religions). A stone-carving tablet of *the Monument of Nestorian in China* was found in 1625 A.D. in Xi'an, which showed that a group of Nestorian Christians reached Changan in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Zhenguan (635A.D). 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, *Daqing* (大秦) refers to the Roman Empire since Han dynasty, *Jiao* (教) means religion, *Jing* (景) relates to the Sun (日) which literally means great or bright, and *Liuxin* (流行) means spreading. There were some lines written in Syrian language at the bottom and on two sides of the monument, which, according to the Jesuits' scholars, were the names of the priests.

According to the monument, the Nestorian church was called *Bosi Si* (波斯寺 the Temple of Persia), which literally means *Persian temple*. The Nestorians priests were called *Bosi Seng* (波斯僧 the monks from Persia). Probably, those Nestorians fled from Persia or Central Asia, due to adverse situation in the Persian Empire caused by the Arab Muslims during the era of Khalifa Omar Bin Khatab (R.A.). It was also written on the monument that on his arrival the priest was received by Tang's chief minister Fang Xuanling at the western suburb of Changan, the capital of Tang. The Nestorians were allowed by the Emperor to build a church in China.

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

The tablet carved in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Jiande (around 749 A.D.) 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 A.D. during the regime of Emperor Wuzong. The persecution of Buddhists affected the 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 the Rome rulers and some noble Mongols converted to Christians. Some churches were established in the capital city and other places. At many important Mongol gathering places, prayer halls, both for the Muslims and the Christians, were present there. But, all the Mongol Christians disappeared after the Ming dynasty was established in the land of Han China. 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 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. It was a religious order of Catholic missions organized by Spaniard St. Ignatius de Loyola in Paris in 1534 A.D. with other six persons. It was rectified by Pope Paul III on 27<sup>th</sup> September 1540 A.D. Its aim was to strive especially for the propagation and defence 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 integrating with Confucian traditions and introduced the Catholic faith to the local Chinese. After the death of Matteo

Ricci, some other Jesuits headed by Father Nicolas Longgobardi<sup>5</sup>, however, drifted off his course in of preaching, which was perhaps one of the causes that the Jesuits missionaries were banned during the regime of Emperor Kangxi of Qing dynasty.

### ISLAM IN CHINA

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

During the periods of Tang and Song dynasties, Muslims in China were mainly foreign traders, who mostly lived in main commercial cities of capital and coastal areas and the Chinese governments used to allocate a special place named Fan-Fang (Foreigners Settlement) where they had a Qazi (Judge), who was responsible to run their affairs according to the Islamic Shariah. During the Ming dynasty (1368A.D.-1644A.D.), a lot of Hui Hui Muslim immigrants had settled in different parts of China and adopted 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. They had to explain systematically to outsiders what Islam was. The Islamic scriptures in Arabic or Persian languages were usually called as “Jing (经 or **Titab** الكتاب)” . Some Hui Hui Muslim scholars in Nanjing areas wrote books in Han Chinese language about Islam in late Ming and early Qing dynasties, which due to high respect were called by them as “Han Jing (汉经) i.e., Han Kitab Literature”. The Han Kitab Literature movement was a revolutionary step

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<sup>5</sup>Nicolas Longgobardi (1559A.D.-1654A.D. 龙华民) was born in a noble family of Italy. He came to China in 1597A.D. 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 1610A.D.

<sup>6</sup> The word of “Da Shi” came from the Persian word “Tazi ” in Canton dialect , See Bai Shouyi, the Essays

<sup>7</sup> See, The Old Tang Books, Vol.639, p.4115

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 across the vast land of China and whose language was also Han Chinese, to study their religion and to keep their Islamic identity. Because of the role played by the Han Kitab Literature movement, some scholars considered as the “Renaissance of Islam in China”.

Prior to the Chinese Muslim scholars, the early Jesuits missionaries started their systematic work of integrating Chinese traditions in late Ming dynasty. They did not 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 anti-Buddhism’ was also observed in the Han Kitab Literature by the Hui Hui Muslim scholars after around a century.

In this research, a comparative study of Hui Hui Muslim scholars’ Han Kitab Literature and the practice of Jesuits, headed by Matteo Ricci, during the period 1600A.D.-1730A.D has been made. I have tried to find out 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 the third batch of missionaries. Among them were the missionaries from the Society of Jesus, who, being the most outstanding religious order, had approached the palaces of Chinese emperors and worked at the Imperial Court.

When many European colonies were established along the coastal areas of Africa and Asia during 16<sup>th</sup> century, priests and fathers were also brought there for religious services and preaching Christianity among the native people. Different Catholic orders started to sponsor, train and send missionaries to those places. At the same time, the Catholics in the hometown of St. Ignatius de Loyola, Spain, were pushing the last Muslims out of the country. Founder of the Society of Jesus St. Ignatius de Loyola had some background of anti-Islam sentiments. He converted to Christianity in 1522A.D. During stay in a hospital, he made up his mind to devote himself for defending the Pope and fighting the Muslims, who were creating ‘troubles’ for Christians in the holy land of Jerusalem and other areas. In 1523 A.D., he left for Jerusalem to perform a pilgrimage and wage a holy war against the Muslims there, but he had to abandon the journey due to some disease. In 1534 A.D., 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 25<sup>th</sup> March of 1537 A.D., 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 Rome<sup>8</sup>. Some scholars even concluded that the “Spiritual Experiences” or

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<sup>8</sup> See, Harmann, the Brief History of the Society of Jesus, p.3-4.

“Salvation of the Souls” of Jesuits were similar to the Tasawuf of Muslims.

When the Society of Jesus society was established in 1534A.D. in Paris, its founders had vowed that they would devote themselves for the task of freeing Jerusalem from “the occupation of Muslims” first and if not, then they would remain loyal to the Holy See.<sup>9</sup>

The society followed the teachings of the Catholic Church. Its priests and brothers were also called as “the Company” or “God’s Marines” as they were ready to face 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.<sup>10</sup> Many Jesuits set out their hard journeys all over the world. St. Francis Xavier<sup>11</sup> was sent by St. Ignatius de Loyola to India in 1542 A.D.. After eleven months of travelling by sea, Francis arrived at Gua, India, and started his missionary work there. College of St. Paul in Gua became the first centre 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 A.D. He liked the people there due to their keen interest in new knowledge and their good moral characters. When he heard about from the Japanese that their culture originated from China, he developed a strong desire of spreading the Gospels among Chinese. He realised that the Chinese civilisation was the biggest in the Far-East Asia. But, unfortunately, he could not fulfil his desire of entering the Chinese mainland, due to its government’s strict

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<sup>9</sup> 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

<sup>10</sup> See,Zhang Guanggang, From the Beginning of the West Meeting with the East to the Ritual Controversy ,(Beijing: People’s Press,2003).p.211

<sup>11</sup> St. Francis Xavier (1505-1552), Spaniard, was one of the first six members, who gathered with St. Ignatius de Loyola Paris on 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1534. The together professed vows of poverty and chastity, and 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



restrictions for the foreigners during that period. He died in 1552A.D on the island of “Shangchuan (上川島)”, which was not far from Macao. The desire of St. Francis Xavier was, however, fulfilled by other Jesuits, who came afterwards.

In 1552 A.D., 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 the local Chinese government. According to some reports, at that time, among five thousands residents of Macao, nine hundred were Portuguese. Portugal had the right of protecting churches. Soon, a center of Chinese language and Culture Study Center was established there by Jesuits.

In 1563 A.D., eight Jesuit members used to work at the centre. 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 Portuguese language and wearing Portuguese dresses, and even asking the converts to change their nationalities as Portuguese. Those in charge of the Jesuits work at that time did not respect the local culture and were very rude to the local converts<sup>12</sup>. 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 they fought them with guns. Another Jesuit member Melchior Nunes Barreto, who worked in Macao, also agreed with this dangerous point of view and he even wrote a letter to suggest the emperors of Europe to help missionaries entering the Chinese mainland by threatening the Emperor of China by the their armed forces. Such kind of weapon and gospel policy was practised in the Philippines. The Spanish Augustinians even suggested to get opened the doors of mainland of China by guns<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.6-7

<sup>13</sup> See, Qi Yingping, A Study of History of Jesuits in Far-East, p.

The Jesuits work started to take a turn when another Jesuits Father Alexandro Valignani (1538A.D.-1606A.D.)<sup>14</sup> came to Macao in July, 1578 A. D. 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 evangelising work<sup>15</sup>. 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 emphasised the need to learn Chinese language, develop orientation with the local culture and customs.<sup>16</sup>

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

Keeping this backdrop in view, Michel Ruggieri<sup>17</sup> and Matteo Ricci were sent, one after another, from India to Macao for studying the Chinese language and culture. After failing many a time, they had managed to get

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<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> See Hartmann, P.C., the Brief History of the Society of Jesus, p.37-39

<sup>16</sup> See Jiang Weihang, the Jesuits in Ming-Qing China, (Shanghai: the knowledge press, 1987), p.7-9.

<sup>17</sup> 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. He visited Canton (Guangzhou) several times during 1580-1582. He was permitted to stay in Zhaoqing, Canton in the end of 1582 by the governor of Canton. His residence in Zhaoqing was the first residence of Jesuits in China. The first person in Chinese mainland was baptized by him in Zhaoqing. He was sent back to Rome for the appeal of sending Papal delegation to the emperor of China in 1589. He did not get any answer from the Papacy until he died in Italy in 1607.

permission to enter Zhaoqing, the then capital of Canton, with Portuguese traders in 1583A.D. They managed to get a residence in Zhaoqing.

Even up to 1584 A.D., a Jesuits member named Alonso Sanchez reached Maocao, and suggested that a joint army of Spain and Portugal should be sent to China for fortifying the residence of Jesuits in **Zhaoqing**. The suggestion was turned down.

In 1596 A.D., Matteo Ricci was appointed as the Vice Provincial of China Mission. The policy of cultural accommodation suggested by Alexandro Valignani continued to be practised. From 1600 A.D to 1610 A.D, Matteo Ricci set his personal example of cultural accommodation for other Jesuits in China and India. His practices were named *Principles of Matteo Ricci* by the Emperor of Kangxi during *Chinese Rites Controversy*.<sup>18</sup>

## Chapter 2

### Main Books of Jesuits in Han Chinese

While staying in Macao, the Jesuits realised that the Chinese people were intensely interested in reading books and learning about the outside world. In order to show superiority of the Catholic faith to the Chinese, the Jesuits 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 1580s 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.

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<sup>18</sup> *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 were also involved. The detailed discussion in this connection will be made in other sections of this thesis.

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 local Chinese. The title of the book was *The Ten Commandments of Lord of Heaven Handed Down from our Ancestors* (祖传天主十戒).

In 1584 A.D 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* 新编西竺国天主圣教实录) was published in Zhaoqing. This book was no more published with its original title as it contained many Buddhist terms. 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* (the country of West India) was omitted from its title.

The Jesuits tried to hide their relationship with Chinese Buddhism in their early history and **tried** not to mention the original name of Michel Ruggieri's book when it was published first time in Zhaoqin.<sup>19</sup>

With the publication of the book *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* in 1603 A.D, Matteo Ricci opened a new era of Christianity in the history of China. Matteo Ricci not only wrote books and article in Chinese, but also published the same on his own. His policy of cultural accommodation was ratified by the Society of Jesus<sup>20</sup>, and later he was

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<sup>19</sup> 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 of6816 with the title of “Tian Zhu Sheng Jiao Shi Lu(天主圣教实录)”,See Xu Zongce, a Abstract,p321 and also in the library of Vatican with the same title. According to Pftister, there was a copy of manuscript of this book also in the library of Vetolieo-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 Pftister, Notices Biographiques,Vol.1.p.30

<sup>20</sup> 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

appointed as the Provincial Superior of China Mission in 1596 A.D. The practice of Matteo Ricci's anti-Buddhism criticism and his efforts to integrate Confucianism had continued for many years even after his death in 1610A.D. Many books and articles were written by other Jesuits to defend the practices of Matteo Ricci. However, there were some Jesuits in China which among other include Father Nicolas Longobardi (1559A.D.-1645A.D) who did not agree with the policy of Matteo Ricci. Their work would not be focused in the current study. 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 *An Abstract of the Writings of Jesuits* and mentioned other books from 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*. The current study would briefly discuss the selected books and articles produced by noted Jesuit fathers and Chinese converts.

## 1. Matteo Ricci

*The Diary* (1614 A.D) was the most important book of Matteo Ricci. It was published by Nicolas Trigault<sup>21</sup> in Latin. 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 language in 1604 A.D and reprinted three times by Father Alexandre Valignani in Macao. It was also adapted into Korean and French languages in 1818 A.D.<sup>22</sup> This was considered one of the most important books on Jesuits in China.

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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

<sup>21</sup> 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.

<sup>22</sup> See Pftister ,Notices Biographiques, Vol.1,p.41,There are manuscripts of this Book in Xujiahui Library, Shanghai , in Vatican Library(Biblioteca Apostolica

Another book of Matteo Ricci *Ji Ren Pian* (畸人十篇 Ten Articles for the Abnormal People) was published in Beijing in 1604 A.D. It was a critique on the Buddhists and superstitions in Chinese traditions<sup>23</sup>.

The third one was *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 Tingyun

Paul Xu Guangqi and Yang Tingyun were Chinese converts who played significant role in preaching Catholicism and promoting western sciences and technologies in China. Paul Xu Guangqi wrote a number of books and articles on Catholics, which among other include the articles *Pi Wang* (辟妄 A Refutation of Misconceptions) *Po Mi* (破迷 A Refutation of Superstitions). Yang Tingyu's articles titled *Tian Shi Ming Bian* (天释明辨 A Comparative Study between Catholicism and Buddhism) and *Dai Yi Bian* (代疑编 A Collection of Questions) were the most popular.

## 3. Jules Aleni

Father J. Aleni (1582A.D -1649A.D) was a very important figure in the history of Jesuits in China. He continued Matteo Ricci's practice of cultural accommodation in China. In Fujian province, he worked successfully among the local people and intellectuals. The local Chinese people were greatly impressed by his profound 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.

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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(Bibliothèque nationale de France) with reference no. of Maurice Courant 6820, 6821,6823,6824...,see Xu Zongce, an Abstract,p321.

<sup>23</sup>According 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).

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

## Chapter 3

### Islam and the Hui Hui Muslims in China

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

The Muslims in China today can be categorised 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 speak Han language and live across the country. 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 Hui Hui Muslims used in this thesis was a general name for those people who believed in Islam before 1949 A.D. 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 the Han Chinese Muslims.

## ***1. A Brief History of Islam in China***

The transportation and communication linkages both by the sea and road between ancient China and the Western Region had existed as early as 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>24</sup> Many Chinese historians believed that Arabs and Persians reached the south-eastern coastal areas of China as businessmen before the start of the Islamic era in Arabian Peninsula. Those traders used to settle down in those major cities including Canton, now called Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong province, *Quanzhou* in Fujian province and *Hangzhou*, the capital city of Zhejiang province. They usually travelled between the Chinese cities and their hometowns by sea. It was probable that some of them brought the new faith of Islam to their country fellows in China shortly after the pronouncement of prophethood by Mohammed (S.A.W.). After the rise of Islam, many Muslims came to China as businessmen<sup>25</sup>, envoys and soldiers, from western border through Silk Route.

Islam entered China peacefully. According to the Chinese official record, in Aug, 651 A.D, the envoys of Caliph 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 great empires<sup>26</sup>. With the establishment of official relationship between Chinese Tang and Muslim world, many foreign Muslims thronged Chinese cities and towns as traders, soldiers and diplomats.

Meanwhile, after about one hundred years another big event happened in the country that changed the circumstances altogether. In the winter of 755 A.D., there was a 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

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<sup>24</sup>See, Bai Shou Yi, Essays on History of Islam in China, p.2-11.

<sup>25</sup>See, Ibrahim, T. Y. Ma "Muslims in China" p. 9-11.

<sup>26</sup>See ,The Old Book of Tang,Vol.639,p. 4115



requested by the Chinese emperor to help him. The army of Muslims fought side by side with the Chinese armies against the rebellion. At last, the rebellion was put down by Tang government and peace returned to the country. After the victory, the foreign soldiers chose to settle down in China permanently.<sup>27</sup> Those Muslim soldiers married local Chinese women and their wives were perhaps the first batch of Chinese converts.

During Tang and Song dynasties (618A.D -1279A.D), Muslims were mainly foreign traders and they mostly lived in compact communities called *Fan Fang*<sup>28</sup>. They enjoyed their religious freedom. The Muslim population of China greatly increased during Mongol Yuan dynasty. Muslims from the western region were brought by the Mongols as technicians, soldiers, etc. They were sent by the Mongols to every place deep inside the provinces as fighters against the government of Southern Song dynasty or technicians to build the country. During this period, the term Hui Hui meant the Muslim people of the western region. Some other Muslim scholars contend that the word Hui (回) in Han Chinese language has multiple meanings. For example “回” are composed of two “口” “口”, while the outside one of “口” refers to the people who recite the Kalimah with their physical mouths and the inside of “口” refers to the people who should confirm their faith in their hearts too. 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 origin *Tian Fang* i.e. the Arabian Peninsula or Jannah -- the final destination.

During Ming dynasty, Han Chinese culture and Confucianism again dominated the country. Zhu Yuanzhang was the first emperor of Ming dynasty. 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 the western region to inland provinces of China. The Hui Hui Muslims in inland main cities moved further to small cities, towns and countryside. Many stable compact communities of the

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<sup>27</sup> See, Bai Shou Yi, Essays on the History of Islam in China, p.

<sup>28</sup> According to the historical records, such “Fang 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.

Muslims were spread across China, such as in Gansu, Qinghai, Shanxi, Ningxia, Shangsi, Henan, Hebei, Anhui, Shangdong, Guangdong and Fujian, etc. during the period of 1368A.D.-1521A.D. 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 Muslim 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.<sup>29</sup> Muslims and other nations from the western 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 Chinization or localisation of adopting Chinese names, changing their foreign style clothes into native Chinese styles, speaking Han Chinese language, many Hui Hui 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 western region and south-eastern coastal areas so that the foreigners could not enter China easily. The Ming government became more nervous and alert about their security of South-Eastern coastal areas, when they heard the news of some western colonisers invading the adjacent countries like Indonesia, Philippines 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<sup>30</sup> (1522 A.D - 1597A.D) and his followers were having religious educational reforms firstly in Shanxi province, then all over China by establishing the '*Mosque Scripture Hall*'<sup>31</sup> education system. The Islamic '*Mosque Scripture Hall*'

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<sup>29</sup> See Yahya ,Linsong, The History of Hui Hui and Islamic Culture, China Today Publishing House,p.39-53,1992

<sup>30</sup> Idris Hu Dengzhou(1522A.D.-1597A.D.) was a great figure in the history of Islam in China. He established the "Mosque Scripture Hall" education system 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).

<sup>31</sup> "Mosque Scripture Hall (经堂教育) Islamic Education"was similar to today's Deeni Taleem in India or Pakistan. About thirteen famous books from the Muslim

education system was introduced in South-Eastern region including Nanjing and Shand at least two decades after Jesuits came to this region. The most famous Muslim scholars in this area were Ma Zhengwu, Zhang Shaoshang, Mohammed Chang Zhimei<sup>32</sup> (1610A.D.-1670A.D.). The newly introduced educational system played a significant role in this area for the emergence of the famous Han Kitab Literature movement in 17<sup>th</sup> 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 had an experience with Indian Muslims, that it was very difficult for the Muslims to convert to Christianity. Perhaps, he treated Muslims as the religious rivals. Matteo Ricci did not discuss Islam and Muslims in China in his books published in Chinese language during his lifetime. Matteo Ricci mentioned in details almost all religious sects in China in his writings, except Hui Hui Muslim. Some scholars tried to find out the reasons saying that he ignored in his writing the Muslims in China due to their weak position in China and their foreign origin.<sup>33</sup> But, the historical facts do 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 presence of Hui Hui in China, as Bernard wrote the

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world, including Arabic grammar, Persian grammar, Tafseer, Hadith, Fiqh of Sharih Wigayah (a book of Fiqh in Hanfi School), Tasauwwaf, 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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.

<sup>33</sup> 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 Histry, Vol.2,2009.

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.”<sup>34</sup>

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 (1522A.D.-1566A.D.), the Ming government sent soldiers of ‘Da Guan Jun’ to different places, Gungzhou two hundred and seventy-six, Zhaoqing forty...<sup>35</sup>. In 4<sup>th</sup> year of Chenghua (1468A.D.), Ming dynasty including four hundred Muslim soldiers with their families, came to Zhaoqing, and were on garrison duty there. During 1522 A.D.-1566 A.D. the government of Ming sent again Muslim soldiers to Zhaoqing.<sup>36</sup> The fact that the establishment of the first mosque of Zhaoqing in the end of Ming dynasty and early years of Qing dynasty, shows that in those days the Muslim population was not very small.<sup>37</sup> Guangzhou, the most important international trade city of China, is located in the Eastern side -- about one hundred and twenty kilometer 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 from local Chinese and make the management easier, located certain areas for those foreign traders especially *Fanfang* or foreigners' settlements. Prayer 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 8.85meters at its bottom) was used for giving light to direct the ships of the traders in the

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<sup>34</sup> See, Bernard, the Bibliography, p.78

<sup>35</sup> See, Ma jian Zhao, The Historical Culture of Hui Muslims in Guangdong, The Nation Publishing House, 2012. p.96.

<sup>36</sup> See, The Historical Culture of Hui Muslims in Guangdong, The Nation Publishing House, 2012, p.96

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p.167

night, by putting lamps or making fires on the top of the minaret. In this period, most of foreign Muslims lived in those foreigners' 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"—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 1468A.D. During the period of Chinghua, 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, But, 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,<sup>38</sup> He 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 mosques. It was said that, the earliest mosque in Nanjing was built in Song dynasty. Eleven mosques were built in Ming dynasty<sup>39</sup>. 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". This mosque was built by the first emperor of Ming for the Muslim government officers. The famous scholar Li Zhi, who was a Hui Hui Muslim by birth, met Matteo Ricci for many times in Nanjing and even accompanied him in Jining, Shandong province for his journey to Beijing. Matteo Ricci desired to remain in Nanjing and build a Jesuits centre there. The local Chinese officers even gave suggestion to Matteo Ricci that he should tried to stay in Nanjing and China as the Hui Muslim did<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Diary, p.114 and 140.

<sup>39</sup> See, Ma Te, Du Yi Zhai, 2016/11/21

<sup>40</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Diary, p.114

According to Matteo Ricci himself, he even visited the huge astronomical observatory built by the Muslim astronomers during the early years of Ming dynasty. This visit inspired Jesuits that they could also work for the empire. 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 A.D, he wrote to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus and requested the Society to the best mathematicians to China in order to translate the western calendar into Chinese language so that the Jesuits could stay in China with dignity and honour.<sup>41</sup> The world map drew by Metto Ricci carries the names of Arab Peninsula, Mecca, Medina, and Palestine etc. in Han Chinese language. Ricci even used the name of ‘Hui Hui Guo’ (回回国)” to refer the Central Asia. Similarly, ‘Tan Fang’ (天方) was also used on the map. *Tan Fang* has been borrowed by the Hui Hui Muslim scholars and used in Han Kitab Literature. It later became an Islamic term in Han Chinese. He could not hide his feelings in his writings that whenever Muslims were the “worst enemy of Christians.”<sup>42</sup>

Beijing, the capital city 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 western region, the Mongols brought many people from the Arab Peninsula and Persia to Beijing, then called Zhongdu, for building new capital of Dadu. The two tombs with the monuments inscribed in Arabic around 1280 A.D suggested that Muslims were using Arabic language at that time. The grand Palace of Beijing was designed and managed by a Muslim engineer during 1260s. Marco Polo called it Cambalu.<sup>43</sup> Many Muslims also entered Beijing, when the Ming shifted its capital from Nanjing to Beijing in 1420. 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

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<sup>41</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.128

<sup>42</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Diary, 121

<sup>43</sup> Matteo Ricci found, when he lived in Beijing, that the country of “Cathy” and its capital “Camalu” described by Marco Polo were China and Beijing .

in China except Islam. The reasons of such inclusion were not known to us. But it is obvious that the early Jesuits M. Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci were fully aware of the huge population of the Muslims in Canton, Zhaoqing, Nanjing and Beijing. His 'Diary' published posthumously by Nicolas Trigault in European languages<sup>44</sup> revealed that Matteo Ricci had profound understanding about the status of Islam and Muslims in China. He called the Chinese Muslims 'the Saracens' in all his writings pertaining to the 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.”<sup>45</sup>

His travelling in Zhaoqing, Canton, Nanjing and Beijing enriched his understanding about the status of Islam in China. He even mentioned that

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<sup>44</sup> 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 Apud Sinas suscepta a Societate Iesus). 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 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.

<sup>45</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Diary, p.114



there were a lot of Muslims in Canton<sup>46</sup>. He also pointed out the ignorance of Chinese Muslims at that time: ‘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...’<sup>47</sup> In his ‘Diary’, he recorded a full story of the Portugal Jesuit Bento de Goes’ 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.<sup>48</sup> In another place of this “Diary”, Matteo Ricci even described the Muslims as the worst enemy of the Christians.<sup>49</sup> It seems he expressed his hatred 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’ regarding any direct contact with any Chinese Muslim except Li Zhi in Nanjing. In 1616 A.D, Paul Xu Guangqi asked the government to give the Christians freedom to practice their religion, citing the precedence that the Hui Hui Muslims had enjoyed their complete religious freedom, though they did not have books about their religion in Chinese.<sup>50</sup>

## Chapter 4

### 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 until 1600s. Probably, the activities of Jesuits in China also stimulated Han Kitab Literature movement of Hui Hui scholars in Nanjing.

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<sup>46</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Diary, p. 140.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid,p.114

<sup>48</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Diary, p.541-567

<sup>49</sup> Ibid,p.121

<sup>50</sup> See, Xu Guangqi, Pi Wang,



Han Kitab Literature movement was a very important development in the history of Muslims in China that first time in the history of China. Hui Hui Muslims had been in the land of China for nearly a thousand years, but they could not explain their religion—Islam-- to the native Chinese in Han language. The emergence of Han Kitab Literature in Nanjing around 1640 A.D. was the result of numerous factors.

The policy of national assimilation of the 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* 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(1584A.D.-1670A.D.), Dawood Wang Dai Yu <sup>51</sup> (1570A.D.-1660A.D.), Wu Zhongqi (1598A.D.-1697A.D.) and Salih Liu Zhi <sup>52</sup> (1660A.D.-1730A.D.) had the educational background of *Mosque Scripture Hall*.

Admittedly, the bilingual training in Han Chinese and Arabic/Persian *Mosque Scripture Hall* significantly contributed in the emergence and

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<sup>51</sup> 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 a scientist of astronomy in the first 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” after the Sheikh left 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.

<sup>52</sup> Yusuf Ma Zhu (马註 1640-1711), was born in Yunnan. He introduced himself in the memorial to the throne of presenting his book of “A Guidance of Islam” in the early of 1700’s that, he was the 30<sup>th</sup> 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.

advancement of the Han Kitab Literature movement. Notwithstanding, it is inexplicable as to why Han Kitab Literature movement could not be launched in the North Western 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 critiqued by Dawood Wang Daiyu.<sup>53</sup> There were perhaps two other Han Kitab of Hui Hui Muslim scholar, *Qing Zhen Jiao Kao* (清真教考 The Examination of Islam) mentioned by Salih Liu Zhi in the preface of the book *The Seerah of Last Prophet (S.A.W.)* produced around 1634 A.D and *Qun Shu Hui Ji Shi Yi* (群书汇辑释疑 A Collection of Books and Removing of Doubts)" written about 1636A.D <sup>54</sup>. But unfortunately, these two books were lost.

Another noted writer of Han Kitab Literature was Yusuf Ma Zhu<sup>55</sup> (1640A.D.-1711A.D.). 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 1684A.D.-1685A.D, 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 areas of South-Eastern China including Zhejiang, Shandong, and Beijing stimulated Han Kitab Literature Movement. With the growth of Catholicism in China, the battles between Chinese and Jesuits' missionaries also took place from time to time. The anti-Catholic movements in China launched after the

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<sup>53</sup>See, 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.

<sup>54</sup> See, Li Yunfei, A History of Islam in China, p.209-210.

<sup>55</sup> 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.

death of Matteo Ricci made the Jesuits and their work popular. The first such movement was launched in 1616 A.D. A big church of Hong Guang established in 1610 A.D in Nanjing was damaged and the priests of Jesuits were deported by the government<sup>56</sup>. Another anti-Catholic movement was launched in 1637 A.D. in Fujian province. The third one was the Event of Calendar between Hui Hui astronomer Yang Guangxian and the astronomer of Jesuits in Beijing during 1665A.D.-1669A.D. The fourth movement of anti-Catholics was the 'Rite Controversies' between the Emperor of Kangxi and Papacy in Rome.

The careful examination of Han Kitab Literature suggests that Jesuits missionary activities and Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim. 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 centre of Islamic Studies in South-East China. During that period, some foreign Sufi scholars also came to Nanjing and taught Sufism to some Hui Hui Muslims in Nanjing. For instance, a Sufi master named Ashiq came to Nanjing in 1638A.D and one of the authors of Han Kitab Literature Zhang Zhong was his student. Zhang Zhong wrote a book on Sufism according to Ashiq's teachings.

Mohammed Chang Zhimei (1610A.D - 1670A.D) and his cousin Li Yanling came to Nanjing from Jining, Shandong province for completion of their 'Mosque Scripture Hall' education. They studied with Sheikh Ma Zhenwu at first and then with Sheikh Zhang Shaoshan. They returned to Jinning in 1637A.D. 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 favourable Han Chinese cultural environment in the former capital city, Matteo Ricci had developed thorough understanding

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<sup>56</sup> See, Zhou Pingping, *The Catholicism Dispersing*, p. 48-49

about Hui Hui Muslim astronomers who worked for the imperial court. He had 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 Cdar Controversy’ between the Hui astronomer Yang Guangxian and the astronomers of Jesuits took place in the end of 1660s which ended with dismissal of the Muslim astronomers from the royal post. Matteo Ricci also mentioned that ‘the Saracens in China had very little to do with the preaching work among Chinese; they were ignorant about their religious teachings except non-pork dieting.’<sup>57</sup> The only mention of Chinese Hui Muslims in Jesuits writings in Chinese was in the article titled *Dai Yi Pian* authored by the Chinese convert Yang Tingjun in 1621 A.D.. The Muslims not only translated Islamic teachings into Chinese, they would also practise their religion with freedom in China.<sup>58</sup>

Jesuits’ preaching among the Hui Hui Muslims stimulated a large number of Muslim scholars to make meaningful contribution to spread the message of Islam in China. In 1641 A.D, there was a religious polemic between Father Nocolas Longobardi and a Hui Hui Muslim scholar in the Palace of king Ningyang, in Qingzhou, Shandong province.<sup>59</sup> As reported by Nocolas 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 faith<sup>60</sup>.

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 25<sup>th</sup> year of Jiaqin, Ming

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<sup>57</sup>See, Matteo Ricci, *The Diary*, p.p114

<sup>58</sup> See, Yang Tingjun, *Dai Yi Pian*.

<sup>59</sup> 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.

<sup>60</sup>The 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 1302A.D. and the first Emperor of Ming dynasty Zhu Yuanzhang named it as “Zhen Jiao Si(真教寺 the Mosque of True Religion)”.These two ancient mosque is still there today.

dynasty (1546A.D.). Nicolas Longobardi also mentioned in his writing that the King Ningyang preferred Monotheism to Islam.

At that time when this incident took place in 1641 A.D, Sheikh Mohammed had come back to Shandong from Nanjing for about four years and had been teaching in the *Western Mosque* for about two years. It seemed plausible to infer that this encounter between Islam and Catholicism, the episode of the King's conversion to Islam and the activities of Jesuits in South Eastern areas and Beijing might have proved instrumental in speedy emergence of Han Kitab Literature among the 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 1642 A.D, there were ninety-seven books got published by the Jesuits in Han Chinese<sup>61</sup>.

The book of Emmanuel Diaz Junior (1574A.D.-1659A.D.)<sup>62</sup> *Sheng Jing Zhi Jie* (圣经直解 The Commentary of Holy Bible) was published in 1636 A.D. and 1642 A.D. The 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 *Zhen Zhu* (真主 the Real Lord) was used to refer God.<sup>63</sup> In the later period, Hui Hui Muslim scholars borrowed the same word and used it in Han Kitab Literature. It is still widely used among the Chinese Muslims.

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<sup>61</sup> See, Xu Gongce, An Abstract, p.338-342

<sup>62</sup> Emmanuel Diaz Junior (1574-1659) was born in Portugal. He completed his studies of theology in 1601 on Goa, 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.

<sup>63</sup> See, Xu Gongce, An Abstract, p.18

Nanjing and Beijing became two centres for Muslim scholars and the Jesuits in Ming-Qing dynasty, as scholars from both sides would travel to the centres. A further research is needed to explore the nature of contacts between the two sides. The historical facts show that Dawood Wang Daiyu left Nanjing and settled down in Beijing after the fall of Ming dynasty. Yusuf Ma Zhu carried his book *The Guidance of Islam* in 1684 A.D and followed the Kangxi Emperor down to the south of China. Yusuf Ma Zhu met many Hui Hui scholars in Shandong and Nanjing during this trip. Salih Liu Zhi started writing his book *The Seerah of the Last Prophet (S.A.W.)* after having his visit to the tomb of Confucius in Shandong province.<sup>64</sup> 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 *Four Books and Five Scriptures* since they entered Macao. After studying Buddhism and Taoism, the early Jesuits in China realised that Confucianism was closer to the Catholicism. Matteo Ricci himself admitted that among the three traditions of China at that time, the Confucianism was the closest to the Catholic truth.<sup>65</sup> 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 in the front his portraits ... We should admit that no other thought of Chinese schools was closer to the truth than Confucianism’.<sup>66</sup> The Chinese convert Xu Guangqi expressed his desire to replace Buddhism with Catholicism.<sup>67</sup>

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

<sup>64</sup> See, Liu Zhi, the Preface of “the Seerah”,p.

<sup>65</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, the Correspondences, p.

<sup>66</sup> See, Bernard, LE PERE MATHIEU RICCI ET LA, P. 142-143. It was written in the letter of Matteo Ricci to Roman dated on 13<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>67</sup> See, Paul Xu Guangqi, An Appeal for the Western Studies, (an Xupian of Documents of Catholic Eastern Mission, Vol.1), p.24-25

from Islamic land to China for more than hundreds years, as the family of Dawood Wang Daiyu and Yusuf Ma Zhu did.<sup>68</sup>

It may be concluded that Confucianism and Islam both were the cultural heritage of Hui Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature<sup>69</sup>. So, integration of Confucian traditions in their books and inter-faith dialogues was a natural phenomenon and had not been incorporated as a policy for preaching Islam as Jesuits did.

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

Some other religions had been completely disappeared for certain period of time after being introduced to the Chinese society which include Nestorian, Yelikewen, Judaism, Manism, 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 Confucius country, Hui Hui Muslim scholars in Nanjing area started writing books on Islam in Han Chinese language, though the number of the books, compared with the works of Jesuits in China, were

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<sup>68</sup> 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 he was the grand-son of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) of 45<sup>th</sup> generation. See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, the Preface of "Guidance of Islam".

<sup>69</sup> The Sufi movement developed in the North-West areas of China in the early of 18<sup>th</sup> 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.



limited. But, it was a watershed development that Muslims in China started writing books about their religion in Han Chinese language. Some modern scholar observed that during the whole Han Kitab Literature movement (1640-the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century), about sixty-six Islamic books were written in or translated into Han Chinese.<sup>70</sup> Some scholars regarded Han Kitab Literature movement as Renaissance of Islam in China. The Comparison between the books produced by the Jesuits and Hui Hui Muslims suggests that Han Kitab Literature of the Hui Hui Muslim Scholars were limited to religious studies, though Muslims did contribute a lot to the development of Chinese civilization.<sup>71</sup> For example, there were a lot of astronomers during the Mongol Yuan and the Ming dynasties, but there was only one book on astronomy titled *Qi Zhen Tui Bu*, produced in Han Chinese during Ming dynasty<sup>72</sup>. The following Hui Hui scholars were the major 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 1637A.D, the activities of Jesuits in of 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 against Christianity with Confucian **literati** in Fujian and Zhejing provinces in 1637A.D.

The same thing happened also in the capital city of Beijing. A 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 1639A.D, there were as many as 38 converted ladies, including the former Empress. In 1638A.D., the number of the converts on the Court increased to fifty. Adam Schall even predicted at that time that the Emperor and Empress

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<sup>70</sup> See, Saif Al-Haq, The Culture of Islam in China, Ph.D. thesis of Peshawar Univ., Pakistan, 2007,

<sup>71</sup> 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

<sup>72</sup> See, Yu Zhengui, An Abstract, p.276



were not from the kingdom of God. According to the report of Martino Martini, in 1640 A.D., the Gospel had reached thirteen out of fifteen provinces of China and there were sixty to seventy thousand of Catholics.  
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Dawood Wang Dai Yu was encouraged by Muslims to write books on Islam as he mentioned in the preface of his book<sup>74</sup>. He was considered as the founder of the Han Kitab movement<sup>75</sup>, 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)<sup>76</sup>, the second titled as *The Real Commentary on the True Teaching* (Zhen Jiao Zhen Quan 正教真詮, was first published in 1642 and *Questions and Answers about Islam* (Xi Zhen Zheng Da 希真正答) was his third book. There were some similarities between *Questions*, a book authored Dawood Wang Daiyu and *True Meaning of Lord of Heaven* written by Matteo Ricci's "as both the publications were featured with questions-answers style.

## 2. Zhang Zhong

In about 1631 O.A.D., he 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 Zhang

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<sup>73</sup> See, A. Lazzarotto, Christianity in China according to "Brevis relation" (Brief Account on the Numerical Strength and Qualities in China), Essays on Religion 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.

<sup>74</sup> See, Dawood, Wang Daiyu, *The Real Commentary*, p.

<sup>75</sup> 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 C.E. See, Yang Xiaochuan, A Discourse of Stilly Explanation of Kalima, Criticized by Wang Daiyu, *Journal of Nanjing Univ. (Social Science)*, Vol.42(1), 2005.

<sup>76</sup> See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu's Thought, p.

Shaoshan, he got to know an Indian Sufi teacher named Ashiq<sup>77</sup> who came to Nanjing in 1638 A.D 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 writing Islamic books in Urdu and the works of Jesuits were well known to the Indian Muslims. His book *General Introduction of the Faith* (Gui Zhen Zong Yi 归真总义 published around 1640 A.D. was a gist of the teachings of Sufi teacher Ashiq and some other books. This book was not published until 1661 A.D.<sup>78</sup>

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 Obligation, were discussed.

### 3. Wu Zun Qi

He was the pupil of the famous Sheikh Chang Zhimei<sup>79</sup>, and Dawwod 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 A.D. It gave general introduction to the basics of Islam. Moreover, in 1678 A.D. he translated *Mirsad* (المرصاد)<sup>80</sup>, a textbook of *Mosque Scripture Hall* education written in Persian, into Han Chinese language titled as *Gui Zhen Yao Dao* (归真要

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<sup>77</sup> 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." See,xxx

<sup>78</sup> See, Wu Yan Dong, Thinkers of Hui Muslims, p.64

<sup>79</sup> Mohammed Chang Zhimei(1610-1670) was the pupil of Sheikh Zhang Shaoshan, the 3<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>80</sup> This book was written by Persian Scholar Abdulah Abu Bakr in 12<sup>th</sup> century. It was dealing with Islamic theology of Sufi's approach.

道). Mostly, his books, like the books of Zhang Zhong were mainly the translations in Chinese from the foreign sources as mentioned Bai Shouyi<sup>81</sup>.

#### 4. Yusuf Ma Zhu

Yusuf Ma Zhu was born in Yunnan province. He mentioned in his book *A Guide to Islam* that he was at the 45<sup>th</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup> year of Kangxi (1669A.D.), 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 Islam<sup>82</sup>. Yusuf wrote that he started learning Islam in Beijing when he was thirty-five years old<sup>83</sup>. That would be the year of 1674 A.D. At that time, the astronomers of Jesuits like Ferdnand Verbiest<sup>84</sup> got the favor of the Emperor of Kanxi and the Hui Hui Muslim astronomers were driven out from the imperial court. In the preface of Yusuf Ma Zhu's book *A Guide to Islam*, he wrote a story 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 A.D. 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 and he 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 the meaning of the Quran. At last, only one Hui Hui scholar came to his court. Unfortunately, the scholar could only read the Quran but could not explain the meaning of the Quran to the Emperor.

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<sup>81</sup> See, Bai Shouyi,

<sup>82</sup> These Muslim scholars in Beijing remained unknown. He only mentioned in the self-introduction of "A 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.

<sup>83</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, the self-introduction of "A Guide to Islam".

<sup>84</sup> Ferdnand Verbiest (1623-1688 南怀仁), from Belgium, arrived China in 1659.

It was 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 Muslims in China, or to introduce Islam to the Emperor of Kangxi or native Chinese, Yusuf Ma Zhu wrote his book *A Guide to Islam* (Qing Zhen Zhi Nan 清真指南).

The first volume of the book was completed in 1683 A.D before his departure from Beijing for Yunnan. The book was dedicated to the Emperor. He followed Emperor Kangxi in his first south inspection tour in September 1684 A.D 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 1702A.D while the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> volume appeared around 1710A.D.<sup>85</sup> 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 *A Guide to Islam* titled *Tian Zhu* (天主). He even criticized the concept of Trinity.<sup>86</sup>

## 5. Salih Liu Zhi

In the whole life of Salih Liu Zhi, Christianity in China witnessed phases of rise and fall. The famous ‘Calendar Controversy’ 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 *A Guide to 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 to China during 1684 A.D.-1706A.D. 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 inspection tour in Feb. 1699 A.D., he brought along the two Jesuit

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<sup>85</sup> See, Gao Zhangfu, Humanitarianism in Ma Zhu’s “A Guide Islam”, Journal of China Muslim, vol.3,2011

<sup>86</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.685.

scientists i.e Father Jean-Francois Gerbillon and Joachim Bouvert<sup>87</sup>. Within only two years, from 1699 A.D. to 1701 A.D, the number of churches in South-East China were rapidly increased from eight/nine to one hundred and thirty.<sup>88</sup> Beijing had been the printing center of books for Jesuits since the end of ‘Calendar Controversy’. By the early 1700s, there were about one hundred and ninety books of Jesuits published.<sup>89</sup> During 1700 A.D.-1712 A.D., fifty thousands Chinese were baptized.<sup>90</sup>

Salih Liu Zhi, perhaps, was the only Muslim scholar in south China who wrote books on Islam in classical Chinese language. Furthermore, Salih Liu Zhi was the only writer of Han Kitab Literature who studied the European language. In the preface of Salih’s *Nature and Principle of Islam*, Fang Fei mentioned that he learnt ‘European language, but did not specify. It is not known how he studied the language but, he learned it from the teachers of Jesuits. Salih Liu Zhi mentioned in the preface of his *Theo Seerah of the Last Prophet(S.A.W.)* that he read more than one hundred books from *Xi Yang Shu*(西洋书 books from the west or Europe), while the words of “Xi Yang” were 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)<sup>91</sup>. 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 word was used by Hui Hui Muslims before Matteo Ricci. “Tian” means the Sky, the Heaven and “Fang” means the cubic, square or Kaba in Makkah.

<sup>87</sup> Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) was a French scientist (in Mathematics), born in Le Mans. He was sent by Emperor Louise XIV to China as a scientist in 1685. See, Pftister, *The Notices*, p.434-440

<sup>88</sup> See, Zhou Pingping, *The Catholicism Dispersing*, p.98

<sup>89</sup> See, Xu Zongce, *An Abstract*, p.338-346

<sup>90</sup> See, Zhang Zhigang, *From the Beginning of the West Meeting with the East to the Ritual Controversy*, (Beijing: People’s Press, 2003), p.218

<sup>91</sup> See, Salih Liu Zhi, *Preface of Nature and Principle of Islam, The Shariah of Islam*, p.?

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, the authors of Han Kitab Literature used 'Jing Tang Yu (经堂语 a language of Mosque Scripture Hall Education, mixed with Persian and Arabic terminologies)'. Salih Liu Zhi made certinally a big step forward by explaining the basic belief system of Islam in pure Han Chinese language and other academic terminologies as Jesuits did in China. He produced a lot of books on 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 published in 1704 A.D. In this book, Salih explained Islamic Creationism by integrating Sufi school of thought with the Chinese cosmology in Neo-Confucianism. His another book *Tian Fang Dian Li (天方典礼 Shariah of Islam)*, was published around 1706 A.D. 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 *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 the attention of Hui Muslim children to Islamic contents.

Salih Liu Zhi's book *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 material used in this book was original and authentic. It was first published in 1778 and translated into English, Russian, French and Japanese languages.

The reverend title 'Zhi Sheng' (the greatest Saint)” was granted only to Confucius in the history of China. The style of 'Lu (recording)' was also

specified for the daily life recording of emperors. This book was written between 1721A.D.- 1724 A.D. and published after the death of Emperor of Kangxi in 1722A.D.

The fate of Catholicism in China also radically changed at that time. 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.<sup>92</sup> 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 Muslims suggests that the numbers 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 Chinese<sup>93</sup>. As for the books and the writers of Muslim scholars, the abovementioned Han Kitab Literature largely contains the books produced by Hui Hui Muslim scholars during this period, though a large number of books authored by Salih Liu Zhi were lost unfortunately.

The poor preservation 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 his family had to suffer due to his utmost devotion to writing, leaving no time to ear livelihood for the family.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, Yusuf Ma Zhu went back to his hometown in Yunnan and had a poor life of a farmer, while he continued writing his book titled *the Guidance of Islam*<sup>95</sup>. Dawood Wang Daiyu could not continue writing after publishing the three books as he

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<sup>92</sup> See, Zhou Pingping, *The Catholicism Dispersing*, p.116-121

<sup>93</sup> 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.

<sup>94</sup> See, Salih Liu Zhi, the preface of "the Seerah".

<sup>95</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, the Self-introduction of "A Guide of Islam".



went to Beijing to take the imperial exam.<sup>96</sup> This 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 the Hui scholars for want of financial resources became an important reason behind the less publications. If the scholarships 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. The books such as 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 at homes of individuals where they were exposed to loss. For example, the publisher of the book *The Seerah* mentioned in the preface of the book that Salih had written more than ten books during during his life time<sup>97</sup> but nobody knows where the rest are except the few mentioned above.

Some books of 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 1980s.<sup>98</sup> Yusuf Ma Zhu completed the first portion of his book *The Guidance of Islam* in 1683A.D and he continued to write and revise this book until ten volumes before his death around 1710 A.D. The valuable book remained a manuscript till 1828A.D. and second time of 1870 A.D.<sup>99</sup> The books of Hui scholars in Ming-Qing dynasty could not be encircled among people, even among Hui Muslims themselves. The aforementioned issues proved a setback in the spreading of Islam among the Chinese.

However, the Jesuits, unlike the the Hui Hui Muslims, worked in an organised fashion. The Jesuits from Rome, Europe, Gua, Macco and inland places all worked in tandem. The articles and books produced by the

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<sup>96</sup>See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu, p.73-75

<sup>97</sup> See, Yuan Guozha, the Preface of Printing book of "Seerah" in the 43th year of Qianlong ,p.380

<sup>98</sup> See, the preface of "the Alsanad",p.1-2

<sup>99</sup> See, Gao Zhanfu, Humanitarianism in the Book of "A Guide to Islam", Journal of China Muslim,vol.3,2011



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

## Part One: Authentication of Religious Faith

Both Jesuits and Hui Hui scholars were fully aware of the fact that the belief of the 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 teachings.<sup>100</sup> Until the time of Matteo Ricci, a practice of ‘Integrating Confucianism with 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.

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<sup>100</sup> 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 scholars launched their movement of Han Kitab Literature after 1630s to write about Islam in Chinese and a similar practice of ‘integration of Confucianism anti-Buddhism’<sup>101</sup> 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 ‘Tian (天)’, was employed by a non-Muslim writer Du Huan in his book ‘Jing Xing Ji to describe the subject of Muslims worshipping after ‘Talas War’ in 751A.D.<sup>102</sup>

The word *Tian* (天) was an important terminology in the ancient Chinese philosophy. 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)’. The concept of ‘Tian Ming’ was kept in the classics of Confucius as mentioned in *Lun Yu* (论语) that “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 superpower and the “Tian” gave punishments or good rewards for the people who had good or evil deeds. But, some other philosophers like Xun zi held that “Tian” was only a natural and material object. So, the word of “Tian” in the Chinese classics had two meanings: the natural

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<sup>101</sup>Objections had been raised from their own communities even in the time of Dawood Wang Daiyu (around 1640A.D.) that some Muslims held that it was wrong to translate the Islamic terms in their original languages of Arabic and Persian into Chinese. See, Dawood Wang Daiyu, *The Right Answer*, p.491

<sup>102</sup> When the Islamic Alfituhat reached the central Asia areas, some dependency countries of this area asked 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”. The secretary of the Chinese army 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 named “Jing Xing Ji (经行记 the Records of my Journey)” about his this journey in Muslim world. This book of its original copy 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)”.

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 and the middle of Ming period. But, at the same time, some attributes of the 'Tian, as a Creator, like shapeless were stressed<sup>103</sup>.

## Chapter 1 The Chinese Concept of the World

The most important Chinese thought towards the formation of the world would be present in 'Tao De Jing' of Laozi. The nature of the world or the universe was described as 'Tao'. The ancient Chinese transmitted the legends of upper ancient China<sup>104</sup> concerning the origin of the sky and the earth from one generation to the other. One of them, for examples, suggests that 'Pangu' was the origin of the sky and the earth. According to the legend, when the universe had yet to take shape, everything was chaos. The universe was like an egg, carrying Pangu, the first ancestor of humankind, in the center of its yolk. He stayed there for 18,000 years and at last, he picked up a huge axe and cracked open the egg. The light, clear part of it floated up and formed the heavens, while the heavy, turbid matter stayed below to form earth. Pangu's body, legs, feet, arms, etc. became the different parts of the famous mountains of China<sup>105</sup>.

There were certain philosophers or philosophical schools, from time to time, in the history of China. They discussed the origin of the world, but

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<sup>103</sup> See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu's Thought, p.33-34

<sup>104</sup> The upper ancient Chinese historical period may include the period of legends including "Xuren", "Fuxi", "Shengnong", "Huangdi", "Yao", "Xun" and the period of written history including the dynasties of "Xia", "Shang", and "the West Zhou".

<sup>105</sup> We may Compare this Chinese legend and the Quranic verse about creation of the Sky and the earth: "او لم ير الذين كفروا ان السماوات و الارض كانتا رتقا ففتقناهما و جعلنا" (سورة الانبياء:30) "من السماء كل شى حتى افلا يؤمنون" and will find that the revelation was corrupted in Chinese tales.

their interpretations were largely rooted in materialism<sup>106</sup>. The concept of the world in the Confucius classical books was explained materially. The sky or heaven above their heads was described as round and the earth as square. At each corner of the earth, there was a pillar that propped up the heavens. China, Zhong Guo (中国, the country in the center) was in the middle of the earth.

Such geographical concept of China in the world was greatly exaggerated so much so by the feudal rulers and Confucian literati that the Emperor was believed to be the son of the 'Tian' (天子 Son of the Heaven). He had only the right to do the scarifies to the Heaven. Traditionally, the rites of reverence towards the Heaven and the earth of the early emperors and kings were at the same time. A temple was built for the awe ship of the Heaven and the earth in the early years when the Ming shifted its capital from Nanjing to Beijing in 1420s. Then, it was changed into the Temple of the Heaven (天坛 Tian Tan) only in 1530 A.D. and the Temple of the Earth was built separately in another place of Beijing. Its building was round resembling the Sky or Heaven.

Both Ali Akbar Khatai' in his book *Khatay Namih* written in 1516 A.D., and Matteo Ricci's *Diary* mentioned that the then Chinese were the most civilized people and all the countries surrounding China were inferior to China. The Chinese could not believe the sayings of Jesuits that they came from a very far country and that they also had high civilisation like Chinese. They were extremely surprised when they got to know from Matteo Ricci that the earth was a global and China was only a part of the world.

In fact, a movement of reform within Confucianism started as early as in North Song dynasty. Some scholars tried to make Confucianism as a whole system of human life. They started to give explanations of how the world in which the Chinese had lived for thousands of years came into being and formed the cosmology of Neo-Confucianism. Some Chinese scholars held that the Islamic influences might have contributed to launch a reform movement in Confucianism. For example, Zhang Taiyan (章太炎) believed that such supplementations for the classical Confucianism came

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<sup>106</sup> For example, Hong Fan's theory of "Five Elements", Guangzi's theory of "Water", Mozi's theory of "Atom", etc.

from the contact of Zhou Dunyi with the Muslims who lived in the city of 'Bian Chen' ( Kaifeng today, in Henan province).<sup>107</sup> Zhou Dunyi (1017A.D -1073A.D) in North-Song dynasty pondered over the textual contents of different classics like *Yi Jing* (the Book of Changes), *Zhong Yong* (The Doctrine of the Mean) and Yan Yu's *Yuan Tao* (the Original Tao) besides some Taoist and Buddhist elements and tried to explain the origin of the world in his book of *Diagrams of Taiji* . There was a verse in Laozi's *Dao Te Jing* stating 'Returning to the Wu Ji' (the Utmost Ultimate 复归于无极. There were verses mentioned in the book *Zhou Yi-Xi Ci Shang*(周易-系辞上): There was 'Taiji' (the Great Ultimate) in Yi(Changes); It gave birth to 'Two Yi'; 'Two Yi' gave birth to Four Xiang, and Four Xiang gave birth to Eight Gua (易有太极，是生两仪，两仪生四象，四象生八卦.

In his diagrams, Zhou Dunyi illustrated the notion of Chinese cosmology: the shapeless 'Wu Ji'(无极 the Most Ultimate ) mentioned by Laozi in his 'Tao De Jing' gave birth to 'Tai Ji' (太极 the Great Ultimate) mentioned in the ' Zhou Yi' ( Book of Changes), and 'Taiji' was the final origin of the world. By alternative changes of "Yin and Yang" and "Five Elements", the world was formed. He introduced an important terminology of "Ren Ji(the Ultimate Man)" which was similar to his concept of "Tai Ji" to the scope of human being, so that his cosmology could be connected with the classical Confucianism which paid its main attention to the ethics of human being. According to him, "Ren Ji (人极 a perfect man)" was the person who tried to make him morally perfect and gave guidance to the human being.

The two brothers of Cheng Yi (1033A.D.-1107A.D.) and Cheng Hao(1032A.D.-1085A.D.) developed Zhou's theory of 'Taiji' and held that 'Li' (the Principle) was the origin of the world. Zhu Xi (1130A.D.-1200A.D.) of South-Song mended the 'Taiji' theory of Zhou Dunyi and confirmed Cheng brothers' theory of 'Li' (理 the Principle). In Chinese classics, 'Li (理)' is the pattern, principle, or underlying order that

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<sup>107</sup> See, Zhang Taiyan, The Introduction of Guoxue(国学概论),p.44 and See, Chen Ziyi, An Adoption of Islam in the Theory of "Li" in Song Dynasty, in the Selections of Chinese Islamic Writings (1911-1949) compiled by Feng Jinyuan and Li Xinghua,p.1257-1297

determines the reality of things. It was mentioned for the first time in the book titled as Poetry (诗经-小雅-信南山：我疆我理，东南其亩). Zhuanzi and Xunzi assured that there was ‘Li’ in everything without talking about the details. Cheng Yi (1033-1107), the philosopher in North Song dynasty held that ‘Li’ was the essence of the universe and the origin of everything. Zhu Xi, adopted Cheng’s concept of ‘Li’ and held that it is the ultimately Real, the Dao, the Great Ultimate (Taiji or Wuji). According to him, “Li (理 the Principle)” gave birth to “Wuji 无极(the Utmost Ultimate) ” or “Taiji 太极(the Great Ultimate)”, “Li” was the original state of the world , and “Wuji” and “Taiji” were same thing that “the Great Ultimate... is the ultimate of principle.” Zhu Xi explained that, “there is no other event in the universe except “Yin” and “Yang” succeeding each other in an unceasing cycle .This is called Change. However, for this movement and stillness, there must be the Principle that makes them possible. This is the Great Ultimate.”<sup>108</sup>

## Chapter 2 Existence of the Creator

In the “Scriptures and Books” of Confucius (551B.C.-479B.C.) the words of “Di (a giant 帝)”, “Shang Di (上帝 a super being)” and “Tian (天 the sky)”, etc. were mentioned in many verses. Confucius’ interpretations of the word “Tian” could have two meanings. One referred to the superpower of the world and his conversations with his students recorded in the book “Lun Yu” might be the best proof for that. In this book, Confucius mentioned the word “Tian (天)” nineteen times alone without using the word “Di (地 the earth). He agreed with the belief of the people of “Zhou” in the book “Shang Shu (尚书)” that the rise or 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

<sup>108</sup> See, Sachiko Murata, The Sage Learning of Liu Zhi, p.51

nature were also due to the will of “Tian”, so the reverence or worship of the “Tian” and the earth should be there<sup>109</sup>.

The other interpretation of the word “Tian” in the books of Confucius might refer to the meaning of natural phenomena, because in some of his other books it was mentioned together with the word “Di (地 the earth)”.<sup>110</sup> The 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 human beings, though Confucius neither confirmed nor denied the existence of the Creator in the universe. The concept of the existence of the Creator was ambiguous or lost in the Confucian books and scriptures.

Matteo Ricci, did study all the Confucian traditions. He completed the translation of the “Four Books” of Confucianism into Latin as early as in 1594 A.D.. In order to transplant his Catholic concept of God to Confucianism, he selected the first meaning of “Tian” as superpower in Confucius 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 his 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 the practices of monk/nun and principles of family ethics in Confucianism had been attacked by the Confucians time and again since it was introduced into China during Han dynasty (around 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.).

## 1. Anti-Buddhism

### (1) In the Books of Jesuits

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<sup>109</sup> See, Confucius, book of “Lun Yu”.

<sup>110</sup> See, Zhao Fasheng, Journal of The Religion of Confucius, Study of the World Religions, vol.4,2010



Buddhism was a 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.<sup>111</sup> He viewed that the Chinese also respected Buddhist monks like Japanese. When Matteo Ricci entered Zhaoqing with Machel Ruggieri, they both wore the globe 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 from one of the Buddhist sects and called their residence “si (寺 the 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 “Jie (戒)”. It seemed that he introduced the “Ten Commandments” before 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 their stay was arranged with the Chinese Buddhist monks in “Tian Ning Temple”, 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 Teaching of the Lord of Heaven”, was printed first time in the end of 1584 A.D., the “country in West India (Xi Zhu Guo 西竺国) 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 the book’s first edition were published and the words of “country in

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<sup>111</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondence, P. Antonio Sergianni P.I.M.E.p142-144



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.<sup>112</sup>

It may be concluded from the writings of Matteo Ricci that they had hard life in Canton<sup>113</sup>. At last, Matteo Ricci understood that the Buddhist monks did not have respectable position among Chinese as they had in Japan. He practically seemed to have come to know well about the status of Buddhism and Taoism in the Chinese society and his criticism of the two showed his desire to replace them with Catholicism in the traditional 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 for 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 A.D., 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 against Buddhist Zeng, otherwise, he would not pass the examination. There were perhaps many reasons that the Buddhism became the target of the Jesuits’ attacks. Since the Buddhism was introduced into China, it confronted many movements from Confucian literati. It was mostly criticised for its monk system, which conflicted with the ethical teachings of Confucianism and tainted the traditional interpretations of Confucius books and scriptures.

In contrast to the Confucian criticism of Buddhism in the Chinese history, Jesuits attacked its origin of scriptures and teachings. M. Ruggieri

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<sup>112</sup>. See, Li Xinde, From the West Buddhists To the West Confucians, Journal of Shanghai Normal Univ.( Philosophy &Social Sciences), Vol.1,2005

<sup>113</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Diary and the Correspondence.

observed that the Buddhist books were not reliable<sup>114</sup>. Matteo Ricci developed the above opinion of M. Ruggieri. There was a story in the “Post-Han Books” that, in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Yongping (64A.D.), the Emperor of Mingdi saw a dream one night 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 Buddha in the Western Country. The Emperor sent some officers to the West. In the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Yongping, they reached the Western Country of India and met some Buddhist monks. They got some Buddhist scriptures and took them back to the then capital of Luoyang. Many Chinese historians opined that this story was fabricated by the Buddhist monks, in order to make the Buddhism high in the eyes of the Chinese.<sup>115</sup> In order to meet his Catholic needs, Matteo Ricci even interpreted the famous story that the Emperor of Mingdi (around 65A.D.) sent his envoys to get Catholic scriptures instead of Buddhist books from India. But, the envoys committed mistakes and brought the Buddhist scriptures to China. According to him, at that time, two pupils of Jesus (A.S.), Thomas Apostles and Bartho Lemen, were in India<sup>116</sup>. Even until the last century, someone even held that Jesus (A.S.) came to Kashmir. The same story was repeated by Chinese convert Yang Tingjun<sup>117</sup>, 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.<sup>118</sup> 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 its teachings or practices of Buddhist cults obviously contravened 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. It seemed that they soon became aware of the Buddhists

<sup>114</sup> See, M. Ruggieri, Tian Zhu Shi Lu, chapter Three.

<sup>115</sup> See, Chen Yuzheng, Abstract of Chinese culture, (Beijing: Foreign language teaching and Research Press, 1998), p.97-98.

<sup>116</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Real Meaning of Lord of Heaven,p.

<sup>117</sup> See, Yang Tingjun, Dai Yi Pian,p.529-535

<sup>118</sup> Jesuits did not mention anything about Islam and Muslims in India, though they had full knowledge about them.

and Taoists' practices of polytheism, which contradicted monotheism practised in Catholicism. Chapter three of the first edition of M. Ruggieri's book *Tian Zhu Shi Lu* had the title *The Mistakes of Other Religions on taking Lord of Heaven* without mentioning the details while in other editions of the book eight subtitles of this chapter were mentioned which among other include *The Unbelievable Beliefs of Buddhists*<sup>119</sup>. The 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 spirits) 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?!"<sup>120</sup>.

In the winter of 27<sup>th</sup> 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 Matter Ricci alone was alone on the other (in the presence of more than forty Confucian literati).<sup>121</sup> Matteo Ricci challenged the proud Buddhist master with strong evidences and he left 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 A.D.

Matteo Ricci criticised the Buddhism in his book *The True Meaning of Lord of Heaven*, as far as the basic Buddhist beliefs, like the previous existence (a life before this earthly life), Samsara (the transmigration of the

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<sup>119</sup> The book of first edition of M. Ruggieri was copied again and published some years before as mentioned by 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 got the catalogue of the topics from the article of Zhang Fengqian "M.Ruggieri-The Forerunner of Matteo Ricci" Journal of Furen University (Theology) No.07

<sup>120</sup> See, M. Ruggieri, *The Real Teaching of Lord of Heaven*, p.

<sup>121</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p141 and Bernard, *Le Pere*, p.281-284

souls), 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 a response to the Jesuits, but his main points were in defence of Neo-Confucianism instead of Buddhism. For instance, “Tian” in the classics was “Li” in the Neo-Confucianism; the soul is transmigration and not ever-lasting; the Confucianism and Mencius were perfect and there was no need of the Catholic teachings. The Jurists in return framed a response in a book titled *Bian Xue Yi Du* (辨学易牍)<sup>122</sup> which was featured with the observations i.e. “Tian Zhu” is God, not “Li”, therefore, He is the Creator and Lord; the soul is everlasting, not transmigration; even it is transmigration, it should be eternal first; the aim of Catholic teachings was to get the original meaning of Confucius and Mencius in their books, which were lost or left incomplete after the movement of burning books of the First Emperor of Qin and the emergence 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 entitled *Tian Shi Ming Pian* (An Open Debate Between Buddhism and Catholicism)”, he discussed many Buddhist concepts like the transmigration of the souls and pointed out their mistakes.<sup>123</sup> In another article titled *Dai Yi Pian*, Yang Tingjun criticised the practices of Buddhists that they made the founder of Buddhism a deity.<sup>124</sup>

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 Catholicism<sup>125</sup>.

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<sup>122</sup> Jesuits said this book was written by Matteo Ricci and published in Beijing in 1609. See, Xu Zongce, An Abstract, p91-92

<sup>123</sup> See, Yang Tingjun, *Tian Shi Ming Bian* (An Open Debate between Christianity and Buddhism).

<sup>124</sup> See, Yang Tingjun, *Dai Yi Pian*

<sup>125</sup> See, J. Aleni, *San Shan Lun Xue*, p.437.

Except the Buddhism, some superstitions of Taoists and other Chinese were criticised by M. Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci in their books<sup>126</sup>, which showed that the early Jesuits had made some studies about the Chinese societies.

## (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 were called “Si (temple)” by the Chinese and the object of Muslims worshipping was also called “Fu (the Buddha)”.<sup>127</sup>The Monument of “Guang Ta Si” 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, some Muslims in south area were even converted to Buddhism, like Li Zhi did before Matteo Ricci came to Nanjing. He patiently listened to the debate between Matteo Ricci and Master of Xue Lang, with any comment.

Almost all the Hui Muslim scholars of Han Kitab Literature, like Dawood Wang Daiyu, Yusuf Ma Zhu and Salih Liu Zhi, like the Jesuits, had written 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 *The Real Commentary* and Salih Liu Zhi in “Nature and Principle of Islam”.

It was likely that the collaboration between Confucians and Buddhists against Catholicism in “Po Xie Ji” was studied by the 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 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.

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<sup>126</sup>See, M.Ruggieri, Tian Zhu Shi Lu, chapter three and Matteo Ricci, Tian Zhu Shi Yi.

<sup>127</sup>See, the history of the mosques in the coast areas of south-east China.

The Hui scholars also 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 first volume titled *A Guide to Islam* to the Emperor of Kangxi could be explained by their worries of Hui scholars that the Jesuits would have strong positions in China<sup>128</sup>. Yusuf Ma Zhu stayed in Beijing in early Qing dynasty during 1665A.D.-1684A.D.

During this period, Jean Adam Schall was appointed in a very important position as an astronomer and his counsellor by the Emperor of Shun Zhi. The astronomers of Jesuits got upper hand in the “Calendar Controversy” of 1668A.D.-1670A.D. at last. Ferdinand Verbiest worked for the Emperor as the astronomer after Jean Adam Schall. Another two Jesuits, Joachim Bouvet (1656A.D.-1730A.D.) and Jean Francois Gerbillon (1654A.D.-1707A.D.), worked as scientists and envoys in the court of Kangxi since 1687. Yusuf Ma Zhu wrote his *Memorial to the Throne* and the first volume of *A Guide to Islam* followed the Emperor who went out of Beijing to visit the South China in 1684A.D. Yusuf Ma Zhu also believed that the conversion of the Emperor to Islam was better for him and for the country. Yusuf Ma Zhu could approach the Emperor during this trip, but he did not give up. He continued his writings and even tried again, when he was in his hometown in Yunnan province. He wrote another memorial to the throne in 1707 A.D, 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 practised together with the Confucianism in China, both the country and its people would be prosperous.<sup>129</sup> 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 professes. The Hui scholars were merciless during their negation to both the godless teachings of Buddhism and polytheism in the Buddhist practices among the normal people. 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 and said then, how could

<sup>128</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, the preface of “A Guide to Islam”, p.27-29

<sup>129</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.74-75

you tell us that there was not a Creator who created and managed this well organized universe and we should believe?<sup>130</sup>. Another example was his negation 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<sup>131</sup>.

## 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 the most important issue for the Jesuits and Hui Muslims. It could be translated into Han Chinese exactly only after a thorough study of the Chinese traditions.

The written ancient Chinese history started with the Zhou dynasty. The first king of Zhou dynasty was Zhou Wenwang and the second one was his son Zhou Wuwang. The Zhou dynasty was established around 11<sup>th</sup> 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 Mandate)”. 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 Muslim scholars held that the meaning of this word in the original text was “the will of God” or Allah<sup>132</sup>.

### (1) In the Books of Jesuits

The *Ten Commandments of Lord of Heaven* was translated by M. Ruggieri into Chinese in 1582A.D. Two Han Chinese words of “Tian Zhu (天主 the Master of the sky)” were borrowed from the book “Shi Ji (史记

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<sup>130</sup> See, Dawood wang Daiyu, *The Real Commentary*, p.202

<sup>131</sup> See, Dawood Wang Daiyu, *The Real Commentary*, p.418.

<sup>132</sup> See, James Legge, *The Chinese Classics-The Shoo King*, p.7.



the Records of History)”<sup>133</sup> by him referring to the meaning of “Deus (the Lord of Heaven)” in Latin. Father Gao Mu Qian in Manila, Philippines, transliterated the word “Dios” in Spanish into “Jai Liou Si (借僚氏)” in south Fujian dialect, because at that time, Philippines was under the Spanish colonists. There were many Chinese in Philippines and most of them spoke the dialect of south-Fujian (Taiwan). The Spanish Dominican order was working there at that time. This word of “借僚氏” has no popular meaning in Han Chinese language.

M. Ruggieri’s translation of “Deus” as “Tian Zhu (天主)” in Han Chinese was much better than that of Gao Mu Qian’s father and it was widely accepted by Han Chinese people due to its links with Chinese Han classics. “Tian (天), as early as in the upper ancient Chinese of Ying-Zhou dynasty, was used as a kind of superpower, which controlled the fates of human beings. Literally, the word “Zhu (主)” refers to “the one who owns”. M. Ruggieri explained why he selected the words of “Tian Zhu” in Han Chinese. Referring to “Deus” in Latin, he said: “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.”<sup>134</sup>

The book “Apologetics” written in Latin by M. Ruggieri in 1581 was translated into Han Chinese and named “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 the two words “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. When we examine his other books written before the book of “The Real Meaning of Lord Heaven” such as “On Friendship (written in 1595A.D. in Nanchang)”, “Twenty-Five Sayings (written between 1599A.D.-1600A.D.)”. The Chinese emperors

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<sup>133</sup> The original verse was: “八神：一曰天主，祠天齐”。See, Shi Ji (The Book Fengshan).

<sup>134</sup> See, M. Ruggieri, Tian Zhu Shi Lu, chapter Three



used to claim that they were the representatives or chosen ones of the Heaven “Tian Zi (天子)”, and it was the obligatory duty of all the people in China to obey them absolutely. Matteo Ricci held that the emperor was treated as a God by the Confucianism. People offered sacrifices and prayers to him, and were loyal to him. But, the emperor was unable to create human beings, the skies and the earth. Matteo Ricci did not refute the widely accepted concept of “Tian Zi (the emperor was the son the sky)” among Confucianism only in last years of his life, after he lived in China for almost thirty years.<sup>135</sup>

Matteo Ricci developed the concept of necessary existence of the Creator in the universe based on the “Five Ways” of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225A.D.-1274A.D.) 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 the book “Tian Zhu Shi Yi”, Matteo Ricci applied three ways of St. Thomas Aquinas’ evidencing existence of the God, which he also mentioned in his book “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 Being<sup>136</sup>.

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 classics, Matteo Ricci racked his brain. He went through all the “Five Scriptures” and the “Four Books” of classical Confucianism<sup>137</sup>. Matteo Ricci, with his Catholic view, held that the classical books of Confucianism were closer to the truth and that the popular scholar of Zhu Xi (朱熹)<sup>138</sup> in Ming dynasty committed many mistakes when he gave commentary to same verses of the classical Confucius books. The concept of existence of the “Shang Di” or “Di” in the interpretations of Zhu Xi was

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<sup>135</sup> See, Lin Jingshui, The Western Confucian Matteo Ricci, p.126

<sup>136</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, Tian Zhu Shi Yi (the True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven).

<sup>137</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven.

<sup>138</sup> Zhu Xi(), one of the founder of Neo-Confucianism in Ming dynasty.

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 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 Confucius.”<sup>139</sup>

Actually, as far as the word 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 Confucius books was not a personalized god, but a “god” who embodies philosophy, politics, and ethics only and religion was left out. According to 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 had an 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 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’ 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, these two objects were not separated and the sacrifices

<sup>139</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Real Meaning of Lord of Heaven, p.21.

towards the both made at one time but with the sequence: the sky first and then the earth after the sky or first the “Tian” and then the “Di(Tu)”. 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 contradicted the Catholic teaching of the Oneness of “Tian Zhu”. He refuted the sayings of Chinese Confucian literati that Confucius knew well that the only object of sacrifices was “Shang Di” and he had no reason to omit “Hou Tu” in the books.<sup>140</sup> 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 the same as “Shang Di” as said by Zhu Xi. If the “Tian” was referring to 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 that “Tian” was “Shang Di”. The famous Confucian scholars of his time Feng Yingjing and Li Zhizhao supported his opinion in their preface of the book *The True meaning of Lord of Heaven*.

As far as the nature or attributes of “Tian Zhu” were 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”<sup>141</sup>. But the Chinese intellectuals seemed somewhat confused by the concept of “Tian Zhu”, introduced by Father Matteo Ricci and J.Aleni. Nicolas Longoardi did not agree with his integrating the classical Confucianism in the very beginning.

He 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 “Dius (God)” in Latin. After he became the in Superior provincial of China

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<sup>140</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, Tian Zhu Shi Yi

<sup>141</sup> See, J. Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue,p.443

Mission after the death of Matteo Ricci in 1610A.D, the practice of Matteo Ricci's integration of classical Confucianism and upper class preaching was not followed by some Jesuits. He wrote an article named "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 "Dius" in Latin. Many of them sided with Matteo Ricci, while some were with Nicolas Longoardi. At last, a decision was made that the Chinese word "Tian Zhu" could continue to be used and the other two "Shang Di" and "Tian" were prohibited. A copy of the 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 1659A.D. 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 word "Shang Di (上帝)" together with "Tian Zhu". For this purpose, a Chinese convert Paul Yan reviewed almost all the classics of upper ancient and collected eighteen paragraphs from "Shangshu (尚书)", fourteen sections from "Shiji (史记)" and many other books about "Tian (the Heaven)" and "Di ( the Lord)" in "Analects", "Mengz i(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 observe 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 1623A.D. by another Chinese convert Yan Paolu. The year of writing this article was not mentioned, but it seems to me that it was used by Father Emmanuel Dias Senior as an attachment of his letter to Rome. He 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.<sup>142</sup>

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 *Dai Yi Pian* written in 1621 A.D. The concept of ‘the Biggest Father and Mother’ introduced by Matteo Ricci in his book *Tian Zhu Shi Yi* was a great coinage of the Jesuits in China for integrating the Confucian ethics. That was different with the oneness of God or the Creator in Christianity or Islam, as in Chinese traditions, everything was a pair, Ying-Yang and the Sky-the Earth...In the Confucianism, father and mother both were the origin of human race and they were always mentioned together respectfully<sup>143</sup>. The term ‘Da Fu Mu’ was first used by Matteo Ricci in his book *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*. It seems in Matteo Ricci’s opinion, ‘Da Fu Mu’ was between the “Tao” of “Tao De Jing” and the God of Matteo Ricci<sup>144</sup>. J. Aleni also used this typical Chinese term ‘Da Fu Mu’ to name the God, the Creator.<sup>145</sup> The Protestant missionaries started using the Chinese words ‘Shang Di’ referring to “God” after 1830A.D.

Joachim Bouvet (1656A.D.-1730A.D.) was the apex of the Jesuits’ integration of Chinese classics, which formed the school of Figurism of French Jesuits in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. After the comparative study of the Bible and Chinese ‘Yi Jing’ (易经 Book of Changes), he held that the main beliefs of Catholicism were predicted in the “Book of Changes.” The book titled *Yi Jing* (易经 The Book of Changes) was considered the revelation of God to the 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.

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<sup>142</sup> 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 .

<sup>143</sup> See, Zhang Xiaolin, Tian Zhu Shi Yi and the Chinese Academic Traditions,p.214-220

<sup>144</sup> See, Yang Tingjun, Dai Yipian, p.

<sup>145</sup> See, J.Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue, p.437,p.491

In 1703 A.D, Joachim Bouvet produced a two-volume book titled *The Original Meaning of the Study of Theology* (Tian Xue Ben Yi 天学本义)". It 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 *Yi Jing* was lost during the movement of 'Burning Books' around 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C during the Qin dynasty. He was backed by the Emperor Kangxi to write this book<sup>146</sup>. 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 Louice 14. 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 histoique de l'Empereur de la Chine*.<sup>147</sup>

More Jesuits came to China and joined such work of cultural accommodation. Another three Jesuits from France, Joseph-Henrg- marie de Premare<sup>148</sup>, Jean-Francois Fouequet<sup>149</sup> and Jean Alexis de Gollet<sup>150</sup> were called to the palace by the Emperor of Kangxi to help the studies of Joachim Bouvet. Joseph-Henrg-marie de Premare did comparative study of the Bible and *Book of Changes*, *Tao De Jing* and some other Confucian

<sup>146</sup> See, Claudia von Collani, P. Joachim Bouvet S.J. , p.003-015

<sup>147</sup> See, Claudia von Collani, P.Joachim Bouvet S.J. Sein Leban und sein Werk.

<sup>148</sup> 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 in1713. 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".

<sup>149</sup> Jean-Francois Foucquet (1663-1740), from France, reached China in June 1699.He worked in Fujian, Jiangxi and Hangzhou. In the year of 1710, he came to Beijing and helped Joachim Bouvet to study the "Book of Changes" by the order of Emperor Kangxi.

<sup>150</sup> 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.

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.<sup>151</sup> Jean-Francois Fouquet also studied the Chinese classics like *Book of Changes*, *Tao De Jing*, *Lie Zi* (列子), *Xun Zi*(荀子) and *Han Shu* (汉书) and held that there were numerous projections 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)<sup>152</sup>.

## (2) In the Han Kitab Literature

Far before the Jesuits’ work in China, Muslims encountered with Chinese and studies of their culture. The Hadith ‘seek knowledge even if you have to go to China’ is even today repeated in the speeches and books of Chinese Muslims as an encouragement for learning from the Chinese. At least, as early as in the middle of 14<sup>th</sup> century, *Rebuilding the Mosque of Qingjing* (Quanzhou, Fujian province) written in 1349A.D. would be the evidence of writings about Islam in Han Chinese after the book titled *Du Huan* appeared in 760s AD. 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.<sup>153</sup>

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 Si<sup>154</sup> in 1528A.D 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” contained nine lines with one hundred-fifty-five words of Han Chinese

<sup>151</sup> See, Louis Pfister, Notices, p.527-528

<sup>152</sup> Ibid,p.556

<sup>153</sup> See, Bai Shou Yi, the Essays,p.314-317

<sup>154</sup> Sheikh 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”, Journal of China Muslim, Vol.1,2000,p.25-28



characters, which explained the Islamic truth i.e. ‘we belong to Allah and to Him we shall return.’”

Sheikh Chen Si mentioned different concepts of Chinese traditional philosophical schools, like ‘Ji (无极)’, ‘Tai Ji (太级)’, ‘Liang Yi (两仪)’, ‘Wu Xing’ (Five Elements 五行), but ‘Huang’ (皇 the Grand, the Greatest) is the original of all these things. The word ‘Huang’ from one of Confucius classics *The She King* (诗经 the Odes) was used to refer to Allah (S.W.) in Islam. The word ‘Shang Di’, which was applied by Matteo Ricci referred to ‘Dius’ 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 scholars of Han Kitab Literature afterwards.

The existence of Allah is the most important belief in Islam. The 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* written by Zhang Zhong in 1631A.D was the first booklet on Islam appeared<sup>155</sup>, after the Jesuits started working in this area and ‘Jing Tang Scripture Hall’ education was introduced into Nanjing around 1620s<sup>156</sup>. The “Mosque Scripture Hall” education laid down the foundation for Han Kitab Literature movement. Hanafiah Jurisprudence School with Sufi tendency was the main colour of Han Kitab Literature<sup>157</sup>.

The Jesuits in China printed many books about Catholicism and circulated among the Chinese people. During 1584 A.D.-1622A.D., the Jesuits published about thirty-five books in Han Chinese, while during the period of 162A.D.-1642A.D., sixty-four books (including many important authors like Jean de Rocha, Emmamuel Dias Junior, Alphonsegnoni, Jules

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<sup>155</sup> 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

<sup>156</sup> 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

<sup>157</sup> 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



Aleni, etc) were published. According to Martini, in 1640A.D, 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 1651A.D, the number of the converts in China was at least one hundred fifty thousand.<sup>158</sup> They were extremely active in the south-east area of China during this period. Up to the end of Ming (before 1644A.D), there were about four thousand Catholics in Nanjing, more than five thousand in Hangzhou, about three hundred in Songjiang, about one thousand and five hundred in Changshu and forty-five thousand in Shanghai. All these places were very close to Nanjing<sup>159</sup>.

Under such circumstances, Hui Muslim scholars felt serious pressure from the two sides, 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 the book for being ‘full of ridiculous stories on the name of true religion...’<sup>160</sup>, but he did not mention the context of this book. It was likely this book was influenced by the works of the Jesuits.<sup>161</sup> Dawood Wang Daiyu described the Catholicism as ‘a religion resembling Islam, but not the true religion’ with many proofs<sup>162</sup>. There was a chapter in his book *The Real Commentary*, titled *A Religion Pretending as the Truth* (Si Zhen 似真) which mainly criticized the practices of the Jesuits, who regarded ‘Tian’, and ‘Shangdi’ in Chinese classics as the ‘Lord of Heaven.’<sup>163</sup>

<sup>158</sup> See, Chen Cunfu, p.15

<sup>159</sup> See, Zhou Pingping, the Catholicism Dispensing, p.52-66.

<sup>160</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.107.

<sup>161</sup> 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

<sup>162</sup> See Dawood Wang Daiyu, The Real Commentary”,p.99.

<sup>163</sup> Professor Jin Yijiu, held that Dawood was probably talking about the Neo-Confucianism. See, Jin Yijiu, A Study, p.189-190.

Dawood Wang Daiyu is perhaps the greatest 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 words ‘Zhen Zhu’ (真主 the Real God) as the Chinese translation of ‘Allah’ in Arabic and another two words of ‘Qing Zhen’ (清真 the Pure and Fine), which were employed by the first emperor of Ming as the Chinese translation of Islam. The two words ‘Zhen Zhu’ (the Real Lord) referring to the ‘Tian Zhu’ were also employed in the works of Yang Tingjun, J. Aleni and other Catholic religious orders in China in 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>164</sup> But, the term ‘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’.<sup>165</sup>

Prior to Dawood Wang Daiyu, the Hui scholars had already paid attention to the movement of Catholicism in China. An examination of the difference between the two words ‘Tian’ and ‘Zhu’ was also done 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.’<sup>166</sup>

Dawood Wang Daiyu like Matteo Ricci criticized Neo-Confucianism, saying it was absolutely erroneous to identify ‘Tian’ with ‘Taiji’ and ‘Li’ without any supporting evidence from the classics because of their substantial difference<sup>167</sup>. But he did not give any comment to the term of “Shang Di” in the Confucius books and scriptures and the opinion of

<sup>164</sup> 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.

<sup>165</sup> See, Yang Tingjun, Dai Yi Pian.

<sup>166</sup> 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

<sup>167</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.103

Matteo Ricci. According to him, Allah alone was the Creator of everything, including ‘Taiji’, ‘Li’ and ‘Tian’, etc.

Further, Dawood argued that if ‘Tian’ (天) is only a creature of the real God, then, the word ‘Tian Zhu’ (天主) was not a right expression in Han language. ‘How could some people combine these two words and coin a new term ‘Tian Zhu’ (the Heavenly Lord), while ‘Tian’ was a creature and ‘Zhu’ was the Creator?’<sup>168</sup> he quoted the famous tale of ‘Pan Gu’<sup>169</sup> to substantiate his view.

Yusuf Ma Zhu employed ‘Zhen Zhu’ for Allah at 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 Confucius 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 Confucius books and scriptures was the ‘Zhen Zhu’ (Allah, the Real God) in Islam.<sup>170</sup> But he criticized the confusing names ‘Li’ (the Principle)” and ‘Qi’ (the Air) for the origin of the world<sup>171</sup>.

The similarities between the discussions of ‘Tian Zhu’ in the books of Jesuits and those of “Zhen Zhu” in the books of Hui scholars were clearly observed. Some Chinese researchers even held that the Hui scholars

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<sup>168</sup> See, Dawood, *The Real Commentary*, p.105. It was probably that Dawood Wang Daiyu criticized here the work of Jesuits. According to the descriptions of Russian Christian priest Palladii for the book of “Sheng Mi Zhen Yuan” which was criticized sharply by Dawood Wang Daiyu, this book “was full of the terminologies of the Catholicism. “See, Yang Xiaochun, *A Study of the Islamic Literature in Chinese*, p. 21 . But, the uses of “Tian” referring to its second meaning of “the Super Power” in some Chinese classics have been kept still in the writings of later Hui Muslims even upto today.

<sup>169</sup> See, Dawood, *The Real Commentary*, p.104-105

<sup>170</sup> See, Salih Liu Zhi, *The Shariah of Islam*, p.92

<sup>171</sup> See, Salih Liu Zhi, *Nature and Principle of Islam*, p.38, p.55-57

plagiarized the work of the Jesuits.<sup>172</sup> 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 (881A.D.) 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 two Islamic textual books of “Mosque Scripture Hall” and “al-Aqaid al-Nasafi”, written by Najm al-Din Abu Hafs Umar Bin Mohammad Al-Nasafi (d.537H or 1142-1143 A.D.), explained by Saad al-Din Masud al-Taftazani (d.791H or 792H or 1389-1390A.D.) and “al-Mawaqif fi ilm al-kalam (The Standpoints in Ilm al-Kalam)” by Adud al-Din al-Iji (d.1355A.D.), were widely quoted by Hui scholars at that time. That perhaps was the main reason that the views of 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 of “The Correct Answer (Xi Zhen Zhen Da)”, even used the same style that Father M. Ruggieri had used in his book “Tian Zhu Shi Lu” and Father Matteo Ricci in “Tian Zhu Shi Yi” by putting questions and then answering the questions<sup>173</sup>. This was also the style of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225A.D.-1274A.D.) in his book of “Summa Theologica”.

In fact, the word of “Zhu” referring to Allah was not at all present in any writing of Chinese Muslims, until the end of Ming. The word of “Zhu” was mentioned together 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 1602A.D. in Beijing. It was written on the stone tablet of Niu Jie Mosque,

<sup>172</sup>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.

<sup>173</sup> 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

Beijing in 1602A.D..It is interesting to mention that the introduction of the Chinese word “Zhu (the Lord)” into Islamic terminologies and linking the two words of “Tian” and “Zhu” together in Chinese was after the Jesuits’ writings.<sup>174</sup> 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 (1613A.D.), directly pointed 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’”.<sup>175</sup>

### ***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 Crucifixion<sup>176</sup>, 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 Pian”, which was written in 1621A.D, showed that Yang Tingjun learnt the teachings of Trinity from Matteo Ricci or someone else, because there was a full discussion about the Trinity.<sup>177</sup> 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.”<sup>178</sup> Even after many years, J. Aleni could not make the Chinese understood this basic Catholic belief.<sup>179</sup> Many questions were raised such as since Lord can create the world, why he could not save the

<sup>174</sup> See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu, p.34

<sup>175</sup> See, Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu,p.34-35

<sup>176</sup> 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.

<sup>177</sup> See, Yang Tingjun, Dai Yi Pian; and see, Xu congce, An Abstract, p.120

<sup>178</sup> See, Yang Guangxian, Bu De Yi (I Have no Alternative).

<sup>179</sup> 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.

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.<sup>180</sup>

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 sayings 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"?"<sup>181</sup>

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)".<sup>182</sup>

Islam rejects totally the Catholic doctrine of Trinity, based on the pure Tawhid. The Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature refuted Trinity in their

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<sup>180</sup> See, J. Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue, p.483-489

<sup>181</sup> See, Dai Qifeng, Po Xie Ji.

<sup>182</sup> The same sayings were found in the article of Shao Puzhong's "Tian Xue Shuo (An 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 .

books without any hesitation. This perhaps was the first time that Hui scholars openly criticized in written Han Chinese faith of Catholicism of Jesuits. 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? ...”<sup>183</sup>. 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 God incarnate.<sup>184</sup> 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.<sup>185</sup> Salih 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 ridiculous heresy, when he explained the meaning of Surah al-Ikhlās.<sup>186</sup>

### 3. *The Cosmology of Neo-Confucianism*

The Chinese philosophers had discussed the origin the world since very long time. There were different schools with different points of view. For example, Zhang Zai (张载), a philosopher in North Song Dynasty, held that “Qi (气 the Gas)” 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 of Ming dynasty 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 Real Meaning of Lord of Heaven)”. The ancient Greek geocentric astronomy of Claudius Ptolemaeu) was applied. This Ptolemy’s geocentric astronomy was introduced by Thomas Aquinas into theology of Catholicism in his book

<sup>183</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.112-113

<sup>184</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.676-677

<sup>185</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.622-623, p.676

<sup>186</sup> See, Salih Liu Zhi, The Islamic Shariah, p.45-46



“Summa Theologica”. So did J. Aleni when he explained the creation of the world, though he mixed it with Neo-Confucianism concept of “Li-Qi (理-气 the Principle -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.<sup>187</sup> 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 that the “Li-Qi (理-气 the Principle -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 (1546A.D.-1601A.D.), which compromised between the theory of geocentric astronomy of Claudius Ptolemy and heliocentric theory of Copernicus (1473A.D.-1543A.D.), when they were asked by the Chinese emperors of making a calendar.

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 Lu”, 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.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>187</sup> See, W.T. Stace, Religion and the Modern Mind, (New York, J.B. Lippincott Company, 1960), p.91

<sup>188</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, Tian Zhu Shi Yi.



In the book of “Bian Xue Yi Du(辨学易牍)” published in 1609A.D., 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 dependent 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.”<sup>189</sup> 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. <sup>190</sup>

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 <sup>191</sup>. 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 interpretations of the scholars in Song dynasty was a necessary complement for the classics. 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 not the same as “Zhen Zhu (真主 Allah)” in Islam. The Muslim scholars also tried to study those Confucian scriptures in the light of Islamic revelation. Dawood Wang Daiyu held that the original teachings of the existence and oneness of the Creator in the

<sup>189</sup> See, Xu Zongce, An Abstract, p91-92

<sup>190</sup> See, J.Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue, p.444

<sup>191</sup> See, Nicols Standaert, A Study of the Catholic Confucian-Yang Tingjun.

ancient books before the era of Yao-Shun (尧舜)<sup>192</sup> and Confucius was lost during the movement of “Burning the Scriptures and Burying the Confucian Literati” in Qin dynasty.<sup>193</sup> After the first Emperor Ying Zheng of Qin dynasty united all the other six states in 221B.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 books. They all had different views about it. According to these Hui scholars, Cheng-Zhu’s Neo-Confucianism, their interpretations changed the original teachings and made their own gods as mentioned by Dawood Wang Daiyu in his book “the Real Commentary”. For example, Dawood pointed out that there was a verse in “Yi (易 the Book of Changes)”: “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” 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 cosmological system of Zhu-Cheng, they introduced some 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 scholars introduced another Islamic term of “Zhen Yi (真一 the Real One)” referring to the creation of the universe. Furthermore, Dawood introduced Islamic Sufi concept of “Haqiqatul Muhammadiyah” to explain the creation of the universe. He held that “Wuji (the At most Ultimate)” in “Tao De Jing” or Neo-Confucianism was the “Haqiqatul Muhammadiyah”<sup>194</sup>. Similar to Jesuits, All those Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature, from Dawood

<sup>192</sup> 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.

<sup>193</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.103

<sup>194</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p. Yusuf Ma Zhu, The Guidance of Islam; Salih Liu Zhi, Nature and Principle of Islam

Wang Daiyu, Yusuf Ma Zhu to Salih Liu Zhi , replaced the “Five Elements” in Chinese traditions by the Aristotle’s “Four Elements”. “Qi (the Gas)” in Zhang Zai’s theory became only an element of the four. This modification started in the books of Dawood Wang Daiyu<sup>195</sup>. But he did not mention the reasons why he did so. 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)”<sup>196</sup>. Perhaps, they all read the books of Muslim philosophers like Farabi’s book in Arabic or Persian. Dawood Wang Daiyu rejected purely the “Li (the Principle)”, “Taiji (the Great Ultimate)” 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)<sup>197</sup>. Salih Liu Zhi developed a broader Creationism by introducing the Sufi and philosophical thoughts to the cosmology of Neo-Confucianism, and modified it. In the book of “Nature and Principle of Islam”, he referred to Zhou Dunyi’s book of “Diagrams of Taiji” and other books of Muslim Sufis’ and philosophers’ thought, 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 Ptolemaeu and Aristotle<sup>198</sup>.

We observed that the Hui scholars, tried to integrate the Chinese traditions as much as possible, so that their books would not be attacked by

<sup>195</sup> See, Dawood, Wang Daiyu, The Real Commentary, p.63

<sup>196</sup> See, Sha Congping, A Study of Liu Zhi’s Philosophy, p.138-139

<sup>197</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, The Guidance of Islam, p. 126

<sup>198</sup> See,Shang Zongping, The Tian Fang Studies of China,p.127

the Chinese as heresy as the case of Jesuits in the anti-Christianity movement in 1616A.D., 1637A.D. and in the “Calendar Rites” 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 Muhammad (S.A.W.)” from Sufi school of thought. “Haqiqatul Muhammadiyah” refers to “the Light of Muhammadiyah”, which originated a Narration widely stating that before creating anything else, Allah created the “Light of Muhammadiyah”. From that light, Allah created everything in the universe. Sufis used this Hadith widely for explaining the unique roles of the Wali. But, some scholars are holding the option 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”<sup>199</sup> ; at last, “Four Xiang (Fire, Water, Wood, and Air)” came into being, from which all the creatures were created.

According to the Hui scholars, “Wuji” was created by “Zhen Yi”. The new term of “Zhen Yi (真一 Real One or Tauheed)” invented by the Hui scholars “Yi (一 One)” was an 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”<sup>200</sup>. After that, Zhunzi (369 B.C.-286B.C.), the second master of Taosim, explained that “the Sky and the Earth and I came into being at the same time; everything and I became Yi (One)”<sup>201</sup>. According to the theory of “Oneness” in Taoism, there was not 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 combined word of “Zhen Zhu” was formed with the meaning of “the Real God”. Again, when the two words of “Zhen Yi” were combined and formed a new term in Chinese with the meaning of “the Real One”, not the one as anybody else claimed.

<sup>199</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.248-248

<sup>200</sup> See, Laozi, Tao Den Jing, chapter39 and chapter42.

<sup>201</sup> See, the Book of Qi Wu Lun( Everything), Chunzi

The terminology of “Zhen Yi” was a 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<sup>202</sup>. Actually, “Zhen Yi” meant Tauheed in Islam. The word of “Zhen Yi” was employed when Tauheed of the essence (Ben Ran الذات), Tauheed of the attributes (Ben Feng الصفات) and Tauheed of the actions (Ben Wei 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 scholars books. “Shu Yi” was the Oneness of the creature (وحدة الشهود), that is to say, all the creatures in the universe came from the only “One”, the “Real One”. And “Ti Yi” was to assure that all the stages of experiencing with Allah came from the same source, i.e. Allah<sup>203</sup>. All these three concepts of “Yi” were accepted by the later Hui scholars like Yusuf<sup>204</sup> and Salih.<sup>205</sup>

They 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 Sun<sup>206</sup>. Salih Liu Zhi, for example, tried specially to demonstrate the whole picture of creation in his famous book *Nature and Principle of Islam*, published in 1704A.D.<sup>207</sup>. It is likely that they drew up from Muslim Sufis or philosophers and might have also benefitted from the books of Jesuits written before them. For example, the names of the planets, places, in Han

<sup>202</sup> See, Sun Zhenyu, A Study of Wan Daiyu and Liu Zhi, p. and Jin Yijiu, A Study of Wang Daiyu, p.224

<sup>203</sup> See, Dawood Wang Daiyu, The Real Commentary, p.38; The Great Learning of Islam (Qing Zhen Da Xue), p.379-402

<sup>204</sup> See, A Guide to Islam, p.112-126, p.249

<sup>205</sup> See, Salih Liu Zhi, The Nature and Principle of Islam, p.288-312

<sup>206</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.650.

<sup>207</sup> Perhaps, Salih used some books of famous Muslim scholars in Persian and Arabic: Mirsad al-ibad by Najm al-Din Razi, Maqsad-I 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

Chinese in the books of Hui scholars were same as mentoned in the books of Jesuits published earlier.<sup>208</sup> It is obviously that Hui scholars, Dawood Wang Daiyu and Salih Liu Zhi, adopted the ancient Greek Ptolemy cosmology, perhaps they got this knowledge from both the books of Muslim scholars in Arabic or in Persian and 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 two move less bodies in Jesuits books were changed into “al- Kursi” and “ al-Arsh”<sup>209</sup>.

Salih Liu Zhi explained except the creation of the universe, also the formation human being in his book “ Nature and Principle of Islam”, by application of Zhou Dunyi’s “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 thought<sup>210</sup> and the concept of microsmology of Ibn Arabi school was introduced fully in Salih Liu Zhi’s book of “Nature and Principle of Islam”.

### Chapter 3 The Life After Death

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

Matteo Ricci was well aware of of this difference<sup>211</sup> and mental troubles of Chinese people due to lack of belief system in the life after death<sup>212</sup>. Many Confucian scholars also got onvined by him<sup>213</sup>. Matteo

<sup>208</sup> 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),

<sup>209</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.60 and see Salih Liu Zhi, Nature and Principle in Islam, p.121

<sup>210</sup> 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.

<sup>211</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.102

<sup>212</sup> See, matteo Ricci, The Correspondences,p.73

<sup>213</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, the Correspondences, p.102;R.P.Henri Bernard, the Bibliography of Matteo Ricci, p.224

Ricci tried to explain the reasons behind eschatological gap. He tried to rationalize the absence of the concept of lifeafterdeath 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 a devil like heresy<sup>214</sup>, though there was excellent administration in China.<sup>215</sup> He identified the two major issues in Confucianism, i.e. absence of the concept of God and the life after death.<sup>216</sup> The Hui Hui Muslim scholar Dawood Wang Daiyu also mentioned that the books of Confucianism got corrupted, burnt, and buried during the period of Qin dynasty. 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 clothes. M.Ruggieri published a book in Han Chinese language in 1584 A.D and discussed the human soul. This was the first book of Jesuits in Han Chinese.<sup>217</sup> He made two Han Chinese words of 'Ren Hun (人魂)' in Chinese referring to '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. M. Ruggieri talked about the soul of human being, its everlasting nature, how it is different from the souls of animals and salvation in that book.<sup>218</sup> He combined two Chinese words ' (人 Human)' and 'Hun (魂 Soul)' to coin a new term. The soul of human being was equally significant topic in Matteo Ricci's 'Tian Zhu Shi Yi'. In this book, Matteo Ricci

<sup>214</sup> See, The Correspondences, p.134,

<sup>215</sup> ibid,p.86-87

<sup>216</sup> ibid,p.87, p.102

<sup>217</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences,p.69

<sup>218</sup> See,M. Ruggieri, Tian Zhu Shi Lu (Chapter Three), and Xu Zongce, An Abstract, p.109



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 while the latter was spiritual and shapeless. It was ever-lasting and would not vanish when the body died<sup>219</sup>.

Later, Matteo Ricci found out some verses from the Chinese classics about existence of human soul and its eternity. In his book *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*, he interpreted some words i.e. Yi in 'Xi Bo Kan Li (西伯戡黎)' regarding eternity of human soul<sup>220</sup>. J. Aleni also answered such questions in the later period,<sup>221</sup> following the same pattern as practiced in the dialogue of Yie Xianggao.<sup>222</sup>

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 Existence<sup>223</sup>. Following them, the Chinese converts Paul Xu Guangqi and Yang Tingjun refuted the transmigration of souls in Buddhism.<sup>224</sup> The two Chinese terms i.e. 'Tian Tang' (天堂 the Paradise) and 'Di Yu' (地狱 the Hell) were first mentioned in the books of Buddhism in Chinese. They 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.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, *Tian Zhu Shi Yi* (Chapter Three).

<sup>220</sup> See, James Legge, *The Shoo King, The Book of Shang*, p.268

<sup>221</sup> See, J.Aleni, *San Shan Lun Xue*

<sup>222</sup> See, J.Aleni, *San Shan LU Xue*, p.469-477

<sup>223</sup> See, M.Ruggieri, *Tian Zhu Shi Lu* (Chapter Three), Matteo Ricci, *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*(Chapter Four).

<sup>224</sup> See, Xu Guangqi, *Pi Wang* (辟妄 A Refutation of Superstions), and see, Yang Tingjun, *Tian Shi Ming Bian* ( A Debate Between Catholicism and Buddhism) and *Dai Yi Pian*, pxxx; and also see, J.Aleni, *San Shan Lun Xue*, p.481

<sup>225</sup> 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



The Hui Hui Muslims 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 the biggest sinner.<sup>226</sup> Dawood Wang Daiyu would use the Buddhist terms and answer the 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 concepts of Samsara and Previous Existence are more convincing.<sup>227</sup>

## 2. *Explanation of the Mysterious Forces*

With the pasage of time, the concept of Oneness of the Creator was gradually lost among the Chinese. The emporers only had the honor to worship the ‘Tian’ (the Heaven). The worship of the sky, the earth, their ancestors or their saints crept in their belief system gradually.

In ancient time of Yin and Zhou dynasty (before 770B.C.), the relation between God and man was mutual correspondence, instead of the Creator-creature relationship in the Quran and in the Old Testament. The concept of ‘Heaven or Sky’ was closely related with the ‘Kings or Emperors’, for only kings and 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 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 .

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 after the standard secular ethics of

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<sup>226</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.341-343,p347,p.354

<sup>227</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, Tian Zhu Shi Yi(Chapter Four).

Confucius and Mencius. According to the Confucian ethics, ‘anyone could be a saint’, if he practised 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 contribution in the field of education. Confucius was never considered a supperman 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 religious orders in China, or the Papacy of Rome, or Chinese Emperor of Kangxi, which resulted in the ‘Chinese Rites Controversy’ during 1620A.D.-1720A.D.

Xunzi<sup>228</sup> and Si Maguang<sup>229</sup> both confirmed that the aweship 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 ancient period.

In those Chinese ancient classics, there were some words used for description of mysterious forces, like Shen (神), Gui (鬼), Hun (魂), Po (魄). However, there was no clear picture about their nature. Confucius did not give any further explanation about them. In ‘Lun Yu’ (Analects), it was recorded 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, etc; and ‘Guai Shen’(怪神 the strange gods) referred to the gods during Yin-Zhou period that they participated in the battle with human beings. It is possible that ‘Li’ and ‘Shen’ were referring to the same mysterious unseen forces.

The present of unseen creatures, like angels, jins, devil, soul, etc could not be explained by Confucian scholars. The quest for knowing about those unseen mysterious forces provided chances for black magic, superstitions, etc. to mislead people. Matteo Ricci recorded a lot of stories that he cured

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<sup>228</sup> 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.

<sup>229</sup> Si Maguang was a great historian.

people who suffered from the mischief of such unseen creatures while he was in China.<sup>230</sup> In this way, Jesuits earned fame among the Chinese people.

The Hui 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 death in all their books.<sup>231</sup> The Hui scholars discussed in detail in their books the nature of the different names of ‘Shen(神 the deity)’, ‘Gui(鬼 the goast), ‘Xian(仙 the fairy)’ and many wrong practices of Chinese. For 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, who were next to the angels and human being in status. They were created from fire. The soul of a good person after his death would not become “Xian 仙 (the fairy or angel)” as claimed by the Taoists<sup>232</sup>.

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<sup>230</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p146-p148

<sup>231</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.354-358,

<sup>232</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to 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, The Confucius books and scriptures 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), Confucius 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, propriety and fidelity) became the political and moral principles in Confucianism. But it was believed that the five

virtues of ‘Ren ( the benevolence )’, ‘Yi (the righteousness)’, ‘Li’ (the rites), ‘Zhi’ (propriety) and ‘Xin’ (the fidelity) were the basic ethical values in Confucianism.

In the Han Kitab literature, Hui Hui scholars interpreted their religion in terms of Confucianism. Dawood Wang Daiyu, Yusuf Mazhu and Salih Liuzhi all stressed in their books that the objective of teachings of Islam and Confucianism were almost identical.

## Chapter 1 Status of Confucious

Confucius (551B.C.-478B.C.) was the greatest educationalist in the history of China. The Chinese showed great respect to Confucious. He was conferred upon the title ‘Zhi Sheng’ (至圣 the greatest saint) by the Emperor in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Jiaqin during Ming dynasty (around1530A.D.).

He observed that ‘Ren’ (仁) (the benevolence or kindness) should serve as the guiding principles for the ruler to govern the country. ‘Ren’ is the tradition of “Yao and Shun”<sup>233</sup>, to rule the people like the kings of Zhou dynasty<sup>234</sup>. He tried through teaching to revive the ‘Li’ (礼 rituals or social orders), a tradition earlier practiced in Zhou dynasty because 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 (the Mandate of the Sky)”<sup>235</sup>.

The main teaching of Confucianism revolves around the establishment of Zhou dynasty. It was an out of the ordinary event in the history of China

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<sup>233</sup> Yao and Shun were the two ancient Chinese kings.

<sup>234</sup> The people of Zhou (around 11<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>235</sup> See, The She King (Grater Odes of the Kingdom Odes of the Temple and The Altar), James Legge, p.1 and p9

that a small country of Zhou defeated the powerful country of Shang and established the strong Zhou dynasty. The book titled *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 "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.D., a study of eleven bamboo slips of Warring State Period in Qinghua 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" was the religion of Islam, a common religion brought by all the prophets and that those forefathers of Chinese "Yao and Shun", two kings of Zhou dynasty followed the revealed Shariah<sup>236</sup>.

Matteo Ricci was the first westerner 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 on revelation like the existences of God, prophethood, etc. 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 A.D. 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 the great master. 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. In his Catholic view, the Confucianism was a philosophy of ethics based on human intellect alone and not on the revelations.

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<sup>236</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> century before the Common Era. See, Xinhua net, 2012A.D.

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 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<sup>237</sup>. The Jesuits in China showed great interest towards the sayings of Confucius of “Xi Fang You Da Sheng Ren Chu (西方有大圣人出 the great Sheng Ren will come out in the west)” 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.).<sup>238</sup> J. Aleni followed the same claim of Matteo Ricci.<sup>239</sup> 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.<sup>240</sup> The Jesuits also used the same title of “Zhi Sheng (至圣 the Greateat Saint)” for Jesus (A.S.) as the Chinese Emperor titled Confucius in the year of 1530A.D..

It is obvious that Confucius was treated in the eyes of Jesuits only as a philosopher of unbeliever, not a deity. They allowed the Chinese converts to participate in the Chinese traditional ceremonies of “Zun Kong Ji Zu (尊孔祭祖 Respect of Confucious and Reverence of Ancestors)”. As for the rituals of memorial Confucius and reverence of their ancestors, Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits who followed his practice had the opinion that those

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<sup>237</sup> 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.

<sup>238</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, Tian Zhu Shi Yi.

<sup>239</sup> See, J. Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue, p.490

<sup>240</sup> See, Xu Zongce, An Abstract, p.102

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 these rites were only memorial ceremony, having no religious meaning.

But, the 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. For example, bowing heads or prostrations in front of the statues or pictures of Confucius, offering incenses or fruits. And so did they 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 concubines<sup>241</sup>. The status of Confucius in Chinese traditions was very significant among the Jesuits and other religious orders. It became one of the important causes behind 'Chinese Rites Controversy'.

It was a wise policy both for the 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.

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

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<sup>241</sup> See, Huang Zhen, *Po Xie Ji*. Having more than one wife was a popular custom of Chinese Confucian society.



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 Emperor' 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.<sup>242</sup> 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. The 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 could be a saint', if he practised 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 a saint or a great educationalist due to his significant contribution in the arena of education. Confucius was never considered a super power being worshiped.

If the history of China is traced out, it turns out that in ancient time of Yin and Zhou dynasty (before 770B.C.), the relation between god and man was mutually correspondening, unlike the creator-created relation in Quran and in Old Testament. The concept of 'Heaven or Sky' was closely related with the 'Kings or Emperors', for only kings and 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 among 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 veneration of the ancestors and building a memorial archway, making a memorial tablet, offering scarifies or incenses or even doing prostrations in the front of these tablets and tombs were the common ones.

In the later period, the different understanding towards the Chinese traditional veneration of Confucius and saints resulted in the famous

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<sup>242</sup> 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.

‘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. A similar cultural accommodation of Matteo Ricci in China was also practised in India which at last caused ‘Indian Rites Controversies’ too. 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 A.D., 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 A.D. In the end of 1705A.D, the delegation of Rome arrived at Beijing. 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.<sup>243</sup>

After a few decades, Dawood Wang Daiyu argued that Jesuits that the great ‘Da Sheng Ren (西方有大圣人)’ coming out from the west, predicted by Confucius was the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad (S.A.W.).<sup>244</sup> And in 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’ were quoted by Salih Liu Zhi in his ‘the Shariah of Islam’. After, Hui Hui scholars differentiated that the Holy Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) was ‘Sheng Ren’ of the west and Confucius was the ‘Sheng Ren’ of the east.<sup>245</sup> Hui Hui 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 that the ‘Sheng Ren’ of the west mentioned by Confucius was Buddha.

<sup>243</sup> The Papacy of Rome revised its former decision in 1939.

<sup>244</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary , p 32; Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guidance to Islam,p.144-145;Salih, Nature and Principle of Islam, p.36

<sup>245</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.65

According to Dawood, the best role model of a prophet should be that of having family life, and obeying the rulers of the country. It was imaginable that Buddah was regarded as ‘Sheng Ren’ by the people.<sup>246</sup> 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. This does not affect his own fate after this death. It seemed to me that in Yusuf Ma Zhu’s book he was referring to Confucius himself but avoided mentioning his name for consideration of respect. Confucius was conferred on the title of ‘Zhi Sheng Xian Shi’ (至圣先师 the Greatest Saint and Tutor) by the emperor of China since 1530 A.D.

### **Sufi’s approach towards the Prophet (S.A.W.).**

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars followed Sufi approach regarding the distinct status of Muhammad (SAW)’. Dawood held that the Chinese concept of ‘Wuji’ was “the light of Muhammad (S.A.W) in Islamic Sufism<sup>247</sup>.

Yusuf Ma Zhu held that ‘Wuji’ as well as the Pen’ which was created by Allah before all things<sup>248</sup>. Salih Liu Zhi, in his book *The Principles of Islam* (Tian Fang Xing Li 天方性理), explained the concept of the world in the view of Muslim Sufis that Allah created the Light of Muhammed (S.A.W.) before all other creations. And because of the Holy Prophet Mohammed (S.A.W.), Allah created the universe.

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 human civilization, the Chinese civilization could not be separated from Confucious.

## **Chapter 2 The Position of Chinese Civilization**

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<sup>246</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.32

<sup>247</sup> See, the Real Commentary, p.92

<sup>248</sup> See, Yusuf, the Guidance of Islam, p.641 and 644.

Untill the Ming dynasty, the Chinese Confucians believed to be the centre of the world and their civilization as the most advanced. In comparison, the people and their countries in the 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”. A 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 applied his mathematic and geographical knowledge earned 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, representing its place as the centre of the world. In 1584 A.D., 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 world<sup>249</sup>.The people were shocked by the world map of Matteo Ricci as it showed there were there were many other countries, people and high civilization beyond “Zhong Guo”. Chinese Confucianism Jesuits’ maps of the world were printed many time in Zhaoqing in 1584A.D., in Nanchang during 1595A.D.-1598A.D., in Nanjing in 1600A.D.,in Beijing in 1602A.D. and 1608A.D. The ancient contradicted the ancient Chinese wisdom that placed China at the center of the world, which in their imagination was also flat. The

<sup>249</sup> See,Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.65 / p.66/p.108

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.<sup>250</sup>

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, the Jesuits sought to describe ancient Chinese civilizational markers with biblical evidences. Matteo Ricci even transferred the Chinese chronology into the western chronology<sup>251</sup>. He tried to explain the history of China through Biblical argument that, all the human being of the world was related to the Flood and Noah (A.S.). The Jesuits that followed Ricci reimagined the history of China using same methodology. Alvare de Semedo(曾德昭)<sup>252</sup> in his book “the Empire of China (Imperio de la China 大中国志)” sought to conform the Chinese history to the Biblical descriptions about the origin of human race.<sup>253</sup> Any conflicts were blamed on the inaccuracy of Chinese way of recording.

The later Jesuits followed this trend religiously. Martino Martini (卫匡国)<sup>254</sup> was the most important Jesuit in this field. In his book of “the Upper- Ancient History of China (Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima 中国上古史)” written in 1658A.D., he introduced the history of China from “Fuxi”

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<sup>250</sup> See Liu Ye Hui, the History of Chinese Culture, Vol.2, p.306

<sup>251</sup> He mentioned in his “Diary” that the technology of making silk was invented by Chinese as early as 2636B.C. See, Matteo Ricci, the Diary, p.4

<sup>252</sup> Alvare de Semedo (1585-1658), came from Portugal. In 108, he was sent to Gue ,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 Gua, India in 1638, on his way back to Rome. He died in Guangzhou, China.

<sup>253</sup> See, Wu Liwei, When the Ark of Noah Met Fuxi and Shenlun, (Beijing: Chinese People’s Univ. Press, 2005), p.86

<sup>254</sup> Martino Martini (1614-1661) was also a giant figure among the Jesuits in China. He was Italian and in 1640 reached Geo, 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 Papacy. He came back to Hangzhou in 1658 and built the first church there. He died in Hangzhou in 1661.

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 latter.<sup>255</sup>

Philippo Couplet (柏应理)<sup>256</sup> continued this tradition of Jesuits. In the book *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 1683A.D. According to the Jesuits, up to the year of 1683A.D., 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 reconcile with the orthodoxy of the Bible, they reinterpreted the timelines of M. Martini by claiming the real history of China started from “Yao” around 2357B.C. and that the history before “Yao” was unreliable or tales only. Jean Baptists du Halde in his book *Description Geogrape* in 1735A.D. follows the method and excises the period before the Fuxi as unreliable and based on fantasy 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” were 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 Philipppo Couplet (柏应理)’s “Confucius- the Philosopher of China (Confucius Sinarum Philosophie)” was published in Paris. In this book, the standpoint of Jesuits towards

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<sup>255</sup> See, Wu Liwei, When the Ark of Noah, p.86

<sup>256</sup> 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 Guo on his way back to China in 1692.

Confucius and his books was 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 ( The Great Learning)", "Zhong Yong ( The book of Mean)" and "Lun Yu (Analects)" was attached.<sup>257</sup>

Joachim Bouvet, after studying many Chinese classics, held that there recording about the Flood in the Chinese classics and "Fu Xi" in Chinese classics was Henoch, from offspring of Noah (A.S.).<sup>258</sup>

Similar to the pursuits of the Jesuits, the Hui Hui Muslim scholars tried to expound explain the origin of the Chinese people 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 practised 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.<sup>259</sup> 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 books<sup>260</sup>, the Jesuits literature. 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 the Chinese translation.<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> See, Louis Pfister, Notices, p.317

<sup>258</sup> See, Joachim Bouvet, Gu Jin Jing Tian Jian (古今敬天鉴 The Worshipping of Tian in the Ancient and Modern Ages)

<sup>259</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.185-186

<sup>260</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.98

<sup>261</sup> See, Salih Liu Zhi, The Islamic Shariah, 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 Flood<sup>262</sup>, citing Chinese tales wherein, Da Yu was a hero who helped the people negotiate with the challenges 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 China<sup>263</sup>.

### Chapter 3 Jesuits’ Integration of Confucian Life

When Matteo Ricci was in India, he was of the opinion that local converts should study theology of Catholicism, so that they could effectively work with local people<sup>264</sup>. With the ambition of preaching the Gospels among Chinese people, Jesuits overcame all the difficulties they met in China.<sup>265</sup>

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 colonialists during the Ming dynasty when pillage and piracy by the westerners provoked fear and anger. Raising the fear in 1583 A.D, the government of Cantons issued a public notice that condemned the locals who helped the 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 trouble.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> See, Zhou Pingping, The Catholicism Dispensing, p.37

<sup>263</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.186-187; see, Yusuf, Ma Zhu, A Guide To Islam, p.36; see, Salih, The Islamic Shariah, p.29

<sup>264</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.5, p.96-97

<sup>265</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.43

<sup>266</sup> See, Zhou Pingping, The Catholicism Dispensing, p.37



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 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 numbers was dangerous for Jesuit priests.<sup>267</sup> 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.

In 1583A.D., M. Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci reached Zhaoqing, Canton province. They disguised themselves as Chinese- they shaved their heads, wore robes as the Buddhist monks and took Chinese names. They claimed to have come from Tianzhu (天竺 name of the place referring to India).<sup>268</sup> The locals saw them as monks and accommodated them in a Buddhist temple where they lived with monks for quite some time till the governor Wang Ban built them a separate residence called 'Xian Hua Si' (仙花寺 Temple of Fairy Flower. When they found out the monks were not respected by the people due to their poor education.<sup>269</sup> the Jesuits turned their sight to a new direction of integrating the 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, Ricci, apart from studying Confucian literature, paid great attention to cultivate personal links with Confucian scholars. His friend Cui Taisu<sup>270</sup> advised him that he

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<sup>267</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.125

<sup>268</sup> Tianzhu(天竺) Was a holy land to the common Chinese Buddhists due to the famous Pilgrim of Xuanzang in early Tang dynasty.

<sup>269</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.15

<sup>270</sup> Cui Taisu was a former Confucian officer from Changshu from Jiangsu (a place near Nanjing area). He had good knowledge in Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.

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 A.D. 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 Confucian 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 civilization<sup>271</sup>. No doubt, such as articulation was seen in consonance with the traditional concept of ‘Zhong Guo’, i.e. China being the center of the world. This greatly pleased the Chinese. His writings supported by a 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 the area.<sup>272</sup>

### 1. Jesuits’ Integration with Confucianism

By the time he arrived in Canton, Matteo Ricci gained much knowledge about Chinese culture and society. He was fully aware of the fact that the Confucian scriptures were the only orthodoxy that dictated the authority and opinion. And that the Confucian literati strongly believed the life code taught by Confucian books was the best, worthy of no new inquiry or beliefs. Matteo Ricci captures 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 Confucius thought and legacy.

Matteo Ricci soon realized the improbability of spreading a foreign faith among the Chinese because 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 violating the

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<sup>271</sup> See Bernarrd, Vol.1. p188

<sup>272</sup> See Jiang Wenhan, The Jesuits in Ming-Qing China, p.12-19.

regulations would earn a severe punishment of one hundred stick beating or exile to five hundred kilometers away.

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

In 1595A.D, on his way to Nanchang, Ricci changed his robes to that of Confucian scholar gaining entry into the local literati. He gained local popularity for his knowledge about Confucious 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)”. In 1597, the Visitor A. Valignano appointed him as the major Superior of the mission in China.

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. Noe-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 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 stresses the likeness of the two concepts. He observes: “ ‘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.”<sup>273</sup> In his another treatise *Twenty-Five Sayings* written in Nanjing during 1599A.D.-1600A.D., he observed that ‘the great ‘Ren’ rests in the love of ‘Shang Di’ who created everything and put ‘Ren’ in the heart of human being, so that human beings may follow His order and perform “Ren” each other. In this article, he applied other four terms of Confucian ethics –‘Yi’ (righteousness), ‘Li’ (propriety), ‘Zhi’ (wisdom) and ‘Xin’ (fidelity) to describe the Catholic beliefs and rituals.

Contrary to 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 “Ren” in Confucianism to describe one of the names of Allah. AR-Rahman, translated into Chinese as ‘Zhi Ren’ (至仁的 the Most Beneficiary).

## 2. Jesuits’ Against Buddhism and Taoism

When the Jesuits entered India, they encountered a new religion and its followers: Hinduism and Hindus. Surely, Buddhism was another new religion encountered by the Jesuits when they moved into the Far East like in Japan and a few decades later Macaco. 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 the 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 10<sup>th</sup> September, 1583A.D wearing robes of Buddhist monk’s clothes and staying in Buddhist temple, they had plenty of knowledge about Buddhism in China after settling down in Zhaoqing, the young and erudite Ricco got ample chances to learn about the Buddhism prevalent at the 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

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<sup>273</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of Lord of Heaven*, Chapter Seven.

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 in Beijing, he made a lot of Chinese friends including the government officers and Confucian intellectuals in Nanjing. Among them was Li Zhi who was born in a Muslim family in Fujian province. While there is no evidence to show the Li Zhi was a practising Muslim, but he shares Ricci's dislike for the godless Neo-Confucianism. Zhi's admiration for Ricci and his work made Ricci known within the Muslims in Nanjing area. Matteo Ricci was invited by friends to a gathering in the winter of 1599 A.D. 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 forth 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, born in a Hui Hui Muslim family in Quanzhou, Fujian province, a famous scholar of anti-Confucianism listened to the debate silently. After that, he met with Matteo Ricci many times in Nanjing and in Jiling. Except the Confucianism which Matteo Ricci knew well, Islam, Buddhism and Taoism were present in Nanjing<sup>274</sup>.

For the Jesuit posterity in China Matteo Ricci paved the way for the 'integration of Confucianism against Buddhism' in his book *The True Meaning of Lord of Heaven* (天主实义 Tian Zhu Shi Yi) published in Beijing in 1603 AD. He justified it as thus: "though the Confucianism did not talk about the Superior 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 religions 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

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<sup>274</sup> See, Li Junping, the Meetings of Li Zhi with Matteo Ricci, Journal of National Literature Studies, Vol.1,2010

claims of some modern Confucian literati which were not compatible to the classics.”<sup>275</sup> The publication of his book “the True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven” in 1603A.D. in Beijing. Such practices of cultural accommodation were followed and further refined by many Jesuits and the Chinese converts. After Matteo Ricci, Buddhism and Taoism were continuously criticized by many other Jesuits and the Chinese converts.

In order to gain respectable social positions in Confucian society and while simultaneously work to decrease the influence of Buddhism among the Chinese, the early Jesuits in China started to criticise Buddhism harshly and openly. Matteo Ricci had a debate with a very famous Buddhist monk in Nanjing. A senior Chinese government officer Xu Guangqi<sup>276</sup> was converted who adopted Paul as his Christian name. He joined the new religion at the hand of Meccio, who concluded the general characteristics of the work of the 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, the 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 cultural and academic freedom<sup>277</sup> of this area attracted Matteo Ricci, which perhaps was one of the reasons that he could attack the Neo-Confucianism in his book *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*.

The fact that ‘The Ten Admonitory’ was translated first into Chinese by M. Ruggieri after he arrived at Macao would explain the early Jesuits tried to advance the common ground between their proselyting and the Chinese traditions. The publication also reveals an eagleness of the Jesuits as notices within the Buddhist monks. M. Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci had many troubles in Canton with the people and local government during their

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<sup>275</sup> See, R.P. Bernard, *The Bibliography of Matteo Ricci*, p.225

<sup>276</sup> 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.

stay in Zhaoqing and Shaozhou of Canton province during 1583A.D.-1596A.D.

In the beginning, Matteo Ricci was very careful to avoid clash with the teachings of Confucianism openly to 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 *The Lord of the Heaven*, did not use much Biblical material or Catholic theology to support his ideas. Instead he borrowed heavily from the Confucian classics and other intellectuals material familiar to the minds of the Chinese. At the same time, he omitted many basic teachings and rituals of Catholicism which did not concord with the moral teachings and rituals of Confucianism. Two noted Confucian literati 'Jin Shi' (进士 Ph.d)" Feng Jing and Xu Guangqi agreed with Matteo Ricci and wrote prefaces Ricci's book.

After Sheng Que's Imperial Memory of anti-Catholics to the Throne in 1616A.D, Xu Guangqi also wrote a famous Imperial Memory to the Throne in which he made rich claims that the teachings Paul Xu Guangqi stated therein 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 morally perfect)' and serve 'Tian Zhu', and the aim of Chinese saints was also to 'Xiu Shen' and serve the 'Tian'. So, there was no difference between the two."<sup>278</sup>

The fact that Matteo Ricci omitted many basic teachings of Catholic in his book *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* could be explained that he chimed in with Confucianism. In fact, the five ethical principle of Confucianism were based on relations between human beings while God was the only authority in the ethical system of Catholicism. The criteria for the conduct of human being is based on his relationship with one another not in the faith system. For example, the belief in Catholicism that a person sharing the same faith i.e. Christianity was dearer than his real

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<sup>278</sup> See, Xu Guangqi, *Bian Xue Zhang Shu* (辨学章疏)



brother was not acceptable in Confucianism; and the story of Ibrahim (A.S.) sacrificing his son for the sake of Divine Will could not be understood by Confucian Chinese. The unmarried life of the priests of the Jesuits and their loyalty to Papacy than the Emperor, the illegality of multiple marriages<sup>279</sup>, etc. were turned down by the ethics of Confucianism. Paul Xu Guangqi was openly advocating his thoughts that saw complementarity between Catholic teachings and 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 commits 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 Buddhism failed to figure it out and hence cure for it. So, the Catholicism could help the Confucianism to realize better social orders as in the western countries.<sup>280</sup>

In order not to contradict the teachings of Confucianism and explain the unmarried life the priests, Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits wrote variously that their intention of adopting such a life was not an obligation for all Catholics, but they chose it circumvent the troubles of long travel, so 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 "Da Fu Mu (the great father and mother)" referring to the God in Catholicism.<sup>281</sup> The Chinese convert Yang Tingjun explained and frequently referred in his writings.

### 3. Acquaintances with Confucian Literati

Matteo Ricci knew well that in the Ming dynasty, some Confucian literati started their negative thinking towards the orthodoxy of Confucianism. They started to look at Confucianism with doubt and believed the inflexible form of Confucianism was responsible for the social problems of China at that time. The appearance of Dongling Party was a case in point of such trend of thought. The famous Muslim Confucian literati Li Zhu expressed his sentiments against Neo-Confucianism. Matteo

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<sup>279</sup> The multiple marriages were allowed in the Confucianism. Many Chinese were refused to be baptized by the Jesuit priests due to this reason.

<sup>280</sup> See, Xu Guangqi, *Bian Xue Zhang Shu* (辨学章疏)

<sup>281</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, *Tian Zhu Shi Yi*.



Ricci was fully aware of this trend of thought among the Confucian scholars. He took part in this movement of disforming Confucianism with his Catholic point of view .

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 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 the Creator, 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.

In late Ming period, 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. Matteo Ricci even had an open religious debate with a Buddhist master in the house of a high Confucian officer in Nanjing, in the presence of more than forty people, in Jan.1599A.D. Among those audience, Li Zhi(李贽), who was a former Confucian officer of high rank, born in Muslim family, then became a convert to Buddhist was there. Matteo Ricci mentioned him many a time 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 "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 latter 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.<sup>282</sup>

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.<sup>283</sup> After Matteo Ricci entered China, he not only continued his studies of Confucian classics, but translated them into Latin language also. In 1596 A.D., he wrote a letter to the General of the Society of Jesus. In this letter Matteo Ricci told him that he could be able to use Chinese to express whatever he wanted<sup>284</sup>. They even used the Confucian literati titles to call themselves like "Jinshi (进士 Master)" so that they could easily make friends with the Chinese Confucian scholars and officers. traveled so far and overcame so many hardships just for making friends with Chinese.

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..

Matteo Ricci had to firstly explain 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, when he sat with those Confucian literati. We found him focusing only on the relation of friend and friend and avoided talking about the rest, so that he could run away from the conflicts between Catholicism and Confucianism on those issues. He talked about largely the importance on his article "On

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<sup>282</sup> See, Aleni, San Shan Lun Xue.

<sup>283</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.73

<sup>284</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondence, p.90

Friendship”, after he changed his outlook into a Confucian scholar in Nanchang in 1595 A.D. 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 (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 A.D.. 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

The acquaintance of Matteo Ricci with Li Zhi perhaps was one of the examples of such category. During their religious debate between Matteo Ricci and the Buddhist master in Nanjing, a famous Confucian scholar Li Zhi, born in a Hui Hui Muslim family in Quanzhou, Fujian province listened to the debate silently. Li Zhi was famous for his criticizing the rigid Neo-Confucianism in the late period of his life. He met with Matteo Ricci many times after the debate in Nanjing and in Jiling.<sup>285</sup> In his “Diary” and “Correspondence”, we may notice that Matteo Ricci was very busy every day for meeting with those Confucian scholars .

In order to have more effect on local Chinese people, Matteo Ricci selected candidates of converts who had better cultural qualifications among native Chinese converts. Many converts were famous Confucian scholars or high officers<sup>286</sup> 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.

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<sup>285</sup> See, Li Junping, the Meetings of Li Zhi with Matteo Ricci, Journal of National Literature Studies, Vol.1, 2010

<sup>286</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.166

He entered Jiangxi province wearing his new clothes and hat of “Ju Ren (举人 the owner of master degree)”<sup>287</sup>. 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 sat 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 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. The famous Confucian scholar Li Zhi 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 years<sup>288</sup> and read all our classics...I never met such an intelligent person before...”<sup>289</sup>. 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 those who passed the imperial examinations.<sup>290</sup> 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

<sup>287</sup> 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)”.

<sup>288</sup> It would be a mistake. Matteo Ricci entered Zhaoqing with M. Ruggieri in around 1583 and he met Li Zhi before he entered Beijing in Jan. 1601.

<sup>289</sup> See, Li Zhi, Xu Hunshu, Vol.1, p91-92

<sup>290</sup> The title of “Jin Shi (进士)” was found firstly in the article of Feng Yingjing (冯应京).

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) as 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 tradition of Matteo Ricci was 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, he paid more attention to candidates’ qualifications of intellectuals. He selected some qualified persons and concentrated working on them. Some Chinese scholar 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 and twenty-nine Confucian scholars.<sup>291</sup> So did J.Aleni in Fujian province. They knew well that in the Chinese society, majority of common people did not think to 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 of Matteo Ricci, Father Nicolas Longobardi (1559A.D.-1654A.D. 龙华民) preferred to working on common Chinese people. He thought Matteo Ricci’s ways of cultural accomodation was just wasting time only.

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<sup>291</sup> See, Wu Liwei, When the Ark Met with Fuxi, chapter one

#### 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 16<sup>th</sup> century before he came to the east, learnt how to make clocks, mechanics and printing of books when he was in India.<sup>292</sup> When he came to China, he studied the Chinese printing. He even wrote down the Chinese way of printing in details in his “the 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, 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 sciences if they 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 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 said was published only after his death, because he was afraid of the persecution of the Church .

In the late 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. That perhaps a very important factor that Matteo Ricci could earn the hearts of some Confucian literati. In the eyes of some Confucian scholars, comparing with Confucianism, the “Tian Xue (天学 Catholic theology plus sciences and technologies)” introduced by Matteo Ricci 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 Jesuits and sciences and technologies

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<sup>292</sup> See, R.P. Henri Bernard, The Bibliography of Matteo Ricci, p.50.

had no place in it in late period. For example, Joachim Bouvet gave a title for his book in Catholic theology with “Tian Xue Ben Yi (天学本义 the Original Meaning of the Study of Theology )” in 1703A.D.

Jesuits had a tradition of working with kings and noble people in Europe, India, etc. They thought 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 1580A.D, 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 disappointedly<sup>293</sup>. 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 Ruggieri was sent to Rome in 1588A.D. for requesting the Pope of sending a high delegation from Rome to the Chinese Emperor. Before starting his journey to Beijing during 1595A.D.-1596A.D., 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 Beijing (Nanjing was the first capital when the Ming established in 1369A.D.. After that, Beijing was selected as the new capital of Ming, but some government departments still remained in Nanjing) and explain our evangelization work in front of the Emperor, then we will not completely succeed.”<sup>294</sup>

After entering mainland 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 succeeded, if they did not get permission from the emperor in the “Forbidden City”.<sup>295</sup> M. Ruggieri went back to Rome appealing for sending a missionary delegation of high level to the emperor of China.

In order to enter the “Forbidden City”, Matteo Ricci worked very hard. With the intention of evangelizing the Emperor<sup>296</sup>, Matteo Ricci acted like an attributors as the foreign Muslim traders did always and started his

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<sup>293</sup> See, R.P. Henri Bernard, The Bibliography, p.50

<sup>294</sup> See, Bernard, Vol.1,p and See Jiang Wenhan, the Jesuits in Ming-Qing China,p.11.

<sup>295</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.64

<sup>296</sup> See, See Harman, P.C., the Brief History of the Society of Jesus, p.32-36.



journey to Beijing. He brought with him special gifts including an automatic ringing clock, three pieces of European oil paintings, some other religious paintings, some articles of glass ,a prayer booklet and a piece of musical instrument<sup>297</sup>. The Chinese Emperor Wan Li liked the automatic ringing clock the most. Matteo Ricci was called into the “Prohibited City” whenever the clock was out of order. He thus stayed in the capital beside the Palace as a royal clockmaker and made a center for the Jesuits in China.The residence of Matteo Ricci became the first center of Jesuits in Beijing.

After the death of Matteo Ricci, some Chinese converts having high powered positions in the courts persuaded the Emperor to induct the western scholars for the Emperor. They selected the field of astronomy as they planned so in the time 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 1614A.D..At last, a German Jesuit astronomer Schreck Terrenz ( 邓玉函)<sup>298</sup>, 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 preached in Hangzhou since he entered China in 1621A.D. until in September 1629A.D. that he was called by the Emperor to the palace for making a better calendar.

Since that, the Jesuits had monopolizing the post of the director of Calendar Department and the Imperial Observatorybetween 1629A.D.to1775A.D. 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

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<sup>297</sup> 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

<sup>298</sup> Schreck Terrenz (Terentio 1576-1630) was a friend of Callineo and Kepler,who came to China in 1621



cannons. Jean Francisco Gerbillon (张诚)<sup>299</sup> 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 1688A.D.. In 1696A.D., Jean Francois Gerbillon and other two Jesuit fathers accompanied the Emperor of Kangxi to the Muslim area of “Gardan” for conquest the Muslims. He used to accompany the Emperor in his inspection tours.

Among those scientists of Jesuits, Joachim Bouvet (1656A.D-1730A.D.) 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 1685A.D.. He brought with him a lot of scientific instruments. He arrived in Beijing in Feb. 1688A.D. 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.D., he was sent as the apostle of the Emperor Kangxi to the Emperor of France and the Pope. In March 1699A.D., 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 1730A.D..<sup>300</sup>

During this long period, many priests of the 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 the country, they were the engineers, making

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<sup>299</sup> Jean Francois Gerbillon (1654-1707), from France, came to China in 1687. st the Muslims.

<sup>300</sup> See, Pftister, The Notices, p.434-440

guns and cannons. Adam Schall told a Chinese officer the ways of making cannons, when the Ming dynasty was in the danger of Tartar in its North-East side. In 1636A.D., a cannon making factory was set up beside the palace of Beijing, Adam Schall being its supervisor. The factory manufactured twenty big and several other long cannons. The Emperor of Zongzhen rewarded him with a golden horizontal inscribed board <sup>301</sup>.

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 Zong zhen. After the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644 A.D., 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 the Jesuits . Many people , including the Queen, the princes, etc. in the “South Ming” dynasty were baptized<sup>302</sup>.

It was an astonishing historical fact that when the Tartar storm raged over China and Ming dynasty was overthrown, the Jesuits avoided the fate of swamping in the inner wars like the Christianity in the end of Mongol regime in 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Jesuits served both the new Manchu rulers and the “South Song” who tried to keep alive the old dynasty. For example, Adam Schall was highly honored by the last emperor of the Ming dynasty - Chongzhen (1628A.D.-1644A.D because he manufactured a number of cannons to defeat the Tatar in the end of 1630’s. But when the capital of the Ming dynasty was taken over by the army of Tartar and the Imperial Palace dilapidated, the emperor of Chongzhen suicided in 1644A.D. Adam also changed his identity quickly from the advisor of last emperor of Ming to the “Fama”<sup>303</sup> of first emperor of Qing, Shunzhi. He presented the same calendar made in the regime of Congzhen, Ming dynasty to the first emperor of Qing, by changing only the name of dynasty. The services of the Jesuits to the Chinese Emperors reached their zenith in the regime of emperor Kangxi, Qing dynasty. If the year of Matteo Ricci’s entry in Beijing is taken as the beginning, Jesuits would remain in the “Forbidden City” and China for more than one hundred and fifty years.

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<sup>301</sup> . See, Loois Pfister, Notices, p.171

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

<sup>303</sup> In the language of Tatar, “Fama” means tutor or teacher.

With such services in the Imperial Court, the Jesuits pushed Hui Hui Muslims and weakend their influences from the palace of Emperor. 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 "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 the presence of a 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 did<sup>304</sup>. It was well known that Muslim astronomers had helped the Chinese government to make calendars since Yuan dynasty<sup>305</sup>. In Matteo Ricci's Memorial to the Throne in the 28<sup>th</sup> year of Wanli. He pledged himself that he would learn astronomy in his hometown and would serve the Emperor as an astro-officer in China. In 1605A.D., Matteo Ricci wrote to the Superior General of Jesuits requesting him that some best astronomers should be sent to China from Europe<sup>306</sup>. 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 28<sup>th</sup> year of Wanli in 1601A.D.<sup>307</sup>.

Matteo Ricci got an opportunity when he entered Beijing. He offered the Emperor that he would like to serve the Emperor of China as an astronomer. Instead of saying his Catholic mission, Matteo Ricci frankly requested the Emperor of Wanli that he could serve the Emperor as an astronomer, in his first Imperial Memory to the Throne in January 1601A.D.

After that, he mentioned in his *the Diary* and *the Correspondences* that he had written to the Superior General of Society of Jesus for many times and requested them sending the best astronomers to Beijing. The services of the

<sup>304</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, *The Diary*, p.346

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid*, p.33

<sup>306</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, *The Correspondences*, p.128

<sup>307</sup> See, Zhou Tian, Pa She, p.66-67

Jesuits to the Chinese Emperors reached their zenith in the regime of Emperor Kangxi, Qing dynasty.

## Chapter 4

### Islamic Shariah in Confucian Society

In the Yuan dynasty, Muslims had a higher social status than the Han Chinese majority. They were only next to the Mongol rulers. A lot of Muslim high officers formed a part of the Mongol government in administration, military expeditions, science and technology and 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 along with them during their long journey from Central West Region. It is not difficult for us to imagine that the family and social life in these Muslim settlements integrated 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. 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. Also, when Nanjing was made as the capital of the new dynasty, a lot of Muslims followed the Ming rulers and settled in it. As per some sources, 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 nationalist 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 administrative steps strengthened the links between Muslims and Han-Chinese Confucian society. Even in Yuan dynasty, Muslims found the merits of Han Chinese culture and which encouraged them to learn Han Chinese language and its traditions. The most outstanding example was Sheikh Said Shamsuddin Omar (1211A.D.-1279A.D.) in Yunnan province. Under such a social environment, the majority of Muslims in China were also facing the danger of assimilation by Han Confucian Culture and losing their Islamic identities. The establishment of Mosque Hall Scripture Education by Sheikh Idrees Hu Dengzhou (1522A.D.-1597A.D.) was mainly for the 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 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 is expressed in Han Chinese language and Confucian terminologies. Hui Hui Muslims scholars had to find similarities between Confucianism and Islam. The movement of rebuilding mosque of Dingzhou<sup>308</sup> in the year of 1368a.D. showed us that Muslims in China were aware of their 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 ethnic terms of Confucianism such as “San Gang (三纲 the Three Cardinal Guides)” and “Wu Chang (五常 the Five Constant Virtues)” in Islam.<sup>309</sup> 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 behaviours 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.

<sup>308</sup>Dingzhou is a place in Hebei province, which is not far from Beijing.

<sup>309</sup> See, Yu Zhengui, The Historical Documents of Islam in China,1<sup>st</sup> Volume,p.376

In fact, all the writers of Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslims knew well about Confucian scriptures themselves. That was because, in Ming dynasty, anyone who wanted to join civil services in the government had to participate the Imperial Examinations after they had learnt the Confucius books and the interpretations of Zhu-Cheng by heart. Many Hui Hui Muslims were selected as government officials through the imperial examinations. For example, Dawood Wang Daiyu took part in the examinations for selecting Confucian literati in Nanjing and Beijing<sup>310</sup>. Yusuf Ma Zhu was serving the South-Ming government as a Confucian literato in Yunnan province for many years before he learnt Islamic teachings. Salih Liu Zhi, together with the Islamic training of his father Sheikh Liu Sanjie, also spent many years in his childhood learning 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.”<sup>311</sup>

### 1. “Tian Dao(天道 The Ways of the Heaven)” and “Ren Dao(人道 the Ways among Human Being)”

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 beings. They called it in Chinese as “Tian Dao(天道 the Way of the Heaven)”. Besides that, the ethics of Confucianism called “Ren Dao (人道 the right behaviours 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 presence of ‘Tian Dao’ in Islam, while the Zhong (忠), Xin (信), Xiao (孝), and You (友) in it were as same as in Confucianism”.<sup>312</sup>

<sup>310</sup> See, Jin Yijiu, p. 73-75

<sup>311</sup> See, Salih Liu Zhi, the Preface of “Nature and Principle of Islam” written by Salih himself, p.43

<sup>312</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.

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 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)".<sup>313</sup> 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 benevolence; 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 keeps a Muslim away from many physical desires and developing his intelligence and wisdom; the last pillar of Islam "Al-Hajj" 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'- "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 Allah<sup>314</sup>. Dawood Wang Daiyu changed the sequence of "Five Ethic Relations" in Confucianism and made the relationship between husband and wife the most important relationship

<sup>313</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.207

<sup>314</sup> See, Dawood Wang Daiyu, The Real Commentary, p.225



with the reason that there would be no ruler, father or son in the world if there were no husband and wife<sup>315</sup>. Dawood and all the other Hui Hui scholars of Han Kitab Literature criticized in their books, the life style of some people who lived non-marriage life, on the common basis of Confucianism and Islam.<sup>316</sup>

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 and perform the duties towards Allah and then perform “Ren Dao” i.e. the duties towards his different relations like the rulers, parents, children, relatives and friends. The Islamic code of human life was presented in the books of 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.<sup>317</sup>

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.<sup>318</sup> 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<sup>319</sup>.

## 2. Double Royalties

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 periods of time. In Tang dynasty, the Muslim soldiers were invited by the government of China in the middle of 8<sup>th</sup> century to help the then Emperor to finish a serious internal revolt threatening the

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<sup>315</sup> Ibid, p.168

<sup>316</sup> It was possible that Hui Hui scholars meant here the Buddhist monks and Jesuit priests. See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.168, and see also, Salih Liu Zhi,

<sup>317</sup> See, Yusuf, Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.472

<sup>318</sup> See, Salih Liu Zhi, The Shariah of Islam, p.32

<sup>319</sup> Ibid



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 big coastal cities like Quanzhou (City of Zaitoon in Arabic documents), Guangzhou, Hangzhou and Yangzhou, 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 and 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 even built a mosque beside the palace in the capital in 1591A.D., 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. 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 also did such “Koutow(叩头 Prostration)” when his request of meeting the Emperor was granted in 1601A.D.. Matteo Ricci recorded in his “the Dairy” that after he performed his “Koutow”, he raised his head and he 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 the Chinese Emperor accept the absolute authority of Papacy in Rome like the rulers in European countries. Due to the uncompromising attitude, 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. It was the first problem Muslims met in the Confucian empire. In 713A.D., 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 “Sajda” (prostration) in their prayers. Obviously, they thought the Chinese made the Emperor a deity of worshiping. The refusal of Muslim envoys’ “Koutow” made the Chinese displeased. Fortunately, those Muslim envoys were excused by the Emperor and they could keep their own traditions. But later all the Muslim envoys and contributors were persuaded to perform “Koutow”, whenever they came to the court of the Chinese Imperial Court.<sup>320</sup>

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars in late Ming dynasty knew well that Muslims were citizens of the country and the relationship between the Emperors and Hui Hui Muslims were of rulers and subjects. But at the same time, worshiping Allah is the obligatory duty of Muslims. They also had full information about the anti-Catholic movements after 1616A.D. and damages of churches, Jesuits centres, persecutions of Christians, etc. The centre of this first anti-Catholic Christian movement was in Nanjing, the home town of Dawood Wang Daiyu and Salih Liuzhi. Before Dawood writing his book of “The Real Commentary,” a massive anti-Catholics movement spread in Fujian, Zhejiang and Nanjing. Many Confucian and Buddhist scholars joined this movement. They wrote articles and refuted the Catholicism as heresy and enemy of Orthodox Confucianism. The ten

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<sup>320</sup> See, The Book of Old Tang (旧唐书) , vol.198

volumes of “Po Xie Ji (破邪集 A Collection of against the Catholic Superstitions)” were sent to a Buddhist master Feiyang and Confucian Xu Changzhi in Zhejiang province for circulation and publication in 1639A.D. Xu Changzhi came from a respectable family which played a role in the first anti-Catholic storm in Nanjing in 1616A.D.<sup>321</sup>

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 fatwah that the Chinese Muslims should be loyal 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 was a Muslim by birth as some scholars claimed. But no evidence showed that he was a practical Muslim and he did not enforce Islamic Shariah in his regime. He established Ming dynasty based on 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 at least reveals the harmony between Hui Hui Muslims and the Emperor. In this poetry, two Han Chinese words of “Qing Zheng (清真 the pure, the shining and the beautiful)” were used to describe the religion of Islam and the worship of Muslims was described as worshipping “Tian” and “Zhen Zhu”.<sup>322</sup> Some Islamic identities were kept in the Imperial Court at least up to the regime of Wuzong. According to Sa'id Ali Akbar Khatai, in 1516A.D, the Emperor of Wuzong, who was on the throne during Ming,

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<sup>321</sup> See, Zhen Cunfu, A Collection of Essays: On Religions and Culture, (Hangzhou: Dong Fang Publishing House, 1994) p.184

<sup>322</sup> Many Chinese scholars held the opinion 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 .

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.<sup>323</sup> The Chinese official records also showed that in the ninth month of the fourteen year rule of Wuzong (1520A.D.), the Emperor of Wuzong decreed a prohibition of rearing of and trading pigs and the offenders were sent to the frontiers to be permanent guards. Another evidence was that when Yusuf Ma Zhu was in Beijing, he owned a book of “Questions and Answers about Islam” used by the Emperor of Wuzong. According to Yusuf Ma Zhu, there were more than one thousand questions and answers; the questioner was Abdullah and the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) was the one who answered all the questions.<sup>324</sup>

The Ming dynasty was a secular dynasty of Confucianism. The government of Ming prohibited Hui Hui Muslims from speaking Arabic and Persian language, interfaith marriages, wearing of Islamic clothes, etc. Islamic Shariah was not practiced among majority of Hui Hui Muslims. When Dawood wrote his book of “the Real Commentary” around 1640 A.D., the Emperor of Congzhen was on the throne. Jesuits astronomer Adam Skul was working on the Imperial Court. Many people in the Forbidden City, including the former empress and the Emperor himself, according to Adam, were baptized.

Dawood Wang Daiyu firstly declared the Islamic Tawhid by saying that, the loyalty of human being towards Allah was more important for them than their loyalty towards the rulers and their fathers. The best loyalty was the loyalty 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)”.<sup>325</sup> So, obeying the Emperor was the most important duty of citizens of the country, together with obeying Allah and obeying parents.<sup>326</sup> 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

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<sup>323</sup>.See, Sa'id Ali Akbar Khatay, .Khatay Namih, (translated by Zhang Zhishan into Chinese from German, Beijing: San Lian Book Store,1988).

<sup>324</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.385.

<sup>325</sup> See, Dawood, The Real Commentary, p.223

<sup>326</sup> Ibid,p.225

posture of greeting each other like “Zuo Yi(作揖 nodding 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, they should put their ears and the side of their heads on the earth<sup>327</sup>.

Yusuf Ma Zhu followed the same sayings in his “a Guide to Islam”. He wrote his book for the Emperor of Kangxi as a loyal subject. He wanted to show the truth of Islam to the Emperor and Chinese people. He was so eager to meet the Emperor and explain to him the truth of Islam that he tried repeatedly to meet him<sup>328</sup>. He wrote that Hui Hui Muslims prayed in their every Juma pray for the long life of the Emperor and prosperity and stability his Empire.<sup>329</sup> The Emperor of Kangxi was not only a capable ruler for the administrative affairs of the country, but also a keen learner for knowledge, for example, he studied mathematics from fathers of Jesuits. He had an open heart towards different cultures. He was also interested in knowing about Islam and hoped to know the meaning of Quran, but no body at that time could explain it to him.<sup>330</sup> He conquered the Muslim area of the West Region and made Muslims of Uighurs his subjects. He even married a Uighur woman and built a mosque for her beside her residence. He had an intention of knowing about Islam.

During the end of 17<sup>th</sup>’s century, the Jesuits enjoyed their time on the Imperial Court and worked on the Imperial Court as advisors of the Emperor. It is obvious that the Emperor had enough knowledge about

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<sup>327</sup> See, Dawood Wang Daiyu, The Real Commentary, p.225-228

<sup>328</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, The Preface.

<sup>329</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam,p532-532

<sup>330</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam,p.63-64

Catholicism from Jesuit 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 enough by the doctrines of Catholicism, or he considered the Confucian traditions better for his country and the 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 loyalty towards Ming dynasty and revolted against the Qing rulers in 1648A.D. Perhaps, for that reason, the Qing rulers were never friendly with Hui Hui Muslims. They used to be on guard with the activities of Hui Hui Muslims. Salih Liu Zhi(1660A.D.-1730A.D.) lived in the regime of Kangxi(1662A.D.-1723A.D.) and regime of Yongzhen(1623A.D.-1636A.D.). Salih Liu Zhi completed his book of “the Shariah of Islam” around 1710.A.D. 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 loyalty towards the Chinese Emperor openly. Salih Liu Zhi wrote that “the Emperor was the shadow of Allah on the earth. A person who was loyal to the Emperor, is also loyal to Allah; whoever was faithful for the Emperor, he was also faithful to Allah.”<sup>331</sup>

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 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 rejected Neo-Confucianism’ explanation

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<sup>331</sup> See, Salih Liu Zhi, The Shariah of Islam, p.132 and p.137.

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 Catholicism in the country, the conflicts came out between Jesuits and Confucians. When Ye Xianggao learned from J.Aleni that the most representable king of Zhou Wuwang would go to the Hell because he had many concubines, he became doubtful of the new faith J.Aleni introduced to him. He could not believe that the Emperor, the 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 Emperor, the activities of Jesuits were banned in China. The Emperor of Kangxi perhaps did not know that loyalty to the Papacy was the unshakable belief of all Jesuits otherwise, he would not have allowed Jesuits who followed the practices of Matteo Ricci to stay in China. The emperor of Kangxi, of course, could 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 protected environments and it was very difficult for the Jesuits missionaries to reach them directly.<sup>332</sup> Considering the Chinese feudal ethics, Jesuits in China built churches especially for women in Nanjing, Hangzhou, Shanghai, Beijing, etc. around 1627A.D. The Pope Alexander<sup>7</sup> gave an approval to the

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<sup>332</sup> See, Matteo Ricci, The Correspondences, p.59-60



suggestion of Jesuits in China in 1656A.D. There was a women's church in Henan at least as early as 1732A.D.<sup>333</sup>. Women's churches in China came earlier than women's mosques of Hui Muslim.

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 1637A.D. It did not take long before there were 18 Christian ladies at Court, but none of them were able to meet the Fathers of Jesuits. By 1639A.D., there were 38 converted noble ladies. Even the widow of the former Emperor also became a convert. In 1640A.D., one of the ladies was named president of the community. The Catholic faith was preached on the Imperial Court so quickly that it looked like that even the Empress would accept this new faith.<sup>334</sup>

Hui Hui Muslims 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 Confucianism towards this issue. They added further that under the precondition of worshipping Allah, the Muslim women also should practice the virtues of Confucianism. Salih Liu Zhi in his book of "the Islamic Shariah" and Yusuf Ma Zhu in his book of "a Guide to Islam" explained that there was no 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 requirement 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

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<sup>333</sup> See, Zhou Pingping, The Catholicism Dispersing, p. 214-224

<sup>334</sup> See, Chen Cunfu, A Collection of Essays: On Religions and Culture, (Hangzhou: Dong Fang Publishing House, 1994) p.22



settlements in provinces of central China like Henan, Shanxi, Shangdong, Anhui, etc., there were many Mosques only for female Muslims. There were prayer halls or *madaris* for *Muslimat* although there were no *azaans* (Call to prayer) or *imams*. It is a unique phenomenon in the history of Islam that mosques are built only for female offering prayers there. There was not much information available about the history of such praying halls for female Muslims or women mosques. 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, first came to being in the era of Nanjing-Hangzhou- Shanghai in 1627A.D.-1640A.D. At that time, Sheikh Zhang shaoshang, Mohammed Chang Zhimei<sup>335</sup> and 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 to Jinning, Shandong province in about 1637A.D. They established "the School of Shandong" 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 1621A.D.-1644A.D.<sup>336</sup>

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

The book "The Transmission of the Chains of Mosque Scripture Hall" written in 1665A.D. recorded some famous scholars like Sheikh Ma Rongwu (马戎吾), Sheikh Ma Minggao (马鸣皋) who gave female Muslims religious teachings.<sup>337</sup> Sheikh Ma Minggao was the favourite

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<sup>335</sup> Mohammed Chang Zhimei and his cusion Li Yanling (1610-1670) were the pupil of Sheikh Zhang Shaoshan, the 3<sup>th</sup> generation student of Sheikh Idris Hu Deng Zhou. See,Zhao Can, The Transmission Chains of Mosque Scripture Hall Education,p.41-42

<sup>336</sup> See,Zhao Can, The Transmission Chains of Mosque Scripture Hall Education,

<sup>337</sup> See, Zhao Can, The Transmission Chains of Mosque Cripture Hall,p.63,p.70

student of sheikh Chang Zhimei, the founder of the Shangdong school which was famous for its Islamic teaching in Persian language. Sheikh She Qiling (1630A.D.-1710A.D.) was another famous student of Sheikh Chang Zhimei, who also started the trend of 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 were built in this period<sup>338</sup>. 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 Shaoshang, the famous pupil of third generation of Sheikh Idris Hu Dengzhou. In 1637A.D. He returned 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 1639A.D. 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 was one of their most outstanding pupils. Shandong School got his great 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 was a tradition of studying 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 (1584A.D.-1670A.D.) from Suzhou, a city near Nanjing.

Salih Liu Zhi mentioned in his book “The Islamic Rituals (天方典礼 Tian Fang Dian Li)” that there were books especially for Muslim women. These books were present before Salih Liu Zhi completed this book in 1703A.D.

Foot-binding 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 forcefully her inferior status to men in homes and societies. Of course, such Chinese traditions were not acceptable in both

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<sup>338</sup> For example, the mosque of Tianfangjie was built in 1655 and Donglaosi in 1697. See, Shui Jinjun, The History of Women Mosques in China, p.109

Catholicism and Islam. Until now, we have not yet known how the Jesuits Fathers and Hui Hui scholars dealt 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 tradition, they used take other women as concubines after their first marriage. The status of these concubines was inferior to the first wife. Jesuits did not compromise with this popular custom and they refused to baptise any man who had concubines. A man could keep only one woman and divorce the rest. Due to this problem, Li Zhizao was not baptized until before his death. For Hui Hui Muslim scholars, they decided not to deal such problems.

#### 4. A Comparative Studies for Some Issues

The Hui Hui Muslim scholars were fully aware of the absence of the concept of life after death in Confucianism.<sup>339</sup> They also noticed that the earthly life code and ethics in Confucianism were very similar in Islam. Both Yusuf Ma Zhu and Salih Liu Zhi did not compare the five pillars of Islam with the “Five Virtues” of Confucianism like Dawood Wang Daiyu, but discussed them directly. Perhaps, for Yusuf Ma Zhu and Salih Ma Zhu, there was no need to explain their religion in 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 writings against the Catholic Superstitions were written by Buddhists and Confucians, in which the Catholic faith was harshly attacked as a heresy. In such circumstances, Dawood Wang Daiyu had to present the teachings of Islam with a Confucian cover.

There were many anti-Christians movement all over the country after the death of Matteo Ricci. The autocratic feudal Confucian system and mysterious Catholic theology and misbehaviours of some Jesuits in China

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<sup>339</sup> See, Yusuf Ma Zhu, A Guide to Islam, p.143

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 based on orthodoxy of Neo-Confucianism. With the passage of time, the Confucian literati realised that the cultural clash between Catholicism and Confucianism was big, so much so 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 associated with various names of former anti-government secret organizations, for example the famous secret organization of anti-government "White Rotus", etc.<sup>340</sup>. Some famous Buddhist scholars joined 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.

During the period of 1610A.D.-1710A.D., there were about four big country-wide anti-Jesuits Catholics movements. After the death of Matteo Ricci in May, 1610A.D., another Italian Father Nicolas Longobardi (1559A.D.-1654A.D. 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 his death in China in 1654A.D. 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 the practice of Matteo Ricci's "Upper Class" preaching. He preferred to preach common people. He thought that the preaching way of Matteo Ricci was time consuming and a direct preaching like 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

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<sup>340</sup> See, Chen Cunfu, A Collection of Essays on Religion and Culture, p.122-123

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” instead of the word of “Dius (the God)”, but “Tian Zhu” 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 1611A.D.-1646A.D., both the numbers of Jesuits Catholic centres/ Christians increased rapidly as compared to the period of 1583A.D.-1610A.D. For example, the centres of Jesuits in Jiangsu (Nanjing area) increased from three to twenty-four, Zhejiang from two to seventeen, Shangdong from zero to twelve, Beijing from zero to ten. The people were baptized yearly by Jesuits Fathers in Nanjing and adjacent areas were also increasing quickly after 1630A.D. For example, the number in 1627A.D. was thirteen thousand people, in 1637A.D. forty thousand, in 1650A.D. one hundred and fifty thousand, in 1664A.D. nearly two hundred and forty-eight thousand, in 1667A.D. two hundred and sixty thousand, and in 1687A.D. one hundred thousand.

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

The number of churches of Jesuits was also increasing quickly after 1640A.D. For example, in 1644A.D., there were one hundred fifty-nine churches of Jesuits in all over China, and in 1687A.D., there were more than one hundred churches only in south-east China,<sup>341</sup>.

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<sup>341</sup>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

During this time, more than forty cases of clashes between the Chinese and Christians occurred in China before the anti-Catholicism movement in 1616A.D., and majority were in Canton<sup>342</sup>.

The first Anti-Catholic movement was in 1616A.D. 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 1616A.D. 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 hid 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 1637A.D., another anti-Catholics movement started in Fujian province, J.Aleni faced a counter attack from the united Confucians and Buddhists against Catholics. In 1639A.D., 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 work of Anti-Catholic faith written by Confucians and Buddhists from south China provinces during since 1607A.D. the last two volumes of which 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"<sup>343</sup>, and that the Fujian churches conspired with cults of many other heresy folk religions, gathering many people for its assistants.<sup>344</sup>. 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 Jesuits. It was possible that this work of openly anti-Christianity movements in the country

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<sup>342</sup> See, Louis Pfister, Notices, p.66

<sup>343</sup> See, Po Xie Ji(破邪集)A Collection of Essays on Anti-Superstitions of Catholicism, Vol.2, p2

<sup>344</sup> See, Po Xie Ji(破邪集)A Collection of Essays on Anti-Superstitions of Catholicism, Vol.9. p.33-34

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 Confucian life code, especially in the time of anti-Catholicism movements in 1616A.D. and 1637A.D. 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.<sup>345</sup> His another article "Dai Yi Pian" defended the Catholic rites that they were not conflicting 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 have the same moral life in their countries. The priests selected single life due to many considerations, and the work of the priests earned great honour for their families and parents lack in their countries similar to success in passing the Imperial Examinations in China.<sup>346</sup> Paul Xu Guangqi stated that the purpose of Catholicism was also like Confucianism, to take care of the welfare of the subjects. In the Catholic countries, there was also good social order, and the people lived a happy life. The above descriptions of the West must be informed by the Jesuits. It is obvious that Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits in China never mentioned the problems in the West to the Chinese. Actually, in the 16-17<sup>th</sup> century; Europe was undergoing many big troubles, like the Religious Reform, and wars with Turkish Muslims, etc.<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>345</sup> A secret organization in Ming dynasty aiming to overturn the government

<sup>346</sup> See, Yang Tingjun, Dai Yi Pian

<sup>347</sup> See, Paul Xu Guangqi, Pian Xue Shu Gao.



Matteo Ricci held that, in Confucian traditions, performing “Koutow” in the front of a living person, or memorial tablets of the accentors, etc. were rites for showing respect only, not worshipping deities. The different understanding of these rites among the religious orders was the main cause of “the Chinese Rites Controversies” for more than several decades.

But, in 1643A.D., a priest from Dominican reported to the Vatican that Jesuits in China were allowing the Chinese converts to practice the rites of idol worshipping. Innocent X issued a Papal Encyclical in Sept. 1645A.D. 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 worshipping. When the Papal Encyclical reached China, Jesuits in China decided to defend themselves. In the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Shunzhi (1650A.D.), 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 1653A.D.-1657A.D.

The “Calendar Controversy” between the Hui Hui Muslim astronomer Yang Guangxian and Adam Schall during 1664A.D.-1669A.D. pushed the movement of defenders of Confucians against the Catholicism to zenith. The Hui Hui Muslim astronomer Yang Guangxian compiled a collection 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 1659A.D.-1665A.D. 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 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 based on the orthodoxy of Confucianism. The Jesuits astronomers, 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 better for China, to have a western calendar or not a calendar 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.”<sup>348</sup> In Yang Guangxi’s collection of “Bu De Yi (不得已 I Have no Alternatives)”, Christianity and 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 not much interest in spreading Islam on the Imperial Court, they were not willing to give up their traditional positions on Imperial astronomers since Yuan dynasty.

In the 45<sup>th</sup> year of Kangxi (1706 A.D.), 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 to stay 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.”<sup>349</sup>.

In the next year of 1707A.D. 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 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 1722A.D., preaching Christianity was totally prohibited by his successor of Emperor Qianlong. The door of China had been closed for Christian missionaries until the Opium Wars in 1840s. 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.

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<sup>348</sup> See, Yang Guangxian, Bu De Yi ( I Have no Alternatives)

<sup>349</sup> See, Zhang Xiping, the preface of the book of “P.Joachim Bouvet S.J. Sein Leben und sein Werk”, p. 18 and see, Luo Guang, The History of Vatican and his Nuncio to China,(Taipei: Quangqi Press,1961),P.124

The movements of anti-Catholics during 1616A.D.-1710A.D. seemed like battles of politics. But there 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, honesty, chastity and protecting people's rights 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 in Confucianism.

In Matteo Ricci's time, the doctrines of Catholicism were not so much widely discussed among the Confucian literati. To facilitate his preaching, Matteo Ricci intentionally avoided mentioning some theological terms such as sins, incarnation, etc. During his life time, the contradictions or conflicts between Confucianism and Catholicism were not 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 became 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 behaviour. In the eyes of Confucian, Ibrahim (A.S.)' killing His son was considered as murdering, an evil action. Jesuits' Fathers might discuss some moral ethics such as respecting parents, but at the same time, they would add that the love of Lord was the highest. Another issue was the status of the great Chinese personalities like Wenwang of Zhou dynasty and Confucius. They, according to Catholic ethics, would enter Hell. The Confucians naturally conceded that the final target of Jesuits was to destroy the cultural heritages of Chinese people. The Confucians gradually understood that their orthodoxical 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 “A Guide of Islam”.

When we read today the books 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 image that those books and articles were written by foreigners. No doubt, the books and articles were revised by local Confucian scholars before their publications and the Jesuits admitted this 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 scriptures. 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 Taosim like the Paradise, the Hell, Death 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 that they were afraid of the real meaning of these terms would be lost when they were translated into Han Chinese.

## Conclusion

Both Islam and Catholicism in China got a chance of spreading among local Chinese when a gradual process of Chinanization happened because of the work of the Society of Jesus and Hui Hui Muslims during the period of 1600A.D.—1730A.D..

Father Matteo Ricci was a representative figure of Jesuits in China, who worked out successfully a set of practices preaching Christian ways in Confucian China. The practices of Jesuits’ cultural accommodation during

late Ming dynasty brought about a new era for Christianity in China. When they talked about any issue of Catholicism, they did not quote the evidences from the Bible or their own traditions, but tried to get the evidences from the Chinese traditions generally, and from classical Confucianism particularly. They classified the Confucianism into two parts, the classical Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism. They integrated with the Confucian traditions by ways of joining in with it firstly, then reforming it and at last replacing it. Their policy of upper class preaching and cultural accommodation paved the way for the Christianity spreading among Han Chinese. Within a very short time, they did not only enter the palace of the Emperors of China, worked in the Imperial Court as advisors or scientists of the Emperors, but also wrote many books on Catholicism in Chinese language. Many Chinese, even high officers or Confucian literati were baptized. Christianity widely spread among local Chinese.

Islam was introduced in China as early as in the year of 651A.D. But the process of Chinanization/assimilation went on very slow. In Ming dynasty, Hui Hui Muslims scattered in different places of inland provinces and they had more chances to mix with the local Han Chinese. The 'Mosque Scripture Hall' education system helped the Hui Hui Muslims keeping their religious identities. On the other hand, Hui Hui Muslims' Han Kitab Literature explained Islam in a way similar to the books of Jesuits after 1640A.D.

The early Jesuits noticed the outstanding presence of Hui Hui Muslims in China and tried to find a way for them staying in China like Hui Hui Muslims. When Jesuits gained a strong position in China, the local Chinese including Hui Hui scholars became alert. They were shocked when they noticed that some Hui Hui Muslims scholars even got baptized. They started writing books about Islam in Han Chinese language. The emergence and development of the movement of Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslims in Nanjing area of China was much influenced by the activities of Jesuits in China. The work of Jesuits not only inspired the Hui Hui Muslim scholars, but increased their worries. The Hui Hui Muslim scholars tried to neutralize the influences of Jesuits on the Emperors and on Chinese people.

Both Jesuits and Hui Hui Muslim scholars integrated with the Confucian traditions to prove firstly the existence of God, the creation of

the world and the existence of the human soul. And at the same time, in order to live in Confucian society, both, Jesuits and Hui Hui Muslim scholars adapted themselves to the Confucian ways of life, to explain the status of Confucius, the history of China, to contribute some new thoughts to Confucian literati at that time.

The Jeuits missionaries and Hui Hui Muslim scholars of Han Kitab literature during the period of 1600A.D.--1730A.D. had had impacts on each other. We may conclude that the work of Jesuits missionaries was a catalyst for the birth of Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholars. Jesuits' policy of cultural accommodation or integration of Confucianism played a very important role in spreading Catholic faith in the mainland China. So did the Han Kitab Literature of Hui Hui Muslim scholars for preaching Islam among the Han Chinese.

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