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THE VICISSITUDES OF LATE IMPERIAL CHINA'S ACCOMMODATION OF ARABOPERSIAN KNOWLEDGE OF THE NATURAL WORLD, 16TH-18TH CENTURIE

Weil, Dror

Princeton, NJ : Princeton University

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THE VICISSITUDES OF LATE IMPERIAL CHINA'S ACCOMMODATION OF ARABO-PERSIAN KNOWLEDGE OF THE NATURAL WORLD, 16TH-18TH CENTURIES

Dror Weil

**A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY
OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE
BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES**

Advisors: Benjamin A. Elman

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation charts the movement of knowledge of the natural world from the Islamicate world to China, and its subsequent transformations by local Chinese scholars. It argues that the study of Arabo-Persian texts constituted an important channel of knowledge transmission, connecting China to Western scholarly traditions.

At this dissertation's core stands a movement of Chinese Muslim literati that emerged in the late-sixteenth century and promoted the study of Arabo-Persian texts. By importing methods of philological investigation from the Islamicate world, the movement sought to highlight knowledge of the subtleties and operations of the natural world embedded in Arabo-Persian texts.

This study investigates the effects that China's socio-political environment had in shaping the forms of accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge. It discusses the utilitarian policies of the Yuan and early Ming dynasties that facilitated an early wave of transmission of specialized knowledge in fields such as astronomy, astrology and medicine to China, yet restricted the accommodation of Arabo-Persian philosophies of nature; advances the claim that the socio-political circumstances during the late-fifteenth century, characterized by the erosion of traditional Confusian ideology's authority and the popularization of knowledge, provided suitable conditions for the accommodation of foreign knowledge and paved the way for the rise of a scholarly movement interested in the study of Arabic and Persian texts; surveys the rise of Islamic literature in translation and the genre of Chinese expositions on Islamic themes that emerged in the mid-17th century, resulting from pressures from the non-Muslim learned community and the efforts of Islamic scholars to widen their audience; and finally, it suggests that adverse socio-political conditions for Islamic scholarship emerged during the 18th century, and led to its breakdown.

Through an analysis of the Persian and Arabic texts that circulated in China during the 16th to 18th centuries, this dissertation demonstrates the variety, richness, and unique features of the collection. Further, it discuses the effects of translation and printing on the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge of the natural world in China.

TO THE READER

1. Translation and Transliteration of Non-English Languages and Scripts

- **Translation**: All translations into English are by the author of this dissertation, unless otherwise noted.
  - Translations from the Chinese, Arabic, and Persian will be followed by the Chinese, Arabic and Persian original texts respectively. Unusual spelling and styled Chinese characters will be replaced by standard spelling in traditional characters (*zhengti zi* 正體字).
  - English translations of words and phrases are placed within parentheses and circumscribed by quotation marks.
- **Transliteration**: Transcriptions of foreign words are italicized with the exception of proper names of people and places.
  - Transliteration of Chinese or Japanese words is followed by characters in the original script at first occurrence; Arabic, Persian, Manchu, Chaghatay, and Russian are transliterated, but are not followed by characters in any of the original scripts.
  - Except in the case of personal names, the source language will be indicated by the sign <, followed by an indication of the source language. The following abbreviations are used: CH. for Chinese; AR. for Arabic; PE. for Persian; MA. for Manchu; CG. for Chaghatay; JA. for Japanese.
  - Chinese words are transcribed according to the Pinyin system of Romanization (*Luoma pinyi* 羅馬拼音) used in the People's Republic of China followed by Chinese characters.
  - Arabic words are transcribed using the Library of Congress Arabic Romanization Guidelines as found in https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html. Arabic pronunciation is used preferentially over Persian, Chaghatay or other languages that employ Arabic-based scripts (i.e, it uses *waqt* rather than *vaqt*). This convention is used to represent the spelling of the word, and does not reflect any ideological or cultural inclination of the author. In the transcription of Arabic words and proper nouns that are preceded by the definite article *al*, the first letter of the word will be capitalized. The common word *ibn* or *bin* ("son of") is abbreviated as "*b.*". Arabic words that enjoy high currency in academic English, as well as place names follow English spelling conventions. The holy book of Islam is not transliterated and spelled as Qur'an.
  - Persian words are transcribed using the Library of Congress Persian Romanization Guidelines as found in https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html. Persian possessive suffix is indicated as *-i* and not *-ī*. When followed the letter *hāh* or the plural suffix *-hā*, the possessive suffix is indicated as *-yi*.
  - Russian words are transcribed according to the Library of Congress Russian Romanization Guidelines as found in https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html, with the exception of the transcription of the letter Ц as *ts*, Ю as *io*, and Я as *ia*.

- Japanese words are transcribed according to the Library of Congress Japanese Romanization Guidelines as found in https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html. Japanese transliteration is used also in references to Chinese proper nouns in Japanese sources.
- Manchu words are transcribed according to Möllendorf Romanization system as used in Norman, Jerry. *A concise Manchu-English lexicon*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978.

- **Dates**: Chinese dates are given by reign years. All Islamic dates (both lunar and Persian solar) are translated into Gregorian dates. Hijrī dates are given only in citations and the bibliography.

2. Citations and Bibliography

- The citations generally follow the author-date system as described in The Chicago Manual of Style (2010).
- Translations of Chinese, Japanese titles follow the transcription and original spelling. All translation are my own unless otherwise indicated.
- Citations of entries in the Chinese dynastic histories known as the *Veritable Records* (*Shilu* 實錄) are given in form of abbreviated reign-name year/month/day, i.e., QL 43/12/24 should be read as the 24th day of the 12th month in the 43rd year of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign. The dates in such citations follow the lunar calendar and should be read according to the Gregorian calendar.
- Citations of Palace Memorials and Grand Secretariat Memorials are given by name of archive, the item number and the date of the memorial. Archive names are abbreviated as following: TPM stands for Taipei Palace Museum, YDG stands for The First Historical Archives in Beijing. Dates appears in an abbreviated form beginning with the reign name year, month, and day according to the Chinese lunar calendar.

3. Abbreviations of Works Used

(Full Bibliographical information is given in the Bibliography section)

TFXL = *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理 [On the Principles of Nature in Islam].

TFDL = *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 [Selected Commentaries on 'Islamic Rituals'].

JXXCP = *Jingxue xichuanpu* 經學系傳譜 [The Genealogy of Classical Learning].

JKJY = *Jiaokuan jieyao* 教款捷要 [An Annotated Selection of 'Islamic Ritual'].

QZDD = Huang Xiefan 周燮藩 et al. (eds). *Qingzhen dadian* 清真大典 [The Complete Corpus of Chinese Islamic Literature]. Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005.

HZDC = Wu Jianwei 吳建偉 and Wu Haiying 吳海鷹 (eds). *Huizu diancang quanshu* 回族典藏全書 [The Complete Anthology of Chinese Muslim Writings]. Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua chubanshe, 2008.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT III
TO THE READER IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS VI
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES IX
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS X

INTRODUCTION 1
1. Synopsis 1
2. Between Hu and Liu - Identifying the Historical Actors of this Study 2
   (a) Who are the Actors of this Study? 3
   (b) The Problematic Identity of Arabo-Persian Scholars 4
   (c) Participation of non-Muslim Literati and Literati of Muslim Descent in Arabo-Persian Scholarship 5
3. The Reception of Arabo-Persian Scholarship by the Wider Chinese Literati Class 7
   (a) Imperial Awareness of Arabo-Persian Scholarship 8
   (b) References to Arabo-Persian works in non-Muslim writings 9
4. On the Study of the Natural World 11
   (a) The Study of the Natural World in the Islamicate World: Transmission and Transformation 11
   (b) The Institutional Setting of Knowledge Transmission in the Islamicate World 13
   (c) The Chinese Perceptions of the Natural World 15
   (d) The Study of the Natural World in Arabo-Persian Scholarship 17
5. Could there be Arabo-Persian Philology in China? 20
6. Situating this Study - Literature Review 21
   (a) Social and Intellectual History of late imperial China 21
   (b) Modern Studies of China's Arabo-Persian Literature 24
7. Notes on the Terms used in this Dissertation 30
   (a) On the Use of the Terms "Arabo-Persian" and "Islamicate" 31
   (b) "Neo-Confucianism" 31
   (c) Neo-Confucian Vocabulary 32
   (d) Terms related to the Natural World 32
   (e) Philological Terminology 33
   (f) Terms related to Arabo-Persian Scholarship 34
8. Map of the Study 35

CHAPTER 2: THE ACCOMMODATION AND NATURALIZATION OF ARABO-PERSIAN KNOWLEDGE DURING THE YUAN AND EARLY MING PERIODS 37
1. The Mongolian Empire and China's Systematic importation of Arabo-Persian Texts 38
2. Muslim Communities in Yuan China and their Effects on Knowledge Movement 48
3. Restriction of Knowledge Production and the Institutionalization of the Confucian Monopoly on Scholarship during the

Early-Ming 52
4. Arabo-Persian works during the early Ming 62
5. Inter-Dynastical Continuities in the Accommodation of Arabo-Persian Science 72
6. Chapter Summary 74

CHAPTER 3: THE POPULARIZATION OF SCHOLARSHIP AND THE RE-FASHIONING OF CHINA'S ISLAM 76
1. Intellectualism in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries 76
2. Rocking the boat - Socio-Political trends effecting knowledge policies 78
3. Opening the Boundaries of Knowledge and the Popularization of Scholarship in late imperial China 81
4. The Burst of Classical and Vernacular Textual Production in the post-Wang Yangming Era 88
5. Post-Wang Yangming Ming China and the Self-Fashioning of Islamic Scholarship in Confucian Terms 91
6. Chapter Summary 98

CHAPTER 4: ARABO-PERSIAN PHILOLOGISTS AS KNOWLEDGE BROKERS IN 16TH CENTURY CHINA 99
1. Hu Dengzhou - a Chinese philologist of the Arabo-Persian canon 100
2. Hu Dengzhou's Epistemological Program 104
   (a) "Rectifying the Way" and The Motivation behind Hu Dengzhou's Scholarly Movement 104
   (b) Hu Dengzhou's Conceptualization of the Natural World and his Philological Enterprise 107
      i. Works on Logic 109
      ii. Works on Grammar 110
      iii. Works on Rhetoric 111
      iv. Dictionaries and Linguistic Aides 112
   (c) The Expansion of Hu Dengzhou's Program and the Rise of Persian 113
3. The search for Arabo-Persian texts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 117
   (a) Recovering texts in libraries 117
   (b) Texts arriving via foreign intermediaries 120
4. The System of Textual Expertise in Hu Dengzhou's Network 122
5. Hu Dengzhou's Philology as China's Bridge to the Islamicate World 124
6. Chapter Summary 125

CHAPTER 5: THE GENERAL FEATURES OF THE CORPUS OF ARABO-PERSIAN TEXTS WHICH CIRCULATED IN CHINA, 16TH-18TH CENTURIES 127
1. The Study of the Natural World and the Taxonomy of Arabo-Persian Knowledge 128
2. The Database of Arabo-Persian Texts 130
3. The General Features of the Corpus of Arabo-Persian Texts which circulated in China, 16th-18th centuries 131

(a) The Linguistic Component - Arabic or Persian 131
(b) Period of Composition.....133
4. Arabo-Persian Knowledge by Field.....136
(a) Works on Islamic Jurisprudence 136
i. Works on the Principles of Jurisprudence.....138
ii. Works on Substantive Law.....139
iii. The Geographical Origins of China's Legal Literature.....141
(b) Works on Islamic Theology and mysticism.....142
i. Works on Islamic Theology.....142
ii. Works on Mysticism.....143
(c) Works on the Natural Sciences and Cosmology 145
5. Comparison to Centers of Islamic Scholarship outside China 149
6. Chapter Summary 154

CHAPTER 6: FROM THE SCHOLARSHIP ON LANGUAGE TO THE LANGUAGE OF SCHOLARSHIP - AESTHETICS, TRANSLATION AND NATURALIZATION OF ARABO-PERSIAN KNOWLEDGE IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES 156
1. A Historical Overview of China at the Turn of the Seventeen Century 158
2. The Naturalization of Arabo-Persian Scholarship and Rise of Islamic Literature in Chinese.....163
3. Phase I: Translating Arabo-Persian Texts and Annotations into Chinese.....167
4. Phase II: The Rise of An Original Chinese Islamic Literature and the Transformation of Philology into Philosophy 178
5. Phase III: Appropriating China's Philological Methods: Liu Zhi and the Pinnacle of Chinese-Islamic Scholarship 187
6. Publish or Perish - Circulating Arabo-Persian Knowledge in Print..195
7. Epistemology and the Study of the Natural World in the 17th and 18th centuries 200
8. Chapter Summary 204

CHAPTER 7: THE POLITICIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE BREAKDOWN OF ARABO-PERSIAN SCHOLARSHIP DURING THE LATE 18TH CENTURY 205
1. The Battle over Arabo-Persian Astronomy during Early Qing 207
2. New Textual Imports and the Consequent Traditionalism 213
3. Arabo-Persian Scholars and the Orthodox Policies of Early Qing .221
4. The Northwestern Frontier and the Changing Paradigm of Islam ...225
5. Islamic Scholarship As a Political Problem 228
6. The Hai Furun Case and the Demise of Arabo-Persian Scholarship...232
7. Chapter Summary 236

EPILOGUE: BEYOND ARABO-PERSIAN PHILOLOGY IN CHINA.....237
1. Conclusion 239
2. Islamic Scholarship after the 19th century China 241

Appendix 1: Reconstruction of the Arabo-Persian titles listed in the *Mishu jianzhi*.....245

Appendix 2: Analysis of the Pool of Arabo-Persian Texts that circulated in China during the 17th-18th Centuries....254

Appendix 3: Chinese works on Arabo-Persian Themes (until 1800)....297

BIBLIOGRAPHY....303

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1: Distribution of China's Arabo-Persian Texts by Language 132

Figure 2: Distribution of Identified Texts by Period of Composition 134

Figure 3: Distribution of Texts on Islamic Jurisprudence by Period of Composition 138

Figure 4: Distribution of Identified Ṣūfī Works by Period of Composition...144

Figure 5: Distribution of Identified Texts on the Natural Sciences by Field....147

Figure 6: Thematic Distribution of Arabo-Persian Texts in Five Centers of Islamic Scholarship....152

Figure 7: Distribution of texts' time of composition in the scholarship centers of Islamic Asia (Sources of data: Robinson 1997 and Liechti 2008) ..153

Table 1: Translations of Arabo-Persian texts circulated in the late-17th and early-18th centuries....171

Table 2: Comparison the the Chinese translations of Jāmī's *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* ...177

Table 3: Titles of Chinese works on Islamic themes circulated in the late 17th and early 18th centuries....184

Table 4: Reconstruction of the titles of Arabo-Persian Works confiscated from Hai Furun....234

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The 16th century was a moment of change in the history of China. The intimate marriage between the court and the Confucian Cheng-Zhu 程朱 ideology[1] failed to keep up with the contemporary social dynamics, resulting in as a breakdown of the Confucian prescribed world-view's authority, and calls for change. Among the movements that emerged during that period was one established by Hu Dengzhou (1522-1597). Hu, a Muslim literatus from the Northern province of Shaanxi 陕西, elucidated the unparalleled merits of Arabic and Persian texts in presenting the achievements of two-millennia of Hellenic, Persian and Arabic scholarship on the natural world and man. The insights found in these texts could, in his opinion, provide a solution to China's apparent dormancy. Hence, by introducing methods of linguistic and textual analysis to China, he established an educational network that promoted the study of Arabo-Persian texts among practitioners of Islam and interested non-Muslim literati. A liminal territory between the scholarships of the Islamicate and Chinese worlds, Hu Dengzhou's movement presented unprecedented developments in scholarship and book-culture. By importing linguistic and textual analyses from the Islamicate world, Hu's movement was among the first to apply philological methods in late imperial China. At the same time, it constitutes an early example of the use of printing technology in the production of works on Islam. The development of Hu Dengzhou's movement, and its contribution to the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge on the natural world in late imperial China is the subject of this dissertation.

1. Synopsis

The present work charts the movement of knowledge on the natural world from the Islamicate world to China, and its subsequent transformation by local scholars. At its core stands a scholarly movement of Chinese Muslim literati that emerged in the late-sixteenth century and promoted the study of Arabic and Persian texts. Importing methods of philological investigation from the Islamicate world, the movement aimed at bringing to light knowledge on the subtleties and operation of the natural world embedded in Arabo-Persian text.

This study traces the roots of the movement in the extensive knowledge and textual exchanges that took place under the Mongol rule of China. These exchanges established the use of Arabic and Persian texts in Chinese institutions, branding Arabo-Persian knowledge as representative of the Western accomplishments in fields such as astronomy and medicine, and constituting the basis for the corpus of Arabic and Persian texts that circulated in China during the late imperial period.

Delineating the historical contexts that provided the conditions for the emergence of a movement dedicated to the study of Arabic and Persian texts in the late-sixteenth century, as well as its demise two centuries later, this dissertation points out the

1. The Cheng-Zhu school emerged in the Song dynasty around the teachings of Zhu Xi and a number of other Song philosophers. By the 14th century, and throughout the late imperial period, this school constituted the state-sanctioned orthodox moral ideology. On the school and its status during the Ming see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

intersection of politics and knowledge production in late imperial China. It demonstrates that this intersection played a crucial role in determining the scope and patterns of accommodation of foreign knowledge. It advances the claim that the socio-political circumstances during the late-fifteenth century, characterized by erosion in the authority of traditional Confucian ideology and a process of the popularization of knowledge, provided suitable conditions for the accommodation of foreign knowledge. In particular, these conditions generated an interest in investigating Arabic and Persian texts, and fashioning them as an integral component of the local intellectual discourse.

This dissertation further suggests that changes in the socio-political environment throughout the 18th century generated adverse conditions for Islamic scholarship in China, which culminated in its breakdown. Groundless associations between outbreaks of popular unrest among Muslim communities in the Northwestern periphery and local scholarship on Islam, and the use of Arabic and Persian texts in China's metropolises, prompted the Qing administration to implement restrictive and marginalizing policies. As a result, China's Islamic scholarship could not maintain its legitimacy as an integral constituent in the local scholarly landscape, and, thus, reached its demise.

Highlighting the unique features of Arabo-Persian scholarship pursued in China, and in particular its application of philological methods and print technology, and simultaneously situating this scholarship within the cultural enterprises of China and the Islamicate world, this study brings to light the pioneering role that trans-cultural transmission of knowledge plays.

As a narrative on the transmission of Western knowledge to China, this dissertation challenges the historiographical primacy given to the Jesuit mission in facilitating the movement of Western knowledge to China. This study shows that scholars of Arabo-Persian texts preceded, or at least were contemporary to, the Jesuits[2] in introducing Western achievements in the conceptualization and exploitation of nature. Moreover, in contrast to the Jesuits, whose knowledge transmission was orchestrated and actively supported by European institutions, the centuries-long accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge in China demonstrates an organic process, initiative and supported by the inquisitive nature of Chinese scholars alone, and as such brings to light the salient socio-political forces that operated in late imperial China.

2. Between Hu and Liu - Identifying the Historical Actors of this Study

This dissertation tells the story of the accommodation of Arabic and Persian texts in late imperial China. The consumption, production, reproduction, and transformation of Arabo-Persian texts and ideas constitute the subject of discussion, yet, it

2. The beginning of the Jesuits' activity in China is often marked with the arrival of Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri in 1583 to Zhaoqing in Guangdong. The first attempt to publish a work on Christianity in China was Ruggieri's catechism, titled *Tianzhu shilu* 天主實錄 ("The Veritable Records of the Lord of Heaven," pub. Nov. 1584). The Jesuits did not publish any further works until the late 1590s and early 1600s. Fontana 2011, 64 and passim. Although we cannot accurately date the beginning of Hu Dengzhou's movement, according to a stele celebrating his life, which was erected in 1718 in his hometown, Hu was born in Jiajing 1 (=1522), and died in Wanli 25 (=1597). His life span suggests that he was active earlier than 1597. Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 862-863.

is the people behind these processes who gave them their historical meaning, and allow us to place them within a context. As such, the identities of the historical actors are crucial for understanding the narrative this dissertation attempts to unfold. Moreover, their identities are a necessary prerequisite for evaluating this story in terms of the larger historical contexts of late imperial China and the Islamicate world.

(A) WHO ARE THE ACTORS OF THIS STUDY?

The group of people, which this dissertation calls "Arabo-Persian scholars," were Chinese of various backgrounds, some of Muslim descent, who joined in a shared mission to find answers to their contemporary Chinese questions in Arabic and Persian texts, and bring to light the new insights on the natural world embedded in those texts. Following the leadership of Hu Dengzhou 胡登州 (1522-1597), a Muslim literatus from northern China, a network of scholars emerged around a shared methodology that Hu created, which used specific methods of close reading and linguistic analysis to uncover the insights found in Arabic and Persian texts. The network comprised of people of different backgrounds, some descendants of Muslims who migrated to China during the Yuan and Ming periods, and others who were local literati that were fascinated by Islamic ideas.

Although the network's roots go back to the traditional Muslim education that had been given in local mosques throughout China's Muslim communities, and to the growth of the network and the development of its scholarly agendas, it adopted a more independent and universal identity that was not strictly "Muslim." The motivation of many of the scholars, as is suggested in available sources, did not come from their religiosity, but rather from intellectual curiosity, and an interest in gaining new perspectives on the issues that prevailed in China's larger non-Muslim learned communities.

Hu Dengzhou is the central figure in the first chapters of this dissertation. His project stands out as a successful enterprise that negotiated a scholarly space that intersected the philosophical questions of his contemporary non-Muslim literati with the answers and theories he and his collaborators claimed to find in Arabic and Persian texts. The mission to highlight ideas from Arabo-Persian texts, however, confronted great challenges from its early days. The heavy investment that reading texts in their original Arabic and Persian languages required, namely learning two new languages, was seen as an obstacle that limited the scope of Chinese participation and the visibility of that scholarship. Hence, within a few decades of the original establishment of the network, a number of Arabo-Persian scholars began to transform Hu Dengzhou's methodology and his emphasis on the use of the original Arabic and Persian texts. For them, the mission of expounding the ideas embedded in Arabic and Persian works could be carried out in a more efficient way if they employed the Chinese language.

From the mid-17th century onwards a considerable amount of Arabo-Persian scholarship was carried out in Chinese, using printing as an efficient medium to widely propagate their writings. The change of medium allowed the expansion of the network to include Muslim and non-Muslim literati who were reluctant to invest in language training yet were inspired to study Islam. As a result, by the 17th and 18th centuries, dozens of scholars in various Chinese cities worked on translation, paraphrasing and summarizing concepts on the natural world found in Arabic and Persian texts. They collectively referred to their enterprise with a series of vague titles such as *Wujiao* 吾教 (lit., "Our Teachings"), *Wudao* 吾道 ("Our Way"), *Xixue* 西學 ("Western Learning"), *Tianfang zhixue* 天方之學 ("The Learning of the Islamicate World/Islam"), *Qingzhen jiao* 清真教 ("The Pure and True Teachings"), and *jingxue* 經學 ("Classical Learning"). This mix of titles exhibits the intersectional nature of their scholarship,

connecting Confucian Classical Scholarship with Islam.[3]

The various works of Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730), a Muslim literatus and one of the most prolific Arabo-Persian scholars symbolized the peak of the movement. Liu was able to bring into his work not only the contemporary questions that occupied the larger Chinese intelligentsia, but also the new methods of scrutiny and critical investigation that began to be employed by leading literati during his time. Liu Zhi's works played an important role in the transformation of Arabo-Persian scholarship described in the later chapters of this dissertation.

The new, sinicized form of Arabo-Persian scholarship has received considerable attention from historians of China. Many, however, overlooked the connection between that new movement and the earlier form of Arabo-Persian scholarship. By juxtaposing Hu Dengzhou's methodologies with those employed by Chinese authors such as Liu Zhi, this work attempts to shed light on the larger mission of China's Arabo-Persian scholarship, and to highlight its transformations during the 16th-18th centuries.

(B) The Problematic Identity of Arabo-Persian Scholars

This problem of identifying the historical actors stands at the center of Zvi Ben-Dor Benite's work, *The Dao of Muhammad*. Ben-Dor Benite demonstrates that a considerable number of those who engaged in Arabo-Persian scholarship were also members of Chinese Muslims and non-Muslim literati circles, and more importantly, that many received training in Confucian classical studies.[4] Ben-Dor Benite points to the false dichotomy between mainstream intellectuals (CH. *Ru* 儒) and Muslim scholars (CH. *Hui* 回), and suggests that we read the identity of that group of scholars from a lens of simultaneity - in the words of Ben-Dor Benite, "as at once fully 'Muslim' and fully 'Chinese.'"[5] The model of simultaneity provides a framework that recognizes that intersectionality of identity, and negotiates a socio-intellectual space in a way that is not essentializing. Moreover, it points to the problem of how to define Islamic affiliation among the Chinese literati.

Arabo-Persian scholars and their circles of interested acquaintances used various terms to describe the nature of their affiliation to Arabo-Persian scholarship. Some referred to themselves as *Huiren* 回人 ("Muslim") or as one of its derivatives. For example, Wang Daiyu 王岱輿, a 17th century scholar, used to sign his works as *Zhenhui lao* 真回老 "a true Muslim elder." It is very likely that the user of such terms wanted to emphasize that he is an observant Muslim, or at least a Muslim by descent (i.e., a descendant of Arab or Persian migrants that had likely moved to China during the Yuan or Ming periods). Other terms, such as *houxue* 後學 ("Junior Disciple"), *jiaoren* 教人 ("Member of the school," or "co-religionist"), *tongjiao* 同教 ("Member of the same [school,]" or "co-religionist"), *jiaodi* 教第 ("junior of the school"), are far more vague, and do not allow us to determine with certainty whether the person had a Muslim background, or rather engaged in the study of Arabic and Persian texts out of interest. The term *jiao* 教, which by the 20th century became the Chinese translation of the

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3. On the references to Arabo-Persian scholarship by Zhao Can 趙燦 (1662-1722), an author of the work *Jingxue xi chuanpu* 經學系傳普 ("The Genealogy of Classical Learning," comp. ca. 1670), See Ben-dor Benite 2005, 34.

4. Ben-dor Benite 2005, 62-71.

5. Ben-dor Benite 2005, 13.

Western concept of "religion," was a generic term during the 17th and 18th centuries. The term was used to describe various groups that promoted shared ideologies. In some cases, such as in the terms for Buddhism (CH. *Fojiao* 佛教), Daoism (CH. *Daojiao* 道教), or names of popular sects, the term had a strong religious flavor. However, in the Confucian discourse, the term (and its full version *jiaohua* 教化, often translated as "cultivation," and resonates with the German *Bildung*) was used to denote scholarly activities, and, at times, scholarship with political utility.[6]

Although Islam appears as a term (CH. *Huijiao* 回教) in descriptions of exotic religious practices and cultures of foreign lands during the Ming and Qing periods, it is rarely included in biographical information on Chinese Muslims in Chinese sources. It was only from the late 18th century, arguably in light of the conquest of Xinjiang and annexation of its large Muslim population, that the term "Muslim" (*Huiren* 回人) began to be used in reference to Arabo-Persian scholars.[7]

Given the aforementioned aspects, it is difficult to identify with certainty the background of many Arabo-Persian scholars. It seems that this vagueness reflected the high level of assimilation of Muslims into the Chinese society, the expansion of Arabo-Persian scholarship beyond the boundaries of the traditional Muslim community, and Arabo-Persian scholarship's growing engagement with the wider non-Muslim learned population.

(c) Participation of non-Muslim Literati and Literati of Muslim Descent in Arabo-Persian Scholarship

The network of connections that Arabo-Persian scholars established enhanced their political and scholarly standing in both their local communities. This networks comprised of Muslim literati (defined either by their lineage or by their actual practice of Islam), non-Muslim literati, and key political figures. It allowed Arabo-Persian scholars to legitimize their activities, and expand its audience beyond the local Muslim communities.

Several accounts attest to the participation of non-Muslim literati in Arabo-Persian scholarship. The story of the non-Muslim She Yunshan 舍蘊善 (1634-1710), who was born under the name Wei Yuandu 魏元都 to a family of high officials in Kaifeng and became one of the leading Arabo-Persian scholars, is an example of such a case. After She's father died in the turbulent years of the mid-17th century, a Muslim neighbor, who served as a military official, took She under his protection. After being introduced to Islamic ideas, She became fascinated by the richness of Arabo-Persian literature, and began to study Arabic and Persian. He became a prominent teacher of Arabo-Persian scholarship.[8] While She was not Muslim, he was recognized as a scholar Arabo-Persian texts, complicating our understanding of importance of religious affiliation to Arabo-Persian scholars.

One of the first Arabo-Persian scholars to publish works in Chinese was Zhang Shizhong 張時中 (1584-1670).[9] In 1653, while Zhang served as a teacher in a local

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6. On the use of the term *jiao* by the Arabo-Persian scholar, Liu Zhi, see Frankel 2011, 66-71. On the use of the term *jiao* in the Confucian, see Lee 2015.

7. See for example the reference to Liu Zhi in the *Siku quanshu* anthology below.

8. On She Yunshan, see Chapter 6 of this dissertation. See also Ben-dor Benite 2005, 52 and passim.

9. We do not know what was the nature of affiliation of Zhang Shizhong with Arabo-

mosque in Yangzhou 揚州, he met three local, apparently non-Muslim, literati: Sha Weichong 沙維崇,[10] Ma Zhonglong 馬中龍, and Li Zhihua 李之華. They were interested in learning more about the theories on the natural world found in Arabic and Persian texts. The three were not able to read Arabic or Persian, and seem to be reluctant to invest in the long process of acquiring reading skills in these two languages. In order to provide them with a preliminary text on the fundamentals of Islamic theology and praxis, Zhang translated segments from a Persian work, *Chahār Kītāb (<PE. "The Four Books")* into Chinese. He called the work *Sipian yaodao yijie* 四篇要道譯解 ("An Annotated Translation of 'The Four Treatises on the Fundamental Way'").[11] As this vignette shows, Muslim and non-Muslim "mainstream" literati developed interest in Arabo-Persian scholarship after being introduced to some of its ideas.

Prefaces to Chinese works on Islam provide an important source of information on the visibility of these works. Each of the dozens of Chinese works that were published during the 17th century and 18th centuries included four to five prefaces. The authors or publishers of the various works solicited prefaces from people of considerable status within the local Muslim, or the local non-Muslim community. At times, the authors' high official acquaintances were the ones to dedicate these prefaces. Other times, preface authors were other Arabo-Persian scholars who wished to praise the works' contributions. These prefaces bring to light the large networks of literati connections that Arabo-Persian scholars created. The contents of these prefaces, it should be pointed out, demonstrate as well that non-Muslim literati read the works, and were aware of the existence of the larger Arabo-Persian scholarship, and thought them to be of note.

A relatively large number of literati, whose affiliation with Islam is unclear,[12] contributed to the production of Chinese literature on Islam. For example, Hei Mingfeng 黑鳴鳳 (b. 1673),[13] a scholar-official and a holder of a distinguished doctoral degree who served as a high official and was a member of the imperial entourage

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Persian scholarship, such as whether he himself was Muslim. He was inspired to study Islamic theology and mysticism by an Indian preacher who visited Nanjing. See Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

10. Sha Weichong composed a preface to Zhang's *Sipian yaodao yijie*, and signed as *jiao xiadi* 教下弟 (CH. "junior in the school"). Sha is also said to have edited the work, where it is stated that he served at the time as *Guangling xiangsheng* 廣陵庠生 ("a student in the prefectural school of Guangling," the city of Yangzhou 揚州).

11. On that story, see Chapter 6 of this dissertation. See also Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 924, 1170-1171; Ben-dor Benite 2005, 128-129.

12. Some seem to be descendants of Arabs and Persians who migrated to China centuries during the Yuan and Ming periods. Some, even claim descent to migrants from the Tang dynasty (618-907).

13. A number of Hei's biographies appear in local gazetteers, including *Linqing zhili zhouzhi* 臨清直隸州志 ("Gazetteer of Linqing directly-administrated subprefecture of Linqing"), Qianlong 50 (=1785) edition. Non of these biographies refer to his Muslim affiliation. A genealogy of the Hei family from Linqing, compiled by Hei Jingyuan 黑景源 in suggests that the patriarch of the family was a Muslim migrant from the Western Regions by the name of Hei-ze-li 黑資哩 (<AR./PE. Khiḍr) who arrived in China during the Tang. Quoted in Wu Jianwei

during the southern tour of the Kangxi emperor in 1703, was highly instrumental in publishing an edition of a work on Islamic theology composed by Liu Zhi. Not only did Hei sponsor the printing of the work, he also edited it and added his commentary on various parts.[14] A different work of Liu Zhi on Islamic Ritual, titled *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 ("Selected Commentaries on Islamic Rituals," pub. 1710, known also as *Tianfang dianli*) mentioned twenty-one people who contributed to the making of the work. Three of these people, high officials in the Qing administration, all of whom held doctoral degrees, contributed prefaces. The other eighteen people served as editors, engravers, proofreaders, collators and inspectors of the work. While the biographies of most of these people are unknown, at least two were holders of doctoral degrees, including Ma Ruwei 馬汝為, a well-established classical scholar and a calligrapher who proofread the work, and Cao Xian 曹賢 who edited sections.

Arabo-Persian scholars' network of connections included high officials, key figures in the late Ming and early Qing governments, and a wide circle of literati associates. Ma Xiong and his son Ma Chengyin are examples of high-level political figures who supported Arabo-Persian scholarship. Ma Xiong 馬雄 (d. 1678) served as a high-commander in the Qing army, and was instrumental in the defeat of the last remnants of the Ming rule. He was awarded the distinguished title of Baron (CH. *nanjue* 男爵, MA. *ashan-i hafan* 阿思哈哈番) in 1653 for his military merits. During the Revolt of the Three Feudatories against the Qing rule in 1673, Ma joined rebel Wu San'gui's 吳三桂 forces. After his defection, Ma was based in Guangxi 廣西. During this period he contributed to the establishment of a grandiose mosque in the city of Liuzhou 柳州 (it was later destroyed by the Qing armies), and invited prominent Arabo-Persians scholars to the city to lecture on Arabo-Persian texts.[15] After Ma's death, his son, Ma Chengyin 馬承蔭 (also spelled 馬承陰 and 馬承廕), defected back to the Qing in 1679, and his inheritable title of Baron was restored. A few years later, due to disagreements with the Kangxi emperor, Ma Chengyin again revolted against the central government, but was captured and eventually sentenced to death by the order of the Kangxi emperor. Ma Chengyin composed a preface to an early work on Islamic theology, Ma Zhu's 馬注 *Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南 ("Compass to Islam," pub. 1683). His signature includes his full official title, as well as the self-referential as *jiaodi* 教弟 ("junior in the school").[16]

The large number of scholars and high officials who contributed to the publication of Arabo-Persian works implies that they were deemed to be culturally significant enough to attract the interest and resources of savants of the literati class.

3. The Reception of Arabo-Persian Scholarship by the Wider Chinese Literati Class

The surprising silence in Chinese sources with regard to Arabo-Persian scholarship gives the impression that it was an exclusive enterprise, overlooked by the "mainstream" Chinese intelligentsia. Scattered information that might suggest other-

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2000, 178-179.. See also Ben-dor Benite 2005, 69-70.

14. On Hei Mingfeng, see Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 946-947.

15. Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 953-958.

16. *Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南 [The Navigator of Islam], 498-501. On Ma Chengyin's preface, see also Ben-dor Benite 2005, 143.

wise, however, is available in the most unexpected places. These pieces of information, when put together, provide sufficient evidence to claim that works of Arabo-Persian scholars received considerable attention among Muslim and non-Muslim literati. Most of this evidence goes back to the late-18th and 19th centuries when Arabo-Persian scholarship was in decline, and refers to the various works of one of the most prolific Arabo-Persian scholars, Liu Zhi 劉智. It is clear that Liu Zhi elevated Arabo-Persian scholarship to unprecedented levels of exposure. It is unclear, however, why references to Arabo-Persian scholarship from the years it prospered, when scores of printed editions of works on various aspects of Islam were produced, are so scarce. The hundreds of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, and dozens of editions of printed Chinese works on Islam, which can still be found in museums, libraries and private collections around the world, suggest that our available sources on the period might not fully represent the cultural variety of late imperial China. In what follows, this chapter will summarize the main evidence that attests to the reception of Arabo-Persian scholarship by the non-Muslim literati class and the Qing court.

(a) Imperial Awareness of Arabo-Persian Scholarship

Some Chinese works on Islamic themes included evidence of Imperial review, however, they are only seen in editions of works from the late 18th century and the 19th century. An 1873 edition of a work on Islamic theology written by Wang Daiyu 王岱輿, a precursor to the genre of Islamic literature in Chinese, titled *Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 *("True Commentary of the Correct Teaching,"* originally pub. 1642) included a first page decorated with the imperial emblems and the couplet: *Huangen haodang enlun diepei* 皇恩浩蕩, 恩綸疊沛 ("Imperial Grace is vast and mighty, Imperial Merits are manifold and abundant"). This suggests that the work received imperial approval. An 1870 edition of Liu Zhi's biography of Prophet Muhammad included a cover page with the two characters *yulan* 御覽 ("Imperially reviewed"). These two examples attest that the Qing court reviewed some of the works on Islam, and was aware of the type of literature they presented.

The 1870 edition of Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu Nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 ("Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered," comp. 1724), included a specific section titled: *Yupi zhisheng shilu jiangyi* 御批至聖實錄講義 ("*A Discussion on the Meanings of the Imperially Approved Veritable Records on* [*the Life of Islam's*] *Most Revered*") that sheds further light on the visibility of the work among the Qing administration. The section is written in the form of questions and answers on the ways the work should be read and interpreted. The wording suggests that it was copied from an official correspondence between the Emperor and his subordinates, arguably after Liu Zhi's work was confiscated and brought to the attention of the Qianlong emperor in 1782.[17] The section includes questions such as: "The characters (*zi* 字) 'Veritable Records' (*shilu* 實錄) are used only to document [the deeds] of emperors and kings. [Why is it used in this work?]"[18] The answer given to that question is, "Muḥammad was the king of the Western Regions (*Xiyu zhi guowang* 西域之國王), these veritable records document his deeds. It was originally based on a Western classic (*xijing* 西經) that was translated into Chinese. Although its written

17. On that event see chapter 7 of this dissertation.

18. Liu Zhi 劉智 *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:17. The original: 實錄字惟有帝王紀載用之.

form (*wen* 文) is vulgar, its contents include deep [discussion] on the principles [of the universe, *li* 理]. Could you know it all?"[19] This example attests, as well, to the thorough reading of Liu Zhi's biography of Muḥammad by officials of the highest ranks, strengthening the claim that Arabo-Persian texts of this period were visible to "mainstream" literati.

(B) REFERENCES TO ARABO-PERSIAN WORKS IN NON-MUSLIM WRITINGS

Out of the hundreds of titles of works in Arabic and Persian, and the dozens of works in Chinese that circulated in China during the 17th and 18th centuries, it was Liu Zhi's two works on Islamic theology and ritual that most captured the attention of non-Muslim literati. Some of these references refrain from mentioning Liu Zhi's works by name, while others accompany their references with negative and patronizing evaluations.

One of earliest indications for the circulation of Arabo-Persian books among non-Muslim literati is found in an essay written by the classicist, Hang Shijun 杭世駿 (1696-1773) on Nestorianism, titled *Jingjiao xukao* 景教續考 ("Expanded Investigation of Nestorianism"). In that essay Hang wished to expand an earlier essay written by his colleague Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804) that juxtaposed the history of Nestorianism with the history of Manichaeism (CH. *Moni* 末尼), Europe (CH. *Daqin* 大秦), and Islam (CH. *Huihui* 回回). In describing the trajectory of the history of Nestorianism, Hang quoted from, what he referred to as, *Tianfang gushi* 天方古史 ("The Ancient History of the Islamicate World[20]"). The quotation directly matches a passage in Liu Zhi's *Tianfang dianli*. Moreover, Hang provided a list of Islamic scriptures, which identically matches the bibliography Liu Zhi provided in *Tianfang dianli.*[21] Although not mentioning his source by its proper name, it is clear that Hang thoroughly read Liu Zhi's work.

The imperial anthology *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 ("Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries")—a grandiose project that aimed to compile a complete anthology of Chinese literature and is often regarded as a milestone in the cultural history of China, completed in 1782—included a short synopsis of Liu Zhi's *Tianfang dianli.* The synopsis described the endeavor of the author of the text, Liu Zhi 劉智, to survey seventy works "of those countries" (i.e., the Islamicate world), and compile a work in Chinese on Islamic rituals. It complimented Liu Zhi's elegant rhetoric, yet alerted the readers that the contents were "fundamentally far-fetched and absurd."[22]

Interestingly, the *Siku quanshu* editors mentioned Liu Zhi's *Tianfang dianli* in a

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19. Liu Zhi 劉智 *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:17. The original: 穆罕默德乃西域之國王，此部實錄紀載其事，原依西經用漢字譯出, 文雖俚鄙, 其內深理, 爾豈能盡悉

20. On translating *Tianfang* as "the Islamicate world," see below.

21. *Daogu tang wenji* 道古堂文集 [Collected Works of Hang Shijun], *juan* 25, 1426:455. It worth mentioning that Hang's essay was written before the completion of the *Siku quanshu*. A synopsis of the *Tianfang dianli*, used by Hang, was later included in the *Siku quanshu* anthology.

22. *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 欽定四庫全書總目提要 [Annotated Catalog of the Imperial Library], 125:2640. Translation based on Frankel 2011, 53. See also Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

synopsis of another Chinese work titled *Qingding Lanzhou jilüe* 欽定蘭州紀略("An Imperially Authorized Abridged Record of Lanzhou Events"). The work documented the events around the Muslim rebellions in Gansu in the year 1781.[23] The synopsis included the following statement: "Investigation [of the subject showed] that Muslims (*Huiren* 回人) are scattered throughout China. Those living in the Northwestern frontier regions, however, are especially uncouth. Even so, their teachings and norms (*jiaofa* 教法) are not different [from those of Muslim communities in other parts of China]. Liu Zhi's *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* [includes] these traditional norms (*xiangyan zhi guizhi* 相沿之規制)."[24]

References to Liu Zhi's *Tianfang dianli* also appeared in the two official encyclopedias compiled under the Qianlong emperor in the 1780s: *Huangchao tongzhi* 皇朝通志 ("Comprehensive Records of the Qing Dynasty")[25] and *Huangchao wenxian tongkao* 皇朝文獻通考 ("Compendium of Critical Examined Official Documents of the Qing Dynasty").[26] The former included the work in its list of literary works (*Yiwen lüe* 藝文略), and the latter included an entry on the work in its bibliography (*jingji kao* 經籍考) under the category "Philosophers" (*zi* 子) and the subcategory "Miscellaneous Schools" (*zajia* 雜家). The entry introduced the work and its author, and a short explanation on the re-publication of this work.

Two editions of Liu Zhi's biography of the Prophet Muhammad reached Japan in two consequent years - the eleventh (1840) and twelfth year of the *Tenpō* 天保 era (1841).[27] They were purchased by Japanese book traders who arrived in Ningbo 寧波, the Chinese port city and hub of commerce, to selectively purchase books for the Japanese market. One of the titles they purchased was Liu Zhi's work. Both times, Liu Zhi's work was confiscated and burnt upon arrival in the Nagasaki 長崎 port for its "heretical contents" (JP. *jashūmon* 邪宗門[28]). It is not clear whether other works on Islam were purchased and permitted to enter Japan, however, it is clear that Arabo-Persian scholarship was visible in local Chinese literati circles as late as the 19th century.

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23. On these rebellions see Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

24. *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 49:1079. The original: 考回人散處中國。介在西北邊者尤獷悍。然其教法則無異。劉智天方典禮擇要解。即彼相沿之規制也。

25. *Qingchao tongzhi* 清朝通志 [Collection of Records of the Qing Dynasty], 101:7330.

26. *Qingchao wenxian tongkao - Jingji kao* 清朝文獻通考 - 經籍考 [Encyclopaedia of Official Documents of the Qing Dynasty - Bibliographical Study], 227:6887.

27. The title of Liu Zhi's work appears in a document titled "*Go kinsho mokuroku*" 御禁書目録 ("Catalogue of Imperially Forbidden Books") and "*Gosei kin gomen shoseki yakusho*" 御制禁御免書籍訳書 ("[A List of] Imperially Forbidden and Dismissed Translations"), appended to the work *Shoseki Motochō* 書籍元帳 ("A Register of Books") , volume 6, compiled in a manuscript-form by the Nagasaki Magistrate office (*Nagasaki Bukyōso* 長崎奉行所), and published in *Shōwa* 昭和 21 (1946).

28. The term *jashūmon* was used mainly in reference to Christian writings in Japan. The knowledge of Islam in Tokugawa Japan derived mainly from Chinese and European works. On that subject, see Rambelli 2014.

The examples given above demonstrate that as late as the 18th century, many in the Qing court and the circles of literati read, and even contributed to, the writings of Arabo-Persian scholars. While a relatively impressive network of literati connections facilitated the study of Islamic themes and ideas, others voiced critical opinions on the contents they read. Even if critically evaluated, however, Arabo-Persian works were able to introduce their Chinese readers to Islamic ideas, concepts and theories, and were viewed as a part of the broader scholarly landscape of late imperial China.

4. On the Study of the Natural World

It was the insights on the natural world that Hu Dengzhou found during his reading of Arabic and Persian texts that inspired him to promote their study. He and his followers sought answers to the philosophical questions of the operation of the universe and human epistemology that occupied the Chinese literati of his time, but in Arabic and Persian texts. As such, standing at the intersection of two long traditions of philosophy of nature, Arabo-Persian scholars negotiated an intellectual space between the Islamic and Chinese views of the natural world. This dissertation uses the term "the natural world" to collectively refer to the principles that undergird and explain the ontological and epistemological dimensions of human existence. It uses this term in order to reflect the holistic view of the metaphysical and physical nature that China's Arabo-Persian scholars applied in their works. In what follows, this chapter will outline the developments of scholarship on the natural world in the Islamicate world and China, and the integration of these two scholarly traditions by China's Arabo-Persian scholars.

(a) The Study of the Natural World in the Islamicate World: Transmission and Transformation

Since the onset of written history, human society has investigated the natural world, seeking to understand and exploit its guiding principles. These studies provided the foundation for intellectual traditions throughout the world. Contrary to the common perception of Science as objective, sociopolitical conditions shaped this knowledge, selectively promoting and devaluing specific views and interpretations. The various works of the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BC) represent an early attempt to conceptualize the natural world, and delineate the various methods of capturing its subtleties. The influence of Aristotle's ideas is unprecedented in terms of their geographical spread—reaching as far as China, the Islamicate and Christianate worlds—and in terms of their longevity.

Part of Aristotle's contribution was his attempt to delineate the disciplinary boundaries of the different branches of human knowledge. In *Metaphysics*, Aristotle divided the study of human knowledge into three main categories: (1) Theoretical sciences—that focus on knowledge for it own sake;[29] (2) Practical sciences—that focus on human activity; and, (3) Productive sciences—that focus on the making of objects.[30]

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29. In what follows I employ the terms "science" and "sciences" to denote methodologies of investigating knowledge, and as an English equivalent of the Greek term *epistêmê,* and its Arabic and Persian translations as *ʿilm* and *dānish* respectively. In the few places, where this dissertation refers to the modern concept of Science, it will capitalize it. On the Arabic translation of the term, see Rosenthal 2007, 194-239.

30. Grant 1996, 135.

The theoretical sciences are, in turn, divided into three sub-categories:[31] (i) Theology, or Metaphysics, which investigates aspects of the natural world that exist separately of any embodiment in form, and are susceptible to change, yet are not perishable; (ii) Mathematical sciences, which investigate aspects of the natural world that are abstracted from form, yet do not have a separate existence; and (iii) Physics, which investigates substances that have a separate existence, are perceptible by the senses and changeable. Aristotle's conceptualization and framing of the various categories of investigation of the natural world set the basis for much of the scholarship on nature in Europe and Islamicate world during the Medieval and Early Modern periods.

Most of Aristotle's works, it should be mentioned, have come to us through very specific historical circumstances in the ʻAbbāsīd Empire (749–1258) that encouraged the dynasty's rulers to foster a grandiose project of translation, and provided the critical mass of scholars, translators, and commentators to carry out the work of translation, and incorporate it within the scholarly discourses.[32] The celebrated translation project, known as *Bayt al-ḥikmah* (<AR. "House of Wisdom") after the institute it was housed in, culminated during the reign the caliph Ma'mūn (r. 813-833). This project, whose activities lasted for just several decades between the late 8th until the mid-9th century, involved the collection and translation into Arabic of a long list of works from Greek, Pahlavi and Sanskrit. Pahlavi and Syriac speakers, most notably the Nestorian Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq (809-873), were critical intermediaries in the execution of this project. Through their rigorous scholarly methodology, they were able to overcome difficulties inherent to scientific and philosophical translations, and come up with suitable Arabic vocabulary.[33]

Aside from being a determinant factor in the preservation of Greek and Pahlavi texts, and, in turn, the perpetuation of the Greek and Pahlavi views of the natural world,[34] the translation project initiated a fruitful dialogue between local Islamic intellectuals and the Hellenic and Pahlavi discourses. This dialogue expanded the boundaries of knowledge inquiry to include the studies of logic, astronomy, medicine, geometry and mathematics. At the same time, it juxtaposed Greek rationalism with the traditional Islamic epistemology based on the revealed truth embodied in the Qur'an.

The Greek classical heritage had a significant role in shaping the direction of Islamic intellectual history. Greek rationalism permeated into various disciplines, including theology, mysticism and Islamic jurisprudence, and contributed to their devel-

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31. On the taxonomy to sciences, see Grant 1996, 135; Osler 2010, 6.

32. Dimitri Gutas suggests that the ʻAbbāsīds inherited their policies of knowledge collection and preservation from the pre-Islamic Persian dynasty of the Sāssānians. He regards *Bayt al-ḥikmah* a realization of this ideology. Gutas 2012. The importance of the the translation project often masks the contribution of the ʻAbbāsīds to the development of local scholarly traditions, including Islamic jurisprudence, Arabic grammar, and Arabic literature. On this issue, see Young et al. 2006.

33. On the translation methods employed, and the scope of the corpus translated see Bergsträsser 1925; Rosenthal and Marmorstein 1992.

34. Many of the Latin translations of Greek works were recovered through, and translated from Arabic. See Montgomery 2000, 138-188; Toomer 1996.

opment by providing a frame of reference. Aspects of Greek rationalism, such as logic, were appropriated by Islamic disciplines, and became central methodological and epistemological constituents of these fields. In other cases, especially those cases in which Greek perceptions explicitly contradicted Islamic concepts, such as in the perception of God, and, by extension, the creation of the world, distance and dissonance was maintained between the two scholarly views with no explicit attempt to resolve the discrepancy.

On the eve of the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, two scholarly discourses dominated the flourishing intellectual environment of the ʻAbbāsīds: "Sciences based on revelation" (AR. *al-ʻUlūm al-naqlīyah*, also known as the Religious Sciences *al-ʻUlūm al-sharʻīyah*), and "the Rational Sciences" (AR. *al-ʻUlūm al-ʻaqlīyah*, also known as the Sciences of the Ancients, *ʻUlūm al-awā'il*). The former developed a religious scholarship grounded in the revelation of truth through the Qur'an, and supplemented by early traditions on the deeds and sayings of the Prophet (AR. *ḥadīth*) and hermeneutics. The latter included expansions and developments of the Greek rational heritage.[35] The various scholarly fields were divided along the lines of this categorization; the transmitted sciences included the scholarship on Qur'anic exegeses (AR. *tafsīr*), early traditions (AR. *ḥadīth*), Arabic syntax (AR. *naḥw*), Arabic morphology (AR. *ṣarf*) rhetoric (Ar. *balāghah*), and Islamic jurisprudence (AR. *fiqh*); the rational sciences comprised of logic (AR. *manṭiq*), mathematics (AR. *riyāḍīyāt*), medicine (AR. *ṭibb*), astronomy (AR. *ʻilm al-nujūm*, and later *ʻilm al-hay'ah* to distinguish it from astrology), as well as occult sciences such as astrology (AR. *ʻilm al-nujūm* or *aḥkām al-nujūm*), alchemy (AR. *al-kīmīyā'*), physiognomy (AR. *firāsah*), and geomancy (AR. *raml*). Islamic theology (*AR. kalām*) was a special case and its affinity to one or another category has been a subject of debate. In an attempt to reconcile its application of rational methods with its goal of defining the natural world in terms of the revealed truth, it shared commonalities with both discourses, although it did not fully match either of them.[36]

The study of the natural world occupied scholars in both discourses, each focusing on aspects that matched its basic assumptions and methodologies. While those engaged in the study of the transmitted sciences focused on textual analysis and philosophy, those sided with the rational sciences integrated textual and philosophical investigations with practical activities, and were meticulously preoccupied with projects such as perfecting methods of astronomical observations, time keeping and cartography.[37]

(B) The Institutional Setting of Knowledge Transmission in the Islamicate World

The institutional settings for scholarship had a crucial role in promoting some disciplines over others. Two main institutions promoted scholarship throughout the Islamicate world during the Medieval and Early Modern periods: courtly patronage and religious schools (AR. *madrasah*).[38] Courtly patronage of the sciences was subject to

35. Ragep 2013, 29.

36. On the nature of *kalām*, see Sabra 1994, 10-11. On the categorization of *kalām* within the educational programs, see Makdisi 1981, 75-80; Robinson 1997, 152.

37. Morisson 2013, 109-110.

38. Brentjes 2008.

the unique preferences of a ruler or a dynasty. Religious schools occupied the intersection of the traditional education given in mosque and the semi-official institutions that gained independence from the court. The madrasah became highly instrumental in the perpetuation and development of the transmitted sciences. At the same time, the 12th centuries madrasah excluded most of the rational sciences from their curriculum. This policy had a negative effect on the accommodation of, and scholarship on, the rational sciences that became more and more apparent as *madrasah* became the main institution of learning in the Islamicate world.[39]

The ʻAbbasīds' patronage of the arts and sciences served as a model for subsequent dynasties. The Mongols, despite the devastation they inflicted on the regions they conquered, and their destruction of the previously vibrant centers of scholarship in Baghdad, and throughout Iran and Transoxiana, promoted selected areas of interest, including astronomy and medicine. Mongol rulers gathered scholars of various fields in their courts, and endowed them with official positions, funds, buildings and other forms of courtly patronage.[40] Under the Ilkhanate, projects, such as Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's Marāghah observatory and Rashīd al-Dīn's *Rabʻ-i rashīdī* in Tabrīz, enjoyed high status and generous financial support. Similarly, the Yuan court supported scholars such as Jamāl al-Dīn and Īsā, who were given offices and titles to carry out astronomical, cartographical, and medical projects.[41]

Courtly patronage continued to play a role in the polities of the Islamicate world even after the disintegration of the Mongol Empire. Timurid rulers, such as Ulugh Beg, as well as their Ottoman and Safavid successors established observatories and teaching institutions, and supported the scholarship on the natural sciences to different extents.[42] Although the availability of translations of works on the natural sciences between Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish and Chaghatay attest to an outward transmission of knowledge, their success introducing their accomplishments in the eastern parts of the Islamicate world and China was minimal. The sustained diplomatic exchanges and mercantile activities between the Ming and the Timurids prioritized goods and animals, and despite the mutual interests in astronomical projects did not generate any exchange of knowledge on this topic.[43]

Religious schools and academies emerged during the tenth century in Khurāsān and gradually became prominent centers of scholarship that spread throughout the Islamicate world.[44] In their early manifestations, religious schools were

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39. Makdisi 1981, 10.

40. On the Ilkhanid Hülegü's promotion of scholarship at his court, see Amitai-Preiss 2013. For comparison with the status of scholars at the Chaghatay ulus, see Biran 2008.

41. On these projects and people, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

42. Brentjes 2008, 424-429.

43. On the relations between Ming and its Inner Asian neighbors, see Rossabi 1998.

44. Zaman 2010, 600.. On the institutionalization of Islamic religious education and the rise of the madrasa as a center of scholarship, see also Makdisi 1981; Robinson 1997.

granted by rulers to distinguished scholars as part endowed teaching institutions.[45] As such, they accommodated studies of the natural sciences, as well as other interests of individual scholars. These centers gradually gained independence from the courts, and turned their focus towards textual studies and the transmitted sciences. The studies of the rational sciences became secondary, and were eventually excluded from the curricula in many of these schools.[46] Aspects of the natural sciences, however, continued to be taught in the context of Islamic jurisprudence and theology.

Changes in the institutional accommodation of the study of the natural world had an effect on the transmission of that fields of study to China. While the patronage of the natural sciences by the Mongol court brought to China the accomplishments in astronomy, astrology, mathematics, and medicine, the exclusion of these sciences from the madrasah curricula marginalized these sciences in China after the 14th century. China's Arabo-Persian scholarship on the natural world during that period was embedded within the study of Islamic theology and jurisprudence.

At the same time, the rise in the activities of Ṣūfī mystics of the Naqshbandī order in Transoxiana during the sixteenth century further enhanced the transmission of texts and cosmological theories into China. This order carried out proselytizing activities in Transoxiana and China. Visits of Ṣūfī preachers distributing Arabic and Persian texts came to constitute a new bridge between China and the Islamicate world.[47]

During much of the late imperial period, when official scholarly exchanges between China and the Islamicate world were minimal, private channels of knowledge movement brought to China texts and ideas, including aspects of the natural philosophy and natural sciences embedded in mystical and theological texts.

(c) The Chinese Perceptions of the Natural World

Arabo-Persian texts introduced to China views of the natural world, as they were perceived in the Islamicate world. In order to understand the negotiations that scholars of Arabo-Persian texts in China had to make, the perceptions of the natural world that prevailed in late imperial China should be outlined.

The late imperial period was a time of paradigm shifts in terms of the conceptualization of the natural world, and the methodologies to investigate it. Prior to the Song 宋 dynasty (960-1279), views of the natural world were divided between the Confucian moralist ideology, and the Daoist and Buddhist metaphysical theories. A dissolution of the boundaries between these categories reached its peak around the late 11th and throughout the 12th centuries, when Daoist and Buddhist metaphysical elements were synthesized into the Confucian moral ideology. The new holistic view of the natural world that developed during that period and became known by the names "Neo-Confucianism" or the "Dao Learning" (*Daoxue* 道學), integrated metaphysical and cosmological theories with moral ideology.[48]

Disagreements over the relative importance of the metaphysical and moral ele-

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45. Brentjes 2008, 412.

46. Makdisi 1981, 75-80; Robinson 1997, 155.

47. On the expansion of the Naqshbandī activities in the Islamicate world, see Weismann 2007, 34-48. On their activities in China, see Fletcher 1995; Lipman 1998, 58-72. On these themes see also Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

48. An alternative historiographical label given to the school of thought that promoted this view of the natural world is the "Cheng-Zhu School," named after Cheng

ments continued to destabilize this new view, and resulted in modifications of some of its basic aspects. Building on their new readings of passages in the Book of Changes (*Yijing* 易經),[49] Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073) and Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077) proposed a cosmological model to explain the operation of the natural world. Their model was based on an evolutionary process, beginning with the primordial unity of *Taiji* 太極 (lit., "the Supreme Ultimate") and *Wuji* 無極 (lit., "the Non-Finite"), followed by their division into *Yin* 陰 and *Yang* 陽, and then into the five elements (CH. *wuxing* 五行 i.e., water, fire, metal, wood, earth). The final stage in this chain of manifestations was the creation of the "myriad of things" (*wanwu* 萬物), namely the physical world. Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1077) reformulated the model by introducing the concept of *qi* 氣 ("the material embodiment [of the principle]") as the primordial substance of the universe out of which all objects are composed. According to Zhang it was the condensation and dispersion of *qi* that produced changes in the universe, rather than the operation of *Yin* and *Yang*.

The Cheng brothers, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) synthesized these earlier cosmological models into a holistic model that accounted for changes in the natural world, and could also explain human nature. They introduced the concept of *li* 理 ("principle") as the fundamental metaphysical rule that governed changes in the physical world, and at the same time was instrumental in the formation of human nature (*xing* 性). Building on a passage in a chapter of the Book of Rites (CH. *Liji* 禮記)[50] that reads: "the extension of knowledge is [made] by the ordering of things" (*zhizhi zai gewu* 致知在格物), Zhu Xi asserted that to investigate the natural world was to bring to light the principles that governed it. This notion became the foundation of the epistemological theory of the Cheng-Zhu school. The espousing of the Cheng-Zhu ideology by the Yuan 元 (1279-1368) and Ming 明 (1368-1644) dynasties made the Cheng-Zhu view of the natural world the dominant paradigm until at least the early 16th century. Moreover, the search for the principles of the natural world that stood at the heart of the Cheng-Zhu view of the natural world shared common ground with the Aristotelian rationalization of the natural world, and provided suitable ground for the accommodation of the discourse on the natural world embedded in Arabo-Persian texts.

Alternative models to the one promoted by the Cheng-Zhu school emerged during Zhu Xi's life time. Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1192), a contemporary of Zhu Xi, rejected the concept of *li*, and advocated the preeminence of the heart/mind (*xin* 心) as governing human nature. Liu's alternative found support a few centuries later when Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529) presented his critique of the Cheng-Zhu epistemological model. Wang's improved theory of the heart/mind asserted that the

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Hao, Cheng Yi, and Zhu Xi, three of the main thinkers of that school.

49. The Book of Changes was one of the Confucian Five Classics that focused on the subject of divination. New interpretations of the book during the Song were used to undergird cosmological models that related the operation of the universe with human morality.

50. The Book of Rites was one of the Confucian Five Classics, dealing with issues of ritual and etiquette. Zhu Xi extracted two chapters from that works, and together with Confucius' *Analects* and the *Book of Mencius* constituted a new addition to the Confucian canon that became to be known as the *Four Books*.

principles that govern the natural world are embedded in every person's heart/mind. Hence, introspective is the only means to investigate the natural world and illuminate its principles.

The epistemological approach promoted by Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Yangming shared ground with Islamic Ṣūfī discourses that viewed the physical world as a manifestation of the divine, and the divine in turn as mirrored in the human heart. This resemblance facilitated the introduction of the concept of faith in God (AR. *īmān*), as well as the Ṣūfī view of the natural world.[51]

The accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge of the natural world was a process of negotiation between the Chinese and the Islamicate models. Common ground between the two views allowed scholars of Arabo-Persian texts to reconfigure and naturalize Islamic models by borrowing the Chinese terminology.

(D) THE STUDY OF THE NATURAL WORLD IN ARABO-PERSIAN SCHOLARSHIP

The intersectional nature of Arabo-Persian scholarship manifested itself in the views of the natural world. Arabo-Persian scholarship sought answers for Confucian questions in Arabic and Persian literature. As such, it juxtaposed and integrated aspects of the two traditions of scholarship on the natural world.

The Chinese works on Islamic themes that circulated in China from the mid-17th century introduced a bifurcated view of the natural world: metaphysical and physical. This division guided many of the Arabo-Persian scholars in their attempts to conceptualize the natural world.[52] Liu Zhi, a late-seventeenth century scholar of Islam, echoed this division between the two aspects of the natural world and their relations to texts in his assertion that, "[t]he principles (*li* 理) are those which make things as they are. The Universe (*Tian* 天) has its principles. Humanity (*ren* 人) has its principles. Physical objects (*wu* 物) have their principles as well. [The relation] between principles and objects can be compared to [the relation] between meanings and words."[53] Liu differentiated here between the metaphysical (*tian*) and physical (*wu*) levels of the natural world, and between principles (*li*) and objects (*wu*).

This bifurcated view of the universe was one of the first aspects of Islamic theology to be discussed in Chinese. For example, Ma Zhu 馬注, a mid-17th century Muslim scholar, explained[54] that the universe is comprised of two Realms (CH. *shijie*

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51. On that issue, see Chapter 3 and Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

52. Several theoretical frameworks were used by Arabo-Persian scholar to differentiate between the metaphysical and physical worlds. A common dichotomy that was used from as early as the 17th century employed the Confucian terms *xiantian* 先天 and *houtian* 後天. The former represented the world of ideas before it was embodied, and the latter the physical world. These terms had a temporal aspect as well, referring to the primordial and actual states of the universe. On these terms and their use by Arabo-Persian scholars, see Murata 2000, 52; Yang Huaizhong and Yu Zhen'gui 1995, 402.

53. *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 [An Annotated Selection of 'Islamic Ritual'], 15:73. The original: 理物之所以然也，天有天理，人有人理，物有物理，理之與物，蓋若意之與字也.

54. *Qingzhen zhinan*, 16:557.

世界[55]): the Realm of Nonexistence (*Yinwu shijie* 陰無世界, lit., "the Realm of Concealment and Non-Existence"[56]), and the Realm of Existence (*Xianyou shijie* 現有世界, lit., "the Realm of Appearance and Existence"). Ma defined the former as the realm of the Pure One (*Chunyi* 純一, a term for "the Divine") that "predetermined the entire set of subtleties of all principles."[57] He further divided the "Realm of Existence" into "the Realm of Shapes and Colors" (*Xingshe shijie* 形色世界, i.e., the physical world) and "the Realm of Subtleties" (*Xuanmiao shijie* 玄妙世界, i.e., world of ideas, the metaphysical world). In defining the differences between "the Realm of Shapes and Colors" and "the Realm of Subtleties," Ma Zhu asserted that "The [various forms of] embodiment of Heaven and Earth, the Myriad of Things, and Man[58] are called 'Shapes and Colors'...The [various forms of] endowed nature (*xingming* 性命) of Heaven and Earth, the Myriad of Things, and Man are called 'Subtleties')."[59] As for the Realm of Nonexistence, he asserted that "The entire set of concealed [forms of] endowed nature of Heaven and Earth, the Myriad of Things, Man and the Divine is called 'Nonexistence.'"[60]

The metaphysical world was the world of the guiding principles (*li* 理), whose manifestation in Man appeared in form of "Human Nature" (CH. *xing* 性). Similarly to their non-Muslim Chinese contemporaries, Arabo-Persian scholars delved into the study of the ways the universe operates, and embedded within that discourse moral

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55. The term *shijie* 世界 (lit., "the boundaries of a generation," later became "universe") entered the Chinese discourse of the late imperial period from Buddhism. Ma Zhu's usage of the term here, as well as a set of other borrowing from Buddhism demonstrate the instrumentality of the Buddhism discourse in bridging the gaps between the Arabo-Persian terminology and Chinese views of nature. On the use of Buddhism terms by Wang Daiyu 王岱輿, one of the precursors of Arabo-Persian scholarship, see Murata 2000, 9, 72-73 and passim. On Liu Zhi's use of the term *shijie* to translate the Ṣūfī concepts of "*al-ʿālam al-kabīr*" (AR. "macrocosmos") and "*al-ʿālam al-ṣaghīr*" (AR. "microcosmos"), see Murata et al. 2009, 39.

56. The term seems to be a Chinese translation of the Arabic concept of *lā wujūd*, <AR. "without existence; No being," a term in Islamic natural philosophy to define the absence of matter, and later used by theologians and Ṣūfīs to define God. On the Ṣūfī development of the concept of *wujūd* (<AR. "Existence; Being" of the divinity, and its discourse on *waḥdat al-wujūd* (AR. "the Unity of Being"), see Chittick 1989, 212-213.

57. *Qingzhen zhinan*, 16:557.

58. Ma Zhu uses here the term *renji* 人極 (lit., "Human Sublimity") as a general reference to Humanity. As Liu Zhi's explanation suggests, it is used here to emphasize the notion that Man was distinguished from all other creators. *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理 [Islamic Principles of Nature], 17:89.

59. *Qingzhen zhinan*, 16:557. The original: 蓋謂天地萬物人極之形體，謂之形色。天地萬物人極之性命，謂之玄妙. 天地萬物人神性命未顯之總妙，謂之隱無

60. *Qingzhen zhinan*, 16:557. The original: 天地萬物人神性命未顯之總妙，謂之隱無

theories on human nature. Just like the Confucian theorists, they argued for a distance between the "original" human nature, and its actual manifestation, and pointed to the roles of edification (*jiaohua* 教化) and moral cultivation (*xiushen* 修身) in restoring the "natural" disposition. Unlike their Confucian contemporaries, however, Arabo-Persian scholars brought the concepts of the Creation of the Universe (CH. *zaohua* 造化) and the Creator (CH. *zaowu zhe* 造物者) into the discourse, subjugating the universal principles and human nature to the acts of creation. As a result, Arabo-Persian scholars argued that recognition in the existence of God (*renzhu* 認主) is a precondition for understanding the principles and human nature.

Human Nature, a central concern for both the Confucian and Islamic discourses on the natural world, occupied an important place in the writings of Arabo-Persian scholars. For example, Yuan Ruqi 袁汝綺, a prominent Arabo-Persian scholar from Nanjing and Liu Zhi's teacher,[61] asserted that, "Man is the mirror of the creator. When the mirror is clear, his view [here "cognition"] is full, when it is murky, his view is deficient."[62]Juxtaposing the Islamic view with an epistemological model advocated by followers of the Chinese philosopher Wang Yangming 王陽明,[63] Yuan proclaimed that one's aptitude for full cognition, or one's cognitive deficit, is determined by the clarity of the mirror, which "solely lies in one's heart-mind."[64] He further tied his explanation to the Confucian epistemological model by asserting that clearing of the mirror is a precondition for achieving true cognition through *gewu zhizhi* 格物致知 ("The extension of knowledge through the ordering of things") and *qiongli jinxing* 窮理盡性 ("Exhausting mastering principles, and nature").[65]

The Arabo-Persian discourse on the physical world mainly focused on the mechanisms of epistemology. Arabo-Persian scholars attempted to theorize knowledge, and apply it to the understanding of the natural world. They addressed the issue of the ontological status of objects and natural phenomena (collectively called *Tiandi wanwu* 天地萬物, "the Myriad of Things between Heaven and Earth," or simply *wu* 物). The interest in the physical world was intertwined with some of precepts of Islamic praxis. Rules of bodily purity and specific dietary regulations provided incentives for Arabo-Persian scholars to study, define and categorize aspects of the physical world. Liu Ziu, for example, made an attempt to objectify and categorize the various components of physical world. He compiled categorized lists of flora, fauna, organs of the human body, and natural phenomena in his explanations of Islamic rituals.[66]

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61. On Yuan Ruqi, see Ben-dor Benite 2005, 27 and passim.

62. *Tianfang xingli*, 17:14. The original: 則人也者，造物主之鏡。鏡明則見全，鏡昏則見虧

63. On Wang Yangming and his indirect influence on Islamic thought in China, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

64. *Tianfang xingli*, 17:14. The original: 是見全見虧，只在人之心, 鏡明與不明爾.

65. These two terms are fundamental concepts of Confucian epistemological model, see above.

66. Similar projects of collecting and categorizing natural phenomena and objects were carried out among non-Muslim scholars from the late-Ming onwards. As Elman shows, these projects are manifested in the surge in quantity of published encyclopedias (CH. *leishu* 類書) during the late-Ming. Elman 2007. It is important

Thus, we can see that the bifurcated view of the natural world resonated through the divisions of Arabo-Persian scholarship to sub-fields of study. The metaphysical view of the natural world was incorporated into the study of the Principles of the Universe. This field included the study of Islamic theology and Ṣūfī mysticism. The study of physical dimension of the natural world took place within the framework of Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic history (such as the study of the biographies of the Prophet). Liu Zhi's two major works, the *Tianfang dianli* and *Tianfang xingli* represented this bifurcated investigation of the natural world. The former, as suggested by the term *dianli* 典禮 (CH. "Rites and Rituals"), focused on an objectified view of nature. It included a concrete explanation of Islamic ideas, such as the Five Pillars of Islam (AR. *Arkān al-Islām*, CH. *Wugong* 五功, lit., "the Five Merits." These are Faith in God, Prayer, Alms, Fasting, and Pilgrimage to Mecca). In additions in provides various taxonomies of flora, fauna, human physiology, human sensations, and other natural phenomena. His work, *Tianfang xingli*, as the term *xingli* 性理 ("Human Nature and Principles") expounds the metaphysical discourse on the creation and operation of the universe.

5. Could there be Arabo-Persian Philology in China?

This dissertation employs the term "philology" to describe the methods by which Hu Dengzhou and his successors studied Arabic and Persian texts. The use of this term, however, requires a short discussion on the applicability of this term to a scholarly activity outside the European context, as well as the aspects that define an activity as philological.

The term "philology," which once designated a prominent discipline in any European (and during the 20th century also East Asian) university, became, in our time, a purely historiographical concept - no longer studied as an independent discipline and mainly referenced for its historical significance. Its roots go back to the endeavor of Europe's humanists to historicize literature, and as such constitute an element of the intellectual heritage of Europe.

Just like the term "philosophy," the application of the term "philology" to non-European contexts is not trivial. For some, philology is inherently linked to the European experience, and its implementation requires mastery in European classical literature and history.[67] Others strip Philology of the specific historical context by which it evolved, and define it broadly as "the discipline of making sense of texts,"[68] and "criti-

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to note that the developed discourse on the natural world, Chinese did not have a scholarly tradition that focused on the study of nature outside texts. A study that was based on field research, collecting and studying actual artifacts, and their presentation in Museums did not take place until the 19th century. Hence, "Nature" as an object of Arabo-Persian scrutiny was intimately intertwined to the study of texts, and was not pursued in a similar way nature was studied in Europe or North America around the same period. On that issue, see Fan 2004, 91-120; Métailié 1981.

67. This view is echoed in Erich Auerbach's essay on the possibility of synthesizing Philology with *Weltliteratur*. Auerbach 1969.

68. Pollock 2014, 398.

cal self-reflections of language."[69] The latter definition was the vision with which I decided to apply the term philology to the study of Arabo-Persian texts in China during the late-16th and 17th centuries.

In its broader sense, philology is undergirded by the view of texts as depositories of knowledge whose realization is based on close reading and the application of intensive textual analyses. This view is found in various learned cultures, including China, the Islamicate and the Sankrit worlds. Pollock suggests that the knowledge that philology extracts from texts is of three dimensions: (1) what he calls the "historicist textual truth," that is knowledge of the time and place of the text's genesis; (2) "traditionalist textual truth," that is what the text can tell us on the earlier readers and chain of transmission of the text; and, (3) "presentist textual truth," that is what the text reveals about its reader.[70]

Philology produces universal knowledge.[71] Its aims and raison d'être lie in its capacity to extend knowledge on the various aspects of the universe and human society. To that end, it employs devices that are seen as sufficiently critical to assess the validity of interpretation. The study of grammar, paleography, and history are all methods applied by the philologist in their attempt to historicize their texts.

At the heart of the Arabo-Persian scholarship that emerged in China during the late-16th century stood a view of the Arabic and Persian texts as depositories of rare knowledge. In order to bring this knowledge to light, Hu Dengzhou and his successors applied three types of textual analysis: (1) analysis of grammatical structures, including syntactical and morphological analysis; (2) analysis of logical argumentation; and, (3) analysis of the rhetorical features.

Conviction about the universal applicability and validity of knowledge embedded in Arabic and Persian texts allowed scholars of Arabo-Persian texts to proliferate their ideas and writings among the Chinese literati. Yet, their scholarship had to be bound to, and fashioned itself as a part of, the Confucian canon. This aspect seems to suggest that despite the inherent pluralist feature of philology, the constitution of a canon is by far more exclusive. As long as scholarship made use of original Arabic and Persian texts, close-reading and linguistic analyses could be applied. With the introduction of Chinese to the study of Islam in China, philosophical paraphrasing of ideas substituted the traditional philological practices.

6. Situating this Study - Literature Review

The story of China's accommodation of Arabo-Persian texts cannot be told without embedding it in the context of late imperial China's socio-political and intellectual development, and the emergence of Islam in China.

(a) Social and Intellectual History of late imperial China

Although archeological and textual evidence suggest that movements of people, physical objects, ideas and texts across Asia have taken place from as early as beginning of common era, it was the Yuan dynasty that integrated China into the larger framework of the Mongol empire. A growing literature on the various constituents of the Mongol empire, including the Yuan dynasty, brought to light the extensive move-

69. Pollock 2014, 399.

70. Pollock 2014, 401.

71. Pollock 2014, 399. A similar view is presented in Auerbach 1969, 11-12.

ments of people, objects, texts and ideas across Asia, and the syntheses produced in the various cultural centers of the empire.[72] These works brought to light the contribution that Arabo-Persian knowledge made in fields such as astronomy, astrology and medicine to the Yuan court,[73] and the status that the Persian language acquired in China.[74] Moreover, some of the salient features of the Yuan persisted well into the early Ming, destabilizing the traditional historiographical stance that viewed the Yuan as temporary foreign rulers over China, and an aberration in China's dynastic history. Works on the continuities between the Yuan and the Ming demonstrated the integral, and even crucial, role that the Yuan period played in configuring the socio-political climate of the late imperial period.[75]

From the perspective of China's accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge, the Yuan period can be seen as a point of departure for the Arabo-Persian scholarship that emerged during the Ming and the Qing. It was during that period that a large quantity of texts found their way into Chinese libraries, introducing the accomplishments of the Western world in various natural sciences, and its concepts of the natural world, to China.[76] These texts constituted the base of the Arabo-Persian corpus of texts that circulated in China during the late imperial Period.

Works on the history of education in the Ming highlighted the restrictive policies on scholarship and education of the early Ming emperors, and the tensions it produced between prescribed and independent forms of scholarship.[77] As a result of this tension, the authority of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy eroded, and scholars began to explore moral and epistemological alternatives. The tension reached its apex when Wang Yangming (1472-1529) disparaged the Cheng-Zhu epistemological theory. Wang called for substituting the orthodox view of the Confucian canon as the sole epistemological source with individual introspection. In doing so, he contributed to

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72. Among recent studies on the exchanges across the Mongol Empire, including China, are the works of Herbert Franke 1966, 1986, 1994a and 1994b; Allsen 2001, 2003, and 2009; Rossabi 1981 and 2013; Chaffee 2006; Fletcher 1986.

73. A sample of works on the contribution of Arabo-Persian knowledge to Chinese scholarship on astronomy, astrology and medicine include: van Dalen 2002a; van Dalen 2002b; van Dalen 2007; Yabuuti and van Dalen 1997; Yunli 2014; Shinno 2007; Buell 2007; Buell et al. 2010.

74. Morgan 2012.

75. Among the studies that brought to light the continuities between the Yuan and the Ming, and demonstrated the integration of the Yuan dynasty within the historiographical category of late imperial China are Dardess 2003; Brook 2010; Serruys 1957. Elman, in his work on the civil service examination system, demonstrated the long-lasting effects of the Yuan's decision to establish the Cheng-Zhu commentaries on the classics as the examination curriculum, see Elman 2000, 30-38.

76. See Chapter 2 of this dissertation on the Arabo-Persian texts that circulated in China during the Yuan.

77. Among the works that focused on the history of education and academies in the Ming period are Meskill 1967 and 1982, and Schneewind 2006.

the liberation of scholarship from the hegemony of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy, and advanced the opening of scholarship.[78] A visible increase in the publication of printed books in general, and encyclopedias, ledgers of merit, and popular manuals followed Wang Yangming's movement, and attested to the popularization of knowledge from the late-sixteenth century onwards.[79]

This dissertation advances the thesis that it was within this context that Hu Dengzhou gathered students and promoted the study of Arabo-Persian texts. The insights on the natural world he found in the Arabo-Persian texts were suitable, in his opinion, to be an alternative to the Confucian cosmological theories. Moreover, although we do not have concrete evidence to support a direct awareness of Wang Yangming's teachings by Chinese Arabo-Persian scholars, there is sufficient evidence (as will be discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation) to claim that Wang's epistemological theory, and his emphasis on individual introspection, had a direct effect on the accommodation of Islam in general, and the Islamic concept of faith in God in particular.

Studies of the transitional period between the Ming and the Qing described how the power struggles in the Ming court affected the socio-political environment, and in particular the rise of the conservative Donglin school.[80] The growing literature on the scholarly activities of the Jesuit missionaries brought to light the contribution that the Jesuits made in terms of introduction of Western knowledge to China, as well as their competition against the local Chinese Muslims on the representation of the West.[81] The study of the Jesuit mission to China provided ample space for comparison with the Islamic experience in China. At the same time, works on the instrumentality of the Jesuits in transmitting European knowledge to China and facilitating cross-cultural movement of knowledge and texts served as methodological guides to this work.[82]

The New Qing History has brought to light the multi-faceted nature of the Qing dynasty. Focusing mainly on the Manchu component as supplementary to the Han Chinese component, the various works affiliated with that school of history demonstrated the close interaction between China and Central Asia that took place

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78. Buddhist participation in the intellectual discourse during the late Ming period attests for the intellectual inclusivity that followed Wang Yangming's critique. On that issue, see Brook 1993; Elverskog 2006; Wu 2011.

79. Works on the surge in printed literature in the late Ming period include Brokaw and Chow 2005; Brokaw 1991; Chia 2003; Chow 1996; Meyer-Fong 2007; Sakai Tadao 酒井 忠夫 1977; Ōki Yasushi 大木康 1991; Ōki Yasushi 大木康 2009. On the rise of encyclopedias in the late Ming, see Elman 2007.

80. On the political environment and the power struggles in court Twitchett and Fairbank 1998, 518-522; Huang 1981. On the Donglin school, see Busch 1949; Elman 1989; Dardess 2002; Ono Kazuko 小野和子 2006.

81. Works on the scholarly contribution of the Jesuits include Goodman and Grafton 1990; Standaert 1999; Wardy 2000; Jami 2007; Standaert 2008; Golvers 2011; Kurtz 2011.

82. For example, Lach and Kley 1965; Jami et al. 2001.

between the mid-17th century and the fall of the dynasty in the early 20th century.[83] The multi-archive investigation of Chinese history, celebrated as the methodological cornerstone of that school, opened up the field of late imperial Chinese history to the study of other non-Han groups. The study of China's Muslims, whether inland or on the Northwestern frontiers, became an integral part of the effort to understand the late imperial period.

(B) Modern Studies of China's Arabo-Persian Literature

This dissertation is indebted to the comprehensive literature on Islam in China that has been produced from the 19th century onward. The specific interest of this study in Arabo-Persian knowledge and texts focused on references to Islamic literature in China, inventories of available printed books and manuscripts, and the historical settings by which Arabo-Persian knowledge was produced and circulated in late imperial China.

It was the surveys of missionaries in 19th century China that provided the first information about Islamic knowledge in China. Although the Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries had reported the presence of Muslims in China as early as the 17th century, only by the 19th century did concrete information of Islamic literature and books begin to be gathered and published. The European interest in China's Muslim communities, and in the Arabo-Persian texts that were in their possession stemmed from the expansion of European Oriental studies during the 19th century, and the establishment of Protestant missions in China. An example of such an early report on Arabo-Persian literature in China was Rev. Henry Blodget's letter to his friend, Prof. H. A. Newton of Yale, dated February 19th, 1863. Blodget, a missionary of the American Board in China who arrived in Shanghai in September 1854 sent a list of 24 Arabic works that he discovered in mosques in Beijing and throughout China to his Yale University friend.[84] Blodget's list was published three years later in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* with the annotations by Prof. Edward Elbridge Salisbury, the President of the American Oriental Society.

The British Protestant missionary to China, Alexander Wylie (1815-1887), mentioned in his study of Chinese literature (published 1867) the existence of Chinese works on Islam, yet downplayed their importance. He wrote: "Although the disciples of Mohammed have been in China now for more than twelve centuries, and have enjoyed the greatest facilities for the propagation of their faith, yet we do not find that they have done much towards the introduction of a native literature in connection with their religion; their rituals and sacred books being almost entirely preserved in the original Arabic; and notwithstanding the great numbers belonging to this sect at the present day, who know nothing but the Chinese, the publications they have in the native language are quite insignificant."[85] Nevertheless, the bibliographical information he included in his book on five works constituted one of the earliest accounts regarding Chinese works on Islam.

Archimandrite Petr Ivanovich Kafarov Pallady (1817-1878), the leader of the

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83. Works such as Crossley 1999; Elliott 2001; Elliott 2014; Elverskog 2006; Rawski 2015. Works that incorporated China's Islam within the framework of the the New Qing History include Lipman 2006; Millward and Newby 2006.

84. Blodget 1866.

85. Wylie 1864, 181.

Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing who arrived in China in 1847, collected a large number of Chinese works on Islam, and published a number of essays on the Muslim communities in China. In 1877, he published a summary of Liu Zhi's 劉智 Chinese biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (comp. 1724)[86]. His comprehensive study of the Chinese Islamic literature was published posthumously in 1887 in Russian, and included short descriptions of various Chinese works on Islam that circulated in China during the late Ming and early Qing.[87]

In 1878, the French consul in China, Cpt. Claude Philibert Dabry de Thiersant (1826-1898), published a comprehensive study of Islam in China and East Turkestan, and included in it a chapter especially dedicated to Islamic literature in China. The chapter introduced the main Chinese works on Islam, as well as references in those works to Arabo-Persian texts.[88] Dabry de Thiersant mentioned that the Chinese works on Islam became rare after the destruction of multiple woodblocks by the governor of Guangxi province's order. He quoted a rumor that the Imperial Library in Beijing contains many Arabic works, and that M. Guyard, a professor for Arabic in *École des hautes études* in Paris, was able to review a number of them.[89]

By the late 19th century, and during the first decades of the 20th century, China's Islamic literature caught the interest of scholars of Oriental studies in Europe and North America. Through diplomatic and missionary channels, Chinese works on Islam, and Arabo-Persian texts found their way to libraries outside of China. Orientalists began to study the unique features of Chinese Islam and its literature. In 1905, Clément Huart (1854-1926), a professor of Persian in the *École des langues orientales* in Paris (today's INALCO), published transcriptions of six Arabic and Persian inscriptions he located in various places in China. The inscriptions included references to texts and contemporary debates about Islamic praxis in China. The German orientalist Martin Hartmann (1852-1918) published a number of articles on Chinese transliteration of Arabic in Liu Zhi's works (1907), an Chinese-Arabic glossary.[90] Likewise, the French orientalist and librarian Lucien Bouvat (1872-1942) published, in 1908, an annotated list of the Arabo-Persian works housed in a mosque library in Beijing.[91] In his review of Bouvat's article, Hartmann pointed to the circulation of two separate sets

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86. On Liu Zhi and his work, see Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

87. Pallady 1887. An abridged translation into English of the work appeared was made in 1977, see Panskaya et al. 1977. A translation of his 1866 essay on Muslims in China appeared in 1918, see Pallady 1918.

88. Dabry de Thiersant 1878. The work includes references to Liu Zhi's works, and an early attempt to reconstruct the titles of Arabo-Persian texts that Liu Zhi included in his bibliographies of *Tianfang Xingli* 天方性理 "On the Principles of Nature in Islam" (pub. 1704) and *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 "Selected Commentaries on Islamic Rituals" (pub. 1710).

89. Dabry de Thiersant 1878, 360-361, 369. On this destruction of the woodblock of Liu Zhi's works, see Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

90. Hartmann 1907; Hartmann 1908; Hartmann 1909; Hartmann 1910; Hartmann 1921.

91. Bouvat 1908.

of texts in China: Chinese works on Islam, and Arabo-Persian texts.[92] In 1917 the two American missionaries, C. L. Ogilvie and S. M. Zwemer, published an article titled "A Classified Bibliography of Books on Islam in Chinese and Chinese-Arabic," in which they listed 94 titles of Chinese works on Islam, and provided a translation of a short bilingual Arabic-Chinese treatise on Islamic dogma that they encountered during the visits to a mosque in Shanghai.[93] Marshal Broomhall, a British Protestant Christian missionary to China, published a large study of Islam in China in 1910 under the title: "Islam in China: A Neglected Problem." He included in the work transcriptions of Arabic inscriptions, and an appendix with a list of 20 Chinese titles of works in Islam. According to his explanation, in 1686 the Kangxi emperor ordered a catalogue of all printed works and manuscripts to be compiled, and in the process of its making, a number of Arabic books were discovered, and many of these were translated into Chinese.[94]

Between 1906 and 1909, the French explorer Henri d'Ollone (1868-1945) undertook a number of expeditions to North China, where he collected works in Arabic, Persian and Chinese. A special study of works collected by D'Ollone was carried out in 1911 by the librarian E. Blochet of Bibliothèque nationale de France and A. Vissiére, a professor of Oriental Studies and the acting French consul in Tianjin.[95] An additional study of the Chinese works in D'Ollone's collection was published by Vissiére in 1911. He divided the 36 works into four thematic categories: (1) works on doctrine and liturgy; (2) Islamic almanacs; (3) works on history and geography; and, (3) works on the Arabic language.[96] The Arabic, Persian and Chinese works acquired D'Ollone are housed today in Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Between 1921, the American missionary and translator Isaac Mason (1870-1939) published a partial translation of Liu Zhi's biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, titled "The Arabian Prophet: A Life of Mohammed From Chinese and Arabic Sources. A Chinese-Moslem Work."[97] This marks the first Western attempt to provide a lengthy translation of a Chinese work on Islam. In 1925, he further compiled a list of 318 titles of Chinese works on Islam, and provided a short analysis of the thematic interests of these works. He suggested that these Chinese works on Islam cover eight subjects: "historical, doctrine and practice, the Qur'an and traditions, liturgical, educational, science and geography, language, [and] polemical," while works on Doctrine and Practice constituted the largest group by far.[98]

Among the writings on Islam in China that were produced during the twentieth century, Donald Leslie's works focused on the analysis of Islamic literature in China, and carried out thorough bibliographical studies. In his *Islamic Literature in China*,

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92. Hartmann 1908.

93. Ogilvie and Zwemer 1917., published also in Ogilvie 1918.

94. Broomhall 1910, 301.

95. d'Ollone et al. 1911.

96. Vissière 1911.

97. Liu 1921. For the review of the work by Paul Pelliot, see Pelliot 1922.

98. Mason 1925, 173 and passim.

Leslie provided a detailed index of Chinese works on Islam and Arabo-Persian texts mentioned in these works, as well as information about the available copies of these works in libraries throughout the world. In his later articles, including "Arabic and Persian Sources Used By Liu Chih" (1982), and "Arabic Works Shown to the Qianlong Emperor in 1782" (2001), Leslie reconstructed titles of Arabo-Persian texts that appeared in two bibliographical lists in Liu Zhi's works, and a list of confiscated works that appeared in an imperial memorial in 1782.[99] The present work is greatly in debt to the rich bibliographical information provided in Leslie's works, which facilitated the reconstruction of the larger pool of Arabo-Persian texts (Appendix 2 of this dissertation).

During the 1990s and 2000s, amid the emergence of the New Qing History, new interests in the socio-political and cultural features of Islam in China came to light. During this period a number of works integrated Chinese Islam into the study of late imperial and Modern China. Zvi Ben-Dor Benite's *The Dao of Muhammad* introduced the breadth of Hu Dengzhou's educational network, and the engagement of China's Islamic scholars with both Arabo-Persian and Confucian scholarships during the 17th and 18th centuries.[100] In a later work, Ben-Dor explored the dialogue that took place during the 16th and 17th centuries between the Jesuits and China's scholars of Islam in terms of theological concepts, and the contest on the representation of the West in China.[101] Jonathan Lipman's *Familiar Strangers* explored the changing conditions in the accommodation of Islam in China, and the role that the North-West played in the transmission of Arabo-Persian texts into China;[102] The works of Murata,[103] Frankel[104] and Petersen[105] translated and analyzed the rich contents of a number of works by Wang Daiyu 王岱輿 and Liu Zhi. They emphasized in their works the strong Ṣūfī inclination that these works exhibit.

Japanese historians became acquainted with the theme of Islam in China in the early 20th century through the writings of European and American missionaries. The Japanese historian Sasaki Endō 遠藤佐々喜 published in 1911 an early article on Islam in China, drawing on the work of Dabry de Thiersant. He briefly mentioned the Chinese synthesis of Confucian and Islamic thoughts, and included the titles of three Chinese works on Islam.[106] In 1918, the Japanese historian and orientalist Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助 (1891-1974) translated the full list of Chinese works on Is-

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99. Leslie and Wassel 1982; Leslie et al. 2001. See also Chapter 5 and 6 in this dissertation.

100. Ben-dor Benite 2005

101. Ben-dor Benite 2012.

102. Lipman 1998 In another article Lipman explores the intersection of Chinese Islam and the Qing Law, see Lipman 2006.

103. Murata 2000; Murata 2009; Murata et al. 2009

104. Frankel 2011; Frankel 2009.

105. Petersen 2013; Petersen 2011. In an earlier work, Petersen explored the features of Hu Dengzhou's educational network, see Petersen 2006.

106. Sasaki Endō 遠藤佐々喜 1910

lam, originally published by C. L. Ogilvie and S. M. Zwemer a year earlier. The Japanese orientalist and expert of Southeast Asian studies, Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎, conducted field studies in Northern China during the late 1920s and 1930s. In 1926, he published an article describing his visits to various mosques in China, and providing information on the inscriptions and texts he found.[107] In 1933, he published an article with reconstructions of that Arabic and Persian titles that were listed in Liu Zhi's bibliographies.[108]

The Japanese involvement in North-Eastern China from 1932 onwards, allowed Japanese anthropologies and historians to survey Islamic communities throughout China. The South Manchuria Railway Dairen library (JP. *Minami Mantetsu dairen toshokan* 南満鉄大連図書館, established in 1907 in the Chinese port city Dalian 大連) held a large collection of Chinese works on Islam and Arabo-Persian texts. It published in 1939 a categorized catalogue of hundreds of primary and secondary works of Chinese Islam held by the library.[109] The rich material collected in the 1930s and 1940s was the base for the studies of Chinese Islamic literature in the subsequent decades. Among the works that were published in the 1950s and 1960s and provided new insights into China's Islamic literature were Sakaguchi Tōru's 佐口透 study of Chinese works on Islam (pub. 1950),[110] and Tasaka Kōdō's 田坂興道 comprehensive study of Islam in China (pub. 1964).[111] Sakaguchi's work provided a book inventory of a mosque library in Inner Mongolia. Tasaka's study analyzed Liu Zhi's bibliographies and provided additional information on Arabic and Persian text that circulated in China.

The various studies on China's Islamic literature published in Japanese since the 1990s provide in-depth analyses of bibliographical and philological aspects of the Chinese works on Islam and the corpus of Arabic and Persian texts that circulated in late imperial China. A number of Japanese studies provide invaluable information regarding the reconstructions of titles of Arabo-Persian books mentioned in Chinese works and mosque inscriptions. These works greatly enhanced our understanding of the scope and quality of the Arabo-Persian corpus of texts that circulated in China. Among the works that informed this dissertation are Hamada Masami's two studies of the Zhang Shizhong's 張時中 work *Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 (comp. 1641, pub. 1661) shed light on the the original Persian work that informed Zhang, and the translation process;[112] Two studies on mosque inscriptions in Kaifeng, which provide invaluable information on the Arabo-Persian texts that circulated in late 18th century China,

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107. Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎 1926

108. Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎 1933

109. *Shina kaikyō bunken mukuroku* 支那回教文献目録 [Catalog of Islamic Documents from China]

110. Tōru Saguchi 1950

111. Tasaka Kōdō 田坂興道 1964.

112. Hamada Masami 濱田 正美 2004. The translation of the original, preceded by an introduction that highlights the main aspects of the translation process is found in Hamada Masami 濱田正美 and Shionozaki Shinya 塩野崎信也 2014.

were published by Takashi Kuroiwa 黒岩 高, Nakanishi Tatsuya 中西 竜也, and Morimoto Kazuo 森本 一夫;[113] Nakanishi Tatsuya's study of Persian literacy and texts in late imperial China;[114] and studies on editions and contents of Chinese works on Islam.[115]

The interest in China's Islamic heritage, and the possibility of discovering in China rare copies of Arabic and Persian manuscripts attracted attention from experts on Islamic codicology. The warming up in China's diplomatic relations with the Arab World and Iran in the late 1970s and early 1980s facilitated the scholarly exchanges between the regions. Since the late 1970s a number of experts of Arabic and Persian codicology visited mosques and libraries in China in order to assess the available works. In summer 1977 Muḥammad Javād Sharī'āt (1936-2012) and Ghulām Riḍā Satūdah, Iranian experts of Persian codicology and lexicography, were invited to Beijing University to review the Persian-Chinese dictionary compiled by the University's professor of Persian. During that visit the two had the opportunity to review the collection of Arabic and Persian works housed in Beijing's Dongsi 東四 mosque. Upon returning to Iran, the two published a series of articles, listing the works they saw, and providing additional bibliographical information.[116] Two years later, in 1980, two leading Iranian experts of Persian codicology and literature, Īraj Afshār (1925-2011) and Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh (d. 1996) were invited to review the collections of Islamic manuscripts in Beijing's two major mosques: Dongsi and Niujie 牛街 mosques, as well as the available manuscripts in China's National Library, Beijing University's Department of Eastern Languages and Cultures, and the Association of Chinese Muslims. The scholars published their findings in a number of articles, and emphasized China's preservation of rare copies of works, and the importance of these collections to the wider study of Persian and Islamic literatures.[117] Mozafar Bakhtyar was able to carry out a country-wide survey of Islamic manuscripts. His findings were published in English in 1994 as a comprehensive catalogue of Islamic manuscripts in China. The texts he listed, however, include mainly those he found to be rare, and with an explicit inclination towards Persian, rather than Arabic, texts.[118]

The first visit of a scholar of Arabic codicology took place in 1978. The Iraqi-Syrian scholar Hādī al-'Alawī (1933-1998) was invited to review the Arabic holdings of the Niujie mosque. He published a detailed list of the Arabic, and a few Persian,

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113. Takashi Kuroiwa 黒岩 高 et al. 2012; Morimoto Kazuo 森本 一夫 2012

114. Nakanishi Tatsuya 中西 竜也 2011 Nakanishi Tatsuya's book on Islamic thought in China during the 17th-19th centuries includes transcriptions of an inscription from the Najiaying 納家營 mosque in Ningxia and studies of the translation process of several Chinese works on Islam. Nakanishi Tatsuya 中西竜也 2013.

115. Such as, Sato Minoru's work on the editions of Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Dianli* and *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, see Sato Minoru 佐藤実 2000

116. Sharī'at 1980; Sharī'at 1356; Satūdah 1357.

117. For their publications, see: Afshār 1360; Afshār 1361a; Afshār 1361b; Afshār 1361c; Afshār 1361d; Afshār 1361e; Dānishpazhūh 1362.

118. Bakhtyar 1994.

manuscripts he examined.[119]

Chinese historiography provides ample resources to the study of Islamic literature in China. In light of the vast number of works that have been published on that theme, the following will highlight the main themes available in Chinese works.

Three anthologies of primary sources, titled: *Qingzhen dadian* 清真大典 ("The Complete Corpus of Chinese Islamic Literature"), *Huizu diancan quanshu* 回族典藏全書 ("The Complete Anthology of Chinese Muslim Writings"), and *Zhongguo Yisilan jiao dianji xuan* 中國伊斯蘭教典籍選 ("Selected Chinese Islamic Works"), assembled thousands of works and documents on Islam, by Muslims, or affiliated with Arabo-Persian knowledge.[120] In addition, collections of Islamic inscriptions greatly increased the available primary sources for the study of Islamic literature in China.[121] Needless to say that these anthologies and collections constituted an invaluable source for this study.

Works on Islamic schools and mosque inventories provided detailed lists on Arabic, Persian and Chinese works that circulated in China, mainly during the early 20th century. These lists are instrumental in identifying the Arabic and Persian works that circulated in China during the late imperial period.[122]

Recent interest in early Chinese works on Islam, and in particular those of Liu Zhi, Wang Daiyu and Ma Zhu produced a great number of articles and books, analyzing their contents, and historicizing their production and circulation.[123] Despite the abundance of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in mosques and libraries across China, these texts have rarely received scholarly attention. An exception is Teng Huizhu's 滕慧珠annotated edition of Wafā'ī's Persian lexicon.[124]

7. Notes on the Terms used in this Dissertation

The cross-cultural nature of this dissertation requires that it will use standard terms for Arabo-Persian and Chinese concepts which may differ in their nuances. As a result, scholars of East Asia and Islamic Studies might find some translations in their language(s) of study to be oversimplified or non-traditional. It is the author's hope that the definitions used are both clear to modern readers of various backgrounds, and representative of how the terms were understood in China at the time of their circulation.

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119. Following his visit, he produced a publication with information about the texts he encountered. See: Al-'Alawī 1978..

120. Huang Xiefan 周燮藩 et al. 2005; Wu Jianwei 吳建偉 and Wu Haiying 吳海鷹 2008; Jianping Wang 2007.

121. Among the main collections of Islamic inscriptions is Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷晓靜 2001.

122. Such lists are included in Yang Huaizhong and Yu Zhen'gui 1995; Pang Shiqian 龐士謙 1937; Ma Tong 馬通 1986; Ding Li 丁力 2010.

123. Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000; Yang Jiguo 楊繼國 2014; Yang Xiaochun 楊曉春 2011.

124. Teng Huizhu 1374.

(A) On the Use of the Terms "Arabo-Persian" and "Islamicate"

Theoretical frameworks of cultural essentialism, or the methodologies that connect certain religions, cultures or countries to a knowledge system, do not conform into the type of historical dynamics this dissertation attempts to depict. The trans-cultural, trans-lingual, and trans-temporal movement of knowledge does not allow us to delineate it within definitive cultural boundaries. The involvement of people of various backgrounds in the manufacturing of knowledge gives it the rare historical vigor to overcome the limitations of cultural essentialism and nationalism. At the same time, it complicates the historiographical depiction of such an amorphous historical subject. In order to present historiographical coherency without resorting to cultural essentialism, this dissertation will apply the attribute "Arabo-Persian," to denote knowledge, texts and scholarship that were affiliated with the Arabic and Persian languages. The term "Arabo-Persian scholars" that appears throughout this work refers to scholars whose main interest was to expound ideas they found in Arabic and Persian texts. It does not indicate, and in some cases even explicitly stands in contrast, to any ethnic or cultural identifies taken by, or imposed on these scholars. Similarly, I use the terms "Islamicate" and "Christianate" over "Islamic" and "Christian" in order to highlight the diverse cultural, ethnic and religious compositions of the geo-cultural units known in historiographical literature as "the Islamic world," or "the Christian world."

Nevertheless, for clarification and simplification purposes, the term "Islamic" will be occasionally used. Moreover, the term will be used to describe the naturalized version of Arabo-Persian literature that emerged in the 17th century, and whose main characteristic was its use of the Chinese language.

(B) "Neo-Confucianism"

The term "Neo-Confucianism" has been the common nomenclature of Western sinological literature to reference the schools of thought viewed themselves as the followers of Confucius, and developed from the Song dynasty onwards. The broadness and flexibility of this term contributed to its persistent usage in Western literature, and even to its modern appropriation by Chinese philosophers and historians of philosophy *Xin ruxue* 新儒學. At its core, the term refers to the new trends in Confucian scholarship that emerged during the Tang 唐 (618-907), and consolidated during the Song 宋 dynasty (960-1279), and in particular to a school that trumpeted its adherence to a program of moral philosophy known by the name of "Dao Learning" (*Daoxue* 道學). One aspect of that new scholarship was its call to replace the philological orientation that characterized classical learning from the Han 漢 (206 BC - 220 AD) to the Tang periods with a philosophical approach that focused on moral meaning. Integrating elements from Buddhism and Daoism, a number of Song dynasty philosophers further incorporated the moral philosophy of that group into a larger cosmological framework. Among the key figures of that school were the Cheng brothers, Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) and Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085), and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200). Their contributions to the school have been recognized by historians who coined its alternative name, "the Cheng-Zhu school." This term became associated with the State-sponsored ideology, following the Yuan court's endorsement of Zhu Xi's program of Classical Learning, and its installment as the required curriculum for the civil service examinations. The endorsement of the school by the early Ming rulers fortified its status as state orthodoxy. Further, in combination with other socio-political factors, it prompted groups who adhered to the "Dao Learning," yet opposed state intervention in scholarship, to develop alternative paths under the umbrella of "the Dao Learning." Other groups had reservations regarding some of the methodological

and epistemological underpinnings of the Cheng-Zhu school. These groups, such as Wang Yangming's movement (known also as "Learning of the Heart/Mind" school, CH. *Xinxue* 心學), and the movement of critical scholarship of the Qing (known also as the "Evidential Investigation" school, CH. *Kaozheng* xue 考證學), highlighted their contradictory stances vis-à-vis the Cheng-Zhu program, and propagated their alternative philosophical paths. For the purpose of simplification, these groups are collectively called "Neo-Confucianism" in this dissertation, primarily to highlight a difference between the "main-stream" and Arabo-Persian scholarship. When higher resolution is required, this dissertation uses the terms "the Cheng-Zhu school," and "Wang Yangming's movement."

(c) Neo-Confucian Vocabulary

The various schools under the umbrella of Neo-Confucianism shared a set of common vocabulary, though they differed in their definitions of many of the terms. Among the core terms that circulated in philosophical writings during the late imperial period were *li* 理, *xing* 性, *xin* 心, *qi* 氣, and *wu* 物. Various English translations attempted to simultaneously encompass the rich and multi-faceted meanings given to these terms in the philosophical discourse of late imperial China that could also be understood to English readers outside the field of Sinology. In an attempt to reconcile the translations of these terms with their usage in Arabo-Persian texts, which by themselves negotiated translations of Arabic and Persian terms with their contemporary Confucian terminology, this dissertation translates *li* as "Principle(s)," *xing* as "[Human] Nature," *xin* as "Heart/Mind," *qi* as "the material embodiment [of the principle]," and *wu* as "thing[s]." In the translation of the term *shengren* 聖人, this dissertation follows the sinological convention that translates it as "sage." As for the abstract noun derivative of that term, this dissertation uses the term "sageliness." Arabo-Persian scholars employed this Confucian term to refer to the Islamic prophets. In order to single out the Prophet Muḥammad, they coined the term *zhisheng* 至聖 (lit., "the Most Revered [one]"). For reasons of simplicity, this dissertation translates the term *zhisheng* as "the Prophet [Muḥammad]." In the title of Liu Zhi's biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, however, this term is translated as "the Most Revered" in order to reflect its literal meaning.

The phrase *gewu zhizhi* 格物致知 and its abbreviated form *gezhi* 格致, a central formula in the Neo-Confucian epistemological framework and, by the Ming, a general term for knowledge accumulation, is translated in this dissertation as "extending knowledge by investigating things." Similarly, the term *liangzhi* 良知, central to the epistemological framework of Wang Yangming and his followers, is translated here as "innate knowledge."

(d) Terms related to the Natural World

As explained above, the study of the natural world was central to Arabo-Persian scholarship from its beginning in the late-16th century. In their attempts to reconcile the differences between the Islamic and Chinese views of the natural world, and out of their desire to make their writings accessible for the wider Chinese learned public, Arabo-Persian scholars borrowed terms from the Confucian vocabulary. The meanings and usages of these terms in the writings of Arabo-Persian scholars, however, were made more nuanced, and did not necessarily follow Confucian conventions. The term *tian* 天 is a key concept in that literature. It is translated in this dissertation, when referring to Arabo-Persian writing, as the "universe." At times, Arabo-Persian writers used this term to mean divinity, and in those cases it is translated as "Heaven." The metaphysical and physical dimensions of the universe were referred to by the

general term *Tiandi wanwu* 天地萬物. This is translated here as "Heaven, Earth and the myriad of things." The term *shijie* 世界 (translated as "the realm") refers to either the metaphysical or physical dimensions. The general terms for the physical world are *wanwu* 萬物 (translated as "the myriad of things," or "the myriad things") and *wu* 物 (translated as "thing[s]," or "physical object[s]").

(E) PHILOLOGICAL TERMINOLOGY

Considering their scholarship a philological enterprise, Arabo-Persian scholars often referred to their studies as *jingxue* 經學 (lit., "The study of the Classics," or "Classical Learning"). This term is commonly used by non-Muslim scholars of the Confucian canon when referring to the "mainstream" Confucian classical learning. In the same vein, Arabo-Persian scholars referred to the Arabic and Persian texts they were studying with the term *jing* 經, which carried a strong sense of distinguished status and was commonly limited to the Confucian canon. This term is translated in this dissertation as "classic[s]" (or at times, as "scripture[s]"). When referring to the Qur'an, Arabo-Persian scholars coined the terms *Tianjing* 天經 (lit., "the Heavenly Classic") and *Zhenjing* 真經 ("the True Classic"). These terms are translated in most occurrences as simply "the Qur'an."

For describing aspects related to the study of texts, Arabo-Persian scholars employed Confucian vocabulary. For example, the term *jingyi* 經義 (lit., "the philosophical meanings of the texts," spelled also as *jingyi* 精義 or *jingyi* 經意), referred to the philosophical ideas and meanings of a specific text. The term *yili* 義理 (translated here as "moral principle") referred to the philosophical interpretation of a text, rather than to the actual word-for-word meanings.

Bridging the significant difference between the Arabo-Persian and Chinese linguistic systems, Arabo-Persian scholars reluctantly used Chinese terms with modifications. Thus, the term *zi* 字 (or *wenzi* 文字, lit., "character"), was used to denote Arabo-Persian words. This terms, when it appears in the writings of Arabo-Persian scholars or when it clearly refers to words in a Western language, is translated as "word[s]." When the term is used to denote a system of writing, it is translated as "script." Its literal meaning is kept, when it is used to describe the Chinese language.

The term *wen* 文 served as a key term in the aesthetic and literary framework of late imperial period. In different contexts, it carries the meanings of "literature," "culture," "etiquette," or "high culture." Its prevalence was one of the historical factors that contributed to the adoption of Chinese by Arabo-Persian scholars. In order not to impose a single meaning, this dissertation translated the term in several ways, yet added to each of these different translations the Chinese Romanization and character.

Arabo-Persian scholars brought to China the developed linguistic theory employed in the Islamicate world. No parallel theories were available in China at the time, and required a great deal of creativity on behalf of Arabo-Persian scholars. Thus, the study of morphology, that is the study of the paradigms of verbal conjugations and nominal declensions, employed in the study of Arabic and Persian texts was called by Arabo-Persian scholars *sai-er-fu* 塞而夫 (<Ar. *ṣarf* "morphology"). The study of syntax, also important to Arabo-Persian scholars, was called *na-ha-wu* 那哈吳 *(<AR. naḥw "syntax").* The term *ziyi* 字義 (lit., "the meanings of words," or its expanded form *ziyi bianhua* 字義變化 lit., "changes of words and meaning; changes in the meanings of words") was employed in various situations to designate morphology, syntax, or lexical meaning. The term *ziyi* will be translated in this dissertation literally as "meanings of words."

(F) TERMS RELATED TO ARABO-PERSIAN SCHOLARSHIP

Ever since news of China's Chinese-Islamic literature reached Europe and America, scholars attempted to construct a historiographical framework that situated this type of literature within the history of China. One of the concepts that emerged was the hybrid term "Han-Kitab," whose earliest appearance goes back only to the mid-19th century,[125] and was seen as encompassing the two core aspects of this literature, namely the Chinese language, and Islam. The term was useful in highlighting the works of a number of Chinese authors from the 17th and 18th centuries, of which Wang Daiyu 王岱輿, Ma Zhu 馬注, and Liu Zhi 劉智 are most notable.

A parallel historiographical endeavor tried to find a suitable framework to discuss China's Islamic education, whose offspring are still visible in areas in Northern China. Scholars working on these regions introduced the term *Jingtang jiaoyu* 經堂教育 (lit., "The Education of the 'Study Hall of Classics'"). This hybrid term combined a figurative phrase for traditional Islamic school (*jingtang* 經堂 "the Study Hall of Classics") with the modern term *jiaoyu* 教育 ("education"). The discovery of a manuscript of Zhao Can's 趙燦 work, titled *Jingxue xichuan pu* 經學係傳譜 ("The Genealogy of the Transmission of Textual Learning," comp. 1660s) in 1981 brought to light the existence of a country-wide network of Islamic education established by Hu Dengzhou 胡登州 (1522-1597), a Muslim literatus from Shaanxi.

By the late 1990s, a number of scholars, led by Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, shed light on the strong links between the network of Islamic schools and the later appearance of Chinese works on Islam. They demonstrated the need for a larger historiographical framework that could highlight the continuities and transformations of late imperial China's various Islamic literatures. Around the same time, Chinese historians in Mainland China began to adopt a holistic historiographical framework for the study of Islam in China. Their framework brought under a single roof Chinese works on Islam, and the various writings of Muslim authors. These frameworks were translated into enormous anthologies of texts that aimed to highlight the cultural, historical and literary accomplishments of Islam in China. Among the main anthologies are *Qingzhen dadian* 清真大典("The Complete Corpus of Chinese Islamic Literature," pub. 2005) and *Huizu diancang quanshu* 回族典藏全書 ("The Complete Anthology of Chinese Muslim Writings," pub. 2008). These voluminous anthologies, however, focused mainly on works in Chinese, with little mention of the hundreds of Arabic, Persian, and Chaghatay texts that are still found in museums and libraries around China.

This dissertation builds upon these previous studies, and attempts to construct a historical narrative the will bring together Hu Dengzhou's educational movement and the various Chinese works on Islam that emerged in the mid-17th century onwards. It shows that the Arabic and Persian curriculum undergirded the Chinese Islamic literature. Thus, in order to highlight the continuities between these two forms of Islamic scholarship, this dissertation employs the term "Arabo-Persian scholarship" in reference to scholars of both movements. In cases that a differentiation is required, the term "Chinese works on Islamic themes" is used to designate the various texts that

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125. The earliest recorded use of that term is in two prefaces to the Lan Zixsi's 藍煦 (known also by his courtesy name *ziyi* 子羲) *Tianfang zhengxue* 天方正學 ("The Correct Learning of Islam," pub. 1851). See Murata 2009, 359.

appeared in Chinese.

8. Map of the Study

Chapter 2 explores the effect that the Yuan and early Ming periods had on the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge and accumulation of Arabic and Persian texts in China. It presents the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge as the intersection of the policies on knowledge and scholarship on one hand, and the perceived advantages of Arabo-Persian technical knowledge on the other. The chapter points out the main agents that facilitated the influx of Arabic and Persian texts into China inside and outside the courts. The chapter concludes by pointing out the socio-political structures that generated continuities in the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge throughout the late imperial period.

Chapter 3 charts the socio-political and intellectual circumstances that led to the rise of Arabo-Persian scholarship in China during the mid-16th century. The chapter will survey the changes in the intellectual climate and the changing capacity of the intellectual discourse to accommodate ex-canonical works during the Yuan, early- and mid-Ming periods. The chapter will discuss: (1) The rise of Wang Yangming's movement, and its effects on the intellectual environment; (2) The indirect effect of Wang Yangming's movement on the rise of Islamic scholarship in the mid-16th century. The chapter advances the argument that the emergence of Arabo-Persian scholarship in China during the second part of the sixteenth century was a result of an accommodating intellectual landscape that prevailed in China after Wang Yangming challenged traditional scholarship and its adherence to the Confucian canon. This critique provided an impetus for Chinese Muslims to re-fashion their scholarship, and position it within the framework of the Confucian classical studies.

Chapter 4 describes how the socio-political changes of the sixteenth century provided suitable space for scholars to present epistemological alternatives to the established Cheng-Zhu ideology. Among these scholars was Hu Dengzhou, a literatus from Shaanxi, who set up a scholarly movement that promoted the study of Arabic and Persian texts. For the first time in the history of late imperial China, Arabo-Persian knowledge was studied as an independent field by members of China's literati class. At the core of Hu's program stood a philological vision that viewed Arabic (and Persian) texts as unmatched depositories of knowledge on the natural world, and the study of language as a central analytical device that would facilitate bringing this knowledge to light. Collecting Arabic and Persian texts, Hu's movement was able to build a scholarly bridge between China and the Islamicate world. At the same time, by using methods of textual and linguistic analysis imported from the Islamicate world, Hu and his disciples were early precursors of the study of language in China.

Chapter 5 surveys the general features of the corpus of Arabo-Persian texts which circulated in China between the late 16th and late 18th centuries. Through an analysis of the actual titles that were studied in China, this chapter attempts to qualify the types of Arabo-Persian knowledge that were embedded in these texts, and the patterns of transmission of Arabic and Persian texts to late imperial China. By comparing the types and quantities of Arabo-Persian texts that circulated in China with those in other centers of Islamic scholarship, this chapter evaluates the effect of formal Islamic institutions and that of Ṣūfī orders on China's transmission of Arabo-Persian texts.

Chapter 6 surveys the rise of Islamic literature in translation, and the consequent emergence of a new genre of original exposition on Islamic literature in Chinese. These new forms of scholarship can be read as resulting from pressures from the larger community of scholars in the Jiangnan area, intensified by the arrival of the Jesuits, and by the efforts of some scholars of Islam to widen the audience and cope with the decrease in the number of scholars with reading skills of Arabic and Persian. These new forms, however, came at the expense of the core of Hu Dengzhou's program—the scrutiny of Arabic and Persian texts—and represented a new foundation for Sino-Islamic scholarship in which philosophical discussions (*yili* 義理) were more important than philological investigation, and in which the mediacy of translation and Chinese works deem the use of original works in Arabic and Persian dispensable. This chapter points out that this new scholarship, while on one hand was able to sustain Islamic scholarship and even bring it to the attention of the wider Chinese community of scholars, it disengaged itself from the wider context of Islamic scholarship in the larger Islamicate world.

Chapter 7 charts the socio-political events that took place during the 18th century and negatively affected Arabo-Persian scholarship. The Jesuits' claims against the accuracy of the Arabo-Persian calendar in court brought to light the outdatedness of Arabo-Persian techniques, and placed the Jesuits as representatives of Western Knowledge. The arrival of new Arabo-Persian texts and ideas generated tensions between conservative and reformist camps within the communities of China's Arabo-Persian scholars and practitioners of Islam. The violent forms that some of these tensions took, and the aggressive anti-Heresy policies implemented during 1820s, generated a growing antagonism between the Qing government and Arabo-Persian scholars, and resulted in the imposition of restrictions on the activities of the latter. The expansion of the Qing rule, and the incorporation of the Turkic Muslims into the empire, redefined the Qing government's paradigm of Islam, and further contributed to the marginalization of Arabo-Persian scholarship. This chapter advances the claim that the unique direction that the politicization of knowledge took during the 18th century brought about the breakdown of Arabo-Persian scholarship.

Chapter 8 concludes this study, it summarizes the main aspects presented in this study, and describes some of the manifestations of Arabo-Persian scholarship that emerged during the late-19th century.

CHAPTER 2: THE ACCOMMODATION AND NATURALIZATION OF ARABO-PERSIAN KNOWLEDGE DURING THE YUAN AND EARLY MING PERIODS

Where is the Life we have lost in living?

Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?

Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?

(T.S. Eliott, *Choruses from 'The Rock'*)

ABSTRACT

The following chapter explores the effect that the Yuan and early Ming periods had on the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge and accumulation of Arabic and Persian texts in China. It presents the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge as the intersection of the policies on knowledge and scholarship on one hand, and the perceived advantages of Arabo-Persian technical knowledge on the other. The chapter points out the main agents that facilitated the influx of Arabic and Persian texts into China inside and outside the courts. The chapter concludes by pointing out the socio-political structures that generated continuities in the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge throughout the late imperial period.

Movements of people, texts, techniques, and ideas across Asia had begun long before the thirteenth century, but it was the Mongol conquest of China and the subsequent incorporation of China into the empire that ushered in a new era of textual exchange between China and its western neighbors.[1] For the first time in its history, China was part of a single political and cultural entity with its neighbors to the West. The mobilization of bureaucrats, soldiers, experts and merchants between the Mongol *ulus* and the Yuan court (1279-1368) brought a significant number of texts in Persian and Arabic to China. The widespread use of Persian across the Mongol empire, as well as the developed scholarship on the natural world in the Islamicate world acquired a special status for Arabo-Persian knowledge at the Yuan court and encouraged the import of texts in these languages for the service of the Yuan court. Arabo-Persian astronomical and medical texts continued to be imported to China even after the demise of the Yuan rule in the mid-14th century, and the subsequent consolidation of power at the hand of Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398), the first emperor of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). This official import of Arabo-Persian texts served as the cornerstone of late imperial China's accommodation of Arabic and Persian texts.

Arabo-Persian knowledge in the Yuan and early Ming periods was limited to specific fields—most notably mathematical astronomy and medicine—in which the Chinese courts recognized a proved advantage to Arabo-Persian techniques. Despite

1. On the movements of people, material culture and texts across the Mongolian empire and their effect in bringing China into a cross-Asian community, see Allsen 2003; Allsen 2001; Dardess 2003.

their differences, the two dynasties were characterized by their restrictive and intensive control of local society that was manifested in extensive regulations and prohibitions regarding various socio-political aspects of local communities, on one hand. On the other, pragmatic attitudes were taken towards knowledge and scholarship that the rulers found to be beneficial. Situated in the intersection of the two features, the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge was limited to techniques and technical knowledge that proved practical to the dynasties' enterprises.

The following chapter explores the effects that the Yuan and early Ming periods had on the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge and the accumulation of Arabic and Persian texts in China. It surveys the effects that changes in the policy on knowledge and scholarship had on the application of Arabo-Persian knowledge. It points out to the main agents that facilitated the influx of Arabic and Persian texts into China inside and outside the courts. The chapter concludes with highlighting the unique socio-political structures that generated continuities in the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge throughout the late imperial period.

1. The Mongolian Empire and China's Systematic importation of Arabo-Persian Texts

The Mongol conquest of China and the establishment of the Yuan dynasty (1280-1368) set a new socio-political environment in China that facilitated the movement of texts and experts from the Islamicate world and China, and created an unprecedented use of Islamicate knowledge in Chinese imperial institutions. The movement of Arabic and Persian texts was connected to the extensive exchanges of knowledge between the different regions of the Mongol empire, as well as to the political needs of the Yuan dynasty.

The devastating effect of the Mongol conquests throughout Asia during the thirteenth century often casts a gloom over the important contribution establishment of the empire had in constructing inter-cultural bridges and facilitating the exchanges of ideas, objects, texts and populations. Recent scholarship, however, has come up with a historiographical re-evaluation of the contribution of the Mongol empire to the history of the World, as well as to the historical trajectories of the specific regions that were once under it.[2] These studies demonstrate the effects of the Mongol empire in facilitating exchanges between cultures and allowing the transfer of ideas, artifacts, texts and people from one region to another.[3]

The movements of texts and experts were not an indirect result of the Mongol vast conquests but a rather well-established and explicitly stated policy of its rulers. Not long after completing the conquest of Asia, rulers of the second and third genera-

2. For thorough summary on the state of the research on the Mongol Empire, see Biran 2013. Chinese historians have begun to revisit the deep-rooted division between the Song and the Yuan as well as between the Yuan and Ming, and to re-evaluate the inter-temporal connectivities. See Dardess 2003; Fletcher 1986; Dardess 1972. and the essays included in Twitchett and Fairbank 1994.. On the re-evaluation of the Mongol empire in Iran see Morgan 2004; Morgan 1996.

3. Thomas Allsen's various works concentrate on such an effect of the Mongol empire. See Allsen 2001; Allsen 2003; Buell et al. 2010. On the contribution of the trans-cultural intellectual landscape under the Mongols to specific fields see Brose 2005; Shinno 2007; Gray 1963.

tions of Genghis Khan prioritized in their policies new projects of knowledge collection and production. The construction of astronomical observatories, hospitals and libraries were accompanied by extensive efforts to collect different schools of knowledge. The epistemological framework became universal, and the Mongol rulers saw their role as collectors and synthesizers of universal knowledge. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh (1247-1317 AD), one of the most prolific scholars of the Ilkhanate court, provides the following description of the Hülegü Khan's [PE. Hūlāgū Khān, CH. *Xulie-wu* 旭烈兀, 1218-1265, grandson of Genghis Khan and the ruler of the Ilkhanate] policy on knowledge:

> It is in accordance with these premises, as the high and revered aspirations [empty space in manuscript, corresponding to the length of about 6 words] always be casted unto the [mission] to spread the different sciences around the world, and bring forth new utilities, and make the sciences and arts that are peculiar to other regions and lands by means of their books and writings available in this country, so that all will make use of it to the end of time.[4]
>
> بنابر این مقدمات چون منن وهمت مبارک عالیه □□□□□□ همواره برآن مصروف است که علوم متنوعه را در عالم شایع گرداند وفواید نو مخترع استنباط فرماید وعلوم وصناعات که بدیگراقالیم وولایات مخصوص است از کتب ومصنفات ایشان درین دیار نیز پیدا وهویدا گرداند تا همگنان همواره تا انقضاء عالم مستفید کردند.

At its base, the Mongol policy on knowledge was founded on practicality. The Mongol rulers showed marked preference for applicable branches of the rational sciences (AR. *al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqlīyah*), as these provided feasible outcomes that could be put into actual use by the Mongol rulers. These fields included mathematical astronomy, medicine, geography and cartography, pharmaceutics and alchemy. Other types of knowledge that offer a wider theoretical discourse such philosophy (including cosmology and theology), history, literature, and metaphysics found interest among the Mongol rulers as well, yet on a much lower scale.

Astronomers from the four corners of the Mongol empire, including several astronomers from China,[5] were sent to work in the new observatory build in Marāgha (in today's Azerbaijan). The *J̌āmiʿ al-tavārīkh* ("The Compendium of Histories"), an important historiographical piece on the Ilkhanate, describes Hülegü Khan's policy on knowledge, as well as the role Chinese experts had in the implementation of this policy:

> In the time when the khanate and rulership was handed over to Möngke Khan [1209-1251], he sent his brother Hülegü Khan, son of Tolui Khan, son of Genghis Khan to the land of Iran [*Īrān zamīn*], and granted him the reign of that land. Chinese scholars [*ḥukamā*], astrologers [*munajjimān*] and physicians [*aṭibbāʾ*] gathered at his court. As ruler, he [showed] great enthusiasm for intellectual perfection [*kamāl-i ʿaql*] and accomplishment [*kifāyat*], and was smitten with all sciences. He thus ordered the grand-master, the teacher of mankind

4. *Tanksūqnāmah-i īlkhānī yā ṭibb-i ahl-i khitā*, 9.

5. On the presence of Chinese such as Fu Meng-chi, a expert of Chinese astronomy, who was brought to Marāgha, see Boyle 1968, 417, 672 and in passim; Boyle 1963, 253 n4. On the exchanges between Chinese and Ilkhanid astronomers see van Dalen 2002a.

and the best among the contemporary scholars, Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, God's mercy upon him, to establish an [astronomical] observatory, and compile the imperial Zīj. Since Hülegü Khan met their astronomers [i.e., the Chinese astronomers], was introduced to astronomical calculations [*aḥkām-i nujūmī*] based on their methods, and became accustomed to it, he ordered Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn to make their histories and astronomical methods known. For that end, when he [al-Ṭūsī] compiled a calendar [*taqwīm*], he added their calculations of historical years [*ta'rīkh wa-ḥisāb-i sālhā-yi īshān*] according to their methods [*mūjib*] and terminology.[6]

ودر زمانی که نوبت قاانی وپادشاهی روی زمین به مونککا قاان رسید، برادر خویش هولاگو خان بن تولوی خان بن چنگگیز خان را به ایران زمین فرستاد وپادشاهی این ممالک بر وی مقرر شد از حکما ومنجمان واطبای ختای در بندگی وی [جمع] آمده بودند، وچون پادشاهی بغایت با کمال عقل وکفایت بود ومهوس جمله علوم مولانا سعید استاد البشر افضل المتاخرین خواجه نصیر الدین الطوسی را رحمه الله علیه فرمود تا رصد سازد وزیجی به نام همایون او تالیف کند وبه جهت آنکه هولاگو خان منجمان ایشان را دیده بود واحکام نجومی بر قاعده ایشان دانسته وبدان معتاد شده فرمود تا خواجه نصیر الدین تاریخ وقواعد نجومی ایشان معلوم گرداند وآن معنی را زیجی که می سازد بیارد چنانکه به وقت استخراج تقویم تاریخ وحساب سالهای ایشان را نیز به موجبی ومصطلحی که دارند به تقویمهای ما اضافت توان کرد.

One of the central figures in the implementation of Hülegü Khan policies was Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (1201-1274 AD), a renowned polymath and the founder of the Marāgha observatory.[7] Al-Ṭūsi orchestrated the collection of texts, their translation and distribution to the different Mongol courts. The Syriac historian Bar Hebareus gives the following account of al-Ṭūsi's accomplishments:

> And in this year died Khwajah Nasir, the Persian philosopher. He was a man renowned and famous, and was pre-eminent in all the branches of science, and was especially learned in those dealing with mathematics. He constructed instruments for the observations of the stars, and the great brass spheres which were more wonderful than those which Ptolemy set up in Alexandria, and he observed and defined the courses of the stars. And there were gathered together about him in Maragha, a city of 'Adhorbijan, a numerous company of wise men from various countries. And since the councils of all the mosques and the houses of instruction (i.e., colleges) of Baghdad and Assyria were under his direction he used to allot stipends to the teachers and to the pupils who were with him. About this time, having set out for Baghdad to visit various places, he died in Baghdad. And certain men have reported that he was blind. He wrote many books—explanations (or, commentaries) on rhetoric and natural and divine learning. He arranged Euclid and Magisti very accurately. And there is also [attributed] to him a lexicographical work in Persian in which he taught the meaning of the words of Plato and Aristotle on practical philosophy. For he held fast to the opinions of the early philosophers, and he combated vigorously in his writings those who contradicted them.[8]

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6. *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh - Ta'rīkh aqwām pādshāhān-i Khitāy*, 6.

7. See *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, 817.

8. Wallis Budge 1932, 529. Additions in parenthesis are in the original.

Hülegü Khan admired the Chinese accomplishment in astronomy, and wished to import it to the Ilkhanate. For that purpose, he brought to his court Chinese informants, from whom he wished to learn about Chinese techniques. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī was appointed to investigate the informants and to come up with a summary of their knowledge. In some cases, it turned out that the informants could not not meet with the Ṭūsī's expectation regarding their level of knowledge. An example for such a case appears in the following passage from *Tanksūqnāma* (a translation of a Chinese medical work on pulse measurement, see below):

> Up to the time of the upright ruler, Hülegü Khan [r. 1256-1265 AD], no one had ever translated Chinese books (into Persian), nor has anyone compiled or edited such books. At that time, the late grand-master, the emblem of our era, Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn [Ṭūsī], God's mercies upon him, complied with the imperial order and requested a Chinese scholar [*ḥakīmī Khiṭā'ī*], who arrived with Hülegü from Mongolia in the vicinity of China, to acquaint him with the state of Chinese [knowledge of] the stars [*aḥwāl-i nujūm*]. [Ṭūsī] thus learnt their astrology [*'ilm-i nujūm*] from his [i.e., the Chinese scholar's] report, and recorded it within the astronomical table [*zīj*] that he was preparing. It is so that they [the Chinese] currently apply Mongolian arithmetics [*'amal-i ḥisāb*]. That is the reason for the degradation in the reputation of Chinese scholars, as people in this land understand that their [the Chinese] astronomy sums up to that. They do not have much knowledge of astronomy ['ilm-i hay'a] or mathematical astronomy [*Majisṭī*], although these [fields] are related to it. What the person reported to the late Khwājah Nāṣir al-Dīn shows as well that his knowledge and the book he uses are concise and preliminary.[9]
>
> واز قديم العهد باز با غايت وقت هيچ كس از كتب خطائي بعضي ترجمه نكرده واز آن تاليف وتصنيف نساخته الا در زمان پادشاه عادل هولاگو مرحوم مولاناي اعظم افضل واكمل عصر خواجه نصير الدين رحمه الله بحكم يرليغ همايون ازحكيمي خطائي كه با هولاگو از ولايت مغولستان كه بولابت خطاي نزديكست آمده بود وبعضي از نجوم مي دانست خواست تا بر احوال نجوم ايشان واقف گردد، از تقرير او بعضي از علم نجوم ايشان معلوم كرد وداخل زيجي كه خود ساخته ثبت گردانيد، وآن آنست كه اكنون عمل حساب مغولان بدان مي كنند، وناموس حكماي خطائي بدان واسطه بزيان آمده، چه در اين ديار مي پندارند كه علم نجوم ايشان همان مقدار است ودر علم هيآت ومجسطي وآنچه بدان تعلق دارد ايشان را زيادت وقوفي نيست، وآن قدر كه آن شخص با مرحوم خواجه نصير الدين تقرير كرده همان مقدار است كه علم او بدان محيط بوده وكتابي كه شخص خوانده مختصري بوده كه مبتديان آموزند.

Similar to the Marāgha compound under Hülegü Khan, the numerous projects of Rashīd al-Dīn, whose quotes appear above, display the centrality of textual movements between the different regions in later periods. In the multiple projects he carried out in his *Rab'-i rashīdī*—a compound in the city of Tabrīz in today's North-Western Iran constructed for him by the Ilkhanid ruler Maḥmūd Ghāzān Khān (reigned: 1295–1304 AD) that included a library and a hospital - Rashīd al-Dīn collected and produced syntheses of regional traditions in medicine, pharmaceutics and even carried out the grandiose project of writing a world history.[10] One of his works,

9. *Tanksūqnāmah-i īlkhānī yā ṭibb-i ahl-i khitā*, 16.

10. Boyle, J.A. 1968, 407.

Tanksūqnāmah (<PE. "Book of Treasures"), of which the above quote is taken, is by itself a manifestation of Rashīd al-Dīn's effort to facilitate an inter-cultural and inter-regional dialogue. *Tanksūqnāmah* is a translation into Persian of four Chinese works:[11] Book One (which is included in the only extant manuscript of the work, housed now in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul)[12] is identified in the table of contents as the work of the Chinese Physician *Wāng Shūkhū* (<PE.) on the principles of medicine and the methods of measuring the pulse. The work is most likely a translation of the third-century Chinese medical work, 脉訣 ("Techniques of Pulse [Measurement]"), attributed to the physician Wang Shuhe 王叔和 (d. 270 AD);[13] Book Two is introduced in the table of contents as dealing with acupuncture and blood circulation. The transliterated title given is *T.nk v.n* (<PE), which probably stands for the Chinese two characters *tongren* 銅人, and is likely to be an abbreviation of Wang Weiyi's 王惟一 (987-1067 AD) work *Turen shuxue zhenjiu tu jing* 銅人腧穴針灸圖經 ("Illustrated Classic of Acupuncture and Moxibustion with the Acupoints shown on the Bronze Figure"); Book Three is described as dealing with pharmacology, and the table of contents give titles of two Chinese works: *Yūyūjū f.ng sū* (<PE), which probably stands for *Yuyaoju fangshu* 御藥局方書 ("Book of Prescriptions of the Imperial Pharmaceutical Office") and *Bin sāw*, which probably stands for *Bencao* 本草 ("*Materia Medica*"); Book Four is described as consisting of two parts, the first of which deals with contemporary medical care service in China, and the second with the legal administration. The title of the second part is given as *Tāy khū lū l.n* (<PE), which probably stands for *Taihe lüling* 泰和律令 ("Laws and Regulations of the Taihe Reign [1201-8]").

The introduction to the work includes a remarkably detailed description of the reasons behind his decision to take up the painstaking project of translating a Chinese work and the difficulties he encountered in producing such a translation. Rashīd al-Dīn's decision, however, was made due to an epistemological recognition that knowledge is culturally specific, and hence differences in the geographical and cultural setting would produce different sets of results:

> There is no doubt that the books of the people of the West [*ahl-i maghrib*], i.e., books of the Franks [*Ifranj*] and Romans [*Rūm*] which had been modeled after the books of the Greeks, and some of the books of India, which had been writ-

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11. I follow Lo and Wang's identification of all books, as well as the translations of their Chinese titles. Lo Vivienne 羅維前 and Wang Yidan 王一丹 2013, 137-138.. For the original, see: *Tanksūqnāmah-i īlkhānī yā ṭibb-i ahl-i khitā*, 79-80.

12. Only the text of the first text in available at present, yet the identification of the other three is included in the work's table of contents. See also Lo Vivienne 羅維前 and Wang Yidan 王一丹 2013, 137-138.

13. Rashīd al-Dīn identified the work as a work on medicine and methods of pulse measurement that was known in China under the title *Wānk-shū-khū* (<Wang Shuhe 王叔和). *Tanksūqnāmah-i īlkhānī yā ṭibb-i ahl-i khitā*, 79. On the identification of the work and its medical sources, see Klein-Franke and Zhu Ming 2005. Wang Shuhe's work, which sometimes is called Maijing 脉經 ("The Pulse Classic"), seems to have a rather wide circulation. Two copies of the work were discovered in Dunhuang. See Cullen and Lo 2013, 391-392. The work reached Europe as late as 1735, when a partial translation of the work was made by Du Halde. See Lehner 2011, 328.

ten during the eras of past rulers on the various sciences, have been translated [into Persian] on different occasions and are currently in circulation in this land. Yet, books from Khiṭāy, Chīn and Māchīn [i.e., Northern and Southern China][14] and their subordinate regions had yet to arrive at this land [i.e., to the Ilkhanate]. Even if, by chance, [a book] found its way in, no one could translate it. Undoubtedly, the differences in the natural disposition [*ṭabīʿat*] and temperament [of people, *mizāj*] between the lands, according to which their experiments and pursuit for knowledge are set, would yield different results with regard to the utilities and application of certain things and [the interpretation] of subtleties and facts of certain questions and problems.[15]

ودر آن شك نيست كه كتب اهل مغرب واين ممالك وكتب افرنج وروم كه ايشان متابع كتب يونان اند وبعضي از كتب ممالک هندوستان در عهد پادشاهان ما تقدم كه در انواع علوم ساخته اند در عهدها واوقاتها مختلف ترجمه كرده اند ودرين ملک شايع شده ليكن كتب بلاد خطاي وچين وماچين وممالكي كه بدان نويسته بدين ملک نرسيده واگربه نادر رسيده كس آنرا ترجمه نكرده لاجرم از فوايد وخاصيت بعضي اشيا ودقايق حقايق بعضي مسايل ومشكلات كه حصول آن بحسب طبيعت ومزاج هرولايتي متصور بود كه تجربه ايشان واقتضاي فكر وانديشه ايشان مناسب طبيعت مزاج ايشان نتيجه ديگر دهد.

The Yuan court carried out as well similar projects of knowledge collection. Many of these projects involved bringing to China experts and texts in Arabic and Persian.[16] At the request of Qublai Khan, a Muslim astronomer by the name of Jamāl al-Dīn (*Zha-ma-la ding* 扎馬剌丁, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Zaydī al-Bukhārī)[17] was sent from Marāgha to the Yuan capital in Khānbāliq with astronomical texts and instruments in order to facilitate the construction of the Yuan observatory.[18] He presented the Yuan court with his *Wannian li* 萬年曆 ("Ten-Thousand Year Calendar"), presumably a translation of an Arabo-Persian *zīj*.[19] The same

14. Originally the name *Khiṭāy* referred to the Khitanese Liao Kingdom 遼 (existed 907-1125) in North-East China, *Chīn* to the Jin Kingdom 金 (existed 1115-1234) in Northern China and *Māchīn* to Southern Song 南宋 (existed 1127-1279). Throughout Rashid al-Din's works the term *Khiṭāy* is used as a synonym for China.

15. *Tanksūqnāmah-i īlkhānī yā ṭibb-i ahl-i khitā*, 9.

16. Aspects of such exchanges are discussed in Buell 2007; van Dalen 2002a; Rossabi 1981; Yabuuti and van Dalen 1997.

17. On the identification of Zhamaluding see Ansari 2002, 20; van Dalen 2007. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad al-Zaydī al-Bukhārī is mentioned in *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* as appointed by Möngke Qā'ān to carry out the establishment of the Marāgha observatory, yet seemed to have problems in carrying out the project during the reign of Möngke. See: *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, 718; Niazi 2011, 74.

18. Boyle, J.A. 1968, 678.

19. van Dalen 2007. Although Jamāl al-Dīn's original works are unknown, historians have proposed several suggestions for the identification of these Arabic and Persian sources. Van Dalen proposed two such *zīj* manuscripts that might have been available in China at the time of Jamāl al-Dīn. The first one is a manuscript in Arabic or Persian that was acquired in the second half of the 19th century in Tianjin by Iosif Goschkewitsch, the Russian Consul in China. The manuscript is

Jamāl al-Dīn was appointed to be the director of Palace Library (*Mishu jian* 秘書監).[20] One of his projects during this period was to compile a world map for the Yuan court. This project is described in the following passage taken from the *Mishu jianzhi* (秘書監志, "Annals of the Palace Library"):

> It thus has been memorialized: "In the past, the territory of the Chinese [*Haner* 漢兒] was small, yet they [produced] about forty to fifty written documents regrading that territory. At present, [the vast territory] from where the sun rises to where it sets has become ours. We need to have maps, so we can have knowledge about their far [territory]? Is it permitted for me to merge the Arabo-Persian maps [H*uihui tuzi* 回回圖子], which I have in my possession, into a single map?" Hence, it was imperially ordered: "thus do!"[21]
>
> 一奏：「在先漢兒田地些小有來，那地裏的文字册子四五十册有來，如今日頭出來處、日頭没處都是咱每的，有的圖子有也者，那遠的他每怎生般理會的？回回圖子我根底有，都總做一个圖子呵，怎生？」麼道奏呵。「那般者。」麼道聖旨了也。

While some Arabo-Persian texts were directly imported by the Yuan administration, other texts were collected from foreigners visiting China. An example for that is an order issued in year *Zhiyuan* 24 (1288 AD) by the Imperial Archive where Jamāl al-Dīn and his team carried out a cartographic project. The order requested that Arabo-Persian seamen (*xingchuan huihui mei* 行船回回每) at the shore of Fujian circuit present to the Yuan court available sea route guides in Arabic and Persian (CH. *la-na-ma* 剌那麻, <PE *rāhnāmah* "Road book").[22]

The conquest of the Jin 金 (1115-1234) capital Caizhou 蔡州 in 1234, Hangzhou the capital of Southern Song 南宋 (1127-1279) in 1276 and the Abbasid capital (750-1258) Baghdad in 1258 created a vast empire, and brought together the different parts of Asia, including China, under a common rule. The mobilization of people and texts between the different parts of the Empire constructed an unprece-

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described in an 1855 article by A. Wagner, who examined it while it was housed in St. Petersburg's Pulkovo Observatory. See Wagner 1882. The second is an Arabic manuscript held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (MS. Arabe 6040), and includes *zīj* tables with Chinese, Arabic, Mongolian and Tibetan text. The manuscript is dated to 1366. It was compiled by a certain Abū Muḥammad ʻAṭā b. Muḥammad b. Khwājah Ghāzī al-Samarqandī al-Sanjufīnī, and dedicated to the Mongol viceroy of Tibet. On the two manuscripts, see van Dalen 2002b, 25-26. The latter manuscripts includes the text *Zang zihao wushijiu zhang* 藏字號五十九張 ("'Zang' [might stand for Tibet] category, 59 folios"). On the latter manuscript, see also Schefer 1895; Franke 1988.

20. Hucker transliterates it as *pishu chien*. I follow Hucker 1985, 376..

21. Wang Shidian 王士點 and Shang Qiweng 商企翁 *Mishujian zhi*, 4:10. In my translation I have consulted Park 2012, 103.

22. Wang Shidian 王士點 and Shang Qiweng 商企翁 *Mishujian zhi*, 4:71. The original reads: 至元二十四年二月十六日，奉秘書監台旨，福建道邊海行船回回每, 有知海道回回文剌那麻，具呈中書省，行下合屬取索者, 奉此。See also Park 2012, 107.

dented vast space for knowledge production.[23] Ibn Kathīr (1301-1373), in his historiographical work *al-Bidāyah wa-l-riwāyah*, records that Ṭūsī was sent by Hülegü to Baghdad to visit the local school and bring back to his observatory in Marāgha a large number of books from the endowments (*min kutub al-awqāf*) of Baghdad. He mentions five institutions that were established in the vicinity of Marāgha to accommodate books and experts: *Dār al-ḥikmah* (<AR. "House of Wisdom") for the philosophers, who received a salary of three dirhams per day; *Dār al-ṭibb* (<AR. "House of Medicine") for the physicians, who received a salary of two dirhams per day; *madrasah* (<AR. "[religious] school") for religious scholars (*faqīh*, pl. *fuqahā'*), who received one dirham per day; and, *Dār al-ḥadith* (<AR. "House of *Hadith*") for the scholars of *Ḥadīth* (*muḥaddith*, pl. *muḥaddithun*), who received a salary of half a dirham per day.[24]

Several Yuan institutions housed Arabo-Persian texts in China, including the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy (*Qintian jian* 欽天監), under which the Department for Arabo-Persian Astronomy (*Huihui sitian jian* 回回司天監) was established. The department employed Muslim astronomers, who were brought to China in order to facilitate the establishment and operation of the Khanbaliq Observatory. A large number of administrative documents from the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy were preserved in a fourteenth-century work titled *Mishu jianzhi*. These documents shed some light on the type of Arabo-Persian texts which were handled by the Bureau. An example for such documents is an official memorial to the Yuan emperor, which dates back to the tenth year of the Zhiyuan period (1273), and which includes an inventory of books, held by the Northern Astronomical Observatory (*Bei sitian tai* 北司天臺) under the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy (*Sitian jian* 司天監), attests to the scope of trans-Asian textual exchanges under the Yuan. The memorial, which survived in the *Mishu jianzhi*, provides an inventory list of 22 titles[25] comprised of 242 parts (*bu* 部)[26] that are said to be available at the Observatory.[27]

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23. On the movements of people, material culture and texts across the Mongolian empire and their effect in bringing China into a trans-Asian community, see Allsen 2001; Allsen 2003; Dardess 2003.

24. Ibn al-Kathīr Ismā'īl b. 'Umar 1424, 17:454; Ibn al-Kathīr Ismā'īl b. 'Umar 1424, 17:386. It is worth noting the hierarchy of fields of scholarship described by Ibn al-Kathīr. Philosophers were at the top of this hierarchy, followed by students of medicine. Students of Islamic religious law and tradition, however, constituted the lowest ranks in that hierarchy. On the prominence of the *ḥukamā'* ("philosophers; wise men") at the court of Hülegü, see Amitai-Preiss 2013.

25. The 23 titles are followed by an additional reference to four astronomical instruments and an astronomical map.

26. It is unclear what is the meaning of *bu* 部 ("part"). Other documents in that compilation make use of this term together with the term *ce* 冊 ("volume; booklet"). It seems that the latter refers to actual volumes, while the former refers to a certain division of the work into larger units, maybe is the form of packs or cases.

27. Several versions of this list are available, and differ significantly in their transcription of the Arabo-Persian titles. During the second half of the eighteenth century, several philologists, led by Wang Huizu 汪輝祖 (1730-1807) and Qian

The listed titles are divided into two groups: the first thirteen titles include works available for practical use at the bureau (*heyong jingshu* 合用經書); the other nine titles, include works that were available for practical use at the residences of select administrators (*tidian guan jianei zhuban he shiyong wenshu* 提點官家內諸般合使用文書). All titles in this list were written in Chinese transliteration of their original Arabic and Persian titles. In addition, vague Chinese translations of the titles were attached to each entry, as well as indication of what seems to be the number of volumes (or copies) or each work (Ch. *bu* 部). No authors' names appear on the list. Nor is there any indication for the languages of the works.

The minimal information included in the list makes it difficult to identify with certainty many the works. However, it is rather clear that largest portion of the list are mathematical treatises with astronomical application, such as Euclid's *Elements* (appears under the transliteration *Wu-hu-lie-di* 兀忽列的 and translated as *sibo suanfa duanshu* 四擘算法段數 "methods of geometrical calculation", 15 books[28]), *Ḥall Shukūk* [*Kītāb 'Uqlīdis*] ("The Solutions of Uncertainties [in the Books of Euclid]," apparently a commentary on the Euclid by Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Haytham al-Baṣrī's (d. 430), appears in the list under the transliteration of *Han-li Su-ku* 罕里速窟 and translated as *yunjie suanfa duanmu* 允解算法段目 "Solutions to methods of [geo-

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Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804), attempted to reconstruct and standardize the Chinese transcriptions of foreign term and names, mainly Mongolian, that appeared in the *Dynastic History of the Yuan* (*Yuanshi* 元史, originally c. 1369), and other Yuan dynasty documents. During that process, Chinese transcriptions were changed in order to provide more accurate pronunciation of the foreign names and terms. Those "corrected" versions were included in the imperial anthology of "The Four Treasures Compendium" (*Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書, *SKQS*), while the others were discarded. Being a Yuan dynasty document, it is reasonable that the *Mishu jianzhi* was part of this project. Judging from the transcriptions in the *SKQS* version, it seems that the philologists mis-identified the original Arabo-Persian titles, and erroneously altered the Chinese transcription. As a result, the Arabo-Persian titles in the *SKQS* version are flawed and unreadable. Pre-18th century versions, such as the one found by Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1929) in the library of the Cangsheng Mingzhi University 倉聖明智大學 in Shanghai, preserved the earlier transcription. In my discussion of the various Arabo-Persian titles included in that list, I use a facsimile version of an undated manuscript, see Wang Shidian 王士點 and Shang Qiweng 商企翁 1976

28. Several Arabic translations of the Euclid's *Elements* are known to have been made: (1) al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar al-Ḥāsib (d. after 827 AD), this recension is lost in the West; (2) Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 873 AD), the famous translator of the 'Abbāsīd translation bureau *Bayt al-ḥikma*; (3) Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn (d. 910 AD). Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī compiled as well edition of the work (AR. *taḥrīr*). Interestingly, while Euclid's work is composed of 13 books, several Arabic recensions include 2 additional books (Book XIV and Book XV). These two seem to be the work of Hypsciles, translated by Qusṭā b. Lūqā (d. 912 AD). On the 15-book-recension see Heath 1956, 76; de Young 1992, 19.. On Euclid's translation into Arabic, see Selin 1997, 271; Brentjes 2005, 264; Gutas 2012, 30 and passim. On Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's edition, see Nasr 2013, 209.

metrical] calculation", 3 parts),[29] and Ptolemy's *Almagest* (appears under the transliteration *Ma-zhe-si-di* 麥者思的, and translated as *zao sitian yishi* 造司天儀式 "modeling planetary observations" in 15 parts).[30] In addition to the works on mathematics, the list includes a number of titles of works on astronomy and astrology, such as a texts transliterated as *Hai-ya-ti-qiong* 海牙剔窮 (<AR. *Hay'at al-nujūm*, "the planetary system"), and translated as *lifa duanshu* 麻[曆]法段數 "methods of Calendrical Calculations" in 7 books, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī's (d. 986) famous illustrated compendium *Ṣuwar al-kawākib* ("Illustrations of Stars," also known as "The Book of Fixed Stars"), transliterated as *Su-wa-li ke-wa-qi-bi* 速瓦里可瓦乞必, and translated as *xingzuan* 星纂 "compendium of stars" in 4 books.[31] Several titles seem to deal with the practicality of constructing astronomical devices, such as a work by the title *Ṣan'at al-ālāt* ("The Production of Devices"), transliterated as *Sa-na-di a-la-ti* 撒那的阿剌忒 and translated as *zao hunyi xianglou* 造渾儀香漏 "production of astrolabes and exquisite water clocks" in 8 parts. The entry seems to refer to Abū Maḥmūd Khujandī's (d. 1000 AD) influential work on the production of astronomical instruments *Kītāb ṣan'at al-ālah al-shāmilah* ("The Book on Comprehensive Production of Instruments").[32] The nine-century illustrated manual of mechanical devices, *Kītāb al-Ḥiyal* ("The Book of Devices"), seems to stand behind the entry *Hei-ya-li* 黑亞里, translated as *zao xianglou bing zhuban jiqiao* 造香漏並諸般機巧 "production of exquisite water clocks and different types of mechanical techniques" in 2 parts.[33]

The list demonstrates that practical knowledge was not entirely isolated from other branches of knowledge. Titles of works on cosmological and astrological practices, including geomancy (AR. *raml*) and physiognomy (AR. *firāsah*), are clearly indicated in the list, as well as works on alchemy (the production of elixir, AR. *iqsīr*), gemology (AR. *jawāhir*). A work, transliterated as *Te-bi* 忒畢 (<AR. ṭibb "medicine") and translated as *yijing* 醫經 ("the classic of medicine") in 13 parts, is listed. The use of the term *jing* 經 ("a classical work," a title for a work of a relatively high regard) in the translation of that entry might suggest that it referred to Avicenna's famous *Canon in Medicine* (AR. *al-Qanūn fī ṭibb*). Of special interest are unidentified titles on philosophy (AR. *ḥikmah*), history (AR. *ta'rīkh*), and poetry (AR. *shi'r*) which appear on the list and demonstrate the wide-range of fields of Arabo-Persian texts in Yuan depositories.

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29. On this work, see Brockelmann 1901, I:469.

30. Four early Arabic translations of Ptolemy's *Almagest* are known to have been made by the following translators: (1) al-Hasan b. Quraysh; (2) al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar al-Ḥāsib and Sarjūn b. Hilīyā (completed 827 AD); (3) Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn. This translation served the basis for the Latin translation; and, (4) Thābit b. Qurra (d. 901). An additional Syriac translation was made as well. Ṭūṣī compiled a recension of the work in 1247. All known recensions include 13 books, and not 15 as stated in the list. On the Arabic recensions of the work, see Brockelmann 1901, 203, 224; Selin 1997, 271; Toomer 1977.

31. Ṭūṣī made a Persian translation of this Arabic work. See Brockelmann 1901, I:223; Nasr 2013, 209. It worth mentioning that al-Ṣūfī's work is composed of four sections - just as mentioned in the Chinese list. See also Hafez et al. 2011.

32. On this work see Brockelmann 1901, SI:390; Suter 1900, 74.

33. On this work see Brockelmann 1901, I 216, 386.

Moreover, a significant number of titles on the list refer to works that are known to have been used by the famous astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī in the Marāgha observatory. For several of these works, he even composed his own critical editions or commentaries. It is rather reasonable to believe that the collection of texts in this astronomical library in China was modeled after the library of the Marāgha observatory.[34] In short, the list of Arabo-Persian titles preserved in the *Mishu jianzhi* is an invaluable reminder of the richness of the Arabo-Persian textual transmission to China.

One of the effects of the Mongol period on Asia was the enhancement of the Persian language throughout the empire. Persian, a language that had flourished throughout Iran and Khorasan before the Mongol invasion, and had established itself as a vernacular *koiné* and a counterpart to the religiously-bound Arabic from the ninth and tenth centuries[35] as well as to the ethnically-bound Turkic languages, was adopted by the Mongols as the main means of communication. It seems that the choice of Persian was not only due to the wide-spread use of vernacular forms of Persian for everyday communication among many of the peoples under Mongol rule, but also in light of the available massive corpus of texts written in that idiom which entitled it a superior position in the scientific and bureaucratic discourses.[36] In the case of China, the Mongols were the first to introduce Persian institutionally and to install it as a central language in the Yuan administration of the country. In addition, Persian became a dominant medium in several scientific fields and scholarship in that language was carried out in juxtaposition and almost equal status as the Chinese.

2. Muslim Communities in Yuan China and their Effects on Knowledge Movement

In addition to the official interest in Arabo-Persian texts, the presence of Muslim communities in China contributed to the use and circulation of texts in Arabic and Persian. Travelogs of foreign visitors to China, as well as official documents attest to the wide spread of Muslim communities around China, and the common use of various texts in Arabic and Persian. Available evidence suggests that these texts included in addition to copies of the Qur'an, also works on Islamic jurisprudence, mysticism and works on geography and navigation.[37]

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34. See the descriptions of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's works in Lane 2003, 213-226; Nasr 2001, 321-328.

35. On the rise of Persian as an Asian koiné under the Samanid dynasty and after, see Spuler 1970, 146-149; Hanaway 2012a; Spooner and Hanaway 2012.

36. On the rise of Persian as a *koiné* under the Mongols and its spread through the Empire, see Morgan 2012; Mair 2012. On the role of high literature and bureaucracy in enhancing the status of Persian, see Hanaway 2012b. On the use of Persian in the Yuan court in China, see Huang 1986; Huang and Feng 1993; Haw 2014.

37. Regarding works on geography and navigation circulated among Muslims in the coast province of Fujian, see above the description of the work *la-na-ma* 剌那麻, (<PE rāhnāmah "Road book") collected by Jamāl al-Dīn and his team for their cartographic project.

Towards the end of Yuan period, a Moroccan jurist, ʻAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʻAbdallāh al-Lawātī al-Ṭanjī Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (d. 779/1377), visited China. His travelog, entitle *al-Riḥla* ("The Journey"), recorded his experiences in several Chinese cities, and provides an important source for the study of Islamic scholarship and the circulation of Arabo-Persian texts in China during the Yuan. His visits included several major cities from the southern city of al-Zaytūn (>AR "The Olives," CH. 刺桐, today's city of Quanzhou 泉州), via Khansā (today's city of Hangzhou 杭州[38]) and Qanjūfū (or Qanjanfū, apparently Fuzhou 福州)[39], and to the Yuan capital, Khānbālīq (today's Beijing). As a Muslim, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah dedicated a significant part of his travelog to descriptions of the Muslims, he encountered and the general conditions of Muslim life in China. He described how Muslims lived in segregated quarters in different cities across China, freely practiced their religion, and had established mosques and other religious institutions. They enjoyed a rather high social status under the Yuan.[40]

His description of the city of an unidentified Chinese city, by the name of Ṣīn-Kalān (*sic*), provides an insight into the Islamic institutions that existed at the time. In addition to the institutions of a Head of the Community (AR. *Shaykh al-Islām*) and a jurist (AR. *qāḍī*), many communities had central mosques (AR. *al-masjid al-jāmiʻ*), a lodge (AR. *zāwīyah*) and a market (AR. *sūq*). Ibn Baṭṭūṭah described the city as follows:

> In one of the quarters of this great city is the city of the Mahomedans, where they have their cathedral mosque [central mosque], convent [lodge], and bazaar; they have also a judge and a Shaikh, for in each of the cities of China you find always a Shaikh of Islam, who decides finally every matter concerning Mahomedans, as well as a Kazi [*Qāḍī*] to administer justice.[41]

> و فی بعض جهات هذه المدینة بلدة المسلمین، لهم بها المسجد الجامع و الزاویة و السوق و لهم قاض و شیخ، و لا بد فی کل بلد من بلاد الصین من شیخ الإسلام تکون أمور المسلمین کلّها راجعة الیه، و قاض یقضی بینهم.[42]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah mentioned many of the local Muslim functionaries by name, such as Tāj al-Dīn al-Ardawīlī (sic, <Ardabīlī, from the city Ardabīl in North-Western Iran) who served as the jurist, and Kamāl al-Dīn ʻAbdallāh al-Iṣfahānī who served as *Shaykh al-Islām.* These names attest to foreign origin of many of these functionaries, or at least to their affiliations to their ancestral lands.[43] In addition to the community leaders, who were likely have a command in the field of Islamic jurisprudence, among the wealthy merchants that seem to have been also those who have received religious education. For example, the wealthy merchant Sharīf al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī is described as having "memorized the Qur'an by heart, and served often as a reader" (*ḥāfiẓ al-Qur'ān wa mukthir li-l-tilāwah*),[44] and Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-Qurlānī, who was "one of the most highly

38. Dunn 2012, 264, n38.

39. Yule 1916, 126 n3.

40. Yule 1916, 110; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah , 4:127.

41. Yule 1916, 122. In parentheses are my additions.

42. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah , 4:139.

43. Yule 1916, 120; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah , 4:136.

44. Yule 1916, 120; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah , 4:136.

respected doctors of the law among the Musulmans of those parts"[45] In addition, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah recorded a meeting with a certain jurist by the name of Qawām al-Dīn al-Sabtī al-Bushrī from the port city of Ceuta (AR. Sabtah) in the Kingdom of Fez (today's Morocco), whom he had met in India and again in China, and who was an accomplished scholar who knew the *Muwaṭṭa'* by heart.[46] This jurist accompanied Ibn Baṭṭūṭah in part of his journey.

An interesting episode included in Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's travelog tells of his visit to an aged ascetic, whose religious affiliation was not clear, yet he used to tell stories about the Prophet Muhammad and the Caliphs, praising ʻUmar b. al-Khaṭṭab and ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and cursing Yazīd b. Muʻāwiyah. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah wrote:

> During my stay at Ṣīn-Kalān I heard that there was in that city a very aged shaikh, indeed that he had passed his two hundredth year; that he had neither eaten nor drunk nor had engaged in any contact with women with great vigour; and that he dwelt in a cave near the mighty Wall of China, where he gave himself up to devotion. So I went to his grotto, and there I saw him at the door...On telling my story to the kazi [*Qāḍī*], the Shaikh of Islam [*Shaykh al-Islām*] and (my host) Auhad-uddin of Sinjar [Awḥad al-Dīn al-Sinjārī], they observed: "This is his way with strangers who visit him; nobody ever knows what religion he professes...[T]hey told me also that this personage sometimes related histories of past times; he would speak, for example, of the Prophet (upon whom be peace!), and would say with reference to him: "If I had but been with him, I would have helped him." He would speak also with veneration of the two Khalifs, 'Omar son of Alkattab [ʻUmar b. al-Khaṭṭab] and 'Ali son of Abu Talib [ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib], and would praise them highly. But, on the other hand, he would curse Yazid the son of Mu'awiyah [Yazīd b. Muʻāwiyah], and would denounce Mu'awiyah himself. Many other things were told me about this shaikh by the persons named above....The people of the country believe the shaikh to be a Musulman, but nobody ever saw him say his prayers.[47]

و لما كنت بصين كلان سمعت أن بها شيخا كبيرا قد أناف على مائتى سنة، و أنه لا يأكل و لا يشرب، و لا يحدث، و لا يباشر النساء مع قوته التامة، و أنه ساكن فى غار بخارجها سور الصين العظيم يتعبد فيه، فتوجهت إلى الغار، فرأيته على بابه...فأعلمت القاضى و شيخ الاسلام و أوحد الدين السنجاري بقضيته، فقالوا: كذلک عادته مع من ياتى اليه من الغرباء و لا يعلم أحد من ينتحله من الأديان....و أنه يحدث عن السنين الماضية و يذكرالنبى صلى الله عليه و سلم، و يقول: لو كنت معه لنصرته، و يذكر الخليفتين عمر بن الخطاب و علىّ بن أبى طالب بأحسن الذكر ويثنى عليهما و يلعن يزيد ابن معاوية و يقع فى معاوية...و أهل تلک البلاد يعتقدون أنه مسلم، و لكن لم يره أحد يصلى.[48]

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45. Yule 1916, 127.

46. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah , 4:144; Yule 1916, 128. The *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik b. Anas is a central work in the Mālikī school of Islamic jurisprudence. The dominant school in China, India and Central Asia is the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence. This story suggests that travelers from North Africa brought with them to China also the Mālikī tradition.

47. The translation is based on Yule 1916, 124-125. with slight modifications. In parentheses are my additions.

48. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah , 4:141.

In his description of the Muslim neighborhood of Hangzhou, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah recorded the existence of numerous mosques and a large Islamic population. He mentioned the local *al-'Uthmānīyah* lodge, which was established by a wealthy merchant from Egypt by the name of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. The lodge, which was set up in a beautiful building, included a rich endowment (*awqāf kathīrah*), and housed a group of Ṣūfīs (*bihā ṭā'ifah min al-Ṣūfīyah*). The same merchant also established the Central Mosque in Hangzhou, and donated to the mosque a rich endowment as well.[49] Ibn Baṭṭūṭah does not specify the contents of the endowment, yet it is likely to have included maintenance funds and books.

In addition to its service to the Yuan court, Arabo-Persian astrology proved useful for the everyday lives of Muslims in China. Printed almanacs (CH. *liri* 歷日) for the different groups in the empire were one of the sources of income of the Yuan institutions. These almanacs included information on auspicious and inauspicious days for activities such as marrying, starting on a journey, making a garment, or buying goods.[50] Marco Polo mentioned in his diary the production of these almanacs for Muslims in China. Interestingly, he referred to these almanacs by the common Arabo-Persian term, *taqwīm*, rather than by the Chinese or any other term.

> And every year these Christian, Saracen, and Cathayan astrologers, each sect apart, investigate by means of this astrolabe the course and character of the whole year, according to the indications of each of its Moons, in order to discover by the natural course and disposition of the planets, and the other circumstances of the heavens, what shall be the nature of the weather, and what peculiarities shall be produced by each Moon of the year; as, for example, under which Moon there shall be thunderstorms and tempests, under which there shall be disease, murrain, wars, disorders, and treasons, and so on, according to the indications of each; but always adding that it lies with God to do less or more according to His pleasure. And they write down the results of their examination in certain little pamphlets for the year, which are called *Tacuin*, and these are sold for a groat to all who desire to know what is coming.[51]

Marco Polo's description resonates with the information provided in the *History of the Yuan,* which adds statistical information on the production of almanacs under the Yuan. According to a list dated from the first year of the *Tianli* 天曆 reign (1328) a total of 3,123,185 almanacs were printed by the court, generating an income of more than 45,980 silver ingots (CH. *ding* 錠). 5,257 of these almanacs were "Islamic calendars" (CH. *huihui li* 回回曆), each sold for 1 tael of silver (CH. *liang* 兩).[52] It is not clear what these Islamic almanacs included. They might well be entirely or partially written in Arabic or Persian. Nevertheless, they represent an early example of printed texts, especially prepared for the use of Muslims in China during the Yuan. Moreover, the existence of such almanacs attests to the broad scope of import of techniques for astro-

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49. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah , 4:146; Yule 1916, 130-131.

50. Carter 1955, 94.

51. Yule and Cordier 1903, 446-447. Italics were added by the translators.

52. Yule and Cordier 1903, I:448; Howorth 1876, I:274; Pauthier 1865, 515.

logical prediction from the Islamicate world.

The fall of the Yuan dynasty in the second half of the fourteenth century brought an end to a century-long systematic importation of Arabo-Persian texts to China. Those texts, which survived the turmoils seem to disperse in different directions - some were taken to the libraries of the new dynasty, and others found their ways into private hands. The Arabo-Persian library of the Mongols served as the kernel of the Arabo-Persian pool of texts, which circulated in China during the late imperial period. Even as late as the eighteenth century we find accounts of discovering Yuan dynasty Arabo-Persian texts in private libraries - an indication of the importance of the Mongol collections for the history of the exchanges between the China and the Arabo-Persian world.[53] The Ming dynasty, which overturned the Yuan in 1368, was no longer a part of a wider trans-regional empire.[54] As a result, knowledge under the Ming, and Arabo-Persian knowledge within it, replaced the universal epistemology of the Yuan with a more localized version, prioritizing what was presented as traditional Chinese knowledge.

3. Restriction of Knowledge Production and the Institutionalization of the Confucian Monopoly on Scholarship during the Early Ming

The history of the rise of Arabo-Persian scholarship in late imperial China is closely tied to the knowledge policies of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). The early Ming dynasty, despite its efforts to differentiate itself from its predecessor, the Yuan dynasty, maintained a similar model of politics that simultaneously applied restrictive and intensive control of local society, including extensive regulations and prohibitions regarding private scholarship, and pragmatic attitudes towards knowledge that proved useful for the sovereign.

Since the early days of the dynasty, knowledge became an important aspect of rulership and an object of state intervention. In addition, the early Ming policies divided knowledge into two separate discourses, which maintained their unrelatedness through most of the Ming period. Scholarship was reserved to the discussion of the theoretical frameworks of morality, social interaction and cosmology, using the Confucian canon as the epistemological base; practical aspects of knowledge, such as astronomical techniques and medical treatments, however, were collected from different sources and presented multiple epistemological bases, yet were, in many cases, stripped of any theoretical framework, and existed only in form of applied formulae. These policies on knowledge, it goes without saying, had an effect on all types of knowledge, including Arabo-Persian knowledge.

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53. On the "re-discovery" of Yuan dynasty Arabo-Persian works in the 17th and 18th centuries centuries, see Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

54. Despite the Ming's withdrawal from the larger political umbrella of the Mongol empire, it continued to regard itself a regional power with trans-regional links. This view is demonstrated in the tribute relations between Ming and Korea and Southeast Asia, as well as in the policies of the Ming towards Central Asia and the Timurid dynasty. Moreover, the Yongle 永樂 emperor's (1402-1424) use of Persian, Tibetan, Mongolian and Burmese in his inscriptions, and the various maritime expeditions of Admiral Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1433) further attest to the trans-regional aspirations of the Ming.

The changing socio-political circumstances during the three centuries of Ming rule brought about significant changes in attitudes towards knowledge production and scholarship. If the Yuan dynasty implemented an inclusive policy towards the multiple schools of knowledge yet maintained divisions between them, one of the first policies of the first emperor of the Ming was to redefine scholarship and its objectives, and bring it under state monopoly. Segments of Arabo-Persian knowledge were selectively translated into Chinese and naturalized in the contemporary discourse during the late 14th century. The great majority of Arabo-Persian texts, however, were ignored and discarded. Arabo-Persian scholarship reemerged in a new form following the epistemological chasm that prevailed in society during the mid-16th century. In the following passages, the chapter will focus on the emergence of Arabo-Persian knowledge during the second half of the Ming dynasty and will explore the historical context, in which it came about.

A tacit political pact between the soon-to-be first Ming emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398), and Confucian scholars of the Cheng-Zhu 程朱 school,[55] mostly from the Yangtze Delta,[56] brought this circle of scholars close to the leadership of one of the most dominant rebels against the Yuan. The reasons behind this pact are not fully clear, yet available evidence suggests that mutual interests of both sides in maintaining authority on the local and national level stood at the core of this cooperation.[57] Whatever the reasons are, this cooperation matured to be an official endorsement of the Cheng-Zhu ideology, once the Ming dynasty (1644-1911) was established, and Zhu Yuanzhang became its first emperor. This pact ushered in a period, in which knowledge and scholarship fluctuated between their political functions at the service of the administration and individual or local programs of moral

55. Throughout this work I will employ the terms "The Cheng-Zhu school" to denote the dominant school of Confucianism, which based its scholarship on the writing of several Southern Song thinkers, most notably the Cheng brothers (Cheng Yi 程頤 1032-1085, and Cheng Hao 程顥 1032-1085) and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200). Western and Chinese historiographical literature use the terms Neo-Confucianism, *Daoxue* 道學 (CH. "The Learning of the Way"), *Lixue* 理學 ("The Learning of the Principle") synonymously to refer to the same school. The term "Neo-Confucianism" has been a common nomenclature in Western sinological literature to denote the philosophical umbrella of the different Confucian schools developed in post-twelfth century China. The broadness and flexibility of this term contributed to its persistent usage in Western sinology, and even to the appearance of its Chinese translation *Xinruxue* 新儒學 in Chinese works since the early twentieth century.

56. On the history and ideology of the Cheng-Zhu school see below.

57. Dardess in his work on the cooperation between Neo-Confucianism in the Zhe-Dong 浙東 region (a part of the lower Yangtze delta) and the soon-to-be first emperor of the Ming, Zhu Yuanzhang during the Yuan-Ming transition, advances the theory that the Confucianist' attempts to maintain their influence and Zhu Yuanzhang's ambition to rule China had an overlapping ideological basis regarding, what he calls, ideas of "national salvation." Dardess 1983, 85-86 and 131-133.

cultivation.[58]

Upon enthronement, Zhu adopted policies, whose main goal was to restore a socio-political order to his recently unified kingdom, and to ensure the long-term stability of his rule. The continuing cooperation with the Cheng-Zhu Confucians seems to derive both from Zhu's strategic calculations, and his conviction that the ideology of the school with its emphasis on the importance of social hierarchy and loyalty to the ruler could be seen symbolically as a restoration of the Way of Antiquity, would help him to achieve his goals. If before that scholarship in general and Confucian scholarship in particular were programs of local, individual and voluntary dimensions, Zhu's espousing of the ideology made it a dynastic, obligatory and collective project, and a part of the Ming legislation.[59] This transformation had an effect on the identity and agendas of the participants in scholarship, the distribution of scholarly institutions, and on the types of scholarship that took place under the early Ming rulers.

The rise of the Cheng-Zhu school to dominance in the intellectual and political spheres had precedents in the Song (1127-1279) and Yuan (1261-1368) periods. As Bol notes, the philosophical program that the Song scholars, Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1077), Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073), the Cheng brothers, Cheng Yi 程頤 (1032-1085) and Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085), and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) developed, and which had at its core a synthesis of Confucian morals with the cosmological theories of Mahayana Buddhism and Daoism,[60] enjoyed an intellectual consensus as the correct Way and the accurate interpretation of the Confucian classics in as early period as the twelfth century.[61] This program, known in the historiographical literature as the Cheng-Zhu school, was a dramatic shift from the text-bound scholarship of the first millennium AD. Instead, it promoted a philosophical and abstract discussion on the principles that constitute the natural world, as well as on the prescribed application of these principles in terms of social relations and individual morality. At its base, it manifested a heated debate between Song scholars regarding epistemology and the proper way to derive knowledge. The dichotomy of knowledge into two categories: moral knowledge (*dexing zhizhi* 德性之知) and sensory knowledge (*wenjian zhizhi* 聞見之知)[62] generated a polarization between those who upheld "morality" (*zundexing* 尊德性, lit., "to follow the moral nature"), and those who advocated for "intellectual scrutiny" (*daowenxue* 道問學 lit., "following the path of inquiry and study") respectively. The former viewed the production of knowledge as an internal process, closely related to one's cultivation of heart-mind (*xin* 心), and human nature (*xing* 性); the latter promoted an external investigation of natural phenomena. This polarization manifested

58. Elman 2013, 17-19; Bol 2008, 258-260.

59. Elman 2013, 19-21.

60. On the synthesis of Buddhist and Daoist concepts in the new Confucian framework in the works of Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-77) and the Cheng brothers, see: Liu 1973; Liu 2008, 368-381; Liu 2008, 381-393.

61. Bol suggests that such a consensus can be seen in the twelfth century encyclopedia *Bishui quanying daiwen hui yuan* 璧水羣英待問會元. Bol 2008, 258.

62. Yü 1975, 109-110. Yu uses the term "intellectual knowledge" to refer to the above-mentioned "sensory knowledge".

itself in an opposition between the Cheng-Zhu school, which lent greater gravity to the external scrutiny, yet by no means discarded the need for moral cultivation, and other schools, such as the one led by Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139-1192), that championed moral cultivation.[63]

The Cheng-Zhu school put forward an epistemological theory according to which an external exhaustive investigation of natural phenomena could exhibit their underlying principles. This epistemological framework, which is often celebrated by the phrase *gewu zhizhi* 格物致知 ("to extend knowledge through the investigation of things"),[64] employed as its analytical tools the concepts of *li* (理, lit., "the [fundamental] principles [of the natural world]"), *xing* 性 ("[endowed] human nature"), and *qi* (氣, "the material embodiment of the Principle"[65]).

By re-organizing the classical Confucian canon and commenting on it, Zhu Xi, his colleagues and his followers were able to infuse the established classical scholarship with their new epistemological framework. *The Five Classics* (*Wujing* 五經), which had been the heart of Confucian scholarship up to that time,[66] were made secondary

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63. In a correspondence between Zhu Xi and Lu Jiuyuan, the former defined the difference in their approaches to knowledge as following: "Generally speaking, since the time of Zisi [子思, Confucious' grandson and a venerated Confucian scholar] 'honoring the moral nature' [*zun dexing* 尊德行] and 'following the path of inquiry and study' [*dao wenxue* 道問學] have been the two basic methods of instruction. Now, what Zi-jing [i.e., Lu Jiuyuan] talks about are matters pertaining exclusively to 'honoring the moral nature' whereas in my daily discussions I have placed a greater emphasis on 'inquiry and study'." *Zhu Wengung wenji* 朱文公文集 ["Collected works of Zhu Xi"] (*Sibu Congkan* edition), 54:962, "Reply to Xiang Ping-fu." translated in Yu 1986, 228. (my additions in parentheses).

64. On the epistemological framework *gewu zhizhi*, see Cheng 1986; Yu 1986. The term *gewu zhizhi* is derived from a passage in the *Daxue* 大學 ("Great Learning"). *The Great Learning* was originally a chapter of the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記)—one of the *Five Classics*—established by Zhu Xi as an independent work, and became one of the *Four Books* (*sishu* 四書) of the Confucian canon. The work was taken to be by the Cheng-Zhu school as exposition of the moral ideology, and the epistemological foundations of the school. On this work, see de Bary and Bloom 1960, 127-128; de Bary and Bloom 1999, 720-731. This epistemological framework found an expression in Zhu Xi's commentary on the first chapter of the *Great Learning*, and in particular his interpretation of the sentence *zhizhi zai gewu* 致知在格物. Zhu Xi read the term *ge* 格 as "to arrive at," and the term *wu* 物 sharing the same meaning as *shi* 事 ("matter") Hence, he interpreted the entire sentence as "to exhaustingly arrive at the principles of things, with the desire to reach the furthest points" (窮至事物之理，欲其極處無不到也). See also Gardner 1986, 92.

65. Translating into English the term *qi* is not an easy task and has occupied sinologists from as early as the Jesuits' project of introducing the Chinese thought to the European readers. On the Jesuits' translation of the term, see Elman 2005, 120.

66. On the contents and textual features of the Five Classics, see: Loewe 1993, 67-77,

to a group of four texts titled *The Four Books* (*Sishu* 四書), which Zhu Xi placed at the core of the new canon. *The Four Books* consisted of Confucius' *Analects*, the *Book of Mencius* and two additional texts—the the *Daxue* 大學 and the *Zhongyong* 中庸, which had been originally chapters in the *Five Classics*. In addition, a historical narrative on the loss of the way of the ancients after the fall of the Zhou dynasty (1046 – 256 BC) and its recovery in the Song was constructed to legitimize the new framework and elevate it over the pre-Song scholarship. The narrative placed the Song framework within "The Transmission of the Way" (*Daotong* 道統) - a lineage of masters and disciples who transmitted the "true knowledge of antiquity" across generations up to the Song.[67]

The Cheng-Zhu school maintained its authority in the Chinese intellectual sphere even after the Mongol conquest. Networks of local Confucian scholars took students and initiated projects of edification in local communities through out the Yuan. The reforms in the household registration system, enacted under the Yuan, recognized for the first time scholars (*ru* 儒, in most cases Neo-Confucian scholars) as an independent social group. This policy, as Dardess suggests, contributed to the consolidation of the scholars as a professional class and to the institutionalization of scholarship.[68] Moreover, the re-institution the civil service examinations under the Yuan in 1315, and the designation of the Cheng-Zhu canon as the formal examination curriculum further fortified the socio-political function of scholarship and knowledge.[69] Thus, the foundations for espousing the Cheng-Zhu school and making it the official orthodox learning by the first emperor of the Ming had been in effect before the establishment of the Ming. Yet, it was only by the early Ming that scholarship officially transformed into a socio-political institution, and knowledge into a commodity with

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216-229, 376-390, and 415-424 (entries on the four of the five classics); de Bary and Bloom 1999, 24-41; Nylan 2008. On the Codification of the Confucian canon during the Eastern Han dynasty 東漢 (25-220 AD), see de Bary and Bloom 1999, 311-346; Kang-I and Owen 2010, 111-116.

67. On the concept of *Daotong*, see Liu 2008, 366-367.

68. The new household registration system, introduced by the Yuan, manifested this professionalization of knowledge by dividing the Chinese society into categories of households according a certain view on the social division of labor. These categories included categories such military (*Junhu* 軍戶) and physician (*Yihu* 醫戶) households, as well as Confucian (*Ruhu* 儒戶), Buddhist (*Shihu* 釋戶), Daoist (*Dao*hu 道戶) and Miscellaneous (*Semu* 色目, which included the *Huihui* 回回 group comprised mostly of Muslims) households. Within this framework Confucian household were designated as the custodians of (Confucian) scholarship. The main source of these household were descendants of high officials of the Song (also known as *Genjiao* 根脚) as well as families of successful candidates in the civil service examination (*Xiucai* 秀才) instituted in 1315. Confucian households, which according to Dardess constituted during the Yuan period only 0.1-0.5% of the total population, were granted automatic access to state education institutions, such as the prefectural or county-level Confucian school (*Ruxue* 儒學) and Confucian academies (*Shuyuan* 書院). See Dardess 1983, 14-17.

69. Elman 2000, 69.

socio-political value.[70]

During the turmoil that characterized the last years of the Yuan—namely, power struggles between the dwindling Yuan central government and local powers and rebels—the Cheng-Zhu scholarship proved to be a resilient force, and the networks of Confucian scholars proved to be useful and influential social organizations.[71] Scholars during that transitory period sought and found employment opportunities in the Yuan bureaucracy, but also as advisors to the different groups that fought against the Yuan. As a social group, scholars shifted allegiances in an attempt to preserve their influence locally and inter-locally. Strategic calculations and speculations on the future influence of scholars, as well as ideological convergence, and fear of being killed may have motivated groups of scholars to shift their allegiance to Zhu Yuanzhang and cooperate with him.[72] When viewed in this framework, the relationship between the two sides appears to be more a convergence of interests than a shared ideology. Zhu sought their support as an important social network, and the scholars recognized the potential gains from siding with Zhu amid the deteriorating political conditions.

In April 1356 Zhu Yuanzhang successfully took control of the city of Nanjing 南京, a central city in the lower Yangtze region - China's cultural center of the time - and made it his capital. Along with his efforts to continue the military campaigns in other parts of China, he began to formulate his policies of governance, shaped in an attempt to rehabilitate the country from the turbulent half a century, as well as to create a sustainable rule on a unified country. Confucian scholars were among Zhu's first recruits as advisors on the ideal methods of rulership (or as it is called in the traditional Chinese historiography *zhitong* 治統) - an indication that the cooperation between the two parties continued also during the period of empire-building. The amount of agency the Confucian scholars had over Zhu's policies, and his eventual decision to espouse the Cheng-Zhu ideology, is yet to be clarified. The official histories of the Ming, however, portray the interaction as Zhu's recognition of the potential advantages and the adequacy of the Cheng-Zhu ideology. The *History of the Ming* (comp. 1739) records a meeting between Zhu and Fan Zugan 範祖幹, a Confucian scholar from the city of Jinhua 金華 (in today's Zhejiang province), during which Zhu inquired on Fan's opinion regarding the ideal form of rulership. Fan, who carried to the meeting a copy of the *Daxue*, pointed to the book and replied with a four-word answer: "all in this book" (*buchu shishu* 不出是書, lit., "[the answer] does not go beyond [the contents of] this book"). Fan promoted the *Daxue* ethical framework by declaring that the way of rulers in antiquity (*diwang zhi dao*, 帝王之道) was a righteous ordering of all levels of society, from the self-cultivation of an individual's and his kins up to the administration of the realm. When each thing finds its place, rulership is realized. Zhu, according the record, was convinced by Fan's ideas and granted a number of Confucian scholars official positions in his administration.[73] Whether it was acceptance of the legitimacy

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70. Dardess gives account of complaints made by Yuan contemporaries regarding the institutionalization of scholarship and its monopolization at the hands of the a group of professional scholars. Dardess 1983, 17-18.

71. Dardess 1983, 120-121.

72. Dardess 1983, 128.

73. *Mingshi* 明史 *[The History of the Ming], 282:2773.*

of Ming rule that drove Zhu to seek the endorsement of the Confucians, or their power on the local level, is not clear. In any case, even before uniting China, Zhu Yuanzhang showed support to the Confucian scholars and to their ideology. This support became a policy soon after Zhu was crowned the first emperor of Ming.

Several landmarks in the institutionalization of Confucian scholarship under the first emperors of the Ming are notable. These landmarks, which include the re-installment of the civil service examination in 1370,[74] the establishment of a wide-spread network of education institutions down to the communities level, and the official launching of book collection, display the Ming's official policy regarding knowledge production and scholarship. The Ming rulers, and especially the first emperor, recognized the powers of knowledge and the requirement to supervise and control its production. His autocratic rule is characterized by his violent persecution of any criticism.[75]

The Ming policies on knowledge production and dissemination granted the Cheng-Zhu school an intellectual hegemony and supremacy which was almost uncontested. In retrospect, this promotion had a significant effect on the intellectual trajectory from the late 14th century onwards. In year 1370, the first Ming emperor re-installed the civil service examination system (*keju* 科舉), which had been suspended for almost half a century during turbulent years of the late Yuan and early Ming. Immediately from the initial implementation of the system, the Cheng-Zhu ideology, as embodied in the specific selection of commentaries on the classics and the other required reading material, became its official curriculum. This status contributed significantly to the dissemination of the ideology and its literature, as well as to its positioning as an unrivaled school of thought, well infused in the socio-political and cultural landscape of the time.

The civil examinations system - the backbone of the imperial bureaucracy at the time - had a far reaching effect on the contemporary society and culture. The examination, whose explicit aims was to find outstanding talents (*xiucai* 秀才) from among the different classes, became a central vehicle for the elite class to maintain its political power during the Ming.[76] Participation in the examination system required a considerable investment on behalf of the participant, his extended family, the local community, and society as a whole. A broad spectrum of knowledge was required by the civil examination system, in particularly eloquence in Classical Chinese and a strong command of the Confucian canon. In order to have a chance to participate in the system, the individual had to invest most of the first two decades of his life in memorization of texts and polishing his writing skills to meet the standard formulae.

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74. The first emperor reinstalled the civil service examination in 1371, just to cancel it shortly afterwards and reinstalled again in 1382. See Elman 2000, 71-72 and 82-84.

75. Elman 2000, 66.

76. The Civil Service Examination system of the Ming and Qing included the four types of degrees - licentiate (Ch. *shengyuan* 生員), *juren* 舉人, *gongshi* 貢士, *jinshi* 進士 corresponding to success in the local, provincial, metropolitan and palace exams. On the examination system of late imperial China see: Elman 2000, 135-142 and passim.

The costs involved in participation, including supporting the individual and providing him with the necessary books and tutors, required an investment by the extended family. In return, they could enjoy political power, social standing and material benefits that would come with the success of a family member. Wealthy households hired tutors, and established family schools to enhance the chances of success of their younger generation, and founded shared family endowments. The more affluent the family, the higher the investment in education they could and did make. In addition, the Ming court, from the time of the first emperor of the Ming, endorsed and sponsored the establishment of community schools as well as a network of county and prefecture academies. The curricula of these institutions were explicitly directed at preparing students to take the civil service examinations. As a result, preparatory education, and in turn knowledge in general, began to carry socio-political and economic value. The intellectual sphere during these years of early Ming was heavily dominated by the type of scholarship required for the participation in the civil service examination. [77]

The installment of the civil service examination was accompanied by a policy promoting public education. The school system became the prefered mechanism, and from the time of the first Ming emperor a wide-spread network of education institutions reaching down to the local level was laid out. At the bottom of the network stood local schools (*shexue* 社學), and at its top the Imperial Academy (*Guozijian* 國子監). The objective was double-fold—to prepare the students for civil service examinations, and to foster values of good conduct and good citizenship.[78] While the public school policy of the Ming is unprecedented in its scope, it had a negative effect on private academies which almost disappeared entirely from the intellectual landscape under the first Ming emperor.[79] State education institutions provided the Ming government with its desired double-fold effect—it allowed it to maintain control and supervision over knowledge production while also producing students with what was seen to be as the necessary skills for rulership and administration.

The curriculum for the examinations was further supervised by developing an official set of texts, which were specific versions of the canonical works and their commentaries. During the Yongle reign (1402-1424) the court ordered the compilation of three compendiums titled *Sishu daquan* 四書大全 ("The complete Compendium of the Four Book"), *Wujing daquan* 五經大全 ("The complete Compendium of the Five Classics"), and *Xingli daquan* 性理大全 ("The complete Compendium on Moral and Principle"). These compendia included the standardized versions of the different commentaries and essays required to be memorized by all participants in the civil service

77. Benjamin Elman demonstrates that the examination system was a sophisticated mechanism that successfully preserved the social, cultural and political power at the hands of an exclusive group of literati. See: Elman 1991; Elman 2000; Elman 1991. Elman applies Pierre Bourdieu's model on the role of *habitus* and cultural capital in his analysis of the functions of the civil service examination.

78. *Mingshi,* 69:1695. On the early designation of community schools, see Schneewind 2006, 9-10.

79. Meskill and Bol suggest that it was a result of an economic deficiency during the early years of the Ming, which impeded the establishment of academies, and not necessarily a direct policy of the first emperor. See: Bol 2008, 257-258; Meskill 1982, 18.

examinations. The term *daquan* 大全 (<Ch. lit., "comprehensive and complete"), which repeats in all three works, suggests that these publications had a symbolic function in addition to their supervisory role over knowledge and scholarship.

The collection of knowledge was another aspect of the early Ming policy to supervise knowledge, as well as another platform to symbolically display its legitimate position as a heir to the heritage of the sages of antiquity. Upon the seizure of the capital of the Yuan in 1368, the Ming armies took over the Yuan imperial libraries and its collection of books. According to available evidence, these libraries included Chinese works on classical scholarship and works in other languages, such as Arabic and Persian, used by the different branches of the Yuan administration. The books were transferred to the newly established Ming capital in Nanjing and became part of the imperial libraries there.[80] Interestingly, despite Zhu's proclamations that his rule ushered in a new epoch in China that would restore the land to its classical roots and eradicate the barbarian customs and norms propagated by the former Mongol rule,[81] the Yuan's intellectual heritage was incorporated into the Ming's library. At the same time, the newly enthroned first emperor of the Ming initiated a campaign of book collecting from the four corners of the empire to his newly established imperial library, known by the name Wenyuan ge 文淵閣 ("The Pavilion of Profound Knowledge"). The administration of the collections was handed to a specially appointed official, known as *Mishu jiancheng* (秘書監丞 "Director of the Palace Library"), and later moved to control of the "Library of the Hanlin Academy" (*Hanlin dianji* 翰林典籍).[82] The Imperial collection of books seems to come at the expense of private collections, as indi-

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80. An example for such a record is found in the preface to the work *Mingyi tianwen shu* 明譯天文書 (comp. ca. 1382) - a translation to Chinese of an Arabo-Persian work on Astronomy commissioned by the first emperor of the Ming: "Our Emperor has received the order of the Bright Heavens to extend his rule over China and the barbarians, to achieve a great cultural harmony and to celebrate the intellectual achievements of mankind. Hence, during the early year of the Hongwu 洪武 (1368-1398) reign, the high-ranking generals pacified the Yuan capital [i.e., Beijing]. They took over books and charts, including classical works, commentaries, works of philosophers and histories. Some tens of thousands volumes of works. All were brought to the [Ming] capital [i.e., Nanjing], and stored in libraries. Prestigious scholars used [the works] in lectures, given [to the Emperor] on his leisure time, as precepts for his rulership. Among the books, there were several hundreds volumes of works from the Western Regions, [written] in a peculiar tongue and strange characters which no one understood." 皇上奉天明命，撫臨華夷，車書大同，人文宣朗，爰自洪武初，大將軍平元都，收其圖籍，經傳子史，凡若干萬卷，悉上進京帥，藏之書府，萬幾之暇，即名儒臣進講，以資治道，其間西域書，數百冊，言殊字異，無能者. ("Mingyi tianwenshu" 明譯天文書 [The Ming Translation of the 'Book of Astronomy'] (*Mingyi tianwenshu* 明譯天文書 [The Ming Translation of the 'Book of Astronomy'], 21:297.)

81. An example for such is Zhu's proclamation given to the people of North China and found in *Ming shilu* 明實錄 ["Veritable Records of the Ming"] and translated in Farmer 1995, 2.

82. *Mingshi*, 17:2343.

cated by a sharp decline in size of the two largest family libraries of the time - the libraries of the Ge family in Yangzhou and the Li family in Jinan.[83] Yet, at the same time, private libraries continued to serve as the main source for books for the literati class who could not afford purchasing or producing their own copies.[84]

The imperial library was an unparalleled authority on textual knowledge in Ming China. It included decorated works from the Song and Yuan periods, placed in new bindings and protected against insects, a number of damaged Song and Yuan prints, and various works produced under the Ming.[85] Soon after the imperial capital was moved to Beijing in 1421 under the Yongle 永樂,[86] copies of the works from the imperial library were moved to Beijing.[87] During the Xuande 宣德 period (1425-1435), the imperial library stored about 20,000 works in more than one million volumes, a third of which were printed and two thirds of which were in hand-copied manuscript.[88]

The organization of the imperial library, and the categorization of texts beginning in its earliest days, was based on a four-category system that had been employed by Song and Yuan dynasties. The system divided the works to the four categories: Classics (*jing* 經), Histories (*shi* 史), Philosophers (*zi* 子), and Literature (*ji* 集). The system continued to be employed throughout the late imperial period, and served as the fundamental framework for the Chinese taxonomy of knowledge and the organization

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83. McDermott 2006, 52.

84. Ōki Yasushi found several accounts on the use of private libraries during the early Ming. He suggests that the high prices and the low supply of book before the sixteenth century enhanced the use of private libraries and the copying of manuscripts for self use. On these accounts was written by Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), a prominent scholar at the court of the first Ming emperor, and the chief editor of the *History of the Yuan.* Song describes how in his youth he could not purchase books and had to borrow books from private libraries (*cangshu zhijia* 藏書之家). Song remarks that in the process of copying his books, he was exposed to a rich variety of texts (*de bianguan qunshu* 得徧觀群書). This, of course, can serve as an indication for the richness of private libraries at the time. Ōki Yasushi 大木康 1991, 13.

85. *Mingshi*, 17:2343.

86. The Yongle emperor usurped the throne from his nephew after he orchestrated a rebellion from his fief in Beijing. The rebellion turned into a civil war that lasted for three years (1399-1402), and ended with the enthronement of the Yongle emperor. In order to further consolidate his power, and distance the centers of power from his opponents, soon after obtaining power, he began to plan the relocation of the capital to the northern city of Beiping 北平. The relocation was completed in 1420, and the new capital was renamed Beijing 北京 ("The Northern Capital"). On the civil war and the eventual move of the capital to Beijing, see Chan 1998, 193-202, 237-247.

87. *Mingshi*, 17:2343.

88. *Mingshi*, 17:2343.

of the Chinese canon. The system embedded a hierarchy of texts according to their authority, starting with the classics and ending with literary works. The system is thematic, and does not distinguish Chinese texts from foreign language ones, and seems to be applied only to works in Chinese.

The expeditions of the Muslim admiral Zheng He 鄭和 (1371-1433) brought to China new knowledge on the world in general, and the Islamicate world in particular. Zheng's seven voyages between 1405 and 1433 under the Yongle emperor reached as far as the Horn of Africa, and exhibited the trans-regional aspirations of the Ming. Three of Zheng He's companions Ma Huan 馬歡 (1380–1460), Fei Xin 費信 (1388-1409) and Gong Zhen 鞏珍, who served as translators (the first two are said to have been able to communicate in Arabic), documented the voyages in three works, Ma Huan's *Yingyai shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽 ("The overall survey of the ocean's shores"), Fei Xin's *Xingcha shenglan* 星槎勝覽 ("The overall survey of the Starry Raft"), and Gong Zhen's *Xiyang fanguo zhi* 西洋番国志 ("Records of Foreign Lands in the Western Ocean"). These works became important sources for knowledge on geography, flora and fauna of the world, yet at the same time demonstrate the long Chinese isolation from other forms of knowledge on world geography, culture and history, and the natural world.[89]

4. Arabo-Persian works during the early Ming

The fall of the Yuan signaled also a transition from the synthesis of universal knowledge, which had been strongly promoted under the Mongols. The policies on knowledge implemented by the first Ming ruler prioritized what he saw as local knowledge, emphasizing the direct connection of that set of knowledge and the pre-Mongol Chinese tradition. Moreover, the transition between the two dynasties had a significant institutional effect in terms of a drastic decline in the number of administrators who applied Arabo-Persian knowledge, and possessed the required reading skills in Arabic and Persian. As a result, the ability and inclination of the new administration to use texts in Arabic and Persian diminished dramatically. Moreover, the Ming policy on knowledge, which, on one hand, selectively adopted aspects of practical knowledge, while divorcing it from its wider theoretical frameworks, and, on another, bounded the intellectual discourse to the Confucian canon as the sole epistemological base, had an effect on the accommodation of knowledge, in general, and within it also Arabo-Persian knowledge.

Despite his explicit Sino-centric attitude, the first emperor of the Ming could not compensate for some aspects of knowledge whose implementation during the Yuan dynasty had exclusively relied on the use of Arabic and Persian texts. Calendrical techniques and methods to predict celestial movements are an example for such a case. The contemporary cutting-edge astronomical knowledge had been imported by the Yuan court from other parts of the Islamicate world, and preserved exclusively in form of Arabic and Persian texts. The first Ming emperor, who had been highly concerned with some celestial movements that were given political interpretations under the traditional Chinese cosmological ideology, could not compensate for the accuracy in projection of the Arabo-Persian techniques. In 1367, he established the Astronomical Commission (*Taishiyuan* 太史院), and recruited Confucian scholars, including Liu Ji 劉基 (1311-1375)—recommended by his close friend, Song Lian 宋濂, a prominent

89. On Zheng He's voyages, see Pelliot 1933. On Ma Huan, see Forbes 1983.

Confucian scholar at the first emperor's court.[90]

A few months later, however, the Ming emperor divided the responsibilities of the Astronomical Commission between two newly established, equally-ranked agencies: the Directorate of Astronomy (*Sitian jian* 司天監) and the Directorate of Arabo-Persian Astronomy (*Huihui sitianjian* 回回司天監). It is not clear whether the division was related to the emperor's dissatisfaction with the product of his Astronomical Commission. This move, however, highlights the importance of Arabo-Persian knowledge to the Ming administration. He recruited for these two new agencies people who had served in the Yuan administration, including high-ranking officials from the Astrological Commission, the Directorate of Astronomy, the Imperial Observatory (*Lingtai* 靈臺) and the Directorate of Arabo-Persian Astronomy.[91] Among these new recruits were Ḥaydar (*Hei-de-er* 黑的兒) and ʻAbdallah (*A-du-la* 阿都剌), high-ranking directors in the Directorate of Arabo-Persian Astronomy, and Dāriūsh (*Die-li-yue-shi* 迭里月實), the Assistant Director of Astronomy (*sitian jiancheng* 司天監丞). These new appointees were ordered to devise a new official calendar.[92]

An epitaph composed by the first Ming emperor for a certain A-du-la 阿都剌 (<AR. ʻAbdallāh) demonstrates the emperor's high regards of Arabo-Persian astronomy, and the reasons behind establishing a special governmental department for Arabo-Persian astronomy. The epitaph reads:

> Astronomy (*tianwen xue* 天文學) of the Western Regions is concise and precise. Although its techniques are identical to the old Chinese methods, in light of its rich experience, it has been used widely in recent generations. I have established an independent governmental office to be in charge of this profession that requires prudence. You, A-du-la, were perceptive and knowledgable, and truly kept the theories of Arabo-Persian astronomy [that had been transmitted] for generations. I look up at the heavenly bodies, and issue almanacs to the people. In order to follow the recent systems (of knowledge), I established this position, and ordered you to fill it. You diligently made predictions and calculations, and carefully outlined them. You reverently carried out your work in order to fulfill my wish.[93]

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90. *Mingshi*, 31:516. The *History of the Ming* mentions also the Emperor' complaint regarding the belated presentation of the annual calendar. It is not clear if that was the main reason for his decision to disband the commission.

91. Under the Yuan, the Astronomical Commission was in charge of preparing and distributing the official state calendar, in contrast to Directorate of Astronomy (*Sitian jian* 司天監), which was responsible for the training of astronomers and astrologers, and the Directorate of Arabo-Persian Astronomy (*Huihui Sitian jian* 回回司天監), which was in charge of the application of Arabo-Persian astronomical techniques in celestial observations and the preparation of annual calendars. See Hucker 1985, 169, 263, 482.

92. *Ming shilu* 明實錄 [The Veritable Records of the Ming dynasty], *Taizu shilu* 35:636 (Hongwu 1/9/10); *Ming shilu*, *Taizu shilu* 37:710 (Hongwu 1/12/14); *Mingshi*, 31:515-516. A similar account is recorded in Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chouren zhuan*, 29:1b.

93. Chen, Zilong 陳子龍 1962, juan 4, 32. Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682) quoted

天文之學，其出於西域者約而能精，雖其術與中國古法同，然以其多驗，故近代多用之，別設官署，以掌其職，蓋慎之也，以爾阿都剌敏而多識，回回天文之說，實世守之，朕仰觀天象，敬授民時，乃循近制，仍設其職，而命爾復居厥官，爾尚勤於推測，謹於敷陳，恪守攸司，以稱予意.

In year 1369 'Alī Zheng (*Zheng Ali* 鄭阿里) and another eleven people were summoned to the capital to serve as Astronomical Observatory officers (*tiantai guan* 天臺官) in the Directorate of Arabo-Persian Astronomy in order to give guidance on calendrical methods.[94] Although not explicitly stated in the sources, it is highly likely that these people were recruited in order to provide assistance and guidance regarding Arabo-Persian astronomical techniques.[95]

In the third year of his reign, however, the first emperor of the Ming decided to dissolve the Directorate of Astronomy and the Directorate of Arabo-Persian Astronomy, and to establish instead a new astronomical agency by the name of *Qintianjian* 欽天監 ("The Imperial Directorate of Astronomy"). This newly established directorate included four departments: Department of Astronomical Observations (*Tianwen ke* 天文科); Department of Weather Forecasting (*Louke ke* 漏刻科); Department of Calendar (*Datongli ke* 大統曆科); and Department of Arabo-Persian Calendar (*Huihuili ke* 回回曆科). The new astronomical agency, however, seems to cut in the authorities and functions of the experts of Arabo-Persian astronomy, and to direct their work exclusively towards the preparation of an annual calendar. This was a first step in a process to selectively naturalize practical aspects of Arabo-Persian knowledge, and incorporate them within the expertise of Chinese non-speakers of Arabic and Persian.[96]

For more than a decade, Arabo-Persian astronomical measurements were carried using texts in the original Arabic and Persian under the Department of Arabo-Persian Calendar. The cooperation between the departments under the Imperial Directorate of Astronomy in producing the annual calendar, however, seems to be minimal. The traditional Chinese methods, despite their comparative lack of accuracy, were still privileged by the Directorate. The emperor, who recognized the advantages of the Arabo-Persian methods vis-à-vis the methods from the Song dynasty, ordered the Directorate to carry out translations of the Arabo-Persian works, and to incorporate the techniques in their routine work. The *History of the Ming* gives the following account of this order:

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parts of this epitaph in a chapter, entitled *Xiyu tianwen* 西域天文 ("Astronomy in the Western Regions") in his work *Rizhi lu* 日知錄 ("Record of Knowledge Daily Acquired"). See, Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 2006, juan 29, 3:1668.

94. *Ming shilu*, *Taizu shilu* 35:636 (Hongwu 1/9/10). Similar accounts are found in *Mingshi, 31:515.*, and in Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chouren zhuan*, 29:1b.

95. On the accommodation of Arabo-Persian texts on astronomy during the Ming, see Yabuuti and van Dalen 1997.

96. Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chouren zhuan*, 29:1b. A similar account is given in *Mingshi, 31:515.*.

In the third month of the tenth year (1377), the Emperor discussed with his ministers the celestial movements [*Tian yu qizheng zhixing* 天與七政之行]. All of them endorsed Mr. Cai's [Yuanding 蔡元定[97]] theory of [celestial] circular motion. The Emperor said: "Since I have become an emperor, I have admired the astronomical observation of the circular motions of Heaven and the Seven Governors. The astronomical frameworks [*lijia zhilun* 歷家之論], however, have not evolved. It seems that you adhere too much to the model of Mr. Cai, how could you call it an investigation of things and extension of knowledge?" Hence, in the ninth month of the 15th year [1382], the emperor ordered the Hanlin scholars Li Chong 李翀 and Wu Bozong 吳伯宗 to translate the books on the Arabo-Persian calendar. [98]

十年三月，帝與群臣論天與七政之行，皆以蔡氏旋之說對。帝曰：「朕自起以來，仰觀乾象，天左旋，七政右旋，歷家之論，確然不易。爾等猶守蔡氏之說，豈所謂格物致知學乎？」十五年九月，詔翰林李翀、吳伯宗譯《回回歷書》。

For the purpose of translating the Arabo-Persian works, the two Hanlin scholars, Li Chong 李翀 and Wu Bozong 吳伯宗 (1334-1384),[99] who apparently possessed no reading skills of Arabic or Persian, sought the assistance of two advisors, *Ma-sha-yi-hei* 馬沙亦黑[100] and Muḥammad (*Ma-ha-ma* 馬哈麻). The team produced translations

97. Cai Yingding 蔡元定 (1135-1198) was a Song philosopher, whose cosmological theories were adopted by Zhu Xi. See Jin Yongzhi 金永植 2014, 7.

98. *Mingshi, 31:515.*. Cai Yingding (1135-1198) was a Song philosopher, whose cosmological theories were adopted by Zhu Xi. See Jin Yongzhi 金永植 2014, 7.

99. The Hanlin Academy (*Hanlin yuan* 翰林院) was a body of high-ranking scholars, set up by the first Ming emperor to serve as his advisors. Its responsibilities and structures were changed in 1407 under the Yongle emperor.

100. It is unclear what the Chinese transliteration stood for. Bai Shouyi suggested that it stood for "Sheykh Ma." See Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 602. Two genealogies of the Ma 馬 family—entitled Dacetang Ma 大測堂馬 and Juzhentang Mashi zongpu 聚真堂馬氏宗譜—have only recently received schlarly attention, and include invaluble information on the biography and family of Ma-sha-yi-hei. Chen Jiujin studied the two genealogies and produced a critical study of Ma-sha-yi-hei and his family. Chen's study shows that Ma-sha-yi-hei was one of the three sons of Ma-de-lu-ding 馬德魯丁 (courtesy name: Yanming 彥明), an expert of astronomy and mathematics who arrived in China around 1370. Ma-de-lu-ding served first in the retinue of the general Feng Sheng 馮勝 (d. 1395) in Jiangning 江寧 county (in today's Jiangsu province), and was recruited in the 1470s by the first emperor of the Ming to serve in the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy. Ma-de-lu-ding had three children: Ma-sha-yi-hei , Ma-ha-ma 馬哈麻 and, Ma-ha-sha 馬哈沙. Ma-sha-yi-hei (courtesy name: Zhongde 仲德) was recruited to the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy, and served there as a translator. In 1406 he accompanied the Yongle emperor's move of the capital to Beijing, and later settled in the city of Baoding 保定 (in today's Hebei); Ma-ha-ma (courtesy name: Zhongliang 仲良), was recruited as well as to the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy, and later was transferred to the Bureau of Translators. Upon the movement of the

of several Arabic and Persian works, among them are: *The Book on Arabo-Persian Astronomy* (*Huihui tianwen shu* 回回天文書, known also as *Mingyi tianwen shu* 明譯天文書, "The Ming translation of the 'Book of Astronomy', trans. 1382),[101] *Huihui li* 回回歷 ("The Arabo-Persian Calendar"),[102] *Jingweidu* 經緯度 *Jingweidu* ("Latitude and Longitude"),[103] *Jiuzhi wannian* 九執萬年 ("A Ten-Thousand year calendar based on the Nine Seizures"),[104] *Qizheng tuibu* 七政推步 ("Computation Methods for the Seven Governors"), *Huihui lifa shili* 回回曆法釋例 (Explanations and Examples for the Arabo-Persian Calendrical System). The *History of the Ming* gives the following description of the translation process of the first of these works:

> Arabo-Persian calendrical methods were invented by Muhammad, the king of the land of Medina in the Western Regions. This land is located at a latitude of 24° N, and at longitude of 107° W. It is approximately 8000 *li* west of Yunnan. [Their calendar] begins with the 19th year of the Kaihuang 開皇 reign of the Sui 隋 dynasty [=599 AD]. This is the year when his [i.e., Muhammad's] rule was established. In the early years of the Hongwu reign, this work was obtained from the Yuan capital. In the autumn of the 15th year [1382 AD], the first emperor stated that the celestial predictions of the Western Regions are the most precise, and these methods observing the positions of the constellations are unknown in China. Hence, the emperor ordered the Hanlin academy scholars Li Chong 李翀 and Wu Bozong 吳伯宗 to cooperate with the great Arabo-Persian master, Ma-sha-yi-hei 馬沙亦黑 in the translation of the work.[105]

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capital to Beijing, he remained in Nanjing, and is said to begin to study theology; Ma-ha-sha (courtesy name: Zhongyi 仲義) accompanied his father in 1374 back to their homeland, and made pilgramige to Mecca. The two returned to China in 1376 and settled in western Zhejiang province. See Chen Jiujin 陳久金 1989

101. Michio Yano's work compares the Kūshyār b. Labbān's (971–1029) Arabic original with the Chinese translation. See: Yano 1997.

102. This title appears in Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chouren zhuan*, 29:1b.. It is unclear if the title refers to the same work as the previous one.

103. This title appears in Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chouren zhuan*, 29:1b.. Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849) remarks at the end of the entry on Wu Bozong in his *Chouren zhuan* 疇人傳 ("Biographies of Astronomers") that the work *Huihui jingweidu* 回回經緯度 ("Arabo-Persian Latitude and Longitude") was used to improve the Datong 大統 calendar.

104. The title appears in Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chouren zhuan*, 29:1b. On the "Nine Seizors calendar," see van Bladel 2014.

105. *Mingshi,* 37:745. It is worth noting that this erroneous marking of year 599 AD as the beginning of Muhammad's rule might be based on a description in the *Old Book of the Tang* (*Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, compl. 945) of the ruling tribe of Gulie-zhong 孤列種 (<AR. Quraysh, the tribe of Muhammad), and its two dominant family Pen-ni Xi-shen 盆泥奚深(<AR.. Banū Hāshim) and Pen-ni Mo-huan 盆泥末換 (<AR. Banū Marwān, might be reference to the the

回回曆法，西域默狄納國王馬哈麻所作。其地北極高二十四度半，經度偏西一百零七度，約在雲南之西八千餘里。其曆元用隋開皇己未，即其建國之年也。洪武初，得其書於元都。十五年秋，太祖謂西域推測天象最精，其五星緯度又中國所無。命翰林李翀、吳伯 宗同回回大師馬沙亦黑等譯其書。

While the Arabic and Persian sources for most of these works are not disclosed, Wu Bozong's preface to the *Mingyi tianwen shu* suggests that the work was originally composed by a person whom he calls "the wise man *Kuo-shi-ya-er*" 闊識牙耳大賢者. This seems to be a reference to Kūshyār b. Labbān, the author of a widely circulated guide to astrology, titled *al-Madkhal fī ṣinā'at aḥkām al-nujūm* (<AR. "The Introduction to the Art of Astrology") or *Mujmal al-uṣūl fī aḥkām al-nujūm* (<AR. "Compendium of Astrological Principles").[106] It is interesting to see that Wu connected Kūshyār's work to the larger intellectual production of the Islamicate world. The divine spirit of prophet Muhammad was the foundation, according to Wu, to the entire wisdom of the Islamicate world, as manifested in their Arabo-Persian texts. This contextualization suggests that Wu Bozong and his colleagues saw in front of them a larger pool of Arabo-Persian texts, out of which they selected only few. Wu wrote:

> The Great Way lies within the world, yet it is vague and unknown. Only a wise and far-sighted sage can bring it to light. The mind needs a divine spirit in order to comprehend the subtleties of the Way. Wise men of later generation follow the steps of the founders and transmit their teaching to the successive generations. Muhammad and the successive generation of sages came to this world and attained the Great Way - this has clear evidences. Then the great wise man, *Kuo-shi-ya-er* [<Kūšyār (b. Labbān)] came to the world and compiled this book for expounding and propagating the sublime principles. The extreme precision of his writing allowed future generations to follow [these principles] and hold [them] in high regard.[107]
>
> 然而大道在天地間，茫昧無聞，必有聰明睿智聖人者出。心得神會斯道之妙。立教於當世，後之賢人，接踵相承，又得上古聖人所傳之妙，以垂教於來世也。聖人馬合麻，及後賢輩出。有功於大道者，昭然可考。逮闊識牙耳大賢者生，闡揚至理，作為此書。極其精妙，後人信守尊崇。

Wu Bozong supervised the translation project, edited the final works and added his prefaces to several of these works. In one of his prefaces, Wu gave an elaborate account on the process of translation, and on his specific selection of texts from among the wider pool of Arabo-Persian works that were available in China during that period. The clear inclination of this translation project to practical knowledge,

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Marwanid branch of the Umayyad dynasty). The description suggested that it was during the Kaihuang reign of the Sui that Mo-he-mo 摩訶末 (<AR. Muḥammad) established his rule. See *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 [Old Book of the Tang], *juan* 210. By the Ming, this date was often given by Chinese Muslims as the date of Islam's first entrance into China. Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 et al. 2000, 97.

106. On Kūshyār's work and its Chinese translation, see Yano, Michio 1997.

107. *Mingyi tianwenshu,* 21: 296.

and the exclusion of the theoretical frameworks behind it, can be detected between the lines of the preface.[108] The preface begins with explaining the origin of these works and the reasons behind the first Emperor's motivation to translate them:

> Even since the Emperor received Heaven's brilliant Mandate, he established his rule over China and the Barbarians, bringing them under a single cultural umbrella and promulgating cultural achievements. Hence, during the early years of the Hongwu reign, his generals, after pacifying the Yuan capital, collected their maps and book, classics, commentaries, philosophies and histories. Some tens of thousands of scrolls. All were brought to the Ming capital [Nanjing], and stored in the Imperial Library [*shufu* 書府]. The Emperor during his intermissions from ruling the empire used to invite scholars to give lectures [on texts, *jinjiang* 進講], so that he could enhance his Way of rulership. Among them [i.e., the texts used for the lectures] were several hundred of volumes [*ce* 冊] of books from the Western Regions. Their language was unique and the characters were different, and he [i.e., the Emperor] had no skills to understand it.
>
> 序曰，皇上奉天明命，撫臨華夷，車書大同，人文宣朗，爰自洪武初，大將軍平元都，收其圖籍，經傳子史，凡若干萬卷，悉上進京師，藏之書府，萬幾之暇，即召儒臣進講，以資治道，其間西域書數百冊，言殊字異，無能知者。

The preface, then, went on to quote the edict of the first Emperor in 1382, ordering the Hanlin scholars Li Chong and Wu Bozong to translate the work into Chinese. It is interesting to note that in his explanation of the merits of the work, the Emperor advances a universal framework of knowledge, suggesting that works outside the traditional Chinese canon can also represent the ways of the Kings of Antiquity. The merits of Arabo-Persian astronomy in revealing the subtleties that undergirded that interaction between Heaven and Man, according to the Emperor, have a wide applicability for self-examination and the fostering of virtues. The laudatory language used in this edict, however, did not result in wide accommodation of Arabo-Persian literature. On the contrary, an official utilitarian attitude towards Arabo-Persian works was adopted by the Emperor, an indication of which is suggested by his recommendation that these text should be only "used as references" (*yishi piyue* 以時披閱). The edict reads:

> The Ways of Heaven are subtle, as it displays omens to guide the people. Only when common people and rulers abide Heaven and put into practice its way, successful reign can be achieve. The Kings of Antiquity observed the heavenly writs [*tianwen* 天文, i.e., astronomy] and examined the earthly principals [*dili* 地理] for the purpose of edifying the people, and nurturing the myriad things. Thus books have been composed to perpetuate the transmission of the eternal laws of nature. At our recent time, astrologers from the Western Regions have made prediction of celestial omens with proved high accuracy. Their methods of measuring latitude are not found in any other Chinese texts. Their contribution to [our understanding of] the interaction between Heaven and Man is

108. In what follows I will use the version of the preface as found in *Mingyi tianwenshu*, 21:296-298. An almost identical versions of the preface appears in Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chouren zhuan*, *juan* 29, 516:285-287.

significant, and hence their books should be translated, and used as references in the predictions of omens. They can be used for our self-examination, and the fostering of virtues and preventive measures. They will help to obey the will of heaven, and implement the fate of people.

天道幽微，垂象以示人，人君體天行道，乃成治功，古之帝王，仰觀天文，俯察地理，以條人事，育萬物，由是文籍以興，彝倫攸敘，邇來西域陰陽家，推測天象, 至為精密有驗，其緯度之法，又中國書之所未備，此其有關於天人甚大，宜譯其書，以時披閱庶幾觀象，可以省躬脩德，思患預防，順天心，立民命焉。

Wu left also description of the process of translation.[109] For the purpose of translation, two teams of experts were recruited: speakers of Arabic and Persian, and the Hanlin scholars. The former team were mainly immigrants or descendants of immigrants from Arabic and Persian speaking regions. They possessed the required linguistic skills to read Arabic and Persian texts, and convey their meaning in vernacular Chinese. The latter team then elevated the vernacular translation to a more elegant form of Classical Chinese, edited the work, and presented it to the Emperor. Wu wrote:

The Emperor ordered them, saying: "You, people of the Western Regions, are skilled in using your original language [*xi benyin* 習本音], but also comprehend the Chinese language. Narrate orally [these works] to the Confucian scholars [*qikou yi yuanru* 其口以援儒], so that they will deduce [*yi* 繹, in some versions yi 譯 "translate"] their meaning and edit them into complete works [*jicheng wen yan* 緝成文焉]. Give a plain narration [*zhishu* 直述], do not make it too ornamented [*zaohui* 藻繪], nor too gross." We have respectfully abided by the imperial order, and begun our work in [an office] to the right of the *Youshunmen* gate. We examined each other's work, until we have reached the original meaning (*benzhi* 本指). We did not dare to have the smallest addition or omission. By the second month of the following year, the translation of the astronomical work reached its completion. It was copied with elegant calligraphy, and presented to the Emperor. Wu Bozong was commissioned to write their prefaces.

且[命之曰爾西域人，素習本音，兼通華語] 其口以授儒，爾儒譯「繹」其義，緝成文焉。惟直述，毋藻繪，毋忽，臣等奉命惟謹，開局於右順門之右，相與切磨，達厥本指，不敢有毫髮增損，越明年二月，天文書譯既，繕寫以進，有旨命臣伯宗為序.

In explaining the legitimacy of Arabo-Persian knowledge, Wu Bozong took a similar line to the one presented by the Emperor, and pointed out to the fact that knowledge can be derived from different sources. The cosmological principles, he explained, are universal, and hence there should be no discrimination between local

109. There is a remarkable similarity between the description of the procedure of translation of Arabic and Persian works under the Yuan, and the way Buddhist texts were translated to Chinese several centuries earlier. See Zürcher 2007, 31. As will be discussed in the chapter 4 of this dissertation, similar methods were also used to translate Arabic and Persian texts in 17th century China.

Chinese knowledge and knowledge of foreign origin:

> Looking at the astronomical works of the Western Regions, and observing how different their transmission is from that of the Chinese [astronomical works], yet how identical are the roots of the two traditions, I realized how subtle the ultimate principles are, and how they encompass the entire universe. How could there be a difference between China and the Barbarians?
>
> 今觀西域天文書，與中國相傳殊途同歸，則知至理精微之妙，充塞宇宙，豈以華夷而有間乎。

At his closing remarks, Wu Bozong made a comparison to the use of these Arabo-Persian works under the Yuan. He suggested that since the Yuan did not translate the works into Chinese, their contents did not disseminate widely. Now that the works were translated to Chinese, Wu asserted, they could be incorporated into the Chinese canon, alongside with traditional texts:

> These works originated from far-away barbarians [*yiyi* 夷裔]. During the century or so of the Yuan rule, they were veiled and not shown to the world. Today I have received the Imperial edict to display these texts for the benefit of China's use, and establish them as a school of thought. How fortunate it is! The Emperor's heart is wide and all-embracing, and he makes no discriminations in an unprecedented way. These works have been carved [i.e., printed] and displayed. They will thus be transmitted and used together with the books of China's wise men and sages. Isn't it of great value to this present day and a significant contribution to future generations?
>
> 是書遠出夷裔，在元世百有余年，晦而弗顯。今遇聖明，表而為中國之用，備一家之言，何其幸也。 聖心廓焉大公，一視無間，超軼前代遠矣。刻而列之，與中國聖賢之書，並傳並用，豈惟有補於當今，抑亦有功於萬世云。

The project of translation was abruptly stopped a year later, in 1383, amid the beginning of decade-long violent clashes between the Emperor and his court scholars.[110] The translated works, however, became the foundation of a dominant scientific school of astronomy that applied and developed the Arabo-Persian methods of prediction. Works in Chinese on the Arabo-Persian calculations continued to be written well into the later Ming period by scholar-officials, such as Tang Shunzhi 唐順之 (1507-1560), Zhou Shuxue 周述學, Chen Rang 陳壤, Lei Zong 雷宗, Yuan Huang 袁黃 (1533-1606), who mastered the Arabo-Persian astronomical computing techniques.[111] Most of this scholarship, however, did not use any of the original texts, and apparently made use exclusively of the Chinese translations. The *History of the Ming* remarks that these experts of Arabo-Persian works worked as an exclusive group - a fact that resulted in limited circulation of the translations of Arabo-Persian astronomical

110. On the violent clashes and the terrorizing policies of Zhu Yuanzhang, see Langlois Jr. 1998, 149-181.

111. Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chouren zhuan*, juan 30, 516:292-293; Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chouren zhuan*, juan 30, 516:298-299.

texts.[112]

The dominance of Arabo-Persian astronomy in China continued throughout the Ming period, and well into the Qing period (1644-1911). Interestingly, even foreign visitors to Ming China could not escape the dominance of this astronomical school. The Korean astronomers Yi Sunji 李純之 (Ch. Li Chunzhi, 1406-1465) and his colleague Kim Dam 金淡 (Ch. Jin Tan 1416 - 1464), who visited China during the mid-fifteenth century, a few decades after the first emperor's translation project, took with them to Chosŏn Korean several of these works and published them there.[113] This can serve as a good indication for the status of Arabo-Persian astronomy during the Ming. The Arabo-Persian school of astronomy was eventually disenfranchised only in the mid-17th century, following the arrival of the Jesuits, and the criticism of Adam Schall of the outdated Arabo-Persian methods of calculation.[114]

Although the published astronomical literature was exclusively in Chinese, many of the positions in the Directorate of Astronomy of the Ming were inheritable. Thus, descendants of Arabo-Persian immigrants continued to work in the directorate. Some of these people maintained a certain level of literacy in Arabic and Persian, and continued to use astronomical works in their original languages. The *History of the Ming* tells that "the people under the Observatory officers (*liji taiguan zhe* 隸籍臺官者) were still using the books of their original lands." Some of them even looked for the Arabic and Persian versions of translated texts, in order to update the texts, and correct omissions and mistakes.[115] Bei Lin 貝琳, for example, was a descendant of a person who served as a vice-director of Astronomy in Nanjing during the Chenghua reign (1464-1487). His ancestors migrated to China around 1385, bringing with them a text on a method of calendrical computation (*Tupan lifa* 土盤秝法). The work was translat-

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112. *Mingshi*, 37:745.

113. On the Korean publication, *Chiljeongsan Naepyeon* 七政算外篇 (CH. *Qizheng suan waipian*, "The Outer Chapters of the 'Seven Governors' Computing") see Eun Hee Lee 2015. On the Korean reception of other Arabo-Persian astronomical works, see Yunli 2014.

114. The bureau of Arabo-Persian astronomy continued to exist even after the fall of the Ming and the rise of the Qing dynasty in the mid-seventeenth century. During the 3rd and 4th years of the Kangxi reign (1664-5), a harsh dispute occurred in the Bureau of Astronomy between Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (1597-1669), an astronomer in the Bureau and a fervid advocate of the application of Arabo-Persian astronomical knowledge and the Jesuit missionary Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666, known in Chinese as Yang Ruowang 楊若望). The dispute focused on the level of accuracy of the Islamic calendric computation (*Huihui lifa* 回回曆法), and ended with the Kangxi emperor's endorsement of Schall. For our purpose, this event can demonstrate the perpetuating effect of Arabo-Persian knowledge in official institutions, although it seems that none of the practitioners used texts in their original languages. For a compilation of related primary sources on the dispute see: Chen Zhanshan 陳占山 2000.. On the dispute in a historical perspective, see 1954; Elman 2005, 134-144.

115. *Mingshi*, 37:745.

ed into Chinese by Yuan Tong 元統, an astronomer at the court of the first emperor, under the title *Huasuan* 華算 ("Chinese Computation"). The Chinese work, however, did not receive much attention. Bei Lin, who was concerned that his ancesters' text would be lost, memorialized the Emperor in year 1470, asking for permission to update the text and to republish it. The work was, eventually, republished in year 1477 and presented to court.[116]

It is not clear whether the case of the Arabo-Persian astronomical texts is unique, or similar institutional projects of translation of other types Arabic and Persian works took place under the early Ming emperors. A special division for translation of Arabo-Persian documents was established under the Bureau of Translation (*Siyiguan* 四夷館), and received the name *Huihui guan* 回回館 ("The Arabo-Persian Translation Division"). Its main task was to provide textual translation and oral interpretation services to the court, especially for diplomatic communications and visits. Yet, except for a Persian-Chinese lexicon and several templates of diplomatic correspondence,[117] there is no other evidence for translation of works carried out by this institution. In addition, a Chinese translation of an Arabo-Persian pharmaceutical treatise took place around the beginning of the 15th century. The work, whose Chinese title is *Huihui yaofang* 回回藥方("Arabo-Persian Pharmaceutical Recipes"), includes in the extant portions of it references to Greek and Arabic classics on pharmaceutics, as well as many transliterations of Arabo-Persian names of materials. The history of the translation is unclear, yet it can serve as an evidence to an existing interest in Arabo-Persian works as well as available linguistic capabilities to translate such texts in China of the fifteenth century.[118]

5. Inter-Dynastical Continuities in the Accommodation of Arabo-Persian Science

Different historical actors imported a variety of Arabic and Persian texts to China. In the Yuan and early Ming it was the court that found Arabo-Persian applied science useful imported texts; in the late Ming and early Qing, the main recipients of Arabo-Persian texts were local communities of Muslim scholars and practitioners of Islam. Can we talk about a single Arabo-Persian channel of transmission when the historical circumstances are so diverse? This dissertation argues that we can. Several

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116. Ruan Yuan 阮元 *Chouren zhuan*, *juan* 29 516:288; *Ming shilu*, *Xianzong shilu* 171:3093 (Chenghua 13/10/1).

117. Two types of dictionaries have been found: the first type include two different manuscripts, titled respectively *Huihuiguan yiyu* 回回館譯語 ("Translation of Words of the Arabo-Persian Translation Division") and *Huihuiguan zazi* 回回館雜字 ("Glossaries of the Arabo-Persian Translation Division"). These are lists of words in Persian, divided thematically. Every entry includes also a Chinese transliteration and translation. The second type of dictionary, is titled 回回館來文 ("Correspondences of the Arabo-Persian Translation Division"), and includes what seem to be templates for translation of diplomatic letters. On the division and its dictionaries, see Honda Minobu 本田實信 1963; Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝 2008.

118. On *Huihui yaofang*, see Buell 2007; Song Xian 1999; Wang Xingyi 王興伊 2005; Unschuld and Jinsheng 2000, 478-479.

aspects inherent to the reception process of Arabo-Persian texts in China produced continuities of transmission throughout the Yuan, Ming and Qing periods.

Throughout the late imperial period Arabo-Persian texts were collectively referred to by a series of attributes that highlighted their Western and Islamicate origin. By far the most common term, *Huihui* 回回 ("Islamicate") was continuously used from the Yuan and well into the Qing to designate the teachings and practitioners of Islam, as well as objects and texts whose origin was considered to be the Islamicate world.[119] Other terms, such as *Xi* 西 ("Western"), *Xiyu* 西域 ("of the Western Regions"), *Tianfang* 天方 ("of the Heavenly locus"), were similarly used to designate anything culturally, ethnically or religiously identified, in Chinese eyes, with the Islamicate world.[120] From a Chinese point of view an Arabic text on astronomy used by the Yuan court, and a Persian theological work circulating in the early Qing shared the same cultural features, and were uniformly referred to as "Arabo-Persian"). Thus, the discussion of Arabo-Persian texts as a single pool seems to reflect the late imperial Chinese conception of these texts.

By mid-1368 the armies of Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, the future first emperor of the Ming, captured Beijing.[121] After the armies took over the Yuan's Imperial Library, they transferred to Nanjing some tens of thousands of scrolls, including maps, printed book, classical literature and histories. Some reports mention that among these books were hundreds of volumes of Arabic and Persian texts.[122] Some of these works were translated into Chinese during the late 14th century, but a large part of it was lost amid the relocation of the Ming capital to Beijing in 1420. Some Arabic and Persian texts must have been destroyed, some manuscripts found their way into private libraries in China. The late-17th century scholar, Liu Zhi 劉智, described in a preface to his magnum opus, entitled *Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu Nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 ("Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered," also known as "The Biography of the Prophet"), how he happened on several texts on as-

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119. The term *Huihui* evolved from an older ethnonym *Huigu* (or *Huihu* 回鶻) used to designate the Uyghurs. By the Yuan, however, this terms became a common category for foreigners who arrived in China from the Islamicate world. In addition to Muslims, it included Jews and in some cases also Nestorians. During the Ming and early Qing this term had a double meaning. It served as a religious category for Muslims who lived in China, and at the same time it was used as a general term for Arabic and Persian (and arguably also Chaghatay). After the annexation of Xinjiang, the term and its derived form *Huibu* 回部 referred to the Muslim Turks in Xinjiang.

120. The term *Xi* was used mainly after the Ming, and invariably designated Europeans, Western and Central Asians; The term *Xiyu* was used as a vague designation of China's Western neighbors including India; other terms, such as *Tianfang* 天方 ("The Heavenly Locus"), *Tianfang* 天房 ("The Heavenly Chamber," i.e. the Ka'bah), *Qingzhen* 清真 ("Pure and True"), circulated during the Ming and Qing among scholars of Islam as well as the general Public. On these terms, Dillon 1999, 13-14; Huang 1986, 85-86.

121. On the capture of Beijing by the Ming armies, see Dreyer 1998, 96-103.

122. Wu Bozong 吳伯宗 reports this in his preface to *The Book on Arabo-Persian Astronomy* (*Huihui tianwen shu* 回回天文書), see *Mingyi tianwenshu*, 21:296-298.

tronomy and cosmology from the Yuan imperial library in private libraries across China.[123] Liu's account highlights the common use of scientific works from the Yuan in the study of Islamic theology during the late Ming and early Qing.

The inheritable bureaucratic positions of experts and translators in the Ming and Qing governments placed the positions in charge of Arabic and Persian texts at the hands of a number of families. Soon after the establishment of the new Ming dynasty, a considerable number of Arabo-Persian speakers that had served as bureaucrats under the Yuan surrendered and offered their services to the new dynasty. Some of these people were recruited to serve in the newly established Ming court as translators and experts on Arabo-Persian astronomy. As these positions required special linguistic skills, the Ming government allowed holders of these positions to pass them on to their descendants. This created long lineages of Arabo-Persian experts serving as translators and in the Arabo-Persian astronomical bureaus. When the Qing dynasty took over, it recruited many of the Ming bureaucrats, and reinstalled a similar system of inheritance for positions that required linguistic expertise. As a result, a number of governmental offices maintained close connection with the Muslim community throughout the Yuan, Ming and Qing periods. Wang Dai-yu 王岱輿 (1570—1660), a precursor of a Chinese-Islamic literary movement in the early-17th century, attested in his writing to this generation-long connection with the astronomical bureau. In a preface to his work, published around the year 1642, he described how his ancestor came from the Islamicate world (*Tianfang* 天房) and was recruited to the astronomical bureau by the first emperor of the Ming. His mission was to "increase the precision of astronomical measurements" and "revise the errors in the calendar". He was granted a position in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau and the right to live in China. The knowledge Wang's ancestor brought with him to China, according to Wang, was preserved for more than three centuries, up to the Wang's time.[124] The common cultural background of the ancestor's astronomical knowledge and Wang's expertise in Islamic theology was highlighted in Wang's writings, suggesting that Chinese-Muslims by the late 17th century perceived the various types of Arabo-Persian knowledge as constituting a single pool.

6. Chapter Summary

The Mongol conquest of China in the 13th century brought to China a considerable number of texts in Arabic and Persian. The Yuan court established governmental agencies that housed Arab and Persian experts who served as the main intermediaries between the court and the accomplishments of the Islamicate world in the fields of astronomy, astrology, and medicine. Despite the important of the Mongol period in the transmission and accumulation of Arabic and Persian texts in China, its utilitarian policy towards knowledge confined the study of Arabo-Persian texts to specific fields of interest, and did not facilitate a wider introduction of Arabo-Persian philosophies of nature.

The fall of the Yuan and the emergence of the Ming dynasty in 1368 signaled China's withdrawal from the Mongol Empire. The espousing of the Cheng-Zhu interpretation of Confucianism by the first emperor of the Ming, and his restrictive policies

123. Liu Zhi 劉智 *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:41.

124. *Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 [The True Interpretation of the Correct Teachings], 16:30.

over scholarship confined the study of Arabic and Persian texts to governmental bureaus, and in particular to the Bureau of Astronomy. Furthermore, translation projects of relevant Arabo-Persian texts into Chinese in the 1380s facilitated the naturalization of Arabo-Persian astronomical knowledge. At the same time, it detached astronomical knowledge from its cultural and linguistic foundations.

Many of Arabic and Persian texts that were accumulated during the Yuan and Ming found their ways into private libraries and were re-discovered during the late-16th onwards. Many of the positions in the Yuan and Ming governments held by Arabs and Persians were inheritable, and thus ensured the participation of their descendants in government well into the Ming and Qing periods.

CHAPTER 3: THE POPULARIZATION OF SCHOLARSHIP AND THE RE-FASHIONING OF CHINA'S ISLAM

ABSTRACT

This chapter will chart the socio-political and intellectual circumstances that led to the rise of Arabo-Persian scholarship in China during the mid-16th century. The chapter will survey the changes in the intellectual climate and the changing capacity of the intellectual discourse to accommodate ex-canonical works during the Yuan, early- and mid-Ming periods. The chapter will discuss: (1) The rise of Wang Yangming's movement, and its effects on the intellectual environment; (2) The indirect effect of Wang Yangming's movement on the rise of Islamic scholarship in the mid-16th century. The chapter advances the argument that the emergence of Arabo-Persian scholarship in China during the second part of the sixteenth century was a result of an accommodating intellectual landscape that prevailed in China after Wang Yangming challenged traditional scholarship and its adherence to the Confucian canon. This critique provided an impetus for Chinese Muslims to re-fashion their scholarship, and position it within the framework of the Confucian classical studies.

While the Yuan and early Ming period were marked by the accommodation of technical knowledge of Arabo-Persian astronomy, by the late 16th century a movement that promoted Arabo-Persian philological studies introduced Arabo-Persian knowledge as an independent field of study to China's Muslim, and in some cases non-Muslim, literati class. The transformation in the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge between these periods was intimately connected to socio-political changes that occurred in China during the 15th and 16th centuries, and opened up the local scholarly environment. The following chapter will chart the changes that occurred in China's scholarly environment during the 15th and 16th centuries, and provided the socio-political space for a scholarship that exclusively made use of Arabic and Persian texts, yet fashioned itself as a constituent of the local Chinese scholarly environment.

China of the sixteenth century saw the culmination of decades of skepticism towards traditional scholarship transformed into new epistemological claims. Following Wang Yangming's 王陽明 (1472-1529) critique of the classical scholarship of his day, the role of the Confucian canon as the unrivaled source for knowledge was questioned. The heated intellectual polemics that followed produced a spectrum of approaches to knowledge and epistemology. At one end stood the traditional text-based view of the Confucian canon as the sole epistemological source. At the other stood a total negation of text-based epistemology, and the advocacy of a first-hand, un-mediated form of knowledge production. New approaches to learning were located along this spectrum, inevitably competing against each other for recognition and dominance.

1. INTELLECTUALISM IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

The restrictive policies on scholarship implemented by of the early Ming emperors had the objective of mollifying criticism against the court. They were rather successful in doing so, at least for the first century of the Ming rule. By divesting funds, and setting harsh restrictions on private schools, the Ming court was effectively

strengthening government-espoused scholarship over other forms, although it did not entirely dissolve extra-governmental intellectual activities. Different forms of intellectual engagement were an integral part of social fabric during the late imperial period. Nevertheless, these different forms seem not to allow a single definition of intellectualism to cover their entire scope of activity. From a definitional standpoint of view, several terms were used throughout the late imperial period in conjunction with intellectual activities. Most notable are the terms *shi* 士 (often translated as "literati"), *ru* 儒 (lit., "scholar," but closely intertwined with the study of the Confucian classics). The former is broadly defined as the social group of the learned elite, who were commanded Classical Chinese rhetoric and engaged in the study of the classics. Members of this group consolidated their socio-political and economic status through participation in the civil service examination system, allowing them to dominate the imperial bureaucracy. As such, they were able to reproduce their social, cultural and political authority.[1] The latter, *ru*, constituted by the Song and Yuan periods a social category[2] for "certain types of educational and ritual specialists serving the state."[3] This category was taken out of the formal social mapping in the beginning of the Ming,[4] leaving *ru* to be a vague label for those engaged in classical scholarship. In many cases, *ru* was identified with the Cheng-Zhu school of Neo-Confucianism, which emerged during the Song period, and was adopted by the first Ming rulers as the orthodox ideology.[5] The high currency of the two labels, *shi* and *ru*, in classical Chinese works simplified and flattened the complex nature of the intellectual environment that prevailed during the late imperial period.

Broadly speaking, intellectual activities of different sorts were carried out during the late imperial period by various groups who employed writing to disseminate and legitimize their social values.[6] Wakeman lists the main groups whose scholarly activities constituted late imperial China's intellectual landscape:[7] (1) civil service, policy makers and administrators. This group was the largest in size, and the most celebrated

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1. On the rise of the *Shi* class during Tang and Song, see Nylan 2008, 54; Peterson 1998, 771; Elman 1991.

2. By social category I mean here the use of the term as a formal rubric in the household registration system.

3. Peterson 1998, 770.

4. Peterson 1998, 770.

5. See above.

6. In use here the wider definition of intellectualism, slightly modified from Wakeman's definition. Wakeman Jr 1972, 35.

7. I follow here (with some modification) the typology presented by Wakeman, Wakeman Jr 1972, 35. While Wakeman divided the first group presented here to two separate groups: (1) civil service and policy maker, and (2) practical reformers and administrators, for the purpose of this study, the differentiation of these two groups will not be highlighted. Peterson presents an alternative typology, concerning mainly the groups identified as *ru* 儒 or *wenren* 文人 ("literate men"). Peterson 1998, 771-788.

due to the socio-political and financial compensation it provided its members. In addition, this group has enjoyed the greatest visibility in the historiography due to their instrumental role in shaping and implementing court policies. This was also the group to which specialists in Arabo-Persian astronomy, medicine and other fields, who took up government positions during the early Ming period, belonged; (2) ethical idealists. This group of experts in classical learning perpetuated the ideology that cultivation of individual morality, and moral conduct of the sovereign, are the highest objectives of scholarship, and outweighed political and administrative considerations.[8] This strong conviction led many of its members to voice criticism against what they saw as the government's deviation from moral standards. Together with the previous group, these men were labelled as *ru* 儒; (3) aesthetes and literary men (*wenren* 文人). This group comprised of people engaging in the writing of poetry and prose, calligraphy, painting, as well as writing treatises on history, practical knowledge (encyclopedias). While these intellectual endeavors were considered as part of the main-stream up to the Song period, they were gradually marginalized following the rise of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy, given its focus on morality and statecraft;[9] and, (4) clergy and monk. This group included much of the literate segments of the Buddhist and Daoist clergy, who were the group to which we can add those literati who engaged in the proliferation of the Jesuit ideology from the last decade of the sixteenth century. Both literary men and clergy shared many commonalities, and overlapped in many cases. One of the main features shared by these two categories was their engagement with texts outside the Confucian canon, and their attempts to provide alternative explanations of the cosmological foundations and their implications on the conduct of the individual. The activities of the first two groups were closely tight with the statecraft (*jingshi* 經世), either as officials enacting and implementing policies, or as a moral compass and critique observers. The latter two groups were not strangers to discussions that juxtaposed morality and state-craft, but mainly focused their intellectual programs around aspects of culture, literature and philosophy.

The engagement with Arabo-Persian knowledge during the early Ming period was mainly from within the rows of the government. As such, those scholars can be regarded as belonging to the first group of intellectuals, primarily in the role of administrators among that group. Changes in the intellectual environment that took place during the mid-1400s, and became more evident during the subsequent century, invigorated the visibility of groups outside the government and demonstrated alternatives to the traditional voices of Confucian moral advocates. The movement of Arabo-Persian scholarship that appeared in the sixteenth century arose along the lines of the gradual revival of extra-official scholarship, and the rise of intellectual endeavors outside the Confucian orthodoxy.

2. Rocking the boat - Socio-Political trends effecting knowledge policies

The autocratic and centralist policies of the first emperor had a significant effect on formulating the connections between the court, society and the intellectual sphere. Many of the institutions he installed, including the civil service examination and the educational network, perpetuated well into the 19th century, albeit in a slightly altered form. The general efficacy of these policies on knowledge production, how-

8. See Bol 2006, 101-102.

9. See Peterson 1998, 772-779.

ever, significantly eroded amid the new socio-political and economic challenges that emerged early into the Ming dynasty in the mid-15th century. Private scholarship, such as the one emerged among Chinese Muslims in the late sixteenth century, gradually became a common sight, and generated scholarly alternatives to the official program of scholarship.

By the mid-1400s, scholarship was already deeply rooted in the Chinese socio-political structure. Obtaining a governmental appointment was the main motivation for many to engage in formal education, and the officially-sanctioned canon was the textual base for much of the literary production. At the same time, winds of change in the intellectual landscape began to blow. Local academies, bringing about alternative discourses on morality and society, began to appear and to produce scholarship for its own sake, not motivated by prospects for an official career.

The gradually developing discrepancies between the socio-political model encapsulated in the Cheng-Zhu ideology, and the situation on the ground destabilized the social fabric and challenged the efficacy of the political institutions, including those related to knowledge production. The economic deficiency, which characterized most of the fourteenth century from the last years of the Yuan and through the early years of the Ming, produced favorable circumstances for the autocratic and centralist ambitions of the first emperor. It allowed him to apply intensive control measures, reaching down into the local level. At the same time, the lack of extra-governmental competitors allowed the court to monopolize different sectors of society. In the case of scholarship, the economic situation hindered the rehabilitation of private academies which had almost disappeared during the transitional period between the Yuan and the Ming, leaving an intellectual vacuum to be filled by the state education institutions. At the same time, it helped fortify the status of the state-established civil service examinations as the main vehicle for socio-political empowerment and economic mobility.

The lack of alternatives for socio-economic upward mobility, and the limited quotas of the civil service examinations, generated intense competition. The more candidates who participated in the examinations, the lower the chances that any individual candidate could graduate and gain official office.[10] On one hand, competition increased the value of eventual compensation for successful participants. On the other hand, it generated a new economy of knowledge in which preparatory education became a commodity. An entire cottage industry of auxiliary services for the participation in the civil service examinations, such as tutoring positions, publications of primers and collections of past examinations, as well as other types of aides, emerged and filled the contemporary cultural landscape. The decreased chances of success made the investment in preparatory education a crucial part of the examination process, and, in turn, made wealth a crucial element of the system. At the same time, the society was filled with unemployed, unsuccessful, examination candidates who had to find paid work after investing their adolescence and young adulthood in preparing for the examination. Moreover, the competition deterred segments of the population from engaging in any other form of scholarship.

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10. As Elman demonstrates, the available data clearly shows a drastic fall in the percentage of successful candidates to the overall participants in the examinations between the early Ming and the last years of the dynasty. See the different tables in Elman 2000, 646-680.

Changes in the economic conditions during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were, in part, an outcome of the economic policies implemented by the different Ming emperors. The eventual effects of these changing conditions on the socio-political and economic structures, however, were not always predictable. An example for such a case is the gradual rise in the mercantile activities due to policies aimed at the economic development of the border regions. Groups of merchants were able to exploit these policies to generate significant profits from intra-regional trade. As a result, the merchant class - a class, which was situated at the bottom of the social hierarchy in the Confucian social ideology - successfully bought its way up the socio-political ladder. Profits from mercantile activities were translated into a multiplicity of investments. One type was an investment in the preparatory education of a family member that could, within few generations upgrade the socio-political and economic standing of the entire extended family. Another type of investment was in local institutions, such as temples, local schools, academies and other kinds of local community infrastructure. This latter type of investment also yielded upgrading of the socio-political status of the investor's family, albeit on the local level.

The commodification of knowledge and scholarship, and the rising dominance of the merchant class over the different arms of knowledge production in their capacity as publishers and donors to schools and academies, alarmed many of those who interpreted the situation as a threat to their own status. One of the strategies of this latter group to restore the social order was to discuss the dubious morality of mercantile activities, implying a lack of moral integrity of merchant class families.

The improvement in the economic conditions, and the relaxation in the autocratic policies after the reign of first Ming emperor facilitated the development of local, privately-funded educational institutions. Investments of local merchant and gentry families found their way to support the local intellectual arena. Local private academies, which drastically decreased in number during the turbulent transition between the Yuan and Ming, and disappeared from the local landscape during the reign of the first Ming emperor, became a familiar sight throughout China by the mid-fifteenth century.[11] The symbolic meaning that was inherent to the reconstruction of Zhu Xi's *White Deer Grotte Academy* (*Bailudong shuyuan* 白鹿洞書院, in today's Jiangxi province) in 1465, and the appointment of the Cheng-Zhu scholar Hu Juren 胡居仁 (1434-1484) as its headmaster, exemplifies the new winds of private intellectualism that reconquered the Chinese intellectual landscape.[12] These private education institutions set new standards of learning. Some academies even offered a broad curriculum, well beyond the Neo-Confucian program.[13] The traditional Confucian canon found itself sharing the floor with teaching of Ancient Style prose (*guwen* 古文), Tang poetry (*Tangshi* 唐詩), as well as texts on statecraft and other.[14]

With the increase in number of private academies, new attitudes towards the

11. Elman points out that more than 30% of all Ming dynasty private academies were established during the Jiajing period (1522-1566). Elman 1989, 387.

12. Bol 2008, 263.

13. Bol 2008, 263.

14. Bol 2008, 263.

officially espoused curricula became apparent. The Yongle 永樂 emperor published in 1415 the three textual anthologies *Wujing daquan* 五經大全, *Sishu daquan* 四書大全, and *Xingli daquan* 性理大全 that became the prescribed and solely-authorized editions of the Confucian classics and their commentaries. These texts were required for the participation in the civil service examination, and no other versions of the texts were allowed to be used. The publication of these anthologies further enhanced the status of the Cheng-Zhu school as state orthodoxy. At the same time, however, it also significantly eroded the authority of this school among the literati. For some scholars, the espousing of the Cheng-Zhu ideology by the state, inevitably limited the capacity of this scholarship to serve as a moral compass. For others, the imposition of approved editions of the Confucian classics by the Ming government impeded the development of critical scholarship.[15] The tensions between the strict curricula of the official academies and the rather open and inclusive curricula in private academies gradually developed into scholarly antagonism towards the traditional Cheng-Zhu scholarship. Scholars began to seek alternative epistemological frameworks that could serve as alternatives to the Cheng-Zhu ideology.

3. Opening the Boundaries of Knowledge and the Popularization of Scholarship in late imperial China

The socio-economic shifts during the fifteenth century had direct and in-direct effects on the scholarly production. They provided the impetus to re-examine the traditional social ideology promoted by the Cheng-Zhu school, and contributed to the emergence of new socio-intellectual paradigms. The changes in the socio-economic structure of society, as well as the imperial efforts to "pacify" non-Chinese minorities in the different corners of the Ming empire, produced new views of social morality and epistemology.[16] Among the new philosophical programs that grew up out of these conditions in the mid-fifteenth century was that of the scholar-official Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529). Wang resurrected and expanded the philosophical program of the Song dynasty scholar Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1192), a contemporary and opponent of Zhu Xi, whose program, had been marginalized and ignored for most of the Yuan and early Ming periods.[17] Wang's program came as a critique to the Cheng-Zhu school, which by the early 16th century was already deep rooted in the curricula of governmental and private academies.

Wang's program emphasized the supremacy of moral self-cultivation (or, what Wang Yangming called *liang zhi* 良知 "the individual's innate knowledge") over any other form of external investigation.[18] In a treatise he entitled *Daxue wen* 大學問

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15. On these anthologies and their effect, see Elman 2000, 113-119; Chan 1998, 184.

16. The experience civilian and military officials had in border regions, or in regions where indigenous (non-Han) communities were present, gave rise to new ideas about the socio-political advantages of acculturation and edification. Moreover, for some officials, such as Wang Yangming (see below), who served in the rural areas of Jiangxi, this experience turned into a full-fledged ideology on the shared natural capacities of all humanity, and the role of education in realizing these capacities. See de Bary and Bloom 1999, 852.

17. On the affinity and differences between Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Yangming, see Liu 2008a, 416-420. On Lu Jiuyuan, see also Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

18. This methodological dichotomy is well accentuated in the traditional Chinese

("Questions on 'The Great Learning'"), Wang rejected Zhu Xi's interpretation of the classical text, and the use of this interpretation as the classical imperative for an external investigation of things. Wang claimed, that knowledge could be obtained internally through a guided process of self-cultivation.[19] Wang wrote, that investigation of things and the extension of knowledge is, in fact, "to extend the innate knowledge of my [i.e., Wang's] mind to each and every thing. The innate knowledge of my mind is the same as the Principle of Nature. When the Principle of Nature in the innate knowledge of my mind is extended to all things, all things will attain their principle."[20] For Wang, the fundamental concept in Zhu Xi cosmology, the natural principle *li*, is embedded in one's innate knowledge and hence, an investigation of things should concentrate on the moral/cognitive operation, which he calls "the exertion of innate knowledge" (*zhi liangzhi* 致良知) - a concept that became identified with his school.

The primacy of the heart-mind in Wang Yangming's epistemology came at the expense of classical scholarship—the stronghold of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy and the source of the socio-economic and political strength of the literati class. The study of the classics in the Cheng-Zhu program was indespinsble to any attempt to extend knowledge. This point is clearly stated in *Master Zhu's Categorized Conversations* (朱子語類),[21] where Zhu Xi is quoted as saying: "When people study, of course they want to get it from their own mind, and embody it in their self. But if they do not read books, they will not know what getting it from their own mind is."[22] Wang Yangming reject-

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historiography as well as in our current one, where the Cheng-Zhu camp is labeled as *lixue* 理學 ("The School of the Principals [of nature]") and the Lu-Wang camp as *xinxue* 心學 ("The School of the Heart-Mind"). The Ming historian Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695), describes the difference between the two camps as following: "As to Yang-ming's differences with Chu Hsi [i.e., Zhu Xi], these refer to their interpretations of the *Great Learning*. In explaining the Great Learning, Chu Hsi first talked of the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge, and only afterwards taught the sincerity of intention. Yang-ming, in explaining the *Great Learning*, identified investigating things and extending knowledge with the sincerity of intention." (Ching and Fang 1987, 59)

19. As a direct critique to Zhu Xi's interpretation of the phrase *zhizhi zai gewu* 致知在格物 in the *Great Learning*, Wang wrote: "[T]he mind in its fundamental Substance is the nature....those who wish to make their thoughts Sincere must 'extend their knowledge.' To 'extend one's knowledge' (*zhi* 致) means to reach to the ultimate (*zhi* 至), like in the phrase, "Mourning reaches to (*zhi* 致) the full extent of grief.'...'To fully extend one's knowledge is not like the so-called 'filling out' of what one knows that later scholars talk about. It is simply to extent fully the 'innate knowing' (*liangzhi* 良知) of my own mind." I follow the translation in Tiwald and Van Norden 2014, 247-248 (with modification).

20. Translated in Chan 1963, 99. Quoted in Liu 2008b, 408-409.

21. The work *Categorized Conversations with Master Zhu* (朱子語類) is a collection of conversations of Zhu Xi and his disciples. Li Jingde 黎靖德, a Southern Song literatus, collected the available memoria of Zhu Xi's disciples, and edited them in 1270 to a book by the name *Categorized Conversations with Master Zhu.*

22. Translation is taken from Tiwald and Van Norden 2014, 180. The original: 人之為學固是欲得之於心，體之於身。但不讀書，則不知心之所得者何事 (*Zhuzi*

ed the centrality of the Confucian scholarship as it was held by the Cheng-Zhu school. For him, the classics (*jing* 經) were a space where human experience was recorded. The principles of nature, according to Wang, operate in different dimensions: in form of the heavenly Mandate *ming* 命, human inclination *xin* 心, and human nature *xing* 性. The classics are a written dimension of the operation of the principles. Wang explained this notion of classics in his treatise *Zunjingge ji* 尊經閣記 ("A Record of the Pavilion of Venerating the Scriptures," comp. 1525):

> The scriptures are a manifestation of the perpetual Way. When referring to its cosmic dimension, we call it "the [Heavenly] Mandate"; when referring to its endowment upon Man, we call it "human disposition"; when referring to its control our bodies, we call it heart-mind. These are manifestations of the heart, and human disposition, and of the [Heavenly] Mandate. All are concordant. It prevails among all people and things, reaches the four corners of the world, pervades Heaven and Earth, and perpetuates the past into the present. It is possessed in all, it is identical in all, and it never changes. It is the perpetual Way. It is reflected in the senses, and manifested in compassion, shame, modesty, and the ability to distinguish right from wrong; It is present in one's conduct, and manifested in familial love between father and son, a sense of righteousness between a ruler and its subject, a distinction between a husband and his spouse, a hierarchy between a senior and a junior, and a trustful relationship between friends. Compassion, shame, modesty, the ability to distinguish right from wrong, familial love, righteousness, distinction, hierarchy and trust are all what we call heart-mind, human disposition and the [heavenly] mandate....The Six Classics are not different from the perpetual Way of one's heart-mind. Thus, "The Book of Change" records the transformations of Yin and Yang in one's heart-mind; "The Book of Documents" records the ruling and governance in one's heart-mind, "The Book of Odes" records the poetical aesthetics and human emotions in one's heart-mind, "The Book of Rites" records the etiquette regulations in one's heart-mind, "The Book of Music" records the pleasure and tranquility from [musical] harmony in one's heart-mind, "The [Annals of the] Spring and Autumn" record the [differentiation of] loyalty from infidelity, and malevolence from benevolence in one's heart-mind. The Gentleman reads the Six Classics when he seeks the transformations of Yin and Yang in his heart-mind and then balances them, and hence his veneration of "The Book of Change"; when he searches for the ruling and governance in his heart-mind and then implements them, and hence his veneration of "The Book of Documents"; when he searches for the poetical aesthetics and human emotions in his heart-mind and then evokes them, and hence his veneration of "The Book of Odes"; when he searches for the etiquette regulations in his heart-mind and then exhibits them, and hence his veneration of "The Book of Rites"; when he searches for the pleasure and tranquility from [musical] harmony in his heart-mind, and then realizes them, and hence his veneration of "The Book of Music"; when he searches for the [ability to differentiate] loyalty from infidelity, and malevolence from benevo-

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yulei 朱子語類 [Categorized Coversations with Master Zhu], 1:176.).

lence in his heart-mind, and then realizes them, and hence his veneration of "The [Annals of the] Spring and Autumn". [23]

經常道也，其在於天，謂之命，其賦於人，謂之性，其主於身，謂之心。心也，性也，命也，一也。通人物，達四海，塞天地，亘古今，无有乎弗具，无有乎弗同，无有乎或变者也，是常道也。其應乎感也，則為惻隱，為羞惡，為辭讓，為是非。其見於事也，則為父子之親，為君臣之義，為夫婦之別，為長幼之序，為朋友之信。是惻隱也，羞惡也，辭讓也，是非也，是親也，義也，序也，別也，信也，皆所謂心也，性也，命也.....六經者非他，吾心之常道也。是故《易》也者，誌吾心之陰陽消息者也；《書》也者，誌吾心之紀綱政事者也；《詩》也者，誌吾心之歌詠性情者也；《禮》也者，誌吾心之條理節文者也；《樂》也者，誌吾心之欣喜和平者也；《春秋》也者，誌吾心之誠偽邪正者也。君子之於六經也，求之吾心之陰陽消息而時行焉，所以尊《易》也；求之吾心之紀綱政事而時施焉，所以尊《書》也；求之吾心之歌詠性情而時發焉，所以尊《詩》也；求之吾心之條理節文而時著焉，所以尊《禮》也；求之吾心之欣喜和平而時生焉，所以尊《樂》也；求之吾心之誠偽邪正而時辨焉，所以尊《春秋》也。

Wang Yangming questioned the central role of the Confucian classics, and suggested that these classics, just like other textual counterparts, functioned solely as written records (*zhi* 誌) of principles of nature. As such Wang stripped the Confucian canon of its monopoly on scholarship, and paved the way for a more pluralist view of classics. An echo of this move can be seen in an inscription that was erected in 1512 at the entrance of the Jewish worship hall (*Qingzhen si* 清真寺) in Kaifeng. The inscription discusses the relationship between scriptures and the Way, and follows Wang's precedence in referring to the the classics in a broader sense as to include the Chinese Jewish texts as well.[24] The title of the inscription, *Zunchong daojing siji* 尊崇道經寺記 ("A Record of the Temple of Venerating the Scriptures") is almost identical to the title of the treatise, *Zunjingge ji* 尊經閣記 ("A Record of the Pavilion of Venerating the Scriptures"). A high degree of resemblance is found also in sentence patterns in the parts that discuss the relationship of the scriptures to the Way. This resemblance demonstrates the changing views on the status of the Confucian classics and their role as epistemological sources during the sixteenth century:

> They used to say that the Scriptures put into writing the Way. What is the Way? It is the principles of daily conduct, jointly followed by people in the past and present. Hence from the Three Bonds and Five Constants down to the subtleties of events and things, it exists in all and in all time. There is nothing which the Way does not reside in. Hence, without the Way, the Scriptures cannot exist, and without the Scriptures, the Way cannot be implemented. If there was no scriptures, the Way would not have had any record, and people would have been in chaos and perplexity, and eventually fallen into crazy talk and abstruse behavior...Although these scriptures differ in script from the Con-

23. Wang Yangming 王陽明 *Jishan shuyuan zunjinge ji*, 7:254.

24. Intriguingly, the date engraved on the Jewish inscription (1512) suggest that the inscription was written while Wang Yangming was still alive, and apparently ten years before he wrote his treatise, *Zunjingge ji*.

fucian books, their deduced principles demonstrate the Way of daily conduct, which is the same [as the Confucian Way].[25]

嘗謂經以載道，道者何，日用常行古今人所共由之理也。故大而三綱五常，小而事物細微，無物不有，無時不然，莫匪道之所寓，然道匪經無以存，經匪道無以行。使其無經，則道無載，人將貿貿焉莫知所之，卒至於狂談而窈冥行矣。...然教是經文字，雖與儒書字異，而揆厥其理，亦有常行之道，以其同也。

Wang's epistemological challenging of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy revived and invigorated the old polemics concerning the weight of an internal pursuit in the process of knowledge production. Moreover, it brought to the fore discussions on philosophical aspects that had been latent during the preceding periods. Discussions on the epistemological function of metaphysical concepts such as intuition, sincerity (*cheng* 誠) and faith (*xin* 信) on one hand, and classical scholarly and its reliance on the written word on the other; what makes a sage and the ways to attain sagehood; and, the relationship between cognition (*zhi* 知) and action (*xing* 行). The polemics between Wang and his disciples on one hand, and the advocates of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy on the other opened up the gates of scholarship to various combinations of the two programs. The opened boundaries of scholarship allowed various new theories and schools to establish themselves within the local intellectual environment. The generous spectrum of possible epistemological theories allowed theories which had enjoyed hitherto a limited attention in China to fashion themselves as part of the local intellectual fabric of the late Ming.

A central concept to Neo-Confucian epistemology was sagehood (*shengren* 聖人). The sage represented an ideal state by which a full grasp of the principles of nature (*li* 理) is attained. As such, a sage reached the highest degree of comprehension, and fully realized his original human nature (*xing* 性). The inherent metaphysical nature of the concept of sagehood collapses into this single concept of epistemological theories on the principles of nature and the ways to comprehend them, and religious interpretations. To become a sage was an aspiration shared by most schools of Neo-Confucianism, including the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy and the school of Wang Yang-ming. Tensions between the various schools, however, emerged around the definition of sagehood and the ways to attain it.[26] Similar to the concepts of the prophet in Islam (AR. *nabī*) or messenger (AR. *rasūl*, PE. *payghambar*), the Neo-Confucian sage is revealed within the physical world and among the people. In contrast to the Abrahamic traditions, however, the Confucian sage attains his status through self-cultivation and not by a divine or transcendental force.

If in Zhu Xi's teachings, sages, namely those who had attained and continued to transmit the Way, were rare, for Wang, sagehood was a function of the exertion of innate knowledge, and hence, obtainable by many. Wang rejected the notion of an exclusive genealogy of *Dao*-carriers in the fashion of Zhu Xi's *daotong*[27], and contended that "the teachings of the *Great Learning*[28] had found after Mencius no worthy transmitter for more than a thousand years, but with this exposition in terms of innate know-

25. White 1966, 53.

26. More on the view of sagehood by the Cheng-Zhu schools, see Taylor 1978.

27. On the concept of *Daotong*, see Liu 2008a, 366-367.

28. On the Great Learning and its status in the scholarship of the early Ming, see the

ing, it was restored to full clarity of understanding as if one day had encompassed all of time past."[29] Wang thus replaced the view of sagehood as a historical and vertical line, advocated by the Cheng-Zhu school, with an a-historical and random one. If sagehood, under the Cheng-Zhu ideology was a far-fetched achieved ideal, whose only way of attainment was through scholarly devotion and active engagement with the classical canon, it became under Wang Yangming's program a psychological journey of self-exploration. A sage, in Wang's definition, was anyone who reached, as de-Bary put it, "complete identification with the Principle of Heaven within oneself."[30] By doing so, Wang opened up the exclusiveness of sagehood, and more importantly, disengaged this ideal and the path to attain it from a specific intellectual curriculum. Wang explicitly stated this position, "The Way is public and belongs to the whole world, and the doctrine is also public and belongs to the whole world. They are not the private properties of Master Zhu [Xi] or even Confucius. They are open to all and the only proper way to discuss them is to do so openly."[31]

Making sagehood present in the world, attainable and free from the bounds of a specific classical canon, Wang opened the floor for interpretation of the ideal of sagehood itself. Sagehood was no longer exclusively reserved to a specific chain of transmitted knowledge, nor was it exclusively manifested in a specific canon of texts. Wang's motto *qiansheng yixin, wan'gu yidao* 千聖一心，萬古一道 ("Thousand sages, yet a single heart-mind; myriad histories, yet a single Way") became a common trope from the late 16th century, and served a declaration of legitimacy for different ideologies. The a-historical heart-mind and Way, according to that view, had multiple historical manifestations, of which the traditional *daotong* is a single example. Wang's followers made use of this motto to legitimate their programs. An example for such use can be seen in Zhao Zhenji's 趙貞吉 (1508-1577) *Jigu Shengxianwen* 祭古聖賢文 ["Homage to the Ancient Texts of Sages and Wise-men"). Zhao, a devoted Buddhist who attained a *jinshi* degree in 1535, and an advocate for the use of Confucian texts, and especially Wang Yangming's writings in Buddhist scholarship, used the phrase in his work to devise an ideological linkage between his Buddhist teachings and Confucian morals.[32]

Wang Yangming's program took different directions after his death in 1529. His followers and students gave different interpretations to their master's works.

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previous chapter.

29. "Wenlu" 文錄 ["Literary Records"] *in Wang Yangming quanji* 王陽明全集["The Complete Works of Wang Yangming], translated in de Bary and Bloom 1999, 856.. My additions in parentheses.

30. de Bary and Bloom 1999, 856.

31. Chan 1963, 164. Translated in de Bary and Bloom 1999, 856.

32. On Zhao Zhenji see Araki Kengo 荒木 見悟 2003; Wu 2011, 50; Dardess 2013, 26. Zhao wrote: "The participation in worldly affairs [*jingshi* 經世] does not interfere with essence [*ti* 體] of withdrawal from worldly affairs. The withdrawal from worldly affairs is not neglected by the application [*yong* 用] of active participation in worldly affairs. 'Thousand sages, yet a single heart-mind; myriad histories, yet a single Way.'" 經世者不礙於出世之體, 出世者不忘於經世之用, 然後千聖一心，萬古一道 (Zhao Zhenji 趙貞吉 *Zhao wensugong wenji*, *juan* 23.)

Wang's pluralistic discussion of sagehood, his vague epistemological theory, and his critique of traditional canon-based scholarship gave rise to theories on popularization of learning, anti-intellectualism and even different forms of theism. Wang Ji 王畿 (1498-1583), one of Wang Yangming's closest disciples, who established his school in Zhejiang 浙江, introduced mystical elements into his reading of the concept of "innate knowledge". He defined "innate knowledge," as the seed of sagehood, and a bridge between the divine and the mundane.[33] In his view, "innate knowledge" was present in every person and could be brought to fruition through the application of the theistic *xin* (信 "faith").[34] Wang Ji wrote, "The commitment to self-knowledge [i.e., innate knowledge] means to do without selfish calculation, premeditation, or disputation, and just to stand in the sight of the Lord-on-High to the end of one's days."[35] This reading brought historians such as Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) to claim that Wang Ji's teaching withdrew from Confucian scholarship and leaped into the realm of Chan Buddhism mysticism.[36]

Wang Gen 王艮(1483-1541) was a merchant, who had limited Confucian education as a child, yet became fascinated with Wang Yangming's ideas on education after meeting him. He founded the Taizhou school (*Taizhou xuepai* 泰州學派),[37] after claiming to have experienced an awakening and developed a sense of mission to be-

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33. de Bary and Bloom 1999, 857.

34. Ching 1976a, 1353. Peng Guoxiang suggests that Wang Ji's religious interpretation is directly related to references with similar orientation in Wang Yangming's works. He discusses as well Wang Ji's theistic notion of the concept of "innate knowledge". See Peng Guoxiang 彭國翔 2002

35. Translated in de Bary and Bloom 1999, 858. My additions in parenthesis.

36. Ching and Fang 1987, 165. Quoted in Liu 2008b, 421-422.. Huang Zongxi's 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) work *Mingru xuean* 明儒學案 ("Records of Ming scholars") is considered to be a pioneering work in Chinese historiography and one of the first works on late imperial China's intellectual history. The work includes biographies of prominent scholars from the Cheng-Zhu and Liu-Wang camps who lived during the Ming period. Huang Zongxi was a student of the prominent scholar of the Cheng-Zhu camp, Liu Zongzhou 劉宗周 (1578-1645). Unlike his teacher Huang held special sympathy to Wang Yangming's scholarship. This sympathy however did not extend to the branches of the Liu-Wang camp. Huang's critical attitudes towards Wang Gen and Wang Ji as well as toward other schools in the Liu-Wang camp should be read within this context. See also Ching and Fang 1987, 12-13.

37. The Taizhou school was founded by Wang Gen after the death of Wang Yangming, and promoted a radical reading of Wang Yangming's ideas on the popularization of knowledge and "learning for all". It recruited students from among the different classes including women, and presented them with lectures on ways to attain sagehood. Among its other members are the prominent scholars Li Zhi 李贄 and Luo Rufang 羅汝芳. See: de Bary and Bloom 1999, 864; Ko 1994, 79.

come a guide to others on how to attain sagehood.[38] Wang Gen saw himself as a link in a chain of transmission of sages starting with the ancient sages and passing through Confucius until reaching him.[39] His motto was "The streets are full of sages,"[40] manifested his rejection of texts and traditional scholarship as means to attain sagehood.

Wang Yangming's critique and the interpretations it received from his followers and opponents brought up a re-evaluation of the social role of scholarship, and the status of the traditional Confucian canon within it. The need of moral education was recognized by Wang Yangming's camp as well as by his opponents, albeit the specific contents and the means to provide it was under debate. This discourse was not limited to the realm of ideas, but influenced as well the sphere of literary production. Wang's vocation for education for all, and his rejection of the traditional form of scholarship stimulated the production of new educational tools. Increased demands for books, ledgers, and catechisms for popular education, such as the different genres of morality books (*shanshu* 善書), demonstrate this effect.[41] This effect was not limited to the followers of Wang Yangming. The need of the camp of his opponents to disseminate their objections of Wang's claims, and their assumed calling to perpetuate classical scholarship were translated as well to compilation of works.

4. The Burst of Classical and Vernacular Textual Production in the post-Wang Yangming Era

Wang Yangming's critique of the traditional Confucian scholarship was in many ways a criticism over the use of texts for the purpose of knowledge production. In the aftermath of Wang's critique, knowledge production was divorced from the narrow definition of Confucian scholarship, and took alternative forms of investigation. In the following passages, this dissertation will survey the effects of textual landscape following Wang Yangming's critique. It will demonstrate that the critique resulted in an opening up of scholarship, which was manifested also in a more relaxed and accommodating literary climate. In this climate Arabo-Persian scholarship was able to take form and position itself as a legitimate school of thought.

Recent studies of the Chinese book culture show that the early 16th century saw an unprecedented increase in book publishing and printing.[42] This publishing boom, which lasted about half a century, was accompanied by the emergence of new literary genres, as well as new or renewed modes of information management and knowledge presentation. The historical reasons that brought about this publishing boom are still a matter of polemics between scholars. Some scholars see it as a drastic departure from the book culture that prevailed in Song, Yuan and early Ming, pointing out the unprecedented scope of publishing and the dominance of imprints. Others prefer to view it as a development in size of the book culture that had prospered during the Song and Yuan periods and experienced temporary suspension during the ear-

38. de Bary and Bloom 1999, 859.

39. Ching 1976b, 1382. See also Liu 2008b, 421.

40. Ko 1994, 79.

41. de Bary and Bloom 1999, 889; Brokaw 1991, 3.

42. Ōki Yasushi 大木康 1991; Brokaw 2005.

ly Ming.[43] There is no argument, however, that the 16th century saw a drastic change from the patterns of knowledge dissemination that prevailed during the first two centuries of the Ming. Changes in the intellectual sphere, which effected the demand for books, seems to have a certain connection to the changes in information dissemination. In the following passages, this dissertation will try to connect this change to the effect of Wang Yangming's critique on the different communities of readers.

Using available information about published editions, Ōki Yasushi attempted to quantify and contextualize the dramatic increase in books published in the Jiangnan 江南 area.[44] He found out that out of the 3094 titles that were published during the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties altogether, about 2019 titles (65 percent of the total) were published during the Jiajing 嘉靖 (1521-1567) and Longqing 隆慶 (1567–1572) periods, followed by a drastic decline in the Wanli 萬曆 (1572-1620) and subsequent periods.[45] The beginning of the Jiajing period occurred during the last years of Wang Yangming's life and continued in the subsequent half a century after his death. This was exactly the period when Wang's disciples developed their interpretation of their new definitions of knowledge, and engaged in movement to popularize scholarship. Ōki listed four factors that he found to have contributed to this change in publishing: the first referred to technological developments, such simplification of calligraphic styles, changes in page layouts, and the inclusion of rough illustration, that were incorporated during the late Ming period. These developments facilitated a less complex production process, and resulted in faster and cheaper production;[46] the second factor was the proximity between raw material supplier and the publishing houses, which ensured that publishing would meet the demand for book at low costs;[47] the third was low costs of production due to cheap and available labor.[48]

The final factor, raised by Ōki, referred to an increase in the demand for reading materials among the upper classes (which he defines as the class of the literati, gentry and rich merchants), as well as among the middle class (merchants that attended the examinations, Buddhists and Daoists) and other reading communities such as women.[49] These increases were a combined result of a rapid demographic growth[50] and their consequent intensification of competition in the civil service exam-

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43. For the former, see Ōki Yasushi 大木康 1991; McDermott 2006.; for that latter, Chia 2003, 302-328; Brokaw 2005, 24.

44. Ōki concentrates on the Jiangnan area, the cultural hub of Ming China and the leading region in the development of publishing. He based his statistics on the list of books included in the catalog Yang Shengxin 楊繩信 1987.

45. Ōki Yasushi 大木康 1991, 15.

46. Ōki Yasushi 大木康 1991, 48-54. A similar discussion of the technological developments and their effect on book trade is found in Chia 2003, 316-320.

47. Ōki Yasushi 大木康 1991, 48-74.

48. Ōki Yasushi 大木康 1991, 102-108. See also Brokaw 2005, 10.

49. Ōki Yasushi 大木康 1991, 74-102. See also Brokaw 2005, 10.

50. Martin Heijdra estimated a population of 175 million in 1500 and 289 million in

inations and the emergence of new vernacular literatures.[51] At the same time, it mirrored a growing interest in the different branches of knowledge by the population. The growth in the publishing of daily encyclopedias, as well as basic primers, which catered to demand of amateur readers rather than established scholars, demonstrate the popularization of knowledge and its effect on book production.[52]

Yet, the studies on publishing make use of available statistics of printed books. The availability of these numbers, and the disturbing absence of data regarding the circulation of manuscripts, led many to concentrate on the printed books. Hand-copied manuscripts were, without doubt, a central medium in the dissemination of knowledge during the early Ming, and continued to be during the late Ming as well. The increase of imprints in the sixteenth century, which involved the development of a cheap and more convenient alternative to manuscripts and a medium of mass distribution, superseded the use of manuscripts.[53] That is not to say that manuscripts ceased to exist. Even at the height of printing, manuscripts continued to be viewed as aesthetically superior, as well as an act of learning (copying as a method of internalizing the contents).[54]

The unwinding of the early Ming strict policies on knowledge production resulted in a divergence of intellectual activities, and a new inclusive vision of knowledge. Educational institutions - from the higher-brow level of private academies (*shuyuan* 書院) through the community-based charity school (*yixue* 義學) and onto the new schools of thought that came up with alternatives to the established Cheng-Zhu school of thought, increased in number, and yielded an effect on the production of educational texts.[55] The Confucian canon, which had served as the main epistemological source and had been the main text to circulate, lost its monopoly to a plethora of alternative knowledge-providing texts. Encyclopedias (*leishu* 類書), morality books (*shanshu* 善書) and 'Awakening the World' novels (*jingshi xiaoshuo* 警世小說) are three examples for such literary genres that became common source for knowledge from the sixteenth century onwards.[56] These new or renewed genres embedded the epistemological discourse and the fundamental concepts *dao* 道 ("Way"), *li* 理 ("the principles of nature"), and *xin* 心 ("heart-mind") within new modes of representing comprehensive and universal knowledge.

The encyclopedias for daily-use (*riyong leishu* 日用類書) are a good example for this type of reframing knowledge. The basic epistemological approach to knowledge represented by these compilations, as suggested by Elman, did not go beyond what

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1600 (a growth of ca. 65 percents). Heijdra 1998, 438.

51. Brokaw 2005, 10.

52. Brokaw 2005, 25; Chia 2003, 310-316.

53. See McDermott 2006, 43-83.

54. Brokaw 2005, 15-16.

55. Sakai Tadao 酒井 忠夫 1977, 377.

56. On the cultural role of encyclopedias in late Ming, see Elman 2007.; on the function of morality books, see Sakai Tadao 酒井 忠夫 1977; Brokaw 1991; Bell 1996.

was proposed by Zhu Xi and his school, the so-called "extension of knowledge through the investigation of things" (*gewu zhizhi* 格物致知).[57] Yet, as the compilations catered to a wider audience with different levels of literacy, they underplayed the textual-bound philological aspects of knowledge, and provided lengthly accounts of natural phenomena, mathematics, medicine etc.[58] Knowledge was presented as comprehensive and universal, and not as limited by geographical, cultural boundaries. The encyclopedias, as such, displayed a movement away from the canon and towards a presentation of universal knowledge.

At the same time, the inflation of texts raised the awareness to the varying authority of texts. The low-quality and often-inaccurate commercial prints of the late Ming encouraged some bibliophiles to extend their collections of books by searches for older and more authoritative editions. Thus, the 16th century saw a rise in the number of private collectors of books and private libraries. Private collectors such as Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590) and Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551-1602) assembled huge collections, reaching, in some cases, several tens of thousands of volumes.[59] The famous collection of Mao Jin 毛晉(1599-1659), whose studio-print shop in Changshu 常熟 (in today's Jiangsu), known as the *Jigu ge* 汲古閣 ("The Delving into Antiquity Pavilion"), became a major source for Song and Yuan editions, is an example for such a private collection.[60] At the same time, newly produced texts attempted to market themselves as authorial works by including term such "true" (*zhen* 真), "correct" (*zheng* 正), or "veritable" (*shi* 實) in their titles.

5. Post-Wang Yangming Ming China and the Self-Fashioning of Islamic Scholarship in Confucian Terms

The harsh polemics during the 15th century reformed late imperial China's intellectual landscape by broadening the horizons of the intellectual discourse, and challenging the Cheng-Zhu school's monopoly over scholarship. The contention between the supporter of the *ancien régime* of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy and those who called for reforms generated during the sixteenth century an unprecedented race to disseminate ideas among the Chinese literati and the common people. This happened to be also the period when a new discourse, attempting to expound Islamic theology and epistemology to the wider community of Chinese literati emerged in different localities in northern China. By the mid-sixteenth century this discourse was endorsed by local movements that began to proliferate Islamic and Arabo-Persian ideas throughout China, and to construct a full-fledged pedagogy for Arabo-Persian scholarship in China.

Four aspects of this contemporary polemical environment had direct and indirect effects on the rise of Arabo-Persian scholarship in China. The first is rather circumstantial. The contention between the different schools significantly relaxed the boundaries of the philosophical discourse, and opened up the stage for new syntheses.[61] At the same time, the harsh disputation between members of the various schools,

57. Elman 2007, 131.

58. Elman 2007, 131, 135.

59. McDermott 2006, 53.

60. Brokaw 2005, 4.

61. The popularity of Chan Buddhism among literati in the aftermath of Wang Yangming's movement is an example for such synthesis. On that issue, see Wu

and the strong remonstration with other's ideas generated among some the impression of a confused age that awaited salvation. This mixed environment of openness and urgency prompted some scholars to come up with an original panacea to correct the world.[62]

A second aspect of the polemics that took place during that period was the development of new epistemological theories. Wang Yangming's objection to the traditional epistemological model promoted by the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy and his emphasis on the internal operation of epistemology revived the epistemological debate that had lain dormant throughout most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The new philosophical discourse tried to synthesize the externalist approach of the Cheng-Zhu school with the intuitive epistemology and its situation of the heart-mind (*xin* 心) as a core organ promoted in the teaching of Wang Yangming. As such, this new discourse allowed the introduction of foreign metaphysical concepts and epistemological theories, such as the ones expounded in Islamic, and later Jesuit theological works. Metaphysical concepts such as "faith" (CH. *yi-ma-na* 以媽納 <AR. *īmān*, equated in some Chinese texts to the Chinese term *Dao* 道 "way"),[63] and "testimony of faith in the presence of God" (CH. *zuozheng* 作證, AR. *shahādah*) required a great deal of approval of intuitive epistemology.[64]

A third aspect is terminological. This aspect is closely related to the previous

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2011; Brook 1993, 54-95 and passim. On popular movements of ideological synthesis that emerged around the same period, see Dean 1998.

62. This aspect of the period is described in Peter Bol's study of the literati Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1529-1590) and Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551-1602). Bol proposes that erosion of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy and the decline of the overall authority of the Neo-Confucian teachings in the late Ming yielded "intellectual uncertainty" which coincided with an burst of "intellectual creativity." See Bol 2006, 99.

63. See for example, the commentary on Liu Zhi's *Tianfang sanzi jing* 天方三字經 ("The Three-Character Classic of Islam") compiled by the Muslim school and high-ranking official Yuan Guozuo 袁國祚 (1712-?). *Tianfang sanzi jing* 天方三字經 [The Three-Character Classic of Islam], 17:513.

64. "Innate knowledge" (*liangzhi* 良知), the central concept in Wang's theory of intuitionism, was employed by Arabo-Persian scholars in their epistemological expositions. An example for such a use is found in Liu Zhi's *Tianfang xingli*, where he wrote: "The original state [*benran* 本然] flows within people's hearts. There exist 'innate knowledge' [*liangzhi* 良知], and 'innate ability' [*liangneng* 良能]. They constitute what is called 'the Way.'" The original: 本然流行於人之心者，有良知，良能，焉所謂道也 *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理 [Islamic Principles of Nature], 17:92. Ma Zhu 馬注 used this term in his discussion of human nature, quoting an unidentified source he referred to as Shai-yi-ha-li 篩赫哈哩. According to this source, "the myriad things exist outside the body, yet the myriad principles exist within the body" (萬有之物，不在身內，萬有之理，不在身外). Ma then continued to discuss human nature and its distortions, demonstrating it with the biblical story of Hao-wa 好媧 (<AR. *Ḥawā*, Eve). His discussion included the statement: "despite [one's] innate knowledge and the nurturing of [good] human nature, [external] things distort and dim [human nature]" (雖良知性成，而物染昏暗) *Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南 [The Navigator of Islam], 16:752.

one. The polemical discourse increased the flexibility in the use of common philosophical terms. Fundamental terms in the Confucian discourse, such as *dao* 道 ("the Way"), *jiao* 教 ("teachings"), and *jing* 經 ("classics") expanded their definitions, and allowed the accommodation of new nuances.[65] Thus, scholars of Islamic theology could make use of the term *dao* when referring to the Islamic faith (AR. *imān*), as well as to the de-facto praxis (AR. *sharīʿah*). The term *jing* could be stripped of its Confucian canon, and be used as a general denominator for Arabo-Persian scriptures. Similarly, the disagreement between the schools over the meaning of the sagehood and the identity of the sage allowed the appropriation of the term sage (*shengren* 聖人) to discuss the Islamic (and later, Christian) prophets, and in particularly the merits of the prophet Muḥammad, who became to be known in China as the utmost sage (*zhisheng* 至聖). The flexibility in usage of these concepts and theories was a result of the rising contention between holders of different interpretation.

The fourth aspect refers to the effect the intellectual polemics had on the production and proliferation of written texts. As discussed earlier in this chapter, one of the consequences of the decline in the authority of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy was a sharp rise in private publications. This rise has to do with the unique juxtaposition of scholarly openness and sense of intellectual urgency that characterized this period and discussed above.[66] The rise in the circulation of texts seems to have encouraged scholars who were interested in Arabo-Persian scholarship to compile written books and inscriptions as a means to publicize their ideas.

It is necessary to note that the causal relation between the rise of Wang Yangming's school and the emergence of a sinicized discourse on Islam and other branches of Arabo-Persian knowledge that this dissertation proposes does not imply that Islamic scholars warmly and wholly endorsed Wang Yangming's ideas. On the contrary, many of these scholars emphasized their affiliation with the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy. However, when looking from the perspective of the historical processes that allowed the rise of an Islamic discourse in China, and moreover, facilitated its accommodation within the local intellectual environment, there are good indications to single out the polemical environment as the main historical catalyst.

An early example for the above-listed four aspects shaped a new Islamic discourse can be seen in the short text of the *Laifuming* 來復銘 inscription, the earliest

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65. Although the term *Jing* 經 was occasionally used to refer to Buddhist and Daoist scriptures, it was mainly reserved to Confucian works. Moreover, as a bibliographic category (one of the four traditional Chinese categories of written texts: *jing* 經"Classics," *shi* 史 "Histories," *zi* 子 "Philosophers," *ji* 集 "Miscellanea") was exclusively reserved to the Confucian canon. Buddhist and Daoist works were categorized as *zi*).

66. On the publishing boom of the late Ming, see Meyer-Fong 2007, 793, 795-797.. Meyer-Fong points out that scholars have long noted the a sharp rise in publishing during the sixteenth century. She, however, attributes it to "a particular combination of commerce, technological adjustments, and reduced costs [that] made the printed book an inexpensive and thus ubiquitous medium that was produced and consumed at a fervid rate in ever more varied forms by an expanding cross-section of the population." (Meyer-Fong 2007, 795) On the relationship between printing and intellectual production in late Ming, see Brokaw 2005, 26.

known text that expressed Islamic ideas in Chinese. The inscription, which was erected in one of the mosques in the city of Jinan 濟南 (in today's Shandong, north-eastern China), dates to the year 1528 (during the life time of Wang Yangming) and signed by a certain Chen Si 陳思.[67] The inscription's text resonates in terms and theory with the writings of several prominent Song dynasty scholars: Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077), Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073) and Zhu Xi—the backbone theoreticians of the Cheng-Zhu school, whose writing were a common knowledge for any member of the literati class. There is little place for doubt that the author of this inscription wished to demonstrate in this text the coherence of Islamic theology with the Cheng-Zhu cosmological framework. In order to do so, the author made use of an unusual expansive signification of some of central terms in the Cheng-Zhu cosmology to allow the author to present Islamic ideas on the divine, the creation of the world, human nature, and self-cultivation. In addition, he did not hesitate to include identifiable full quotes from the writing of Zhang Zai and Zhou Dunyi in a way that seems to imply the embeddedness of Islamic theology in the Neo-Confucian model. The inscription reads:

> The Non-Ultimate and the Great Ultimate, the Two Modes and the Five Elements all originated with that which has no-sound, and have their beginning with that which has no-form. The Lord-on-high [*huang* 帝] delivered down his laws, and ordered them upon our people [*wuren* 吾人]. He was to grant life, and all came to to life; He was to grant form and all took form. Humanity [*ren* 仁] and Men [*ren* 人] were put together under the Way. The Principles and their Carriers [*qi* 器, lit., "vessels," i.e., the visible manifestations of the principles] generated each other. Sages and commoners differ in their natural endowment, yet they were uniformly bestowed. Hence, the heart-mind was veiled, and human nature [*xing* 性] became manifested [*xingti* 形體]. 'It was defined that from the Great Emptiness came about Heaven; that from the transformations of the material embodiment [*qihua* 氣化] came about the Way; that the combination of emptiness and material force yielded human nature; that the combination of human nature and consciousness [*zhijue* 知覺] yielded the heart-mind.' Hence, reserve your heart-mind and nurture your disposition in order to serve Heaven. Diligently cultivate your self in order to await your destiny. Practice reverence and fathom the principles in order to nurture this human nature. Vigilantly and prudently apprehend in order to manifest this Way. Avoid desecration in order to serve your heart-mind. Follow along all other creatures. Yet, look for Heaven's protection, and discard human protection. How will the order of the Lord [*dizhe* 帝者] will be restored. [68]
>
> 無極太極，兩儀五行，元於無聲，始於無形，皇降衰彝，錫命吾人，與生俱生，與形俱形，仁人合道，理器相成，聖愚異稟，予賦維均，是故，心為郛廓，性為形體，由太虛有天之名，由氣化有道之名，合虛與氣有性之名，合性與知覺有心之名, 存心養性，以事其天，慎修厥身，以俟其命，主敬窮理，以養此性，戒慎恐懼，以體此道，不愧屋漏，以事

67. For an analysis of the philosophical framework of the inscription, see Feng Jinyuan 馮今源 1984; Ha-ji Yi-bu-la-xin 哈吉 易卜拉欣 1995. As Feng Jinyuan mentions, while most available stele inscriptions from period before the 17th century were written by outside scholars and officials, this inscription is an early text written by a local imam. See Feng Jinyuan 馮今源 1984, 105.

68. Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷晓靜 2001, 215.

此心。斯與造物為徒矣，不爾，天顧卑之，人顧棄之，其將何以復帝者之命.

The text made an adaptation of the Cheng-Zhu cosmological view to accommodate the Islamic concept of Allah. Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073)'s influential treatise *Taijitu shuo* 太極圖說 ("Explanations to the Taiji Illustration"), edited by Zhu Xi, describes the "Non-Ultimate and the Great Ultimate" (*wuji taiji* 無極太極) as "situated at the high heavens, have no sound nor smell, are the pivot of the true creation and origin of all species"[69] (上天之載，無聲無臭，而實造化之樞紐，品彙之根柢也). The primacy of the Non-Ultimate and the Great Ultimate, their central role in the creation the world and its species, their attributes as "without sound' and "without form," allowed the author of the inscription to use them as a signifier to the Islamic Allah. However, the Chinese cosmological model involves an organic evolution from the Non-Ultimate and the Great Ultimate through the two modes into the five elements upon which the physical world is constructed. It has no real agency nor ontological existence. This model, which does accord with the Islamic view of the creator, was modified by the subsequent two phrases, that described the role of the creator in delivering the law to the people.

The concepts of the "Sage" (CH. *shengren* 聖人) and "sageliness" (CH. *chengsheng* 成聖)—integral aspects of the epistemological programs of both the Cheng-Zhu school and Wang Yangming—served as a suitable platform for China's Muslim scholars to situate their Arabo-Persian scholarship within the boundaries of Neo-Confucian classical learning. The sage represented for the Cheng-Zhu and Wang Yangming schools an idealized state of omniscience, and hence intimately linked to the epistemological programs of the two schools. Both schools defined their ultimate objective as attaining sageliness, yet differed in their interpretation of the concept and the ways to attain it. The Cheng-Zhu school saw sageliness as an idealized historical period, when the people of antiquity possessed full grasp of the ways the universe operates, and, in turn, the precepts for a moral and prosperous society. The traits of this period, according to the Cheng-Zhu program, were scattered in the Confucian canon, awaiting for the scholar to bring them back to light through his studies. The centrality of scholarship to the attainment of sageliness restricted it to the small segment of society that engaged in classical studies. For Wang Yangming and his followers, sageliness represented an ultimate state of awareness. This state, can be achieved only through internal retrospection and one's extension of his innate knowledge. For Wang and his followers sageliness was open for all, and not necessarily reserved for the learned literati.

Wang Yangming's concept of the multiplicity of sages and the distance he established between sageliness and the Confucian canon provided China's Islamic scholars with a suitable discursive space to fashion Islamic prophets and Muḥammad as Confucian sages. Through such fashioning, Islamic scholars sought to legitimize their scholarship, and place it within the larger Confucian framework of investigating "the Way of the Sages" (CH. *shengren zhi dao* 聖人之道). Wang Yangming's disengagement of sageliness from the Confucian canon, allowed China's Muslims to argue that the writing of Islamic prophets in their capacity as sages are on par with the Confucian canon, and thus open the door for placing their scholarship within China's classical learning.

An inscription from the Huajuexiang 化覺巷 mosque in the city of Xi'an 西

69. *Zhou Dunyi ji* 周敦頤集 [The Collected Works of Zhou Dunyi], 1:3.

安, dating to the year 1526, demonstrates how the appropriation of the notion of sageliness allowed China's Muslim scholars to present the study of Islamic jurisprudence and praxis within the framework of investigating the sagely way. The inscription paraphrased a passage from the Book of Mencius to accommodate the notion that Islamic law is a part of the study of the Way.

> Heaven is in charge of transforming the myriad things. When people venerate Heaven in order to acknowledge its merits of transformation and creation, there is a fear that they do wrong in the face of Heaven. Only the sages, in light of their special attributes, are able venerate Heaven properly. Hence, the common people revere the teachings of the sages in order to fulfill the way of serving Heaven.[70]
>
> 今夫天化生萬物之主也，人之事天者，所以報其化生之德，惟恐獲罪於天也, 惟聖人踐形惟肖而後能善事乎天矣，眾人奉崇聖人之教，以盡事天之道者也。

Wang Yangming's emphasis on internal retrospection as the sole means to attain sagehood was a problem for Islamic scholars, who adhered to the belief that Muḥammad is the "Seal of the Prophets" (AR. *khātim al-anbiyā'*), and no prophets came after him. In order to reconcile this apparent contradiction, they adopted a middle way between the views of sageliness held by the Cheng-Zhu and Wang Yangming schools. They asserted the internal process by which sages attained their status, yet emphasized that sageliness is a property of a bygone historical period that could be accessed only through texts.

An inscription from a mosque in Huajuexiang 化覺巷 in the city of Xi'an 西安 further demonstrates how Wang Yangming's treatment of sageliness facilitated the accommodation of the Islamic view of Prophet Muḥammad. The text paraphrases several statements of Wang Yangming regarding sagehood, and expands their meanings to reconcile the inherent differences between the Chinese and Islamic views. The inscription reads:[71]

> So have I heard that the Way is not indistinct even after hundreds of generations, and that the Heart/Mind still operates after hundreds of generations. The Hearts/Minds of the sages are one, and so are their Ways. They operate without indistinctness even after hundreds of generations. Hence, throughout the Four Seas [i.e., all over the world] sages appeared. He who is called "a sage," possesses this Heart/Mind and this Way. Muḥammad, the sage of Western Regions, was born after Confucius. He lived in the land of the Heavenly Chamber [*Tianfang* 天房, refers here to the Ka'bah]. I do not know how far this place is from where the generations of Chinese sages dwelled. Their translations [*yiyu* 譯語, of Muḥammad and the Chinese sages. It is apparently a spelling error for *shiyu* 釋語 "explanations"] are different, yet their Ways

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70. Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷晓靜 2001, 186-187.

71. The inscription carries the date Tianbao 天寶 1 (742 AD). Both the language and the historical context suggest that this date is not accurate. It is reasonable to believe that the inscription was erected after the 16th century, and maybe even in 1765 when the mosque was reconstructed. The same texts appears verbatim on a mosque inscription dated to year 1742 from the city of Datong 大同 (in today's Shanxi 山西 province).

merge completely. How is it so? Their Heart/Mind is one, and hence their [Ways] are the same. In antiquity, people had a saying: 'Thousands of sages shared a single Heart/Mind; long histories shared a single Principle'. [This saying] is credible. Yet, their generations [of sages] are far past, and the [sages] have long been lost, only the scriptures have survived. [72]

蓋聞俟百世而不惑者，道也，曠百世而相感者，心也。聖人心一而道同，斯百世相感而不惑。是故四海之內，皆有聖人出。所謂聖人，此心此道同也，西域聖人穆罕默德，生孔子之後，居天房之國，其去中國聖人之世之地不知幾也，譯語相殊而道合節符者，何也？其心一，故同也。昔人有言，千聖一心，萬古一理，信也。但世遠人亡，經書猶存。

Building upon the idea of the plurality of sages, scholars gave new meanings to passages from the classical Confucian canon and other early texts. A recurring example for such a case is a passage in the classical work, Liezi 列子, that made reference to "the sage of the West."[73] This sentence became a trope in China's Islamic discourse, and was used to demonstrate that even the classical canon recognized the existence of Muḥammad as a sage. This line of thought is exhibited in a preface to a Chinese work on Islamic theology written in 1642 by an unknown Muslim literatus, Liang Yishu 梁以濬 made a use of this sentence to align Muḥammad with Confucius:

Confucius said to the Great Steward: There is a great sage in the West. He rules without precepts, he transforms [people's characters] without utterances. Confucius is the patriarch of scholars in the Eastern lands (i.e., China). His utterances became their rules. Hence, this statement should be regarded trustful.[74]

孔子之對太宰曰西方有大聖人焉，不教而治，不言而化，夫孔子為東土儒者之宗一，言而為天下法，此言宜可信也.

The harsh changing intellectual landscape following Wang Yangming's critique of the traditional canon-based scholarship generated a period of intellectual openness and re-evaluation of epistemological models among China's literati. China'a Muslims found this new environment suitable for re-fashioning their scholarship, and presenting it to the wider community of Chinese literati as part of the Confucian orthodoxy. These attempts bore fruits in the late sixteenth century, when Hu Dengzhou, a Muslim literatus from north China established a movement that promoted a philological study of Arabo-Persian texts. From the late sixteenth century onwards the sporadic and unsystemized use of Arabic and Persian texts evolved into a philological disciple, and ushered in a new era in the history of accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge in China.

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72. Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷曉靜 2001, 181-182; Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷曉靜 2001, 33.

73. On the text Liezi, see Barrett 1993.

74. *Qingjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 [True Interpretation of the Correct Teachings], 16:30. This theological work and the context by which it was composed are discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

6. Chapter Summary

By the 15th century, the scholarly authority of the imperially-endorsed Cheng-Zhu school of Confucianism was challenged by its inability to cope with the changing socio-political circumstances, the gradual relaxation of restrictions on private scholarship, and the rise of dissident movements that opposed governmental intervention in scholarship. It was that context that allowed Wang Yangming, a scholar-official, to present a harsh critique of the Cheng-Zhu epistemological framework, and gather support from among the literati class.

Wang's critique signaled the extension of the boundaries of private scholarship beyond the official curricula, and the popularization of knowledge. These were manifested in a surge in private publications, and in particular in publications of encyclopedias and other works that aimed at facilitating access to knowledge.

The polemical environment that following Wang Yangming's critique had direct and indirect effects on the rise of Arabo-Persian scholarship in China during the late-16th century. By relaxing the boundaries of the philosophical discourse, it opened the stage for new syntheses. Wang's "School of the Heart-Mind" developed introspective epistemology that facilitated the introduction of Islamic theology and the concept of faith. The flexibility in the use of common philosophical terms provided Islam the discursive tools to present itself as part of the Confucian discourse. The surge in publication and popular writings legitimated Arabo-Persian writings.

This chapter demonstrates the effects of the larger Chinese socio-political environment, as well as of the vicissitudes of the Confucian scholarship, on the rise of China's Arabo-Persian scholarship. It advances the claim that Arabo-Persian scholarship is a product of local Chinese socio-political processes.

CHAPTER 4: ARABO-PERSIAN PHILOLOGISTS AS KNOWLEDGE BROKERS IN 16TH CENTURY CHINA

法字經文須熟看，行行綜錯亂絲般，
好將心眼加工讀，相較儒書百倍難.

Persian scriptures require close reading,
Every line as intricate as wadded silk
Exerting one's mind and sight for such meticulous reading
is a hundred-fold more difficult than reading any Confucian book.[1]

(Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*)

ABSTRACT

The socio-political changes of the sixteenth century provided suitable space for scholars to present epistemological alternatives to the established Cheng-Zhu ideology. Hu Dengzhou 胡登州 (1522-1597), a Muslim literatus from Shaanxi, set up a scholarly movement that promoted the study of Arabic and Persian texts. For the first time in the history of late imperial China, Arabo-Persian knowledge was studied as an independent field by Muslim, and, in some cases, even non-Muslim, members of China's literati class. At the core of Hu's program stood a philological vision that viewed Arabic (and Persian) texts as unmatched depositories of knowledge on the natural world, and the study of language as a central analytical device that would facilitate bringing this knowledge to light. Collecting Arabic and Persian texts, Hu's movement was able to build a scholarly bridge between China and the Islamicate world. At the same time, by using methods of textual and linguistic analysis imported from the Islamicate world, Hu and his disciples were early precursors of the study of language in China.

China of the Jiajing 嘉靖 and Longqing 隆慶 periods (1527-1572) saw the culmination of several socio-cultural processes. The relaxation of the strict policies on knowledge production and scholarship, which reached their peak during the reign of the first emperor of the Ming, coincided—some would say resulted in—the effects of Wang Yangming's teachings on the popularization of knowledge and scholarship. The development of Wang Yangming's ideology by his students had multiple effects on the intellectual scene of the mid-sixteenth century. It facilitated a vernacular form of pedagogy whose target audience was the common, uneducated people (*yumin* 愚民 or *shixue* 失學). The centrality of the concept of *xin* 心 ("heart-mind") as the main epistemological device, significantly challenged the traditional standing of the Confucian canon as the sole epistemological source. At the same time, it was sufficiently vague in defini-

1. *Jingxue xichuanpu* 經學系傳譜 [The Genealogy of Classical Learning], 20:104. (my translation)

tion to allow a relatively wide scope of theories to appropriate it as their epistemological framework and a means to gain legitimacy. The Jiajing and Longqing periods also saw an unprecedented increase in publication and circulation of texts, and the emergence of new literary genres, catered to the tasted and pedagogical needs of a growing audience. These trends can serve as an indication of the intensity of the contemporary scholarship, the reconfiguration of new views on the literary canon, and on readership and its epistemological and pedagogical functions.

Amid these socio-cultural and political transformations, attempts to gain a foothold for Arabo-Persian scholarship as a legitimate and mainstream school of thought, and even to present it as a viable remedy to an intellectually confused age, emerged in the mid-sixteenth century in Northern China. A scholar by the name of Hu Dengzhou 胡登州 (1522-1597) proposed to unravel the subtle knowledge encapsulated in texts in Arabic and Persian that circulated in China during that time. Hu and his disciples built around this framework a network of schools and curricula around this framework that could provide a pedagogical realization to Hu's vision. Despite the variations between the different schools established by Hu's disciples and their disciples, at the core of the common teachings stood an epistemological approach that viewed Arabo-Persian texts as depositories to truth based on the subtleties of cosmological and social forms of interaction, and prioritized the study of the Arabic and Persian languages and rhetorics as the main devices to extract knowledge from these texts.

1. Hu Dengzhou - a Chinese philologist of the Arabo-Persian canon

The confused intellectual landscape of the sixteenth century gave rise to numerous schools, advocating a spectrum of approaches to epistemology and knowledge. At one end of this spectrum stood a conservative view that adhered to the Cheng-Zhu program. This view regarded the expanded Confucian canon[2] as a written record of an historical ideal age of the sages. In that capacity, the program was considered the ultimate source for knowledge on the natural world and society, and a guide for proper social and individual behavior. Advocates of this view closely intertwined epistemology with the textual Confucian tradition. The philosophical inclination of Zhu Xi and the Song Confucians, which marked their departure from the philological-based scholarship of earlier periods,[3] did not disconnect the school from the textual-based tradition, as the proliferation of Cheng-Zhu thought took place mainly through written commentaries on canonical texts. Moreover, the imperial endorsement, that is prescription, of the Cheng-Zhu written commentaries on the classics further highlighted the strong inclination of the Cheng-Zhu school towards the use of texts. At the other end, stood a view that grew out of Wang Yangming's criticism of the textual tradi-

2. As part of his program, Zhu Xi added to the traditional Five Confucian Classics the Four Books: Confucius' Analects, The Book of Mencius, The Doctrine of the Mean, and The Great Learning. These Four Books became an important component in the Confucian canon. Zhu Xi's re-parsing and interpretation of these four texts provided much of the textual basis for the epistemological and moral program of the Cheng-Zhu school.

3. On the move from the philological scholarship of the long period from the Han (206 BC - 220 AD) to the Song (960-1279) to a philosophical-oriented scholarship in the Song, see Elman 1983.

tion, and advocated for an epistemology that was unmediated by the textual tradition, and in particular emphasized the role of self-cultivation and introspection in the process as epistemological tools. A plethora of schools operated in the sixteenth century along this spectrum. Various combinations of elements from the textual and introspective traditions influenced the local intellectual landscape.

Among the new schools, which emerged during the sixteenth century and competed for recognition and dominance, was the school of Hu Dengzhou (1522-1597) in city of Xianyang 咸陽 in Shaanxi 陝西 province. In an attempt to provide an epistemological framework for his contemporaries, Hu embarked on a search for available manuscripts in Arabic and Persian around China, compiling them into an educational program. The unique and innovative aspect of Hu's program was his call for a withdrawal from the Sino-centric worldview of the Confucian canon and a search for universally applicable answers in a canon of Arabic and Persian texts. Moreover, by drawing upon established scholarship in the Islamicate world, Hu's program promoted a philological view of texts as a foundation of his epistemology. He and his followers successfully created a network of Chinese-Islamic schools, which disseminated the epistemological framework to most corners of the Ming Empire.

No contemporary sources on Hu Dengzhou and his school are known to have survived. Zhao Can's 趙燦 *Jingxue xichuan pu* 經學係傳譜 "The Genealogy of the Transmission of Textual Learning," comp. ca. 1670, hereafter *JXXCP*) is the earliest description of Hu Dengzhou's project and the network of Chinese-Islamic schools established by his followers.[4] Zhao's work includes prefaces dedicated to the history of the network, and descriptions of the teachers and their methodologies. Works by Hu's followers in Chinese and Persian provide additional insights into the network and the way it developed. Additional information about the lives and teachings of the main teachers in this network is found in mosque steles and epitaphs. A chapter in *JXXCP* provides a short biography of Hu Dengzhou, and records a number of tales on the ways his scholarship developed. A preface to *JXXCP*, contributed by one of Hu's prominent followers, a non-Muslim by the name She Yunshan (舍蘊善, known also as She Lingqi 舍起灵, or by his style *Zhen-hui po-na-chi* 真回破衲癡 "The wretchedly clothed ignorant of True Islam,"[5] 1638-1703), dates back to Kangxi 36 (=1697 AD), nearly a century after the death of Hu. It adds more details on Hu's life and philological approach.[6]

According to the two accounts in the *JXXCP*, Hu was a native of Weicheng 渭城 in the vicinity of the city of Changan 長安 (today's Xi'an in Shaanxi province), one of the oldest Islamic communities in China. He grew up in a well-to-do family of local gentry (*fujia xiangjing* 富甲鄉井)—or according to other accounts, a wealthy merchant family—yet led a humble life. As in the case of many local gentry or merchant families who enjoyed the economic surge of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and invested

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4. Zvi Ben-Dor studied the text, and analyzed the information it provides on the constituents of this educational network. See Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 30-31..

5. The style show resemblance to the self-depreciating titles taken by Ṣūfī ascetics in Arabic and Persian, such as *muraqqa'*, *khirqah-pūsh* (<PE. "The wretchedly-clothed").

6. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:2-3; *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:25. On Hu's biography, see also Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 39-43.

it in the education of their young generation, Hu received a Classical Confucian education in his youth.[7] There is no information, however, on whether Hu prepared to take the civil service examination, as many members of the local elite and wealthy merchant families did during his time.

In addition, the young Hu received lessons on Islam with a certain Master Gao (*Gao Taishi* 高太師) on the southern shore of the nearby town of Weibin 渭濱. Hu showed interest in both classical Chinese literature as well as in Arabo-Persian texts. However, he was disappointed by the methods of teaching Arabic and Persian texts in the traditional Islamic schools, and by the contrast between the emphasis on the elegance and the balance of writing in the studies of the Confucian Classical Learning and the vernacular and simple-mindedness in the Islamic schools. The traditional Islamic classes that he received, according to a description in *JXXCP*, included reading of Arabo-Persian texts through a crude transliteration to Chinese, omitting any consideration to the aesthetic and semantic value of the original texts, and with minimal explanation of moral principles (*yili* 義理) embedded in the texts.[8]

Very little information is available about local Islamic schools in China before Hu's time. Evidence from mosque inscriptions points to the presence of a group of functionaries in the local community, called *manla* 滿剌 (<AR. *mawlá*, PE *mullā*, "dignitary"), who had a certain level of literacy. In addition, given the long history of Muslim presence in China, and the existence of Arabic and Persian inscriptions in mosques and graveyards throughout China, it is likely that instruction in reading and writing of Arabic and Persian texts was available to some in local mosques. However, the minimal contact with the centers of scholarship in the Islamicate world and an apparent lack of require vigor and pedagogy made this small-scale traditional mosque education dwindle towards the late sixteenth century. Moreover, this wretched condition did not allow this type of traditional mosque education to compete for a visible place in the local Chinese scholarly scene.

For Hu, mastery of language and writing was essential for gaining insight into the subtleties of his world. He is quoted saying, "anyone that sets his heart on scholarship and delves into the teachings of a school of thought must learn how to make words into sentences, and connect sentences into essays. Only thus can one instruct future generations, and reveal the subtleties of this world."[9] At one point Hu even considered translating a number of Arabo-Persian works into a refined Chinese prose (*guoyu* 國語 "The language of the land") himself. This, he hoped, would allow readers to appreciate the aesthetic and semantic layers of the texts, and would perpetuate the meanings of the texts for future generations to come.

At the age of 50, Hu decided to travel to the capital, Beijing, in order to study

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7. Classical Confucian education was the main framework by which the elite class preserved its political power during late imperial China. Along with the rise of in mercantile activities during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, merchants, who initially stood at the bottom of the socio-political pyramid, invested their revenues in education and thus gained access to the upper stratum of *shi* 士 ("Literati"). On the power of education as a platform for Elite's power consolidation and reproduction in late imperial China, see Elman 1991.

8. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:25.

9. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:25.

Chinese classics (*shishu* 詩書; and in the other account, *guoxue* 國學) under a famous unnamed scholar. The account in *JXXCP* suggests that Hu remained in Beijing for about a year, in which he enthusiastically pored over classical texts and became acquainted with the various subtleties of the Confucian canon. During his time in Beijing, Hu read works on history, poetry and prose (*shijian shiwen zhushu* 史鑒詩文諸書). He studied the texts carefully in order to learn from them the principles of the natural world (*xingli* 性理). Hu, however, was not satisfied with the theories he encountered in these works. On one occasion, Hu is quoted deriding the texts he read, saying that, "the writings of the Song masters resemble a fair lady, all embellished with powder and rouge, yet carries mud and breathes heavily."[10] Not long afterwards, he left the school in Beijing.

During his stay in Beijing, he happened on a Westerner, who introduced him to a scripture he held in his possession. One account suggests that the work was a treatise on poetry titled *Mu-ge-ma-te* (<AR. *Maqāmāt* "Arabic rhythmic prose").[11] Hu delightfully read through it, and was fascinated by its contents and style. He was disappointed that he could not purchase the work, nor obtain a copy of it. After leaving Beijing, on his way back to his hometown, Hu met an old lady offering to sell an old book placed inside a box. Hu examined the work, and discovered that it was the same text, as the one the Westerner had showed him before. He purchased the book and carefully studied its contents. As the text was a highly ornamented Arabo-Persian treatise on poetry (*Xiyu shiwen* 西域詩文, lit. "poetry from the Western Regions"), its moral principles (*yili* 義理) were difficult to grasp, and Hu could only understand the general lines of the text. Hu looked for help in understanding the work, and found an old turbaned man who could recite the *Maqāmāt*. Hu followed the old man in his journeys through North of China, and received his instructions on the *Maqāmāt* and other texts that he had not seen before.[12]

These texts opened up a new horizon for Hu, who decided to dedicate his time for the collection and study of Arabic and Persian works. Upon his return to his

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10. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:25. *JXXCP* adds the note that what Hu means is a fair lady with no vitality (*huoqi* 活氣).

11. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:25. The *JXXCP* account identifies the text, and describes it as "西域詩文." The account even provides a Chinese translation of *ba-yi-te* 敗益忒 (<AR. *bayt* "a poetic verse") from the second chapter. Additional information in other accounts in *JXXCP* suggest that the work includes 50 chapters, each chapter takes about 3 pages, each page consists of 38 lines of texts, and there are about 70000-80000 words in total. See *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:48. These descriptions suggest that the text refers to Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī's (d. 1112 AD) *Maqāmāt*, a work that enjoyed high currency in Central Asia, and a number of copies have been recovered in China (see attachment 2 to this dissertation). On the genre of *Maqāmāt*, see Drory 1998.

12. It is interesting to note that the study of poetry was totally eliminated from the curriculum of classical scholarship by Zhu Xi's followers, and continued to be excluded until 1756. Hu Dengzhou's scholarly interest in the the Chinese *Book of Odes*, and in the Arabic *Maqāmāt* marks a significant distance from the anti-poetry stand of the intelligentsia. On the elimination of poetry from scholarly curricula, see Elman 2000, 37-38.

hometown, he embarked on a painstaking search for Arabo-Persian texts in private libraries, and invested funds in purchasing or copying them. After collecting a large number of texts, he began to scrutinize them day and night. The accounts in *JXXCP* describe Hu's ascetic devotion to the study of these texts, "winter without heating, summer without fan. Nights without sleeping in bed." Hu viewed the study of texts as a means "to grasp the deep precepts of these edifying (*zhengxin* 正心) and unvarnished (*chengyi* 誠意) teachings, exhaustingly comprehend the roots of human nature (*xing* 性) and the universal principles (*li* 理), and publicize the secrets of *Tianfang* (天房, "the Islamicate world"), and reveal its subtleties."[13] Texts were seen as an important epistemological vehicle that encompassed the key to understanding the subtleties of the natural world and human existence.

Hu Dengzhou's textual studies gained him a wide reputation, and students from other parts of China came to his hometown to seek instruction. He developed an educational program that promoted close reading of Arabo-Persian texts, and analysis of their syntactical, morphological, and rhetorical characteristics. For Hu, understanding the linguistic, semantic and rhetorical aspects of an Arabo-Persian text were as important as grasping the meaning of the text. For the preparation of a corpus of Arabo-Persian, Hu and his disciples traveled across the country in search for texts. They meticulously prepared copies of such texts, collated and annotated them. Hu's school developed into a country-wide network of Chinese-Islamic schools. His pedagogical program became a significant attempt to engage in Arabo-Persian philology within the scholarly circles of late imperial China. Hu's disciples took his pedagogical approach to other parts of China. Within less than half a century after Hu's death in 1597, a network of schools, established by Hu's disciples and their disciples, had branches in Northeast China, South-West China, and the Yangze Delta region.[14] Local variations in the pedagogical emphases, and the individual interests of the masters had an effect on the curricula of each school. Nevertheless, the information that we have at hand demonstrates a great deal of similarity between the different schools in terms of methodologies and works used.

2. Hu Dengzhou's Epistemological Program

(a) "Rectifying the Way" and The Motivation behind Hu Dengzhou's Scholarly Movement

Whatever Hu Dengzhou discovered between the lines of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* convinced him that there is much to be investigated in the natural world. Hu saw his Chinese contemporaries struggle with the epistemological confusion that prevailed during the mid-16th century.[15] The ideas Hu encountered in his survey of Arabic and Persian texts motivated him to come up with a new epistemological alternative that would be based on Arabic and Persian texts.

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13. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:2-3.

14. On the main branches of this education network and the key figures, see Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 30-72.

15. The sense of a confused society and intellectual uncertainty in the post-Wang Yangming period provided sufficient ground for scholars from the literati class to come up with their "solutions" to this world. See Bol 2006, 99, 108-112 and passim. Hu Dengzhou seems to have shared the same conviction.

One of Hu's followers provided a short description of the motivation of his teacher to launch his movement. The description explicitly mentioned the Song philosopher Zhou Dunyi and the Cheng brother, whose cosmological and epistemological models were the core of the Cheng-Zhu ideology. These Song philosophers, according to that description, proposed metaphysical models, but failed to substantiate them with evidence.

> The Way ceased to circulate in the world, and only intermittently dwells in peoples' hearts. Yet, human relationships are profound and extremely significant. Although they stuff people's ears and mouths [i.e., very popular], ever since Zhou [Dunyi 周敦頤] and Cheng [brothers, i.e., Cheng Yi 程頤 and Cheng Hao 程顥] had formulated their conjectures on the Great Ultimate, I have not seen any concrete evidence for the operation [of their theories].[16]
>
> 夫道之在天下者，無存亡，道之寓人心者，有斷續, 然而人之倫長至大者, 雖盈貫於耳，充塞乎口，而周程諸子摹擬太極以來，未見實跡所謂如何耳.

The description continued and depicted Hu as an omniscient Confucian sage, who came to rescue the world and restore the correct path. At the same time, it compared Hu's enterprise to that of Prophet Muḥammad: "Out of his pity to humanity, the Creator [*zaohuazhe* 造物者] sent down the Sage [*sheng* 聖, here Muhammad] to the Western Lands [*Xitu* 西土] in order to perpetuate the great Way without cessation." Similarly, the Creator "sent the paragon [*wanren* 完人] to China during the Jia-Long 嘉隆 period [1522-1572] in order to teach the people to return to the correct path [*guizheng* 皈正]".[17] This interesting synthesis between the Confucian concept of sage, and the Islamic view of the Prophet Muḥammad echoed the view that Hu's enterprise was seen as universally applicable, and not confined to the Muslim community.

An epitaph to Hu Dengzhou composed in 1718 placed Hu Dengzhou and his movement within a chain of transmission of true knowledge. This view can be compared to the concept of *Daotong* 道統 ("The Transmission of the Way") chain of transmission that played an important role in the self-fashioning of the Cheng-Zhu school.[18] Just like the transmission of the Confucian Way by sages, Hu's Way traced its roots to a classical age, and is said to have been transmitted by selected sages down to Hu's time. Just like their Confucian counterparts, Hu and his disciples saw themselves as a link in a genealogy of knowledge transmitters (transmitters of the *Gangji* 綱紀 "the governing principles"), and as mediates between the contemporary and the classical periods.[19] Interestingly, Hu's chain of transmission included Qur'anic prophets, the Prophet Muḥammad, and Abū Ḥanīfah, the founder of the Ḥanafī school of

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16. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:2.

17. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:2. The original reads: "造物者憫及黎元， 垂慈降聖之於西土， 使大道綿延不絕，可為諄切矣. 復幸茲土，於嘉隆 之際，賜降完人，教民皈正者."

18. On this central concept in the Neo-Confucian discourse of the late imperial period, see *n*44 in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

19. Ben-Dor Benite discussed this type of self-perception of Hu's followers as rescuers and preservers of knowledge. Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 82-88..

jurisprudence.[20]

> We have heard that the Way has no shape or form, and the Teaching of the Sages was required to initiate it. The teachings have set rules, and their transmission relied on the enlightenment of the wise men, with the hope that the Way of Heaven and Man will eternally illuminate (the world) and never collapse. Studies show that the ancestor, *A-dan* [阿丹, Adam] was born in the land of Islam in the Western Regions and initiated the transmission of our teachings. It was thereafter transmitted to *Shi-shi* [施師, <AR. Shayth, Seth], *Nu-hai* [努海; AR. Nūḥ; Noah], *Yi-bu-la-xi-mo* [易補剌希默 <AR. Ibrāhīm, Abraham], *Yi-si-ma-yi-lai* [易司麻義來 <AR. Ismā'īl, Ishmael], *Mu-sa* [母撒, <AR. Mūsá, Moses], *Da-wu-de* [達吾德, <AR. Dāwūd; David] and *Er-sa* (耳撒; AR. 'Īsá; Jesus). The Transmission of the Way [*daotong* 道統] was continuously passed from one sage to another without cessation. After the death of *Er-sa*, the governing principles [*Gangji* 綱紀] were cast aside for more than 600 hundred years. Until the most venerated messenger *Mu-han-mo-de* [穆罕默德, <AR. Muḥammad] met his destiny to resurrect it. He adapted the scriptures and established the laws, so that it would be revered by far and near....After [the death of] the Sage [i.e., Muḥammad] and the demise of the Four Caliphs, within less than a hundred years heretical ideas stirred, and the correct teachings were concealed again. Until the fortunate arrival of *A-bu Ha-ni-fa* (<AR. Abū Ḥanīfah), who corrected the true teachings and continued their transmission. Thereafter schools were established in cities and towns across the different lands in the Western Regions in order to carry out meticulous studies and enlightenment, denounce heretic ideas, and restore the true teachings. When the teachings disseminated in China, the furthest to the East, where scriptures were scarce and scholars were few, their transmission became obscure, and without prospect to be expounded and propagated. As history repeats itself, the grand master Hu emerged in the first year of the Jiajing period [1521 AD].[21]
>
> 嘗聞道無方體，必賴聖人立教以開其先；教有成法，尤賴賢者發明以繼其後，庶天人之道乃能彰明悠久而不墮也, 粵稽〔人〕祖阿丹〔者〕, 生於西域天方國, 開創吾教之道統, 厥後源流〔悠久〕, 而有〔施師〕、努海、易補剌希默、易司麻義來、母撒、達吾德、耳撒, 聖聖相傳, 道統不絕。爾撒即世, 綱紀廢墮, 越六百余年而有〔欽差至聖〕穆罕默德應運而興焉。繼開辟以來之道統, 立萬世不易之洪規, 刪經定制, 遐邇尊崇...聖人之後, 四大配賢暨沒, 不貳百年, 邪說紛擾, 而正學又蔽矣。時猶幸有大賢阿補·哈尼法者出, 厘正真傳, 繼述道統, 自此西域諸國都城郡邑各立學校, 講究發明, 嚴禁邪說, 而正學賴〔以〕復明, 維吾教之流於中國者, 遠處東極, 經文匱乏, 學人寥落, 既傳譯之不明, 復闡揚之無自, 天運循環, 無往不復, 而有明嘉靖元年我胡太師祖出焉。
>
> In order to legitimize his endeavor of scholarship, and to open it up for Confu-

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20. Abū Ḥanīfah (699 AD - 767 AD) - an early Islamic jurist and the founder of the Ḥanafī school, one of the four main schools of jurisprudence. The extensions of the Ḥanafī school reached China, as well as Ottoman Turkey, India and Central Asia.

21. Feng Zenglie 馮增烈 1981, 25. quoted as well in Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 862.

cian intellectuals, who were interested in new scholarly directions, Hu placed his scholarship within a larger framework of universal knowledge. The Confucian discourse speaks in absolute terms and refrains from setting geographical boundaries to its object of discussion. Its discussions of "The Way," "Heaven," "Past," and "Present" are a-historical and are not bounded to a certain geographical region. Notwithstanding, the dichotomy between the "civilized" *hua* 華 and "barbarian" *yi* 夷,[22] which became intertwined with the Confucian moral theory, assigned a Sino-centric worldview to the Confucian discourse. Hu Dengzhou and his disciples used the vagueness of the Confucian discourse to unite it with Muḥammad and his legacy. He argued that the civilized nation was, in fact, divided into two regions - The Western Lands *Xitu* 西土 (which became even "The Central Lands," *Zhongtu* 中土) and the Eastern Lands *Dongtu* 東土 (in same cases, the term *Citu* 茲土 "this land" is used). The former includes Arabia and the Islamicate world and the latter China.

(B) Hu Dengzhou's Conceptualization of the Natural World and his Philological Enterprise

At the core of Hu Dengzhou's pedagogy stood a philological vision that viewed Arabic (and Persian) texts as unmatched depositories of knowledge, and the study of language as a central analytical device that would facilitate bringing this knowledge to light. Liu Zhi, a late-seventeenth century scholar of Islam, echoed this epistemological stance in his statement: "The principles are those which make things as they are. The Universe (*Tian* 天) has its principles. Humanity (*Ren* 人) has its principles. Physical objects (*Wu* 物, or "things") have their principles as well. [The relation] between principles and objects can be compared to [the relation] between meanings and words."[23] Connecting the investigation of the metaphysical and physical natural worlds to the linguistic components of texts was, so it seems, not only a metaphor for embodiment, but a guiding principle for Hu's philology. Arguably, Liu Zhi insinuated here that just like the study of physical objects is carried out independently from the study of the metaphysical principles, and included a functional and categorial investigations of things, the study of words and language could be made independent from the study of meaning.

Through taxonomy of fields of study, the study of the natural world was divided into several sub-categories: (1) metaphysical discussions on the structure of the universe, as well as on God and its manifestation. These discussions focused on the study of Islamic theological texts (AR. *kalām*), mystical texts (AR. *'irfān*), and mystical poetry such as Rūmī's (d. 1273 AD) *Mathnawī* and al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*. These discussions shared common ground and vocabulary with the contemporary Neo-Confucian discourse on the principles of the natural world (*xingli* 性理); (2) ethics and rules of praxis. These discussions were based on the idea that laws and norms (*dianli* 典禮) constituted a realization of the principles of the natural world. These discussions focused on several aspects of Islamic substantive law (AR. *furū' al-fiqh*), most notably aspects of personal purity (AR. *ṭaḥārah*), procedures of prayer (AR. *ṣalāh*), and inter-personal relations (AR.

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22. The former has been a common term to the Chinese civilization and the latter, a general term to non-Chinese foreign ethnicities.

23. *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 [Selected Commentaries on 'Islamic Rituals'], 15:73. The original: 理物之所以然也，天有天理，人有人理，物有物理，理之與物，蓋若意之與字也.

mu'āmalāt). The latter was read through the prism of the Confucian moral code, known as the Three Bonds and Five Constant Relations (CH. *Sangang wuchang* 三綱五常) that prescribed the relations between the sovereign and subject, son and parents, and husband and wife; (3) study of the exegetical and historical traditions. This sub-category included the study of the Qur'an, its exegesis (AR. *tafsīr*), traditions on the deeds and sayings of Prophet Muḥammad (AR. *ḥadīth*), and the biographies of the prophets (AR. *sīrah* and *qiṣṣaṣ al-anbiyā*). This sub-category served to substantiate the investigation of the principles of the natural world and the study of ethic and praxis by providing historical evidence or attestations from authoritative classics; (3) study of language and textuality.

Hu viewed the Arabo-Persian text as a semantic space whose interpretation required several layers of analysis: (1) its grammatical structures (AR. *naḥw, CH. ziyi [bianhua]* 字義[變化] *"the [transformation of] meaning of words"*)[24]; (2) its logical argumentation (AR. *manṭiq, CH. mingli* 名理 *"the Principles of Names"*);[25] and, (3) its use of rhetorical devices (AR. *balāghah*, CH. *wenfeng* 文風 "style of writing").[26] For the purpose of analyzing these various textual layers, Hu imported to China analytical frameworks from the long tradition of Arabic linguistics, including the study of syllogistic argumentation (or logic), and the study of grammar. Grammar and logic were popular fields of study in Islamic madrasas throughout the Islamicate world, yet were not commonly used in China outside Hu's movement during that period. [27]

The unique view of Arabo-Persian texts by Hu and his disciples is demonstrated in an account recorded in *JXXCP*. The account tells of a meeting between a teacher in Hu's network, Chang Yunhua (常蘊華, known also by the names Chang Zhimei 常志美 and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakīm al-Zināmī al-Shandūnī al-Ṣīnī, fl. 17th cen.), and a certain turbaned foreigner named *Ji-liao-li* 極料理 (probably Jalālī). The two carried on a conversation on Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's mystical work *Mirṣād al-'ibād* and the way to interpret it. At one point, Chang asked one of his students to bring out a manuscript of the work, and asked the foreigner questions on the syntax (AR. *naḥw*),

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24. The terms *naḥw* (and its Chinese rendition *na-ha-wu* 那哈吳*), ziyi* 字義 and *ziyi bianhua* 字義變化 "the [transformation of] meaning of words" frequently appear in *JXXCP*.

25. While the term *manṭiq* (and its Chinese rendition *Ma-tui-ge* 滿推格) appears in *JXXCP*, the earliest evidence for the use of the term *mingli* 名理 *"the Principles of Names"* comes from Liu Zhi's bibliographies (composed in the beginning of the 18th century). It is possible that the term was borrowed from the Jesuits.

26. The terms *balāghah* (and its Chinese rendition *bai-liao-he* 白僚赫), *wenfeng* 文風 (<CH. "style of writing") appear throughout the *JXXCP*.

27. See Weil, 2016. The arrival of syllogistic logic in China has been an object of historiographical debate. A number of historians adhere to the claim that logic as an established discipline in China existed already during the Warring States Period (*Zhanguo shidai* 戰國時代 476 - 221 BC); others point to the contribution of Buddhism in the introduction of the discipline; and other historians mark the Jesuit translations in the mid-seventeenth century as China's first encounter with syllogistic logic. See Kurtz 2011, 2-19 and passim; Zhou Yunzhi 周云之 , 5-30. On the Buddhist concept of *Yinming* 因明 ("Expounding the Reasons") and its relation to Western logic, see Shen Jianying 沈劍英 2001.

argumentation (AR. *manṭiq*) and rhetorics (<AR. *balāghah*) of the text.[28] The foreigner had difficulty answering all of Chang's questions, and took out of his sack a book wrapped in a purple silk pouch, and showed it to Chang. The book, called in the account *Furs* (CH. *Fu-er-si* 富而斯, the account includes both the Persian and Chinese transliteration of the title) was said to be useful in capturing the meaning of words (CH. *po cijing ziyi* 破此經字義). This anecdote sheds light on the philological methods applied by Hu and his disciples in analyzing Arabo-Persian texts.

Various Arabo-Persian primers and aides were imported to China to assist in the philological study of texts. These texts were incorporated into the curricula of Hu and his disciples. In what follows, this dissertation will list some of the main reference works and primers that circulated in China during the 17th and early 18th centuries, and trained scholars in analyzing Arabo-Persian texts.

(I) WORKS ON LOGIC

Syllogistic argumentation or logic (AR. *manṭiq*) played an important role in the study of Islamic theology (AR. *kalām*) and jurisprudence (AR. *fiqh*). Hu included this analytical framework in his pedagogy as a tool to analyze Arabo-Persian texts. Several guides were imported to introduce the basic principles of logical argumentation.[29] She Yunshan, a central figure in Hu Dengzhou's network,[30] included in his curriculum the work *al-Waẓā'if* (CH. *Huai-zuo-yi-fu* 懷昨倚夫).[31] The *JXXCP* remarks, however, that "[t]his scripture does not circulate in other schools, as it is the knowledge of another school of thought. It pertains to [the study of] *manṭiq*, and it allows to explain the learning of the principles".[32]

Few terms are used to refer to the study of logic by Arabo-Persian scholars. The *JXXCP* uses the transliterated form *Ma-tui-ge* 滿推格 (<AR. *manṭiq*), and the general term *lixue* 理學 (<CH. "The study of the principles [of argumentation]"). Later works, such as Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Xingli* 天方性理 ("On the Principles of the Natural World in Islam," pub. 1704), translated it as *mingli* 明理 (lit. "the principles of names,"

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28. *Jingxue xichuanpu, 20:54.*

29. The *Isagoge* was also a central piece in the *Mingli tan.* In the case of Arabo-Persian scholarship, the earliest evidence for the use of this work appears in Liu Zhi's bibliographies. A detailed description of the works on logic used by Arabo-Persian scholars in China is included in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

30. On She Yunshan see Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 52-53.

31. This title seems to refer to *al-Waẓā'if fī al-manṭiq* ("The Lessons in Logic"), attributed to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsa al-Maghribī (d. 1284 AD). Al-'Alawī reported that he saw in Beijing a copy of a work of logic with title "al-Waẓā'if". The copy carried no author's name, yet al-'Alawī quoted its beginning phrase: "Gratitude to the God who guides to the most correct reason" (الحمد لله الهادي إلى أقوم السبب). Al-'Alawī 1978, 479. A work on logic, titled "al-Waẓā'if," and begins with "Gratitude to the God who guides to the most correct path" (الحمد لله الهادي إلى أقوم السبيل), is mentioned by Ḥājjī Khalīfah, as comprising of sixty six functions (AR. *waẓā'if*). See Hājjī Khalīfah 1992, 2:2015.

32. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:19. 此經別學之所不傳，蓋系另一家學問也，即滿推格，由此能解理學.

hereafter abbreviated as *TFXL*).[33] The use of syllogistic argumentation prevailed in the discussions of Islamic theology, and was applied as well to Islamic jurisprudence.

Several primers of *manṭiq* were employed by Hu's disciples, including ʿAlī b. ʿUmar Qazwīnī's (d. 1277 AD) *al-Risālah al-shamsīyah fī l-qawāʿid al-manṭiqīyah* ("A Treatise [dedicated to] Shams al-Dīn on the foundations of Logic" is listed in *TFXL* under the transliterated title *Shan-xi-ye* 閃洗葉 (<AR. *Shamsīyah*) and the accompanying translation *Mingli zhenzong* 名理真宗 ("The Veritable Foundation of the principles of logic"). This treatise has been a common textbook for the science of logic in Islamic school outside of China, and seems to be incorporated into the Chinese curricula. Another work, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsa al-Maghribī's (d. 1284 AD) *al-Wazāʾif fī l-manṭiq* ("The Lessons in Logic") is mentioned in *TFXL* under the transliteration *Wo-za-yi-fu* 斡咱一福 (<AR. *Wazāʾif*, "tasks, lesson") with the accompanying translation *Liushi bing* 六十廩 ("Sixty Caches"). Porphyry of Tyre's (d. 305 AD) introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*, known as *Isagoge*, whose commentaries in Arabic circulated throughout Islamic Asia, appears as well in *TFXL*. The work is transliterated as *Ye-che-wu-zhi* 葉撒五枝 (<AR. *Īsāghūjī*) and includes the translation *Mingli jie* 名理解 ("A commentary on the logic").[34]

(II) Works on Grammar

Hu's philology introduced grammar as an analytical device for the study of Arabo-Persian texts.[35] Grammar served two main purposes in Hu's pedagogy. It provided guides for acquiring reading skills in Arabic and Persian. In addition, it served as a hermeneutical device to study the nuances of texts. The study of grammar comprised of two sub-fields: (1) syntax (AR. *naḥw*) and (2) morphology (AR. *ṣarf*). Grammatical analyses were applied to texts on theology, Islamic jurisprudence and mysticism.

The study of grammar received a central place in the curricula of Hu and his disciples, and the methodology of teaching it allocated specific primers to the level of

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33. This term, interestingly, was adopted in the mid-seventeenth century in the Jesuit treatise on logic, entitled *Mingli tan* 明理探 ("Investigation of the Principles of Names", published ca. 1631-1636). Kurtz 2011, 47-48.

34. Hādī al-ʿAlawī reports to have seen an Arabic work by that title in the Dongsi Mosque. See Al-ʿAlawī 1978.

35. The history of linguistics as an established field of study in China has been as well a subject of scholarly debate. While some historians find evidence for the developed of the fields of phonology, the study of particles (*xuci* 虛詞), and traditional etymology (*xungu* 訓詁) in Early China, it is commonly agreed that linguistics as an established analytical framework to investigate the different morphological, phonetical and syntactical phenomena emerged in China only as late as the very end of the 19th century. It is often connected with the publication of Ma Jianzhong's 馬建忠 (1845-1900) Chinese grammar book, entitled "Mister Ma's Comprehensive Work on Language" (*Mashi wentong* 馬氏文通, published 1898). Ma applied his knowledge of Latin grammar to Chinese and produced a comprehensive framework to discuss the Chinese language and its components. His work coined many of the terms that have been in use since. See Wang Li 王力 1981, 174-175 and passim; Zhao Zhenduo 趙振鐸 2000, 5-9 and passim.

study. The curriculum set by She Yunshan used a text called *Fa-si-li* 法斯黎 (<AR. *Faṣl* "Chapter")[36], as its preliminary manual for grammar. After that, the student was to begin learning the three types of *sai-er-fu* 塞而夫 (<Ar. *ṣarf* "morphology")[37] Some students would then study *Sao-wu* 騷烏 (<Ar. *Ḍaw* "light").[38] The next stage included the study of a text called *Man-liao* 滿僚 (<AR. *Mawlá* or *mollá* "the dignitary"),[39] and a text called *Ma-a-ne bai-ya* (<Ar. *Maʿānī* [*wa-*]*Bayān* "meanings and elucidation").[40] This series of works, according to the *JXXCP*, "concentrate[d] on the meanings of words and styles of writing" (*zhuanlun ziyi wenfeng* 專論字義文風), and those who study them are "able to comprehend the meanings of Arabic texts" (*nengtong tianfang zhi wenyi* 能通天房之文義).[41]

By far the most popular primer on Arabic grammar in China was Nāṣir b. ʻAbd al-Sayyid Muṭarrizī's (d. 1213 AD) *al-Miṣbāḥ fī l-naḥw* ("The Torch of Grammar", transliterated into Chinese as *Mi-si-ba-ha* 米斯巴哈). In its five chapters, Muṭarrizī presents a taxonomy of the parts of speech as well as a discussion of their functions on meaning. Several commentaries on Muṭarrizī's work circulated in China, including Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Isfarā'inī's (d. 684/1285) *Ḍaw' al-miṣbāḥ* ("Light of the of Torch," transliterated in Chinese as *Sao-wu* 騷烏).

(III) Works on Rhetoric

Rhetoric was studied together with grammar. While the study of grammar provided tools to analyze textual constructs, this field aimed at developing skills to evaluate good usage of language and methods to clarify and embellish writing. Tradi-

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36. The identification of this work is unclear. Ben-Dor suggests that it refers to a work on mysticism by the title *Chahār faṣl* (<PE. "Four Chapter"), later translated into Chinese under the title *Sipian yaodao* 四篇要道 ("Four Chapters on the Crucial Way"). See Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 94.

37. Although it is not stated, it is possible that the three types of inflection refer to three temporal conjugations of Arabic verbs, i.e. *al-Māḍī* ("Past tense"), *al-Muḍāriʿ* ("Present/Future tense") and the present participles (AR. *ism al-fāʿil* and *ism al-mafʿūl*). Another possibility, that it refers here to Persian verbal inflections rather than to Arabic.

38. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Isfarāyīnī's (d. 610/1213) commentary on *al-Miṣbāḥ fī Naḥw*, known by the title *Ḍaw' al-Miṣbāḥ*.

39. Mawlá Jāmī's commentary of the Ibn al-Ḥājib's *al-Kāfiyah*.

40. The two terms, *maʿānī* (sing. *maʿna*, "meaning") and *bayān* ("imagery; manifestation"), are used to denote categories of traditional Arabic literary theory. More specifically, *ʿilm al-maʿná* ("science of meaning") and *ʿilm al-bayān* ("science of elucidation") are sub-fields in the science of rhetoric in al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī's (d. 1338 AD) work, *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* ("Summary of the 'Key'"), a summary of al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*. The first involves investigation of meanings, while the latter deals with similes and figurative usages in the Qur'an. See: Meisami and Starkey 1998, 661. Al-Qazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* is reported to be found in Dongsi mosque in 1863 in Beijing. See: Blodget 1866; Al-ʻAlawī 1978.

41. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:19a.

tionally, the study of rhetoric (AR. *ʿilm al-balāghah*) comprised of three sub-fields: "the study of meanings" (AR. *ʿilm al-maʿānī*), which focused on evaluation of syntactical structures; "the study of elucidation" (AR. *ʿilm al-bayān*), which concentrated on eloquence and clear expression; and, "the study of rhetorical embellishment" (AR. *ʿilm al-badīʿ*), which aimed at the practical application of artifices of speech such as metaphors. The study of rhetorics in China, however, seems to have focused on the first two sub-fields.

Among the popular works on rhetoric that were used in China was Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr al-Sakkākī's (d. 1229 AD) *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* ("The Key to [Literary] Sciences").[42] The compendium reached China via Xinjiang at the turn of the seventeenth century,[43] and covered different aspects of the sciences of language and literature. It was divided into three parts: morphology, syntax and rhetoric, with appendices on argumentation and prosody.[44] The title of this work is listed in *TFXL* under the transliteration *Mi-fu-ta-he ou-lu-mi* 米幅他合歐魯密 with the accompanying literal translation as *wenyao* 文鑰 (lit. "the key to literature"). Moreover, texts by the titles of *Mo-a-ni* 默阿呢 (<AR. *Maʿānī,* "meanings") and *Bai-yang* 白咉 (<AR. *Bayān*, "elucidation") are mentioned in several accounts in *JXXCP*. It seems that these texts refer to two sections of the *Miftāḥ* and were taught separately in China. Jalāl al-Dīn Qazwīnī's (d. 1338 AD) abridged version of the *Miftāḥ,* titled *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* ("An Abridgment of the *Key*") was used in China as well.[45]

(iv) Dictionaries and Linguistic Aides

In order to cope with the difficulties in capturing the nuanced meanings of Arabic and Persian texts, Chinese scholars employed a number of dictionaries and lexicographies. The *TFXL* and *TFDL* list the Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī al-Fārābī's (d. 1002 AD) *al-Ṣiḥāḥ (fī l-lughah)* ("The Correct [Forms in Language]"), listed under its transliterated form *Su-ha-he* 索哈合 with the accompanying translation *Zizheng* 字正 ("Rectifier of words").[46] In addition, the bibliographical list of *TFDL* includes an entry on a work transliterated as *Mu-ge-di-mo e-de-bi* 母格底墨額得壁 (<PE. *Muqaddimah-yi adabī* "Literary Introduction") accompanied by the Chinese translation *ziyi leibian* 字義類編 ("Compilation of Semantic Categories"). The entry seems to refer

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42. On the arrival of the work in China see below.

43. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:30. The story is quoted also in Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 82-84.

44. Meisami and Starkey 1998, 656.

45. This work is mentioned by Yang Huaizhong as one of the thirteen constitutive works studied in the Chinese-Islamic schools, referred to by Yang as *Sai-bai-ga* 賽拜嘎 (<AR. *Sābiqah* "The Preliminary [Texts]") or *Shisan bu* 十三部 ("The Thirteen Works"). Nevertheless, it seems that Yang's essay is based mainly on twentieth-century information and might not be relevant to the period discussed in this essay. See Yang Huaizhong and Yu Zhen'gui 1995..

46. Hādī al-ʿAlawī reports that he saw a work on the Arabic language, titled *Jawāhir al-lughāt - mukhtaṣar li-Ṣiḥaḥ al-Jawharī* ("Gems of the Languages - Summary of al-Jawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ*"). The work was attributed to Abū Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Khālid, known also as Jamāl al-Qirsī. See Al-ʿAlawī 1978, 477. Sharīʿat reports on copies of *al-Ṣaḥḥāḥ* in Dongsi mosque. Sharīʿat 1980, 70.

to Abū al-Muẓaffar Ātsiz b. Khwārazm Shāh's *Muqaddimah min l-lughah wa-l-adab* ("Introduction to Language and Literature").[47]

(c) The Expansion of Hu Dengzhou's Program and the Rise of Persian

After Hu's death in 1597 his followers and their followers passed on his teachings. Hu's program became the basis for a country-wide network of schools. After few years of studying with a teacher, gaining competence in Arabic literacy, and specializing in a certain field, graduate students could offer their services as teachers, and open their own school. Two types of schools developed out of Hu's network.[48] In the first type were private teachers who gathered a group of students, teaching them Arabic literacy, and lecturing on a specific body of texts. The *JXXCP* refers to the establishment of this type of school as *shexue* 設學 (<CH. "setting up a school") or *shezhang* 設帳 (<CH. "setting up a tent"). The second type referred to the establishment of community schools or charitable schools (*yixue* 義學). These were schools that were set up under the auspice of large mosques, wealthy families, or by donation of community members. Often was the case that such institutions would seek teachers from other regions, generating a movement among members of the education network.

The traditional model included training in Arabic literacy—the methodologies employed and the levels of attention given to this training differed from one school to another—and a specialization in one body of literature, in fields such as Islamic jurisprudence, mysticism and cosmology, and poetry. Teachers' individual scholarly preferences, and the frequent discovery of new texts[49] made the curricula dynamic and diversified. Students, in The two emphases laid out by Hu's program—that is, intensive reading analyses and expounding of theological, legal and cosmological theories—provided ample space for the individual masters to prioritize their themes of interest.

The curricula of the different types of schools during the late-16th and early-17th centuries adhered to a pedagogy that included basic training in Arabic grammar and a specialization in a single field of study, such as Islamic jurisprudence, theology, mysticism, poetry, etc. By the mid-17th century, in light of calls for reform of this pedagogy which were voiced in several of the schools, an alternative approach emerged in city of Jinan 濟南 (Shandong province), and extended its influence over schools in Beijing and Northeast China. The new pedagogy, which is often referred to in the historiographical literature as the "Shandong school" (*Shandong pai* 山東派), called for extensive scholarship across fields, and the addition of training in Persian

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47. Hādī al-ʻAlawī reports to have seen *Muqaddimah fī al-lughah wa al-adab* by Abū al-Muẓaffar. Al-ʻAlawī 1978, 477. Ḥājjī Khalīfah lists a work titled *Muqaddimat al-adab fī al-lughah* ("Introduction to Literature in the [Arabic] Language"), attributed to Maḥmūd b. ʻUmar al-Zamakhshirī al-Khʷārazmī (d. 538/1144), written on the request of Abū al-Muẓaffīr ʾĀtsiz b. Khwārazm Shāh. Ḥājī Khalīfa describes the five parts of work: on nouns, verbs, letters, nominal inflection, and verbal inflection. See Hājjī Khalīfah 1992, V.2:1798.

48. Ben-Dor Benite distinguished between two types of teachers: those who established schools in their homes, and wandering teachers. Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 38-39.

49. On the fashions by which new Arabic and Persian texts arrived in China see below.

grammar. Those schools which opposed the new approach, and continued to adhere to the earlier pedagogy, have been collectively called the "Shaanxi school" (*Shanxi pai* 陝西派), adhered to the earlier methodology, and included schools in Shaanxi, Shanxi, Anhui, and even Nanjing.[50]

The central figure behind the rise of the Shandong school was the scholar Chang Zhimei (常志美, d. ca. 1683, known also as Chang Yunhua 常蘊華, or by his Arabo-Persian name Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm al-Zīnamī al-Shandūnī al-Chīnī). Chang was born to a family of immigrants from Samarqand who relocated to the town of Rencheng 任城 (in today's Jining 濟寧, Shandong)[51]. Chang received his Arabo-Persian education under several teachers, beginning with Ma Zhenwu 馬真吾, a fifth-generation disciple of Hu Dengzhou based in Jinan, and later moved together to the school of Zhang Shaoshan 張少山, a third-generation disciple of Hu, based in Nanjing.[52] Under Zhang, Chang specialized in the field of Arabic grammar,[53] while his other classmates, such as his friend Li Yanling 李延齡, specialized in the field of Islamic jurisprudence.

After returning to Shandong, Chang opened his own school. His pedagogical emphasis, however, departed from the traditional program. He advocated wide readership, and more importantly, the study of the Persian language, in addition to Arabic. Chang compiled several works on Persian grammar and lexicons, including *Huijing zihui* 回經字彙 ("Vocabulary of the Qur'an")[54], *Minhāj al-ṭalab* ("Curriculum of Study") and *Ha-wa-yi Mi-nuo-ha-zhi* 哈挖衣米諾哈志 (<PE. *Hawā-i Minhāj*, lit. "the desired curriculum", it is highly likely to be an alternative title to *Minhāj al-ṭalab*). Of all three works, only the second one, *Minhāj al-ṭalab,* survived.[55] The work is a primer for Persian grammar, and gives year 1070 AH (=1659 AD) as its date of composition. It surveys the nominal, verbal and adjectival forms of the Persian language. Its explanations demonstrate strong analytical comprehension of grammar and its terminology—knowledge which was not available in China during that time.

In the preface to the work, Chang Zhimei outlined his approach to the study of language, and brought to light some of the characteristics of Arabo-Persian scholarship in his time. He began his preface with positioning the study of grammar within the framework of theology—eloquent language can be used to describe God's attributes. He wrote:

> Gratitude to the God, who in his will created the universe, distinguished by the merit of speech one species from the rest, and installed among them the wis-

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50. Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 1981, 23; Pang Shiqian 龐士謙 1937, 100.

51. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:30.

52. On Chang Zhimei and Li Yongshou, see Li Xinghua 李興華 2004; Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 49-51; Kauz 2010.

53. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:40.

54. As we have no further information on this work, it is not clear what type of contents it included. Chang's strong advocacy of Persian learning might suggest that the work was a Persian dictionary of Qur'anic terms).

55. On the copies of this Chang's dictionary in China, see Afshār 1361, 480; Bakhtyar 1994, 71, 95.

dom of different languages. In every language, he raised eloquence above all, so that the gnostics could put in words the description of his beauty.[56]

منت خداي را كه به ارادت عالمهای بوجود اندر داشت ويكي جنسي را به فضل سخن از همه بر داشت وميانشان به حكمت زبانهاي مختلف نهاد ودر هر زباني به فصاحت بر هم مزيت داد كه عارفان وصف جمالش را به عبارت بيارند.

Using an highly ornamented Persian, Chang Zhimei explains his reasons for the compilation of his grammar book. The picture he portrayed suggests that the study of Arabic grammar and rhetoric were prioritized in the curricula of the Arabo-Persian schools, yet Persian, despite the circulation of Persian works in China, did not receive much attention. It is not that Persian was not studied during Chang's period, yet it seems not to be studied analytically and systematically as Arabic was. Chang suggested that a more systematic knowledge of Persian could advance one's knowledge of Arabic rhetoric.

The preface suggests that language studies and philological attention focused exclusively on Arabic, despite the wide use of works in Persian. Chang wrote:

> It is the custom that scholars of the day are all preoccupied with Arabic grammar [*naḥw-i Tāzī*] and not with Persian grammar [*naḥw-i Pārsī]*. It is indeed an indication that they do not know it, despite the fact that there are more books on *Fiqh* [Islamic jurisprudence], *Taṣawwuf* [Ṣūfī mysticism], and *Tafsīr* [Qur'anic commentaries] in the Persian language. Inevitably they do not have a firm opinion in understanding the meaning of that. Hence, when a religious question occurs, and one seeks the opinion of a credible religious scholar [*'ālimī*], how can he give the right answer? Also, if a teacher [*mu'allimi*] faces a problem in a book because he does not know the syntactical function [*wajh-i tarkībī*], and the student keeps asking about it, the teacher sees no way out other than changing the wording [of the text, *taghyīr kardan-i lafẓ*], though he does not know its intention. Thus, the correct phrase which represented the author's intention is corrupted, whether by change of order, or change of words, or change of dots, or by addition or omission.[57]

آيينست كه اهل علم روزگار همه به نحو تازي مشغول مي باشند نه به نحو پارسي، بلک اشارت اين علم نيافتند با آنكه بيشتر كتابهای فقه وتصوف وتفسير به زبان پارسي بود، چاره نيست كه در فهم معني آن رايي قطعي نمي دارند، پس اگر در امور ديني مسئله افتاد واز عالمي فتوي جستند، جواب به صواب چون تواند داد، وايضا اگر معلمي را در كتاب مشكله افتد از نادنستي وجه تركيبي ومتعلم استقصا ميكند آنگاه مخرج نمي بيند، جزتغيير كردن لفظ با آنكه مراد آن نداند، پس آن لفظ صوابی كه غرض مصنف بود تحريف پذيرد. خواه به تقديم وتاخير خواه به تبديل در لفظ يا در نقطه، خواه به زيادت ونقصان.

Chang Zhimei included as well a description of his own experience with studying and teaching Persian. He did not hide the fact that many among his peers and colleagues in the Arabo-Persian network did not like his approach, and adhered to the traditional curriculum. Chang wrote:

> Now, my friends and beloved ones, "may God teach you the truth of knowledge," know that I am not a well-read student, nor am I an expert language

56. *Minhāj al-ṭalab*, 1.

57. *Minhāj al-ṭalab*, 2.

teacher. Yet, since I have tasted the milk of knowledge, whenever I encounter Persian idioms (*lafzhāh-yi Pārsī*) whose meanings are not found, or [grammatical] forms or a syntactical patterns (*tarākīb*) which are not apparent, it kept occurring to me that there must be a way to establish [what those wordings mean]. Because all [such idioms] derive from the purpose of the author, it cannot be that they are meaningless (*wajh*). I kept asking, yet could not find answers. Then, by the grace of God, since I had known Arabic morphology, the door of Persian morphology opened for me, and since I had encountered the function of Arabic syntax (*wajh-i naḥw-i Tāzī*), the virgin girl of Persian syntax (*tarkīb-i fārsī*) appeared before of my eyes. Since my heart had acquired the pleasing taste of Arabic rhetoric (*ṭa'm-i balāghat-i Tāzī*), my intellectual desire experimented with the taste of the marvels of Persian. In short, anything that I learned, I immediately rendered it in my own tongue with other students. Because a group of students have asked me to write down [the patterns] of Persian morphology, I have agreed to do so. Although I [received] no gain , and it was merely a request to get basic knowledge of Persian syntax, enviers have criticized it at length. One person, due to his short-sightedness, imputed my work as erroneous; and another looked at it with an outmoded suspicion. All of these [accusations] have reached me, but I did not care.[58]

اما بعد، بدانيد اصحابي واحبابي اعلمكم الله حق العلم, كه نيم متعلم بسيار خوان ونه معلم زبان دان، وليكن از آنگاه كه شير علم چشيده ام هرچه در نظر من مي آيد از لفظهای پارسی كه معنيش نيافتند وصيغه هاي مختلف وتراكيب متنوع كه نشان ندادند، به دل من مي آيد كه هر آينه آن را تحقيقی هست زيرا كه آن همه از قصد مصنف مي آيد، نباشد كه وجهی ندارد, پيوسته سؤال كردم اما جواب نيافتم. پس بحمد الله تعالی تا به صرف تازی راه بردم، در صرف پارسی بر خاطر من گشود، وتا وجه نحو تازی مرا مشاهده افتاد، دوشيزه تركيب پارسی پيش بصيرت من روی نمود, تا طعم بلاغت تازي به ذوق دل من تعلق داشت، مزه بدايع پارسی به كام فهم من چسيده شد، في الجمله هر كدام از اينها كه مرا معلوم شد در حال با متعلمان بر زبان من رانده شد، زيرا كه اكنون گروهی از طالبان درخواست كردند كه آن را مؤلف سازم به تاليف صرف پارسی، اجابت كردم. واگر چه فايده شامل نبود تا اساس شناخت تركيب فارسی خواست بود، پس حاسدان زبان طعن دراز كردند، يكی از كوتاه نظري آن را به خطا منسوب كرد، ويكی به بدگمانی قديمی داشت آن همه به من رسيد وليكن به خاطر نداشتم.

The development of Hu's two epistemological approaches was carried on by his disciples. Local variations in the pedagogical emphases, and individual inclinations divided between the schools. Nevertheless, the centrality of grammatical analyses and argumentation perpetuated long after Hu's death. She Yunshan, for example, made grammar the center of his curriculum. The uniqueness of She's school in that regard is described as following: "students of other schools cannot match with students of that school, as their pedagogies differ, and since they [i.e., other schools] do not familiarize [their students] with the works on *naḥw* [*Na-ha-wu* 那哈吳, <AR. "grammar"], and do not correct their mistakes in reading."[59]

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58. *Minhāj al-ṭalab*, 1-2.

59. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:17. The original reads:且他學之生，不能與本學諸生相頡頏者，乃授法不同，因不令熟讀那哈吳之經，並不考正其所讀之舛錯也.

3. The search for Arabo-Persian texts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The use of original Arabic and Persian texts was an essential aspect of Hu Dengzhou's philological program. For that end, Hu and his followers embarked on country-wide journeys in an attempt to collect Arabo-Persian texts from libraries and individual possessions. The recovery of various texts through such searches is abundantly recorded in the *JXXCP* and other Chinese works of the 17th and 18th centuries. These accounts reveal how rich, yet scattered was the corpus of Arabo-Persian texts in late imperial China.

The Arabic and Persian texts recovered and used by Hu Dengzhou and his followers originated from two main sources: (1) old manuscripts that were kept in private libraries, and mosque libraries; (2) texts that were newly brought by foreign visitors or by Chinese, who visited foreign lands.

(a) Recovering texts in libraries

Stories about the recovery of forgotten texts in private libraries are found in accounts of the *JXXCP* and other Chinese works from the 17th and 18th centuries. A rather detailed account of a scholar's journey through China in search of Arabo-Persian manuscripts appears in a preface to a Chinese translation of Sa'īd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī's (d. 1357 AD) biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (originally entitled in Persian *Tarjumah-i mawlūd-i Muṣṭafá*).[60] The translation, made by the eloquent literatus Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730), and carried the Chinese title *Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu Nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 ("Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered," abbreviated hereafter as *TFZSSL*, comp. 1724, pub. 1778) included a detailed account of Liu Zhi's journeys through China, searching for manuscript copies of the Persian biography, and en route recovering various other Arabo-Persian texts.[61]

After compiling a draft of one of his books, Liu wrote, he was not fully satisfied with it, and hence "picked up his satchel" and travelled across China, seeking Arabo-Persian texts to substantiate his work, as well as readers who could evaluate it, and provide him with valuable prefaces. In one of his stopovers in the east Guangdong province (in south China), he was invited to visit the Mr. Hu's 胡氏 *Tianluge Library* (*Tianluge cangshu* 天祿閣藏書), where he discovered [texts] he had never seen before. A few years later, after launching the project of translating al-Kāzarūnī's Persian biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to Chinese, Liu Zhi made his way to the town of Chenliu 陳留 (in today's Henan province) to survey the library of Mr. Xu 許氏, who held a large collection of Arabic and Persian works. On his way, Liu passed through the town of Zhuxian zhen 朱仙鎮 (in today's Henan province). In Zhuxian zhen, he

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60. Liu Zhi, in the preliminary notes to his translation as well as in the bibliographical lists of *TFXL* and *TFDL*, gave the transliterated title of the original Arabo-Persian work as *Te-er-zhun-mo mu-su-tuo-fa* 特爾準默 穆蘇托法 (<AR/PE. *Tarjumat-i Muṣṭafá*, lit. "The Biography of 'the Chose'"). Leslie suggested that original work was al-Kāzarūnī's *Tarjumah-i mawlūd-i Muṣṭafá.* al-Kāzarūnī's text was originally written in Arabic, and later paraphrased into Persian by two different people.

61. The text of the preface appears in Liu Zhi 劉智 *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:40-42. Liu Zhi's work and his journey to recover Arabo-Persian texts is also discussed in Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 151-152.

was introduced to Mr. Sai 賽氏, in whose family library he discovered "an original copy of the Western classic *TFZSSL" (CH. zhisheng lu xijing yuanben* 至聖錄西經原本). Fortunate Liu examined carefully this newly discovered version, and compared it against the versions he held at hand. He meticulously copied it, and worked out its translation.

During his stay in Beijing, Liu had the opportunity to visit the library of Mr. Wu 吳氏. The library held, according to Liu, several tens of "original copies from Western lands [*xiguo yuanben* 西國原本, i.e., copies of Arabic or Persian works]."[62] Most of the manuscripts were works on astronomy and geography (CH. *tianwen dili zhi xue* 天文地理之學). Liu described these works as books that were once housed in the imperial libraries of the Yuan dynasty, and thereafter were looted and scattered (CH. *zi yuanshi zairu cang zhi fuku er wei liukou fachu zhe* 自元世載入藏之府庫而為流寇發出者).

The only manuscripts, Liu Zhi identified by their names are three texts that he encountered during a visit to Qinzhong [today's Shaanxi province]. The works included "The Classic of Human Mirror" (CH. *Renjing jing* 人鏡經, the title is listed in Liu Zhi's bibliography in his *Tianfang xingli* as the Chinese translation of the title *Mir'āt-i insān, PE. "Mirror of Man"*), "The Complete Classic on the Extension of Knowledge" (CH. *Gezhi quanjing* 格致全經, the title is listed in Liu Zhi's bibliography in his *Tianfang xingli* as the Chinese translation of the title *'Azud al-Dīn al-'Ījī's (756/1355-6) theological treatise, Kitāb al-Mawāqif*),[63] and the *Studies of the Three Extremes* (CH. *Sanji zhi xue* 三極之學, this might not be an actual title but a thematic description of other works).[64]

Similarly, the *JXXCP* records a story on the way Master Hai Wenxuan 海文軒, one of the disciples of Master Hu, discovered the influential Arabic Compendium on grammar and rhetorics, *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* ("Key for Sciences," composed by Abu Ya'qub Yusuf ibn Abi Bakr al-Sakkaki, d. 1229 AD) in a private collection in Northern Western China.[65] Rumors reached the Master, that a certain Muslim Salar (Mongol converts to Islam[66]) from Hehuang 河湟 (in today's Qinghai province) owns a copy of the *Miftāḥ*. Many scholars had paid visits to the man, asking to make copies of the manuscripts, but apparently met with refusal. Master Hai and a group of students travelled to Hehuang to meet the man and copy the manuscript. The owner took out the manuscript and showed it to them yet refused to let the students copy it. The reason stated was that the students wanted to dissect the manuscript into parts in order to

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62. Liu Zhi 劉智 *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:41.

63. On those two works, see Appendix 2 for further information on this work. The term *gezhi* 格致 ("The extension of knowledge by ordering things") was a central term in Confucian epistemological theory. By the late Ming it became a general term for collected classical and practical knowledge. (Elman 29). By the 17th century became used by the Jesuits and the Chinese literati as an equivalent to the European *scientia*. Elman 2005, 113 and passim.

64. Liu Zhi 劉智 *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:41.

65. This story is also discussed in Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 82-84.

66. On the Ṣūfī proselytization activities among the Salars, see Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

divide the labor between them, and that was what triggered the owner's refusal. The owner did not want to harm the unique manuscript and also did not want it to be copied. In a pure stroke of coincidence, Master Hai met a turbaned old man (*chantou sou* 纏頭叟, often a label for a foreign visitor) at his inn where he was staying in Hehuang. He told the man about his misfortunate experience with the Salar. The turbaned met then took out from his bag a copy of the same work and handed it to the Master. The surprised Master hoped to purchase the manuscript, yet was allowed only to copy it by hand.[67]

A second account describes Feng Bo'an's 馮伯菴 recovery of the Ṣūfī text *Mi-er-sa-te* 米而撒特 (<Ar. *Mirṣād* [68] "Observation post").[69] As a young scholar and a graduate from a school in Hu Dengzhou's network, Feng Bo'an moved to the town of Menghua 蒙化 (in today's Yunnan) looking to be hired as a private tutor. One day he met Ma 馬, a literatus who studied at the time in the prestigious prefectural academy. Ma told him about a dream he had, and in which he was ordered to look for a manuscript at his late grandfather's house. Ma brought the manuscript to Feng, and asked for Feng's assistance in deciphering its contents. Feng was astonished by the discovery of this remarkable Persian text that he had never seen before. Feng read the text and explained its themes to Ma.[70] A few years later, the account reports, Ma successfully passed the civil service examination and was appointed to a Hanlin academy. He used to carry the *Mirṣād* with him on his visits to court.[71]

When Feng Bo'an moved to the city of Tongxin 同心 (in today's Ningxia province), one of his students brought him a copy of the Persian work of poetry, titled *Gu-le-sai-tuo-ne* 古勒塞托呢 (<PE. *Gulistān*[72]), which he had not seen before. His colleague, Chang Zhimei 常志美, whose family relocated from Transoxiana to Shandong and possessed a high level of Persian literacy,[73] assisted him to read the manuscript and capture its meanings.

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67. See *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:30a.

68. This title refers to Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's (d. 1256 AD) influential work on Islamic mysticism, *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* ("The Observation Post of the Worshipers"). This work is mentioned in several seventeenth and eighteenth centuries works, including Liu Zhi's *Tianfang xingli* and *Tianfang dianli.* Two translations of the work to Chinese were made during the second half of the seventeenth century, see Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

69. This account is discussed in Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 86-87.

70. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:30a.

71. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:30a.

72. The *Gulistān* (<PE "the rose garden") is an influential work of prose, written by Abū-Muḥammad Muṣliḥ al-Dīn b. Abdallāh Shīrāzī, known as Sa'adī Shirāzī in the mid-thirteenth century. The work was used as a model for prose-writing and rhetoric and has been included in many educational curricula throughout the Persianate world.

73. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:30a. On Chang Zhimei and his works, see Leslie 1981, 25; Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 78; Kauz 2010. The reference for this work is found in the biography of Chang Zhimei in Yang Yongchang 楊永昌 and Ma Jizu 馬繼祖

These few accounts reveal the wide spread of Arabo-Persian texts on various themes in private libraries throughout China. While some are the vestiges of the imperial libraries of the Yuan dynasty, other texts seems to be brought to China by later visitors or by Chinese travelers abroad.

(B) TEXTS ARRIVING VIA FOREIGN INTERMEDIARIES

Foreign preachers carrying unfamiliar Arabo-Persian texts were an important source of Arabo-Persian texts as attested by a number of accounts. Hu's biography, parts of which are quoted above, includes a story about Hu's meeting with an eccentric Westerner [*xilai yiren* 西來異人], who passed by Beijing.[74] The Westerner showed Hu a text on poetry, titled *Mu-ge-ma-te* (<AR. *Maqāmāt* "Arabic rhythmic prose"), which was in the form of manuscript wrapped in brocade and kept in two boxes. The Westerner apparently offered to sell it, yet Hu, so it seems, did not have the means to purchase the manuscript. He sufficed in memorizing it and copying parts of it. The Westerner, then, continued in his way to *Qinzhong* [秦中, a general term for today's Shaanxi province] to look for buyers from among the local bibliophiles [*cangshu zhi jia* 藏書之家], who would be willing to pay a good price for the book. The texts, which Hu finally purchased from other sources, became a central piece in the curriculum of Hu's school, and continued to be used by his followers. Yet, this account sheds light on the way that the continuing traffic of foreign visitors to China throughout the Ming dynasty served as a source of Arabo-Persian texts for local Chinese scholars.

The late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a rise in the activities of the Naqshbandī and Yasawī Islamic orders[75] in the Tarim Basin. The popularity of the order among the nobility and the local population, and the interaction between local orders and the Ṣūfī centers in Transoxiana facilitated the establishment of a strong network of schools and preachers. As propagation of their Ṣūfī creed was a central tenet of the Naqshbandī ideology, the extension of the Naqshbandīs' activities eastwards into China was only a matter of time. From the sixteenth century onwards Naqshbandī preachers began to tour Northern China and to introduce ideas and texts to local audiences.[76]

Naqshbandī scholarship was characterized by an emphasis on the study Shari'a (Islamic legal tradition) and Ṣūfī mysticism.[77] Selected works on Islamic jurisprudence and mysticism were studied throughout the network of Sufi lodges (PE. *khānqāh*) and schools (CG. *mäktäb*) established in East Turkestan. Many of the texts studied in these institution found their way by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into the curricula of Hu Dengzhou and his disciples. An account in the Persian work, *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb* (<AR. "The Splendor of Hearts,"), which assembled biographies of key

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1989, 58.

74. Two versions of the story appear in *JXXCP*. See *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:3a, 20:25a.

75. On the history and creed of the Naqshbandī order, see Weismann 2007.

76. On the emergence of the Naqshbandīs in North-Western China, see Fletcher 1995; Lipman 1998. See also Chapter 6 of this dissertation on the activities of Khwājah-i Āfāq and his followers in north-west China.

77. Fletcher 1995, 5.

Naqshbandī teachers in Transoxiana, describes the visit of *Ḥaḍrat-i ishān*[78] in Kashgar towards in the late 16th century. *Ḥaḍrat-i ishān* is quoted in this account as acclaiming the erudition of a local scholar, who had "memorized at the age of twelve the texts of the works *Kāfiyah, Mukhtaṣar-i wiqāyah, ʻAqā'id, Mawāfiq,* and *Maṭāliʻ*."[79] The works, *Kāfiyah*, *Mukhtaṣar-i wiqāya* and *ʻAqā'id*, appeared in the curricula of Hu Dengzhou's disciples during the late 16th and 17th centuries.

The visits of Naqshbandī preachers in Northern China are recorded from the mid-17th century.[80] The rich Ṣūfī literature that circulated in China and propelled the discourses on the natural world and the divine, including Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's (d. 1256 AD) *Mirṣād al-ʻibād* that was mentioned above, ʻAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī's (fl. 13th cen.) *Maqṣad al-aqṣá*, Nūr al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 1492) *Ashiʻʻat al-lamaʻāt* and *Lawā'iḥ,* demonstrates that extensive movements of texts, people and ideas from Central Asia into China took place as early as the sixteenth century.[81] The popularity of Abū Naṣr Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Sulaymānī Bukhārī's Sūfī exegesis of the Qur'an, known as *Tafsīr-i Ẓāhidī* (CH. *Te-Fu-xi-er Za-Xi-ti* 特福西爾咱吸提, an early commentary produced in 1125 in Bukhara)[82] further points to the prominence of Central Asian scholarship in China during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

An alternative channel of textual transmission was via the Indian subcontinent. The Naqshbandī and other Ṣūfī orders prospered in Moghul India and strong bonds between these Indian orders and their counterparts in Transoxiana produced movements of people and texts between the regions.[83] In some cases, people and texts found their way also into China.

The mid-seventeenth century work, *Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 ("The Comprehensive Meaning of Returning to Truth[84]") records a visit of a preacher from India

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78. *Ḥaḍrat-i Ishān* also known as *Ishān-i Kalān*, Khōja Muḥammad Amīn, d. 1599 AD, son of *Makhdūm-i Aʻẓam*, lit. "Grand Ṣūfī-Master," the patriarch of an influential family in Transoxiana from the late 16th century, d. 1542.

79. *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb* ("the splendor of hearts"), Persian Manuscript #95, undated, f. 116. The two works *Kāfiyah* and *Mukhtaṣar-i wiqāyah* are popular texts on Islamic jurisprudence of the Ḥanafī school; the title *ʻAqā'id* refers to a famous treatise on logic, known also as *al-ʻAqā'id al-nasafīyah.*

80. See chapter 7 of this dissertation.

81. On the Ṣūfī works circulating in China see Frankel 2009. See also Chapter 7 of this dissertation. Appendix 2 includes a list of Arabic and Persian mystical works that circulated in China during the 17th and 18th centuries.

82. On the identification of this exegesis, see 1908, 14:1-2; Storey 1927, I:4-5; Dānishpazhūh 1361. On Ṣūfī exegesis literature, see Böwering 1991.

83. On the activities of the Naqshbandī order in Moghul India, see Dale and Payind 1999.

84. The Chinese term *zhen* 真 has the literal meaning of "truth." However, in Chinese-Islamic rhetoric, the term is often taken to be a translation of the Persian (or Arabic) counterpart *ḥaqq* (or, *al-ḥaqq*) - a Ṣūfī term to denote God. *Guizhen* as a compound phrase resonates with the Ṣūfī term *al-maʻād ilá al-ḥaqq*, whose literal meaning is "Returning to God," and refers to a certain acknowledgement of the

[*xindu* 欣都] in Nanjing. The *Guizhen zongyi* is theological treatise with a visible Ṣūfī affiliation. It was compiled by Zhang Shizhong 張時中 - an author of several other works on Islamic theology.[85] In his preface to the *Guizhen zongyi*, Zhang explained that the work was compiled out of notes he took while studying with an Indian preacher, called *A-shi-ge* (likely <ʿĀshiq). Before arriving in Nanjing, *A-shi-ge* traveled in Central Asia for thirteen years.[86] Zhang first met the preacher in the spring of year 1639, when he studied in Nanjing. Shortly afterwards, Zhang began to hold conversations with the preacher on various themes that interested him, including human nature, history, and cosmology.[87] As a literatus, Zhang brought into these conversations theories he knew from other schools of thought, such as Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism. The concept of *Īmān* (CH. *yi-ma-ne* 以麻呢, <AR. lit. "faith") and the theological proof of God's existence occupied a central place in Zhang's conversations. Few years later, after the preacher left China, Zhang decided to edit the notes he took from the conversations with the Indian. The notes were eventually published under the title *Guizhen zongyi.*

4. The System of Textual Expertise in Hu Dengzhou's Network

The Islamicate world continued to use manuscripts up to the 19th century when local governments allowed the introduction of printing. The centrality of Arabo-Persian texts in Hu Dengzhou's program made the use and reproduction of manuscripts and their particulars integral parts of the program. Despite the wide use of printing in China since at least the eleventh century, Hu Dengzhou's network adhered to the use of manuscripts. The production of hand-made copies served as a method of proliferation of texts, but also as a pedagogical method. It was only as late as the mid-seventeenth century that Arabo-Persian scholarship in China began to use printing as its main medium of proliferation.[88]

Hand-made copying of texts involved aspects of collation, copyist error-detection and calligraphic skills that were required in order to maintain their authority. These aspects were an integral part of Hu's philological program as the following description in *JXXCP* suggests.

> When the scholars of our teachings in the Western Regions compiled texts, they paid scrupulous attention to collating and amending the texts before presenting them to their superiors. When the ruler read the texts, he would send them for the review of his advisors in court, then after all corrections had been made, he would stamp them and distribute them in all the lands of our teachings. These multiple procedures involved in the preparation of the circulating canon made people believe and respect the texts. This is the reason why our

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Islamic truth. On this work and the historical context of its production, see Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

85. On Zhang and his works, see Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

86. *Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 [The Summary of Meaning of Returning to Truth], 238-239.

87. *Guizhen zongyi*, 238-239.

88. See Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

Arabo-Persian texts must by scrupulously verified before using them for study.[89]

蓋吾教西域文士之著經籍， 必嚴於考訂， 方敢進呈大廷， 而國君睿覽之暇，遍賜閱於勳助宸陛之在廷諸學者，繼而眾評無貶後,方鈐印， 批準輯錄， 頒發吾教之各國， 由此各方以之為通行正典，人民始信服而敬遵之， 此吾天房經籍必如是精研確核， 方敢示以習讀也

The following description of a daily routine of students in She Yunshan's school demonstrates the competence in the material aspects of manuscript preparation that student in Hu's network achieved. Collation of manuscripts and error-detection took place before any textual analysis was applied:

Every morning all students received texts [*jing* 經, also "scriptures"] with errata. Hence, they had to compare the texts with other [manuscripts]. If they detected an erratum, they would mark and correct it by their own hand. When a student idled and languished, [the teacher] would discuss with him one or two historical figures in order to sharpen [his thought]. If he still seemed not to comprehend it, his ears would be twisted and he would receive a slap on his face. Any excuses would be to no avail. Thus, all students complied. By the end of the session, breakfast was served. As they finished eating, the students returned to their classes, and were handed back their texts. They were required to present the texts' particulars [*jiangzheng* 講政]. In the case of works on grammar [*Na-ha-wu* 那哈吳, <AR. *naḥw*[90]], that is works on Arabic writing style and meanings of words [*Tianfang wenyi ziyi zhi jing* 天房文藝字義之經]. Each word was to be analyzed in terms of its root [*genyuan* 根源], the method of its style [*wenfeng hefa* 文風何法, might refer to the analysis of rhetorical devices or morphological conjugation], and its vernacular rendition [*yisu heshuo* 義俗何說]. Then, the [students] were asked to recite the whole text [*tingjing* 聽經].“[91]

每晨諸生受經， 但字有錯差， 即取別經對閱，若果有錯，隨親手筆改注之，或諸生有曠蕩愚鈍者， 略述一二古人相礪， 如猶不省，方擰耳而面責之， 然其說亦無枉，門人自無不服者. 及授經畢，即進早膳，方畢復命諸生序次攜所接之經，講政之，如 《那哈吳》 經 (天房文藝字義之經〉，則字字指其根源何出，文風何法，而其義俗何說， 謂之聽經。

The philological treatment of Arabo-Persian texts developed systems of annotation and glossing, which seem to be an integral part of the use of Arabo-Persian manuscripts throughout the late imperial period.[92] In general, we can list four different forms of annotation that were in use in China: (1) the most common form of annotation was interlinear Persian or Arabic glossing. This type of annotation includes word-for-word or phrase-for-phrase translations written below the main texts. Inter-

89. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:12b.

90. The Arabic term *naḥw* was used in a wider sense of grammar, as well as in the narrower sense of syntax. It seems that the former is the case here.

91. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:18-19.

92. On the types of annotation and glossing, see Afshār 1361, 484; Bakhtyar 1994, 71-72.

estingly, in many manuscripts this type of annotation became so natural that even fixed and widely used set-phrases such as the *basmala* (<AR. "praise of God", the general opening of most texts which reads in its Arabic version: *bi-[i]sm l-lāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm* ("In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate") include an interlinear translation to Persian (<PE. *be nām-i khudā-yi bakhshāyandah mihrabān*); (2) interlinear glossing and interpretation in Chinese written in modified Arabic letters. This system is commonly known by the term *xiaoerjing* 小兒經 (<CH. "secondary texts," sometimes called *xiaoerjin* 小兒錦);[93] (3) grammatical marking - abbreviated grammatical markers are added below the main text to help the reader. These markers included as pointers to the subject of the sentence, a phrase, or a conjugated verb, pointers to complicated verbal conjugations, singular/plural noun form alteration etc.; (4) marginal interpretations - these are mainly classical commentaries (AR. *sharḥ*), which are copied as a secondary layer of the manuscript, often outside the margins of the main texts and in a cursive script. Many of these commentaries are Persian; (5) rarely seen are glosses or interpretations in Chinese characters.

The copying of existing manuscripts was in and of itself an act of production. Extant manuscripts demonstrate the wide scope of adaptation and modification, a process inherent to the copying of manuscripts by hand. The physical features of Arabo-Persian manuscripts in China included, in many cases, a new calligraphic style known as *Ṣīnī* (<AR. "Chinese"), which demonstrates resemblance to older versions of the *naskh* style of Transoxiana.[94] Similarly, the use of double-layered Chinese paper,[95] the binding of the manuscripts as well as the format of a cover page accommodated features from the local Chinese book culture.

5. Hu Dengzhou's Philology as China's Bridge to the Islamicate World

By promoting the use of a corpus of Arabic and Persian texts, Hu Dengzhou established a scholarly connection between China and the Islamicate world. The juxtaposition of the scholarly interests of China's literati and the contemporary scholarly production in the Islamicate world produced common ground between Chinese literati and scholars in the centers of scholarship throughout the Islamicate world.

The following anecdote from *JXXCP* demonstrates how graduates of Hu's program felt at home anywhere in the Islamicated world. Wang Mingyu 王明宇 was a sixth-generation disciple of Hu Dengzhou from Wuyuan 五原 (in today's Inner Mongolia), who decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He assembled companions and

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93. Feng Zenglie 馮增烈 1982; Zavyalova 1999; Bakhtyar 1994, 71-72. I use here the uncommon translation of *xiao'erjing* as "secondary text". The spelling and the meaning of this term, which reflects a vernacular use and pronunciation of the North-Chinese dialect, have been the subject of scholarly debate. Additional spellings include *xiao'erjin* 小兒錦, *xiaojing* 小經 and *xiaojin* 小錦. Some read the term as a vernacular pronunciation of *xuejing* 學經("Study of the scriptures"); other readings include "small classic script," "little brocade script," "little children script". I prefer to translate it as "secondary text," taking *xiao'er* 小兒 to mean "minor; secondary". On this term, see Han Zhongyi 韓中義 2005; Sobieroj 2014, 103.

94. Afshār 1361, 484; Bakhtyar 1994, 72-73.

95. Afshār 1361, 484; Bakhtyar 1994, 72.

entered Tibet. While in Tibet, Wang was kidnapped and held as a captive for two years. After two years, he happened to meet an Egyptian shaykh visiting Tibet and asked for his help. The shaykh suggested taking Wang as his disciple and in that way to free him from his captivity. Wang accompanied the Shaykh on his way back to Egypt. When they arrived in India, Wang decided leave the company of the shaykh and continue by himself to Mecca. While still in India, Wang happened to be invited to an interview with the local Indian ruler. The two conversed in Persian, and Wang demonstrated his calligraphic skills. The author of this account remarked that the common ground between Wang and the Indian ruler was facilitated by their shared education, which included the study of Persian, Arabic, Chaghatay (*Tu-er-ji* 土而機), rhetoric, grammar, Islamic jurisprudence, theology, logic and mysticism.[96] As this anecdote suggests, Hu's curriculum corresponded to the curriculum in many Islamic madrasahs. As such, it provided Chinese literati with access to the scholarly heritage of the Islamicate world.

While during China's medieval period and under the Yuan dynasty, Chinese texts and ideas were exported to the Islamicate world, in the textual exchanges between China and the Islamicate world during late imperial China, China was mainly a recipient of Arabic and Persian texts. Yet, in terms of development of calligraphic styles, page formats, methods of glossing, and later even the earliest introduction of print to Islamic scholarship, it can be argued that China had an active participation in the Islamicate book culture. From that perspective, it can be argued that Hu Dengzhou's philological movement contributed not only to the local Chinese scholarly scene, but also to the advancement of the larger Islamicate book culture.

Hu Dengzhou's philological enterprise perpetuated well into the eighteenth century, creating an unprecedented Chinese participation in the scholarly discourse of the larger Islamiate world, and at the same time providing new theories of the natural world to readers in China. Moreover, the textual-intensive methods of investigation applied by Hu and his disciples made them early precursors of the study of language in China. By the seventeenth century, a few decades after the death of Hu Dengzhou, socio-political changes motivated members of the Arabo-Persian scholarly network to adopt the Chinese language and printing technology for their scholarship, and thus brought about significant departures from Hu's philological program. Nevertheless, the abundance of Arabo-Persian manuscripts that are still extant in depositories in China, and display some of the unique characteristics of China's Arabo-Persian scholarship demonstrate the long-standing and wide-reaching effect that Hu Dengzhou's philological program had on late imperial China.

6. Chapter Summary

One of the first attempts to develop a systematic study of Arabic and Persian texts in China took place in the 16th century, when Hu Dengzhou, a literatus from Shaanxi established a school in his hometown. Wishing to present the insights into the natural world embedded in Arabo-Persian texts to a wider Chinese Muslim and non-Muslim audience, Hu set up a curriculum whose main objective was to develop linguistic skills for close reading of Arabic and Persian texts. Hu's disciples expanded his project into a full-fledged educational network with branches throughout China.

By building on the developed tradition of Arabic grammar in the Islamicate world, Hu and his disciples introduced to their followers analytical frameworks to

96. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:72.

study language. They brought to China the concepts of syntax, morphology, logic and rhetoric, and developed a new type of Arabo-Persian philological scholarship.

In the context of Hu Dengzhou's philological enterprise, Arabic and Persian texts were sought in local private libraries, and brought into China from other parts of the Islamicate world. Hundreds of Arabo-Persian texts were copied, collated, and annotated in ways that resemble philological projects from other parts of the world.

Although confined to Arabic and Persian texts, Hu Dengzhou's philological project introduced the Islamic perceptions of the natural world to interested Muslim and non-Muslim literati, and ushered in a new epoch of intellectual engagement between the China and the Islamicate world.

CHAPTER 5: THE GENERAL FEATURES OF THE CORPUS OF ARABO-PERSIAN TEXTS WHICH CIRCULATED IN CHINA, 16TH-18TH CENTURIES

ABSTRACT

This chapter will survey the general features of the corpus of Arabo-Persian texts which circulated in China between the late 16th and late 18th centuries. Through an analysis of the actual titles that were studied in China, this chapter will qualify the types of Arabo-Persian knowledge that were embedded in these texts, and the patterns of transmission of Arabic and Persian texts to late imperial China. By comparing the types and quantities of Arabo-Persian texts that circulated in China with those in other centers of Islamic scholarship, this chapter evaluates the effect of formal Islamic institutions and that of other knowledge agents, such as Ṣūfī orders on China's transmission of Arabo-Persian texts.

Hu Dengzhou's philological movement meticulously studied Arabic and Persian texts in an attempt to expound the linguist substructures and meanings embedded in them, and out of a wish to advance China's understanding of the natural world. The study of the natural world was realized through the scrutiny of a large variety of texts. Arabic and Persian texts on theology, jurisprudence, mysticism, cosmology, and the natural sciences were viewed as part of this larger project of investigating the natural world. To that end, the collection and reproduction of Arabic and Persian texts was an integral part of Hu Dengzhou's program. The result was a large corpus of Arabo-Persian texts, expounding the various dimensions of the Islamicate view of the natural world.

References to Arabic and Persian texts appear *passim* in Chinese works, bibliographical lists and mosque steles and provide us with invaluable information regarding the corpus of Arabo-Persian texts that circulated in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Aside from demonstrating the common intellectual interests of China and its Western neighbors, analysis of this pool of texts can provide clues on the journeys these texts made *en route* to China, as well as to shed light on the scope and quality of China's engagement with the Islamicate world. This dissertation builds on previous studies of China's Arabo-Persian literature.[1] Synthesizing information from these studies and surveys of Arabic and Persian books in Chinese libraries carried out by Chinese, Japanese, Western, Russian, Persian and Arab scholars, this dissertation expands the scope of texts studied. The analytical lens this dissertation employs brings to light new insights on the textual features and aspects of the history of their transmission.

In order to assess the types and quality of Arabo-Persian knowledge that circulated in China from the sixteenth century, the beginning of Hu Dengzhou's movement, and through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries an analysis of the corpus of Arabic and Persian texts that were available at that period is due. This chapter will

1. Previous studies of Arabo-Persian texts in China include: Takashi Kuroiwa 黒岩高 et al. 2012; Morimoto Kazuo 森本一夫 2012; Leslie and Wassel 1982.

carry out such analysis, and will bring to light some of the inherent features in the transmission of Arabo-Persian texts to China at the dawn of China's Modern period.

1. The Study of the Natural World and the Taxonomy of Arabo-Persian Knowledge

Two of Liu Zhi's works, *Tianfang xingli* (*TFXL*, pub. 1704) and *Tianfang dianli* (*TFDL*, pub. 1710), include detailed bibliographies of Arabic and Persian texts which arguably served Liu Zhi in the compilation of the two works. The bibliographical lists include transliterated titles followed by literal translation or paraphrase of the title into Chinese. A survey of the titles included in the two bibliographical lists suggests that the layout of the lists reflects a certain taxonomy of fields, and maybe even Liu Zhi's scholarly preferences.[2] Thus, Qur'anic commentaries (AR. *tafsīr*) are at the top of the list, second only to the Qur'an; followed by works on mysticism (AR. *ʿirfān*); works of Islamic jurisprudence (AR. *fiqh*); works on theology (AR. *kalām*); logic (AR. *maṭiq*); natural sciences (AR. *ṭabīʿīyāt*), which are comprised of works on cosmology, astrology, geography, time-keeping, and dream interpretation; hagiography and biographies of the prophet (AR. *sīrah*); compendia (on subjects such as genealogies, schools of Islamic jurisprudence; gemology); language (AR. *lughah*).

Liu Zhi's bibliographies show great resemblance to the taxonomy of branches of scholarship in the Islamicate world. This suggests that China's Arabo-Persian scholarship, as it is manifested in the circulation of texts, organized its scholarship in accordance with the traditional Islamicate views on the branches of knowledge, and to lesser degree on Chinese ones.

On the eve of the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, Islamic scholarship was carried out in the context of two scholarly discourses which dominated the flourishing intellectual environment of the `Abbasids: "the Sciences based on Revelation," AR. *al-ʿulūm al-naqlīyah*, lit. "the Transmitted Sciences," also known as "the Religious Sciences" *al-ʿulūm al-sharʿīyah*), and "the Rational Sciences" (AR. *al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqlīyah*, also known as the Sciences of the Ancients, *ʿulūm al-awā'il*). While the former developed a religious scholarship grounded in faith (Ar. *imān*), the Qur'an and the early traditions (AR. *ḥadīth*), the latter inherited, and further developed a version of the Hellenic rational discourse.[3] The various scholarly fields were divided along the lines of this categorization; the transmitted sciences included Qur'anic exegesis (AR. *tafsīr*), early traditions (AR. *ḥadīth*), Arabic syntax (AR. *naḥw*), Arabic morphology (AR. *ṣarf*) rhetoric (Ar. *balāghah*), and Islamic jurisprudence (AR. *fiqh*), while the rational sciences comprised logic (AR. *maṭiq*), mathematics (AR. *riyāḍiyāt*), medicine (AR. *ṭibb*), astronomy (AR. *ʿilm al-nujūm*, and later *ʿilm al-hay'ah*), as well as occult sciences such as astrology (AR. *ʿilm al-nujūm*), alchemy (AR. *al-kīmīyā*), physiognomy (AR. *firāsah*), and geomancy (AR. *raml*). Islamic theology (*AR. kalām*) was a special case and its affinity to one or other category has been a subject of debate. In an attempt to reconcile its application of rational methods with its goal of defining the natural world in terms of the revealed

2. There are differences in the layout of fields between the two lists, and in some cases it seems that Liu Zhi's taxonomy was not fully compatible with the common taxonomies in other places of the Islamicate world. On the taxonomy of knowledge, see below.

3. Ragep 2013, 29.

truth, it shared ground with both discourses, yet fully matched neither of them.[4]

The study of the natural world occupied scholars of both discourses, each focusing on aspects that matched its basic assumptions and methodologies. While those engaged in the study of the transmitted sciences focused on textual analysis and philosophy, those who sided with the rational sciences integrated textual and philosophical scrutiny with practical activities, and were meticulously preoccupied with projects such as perfecting methods of astronomical observation, time keeping and cartography.[5]

Two main institutions promoted scholarship—including the study of the natural sciences—throughout the Islamicate world during the post-classical period: courtly patronage, and religious schools (AR. *madrasah*).[6] The Courtly patronage during the Mongol period was an attempt to follow the steps of the ʻAbbāsid golden age. At the height of the ʻAbbasīd period, the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (763-809) and his successors sponsored the translation of texts from Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi and Sanskrit, and thus built the textual base for Arabic scholarship on the rational sciences.[7] At the same time, he and his successors endorsed scholars whose fields of expertise were Islamic jurisprudence, Arabic grammar, and theology, contributing as well to the development of the transmitted sciences.[8] As discussed in Chapter 2, the Mongols, despite the devastation they inflicted on the regions they conquered, and their destruction of the previously vibrant centers of scholarship in Iraq, Iran and Transoxiana, gathered at their courts scholars of various fields, and endowed them with official positions funds, buildings and other forms of courtly patronage. Under the Ilkhanate, projects, such as Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's Marāghah observatory and Rashīd al-Dīn's *Rabʻ-i rashīdī* in Tabrīz enjoyed high status and generous financial support. Similarly, the Yuan court supported scholars such as Jamāl al-Dīn and ʻĪsá, who were given offices and titles to carry out astronomical, cartographical and medical projects.[9]

Courtly patronage continued to play a role in the polities of the Islamicate world. Timurid rulers, such as Ulugh Beg, as well as their Ottoman and Safavid successors, established observatories and teaching institutions, and supported scholarship on the natural sciences.[10] Although the availability of translations of works on the natural sciences between Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish and Chaghatay attests to an outward transmission of knowledge, their success in introducing their accomplish-

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4. On the nature of *kalām*, see Sabra 1994, 10-11. On the categorization of *kalām* within educational programs, see Makdisi 1981, 75-80; Robinson 1997, 152.

5. Morisson 2013, 109-110.

6. Brentjes 2008.

7. On the translation project carried under the ʻAbbasīds, see Gutas 2012.

8. On the scholarly activities promoted by the ʻAbbasids see the various essays in Young et al. 2006.

9. On the Ilkhanid Hülegü's promotion of scholarship at his court, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation, see also Amitai-Preiss 2013. For comparison with the status of scholars in the Chaghatay *ulus*, see Biran 2008.

10. Brentjes 2008, 424-429.

ments in the eastern parts of the Islamicate world and China was minimal. The sustained diplomatic and mercantile exchanges between the Ming and the Timurids prioritized goods and animals, and despite the shared interest in astronomical projects did not generate any exchange of knowledge.[11]

Religious schools and academies emerged in the tenth century in Khurāsān and gradually became prominent centers of scholarship, spreading throughout the Islamicate world.[12] In their early manifestations religious schools, were granted by rulers to distinguished scholars teaching institutions.[13] As such, they accommodated studies of the natural sciences as well as other interests of individual scholars. These centers gradually gained independence from the courts, and turned their activities towards textual studies and the transmitted sciences. Studies of the rational sciences became secondary, and were eventually excluded from the curricula in many of these schools.[14] Aspects of the natural sciences, however, continued to be taught in the context of Islamic jurisprudence and theology. At the same time, the rise in the activities of Ṣūfī mystics of the Naqshbandī order in Transoxiana during the sixteenth century further enhanced the transmission of ideas and texts into China. This order carried out proselytising activities in Transoxiana and China. Visits of Ṣūfī preachers distributing Arabic and Persian texts became a new bridge between China and the Islamicate world.[15] At a period, when official scholarly exchanges between China and the Islamicate world were minimal, these private channels of knowledge movement brought to China texts and ideas, including aspects of natural philosophy and the natural sciences embedded in mystical and theological texts.

2. The Database of Arabo-Persian Texts

For the purpose of investigating the properties of Arabo-Persian knowledge that circulated in China during the 17th and 18th centuries, this dissertation has constructed a database of Arabo-Persian texts whose availability in China during that period is attested by references in Chinese texts and mosque inscriptions. The database, which is attached to this dissertation under the title "Attachment 2," comprises of 171 titles. It will serve as the main source of information for the various analyses presented in this chapter.

At the heart of the analysis of this database stands the meticulous task of identifying the original Arabo-Persian titles. Many of the seventeenth and eighteenth century sources are in Chinese and include arbitrarily transliterated forms of the

11. On the relations between the Ming and its Inner Asian neighbors, see Rossabi 1998.

12. Zaman 2010, 600. On the institutionalization of Islamic religious education and the rise of the madrasa as a center of scholarship, see also Makdisi 1981; Robinson 1997.

13. Brentjes 2008, 412.

14. Makdisi 1981, 75-80; Robinson 1997, 155.

15. On the expansion of the Naqshbandī activities in the Islamicate world, see Weismann 2007, 34-48. On their activities in China, see Fletcher 1995; Lipman 1998, 58-72.

Arabo-Persian titles. Deciphering these transliterations always leaves a place for doubt whether the identification was correct. In addition, many of the titles referred to are not extant today in their original form or are not mentioned in any bibliographical dictionaries. Many works are known by multiple titles, or by alternative titles in the West. Other works are known in the West only through their Arabic version, while in China it is a Persian translation that circulated. As a result, a considerable number of titles are not fully identified, or their identification is debatable. In order to arrive at the best approximation, however, the titles of works in the pool analyzed here were compared with titles of works which have circulated in China from the late nineteenth century, as well as with lists of school curricula and book endowments from other parts of the Islamicate world.

Overall, the corpus of Arabo-Persian texts which circulated in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth century shared a considerable amount of similarity to the curricula of Islamic schools (AR. *madrasah*) in other parts of the Islamicate world. Both the Chinese corpus of texts and the *madrasah* curriculum included texts that focus on Islamic theology, Islamic jurisprudence, Arabic grammar, rhetoric and logic. Even so, a significant number of texts which are reported to have been present in China during that period were works on the natural sciences, astronomy as well as works on Islamic mysticism. These types of works were in most cases excluded from *madrasah* curricula in other parts of the Islamicate world.

Interestingly, many of the Arabo-Persian texts which circulated in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth century continued to be used and reproduced well into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Versions of many of these texts are still available in libraries, museums and mosques throughout China.[16]

3. The General Features of the Corpus of Arabo-Persian Texts which circulated in China, 16th-18th centuries

(a) The Linguistic Component - Arabic or Persian

Despite the dominance of Persian in the areas bordering China, almost equal numbers of Arabic and Persian works seem to circulate in China during the 17th and 18th centuries, suggesting that a certain level of literacy in both languages existed during that period. This division can reflect some of the inherent features of the Arabo-Persian corpus in China such as the genre of works and their period of composition. Earlier works, and works of the classical era, are more likely to use Arabic. In addition some themes and genres, such as treatises on Arabic grammar and rhetoric, Islamic law, Quranic exegesis and theology prefer Arabic over any other vernacular including Persian.

Leslie and Wassel, in their analysis of the sixty-eight titles listed in Liu Zhi's

16. Several surveys of Chinese mosques and libraries have demonstrated a close resemblance of surviving collections today to the canon of Arabo-Persian texts which circulated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For the surveys of Arabic and Persian works in China, see Afshār 1361a, 8:8, 479-463 and 8:9, 568-574; Al-'Alawī 1978; Bakhtyar 1994; Blodget 1866; d'Ollone et al. 1911; Dabry de Thiersant 1878; Dānishpazhūh 1362; Hayward 1933; Satūdah 1357; Sharī'at 1356.

two bibliographies, found more Persian works than Arabic.[17] They suggest that most of the Arabic titles refer to texts of the Ḥanafī school of *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and that the Persian ones are mostly Ṣūfī works (Islamic mysticism).[18] Although Leslie and Wassel's explanation of topical division can be applied as well to the database used in this analysis, it seems that their findings regarding the ratio between Arabic and Persian works are a unique case of Liu Zhi's works and his personal inclination towards cosmology (many such works are in Persian). The large number of works on grammar, rhetoric, and theology, and the classical works on Islamic jurisprudence significantly increased the number of Arabic texts circulating in China during that period.

As Figure 1 shows, among the texts whose language is identified, there is nearly equal division between Arabic and Persian texts. The language of nearly a third of the texts included in the database, however, is unclear.

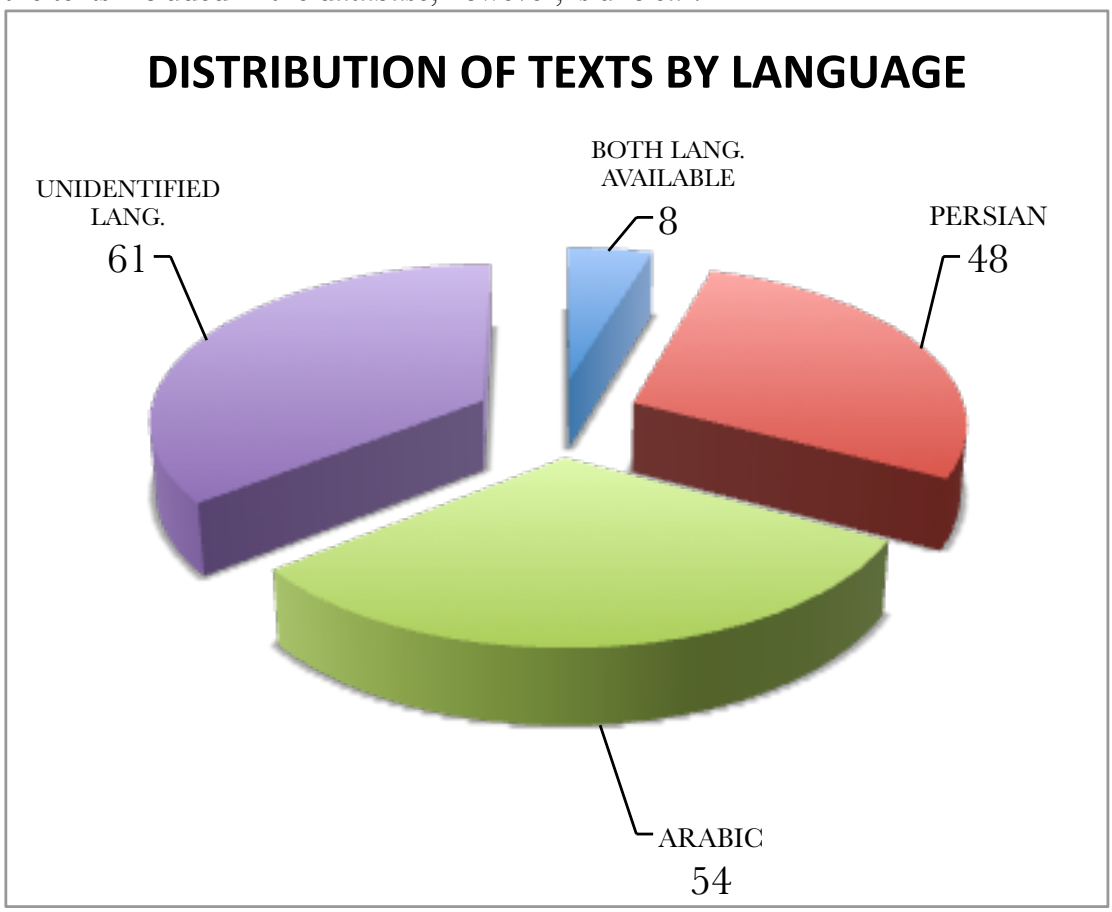


Figure 1: Distribution of China's Arabo-Persian Texts by Language

The corpus of Arabo-Persian texts exhibits an interesting division between Persian and Arabic works on Islamic jurisprudence. While the classical manuals of Islamic law, such as Burhān al-Dīn ʻAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī's (d. 1196) widespread work, *al-Hidāyah fī sharḥ al-bidāyah* (comp. 1178 in Samarqand) and its commentaries and abridged versions are in Arabic, collections of *fatāwá* (legal opinions), such as the *Maghmūʻ-i khānī* of the Indian jurist Kamāl Karīm Nāgawrī (b. 1592) are

17. Leslie and Wassel 1982, 104.

18. Leslie and Wassel 1982, 104.

in Persian. Similarly, most *Kalām* (Islamic theology) works that circulated in China are in Arabic, with the exception of a text titled *Khayālī*, which seems to refer to Aḥmad ibn Mūsa al-Khayālī's (d. 1457) super-commentary on another influential work of theology that circulated in China as well - Mas'ūd b. 'Umar Taftāzānī's (d. 1390) *Sharḥ al-'aqā'id*.

The survey of manuscripts that were available in Chinese mosques during the late 19th century and throughout the twentieth centuries, as well as those that are currently held by various depositories in China, reveal a significant number of translations into Persian of Arabic works. This might suggest that although many of the works that circulated in China were originally written in Arabic, their locally read versions were Persian. An example of such a case can be seen in some of collections of Prophetic sayings that seem to be used in China in the 17th and 18th centuries. Selections from Tāj al-Dīn Ḥāfiẓī Bukhārī's *Khuṭab al-rasūl* ("The Sermons of the Messenger of God"), also known as *Arba'īn* ("The Forty"), were translated into Persian by a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn b. 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Nūjābādī in the year 835/1431 and found their way into China.[19] Similarly, Persian translations of Shāh Walī al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī's (d. 1340) *Ḥadīth* collection *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ* are reported to have been present in China at the time.[20]

In addition, extant manuscripts include layers of commentary and glossing, many of which are in Persian. This feature, of course, complicates the discussion as it suggests that Arabic texts, in some cases, were copied and circulated yet not understood without the Persian commentary.[21]

Most Persian works that circulated in China during the 17th and 18th centuries were written after the 14th century, while earlier works are predominantly in Arabic. This might indicate that the 14th century serves, in the context of Chinese Islamic scholarship, as the border between an Arabic-dominated classical period and the more recent Persian-dominated period. This shift can be traced to the historical processes that emerged following the Mongol invasion, such as the shifts of the cultural centers of the Islamicate world from Arabic-speaking Western Asia towards Central Asia and India and the maturation of vernacular Islamic scholarships in these areas. In addition, it might signify the gradually increasing distance between China and the Arabic-speaking world after the fall of the Yuan. Centers of scholarship that survived the Mongol rampage, such as Arabic-speaking Egypt, do not seem to have served as sources for textual transmission to China.

(B) Period of Composition

The distribution of the database texts by period of composition suggests that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Chinese scholars based much of their studies on centuries-old classical Arabo-Persian works, rather than on contemporary ones. While the texts studied were mostly drawn from between the 12th and 15th cen-

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19. Afshār 1361b, 474.

20. The title *Tarjumat al-Maṣābīḥ* ("Translation of *al-Maṣābīḥ*") appears in the Xi'an Inscription. It is not clear whether this is a reference to a Persian translation of *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*. See *Inscription V* in Huart 1905, 295-313.. The Bukharan endowment includes a translation of the *Mishkāt* into Persian by a certain Mullā Nāṣir Bāy, see: Liechti 2008.

21. On these textual features see Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

turies, this does not imply that their date of entry into China predated their use by hundreds of years. Rather, it demonstrates the non-chronological integration of knowledge.

About half of the identified texts in the Arabo-Persian canon of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were composed before the fourteenth century, and nearly forty percent during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see Figure 2 below).[22] The high number of works that circulated in China, and whose period of composition was the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, suggest that a significant portion of the Arabo-Persian texts that were available in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not a vestige of the Yuan library, but rather texts that arrived during the Ming and early Qing periods. In addition, the scarcity of works composed after the sixteenth century might suggest that the seventeenth and eighteenth century Chinese scholars based much of their scholarship on several centuries old classical works rather than on contemporary ones. The majority of texts in this group are works on *Fiqh* (Islamic law), which also constitutes the largest genre in the entire corpus.

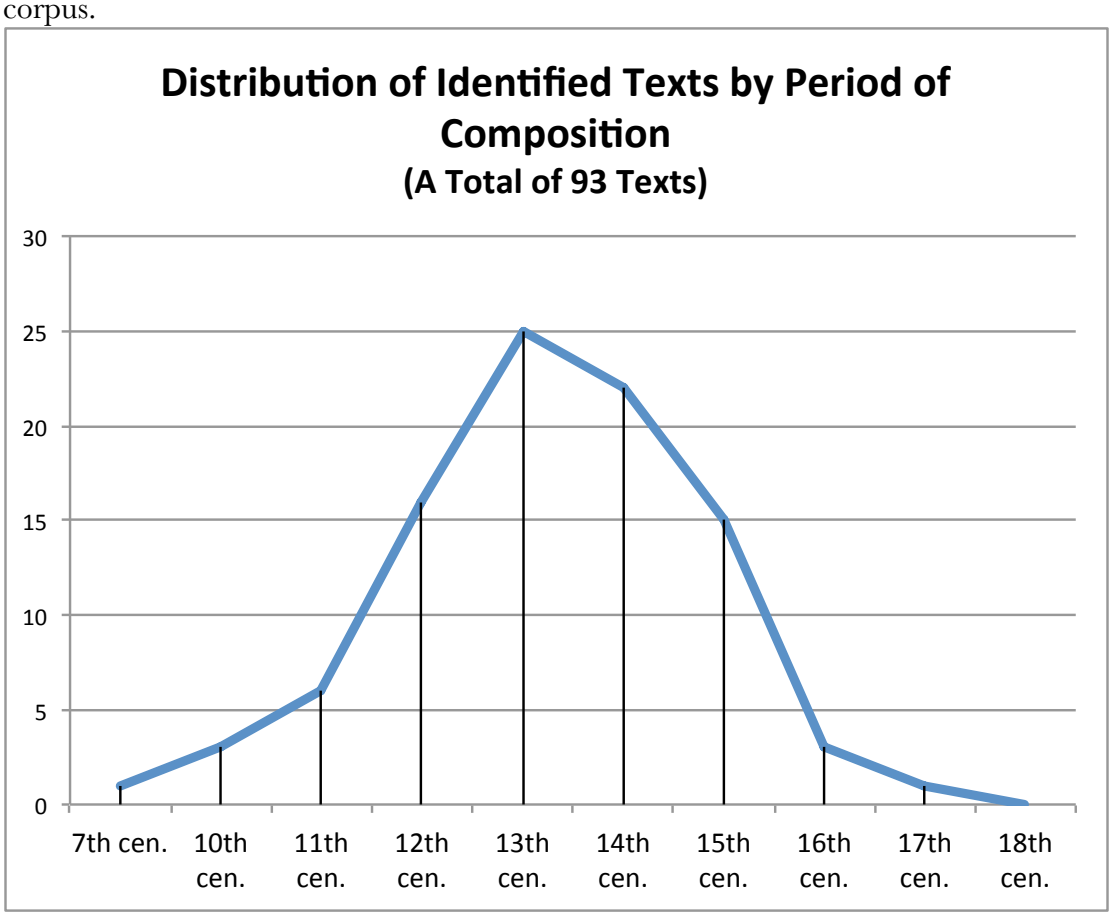


Figure 2: Distribution of Identified Texts by Period of Composition

Among the identified works in the Arabo-Persian canon, the earliest two works seem to go back to the pen of a single author - the Ḥanafī jurist Naṣr b. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 983). One work is al-Samarqandī's *Khazīnat* (or *Khizānat) al-fiqh* ("A Depository of Islamic Law"), written in Arabic. The transliterated title of this work appears in the early eighteenth century work *TFDL* as *He-za-yi-na fei-*

22. A considerable number of texts are yet to be fully identified and are excluded from the statistics.

ge-he 劾咱宜訥飛肷合 (<AR. *Khazā'in al-fiqh* "Depositories of Islamic Law") with the accompanying translation *jiaoli baoqie* 教禮寶箧 ("Caskets of Islamic Rituals").[23] A second work, *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* ("The Awakening of the Heedless") appears as well in the same list in Liu Zhi's *TFDL*, under the transliterated form *tan-bi-he* 探秘合 and the accompanying translation *xing-shi-lu* 醒世錄 ("A Record of Awakening of the Common People").[24]

The intensification in the activities of Ṣūfī Naqshbandī preachers in Northern and North-Western China from the sixteenth century as well as the rise in pilgrimage trips of Chinese had their impact on the Arabo-Persian corpus. Several Persian treatises on Islamic mysticism, such as Nūr al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 1492) *Ashi"at al-lamaʻāt* and *Lawā'iḥ*,[25] gained wide popularity among Chinese scholars and were even included as central texts in the curricula of many of the Chinese-Islamic schools. Pilgrimage trips of Chinese during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought to China additional works on Islamic mysticism, most of which were in Arabic. Ma Laichi 馬來遲 (1681-1766) brought back from his pilgrimage to Mecca and a sojourn in Yemen several books, including the Arabic treatise titled *Mawlid* (<AR. "Birth," CH. *Mao-lu-ti* 卯路提), given to him by the Yemeni Naqshbandī master, Muḥammad ʻAqīl al-Makkī or Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʻAqīla (d. 1737).[26] Similarly, Ma Mingxin 馬明心, the founder of the Jahrīyah school, brought from his pilgrimage Shaykh Muḥammad Tabādkānī Ṭūsī Khurāsānī 's (d.1486 AD) *Mukhammas* (CH. *Mu-han-mai-si* 穆罕麥斯) and Jāmī's *Madā'iḥ mukhammas*.[27]

One of the later Ṣūfī texts that arrived in China during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries is a work titled *Fawā'iḥ* (this seems to stand as an abridged form of the full title *Kitāb lawā'iḥ wa-fawā'iḥ*, <AR. "Book of the Tablets and Emanations"). The title is mentioned in the mid-seventeenth century work *ƷXXCP* together with Jāmī's Ṣūfī treatise *Lawā'iḥ*.[28] The identity of the author is not clear. A manuscript of *Fawā'iḥ* car-

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23. This identification was first established by Kuwata and accepted by Leslie and Wassel. See Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎 1933, 341; Leslie and Wassel 1982, 99. A work by the name *Khazīnat al-Fiqh* is mentioned in the lists of Islamic works found in China by Hartmann as well as in by Rev. Claude L. Pickens, Jr. who visited North-west China during the 1920s-1930s, see Bouvat 1908, 519; Rev. Claude L. Pickens, Jr., *Collection on Muslims in China. Series III*, B. Subject Files on Muslims in China, F.4 [Subject Files] - Sects, Misc. (Ablutions to Zakat), List of Books Found in a Chinese Mosque, 304.

24. The identification of the second work was established by d'Ollone. See d'Ollone et al. 1911, 377. Kuwata and Leslie and Wassel accepted this identification, Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎 1933, 345; Leslie and Wassel 1982, 100.

25. Both of these titles have multiple references in *TFDL*, *TFXL*, *ƷXXCP* as well as in the 18th century Persian work *Reshehaer* 熱什哈爾 (currently only the Chinese translation of that work is available).

26. Fletcher 1995, 16-17 and passim.

27. On Ma Laichi and Ma Mingxin see Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

28. A work by the title *Fawā'iḥ* was seen by both Blodget and Shari'at: Blodget 1866, xxii; Sharī'at 1356, 589. The main text of the BNF manuscript is accompanied by interlinear grammatical marking and *xiaoerjing* glossing, and occasional Persian

rying the Chinese title *Fei-wa-yi-hei* 跬哇已黑 (<AR. *Fawā'iḥ*) is housed in the BNF. The text of that manuscript matches a commentary on Jāmī's *Lawā'iḥ* composed by the Ṣūfī 'Imād al-Dīn Faḍlallah Borzish-Ābādī Ṭūsī (d. 1509).

Among the later works that circulated in China during the 17th and 18th centuries are a number of Indian works, which might suggest a Indian-Chinese transmission. Another 16th century work is Muḥammad Amīn b. 'Abdallah Mu'min Ābādī Bukhārī's (fl. 16th cen.) *Fatāwá al-Amīnīyah* ("[Muḥammad] Amīn's Legal Opinions"). The work is said to have been composed in Balkh or in Mughal India in 1570 and is listed in Liu Zhi's *TFDL* under the transliterated form *E-mi-ni-ye* 額米你葉 and the accompanying translation *zuxinpian* 足信編 ("A compilation of the Trustworthy").[29]

4. Arabo-Persian Knowledge by Field

(a) Works on Islamic Jurisprudence

A considerable number of the Arabo-Persian works which circulated in China during the late imperial period were texts on Islamic jurisprudence (AR. *fiqh*). A number of explanations can account for this high concentration of legal works. The first goes back to the central role that texts on jurisprudence played in the curricula of Hu Dengzhou's network of Islamic schools. Curricular needs, it seems, promoted the importation and reproduction of such texts by teachers and students. A second explanation, not unrelated to the previous one, is connected to the centrality of legal texts in the curricula of Islamic schools in other parts of the Islamicate world. The centrality of legal works considerably raised the likelihood that such texts would find their way to China through visitors and wandering preachers, as well as capture the attention of Chinese travelers to other parts of Islamic Asia. Furthermore, the absence of stories mentioning a "rediscovery" of texts on Islamic jurisprudence suggests that the field enjoyed a continuous scholarly attention and a sufficient body of texts in China since at least the thirteenth century. Whatever the reason, tens of works on Islamic jurisprudence circulated in China and generated interest among local scholars by the seventeenth century.

The possibility that Islamic law could be applied in late imperial China is unclear. Given the Muslim communities within their borders, it is likely that only a select few aspects of Islamic law could be implemented. The themes that received translation into Chinese, after the emergence of a new genre of translated Chinese Islamic scholarship in the mid-seventeenth century, as well as available evidence of Arabo-Persian texts that circulated in China point out to an overall interest in the themes of purification (AR. *ṭahārah*), prayer (AR. *ṣalāh*, PE. *namāz*) and alms (AR. *zakāh*). These aspects of Islamic substantive law, which are not directly addressed by the official codices of law issued by the Ming and Qing governments, might have been more easily voiced in late imperial China, without the danger of being accused of heterodoxy or subversiveness.[30] Several characteristics, unique to the body of Islamic legal texts, dis-

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glossing of Arabic vocabulary. The author of that text is identified as Kāsagarānī. See *Fawā'iḥ dar sharḥ Lawā'iḥ-i J̌āmī (fei-wa-yi-hei* 跬哇已黑*)*, Supplément persan 2063 (cote), 1817.

29. The proper name Amīn (<Ar. "Trustworthy"), the author's first name, is translated here literally as *zuxin* 足信.

30. We can look at the Chinese-Islamic legal scholarship as a case of a local customary

tinguish legal texts from other types of Islamic or Arabo-Persian texts. Ostensibly, the main objective of legal texts is to be implemented and, in turn, to fashion the socio-political reality of its readers. Their *raison d'être,* thus, is their capacity to reflect, respond, and to be transfigured by a constant interaction between its producers and consumers.[31] In light of the limited capacity to implement private or sectorial jurisprudence in Early Modern China, the existing circulation of these legal texts raises also the question of the actual use of these texts.

The science of Islamic jurisprudence (AR. *ʿilm al-fiqh*) comprises of two main branches of study: a theoretical branch, called "the Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence," (AR. *uṣūl al-fiqh*), and a practical branch, called "substantive law" (AR. *furūʿ al-fiqh*, lit. "branches of Islamic jurisprudence"). The former analyzes the sources and epistemological tools upon which the great scholars of the first two centuries of Islam (referred to as *mujtahid*, plural *mujtahidūn*) based their rulings. The latter, "substantive law," refers to series of manuals of established norms on a variety of themes, covering issues of daily-life in Islamic communities.[32] As such, it provides legal opinions on two main categories of themes - issues concerning inter-personal relations (AR. *muʿāmalāt*, such as issues of marital status, inheritance, endowments, business transactions, land ownership etc.) and issues concerning correct conduct of rituals and rites (AR. *ʿibādāt*, such as issues of purity, prayers, alms, pilgrimage and fasting).[33]

The database includes around 52 texts on Islamic jurisprudence. While a significant number of texts on Islamic jurisprudence that circulated in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been only partially identified, analyses of the identified texts bring to light interesting facts on the distribution of these works by period of composition and language. As Figure 3 demonstrates, the lion's share of texts on Islamic jurisprudence were composed before the 1400. That is to say, that the

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law (*xiguanfa* 習慣法). As Philip Huang suggests, the Qing government left a great administrative vacuum on the local level, enabling not only the emergence of local practices but also very selective implications of the codified law. Huang specifically mentions inheritance and debt as areas in which there was a persistent opposition between the Qing codified law and its realization on the local level. Huang 2001, 5 and passim.

31. There is a debate among scholars of Islam on the level of attentiveness of the different components of the literature (most notably the two sub-literatures on Islamic substantive law [AR. *furūʿ al-fiqh*] and legal opinions of jurists [AR. *fatwa*, plural *fatāwa*]) to the socio-political environments of the consumers of this body of literature. Schacht, for example, states in his influential work on the evolution of Islamic law that while Islamic law reached the "closure" of its formative period by the early Abbasid period (mid-ninth century AD), it was the legal opinions (*fatwa*s) of specialized jurists (*muftī*s) that made Islamic law permeated and relevant amid the changing socio-political environments. See: Schacht 1982, 69, 73; Hallaq 1999, 162-206; Hallaq 2009, 57-71 and passim. On the functions of fatwas in the growth and development of Islamic law, see also Hallaq 2001, 166-235; Hallaq 1994.

32. On the genre of "the principles of Islamic jurisprudence", see Schacht 1982, 112-114 and passim; Calder 2000.

33. On the genre of "substantive law" collections, see Hallaq 2009, 29-30 and passim.

core of Islamic jurisprudence in China relied on classical legal literature of the 'Abbāsīd and Mongol periods. The scarcity of works composed after the fifteenth century might suggest that China's Islamic jurisprudence had mainly a theoretical application. As such, there was no need for contemporary legal opinions, and updated legal literature for the centers of Islamic jurisprudence in India, Central Asia or Ottoman Turkey.

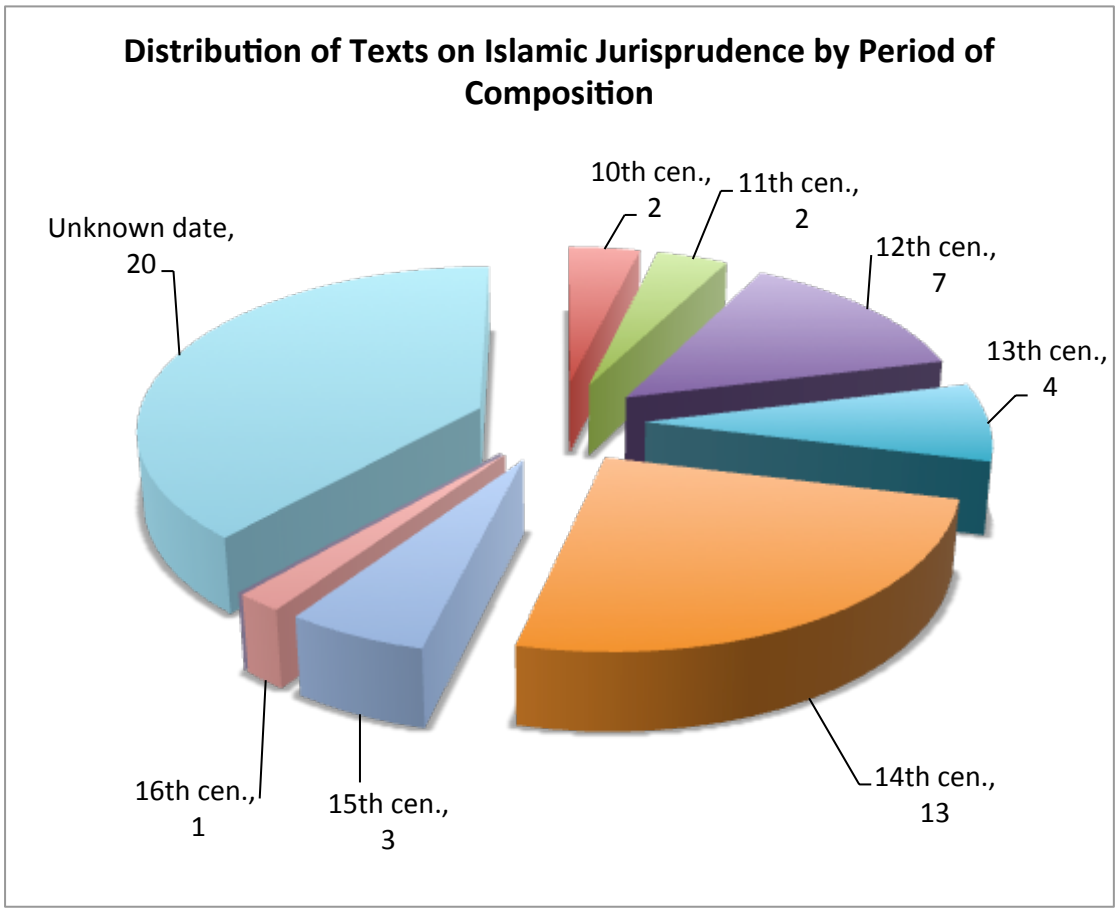


Figure 3: Distribution of Texts on Islamic Jurisprudence by Period of Composition

(I) Works on the Principles of Jurisprudence

Among the documented works on Islamic jurisprudence which circulated in China, works on Islamic substantive law dominate, and very few texts on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence are known to have circulated in China. A single work whose transliterated title is *Wu-shu-lu fei-ge-he* 無疎路飛肫合 (<AR. *uṣūl al-fiqh* "Principles of jurisprudence") appears in the bibliographical list of *TFDL*. The accompanying translation to Chinese *liyuan* 禮原 ("The Principles/Roots of Ritual"), suggests that the work, indeed, involves a theoretical framework.[34] The Chinese work *TFDL*, it is worth mentioning, is dedicated as a whole to the description of the principles of Islamic the-

34. The same bibliographical list includes a title of an additional work, *Wu-shu-lu ding* 無疎路丁(<AR. *uṣūl al-dīn*, "principles of the religion"), accompanied by the term *Daoyuan* 道原 ("Principles of the Way"). Both titles are too vague to be identified, yet they attest to the existence of works on the theoretical dimensions of Islamic jurisprudence in China.

ology as well as to the prescribed Islamic rituals and social norms, and thus mirrors the state of the field at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The paucity of theoretical works mentioned in *TFDL* arguably represents a general trend in Chinese Islamic scholarship.[35]

(II) Works on Substantive Law

The scores of texts on Islamic substantive law which circulated in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries attest to the interest of local scholars in that field.[36] The Arabo-Persian canon include classical collections of substantive law as well as thematic treatises on issues such as prayer (AR. *ṣalāh*) and inheritance laws (AR. *farā'iḍ*), as well as collections of legal opinions (AR. *fatāwá*). Within the classical collections we find some of the popular works on substantive law, which circulated widely in Islamic schools and judicial circles in other parts of the Islamicate world, such as *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* (<AR. "Qudūrī's Concise [Manual]"), attributed to the Iraqi Ḥanafī jurist Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Qudūrī (d. 1037)[37] and *al-Hidāyah fī sharḥ al-bidāyah* (<AR. "The Guidance in Expounding the Beginning"), composed ca. 1178 in Samarqand by the Ḥanafī jurist Burhān al-Dīn ʻAlī b. Abī Bakr Marghīnānī (d. 1196).[38] These works, their commentaries and super-commentaries built up the Chinese canon on Islamic substantive law, which was studied by scholars found in the different parts of Chinese empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Whereas other Arabo-Persian texts might have arrived in China and been studied as independent, self-standing works, texts on Islamic jurisprudence are essentially parts of a larger body of literature affiliated with a specific school of thought and intertwined through connections of quotation and commentaries. Chinese Muslims' importation of works on Islamic jurisprudence, therefore, had to be relatively systematic and accumulative. Given this, the studying of texts on Islamic law within the Chinese Arabo-Persian canon can bring to light networks of scholarship and identify the main hubs through which China imported its texts. The Islamic jurisprudence texts, which circulated in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, show a clear affiliation to the Ḥanafī school of Islamic law (named after its founder, Nuʿmān b. Ṯābit b. Zūṭā b. Marzubān, known as Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, d. 148/767), one of the four main schools of jurisprudence in Sunni communities, and the most prominent one in the Ottoman and Mughal empires as well as in Central Asia.

A closer examination of the Arabo-Persian texts on substantive law which arrived in China reveals a systematic and accumulative reception. The work *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī*, for example, was composed in Baghdad during the first half of the eleventh century AD. This work spread widely across the Islamic world and gained an esteemed reputation as a major compendium of Ḥanafī legal tradition. A century later, by the mid-twelfth century, al-Marghīnānī, a Ḥanafī scholar in Fergana, compiled a

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35. On *TFDL*, see Frankel 2011.

36. Islamic substantive law was also a subject of translation. Many of the works composed in Chinese from the mid-seventeenth century included quotes and paraphrases of major works on substantive law.

37. On that work see: Brockelmann 1901, I:174-5 and SI:295-6; Sezgin 1967, I:451-5.

38. See: Brockelmann 1901, I, 376; ; al-Zirkilī 2002, 4:266.

manual for Ḥanafī jurisprudence based on *al-Mukhtaṣar*, titled *al-Hidāyah fī sharḥ al-bidāyah*. *Al-Hidāyah* has multiple references in Chinese-Islamic sources and appears to have had wide distribution amongst Chinese Muslim scholars at the time. The title of *al-Hidāyah* appears among other titles of Arabo-Persian works on inscriptions in several mosques in Henan province, the earliest of which is dated to the eighteenth century.[39] The work is quoted in the *JKJY* and mentioned in several places in *JXXCP*. The *TFDL* includes the title in the transliterated form of *Xi-da-ye* 希大業, and attaches to it a translation into Chinese as *lifa zhengzong* 禮法正宗 ("The principal source for norms of ritual"). Just like in Ḥanafī madrasah in other parts of the Islamicate world, both *al-Mukhtaṣar* and *al-Hidāyah* served as the foundational works on Islamic substantive law in the Chinese curricula and possessed a number of commentaries in Arabic and Persian.[40]

Several commentaries and super-commentaries on *al-Hidāyah* circulated in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most of which were a product of Transoxiana. The Maḥbūbī family were local magnates and jurists in Bukhara who compiled several important commentaries on *al-Hidāyah*, which gained wide spread across Asia and reached China. Maḥmūd b. ʿUbayd Allāh (d. 673/1274), known also as Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Awwal, compiled a commentary titled *Wiqāyat al-riwāyah* (<AR. "Defense of the Narration"). His grandson Maḥmūd b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Masʿūd b. Tāj al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī (d. 747/1346), also known as Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Thānī, composed three super-commentaries with the names of *Sharḥ al-Wiqāyah* (<AR. "Commentary on the *Wiqāyah*"), *Mukhtaṣar al-wiqāyah* (<AR. "The Abridgment of the *Wiqāyah*," also known by the title *al-Nuqāyah* <AR. "the Fineness") and *al-Kifāyah* (<AR. "the Sufficiency," this text is a commentary on the *Hidāyah*).[41] Interestingly, all of the Maḥbūbī commentaries and super-commentaries reached China and, as the multiple references to these works attest, won widespread respect in Islamic circles. The work *Wiqāyat al-riwāyah* is mentioned in a Ṣūfī Chinese treatise of the late Qianlong era (1735-1796), titled 熱什哈爾 *Reshehaer*, in the transliterated form *Wei-ga-ye la-wa-ye* 偉嘎業拉瓦耶.[42] *The* super-commentary, *Sharḥ al-Wiqāyah*, appears in the

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39. The inscriptions seem to provide a list of Arabo-Persian books authorized for use in the Henan communities. On these inscriptions, see Morimoto Kazuo 森本 一夫 2012

40. The *Mukhtaṣar* was one of main sources for *JKJY*, the seventeenth century Chinese-Muslim manual on substantive law, and is frequently quoted and paraphrased in that work. Copies of the *Mukhtaṣar* are reported to have been seen by Blodget and d'Ollone in their survey of northern Chinese mosques during the early twentieth century, see: Blodget 1866, xxi-xxii; d'Ollone et al. 1911, 377. In addition, a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* attributed to Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Ṣūfī al-Qādūrī (d. 800/1397) and titled *Jāmiʿ al-muḍmarāt wa'l-mushkilāt*, appears on inscriptions in mosques in Henan province, the earliest of which is dated to the eighteenth century. See Morimoto Kazuo 森本 一夫 2012. On the commentary and its author, see Brockelmann 1901, I:175, SI:296.

41. On the three super-commentaries, see Brockelmann 1901, I:377.

42. *Reshihar* 熱什哈爾 , 58. A Persian translation of the work is reported by D'Ollone, who came across it in one his expeditions in Northern China, see d'Ollone et al. 1911, 377.

Kaifeng inscription and is quoted in Ma Boliang's 馬伯良 *Jiaokuan jieyao* 教款捷要 (pub. 1678). The *TFDL* lists it as *She-li-he wei-ga-ye* 設理合偉噶業, and adds a translation of the title into Chinese as *weidao jingjie* 衛道經解 ("Commentary to the Classic on the Defense of the Way," the word *wiqāyah* is translated here literally as "defense"). The abbreviated commentary *Mukhtaṣar al-wiqāyah* appears as well in *JXXCP* and in *TFDL*. In the latter it is translated into Chinese as *weidao jing jiejie* 衛道經捷解 ("An Abridged Commentary to the Classic on the Defense of the Way").[43] The use of classical works, their commentaries and super-commentaries suggests that late imperial Chinese scholars of Islam were engaged in a systematic study of the substantive law, and had in their possession a series of related works rather than sporadic ones. This provided the circumstances for meaningful and complex scholarship to flourish.

(III) THE GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS OF CHINA'S LEGAL LITERATURE

While works such as *al-Hidāyah* were popular across major parts of Islamic Asia, other Arabo-Persian collections of substantive law, which enjoyed popularity in China, can provide indications of the main cultural hubs from which China imported this legal literature. Several collections, including *al-Fatāwá al-Ẓahīrīyah*, *Fatāwá-yi Khānī*, *Majmūʿ-i Khānī*, *Amīnīyah, Fatāwā-yi Masʿūdī*, for example, demonstrate ongoing exchanges between the cultural centers in Central Asia, Mughal India, and China. Nevertheless, the vivid intellectual exchanges between these Central Asia and Mughal India complicate any attempts to determine the specific locations of import.

Among the collections, which were produced in Central Asia and found their way to China, is the work *al-Fatāwá al-ẓahīrīyah* (also known under the titles *Fatāwá-i ẓahīrīyah*), which may be the work of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī (d. 1222),[44] or the work of Ẓahīr ad-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Marghīnānī (d. 1203). Either way, the text was a product of Central Asia, and circulated in Ḥanafī communities in other parts of the Islamicate world as well. In China, the work is mentioned in *The Gazetteers of Beijing's Niujie Mosque,* where it is transliterated as *Fa-ta-wa ze-xi-er* 法他洼則希耳. There we are told that the work was presented as a support by one side in a debate regarding on the proper layout of prayer.[45] Another example is the text *al-Fatāwá al-khānīyah* ("The Legal Opinions of [*Qāḍī*] *Khān*"), known also as *Fatāwá Qāḍī Khān*, which seems to be the work of Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Manṣūr al-Ūzjandī al-Farghanānī (d. 1196).[46] This popular legal compendi-

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43. Dānishpazhūh reports on a Persian translation of this latter text in Beijing's Dongsi mosque, carrying the title *Tarjumat Mukhtaṣar al-wiqāyah* ("The Translation of *Mukhtaṣar al-wiqāyah*"). The colophon Dānishpazhūh's text suggests that the work was written according to the edition of a certain Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Samarqandī Kawtharī Gūrmīrī, and that the copy was made in year 1565 in Herat.

44. On the work, see: Ḥājjī Khalīfah 1992, 2:1226. On the first ʿUmar Riḍa Kaḥalla 1993, 3:88., On the latter GAL I/379, ʿUmar Riḍa Kaḥalla 1993, 1:573.

45. *Beijing niujie zhi shu - 'Gangzhi'* 北京牛街志書 - '岡志' [The Gazetteer of Beijing's Niujie Neighborhood], 81.

46. On the work and its author, see: Brockelmann 1901, I, 376; Ḥājjī Khalīfah 1992, 2:1227-8; ʿUmar Riḍa Kaḥalla 1993, 1:594.

um is taken by the *JKJY* to be an authoritative work on Islamic law.

Other works demonstrate a stronger affiliation with Indian legal scholarship. An example for such is *Majmūʿ-i khānī* ("The Imperial Collection"), which is attributed to Kamāl Karīm Nāgawrī (early 13th century AD) and dedicated to Nāgawrī's patron, Prince Bahrām Khān, the son of the Delhi Sultan Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (d. 1388).[47] The work comprises five parts - each includes summaries of the different schools of Islamic jurisprudence regarding the issues of ablutions, prayers, alms, fasting, and pilgrimage. The title *Majmūʿ-i khānī* appears in Ma Boliang 馬伯良 *JKJY* (comp. 1678) as well as in Arabic inscriptions from the Kaifeng Mosque (dated 1709).[48] The work is listed in Liu Zhi's *TFDL* in the transliterated form *Mo-zhi-mu-er ha-ni* 默直母而哈尼 accompanied with the Chinese translation *Lifa hongbao* 禮法洪包 ("The Grand Collection of Ritual Laws"). The work was ostensibly produced in India, yet circulated in Central Asia as well.[49] A later collection of legal opinions, Muḥammad Amīn b. ʻAbdallah Muʾminābādī Bukhārī's (d. 1570) *al-Fatāwá al-Amīnīyah li-mā fīhi min al-wadāʾiʿ al-yaqīnīyah*, is said to have been composed in Balkh or in Mughal India in the year 1570.[50]

As a major constituent of the Arabo-Persian canon, works on Islamic jurisprudence, and especially those dealing with substantive law, display a systematic and accumulative form of textual importation and strong affinities to the centers of Islamic scholarship in Central Asia and Mughal India. At the same time, the Arabo-Persian canon displays a certain concentration of texts from the 12th to 15th centuries, and a sharp dwindling in works from the sixteenth centuries onwards. This might demonstrate certain difficulties in the importation of new texts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and contentment with the available classical collections.

(B) Works on Islamic Theology and Mysticism

The intersection of the Chinese literati's avid interest in the philosophy of the natural world, and the Islamic engrossment in questions on the nature of God and his relation to the world resulted in an influx of texts on Islamic theology (AR. *kalām*) and mysticism (AR. *ʿirfān*, *taṣawwuf*). Hu Dengzhou's philological movement, and the Chinese scholarship on Islam showed great interest in the study of these Arabo-Persian texts, and synthesizing them with the contemporary views of the natural world.

(I) Works on Islamic Theology

The Arabo-Persian theological literature that arrived in China constituted

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47. On the works and its author, see: Hadi 1995, 292-293; Sachau et al. 1889, 1:1032; Ethé 1903, 1384-1386. Afshar reports that he saw a work by this title, dedicated to Bahrām shāh during his visit to China. Afshār 1361b, 484.

48. On the Kaifeng inscription and its version in mosque in Zhuxian township 朱仙鎮, see: Takashi Kuroiwa 黒岩 高 et al. 2012

49. Several copies of this work are listed in the catalog of manuscripts at the National Archives of Uzbekistan, which suggest that the work circulated also outside of the Mughal empire. See: *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei akademii nauk uzbekskoi ssr* [Collection of Oriental manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences, Uzbekistan]

50. On the work and its author see: Brockelmann 1901, S II: 749-50; Islam 1996, 229.

only a small portion of the corpus of texts. Yet, it included both philosophical works, and works on the Islamic creed. Among the philosophical works, ʻAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's (d. 1355-6) *Kitāb al-Mawāqif fī ʻilm al-kalām* occupied a prominent place. The work is cited numerous times in as Liu Zhi's *TFXL*, where it is listed as *Mo-wa-ji-fu* 默瓦吉福 (lit. "positions; stations"), and translated as *Gezhi quanjing* 格致全經 ("The Complete Classic on the Extension of Knowledge through the Ordering of Things"). Liu Zhi was introduced to the work, he mentioned in his preface to *TFZZSL*, during a visit to a private library in Qinzhong 秦中 [today's Shaanxi province] that housed a number of works on the philosophy of nature. The term *gezhi* (short for *gewu zhizhi* 格物致知), which was used by Liu Zhi as an abstract translation of the Arabic term *kalām* ("Islamic theology"), was used in late imperial China to denote the study of the natural sciences.[51] The use of this term suggests that Liu Zhi found the contents of Ījī's work to fit into the Confucian discourse on epistemology and the philosophy of nature.

A commentary on the Ījī's work, Mīr Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī's (d. 1423) *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* (<AR. "Commentary on of *al-Mawāqif*"), a popular text on theology in Islamic madrasahs throughout the Ottoman empire,[52] circulated in China as well. Liu Zhi listed this commentary in his *TFDL*, where it is transliterated as *She-li-he mo-wa-ji-fu* 設理合默瓦吉福,and translated as *Gezhi jingjie* 格致經解 ("Explanations on the Classic on the Extension of Knowledge through the Ordering of Things").

Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī's (d. 1142) Kitāb al-*ʻAqā'id* and Taftāzānī's (d. 1389) commentary on it, titled *Sharḥ ʻaqā'id al-Nasafī* (comp. 1367) enjoyed relative popularity among Chinese scholars. Nasafī's work was taught in several of the schools in Hu Dengzhou's educational network, and was even one of the works that was confiscated from Hai Furun.[53] Liu Zhi listed Taftāzānī's commentary under the transliterated title *She-li-he er-ga-yi-de* 設理合而噶一德 and translated as *Jiaodian shinan* 教典釋難 ("Solutions to Difficulties in Canonic Law"). A text titled *Khayālī* mentioned in *JXXCP* seems to refer Aḥmad ibn Mūsá al-Khayālī's (d. 1465 ?) super-commentary on Taftāzānī's *Sharḥ al-ʻaqā'id*.[54] Nasafī's work provided a systematic introduction of the philosophy of nature and the divine, and included discussions on the differences between Greek and Islamic views on the natural world.

(II) Works on Mysticism

22 works in the database belong to the category of Ṣūfī literature. These texts provide a wide range of topics, including attempts to define the divine and its attributes, epistemology and cosmology. Ṣūfī works were an integral part of Hu Dengzhou's curriculum, and a popular literature among China's Islamic scholars. It seems that the availability of these works in light of the intensification of Ṣūfī activities in Central Asia

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51. The term *gezhi* is commonly used in Arabo-Persian works in Chinese to denote epistemological and the collection of knowledge on the natural world.

52. Robinson 1997, 177.

53. On Hai Furun see Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

54. Nasafī's and Taftāzānī's texts were translated and printed in 1870 by Ma Dexin 馬德新 under the titles *Saishi jiaodian* 賽氏教典 ("Nasafī's Canonic Law"), and *Saishi zhushi* 賽氏注釋 ("Commentary on Nasafī") respectively. A second translation of Nasafī's work into Chinese in was completed in 1945 by Ma Jian 馬堅 under the title *Jiaodian quanshi* 教典詮釋.

(see Chapter 7) coincided with Arabo-Persians scholars' interest in theological questions, whose links to mysticism were established. Thus the interest in Ṣūfī works by Hu's disciples was for the philosophical aspects they found in them, and not for asceticism.

Half of the works on mysticism in the database are not identified, yet their names connect them to Ṣūfī literature. Aside from the classical works composed by famous Ṣūfī masters, a large part of the Ṣūfī literature consists of vernacular texts with local distribution. Many works were restricted to members of the relevant Ṣūfī orders, and were not proliferated outside of it. Moreover, mysticism was not a theme in the madrasah curriculum. Ṣūfī works were not propagated through the networks of madrasah scholarship, but mainly among members of Ṣūfī orders. This fact can explain the large number of unidentified works. As Figure 4 below shows, among the 11 identified works, the 13th and 15th centuries seem to be the most productive periods for the Ṣūfī texts that circulated in China.

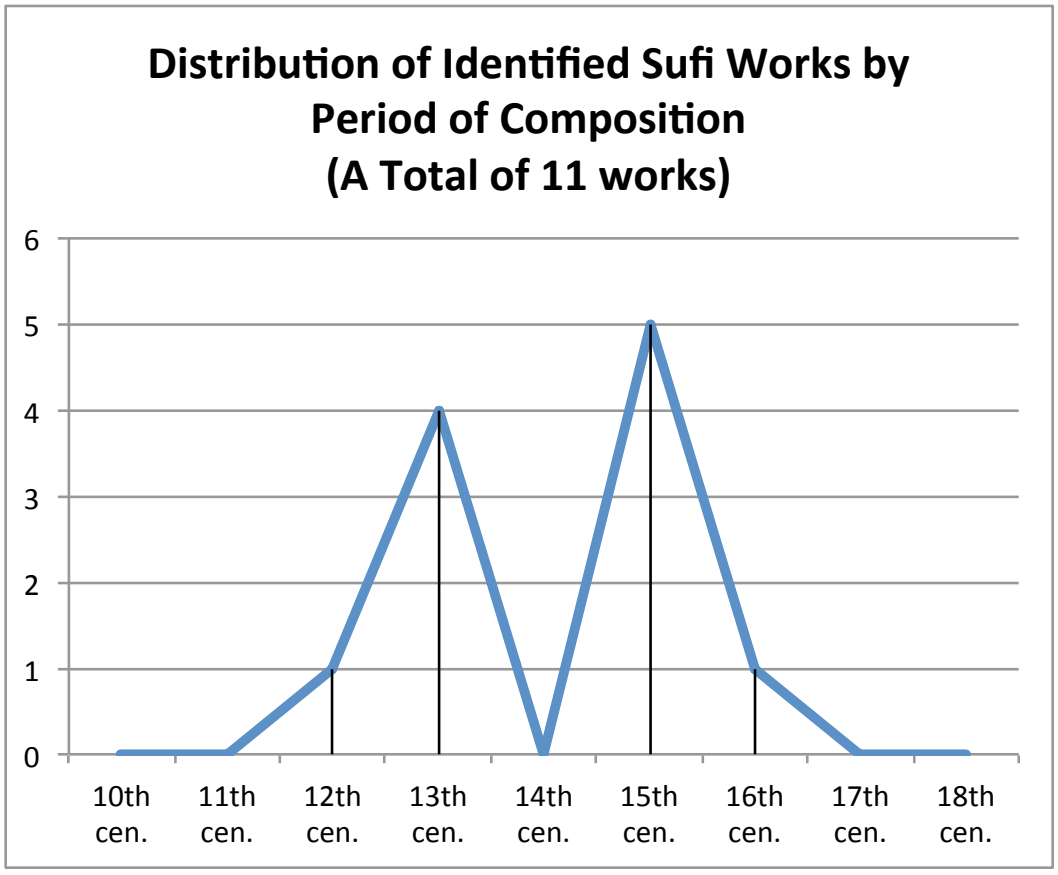


Figure 4: Distribution of Identified Ṣūfī Works by Period of Composition

The most popular works on mysticism in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's (d. 1256 AD) *Mirṣād al-ʻIbād*, ʻAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī's (fl. 13th cen.) *Maqṣad al-aqṣá*, and Nūr al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 1492) *Ashiʻat al-lamaʻāt* and *Lawā'iḥ*. These works were among the first Arabo-Persian texts to be translated into Chinese,[55] and multiple reference to them appear in Chinese works. In his studies of the natural world and the divine, Liu Zhi widely used

55. On the translations of the *Mirṣād*, see Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

parts of *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād*. The work is listed in Liu Zhi's *TFXL* and *TFDL* under the transliteration *Mi-er-suo-de* 密邇索德, and translated as *Daoxing tuiyuan jing* 道行推原經 ("The Investigation to the Root of Spiritual Conduct"). The work is cited also in Zhang Zhong's early theological work *Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 ("The Comprehensive Meaning of Returning to Truth," pub. 1638-1641), and in numerous places in *JXXCP*.

The popularity of Ṣūfī works in China seems to begin as early as the late 16th century, and played an essential role in the emergence of Hu Dengzhou's philological movement, and later the movement to naturalize Arabo-Persian scholarship in Chinese. The rise in the activities of the Naqshbandī order in Central Asia and Xinjiang began to have a visible effect on China's Arabo-Persian scholarship from the late 17th century onwards. During that period various Ṣūfī orders emerged in Northern China. Interestingly, as many of the founders of the 18th century Ṣūfī organizations in China were introduced to Ṣūfīsm while they made the pilgrimage to Mecca, many of the texts that these later Ṣūfī orders used were in Arabic. Most Ṣūfī the texts used by Arabo-Persian scholars in the 16th and 17th century, in contrast, were in Persian. As a result, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the division between Arabic and Persian Ṣūfī texts leaned only slightly towards Persian.

(c) Works on the Natural Sciences and Cosmology

Natural philosophy, the natural sciences, mathematics, and geometry were not taught as individual subjects in any of the schools under Hu Dengzhou's network. Aspects of these fields, however, were embedded in the studies of theology, substantive law, and logic. This situation, however, was not unique to China, and should be read in the context of the development of curricula in the larger Islamicate world. In the Islamicate world, the emergence of the madrasah as a important institution of scholarship outside the court around the eleventh century provided an alternative locus for the study of the natural sciences and their adjoining rational fields.[56] The orthodox approach to natural philosophy taken by many religious schools, however, marginalized the natural sciences to a great degree.[57] Theoretical aspects of natural philosophy, however, were embedded in the studies of language, Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic theology. In the case of China, members of the Islamic education network were divided with regard to their attitudes towards the natural sciences. While some maintained a rigorous opposition to anything they considered "non-Islamic," and focused mainly on Islamic jurisprudence and its applications, others perused texts on theology and mysticism, and brought to light cosmological models and discussions on natural philosophy-related issues.

Teachers who held a discarding approach towards the natural sciences contributed to the alienation of these fields from the curricula of schools. Nevertheless, Arabic and Persian works from the Yuan and early Ming periods, which apparently survived in private libraries in China, became by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries an invaluable source for information on the natural sciences. An example is found in an anecdote recorded in *The Gazetteers of Beijing's Niujie Neighborhood* (*Gangzhi* 岡

56. Brentjes 2008, 412-413.

57. Makdisi 1981, 75-80; Robinson 1997, 155.

志, comp. ca. early 18th cen.).[58] The anecdote tells how Ma Yonghe 馬永和, who as a student at the central mosque in Beijing's Niujie Neighborhood had experienced his teachers' stubborn dismissiviness of his questions about divination and astronomy, discovered in forgoten texts in one of the libraries the richness of Arabo-Persian literature on astronomy. On one occasion, Ma asked his teacher whether the Western Regions (a common term for the Islamicate world) practiced divination; the teacher's response was that such practices were a great taboo in Islam. On another occasion, Ma asked about methods for calculating the length of the month of fasting (i.e., the month of Ramadan), and his teacher responded that Islam forbad making any estimations or predictions (*cesuan* 測算), and that Islam had no concern with the four positions of the moon (*bu lun huishuo xianwang* 不論晦朔弦望). On a third occasion Ma asked whether geography (*dili* 地理) was a common theme of literature in the Western Regions. The teacher answered that geography was a great taboo as well, and geographical texts should not be relied on.

A few years later, Ma happened on two works at a friend's library: *Xiyu tianwen gao* 西域天文稿 (*"An Essay on Astronomy in the Western Regions"*) and *Jahāndānish* (<PE. "Knowledge of the universe")[59]. These writings introduced him to the rich Arabo-Persian scientific tradition. Although the manuscripts were not in good shape, Ma managed to repair them and to review their contents. He found that the two texts discussed the Nine Heavens and Seven Lands (*jiutian qidi* 九天七地, i.e., the traditional Islamic view of the universe) as well as the principles of the Sun, the Moon and the Five Constellations (*riyue wuxing* 日月五星). Ma was very impressed by what he found in these works, which he claimed to be far more advanced than anything he had seen in Chinese works. This led him to further investigate and subsequently obtain a copy of an additional work titled *Qianfang mishu* 乾方秘書 ("The Secret Book of the North-Western Lands"), which included an elaborate discussion of astronomy, geography, and other cosmological aspects as well as military theories. This short episode suggests that Arabic and Persian manuscripts on the natural sciences, scattered in private libraries around China and part of which survived from the Yuan and early Ming dynasties, were an alternative source of information for students in the Sino-Islamic education network.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, scholars of Arabo-Persian knowledge, mainly in the prosperous Jiangnan region, showed exceptional interest in theology and cosmology, and read widely in the contemporary literature, including the works of the Jesuits.[60] Authors such as Wang Daiyu 王岱輿, Ma Zhu 馬注, and Liu Zhi 劉智 collected available texts and compiled expositions on human nature, human cognition and cosmological models. In their attempt to widen the circles of interlocutors and increase the visibility of their writings, members of the Islamic education network began to publish in Chinese. Aspects of Arabo-Persian cosmology and

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58. See: *Beijing niujie zhi shu - 'Gangzhi,'* 22-25. In addition, see the editor's introduction to the work for the extant manuscripts and their dates of copying.

59. The *Jahāndānish* is a Persian work, translated from the Arabic, on astronomical measurement, on the work and its circulation in China, see Weil 2016, 36-37.

60. On this movement, see Chapter 6 in this dissertation. On the interaction between the Jesuits and the Chinese-Islamic scholars of the lower Yangze, see also Ben-Dor Benite 2012.

natural philosophy were introduced in these works, using terminology and theoretical frameworks borrowed from Chinese and Jesuit works.

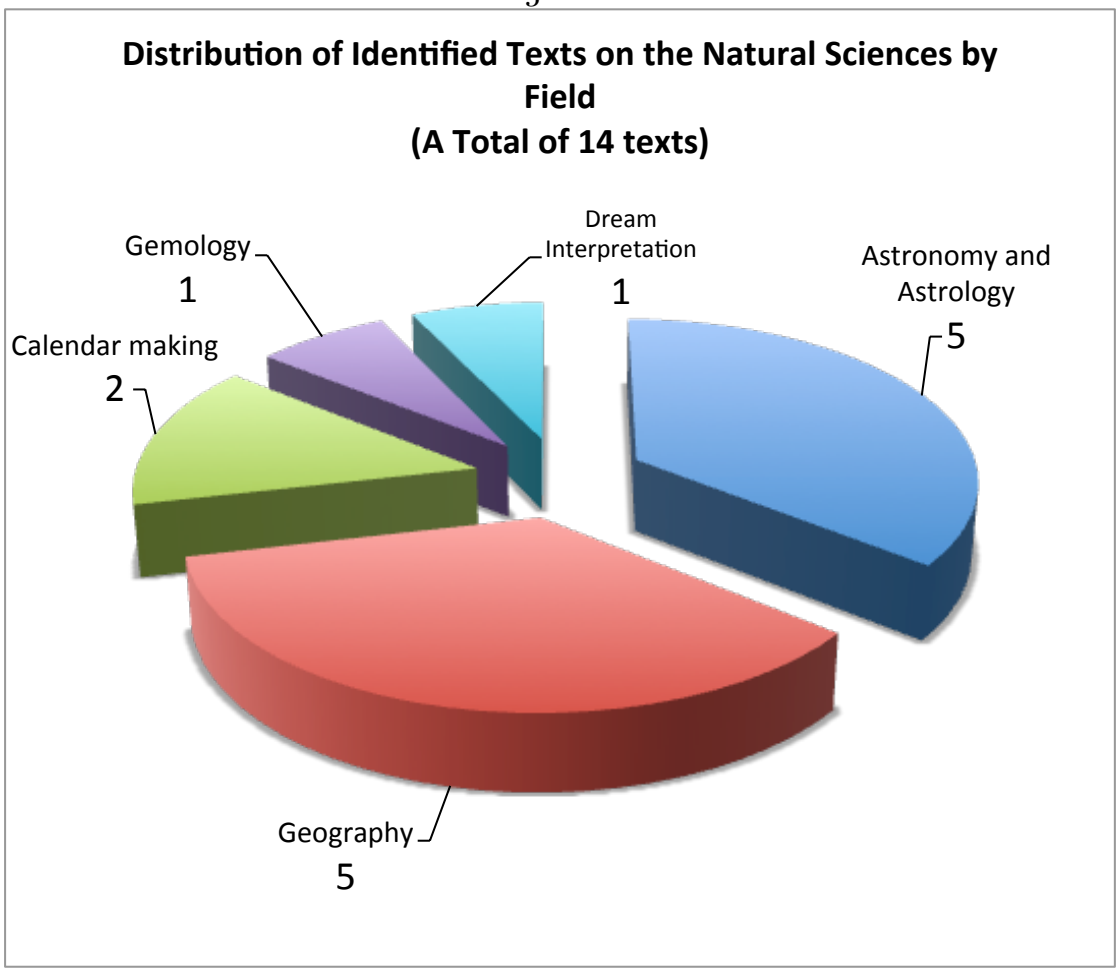


Figure 5: Distribution of Identified Texts on the Natural Sciences by Field

As Figure 5 above shows, the identified works on the natural sciences in the database include texts on cosmology, astronomy, astrology, geography, calendar making, and time-measurement, as well as texts on gemology and dream interpretation. Some of these texts are Arabic or Persian translations of older Greek works. As such, the Arabo-Persian works on the natural sciences not only introduced Chinese readers to ideas that originated in the Islamicate world, but also served as a bridge to Hellenic civilization and the roots of European science.

An example of such a work is Aristsotle's treatise, *Meteorology* (<GR. *Μετεωρολογικά*; Latin: *Meteorologica*). Theis work, which was first translated into Arabic by the Melchite Yaḥyá b. al-Biṭrīq (fl. ca. 820 CE) under the title of *al-Āthār al-ʿulūwīyah* (<AR. "Super-terrestrial Phenomena"),[61] is listed in Liu Zhi's *TFXL* under the transliterated title *A-sa-er Ou-liu-wei* 阿撒爾歐六巍 (<PE. *Āthār-i ʿulūwi*),[62] suggesting a Persian rendering of the title. This title is rendered figuratively in adjunct trans-

61. On the translations into Arabic of Aristotle's Meteorology, see Sezgin 1967, VII:212-215; Peters 1968, 39-40.

62. Leslie and Wassel read this entry as the Arabic title, *al-Āthār al-ʿulūwīyah*, yet connected it to Avicenna's work of the same title. Leslie and Wassel 1982, 93.

lation as *Xuanqiong xiang jie* 玄穹象解 ("Interpretation of Celestial Phenomena"). The term "super-terrestrial" was rendered to the compound *xuanqiong* 玄穹 (lit. "the abstruse heavens") which carries a strong flavor of China's occult philosophy. Muḥammad b. Masʿūd Masʿūdī's Persian treatise on the planetary system and the movement of the constellations, *Jahāndānish* (<PE. "Knowledge of the Universe"), is listed as *Zhe-han da-ni-shi* 哲罕打尼識, and translated as *Huanyu shujie* 寰宇述解 ("Annotated Description of the Universe").[63] The transliterated entry *E-lin ya-fa-ge* 爾林亞法胳 (<AR. *ʿIlm al-āfāq* "The Science of the Horizons," a common term for the study of the universe as well as to astronomy"),[64] is followed by the accompanying translation *Huanyu shu* 寰宇述 ("A Description of the Universe"). The resemblance between the translation of the title and that of *Ǧahāndānish* might suggest that the two had a certain intertextual relation. One possibility is that *ʿIlm al-āfāq* is an alternative title of Masʿūdī's (earlier) Arabic version of the *Jahāndānish*, commonly known as *al-Kifāyah fī ʿilm al-hay'ah* (<AR. "The Sufficiency in the Planetary Science," comp. 1274).

Another entry on the *TFXL* list is transliterated as *E-he-ke-mu ke-wa-qi-bi* 額合克目克瓦乞蔔 (<AR. *Aḥkām al-kawākib* or <*PE. Aḥkām-i kawākib,* "Precepts of the Stars"). The accompanying translation reads *Tianjing qingxing* 天經情性 ("The Disposition of Celestial Phenomena"). The work has not been satisfyingly identified. It is possible that the entry includes an alternative title to the work *Aḥkām al-Nujūm* ("Precepts of the Stars") - a title which appears in the thirteenth-century list of the *Mishu jianzhi* (see above).

Liu Zhi's lists include a number of titles of works on geography and cartography, many of which have not been identified yet. Both lists include the entry *Hai-ya-tu e-ge-lin* 海亞土額噶林 (<AR. *Hay'at aqālīm* "System of Regions").[65] The title is translated as *qizhou xingsheng* 七洲形勝 ("Regions across the Seven Clime"). A work with the title *Qizhou xingsheng* is also mentioned in *The Gazetteer of Beijing's Niujie Neighborhood*, quoted above. *The Gazetteer* describes the work as "discuss[ing] the mountains and rivers, water and land of the world, the different natural products, and the differences in customs and practices of different lands."[66]

Additional titles of unidentified cartographical and geographical works listed in *TFXL* include *Cha-mi-er bi-la-di* 查密爾必剌地 (<AR. *Ǧāmiʿ bilād* "The Entire Land"), translated as *Tianxia fangyu* 天下方域 ("Regions of the World") and *Mo-na-ji-li bi-la-di*

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63. See above n81. On Muḥammad ibn Masʿūd and his works, see Brockelmann 1901, I:473; Sachau et al. 1889, 921.

64. This is also the transliteration made by Leslie and Wassel, see Leslie and Wassel 1982, 92.

65. This is also the transliteration made by Leslie and Wassel, yet they were unable to identify any work by that title.

66. *Beijing niujie zhi shu - 'Gangzhi,'* 24-25. The term *qizhou* 七洲 ("Seven Climes") can stand for the Persian term *haft iqlīm* often used in the context of geography. It might be that the transliteration of the title *Hai-ya-tu e-ge-lin* is, in fact, a corrupted reading of *haft iqlīm*. A number of works with that name are known to exist, one of which is the famous Persian treatise by the name *Haft iqlīm* which was composed by the 16th-century geographer Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī. The treatise provides biographies of poets, saints and scholars from different lands. See Storey 1927, 1:1169.

墨拏積裏必剌地 (<AR. *Manāẓir al-bilād / Manāzil al-bilād* "The Views of the Land" or "The Stations of the Lands"), translated as *Kunyu kaolüe* 坤輿考略 ("A Concise Investigation of World"). Interestingly, the *TFDL* has an entry *Ke-er-bai na-mo* 克爾白拏墨 (<PE. *Kaʿbah nāmah* "The Chronicles of the Ka'aba"), translated as *Tianfang zhi* 天房誌 ("The Annals of the Heavenly Chamber"). A work by the title *Kaʿbah nāma* (or its Arabized form *Risālat al-Kaʿbah*) is known to have been composed around year 1556 by the Ottoman geographer ʻAbd al-Raḥmānn al-Ghubārī al-Aqshahrī (fl. 16th cen.). The work, however, was written in Ottoman Turkish, and despite the wide use of Persian and Arabic vocabulary in the work, there are no known translations into Persian or Arabic.[67]

Time measurement was one of the scientific topics which had religious applications.[68] A work with the title *Ye-wa-ji-te* 葉瓦基特 (<AR. *Yawāqīt "Rubies"*), translated as *Yueling ji* 月令紀 ("Records of the Lunar Positions"), appears in both *TFDL* and *TFXL* as well as in inscriptions in mosques in Henan province. The term y*ueling* 月令 refers to the custom of seasonal announcement of rituals and duties in early China. The work, it seems, refers to calculations of time, apparently for performing religious duties. Moreover, the Arabic term *yawāqīt* is coupled in several titles of works on astronomical measurements with the term *mawāqīt* (<AR. "times"). It is possible that this is also the case here.

Among the titles of works on the occult sciences in the *TFXL* list is Ḥubaysh b. Ibrāhīm Tiflīsī's (d. ca. 1203) famous Persian encyclopedia of dream interpretation, *Kāmil al-taʿbīr* ("The Complete [Encyclopedia] of Dream Interpretation").[69] The title is transliterated as *Ke-mi-li te-er-bi-er* 克密理特爾比而 and translated as *Jiemeng daquan* 解夢大全 ("The Complete [Encyclopedia] of Dream Interpretation") and in *JXXCP* as *Jiemeng jing* 解夢經 ("The Dream Interpretation Classic"]. An unidentified Persian work on gemology is listed in both *TFDL* and *TFXL*, under the transliteration *He-zhe-er na-mo* 合哲爾拿墨 (<PE. *Ḥajarnāma* "The Treatise on Precious Stones") with the accompanying translation *baochan pu* 寶產譜 ("A Catalog of Precious Stones").

The analysis of the Arabic and Persian texts that circulated in China between the late-sixteenth and eighteenth centuries sheds light on the sources used by China's scholars of Arabo-Persian knowledge, as well as the patterns of transmission of Arabic and Persian texts to late imperial China.

5. Comparison to Centers of Islamic Scholarship outside China

In order to assess whether the textual features discussed above are unique to China, or represent more general phenomena, a comparison with other centers of Islamic education outside China is required. A number of studies examined madrasah curricula in the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires from around the same period covered by this dissertation.[70] The study of *waqf* endowments in Bukhara during the

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67. On the work and its author, see Parmaksızoğlu 1950; Ṣābān 1426. It is highly unlikely that Liu Zhi could read Ottoman Turkish, and therefore this identification is highly speculative.

68. On the debates between Islamic scholars in China on lunar-observation and the determination of the beginning and ending of the month of Ramaḍān, see Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

69. On the work and its author, see Storey 1927, 3:87.

70. Francis Robinson's essay synthesized various earlier works on the subject, and

18th century further provides additional information on the situation in Central Asia.[71] Taken together, these data shed light on the scholarly trends that defined Islamic scholarship during the 16th to 18th centuries, and allow us to single out the features unique to the Chinese case. Moreover, as the overall data sets represent curricula of formal education, their comparison with the Chinese data can quantify the effect that Ṣūfī literature had on scholarship in China.

Before presenting this comparison, a few points should be taken into account. (1) While the information on the Arabo-Persian titles circulated in China is derived from various sources, including Islamic schools, private libraries and works circulating among Ṣūfī orders, the information on the titles in the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires is mainly based on madrasah curricula. Madrasah curricula in those regions were strongly connected to the imperial institutions, as well as to the local orthodox circles. For example, Texts on Islamic mysticism, and works on the rational sciences, to some degree, were excluded from those curricula. The information on the Bukharan case is derived from *waqf* endowments established by local people of means and status, and in accordance to the religious regulations on the types of books allowed to be left to such endowments. As such these titles are also not necessary representative of the larger pool of texts. (2) There is a significant difference in the total number of titles among the datasets of these five regions. The number of titles included in the Bukharan endowments is far greater than the lists of the other four places. (3) Differences in religious inclinations and institutionalization of scholarship yielded significant distinctions. While the Chinese, Ottoman and Mughal cases represented learned communities affiliated with the Ḥanafī Suni school of Islam, Safavid Iran converted to Shiism in the sixteenth century. The canonization of Islamic jurisprudence under the Ottomans might have had an effect on scholarship.[72]

In terms of the thematic composition of the four pools of texts, it seems that grammar and Islamic jurisprudence constituted the main fields of study. In the Ottoman and Mughal cases works on grammar exceeded legal texts in number. The Bukarian *waqf* endowments included almost an equal number of works on grammar and jurisprudence. No works on Islamic mysticism appear in the Ottoman and Mughal curricula. The Bukharan endowments, on the other hand, included a relatively large number of works, amounting to half the number of works on grammar or jurisprudence.

Islamic jurisprudence and grammar are the most popular themes in the Chi-

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provide comprehensive data on Madrasah curricula in the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal empires. It lists 42 titles in the Ottoman, 72 in the Safavid, and 43 in the Mughal curricula. See Robinson 1997. Works on libraries and book collections in earlier periods provide additional information on popular titles. These works include Kohlberg 1992; Ahmed 2000; Ahmed, Shahab and Filipovic 2004. These works proved useful in identifying many of the Arabo-Persian texts in Appendix 2, yet are irrelevant for this discussion given that they refer to the period before the Mongol conquest.

71. I rely here on Liechti's comprehensive study of the Bukharan *waqf* endowments. Liechti lists 138 titles, out of which 114 are identified. See Liechti, Stacy 2008

72. For a discussion on process of canonization of Islamic jurisprudence under the Ottomans suggested by Burak. See Burak 2014.

nese pool. In contrast to the Ottoman and Mughal cases, and similar to the Bukharan case, works on Islamic mysticism constituted a significant share of the pool. This is not necessarily an indication for a Chinese-Bukharan transmission, as it may well be a result of the different sources of information. While *waqf* endowments were more likely to house works on mysticism collected by wealthy people with interest in various subjects, officially approved curricula, such as the ones presented here in the Ottoman and Mughal cases, excluded mysticism. In both places mysticism was studied outside the madrasahs.

In the field of grammar, ʻAbd al-Qāhir Jurjānī's (d. 474/1078) *ʻAwāmil* ("Elements") and ʻIzz al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zanjānī's (fl. 655/1257) *Taṣrīf al-Zanjānī* were popular primers for Arabic grammar in all four places, as well as in China. Al-Sakkākī's (d. 1229) *Miftāḥ al-ʻUlūm* ("Key to the Sciences"), and its abridged editions, appeared to be commonly used works on rhetoric studied throughout the Islamic world. This work was also included in the curriculum of Hu Dengzhou's education network. Interestingly, out of the various works on Persian grammar employed by the Safavid madarasahs or included in the Bukharan endowment, only al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 1141) *Kītāb Muqaddimat al-adab* (called in the Bukharan endowment as *Muqaddimat bar lughah*) reached China.

Logic (AR. *manṭiq*) played an important role in Mughal madrasahs, yet was not as significant in the Ottoman, Safavid and Bukharan cases. In the Chinese case, although a number of titles on logic were in circulation, they did not reach the high level of prominence suggested by the Mughal data. Works such as *Isaghūjī*, and Najm al-Dīn ʻAlī b. ʻUmar al-Qazwīnī's (d. 675/1276) *al-Risālah al-shamsīyah fī qawāʻid al-manṭiqīyah* appear in the Ottoman, Safavid, Mughal and Bukharan lists, and are known to have been used in China as well.

Burhān al-Dīn ʻAlī b. Abī Bakr Marghīnānī's (d. 1196) a*l-Hidāyah fī sharḥ al-bidāyah* (comp. 1178 in Samarqand), and its commentaries, provided the basic manuals for Islamic jurisprudence in the Ottoman and Mughal madrasahs, as well as in Bukhara. The work, and its various commentaries, were popular among Chinese Muslim scholars as well. Collections of Islamic substantive law, such as *Wasīlah-i Saʻādāt* or *Ṣalāt al-Masʻūdī* appear in the Bukharan list, but not in any of the madarasah curricula. That might be due to the popular, rather than academic, use of these collections. Of interest is the absence of works on Principles of Jurisprudence in China. Only a single, unidentified, work on Principles of Jurisprudence is mentioned in Liu Zhi's bibliographies.

A salient aspect that comes out of this comparison is the low number of works on geography and astronomy that are documented to have circulated in these centers. Although rational sciences, as well as geography were not part of the curricula in the Ottoman case, works on mathematics, cosmology circulated in madrasahs in Safavid Iran, Mughal India, and Bukhara. One hypothesis is that the relative large number of works on astronomy, astrology and geography in China goes back to works from the Yuan and Ming dynasties that were preserved in local libraries and recovered by later scholars.

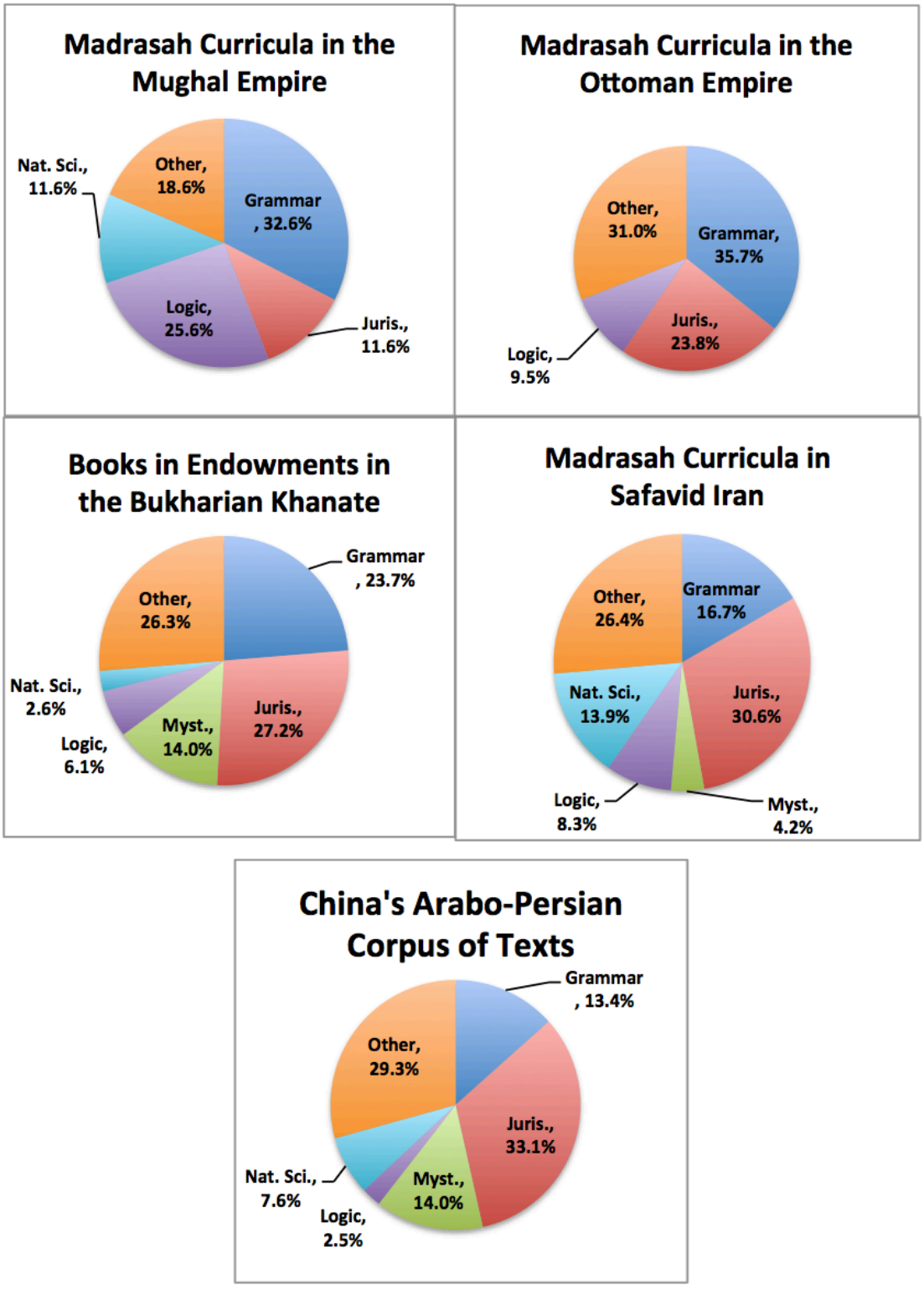
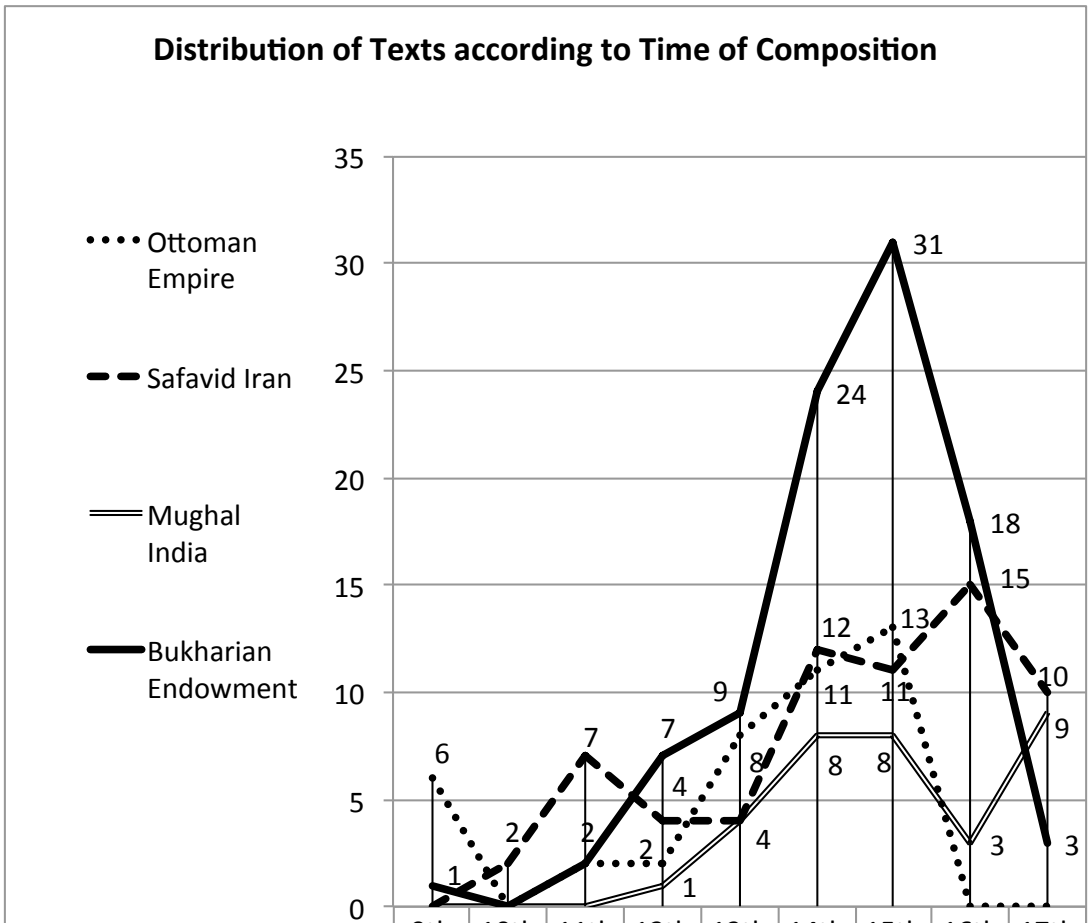


Figure 6: Thematic Distribution of Arabo-Persian Texts in Five Centers of Islamic Scholarship.

Figure 6 shows the thematic distribution of texts across the five categories: (Arabic and Persian) Grammar; Islamic Jurisprudence; Mysticism; Logic; and the Natural Sciences (including mathematics, medicine, geography, astronomy, and cosmology). It shows the resemblance in terms of fields of study between China's pool of Arabo-Persian texts and the Bukharan pool around the same period. It further

demonstrates China's uniqueness in terms of its accommodation of works on the natural sciences and geography.

In terms of the distribution of texts across period of composition, the collected data from the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal empires, and the Bukharan Khanate, demonstrate a large concentration of texts whose time of composition goes back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With the exception of Safavid Iran, the data shows a sharp decline in the number of texts composed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For comparison, the Chinese pool shows a high concentration of works composed during the 13th and 14th centuries, suggesting that the Chinese focused on older works, rather than the newer ones used in the other centers. One hypothesis for this observation is that older texts enjoyed higher status in the eyes of the Chinese. Alternatively, this could do with China's barriers to accessing newer scholarship.



	9th cen.	10th cen.	11th cen.	12th cen.	13th cen.	14th cen.	15th cen.	16th cen.	17th cen.
Ottoman Empire	6	0	2	2	8	11	13	0	0
Safavid Iran	0	2	7	4	4	12	11	15	10
Mughal India	0	0	0	1	4	8	8	3	9
Bukharian Endowment	1	0	2	7	9	24	31	18	3

Figure 7: Distribution of texts' time of composition in the scholarship centers of Islamic Asia (Sources of data: Robinson 1997 and Liechti 2008)

The above comparison between China and four other centers of Islamic schol-

arship demonstrate that China's accommodation of Arabo-Persian texts displayed unique features: While grammar and Islamic jurisprudence had a large share of the total corpus—an aspect that might suggest affiliation with outside madrasahs—the relatively large number of works on Islamic mysticism and the natural sciences demonstrates a significant departure from the traditional curricula in other parts of the Islamicate world. The interest in mysticism and the natural sciences seems to be connected to the interests of the mainstream Chinese scholarly discourse. The prominence of the epistemological and cosmological discussion among the wider community of Chinese intelligentsia seems to have inspired Arabo-Persian scholars to look for alternative answers to questions of the day in Arabic and Persian texts. From that perspective, it seems that the accommodation of Arabic and Persian texts in China was an intentional mirroring of the Chinese interests.

6. Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the general features of the corpus of Arabo-Persian texts that circulated in China between the late 16th and late 18th centuries. It demonstrated that while it has been commonly thought that Persian texts played a more dominant role in China during that period, China's Arabo-Persian scholars studied an almost equal number of texts in Arabic. Their use is likely tied to the prominence of Arabic texts in the fields of grammar, theology and Islamic law, topics which were of interest to Chinese scholars. Persian, on the other hand, served as the language of the vernacular literature, and in particular the language of Ṣūfism.

While China was successful in importing a relatively large number of Arabo-Persian titles, covering a wide range of themes, available evidence suggests that classical texts, that is works that were composed before the Mongol invasion during the 13th century, were still the key texts used during the late imperial period. In comparison to other centers of Islamic scholarship, where most texts were 14th and 15th centuries compilations, Chinese scholarship seems to be less concerned with the Islamic scholarly production of more contemporary periods.

Despite the prominence of sea routes in connecting China with the Islamicate world, and in particularly with Arabia and Iran in the early periods of contact, Central Asia and India were the main cultural hubs for China's Arabo-Persian texts during the late imperial period.

Islamic substantive law constituted one of the most popular fields of study among China's Arabo-Persian scholar during the late imperial period, with a large number of manuals on laws and praxis in circulation throughout China. At the same time, the scarcity of texts on Islamic legal theory suggest that China was less keen on devising new laws relative to its interest in studying the legal traditions that were used in other parts of the Islamicate world.

Islamic theology and mysticism were popular themes among Arabo-Persian scholars as well, demonstrating the interest of these scholars in the subjects of cosmology and epistemology. Works on Islamic theology and mysticism introduced the Islamic view of the natural world to China's Arabo-Persian scholars, and the central role given to divinity. Methodologically, it introduced the concept of logic and its application in theological argumentation.

While works on the natural sciences were excluded from the formal madrasah curricula in other parts of the Islamic world, such works circulated in considerable numbers among China's Arabo-Persian scholars. Arabic and Persian works on geography, astronomy, astrology, gemology, and dream interpretations introduced some of the Islamic accomplishments in those fields to those scholars in China

In general, through the discussion of the relatively large number of titles of Arabo-Persian texts, and the wide range of themes they encompassed, this chapter demonstrated the bridge between the scholarly discourses in China and the Islamicate world that Arabo-Persian scholarship constituted.

CHAPTER 6: FROM THE SCHOLARSHIP ON LANGUAGE TO THE LANGUAGE OF SCHOLARSHIP - AESTHETICS, TRANSLATION AND NATURALIZATION OF ARABO-PERSIAN KNOWLEDGE IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

學戴儒冠愛讀書，殘篇歷覽五車餘，
箇中咀嚼雖多味，身後何歸一字無，

Donning a scholar's cap, the erudite has zeal for reading,
Poring over five carriages packed full of texts,
He chews and blends together their multiple flavors,
Yet, not a single word on the After-life.[1]

(Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*)

Abstract

This chapter surveys the rise of Islamic literature in translation, and the consequent emergence of a new genre of original exposition in Chinese. These new forms of scholarship can be read as resulting from pressures from the larger community of scholars in the Jiangnan area, intensified by the arrival of the Jesuits, and by the efforts of some scholars of Islam to widen their audience and cope with the decrease in the number of scholars with reading skills in Arabic and Persian. These new forms, however, came at the expense of the core of Hu Dengzhou's program—the scrutiny of Arabic and Persian texts—and represented a new foundation for Sino-Islamic scholarship in which philosophical discussions (*yili* 義理) were more important than philological investigation, and in which the mediacy of translation and Chinese works deem the use of original works in Arabic and Persian dispensable. This chapter points out that this new scholarship, while on the one hand it was able to sustain Islamic scholarship and even bring it to the attention of the wider Chinese community of scholars, it disengaged itself from the wider context of Islamic scholarship in the larger Islamicate world.

In 1609 Li Guangjin 李光縉, a renowned non-Muslim scholar in the Southeastern city of Quanzhou, was invited to draft an inscription for a stele at the court-

1. *Jingxue xichuanpu* 經學系傳譜 [The Genealogy of Classical Learning], 20:104 (my translation).

yard of the Quanzhou mosque.[2] The stele, as its title suggests, was erected to commemorate the completion of the mosque's renovation two years earlier. According to the custom of the day, Li was expected in his text to praise the centrality of the reconstructed mosque for the lives of the local Muslim community, and to add a few sentences on the thirty-three chapters of the Qur'an, which he had probably never seen. Li, a wide-read scholar and a shrewd writer, decided not to follow the norm, but to instead bring to light what he thought was the real issue that Chinese Islam—or as he referred to it, "the Pure Teachings"—had to address. The Islamic scriptures, he wrote "were composed by Muhammad, the king of Medina, and just like the Buddhist scriptures [*Chanjing* 禪經] they arrived in China from the Western Regions and were not the work of China's sages." Yet, there was a significant difference between the Buddhist and Islamic scriptures. He noted, "the Buddhist scriptures were translated and integrated (*za* 雜), whereas the scriptures of the Pure [Teachings] have not been translated, and have therefore not been integrated." "That which is translated," he explained, "could be discussed and comprehended. This comprehension could transcend speculations. That which is not translated could not be comprehended, yet it would still be discussed in a partial and erroneous way."[3] Within a few decades after these words were engraved, Arabo-Persian scholarship went through a dramatic transformation. The adherence to the use of texts in their original Arabic and Persian languages—the foundation of Hu Dengzhou's pedagogy—was displaced by what a school of seventeenth century scholars saw as a universal medium of knowledge transmission. This medium included publication of Chinese translations of Arabo-Persian texts, and composition of philosophical expositions in Chinese summarizing Arabo-Persian knowledge.

This shift signified not merely an alteration of language or a change in the designated audience for this type of scholarship, but also a trade between two different approaches to the transmission of Arabo-Persian knowledge. If in the early stages of Arabo-Persian scholarship, we can speak of multiple philologies with a shared objective of producing knowledge, yet diverging from each other in the texts they use and the audiences they address, this movement aimed at the convergence of Arabo-Persian and Chinese philologies into a single system of universal philology.

Several decades after Hu Dengzhou's death, cultural and political tendencies pulled China's Arabo-Persian scholarship in new directions. If it was the aftermath of Wang Yangming's critique that prepared the ground for Hu's program of Arabo-Persian textual philology, then it was a combined effect of the arrival of the Jesuits and the political upheavals of the early seventeenth century that exhibited to the Arabo-Persian scholars in the Jiangnan region the merits of universalism, and consequently motivated them to produce a sinicized version of their scholarship.

Looking from that prospective, it is not a mere coincidence that while the core of Hu Dengzhou's network was in Northern China, it was rather China's southern regions that promoted the new agendas of Arabo-Persian scholarship. In light of its axial location, North and Northwestern China had for centuries been a hub between the Western and Eastern parts of Asia. As such, these regions were deeply involved in

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2. The text Li's inscription, dated the thirty seventh year of the Wanli 萬曆 reign (=1609), is available in Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷曉靜 2001, 72-74.

3. Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷曉靜 2001, 73-74.

cross-Asian movements, including movements of Arabo-Persian texts. The *raison d'être* of Hu's movement in many ways lies in this geo-cultural function of Northern China. The metropolises of the Jiangnan region, however, were further away from the Northern and Western frontiers, and as China's unrivaled cultural and intellectual center, residents of the Jiangnan region were highly immersed in the contemporary literati culture. The versatile and colorful culture of the Jiangnan literati rarely transcended the borders of Chinese language and culture, and based much of its cultural production on aesthetic evaluation that privileged China's language and etiquette as the only standards of high culture (CH. *wen* 文)[4], while dismissing other forms as "vulgar" (CH. *su* 俗), or "barbarian" (CH. *yi* 夷). The application of the Chinese language to Arabo-Persian scholarship in the Jiangnan region, hence, seems to be an inevitable result of the prevailing literati culture.

What did it mean to universalize Arabo-Persian knowledge? By what means was Arabo-Persian philology able to transcend its intimate reliance on Arabic and Persian, and create a dialogue with contemporary Chinese philology? The following chapter will shed some light on these questions, and will explore the intersection between philology, philosophy, and evidential studies, as these were manifested in the development of Arabo-Persian scholarship in seventeenth century China.

1. A Historical Overview of China at the Turn of the Seventeen Century

The transfiguration of Arabo-Persian scholarship during the early seventeenth century was, in part, an outcome of the socio-political and scholarly environments in China's southern metropolises. Highly integrated into the local literati class, Arabo-Persian scholars in the Jiangnan region could not isolate themselves from the socio-political, cultural and scholarly trends of their time. They fashioned their scholarship in light of, despite of, and in response to the socio-political and intellectual forces that prevailed that region. The battles over moral supremacy between the Ming court and a camp of conservative Confucian scholars, the arrival of the Jesuits and their enthusiastic participation in the local intellectual scene, and the surging print culture that made knowledge accessible—but also vernacular and an object of consumption and fashion—pulled and pushed the Jiangnan scholarly scene into various, and often opposing, directions. Interestingly, this matrix of forces resulted, at least in the case of Arabo-Persian scholars, in the formation of a strong motivation to transform their scholarship, and adopt Classical Chinese rhetoric as the main medium for knowledge dissemination.

The prosperous opening of knowledge that characterized most of the sixteenth century, and reached its peak around the Jiajing 嘉靖 (1522-1566) and Longqing 隆慶 (1567-1572) reign[5] ended towards the last two decades of the century. The rise of the Wanli 萬曆 emperor (r. 1573-1620) signaled the beginning of a new epoch of increasing friction between the court and the strongholds of independent scholarship that transformed socio-political and scholarly conditions.

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4. On the concept of *Wen*, see below.

5. Elman estimates that around 30 percent of the all Ming dynasty private academies were established during that period—an indication to the rise in the scope of scholarship outside official circles. Elman 1989, 387. The Jiajing and Longqing reigns are also the period when Hu Dengzhou's Arabo-Persian education network was found and expanded throughout China.

The seeds for the confrontation between a conservative camp that strongly adhered to the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy, and puritanically remonstrated against any traits of what they saw as immoral or unorthodox activity, emerged during the last century of Ming rule (mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century). These confrontations, which at times were translated into violent and deadly campaigns, dominated much of the political discourse. As early as 1521, following the enthronement of the Jiajing emperor after the death of his uncle, the heir-less Zhengde 正德 emperor, and the refusal of the new emperor to perform the Confucian ritual of being posthumously adopted by the late emperor, the Ming court was torn between the camp of support for the emperor, and the conservative camp under the leadership of the veteran Grand Secretary Yang Tinghe 楊廷和 (1459-1529, in office 1512-1524), who demanded the full adherence to the traditional protocol.

Power struggles between supporters of various court cliques, and bitter disagreements on issues of imperial succession and the scope of the rulers' adherence to the prescribed Confucian moral standards, provided more room for collision between the State and conservative scholars, as well as dissension within the community of scholars throughout the Jiajing and the consequent reigns. Scholar-officials, who protested against what they saw as the court's transgression of "correct conduct," and saw themselves as the guardians of propriety, used their influence in academies throughout China as political leverage. In return, as strongmen in court imposed sanctions against specific academies, they perceived to be strongholds of their opponents. The intensity of this struggle peaked in 1579, when the Ming court under the leadership of Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525–1582), the Grand Secretary in the Longqing and Wanli courts (in office 1572-1582) whose policies ignited great opposition among conservative scholars, issued a general prohibition of private academies, and signaled to his critics that the court would fight them to the end.[6] A Few decades later, Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢, who had began as a eunuch at the court of the Tianqi emperor and managed to buy his way to become the Grand Secretary (in office between 1624-1627), took the struggle with the conservative camp a step forwards, when in 1626 he launched an aggressive and deadly campaign against scholars affiliated with the Donglin Academy 東林學院 in the Jiangnan region who had made harsh denunciations of his corrupt politics.[7]

The belligerent and violent power struggles of the last century of the Ming contributed to the development of the socio-political and intellectual discourses.[8] They accentuated the centrality of the concepts of Orthodoxy, Orthopraxy, and the Standard that were used by all sides to defend their stands and substantiate their accusations against their rivals. This was manifested in a wide-spread use of terms such as *zheng* 正 ("correct"), *zhen* 真 ("true"), *wuru* 吾儒 ("Our Scholars"), as well as *wudao* 吾道 ("Our Way"), to denote the authors' standing on the right side of the debate. Moreover, torn by political rivalry between the court and scholar-officials, and amid the sharp scholarly disagreement between schools and groups, following Wang Yangming's criticism of traditional scholarship the existence of private academies came to

6. Meskill 1982, 139.

7. Atwell 1975, 339. See also Dardess 2002.

8. On the political environment and the power struggles in court, see Twitchett and Fairbank 1998, 518-522; Huang 1981.

rely heavily on networks of connections of scholars, officials of the court, local officials, and gentry.[9] Many of these networks included supporters from various, and at times opposing, political camps, and thus provided a safety net against any changes in the socio-political environment.

Living in China's socio-political and intellectual centers, Arabo-Persian scholars of the late Ming period could not overlook the importance of responding to the conditions of the period. Hu Dengzhou's education network linked together scholars and students throughout the Ming empire. It was not long before members of the network realized that in order to survive the critical socio-political environment, they must seek local support and build affinities with the various strong camps at the local level. In doing so, they employed two main methods. For one, they identified important local functionaries that had genealogical or religious affinities with Islam or the Islamicate world and publicized their names as "members of the community." At the same time, by soliciting for stele inscriptions and prefaces to books and genealogies from other local non-Muslim functionaries, Arabo-Persian scholars and the practitioners of Islam acquired legitimation for their activities. Local networks often included officials who served the local community, or officials who originated in the local community yet received positions outside it. Students in local Confucian academies, in light of their rhetorical skills and social standing, were among those frequently solicited for composing inscription and prefaces.

An example of this strategy can be seen in a mosque inscription in the Sanlihe 三里河 Mosque in Beijing. The inscription was composed in 1624 by Shi Sanwei 石三畏, a holder of a doctoral degree (*jinshi* 進士) with a Muslim family background, and a protégé of the infamous strongman Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢. It provides a succinct account of the value of Islam, the history of Islam in China, and the reconstruction of the mosque. Of special importance is the information it provides regarding the contributions made by a number of, apparently Muslim, eunuchs, who served in key positions in the government of Wei Zhongxian including Li Tao 李濤 and Jin Liangwei 金良畏, to the Beijing mosque. Shi's text was engraved in stone by a certain Ma Longtu 馬龍圖, a student in a prefectural Confucian academy in Shuntian 順天府.[10] The stele demonstrates the network of connections that the Sanlihe mosque community created, and that comprised of academics and scholars on one hand, and members in key official positions on the other. It shows how the community utilized its connections to gain legitimacy for Arabo-Persian scholarship and the practice of Islam amid a rather critical and politically-charged socio-political atmosphere.

The last decade of the sixteenth century saw, amid the socio-political struggles described above, a new player entering the intellectual scene of south China. The Jesuit missionaries—using a sophisticated strategy that provided them with optimal visibility among local literati in the Jiangnan region (and later in Beijing)—introduced caches of new "Western" knowledge to their local audiences. From the perspective of Arabo-Persian scholarship, the Jesuits' project provided a space for expounding foreign ideas, and a vocabulary that gained common usage and could easily be applied to

9. Atwell 1975, 340-341, 349-351.

10. For the text of the inscription, see Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷曉靜 2001, 5-6; Ma Mingda 馬明達 2011 Ma provides a corrected version of the text with additional details about its makers.

discuss Islam.[11] Moreover, the success of the Jesuit strategy in propagating their ideas and texts through the use of Classical Chinese and the medium of printing inspired Arabo-Persian scholars who by 1630s began to emulate that strategy. At the same time, the Jesuits presented strong and powerful competitors in the niche of "Western Learning" (*Xixue* 西學). Through the Sino-centric worldview of the late Ming, "Western Learning" incorporated the entire collection of achievements of the Arabo-Persian and European worlds in various fields of study. On the eve of the Jesuits' arrival in China, "Western Learning" had already enjoyed high prestige in certain fields such as astronomy, going back to what was seen to be Western contributions to the Tang, Song and Yuan official astronomical and calendrical enterprises. From that perspective, the Jesuits claims to represent Western knowledge, and their enthusiastic undertaking in circulating their texts stripped Arabo-Persian scholars of their reputation as the exclusive transmitters of Western knowledge, in fields such as astronomy.[12]

In 1598 Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) arrived in Nanjing and founded there the third residence of the Jesuit mission in China. The problems that the Jesuit mission had experienced in other parts of China, as well as the popularity of an essay he published in in 1595 in Chinese, titled *Jiaoyou lun* 交友論 "On Friendship,"[13] inspired Ricci to develop a new strategy for his missionary work. After becoming the head of the Mission in Nanjing, he turned the activities of the mission towards building ties with the local Chinese intelligentsia. To that end, he and his fellow Jesuits invested a great deal in developing their Chinese language abilities, as well in mastering the traditional Chinese canon. These investments served the Jesuits as an entry ticket to literati circles in the prosperous Jiangnan region. European books, maps, and instruments that were exchanged as gifts further enhanced the visibility of the mission. It was not long before the Jesuits, and Ricci in particular, acquired a high reputation among the erudite community of the area.

The success of the Ricci's essay "On Friendship" proved to him the efficacy of the book market in building social status. The innovative solution of "selling" Christianity to the Chinese on their own terms proved by the turn of the seventeenth century to be an efficient way to offset the foreignness of Christian doctrine, and disguise the potential points of difference with Neo-Confucian ideology. At the same time it assisted the Jesuits in fostering a social status. Cooperation between the European missionaries and the newly recruited Chinese literati, including Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 and Li Zhizao 李之藻, produced highly eloquent translations of multiple texts on theology, Christian dogma, and the natural sciences. Understanding the potential demand for Jesuit works in other parts of China, Xu Guangqi proposed to use printing to produce copies of the translated works in large numbers.[14]

Two key principles underlay the Jesuits' translation project: to cater to Chinese

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11. On the interaction between Arabo-Persian scholarship and the Jesuits, see Ben-Dor Benite 2012.

12. On the reputation of Arabo-Persian astronomy, see Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation. The power struggle between the European missionaries and Arabo-Persian scholars reached its peak during the Kangxi period. See Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

13. On the work and its popularity, see Ricci 2009.

14. Brockey 2007, 80.

taste and interests in the selection of texts, and to present the texts in a fashion that would not feel foreign to Chinese readers. In a striking resemblance to the way Buddhism was accommodated in China, the Jesuits searched the Confucian canon for terms with a certain level of resemblance to their Latin concepts. Just like the translators of the Buddhist Sutras, the Jesuits had to decide between adherence to phonetic values and fidelity to meaning.[15] By and large, the Jesuits preferred translation over transliteration, and the latter was reserved mainly for proper names. As a result, by the first decade of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits came up with a series of neologisms and transliteration conventions to be used in their works as a substitute for the Latin vocabulary of their texts. Most central was the issue how to designate the Christian god. Several suggestions were brought up, including *Shangdi* 上帝 ("the Emperor on High") and *Tianzhu* 天主 ("the Lord of the Heavens").[16]

Arabo-Persian scholars in the Jiangnan region knew of the Jesuit presence in the area, and were familiar with some of texts the Jesuits translated and circulated in China. Liu Zhi, an Arabo-Persian scholar in Nanjing, for example, mentions in his *Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu Nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 ("Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered"), Giulio Alenio's (also Aleni, CH. Ai Ruluo 艾儒略, 1582 -1649) *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 ("An account of Places not found in the Records' Offices") in his description of Asia.[17] Another example is found in Hei Mingfeng's 黑鳴鳳 commentary on Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Xingli* 天方性理, published around the last decade of the seventeenth century. Hei, a Muslim holder of a doctoral-degree, a military official and a well-read literatus, asserted that "the maps of the world-continents used by [students of] the Three Teachings [i.e., here Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism] differ from those of the Westerners' (*Xiyang* 西洋). [The latter ones] are hard to comprehend."[18] In another place in the same work, Hei interestingly included the following remark on the theory of the Four Humors: "I have read Western books, and they too mention the Theory of the Four Humors (CH. *siye zhi shuo* 四夜之說). I have not seen, however, a discussion of the Four Humors' operation. This [work, i.e., *Tianfang xingli*] traces the foundation of the Four Humors, and provides elucidation of the way they transform (*qi suoyi ran* 其所以然). It is sufficient to look at

15. On the translation of the Buddhist sutras into Chinese, see Chen 2005; Kornicki 2015.

16. A considerable number of terms are used both in Jesuit translations and Arabo-Persian literature, such as *zhu* 主 ("Lord"), *tianzhu* 天主 ("Lord of Heaven"), *tianshi* 天使 ("Angel"), *xianshi* 先知 ("Prophet"), *zaowu* 造物 ("the Creation"), *libai* 禮拜 ("worship"), and *libai si* 禮拜寺 ("worship hall; mosque"). There is evidence for early use of some of these terms in inscriptions that predate the arrival of the Jesuits, suggesting that they were first introduced by Chinese Muslims and only later adopted by the Jesuits. See for example the use of the terms *Zhu* and *Zaowu* in the 1348 inscription from the Dingzhou mosque, Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷曉靜 2001, 15. On the use of the term *Tianzhu* in the 1579 inscription in Beijing's Dongsi mosque, see Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷曉靜 2001, 211.

17. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu* 天方至聖實錄 [The Veritable Records of the Holiest of Arabia], 14:327. On Liu Zhi and his works, see below.

18. *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理 [On the Principles of Nature in Islam], 17:63.

Arabo-Persian scholarship (*Tianfang zhi xue* 天方之學) in order to fully comprehend it [i.e., the theory of the Four Humors]."[19] These examples demonstrate that Jesuit works secured the attention of Arabo-Persian scholars. While some scholars synthesized Jesuit knowledge in their works, others preferred to distinguish their Arabo-Persian scholarship from it, and emphasize the inherent differences between the two knowledge sets.[20]

2. The Naturalization of Arabo-Persian Scholarship and Rise of Islamic Literature in Chinese

As a vestige of the intellectual debates of the Song period, the dichotomy between "learning" (CH. *xue* 學, can be read also as *xuewen* 學問 "scholarly knowledge") and "culture" (CH. *wen* 文, can also mean "the aesthetic aspect of knowledge presentation") was perpetuated in the intellectual discourse of late imperial China. The definitions of the two terms are rather fluid. In general, the two views of scholarship represented a bifurcation of moral cultivation into two paths: a philosophical path that highlighted the moral principles and focused on the transmission of the classical textual tradition as the only means to extend true knowledge; and, an aesthetic path that viewed *belles-lettres* (often translated as "literary composition," CH. *wenzhang* 文章, lit., "patterns of *wen*,") and poetry as a means to realize the ideals of antiquity, and, in turn, to demonstrate one's high cultivation.[21] These two forms of scholarship became a matter of debate following the opposition of the Song Confucians identified with the Cheng-Zhu school, and the subsequent espousing of that school's ideology by the Yuan, and later the Ming and Qing dynasties. Despite the dominance of the Cheng-Zhu definition of scholarship throughout Ming and Qing, *wen* never ceased to operate among the literati class as a tool to demonstrate one's high cultivation and social standing. Literati displayed their aesthetic skills by composing belles-lettres, poetry and epitaphs in an elevated and antiquated form of Classical Chinese. An official appraisal of *wen* skills came about with the emergence of demonstrating high writing skills as a prerequisite for success in the civil service examinations during the Ming.[22]

The intersection between aesthetic production and the ideal moral system rep-

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19. *Tianfang xingli*, 17:71. The original reads: 清源黑氏曰：予閱西洋書。亦有四液之說，但未見其言理。茲溯四液之所本，而備晰其所以然，足見天方之學，以理勝也。

20. On the Jesuits' project of introducing theology and philosophy to China, and its outcomes, see Sela 2013.

21. The debate between *wen* and *xue* had a political manifestation, as it represented two forms of selection of governmental officials. Along with the Ming's espousing of the Cheng-Zhu school as state ideology, the civil service examination system departed from the high value the Tang and Song governments gave to *belles-lettres* and poetry, and focused on the Cheng-Zhu program of classical scholarship. Elman 2000, 44. On the debates on *xue* and *wen* in a historical perspective, see Bol 1992; Fuller 2005; Bol 2006; Bol 2008, 49-58 and passim.

22. On the cultural facet of the civil service examination as this was manifested in the composition of examination essays (whose fixed style based on eight textual sections gained them the name "eight-legged essays" CH. *Baguwen* 八股文) see Elman 2000, 371-420.

resented by the term *wen* produced a strong sense of cultural exclusiveness as displayed by the term *siwen* 斯文 ("this culture," or "our culture") that was in high currency since the Song. It provided a discursive platform for scholars who held different views of scholarship to essentialize "true" Chinese values, and distinguish them from foreign ones. Moreover, this intersection produced a set of linguistic and rhetorical conventions that clearly marked the difference between elevated and vulgar forms of writing. Adhering to these conventions was a prerequisite of any text that wished to circulate among the literati.[23] A statement from a mid-19th century preface to a reprinted Islamic work echoed this notion of exclusiveness: "No matter which teaching, all are measured by the Confucian standards. [Teachings] that display proximity to Confucianism are labeled 'correct,' and those which depart from Confucianism are labeled 'evil'".[24] Confucian standards in this context meant adherence to the conventions of *wen.*

Arabo-Persian scholarship from its onset in the late sixteenth century wished to make itself a constituent of the local scholarly landscape, and presented itself as the study of universal principles. Much of Hu Dengzhou's scholarship was dedicated to facilitate the understanding of Arabo-Persian texts for the wider public. Despite his focus on the use of Arabic and Persian original texts, Hu Dengzhou's motivation was to provide alternative moral solutions to a confused generation through providing access to what he saw as universal principles embedded in Arabo-Persian texts. His philological enterprise was not limited to Muslims, and in many cases the *JXXCP* record the admission of non-Muslims to one of the network's various schools.[25]

The socio-political environment that dominated most parts of Chinese society during the seventeenth century, and highly emphasized the notion of *wen* as its means for self-fashioning, limited the success of Hu Dengzhou's philological approach. The network was coping with a declining number of people who were willing to invest years in the study of Arabic and Persian—basic skills needed for participation in Hu Dengzhou's philological-based program. Only a few, open-minded literati wished to invest in studies that did not promise any gains in terms of political power, social standing, or financial compensation. Moreover, less were willing to engage in the study of texts that did not match the contemporary criteria of objects deserving of

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23. The Ming saw the emergence of alternative vernacular styles of writings as in the case of the vernacular novel (*xiaoshuo* 小說). These genres however were seen as leisure writings and denied any value in terms of moral or scholarly cultivation.

24. *Qingzhen shiyi buji* 清真釋疑補輯 [Expanded Edition of 'Explanations to Questions on Islam'], 18:52. 無論何教，在以儒家律之，近於儒者則為正，遠於儒者則為邪. This work was an expanded edition of Jin Tianzhu's 金天柱 (ca. 1700-1795) Qingzhen shiyi 清真釋疑 ('Explanations to Questions on Islam,' pub. 1738).

25. An example for such non-Muslim followers is She Yunshan 舍蘊善. She's was born in Hunan to a literati family. His original name was Wei Yuandu 魏元都. After the death of She's father, he was adopted by a Muslim neighbor, She Yingju 舍應舉. She Yingju was the first to introduce to She Arabo-Persian scholarship. She who was attracted to the study of the new languages and texts, became a prominent scholar and a teacher in the vicinity of Kaifeng. On She's biography, see Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 52 and passim. Another example are three non-Muslim literati, who studied Islam with Zhang Shizhong 張時中. On the story see below.

scholarly scrutiny. At the same time students who did not possess linguistic skills. yet wished to explore the subtleties of Arabo-Persian cosmology, had to blindly rely on their teachers' oral interpretations of the texts.

Furthermore, a direct dialog with local literati, local gentry and bureaucrats was crucial for Arabo-Persian scholars who wished to assimilate in their local scholarly communities, and receive legitimacy for their scholarship. This legitimacy was grounded on the transparency of Arabo-Persian scholarship. Such transparency could be achieved only by presenting the foundations of this scholarship in Chinese.

As a result of these various factors, Arabo-Persian scholars began in the 1630s to present their scholarly achievements in a modified form. In order to present their scholarship to the wider literati public, they had to reconcile their philological approach with the centrality given to *wen* aesthetics in the contemporary discourse. Through a gradual process they called *chengwen* 成文 ("transformation into *wen*"), Arabo-Persian scholars transformed their writings to align with the aesthetic conventions of the time. Translations into Chinese of Arabic and Persian texts, and later full expositions in Chinese, explicating Islamic themes, began to circulate in the metropolitan regions of China in the 1630s. These works ushered in a new phase in the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge in China, and provided local Chinese, mainly Muslim, readers with new knowledge.[26] At the same time, as these new textual compilations were specially adapted to the interests of local Chinese readers, they narrowed down the diversity of Arabo-Persian texts that circulated in China. Moreover, they disengaged China's Arabo-Persian scholarship from the wider scholarly development in the centers of Arabo-Persian scholarship outside China in the Islamicate world.

In the 1630s and 1640s, about half a century after the death of Hu Dengzhou, and amid the unrests that prognosticated the fall of the Ming dynasty a few years later, a series of Chinese publications on Islamic themes began to circulate throughout the major cities in the prosperous lower Yangtze Delta. The gradual development of this new genre can be divided into three phases: (1) the circulation of Chinese notes and commentaries, and later full translations of Arabic and Persian texts; (2) the emergence of original works in Chinese that provided summaries and synthesis of Arabo-Persian texts on Islamic jurisprudence and praxis, cosmological knowledge, mysticism and history. The popularity of original compilations gradually increased with time until they surpassed works of translation. This transformation can be seen as a move from commentarial literature to a new self-standing form of original literature; and, (3) the intersection of Arabo-Persian philology with the gradual adoption of a critical approach to classical studies among the Chinese literati produced by the late seventeenth century attempts to systemize Arabo-Persian scholarship in order to meet with con-

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26. We have very limited information on the readership of these texts outside the Muslim community. Prefaces attached to many of these texts, and composed by non-Muslim literati, attest to the fact that these work had a certain currency also outside the Muslim community. The earliest evidence in non-Muslim sources for the circulation of Arabo-Persian works seems to be found in the work of Hang Shijun 杭世駿 (1696-1773). Hang, a non-Muslim philologist, wrote an essay on Nestorianism, titled *Jingjiao xukao* 景教續考 ("Expanded Investigation of Nestorianism"). In that essay he widely quoted from Liu Zhi's *Tianfang dianli*, and even copied from Liu's bibliographies. Hang did not mention the source for his information. See *Daogu tang wenji* 道古堂文集 [Collected Works of Hang Shijun], juan 25, 1426:455.

temporary criteria. The works of Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730) represent this trend. These three phases will be discussed in further details in the next sections of this chapter.

In addition, the emergence of this new genre entailed a significant technical aspect. Earlier Arabo-Persian scholarship followed the custom in other parts of the Islamicate world, and circulated its texts in the form of manuscripts. This new Chinese genre replaced manuscripts with wood-block printing, which was a significant departure from the larger Islamic tradition. This technical transition constitutes a significant moment in the history of Arabo-Persian scholarship in China as it allowed wider circulation of works, and required methodological adjustments that changed the face of Arabo-Persian scholarship. As such, this technical transition marked the naturalization of Arabo-Persian scholarship, and the rise of a local Chinese-Islamic literature.

Moreover, from the perspective of the history of global Islam, the emergence of this new literary genre presents the earliest case of Islamic book-printing for the use of practitioners of Islam. While in other parts in the Islamicate world printed works on Islamic themes began to appear only as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Chinese scholars of Islam used printing in as early as the mid-17th century. Moreover, Chinese joined by the mid-17th century the small exclusive club of non-Arabic languages, including Persian, Chaghatay and Ottoman Turkish that were used for scholarly literature. Publications in other vernacular languages began along with the introduction of printing as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This aspect will be further discussed below.

A number of reasons can explain scholars' sudden motivation to transform the earlier form of Arabo-Persian philology into a Chinese-based one. Among these reasons are the decrease in the number of people who were willing to invest in the study of Arabic and Persian, and in turn could carry out philological studies using original texts, as well as a wish to introduce Islamic ideas to the wider Chinese public. Additional reasons can come from the scholars' self-presentation as rescuers and preservers of knowledge from extinction, and as intermediaries providing access to foreign knowledge.[27] Li Yanxiang 李延祥 in his preface to a reprinted edition of Wu Zunqi's 伍遵契 (1598-1698) *Xiuzhen mengyin* 修真蒙引 ("Introduction to the Cultivation of Truth," originally pub. 1668) suggested that it was the declining Arabo-Persian literacy that motivated Wu Zunqi to use Chinese as his medium.

> Our teachings originated in the Western Regions, where everyone could read the texts. After they were transmitted to China, only few later scholars could comprehend the meanings of the texts. As a result, the foundations, norms and praxis of our teachings became obscure[28]
>
> 吾教本隸西域，無有不諳經典者，及流傳中土，後學能通經義者遂鮮其人，而吾教之本原五常百行所出者究茫然

Others, such as Zhang Shizhong, highlighted the importance of meanings and precepts, and acknowledge the negative effect that language had on the introduction of these meanings and precepts to a wider audience. He proclaimed in his preface to his *Sipian yaodao* 四篇要道: "scriptures include difficult utterances (*yan* 言). Yet, the

27. Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 82-88, 125-134.

28. The preface carries the date 1780. *Xiuzhen mengyin* 修真蒙引 [Introduction to the Cultivation of Truth], 15:8.

great Way is not bound by words and characters (*wenzi* 文字)".[29]

From the early decades of the 17th century, works on Islamic themes published in Chinese began to circulate throughout China. In what follows we will describe three phases in the development of Chinese literature on Islam, and the effect that these transformations had on the study of the natural world.

3. Phase I: Translating Arabo-Persian Texts and Annotations into Chinese

From as early as the 14th century, mosque and grave stelae functioned as important textual spaces to spread knowledge about Islamic theology, praxis, and the history of Islam in China. Stelae inscriptions, aside from their symbolic and monumental functions, were used to instruct members of the mosque community on Islamic teachings, and at the same time provided introductory texts for the wider non-Muslim local community. Inscriptions in Chinese, Arabic and Persian are known to have been erected throughout China during the late imperial period. In light of their communicative and promulgating uses, these textual spaces were also the first ones to translate concepts of Islamic theology and praxis into Chinese. Some inscriptions even included Chinese translations of segments and quotations from Arabo-Persian texts. As such, inscriptions played an important role in coining and disseminating Chinese-Islamic vocabulary, and represented early attempts to introduce Chinese Islamic teaching to the wider non-Muslim local community. An example is an inscription erected in the seventh year of the Wanli reign (=1579) in the Dongsi mosque (*Dongsi qingzhen si* 東四清真寺), a central Mosque in Beijing.

The inscription included three parts. The first part, which carried the title *Qingzhen fa ming baizi shenghao* 清真法明百字聖號 ("Hundred-character Holy Aphorism Expounding the Pure and True Law"), included a quotation from an inscription attributed to the first emperor of the Ming. The quotation eulogized in few sentences the origin and merits of Islamic teaching, and the prophet Muhammad (referred to as "Muhammad, the sage" *Mu-han-mo-de shengren* 穆罕默德聖人). The second part is titled: *benjiao jingzhong yishu shengzan* 本教經中譯述聖贊 ("Free Translation of the Eulogy to the Prophet from the Scriptures of this School"). The text, written in four-character verses, comprises descriptions of Muhammad's birth and his physical attributes, the reception of the Qur'an, and mentions of Islamic practices such as watching the moon and Friday prayers. The text makes use of Chinese equivalents for a number of Islamic terms, such as *zhisheng* 至聖 ("the most venerable," apparently translation of the prophet's name *Aḥmad*), *qingjiao* 清教 ("The Pure Teachings," as an attribute of Islam), *Tian fengce* 天封冊 ("Heavenly sealed book"), *Tianjing* 天經 ("Heavenly Scripture," the Qur'an), *Tianzhu* 天主 ("Heavenly Lord," namely Allah), *Sanshibu ce* 三十部冊 ("The Book of thirty parts," namely the Qur'an).[30] The third part of the inscription includes two short Chinese poems.

Starting from the second quarter of the seventeenth century, Chinese works on Islamic themes began to circulate throughout the Jiangnan region. In year 1631, the fourth year of the Chongzhen 崇禎 reign, Zhang Shizhong 張時中 (1584-1670, known also as Zhang Zhong 張中, and Zhang Junshi 張君時, courtesy name *Hanshan*

29. *Sipian yaodao yijie* 四篇要道譯解 [An Annotated Translation of 'The Four Treatises on the Fundamental Way], 16:278. 夫經難言矣哉，大道不落文字.

30. For the text of the inscription, see Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷晓靜 2001, 211.

sou 寒山叟 "The old man of the Wintery Mountains"), a Suzhou-based scholar and a fifth-generation disciple of Hu Dengzhou, solicited prefaces for his short essay on the meaning of Islamic creed. Zhang's short essay, titled *Ke-li-mo jie qimeng qianshuo* 克理默解啓蒙淺說 ("A Preliminary Introduction to the Interpretation of the *Kalimah*" [short for *Kalimat al-shahādah*, "The Testimonial Statement"])[31], comprised two chapters (*juan* 卷), correspondingly discussing the two parts of the fundamental Islamic creed: the recognition of exclusivity of Allah as God, and the acknowledgment of Muḥammad as God's messenger. The work circulated as a manuscript (there are no indications that it has ever been printed), and included a preface, signed by a literatus of unknown background, Mu Jingxiu 穆景修 of Qingxi 青溪 (in Today's Suzhou) and dated to February 1631, as well as an epilogue by an unnamed student of the Changzhou 長洲 county school (in today's Suzhou) dated to September 1631.

Zhang's essay, the first of his three known works, seems to have been circulated mainly in the area of Suzhou. What is interesting is this essay's unprecedented use of the Chinese language to expound Arabo-Persian teaching. Such rhetoric had been used on mosque inscriptions, but not in books. The way the text is organized provides clues regarding the departure Zhang made from reading original Arabic and Persian to the compilation of Chinese commentaries. Each of the chapters opens with a short introduction that expounds upon the significance of the two parts of the creed. Then, the author divides the texts into several parts. Each part begins with a transliteration of an Arabic word or a phrase, followed by literal translation, and then by further commentary on the subtleties of the word. This latter part includes intertextual references. Some are identified as sayings of the Prophet, others are embedded in the exposition without mention of their source. This format brings to mind the different textual layers displayed in an Arabo-Persian manuscript. As explained in previous chapters, the main Arabic or Persian text (represented in Zhang's work by the transliteration of words and phrases), was accompanied by literal glossing and marginalia. The marginalia often expounded the embedded ideas, providing clarifications of terms and themes, and connecting the text to other related works. It seems that Zhang's essay was in fact a collection of notes on such an Arabo-Persian text. Zhang edited his notes without the Arabo-Persian original, and thus transformed these secondary, commentarial layers of the Arabo-Persian text into a new self-standing form of literature.

This rich vocabulary, and the skilled methods of transliteration in Zhang's work suggest that translation of terms and phrases into Chinese had been in use before Zhang's work. Similarly to the case of the layout of Zhang's text, Zhang's established vocabulary seems to reflect the language he used in writing his notes and glossing Arabo-Persian texts. This rich vocabulary demonstrates striking resemblance to the lexicon of terms employed by the Jesuits in their translations into Chinese of Christian theology, and is derived, in turn, from terms and concepts used in the contemporary Neo-Confucian cosmological discourse. The Chinese term for the Islamic

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31. The work was discovered only in the early 80s, when a certain Ma Guoliang (馬國良) of the city of Xining 西寧 brought a rare manuscript he possessed to China's Islamic Association (*Zhongguo yisilanjiao xiehui* 中國伊斯蘭教協會). The manuscript carried the copying date of 1860, but also mentioned that it was a reproduction of an earlier manuscript. See Mu Bai 穆白 1983, 4; Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 1077-1078.

God in Zhang's work, for example, is *zhu* 主 ("lord, master"), a term that resonates with the Arabic *rabb* and Persian *khudā*, but whose derivatives were also used by the Jesuits to denote the Christian God (*tianzhu* 天主, lit.,, "ruler of the heavens"). Additional terms for God used in Zhang's essay include *zhenzhu* 真主 ("the true Lord") and *zhenzai* 真宰 ("the true ruler"). The use of the term *zhen* 真 ("true") might be a translation of the Arabo-Persian term *ḥaqq* ("truth," often used to denote God), but can also bring to our attention the apologetic nature of the Islamic discourse in China. The acknowledgement and attestation of God's presence are expressed by the terms *zhengzhu* 證主 ("attestation of the Lord") and *renzhu* 認主 ("recognition of the Lord). Other terms included in Zhang's work are *shengren* 聖人 ("The sage") to refer to the Prophet Muhammad, *lidai shengxian* 歷代聖賢 ("the historical sages and wise men") to denote the prophets, and *zaohua* 造化 ("creation and transformation") to denote the God's act of creation.

A few years later, in 1638, Zhang arrived at Nanjing, the Southern capital of the Ming, to pursue his studies. During his stay he met an Indian wandering preacher by the name of A-shi-ge 阿世格 (probably <ʿĀshiq), who engaged him in discussions on the natural world, cosmology, and epistemology. Zhang, fascinated by the Indian's teachings, stayed in Nanjing for three years, during which he studied under the man. As Zhang recorded in a preface to his work, titled *Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 ("The Comprehensive Meaning of Returning to Truth"), these studies covered different theological aspects of recognizing God's presence (*renzhu* 認主). These different aspects all come under the concept of *yi-ma-ne* 以麻呢 (<Ar. *Īmān*, "faith").[32] Parts of Zhang's notes of these lectures were destroyed amid the upheavals that swept through the area during the 1640s.[33] He worried that his theological insights would fall into oblivion, and hence while lying in his sick bed for half a year, he collected the remaining notes and edited them into a book. His wish to disseminate these teachings as widely as possible encouraged him to try and print the work—a practice that had hitherto been unheard of among scholars of Islam in China. His various attempts to have the book printed and published, however, were unsuccessful. It was only in 1661 that he showed the notes to his cousin Ma Mingweng 馬明翁, and persuaded him to collect money and fund the printing of the work.[34] By the time this work was printed and published other works on Islamic themes were already available in China. Nevertheless, it seems to represent an early attempt to introduce printing to Arabo-Persian scholarship.

In the year 1653, while Zhang served as a teacher in a local mosque in Yangzhou 揚州, he met three local non-Muslim literati: Sha Weichong 沙維崇 (styled Eryi 二儀), Ma Zhonglong 馬中龍 (styled Gongyu 公御), and Li Zhihua 李之華 (styled Zhonghe 中和), who were interested in learning about Islam, yet did not know how to read Arabic or Persian.[35] In order to provide them with a preliminary text on the fundamentals of Islamic theology and praxis, he translated segments from a Per-

32. *Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 [The Summary of Meaning of Returning to Truth], 16:238. See also Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

33. On the historical context of these period, see below.

34. *Guizhen zongyi*, 16:239; Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 922-923.

35. Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 924, 1170-1171; Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 128-129.

sian work called *Chahār Kītāb*[36] into Chinese. He called the work *Sipian yaodao yijie* 四篇要道譯解 ("An Annotated Translation of 'The Four Treatises on the Fundamental Way'"). It is not clear when this work was printed and published, or who sponsored the production.[37] The involvement of the three literati in the process might suggest that they contributed to the publishing of the work.

Zhang's works are early examples of translations and commentaries on Arabic and Persian work that began to circulate as self-standing publications. They demonstrate well the process through which the comprehension of ideas embedded in Arabo-Persian texts—whether in light of the lack of reading skills in Arabic or Persian or the inaccessibility of the original texts—overcame the importance of the unmediated scrutiny of original texts. Tens of other works that similarly published glossing and commentaries on Arabic and Persian texts began to circulate from the 1630s and throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. Just as in the case of Zhang, these works appeared in the prosperous and culturally rich Lower Yangtze region (covering the cities of Nanjing, Suzhou and Yangzhou),[38] and eventually found their ways to all parts of the country. It should be noted however that the translators of many of these works were prominent teachers in the Islamic education network, who dedicated much of their lives to teaching original sources in Arabic and Persian. The Chinese translations produced by these masters were an auxiliary teaching device, and seem, in most cases, not to represent a conscious departure from the philological program.

The biography of Ma Junshi (1628-1690), a prominent teacher from the area of Nanjing, includes a vague description of a work he produced with the title of *Weizhen yaolüe* 衛真要略 ("A Concise Summary of the Protection of the Truth"). Ma, according to this account, was trying to restrain the circulation of distorting and heretical views among students of Islam by compiling a work in Chinese on what he saw as the fundamentals of the teachings. Ma's work, we are told, was very popular in the Jiangnan region. The title of his compilation resembles a series of commentarial

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36. The work was identified by Hamada Masami, see Hamada Masami 濱田 正美 2004; Hamada Masami 濱田正美 and Shionozaki Shinya 塩野崎信也 2014. Hamada provides a detailed analysis of the similarities and differences between the Persian and Chinese texts. The available Persian versions of *Chahār Kītāb* suggest that the work is comprised of four parts: (1) *Sharaf al-Dīn Bukhārī*'s *Muqaddimat al-ṣalāt* ("Introduction to Prayer"); (2) *Chahār faṣl* ("Four Chapters"); (3) *Muhimmāt al-muslimīn* ("The Tasks of Muslims"); (4) Farīd al-Dīn ʻAṭṭār's *Pand-nāmah* ("Book of Counsel"). Hamada identified Zhang Zhong's work as comprising of segments of the second and third parts, called together "*Risālah-yi īmān wa islām*" ("Treatise on Faith and Islam"). This title matches the identification of the original Persian text in an 1872 preface to the Chinese work, where the original is called *Lü-su-li jing* 率蘇理經 (<*Risālah*). Hamada Masami 濱田 正美 2004, 185.

37. Bai Shouyi suggested that this work was printed and published before *Guizhen zongyi*. If that is the case, it seems that the issue in printing the works was mainly finding sponsors. While this work found interested sponsors in the 1650s, *Guizhen zongyi* did so only in the 1660s. See Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 924.

38. On the centrality of Nanjing and the Lower Yangze region see, Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 21-28.

works on Islamic jurisprudence that circulated in China during that period, including *Sharḥ al-wiqāyah* (translated as *weidao jingjie* 衛道經解 "Commentary on 'The Protection of the Way'"), *mukhtaṣar al-wiqāyah* (translated as *weidao jingjie* 衛道經捷解 "Abridgment of 'The Protection of the Way'") and *wiqāyat al-riwāyah* ("The Protection of the Narration").[39] Moreover, the account describes Ma's project as "compiling a commentary in the form of a book" (*yi shuzi zhu* 以書子註), and gives raise to the assumption that it was a summary of themes from one of the above-mentioned manuals of Islamic law.[40]

Islamic theology, Ṣūfī mysticism, and issues of daily praxis were the most popular themes among of this new series. While the pool of Arabo-Persian texts that circulated in China during that time was far more diverse and rich, the new publications seem to respond to the interests of authors and readers. The variety of themes of translated works demonstrates an avid interest in the study of the natural world and its principles (corresponding to the contemporary Chinese term *li* 理). The study of the natural world was found in both Islamic theology and Ṣūfī mysticism, albeit from different perspectives, which can roughly be defined in terms of an objective description of the natural world and the divine in the former, and a subjective realization of the divine in the latter. Expositions of both perspectives seem to have met with readers' interest, and thus were translated to Chinese.

Table 1: Translations of Arabo-Persian texts circulated in the late 17th and early 18th centuries

Date	**Theme**	**Title**	**Author**	**Title of original Arabo-Persian text**
1631	Theology	*Ke-li-mo jie qimeng qianshuo* 克理默解啓蒙淺說 ("A Preliminary Interpretation of the *Kalimah* [the Islamic Creed]")	Zhang Zhongshi 張中時 (1584-1670)	*Ke-li-mo She-ha-ti* 克理默舍哈題 (unidentified text)
1638-1641	Theology	*Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 ("The Comprehensive Meaning of Returning to Truth")	Zhang Zhongshi 張中時 (1584-1670)	Oral transmission of *Imān mujmal* 以麻呢 穆直默勒 *Imān mujmal*, according to its postscript, it was first published in print by Zhang's student 沙振宗 of 錢塘 in 1661

39. On these works, see Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

40. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:50. Mason lists two different works in his list. The first has the title *Tianfang weizhen yaolüe* 天方衛真要略 "A Summary on the Protection of the Islamic Truth" and is attributed to Ma Junshi, the other carries the title *weizhen yaolüe* 衛真要略 "A Summary on the Protection of the Truth," and has no further information. See Mason 1925, 211 (on the former) and 213 (on the latter).

1653	Theology	*Sipian yaodao yijie* 四篇要道譯解 ("An Annotated Translation of 'The Four Treatises on the Fundamental Way'")	Zhang Zhongshi 張中時 (1584-1670)	*Chahār Faṣl*, a later translation was made in early 20th cen. under the title 車哈雷凡速. The preface suggests it is a translation of the work *Lü-su-li* 率蘇裏 (<*Risālah*)
1660s-1670s	?	*Mu-Han-mo-di li mai-ha-ding-yan* 穆罕默地力買海頂燕	Ma Ming-long 馬明龍 (1596-1678)	*Mu-Han-mo-di li mai-ha-ding-yan* 穆罕默地力買海頂燕, unidentified.
1660s	Mysticism	*Tuiyuan Zhengkui* 推原正逵 or *Tuiyuan zheng-da* 推原正達 ("Investigation of the Origin and Correct Apprehension")	Ma Ming-long 馬明龍 (1596-1678) and She Yunshan 舍蘊善 (1634-1710)	Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's (d. 654 AH/1256 AD) *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* 米爾薩德
1668	Jurisprudence - Praxis	*Xiuzhen mengyin* 修真蒙引 ("Introduction to the Cultivation of Truth")	Wu Zunqi 伍遵契 (1598-1698) and Zhou Shiqi 周士騏	*Hādi al-Ṣibyān* 哈地 隨布亞尼 (unidentified text)
1670s	Mysticism	*Zhaoyuan mijue* 昭元秘訣 ("The Secret Crux of the	She Yun-shan 舍蘊善 (1634-1710)	Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 1492) *Ashi`at al-lamaʿāt*
1670s	Jurisprudence - Praxis	*Tianfang weizhen yaolüe* 天方衛真要略 "A Summary on the Protection of the Islamic Truth"	Ma Junshi 馬君實 (1628-1690)	Might be a translation of Maḥmūd b. ʿUbayd Allāh's (d. 673/1274) *Wiqāyat al-Riwāyah* or one of its commetaries.
1679	Mysticism	*Guizhen biyao* 歸真必要 ("The Prerequisites for Submission to the Truth")	She Yun-shan 舍蘊善 (1634-1710)	ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī's (fl. 7th cen. /13th cen.) *Maqṣad al-aqṣá*
1670s	Ethics	*Xingmi lu* 省迷錄 "Record of Self Awakening"	She Yun-shan 舍蘊善 (1634-1710)	*Mu-nan-bi-ha-ti* 穆難必哈提. Seems to be Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's (1372-1449) *Munabbihāt.*

1672/1678	Mysticism	*Guizhen yaodao yiyi* 歸真要道譯義 ("Translation of the Meanings of the Essential Way to Submit to the Truth")	Wu Zunqi 伍遵契 (1598-1698)	Najm al-dīn Rāzī's (d. 654 AH/1256 AD) 米爾薩德 *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*
1678	Jurisprudence - Praxis	*Jiaokuan jieyao* 教款捷要 "A Summary of Religious Laws"	Ma Boliang 馬伯良	Selective translation from *Muhimmāt al-Muslimīn*
early 1700s	Mysticism	*Zhenjing zhaowei* 真境昭微 "Displaying the subtleties of the Realm of Truth"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)	Jāmī's 勒瓦以哈 *Lawāʾiḥ*
1724	Sīrah (Biography of the Prophet)	*Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu Nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 ("Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered")	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)	*Tarjumat al-Muṣṭafa*

The process by which the translation of original Arabic and Persian texts was carried out is demonstrated by a comparison of the available Chinese editions of *Mirṣād al-ʿibād min al-mabdaʾ ilá al-maʿād* ("The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return").[41] This Persian text on Islamic mysticism was very popular among Naqshbandī Ṣūfīs in Central Asia, and was acquired by several of Hu Dengzhou's disciples, who included it in their curriculum. Multiple hand-copied editions of the work are still available in libraries and mosques around China, and the Bibliothèque Nationale houses a manuscript of this text (Supplément persan 2071). The text, which was acquired by the expedition of the French general Henri d'Ollone in Gansu (the expedition took place from 1906 to 1909), does not include an original colophon, yet was dated by the BNF to the seventeenth century.[42] The manuscript includes a main text in Persian, with sporadic interlinear glossing in Chinese characters, in *Xiaoerjing* transliteration, and in Persian, and markers of grammatical positions.[43] The outer cover of the text includes the five Chinese characters: *Daoxing tuiyuan jing* 道行推原經 ("The Investigation to the Root of Spiritual Conduct"). The Nanjing-based Wu Zunqi 伍遵契 (1598-1698) completed the translation of the work in 1672, and published it in print in

41. On the use of the *Mirṣād* among members of the Islamic education network and the translations of the text, see also Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 86-88, 130-133.

42. See the hand-written list of the Supplément persan manuscripts, *Inventaire des manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs acquis après l'achèvement des catalogues [supplément persan]*, 20th Cen, 8r.

43. On the *Xiaoerjing* transliteration and grammatical markers in Chinese manuscripts see Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

the year 1678 under the title *Guizhen yaodao yiyi* 歸真要道譯義 ("Translation of the Meanings of the Essential Way to Submit to the Truth," hereafter *GZYDYY*). Another translation was jointly made by Ma Minglong 馬明龍 (also spelled 馬明龍, 1596-1678) and She Yunshan 舍蘊善 (1634-1710), and circulated under the title *Tuiyuan zhengda* 推原正達 ("Correct Comprehension of the Investigation to the Root of Things", the only available manuscript erroneously spelled it as *Tuiyuan Zhengkui* 推原正逵, hereafter *TYZD*). This latter never translation seems to have been published, and circulated solely in manuscript form. A single copy of this translation is available in the Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations (BULAC).[44]

A comparison between the two translations of the *Mirṣād* reveals a sharp difference between approaches to translation. Wu's translation features elegant rhetoric in classical Chinese, and thus resembles the scholarly discourse of its time; Ma and She's work, of which only a number of chapters have survived, on the other hand, demonstrates a clear inclination towards literal and vernacular transcription, to the extant that this translation is not necessarily comprehensible to readers of Chinese. This difference in translation is more than stylistic, and might indicate a difference in the time of compilation. Literal glossing that had first appeared as an interlinear layer of the Persian manuscripts was assembled and independently presented as Ma's and She's translation. Later on, Wu Zunqi polished the translation, and made it befit the contemporary literary standards. We can find resemblance to the way Arabo-Persian astronomical treatises were translated during the early Ming.[45] In both cases, translation took place in two phases: a word-for-word translation of the Arabic or Persian into vernacular Chinese, followed by a polishing of the translation and making it on a par with the standards of Classical Chinese rhetoric.

The *JXXCP* recorded the existence of translations of the *Mirṣād* made by Ma and She, yet it does not mention Wu's work (comp. ca. 1672) at all. Moreover, the *JXXCP* described the reasons behind the compilation of Ma and She's translation, and the way it came into being. According to his biography in the *JXXCP*,[46] Ma studied for seven years under Master Feng Bo'an's 馮伯菴, a third generation disciple of Hu Dengzhou, who greatly promoted *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* in his school in Tongxin 同心 (in today's Ningxia province). Ma was interested in the work, and after graduating his studies, taught the work for some period of time. Yet, the vagueness of many passages in it and his lack of full comprehension of the texts displeased Ma. At one point, he met a turbaned foreigner by the name of Ji-liao-li 極料理 (probably Jilālī), who was traveling throughout China, and visiting students and masters of Hu's network.[47] Ma consulted the foreigner about difficult passages, unclear conjugation, and translations of terms in the *Mirṣād*. The foreigner introduced Ma to the Persian dictionary *Furs*,[48] which had

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44. *Tui-yuan zheng-kui* 推原正逵, MS. Chi.843, n.d.

45. On that issue see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

46. The biography is found in *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:42-45.

47. This figure of a foreign preacher appears in several accounts in the *JXXCP*, see chapters 3 and 5 in this dissertation.

48. It is not clear for which work the title *Furs* stands. The main possibilities include: (1) Muḥammad Vafāʾī's (fl. 933/1527) *Farhang-i Fārsī*. Two manuscripts of this work, copied in the second half of the 19th century in Beijing are available Niujie mosque and Beijing University, one of which uses the title "Furs". On this

the capacity to assist Ma in apprehending the correct meanings and conjugations found in the *Mirṣād*. Using this dictionary and another work, titled *Kashf al-ḥijāb* ("Unveiling the veil"),[49] Ma and his student Chang Yunhua 常蘊華 (known also by the name Chang Zhimei 常志美)[50] glossed the text. Ma later compiled these glosses into a work titled *Tuiyuan zhengda* 推原正達("Correct Comprehension of the Investigation into the Root of Things"), and was dissatisfied when he found that Chang did not use this Chinese text when teaching the *Mirṣād*.[51]

She Yunshan's biography in the *JXXCP* gives a slightly different story. She Yunshan (born with the name Wei Yuandu 魏元都[52] or Wei Zhidu 魏之都[53]), was born into a prominent family of high-ranking non-Muslim officials of in Yuanling 沅陵 (today's Hunan province). From the age of five, He attended the local Confucian schools, yet was not interested in the memorization of texts. After his father passed away, he was adopted by a Muslim neighbor, She Yingju 舍應舉. She Yingju was the first to introduce She Yunshan to Arabo-Persian literature. Fascinated by what he had heard about Islamic mysticism, She decided to discontinue his Confucian education, and entered the school of Master Yang. She acquired the necessary language skills, and his interest in Arabo-Persian texts took him throughout the country. He met Master Feng Bo'an, who introduced him to several works on Islamic mysticism, including *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* and *Lamaʿāt*.[54] Mysticism became She's expertise and main field of teaching. Since several of his Confucian-educated students demonstrated interest in Islamic mysticism, yet lacked the required linguistic abilities, She prepared Chinese glossing (*yi shuzi yi* 以書字譯) of several Arabo-Persian texts, including *Lamaʿāt* (which he titled *Zhaoyuan mijue* 昭元秘訣 "The Secrets of the Flashes"), *Maqṣad al-aqṣá* (titled *Guizhen biyao* 歸真必要 "The Prerequisites for Submission to the Truth"), and *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* (titled *Tuiyuan zhengda* 推原正達("Correct Comprehension of the Investigation to the Root of Things"). She's translation of the *Mirṣād*, we are told, included the entire Persian text, and even the four-line poetic verses included in it.[55]

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dictionary and its Chinese manuscripts, see Tin Huī Jū [Teng Huizhu] 1374.; (2) Muḥammad Qāsim b. Ḥājjī Muḥammad Kāshānī Surūrī's *Majmaʿ al-Furs* (comp. 1599AD); (3) Muḥammad b. Hindū-Shāh Nakhjawānī's *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Furs* (comp. 14th cen. AD); (4) ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Asadī Ṭūsī's *Lughat al-Furs* (comp. 11th cen.).

49. A similar title is listed in Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Xingli* 天方性理. The identification of this work is unclear.

50. More on Chang Zhimei, see Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

51. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:42.

52. Yang Yongchang 楊永昌 and Ma Jizu 馬繼祖 1989, 82.

53. Wu Jianwei 吳建偉 and Wu Haiying 吳海鷹 2010, 23.

54. Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrahīm ʿIrāqī's (d. 1289) *Lamaʿāt* (Divine Flashes). Might also refer to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 1492) commentary on the work, titled *Ashiʿʿat al-lamaʿāt* (Gleams from the Flashes).

55. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:80. For the motives behind She's translation of *Guizhen biyao*, see *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:18. For She's biography, see also Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 52 and passim.

The published edition of Wu Zunqi's translation includes information regarding the way by which the translation of the Persian text came into being. In his introduction, Wu mentioned that it took him thirteen years to complete the translation, and that his brother, Wu Tianxu 伍天敘, assisted him.[56] A preface to the published work, signed by Sha Bing 沙炳, an official and a native of Nanjing, and dated to 1678, included the following passage:

> Master Wu had had the fear that these principles were not easily grasped, hence he translated this text. Thereafter a literatus, a man of letters, impressively edited it to become an exquisite piece of writing. [57]
>
> 伍子子先懼其理之不易明也，姑就本文譯之，後有文人達士以經天緯地之筆纂為奇文, 使斯書自成一家言，知尤伍子所夙夜而思者矣.

The table below compares the first few paragraphs in chapter 4, part 2 of the *Mirṣād* in the two translations. The order of chapters of the original Persian text was kept intact in both Chinese translations. The *TYZD* translation attempted to retain the original word order, and provide word-for-word translation. The resulting text was highly incomprehensible. The *GZYDYY* translation, on the other hand, attempted to provide a readable Chinese translation, and to that end did not hesitate to play with the order of words, ignore problematic parts, and borrow contemporary Chinese terms to approximate original meanings. Thus, the Persian compound *dar bayān* ("about, on, regarding," lit., "in the elucidation of") was disregarded in *GZYDYY*, yet translated literally in *TYZD* as *ming* 明 ("clearness, elucidation"). Similarly, when the Persian included the compound *sabab-i naskh* ("reason of abrogation")[58] to discuss Muhammad's abrogation of Judaism and Christianity, *TYZD* translated it literally as the two successive words *yin* 因 ("reason" or "to follow") and *ge* 革 ("transformation, reform"). The Persian phrase *khatm-i nubuwwat* (lit., "the sealing of prophecy"), a concept commonly applied to Muhammad, was translated literally in *TYZD* as *liesheng zhi fengyin* 列聖之封印 (*fengyin* 封印 "seal, stamp; "an official's end-of-term"). *GZYDYY* departed from the original wording, and used the term *tongli* 統理 ("to preside over") to denote Muhammad's role vis-a-vis previous prophets.

The grammatical and morphological differences between Chinese and Persian were manifested in *TYZD* by the use of certain words to denote grammatical and morphological functions. For example, although Classical Chinese does not differentiate between singular and plural nouns, *TYZD* used the term 諸 ("various") as a marker for plural noun. The Arabo-Persian common conjunction *lākin* was translated in TYZD as *suiran* 雖然 ("although"), even in the pattern *mā kāna...wa-lākin* "was not..., but" (*fei* 非...*suiran* 雖然). The causative Persian verb *gardānīdan* (lit., "to change, turn") was translated literally as *zhuande* 轉的 ("to transform"). For reasons unclear, the Arabic preposition *ʿalá* ("on; against; over") was transcribed in *TYZD* as *si* 似 (lit., "resemble"), e.g., *shengsi* 勝似 for *la-yaghlib ʿalá* ("He wins over"), and *guisi* 貴似 for *fuḍḍiltu ʿalá* ("I have been granted excellence over").

Many common terms are shared by the two translations, and indicate that they both grew out of a common discourse. Terms such as *liesheng* 列聖 ("Past sages")

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56. *Bai Shouyi* 白壽彝 *2000, 1179.*

57. "Guizhen yaodao yiyi" in *Bai Shouyi* 白壽彝 *2000, 1177.*

58. Some Persian version of the *Mirṣād* omit the word *sabab* ("Reason"). This seems to be the case with the Persian version used for the English translation.

to denote the Arabo-Persian *anbiyā* ("past prophets"), *zhu* 主 ("lord") to denote God, *qinchai* 欽差 ("imperial envoy") to denote *rasūl* ("God's messenger") are found in both translations. Even the transcription of the name Muḥammad (穆罕默德) is the same in both texts. However, the translation in *TYZD* is far more vernacular and literal than the one in *GZYDYY*. For example, the sentence "he was...the Seal of the Prophets" was translated as *shi liesheng zhi fengyin* 是列聖之封印 ("He was the Seal of the Prophets") in *TYZD*, and as *nai...feng liesheng zhi yinde* 乃...封列聖之印的 ("He sealed the chain of prophets") in *GZYDYY*.

Table 2: Comparison the the Chinese translations of Jāmī's *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*

Original Persian[59]	**English Translation of the Persian**[60]	**Ma Minglong and She Yunshan's *Tuiyuan zhengda* (*TYZD*)**[61]	**Wu Zunqi's *Guizhen yaodao yiyi* (pub. 1678, *GZYDYY*)**[62]
فصل چهارم - در بیان سبب نسخ ادیان وختم نبوت بمحمد عم	Fourth Chapter: Concerning the Abrogation of Previous Religions and the Sealing of Prophethood with Mohammad, upon Whom Be Peace and Blessings	第四章明因革諸教與吾聖為列聖之封印	第四篇至聖統理列聖
قال الله تعا لیظهره علی الدین کله قال عز وجل ما کان محمد ابا احد من رجالکم ولکن رسول الله وخاتم النبیین. (marginalia: ای لیغلب الاسلام علی الادیان کلها)	God Almighty said: "Mohammad was not the father of a man from among-you; rather, he was the Messenger of God and the Seal of the Prophets."	經云好教主把至聖之教勝似諸教,[63] 又云穆罕默德非是你們中一人之父，雖然是主之欽差，是列聖之封印。	經云穆罕默德不是你們中一人之父，乃主的欽差，封列聖之印的

59. *Mirṣād al-ʿibād [marṣād al-ʿibād]*, Supplément persan 2071 (cote), 17th century.

60. Algar 1982.

61. *Tui-yuan zheng-kui* 推原正逵, MS. Chi.843, n.d.

62. *Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 [The Summary of Meaning of Returning to Truth].

63. It seems that *TYZD* translated the passage *la-yaghlib al-islām ʿalá al-adyān kullihā* ("Islam wins over all the religions"). This passage appears in the marginalia of the Persian manuscript, and does not appear in many printed editions of the text.

قال النبي عم فضلت على الانبياء بستة اشياء جعلت لي الارض مسجدا وترابها طهورا واحلت لي الغنايم ونصرت بالرعب واعطيت الشفاعة وبعثت الى خلق كافة وختم بي النبيون	The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "I have been granted excellence over the other prophets in six things: the earth has been made a mosque for me, with its soil declared pure; booty has been made lawful for me; I have been given victory through the inspiring of awe at the distance of a month's journey; I have been given permission to intercede; I have been sent to all mankind; and the prophets have been sealed with me."	聖云主教我貴似列聖有六個顯迹，頭一個顯迹把地面全轉成我朝拜之所，把土能轉成能去穢污的，把横財轉成義合的，教威聲相助我，把達救罪人賜了我，把我普差在人物上，教我印封了列聖	聖云主上憑六件事把我貴過列聖，一將普地轉為我的拜處，二將土轉為潔淨之需，三把外財在我上做了相宜，憑威嚴助我，四准我搭救世人賜特恩與我，五把我欽差教化在普世人上，六差我封一切聖印

While many of the translators, most notably Ma Minglong and She Yunshan, who were loyal to Hu Dengzhou's philological agenda, realized that the language-intensive pedagogy limited the scope of their teaching as their schools became larger and students of higher classes began to show interest in Arabo-Persian knowledge. Hu's philological program could not be applied to people who were interested in Arabo-Persian ideas on the natural world, but could not invest years of language training. Ma, She and Wu seem to have deliberately chosen to focus on contents and ideas at the expense of language training.

Interestingly, the trend to translate Arabo-Persian works into Chinese continued uninterruptedly from the Chongzhen 崇禎 (1627-1644) reign of the Ming dynasty, and well into the Shunzhi 順治 (1644-1661) and Kangxi 康熙 (1661-1722) reigns of the Qing. The physical and mental destruction that accompanied the Manchu conquest of China, and the consolidation of imperial power by the Shunzhi and Kangxi emperors did not stop the publishing and circulation of Arabo-Persian translations. It is only towards the end of the last third of the sixty-one years of the Kangxi reign that the number of translations of Arabic and Persian works dwindles. The reasons for that will be explained in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

4. Phase II: The Rise of An Original Chinese Islamic Literature and the Transformation of Philology into Philosophy

Around the same time when Chinese translations of Arabic and Persian texts began to circulate as self-standing works, another new genre of Arabo-Persian writing emerged in the Jiangnan region. Original treatises in Chinese on Islamic theology or

mysticism and primers of daily praxis began to circulate throughout Muslim scholarly circles during the last years of the Ming, and with growing numbers during the Shunzhi 順治 and Kangxi 康熙 periods of the Qing. These works incorporated the established Sino-Islamic vocabulary, and aimed at presenting the fundamentals of the Arabo-Persian concepts of the natural world to the larger non-Muslim scholarly community. At the same time, they were trying to cope with the decline in literacy in Arabic and Persian. These works were an unprecedented attempt to customize Islamic teaching for the local community, rather than relying on imported texts. Moreover, they demonstrate certain recognition that philological scholarship limited the audience. The linguistic skills required for such scholarship drastically cut into the capacity to disseminate ideas, and widely present Arabo-Persian scholarship to the local community of scholars. Following the example of the Jesuits, local interests and local concepts became the key aspects of this new textual production.

Two early works in Chinese on Islamic themes were composed in the 1630s by Zhang Xin 張忻 (1590-1658) and Zhan Yingpeng 詹應鵬 (1572-1653), prominent Muslim scholar-officials in the Jiangnan region.[64] Unfortunately neither of these works survived, and we only know of their existence due to a preface of one, and an epilogue of the other, being copied into a later publication.[65] Zhang Xin compiled in 1634 a work titled *Qingzhen jiaokao* "An Examination of the Pure and True Teachings." In his preface to the work, he referred to Islam as *wujiao* 吾教 ("Our Teachings"), and thus suggested that he had engaged in a form of Islamic scholarship before compiling the work. After outlining the merits of Islamic textual scholarship (*jingxue* 經學), Zhang included the following statement, from which we can learn about the objectives he set for the compilation. The author, so it seems, was dissatisfied by the decrease in literacy of Arabic and Persian, and the lack of knowledge of Islam. His work provided a Chinese alternative to the meticulous study of original texts:

> At present the dignitaries and high-ranking officials, who had come from the West,[66] are not able to bring to light the true maxims by the way of textual

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64. Leslie 1986, 117.

65. Several early essays are known to us merely due to the inclusion of their prefaces or epilogues in *juan* 20 of Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu Nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 ("Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered," comp. 1721-1721, and published only in 1781). None of these works are known from any other sources. The authors of these essays are all known scholar-officials with a wide range of compilations. In most cases, none of their other writings, nor their available biographies indicate to any interest in Arabo-Persian scholarship. The only exception is Ding Peng 丁澎, a scholar-official at the Shunzhi court, whose preface to the work *Tianfang shengjiao* 天方聖教 "The Sacred Islamic Teachings" is included in Liu Zhi's work. A biography of Ding, penned by Lin Lu 林璐, is included in *juan* 4 of Zhang Chao's 張潮 (1650-1707) anthology *Yuchu xinzhi* 虞初新志 ("New Tales of Yuchu"). Ding's first description in that biography is "His ancestors worshipped Islam, and abstained from wine, but Yaoyuan [i.e., Ding Peng] was fond of wine." (*shifeng tianfang jiao, jie yinjiu, er yaoyuan gu shijiu* 世奉天方教，戒飲酒，而藥園顧嗜酒). *Yuchu xinzhi* 虞初新志 [New Tales of Yuchu], 63.

66. It seems that Zhang refers here to descendants of Muslims.

learning (*jingxue* 經學). Many only praise it as the "Western land of ultimate bliss."[67] Hence, I selected here a number of passages in order bring to the attention of learned people in the world (*tianxia dazhe* 天下達者) the nobleness of the Pure and True School that lies above all other schools. Its principles are the deepest and most precise, and its Way is the most correct and solemn. Moreover, it is an obligation to distribute its scriptures and their commentaries (*jingzhuan* 經傳) to whoever is interested without cessation."[68]

當日西遊之名公鉅卿不能取其至理經學一表彰之，茀多為頌說以形其西方極樂世界焉，予故採輯數語，使天下達者知清真一教獨高，出諸家之上，至其理至精深，道之正大，又當據其經傳與有志者相求於無盡焉。

Similarly to Zhang Xin's preface, Zhan Yingpeng's epilogue to his work, titled *Qunshu huiji shiyi* 群書匯輯釋疑 "An Anthology of Works to Eliminate the Doubts", provides a glimpse into the contents of this lost work. Zhan explained that his work is, in fact, a collection of references to different aspects of the Islamicate world (*Tianfang zhuguo* 天房諸國) which he discovered in various texts. His motivation to compile this work comes out from a need to explain the basics of Islamic theology, which is described in Chinese sources, yet "awaits to be clarified":[69]

I have surveyed [the works], and discovered the marvels of the Islamicate lands in front of my eyes. Some can be described in words, and others cannot. There are things that are described in words and do not leave room for doubt. There are things that are described in words and await to be clarified, and begin to be acknowledged as so. Thus the purity of local customs, the variety of local products, the beauty of the mosques, the honesty of people's emotions, the moderation of their weather, as well as the wide spread of their teachings throughout the countries, the uniqueness of the Prophet's divinity (*zhisheng shenling* 至聖神靈), and their religious laws regarding commanding right and forbidding wrong, all of these things can be described in words and do not leave room for doubts. How their most perfect Way is precise and subtle, however, cannot be described in words. Hence, I will not attempt to say here what has not been said, only what can be said, and awaits to be clarified.

披覽之下， 遂覺天房諸國勝境儼在目前，雖然有言之能及者焉，有言之未能及者焉。有言之所及，而無可疑者焉。有言之所及，猶必俟申明之而始知其所以然者焉. 若所云風俗之純，物產之異，寺宇之美，人情之誠樸，氣候之中和，以及夫諸國遵教之廣遠，至聖神靈之迥異，教規之崇正而黜邪，皆其言之能及而無可疑者也。至道之所以精所以微，則未有能言者。吾茲且不言其所未言。第即其言之所及，而必俟申明者一言之。[70]

The wish to introduce the merits of Islamic theology to both Muslim and non-Muslim Chinese readers became a strong motivation that seems to overcome the

67. A central term in Buddhist cosmology. The writer seems to use the term here to describe the decline in the knowledge of Islam in China.

68. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:356.

69. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:356-358.

70. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:356.

philological interests that stood at the foundation of Hu Dengzhou's program. The second half of the 17th century saw numerous publications in Chinese, whose main objective was to expound on the foundations of Islamic theology, and make it relevant to the contemporary discourse on the natural world and morality. To that end, Confucian terminology took the lead over Islamic concepts. Occasionally a transliteration of Arabo-Persian would be introduced, just to be followed by a Chinese term. Chinese eloquence (*wen* 文), which had not been a central part in the curriculum of the Chinese Islamic education network, became a key criterion in the evaluation of works of the new genre. Literati, those who mastered the pen, dominated the new ranks of Chinese-Islamic scholars. The use of original Arabo-Persian texts—the most fundamental aspect of Hu Dengzhou's program—gradually became less accentuated in the new works in Chinese. Even references to Arabo-Persian works would be confined to the two characters *jingyun* 經云 ("The scripture mentioned"), without providing any additional identification of the work. Names of people and places would be presented in a most abbreviated way, or even totally ignored.

Wang Daiyu 王岱輿 was one of the early authors of this new genre, and is often trumpeted in current literature as its originator.[71] He was born into a family of Muslim descent in Nanjing, and his ancestors were among the Arabo-Persian astronomers recruited by the first emperor of the Ming. In his early life, Wang claimed not to have acquired any education, and to have begun studying only at a later age. Not long after, he became fascinated with the study of the natural world and history—an interest that drew him close to Arabo-Persian scholarship. He exerted much effort in obtaining relevant Arabo-Persian texts and summarizing for himself the key ideas on the natural world. Wang himself admitted that after delving for few years into Arabo-Persian works, he filled his notebooks with theories and ideas, later to be edited into fourteen chapters. These notes, if published, Wang thought, could be of interest to the wider public. Therefore, Wang did his best to circulate his notes among scholars, and finally have them published. When the Manchu armies reached the city of Nanjing in 1645, Wang fled to the still-intact Ming capital, Beijing.[72] There he engaged in theological discussions with local literati and Buddhist scholars.

Between 1642 and 1658, Wang published three works: *Qingzhen daxue* 清真大學 ("The Pure and True Great Learning," pub. ca. 1642)[73], *Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 ("True Commentary of the Correct Teaching," pub. ca. 1642), and *Xizhen zhengda* 希真正答 ("Correct Answers to the Rare Truth," pub. 1658). These works focused on theological questions, and provided comparisons between the answers that Islamic

71. On Wang Daiyu's biography, see Leslie 1986, 117; Murata 2000, 19 and passim; Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 134-137; Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 916-919.

72. Murata 2000, 21.

73. The date 1642 is based on the date that appears in one of the prefaces to the work—the 15th year of the Chongzhen 崇禎 reign [1642 AD]—as well as on a statement of another preface to the work, which is dated to the 14th year of the Shunzhi 順治 reign (1657), and suggests that the Shunzhi edition is a reprint of an earlier edition. Both prefaces are included in the 1801 and 1873 editions. See *Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 [The True Interpretation of the Correct Teachings]. Murata analyzed the work and provided a translation of segments of it, see Murata 2000, 48-68.

theology provides and those provided by other teachings. These works were an early attempt to reconcile Islamic theology with China's Neo-Confucian cosmological theories, and conceptualize the divine and the natural world.

His first work, *Qingzhen daxue*, was dedicated to the discussion of God (whom Wang called *Zhenyi* 真一, lit., "the True and One"[74]), its attributes and its manifestations in nature. In his preface, he provided the following description of the work and its objectives, and in a similar manner to Song philosophers he linked the cosmological framework (in his case, God and its manifestations) to a moral program:

> Reflecting upon this Great Learning, [we see that] the moral principle [*yili* 義理] is refined and detailed. It reaches directly to the root origin, specifically clarifying the Real One, manifesting the light of clarity of the true Tao, and stamping out the mistakes and errors of the heretics. In its quietude, its rests in the bosom; in its function, it fills the universe. It penetrates find dust, yet it is not tiny; it encloses heaven and earth yet it is not vast.[75]
>
> 參茲大學，義理精詳，直達本原，特明真一，顯正道之光明，驅異端之訛謬，靜則具於胸中，用則彌於宇宙貫微塵而不細，括天地而不廣.

Qingzhen daxue is organized in a way that provides a systematic survey of Wang's cosmological model and defines the fundamental concepts used by Wang to construct the model. Wang defines the divine and the natural world by sets of trichotomous relations that connect the ontological with epistemological. The Divine is defined by the concepts of *zhenyi* 真一 ("The Pure One" or "the Real One"), *shuyi* 數一 ("The Numerical One"), and *tiyi* 體一 "The Embodied One"). The first refers the ontological state of God as the creator of the universe; the second corresponds to the manifestation of the divine in the principles of the natural world; and the third defines it from the perspective of human experience of the divine.[76] These definitions were further developed in Wang's other works, and were adopted by other Arabo-Persian scholars writing in Chinese.

Wang's *Zhengjiao zhenquan* was organized in an encyclopedic fashion, providing succinct explanations of cosmological concepts, and aspects of moral conduct and Islamic praxis followed by succinct explanation. The discussion is substantiated by quotations from Chinese encyclopedias and reference books such as Ma Huan's 馬歡 *Yingyai Shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽 ("Descriptions of Seas and Shores," a description of the Zheng He's world voyages), Lang Ying's 郎瑛 *Qixiu leigao* 七修類稿 ("Manuscript Divided into Seven Categories") , and Liu Zhongda's 劉仲達 *Liushi hongshu* 劉氏鴻書 ("The Comprehensive Work of Mr. Liu"). In contrast to *Qingzhen daxue*, this work seems to target the amateur reader.

While Arabo-Persian philology, such as that applied by the Islamic education network, was based on a systematic study of language and a corpus of texts, the new genre of Chinese writing was far more independent. The individual author could choose his terminology, and define concepts and theories without any need to provide

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74. In her translation of *Qingzhen daxue*, Murata translated *zhenyi* 真一 as the Real One, and contrasts it with the other two attributes of the divine manifestation *shuyi* 數一 "Numerical One," and *tiyi* 體一 the "Embodied One". See Murata 2000, 73-77.

75. I use here Murata's translation with some modifications. Murata 2000, 81.

76. Yang Huaizhong and Yu Zhen'gui 1995, 395.

textual or linguistic evidence. As such, the new genre of literature generated heated debates among Chinese Islamic scholars on the accuracy of such works. An example for this debate is visible in the following criticism that Wang Daiyu included in his *Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 ("True Commentary of the Correct Teaching," pub. ca. 1642):

> That which is called "The Alterations of Truth" throws sand in peoples' eyes, replaces right with wrong, and makes confusion. It constitutes a heresy to our Way. On the surface, it uses the name of the True Teachings, but deep down it plays with empty and dark principles. It alters correct with erroneous, makes not distinction between good and evil, and disregard differences. It goes by people's desires, and brings together all types of principles, so as to make all teachings a single school. Yet there are only few who possess profound insight and true knowledge, and many who falsely claim to have knowledge. For an outsider, the more contaminated [the teaching], the deeper it seems. These are enchantments that cannot be ruled, so heart-breaking. Some, who have crude knowledge of Confucian scholarship (*hanxue* 漢學) and limited understanding of the main ideas of the scriptures (*jingzhi* 經旨), circulate their commentaries in the world. All are superficial words and shallow instructions, no more than self-cultivation. Others, do not have knowledge of either (i.e. of Confucian learning nor of Islamic scriptures). They recklessly compile texts of mere hearsay. An example for such is *Shengmi zhenyuan* (省迷真原). When looking at that work, anyone would scoff at it. The author has no sense of shame. Isn't that an insult to the perfect Way of the Pure and True [Teachings]? Uncomplicated works are not worse than shallow ones. As long as they are corrected, what harm is to their recklessness. An author can immediately recognize it, yet he seems not to able to discuss it. Just like clouds that shadow sunlight, yet after a while will disperse of its self, what harm is there then to brightness? But I am afraid that those who excel in [Chinese] literary composition yet possess little knowledge on the meanings of the scriptures (*jingyi* 經義). Even if they are highly intelligent, they, alas, had not proper instruction, and hence they use heretic ideas and create confusion in the Pure and True [Teachings]. Although it is fake, it uses skillful tricks to capture peoples' hearts and minds. It is the most damnable [attitude towards] the Pure and True [Teachings], and the righteous person should deeply avoid it. An example for such is *Zhengzhu mojie* 證主默解 ("Implicit Explanation of the Attestation of God").[77]
>
> 所謂易真者,若播糠昧目,皂白不分,上下四方,自然易位。茲緣吾道之異端,外托正教之名,而內演空玄之理,以訛易正,涇渭不分,合同異,隨人之所欲,統眾理, 諸教為一家。但灼見真知者少,以耳為見者多。若門外漢目之,則愈染愈深,迷不可治,良可悲也。或有粗知漢學而稍習經旨者,間亦註書於世,無非膚語淺訓,不過修身而已。或有兩不相通,惟以道聽塗說,妄自纂而成編者,若《省迷真原》是也。觀之莫不竊笑,作者竟不知恥,豈不有辱清真之至道哉。然淺近者無害於淺,但得其正,何妨其妄,作者一覽便知,猶不足論。譬如雲掩日光,頃之自散,何害於明。 惟恐精於文翰而鮮知經義者,縱然性資明達,惜乎未經正指,遂以異端之學,攪亂清真, 雖然似是而非,但其巧媚能奪人之心志,此清真之最惡,正人之深忌者也。若《証主默解》是也。

77. *Zhengjiao zhenquan*, 16:74-75.

Tens of treatises on Islamic theology, Islamic jurisprudence, mysticism and additional themes were published during the second half of the 17th century and the first decades of the eighteenth century (see Table 2). Interestingly, the transition between the Ming and the Qing and the socio-political upheaval it entailed did not have a negative effect on the publication of texts on Islamic themes. The breakdown of this genre came around the late 1720s and 1730s when the Yongzheng emperor consolidated his rule, and official policies began to associate Arabo-Persian scholarship with heterodoxy and subversive activities.[78]

Wang's cosmological model continued to play an important role in the writings of Arabo-Persian scholars in the seventeenth century. Ma Zhu 馬注 (1640-1711), a scholar who originated not from the Jiangnan region but rather from Yunnan at the South-East edge of the Chinese empire, expanded Wang's model in his *Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南 "Compass to Islam" (pub. 1683).[79] In his work, Ma made an honest attempt to present Arabo-Persian theology through the prism of the contemporary Chinese discourse on epistemology. He attempted to reconcile the apparent contradictions between the traditional Neo-Confucian cosmological model and Islamic theology by asserting that the Islamic God, in his capacity as the creator, came before, and generated the primordial pair of *Taiji* 太極 (lit., "the Supreme Ultimate") and *Wuji* 無極 (lit., "the Non-Finite").[80] In addition, he framed his cosmological discussion in categories that resonate with the philosophical foci of his time, such as *qiongli* 窮理 ("the Exhaustive [Study] of the Principles"] and *gewu* 格物 ["the Ordering of Things"].

Table 3: Titles of Chinese works on Islamic themes circulated in the late 17th and early 18th centuries

Date	Theme	Title	Author
1634	Intro to Islam	*Qingzhen jiaokao* 清真教考 "An Examination of the Pure and True Teachings" (only preface survived)	Zhang Xin 张忻 (1590-1658)
1636	History	*Qunshu huiji shiyi* 群書匯輯釋疑 "An Anthology of Works to Eliminatie the Doubts" (only epilogue survived)	Zhan Yingpeng 詹應鹏 (1572-1653)
Late Ming	Theology	*Zhengjiao yaoce* 正教要冊 "Essence of the True Teaching"	Yang Xiangyu 楊祥宇 (zi Yingrui 應瑞), a late Ming general and a member of Beijing Niujie (mentioned in Niujie Gazetteer)

78. On that subject, see Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

79. On the biography of Ma Zhu, see Ben-Dor Benite 2005, 137-142; Jianxiong 2013.

80. Wain 2016, 35.

?	Theology	*Shengmi zhenyuan* 省迷真原 ("The True Origin ofs Self-Awakening")	? (mentioned by Wang Daiyu)
ca. 1642	Theology	*Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 "True Commentary of the Correct Teaching")	Wang Daiyu 王岱輿
ca. 1642	Theology	*Qingzhen daxue* 清真大學 ("The Pure and True Great Learning"	Wang Daiyu 王岱輿
ca. 1642	Theology	*Zhenquan yaolu* 真詮要錄 "A Summary of the True Commentary"	Wang Daiyu's 王岱輿, Ma Anli 馬安禮 (ed.)
1658	Theology	*Xizhen zhengda* 希真正答 "Correct Answers to the Rare Truth"	Wang Daiyu's 王岱輿, Wu Liancheng 伍連城 (ed.)
1660s	History	*Jingxue xichuan pu* 經學係傳譜 "The Genealogy of the Transmission of Textual Learning"	Zhao Can 趙燦 (1662-1722)
1661	Theology	*Renji xingwu* 認己省悟 "The Realization of Self-Recognition"	Ma Minglong 馬明龍 (1596-1678)
Kangxi Period (1661-1722	?	*Zhengjiao yulu* 正教語錄 "Records of Discussions on the Correct Teachings"	Ma Longbo 馬龍伯 a Kangxi period official and a member of Beijing Niujie. (mentioned in Niujie Gazetteer)
Kangxi reign	?	*Zhengjiao yulu* 正教語錄	Ma Longbo 馬龍伯
1670s	Theology	*Zhisheng zan* 至聖讚 "A Eulogy to the Most Revered"	Ma Zhu 馬注 (1640-1711)
1670s	Fiqh	*Tianfang weizhen yaolüe* 天方衛真要略	Ma Junshi 馬君實 (1628-1690)
1683	Theology	*Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南 "Compass to Islam"	Ma Zhu 馬注 (1640-1711)
ca. 1660s-1680s	Intro to Islam	*Tianfang shengjiao* 天方聖教 "The Sacred Islamic Teachings" (only preface survived)	Ding Peng 丁澎 (1622- 1686)
1691	Jurisprudence	*Jiaokuan weilun* 教款微論 "Discussions on the Subtleties of Religious Law"s	Mi Wanji 米萬濟
?	Intro o Islam	*Qingzhen jiaoshuo* 清真教說 *"Exposition on The Pure and True Teachings"*	Liu Sanjie 劉三傑

1710	Theology	*Wugong shiyi* 五功釋義 "Exposition on the Five Merits"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1710	Mysticism	*Tianfang zimu jieyi* 天方字母解義 "Expalanation of the meanings of Arabo-Persian Letters"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1700s	Pedagogy	*Tianfang sanzi youyi jieyi* 天方三字幼義 "The Three-Character of Islam For Children" also known as *Tianfang sanzijing* 天方三字經 "The Islamic Three Character Classic"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1700s	Pedagogy	*Wujing yue* 五更月 "The Five Phases of the Moon"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1704	Theology	*Tianfang Xingli* 天方性理 "On the Principles of Nature in Islam"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1710	Jurisprudence	*Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 "Selected Commentaries on Islamic Rituals"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1710s	Theology	*Xingli benjing zhushi* 性理本經注釋 "A Commentary on the Core Part of Principles of Nature"	Hei Mingfeng 黑鳴鳳 (1673-)
1720	Theology	*Qingzhen jiaokao* 清真教考 "An Examination of The Pure and True Teachings"	Sun kean 孫可庵
1738	Jurisprudence	*Qingzhen shiyi* 清真釋疑 ('Explanations to Questions on Islam')	Jin Tianzhu 金天柱 (ca. 1700-1795)
1739-1795	Poetry	*Shengzan shilüe* 聖讚詩略 "An Abridged Version of the Euglogy of the Prophet	Ma Yongnian 馬永年 (fl. Qianlong period)
1790s	Praxis	*Zhen'gong fawei* 真功發微	Yu Haozhou 余浩州

As Table 3 shows, between the 1630s and the mid-eighteenth century dozens of works that aimed to present Islamic theology, jurisprudence and praxis to Chinese readers circulated throughout China. If translations of Arabo-Persian texts sought to present to the Chinese scholarly community Islamic knowledge as it was represented in Arabic and Persian works, original works in Chinese made honest attempts to reconcile the differences between the traditional Chinese cosmological models and those proposed by Arabo-Persian texts, and to introduce their syntheses to the contemporary scholarly discourse in China.

5. Phase III: Appropriating China's Philological Methods: Liu Zhi and the Pinnacle of Chinese-Islamic Scholarship

By the second half of the seventeenth century winds of scholarly skepticism swept through China's learned societies. This new trend was in part an elaborate attempt to resurrect classical learning in the post-Wang Yangming period by developing a more analytical framework of textual investigation. A number of pioneering works, including Hu Wei's 胡渭 (1633-1714) *Yitu mingbian* 易圖明辨 ("Study of the Diagrams in the 'Book of Changes'"), paved the way for a critical re-evaluation of the Confucian canon.[81] In contrast to Wang Yangming's re-evaluation of the status of the classical canon as a whole and of the role of texts as epistemological devices, this new scholarship did not challenge the epistemological status of the classics, but rather focused on the issues of authenticity and provenance of specific versions of the classical texts.

These scholarly winds were not overlooked by Arabo-Persian scholars, some of whom attempted to apply the new methodologies to their investigation of Arabo-Persian texts and ideas. The works of Liu Zhi 劉智, one of the most celebrated Arabo-Persian scholars who was active in the metropolitan area of Nanjing during the Kangxi period, are an example of an attempt to apply the tools of contemporary philology to Arabo-Persian scholarship. Liu's various works covered a wide spectrum of themes from mysticism to Islamic jurisprudence and theology, and as bibliographies he attached to two of his works indicated, he made use of a considerably long list of Arabic and Persian texts.[82] Liu Zhi's philology included searches for lost texts in libraries throughout China, and their critical analyses. In a fashion that closely resembled his contemporaries, Liu Zhi's scholarship was attentive to the subtleties of textual transmission, including the issue of translation between languages, devices for textual analysis, and paleography.

Liu Zhi was born into a Muslim literati family in Jiangning 江寧 (in today's Nanjing). His father, Liu Sanjie 劉三傑 was an Arabo-Persian scholar[83] and an author of a short work in Chinese titled *Qingzhen jiaoshuo* 清真教說 ("Theories regarding the Pure and True Teachings").[84] In an autobiographical preface he attached to his mag-

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81. Yan Ruoqu's 閻若璩 (1636-1704) *Shangshu guwen shuzheng* 尚書古文疏證 ("Investigation of the Old and New Versions of the 'Book of Documents'") is often considered to be one of the first works to conduct a critical investigation of the Book of Documents. The work, however, was published only in 1745. Its circulation in manuscript form, or Yan's oral teachings might have circulated during his life time.

82. These two bibliographies serve as an important component in the reconstruction of the Arabo-Persian archive of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Appendix 2 for the specific works included in these lists.

83. Liu Sanjie's congratulatory words are included in the printed edition of Ma Zhu's 馬注 *Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南 ("Compass to Islam," published 1683). The text refers to Liu as "a widely-read scholar from Shangyuan county [in Nanjing]" (*Shangyuan guangxue* 上元廣學). *Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南 [The Navigator of Islam], 16:515.

84. The work is included in the printed edition of Liu Zhi's *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:356-360.

num opus *Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu Nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 ("Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered," abbreviated hereafter as *TFZZSL*), completed between 1721 and 1724, towards the end of his life, but not circulated in print until 1778, Liu described his scholarly track and his acquaintance with various Chinese literatures. He wrote:

> Compiling books is not easy. When I was fifteen I wished to pursue education, and hence for [the next] eight years I widely read the Confucian classics, histories, philosophers and miscellanea, as well as the books of the other schools. I spent another six years in studying Arabo-Persian scriptures [*Tianfang jing* 天方經], three years reading the Buddhist Compendium and then another year the Daoist Compendium. The Daoist Compendium, however, lacks any substance. Thereafter I proceeded to read Western books (*Xiyang shu* 西洋書), 137 of them in total. I gained competence in the [thought] of various schools, yet set my mind on Arabo-Persian scholarship (*Tianfang zhi xue* 天方之學).[85]
>
> 著書至不易也，予年十五而志于學，八年膏晷而儒者之經史子集及襍家之書閱遍，又六年讀天方經，又三年閱釋藏，竟又一年閱道藏，竟道臧無物也，繼而閱西洋書一百三十七種，會通諸家，而折衷于天方之學.

Liu Zhi produced a considerable number of works, including translations of Persian texts such as ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 1492) *Lawāʾiḥ* (the Chinese translation was published in the early 1700s under the title *Zhenjing zhaowei* 真境昭微 "Illuminating the Subtleties of the Realm of Truth") and a translation of Saʻīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Masʻūd b. Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī's (d. 1357 AD) biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, titled *Tarjumah-i mawlūd-i Muṣṭafá* (known in Chinese under the title *Tianfang zhisheng shilu nianpu*). Liu's works *Tianfang Xingli* 天方性理 "On the Principles of Nature in Islam," *Wugong shiyi* 五功釋義 ("Explaining the Meaning of the Five Merits"), and the short verse treatise *Wugeng yue* 五更月("The Five Lunar Phases") synthesized various Arabic and Persian texts to summarize for the Chinese reader Arabo-Persian cosmological theories and connect them to Islamic praxis. In his three works, *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 "Selected Commentaries on Islamic Rituals",[86] and *Tianfang sanzijing* 天方三字經 ("The Three-Character Classic of Islam"), Liu expounded the foundations of Islamic substantive law and praxis. His work *Tianfang zimu jieyi* 天方字母解義 ("Explanation of the Meaning of Arabo-Persian Letters"), which he published in 1710, attempted to provide a paleographical study of the Arabo-Persian alphabet.

Following the philological path of Hu Dengzhou and his disciples, Liu Zhi wished to expound Arabo-Persian knowledge and make it accessible to ordinary Muslim and non-Muslim Chinese readers (CH. *chan tianfang zhi xue yi xiao zhongren* 闡天方之學以曉中人). For that end, he embarked on a country-wide search for Arabic and Persian texts that could substantiate his studies with textual evidence (CH. *kaowen wenzi* 考文問字).[87] His preface to his work the *TFZZSL*, titled *Zhushu shu* 著書述 ("De-

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85. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu, 14:40.*

86. For a study of this work, see Frankel 2011. This is also the only work of Arabo-Persian scholarship that was admitted into the imperial bibliographical project, known as *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 "Complete Collection of the Four Treasures" completed in 1782).

87. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu, 14:40.*

scription of the compilation of this work"), includes an invaluable description of the scattered nature of the Arabic and Persian texts throughout China, and provides a glimpse into the philological work of Arabo-Persian scholars in the early eighteenth century.[88] Interestingly, Arabo-Persian manuscripts were spread in private collections throughout China, and not concentrated in one region even as late as the eighteenth century. While the compilation of most of the Chinese language studies of Arabo-Persian knowledge took place in the Jiangnan metropolitan area, a true philologist, such as Liu Zhi, was required to tour libraries throughout China in order to find required sources for his work.

Liu Zhi's original motivation, as he put it, was to compile a work on the what he called "the conjunction of the 'Three Extremes'" (*sanji* 三極會; the 'Three Extremes' are Heaven, Earth and Man). To that end, he made a great effort to locate the available literature on the theme in various bookstores, yet was highly dissatisfied with what he found as most of the the discussions were "old, decayed and lack of substance" (*yan duo chenfu wushi* 言多陳腐無實). Arabo-Persian works, he suggested, were not available in these stores. This situation motivated him to search for Arabo-Persian texts in private libraries across the country. Although a work with this title is not known to have been compiled by Liu Zhi, it might refer to his work *Tianfang xingli* that discusses the principles of the universe and their manifestation in the interaction between Heaven, Earth and Man. In any case, Liu Zhi's description of his serendipitous visits to several of these libraries reveals a hidden China overrun by a full-fledged network of Arabo-Persian texts' owners and wandering readers.

Liu Zhi's preface provides a glimpse into the work of Arabo-Persian philologists in the early eighteenth century. While the traditional methods of copying manuscripts, comparing versions, introduced by Hu Dengzhou and his disciples, were still part of the game, new methods of textual analysis and translation became by that period an integral part of the philologist's work. Liu provided vivid descriptions of the hardship that his work entailed:

> Only when my ambitious mind was challenged by difficulties, and my muscles and bones were weary, I knew that I arrived [at my aim]....it has been three years since I first held up the pen in the second month of 1721 and until today, the first month of 1724. I have changed ten locations, and travelled thousand miles across the country. I had made three drafts before I saw my small achievement...it was difficult to study it, and even more to translate it; it was difficult to make it into a work, and even more to complete it; it was difficult to master the various schools of teaching and yet display originality, and even more to singlehandedly orchestrate hundred tasks without assistance.[89]
>
> 心志之苦，筋骨之勞，可謂至矣...計自辛丑二月發筆，迄今甲辰正月，三易春秋，十更居處，南北星霜數千里，三脫稾乃見小成...難于其學，複難于翻譯；難于編著，複難于成。難于會通百氏而成一家之言，複難于以一人經理百務而無相爲友。

Liu Zhi's works demonstrate meticulous methods of textual analysis and translation, and a critical view of knowledge transmission. Liu used this critical philology, so its seems, in order to comply with contemporary critical methods of textual analysis

88. For Liu Zhi's preface to his TFZSSL, see *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:40-42.

89. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:41.

carried out by some scholars in the Jiangnan region. At the same time, he wished to demonstrate his high standards of scholarship, and provide his readers with a reliable and readable work. The "Preliminary Notes" (*Fanli* 凡例) Liu Zhi appended to several of his works attest to the meticulous methodologies he applied in his scholarship. These notes provide a detailed description of the editorial and analytical methods applied in the work, as well as his thoughts regarding methods of translation. The principles listed in these notes demonstrate how Liu Zhi posed to himself questions regarding the way to carry out philological studies in which the archive and the presentation of the study are written in different languages, and what type sufficient attestation is required to justify the authenticity of a specific text or factual information.

In his *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 "Selected Commentaries on Islamic Rituals" (pub. 1710), for example, Liu Zhi summarized what he found to be important information from works on Islamic jurisprudence and other Arabo-Persian texts. His selection, analysis and presentation in Chinese of aspects Islamic law applied various types of methods, as he explained in the *Preliminary Notes* for that work:

> Originally there are comprehensive anthologies for [Islamic] Ritual Law (*lifa* 禮法). I have selected only a tenth of a percent of the great volume of these works. In order to facilitate the reading, I have laid out the main principles, summarized their most important aspects, and provided explanations. For further details, look at the anthologies; in order to understand their guiding principles (li 理), look at works on the principles of nature (*xingli* 性理).
>
> The components of this work are: the main text (*zhengwen* 正文), explanation (*jie* 解), major commentaries (*dazhu* 大註), minor commentaries (*xiaozhu* 小註), real meanings (*shiyi* 實義), expanded meanings (*guangyi* 廣義), evidential investigations (*kaozheng* 考證), collection of references (*jilan* 集覽), questions/answers (*wenda* 問答), and additional discussions (*fulun* 附論). In collections of references and evidential investigations, I [quote] mainly from scholarly (literature, *ruzhe zhi yu* 儒者之語); in all other sections I quote from various Arabo-Persian scriptures and commentaries (*Tianfang ge jingzhuan* 天方各經傳). I dared not interpolate my own thoughts in these parts.[90]
>
> 禮法原有全書因其浩繁特擇什百之一二，提其大綱，提其緊要，詳其註解，便於讀也。欲求其細，於全書問之，欲悉其理，於性理書求之。
>
> 書有正文，有解，有大註，有小註，有實義，有廣義，有考證, 有集覽，有問答，有附論，集覽考證多儒者之語，餘皆天方各經傳中采輯而成，非敢以私意穿鑿參雜其中也

Arabo-Persian knowledge was derived from multiple sources, some of which had higher credibility than others. Traditional Islamic scholarship used the system of *isnād* (<AR. "ascription") to record chains of transmission of specific traditions or legal doctrines, and thereby to evaluate their authenticity and validity. In many cases, Liu Zhi decided to ignore the *isnād* of the traditions he recorded. In some cases, he would add an abbreviated name of the source of that tradition. In other cases, he would make do with stating whether it was a direct quotation from the Qur'an (he used the two characters *jingyue* 經曰 "the scripture says" to indicate Quranic passages), or from a Ḥadīth collection (*shengyu yue* 聖諭曰, lit., "the holy rescripts say"). The following passasge from his *Notes* to *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* gives three categories of Arabo-Per-

90. *Tianfang xingli*, 15:57.

sian sources: transmitted scriptures (CH. *chuanshu* 傳述, these seem to include the long list of works in his bibliography), popular traditions of Chinese Muslims (CH. *minsu* 民俗), and etymologies of Arabo-Persian term:

> I have employed the phrases "it is said in the scriptures," "it is said in a proverb," and "it is said in Arabo-Persian" throughout the book. All the references are to Arabo-Persian sayings. [Quotations of] the scriptures are taken from the transmitted tradition, [quotations of] proverbs are taken from popular traditions. [The term] "Arabo-Persian" (CH. Tianfang 天方) is abbreviated.[91]
>
> 書中有語云諺云方云等，皆天方語諺也，語出於傳述，諺出於民俗，方即天方不云天字省文也。

Liu's endeavor to translate Prophet Muḥammad's biography required methodological considerations regarding the historicity of the narrative. Al-Kāzarūnī's original narrative was abundant in descriptions of the prophets' supernatural attributes. As a philologist, Liu Zhi had to find ways to negotiate between an adherence to the original text and its presentation as miraculous and timeless events, and his wish to provide readers with reliable history of the prophet.[92] In his other works, Liu mainly concentrated on expounding the timeless and metaphysical principles of the natural world, and hence was not required to engage in an elaborate evaluation of traditions. It was only in this biography of the prophet—Liu Zhi's only known treatise to deal with history —that such methodological problems occurred. He described this problem in his *Preliminary Notes* attached to *TFZZSL*:

> These *Records* [i.e., the work "Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered," *TFZZSL*] are [a work of] historiography [*shi* 史]. Historiography uses clear and reliable evidence to investigate the past. This work synthesizes 'Miscellaneous accounts' [*Zazhuan* 雜傳] and fiction [*Xiaoshuo* 小說].[93] The biography passes over discussions of rarities and extraordinary things. I have also ignored any miraculous deeds of the prophets [*shengren ganying shenqi* 聖人感應神奇] that cannot comply with (Arabo-Persian) teachings (*jiaojie* 教戒). The sayings, laws and lessons of the most revered [i.e., Prophet Muḥammad] are excluded from this biography, and are recorded in an additional work.

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91. *Tianfang xingli*, 15:57.

92. The question of the historiocity of classical literature occupied non-Muslim Chinese philologists as well. Zhang Xuecheng's 章學誠 (1738–1801) famous aphorism "all Six Classics are history" (*Liujing jie shi* 六經皆史), pointing out to the requirement to read the Confucian canon through an historicizing lens, is a famous case of similar scholarly concern.

93. *Zachuan* 雜傳 and *Xiaoshuo* 小說 are names of two literary genres. The former refers to a genre of historiographical writing composed outside the official histories, the latter is often translated as "novel" or "fiction," and refers to narrative prose. On these genres, see Xiong Ming 熊明 2004; Berg 2003, 178-179.

是錄即史也，史以昭信徵往察來，其有雜傳小說，希異不經之談，悉置弗錄，其有聖人感應神奇，非可為教戒者，亦弗錄，至聖人所說經律教典，另有分著，不載錄中。

While his non-Muslim contemporaries applied in their scholarship various methods to assess the authenticity of Chinese texts, the different type of archive used by Liu Zhi made it impossible for him not to ignore aspects of translatability and methods of translation in his scholarship. The following passage demonstrates some of the problems that multi-lingual philology, such as that carried out by Arabo-Persian scholars in China, had to think over:

> This work comprises of Arabo-Persian saying, which I translated into Chinese and made into a literary text (*Hanyi chengwen* 漢譯成文). Within it there are words that can be translated, and words that cannot be translated. The narrative (*shushi* 述事) and the explanations of the principles (*jieli* 解理) can be translated. People's names and place names cannot be translated. Hence, the names of the prophets in the "Original Teaching" chapter, or the names of mountains and cities in the "Pilgrimage" chapters cannot be translated. At times the Chinese text cannot fully capture the [original] meanings. In such a case, both [translation to Chinese and transliteration of the original Arabo-Persian word] will be used together. For example, [the Arabo-Persian word] *mu'min* (CH. *mumin* 穆民) is a laudatory title for people of the Islamicae world (*Tianfang ren* 天方人). It can be translated as gentleman (*junzi* 君子), a trustful person (*xinshi* 信士), a submitted person (*shunzhe* 順者). All of these words do not depart from the meaning of *mu'min*.[94]
>
> 是書皆天方之語，用漢譯成文，其中有可譯者，有不可譯者，述事解理，其可譯者也，人名地名不可譯者也，如原教篇列聖之名，朝覲篇山市之名，皆不可譯，間有文不能盡所譯之義者，則兩存而互用之，如穆民，天方人之美稱也，或譯君子，或譯信士，或譯順者，皆不離穆民之義也。

The logic of translation and transliteration, according to Liu Zhi, lies in the fact that Chinese and Arabo-Persian texts differ in script and in sound, but share the common principles of the natural world. Translation (CH. *fanyi* 翻譯) can be made by transliterating into Chinese the original sounds (CH. *yuan qiwen* 原其文), or by representing in Chinese the meanings of the original words (CH. *yong qiyi* 用其義).[95]

One aspect of Liu Zhi's translation methodology was his frequent omission of embedded poetic verses. Poetic verses are a common literary device in Arabic and Persian texts, whose aim is to reiterate the meanings of the text through an appeal to aesthetics. In *TFZZSL*, where Liu had to deal with a great number of Persian verses embedded in the original text, he decided to avoid the difficulty of translating the verses into Chinese rhyme (CH. *fengyun* 風韻), and was content to convey their philosophical meaning in Chinese (CH. *yili* 義理). When the verses were too abstract and too difficult to understand in Chinese, Liu deliberately removed them all together.[96]

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94. *Tianfang xingli*, 15:57.

95. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:44.

96. This explanation is found Liu Zhi's notes to TFZZSL, where he wrote: "Historical

Calendars and the conversion of dates were another textual aspect that required Liu Zhi's methodological consideration. While in his works on cosmology and the principles of the natural world, Liu had to work out the explanation of terms and concepts, in his historiographical writing, conversion of dates and calendrical systems were an essential aspect of his presentation. In *TFZZSL*, he decided to provide multi-calendar dates for important events, such as the birth of Prophet Muḥammad or his migration from Mecca to Medina (AR. *hijrah*). The sources he had at his disposal for making such conversions are not identified, yet the results are rather stunning. Despite apparent errors in conversion between the calendars, Liu Zhi demonstrated here an honest attempt to reconcile different cultural systems. The birth of Muḥammad in 570 AD, for example, is dated in *TFZZSL* as following:

> The evening of 20th day, *Du-shan-bai* (<PE. *Dū shanbah* "Monday") of the first month of the Spring, *Le-bi-er ao-wo-li* (<AR. *Rabīʿ al-awwal*, the third month in the Islamic calendar, lit., "the First Spring") in the first year of the Fīl (<AR. *ʿām al-Fīl*, "the Year of the Elephant").[97] That date corresponds to the second month of the 42nd year to the reign of *Qi-shi-la e-nu-shi wang* (<PE. Kisrá Anūshīrwān, King Khosrow I, ruled 531-579); the second month of the 822nd year of the reign of *Xi-kan-de wang* (<AR. Iskandar, Alexander the Great, ruled 332-323 BC)[98]; and, the 13th day of the 11th month of the 12th year of the Datong 大同 period of the Liang 梁 dynasty [=546 AD), the night of the winter solstice.[99]
>
> 飛歷元年初春月，勒比而奧渥立，十二日，都閃白，夕，時為啟氏臘厄拏氏王四十二年二月，西刊德王八百二十二年二月，東土梁中大同丙寅十一月十三日冬至夜中。

In order to explain the difference in the dating systems, Liu Zhi provid-

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accounts [*shiduan* 史斷] or in the appraisal of historical events [*lunzan* 論贊] are often accompanied by old verses and poems. It is easier to convey the meaning of such utterances, than to adhere to their rhyme. In cases that it seems too abstract, I remove them." 凡史斷論贊 一從其舊歌頌詩章則或去或存，蓋翻譯一道，易于義理，難于風韻, 犯難則去之, 若涉勉強恐流浮泛. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:45.

97. The "year of the elephant" is a traditional Islamic dating of the prophet's year of birth. The name is derived from an Islamic tradition that recounts that in the year of the prophet's birth, Abrahah, the Christian ruler of Yemen, raided Mecca with an army with an elephant.

98. This system of numbering years is based on the "Seleucid era of Contracts" that was widely used in the Near East up to the sixth century AD, and continued to be used by the Nestorians and Yemenite Jews. The system takes year 313 BC as its first year. If indeed this is the system used by Liu Zhi, his calculation leads to 510 rather than 570. It is worth mentioning that this system is used in a colophon of one of the Torah scrolls copied in Kaifeng. According to that colophon the copying of the Torah scroll began in the year 1933 and concluded in 1937. These years correspond to 1620 and 1623 respectively. On the colophon, see Koegler 1805, 27-31; Leslie 1972, 20 and passim.

99. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:98.

ed in his *Notes* to *TFZZSL* a short description of the Geo-centric model and its consequences in terms of dating and time-measurement. He wrote:

> Time in the Islamicate world [*Tianfang* 天方] differs from time here [i.e., in China]. The reason for that is rooted in the spherical shape of the earth, and its static position. Heaven rotates above the earth. A single day is a single rotation. The [calendrical system] in the Islamicate world divides a single day into 24 hours. In the Chinese calendrical system, however, a single day is divided into 12 hours, each of which is then divided into two parts: *chu* 初 and *zheng* 正, and thus it sums up into 24 units as well. The sun progresses through all places. Mid-day is exactly the *Wu* 午 period, and mid-night is the *Zi* 子 period. The diameter [*yuanjing* 圓徑, seems to refer to the circumference] of the earth is 90,000 *li* [=ca. 30,000 mi]. The inhabited areas are always in half of the sphere, and constitute one quarter of the the entire earth. If the sphere is divided into four segments, the inhabited area occupies one segment. The length of this segments, from its seacoast in the extreme east to the seacoast in the extreme west, is 45,000 *li* [=ca. 15,000 mi]. Midway between the two extremes lies Arabia (*Tianfang* 天方). Hence, when the sun in the Extreme East [i.e., in China] is set as the *Wu* period, it is the dawn (*chushu* 初曙) in Arabia, and when it is the *You* 酉 period [5:00-7:00 p.m.] in the Extreme East, it is the *Wu* period in Arabia. When the sun in the Extreme East is set as the *Zi* period, it is sunset time in Arabia, and when it is *Mao* 卯 period [7:00-9:00 am] in the Extreme East, it is the *Zi* period in Arabia. This is the reason for the time difference between East and West. To that end, prophetic miracles (*shengren zhi ganying* 聖人之感應) recounted in the *Records*, such as "[making] the evening sun return to shine," or "the moon divide," or "darkening the day and enlightening the night" were not necessarily seen in China. Hence, [these events] are not recorded in the "Annals of Auspicious and Extraordinary Events" (*Xiangyi zhi* 祥異志),[100] but are recorded in the Western annals.[101]
>
> 天方時候與此處不同，蓋緣地體渾圓，常靜不動，天旋地上，一日一周。天方分一晝夜爲二十四時，中曆分一晝夜爲十二時，時分初正，亦二十四也，日行當各地，天正半晝爲午時，對天正半夜爲子時，地之圓徑九萬里，其建國居人處恒在圓體之半，爲地全體四分之一。蓋如剖瓜四瓣，而建國僅在一瓣上也。計此一瓣，自東極海岸至西極海岸四萬五千裏，兩極折中處則天方也。則日當東極午時爲天方之初曙，東極之酉時則天方之午時也。日當東極之子時爲天方之日夕，而東極之卯時則天方之子時也。此東西時刻之所以不同也。則凡《錄》中言聖人之感應，如"夕日返照"、"夜月中分"與"晝昏夜明"之類，不必此地人俱見之也。故"祥異志"所不載，而西志載之。

In his studies of the natural world, Liu Zhi employed texts from various sources, including Arabo-Persian texts, Chinese texts and the translated works of the Jesuits. In addition to his two bibliographies attached to *TFXL* and *TFDL*, he made reference in his works to Aleni's geographical treatise *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 ("An ac-

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100. The "Annals of Auspicious and Extraordinary Events" (*Xiangyi zhi* 祥異志) are records of unique and unusual natural phenomena encountered by local residents. These annals are usually a section in local gazetteers.

101. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:45-46.

count of Places not found in the Records' Offices" pub. 1623) *Zhuzi zhiyan* 朱子之言 ("The Sayings of Master Zhu [Xi]," seems to be an alternative title for the Song dynasty work *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 that assembled Zhu Xi's sayings), *Song Yichuan Zhuanyi* 宋伊川傳易 ("The Commentary on the *Book of Changes* of the Song Philosopher, Cheng Yi," seems to refer to the work *Yichuan yizhuan* 伊川傳易), as well as various encyclopedias and collectanae. As the above-mentioned examples demonstrate, Liu Zhi successfully synthesized Islamic, Chinese and European knowledge into a set of coherent descriptions of the various dimensions of the natural world, and applied various methods of textual analysis to meet the standards of critical philology that prevailed at the time in China.

6. Publish or Perish - Circulating Arabo-Persian Knowledge in Print

The transformation of Arabo-Persian scholarship in Chinese was more than just an alteration of language. It involved a shift in the medium as well. Manuscripts were an integral part of Hu Dengzhou's philological program, and a central feature of the wider Islamicate book culture. The introduction of printing to Arabo-Persian scholarship required extensive changes, with social, technological, methodological, and cultural consequences. While manuscripts were mainly a one-person production, printing required a much larger team of people, including authors, engravers, publishers, as well as sufficient funds to cover the costs of the production process. Methodological departures from manuscript-based scholarship included a new view of textual space, its layout and the presentation of the different textual layers (manuscripts included marginalia and interlinear glossing and markers, often added at different times and by different people). In addition, the introduction to printing had a significant cultural aspect, as it required a cultural deviation from the long-standing taboo on the use of printing technology throughout the Islamic world.

The difficult path of adapting manuscript culture to printed books comes to light statistically. The hardship in finding sponsors to facilitate printing had an adverse effect on the diffusion of Arabo-Persian scholarship. If the original thought of authors who sought the means to print their works was to widen readership, the eventual paucity in the number of printed works generates a wrong image of the scope and contents of Arabo-Persian texts. The limited number of printed editions is explicitly stated in document included in the 1874 printed edition of Liu Zhi's *Tianfang zhisheng shilu* (comp. 1724, first printed edition 1778). The document informs us that "Former generations compiled twenty odd works (*zhushu* 著書), out of which about ten were published, and about another ten have not been printed and distributed yet." It then goes on to list nineteen different titles that had been printed, and another ten that had not.[102] Interestingly, next to some of the titles of printed works, the list includes the locations of the woodblocks, implying that additional copies could be made by individual order. In the case of four titles, the list informs us that the works had had multiple editions. The blocks of seven of the nineteen printed works are said to be held in Jingkou 京口 (a neighborhood of Nanjing). The document ends by inviting people to contribute to the engraving of woodblocks as a merit of "guiding the deluded".[103]

In Muslim communities throughout the Islamicate world printing of books

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102. Liu Zhi 劉智 1874. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu (Qicheng tang edition)*. The original: 前輩先後著書二十餘種，已刊十餘，尚有十類種，未經刻傳，今將已刻未刻.

103. Liu Zhi 劉智 1874. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu (Qicheng tang edition)*. The original 謹

emerged in a rather late period in comparison to Europe and East Asia. As late as the first decades of the 19th century Muslim-owned printing presses were established in Iran,[104] Egypt,[105] the Ottoman Empire[106] and India.[107] The reason behind the late use of printing was not entirely technological, as Jews, Armenians and other minority groups had widely used printing in these regions from as early as the late 15th century (the brothers David and Samuel ibn Nahmias, Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 and printed in 1493 in Constantinople a four-volume edition of a Hebrew work on Jewish law).[108] The opposition to printing combined economic, religious and cultural factors which were able to form a strong structural barriers against it. Manuscript calligraphers and copyists aided by traditionalist scholars pointed out to the potential hazards to the authority of texts and traditional methodologies embedded in manuscript culture from the use of printing.[109]

As a result, the dissemination of knowledge in the Islamicate world was bound to a system of hand-made copies of texts. Scholars have pointed out to the obstructive nature of this form of circulation, and highlighted the profound impact of the in-

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告諸君子継復前人將來以付剖劂為渡世之迷津功光偉歟.

104. On the establishment of printing press in 1818 in Tabriz during the reign of Fatḥ-'Alī Shāh of the Qajar dynasty, and the introduction of printing to Iran, see Johannes Thomas Pieter de Bruijn and Ehsan Yarshater 2008, 430-446.

105. On 'Alī Mubārak's introduction of printing press to Egypt in mid-19th century, see Albin 1990.

106. İbrahim Müteferrika (1674–1745) received the permission of the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed III to establish a printing press in Istanbul. His first book was printed in 1729, followed by the production of multiple editions of a total of seventeen titles in the next decade. In 1742, Müteferrika's printing press was finally disbanded by Imperial order in 1742. Throughout this period Müteferrika was not allowed to print texts that were defined as Islamic, and his seventeen printed works comprised of texts on history, Turkish grammar and dictionaries, and works on geography and calendar. On that subject, see Sabev 1988.. Interestingly, the opposition to print the Quran, and books on Prophetic traditions, exegesis, Islamic theology, and Islamic jurisprudence can from among calligraphers, who saw a threat to their monopoly on manuscript production. They were the ones to persuade the local Islamic scholars (TR. *ulema*) to put their weight behind the opposition to the printing of Islamic works. Berkes 1964, 39-40.

107. An early attempt to introduce printing press in India took place in the 1670s by Bhimji Parekh. This attempt proved futile in light of strong economic, mechanical and cultural barriers. As in the Ottoman case, manuscripts copyists put up a strong opposition, and eventually contributed to the late arrival of printing to India. See Green 2010.

108. Kreiser 2001, 9. From as early as 1514, Arabic books were printed in Europe. Kreiser 2001, 11-12.

109. Ghaly 2009; Green 2010; Berkes 1964, 39-40.

troduction of printing during the 19th century on Islamic societies in terms of the dissemination of foreign ideas, modernization, and the construction of a modern public sphere.[110]

Printed books in late imperial China were an unrivaled medium for the dissemination of ideas and texts. A prosperous publishing scene developed in the Jiangnan region with extensions to all parts of China. Printing activities became an integral part in the lives of a large part of society. Mercantile enterprises mobilized raw material required for printing, and engaged in the sales of books; literati and other men of letters authored, edited, collated, and contributed prefaces; skillful engravers, printers and binders were trained in the arts of making books; and a large part of the public purchased printed novels, encyclopedias, manuals for the civil service examinations, and works on philosophy, history and the natural world. It is difficult to imagine that Arabo-Persian scholars, who lived in such an environment, were cut off from the vivid print culture of the time. Why, then, did it take almost a century before Arabo-Persian scholarship made use of printing to disseminate its texts and ideas?

Very few indications have been found that explain the reasons for the long delay in the application of printing to Arabo-Persian scholarship. We can assume that some of the objections to printing in other regions of the Islamicate world played also a role in the case of China. Similar to the fears in other parts of the world, the intermediacy of an artisan in the process of producing a printed book might have prompted worries among China's Arabo-Persian philologists of potential textual corruption and inaccuracies in printed texts. Moreover, the pedagogical effects of copying texts, and the relative ease by which anyone could get access to printed texts might have also contributed to the reluctance to print Arabo-Persian texts. These fears were eventually overcome in light of the effectiveness of printing in producing texts in larger quantities, and its efficiency in widening readership. These pro and con's of printing are voiced in the following late-nineteenth century preface to one of the earliest printed editions of the Qur'an in China:[111]

> [Arabo-Persian works] had been transmitted into the Middle Lands [i.e., China] for more than a thousand years, yet had never been printed [*wu keben* 無刻板]. Any [user] was required to make his own copy by-hand, and store it in a hiding cache to protect it against denigration and desecration by ignorants.

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110. On that issue see Carter 1943; Glass and Roper 2002; Robinson 1993.

111. The case of printing the Qur`an is unique in China and in other parts of the Islamic world. The sanctity of the work strengthened the opposition to change the traditional methods of its production. While texts on Islamic themes were printed in China from as early as mid-seventeenth century, the earliest attempts to translate the Qur'an to Chinese, and publish it in print (in its Chinese and Arabic versions) took place as late as the late-19th century and early 20th century. The earliest printed edition of the Arabic Qur`an, titled in Chinese Baoming zhenjing 寶命真經 ("The Heavenly-Bestowed True Scriptures"), came out in the first year of the Tongzhi 同治 reign (=1862). In the subsequent decades Chinese-transliterated Qur'ans and Chinese translations of the Qur'an were printed. On the printed editions of the Qur'an, see Lin Song 林松 1995, 173-187; Lin Song 林松 2007; Kristian Petersen, "China, Qur'anic Interpretation in," *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, Feb 16, 2015, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t343/e0154>

The Scriptures tell us that those who do not perform full and partial ablution are not allowed to leaf through the Heavenly Scriptures [i.e., the Qur'an], let alone engraving [i.e., printing] it. As engraving must be done with the assistance of an intermediary [*zhongren* 中人], and in the absence of a member of this school who is trained in that profession, printing of the Qur'an became even more difficult. That is why printing of this scriptures [i.e., the Qur'an] has been so difficult. Students who study [Arabo-Persian] scriptures, and learn to recite the Heavenly Scriptures, used to be required to prepare their own copies by hand. Several years of labor had to be invested before they could acquire entire works, and begin to recite them. The efforts put in [the copying of the works] exceeded the practice of recitation. Beginners, who had not possessed yet the skills to make such copies, used to borrow scriptures from mosques, and to take turns in reading them with several tens others. As students were not able to practice [the recitation of the Qur'an], this [laborious] preoccupation [with copying] came at the expense of [learning] the [contents of] the scriptures. Very few did not give up half-way. Moreover, when students from poor villages or remote place wished to learn the scriptures, they had to take great pains and travel to remote places to seek copies. It was strenuous. If one wanted to purchase a [manuscript] copy, the price was several tens of tails of gold, and beyond one's ability to purchase. Thus, students who were not able to acquire [a copy of] the scriptures had to quit their studies. Under such a condition, how could anyone thrive in textual studies [*jingxue* 經學, i.e. Arabo-Persian scholarship]?[112]

傳之中土千餘百年並無刻板，要皆手自抄錄秘而藏之所以防無知者賤踏污穢也，經云，無大淨小淨者，不可翻閱天經，何況於刻，且刻天經更有難焉者, 是刻非中人不可，而教中之習此業者卒無，此經之所以難刻也， 第念習經之士，誦習天經，必須手自抄錄，竭數年辛苦，始得全卷披吟，其功已過半於誦習矣, 甚至初學子弟，尚不能抄，必由寺中借念一部經而數十人轉換誦讀, 既不得溫尋時習, 究未免數典忘經，鮮有不半途止矣，更有窮鄉僻壤，或遇諷經，不憚百里之遙遠方求借，殊不容易，若欲購請一部，價值數十金，無力購請，將以無經而廢諷誦矣, 則欲昌明經學，何可得哉。

The preface points out to a technological factor in the process of printing - the wood-block engraving. The intermediary of an external artisan, skilled in the making of wood-blocks for printing Chinese books, but not necessarily trained in using Arabo-Persian script, presented a technological barrier.[113] This barrier, as the preface above suggests, had a determining role in the reluctance to use printing among Arabo-Persian scholars. Moreover, it is reasonable to believe that this technological barrier had

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112. Preface to the first printed edition of the Qur'an titled: *Baoming zhenjing* 寶命真經 ("The Heavenly-decreed Veritable Scriptures"), edition of *Guangxu* 21 (1895), included in QZDD 1:5.

113. Sporadic works in Arabo-Persian script were inserted into the main text of some works. In some cases, the artisan's lack of practice in writing in that script resulted in blurry spellings. Many works preferred using transliteration of Arabo-Persian, written in Chinese characters, as an alternative to the use of Arabo-Persian script.

an effect on the decision to begin to compile works in the Chinese language in place of Arabic and Persian. In light of the distance between the author and the final product in the process of printing, and to ensure the quality of Arabo-Persian scholarship, some printed works employed a reviewer of the draft (*dianding* 點訂 or *yueding* 閱訂) who made necessary corrections in the text that was given to the artisan to engrave; and a person or a team of scholars in charge of collating the engraved wood-blocks (*jiaozi* 較梓), making sure the contents and spellings were made correctly.

The relative high cost of printing, required Arabo-Persian authors to build networks of friends, and peers with strong economic and political bases. Authors looked for sponsors, who could facilitate the publishing of their printed works. These searches were not always futile, and as described in a number of prefaces to printed works, many times works were published after the death of their authors with the assistance of an interested sponsor or a publishing house who happened on the text. This type of networking is demonstrated in Yuan Guozuo's 袁國祚 preface to the re-engraving of Liu Zhi's *Tianfang zhisheng shilu* (work comp. 1724, pub. 1778). Yuan, a Nanjing-based literatus and a member in the Islamic education network, was instrumental in publishing several of Liu Zhi's works during the second half of the 18th century. He wrote:

> The cost of producing each [printed] copy of this book is [*missing number*] pieces of fine silver (*wenyin* 紋銀). After deducting the costs of paper and binding, little revenue is left. I intend to invest the revenue from [publishing] this book in an endowment that will ensure lasting funds for scholarship, with the hope that this sacred teaching will expand and establish a solid base for scholarship. If gentlemen of the four corners [of the realms] order books and cherish the same ideals [*tongxin* 同心], isn't it good? All the more, when contributing to such solemn glorification of the origin and long development [of Arabo-Persian scholarship] for generations to come, isn't it wonderful?[114]
>
> 茲書工價每部紋銀□□，除紙張裝潢，稍有盈餘，意欲藉此書之盈餘，以為鳩集置業，永遠設教之資，庶聖教益廣而進學有基. 四方請書諸君子倘有同心何妨，格外樂輸以襄此盛庶源遠流長光於奕世, 豈不偉歟。

In some cases, the engraved wood-blocks of a specific work were entrusted in a local mosque for the use of anyone who wanted to make a copy. This multiple use frequently eroded the blocks, and required the preparation of a new edition of the work. The history of making printed editions of a work is often described in prefaces compiled by the sponsors of each edition, titled as "A Preface to the Re-engraving of the work..." (*chongke...xu* 重刻...序), and inserted as the fore of many works.

The layout of China's Arabo-Persian manuscripts adhered to the traditional method of multi-layered texts that was popular throughout the Islamicate world. A single folio included the main text, and secondary textual layers were added as marginalia, inter-linear glossing, commentary, and markers. Colophons, and cover-pages were added to include information about the completion of the original text, or its copying. Printed works consisted of different layout; while the folio were made of a main text, additional commentaries and glossing were inserted in smaller font next to the main text, and marginalia was added outside the frame of the main text. Para-textual components were important spaces in printed works, and included additional texts. These spaces often included prefaces (*xu* 序) and epilogues (*ba* 跋) contributed by local literati and official; Instructional Notes (*fanli* 凡例 or *liyan* 例言) added by the

114. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:4.

author or the editor and included guidance to format of the work; Table of contents (*mulu* 目錄), and bibliographies (*caiji jingshu mu* 採輯經書目)[115]; Addenda (*fu* 附), such as encyclopedia-like entries on history and Islamic praxis, or reviews of the main text were inserted in front or after the main text. An interesting type of addendum which was inserted to the front of many publications consisted of a series of imperial edicts reporting issues relevant to the history of Chinese Islam. The multiplicity of texts included in published works often made it difficult to distinguish between the original parts of the author, and those added by the editor and other contributors.

The application of printing had consequences in terms of the accommodation and circulation of Arabo-Persian knowledge. While the efficiency of that technology in producing large quantity of copies allowed Arabo-Persian scholarship to expand, and reach a wider community of readers, it required technological, social and methodological adjustments. The use of Arabic and Persian texts became a technological burden, and was eventually replaced by a new genre of works in Chinese. This transformation was not merely a switch of language, and had consequences in terms of the importation and accommodation of works from other regions of Islamicate Asia. In order to facilitate the production of printed works, Arabo-Persian scholars had to build networks of connections and sponsors, who could not only carry the financial burden, but also provide the necessary political approval to the circulated texts. Methodologically, the introduction of printing to China's Arabo-Persian scholarship required a thorough re-assessment of the aims of that school. Together with the structural pressures to write in Chinese, the focus on Arabo-Persian philology, to which the use of texts in the original language and the the preparation of manuscripts were foundational aspects, had to change. Eventually, Arabo-Persian scholarship had to transform its interests from Arabic and Persian philology to Chinese-Islamic philosophy.

The changes in media during the late 17th century produced far-reaching effects on Arabo-Persian scholarship in China. While the Arabo-Persian pool of texts that circulated in China during the 17th century included far more diverse selection of themes, texts on Islamic theology and mysticism began with the emergence of translation and publication of Islamic works in Chinese to dominate the pool.

7. Epistemology and the Study of the Natural World in the 17th and 18th centuries

The rise of Islamic literature in Chinese provided local readers with a comprehensive overview of the way the natural world was defined in Arabo-Persian literature. The process of transforming the earlier forms of Arabo-Persian scholarship into a Chinese-based literature entailed a number of significant changes in the scholarship itself. The change of language entailed alterations in the methodologies applied to the study of the natural world. The foregoing of the use of original Arabic and Persian Texts, which had been an essential aspect of Hu Dengzhou's philology, resulted in a new philosophical-oriented discourse, bringing to the fore of discussion "meanings and principles" (*yili* 義理) at the expense of philological analyses. At the same time, this change brought about a negotiation of the Chinese and Islamic views of the natural world and the ways to investigate it. The circulation of Chinese terminology redefined the theological frameworks using the vocabulary of the contemporary Neo-Confucian discourses. At last, this new literature proved useful in catering for various audiences,

115. Bibliographies were not a common para-textual component. Liu Zhi's TFXL and TFDL include each a relatively lengthy bibliographies.

including the Chinese Muslim literati and practitioners of Islam. For the latter, who possessed minimal literacy in Arabic and Persian, this new literature offered insights into the basics of Islamic theology, and instructions of praxis.

Despite the changes in medium, Arabo-Persian scholars writing in Chinese perpetuated Hu Denghzhou's division of the study of the natural world into several sub-fields, juxtaposing the traditional Islamic taxonomy of knowledge with the contemporary Chinese views of the constituents of the natural world: (1) The study of the principles of the natural world (CH. *xingli* 性理). This branch of scholarship synthesized ideas from the Islamic theological literature (AR. *kalām*) and Ṣūfī works on mysticism (AR. *'irfān*). It discussed issues such as the structure of the universe, the attributed of the divine (CH. *Zhenzhu* 真主, lit., "the True Lord"), and the modes of epistemology (CH. *zhi* 知); (2) the study of Islamic law and praxis (CH. *dianli* 典禮). This branch of scholarship incorporated aspects of Islamic substantive law (AR. *furū' al-fiqh*), and was seen as a de-facto realization of the principles of the natural world; (3) the study of historical events. This branch of study was seen as a chronological survey of the manifestations of the principles of the natural world. The lives of Prophet Muḥammad and the other Islamic prophets were described within this branch as examples of sagely wisdom, and as such represented the purest form of nature. The study of language, which had been a central constituent in the study of the natural world in earlier versions of Arabo-Persian scholarship, became after the linguistic switch to Chinese a minor branch of study.

The division of the natural world into various dimensions is demonstrated in Liu Zhi's various wroks. His works aimed at revealing the subtleties of the natural world through the investigation of cosmological theories, Islamic praxis, history and language. In his introduction to his work *TFZZSL*, Liu Zhi explicitly described his three major works, *Tianfang xingli*, *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie,* and *Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu Nianpu* as the three discrete-yet-connected dimensions of his endeavor to study the natural world. The terms he uses to define these dimensions were *jiao* 教 [lit., "teaching"] to denote the aspects of Islamic jurisprudence and praxis, *dao* 道 [lit., "the Way"] to denote the principles of the natural world, and *shilu* 實錄 (lit., "veritable records") to describe the historiographical survey of the Islamic prophets' lives and deed. Historiography, in Liu Zhi's mind, provided evidence for the various manifestations of the divine and his principles of the natural world. Liu employed the term *zheng* 證 (lit., "to proof") to describe the significance of historiography, and in order to present his work in a critical light. Liu wrote:

> [*Selected Commentaries on*] *Islamic Rituals* is a book that illuminates the teachings [*jiao* 教]. *On the Principles of Nature* [*in Islam*] is a book that illuminates the Way [*dao* 道]. This current work, *Veritable Records* [*and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered*] illuminates the origin of the teachings and Way, and shows to the world the attestation for the perfection [*quanti* 全體] of the Way. These three works are three [in number] but a single one [in their program]. My hope is that the [three works] will provide a gradual curriculum for mastery.[116]
>
> 典禮者明教之書也，性理者明道之書也，今復著至聖以明教道淵源之自出而示天下以證道之全體也，蓋三書者三而一者也，履階而登，升堂入室，其庶幾矣

116. *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, 14:40.

In their discussion of the principles of the natural world, Chinese scholars of Islam synthesized the theories of the natural world proposed by the Song Confucians, and in particularly Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073) and Zhu Xi, with the Islamic view of the divine creator. The Song Confucians attempted to come up with a metaphysical framework that could be used to explain the principles of the natural world. Their theory argued for a evolutionary process leading to the creation of the myriad things (*wanwu* 萬物) as the last stage in a chain of manifestations, beginning with the primordial unity of *Taiji* 太極 (lit., "the Supreme Ultimate") and *Wuji* 無極 (lit., "the Non-Finite"), followed by their division into Yin 陰 and Yang 陽, and then into the five elements (CH. *Wuxing* 五行 i.e., water, fire, metal, wood, earth). Arabo-Persian scholars found this theory adaptable to their understanding of Islamic theology. Their fundamental departure from the traditional model was the assertion that the single Creator (*zaohua zhi zhenzhu* 造化之真主, also *duyi zhenzhu* 獨一真主) is the source for the primordial *Taiji* and *Wuji*,[117] and the substitution of the five elements system with the Aristotelian four elements.[118]

The divine, its attributes, and its position vis-à-vis man and the universe occupied the lion's share of the discussion of the natural world in China's Islamic literature. The works of Wang Daiyu in the 1640s and 1650s were among the earliest attempts to provide a systematic discussion of the divine, the natural world, and to propose an epistemological theory that synthesized the Chinese framework of *gewu zhizhi* 格物致知 ("The Ordering of Things and the Extension of Knowledge"), with the Islamic perception of the universe as a manifestation of the divine.[119] Wang's model described three dimensions of the natural world: and two ontological dimensions ("The True One" *zhenyi* 真一 and "The Numeric One" *shuyi* 數一), and an epistemological dimension ("The Embodied One" *tiyi* 體一). *Zhenyi* refers to God's oneness, time-less, unparalleled, and unmediated presence. *Shuyi* refers to the manifestation of God in form of the primordial *Taiji* 太極 (lit., "the Supreme Ultimate") and *Wuji* 無極 (lit., "the Non-Finite"), and, in turn, in the natural world. *Tiyi* referred to an epistemological conception of the divine through human experience of the natural world. Later scholars, such as Ma Zhu, and Liu Zhi based much of their theological discussions on Wang's model.

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117. Yang Huaizhong and Yu Zhen'gui 1995, 387.

118. A model of the four elements earth, water, stone and fire was proposed by the Song philosopher Shao Yong 邵雍. The model was only partially accepted by Zhu Xi and his followers, who adhered to the traditional model of five elements. Matteo Ricci, in his Chinese publication *Qiankun tiyi* 乾坤體義 ("The Meaning of the Structure of the Universe," pub. ca. 1614), presents another attempt to reconcile the differences between the aristotelian four-elements and the traditional Chinese five-elements systems. Ricci argued for the substitution of wood and metal in the Chinese traditional five elements with the element of air (CH. *qi* 氣). See Kuang-Tai 2007.

119. On Wang's definitions of the three manifestations of the divine, *zhenyi* 真一 ("The Pure One" or "the Real One"), *shuyi* 數一 ("The Numerical One"), and *tiyi* 體一 ("The Embodied One"), see above. In my translation of these three terms I follow Murarta with some modifications. See Murata 2000, 73-77 and passim.

Inspired by the Ṣūfī literature, Arabo-Persian scholars view man as the mirror of the divine creation, and human nature was evaluated in terms of its purity and ability to comprehend the completeness of the divine. This epistemological model shared common ground with Wang Yangming's internal retrospective. In both cases, understanding of the natural world was a function of one's self-cultivation. Yuan Ruqi 袁汝琦, a literatus from Nanjing, and a member of Hu Dengzhou's educational network expressed this view in a preface he wrote in 1703 to his student, Liu Zhi's *TFXL*. He explicitly linked this view to the Ṣūfī works *Ashi' al-lama'āt, Lawā'iḥ,* and *Mirṣād al-'Ibād*. He explained:

> The creator wished to fully display his full essence and great manifestations, hence he created man. Man, thus, is a mirror of the creator. When the mirror is clear, full perception is achieved, and when the mirror is dull, distorted perception is achieved. It is only with man's heart that clears or dulls the mirror. The sages originally possessed the purest and clearest nature, and perceived all, hence it was said that they merged the essence and manifestations [of the creator]. The wise men lacked a little but still had perfect wisdom, and hence they understood [the creator's] completeness. The ignorant does not understand [the creator's] completeness.[120]
>
> 造物主欲畢見其全體大用，而生人焉。則人也者，造物主之鏡。鏡明則見全，鏡昏則見虧。是見全見虧，只在人之心鏡明與不明爾。聖人本其至清至明之本然，無所 不見，是以稱渾同體用。賢則少差而望全知，則知其全。愚則並不知其全者也.

Islamic law and praxis were seen by Liu Zhi and other Arabo-Persian scholars instrumental in ordering things in the natural world. It was compared to the Chinese notion of etiquette (*li* 禮), and often discussed through metaphysical vocabulary. An example for this view of Islamic law and praxis is found in a Xu Zhuo's 徐倬 (1624-1713) preface to Liu Zhi's *TFDL*. Xu Zhuo was a doctoral-degree holder who served in key governmental offices. The nature of his affiliation with Islam is not clear. He was a close friend of Lü Liuliang 呂留良, the anti-Manchu scholar. In his preface, Xu discussed Islamic law in terms of the Chinese concept of "etiquette," and defined it as a mediating platform between the natural world and man.

> It is ritual laws what make things become. Ritual laws perpetuate the pureness of heaven, and the stability of earth. Ritual laws perpetuate the reproduction of physical objects. Humanity takes its place as the soul of the myriad things by ritual law, and use ritual law to dominate the universe and control the myriad things.[121]
>
> 禮所以成物者也，天以禮常其清，地以禮常其寧，物以禮常其生息，人以禮成其為萬物之靈，是以禮榷天地束萬物.

120. *Tianfang xingli*, 17:14.

121. *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 [Selected Commentaries on 'Islamic Rituals'], 15:49.

8. Chapter Summary

The late Ming and Early Qing periods represented a period of transition in the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge in China. In their attempt to widen the circles of interlocutors and increase the visibility of their writings, members of the Islamic education network, in particular those from the prosperous Jiangnan region began to publish translations of Arabo-Persian works, and genuine works on Islamic theology, cosmology and substantive law in Chinese towards the mid-17th century.

Aspects of Arabo-Persian cosmology and natural philosophy were introduced in these works, using terminology and theoretical frameworks that attempted to reconcile the differences between the contemporary Chinese views of the natural world and those represented in Arabo-Persian work.

As an integral technology of mass publication, and through the establishment of networks of writers, translators, publishers and local literati, printing technologies were used to produce much of this new Sino-Islamic literature. Multiple editions of works by Chinese-Islamic scholars introduced to the Chinese readers the accomplishments of Islamicate world in natural philosophy.

CHAPTER 7 - THE POLITICIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE BREAKDOWN OF ARABO-PERSIAN SCHOLARSHIP DURING THE LATE 18TH CENTURY

ABSTRACT

This chapter charts the socio-political events that took place during the 18th century and negatively affected Arabo-Persian scholarship. The Jesuits' claims against the accuracy of the Arabo-Persian calendar in court brought to light the outdatedness of Arabo-Persian techniques, and placed the Jesuits as representatives of Western Knowledge. The arrival of new Arabo-Persian texts and ideas generated tensions between conservative and reformist camps within the communities of China's Arabo-Persian scholars and practitioners of Islam. The violent forms that some of these tensions took, and the aggressive anti-Heresy policies implemented during 1820s, generated a growing antagonism between the Qing government and Arabo-Persian scholars, and resulted in the imposition of restrictions on the activities of the latter. The expansion of Qing rule, and the incorporation of Turkic Muslims into the empire, redefined the Qing government's paradigm of Islam, and further contributed to the marginalization of Arabo-Persian scholarship. This chapter advances the claim that the unique direction that the politicization of knowledge took during the 18th century brought about the breakdown of Arabo-Persian scholarship.

Since the late 16th century, when Hu Dengzhou first established his movement of Arabo-Persian philology, and through the naturalization of Arabo-Persian scholarship during the 17th and 18th centuries, the main objective was to legitimize Arabo-Persian knowledge in China, and in particular to demonstrate the universal applicability of Arabo-Persian views of nature. Socio-political changes that accompanied the intensive and expansive policies that characterized the Yongzheng 雍正 (1722-1735) and Qianlong 乾隆 periods (1735-1796), began to view Arabo-Persian scholarship as a heterodox and subversive movement, and spared no efforts in restricting its reach. Whereas only a few decades beforehand, Chinese works on Islam enjoyed free circulation throughout China, the second half of the 18th century deprived Arabo-Persian scholarship of its potential to play an active role in China's local scholarly scene, and gradually brought its breakdown.

By the turn of the 18th century, China's Islamic and Arabo-Persian scholarship reached its highest level of accommodation by Chinese intellectuals. Decades had passed since the early works paved the way for their successors by devising methodologies to translate Arabo-Persian scholarship to Chinese, and the application of printing for enhanced circulation. Even the turbulent transition between the Ming and the Qing, and the violent establishment of power by the early Qing emperors, had only an impeding effect on the development of this scholarship. A mere half a century after the Qing armies marched through the gates of the Ming capital in Beijing, China's Islamic literature reached an unprecedented development. A solid network of scholars and publishers allowed the circulation of scores of titles in Chinese, side by side with a growing network of local Muslim schools, investing their efforts in extracting knowl-

edge on the subtleties of the world from texts in Arabic and Persian. Moreover, the newest methods of hermeneutical investigation were sought in order to systemize the scrutiny of available sources. This period of prosperity, however, did not last long, and throughout the 18th century Arabo-Persian and Islamic scholarships experienced a rapid decline with the diminishment of the favorable conditions this scholarship had enjoyed in earlier years.

Two main processes can account for the changing climate towards the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge. The first involves the growing interest in the Qing's inner Asian neighbors—an interest that turned, by the late seventeenth century into military involvement alongs the Northwestern and Western frontiers. This involvement in these regions, heavily populated by a variety of Muslim ethnicities, produced a gradual shift in the paradigm of what comprises "Islamic culture." As a result, a Turkicized form of Islamic culture became the dominant image of Islamic culture in the Qing court. The second process, which took place almost synchronically with the previous one, accounted for the gradual degradation and marginalization of Arabo-Persian scholarship in China. It involved the Jesuits' efforts to demonstrate that the Arabo-Persian astronomical methods employed by the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy were outdated and irrelevant, and the gradual depiction of Islam as an heretical association by local officials in the vein of the anti-heretical policies of the mid-18th century.

In the background of both processes stood the turbulent transitions that accompanied the fall of the Ming and the establishment of the new Manchu dynasty. This period of time involved unrest in multiple parts of the gradually declining Ming dynasty, and continued after the Manchu conquest and the establishment of the Qing dynasty. These unrests included a number of local rebellions led by Muslims who maintained their loyalty to the fallen Ming in the Northwestern region of Ganzhou 甘州 (in today's Gansu). Most notable were Ding Guodong 丁國棟 (d. 1650) and Mi-La-yin 米喇印 (d. 1648), who had served in the Ming regiments, and organized local militias to fight against the Qing forces during the late 1640s.[1] Although the Qing armies were successful in crushing these rebellions without great effort, they were inscribed in the historical memory of the Qing administration.

The first half of century of Qing rule, and in particular the long reign of the Kangxi 康熙 Emperor (ruled 1661-1722), was, overall, a period of political and social stability. The concentration on winning over the last strongholds of the Ming loyalists, and later against the Three Feudatories and the subsequent consolidation of the Qing rule over all the territories of the defeated Ming dynasty, took a great deal of the political attention of the Kangxi government. At the same time, local communities enjoyed a rather tolerant and placid administration.[2] The different forms of Arabo-Persian and Islamic scholar in China flourished during this period as attested from the relatively high number of publications in Chinese, and colophons included in copies of Arabo-

1. On the Muslim rebellions in Gansu and the biographies of the two, see Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 887-894; Li Fanwen 李範文 and Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 1988, 17-58; Lipman 1998, 52-56; Rossabi 1979; Wakeman 1985, 795-805 and 823-827.

2. On the characteristics of the Kangxi reign politics, see Spence 2002.

Persian texts that date their completion to the Kangxi reign.[3]

The Jiangnan region—the cultural hub of the Ming—restored its cultural and intellectual dominance after the destruction it encountered during the transitional period. Beijing, as the capital of the Qing and seat of the emperors, and a central locus in the civil service examination system, became a meeting place for Chinese intellectuals, foreign visitors, and the Manchu court. The mosques in the Jiangnan region, and, in particular, in the vicinity of Nanjing, as well as those in the capital, became important locations for trans-regional interaction. Nanjing attracted Islamic scholars from around China, and introduced to many of them newly published works in Chinese by authors such as Wang Daiyu and Liu Zhi.[4] Beijing became an important hub for scholars and visitors from all parts of China, as well as visitors from outside China who wished to connect with the local Muslim community during their official visits to the Qing court.[5]

1. The Battle over Arabo-Persian Astronomy during Early Qing

The Department of Arabo-Persian Astronomy at the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy was one of the remaining locations holding high esteem of Arabo-Persian knowledge during the Yuan and early Ming periods. If fact, by the mid-Ming these astronomical techniques were already outdated, and resulted in visible discrepancies in the prediction of astronomical phenomena.[6] However, its historical prestige, and the fact the many of positions in that department were inheritable and maintained the descendants of the Arab and Persian astronomers, the department carried a monumental value for Arabo-Persian scholars in China. Moreover, before the involvement of European missionaries in the local astronomical discourse, Arabo-Persian astronomy was seen as the embodiment of Western scientific achievements. The stripping of Arabo-Persian astronomy of its status following the arrival of other "Westerners" whose astronomical calculations proved more accurate, was a symbolic slap in the face of adherents of Arabo-Persian astronomy. The dismantling of the Department of Arabo-Persian Astronomy brought to an end the centuries-long official accommodation of Arabo-Persian mathematical and astronomical knowledge.

The Jesuits and other European missionaries, who were successful in switching their allegiance from the Ming to the newly established Qing, were also effective in expanding their presence at the Qing court. Their strategy to win over the hearts of the Qing rulers went through several key governmental offices. One of these offices was the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy, where a Jesuit campaign to convince the Qing government that the newly European methods of astronomical calculation were supe-

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3. On the publications in Chinese see Chapter 6 of this dissertation. An example for an Arabic texts with a colophon dating to the Kangxi reign is the recently found copy of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* (CH. *Mu-ge-ma-tai* 母哥媽台) in Yale University dating to Kangxi 34 (1695 AD). Hartford Seminary ARabic MSS 275. I am grateful for Maurice Pomerantz for introducing me the manuscript.

4. See Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

5. On the Muslim life in Beijing see Naquin 2000, 571-574.

6. On the role of Arabo-Persian astronomical knowledge in the activities of the Bureau of Astronomy, see Shi Yunli and Haohao 2016.

rior to the Arabo-Persian methods that had been used since the early Ming as the dominant ones. Such a conviction would allow the missionaries to gain influence in one of the Qing government's key offices.

The Bureau of Astronomy became a platform for a bitter exchange of blows between the European missionaries and the experts of Arabo-Persian astronomy. Aside from the amusing scene where representatives of Arabo-Persian and European astronomies battled each other for dominance at the court of a Manchu ruler in China, the event had consequences for the status of Arabo-Persian scholarship in China.

The German Jesuit, Johann Adam Schall von Bell (CH. Tang Ruowang 湯若望, 1592-1666), cooperated with his fellow missionaries, Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 and Li Zhizao 李之藻, in compiling an anthology of Western works on astronomical mathematics for the court of the Ming Chongzhen emperor 崇禎 (r. 1627-1644) entitled *Chongzhen Lishu* 崇禎曆書 ("A Treatise on Mathematical Astronomy of the Chongzhen Reign").[7] These works were intended to provide the scientific basis to a calendrical reform that the Jesuits promoted. After the Manchus took over Beijing, Schall was the only Westerner that stayed at the capital, and was able to offer his services to the first Qing emperor, the Shunzhi emperor 順治 emperor (r. 1643-1661). In the capacity of his work, Schall endeavored to replace the Arabo-Persian calendrical methods by the European ones. Upon his appointment as director of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau in 1645, he disbanded the Department of Arabo-Persian Astronomy (*huihuike* 回回科).

The system of inherited appointments in the Arabo-Persian Department populated it with descendants of the Arabo-Persian migrant astronomers who had arrived at the court of the first emperor of the Ming. As experts on Arabo-Persian astronomy, the disbandment of the department meant the end of their official careers, and the extinction of their scholarly heritage. Moreover, several functionaries in the department were active members in Beijing's Muslim community and Hu Dengzhou's Chinese-Islamic education system. For them, the Jesuits' disparagement of Arabo-Persian astronomical methods was an attack on the legitimacy of Arabo-Persian scholarship in general.[8] Wu Mingxiong 吳明炫 (also spelled as 吳明烜), an autumn officer (*qiuguan* 秋

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7. On the anthology and the activities of the Western missionaries in the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy see Elman 2005, 95-98 and passim; Keizo Hashimoto and Catherine Jami 2001.

8. Bei Lin 貝林, a Muslim expert in the Bureau of Astronomy, who worked on new translations of Arabo-Persian texts during the mid-Ming period is discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. The *Gazetteers of Beijing's Niujie Neighborhood* (also known as *Gangzhi* 岡志) includes a number of references to members of Beijing's Niujie Muslim community that worked on, or studied, astronomy. Although we have very limited information about them, given that center of astronomical activity was the Bureau of Astronomy, it is highly likely that they were affiliated with that bureau either as workers, trainees, or observers. These members include the brothers Xue Zongjun 薛宗隽 and Xue Zongwei 薛宗偉. The former was a calligrapher, and an expert of astronomical mathematics (*tong tuibu xingli zhi xue* 通推步星曆之學, lit., "had an expertise in astronomical computation methods"), and served as an official in the Summer office (*xiatian guanzheng* 夏天官正, the summer office was one of the five offices that were in charge of issuing the imperial calendar), he was later appointed as chargé d'affaires of the Yangxin Hall 養心殿

官[9]) in the Department of Arabo-Persian Astronomy, and an esteemed member of Beijing's central mosque, Niujie 牛街 mosque (also known as the "Ox-Street Mosque"). The *Gazetteers of Beijing's Niujie Neighborhood* (also known as *Gangzhi* 岡志)[10] included Wu's biography among those of the community's dignitaries, pointing out to this expertise in astronomical measurement. The biography reads:

> Wu Mingxuan, styled Zhongbo, was an expert of Western Regions Astronomy. He began as a time measurer (boshi [漏刻] 博士) and was promoted to Autumn Officer in the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy. He was the director of the Arabo-Persian department. His expertise involved prediction of time and seasons by the observation of celestial crossings and amending the flaws generated by the outdated Chinese methods. He matched the "mystical Chang" [i.e., Chang Zhimei 常之美, an important teacher in the Chinese-Islamic education system, who taught at the Beijing mosque] in reputation.[11]

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in the imperial palace. The latter, was too an expert of astronomy (*jing lixue* 精曆學) and a draftsman. He served as a trainee (*tianwen sheng* 天文生) in the Bureau. Liu Yuxi 劉裕錫 was an expert of astronomy and a physician. In light of his skills in building instruments, he obtain the degree of erudite in astronomy (*boshi* 博士), and appointed to office in the department. Duo Shilin 朵世麒 was an experts of astronomy (tong wuxing 通五星, lit., "had an expertise on the five constellations") and seems to have served as a governmental official during the late 1650s. See *Beijing niujie zhi shu - 'Gangzhi'* 北京牛街志書 - '岡志' [The Gazetteer of Beijing's Niujie Neighborhood], 8-12. Although not directly connected with the department, Jing Tianzhu 金天柱 (courtesy name Beigao 北高, ca. 1700-1795), served in the Bureau of Translators, and was deeply engaged with the translation of Arabo-Persian texts for the Qing government. He composed a work on Islamic substantive law, titled *Qingzhen shiyi* 清真釋疑 ("Explanations to Questions on Islam," pub. 1738).

9. The Autumn office was one of the seasonal departments in the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy. The office included two functionaries, one Manchu and one Chinese, ranked 6b. Hucker 1985, 177.

10. The *Gazetteers* (also known as *Gangzhi* 岡志) carries no date of compilation. An extant manuscript copy of it was made in 1831. The editors of the work suggest that the work was compiled during the early Yongzheng reign (ca. 1720s). On the work and its contents, see *Beijing niujie zhi shu - 'Gangzhi'*.

11. *Beijing niujie zhi shu - 'Gangzhi,'* 67. The biography includes also the passage: "His talent had a reputation in the past and present. It was told that his ancestors came from Changan in Shanxi province (today's Xi'an). After he moved to the capital, he took a teaching position. Later, he was appointed as the magistrate of Gaoyuan county in Shandong, and then as the magistrate of the Taizhou department." (古今譽其才，聞其先輩系陝西長安人，遷京師後，初補教職，昇山東高苑縣令，遷泰安知州.") The editors of the published manuscript argue that this is the next entry on a different person that was attached by mistake to the entry on Wu. They suggest that Gujin yu 古今譽 (lit., "prestige in past and present") is, in fact, a name of a person. See *Beijing niujie zhi shu - 'Gangzhi,'* 67. This claim is verified by Huang Yinong, see Huang Yinong 黃一農 1992, 146. The biography of this Gu Jinyu (styled Feisheng 蜚聲) is included in the Kangxi 55 (=1716) edition of the

吳明烜，字中博，通西域天文學，由博士遷欽天監秋官，掌回回科，專推交時四季天象，以考正中國古法之失，與常仙學齊名。

In the years following Schall's disbandment of the Arabo-Persian department, Wu memorialized the court on several occasions, pleading for its restoration. In a memorial he presented the emperor in 1657, Wu explained the significance of the Arabo-Persian department to the preservation of Arabo-Persian knowledge in China. He wrote:

> My ancestor, Mo-sha-yi-hei (默沙亦黑)[12] and a group of 18 patriarchs originated in the Western Regions. Their calendar calibrated the 19th year of the Kaihuang 開皇 era of the Sui 隋 dynasty [=599 AD] as their first year. They brought calendrical knowledge (*lixue* 歷學), and translated it for [the Chinese] court. They were granted positions as official astronomers (liguan 歷官). For 1050 years, they have been in charge of measuring the constellations' movements (*xingsu xingdu* 星宿行度) and predicting auspicious dates. Every year, they would calculate the celestial encroachments of the Moon and the Five Stars, predict the crossings and eclipses of the Sun and the Moon. These calculations were them compiled into white booklets by my department and presented to the Emperor's review by a fixed routine. In the third year of the Shunzhi reign (1646), the director of this Bureau, Tang Ruowang (i.e., Adam Schall) ordered my department not to report predictions of eclipses and celestial encroachments to the Emperor. I have examined the calculations of the motions of the Seven Luminaries (*qizheng* 七政) passing Mercury (*shuixing* 水星) that Tang made. He seems to have omitted the second and eighth months: Mercury on 2/29 was still seen in the east, and it was also seen on the eve 8/24. All documents on astronomical predictions must rely on calculations when presented to the Emperor. I plead the His Royal Highness to grant my wish and restore my department. My hope is that this abrogated scholarship (*juexue* 絕學) will continue to be transmitted (*huochuan* 獲傳). I am attaching to this memorial a booklet with the calculation of the celestial encroachments of the Moon and the Five Stars, and a diagram of the predictions of solar and lunar crossings and eclipses. [13]

Gaoyuan xianxuzhi 高苑縣續志 ("Updated Gazetteer of Gaoyuan County"), *juan* 3, 33-34.

12. Mo-sha-yi-hei or Ma-sha-yi-hei (馬沙亦黑) was a central figure in the translation project of Arabo-Persian astronomical works under the first Ming emperor. On the person and the project, see chapter 2 of this dissertation. Interestingly, Wu suggested that Ma-sha-yi-hei arrived during the Sui, rather than the Ming. It is clearly a confusion between the arrival of his ancestor, and the local Islamic tradition regarding the first arrival of Islam to China in the Kaihuang era of the Sui. It is possible, however, that Wu was trying to make a point by emphasizing the contribution of Islam as a whole to Chinese astronomy, and therefore refers to that early date.

13. *Qing shilu* 清實錄 [The Veritable Records of the Qing dynasty], Shizu shilu 109:853 (Shunzhi 14:4:8).

臣祖默沙亦黑等一十八姓。本西域人。自隋開皇己未年為歷元。抱其歷學。重譯來朝。授職歷官。歷一千五十九載。專管星宿行度吉凶。每年推算太陰五星凌犯天象。占驗日月交食。即以臣科白本、進呈御覽。著為定例。順治三年。本監掌印湯若望、諭臣科。凡日月交食、及太陰五星凌犯天象占驗、俱不必奏進。臣查若望所推七政歷水星。二八月皆伏不見。今水星於二月二十九日、仍見東方。又八月二十四日夕見。皆關象占不敢不據推上聞。乞皇上立臣內靈臺、以存臣科。庶絕學獲傳矣。併上順治十四年回回科推算太陰五星凌犯書一部日月交食天象占驗圖像一本。

Two months later, Wu again memorialized the emperor and summarized the flaw he found in Schall's methods.[14] The emperor ordered an investigation of Wu's accusations. The investigation concluded that there was no basis for Wu's accusations, and as a result Wu was put in jail. The battle between the missionaries and the Arabo-Persian astronomers concluded with a temporary victory to the missionaries.

A second round of this battle began with a dramatic change of events in 1660. Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (1597-1669), a literatus of unclear background, launched a campaign against the European missionaries in the court, and their presence in the Bureau of Astronomy in particular.[15] In the 1660s he circulated a number of his writings, including *Bixie lun* 辟邪論 ("A Discussion of the Elimination of Heterodoxy") and *Juxi ji* 拒西集 ("Collected Works on the Rejection of the West") among readers in the capital. Yang's accusations came out of an hardline orthodoxy that viewed the Christian mission as a heretical group that unlawfully penetrated China and were engaging in subversive activities. Yang's focus on the Bureau of Astronomy came out of the importance of accurate astronomical and astrological predictions to the correct performance of court rituals—a central issue in the China's political theory, and an uncompromising aspect of the contemporaneous orthodoxy. A foreign control of the imperial calendar, in Yang's view, encroached on the Qing sovereignty.[16] By no means was Yang sympathetic to Islam, or to the Chinese-Muslim community. Interestingly, in his writings, Arabo-Persian astronomical methods, and in particular the Arabo-Persian calendar (*huihui li* 回回曆) are presented as indigenous practices that were threatened

14. Wu listed three flaws: (1) leaving out the *Ziqi* planet (*yilou ziqi* 遺漏紫炁); (2) mixing up the sequence of *Zui* and *Shen* (lodges of star constellations, *diandao zui shen* 顛倒觜參); and, (3) mixing up the caculation array (*diandao luoji* 顛倒羅計). See *Qing shilu*, Shizu shilu 110:864 (Shunzhi 14:6:7).

15. On Yang Guangxian's accusations against the missionaries and their methods, see Elman 2005, 134-144; Huang Yinong 黃一農 1992 Yang's petitions and writings against the missionaries were collected and published by the Anhui Provincial Archives, Chen Zhanshan 陳占山 2000.. See also the introduction to that publication.

16. One of Yang's accusations was the writing of the caption *Yixiyang xifa* 依西洋新法 ("In accordance with the new Western methods") on the almanacs that the Bureau under Schall issued. Yang suggested that this caption is patronizing and encroaching on the monopoly of the Qing dynasty to announce the new year. Chen Zhanshan 陳占山 2000, 6.

by the infiltration of foreign knowledge.[17]

In 1661, after Yang's polemics received attention among the capital literati, he presented two memorials to the Shunzhi emperor. His accusations, however, were not accepted. Yang continued to voice his attacks on the missionaries, and eventually, after the death of the Shunzhi emperor, the regent Oboi (CH. Ao-bai 鰲拜, 1610-1669, regent 1661-1669), who oversaw the government until the Kangxi emperor reached maturity, was persuaded by Yang's claims. He sentenced in 1665 Adam Schall and a number of missionaries who worked at the bureau to death on charges of betrayal. Moreover, Oboi imposed a complete ban on the activities of the Christian mission in China, and exiled most missionaries to Macau. Yang, who specified in his accusations the technical flaws of Schall's astronomical methods, was appointed as the new director of the Bureau of Astronomy, and Wu Mingxuan as the vice-director. The Arabo-Persian Department, however, was not reopened. Three years later, in 1668, Yang, in light of his inability to produce a calendar that could compete with the one produced by the missionaries, was replaced by the German missionary Ferdinand Verbiest (CH. Nan Huairen 南懷仁, 1623-1688).[18] Wu Mingxuan continued to serve in the department under Verbiest, and occasionally pointed out the flaws in the measurements of Verbiest. This period seems to represent the last phase in the long history of the accommodation of Arabo-Persian astronomy in China's Imperial Bureau of Astronomy.

The battle over dominance in the astronomical bureau, and the debate over the accuracy and usefulness of Arabo-Persian astronomical methods had an effect on the status of Arabo-Persian knowledge in general. From the early Ming onwards, the Bureau of Astronomy remained the last governmental office that applied Arabo-Persian knowledge, stored Arabo-Persian texts, and employed descendants of Arab and Persian astronomers through a system of inheritable positions. Many of the functionaries in the department had been students in Hu Dengzhou's education system, and many had other kinds of personal connections to local centers of Arabo-Persian scholarship. As such, the department was as a source of pride for China's Muslim community, and as an emblem of the great achievements of the Islamicate (or Western) culture. The Jesuits' critique of the accuracy of the Arabo-Persian calculations was read as a threat to the acknowledgment of the merits of Arabo-Persian knowledge in general.

The efforts of several functionaries in the Bureau of Astronomy who hoped to restore the transmission of Arabo-Persian astronomy, and Yang Guangxian's petition had a temporary success, but an adverse effect in the long-run. The dispute between the two camps emphasized the isolation of the Arabo-Persian astronomical depart-

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17. A similar analysis of the motivation behind Yang Guangxian's criticism is discussed in Elman 2005, 136.

18. Qian Daxin (1728-1804), a prominent scholar during the mid-Qing praised Yang Guangxian, saying that: "Yang was not an expert of calculation, nor did he have anyone to assist him with that. That, eventually, was his shortcoming. Yet, in light of his besmirching of the Christians heretics, and the prohibition of their proselytizing, one cannot say that he did not have a contribution to our illustrious [Confucian] teaching" (楊君於步算非專家，又無有力助之者，故終為彼所絀。然其詆耶穌異教，禁人傳習，不可謂無功於明教者矣). Chen Zhanshan 陳占山 2000, 195.

ment from the centers of astronomical research in the West, and the advantages of Jesuits who were able to introduce to China new and improved models. Moreover, Yang's condemnation of the Jesuit astronomers on the grounds of his conservative agenda contributed to the politicization of knowledge in the Qing court. Yang's reproof of the Jesuits as heretics initiated an orthodox interpretation of the accommodation of Western knowledge. Knowledge, under this viewpoint, was evaluated not only in light of its contribution, but also in terms of its overall adherence to the Neo-Confucian program. In some ways, Yang's conservative ideology and rhetorics paved the way for similar accusations against Arabo-Persian scholars and practitioners of Islam in China few decades later.

2. New Textual Imports and the Consequent Traditionalism

China's growing engagement in its Northwestern frontier from the late Ming onwards facilitated exchanges of population and goods. These exchanges brought to the inland provinces of China a large number of Turkic migrants, as well as a variety of cultural and scholarly traditions that prevailed in Turkic Central Asia.[19] These exchanges had a particular effect on the Northern belt that stretched from Shandong, via Hebei (including Beijing), Henan, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Ningxia, and Gansu to what is known today as Xinjiang. These provinces became exposed to new Islamic doctrines, texts and languages that had been only marginally known beforehand. Thus, around the same time that Arabo-Persian scholars in the southern Jiangnan region were occupied with translation and naturalization of their scholarship, scholars and Muslim practitioners in Northern China were forming their attitudes towards new ideas and texts that gradually increased in number. The disputes that erupted between those who spread new ideas and texts and the older institutions of Arabo-Persian scholarship and Islamic praxis expanded beyond the boundaries of their local community.[20] At times, they were brought to the attention of the Qing authorities who, in turn, interpreted these disagreements between Islamic schools through the prism of the anti-heretical policies the Qing government enthusiastically carried out throughout the 18th century. As a result, Arabo-Persian scholarship lost its historical momentum. It forfeited the open environment it had enjoyed for a century and a half after Hu Dengzhou's establishment of his school. Arabo-Persian scholarship was demoted to a local Northwestern religious group tainted by eccentric and subversive tendencies that required close monitoring by the Qing authorities.

Offshoots of the the influential Naqshbandī Ṣūfī order, which by the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries held significant political and religious authorities in many regions of southern Xinjiang, gradually diffused their ideas and texts into Northern China. While Ṣūfī influence on China's Arabo-Persian scholarship was present already in the late sixteenth century, as evident from the

19. The migration of Turkic Muslims (*huizi* 回子) to Suzhou 肅州 (in today's Gansu), Ganzhou (in today's Gansu), as it appears in official correspondences, significantly increased in 1690s amid the intense fighting between the Qing armies, the Junghars and the Muslim groups. It continued throughout the 18th century.

20. Fletcher points out to the wide spread tide of reform movements throughout the Islamic world that called for a stricter application of Islamic law, and connects those movements with the rise of the Naqshbandī activities in the Islamic world in General, and in China in particular. Fletcher 1995, 22-24.

early stages of Hu Dengzhou's curriculum,[21] it was only during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that this influence grew into the establishment of independent Ṣūfī schools in China. The Naqshbandīs, although characterized by their strict adherence to the Islamic Sharī'ah laws, brought to China new, eccentric, and transcendental interpretations of Islam that involved variation of existing customs. They too introduced new rituals and texts. These, of course, were welcomed only by a segment of China's Arabo-Persian scholars and practitioners of Islam. Those opposed saw these Ṣūfīs as illegitimate innovators of heretical practices.

The activities in China of Muḥammad Yūsuf (d. 1653), the great-grandson of Aḥmad Kāsānī (known also as *Makhdūm-i A'ẓam*, lit., "Grand Ṣūfī-Master," d. 1542, an important leader of the Naqshbandī order in Transoxiana, whose descendants were key players in the transmission of the religious ideology, and in the local politics of the entire region), and his son Hidāyat Allāh (known also as *Khwāja-i Āfāq*, or *Āfāq Khōja* d. 1694) are best recorded in both Chinese and non-Chinese sources.[22]

Around 1640s or 1650s, Muḥammad Yūsuf visited the city of Suzhou 肅州 (in today's Gansu province), where he introduced the foundations of the Naqshbandī ideology to the local Muslim communities and to the local Salar Muslim community.[23] In his preaching, Muḥammad Yūsuf emphasized the importance of Rūmī's (d.1273) *Mathnawī*,[24] one of the most influential Persian works on Sufism that includes instructions on self-cultivation in verse form. Muḥammad Yūsuf's son, Hidāyat Allāh continued his father's activities, and made visits the vicinity of Xining 西寧 (in Qingdao province) on a number of occasions between years 1669-1687. During these visits he gathered around him a number of disciples who eventually continued to proliferate Hidāyat Allāh's ideas, and establish their own schools[25] in the regions of Qinghai and Gansu. Collectively, Hidāyat Allāh's followers became known as the "Khafīyah

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21. See Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

22. Fletcher's comprehensive work on the Naqshbandī order in Transoxiana, in what later became Xinjiang, and in Northwest China provides much of the information in this section. On the Naqshbandī growing influence in these regions, and in particular on the family of *Makhdūm-i A'ẓam*, as well as on Muḥammad Yūsuf and Hidāyat Allāh, See Fletcher 1995.

23. Fletcher 1995, 10-11. The Salars (CH. 撒 剌) are a Muslim Turkic-speaking group, who members are scattered around the border regions of Qinghai and Gansu provinces. In official sources of the Ming and Qing, the Salar were distinguished from the *Huihui* 回回 ("Muslims," or "Inland Muslims") group, and occasionally affiliated with the Tibetans (*Xifan* 西番). On the Salars and the official attitudes during the Ming and Qing towards them, see Ma 2008.

24. The description of Muḥammad Yūsuf in Gansu is described in a Chaghatay biography of Āfāq khōja included in the Jarring Collection in Lund University. See *Ḥazrat Sayyid Āfāq Khōja-ning tazkirahlar*, Jarring Prov. 369, 1337, 16-17.. The description is paraphrased in Fletcher 1995, 12-13.

25. In historiographical literature the Ṣūfī schools in Northern China are referred to by the term *menhuan* 門宦. The term seems to first appear in the late 19th century in the writing of the late Qing official and military general, Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885). See Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 74-75.

school" (CH. *Hu-fu-ye* 虎夫耶, <AR. *khafī* "concealed, low-voiced").[26]

In a similar manner, other foreign Ṣūfī preachers were able to find audiences, and establish their schools in Northern China. The Chinese histories of these schools record the arrival of at least two foreign preachers during the early Qing period. Interestingly, both foreigners began their proselytizing in southern China (in Guangdong, Guangxi and Yunnan provinces). However they could attract followers only when they arrived to the Northern regions of Gansu and Qinghai. ʻAbdullah (CH. *A-bu-du Dong-la-xi* 阿布都董拉希 or *A-bu-dong-la-hai* 阿卜董拉海, this latter derives from AR. ʻAbd al-Ḥayy), the founder of the Qādirīyah (CH. *Ga-de-lin-ye* 嘎德林耶) school in China, is said to have arrived from Baghdad in 1674. He established his school a few years later in the Hezhou 河州 (in today's Gansu province), where he introduced the ideas of the Sūfī ʻAbd al-Qādir Jīlānī (d. 1166) that were gaining popularity in the Mughal empire around the same period.[27] Muḥyī al-Dīn (CH. *Mu-hu yin-di-ni* 穆呼引的尼) is said to have visited China three times before he finally settled down in Northern China, and established his Kubrawīyah (CH. *Ku-bu-ren-ye* 庫布忍耶) school, affiliated with the Ṣūfī school of Najm al-Dīn Kubrá (d. 1221).[28]

While in its early stages, Hu Dengzhou's Arabo-Persian philological movement maintained a highly inclusive attitude towards Arabic and Persian texts, and welcomed texts on various subjects into his curriculum. Growing tensions between established paradigms in China and the challenges that new ideas and texts from Central Asia brought ,were channeled to a gradual process of closure and traditionalism among Arabo-Persian scholars and religious leaders of Muslim communities. An unusual account on a Khurāsānī scholar's activities in China sheds light on a pattern of textual transmission during the late Ming (assumably in the early 17th century), as well as on the tensions between the established Arabo-Persian scholarship in China and newly imported ideas from Central Asia. Moreover, it outlines the philological approach that dominated Arabo-Persian scholarship, which put an emphasis on rhetoric and linguistic analysis. As the account tells us, the man initially arrived in China in order to seek refuge from an angry ruler, and decided to settle down in

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26. On Hidāyat Allāh's disciples and their schools, see Ma Tong 馬通 1986, 49-81; Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 154-160; Lipman 1998, 58-72. The term *khafī* refers here to the performance of ritual of pronouncing the name of Allah (AR. *dhikr*) in silence—an aspect that characterized the group, and distinguished it from other Naqshbandī schools.

27. On ʻAbd al-Qādir Jīlānī and his al-Qādirīyah school, see Trimingham 1971, 40-44; Lawrence 1982; Margoliouth 1907.. On the accommodation of the Qādirīyah school in China, see Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 228-270.. Bai Shouyi narrates the biography of Qi Jingyi 祁靜一 (1656-1719), one of ʻAbdullah's early followers, who established his own school in Northern China. Aḥmad Kabīr, the nephew of ʻAbd al-Qādir Jilānī, who apparently accompanied him on his journey to China, is said to have brought a special Qur'an with Persian translation. This Qur'an was kept in the village of Dawantou 大彎頭 (in today's Gansu) until it was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Bakhtyar 1994, 89.

28. On Najm al-Dīn Kubrá, see Corbin 1993, 296-299; Trimingham 1971, 55-56. On the Kubrawīyah school in China, see Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 333-336.

Ganzhou 甘州 (today's Gansu province), and engage in scholarship on Islam:[29]

> Who could predict that God would have decided to bring such a misfortune for the *Mu'min*s [i.e., the adherents of Islam] in China [*Chi-ni* 齒泥, i.e. "China" in Persian] during the last years of the Ming dynasty. This turbaned Sharīf [unclear if this is his name, or an honorific title] from the land of Khurāsān [*Hu-la-sa-guo* 虎喇撒國] engaged in Classical Learning [*jingxue* 經學, here: "Islamic scholarship"] yet lacked any understanding of rhetoric and meaning [*yiyi* 藝義]. He took the civil examination in his country, yet failed again and again due to his ridiculous and eccentric way of writing. The ruler [of Khurāsān] was furious and ordered his execution, yet a righteous official saved him. He was sent to prison. Once he had the opportunity, he ran away and reached China [*wo Zhonghua* 我中華]. He wandered from province to province, and did not dare to return to his country. Eventually, he established his residence in Ganzhou 甘州 [in today's Gansu province], where he could show off his talents. He adopted the Islamic customs [*qingzhen fengsu* 清真風俗] of this land. He compiled 47 books, which circulated in different areas of the Hehuang 河湟 region [today's Qinghai province]. Although his works study the "the Luminous Commands" [*Mingling* 明令] and "Divine Proclamations" [*Shengyu* 聖諭[30]], his interpretations are far-fetched. Some of his explanations of the meanings demonstrate lack of talent. His style of writing is flawed and his argumentation is unreasonable and imbalanced. His judgments are often not appropriate. He does not distinguish between the chronology of past prophets or between the schools of the four imams [*si da zhangjiao* 四大掌教, a term for the founders of the four main Islamic schools of jurisprudence]. Half of the laws are new additions and the praxis [*lijie* 禮節] departs from traditional custom [*guzhi* 古制].[31]

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29. The account is included in *JXXCP* under the title: *Xijing yicha kefou xidu zhe* 習經宜察可否習讀者 ("When engaging in Classical Studies, one should examine whether he is allowed to read his texts"). The essay is not dated. A list of titles in Arabic follows this account with the title: *Ganzhou Shi-li-fu suozhu zhi jing liehou* 甘州失利夫所著之經列後 ("A list of works compiled by Sharīf of Ganzhou is attached below"). However, the list is separated from its title, and appears on a different page that does not match the type of paper used in other parts of this work. This list includes the title *Majālis irshādīyah* (<AR. "Guiding Councils"). A work by this title was composed by Mūḥammad Amīn Efendī (d. 1865 AD), and a copy of Efendī's work dated to the Guangxu period (1875-1908) is held by the Ningxia Museum. For the account and the attached list, see *Jingxue xichuanpu* 經學系傳譜 [The Genealogy of Classical Learning], 20:12b-13a.

30. The term *shengyu* 聖諭 is found in other sections of JXXCP, and in Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Dianli.* The latter uses the term as a translation to the title *Hu-tuo-bu* 胡托卜(<AR. *Khuṭab* "proclamations"), a reference to a collection of traditions, entitled *al-Khuṭab al-nabawīyah* ("The proclamations of the Prophet Muhammad"). Similarly, in contemporary China, the term is used to denote the Ḥadīth literature. It is not clear, however, what the term *Mingling* 明令 ("Luminous Commands") refers to here.

31. *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 20:12b-13a.

熟[孰]料有主前定，於明末之際，不幸殃及齒泥茲土之謨民，適有虎喇撒國之纏頭失利夫，雖習經學，藝義欠通，於本國赴科考試，經場屢因文藝狂妄偏僻，國君震怒，欲置於死，諫臣解救，方斥辱幽禁之, 彼俟怠隙，遂桃循至我中華，歷遊各省，不敢回國，後居甘州，仍逞才自衒，按茲土之清真風俗，著經四十七本，分散河湟各方，於中雖亦有明令聖諭, 以為穿鑿，而其解釋旨義，或負微長，然其文風舛錯，義理乖張，輕重失權，嘗罰勿當，且無分歷代聖賢之因革，四大掌教之道路，條律半出新增，禮節失於古制.

The multiplicity of texts generated disagreements among scholars regarding theological positions and practices. These disagreements, in turn, motivated scholars to substantiate their claims with textual evidence on one hand, and on another to define which texts were "orthodox," and should be used. A number of surviving inscriptions demonstrate the epistemological anxiety that Arabo-Persian scholars experienced once new texts and ideas arrived at their door-steps. An inscription that was engraved on several locations in Henan provinces, and whose earliest existing stela is dated to 1708, explains in both Arabic and Chinese the perseverance of local scholars with their traditional customs, and their demarcation of an orthodox corpus of texts.[32] The inscriptions include a Chinese title that reads: *Guxing shisan jian beiji* 古行十三件碑记 ("An Inscription to record the Thirteen Practices of Traditional [Islam]"). The term *guxing* 古行—as well as *guzhi* 古制 ("traditional custom"), *gujiao* 古教 ("traditional teachings"), *jiujiao* 舊教 ("older teachings"), *zungu* 遵古 ("adhering to tradition"), *zhengjiao* 正教 ("orthodoxy"), or even *Ge-di-mu* 格迪目(<AR. *qadīm* "ancient," here "traditional") in other cases—was adopted by many scholars to refer to the traditional, one might even say orthodox, understanding of Islam.[33] This stood in contrast to the

32. The inscription was studied in detail by Kuroiwa, Tatsuya and Kazuo who also provided a transcription of the inscription Arabic and Chinese texts and their translation to Japanese. As explained in their article, versions of this texts are engraved on two different stelae, in the Northern Grand-Mosque (*Beidasi* 北大寺) in Kaifeng, and the Northern Mosque (*Qingzhen beisi* 清真北寺) in the town of of Zhuxian zhen 朱仙鎮 (in today's Henan province). The Kaifeng stele includes two sides, Arabic and Chinese. The Chinese text, which is a summary of the Arabic, includes the title *Guxing shisan beiji* 古行十三碑記 ("An Inscription to record the Thirteen Practices of Traditional [Islam]"). The Arabic text provides the year 1121 AH (=1709 AD) as its date of composition. The Chinese text provides the date of Daoguang 20 (=1840-41). The stele in Zhuxian zhen has two titles in Chinese over both the Chinese and Arabic texts. The Chinese side has the title *Guxing shisan jian awen beiji* 古行十三件阿文碑記 ("An Arabic Inscription to record the Thirteen Practices of Traditional [Islam]"). The Arabic side has the title Zhuxian zhen qingzhen si zunxing jiugui 朱仙鎮清真寺遵行舊規 ("The Zhuxian Zhen's Adherence to the Old Custom"). The Arabic text provides the date 1111 AH (1699-1700 AD), and the Chinese side mentions 1805 as the date of composition. I follow here their transcription. Takashi Kuroiwa 黒岩 高 et al. 2012

33. The relativeness embedded in the use of this terminological pair (i.e., traditional-innovative or old-new) provided it a great deal of flexibility. The two terms have been used to denote different Islamic movements in China. Initially the term "new" was used as a derogatory label to dismiss "non-orthodoxy" interpretations

term *xinjiao* 新教 ("new teachings"), which carried a negative connotation, implying a deviation from orthodoxy. This dichotomy mirrored the opposition to any attempts to innovate or reform customs (as represented by the Arabic term *bid'ah*) that has prevailed in the Islamic world. The inscription reads:

> This [inscription] is the record of those who have preserved the Book [i.e., the Qur'an] and the prophetic tradition from the Prophet. Its constituents have been distributed amongst the religion of Abū Ḥanīfah (*millat Abī Ḥanīfah*), God's Mercy upon him. Zhuxian zhen once housed a single original community, and thereafter, due to growth of population, [members of the community] were divided into two mosques. Members of both mosques, however, have adhered to a single doctrine (*madhhab*). Their [doctrine] is traditional (*qadīm*), Sunnī, and orthodox [*ḥanīfan*, might be misspelling for *ḥanafīyan* "adhering to the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence"]. It dismisses innovation (*bid'ah*) and heresy (*hawā')*, and meticulously embraces evidential scrutiny (*ḥujjah,* lit., "evidence"). Being traditional means that it does not alter the religious judgements that have been current since the day of arrival of Islam to China from the kingdom of the Ka'bah (*mulk al-ka'bah*). The descendants (*akhlāf*) have continued to perform the various actions in the same manner as their ancestors (*aslāf*) did initially without omission. Being Sunnī means that the tradition is in accordance with the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad and his rules of behavior. The doctrine follows his footsteps in movement and rest, and on internal and external affairs. It especially adheres to the thirteen established practices. At a later period came those who disagreed [with these practices] without examining their [textual] basis, as well as those who recognized the [textual] basis, yet deny (*nakirū*) it and described it as disgraceful and despicable. [34]
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> فهذه [sic, الحجر] اثر من حفظ الكتاب والسنة عن رسول الله، وما فيها منتشر لملة ابي حنيفة رحمة الله عليه، لانه كان في هذه المحلة جوسيًا جوي جماعة اصلا، ثم صار مسجدين بالقسمة الموافقة لكثرة القوم، لكن اهلهما على مذهب واحد، وهو قديم وسنى حنيفا، مبعد عن البدعة والهواء، مقرب الى الحجة لطيفا، اما كونه قديما فلا يتغير الحكم الجاري في الدين مند يوم ذهاب الاسلام من ملك الكعبة الى الصين فكان الاخلاف تعمل الانواع من العمل الى الآن والحال كما عملت الاسلاف في الابتداء غير النقصان الزوال، واما كونه سنة فلموافقته قول الرسول وفعله في الامور وتبع قدمه في الحركة والسكون وفي البطون والظهور خصوصا لثلثة عشر عملا مشهورا، ثم خالفها بعض لم يروا الدليل او بعض راوا ونكروا بل نسبوها الى القبحة والذليل

After listing the thirteen customs the inscription, the inscription declares that "each of the above-listed thirteen practices has a specific and strong [textual] basis, and a specific reward is promised to its performer...Whoever is uncertain or doubtful

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of Islam. By the late 18th century, however, along the emergence of Ṣūfī orders in Northern China, the term "traditional" (usually *ge-di-mu*, or *laojiao* 老教 "outdated teachings") became to be used as a derogatory term by members of the Chinese Ṣūfī orders for those who rejected Ṣūfī interpretations, or even by members of the new Ṣūfī orders to earlier orders. On the term, and the ideologies it encompasses see Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 88-93; Feng Zenglie 馮增烈 1984; Dillon 1999, 95-100.

34. I follow Takashi, Nanakishi and Morimoto transcription of the inscriptions' text, and consulted their Japanese translation. Takashi Kuroiwa 黒岩 高 et al. 2012

can check in the following transmitted texts."[35] Then, the inscription goes on and lists 27 titles. These titles are mainly collections of Substantive Islamic Law (*furūʿ*), with a few works on Qur'anic commentary (*tafsīr*) and on time-calculations (*mawāqīt*).

One of the recurring themes in the available sources on the debates between Arabo-Persian scholars in the late 17th and early 18th centuries is the issue of timing the beginning and conclusion of the fast of Ramaḍān. This debate—which is still a central issue in Islamic legal literature—had unique features in China, as it involved the concepts of time-keeping and calendar-making. According the common interpretation of a Qur'anic instruction, the month-long fast of Ramaḍān begins and ends with the birth of a new moon (AR. *hilāl*). The practical problem of determining the actual time of the birth of the moon, and whether it is permissible to use calculations instead of seeing the moon with the naked eye have presented a great challenge to Islamic jurists.[36] This debate had consequences regarding the attitude towards mathematical astronomy and science in general, and the production of Islamic calendars. The issues at stake divided China's scholars of Islam, and while new ideas seem to have been suggested, an orthodox tradition persistently forbad the use of any calculations, and required unmediated sight of the moon to establish the beginning of each month.

An inscription in Arabic from a mosque in Xi'an 西安 (in today's Shaanxi province), that carries that Chinese date Yongzheng 10 (=1732) provides insight into the way the debate over Ramaḍan took place in China. The text explicitly states that it was erected in light of "the disagreement between us [i.e., Muslim in China] regarding the beginning and the end of the fast."[37] They provide a very thorough discussion of the different textual evidences for their position that adheres to an unmediated sight of the moon as a precondition to the beginning and end of Ramaḍān. The inscription begins with a short explanation of the acceptable types of textual evidence. The three categories represent the boundaries of the corpus of legal texts that was accepted by the author. It confirms that Islamic jurisprudence in China had strong scholarly and philologic dimensions, and was not merely a dogma or praxis. The inscription reads:

"Observers be aware that the foundation[s] of the science of religion (*ʿulūm al-dīn*) and canonical law (*masaʾil al-sharʿ*), as they are mentioned in *al-Mafātīḥ*, the commentary on *al-Maṣābīḥ*, are three: (1) Prescribed Verses (*āyāt muḥkamāt*), that is, every rule that is mentioned in the Qur'an and was not abrogated; (2) Established Tradition (*sunnah qāʾimah*), that is, a Ḥadīth tradition (*ḥadīth thābit*) that was confirmed by one of the Ḥadīth collectors (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*), and was not abrogated; (3) Just Duty (*farīdah ʿādilah*), that is, any canonical law that should be done and is not [derived] from the Qur'an or the Ḥadith, yet enjoy a consensus among Muslims such as matters of creed (*iʿtiqādāt*) or some legal issues (*al-masāʾil al-fiqhīyah*). Anything beyond these three [categories] is heresy and innovation.[38]

فاعلموا ايها المتبصرين ان اصل علوم الدين ومسائل الشرع يذكر في كتاب المفاتيح شرح المصابيح ثلثة [sic] ايات محكمات يعني كل حكم مذكور في القرآن وليس بمنسوخ، الثاني سنة قائمة اي حديث

35. Takashi Kuroiwa 黒岩 高 et al. 2012, 270-271.

36. On that issue see Leaman 2006, 263-264.

37. Huart 1905, 301.

38. Huart 1905, 295.

ثابت عند اصحاب الحديث غير منسوخ، الثالث فريضة عادلة اي ما يجب العمل به من احكام الشرع غير القرآن والحديث وما هو عليه اجماع المسلمين كالاعتقادات وبعض المسائل الفقهية وما سوي هذه الثلثة فهو من الهوى والبدعة،

Similar to the Kaifeng inscription above, this inscription demarcated the boundaries of an authorized canon. The long text of the inscription, and the rich list of titles it includes, demonstrate the painstaking philological project that surrounded this debate. The inscription displays a rich corpus of Quranic commentaries, Ḥadīth collections, works on Substantive Law, and Arabic and Persian lexicons. In addition, it rejects calculating the times of the fast, and suggests that those who promote such calculations on account of their interpretation of a Qura'nic verse, ignore the fact that the prophet "did not determine the new moon by astronomical mathematics (*ḥisāb al-nujūm*) and calculations of the lunar path (*sayr al-qamar*), but only through the unmediated sight of the moon."[39]

From the perspective of the period's larger historical context, the debate over the determination of the new moon emerged when Arabo-Persian calendrical methods that had been employed by the Ming and Qing courts were challenged by the new techniques brought by the Jesuits. That was also the time when the Jesuits were accused of subverting the Qing by publishing the imperial calendar. From this perspective, it is not difficult to see how such an internal scholarly debate among scholars of Islam could easily transcend the boundaries of Arabo-Persian philology and become a political issue that required official intervention. Indeed, the internal disagreements among Arabo-Persian scholars during the 17th and 18th centuries was exhibited to the outside viewer on stelae, rivalry between camps of scholars that sometimes degraded into physical violence. We can speculate that the bifurcation among Arabo-Persian scholars caught the eye of local officials as well. Local officials were able to read these Chinese inscriptions and get a sense of the issues that were in stake. It is not unlikely that in a period when special attention is given to religious sectarianism and when heterodox activities prevailed as during the Yongzheng 雍正 period (1722-1735), local officials would have interpreted the Muslim debates as a heretical and subversive activity. In that light, it is easy to see how the struggles between Arabo-Persian scholars would contribute to making Islam an issue of local politics.

The arrival of new Arabo-Persian texts between the late sixteenth and eighteenth centuries enriched the Arabo-Persian pool of texts available to scholars in China. During its earlier stages in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it supplemented the discourses by new cosmological and metaphysical theories that strengthened the affinities between Arabo-Persian scholarship and the contemporary Chinese discourse on the principles of nature (CH. *lixue* 理學). As such, it served as an indispensable stepping stone in the evolution of Arabo-Persian philology. By the 18th century, following the increased Chinese exposure to Central Asia, Ṣūfī scholarship took on a life of its own, and in a similar manner to the outcomes of Wang Yangming's critique of Classical Learning during the early sixteenth century, Ṣūfī schools began to threaten the older institutions of Arabo-Persian scholarship and generated a strong traditionalist opposition. The disputes between the different Arabo-Persian schools in Northern China resulted in the intervention of the Qing officials who, in turn, juxtaposed Islamic praxis and scholarship with subversive movements.

39. Huart 1905, 298.

3. Arabo-Persian Scholars and the Orthodox Policies of Early Qing

The relatively open and tolerant environment that characterized much of the Kangxi reign did not continue during the reign of his heir, the Yongzheng emperor (ruled 1722-1735). The beginning of the Yongzheng reign was overshadowed by accusations of immoral and barbaric conduct regarding what was seen as his illegal usurpation of the throne.[40] These accusations motivated the young emperor to distrust the bureaucracy, and pursue policies of intensive rulerships that ensured his direct and unmediated control of the empire. The slightest hint of criticism or dissent against the emperor or the Manchu dynasty was heavily punished.

At the same time, in a manner that resembled the policies of the first emperor of the Ming, the Yongzheng emperor re-established the Cheng-Zhu ideology as state orthodoxy. By adhering to the Cheng-Zhu ideology, it was thought, the Qing dynasty could enhance the legitimacy of its rule over China, and dismiss any accusations of its barbaric customs. Moreover, the intellectual winds that prevailed the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries accused the excessive pluralist environment of the late Ming and the "empty talks" promoted by the disciples of Wang Yangming as the main reasons for the fall of the dynasty.[41] The early Qing rulers, including the Yongzheng emperor, viewed these claims with great seriousness, and devised out their policies with the aim of avoiding the destiny of the Ming dynasty.

The wide-spread acceptance of popular religious groups, and the threat these group posed to the stability of the Qing rule, had been an central issue in local politics since the time of the Kangxi emperor. Yet, while the Kangxi reign decided to apply a tolerant attitude towards these groups, the Yongzheng emperor decided to apply a tougher position, and to fight against what he saw as the "criminal and illegal" behavior of such groups. This policy was closely tight with the imposition of the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy, and, as part of it, the emperor instructed local officials to conduct investigations against local groups, such as the White Lotus (*Bailianjiao* 白蓮教) that performed rituals and promoted what the official defined as "heterodox teachings." This policy was explicitly expressed in an Imperial decree that the Yongzheng emperor issued in 1724, in which he called for "pacification of human disposition" (*renxin* 人心), and the ordering of social customs (*fengsu* 風俗) through reprimanding violators. The decree gave a description of groups that promote "evil teachings," confer false titles and engage in different magical rituals and nightly gatherings. The emperor ordered local officials to expand their surveillance and dismantle any such organizations, and declared that "social customs and human disposition should be pure and correct" (*fengsu renxin, xiangui chunzheng* 風俗人心、咸歸醇正).[42]

The imperial order encouraged local officials to deepen their surveillance on

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40. On that issue see Zelin 2002, 183-189.

41. On the criticism voiced by early Qing intellectuals against Wang Yangming's ideology and what they saw as its contribution to the fall of Ming dynasty, see Kang-I and Owen 2010, 157-162; de Bary and Lufrano 1999, 35-36; Wakeman 1985, 1092.

42. The decree is quoted in a number of Palace Memorials, as well as in the Veritable Records of the Qing dynasty. For the latter see *Qing shilu*, Shizong shilu 21:349 (Yongzheng 2/6/29). On the prohibition of "evil teachings" under the Yongzheng emperor, see Zheng Yonghua 鄭永華 1999

the local population, and report to the court any potential hazards or subversive activities. The direct correspondence between the emperor and the local officials was further enhanced following the introduction of the use of secret memorials. Secret memorials allowed local officials to report directly to the emperor without having to pass through the routine bureaucratic channels. These intensive methods of rulership by the Yongzheng emperor brought closer local and imperial politics. This position stood in sharp contrast to the distance of the court from local politics during the Ming, and the tolerant attitude that allowed a large deal of local self-governance during the Kangxi period. Instead, issues of local significance became matters of imperial deliberation; the local became political.

At the same time, the vague language of the imperial command gave local officials the right to judge what constitutes subversive or illicit activities according to their own standards. As such, any institution whose relationship with the state with in doubt was marked as a potential threat. Christian missionaries working in local communities, followers of the Luo Teaching (Luojiao 羅教),[43] as well as Chinese practitioners or scholars of Islam became a subject of local attention, and a matter for frequent correspondence with the court.

The main categories of subversive activity were "evil teachings" (CH. *xiejiao* 邪教, MA. *miosihon tacihiyan*) and "heresy" (CH. *zuodao* 左道). A broad spectrum of activities were commonly defined as heretical, and were viewed as a threat to public safety and in stark disagreement with the ethical values of the Qing dynasty. Interest in Islamic scholarship or praxis was prevalent in nearly all the Chinese provinces. While it had enjoyed a relatively permissive environment, the newly established orthodoxy made Islam a political issue that required the attention of local officials and the court. A secret memorial from the second year to the Yongzheng reign demonstrates the way Chen Shiguan 陳世倌 (1680-1758), a scholar-official and at the time the governor general of Shandong province, viewed the inherent hazards of the Islamic presence in his province:

> In my humble opinion heresies mislead the public. It is strictly forbidden by law. There are clear laws and regulations regarding those who promote evil teachings, gather people to perform rituals (*shaoxiang* 燒香, lit., "burn incense"), and enchant the ignorant rustics. Local (officials) can check for themselves that there is no group that includes so many gentry people who truly adhere to heterodox teachings (*yiduan* 異端), openly shows solidarity with them, and facilitate the misleading of the public other than the School of Islam (*Huijiao* 回教). I have discovered that adherents of that school do not venerate Heaven and Earth (*bujing tiandi* 不敬天地), do not worship local gods (*shenqi* 神祇), do not keep the Chinese lunar calendar (*bufeng zhengshuo* 不奉正朔, lit., "do not keep Chinese New Year's Day"), and do not follow the Chinese seasons. Moreover, they select their own religious leaders (*li zongzhu* 立宗主) and install their own

43. This group is known by the names Luo School (*Luojiao* 羅教), the No-Action School (*Wuwei jiao* 無為教), and the Great-Vehicle School (*Dacheng jiao* 大乘教). This group was established in the early 16th century by the Ming general Luo Qing 羅清 (1442-1527). Its ideology synthesized Buddhist, Daoist and Neo-Confucian elements. The Luo school promoted the ideal of attaining one's inner enlightenment, and strongly opposed the performances of external rituals. The group established its own canon of texts.

calendar. In every prefecture, they have worship halls that they call "temples of worship" (*libaisi* 禮拜寺), or as they are colloquially called "Islamic halls" (*huihui tang* 回回堂). They have a long history [in China], and it is impossible to completely ban their detestable [activities]. They comprise of a large number of adherents, who spread their terror and illicit activities everywhere. They engage with prostitutes and burglarize, they slaughter cows and strip sheep. They engage in all types of [illicit activities].[44]

竊惟左道惑民，律有嚴禁，但倡為邪教聚眾燒香引誘鄉愚，律例既有明文，地方自可查稽，未有身為紳士，實遵異端，聲援固結，濟惡害民如回教之甚者也，查回教不敬天地，不祀神祇，不奉正朔，不依節序，另立宗主，自為歲年，各府中多有崇祠廣宇，名禮拜寺，俗稱回回堂，由來已久，莫能禁絕所可惡者，黨羽眾盛，到處橫行打降逞兇, 包娼, 窩盜, 屠牛剝羊, 無所不為，一旦事發則合黨群起不

In a similar fashion to Chen's suspicion of the local followers of Islam, officials from other parts of China began to closely monitor the activities of their local Muslim communities. Scholars and practitioners of Islam that had hoped to provide Islamic ideas a wider visibility found themselves in the center of local and imperial attention. Islamic practices were stripped of their scholarly context and were presented in official correspondences as subversive, even criminal, activities that stood in great opposition to the prescribed orthodox thought and conduct.

The Yongzheng emperor, in light of the excessive memorials concerning the activities of Islamic groups, understood that his original intention was misread, and decided in 1729 to take a stand. In a response to a memorial of Yue Zhongqi 岳鍾琪, the Governor-General of Sichuan and Shaanxi, the emperor responded with the following remonstration:

In the last six or seven years I have received a large number of memorials regarding the School of Islam (*huijiao* 回教). The memorialists awaited my responses in those matters. After a thorough deliberation, I have issued the following Imperial edict (*zhi* 旨): 'For generations this people have been a common subject of disrespect. As for the Islamic presence in the provinces, although you say they are multitudes of Muslims, they constitute less than one percent of the total Han population (*Han* 漢). Even if this minority engages in illegal activities, how can they present a major threat? My intention in issuing the Imperial rescript (*shangyu yidao* 上諭一道) was to provide guidance. It encourages the good-hearted and wise people to be grateful and obedient (*ganji zunfeng* 感激遵奉); as for the ignorant and indifferent people, the capacity [of this edict] is partial and insufficient to get into their minds.[45]

六七年來條奏回教者甚多, 卿此奏俟朕詳細斟酌, 後有旨, 從來此輩率為齊民之所輕賤，直省回教雖云眾多若較之漢百分中不及一分, 些小不法則有之安能為大害, 朕意欲特頒上諭一道, 以訓導之, 彼善良明理者以感激遵奉, 而下愚不移者, 其勢既分更亦無足繫念矣

A month later the emperor issued a direct order to the Grand Secretariat, the head of the Qing bureaucrats, in which he explained in great detail his view of Islam

44. Palace Memorial TPM 402010776, Yongzheng 2/9/12.

45. Palace Memorial TPM 402021646, Yongzheng 7/3/17,

in China and ordered local officials not to view Islam as evil teachings, and urged them to treat Muslims justly. In his explanation, the emperor pointed out to the visible presence of Muslims among officials and literati, and challenged the assertion that Islamic teachings promote illicit or illegal activities. The order reads:

> Muslims (*huimin* 回民) have been living in all provinces for a long time. They are registered households (*guojia zhi bianmin* 國家之編氓), and fellow citizens (*guojia zhi chizi* 國家之赤子). Discrimination against them (*yishi* 異視) is absolutely intolerable. In the last few years I have received secret memorials, arguing that Muslims (*huimin* 回民) constituted a separate school of thought (*yijiao* 一教), that they differ in their language and attire, and even that they are rude and stubborn, and engage in crime without restraint. [These memorials] requested [an approval] to punish and restrain them heavily. In my opinion the teachings of the Muslims (*huimin zhi youjiao* 回民之有教) are no more than the traditions and customs (*jiafeng tusu* 家風土俗) bequeathed to them by their ancestors (*xiadai* 先代). Just like the Chinese (*zhongguo zhi ren* 中國之人), people that come from different places have different inclinations and use different local dialects. That is why people differ from one another. Thus, despite the use of the term "worship hall" (*libai si* 禮拜寺) by the Muslims, and their different attire and script (*wenzi* 文字), as long as they follow the general customs and conduct themselves with propriety, and peacefully carry out their traditions, they should not be viewed as engaging in illicit activity or crime. There is no need to view their teachings as misleading or deceiving the people. Although people come from different places, they all share the same inherent good. Traditions of different schools share a common good. All Muslims living in this realm should enjoy the grace of imperial nurturing...hence, this dynasty will see them as equals. A great number of Muslims serve as officials, and hold imperial titles. Many have reached high office by recommendation or through the examination process. That demonstrates their devotion to self-cultivation and good conduct, to observing the law and carrying out official duties. As a collective they are law-abiding people....local bureaucrats should not discriminate against Muslims, and should judge them [by the same standards] as they judge other people.[46]
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> 直省各處。皆有回民居住。由來已久。其人既為國家之編氓。即俱為國家之赤子。原不容以異視也。數年以來屢有人具摺密奏、回民自為一教。異言異服。且強悍刁頑。肆為不法。請嚴加懲治約束等語。朕思回民之有教乃其先代留遺家風土俗。亦猶中國之人。籍貫不同。嗜好方言。亦遂各異。是以回民有禮拜寺之名。有衣服文字之別。要亦從俗從宜。各安其習。初非作姦犯科。惑世誣民者比則回民之有教。無庸置議也。惟是凡人生產雖不同地。而同具此天良。習尚雖不同教。而同歸於為善。回民處天地覆載之內。受國家養育之恩。可不孜孜好善。共勉為醇良乎。且朝廷一視同仁。回民中拜官受爵。洊登顯秩者。常不乏人。則其勉修善行。守法奉公。以共為良民者...要在地方官吏。不以回民異視。而以治眾民者治回民。

The Yongzheng emperor's position prevented taking major actions against Muslim communities. Yet, it could not erase what had been already done—bringing

46. *Qing shilu*, Shizong shilu 80:47 (Yongzheng 7/4/7). Translated also in Lipman 2006, 89.

Islam into the contemporary political discourse while simultaneously obstructing the direct engagement with Arabo-Persian knowledge. The sharp decrease in the number of Chinese publications on Islamic and Arabo-Persian themes from several dozens during the Kangxi reign to a single work during the thirteen years of the Yongzheng reign, attests to this. The only work known to have been composed during the Yongzheng period is Liu Zhi's magnum opus *Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu Nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 ("Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered").[47] Liu Zhi began working on this lengthly biography of the prophet Muhammad in 1721 during the Kangxi reign, and completed it four years later in 1725, during the third year to the Yongzheng reign. While Liu Zhi's early works were printed and published in close proximity with their time of completion, this work was published only half a century later in 1776, several decades after the death of the author. This can demonstrate the difficulty in circulating Arabo-Persian knowledge—often labeled as "evil teachings"—during the Yongzheng period.

4. The Northwestern Frontier and the Changing Paradigm of Islam

The politicization of Islam was further enhanced as China increased its involvement in the Northwest frontier. An inheritance from the late years of the Kangxi reign, the Qing government was occupied with military campaigns against the Zunghar and Tibet. During the last few years of the Kangxi period, the Qing armies were able to advance as far as Turfan (in today's Xinjiang), and significantly expand the Qing territory. The numerous Muslim communities that populated the Northwestern regions of Qinghai and Xinjiang reshaped the Qing's paradigm of Islam and Islamic culture.[48] Turkic and Tibetan elements became integral aspects of this new paradigm, and in light of their relevance to the political agendas, they resulted in marginalizing the Arabo-Persian elements that had prevailed inland Islam. Moreover, looking from the perspective of imperial expansionism and strategic alliances, the new paradigm viewed Muslims as strategic military allies rather than a culture of scholarship, and as such limited the willingness to explore Arabo-Persian knowledge, and introduce aspects of it into local intellectual discourse.

The military campaigns that continued after the rise of the Yongzheng emperor involved a great deal of strategic planing—both in terms of military tactics, and strategic cooperation with the various local groups, including the Muslim communities.[49] In order to facilitate such cooperation, and in order to provide the court with a lucid description of the area, ethnographic information on the different communities—including the local Muslim inhabitants—was collected. Nian Gengyao 年羹堯 (1679-1726), a scholar-official whom the Yongzheng emperor appointed to be the commander-in-chief of the Qing armies in the Northwest, for example, included in his

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47. On the work and its significance see Chapter 6 of this dissertation. On the publication of this work during the Qianlong reign see below.

48. On the structure of society in the Northwestern provinces and the Qing administration of the region during the eighteenth century, see Rawski and Naquin 1987, 184-193.

49. On these military strategies under the Yongzheng emperor that involved the Muslim communities in Xinjiang and Qinghai, see Perdue 2005, 240-243 and passim.

reports to the emperor taxonomies of the Muslim tribes (MA. *hoise-i aiman*, CH. *huibu* 回部) in the region of Kokonor (today's Qinghai 青海 province). He differentiated between "Tangut turban-wearning Muslims" (MA. *tanggūt-i can teo hoise,* <CH *chantou Huizi* 纏頭回子, apparently Turkic Muslims), "Chinese Muslims" (MA. *nikan hoise,* apparently migrants from China's inland regions) and Tibetan Muslims (*fandz-i hoise*).[50] If Yongzheng's intensive rulership singled out Islam as a threat of subversiveness, and as such raised it to be a political issue, the expansion to the Northwest and the wish to pacify and align with the Muslim groups in the border regions made Islam an issue of strategic significance.[51]

The Qing military involvement in its Northwestern frontiers continued under the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (1735-1796), and reached its peak in the conquest and annexation of Zungaria and the Tarim Basin—that became collectively known as Xinjiang 新疆 (CH. "New Frontiers")—in the twenty-forth year of the Qianlong reign (1759).[52] The incorporation of the numerous Tibetan and Turkic Muslim communities to the Qing empire, and the meticulous attention the Qing rulers devoted to administrating the new regions reshaped the paradigm of Islam. The Turkic elements became dominant in the new paradigm, while the Arabo-Persian elements, and the Arabo-Persian textual scholarship became marginal and negligible.

A stele that was erected in 1764, ten years after the annexation of Xinjiang, to commemorate the establishment of a new central mosque for the Turkic soldiers who swore allegiance to the Qing, demonstrates how the new paradigm of Islam concentrated on the Turkic newcomers at the expense of the inland Muslim communities. The inscription titled "A Commemoration Stele for the Imperially Authorized Construction of Muslim Mosque" (CH. *Yuzhi chi jian huiren libaisi beiji* 御製勅建回人禮拜寺碑記; MA. *Han-i arahangge hesei ilibuha hoise-sa-i doroloro hengkilere juktehen-i eldengge wehei ejebun*; CG. *Khān-ning pitigäni yarlïq bilä qofargan muslmānlar ning namāz otaydugan bash qoyadugan masjīd chilaliq tash-nïng bilgūsi ta'rīf qilip qoshdi*) included similar texts in four languages: Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Chaghatay. It commemorated the Qing conquest of Xinjiang that had taken place few years earlier, and included the following passage, describing the early arrival of Islam into China. Interestingly, the inscription used interchangeably the terms *Huiren* 回人 (commonly translated as "Muslims"), and *Huihe* 回紇 (commonly translated as "Uighur").[53] One of the common dates for the first arrival of Islam in China is the first year of the Kaihuang reign of the Sui

50. This description appears in Palace Memorial TPM 412000266, Yongzheng 1/11/11. For a translation of the memorial to German, see Wu 1995, 148-149. see also Kato Naoto 2004, n18.

51. On the Qing attitude to the Muslim communities in Xinjiang, see Millward and Newby 2006. On the Qing attitudes towards the Salar Muslims, see Ma 2008.

52. On the Qing conquests and the creation of Xinjiang, see Millward 2007, 88-115.

53. Transcriptions of the inscription in four languages, and its translation to English are available Takahiro 2009. I followed Takahiro's translation with some modification. I have used the Manchu and Chaghatay versions to supplement lacunae and clarify obscure phrases in the Chinese text. For additional studies of the inscription see Broomhall 1910, 94-98; Huart 1902; Brown 2011.

dynasty (=581 AD).[54]

> According to historical books, the Huihe (回紇) arrived in China during the Kaihuang reign of the Sui dynasty. By the early Yuanhe reign of the Tang, they followed Mo-ni[55] in offering tribute (to the Chinese emperor). They requested to build a temple in Taiyuan, where a tablet with the characters "Bright and Illuminating Great Clouds" was hanged. This was the first worship-temple (mosque) ever built [in China]. They arrived in order to ask for military assistance, or to engage in trade.[56]
>
> 考前史,回紇自隋開皇時始入於中國,至唐元和初,偕摩尼進貢,請置寺太原,額曰大雲光明,實為禮拜寺所由□。然其致之也,或以假師以通市,於納土服屬我甿我隸之義故無當焉。

The inscription described the equal treatment that the Qing authorities gave to the various groups under their rule, and the Qing strategy "not to keep [people] away from their religions and reform them by force".[57] The inscription quoted the Qianlong emperor's assertion that the Qing conquest brought to Xinjiang advanced knowledge such as almanacs and currency, and ends with a short poem that includes references to the holy cities of Islam as well as to the Toghuz-Oghuz ancestors of the Uyghurs:

> What place is the Heavenly Country [CH. *Tianfang*, MA. *Abka-i falga*, CG. *Khodā-ning mahhalasi*]? What is the Heavenly Hall (CH. *Tiantang* 天堂)? Splendid mosque was built near the imperial palace. That city is Medina. That holy place is Mecca. The Prophet (CH. Pai-ha-pa-er 派哈帕爾, MA. *paigambar*, CG. *fagambar* <PE. *payghambar* "the Messenger [of God]") first brought the doctrine to the Toghuz-Oghuz people[58] (CH. *Tiele* 鐵勒, MA. *Tiyei le gurun*, CG. *Tilū digän yurt*). He taught the Ahongs the thirty parts of the Qur'an. Traveling North and West, he honored all places.[59]
>
> 孰為天方，孰為天堂, 花門秘刹，依我雲闉, 厥城默伽，厥宗默克, 派哈帕爾, 傳衣鐵勒經藏三十，咨之阿渾, 西向北向，同皈一尊.

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54. Although this date does not fit into the chronology of Prophet Muḥammad's life, this date appears in a number of Chinese inscriptions and texts as the date of the first arrival of Islam to China. See for example the inscription from the Songjiang 松江 mosque, entitled *Chongxiu qingzhensi beiji* 重修清真寺碑記 ("Stele Commemorating the Refurnishing of the Mosque"), dated 1677, Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 and Lei Xiaojing 雷晓靜 2001, 43.

55. As Takahiro pointed out, the Manchu version used *molo* and the Chaghatay version used the *mullā* (<CG "dignitaries") instead of *Mo-ni* ("followers of Manichaeism") that appears in the Chinese version.

56. Takahiro 2009, 21-22.

57. Takahiro 2009, 22-23.

58. Tiele is an older ethnonym for the Turkic tribes of Northwest China and Central Asia. See Skaff 2012, 188-191.

59. Takahiro 2009, 24.

The influx of Turkic Muslims into Beijing and China's inland provinces, and the growing involvement of the Qing dynasty in Xinjiang re-configured the paradigm of Islam, highlighting the Turkic elements at the expense of China's inland Islamic culture and Arabo-Persian scholarship.

5. Islamic Scholarship As a Political Problem

Two incidents that involved violent disputes between Ṣūfī schools in Northwestern China bring to light some aspects of the schisms in Arabo-Persian scholarship that occurred following the arrival of new texts and ideas. The intervention of the Qing authorities in both cases had far-reaching consequences for the history of Islam in China in general, and Arabo-Persian scholarship in particular. As the two cases show, disputes regarding texts and rituals became a political issue once the Qing authorities became involved in settling them. The consequences of such an official interventions severely harmed the image of Arabo-Persian scholarship.

The first case involves a complaint that was lodged in the 12th year to the Qianlong reign (=1748) by a certain Ma Yinghuan 馬應煥, a religious leader (*zhangjiao* 掌教) in the local Majiaji Mosque (馬家集清淨禮拜寺) in Hezhou 河州, against Ma Laichi 馬來遲, a local Muslim who, according to the allegations, promoted "evil evil teachings, and deception of the public" (*xiejiao huozhong* 邪教惑眾).[60] The complaint filed in 1748 was followed by a thorough investigation of the Muslim schools in the region carried out by the local Qing officials. Ma Laichi (1681-1766) was a son of a degree-holder, and a follower of Hidāyat Allāh. After graduating from Islamic school, and teaching for few years in Xining and Hezhou, Ma Laichi decided to go on pilgrimage to Mecca 1728 via Guangzhou. Upon arrival in ʻAdan in Yemen he met with local scholars, and finally decided to study under Muḥammad Ji-bu-ni Ai-hai-man-ti A-ge-lai 穆罕默德吉布尼艾海曼提阿格來.[61] Thereafter, he visited Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo. A-ge-lai introduced Ma to Mawlānā Makhdūm, who continued Ma's Ṣūfī instruction. Ma Laichi returned to China in 1734 via Canton, and began to enthusiastically proselytize in the region of Hezhou, and later among the Salars and Tibetans in the vicinity of Xunhua 循化 and Xining 西寧 (in Qinghai province) .[62]

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60. The information below is based on the biographies of Ma Laichi included in historical records of the Khūfīyah school and paraphrased in secondary works, as well on palace memorials regarding the complain against Ma.

61. It is not clear how to parse this Arabo-Persian name. It might refer to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʻAqīlah (d. 1150/1737), mentioned by Ma Liangjun 馬良駿 (1870-1957) in his Arabic biography of Ma Mingxin 馬明心. A confusion between the two Ma's might have occurred. *Tianfang Shijing* 天方詩經 [The Classic of Islamic Poetry], 25:11.

62. There are significant discrepancies between the the biographies of Ma Laichi. Fletcher and Trippner tell us of Ma's three years journey through Xinjiang to Yemen, where he stayed for a year, then to Bukhara, and then again to Mecca to study under a Naqshbandī sheykh called in Chinese A-chi-lai. Later, Ma moved to study under Mawlānā Makhdūm. See Fletcher 1995, 15-20; Trippner 1961, 154-155. I follow here the information on Ma Laichi's biography given in the works of Bai Shouyi and Ma Tong. Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 901; Ma Tong 馬通

Ma Laichi, we are told, brought with him to China gifts he received from his teacher A-ge-lai: an inscribed sword; a seal; an ornamental scroll with an illustration of the Kaʿba; a woolen Ṣūfī garment; a prayer mat; 80 copies of the Qur'an; and, copies of two additional texts - the first entitled *Mingshale* 冥沙勒 (also spelled as 明沙勒)[63], and the second, *Mao-lu-ti* (卯路提, <AR. *mawlid* "Nativity [of Prophet Muḥammad]").[64] These latter two texts received a central position in Ma's teachings. Yet, it was the Ṣūfī dismissal of textual scholarship in favor of rituals that involved meditative recitation of praises to the Prophet Muḥammad (AR. *dhikr*), and Ma's alternative opinions regarding customs such as procedures of breaking the fast, or mourning rituals that invoked the religious leaders against him.

Qing bureaucrats could not fully comprehend the dispute over texts, rituals and customs. Disagreements over Islamic rituals and the authority of Arabo-Persian texts were of little concern to the Qing officials. The investigation and removal of any traits of heretical or subversive activities, on the other hand, were of top priority. Thus, Ma Yinghuan's complaint was read through their the prism of heresy and anti-Qing activity, as demonstrated well by the imperial rescript (*yu* 諭) that was consequently issued by the Qianlong emperor. The rescript reads:

> It is hard to determine whether Ma Yinghuan's accusations are true. However, his assertions that [Ma Laichi] had established a school of evil teaching (邪教 xiejiao) that transcends Islamic teachings, and that is expected to draw more adherents in the future, and that his activity creates rivalry that will stir up unrest and lead to killing, are a threat to the customs and morals of the local peo-

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1979, 161-164.

63. The Arabo-Persian title behind the string *Mingshale* 明沙勒 is not clear. In Chinese each of the three characters carries the literal meaning of "brightness" and "hoarse (voice)" respectively. The latter is used in the same sentence to describe the act of whispering that was taking place in these gathering. The term *Ming-sha-le* 明沙勒 is mentioned later in the same account, referring to a title of a book that Ma Laichi brought with him to China. Hence, the term seems to be a transliteration of a foreign term. Fletcher suggested that *sha-le* 沙勒 stands for the Arabic *sharḥ* ("commentary"), and that *Ming-sha-le* would be "The Commentary of 'Brightness'". He raises the possibility that "Brightness" refers to Nūr al-dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 1492) *Ashi"at al-lamaʿāt*, a popular work among Ṣūfī and non-Ṣūfī's in China. Fletcher 1995, 16-18. Jāmī's work circulated in other parts of China, yet in none of the other cases it carried this name. A palace memorial reporting the accusations against Ma Laichi gives what seems to be a fuller version of the title: Ha-ze-li-ta-qi-bu-ming-sha-le 哈則乃他其不明沙勒, it adds that the title translates to Chinese as "selected passages" (*jing jieju* 經截句). The memorial also mentions that Ma Laichi copied parts of this 30-volume book, when he encountered it at the residence of Muslims while he was on a business trip. See Palace Memorial TPM 000858, Qianlong 12/7/3.

64. Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 163.

ple. The sprouts of such activity must be cut off as early as possible in order to thoroughly annihilate heresy, and pacify local community.[65]

馬應煥所告。雖虛實難定。但據其所稱、於回教之外、又立邪教。將來聚集益眾。彼此角勝。必致仇殺相尋。蔓延滋事。為土俗民風之害。不可不早折其萌芽。痛除邪妄。以靖地方.

Within a few years, in 1781, a similar dispute arose between opponents and followers of Ma Mingxin 馬明心 (1719-1781), a preacher that engaged in proselytizing activity in Xunhua department 循化廳 in the vicinity of Hezhou.[66] Ma's biography and the history of his Jahrīyah school (CH. *Zhe-he-ren-ye* 哲赫忍耶 also spelled 哲合忍耶, <AR. *jahr* "publicness, publicity")[67] remarkably resemble those of Ma Laichi and the school he established few decades beforehand. After studying for Arabic in a local Muslim school in Gansu, Ma Mingxin accompanied his uncle on his pilgrimage journey to Mecca in 1728 via Xinjiang and Central Asia. They arrived in 1729 in Yemen, where Ma eventually became a student at one of the schools of the Naqshbandī order in the city of Zabīd.[68] Sixteen years after his initial departure, Ma returned to China in 1744, bringing with him a number of copies of the Qur'an, a copy of a text entitled *Mawlid* (CH. *mao-lu-ti* 卯路提, <AR. "Nativity [of Prophet Muḥammad]"),[69] a copy of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Tabādkānī's (d. 1486) *Mukhammas* (CH. *Mu-he-man-si* 穆何曼斯 <AR. "pentameter"),[70] and a copy of *Maḍā'iḥ* (CH. *Man-dan-*

65. *Qing shilu*, Gaozong shilu 290:803 (Qianlong 12/5/13).

66. On Ma Mingxin, the Jahrīyah school, and the 1781 clashes, see Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 273-289; Fletcher 1975; Fletcher 1995, 27-38; Lipman 1998, 103-115.

67. Ma Mingxin's school became to be known as the Jahrīyah school in light of the ritual of voiced *dhikr* (a central Ṣūfī ritual that involved the pronouncing the Allah's names) that characterized his teachings.

68. Ma Tong suggests it was a school of the Shādhilīyah order, and names the Master Muḥammad b. al-Zayn (CH. Mu-han-mo-de bu-lu se-ni 穆罕默德布綠色尼) Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 274. The Shādhilīyah order was an influential Ṣūfī order that goes back to the teachings of the Egyptian-based scholar Abū Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258). The order became popular in the Maghreb as well as in Greater Syria and Arabia. See Trimingham 1971, 45-51 and passim.. Fletcher connects it to the school of al-Zayn b. Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī (1643/1725) in Zabīd, Yemen through his son ʻAbd al-Khāliq (1705-1740), who according to oral Jahrī traditions was Ma Mingxin's Naqshbandī Master in Yemen. Fletcher 1995, 29. See also Fletcher 1989, 24.

69. Ma Laichi is said to have been brought a work by the same title.

70. *al-Mukhammas* is Tabādkānī's Persian translation of al-Būṣīrī's (d. 1294) famous Ṣūfī eulogy to prophet Muḥammad, entitled *Qaṣidat al-Burdah* (lit., "Poem of the Mantle"), into Persian and attached his commentary. The work includes 126 verses, covering a variety of topics including the creation of the world, the human soul, the birth and merits of Prophet Muhammad, and the descent of the Qur'an. On *Qaṣidat al-Burdah* and Tabādkānī's translation, see Hājjī Khalīfah 1992, 2:1331-1333; Bakhtyar 1994, 92.

ye-he 滿丹夜合, also *Ma-da-yi-hai* 滿達亦海 <AR. "eulogy").[71] During the next decade and a half, Ma enthusiastically worked to spread his Naqshbandī Master's teachings in the vicinity of Hezhou and Xunhua. Both places had a strong presence of followers in Ma Laichi's Khafīyah school, and the two schools competed for local support. The relative success of Ma Mingxin's school in gaining popularity among local Muslim, as well as among the followers of Ma Laichi, resulted in a growing tension between the two schools. These tensions escalated at times into violent clashes, and consequently brought about an intervention by the Qing authorities.

In 1762, about a decade after the Ma Laichi's investigation, and only few years after the annexation of Xinjiang, Qing officials began to actively respond to what they saw as threats to local stability in Xunhua. Backed by various accusations made by followers of Ma Laichi's school, Ma Mingxin's school was labelled as "Evil Teachings" (*xiejiao* 邪教), and Ma was expelled from Xunhua. Looking at the groups through the prism of its anti-heresy campaign, the Qing authorities applied a bifurcated view of the local Islamic groups in Xunhua, referring to Ma Mingxin's school as the "New Teachings" (*xinjiao* 新教), and to the Ma Laichi's school as the "Traditional Teachings" (*jiujiao* 舊教).

Followers of the two schools in Xunhua continued to stir up hatred even after Ma's relocation. Under the guidance of its local leaders in Xunhua, Ma Mingxin's school began to collect weapons and prepare for an armed confrontation with their rivals. Further accusations against Ma Mingxin brought his arrest and consequent execution by the Qing authorities in 1781, accusing him of promoting heresy and destabilizing the region. As a result, a burst of armed clashes took place in 1781, when Ma Mingxin's supporters attempted to free their leader from the Qing prison. The futile attempt turned into full-fledge clashes with the Qing authorities who, in turn, deployed military forces to pacify the region. These events that took the lives of several thousands Muslim militants and Qing military men, and which were summarized in an official publication entitled *Qingding Lanzhou jilüe* 欽定蘭州紀略("An Imperially Authorized Concised Record of Lanzhou Events"), represented a major turning point in the history of Islam in China, and in particularly in the treatment of Arabo-Persian scholarship by the Qing authorities.[72]

The disputes between Ṣūfī schools in Northwestern China descended, by the late eighteenth century, into violent clashes, and eventually into deadly confrontation with the Qing authorities. The images of Islam and Arabo-Persian scholarship were greatly damaged by this series of events. It is possible to draw a direct line between the deterioration in the relations of Chinese Muslims with the Qing authorities during the late 18th century and the violent Muslim uprisings that prevailed throughout China during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Moreover, these events gave a fatal blow to Arabo-Persian philology that had once aspired to make Arabo-Persian knowl-

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71. Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 274. Ma Tong also mentions that Ma Mingxin brought with him a certain genealogical text with the *Silsala* (Ṣūfī chain of transmission) of the Shādhilīyah school.

72. On these events, which have been referred to in the historiographical literature as the Su Sishisan Rebellion (*Su sishisan qiyi* 蘇四十三起義) or The Hualin shan Rebellion (*Hualin shan qiyi* 華林山起義), see Fletcher 1995, 31-35; Lipman 1998, 97-102; Li Fanwen 李範文 and Yu Zhen'gui 余振貴 1988, 59-102.

edge universal, and attract the interest of the wider Chinese community.[73]

6. The Hai Furun Case and the Demise of Arabo-Persian Scholarship

By the 1780s, Islamic books moving around China were viewed with great suspicion, as they were arbitrarily linked to the unrest in Northwestern China. Arabo-Persian scholarship, which had flourished in the metropolises of China up to the early 1700s, was now tainted by the new paradigm of subversive Northwestern Islam. At the same time, as part of the empire-wide official campaign that was taking place to remove any seeds for anti-Qing activity, local officials took the liberty to investigate any person who was seen as linked to subversive activities, or could provide clues to any anti-Qing networks. At times, this campaign took the form of intrusive searches for subversive books and other written texts in suspicious households and in travelers' luggage. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine how local officials who happened on Arabo-Persian books or manuscripts were highly suspicious of their contents.

An incident that disquieted the Qing bureaucracy for several months presents a good example of this new hostile environment for Arabo-Persian scholarship that grew out of the growing tensions between the Qing authorities and the Muslim communities in the Northwestern regions and Xinjiang, and the arbitrary linkage of anything that shows traits of Arabo-Persian culture with the political situation in these Northwestern regions. In the 47th year of the Qianlong reign [=1782], Zhu Chun 朱椿, the provincial governor of Guangxi sent an urgent memorial to the emperor. Zhu informed the emperor that during the surveillance of subversive activities in the vicinity of Guilin 桂林, a person who "who had a short braid, and looked like a monk who returned to laity"[74] raised the suspicion of local officials who took him into custody. In his interrogation, it turned out that the person, whose name is Hai Furun 海富潤, was, in fact, "a Muslim from Sanya village 三亞村 in Yazhou 崖州 subprefecture in Guangdong 廣東 province. He had traveled around for seeking teachers for nine years. Due to illness, his hair dropped and the new braid has yet grown fully." His luggage included "21 volumes of copied manuscripts in Arabo-Persian script (*Huizi jing* 回字經)," several of which Hai claimed to have copied himself. The rest, he told investigators, were purchased. The governor received the reports with the Arabo-Persian books, yet was not able to read the language, and count not conclude whether these books included any subversive material. In addition to the Arabo-Persian manuscripts, the governor reported that Hai Furun carried a number of book written in Chinese script. These included: "ten volumes of the work *Tianfang zhisheng shilu* 天方至聖實錄 ['Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered'], a volume of *Tianfang zimu jieyi* 天方字母解義 ['Explanation of the Meaning of Arabo-Persian Letters'], a volume of *Qingzhen shiyi* 清真釋疑 ['Explanations to Questions on Islam'],[75] and a volume of *Tianfang sanzijing* 天方三字經 ['The Three-Character Clas-

73. This fatal blow can be compared to the negative impact of the Taiping rebellion on the mainstream Chinese Classical studies in the metropolitan area of Jiangnan. See Elman 1984, 248-251.

74. Palace Memorial TPM 403041535 Qianlong 47/5/13

75. While all the other titles belonged to Liu Zhi's works, *Qingzhen shiyi* 清真釋疑 ['Explanations to Questions on Islam'] was composed in the 1730s by Jing Tianzhu 金天柱 (ca. 1700-1795). The governor wrongly attributed it to Liu Zhi.

sic of Islam']." All of these books, the memorial suggested, were written be Liu Zhi, a Muslim from Jiangning 江寧, and printed by Yuan Guozuo 袁國祚 between 1775-1778. The wood-blocks of all books were held at the private residence of the Yuan family. After reviewing the Chinese books, it was found that "a common theme among all of these books is the praise of the Western Regions Islamic king, Muhammad. The book *Zhisheng shilu* is audacious since it was translated and published by people of this period, who show no respect or restraint when using the imperial title. In addition, the different types of prefaces 序, Introductory Notes 凡例, Historical Records 紀事, and Discussions 辯論 include multiple cases of presumptuous, subversiveness and absurdity and provide sufficient ground for a thorough interrogation."[76]

Hai Furun, according to his testimony, departed from his hometown in Guangdong in 1774 and travelled through Guangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Anhui and Shaanxi provinces. In all of these places, he sought teachers and stayed for a period of time. In 1781, while he was at Hankou 漢口 and fell ill, he stayed at the local mosque (*libai si* 禮拜寺). There, he met Yuan Er 袁二, who moved from Jiangning (in today's Nanjing) to Hankou and opened there a hat shop, and who gave him the five Chinese books as a gift.

For the governor, who was deeply committed to the fight against anti-Qing activities in his jurisdiction, the unique rhetorics of the Chinese works on Islam were read only in one way: subversive texts that undermine the Qing sovereignty. Moreover, the fact that Hai admitted that he travelled through Shaanxi province in Northern China, led the governor suspect that "he is a fugitive Tibetan-Muslim from Gansu (*Gansheng fanhui louwang nidang* 甘省番回漏網逆黨)". The governor had in mind the violent confrontations between the Qing authorities and local Muslim militias in Xunhua and Hezhou in Northwestern China following Ma Mingxin's execution, and therefore he interpreted Hai's statement that people in the different provinces provided him books and accommodation as a further indication that Hai was a member of an empire-wide network of collaborators with the Muslim rebels of the Northwest. He recommended that the emperor order the interrogation of all of people Hai came in contact with and punish them accordingly."[77]

The governor requested Hai transliterate the titles of the Arabo-Persian works that he carried with him, and attached the list to his memorial. This list of titles, whose original copy was lost and has come to us only by a reprint made in 1931, provides us a glimpse into the books that Hai carried with him. As the following table shows, the twenty one titles of Arabo-Persian works represent a wide-range of fields, including study of language and rhetorics, Islamic praxis and Islamic jurisprudence, Ḥadīth traditions, and Islamic theology. Although not explicitly mentioned, it is reasonable to believe that all these texts were in manuscript form, and that some were in a poor condition (CH. *po* 破), while others were disorganized folios (CH. *san* 散). The following table summarizes the reconstructed titles of the works as they appeared in the list:[78]

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76. Palace Memorial TPM 403041535 Qianlong 47/5/13.

77. Palace Memorial TPM 403041535 Qianlong 47/5/13.

78. The list was copied in 1931 into a compilation on Qing dynasty censorship. *Qingdai wenziyu dang*, 736-738. For further information on these titles, and their identification, and references in other works in China see Appendix 2 of this dissertation. Some of the entries include the term *jing* 經 ("classic; scripture; work")

Table 4: Reconstruction of the titles of Arabo-Persian Works confiscated from Hai Furun

Original Transcription in Hai's Memorial (in parenthesis are comments about the size or state of the work)	**Reconstructed Title**	**Approximated Field of Study**
Te-zhi-we-de 特直威德 (one book 一本)	*Tajwīd* ("Proper Pronunciation")	Language
Gu-li-si-tuo-na 古利寺拖納 (one book 一本)	Sa'dī's *Gulistān*	Poetry
Lao-su-tu-le-mu-suan jing 老宿涂勒木算經 (one book 一本)	*Rawḍat al-Musallī* ("The Worshipper's Garden")	Islamic Law/Praxis
Hu-te-bu 胡特布 (one book 一本)	Tāj al-Dīn Ḥāfizī Bukhārī's *Khuṭab al-Rasūl*	Ḥadīth
Bao-te-na-za jing 包特那扎經 (one book 一本)	? *Bāṭin (wa-)ẓā(hir)*?	Mysticism?
Yi-er-sha-de jing 已而沙得經 (one book 一本)	Nasafī's *Irshād dar 'ilm-i ma'rifat u Wa'z* (also known as *Kītāb al-irshād*)	Islamic Law/Praxis
Xue-er-fu 雪而福 (one book 一本)	*Ṣarf*	Language
Er-wa-mi-le 而挖彌勒 (one book 一本)	Jurjānī's (d. 474/1078) work *Mi'at 'āmil* known also as *'Awāmil*	Islamic Law/Praxis
Hai-er-ka-yi-ge 孩兒喀意革 (one book 一本)	*Ḥaqā'iq*	Islamic Law/Praxis
Bai-ya-ni jing 白亞泥經 (one book 一本)	Nasafī's *Bayān-i i'tiqād*	Language
Man-liao jing 滿蓼經 (one book 一本)	Jāmī's *Sharḥ al-Mawlá*	Language
Zao jing 哨經 (one book 一本)	*Ḍaw' al-miṣbāḥ*	Language
Er-ka-ye-de jing 兒喀葉得經 (one book 一本)	Nasafī's *'Aqā'id*	Theology
She-er-xia mu-er-ji 射而暇目爾脊 (one book, wretched 一本破)	*Sharh min al-'Izzī* (?)[79]	Language
Zaxue de-er-wa-te jing 雜學得而哇忒經 (one book, wretched 一本破)	*Zaxue* (lit., "miscellanea," apparently a translation of Persian *safīnah* or *jung*, or Arabic *majmū'ah*) *Da'wāt*	Islamic Law/Praxis
Mo-xing-ma-te jing 末興媽特經 (one book, wretched 一本破)	Mullā Mīr Maḥmūd Nāmangānī's *Muhimmāt al-Muslimīn*	Theology
Zaxue 雜學 (one book, wretched 一本破)	*Zaxue* (lit., "miscellanea," see above)	Islamic Law/Praxis
Zuan-cha-ni jing 纂查泥經 (one book, wretched 一本破)	al-Zanjānī's *Taṣrīf al-Zanjānī*,	Language

that is omitted from the reconstructed title. In the reconstruction of titles, and identification of work, I have consulted Leslie et al. 2001. I departed from their identification in few cases.

79. Yang lists the title المعزي (al-Mu'azzī ?) as one of the 13 primers used in Islamic schools in the early 20th century. He suggests that it was a manual of Arabic verbal conjugation. See Yang Huaizhong and Yu Zhen'gui 1995, 347. Ma Jian refers to the work *Kītāb al-'Izzī* on grammar. *Kītāb al-'Izzī* seems to refer to Zanjānī's work on Arabic morphology, titled *al-'Izzī fī al-taṣrīf*.

Fe-ge-hei mo-si-ou-de jing 費格黑墨思毆得經 (one book, wretched 一本破)	Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf al-Samarqandī's *Fiqh-i Masʿūdī*	Islamic Law/Praxis
Te-bu-se-er jing 特補色耳經 (one book, dispersed folios 一本散)	al-Qāḍī Saʿīd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Basṭāmī's *Tabṣīr*	Mysticism
Wei-ka-ye jing 委喀夜經 (one book, dispersed folios 一本散)	Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-thānī, Maḥmūd b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Masʿūd b. Tāj al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī's (d. 745/1344) *Sharḥ Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-hidāyah*	Islamic Law/Praxis

In the months after the capture of Hai, officials from all parts of China participated in large-scale investigations with regard to the Chinese works that Hai Furun carried in his luggage. Authors of prefaces and their descendants were pursued in different provinces, and interrogated in the local *yamen* offices. Transcripts of these interrogations were sent to the provincial levels for process and further instructions. After questioning Yuan Er, who granted Hai many of the texts, it was found out that woodblocks of the five Chinese books were produced by the Yuan Er's grandfather, a literatus by the name of Yuan Guozuo 袁國祚, and were kept at the Yuan family home in Jiangning 江寧 (today's Nanjing). Local officials in Jiangning summoned the Yuan family to interrogation, confiscated and later destroyed the woodblocks.

The destruction of the woodblocks had both a symbolic and an actual effect on Arabo-Persian scholarship in late imperial China. The woodblock at the Yuan family home included the latest editions of Liu Zhi's works at the time. Yuan Guozuo prepared these woodblocks as older editions of these works were in poor conditions. As such, their destruction affected the availability of Liu Zhi's works. Symbolically, the destruction of these woodblocks demonstrated the tragic outcomes of the convergence of the Qing politics in the Northwestern regions and the attitudes towards Arabo-Persian scholarship.

Similar cases of confiscations of Arabo-Persian texts, and investigations of their possessors took place continued throughout the 1780s. These cases further demonstrated the effects that politics had on the legitimacy of Arabo-Persian scholarship. An official correspondence on a similar case of confiscated Islamic work in 1784 further clarified the official policy behind the confiscations of Islamic works, and the gap between the policy and its de-facto implementation. The case, whose documentation has come to us in Manchu official correspondences and in the *Veritable Records of the Qing,*[80] involved the confiscation of letters and texts from a certain cart driver by the name of *Ma Qijiao* 馬起蛟. After examining the texts, Fu Kang'an reported that these were standard texts, and required no further action, and added that Islamic texts should not be confiscated unless they seem to be affiliated with Ma Mingxin's teachings.

Similar instructions were sent in a memorial written by the Manchu official Le Bao 勒保 in 1789.[81] Le Bao wrote that the biggest threat in the area of Pingliang 平涼 (in today's Gansu province) comes from the "New Teachings" movement. As a way to

80. The case is discussed in Hua Li 華立 2010, 234-235. In the *Veritable Records of the Qing Qing shilu*, *Gaozong shilu* 1228:462 (QL 52/4/10)., For the Manchu documents see 407-411*Qingdai Xinjiang Manwen dang'an huibian* 清代新疆滿文檔案匯編 [Anthology of Manchu Documents on Xinjiang during the Qing Dynasty], 165:407-410.

81. *Qing shilu*, Gaozong shilu 1341:1183 (QL 54/10/22).

determine what texts belong to members of the "New Teachings," he explained that although members of the "New Teachings" use the same scriptures as members of the "Old Teachings," there are differences in the quality of books of the two groups. The books used by members of the "Old Teachings" were bound with sheep leather which is expensive, while members of the "New Teachings" use cheaper material.

The violent frictions between different Islamic schools, and in particular the events that followed the execution of Ma Mingxin were interpreted by the Qing government as significant threats to its stabile rule in Northern China. In the course of the Qing campaign against Ma Mingxin's movement, Arabo-Persian text were confiscated, woodblocks of Chinese works on Islam were destroyed, and people who held in their possessions such texts were interrogated. As a result, Arabo-Persian scholarship could not sustain, and gradually reached its demise. A scholarly movement that once wished to introduce universally applicable knowledge from the scrutiny of Arabic and Persian texts, found itself isolated, marginalized and criminalized.

7. Chapter Summary

After a surge in publication of Chinese works on Islam over several decades, the mid-18th century saw a gradual decline. In their attempts to fortify their rule and crush their opposition, the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors implemented intrusive policies that aimed at annihilating anti-Qing movements. In the course of these policies, adherence to the official orthodoxy was seen as a key means to pacify local communities. Extensive anti-heretical campaigns, aimed at exterminating any pockets of resistance were carried out by local officials. Arabo-Persian scholarship, despite its strict fidelity to the Qing rule, was seen by local officials as heretical, and potential threat. Even after the direct intervention of the Yongzheng emperor in favor of the Muslim residents, local officials continued to view the practice of Islamic rituals and the engagement in Arabo-Persian scholarship as potential threat.

An intensification in Ṣūfī activities in Central Asia brought new interpretation of Islam to China, and began to disseminate their ideas among Chinese Muslims. The multiplicity of texts and ideas generated disagreements among Arabo-Persian scholars and Muslim leaders regarding theological positions and practices. These disagreements, in turn, motivated some to substantiate their claims with textual evidence on one hand, and to define which texts were "orthodox," and should be used on the other. Moreover, these disagreements resulted, in some cases, in violent clashes between Muslims schools that required the intervention of the Qing authorities. The authorities viewed these clashes as potential political hazards, and took various measures to restrict Islamic activities. Despite its attempt to target only the new Ṣūfī "subversive" order, the measures implemented by the Qing authorities had a far-reaching effect on Arabo-Persian scholarship that was often mistaken to be associated with the new orders. This unwelcoming environment resulted in the breakdown of Arabo-Persian scholarship during the late 18th century.

EPILOGUE: BEYOND ARABO-PERSIAN PHILOLOGY IN CHINA

In 1790, Louis-Mathieu Langlès, an honored officer at the Garde National Parisienne and a former student of Arabic and Persian in Collège de France, delivered a petition to the French National Assembly, carrying the title "On the importance of Oriental languages for the development of commerce, the progress of literature and the sciences."[1] His lengthy speech opened with his praise for the French Revolution that had taken place less than a year before: "Gentlemen, for a long time we had languished in recklessness and degradation. In order to pull us out of this disgraceful state, a great revolution was required. The philosophers, politicians, and some historians had pleaded, predicted, and promoted that very notion. At last, their valuable and masculine eloquence aroused our spirit, which had been numbed by the tradition of enslavement, yet not fully extinguished." He then continued to explain the instrumentality of literature in the revolution, and its decisive role in setting the fate of the nation. "Oriental literature," he asserted, "offers a vast field, with whose entire scope we are not familiar yet."[2] As a student of Arabic and Persian, Langlès understood the importance of Arabic and Persian texts in restoring the classical heritage, and as such, their potential in advancing knowledge. He proclaimed: "Besides this innumerable multitude of literary and technical works, oriental languages contain numerous translations, many of which can help us to recover the unfortunate loss of the originals. There is even a reason to believe that among the various Arabic and Persian commentaries on Aristotle, Plato, Euclid, etc., we can find new information that exists exclusively at the hands of the Orientals who had been instructed by the Greeks themselves."[3] Five years later Langlès founded the École spéciale des langues orientales ("School for Oriental Languages") in Paris, and served as its first director.

Merely eight years earlier, in 1782, a grandiose imperial project aiming to compile a complete anthology of Chinese literature reached its final stages in the Chi-

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1. *De l'importance des langues orientales pour l'extension du commerce: les progrès des lettres & des sciences. Adresse a l'Assemblée Nationale*, 1.

2. *De l'importance des langues orientales pour l'extension du commerce: les progrès des lettres & des sciences. Adresse a l'Assemblée Nationale*, 3. The original French: "La Littérature orientale...offre une carrière immense dont nous ne connoissons pas encore toute l'étendue."

3. *De l'importance des langues orientales pour l'extension du commerce: les progrès des lettres & des sciences. Adresse a l'Assemblée Nationale*, 7. The original French: "Outre cette multitude innombrable d'ouvrages littéraires & techniques, les langues orientales contiennent beaucoup de traductions, dont plusieurs pourroient nous servir à réparer la perte des originaux que nous regrettons. Il y a même lieu de croire, que dans les nombreux Commentaires arabes & persans *d'Aristote*, de *Platon*, d'*Euclide*, &c., nous trouverions beaucoup de connoissances nouvelles pour nous, & qui appartiennent particuliérement [sic.] aux Orientaux, chez qui les Grecs eux-mêmes ont été s'instruire."

nese capital, Beijing. The project, which continued for a decade, was the cultural pinnacle of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign (r. 1735-1796), and a milestone in the cultural history of China. As part of the project, local officials were ordered to collect texts in their jurisdictions, and send them to the capital. Out of the hundreds of Arabic and Persian manuscripts that circulated in China during the time, and whose presence was brought to the attention of the emperor on several occasions, not a single text was collected. A vibrant community of scholars, interested in Arabic and Persian knowledge translated and compiled scores of original Chinese works on various themes. Hundreds of copies of these works changed hands during that period. Out of this large pool, a single title was selected by the provincial governor of Jiangnan 江南, and sent to the capital. Yet, even that single work was eventually not included in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 ("Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries," hereafter *SKQS*) project, and was only nominally represented in the project by a short synopsis in the *General Catalogue* (Ch. *Sikuquanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要) . The synopsis described the endeavor of the author of the text, Liu Zhi 劉智, to survey seventy works "of those countries" (i.e., the Islamicate world), and compile a work in Chinese on Islamic rituals. The entry then summarized the contents of the different chapters, and concluded with the following statement:

> "Arabo-Persian teachings [*Huihui jiao* 回回教] are fundamentally far-fetched and absurd. However, Liu Zhi had an extensively knowledge of the Confucian canon, and hence he interpolated various ideas from the Confucian classics [*jingyi* 經義] in order to embellish his discourse. His literary style is actually rather elegant. However his premise is at its root untrue and so the clever literary ornamentation does him no good."[4]
>
> 回回教本僻謬。而智頗習儒書。乃雜援經義。以文其說。其文亦頗雅贍。然根柢先非。巧爲文飾。無益也.

Ironically, the *Siku quanshu*, the pinnacle of late imperial China's intellectual history and a representative of the new philology-intensive approach to textuality, marked the ending of two centuries of Arabo-Persian scholarship.

In the above quotes, Langlès and the editor of the *SKQS* represented two views of textual scholarship and philology. These two views displayed the close link between philology and politics, as well as mirroring the significant difference between the French and the Chinese views of imperial politics. Langlès' description of the merits of orientalism exhibits an inclusive view of knowledge, and recognition in the potential gains that the study of foreign cultures can bring the France. As in the case of the emergence of Sanskrit studies in 18th century England, Arabo-Persian philology constituted an element of the French colonialist ideology. Arabic and Persian texts, just like Latin, Sanskrit or Chinese encompass a great deal of knowledge on the universe and human society that awaits to be revealed. Philology, for him, is a methodology that can enrich French knowledge by recovering the classical heritage, and strengthen the French competition on global markets.

The editors of the *SKQS* presented a different view of knowledge, and in turn, represented an alternative view of empire. The integralist view of the empire that the *SKQS* editors held emphasized the importance of an imperial language and national

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4. *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 欽定四庫全書總目提要 [Annotated Catalog of the Imperial Library], 125:2640. I follow here Frankel's translation (with some modifications), Frankel 2011, 53.

imperial ideology. These components were seen as integral to the establishment of sovereignty, and crucial for people's morality. Knowledge, within the context of this ideology, was preconditioned on its adherence to the national language and ideology. The critical textual studies, which the *SKQS* editors were committed to, did not transgress this basic principle.

Moreover, two terms in the short synopsis of Liu Zhi's work succinctly summarized the major challenges in the long and shifting process of accommodating Arabo-Persian knowledge in China: the terms *ru* 儒 ("[legitimate] scholarship"], and *wen* 文 ("the aesthetic standards of written knowledge"). The legitimation of Arabo-Persian scholarship was a constant issue in the history of late imperial China's accommodation of Arabo-Persian texts. The emergence of Arabo-Persian scholarship in the late 16th century marked the transformation of Arabo-Persian technical knowledge during the Yuan and the Ming dynasties into Hu Dengzhous's full-fledged Arabo-Persian philology. It was the erosion in the authority of the Cheng-Zhu school of Confucianism following Wang Yangming's critique that expanded the boundaries of *ru*, and, consequently, facilitated the emergence of an Arabo-Persian school (*Xixue* 西學, lit., "Western Teachings", or *Tianfang xue* 天方學, lit., "Arabo-Persian Teachings"), and its integration into late imperial China's intellectual landscape. Similarly, the changing socio-political conditions during the 18th century eventually withheld the inclusion of Arabo-Persian scholarship from within *ru* scholarship, and thus rendered it illegitimate.[5]

The aesthetic dimension of knowledge, *wen*, constituted a crucial element in promoting use of Chinese among Arabo-Persian scholars from the mid-17th century onwards. This dimension prescribed a significant change from the traditional manuscript-based methodology and intensive analysis of original Arabic and Persian texts into scholarship that upheld the use of Classical Chinese eloquence.

The success in applying the standards of *wen* was of no avail in the late 18th century. Arabo-Persian scholarship, even in the Confucianized attire it assumed during the mid-17th century, was no longer considered legitimate. The accommodation of Arabo-Persian scholarship reached its nadir, and practically lost all relevance.

1. Conclusion

This dissertation investigates the movement of written knowledge from the Islamic World to China at the dawn of China's modern age. Concentrating on the reception of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in China during that period, this dissertation examines the socio-political and intellectual processes by which Arabo-Persian knowledge was systemized, processed and presented to Chinese readers. By highlighting the various transformations in the accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge, this dissertation addresses the question why late imperial China, in contrast to early Modern Europe, did not integrate Arabo-Persian knowledge into its "mainstream" scholarly discourse.

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5. Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611-1671), a Chinese scholar in the transitional period between the Ming and the Qing, expressed this exclusive view of scholarship by asserting that Western knowledge (in his case, the knowledge introduced by the Jesuits) "elaborated on physical measurements (*zhice* 質測), yet lacked an understanding of the undergirding metaphysical principles (*tongji* 通幾)." Lim Jongtae 2008, 145. On Fang Yizhi's perception of Western Learning, see Peterson 1979.

Studies of cross-cultural exchanges during the Early Modern period have long recognized the contribution of Arabic and Persian scholarly traditions to the development of the various branches of knowledge in the West. In the case of late imperial China, however, a substantial part of the historiography has focused on the organic development of scholarship among China's literati class. Others have pointed to the contribution of the Jesuits and subsequent European missions in negotiating Western and Chinese scholarly traditions.

This dissertation highlights the existence of an alternative channel of West-East textual movement through which Arabic and Persian texts on subjects such as philosophy, theology and the natural sciences were brought to the attentions of Muslims and non-Muslim literati in China. This channel served as an important channel for transmitting Western concepts, methods, and techniques to China. In contrast to the Jesuit channel of transmission, the scholarship that emerged around this channel of transmission made use of original Arabic and Persian texts, and directly engaged in their study.

Four phases of Arabo-Persian scholarship in late imperial China are described in this dissertation. First, a prelude to that scholarship during the Yuan and Ming periods that introduced China to the accomplishments of the Islamicate world in astronomy, astrology and medicine is discussed. The motivation behind the import and translation into Chinese of Arabo-Persian texts during that two periods was utilitarian at its core, and aimed at exploiting the Islamic accomplishments in specific fields of the natural sciences. Second, a scholarly movement led by the Muslim literati Hu Dengzhou laid the foundation for a philological study of Arabic and Persian texts and highlighted the rich knowledge on the natural world embedded in these texts. Third, the rise of Chinese language literature on Islamic themes during the mid-17th century widened the relevance of Arabo-Persian scholarship to the larger non-Muslim community of literati through the use of Chinese and printing technology. Finally, Arabo-Persian scholarship broke down during the mid-18th century following new perspectives on the relationship between that scholarship and the Confucian orthodoxy.

The dissertation demonstrates the effects that the socio-political environment had on late imperial China's accommodation of foreign knowledge. It was the specific socio-political circumstances in China during the 16th century, and in particularly the effects of Wang Yangming's movement, that facilitated the emergence of a scholarly movement that wished to present the corpus of Arabic and Persian texts as an alternative to the Confucian canon. It was socio-political pressures during the mid-17th century that motivated Arabo-Persian scholars to adopt Chinese as their main medium and employ printing for the distribution of their writings. Finally, it was the socio-political circumstances during the mid-18th century that associated Arabo-Persian scholarship with heresy and subversive activities, restricted its activities, and eventually brought about its demise.

The debates on whether the European terms "philosophy" and "philology" can describe the intellectual developments in late imperial China have received a considerable amount of discussion in the last few decades. This dissertation builds on these discussions, and shows that the use of linguistic methods to extract ideas from texts was also employed by communities of learners outside the "mainstream" intellectual discourse. It advances the claim that if we regard the study of Chinese texts by late imperial Chinese literati, using various textual and linguistic methods like philology, scholarly projects such as the one carried out by Hu Dengzhou and his disciples, should be viewed as philology as well. After all, Hu and his followers introduced analytical frameworks for the study of language, such as morphology, syntax, logic and

rhetoric to their Chinese disciples, and trained them in copying and collation of texts.

Transforming Arabo-Persian scholarship in the 17th century expanded its visibility among Muslim and non-Muslim Chinese literati. The use of Chinese as the main medium of writing allowed Arabo-Persian scholarship to be introduced to audiences without reading skills in Arabic or Persian. At the same time, it distanced Arabo-Persian scholarship from its original literature, and in turn, limited its ability to reflect scholarly innovations in the other centers of Islamic scholarship outside China. The adaption of printing allowed Arabo-Persian scholars to propagate their ideas more efficiently. At the same time, the costs of production that printed works required impeded the publication of works, and made Arabo-Persian scholarship highly reliant on literati donations.

In hindsight, Arabo-Persian scholarship failed. It failed to attract the attention of the mainstream Chinese intellectuals, and become a significant actor in late imperial China's intellectual history. It failed in producing an intellectual space in China that would integrate foreign texts and theories. The study of Arabic and Persian texts persisted to some degree in local Muslims schools, yet not with different motivation and with different depth. Nevertheless, China's Arabo-Persian scholarship has become a point of pride for Chinese Muslims, and its vestiges in form of hundreds of manuscripts and printed books are scattered in China and around the world.

2. Islamic Scholarship after the 19th century China

The Qianlong period marked the end of Arabo-Persian scholarship in its original form. By the late 18th century, the few scholars that continued to study Islam in China lost their hope to integrate their scholarship into the wider intellectual discourse, and reluctantly concentrated on preserving some of the texts that Arabo-Persian scholarship produced at its heyday. While reprints of Chinese works continued to be made with the remaining woodblocks in entrusted mosques in the Jiangnan, Sichuan and Guangdong regions, practically no new works were published.

During the 19th century, the process of marginalizing Chinese Islam continued. Antagonism between the Qing government and China's various Muslim communities grew, particularly in the Northwest and Southwest. An increase in the number of Chinese traveling outside China to visit the cultural and socio-political centers of the Islamicate world, resulted in the development of aspirations among Chinese Muslims to be further enhance their participation in the wider Islamicate world.

By the mid-19th century, a new generation of Chinese Muslim scholars emerged in Southwestern China. At the core of this new wave of interest in Islamic scholarship stood the numerous writings of Ma Dexin 馬德新 (known also as Ma Fuchu 馬復初 or Yūsuf ʻAbd al-Qayyūm Rūḥ al-Dīn, 1794-1874), a prominent scholar of Islam in 19th century China. Ma set out in 1841 on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and spent the next eight years touring the Middle East. He stayed for relatively lengthy periods in Cairo's al-Azhar University and in Istanbul. Upon his return to China in 1849, he established a new school of Islamic studies in the Southwestern city of Kunming 昆明 (in Yunnan province). Influenced by the Islamic revivalist ideology he encountered during his visit to the Middle East, Ma Dexin promoted the study of conservative, Arabo-centric Islam, stripping the traditional Chinese Islamic scholarship of its Ṣūfī traits. His various works displayed a wide range of interests, in particular Islamic jurisprudence and theology.[6] A relatively large number of his works were writ-

6. For a detailed list of his works in Arabic and Chinese, see Bai Shouyi 白壽彝

ten in Arabic, attempting to introduce Chinese Islam to scholars outside China, and integrate China into the contemporary intellectual discourse in the Islamicate world. His student, Ma Anli 馬安禮 (1820-1899) translated many of his Arabic works into Chinese.

Another Southern scholar, Ma Lianyuan 馬聯元 (known also as Muḥammad Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. Luqmān al-Ṣīnī, b. 1841), set out on pilgrimage and visited the centers of Islamic scholarship in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt and India. Upon his return to China in 1874, Ma published copies of Arabic and Persian works on Islamic jurisprudence, theology, and Arabic and Persian grammar. Among his works is a translation into Arabic of Liu Zhi's *Tianfang xingli*, now titled *Sharḥ al-laṭā'if* (<AR. "Explanation of the Subtleties").[7] Ma highly praised Liu Zhi's project of introducing Arabo-Persian knowledge to China, asserting that "if al-Muṣtafá (i.e., the Prophet Muḥammad) had not sealed the [chain of prophethood], he [Liu Zhi] would have been considered a Chinese prophet."[8]

While trying to revive Arabo-Persian scholarship, both Ma Dexin and Ma Lianyuan as well as their peers and students found themselves caught in the violent turbulence of the Panthay rebellion that swept through Yunnan's Muslim communities between 1856 and 1873. The rebellion carried out by Yunnan Muslims, who protested what they saw as their discrimination by the Qing local administration, further deteriorated relations between China's Muslim communities and the Qing court. In a similar manner to Ma Mingxin's incident in the North-West China a century earlier,[9] the political tensions were translated into restrictions against Chinese Islamic scholarship. Both Ma Dexin and Ma Lianyuan could not elude the fate of being associated with the rebellion. Their works were confiscated, and destroyed. Ma Dexin joined the leadership of the rebellion, and eventually found his death in 1874.[10]

Despite attempts to revive China's Arabo-Persian scholarship during the 19th century, the degradation in the relationship between China's Muslims and the Qing government hindered the ability of China's scholars of Islam to regain official and intellectual legitimacy. The increasing contact with outside Muslim communities, and the disappointment of the marginalization of Islam in China, led China's Islamic scholar to give up their hope to integrating their scholarship into the Chinese intellectual discourse. Instead, they began to seek to expand their participation in intellectual discourse of the Islamicate world.

The late-19th century saw intensification of the contacts between China's Muslim communities and the centers of Islamic scholarship in the Middle East. These contacts resulted in an influx of Arabic texts and ideas, and consequently the emergence of new Chinese interpretations of Islam. The *Yi-ha-wa-ni* 伊赫瓦尼 (<AR.

2000, 1557-1562.

7. For Ma Lianyuan's biography and a list of his works in Chinese, Arabic and Persian, see Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 2000, 1569-1574.

8. Luqmān 1343, 2.

9. See Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

10. On the Panthay rebellion and its consequences for Islamic scholarship in China, see Atwill 2005.

Ikhwān "brotherhood") movement that emerged in Northern-western regions imported an ideology influenced by the teachings of the reformer Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-Wahhāb (1703-1792) into China. Ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb called for the removal of the traits of Ṣūfism and esotericism from Islam, and other elements he perceived to be foreign to the original Arabic core.[11] Instead, he sought to focus scholarship on the study of the Qur'an. A sinicized version of the Wahābist ideology found its way into China during the late 19th century, following Ma Wanfu's 馬萬福 (1849-1934) establishment of the *Yi-ha-wa-ni* movement. The Chinese movement promoted the study of the Qur'an and the corpus of Arabic foundational works,[12] as manifested by their slogan *pingjing xingjiao* 憑經行教 (CH. "Practice the teachings through Reliance on the Scriptures"). Leaders of that movement were involved in the Dungan Revolt (1895-1896) in Gansu, and as a result, the movement had to conceal its activities after it was successfully suppressed by the Qing armies.[13]

Xidao Tang 西道堂 ("The Hall of the Western Way"), a movement that was established around the teachings of Ma Qixi 馬啟西 (also known as *Yiḫyá* 1857-1914), constituted a late-19th century attempt to revive Arabo-Persian philology. Ma's teachings juxtaposed the study of the Confucian commentarial tradition with the Chinese writings on Islam. The works of Liu Zhi were awarded special significance in Ma's curriculum, however, the new winds that prevailed in China's North-western Muslim communities during the late-19th century were inherently different from those of the 17th century. Ma's attempts to revive Arabo-Persian philology and integrate it into the Confucian intellectual discourse were heavily criticized by the local Muslim scholars, who saw Ma's teachings heretical. Violent clashes between the members of this movement and other Islamic school took place during the early 20th century, further contributing to the failure of Ma's movement to make Arabo-Persian philology relevant again.[14]

By the early 20th century China's study of Islam turned away from the earlier attempts to be integrated into the local intellectual discourse. Instead, it centered around the study of a curriculum of Arabic and Persian texts, many of which were part of Hu Dengzhou's curriculum. A significant difference, however, exists between Hu Dengzhou's curriculum and the study of those texts in the 20th century. Hu Dengzhou's objective was to use the study of Arabic and Persian texts as a means to enlighten the wider Chinese society on the principles of the natural world, which he viewed to be embedded within these writings. Twentieth century Islamic scholarship did not aspire to go beyond the boundaries of the Muslim community, and used these texts as a tool to express their Islamic identity.[15]

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11. On Wahhābism's rejection of Ṣūfism, see Peskes 1999; Weismann 2007.

12. Among the main works used by members of this movement was Bayḍawī's exegesis of the Qur'an, *Irshād*, works on Islamic theology. Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 98.

13. On the rise of the *Yi-ha-wa-ni* movement, see Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 94-112.

14. On the history of the Xidao tang, and the resistance it encountered, see Ma Tong 馬通 1979, 113-151.

15. On the current situation of Islamic scholarship in Northern China, see Erie 2016.

The study of the Chinese accommodation of Arabo-Persian knowledge on the natural world provides an insight into the intersection of the local socio-political conditions in China with universal currents. It provides a historiographical framework to discuss cross-cultural knowledge exchanges during the late imperial period through the prism of contacts and connectivity, rather than through the lens of comparative history. As such, it sets the stage for new conceptualizations of the Early Modern Period and Global History.

The hundreds of Arabic and Persian manuscripts scattered in Chinese libraries, and Chinese works on Islam in libraries across the world provide a fertile soil for future investigations. Further study on the reception of Arabo-Persian scholarship in China will enhance our understanding of late imperial China's intellectual landscape. Additional investigations could highlight the nature of China's participation in the wider intellectual history of the Islamicate world as both a recipient and producer of knowledge. The wide range of themes, and textual features displayed in this large corpus of texts should be examined outside the marginalizing context of history of Islam in China, and should be incorporated into the large studies of late imperial China society and thought, the history of Islamicate thought and cultures, and world history.

APPENDIX 1: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ARABO-PERSIAN TITLES LISTED IN THE *MISHU JIANZHI*

The 14th century Chinese work, *Mishu jianzhi* (秘書監志, "Annals of the Palace Library"), includes a list of Arabic and Persian works that were housed in the Northern Astronomical Observatory (*Bei sitian tai* 北司天臺) under the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy (*Sitian jian* 司天監). This list was included in an official memorial sent to the Yuan emperor, dated to the tenth year of the Zhiyuan 至元 period (=1273). The list includes 22 titles, divided into 242 volumes (*bu* 部) that are said to be available at the Observatory.

Several versions of this list are available, and differ significantly in their transcription of the Arabo-Persian titles. During the second half of the eighteenth century, several philologists, led by Wang Huizu 汪輝祖 (1730-1807) and Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804), attempted to reconstruct and standardize the Chinese transcriptions of foreign term and names, mainly Mongolian, that appeared in the *Dynastic History of the Yuan* (*Yuanshi* 元史, originally c. 1369) and other Yuan dynasty documents. During that process, Chinese transcriptions were changed in order to provide more accurate pronunciation of the foreign names and terms. Those "corrected" versions were included in the imperial anthology of "The Four Treasures Compendium" (*Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書, *SKQS*), while the others were discarded. Being a Yuan dynasty document, it is reasonable that the *Mishu jianzhi* was part of this project. Judging from the transcriptions in the *SKQS* version, it seems that the philologists mis-identified the original Arabo-Persian titles, and erroneously altered the Chinese transcription. As a result, the Arabo-Persian titles in the *SKQS* version are flawed and unreadable. Pre-18th century versions, such as the one found by Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1929) in the library of the Cangsheng Mingzhi University 倉聖明智大學 in Shanghai, preserved the earlier transcription. In my discussion of the various Arabo-Persian titles included in that list, I use a facsimile version of an undated manuscript.[1]

In the reconstruction of the original Arabo-Persian titles of works, I have consulted previous works, and in particular the works of Tasaka Kōdō (hereafter TASA), Ma Jian (hereafter MA), and Yang Huaizhong (hereafter YANG).[2] For the identification of the titles, I used the following works of Arabic and Persian bibliographies, and works on Arabo-Persian astronomy.[3] While most of the titles are too general or vague to be identified with certainty, this table will point to works by similar titles that are known to be used in Marāghah observatory, and in particular to those compiled by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (1201-1274). Arguably, the Arabo-Persian texts in China's Imperial Bureau of Astronomy were sent from Marāghah, and thus represent a common pool of texts.

The list of books reflects an early attempt to translate various astronomical and mathematical terms into Chinese. Each entry in the list is comprised of two components: a transliteration of an abridged form of the original Arabo-Persian title of the

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1 Wang Shidian 王士點 and Shang Qiweng 商企翁 1976

2 Tasaka Kōdō 田坂興道 1964,1546-1547; Ma Jian 馬堅 1955,194; Yang Huaizhong and Yu Zhen'gui 1995,179-181.

3 Such as Brockelmann 1901; Selin 1997; Brentjes 2005; Suter 1900.

work, and a Chinese paraphrasing of its theme. The terms employed in the Chinese paraphrasing are rather unique, and seem to represent a genuine attempt to capture the essence of the Arabo-Persian works.

Of interest are the ways by which the list represented the fields of mathematical and astronomical studies. "Geometry," for example, is represented by the term *bo* 擘 (lit. "layout [on a plane]"); "astronomy" by the term *sitian* 司天 (lit. "administration of the Sky"); and "arithmetics" by the term *suanfa* 算法 (lit. "methods of calculation").

A number of terms in the list seem to refer to ways of representing information, such as *suanfa* 算法 ("method[s] of calculation"), *yishi* 儀式 ("figure[s], diagram[s]"), *fadu* 法度 ("method[s]"). The two terms *duanshu* 段數 (lit. "section" and "number") and *duanmu* 段目 (lit. "section" and "article") are juxtaposed to the term *suanfa* and seem to stand for methods of representation of mathematical. The difference in the use of the two terms in the list might suggest that *duanshu* stands for propositions, and *duanmu* for entries or equations.

Three terms for types of texts are mentioned in the list: *zuan* 纂 ("compendium"), *zuanyao* 纂要 ("abridged compendium") and *jing* 經 ("classic"). The term *jing* is used only once, and seems to suggest the work *yijing* 醫經 (arguably Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine*) enjoyed a high status.

	Entry in *Mishujian*	Suggested Reconstruction of Title	Notes on Reconstruction	Possible Identification of the work.	References to identified work
1	兀忽列的 ***Hu-wu-lie-di*** 四擘算法段數 **"Methods of Geometrical Calculation," 15 parts.**	*Uqlīdis* ("Euclid")	TAZ, MA and YANG suggest that *Wu-hu-lie-di* stand for the Arabic *Uqlīdis*, and the rest is the Chinese paraphrasing of the term. While MA transcribes the first two characters of the second part as *si-pi* 四劈 (Lit. "split into four"), TAZ and YANG preserve the transcript found in the original, as read it as *si-bo* 四擘 (lit. "four" + "arrangement [on a plane]"). An alternative possibility is that the transcription of title is *Wu-hu-lie-di-si*, and *bo* 擘 stands for "arrangement". The following four characters *suanfa duanshu* 算法段數 seem to stand for "methods of calculation, segments and numbers" TAZ, MA ,YANG suggest that *sibo*, *sipi* or *bo* are a Yuan rendition of the term "geometry"	Several translations and commentaries on Euclid's *Elements* are known: (1) al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar al-Ḥāsib (d. after 827 AD), completely lost in the West; (2) Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 873 AD), the famous translator of *Bayt al-ḥikma*; (3) Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn (d. 910 AD). Ṭūsī as well compiled a recension of the work. The known editions of the work include only 13 books, yet some circulate the work with an addition of 2 books - the work of Hypsicles, translated by Qusṭā b. Lūqā. Euclid's *Elements* was translated into Chinese in 1607 by Matteo Ricci, under the title *Jihe yuanben* 幾何原本 (lit. "The authentic work of Geometry").	Heath 1956; de Young 1992; Selin 1997, 271; Brentjes 2005; Nasr 2013, 209.

2	**罕里速窟 *Han-li Su-ku* 允解算法段目 "Solutions to methods of [geometrical] calculation," 3 parts.**	*Ḥall-i Shukūk* ("The Solutions of Uncertainties")	No suggested reconstructions by MA, YANG and TASA	Might refer to Abū ʻAlī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥassan b. al-Haytham al-Baṣrī's (d. 1038) Arabic commentary on Euclid, titled: *Ḥāl Shukūk Kitāb 'Uqlīdis* ("The Solutions of Uncertainties in the Books of Euclid")	GAL I:469
3	**撒唯那罕答喜亞 *Sa-wei-na han-da-xi-ya* 諸般算法段目並儀式 "Various types of calculations and diagrams," 17 parts.**	*...handasīyah* ("Geometrical...")	While the last four characters rather clearly stand for "*handasīyah*" (<AR. "geometrical"), the first three characters are unclear. YANG and MA suggest to read it as *sarīnah* (meaning unclear), TAZ suggests *sān* (<PE "method, figure diagram"). Other possible readings of the first part include *ṣuwarhā* (PE. "forms"); It is also possible that a copyist misspelling occurred and the correct string is *sa-wei-ye* **撒唯耶**,which could then stand for one the *zāwiyah* ("angle") or its plural form *zawāyā* ("angles"). It might as well stand for *shāfiyah* ("unequivocal")	It might refer to Ṭūsī's *al-Risālah al-shāfīyah*, in which he studied Euclid's fifth postulate.	Nasr 2013, 209.

4	**麥者思的 *Ma-zhe-si-di* 造司天儀式 "On Making of Astronomical Diagrams," 15 parts.**	*Majisṭī* ("Almagest")	MA, YANG and TAZ suggest it stands for the *Almagest*.	Several translations of Ptolemy's *Almagest* into Arabic exist including (1) al-Ḥasan b. Quraysh; (2) al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar al-Ḥāsib and Sarjūn b. Hilīyā (comp. 827 AD); (3) Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn. This translation served as the basis for the Latin translation; (4) Thābit b. Qurrah (d. 901); Ṭūsī compiled a recension of the work as well (comp. 1247). All known recensions comprise 13 books.	GAL I:203, 224; Selin 1997, 271; Nasr 2013, 209; Toomer 1977; Saliba 1987.
5	**阿堪 *A-kan* 訣斷諸般災福 "Predictions on Different Types of Calamities and Good Fortunes"**	*Aḥkām* ("Principles")	MA, YANG and TAZ suggest it stands for the *Aḥkām* ("principles; rules")	The title might be an abbreviation of *Aḥkām al-nujūm* (lit. "The Principles of the Stars, the common term for the field of astrology after the 11th century). Specifically, it might refer to the Iraqi Christian astronomer Ibn Hibintā's (d. 929) *Al-Mughnī fī aḥkām al-nujūm* ("The Complete Book of Astrology"); or to ʿAlī b. Abī al-Rijāl's (d. 1041 AD) influential astrological treatise *Aḥkām al-nujūm* ("The Wisdom of the Stars").	GAL I:221
6	**藍木立 *Lan-mu-li* 占卜法度 "Methods of Divination"**	*Raml* ("Geomancy")	MA, YANG and TAZ suggest that it stands for *Raml* (<AR. "Geomancy")	Might be Ṭūsī's *Risālah-i Raml*	GAL II:151
7	**麻塔合立 *Ma-ta-he-li* 灾[災]福正義 "The Correct Meaning of Calamities and Fortunes"**	*Madkhal* ("The Introduction").	MA and YANG read the transcription as *Ma-ta-he-zheng* 麻塔合正, and suggest that it is misspelling of *Ma-ta-he-zheng*麻塔合止, which they read as *Muḥtāj* (lit. "needed") TASA reads is as *Ma-ta-he-li* and suggests it stands for *Madkhal* (<AR. "introduction")	It might refer to Kūshyār ibn Labbān's (fl. 966 AD) *Al-Madkhal fī ṣinā'at aḥkām al-nujūm* ("Introduction to the Art of Astrology"), a book which was translated into Chinese in the late 14th century.	GAL I:222

8	**海牙剔 *Hai-ya-ti* 窮麻[曆]法段數 “Methods of Calendrical Calculations,” 7 parts.**	*Hay'ah* (“Astronomy”)	YANG suggests that the title is *Hai-ya-ti-qiong* 海牙剔窮, yet provides no possible reconstruction MA and TASA suggest *Hai-ya-ti* 海牙剔 (<PE. *hay'at* "astronomy"). They seem to read the character qiong 窮 as "thorough investigation." Alternative readings suggest that *Hai-ya-ti-qiong* 海牙剔窮 *stands for Hay'at al-kull* ("The Comprehensive system," The term used by al-Kindī [801-873] to designate the study of astronomy) or *Hay'at al-kawn* ("The System of Existence"). Both of these terms appear in Arabic astronomical works.		
9	**呵些必亞 *He-xie-bi-ya* 諸般算法 “Various calculations,” 7 parts.**	*Ḥisābīyah* (“Arithmetics”)	MA, YANG and TASA suggest that it stands for *Ḥisābīyah* (<AR. “Arithmetics”)	Might be Ṭūsī's *Ǧawāmiʿ al-ḥisāb bī-l takht wa-l-turāb*	Nasr 2013, 209.
10	**積尺 *Ji-chi* 諸家麻[曆] “Calendars of the various schools,” 48 parts.**	*Zīj* (“Astronomical Table“)	MA, YANG and TASA suggest that it stands for *Zīj* (<AR. “Astronomical table”)		

11	**速瓦里可瓦乞必 *Su-wa-li ke-wa-qi-bi* 星纂 "Compendium of Stars," 4 parts.**	*Ṣuwar-i Kawākib* ("Figures of Constellations")	YANG and MA suggest that the first three characters stand for *su'āl* (<AR. "question"). TASA suggests that it stands for *Ṣuwar* (<AR. "figures"), and reads the full title as *Ṣuwar-i Kawākib* (<PE. "Figures of Constellations")	A tenth century work by the name *Ṣuwar al-Kawākib* was composed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī (d. 986). Ṭūṣī made the Persian translation of this Arabic work. The work is divided to 4 sections.	GAL I:223; Nasr 2013, 209; Hafez et al. 2011.
12	**撒那的阿剌忒 *Sa-na-di a-la-ti* 造渾儀香漏[4] "Production of the Astrolabe and Exquisite Instruments," 8 parts.**	*Ṣanʿat al-ālāt* ("The Production of Devices") or *Ṣanʿat ālah* ("The Production of the Device").	MA, Yang and TASA suggest that it stands for *Ṣanʿat ālāt* ("The Production of Devices").	The title might refer to Abū Maḥmūd Khujandī's (d. 1000) *Kītāb ṣanʿat al-ālah al-shāmilah* ("The Book on the Production of the Universal Device").	GAL SI: 390; Suter 1900, 74.
13	**撒非那 *Sa-fei-na* 諸般法度纂要 "Abridged Compendium of various methods," 12 parts.**	*Safīnah* ("Compendium")	MA, Yang and TASA suggest that it stands for *Safīnah* (<PE. "Compendium").		
14	**亦乞昔兒 *Yi-qi-xi-er* 燒丹爐火[5] "Alchemical Production," 8 parts.**	*Iksīr* ("Elixir")	MA, Yang and TASA suggest that it stands for *Iksīr* (<AR. "Elixir")	A certain alchemical treatise, or a treatise on astrology.	

[4] *Hunyi* 渾儀 is a term predating the Yuan for an armillary sphere. Two additional words *xianglou* 香漏 (lit. "exquisite meter" or "exquisite instrument") are added to the term here.

[5] The two terms *shaodan* 燒丹 and *luhuo* 爐火 derive from the Daoist alchemical practices, but seem to refer here to pharmaceutical production.

15	**忒畢 *Te-bi* 醫經 "The Classic of Medicine," 13 parts.**	*Ṭibb* ("Medicine")	MA, Yang and TASA suggest that it stands for *Ṭibb* (<AR. "Medicine")	The unusual use of the term *jing* 經 ("classic") suggest that it referred to a work of high regards. Hence, it might refer to Ibn Sīnah's famous *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* ("The Canon on Medicine," comp. 1025). It can also refer to Ṭūṣī's *Qawanin al-ṭibb* or his commentary on Ibn Sīnah's *Canon*.	GAL I:457
16	**艾竭馬荅 *Ai-jie-ma-da* 論說有無源流 "Treatise on the Origin of Existence," 12 parts.**	*Ḥikmat* ("Wisdom")	MA, YANG and TASA suggest that it stands for *Ḥikmat* (<AR. "Wisdom," a common designation for theology)	Seems to be a work on theology, or theosophy. Plausible identifications are Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī's *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* ("The Wisdom of Illumination") or Najm al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī's (who helped to establish Maragha) *Ḥikmat al-'ain* or Quṭb al-Dīn's commentary on *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*	
17	**帖里黑 *Tie-li-hei* 總年號國名 "A Summary of Periods and Dynasties," 3 parts.**	*Ta'rīkh* ("History; Annals")	MA, YANG and TASA suggest that it stands for *Ta'rīkh* (<AR. "History; Annals")		
18	**密阿 *Mi-a* 辨認風水 "Differentiating Airs and Waters," 2 parts.**	*Miyā* ("Waters")	TASA suggest to read the title as *Miyā* (<AR. "Waters"). MA and Yang read it *Mir'āh* (<AR. "mirror").	Might be Hippocrates' medical treatise *Buqrāṭ fī al-ahwiyah wa-l-miyāh wa-l-buldān* ("Work on airs, waters and localities")	
19	**福剌散 *Fu-la-sa* 相書[6] "The Book of Physiognomy," 1 part**	*Firāsah* ("Physiognomy")	MA, YANG and TASA suggest that it stands for *Firāsah* (<AR. "Physiognomy")	Might be Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Firāsah* ("The Book of Physiognomy," c. 1209 AD)	GAL N I 130

[6] The term *xiang* 相 (lit. "appearance") seems to stand here as an abbreviation for *renxiang xue* 人相學 ("physiognomy").

20	者瓦希剌 ***Zhe-wa-xi-la*** 別認寶具 **“Identification of Gems,” 5 parts**	*Jawāhir* (“Gems”)	MA, YANG and TASA suggest that it stands for *Jawāhir* (<AR. “Gems”)	Might be al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-jawāhir* ("The Book of Gems") influenced Ṭūsī's work on mineralogy, Tansouqnama. Or, even Ṭūsī's *Risālah dar ṣifāt-i jawāhir wa-khawāṣ-i aḥjār* ("Treatise on the properties of gems and precious stones")	
21	黑亞里 ***Hei-ya-li*** 造香漏並諸般機巧 **“Production of Exquisite Instruments and Various Types of Mechanical Techniques,” 2 parts**	*Ḥiyāl* (“Devices”)	TASA reads the title as *khayālī* (<AR. "device, type, style, model for imitation"). MA and YANG read it as *ḥiyal* (<AR. "artifices, devices")	Seems to refer to the 9th century work, *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* (“The Book of Devices”), an illustrated work on mechanical devices (c. 850).	GAL I:216, 386
22	虵艾立 ***She-ai-li*** 詩 **“Poetry,” 1 part**	*Shi'r* (“Poetry”)	MA, YANG and TASA suggest that it stands for *Shi'r* (<AR. “Poetry”)		

APPENDIX 2: ANALYSIS OF THE POOL OF ARABO-PERSIAN TEXTS THAT CIRCULATED IN CHINA DURING THE 17TH-18TH CENTURIES

For the purpose of providing an analytical platform for this study, this dissertation constructed a database of Arabic and Persian texts that arguably circulated in China in the period from the late-16th century and until the late-18th century. In what follows are the main issues considered during the construction of the database.

1. Methodological Concerns

From the nineteenth century onward, a massive increase in the number of the Arabo-Persian texts used in China took place. This increase was a result of changes in the Islamicate world, and in the patterns of interaction between China and the Islamicate world, beginning in the the second half of the 19th century. Egypt and Istanbul, and to lesser degree Bombay, became important sources for texts and Islamic knowledge during that period, and contributed the increase of Arabic and Ottoman-turkish works, at the expense of Persian literature.[1] The pool of texts in this database represents the situation before these changes took place.

The manuscript culture that prevailed in China during much of its late imperial period attached secondary importance to fixed titles, and clear indications to the names of the authors of a text, or marking of copyist modifications on a specific copy. As a result, a single text could be referred to by multiple titles. In such cases the database provides the more likely options of identification.

The popularity of transcribing Arabic and Persian titles in Chinese characters, and at the same time, the lack of standardized transcription system made it a difficult task to reconstruct the original Arabo-Persian titles from available Chinese references. Many of the transcriptions demonstrated dominance of Persian pronunciation over Arabic. Hence, words with the Arabo-Persian letter ḍ, th, dh would be likely transcribed with Chinese phonemes corresponding to the English sounds z, s, and z correspondingly. The long letter ā is treated as a long ō or ū sounds, in accordance with Eastern Persian pronunciation. The Arabo-Persian letter *ʻayn* is often transcribed with the Chinese characters *er* 爾 or *er* 而. Based on these recurring practices, this dissertation was able to reconstruct most of its Arabo-Persian titles.

For the purpose of identifying the works, this dissertation used the information collected from research trip to various libraries, museums, and private collections in China (primarily in Beijing, Nanjing, Shanghai, Yinchuan, Ürümqi and Kashgar), Japan (Tōyō Bunko and Tokyo University), and Europe (Berlin, Paris, London and Istanbul). In addition, various anthropological and bibliographical reports that were made by foreign visitors to China starting from the late-19th century (on that issue, see the Introduction to this dissertation) provided ample information on Chinese

1. On the rise in the role of Egypt as a source of Islamic knowledge to China, see Ben-dor Benite 2008; Petersen 2010. Ma Jian, in a series of lectures he presented in Cairo in year 1934, mentions that printed Arabic books were imported into China starting only from the beginning of the twentieth century. The majority of these books, according to Ma, came from Constantinople (today's Istanbul) and Bombay, as well as from Egypt in later years. See also Vacca 1936,75..

mosque libraries and school curricula. This information proved useful for the reconstruction and identification of the Arabo-Persian texts.

Catalogue and library information on Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works from libraries around the world, and in particularly those in Central Asia, India and Iran provided additional tools for reconstructing the titles and identifying the texts and the authors.

Previous works on China's Arabo-Persian literature provided important lists of reconstructed titles.[2] The database used many of these reconstructed works after examining the evidence for the sound-reconstruction and the identification of the specific Arabo-Persian work.

The database includes the rubric "Identification of Work," which lists the possible works the entry refers to. The options are organized hierarchically from the most likely to secondary options. The rubric "Sources for Identification" provide further information on the evidence for the specific identification, such as reports on the work in Chinese venues, or the listing of the work in relevant libraries. Additional information on the identified texts is given by referring to their entries in bibliographical studies, such as Brocklemann's *GAL*, and Storey's *Persian Literature*.

2. The Available Primary Sources

We have at hand the following primary sources which attest to the works that circulated in China during the examined period: (1) Bibliographical lists, titled *Caiji jingshumu* 採輯經書目 ("A List of works used") included in the editions of two of Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Xingli* 天方性理 ("On the Principles of Nature in Islam," pub. 1704) and *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 ("Selected Commentaries on Islamic Rituals," comp. 1710). These two lists include 40 and 45 titles correspondingly (some of the titles appear in both lists), with a total of 68 titles;[3] (2) Zhao Can's 趙燦 *Jingxue xichuan pu* 經學系傳譜 ("Genealogy of Classical Learning," comp. ca. 1670). The work includes a large number of references to titles, which were used by Chinese-Islamic scholars and in the network of Chinese-Islamic schools;[4] (3) Ma Boliang's 馬伯良 *Jiaokuan jieyao* 教款捷要 ("A Summary of Islamic Principles," comp. 1678). This work on Islamic law (Fiqh) includes many references to source material. Although it is not clear whether this work is a translation of a Arabic or Persian work or a genuine composition,[5] reference from this work were included in the database; (4) The two inscriptions

2. The main works that provide rich information on Arabo-Persian texts are: Sakaguchi Tōru 佐口透 1950; Tasaka Kōdō 田坂興道 1964; Takashi Kuroiwa 黒岩 高 et al. 2012; Leslie and Wassel 1982; Leslie 1981.

3. These lists are discussed in Leslie 1981,15-16 and passim; Murata et al. 2009,10-15; Petersen 2011,546-559.

4. This work was discussed in detail in Ben-Dor Benite 2005.

5. The preface of the work suggests that it is based on a certain texts, called *Muhimmat* ("Tasks"), Hamada and Shionosaki located a text by the name of *Muhimmat al-Muslimīn*, and suggested that in light of some similarities in contents, this text could be the original Persian text for the Ma Boliang's work. It is clear that Ma Boliang's work is not a direct and full translation of the Persian work, yet the actual relation between the two texts is still undetermined. See: Hamada

from Henan's Kaifeng 開封 and Zhuxian county 朱仙鎮, the earliest of which is dated to 1709. These Arabic inscriptions provide an important list of sources, which apparently were part of a curriculum for one of the Chinese-Islamic communities in Kaifeng;[6] (5) An Arabic inscription from the Xi'an 西安 mosque, which dates back to 1732 and provides some mentioning of Arabo-Persian works, which were used as authorized books for Islamic jurisprudence in China;[7] (6) *The Gazetteers of Beijing's Niujie Neighborhood* (called also *Gangzhi* 岡志) mention a number of texts used by members of the mosque community;[8] (7) References in the Ṣūfī treatise *Reshehaer* 熱什哈爾 (composed ca. 1800);[9] (8) A list of titles reported in official correspondence in 1782 in the context of the Hai Furun case (listed in the table as 清代文字獄檔 *Qingdai wenziyu dang* ("Documents on Book Censorship during the Qing Period", on that case see Chapter 7).

3. Abbreviations of Books Used in the Database

Afshar = Afshār 1361.

BNL = Beijing National Library Catalog

d'Ollone = d'Ollone et al. 1911.

Ethé = Ethé 1903.

GAL = Brockelmann 1901.

ISLAM = Islam 1996.

Kazuo = Morimoto Kazuo 森本 一夫 2012

KZ = Hājjī Khalīfah 1992.

Liechti = Liechti 2008

Nazrah = Makīn 1353.

Masami = Hamada Masami 濱田正美 and Shionozaki Shinya 塩野崎信也 2014.

N-KH = Dānish′pazhūh 1362.

Pang = Pang Shiqian 龐士謙 1937

Sachu = Sachau et al. 1889.

Sadr = Vohidov and Erkinov 1999.

Satudah = Satūdah 1357..

SVR = *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei akademii nauk uzbekskoi SSR* [Collection of Oriental manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences, Uzbekistan],

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Masami 濱田正美 and Shionozaki Shinya 塩野崎信也 2014.

6. I use the transcription provided in Takashi Kuroiwa 黒岩 高 et al. 2012; Morimoto Kazuo 森本 一夫 2012

7. I use the transcription provided in Huart 1905,295-312. (Inscription no. 5).

8. See the introduction to the printed edition: *Beijing niujie zhi shu - 'Gangzhi'*

9. See the introduction to the printed edition for the date of the work: *Reshihar*

Yang = Yang Huaizhong and Yu Zhengui 1995,355.

THE DATABASE

Reconstructed Title	***Title as appears in Chinese source***	***Chinese Source***	***Identification of Work***	***Sources for identification***	***Date of compilation***	***Language***
QUR'AN						
Qur'ān	古爾阿尼, 寶命真經	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704) Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)			7th cen.	AR
Khātim ("The Seal"]	خاتم 赫聽謨	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Seems to be a transliterated Qur'an. Variants of the transliterated term *Khātim* appeared in titles of transliterated Qur'an from the the 19th century, .e.g. *Hanzi he-ting* 漢字赫廳		?	?

Tafsir (Exegesis of the Qur'an)

Tafsīr al-Qāḍī	تفسير قاضي	Kaifeng Inscription - Huart #1	ʻAbdallāh b. ʻUmar Bayḍāwī's (b. mid- 13th century) *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl.*	GAL I, 417; GAL S 1, 738;	13th cen.	AR
	特福西爾噶最, 噶最真經注	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
	قاضي 噶遂，咯遂	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				
Kitāb al-Mafātīḥ Sharḥ al-Maṣābīḥ	كتاب المفاتيح شـــــــــرح المصابيح	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	*al-Mafātīḥ fī sharḥ al-Maṣābīḥ* of Muẓhir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd al-Zaydānī (d. 1326–27)		14th cen.	AR
Tafsīr-i Baṣā'ir	特福西爾白索義爾, 大觀真經注	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī, Yamīn al-Dawla, also called *Lubāb al-albāb*		12th cen.	PE
Tafsīr Ḥusaynī	侯賽因經注	熱什哈爾 *Reshehaer, ca.1800*	Mulla Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī Wāʻiẓ Kāshifī Harawī (d. 1504-5) also known as *Mawāhib-i ʻalīyah* (comp. ca. 1491-1494)	N-Kh and Blodget report on a work by this name attributed to Amīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Qudsī Makkī (written in AR and trans by al-Ṣādiq b. ʻAbdallāh; Storey/ Bregel' I, 128-129.	15th cen.	PE

Tafsīr-i Zāhidī	特福西爾咱吸提, 咱吸提真經注	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706) Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	The author is identified as Abū Naṣr Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Sulaymānī or Abū Naṣr Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Dardajikī, composed in 1125 in Bukhara. Might also be called *Laṭā'if al-tafsīr*. The earliest commentary from Transoxania	Storey I, 4	12th cen.	PE
Tafsīr ("Commentary")	تفسير, 一解 *yi jie*	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678	An unidentified commentary		?	?
Tafsīr ʿAmm	تفسير عم	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	A certain commentary of the last *juz'* of the Qur'an		?	?
Tianjing xuanzhi	天經玄旨 ("The Subtle Meanings of the Qur'an")	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)	An unidentified commentary		?	?

Hadith Collections (Traditions on the life, deeds and sayings of Prophet Muḥammad)

Sharḥ al-Ḥāwī ("Commentary on *al-Ḥāwī*")	شرح الحاوي	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	(1) 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ismā'īl Qūnawī (d. 1330) commentary on *Ḥāwī al-Qudsī*; (2) one of the commentaries on the work of Shāfi'ī jurisprudence of Najm al-Dīn Qazwīnī (d. 1267)	KZ 627; GAL,I 378 ; SI 649		A R
Mishkāt	مشكات المشكاة	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709 Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	*Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* (comp. 1337) of Shāh Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī (d. 1339-1340).	A copy reported to be seen by al-Alawi, dated 737 AH / 1336 AD; GAL I, 364; GAL S 1, 621;	14th cen.	A R

Maṣābīḥ	مصابيح	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	(1) *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Baghawī (d. 1122), the foundation for the work titled *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, compiled by Khātib al-Tabrīzī (d. 1340) proliferated more widely; (2) Abū M. Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd al-Marwarrūdhī's work; (3) an Arabic unauthored *Maṣābīḥ al-fatāwá*	(2) appears in Sadr, 167. Unkown author in Arabic; (3) Sadr, 167	12th cen.	AR
		Kaifeng Inscription - Huart #1				
	默薩壁合，買薩必合	岡志，康熙己卯年講班，p.80, Mid-18th cent.				
Mafātīḥ ("Keys")	مفاتيح	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	*al-Mafātīḥ fī sharḥ al-Maṣābīḥ* of Muẓhir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd al-Zaydānī (d. 1326–27)	Kazuo, 153;	14th cen.	AR
		Kaifeng Inscription - Huart #1				
Tarjumat al-Maṣābīḥ ("Translation of '*The Lanterns*'")	ترجمة	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678	might be a certain translation of *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* (a translation of the *Miskhāt* by Mullā Nāṣir Bāy into Persian appears also in the Bukharian Endowments)		14th cen.	PE
	特爾折默	岡志，康熙己卯年講班，p.82, Mid-18th cent.				
	ترجمة المصابيح	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732				

Khuṭab ("Sermons")	胡托卜, 聖諭	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Tāj al-Dīn Ḥāfizī Bukhārī's *Khuṭab al-Rasūl* also known as *Arbaʿīn*, translated to PE by Ḥusām al-Dīn b. ʻAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Nūjābādī in year 1431 AD [according to Afshar].	Afshar 2:484 analyzes this work. Thiswork was translated into Chinese in 1923 by Li Tingxiang 李廷相 titled *Shengyu xiangjie* 聖諭詳解.	15th cen.	PE
	خطب 胡退步	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				
	忽脫卜	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)				
	胡特布 一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				

Jurisprudence

Legal Theory (Uṣūl al-Fiqh)

Uṣūl al-Dīn	無疎路丁, 道原	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	?		?	?
Uṣūl al-Fiqh	無疎路飛肹合, 禮原	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	?		?	?
Collections of Substantive Law (Furūʿ al-Fiqh)						
Ḥāwī	حاوي	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	(1) Seems to refer to the work of Shāfiʿī jurisprudence of Najm al-Dīn Qazwīnī (d. 1267); (2) Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghaznawī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1204)	KZ 802-803	10th cen.	AR
Khizānat al-Fiqh ("Depository of Jurisprudence")	劾咱宜訥飛肹合, 教禮寶篋	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Naṣr b. Muḥammad Abū Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 983)	KZ 1:703.	10th cen.	AR

Durar al-Buḥūr ("Pearls of the Seas")	درر البحور	Kaifeng Inscription - Huart #1	al-Ḥasan b. Sharaf al-Tibrīzī's (d. 1368) *Durar al-biḥār*; or, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʻAbdallāh Yūsuf b. Ilyās al-Dimashqī al-Qūnawī al-Ḥanafī's (d. 1386) *Durar al-biḥār*.	KZ 1:746; On the first, GAL II, 198; On the second, GAL II, 81.	14th cen.	AR
	都珥琭溥候爾, 學海珠璣	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
Sharḥ al-Wiqāyah ("Commentary on '*al-Wiqāya*'")	شرح الوقاية	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-thānī, Maḥmūd b. ʻUbaydallāh b. Masʻūd b. Tāj al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī's (d. 1344) *Sharḥ Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-hidāya* (comp. 1342)	GAL I, 377; GAL S 1, 646.	14th cen.	AR
	設理合偉噶業, 衛道經解	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
	شرح الوقاية	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678				
Kifāyah ("The Sufficiency"	كفاية	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678	Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr Tāj al-Sharīʿah al-Maḥbūbī's (d. 1344) *Kifāyah al-ḥāshiyah ʻala al-Hidāyah* - Commentary on the *Hidāyah*	GAL I, 377; Liechti, 331; Nukus 82.	14th cen.	AR
	啟法業	岡志，康熙己卯年講班，p.81, Mid-18th cent.				
Majālis al-irshādīyah ("Instructional Lessons")	مجالس الارشادية	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	?	a MS of Muḥammad Emin (d. 1835), carrying that title is held in Ningxia Museum	?	AR
Muḍmarāt	مضمرات	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	Seems to be *Jāmiʿ al-muḍmarāt wa'l-mushkilāt*, a commentary on *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* by Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ʻUmar al-Ṣūfī al-Kādūrī (d.1429)	See KZ 1:574	15th cen.	AR

Munyat al-mubtadi'	منية المبتدئ	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	*Munyat al-muṣallī wa-ghunyat al-mubtadi'* of Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kāshgharī (d. 1305–06)	The work appears in the colophon of *Rawḍat al-muṣallī*; GAL I:432; Kazuo 155.	14th cen.	AR
Wiqāyat al-Riwāyah	維嘎葉 拉瓦耶	熱什哈爾 *Reshehaer, ca.1800*	Ṣadr al-Sharīʿah al-Awwal, Maḥmūd b. ʿUbayd Allāh (d. 1274)	KZ 2:2020; d'Ollone reports on a PE version	13th cen.	AR
	委喀夜經一本	清代文字獄檔 *Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				
Kanz al-Daqā'iq ("Treasure of Subtleties")	堪足德噶一肫, 禮苑精萃	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	(1) Abū al-Barakāt ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad Nasafī's (d. 1310 AD) (it is an abstract of the author's *al-Wāfī* and a major work); (2) Might also be the Persian translation of Nasafī's work, made by Naṣrallāh b. Muḥammad Jamāl al-Azdawī al-Kirmānī (a copy exists in Khuda Bakhsh Library in India)	On the First: Ethé #2575-#2579; GAL II:196.	14th cen.	AR +PE

Mukhtaṣar al-Wiqāya ("Abridgment of *al-Wiqāya*")	穆合特粹爾偉噶業, 衛道經捷解	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Ṣadr al-Sharīʿah al-Thānī, Maḥmūd b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Masʿūd b. Tāj al-Sharīʿah al-Maḥbūbī's (d. 1344) *al-Nuqāya* also known as *Mukhtaṣar al-Wiqāya fī masā'il al-hidāya*	N-KH reports a PE tranlation of the work made by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Samarqandī Kawtharī Gūrmīrī dated to 973 AH/ 1565AD in Herat; GAL I, 378; GAL S 1, 648; Sadr, 166; Liechti 322;	14th cen.	AR+PE
	衛真要略	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				
Hidāyah ("The Guidance")	هداية	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	Burhān al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr Marghīnānī's (d. 1196) *al-Hidāyah fī sharḥ al-bidāyah* (comp. 1178 in Samarqand)	d'Ollone reported on a PE version; GAL I, 376; GAL S 1, 644;	12th cen.	AR+PE
		教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678				
	希大業, 禮法正宗	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
	فقه هادية *fiqh hādīyah* (sic)	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				

Ṣalāt-i Masʿūdī ("Masʿūdī's Prayer")	索剌特默思歐諦, 拜禮全編	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf al-Samarqandī (fl. 12th cen)	KZ 2:1081; Ethé #2565; Sadr 162; Liechti312.	12th cen.	PE
	صلوة مسعودي	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678				
Fiqh-i Masʿūdī	فقه مسعودي	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	Kazuo 155 identifies it as *Ṣalāt-i Masʿūdī* of Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf al-Samarqandī (fl. 12th), yet Shar'iat's text differs from *Ṣalāt-i Masʿūdī*.	Sharia't reports on this work with opening and ending.	?	PE
	費格黑墨思歐得經 一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang,* comp. 1782				
Qudūrī ("Qudūrī's")	قدوري	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678	Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Qudūrī's (d. 1037) *Mukhtaṣar* - the Fiqh work, which *al-Hidāyah* is based upon.	Reported by Blodget and d'Ollone	11th cen.	PE
Masʿūdī ("Masʿūdī's")	مسعودي	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678	Seems to be Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf al-Samarqandī (fl. 14th cen)'s *Ṣalāt-i Masʿūdī*		14th cen.	PE
Hādī al-Ṣibyān ("Guide of Youngsters")	哈題 雖卜雅納 頑童正道	修真蒙引, ca. 1650	?	Yu Zhengui says it's in AR, but work shows many PE vocab. First three chap. are Usul al-fiqh	?	PE

Tuḥfat al-fiqh	تحفة الفقه	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	Might be *Tuḥfat al-fuqahā'* of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī al-Samarqandī (comp.1154). It might also be the work of Muḥammad b. Mubārak b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Nūr (b. 1497–98)	The first one is a more famous work, see GAL 1:374; on the second is according to Kazuo, 155;	12th cen.	?
Fiqh Miṣbāḥ	فقه مصباح	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.		This work is listed as the source for *Rawḍat al-Muṣallī*	?	?
Kāfī ("The Sufficient")	كافي	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	Might be one of: (1) Abū al-Barakāt 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad Nasafī's (d. 1310) *al-Kāfī fī sharḥ al-wāfī* (2) Sa'dallāh b. Muḥammad b. Mashriq al-Sipāhsālār's *Kāfī dar Fiqh* known also by Sa'dī b. Ḥamīd Munajjim b. Asmūr Ḥājib al-Khitanī. (3) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī's (d. 945) *al-Kāfī fī furū' al-ḥanafīya*	(1) GAL II 196; KZ 2:1378 (2) A copy of the second reported by Afshar 3:572, dated to 719/1319); (3) KZ 2:1378	14th cen.	?
		教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678				
	喀飛, 禮法考源	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				

Collections of Legal Opinions (Fatāwá)

Mukhtaṣar-i Fatāwá ("Abridgment of Fatwas")	مختصر فتاوى	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	?		?	?
		Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709				

Al-fatāwa al-ẓahīriyah	法他洼则希耳	岡志，康熙己卯年講班，p.81, Mid-18th cent.	(1) Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī's (d. 1222 AD) *al-Masā'il al-Badrīyah min al-Fatāwa al-Ẓahīriyah* or *Fatāwá al-Shurūṭ*. (2) might be also the work by the same name of Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Marghīnānī al-ḥanafī (d. 1203)	(1) KZ 2:1226.	13th cen.	AR
Fatāwá Manṣūr Māturīdī	فتاوى منصور ماتريدي	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	Seems to be an unknown collection of legal opinions of Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī (d. 944).			AR
Sirājīyah	西臘止葉, 禮法明燈	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-Rashīd al-Sajāwandī al-Faraḍī's *al-Farā'iḍ al-Sirājīyah* also known as *al-Sirājīyah fī al-Farā'iḍ* (comp. 1203). The title might also refer to Sirāj al-Dīn ʻUmar b. Isḥāq al-Hindī al-Ghaznawī's (d. 1372) *al-Fatāwa al-Sirājīyah.*	The first one Nukus 116; GAL I 378-379; GAL S I, 650. The first one: KZ, 2:1224, and Burak 432; See above the work *Farā'iḍ*	13th cen.	AR
Fatāwá-yi kabīr ("The Grand [Compendium] of Legal Opinions")	فتاوى كبير	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678	Might be *Fatāwá-yi kabīrī* of Kabīr al-Dīzakī al-Samarqandī (fl. 14th cen.)	Nukus 58	14th cen.	AR
Multaqaṭ	ملتقط	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	*al-Multaqaṭ fī al-Fatāwá al-Ḥanafiyah* of Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī (d. 1161 or 1258)	GAL I:381; Kazuo 154.	12th cen.	AR
Amīnīyah	額米你葉, 足信編	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Muḥammad Amīn b. ʻAbdallāh Mu'minābādī Bukhārī's (d. 1570) *al-Fatāwa al-Amīnīyah li-mā fīh min al-wadā'iʻ al-yaqīnīya* (comp. 1570 in Balkh).	GAL S 2, 749-50;	16th cen.	AR +PE

Fatāwá-yi Masʿūdī ("Masʿūdī's Legal Opinions")	فتاوى مسعودي	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678	Seems to be composed by Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf al-Samarqandī (fl. 12th)	Kazuo, 155; KZ 2:1229; A copy in Kuwait Library and Chester Beaty #3614 (dated 547/1153)	12th cen.	PE
Jūng al-Fatāwá	جونگ الفتاوى 終谷勒弗托華	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	might be an earlier verion of the printed works *Jung-i fatawá wa-muḥḍarāt* of an unknown author, found in Dōshanbeh and in Iran; *Jūng* might be a Persian rendering of *Majmūʿa*		?	PE
	中郭法他瓦, 禮法廣集	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
Fatāwá-yi Khānī ("The Khanate's Legal Opinions")	فتاوى خاني	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678	(1) Seems to be Ḥasan b. Manṣūr's (d. 1196) *Fatāwá Qāḍī Khān;* (2) It might also be Farīd al-Dīn ʿĀlim b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Ḥanafī al-Dihlawī's (d. 1397 AD) *Fatāwa Tatār khānī* (14th cen. Indian compilation); (3) Might also be Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Yaʿqūb Muẓaffar Kirmānī's (13th cen.) work, *Fatāwá Qarākhānī* also known as *Fatāwá Fairūz Shāh.*	(1) GAL I, 376; KZ 2:1227-8; (2) ISLAM 226; (3)GAL II 432.	12th cen.	PE

Majmūʿ-i Khānī "(The Khanate's Collection")	مجموع خاني	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678	Kamāl Karīm Nāgawrī's (b. 1592) *Kitāb Majmūʿ-i Khānī o Baḥr al-maʿānī* or *Majmūʿ-i Khānī fī ʿayn al-maʿānī*, dedicated to Bahrām Khān	Ethé, #2572-#2574; Afshar 2:484;	14th cen.	PE
		Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709				
	默直母而哈尼, 禮法洪包	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
Mukhtār al-fatāwá ("Selection of Legal Opinions")	مختار الفتاوى	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	A work of Burhān al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr Marghīnānī (d. 1196)	KH 1622;	?	?
Khizānat al-Fatāwá ("Depository of Legal Opinions")	خزانة الفتاوى	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	(1) Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī (d. 1147), a rare book; (2) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī	KZ 802-803	?	?

Laws regarding Prayer (Ṣalāh)

Targhīb al-ṣalāt ("The Enticement of Prayer)	ترغيب الصلاة	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zāhidī (fl. 15th cen.)	Sadr 152;	15th cen.	PE
		教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678				
	特爾噫布索剌特, 禮功啟愛	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				

Rawḍat al-Musallī ("The Worshipper's Garden")	روضة المصلى	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	an unauthored MS is available in BNF		?	PE
		Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709				
		教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678				
	老宿涂勒木算經 一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang,* comp. 1782				
	老作目損理經	Yu Haozhou's 余浩州 *Zhen'gong fawei* 真功發微, comp. 1790s				
Inheritance Law (Farā'iḍ)						
Farā'iḍ ("Inheritance law")	فرائض 弗喇意時	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Might be Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-Rashīd's *al-Farā'iḍ* also known as *al-Farā'iḍ al-Sirājīyah* or *al-Sirājīyah fī al-Farā'iḍ* (comp. 1203)	Sadr, 163; Leipzig University Library MS B. or. 206-0; see *Sirājīyah* below.	13th cen.	A R
Taxonomies of Schools of Jurisprudence						
Sharḥ al-Madhāhib ("Explanation of the schools [of jurisprudence]")	設爾合墨咱吸卜, 教類源流	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Might be *Risālah-i Maʻrifat al-madhāhib* of Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ghazālī (fl. 14th cen). Might also be Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyá b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 1277 AD).	Seen by N-KH and Afshar.	14th cen.	PE
	墨 咱 吸 蔔 , 教類源流	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				

General Collections of Islamic Law and Unidentified Works						
Tamḥīṣ	تمحيص	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	*al-Tamḥīṣ fī sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr* of al-Harawī	According to Kazuo, 154.	?	A R
		Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709				
Sharīʿat al-ʾIslām	شريعة الاسلام	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	might refer to شرعة الاسلام *Shirʿat al-Islām* of Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, known as Imām Zādeh (d. 1177 AD). A commentary on it is titled *Mafātīḥ al-Jinān* or by Yaʿqūb b. Sayyid ʿAlī. (Hartmann; GAL I, 375) It might also be a certain work of Abū Layth al-Samarqandī (10th cen.)	GAL I, 375.	12th cen.	A R
Miftāḥ al-jinān	مفتاح الجنان	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	Muḥammad b. Wajīh al-Dīn's (d. 1356) work; might also be *Mafātīḥ al-jinān wa-maṣābīḥ al-janān* of Jaʿqūb b. ʿAli (d. 1524), a commentary of *Shirʿat al-Islām*	(1) Kazuo, 154; Sadr, 168; Liechti 313 (suggests it is Irfan work); (2) GAL I, 375;	14th cen.	A R
Anfaʿ ("The Most Beneficial")	انفع	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678	might be *Anfaʿ al-wasāʾil* of Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī Ṭarsūsī (d. 1357)		14th cen.	PE

Ḥaqā'iq ("The Essences")	حقائق	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678	Described in *JXXCP* as a book of Fiqh. Might be Kemalpaşazade (1468-1534)'s *Ḥaqā'iq al-Daqā'iq.* A ms by this name available in BNF and includes Chinese characters.	N-KH dates it to 6-7th cen AH/ 12-13th cen AD; Afshar 2:484 (he categorizes it as Akhlaq)	13th cen.	PE
	حقائق, حقائق الدقائق 哈噶倚格，哈噶以格,	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				
	翰格衣格	岡志，康熙己卯年講班，p.80, Mid-18th cent.				
	孩兒喀意革一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang,* comp. 1782				
Wasīla-i Saʿādāt	斡西勒色阿大惕, 永慶雲衢	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	seems to be ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad al-Ghaznawī's *Muntakhab Wasīlat al-saʿādāt dar bayān-i masāʾil al-ʿibādāt*	Kazuo, 155; The work appears also in Liechti, 308; SVR IV:385-386, 3364;	14th cen.	PE
	وسيلة السعادات	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709				
		Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732				

ʿUmdat al-islām ("The Prop of Islam")	عمدة	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	Zayn al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir b. Kamāl Multānī, also called ʿImād al-Islām عماد الاسلام; KZ mentions *ʿUmdat al-ʾislām fī al-arkān al-khams* - an abridged Persian version of Abd al-Azīz, translated by Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf. (2:1165); (2) might also be *Umdat al-riʿāyah* (a commentary on *Sharḥ al-wiqāyah*). The Kaifeng Inscription refers to it as *ʿUmdah ʿarabī* ("Arabic *ʿUmdah*") which seems to suggest that it was a translation of the work.	A work by this title attributed to Multānī is mentioned by N-KH and Afshar. Identified by Kazuo, 155; and appear in KZ 2:1165; SVR #7722; (2) in Ningxia Museum. An unidentified work is mentioned in Nazrah 35.	15th cen.	PE + AR
	عمدة الاسلام	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao,* comp. 1678				
	عمدة 閣特, 閣謨特	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				
	恩達 (?)	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)				
Za-xue Daʿwāt	雜學 得而哇忒經 一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang,* comp. 1782	?	?	?	?
Fiqh al-abadiyah	فقة الابدية	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	?		?	?
Kitāb al-Fiqh	كتاب الفقه	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	?		?	?
Kitāb Hujjat al-Islām	كتاب حجة الاسلام	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	?		?	?
Masāʾil al-Nāhj (?, "Methodological Issues")	納直問	*Zhongguo Yisilan Baike quanshu*, p. 224	Feng Shaochuan 馮少川		?	?

Maghfirat al-Ghafūr	مغفرة الغفور	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	might be an unauthored MS titled *Maghfirat al-Ghafūr fī Ẓiyārat al-Qubūr*		?	?
Yanābīʿ ("The 'Sources'")	ينابيع	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678	A rare Fiqh book, might be: (1) a commentary on Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī, titled *al-Yanābīʿ fī maʿrifat al-uṣūl wa-l-tafārīʿ* (comp. ca. 1220), attributed to Rashīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ramaḍān al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī; (2) a work by the title *al-Yanābīʿ fī al-uṣūl*, attributed to Shams al-A'imma Ismāʿīl b. Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 1065 AD)	Mentioned in Picken's under "Clerical Law". On (1) and (2) see KZ 2:2051.	13th cen. or 11th cen.	?
Za-xue	雜學 一本	清代文字獄檔 *Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782	?	?	?	?

Ethics and Pedagogy

Taʿlīm al-Mutaʿallim ("Teaching of the Learner")	特爾林穆特二林, 為學須知	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Burhān al-Islām al-Zarnūjī (d. 1203)	GAL I, 462; KS 7: 340;	13th cen.	AR

Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn Or *Munabbih al-ghāfilīn*	تنبيه	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Most likely to be Abū ʾl-Laiṯ Naṣr b. M. b. A. b. Ibr. as-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī's (d. 983) *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*; (2) Can also be the work of Bahā' al-Dīn Tirmidhī.	The title is reported by d'Ollone who translates it as 家人醒. al-Alawi reports on *Munabbih al-ghāfilīn* - a work of *Mawāʿiẓ;* as-Samarqandī's work *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* wa bust*ān al-ʿārifīn* was translated into Xiaojing and found in 25:517; Afshar 2:484 reports on this title with the addition of shanzdā faḍlī (sixteen merits) in BNL; Sadr 155; (2) Tirmidhī's work is reported by N-KH.	10th cen.	AR
	探秘合, 醒世錄	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
	منبه الغافلين	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				
Munabbihāt	منبهات	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Seems to be Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's (1372-1449) *Munabbihāt.* Identification based on the preface of the Chinese translation suggesting its an exhortation.	Translated by She Yunshan as *Xingmi lu*省迷錄	15th cen.	AR

Irshād	ارشاد 以舍特	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	*Irshād dar ʿilm-i maʿrifat u Waʿẓ* (also known as *Kītāb al-irshād* or 引正道 *Yinzheng dao* "The Guide of Correct Way") of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Qalānsī Nasafī (12th cen. AD)	N-KH; Shariat; Afshar; d'Ollone	12th cen.	PE
	一而沙德, 指述集	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
	已而沙得經一本	清代文字獄檔 *Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				
Fawz al-najāh ("The Success of Salvation")	فوز النجاة	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678	A Persian translation of a work by Abū ʿAlī al-Miskawayh (d. 1030). Might also be the work of a certain Amīr Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad (11th cen AH) - A Manuscript by this name in Chaghatay is cataloged by Sergei Oldenburg.	GAL I, 342-3; Nukus 227-8. Reported by Shari'at, and includes openning and ending. Differs from Muizz al-din's text; Afshar 2:484.	11th cen.	PE
	包特那扎經一本 (?)	清代文字獄檔 *Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				
Dūr al-Mawāʿiẓ	دور المواعظ	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.			?	?
Mawāʿiẓ	مواعظ	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.			?	?

Theology (Kalām), Creed (Aqīdah) and Dogma

Theology

Jawāhir al-kalām	哲娃吸而克亮	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)			?	PE
Sharḥ al-Mawāqif ("Commentary on '*al-Mawāqif*'")	設理合默瓦吉福, 格致經解	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Mīr Sayyid Sharīf al-jurjānī (d. 1423)		15th cen.	AR

Kalimat al-shahādah	*Ke-li-mo She-ha-ti* 克理默舍哈題 (unidentified text)	*Ke-li-mo jie qi-meng qianshuo* 克理默解啓蒙淺說 (1630)	Unidentified, translated by Zhang Zhongshi 張中時 (1584-1670)		?	?
Mawāqif	默瓦吉福, 格致全經	Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Xingli* 天方性理 (1704)	ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's (1355-6) *Kitāb al-Mawāqif fī ʿilm al-kalām*		14th cen.	AR
Creed (Aqīdah)						
Khiyālī	خيالي	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.		This title is reported also by d'Ollone, translated as 思慮 or 思路. The Qingzhen Shu catalog includes a title *Khiyālī al-ʿaqāʾid*, which seems to refer to Aḥmad ibn Mūsá al-Khayālī's (d. 1465?) supercommentary on Taftāzānī's *Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid*	15th cen.	PE

Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid ("Commentary on Beliefs")	設理合而噶一德, 教典釋難	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Al-Taftāzānī's (d. 1389) Commentary on *al-ʿAqāʾid*, titled *Sharḥ ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafī* (comp. 1367).	GAL I, 427; GAL S 1, 758. al-Alawi reports on a copy dated 1057 AH / 1647 AD. A translation was made in 1870 by Ma fuchu titled 教義學大綱; Yang, 365.	14th cen.	AR
ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafī	عقائد 厄噶一特	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (1142).	GAL I, 427; GAL S 1, 758. A translation was made by Ma Fuchu, titled 教典釋難經解. It is more likely that the reference are to Sharh al-	12th cen.	AR
	兒喀葉得經一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				
Chahār faṣl	四篇要道	四篇要道譯解 Sipian yaodao yijie, comp. 1653.	The preface idenifies the work as Lü-su-li 率蘇裏 (<*Risālah*). Ma Jian called this work *al-Tafāṣīl al-arbaʿah*, yet mentioned that it was a work in Persian on theology.	Masami, 185. Nazrah 35.	?	PE

Muhimmāt	مهمات 母興麻忒	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Mullā Mīr Maḥmūd b. Mīr Rajab Dīvānī Begī Nāmangānī's *Muhimmāt al-Muslimīn* (part of *Chahār Kitāb*). The Ningxia Museum preface states that it is the teaching of Imām Abū Ḥawḍ Kabīr Bukhārī	See preface in 歐母載, QQDD 15:532;A printed edition is reported by Ifshar and translated to Japanese. See also Nukus, 174. See GAL I 424, II 91; Ningxia Museum. Nazrah 35.	?	PE
	末興媽特經一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				
Mysticism (‘Irfān)						
Tabṣīr	تبصير 太蒲碎爾	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	(1) The text in Ningxia Museum authored by al-Qāḍī Sa‘īd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Basṭāmī (PE, n.d.) (2) Might be ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Makhdūm al-Mahā’imī's (d.1432) *Tabṣīr al-raḥmān wa-taysīr al-mannān fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān* (3) might be Ibn Ḥajar's *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih* (comp. 1431). In 岡志 p. 25, it is described as a text of self-cultivation along with other irfan texts.	Copy in Ningxia Museum titled "*Tabṣīr*"	15th cen.	AR
	特卜綏爾, 大觀經	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
	大觀經	岡志，馬永和摘誤， p. 25, Mid-18th cent.				
	特補色耳經一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				

Jawāhir al-ʿUlūm	جواهر العلوم	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	(1) Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Harawī、 Ḥafīd al-Taftāzānī or (2) *Jawāhir al-ʿulūm-i Humāyūnī* of Muḥammad-Fāḍil b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Miskīnī al-Qāḍī al-Samarqandī comp. 1488–89	The second is identified by Kazuo, 154.	15th cen.	AR
		Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709				
	哲瓦希爾, 理言珠璣	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
Kashf asrār ("Unveiling of Secrets")	克實福額思剌而, 性學啟蒙	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	Seems to be Rūzbihān Baqlī's (d. 1209 AD) work		12th cen.	AR
Madāʾiḥ	滿達亦海	Ma Mingxin 馬明心	According to Pickens the book is *Madāʾiḥ Mukhammas* of Jāmī. Brought to China by Ma Mingxin 馬明心. A Ṣūfī versed text with praise to the Prophet		?	AR
Mawlad ("Birth")	卯路提	Ma Laichi 馬來遲	Ma Laichi 馬來遲, Attributed to 穆罕默德 伊布尼艾哈邁德阿格萊 (Fletcher identifies it differently). Identified by Ma Liangjun as Muḥammad ʿAqīl al-Makkī. Should be Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAqīla (d. 1737). A Ṣūfī versed text on the birth of the Prophet.		18th cen.	AR
Mukhammas	穆罕麥斯	Ma Mingxin 馬明心	*Mukhammas.* According to Bakhtyar, Shaykh Muḥammad Tabādkānī Ṭūsī Khurāsānī (d.1486 AD), brought to China by Ma Mingxin 馬明心		?	AR

Ashi'at al-lama'āt	額史爾，費隱經	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492)	Partly translated in Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli. A full translation was made in late 17th cen. by She yunshan titled 昭元秘訣	15th cen.	PE
	艾什爾梯拉瑪爾特	熱什哈爾 *Reshehaer, ca.1800*				
	لمعات 勒默阿忒	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				
Fawā'iḥ	فوايح	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Seems to be *al-Fawā'iḥ* of the Indian Khwāja Khurd (b. 1601), which seems to be written as a continuation to Jāmī 's *Lawā'iḥ*.	A work by this title is reported by Blodget, as well as by Shari'at, where he calls it *Kitāb Lawā'iḥ wa Fawā'iḥ*	17th cen.	PE
Kanz al-ʿIbād ("Treasure of Worshipers")	كنز العباد	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	*Kanz al-ʿibād fī sharḥ al-Awrād* of ʿAlā' al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ghūrī (15th century).	Kazuo 153;	15th cen.	PE
		Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709				
Laṭā'if al-tawḥīd ("Subtleties of Unity")	勒推福討黑德，致一微言	Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Xingli* 天方性理 (1704)	Might be Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥammūya's *Laṭa'if al-tawḥīd* fī *Gharā'ib al-Tafrīd* (d. 1252)		13th cen.	PE
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				

Lawāʾiḥ	勒瓦一合, 昭微經	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492)		15th cen.	PE
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
	勒娃一哈	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)				
Mathnawī	瑪斯納維	熱什哈爾 *Reshehaer, ca.1800*	Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, also known as Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273 AD)		13th cen.	PE
	默思乃唯	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)				
Mirṣād al-ʿIbād	密邇索德, 道行推原經	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's (d. 1256 AD) *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād*		13th cen.	PE
	推原正達	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s				
	مرصاد 米而撒特	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s				
	密邇索德, 道行推原經	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
	推原經	岡志，馬永和摘誤， p. 25, Mid-18th cent.				
	密而索得	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)				

Maqṣad	默格塞德	岡志，舍公談性理，p.46, Mid-18th cent.	ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī's (fl. 13th cen.) *Maqṣad al-aqṣá*	Reported by N-KH; Shariat; Afshar	13th cen.	PE
	مقصد 母格塞特，默格索特	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				
	默格索德, 研真經	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
	默格索得	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)				
Rubaʿiyyāt	魯把亞惕, 性學歌訣	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	Liu Zhi's translation of the title suggests that the subject of this work are the principles of nature (*xingli* 性理)		?	?
Zād al-Sālikīn ("The Advance of the Wanderers")	咱度撒立欽, 道行資成	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	Might be the work of Mullā Muḥsin b. Murtaḍá Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1680). Might also be Ḥusayn b. ʿĀlim b. Abū al-Ḥasan's (d. 1318-19) *Zād al-musāfirīn*	The second one, see Nukus 224.	?	?
	咱獨索利克	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)				
ʿĀmilī	阿麻裏	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)	Might be one of the *ʿirfān* works of Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī (1547-1621) or ʿAbd al-Qāhir Jurjānī's (d. 1078) work *Miʾat ʾāmil* known also as *ʿAwāmil*	?	?	?
Kashf al-ḥijāb ("Unveiling the screen")	كشف الحجاب 克世富勒哈查蒲，開幔之經	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	?		?	?
	克實福候祝蔔, 性學釋疑	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				

Mir'āt-i Insān ("Mirror of Man")	米拉土引撒尼, 人鏡	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	?	Afshar 3:484 reports on a Irfan work titled *Mir'āt al-sālikīn* of Hibatallāh b. As'ad Ṣūfī in Persian	?	?
Manāzil (?) ("Stations")	墨拿集理, 踐趨品第	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)			?	?
Manāqib	مناقب	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Seems to be a commentary on the *Lama'āt*		?	?
Nūr Ilāhī ("Divine Light")	努爾一拉希, 真光經	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	?		?	?
?	哈則力他其不明沙勒	Ma Laichi 馬來遲			?	?

Grammar and Language Studies

Rhetoric

Balāgha ("Rhetoric")	بلاغة 白僚赫	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.			?	?
Ma'ānī Bayān ("Meanings and Elucidation")	معاني بيان 默阿呢白呀，默阿呢白唉	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Seems to stand for two work *al-Ma'ānī* and *al-Bayān*. Might refer to the two sections of Al-Sakkākī's (d. 1229) *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm* or its abridged version *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*	d'Ollone reports on *al-Ma'ānī* (also known as 借光) in Arabic; Identified as *Talkhīṣ* inYang 350.	13th cen.	AR
	白亞泥經一本 (?)	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				

Miftāḥ al-ʻUlūm ("Key to the Sciences")	مفتاح العلوم	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Al-Sakkākī (d. 1229)		13th cen.	AR
	米幅他合歐魯密, 文鑰	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
	文鑰	岡志，馬永和摘誤， p. 25, Mid-18th cent.				
Arabic Syntax						
Naḥw ("Syntax")	نحو 納哈吳，天房文藝字義之經	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.			?	?
Arabic Morphology						
ʻAwāmil ("Elements")	而挖彌勒一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782	ʻAbd al-Qāhir Jurjānī (d. 1078)	Pang 101	?	?
Zanjānī	纂查泥經一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782	ʻIzz al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zanjānī's (fl. 1257) as *Taṣrīf al-Zanjānī*, known also as *Taṣrīf al-ʻIzzī*. A commentary on this book was written by Taftāzānī (d. 1389)	Pang 101;	13th cen.	AR

Sharḥ al-ʿIzzī ("Commentary on *al-ʿIzzī*") (identity uncertain, as the transcription is *She-er-xia mu-er-ji*)	射而暇目爾脊 一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782	(1) Ma Jian mentioned *Kitāb al-ʿIzzī* as one of the grammar books used during the 20th century. (2) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Muʿizzī's *al-Muʿizzī fī al-taṣrīf*, known also as *Risālat al-Muʿizzī*. Its commentary known as *Sharḥ al-abwāb* by Mīr Muqallid Pāyandah Muḥammad b. Darwīsh Muḥammad b. Yusūf al-Bukhārī (see KZ 2:1740).	(1) Identified so by Leslie and Wassel as *Sharḥ al-Muʿazzī*, based on Yang 347 and Pang 101. Yang and Pang suggest it is a grammar book. Hence, it seems to refer to *Taṣrīf al-ʿIjjī*. Mentioned also in Nazarh 36; On (1) see GAL I:283; On (2) KZ 2:1740 (a copy of the Persian commentary is available in Uppsala, dating 1508)	?	A R or PE
Ṣarf ("Morphology")	塞而夫	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	*Sanzhong* 三種 (three types). Might be Mīr Sayyid Jurjānī's (d. 1413) *Ṣarf*-i mīrī, a common Arabic book; Pang Shiqian suggests that it was included the three books *Ṣarf*, *ʿIzzī* and *Zanjānī* (Pang 101)		?	?
	雪而福 一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				

Ḍaw' al-Miṣbāḥ ("Illumination of *al-Miṣbāḥ*")	ضوء *Ḍaw'* 騷烏	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	*Ḍaw' al-Miṣbāḥ* of Isfarāyīnī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (d. 1213) Commentary on *Miṣbāḥ*		13th cen.	AR
	哨經 一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				
Faṣl ("Chapter")	فصل 法斯黎	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.			?	?
Miṣbāḥ ("The Luminary")	مصباح 米斯巴哈	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Muṭarrizī, Nāṣir ibn ʻAbd al-Sayyid (d. 1213 AD	A copy dated 997 AH is reported by al-Alawi; Pang suggests that it was a primer of syntax and is based on *ʻAwāmīl*	13th cen.	AR
Mulā	ملا 滿僚	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Mullā ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī*'s* (d. 1492) *al-Fawā'id al-ḍiyā'īyah bi-sharḥ al-kāfiyah* - a commentary on Ibn Ḥājib's *al-Kāfiyah* known also as al-*Fawā'id al-ḍiyā'iyah fī sharḥ Kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥājib* (d. 1249). The work is known also as *Sharḥ al-*Mullā	GAL I, 304; GAL II, 207; GAL S 1, 533; Ziya 161; Liec-thi 136; A copy of the second title dated Kangxi 51 (1712) is reported by al-Alawi. d'Ollone report s on a PE MS titled Min La (Tuou"du grand nombre")	15th cen.	AR
	滿蓼經 一本	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				

Persian Morphology						
Minhāj ("Curriculum"), *Hawā'* ("Fondness")	منهاج 米納哈遲	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Chang Zhimei's *Hawā-i Minhāj*		17th cen.	PE
	赫華意	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				
Arabic and Persian Lexicography						
al-Ṣiḥāḥ ("The Correct [forms]")	صحاح	Xian Inscription, Huart #5, 1732	Ismā'īl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. 1002)		11th cen.	AR
	索哈合, 字正	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
	صحاح 雖赫	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.				
	今文字正	岡志，馬永和摘誤， p. 25, Mid-18th cent.				
Muqaddamah-i adabī ("Literary Introduction")	母格底墨額得壁, 字義類編	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 1141) *Kitāb Muqaddimat al-adab*		12th cen.	AR +PE
Furs	فرس 富而斯	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Might be one of the following: (1) Muḥammad Vafā'ī's (fl. 1527) *Farhang-i Fārsī* (also known as *Furs-i Vafā'ī*); (2) Muḥammad Qāsim b. Ḥājjī Muḥammad Kāshānī Surūrī's *Majma' al-Furs* (comp. 1599AD); (3) Muḥammad b. Hindū-Shāh Nakhjawānī's *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Furs* (comp. 14th cen AD); (4)'Alī b. Aḥmad Asadī Ṭūsī's *Lughat al-Furs* (comp. 11th cen.).	Only the (1) is reported to have been seen in China. See Tin Huī Jū [Teng Huizhu] 1374,8.	?	PE

?	字義說略 ("Abridged Etymological Explanations")	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)	?	?	?	?
Sharḥ al-asāmī ("Explanation of names")	設而哈阿索密	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)			?	?
Pronunciation and Recitation						
Zallat al-qāri' ("The Reader's Lapse)	زلة القارئ	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678	Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʻUmar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d.1142)	Nukus 55;	12th cen.	AR
Tajwīd ("Proper Recitation")	تجويد	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678	Might be *Taʻrīf bi-hādhā al-muṣḥaf al-sharīf* ("Introduction to the Recitation of the Qur'an [in Chinese]"); Might also be *Manzūmat Ibn ʻImād dar Tajwīd* ("Ibn ʻImād's Treatise on Recitation")	Afshar; The second reported by N-KH	?	?
	特直威德	清代文字獄檔*Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				
Logic (Manṭiq)						
Īsāghūjī	葉撒五枝, 名理解	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	Adaptation of Prophyry's *Isagoge* by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 1300)	GAL I, 464; GAL S 1, 841.	13th cen.	AR
Shamsīyah	閃洗葉,名理真宗	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	Najm al-Dīn ʻAlī b. ʻUmar al-Qazwīnī's (d. 1276) *al-Risālah al-shamsīyah fī al-qawā'id al-manṭiqīyah*.	GAL I, 466; GAL S 1, 854.	13th cen.	AR
Waẓā'if ("Tasks")	وظائف 懷昨倚夫	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	*Al-Waẓā'if fī al-manṭiq* ("The Lessons in Logic"), attributed to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsá al-Maghribī (d. 1284 AD)	al-Alawi	13th cen.	AR
	斡咱一福, 六十廩	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
Manṭiq ("Logic")	منطق 滿推格	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	?		?	?
	滿退格	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)				

History, Biographies of the Prophet and Hagiography						
Biographies of the Prophet						
Muntaqá ("Selected")	منتقى	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	The title seems to refer to Kāzarūnī's al-*Muntaqá fī sayr mawlid al-nabī al-muṣṭafá* (the Arabic original of *Tarjumat al-Muṣṭafá*)	The work was reported by N-Kh; Shariat; Afshar	14th cen.	AR
Qiṣṣat al-Miʿrāj (The Tale of [the Prophet's] Ascension")	吉所密邇剌直, 登霄錄	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Najm al-Dīn al-Ghayṭī's (d. 1573) *Qiṣṣat al-Miʿrāj*	Identified in Ma Anli's 馬安禮 *Tianfang Shijing* 天方詩經 (QZDD 14:446), see GAL II:445.	16th cen.	AR
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
	升霄紀	岡志，馬永和摘誤， p. 24, Mid-18th cent.				
Tarjumat al-Muṣṭafa ("Biography of the Chosen")	特爾准默穆蘇托法, 至聖實錄	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	Saʿīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī's (d. 1357 AD) al-*Muntaqá fī sayr mawlid al-nabī al-muṣṭafá*, translated into Persian with the title *Tarjama-i mawlūd-i Muṣṭafá*	Afshar 2:484 reports of Kāzarūnī's *Mawlūd-i Muṣṭafa*	14th cen.	PE
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
Shajarnāmah ("Genealogy")	設哲爾拿墨, 世譜源流	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	It seems like a genealogy of the prophet Muḥammad.		?	PE
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
Sīrat al-Nabī ("Biography of the Prophet")	西爾吞納秘一, 聖功錄	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)			?	?

Hagiography of Biblical Prophets and Ṣūfī Masters						
Tadhkirat al-awliyā ("Biographies of Ṣūfī Masters")	賢集	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Farīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm ʻAṭṭār (d. 1220)	d'Ollone mentions a sub-title 說賢人	13th cen.	PE
	特自啟爾奧理雅, 群賢錄	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
	群賢傳	岡志，馬永和摘誤， p. 25, Mid-18th cent.				
	忒茲啓喇	Zhang Zhong's 歸真總義 (comp. 1638-1651)				
Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā' ("The Tales of the Prophets")	列聖記	岡志，馬永和摘誤， p. 24, Mid-18th cent.	Seems to be al-Tha'ālibī's (d. 1038 AD) *Qiṣaṣ al-'Anbiyā'*		11th cen.	?
	吉所安必雅, 列聖經錄	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
	吉所安必雅, 列聖經錄	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
Poetry						
Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb ("Gem of Beloved")	تحفة الاحباب	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.			15th cen.	PE
Gulistān ("The Garden")	گلستان 古勒塞托呢	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Sa'dī Shīrāzī (d. 1291 AD)		13th cen.	PE
	古利寺拖納	清代文字獄檔 *Qingdai wenziyu dang*, comp. 1782				

Maqāmāt	مقامات 麻噶麻特	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Harīrī's (d. 1112 AD) *Maqāmāt*	N-KH and Afshar 2:485 report a copy of 1130 AH / 1716 AD of Harīrī's in AR with PE trans.; a copy dated Kangxi 34 (1688) is housed in Yale University's Hartford Seminary	12th cen.	AR+PE
Tianfang yueshu 天方樂書("The Book of Arabo-Persian Music")	天方樂書 ("The Book of Arabo-Persian Music")	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	?	?	?	?

Cosmology, Geography and Calendar

Cosmology, Astronomy and Astrology

Hilālīyah ("The lunar")	هلالية	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678	Might be Abū ʻAlī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Haytham al-Baṣrī's (d. 1038) *Risālah fī al-ashkāl al-hilālīyah* ("Treatise on Lunar Shapes")	GAL I:469; India office 734	11th cen.	AR
Āthār ʻulwī "Super-terrestrial Phenomena"	阿撒爾歐六巍，玄穹象解	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	Translation of Aristotle's *Meteorology* (1) (Arabic) Yaḥya b. al-Biṭrīq (fl. ca. 820 AD) under the title of al-Āthār al-ʻulūwīyah."Super-terrestrial Phenomena" (2) Muḥammad b. Masʻūd al-Masʻūdī (d. 1274) (3) Avicenna's translation	Storey II 1:52;	13th cen.	AR+PE

Aḥkām-i Kawākib ("Laws of the Stars")	額合克目克瓦乞蔔, 天經情性	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	The Title indicates use of Persian		?	PE
Jahān dānish ("Knowledge of the Cosmos")	哲罕打尼識,寰宇述解	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-Masʿūdī al-Ghaznawī (d. 1274)	GAL I 474;	13th cen.	PE
	哲罕達尼史	岡志，馬永和摘誤， p. 23, Mid-18th cent.				
Afʿāl-i aflāk ("Works of Astrology")	額福阿祿額福剌乞, 天德元機	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	?		?	?
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
Geography						
ʿIlm al-āfāq ("The Science of the Horizons") (?)	爾林亞法胳, 寰宇述	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	according to the Chinese, might be the Arabic source for *Jahāndānish*, namely al-Masʿūdī's a*l-Kīfāyāh fī ʿilm hay'at al-ʿālam* (comp. 1245)	GAL I 474; Storey 1:51; Sachu 1497; KZ 2:1500;	13th cen.	AR
Kaʿbanāmah ("The Book of the Kaaba")	克爾白拏墨,天房誌	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)			?	PE
Jāmiʿ-i bilād ("The Entire Land")	查密爾必剌地, 天下方域	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)			?	?
Manāẓir al-Bilād / *Manāzil al-Bilād* ("Sights of the Land")	墨拏積裏必剌地, 坤輿考略	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)			?	?
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				

Hay'at aqālīm (?) ('System of Climates")	海亞土額噶林，七洲形勝	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	?		?	?
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
	七洲形勝記	岡志，馬永和摘誤， p. 24, Mid-18th cent.				
CALENDAR						
Yawāqīt	يواقيت	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	This might be *ʿIqd al-yawāqīt fī ʿilm al-mawāqīt ?* or *Kītāb al-Yawāqīt fī maʿrifat al-mawāqīt* of al-Ḥusayn ibn Zayd ibn ʻAlī Ibn Jaḥḥāf (fl. 11th cen.)		?	A R
	葉瓦基特, 月令紀	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				
al-Sudu kabīr (?)	二數度克比爾, 曆學大全	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)	This might refer to Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al- Fazārī's (8cen) *Kītāb Sindhind alkabīr*, a misnomer for *Siddhanta al-kabīr* or *Mahasiddhānta*, an Arabic translation of an Indian astronomical mathematical work.		?	?
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)				

NATURAL STUDIES

Ḥajarnāmah ("Book of Gems")	*Ḥajarnāma* 合哲爾拿墨, 寶產譜	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)			?	PE
		Liu Zhi's Tianfang Dianli 天方典禮 (1706)				

Kāmil al-ta'bīr ("A Comprehensive Work on Meanings [of Dreams]")	克密理特爾比而，解夢大全	Liu Zhi's Tianfang Xingli 天方性理 (1704)	Tiflīsī, Ḥubaysh ibn Ibrāhīm's (d. ca. 1203 AD) encyclopedia of dream interpretations.	KZ 2:1379	13th cen.	PE
	解夢經	岡志，馬永和摘誤， p. 25, Mid-18th cent.				

UNIDENTIFIED WORKS

Bayāni-i i`tiqād ("Clarification of opinions")	بياني اعتقاد	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	Might be: 1.The *'irfān* treatise *Bayān-i i'tiqād* of Azīz Nasafī; 2. the Hanafi fiqh treatise of Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī's (933 AD) *Bayān i'tiqād ahl al-sunna wa l-jamā'a*		?	?
Binā' al-islām ("The Structure of Islam")	بناء الاسلام	教款捷要 *Jiaokuan jieyao*, comp. 1678	In *Rawḍat al-muṣallī*, there's reference to *Binā al-muslimīn*		?	?
Chahār Bāb wa Bīst Gurūh ("4 Chapters and 20 Units")	چهار باب وبیست گروه	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.			?	PE
Durr al-ṣāfī ("Pearl of the Pure")	杜爾賽非，杜爾塞飛	岡志，靈徵, p. 15, 特徵人物 p. 71, Mid-18th cent.			?	?
Kitāb al-nūr ("Book of Light")	女兒經	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	?		?	?
Lubāb ("Quintessence")	لباب	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.			?	?
Masṭūr ("Ordered")	مسطور	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709			?	?
Mu'ādāt (?)	معادات	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	?		?	?

Muḥammad al-Mahdī (?) ("Muḥammad the Rightly Guided")	*Mu-han-mo-di li-mai-hai-ding-yan* 穆罕默地力買海頂燕	Ma Ming-long's biography	Translated by Ma Ming-long 馬明龍 (1596-1678)		?	?
Nādir ("Rarity")	نادر	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.			?	?
Nawādir al-Islām ("Rarities of Islam")	نوادر الاسلام	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	might be the work of a certain Abū ʻAbdallāh Ḥusayn b. ʻAbdallāh al-Saʻdī al-Shīʻī (listed in KZ)	al-Alawi reports on this work, adding that it includes selected religious treatise; Satudah 667 reports on *Nawādir* of Muḥmmad al-Zuhri al-Ghamrāwī made for Aḥmad Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qalyūbī (d. 1069/1658)	?	?
*Nūr al-Musallī ("*Light of the Devotee") Or *Nūr al-Mawlá* ("Light of the Mulah)	نور المصلي نور المولى	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.	?		?	?
Nūr al-Muṣṭafā ("Light of the Chosen")	نور المصطفى	Kaifeng Chinese-Arabic Inscriptions 1709	?		?	?
Tanṣīḥ ("Counsel")	تنصيح	經學系傳譜 *Jingxue xichuan pu*, ca. 1670s.			?	?

Appendix 3: Chinese works on Arabo-Persian Themes (until 1800)

I. Translations of Arabic and Persian Works

Date	Theme	Title	Author	Title of original Arabo-Persian text
1631	Theology	*Ke-li-mo jie qi-meng qianshuo* 克理默解啓蒙淺說 ("A Preliminary Interpretation of the *Kalimah* [the Islamic Creed]")	Zhang Zhong-shi 張中時 (1584-1670)	*Ke-li-mo She-ha-ti* 克理默舍哈題 (unidentified text)
1638-1641	Theology	*Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 ("The Comprehensive Meaning of Returning to Truth")	Zhang Zhong-shi 張中時 (1584-1670)	Oral transmission of *Imān mujmal* 以麻呢 穆直默勒 *Imān mujmal*, according to its postscript, it was first published in print by Zhang's student 沙振宗 of 錢塘 in 1661
1653	Theology	*Sipian yaodao yijie* 四篇要道譯解 ("An Annotated Translation of 'The Four Treatises on the Fundamental Way'")	Zhang Zhong-shi 張中時 (1584-1670)	*Chahār Faṣl*, a later translation was made in early 20th cen. under the title 車哈雷凡速. The preface suggests it is a translation of the work *Lü-su-li* 率蘇裏 (<*Risālah*)
1660s-1670s	?	*Mu-Han-mo-di li mai-ha-ding-yan* 穆罕默地力買海頂燕	Ma Minglong 馬明龍 (1596-1678)	*Mu-Han-mo-di li mai-ha-ding-yan* 穆罕默地力買海頂燕, unidentified.

1660s	Mysticism	*Tuiyuan Zhengkui* 推原正逵 or *Tuiyuan zhengda* 推原正達 ("Investigation of the Origin and Correct Apprehension")	Ma Minglong 馬明龍 (1596-1678) and She Yunshan 舍蘊善 (1634-1710)	Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's (d. 654 AH/1256 AD) *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* 米爾薩德
1668	Jurisprudence - Praxis	*Xiuzhen mengyin* 修真蒙引 ("Introduction to the Cultivation of Truth")	Wu Zunqi 伍遵契 (1598-1698) and Zhou Shiqi 周士騏	*Hādi al-Ṣibyān* 哈地 隨布亞尼 (unidentified text)
1670s	Mysticism	*Zhaoyuan mijue* 昭元秘訣 ("The Secret Crux of the	She Yunshan 舍蘊善 (1634-1710)	Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 1492) *Ashi`at al-lamaʿāt*
1670s	Jurisprudence - Praxis	*Tianfang weizhen yaolüe* 天方衛真要略 "A Summary on the Protection of the Islamic Truth"	Ma Junshi 馬君實 (1628-1690)	Might be a translation of Maḥmūd b. ʿUbayd Allāh's (d. 673/1274) *Wiqāyat al-Riwāyah* or one of its commetaries.
1679	Mysticism	*Guizhen biyao* 歸真必要 ("The Prerequisites for Submission to the Truth")	She Yunshan 舍蘊善 (1634-1710)	ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī's (fl. 7th cen. /13th cen.) *Maqṣad al-aqṣá*
1670s	Ethics	*Xingmi lu* 省迷錄 "Record of Self Awakening"	She Yunshan 舍蘊善 (1634-1710)	*Mu-nan-bi-ha-ti* 穆難必哈提. Seems to be Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's (1372-1449) *Munabbihāt.*

1672/1678	Mysticism	*Guizhen yaodao yiyi* 歸真要道譯義 ("Translation of the Meanings of the Essential Way to Submit to the Truth")	Wu Zunqi 伍遵契(1598-1698)	Najm al-dīn Rāzī's (d. 654 AH/1256 AD) 米爾薩德 *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*
1678	Jurisprudence - Praxis	*Jiaokuan jieyao* 教款捷要 "A Summary of Religious Laws"	Ma Boliang 馬伯良	Selective translation from *Muhimmāt al-Muslimīn*
early 1700s	Mysticism	*Zhenjing zhaowei* 真境昭微 "Displaying the subtleties of the Realm of Truth"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)	Jāmī's 勒瓦以哈 *Lawāʾiḥ*
1724	Sīrah (Biography of the Prophet)	*Tianfang Zhisheng Shilu Nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 ("Veritable Records and Chronological Tables on the Life of Islam's Most Revered")	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)	*Tarjumat al-Muṣṭafa*

II. Original Works in Chinese

Date	Theme	Title	Author
1634	Intro to Islam	*Qingzhen jiaokao* 清真教考 "An Examination of the Pure and True Teachings" (only preface survived)	Zhang Xin 张忻 (1590-1658)
1636	History	*Qunshu huiji shiyi* 群書匯輯釋疑 "An Anthology of Works to Eliminatie the Doubts" (only epilogue survived)	Zhan Yingpeng 詹應鹏 (1572-1653)

Late Ming	Theology	*Zhengjiao yaoce* 正教要冊 "Essence of the True Teaching"	Yang Xiangyu 楊祥宇 (zi Yingrui 應瑞), a late Ming general and a member of Beijing Niujie (mentioned in Niujie Gazetteer)
?	Theology	*Shengmi zhenyuan* 省迷真原 ("The True Origin ofs Self-Awakening")	? (mentioned by Wang Daiyu)
ca. 1642	Theology	*Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 "True Commentary of the Correct Teaching")	Wang Daiyu 王岱輿
ca. 1642	Theology	*Qingzhen daxue* 清真大學 ("The Pure and True Great Learning"	Wang Daiyu 王岱輿
ca. 1642	Theology	*Zhenquan yaolu* 真詮要錄 "A Summary of the True Commentary"	Wang Daiyu's 王岱輿, Ma Anli 馬安禮 (ed.)
1658	Theology	*Xizhen zhengda* 希真正答 "Correct Answers to the Rare Truth"	Wang Daiyu's 王岱輿, Wu Liancheng 伍連城 (ed.)
1660s	History	*Jingxue xichuan pu* 經學係傳譜 "The Genealogy of the Transmission of Textual Learning"	Zhao Can 趙燦 (1662-1722)
1661	Theology	*Renji xingwu* 認己省悟 "The Realization of Self-Recognition"	Ma Minglong 馬明龍 (1596-1678)
Kangxi Period (1661-1722	?	*Zhengjiao yulu* 正教語錄 "Records of Discussions on the Correct Teachings"	Ma Longbo 馬龍伯 a Kangxi period official and a member of Beijing Niujie. (mentioned in Niujie Gazetteer)

Kangxi reign	?	*Zhengjiao yulu* 正教語錄	Ma Longbo 馬龍伯
1670s	Theology	*Zhisheng zan* 至聖讚 "A Eulogy to the Most Revered"	Ma Zhu 馬注 (1640-1711)
1670s	Fiqh	*Tianfang weizhen yaolüe* 天方衛真要略	Ma Junshi 馬君實 (1628-1690)
1683	Theology	*Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南 "Compass to Islam"	Ma Zhu 馬注 (1640-1711)
ca. 1660s-1680s	Intro to Islam	*Tianfang shengjiao* 天方聖教 "The Sacred Islamic Teachings" (only preface survived)	Ding Peng 丁澎 (1622- 1686)
1691	Jurisprudence	*Jiaokuan weilun* 教款微論 "Discussions on the Subtleties of Religious Law"s	Mi Wanji 米萬濟
?	Intro o Islam	*Qingzhen jiaoshuo* 清真教說 *"Exposition on The Pure and True Teachings"*	Liu Sanjie 劉三傑
1710	Theology	*Wugong shiyi* 五功釋義 "Exposition on the Five Merits"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1710	Mysticism	*Tianfang zimu jieyi* 天方字母解義 "Expalanation of the meanings of Arabo-Persian Letters"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1700s	Pedagogy	*Tianfang sanzi youyi jieyi* 天方三字幼義 "The Three-Character of Islam For Children" also known as *Tianfang sanzijing* 天方三字經 "The Islamic Three Character Classic"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)

1700s	Pedagogy	*Wujing yue* 五更月 "The Five Phases of the Moon"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1704	Theology	*Tianfang Xingli* 天方性理 "On the Principles of Nature in Islam"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1710	Jurisprudence	*Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 天方典禮擇要解 "Selected Commentaries on Islamic Rituals"	Liu Zhi 劉智 (1660-1730)
1710s	Theology	*Xingli benjing zhushi* 性理本經注釋 "A Commentary on the Core Part of Principles of Nature"	Hei Mingfeng 黑鳴鳳 (1673-)
1720	Theology	*Qingzhen jiaokao* 清真教考 "An Examination of The Pure and True Teachings"	Sun kean 孫可庵
1738	Jurisprudence	*Qingzhen shiyi* 清真釋疑 ('Explanations to Questions on Islam')	Jin Tianzhu 金天柱 (ca. 1700-1795)
1739-1795	Poetry	*Shengzan shilüe* 聖讚詩略 "An Abridged Version of the Euglogy of the Prophet	Ma Yongnian 馬永年 (fl. Qianlong period)
1790s	Praxis	*Zhen'gong fawei* 真功發微	Yu Haozhou 余浩州

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