

New Research on Confucian Christian Liu Ning during early Qing Dynasty

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Abstract: Researches on common Christians in the early Qing dynasty is relatively scarce. This essay tried to uncover and investigate the family, lives, writings, communications and thought of Liu Ning, who was a Christian and also a Confucian adept in studying ancient Confucian classics and Chinese philology and phonology in the early Qing. Some new historical materials prove that Liu was born in 1620, not as some scholars said in 1625; and he died nearly in 1715 when he was 96 years old. He was probably baptized by Prosper Intorcetta (1625—1696) in Nanfeng County or by other missionaries before Liu went to Chongyi County to hold the position of Confucian instructor in 1687. This essay also discusses some of Liu's thoughts, such as Restoring Confucianism and Replacing Buddhism and so on. The last part points out the changes of Christianity's legitimacy from the late Ming to the early Qing dynasties and concludes some main reasons for these changes.

Key Words: Liu Ning (family, lives, writings), Restoring Confucianism and Replacing Buddhism, Communications, Chinese Philology and Phonology, faith

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Introduction

The number of Catholics in the early Qing dynasty grew rapidly after Yang Guangxian's (杨光先, 1597—1669) anti-Catholicism movement (1664—1669). Before the prohibition of Catholicism by the Kangxi Emperor as a result of the Chinese Rites Controversy, Chinese Catholicism had in fact entered a golden age in the history of Christianity in China.^[1] Unlike the late Ming Dynasty, the social and intellectual environment of the early Qing Dynasty had undergone significant changes. The third generation of believers also differed from the late Ming in their beliefs and ideas. For example, Zhang Xingyao (张星曜), a believer in Hangzhou, explicitly stated that Catholicism could be “complying with Confucianism” (合儒), “complementary to Confucianism” (补儒) and “super-

[1] Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume One (635—1800)*. Leiden; Boston; Brill, 2001, pp. 382-383.

Confucianism” (超儒)。^[2] In explaining the legitimacy of Catholicism, third-generation believers also adopted a different strategy from that of the late Ming Dynasty, with the “Restoration of Confucianism” as the main content.

At present, many researches focus on the famous missionaries such as Adam Schall von Bell (汤若望, 1591—1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (南怀仁, 1623—1688), as well as important historical events such as the Chinese Rites Controversy.^[3] There were few studies on the common believers and their lives and thoughts. In this paper, we take the Confucian Christian Liu Ning (刘凝, 1620—1715?) as an example, and examine Liu Ning’s family, life, and religious thoughts, to explore the faith and thought of the third generation of Confucian Christians in early Qing. The previous studies on Liu Ning were mostly on his contribution to the study of ancient Chinese characters and Chinese phonetics. This paper will first examine Liu Ning’s family, life, and writings, then examine Liu Ning’s contacts and baptism, and then again use the book *Jue Si Lu* (Awakening the Truth, 《觉斯录》) and other works as the object of analysis to examine the characteristics of Liu Ning’s thoughts and beliefs, and finally to analyze the changes of defense on Catholics by these Confucian Christians from the late Ming to the early Qing dynasty.^[4]

On Liu Ning’s Family, Life and Writings

According to the Genealogy of Lius in Nanfeng (《南丰刘氏世谱》) which was an appendix to the Biography of Mr. Shuicun (《水村先生行实》) written by Liu Ning, the ancestor of the Lius in Nanfeng was Liu Jin (刘金), a native of Pengcheng (彭城), who was appointed as the governor of Hao Zhou (濠州) and Chu Zhou (滁州) in Tang Dynasty. The thirteenth grandson of Liu Jin was the well-known Confucian Liu Xun (刘熏, 1240—1319) in the late Song and early Yuan. He was also the fourteenth ancestor of Liu Ning. According to the Biography of Mr. Shui Cun, Liu Xun, with style name of Qi Qian (起潜), was known as Shui Cun (水村):

[2] Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, p. 433; D. E. Mungello, *The Forgotten Christians of Hangzhou*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, c1994, p. 70.

[3] Current researches on these topics, please refer to the Chinese Text Database, which was managed by Ad Dudink and Nicolas Standaert, the website is: <https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/sinologie/english/cct> (cited date: July 13, 2020).

[4] These dictionaries have introduced Liu Ning briefly, such as Huang Kaiguo (黄开国) edited, *Jingxue cidian* (《经学辞典》), Chengdu: Sichuan People’s Press, 1993, pp. 132, 211, 632; Xu Jialu (许嘉璐) edited, *Chuantong yuyanxue cidian* (《传统语言学辞典》), Shijiazhuang: Hebei Education Press, 1990, pp. 246-247. Wang Zhongmin (王重民) was the first to point out that Liu Ning was a Catholic, see Wang Zhongmin, “Ba aiutang ben Yinju tongyi” (《跋爱余堂本隐居通议》), originally published in *Tushu jikan* (《图书季刊》), June 1945, new Volume 6, No. 1 and 2, collected in Wang Zhongmin, *Zhongguo shanbenshu tiyao* (《中国善本书提要》), Shanghai: Shanghai Rare Books Press, 1983, p. 7. Other researches on Liu Ning, see Zhou Yiliang (周一良) edited, *Zhongwai wenhua jiaoliushi* (《中外文化交流史》), Zhengzhou: Henan People’s Press, 1987, p. 55; Zheng Ande (郑安德), “Dousi de zhongguo mingchen: mingmo jidujiao shenming zhi zheng” (《“陡斯”的中国名称——明末基督教神名之争》), in *Tianwen* (《天问》) (Volume of Bingxu), Nanjing: Jiangsu People’s Press, 2006, pp. 24-26; Adrian Dudink, “The Rediscovery of a Seventeenth-century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: The Manuscript *Tianxue Jijie*”, in *Sino-Western Cultural Relation Journal*, XV (1993), pp. 1-26; Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume One (635—1800)*, p. 435; Knud Lundbæk, Joseph de Prémare, 1666—1736, S. J.: Chinese philology and figurism. Aarhus C, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1991; Li Zhen (李真), “Liu Ning and Juesilu” (《刘凝与觉斯录》), in *International Sinology* (《国际汉学》), Volume 17, Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2009, pp. 184-195; Ping-yi Chu, “Liu Ning and Liu Xun: The Relationship between Learning from Heaven and Evidential Studies” (《刘凝与刘熏: 考证学与天学关系新探》), in *Xinshixue* (《新史学》), 23 (2012): 57-104.

(He) was very filial to his mother and always glad to do righteous deeds. He was very generous to his friends and sympathized with the poor. He always tried his best to save others from distress and difficulties with no care of the cost. He was content with his states in poor and was not moved by the benefits and official positions. He studied the classic scriptures and ancient history, collected hundreds of books, and wrote papers like a gushing spring. He was thirty-seven years old and the Song Dynasty had fallen, when many literati sacrificed for the country. He worried about that their deeds and names would disappear in history. Thus, he compiled the Book The Poems of Ten Loyalists with Complementary History (《补史十忠诗》). He was well familiar with the society, customs, military strategy and geography and was valued by the great dukes from the north. At fifty-five years old, he was recommended by the officials to hold the position of instructor of the province. He enlightened the students and made constitutions and regulations. He also keen on revering the former saints and honoring their loyalties. The sacrifice in the tomb of Zeng Gung (曾巩) with posthumous name Wen Ding) was longtime abolished. On the day of ceremony of opening of schools, he performed the rituals with students as before through day and night. After seventy years old, he was recommended by Duke of Zang to the imperial court and was promoted to hold the position of professor of Yan Ping. After he retired, he taught other students privately for three years. …… What he wrote included Jingshuo jiangyi (《经说讲义》), Shuiyuncun mingao (《水云村泯稿》), Yinggao (《吟稿》), Aijian sidualu (《哀鉴思华录》), Yinju tongyi (《隐居通义》), Zhonghua fuzaoji (《中华黼藻集》), Xuanding guji shiwen (《选定古今诗文》). …… He died at the age of eighty. The local gentlemen and his disciples proposed his posthumous name as Wen Ding (文定) and was buried in Caijia keng (蔡家坑) of Xianren shi (仙人石).^[5]

Liu Xun's writings such as Yinjun tongyi, Shuiyuncun gao, Bushi shizhongshi were well-known to the world because they were collected by Siku quanshu (Complete Library in Four Sections, 《四库全书》).^[6] Liu Xun was a major representative of the school of the learning of Lu Jiuyuan (陆九渊) in the early Yuan Dynasty. The editors of Siku quanshu said that Liu Xun believed in Lu Jiuyuan as the orthodox of the Confucianism and started the discussion on the "Definitive Conclusion of Zhu Xi" (朱子晚年定论) in his later life which Wang Yangming (王阳明) argued in details in late Ming dynasty.^[7]

Liu Ning's grandfather, Liu Xuan (刘烜), with a style name of Qiyao (启耀), and a pseudonym of Wentai (文台), was a tribute student in the twenty-third years of Wanli Emperor reign, and held

[5] Liu Ning, Shuicun xiansheng zhuan (《水村先生传》), appendix to Shuicun xiansheng xingshi (《水村先生行实》), printed in Qing dynasty, collected in Shanghai Library, pp. 16a-17b. Zhengguo edited, (Kangxi) Nanfeng Xianzhi (《南丰县志》), volume 7, printed in 1685, collected in Shanghai Library, pp. 26a-27b.

[6] Liu Xun, Yinju tongyi, collected in Siku quanshu, Book 866, Taipei: Commercial Press, 1985; Liu Xun, Shuiyun cun gao, collected in Siku quanshu, Book 1195; Liu Xun, Zhongyiji, collected in Siku quanshu, Book 1366.

[7] Research on Liu Xun's thought, see Xu Yuanhe (徐远和), Lixue yu yuandai shehui (《理学与元代社会》), Beijing: People's Press, 1992, pp. 215-231.

the position of instructor (训导) in Ji'an (吉安) county, Jiangxi Province, and then held the position of teacher (教谕) in Minqing (闽清) County Fujian Province.^[8] Liu Ning's father, Liu Guanhuan (刘冠寰), was the third son of Liu Xuan, with a style name of Shangzhi (尚之), and a pseudonym of Shu'an (恕庵) and was a selected tribute student in the second year of Tianqi Emperor reign.^[9] Liu Ning's descendant, Liu Simei (刘斯嵎),^[10] the 20th grandson of Liu Xun, proofread and engraved the Shuiyun cunmin gao, with the following Biography of Mr. Shu'an (《恕庵先生传》).

Liu Guanhuan, with a style name of Shangzhi and a pseudonym of Shu'an, was a native of Nanfeng. He had a high moral character and admired former saints. He was particularly fond of talking about the affairs of the world, and was a good teacher and friend. He was modest and eager to learn. Zhu Guang who was a civilian in Sui'an was known for his learning on the study of Li (reason). Fan Dounan, a native of Nanfeng was known for his strategy. Both lowered themselves to follow him as their teacher. He had accumulated tens of thousands of books. He had tried to compile ancient and contemporary poems and named it Shiwen guanglun huibian (《诗文广轮汇编》), like the style of Pajing waizhuan (《葩经外传》). He was recommended as a tribute student by Huang Ruheng (黄汝亨) and Dong Qichang (董其昌) in the second year of Tianqi Emperor reign. After hearing that Ruheng was in the trickle of the Party of the eunuch Wei Zhongxian (魏忠贤), he sighed and said: "can I still be an official?". So, he decided to resign.^[11]

Liu Yun, the eldest son of Liu Ning, also said in "Shu'an yigao xiaoyin" (《恕庵遗稿小引》):

Mr. Shu'an was born in the late Ming Dynasty. He was determined to study poems and literatures. He collected the words of all kinds of schools and philosophers and wrote articles to discuss issues based on other peoples' merits. He was also very good at discussing events and thinking about the plans for the world. He tried to use his plan and thought. However, he was unfortunate to live in the end of Ming dynasty. There were lots of wars and fighting. He did not fulfill his wish at last.^[12]

According to these materials, Liu Guanhuang was friendly with Huang Ruheng (1558—1626) and Dong Qichang (董其昌, 1555—1636). Huang was a disciple of Yang Tingyun's (杨廷筠, 1562—1627) father, Yang Zhaofang (杨兆坊), and was the teacher of Xiong Ming-ru (熊明遇, 1580—

[8] Zhengguo edited, (Kangxi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 5, p. 24a; Volume 8, pp. 1a-b; (Minguo) Minqing Xianzhi, volume 3, in Zhongguo fangzhi congshu, no. 101, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1967, p. 99; (Tongzhi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 24, printed in the ten years of Tongzhi, collected in Shanghai Library, pp. 20b-21a.

[9] Zhengguo edited, (Kangxi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 5, p. 25a; Mengzhao, Huangyou edited, Jianchang fuzhi, volume 30, printed in 1759, collected in China National Library, p. 21a; (Tongzhi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 24, p. 26b.

[10] About Liu Simei, see (Tongzhi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 27, p. 1a-b.

[11] Liu Guanhuan edited, Liu Simei revised, Shu'an xiansheng zhuan (《恕庵先生传》), appendix to Shuiyuncun mingao (《水云村泯稿》), printed in the year of Dingyou of Daoguang, the edition of Aiyutang, collected in Shanghai Library; Zhengguo edited, (Kangxi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 8, p. 5a.

[12] Liu Guanhuan edited, Liu Simei revised, Shu'an yigao xiaoyin (《恕庵遗稿小引》), appendix to Shuiyuncun mingao.

1650), and he was also a close friend of Gu Qiyuan (顾起元, 1565—1628).^[13] Yang was a well-known Catholic, and Xiong Mingyu, Gu Qiyuan, Huang Ruheng, and Dong Qichang all had contact with Western learning or Western religion namely Catholicism.

Liu Guanghuan had two sons, Liu Hong (刘鸿) and Liu Ning. Liu Hong, with a style name of Jiankui (建奎), was an attached student of the county school. Liu Ning, with a style name of Er'zhi (二至) and a pseudonym of Zhoutang (籀堂), and had the Christian name of Paulus,^[14] a native of Xiyu (西隅) village, Nanfeng county, Jiangkang prefecture. According to the Biography of Mr. Er'zhi (《二至先生传》) which was an appendix to the Shuiyun cunmin gao,

Liu Ning, with a style name of Er'zhi, was a son of Liu Guanhuang. He entered the official school when he was an adult. He was particularly interested in learning and bought tens of thousands of books and he studied these in depth and especially good at classical philology of six categories of characters. …… He was appointed to hold the instructor of Chongyi County as a tribute student. Chongyi County was in the mountains and was empty and music and schools stopped long time after wars. After fifteen years of services, Liu Ning recruited and rewarded people to join the school and these popular became civilized. Chongyi was a built county and started to compile the gazettes. Liu Ning also accept the position to compile the gazettes. He died without illness at the age of ninety. His son, Liu Du was a granary student of the County school, and feed himself by teaching. He gave more than a hundred stones in rent to his brothers. He was good at reading and learning, and wrote books such as Liji jiyao (《礼记辑要》) and Chunqiu huzhuan (《春秋互传》).^[15]

Liu Ning had seven sons, namely Liu Yun (刘允), Liu Yu (刘俞), Liu Du (刘都), Liu Nie (刘臬), Liu Ran (刘然), Liu Xu (刘许), and Liu Yi (刘异). Liu Du, with a style name of Tianbu (天部), was a government student in the County school. He succeeded his father Liu Ning's characters such as having a passion for ancient and rare books. He and his brother Liu Yun compiled the writings of Liu Ning which tilted Er'zhai wenji. According to the Chongke chongzhitang wenji xu (《重刻崇质堂文集序》) by Liu Du in the Gazette of Nanfeng County (《南丰县志》) in Tongzhi Emperor reign,

I feel deeply that the relationship between me and Mr. Tianpu (天仆) was destined by the Heaven. Firstly, I passed the provincial examination in the year of Ding (丁), and Tianpu also passed the provincial examination in the year of Ding (丁); Secondly, I passed the imperial examination and became a doctor in the year of Jia (甲), and Tianpu

[13] Huang Ruheng, "preface", in Yang Zhaofang, Yangshi shuxun (《杨氏塾训》), Siku quanshu cunmu congshu (《四库全书存目丛书》), part of Zi (子部), book 152, Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1996, pp. 85-86; Xiong Mingyu, "preface", in Huang Ruheng, Yulin ji (《寓林集》), Siku jinhui shu congkan (《四库禁毁书丛刊》), part of Ji, book 042, Beijing: Beijing Press, 2000, pp. 18-20; Gu Qiyuan, "preface", in Huang Ruheng, Yulin ji, p. 2-4.

[14] Nicolas Standaert, Handbook of Christianity in China; Volume One (635—1800), p. 401.

[15] Liu Simei revised, Er'zhi xiansheng chuan (《二至先生传》), appendix to Shuiyun cunmin gao (《水云村泯稿》).

also became a doctor in the year of Jia (甲); Thirdly, I ranked in the 120th in the list of those who passed the imperial examination, and Tianpu also ranked in the 120th. All these were clearly destined.^[16]

Tianpu namely was Li Changzuo (李长祚), who was Liu Ning's closely friend and from the same village. Li Changzuo passed the provincial examination in the year of Dingmao of Kangxi Reign (丁卯, 1687), and got the doctor degree in the year of Jiayu (甲戌, 1694). However, there was no record of Liu Du's status as a master or doctor.^[17] Liu Du's believed in "destiny" which shows that he seemed to be a Catholic, although there were no direct materials to prove his Catholic identity.

About Liu Ning's life and family, in addition to the Biography of Mr. Er'zhi, the recordings in the Gazette of Nanfeng County,^[18] the Gazette of Chongyi County (《崇义县志》),^[19] the Gazette of Jianchang Prefecture (《建昌府志》),^[20] and the Gazette of Nan'an Prefecture (《南安府志》)^[21] are almost the same. When he was nearly 20 years old, Liu Ning entered the County School and earned the degree of bachelor. In 1675, Geng Jingzhong rebelled and invaded in Nanfeng County. Commander Xu and General Feng led soldiers to resist the rebels. Liu Ning composed the poem titled "Jishi ershi yun" (《纪实二十韵》) to record the history.^[22] In 1677, Liu Ning became a tribute student in the prefecture school.^[23] In the 26th year of Kangxi Emperor (1687), he was appointed to hold the official position of instructor in Chongyi County.^[24]

Chongyi County is located in the southwest of Jiangxi Province, and is adjacent to Hunan Province. It is in a relatively remote location and full of dangerous mountainous. The establishment of Chongyi County began in the Ming Dynasty.^[25] In the 12th years of the Zhengde Emperor reign (1517), Wang Shouren (王守仁), the right censors of Nanjing, suppressed the Xie Zhishan's (谢志山 or 谢志珊, ? —1517) uprising, and set Chongyi County, as a part of Nan'an (南安) Prefecture. When Liu Ning was the instructor in Chongyi, he wrote an article titled "The Outline of the Honorable Wang Wencheng's Governing Hengshui" (《王文成公经营横水方略》, 1693), which praised Wang Yangming's contributions to Chongyi.

When Liu Ning was appointed as Chongyi's instructor, it was just after the Kangxi Emperor had put down the rebellion of the Three Clans (1673—1681). After the wars, "the city was empty and

[16] (Tongzhi) Nanfeng xianzhi, volume 36, pp. 38-39.

[17] Liu Du said that he earned the doctor degree in the year of Jia, however, there is no record in Mingqing jinshi timing beilu suoyn (《明清进士题名碑录索引》). There is no record in (Tongzhi) Nanfeng Xianzhi either.

[18] (Tongzhi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 25, p. 21.

[19] Wang Baoshu, Feng Baoshan edited, Chongyi Xianzhi (《崇义县志》), volume 7, printed in 1867, collected in Shanghai Library, p. 5.

[20] (Qianlong) Jianchang fuzhi (《建昌府志》), volume 46, printed in the 24 years of Qianlong Reign, collected in China National Library, p. 13.

[21] Huang Mingke, Shi Jingfen, Nan'an fuzhi, volume 15, printed in the 7 years of Tongzhi Reign, in Zhongguo fangzhi congshu (《中国方志丛书》), no. 268, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975, p. 1343.

[22] Zhengguo edited, Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 11, p. 37.

[23] Adrian Dudink, "The Rediscovery of a Seventeenth-century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: The Manuscript Tianxue Jijie", p. 19; (Qianlong) Jianchang fuzhi, volume 30, p. 26.

[24] (Tongzhi) Nan'an fuzhi, volume 11, p. 776.

[25] (Tongzhi) Nan'an fuzhi, volume 15, p. 1274.

the choral music had been resting for a long time”. By “recruiting and enticing people, Liu Ning was able to convert them”. During the period of holding the position of instructor, Liu Ning advocated to build schools, and office room which was named Sanyu shu (三余署). Liu Ning led students to hold the ceremony to commemorate Wang Yangming in the end of Autumn and visited all places of Chongyi County. After visiting, Liu Ning wrote some travelogues such as “A visit to Shaxi dong” (《游沙溪洞记》), “A Tale of Niedu shuilou” (《聂都水楼记》) and so on. He also edited the Gazette of Shaxi Dong (《沙溪洞志》), describing the sceneries and stories in Niedu (聂都) and Tonggang (桶冈).^[26] Liu Ning wrote a poem titled Niedu shiliu jing (《聂都十六景》) which was appraised by the Gazette of Nan’an Prefecture (《南安府志》).^[27]

Liu Ning served as the instructor in Chongyi County for 15 years. In 1702, Liu Ning retired and returned home and compiled the Gazette of Chongyi County (《崇义县志》) which was not finished yet. Regarding Liu Ning’s birth year, Dr. Ad Dudink believes that Liu Ning was born in 1625.^[28] However, in the year of Bingzi of Kangxi’s reign (1696), Liu Ning said in the Postscript to the Shuiyuncun yingao jianzhu (《跋水云村吟稿后》): “Thinking of the childish years, suddenly the old of maodie (耄耋) have arrived.”^[29] Maodie” generally refers to about 80 to 90 years old, of course, it also refers to the elderly, but inferred from here, Liu Ning may have been born years earlier than 1625. Liu Ning’s son Liu Du in the postscript of the same book said, the manuscript of this book was firstly revised by Liu Ning in the year of Jisi (己巳) of Kangxi Emperor reign (1689) in his office of Chongyi County. Then Liu Ning still copied it in his own handwriting. After copied two volumes, Liu Ning’s eyes felt painful and he could no longer write in small characters. At this time, Liu Ning would be already eighty years old. Then Liu Ning asked his son Liu Du to continue his work. In the year of Bingxu (丙戌) of Kangxi Emperor Reign (1706), on the day before the Lantern Festival, all the copy works were completed, when Liu Ning already retired and was eighty-seven years old. According to this material, Liu Ning should be born in 1620. In Liu Ning’s later years, he was troubled by kinds of family affairs because of his seven sons, such as Liu Du said, “disputes in the family were very frequent”.^[30]

The date of Liu Ning’s death was unknown. Dr. Ad Dudink inferred that Liu Ning died in 1715. If according to the Biography of Mr. Er’zhi, the Gazette of Nanfeng County, which both stated that Liu Ning “died without illness at ninety years old,” he should die in 1710. In the meantime, Joseph de Prémare (马若瑟, 1666—1736) mentioned respectively in 1728 and 1731 that Liu Ning died at the age of 96.^[31] Accordingly, Liu Ning should die in 1715. However, according the Book titled Tianxue jijie (《天学集解》) which was compiled by Liu Ning, the date the articles collected in this book was

[26] See Chongyixian wenshi ziliao (《崇义县文史资料》), volume 8, 1995, pp. 90-92; Hu Yingjian edited, Jiangxi guwen jinghua congshu (《江西古文精华丛书》), volume of travelogue, Nanchang: Jiangxi People’s Press, 1995, pp. 217-220; (Tongzhi) Chongyi Xianzhi, volume 10, pp. 18-25.

[27] (Tongzhi) Nan’an fuzhi, volume 7, p. 498.

[28] Adrian Dudink, “The Rediscovery of a Seventeenth-century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: The Manuscript Tianxue Jijie”, p. 1.

[29] Zhang Fujian, “Shuiyuncun mingao xu” (《水云村泯稿序》), in Shuiyun cunmin gao, revised by Liu Simei.

[30] Liu Du, “Ba shuiyuncun yingao hou” (《跋水云村吟稿后》), in Shuiyun cunmin gao, revised by Liu Simei.

[31] Adrian Dudink, “The Rediscovery of a Seventeenth-century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: The Manuscript Tianxue Jijie”, p. 19.

as late as 1711 or 1712. Joseph de Prémare also mentioned that the books of Liu Ning were posthumous writings in his preface of the book of *Jingchuan yilun* (《经传议论》)^[32] and this preface was written in 1710. All of the above suggests that Liu Ning should have died around 1710.

According to the Biography of Mr. Er'zhi, the writings of Liu Ning includes, *Liushuguai* (《六书夬》), *Shuowen jiezi yunyuan* (《说文解字韵原》), *Yinshu tongyi* (《引书同异》), *Shijing benmo* (《石经本末》), *Xiaojing quanben zhu* (《孝经全本注》), *Shiguwen dingben* (《石鼓文定本》) original edition in 1667, reprinted in 1679), *Fanhezhu* (《樊合著》), *Jili bianlun* (《稽礼辨论》), *Er'zhai wenji* (《尔斋文集》). In the early Qing, Liu Ning revised his ancestor Liu Xun's book *Shuiyun mingao* (15 volumes) and made the formal edition. In 1667, Liu Ning also revised and printed Liu Xun's *Yinju tongyi* (31 volumes). In 1696, He also revised Liu Xun's *Shuiyuncun yingao*. Liu Ning's books were collected in The Complete Library in Four Sections which included *Jili bianlun* (1 volume), *Yunyuanbiao* (1 volume) and *Shiguwen dingben* (2 volumes).

Liu Ning's writings on Catholicism are not many, and there is not any record of them in the local Gazettes. According to the related materials, his writings on Catholicism are below: "Simo zhenlun xu" (《四末真论序》, 1672), "Jiaoqi helu xu" (《交迷合录序》, 1677), "Taixi roujue xu" (《泰西肉攫序》, 1679), "Dashe jielue xu" (《大赦解略序》, 1689), "Bencaobu xu" (《本草补序》, 1697), *Juesilu* (《觉斯录》, ca. 1680—1700, including four articles, "Yuanbenlun" (《原本论》), "Tianzhu zhiming fei chuangzi xiyu" (《天主之名非创自西域》), "Bian Tiantong miyun heshang sanshuo" (《辨天童密云和尚三说》), "Fusong heshang sanjiao zhenglun bian" (《抚松和尚三教正论辨》), ad *Tianxue jijie* (ca. 1680—1700). He also revised *Moxiang shengong* (《默想神功》, ca. 1700) written by Pedro de la Piñuela (石铎录, 1655—1704).

On Liu Ning's Social-net and Conversion to Catholicism

Similar to Zhang Xingyao,^[33] a Confucian Christian in Hangzhou in the same period, the first half of Liu Ning's life was unknown, and it was very possible that he tried his best to earn literary degrees as the most Confucian scholars did at that time. At the end of the Ming Dynasty, Jiangxi Province was the center of the school of the Learning of Heart-Mind where Western learning and religion were widely spread. Liu Ning's father, Liu Guanhuang, was familiar with Huang Ruheng and Dong Qichang. Huang had contacts with the Catholic Yang Tingqun and other literati of western learning. Dong had close contacts with the Catholic Han Lin (ca. 1598—1649). Huang also held the official position of the governor of Jinxian County in Jiangxi Province and the right counselor of the provincial administration commission of Jiangxi. Liu Guanhuang also had a relationship with Hou Tongzen (候峒曾), who was a relative in-law of the Catholic Han Lin (韩霖), and got the doctor degree in the same year (1625) with Li Jiantai (李建泰) and Huang Jingfang (黄景昉). The teacher of the Catholic Li Jiubiao (李九标), Ge Yinliang (葛寅亮, earned doctor degree in 1601), also served as the right counselor of the provincial administration commission of Jiangxi. Xiong Mingyu and Fan

[32] Joseph de Prémare, *Jingzhuanyilun*, in BnF, *Courant chinois* 7164.

[33] About Zhang Xingyao, see D. E. Mungello, *The Forgotten Christians of Hangzhou*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.

Liangshu (樊良枢), who had close contact with missionaries and western studies, were all natives from Jinxian County in Jiangxi. The son of the Catholic Li Zhizao, Li Changmao (李长楸), also served as an official in Jiangxi.

During the period of the reign of Shunzhi Emperor, the Catholic Tong Guoqi (佟国器) served as an official in Nangan (南赣), Jiangxi Province, and Catholic Xu Chanzeng (许缙曾, 1627—?) who was from a Catholic family also held an official position in Nanchang, “and met his mother respectably to the office in Nanchang government, built the Catholic Church, and supported the Holy Religion which missionaries mostly relied on”. Liu Guanjuan collected tens of thousands of volumes of books, and Liu Ning himself “purchased tens of thousands of volumes of books”, so in this environment, Liu Ning began to study the ancient Confucian classics and was interested in the philology. In the early Qing Dynasty, many scholars in Jiangxi Province had contacts with missionaries and had a deep understanding of them. Meanwhile, Liu Ning’s father Liu Guanjuan had contacted with these literati. Therefore, the adolescent Liu Ning should have been quite familiar with Western learning and Western religion.

The exact time of Liu Ning’s earliest touch with Western Learning is not known from existing documents. The earliest recorded date was 1659, when Liu Ning was 39 years old. At that time, Fang Yizhi (方以智, 1611—1671), who was a profound scholar of Western Learning, shaved his head and became a Buddhist monk; after three years of mourning of his father’s death, Fang Yizhi “climbed Wulao Mountain (五老峰) in Lushan (庐山), and entered the Xujiang River (盱江), then met with Tang Ci’an (汤赐庵), Liu Er’zhi (刘二至), Huang Weiji (黄维缉), Xie Yuezhai (谢约斋) in Nanfeng County who all were his inmate friends.” This shows that around 1659, Fang Yizhi entered Jiangxi and interacted with Tang Laihe (汤来贺), Liu Ning, and Xie Wenjian (谢文焄, 1615—1681). Fang Yizhi had many contacts with Xie Wenjian.^[34]

In 1664, Liu Ning was 45 years old. In the spring of this year, Xie Wenjian who was a native Nanfeng, “discussed with Liu Er’zhi on the Western Learning, and exchanged ideas with letters for four times and severely criticized him”.^[35] And before that, in 1663, Xie Wenjian began to read and revise *Qike* (《七克》) and renamed it as *Qike yizhilu* (《七克易知录》). He also said that “this time I delete some contents of *Qike*, and all harms of that Religion (namely Catholicism) also were deleted. The left contents were realistic and practical. If put it on the front of the desk, it could be helpful to cure of illness of morality.”^[36] Xie was a well-known scholar of classical studies in early Qing in Jiangxi province. In his early years, Xie studied Zen, then turned to follow the school of Wang Yangming. At last, he focused on Neo-Confucianism of Cheng and Zhu. The key idea of his thoughts concentrated in Revering (主敬) and Practices (笃行).^[37] Although the Biography of Xie said that he severely criticized Western learning, Xie’s attitude towards Western learning was actually quite open. Xie believed that “the learning of Western scholars seemed to be helpful to understand the teaching of our Confucianism of awing Heaven’s mandate and serving God”. Xie took the attitude of

[34] (Minguo) Nanfeng xianzhi, volume 35, printed in 1924, collected in Shanghai Library, pp. 513-514.

[35] Xie Mingqian, Chengshan xieming xiansheng nianpu (《程山谢明学先生年谱》), in Beijing tushuguan cang zhenben nianpu congkan (《北京图书馆藏珍本年谱丛刊》), book 73, Beijing: Beijing Library Press, 1999, p. 278.

[36] Xie Mingqian, Chengshan xieming xiansheng nianpu, p. 276.

[37] Huang Kaiguo, Jingxue cidian, p. 610.

“taking the good and abandoning the bad” towards Western learning. Thus, he deleted the wrong contents of Qike as the tool of moral cultivation.^[38] Xie also accepted the Western Religion’s claims about the existence of God, but “forces out the idea of his incarnation.”^[39] Thus, Xie’s discussion with Liu Ning may have involved the Western beliefs about God’s incarnation and salvation, which Xie considered to be “absurd and superficial.”

Shao Wuyuan (邵吴远, formerly Shao Yuanping 邵远平, also known as Jiesan 戒三), a native of Renhe (仁和), got the degree of doctor in the third year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1664).^[40] In 1675, when Shao held the official position of provincial educational supervisor, he wrote the preface of Liu Ning’s book Yinshu tongyi and praised Liu Ning’s learning on philology.^[41] Han Tan (韩葵, 1637—1704), who was a disciple of Shao, ever wrote a preface of the book Gujin jingtianjian (《古今敬天鉴》) which was written by the Jesuit Joachim Bouvet (白晋, 1656—1730) in 1703.^[42]

In 1677, at the age of 58, Liu Ning went to Beijing as a tribute student. In the same year, Liu Ning wrote the preface of Jiaoqiu helu in Beijing. The next year, Liu Ning met Li Laitai (李来泰, ?—1684) from Linchuan (临川) in Beijing, who was very impressed by Liu Ning’s book Zhouxuanwang shiguwen dingben. In 1679, Li ranked first in the second level when he attended the examinations of “Broad Learning and Extensive Scholarship” (博学鸿儒科) and was appointed as the scholar of Academician Expositor-in-waiting (翰林院侍讲).^[43] Li Laitai also wrote an epitaph for Liu Guanhuai.^[44] In the same year, Liu Ning should be still in Beijing and wrote the preface for the book of Yingshuo (《鹰说》) written by Lodovico Buglio (利类思, 1606—1682). In 1681, when Li Shizhen (李士桢) was the governor of Jiangxi Province, Liu Ning submitted his memorials to him and was praised and encouraged. Li Shizhen’s son, Li Xu (李煦), also had contact with missionaries.^[45]

When Liu Ning edited Liu Xun’s Shuiyuncun mingao, he invited Zhang Fujian (张黼鉴) and Wu Fusheng (吴甫生) to write the prefaces. Zhang was a native of Yan’an wei (延安卫), and was the magistrate of Nanfeng County in 1658. Zhang once invited Liu Ning to compile the gazette of Nanfeng.^[46] Wu Fusheng, a native of Xingguo zhou (兴国州, now Yangxin 阳新), earned the degree of doctor in 1694. However, Zhang’s preface was written in 1721, while Wu’s was written in 1664. In these prefaces, both authors mentioned that Liu Ning had edited and published the works of Liu Xun, but the two prefaces were quite far apart. In the preface, Wu mentioned that he got to know Liu

[38] Xie Wenjian, “Qike yixu” (《七克易序》), in Xiechengshan ji (《谢程山集》), volume 14, collected in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu (《四库全书存目丛书》), part of Ji, book 209, p. 251.

[39] Xie Wenjian, Chengshan xiansheng rilu (《程山先生日录》), in Congshu jicheng xubian (《丛书集成续编》), part of Zi, book 77, Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore, 1994, p. 742.

[40] See Huang Zhaoqiang, Qingren yuanshixue tanyan, qingchu zhi qingzhongye (《清人元史学探研: 清初至清中叶》), Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2000, pp. 32-35.

[41] Shao Wuyuan, “Yinshu yitong xu” (《引书异同序》), in Zhengguo edited, (Kangxi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 12, p. 52.

[42] Hantan, “Gujin jingtianjian tianxue benyi xu” (《古今敬天鉴天学本义序》), in Xu Zongze, Mingqing jian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao (《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》), Shanghai: Shanghai Rare Books Press, 2006, p. 101.

[43] (Kangxi) Jiangxi tongzhi (《江西通志》), volume 20, printed in 1683, collected in the Tokyo University Library, p. 453.

[44] (Tongzhi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 17, p. 5.

[45] Fang Hao, Zhongguo tianzhujiaoshi renwu zhuan, p. 325.

[46] Meng Zhao, Huang You edited, Jianchang fuzhi, volume 25, p. 41; Zheng Guo edited, (Kangxi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 4, p. 42; volume 6, p. 19; (Tongzhi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 18, pp. 19-20.

Ning because he came to Nanfeng with his father Wu Jingshe, who was the magistrate of Nanfeng County.^[47] In his preface to Liu Ning's *Zhouxuanwang shiguwen dingben* (1667), Wu Fusheng refers to himself as “a classmate and younger brother” of Liu Ning, indicating that Wu and Liu Ning had a close relationship. According to *Er'zhai wenji* collected in the *Gazette of Nanfeng in Tongzhi*,

Wu Fusheng,……his father was Wu Jingshe (, the magistrate of Nanfeng County, with a fame of upright and integrity. Fusheng was very clever and handsome, and eager to learn. His poems and essays were both perfect. He was friendly with Liu Ning. The vulgar scholars mostly mocked Liu Ning's book *Shuowen jiezi guai* (《说文解字夹》). At the beginning, when Fusheng read this book, he still could not read it to the end volume. After he reflected carefully, he finally finished it. He said with emotions that the books in the world should be suspected, then they were trusted; the characters in the world should be abolished, then they were preserved. After he returned home, he passed the provincial exams, then got the degree of doctor and entered the Hanlin (翰林) Academy.^[48]

The above material indicates that Wu Fusheng was friendly with Liu Ning, and had great appreciation for her research on ancient Chinese characters. However, it is also evident from the above quotation that scholars often mocked Liu Ning's research on ancient characters.

In 1683, under the recommendations of the gentlemen of Nanfeng, such as Fu Daye (傅大业, style name of Yong Zi 用兹) and Peng Qi (彭期, style name of Yan Yuan 彦远), as well as the magistrate Zheng Guo's (郑钱) request, Liu Ning began to compose the *Gazette of Nanfeng County*. He worked day and night no matter of hot and cold and finished it after one year. This *Gazette* inherited the style of *Nanfeng zhouzhi* (《南丰州志》), which was written by Liu Xun. Liu Ning was quite confident and proud of his works. The *Gazette* also collected a preface by Tang Laihe (汤来贺, 1607—1688), a famous scholar and Liu Ning's uncle-in-law.^[49] In the preface, Zheng Guo also appraised Liu Ning's contribution. However, in his postscript of 1685, Zheng Guo was more critical of Liu Ning, which said, “following the recommendations of these gentlemen of Nanfeng, I commissioned Liu Ning to do this work. However, I have no time to revise. This is stated clearly in the preface. The author was selfish and made some unreal contents.……It is my fault”.

In 1687, after Liu Ning became the instructor of Chongyi County, he had contacts with the monk Qishan (岐山) when he visited Shaxi Cave in Nie Du. The monk Qishan, namely Shi Chengsheng (释成升), was a descendant of Zeng Gong (曾巩, 1019—1083).^[50] Liu Ning exchanged poem with him, and visited the Yunfeng Temple with him. After compiling the book *Niedu shaxidong zhi*, Liu Ning invited Wang Sishi (王思轼, 1655—1727) to write the preface.^[51] In 1693, Liu Ning was

[47] Jianchang fuzhi, volume 25, p. 41; Zheng Guo edited, (Kangxi) *Nanfeng Xianzhi*, volume 4, p. 42; (Tongzhi) *Nanfeng Xianzhi*, volume 18, pp. 19-20.

[48] (Tongzhi) *Nanfeng Xianzhi*, volume 31, p. 7; (Minguo) *Nanfeng Xianzhi*, volume 35, pp. 515-516.

[49] Adrian Dudink, “The Rediscovery of a Seventeenth-century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: The Manuscript *Tianxue Jijie*”, p. 10.

[50] (Tongzhi) *Chongyi Xianzhi*, volume 4, p. 13.

[51] Wang Sishi, “*Niedu shaxi dongzhi xu*” (《聂都沙溪洞志序》), in (Tongzhi) *Chongyi Xianzhi*, volume 12, p. 1.

suffering from eye disease, and visited Tonggang dong (桶冈峒) which was sixty kilometers far from the northwest of Chongyi County. Wang Shouren once fought against the uprising in this place. Accordingly, Liu Ning printed Wangwenchenggong jingying hengshui fanglue. Liu Ning and her friends Chen Weiqi (陈蔚起), Chen Shijun (陈士俊), He Yungyu (何韞玉), and He Dakuang (何大匡) visited Tonggang together. ^[52]

Around 1696, Liu Ning finished his book Yunyuan (《韵原》), and invited Xiong Shibo (熊士伯, style name Ximu 西牧, a native of Nanchang) who was a Professor of Nankang Prefecture to write a preface. Xiong praised this book that its explanation was detailed and extensive, and he cited it his own book Guyin Zhengyi (《古音正义》). ^[53] In fact, as early as 1684, when Xiong Shibo was the instructor of Nanfeng County, they had contacts with each other, Xiong said that “Liu Er’zhi arrived; I got Qieyun shengyuan (《切韵声原》) of Fang Mishan (方宓山), Xitan jingzhan (《悉昙经传》) of Zhao Fanfu (赵凡夫), and Xiru ermu zi (《西儒耳目资》).” ^[54]

The longest time to contact with Liu Ning was Li Changzuo, a native of Nanfeng. Liu Ning’s son, Liu Du, said that Li Changzuo had a very good relationship with Liu Ning just like “the fusion of water and milk”. ^[55] When Li was a student of the County school, he had discussed with Liu Ning. In 1687, when Liu Ning served as the instructor at Chong’yi County, Li went to Beijing to attend the imperial examinations. Although they were thousands of miles apart, “the letters were often exchanged”. In 1694, Li got the degree of doctor, and was appointed as the governor of Hengshan County in 1700. ^[56] In 1702, when Liu Ning was 83 years old, he resigned because of old age and asked his son to send all his writings to Li Changzuo. In 1705, Li Changjo was reappointed as the governor of Xupu (溱浦) County, and reprinted Liu Ning’s Zhouxuanwang shiguwen dingben. ^[57]

Li Changjo, with a style name of Tianpu, a native of Nanfeng, was a great-grandson in law of Li Wangshi (李万实, style name of Shaoxu, ca. 1510—1582). ^[58] There is a biography of Li Changzuo in the Gazette of Chenzhou Prefecture.

Li Changzuo, with a style name of Tianpu and a pseudonym of Jingting, a native of Nanfeng. He got the degree of doctor in the year of Jiayu of Kangxi and was appointed as the governor of Hengshan County where he ruled very well. The provincial governor Zhao Shenqiao (赵申乔) admired him. In the 44 years of Kangxi, he was reassigned to Xupu County. The first thing he done was to build free schools. …… His virtue and

[52] Liu Ning, “You shaxidong ji” (《游沙溪洞记》), “You tonggangdong chaliao ji” (《游桶冈峒茶寮记》), in (Tongzhi) Chongyi Xianzhi, volume 10, pp. 19-23.

[53] See Zhang Quanmin, Qingdai qianqi guyinxue yanjiu (《清代前期古音学研究》), Beijing: Beijing guangbo xueyuan chubanshe, 2002, pp. 154, 165-166.

[54] Xiong Shibo, “Dengqie yuansheng xu” (《等切元声序》), in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, part of Jing, book 219, p. 2.

[55] Liu Du, “Chongke chongzhitang wenji xu” (《重刻崇质堂文集序》), pp. 38-39.

[56] Rao Quan, Kuang Minben, Hengzhou fuzhi (《衡州府志》), volume 21, printed in 1875, p. 48; (Qianlong) Jianchang fuzhi, volume 29, pp. 68-69.

[57] Li Changzuo, “Zhouxuanwang shiguwen dingben xu” (《周宣王石鼓文定本叙》), in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, part of Jing, book 200, pp. 401-403; Xi Shaobao, Xie Mingqian, Xie Mingsheng, Chenzhou fuzhi (《辰州府志》), printed in 1765, collected in China National Library, p. 2.

[58] Li Changzuo, “Chongke chongzhitang wenji xu” (《重刻崇质堂文集序》), in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, part of Ji, book 112, p. 16.

integrity was not changed as he in Hengshan. After he retired, his baggage was almost empty with only some baskets of books. He died of illness on the way and peoples grieved over his death. ^[59]

There is also a biography of Li Changzuo in the Gazette of Nanfeng County in Tongzhi Period.

Li Changzuo, with a style name of Tianpu, earned the degree of doctor in the year of Kangxi Jiayu and was appointed as the governor of Hengshan County. He repaired schools and built Wenfeng College and invited reputable scholars to teach students. The lands of Mingdao College and Jixian College were occupied by monks. Li Changzuo ordered them to return. The previous decrees required people to pay the miscellaneous fees in addition to the official tax which the fees were several times over the tax. Li Changzuo petitioned to cancel the fees and ordered to engrave it in stone for the future. The higher official agreed with him and practiced in other counties. Then Li Changzuo was reassigned to Xupu County and his baggage was empty only with some baskets of books. After he resigned, he died on the way to home. ^[60]

It is worth noting that this biography mentions that Li Changzuo ordered the monks to return the lands of colleges which showed his dislikes on Buddhism. According to his preface of *Renzui zhizhong* (《人罪至重》), Li began to follow Jesuits to study Astronomy and Mathematics in 1664. Then he read *Qike, Shijie* (《十诫》) and other books written by missionaries. In 1694, after he got the degree of doctor, he met François Noël (卫方济, 1651—1729). In 1698, he wrote the preface to *Renzui zhizhong* written by François Noël. This preface shows that Li Changzuo should be baptized before he got the doctor degree. ^[61] Li also was the proofreader of *Moxiang shengong* written by Pedro de la Piñuela. Although Li Changzuo was a close friend of Liu Ning, according to Joseph de Prémare's statements, Li was a tricky official and stole numerous manuscripts of Liu Ning. However, according to the Preface of *Chongke chongzhitang wenji* (《重刻崇质堂文集序》) by Liu Du, Liu Ning had lots of writings and asked Li Changzuo to print them, but Li Changzuo's official career was not successful. Li Changzuo only printed *Zhouxuanwang shiguwen dingben*. ^[62] Li Changzuo was also a classmate of Wu Fusheng. ^[63]

Another Catholic in Jiangxi was Wu Su (吴宿), a native from Xinchang County. Wu Su, with a style name of Jingshi and a pseudonym of Hantong (汉通), was a tribute student in Kangxi Emeporor reign, and was appointed as the instructor of Yushan (玉山) County, then resigned as the instructor of Nanfeng County. He was baptized in 1660 by Jacques Motel (穆迪我, 1618—1692) and in 1661. He assisted Philippe Couplet (柏应理, 1624—1692) in his missionary work in Nanchang. In 1662, Wu

[59] (Qianlong) *Chenzhou fuzhi*, volume 35, p. 20.

[60] (Tongzhi) *Nanfeng Xianzhi*, volume 25, pp. 17-18.

[61] Xu Zongze, *Mingqing jian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao*, p. 62.

[62] Knud Lundbæk, Joseph de Prémare, 1666—1736, S. J.: *Chinese philology and figurism*, p. 143; Liu Du, "Chongke chongzhitang wenji xu", in (Tongzhi) *Nanfeng Xianzhi*, volume 36, p. 39.

[63] Jiang Qingbai, *Qingchao jinshi timing lu* (《清朝进士题名录》), Beijing: Zhonghua Bookstore, 2007, p. 243.

Suu visited Pierre Cunevari (聂伯多, 1594—1675) in Nanchang and made confessions. At the same time, at the request of Nestorius, he reprinted the book *Tianzhu jiangsheng yinyi* (《天主降生引义》) by Jules Aleni (艾儒略, 1582—1649) with a postscript by Wu. In 1698, he wrote the preface of *Renzui zhizhong* by François Noël.^[64]

In 1694, Wu Suproofread *Moxiang shengong* by Pedro de la Piñuela. This book was printed around 1700 by Nanchang Church. The proofreaders of this book also included Liu Ning, Li Changzuo, Zhao Shiyuan (赵师瑗), Zhao Xilong (赵希隆), Li Rining (李日宁), Gan Zuolin (甘作霖). They were Catholics from Nanfeng. In addition, Wu Su together with Cai Tie (蔡铁), Mai Yuxing (凌宇兴), and Li Shi (李奭) reprinted Zhu Zongyuan's (朱宗元) *Dakewen* (《答客问》) and wrote a preface. These four people were from Xinchang, but all were baptized in Nanchang in 1660 by Jacques Motel.^[65] Through activities such as proofreading books and writing prefaces and postscripts, the communities of believers in Nanfeng and Xinchang interacted with each other.

In addition, Liu Ning also maintained close contacts with the Catholic community in Fujian. When Liu Ning was editing his book *Tianxue jijie*, he searched for prefaces and postscripts of Catholic works among Catholics in Jiangxi and Fujian. Thus, the Catholics in Fujian had contacts with Liu Ning, such as Li Sixuan (李嗣玄) who was a Catholic from Fujian sent his writings such as “*Lixiu yijian xu*” (《励修一鉴序》), “*Yu Limaocai bian tianxue shu*” (《与黎茂才辨天学书》), “*Fuzhou chongjian Tianzhu shengtang ji*” (《福州重建天主圣堂记》) to Liu Ning. Most of the prefaces and postscripts collected in *Tianxue jijie* edited by Liu Ning were also from Fujian and Jiangxi provinces.^[66]

There were several missionaries in Jiangxi. As early as the Wanli period, Matteo Ricci (利玛窦, 1552—1610) passed through Jiangxi on his way to the capital. Later, he returned to preach Catholicism in Nanchang, where he established a good relationship with prominent literati such as Zhang Huang (章潢, 1527—1608). *Xiguo jifa* (《西国记法》1595) and *Jiaoyoulun* (《交友论》1595) were also published in Nanchang. Then Ricci went to Beijing, where Jean de Rocha (罗如望, 1566—1623) and Jean Soerio (苏如望, 1566—1607) stayed in Nanchang to do missionary work. Rocha and Gaspard Ferreira (费奇规, 1571—1649) also went to Nancheng for missionary work. In early Qing dynasty, Prosper Intorcetta (殷铎泽, 1625—1696) and François Noël preached in Nancheng and Nanfeng. In 1688, Wan Qiyuan (Paul Banhes, 1635—1700) from Nancheng was ordained as priest. In 1702, François Noël together with Wang Qiyuan, Joseph de Prémare founded the Catholic Church in Lianjiang, Nanfeng. In addition to Jianchang, other places such as Nanchang (Pierre Cunevari, Jacques Motel), Ganzhou (Jacoques Le Favre, 1610—1676; Adrien Greslon, 1614—1695), Ji'an (Jacoques Le Favre), Jiujiang (Francois-Xavier' Entrecolls, 1662—1741), Fuzhou (Jean-Francois Foucquet, 1663—1739) also had Jesuit missionaries.

Among the missionaries with whom Liu Ning had direct contact were Pedro de la Piñuela and Joseph de Prémare. Pedro de la Piñuela was a Franciscan missionary from Spain. He was born in Mexico in 1650 and accompanied John Bonaventura Ibanez (1610—1691) to China in 1671. In 1676,

[64] Adrian Dudink, “The Rediscovery of a Seventeenth-century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: The Manuscript *Tianxue Jijie*”, pp. 7-8.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

he arrived in Xiamen. In the following year, Augustinus a S. Paschale (1637—1697) who arrived in Fujian before went to Shandong to preach, with leaving Pedro de la Piñuela alone in Fujian. By 1681, Pedro de la Piñuela established 4 churches in Jianning, Fujian.^[67] He also went to preach in Jiangxi which was adjacent to Fujian. In 1689, Liu Ning wrote a preface for the book *Dashe jielue* by Pedro de la Piñuela; in 1697, Liu Ning also wrote a preface for *Bencaobu* by Pedro de la Piñuela. Liu Ning invited Pedro de la Piñuela to write the book of *Bencao bu* to help Chinese people. Liu Ning also panted these herbs of the book in his office in Chongyi County.^[68] This shows that the relationship between them were very close.

Joseph de Prémare arrived in Jianchang, Jiangxi in 1699 and stayed in Jiujiang from 1721 to 1724, after which he left Jiangxi due to the prohibition on Catholicism. During his stay in Jianchang, Joseph de Prémare also traveled to Nanfeng and other places to preach. It is estimated that after 1702, Joseph de Prémare met Liu Ning in Nanfeng. During his stay in Jiangxi Province, he studied Chinese characters, language and literature. In the theory of Figurism which was initiated by Joseph and his colleague and teacher Joachim Bouvet, he tried to find the evidences for ancient Chinese believe in Christianity in Chinese classics. Jean François Gerbillon (张诚, 1654—1707) visited Jiangxi province in 1702 and encouraged missionaries to study Chinese characters for preaching. Thus, Joseph de Prémare spent most of his time in Jiangxi studying Chinese language and Chinese literature. He believes that through the study of ancient Chinese texts, he would be able to make a greater contribution to the conversion of the entire Chinese people.^[69] In his study of Chinese characters, Joseph de Prémare was assisted by Liu Ning. Liu Ning's works on Chinese characters include *Liushuguai*, *Yunyuanbiao*, *Zhouxuanwang shiguwen dingben*, *Yinshu yitong*, and *Shuowen jiezi guai*. In the preface to his *Jingjuan yilun* (1710), Joseph de Prémare mentioned that “he also obtained several volumes of the writings of Mr. Liu Er'zhi of Nanfeng”. He also mentions Liu Ning in his Chinese work *Liushu shiyi* (《六书实义》1721), which said that Liu Ning was an exporter on the study of *Shuowen jiezi* and quoted Liu Ning's ideas directly. In 1728, in a letter to Étienne Fourmont (1683—1745), Joseph de Prémare also mentioned that he had received manuscripts from Liu Ning on the study of Chinese characters. In 1731, in another letter to Étienne Fourmont, Joseph de Prémare mentioned that he had received Liu Ning's manuscript of *Liushu guai*. Liu Ning was mentioned several times in Joseph de Prémare's books.^[70] Although both Liu Ning and Joseph de Prémare were devoted to the study of ancient Chinese characters, their starting points and objectives were different. Liu Ning believed that in order to understand the true meaning of the ancient classics, one should understand the true meanings of the characters at first. Joseph de Prémare's aim, on the other hand, was that “if we show the Chinese that there is a savior in their 'scriptures,' then more than half of the Chinese people will become Catholics.”^[71] Liu Ning's writings on philology such as *Yinshu yitong*, were more for the better studying on the ancient Confucian classics, and the writings

[67] Cui Weixiao, “Shiduolu shenfu de bencaobu yu fangjihui zaihua chuanjiao yanjiu” (《石铎录神父的〈本草补〉与方济会在华传教研究》), in *Shehui kexue* (《社会科学》), 1 (2007): 124-125.

[68] Liu Ning, “Sanyushu ji” (《三余署记》), in (Tongzhi) *Chongyi Xianzhi*, volume 10, pp. 16-17.

[69] Knud Lundbæk, *Joseph de Prémare, 1666—1736*, S. J. ; Chinese philology and figurism, pp. 19-20.

[70] *Ibid.* ,pp. 143-144.

[71] *Ibid.* ,p. 160.

of Joseph de Prémare were to prove that there was already a Christian faith in the ancient Confucian classics.

It is generally believed that Liu Ning was baptized in 1687, after he had been appointed as the instructor of Chongyi County.^[72] However, according to the “Simo zhenlun xu” (1672), “Jiaoqi helu xu” (1677), “Taixi roujue xu” (1679) which were collected in *Tianxue jijie* by Liu Ning, he should be baptized before 1687. According to Wang Zhongmin (王重民) and Fang Hao (方豪), when Liu Ning revised and reprinted Liu Xun’s *Yinju tongyi*, he omitted the 30th volume of this book which was related to the superstition of ghosts and spirits. This shows the sincerity of his faith. As early as 1664, there was a heated discussion between Liu Ning and Xie Wenjian about Western learning (or Western religion).

In other words, Liu Ning should be baptized before he went to Chongyi County. Before 1667, Prosper Intorcetta was a missionary in Nanfeng. From 1660 to 1665, Prosper Intorcetta preached in Jiangxi, and “two thousand people were baptized.” It is possible that Liu Ning was baptized by Prosper Intorcetta. But it is also possible that, like Wu Su, Liu Ning went to Nanchang and other places to be baptized by other missionaries.

On Liu Ning’s Thoughts: Restoring Ancient Confucianism and Replacing Buddhism

Liu Ning was best known for his studies on ancient Chinese characters and philology. The author of *Sikuquanshu zongmu tiyao* (《四库全书总目提要》) praised Liu Ning that “he was quite diligent in the study of the three Rites (三礼), but also occasionally dedicated to study of books of Han and Wei periods”. Meanwhile, the author also criticized him that “he liked to cite new and different resources, thus, his conclusions were always wrong” and “his researches were not precise”, “at last he gave a forced interpretation”.^[73] Joseph de Prémare praised Liu Ning that “Mater Liu can be called the elite of the study of characters in our nation, and his study explored these contents which the Confucian did not discuss since Qin and Han dynasties.”^[74]

In his preface of Liu Ning’s *Yinshu yitong*, Shao Wuyuan pointed out that Liu Ning researched on philology because “the true meaning of classics was obscure for a long time”. The classics studies were not prosperous because the philology was not promoted. In Liu Ning’s view, “the classics and the characters were the origins of each other”, and he highly praised Xu Shen’s (许慎) *Shuowen Jiezi* (《说文解字》).^[75] And in order to research philology, one must firstly study six categories of characters. “one does not understand the six categories (六书) of characters, just like someone who wanted to cross the sea abandoned the compass, he would do nothing but watching the sea.” Therefore, Liu Ning “analyzed the six categories of characters to uncover the origins of classics.”^[76]

[72] Ibid. , p. 143.

[73] *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (《四库全书总目提要》), Haikou: Hainan Press, 1999, p. 139 & p. 246.

[74] See Joseph de Prémare, “Jingzhuan yilun xu” (《经传议论序》), in Fang Hao, *Zhongxi jiaotong shi* (《中西交通史》), book 5, Taipei: Huagang chubanshe, 1953, p. 196.

[75] Shao Wuyuan, “Yinshu yitong xu” (《引书异同序》), in Zhengguo edited, (Kangxi) *Nanfeng Xianzhi*, volume 12, pp. 51-52.

[76] Liu Ning, “Liushu guai zixu” (《六书夬自序》), in in Zhengguo edited, (Kangxi) *Nanfeng Xianzhi*, volume 12, pp. 83-84.

The classic studies in early Qing dynasty turned to research the original texts. This tendency was consistent with the strategy of “adapting to the ancient Confucianism” and “criticizing modern Confucianism” adopted by Ricci and other missionaries since late Ming Dynasty. Zhang Xingyao, a Catholic in the early Qing, believed that the so-called Confucianism of today was no longer the true Confucianism, and Catholicism was the true Confucianism. The reason for this was that the Catholicism was trying to revive the ancient Confucianism, while the modern Confucianism had lost its real face due to the influence of Buddhism and Taoism.^[77] Similarly, in his Preface to the *Yinshu yitong*, Liu Ning also stated clearly that “the so-called classics today are not the books of Confucius.”^[78] Although Liu Ning was also critical of modern Confucianism, he differed from Zhang Xingyao. Liu Ning, from the point of view of the changes of characters, argued that since the Qin and Han dynasties, the characters “have been repeatedly changed and gradually lost their authenticity. If Confucius was still live today, he also does not distinguish them at a loss. In addition, people today do not see the old forms of the ancient characters, how dare they discuss their loss or gain on the meanings?”^[79] Therefore, Liu Ning argued that the true and original meaning of the classics can be understood through the ancient meanings of the characters preserved in the *Shuowen jiezi*. This claim is the same as the Figurists such as Joachim Bouvet and Joseph de Prémare.

Liu Ning’s criticism on the contemporary classic studies triggered some scholars’ doubts. A guest inquired that “you said all the so-called classics today are wrong; but what *Shuowen jiezi* said are correct. Then Xu Shen, the author of *Shuowen jiezi* surpassed Confucius?” Liu Ning responded, “Are all the classics today handwritten by Confucius?” The guest said, “The book of *Shuowen jiezi* today are handwritten by Xu Shen?” Liu Ning replied, “Xu Shen checked the characters with six categories, with consistent of sections and parts, so as to make no mistakes. Then I think that Confucius preserved his meanings with no regards of the texts. The ancient Confucians still had to follow the meaning of Confucius when read the texts, because the forms of characters have changed in the process of circulations.” Therefore, Liu Ning had no doubt about the *Shuowen jiezi*. And Liu Ning composed 24 volumes of *Yinshu yitong*, with aims to “respect the ancient meaning, correct the present false, and wish to preserve one thread of classic studies.”^[80]

Therefore, Liu Ning hopes to understand the ancient meaning of the classics through the characters, so as to provide a new way for the development of the classic studies. In other words, Liu Ning believes that the Confucian interpretation of the classics today is more or less problematic. What Liu Ning wanted to do is to use the philology as the gateway to the study of the classics. However, as some have questioned, “it is long time that the remained classics were for the study of past and present people, and for the people to apply for whether in the court or not. If using a different way to explain the classics and insisting on his own opinions, it was too much to pursuit distinctions. Isn’t it despised by the wise scholars?”^[81]

In the thought world of the critics, the Confucian classics and their interpretative traditions were

[77] Zhang Xingyao, *Tianru tongyi kao* (《天儒同异考》), BnF, Courant chinois 7171, pp. 3 & 6.

[78] Liu Ning, “*Yinshu yitong zixu*”, p. 85.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

shaped by history and authority. If one tries to “find a new way,” then one is deviating from the mainstream and will not be accepted. However, Liu Ning believes that his purpose was to “deliver the words of former masters”, and “expound the profound ideas of former saints”, “which may be different, but it is only different from the secular and vulgar.” In short, Liu Ning believed that as long as one could reach the original classical meaning and expound the true meaning of the sages, regardless of whether it was the same or different from the secular world, one should do it. Liu Ning said,

I answered with respect that what you said is not right. A person who seeks to be different interpretations too much must favor his own assumptions. Even if they are the same as other people, they are not acceptable, and besides they are different from the saints. If we search the left writings of Confucius in the walls, and expound the teachings of the former sages, we will find that although the same is only one tenth, and the different is nine tenth, the differences are just different from the secular world. How can you say that they are different from the sages? Lu Pi has a saying, “whoever explains the classics is to deliver the words of former masters, not from the ideas of himself.” He should not compromise. If he compromises, the great Dao will be obscured. It likes that the rule and the standard should not be deceived. What Lu Pi said deeply won my heart. ^[82]

Here we can see clearly that Liu Ning’s purpose in studying philology was to “deliver the words of the former masters”. Of course, Liu Ning did not directly explain the relationship between “the words of former masters” and Catholicism. But from Liu Ning’s attempt to work on the original meaning of the ancient classics, it can be seen that he hoped to restore the original meaning of the classics by removing the ambiguities meaning of characters.

The so-called “original meaning”, “true meaning”, “primitive meaning”, in Liu Ning’s case, refers to the meaning contained in the ancient classics in Confucius’ time, rather than the meaning of the classics interpreted by later Confucians from Qin to Ming dynasties. According to Liu Ning, language and characters were the tools “used by hundreds of officials to govern and used by ten thousands of people to reflect,” “so they decide what is right and wrong.” However, the consequence of the changes of characters is that “people blankly don’t know the origins of the characters”. Liu Ning said, “Without Xu’s book, all time would be like a long night.” ^[83]

Liu Ning’s highly admiration for Xu Shen’s *Shuowen jiezi* also lies in his belief that since the Han Dynasty, “different schools had different sayings, every people held his own opinion” and “did not unify their ideas”. According to Liu Ning, “the significance of *Shuowen jiezi* to the study of characters is like the significance of Six classics to the Neo-Confucianism. There is no Neo-Confucianism if discarding the Classics of Confucius; and there is no [study of] characters if

[82] Ibid. ,p. 86.

[83] Liu Ning, “*Shuowen jiezi guai xu*” (《说文解字夹序》), in Zhengguo edited, (Kangxi) *Nanfeng Xianzhi*, volume 12, p. 88.

discarding Xu Shen' book".^[84] Liu Ning highly praised Xu Shen' Shuowen jiezi. However, many people regarded it as "pedantic", and "impractical", "was not helpful to govern and reflect." However, Liu Ning did not agree with it. Liu Ning believed that

I respect the original teaching and the original meaning, just respect they [the characters] what they were. The academic works of people in the world were ignorant of their origins, not only of the characters, but the characters were particularly so. The characters were venerated as the tools of governing and reflecting. The tricky men liked to fabricate and the humble were glad to follow which made the vulgar characters increased and more and more mistakes and misunderstandings. They were initially ruined by Sima Xiangru (司马相如), then ruined by Zhang Yi (张揖), Xiao Ziyun (萧子云). They changed the fonts, that is, even Ling Wang (陵王) used faked character. Then it was more and more terrible with no limits. And there was also an indignation that Hongwu Zhengyun (《洪武正韵》) only picked up the left spits of Huang Zhiweng (黄直翁) and Zhao Weiqian (赵搗谦) which was only followed by people because it was imperially ordered. Thus, the study of characters is profounder than any other studies. It was the fault of Le Shaofeng (乐韶凤) and Song Lian (宋濂) to block the people's ears and eyes and hinder the people's minds in the world. Today the confirmed habits are hard to get rid of. Once restoring the origins, other people instead think you are stupid and impractical and not helpful to govern and reflect. Recommending my sayings to the imperial court, only relies on these topper people!^[85]

Liu Ning severely criticized Sima Xiangru (司马相如, ad. 179—117), Zhang Yi (张揖, during three Kingdoms), Xiao Ziyun (萧子云, 487—549), Zhao Qian (赵谦, 1351—1395), and Song Lian (宋濂, 1310—1381). Liu Ning also criticized Hongwu zhengyin. It was Liu Ning's intention that the present characters had lost its originality, and that without updating the characters, it was impossible to understand the original meaning of the classics. In a tone of expectation, Liu Ning hoped that it would be appreciated by those in high positions so that he could be "recommended to the imperial court".

It should be noted that in Liu Ning's early writings on classical studies and philology, there is little about Catholicism. However, we still find the influences of Catholicism in his writings. As quoted above, Liu Ning pointed out that "the world's academic work were ignorant of its origin". The term of ignorance of its origin was always used by missionaries to mean that people forget the creator namely the Lord of Heaven. If people want to recognize his origin, he need to know the God.

In addition, what Liu Ning sated that the meaning of characters was gradually obscured since Qin dynasty, just likes what Matteo Ricci and the Catholic Yang Tingyun said in their books. Meanwhile, missionaries' criticism on Buddhism and Taoism also influenced Liu Ning. In 1684, Liu Ning was composing the Gazette of Nanfeng County. In the third volume to introduce the temples in

[84] Ibid. ,p. 88.

[85] Ibid. ,pp. 88-89.

Nanfeng, Liu Ning said that, “the theory of calamity and happiness could terror the ignorant masses; and the learning of anutpattika (无生) could touch gentlemen.” Liu Ning also said that “in the past, the honorable Di Liang (狄梁公) thought there were too many temples and shrines in Wu and Chu. He petitioned to the court to fire one thousand and seven hundreds of temples only leaving the four shrines of Xiayu (夏禹), Wu Taibo (吴泰伯), Jizha (季札) and Wuyuan (伍员). It should be followed by us today.”^[86] There were lots of criticisms on Buddhism, Taoism and popular religions in the Gazette of Nanfeng County by Liu Ning.

Liu Ning also criticized the vegetarian and prohibition of killing of Buddhism and Taoism, although he used lots of evidences and materials from the ancient Confucian classics. In *Gujin zhaibian* (《古今斋辨》), Liu Ning clearly argued that the so-called vegetarian today is not the same as the vegetarian of ancient period”. Here the “ancient” of course refers to the period of the Three Dynasties. According to the *Liji* (《礼记》), *Zhouli* (《周礼》), *Zhuangzi* (《庄子》), Liu Ning pointed out that the ancient fast was not only different from today, but also was completely on the opposite. The fast today was totally influenced by Buddhism and contrary to the teachings, “the theory of vegetarian today may be resulted as the teaching of prohibition of killing. Thus, the things were valued, but people were disregarded which was not the original thought of our Confucian to love people and all things. It was the harms left by the Buddhism that made the later people in the world disobey the scriptures and rites of sages, and follow the secular as drifting with the waves. As so far it does not cease.”^[87] Liu Ning also said that, “people fast today changed eating meat to vegetarian. They do not read the Book of Zhouli (《周礼》), or they deeply believed in the theory of Buddhism and thought the Book of Zhouli was not credible. They worship Buddhism but betray Confucianism.”^[88]

In his essay named *Jinniu lun* (《禁牛论》), Liu Ning argued that it should not be forbidden to kill cattle. It was obvious that he used the method of arguments from Catholicism, although he did not mention it. Liu Ning said that, people advocated not to kill cattle, “because they don’t know the purpose of the Heaven to create all things. Things are lowly and people are noble; things are light and people are heavy, things are stupid and people are smart, so these productions of the low feed the lives in the top. Horses were for riding; dogs were for watching gates; roosters were for calling for wakeup in the morning. And the cattle were for plowing. All these are gifted by the Heaven with their natures to be used by human. Nowadays people do not remember that the cattle which was created by the Heaven were for human use. They say that the cattle have merits for people, just like that the grandfather would construct the houses for his descendants, but the descendants don’t remember his grandfather’s contributions. Instead they say that if there were no these craftsmen, how they got the shelter to avoid winds and rains.”^[89]

Liu Ning’s Catholic faith is clearly reflected in his editing of the books *Tianxue jijie* and *Juesilu*. *Tianxue jijie* is now collected in the St. Petersburg Library, Russia. It consists of eight volumes, 569

[86] Zhengguo edited, (Kangxi) Nanfeng Xianzhi, volume 3, p. 42.

[87] Liu Ning, “Gujin zhaibian” (《古今斋辨》), in *Erzhai wenji* (《尔斋文集》), appendix to Liu Xun, *Shuiyuncun mingao* (《水云村泯稿》), collected in Shanghai Library.

[88] Liu Ning, “Zhai bi bianshi bian” (《斋必变食辨》), in *Erzhai wenji* (《尔斋文集》).

[89] Liu Ning, “Jin niu lun” (《禁牛论》), in *Erzhai wenji* (《尔斋文集》).

pages, and is divided into six parts. It contains 284 Catholic prefaces and postscripts from the late Ming to early Qing dynasties, most of which were written between 1599 and 1679.^[90] The book *Juesilu*, on the other hand, is a book of apologetic for Catholicism which includes four articles.

Although the Catholics in early Qing dynasty would like to abandon the frame of Christianity in harmony with Confucianism (天教合儒) to legitimate its staying in China, they still tried to show that Catholicism was in line with the Confucian orthodoxy. In traditional Chinese society, any foreign religions were difficult to survive and develop in China except they were localized by assimilation of local religions especially Confucianism. Although the missionaries disguised them as the Confucians from the West at the beginning of entry into China, the Confucian literati were very alert about the heterogeneity of Catholicism. Confucian literati worried about the foreign and alien Catholicism which would threaten the ideology of Confucianism and destroy the status of Confucians in imperial China. The differences between foreign religions and the local ideology (Confucianism) always made the former lose the legitimacy to stay in China. Thus, like lots of missionaries, Liu Ning tried to argue that the foreign Catholicism was the same as Confucianism. In his essay *Yuanben lun*, Liu Ning cited lots of Confucian literati's words since late Ming to prove that both religions were the same, such as Xu Guangqi (徐光启), Li Zhizao (李之藻), Yang Tingyun, Liu Yinchang (刘胤昌), Xiong Mingyu, Zhang Weishu (张维枢), Feng Yingjing, Wang Bingyuan (汪秉元), Chen Fengyi (陈凤仪), Huang Jingfang (黄景昉), Ye Xianggao (叶向高), Sun Yuanhua (孙元化) and Shen Guangyu (沈光裕). Some of them were Confucian Catholics.^[91]

In Liu Ning's view, what the Confucian literati objected Catholicism included two points. One was the Lord of Heaven; another was the incarnation of the Lord of Heaven. Liu Ning succeeded the tradition of the apologetic of Matteo Ricci in the *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (《天主实义》), namely the Heaven in ancient Confucian classics was truly the Deus [God] of Catholicism, and the Li of Neo-Confucianism was not the original thought from the classics. Liu Ning said that,

The beginning of the book of *Zhongyong* (《中庸》) is to explore the Heaven, and continues with cautions of fear and self-discipline when alone, that is, revering heaven and fearing heaven. If there is not really God coming to you, and only said that the Li should be revered and feared, I am afraid that the revering and fearing would just be for a little while and cease. Since the three dynasties of Tang and Yu, the sages raised up one by one; all carefully took serving Heaven as the true learning and real teaching, without revering Li or fearing Li clearly. The Heaven gifts the Li to human who could study the Li and Nature with extremely so that he would understand his destiny. The later people only know the Li, but they don't know where the Li come from. It is just like that people only know the imperial court has three palaces, but they don't know the emperor is the master of discussing, formatting, testing. Wouldn't that be too confused?^[92]

[90] Adrian Dudink, "The Rediscovery of a Seventeenth-century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: The Manuscript *Tianxue Jijie*", pp. 1-26

[91] Liu Ning, "Yuanben lun" (《原本论》), in Liu Ning, *Juesi lu* (《觉斯录》), collected in *Yesuhui luoma dangangan mingqing tianzhujiao woxian* (《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》), volume 9, Taipei: Ricci Institute, 2002, pp. 532-535.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 531.

For the doctrine of the incarnation, Liu Ning argued from the perspective of the Catholic teachings of three ages, namely the age of natural law (性教), the age of commandant (书教), and the age of grace (宠教). Meanwhile, because “the actions of Heaven had neither voice nor smell” (上天之载, 无声无臭), it is necessary of Heaven’s incarnation. If there is no incarnation, people have no way to follow the Heaven, and the bridge between Heaven and human would be broken. Thus, the grace of incarnation was greater than the grace of creation. In response to the question of why the incarnation of God was not recorded in the ancient and modern Confucian classics, Liu Ning believed that on the one hand it was because God was incarnated after Confucius and Mencius. “Confucius and Mencius could not see it, thus, it was not proved by their words.” On the other hand, the Lord of Heaven was incarnated before Masters of Cheng and Zhu. “Cheng and Zhu did not hear of it, and could not unify the sects of the learning of Tao”. Therefore, “it was a great fortune that the western Confucians entered China lonely and revered only one Highness as the dominator which illustrated the lost learning of thousands of saints.”^[93]

Liu Ning’s Yuanben lun also refuted three well-known literati’s views on Catholicism or Western learning. The first was Xiong Renlin (熊人霖, ca. 1610—1680) from Jiangxi province. He was the eldest son of Xiong Mingyu, who had close contact with missionaries and wrote prefaces and postscripts for Catholic writings. Xiong Renlin said that, “The west missionaries only had practices of integrity and chastity. It was not erudite to follow their teachings.” The second was Fang Yizhi from Tongcheng, who also had close contact with Western missionaries. Fang Yizhi said: “the western missionaries only knew the natural sciences [the study of observances], but don’t talk about the philosophy [the study of understanding the fundamental]. The reason was that the missionaries only believed that everything had no connections.” The third was Liu Tong (刘侗, 1594—1637) from Ma Cheng. He said, “The study of western guests was far from Buddhism and Taoism, and close to Confucianism. Chinese called them western Confucian. I once met the followers and examined the teachings which was probably similar to Mo Zi”. The first two mainly criticized the issues of sciences, philosophy and religion of Western learning, while Liu Ning mainly responded from the perspective of the I-Ching, “Only after knowing the Heaven, one can then talk about sciences and philosophy.” Obviously, Liu Ning was not as familiar with Western Studies as Fang Yizhi and others, and his rebuttal was weak. But Liu Ning’s main purpose was to refute the point of that “the western learning was similar to Mozi (墨子)”. Liu Ning compared the Book of Mozi (《墨子》) and Catholicism one by one, and concluded that there were similarities and differences between Mozi and Catholicism. Liu Ning argued that the most similar of Mozi to Catholicism was the chapter of Tianzhi, and other chapters were different from Catholicism. The reason why Liu Ning focused on this point was that in Confucian’s view, the doctrine of Mozi was heterodox and harmful to Confucian orthodoxy. The Catholicism would not be recognized by Confucianism if it was regarded the same as the doctrine of Mozi. Zhang Xingyao, a contemporary of Liu Ning, also refuted Liu Tong’s idea.

[93] Ibid. ,p. 531.

Xingyao commented that Mr. Liu Tongren (刘同人, namely Liu Tong) thought the western Confucian was similar to Mozi. It was because Mr. Liu didn't know the westerner's learning. Actually, it was not so. The school of Mozi didn't know the Origin, but the western Confucian taught people to serve God. Could Mozi understand this? There was the saying like that. Thus, Chinese people started to doubt the true teaching as heterodoxy.^[94]

Liu Ning used the method of philology to argue that the Chinese term of Tianzhu [Lord of Heaven] was not inaugurated by the westerners. Liu Ning cited materials from ancient classics including Zuo zhuan (《左传》), Shijing (《诗经》), Zhuangzi (《庄子》), Guliangzhuan (《谷梁传》), Shiji (《史记》), Hanshu (《汉书》), Guangyuyi (《广輿记》), and Zhouyi (《周易》) to prove that the term of Tianzhu didn't appear in the later period, nor was it translated from the far feigners.^[95] Liu Ning believed that the true teaching of Yao (尧), Shun (舜), Yu (禹), Tang (汤), Wen (文), Wu (武), Duke of Zhou (周公), Confucius (孔子), and Mencius (孟子) was almost obscured in Qin and Han dynasties. "Thus, only when the missionaries entered China, the true teachings of former saints could continue. "If there were no western Confucian who came to China by sea and tried their best to elucidate, the true teachings of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, Duke of Zhou, Confucius and Mencius was almost extinguished." What Liu Ning tried to prove was that the Catholic doctrine continued the tradition of ancient Confucian. Thus, the Catholicism was not the heterogenous religion from the foreign countries, which was distinct from Confucianism.

In response to the Buddhist criticism on Catholicism, Liu Ning tried his best to defend and refute. Miyun yuanwu (密云圆悟, 1566—1642), a well-known monk of Buddhism in late Ming dynasty, composed the book of Biantian sanshuo (《辨天三说》) to criticize the teaching of Catholicism on the Heaven. In early Qing, Qian Qianyi (钱谦益, 1582—1664), a layman of Buddhism and famous literati, reprinted this book and wrote a preface for it. Qian pointed out that the Heaven was the natural sky and chaos with the air which was in a mess. It was not the dominator. Only my heart [mind] could dominate. "The Buddhist theory of "mind creation" was in serious contradiction to the Catholic theory of "God creation."

At first, Liu Ning criticized Buddhism for its presumptuousness, and accused it as the criminal of the Confucian moral principles and teachings.^[96] Liu Ning believed that "everything including external mountains, rivers, earth, and shapeless souls were created by the Lord of Heaven." Liu Ning argued that the western missionaries were not barbarians which was accused by Buddhism. Liu Ning said that if the western missionaries were barbarians, Buddha was even barbarian. Liu Ning tried to break the worldview of Confucianism which viewed China as the center of the world, and around China were barbarians and uncivilized. He pointed out that so-called the central and the barbaric was relative. "If you look at the barbaric from the central, they are the barbaric; if you look at the central from the barbaric, then they are the central." Meanwhile, "Shun was the man of east barbarian; King

[94] Zhang Xingyao, Tianjiao mingbian (《天教明辨》), book 17, collected in China National Library, p. 37.

[95] Liu Ning, "Tianzhu zhiming fei chuangzi xiyu" (《天主之名非创自西域》), in Liu Ning, Juesi lu, p. 546.

[96] Liu Ning, "Biantian sanshuo xu bian" (《辨天三说序辨》), in Liu Ning, Juesi lu, pp. 573-577.

of Wen was the man of west barbarian. Both didn't care about the barbarians. Why belittle people for this one character firstly?"

Secondly, Liu Ning refuted the Buddhist theory of mind creation. Liu Ming recognized that the theory of mind creation was just a kind of epistemology which was distinct from the Catholic theory of God creation. Liu Ning believed that the mind was "marvelous and limitless" because it could "possess kinds of reason and handle all kinds of things." However, we could not think that the mind was the creator. The function of mind only belonged to the level of epistemology which was not in line with the function of creation. Liu Ning argued that everything including the mind of human was created by the Lord of Heaven. ^[97]

Thirdly, Liu Ning reputed the Buddhist accusation on the incarnation of God by using the historical story of Cheng Tang (成汤) praying for raining with closes of thatch grass. ^[98] Meanwhile, Liu Ning also refuted these points including anyone no matter of good or bad would ascend to the Heaven only if they converted to the Catholicism; the Chinese saints such as Shun, King of Wen, Duke of Zhou, Confucius would be in the hell, because they didn't convert to the Catholicism or they disobey the ten commandants. Liu Ning argued that whoever converted to Catholicism needed to confess, then they were possibly forgiven by God. It was not true that anyone who converted to Catholicism would be forgiven. The convention was only one of the prerequisites. Liu Ning also argued that there were no recordings that Shun, King of Wen, Duke of Zhou, and Confucius were in the hell. It was a rumor to attack Catholicism by these people of anti-Christianity. ^[99]

Liu Ning believed that the Great Tao was covered and kinds of heresies rose up since three Dynasties. The Buddhism took the opportunity and entered China. The Confucianism was polluted by the Buddhism and Taoism. Thus, the Confucianism today was not the same as its original. It was fortunately that the missionaries came to China, and the tradition of Confucius and Mencius and their teachings continued and promoted again. ^[100] Liu's thought was closed to the tendency in the academic field in early Qing. One of the early Qing academic reflections on the Neo-Confucianism during Song and Ming was that it was corrupted by the Buddhist and Taoist teachings, and that it fell into empty talking. It lost its practical functions. Therefore, in the early Qing Dynasty, the Study of Han began to rise. Scholars began to bypass the Confucian writings annotated by the Song and Ming Confucianists and went directly back to the ancient Confucian classics in an attempt to restore the true nature of the ancient Confucianism. And in order to restore the true faces of the ancient Confucian, the studies of philology, phonetics, six categories began to prevail together.

Conclusion: from Complementing Confucianism to Restoring Confucianism

This article shows that Liu Ning was born in 1620 based on new found materials, and he died

[97] Liu Ning, "Fusong heshang sanjiao zhenglun bian" (《拊松和尚三教正论辨》), in Liu Ning, *Juesi lu*, pp. 580-582.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 583.

[99] *Ibid.*, pp. 584-585.

[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 585-589.

around in 1715 at the age of 96. He was baptized before he went to hold the official position of instructor in Chongyi County in 1687.

Liu Ning's *Juesi lu* should be written after 1692, as he mentions that "it was lucky to depend on the holy emperor's benevolent reign. He believed that the missionaries were innocent, he recognized the scholarship of missionaries were pure and upright. The emperor specially ordered the ministries to announce that the Catholicism was not heresy which should not be forbidden."^[10] It refers to the Decree of Tolerance (《容教令》) by Kangxi Emperor (1692). He also mentioned Yang Guangxian's anti-Catholic movement which was eventually overturned by Ferdinand Verbiest with the support of Kangxi Emperor. However, the influences of Yang's anti-Catholicism lasted for long time.

Although Yang Guangxian's anti-Catholic movement ended in failure at last, the problem of the legitimacy of Catholicism was not totally solved. The social, intellectual and cultural environment of the early Qing dynasty was very different from that of the late Ming dynasty, and the position of Catholicism was somewhat embarrassing. At first, it was a foreign religion; and secondly, it was distinct from Confucian ideology. Thus, Catholicism in the early Qing dynasty involved two issues of relationship. The first was the relationship between the Great Qing (the Emperor) and the Western states (the Pope). The second was the relationship between Church and State. The Chinese Rites Controversy intensified these conflicts. Then Kangxi Emperor decided to forbid Catholicism which showed that the problem of legitimacy of Catholicism was not handled very well.

From late Ming to early Qing, there were changes in the explanation of Catholicism's legitimacy. The strategy of Catholicism in late Ming was "completing Confucianism and replacing Buddhism (and Taoism)". Lots of missionaries and believers tried to argue that there were no distinctions between Catholicism and Confucianism especially the Ancient Confucianism before Han dynasty. Such as Catholic Deus was namely the Heaven in Confucian classics. However, since Han dynasty, the Buddhism entered China and destroyed the Confucianism which made it lost its original pureness. Thus, the contemporary Confucianism need to be complemented by Catholicism which means that it was necessary to replace Buddhism.

When in early Qing, the Catholics changed to use restore Confucianism and replace Buddhism as its main strategy, which also included the idea of "super-Confucianism". The so-called "restoration of Confucianism" meant restoring the ancient Confucianism, while "super-Confucianism" meant transcending the modern Confucianism. There were some differences between complementing Confucianism and restoring Confucianism. Complementing Confucianism was to recognize the authority of modern Confucianism and make up in some aspects. Restoring Confucianism was to bypass modern Confucianism after the Qin and Han dynasties and returned to Confucius and Mencius directly. Complementing Confucianism was in term of social function; but restoring Confucianism was in terms of the tradition of Tao.

The changes of social environment and cultural context made the Catholics adjust the narrations of legitimacy. In late Ming, when the nation was in turmoil and chaos, lots of rebellions stoke the traditional order. The Confucian moral principles lost the power to control people's mind. Thus, the missionaries and Confucian Catholics tried to argue that Catholicism could complement Confucianism

[10] Ibid. ,p. 589.

which would be helpful and benefitable for the society and imperial ruling. It was clearly illustrated in Xu Guangqi's *Bianxue zhangshu* (《辨学章疏》). In the early Qing, a new dynasty was founded and the society became more and more stable and prosperous. The Confucian ideology was again enforced and promoted in the nation. However, literary inquisitions and mind control narrowed the space of free speech. Confucian literati had to turn their researches from the practical ideology to the philology. The missionaries and Catholics tried to find evidences and materials from the ancient classics to prove that Catholic doctrine was the same as the Confucianism. Besides, Confucianism could restore the Confucianism to the original edition.

However, since Matteo Ricci, Catholics always took the Buddhism as their targets to attack. Indeed, this made some literati converted to Catholicism because they were disappointed to Buddhism and thought that the Buddhism corrupted Confucian and Chinese ethics. Thus, Liu Ning believed that restoring Confucianism namely need to replace Buddhism. The reason of Liu Ning 's conversion to Catholicism was his rejection of Buddhism just like his cotemporary Catholic Zhang Xingyao. Liu Ning argued that only Catholicism could exclude Buddhism and restore ancient Confucianism, "the Heaven blesses China; the missionaries arrived and the teachings of Confucius and Mencius revived and succeeded." "The great Tao was obscured for long time. If the western Confucians didn't enter China by the sea, the true teachings of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, Duke of Zhou, Confucius and Mencius were almost extinguished."

Another reason why Liu Ning was baptized was his study of ancient classics and philology. He tried to find the original and true meanings of the ancient Confucian classics to re-interpret and re-understand the Confucian classics. He contributed himself to study Chinese characters and the six categories which deeply impacted the Figurism such Joseph Premare. Although Liu Ning has written little on Catholicism, his books of *Tianxue jijie* and *Juesilu* were very significant which left lots of information and materials for researchers to explore the history of Catholicism in early Qing. Liu Ning also actively debated with the Buddhism and defended his faith which contributed his part to the development of Catholicism in early Qing dynasty.

中文题目:

清初儒家基督徒刘凝(1620—1715?)新探

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摘要:学界有关清初普通天主教徒的研究成果较少。本文则通过相关文献资料对清初经学家、天主教徒刘凝的家族、生平、著作、交往、思想等进行勾勒与论述。本文使用前人所未用的材料,考证出刘凝出生于1620年,于1710年左右去世;并在1687年赴任崇义训导之前即已受洗入教。本文亦对刘凝的“复儒”、“易佛”等思想做了较为深入的探讨,并分析从明末到清初,天主教徒辩护天主教合法性的变化及其主要原因。

关键词:刘凝(家族/生平/著作);复儒易佛;交往;经学;信仰

