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**Chinese Islamic Text Studies in the
Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries:
A Case Study of Chinese Translations of
Jāmī's Persian Sufi Prose**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2015

Department of China and Inner Asia

SOAS, University of London

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Acknowledgement

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Abstract

This research is a case study of two Chinese translations of Naqshbandiyya Shaykh Jāmī's (1414-1492) Persian Sufi prose. One is Liu Zhi's 劉智 (c. 1655-1745) *Zhenjing zhaowei* 真境昭微 (Displaying the Profound Meaning of the Real Realm), a translation of *Lavāyih*. The other is She Qiling's 舍起靈 (1638-1703) *Zhaoyuan mijue* 昭元秘訣 (Secret Key of exposing the Origin), a translation of *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*.

Since these four texts extend over a period of about three hundred years and also span the long distance from Central Asia to China, I start this research by investigating the historical and cultural context of the texts. By studying the Persian and Chinese historical records, I discuss how Jāmī became a key scholar in the fields of philosophy, politics and literature in the Islamic world of the fifteenth century and how his works were transmitted to China and became further involved in the development process of Chinese Muslim intellectuals in the seventeenth century.

In the next step I go deep into the textual study by comparing the corresponding terms used in these four texts and discussing the translation strategies applied by the two Chinese translators. As the key methodology of my PhD research, the textual comparison is no longer the linear comparison of the original and its translation, but involves making a cross comparison of the terms used in two Chinese translations based on the same corpus written by one Sufi scholar, Jāmī.

With solid study on the texts and context, this research should help readers to understand the way in which the Chinese Muslim intellectuals comprehended and translated Jāmī's Persian Sufism and how and why they applied this approach in their translations.

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Transliteration System

ء	'	ص	ş
ب	b	ض	ḍ
پ	p	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	s	ع	‘
ج	j	غ	gh
چ	ch	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ک	k
د	d	گ	g
ذ	z	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
ژ	zh	و	v
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	ی	y

آ	ā	َ	a
ی	ī	ِ	i
و	ū	ُ	u
ی	ay		
و	aw		

ه	-a	ال	al-
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Introduction

1. Statement of the problem and the argument

This dissertation is about the translation and transformation of ‘Abd al-Rahman Jāmī’s (817-898/1414-1492) texts in China proper¹. As an established Persian Sufi scholar and classical poet from Herat, Jāmī’s works had already been circulated in the Muslim world during his lifetime. In China proper Jāmī was known by Chinese Muslims as *daxian* 大賢 (great sage / virtuous person). Chinese Muslims studied his Sufi treatises and then translated them into Chinese in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

By studying the extant Chinese Islamic writings found in China proper, two Chinese translations of Jāmī’s texts are identified here. One is She Qiling’s 舍起靈 (1638-1703) *Zhaoyuan mijue* 昭元秘訣 (Secret Key of Exposing the Origin), a translation of the *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt* (Rays of Divine Flashes) and the other is Liu Zhi’s 劉智 (c. 1655-1745) *Zhenjing zhaowei* 真境昭微 (Displaying the Profound Meaning of the Real Realm), a translation of the *Lavāyih* (Gleams). Both the original treatises and their Chinese translations were widely circulated in China proper.

Unlike the Persian exegesis applying Koranic terms, Chinese texts rarely have phonetic transcriptions of Arabic and Persian Sufi terminology. Instead Chinese Muslim scholars appropriated the lexicon which existed in traditional Chinese philosophy, such

¹ China proper in this dissertation refers to the territory of China, especially central and east China where Han nationality live as a majority and Chinese is the common language.

as Neo-Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism. This approach taken by the Chinese translators has established a place of cultural encounter between two realms, Persian Sufi mysticism and traditional Chinese philosophy.

The existing researches on Chinese Islamic texts normally accept the unique notion of “syncretism”, a progress of reducing complex social and ideological networks to interactions between discrete Islamic and traditional Chinese philosophies, specifically Confucianism. As a popular expression “*yi Ru quan jing* 以儒詮經” (explaining the Islamic scriptures by Confucianism) illustrates, it seems that researchers, on the one hand, view Islam and Confucianism in two separate boxes which are easy to be identified, while on the other hand, see the Chinese Islamic texts as “a new fusion of the Islamic and Confucian horizons”². Such a concept leaves the Chinese Islamic texts in a confusing position. We have to ask: do these boxes of philosophies really exist and how do we understand these Chinese Islamic texts?

This analytic strategy is also applied in a popular but also ambiguous term for the Chinese Muslim intellectuals viz: “*huiru* 回儒”, initially formulated in Japanese by Kuwata Rokuro (1894-1987) in 1925 and nowadays normally interpreted by modern researchers as “Muslim Confucian”³ or “Muslim scholars with Confucian learning”⁴. Chinese Muslim intellectuals are therefore classified as a group of people who have the characteristics of both Muslims and Confucians, thus conferring an ambiguous identity on this group.

² Murata, *Gleams*, xii.

³ Murata, *Gleams*, xi.

⁴ Murata, *The Sage Learning of Liu Zhi*, 3.

In fact, if we draw a coordinate based on the circulation of Jāmī's works, we will see the Chinese translations of Jāmī's works are situated at the intersection of this coordinate, involving the complex interaction of time and space. In this coordinate, the horizontal coordinate represents the global circulation of Jāmī's works in various cultures whilst the vertical coordinate stands for the traditional translation strategy adopted in China proper for more than one thousand years.

In the geographical perspective Jāmī's works were brought by Muslim international travellers to every corner of the Muslim world, not only in China proper, but also from Anatolia to Southeast Asia. This transmission implies the probability that the original scriptures came from multiple sources. In the meantime we also notice some characteristics which only apply to China proper. In China proper it seems that Chinese Muslims had exclusive interest in the philosophical treatises rather than literary works. For instance, we have not found that any of Jāmī's literary works circulated in China proper, even his most worldwide known poem *Yusuf va Zulaykhā*.

In the historical perspective of the translation movement in China, the strategy of adopting the existing terms seems no surprise for Chinese readers. In the Buddhist translation movement which flourished between the second century to the ninth century, as well as in Matteo Ricci's translation of the Catholic faith several decades before the Islamic translation, philosophical terms had already come into use for different contexts and the meaning of each term served multiple institutional and ideological interests.

For example, She Qiling's application of *miaoben* 妙本 (wondrous root), which corresponds to the original *ḥaqīqat*, can be considered as a case of Daoist influence based on a comparison with Cheng Xuanying's (fl. 631-650) commentary on the *Daode jing* 道德經. Thus by taking into consideration that Cheng once took part in the Sanskrit translation project in 647⁵, however, one could argue that Cheng Xuanying's application of *miaoben* might be derived from the Chinese Buddhist tradition, implying the Buddhist influence in She Qiling's application of *miaoben*.

Different from the previous translation productions, both Jāmī's original and Chinese translations were widely read in China proper but the readership had de facto separated groups of readership. Muslim translators therefore stand on the boundary of two different kinds of readers. On the one hand, there were groups of Muslims who had similar elementary traditional Chinese education and on the other hand, there were groups who had knowledge of Persian/Arabic language and Islamic doctrines. As a cultural agency, the translators thus encountered the challenge from both groups of readers who questioned the legitimacy of the Chinese translations in interpreting Islamic doctrines. Therefore, the Muslim translators are far more than the meaning of *Huiru* could imply.

To sum up, "syncretism" and "*Huiru*", each of these designations in the study of Chinese translations of Jāmī's texts came into use long after the historical phenomenon to which it purportedly refers. Chinese Islamic texts and their producers thus emerge as more complex phenomena considering the historical context. Therefore, this

⁵ Kohn, *Daoism Handbook*, 344.

dissertation starts by addressing very basic questions and focusing on the process of production rather than the translation product itself. The first level involves exploring how Jāmī's treatise travelled through time and space and how his works were finally translated and became widespread in China proper. On a second level this study sheds light on two broader questions: why Chinese Muslim translators chose Jāmī and why they applied this strategy?

2. Sources and Literature review

1) Primary sources

In this dissertation besides the manuscripts of Jāmī's Persian original texts and their Chinese translations⁶, other works composed by Jāmī, She Qiling and Liu Zhi have also been collected and studied, such as Jāmī's collection of poems *Dīvān*, She Qiling's *Jueshi xingmi lu* 覺世省迷錄 (Record of Awakening the World and the Confuse), Liu Zhi's *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理 (Nature and Principle of Islam) and *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* 天方至聖實錄 (Veritable Records of the Utmost Sage of Islam). Furthermore, reference works which reflect the influence on the Chinese Muslim translators such as Wang Daiyu's 王岱輿 (1584-1670) *Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 (Real Commentary on the True Teaching) and Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200) *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (Classified Conversations of Master Zhu) are included and discussed in this research.

The textual research studies on the historical context are not only based on the Persian and Chinese official historical records, *fangzhi* 方志 (local gazetteer) and *biji* 筆

⁶ See details in chapter three.

記 (miscellaneous notes), but also rely on stone inscriptions, genealogy and related commentaries made by Chinese Muslims, like *Huizu jinshi lu* 回族金石錄 (Records of Inscriptions of Chinese Muslims on Bronze and Stone) (2001) and *Jingxue xichuanpu* 經學系傳譜 (Genealogy of Chinese Islamic Teaching) (1713).

2) Secondary sources

For the Sufism philosophy, Henry Corbin (1903-1978), Annemarie Schimmel (1922-2003) and William Chittick did comprehensive research on the history and philosophy of Sufism. William Chittick also contributed *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* and several articles on Ibn al-‘Arabī’s teachings.

The study of Jāmī in the modern sense started in the 1940s.⁷ Recent studies on Jāmī includes Ertuğrul İ Ökten’s *Jāmī (817-898/1414-1492): His Biography and Intellectual Influence in Heart* (2007) and Hamid Algar’s *Jāmī* (2013). The former one is an unpublished doctoral thesis, examining Jāmī’s biography and contextualizing him in the scholarly and mystic traditions and political realities in Herat. This can be counted as the most comprehensive biography of Jāmī in Western languages. Algar’s *Jāmī* is a concise introduction to the life, works and influence of Jāmī. In this book Algar viewed Jāmī as a culminating figure in the Persianate-Islamic world and discussed the transmission of the intellectual and spiritual legacy of his works in a global vision.

For the studies of the Naqshbandiyya order which Jāmī belonged to, Hamid Algar examined its history and influence in his article “The Naqshbandī order” (1976). Joseph Fletcher’s (1934-1984) posthumously published work “The Naqshbandiyya in

⁷ See ‘Alī Asghar Hikmat, *Jāmī*.

Northwest China” traces the introduction of Sufism into China based on his studies on the expansion of the Naqshbandiyya order. This is one of the earliest research works to bring Chinese Muslims into global Muslim history. As Fletcher wrote, the history of the Muslims in China is not isolated from other Muslims but involved in the global Islamic history.⁸

Besides the expansion of the Naqshbandi order, research on the political and cultural interaction between China and Central Asia during the Mongol Empire and the early Ming dynasty are also considered in the discussion on the dissemination of Jāmī’s works in China proper. Ralph Kauz’s book *Politik und Handel zwischen Ming und Timuriden* (2005) examined the political and commercial communication between the Ming and Timurid courts, indicating possible ways for the transmission of Jāmī’s texts into China proper.

For the studies on Muslims in China, Western scholars such as Archimandrite Palladii Kafarov (1817-1878), Dabry de Thiersant (1828-1898) and Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) noticed Chinese Islamic texts in the nineteenth century. In Christian missions to Muslims in China starting from the middle of the nineteenth century⁹, missionaries like H. M. G. d’Ollone (1868-1945), Issac Mason (1870-1939), Claude L. Pickens (1900-1985) visited Muslim communities around China proper. They recorded local Muslims’ life situations and collected the texts or titles of both Persian/Arabic and Chinese manuscripts which they saw or heard of during their travels.¹⁰ Their diaries, reports and pictures were published in the contemporary journals such as *Revue du*

⁸ Fletcher, xi, 3.

⁹ See Matsumoto, “Protestant Christian missions to Muslims in China and Islamic reformist movement”.

¹⁰ See Leslie, “Arabic and Persian sources used by Liu Chih”, 78-79.

monde musulman and *Friends of Moslems*. Since then they have begun their research on the listing of manuscripts owned by Chinese Muslims.

In the early twentieth century journals published by Chinese Muslims during the Republic of China accelerated the study of Chinese Muslims in China proper. These journals deal with a variety of subjects like Muslim history, Islamic philosophy, Islamic folktale, introductory accounts of Muslim intellectuals and their works, latest news in the Muslim world and so on. Pang Shiqian's 龐士謙 (1902-1958) article "Zhongguo Huijiao siyuan jiaoyu zhi yange ji keben" 中國回教寺院教育之沿革及課本 (The changes and the textbooks of Islamic mosque education in China) (1937) listed thirteen textbooks which were studied in mosque schools in China. This article has been extensively cited by practically all Chinese scholars on Islam in China since then.

During this time the study of Islam in China began to be divided into two parts. In China proper Chinese Muslim scholars focused on the general history of Muslims. Their published books include Jin Jitang's 金吉堂 (1908-1978) *Zhongguo Huijiao shi yanjiu* 中國回教史研究 (Studies of the History of Islam in China) (1935), Fu Tongxian's 傅統先 (1910-1985) *Zhongguo Huijiao shi* 中國回教史 (History of Islam in China) (1940), Ma Yiyu's 馬以愚 (1900-1961) *Zhongguo Huijiao shijian* 中國回教史鑒 (History of Islam in China) (1940), Bai Shouyi's 白壽彝 (1909-2000) *Zhongguo Yisilan shi gangyao* 中國伊斯蘭史綱要 (Outline of History of Islam in China) (1946). These researches were written based on the official Chinese historical records. The writers focused on the introduction of Islam into China, the interaction between the Chinese government and Muslims and the development of Muslim intellectuals.

In the Western world studies on the book titles of Chinese Islamic texts were considered as a popular research topic. Scholars like E. Blochet (1870-1937), A. Vissiere (1858-1930), Mason, Pickens, R. Loewenthal annotated the bibliography and identified the original scriptures based on the Chinese transcription of the original titles. However, due to the lack of the textual comparison between the original and the Chinese translation some corresponding texts are not identified correctly.

The study of Muslims in China seems to be keeping silent from the 1950s to the 1980s. In the last thirty years scholars have utilised more materials produced by Chinese Muslim themselves or written in non-Chinese languages, such as the newly found manuscript of the *Jingxue xichuanpu* and the travelogues written in Persian. These materials brought Chinese Muslims into global history and enriched their predecessors' research.

Studies of Chinese Muslim history are currently discussed from different perspectives. Some scholars like Jonathan N. Lipman, Dru C. Gladney and Yao Dali 姚大力 discussed the formulation of Chinese Muslim identity through the anthropological method. Some scholars like Ma Tong 馬通 focused on the Chinese Sufi orders. Other subjects include local ethnography, the rebellion of Chinese Muslims in the Qing dynasty, the culture exchange between Chinese Muslims and the mainstream and etc.

For the study on Chinese Islamic texts, Donald D. Leslie published his research on both the Western collection of Chinese Islamic texts and Liu Zhi's two Chinese bibliographies in Liu's *Tianfang dianli* and *Tianfang xingli* in the 1980s. In his arranged bibliography in the *Islamic Literature in Chinese-Late Ming and Early Ch'ing, Books,*

Authors and Associates (1981) and an article “Arabic and Persian Sources used by Liu Chih” (1982), Leslie built a phonetic transcription system of Arabic or Persian words in Chinese characters and investigated the corresponding Persian and Arabic original texts based on both title and content.

Later researchers like Yu Zhengui 餘振貴, Yang Huaizhong 楊懷中 and Raphael Israeli continued working on the bibliography of Chinese Islamic texts. Some Chinese scholars like Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝, Ding Kejia 丁克家, Zhou Xiepan 周燮潘 and Wang Jianping 王建平 enriched Pang Shiqian’s discussion with new materials based on the function of Chinese Islamic texts.

From the end of the twentieth century most researchers such as Sha Zongping 沙宗平, Minoru Satō, Jin Yijiu 金宜久, James D. Frankel, Ma Zaiyuan 馬在淵, Yang Xiaochun 楊曉春, Yang Guiping 楊桂萍 and Liu Yihong 劉一虹 worked on a certain Muslim intellectual’s biography, his works and philosophical thoughts. These existing researches have several problems listed below.

Firstly, the Chinese Islamic textual studies are limited in their philosophical perspective. The text is not an end product, but is a process of production. In this sense textual study can be extended to interpret its historical context. For example, in his *The Dao of Muhammad*, Benite used Chinese Islamic works as evidence, eg. Liu Zhi’s *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* and Ma Lianyuan’s *Xingli weiyan*, and discussed the Islamic educational network and its influence on the identity of Chinese Muslim literati. The textual study can also help us to examine the writer’s motive, process and even the

personal concern pervading in his texts.

Secondly, the research objects are limited to certain Muslim intellectuals, normally Wang Daiyu, Liu Zhi and Ma Dexin 馬德新 (1794-1874). These Muslim writers have one characteristic in common, that is to appropriate the Neo-Confucian terminology and even sentences in their works. However, as our later study on She Qiling's works shows, Chinese Muslim intellectuals not only applied Neo-Confucian terms, but also adopted Daoist and Buddhist terms in their writings. Such limitations of the research objects have already left the impression that Chinese Muslims were only influenced by the Neo-Confucian philosophy. Some researchers even concluded that Chinese Muslim intellectuals admitted the similarity of Islamic philosophy and Neo-Confucianism. Both of these interpretations become fragile when we include She Qiling's works in the study of Chinese Islamic texts.

Thirdly, most studies are only based on the Chinese Islamic texts. While discussing a certain term or concept in the Chinese Islamic texts, researchers normally read the borrowed terms in the context of the traditional Chinese philosophy. If we study the correspondence of these terms in the original Persian/Arabic scriptures, we will find the understanding of these terms differ from the meanings in the traditional Chinese philosophy. Due to the lack of the Sufi philosophical context, this kind of research has caused many problems.

To fill in these gaps researchers who are familiar with the original Persian/Arabic language and Sufi philosophy were attracted to the study of Chinese Islamic texts. The

most well-known research so far is the English translations of both Jāmī's *Lavāyih* and Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei*, compiled together by Sachiko Murata, William Chittick and Tu Weiming 杜維明. This research is the first and so far the only one to provide English readers with a general picture of both an original Islamic treatise and its Chinese translation. In addition to this translation, Murata also made English translations of Wang Daiyu's *Qingzhen daxue* 清真大學 (Great Learning of the Pure and Real) and Liu Zhi's *Tianfang xingli* in her two books *Chinese Gleams on the Sufi light* (2000) and *The Sage Learning of Liu Zhi* (2009).

Based on the English translations, scholars constructed the corresponding relations with certain concepts in the original Islamic philosophy and Chinese Islamic texts. For example, Chittick and Murata discussed the adaptations of Liu Zhi's use of *renji* 人機 (highest standard of human) in the *Tianfang xingli* and its corresponding concept *al-insān al-kāmil* (the perfect human being) cited by Ibn 'Arabī in his *Fusūs*.¹¹ This study of both original scriptures and Chinese translations has widened the study of Chinese Islamic texts into a global vision.

3. Methodology and Structure

The dissertation is divided into four chapters. Chapter one gives a general introduction to Sufism and Persian Sufi literature and then provides a biographical account of Jāmī, focusing on his political and spiritual influence on the royal court and ordinary people.

Chapter two is a study on the transmission of Jāmī's works from Central Asia to China proper. In the first part I discuss the way of transmission by examining the

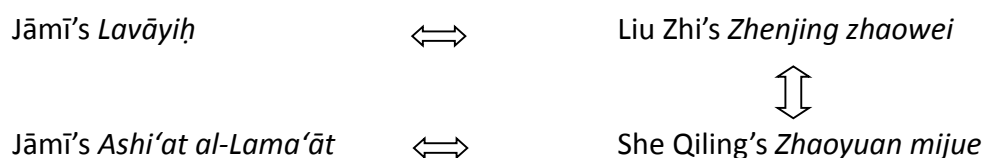
¹¹ See Sachiko Murata, "Zhongguo Musilin sixiangzhong de rengen wanmei".

possible “book carrier”, including the Naqshbandiyya order in its eastward expansion and the individual travellers such as merchants and Sufi missionaries. In the second part I examine the translation history of Chinese Muslims and identify the Chinese Muslim translators of Jāmī’s works as a group of Muslims known as the school of Islamic *Jingxue*. In the following study of the development of the *Jingxue* school, I focus on the language they applied and how they legitimized the Chinese translations for the Islamic exegesis. The third part of this chapter is a biographical account of our two main translators She Qiling and Liu Zhi. My research discusses and compares their education background, career paths in becoming involved in translating Jāmī’s works, their ideas of the language and the reception of their works during and after their life time.

Chapter three is a general introduction and comparison of Jāmī’s two treatises and their Chinese translations. It starts with an introductory account of the extant manuscripts of the original scriptures and their translations. In the following summary of the structure and content of these texts, I focus on discussing Jāmī’s views on “translation” and his targeted readership. Correspondingly, I examine the Chinese translators’ attitude towards Jāmī’s works, their opinions on “translation” as well as their readership. Finally, I discuss She Qiling and Liu Zhi’s translation strategies and make a brief comparison by combining the previous biographical research.

Chapter four includes three case studies on the terms *ḥaqīqat*, *fanā’* and “*zāt*, *ṣifat* and *ism*” and their Chinese translations. My research will no longer be the linear comparison of the original and its translation which has been done by some

researchers before, but will apply a cross comparison of the terms used in two Chinese translations based on the same corpus written by one Sufi writer Jāmī. The methodology I apply is the comparison of the terms used in the original texts and their translations in the following pattern:



In the first step I will find the corresponding terms by comparing each Persian original and its Chinese translation. The terms I focus on are divided into two parts from opposite directions. The first direction starts from the side of the Persian Sufi term which is broadly discussed by Islamic scholars in the Persian and Arabic Sufi context. By studying the Chinese words corresponding to these Persian terms, I will not only focus on the word-to-word comparison, but also broaden the investigation to the whole paragraph in order to find out how the Chinese translators interpreted the Persian Sufi terms. The second direction is from the side of the Chinese terms borrowed by the Chinese Muslim scholars from the traditional Chinese philosophical classics. In the study of the Persian corresponding words for the Chinese terms, my research tries to learn how to understand these Chinese terms in an Islamic philosophical context instead of the context of traditional Chinese philosophy.

In the second stage I compare the two Chinese translations based on the consideration of viewing Jāmī's two texts as a corpus. This comparison aims to find out how the Chinese translators made similar or different decisions when they translated the same Persian Sufi term. In addition I will further examine whether they had the

same understanding of the original term, as well as what affected their decision and why.

As a worldwide well-known Muslim philosopher and writer, Jāmī's case testifies to the progress in the circulation and translation of his works in a global perspective. With the in-depth textual study and the solid contextual discussion, this dissertation will hopefully present vivid and fresh research on Jāmī's works in China. At the end of my dissertation I will consider the wider historical context and textual studies together and try to answer the various research questions prompted by this work.

Chapter One: Sufism and Jāmī

1. Sufism

Sufism, often represented as Islamic mysticism, can be described as interiorization and intensification of Islamic faith and practice.¹² The Arabic word *Sufi*, as most scholars have concluded, originally means “one who wears wool”. It is said that by the eighth century (the second century of Islam) this term was sometimes applied to people whose ascetic inclinations led them to wear uncomfortable woollen garments. Generally in the ninth century, some of these people who were called Sufis differentiated themselves from other Muslims by stressing certain specific teachings and practices of the Koran and the Prophet. In particular they adopted the gerund form *tasawwuf*, which means “being a Sufi” or “Sufism”, and were also called by other names, such as *‘arīf* (pl. *‘arīfūn*, knower), *ḥakīm* (pl. *ḥukamā’*, sage), *darvīsh* (poor) and *zāhid* (pl. *zuhhād*, ascetic) in Khurāsān and in Transoxania.

The tenth and eleventh centuries saw a period of consolidation for Sufism. The Sufis strove to gain the “orthodox” approval of the Islamic world based on their principles from the Koran and Sunna,¹³ whilst at the same time being influenced by non-Islamic ways of thinking, mainly Neo-Platonism and older Iranian traditions. In addition, Sufism also integrated elements of religious practice, above all *zikr*¹⁴. Through

¹² Chittick, *Sufism*, 18.

¹³ See Massington’s part “Early development in the Arabic and Persian lands” in the entry “*Taṣawwuf*” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

¹⁴ *Zikr*, meaning remembrance and pronouncement, serves as an Islamic devotional act in Sufi practice and involves the recitation - mostly silently - of the Names of God and of supplications taken from hadith texts and Quranic

zikr, the mystic could place himself in situations where knowledge from higher worlds, even from God Himself, is unveiled.

Moving to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the spectrum of Sufi was becoming more diverse and expanded in terms of its formation, practice and writing. Along with a closer relationship between a pupil and his Sufi teacher, Sufi groups with fixed rules, affiliation (*silsila*) and hierarchically-arranged leadership were generally established and known as Sufi orders (*ṭūruq*). The most important Sufi orders are the Qādiriyya, the Kubrawiyya, the Naqshbandiyya, the Khalwatiyya and the Shāziliyya. From that time onwards, the Sufi orders display different kinds of social and political function among their members.

In the meantime, a prolific and profound author, Ibn al-‘Arabī (1165-1240) “appears as a watershed in the history of Sufism”¹⁵ partly because he embodies a certain shift in focus that had gradually been occurring in Sufi technical prose writings. Technical prose henceforth turned from commonly discussing issues of practice, morality, ethics and spiritual psychology to dealing “with topics that had been discussed in detail only in *kalām* (Islamic philosophical theology) and *falsafa* (philosophy), such as *tawhīd* (doctrine of Oneness), *nubuvva* (Prophethood), and *ma’ād* (return to God)”¹⁶.

verses. (See Macdonald’s entry “*Ḍikr*” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition (1913-1936)*.)

¹⁵ See Chittick’s part “Ibn al-‘Arabī and after in the Arabic and Persian lands and beyond.” in the entry “*Ṭaṣawwuf*” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

¹⁶ Ibid.

While Ibn al-‘Arabī illuminated his understandings in the technical language of the ‘*ulamā’*’, his contemporaries, Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235) and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273) brought God’s presence directly to the reader not through the medium of rational analysis but through poetry and its performance.

From the late thirteenth century to the eighteenth century the spread of Sufism was identified as a definitive factor in the spread of Islam and in the creation of holistic Islamic cultures.¹⁷ In the early stages of Sufism’s rise, however, the development of intellectual mysticism took place in two relatively independent centres: one in Baghdad in the West and the other in the East in Nishapur and the region on the upper Oxus.

These five centuries also witnessed the expansion of Islam across wider territories such as India, Turkey, China and Southeast Asia. Scholars have observed that on a doctrinal level, for example, Sufism provided newcomers with a more flexible perspective on the Koran. Once it is recognised that “All is He”, alien beliefs and practices can easily be read as expressions of Islamic truths.¹⁸ Therefore, in the diverse cultural contexts intellectuals translated and explained a large amount of Sufi doctrines with the help of their local traditions in native languages which brought a full of variety of perspectives to Sufi literature. In addition, by integrating with indigenous languages, cultures and religions, Sufism produced a flourishing intellectual culture in the areas of literature, painting and architecture throughout the Islamic world.

¹⁷ See Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*.

¹⁸ See Chittick’s part “Ibn al-‘Arabī and after in the Arabic and Persian lands and beyond.” in the entry “*Taṣawwuf*” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

The formation of national states, starting in the nineteenth century, saw a decreasing effect of Sufism within Islamic society and the localization of Sufi orders. Sufism in North Africa, Turkey, Iran, India, northwest China and Southeast Asia found different paths of development respectively, all of which, however, still operated in the framework of Sufi orders.

In this way Sufism has become so vast and diverse that the term has become immersed in a large amount of complex information and confusion. In general the term Sufism can be said to rest on two foundations - *islam* (submission to God) and *iman* (faith) for doing what is beautiful and striving after spiritual perfection in order to achieve the goal of the Sufi path.

The above two dimensions of foundation are rooted in the context of *tawhid*, the assertion of God's unity that is given its most succinct expression in the first Shahadah, *la ilaha illa Allah* (There is no god but God).¹⁹ On the theoretical level of Sufism, Shahadah becomes a concrete expression of the absolute reality of God. The Sufi view of reality derives from the Koran and the Hadith. After having been amplified and adapted by generations of Sufi teachers and sages, it explains both what human beings are and what they should aspire to be.

Once equipped with theoretical groundings, Sufis can take an actual path to achieve the "union" with God, or the full realization of human perfection, or

¹⁹ Murata, *Sufism*, 10.

actualization of the divine image in which human beings were created.²⁰ On the practical level, the Sufi path is a process of inner transformation whereby the powers of the soul are turned toward God. Through this path people change from their actual situation to the final goal of human life, or from imperfection to perfection. The most popular auxiliary means of reaching the truth in Sufism is the *zikr* (remembrance) of God while forgetting the unreal.

By combining the theory and practice, the Sufi teachings find their characteristic expression in the dimension of mercy and love. The mercy from God to the world and the love moving between two ends endow Sufism with “spirituality”. To achieve the spiritual perfection, Sufis stress the kernel over the shell, the meaning over the letter, the spirit over the body, and the subtle over the dense.²¹

The appreciation of beauty and love compose the aesthetic element in Sufi tradition. It not only has become a typical feature in Sufi literature, but also sets down an aesthetical standard for the readers. If we exemplify Rumi’s *Masnavī*, a 25,000-verse didactic poem known for centuries as “the Koran in the Persian language”, it does not mean there is any formal similarity, but that the *Masnavī* actually brought out what Rumi called “the roots of the roots of the roots of the religion”²². This way of reading beyond the form and diving into the essentials has made Sufi writings adaptive towards the whole Islamic world. In the meantime, it also provides the rationality for writing,

²⁰ Murata, *Sufism*, 16.

²¹ Murata, *Gleams*, 16.

²² Rūmī, *Masnavī-i Maʿnavī*, vol. 1, “Preface”, 1.

translating and understanding Sufi works in any form and language.

2. Persian Sufi literature before Jāmī

The Persian language began to join and positively express Sufi literature in the tenth century, which until then was only written in Arabic. ‘Alī ibn ‘Usmān al-Jullābī al-Hujvīrī (d. towards 1080) could be considered as the first Sufi writer in composing a Sufi handbook called *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (Revelation of the Veiled) in Persian. Ansārī of Herat (d. 1089) also wrote mainly in Persian. Along with the wide spreading of Sufism in the Persian-speaking world, Persian Sufi literature emerged as a vehicle of cardinal importance for the dissemination of Sufi teachings. Meanwhile, Sufi authors composed a vast range of materials, such as poetry, theoretical works, especially various levels of commentary, literary treatises and original writings concentrating on spiritual, ethical and practical teachings.

To present the spirituality of Sufism as previously discussed, there is no better genre than Persian poetry in Sufi literature. With its various poetical styles and beautiful rhymes, Persian mystical poetry fully displayed the concept of the revelation of God through the medium of human beauty. Persian poets like Sa’dī (1184-1283/1291), Rumi (1207-1273) and Ḥāfiẓ (1325/1326–1389/1390) depicted for readers a world of wine and beautiful young boys and girls in a metaphorical way. Readers could not discern exactly whether a glass of wine of which the poet speaks is real or meant as a metaphor of divine, intoxicating love, or whether the addressee of the poem is a human beauty or the Divine Beloved, or whether the taverns described

are the place of union with God or real wine-houses.²³

If we say the Persian poets interpreted Sufism with symbolism and metaphor in a mystical or profane sense, the Sufi masters who assumed their social and political importance in certain Sufi orders explained the mysticism in a theoretical way in their commentaries especially relating to Ibn al-‘Arabī’s perspective. In particular, a large number of Persian commentaries on Ibn al-‘Arabī’s *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (The Bezels of Wisdom) were written, continuing the tradition of debate and exegesis over the exact significance of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s teachings. Prolific authors like Najm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (1177-1256), Shāh Ni‘matullāh Walī (1330-1431), Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrahīm ‘Irāqī (1213-1289), Khāja ‘Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār (1403/4 1490) and Jāmī wrote works interpreting the *vaḥdat al-vujūd* (Unity of Existence) in Ibn al-‘Arabī’s teachings or supporting other Sufis’ existing commentaries concerning related metaphysical and theological issues.

Despite the aforementioned two categories of Sufi literature which attracted most attention of critics in the history of Sufi literature, the original writings were actually the most common genre of Sufi writing during this period and amounted to a large percentage of the Sufi works. The first original Persian Sufi theoretical text could be counted as the *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*. Almost every Sufi author devoted their efforts on works pertaining to this category, especially those aforementioned prolific Sufi authors. Works in this category include theoretical prose, anecdotes normally recorded by

²³ Schimmel, *Sufi Literature*, 2.

disciples, collection of letters between a Sufi master and his friends and disciples, Sufi genealogy and so on.

Our main character in this dissertation, Jāmī lived in a period in which the above-mentioned three categories all reached their culminating point in terms of both quantity and quality. In the period of the Timurid dynasty (1370-1526), Persian had become the official state language of the Timurid Empire and served as the language of administration, history and literature. The Timurid sultans, especially Shahrukh Mīrzā (1377-1447) and his son Mohammad Ulugh Beg (1394-1449), patronized Persian culture and made their court circles of Samarqand and then Herat the centres of Persian art and literature.²⁴

Meanwhile, the rise of the Naqshbandiyya order in Transoxiana derived an additional significance from the great influence which it exercised on the development of the contemporary Sufi literature. The principal status of the Persian language in the original writing of Naqshbandiyya teachings²⁵ on the one hand, enriched Sufi literature with systematically theoretical and practical dimensions. On the other hand, the principle of *khalvat dar anjuman* (solitude within society) which encouraged a certain mode of “exercising intense devotion to God within the context of society”²⁶, consolidated the considerable political and social role of the Naqshbandiyya in the Timurid court and further provided a firm and friendly environment for the

²⁴ Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 3:421.

²⁵ Algar, “The Naqshbandī Order”, 133.

²⁶ Ibid, 138.

composition and dissemination of Persian Sufi poems and prose.

In the coming sixteenth century, when all traces of the Naqshbandiyya were extirpated from all of modern Iran and most areas of Afghanistan (including Herat) by the Safavids (for whom eliminating Sunni scholars and shaykhs was essential to establish Shi'i supremacy) Persian Sufi literature tended to decline in the central area of the Persian-speaking world. Along with the expansion of Naqshbandiyya outside its Transoxianan homeland and further to Turkey and India, however, Persian Sufi literature exercised great influence on the development of sub-continental and central Asian literature, even as far as Ottoman Turkey literature and Chinese Islamic literature.

Thus it could be validly said that Persian Sufi literature produced in the fifteenth century in the eastern fringe of the Persian-speaking world (which nowadays comprises Eastern Iran and Afghanistan) owed many of its greatest names to the Naqshbandiyya order. Jāmī, as a Naqshbandi Sufi, perfectly represented the archetypal Persian Sufi scholar and writer who witnessed and contributed to this brilliant period of Persian Sufi literature.

3. Biography of Jāmī

Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī was born on 7 November 1414 in a family of scholars in Kharjard-Jām, a village lying about midway between Mashhad and Herat. Though he took his penname from his birthplace Jām, at the age of four Jāmī moved with his family to Herat, the capital of Khurasan and the place where Jāmī spent most

of his life. The family settled in the Nizāmiyya Madrasa, where Jāmī's father, Aḥmad Dashtī (unknown) was granted a position.

In his early education, Jāmī was depicted as a confident genius. He started his learning from the standard texts of the madrasa curriculum. His teachers came from different theological camps, even two rival schools developed by Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī (1322-1390) and Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī (1339-1414).²⁷

Throughout his twenties, Jāmī continued to pursue his study in Herat and Samarqand, the latter of which was the capital of Transoxiana and its principal learning centre in the first half of the fifteenth century. In Samarqand, young Jāmī's excellent intelligence impressed his teachers who were leading scholars in the fields of theology, astronomy and mathematics. By being imbued with scholarship, Jāmī had consolidated his reputation at the centre of scholarly circle.

In his *Tafsīr-i Muḥammad Pārsā*, Jāmī stated that he returned to Herat in 1444. At first Jāmī focused his career in the scholarly field and was appointed to a madrasa in Herat, but after his frequent interaction with spiritual teachers during the 1450s, Jāmī gave up his scholarly career by finishing his teaching in the madrasa and embarking upon the mystic path under the direction of the Naqshbandiyya Shaykh Sa'd al-Dīn Kāshgharī (d. 1456).

In the mid-fifteenth century when the mystic path and the scholarly path were

²⁷ Ökten, "Jāmī", 59.

mutually exclusive, Jāmī's initiation into the Naqshbandiyya order, on the one hand, forced his scholarly emphasis to change from teaching to writing, and on the other hand, empowered him to take the first step towards closer relations with men of power.

Although the sources revealed that in his very early age Jāmī tended to remain in solitude rather than interacting with the royal patronage circle, in the rest of his life he clearly got involved in association with the royal court through the influence of the Naqshbandi principle of "seclusion within the society"²⁸.

The "seclusion within the society" indicated that when the Sufi is together with God he should not prioritise his physical isolation from the society, but should stay in society, realizing his seclusion from worldly things within his own heart. In his literary writings, Jāmī frequently mentioned Abū al-Qāsim Bābur (1449-1457), the ruler of Khurasan, especially in one of his earliest surviving works, *Ḥilyat al-Ḥulal* (1452). Jāmī's two eulogies were later dedicated to Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd (unknown), the later military ruler of Bābur in Herat.

On the other side of the coin, rulers in the fifteenth century could not stand solidly without local Sufis' and scholars' support. While engaging in political and military activities, the ruler was always concerned about the attitude adopted by these intellectuals, especially that of spiritual leaders since only this small group of people possessed the ability to negotiate as mediators between the upper administrative level

²⁸ Ökten, "Jāmī", 86.

and lower class people. This concern also sheds lights on the necessity of seeking for an influential spiritual leader by every ruler of Herat. It is in the late 1450s that Jāmī's talent became well-known amongst the contemporary intellectual elite and was noticed and accepted in court circles.

In 1459, Jāmī finished *Naqd al-Nuṣūṣ fī Sharḥ Naqsh al-Fuṣūṣ*, a commentary on Ibn al-'Arabī's magnum opus *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*. This work is a detailed reference book and is considered as Jāmī's first mystical writing.

From the 1460s to the 1470s, under the influence of the Samarqand Naqshbandiyya teacher Khāja Aḥrār who filled the spiritual void left by the death of Kāshgharī, Jāmī was further involved in political activities and started to work more closely with the contemporary rulers in Herat, such as Jahānshāh (d. 1467) and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (1469-1506). Meanwhile Jāmī gained prestige through his spiritual works and poems and became a prolific writer.

In 1465, at the age of fifty-one, Jāmī finished his well-known work *Lavāyih* (Gleams) which is a mystical prose and poetic mixed work and is viewed as a second work on the same subject of Ibn al-'Arabī's "Unity of Existence" as *Naqd al-Nuṣūṣ*. However, the content and language of *Lavāyih* indicate that this work was written for common people rather than highly educated audience whom the *Naqd al-Nuṣūṣ* addressed. This change was probably influenced by Jāmī's friend and teacher Khāja Aḥrār who paid special attention to the powerless groups and individuals in the society, including

artisans, merchants, and those who dealt with agriculture.²⁹

Although Jāmī had gained high prestige in the literary, religious and political fields when he finished *Lavāyih*, he was still mentioned as “a young man” by Khāja Aḥrār.³⁰ It was only about a decade later, that his experience of Pilgrimage to Mecca brought him recognition at this mature stage as an intellectual and spiritual figure.

Jāmī’s trip to Pilgrimage started from 1472 and ended in 1474. This trip served to enhance his fame across the Persian-speaking world and extend his network towards the politicians in the Western Muslim world. He was welcomed by administrative leaders along the way in places such as Hamadan, Baghdad and Tabriz. He had even received an invitation from the Ottoman ruler Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446) in Constantinople. Despite his refusal of these invitations, Jāmī composed two epic poems for these western rulers in the 1480s in return. One is the *Salāmān va Absāl* (Salaman and Absal) for the Aq Quyunlu Sulṭān Ya’qūb (r. 1478-1490) in Tabriz and the other is the *Silsilat al-Zahab* (Chain of Gold) for the Ottoman Bāyazīd II (r. 1481-1512) who succeeded his father Mehmed II in 1481.

After Jāmī went back to Herat in 1474 his effort shifted from his previous political activities to religious writing, illuminating the starting point of his most productive period as a writer lasting for almost two decades. His first work from the second half of the 1470s was a biographical dictionary about the lives of prominent Sufis called

²⁹ Ökten, “Jāmī”, 113.

³⁰ Ökten, “Jāmī”, 150.

Nafaḥāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds (Breezes of Familiarity with the Holy Ones). This has been considered as one of Jāmī's most important works and "a fifteenth century revival of the Sufi *ṭabaqāt* [biographical tradition] genre".³¹ In 1480 Jāmī finished another religious work named *Shavāhid al-Nubuwwa* (Proofs of Prophethood), which is a collection of the proofs of the prophethood of Prophet Muḥammad in the early days of Islam. A year later he completed *Durrat al-Fākhira* (The Precious Jewel), a comparison of the viewpoints of the philosophers, theologians and Sufis on certain theological issues, addressed to the Ottoman ruler Mehmed II and influenced by Ibn al-'Arabī's "Unity of Existence".

In the same year of 1481 Jāmī finished *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt* (Gleams of the Flashes)³², a commentary on Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī's (1213-1289) *Lama'āt* (Flashes), a short mixed prose and poetry work also inspired by Ibn al-'Arabī's teachings of "Unity of Existence".

By the time he composed *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, Jāmī had finished *Naqd al-Nuṣūṣ* (1459), *Lavāyih* (1465) and *Lavāmi'* (Gleams) (1470) delivering Ibn al-'Arabī's "Unity of Existence". On the same theme, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt* was written at the request of Navā'ī (1441-1501) in order to help him in the study of 'Irāqī's *Lama'āt*, suggesting that it was the only one treatise known to have been written for an identified reader.

From 1481 to 1486, Jāmī once again changed his emphasis to poetry writing. His

³¹ Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism*, 3.

³² Another Sufi treatise of the same name was completed by an Indian Sufi author 'Abd al-Ḥaqq ibn Sayf al-Dīn Dihlavī (1551-1642/1643) in 1616. The full name of this treatise is entitled as *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt fi Sharḥ al-Mishkāṭ* which is a Persian translation and commentary of *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābīḥ* written by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī (fl. 1337).

five epic poems *Khamsa* (Quintuple) is a collection of five poems ranging from wisdom literature to classical love poems. In 1487 Jāmī wrote for his only remaining son *Bahāristān* (Abode of Spring), a collection of entertaining stories, teaching virtues and good behaviour inspired by Sa’dī’s *Gulistān* (The Rose Garden).

In the last years of his life Jāmī composed his third collection of poems *Khāṭimat al-Ḥayāt* (The conclusion of Life) and later again for his son, the *Fawāyid al-Ḍiyā’iyya*, an instruction in Arabic grammar as a manual for his education.

Jāmī did not stop writing until the end of his life and it is said that people found certain writings in his deathbed. In his over fifty-year lifetime as a writer, Jāmī finished over forty works in a diverse range of genres. Most of his poetry works are modelled in one way or another on earlier works and most of his prose works are commentaries. It is fair to say that Jāmī’s works make constant reference to the literary past.

For his poetic works, Jāmī’s poems started to be circulated from the 1440s in the royal court. He tried almost every form of Persian poetry but his prolific works were characterised and affected by strong court patronage rather than by aesthetic perception. From 1468 until 1483 Jāmī completed his writing of the well-known *Haft Awrang* (The Seven Thrones), containing seven long *masnavī*. The structure, style and meter of *Haft Awrang* are mostly modelled after various works of the older generation, such as Nizāmī’s (1141-1209) *Khusraw va Shīrīn* (Khosrow and Shirin). Therefore, scholars like Haravī commented that he saw “the strength of Jāmī as a poet in his knowledge of Persian poetry, its theory and history rather than in his poetic [literary]

achievements.”³³

In terms of social function, the popularity of Jāmī’s poetry was well explained by Zarrīn Kūb as attributable to “Jāmī’s fame of knowledge and social activities”³⁴. In Jāmī’s time compiling one *dīvān* not only presented the poet’s productivity and expertise but was also considered as a kind of propaganda tool in politics in order to acquire social status. Jāmī’s collection of poems, *Dīvān*, contained a number of panegyrics and could be divided into three sections. Each section was compiled in a different period and specifically dedicated to various named rulers.

The nearly 39,000 lines of verse are not enough to make Jāmī one of the most productive writers without taking account of over thirty prose works surviving from his pen. These prose works cover a wide range of topics in humanities and religious sciences, including Sufism, Islamic theology, riddles and Persian music. Considering Jāmī’s long affiliation with the Naqshbandiyya order, it is not surprising that most of his prose writings took the form of commentaries on earlier Sufi works discussing the teaching and practice of Sufism, particularly relating to Ibn al-‘Arabī.

Jāmī’s study of Ibn al-‘Arabī lasted for his whole life and his abundant works explaining Ibn al-‘Arabī’s “Unity of Existence” doctrine helped to draw Ibn al-‘Arabī into the scope of “legal schools”.³⁵ In the early fifteenth century, as Jafar Halmuhammadov described, Ibn al-‘Arabī was not well-known in Herat. Some scholars and legists even

³³ Ökten, “Jāmī”, 131.

³⁴ Zarrīn Kūb, *Bā Kārvān-i Hullah*, 292.

³⁵ Ökten, “Jāmī”, 83.

blamed Ibn al-ʿArabī of blasphemy based on their understanding of his work at a surface level. As the key doctrinal issue of Naqshbandiyya order, Jāmī's initiation to the Naqshbandiyya order drew his enthusiasm to Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrine in the mid-1450s. With the help of the increasing influence of the Naqshbandiyya order in Herat and his high standing in religious and social fields, Jāmī's continuous output of treatises took an important role in transforming the local intellectuals' attitude toward Ibn al-ʿArabī. In the Persian-speaking world Jāmī also played a role in propagating the mysticism of Ibn al-ʿArabī by his tremendous commentaries and original works. Even in 1490-91 near the end of his life, Jāmī undertook an Arabic commentary on the full text of the *Fuṣūṣ* entitled as *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*).

Compared with Jāmī's enthusiasm to doctrinal issues his discussions include aspects of practice, though generally speaking, he focused more on issues of teaching and philosophy. His swing between silent and vocal *zikr* in different treatises, on the one hand, could be attributed to the atmosphere of transformation in the field of religious practice throughout the fifteenth century, but, on the other hand, reflected his lack of connection with the authority and legitimacy of certain practices in the Sufi path.

Since the early years of his initiation to the Naqshbandiyya order Jāmī had yet refrained from succeeding Kāshgharī and acting as a guide for Kāshgharī's disciples after Kāshgharī's death in 1456. However, in his old age Jāmī expressed a feeling of regret by telling his visitor that he "neglected the path of the Naqshbandiyya teachers,

nor did he carry its fruits to the people, and he had not been beneficial to anybody.”³⁶

Only several persons are said to have been formally trained by him in the Naqshbandiyya order, like Lāri (?-1506) and Yūsuf (unknown), Jāmī’s third son. Jāmī’s absence from teaching led to the loss of influence in the Naqshbandiyya lineage posthumously.

Thus Jāmī’s contemporary and posthumous influences were rather more dependent on his continuous life-long effort in writings than his status in the Naqshbandiyya lineage. However, fully in accord with the Naqshbandiyya principle of “solitude within society”, this principle introduced Jāmī’s life into a broad range of social, intellectual and even political activities in Herat and beyond.

Conclusion

As an important Sufi order, Naqshbandiyya is well-known for its proximity to the rulers, especially under the leadership of Khāja Aḥrār. Joining the Naqshbandiyya had empowered Jāmī with a significant amount of leverage to intercede on behalf of the poor with the administration. As a mediator between the administration and the people, on one side, Jāmī received appreciation and respect for his works from the royal court, even as far away as India and Ottoman Turkey, and, on the other side, his works gathered a vast readership of lower class people. Unlike those manuscripts of his works preserved in the libraries of Central Asia, Turkey, and India, thanks to those literate common people, especially merchants, Jāmī’s fame and his works went far

³⁶ Ökten, “Jāmī”, 217.

beyond the religious and political boundaries and eventually reached to China proper.

Chapter Two: From Central Asia to China proper

From the fifteenth century when Jāmī gradually grew into a prolific Sufi writer to the late seventeenth century when his works were translated into Chinese by Chinese Muslims, the three-hundred-year time gap along with the thousands of miles of distance concealed an extraordinary process of translation, reflecting a history of dissemination and acceptance of Jāmī's works eastwards to China. This chapter will view the dissemination of Jāmī's works from Central Asia to China proper and the related translation activity as a consequence of the development impetus of Chinese Muslim intellectuals.

Facing an abundance of literary and religious works produced before the seventeenth century in and beyond Central Asia, there must be certain reasons why Jāmī's works survived in this competitive cultural transformation. Time and space, on the one hand, had provided a range of potential material for later Chinese Muslims readers, but on the other hand, these same factors also filtered out most of their productions and left a limited number of works for Chinese Islamic literature.

Based on the catalogue provided by an *ahong* (Chinese Muslim priest) in the Sanlihe mosque in Beijing in 1908, René Ristelhueber (1881-1960), a French diplomat and writer, reported that the collection of this *ahong* had approximately one hundred and fifty Arabic and Persian books on various subjects such as grammar, lexicography, theology, jurisprudence and Sufism.³⁷ At least five Sufi texts including Jāmī's *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* have been identified and as far as we can tell *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* is the only

³⁷ Bouvat, "Une Bibliothèque De Mosquée Chinoise", 516.

text which have been translated into Chinese.³⁸

This fact could point towards a cultural agency which acted as a kind of filter; and here, by examining the historical background, I am trying to identify two kinds of agents who physically carried Jāmī's texts to China and literarily transferred the texts into Chinese language.

1. Dissemination: Jāmī's works from Central Asia to China proper

How and when Jāmī's works were brought and disseminated to China proper is not precisely known. To account for the identity of those book carriers - academically known as cultural agents - two strands of explanation come readily to mind, each having at least some possibility: a) the eastwards expansion of the Naqshbandiyya order into northwest China; b) individual Muslim travellers coming by land and sea.

1) Naqshbandiyya expansion

Naqshbandiyya missionary progress towards the east continued to be an important goal of the Naqshbandiyya since the establishment of this order. The contacts between the Naqshbandiyya and Muslim communities in northwest China can be traced back to at least the second half of the fifteenth century, but there is no concrete evidence showing any Chinese were initiated into this mystical path in this period. It is not until the seventeenth century that the Naqshbandiyya moved from the outermost fringes of the Turco-Iranian Muslim world into the Chinese-speaking

³⁸ Hartmann, "Littérature Des Musulmans Chinois", 278.

communities. Khoja Āfāq (his original name is Hidāyat Allāh, “the Master of the Horizons”) went as far as certain places in the provinces of Gansu and Ningxia. His preaching “won the commitment (*inābat*) of the subsequent initiators of three Naqshbandi saintly lineages (*menhuan* 門宦) that came eventually to dominate Muslim religious life in the Chinese northwest.”³⁹

As the most influential Sufi order in Central Asia and at the very end of the cultural area of the Chinese-speaking territory, historical records related to its eastwards missionary work indicate that the influence of the Naqshbandiyya order only reached as far as Gansu and Ningxia, which was still limited to northwest China.⁴⁰

According to the historical records this eastwards expansion largely became involved in local political disputes. Sufi works originated in Central Asia seem to have been mysteriously forgotten or ignored in northwest China from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century and Naqshbandis only stressed the importance of the Koran and the study of *hadith*.⁴¹ Only one Sufi work, the *Masnavi* of Rumi, was discoursed and taught in Gansu and Qinghai by a Naqshbandi branch descended from Muhammad Yūsuf.

2) Frequent travellers

Since historical records of the Naqshbandiyya influence cannot explain the burst of Persian and Arabic Islamic scriptural translations in China proper, we must shift our

³⁹ Fletcher, “The Naqshbandiyya in Northwest China”, 14.

⁴⁰ See Fletcher, “The Naqshbandiyya in Northwest China” and Ma Tong, *Zhongguo Yisilan jiaopai yu menhuan zhidu shilüe*.

⁴¹ Fletcher, “The Naqshbandiyya in Northwest China”, 11.

attention to those secular travellers and individual Sufis who established contacts between Central Asian Muslims and Chinese Muslims.

a. Central Asian merchants

Some of these book carriers seem to have joined frequent caravans travelling during and after the years of Jāmī's life between Herat and Beijing, the respective capitals of the Timurid (1370-1507) and the Chinese Ming dynasty (1368-1644). For quite a long time in the early period of these two empires (both of which were successor states to the Mongol Empire) they maintained the international communications established during Mongol rule by continuing intercourse with their neighbouring but distant countries. Both rulers of these two young empires were primarily interested in exercising diplomacy by sending embassies to each other's court and acclaiming their own political and religious supremacy.⁴² But due to their apparent awareness of these ideological conflicts, both emperors seemed to reach a tacit understanding by changing their focus to commerce. In 1414 an official delegation led by Chen Cheng 陳誠 (1365-1457) and Li Xian 李暹 (unknown) left China and arrived at their destination, the Timurid court at Herat. The delegation was "bearing lavish gifts of fine textiles for various local rulers"⁴³ from Hami and Turfan to Samarkand. This mission was of great importance in opening up active commercial communications between Central Asia and China and the year 1414 is also noticeably the year when Jāmī was born.

⁴² Kauz, *Politik und Handel Zwischen Ming und Timuriden*, 3.

⁴³ *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, 260.

From then on, this flow of cross-border trade between Central Asian and China seems to have been operated mostly by Central Asian merchants while it was still under Chinese imperial control.⁴⁴ For Central Asia, relations with China meant profitable business; for China, however, the trade was described under the official title of “tribute”. This “tribute system” gave entry only to “vassals” of the empire while private Chinese merchants were not allowed to trade abroad.⁴⁵ Based on the different cognition of foreign trade in the two countries, the caravans sent from Central Asia acted like a cultural embassy, bringing the vision of merchants into China proper.⁴⁶

As we discussed in the first chapter, merchants were regarded as one of the main reader groups for Jāmī’s works. Through the frequent commercial exchanges effected by them, Jāmī’s works in all probability were brought to China proper.

b. Sufi travellers

Later historical materials in the sixteenth century provide traces of individual Sufi travellers around China proper, blending in an international trend of cultural intercourse during the Ming dynasty. Despite the ambitious contacts with the outside world via land and sea in the early Ming and the late imperial ban on travel outside the empire and the xenophobia of official Confucianism, “China never lost touch with Muslims in the central Islamic lands.”⁴⁷ On the contrary, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed a friendly environment of cultural interactions among Chinese

⁴⁴ See *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, 261.

⁴⁵ Fletcher, *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, 11.

⁴⁶ See Maitra, *A Persian Embassy to China*.

⁴⁷ Fletcher, “The Naqshbandiyya in Northwest China”, 3.

intellectuals and foreign visitors.

The Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and his colleagues arrived in Nanjing in 1595 and reached the capital Beijing in 1598, arousing the attentions of Confucian intellectuals. Contemporary historical records also saw foreign individual Muslim scholars travelling and teaching Islamic doctrines in China proper.

A local gazetteer records a Muslim missionary called Momuduha 默穆都哈 who was said to come from Tianfang 天方⁴⁸ and to have taught at a mosque in Zhengzhou during the reign of Wanli 萬曆 (r. 1572-1620). He successfully initiated many of his listeners into Islam and was called Shaihai 篩海 (a transliteration of *Shaykh*) by later generations.⁴⁹ In his *Kezuo zhuiyu* 客座贅語 (Superfluous Talks in the Parlor), Gu Qiyuan 顧起元 (1565-1628) also recorded a foreign monk who travelled from the Western region and stayed in a mosque in Nanjing. This monk is likely to be a Sufi *dervish*.⁵⁰

The records written by Chinese Muslims share more stories about meeting and studying with foreign Muslim scholars. Zhang Zhong 張中 (about 1583-1663) indicated that his *Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 (Complete Path of Returning to the Truth) comprised

⁴⁸ Tianfang 天方, literal meaning “heavenly square” is also seen as a homophonic word Tianfang 天房 (heavenly house). Tianfang refers to the *Ka’aba*, the holy Black Stone located in Mecca. Tianfang was used in official Chinese records referring to Mecca. (See the entry “Tianfang 天方” in Zhang Tingyu, *Ming shi*, 8621.). In the eyes of Chinese Muslims and Han people in the Ming period and onwards, Tianfang was recognized as Arabia in terms of geography (See Yu Zhengui, *Zhongguo Huizu jinshi lu*, 70 and 185.) and eventually has become a locative connotation addressing the original and authentic Islam. (Tazaka, *Chūgoku ni okeru kaikyō no denrai to sono guzū*, 2:923.) Hereafter, I prefer to translate Tianfang as Islam/Islamic (lands) rather than Arab/Arabic.

⁴⁹ Guancheng Huizuqu difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhu, *Zhengzhoushi Guancheng Huizu quzhi 1991-2003*, 66.

⁵⁰ *Dervish*, originated from Persian, is someone treading a Sufi ascetic path, known for their extreme poverty and austerity. Gu Qiyuan described this monk practiced meditation for more than one month without eating anything and stayed in poverty by rejecting donations from others. This miraculous sign suggests this monk a *dervish*. (See Gu Qiyuan, *Kezuo zhuiyu*, 193.)

his notes taken during his three-year study with an Indian Sufi called Ashige 阿世格 (probably a transliteration of a Persian word *'ishgh* which means love) in Nanjing during the 1630s. In the *Jingxue xichuanpu* 經學系傳譜 (Genealogy of Chinese Islamic Teaching), a genealogy composing biographies of Chinese Muslim intellectuals in central and eastern China written in about 1713, foreign Muslim travellers such as Jiliaoli 極料理 and Epudulezhilili 厄蒲杜勒直利黎 played an important part in inspiring and helping local Chinese Muslim scholars, either by selling Islamic scriptures or by teaching them.⁵¹ Most of the individual Muslim travellers, therefore, during the Ming dynasty seemed to display characteristics which could be recognized as Sufi, more or less.

3) Evidence in China Proper

Merchants travelling between Central Asia and the court of Beijing and individual Sufi travellers both seemed to have acted as independent book carriers, thus composing the most likely group of people who brought Islamic books from Central Asia to China proper during the Ming dynasty.

In the meantime, as Charles L. Ogilvie (1881-1919)⁵² reported in 1918, Chinese Muslims had “no distributing centre in China or book-shops, where it is possible to secure their books.”⁵³ According to the *Jingxue xichuanpu* Chinese Muslim scholars travelled around China with the purpose of seeking for original manuscripts and

⁵¹ See Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 92a-b.

⁵² Charles L. Ogilvie was an American missionary who came to China in 1911.

⁵³ Ogilvie, “A Classified Bibliography of Books on Islam in Chinese and Chinese-Arabic”, 74.

meeting up with foreign Muslim masters. As Liu Zhi noted in his autobiography, he travelled throughout central and eastern China in order to look for old masters and lost scriptures.⁵⁴ The original of this translation work *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* 天方至聖實錄 (Veritable Records of the Utmost Sage of Islam) or *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 (Chronicle of Veritable Records of the Utmost Sage of Islam) was said to have been obtained “accidentally” from a Sai 賽 family on Liu Zhi’s visit in Zhuxianzheng 朱仙鎮, a town in Henan.⁵⁵

As a result, the two well-known “Caiji jingshumu 採輯經書目” (Catalogue of collected and compiled scriptures)⁵⁶ made at the beginning of the eighteenth century indicate a variety of original Islamic scriptures disseminated in China proper and possessed by Chinese Muslims. A total of about sixty-six titles listed in these Chinese bibliographies are identified. These original scriptures were written in different languages (Persian and Arabic) and can be categorised in a wide range of subjects (grammar, theology, Sufism or even science) and literary forms (lyrics and prose).⁵⁷ Moreover, the Sufi texts in these two catalogues consist of different Sufi teachings such as Naqshbandiyya, Kubrawiyya and so on.

To sum up, such complexity of manuscripts disseminated among Chinese Muslims indicates the random opportunities for book transport from Central Asia to China proper. Although the number of foreign Muslim travellers in China proper could not

⁵⁴ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 77a: 訪求宿學遺經.

⁵⁵ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 77b: 聞陳留許氏多藏經, 訪之, 過朱仙鎮, 偶得賽氏家藏 <至聖錄>, 西經原本也.

⁵⁶ The two catalogues are presented in Liu Zhi’s *Tianfang xingli* and *Tianfang dianli* respectively. Each has about forty Persian and Arabic texts under their transcription titles and translation titles.

⁵⁷ See Leslie, “Arabic and Persian Sources Used by Liu Chih”.

compare with the expansive population of the Naqshbandiyya order in northwest China, it seems that those individual visitors, namely merchants and Muslim missionaries, overshadowed the influence of Naqshbandiyya in China proper and functioned as “cultural agency” by bringing Islamic scriptures to the hands of Chinese Muslims continually.

In other words, despite the important influence of Jāmī’s works in the development of the Naqshbandiyya order, the transport of Jāmī’s texts from Central Asia to China proper from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries seems to have been likely affected by his reader’s individual preferences rather than empowered by any Islamic religious organization.

2. Historic reception: the intellectual history of Chinese Muslims in China

As far as we can discover, no written materials indicate the sources of Jāmī’s original works as possessed by Chinese Muslims, and biographies and catalogues only provide us with details of the circulation and reception of these texts.

The earliest appearance of Jāmī’s work in the Chinese records could be considered in about 1670. The *Jingxue xichuanpu* states that in this year She Qiling studied Jāmī’s *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt* in Bozhou 亳州 and after four months of ascetic practice he succeeded in fully comprehending the meaning of this scripture.⁵⁸

Ashī’at al-Lama’āt was later listed in Liu Zhi’s “Caiji jingshumu” showing this Sufi text was included in Liu Zhi’s private collection of scriptures. Jāmī’s another work

⁵⁸ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 136a–b.

Lavāyih was also listed in this catalogue, which could be regarded as its earliest record in Chinese materials. Moreover, both of these two scriptures were interpreted and annotated in the main body of the *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理 (Nature and Principle of Islam).

Later than Liu Zhi's catalogue, the catalogue obtained by the d'Ollone mission⁵⁹ in Sanlihe mosque in 1908 recorded the title of *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*. The d'Ollone mission also acquired a collection of eleven Persian manuscripts in Gansu and reported in 1909 that a manuscript of *Lavāyih* had been identified.⁶⁰ This manuscript, so far, can be considered the most tangible proof of the dissemination of Jāmī's work in China.

Since there were no public Islamic libraries in China proper and each *ahong* kept his own books with him before the twentieth century,⁶¹ the circulation of Jāmī's works in *ahong's* private libraries demonstrates that Jāmī's works became important in the Islamic teaching in China. Because only *ahong* have the original scriptures and only they had ability to decipher, the possession and intelligence of these tomes amounted in fact to a monopoly.⁶² However, Jāmī's two works *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* and *Lavāyih* have become two of a few Islamic scriptures which were translated into Chinese and have gained a large readership since the seventeenth century. It seems that the

⁵⁹ The d'Ollone mission was organized by Henri-Marie-Gustave, Vicomte d'Ollone (1868-1945) who was a French military officer and an explorer. This study mission started from 1906 and ended in 1909 with a team of specialists in geography, archaeology, ethnography and linguistics. The expedition travelled Yunnan, Sichuan, Gansu, Ningxia, Tibet and Mongolia, aiming to study peoples, races and cultures of China, including Chinese Muslim minorities who cohabit within the Chinese empire. After the mission finished, d'Ollone published his travel notes including many maps, photos and data. (See d'Ollone, *In Forbidden China*.)

⁶⁰ Blochet, "Manuscrits Persans", 583.

⁶¹ Vissière, "Catalogues De Livres", 697.

⁶² Vissière, "Catalogues De Livres", 697–698.

journey of Islamic scriptures from Central Asia and beyond had not ended when the scriptures had been passed on by merchants and Sufi travellers. Through their Chinese translation, the original scriptures went through a second process of selection and dissemination on Chinese soil. During this process Chinese Muslim intellectuals acted as the cultural agency in the dissemination of Islamic scriptures in the Chinese context.

1) The emergence and development of Chinese Muslim intellectuals

Islam was introduced into China since the Tang dynasty (618-907)⁶³ and the earliest Islamic manuscript found in China is a 536 page copy of the Koran which has been found in today's Gansu province in the early twenty-first century. The completion date of this manuscript has been identified as between the ninth century and eleventh centuries.⁶⁴ As far as extant Chinese Islamic texts are concerned, however, it is commonly believed that the first major book-length Chinese Islamic text was completed in the seventeenth century. This text is Wang Daiyu's (about 1584-1670) *Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 (Real Explanation on the True Teaching), a discussion of Islamic philosophy and practice that dates from 1642.⁶⁵ It took Chinese Muslims hundreds of years to produce the first Chinese Islamic text and finally those who lived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries like She Qiling and Liu Zhi were involved in this first wave of the movement for writing and translating Chinese Islamic texts.

⁶³ Leslie, "Living with the Chinese", 175.

⁶⁴ Min, "Gansusheng Dongxiangzu diqu faxian *Gulanjing* qiannian shouchaoben", 179.

⁶⁵ The identification of the completion time of *Zhengjiao zhenquan* is based on the time of a preface written by a Chinese Muslim Liang Yijun 梁以浚 (unknown). Liang dated this preface to the year Renwu 壬午 of Chongzhen's 崇禎 (r. 1628-1644) reign. (Wang Daiyu, *Zhengjiao zhenquan*, 4.)

In Chinese sources from the Tang and Song (960-1279) dynasties Muslims and their activities are hardly mentioned. Stone inscriptions found in mosques in Quanzhou indicate these Muslims emigrated from the Middle East⁶⁶ and it seems that they remained ethnically and culturally separated from native Chinese people, local governmental activities and bodies.⁶⁷

Following the Mongolian conquest in Asia, a large number of Muslims from Central Asia and beyond moved to China. During this period we can observe a significant change in the role and status of Muslims which led to them taking an active part in Chinese internal affairs by supporting the Mongols' rulership over China. At the same time, some Muslims brought knowledge to China and contributed greatly to Chinese culture in the fields of astronomy, calendar, mathematics and medicine. According to the *Yuan Mishujian zhi* 元秘書監志 (Record of the Archival Bureau during the Yuan Dynasty), by the tenth year of the Yuan dynasty (1273) the library of the royal observatory had collected one hundred and ninety-five Arabic and Persian texts, most of which were scientific texts and only a few were regarded as philosophical and literary works.⁶⁸

From the middle of the Yuan period until the early Ming dynasty, Muslim intellectuals began to participate more actively in Chinese cultural development and some of them accomplished great achievements and were recognized by the Confucian

⁶⁶ Chen Dasheng, *Quanzhou Yisilanjiao shike*, 3.

⁶⁷ Leslie, "Living with the Chinese", 176; Liu Yingsheng, "Huizu yuyan 800 nian fazhanshi jianyao huigu", 144.

⁶⁸ Wang Shidian and Shang Qiwen, *Yuan Mishujian zhi*, 7:13b–14b. Ma Jian studied the book titles in this catalogue and found a book titled *Aijjemada* 艾竭馬荅 which is the transliteration of *hikmat* meaning wisdom. Ma identified this book as a philosophical doctrine. Another book title *She'ailli* 蚰艾立 is a transliteration of *Shi'r* meaning poem. (Ma Jian, "Yuan Mishujian zhi 'Huihui shuji' shiyi".)

society. Historical records show several names of Muslim immigrants among Confucian intellectuals, most of which can be found in Chen Yuan's 陳垣 *Yuan Xiyuren Huahua kao* 元西域人華化考 (The Sinicization of People from Western Regions during the Yuan Dynasty).⁶⁹ Although these Muslim immigrants from Central Asia honoured Confucianism and attended the examination of Confucian scholars, most of them still maintained their names in their native language, indicating a distance and distinction from the Chinese community.⁷⁰

Following the collapse of the Mongol-led Yuan dynasty in 1368, the Ming dynasty (which was ruled by ethnic Han Chinese) saw a noticeable demand for understanding inherited Arabic and Persian knowledge. Muslim immigrants therefore got involved with the Chinese translation of Arabic and Persian texts. In 1382 the fifteenth year of Hongwu 洪武 (r. 1368-1398), the emperor ordered officers at the Qintianjian 欽天監 (Royal Observatory) to translate the collection of Arabic and Persian texts inherited from the library of the Yuan dynasty.⁷¹ One of the notable productions was a translation work called *Ming yi tianwen shu* 明譯天文書 (An Astronomical Book Translated in the Ming Dynasty). Another extant translation dated to the reign of Hongwu was *Huihui yaofang* 回回藥方 (Islamic Prescription), a compiled translation of several Islamic medical books written by Arabian and Persian scholars.

The languages used in the above two translation works are both mixed with

⁶⁹ See Chen Yuan, *Yuan Xiyuren Huahua kao*.

⁷⁰ Tazaka, *Chūgoku ni okeru kaikyō no denrai to sono guzū*, 2:1149.

⁷¹ This collection has hundreds books and is related to astronomy and calendar, in all probability referring to the aforementioned collection of Mishujian. (See "Ming Taizu shilu", 141:3, in *Ming shilu*. Also see Kuoshiya'er, *Ming yi tianwen shu*, 1–2.)

Chinese transliteration of Persian and Arabic terms. It seems that Muslim immigrants in the late fourteenth century stayed in a bi-lingual status. As the emperor Hongwu told the Muslim officers in Qintianjian, “you Western and Central Asians ordinarily speak native language and at the same time know Chinese language.”⁷² The emperor further asked them “to give an oral account on the text⁷³ to Confucian scholars who then translated the meaning and compiled it into a written text.”⁷⁴ In this translation cooperation of Muslim and Chinese scholars, it is believed that the Muslim immigrants who worked in the observatory of the early Ming could read the original Arabic and Persian texts and converse in Chinese, but their writing skills seem to have been deemed unsuitable for the task at hand.

From the fifteenth century onwards, more Muslim descendants became accustomed to traditional Chinese cultural values and philosophical traditions. However, they could only be identified as Muslim descendants through their genealogy, such as the official Ma Wensheng 馬文升 (1426-1510), a man versed in both literature and military affairs, the official Hai Rui 海瑞 (1514-1587), a recognized model of honesty and integrity, and Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602), a distinguished scholar. As Claude L.

⁷² Kuoshiya'er, *Ming yi tianwen shu*, 2: [太祖] 且命之曰: “爾西域人, 素習本音, 兼通華語.”

⁷³ According to the translation, the original writer of *Ming yi tianwen shu* is Kuoshiya'er 闊識牙兒 in all probability is Kiyā Abu al-Ḥasan Kūshyār ibn Labbān ibn Bāshahrī Gīlānī (971–1029), also known as Kūshyār Gīlānī. He was a Persian astronomer, mathematician and geographer, but his entire scientific legacy is in Arabic. The original text has been identified by scholars as one of Kūshyār Gīlānī's well-known treatises on astrology called *al-Mudkhal fī Ṣinā'at Aḥkām al-Nujūm* (Introduction to Astrology), also named *Mujmal al-Uṣūl fī Aḥkām al-Nujūm* (Compendium of Principles in Astrology). Although the Chinese translators stated that they did not make any change in their translation (Kuoshiya'er, *Ming yi tianwen shu*, 2: 不敢有毫髮增損), the Chinese translation has many remarkable differences from the Arabic manuscripts based on Michio Yano's comparison between the Arabic manuscripts and the Chinese translation. Yano therefore considers the possibility that the translation was based on a Persian version. (See Yano, *Kūshyār Ibn Labbān's Introduction to Astrology*, XVII–XXI.)

⁷⁴ Kuoshiya'er, *Ming yi tianwen shu*, 1: 其口以授儒, 爾儒譯其義, 輯成文焉。

Pickens (1900-1985) commented, “often men who have been recognized as making a contribution have not been thought of as being Muslim.”⁷⁵

Meanwhile, Muslim records show some other Muslim descendants who maintained their religious tradition made attempts to engage in the learning of the Chinese Classics. According to the genealogy of *Jingxue*, the founder of this school Hu Dengzhou 胡登洲⁷⁶ (1522-1597) followed his teacher master Gao 高 in his family school (*guan* 館) to study Islamic scriptures when he was a child⁷⁷. The *Jingxue xichuanpu* reads:

先生幼習經學，於講究間，雖明義理，然只可符以漢音之鄙俗者。⁷⁸

When master [Hu Dengzhou] studied *Jingxue* in his childhood, despite having understood the meaning and principle by the explanation and investigation (of Islamic teaching), he could only apply common colloquial Chinese.

Therefore, Hu Dengzhou “often would plan to learn Confucian learning and thoroughly understand one intellectual tradition ... in order to enlighten later generations and unveil the secret of the origin of heaven”.⁷⁹ It was not until his fifties that Hu Dengzhou finally started to study the Confucian classics under the instruction of a Confucian scholar.⁸⁰

The willingness to get familiar with Confucian wisdom whilst at the same time keeping the Islamic tradition sheds some light on the emergence of a group of Chinese

⁷⁵ Pickens, *Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Islam in China*, 64.

⁷⁶ Hu Dengzhou was born in Shaanxi. He was recognized as one of the first to teach Islamic doctrines in mosque in China proper. He and his students are known as the Shaanxi school. During his teaching, Hu also took significance of Chinese classics and was considered as the founder of the school of *Jingxue*. (See Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 43a-48b; also see Feng Zenglie’s entry “Hu Dengzhou” in *Zhongguo Yisilanjiao baike quanshu*, 223-224.)

⁷⁷ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 43a: 高太師館中習讀。Yu Zhengui and Lei Xiaojing, *Zhongguo Huizu jinshi lu*, 513: 长随同乡高师祖习受本教之学。

⁷⁸ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 43a.

⁷⁹ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 43a: 每欲謀習儒學，貫通一家 [...] 可啟後世之蒙，能洩先天之秘。

⁸⁰ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 44a-44b: 遂延國學名士某 [...] 至以授教。

Muslim intellectuals. These Muslims were different from either their ancestors who were specialized in science or their contemporaries who held blood relationship with Muslims but had been labelled as Confucian scholars.

This emergence of Chinese Muslim intellectuals can be related to the rise of intellectuals especially in the lower reaches of the Yangzi River and the burst of the print industry during the Ming dynasty. Although it is likely that their ancestors had already achieved a high standard in the poetry, historical and political writings in the Tang and Song dynasties, the expanding number of intellectuals helped to create a large number of people who were able to read and appreciate the masterpieces and write their own works.⁸¹ This cultural atmosphere, on the one hand, provided more opportunity for Muslim immigrants to acquire a Confucian education, and on the other hand, also encouraged these educated Muslims to develop and promote their Islamic teaching in China.

Thus after almost three hundred years settling down in China proper, some of Muslim immigrants generally blended into Confucian society. Meanwhile a well-established population of Chinese Muslim intellectuals began to focus on contributing Islamic teachings in China from the seventeenth century.

As the writer of the first Chinese work of Islamic teachings, Wang Daiyu's case is a typical example illustrating this transformation progress. Wang Daiyu's ancestor "originally lived in Tianfang 天房 and moved to China during the reign of Hongwu."⁸² Because of his proficient knowledge of astronomy and calendar, one of Wang Daiyu's

⁸¹ *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, 726-7.

⁸² Wang Daiyu, *Zhengjiao zhenquan*, 16: 予祖屬籍天房，緣入貢高皇帝。

ancestors was appointed to be an officer serving the Qintianjian and allowed to settle down in Nanjing. Although familiar with China proper for about three hundred years, Wang Daiyu claimed that his family still maintained their original language and religion which they dared not forget.⁸³

In Wang Daiyu's generation, it is believed that Wang Daiyu learnt Islamic learning in his childhood but had not "started to read Neo-Confucian teachings and historical reference until he was grown up"⁸⁴. From the first immigrant generation who were sponsored by the Chinese government to the generation of Wang Daiyu in the seventeenth century, it took almost three hundred years for some Muslim immigrants like Wang Daiyu in China proper to grow into a group of Chinese Muslim intellectuals and develop a school of Chinese Islamic teachings.

2) The school of *Jingxue*: a school of Islamic teaching in China proper

The school of Islamic teaching in China proper that Wang Daiyu and his followers belonged to can be traced back to Hu Dengzhou's period and was called the school of *Jingxue*. *Jingxue* in the Chinese context specifically refers to the exegetical traditions of Confucian classics, which dated to the period of Western Han (206BC-9AD). The *Jingxue* in the Chinese Islamic context means a study of Islamic scriptures which were written in both original language and Chinese.⁸⁵

⁸³ Wang Daiyu, *Zhengjiao zhenquan*, 16: 遂授職欽天, 賜居此地, [...] 三百年來, 雖于此習熟之久, 然而溯本推原, 不敢有忘也。

⁸⁴ Wang Daiyu, *Zhengjiao zhenquan*, 16: 自予幼時, 未習儒者之學。及乎成立, 粗能識字, 亦不過往來書記而已。至于壯盛, 自慚庸鄙, 始閱性理史鑒之書, 旁及百家諸子。

⁸⁵ Hereandafter, *Jingxue* refers to the Islamic *Jingxue* and I will apply "Confucian *Jingxue*" to indicate the study of

Compared with the Confucian *Jingxue* which have kept exegetical tradition until today, the name of Islamic *Jingxue* had been rarely mentioned by Chinese Muslims since the nineteenth century. Some modern names referring to the Chinese Islamic teaching could be considered as the substitute of *Jingxue*, such as *Huiwen daxue* 回文大學 (the higher learning in Islamic language)⁸⁶ and *Jingtang jiaoyu* 經堂教育 (scripture hall education / mosque school) which could be no earlier than the twentieth century. These modern terms suggest characteristics of the Islamic *Jingxue* like *huiwen* 回文 (specifically Persian and Arabic) indicating the application of languages, *daxue* 大學 referring to the highest level of this education compared with *zhongxue* 中學 (average learning)⁸⁷, and *jingtang* 經堂 (mosque) denoting the location of the teaching in mosques. However, this school of Islamic teaching is not restricted in these features.

With regard to the location, Hu Dengzhou was first educated by a Muslim family school not a mosque.⁸⁸ Like the contemporary Confucian education model located in the private school called *sishu* 私塾, the tradition of setting up a private Islamic school at home was maintained for at least three generations. It is not until Feng Yangwu 馮養吾 (unknown), the fourth generation in Hu Dengzhou's genealogy that for the first time the *Jingxue xichuanpu* mentioned the location of Islamic teaching at the mosque

Confucian Classics.

⁸⁶ See Pang Shiqian, "Zhongguo Huijiao siyuan jiaoyu zhi yange ji keben".

⁸⁷ The term *daxue* can be understood to correspond to *shangxue* 上學 (advantage learning) in Zhao Can's *Jingxue xichuanpu*, which corresponds to the level of *madrasa* in Muslim education. Zhao Can divides the Islamic learning into three levels which are *shangxue*, *zhongxue* 中學 (average learning) and *xiaxue* 下學 (lower learning). (Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 6b.)

⁸⁸ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 46a: 設館於家.

(*si* 寺) explicitly.⁸⁹ Although mosque at the beginning of Islam served as a place for Muslims to pray and a centre for information and education⁹⁰, most extant materials like stone inscriptions and local gazetteers do not mention much teaching activities in mosques.⁹¹ It is believed that Islamic education kept going in certain ways not mentioned in the historical records in China proper and that the textbooks and the standard of learning may have varied before the Ming dynasty.

In terms of scriptures, Chinese Muslim intellectuals in the genealogy of Islamic *Jingxue* not only devoted their lives to teaching original Islamic scriptures but also contributed to this school with Chinese Islamic works. In fact, it seems that these Muslim intellectuals borrowed *Jingxue* for the name of their school and tried to assimilate the Chinese outputs of their school into the Confucian *Jingxue* form. When we look through the catalogue of Chinese Islamic works made in this school, it is not surprising to find this catalogue full of clear references to the Confucian classics, such as the titles *Qingzhen daxue* 清真大學 (Great Learning of the Pure and Real), *Tianfang eryl* 天方爾雅 (Islamic Erya / Islamic Encyclopedia), *Tianfang shijing* 天方詩經 (Islamic Book of Songs) and so on. Moreover, in analogy to the Thirteen Classics, a textual body established during the Song dynasty (960-1279) as the Confucian canon, Chinese Muslims in the early twentieth century categorised their core scriptures as

⁸⁹ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 59a.

⁹⁰ For the History of Muslim education in the entire Muslim world, see Khan, *History of Muslim Education*. For the Muslim education in Central Asia, see Subtelny, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran", and for the Muslim education in China, see Ding Shiren, "Zhongguo jingtang jiaoyu suyuan".

⁹¹ Most historical records only illustrate the governmental sponsorship of Muslim community and the religious service provided for contemporary Muslims.

Shisan benjing 十三本經 (Thirteen Original Classics).⁹²

Thus the school of *Jingxue* is far more than what the modern terms of *Huiwen daxue* and *Jingtang jiaoyu* imply. As depicted in the preface of the *Jingxue xichuanpu*, after some fifty-years of traditional Islamic learning, the initiator Hu Dengzhou's life shed light on the obligation of this school as follows:

胡太先生既學詩書，復稽求吾道之經籍 [...] 欲於白首窮經焉，討論而洩真一之機焉，闡揚而發先天之秘焉。⁹³

Master Hu [Dengzhou] studied Chinese poems and Confucian writings⁹⁴. [He] then turned over to investigate and look for the scriptures and classics of our [Islamic] teachings [...] in order to study scriptures intensively until his head turns white, to discuss and reveal the secret of the Real one, and to expound and deliver the secret of the origin of heaven.

From Hu Dengzhou onwards, Muslim intellectuals devoted their lives to inheriting the ongoing Islamic teaching tradition, to enhancing and drawing in more original Islamic scriptures and at the same time to introducing the Confucian tradition, especially Neo-Confucianism into the Islamic teaching canon. To sum up, the Islamic *Jingxue* is a school of Chinese Islamic teaching focusing on the study of Islamic scriptures by collecting the manuscripts and interpreting them in both original languages and Chinese.

Considering the environment after the Yuan dynasty, Chinese Muslims got fewer chances to get in touch with the Islamic heartland and remained a minority in China proper. Obtaining the original scriptures was hard work but at the same time signified

⁹² See Pang Shiqian, "Zhongguo Huijiao siyuan jiaoyu zhi yange ji keben".

⁹³ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 8b-9a.

⁹⁴ *Shi* 詩 and *shu* 書 specifically refer to the *Shijing* 詩經 (The Book of Songs) and the *Shangshu* 尚書 (The Book of History) in the Confucian canon. In the Chinese Islamic context, *shi* and *shu* here are understood as Chinese literature and Confucian writings in general. Moreover, *jing* 經 normally corresponds to Islamic scriptures originally written in Arabic and Persian.

the authority of Islamic teaching. Apart from the continuing source of manuscripts transported from Central Asia by tradesmen and Sufi travellers, a number of manuscripts which had been dispersed and preserved privately for centuries also drew the attention of Muslim intellectuals.

Hu Dengzhou's experience of obtaining *al-Muqāmāt*, one of the main scriptures in *Jingxue*,⁹⁵ illustrates a typical case of searching for scriptures here. Hu Dengzhou met a *chantousou* 纏頭叟 (a turbaned elder) in Xinfeng 新豐 in today's Shaanxi province who was said to be on his way from Tianfang 天房 to pay tribute to the Chinese court. Hu Dengzhou saw this old man carrying "a scripture called *Muqāmāt* which had not yet been seen in China."⁹⁶ Despite this *chantousou*'s refusal to sell this scripture to Hu Dengzhou, several months later Hu Dengzhou occasionally discovered another manuscript of the same scripture which was preserved by a Muslim old lady sitting in a market in Beijing. No doubt Hu bought it immediately.

Although the Muslim intellectuals in Hu Dengzhou's genealogy accepted the importance of original scriptures, not every scripture they obtained has been approved by this school. Collected scriptures have been "studied carefully and examined firmly"⁹⁷ in order to verify the *zhengdian* 正典 (orthodox classics)⁹⁸ and eliminate the unorthodox from the development of *Jingxue*.

The process of verification includes an assessment of both the content of scriptures and the qualification of the Muslims who introduced and interpreted these

⁹⁵ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 53b.

⁹⁶ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 43b: 乃母嚙麻忒, 茲土未覩之經也。

⁹⁷ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 21b: 精研確核。

⁹⁸ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 21b.

scriptures. According to the *Jingxue xichuanpu*, about one thousand Muslims from Central Asia and beyond had arrived in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁹⁹ Most of these travellers were considered “people loafing around”¹⁰⁰ and “existing mediocrely”¹⁰¹ and only a few of them got involved in the development of the *Jingxue* school by teaching and discussing Islamic doctrines with Chinese Muslim intellectuals. They were praised either for their characteristics of “honesty, uprightness and not corruption”¹⁰² or for their efforts in disseminating and interpreting the *zhengxue* 正學 (orthodoxy)¹⁰³ and “correcting terms of Islam”¹⁰⁴, such as Jiliaoli 極料理, Yiman ahong 逸蠻阿轟, Epudulezhilili 厄蒲杜勒直利黎 and Gaxin 噶信.¹⁰⁵ With the help of these individuals, Chinese Muslim intellectuals made great progress in understanding the Islamic teaching. For example, Chang Zhimei’s accomplishment of interpreting *Mirṣād al-‘Ibād* was mainly derived from a scripture called *Fuersi* 富而斯 which was said to be obtained from Jiliaoli.¹⁰⁶

In terms of doctrine, scriptures should be “carefully investigated in order to distinguish that which is void and matters of substance”¹⁰⁷ as determined by Muslim

⁹⁹ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 92a.

¹⁰⁰ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 92a: 遊食者.

¹⁰¹ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 92b: 碌碌張羅.

¹⁰² Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 92b: 廉介不貪.

¹⁰³ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 92a.

¹⁰⁴ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 92a: 厘正教款.

¹⁰⁵ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 92a-b. The names like Jiliaoli and Epudulezhilili seem like transcription of their original names and others indicate the place where the owner came from, like Yiman (probably a transcription of Yemen) and the position like ahong (a high title for the clergy in Islam) and Gaxin (probably a transcription of qāḍī meaning the judge). Some scholars have made effort to identify these Muslims by other historical materials like stone inscriptions and gazetteers, but so far no solid evidence has been found and these names are still kept in question. (See Ma Jing, “*Jingxue xichuanpu* zhong ‘yiman Ahong’ Kaobian”.)

¹⁰⁶ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 90a.

¹⁰⁷ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 23b: 細心稽究, 以辨虛實.

intellectuals. In addition, those scriptures which were considered “not accordant with the truth of religion [of Islam]”¹⁰⁸ or “absolutely meaningless”¹⁰⁹ should not be read but abandoned. Among the unorthodox scriptures verified by the school of *Jingxue*, a total of twenty-seven titles in Arabic¹¹⁰ were listed in the *Jingxue xichuanpu*. These scriptures were ordered to be completed by Shilifu 失利夫, a Muslim from the country of Hulasa 虎喇撒 (a Chinese transcription of Khurāsān, located in the northeast of today’s Iran) at the end of Ming dynasty.

Shilifu was described as a show-off person in the *Jingxue xichuanpu*. His interpretation was assessed as wrong and his argumentation was considered unreasonable.¹¹¹ According to Zhao Can’s¹¹² (fl. 1715) commentary in the *Jingxue xichuanpu*, Shilifu wrote a story in one of his scriptures that the sage cut his flesh to feed an eagle. This anecdote was criticized for “misunderstanding the principle [of Islam] and failing to grasp the meaning of aiding the robber, [because] undoubtedly the eagle is the kind of bird which hurts other birds and injures human beings. This statement which is contrary to the principle [of Islam] derives from the Buddhist classics.”¹¹³ In Zhao Can’s opinion such unorthodox scriptures would confuse their readers. Even a Muslim who “has accumulated the accomplishment of the pillars of fast and pray, instead of getting luck he would also be persecuted due to these

¹⁰⁸ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 22b: 不符教理.

¹⁰⁹ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 23b: 絕無意味.

¹¹⁰ So far we have not found any texts based on the titles provided.

¹¹¹ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 22a: 文風舛錯, 義理乖張.

¹¹² Zhao Can lived in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. He was the student of She Qiling and was well-known for his *Jingxue xichuanpu*, a collection of biographies of the Chinese Muslim intellectuals in the school of *Jingxue*.

¹¹³ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 77b: 不通機宜, 不知資盜之義耳. 豈不知鷹乃傷鳥害眾之禽乎. 此乃釋家經典中有此悖理之言也.

scriptures”.¹¹⁴ In the case of Shilifu’s scriptures Zhao Can even attributed the conflict and disunion of the Chinese Muslim community to the dissemination of these scriptures.¹¹⁵

Realising the importance of verifying the accumulated scriptures, the *Jingxue* school has generally accepted and determined a qualified collection of scriptures for their Islamic teaching. In the study of the available catalogues collected from various Chinese Muslims by Western missionaries in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, we find the titles in each catalogue are diverse but most of these divergent titles correspond or are related to the aforementioned Islamic Thirteen Classics, covering a range of grammar, literature and religion.

The discordance of titles among catalogues most likely demonstrates that the exchange and duplication of original scriptures were hardly practiced among the Muslim intellectuals in the school of *Jingxue*. In fact, there is no historical evidence indicating the duplication and the dissemination of the scriptures written in original languages among Chinese Muslims. Once the original scriptures were obtained, they were carefully, sometimes secretly preserved by Muslim intellectual individuals in their private libraries. No matter where they travelled and taught, Muslim intellectuals brought their own private libraries with them throughout their lifetime and only handed down to their successor, normally one of their sons or students. The aforementioned manuscript of the scripture *Muqāmāt* possessed by Hu Dengzhou, for

¹¹⁴ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 22b: 人苟如是 (指不符教理), 雖積有齋拜諸功, 豈但不能招福, 而反由斯獲罪矣。

¹¹⁵ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 23a: 一教似分兩途, 總由此經而起。

example, was handed down to a local family in Chang'an (today's Xi'an) in the early eighteenth century. It is said that the owner cherished this manuscript so much that he allowed people to have a look at it but would not like to sell it, even after he was offered hundred [taels of] silver.¹¹⁶

Such an attitude towards the manuscripts of original scriptures by Muslim intellectuals had not changed until the late nineteenth century. When the d'Ollone missionaries visited the mosques in Beijing and Lanzhou from 1906 to 1909 in order to investigate the manuscripts of Islamic scriptures in China, they pointed out that the manuscripts were personal belongings and the owners were not willing to show the original texts but only the catalogues.¹¹⁷ Even in the early twentieth century in an introduction to Chinese Muslims written by Ma Jian 馬堅 (1906-1978), a Chinese Muslim student who was studying in Egypt, the writer wrote "The pupils do not know the first elements, but receive oral translation in Chinese from the master [...] The Arabic books in China were manuscripts, and the students copied the passages which they needed."¹¹⁸

Ma Jian attributed this scarcity of reference books to the costly price.¹¹⁹ However, even in modern time when the Islamic classics, including most of the Islamic Thirteen Classics, have been printed publicly and are easy to obtain from bookshops, Chinese Muslims still keep looking after their inherited scriptures in a respectful way and are reluctant to tell and show these scriptures to the public.

¹¹⁶ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 46b: 人懇請出一玩, 雖允, 而珍惜之, 予百金弗售也。

¹¹⁷ Vissière, "Catalogues De Livres", 697.

¹¹⁸ Ma Jian, "The Views of a Chinese Moslem", 73–74.

¹¹⁹ Ma Jian, "The Views of a Chinese Moslem", 74–75.

3) *Jingxue* and the Chinese translations: Chinese exegetical literature

Contrary to the original scriptures, it seems that Muslims in the school of *Jingxue* tolerated or even encouraged the production and circulation of Chinese Islamic works including translations. The period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries as to the genealogy of *Jingxue* saw a burst of publications of Chinese Islamic works. Most of the writers are identified as belonging to the genealogy of *Jingxue*. For example, as a sixth generation of Hu Dengzhou, Wang Daiyu's *Zhengjiao zhenquan* has no less than six extant editions published before the establishment of the Republic of China (1912). The earliest edition dates to 1657 and the print houses locate in a wide area of China proper, such as Guangzhou (1801 edition), Chengdu (1873 edition) and Zhenjiang (1904 edition).¹²⁰ Other Chinese works compiled by scholars of *Jingxue* have also been published repeatedly and form the category of a large quantity of publications called *Han ketabu* 漢克塔布 (*Han kitāb*), an expression combining a Chinese word *Han* 漢 (Chinese) with the transliteration of the Arabic word *Kitāb* (book).

The involvement with Chinese translations in the school of *Jingxue* could be traced to its initiator Hu Dengzhou. In the preface of the *Jingxue xichuanpu*, Zhao Can said Hu Dengzhou “was attracted toward the Islamic scriptures and wanted to translate [them] into Chinese in order to become the law of ten thousand generations in this land [of China]”.¹²¹ The first person as far as we know who introduced Chinese works into the

¹²⁰ Yang Xiaochun, “Guanyu 1931 nian Zhonghua shuju kanben *Zhengjiao zhenquan* de banben yuanyuan ji xiangguan wenti”, 39.

¹²¹ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 2a: 慕本教經書，欲譯國語，以為斯土萬世法。

Islamic teaching was Ma Junshi 馬君實 (about 1600-1680).¹²² His Chinese exegesis called *Weizhen yaolüe* 衛真要略¹²³ (Summary of Defending the Real) was said to be “beneficial to the people mostly in the area of Jiangzhe¹²⁴”.¹²⁵ Chinese translations were further considered valuable specifically for a certain group of people when Zhao Can commented that his master She Qiling’s three translation works “are more beneficial to the [Muslim] people who have a good knowledge of Confucianism and the ritual for seeking doctrines is then complete.”¹²⁶

According to the available materials, it is not clear whether there was once a debate on the legitimacy of translating original scriptures into Chinese or on the authority of Chinese translations in the Islamic teaching of China. The discussion of the languages used in the interpretation of Islamic scriptures sheds light on the views of Chinese Muslim intellectuals on Chinese translations.

In the *Jingxue xichuanpu*, the languages used in original scriptures namely Arabic and Persian¹²⁷ were known as *jingyu* 經語 (the scripture language). Jiliaoli once pointed out to his student Ma Minglong 馬明龍 (unknown) that “what you [Ma Minglong] knew about [the scripture of *Mirṣād al-‘Ibād*] is only the recognized black

¹²² See Ma Jing, “Ma Junshi shengping zhushu kao”.

¹²³ Ma Junshi was considered as Wang Daiyu’s teacher. Although it is reasonable to believe that Ma Junshi’s *Weizhen yaolüe* was written earlier than Wang Daiyu’s *Zhengjiao zhenquan*, Wang Daiyu’s text is still considered by academia as the earliest publication of Chinese text due to its wide spread.

¹²⁴ The provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang.

¹²⁵ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 81b: 江浙多受其益.

¹²⁶ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 138b: 凡通儒學者沾益最多, 而求道之禮備焉.

¹²⁷ “Chinese Islam before the Ch’ing Dynasty seemed to use only Arabic or Persian. Evidences of this are found in the library of every ahung from Canto to Ningsia, and from Peiping to Kashgar.” (Pickens, *Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Islam in China*, 40.)

characters [namely the Persian words] between the lines of white paper.”¹²⁸ “Because the meaning of each word in the Islamic teaching have a rich variety of meanings and one word has several meanings”¹²⁹, only after interpreting the very meaning of the original words could the reader “thoroughly get the secret meaning in accord with Islam”¹³⁰. Mastering *jingyu* therefore was considered a difficult but essential task for Muslim intellectuals to approach the truth embodied in the Islamic doctrine.

Besides *jingyu*, *shuzi* 書字 (literal meaning: the word of *shu*) is mostly used to describe the literary Chinese language in the context of translating practice. Compared with *jingyu* which corresponded to *Jingxue*, *shuzi* corresponded to *Shuxue* 書學 (literal meaning: the study of *shu*) in Zhao Can’s *Jingxue xichuanpu*. In the Chinese context, *Shuxue* normally refers to the study of calligraphy including the study of the origin, composition, meaning and writing of a character, such as Yang Huan’s 楊桓 (1234-1299) work *Shuxue zhengyun* 書學正韻 (Orthodox Phonetics of the Study of Calligraphy). According to the *Songshi* 宋史, “the students of *Shuxue* learn three styles of *zhuan*, *li* and *cao*; understand [lexicons like] *Shuowen*, *Zishuo*, *Erya*, *Daya* and *Fangyan*; and also know the meaning of *Lunyu* and *Mengzi*.”¹³¹

In the context of Islamic *Jingxue*, *shu* 書 could be understood as what Liu Zhi referred to as “the *jing* 經 (classics), *shi* 史 (history), *zi* 子 (masters) and *ji* 集 (belles-lettres) made by scholars [in the Confucian society] and the works made by

¹²⁸ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 68b: 爾所知亦乃白紙行中徒認墨字耳.

¹²⁹ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 69a: 蓋經學之字義變化萬端, 一字數呼.

¹³⁰ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 69a: 深獲入道之就裏矣.

¹³¹ Tuotuo, *Song shi*, scroll 157, 3688: 書學生, 習篆, 隸, 草三體, 明說文, 字說, 爾雅, 博雅, 方言, 兼通論語, 孟子義.

zajia 雜家 (Miscellaneous writers)”¹³², corresponding to the categories of *Tianfang jing* 天方經 (the Islamic scriptures), *Shizang* 釋藏 (Buddhist sutras) and *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist scriptures).¹³³ *Shuxue* therefore is the study of Confucian writings corresponding to the Islamic *Jingxue*, the study of Islamic classics, and *shuzi* can be considered as a language derived from Confucian writings. Studies on the writers of the translations in *shuzi* illustrate how these Muslim intellectuals possessed abilities of reading and writing both original and vernacular languages and had solid knowledge of both Islamic and traditional Chinese learning.

Considering the role of translations in *shuzi* played in the school of *Jingxue*, Zhao Can mentioned in the introduction of She Qiling’s teaching method as follows:

或有知書學，而不能深入吾教之經學者，則授以所譯之<歸真必要>等經。¹³⁴

When someone has knowledge of *Shuxue* but could not go deep into the *Jingxue* of our religion [Islam], he would be taught by *Guizhen biyao* and other classics translated [into *shuzi*]¹³⁵ by She Qiling].

Thus in the eyes of Chinese Muslim intellectuals in the school of *Jingxue*, the Chinese translations written in *shuzi* could be used as a substitute means under certain circumstances to understand Islamic doctrines and *shuzi* was confirmed in its legitimacy in interpreting the original Islamic scriptures.

Compared with the early generations who could only speak Chinese, applying *shuzi* can be considered as a great improvement for these Chinese Muslim intellectuals.

In the meantime, a kind of spoken Chinese called *Hanyin* 漢音 (colloquial Chinese)¹³⁶

¹³² Liu Zhi, *Tianfang zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 76a: 儒者之經史子集及雜家之書。

¹³³ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 76a.

¹³⁴ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 32a.

¹³⁵ In *Jingxue xichuanpu*, She Qiling’s three Chinese translations including *Guizhen biyao* were considered to be written in *shuzi*. (See Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 138a-b.)

¹³⁶ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 43a.

was also used in teaching and interpreting Islamic scriptures. This language is believed to be the predecessor of a type of language now called *jingtangyu* 經堂語 (language of mosque) which is a language that fuses Persian or Arabic Islamic terminology in colloquial Chinese explanation and is only used for teaching and preaching purposes. Linguistic studies on *jingtangyu* shows that this language is likely a word-by-word translation of the original texts, keeping the syntactic structure and grammar of the original language.¹³⁷

Although some explanations in *jingtangyu* have been transcribed by Muslims in written Chinese, only interpretations written in *shuzi* were considered by the school of *Jingxue* as “translation works” which could under certain circumstance substitute for original Islamic scriptures. The application of *Hanyin* in interpreting Islamic scriptures requires an audience with some knowledge of Islamic language in order to understand the Chinese transliteration of Arabic and Persian terminology. If we say *Hanyin* (colloquial Chinese) is a process of hermeneutic expansion of the Islamic doctrines based on *jingyu* (Arabic and Persian) and does not replace the original text, *shuzi* (language of literati) functions as an alternative access instead of *jingyu* in learning the Islamic teachings through which “eventually [the student] would also be able to understand the entire teaching model, and thoroughly understand the reason of the origin of heaven [referring to Islamic doctrines].”¹³⁸

Admitting the function of *shuzi* in interpreting the Islamic doctrine provides the school of *Jingxue* with a rationale for translating and writing the Islamic texts in

¹³⁷ See Ding Shiren, “Jingtangyu de jiben tezheng he guanjian yuqi”.

¹³⁸ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 32a: 終則亦能悉通教範, 精達先天之理.

Chinese. Similar discussions could be found in the development of Persian exegetical literature that emerged from the translation of the Qur'an in the eighth century and in the Chinese translation movement of Buddhist scriptures in the seventh century.

Confirming the authority of Chinese Islamic works in *shuzi* helped to widen the range of a literate and educated Chinese audience that had no linguistic access to the original versions of the Islamic scriptures. The production and dissemination of Chinese Islamic works would not, however, much affect those Chinese Muslim intellectuals who were attempting to reinforce their authority by "hiding" original scriptures and their existing students who learnt Islamic doctrine through *jingyu*.

In the path of approaching the truth of Islam, Chinese Muslim intellectuals empowered themselves to interpret Islamic doctrines directly through the language of Chinese literati (*shuzi*) instead of their traditional way via Arabic and Persian exegesis. The emergence of Chinese Islamic translations and writings could be seen as a milestone in which Chinese Muslim intellectuals started to contribute their own Chinese exegetical tradition to the Islamic world. Islamic exegeses written in the language of Chinese literati thus have been viewed as Islamic scriptures and were studied in the school of *Jingxue*. Founded in the beginning of the twentieth century, a local Sufi order in northwest China called *Xidaotang* 西道堂 even adopted Chinese Islamic works as their major classics.¹³⁹

The Chinese Islamic works written in the language of Chinese literati have bridged Chinese tradition and Islam. As I mentioned in the last chapter, Sufism provided a

¹³⁹ Zheng Mianzhi (ed.), *Yisilanjiao jianming cidian*, 304.

flexible perspective on the Koran since once it is recognised that “All is He”. Therefore beliefs and practices alien to the Sufi core nature, such as traditional Chinese philosophy, can function as means to verbalize expressions of Islamic truths. Chinese Muslim intellectuals to some extent admitted the similarity of the *lunli* 倫理 (moral principles) between Islam and Confucianism.¹⁴⁰ However it is still too early to measure the engagement of the language of Chinese literati and traditional Chinese philosophy in translating Sufi doctrines before we start the research down to the textual study.

To sum up, *Jingxue* in the Chinese Islamic context is a school of Islamic teaching initiated by Hu Dengzhou and developed in China proper focusing on the study of the Islamic scriptures. In the development of *Jingxue*, Muslim intellectuals continued searching, studying and annotating the Islamic original scriptures in Arabic and Persian and gradually contributed their own understanding of Islam by applying the legitimacy of the language of the Chinese literati to their exegetical literature.

3. Jāmī and *Jingxue*

In the school of *Jingxue*, Muslim intellectuals respected Jāmī as “Zhāmi zūnzhe 查密尊者” (venerable Jāmī)¹⁴¹ and “Tianfang daxian Chāmi shi 天方大賢查密氏” (the Great Islamic virtuous person Jāmī)¹⁴². Among the scriptures which are available in both the original language and the literary Chinese (*shuzi* 書字), two scriptures have been identified as being written by Jāmī, via: the treatises *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt* (Chinese title

¹⁴⁰ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 71a: 吾教與儒教同倫理.

¹⁴¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:4a.

¹⁴² Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, “Preface”, 1.

given as *Zhaoyuan mijue* 昭元秘訣 by She Qiling)¹⁴³ and *Lavāyih* (Chinese title given as *Zhenjing zhaowei* 真境昭微 by Liu Zhi).

The two translators She Qiling and Liu Zhi could be recognized as the key figures in the genealogy of *Jingxue* who together carved out a place in the intellectual history of the Islamic world. These Muslim intellectuals both were able to read Arabic and Persian scriptures and interpret the Islamic doctrines in the learned Chinese diction. She Qiling devoted his life to teaching Islamic scriptures and translating them into Chinese. Under his encouragement and direction, Zhao Can's *Jingxue xichuanpu* 經學系傳譜 set up the criteria for orthodox scriptures and teaching methodology and promoted the development of the school of *Jingxue*. Belonging to a later generation than She Qiling, Liu Zhi did not get involved in teaching activities but the influence of his Chinese translations and his original works went beyond the school of *Jingxue* and reached into the wider Confucian society.

Chosen and interpreted by two such significant Chinese Muslim intellectuals of the school of *Jingxue*, Jāmī's treatises were not only studied in its original language but also seem suitable for expression and interpretation in literary Chinese, thus establishing a relationship between Jāmī and the school of *Jingxue*. A biographical sketch of these two Chinese translators below sheds light on this process of choosing and studying Jāmī's texts and interpreting them in China proper.

1) She Qiling

¹⁴³ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 33b.

She Qiling was born in 1638, the eleventh year of the Chongzhen 崇禎 (r.1628-1644) reign in the late Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and died in 1703, the forty-second year of the Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1661-1722) in the early Qing dynasty (1644-1912). She Qiling was born into a non-Muslim family whose clan name was Wei 魏; his original name (*ming* 名) was Yuandu 元都. The young Wei Yuandu started schooling at the age of five and went through a six-year traditional Chinese elementary training that focused on the study of the Confucian classics. When his father died the boy was subsequently adopted by a Muslim military officer named She Yingju 舍應舉 (unknown).¹⁴⁴ The boy's surname was changed to She 舍 and he was converted to Islam.¹⁴⁵

Thereafter, She Qiling "changed his name to Qiling 起靈 and was known by his courtesy name (*zi* 字) Yunshan 蘊善"¹⁴⁶. The Arabic inscription of a stone tablet on his tomb outside Xiangcheng 襄城 of Henan gives his Islamic name as Hasan Ibn 'Abd al-Vahb.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ The adoption of a non-Muslim child by a Muslim family in the early Qing dynasty is legal. Frequently, the inheritance passed on to an adopted son who does not have a drop of foreign blood in him. (Warren, "D'Ollone's Investigations on Chinese Moslems", 402.) But after the New Sect upheavals of 1781 and 1784, the Qing government had forbidden Muslims to adopt non-Muslim babies.

¹⁴⁵ Based on the Koranic law, the adoptive parents could not change the original surname of their adopted child. (Koran 33:4-5). In this case, this adoptive boy changed his surname, but the biographical record shows that he kept in touch with his biological mother in his later time.

¹⁴⁶ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 128a: 改諱起靈, 字蘊善. In this dissertation, I call She Qiling based on his name. However, in some texts Muslim intellectuals are only known by their courtesy name.

¹⁴⁷ This Arabic name is the re-transcription of Hasang Yiben Abudu Wahabu 哈桑·伊本·阿布都·瓦哈布, which is Mu Bai's Chinese transcription of the Arabic inscription. (See Mu Bai, "She Yunshan", 18-19.) I have not found the picture of this tablet, so I am not sure whether my transcription is exactly the same as the original. According to this Arabic name, She Qiling is the son of Hasan, which might be his father She Yingju's Arabic name. This Islamic name is also mentioned in *Xiangcheng xianzhi* published in 1993 and appears as Abudule Wahapu 阿卜杜勒·瓦哈卜 in Luo Wanshou's entry on "She Qiling" in *Zhongguo Yisilan baike quanshu*. (See *Xiangcheng xianzhi*, 558; the entry "She Qiling" in Wan Yaobin, *Zhongguo Yisilan baike quanshu*, 496.)

The *Jingxue xichuanpu* informs us that She Qiling was also known by his literary name (*hao* 號) Ponachi 破衲癡 which means “madman wearing torn vestment”. This literary name echoes the characteristics of early Sufis who wore patched woollen garments in the eighth century. It appears that She Qiling appreciated such life-style as a Sufi since he preferred to sign Ponachi rather than his given name or courtesy name in his works.

The stone inscription of his tomb¹⁴⁸ states that “According to the old tombstone, the master’s [She Qiling] literary name was Yunshan 雲山.”¹⁴⁹ The literary name of Yunshan 雲山 is not attested in the materials prior to 1795, later than the composition year of *Jingxue xichuanpu* in 1713. As the names of Yunshan 雲山 and Yunshan 蘊善 are near homophones (with tonal differences) the graphic representation as Yunshan 雲山 could be understood as deriving from a misrepresentation of Yunshan 蘊善.

After converting to Islam in about 1649, She Qiling turned his effort toward the study of Islamic scriptures under several Muslim intellectuals in the school of *Jingxue*, such as Feng Si 馮四¹⁵⁰ (unknown), Ma Yong’an 馬永安¹⁵¹ (unknown), Li Yongshou 李永壽 (unknown) and Chang Zhimei 常志美¹⁵² (1610-1670). In the genealogical tree

¹⁴⁸ The original tombstone has vanished. This one was an accessible one reproduced in 1795.

¹⁴⁹ “考舊碑，大師 [...] 號雲山。” (Mu Bai, “She Yunshan”, 19.) There are two transcriptions of this tombstone. One was recorded by She Xueren 舍學仁 (unknown), who was the ninth generation grandson of She Qiling, and was published in 1935. The other one was recorded by Mu Bai and was published in 1985. The two transcriptions have some differences, like the literary name of She Qiling was read as Yunyou 雲由 by She Xueren but as Yunshan 雲山 by Mubai. (She Xueren, “Ji She Yunyou shi”, in *Zhongguo Huizu jinshi lu*, 642-643.)

¹⁵⁰ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 129b: 本莊延請馮四師設館，先生從之。Feng Si was the brother of Feng Yangwu 馮養吾 (unknown), son of Feng Shaoquan 馮少泉 (unknown). The Feng’s family played an important role in the development of the school of *Jingxue*. (See Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 55a-56a, 57a-58a, 59a-63a, 129b.)

¹⁵¹ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 130a: 往從永安先生學。Born in Xianning 咸寧 in today’s Hubei province, Ma Yong’an was a Muslim scholar of the school of *Jingxue*. (See Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 107a-109a.)

¹⁵² Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 131b: 常李二先生見而忻喜，接講滿僚。Li Yongshou and Chang Zhimei were

provided in the *Jingxue xichuanpu*, She Qiling is placed under the names of Li Yongshou and Chang Zhimei and was counted in the sixth generation of the *Jingxue* school from its initiator Hu Dengzhou. She Qiling's other teachers can be found in other different branches, indicating the close relationship and frequent interaction among contemporary Muslim intellectuals in the school of *Jingxue*.¹⁵³

After finishing his study of Islamic scriptures in his early twenties under Li Yongshou and Chang Zhimei's instruction, She Qiling devoted his lifetime to teaching Islamic doctrines. As Zhao Can said in the *Jingxue xichuanpu*:

紀設帳二十一處，共四十餘年，門人遍及寰宇，而大成設館授徒者，如列星然。

[She Qiling] has taught in twenty-one places for more than forty years. His disciples are everywhere. The number of those who had great achievements and recruited students is like the number of sparkling stars in the sky.¹⁵⁴

During She Qiling's time of teaching in the late seventeenth century, an annotation of the scripture whose title was transcribed as *Munanbihati* 穆難必哈提 or *Monanbihatai* 摸喃 哈哈 was published. She Qiling named this Chinese annotation as *Jueshi xingmilu* 覺世省迷錄 (Record of Awakening the World and the Confused)¹⁵⁵

cousins and were both born in Rencheng 任城 in the city of Jining 濟寧 of Shandong province. They first received elementary training of Confucian classics in their childhood and in 1621 they decided to learn original Islamic scriptures. After travelling to study for several years they went back to their hometown. Since then, they stayed in Jining and taught in local mosques for about forty years. Due to Chang and Li's long-term teaching in Jining, their students were widespread in China proper and finally formed a school called Shandong school. Chang Zhimei was well-known for mastering Persian language and he even wrote a book interpreting Persian grammar. This can be considered as one of the reasons that the Persian scriptures took the significance in the school of *Jingxue*. (See Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 83a-101a; also see Luo Wanshou's entry "Chang Zhimei", *Zhongguo Yisilanjiao baike quanshu*, 109.)

¹⁵³ See Appendix 1.

¹⁵⁴ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 141b.

¹⁵⁵ The *Jueshi xingmilu* has two extant editions. One is a stereotype edition collated by Ma Jun 馬駿 (1882-1945) and printed by Ma Fuxiang 馬福祥 (1876-1936) in 1923 based on a manuscript preserved by Mai Xuwu 賈虛吾 (unknown). The other is a manuscript published by Beijing niujie Qingzhen shubaoshe 北京牛街清真書報社 in 1927. Mason mentions another edition which was "printed at Peking, and published at Tientsin [Tianjin] in 1909", but I have not found this one. (Mason, *Notes on Chinese Mohammedan Literature*, 202.)

and is also known under its shortened title *Xingmi lu* 省迷錄 (Record of Awakening the Confused). This text deals with quotations ascribed to the Islamic prophet Muhammad and Muslims of virtue. Unfortunately, the corresponding original work has not yet been identified.

In the preface of the *Jueshi xingmilu* Zhang Wenxing 張問行 (unknown) who was one of She Qiling's students said that "then [Zhang Wenxing] asked his teacher [She Qiling] to translate it [*Munanbihati*] and [Zhang Wenxing] recorded it in Chinese"¹⁵⁶. Therefore the *Jueshi xingmilu* is not a work written by She Qiling, but is more like notes narrated by She Qiling and transcribed by Zhang Wenxing. The Chinese text itself was written in colloquial Chinese, namely *Hanyin* 漢音, which could not be recognized as a translation according to the criteria of translation in the school of *Jingxue*. Actually, we do not find this work mentioned in the *Jingxue xichuanpu*.

She Qiling's first Chinese translation in the literary Chinese (*shuzi*) acknowledged by the school of *Jingxue* is *Tuiyuan zhengda* 推原正達 (Tracing the Origin and Achieving the Truth). As Zhao Can said, "master [She Qiling] translated the *Mirṣād* / *Miersade*¹⁵⁷ into literary Chinese under the title *Tuiyuan zhengda*."¹⁵⁸

Mirṣād al-'Ibād is a shortened form of a Persian text titled *Mirṣād al-'Ibād min al-Mabda aley al-Ma'ād* (The Path of God's Bondsmen: From Origin to Return) written by the Persian Sufi Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (1177-1256), who was a disciple of the Kubrawiyya

¹⁵⁶ She Qiling, *Jueshi xingmi lu*, "Preface", 2: 於是求師譯之, 用漢文抄錄.

¹⁵⁷ The text normally comes with both Arabic title and its Chinese transcription in one line. Hereinafter, I provide a virgule for the Chinese transcription.

¹⁵⁸ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 135a: 先生將مرصاد / 米而撒德譯以書字, 著其名曰推原正達.

order.¹⁵⁹ The term *mirṣād* refers to the path from a verse in the Koran: “Verily thy Lord watches over the path” (89:14). The frequent quotations from the Koran in this book demonstrate the author’s emphasis on the Koranic origins of Sufism, illustrating the author’s attitude towards Sufism.

Mirṣād al-‘Ibād was said to be first studied in China by Feng Bo’an 馮伯菴 (late 16th early 17th century), a scholar of the third generation after Hu Dengzhou¹⁶⁰ and considered as one of the main scriptures taught in the school of *Jingxue*.¹⁶¹ According to the *Jingxue xichuanpu*, She Qiling translated the *Mirṣād al-‘Ibād* when he was teaching in Xiangcheng. Zhang Wenxing was at that time attracted by the reputation of She Qiling and then became his student.¹⁶²

In his preface to the *Jueshi xingmilu*, Zhang Wenxing wrote that “he met his teacher She Yushan [Qiling] in Xiangcheng in the dingwei year of the Kangxi reign”¹⁶³ which was in 1667. From this information we can deduce that She Qiling wrote the translation of *Mirṣād al-‘Ibād* when he was thirty years old.

In his class, “[She Qiling] interpreted one thousand words [of *Mirṣād al-‘Ibād*] every day. As for the passages of the *beyt*¹⁶⁴, [he] rendered them into verses to teach.”¹⁶⁵ Different from oral interpretation, She Qiling’s Chinese translation was said to be written down in the learned language of the Chinese literati (*shuzi*). She Qiling’s

¹⁵⁹ An English translation and annotation of this work was finished by Hamid Algar and published in 1982.

¹⁶⁰ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 53b.

¹⁶¹ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 33b.

¹⁶² Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 134b: 有襄城營守府張公，諱問行，[...] 願依門下而求學焉。

¹⁶³ She Qiling, *Jueshi xingmi lu*, “Preface”, 1: 于康熙丁未年卒，會蘊善舍師於襄城。

¹⁶⁴ The Persian *beyt* describes quatrains in Persian literature. These quatrains (*beyt*) often appear at the end of paragraphs of chapters where the writer expresses his opinions with symbolic images.

¹⁶⁵ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 135a: 日講千言，中有拜益忒之句，乃作詩歌以授。

translation as far as we know, is no longer extant¹⁶⁶ and only a later translation of the *Mirṣād al-'ibād* with the title *Guizhen yaodao* 歸真要道 (The Essential Path of Returning to the Truth), finished in about 1678 by Wu Zunqi 伍遵契 (c. 1598-1698), is widely known and available today. In his *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理 (Nature and Principle of Islam), Liu Zhi titled this Persian scripture in Chinese as *Daoxing tuiyuan jing* 道行推原經 (The Scripture of the Spiritual Path of Tracing the Origin), but it is unclear whether Liu Zhi actually translated the entire text into Chinese.

As stated in the *Jingxue xichuanpu*, when he was “soon at the age of half hundred”¹⁶⁷ in the 1680s She Qiling later taught in Shenyang¹⁶⁸ and translated two other Persian Sufi scriptures:

先生惟勤授學，暇則整輯各經，複以書字譯 لمعات / 勒默阿忒，曰昭元秘訣，以 [譯]¹⁶⁹ مقصد / 默格索特經，曰歸真必要。¹⁷⁰

Master [She Qiling] was just diligent in teaching. In his spare time, he compiled and collated various scriptures. In addition he applied the language of the Chinese literati (*shuzi*) to translate *Lama'āt* / *Lemo'ate* entitled as *Zhaoyuan mijue* and to translate *Maqṣad* / *Mogesuote* entitled as *Guizhen biyao*.

By comparing the original and the translation, She Qiling's translation is based on Jāmī's *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, not 'Iraqī's *Lama'āt*. She Qiling's translation of the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, widely known as *Zhaoyuan mijue* 昭元秘訣 (Secret Key of Exposing the Origin) has three editions with different Chinese titles of phonetic transcription, which we will discuss in detail in the next chapter. In his *Tianfang xingli*, this scripture was named by Liu Zhi in Chinese as *Feiyin jing* 費隱經 (The Extensive and Secret Scripture)

¹⁶⁶ Leslie mentions he found this translation was listed in the bibliography of the Ecole des Langues Orientales catalogue. I have not seen this manuscript yet.

¹⁶⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:1a: 行年半百.

¹⁶⁸ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 138a-b.

¹⁶⁹ The original text is *yi* 以 (to use). I assume it is a typo mistake of *yi* 譯 (to translate).

¹⁷⁰ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 138b.

but the full text translation probably has not been done by Liu Zhi.

Maqṣad is believed to be the short title of *Maqṣad-i Aqṣa*, which is a Persian Sufi text written by ‘Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī (fl. 13th century). She Qiling translated this text into Chinese and called it *Guizhen biyao* 歸真必要 (Essential Point of Returning to the Truth). This text was also named by Liu Zhi as *Yanzhenjing* 研真經 (Scripture of Studying the Truth) in his *Tianfang xingli*, but the full text of rendition has not yet been found. Like the *Guizhen yaodao*, the *Guizhen biyao* has not been transmitted.¹⁷¹

The original scriptures of the above three translation works attributed to She Qiling were all Persian Sufi prose works, written by members of different Sufi orders. These three translations reflect the priority of Persian Sufi texts in the study of original scriptures and their availability for the Chinese Islamic exegesis writing for the Chinese Muslim intellectuals. While being ignored by the divergent background of Sufi orders, both *Mirṣād al-‘ibād* and *Ashī‘at al-Lama‘āt* were seen as “scriptures of Islamic practice”¹⁷² by Zhao Can in the *Jingxue xichuanpu*, illustrating that Chinese Muslim intellectuals focused on the common Islamic philosophy shared in Persian Sufi texts rather than on the arguments and politics beyond the texts.

¹⁷¹ There is an extant Chinese translation titled as *Hanyi daoxing jiujiing* 漢譯道行究竟 (Chinese Translation of the Outcome of the Spiritual Practising) by Ma Dexin 馬德新 (1794-1874). Ma Dexin was a Chinese Muslim scholar from Yunnan. He performed the Hajj in 1841 and after that he stayed in the Middle East for another eight years. In his lifetime, Ma made numerous books in Chinese, Arabic and Persian in the fields of Islamic philosophy, jurisprudence and calendar. He was considered as the first to translate the Qur’an into Chinese. He also annotated the original Chinese Islamic writings made by Ma Zhu and Liu Zhi. His description of the travel on Pilgrimage written in Arabic called the *Chaojin tuji* 朝覲途記 (Travelogue of a Pilgrimage) was later translated in Chinese by his student Ma Anli 馬安禮 (unknown) and published in 1861. This article provided a vivid record of the geography and culture of Southeast Asia, South Asia and Arabia. It was soon noticed by Western scholars and was translated into French by G. Devéria under the title of “pèlerinages de Ma Fouitch’ou” in *Centenaire de l’Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 1795-1895*.

¹⁷² Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 134b: 修道諸經.

As written in the learned language of scholarly discourse of the day, She Qiling largely applied the lexicon of traditional Chinese philosophical terminology including Daoism, Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism, such as *miaoben* 妙本 (wondrous root), *ti* 體 (body/substance) and *yong* 用 (function) in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*. In addition, She Qiling's exegetical practice via translation was perceived and described only in analogy with Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200) contribution to the exegesis in the Confucian *Jingxue*.

As Zhao Can stated in the *Jingxue xichuanpu*:

然宋代周，程，張，邵之學，非朱子之續述，勢必泯滅無聞。則吾教之胡，馮，張，常諸學者之授經學，非先生恐亦必至淹沒而已。¹⁷³

Yet without succession and interpretation of Zhuzi [Zhu Xi], the [Neo-Confucian] learning of Zhou [Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073)], Cheng [Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) or Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107)], Zhang [Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077)] and Shao [Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077)] certainly would disappear and vanish. Then the doctrine of our religion taught by Hu [Hu Dengzhou 胡登洲 (1522-1597)], Feng [Feng Er 馮二 (unknown)], Zhang [Zhang Shaoshan 張少山 (unknown)] and Chang [Chang Zhimei 常志美 (1610-1670)] certainly would be overwhelmed without the master [She Qiling].

Apart from his contribution to the study of Islamic doctrines acknowledged in the school of *Jingxue*, She Qiling also got involved in religious affairs of the Chinese Muslim community. Sources found in the nineteenth century and later saw She Qiling as a controversial figure in the conflict of the Old Sect and the New Sect¹⁷⁴. Some commentaries made in the 1930s on She Qiling described him as an initiator of the New Sect who “complied the scriptures and changed the custom”¹⁷⁵. Regarding the traditional Islamic custom in terms of prayers, marriage and funeral, She Qiling

¹⁷³ Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 138a.

¹⁷⁴ Almost all of the Chinese Muslims are said to be Sunnites but with a strong Sufi influence. However, they were divided into the New Sect and the Old Sect. The differentiation of these two principal groups is mostly internal and theological. (See Löwenthal, *The Religious Periodical Press in China*, 214. Also see Ma Tong, *Menhuan zhidu shilüe*, 72-73.)

¹⁷⁵ Jing Jitang, *Zhongguo Huijiao shi yanjiu*, 202: 遵經革俗. Also see Tang Zhenyu, “Zhongguo Huijiao congtao: jielu”; Bai Shouyi, *Zhongguo Yisilan jingshizhuan*.

launched a renovation proposal summarized as the “Eighteen Entries” (*shibatiao* 十八條). The Eighteen Entries have given rise to an intense response from the Old Sect of the Chinese Muslim community and She Qiling and his followers personally were criticised for becoming a *houdusi* 候都斯 (in all probability a transliteration of heterodoxy). In fact, we cannot trace the discussions relating to the divergence from the orthodox Islamic custom in the extant works of She Qiling. Nevertheless, She Qiling and his works have been affected and have been rarely discussed in the study of the Chinese Islamic texts ever since.

2) Liu Zhi

Compared with She Qiling, Liu Zhi is perceived as a different kind of Muslim scholar who devoted his lifetime to writing rather than teaching. This could explain why the materials of the biography of Liu Zhi are not as easily accessible as those about She Qiling.

To start with, no records regarding Liu Zhi’s years of birth and death seem to be transmitted, but it is widely believed that he was born in Nanjing around 1670.¹⁷⁶ He was known by his courtesy name (*zi* 字) Jielian 介廉 and literary name (*hao* 號) Yizhai 一齋. Liu Zhi’s father Liu Sanjie 劉三傑 (unknown) was a Muslim scholar who, according to the description of Ma Zhu 馬注¹⁷⁷ (1640-1711) in the preface of his

¹⁷⁶ Satō, Ryū Chi no shizengaku: Chūgoku Isurāmu shisō kenkyū josetsu, 22.

¹⁷⁷ Born in Yunnan, Ma Zhu was first educated in the Confucian system and became an officer in his early years. He started to learn Arabic and Persian when he was thirty years old and wrote down his understanding of Islamic doctrines in a Chinese book called *Qingzhen zhinan*. (See Luo Wanshou’s entry “Ma Zhu” in *Zhongguo Yisilan baike quanshu*, 352.)

Qingzhen zhinan 清真指南 (Guidebook of Islam), was a contemporary of She Qiling.¹⁷⁸

As a contemporary of Zhao Can, Liu Zhi was not mentioned in Zhao's *Jingxue xichuanpu*. However, we find several Muslim intellectuals in the genealogy of the school of *Jingxue* involved in Liu Zhi's career of writing. In the beginning of the *Tianfang xingli*, Liu Zhi provided a list of names who had participated in *jianding* 鑒定 (authenticating), *kaojing* 考經 (examining), *canyue* 參閱 (reviewing), *zhengwen* 正文 (correcting) and *jiaozi* 校梓 (collating and printing) respectively, such as Yuan Ruqi 袁汝琦¹⁷⁹ (unknown), Ma Hengfu 馬恆馥¹⁸⁰ (unknown) and so on.¹⁸¹

Liu Zhi's absence from the *Jingxue xichuanpu* could be attributed to the criteria of Muslim intellectuals in the school of *Jingxue* where a qualified intellectual should not only be well-versed in Islamic doctrines but also participate in teaching. This qualification is similar to the Naqshbandi principle of "seclusion within the society" in Jāmī's period. As Zhao Can said, "as a person who is pursuing his study, if he has already accomplished a great achievement in his study but is unable to teach, his instructions cannot be left to later generations. This is called stingy learning."¹⁸²

In his "Zhushushu 著書述" (An account on book writing), a preface summarising his life experience in the *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* 天方至聖實錄 (Veritable Records of

¹⁷⁸ In the first scroll of *Qingzhen zhinan* called "Hainei zengyan 海內贈言" (Words of advice within the country), the author Ma Zhu collected two poems written by She Qiling and Liu Sanjie respectively. At that time, Liu Zhi was about twenty-two years old and Ma Zhu might have met Liu Zhi in Nanjing. (See Ma Zhu, *Qingzhen zhinan*, 37b, 39a.)

¹⁷⁹ Born in Nanjing, Yuan Ruqi was said to be Liu Zhi's teacher when Liu was young. Yuan Guozuo 袁國祚 (1712-?), the grandson of Yuan Ruqi, first published Liu Zhi's *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* in 1776.

¹⁸⁰ Ma Hengfu, born in Kangcheng of Henan province, received traditional Chinese elementary training when he was young and then began to study Islamic scriptures. He was once taught by She Qiling in Kaocheng in Anhui province and was admired for his talent by She Qiling. (See Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 152a-155b.)

¹⁸¹ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli* (1871 Baozhentang edition), "xingshi 姓氏" (Name), 1. Also see Appendix 1

¹⁸² Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 11a-b: 如求學者, 既學已大成矣, 然而訓誨無法, 不能遺教後世, 是為齷齪。

the Utmost Sage of Islam) finished in his last years of life, Liu Zhi described his early years:

予年十五而志於學，八年膏晷而儒者之經史子集及禰家之書閱遍，又六年讀天方經，又三年閱釋藏竟，又一年閱道藏竟，道藏無物也，繼而閱西洋書¹⁸³一百三十七種。¹⁸⁴

At the age of fifteen, I set my mind on studying. Studying day and night for eight years, I had read all the *jing* 經 (classics), *shi* 史 (history), *zi* 子 (masters), *ji* 集 (belles-lettres) made by scholars [in the Confucian society] and the works made by *zajia* 雜家 (Miscellaneous writers). Then I studied Islamic scriptures for six years. After that, I spent three years reading the Buddhist sutras and one year reading the Daoist scriptures. Daoist scriptures have nothing inside. After that, I continued to read one hundred and thirty seven kinds of European books¹⁸⁵.

From around the age of thirty Liu Zhi travelled throughout central and eastern China including places where Muslim communities settled down and She Qiling had travelled and taught, such as Beijing, Zhuxianzhen 朱仙鎮 (in today's Henan province), Bozhou 亳州 (in today's Anhui province) and Shouzhou 壽州 (in today's Anhui province). We have no indication from him that Liu Zhi ever engaged in formal classroom teaching on his journey. Instead, Liu Zhi kept on looking for original manuscripts of Islamic texts and started his career in translating and interpreting the Islamic scriptures.

Unlike She Qiling, in Liu Zhi's period of about twenty years of writing, he does not

¹⁸³ In the Chinese Islamic texts, *dong* 東 (east) and *xi* 西 (west) normally refer to China proper and *xiyu* 西域 (western regions) like Central Asia and Arabia in terms of geography. They can be also understood as Chinese and Persian / Arabic separately in terms of language. For example, in the *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* the emperor wrote that "Muhammad was the king of western regions (*xiyu*). The stories recorded in this [*Tianfang Zhisheng*] *shilu* are originally based on an Arabic scriptures (*xijing* 西經)". (Liu Zhi, *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 29a.) In the same book here Liu Zhi mentioned *xiyangjing*, which specifically refers to the books written in European languages or brought from Europe.

¹⁸⁴ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 76a.

¹⁸⁵ We have no clue of the title and the language of these European books mentioned by Liu Zhi. As far as we know, Liu Zhi never showed his ability in reading materials written in any European languages. Since Christian missionaries like Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) had wrote and translated books in Chinese in the fields of Christianity, geography, geometry and so on, it is possible that the European books Liu Zhi mentioned are de facto written in Chinese.

seem to have had an entourage or disciples or colleagues to work along with him, nor did his relatives take an interest in his activities or support him. However, Liu Zhi kept on devoting his knowledge and energy to translating and writing Chinese Islamic texts alone. In the “Zhushushu”, Liu Zhi said:

會通諸家而折衷于天方之學，著書數百卷，已刊者什一，典禮，性理數種而已 [...] 而予孳孳之意不息，篤志闡天方之學以曉中人。¹⁸⁶

[I] understand thoroughly every school of thought and adapt them to the Islamic learning. I have written a couple of hundreds of scrolls, but only one tenth of them have been published, like [*Tianfang*] *dianli*, [*Tianfang*] *xingli* and so on [...] but I have not stopped working hard and set my mind firmly on exploring the Islamic learning so as to make it known to average people¹⁸⁷.

The *Tianfang dianli zeyaojie* 天方典禮擇要解 (Selection of the Important Rules and Proprieties of Islam), also called as *Tianfang dianli* 天方典禮 (Rules and Proprieties of Islam) is a twenty-scroll text discussing the theme of Islamic law and ritual first printed in 1709¹⁸⁸. In the *Tianfang dianli*, Liu Zhi listed a bibliography of forty-five Persian and Arabic Islamic works, nineteen of which are similar to the references in the *Tianfang xingli* and we will discuss later.

The *Tianfang dianli* was completed in Liu Zhi’s forties. Liu Zhi explained the language he used in this book, as the “*Liyan* 例言” (Guide to the use of the book) said:

是書語氣與經堂語氣既不相合，則不能不起物議。然而無庸議也，是書非為不知文者作

¹⁸⁶ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 76a.

¹⁸⁷ In the Preface of his *Jingxue xichuanpu*, Zhao Can quoted a sentence “中人不怠，可以寡過；老而懋學，謂之有終” originally written by Cui Xian’s 崔銑 (1478-1541), a Neo-Confucian scholar. (Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 7b. Cui Xian, *Huanci*, scholl 9, 5b.) According to Cui Xian’s explanation, *zhongren* refers to the middle-aged man corresponding to *lao* 老 (old-aged people). However, Zhao Can interpreted *zhongren* as “a person who was not better than those superior and brilliant people and was not worse than those stupid and muddleheaded people” in his *Jingxue xichuanpu*. (“中人乃上不及於高明，下不墮於愚惑者。” Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 7b.) In the *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* Liu Zhi referred *zhongren* to “average people” which corresponded to Zhao Can’s interpretation rather than the original meaning of “middle-aged people”. This is a case showing Chinese Muslim intellectuals adapted the traditional Chinese classics but made their own interpretation of the original.

¹⁸⁸ The year of completion of the *Tianfang dianli* is based on the acknowledged earliest preface made by Yang Feilu 楊斐蓁 (unknown).

也。蓋不知文者，經師遵經訓之，無須是書。而須是書者，必通習三教，未知吾教之禮者也。讀其文，會其義，自有裨益。知我罪我，聽之斯世。¹⁸⁹

The tone of this book is different from the tone used in *jingtang* [mosque school], which cannot avoid arousing criticism from others. However it is not necessary to criticise and this book is not written for those who do not know *wen*. Because those who do not know *wen* are taught by teachers of [Islamic] scripture based on the [Islamic] scriptures and do not need this book. Those who need this book, however, must have a thorough knowledge of three religions [namely Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism] but do not know the rites of our religion [namely Islam]. By reading the *wen* of this book and understanding its meaning, they could gain benefit. Appreciating me or blaming me will be judged by this world.

Corresponding to *jingtangyu* (the language used in mosque school), the word of *wen* 文 here could be interpreted as a literary style of language developed in traditional Chinese literature, specifically *shuzi* 書字, the language coined by Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist philosophies and used by contemporary scholars in their discourse. In the *Tianfang dianli*, one of Liu Zhi's early works, his argument on his application of the literary Chinese (*shuzi*) above-mentioned indicates that there might have been a debate on the legitimacy of applying traditional Chinese philosophical terminology in Chinese Islamic writing at that time and possibly Liu Zhi had felt pressures from the readership of the *Tianfang dianli*.

Beyond the Muslim community, because the *Tianfang dianli* had once been recorded in the general catalogue prepared for the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Imperial Library of the Four Treasuries), Liu Zhi received a short entry in the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (General Catalogue of the Imperial Library of the Four Treasuries) completed in 1789 as the only Chinese Muslim writer of the Islamic texts mentioned in this catalogue reading as follows:

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，巧為文飾無益也。¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang dianli zeyaojie*, "Liyan", 2b-3a.

¹⁹⁰ Yong Rong, etc., (eds.), *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 1085.

Islam was originally uncommon and wrong, but [Liu] Zhi was well familiar with Confucian works, so that [he] quoted numerous argumentations from Confucian classics to embellish his interpretation, and his writing reads even quite elegant and rich. However, the foundation [of his writing] is wrong from the start, so it is useless to be skilful to varnish [his writings].

In this entry Liu Zhi's ability in writing in literary Chinese had been confirmed by the Confucian scholars whereas the content of the *Tianfang dianli* was criticized due to the compiler's negative concern with Islam.

The *Tianfang xingli* is a fifty-thousand-character Chinese text on the principles of Islam first printed in 1710. At the very beginning of the *Tianfang xingli* the author provided a "Caiji jingshumu" illustrating forty Persian and Arabic texts he had referenced and annotated in the text, especially in the first part of the *Tianfang xingli* under the title "Benjing 本經" (Root classics) which has about 2500 characters written in five chapters.

"Benjing" is a collection focused on the interpretation of Islamic doctrines. Every passage in the "Benjing" chapter has been provided by Liu Zhi with reference to seven scriptures which were *Zhaowei jing* 昭微經 (Scripture of Enlightening the Profound Meaning), *Daoxing tuiyuan jing* 道行推原經, *Yanzhen jing* 研真經, *Feiyin jing* 費隱經, *Gezhi quanjing* 格致全經¹⁹¹ (Complete Scripture of Studying and Acquiring), *Zhenjing zhu* 真經注¹⁹² (Interpretation of the Real Scripture), *Tianjing qingxing* 天經情性¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ See Leslie, "Arabic and Persian Sources Used by Liu Chih," 92.

¹⁹² According to the "Caiji jingshumu" in the *Tianfang xingli*, there are two titles which include the name of *Zhenjing zhu*, which are *Gazui zhenjing zhu* 噶最真經注 (Chinese transcription of the original name is *Tefuxi'er gazui* 特福西爾噶最) and *Zanxide zhenjing zhu* 咱吸德真經注 (Chinese transcription of the original name is *Tefuxi'er zanxiti* 特福西爾咱吸堤). *Zhenjing zhu* corresponds to the Persian word *tafsir* meaning interpretation. Liu Zhi did not indicate the exact scripture of *Zhenjing zhu* he referenced in the text and have not yet been identified.

¹⁹³ The Chinese transcription of the original title is *Ehekemu kewaqibu* 額合 目克瓦乞卜 corresponding to *Aḥkām al-Kavākib* which means "provisions of the planets". This text was presumed by Ma Jian as the same one listed in the *Yuan Mishujian zhi* under the title *Akan jueguan zhuban zaifu* 阿堪決斷諸般災福. (See Ma Jian, "Yuan Mishujian zhi

(The Character and Nature of the Scripture of Heaven). Among these seven scriptures the beginning four scriptures have been identified as Persian Sufi texts including Jāmī's two treatises *Lavāyih* as *Zhaowei jing* and *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* as *Feiyin jing*, which illustrates the significance of Jāmī's texts in Liu Zhi's writings. We could not locate any passage of the "Benjing" in the full-text rendition of their references even in Liu Zhi's own full-text translation works, presumably because these interpretations in the "Benjing" were only the writer's summarization inspired by the original scriptures and were not based on the existing translation works.

Also written in the literary Chinese (*shuzi*), the *Tianfang xingli* again saw Liu Zhi's explanation of his application of literary Chinese in the "Liyan" reading like this:

是書語義，悉本天方之經，間有經文難於漢譯，不得不用別文以傳之。文雖不合，義無不合也。¹⁹⁴

The meaning of the language in this book is entirely derived from Islamic scriptures. Some of the original scriptures which are difficult to be translated into Chinese [namely literal translation like the translation in colloquial Chinese (*jingtangyu*)] have to be delivered in another language [literary Chinese (*shuzi*)]. Although the [literary Chinese] language does not correspond [to the original scripture], none of the meaning [written in literary Chinese] fails to match up [with the original scripture].

Compared with the explanation on the readership of literary Chinese (*shuzi*) in the *Tianfang dianli*, in the *Tianfang xingli* here Liu Zhi admitted the problems of the viability of literary Chinese in explaining the Islamic doctrines and pointed out that his text written in literary Chinese effectively interpreted the same meaning as the original scripture.

As far as we are able to tell, in the two bibliographies of Persian and Arabic references in the *Tianfang xingli* and *Tianfang dianli*, Jāmī's *Lavāyih*, also called in

'Huihui shuji' shiyi".)

¹⁹⁴ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, "Liyan", 1-2.

Chinese as *Lewayihe* 勒瓦一合 or *Zhaowei jing* 昭微經, is the only extant full-text translation by Liu Zhi.

In addition to the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, the *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* can be counted as a compiled translation completed in 1724 when Liu Zhi was in his fifties. This text was said to be based on “an original Western (Persian or Arabic) scripture which Liu Zhi got by chance on his visit of a Sai family in Zhuxianzhen”¹⁹⁵. Liu Zhi said in the “Fanli 凡例” (Guide to the use of the book) as follows:

是錄以忒爾准墨 (即天方至聖錄) 為本, 而以羣說補附之, 皆採自經傳正史考據真確無疑者, 以彰實錄之義。¹⁹⁶

This record is based on *Te'erzhunmo*¹⁹⁷ (namely *Tianfang Zhisheng lu*) and complemented with viewpoints of [other] groups, all [of which materials] are collected from the scriptures, biographies and official history books which have been identified as true and undoubted after textual criticism in order to demonstrate the meaning of “veritable records”.

As “*Zhunmo* 准墨 is a book collected by Persian intellectuals”¹⁹⁸, it is very likely that the original text was written in Persian despite the difficulty for us to locate the original manuscript due to Liu Zhi’s adaption.

While compiling the *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu*, Liu Zhi made a further attempt in his career of Chinese Islamic writing by imitating the Chinese traditional historiography, specifically Zhu Xi’s *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目¹⁹⁹ (Summary of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government). In the “Fanli”, Liu Zhi pointed out that the *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* “is based on the stylistic rules of [*Zizhi tongjian*] *Gangmu* which has also been applied in *Zhunmo* (the name of the Islamic historical learning).”²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 77b: 過朱仙鎮, 偶得賽氏家藏“至聖錄”西經原本也。

¹⁹⁶ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 81a.

¹⁹⁷ This Chinese transcription is very likely the Persian word *tarjuma* which means translation.

¹⁹⁸ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 81b: 准墨為法爾西學人所集。

¹⁹⁹ *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* is a book devised by Zhu Xi and written by his pupils.

²⁰⁰ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 81a-b: 是“錄”, “綱目”為體例, 本“準墨”舊也 (天方史學名)。

By viewing the *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* as a model, it is fair to say that Liu Zhi was likely to have been influenced by Zhu Xi's sense of history to present the *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* as a moralistic history work, despite the fact that we still need further investigation.

Although this time Liu Zhi's language was criticised by Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1735-1796) as "*libi* 俚鄙" (vulgar), the significance of the *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* as a history book was recognized by the emperor as follows:

實錄字惟有帝王紀載用之。[...] 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。²⁰¹

The term of *shilu* [veritable records] is only used for the history record of emperors [...] Muhanmode [namely Muhammad] is the king of Western regions. The stories recorded in this *Shilu* are based on the original Western [specifically Arabic and Persian] scriptures and have been translated in Chinese characters. Although the language style is vulgar, the inside content has profound principles. How could you understand thoroughly?

The *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* was translated into English by the British missionary Isaac Mason (1870-1939) in 1921 under the title *The Arabian Prophet*. Mason introduced this work as "a life of Mohammed from Chinese Sources"²⁰² indicating that like his contemporary Chinese Muslim intellectuals, he also treated Liu Zhi's work as an original study rather than a translation. Through this English translation Mason has taken Chinese Islamic exegetical literature beyond the Islamic world and into the eyes of Western intellectuals.

As far as we know, many other works by Liu Zhi have been published and circulated widely²⁰³, most of which were related to the elementary education in Islam in the field

²⁰¹ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu nianpu*, 29a.

²⁰² Mason, *The Arabian prophet*, cover page.

²⁰³ According to Liu Zhi's "Zhushushu", most of his works have not been published when he was alive, which has left problems for identifying the works entitled with Liu Zhi's name but published much later after his death. For example, a Chinese text called *Tianfang chunqiu* 天方春秋 published around 1861 was said to "have been

of the Arabic language like the *Tianfang zimu jieyi* 天方字母解義 (Paraphrase of the Arabic Letters), of Islamic religion like the *Tianfang sanzijing* 天方三字經 (Three-character Classic of Islam)²⁰⁴, of Islamic philosophy like the *Wujingyue* 五更月 (A Poem of the Five Positions of the Moon at Night) and of Islamic ritual like the *Wugong shiyi* 五功釋義 (Paraphrase of the Five Pillars). Through the names and contents of these kinds of works we are likely to recall some popular primer in traditional Chinese education like the *Sanzijing* 三字經 (The Three-character Classic) corresponding to the *Tianfang sanzijing*, the *Qianziwen* 千字文 (The Thousand-character Text) corresponding to *Wujingyue*, the *Shenglü qimeng* 聲律啟蒙 (The Enlightenment of the Law of Sound) corresponding to the *Tianfang zimu jieyi* and so on. Such a category of works bears witness to Liu Zhi's aspiration to broaden the readership of Chinese Islamic exegetical literature from the previous Muslim intellectuals to the *zhongren* 中人 (average educated people) and children.

In his lifetime of writing and travelling Liu Zhi brought his draft works along when visiting both Muslims and non-Muslims for discussion. Despite these contacts within and beyond the Muslim community made during his travels, Liu Zhi's effort did not help him to win significant recognition from his contemporaries during his lifetime. It was only several decades after his death that he received wider recognition as an outstanding Muslim scholar.

translated and compiled by Liu Zhi first and examined by Ma Dexin later" (*Tianfang chungiu*, 2b: 介廉劉子纂譯于前, 複初老夫子考證于後.) This kind of text should be treated cautiously and I do not count them as Liu Zhi's works in this dissertation.

²⁰⁴ Mason thinks the *Tianfang sanzijing* was written by Ma Fuchu. See Mason, *Notes on Chinese Mohammedan Literature*, 209.

The extant evidence shows that the number of publications and readership of Liu Zhi's works has been continuously increasing since the 1780s. His works had been reprinted in Chengdu, Guangzhou, Beijing and so on. For example, by the eighteenth century only three editions of the *Tianfang dianli* had been printed, but the number of editions increased to five in the nineteenth century and then boosted to more than ten in the first half of the twentieth century. Liu Zhi's works have been read and studied by Chinese Muslims since the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century the Chinese Sufi order Xidaotang 西道堂 established in northwest China publicly considered Liu Zhi's works as the major scriptures for this order.²⁰⁵ No matter inside the Chinese Muslim community or outside China, Liu Zhi is recognized as an iconic figure amongst Chinese Muslim intellectuals nowadays.

Conclusion

Since the fifteenth century Jāmī's works travelled from Central Asia to China proper and finally reached the Chinese Muslims. In this process, we investigated the expansion of Naqshbandiyya order in northwest China along with the activities of frequent travellers between the Islamic world and China. Although Jāmī's identity as a mediator helped him to obtain the readership from the high end of the royal family to the lower end of common people, it seems that merchants and Sufi travellers from Central Asia played a more important role in transmitting Jāmī's works than those religious and political organizations.

From the perspective of Chinese Muslim intellectuals, they first worked in

²⁰⁵ Zheng Mianzhi (ed.), *Yisilanjiao jianming cidian*, 304.

Confucian society by contributing their knowledge of the Islamic sciences such as astronomy and calendar studies. During this period Chinese translations of Arabic and Persian works were made through the cooperation of Chinese Muslims and Confucians. A few Muslim descendants later gained the achievement of being recognized by Confucian society but at the same time their Muslim identity almost faded out and left only the blood connection. Some other Muslim intellectuals, however, worked on collecting, verifying and interpreting original Islamic scriptures brought from the centre of the Islamic world.

During this progress a group of Chinese Muslim intellectuals realized the importance of acquiring Confucian knowledge while maintaining their Muslim identity. They called themselves the school of *Jingxue*. This group of Muslim intellectuals primarily valued the Persian Sufi treatise from different schools while ignoring Arabic scriptures and other forms of Sufi literature like poems. As two Muslim intellectuals belonged to the genealogy of *Jingxue*, She Qiling and Liu Zhi had different life-styles but both translated Jāmī's texts into literary Chinese. Secondly, the group of *Jingxue* imitated the tradition of interpretation of traditional Chinese culture, specifically Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism. Thirdly, they moved from the spoken vernacular to the written language which is epitomised by the historical dimension of philosophical discourse and therefore relies on Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist diction and terminology. They called this literary Chinese *shuzi* and endowed this language the legitimacy of interpreting Islamic doctrines. The application and legitimization of *shuzi* helped to expand the readership of Islamic scriptures from the only group who could read Arabic

and Persian to those who were educated in the Chinese society, including both Muslims and non-Muslims. It seems that the wide readership and the legitimacy of literary Chinese helped the school of *Jingxue* to win the competition with other contemporary Chinese Islamic schools and finally to gain the authority of interpreting Islamic doctrines in China. At the same time Jāmī's works received their outstanding significance in the competition with other contemporary Islamic scriptures and were widely disseminated and studied in China proper.

Chapter Three: Introduction and Brief Comparison of Jāmī's Two Original Texts and Their Chinese Translations

By the fifteenth century with the increasing influence of Sufi orders, literary works with Sufi contents played a significant role inside the Islamic world. Particularly during the reign of the Timurid Bāyqarā (r. 1469-1506), Herat became the centre of literature and book production in the Persian-speaking world.²⁰⁶ During this period Jāmī's later life witnessed the high point of Persian miniature painting. His contemporary and neighbour in Herat Kamāl al-Dīn Bihzād (c. 1450- c. 1535) is considered as one of the greatest master miniaturists in history. Over the next centuries a large number of high quality manuscripts of Jāmī's works kept being produced and decorated with beautiful illustrations, testimony to his continuing popularity in this area. As pieces of didactic prose, the *Lavāyih* and the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* were hardly commissioned for illustration compared with Jāmī's literary works which are full of iconic material.

Jāmī's two Persian prose texts which are at the centre of this dissertation, the *Lavāyih* (1465) and the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* (1481) were frequently copied at the same time and disseminated in the court libraries and religious institutions of Central Asia, India and Turkey. Although the process of dissemination of Jāmī's texts to China proper remains open to a number of questions, as we have discussed in chapter two there is no doubt that manuscript copies of these two texts had been brought to China proper and studied by Chinese Muslim intellectuals no later than the middle of the

²⁰⁶ Iḥsān Yārshātir, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XIV: 479.

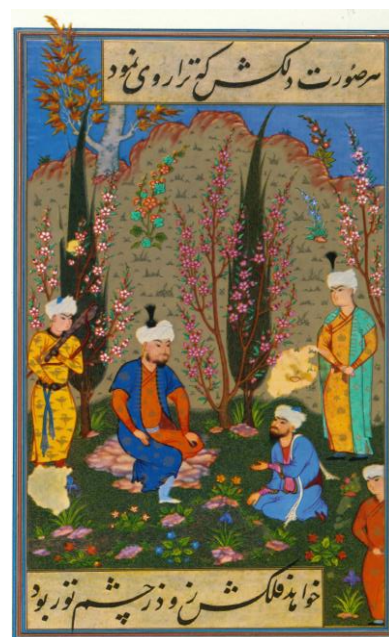
seventeenth century. In the late seventeenth century and during the early eighteenth century Chinese translations of both Persian texts entitled *Zhaoyuan mijue* 昭元秘訣 (1680s) and *Zhenjing zhaowei* 真境昭微 (unknown) had been finalized by She Qiling and Liu Zhi respectively.

In this chapter Jāmī's two original texts and their translations will be explored and a running cross-comparison of these texts in terms of dissemination, availability, structure, content and language will be provided during this discussion.

1. *Lavāyih*

1) Manuscripts and translation

As a work dedicated to a ruler or governor of Hamadan,²⁰⁷ the *Lavāyih* initially addressed the audience of common people and obtained a wide readership in the Muslim world. In a manuscript of the *Lavāyih* made in 1570/1571 and preserved in Leningrad, a miniature depicted a Shah listening to a Sufi preaching in a garden surrounded by three servants, flowers and



pine trees. As a characteristic subject for illustrations of later sixteenth century manuscripts²⁰⁸, the scene of the

Figure 1 Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, Dorn 256, folio 10v. In Borshchevskii, Iurii Efimovich. *Persidskie Miniatury XIV-XVII vv.*

²⁰⁷ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 50.

²⁰⁸ Galerkina, "Some Characteristics of Persian Miniature Painting in the Latter Part of the 16th Century", 232.

Shah and the Sufi reflects the wide range of readership of the *Lavāyih*, including not only the ruling classes and the even ruler himself, but also the common people. Since the fifteenth century hundreds of copies of the *Lavāyih* have been produced, making this text a “Sufi bestseller”.

In his *Fihrist Nuskahā-yi Khaṭī Fārsī* Aḥmad Munzavī discussed the extant manuscripts of the *Lavāyih*, most of which were allegedly copied by Jāmī himself but were, in fact, actually copied by unknown copyists.²⁰⁹ By investigating the Persian manuscripts of the text preserved in libraries in the UK, I located at least six manuscripts, three of them said to have been produced at the beginning of the seventeenth century, one made during the late nineteenth century whilst the other two manuscript copies provide no information regarding the time period during which they were produced.

Since the twentieth century scholars have collated the manuscripts of the *Lavāyih* and published at least four transcribed redactions that derive from different manuscript copies. The first one is a lithographic print published in Lucknow (India) in 1936. The second one, entitled as *Lavāyih: Dar ‘irfān va Taṣavvuf*, was compiled by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tasbīḥī and published in Tehran in 1963. The third one comes under the title *‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, Sa Risāla dar Taṣavvuf: Lavāmi’ va Lavāyih* and was published, together with a preface by Īraj Afshār, in Tehran in 1981. The most recent one, entitled *Les jaillissements de lumière = Lavāyeh*, published in Paris in 1982,

²⁰⁹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 41.

is a bi-lingual edition which provides the collated original text alongside Yann Richard's French translation. The Persian text of this edition has also been published in Tehran in 1994.

Richard's edition of the *Lavāyih* is a collated version that derives primarily from "two most honest manuscripts finished in 1472" by Aḥmad Munzavī in the *Fihrist Nuskhahā-yi Khaṭī Fārsī*²¹⁰, the Ayiāşūfiya's manuscript preserved in Istanbul and a manuscript preserved in the National Library of Tehran. As indicated by the translator and editor, this transcription primarily follows the Ayiāşūfiya's manuscript with the Tehran manuscript serving as a side-reference where the Ayiāşūfiya's manuscript poses textual problems.²¹¹

Given its significance and reputation it is not surprising that the *Lavāyih* has been translated into several languages. The earliest translation, as far as we know, was prepared by Liu Zhi. It is entitled *Zhenjing zhaowei* and was prepared during the eighteenth century. An Urdu translation of the *Lavāyih* by Saiyid Faiz al-Ḥasan Faizī was published in Lahore (Pakistan) in 1979. However, it is unknown which manuscript copies served as base texts for these two translations.

So far two English translations have been published. Edward H. Whinfield and Mirza Muḥammad Kazvīnī translated the *Lavāyih* under the title *Lawā'ih, a Treatise on Sufism*. This translation was first published in London in 1906 and republished with

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

additions and corrections in 1914. The 1914 edition has been re-issued twice and the 1978 reprint carries a new preface by Seyyed Hossein Nasr. This translation is based on an early manuscript copied in India during the sixteenth century, a facsimile of which is provided in the appendix to the translation. The manuscript used as base text for this translation later also served as the primary text source for the transcription of the *Lavāyih* by Tasbīhī (published 1963). In terms of translation strategies it is however noteworthy that the translation published by Whinfield and Kazvīnī reflects the influence of Greek philosophy on Sufism through its application of Greek and Latin philosophical terminology in their English rendition.

More recently William C. Chittick published an English translation which was published as *Chinese Gleams of Sufi Light* in Albany in 2000. Chittick's translation is based on the Persian text provided in Richard's French version of 1982. As a scholar of Sufism, Chittick abandoned the Greek and Latin terminology in his translation and applied Islamic mystical terminology instead.

2) Structure and content

With regard to the title *Lavāyih*, the word *lavāyih* is the plural form of *lāyihā* (gleam) which the author, Jāmī, explains in his preface:

این رساله ای است مسمی به لَوایح در بیان معارف و معانی که بر الواح اسرار و الواح ارباب عرفان و اصحاب ذوق و وجدان لایح گشته، به عبارات لایقه و اشارات رایقه.²¹²

This is a treatise named *The Gleams* on the explanation of the gnostic sciences and their meanings. It has gleamed forth from the tablets of the secret hearts and spirits of the lords of gnosis and the masters of tasting and finding in appropriate expressions and lustrous

²¹² Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 49.

allusions.²¹³

Whereas all his other works are essentially commentaries on treatises written by earlier scholars, the *Lavāyih* is Jāmī's only independent work in which he provides discussions on Sufism. By naming all his chapters *lāyihā* in this treatise, Jāmī indicates that this work is compiled from explanations of mysticism received from his Sufi master predecessors.

Although during the fifteenth century Arabic terminology and verses were frequently quoted in Persian Sufi writings, since the *Lavāyih* addresses the common people, Jāmī paraphrased Arabic verses of Sufi predecessors in Persian and thereby composed the *Lavāyih* entirely in Persian.

The *Lavāyih* consists of a "Preface" (*dībācha*), a "Pray" (*munājāt*), a "Foreword" (*tamhīd*), the body text of thirty-six chapters (*lāyihā*) and an "Epilogue" (*tazyīl*). The prose text of each chapter is dispersed with quatrains (*rubā'ī*²¹⁴) in which the author is at liberty to transfer more difficult and dry theological prose into more easily accessible and metaphorical expressions, thereby enriching his composition aesthetically.

In chapter twenty-seven for instance, Jāmī states that what we observe as the "fixed entities" (*a'yān-i sābita* اعیان ثابتہ) in the universe are in fact "nonexistent" (*ma'dūm* معدوم), and what we perceive as "existent and witnessed" (*mawjūd va*

²¹³ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 134.

²¹⁴ *Rubā'ī* (plural form *rubā'iyāt*) is a two-line stanza with two parts per line. This style of poem is well-known for Omar Khayyam's (1048-1131) *Rubā'iyāt*.

mashhūd (موجود و مشهود) is the “Reality of Existence” (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd* حقیقت وجود)²¹⁵. At the end of this short and theoretical paragraph he creates an analogy of the “existence” (*vujūd* وجود) with the “sea” (*baḥr* بحر) and of the “entities” (*a’yān* اعیان) with “waves” (*mawj* موج). In order to explain the relationship between the “fixed entities” and the “Reality of Existence” in a vivid way, Jāmī composes two quatrains which are more easily accessible to his readers than theoretical explorations.

زان بحر ندیده غیر موج اهل جهان بر ظاهر بحر و بحر در موج نهان ²¹⁶ Existence is an ocean, its waves eternal waves. Look at the waves coming from the inside of the ocean to the outside, the ocean hidden within. ²¹⁷	بحری است وجود جاودان موج زنان از باطن بحر موج بین گشته عیان of it the world’s folk have seen only
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For his target audience which would have found the theoretical Sufi prose hard to deal with, but these more easily accessible quatrains provide an opportunity to enjoy the beauty of Sufism.

Although the *Lavāyih* is an independent and original work rather than a commentary, the author feels the need to comment on his function in the production of this text in his preface:

متوقع که وجود متصدی این بیان را در میان نبینند، و بر بساط اعراض و سماط اعتراض ننشینند، چه او را در این
 گفت و گوی نصیبی جز منصب ترجمانی نیست، و بهره ای غیر از شیوه سخن رانی نی.²¹⁸
 It is hoped that none will see in the midst him who has embarked on this explication or sit
 on the carpet of avoidance and the mat of protest, since the author has no share save the
 post of translator, and no portion but the trade of speaker.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 95.

²¹⁶ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 95.

²¹⁷ Murata, *Gleams*, 194.

²¹⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 49.

²¹⁹ Murata, *Gleams*, 134.

Jāmī regarded himself as a “translator” (*tarjumān* ترجمان), a role that he perceives as an invisible intermediary agent who presents explications. The term *tarjumān* (translator) and other forms that derive from the same root, such as the verb *tarjuma* (to translate), occur three times in this preface but never in the main text of his treatise. In a quatrain Jāmī described the object that he translated in this treatise as the “sayings of the high in rank”²²⁰. The expression “the high in rank” echoes “the secret hearts and spirits of the lords of gnosis and the masters of tasting” he mentioned at the very beginning of his treatise, and which could be understood as his great Sufi predecessors.²²¹

The term *tarjuma* (to translate) is explained as “bringing one word to another word”²²² by Tasbīhī in his “Glossary of terms” (*fihrist-i lughāt va iṣṭilāḥāt*) of the *Lavāyih*. This indicates that, at least in Tasbīhī’s understanding, the act of translating is not restricted to interlingual interpreting. With the *Lavāyih* as an independent and original work, Jāmī’s perception of “translation” seems like a metaphoric description of transferring a message from mystics to normal people, an understanding that can also be gauged from the occurrence of the word *tarjumānī* ترجمانی (translation) in the following quatrain:

در قصه عشق بی زبانی اولی
گفتن به طریق ترجمانی اولی²²³
In the world of poverty, signlessness is best
is best.

در عالم فقر بی نشانی اولی
زان کس که نه اهل ذوق اسرار وجود
in the story of love, tonguelessness

²²⁰ “حدیث عالی سندان” (Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 50.)

²²¹ See note 2122.

²²² Tasbīhī, *Lavāyih*, 101.

²²³ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 50.

From him who has not tasted the secrets
best.²²⁴

speaking by way of translation is

Jāmī had a clear picture of his target audience in mind. His “translation” aims at those who encounter difficulties in understanding the mystic sayings of Sufi masters. By taking on the role of a “translator” in the *Lavāyih*, he perceived himself as a messenger who explicated sayings of Sufi masters in a simple manner so as to enable his readers to reach a full understanding of the message. In this concept of translation, Jāmī’s discussions would provide the reader with a sense of the “aroma” of Ibn ‘Arabī’s thought even without the *Lavāyih* directly relating to a specific base text:

و محجوبان را چنان می نماید که اعیان موجود شده اند در خارج، و حال آنکه بویی از وجود خارجی به مشام ایشان
نرسیده است و همیشه بر عدمیت اصلی خود بوده اند و خواهند بود.²²⁵

It appears to those who are veiled that the entities have become existent in the external world. In fact, no aroma of external existence has reached their nostril; they have always been and will always be in their root nonexistence.²²⁶

This paragraph from chapter twenty-seven of the *Lavāyih* echoes a well-known passage from Ibn ‘Arabī’s *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, that is “The entities, which have nonexistence and are fixed in Him, have never smelt a whiff of existence. So they remain in their state, despite the number of forms in the existent things.”²²⁷

In other words, the *Lavāyih* belongs to a particular genre of Sufi literature which provides interpretations of Ibn ‘Arabī’s doctrine and it is designed along the lines of masterpieces by Jāmī’s predecessors such as Aḥmad Ġazālī’s (1061-1126) *Savānīh*,

²²⁴ Murata, *Gleams*, 134.

²²⁵ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 95.

²²⁶ Murata, *Gleams*, 194.

²²⁷ Murata, *Gleams*, 119.

Shahāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī's (1154- 1191) *Risāla fī ḥaqīqat al-'Ishq* (Treatise of the Reality of Love) and 'Irāqī's *Lama'āt*²²⁸. Concepts such as "being / existence" (*vujūd* وجود in Arabic and *hastī* هستی in Persian), "fixed entities"²²⁹, "self-disclosure" (*tajālī* تجلی)²³⁰ and "task" (*sha'n* شأن)²³¹ which were widely used in introducing Ibn 'Arabī's teaching of "the Oneness of Existence", also served as key concepts in the *Lavāyih*. Moreover, discussions in the *Lavāyih* are focused on Ibn 'Arabī's school of thought. Jāmī not only annotated Ibn 'Arabī's *Fusūs al-ḥikam* (chapter thirty-six) but also discussed comments made by illustrious predecessors of Jāmī in the study of Ibn 'Arabī such as Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnavī's (1207-1274) *Kitāb-i Nuṣūṣ*, Mahmūd Shabistarī's (1288-1340) *Gulshan-i Rāz* (Secret Rose Garden).²³²

To explain "the Oneness of Existence", at the very beginning of chapter one, Jāmī quoted a verse from the Koran: "God has not assigned to any man two hearts in his breast." (33:4)²³³. In his following interpretation Jāmī instructed his readers in their practice of achieving the truth that it is necessary to love God with one heart.²³⁴ Following this topic the first twelve chapters focused on discussions of the Sufi practice, namely how to know God and achieve the truth, and the following twenty-four chapters analysed the key concept of the "Oneness of Existence" on the theoretical

²²⁸ In this dissertation, I make use of the newest edition of Muḥammad Khājavi published in 2005. An earlier edition of Javād Nūrbakhsh published in 1974 was used by William C. Chittick in his English translation (1974).

²²⁹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 75 (ch. 18) and 95 (ch. 27).

²³⁰ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 57 (ch. 5), 70 (ch. 16), 85 (ch. 24), 91 (ch. 26) and 107-8 (ch. 36).

²³¹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 74 (ch. 17), 77 (ch. 19), 81 (ch. 22), 85 (ch. 24), 91 (ch. 26).

²³² Mahmūd Shabistarī was one of the great Persian poets of the fourteenth century and was well-known for his deep understanding of the symbolic terminology of Ibn 'Arabī.

²³³ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 51 (ch. 1).

²³⁴ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 51 (ch. 1).

level.

From chapter thirteen onwards Jāmī explained the “Oneness of Existence” through a discussion of “existence”²³⁵, its relationship with God²³⁶ and with “reality” (*ḥaqīqat* حقیقت)²³⁷. Moreover, Jāmī paid specific attention to the explanation of pairs of terms, such as “essence” (*zāt* ذات) and “attribute” (*ṣifat* صفت)²³⁸, “manifest” (*ẓāhir* ظاهر) and “non-manifest” (*bāṭin* باطن)²³⁹, “bounded” (*muqayyad* مقيد) and “unbounded” (*muṭlaq* مطلق)²⁴⁰ and so on.

The *Lavāyih* is not only a metaphysical treatise but also a convenient handbook for ordinary people to learn about mystic theory and practice in their daily life. In the *Lavāyih* the topic of each chapter is relatively distinct. Some chapters like chapter three consists only one sentence and two quatrains (less than one hundred words) while the longest chapter twenty-six has 3551 words. It is no derogation of the *Lavāyih* to describe it as simultaneously autodidactic and pedagogical in nature.²⁴¹ In fact, Jāmī considered himself as an autodidact and he was commended with this title.²⁴²

To sum up, Jāmī “translated” the *Lavāyih* in a language clearer and more beautiful than that of his predecessors and thus more readily accessible to a larger audience. “In

²³⁵ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 68 (ch. 14).

²³⁶ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 67 (ch. 13), 74 (ch. 17), 97 (ch. 28).

²³⁷ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 81 (ch. 22), 83 (ch. 23), 84-5 (ch. 24), 89 (ch. 26), 98 (ch. 9), 105 (ch. 34), 106 (ch. 35).

²³⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 69 (ch. 15), 75 (ch. 18), 77 (ch. 19), 105 (ch. 34), 106 (ch. 35).

²³⁹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 54 (ch. 3), 70 (ch. 16), 75 (ch. 18), 81 (ch. 22), 95 (ch. 27).

²⁴⁰ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 57 (ch. 5), 58 (ch. 6), 74 (ch. 17), 79 (ch. 21).

²⁴¹ Algar, “Jāmī and Ibn ‘Arabī”, 149.

²⁴² Algar, “Jāmī and Ibn ‘Arabī”, 138.

his works numerous references to and quotations from most of the major figures of this school [Ibn al-‘Arabī] can be found.”²⁴³ The spread of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s school in the Indian subcontinent can certainly be attributed to the popularity of Jāmī’s writings. Its direct, simply and beautiful summarization of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s thought also benefited Chinese readers.

2. *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt*

1) Manuscripts and translation

As a celebrated Persian treatise, the *Lama‘āt* has been studied and commented on by Sufi masters since the thirteenth century. The arguably most popular and influential commentary of the *Lama‘āt* is by Jāmī²⁴⁴ and transmitted as *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt*, a title in which the term *ashi‘at* stands for “flash”. As a reference book in support of Navā‘ī’s study of the *Lama‘āt*,²⁴⁵ the *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt* testifies to Jāmī’s intention to enlighten his student through this interpretation.²⁴⁶ Targeting the readership who were reading the *Lama‘āt*, namely Sufi disciples, it is understandable that the total number of worldwide extant manuscripts of the *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt* is much smaller than the number of surviving manuscript copies of the *Lavāyih*. In the UK at least four manuscript copies of the *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt* are preserved in libraries. We also found a manuscript in China proper but the date of production is unknown.

²⁴³ Chittick, “The Perfect Man as the Prototype of the Self in the Sufism of Jāmī”, 140.

²⁴⁴ Jāmī, *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt*, 21. Chittick also mentions a manuscript of an earlier commentary, the *Lamahat* of ‘Ala‘uddin Yar-‘Ali Shirazi (fl. second half of the 14 century) in his English translation of the *Lama‘āt*. (‘Irāqī, *Divine Flash*, xvi.)

²⁴⁵ Jāmī, *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt*, 21.

²⁴⁶ Jāmī, *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt*, 27.

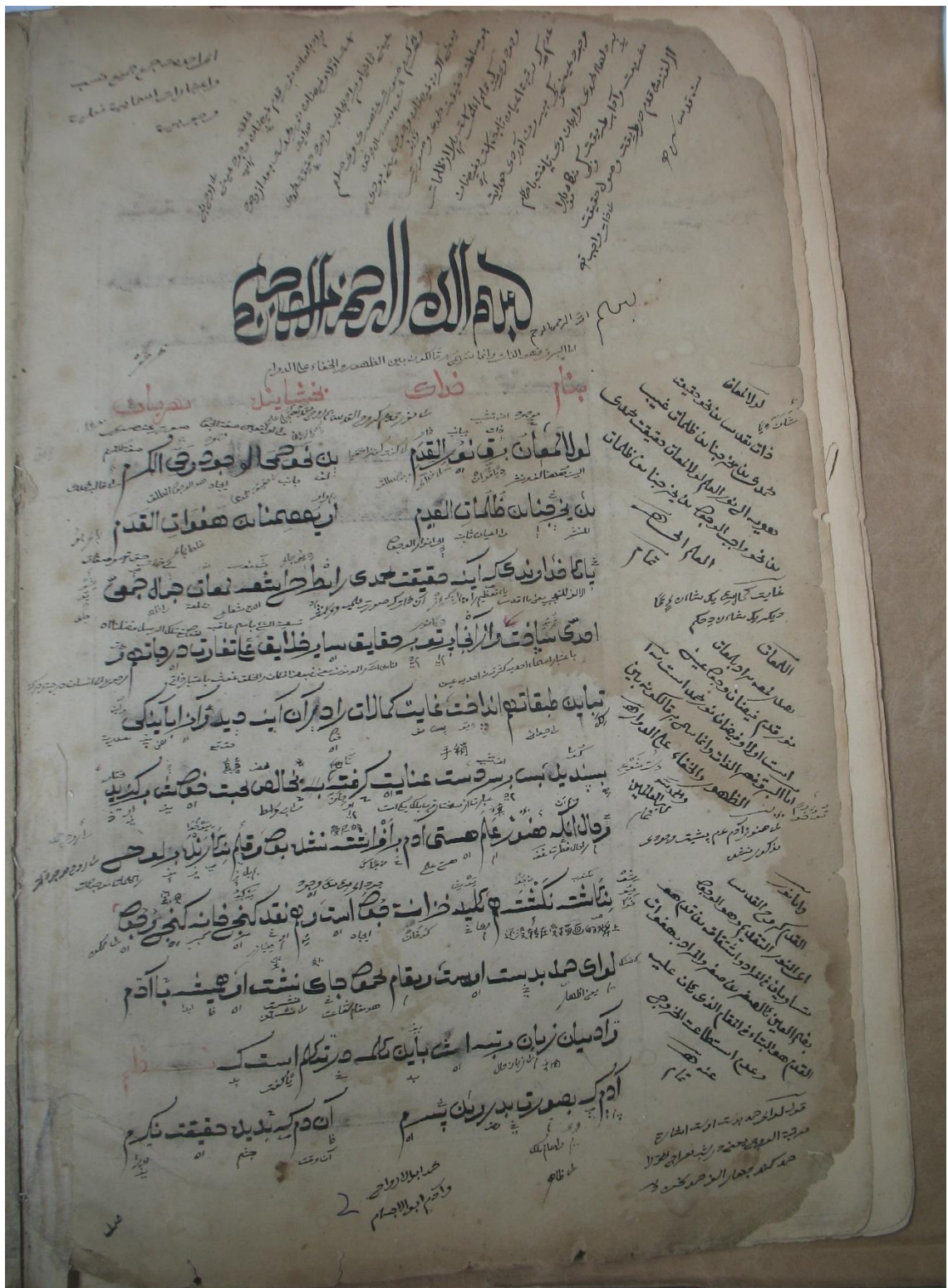


Figure 2. The manuscript of the *Ashi'at al-Lama'at* found in China proper, date unknown.

In addition to the manuscript copies, a transcript of the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* was published in 1885²⁴⁷ and a version edited by Ḥāmid Rabbānī appeared in Tehran in 1973. In 2004 Hādī Rastgār Muqadam Gawharī revised the 1973 version, corrected the mistakes, added annotations and published his redaction in a better print in Qom (Iran).

With regard to Chinese translations of the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, we have one prepared by She Qiling, entitled *Zhaoyuan mijue* and completed during the 1680s, and one in modern Chinese by Ruan Bin 阮斌 (1932-2007) which was published in 2001 under the title *Guanghui de shexian* 光輝的射線 (The Brilliant Lights).

2) Structure and content

In contrast to the *Lavāyih*, the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* is a commentary on Ibn al-'Arabī's teachings based on 'Irāqī's *Lama'āt* and an instruction for the theological intellectuals like Navā'ī to understand Ibn al-'Arabī's doctrine. As Jāmī said in the preface, "The manuscripts of the text [the *Lama'āt*] are different and some of them deviate from the correct version. [...] none of which has solved the problem and none of which has detailed the counterfeit."²⁴⁸ In order to "get close to the maximum degree to this thoughts",²⁴⁹ therefore, Jāmī indicates his intention of writing the

²⁴⁷ The 1885 edition was mentioned by Edward Brown in his *The Literary History of Persia*. It is a collection of four Sufi treatises, probably published in Tehran. I have not seen this edition.

²⁴⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 26.

²⁴⁹ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 26.

Ashi'at al-Lama'at was “in order to correct its phrases, explain its phrases and clarify its allusions.”²⁵⁰

It is believed that Jāmī reveals himself here not only as a commentator, but also an editor-perhaps even a censor, entitled to delete matter he found objectionable.²⁵¹ In examining the quotations provided in the *Ashi'at al-Lama'at* with both Nūrbakhsh and Khājavī's editions of 'Irāqī's *Lama'at*, there are only minor differences. For example, the last chapter in Khājavī's edition was commented on by Jāmī in two chapters in the *Ashi'at al-Lama'at*.

In the *Ashi'at al-Lama'at*, Jāmī kept the original chapter titles of the *Lama'at* as *lam'a* (brightness) and he wrote a commentary not only on the main texts but also on the original preface. Within chapters (*lam'a*), he segmented the main text into short passages (including poems) which are followed by his elucidation and interpretative commentary. He strictly followed the textual sequence of the original work and his interspersed commentary enlarges the length the text from 10000 words to about 46,000 words, almost six times more than the length of the *Lavāyih*.

As in the case of the *Lavāyih*, Jāmī's annotations are composed of prose and quatrains providing readers with a combination of mystical understanding and aesthetic experience. Apart from the commentary on the original text, the *Ashi'at al-Lama'at* includes a “Commenter's introduction” (*muqadama-yi shāriḥ*), a “Foreword”

²⁵⁰ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'at*, 26.

²⁵¹ Algar, “Jāmī and Ibn 'Arabī”, 153.

(*tamhīd*), a “Meaning of praise for the mystics” (*dar ma’nā-yi ḥamd dar nazd-i sūfiya*, hereafter “Praise” for short) and an “Introduction” (*muqadama*). In his “commenter’s introduction” Jāmī outlines the main theme and the purpose of his commentary and in the “Foreword” he offers a lengthy discussion of the key terms in ‘Irāqī’s *Lama’āt* such as “necessary and existence” (*vājib va vujūd* واجب و وجود), “possible” (*mumkin* ممکن), “Reality of Existence” (*haqīqat-i vujūd* حقیقت وجود) and manifestation (*maẓhar* مظهر), together with elucidations in the didactic question-and-answers format.

In his *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt* Jāmī did not identify himself as a “translator” (as he did in the *Lavāyiḥ*) and in his commentary the term *tarjuma* (translation) occurs only three times. On all those occasions the term is used with specific reference to renditions from Arabic into Persian: the Arabic Koranic verse and the hadith in ‘Irāqī’s treatise are paraphrased by Jāmī in his commentary in Persian, a process that he describes as *tarjuma* (translation)²⁵². As for the Arabic poems, Jāmī’s translation is compound of both prose and verse. In chapter one, an Arabic *beyt* (stanza)²⁵³ is first paraphrased in prose and then followed by a Persian poem corresponding to the original one. The original text and Jāmī’s “translation” read:

"و ما الوجه إلا واحد غير أنه يعنى ليست روى مگر یکی؛ لیکن آن است که هر گاه تو آینه ها را متعدد گردانی آن روى به تعدد آن ها، در نمایش متعدد گردد.	إذا أنت أعددت المرايا تعدداً
گر تو به دو رخ نظاره یار کنی نبود رخ او به جز یکی لیک شود	شک نیست که بر وحدتش انکار کنی بسیار چو تو آینه بسیار کنی ²⁵⁴
If you set the mirrors multiplicity” [in	“And what only one face, however,

²⁵² Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 60 (“Praise”). The other two occurrences appear in Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 67 (“Praise”), 103 (ch. 5).

²⁵³ A unit of a Persian or an Arabic poem formed by two lines of verse.

²⁵⁴ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 76 (ch. 1).

Arabic]

It means that there is no face but one. However every time you see multiple mirrors, the face manifests multiply according to the number of the mirrors.

If you happen to watch two faces no doubt you may deny the Oneness of Him.

There is not His face except one, but there are lots of faces because you make lots of mirrors.

Compared with the *Lavāyih* where poetry took up almost half a page and addressed the main ideas of the mystic philosophy, the number of poems in the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* written by Jāmī is much less in terms of percentage and importance. Addressing different groups of readers, the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* is more didactic than the *Lavāyih* in terms of literacy of the text.

In discussing Ibn al-'Arabī's Sufism, 'Irāqī claimed that he incorporated "a few words on the discussion of the stations of love in the tradition of Ḡazālī's *Savāniḥ*"²⁵⁵ and infused Ibn al-'Arabī's thought with Ḡazālī's theme of "love" (Persian: *muḥabbat* محبت, Arabic: *ishq* عشق). In his *Lama'āt*, 'Irāqī viewed love as the only existence in the world²⁵⁶ and held that "lover and beloved are derived from love"²⁵⁷.

In his *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* Jāmī characterised the "love" as the "unbounded reality" (*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa* حقیقت مطلقه) and discussed the "Oneness of Existence" by 'Irāqī's theme of love. In the "Foreword" which is all concerned with his idea, however, Jāmī only talked about the relationship of lover in the middle of love and Beloved in one paragraph.²⁵⁸ In most of the "Foreword" Jāmī actually addressed his attention on the

²⁵⁵ 'Irāqī, *Lama'āt*, 40.

²⁵⁶ See 'Irāqī, *Lama'āt*, 62-5 (ch. 7).

²⁵⁷ 'Irāqī, *Lama'āt*, 45 (ch. 1).

²⁵⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 49-50 ("Foreword").

points of the “Reality of Existence” (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd* حقیقت وجود), the “realities of possibilities” (*ḥaqāyiq-i mumkināt* حقایق ممکنات), “manifestation” (*ẓāhir* ظاهر) and “non-manifestation” (*bāṭin* باطن), as we have discussed, some of which were rarely mentioned in the *Lama’āt* but had been fully discussed in the *Lavāyih*. Besides his commentary of ‘Irāqī’s *Lama’āt*, the theme of love and its related discussion mostly appear in Jāmī’s literary writings, like the poetry part in the *Lavāyih* and his *Dīvans*.

To sum up, Jāmī’s different preference in literary and didactic contexts reflects the diversification of the interpretation of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s teachings in terms of theme, literary form and style. During this process Jāmī contributed his own understanding to develop Ibn al-‘Arabī’s teaching and gradually grew up as an outstanding Sufi master and writer.

3) *Zhaoyuan mijue*

1) Manuscripts and dissemination

As mentioned in the last chapter, She Qiling’s *Zhaoyuan mijue* is transmitted in three versions with different titles in Chinese phonetic transcription. The earliest extant manuscript dates back to 1864. It exhibits the titled *Zhaoyuan mijue* and is preserved at Peking University Library in Beijing (hereafter PUL mss). It was, in all probability, copied by one hand in a neat regular script (*kaishu* 楷書); punctuations, annotations and Arabic sentences are in red or green ink; the manuscript is well preserved and the folios are bound in two volumes (*ce* 冊) and stored in one case (*han* 函). Unfortunately

this copy is incomplete: The first volume contains the full text of the preface and the second volume includes the first to the eighth chapter which corresponds to the same chapter in the original *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*. It is unclear whether the remaining text, i.e. from chapter nine onwards, is lost or whether the copying was indeed never completed.

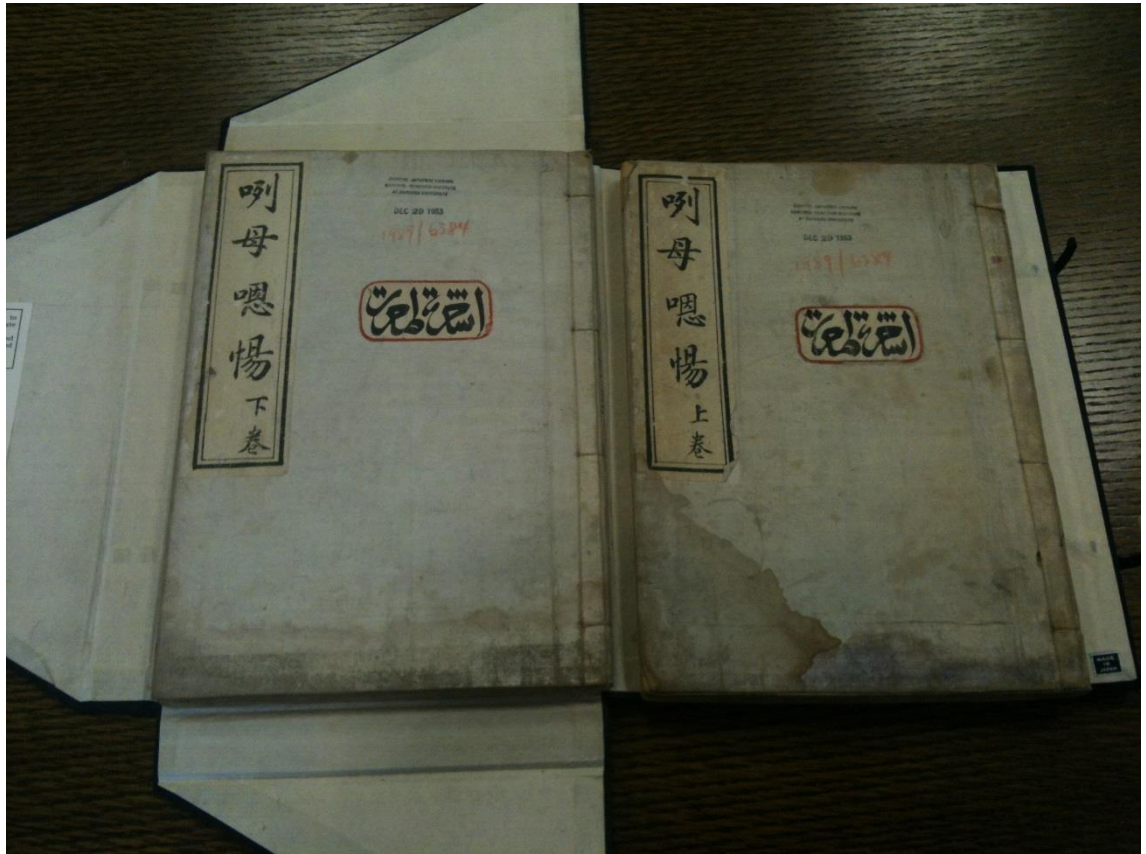


Figure 3. The covers of the manuscript of the 1890 edition of the *Zhaoyuan mijue*.

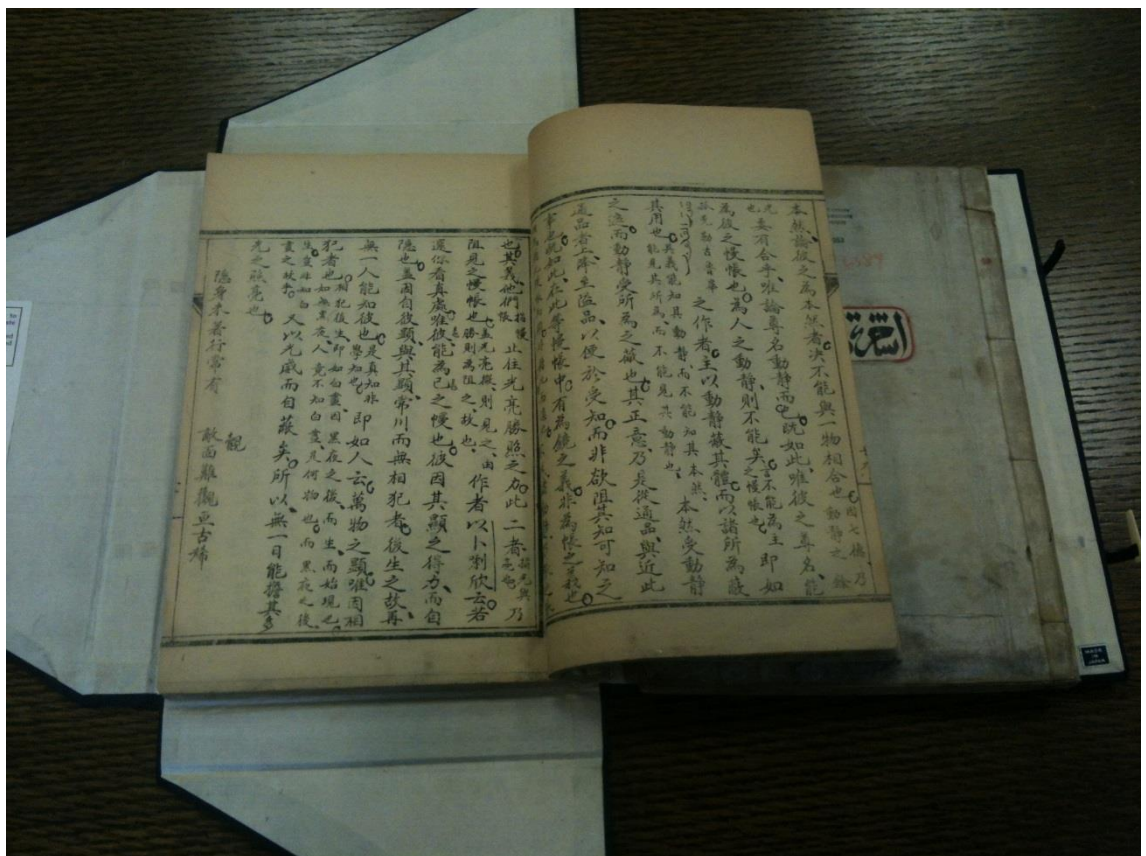


Figure 4. The inside of the manuscript of the 1890 edition of the *Zhaoyuan mijue*.

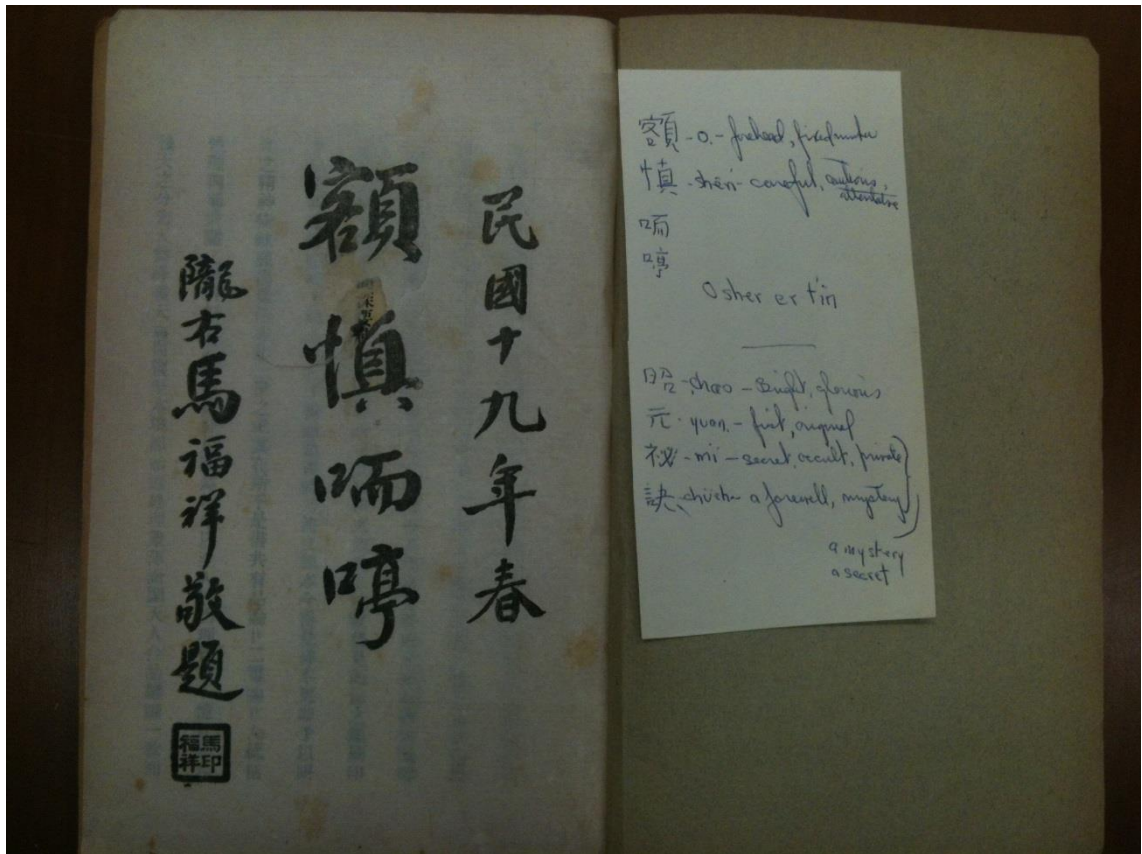


Figure 5. The title page of the 1925 edition of the *Zhaoyuan mijue*.

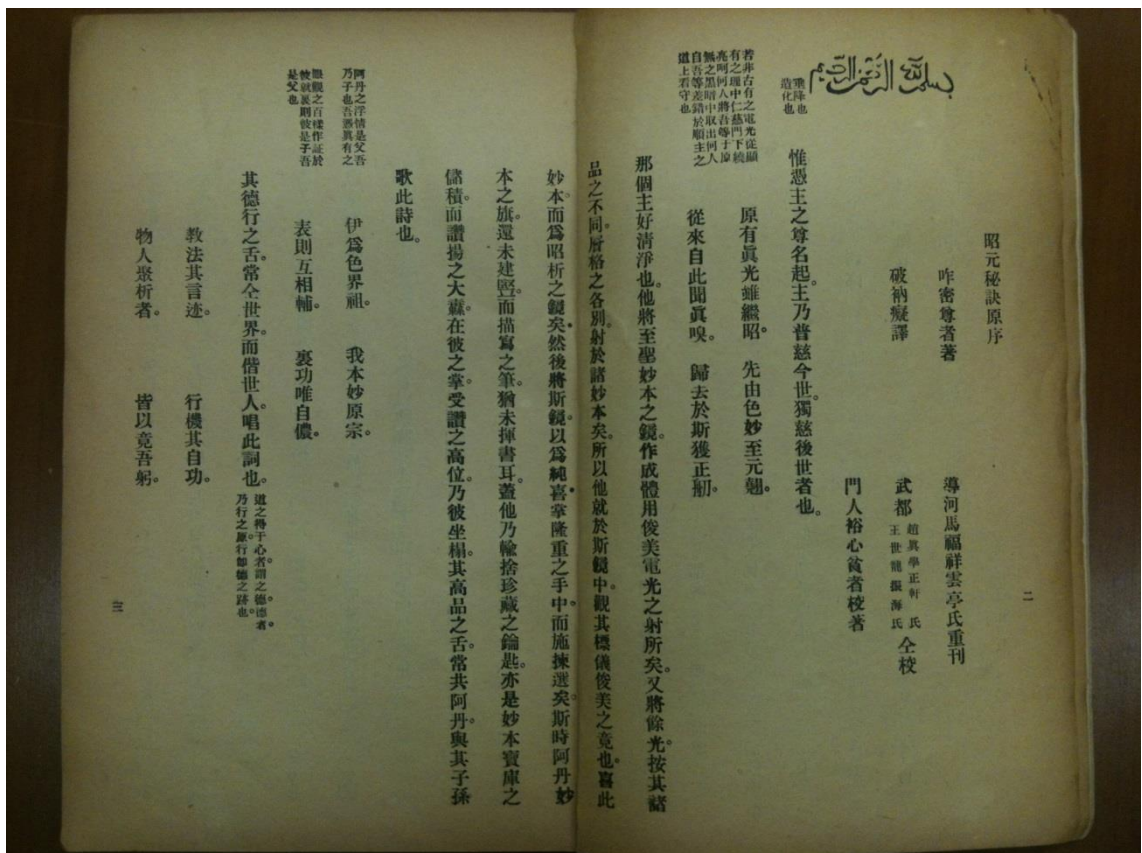


Figure 6. The inside of the 1925 edition of the *Zhaoyuan mijue*.

The second manuscript copy is titled *Liemu enti* 喇母恩惕, dates back to 1890, and is preserved in “The Rev. Claude L. Pickens, Jr. Collection on Muslims in China” in the Harvard-Yenching Library (hereafter HYL mss). This manuscript is a full copy of the original treatise. It is neat and clear to read except for two parts where the copyist made clerical mistakes and then covered the old folio with a new one. As stated by the copyist in his preface, this manuscript was one of four copies that were produced from an earlier manuscript found in Shaanxi province.²⁵⁹

The third copy is known as *Eshen erting* 額慎 , a stereotype published in 1925. With regard to the chapter sequence, this edition corresponds to the other two manuscripts. It carries minor textual divergences but appears to be closer to the PUL mss than the HYL mss.

2) Comparison with the Persian original

Due to the loss of the second part of the text in the PUL mss, my text work and comparison with the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* are primarily based on the HYL mss.²⁶⁰ My reading of the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* is based on the most recent edition prepared by Gawharī.²⁶¹

The Chinese translation divides into twenty-nine chapters. She Qiling translated the entire original treatise including all prefaces and he added his own prefaces. The

²⁵⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:3a.

²⁶⁰ In this dissertation, without notice the text of the *Zhaoyuan mijue* refers to the HYL MS.

²⁶¹ In this dissertation, the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* mentioned in the main text and footnotes refers to Gawharī's edition.

HYL mss has an additional introduction by the copyist, a certain Li Zuolin 李作霖 (unknown), that dates from 1890. The *Eshen erting* version has three other additional prefaces by the publisher and his friends. The main text of the HYL mss and the *Eshen erting* has an additional chapter entitled as “Taiguji 太古紀” (Chronological record of high antiquity) which depicts the history of the world from an Islamic chronological perspective. This essay is said to be referenced by “European and Islamic calendar”²⁶². The content and the language style of this chapter are very different from the main body of She Qiling’s translation. It is very likely that this additional chapter is an original piece of work written by an anonymous Chinese Muslim intellectual who had a wide range of knowledge of geography and astronomy.

The PUL mss *Zhaoyuan mijue* is divided into two parts. The first part consists of a preface by the copyist, a short preface (*xiaoyin* 小引) by She Qiling and the rendition of the first eight chapters of the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*. The second part consists of the translation of chapter nine to the end of the original text. As illustrated in the following table, from chapter twenty-three to twenty-six, chapters in the Chinese translation are arranged in a different order from the original text, as the following table shows:

The <i>Ashi’at al-Lama’āt</i>	The <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>
chapter twenty-three	chapter twenty-six
chapter twenty-four	chapter twenty-three
chapter twenty-five	chapter twenty-four
chapter twenty-six	chapter twenty-five

²⁶² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:79b (1890 version), 106 [15:332] (1925 version): 西洋及回回法.

Further to this, the last chapter twenty-eight of the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* is divided by the translator into chapter twenty-eight, chapter twenty-nine, a conclusion (*jie* 結) and a part entitled “Awakening” (*xing* 醒), which brings the total to twenty-nine chapters in the Chinese translation.

Following Chinese annotation practice, annotations to the translation appear in smaller characters half-size in two columns and on the top margin of a page in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*. Also, some names, terms and phrases appear in the Chinese version written in the original language with a transliteration in Chinese script. Phrases quoted from the original text, particularly the text of ‘Irāqī’s *Lama’āt*, are de-facto Arabic phrases from the Koran verse and the hadith.

Whereas Jāmī’s quotation from the *Lama’āt* and its commentary are not differentiated in the PUL mss and HYL mss, the 1925 edition underlines quotations from ‘Irāqī’s *Lama’āt*. This differentiation indicates that the editor must have consulted Jāmī’s original Persian text and it attests to the editor’s intent to provide convenient references to the original for his readers, especially Chinese Muslims with an interest in the original terminology but with difficulties in accessing the original Persian text.

In his *Zhaoyuan mijue* She Qiling takes almost the same attitude towards “translation” as Jāmī presented in the *Lavāyih*. As the preface reads:

今譯此集，文不諱俚俗，詩不妨鄙拙，雖其志在合東西之音，較真偽之誤。其實，余無乃傳言耶，代筆耶。其工拙之詞，俾我如此者，我即如此言也。其長短之句，令我如是者，我即如是書也。又豈肯以己之汗顏，又(人)之舌論，而為阻斯譯之隘也哉。²⁶³

²⁶³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:1a.

This collection I translate this time, its style does not shy away from rustic and unrefined [expressions] and the poem may seem simple and clumsy. Its intent is to bring together the sounds of the East and the West, and to compare errors of truth and falsehood. As a matter of fact, I am not just transmitting the words, [like an] amanuensis. His [the creator's] skilful and clumsy words make me like this, I then speak like this; His long and short sentences make me like this, I then write like this. How can I have my own shame and human's tongue's argument to block that obstruction of this translation?

While “daring not to contend for the achievement with the creator of us”²⁶⁴, She Qiling sees his role as a translator as transcribing the creator's message by also reflecting linguistic registers of the original text in the target language. In the *Jingxue xichuanpu* Zhao Can recognizes that the *Zhaoyuan mijue* was written in literary Chinese (*shuzi*), but She Qiling himself describes his translation as sometimes “vulgar” and “simple”.²⁶⁵ His perception of the linguistic style of the original is quite different from Jāmī's statement in his *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, as Jāmī writes:

هر کجا خیر و کمالی ببینند، از مواهب حق – سبحانه و تعالی – شمارند و هر کجا عیب و نقصانی یابند، به عجز و قصور بشریت راجع دارند²⁶⁶.

Anywhere [people] see the goodness and perfection, [people] attribute them to the gift of the Truth – All is He. And anywhere [people] find failure and fall, they relate them to human's inability and insufficiency.

This is to say that Jāmī takes responsibility for all imperfections in his commentary and attributes all “goodness and perfection” to God. On the other side of the coin, She Qiling sees his translation including its perfections and imperfections as a work delivered by God. Thus even though the language used in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* might be judged as “vulgar” and “simple” in the Chinese context, She Qiling has empowered this language with divine glamour that stems from him imitating the style used in the

²⁶⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:1a: 又豈敢爭功於造化我者哉.

²⁶⁵ See note 263.

²⁶⁶ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 27.

original. As he writes in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, this work aims to “set off the secret of the very greatness and awake the sleep of indulgence”²⁶⁷.

As one of the essential Islamic scriptures and central to the reception of Islam in China, She Qiling taught the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* in various circumstances, such as Shengjing (today's Shenyang), Putuoyuan (near today's Lintong of Shaanxi province) and so on.²⁶⁸ Although written in literary Chinese (*shuzi*), the *Zhaoyuan mijue* is based on and derives from his considerable experience of teaching and interpreting the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* in colloquial Chinese in classes over a considerable period of time. Therefore we also notice several characteristics of colloquial Chinese, namely *hanyin* 漢音 in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*.

Firstly, besides the aforementioned Arabic verses that appear in his translation also as direct quotes in Arabic script, She Qiling presents most names, place names and book titles in the original and in phonetic transcription in Chinese script, as the following table shows:

	Modern transcription	<i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		Modern transcription of <i>Hanyu pinyin</i> (phonetic transliteration)
		Persian/Arabic	Chinese	
Person's name	Maḥmūd	محمود	穆德	<i>Mude</i>
	Laylī	ليلی	來拉	<i>Laila</i>
	Majnūn	مجنون	默直奴尼	<i>Mozhinuni</i>
	Abū yazīd	ابو یزید	額不亦即德	<i>Ebuyijide</i>
Place name	Macca	مکه	滿刻	<i>Manke</i>
	Madīna	مدینه	默底納	<i>Modina</i>

²⁶⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:1a: 發揮至大之玄機喚醒沉迷之睡夢.

²⁶⁸ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:1a: 客盛京 [...] 日授千言. Also see Zhao Can, *Jingxue xichuanpu*, 138b, 147b.

Book title	Futūḥāt	فتوحات ²⁶⁹	府禿哈忒	<i>Futuhate</i>
	Fuṣūṣ	فصوص	府蘇速 / 府數速	<i>Fusus/Fushusu</i>

Secondly, we also find a few Sufi terms that appear in phonetic transcription in Chinese script, specifically in the “Foreword”. These include terms such as *wazhibu* 瓦直卜, which stands for the Persian *vājib* واجب (necessary) and *mumuqin* 牡穆欽 which corresponds to Persian *mumkin* ممکن (possible).

Thirdly, some sentences read as a colloquial style like “*nengde ruci zhi xizhe, haonan haonan ya*. 能得如此之喜者, 好難好難呀.”²⁷⁰ (The devotee who can achieve this, very very difficult.). Moreover, it is said by Zhao Can that the poetry in the original text had already been taught in the form of a Chinese poem during his teaching.²⁷¹

Although such characteristics in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* suggest the influence of colloquial Chinese (*hanyin*) applied during teaching practice, the whole translation text can still be considered as a Chinese Islamic writing written in the language of Chinese literati (*shuzi*).

In the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, most of the original terms are translated into the existing Chinese words rather than phonetic transliteration, as the following table illustrates:

Words in the <i>Ashi’at al-Lama’āt</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>sabab</i>	سبب	cause	<i>gu</i>	故	cause
<i>martaba</i>	مرتبه	level	<i>pin (di)</i>	品(第)	grade/level

²⁶⁹ Written by Ibn ‘Arabī, the *Futūḥā al-Makkiyya* (The Meccan Illuminations) discusses a wide range of topics from mystical philosophy to Sufi practices and records of his dreams / visions.

²⁷⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:67a (ch. 7).

²⁷¹ See note 1655.

<i>‘ālam</i>	عالم	world	<i>shi (jie)</i>	世(界)	world
<i>sakanāt</i>	سکانات	stillness	<i>jīng</i>	靜	stillness

For the key topic of the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt* “the Oneness of Existence” and its related concepts, the Chinese version find their provenance in the context of Chinese traditional philosophy, as this table illustrates:

Words in the <i>Ashi’at al-Lama’āt</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>vaḥdat</i>	وحدت	oneness	<i>yi</i>	一	one
<i>vujūd/hastī</i>	وجود / هستی	existence / being	<i>you</i>	有	existence
<i>Ḥaqq</i>	حق	Real	<i>zhen</i>	真	real
<i>hasti-yi Ḥaqq</i>	هستی حق	Real being	<i>zhenyou</i>	真有	real existence
<i>ḥaqīqat</i>	حقیقت	reality	<i>zhenben</i>	真本	real root
			<i>miaoben</i>	妙本	wondrous root
<i>zāt</i>	ذات	essence	<i>benran</i>	本然	root nature
			<i>benti</i>	本體	root substance
			<i>ti</i>	體	substance / body
<i>ṣifat</i>	صفت	attribute	<i>dongjing</i>	動靜	movement and stillness
			<i>yong</i>	用	function (appear once)
<i>ismā’</i>	اسماء	names	<i>mingse</i>	名色	name and color
<i>ẓāhir</i>	ظاهر	manifest	<i>biao</i>	表	appear
			<i>xian</i>	顯	manifest
<i>bāṭin</i>	باطن	non-manifest	<i>li</i>	裏	inside
			<i>yin</i>	隱	conceal
<i>muṭlaq</i>	مطلق	unbounded	<i>tong</i>	通	unbounded / open
<i>muqayyad</i>	مقید	bounded	<i>ai</i>	礙	obstruct
<i>fanā’</i>	فناء	annihilation	<i>hunhua</i>	渾化	to integrate and transform

These terms are appropriated from the Chinese context but serve multiple institutional and ideological interests. Terms like *ti* 體, *yong* 用 and *hunhua* 渾化 are the main concepts discussed by Neo-Confucians. *Zhen* 真, *you* 有 and the compound *zhenyou* 真有 are probably inspired by the Daoist doctrines and *mingse* 名色 reflects the influence of Buddhism.

Discussing on the same topic of the “Oneness of Existence” as the *Lavāyih* but with a different theme of love, the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt* contains instances of Sufi terminology which had not been mentioned in the *Lavāyih*. In accordance with the original, the *Zhaoyuan mijue* finds some Chinese corresponding terms as the following table shows:

Words in the <i>Ashi’at al-Lama’āt</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	Hanyu pinyin	Chinese	Meaning
<i>muḥabbat</i>	محبت	love	<i>xi</i>	喜	likeness / loveness
<i>’ishq</i>	عشق				
<i>maḥbūb</i>	محبوب	Beloved	<i>shouxizhe</i>	受喜者	he who is liked / beloved
<i>ma’shūq</i>	معشوق				
<i>muḥibb</i>	محب	lover	<i>xizhe</i>	喜者	he who likes / lover
<i>’āshiq</i>	عاشق				
<i>mumkin</i>	ممکن	possible	<i>mumuqin</i>	牡穆欽	[phonetic transliteration]
			<i>youqiu</i>	有求	have desire
<i>vājib</i>	واجب	necessary	<i>wazhibu</i>	瓦直蔔	[phonetic transliteration]
			<i>wuqiu</i>	無求	without desire
<i>āyina</i>	آينه	mirror	<i>jing</i>	鏡	mirror
<i>faqr</i>	فقر	poverty	<i>qiong</i>	窮	poor
<i>faqīr</i>	فقير	the poor	<i>pinzhe</i>	貧者	the poor
<i>daf’</i>	دفع	repulse	<i>fangbei</i>	防備	guard against
<i>sharṭ</i>	شرط	term	<i>tiaokuan</i>	條款	term

In the *Zhaoyuan mijue* compound words are applied in correspondence with original terms. Besides the polysyllabic Persian loanwords like *mumuqin* 牡穆欽 and *wazhibu* 瓦直蔔, disyllabic expression is considered as an inevitable means in rendering a foreign word into Chinese. Some disyllable words are borrowed from the Chinese context to translate a single original word, such as *xizhe* 喜者, *fangbei* 防備 and *hunhua* 渾化 and some disyllable words correspond to nominal endocentric phrases and each character represents an original word, like *zhenyou* 真有. In some cases, She Qiling creates compound words to translate the meaning of the original terms like

shouxizhe 受喜者.

In the history of Chinese translation, innovating disyllabic words has been widely practised in translating Buddhist sutras from the second century to the ninth century²⁷² and in translating European religious and science texts starting from the sixteenth century. When the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw She Qiling translating Persian Islamic scriptures into Chinese, disyllabic words had been deeply infused into the classical Chinese context. The large number of compound words in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, on the one hand, is a reflection of the oral teaching experience of the translator, and on the other hand, can be considered as a continuation of Chinese translation strategy which had been developed for centuries.

In general the *Zhaoyuan mijue* presents its readers with a complete picture of Jāmī's *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*. The translator goes through every detail of the original text, the subtitle, and every Arabic and Persian poem. Even the chapter title *lam'a* (flash) has been translated as *dian* 電 (lightning). In the eyes of the translator, however, as She Qiling argues in the preface, "writing poem (*shi* 詩), writing literary composition (*wen* 文), writing Song poetry (*ci* 詞) and writing odes (*fu* 賦) are not creating, [but only] developing the hidden meaning of the nature."²⁷³ In this sense, the *Zhaoyuan mijue* went beyond a work of translation and has been provided with the legitimacy of transmitting the Islamic doctrine.

²⁷² Although the imperial government continued the translation of Buddhist sutras during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the translation movement had declined.

²⁷³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:1a: 作詩, 作文, 作詞, 作賦, 亦非作也, 發揮造化之蘊也.

4. *Zhenjing zhaowei*

1) Manuscript and dissemination

It appears that Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei*, made during the early eighteenth century, is the only translation of the *Lavāyih* in Chinese. The *Zhenjing zhaowei* is also transmitted under the titles *Lewayihe* 勒瓦一合 or *Zhaowei jing* 昭微經. Although a manuscript, reportedly copied during the reign of Qianlong, appeared in an auction sale in Beijing in 2009²⁷⁴, a printed copy published in Beijing in 1925 is the earliest textual witness of this text.

2) Comparison with the Persian original

Since we seem to have no information where, when and how Liu Zhi obtained access to his manuscript copy of the Persian original, I will apply Yann Richard's edition of the *Lavāyih* as the main base text for this research.²⁷⁵ Richard's edition derives from the earliest manuscripts and has been considered as the most reliable edition of Jāmī's *Lavāyih*. And a brief comparison of Richard's edition and Liu Zhi's Chinese translation shows that Liu Zhi's version corresponds more to Richard's edition than to Tasbīhī's edition. In terms of the overall structure of the book, for example, Liu Zhi's translation in thirty-six chapters corresponds to Richard's edition but cannot match up with Tasbīhī's edition which is divided into only thirty-three chapters.

²⁷⁴ <http://auction.artxun.com/paimai-26821-134104328.shtml>

²⁷⁵ In this dissertation the text *Lavāyih* I discuss in the main text and footnotes refers to Richard's edition.

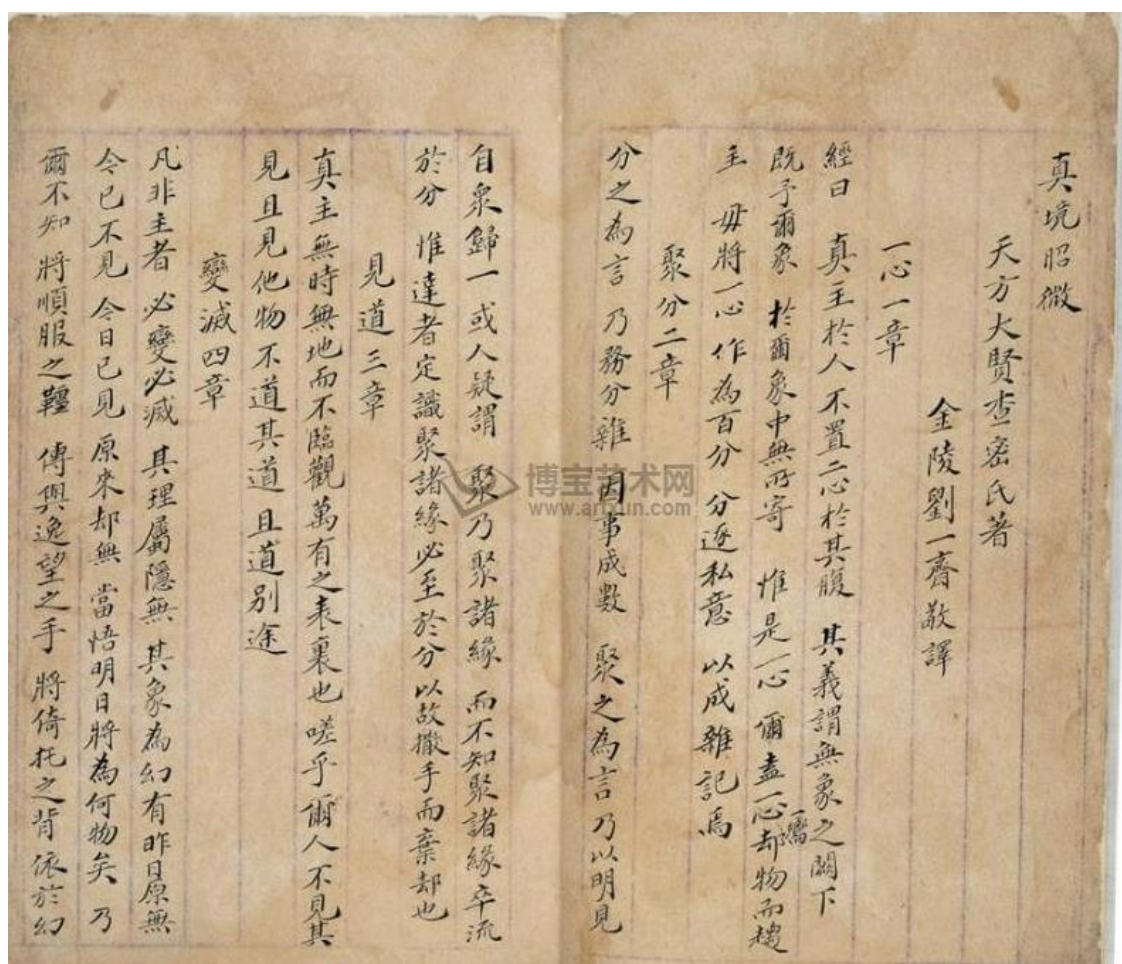


Figure 7. The manuscript of the *Zhenjing zhaowei* reportedly copied during the reign of Qianlong in an auction sale in Beijing in 2009.

The *Zhenjing zhaowei* does not carry Jāmī's preface and conclusion and Liu Zhi leaves out most of the quatrains which make up a good proportion of the original treatise. Because Jāmī only talks about his opinion of "translation" in the preface and it has not yet been translated into Chinese in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, we cannot find the discussion of "translation" in Liu Zhi's text.

With regard to the quatrains, Liu Zhi translates only three out of a total of ninety poems in the *Lavāyih*.²⁷⁶ This omission of quatrains in the translation may be caused by their omission in the manuscript copy available to Liu Zhi, but one may equally argue that Liu Zhi does not consider them as being relevant for the interpretation of Islamic mysticism in his translation of the *Lavāyih* and therefore simply leaves them out in a work that aims at a more advanced readership. This approach would be consistent with the approach Liu Zhi shows in his *Tianfang dianli* 天方典禮 and the *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理 which are both written in literary Chinese (*shuzi*) and which also rarely include poems. Nevertheless, in works such as the *Wujingyue* 五更月 and the *Tianfang sanzijing* 天方三字經 where he aims at a more elementary education in Islamic teachings, Liu Zhi attaches great importance to verses and poems.

It appears that in his writings on Chinese Islamic doctrines in the literary Chinese style, Liu Zhi may have been influenced by some of the negative views on poetry writing during the Song period. In the *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (Classified Conversations of Master Zhu) – to name just one example of a relevant Song period thinker - Zhi Xi has

²⁷⁶ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 40 (ch. 25), 52 (ch. 28).

the following remark on poetry writing:

今言詩不必作, 且道恐分了為學工夫. 然到極處, 當自知作詩果無益.²⁷⁷

Today [they] say there is no point in writing poems and that it takes up too much time [that can otherwise be used] for studying. But when it comes to the extreme one should know oneself that there is really nothing to be gained from writing poems.

For Neo-Confucians like Zhu Xi poetry writing is a waste of time with a detrimental effect on the study of the doctrines and the ethical advancement of oneself.²⁷⁸ It is thus not surprising that most Neo-Confucian works were composed in prose rather than poem form. Through Liu Zhi's preference for prose the *Zhenjing zhaowei* became a short five-thousand word treatise. And whereas the *Lavāyih* was read by a wide audience of ordinary people in the Persian speaking world, its Chinese translation was designed as a theoretical work that attests to the translator's intention of writing exclusively for intellectuals in the Chinese speaking world.

In terms of the textual arrangement Liu Zhi made slight changes to the internal structure in his translation by dividing chapter twenty-one in the *Lavāyih* into two chapters and combining the original chapters thirty-one and thirty-two into one chapter, and he added chapter titles that are based on the main theme in those chapters. For example, the first chapter is entitled as *yixin* 一心 (one heart) reflecting the main topic of this chapter as discussed before.²⁷⁹

Generally speaking about two-thirds of the translation can be directly related to

²⁷⁷ Zhu Xi, *Zhuji yulei*, vol. 8, 3333.

²⁷⁸ Similar comments can be found in other Neo-Confucian works, such as in *Er Cheng ji*, 239: 或問: “詩可學否?” 曰: “既學時, 須是用功, 方合詩人格. 既用功, 甚妨事.”

²⁷⁹ See note 234.

the original text on a sentence-by-sentence basis. The *Zhenjing zhaowei* carries no original names or phrases in Persian or Arabic, and where reference is given to Ibn ‘Arabī and Mahmūd Shabistarī in the original, the translator preferred to call them as “*xian* 賢” (virtuous person / sage)²⁸⁰ or sometimes even dropped the reference to them in the Chinese text. Given that Jāmī did not highlight the reference of Naqshbandiyya teachings in the *Lavāyih*,²⁸¹ the Chinese translation does not indicate the Naqshbandi significance.

While his translation leaves out most of the philosophical quatrains and makes no reference to the well-known Sufi names, Liu Zhi takes great care in translating the terms and discussions of the Ibn ‘Arabī’s school in the original texts. In the *Zhenjing zhaowei* we encounter a number of translation terms for original terms which were also applied by She Qiling in his *Zhaoyuan mijue*. These include:

Words in the <i>Ashi’at al-Lama’āt</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhenjing zhaowei</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>vaḥdat</i>	وحدت	oneness	<i>yi</i>	一	one
<i>vujūd / hastī</i>	وجود / هستی	existence / being	<i>you</i>	有	existence
<i>Ḥaqq</i>	حق	Real	<i>zhen</i>	真	real
<i>hasti-yi Ḥaqq</i>	هستی حق	Real being	<i>zhenyou</i>	真有	real existence
<i>zāt</i>	ذات	essence	<i>ti</i>	體	substance / body
<i>ẓāhir</i>	ظاهر	manifest	<i>biao</i>	表	appear
			<i>xian</i>	顯	manifest
<i>bāṭin</i>	باطن	non-manifest	<i>li</i>	裏	inside
			<i>yin</i>	隱	conceal
<i>muṭlaq</i>	مطلق	unbounded	<i>tong</i>	通	unbounded / open
<i>muqayyad</i>	مقيد	bounded	<i>ai</i>	礙	obstruct
<i>martaba</i>	مرتبه	level	<i>pin (di)</i>	品(第)	grade / level
<i>‘ālam</i>	عالم	world	<i>shi (jie)</i>	世(界)	world

²⁸⁰ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 43 (ch. 27), 53 (ch. 30).

²⁸¹ Murata, *Gleams*, 116.

We do, however, also encounter translation terms which indicate that Liu Zhi did not necessarily adhere to given Chinese translation practices. In the following table, we list examples for translation terms that are different from those used by She Qiling:

Words in the <i>Lavāyih</i> and <i>Ashi'at al-Lama'āt</i>		Correspondence in the <i>Zhenjing zhaowei</i>		Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>	
Persian/Arabic	Meaning	Chinese	Meaning	Chinese	Meaning
<i>sakanāt</i> ساکنات	stillness	<i>zhi</i> 止	stop	<i>jing</i> 靜	stillness
<i>sabab</i> سبب	reason	<i>yuan</i> 緣	reason	<i>gu</i> 故	cause
<i>ḥaqīqat</i> حقیقت	reality	<i>li</i> 理	principle	<i>zhenben</i> 真本	real root
				<i>miaoben</i> 妙本	wondrous root
<i>fanā'</i> فناء	annihilation	<i>ke</i> 克	subdue	<i>hunhua</i> 渾化	to integrate and transform
		<i>mie</i> 滅	perish		
<i>ṣifat</i> صفت	attribute	<i>yong</i> 用	attribute	<i>dongjing</i> 動靜	movement and stillness
				<i>yong</i> 用	attribute (appear once)
<i>ismā'</i> اسماء	names	(<i>zhu</i>)	(every)	<i>mingse</i> 名色	name and colour
		<i>ming</i> (諸)名	name		

Compared with the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, compound words are much fewer in Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei*. Even though predecessors like She Qiling had already set dissyllabic words in correspondence with certain original terms, in most cases in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, dissyllabic words were replaced by monosyllabic words, such as *ke* 克, *yong* 用 and *ming* 名.

Comparing with She Qiling's full translation of the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, the *Zhenjing zhaowei* can be seen as a concise translation of the *Lavāyih* in terms of content and style. In his translation it seems that Liu Zhi tends to avoid any image which would lead the reader to associate it with the Persian original text. At the same time, Liu Zhi gives full play to his accomplished skill in referencing classical Chinese materials. In chapter eight of the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, he quotes a well-known sentence from *Mengzi*, which

is also widely discussed in the Neo-Confucian texts. The *Lavāyih* reads:

[نور ظهور هستی حق] تو را از تو بستاند، و از مزاحمت اغیار.²⁸²

[The light of the manifestation of the Real Being] will take you away from you, and free you from the disturbance of the others.

Liu Zhi translates:

[...] 真有之光昭至矣，萬物皆備於己，無外物之煩擾矣。²⁸³

[...] The light of the Real Being will indeed manifest itself. The ten thousand things are all complete within oneself. There is no annoyance and disturbance by external things.

The *Zhenjing zhaowei* has been thereby constructed with some characteristics of a classical Chinese treatise. One could say that this approach is the consequence of the translator's preference for the appropriate phrases from the Confucian canon, mainly in the Song interpretation suggested by Zhu Xi and others. The reference to the Confucian canon conversely strengthens the claim to a higher authority for this Chinese Islamic treatise by presenting the unfamiliar thought through means that would have been very familiar to his audience. As a translation made later than She Qiling's translation and also written in literary Chinese (*shuzi*), the appearance of the *Zhenjing zhaowei* keeps a distance from the original text, but seems to be closer to a classical Chinese philosophical treatise than the former Chinese Islamic works.

Conclusion

Jāmī devoted his whole life to representing and vindicating Ibn 'Arabī's teachings.

²⁸² Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 61 (ch. 8).

²⁸³ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 9-10 (ch. 8). Compared with "All the ten thousand things are prepared for me" (*Mengzi*, 13.4: 萬物皆備於我矣), Liu Zhi's writing is a partial quote since the object has been changed from *wo* 我 (me) to *ji* 己 (me).

Compared with his scholarly writings on the Ibn ‘Arabī’s teachings, the *Lavāyih* and the *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt* are more generally accessible and aesthetically attractive than those products of pure erudition. Jāmī deploys his literary and poetic genius in expounding the teachings and concepts of Ibn ‘Arabī.

In the views of Jāmī and She Qiling, translating is not for the purpose of producing text in another language, but to interpret and disseminate the Islamic teachings by the means of text. Although the translators kept emphasizing their identity as a transmitter, in fact every decision they made in the translation discloses their target readership, life experience and social status.

For the *Lavāyih*, a treatise which aims at ordinary people, Liu Zhi transformed his translation into theoretical prose which was considered by a reader as a text where “the composition and argument are too advanced and profound and [this text] cannot be understood by every one.”²⁸⁴ For the *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘āt* which was written as a commentary for the Sufi disciples, She Qiling’s translation was assessed by the same reader as a text in which the translator “did not seek for advance and profoundness, [but] intended to be admired by both scholars and layman”²⁸⁵.

Both written in literary Chinese (*shuzi*), the *Zhaoyuan mijue* refers more to the original texts than the *Zhenjing zhaowei* in terms of structure, composition and terminology. In order to highlight the legitimacy of the text to interpret the Islamic

²⁸⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue* (1925 version), “Li Tingxiang xu”, 1: 文理高深, 非盡人所能瞭解也.

²⁸⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue* (1925 version), “Li Tingxiang xu”, 1: 不求高深, 要使雅俗共賞.

doctrine, She Qiling instructed his readers to read the *Zhaoyuan mijue* besides the translation. For the interests of the readers who were familiar with Chinese contexts but had no ability to read the original Islamic scriptures, Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei* went far away from the original to get close to the Chinese context. Consequently the lost contact between the readers and the original text may have caused troubles in understanding the Islamic doctrine. Alternatively, the Chinese versions could be seen as a new interpretation of Jāmī's doctrines in particular and Sufi teaching in general, both of which were adapted to the Chinese intellectual context.

Chapter Four: Case Studies

While reading the *Zhaoyuan mijue* and the *Zhenjing zhaowei* we find that the terminology deriving from the traditional Chinese philosophy has imbued these Chinese Islamic texts with an appearance of syncretism. Terms and phrases exemplified in the last chapter have shown that the Chinese translators borrowed from the lexicon of traditional Chinese philosophical traditions and applied it to their translation for the Islamic canon.

As is the case in many other instances of lexical appropriation and the domestication of concepts, the question as to whether these terms were used with prefabricated ideas or concepts deriving from the original sources or whether they were infused with creative and independent interpretations by the translators seems crucial for our understanding of the transmission of translated texts.

The former reading of these terms reflects the assumption of syncretism, that is, the terms used in the translation text are able to faithfully and transparently reflect not only the meanings but also the traditions of the original context. Terms like *ti* 體, *yong* 用, *tong* 通 and *ai* 礙 occurring in Chinese Islamic texts carry the traditional Chinese philosophical concepts into their interpretation of Islam. And although “Islam” and “Chinese philosophy” are these two distinctive entities and have been viewed as two distinct monolithic religious entities, once applied in the Chinese Islamic translations, these terms from the Chinese philosophical traditions swing between the two philosophical canons. They share both parts and take on a new identity that makes it

problematic to classify them as belonging to either of these two textual and intellectual corpora.

In the conception of syncretism the Chinese Islamic texts, their authors or translators present us with the ambitious vision that these texts represent a union of Islam and traditional Chinese philosophy with their authors or translators acting as intermediary agents between the two canons. However, when a Chinese Muslim translator is respected for his solid knowledge of the Islamic and Chinese philosophy traditions, this syncretism prompts the question as to how could he be appreciated for his “effort” of transporting an entire package of terminology and traditions from the original context into a similar context? The analysis based on the consideration of syncretism regards the translation text only as an “end product” and tends to ignore the dynamic and innovative role played by the translator in creating his Chinese Islamic translation.

In my research on the development of Chinese Muslim intellectuals and the production of manuscripts, I have shown that no Chinese Islamic written vocabulary existed in China proper before the seventeenth century. Far away from the place where those Persian and Arabic Islamic manuscripts were first written, Chinese Muslim intellectuals attempted to interpret Islamic teachings in a mixture of original technical vocabulary and colloquial Chinese, and then adapted the Islamic teachings into their own literary environment. The Chinese Islamic translations written in *shuzi* are thus perceived as historic witnesses that attest to the earliest attempts to formulate Islamic

thought in the Chinese vernacular language. Although parts of the Chinese audience at the time may have been familiar with Islamic teachings to some extent, the need to formulate Islamic teachings in written Chinese required an explicit vocabulary capable of performing this mediating function.

For the Chinese translators, the classical and traditional Chinese philosophical lexicon provided a rich terminology for their interpretation of Islamic teachings. Instead of saying that they “borrowed” terms, I would rather argue that Chinese Muslim intellectuals attempted to choose words and phrases that they considered suitable for rendering Islamic teachings into China. By doing so, they enriched the Chinese language to the point where it became capable of expressing Islamic teachings.

Although they stem from the Chinese classical and traditional philosophical lexicon, these terms underwent a process of semantic extensions and became components of a newly created and independent terminology that served the purpose of Islamic exegesis. Chinese Islamic translation texts, in the effort of Chinese Muslim intellectuals, should not be considered as a consequence of Islamic reductionism but as an aspect of Islamic expansion into an entirely new linguistic and philosophical discourse.

In this chapter, instead of reading texts as end products, I would like to propose a research that focuses on the dynamic dimension of these texts, their authors and audiences, that is, to account for the “process of production” in the complex and challenging context of culture and religious interaction. In the process of translation the Chinese Muslim translators sought for the terms with which their target audience

was acquainted and that the translator perceived as semantically suitable to represent the meanings in their original source material. This is to say, I shall attempt to shed light onto the way in which the Chinese Muslim translators deployed the lexicon of traditional Chinese philosophy as a step toward interpreting Islam.

This chapter is based on close readings of Jāmī's two Sufi treatises and their Chinese translations by She Qiling and Liu Zhi. By means of examples, I shall focus on corresponding terms that are considered essential either in the Persian Sufi context or in the Chinese philosophy. In order to discuss the terminological decision-making process of the Muslim translators, my discussion of original and translation revolves around reconstructions of their contextualised significance in the Sufi tradition and in traditional Chinese philosophy respectively.

1. The term *ḥaqīqat*

1) Jāmī's *ḥaqīqat*

The Persian word *ḥaqīqat* حقیقت (plural: *ḥaqāyiq* حقایق), normally rendered as “reality” in the Sufi context, means “something fixed in a manner of disconnection and certainty”²⁸⁶; it derives from the Arabic word *ḥaqīqa* حقيقة standing for the same meaning. In the philosophical context, *ḥaqīqat* denotes “a concept used to refer to the principle of every thing” and “contains the essence of every thing and cannot be

²⁸⁶ See the entity “*ḥaqīqat*” in Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, 747-749.

changed.”²⁸⁷

In Jāmī’s *Lavāyih* and *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, the term *ḥaqīqat* appears for a few times as a stand-alone term. In most occurrences this term is used in association with the central Sufi terms like *vujūd*²⁸⁸ / *hastī*²⁸⁹ (existence) and *ḥaqq* (Real / God)²⁹⁰. In addition to these concepts, *ḥaqīqat* is also accompanied by terms related to the theme of “love” in the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, such as *‘ishq* (love)²⁹¹ and *mumkanāt* (possible things)²⁹² and specifically goes along with the terms considered as “lover” such as *ādam* آدم (human)²⁹³ / *banda* بنده (servant/human being)²⁹⁴ and Muḥammad محمد²⁹⁵.

a. *Ḥaqīqat* and *ḥaqāyiq*

In the *Lavāyih* Jāmī explains the *ḥaqīqat* in the *Lavāyih* as follows:

حقیقت هر شیء تعین وجود است در حضرت علم به اعتبار شائی که آن شیء مظهر اوست، یا خود وجود متعین به همان شأن در همان حضرت.²⁹⁶

The reality (*ḥaqīqat*) of each thing is the entification of Existence within the Presence of Knowledge in respect of the task of which the thing is the locus of manifestation; or, it is Existence Itself, entified by that task in that Presence.²⁹⁷

²⁸⁷ Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, 747-749.

²⁸⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 30, 33 (“Foreword”), 158 (ch. 15), 204 (ch. 24), 213 (ch. 27); Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 75 (ch. 18), 78 (ch. 20), 83 (ch. 23), 85 (ch. 24), 89, 92 (ch. 26), 95 (ch. 27).

²⁸⁹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 89 (ch. 26), 98 (ch. 29), 105 (ch. 34), 106 (ch. 35).

²⁹⁰ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 172 (ch. 17); Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 67 (ch. 13).

²⁹¹ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 76 (ch. 1).

²⁹² Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 36 (“Foreword”), 75 (ch. 1).

²⁹³ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 60 (“Praise”).

²⁹⁴ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 162 (ch. 15), 173 (ch. 17).

²⁹⁵ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 25 (“Commentator’s introduction”) and 33, 35 (“Foreword”), 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61 (“Praise”).

²⁹⁶ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 81 (ch. 22).

²⁹⁷ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 176.

According to Jāmī's interpretation, in the sensible world that surrounds us the "reality of every thing" (*ḥaqīqat-i har shay'*) forms numerous "realities" (*ḥaqāyiq*).

For the "reality of realities" (*ḥaqīqat of ḥaqāyiq*), Jāmī writes:

حقیقت الحقایق که ذات الهی است - تعالی شأنه - حقیقت همه اشیاء است.²⁹⁸

The reality of realities (*ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqāyiq*) which is the divine Essence – high indeed is Its task! – is the reality (*ḥaqīqat*) of all things.

The *ḥaqāyiq* denotes the numerous realities in the sensible world and both "*ḥaqīqat*" appearing in this sentence are interpreted as the "divine Essence", indicating they refer to the reality on the metaphysical level.

For the reality of all existents on both physical and metaphysical levels, namely the "reality of Existence" (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd*), Jāmī writes:

[زیرا که] عین ثابتۀ اشیاء، همان حقیقت وجود است که در حضرت علم به صور آن ها بر آمده است و وجود اشیاء، نفس حقیقت وجود است که به سبب اقتران به اعیان ثابتۀ، متعدد و متکثر گشته است.²⁹⁹

[Because] the fixed Essence of things is the same as the reality of Existence (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd*) which comes in a form of those things within the Presence of Knowledge. And the Existence of things is the same as the reality of Existence (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd*) which has become numerous and diverse because of its coupling to the fixed Essences.

Jāmī states that the "reality of Existence" (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd*) can be numerous and various in the light of knowledge. In the *Lavāyih* we find Jāmī explicates the "reality of Existence" as follows:

حقیقت وجود اگرچه بر جمیع موجودات ذهنی و خارجی مقول و محمول می شود اما او را مراتب متفاوت است، بعضیها فوق بعضی؛ و در هر مرتبه ای او را اسامی و صفات و نسب و اعتبار مخصوصه است که در سایر مراتب نیست، چون مرتبه الوهیت و ربوبیت و مرتبه عبودیت و خلقیت.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 87 (ch. 25).

²⁹⁹ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 204 (ch. 24).

³⁰⁰ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 83 (ch. 23).

Although the reality of Existence (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd*) is asserted and predicated for all mental and external existents, it has disparate levels, some above others. In each level it has specific names, attributes, relations, and respects that are not in the other levels, such as the level of Divinity and Lordship, or the level of servanthood and creatureliness.³⁰¹

The diversity of the “reality of Existence” (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd*) is reflected in various forms of tasks, attributes, relations and respects. Each form of the “reality of Existence” (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd*) is unique for each level. On the level of Divinity and Lordship, the “Reality of the Real” (*ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq*) stands for “a symbolic representation of the Reality”³⁰².

In the *Lavāyih* Jāmī explains the “Reality of the Real” (*ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq*) as “nothing but Being (*ḥastī*), and His Being (*ḥastī*) has no decline or lowness.”³⁰³ In another interpretation written in the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt* Jāmī thinks “the Reality of the Real” (*ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq*) is “the breath of Existence (*vujūd*), which has no need of the effusion of Existence (*vujūd*) and no [need of] the preparedness of Existence (*vujūd*).”³⁰⁴ In the latter interpretation Jāmī changes the Persian *ḥastī* (being/existence) to the equivalent Arabic word *vujūd*, but he indicates the same understanding that the “Reality of the Real” (*ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq*) is “nothing other than Existence”.

The term *ḥaqīqat* in Jāmī’s texts, therefore, can be considered as the “reality”, covering from the sensible world onto the symbolic level. The reality (*ḥaqīqat*), on the one hand is numerous and diverse on each level, and on the other hand, these

³⁰¹ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 178.

³⁰² Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, 7.

³⁰³ “حقیقت حق – سبحانه – جز هستی نیست و هستی او را انحطاط و پستی نی.” (Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 67 (ch. 13). Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 152.)

³⁰⁴ “حقیقت حق سبحانه نفس وجود است، نه به افاضه وجود محتاج است و نه به استعداد آن.” (Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 172 (ch. 17).)

“realities of all existents” (*ḥaqāyiq-i ḥama-yi mawjūdāt*)³⁰⁵ are in fact the “only one reality (*ḥaqīqat*)”³⁰⁶. As Jāmī states, only the “Reality of Being” (*ḥaqīqat-i hastī*) pervades the “reality of each existence” (*ḥaqīqat-i har mawjūdi*)³⁰⁷.

b. *Ḥaqīqat* and the theme of love

In the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* “love” is the central concept and is considered as the only Existence in the world. Jāmī views the “love” as the phrase “*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa* حقیقت مطلقه” (unbounded Reality) and he writes:

”عشق“ یعنی حقیقت مطلقه به تجلی ذاتی خود، یا نسبت محبت، ”آتش است که چون در دل افتد [...]“³⁰⁸
Love, meaning the unbounded Reality (*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*) in the disclosure of Its Essence, or in the relation of love, is like a fire that falls into the heart.

As a fixed phrase, the “unbounded Reality” (*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*) appears seventeen times in the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*. Because the “lover” and the “beloved” are both derived from the “love”, Jāmī further explains that the “unbounded Reality” could also be considered as the “lover” and the “beloved”.³⁰⁹

In addition to the “unbounded Reality” (*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*), the “Reality of lover” is also a frequent topic which appears in the discussion on the theme of love.

³⁰⁵ “The Reality of Being, along with all the tasks, attributes, relations and respects that are the realities of all the existents, pervades the reality of each existent.” (در حقیقت هر موجودی ساری است. حقیقت هستی به جمیع شؤون و صفات و نسب و اعتبارات که حقایق همه موجوداتند،) (Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 98 (ch. 29). Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 196.)

³⁰⁶ “فی الحقیقة یک حقیقت است.” (Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 87 (ch. 25).)

³⁰⁷ See note 3055.

³⁰⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 201 (ch. 23).

³⁰⁹ “‘Lover and beloved both are derived from love’, which means lover and beloved [are derived] from the unbounded Reality (*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*) of love, that is each of the former two is also the unbounded Reality (*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*).” (از اشتقاق عاشق و معشوق از عشق است: از انتشاء عاشق و معشوق از حقیقت مطلقه عشق که هر یک همان حقیقت “*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*” است مطلقه است مأخوذ خصوصیتی، به اشتقاق تعبیر کرده است. (Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 73 (ch. 1).)

Interpreted by Jāmī as “the Perfect Man”³¹⁰, the “lover” is the central topic of Ibn ‘Arabī’s doctrine. Jāmī interprets the “Reality of lover” as “the Oneness of the combination of all realities (*ḥaqāyiq*)”³¹¹ indicating the symbolic and absolute representation of the “Reality of lover”. On the sensible level, the “Reality of lover” is also represented in various forms, such as the “Reality of human” (*ḥaqīqat-i ādam*), “Reality of the servant” (*ḥaqīqat-i banda*) and “Reality of Muḥammad” (*ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammad*).

By exploring the application of the term *ḥaqīqat* in Jāmī’s two treatises, we observe a variety of forms and meanings of *ḥaqīqat* in the discussion of Islamic teachings. Referring to the phenomenal world, the reality (*ḥaqīqat*) of every thing is numerous and “real” for us whereas beyond the phenomenal world the term *ḥaqīqat* is understood as the only and “absolute reality”³¹².

2) *Ḥaqīqat* in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*

In the *Zhaoyuan mijue* we identify ten words that correspond to the term *ḥaqīqat*. These are: *zhenben* 真本 (real root), *zhenshi* 真實 (real fact), *zhenti* 真體 (real substance), *benti* 本體 (root / original substance), *miaoben* 妙本 (wondrous root), *benshi* 本事 (matter of the root), *ben* 本 (root), *zhen* 真 (reality), *shi* 實 (fact) and *ti* 體 (substance).

³¹⁰ “And [it is] like the reality (*ḥaqīqat*) of lover, which is the Perfect Man, is the Oneness of the combination of all realities (*ḥaqāyiq*).” (“و چون حقیقت محب، که انسان کامل است، احدیت جمع جمیع حقایق است.”) (Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 106 (ch. 6).)

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, 8.

In She Qiling's translation we notice that the set phrase *dar ḥaqīqat* در حقیقت (literally: in reality), which stands for "in fact", is translated as *zhenshi chu* 真實處 ([in] the point of reality and fact) in chapter fourteen.³¹³ In a number of other occurrences She Qiling adopts the word *shi* 實 ([in] reality)³¹⁴. Apart from its application in this set phrase, the term *ḥaqīqat* is mainly translated as *zhenben*, *ben* and *miaoben*.

a. *Zhenben* 真本 and *tongzhen* 通真

With regard to the occurrences where the *ḥaqīqat* appears as a stand-alone term in the Persian original, we notice that in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* She Qiling shows a clear preference for the term *zhenben*.³¹⁵ Where *zhenben* applied as a correspondence of *ḥaqīqat* for the second time in the translation text, the *Zhaoyuan mijue* carries the following interline annotation: "The real root (*zhenben*) is the root nature of the existence of the origin"³¹⁶, probably made by She Qiling himself. This explanation indicates that by using the term *zhenben* the translator aims at echoing the phrase "reality of existence" (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd*), and we can therefore deduce that *zhenben* is applied to refer to the term *ḥaqīqat* on the metaphysical level.

In the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, *zhenben* is also applied to interpret the word *zhenxi* 真喜 (the real love)³¹⁷ which corresponds to the "Oneness of love (*vaḥdat-i 'ishq* وحدت

³¹³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:23b.

³¹⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2: 33b (ch. 15), 2: 62a (ch. 23), 2: 64b (ch. 24).

³¹⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:29b ("You benxu"), 1:34b, 35a, 35b ("Mugandimo"), 1:39a (ch. 1), 1:48a (ch. 3), 1:54a (ch. 4), 2:24 (ch. 14).

³¹⁶ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:35a (ch. 1): 真本即原有之本然也.

³¹⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 37a ("Mugandimo"): 真喜 (即真本也)."

عشق)³¹⁸ in the original text. On the theme of love which is considered by Jāmī as the only Existence and “unbounded reality” (*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*) the term *zhenben* here also refers to the symbolic sense of reality (*ḥaqīqat*).

In the chapter “Mugandimo” in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* we find *zhenben* 真本 appears in a passage that corresponds to the phrase “*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*” (unbounded reality). In this occurrence She Qiling for the first time and for only once translates “*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*” to “*tongran zhi zhenben* 通然之真本” (the real root of the unbounded nature). In the following translation text the phrase “*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*” is translated as “*tongzhen* 通真” (unbounded reality)³¹⁹ for most cases and once as “*tongben* 通本” (unbounded root)³²⁰.

Two points are worth noting here. Firstly, where the term *ḥaqīqat* is used in the phrase “unbounded reality” (*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*), *zhenben* 真本 is deployed to refer to the symbolic representation of reality (*ḥaqīqat*). Secondly, in the translation of the phrase “unbounded reality” (*ḥaqīqat-i maṭlaqa*) She Qiling applies compounds *tongran* 通然 (unbounded nature) and *zhenben* 真本 (real root) to correspond to the Persian words *maṭlaqa* (unbounded) and *ḥaqīqat* (reality) respectively and combines these two words with an auxiliary word *zhi* 之. In the following translation the translator then contracts this five-character phrase *tongran zhi zhenben* 通然之真本 into a two-word compound *tongzhen* 通真, each character of which derives from the two

³¹⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 71 (“Introduction”).

³¹⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:36b, 37a (“Mugandimo”), 1:38a, 39a, 40b (ch. 1), 2:23b (ch. 14), 2:33a (ch. 15), 2:50a, 50b (ch. 20) 2:58a (ch. 22), 2:69a (ch. 26).

³²⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:38a (ch. 1).

aforementioned words *tongran* 通然 and *zhenben* 真本.

The similar strategy is also applied by She Qiling in his translation of the phrase “*ḥaqāyiq-i ashiyā*” حقایق اشیاء (the realities of things) in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*. In the “Foreword”, She Qiling first applies *wanwu zhi miaoben* 萬物之妙本 (the wondrous root of ten thousand things) as a correspondence in which *wanwu* 萬物 (ten thousand things) refers to the *ashiyā*’ (things) and *miaoben* 妙本 (wondrous root) refers to the *ḥaqāyiq* (realities). In the following sentence this five-character phrase is substituted by abbreviated expression *wanben* 萬本 (literally: ten thousand roots) in which *wan* 萬 derives from *wanwu* 萬物 and *ben* 本 from *miaoben* 妙本. In addition to this, we encounter a number of cases where the monosyllabic words *zhen* 真 (reality)³²¹ and *ben* 本 (root)³²² are deployed in correspondence to the term *ḥaqīqat* and, based on the same translation strategy, can also be considered as abbreviated forms of *zhenben* 真本.

She Qiling’s Chinese Islamic writings show a preference of compounds or phrases, a linguistic characteristic that stems from the environment in which he translated in his use of the colloquial language to transmit Islamic teachings. In the process of his translation work he noted down the vocabulary and expressions used in his teaching. He then abbreviated expressions and phrases in the colloquial or vernacular language and rephrased them in a more literary style in order to make his writings more concise and more stylistically appealing to his audience. As a consequence of this step-by-step

³²¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:70b (ch. 7), 2:62b (ch. 23).

³²² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:40b (ch. 1), 1:50a (ch. 3), 1:56a (ch. 5), 2:34a (ch. 16), 2:62b (ch. 23).

approach, the abbreviated expressions and linguistic register applied in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* were elevated from the colloquial language to the level of the language of educated individuals.

In the process of abbreviation, by facing several choices of combination the translator normally sticks to only one abbreviated word rather than the others. In the case of *tongran zhi zhenben* 通然之真本, we find *tongzhen* 通真 appears to be She Qiling's choice of a de-facto abbreviation of the phrase. Although the term *haqīqat* based on the meaning of the only and absolute reality is normally translated by She Qiling as *zhenben* 真本 or *zhen* 真 or *ben* 本 in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, the other option *tongben* 通本 occurs only once.

In the Chinese context, we find *tongzhen* has been frequently used as a compound in a Daoist context where *tong* 通 denotes “to arrive, achieve” and the noun *zhen* 真 represents “truth, reality”. In Daoist literature *tongzhen* often appears in parallel with *daling* 達靈 (to reach gods) indicating a status of “achieving the truth and reaching gods.”³²³ The expression *tongzhen* has also been applied as an alternative name of Chinese literati, especially Daoists. Both a doctor called Liu Yuanbin 劉元賓 (1022-1086) and a Daoist called Tian Zhiheng 田志亨 (fl. during the Liao period 916-1125) were well-known for the same alternative name as *tongzhen zi* 通真子

³²³ See Zhang Junfang, *Yunji qiqian*, 47:9b. (Compiled by Zhang Junfang 張君房 (961?-1042?) foremost as a tribute to the Emperors Song Zhenzong (r. 997-1022) but did not complete until the reign of Song Renzong 宗仁宗 (r. 1022-1063), the *Yunji qiqian* is an anthology of the Daoist Canon and records writings from diverse schools of Daoist teachings that are available in the early eleventh century, and is an important resource for understanding medieval Daoism.) See the entry “*Yunji qiqian*” written by Judith M. Boltz in Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, vol. 2, 1203-1206.

(master of achieving the Truth). And Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (1076-1120), a prominent Daoist, was named by Emperor Huizong 徽宗 of the Song (r. 1100-1126), as “Tongzhen Daling Yuanmiao Xiansheng 通真達靈元妙先生” (wondrous Daoist who leads to the Real and reaches Gods)³²⁴.

The word *tongben* 通本 was widely used in the administration during the Qing period denoting a kind of document presented by outpost officials to the government³²⁵ and had nothing to do with philosophical interpretation. Despite both *zhen* 真 and *ben* 本 being used as correspondence to the term *ḥaqīqat* in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, She Qiling made a decision by preferring *tongzhen*, a typical Daoist term, rather than *tongben* 通本 as abbreviation of *tongran zhi zhenben* 通然之真本. This translation strategy of appropriating Daoist terms will be confirmed by the following case of *miaoben*.

b. *Miaoben* 妙本

In the *Zhaoyuan mijue* *miaoben* 妙本 (wondrous root) also appears frequently as the corresponding translation term of the Persian *ḥaqīqat*. As the following table illustrates, we notice that *miaoben* tends to be used for the term *ḥaqīqat* where the latter is associated with certain modifiers in the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*:

Words in the <i>Ashi’at al-Lama’āt</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>ḥaqīqat-i</i>	حقیقت محمدی ³²⁶	the reality of	<i>zhisheng (zhi)</i>	至聖(之)	the wondrous root

³²⁴ Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 21:400 (“Huizong san”).

³²⁵ Tuolü, *Qinding da Qing huidian*, 2:6a.

³²⁶ See note 2944.

<i>Muḥammadī</i>		Muhammad	<i>miaoben</i>	妙本 ³²⁷	of the great sage
<i>ḥaqīqat-i ādam</i>	حقیقت آدم ³²⁸	the reality of Adam	<i>Adan zhi miaoben</i>	阿丹之妙本 ³²⁹	the wondrous root of Adan
<i>ḥaqīqat-i banda</i>	حقیقت بنده ³³⁰	the reality of the servant	<i>nubei miaoben</i>	奴輩妙本 ³³¹	the wondrous root of the servants alike
<i>ḥaqīqat al-insān al-kāmil</i>	حقیقة الإنسان الكامل ³³²	the reality of the Perfect Man	<i>quanren zhi miaoben</i>	全人之妙本 ³³³	the wondrous root of the perfect human
<i>ḥaqīqat-i insānī</i>	حقیقت انسانی ³³⁴	the reality of human	<i>renji zhi miaoben</i>	人極之妙本 ³³⁵	the wondrous root of human in the highest position
<i>ḥaqīqat-i mumkanī</i>	حقیقت ممکنی ³³⁶	the reality of possible thing	<i>yixiang zhi miaoben</i>	一象之妙本 ³³⁷	the wondrous root of one image
<i>ḥaqāyiq</i>	حقایق ³³⁸	realities	<i>(zhu) miaoben</i>	(諸)妙本 ³³⁹	(every) wondrous root
			<i>wanwu zhi miaoben</i>	萬物之妙本 ³⁴⁰	the wondrous root of ten thousand things
			<i>wanben</i>	萬本 ³⁴¹	ten thousand roots
<i>ḥaqāyiq-i maṭlaqa</i>	حقایق مطلقه ³⁴²	unbounded realities	<i>tongran zhi miaoben</i>	通然之妙本 ³⁴³	the wondrous root of unbounded

³²⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:4a (“Yuanxu”), 1:7b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”) and 1:22b, 26b (“You benxu”).

³²⁸ See note 2933.

³²⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:27b (“You benxu”).

³³⁰ See Note 2944.

³³¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:41b, 43b (ch. 17).

³³² Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 56 (“Praise”).

³³³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:23b (“You benxu”).

³³⁴ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 41 (“Foreword”).

³³⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:11b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”).

³³⁶ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 36 (“Foreword”).

³³⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:8b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”).

³³⁸ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 25, 26 (“Commentator’s introduction”), 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43 (“Foreword”), 55 59, 61 (“Praise”), 70 (“Instruction”), 100 (ch. 5), 105 (ch. 6), 110, 116 (ch. 7), 159 (ch. 15), 186 (ch. 19), 218-219, 221 (ch. 28).

³³⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:4a-5b (“Yuanxu”), 1:8b-9b, 12a-12b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 27a, 28a (“You benxu”), 35b (“Mugandimo”), 1:57a (ch.5), 1:61b (ch. 6), 1:63b, 69a (ch. 7), 2:30b (ch. 15), 2:49a (ch. 19), 2:76b (ch. 29).

³⁴⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:13b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 1:22b (“You benxu”), 2:74b, 75a (ch. 29).

³⁴¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:11b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 1:22b (“You benxu”), 1:69a (ch. 7).

³⁴² Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 41 (“Foreword”).

³⁴³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:12b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”).

					nature
<i>ḥaqāyiq-i mawjūdāt</i>	حقایق موجودات ³⁴⁴	realities of existents	<i>wanyou zhi miaoben</i>	萬有之妙本 ³⁴⁵	the wondrous root of ten thousand existences
<i>ḥaqāyiq-i aṣḥāb-i tajalliyāt</i>	حقایق اصحاب تجلیات ³⁴⁶	the realities of the masters of manifestations	<i>shouxianzhe zhi miaoben</i>	受顯者之妙本 ³⁴⁷	the wondrous root of that which is manifest
<i>ḥaqāyiq-i khud</i>	حقایق خود ³⁴⁸	the realities of self	<i>ji zhi miaoben</i>	己之妙本 ³⁴⁹	the wondrous root of self
<i>ḥaqāyiq-i ishiyāʾ</i>	حقایق اشیاء ³⁵⁰	the realities of things	<i>zhuxian zhi miaoben</i>	諸顯之妙本 ³⁵¹	the wondrous root of every manifestation
			<i>wanwu zhi miaoben</i>	萬物之妙本 ³⁵²	the wondrous root of ten thousand things
<i>ḥaqāyiq-i mumkanāt</i>	حقایق ممکنات ³⁵³	the realities of possible things	<i>wanxiang zhi miaoben</i>	萬象之妙本 ³⁵⁴	the wondrous root of ten thousands images

As can be seen from this table, *miaoben* 妙本 is used as a translation term for *ḥaqāyiqat* which in the Persian original appears in two different meanings. It may refer to the only one reality (*ḥaqāyiqat*) based on the theme of “lover” covering a range from the Perfect Man, the prophet Muhammad and Adam, to the servant and human being. And, in my second category, *miaoben* refers to the numerous sense of realities

³⁴⁴ Jāmī, *Ashīʾat al-Lamaʾāt*, 61 (“Praise”).

³⁴⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:28a (“You benxu”).

³⁴⁶ Jāmī, *Ashīʾat al-Lamaʾāt*, 100 (ch. 5).

³⁴⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:57a (ch. 5).

³⁴⁸ Jāmī, *Ashīʾat al-Lamaʾāt*, 130 (ch. 10), 221 (ch. 28). The phrase *ḥaqāyiq-i khud* is also translated as *ziji zhi benshi* 自己之本事 (self matter of the root) once in chapter ten.

³⁴⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:76b (ch. 29).

³⁵⁰ Jāmī, *Ashīʾat al-Lamaʾāt*, 110 (ch. 7), 218-219 (ch. 28).

³⁵¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:63b (ch. 7).

³⁵² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2: 74b-75a (chapter 29).

³⁵³ See note 2922.

³⁵⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:8b-9a (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”). The phrase *ḥaqāyiq-i mumkanāt* appears six times in the *Ashīʾat al-Lamaʾāt*. In the three cases which correspondence can be located, She Qiling translates this phrase twice as *wanxiang zhi miaoben* 萬象之妙本 in the “Ziyi zhu bianjie” and once as *nengyao wanyou zhi ti* 能要萬有之體 (the substance of ten thousand existences of the essence of ability) in chapter one.

(*ḥaqāyiq*) which manifest in different forms. When we compare *miaoben* with the application of *zhenben* in the translation, we see that She Qiling makes a distinction between different interpretations and applications of the term *ḥaqīqat*. In his translation this differentiation is reflected in his lexical choice to represent the various interpretative layers of reality (*ḥaqīqat*).

The monosyllabic words *miao* 妙 (wondrous) and *ben* 本 (root, foundation) which form the compound *miaoben* 妙本, are both of great significance in the Chinese philosophical lexicon and its development. While *ben* is widely used in the concrete as well as philosophical sense, *miao* tends to be closely associated with Buddhism and Daoism.

In the Chinese Buddhist tradition the word *miao* 妙 is employed to correspond to Sanskrit terms like *su* (good, excellent, surpassing, beautiful, fine, easy), *sat* (existing, real, good), *mañju* (beautiful, lovely, charming) and *sūkṣma* (subtle).³⁵⁵ In combination with certain single characters, the term *miao* appears in the Buddhist scriptures as *miaoyin* 妙因 (the profound cause), *miaoxin* 妙心 (the mind or heart wonderful and profound beyond human thought), *miaofa* 妙法 (Saddharma, the wonderful law or truth (of the Lotus Sūtra)), *miaojue* 妙覺 (the great consciousness) and so on.³⁵⁶ However, the word *miaoben* does not seem to appear in Chinese Buddhist sources.

³⁵⁵ See Ding Fubao, *Foxue da cidian*, 1201-2012; Soothill and Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 234; Raguin, *Terminologie Raisonnée du Bouddhisme Chinois*, 251-252.

³⁵⁶ See Ding Fubao, *Foxue da cidian*, 1201-2012; Soothill and Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 234; Raguin, *Terminologie Raisonnée du Bouddhisme Chinois*, 251-252.

As for the Daoist context, by applying the historical development of the *Daode jing* commentaries as an example, *miao* 妙 appears, of course, in the beginning of the *Daode jing*³⁵⁷. In Heshang Gong's 河上公 commentary³⁵⁸, the commentator glosses *miao* as “*yao* 要” (essence) which is subsequently explained as “One”³⁵⁹. Another important commentator of the *Daode jing*, Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249)³⁶⁰, understands *miao* here as “*wei zhi ji* 微之極” (the ultimate of minuteness)³⁶¹.

The word *miaoben* 妙本 is widely found in the *Daode jing* commentaries made during the Tang dynasty (618-907). In his commentaries to the *Daode jing*, Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (fl. 631-650)³⁶² employs *miaoben* in his commentaries to chapters

³⁵⁷ *Laozi Daode jing zhu*, 1:1a-1b: 道可道，非常道。[...] 故常無欲，以觀其妙。

³⁵⁸ Heshang Gong, meaning an old man lives by the riverside, is a legendary figure who is depicted as a teacher to the Han Emperor Wen (r. 179-157BC.) The Heshang Gong version of the *Daode jing* is one of the main received texts. It is regarded to be produced as early as the Han dynasty (206 BC - 220 AD) traditionally but recent Chinese studies generally date it to the end of the Han period. It was very much the predominant commentary of the *Daode jing* by 700 AD. (See Kohn, *Daoism Handbook*, 11; William G. Boltz's entry on “*Lao tzu Tao te ching*”, in Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 273-277.)

³⁵⁹ “*Miao* means *yao* (essence/importance). If a man is able to be constantly without desire, then he can observe the *yao* of the Dao (the Way). *Yao* is called *yi* (one/unity).” (*Laozi Daode jing*, 1:1a: 妙，要也。人常能無欲，則可以觀道之要。要，謂一也。) Erkes translates *miao* as “secret”. (See Erkes, *Ho-Shang-Kung's Commentary on Lao-tse*, 14).

³⁶⁰ Wang Bi, well-known for his commentary of the *Yi jing* and the *Daode jing*, was one of the most important post-Han intellectuals. While the Heshang Gong's commentary was written in a simple and straight foreword language, Wang Bi's commentary is written in a sophisticated and learned style. Before the discovery of the Mawangdui texts in 1973, access to the *Daode jing* was mainly through the received text of Wang Bi and Heshang Gong. (See Kohn, *Daoism Handbook*, 6; William G. Boltz's entry “*Lao tzu Tao te ching*” in Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 277-278.)

³⁶¹ Wang Bi: *Laozi Daode jing zhu*, 1:1b: 妙者，微之極也。Here Both Lynn and Wagner translate *miao* as “subtlety”. (Lynn, *The Classic of the Way and Virtue*, 52; Wagner, *A Chinese Reading of the Daode jing*, 122.)

³⁶² Cheng Xuanying, a seventh-century Daoist master, wrote a lost commentary to the *Yi jing* and three extant commentaries to the Daoist texts. One is an exegesis of the *Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), the second one is the subcommentary of the *Daode jing* and the third one is a subcommentary to Guo Xiang's exegesis to the *Zhuangzi*. (See Isabelle Robinet's entry “Cheng Xuanying” in Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, vol. 1, 264-5.) Both Loewe and Kohn think Cheng Xuanying flourished during 630-660. (See Loewe, *Early Chinese texts*, 279; Kohn, *Daoism Handbook*, 40.) And Yu Shiyi thinks Cheng Xuanying flourished during 631-652. (See Yu Shiyi, *Reading the Chuang-tzu*

forty and forty-two of the *Daode jing*.³⁶³ According to his commentary, the *miaoben* is the origin of the creation of the myriad things³⁶⁴, which is considered as the “ultimate nonexistence”³⁶⁵ and “has no form and name”³⁶⁶. Further to this, we find that in the *Zhuangzi* commentary he glosses “*wushi* 無始” (to have no beginning) as *miaoben*.³⁶⁷

Several decades later the term *miaoben* 妙本 is widely found in the *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu* 唐玄宗御制道德真經疏³⁶⁸. In this work the term *miaoben* is applied in the commentary on the significance of the first chapter of the *Daode jing*. As the commentary reads, “this chapter is to expound the reason and origin of the subtle root (*miaoben*) and the origin and source of ten thousand changes”³⁶⁹. The annotator further elaborates the meaning of *dao* 道 (the Way) as “the forced name of the subtle root (*miaoben*) in the extreme of emptiness”.³⁷⁰ According to these commentaries, Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933) interprets the term *miaoben* 妙本 as *dao* 道³⁷¹ (the Way) and considers *miaoben* as “the reason of the

in the T'ang dynasty).

³⁶³ “天下之物生於有，有生於無” and “道生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物。一，元氣也。二，陰陽也。三，天地人也。萬物，一切有識無情也。” (Cheng Xuanying, *Ji Daode jing kaiti xujue yishu*, 3:18b, 3:25a.)

³⁶⁴ “Speaking of the heaven, earth and ten thousand things, they all grow by the received way and law. Such received way derives from the subtle root (*miaoben*).” (Cheng Xuanying, *Ji Daode jing kaiti xujue yishu*, 3:19b: 言天地萬物，皆從應道有法而生。即此應道，從妙本而起.)

³⁶⁵ “The origin of the subtle root (*miaoben*) is the very nonexistence (*zhiwu*).” (Cheng Xuanying, *Ji Daode jing kaiti xujue yishu*, 3:19b: 元乎妙本，即至無也.)

³⁶⁶ “Speaking of the subtle root (*miaoben*) of the very way, its substance is served from forms and names.” (Cheng Xuanying, *Ji Laozi Daode jing kaiti xujue yishu*, 3:23b: 言至道妙本，體絕形名.) “The subtle root (*miaoben*) cannot be seen and heard. So it has no shape and no content.” (Ditto, 1:28a: 妙本希夷，故稱無狀無物.)

³⁶⁷ Liu Wendian, *Zhuangzi buzhen*, 32:18a: 無始，妙本也。

³⁶⁸ The *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu* is purportedly written and promulgated by Tang Xuanzong (r. 712-756) as the official versions of the *Daode jing* in 735.

³⁶⁹ Tang Xuanzong, *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu*, 1:1 [19: 15324]: 此章明妙本之由起，萬化之宗源。

³⁷⁰ Tang Xuanzong, *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu*, 1:1 [19: 15324]: 疏：道者，虛極妙本之強名。

³⁷¹ Du Guangting, *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*, 6:35c: 妙本者，道也。

Way (*dao*)”³⁷² in his *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 道德真經廣聖義³⁷³.

From Cheng Xuanying’s annotation to Du Guangting’s commentary, we notice that the term *miaoben* 妙本 appears in different interpretations but refers to a similar understanding. Cheng Xuanying takes *miaoben* as the “ultimate nonexistence” with no form and name while Tang Xuanzong’s commentary considers it as “neither existence nor nonexistence and being difficult to name or title”³⁷⁴. This understanding of the term *miaoben* in the Daoist context reflects the growing interaction between Daoist and Buddhist thought in the Tang dynasty, in particular, the influence of Buddhist Madhyamika (Intermediate)³⁷⁵ philosophy and its Daoist version, the school of Chongxuan 重玄 (Twofold Mystery)³⁷⁶. While Du Guangting considers *miaoben* as *dao*

³⁷² Du Guangting, *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*, 6:35c: 妙本者, [...] 明道之由.

³⁷³ The *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* is a comprehensive summary of the previous commentary works on the *Daode jing* specifically Tang Xuanzong’s version of *Daode jing* commentary (initialed with “*zhu*注” and “*shu*疏”) followed with Du Guangting’s own commentary (initialled with “*yiyue*義曰”) made in the late ninth and the early tenth centuries. The commentaries are based on the Xuanzong philosophy.

³⁷⁴ Tang Xuanzong, *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu*, 3:7 [19:15346]: 疏: 妙本不有不無, 難為名稱. It is the annotation of “道之為物, 惟恍惟惚.” in chapter twenty-one of the *Daode jing*.

³⁷⁵ Termed in Chinese as *Zhongguan pai* 中觀派, the Madhyamaka (Intermediate) refers to a Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) Buddhist school of philosophy founded by Nāgārjuna. Its name derives from its having sought a middle position between the realism of the Sarvāstivāda (“Doctrine That All Is Real”) school and the idealism of the Yogācāra (“Mind Only”) school. According to Madhyamaka all phenomena are empty of “substance” or “essence” (Sanskrit: *svabhāva*) because they are dependently co-arisen. Likewise it is because they are dependently co-arisen that they have no intrinsic, independent reality of their own. The basic Mādhyamika texts were translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in the fifth century, and the teachings were further systematized (as the Sanlun zong 三论宗) in the sixth and seventh centuries by Jizang 吉藏.

³⁷⁶ The Chongxuan school of thought is an important development in the tradition of the *Daode jing*. Its existence as a school of thought was first affirmed by Cheng Xuanying. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Chongxuan philosophy was the dominant way of interpreting the *Daode jing*. After Cheng Xuanying, Du Guangting is also referred as belonging to the Chongxuan school. (See Isabelle Robinet’s entry “Chongxuan” in Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 274-6.) Unlike Wang Bi it sees nonbeing (*wu*) as equally one-sided as being (*you*) when applied to the transcendence of the Dao. Nonbeing may highlight the profundity or mystery of the Dao, but it does not yet reach the highest truth, which according to Cheng Xuanying can be called “the Dao of Middle Oneness” (Kohn, *Early Chinese Mysticism*, 144).

道 (the Way), Cheng Xuanying, as an essential thinker of the Chongxuan school, explicates the *dao* as the *zhongdao* 中道 (the Middle Way) in his commentary which is neither nonbeing nor being.³⁷⁷

In the study of the *Daode jing* commentary tradition we notice that the term *miaoben* 妙本 specifically appears in the commentaries made by the Chongxuan thinkers.³⁷⁸ Based on the philosophical structure listed below, we observe that the Chongxuan school adopted the term *miaoben* in their writings under the influence of the Madhyamika philosophy.

English	being/ existence	nonbeing/ nonexistence	middle path	emptiness
Madhyamika Buddhism (Sanskrit)	<i>sad</i>	<i>asat</i>	madhyama-pratip ad	<i>śūnyatā</i>
Zhongguan school	<i>you</i> 有	<i>wu</i> 無	<i>zhongdao</i> 中道	<i>kong</i> 空
Chongxuan school	<i>you</i> 有	<i>wu</i> 無	<i>zhongdao</i> 中道	<i>dao</i> 道
				<i>miaoben</i> 妙本

If we consider the application of the term *miaoben* in the Chongxuan tradition as an integration of the Madhyamika and Daoist philosophies, She Qiling's appropriation of the *miaoben* is a second step to bring the indigenous mystical vision to the Chinese Islam. From Daoist Chongxuan tradition to the Chinese Islam, as the first two left

³⁷⁷ In his commentary on “無名之朴亦將不欲”, Cheng Xuanying writes “非但不得欲於有法，亦不得欲此無名之朴也。前以無遣有，此以有遣無，有無雙離，一中道也。” (“Not only must one never develop desire toward being, one must neither even desire the simplicity of the nameless. First use nonbeing to discard being, then use being to discard nonbeing. Separated from both, being and nonbeing, this is the Tao of Middle Oneness”, Cheng Xuanying, *Ji Daode jing kaiti xujue yishu*, 3:11a.)

³⁷⁸ In some popular *Daode jing* commentaries made in the different periods such as Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039-1112), Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333) and Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1540-1620), we have not found the appearance of the term *miaoben*. Although Jiao Hong is also referred to as belonging to the Chongxuan school, (Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 275.) we cannot find the appearance of the *miaoben* in his *Laozi yi*.

columns of the following table shows, the term *miaoben* 妙本 applied in the Chinese Islamic writing attests to a semantic extension.

<i>miaoben</i>		
Chinese Islamic text	Daoism: the Chongxuan school	Ibn ‘Arabī’s Sufism -Izutsu’s philosophical comparison
<i>ḥaqīqat</i>	<i>zhongdao</i>	<i>ḥaqq</i>
the only one reality (<i>ḥaqīqat</i>) on the theme of “the Perfect Man” and the numerous reality/realities (<i>ḥaqīqat/ḥaqāyiq</i>) on a sensible level	neither nonbeing nor being	Absolute

The term *miaoben* 妙本 as used in the Chongxuan school stays in the middle way and refers to the highest truth which is neither existence and nonexistence, while in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* the term *miaoben* is used to reflect both the one and only reality (*ḥaqīqat*) on the theme of “the Perfect Man” and the numerous reality / realities (*ḥaqīqat / ḥaqāyiq*) on a sensible level.

As the two right columns of the table above show, in his comparison of Sufism and Daoism, Izutsu thinks that the *ḥaqq* (Real) of Ibn ‘Arabī and the *dao* 道 (Way) of the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi* refer to the same concept on the philosophical level, that is the Absolute.³⁷⁹ Although Izutsu’s discussion of Daoism is based on his hypothesis that Daoism is a philosophical elaboration of the Far Eastern type of shamanism,³⁸⁰ his understanding of the *Daode jing* and *Zhuangzi* relies on the commentaries from various sources, and Cheng Xuanying’s commentary has an essential influence on Izutsu’s discussion. If we consider the *miaoben* 妙本 as the *dao* 道 based on the tradition of

³⁷⁹ Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, 481.

³⁸⁰ See Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, 479.

Chongxuan school, we may deduce that Izutsu's understanding of the Absolute Real (*ḥaqḥ*) in Sufism refers to the *dao* in terms of Chongxuan understanding, which is the *miaoben*.

Therefore we notice a mismatch of the correspondence based on the textual writing and on the philosophical thinking. On the one hand, by comparing the Daoist texts and the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, the application of the term *miaoben* 妙本 indicates the influence of the Daoist terminology in She Qiling's writing, whereas the meaning of the *miaoben* has been extended by She Qiling in his translation. If we consider Izutsu's philosophical study on the similarity of the Daoism and Sufism, on the other hand, it seems that *miaoben* does indeed appear akin to the term *ḥaqḥ*. Such mismatch indicates that She Qiling's application of the Daoist terminology is more influenced by the form rather than by philosophical understanding.

c. Conclusion

In his translation of the Persian term *ḥaqīqat* in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, She Qiling deploys *zhenben* 真本 and *miaoben* 妙本 both of which are based on a single word *ben* 本 and have great significance in the Daoist context.

A similar understanding of the *zhenben* and *miaoben* can be traced in the commentaries of the *Daode jing*. In his annotation of the sentence “*fu gui yu pu* 復歸於樸” (to revert to the unadorned³⁸¹ / simplicity³⁸²)³⁸³ in chapter twenty-eight of the

³⁸¹ Based on Wang Bi's annotation of *pu* as *zhen* (true, real): 樸, 真也. (Wang Bi, *Laozi Daode jing zhu*, shang:28a; Wagner, *A Chinese Reading of the Daodejing*, 215; Lynn, *The classic of the way and virtue*, 103.)

Daode jing, Cheng Xuanying interprets *pu* 樸 as “*zhenben* 真本” (true root).³⁸⁴ He further adds that one should “return to the simplicity and go back to the purity; revert to the subtle root (*miaoben*)”.³⁸⁵ We can deduce that Cheng understands that *pu* can be both *zhenben* 真本 and *miaoben* 妙本. In the *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi Daode zhenjing shu* 唐玄宗禦制道德真經疏, we notice that *pu* 樸 which appears in the beginning of chapter thirty-two in the *Daode jing*³⁸⁶ is also annotated as the “subtle root” (*miaoben*)³⁸⁷.

She Qiling’s adoption of both *zhenben* and *miaoben* to correspond to the term *ḥaqīqat* could be perceived as a reflection of the semantic similarity in the Chongxuan school commentary tradition and again attests to the influence of the Chongxuan school on She Qiling’s writing. However, the applications of these two Daoist terms in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* have been differentiated on the basis of Jāmī’s interpretation of reality (*ḥaqīqat*). The *zhenben* is used by She Qiling to stand for the symbolic representation of reality (*ḥaqīqat*) while *miaoben* 妙本 corresponds to both the one and only reality (*ḥaqīqat*) on the theme of the “Perfect Man” and the numerous reality / realities (*ḥaqīqat* / *ḥaqāyiq*) on a sensory level.

³⁸² Heshang Gong reads *pu* as *zhipu* 質樸 (simplicity), a juxtaposition of *wenshi* 文飾 (outward appearance). (Heshang Gong, *Laozi Dao de jing*, 1:14b; Erkes, *Ho-Shang-Kung’s Commentary on Lao-Tse*, 68.)

³⁸³ This sentence also appears in the *Zhuangzi* as “既雕既琢，復歸於朴。” (Guo Xiang, *Nanhua zhenjing zhu*, 7:11b (“Shanmu”). Also see Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, 213; Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, 190.)

³⁸⁴ Cheng Xuanying, *Ji Laozi Daode jing kaiti xujue yishu*, 2:25b: 朴，真本也。

³⁸⁵ Cheng Xuanying, *Ji Laozi Daode jing kaiti xujue yishu*, 2:26a: 返樸還淳，歸於妙本。

³⁸⁶ Wang Bi, *Laozi Daode jing zhu*, 32.1: 道常无名。朴虽小，天下莫能臣也。 (Also see Wagner, *A Chinese Reading of the Daodejing*, 223.) Here, Wang Bi did not annotate the word *pu*.

³⁸⁷ Du Guangting, *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi*, 27:136a.

Reflecting She Qiling's preference of words in translating the term *ḥaqīqat* in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, four strategies followed by She Qiling are worth noting here. First of all, as we have discussed in the last chapter, She Qiling tends to apply a compound as a correspondence of the original term in his translation. This preference shows the influence of the colloquial language which stems from the translator's everyday teaching practice. Secondly, in the process of his translation work, She Qiling inclines to write down the long phrase which contains compounds in the beginning of the translation text only once and directly applies its abbreviation in a more literary style. This abbreviation approach makes his writings more concise and attractive to his audience and further elevates the linguistic register from the colloquial style to the level of the language familiar to educated individuals. Thirdly, according to his preference of the terms *zhenben*, *miaoben* and *tongzhen*, She Qiling specifically draws on the Daoist terms in his Chinese Islamic canon. Although we have not found evidence to establish a solid connection between certain Daoist texts and the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, the preference of *miaoben* has disclosed the significant role of the Chongxuan school in She Qiling's translation. Last but not least, appropriated by She Qiling in his translation, the Daoist terms are endowed with different interpretations from the original. The semantic expansion of the terms like *tongzhen* and *miaoben* contributed towards establishing a new Chinese Islamic lexicon.

3) The term *ḥaqīqat* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*

To correspond to the term *ḥaqīqat*, we find two monosyllabic words are used frequently by Liu Zhi in the *Zhenjing Zhaowei*. One is *zhen* 真 (real) and the other is *li* 理 (principle).

a. *Zhen* 真 and *zhenyou* 真有

As the following table illustrates, *zhen* 真 has been used to correspond to the term *ḥaqīqat* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*:

Words in the <i>Lavāyih</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhenjing zhaowei</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>arbāb-i ḥaqīqat</i>	ارباب حقیقت ³⁸⁸	the master of reality	<i>ju zhenmu zhe</i>	具真目者 ³⁸⁹	the one who has the real eyes
<i>yik ḥaqīqat ast</i>	یک حقیقت است ³⁹⁰	There is one reality	<i>shi yizhen</i>	是一真 ³⁹¹	be one reality

In his translations of the Persian phrase “*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd/hastī*” (reality of existence), Liu Zhi normally deploys the compound *zhenyou* 真有³⁹² and uses the more elaborate phrase *zhenyou shili* 真有實理³⁹³ only once.³⁹⁴

Translating “*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd/hastī*” as *zhenyou* 真有 is quite an ambiguous choice. On the one hand, the words *zhen* 真 (real) and *you* 有 (being / existence) can be

³⁸⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 103 (ch. 33).

³⁸⁹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 59 (ch. 33).

³⁹⁰ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 90 (ch. 26).

³⁹¹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 45 (ch. 27).

³⁹² Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 30 (ch. 20), 34 (ch.23), 34 (ch. 24), 51 (ch.28), 60 (ch.34).

³⁹³ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 37 (ch. 25).

³⁹⁴ In the *Zhaoyuan mijue* She Qiling translates “reality of existence” (*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd*) once as *yuanyou* 原有 and once as *zhenyou zhi ben* 真有之本. (Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 30 (“Foreword”), 204 (ch. 24), She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:7a (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 2:62b (ch. 23).)

considered as corresponding to the words *ḥaqīqat* (reality) and *vujūd* (existence). On the other hand, the translation of “*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd/hastī*” into *zhenyou* can be perceived a partial translation in that Liu Zhi overlooks the word *ḥaqīqat* (reality) and renders the word *vujūd* (existence) into the compound *zhenyou* 真有. In the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, *zhenyou* is de facto applied twice as a compound to correspond to the original word *vujūd* (existence).³⁹⁵ In this sense “*zhenyou shili* 真有實理” can be understood as a full translation of “*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd*” (reality of existence) where *zhenyou* 真有 (real existence) corresponds to *vujūd* (existence) and *shili* 實理 (fact principle) to *ḥaqīqat* (reality).

Besides the correspondence of “*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd/hastī*” and *vujūd*, *zhenyou* 真有 also appears in Liu Zhi’s translation on the interpretation of the phrase “*ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq*” (Reality of the Real). The *Lavāyih* reads:

حقیقت حق – سبحانه – جز هستی نیست.³⁹⁶

Transliteration: *ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq - sabḥāna – juz hastī nīst*.

Translation: The Reality of the Real – glory be to Him! – is nothing but Being.³⁹⁷

Liu Zhi’s translation reads:

真有惟一。³⁹⁸

Transliteration: *zhen you wei yi*.

Literal translation: There is only one Real Being. / The Real Being is the only One.

The original sentence indicates the phrase “*ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq*” (Reality of the Real)

³⁹⁵ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 33 (ch. 23): 眾物之理，即真有之知，擬其本事之動也，或即真有之本，自於知中擬真本事而動也。The original sentence, see note 300.

³⁹⁶ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 67 (ch. 13). Also see note 3033.

³⁹⁷ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 152.

³⁹⁸ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 14 (ch. 13).

serving as the grammatical subject and *hastī* (being) as an object noun. Compared with the original, the Chinese word *zhen* 真 is likely to correspond to the phrase “*ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq*” and the word *you* 有 can be perceived as a correspondence to the noun *hastī* (being). In the translation of “*ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq*”, the word *zhen* is considered as an equivalent of *ḥaqq* (Real) following the same strategy in a number of correspondences in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*³⁹⁹. In the meantime, the term *ḥaqīqat* seems to be overlooked again by the translator.

In his translation Liu Zhi deploys the word *you* 有 directly after the original subject *zhen* 真. With regards to the audience, this structure arrangement shifts *you* from the object position onto the place where *you* is likely to be read as a verb “(there) is” or as a part of the compound *zhenyou* 真有 (the Real Being) serving as the subject of this sentence. The former reading leads the interpretation of the Chinese translation towards “There is only one Real Being” whereas the latter reading can be understood as “The Real Being is the only One”.

The reading of *zhenyou* 真有 as a compound echoes the prevalent occurrences of *zhenyou* in the Chinese Islamic texts before the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, such as She Qiling’s *Zhaoyuan mijue*⁴⁰⁰. With regards to the audience who stay in the lack of the reference to the original text, Liu Zhi’s Chinese translation is normally rendered (as Murata writes) as “the Real Being is the only One”⁴⁰¹.

³⁹⁹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 32 (ch. 22), 40 (ch. 25), 42 (ch. 26), 52 (ch. 29), 61 (ch. 35), 62 (ch. 36).

⁴⁰⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:40b (ch. 17).

⁴⁰¹ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 153.

To sum up, based on the established Chinese Islamic vocabulary, *zhenyou* 真有 is normally considered as a compound in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*. By comparing with the original text, we locate at least three kinds of correspondence of *zhenyou*. Firstly, *zhenyou* can be considered as one word that aims at translating the term *vujūd* (existence). Secondly, *zhenyou* can be understood as a two-word-phrase that captures the meaning of a phrase like “*ḥaqīqat-i vujūd / hastī*” (reality of existence). Thirdly, *zhen* and *you* correspond to a phrase “*ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq*” (Reality of the Real) and a noun *hastī* (being / existence) respectively. Such distinctive applications of *zhenyou* indicate Liu Zhi’s intention of accommodating his translation to the existing Chinese Islamic vocabulary.

Liu Zhi’s ambiguous translation strategy of applying *zhenyou* 真有 is also reflected in his decision-making process of translating *ḥaqīqat* (reality) in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*. In some cases the relationship between the term *ḥaqīqat* and *zhen* 真 is clear and rather straightforward. In some other cases especially where *ḥaqīqat* occurs in a phrase, however, the term *ḥaqīqat* is somehow overlooked by the translator while the phrase finds its correspondence as a rendition to the other part of the original phrase. Nonetheless, we can draw two conclusions here. Firstly, where the term *ḥaqīqat* tends to be rendered by Liu Zhi as *zhen* 真 in the translation, it refers to the only reality on the symbolic representation. Secondly, Liu Zhi’s neglect of *ḥaqīqat* (reality) in translating certain phrases reflects his preference of a monosyllabic word, compared with She Qiling’s preference for a compound. Liu Zhi’s preference for a monosyllabic word is also reflected in another correspondence of *ḥaqīqat* (reality) and *li* 理

(principle).

b. *Li* 理

In Liu Zhi's translation the term *ḥaqīqat* and its plural form *ḥaqāyiq* in most cases correspond to the term *li* 理, as the following table illustrates:

Words in the <i>Lavāyih</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhenjing zhaowei</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>ḥaqāyiq-i al-hiya</i>	حقایق الهیه ⁴⁰²	the divine realities	<i>zhenyou tongju zhi li</i>	真有統具之理 ⁴⁰³	the all possessed principle of the real being
<i>ḥaqāyiq-i kawniya</i>	حقایق کونیہ ⁴⁰⁴	the engendered realities	<i>wuyou geju zhi li</i>	物有各具之理 ⁴⁰⁵	the every possessed principle of thing's being
			<i>wu geju zhi li</i>	物各具之理 ⁴⁰⁶	the every possessed principle of thing
<i>ḥaqīqat-i har shay'</i>	حقیقت هر شی ⁴⁰⁷	the reality of each thing	<i>zhongwu zhi li</i>	眾物之理 ⁴⁰⁸	the principle of myriad things
<i>ḥaqīqat-i hama-yi ashiyā'</i>	حقیقت همه اشیا ⁴⁰⁹	the reality of all things	<i>wanyou zhi shili</i>	萬有之實理 ⁴¹⁰	the real principle of ten thousand beings
<i>ḥaqīqat-i al-ḥaqāyiq</i>	حقیقت الحقایق ⁴¹¹	the Reality of Realities	<i>wanyou zhi li</i>	萬有之理 ⁴¹²	the principle of ten thousand beings
<i>ṣūr-i ḥaqāyiq</i>	صور حقایق ⁴¹³	the forms of the realities	<i>zhongli zhi xiang</i>	眾理之象 ⁴¹⁴	the image of myriad principles

⁴⁰² Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 72 (ch. 17).

⁴⁰³ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 20 (ch. 17).

⁴⁰⁴ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 72 (ch. 17). (This phrase appears three times.)

⁴⁰⁵ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 21 (ch. 17).

⁴⁰⁶ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 21 (ch. 17).

⁴⁰⁷ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 81 (ch. 22).

⁴⁰⁸ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 33 (ch. 23).

⁴⁰⁹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 87 (ch. 25).

⁴¹⁰ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 41 (ch. 26).

⁴¹¹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 87 (ch. 25).

⁴¹² Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 41 (ch. 26).

⁴¹³ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 85 (ch. 24).

⁴¹⁴ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 39 (ch. 25).

<i>fī al-ḥaqīqat</i> <i>yik ḥaqīqat ast</i>	فى الحقيقة يك حقيقت است ⁴¹⁵	In fact it is one Reality	<i>shi wei yi li</i>	實為一理 ⁴¹⁶	actually is one principle
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Compared with She Qiling’s clarification of *miaoben* 妙本 and *zhenben* 真本 in the correspondence to the term *ḥaqīqat*, we find the term *li* 理 in Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei* corresponds to a wide range of reality (*ḥaqīqat*) ranging from numerous forms in the sensible world to the only reality on a symbolic level. Liu Zhi’s application of *li* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* finds his translation in the following translation case. The original reads:

حقيقت هستى به جميع شئون و صفات و نسب و اعتبارات كه حقايق همه موجوداتند، در حقيقت هر موجودى سارى است و لهذا: قيل كل شىء فيه كل شىء.⁴¹⁷

“The Reality (*ḥaqīqat*) of Being, along with all the tasks, attributes, relations, and respects that are the realities (*ḥaqāyiq*) of all the existents, pervades the reality (*ḥaqīqat*) of each existent. This is why it has been said, ‘Everything is in everything.’”⁴¹⁸

The *Zhenjing zhaowei* reads:

一理具含萬理，萬理統含一理，故曰萬物中有萬理也。⁴¹⁹

One principle (*li*) entirely contains ten thousand principles (*li*), ten thousand principles (*li*) are all contained in one principle (*li*). Therefore it is said that in ten thousand things there are ten thousand principles (*li*).

The original sentence discusses the relationship between “*ḥaqīqat-i hastī*” (reality of Existence) which denotes the only reality on the metaphysical level and “*ḥaqīqat-i har mawjūdī*” (reality of every existence) which refers to the numerous realities in the sensible world. In his translation Liu Zhi applies “*yili* 一理” (one principle) and “*wanli* 萬

⁴¹⁵ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 87 (ch. 25).

⁴¹⁶ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 42 (ch. 26).

⁴¹⁷ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 98 (ch. 29).

⁴¹⁸ Chapter 29, Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 196.

⁴¹⁹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 53 (ch. 30).

理” (ten thousand principles) to correspond to “*ḥaqīqat-i ḥastī*” (reality of Existence) and “*ḥaqīqat-i ḥar mawjūdī*” (reality of every existence) respectively. Compared with the original text, Liu Zhi’s translation of the first two sentences discusses the relationship of the only one principle (*li*) and the many principles (*li*) on the same theme as the original but expresses this through paraphrase.

In the translation of the last sentence, the original structure of the sentence maintains the same as the original but the object has been reworded by Liu Zhi from “*kul shay*” (everything / all things) to “*wanli* 萬理” (ten thousand things). According to this free translation, the principle (*li*) is prevalent in everything in the world and at the same time every principle (*li*) of things belongs to the one and only principle (*li*). The term *li* 理 therefore can be considered as the only one and the many and Liu Zhi provides his readers with a broad sense of principle (*li*) in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*.

While the word *li* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* is bounded to the application and interpretation of *ḥaqīqat* (reality), we notice that *li* is used by Liu Zhi as a key word in his original Islamic text *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理. In this text the word *li* appears not only in the book title, but also in the “Benjing” for nineteen times. In the “Tuzhuan 圖傳” (Commentary on the diagram) Liu Zhi discusses the term *li* 理 as follows:

此之所謂理者，根於大命中之智而起，物之所以然也。人與物之所以然，皆同出於一，原無有別也。乃物之所以然，則稱之曰理。人之所以然，獨稱之曰性者。⁴²⁰

What is called principle (*li*) here, its root begins from the wisdom in the midst of the Great Destiny and is the reason of things. The reasons of humans and things both together derive from the One and originally have no distinctions. But then the reason of things is called principle (*li*), while it is only the reason of humans which is called nature (*xing*).

⁴²⁰ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, 1:16.

To explicate *li* 理 and its relationship with *xing* 性, Liu Zhi even provides a diagram titled as “*Xingli shifen tu* 性理始分圖” (Diagram of the Beginning of the Separation of Nature and Principle)⁴²¹. According to Liu Zhi’s interpretation, the word *li* 理 (principle) only describes the reason of the things while *xing* 性 (nature) is used to describe the reason of human being. Both *li* (principle) and *xing* (nature) derive from the absolute One. This application and interpretation of *li* 理 echoes its application in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* where *li* 理 mostly refers to the term *ḥaqīqat* in the sensible world.

Thus we find that *li* 理 is applied as a key concept in Liu Zhi’s interpretation of the Islamic teachings. In fact, before the appropriation of the word *li* in the Chinese Islamic text, *li* had been discussed and interpreted in the Chinese contexts for thousands of years.

The development of the word *li* in the Chinese context

The word *li* 理 is normally interpreted as “the pattern or principle connecting the nature and social worlds, the foundation for unity between Heaven and the human (*tianren heyi* 天人合一)”.⁴²² A parallel line of thought in the Han times comes with the association between *li* 理 and jade, and defines the word *li* as “to dress jade”.⁴²³ The word *li* has been discussed and interpreted since the early Chinese schools of thought. At first, this word normally appears as a verb referring to “carve and administer” (*zhi* 治) / “correct” (*zheng* 正) / “put to order in ancient Chinese texts”. In the pre-Han period

⁴²¹ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, 1:15.

⁴²² Yao Xinzong, *RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, 354.

⁴²³ Duan Yucai, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 1a:30b [15b]: 治玉也.

the Confucian school made comparatively little contribution to the development of the idea of *li* 理 as a sense of principle.⁴²⁴ The highly developed *li* employed to denote principle is in the *Zhuangzi* where it appears thirty-eight times and “for the first time in Chinese history”⁴²⁵ is equated with *dao* 道 when *li* 理 is associated with *dao* to be *daoli* 道理.⁴²⁶

In the eleventh century the concept *li* (principle) became the central topic in a philosophical, spiritual and cultural revival movement known as *lixue* 理學 (literally the school of principle), generally termed Neo-Confucianism in English.⁴²⁷ The Five Masters of Northern Song (960-1127), namely Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073), Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077), Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077), Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) contributed substantially to the evolution of the concept *li* (principle) and their successor Zhu Xi made his explanation of *li* (principle) absolutely central. According to Zhu Xi, there is only one principle but its manifestations are many. In the very beginning of the *Zhuzi yulei* the text reads as follows:

問：太極不是未有天地之先有箇渾成之物，是天地萬物之理總名否？曰：太極只是天地萬物之理，在天地言，則天地中有太極，在萬物言，則萬物中各有太極，未有天地之先，畢竟是先有此理。⁴²⁸

[The student] asks: Is not the Great ultimate a thing that is naturally formed when there is

⁴²⁴ See Chan Wing-Tsit, “The Evolution of the Neo-Confucian Concept Li as Principle”, 124.

⁴²⁵ Chan Wing-Tsit, “The Evolution of the Neo-Confucian Concept Li as Principle”, 125.

⁴²⁶ Guo Xiang, *Nanhua zhenjing zhu*, 6:4b: 道，理也。 (In chapter “*shanxing* 繕性 (mending the inborn nature)” from Outer chapters of the *Zhuangzi*.) Watson translates this sentence as “the Way is order.” (Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, 171) Mair translates as “the Way is principle”. (Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, 148.)

⁴²⁷ For the evolution of *li* (principle) in Neo-Confucianism, see Chan Wing-Tsit, “The Evolution of the Neo-Confucian Concept Li as Principle”.

⁴²⁸ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 1, 1:1.

no heaven and earth, and [also] a total name of principle (*li*) of ten thousand things between heaven and earth? [Zhu Xi] answers: the Great ultimate is only the *li* of heaven and earth and ten thousand things. Speaking of heaven and earth, the Great ultimate is between the heaven and earth. Speaking of ten thousand things, the Great ultimate is in ten thousand things separately. When there is no heaven and earth, certainly there is such principle (*li*) in advance.

By understanding the Great ultimate as the manifestation of *li* 理 (principle), *li* is the absolute one before the creation of Heaven and earth, but the Great ultimate could be either the only one or many based on which levels it is taken on. After Cheng Hao employs the cardinal Confucian ethical concept *ren* 仁 (humaneness) in the discussion of heaven, earth and ten thousand things,⁴²⁹ the concept *li* has also been involved in the moral law which must be followed. To understand the concept *li* in practice, the Neo-Confucians are required to “*gewu* 格物” (investigate things), which has drawn Neo-Confucianism to a rationalistic basis compared with Daoism and Chinese Buddhism.

Besides the mainstream interpretation of *li* 理, the concept *li* finds variations in the subsequent development of Neo-Confucianism. Zhu Xi’s contemporary Lu Xiangshan 陸象山 (1139-1193) and his follower Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529) declared that “the mind is principle”⁴³⁰. The Qing Confucians went back to the Han interpretation of *li* as “the process of polishing jade”. Dai Zhen 戴震 (1723-1777), a contemporary

⁴²⁹ Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, *Er Cheng ji*, vol. 3, 15: 仁者，以天地萬物為一體。 (The benevolence, is the one body of heaven and earth and ten thousand things).

⁴³⁰ Lu Jiuyuan, *Xiangshan xiansheng quanji*, 11:144: 人皆有是心，心皆具是理，心即理也。 (Every human has this mind (*xin*) and every mind (*xin*) has the principle (*li*). The mind is principle.) Also see Lu Jiuyuan, *Xiangshan xiansheng quanji*, 1:4: 心一心也，理一理也，至當歸一，精義無二。此心此理，實不容有二。 (The mind (*xin*) is one mind. The principle is one principle. [These two] are mostly the appropriate and tend to be One. [Their] essential meanings are the same. This mind and this principle in fact are absolutely the same.)

Neo-Confucian of Liu Zhi, even emphasized that *li* is nothing but just “a name given to the examination of the minutest details with which to make necessary distinctions”⁴³¹, therefore denying any such thing as a universal principle.

Along with the development of the traditional Chinese philosophy, especially Neo-Confucianism, the term *li* 理 had reached the point where it had a long history of evolution and was fully charged with a philosophical potentiality that Liu Zhi could no longer ignore.

c. Conclusion

By comparing Liu Zhi’s application of *li* 理 in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* and the concept *li* in the Chinese philosophical context, several conclusions can be reached. Firstly, every word *li* occurring in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* and the *Tianfang xingli* functions only as a noun and does not serve as a verb meaning to put in order or to distinguish. Secondly, the word *li* used in the translation expresses the sense of reality which is neither employed in the idea of the mind nor referred to in the Neo-Confucian rationalistic perspective. Thirdly, the word *li* corresponds to the term *ḥaqīqat*, the meaning of which covers everything from the “ultimate reality” (*ḥaqīqat-i al-ḥaqāyiq*) to the “reality associated with things” (*ḥaqīqat-i har shay’*). This application of *li* echoes the understanding of *li* as both the one and the many in the concept of nature and the sensible world in the Neo-Confucian context.

⁴³¹ Dai Zheng, *Mengzi ziyi shuzheng*, 1: 理者，察之而幾微必區以別之名也。

Therefore, it is believed that Liu Zhi most probably appropriates the Neo-Confucian understanding of *li* (principle), and specifically Zhu Xi's interpretation in his translation. In association with the concept *li* in his translation, Liu Zhi also applies the terms which are central topics in the Neo-Confucian canon such as *qi* 氣 (material force)⁴³² and *xing* 性 (nature)⁴³³. In some cases we can also discern the Neo-Confucian interpretation between the lines of the *Zhenjing zhaowei*. In the aforementioned example where he translates "everything is in everything" as "*wanwu zhong you wanli ye* 萬物中有萬理也", Liu Zhi translates the first "everything" as "*wanwu* 萬物" (ten thousand things) but substitutes the second "everything" with "*wanli* 萬理" (ten thousand principles (*li*)). The replacement of *wanwu* 萬物 with *wanli* 萬理 echoes Zhu Xi's discussion on the topic of *wanwu zhi li* 萬物之理 (the principle (*li*) of ten thousand things) in his *Zhuzi yulei* as follows:

“萬物皆備於我矣.[...]” 萬物不是萬物之跡，只是萬物之理皆備於我。⁴³⁴

“The ten thousand things are all complete within myself. [...]” The ten thousand things are not the trace of the ten thousand things, but only the principle (*li*) of the ten thousand things are all complete within myself.

In Zhu Xi's opinion the ten thousand things (*wanwu* 萬物) contain their traces (*ji* 跡) and their principles (*li*). In a certain context, what *wanwu* refers to is not their traces (*ji*) but the principle (*li*) of the ten thousand things (*wanwu*). Based on this Neo-Confucian understanding of *wanwu* and *li*, it is reasonable to attribute Liu Zhi's application of *li* to the Neo-Confucian context.

⁴³² Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 34-35 (ch. 18), 42, 49 (ch. 27).

⁴³³ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 6 (ch. 6), 22 (ch. 17) and 58 (ch. 33).

⁴³⁴ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 4, 60:1438. And “天下萬物之理皆備於我” (Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 4, 62:1489.)

To sum up, in translating the term *ḥaqīqat*, Liu Zhi is inclined to appropriate the Neo-Confucian terms and interpretations in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*. Compared with She Qiling, Liu Zhi prefers single character words, which makes his texts more concise and literary. His different preference of terms and writing style, on the one hand, enriches the Chinese Islamic vocabulary and, on the other hand, indicates that not only the Daoist but also the Neo-Confucian terminology have the potentiality to interpret Islamic teachings.

4) Conclusion

By exploring the application of the term *ḥaqīqat* in Jāmī's two treatises, we observe a variety of forms and meanings of *ḥaqīqat* in the discussion of Islamic teachings. Referring to the phenomenal world, the reality (*ḥaqīqat*) of every thing is numerous and "real" for us whereas beyond the phenomenal world the term *ḥaqīqat* is understood as the only and "absolute reality".

According to the study on the translation of *ḥaqīqat*, we find She Qiling and Liu Zhi have different strategies in their translations. In the *Zhaoyuan mijue* She Qiling mainly appropriates the compound words from the Daoist terminology. He also applies *zhenben* and *miaoben* to differentiate the two layers of reality (*ḥaqīqat*). As a reflection of the colloquial influence, we notice that the long phrase is abbreviated by She Qiling into a two-character compound word, such as *tongzhen* and *wanben*.

In the *Zhenjing zhaowei* we find less corresponding words than in She Qiling's

Zhaoyuan mijue. Liu Zhi inclines towards the monosyllabic words *zhen* and *li*, which are thought to be derived from the Neo-Confucian context, especially Zhu Xi's tradition. Similar to She Qiling's strategy, Liu Zhi applies *zhen* to refer to the only reality on the symbolic representation while the word *li* corresponds to the term *ḥaqīqat*, the meaning of which stretches from the "ultimate reality" to the "reality associated with things" indicating his awareness of the two layers of reality (*ḥaqīqat*) as She Qiling did.

Both She Qiling and Liu Zhi's preference for certain terms and writing style enriches the Chinese Islamic vocabulary by applying Daoist and Neo-Confucian terms in their translations. Meanwhile, we also notice that Chinese Muslim translators did not only appropriate the terms derived from one source. In She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue* the word *li* 理 appears sixty-seven times. By comparing with the original text, it emerges that none of the usages of the word *li* finds its correspondence to the term *ḥaqīqat*. In a free translation She Qiling writes that "*yili nai shi zhenben* 一理乃是真本" (One principle is the real root)⁴³⁵. Considering *zhenben* 真本 as a corresponding word of *ḥaqīqat* (reality) in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, it is likely that "*yili* 一理" (one principle) has been applied to refer to the "absolute reality" before Liu Zhi's application of it in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*. Besides this case, *li* normally appears in certain compounds such as *lishi* 理世 (the world of principle)⁴³⁶, *lixiang* 理象 (the image of principle)⁴³⁷, *tongli* 通理 (the unbounded principle)⁴³⁸, *lijing* 理鏡 (the mirror of principle)⁴³⁹ and

⁴³⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:35a ("Mugandimo").

⁴³⁶ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:7b-8a ("Ziyi zhu bianjie"), 1:20a, 21a, 26b ("You benxu"), 1:36a ("Mugandimo"), 2:45a (ch. 18).

⁴³⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:71a, 73a (ch. 8), 2:5a (ch. 9).

⁴³⁸ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:5a (ch. 9).

miaoli 妙理 (the subtle principle) ⁴⁴⁰. Although *li* 理 is considered as the essential concept in Neo-Confucianism, such compounds are alien to the Neo-Confucian context. In fact, we find this group of terms are normally used in the Daoist and Chinese Buddhist contexts.

In his *Zhenjing zhaowei*, we find the word *miao* 妙 remarkably appears in two interpretations of the word *li* 理, both of which are coherent with each other in terms of structure and meaning.⁴⁴¹ As discussed before, the prevalent applications of the word *miao* 妙 and its related compound *miaoben* 妙本 indicate She Qiling's preference for the Daoist tradition. However, we should reserve our conclusion that Liu Zhi's application of *miao* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* reflects his reference to She Qiling's works or the Daoist tradition. As a matter of fact, as early as the second and third centuries, describing *li* 理 with the word *miao* 妙 has been found in Xun Yue's 荀悅 (148-209) and Ji Kang's 嵇康 (223-263) works.⁴⁴²

By studying She Qiling's application of *li* 理 and Liu Zhi's application of *miao* 妙 respectively, it is fair to say that the Chinese Islamic terminology is built out of a complex context of traditional Chinese philosophy. The process of production, that is, the preference of terminology, on the one hand, indicates the knowledge and

⁴³⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:53a (ch. 4), 1:71a (ch. 8).

⁴⁴⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:17b ("Ziyi zhu bianjie"), 1:21b ("You benxu").

⁴⁴¹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 25 (ch. 18): 夫理者, 真有知能之妙蘊也。(*Li*, is the wondrous aggregates of the Real Being, knowledge and ability.) Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 33 (ch. 23): 蓋所謂理者, 妙於知者也。(What is called *li*, is wondrous in knowledge)

⁴⁴² Xun Yue 荀悅, *Shenjian*, 5:4a: 理微謂之妙。Ji Kang, *Ji Kang ji jiaozhu*, 155: 夫至物微妙, 可以理知, 難以目識。"Also "*miaoli* 妙禮" in Ji Kang, *Ji Kang ji jiaozhu*, 188. See Chan Wing-Tsit, "The Evolution of the Neo-Confucian Concept Li as Principle," 131–132.

acquisition which the Muslim writer has acquired and, on the other hand, reflects the image which the Muslim writer aims to deliver to his readership. By comparing the terminology applied by two translators based on the same original word, the different decision-makings of translators would express their unique culture and religious interaction with his readership in and beyond the texts.

2. The term *fanā'*

1) Jāmī's *fanā'*

In the Sufi literature the term *fanā'* is one of the cardinal themes referring to voluntary death, which means dissolution of the self while remaining physically alive. The term *fanā'* usually comes in contrast as the opposite of the term *baqā'* بقای (subsistence), indicating the dualistic perception of things that needs to be achieved. As the Koranic verses say, "Everyone on earth perishes (فان); all that remains (يبقى) is the Face of your Lord, full of majesty, bestowing honour."⁴⁴³ (55:26-27) That is to say, although the "reality of God" (*ḥaqīqat-i ḥaqq*) annihilates (*fanā'*) everything on the earth, his generous giving brings his creatures a new reality and true subsistence, which is the "reality of God".⁴⁴⁴

The contrasting terms annihilation (*fanā'*) and subsistence (*baqā'*) also appears in 'Irāqī's *Lama'āt*, as it reads:

اینجا فناي: من لم یکن، و بقای: من لم یزل، با وی روی نماید که: [...]⁴⁴⁵

Here the annihilation (*fanā'*) of "him who was not" and subsistence (*baqā'*) of "Him Who always was" reveal to the lover how [...].⁴⁴⁶

This passage and the other one, which also include the term *fanā'* in chapter twenty-seven, are also quoted and interpreted by Jāmī in his *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴³ *The Qur'an*, 354.

⁴⁴⁴ Murata, *Sufism*, 36.

⁴⁴⁵ 'Irāqī, *Lama'āt*, 67 (ch. 8). Jāmī's quotation and commentary, see Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 121 (ch. 8).

⁴⁴⁶ Translation amended from Chittick, *Divine Flashes*, 88.

⁴⁴⁷ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 113 (ch. 27).

In his *Lavāyih* Jāmī interprets this pair of terms only in his quatrains.⁴⁴⁸ As one of the quatrains reads:

چیزی که نه روی در یقا باشی از او
آخر هدف تیرفنا باشی از او
از هرچه به مردگی جدا خواهش شد
آن به که به زندگی جدا باشی از او⁴⁴⁹

Anything that does not let you turn to subsistence (*baqā'*)
will at last make you the target of the arrow of annihilation (*fanā'*).
If you will be parting from a thing when you die,
better to part from it now while you're still alive.⁴⁵⁰

Because nothing is subsistent except the only subsistence (*baqā'*) the Real, man cannot be subsistent after life. In other words, the practice of annihilation (*fanā'*) can be done when the man is still alive.

Statistical research on the lexicon of Medieval Persian lyric poetry and prose indicates that Jāmī's earlier and contemporary Sufis applied the term *fanā'* frequently in their works, such as Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Rūmī's (1207-1273) *Masnavī Ma'navī* and 'Azīz al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Nasafī's (fl.1281) *Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil* (The Book of Perfect Man).⁴⁵¹

In Jāmī's *Lavāyih* the term *fanā'* (including other forms deriving from the same root) occurs sixteen times. In chapter nine, a chapter where *fanā'* appears twelve times, Jāmī provides the following definition of this term as follows:

⁴⁴⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 55 (ch. 4), 63 (ch. 9), 92 (ch. 26).

⁴⁴⁹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 55 (ch. 4).

⁴⁵⁰ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 140.

⁴⁵¹ Uta, *A Persian Sufi Poem*, 152.

فنا عبارت از آن است که به واسطه استیلاى ظهور هستی حق بر باطن به ما سواى او شعور نماند.⁴⁵²
Annihilation (fanā') is that through the Real Being's manifestation overmasters the nonmanifestation realm such that no consciousness of this unconsciousness remains.⁴⁵³

According to this definition, Jāmī clarifies that the annihilation (*fanā'*) does not stand for death on a physical level, but a state of self-unconsciousness other than the Real in the Sufi practice.

In the *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt* the term *fanā'* (including other forms deriving from the same root) appears twenty-one times in the main body of the text. In chapter twelve where *fanā'* is used in a phrase as "*fanā' fī allāh* الله فى الله" (annihilation in God) for three times⁴⁵⁴, Jāmī interprets the road to annihilation (*fanā'*) and the goal of annihilation (*fanā'*) in Sufi practice. As one of the original passages reads:

امت وی اهل فناء فى الله اند "این جا راه" که عبارت از مسافتی است که میان بنده و خداوند است "برسد؛ طلب" یعنی طلب وصول "نماند".⁴⁵⁵

His [the Prophet's] community are the folk of annihilation in God. 'Here the road,' which consists of the distance between the servant and the Lord, 'comes to an end. Seeking,' that is, seeking for arrival, 'does not remain.'"

To sum this up, annihilation (*fanā'*) is a status of unconsciousness needed for the human being to achieve the Real. In other words, annihilation (*fanā'*) is experienced when the Real Being's manifestation overmasters the non-manifest realm so that we cannot be conscious of anything but only Him.

In Jāmī's writings the term *fanā'* is not only used as a stand-alone term but also

⁴⁵² Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 63 (ch. 9).

⁴⁵³ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 148.

⁴⁵⁴ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 139-140 (ch. 12). The other only one occurrence of this phrase is in 117 (ch. 7).

⁴⁵⁵ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 140 (ch. 12).

tends to be associated with certain modifiers in the *Lavāyih* and in the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* as the following table shows:

	Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning
<i>Lavāyih</i>	<i>ṣāhib-i fanā</i>	صاحب فنا ⁴⁵⁶	companion of annihilation
	<i>fanā-yi khud</i>	فناى خود ⁴⁵⁷	self-annihilation
	<i>fanā-yi fanā / fanā'-i fanā'</i>	فناء فنا / فناى فنا ⁴⁵⁸	annihilation of annihilation
<i>Ashi'at al-Lama'āt</i>	<i>fanā-yi banda</i>	فناى بنده ⁴⁵⁹	annihilation of the servant
	<i>fanā-yi zāt</i>	فناى ذات ⁴⁶⁰	annihilation of the essence

Based on Jāmī's application, it is clear that the object of annihilation (*fanā'*) is the human being namely *banda* بنده (servant) at the psychological level. The goal of annihilation (*fanā'*) is to reach the Real that is also referred to as *vaḥdat* وحدت (Oneness)⁴⁶¹ and God. On the "road to God", "be annihilated in God" (*fanā' fī allāh*) is the only way for the person to practice⁴⁶² and only "the companion of annihilation" (*ṣāhib-i fanā*) will reach the goal of annihilation (*fanā'*).

To emphasize the practice of annihilation (*fanā'*) on the way to reach the Real, Jāmī puts forward a further stage of annihilation (*fanā'*) as "*fanā'-i fanā'* فنا / فناى فنا" (*fanā* فناى فنا) (annihilation of annihilation) in the *Lavāyih*. As the original text reads:

فناء فنا آنکه به آن بیشعوری هم شعور نماند؛ و پوشیده نماند که فناى فنا در فنا مندرج است.⁴⁶³
Annihilation of annihilation (*fanā'-i fanā'*) is that no consciousness of this unconsciousness remains. It should be clear that Annihilation of annihilation (*fanā-yi fanā'*) is included in

⁴⁵⁶ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 63 (ch. 9).

⁴⁵⁷ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 63 (ch. 9).

⁴⁵⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 63 (ch. 9).

⁴⁵⁹ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 122 (ch. 8).

⁴⁶⁰ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 46 ("Foreword").

⁴⁶¹ و پوشیده نماند که در هر دو قسم آخر، فناى بنده باشد در وحدت صرف. Let it not stay hidden that in the last two kinds, the annihilation of the servant is in sheer oneness. See Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 122 (ch. 8). Also see 153 (ch. 14).

⁴⁶² سیر الی الله فناء فی الله، که فتح عبارت از آن است، بیش نیست (Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 139 (ch. 12)).

⁴⁶³ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 63 (ch. 9).

annihilation.⁴⁶⁴

According to this interpretation, “annihilation of annihilation” (*fanā’-i fanā’*) indicates a status of “no consciousness of this unconsciousness”. When a human is conscious of his annihilation (*fanā’*), it means that the self on the psychological level still has consciousness and fails to annihilate (*fanā’*) in the Real. Thus he could not be considered as “a man of annihilation (*fanā’*)”.

By exploring the application of the term *fanā’* as the key concept in Jāmī’s *Lavāyih* and *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, we find that the author follows the Sufi tradition in his application and interpretation of this term. Compared with the term *ḥaqīqat* (reality), *fanā’* (annihilation) has a univocal interpretation and appears less number of times in Jāmī’s two treatises. In their translations we notice that She Qiling and Liu Zhi make their own consistent choices in translating *fanā’*. In the *Zhaoyuan mijue* She Qiling opts for the word *hunhua* 渾化 whereas Liu Zhi chooses the word *ke* 克 in his *Zhenjing zhaowei*.

2) Translating the term *fanā’* in the Chinese Islamic context

a. She Qiling’s *hunhua* 渾化 in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*

In the *Zhaoyuan mijue* She Qiling translates *fanā’* (annihilation) as *hunhua* 渾化 in every case except only once where he has the word *hua* 化.⁴⁶⁵ As a compound, the word *hunhua* consists of a character *hun* 渾 (to integrate) and a character *hua* 化 (to

⁴⁶⁴ Murata, *Gleams*, 148.

⁴⁶⁵ See Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 153 (ch. 14) and She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:25a (ch. 14).

turn, transform, eliminate or die). She Qiling's choice of *hunhua* reflects his preference of compound the same as he does in other translation cases. This only application of *hua* as a substitution of the compound *hunhua* can be understood as a consequence of abbreviation, the same approach in the translation case of *tongzhen* 通真 and *wanben* 萬本.⁴⁶⁶

With regard to *hunhua* 渾化, which occurs about thirty-nine times in the main body, twenty occurrences of *hunhua* corresponding to *fanā'* in the original. The occurrences of correspondence of *hunhua* are listed in the following table, thereby attesting to She Qiling's frequent use of *hunhua* in his *Zhaoyuan mijue* and the significance of *hunhua* as a key concept in his Chinese Islamic writing.

Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	Number of occurrences
<i>fanā'</i>	فناء	annihilation	20
<i>istihlāk</i>	استهلاك	depreciation	7
<i>muḡmaḡall</i>	مضمحل	overturn	4
<i>nāchīz</i>	ناچیز	nothing	1

To correspond to the original text, *hunhua* is also adapted to the application of *fanā'* (annihilation) in order to form corresponding phrases in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, as the following table illustrates:

Words in the <i>Ashi'at al-Lama'āt</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>fanā' fī allāh</i>	فناء فى الله ⁴⁶⁷	annihilation in God	<i>hunhua yu zhu</i>	渾化於主 ⁴⁶⁸	be integrated and transformed in Lord
<i>fanā-yī</i>	فناى بنده ⁴⁶⁹	annihilation of	<i>nubei</i>	奴輩渾化	integration and

⁴⁶⁶ See the case of *zhenben* and *tongzhen*.

⁴⁶⁷ See note 4544.

⁴⁶⁸ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:70b (ch. 7), 2:12a-13a (ch. 12).

⁴⁶⁹ See note 45960.

<i>banda</i>		the servant / slave	<i>hunhua</i>	⁴⁷⁰	transformation of servants / slaves and their like
<i>fanā-yi banda bāshad dar vaḥdat-i šarf</i>	فناى بنده باشد در وحدت صرف ⁴⁷¹	being the annihilation of the servant in the pure oneness	<i>nubei hunhua yu jingyi zhi xia yi</i>	奴輩渾化於精一之下矣 ⁴⁷²	integration and transformation of the servants and their like under the pure One
<i>fanā-yi zāt</i>	فناى ذات ⁴⁷³	annihilation of the essence	<i>tiyong hunhua</i>	體用渾化 ⁴⁷⁴	integration and transformation of substance and function

According to this table, the phrase “*nubei hunhua* 奴輩渾化” (integration and transformation of servants and their like) follows the same structure as the phrase “*nubei miaoben* 奴輩妙本” (the wondrous root of the servants and their like) in translating the phrase “*ḥaqīqat-i banda*” (reality of the servant), indicating the consistency of strategy in She Qiling’s translation.⁴⁷⁵ She Qiling’s application of *hunhua* in translating *fanā’* in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* provides *hunhua* 渾化 with an established interpretation, that the human integrates and dies (not physically but metaphysically) in God.

⁴⁷⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:73b (ch. 8).

⁴⁷¹ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 122 (ch. 8).

⁴⁷² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:73b (ch. 8).

⁴⁷³ See note 46060.

⁴⁷⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:16a (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”).

⁴⁷⁵ See notes 33030, 3311.

b. Liu Zhi's *ke* 克 in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*

In the *Lavāyih* the term *fanā'* appears in the first twelve chapters in the discussion of the path of Sufi practice. In addition to only one appearance in the prose of chapter four, *fanā'* (annihilation) is the main topic in chapter nine. In his *Zhenjing zhaowei* Liu Zhi uses two different Chinese words to reflect the meaning of *fanā'*: one is the word *mie* 滅 (to perish, extinguish; Sanskrit: nirvana) which appears only once in chapter four; in all the other occurrences in chapter nine *fanā'* is translated as *ke* 克 (to defeat, overcome, subdue or restrain).

To translate the definition of the term *fanā'* provided by Jāmī, Liu Zhi writes:

克者，真有勝，顯於心，而不覺外物也。⁴⁷⁶

The meaning of *ke* is that the Real Being overcomes and manifests in the heart of whom there is no consciousness (*bujue*) of external things.

Thus this translation provides *ke* a definition in the Chinese Islamic discourse, which is actually a rare chance for the translator to explicate a term he appropriates from the Chinese context in the body of his translation. Based on this definition of *ke* in his *Zhenjing zhaowei*, *ke* can be understood as a status of unconsciousness (*bu jue* 不覺) while reaching the God. To correspond to the original text, *ke* is also used in translating the phrases that are illustrated below:

⁴⁷⁶ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 10 (ch. 8).

Words in the <i>Lavāyih</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhenjing zhaowei</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>ṣāhib-i fanā</i>	صاحب فنا ⁴⁷⁷	the person of annihilation	<i>ke zhi ren</i>	克之人 ⁴⁷⁸	the person who overcomes
<i>fanā-yi khud</i>	فناى خود ⁴⁷⁹	self-annihilation	<i>qi [ke zhi ren] ke</i>	其 [克之人] 克 ⁴⁸⁰	his [the person who overcomes] overcoming
<i>fanā-yi fanā / fanā'-i fanā'</i>	فناء فنا / فنا ⁴⁸¹	annihilation of annihilation	<i>keke</i>	克克 ⁴⁸²	to overcome of his overcoming

The word *ke* 克 is used to correspond to the original phrase represented by *fanā'* and to constitute certain phrases which have not appeared in the Chinese context before. The verb-object phrase “*keke* 克克” (to overcome of overcoming), which does not belong to the existing Chinese vocabulary, is not only written as the correspondence of the original *fanā'-i fanā'* (annihilation of annihilation), but also applied by the translator as the formal title of chapter nine. According to its application, *keke* which can be read as either a compound or a verb-object phrase, has been introduced by Liu Zhi for the first time into the Chinese philosophical vocabulary.

The definition of *ke* 克 in chapter nine also affects the understanding of the other occurrences of *ke* which do not correspond to the term *fanā'* in Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei*. As the following table shows, the word *ke* is also used twice as corresponding to *nafī / muntafī* منتفی / نفی (to expel, negate) in chapter eight. In both occurrences Liu Zhi employs the word *si* 私 (selfish desire) to correspond to *khāṭir* خواطر (thoughts) as the object of “to expel” (*nafī*). For example, Liu Zhi translates “*nafī-yi khāṭir* نفى خواطر”

⁴⁷⁷ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 63 (ch. 9).

⁴⁷⁸ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 10 (ch. 9).

⁴⁷⁹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 63 (ch. 9).

⁴⁸⁰ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 10-11 (ch. 9).

⁴⁸¹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 63 (ch. 9).

⁴⁸² Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 10 (ch. 9).

(to expel thoughts) as *keji qusi* 克去己私 (to overcome self and give up desire).⁴⁸³ Liu Zhi even entitles this chapter as “*keji* 克己” (to overcome oneself). With regard to the definition of *ke* and the title of the following chapter nine “*keke* 克克”, the understanding of the word *ke* and its phrase or compound “*keji*” in chapter eight may be semantically influenced by the newly established definition of *ke* in chapter nine.

Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	Number of occurrences
<i>fanā'</i>	فناء	annihilation	8
<i>naḡī / muntaḡī</i>	منتفی / نفی	expel	2

The correspondences of *fanā'* and *hunhua* 渾化 in She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue* and *ke* 克 in Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei* offer glimpses into the translation strategies applied by these two Chinese translators. In Liu Zhi's *Tianfang xingli* where the *Lavāyih* and the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* are used by the writer as the main reference, we notice that *hunhua* is applied as the key concept in Liu Zhi's writing whereas *ke* does not appear.

c. Liu Zhi's *hunhua* 渾化 in the *Tianfang xingli*

As discussed in the previous cases, it is not surprising that She Qiling and Liu Zhi made different decisions in translating the same original word written by the same author Jāmī. However, it seems interesting that one of the translators abandons his own choice in his other work and instead follows an earlier translator's choice of term.

Based on the textual study, *ke* 克 does not appear in She Qiling's translation and Liu Zhi's other works, whereas *hunhua* 渾化 appears as the keyword in Liu Zhi's original writing, the *Tianfang xingli*. In the entire text, *hunhua* occurs three times

⁴⁸³ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 9 (ch. 8).

whereas *ke* cannot be found. One occurrence of *hunhua* appears in the title of chapter five in the “Benjing” section known as “The wonderful meaning of the separation and combination of Macrocosm and Microcosm and the perfection of integration (*hunhua*) of Heaven and human being”⁴⁸⁴, indicating the essential function of *hunhua* as a key concept in Liu Zhi’s interpretation of the principle of Islam.

In the following content of this chapter, Liu Zhi further writes:

一歸本然，天人渾化。物我歸真，真一還真。(費隱經，又昭微經).⁴⁸⁵

The One returns to the Essence. Heaven and human beings are integrated (*hunhua*). The things and self return to the Real, and the Real One returns to the Real. (*Feiyin jing*, and *Zhaowei jing*)

This passage which does not appear in She Qiling’s *Zhaoyuan mijue* or in Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei*, is presumably Liu Zhi’s summarization and based on his reading of the Persian classics, namely the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt* and the *Lavāyih*. On the point of She Qiling’s application of *hunhua* 渾化 in his translation of *fanā’* in the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, *hunhua* in the “Benjing” may well be perceived as a reference to the term *fanā’* in Jāmī’s texts. If this assumption is correct, we may argue that Liu Zhi applies both words, i.e. *hunhua* and *ke* 克, as translation words for *fanā’* depending on the documentary context of his writing.

In Liu Zhi’s *Tianfang xingli*, the word *hunhua* 渾化 is twice combined with the object “*tianren* 天人 (Heaven and human being)”⁴⁸⁶ and once with the object “*quanti*

⁴⁸⁴ “Daxiao liang shijie fenhe zhi miaoyi yu tianren hunhua zhi jizhi 大小兩世界分合之妙義與天人渾化之極致.” (Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, “Benjing”:5)

⁴⁸⁵ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, “Benjing”:6.

⁴⁸⁶ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, “Benjing”:5-6.

全體 (all bodies)".⁴⁸⁷ In order to facilitate the interpretation of the phrase "*tianren hunhua* 天人渾化" (the integration of Heaven and Human being) clearly, Liu Zhi provides a diagram titled "*Tianren hunhua tu* 天人渾化圖" (Diagram of integration and transformation of Heaven and human being) ⁴⁸⁸ as follows which explains how Heaven and man are integrated and transformed into one entity.



The Muslim scholar Hei Mingfeng 黑鳴鳳 (1662-1722), a contemporary of Liu Zhi, explores Liu Zhi's application of *hunhua* 渾化 and makes the following annotation to this diagram:

去其分別之跡，忘乎物我之形，先天後天，總歸一致而還於一原，則天人渾化，真一還真矣。⁴⁸⁹

Remove the trace of distinction [of different levels]. Forget the shape of things and self. This world and the afterlife world, all are reverted to the one and resulted in returning to the original one. This is called the integration and transformation (*hunhua*) of heaven and man and the Real One returns to the Real.

This interpretation suggests the application of *hunhua* 渾化 in the *Tianfang xingli* is different from the one in She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue* and from what was presumably meant by *ke* 克 in Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei*. The object of *hunhua* here

⁴⁸⁷ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, 4:10.

⁴⁸⁸ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, "Juanshou":16.

⁴⁸⁹ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, "Juanshou":17-18.

changes from the self to Heaven and Man. The phrase “*tianren hunhua* 天人渾化” in the *Tianfang xingli* describes a process of the “integration of Heaven and Man into the Real” rather than a practice acted by a human himself. As the diagram illustrates, the result of *hunhua* in the *Tianfang xingli* is that the Real is “transformed” by Heaven and Man, different from that in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* and the *Zhenjing zhaowei* where it is effected by oneself when the self is annihilated. Therefore, *hunhua* in the *Tianfang xingli* can be considered as “an undifferentiated integration of Heaven and Man” in order to “form” the Real.

Although the expression *hunhua* 渾化 appears only three times in the *Tianfang xingli*, the phrase “*tianren hunhua* 天人渾化” is widely attested in later Chinese Islamic texts, a phenomenon that may well be due to the high esteem that the *Tianfang xingli* enjoyed during later generations. In a later preface to She Qiling’s *Zhaoyuan mijue*, the Muslim scholar Li Tingxiang 李廷相 (1884-1937) even quotes Hei Mingfeng’s interpretation of the phrase “*tianren hunhua*” to summarize the main theme of She Qiling’s translation.⁴⁹⁰ It is, however, debatable whether Li Tingxiang actually realizes the semantic shift of the word *hunhua* that occurs between She Qiling’s *Zhaoyuan mijue* and Liu Zhi’s *Tianfang xingli*.

⁴⁹⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue* (1925 edition), “Preface”:2 [15:213].

d. The words *hunhua* 渾化 and *ke* 克 in other Chinese Islamic texts

a) *Hunhua* 渾化

The monosyllabic words *hun* 渾 and *hua* 化 appear frequently in the Chinese Islamic texts separately. However, with the exception of the application in She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue* and Liu Zhi's *Tianfang xingli*, the compound *hunhua* 渾化 rarely appears in their earlier and contemporary Chinese Islamic texts. Study of the corpus of texts by Wang Daiyu, Zhang Zhong and Wu Zunqi shows that the word *hunhua* only appears three times in Wu Zunqi's annotation of a translation in the *Guizhen yaodao*. In this text Wu Zunqi applies *hunhua* twice independently⁴⁹¹ and once in association with *wujian* 無間 (no space)⁴⁹², indicating the similar status of *hunhua* as integration in Liu Zhi's *Zhaoyuan mijue*.

b) *Ke* 克

The character *ke* 克 can only be found in Liu Zhi's translation of the term *fanā'* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* as the semantic aspect of translation. In addition to the phonetic transcription of the Arabic and Persian syllable *ka* or *ki* in expressions such as *ke'erbai* 克爾白 referring to *ka'ba* كعبه (the Cube), the word *ke* appears mostly with *ji* 己 (self) as the verb-object phrase *keji* 克己 (to restrain the self) in his earlier and contemporary Chinese Islamic texts.

⁴⁹¹ Wu Zuqi, *Guizhen yaodao*, 2:1b [29:196], 16:39a [3:420].

⁴⁹² Wu Zuqi, *Guizhen yaodao*, 2:22a [29:237].

Fox example, in chapter “Youdao 友道” (The principle of friendship) of the *Zhengjiao zhenquan*, Wang Daiyu writes:

克己濟人，四海可為兄弟。⁴⁹³

Restrain yourself (*keji*) and help others, then (you and others) could become brothers in the whole world.

Other examples include the following passage from the *Guizhen yaodao* where Wu Zunqi considers *keji* 克己 as one of the twenty practices of perfection on the way to become a high-level Muslim. As Wu Zunqi writes in a rather colloquial language:

第十二件是克己。把門人的事重過自己之事，把自己分內之事讓與門人。⁴⁹⁴

The twelfth practice is to restrain yourself (*keji*). [This means to] take the disciples’ affairs as being more important than your own and give up what you deserve to your disciples.

Such earlier applications of *keji* 克己 appear in the discussion of the practice to “restrain” oneself in order to achieve a certain goal in real life. Although the word *keji* also appear in Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei*, it seems that the word *keji* in Liu Zhi’s discourse does not reflect the established application and interpretation of this word in the Chinese Islamic context. In Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei* as a matter of fact, both *ke* 克 as the correspondence of *fanā’* and *keji* 克己 as the correspondence of the term *nafi* are interpreted as “to overcome” (selfish desire) which is considered as a practice on a metaphysical level.

To sum up, compared with the Persian original texts, *hunhua* 渾化 and *ke* 克 in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* and the *Zhenjing zhaowei* convey the meaning of *fanā’*

⁴⁹³ Wang Daiyu, *Zhengjiao zhenquan*, 99.

⁴⁹⁴ Wu Zunqi, *Guizhen yaodao yiyi*, 3:12b-13a [29:367-8].

(annihilation) in the practice of achieving the Real. The word *hunhua* in Liu Zhi's *Tianfang xingli* is probably used as a substitute for the word *ke* in correspondence of *fanā'*. However, based on the close reading of the Chinese Islamic context, the application and interpretation of *hunhua* in the *Tianfang xingli* appear to be different from *hunhua* and *ke* which stand for annihilation (*fanā'*). Moreover, the study on the application of *hunhua* in She Qiling and Liu Zhi's earlier and contemporary Chinese Islamic texts indicates the meaning of *hunhua* is closer to the one applied in She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue* rather than Liu Zhi's *Tianfang xingli* and it has only been widely used since She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue*. The study of *ke* shows that it is only used in Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei* as a stand-alone term referring to a status of self-unconsciousness and is different from its understanding and application in the previous Chinese Islamic works.

3) The terms *hunhua* 渾化 and *ke* 克 in the traditional Chinese philosophy

By looking through the occurrences of *hunhua* and *ke* in the context of traditional Chinese philosophy including Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism, we find that these two words exclusively appear in the Neo-Confucian exegetical context.

a. *Hunhua* 渾化

In Neo-Confucian tradition the word *hunhua* 渾化 can be considered as a way of change in two steps. The first step is *hun* 渾 which means "to integrate" or "to gather together to be complete" and the second step is *hua* 化 meaning "to transform".

It appears that *hunhua* first appears in the writings of Cheng Hao 程顥. According to the records available in the *Er Cheng Yishu* 二程遺書 (Surviving Works of the Two Cheng Brothers), Cheng Hao makes a commentary on a phrase in the *Analects*:

質美者，明得盡，渣滓便渾化，卻與天地同體。⁴⁹⁵

The one whose physical nature is beautiful will be intelligent to the greatest extent. [His] dross (*zhazi*)⁴⁹⁶ will be integrated and transformed (*hunhua*), and he will be completed in one body with Heaven and earth.

In his *Lunyu jizhu* 論語集注 (Collected explanations on the Analects) Zhu Xi 朱熹 later quotes Cheng Hao's elaborations in his commentary on a passage of the *Analects* (15.5) that deals primarily with the way in which one is supposed to conduct oneself successfully.⁴⁹⁷

The application of the verb *hunhua* 渾化 with the object *zhazi* 渣滓 (dross, impure dregs) can be found in a number of works by Song philosophers including Chen Zhi 陳埴 (fl. 1210), a follower of Zhu Xi's school. As Chen Zhi writes:

聖人心如百分秤，謂體統光明，渣滓渾化。⁴⁹⁸

The heart of a sage is like a full scale, the system has brightness and the dross (*zhazi*) are integrated and transformed (*hunhua*).

The phrase "*zhazi hunhua* 渣滓渾化" seemingly coined by Cheng Hao found wide reception in Neo-Confucian tradition and also appears in Wang Shouren's 王守仁 (1472-1529) *Chuanxilu* 傳習錄 (Record of Teaching and Practicing).⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁵ Cheng Hao & Cheng Yi, *Er Cheng ji*, vol. 3, 132.

⁴⁹⁶ The character *zha* 查 and *zha* 渣 are used interchangeably.

⁴⁹⁷ See Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, vol. 2, 705.

⁴⁹⁸ Chen Zhi, *Muzhong ji*, 10:23b.

⁴⁹⁹ See Wang Shouren, *Yangming Chuanxilu*, 237.

According to Cheng Hao and his followers, the process of *hunhua* 渾化 refers to the integration and then the transformation of dross (*zhazi*) into one body combined with Heaven and earth. The object of this transformation (*hunhua*) is the “impurity” and “dross” (*zhazi*) of human being.

b. *Ke(ji)* 克(己)

Among all the applications including the word *ke* 克 in the Chinese philosophy, the phrase or compound “*keji* 克己” (to subdue or overcome oneself) is the most frequently used and is considered as a cardinal concept in the Confucian tradition. The *locus classicus* for the verb-object phrase “*keji*” is found in a reply given to Yan Yuan 顏淵 (BC521-BC481), a major disciple of Confucius, in a debate about the Confucian key virtue of humaneness (*ren* 仁). *Analects* 12.1 has the following record:

克己復禮為仁。

To subdue oneself (*keji*) and to return to the rites constitute humaneness.

In his commentary on this sentence in the *Lunyu jizhu*, Zhu Xi interprets as follows:

仁者，本心之全德。克，勝也。己，謂身之私欲也。復，反也。禮者，天理之節文也。⁵⁰⁰

Ren means the perfect virtue of the original heart. *Ke* means to subdue. *Ji* refers to the selfish desire. *Fu* means to return. *Li* means the principles of Heaven in measured display.

The term *ren* 仁 is the cardinal principle in Confucian philosophy, usually understood as “benevolence”, “Goodness” or “humaneness” and regarded as “the most important moral quality a man can possess”.⁵⁰¹ In order to achieve humaneness one must, according to Zhu Xi’s interpretation, “subdue one’s selfish desire” (*keji* 克己)

⁵⁰⁰ Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jizhu*, vol. 2, 529.

⁵⁰¹ Lau D. C. (trans.), *Confucius*, 14.

and “return to rites” (*fuli* 復禮) that are measured and are in full accordance with the principles of Heaven.

Zhu Xi’s annotation of *ke* 克 as *sheng* 勝 (to subdue, overcome) echoes Liu Zhi’s translation of *fanā’* (annihilation) as “*ke zhe, zhenyou sheng*. 克者，真有勝” in Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei*.⁵⁰² Although Liu Zhi never directly relates the phrase “*keji* 克己” with *fanā’* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, his title of chapter eight “*keji*” is followed by the name of chapter nine “*keke* 克克” in which the definition and main discussion of the word *ke* are provided as the correspondence of *fanā’*, thereby alluding to his intension of building a relationship of “*keji*” to his newly interpretation of *ke*.

c. The relationship between *hunhua* 渾化 and *ke* 克

Further in his commentary on Cheng Hao’s understanding of *hunhua* 渾化 in the *Zhuzi yulei*, Zhu Xi notes:

渣滓是私意人欲。天地同體處，是義理之精英。渣滓是私意人欲之未消者。人與天地本一體，只緣渣滓未去，所以有間隔。若無渣滓，便與天地同體。‘克己復禮為仁’，己是渣滓，復禮便是天地同體處。⁵⁰³

The dross (*zhazi*) is the selfish willing and human desire. The one body of Heaven and earth is like the essence of principles. The dross (*zhazi*) is the selfish willing and human desire which have not yet dissolved. Man, Heaven and earth are originally one (body). Only because the dross (*zhazi*) has not vanished yet there is a gap [among them]. If there were no dross (*zhazi*), [the human being] would then become one (body) with Heaven and earth. [In the phrase] “*Ke ji fu li wei ren*”, *ji* stands for the dross (*zhazi*) and *fu li* is the one body with Heaven and earth.

In his commentary Zhi Xi interprets *zhazi* 渣滓 as “selfish desire” which

⁵⁰² See note 4766.

⁵⁰³ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol.3, 45:1151.

corresponds to his interpretation of *ji* 己. This interpretation also reflects Cheng Hao's understanding of *hunhua* 渾化 as exemplified in the above mentioned passage "dross (zhazi) will be integrated and transformed (hunhua), and he will be completed in one body with Heaven and Earth"⁵⁰⁴ from the *Er Cheng yishu*. Although *hunhua* 渾化 does not appear in his *Zhuzi yulei*, Zhu Xi builds a close relationship between *hunhua* 渾化 and *ke* 克 based on the same explanation of the words *zhazi* 渣滓 and *ji* 己 as selfish desire.

Based on the closeness of *hunhua* 渾化 and *ke* 克 in Zhu Xi's interpretation, *hunhua* emphasizes the act of "elimination of dross" (*zhazi* 渣滓) in the process of transforming human, Heaven and earth into the one entity (*yiti* 一體). In this process, the dross (*zhazi*) is likely to be dissolved rather than be transformed.⁵⁰⁵ Regarding the consequences of the activities described by *hunhua* and *ke*, Zhu Xi believes that after the completion of "conquering one's selfish desire" (*keji* 克己 or *zhazi hunhua* 渣滓渾化) and following the transformation into one entity, the result is the achievement of humaneness (*ren* 仁).

To sum up, the close relation between *hunhua* 渾化 and *ke* 克 in translating *fanā'* in the Chinese Islamic texts can be seen as a reflection of Zhu Xi's interpretation of "*zhazi hunhua* 渣滓渾化" and "*keji* 克己". Regarding Liu Zhi's translation, *Zhenjing zhaowei* is later than She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue*, and his preference of *ke* 克 as a

⁵⁰⁴ See note 4955.

⁵⁰⁵ Chan Wing-Tsit 陳榮捷 (1901-1994) interprets *hunhua* as "complete transformation" in his translation of Zhu Xi's *Jinsilu* 近思錄 (Reflections on Things at Hand) explaining *hun* 渾 as "a status of transformation" and focusing on the process of transformation. (Chan, *Reflections on Things and Hand*, 58.)

substitute of She Qiling's choice of the word *hunhua* 渾化 in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* is clearly rooted in Zhu Xi's interpretation of "*zhazi hunhua*" and "*keji*".

However, the objects of *hunhua* 渾化 or *ke* 克 in these two philosophies are different. In Neo-Confucianism the object is "selfish desire" (*siyu* 私慾) whereas in the two Chinese Islamic translations the object is "self-consciousness" (*zijue* 自覺)⁵⁰⁶. For example, to adjust to the application and interpretation of *fanā'*, the object of *hunhua* is written as the human being in the phrase of "*nubei hunhua* 奴輩渾化" referring to the integration and annihilation of the self on a metaphysical level. For those who are in "*keke* 克克" (*fanā'-i fanā'*, to overcome of his overcoming), the object of *ke* (to overcome) is the *ke* (the status of overcoming) itself, emphasizing the complete overcoming and annihilation of consciousness.

Moreover, philosophers in the two realms indicate different consequences of practicing *hunhua* 渾化 or *ke* 克. In Neo-Confucianism the consequence is to achieve benevolence (*ren* 仁), the ethical manifestation of the principle, while in the two Chinese Islamic translations it is to achieve the ultimate state and reach God. According to the definition of *ke* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, the consequence of the practice of *ke* (to overcome) is the "Real Being overcomes" (*zhenyou sheng* 真有勝). Also as the phrase including *hunhua* in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* illustrates, the goal of *hunhua* (integration and annihilation) is to reach "the pure One" (*jingyi* 精一) or "the Lord" (*Zhu* 主).

⁵⁰⁶ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 10-11 (ch. 9): 克之人若自覺, 其克仍未克也.

As She Qiling's wording in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* reads:

又明爾苟能因渾化於彼中，轉而為無，則彼必代汝之位矣。⁵⁰⁷

Also understand if you are turned to nothing due to your integration and transformation (*hunhua*) into Him, then He certainly substitutes your position.

In this context *hunhua* 渾化 presents a process of self-annihilation and dissolving in God on the way of achieving Him.

Therefore, corresponding to the original term *fanā'*, both *hunhua* 渾化 in She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue* and *ke* 克 in Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei*, are appropriated from the Neo-Confucian tradition and adjusted to a new philosophical context semantically extended to fit the meaning and context of the term *fanā'* in the Chinese Islamic writings.

4) Conclusion

In the light of Jāmī's textual corpus and the context of Song philosophy, the case of *hunhua* 渾化 and *ke* 克 in the Chinese Islamic writings illustrates the complex applications and interpretations of these two terms. In his *Zhaoyuan mijue* She Qiling mainly preferred the compound *hunhua* in his translation of the term *fanā'*. As a younger Chinese Muslim intellectual Liu Zhi might well have been aware of the Chinese Islamic tradition of translating *fanā'* as *hunhua*. In his *Zhenjing zhaowei*, however, Liu Zhi chose the translation term *ke* for *fanā'*, probably through his understanding of *ke* being rooted in Zhu Xi's interpretation of *hunhua* and *ke* with the similar meaning and

⁵⁰⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:52b (ch. 20).

context.

Meanwhile, *hunhua* 渾化 is also applied in Liu Zhi's original text on the principles of Islam, the *Tianfang xingli*. In this text Liu Zhi follows the established Chinese Islamic tradition by applying *hunhua* in his interpretation of Jāmī's treatise while he abandoned the application of the word *ke* 克. Although it remains debatable whether *hunhua* stands for *fanā'* in this passage, Liu Zhi's choice of words seems to indicate that the importance he assigns to *hunhua* (integration and transformation) in Jāmī's thought is the same as presented in the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* and the *Lavāyih*.

The difference of language preference between She Qiling and Liu Zhi's Islamic writings can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, She Qiling's application of *hunhua* again attests to his preference for the compound word, which can be seen as the influence of the colloquial language. Liu Zhi's application of *ke* in his *Zhenjing zhaowei* bases his language style close to the traditional Chinese philosophical writing.

Secondly, She Qiling's reference of the Neo-Confucian term *hunhua* reflects the translator's strategy in appropriating various sources including not only Daoism, as we discussed in the case of translating *ḥaqīqat* (reality) before, but also Neo-Confucianism. Liu Zhi's choice of both *hunhua* and *ke*, in the meantime, proves his consistent reference to Neo-Confucian terminology. Moreover, the connection of *hunhua* and *ke* can be traced with reference to the writings and commentaries of Zhu Xi and other Song philosophers, which reinforce our opinion regarding the Neo-Confucian reference applied by Liu Zhi.

Last but not least, the frequent application of *hunhua* 渾化 since She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue* demonstrates the appropriation of this Neo-Confucian term into the Chinese Islamic vocabulary. The later application and interpretation of *hunhua* in Liu Zhi's *Tianfang xingli* differs both from the words *hunhua* and *ke* 克, corresponding to *fanā'* in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* and the *Zhenjing zhaowei* as well from that of *hunhua* and *ke* in Zhu Xi's *Zhuzi yulei*. In other words, both She Qiling and Liu Zhi contributed to the development of Chinese Islamic vocabulary by making their own semantic choices in their writings. In his original work *Tianfang xingli*, Liu Zhi followed the Chinese Islamic tradition by applying the established Chinese Islamic term *hunhua* but further amplified it with his own interpretation and application.

3. The terms *zāt*, *ṣifat* and *ism*

1) Jāmī's *zāt* and *ṣifat* and *ism*

The Arabic theological term *zāt* ذات (plural: *zavāt* ذوات), generally termed “essence”, is a cardinal concept in Islamic texts. The term *zāt* is normally discussed with the terms *ṣifat* صفت (plural: *ṣifāt* صفات, Eng: attributes) and *ism* اسم (plural: *ismā'* اسماء, Eng: names).

a. Terms in the *Lavāyih*

a) *zāt*

The term *zāt* (including other forms deriving from the same root) appears about seventy-two times in the *Lavāyih*. In the first twelve chapters which focus on the Sufi practice, *zāt* only appears once.⁵⁰⁸ From chapter thirteen till the end of this treatise where Jāmī discusses the theory of Sufism, this term can be found in almost every chapter except chapters twenty-three, thirty-two and thirty-six.

In the *Lavāyih* the theoretical term *zāt* is discussed along with *ḥaqīqat* (reality) and Jāmī writes:

حقیقت هستی ذات حضرت حق است. – سبحانه و تعالی.⁵⁰⁹

The reality (*ḥaqīqat*) of Being is the Essence (*Zāt*) of the Presence of the Real – glory be to Him, and high indeed is He!⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 58 (ch. 6).

⁵⁰⁹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 106 (ch. 35). A similar interpretation also see note 2988.

⁵¹⁰ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 206.

According to this definition, *zāt* denotes the “divine Essence”. The “divine Essence” of the Real is the “only Essence” which the Real possesses.

Besides the “only Essence (*Zāt*)” on a divine level, *zāt* is also used to interpret the “essence of things” in the sensible world. In chapter thirty-four Jāmī explains that every thing has one essence (*zāt*) and the essence (*zāt*) of everything combines a number of essences (*zavāt*), namely “the essences (*zavāt*) of all existents”⁵¹¹. The term *zavāt* (essences), as the plural form of *zāt* (essence), appears five times in the *Lavāyih*, all of which are found in chapter thirty-four.

To explicate the relationship between the “divine Essence (*Zāt*)” and the “essences (*zavāt*) of things”, Jāmī adds that “within these essences (*zavāt*), It [the reality of Being, namely the Essence (*Zāt*) of the Real] is the same as these essences (*zavāt*); and also since these essences (*zavāt*) within Him are the same as He.”⁵¹² In other words, there is only one essence (*zāt*) in terms of the “the Oneness of the divine Essence (*Zāt*)” (*vaḥdat-i zāt* وحدت ذات)⁵¹³ and this essence is “God in Himself”⁵¹⁴.

b) *zāt* and *ṣifat*

As a pair of concepts, the terms *zāt* and *ṣifat* are frequently discussed together in Jāmī’s *Lavāyih*. The word *ṣifat*, originated from the Arabic word *ṣifa* and literarily understood as “description”, means “attribute” in the Islamic dimension.

⁵¹¹ “نَوَاتِ جَمِيعِ مَوْجُودَاتِ” (Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 105 (ch. 34).)

⁵¹² “در آن نَوَاتِ عَيْنِ آن نَوَاتِ است، چنانکه آن نَوَاتِ در وی عَيْنِ وی بودند.” (Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 105 (ch. 34).)

⁵¹³ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 75 (ch. 18), 77 (ch. 19).

⁵¹⁴ Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, 33.

In a quatrain Jāmī writes:

در ذات حق اندراج شأن معروف است
شان چون صفت است و ذات حق موصوف است⁵¹⁵

The task's inclusion in the Real's Essence (Zāt) is well-known.

The task (*shan*) is like an attribute (ṣifat), and the Real's Essence (Zāt) is described.⁵¹⁶

The term *ṣifat* here stands for the "attribute and characteristic of the Real" and the "task" (*shan*) is considered as an attribute (*ṣifat*) to describe the "Real's Essence" (*Zāt*). Besides "task", the relation and respect of the "Real's Essence" are also considered by Jāmī as the attributes (*ṣifāt*) of the Real. As Jāmī writes:

"...و شؤون و نسب و اعتبارات آن، صفات او..."⁵¹⁷
"... and Its [the Essence's (*Zāt*)] tasks, relations, and aspects are His attributes (ṣifāt)."⁵¹⁸

This definition of the plural form *ṣifāt* is written after Jāmī's definition of the "Real's Essence" (*Zāt*) in chapter thirty-five indicating that the "Real's attributes" (*ṣifāt*) is denumerable.

Corresponding to the "Real's Essence" (*Zāt*) and the "essence (*zāt*) of existents", the term *ṣifāt* refers to two categories, one is the "Real's attributes" (*ṣifāt*) and the other is the "existents' attributes" (*ṣifāt*). Jāmī's interpretation reads:

همچنین صفات کامله او لکلیتها و اطلاقها در جمیع صفات موجودات ساریند به مثابهی که در ضمن صفات ایشان عین صفات ایشانند، چنانکه صفات ایشان در عین آن صفات کامله، عین آن صفات کامله بودند.⁵¹⁹

So also Its perfect attributes (ṣifāt), for their universality and absoluteness, pervade all the attributes (ṣifāt) of the existents such that, within the existents' attributes (ṣifāt), these perfect attributes (ṣifāt) are the same as those attributes (ṣifāt), just as those attributes

⁵¹⁵ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 77 (ch. 19).

⁵¹⁶ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 168.

⁵¹⁷ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 106 (ch. 35).

⁵¹⁸ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 206.

⁵¹⁹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 105 (ch. 34).

(*ṣifāt*) were the same as these in the perfect attributes (*ṣifāt*) themselves.⁵²⁰

The “Real’s perfect attributes (*ṣifāt*)” are within the “attributes (*ṣifāt*) of every existent”. However Jāmī thinks that it is impossible to differentiate these two kinds of attributes (*ṣifāt*) because all the attributes (*ṣifāt*) are the same.

Jāmī’s classification of the Essence (*Zāt*) and its attributes (*ṣifāt*) is derived from Ibn ‘Arabī’s idea of the “two denotations” (*dalālat* دلالة) which are the divine one and a quality specific to itself that distinguishes it from others.⁵²¹ The “two denotations” is also often used by Ibn ‘Arabī to formulate the issue and Jāmī adopts this means in his interpretation of the relationships between Essence (*Zāt*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*). As Jāmī writes:

صفات غير ذاتند من حيث ما يفهمه العقول، و عين ذاتند من حيث التحقق و الحصول.⁵²²
Attributes (*ṣifāt*) are other than the Essence (*Zāt*) in regard to what rational faculties understand, but they are identical with the Essence (*Zāt*) in regard to realization and obtainment.⁵²³

To elaborate this relationship Jāmī further writes:

پس ذاتی واحد به واسطه صفات متعدد جواهر و اعراض متکثره می نماید و من حیث الحقیقة یکی است که اصلاً متعدد و متکثر نیست.⁵²⁴

Then One Essence (*Zāt*) is shown as multiple substances and accidents by means of the plural attributes (*ṣifāt*). In regard to the Reality, It is a one that is not plural or multiple in any way.⁵²⁵

According to Jāmī’s interpretation, the “Essence” (*Zāt*) and “attributes” (*ṣifāt*)

⁵²⁰ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 204.

⁵²¹ Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, 36.

⁵²² Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 69 (ch. 15).

⁵²³ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 156.

⁵²⁴ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 87 (ch. 25).

⁵²⁵ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 184.

denote specific qualities that differ in terms of concept. However, they are also the same in terms of the only one existence⁵²⁶.

c) *ismā' va şifāt*

Compared with the high-frequency term *şifat* (including its plural form *şifāt*) in the *Lavāyih*, the term *ism* (including its plural form *ismā'*) appears only fourteen times, usually in a parallel position of *şifāt*. Termed as “name”, *ism* is an Arabic word and is mostly used as a noun. In the Persian texts *ism* is equivalent to Persian *nām* نام (name).

In the Islamic tradition *ismā'* specifically refers to the “ninety-nine names of God” which are described in the Koran and hadith, such as *Ar-Raḥmān* (the All-Beneficent), *Al-Kabīr* (the Great) and *Al-Ḥaqq* (the Truth, the Reality). The Quran refers to the “names of God” as God’s “most beautiful names” (Arabic: *al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* الاسماء الحسنی)⁵²⁷ and Abu Hurairah⁵²⁸ (603-681) reports that “the Prophet Muhammad said: ‘There are ninety-nine names of Allah; he who commits them to memory would get into Paradise.’”⁵²⁹

The “God’s names” are considered as attributes (*şifāt*) and relationships. Thus *ismā'* (names) is usually discussed with *Zāt* (Essence) as an alternative to the term *şifāt*

⁵²⁶ The “realization and obtainment” refers to the word “existence” and there is one existence. (See Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 68 (ch. 14).)

⁵²⁷ See Koran verses 7:180, 17:110, 20:8, 59:24.

⁵²⁸ Abu Hurairah was a companion of the Prophet Muhammad and the narrator of Hadith most quoted in the isnad by Sunnis. Abu Hurairah spent three years in the company of the Prophet and went on expeditions and journeys with him. It is estimated that he narrated around 5,375 hadiths.

⁵²⁹ Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj Nishapuri, *Sahih Muslim*, 35:6475.

(attributes). In chapter seventeen Jāmī compares the “kamāl-i ismāyī کمال اسمایی (Name-derived Perfection) and “kamāl-i Zātī کمال ذاتی (Essential Perfection) and in chapter twenty-one the Essence (Zāt) and the names (ismā’) respectively refer to *maṭlaq* مطلق (the Unbounded) and *muqayad* مقید (the bounded) in order to explicate the contrast of the “Real Existence of God” and the “attributes of existence”.⁵³⁰

Moreover, the plural form *ismā’* usually appears in the parallel phrase as “*ismā’ va šifāt*” (names and attributes) in the Islamic philosophy. Like the term *šifāt*, this fixed phrase is also adopted in the discussion of the relationship with the Essence (Zāt).

In the *Lavāyih*, *ismā’* (names) which is written in the phrase “*ismā’ va šifāt*” appears four times. As one of the cases illustrates:

ذات من حیث هی از همه اسماء و صفات معراست و از جمیع نسب و اضافات مبرا.⁵³¹

The Essence (Zāt) as such is denuded of all the names and attributes (ismā’ va šifāt) and rid of every relation and attribution.⁵³²

The Essence (Zāt) is not veiled by the “names and attributes” (*ismā’ va šifāt*) and is relieved from both relation and attribution. To explicate the relationship between the “numerous attributions” and the “only Essence (Zāt)”, Jāmī further writes:

و صورت معلومیت ذات متلبسه بهذه الاسماء و الصفات حقایق الهیه است؛ و تلبس ظاهر وجود به آنها موجب تعدد وجودی نیست.⁵³³

The form of the Essence’s (Zāt) knownness while It is clothed in these names and attributes (ismā’ va šifāt) is “the divine realities.” The fact that the Manifest of Existence becomes clothed in them does not necessitate the plurality of existence.⁵³⁴

⁵³⁰ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 73 (ch. 17), 80 (ch. 21).

⁵³¹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 80 (ch. 16).

⁵³² Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 158.

⁵³³ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 72 (ch. 17).

⁵³⁴ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 160.

To emphasize Jāmī's theory of the "only Existence" as he states that "there is no plurality of existence"⁵³⁵, Jāmī further elaborates the difference of the "names and attributes" (*ismā' va šifāt*) and the "Essence" (*Zāt*). As he says in chapter fifteen in the *Lavāyih*, "there is one existence, while the names and attributes (*ismā' va šifāt*) are its relations and respects."⁵³⁶

To sum up, the term *zāt*, referring to the "Essence", is considered as the "only Existence" in Jāmī's *Lavāyih*. The term *šifāt* (attributes) as well as the term *ismā'* (names), standing for the "numerous attributes and manifestations", are normally used as the opposite of *Zāt* (Essence). However, "names and attributes" (*ismā' va šifāt*) are the same as the Essence (*Zāt*) in terms of the "only one Existence".⁵³⁷

b. Terms in the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*

a) *zāt*

The term *zāt* is also a cardinal concept in the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*. This word occurs in almost every chapter except chapter six and eighteen. The plural form *zavāt* is not found in 'Irāqī's *Lama'āt*, but occurs six times in Jāmī's *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*. As one of Jāmī's quotations and annotations reads:

"او را" یعنی محب را "در آن صفات هیچ شرکتی نیست؛ چه مشارکت در صفات" مشارکتی حقیقی، "دلیل کند بر مبانیت ذوات" مبانیتی حقیقی؛ زیرا که شرکت حقیقی را از دویی حقیقی چاره نیست "و در چشم شهود در همه وجود به حقیقت جز یک ذات نتواند بود".⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ (Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 69 (ch. 15).) "آنجا وجودات متعدد نیست"

⁵³⁶ (Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 69 (ch. 15).) "وجودی است واحد و اسماء و صفات نسب و اعتبارات او."

⁵³⁷ (Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 69 (ch. 15).) "به حسب تحقق و هستی"

⁵³⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 203-204 (ch. 24).

“He” meaning the lover, “does not have any partner in those attributes (*sifāt*), for partnership in attributes (*sifāt*)”, referring to the true (*ḥaqīqī*) partnership, “speaks of contrast of [the multiplicity of] essences (*zavāt*)”, referring to the true (*ḥaqīqī*) contrast; because there is no way to separate the true (*ḥaqīqī*) partnership into two truth (*ḥaqīqī*) “and in the [lover’s] witnessing eye in the whole of the existence there exists in all reality (*ḥaqīqat*) but the only one Essence (*Zāt*)”.

The word *zavāt* (essences) quoted in his annotation finds itself written as the word *zāt* (essence) in ‘Irāqī’s *Lama’āt*.⁵³⁹ It is likely that the copy in our hands is different from the original text Jāmī reads and quotes. Otherwise Jāmī probably replaces *zāt* by the plural form *zavāt* in his annotation in order to illustrate the multiple form of “essence” in his argument. No matter whether *zāt* or *zavāt* is written as original, here Jāmī addresses two points in his commentary. Firstly, Jāmī relates *Zāt* (Essence) to *ḥaqīqat* (reality) or *ḥaqīqī* (the true) when he glosses *Zāt* (Essence) in ‘Irāqī’s writing. Secondly, corresponding to *ḥaqīqat* (Reality), *zāt* (essence) is emphasized as the “only one Essence”, without numerous forms and being indivisible.

Both of these two points embodied in this annotation not only echo Jāmī’s interpretation of the term *zāt* (essence) in his *Lavāyih* but also testify to his main idea of *zāt* (essence) in his *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*. In Jāmī’s interpretation *zāt* appears in parallel position of *ḥaqīqat* (reality) as “*zāt va ḥaqīqat* ذات و حقیقت”, referring to the “essence and reality”.⁵⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Jāmī also applies the concept of the “Oneness of the Essence” (*vaḥdat-i zāt*) in his *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt* in order to emphasize the “only and

⁵³⁹ ‘Irāqī, *Lama’āt*, 106 (ch. 23).).

⁵⁴⁰ “و مراد به وجه حبیب، ذات و حقیقت وی است. قال تعالى: (و یبقی وجه ربک) أى ذاته و حقیقته.” (Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 54 (“Praise”).)

absolute Essence”.⁵⁴¹ As Jāmī writes:

پس وحدت ذات به احکام مختلفه متغیر نگردد و ذات متکثر نشود، بلکه متکثر نماید.⁵⁴²

Then the Oneness of the Essence (*vahdat-i Zāt*) by different properties is not variable and will neither become plural nor stay in the plural.

The relationship of *ḥaqīqat* (Reality) and *Zāt* (Essence) can also be seen in the discussion on the theme of “love”, which is considered as the main topic in the *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*. As we have mentioned before, Jāmī once says, “Love, meaning the unbounded truth (*ḥaqīqat*) in the disclosure of its Essence (*Zāt*) [...] is like a fire that falls into the heart.”⁵⁴³

b) *zāt* and *ṣifat*

In Jāmī’s *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt ṣifat* (attribute) appears in most chapters, except chapters eight, twelve, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen, twenty-four and twenty-seven. In the treatise the single form of this term is mostly used with a modifier specifically “the attribute (*ṣifat*) of the lover” or “the attribute (*ṣifat*) of the Beloved”. The plural form *ṣifāt* (attributes), which is also widely used in the discussion, however, usually appears as an independent term with no noun or adjective modifier.

In Jāmī’s interpretation the attributes (*ṣifāt*) added by the Real to Himself, “are all predicated on the manifest meaning.”⁵⁴⁴ Also viewing attributes (*ṣifāt*) as the “veils of

⁵⁴¹ See note 5133.

⁵⁴² Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 136 (ch. 11).

⁵⁴³ See note 3088.

⁵⁴⁴ “به آن که صفاتی را که حق سبحانه به خود اضافت کرده است، همه بر معنی ظاهر محمول است” (Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 57 (“Praise”).) Translation: The attributes (*ṣifāt*) that the Real - glory be to Him! - has added to Himself, are all predicated on the manifest meaning.

the Essence (*Zāt*)", Jāmī further states:

"حجب ذات او صفات اوست" - خواه صفات الهی باشد و خواه تعینات کونی - زیرا که تعین صفات متعین است. "و صفاتش مندرج در ذات" اندراج الاعداد فی الواحد.⁵⁴⁵

"The veils of His Essence (*Zāt*) are His attributes (*ṣifāt*)" - whether these are the divine attributes (*ṣifāt*) or the engendered entifications - because entification is the entified thing's attribute (*ṣifat*). "and His attributes (*ṣifāt*) are embedded in the Essence (*Zāt*)", the inclusion of the manyness in the Oneness.

In his annotation Jāmī thinks the "attributes (*ṣifāt*) of the Essence (*Zāt*)" could be the "divine attributes (*ṣifāt*)" or the "engendered entifications". The divine attributes (*ṣifāt*) here echo the aforementioned "Its perfect attributes (*ṣifāt*)" in the *Lavāyih*.⁵⁴⁶ And as for the "engendered entifications", Jāmī interprets the attributes (*ṣifāt*) as the "entified things' attributes". This understanding of the attributes (*ṣifāt*) as the "attributes of existences" in the real world reflects the concept of the "attributes of existents" (*ṣifāt-i mujūdāt* صفات موجودات) mentioned in the *Lavāyih*.⁵⁴⁷ and shares the same interpretations presented in the *Lavāyih* in chapter twenty-two.⁵⁴⁸

As one of "entified things' attributes", "mankind's attributes (*ṣifāt*)" is once used by Jāmī where he annotates the term *ṣifāt* in the "Praise" of the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*.

Jāmī writes:

"روشن شود ز روشنی ذات من جهان، گر پرده صفات خود" یعنی صفات بشریت، "از هم فرو درم".⁵⁴⁹
"The world is illuminated with the light of my Essence (*Zāt*), if the veil of my attributes (*ṣifāt*)" meaning the mankind's attributes (*ṣifāt*), "is uplifted."

⁵⁴⁵ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 65 ("Praise").

⁵⁴⁶ See notes 5199 and 52020.

⁵⁴⁷ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 105 (ch. 34).

⁵⁴⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 81 (ch. 22).

⁵⁴⁹ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 62 ("Praise").

In Jāmī's annotation the veil should be lifted in order to illuminate the world with the light of essence in terms of "mankind's attributes (*ṣifāt*)".

No matter whether the "divine attributes (*ṣifāt*)" or the "entified things' attributes (*ṣifāt*)", the "Real's attributes (*ṣifāt*)" are regarded as "His relation and respects"⁵⁵⁰. In fact, all the acts, statuses and so on are attributes (*ṣifāt*) and all their types of relations are regarding the relation of the Essence (*Zāt*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*).⁵⁵¹ As the same as in the *Lavāyih*, here Jāmī stresses on the point of the "only one existence" as he states that the "Real's attributes (*ṣifāt*)" are "the same as Him and in the external existence there exists nothing but only Him".⁵⁵²

On the theme of "love" Jāmī interprets the relationship between the Essence (*Zāt*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*) based on 'Irāqī's writing "love is the Essence (*Zāt*) of the lover"⁵⁵³. Jāmī's annotation reads:

"حب" یعنی نسبت محبت و دوستی چنان که سخنان آینده، مشعر است به آن، "ذات محب است" یعنی صفت ذاتی محب است و لازم ممتنع الانفکاک از وی.⁵⁵⁴

"Love (*ḥubb*)", meaning in relation to the love (*ʿishq*) and friendship as to be indicated in the following discussions, "is the Essence (*Zāt*) of the lover", meaning that the attribute (*ṣifat*) of the Essence (*Zāt*) is the lover and it is impossible [for the lover] to be segregated from Him.

In this sentence Jāmī considers the modifier of the term *zāt* (essence), namely "lover" as the "attribute (*ṣifat*) of the Essence (*Zāt*)". Grammatically everything or

⁵⁵⁰ (Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 74 (ch. 1).) "صفات وی که نسبت و اعتبارات وی است."

⁵⁵¹ (Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 50 ("Foreword").) "چون در حقیقت فعل و حال و مرتبه همه از قبیل صفاتند، همه اقسام مناسبات را راجع به ذاتی و صفاتی می توان داشت."

⁵⁵² (Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 74 (ch. 1).) "صفات وی [عین وی است در وجود خارجی نه امری زاید بر وی]."

⁵⁵³ 'Irāqī, *Lama'āt*, 62 (ch. 7).

⁵⁵⁴ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 110 (ch. 7).

everyone modifying *zāt* can be understood as attribute (*ṣifat*). In the perspective of Sufism the lover is the “attribute (*ṣifat*) of love”, that is the “attribute of the Essence” which cannot be separated from God.

c) *ismā’ va ṣifāt*

In this treatise the phrase “names and attributes” (*ismā’ va ṣifāt*) appears forty-four times, which is a significant amount compared with its appearance in the *Lavāyih*. As a part of the parallel pattern, the term *ṣifāt* (attributes) discussed before refers to either the “attributes on the divine level” or the “attributes of existences in the real world”. Following the Islamic tradition, the phrase “names and attributes” (*ismā’ va ṣifāt*) is interpreted by Jāmī on the same two levels.

In the *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt* the phrase “names and attributes” (*ismā’ va ṣifāt*) is clearly applied by Jāmī as the “divine names and attributes” for seven occasions, four times in the form of “*ismā’ va ṣifāt-i al-Hay*” (the divine names and attributes)⁵⁵⁵ and three times in the form of “*ismā’ va ṣifāt-i ḥaqq*” (the Real’s names and attributes)⁵⁵⁶. Accordingly, in a discussion of the relationship between the “essence (*zāt*)” and the “names (*ismā’*)”, Jāmī also annotates the term *ismā’* as the “divine names” in the *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*.⁵⁵⁷

In terms of the phrase “names and attributes” (*ismā’ va ṣifāt*) in the sensible world,

⁵⁵⁵ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 42 (“Foreword”).

⁵⁵⁶ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 44 (“Foreword”) and 210 (ch. 26).

⁵⁵⁷ “في الجملة مظهر همه اسماء است ذات من: يعنى اسماء الهى.” (Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 63 (“Praise”).)

meanwhile, we notice that in Jāmī's quotation of 'Irāqī's sentence, the phrase is also once to be understood as the "creatures' names and attributes (*ismā' va šifāt-i "khalq"* "اسماء و صفات خلق") specifically referring to the "mankind's attributes".⁵⁵⁸ In 'Irāqī's interpretation the "mankind's attributes" have both luminous sides such as knowledge, certainty, states and stations, as well as dark sides such as ignorance, doubt, custom and habit.⁵⁵⁹

One of the differences of these two kinds of the "names and attributes" (*ismā' va šifāt*) is reflected in Jāmī's discussion of the relationship between the "names and attributes" (*ismā' va šifāt*) and the "Essence" (*Zāt*). 'Irāqī's *Lama'āt* and Jāmī's annotation read as follows:

"چه اگر حجب اسماء و صفات مرتفع شود، احدیت ذات از پرده عزت بتابد، اشیاء به کلی متلاشی شوند و ناچیز گردند؛ چه انصاف اشیاء به وجود واسطه اسماء و صفات تواند بود هر چند وجود اشیاء ذات است" که وجود بحت و هستی ساذج است "اما تجلی ذات پس پرده اسماء و صفات اثر نکند" زیرا که اثر را از مناسبتی چاره نیست و میان ذات – من حیث هی – و هیچ چیز مناسبتی نیست اگر مناسبتی هست، من حیث الاسماء و الصفات است.⁵⁶⁰

"If these veils of names and attributes (*ismā' va šifāt*) are raised, the Unity of the Essence (*Zāt*) would blaze forth from the veil of Might, and all things would be totally scattered and annihilated. For it may happen that through the names and attributes (*ismā' va šifāt*) all things become qualified by the Existence, even though the existents of these things are the Essence (*Zāt*)" means plain Existence and utter Being,⁵⁶¹ "the disclosure of the Essence (*Zāt*) does not influence from behind the veil of names and attributes (*ismā' va šifāt*)", because the influence has nothing to do with relationship and in the middle of the Essence (*Zāt*) – as such – and each thing has no relationship. If there is one relationship, it is the names and attributes (*ismā' va šifāt*).

⁵⁵⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 210 (ch. 26).

⁵⁵⁹ گفته اند: این حجب صفات آدمی است نورانی، چنانکه علم و یقین و احوال و مقامات. و جمله اخلاق حمیده، و ظلمانی، چنان که جهل و گمان و " (Jāmī, *Lama'āt*, 77 (ch. 12).)

⁵⁶⁰ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 147 (ch. 13).

⁵⁶¹ "ذات تو وجود ساذج و هستی بحت" (Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 67 (ch. 13).) Jāmī's annotation here echoes his writing in the *Lavāyih*. This is not an isolated case. (Also see note 5488.) In fact, Jāmī's two texts echo each other in many points, where we establish a solid textual relevance of these texts.

In other words, “His veils become His names and attributes (*ismā’ va şifāt*)”⁵⁶² and these “names and attributes” (*ismā’ va şifāt*) cannot be regarded as “human’s attributes (*şifāt*)”⁵⁶³ indicating these refer to the “Oneness of the Essence (*Zāt*)”. And different from the “veils of mankind’s attributes (*şifāt*)” which can be uplifted, “the veils of [the divine] names and attributes (*ismā’ va şifāt*) should not be lifted”⁵⁶⁴ because the “names and attributes of the Real” cannot be separated from the Real. This understanding echoes the similar understanding of the “divine attributes (*şifāt*)”, namely the “attributes (*şifāt*) of love” mentioned before.⁵⁶⁵

The idea of the “veils of names and attributes (*ismā’ va şifāt*)” follows ‘Irāqī’s interpretation of one hadith “The prayer without you is better than seventy prayers” in the *Lama’āt*.⁵⁶⁶ ‘Irāqī writes:

تا تو با تویی، این هفتاد هزار حجاب مسدول بود، و چون تو بی تو باشی هفتاد هزار حجاب کرا محجوب گرداند؟⁵⁶⁷

While you remain with yourself, these seventy thousand veils hang there, and once you are without yourself, who will remain to be veiled by these seventy thousand veils?

Once a human has consciousness the veils namely the “names and attributes” (*ismā’ va şifāt*) are viewed as “mankind’s names and attributes” and can be identified. However, once the human is annihilated to reach the Real by losing his consciousness, the veils have nothing to do with the human himself.

⁵⁶² (Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 147 (ch. 13). ‘Irāqī, *Lama’āt*, 78 (ch. 12).) “پس حجب او اسماء و صفات او تواند بود”

⁵⁶³ (Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 147 (ch. 13).) “پس حجب او اسماء و صفات او تواند بود” نه صفات آمدیت.

⁵⁶⁴ (‘Irāqī, *Lama’āt*, 77 (ch. 12).) “نشانید که این حجب مرتفع شود.”

⁵⁶⁵ See Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 116 (ch. 7). Also see note 5544.

⁵⁶⁶ (‘Irāqī, *Lama’āt*, 76 (ch. 12).) “صلوة بسواک خیر من سبعین صلوة بغير سواک.”

⁵⁶⁷ ‘Irāqī, *Lama’āt*, 76 (ch. 12).

In the further discussion of the relationship between the “Essence” (*Zāt*) and the “divine names and attributes” (*ismā’ va şifāt*), Jāmī’s annotation reads:

“گوئیم: تجلی” که کمال ظهور و وضوح حق است، [...]، “دو گونه است: تجلی ذات” که انکشاف ذات است بی ملاحظه اسماء و صفات و تجلی اسماء و صفات” که انکشاف ذات است متلبس به اسماء و صفات.⁵⁶⁸

“Our answer is: disclosure” which is the perfection of manifestation and the clarification of the Real, [...] “has two kinds: disclosure of the Essence (*Zāt*)” which is the development of the Essence (*Zāt*) without observing the names and attributes (*ismā’ va şifāt*), “and disclosure of the names and attributes (*ismā’ va şifāt*)” which is the development of the Essence (*Zāt*) is clothed by the names and attributes (*ismā’ va şifāt*).

While ‘Irāqī divides the disclosure into the “disclosure of the Essence (*Zāt*)” and the “disclosure of the names and attributes (*ismā’ va şifāt*)”, Jāmī explains that as the same as the “disclosure of the Essence (*Zāt*)”, the “disclosure of the names and attributes (*ismā’ va şifāt*)” can be also considered as the “development of the Essence (*Zāt*)” but in a different form. This explanation indicates the annotator’s insistence on the “Oneness of the Essence (*Zāt*)” and his agreement in regarding the “names and attributes” (*ismā’ va şifāt*) as the “veils of the Essence (*Zāt*)” which cannot be separated.

On the theme of “Love”, ‘Irāqī states that “by means of lover, the Essence (*Zāt*) of love became the mirror of Beloved so that It might behold Its own names and attributes (*ismā’ va şifāt*).”⁵⁶⁹ Jāmī further interprets:

زیرا که هستی معشوق لذاته است و در آن احتیاج به هیچ ندارد، اما تا اسماء و صفات وی متمیزة الاحکام و الآثار ظاهر شود، عاشق در باید تا در وی و به وی ظاهر گردد.⁵⁷⁰

Because the Existence of Beloved is due to the Essence (*Zāt*) and It does not need anything in It. But in order that His names and attributes (*ismā’ va şifāt*) - the distinct provisions and

⁵⁶⁸ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 195 (ch. 21).

⁵⁶⁹ “(‘Irāqī, *Lama’āt*, 46 (ch. 1)). و [ذات عشق] از روی عاشقی آینه معشوق آمد، تا در او اسماء و صفات خود ببند.”

⁵⁷⁰ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 75 (ch. 1).

influences- are manifested, lover should be in Him and manifest Him.

Here once again Jāmī attests to the “divine names and attributes (*ismā’ va ṣifāt*)” as the only relation and reflection of God (Beloved) and lover. The “divine names and attributes (*ismā’ va ṣifāt*)” are in God and can be seen by God through the way of loving.

To sum up, in his two treatises Jāmī interprets the term *zāt* as essence in two different layers. One is the “divine Essence” and the other is the “essences of things in a sensible world”. Accordingly, Jāmī places the terms *ṣifat* (attribute) and *ism* (name) on the same two levels. For the essence, the “divine Essence” pervades in the “numerous essences” but every essence on the sensible level is the same as the “divine level”. Thus there is only “one Essence”. For the attribute and name, which are considered as the expressions of the essence, these can be witnessed and separated in terms of realization but will not be identified and divided from the “divine essence” when a human reaches the God. Once again, Jāmī emphasizes his theory of the “Oneness of the Essence”.

2) *Zāt*, *ṣifat* and *ism* in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*

a. *Zāt* – *benran* 本然 and *ti* 體

In the *Zhaoyuan mijue* as the following table shows, She Qiling mostly translates the term *zāt* (essence) as *benran* 本然 (root nature). The second frequent choice is *ti* 體 (body, substance), and in a few cases as *benti* 本體 (root / original substance). He

also chooses the character *ben* 本 (root) four times and the word *zhenti* 真體 (real substance) three times to translate *zāt* (essence). To reflect the plural form *zavāt* (essences), She Qiling applies words like *zhongti* 衆體 (numerous substances), *zhuti* 諸體 (every substance) and *ti* 體 (substance) attesting to his preference of compounds in his translation.

Words in the <i>Ashi'at al-Lama'āt</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	Hanyu pinyin	Chinese	Meaning
<i>zāt</i>	ذات	essence	<i>benran</i>	本然 ⁵⁷¹	root nature / due to oneself / to be so by nature of oneself
			<i>ti</i>	體 ⁵⁷²	body / substance
			<i>benti</i>	本體 ⁵⁷³	root / original substance
			<i>ben</i>	本 ⁵⁷⁴	root
			<i>zhenti</i>	真體 ⁵⁷⁵	real substance
<i>zavāt</i>	ذوات	essences	<i>zhongti</i>	衆體 ⁵⁷⁶	numerous substances
			<i>ti</i>	體 ⁵⁷⁷	substances
			<i>zhuti</i>	諸體 ⁵⁷⁸	every substance

Apart from *benran* 本然, the words *ti* 體, *benti* 本體, *ben* 本 and *zhenti* 真體 are also found to be used as the corresponding words of *ḥaqīqat* (reality) in the same translation. She Qiling's similar choice of words to translate both *zāt* (essence) and *ḥaqīqat* (reality) indicates his consideration that the "reality" (*ḥaqīqat*) and the

⁵⁷¹ Almost in every chapter except chapters 12, 18, 20, 24, 27.

⁵⁷² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:6b, 8a, 12b, 14b, 19b ("Ziyi zhu bianjie"), 1:20a, 20b, 21b ("You benxu"), 1:36a ("Mugandimo"), 1:39b (ch. 1), 1:41b, 47b (ch. 2), 1:49a, 50a (ch. 3), 1:57b, 58a (ch. 5), 1:64a-b, 65b (ch. 7), 2: 1a-b, 2b (ch. 9), 2:5b, 9b (ch. 10), 2:10b, 11a (ch. 11), 2:12a-b (ch. 12), 2:19b, 20b (ch. 13), 2:25b (ch. 14), 2:32a-b (ch. 15), 2:39a (ch. 17), 2:58b (ch. 22), 2:69a, 70a (ch. 26).

⁵⁷³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:20b, 33a, ("You benxu"), 1:40a (ch. 1), 1:54a (ch. 4), 1:65b, 67a, 69b (ch. 7), 1:73a (ch. 8), 2:10b, 11a (ch. 11), 2:20b, 21b (ch. 13), 2:31b (ch. 15), 2:42b (ch. 17), 2:51b (ch. 20), 2:60b (ch. 22), 2:68b (ch. 25).

⁵⁷⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:32b ("You benxu"), 1:51a (ch. 4), 1:63b (ch. 7), 2:51b (ch. 20), 2:66b (ch. 25).

⁵⁷⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, "You benxu", 2:10b (ch. 11).

⁵⁷⁶ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:11a (ch. 11).

⁵⁷⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:70a (ch. 7), 2:60b (ch. 22).

⁵⁷⁸ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:62b (ch. 23).

“Essence” (*Zāt*) are the same on a metaphysical level. This understanding reminds us Jāmī’s explanation “the reality (*haqīqat*) of realities (*haqāyiq*) which is the divine Essence (*Zāt*)”⁵⁷⁹ presented in the *Lavāyih*. It seems that Jāmī’s explanation of these terms may have influenced She Qiling’s decision-making.

According to the translator’s application of the two main corresponding words *benran* 本然 and *ti* 體, we notice that *benran* is normally used to correspond to *zāt* (essence) where it is used as an independent term in the original sentence. The study of the phrases containing the word *zāt* is shown in the following table:

Words in the <i>Ashī’at al-Lama’āt</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>zāt-i ḥaqq</i>	ذات حق ⁵⁸⁰	divine Essence	<i>zhenti</i>	真體 ⁵⁸¹	real substance
			<i>benran</i>	本然 ⁵⁸²	root nature
<i>zāt-i maṭlaqa</i>	ذات مطلقه ⁵⁸³	unbounded Essence	<i>tongran zhi ti</i>	通然之體 ⁵⁸⁴	the substance of unbounded nature
			<i>tongran zhi benti</i>	通然之本體 ⁵⁸⁵	the root substance of unbounded nature
			<i>tongti</i>	通體 ⁵⁸⁶	unbounded substance
<i>zāt-i wājib</i>	ذات واجب ⁵⁸⁷	necessary essence	<i>wazhibu zhi ti</i>	瓦直卜之體 ⁵⁸⁸	the substance of Wazhibu
<i>zāt-i vey</i>	ذات وی ⁵⁸⁹	His essence	<i>xizhe zhi ti</i>	喜者之體 ⁵⁹⁰	the substance of

⁵⁷⁹ See note 2988.

⁵⁸⁰ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 53 (“Praise”), 112 (ch. 7), 136 (ch. 11), 161 (ch. 15).

⁵⁸¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:21b (“You benxu”), 1:65b (ch. 7), 2:10b (ch. 11).

⁵⁸² Once in She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:32b (ch. 15).

⁵⁸³ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 52-3 (“Praise”).

⁵⁸⁴ Once in She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:21a (“You benxu”).

⁵⁸⁵ Once in She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:21a (“You benxu”).

⁵⁸⁶ Once in She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:21a (“You benxu”).

⁵⁸⁷ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 29 (“Foreword”).

⁵⁸⁸ Once in She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:6b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”).

					lover
			<i>benti</i>	本體 ⁵⁹¹	root substance
			<i>qiti</i>	其體 ⁵⁹²	one's substance
<i>āyina-yi zāt</i>	آينه ذات ⁵⁹³	the mirror of the essence	<i>tijing</i>	體鏡 ⁵⁹⁴	the mirror of substance
			<i>ti zhi jing</i>	體之鏡 ⁵⁹⁵	
<i>fī ḥad zāta</i>	فی حد ذاته ⁵⁹⁶	within the limit of Its own essence / intrinsically	<i>benti zhong</i>	本體中 ⁵⁹⁷	in the real substance
			<i>lunti</i>	論體 ⁵⁹⁸	considering the substance
			<i>lun qi ti</i>	論其體 ⁵⁹⁹	considering its substance
			<i>lun qi benti</i>	論其本體 ⁶⁰⁰	considering its root substance
			<i>lun qi ti</i>	論其體 ⁶⁰¹	considering its substance
			<i>lun qi benti</i>	論其本體 ⁶⁰²	considering its root substance
			<i>ben</i>	本 ⁶⁰³	root
<i>tajallī-yi zāt / tajallī-yi zātī</i>	تجلی ذات ⁶⁰⁴ / تجلی ذاتی ⁶⁰⁵	manifestation of the essence	<i>benran zhi benxian</i>	本然之本顯 ⁶⁰⁶	original manifestation of the root nature

⁵⁸⁹ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 39 ("Foreword"), 71 ("Muqadama"), 87 (ch. 3), 94 (ch. 4), 129 (ch. 10).

⁵⁹⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:36a ("Mugandimo"), 1:48a (ch. 3).

⁵⁹¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:54a (ch. 4).

⁵⁹² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:5b (ch. 10).

⁵⁹³ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 116 (ch. 7).

⁵⁹⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1: 69b (ch. 7).

⁵⁹⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1: 69b (ch. 7).

⁵⁹⁶ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 87, 89 (ch. 3), 100 (ch. 5), 121 (ch. 8), 124, 127 (ch. 9), 136-137 (ch. 11), 149 (ch. 13), 200 (ch. 22).

⁵⁹⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:48a (ch. 3).

⁵⁹⁸ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:50a (ch. 3).

⁵⁹⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:58a (ch. 5).

⁶⁰⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1: 73a (ch. 8).

⁶⁰¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:2b (ch. 9), 2:11a (ch. 11).

⁶⁰² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:10b (ch. 11), 2:21b (ch. 13), 2:60b (ch. 22).

⁶⁰³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:11b (ch. 11).

⁶⁰⁴ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 147 (ch. 13), 195 (ch. 21).

⁶⁰⁵ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 45 ("Foreword"), 71 ("Muqadama"), 100 (ch. 5), 119 (ch. 8), 146 (ch. 13), 175 (ch. 17), 195 (ch. 21), 201 (ch. 23).

⁶⁰⁶ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:57b (ch. 5).

			<i>benran zhi xian</i>	本然之顯 ⁶⁰⁷	manifestation of the root nature
			<i>benran (zhi) faxian</i>	本然 (之) 發現 ⁶⁰⁸	display and appearance of the root nature
			<i>benti zhi xian</i>	本體之顯 ⁶⁰⁹	manifestation of the root substance
			<i>tixian</i>	體顯 ⁶¹⁰	manifestation of substance
<i>tajalliyāt-i zāt / tajalliyāt-i zātī</i>	تجليات ذات ⁶¹¹ / تجليات ذاتی ⁶¹²	manifestations of the essence	<i>benran faxian</i>	本然發現 ⁶¹³	display and appearance of the root nature
			<i>benran si dian zhi zhuxian</i>	本然似電之諸顯 ⁶¹⁴	every lightening-like manifestation of the root nature
			<i>benran zhi zhuxian</i>	本然之諸顯 ⁶¹⁵	every manifestation of the root nature
			<i>benran suoxian</i>	本然所顯 ⁶¹⁶	what is displayed by the root nature
			<i>ti zhi xian</i>	體之顯 ⁶¹⁷	manifestation of substance
<i>iṭlāq-i zātī</i>	اطلاق ذاتی ⁶¹⁸	the essence's unboundedness	<i>benran zhi tong</i>	本然之通 ⁶¹⁹	unboundedness of the root nature
<i>aḥadiyat-i</i>	احديث ذات ⁶²⁰	the one of the	<i>benran (zhi)</i>	本然(之)精	the pure One of

⁶⁰⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:15b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 1:36a (“Mugandimo”), 1:71a (ch. 8), 2:18b (ch. 13), 2:57a-b (ch. 21).

⁶⁰⁸ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:19a (ch. 13), 2:42b (ch. 17), 2:57b (ch. 21).

⁶⁰⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:42b (ch. 17).

⁶¹⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:69a (ch. 26).

⁶¹¹ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, chapter 12, 221 (ch. 28).

⁶¹² Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 48 (“Foreword”), 71 (“Muqadama”), 100 (ch. 5), 119 (ch. 8), 169 (ch. 17).

⁶¹³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:57a (ch. 5).

⁶¹⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:18a (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”).

⁶¹⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:36a (“Mugandimo”), 2:37b (ch. 17), 2:76b (ch. 29).

⁶¹⁶ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:76b (ch. 29).

⁶¹⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:12b (ch. 12).

⁶¹⁸ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 109 (ch. 7).

⁶¹⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:63a (ch. 7).

⁶²⁰ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 133 (ch. 10), 147 (ch. 13), 202 (ch. 23).

<i>zāt / aḥadiyat-i zātiya</i>	احديث ذاتيه ⁶²¹	Essence	<i>jingyi</i>	— ⁶²²	the root nature
<i>vaḥdat-i zāt</i>	وحدت ذات ⁶²³	the Oneness of the Essence	<i>benti zhi dandu</i>	本體之單獨 ⁶²⁴	the only oneness of the root substance
			<i>benran dandu</i>	本然單獨 ⁶²⁵	the only oneness of the root nature
<i>ḥujub-i zāt</i>	حجب ذات ⁶²⁶	the veils of the essence	<i>benran zhi manzhang</i>	本然之幔帳 ⁶²⁷	curtain of the root nature
<i>shu'ūn-i zātiya</i>	شئون ذاتيه ⁶²⁸	the things of the Essence	<i>benshi</i>	本事 ⁶²⁹	matter of the root

This table registers the following questions. Firstly, the word *ti* 體 in translating *zāt* (including other forms deriving from the same root) is written in two forms of which is *ti* 體 and the other is the shorthand form *ti* 體. For example, the word *benti* is written as both full form (*benti* 本體) and shorthand (*benti* 本體) in chapter seven.⁶³⁰

Looking at the entire corpus, we notice that the mixed-up writing of the standard and popular forms of *ti* 體/體 only occurs in the first scroll. Comparatively, among about one hundred and fifty appearance of the character *ti* in the second scroll, the shorthand form *ti* 體 appears only twice. For example, the characters *ti* in the translation of the fixed phrase “*fī ḥad zāta* في حد ذاته” (within the limit of Its own Essence / intrinsically) are all written as the popular form 體 in the first scroll but

⁶²¹ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 153 (ch. 14).

⁶²² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:9b (ch. 10), 2:19a (ch. 13), 2:25a (ch. 14), 2:70b (ch. 26).

⁶²³ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 136 (ch. 11), 148 (ch. 17), 201 (ch. 23).

⁶²⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:11a (ch. 11).

⁶²⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:36b (ch. 17).

⁶²⁶ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 65 (“Praise”).

⁶²⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:30b, 31a (“You benxu”).

⁶²⁸ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 91 (ch. 4), 109 (ch. 7).

⁶²⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:51a (ch. 4), 1:63b (ch. 7).

⁶³⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:65b (ch. 7).

exclusively as the standard form 體 in the second scroll. This different handwriting is not likely to be attributed to the copyist's understanding of the text. Probably, the two scrolls were written by different hands.⁶³¹

Secondly, to translate the phrase “*zāt-i maṭlaqa* ذات مطلقه” (unbounded essence) which appears three times in one paragraph, She Qiling makes three different choices correspondingly. He first translates “*zāt-i maṭlaqa*” as “*tongran zhi ti* 通然之體” (the substance of unbounded nature). For the second one, She Qiling chooses a phrase “*tongran zhi bentī* 通然之本體” (the original substance of unbounded nature) and then translates the third one as a compound “*tongti* 通體” (unbounded substance).⁶³² His three choices of the phrase or the compound reflect the colloquial influence on She Qiling's translation. Moreover the order of his choices in translating the same phrase in one paragraph again attests to the translator's consistent strategy of abbreviation while dealing with the long phrase.

Last but not least, while She Qiling applies both *ti* 體/體 (substance) and *benran* 本然 (root nature) to correspond to *zāt* (essence), we notice that the translator differentiates the two translation words based on their grammatical functions. The character *ti* 體 is applied where it functions as a modified element like “*bentī* 本體” (root substance) and “*zhentī* 真體” (real substance) and *benran* 本然 usually occurs as a modifier, such as “*benran zhi xian* 本然之顯” (manifestation of the root nature) and “*benran zhi manzhang* 本然之幔帳” (curtain of the root nature).

⁶³¹ In the following text I will not stress the difference of the character *ti* 體 and *ti* 体.

⁶³² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:21a (“You benxu”).

Such different applications of *ti* 體 and *benran* 本然 in terms of grammatical function also appear on the other occasions where She Qiling translates the original term ‘*eyn* عین (entity) to *ti* 體 (substance) or *benti* 本體 (root substance). As one of the original sentences reads:

این در تجلیات ذاتی باشد که حق سبحانه به تجلی ذاتی، عین عاشق را یعنی ذات وی را، در نظر شهود وی ناچیز گرداند.⁶³³

This is in the manifestations of Essence (Zāt) that the Real - glory be to Him! - by the manifestation of the Essence (Zāt) turns the entity ('eyn) of the lover, meaning his [the lover's] essence (zāt) into nothingness in his witnessing eye.

She Qiling's translation reads:

此乃論本然之諸顯也。即如真有以本然之顯，把喜者之體，於彼(喜者)親見之目中轉成無者也。⁶³⁴

This is the discussion of every manifestation of the root nature (benran). As if the Real Being by the manifestation of the root nature (benran) turns the substance (ti) of the lover into the nothingness in the (lover's) witnessing eye.

Based on Jāmī's explanation of "entity ('eyn) of the lover" as "his [the lover's] essence (zāt)", we notice that She Qiling applies one word *ti* 體 (substance) to refer to both original terms, namely 'eyn (entity) and zāt (essence). To correspond to the other two occurrences of zāt, both of which denote the "divine Essence", the translator chooses *benran* 本然. It seems that the translator differentiates his translation strategy based on the understanding of the "essence" on the aforementioned two layers. He applies *benran* to correspond to the "divine Essence" while chooses *ti* to translate the "entity of things in the sensible world", such as "the lover's essence/entity".

⁶³³ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 71 ("Muqadama").

⁶³⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:36a ("Mugandimo").

In another case where She Qiling translates ‘*eyn* (entity) as *ti* 體, the original reads:

"احديث از روى اسماء، احديث كثر تـواند بود" [...] "و از روى ذات، احديث عين".⁶³⁵

"Unity from the viewpoint of the divine names can be called the unity of multiplicity" [...]

"and from the viewpoint of the Essence (Zāt) [can be called] the unity of entity ('eyn)".

She Qiling's translates:

獨一，對名色論之，則曰聚一。 [...] 對本然論之，則為體一者也。⁶³⁶

The Oneness, in terms of the names and colours, is called the oneness of the unity. [...] In terms of the root nature (benran), [the Oneness] is thus the oneness with the substance (ti).

Although She Qiling follows the same translation strategy by translating *Zāt* (divine Essence) as *benran* and ‘*eyn* (entity) as *ti* in this case, the meaning of *ti* here differs from the term *ti* applied in the first case. In this case ‘*eyn* (entity) is considered by Jāmī as the same as *Zāt* (divine Essence), thus the corresponding words *benran* and *ti* can also be understood as the “Essence on the divine level”. In his annotation of the “*tiyi* 體一” (the oneness of the substance) which corresponds to the phrase “*aḥadiyat-i ‘eyn* احديث عين” (the unity of the entity), She Qiling explicates *ti* as follows:

體一即本一也，此體字，乃體用之體，非體貼之謂。⁶³⁷

The oneness of the substance (tiyi) is the oneness of the origin / root (*benyi*). This character *ti* is the *ti* in terms of *ti* and *yong* [substance and function], not the so-called term *titie* [literal: keep the body close to; extended meaning: be considerate to, to realize].

This annotation indicates that *ti* should be understood on the metaphysical level rather than in relation to the physical body and the meanings of *ti* 體 in “*tiyi* 體一” and *ben* 本 are the same. Therefore *ti* 體 in our second case can be understood as the

⁶³⁵ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 154 (ch. 14). Also see 'Irāqī, *Lama'āt*, 80 (ch. 13).

⁶³⁶ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:25b (ch. 14).

⁶³⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:26a (ch. 14).

essence or entity on the divine level.

The two cases show that the term *'eyn* is identical with *zāt* in terms of its meaning and application. The correspondence of *'eyn* and *ti* illustrates that *ti* is applied by She Qiling to correspond to both the “divine Essence” and the “entity in the sensible world” while *benran* is only used to refer to the “divine Essence” (*Zāt*).

Understood as the “divine Essence” *benran* is the “absolute Essence” which cannot be described or modified. This is why in She Qiling’s translation we find *benran* always appears as an independent word or a modifier and is never modified. For the *ti* which stands for the essence or entity on two different levels, it needs to be defined by its modifiers in order to denote its specific meaning, such as *zhenti* 真體 (real substance, corresponding to “divine Essence”)⁶³⁸ or *xizhe zhi ti* 喜者之體 (the substance of lover, corresponding to the essence in the sensible world)⁶³⁹. The translation strategy of *ti* and *benran* shows that the translator’s awareness of the relationships between the essence (*zāt*) and entity (*'eyn*) are on distinctive levels.

To sum up, She Qiling normally applies *benran* and *ti* to translate the term *zāt* in the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*. The study on the mechanics of the application of *ti*, on the one hand, once again attests to the translator’s abbreviation strategy and, on the other hand, implies the possibility of a second copyist in the 1890 edition of the *Zhaoyuan mijue*. From the perspective of the Chinese translation, *benran* and *ti* are also found to

⁶³⁸ See notes 58080, 5811.

⁶³⁹ See notes 5899, 59090, 5911, 5922.

correspond to the original terms *ḥaqīqat* (reality) and *‘eyn* (entity). We also notice that normally *ti* 體 acts as a modified element and *benran* 本然 is used as a modifier in She Qiling’s translation. The cases of the correspondence of *‘eyn* and *ti* helps us to deduce that *benran* is exclusively used to refer to the “divine Essence” and *ti* can be understood as the “essence” on both divine and sensory level.

b. *Şifat / şifāt – dongjing* 動靜 and *yong* 用

In the *Zhaoyuan mijue şifat* (attribute) is mainly translated by a compound *dongjing* 動靜 (movement and stillness), twice as *se* 色 (colour) and twice as *yong* 用 (function). According to the application of *şifat* in the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, the frequent set phrases containing *şifat*, namely “*şifat-i ‘āshiq / muḥibb* / صفت عاشق / محب (attribute of lover) and “*şifat-i ma’ashūq / maḥbūb* / صفت معشوق / محبوب (attribute of beloved), are translated as “*xizhe zhi dongjing* 喜者之動靜” (movement and stillness of lover) and “*shouxizhe zhi dongjing* 受喜者之動靜” (movement and stillness of beloved) respectively.

As the following table illustrates, *dongjing* 動靜 is widely used in the translation of phrases containing *şifat*:

Words in the <i>Ashi’at al-Lama’āt</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>şifat</i>	صفت ⁶⁴⁰	attribute	<i>dongjing</i>	動靜 ⁶⁴¹	movement and stillness
			<i>yong</i>	用 ⁶⁴²	function

⁶⁴⁰ In almost every chapter of the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, except “Muqadama”, chapters 8, 12, 14, 16, 18, 25, 27 and 28.

⁶⁴¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:10a, 13a (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 1:38a (ch. 1), 1:41b (ch. 2), 1:48b (ch. 3), 1:55a, 60b (ch. 5), 1:62b (ch. 6), 1:64a (ch. 7), 2:4b (ch. 9), 2:5b, 7a, 9b (ch. 10), 2:10b (ch. 11), 2:18b (ch. 13), 2:29a (ch. 15), 2:35b (ch. 17), 2:48a (ch. 19), 2:49b, 50a, 51b, 52a, 53a (ch. 20), 2:57b (ch. 21), 2:59b, 60a (ch. 22), 2:62a-b (ch. 23), 2:67a, 68b (ch. 25), 2:70a-b (ch. 26).

			<i>se</i>	色 ⁶⁴³	colour
<i>şifat-i 'āshiq</i>	صفة عاشق ⁶⁴⁴	attribute of lover	<i>xizhe zhi dongjing</i>	喜者之動靜 ⁶⁴⁵	movement and stillness of lover
<i>şifat-i muḥibb</i>	صفة محب ⁶⁴⁶				
<i>şifat-i ma'ashūq</i>	صفة معشوق ⁶⁴⁷	attribute of beloved	<i>shouxi (zhe) zhi dongjing</i>	受喜(者)之動靜 ⁶⁴⁸	movement and stillness of beloved
<i>şifat-i maḥbūb</i>	صفة محبوب ⁶⁴⁹				
<i>şifat-i zāt</i>	صفة ذات ⁶⁵⁰	attribute of the Essence	<i>benti zhi dongjing</i>	本體之動靜 ⁶⁵¹	movement and stillness of the root substance
<i>şifat-i zātī</i>	صفة ذاتي ⁶⁵²	the attribute of the Essence	<i>ti zhi dongjing</i>	體之動靜 ⁶⁵³	movement and stillness of the substance
<i>şifat-i iṭlāq</i>	صفة اطلاق ⁶⁵⁴	attribute of Unboundness	<i>tongran zhi dongjing</i>	通然之動靜 ⁶⁵⁵	movement and stillness of unbounded nature
<i>şifat-i vaḥdat</i>	صفة وحدت ⁶⁵⁶	attribute of Oneness	<i>dandu zhi dongjing</i>	單獨之動靜 ⁶⁵⁷	movement and stillness of oneness
<i>şifat-i vaḥdat va iṭlāq</i>	صفة وحدت و اطلاق ⁶⁵⁸	attribute of Oneness and Unboundness	<i>duyi yu tongran zhi dongjing</i>	獨一與通然之動靜 ⁶⁵⁹	movement and stillness of oneness and unboundness

⁶⁴² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:9b (ch. 10), 2:70a (ch. 26)

⁶⁴³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:60b (ch. 5),

⁶⁴⁴ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 74 (ch. 1), 188 (ch. 20).

⁶⁴⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:38a (ch. 1), 2:5b (ch. 10), 2:50a (ch. 20), 2:60b (ch. 22).

⁶⁴⁶ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 129-130 (ch. 10), 199 (ch. 22).

⁶⁴⁷ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 74 (ch. 1), 107 (ch. 6), 187-188 (ch. 20), 210 (ch. 26).

⁶⁴⁸ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:38a (ch. 1), 1:62b (ch. 6), 2:5b (ch. 10), 2:49b, 50a (ch. 20), 2:62a (ch. 23), 2:67a (ch. 25).

⁶⁴⁹ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 129-130 (ch. 10), 203 (ch. 24).

⁶⁵⁰ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 212 (ch. 26).

⁶⁵¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:68b (ch. 25).

⁶⁵² Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 110 (ch. 7).

⁶⁵³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:64a (ch. 7).

⁶⁵⁴ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 99 (ch. 5), 136 (ch. 11),

⁶⁵⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:10b (ch. 11).

⁶⁵⁶ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 202 (ch. 23).

⁶⁵⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:70b (ch. 26).

⁶⁵⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 202 (ch. 23).

⁶⁵⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:70b (ch. 26).

<i>ṣifat-i iṭlāq</i> <i>va vaḥdat</i>	صفت اطلاق و وحدت ⁶⁶⁰	attribute of Unboundne ss and Oneness	<i>tongran</i> <i>dandu zhi</i> <i>dongjing</i>	通然單 獨之動 靜 ⁶⁶¹	movement and stillness of unbounded nature and oneness
<i>ṣifat-i vujūdī</i>	صفت وجودی ⁶⁶²	the existence's attribute	<i>you zhi</i> <i>dongjing</i>	有之動 靜 ⁶⁶³	movement and stillness of being
<i>ṣifat-i</i> <i>muṭaliq</i>	صفت وجود مطلق ⁶⁶⁴	the unbounded existence's attribute	<i>tongyou zhi</i> <i>dongjing</i>	通有之 動靜 ⁶⁶⁵	movement and stillness of unbounded being
<i>ṣifat-i</i> <i>mowjūd</i>	صفت موجود ⁶⁶⁶	attribute of existent	<i>youzhe zhi</i> <i>dongjing</i>	有者之 動靜 ⁶⁶⁷	movement and stillness of being
<i>ṣifat-i sharāb</i>	صفت شراب ⁶⁶⁸	attribute of wine	<i>jiuse</i>	酒色 ⁶⁶⁹	the colour of alcohol
<i>ṣifat-i ābkīna</i>	صفت آبکینه ⁶⁷⁰	attribute of glass	<i>beise</i>	盃色 ⁶⁷¹	the colour of cup

To translate the plural form *ṣifāt* (attributes), as the following table shows,

dongjing 動靜 is also commonly used in She Qiling's translation:

Words in the <i>Ashi'at al-Lama'āt</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>ṣifāt</i>	صفات ⁶⁷²	attributes	<i>dongjing</i>	動靜 ⁶⁷³	movement and

⁶⁶⁰ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 202 (ch. 23).

⁶⁶¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:70a (ch. 26).

⁶⁶² Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 204 (ch. 24).

⁶⁶³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:62b (ch. 23).

⁶⁶⁴ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 129 (ch. 10).

⁶⁶⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:5b (ch. 23).

⁶⁶⁶ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 189 (ch. 20).

⁶⁶⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:51b (ch. 20).

⁶⁶⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 103 (ch. 5).

⁶⁶⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:60b (ch. 5).

⁶⁷⁰ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, 103 (ch. 5).

⁶⁷¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:60b (ch. 5).

⁶⁷² In almost every chapter of the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt*, except chapters 3, 4, 6, 11, 16, 18, 19, 23, 27.

⁶⁷³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:9b, 10a, 13a, 14a-b, 19b ("Ziyi zhu bianjie"), 1:20a, 24a-b, 25a, 28b, 30b, 31a-b, 32b ("You benxu"), 1:35a, 36b, 37b ("Mugandimo"), 1:38a, 39b, 40a (ch. 1), 1:41b (ch. 2), 1:56a-b (ch. 5), 1:69b (ch. 7), 1:72b (ch. 8), 2:1a-b (ch. 9), 2:9b (ch. 10), 2:12a (ch. 12), 2:15a-b, 16a, 18b, 19a-b (ch. 13), 2:25b (ch. 14), 2:29c, 32a-b (ch. 15), 2:37b, 43b (ch. 17), 2:49a, 51a (ch. 20), 2:57a-b (ch. 21), 2:60b, 61a (ch. 22), 2:62a-b, 63a-b (ch. 23),

					stillness
			<i>yong</i>	用 ⁶⁷⁴	function
			<i>suqing</i>	俗情 ⁶⁷⁵	secular character
<i>şifāt-i ‘āshiq</i>	صفات عاشق ⁶⁷⁶	the attributes of lover	<i>xizhe zhu dongjing</i>	喜者諸動靜 ⁶⁷⁷	every movement and stillness of lover
<i>şifāt-i muḥibb</i>	صفات محب ⁶⁷⁸	the attributes of lover	<i>xizhe zhi zhu dongjing</i>	喜者之諸動靜 ⁶⁷⁹	every movement and stillness of lover
			<i>xizhe zhi dongjing</i>	喜者之動靜 ⁶⁸⁰	movement and stillness of lover
<i>şifāt-i ma‘ashūq</i>	صفات معشوق ⁶⁸¹	the attributes of beloved	<i>shouxizhe zhi dongjing</i>	受喜者之動靜 ⁶⁸²	movement and stillness of beloved
<i>şifāt-i ma‘ashūqī</i>	صفات معشوقی ⁶⁸³				
<i>zāt va şifāt</i>	ذات و صفات ⁶⁸⁴	essence and attributes	<i>tiyong</i>	體用 ⁶⁸⁵	substance and function
<i>kamāl-i zāt va şifāt</i>	کمال ذات و صفات ⁶⁸⁶	the perfection of the essence and attributes	<i>tiyong zhi quanmei</i>	體用之全美 ⁶⁸⁷	complete beauty of substance and function
<i>şifāt-i bashariyat</i>	صفات بشریت ⁶⁸⁸	the attributes of humankind	<i>renshi zhi dongjing</i>	人事之動靜 ⁶⁸⁹	movement and stillness of human and matters

2:63b, 65a (ch. 24), 2:66b, 67a, 68a (ch. 25), 2:73a (ch. 28). 2:75a, 76a (ch. 29).

⁶⁷⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:19b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 1:20a (“You benxu”), 2:12a-b, 14a (ch. 12), 2:58b (ch. 22).

⁶⁷⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:28b (“You benxu”).

⁶⁷⁶ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 219 (ch. 28).

⁶⁷⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:73a (ch. 28).

⁶⁷⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 199 (ch. 22).

⁶⁷⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:60a (ch. 22).

⁶⁸⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:60b (ch. 22).

⁶⁸¹ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 203 (ch. 24).

⁶⁸² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:62a (ch. 23), 2:68a (ch. 25).

⁶⁸³ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 212 (ch. 26).

⁶⁸⁴ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 52 (“Praise”), 139 (ch. 12).

⁶⁸⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:20a (“You benxu”), 2:12a (ch. 12).

⁶⁸⁶ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 52 (“Praise”).

⁶⁸⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:20a (“You benxu”).

⁶⁸⁸ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 62 (“Praise”).

⁶⁸⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:28b (“You benxu”).

<i>ṣifāt-i basharī</i>	صفات بشری ⁶⁹⁰	the attributes of human	<i>renshi dongjing</i>	人事動靜 ⁶⁹¹	
<i>ṣifāt-i ādamī</i>	صفات آدمی ⁶⁹²	the attributes of human	<i>ren zhi zhu dongjing</i>	人之諸動靜 ⁶⁹³	every movement and stillness of human
<i>ṣifāt-i vujūdī</i>	صفات وجودی ⁶⁹⁴	the attributes of existence	<i>you zhi dongjing</i>	有之動靜 ⁶⁹⁵	movement and stillness of existence
			<i>shuyou zhi dongjing</i>	屬有之動靜 ⁶⁹⁶	movement and stillness of belonged being
<i>ṣifāt-i ‘adamī</i>	صفات عدمی ⁶⁹⁷	the nihilistic attributes	<i>wu zhi dongjing</i>	無之動靜 ⁶⁹⁸	movement and stillness of nonexistence

To emphasize the plural form She Qiling applies the plural mark *zhu* 諸 (every) to qualify *dongjing* 動靜, like he does in other cases such as *zhu ti* 諸體 (every substance), *zhu miaoben* 諸妙本 (every wondrous root) and etc. In some cases, however, the translator makes no difference in translating the single or plural form of *ṣifat*. For example, “*xizhe zhi dongjing* 喜者之動靜” corresponds to both *ṣifāt* (attributes) and *ṣifat* (attribute) of lover and so is “*you zhi dongjing* 有之動靜”. As mentioned before, the phrases including the plural form *ṣifāt* (attributes) appear far fewer than the phrases with the single form *ṣifat* (attribute). It seems that the translator prefers *dongjing* to deal with both singular and plural forms.

⁶⁹⁰ Jāmī, *Ashī‘at al-Lama‘āt*, 62 (“Praise”).

⁶⁹¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:28b (“You benxu”).

⁶⁹² Jāmī, *Ashī‘at al-Lama‘āt*, 143-4 (ch. 13).

⁶⁹³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:15a-b (ch. 13).

⁶⁹⁴ Jāmī, *Ashī‘at al-Lama‘āt*, 187 (ch. 20), 199 (ch. 22), 203 (ch. 24).

⁶⁹⁵ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:49a (ch. 20).

⁶⁹⁶ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:60b (ch. 22), 2:62a (ch. 23).

⁶⁹⁷ Jāmī, *Ashī‘at al-Lama‘āt*, 187 (ch. 20).

⁶⁹⁸ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:49a (ch. 20).

Besides *dongjing* 動靜, the word *yong* 用 (function) is also a frequent option in translating the plural form *ṣifāt* (attributes). In fact, *yong* is specifically applied in association with *ti* 體 where the terms *zāt* and *ṣifāt* are discussed together in the original treatise.

c. *Zāt* and *ṣifāt* – *benran* 本然 and *dongjing* 動靜 / *ti* 體 and *yong* 用

Corresponding to Jāmī’s discussion of the relationship between *zāt* (essence) and *ṣifāt* (attributes) in the *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, She Qiling introduces two pairs of words in his *Zhaoyuan mijue*, one is *benran* 本然 and *dongjing* 動靜, and the other is *ti* 體 and *yong* 用. For example, in a translation of Jāmī’s quotation, the original reads:

"حجب ذات او صفات اوست" [...] "و صفاتش مندرج در ذات".⁶⁹⁹

"The veils of its Essence (Zāt) are its attributes (ṣifāt)" [...] "and these attributes (ṣifāt) are embedded in the Essence (Zāt)."

She Qiling translates *zāt* and *ṣifāt* in this sentence as *benran* 本然 and *dongjing* 動靜 respectively and the translation reads:

彼之動靜, 即其本然之幔帳也, [...] 其動靜而捲入本然之內也。⁷⁰⁰

His movement and stillness (dongjing) are his veils of root nature (benran), [...] his movement and stillness (dongjing) are enfolded in the root nature (benran).

For one case of the application of *ti* 體 and *yong* 用, the original reads:

"بر هر که به حقیقت از راه سلوک یا جذب، این در بگشایند، باید که در خلوتخانه نبود خود نشیند" و از ذات و صفات خود کرانه گزیند "و خود را و دوست را آینه یک دیگر ببیند".⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁹ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 65 ("Praise"). Also see 'Irāqī, *Lama’āt*, 41 ("He").

⁷⁰⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:31a ("You benxu").

⁷⁰¹ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 139 (ch. 12). Also see 'Irāqī, *Lama’āt*, 74 (ch. 11). In the *Lama’āt*, the sentence is different from the one Jāmī quotes in the *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, as it read: "بر هر که این در حقیقت بگشاید، در خلوتخانه بود نبود". Probably the copy of the *Lama’āt* Jāmī annotates is different from the

“When this door is opened, he should sit in the seclusion of his nonexistence” and escape away from his Essence (Zāt) and attributes (ṣifāt) “and watch himself and his friend in the mirror of each other.”

And She Qiling’s translation reads:

真開之後，而坐於渾化之空室，躲避自家之體用，而見己與受喜者，相為鏡。⁷⁰²

After [the door is] truly opened, [the human] will sit in the empty room of the integration and annihilation (*hunhua*) and evade from his own substance (ti) and function (yong), and will watch himself and the beloved in the mirror of each other.

However, not all the translations of *zāt* and *ṣifāt* follow the two aforementioned translation strategy. For example, the original in the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt* reads:

"حب" [...] "ذات محب است" يعنى صفت ذاتي محب است.⁷⁰³

“Love” [...] “is the Essence (Zāt) of lover” meaning the Essence’s (Zātī) attribute (ṣifat) of lover.

She Qiling’s translation in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* reads:

真喜，[...] 其即喜者，屬體之動靜。⁷⁰⁴

The true love, [...] is the lover, belongs to the movement and stillness (dongjing) of the substance (ti).

In this case the translator borrows *ti* 體 and *dongjing* 動靜 from the aforementioned two frequently used pairs of terms and combines a third choice to correspond to *zāt(tī)* (essence) and *ṣifat* (attribute).

As *ti* 體 and *yong* 用 compose a cardinal pair of concepts in the traditional Chinese philosophy, the combined form of these two terms as “*tiyong* 體用” appears

one in my hands.

⁷⁰² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:12a (ch. 12).

⁷⁰³ Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 110 (ch. 7).

⁷⁰⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:64a (ch. 7).

about thirty times in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*. The occurrences of “*tiyong*” are illustrated in the following table:

Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	occurrences in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>
<i>zāt</i> [va] <i>ṣifāt</i>	ذات [و] صفات ⁷⁰⁵	essence [and] attributes	1:20a (“You benxu”), 2:12a, 12b (ch. 12), 2:19b (ch. 13)
<i>zātī</i> va <i>ṣifāt</i>	ذاتی و صفاتی ⁷⁰⁶	essence’s and attributes’	1:19b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”)
<i>zātan</i> va <i>ṣifātan</i>	ذاتاً و صفه ⁷⁰⁷	in the status of essence and attributes	2:58b (ch. 22), 2:70a (ch. 26)
<i>zāt</i> [...] <i>ṣifāt</i>	ذات [...] صفت ⁷⁰⁸	essence [...] attribute	2:9b (ch. 10)
<i>zavāt</i> [...] <i>ṣifāt</i>	ذوات [...] صفت ⁷⁰⁹	essences [...] attributes	2:60b (ch. 22)
<i>zāt</i> va <i>istihlāk</i>	ذات و استهلاك ⁷¹⁰	essence and description	1:16a, 16b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”)
<i>zāt-i khud</i> va <i>tavābi’-i ān</i>	ذات خود و توابع آن ⁷¹¹	his essence and its functions	1:39b (ch. 1)
<i>vujūd</i> va <i>tavābi’-i vujūd</i>	وجود و توابع وجود ⁷¹²	existence and the existence’s function	2:28b (ch. 15)
<i>vujūd-i tavābi’</i>	وجود توابع ⁷¹³	the existence’s function	2:40a (ch. 17)
<i>mawṣūf</i> [...] <i>ṣifāt</i>	موصوف [...] صفات ⁷¹⁴	described [...] attributes	2:18b (ch. 13)
<i>zātī</i> va <i>ismāyī</i>	ذاتی و اسمایی ⁷¹⁵	of essence and names	1:38a (ch. 1)
<i>sayr fī Allāh</i>	سیر فی الله ⁷¹⁶	journey in God	2:12a, 14a (ch. 12), 2:35b (ch. 17).
<i>vujūd</i>	وجود ⁷¹⁷	existence	2:63b (ch. 24)

⁷⁰⁵ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 52 (“Praise”), 139-140 (ch. 12), 147 (ch. 13).

⁷⁰⁶ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 50 (“Foreword”).

⁷⁰⁷ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 197 (ch. 22), 202 (ch. 23).

⁷⁰⁸ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 133 (ch. 10).

⁷⁰⁹ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 199 (ch. 22).

⁷¹⁰ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 46 (“Foreword”).

⁷¹¹ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 75 (ch. 1).

⁷¹² Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 157 (ch. 15).

⁷¹³ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 171 (ch. 17).

⁷¹⁴ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 146 (ch. 13).

⁷¹⁵ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 74 (ch. 1).

⁷¹⁶ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 139, 141 (ch. 12), 167 (ch. 17).

⁷¹⁷ Jāmī, *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*, 205 (ch. 25).

In these occurrences “*tiyong* 體用” is used to correspond to the “*zāt* and *ṣifāt*” (including other forms deriving from the same root, such as plural form and adjective form) nine times. Other occurrences of “*tiyong*” shows that *ti* 體 (substance) could correspond to *vujūd* (existence) and *mawṣūf* موصوف (described), and *yong* 用 may correspond to *istihlāk* استهلاك (description), *tavābiʿ* توابع (functions) and *ismāʾ* اسماء (names).

In the case of translating “*mawṣūf* and *ṣifāt*” (described and attributes) we notice that She Qiling de facto translates them into *ti* 體 (or *benti* 本體) and *dongjing* 動靜.⁷¹⁸ One of the original sentences reads:

زیرا که بر آن تقدیر لازم می آید که اولاً صفات بسوزند، و ثانیاً موصوف آن ها، یعنی منعدم گردند فی نفس الامر.⁷¹⁹

Because based on this explanation, it is possible that the attributes (*ṣifāt*) are burned firstly, and secondly in their described (*mawṣūf*), meaning they become nihilistic in the same order.

She Qiling translates:

蓋因按此解，其動靜先燒，其體次燒也。其義，體用的實轉無矣。⁷²⁰

Because based on this understanding, its movement and stillness (*dongjing*) is burned first and its substance (*ti*) is burned secondly. The meaning is substance (*ti*) and function (*yong*) in fact turn to non-existence.

The application of “*tiyong* 體用” here can be considered to denote the aforementioned *dongjing* 動靜 and *ti* 體 respectively. Thus the word *dongjing* is substituted by *yong* 用 in order to conform to the established pair of concepts “*tiyong*”. This substitution again reveals the three pairs of concepts applied by the translator,

⁷¹⁸ Both examples appear in chapter thirteen in the *Ashiʿat al-Lamaʿāt*, chapter 13.

⁷¹⁹ Jāmī, *Ashiʿat al-Lamaʿāt*, 146 (ch. 13).

⁷²⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:18b-19a (ch. 13).

namely “*benran* 本然 and *dongjing* 動靜”, “*ti* 體 and *yong* 用” and “*ti* 體 and *dongjing* 動靜”. However, we cannot find the combination of “*benran* 本然 and *yong* 用” in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*.

Besides the literal translation, “*tiyong* 體用” is also applied in some free translation cases, annotations⁷²¹ and verses⁷²². For example, the phrase “*wan zhu zhi tiyong* 玩主之體用” (the study of the substance and function of God) is found to refer to the original phrase “*sayr fī Allāh* سیر فی الله” (journey in God)⁷²³. The phrase “journey in God” is considered as one of the stages to achieve the perfection.⁷²⁴ In She Qiling’s translation the word *wan* 玩 is interpreted as “*tiwei yanjiu* 體味研究” (to experience and study)⁷²⁵ indicating a practice of experiencing and studying the substance (*ti*) and the function (*yong*) of God. In some verses which contain “*tiyong* 體用” we cannot identify the corresponding words in the original poems.

d. *Ism / ismā’ – zunming* 尊名 / *mingse* 名色 and “*ismā’ va şifāt*” – “*mingse dongjing* 名色動靜” / “*zunming dongjing* 尊名動靜”

Study of the term *ism*, which for most of the time specifically refers to the “divine Name” in the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, the following table shows that *zunming* 尊名 (respectful name) is a frequent choice for She Qiling in his *Zhaoyuan mijue*.

⁷²¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:8a (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 1:30b (“You benxu”), 1:38a (ch. 1), 2:26a (ch. 14).

⁷²² She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:65b (ch. 24), 2:68b (ch. 25), 2:69b (ch. 26).

⁷²³ See note 7166.

⁷²⁴ See Jāmī, *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, 167 (ch. 17).

⁷²⁵ See She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:43b (ch. 17).

Words in the <i>Ashi'at al-Lama'at</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>ism</i>	اسم ⁷²⁶	name	<i>zunming</i>	尊名 ⁷²⁷	respectful name
			<i>mingse</i>	名色 ⁷²⁸	name and colour
			<i>ming</i>	名 ⁷²⁹	name
<i>ism-i al-hādī</i>	اسم الهادي ⁷³⁰	the name Guide (one of the ninety nine names of God)	<i>zunming</i>	尊名 ⁷³¹	respectful name
<i>ism-i mubārak</i>	اسم مبارك ⁷³²	blessed name	<i>zunming</i>	尊名 ⁷³³	respectful name

Besides the choice of *zunming* 尊名, She Qiling adheres to his preference of compound in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*. We notice that *ism* (name) is translated as *mingse* 名色 (name and colour) when it is discussed with Essence (*Zāt*). Only twice does the translator apply the monosyllabic word *ming* 名 (name) to translate *ism* when it is used independently in the original text.

As for the plural form *ismā'* (names), which specifically refers to the “ninety-nine names of God”, this term usually appears in association with *ṣifāt* (attributes) in the *Ashi'at al-Lama'at*. The following table shows the correspondences of the phrase “*ismā' va ṣifāt*” (names and attributes)⁷³⁴ in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*:

⁷²⁶ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'at*, 45 (“Foreword”), 52-53, 59, 60, 62-3 (“Praise”), 79 (ch. 2), 97 (ch. 5), 120-1 (ch. 8), 124 (ch. 9), 130 (ch. 10), 141 (ch. 12), 154 (ch. 14), 158-160 (ch. 15), 170, 175-6 (ch. 17), 180 (ch. 18), 195 (ch. 21), 209 (ch. 26).

⁷²⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:15b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 1:21a, 26a-b, 28b (“You benxu”), 1:55a (ch. 5), 1:72a (ch. 8), 2:2b (ch. 9), 2:14a (ch. 12), 2:29a-b, 30b, 31a (ch. 15), 2:39a, 43b, 44a (ch. 17), 2:46a (ch. 18), 2:57b (ch. 21).

⁷²⁸ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:26b, 29a (“You benxu”), 1:41b (ch. 2), 2:6b (ch. 10), 2:25b, 26a (ch. 14).

⁷²⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:27b (“You benxu”), 1:72b (ch. 8).

⁷³⁰ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'at*, 62 (“Praise”), 159 (ch. 15).

⁷³¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:28b (“You benxu”), 2:30b (ch. 15).

⁷³² Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'at*, 52 (“Praise”).

⁷³³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:21a (“You benxu”).

⁷³⁴ Jāmī, *Ashi'at al-Lama'at*, 37, 42-4 (“Foreword”), 66 (“Praise”), 74-5 (ch. 1), 79 (ch. 2), 116 (ch. 7), 123 (ch. 9), 139

<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning	occurrences in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>
<i>(zhu) zunming dongjing</i>	(諸) 尊名動靜	(every) respectful name and movement and stillness	1:13a, 14a-b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 1:69b (ch. 7), 2:16a, 19b (ch. 13), 2:29c (ch. 15), 2:75a (ch. 29).
<i>(zhu) mingse dongjing</i>	(諸) 名色動靜	(every) name and colour, and movement and stillness	1:9b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 1:39b, 40a (ch. 1), 1:41b (ch. 2), 2:1a (ch. 9), 2:12a (ch. 12), 2:19a (ch. 13), 2:32a (ch. 15), 2:57a (ch. 21), 2:63a (ch. 23), 2:66b, 67a (ch. 25).
<i>dongjing</i>	動靜	movement and stillness	1:32b (“You benxu”).

According to this table, the set phrase “*ismā’ va šifāt*” (names and attributes) is mostly translated as “*zunming dongjing* 尊名動靜” or “*mingse dongjing* 名色動靜”. In order to emphasize the plural form of the “name and attribute” in this phrase, as usually She Qiling sometimes applies the word *zhu* 諸 in front of the phrase.

In addition the correspondences of the term *ismā’* (names), which appears other than in the phrase “*ismā’ va šifāt*”, are illustrated below:

<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning	occurrences in the <i>Zhaoyuan mijue</i>
<i>zunming</i>	(諸)尊名	(every) respectful name	1:13b (“Ziyi zhu bianjie”), 1:21a, 26a-b, 27b, 29a (“You benxu”), 2:14a, 14b (ch. 12), 2:2b (ch. 9), 2:25b (ch. 14), 2:29b-d, 31a (ch. 15), 2:40a (ch. 17), 2:46a (ch. 18), 2:46b (ch. 19), 2:51b, 52b (ch. 20), 2:66a, 67a (ch. 25), 2:75a (ch. 29).
<i>mingse</i>	(諸)名色	(every) colour and name	1:23a, 24a, 26a-b (“You benxu”), 1:36a (“Mugandimo”), 1:40b (ch. 1), 1:42a (ch. 2), 9, 2:6b, 7a (ch. 10), 2:25b (ch. 14), 2:31b (ch. 15).
<i>yong</i>	用	function	1:38a (ch. 1).
<i>zhuming</i>	諸名	every name	1:49b (ch. 3).
<i>se</i>	色	colour	2:1b (ch. 9).

Similar to the translation strategy in the case of translating “*ismā’ va šifāt*” (names and attributes), the term *ismā’* (names) is mostly translated as either *zunming* 尊名 or

mingse 名色. Only in two cases *ismā'* is translated as monosyllabic words such as *yong* 用 and *ming* 名.

By studying the correspondence of *ism* (name) and *ismā'* (names), we notice that *zunming* 尊名 and *mingse* 名色 appear almost equally in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*. It seems that the translator has no preference for these two choices. In chapter thirteen even both the phrases *zunming dongjing* 尊名動靜 and *mingse dongjing* 名色動靜 appear in the same paragraph. She Qiling's translation⁷³⁵ reads:

諸名色動靜之幔帳，不可起去。只因若起去，則本然之精一，自無比之幔帳中照出，而萬物全泯滅矣。⁷³⁶

The curtain of every name, colour, movement and stillness (*mingse dongjing*) cannot be uplifted. Simply because if it is uplifted, then the pure One of the root nature (*benran*) will illuminate through the incomparable curtain and all things will be completely vanished.

Following his translation in the same paragraph,⁷³⁷ She Qiling further writes:

而本然之發現，卻於諸尊名動靜幔帳之後而跡之也。蓋因跡必須有一合乎本然，論彼之為本然者，決不能與一物相合也。要有合乎，唯論尊名動靜而已。⁷³⁸

But the display and appearance of the root nature (*benran*) marks itself behind the curtain of every respectful names and movement and stillness (*zunming dongjing*). Because the mark must have correspondence to the root nature (*benran*). Considering that as the root nature (*benran*), it cannot correspond to something. If there is one correspondence, only the respectful names and movement and stillness (*zunming dongjing*) is considered.

On the same topic of the “veils of names and attributes (*ismā' va şifāt*)” She Qiling's application of the words *zunming* 尊名 and *mingse* 名色 in the same paragraph reflects his understanding of the equivalence of these two words.

⁷³⁵ See the original in note 560.

⁷³⁶ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:19a (ch. 13).

⁷³⁷ See the original in note 560.

⁷³⁸ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:19a (ch. 13).

Meanwhile, we notice that no matter whether *zunming* 尊名 or *mingse* 名色 is chosen, the correspondence of *ṣifāt* (attributes) in this pair of concepts is always the word *dongjing* 動靜. To translate the discussion of the concepts “*zāt*” (essence) and “*ismā’ va ṣifāt*” (names and attributes), *zāt* is normally translated as *benran* 本然.

e. Conclusion

In his translation of the Persian terms *zāt* (essence), *ism* (name) and *ṣifat* (attribute) in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* She Qiling makes a variety of choices and deploys several sets of terms, such as “*benran* and *dongjing*”, “*ti* and *yong*”, “*ti* and *benran*”, “*mingse dongjing*” and “*zunming dongjing*”. She Qiling’s translation in this case again attests to his preference for compound and his strategy of abbreviation. Moreover, his choice of terms reflects his understanding of the original *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*. Corresponding to Jāmī’s interpretation of the two levels of the *zāt* (essence), She Qiling differentiates his two corresponding terms *benran* and *ti* in his translation. The term *benran* is only used to refer to the “divine essence” and *ti* is applied to correspond to either the “divine essence” or the “essence of things in the sensible world”.

Although *ism* (name) and *ṣifat* (attribute) can also be understood on two levels according to Jāmī’s interpretation, it does not seem that the translator has the same strategy or even has intention to translate these two terms. Meanwhile, we notice that She Qiling may attach importance to the combination of the translation terms when these original terms are discussed together. For the translation of “*zāt* (essence) and *ṣifat* (attribute)”, the translator prefers to apply two pairs of terms namely “*benran* and

dongjing” and “*ti* and *yong*”. Despite a few appearances of “*ti* and *dongjing*” we cannot find the combination of “*benran*” and “*yong*” in She Qiling’s translation. For the other pair of terms “*ismā’ va šifāt* (names and attributes)”, the two translation choices “*mingse dongjing*” and “*zunming dongjing*” seem to have no difference in the translation.

3) *Zāt, šifat* and *ism* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* and the *Tianfang xingli*

a. *Zāt – ti* 體 / *benran* 本然

In the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, as the following table shows, the term *zāt* (essence) is normally translated as the monosyllabic word *ti* 體 (substance); the second choice for Liu Zhi is *benran* 本然 (root nature). Other correspondences of *zāt* are *benti* 本體 (root substance) and *zhenti* 真體 (real substance), which have the same common component *ti* 體. To translate the plural form *zavāt* (essences) which appears only in chapter three in the *Lavāyih*, Liu Zhi applies the words (or phrase) *wanti* 萬體 (ten thousand substances), *wanyou zhi ti* 萬有之體 (the substance of ten thousand beings) and *ti* 體 to correspond to the original, all of which also include the character *ti* 體. Different from She Qiling’s translation in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, Liu Zhi prefers *ti* rather than *benran* in his translation, attesting to his usual preference of the monosyllabic word.

Words in the <i>Lavāyih</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhenjing zhaowei</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>zāt</i>	ذات ⁷³⁹	essence	<i>ti</i>	體 ⁷⁴⁰	substance
			<i>benran</i>	本然 ⁷⁴¹	root nature
			<i>benti</i>	本體 ⁷⁴²	root substance
			<i>zhenti</i>	真體 ⁷⁴³	real substance
<i>zavāt</i>	ذوات ⁷⁴⁴	essences	<i>wanti</i>	萬體 ⁷⁴⁵	ten thousand substances
			<i>wanyou zhi ti</i>	萬有之體 ⁷⁴⁶	the substance of ten thousand beings
			<i>ti</i>	體 ⁷⁴⁷	substance

By studying the application of *ti* 體 and *benran* 本然 in Liu Zhi's translation, we can list the correspondence of the phrases including *zāt* as below:

Words in the <i>Lavāyih</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhenjing zhaowei</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>zāt-i khud</i>	ذات خود ⁷⁴⁸	His essence	<i>benti</i>	本體 ⁷⁴⁹	original substance
<i>vaḥdat-i zāt</i>	وحدت ذات ⁷⁵⁰	the Oneness of the Essence	<i>yiti</i>	一體 ⁷⁵¹	one substance
<i>zāt-i ḥaqq</i>	ذات حق ⁷⁵²	the Real's Essence	<i>zhenti</i>	真體 ⁷⁵³	real substance
<i>zāt-i vāḥid</i>	ذاتی واحد ⁷⁵⁴	One Essence	<i>yiti</i>	一體 ⁷⁵⁵	one substance

⁷³⁹ In almost every chapter of the *Lavāyih*, except chapters 1-5, 7-12, 23, 32, 36.

⁷⁴⁰ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 7 (ch. 6), 15 (ch. 4), 16 (ch. 15), 17 (ch. 16), 26 (ch. 18), 27 (ch. 19), 30 (ch. 20), 31 (ch. 22), 41-2 (ch. 26), 49-50 (ch. 27), 52 (ch. 29), 61 (ch. 35).

⁷⁴¹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 20-23 (ch. 17), 26 (ch. 18), 28 (ch. 19), 41 (ch. 26), 50 (ch. 28).

⁷⁴² Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 29 (ch. 20), 53 (ch. 29).

⁷⁴³ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 61 (ch. 34).

⁷⁴⁴ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 76 (ch. 17), 105 (ch. 34).

⁷⁴⁵ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 60 (ch. 34).

⁷⁴⁶ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 60 (ch. 34).

⁷⁴⁷ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 60 (ch. 34).

⁷⁴⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 68 (ch. 14).

⁷⁴⁹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 15 (ch. 14).

⁷⁵⁰ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 77 (ch. 19).

⁷⁵¹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 27 (ch. 19).

⁷⁵² Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 77 (ch. 19).

⁷⁵³ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 28 (ch. 19).

⁷⁵⁴ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 87 (ch. 25).

<i>zāt-i mubham</i>	ذات مبهم ⁷⁵⁶	the mysterious essence	<i>hunran zhi ti</i>	渾然之體 ⁷⁵⁷	the substance of integrated nature
<i>zāt-i vāḥid</i>	ذات واحد ⁷⁵⁸	the Essence of Oneness	<i>yi zhi benran</i>	一之本然 ⁷⁵⁹	the root nature of One
<i>zāt al-hay</i>	ذات الهی ⁷⁶⁰	the divine Essence	<i>zhenyou zhi benran</i>	真有之本然 ⁷⁶¹	the root nature of the Real Being
<i>fī ḥad zāta</i>	فی حد ذاته ⁷⁶²	in the boundary of essence	<i>zai benran zhi wei</i>	在本然之位 ⁷⁶³	in the position of root nature

According to this table it is not likely that we can find the similar translation strategy as She Qiling adopted in his application of *ti* 體 and *benran* 本然. For example, in the first paragraph of chapter twenty-six in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, Liu Zhi first translates *zāt* (essence) in the phrase “the divine Essence (*zāt al-hay*)” as *benran* and then prefers the word *ti* to correspond to *zāt* in the phrase “the Essence of Oneness (*zāt-i vāḥid*)”. Moreover, regarding the same phrase “the Essence of Oneness” appearing in chapter nineteen Liu Zhi applies *benran* this time in his translation. It seems that despite his preference for the monosyllabic word *ti* 體, in most cases Liu Zhi shows no difference in applying *ti* 體 and *benran* 本然 to translate *zāt* in his *Zhenjing zhaowei*.

⁷⁵⁵ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 41 (ch. 26).

⁷⁵⁶ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 92 (ch. 26).

⁷⁵⁷ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 49-50 (ch. 27).

⁷⁵⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 77 (ch. 19).

⁷⁵⁹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 28 (ch. 19).

⁷⁶⁰ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 87 (ch. 25).

⁷⁶¹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 41 (ch. 26).

⁷⁶² Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 87 (ch. 25).

⁷⁶³ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 41 (ch. 26).

b. *Şifat / şifāt – yong* 用

In the *Lavāyih* the term *şifat* (attribute) appears fourteen times in the main body of the text including five times in the quatrains. Meanwhile, we cannot find the correspondence of *şifat* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*. However, the plural form *şifāt* (attributes) appears twenty-nine times in the main body of the original treatise including four times in the quatrains and three times in association with the term *ismā'* (names). The following table shows the correspondence of *şifāt* which is discussed independently in the *Lavāyih*.

Words in the <i>Lavāyih</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhenjing zhaowei</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>şifat</i>	صفة ⁷⁶⁴	attribute	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>şifāt</i>	صفات ⁷⁶⁵	attributes	<i>yong</i>	用 ⁷⁶⁶	function
			<i>xingqing</i>	性情 ⁷⁶⁷	nature and character
<i>hama-yi şifāt</i>	همه صفات ⁷⁶⁸	all attributes	<i>dayong</i>	大用 ⁷⁶⁹	great function
<i>şifāt-i kāmila-yi ū</i>	صفات کامله او ⁷⁷⁰	His complete attributes	<i>zhenyou zhi yong</i>	真有之用 ⁷⁷¹	the function of the Real Being
<i>şifāt-i kāmila</i>	صفات کامله ⁷⁷²	complete attributes			
<i>şifāt-i mowjūd</i>	صفات موجودات ⁷⁷³	existents	<i>wanyou zhi yong</i>	萬有之用 ⁷⁷⁴	the function of ten thousand beings

⁷⁶⁴ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 57 (ch. 5), 63 (ch. 9), 69 (ch. 15), 74 (ch. 17), 75 (ch. 18), 77 (ch. 19), 81 (ch. 22), 83 (ch. 23), 103 (ch. 33), 105 (ch. 34), 106 (ch. 35), 108 (ch. 36).

⁷⁶⁵ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 57 (ch. 5), 69 (ch. 15), 70 (ch. 16), 72 (ch. 17), 75 (ch. 18), 78 (ch. 20), 83 (ch. 23), 84 (ch. 24), 87 (ch. 25), 98 (ch. 29), 101 (ch. 31), 104 (ch. 33), 105 (ch. 34), 106 (ch. 35).

⁷⁶⁶ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 6 (ch. 5), 16 (ch. 15), 19 (ch. 17), 29 (ch. 20), 60-1 (ch. 34), 61 (ch. 35).

⁷⁶⁷ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 55 (ch. 32).

⁷⁶⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 57 (ch. 5).

⁷⁶⁹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 6 (ch. 5).

⁷⁷⁰ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 105 (ch. 34).

⁷⁷¹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 60-1 (ch. 34).

⁷⁷² Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 105 (ch. 34).

⁷⁷³ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 105 (ch. 34).

⁷⁷⁴ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 60-1 (ch. 34).

As this table shows Liu Zhi mostly prefers *yong* 用 to translate *ṣifāt* (attributes) in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* and only once applies a word *xingqing* 性情 (nature and character). Different from She Qiling's preference for both *dongjing* 動靜 and *yong* 用, in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* Liu Zhi only applies *yong* to correspond to the plural form *ṣifāt* (attributes).

To translate the aforementioned discussion on the relation between the “divine attributes (*ṣifāt*)” and the “entified things’ attributes (*ṣifāt*)” in the *Lavāyih*,⁷⁷⁵ Liu Zhi writes:

真有之用，分佈於萬有之中，即萬有之用。猶萬有之用，蘊於真用之中，即真有之用也。⁷⁷⁶

The function (*yong*) of the Real Being, which pervades amidst the ten thousand beings, is the function (*yong*) of the ten thousand beings. And like the function (*yong*) of the ten thousand beings, which is contained in the Real function (*zhenyong*), is the function (*yong*) of the Real Being.

In his translation Liu Zhi follows Jāmī's two categories of the attributes (*ṣifāt*) by translating the “divine attributes (*ṣifāt*)” as the “function of the Real Being” (*zhenyou zhi yong*) and the “attributes (*ṣifāt*) of all existents” as the “function of the ten thousand beings” (*wanyou zhi yong*) respectively. The function (*yong*) in Liu Zhi's translation thereby can be understood as two levels of function.

In the translation case of the word *xingqing* 性情, the original sentence reads:

چون صفات و احوال و افعالی که در مظاهر ظاهر است فی الحقیقه مضاف به حق ظاهر در آن مظاهر است.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁵ See note 5199.

⁷⁷⁶ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 60-1 (ch. 34).

⁷⁷⁷ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 101 (ch. 31).

The attributes (*ṣifāt*), states, and acts that are manifest in the loci of manifestation are, in reality, ascribed to the Real that is manifest in these loci of manifestation.⁷⁷⁸

Liu Zhi's translates:

凡諸性情, 氣運, 及諸為作, 顯於一切顯位者, 其實繫真有顯於彼一切顯位也。⁷⁷⁹

Every nature and character (*xingqing*), fate, and every act, which manifest in all the sites of manifestation, are in fact related to the Real Being, who manifests in all those sites of manifestation.

As a compound of *xing* 性 (nature) and *qing* 情 (feeling, character), *xingqing* 性情 appears with the other two compounds *qiyun* 氣運 (fate) and *weizuo* 為作 (every act) in Liu Zhi's translation. The evidence is not sufficient to deduce the reason for Liu Zhi's preference of *xingqing* in this case. Probably he needed a compound for literary beauty or he was inspired by the terminology in the learning of the Book of Changes.⁷⁸⁰

c. *Zāt* and *ṣifāt* – *tī* 體 and *yong* 用

To translate the set pair of terms *zāt* and *ṣifāt* in the *Lavāyih* Liu Zhi only applies “*tī* 體 and *yong* 用” in his *Zhenjing zhaowei* which are considered as prominent concepts in traditional Chinese philosophy.

In the beginning of chapter fifteen⁷⁸¹, Liu Zhi translates:

體用, 不即, 亦不離. 不即言其義, 不離言其實。⁷⁸²

Substance (*tī*) and function (*yong*) are neither approaching nor separating. Not approaching is in terms of their meanings and not separating is in terms of their reality.

⁷⁷⁸ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 200.

⁷⁷⁹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 55 (ch. 32).

⁷⁸⁰ He Pu, *Lingcheng jingyi*, 1a: 宇宙有大關合, 氣運為主; 山川有真性情, 氣勢為先.

⁷⁸¹ Original sentence see note 5222.

⁷⁸² Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 16 (ch. 15). The original sentence see note 5222.

In comparison with the original sentence this translation may probably be considered as a paraphrase rather than a literal translation usually applied by She Qiling. Similar translation strategies can be found in chapter twenty of the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, as the following table shows:

Words in the <i>Lavāyih</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhenjing zhaowei</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	Hanyu pinyin	Chinese	Meaning
<i>ḥaqīqat-i</i> <i>vujūd va šifāt-i</i> <i>ḥaqīqīya-yi ū</i>	حقیقت وجود و صفات حقیقیه او ⁷⁸³	the reality of existence and his real attributes	<i>qī shili zhi</i> <i>tiyong</i>	其實理 之體用 ⁷⁸⁴	the substance and function of his real principle
<i>zātash bā</i> <i>šifāt-i</i> <i>ḥaqīqa-yi khud</i>	ذاتش با صفات حقیقیه خود ⁷⁸⁵	his essence with his real attributes	<i>jiayi benran</i> <i>zhi tiyong</i>	甲乙本 然之體 用 ⁷⁸⁶	the substance and function of the root nature of someone

For most cases of the “*ti* 體 and *yong* 用” in Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei*, in fact we cannot locate the original correspondence, such as the cases in chapters seventeen, twenty, twenty-two, thirty-four and thirty-five. It is likely that we should consider these discussions on the topic of “*ti* and *yong*” as paraphrases of the original text.

In addition we also find “*ti* and *yong*” is used to correspond to other pairs of words.

For example, the original reads:

مراد اندراج اوصاف و لوازم است در موصوف و ملزوم.⁷⁸⁷

What is meant is the inclusion of the descriptions (*awṣāf*) and the requirements (*lavāzim*) in the described thing and the requirer.⁷⁸⁸

And Liu Zhi translates:

⁷⁸³ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 78 (ch. 20).

⁷⁸⁴ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 29 (ch. 20).

⁷⁸⁵ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 78 (ch. 20).

⁷⁸⁶ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 30 (ch. 20).

⁷⁸⁷ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 77 (ch. 19).

⁷⁸⁸ Translation amended from Murata, *Gleams*, 168.

乃用蘊於體，固然蘊於所以然也。⁷⁸⁹

It is that the function (*yong*) is contained in the body (*ti*), and the original nature is contained in the reasoned nature.

According to Liu Zhi's translation the pair of concepts "*ti* 體 and *yong* 用" here does not refer to the "essence (*zāt*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*)", but to the pair of concepts "descriptions (*awṣāf*) and described (*mawṣūf*)".

It seems that Liu Zhi makes his exclusive choice of the pair of concepts "*ti* 體 and *yong* 用" whereas She Qiling applies both pairs of concepts "*ti* 體 and *yong* 用" and "*benran* 本然 and *dongjing* 動靜". The pair of concepts "*ti* 體 and *yong* 用" in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* does not only correspond to the "essence (*zāt*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*)" in the *Lavāyih*, but also appears in the translator's free translations. In his *Zhenjing zhaowei* Liu Zhi even entitles two chapters with the "*ti* and *yong*", one is chapter fifteen "*tiyong* 體用" and the other is chapter thirty-five "*tiyong he* 體用合" (the unity of *tiyong*).

d. *Ism* / *ismā'* and "*ismā' va ṣifāt*"

In the *Lavāyih* the term *ism* (name) appears only four times including twice in the quatrains.⁷⁹⁰ For *ism* appearing in the prose Liu Zhi translates as *ming* 名 (name). The plural form *ismā'* (including other forms like *ismāyī* and *isāmī*) occurs ten times, five times of which is written in the fixed phrase "*ismā' va ṣifāt*" (names and attributes).

⁷⁸⁹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 27 (ch. 19).

⁷⁹⁰ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 68 (ch. 14), 70 (ch. 16), 92 (ch. 26).

The correspondence of the terms *ismā'* and the phrase "*ismā' va šifāt*" (including other forms) shows as below:

Words in the <i>Lavāyih</i>			Correspondence in the <i>Zhenjing zhaowei</i>		
Transcription	Persian/Arabic	Meaning	<i>Hanyu pinyin</i>	Chinese	Meaning
<i>ismā' / isāmī</i> <i>/ ismāyī</i>	اسماء / اسماء 791 اسمایی	names	<i>zhenyou mingmu</i>	真有名目 ⁷⁹²	the names of the Real Being
			<i>ming</i>	名 ⁷⁹³	name
			<i>mingmu</i>	名目 ⁷⁹⁴	names
			<i>zhu ming</i>	諸名 ⁷⁹⁵	every name
<i>ismā' va šifāt</i>	796 اسماء و صفات	names and attributes	<i>mingmu chengbiao</i>	名目稱表 ⁷⁹⁷	names ⁷⁹⁸
			<i>ming [...] ni</i>	名 [...] 擬 ⁷⁹⁹	name ... similar to
			<i>tiyong zhi ming</i>	體用之名 ⁸⁰⁰	the name of substance and function
<i>isāmī va šifāt</i>	اسمائی و صفات ⁸⁰¹	names and attributes	<i>mingcheng</i>	名稱 ⁸⁰²	names
<i>al-ismā'</i> <i>al-šifāt</i>	الاسماء و الصفات ⁸⁰³	names and attributes	<i>zhu ming, suozhi zhi xiang</i>	諸名, 所知之象 ⁸⁰⁴	every name, acknowledged image

Normally Liu Zhi translates *ismā'* into the monosyllabic word *ming* 名 (name) or into the compound *mingmu* 名目 (names). Since the term *ismā'* normally refers to the

⁷⁹¹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 69 (ch. 15), 70 (ch. 16), 72-3 (ch. 17), 80 (ch. 21), 83 (ch. 23), 85 (ch. 24), 91 (ch. 26).

⁷⁹² Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 22 (ch. 17).

⁷⁹³ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 32 (ch. 22).

⁷⁹⁴ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 38 (ch. 25).

⁷⁹⁵ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 47 (ch. 27).

⁷⁹⁶ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 69 (ch. 15), 70 (ch. 16), 72 (ch. 17).

⁷⁹⁷ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 17 (ch. 15).

⁷⁹⁸ Each character of *mingmu chengbiao* refers to the meaning of name, probably indicating the plural form of "name".

⁷⁹⁹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 17 (ch. 16).

⁸⁰⁰ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 20 (ch. 17).

⁸⁰¹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 83 (ch. 23).

⁸⁰² Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 35 (ch. 24).

⁸⁰³ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 72 (ch. 17).

⁸⁰⁴ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 20 (ch. 17).

“divine Names” in the *Lavāyih*, Liu Zhi once translates this term as *zhenyou mingmu* 真有名目 (the names of the Real Being) which is an indication of his understanding of *ming* as “divine Names”.

To indicate the plural form Liu Zhi applies the same strategy of applying the plural marker *zhu* 諸 in front of *ming*. Besides, we also notice that in some cases Liu Zhi applies the synonyms of *ming* such as *mu* 目, *cheng* 稱 and *biao* 表 in association with *ming*. The combination of these synonyms can be considered as the translator’s strategy in dealing with the plural form *ismā’* (names).

As for the phrase “*ismā’ va şifāt*”, unlike She Qiling’s consistent translation of this phrase as “*mingse dongjing* 名色動靜” or “*zunming dongjing* 尊名動靜” in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, Liu Zhi’s five translations vary with each other. Corresponding to the five appearances of “*ismā’ va şifāt*”, Liu Zhi consistently translates the term *ismā’* into *ming* 名 or *mingmu* 名目 whereas he chooses different options in translating the term *şifāt*. It is likely that Liu Zhi does not intend to address this pair of concepts in his *Zhenjing zhaowei*.

e. *Zāt, şifat* and *ism* in the *Tianfang xingli*

In the “Benjing” section where Liu Zhi paraphrases the ideas with the reference of the *Lavāyih* and the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, we find Liu Zhi consistently applies *ti* 體, *benran* 本然, *yong* 用 and *cheng* 稱 in his own writing.⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰⁵ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, “Benjing” 1 (ch. 1), 2 (ch. 2), 4-5 (ch. 4), 5-6 (ch. 5).

In the beginning of the “Benjing”, Liu Zhi writes:

最初無稱，真體無著 [...] 妙用斯渾，唯體運用，作為始出。(昭微經)⁸⁰⁶

In the beginning there is no name (*cheng*), and the substance (*ti*) of the Real is unattached (*wuzhuo*). [...] The subtle function (*yong*) are all integrated. Only the substance (*ti*) utilizes the function (*yong*) and creates the appearance in the form of the action (*wei*). (*Zhaowei jing*)

Although Liu Zhi indicates that the source of the above sentence is the *Lavāyih*, it is unlikely that we can locate the original sentences exactly. Considering this sentence as a paraphrase, Liu Zhi’s writing probably refers to Jāmī’s interpretation in chapters sixteen, seventeen and twenty-four of the *Lavāyih* where Jāmī discusses the creation of the beginning of the world. Accordingly, the pair of concepts “*ti* 體 and *yong* 用” in the *Tianfang xingli* in all probability corresponds to the “*zāt* (essence) and *ṣifāt* (attributes)” in the original treatise.

In another case “*ti* 體 and *yong* 用” is applied by Liu Zhi in a sentence and Liu Zhi refers its source to the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*. Liu Zhi writes:

理同氣異，以辨愚智。體圓用虧，以適時宜。(費隱經)⁸⁰⁷

The principle (*li*) is different from the material force (*qi*) in order to distinguish the fool and wise. The substance (*ti*) is complete and the function (*yong*) is deficient in order to suit the appropriate time. (*Feiyin jing*)

By comparing with *Zhaoyuan mijue*, the words *li* 理 (principle), *qi* 氣 (material force) and *zhi* 智 (wise) echo She Qiling’s translation of a quatrain. The original quatrain in the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt* reads:

عشق است برون ز پرده نور و ظلام

⁸⁰⁶ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, “Benjing”, 1 (ch. 1).

⁸⁰⁷ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, “Benjing”, 2 (ch. 2).

خارج ز احاطه عقول و افهام
خواهم که بخوانمش به صد نام اما
او برتر از آن است که گنجد در نام⁸⁰⁸

It is the love, without the veils of lightness and darkness,
outside of environment of the intellect and understanding;
I want to call him by his one hundred names, but
He is more superb than which is included in his names.

She Qiling's translation reads:

事著幽 (理也) 明 (氣也) 不受囿，
豈因才智便拘留。
欲將千號稱尊闕，
無那玄高不可求。⁸⁰⁹

Thing is not confined by its appearance of the darkness (you) (meaning li) and brightness (ming) (meaning qi),
how could it be restricted because of the ability and wisdom (zhi).
Wish to call the respected by one thousand names,
[but] at last it is too high to obtain.

With regard to the first verse of this poem She Qiling provides an additional gloss in which he explains the words *you* 幽 and *ming* 明. The word *you* 幽 corresponding to the original word *ẓlam* ظلام (darkness) is annotated by the writer as *li* 理 (principle).⁸¹⁰ The word *ming* 明 corresponding to the word *nūr* نور (lightness) in the original poem is explained as *qi* 氣 (material force).⁸¹¹ The appearance of *li* 理, *qi* 氣 and *zhi* 智 in both the *Zhaoyuan mijue* and the *Tianfang xingli* indicates the probable relationship between She Qiling's translation and Liu Zhi's work. Although Liu Zhi's paraphrase does not cohere exactly with the original treatise and She Qiling's translation, we can still make an assumption here that Liu Zhi consulted She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue* when he wrote the *Tianfang xingli*.

⁸⁰⁸ Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt*, 53 ("Praise").

⁸⁰⁹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:21b ("You benxu").

⁸¹⁰ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, "You benxu".

⁸¹¹ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, "You benxu".

For the appearance of the concepts “*ti* 體 and *yong* 用” in this sentence we cannot find correspondence in the Persian text or in She Qiling’s translation. Based on Liu Zhi’s translation strategy in the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, this pair of terms probably corresponds to the “*zāt* and *ṣifāt*” in the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*.

In another sentence which is said to be based on the *Lavāyih* and the *Ashi’at al-Lama’āt*, Liu Zhi writes in the *Tianfang xingli*:

本然無著，著於名相。名相無附，附於意識。意識無恒，故曰皆朽。(昭微經，又費隱經)⁸¹²

Root nature (*benran*) has no trace (*wuzhuo*), but is displayed on the names (*mingxiang*). The names (*mingxiang*) have no attachment, but are attached to the faculty of mind (*yishi*). The faculty of mind (*yishi*) is not permanent, so it is said that all is decayed (*xiu*). (*Zhaowei jing*, and *Feiyin jing*)

By comparing with the full Chinese translation works we can relate this paragraph in the *Tianfang xingli* to Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei* and She Qiling’s *Zhaoyuan mijue*. The first part of this sentence echoes Liu Zhi’s discussion of the relationship between “*benran* 本然” (root nature) and “*mingxiang* 名相” (names) in chapter eighteen of the *Zhenjing zhaowei*.⁸¹³ And the second part reflects She Qiling’s translation in chapter twenty-eight of the *Zhaoyuan mijue* which is written on the similar theme and read as “everything is decayed (*xiu* 朽), and only the wondrous root (*miaoben*) is undecayed”⁸¹⁴.

⁸¹² Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, “Benjing”, 5-6 (ch. 5).

⁸¹³ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 26-27 (ch. 18): 再揭去分別一切知能之名相，總為一真圓通之本然而已。止一真有也，而所顯之名相不同也。

⁸¹⁴ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:74a (ch. 28): 凡物皆朽，唯物之妙本不朽也。

In the light of the correspondence of “*benran* 本然 (root nature) and *zāt* (essence)” and “*mingxiang* 名相 (names) and *ismā’* (names)”⁸¹⁵ in Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei*, it is reasonable to believe that *benran* and *mingxiang* in the *Tianfang xingli* also refer to the Persian terms *zāt* and *ismā’*.

Besides *benran* 本然, *ti* 體 and *yong* 用 in the “Benjing”, we cannot identify other correspondence for the terms *zāt*, *ṣifat* and *ism* in the *Lavāyih* and the *Ashī’at al-Lama’āt*. The other translation options used by She Qiling and Liu Zhi in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* and *Zhenjing zhaowei* such as *dongjing* 動靜, *mingse* 名色 and *zunming* 尊名 do not appear in Liu Zhi’s *Tianfang xingli*.

f. Conclusion

By comparing Jāmī’s *Lavāyih* with Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei*, several points can be concluded. Firstly, the translator consistently prefers the monosyllabic words like *ti*, *yong*, and *ming* to translate the Persian terms *zāt* (essence), *ism* (name) and *ṣifat* (attribute). Secondly, Liu Zhi probably deploys a different strategy to indicate the plural form *ismā’* (names). Other than the application of the word *zhu*, Liu Zhi chooses the compounds containing a number of synonyms such as *mingmu* or *mingmu chengbiao*. These synonyms structurally compose a repetition of “name” in one compound and thus this compound can be considered as a plural form “names”.

⁸¹⁵ The word *mingxiang* 名相, normally a technical term in the Buddhist sutras, only appears in chapter eighteen of Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei*. Although we cannot find any correspondence including the original *ism* (name) or *ismā’* (names) in the *Lavāyih*, we consider this word denotes to “name” because it contains the monosyllabic word *ming* 名 (name).

Thirdly, although Liu Zhi also chooses *benran* to correspond to *zāt* as She Qiling does in his *Zhaoyuan mijue*, Liu does not apply *benran* in the discussion of “*zāt* (essence) and *şifat* (attribute)”. Alternatively, “*ti* and *yong*” appears as a popular pair of concepts pervading in Liu Zhi’s *Zhenjing zhaowei*. Besides corresponding to “*zāt* (essence) and *şifat* (attribute)”, “*ti* and *yong*” is found in the translation of other terms like “descriptions (*awşāf*) and described (*mawşūf*)”. In some cases we can only consider “*ti* and *yong*” as a free translation due to the absent of the original correspondence. Moreover, Liu Zhi’s preference of “*ti* and *yong*” is also reflected in the “Benjing” of his *Tianfang xingli*.

4) *Zāt*, *şifat* and *ism* in the Chinese context

a. Terms in the Chinese Islamic texts

Based on the discussion of the terms “*zāt* (essence), *şifat* (attribute) and *ism* (name)” in She Qiling and Liu Zhi’s translations and writings, we summarize the most frequent choices of correspondence in the following table:

Jāmī	She Qiling	Liu Zhi
<i>zāt</i> (essence)	<i>benran</i> 本然	<i>benran</i> 本然
	<i>ti</i> 體	<i>ti</i> 體
<i>şifat</i> (attribute)	<i>dongjing</i> 動靜	<i>yong</i> 用
	<i>yong</i> 用	
<i>ism</i> (name)	<i>zunming</i> 尊名	<i>ming</i> 名
	<i>mingse</i> 名色	

a) Wang Daiyu

As the author of the first Chinese Islamic text in history, Wang Daiyu has already applied *benran* 本然 and *dongjing* 動靜 in the seventeenth century. As Wang writes in his *Qingzhen daxue* 清真大學:

[真主] 本與萬物無幹，而有三品作證：曰“本然”，曰“本分”，曰“本為”。⁸¹⁶

Root (*ben*) has nothing to do with ten thousand things, but is testified through three levels, one is root nature (*benran*), one is original separation (*benfen*) and one is original action (*benwei*).

To elaborate *benran* 本然 Wang Daiyu further writes:

所謂本然者，原有無始，久遠無終，不屬陰陽，本無對待。獨一至尊，別無一物 [...] 此真主原有之本然也。⁸¹⁷

What is called root nature (*benran*), is the original Being (*yuanyou*) which has no beginning. [It is] far away and has no end. [It] does not belong to *yin* and *yang* and originally has no relations. It is the One and the most respectful, and [it] has no additional thing. [...] This is the root nature (*benran*) of the God's original Being (*yuanyou*).

According to Wang Daiyu's interpretation, *benran* 本然 is applied to refer to the "Essence on the divine level" which has no beginning and end and "has nothing to do with ten thousand things". Lower than *benran* the second level of the Real is *benfen* 本分, which is interpreted by Wang Daiyu as "the movement and stillness (*dongjing* 動靜) of the root nature (*benran*)"⁸¹⁸.

In the *Zhengjiao zhenquan* 正教真詮 Wang Daiyu explains *dongjing* 動靜 as follows:

⁸¹⁶ Wang Daiyu, *Qingzhen daxue*, 233.

⁸¹⁷ Wang Daiyu, *Qingzhen daxue*, 233.

⁸¹⁸ Wang Daiyu, *Qingzhen daxue*, 233: 所謂本分者，乃本然之動靜.

未發之謂靜，已發之謂動。靜為本體，動為作用。正於發與未發之間，謂之動靜。⁸¹⁹

What has not yet acted is called stillness (*jing*) and what has already acted is called movement (*dong*). The stillness (*jing*) is the root substance (*benti*) and the movement (*dong*) is the affair's attributes (*zuoyong*). What is just in the middle of which is acting and which has not yet acted is called movement and stillness (*dongjing*).

According to his interpretation, *jing* 靜 is viewed as the “root substance” (*benti* 本體) and *dong* 動 as the “affair's attributes” (*zuoyong* 作用). The level of *benfen* 本分, which is considered as the “*dongjing* of the *benran*”, is neither *dong* nor *jing*, but stays in the middle of *dong* and *jing*, or in other words, in the middle of *benti* and *zuoyong*.

The third level of the Real is *benwei* 本為 which is also called “the existence of ability” (*nengyou* 能有)⁸²⁰. On the level of *benwei* the “movement (*dong* 動) of *benran*” leaves the traces (*ji* 跡) of the Real. During this process as Wang Daiyu says, “*ti* 體 and *yong* 用 begin to separate from each other.”⁸²¹ Thus Wang Daiyu draws the concepts “*ti* and *yong*” into his discussion of “*benran* and *dongjing*”. Based on Wang Daiyu's interpretation the separation of “*ti* and *yong*” can be considered as the separation of “*benti* and *zuoyong*”. The words *ti* and *yong*, therefore, are in all probability used as the abbreviation of the words *benti* 本體 and *zuoyong* 作用.

Wang Daiyu's <i>Qingzhen daxue</i>			Wang Daiyu's <i>Zhengjiao zhenquan</i>	
<i>benran</i> 本然	<i>yuanyou</i> 原有	<i>ti</i> 體	<i>jing</i> 靜	<i>benti</i> 本體
<i>benfen</i> 本分	<i>(benran zhi) dongjing</i> (本然之) 動靜		<i>dongjing</i> 動靜	
<i>benwei</i> 本為	<i>nengyou</i> 能有	<i>yong</i> 用	<i>dong</i> 動	<i>zuoyong</i> 作用 / <i>weizuo</i> 為作

To sum up, as the above table shows *benran* 本然 in Wang Daiyu's writings refers to the “divine Essence” which has no beginning and end, and cannot be witnessed and

⁸¹⁹ Wang Daiyu, *Zhengjiao zhenquan*, 21.

⁸²⁰ Wang Daiyu, *Qingzhen daxue*, 234-5.

⁸²¹ Wang Daiyu, *Qingzhen daxue*, 235: 此際始分體用.

known. As the “*dongjing* 動靜 of *benran*”, *benfen* 本分 is the second level which stays in the middle of *jing* 靜 and *dong* 動 and is only known by the Real. As the third level *benwei* 本為 is the “*dong* 動 of *benran*”. On the level of *benwei* the Real moves and leaves Its traces. In the three-level model established by Wang Daiyu, we notice that the writer deploys various terms in his interpretation. Among these terms *benran* 本然 and *dongjing* 動靜 are considered as the cardinal concepts whereas *ti* 體 and *yong* 用 appear much less. It is most likely *ti* and *yong* in Wang Daiyu’s writings are used in the interpretation of *benran* and *dongjing* and have not yet been considered as an independent pair of concepts.

b) She Qiling

As a successor of Wang Daiyu, She Qiling also applies “*benran* 本然 and *dongjing* 動靜” and “*ti* 體 and *yong* 用” in his three-level model. Compared with Wang Daiyu’s writings, however, the application and meanings of these terms have changed in She Qiling’s translation.

Firstly, She Qiling narrows down the number of terms in his interpretation of the three-level model. Meanwhile, the frequency of the use of “*ti* and *yong*” increases in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, indicating the elevation of its importance. As the same as “*benran* 本然 and *dongjing* 動靜”, “*ti* 體 and *yong* 用” becomes the cardinal concept in She Qiling’s translation.

Secondly, the meanings of *dongjing* 動靜 and *yong* 用 in She Qiling’s translation

differ from Wang Daiyu's interpretation. According to the comparison with Jāmī's original treatise, both *benran* 本然 and *ti* 體 in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* refer to *zāt* (essence) while *dongjing* 動靜 and *yong* 用 denote *ṣifat* (attribute). As we have discussed before *benran* in She Qiling's translation refers specifically to the "divine Essence" and *ti* is used to indicate the "essence on divine level and in sensible world". The meaning of *benran* and *ti* are both similar to Wang Daiyu's understanding.

Serving as a compound in the *Zhaoyuan mijue* the term *dongjing* 動靜 is not discussed on the level of the literal meaning of each component word *dong* 動 (movement) and *jing* 靜 (stillness). In fact, we rarely perceive the discussion on the interaction of *dong* 動 and *jing* 靜 by viewing them as two independent words in She Qiling's translation.⁸²² It seems that *dongjing* is coined by the translator as a compound referring to the "attribute" whereas the meaning of each character in this compound has faded out.

Considering it as the identical term of *dongjing* 動靜, *yong* 用 also refers to the "attribute of the Real and the things" in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*. The interaction of *dongjing* and *yong* pervades throughout She Qiling's translation. One of the instances reads:

即如孤禿勒古魯畢 قوت القلوب 之作者，主以動靜蔽其體，而以諸所為蔽其用也。(其義能知其動靜，而不能知其本然，能見其所為，而不能見其動靜也) 本然受動靜之遮，而動靜受所為之蔽也。⁸²³

⁸²² The only two discussions of the interaction of *dong* and *jing* appear in the annotations. (See She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:34a ("You benxu"), 2:35a (16))

⁸²³ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 2:19b (ch. 13).

As the author of the *Gutule gulubi* (*Qūt al-qulūb*⁸²⁴) [says], Lord covers Its substance (*ti*) by the movement and stillness (*dongjing*), and cover Its function (*yong*) by every being acted (*suowei*). (It means that [human] is able to know Its movement and stillness (*dongjing*), but cannot know Its root nature (*benran*); is able to witness Its being acted (*suowei*), but cannot witness Its movement and stillness (*dongjing*).) The root nature (*benran*) is covered by the movement and stillness (*dongjing*), and the movement and stillness (*dongjing*) is covered by being acted (*suowei*).

Based on She Qiling’s translation, we can construct the following table to illustrate his three-level model along with Wang Daiyu’s previous one:

Wang Daiyu		Wang Daiyu	She Qiling		Wang Daiyu	She Qiling
<i>benran</i> 本然		<i>benran</i> 本然	<i>benran</i> 本然		<i>benti</i> 本體 / <i>ti</i> 體	<i>ti</i> 體
<i>benfen</i> 本分		<i>dongjing</i> 動靜	<i>dongjing</i> 動靜		<i>dongjing</i> 動靜	<i>yong</i> 用
<i>benwei</i> 本為		<i>weizuo</i> 為作	<i>suowei</i> 所為 ⁸²⁵		<i>zuoyong</i> 作用 / <i>yong</i> 用	<i>suowei</i> 所為

The table shows that *yong* 用 in She Qiling’s text denotes the second level whereas it refers to the third level in Wang Daiyu’s model. The discussion on the “*ti* and *yong*” by She Qiling thereby differs from his predecessor Wang Daiyu.

In addition, corresponding to the term *ism* / *ismā’* (name / names) She Qiling applies *zunming* 尊名 and *mingse* 名色 in his translation. Based on Jāmī’s interpretation, the “names” refers to the “ninety-nine names of God” and is identical to the “attributes” (*ṣifāt*). That is why Jāmī combines these two terms together to make a set phrase “*ismā’ va ṣifāt*” (names and attributes) in his treatise.

⁸²⁴ The *Qūt al-qulūb* (Nourishment of Hearts) is an early Sufi text written by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 996). “It was one of the most widely read attempts in early Islam to explain the rules which should govern the inner life as well as demonstrate the harmony of the science of the inner life with the more outward or ‘exoteric’ formulations of Islam.” (Khalil, “Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī & the Nourishment of Hearts (*Qūt al-qulūb*) in the Context of Early Sufism”, 1.)

⁸²⁵ In this translation case, we can locate the correspondence of the word *suowei* in the original text, which is the word *af’āl* افعال (actions, the plural form of *fi’l* فعل).

We do not find the appearance of *zunming* 尊名 in the Chinese Islamic texts written before She Qiling. The word *mingse* 名色 appears only once in Wang Daiyu's texts:

此輩外表雖人，無非名色而已，豈能作証於真一乎？⁸²⁶

This kind [of people], their appearance is human, but they are no more than names and colour (*mingse*). How are they able to testify to the Real One?

Here Wang Daiyu views *mingse* 名色 as the attributes other than the Real. We are unable to tell whether She Qiling ever contextualizes Wang's texts, but *mingse* in She Qiling's *Zhaoyuan mijue* can be considered as having the similar meaning. Although Jāmī uses *ismā'* (names) and *ṣifāt* (attributes) as synonyms, we notice that She Qiling annotates their corresponding words *mingse* 名色 and *dongjing* 動靜 in order to differentiate them from each other. She Qiling writes:

名色動靜二者，似一而二也。蓋因未發之宜，謂之動靜也；已發之成，謂之名色也。⁸²⁷

Name and colour (*mingse*), movement and stillness (*dongjing*), these two are like one but [they] are actually two. Because the action of which has not yet acted is called movement and stillness (*dongjing*); the result of what has already acted is called name and colour (*mingse*).

Based on his annotation She Qiling develops Jāmī's interpretation of "*ismā' va ṣifāt*" (names and attributes) and enriches the three-level model by his own understanding.

c) Liu Zhi

Corresponding to "*zāt* (essence), *ṣifat* (attribute) and *ism* (name)", Liu Zhi's choice of *ti* 體, *yong* 用 and *ming* 名 in his *Zhenjing zhaowei* and *Tianfang xingli* attests to his

⁸²⁶ Wang Daiyu, *Qingzhen daxue*, 230.

⁸²⁷ She Qiling, *Zhaoyuan mijue*, 1:40a (ch. 1).

preference for monosyllabic words. As we have discussed before, it seems that Liu Zhi does not view *ming* 名 as a cardinal concept in his writings.

We also notice the character *dong* 動 appears in Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei*, but corresponds to *harakat*⁸²⁸ (movement) and *ta'ayun*⁸²⁹ (entification). The formal correspondence is based on the literal meaning of *dong* and the latter word indicates the philosophical interpretation. Meanwhile we do not find the appearance of *jing* 靜 in Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei*. To correspond to a pair of words "*harakat* and *sakinat*" (movement and stillness) Liu Zhi applies "*dong* and *zhi* 止 (stop)". Probably Liu Zhi intentionally avoids the application of *jing* in his translation. However, in his own Islamic writing *Tianfang xingli*, we observe a number of appearances of *jing* and in one case Liu Zhi discusses *dongjing* in association with *benran*.⁸³⁰

In the *Zhenjing zhaowei* Liu Zhi gives more importance to the discussion of "*ti* and *yong*". He writes:

總一真也，實有其體，知能其用，顯用其為，著象其跡。⁸³¹

In general, it is the Real One. The real existence is Its substance (*ti*). The knowledge and ability are its functions (*yong*). The manifestation of the function (*yong*) is Its action (*wei*)⁸³². The display of the image is Its trace (*ji*).

Based on this interpretation Liu Zhi builds up the three-level model with his own terms. In his *Tianfang xingli* Liu Zhi even draws a diagram called "*Zhenyi sanpin tu* 真一

⁸²⁸ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 79 (ch. 21); Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 31 (ch. 21).

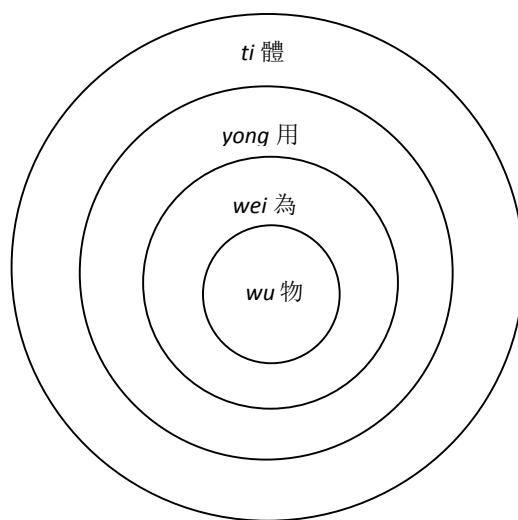
⁸²⁹ Jāmī, *Lavāyih*, 72 (ch. 17); Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 19 (ch. 17).

⁸³⁰ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, 4:34.

⁸³¹ Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, 61 (ch. 35).

⁸³² Liu Zhi applies the word *wei* 為 to correspond the original *fi'l* (action), which is translated as *suowei* in She Qiling's translation.

三品圖” (the Diagram of the Oneness of the Real and Its Three Levels) to illustrate the three-level model:



To explain this diagram Liu Zhi writes:

冥冥不可得而見之中，有真一焉，萬有之主宰也。其寂然無著者，謂之曰體，其黨照無遺者，謂之曰用；其分數不爽者，謂之曰為。故稱三品焉。用起於體，為起於用，是為由內而達外之敘；為不離用，用不離體，是為異名而同實之精。⁸³³

In the dimness where nothing can be obtained and seen, there is the oneness of the Real (*zhenyi*) which is the lord of the ten thousand existences. The one which is quietly with no trace is called substance (*ti*); the understanding illumination which is without missing anything is called function (*yong*); Its countableness which has no mistakes is called action (*wei*). So [these] are called three levels. Function (*yong*) is derived from substance (*ti*) and action (*wei*) is derived from function (*yong*), which is the order from the inside to the outside. Action (*wei*) cannot be separated from function (*yong*) and function (*yong*) cannot be separated from substance (*ti*), which reflects the spirit of the different names in the same fact.

Unlike Wang Daiyu and She Qiling who applied a variety of words in the model, Liu Zhi uses “*ti*, *yong* and *wei*” consistently in his writings, including both his translation works and original works like the *Tianfang xingli* and *Tianfang zimu jieyi*⁸³⁴.

⁸³³ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, 5:3.

⁸³⁴ Liu Zhi, *Tianfang zimu jieyi*, 11: ▪ [one dot] 一點體也, ▪▪ [two dots] 二點體與用也, ▪▪▪ [three dots] 三 ▪ [dots] 體用與為也.

d) Conclusion

By studying the corresponding terms of *zāt* (essence), *ṣifat* (attribute) and *ism* (name) in the Chinese Islamic texts, we find that *benran* 本然, *dongjing* 動靜, *ti* 體, *yong* 用 and *mingse* 名色 have appeared in Wang Daiyu's texts. Most of these terms are used in the interpretation of the three-level model of the Real. From Wang Daiyu to She Qiling and then to Liu Zhi we notice that the number of terms used in the interpretation decreased chronologically. During this process the frequency of the use of "*ti* and *yong*" increased generally whereas the importance of "*benran* and *dongjing*" tends to decrease. In Liu Zhi's writings "*ti* and *yong*" has become the translator's only choice. Meanwhile the meaning and function of *dongjing* and *yong* changed. The word *dongjing* sheds the meaning of its component words *dong* and *jing* and was coined by She Qiling as a compound referring to the attribute. Considered as the abbreviation of *zuoyong* on the third level in Wang Daiyu's texts, the word *yong* in She Qiling and Liu Zhi's texts refers to attribute which is on the second level. Moreover, *ism* (or plural form *ismā'*) was only translated entirely and discussed adequately in She Qiling's translation but did not engage Wang Daiyu and Liu Zhi's interest.

b. Terms in traditional Chinese philosophy

a) *Benran* 本然 and *dongjing* 動靜

The word *benran* 本然 is widely found in Chinese philosophical texts. In Zhu Xi's interpretation of Zhou Dunyi's *Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說 (Explanation of the Diagram of

the Great Ultimate)⁸³⁵, *benran* has been already discussed in association with *dongjing*

動靜. Zhu Xi writes:

太極者本然之妙, 動靜者所乘之機.⁸³⁶

The Great Ultimate means the subtlety that is the nature / likeness of the root (*benran*), the movement and stillness (*dongjing*) means the opportunity that is exploited (*cheng*).

According to the meaning of this sentence *benran* is likely to be read as a combination of a noun *ben* 本 (root / origin) and an auxiliary word *ran* 然, referring to nature or the likeness of the root. In another case where *ben* and *ran* appear together, Zhu Xi writes:

問: “太極始於陽動乎?” 曰: “陰靜是太極之本, 然陰靜又自陽動而生. 一靜一動, 便是一箇闢闔.”⁸³⁷

[The student] asks: “Does the Great Ultimate begins from the movement (*dong*) of the *yang*?” [Zhu Xi] answers: “Stillness (*jing*) of the *yin* is the root (*ben*) of the Great Ultimate, but (*ran*) the stillness (*jing*) of the *yin* at the same time generates from the movement (*dong*) of the *yang*. One stillness (*jing*) and one movement (*dong*) become one process of open and close.”

Here Zhu Xi discusses the “*ben* 本 of the Great Ultimate” and its relationship with the “*jing* 靜 of the *yin*” and the “*dong* 動 of the *yang*”. Based on a reading of this short passage, “*benran*” is not a compound word and is de facto divided in two sentences. From the fewer occurrences of *benran* in Zhu Xi’s writings, we can find that this term neither plays a necessary function nor denotes a central concept.

In the meantime “*dong* and *jing*” appears as a frequent pair of concepts in the

⁸³⁵ Zhou Dunyi writes: 太極動而生陽, 動極而靜. (When the Great Ultimate moves (*dong*), it generates the *yang*. When its movement (*dong*) is extreme, there is stillness (*jing*).) (See Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 6, 94:2372.)

⁸³⁶ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 6, 94:2370.

⁸³⁷ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 6, 94:2366.

discussion of the Great Ultimate in Zhu Xi's treatise. The diagram of the Great Ultimate illustrated in the *Taiji tushuo* is said to be inspired by the Daoist master Chen Tuan's 陳搏 (ca. 920--89) *Yijing* 易經 studies⁸³⁸ and obtained from the Buddhist scholar Mu Xiu 穆修 (979-1032) and the Buddhist master Shouya 壽涯 (unknown). In his commentary Zhu Xi interprets the Great Ultimate as the *li* 理 (principle) and thus draws the Great Ultimate into the Neo-Confucian canon, as he writes in the *Zhuzi yulei*⁸³⁹:

太極只是理，理不可以動靜言，惟“動而生陽，靜而生陰”。理寓於氣，不能無動靜所乘之機。乘如乘載之“乘”。其動靜者，乃乘載在氣上，不覺動了靜，靜了又動。⁸⁴⁰

The Great Ultimate is only the principle (*li*). The principle (*li*) cannot be considered as movement (*dong*) or stillness (*jing*), [because] only “the movement (*dong*) generates *yang* and the stillness (*jing*) generates *yin*”. The principle (*li*) resides within the material force (*qi*) and is not able to be without the opportunity that is exploited by the movement and stillness (*dongjing*). The “exploitation (*cheng*)” is as the same as the character *cheng* referring to “ride”. The movement and stillness (*dongjing*) rides upon the material force (*qi*) and is unconscious that movement (*dong*) turns into stillness (*jing*) and stillness (*jing*) turns into movement (*dong*).

In his interpretation of *dongjing* 動靜 Zhu Xi thinks that the movement (*dong*) and the stillness (*jing*) “carry opposite meanings”⁸⁴¹, but at the same time interact with each other. The stillness (*jing* 靜) of the Great Ultimate gives birth to the *yin* 陰 and its movement (*dong* 動) gives birth to the *yang* 陽. “Within the stillness (*jing*) of the *yin*, there is the root of the movement (*dong*) of *yang*. Within the movement (*dong*) of the

⁸³⁸ See Livia Kohn's entry “Chen Tuan” in Pregadio, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 258.

⁸³⁹ Zhu Xi takes great importance of the *Taiji tushuo* and his interpretation of this treatise can be found in many of his works, such as the *Taiji tushuo jie* and the *Zhuzi yulei*.

⁸⁴⁰ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vo. 6, 94:2370.

⁸⁴¹ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi wenji*, vol. 4, 42:1804: “動靜”二字，相為對待 [...] 乃天理之自然。

yang, there is also the root of the stillness (*jing*) of the *yin*".⁸⁴²

Therefore, the word *dongjing* 動靜 in Zhu Xi's writings contains the literal meaning of each character *dong* 動 and *jing* 靜. Compared with the Chinese Islamic texts which were made about five hundred later, the application of the *dongjing* in Zhu Xi's commentary is similar to Wang Daiyu's writings.

From a philosophical perspective Zhu Xi thinks that the Great Ultimate "has no direction and location, no shape and structure, and no place and position to be placed."⁸⁴³ The movement (*dong*) and stillness (*jing*) are "not the Great Ultimate"⁸⁴⁴ and are "only on the physical level."⁸⁴⁵ Zhu Xi's opinion echoes She Qiling's discussion on the "*benran* and *dongjing*"⁸⁴⁶. The Islamic interpretation of *benran* stands for the "only divine Essence" which is possessed by the Real while the movement and stillness (*dongjing* 動靜) refers to the attributes and characteristics of the Real, just as the "veils of root nature (*benran*)"⁸⁴⁷.

b) *Tiyong* 體用 and *dongjing* 動靜

Tiyong 體用

Serving as a cardinal pair of philosophical concepts, the discussion of "*ti* 體 and

⁸⁴² Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 6, 94:2376: 陰靜之中，自有陽動之根。陽動之中，又有陰靜之根。

⁸⁴³ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 6, 94:2369: 太極無方所，無形體，無地位可頓放。

⁸⁴⁴ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 6, 94:2369: 但動靜非太極耳。

⁸⁴⁵ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 6, 94:2369: 動靜陰陽，皆只是形而下者。

⁸⁴⁶ See note 5233.

⁸⁴⁷ See note 700.

yong 用” in Neo-Confucianism probably began to appear in Zhang Zai’s critique of the Buddhist idea “*tiyong shujue* 體用殊絕” (the substance and the function are different and distant).⁸⁴⁸ Cheng Yi later developed this idea by adding that “*tiyong yiyuan* 體用一源” (the substance and the function have one origin).⁸⁴⁹ Zhu Xi contributed his interpretation of “*tiyong yiyuan*” by considering *ti* 體 as the principle (*li* 理) and he wrote:

“體用一源”者，自理而觀，則理為體，象為用，而理中有象，是“一源”也。⁸⁵⁰

“*Tiyong yiyuan*”, studied from the principle (*li*), is where the principle (*li*) is the substance (*ti*) and the image (*xiang*) is the function (*yong*). In the midst of the principle (*li*) there is the image (*xiang*), so there is “one origin (*yiyuan*)”.

When the theme of Neo-Confucianism changed from the learning of principle to the *Xinxue* 心學 (learning of the mind/heart), some scholars like Wang Shouren interpreted “*tiyong yiyuan* 體用一源” by emphasizing the unity of *ti* and *yong*.⁸⁵¹ The concepts “*ti* and *yong*” in the Neo-Confucian philosophy are so significant that some scholars even name the Neo-Confucian conceptual system as “*mingti dayong zhi xue* 明體達用之學” (Studies on explicating the *ti* and understanding the *yong*).

As we discussed earlier in the investigation of the Chinese Islamic context, the earliest application of “*ti* 體 and *yong* 用” is found in Wang Daiyu’s texts. In She Qiling’s

⁸⁴⁸ See Zhang Zai, *Zhang Zai ji*, Zhengmeng:8.

⁸⁴⁹ Cheng, *Er Cheng ji*, 582: 至微者理也。至著者象也。體用一源，显微无间。(The very concealed is the *li* and the very displayed is the *xiang* (image). The *ti* and the *yong* are from one origin, which manifest the concealed and have no difference.)

⁸⁵⁰ Zhu Xi, *Zhu zi wenji*, vol. 4, 40:1745.

⁸⁵¹ Wang Shouren, *Yangming chuanxilu*, 29: 即體而言用在體，即用而言體在用，是謂體用一源。(The function (*yong*) in within the substance (*ti*) in terms of the substance (*ti*) and the substance (*ti*) is within the function (*yong*) in terms of the function (*yong*).)

Zhaoyuan mijue “*ti* 體 and *yong* 用” was used as a set pair of concepts corresponding to the “*zāt* (essence) and *ṣifat* (attribute)”. Following his predecessors Liu Zhi reinforced his application of the “*ti* and *yong*” in his writings. In the *Zhenjing zhaowei* Liu Zhi entitled chapter thirty-five as “*tiyong he* 體用合 (Unity of the substance and the function)”⁸⁵², echoing the idea of “*tiyong bu’er* 體用不二” (the substance and the function are consistent) in the Neo-Confucian philosophy.

Tiyong 體用 - *dongjing* 動靜

The pair of concepts “*ti* 體 (substance) and *yong* 用 (function)” pervades the Neo-Confucian discussion. In his texts Zhu Xi not only discusses the relationship of *ti* and *yong*, but also employs “*ti* and *yong*” in association with other pairs of terms such as “*li* 理 (principle) and *shi* 事 (thing)”, “*ren* 仁 (humaneness) and *yi* 義 (righteousness)”⁸⁵³, “*xing* 性 (nature) and *qing* 情 (character / feeling)” as well as “*dong* 動 (movement) and *jing* 靜 (stillness)”.

In his discussion of the “*ti* and *yong*” and the “*dong* and *jing*” Zhu Xi writes:

然動亦太極之動，靜亦太極之靜，但動靜非太極耳。(或錄雲：“動不是太極，但動者太極之用耳；靜不是太極，但靜者太極之體耳。”)⁸⁵⁴

Then the movement (*dong*) is the Great Ultimate’s movement (*dong*), the stillness (*jing*) is the Great Ultimate’s stillness (*jing*). However, the movement and stillness (*dongjing*) is not the Great Ultimate. (Another copy reads: “the movement (*dong*) is not the Great Ultimate, but the movement (*dong*) is the Great Ultimate’s function (*yong*); the stillness (*jing*) is not the Great Ultimate, but the stillness (*jing*) is the Great Ultimate’s substance (*ti*).”)

⁸⁵² Liu Zhi, *Zhenjing zhaowei*, the title of chapter thirty-five (61 (ch. 35)). Also see note 7822.

⁸⁵³ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 1, 6:120-1: 仁義，其體亦有先後。仁對義為體，用。仁自有仁之體，用。義又有義之體，用。趙致道問：“仁義體用，動靜何如？”曰：“仁固為體，義固為用。然仁義各有體用，各有動靜，自詳細驗之”仁義互為體用，動靜。仁之體本靜，而其用則流行不窮；義之用本動，而其體則各止其所。

⁸⁵⁴ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 6, 94:2369.

In Zhu Xi's opinion *dong* 動 (movement) and *jing* 靜 (stillness) are not the Great Ultimate but are regarded as *yong* 用 (function) and *ti* 體 (substance) of the Great Ultimate respectively.⁸⁵⁵

In the Chinese Islamic texts we have observed that *dongjing* 動靜 is also discussed in association with *tiyong* 體用. In his three-level model Wang Daiyu attributes *jing* 靜 and *dong* 動 to *benti* 本體 and *zuoyong* 作用 respectively and we consider that *ti* 體 and *yong* 用 in Wang Daiyu's writings are derived from *benti* and *zuoyong*.⁸⁵⁶

Zhou Dunyi	Zhu Xi		Wang Daiyu		She Qiling	Liu Zhi
<i>yin</i> 陰	<i>jing</i> 靜	<i>taiji zhi ti</i> 太極之體	<i>benti</i> 本體 / <i>ti</i> 體	<i>jing</i> 靜	<i>ti</i> 體	<i>ti</i> 體
			<i>dongjing</i> 動靜	<i>dongjing</i> 動靜	<i>dongjing</i> 動靜 / <i>yong</i> 用	<i>yong</i> 用
<i>yang</i> 陽	<i>dong</i> 動	<i>taiji zhi yong</i> 太極之用	<i>zuoyong</i> 作用 / <i>yong</i> 用	<i>dong</i> 動		

As the above table shows the corresponding relationship of “*jing* and *dong*” and “*ti* and *yong*” in Zhu Xi's commentary probably was contextualized by Wang Daiyu in his Islamic writings. Meanwhile, both She Qiling and Liu Zhi also deployed the cardinal Neo-Confucian terms in their writings. However, the meaning of the Neo-Confucian terms varies with the Chinese Islamic ones.

Furthermore, the relationship between *jing* and *dong* or *ti* and *yong* in Zhu Xi's

⁸⁵⁵ However, the Neo-Confucian scholars in the learning of mind do not agree with Zhu Xi. In response to Zhu Xi's interpretation Wang Shouren argues, “the movement (*dong*) and the stillness (*jing*) cannot be the substance (*ti*) and the function (*yong*) of the mind. The movement (*dong*) and the stillness (*jing*) are temporary status.” (Wang Shouren, *Yangming chuanxilu*, 29: 侃問，先儒以心之靜為體，心之動為用。如何？先生曰，心不可以動靜為體用。動靜，時也。) Despite the controversy among the Neo-Confucian scholars, they all view *dongjing* 動靜 as two separate concepts *dong* 動 and *jing* 靜 respectively and discuss them in association with *ti* 體 (substance) and *yong* 用 (function).

⁸⁵⁶ See note 8199.

commentaries is considered as a circle where “the movement (*dong*) and the stillness (*jing*) circulate and synthesize. It is impossible to say which one begins and which ends.”⁸⁵⁷ The *dong* and *jing* in the Chinese Islamic treaties, as the above table shows, stay on different levels of a vertical structure.

c) *mingse* 名色 and *zunming* 尊名

Corresponding to the term *ismā’* (names) She Qiling deploys both words *zunming* 尊名 (respectful name) and *mingse* 名色 (name and colour) whereas Liu Zhi only uses *ming*. The word *zunming* was widely used referring to “respectful name” in the traditional Chinese philosophy but had not served as a technical term until She Qiling and Liu Zhi’s period. In his *Zhaoyuan mijue* She Qiling specifically refers *zunming* to the “ninety-nine names of God”, thus elevating its meaning onto the metaphysical level. This semantic expansion makes *zunming* a technical term in translating the Koran verses in later texts and commentaries.⁸⁵⁸

As an alternative translation of the term *ismā’* in She Qiling’s *Zhaoyuan mijue*, the word *mingse* 名色 is rarely used in the Neo-Confucian texts, but is considered as one of the main concepts in Buddhist sutras. The word *mingse* corresponds to the Sanskrit and Pali word *nāmarūpa*, combined by *nāma* and *rūpa*. The word *nāma* (name) corresponds to the Chinese *ming* 名 (name) while the word *rūpa* (form) is translated as *se* 色 in Chinese.

⁸⁵⁷ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, vol. 6, 2377: 循環錯綜, 不可以先後始終言.

⁸⁵⁸ See 2:114, 73:8, 76:25, 87:15 in Ma Jian, Wang Jingzhai and Tong Daozhang’s translations of the Koran on the website <http://www.xaislam.com/quran/qrjs/>

In Buddhism *mingse* is one of the twelve *yinyuan* 因緣 (nidānas, cause and origin). The term *mingse* refers to the *wuyun* 五蘊 (five *skandhas* or aggregates), a category explaining the basic elements in the existing world. The word *ming* 名 represents the four aggregates or attributes, including *shouyun* 受蘊 (*vedana*, sensation shadow), *xiangyun* 想蘊 (*saṃjñā*, perception shadow), *xingyun* 行蘊 (*karman*, practice shadow) and *shiyun* 識蘊 (*viññāna*, consciousness shadow) while *se* 色 stands for its own *seyun* 色蘊 (*rūpa* shadow). The first-named four are considered as mental functions and *rūpa* is interpreted as the material objects in the sensible and physical world, particularly concerning their bodies or forms.⁸⁵⁹ Therefore, the term *mingse* in the Buddhist context can be considered as the five elements or levels in the sensible world.

In his translation She Qiling embeds his own semantic meaning into *mingse* 名色 by applying this word to correspond to *ismā* (names). This application of the Buddhist term *mingse* indicates the variety of sources the translator uses. As a Buddhist term *mingse* is considered as the bodily and mental functions in the sensible world, semantically close to the meaning of *ṣifāt* (attributes) in Sufism.

In his translations of *ismā'* (names) She Qiling employs two words from different contexts. As we have mentioned before, we cannot find any clue to differentiate the meaning and application of these two words in She Qiling's translation. By studying

⁸⁵⁹ The body (ti) of *rūpa* is the "four great elements (Sanskrit and Pali: Nāmarūpa or catudhātu) ". These four elements, namely earth, water, fire and air make up what we experience as our physical world, including our body. (See *Foshuo fachengyi jue dingjing*, 654c: 佛言。名謂非色四蘊受想行識。色謂形質。體即四大。是名識緣名色。云何四大。佛言。所謂地大水大火大風大。

these two words in the traditional Chinese philosophy, it seems that She Qiling applies *zunming* 尊名 by considering the original meaning of *ismā'*, specifically the “ninety-nine names of God” and employs *mingse* 名色 by emphasizing the extended meaning of the *ismā'*, namely the attributes.

d) Conclusion

To sum up, the corresponding terms of *zāt* (essence), *ṣifat* (attribute) and *ism* (name) in the Chinese Islamic texts appear in the existing Chinese traditional philosophical writings. Some terms are widely used in different philosophical contexts like *benran*, *dongjing*, *ti*, *yong* and *zunming*. In the Neo-Confucian texts we find these terms were discussed together on the theme of the Great Ultimate. The term *benran* rarely appears in Zhu Xi's texts but *dongjing* is a cardinal concept, about which the writer usually discusses the relationship between the two character *dong* and *jing* separately. Moreover, the Neo-Confucian scholars draw a pair of concepts “*ti* and *yong*” into the discussion of the Great Ultimate which further makes it closer to the pair of concepts “*jing* and *dong*”. Considering the identical two pairs of concepts “*jing* and *dong*” and “*ti* and *yong*” in the Neo-Confucian texts, the Chinese Islamic application of these terms has changed in terms of meaning and relationship. On the one hand, there is the corresponding relationship becoming “*benran* and *dongjing*” and “*ti* and *yong*” in the Chinese Islamic texts, whilst, on the other hand, the interactive relationship between “*jing* and *dong*” or “*ti* and *yong*” turns out to be a vertical structure in the Chinese Islamic texts. Besides the Neo-Confucian terms we also find *mingse* was only

used in the Buddhist sutras and *zunming* had not yet become a technical term before She Qiling wrote his *Zhaoyuan mijue*. Therefore, it seems that the traditional Chinese philosophical texts provided a wide range of lexicon for our Chinese Muslim scholars to complete their writings. Not only the terms but also the discussion of their relationship are reflected in the Chinese Muslim writings.

5) Conclusion

In Jāmī's texts the terms *zāt*, *ṣifat* and *ism* are involved in the basic theme of the Sufi philosophy. In this case we not only discuss each term individually, but also explore the relationship among these terms, such as the set pair of concepts like "*zāt* and *ṣifat*" and "*ismā' va ṣifāt*". By viewing the *Lavāyih* and the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* as a corpus, Jāmī interprets the term *zāt* as essence in the layers of "divine Essence" and "essences of things in a sensible world". The "divine Essence" pervades the "numerous essences" while every essence on the sensible level is the same as the "divine level". To further elaborate his idea of the "Oneness of the Essence" Jāmī writes that the "*ṣifat* (attribute) and *ism* (name)" are identical with the Essence when humans reach God but are different from the Essence when humans still maintain rational understanding.

Correspondingly Chinese Muslim scholars She Qiling and Liu Zhi deployed their own strategies in the translations. We notice that they made similar decisions by applying *benran* or *ti* to correspond to *zāt*, and applying *yong* to translate *ṣifat*. The term *benran* was used to translate the "divine Essence" exclusively whereas *ti* is found to correspond to both two layers of essence, indicating a consistent understanding of

Jāmi's interpretation of *zāt*. They also applied "*ti* and *yong*" as a set pair of concepts in their writings.

Besides the similarities, there are more differences between She Qiling and Liu Zhi's translations. As we have discussed in the previous two cases, She Qiling preferred to apply compound words in his translation while Liu Zhi showed his interest in using single-character words. Although both these two translators applied *benran* to correspond to *zāt*, only She Qiling applied *dongjing* to correspond to *ṣifat / ṣifāt* and thus making a set pair of concepts "*benran* and *dongjing*". Regarding the term *ism* and its set phrase "*ismā' va ṣifāt*", we find that She Qiling formed a full translation by translating *ism / ismā'* as *zunming* or *mingse* while Liu Zhi applied *ming* as a corresponding term but almost ignored the translation of "*ismā' va ṣifāt*".

The study of the terms used in the traditional Chinese philosophical texts, including Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism and Islam, shows a divergent reflection rather than a lineage development in She Qiling and Liu Zhi's writings. Some terms are exclusively used in a certain philosophical context. For example, the application of *mingse* in the Buddhist sutras demonstrates the influence of Buddhism in She Qiling's writings. Terms like *benran* and *zunming* pervade all traditional Chinese philosophical texts, though it is hardly possible for us to trace their original sources. Meanwhile, some terms like *dongjing*, *ti* and *yong* can be identified as derived from the Neo-Confucian texts based on the similarity in the discussion of their relationship.

The word *dongjing* is widely used as a cardinal concept in She Qiling's translation

but in fact lost the literal meaning of each character. In Liu Zhi's translation *dong* is used to correspond to either its literal meaning or its philosophical understanding while *jing* is totally missing. The study on the word *dongjing* in the traditional Chinese philosophy indicates that this word or phrase appears in various philosophical contexts. However, only the Neo-Confucian scholars, especially Zhu Xi, established a solid connection between the two pairs of concepts "*dong* and *jing*" and "*ti* and *yong*" in his commentary on the topic of the Great Ultimate. Besides the textual study we do not have other clues to prove the connection between the Neo-Confucian texts and the two Chinese Islamic translations. However, the reflection of the Neo-Confucian terms and their interactive relationship reveals the influence of the Neo-Confucianism on the Chinese Muslim translators.

4. Conclusion

In the beginning years of writing Chinese Islamic texts, the Chinese philosophical lexicon had already embodied loads of miscellaneous traditions developed over thousands of years and providing Chinese Muslim writers with a range of comprehensive and flexible options to develop their own vocabulary. By studying the terms *ḥaqīqat* (reality), *fanā'* (annihilation), *zāt* (essence), *ṣifat* (attribute) and *ism* (name) in Jāmī's two treatise and their Chinese correspondence in She Qiling and Liu Zhi's translations, light is thrown on the translation strategies applied by these two Chinese Muslim intellectuals.

Grammatical research indicates that She Qiling's translation mostly corresponds to the original text word by word while Liu Zhi's translation is likely to be a paraphrase. Moreover, She Qiling preferred compound words like *zhenben*, *miaoben*, *hunhua*, *benran*, *dongjing*, *zunming*, *mingse*, while Liu Zhi inclined to apply monosyllabic words in his writings like *zhen*, *li*, *ke*, *ti*, *yong*, *ming*. In the meantime we also notice that both translators applied a similar strategy in some cases, for example, by applying the plural marker *zhu* in order to indicate the plural form of Chinese terms.

From the perspective of meaning we notice that both She Qiling and Liu Zhi chose words to refer to a specific sense of the original term. For example, She Qiling applied *zhenben* whereas Liu Zhi preferred *zhen* to translate the "absolute reality" exclusively in order to differentiate the two layers of the meaning of *ḥaqīqat* (reality). In some translation cases She Qiling and Liu Zhi made the same decision to translate the

original terms, like *benran*, *ti* and *yong*. Some compounds in She Qiling's translation, such as *tongzhen* and *wanti*, are found as abbreviations of the long phrase, each character of which is derived from the original compound words respectively. Corresponding to the same original term some of the monosyllabic words Liu Zhi preferred in his translation are actually the components of She Qiling's choice of compound words, such as *zhen* and *zhenben*, *ming* and *zunming/mingse*. We can attribute Liu Zhi's preference of monosyllabic words as a strategy for abbreviation, i.e. by abbreviating the two-character compound into one character.

By studying these corresponding words used in the Chinese philosophical tradition, including Neo-Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism and Islam, we observe that most of these words can be considered as the basic concepts in various philosophical canons. In She Qiling's translation the word *miaoben* 妙本 indicates the influence of the Daoist terminology, the words *hunhua*, *dongjing*, *ti* and *yong* are considered to be derived from the Neo-Confucian philosophy and the word *mingse* is a central concept in the Buddhist sutras. The study of his abbreviation strategy shows that some compounds like *tongzhen* read the same as the existing terms in certain philosophical contexts but are de facto derived from a long-phrase translated by the translator.

Comparatively, Liu Zhi's preference for words emerges as mostly based on the Neo-Confucian canon, like the words *li*, *ke*, *ti* and *yong*. The word *li* is the most essential concept in Neo-Confucianism. And despite only one appearance of the Chinese Buddhist term *kong* to correspond to *fanā'* (annihilation), Liu Zhi's main choice

of *ke* in the *Zhenjing zhaowei* and his application of *hunhua* in the *Tianfang xingli* are judged to be derived from Zhu Xi's interpretation of a Confucian concept "*keji*".

In the meantime we know that the existing terms borrowed from the traditional Chinese philosophy sometimes originate from more than one source. Despite its essential appearance in the Daoist context the word *miaoben*, for example, reflects the interaction between Daoist and Buddhist thought in the Tang dynasty, in particular, the influence of Buddhist Madhyamika (Intermediate) philosophy and its Daoist version, the school of Chongxuan 重玄 (Twofold Mystery). As another example, the word *dongjing*, which contains the meaning of each character as "movement and stillness", appears both in Zhu Xi's interpretation of the diagram of the Great Ultimate and in the first Chinese Islamic text, Wang Daiyu's *Zhenjiao zhenquan*. The word *dongjing* in She Qiling's translation is probably derived from both Neo-Confucian and Chinese Islamic tradition, but in fact the original meaning of *dongjing* has changed from "movement and stillness" to "attribute".

Considering She Qiling's preference for terminology derived from various sources in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, one cannot forget that his student Zhao Can affirmed the importance of the language of Confucian literati / literary Chinese (*shuzi* 書字) and the contribution of Zhu Xi in the *Jingxue xichuanpu*. From the proclaimed language of the Confucian literati to the actual application of not only the Neo-Confucian but also the Daoist and Buddhist terminology and a large number of compounds applied by She Qiling, the contradiction reflects a gap between the ideal of early Chinese Muslim

intellectuals and the actual ability of their readers. As mentioned before, the *Zhaoyuan mijue* was written for those who were keen to learn the Islamic teachings but did not have ability to read the original scriptures. According to She Qiling's preference for the Daoist terminology, the readership he aimed to deliver would have included those who were familiar with the Daoist doctrine rather than Confucianism. She Qiling's compromise in the terminology of the *Zhaoyuan mijue* indicates that the translator regarded his readership as more important than the language style he appreciated. In other words, a term is chosen by the translator based on its source and context rather than its meaning.

Belonging to a later generation than She Qiling, Liu Zhi made full use of the Neo-Confucian language style in his translation. The application of the single character terms derived from the Neo-Confucian context has coated Liu Zhi's translation with the typical appearance of the Chinese philosophical scriptures. This language preference reflects Liu Zhi's commitment to delivering his *Zhenjing zhaowei* to someone who was familiar with the Neo-Confucian tradition.

The difference of language preference between She Qiling and Liu Zhi's translations of Jāmī's treatises can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, She Qiling's translations derive their attempt to explicate the Islamic teachings in written Chinese from colloquial practice to the actual reading. While due to the lack of teaching experience, Liu Zhi's translation was not influenced by the colloquial interpretation. Secondly, in the development of Chinese Islamic writing Chinese Muslim intellectuals

adjusted their language register based on the feedback of previous works and the demands of their contemporary readership. From the *Zhaoyuan mijue* to the *Zhenjing zhaowei*, the translations of the term *ḥaqīqat* not only indicate the different decision-making of the two translators, but also attest to the general development of both Chinese Muslim intellectuals and their readership.

Conclusion

From Central Asia to China proper and from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century, Jāmī's works had been produced, disseminated, studied and finally translated into Chinese. In the first part of this dissertation we conclude that Jāmī's works went through three main testing points step by step in this process.

The first testing is with his contemporary Sufi scholars and here Jāmī successfully established his reputation as a prolific Sufi scholar and poet in the Persianate world during the fifteenth century. His exegetical works and commentaries like the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* were circulated widely and studied in great detail by Sufi scholars. At the royal court Jāmī's literary writings on Sufi philosophy like the *Divan* and the *Hamsa* were collected by the royal court and carefully preserved in their libraries. At the same time, Jāmī also wrote his original Sufi treatises to transmit Ibn 'Arabī's teaching to the Muslim community inside and outside the Naqshbandiyya order. The short treatise *Lavāyih*, for example, was written in a mixture of prose and poetry targeting the audience from the lower social class and merchants.

The second testing time took place during the dissemination of the Islamic works from the Persianate world to China proper. Considering the diversity of his target audience, Jāmī's works can be seen as a corpus containing distinctive layers of thought and language register. Along with the mobility of his audience from the fifteenth century onwards, Jāmī's works were spread beyond Central Asia to Anatolia, Arabia, China proper and Southeast Asia and have been translated, imitated, commented on and quoted in an impressive number of languages (including Turkish, Hindi, Urdu,

Chinese, Malay etc.). On their encounter with various indigenous cultures, the richness of Jāmī's works satisfied the local readership with different interests in terms of literary style (not only literary works like the *Bahāristān* and the *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* but also Sufi treatises) and language registers (Sufi scholars, high class and ordinary people). In the process of adoption and transformation Jāmī's works acted not only as a social product but also as a moulder of society, imprinting the Timurid intellectual legacy on the global development of Muslim communities.

In the east end of Eurasia Muslims who lived in China proper were involved in this worldwide circulation and popularity of Jāmī's works during the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Thanks to the frequent commercial communication between Central Asia and China via land and sea routes, Chinese Muslims may have had access to Jāmī's works since the fifteenth century. However, the extant evidence indicates that Jāmī's texts appeared in China proper no later than the early seventeenth century.

Along with the other Islamic scriptures introduced to China, the third testing that Jāmī's works went through is among the Chinese Muslim intellectuals. Muslim intellectuals who acquired and studied Jāmī's works in China proper considered themselves as descendants of Muslim immigrants who originated from Central Asia and beyond since the beginning of Islam. Before the seventeenth century their ancestors had already taken part in translating Persian and Arabic texts into Chinese, mainly in the field of Islamic science. Following these pioneer translators this group of Muslim intellectuals turned their focus to the scriptures of Islamic teaching. They not only studied and authorized the original Islamic scriptures, but also worked on translating and establishing their own original Islamic exegesis. They called themselves

the school of *Jingxue*, a remarkable term deriving from the Chinese tradition of exegetical studies from the Confucian canon.

The historical records indicate that there were other competitive groups of Chinese Muslims during the early years of the school of *Jingxue*. Their divergence was mainly derived from the way in which Islamic scriptures were disseminated and interpreted. According to the extant Chinese Islamic texts, all their writers were only related to the genealogy of *Jingxue*, indicating the success of the *Jingxue* school in the internal competition within the Chinese Muslim community.

Based on the genealogy of the *Jingxue* school, we observe an increasing influence of traditional Chinese culture on these Chinese Muslim intellectuals in terms of education, social network and writing style. After teaching the original Islamic scriptures in a mixture of Persian/Arabic terms and colloquial Chinese paraphrase in mosques, these Chinese Muslim scholars gradually wrote down their Chinese translations in the seventeenth century, first in *Hanyin* (colloquial Chinese) and later in *shuzi* (literary Chinese).

Although the Islamic scriptures authorized by the school of *Jingxue* consist of the Koran, Hadith, Persian/Arabic exegesis and commentaries, studies on the early Chinese Islamic translations written in *shuzi* indicate that the Persian Sufi treatises make up a remarkable proportion of the original scriptures. Jāmī's two Sufi works the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* and the *Lavāyih* were considered as two significant Islamic texts taught in Chinese mosques. The preference for Persian Sufi treatise, on the one hand, reflects the popularity of Jāmī in the school of *Jingxue* before and in the seventeenth century,

and, on the other hand, indicates the accepted legitimacy of the Persian Sufi treatises in interpreting the Islamic doctrine. In other words, studying the Chinese translations of Persian Sufi scriptures written in *shuzi* and reading the original scriptures can achieve the same goal in the process of understanding Islamic doctrines.

The recognition of the legitimacy of both original and Chinese Islamic writings expanded the range of readership, including those Muslims who were not able to read the original scriptures and those Chinese non-Muslims who were interested in Islam. The school of *Jingxue* therefore received wide acknowledgement and acceptance in Chinese society.

As two key Muslim intellectuals of the *Jingxue* school, She Qiling and Liu Zhi contributed two translations of Jāmī's treatises, one is *Zhaoyuan mijue* 昭元秘訣, the translation of the *Ashi'at al-Lama'āt* and the other is *Zhenjing zhaowei* 真境昭微, the translation of the *Lavāyih*. The biographical research on these two Muslim translators shows that She Qiling devoted his lifetime to collecting original Islamic scriptures and teachings around China. As a younger Muslim, Liu Zhi also travelled in China to collect manuscripts but he spent most of his lifetime in translating and writing rather than teaching. In addition to his translation, Liu Zhi also wrote a substantial quantity of original Chinese Islamic works on the themes of Islamic law and ritual (e.g. *Tianfang dianli* 天方典禮), principles of Islam (e.g. *Tianfang xingli* 天方性理) and an elementary introduction to Islam (e.g. *Tianfang sanzijing* 天方三字經) and so on.

After making clear the historical context of our four targeted works, in the second part of this dissertation we move to the textual studies. By viewing Jāmī's *Ashi'at*

al-Lama'āt and *Lavāyih* as a corpus, this dissertation compares Jāmī's original texts and their Chinese translations. Besides general comparisons, we also study three translation instances of Jāmī's original terms *ḥaqīqat*, *fanā'* and "*zāt*, *ṣifat* and *ism*". By comparing She Qiling and Liu Zhi's translation strategies with the same term, we observe a continuation of the Chinese Islamic writing tradition by these Muslim scholars as well as differences. Meanwhile we also discuss the original terms and their translation in the contexts of Persian Sufi philosophy and traditional Chinese philosophy. By interpreting and comparing text and context with each other, the comparison of Jāmī's original treatises and their Chinese translations can be categorised in three dimensions, which are linguistics, philosophy and culture.

In the linguistic dimension, first of all, the general comparison shows that She Qiling translated the whole original text, including introduction and quatrains whereas Liu Zhi did not translate most of quatrains which take up almost half the space in the original text. Moreover, She Qiling followed word-by-word translation and preferred compound words while Liu Zhi applied more paraphrase than literal translation and choose monosyllabic words in his translations. Thus whilst both were written in the language of the literati, She Qiling's language reveals more colloquial influence than Liu Zhi, which is thought to be derived from his life-long teaching experience.

Secondly, given that a Chinese Islamic vocabulary had not yet been established in their days, both translators avoided using transcription and mainly appropriated existing words in traditional Chinese philosophy. In the process of abbreviation of the long-phrase *tongran zhi zhenben* 通然之真本 for example, She Qiling chose a Daoist term *tongzhen* 通真 rather than an administrative word *tongben* 通本 as the

abbreviation. In fact, most of the appropriated words are cardinal concepts in traditional Chinese philosophy, such as *zhen* 真, *ben* 本, *benran* 本然, *ti* 體 and *yong* 用. There are only a few words created by our Muslim translators like *xizhe* 喜者 and *shouxizhe* 受喜者.

In the study of the existing words in the Chinese philosophical texts we observe that She Qiling's choice of words was inspired by various traditional Chinese philosophies, such as *miaoben* 妙本 in Daoism, *hunhua* 渾化 in Neo-Confucianism and *mingse* 名色 in Buddhism. However, Liu Zhi exclusively appropriated the Neo-Confucian lexicon and interpretation in his translations and original Islamic writings. Specifically most of his preferences are found in the works of Zhu Xi, like *li* 理 and *ke* 克.

By investigating the meaning of the original terms we find both She Qiling and Liu Zhi enriched the existing Chinese lexicon by various means. Some words like *zunming* 尊名 had no specific meaning in previous Chinese texts but turned into technical terms in the Chinese Islamic translations. Some existing terms are redefined and interpreted in the translations, like *ke*, *miaoben* and *dongjing* 動靜. These appropriated terms underwent a process of semantic extensions and became components of a newly created and independent terminology that served the purpose of Islamic exegesis.

Thirdly, in the process of interpreting unfamiliar with familiar, She Qiling and Liu Zhi made different choices which they evidently thought their readers would be familiar with. The comparison of the original words and their Chinese correspondences

indicates that a term was most likely to be chosen according to its source and context rather than its meaning. Their choices of words, therefore, reflect the different potential readership of these two Chinese Islamic translations. It seems that She Qiling wrote his *Zhaoyuan mijue* for the audience who did not specialize in any specific philosophical tradition and were, perhaps, more familiar with popular religion. As for Liu Zhi's *Zhenjing zhaowei*, his target audience consisted of educated Chinese Muslims and scholars who were familiar with the mainstream Neo-Confucian tradition.

The linguistic study of the translation strategy indicates a shift of linguistic register occurring between the original texts and their Chinese translations. From the *Ashi'at al-Lama'at* to the *Zhaoyuan mijue*, we find a decline of the linguistic register from Sufi scholars to ordinary Chinese Muslims. On the contrary, from the *Lavāyih* to the *Zhenjing zhaowei* the level of the readership registered was elevated from lower class Muslims to educated Chinese Muslims and non-Muslims who were familiar with the mainstream Neo-Confucian tradition.

In the dimension of philosophy, the terms in the translation texts transmitted the meaning and traditions of the original Persian Sufi context in a reasonably faithful and transparent manner. We further question the assumption of the syncretism of Islamic mysticism and traditional Chinese philosophy.

In Murata's research, for example, her comparison between Sufism and Neo-Confucianism is only based on Liu Zhi's application of Neo-Confucian terminology in his writings. However, our research on She Qiling's adoption of terminology indicates that the translator applied the terms and concepts from a variety of traditional Chinese

philosophical sources in the *Zhaoyuan mijue*. She Qiling's choice of terms shows that not only the Neo-Confucian terms but also the Daoist and Buddhist terms have the capability to interpret Jāmī's Sufism. Therefore, the comparative study of Sufism and Neo-Confucianism based on the correspondence of their terminology cannot really hold its ground.

In his research Izutsu compared the main concepts in Sufism and Daoism and built a relationship between these two realms. By comparing the Daoist terms applied in She Qiling's translation and their corresponding words in Jāmī's Persian original, we notice that the correspondence of terms built by She Qiling do not match the one built by Izutsu. Take the case study of *miaoben* as an example. We observe that *miaoben* in She Qiling's translation corresponds to *ḥaqīqat* (reality) in multi-stratified structure in Jāmī's treatise whereas it is considered to be akin to *ḥaqq* (Absolute Real) by Izutsu.

The Sufi treatises are full of discussions of philosophy and cosmology which are the central concepts and fundamental philosophical topics in every philosophy, such as *ḥaqīqat*, *zāt* and *ṣifat*. The historical expansion of Sufism proves that on a doctrinal level Sufism provided a flexible perspective on the Koran so that intellectuals in the diverse cultures translated and explained a large amount of Sufi doctrines with the help of their local tradition in native language. In the world at large, our list of indigenous philosophies which are involved in the Sufi translation de facto is not only restricted to traditional Chinese philosophy, but finds other cases in different cultures. Therefore the adoption of the existing terminology of indigenous philosophy during the expansion of Sufism can be considered as a common strategy for the Chinese Muslim translators and it is improper to attribute such strategy to the philosophical syncretism

of Sufism with certain Chinese philosophies.

Moreover, the linguistic study of the adopted terms has showed that although Chinese Muslim intellectuals showed their appreciation of Chinese philosophy, specifically Neo-Confucianism, the translator's preference was more dependent on his readership rather than on his personal interest in certain philosophies. Such an intention strongly indicates that the readership affected the preference of terms rather than the consideration of the syncretism of Persian Sufism and traditional Chinese philosophy.

Therefore linguistic and philosophical research shows that neither Liu Zhi's exclusive choice of Neo-Confucian terminology nor She Qiling's choice of terms from a diversity of philosophical choices can support the idea of the philosophical syncretism of Persian Sufism and traditional Chinese philosophy.

On the dimension of history and culture She Qiling and Liu Zhi's two translations of Jāmī's treatises built a bridge between two areas which are not two philosophical realms but two real worlds. One is Chinese Confucian society and the other is the Islamic world.

Considered as the inner and mystical dimension of Islam, Sufism combines both theoretical and practical perspectives. Scholars and adherents of Sufism are unanimous in agreeing that Sufism cannot be learned through books. To reach the highest levels of success in Sufism typically requires that the disciple live with and serve the teacher for many years. Jāmī himself served several teachers in the Naqshbandi order and himself took disciples later.

In China proper the historical records and Chinese Muslim folklore mention mystical signs of foreign Sufi travellers and local Muslims. In the Chinese Islamic works, however, the Islamic *Jingxue* school exclusively focused on the philosophical dimension of Sufi doctrines and rarely discussed any inner practice of Sufism. Considering Jāmī's discussions focusing more on issues of teaching and philosophy rather than practice, this is likely to explain why Jāmī's works were preferred by Chinese Muslims in the school of *Jingxue*. Moreover, the study of the genealogy of Chinese Muslim intellectuals also indicates that the education system of the *Jingxue* school relied more on local Chinese mosques rather than specific teachers and we have not found evidence of any Sufi order being established in China proper.

It seems that the expansion of Sufi orders stopped on the border of northwest China. The study of the original scriptures taught in mosques in China proper shows that Chinese Muslims saw no difference in the original scriptures projected in different Sufi teachings such as Naqshbandiyya and Kubrawiyya. For the remarkable practice of Sufi *zikr* mentioned in the *Lavāyih*, Liu Zhi did not translate this word in his *Zhenjing zhaowei*. It seems that Chinese Muslim translators in the school of *Jingxue* considered the Persian Sufi treatise as relating to the philosophical dimension of Islam.

As a result of representing and translating Persian Sufi doctrines as Islamic philosophy, Chinese Islamic translations and writings lost the mysterious part of Sufism in China proper and left Chinese readers only the Islam of philosophical thinking. By adopting traditional Chinese philosophical terminology, these theoretical works functionally established a platform for philosophical dialogue between Chinese Muslims and the mainstream Chinese society. The attempt to think and interpret

Islamic thoughts in *shuzi* also introduced Chinese readers to new thoughts and ideas that had never previously been explicitly expressed.

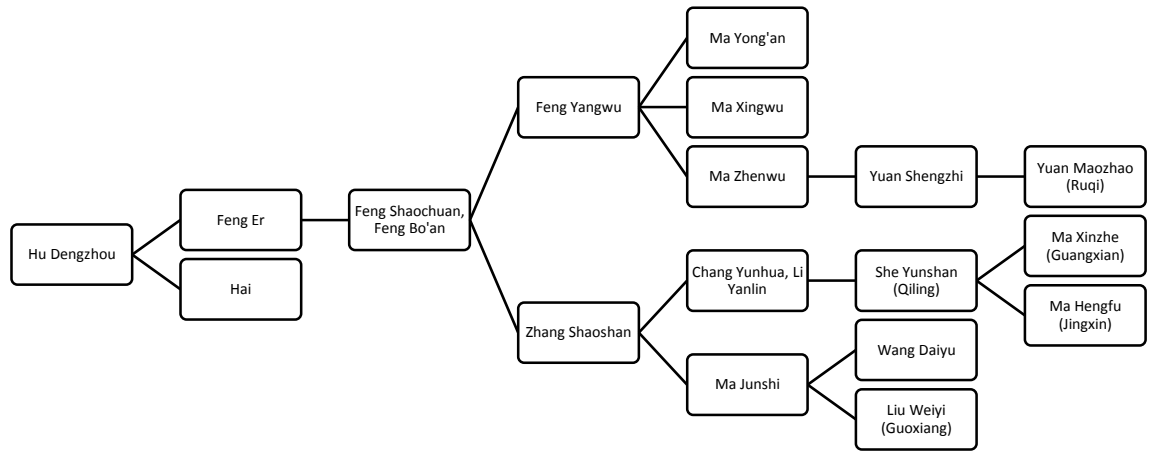
Since the late eighteenth century Chinese Islamic texts were disseminated beyond the Chinese Muslim community and were noticed by Chinese Confucian scholars. In these texts Liu Zhi's terminology preference and the way of interpretation specifically struck a chord with the interests and expectation of the literati in the Confucian society of late imperial China. Even though the circulation of these texts was still limited to a group of Confucian literati and the content of these texts received negative comments from the Qing emperor Qianlong, the response from the mainstream Confucian literati reinforced Liu Zhi's reputation within the Muslim community and thus can be counted as one of the main reasons for the change and inversion of the receptions accorded to She Qiling and Liu Zhi from the seventeenth century through the nineteenth century.

In the Islamic world Chinese Islamic texts can be considered as an aspect of the Islamic expansion in an entirely new mode. In this new linguistic discourse the *Jingxue* school legitimized the authority of Chinese Islamic works written in the literary Chinese (*shuzi*). As the language coined by Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist philosophies, *shuzi* became the exegetical language for Chinese Islamic literature. Compared with original treatises, the Chinese Islamic translations had shorter content, sophisticated argument and technical composition. Combined with the exegetical tradition of Persian Sufism and Confucian classics, these Chinese Islamic texts created a new Chinese exegetical tradition of Sufism and gave rise to a variety of perspectives in the Sufi literature.

This contribution was recognized by both Chinese Muslims and Western scholars,

as some texts were translated and annotated into Arabic and Western languages since the early twentieth century. These texts found themselves a position beyond Chinese society and fulfil the aspiration of Chinese Muslim intellectuals to be involved in the centre of the Muslim world. However, when Chinese Islamic texts were first introduced beyond China proper by translation they seem at first to have attracted no interest. It is only in the recent fifteen years that these Chinese Islamic works began to receive increasing attention in and beyond the Chinese Muslim community. Such interest came along with the conflict involved in religious and political encounter, the rise of Chinese Muslims' identity and even the increasing influence of China in the global world. As usual, Chinese Islamic texts are involved in the development of the historical context and this time have also become symbolic of the representation of Chinese Muslim intellectuals.

Appendix 1⁸⁶⁰



⁸⁶⁰ Some Muslims have studied with more than one teacher, like She Qiling. In this case, the genealogy is based on the one provided in *Jingxue xichuanpu*. The names in the circle refer to Muslim intellectuals who had taught She Qiling. The names in double circle refer to Muslims who got involved in Liu Zhi's writing.

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