

scholar, praises highly Confucianism, and openly regard Buddhism as heterodoxy.'(Sun, 1996) The creatively assimilation of Chinese traditional thought was the exact stimulation for some open-minded Confucianism scholars to smoothly read and accept the Western thought.

However, the opposite voice existed all the time. Basing on a Chinese ethnocentrism standpoint, the conservative Confucian scholars and officials ran a sustained resistance against missionaries and their theory. The detailed investigation of them comes follow.

2 Anti-Catholic: from Nanking to Peking

2.1 The anti-Catholic activities and opinions of late Ming Scholar-officials.

Anti-Catholic activity accompanied ever since the missionaries entered China and established the first base in Zhaoqing. Those threatens however, are of different extent and nature. Generally speaking they can be divided into pure violence performed by the masses and the organized persecution carried out by the Confucianism scholars. Coping with the former type of assault is a much easier task. According to the record in Ricci's work, although these fierce robberies usually cause great losses, they did nothing with the existence of missionary group at local society. Instead, missionaries might win the local officials' compassion and respect, especially since missionaries always showed lenient to the offenders in the afterward judgment on those ruffians. Thus these occurrences may eventually have added the protection from local officials. In his book, Ricci had mentioned Wangpan the prime minister of Zhaoqing to had helped them to get rid of this kind of troubles and provide guardianship (Matteo & Trigault, 1953).

The second type of the occurrence however, would really spoil their status. Throughout the history of late Ming, similar persecution had occurred at least in Nanchang, Guangdong and Nanking, while the Nanking persecution was the most serious one, directly result to the exile of missionary Alfonso Vagnoni back to Macao (Wu, 2016). Usually the persecutions occur in the time and places while the conservative Confucian scholars and officials lead the political and ideological authority in the local society, causing crucial conflict with the Catholic doctrine and preach. The intent here in this research is not to thoroughly review the story of these persecution, but to focus on their anti-Catholic thought and word-choosing. Their characteristic can be best understood while juxtaposed with the scholar-official missionary supporters' attitude about the missionary and the Western culture.

The latter group to some degree treated the missionary group as the equal counterpart of themselves. They use honorifics to call Ricci like calling other Confucian fellows. They were also aware of the fact that the Western civilization, which they call 'west country (Xiguo)' or 'west sea (Xihai)' are somehow different from China in nature. The degree of this consciousness was not the same between different members of them. For example, among the so-called '3 foundation pier of China Catholicism', Xu Guangqi had a thoroughly comprehension of the uniqueness of western knowledge and science. He appraised them as great treasure did by wise man in other places of the world. In his own word, 'I learned Ricci and his colleagues' astronomy, which is based on their exquisite mathematic. They are hundred times advanced than our knowledge in classic times of Han and Tang' (Xu & Ursis, 1612). Recognizing these merits of Western knowledge, Xu modestly learned from Ricci to combine the two knowledge tradition. Comparing to Xu, Li Zhizao was not able to abandon

Chinese ethnocentrism understanding of western in his early life. He regarded the Western astronomy as having the correspondence with the classical Confucianism thought, so that learning from Westerners is like the saying, 'to seek for principle in the folk while it erodes in the imperial court.'(Li, 1936) Only by continuing communication with missionaries, had he realized that 'the land is just like a little grain in the sea, while our homeland is again a dust in that grain.' This self-relativization allowed him to gradually abandoned the ethnocentrism idea.

Many of these intellectuals showed tendency to relativize the Chinese doctrine due to their contact with new Western thoughts. For instance, Mi Jiahui from Qiaochuan wrote in the preface of *Xifang dawen*, 'Although scholars often quote the word of Lu Jiuyuan, "The eastern and the western share the same kind of mind", they still can't avoid judging by their prejudice of those they had never experience or heard. However, China is only a little place in the world, and we are just one tiny member of this country. Why dare we stick on those limited knowledges inherited from the ancestors, and not to open our mind to all the others?'(Aleni, 2011) while the most prominent statement was from Kong Zheng, student of Xu Guangqi, in the preface of *Tianwenlve*, 'I was amazed when I first read Ricci's books. After I further my study on them, I started to understand that they are priori principles existed at first. Western scholars first find them. Then eastern scholars saw them. It's not because westerners are better, just for that we eastern scholars had not yet turned our focus on them.' (Hobson, 1849) Due to the acceptance of knowledge brought by the missionaries, Kong's statement had totally relativized his own knowledge tradition, calling Chinese Confucian scholars as 'eastern scholars'. It can be said that the thoroughness of this relativization of the tradition was rare even in the whole intellectual history.

On the other hand, among the anti-Catholic Scholar-officials, the appellation of missionaries also reflects clearly their attitude. Their attack on the preach activity focused on 3 major themes. Yu Chunxi, Xu Dashou called the Western knowledge as 'knowledge of last things', which failed to grab the crucial philosophy of personality cultivation promoted by Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism. Accordingly, they claimed that although the Western equipment was delicate, it could do nothing with the self-cultivation, so that these 'Yi' skills worth no acknowledgement. Through this way they protected the self-respect and belief on the Confucianism by degrading the Western knowledge into an inferior type of knowledge. This practice was the origin of the 'Chinese substance, Western implements' idea popular in late Qing period. Ling Qilu, Huang Zheng called Ricci devil Ricci' or 'barbarian devil', regarding him as a total enemy. They claimed that Ricci's intrigue was to use the advanced astronomy knowledge to encroach the legitimation of the royal court. Since in ancient times, the forecasting and interpretation of nature phenomenon was considered to have direct relationship with the fate of the dynasty, missionaries are considered to be using this approach to gradually spoil and disintegrate the authority of Ming royal court. So they abused, 'How dare these barbarian devils to harass our mighty law and regulation with their uncivilized traditions?' Shen Que and Shi Bangyao however, pointed out that these 'Yi' or 'barbarian devils' live according to a very different moral understanding with Chinese. Thought of the Catholicism were considered to be offending the moral principles, because the thinking that all believers of God are like brothers may greatly destroy the hierarchy idea of China formed from the ancient times (Xia, 1996).

What becomes apparent through the examples mentioned above is that though they had their own

strengthen point of criticize, the conservative Scholar-officials shared the same attitude to regard Ricci and the Western thought as a barbaric culture system like other 'Yi'. Basing on the idea, they tended to refuse it from a Sino ethnocentrism points of view. However, when it came to early Qing period, considering missionary would mean a quite another thing, which to a great scale admit their cultural independency, not only to their supporters, but even to the conservative intellectuals and officials.

2.2 Kangxi calendar persecution: the sound 'Western' calendar

After the Manchu conquerors entered and dominated China, they hired Johann Adam Schall von Bell and then Ferdinand Verbiest as the administrator of the supreme observatory to take charge of the empire calendar enactment. The conservative Confucian scholars and officials didn't stop the persecution of Westerners. As their representative, Yang Guangxian repeatedly presented memorials to the throne to protest its over-dependent on the missionaries. He even stated the famous declaration 'China can bear the lack of sound calendar but can't bear the consequence of accepting the Westerners'. Some analyses on this Kangxi calendar persecution thought that Yang Guangxian's accuse of missionaries didn't exceed the heritage carried in the statement made by Shen Que and other late Ming Nanking period conservativists. In *Budeyi*, collected works of his memorials and writings, Yang also censured the major accusation mentioned about, including that the missionary had no aid on the moral training, their astronomy knowledge may harm the political legitimacy by the Western knowledge, and the Catholic followers' brotherhood relationship may harm the traditional Chinese hierarchy social order. However, these previous researchers didn't underline a major diversification. While Yang mentioned missionaries, he no longer used the Chinese ethnocentrism word 'Yi' or barbarians, and adopt the appellation of 'Xiyang' (Western) and 'Xiyangren' (Westerner). Yang called Schall von Bell a 'Xiyangren' from his first accusation *Qingzhu Xiejiao Zhuang*, and continually used it, while didn't applied the usage of ethnocentrism concepts (Yang, 2000). Although they held the same opinion upon the missionaries, they applied a different word-choosing, reflecting the changing in situation and cognition of conservative Scholar-officials in Qing dynasty compared with late Ming period.

Many factors are related with this transformation in thinking pattern (Xie, 2002; Han, 2011; Tan, 2013). First, although Manchu was not the first nation politic power to conquer China, they still face task of proofing its legitimacy to the Sino scholar-official personality group. The advanced astronomy knowledge and technology was a great tool to both grasp the legitimation proof and at the same time to dampen Sino Confucian scholars and officials. This helped them to hold an official position never owned by any other foreigner groups. Second, while Yang Guangxian was supported by Aobai the assist chancellor who in the young Kangxi's period practically control the royal court. But the emperor rapidly grown and successfully defeated Aobai in his fifteen. The missionaries were in his side to fight against Yang Guangxian and other conservative scholar-officials in the ideology war. As a result, the relation with the dominant was conversed in the early Qing period. Not only the emperor had realized the peculiar value of these westerners, Yang Guangxian was also not in the place to belittle them. This is not only because he served Mancho conquerors who was not long before a remoted ethnic group regarded as barbarians, but also for that when Yang was appointed to work in the national observatory, he also relied on the Arab astronomers' knowledge, which kept a better accuracy then the traditional Chinese calendar followers. All this helped to form a further

more independent image of missionaries and the western culture and religious they represented for. To some extent, the forming of this word-choosing symbolized that the Western culture and religious thought had at the time got rid of the constraint from the Chinese ethnocentrism order and won its own unique characteristic as a civilization in the mind of Confucian intellectuals, even in the conservative part of them.

However, this situation didn't maintain for a long time. When Qing entered the prosperous Kangxi period, the emperor Kangxi had succeeded to help both Manchu and himself to stabilize the regime, he gradually felt the existence of the missionaries is a hindrance. So Kangxi started to exclude the missionaries, establishing the authority by his own learning. Just in time, Pope instructed Jesuits in China to severely revise their preach strategy. Missionaries are required to forbidden the ancestor veneration ceremony. The rule established by Ricci and followed by Schall von Bell was overruled. When Kangxi realized this change, he forbidden the preaching of Catholicism in the mainland China. All churches were closed, and the activity of missionaries was greatly restricted (Ma & Guan, 2013).

The situation continued until the warships crashed China's coast defense in Opium War. However, the small amount of understanding of Western society formed during late Ming and early Qing period had returned to the conservative and self-protecting ones. Even in the eyes of progressive Wei Yuan's *Haiguo Tuzhi*, Western was back to the status of 'Yi', while the strategy of China towards Western returned to the old backward scheme.

Conclusion: The changed and unchanged in Ming and Qing conservative Scholars' thought

As is known, the China image described by Ricci played a particular role in the occurrence of Enlightenment. The atheism China society with an orderly moral life amazed Leibniz and the Encyclopédiste, causing their suspicious towards the necessity of god for Westerners themselves (Sun, 1996). Although the successors of them, from Hegel to Marx and Weber, had formed a stagnate image of east world and China, they always regarded it as a crucial 'other', or to say as a contrast while considering the Western society. It's fair to say that in the Western world, the self-regarding word 'Western' is in most times a concept under the compare perspective with the 'eastern', which may regard to a wide arrange of places from little Asia, mid-east to China and Japan. While in China, however, regarding 'Western' as a different type of existence from themselves is a relatively recent and reluctant idea. The major aiming of this research is to show that along with the influence of the social-political background and missionary activity, 'Western' had once get rid of the 'Yi' or barbarian definition and became an independent object in the image of Confucianism scholars and officials.. However the situation vanished before it had ever been deep enough to become institutionalized. The reflection and relativization of Chinese culture tradition had seldom been an easy work. Even until these days after the thoroughly reflection of traditional Chinese culture in the May Fourth Movement and the Culture Revolution, this lacking of self-relativization still affects. While they appeal for an end of the ancient 'Hua-Yi' hierarchy image of international relationship, applying a progressive idea within the dual opposition of tradition and modern, they didn't ever reach a real opposition image of 'east - west', and stopped on the compromise idea of 'Center (Sino) - west'.

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