

After Criticism of Ma Dexin against Veneration of Saints: Rethinking Chinese Elaboration of Islam¹

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Abstract

Hui Muslim scholars' efforts to refine their beliefs and practices in consonance with the Chinese cultural and social milieu have played an important role in building amicable relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in China. However, these scholars' activities sometimes promoted division among Hui Muslims. It is important to shed light on the dark side of Hui Muslims' pro-Chinese elaborations of Islam to learn about multicultural symbiosis from their historical experiences.

This paper focuses on how sectarian rivalry among Chinese-speaking Muslims was enlarged by reinterpretations of Ma Dexin (d. 1874), a prominent Hui scholar in Yunnan province, on critical discourses against the veneration of saints from West Asia; these reinterpretations were aimed at resolving feuds between followers of Islam and Chinese polytheists. First, this paper establishes how Ma Dexin or his disciples and adherents of the Jahriya Sufi order disagreed with and fought each other. Second, it discusses the measures taken to repair this fissure. Finally, it examines how the tension between Muslims and non-Muslims worked as a backdrop to the discord and compromise among Hui Muslims.

Chinese-speaking Muslims or Hui were the descendants of Muslim immigrants from various areas of Asia—descendants who were physically and culturally Sinicized at various levels as a result of their various contacts with indigenous peoples in China. They constructed their own communities around mosques all over China in the sixteenth century. Since then, their learned men have struggled to refine their beliefs and practices in consonance with the Chinese cultural and social milieu to secure the survival of their communities and avoid frictions with their non-Muslim neighbors, or Han people, who have been apt to despise Islam as heterodox and its believers as dangerous. For example, during the pre-modern period, Hui Muslim scholars deliberately highlighted affinities between the metaphysics of Sufism and Confucianism by identifying the key terms or concepts of the former with those of the latter.

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Previous studies attempted to elucidate the conceptual manipulations in such scholarly struggles, regarding them as attempts to realize an intercultural coexistence, from which we can extract wisdom for our global society in the future.² Moreover, some students might take an interest in Hui Muslims' attentive negotiations with non-Muslims of their beliefs as Asian modes of Islam that are different from Middle-Eastern Islam and the potential for rectifying Islamophobic prejudices that some of the latter have fostered. Certainly, Hui scholars' pro-Chinese elaborations of Islam have played an important role in building amicable relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in China. However, these scholars' activities did not always create a harmonious society. For example, some activities even promoted division among Hui Muslims. It is important to shed light on the dark side of Hui Muslims' efforts to bridge Islamic and non-Islamic cultures and societies to learn about multicultural symbiosis from their historical experiences. Previous studies lack this perspective. In other words, they paid less attention to historical or social features than the philosophical features of such efforts of Hui scholars.

This paper focuses on how sectarian rivalry among Chinese-speaking Muslims was enlarged by reinterpretations of Ma Dexin 馬德新 (d. 1874), a prominent Hui scholar in Yunnan province, southwestern China, on critical discourses against the veneration of saints from West Asia; These reinterpretations were aimed at resolving feuds between Islamic believers and Chinese polytheists. First, this paper establishes how Ma Dexin or his disciples and adherents of the Jahriya Sufi order disagreed with and fought each other. Second, it discusses the measures taken to repair this fissure. Finally, it examines how the tension between Muslims and non-Muslims worked as a backdrop to the discord and compromise among Hui Muslims.

1. Inheritance of Ma Dexin's View on the Veneration of Saints

1.1. Ma Dexin and Ma Lainyuan's Criticism against the Jahriya

Nakanishi [2019] detailed how Ma Dexin tried to make peace between Muslims and non-Muslims by radicalizing a negative opinion on the veneration of saints from West Asia. Here, let us briefly confirm this. Ma Dexin found a crisis for securing the survival of coreligionists in the Yunnan Muslim rebellion (1856–74) against the Qing dynasty, which broke out because of escalating hostilities between the Huis and Hans and because of the Qing officers' partiality for the latter. As the Huis were overwhelmed in population by the Hans, he supposed that Hui

2 For details of this research trend, see [Nakanishi 2016b; 2018a]. Recently, Gao and Min [2019: 190] concluded that the historically continued adaptation of their religious tenets by Hui Muslims for Chinese society guaranteed "the sound development of Islam in China along the direction to Sinicization" and that such a reinterpretation of Islam is "a treasure of teaching for uniting and guiding a broad range of Muslim mass, a sharp weapon for fighting against forces conspiring to split [Chinese] Nation and religious extremists, and a creative attempt to lead the religion to conform with the society of socialism."

communities would be destroyed by their continuing strife with the Qing government, for which most of their non-Muslim Chinese neighbors took sides. He, who had been tasked as a leader for a portion of the Yunnan Muslim rebels since 1857, eventually surrendered to the Qing dynasty in 1862, together with his adjutant general, Ma Rulong 馬如龍. Then, Ma Dexin, to an extent, cooperated with the dynasty's suppression of the Yunnan Muslim rebellion,³ while maintaining a certain power and influence among the Qing Yunnan government based on his renown among the Hui people. Meanwhile, he tackled the sophistication of Islam with the goals of improving the relations between the Huis and Hans and ending the Yunnan Muslim rebellion.

As a part of such adjustment of Islam, in his Arabic work with the Chinese title “*Lixue zhezong* 理學折衷 (*Selection of Sufi Teachings*),” Ma Dexin aggressively stretched the meaning of an admonition on the veneration of saints that he received in his travels around West Asia (1841–49). An Ismā‘īl in Mecca had advised the Yunnan Hui scholar to concentrate on his observance of Islamic law instead of any adherence to a Sufi master by which not every person can attain religious perfection [Ma Dexin 1988: 83]. Exaggerating this advice based on skillful consultation of Ibn ‘Arabī’s thoughts, the author of *Lixue zhezong* essentially denied the efficacy of the mentorship of Sufi masters, which few questioned in the contemporary Middle East.

In the Arabic work, the Hui author insists that whether a person can become a friend of God (*walī*) depends on his innate capacity (*isti’dād*) but not on the guidance of a Sufi master [Ma Dexin 2016: 19b–20b]. This insistence is probably based on Ibn ‘Arabī’s theory that the innate capacity of each person is determined by his immutable entity (*‘ayn thābita*) or by divine predestination (*qaḍā’*). In accordance with this theory, as detailed later, the same work also suggests that qualifying Sufi masters to raise their disciples as friends of God amounts to blasphemously attributing divinity to created things or recognizing gods other than Allāh.

From this reinterpretation, the author of *Lixue zhezong* seems to have aimed at undermining the Jahriya order, which, unlike him, found a path for survival for Hui Muslims in a continuation of their resistance against the Qing dynasty in adherence to their Sufi master [Nakanishi 2019].

We can infer that Ma Dexin’s theoretical challenge to the *raison d’être* of the Sufi master targeted the Jahriya, although *Lixue zhezong* does not declare this. One piece of evidence is Ma Lianyuan 馬聯元 (d. 1903)’s preface for his own Arabic work with the Chinese title “*Da*

3 For example, when Pan Duo 潘鐸, the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou provinces, was unexpectedly killed in 1863 by the soldiers of Ma Rong 馬榮, who was one of ex-leaders of the Yunnan Muslim rebellion who surrendered to the Qing army, Ma Dexin vicariously executed the function of the same post to remedy the situation. In addition, in 1864, Ma Dexin visited the city of Dali 大理, where Du Wenxiu 杜文秀, the most powerful leader of the Yunnan Muslim rebellion, had organized a government independent from the Qing dynasty to persuade him to surrender to the Qing dynasty. This mission did not succeed [Wang Shuhuai 1968: 122–127; Jing 1991: 133–134, 136–137].

zaxue 大雜學 (*Great Miscellany*).” Ma Lianyan, who was a disciple of Ma Dexin, wrote:

From my compassion toward them [people who cannot attend Madrasa schools because of their poverty and business], I edited a digest about knowledge in detailed books, which was suitable for their disposition and hence the meaning of which they could understand easily. Hereafter, the digest will save them from something hindering their learning, and, for a man who starts to study detailed books, facilitate him to understand them. [I did so], especially because this age is near the end of the world as follows: Many heretics have appeared in cities in China. They exhibited strange heretical innovations, any counterargument against which is not found in books. For example, reciting “Oh, Shaykh” at the slaughter of animals, doing the same when slaughtered animals are wriggling, having one’s queue hanging down his back at prayers,⁴ performing the morning prayer with magic, and so on. I have refuted them in some of my works. Therefore, they raged at me and our Sayyid, al-Ḥājī Yūsuf Rūḥ al-Dīn [that is, Ma Dexin], who was the first person to refute them, and whom I followed. It [their rage] is as you find in their book⁵ that was sent to us. If they had had any power, they would have killed me [Ma Yunliang 2011: 17].⁶

According to this, Ma Dexin blamed some people for heretical innovations such as reciting “Oh, Shaykh” at the slaughter of animals, which is recognized as a practice of the Jāhriya adherents in a part of Yunnan today.⁷ It is highly possible that the “heretics” whom he refuted were followers of the Sufi order. Also, Ma Lianyan seems to have come into collision with the Sufis, inheriting his teacher’s oppositional attitude against the Jāhriya.

1.2. Ma Lianyan’s quarrel with the Jāhriya

There is an article titled “Huihui xinjiao 回回新教” (Islamic New Teaching) in the first and

4 Ma Anyi 馬安義, the second son of Ma Lianyan, affirmatively mention that Hui Muslims concealed their ques in their turbans at prayers in accordance with the Sunna. See [Nakanishi 2016a: 18; 2018b: 140 (n.22)]

5 This might be *Qingzhen piyulun*. See below for more information.

6 My deepest thanks to Ms. Leila Chérif-Chebby, an associate member of the Centre for Turkish Ottoman Balkan and Central Asia Studies (CETOBaC) at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, for providing this source. The original Arabic text is as follows:

فانا لشفقتهم اختصرت في كل علم من الكتب المبسوطة مختصرة مناسبة لطبائعهم يسهل معناها عليهم حتى اذا اصابهم مانع بعده فهي تكفيهم واما من شرع في المبسوطات بعده فهي تيسره على فهمها خصوصا بان هذا الزمان آخر الزمان، قد حدث في بلاد الصين كثير من المبتدعين واطهروا فيها بدعات غريبة لم يوجد في الكتب ردهم كنكرهم يا شيخ عند الذبح وكذا عند النزع وكالقائهم ضفيرة شعرهم على الظهر في الصلاة وكأدائهم الفجر بالاسحار ونحوها فرددتهم في بعض مختصراتي ولهذا غضبوني وسيدنا الحاج يوسف روح الدين فانه اول من ردهم واتبعته في ذلك كما ترى في كتابهم المرسل الينا حتى لو قدروا لقتلوني

7 [Yao and Xiao 2001: 256]. However, members of the Jāhriya in the present day deny that this practice exists in their circles.

only issue of *Xinghuipian* 醒回篇 (*Writings for Awakening Muslims*),⁸ published in 1908 by Liudong Qingzhen Jiaoyuhui 留東清真教育會 (Association for Islamic Education in Japan). It conveys that Ma Dexin and Ma Lianyuan's opponents were adherents of the Jāhriya. It narrates:

A certain *Hazhi* 哈咄 [*hājj*, meaning one who experienced a pilgrimage to Mecca] espousing the Old Teaching (*gujiao* 古教) was well versed in Islamic learnings and wrote a treatise refuting the New Teaching (*xinjiao* 新教). Followers of the New Teaching resented this and tried to send an assassin after him, which was exposed. [People of the *Hazhi*] captured the assassin and handed him over to the court, but the officer dismissed the suit because of insufficient evidence. The *Hazhi* eventually felt unsafe and left [Yunnan] on the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca. After that, he was said to have died in Burma [Huiyuan 1992: 82 (the original page: 72)].

“A certain *Hazhi*” is none but Ma Lianyuan. From H. 1286 to the end of H. 1289 (1869 or 1870 to 1873), he stayed in Mecca and India, making a pilgrimage to the Ka‘ba shrine. This passage explains why he traveled from Yunnan to Burma. Eventually, he left Burma for India and died in Kanpur [Ma Zhiben 1985: 594; Bai 2000, II: 1572, 1574; Lin 1990: 112].

Undoubtedly, “the New Teaching” that drove him away from Yunnan is identified with the Jāhriya. Prior to the above-quoted passage, the same article states that the “*Laorenjia* 老人家 (respected old man)” of the New Teaching was from a Ma 馬 family whose legal domicile was located at Talang 他郎, that he disappeared suddenly from a besieged fort at the point of its falling, and that he came to Shanxi and Gansu provinces, whereby the New Teaching rose in those regions. This traces the career of Ma Yuanzhang 馬元章, the seventh grand master of the Jāhriya, and “*Laorenjia*” denotes a Sufi master. Ma Yuanzhang was a grandson of Ma Shunqing 馬順清, a son of Ma Mingxin 馬明心, the founder of the Jāhriya. Ma Shunqing died at Talang [Chou 1993: 178], a place that seems to have been recognized as the legal domicile of his grandson. “*Huihui xinjiao*” asserts that the New Teaching originated in Yunnan and then developed in Shanxi and Gansu. This is not precise as a description of the history of the Jāhriya; however, it is reasonable because it traces Ma Yuanzhang’s process of the restoration of the Jāhriya in Northwest China.

Ma Mingxin was executed by Qing officers in 1781, when the Jāhriya rebels besieged Lanzhou, the capital city of Gansu [Chou 1993: 51–63; Lipman 1997: 103–111]. After the pacification of this Jāhriya rebellion, Ma Shunqing was exiled to Talang, and his banishment gave the Jāhriya an opportunity to expand their teachings among Yunnan Hui Muslims [Chou 1993: 85–87, 178, 216; Lipman 1997: 179]. Ma Shenglin 馬聖麟 (Ma Chenglin 馬成林), a

8 For more on Liudong Qingzhen Jiaoyuhui and *Xinghuipian*, see [Ō 2006: 127–137; Cieciura 2016: 111].

son of Ma Shunqing, led the Jahriya adherents to participate in the Yunnan Muslim rebellion and died in battle in 1871 at Dadongou 大東溝, where most of his people were also martyred [Chou 1993: 175–181; Lipman 1997: 179]. However, Ma Yuanzhang, a son of Ma Shenglin, escaped from Dadongou to Northwest China before the fall [Chou 1993: 215–220; Lipman 1997: 179]. Around the same time, the Jahriya adherents in this region also participated in the Northwest Muslim rebellion (1862–78) and continued to resist attacks from the Qing army, barricading themselves in Jinjipu 金積堡, Ningxia, under the direction of the fifth grandmaster, Ma Hualong 馬化龍. However, the master eventually surrendered to and was executed by the Qing army in 1871. Then, the Northwest Jahriya suffered a devastating blow [Chou 1993: 184–211; Lipman 1997: 125–126]. However, this Sufi order soon revived at Xuanhuagang 宣化崗 in Gansu through the efforts of Ma Yuanzhang [Chou 1993: 221–259; Lipman 1997: 180], who became the acting leader of the brotherhood in 1882 [Chou 1993: 230]. During this period, Ma Lianyuan was involved in serious conflict with the Jahriya.⁹

2. Development of Ma Dexin's View on the Veneration of Saints

2.1. Ma Anli's Opinion of Sufi Masters

Ma Dexin's denunciation of saint veneration was followed by his disciple Ma Anli 馬安禮 (d. 1899), who helped Ma Dexin translate al-Būṣīrī (1296)'s *Qaṣīda al-burda* (*Ode of the Mantle*) into Chinese and wrote a Chinese commentary on it titled *Tianfang Shijing* 天方詩經 (*The Classic of Poetry in Arab*) with the support of Ma Xuehai 馬學海. This was published in 1890 [Zhou 2005: 53–54]. The commentary work has the following passage:

When the self as the source of lust goes astray without any guide, there is only the Real Lord (*Zhenzhu* 真主) [as one who can lead it to return to the right path]. The Sufi master (*Daozhang* 道長) can lead people to the Path because he enlightens them on behalf of the Lord. However, the Sufi master is not easily found. [The Sufi master] must be secretly helped and specially chosen [as a spiritual guide] by the Lord. Now, [the situation of] this Path was degraded. People [who travel in the Path] always rush to become Sufi masters and instruct their way of litany (*niangong* 念功) [i.e. *dhikr*], then intend to raise their fame and gather their disciples from various regions. They eventually changed the greatest thing into a child's play or Satan's joke, so that they are transmitting [their position of master] to their sons by hereditary succession. When a Sufi master dies, his disciples immediately bring his son to his position. They install [the previous master's son] to the rank of master, making him inherit something symbolic of his succession from his father, regardless of whether he is old or young,

9 This is in spite of the fact that Ma Yuanzhang himself is said to have made efforts to build amicable relations with non-Jahriya Muslims and non-Muslims [Ma Chen 1981: 302–306; Lipman 1997: 181].

and wise or fool. This harmful custom is spread and established almost universally. I fear that the true traces of those who traveled in the Path will disappear [Ma Anli 2016: 6414–6415 (the original folios: 14b–15a)].

This passage insists that the Sufi master can guide people not by his own ability, but rather by the divine aid given to a special person God chose. Moreover, the passage laments the present situation in which the position of the Sufi master is often transmitted by hereditary succession, human choice, and not on the divine, regardless of the successor's quality.

This opinion follows Ma Dexin, who, in *Lixue zhezhong*, states:

We read articles mentioning miracles (*karāma*) of some Sufi masters, which describe as follows: They exterminated human characteristics from themselves, and linked the divine power to themselves; they perform anything as they want without conformity with God's permission; the divine attraction (*jadhba*) is caused by their hands; and entering paradise or the fire depends on their desire. These descriptions in the books are seemingly not sincere words. Rather, it is necessary for us to oppose them in accordance with the standard measure of the *sharī'a* [Ma Dexin 2016: 25b–26a].

Prior to this passage, Ma Dexin writes that a human being cannot become a friend of God except by divine attraction to the rank close to God (*jadhba*) [Ma Dexin 2016: 19b]. As mentioned above, the same author also says about the same idea that whether every person becomes connected to God is determined by their innate capacity that God predestined. Therefore, he condemns the attribution of divine attraction to the Sufi masters as the linkage of the divine power to the human Sufis. In other words, the Yunnan Hui scholar admonishes his readers that affirming the Sufi masters' ability to lead his disciples to a kind of human perfection is equal to confusing created things with God [Nakanishi 2019: 393–395].

2.2. Ma Alin's Criticism of the Veneration of Saints from a Confucian Perspective

Ma Anli tried to bridge Ma Dexin's teaching and Confucianism, the orthodox thought in pre-modern Chinese society, beyond the mere repetition of his teacher's sermon. He was so well versed in Chinese classics that he passed a civil service examination at the provincial level (*Xiangshi* 鄉試) [Zhou 2005: 54], and often helped Ma Dexin translate his Arabic works into Classical Chinese. Ma Dexin was good at writing in Arabic but not at writing in literary Chinese. Thus, *Sidian yaohui* 四典要會 (*Essences of the Four Canons*), which is generally recognized as Ma Dexin's work, is probably elaborated for the most part by Ma Anli who contributes a preface to it [Bai 2000, II: 1562]. Most of the sentences embellished by terms and citations from the Confucian classics in *Sidian yaohui* are owing to Ma Anli's composition.

The following passage in *Sidian yaohui*, Volume 4, Chapter 4, which compares Ma Dexin's critical theory against the veneration of a saint with Confucianism, is comprised of such sentences.

As for one who regards the Sufi master as a manifestation (*xiang* 象) of the Real Lord, his view is inferior to that of fire worshippers (*maizhusi* 買朱斯) [i.e. *majūsī*] [who say as follows]: The Sun, the light of which all beings look up at in every region and time, is eternal and immutable with no equal; Who among the sages and wisemen (*shengxian* 聖賢) in various eras exceeded it? Such a view of the fire worshiper is biased. However, it seems to have a reason in its way, although it does not have any reason in its true meaning. In Confucianism, there are those who regard the blue sky as a manifestation of the Lord. Therefore, they call [the Lord] “the heaven,” saying, “the heaven with its form and color is a manifestation [of the Lord, or the principle], while the shapeless heaven is the principle (*li* 理).” However, Confucians do not thoroughly discuss the relationship between a substance (*ti* 體) and its functions (*yong* 用). Thus, they do not have this kind of erroneous and nonsensical discussion [that evaluates the Sufi master as a manifestation of the Real Lord]. Not since the ancient time has [Anyone] heard of their remarks that heaven and human beings are identical, that the sage is a manifestation of heaven, or that a man who subjugated and extinguished his self and returned to the principle of the heaven can be called “heaven.” Whoever says that a human being is a manifestation of the Lord is inferior to one who converts to Confucianism to be saved from the sin of injudicial speech [Ma Dexin 1988: 81].

A similar argument is found in Ma Dexin's *Lixue zhezong* [Nakanishi 2019: 386–389]. The Arabic work reproaches some Sufis for misunderstanding Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 1240)'s doctrine of Oneness of Being (*wahda al-wujūd*), a theoretical system that clearly distinguishes God from created things, as follows: Mistaken Sufis wrongly say, “God is incarnated in the most excellent man of each era, who is a representation (*nā’ib*) of God, and a manifestation (*ṣūra*) of Him.”[Ma Dexin 2016: 7b] The above citation appears to compare this reproach to the discourses of Confucians and fire-worshippers.¹⁰ The part comparing it with Confucianism implies that even Confucians never worship the human being as a manifestation of God, while some are to be censured for their identification of heaven with a manifestation of the Lord. This part is probably owed to an elaboration of Ma Anli that aimed to demonstrate Ma Dexin's critical theory against the veneration of saints as compatible with Confucianism.

10 Although *Sidian yaohui* was published prior to *Lixue zhezong*, the objection against the equation of created things with God itself was probably held by Ma Dexin when he wrote the former work with the aid of Ma Anli.

This conjecture is supported to an extent by a preface by Ma Anli, dated 1878, in *Zhutian dazan jijie* 祝天大贊集解 (*Collection of Commentaries on the Great Hymn for Praying to the Heaven*). *Zhutian dazan jijie* is composed of a Chinese text titled *Zhutian dazan*, written by Ma Dexin,¹¹ and commentaries on it that Arifu 阿日孚 (i.e., ‘Ārif) added in 1877, after the Ma Dexin’s death. Ma Anli writes:

In Yunnan province, calamities and upheavals continued for 18 years. The beginning of conflicts is, indeed, that Islam and Confucianism formed different factions without compromising with each other and intentionally stood against each other to generate calamities so that they gradually showed a symptom of upheavals. My master, Mr. Fuchu [the Chinese courtesy name of Ma Dexin], who thoroughly grasped both arguments and deeply understood worldly customs lamented as follows: Deteriorated Confucians and pseudo-intellectuals with superficial knowledge stick to the form in discussions on the heaven, and neglect the Lord in discussions on the principle that is under the control of Him. Thus, they deem Islam as heterodox and reject it as something trivial. Muslims also often miss the ultimate principle, talk about the Real Lord under the name of “the Heaven,” and are ignorant of the following fact: the [so-called] heaven is the Real Lord, and the Real Lord is identical to the *Shangdi* 上帝 [i.e. the Supreme Being in Confucianism]. The heaven includes all beings from the aspect of controlling the principle (*li* 理), the vital energy (*qi* 氣), the cosmic law and man’s fate (*xiangshu* 象數). From the aspect of transcending them, heaven has no name because it involves no differentiation. This is called the Real Lord, probably because It [in an aspect] functions as the Lord over every being. It never signifies the original Suchness. From his insight, my master, Mr. Fuchu, wrote *Zhutian dazan* and led those who went astray to return to the right way. He made people under heaven know of its existence and the veneration toward it. He led people to return to the Real Heaven without mistaking it for the physical heaven formed of the vital energy, and return to the Truth while repenting their errors. The reason for doing so is that he secretly tried to get rid of the catastrophe. In *Sidian yaohui* and *Xingming zongzhi* 性命宗旨, I have analyzed and explained this [Arifu 2005: 548 (the original folios: 3b–4a)].

Ma Anli argues that solely discussing the physical heaven and the principle without advancing to the consideration of the Lord is a deed of “deteriorated Confucians and pseudo-intellectuals with superficial knowledge.” This implies that Confucianism originally comprehended the Real Lord beyond the physical heaven and the principle. In short, Ma

11 Ma Dexin wrote the preface of *Zhutian dazan* in 1863. According to this preface, the work is a translation of a text (probably written in Arabic) that he obtained in his travels around Middle East.

Anli urges both Muslims and non-Muslims to restore the original doctrine of Islam and Confucianism, and to clearly distinguish the Real Lord from the physical heaven. He looks back on his analysis of this issue in *Sidian yaohui* and *Xingming zongzhi*.¹² This proves that the above-mentioned bitter review of the identification of the physical heaven with a manifestation of the Lord in *Sidian yaohui* is supplemented by Ma Anli.

As seen above, *Sidian yaohui* adds the following idea to this rigorous monotheistic review: Worshiping the Sufi master as a manifestation of the Lord is inferior to converting to Confucianism with the interpretation of the physical heaven as a manifestation of the Lord. Thus, Ma Dexin's charge against the veneration of saints conforms to the original teaching of Confucianism, which, even in its degenerated form, never confuses the Lord with the human being; hence, the veneration of saints is heterodox for Confucianism as well as Islam. It is probable that this argument was also devised by Ma Anli. If so, we can say that Ma Dexin's anti-campaign against the veneration of saints was developed by Ma Anli in the direction of the alliance with Confucianism. Thus, Ma Anli suggested that incorporating the veneration of saints, a potential target of Confucian contempt, results in a rupture between Muslims and non-Muslims.

In Ma Anli's preface to *Zhutian dazan jijie*, the author ascribes the antagonism between Muslims and non-Muslims, which eventually brought about the Yunnan Muslim rebellion, to the wrong recognition of the Real Lord caused by the deterioration of Islam and Confucianism. He thought that degraded Confucians who regard the physical heaven or the principle as the Supreme Being affix a label of heterodoxy to Islam for its belief in the Real Lord, and that deviated Muslims who do not discern God from the sky cannot perceive the identity between the Real Lord and the *Shangdi*,¹³ or between Islam and Confucianism. That is, Ma Anli indicates that the clarification of the difference between God and the sky is a way to reconcile Islam and Confucianism, or Muslims and Confucians. Moreover, through this indication, he might have intended to exclude the worshiping of the human saints as God because it is inferior to the equation of heaven with the Lord, which disturbs the harmony between Islam and Confucianism, or followers of each teaching.

3. Jahriya Reaction to Ma Dexin Tradition

3.1. Slander of Ma Dexin and Ma Lianyuan in *Qingzhen piyulun*

Ma Dexin's fight against the veneration of saints was taken over by his disciples, such as

12 According to its preface written by Ma Anli, *Xingming zongzhi* was that which he compiled from Ma Dexin's works [Ma Dexin 2008: 214]. The second chapter of *Xingming zongzhi* explains the relationship among the Real Lord, the heaven and the *shangdi* [Ma Dexin 2008: 217].

13 There were different opinions among Hui Muslims regarding whether Allah is *Shangdi*. According to [Satō 2009: 115–121; 2010: 151–160], the unification between Allah and *Shangdi* was epochally but discreetly formulated by Liu Zhi, and then more explicitly articulated by Ma Anli.

Ma Lianyuan and Ma Anli,¹⁴ and seems to have been upheld by a reasonable number of Hui Muslims. In particular, Ma Lianyuan had many disciples [Ma Zhihong 2017: 75–78; 2018]. Thus, the reaction of the Jahriya adherents became considerably violent. This is shown not only by the attempted assassination of Ma Lianyuan mentioned above but also by a Chinese work titled, *Qingzhen piyulun* 清真闢異論 (*Refutation of Heretics in Islam*). The work was written by Mu Zhi'an 穆之安 from Sichuan province and published in 1899. Although Mu Zhi'an was obscure, he was probably concerned with the Jahriya, because the front page of the book shows that the woodblocks for printings of the work were preserved in “Jingdu Qihuamen 京都齊化門,” that is, Qihuamen Shangpo Qingzhensi 齊化門上坡清真寺, a Jahriya mosque in Beijing [Chou 1993: 139, 194].

Qingzhen piyulun is composed of a preface and the main text titled “biographies of Ma Dexin and Ma Lianyuan.” The main text from beginning to end slanders the two Hui scholars, enumerating their scandalous episodes, which other historical sources do not support and hence seem unreliable.

The malicious biography, after introducing some anecdotes illustrating Ma Dexin's wiliness during the early period of his life, discloses that he had agitated and schemed the Yunnan Muslim rebellion since before its outbreak, and plotted treachery, calling himself “the king of pacifying Yunnan (平南王 *Pingnanwang*),” against the Qing dynasty, even after surrendering to it;¹⁵ that he pretended to preach on behalf of the Sage (*Shengren* 聖人, i.e., the Prophet) while altering the contents of the classics and eventually founding “*Babajiao* 爸爸教 (the religion of *Baba*),” the name of which was derived from his honorific title, “*Baba*,” used among his followers; that he entrusted Ma Lianyuan with the restoration of the religion when the former was executed by the Qing government; and that Ma Dexin's younger concubine had

14 Ma Anli seems not to have specially borne the Jahriya in mind as the enemy of this fight. A sentence prior to the above cited passage in his preface to *Zhutian dazan jijie* notes that a work titled *Qingzhen zhengxue* 清真正學 “arbitrarily alleges reckless remarks, which are unfounded and unreasonable.” This “*Qingzhen zhengxue*” might be *Tianfang zhengxue* 天方正學 written by Lan Xu 藍煦, who was probably concerned with Yangmen 楊門, one of sub-orders of the Qadiriya in China [Nakanishi 2013: 207]. However, Chinese Qadiriis observed celibacy [Ma Tong 2000: 228–229, 231, 236–237, 265–266; Nakanishi 2013: 224]. The above seen lamentation of Ma Anli over the hereditary succession of Sufi masters had to intend those other than the Qadiriya. In addition, hereditary succession was chosen sometimes by the Jahriya [Ma Tong 2000: 165, 275, 300, 324–325], but was more predominant in other orders such as Huasi 華寺, Mufuti 穆夫提, and Beizhang 北莊 [Ma Tong 2000: 154, 160–210, 359, 361–363].

15 Some historical records report that Ma Dexin called himself “*Pingnanwang*” or “*Pingdianwang* 平滇王 (the king of pacifying Yunnan)” when he vicariously executed the function of the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou provinces, taking over from Pan Duo who had been killed (See note 3 of this article). Atwill [2005: 128–129] infers that Ma Dexin thereby planned to unify Muslim rebel forces lacking their solidarity and hand over them under the direction of Du Wenxiu. However, Wang Shuhuai [1968: 123–124, 130–133 (n. 35–38)], based on numerous evidences argues that a series of actions of Ma Dexin before and after that event does not involve any ambition and plot for his uprising again against and independence from the Qing dynasty. Wang Shuhuai [1968: 109–136] argues that Ma Dexin consistently took great care to maintain peaceful relationships between the Huis and Hans, instead of using his personal advantage from the Yunnan Muslim rebellion, where he participated passively as a leader of some of the rebels.

adulterous relations with his disciples including Ma Anli, and became bolder after the death of her husband [Mu 2008: 117–125 (the original folios: 1a–5a)].

As for Ma Lianyuan, *Qingzhen piyilun* describes that he had, from a young age, often spoke ill of others, thus falling out with them, and later gathered wanderers as his pupils, while employing sophistry and replacing right with wrong to increase his adherents. Then, the work exposes his attempted rape of his adopted child's wife, his unsuccessful elopement with a widow, and his indulgence in obscene acts with little boys and a bald man while mentioning that he bribed an eyewitness and a local officer to hush-up such scandals. Besides, the author adds that Ma Lianyuan's concubine had immoral relations with his pupils and that his daughter lost her chastity despite being engaged. Lastly, this tell-all book stresses that such an infamous person as Ma Lianyuan, is not qualified to write something to judge chaste and noble persons like Bo Yi 伯夷 and Shu Qi 叔齊 [Mu 2008: 125–132 (the original folios: 5a–8b)].¹⁶

The preface of *Qingzhen piyilun*, in line with Neo-Confucianism, or the orthodox thought of the Qing dynasty, excuses the author for abusing Ma Dexin and Ma Lianyuan, as follows:

Now, [although we do not desire to equate ourselves with the previous wisemen,] those who believe themselves as sagacious and arbitrarily allege their own views, in spite of their illiteracy, alter the previous wisemen's writings at will, and recklessly accuse trivial faults of others, even though they themselves are full of diseases. This terribly misleads people. The previous Confucian said: Although it is a temporal meritorious deed that Yu 禹 made the nine rivers flow smoothly, it is an eternal achievement that Mencius put human minds right, the achievement which is not inferior to that of Yu. "Suppressing heretical teachings, refusing biased practices, and refuting unreasonable discourses"¹⁷ are works in which Mencius could not stop engaging himself. Thus, he said, "I never want to have a dispute. I am forced to do so. One who can claim refusal of [heretics such as] Yang Zhu 楊朱 and Mo Di 墨翟 is a follower of the sages."¹⁸ Because of this clear and reasonable remark, I fear that scholars who just read [heretical authors'] works without insight into their personalities will deem Yang Xiong 楊雄 as a wiseman, and Wang Anshi 王安石 as a sage, throwing out precious stones and treasuring rubble. Thus, it is necessary to investigate and expose their usual behaviors thoroughly so as to let people know that they [that is, heretical authors like Yang Xiong and Wang Anshi as well as Ma Dexin and Ma Lianyuan] should be killed and

16 The last point corresponds to the above-cited passage from Ma Lianyuan's preface to *Da zaxue*, where he confesses that he refuted religious practices of the Jāhriya in some of his works.

17 The original text is 息邪說,距陂(sic)行,放淫辭. This expression is cited from *Mengzi*, "Tengwengong" xia.

18 The original text is 豈好辨(sic)哉。予不得已也。能言距楊墨者聖人之徒也。 This utterance is cited from *Mengzi*, "Tengwengong" xia.

their works should be burned to prevent their harm from destroying morals and human minds. I hope to contribute to this. It is my earnest hope. [Mu 2008: 113–115 (the original folios: 2a–3a of the preface)]

Mu Zhi'an first compares himself to Mencius who stood against heresies. However, he is afraid that people find Ma Dexin and Ma Lianyuan's denouncement of the Jahriya to overlap with the anti-heretical activity of Mencius and so accept their claims without question. Thus, he further likens the two Yunnan Hui scholars to Yang Xiong and Wang Anshi, who Neo-Confucians have criticized. In the Neo-Confucian circles, Yang Xiong is an example of those who prostitute learning to pander to the corrupt public because he flattered Wang Mang 王莽, the founder of the Xin Dynasty and a usurper of the Han dynasty. For example, the analects of two *Chengs* 二程遺書 that Zhu Xi 朱熹 compiled records the following utterance of one of Cheng's brothers: "Although I choose Yang Xiong as a wiseman among Han Confucians, he could not be exempted from the error of entering into and retiring from the governmental service." [Cheng and Cheng 2004, I: 70]¹⁹ However, some Chinese scholars such as Sima Guang 司馬光 and Jiao Hong 焦竑 admired and vindicated Yang Xiong [Kano 1953: 278–281], as even Cheng appraised him as wise. As for Wang Anshi, the analects of Zhu Xi 朱子語類 [Li 1994, VIII: 3097] record the following anecdote: When the Shenzong 神宗 Emperor of the Song dynasty asked whether Wang Anshi is a sage, Cheng Mindao 程明道, Cheng's elder brother, denied it.²⁰ In short, Mu Zhi'an suggests that Ma Dexin and Ma Lianyuan are to be impeached by means of *Ad hominem* plus dogmatic dispute; otherwise, some people might approve of their wild remark, as in the case of Yang Xiong and Wang Anshi. Thus, the author of *Qingzhen piyilun* justifies his abusive attack on the personal characters of the two opponents, and his disclosure of their usual evil deeds, as a vaccination against their misleading works.

3.2. An Attempt to Reconcile the Followers of Ma Dexin and the Jahriya

Qingzhen piyilun displays the intense hatred that some of the people concerned with the Jahriya had for Ma Dexin and Ma Lianyuan. In contrast, other adherents of the Jahriya probably made efforts to reach an amicable settlement with their rivals espousing the religious tradition of Ma Dexin. We can catch a glimpse of this in a poem titled "Lao Talang 老他郎 (Your Grace Talang)." The poem extols Lao Talang, that is, Ma Shenglin (Ma Chenglin), who, as seen above, led the Jahriya warriors to participate in the Yunnan Muslim rebellion. This poem, said to be composed by Ma Dexin, appears in a work by

19 The original text is as follows: 漢儒之中，吾必以揚子為賢，然於出處之際，不能無過也。

20 The original text is as follows: 神宗嘗問明道云“王安石是聖人否”。明道曰“公孫碩膚，赤舄几几，聖人氣象如此。王安石一身尚不能治，何聖人爲”。

Yao Guoliang [2000: 55–56].²¹ However, Mr. Yang does not provide the source of the cited poem. Regardless, it seems plausible that this poem is not by Ma Dexin because some words are anachronistic for several reasons. The text is as follows:

Lao Talang, Lao Talang! People say that “*Talang*” is “*Ta bu lan* 他不懶 (He is not lazy).”

With a true mind and sincere intention for religion, [he] was ready to feel happy if his head were to roll around on the battlefield.

[He] defended Chengjiang and offended Kunming, eradicating 33 thousand soldiers from the Qing army.

In the Panlong River and the Yudai River, the bodies of enemies floated as if rice bran floated on water.

[He] went up to Western Yunnan and helped [his allies in] Chuxiong, fiercely chasing silly and obstinate Chu Kechang [who vicariously executed the function of the Qing Provincial Military Commander in Yunnan province.]²²

When [he] returned to Southern Yunnan in triumph with flags flattering, the western-style guns [he] captured were counted by the hundreds.

Ma Rulong²³ surrendered to the Manchu Qing dynasty (*Manqing* 满清), thus turning

21 I utilized this book by the grace of Ms. Leila Chérif-Chebby, who permitted me to borrow it from her collection. I extend my deepest thanks to her. The original text of the poem is as follows:

老他郎，老他郎，人说他郎他不懒
真心实意为教门，不惜头颅滚战场
守澄江，攻昆明，横扫清兵三万三
盘龙江，玉带河，敌尸漂落像粗糠
上迤西，援楚雄，猛追狂寇褚克昌
旗开得胜回滇南，夺取洋枪几百杆
马如龙，投满清，调转枪口打内战
杨先芝，马成林，要把如龙剥成浆
稻谷田中出稗子，喜鹊窝出黄鼠狼
各路英雄一齐反，几番肉搏为家邦
马成林，发号令，誓守东沟不投降
只有一根血脖子，熬(磨)战十年更坚强
东山战，广山战，歼灭八千马尾狼
猛冲锋，杀重围，你死我活拼几场
处处水井尸填满，条条道路堆人山
马成林啊，马成林，伊斯兰万丈旗杆
于癸酉年(同治十二年, 1873年)元日新兴大营清真寺北房

22 This couplet mentions Chu Kechang’s unsuccessful military operation in 1859–60 against the Yunnan Muslim rebellion. The Qing army under his command was temporally closed in on the city of Dali, the most important headquarter of the Muslim rebels. However, his expeditionary force was defeated by a counter attack of Muslim rebels, and he died in battle [Jing 1991: 125–128; Atwill 2005: 117–118].

23 His alias is Ma Xian 馬現. He was originally a powerful leader of the Yunnan Muslim rebellion. He surrendered to the Qing dynasty together with his religious teacher Ma Dexin in 1862 [Jing 1991: 132; Atwill 2005: 124]. Afterward, he earnestly cooperated with the Qing army to suppress the Yunnan Muslim rebellion, thus fighting in various battles. In 1871, he crushed Dadonggou, the last headquarter of the Yunnan Jahriya [Chou 1993: 175–180; Jing 1991: 145, 217–218].

his gun toward his former brothers and starting domestic warfare.

Yang Xianzhi²⁴ and Ma Chenglin hoped to hash Rulong so that he would be made into a paste.

A [stalk of] millet grew from a rice paddy, and a Manchurian weasel appeared from the nest of a magpie.

It was for the sake of the nation (*jiabang* 家邦) that heroes rose from various regions all at once, and combated hand to hand.

Ma Chenglin ordered and swore to protect Donggou without surrendering.

May [I] lastly, just become a bloody neck! [This resolution] became stronger after the ten-year fight without any compromise.

[He] fought at Dongshan and at Guangshan, and [he] annihilated eight thousand *Maweilang*.²⁵

[He] vehemently rushed [the enemies] and cut his way through close sieges. [He] fought at numerous battlefields, surviving life or death crises.

Every well was full of corpses, and dead bodies were piled on every road.

Ma Chenglin, Ma Chenglin! You are the flagpole of Islam (*Yisilan* 伊斯蘭) with ten thousand lengths.

[This is written] on the first day in the year of Guiyou [the twelfth year of Tongzhi emperor's reign, or 1873] in the northern room of the Daying mosque in Xinxingzhou prefecture.

The three words underlined above do not match the date written at the end of the poem.

First, the term *Manqing* appeared in Japan earlier,²⁶ but, in China, probably started to be heard at the end of the Qing period, or later than Ma Dexin's lifetime. The term was employed to mention to the Qing dynasty as a target to be overthrown by a national revolution that

24 Yang Xianzhi served Ma Rulong as a commanding officer of his Muslim army, and surrendered together with his boss to the Qing dynasty. When the large army of Du Wenxiu sieged Kunming, where the Yunnan provincial government of the Qing dynasty was placed, Yang Xianzhi went over to the Muslim rebel side. However, he soon surrendered to the Qing army again. He followed Ma Rulong in his siege of Dadongou, and died in this battle [Wang Shuhuai 1968: 264, 266, 280; Jing 1991: 217]. The poem's juxtaposition of Yang Xianzhi and Ma Chenglin as those who especially hated the betrayal of Ma Rulong against his coreligionists does not seem historically accurate.

25 *Maweilang* is an unknown animal. According to [Lu 1994: 36, 453], the government of Yongde 永德 prefecture in Yunnan province decided to exterminate *Maweilangs* as vermin because they had often attacked inhabitants and their domestic animals during 1962–65 as a result of excessive deforestation.

26 For example, *Nanjing Jishi* 南京紀事, a memorandum about Taiping tianguo 太平天國 written by Luo Sen 羅森, who came to Japan as a translator for the American Commodore Matthew C. Perry, was published under the title of "*Manshin Kiji* 滿清紀事," probably in the Ansei 安政 years (1854–1859) [Masuda 1979: 293–313]. Also, Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉, in *Bunmeiron no gairyaku* 文明論の概略, volume 1, Chapter 2, first published in 1875, writes that "National Essence of China (中華の国体)" was derived by *Manshin* 滿清 [Fukuzawa 1995: 42]. According to [Fukuzawa 1995: 40], "the *Kokutai* of China" refers to the distinct nationality form of a race.

regains the “Chinese” territory for the Han nation from the alien conquest of the Manchus.²⁷ In addition, after the Republican period, the same term continued to impart the invalidity of the Qing dynasty, the legitimacy of the Xinhai Revolution, and the resistances of peoples against the Qing feudalistic rule.²⁸

For example, the article “the Hui Race and revision of the Qing history (回族革命與改編清史),” published by Shawan Nüshi 沙婉女士 in the Chinese Muslim periodical *Yisilan Qingnian* 伊斯蘭青年 (*Islamic Youth*), vol.2 no.10, in 1936, states that numerous published histories of the Qing dynasty adopt the expression “Muslim rebellion” from “the standpoint of the emperors of *Manqing*,” instead, we should call it a “revolution.” In addition, the author of the article resents histories written during the Qing period that describe Muslims as militant and brutal and says: “It is to be hated that people in the old times were very stupid. Why do people still deliberately engender interethnic animosity between Muslims and non-Muslims, provoked by the emperors of *Manqing*?” [Sha 2015: 371–372]

Moreover, *Huihui minzu wenti* 回回民族問題 (*the Problem of Muslim Nation*), which Liu Chun 劉春 published under Chinese communist control in 1941 at Yan’an 延安, uses the title “*Manqing*: The Hui Nation in the most dark era when nations were locked in the prison (Zui hei’an de minzu laoyu shidai de Huizu 最暗黑的民族牢獄時代的回族)” for Chapter 2, Section 2. This section assesses Muslim rebellions during the Qing period as revolutions or anti-feudal struggles of the people [Liu 2005: 518–521].²⁹

27 For example, Sun Yetsen’s “Bo baohuang baoshu 駁保皇報書,” published in 1904, contends as follows:

We must first drive off the foreign emperor (Kedi 客帝) and take our dominion back, and it is not until then that we can be exempted from a cession of Shangdong by a sign of treaty today and a sale of Liangguang 兩廣 by another sign of loan agreement tomorrow. The *Manqing* government not only sold [a domain of] us by signs of treaties and loan agreements but also present it for foreigners after pacifying it. As for Xin’an 新安 prefecture and the Bey of Guangzhou where such situation has already been realized, if the *Manqing* government had not done things like helping [evil foreigners compared to] Jie 傑 to oppress the subjects, our people would have still gained facilities to perform necessary works [to stop the cession or sale of domain] and been able to stake their lives and sacrifice themselves for their homeland (*sangzi* 桑梓); thus, if those foreigners had known that they cannot gain an inch of our land without efforts because our people would not give it readily, they would have still been cautious against their last which is insatiable. Now, if the *Manqing* government become a dog and falcon for [games of territorial encroachment], those foreigners will have facilities to deprive us of our territory when they want to take it. Therefore, if we hope to save ourselves from foreigners’ dividing and taking China (*guafen* 瓜分), we must overthrow the Manchu government (滿洲政府), except for which, there is no remedy for the situation [Guangdongsheng 1981–86, I: 234].

28 The government of the People’s Republic of China prohibited the use of this term in 1956 with an official order by the State Council because it causes discomfort of Manchus and destroys of the solidarity of nations [Shou 2008: 338, 343 (n. 26)].

29 The developing process from Ma Mingxin’s missionary work to the rebellions of the Jāhriya are noted as a struggle against feudal exploitations from landowners and existing Sufi orders in alliance with the despotic feudalism of the Qing dynasty that changed into fights against the *Manqing* rule [Liu 2005: 519 (the original page: 28)]. In addition, Liu writes that the Muslim rebellions in Yunnan and the Northwest in the second half of the nineteenth century were excellent as “revolutions” of “the anti-alien rule” because old and

Second, the wording “for the sake of the nation” also reminds us of the Chinese nationalist manner of speaking, which gained prominence in the 1890s, or the end of the Qing period [Onogawa 2009–2010, II: 261–262; Yoshizawa 2003: 14–16, 27–34, 87–90, 159–164]. By this wording, the anonymous author of the poem probably intended to implicate Ma Shenglin’s resistance against the Qing dynasty in a liberation war for the “Chinese nation,” or the subversion of the alien and feudalistic rule of the Qing dynasty for the purpose of constructing the Nation-state and resisting the Western imperialism. This patriotic concept was idealized not during Ma Dexin’s lifetime, but after it.

Third, the Chinese transcription of *Islām* into *Yisilan* started to gain popularity after the Republican period. Thus, it does not seem to belong to the age of Ma Dexin. For example, Ma Dexin’s almost contemporary Hui scholar, Lan Xu 藍煦, in Volume 3, Chapters 6 and 11, of his Chinese work *Tianfang zhengxue* 天方正學 (*Right Learning in Arab*), a preface to which he wrote in 1852, phonetically renders *Islām* into *Yisiliemu* 以斯略穆 [Lan 2007: 260, 266]. “Jiaomen lun 教門論 (Comment on Religion),” one of Arifu’s commentaries on Ma Dexin’s *Zhutian dazan* mentioned above, uses the Chinese spelling of *Yisili’amo* 一斯立阿模 [Arifu 2005: 557 (the original folio: 21a)]. As for Ma Dexin, for example, *Chaojin tuji* 朝覲途記 (*Travelog of Pilgrimage*), the Chinese version of his travelog of his trip around the Middle East, which was translated under his supervision by his disciple from the original Arabic text, transcribes *Islāmbūl* into *Yisilamubu* 易思喇母布 [Ma Dexin 1861: 10a] (or *Yisilamubule* 易思喇母布勒 [Ma Dexin 2007: 699 (the original folio: 9b)]) . *Islāmbūl* (full of Islam), an alias of Istanbul, is comprised of *Islām* + *būl*. In short, the travelog transcribes *Islām* into *Yisilamu*. In addition, *Zhinan yaoyan* 指南要言 (*Summarize of Compass*), which Ma Dexin edited by summarizing Ma Zhu 馬注 (d. after 1710)’s *Qingzhen zhinan* 清真指南 (*Compass of Islam*), spells *Islām Yisiliemu* 以思略目 [Ma Dexin 1864, II: 22b] and *Yisilamu* 以思喇目 [Ma Dexin 1864, II: 31b, 32a], following the original text [Ma Zhu 1989: 156, 170]. In this way, *Islām* was transliterated with four or five Chinese characters during the Qing period.

Meanwhile, the spelling *Yisilan* was used in the first issue of the Chinese Muslim periodical *Zhongguo huijiao xuehui yuekan* 中國回教學會月刊 (for example, [Shouyu 1926: 9]), with the English title “*the China Muslim*,” published by *Zhongguo Huijiao Xuehui* 中國回教學會, or the China Muslim Literary Society in 1926. This society was organized in 1925 in Shanghai by Ha Decheng 哈德成 (d. 1943) and others. It seems that *Yisilan* became popular around this time.

This trend is confirmed by Wang Jingzhai 王靜齋 (d. 1949)’s articles on the Chinese Muslim periodical *Mingde yuekan* 明德月刊 (*Belief Monthly*), which was published by Tianjin

new sects united for their movements, but that these revolutions failed because the upper classes of the Han people worked as *Manqing*’s instrument and fueled antagonism between the Hui Muslims and the Han masses [Liu 2005: 520 (the original page: 32)].

Huijiao Lianhehui 天津回教聯合會 (Federation of Associations for Muslims). He exclusively calls Islam “*Huijiao* 回教” in his articles, including an “Additional report on an unprecedented great meeting (追述天方空前之大會議)” in the fourth issue of the same periodical, published February 1, 1925 [Wang Jingzhai 1925a]. Then, he applies *Yisilam* 以斯拉目 for *Islām* in his Chinese translation of an Arabic romance, “Young woman Teng’ao (籐嫗女郎),” published in serial form in the fifth issue of the following month [Wang Jingzhai 1925b: 18]. In addition, he renders *Islām* into *Yisilan* 以斯蘭 in his Chinese translation of an Arabic biography of the Prophet *Zhisheng Mumode shilüe* 至聖穆默德史略 (*Brief history of the Ultimate Sage Muḥammad*), in an appendix to the same issue [Wang Jingzhai 1925c: 5], and in a sequel of “*Teng’ao nūlang*” published in the eighth issue in November 1925 [Wang Jingzhai 1925d: 16]. Eventually, he transcribed *Islām* into *Yisilan* 伊斯蘭 in his articles including “Muḥammad ‘Alī and recently published English translations of the *Qur’ān* (穆罕默德阿禮與近年刊行的英譯古蘭經),” carried in the eleventh issue in August 1927 [Wang Wenqing 1927: 7–8].

These out-of-place expressions imply that the poem in question was composed by someone later than Ma Dexin under his name. It is highly possible that the anonymous poet was a person involved with the Jahriya who tried to reconcile differences between his denominational fellows and the followers of Ma Dexin by creating a past in which the authoritative and severe Hui scholar applauded a leader of the Sufi order.

Conclusion

As discussed in this study, Ma Dexin’s criticism of the veneration of saints intensified the antagonism between his followers and the Jahriya, while aiming for the cessation of the Yunnan Muslim rebellion or the settlement of the hostility between the Hui and Hans. It is remarkable that the two sectarian rivals among Hui Muslims respectively contrived to legitimize themselves by displaying their conformity with Confucianism. Thereby, they mutually presented their enemies as hazardous to non-Muslims as well as Muslims and as a threat to the friendship between the believers of different religions. In these cases, the coreligionist competitors shared the idea that they should maintain a peaceful relationship between the Hui and Hans, an idea that justified and reinforced their attacks on each other. In other words, the tension between Muslims and non-Muslims, or the former’s inclination to mitigate it, sometimes deepened the gaps among the Hui people.

Actually, Hui Muslims have repeated the mode of confrontation where some ostentatiously took the Confucian side to oppose others. For example, Hui scholars such as Wang Daiyu 王岱輿 (active during the mid-seventeenth century) and Ma Zhu³⁰ might rather

30 According to Ma Zhu’s *Qingzhen zhinan*, volume 10, “Zuodao tongxiao 左道通曉 (Being acquainted with heresy),” Muslim inhabitants at Wuding-fu 武定府 in Yunnan province, represented by him, sued Qalandars (Gelandai 格蘭岱) to the local government, and succeeded in having the latter suppressed the former. A letter that Muslims of Wuding-fu wrote to ask Ma Zhu to exterminate the Qalandars condemns this

have strived to drive out inner heresies among Muslims on purpose to accommodate non-Muslims' good understanding of Islam [Horiike 2012: 122–141, 371–373; Lipman 1997: 81]. Besides, in factional quarrels between the Jāhriyya and another Sufi order, the Huasi 華寺, in Northwest China, both sets of adherents sued each other in the local governments of the Qing dynasty for anti-Confucian heresy, or disturbance of the Chinese social order. These suits developed into violent clashes between litigants and the rebellion of the Jāhriyya against the Qing dynasty, which had a negative influence on the relationship between the Huis and Hans [Lipman 1997: 91; 1999].

However, the Hui people's common mental attitude toward the avoidance of frictions with non-Muslims worked in attempts to dissolve the enmities between Muslims. The poem *Lao Talang* narrates that Ma Dexin admired Ma Shenglin from the viewpoint of their common goal of overthrowing *Manqing*, or the Manchu Qing dynasty, and contributing to the Chinese nation. The ode is designed to facilitate a reconciliation between the followers of Ma Dexin and the Jāhriyya by the mistimed fiction that the former idealized a Sufi master of the latter, which is in line with ideologies such as the national revolution, anti-imperialism, and anti-feudalism. The same ode is also plotted to indicate that the Hui people are the allies of the Han people, sharing the ideologies that were valued by Chinese society after the end of the Qing period. Putting it differently, in the harmonious coexistence with the Han people, or the basic strategy for the survival of Hui Muslims, the poet found a point of agreement between the followers of Ma Dexin and the Jāhriyya and utilized it to mediate between the Muslim antagonists.

Thus, there have been complicated connections between the inner conflicts and compromises among Hui Muslims on the one hand, and the tensions and reconciliations between the Huis and Hans on the other hand. Indeed, the struggle of Hui Muslims to adapt Islam to Chinese society are historical experiences worth consulting to facilitate intercultural dialogues in the present age of globalization. However, the experiences warn us against blindly praising such adjustments of Islam by Muslim minorities to the host society without any understanding of the ideal approach to build a harmonious multicultural society.³¹ In future studies on Hui Muslims, we should pay more attention to the historical contexts and social side effects of their intellectual efforts.

group as ones who “nullified the great ethical norms, destroyed the laws of the state, and drew the right path of Islam into an evil road.” [Ma Zhu 1989: 420]. Ma Zhu's report to the local government appeals that the suppression of the Qalandars amounts to venerate and meet the present emperor's respectful attitude to the right learning [Ma Zhu 1989: 422].

31 For example, in the above cited passage in Ma Anli's preface to *Zhutian dazan jijie*, Wang Shuhuai [1968: 113–114] includes Ma Dexin's wish to reconcile between the Huis and Hans. As discussed above, we should also note Ma Dexin and Ma Anli's confrontation with some Muslims that they despised as heresies.

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