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"*Zhenzhu*'s Deputy":

Loyalty and Filiality in *The Compass of Islam*

by
Jonathan N. Lipman

Victor H. Mair, Editor
Sino-Platonic Papers
Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6305 USA
vmair@sas.upenn.edu
www.sino-platonic.org

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"*Zhenzhu*'s Deputy": Loyalty and Filiality in *The Compass of Islam*

Jonathan N. Lipman[1]

Mount Holyoke College

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In Memoriam

Françoise Aubin (1932–2017) modeled the scholarly life. Her detailed narratives, clear arguments, and meticulous documentation embody the goals of our profession—accuracy, detachment, and transparency. As a young academic, I was privileged to learn from her. Though I cannot aspire to her standard of excellence, I hope that this essay can serve as a tribute to an inspiring mentor.

Abstract:

This essay presents the evidence and argumentation of Yunnanese Muslim literatus Ma Zhu (1642–1711), elucidated in his *Qingzhen Zhinan*, for the simultaneity and even precise identity of Islamic and Chinese social ethics. Focusing on loyalty (*zhong*) and filiality (*xiao*), Ma Zhu concluded that Muslims living in the Chinese culture area should conform to both the dictates of Qur'an and *ḥadīth* and, seamlessly, the virtues stipulated in the Neo-Confucian classics and the rest of the Chinese canon. Alternating citations from the two traditions, he demonstrated what he perceived as their complete compatibility for modeling and managing human society.

Keywords: Ma Zhu, *Qingzhen Zhinan*, social ethics, Islam, Confucianism

1. BELONGING IN CHINA: *JINGTANG JIAOYU* AND CHINESE ISLAMIC TEXTS

The Mediterranean (Abrahamic) monotheisms—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—were brought to the Chinese culture area by foreign believers, some of whose descendants settled, intermarried, and over the course of many generations gradually became local. As these adherents acculturated,[2] in order to maintain their exogenous religions they had to solve complex problems of translation, for Chinese lacks an obvious vocabulary to express a monotheistic God's singularity, omnipotence, omniscience, and revelations to humankind. To make sense in Chinese, these ideas—the qualities and actions of a foreign God—had to be rendered in familiar terms, separated from Buddhism and Daoism and made compatible with orthodox Neo-Confucian principles.[3] Jewish, Christian, and Muslim intellectuals, including religious leaders, did not wish to be associated with what the state called heterodox teachings (*xiejiao*), which might have endangered their livelihoods, social standing, even their lives. Rather, they strove to construct positions—religious, intellectual, social, political—in which they could simultaneously belong where they lived and remain somewhat different from most other Chinese. Over centuries of adaptation, these delicately constructed arrangements led some of them to express their religions' truths in acceptable Chinese prose (and occasionally poetry).[4]

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2 By "acculturation," I intend the nearly universal processes by which outsiders ("strangers") arrive in a new cultural context and, usually over the course of generations, become more ordinary, more familiar. Acquisition of local language is, of course, a crucial component of acculturation, along with names, dress, manners, foodways, and ritual life. Acculturation to the point of becoming indistinguishable from indigenes is often called "assimilation."

3 All three Abrahamic monotheisms were translated into written Chinese after the Song period (conventionally 960–1279 ce), when the state declared Neo-Confucianism to be orthodox and its texts, as selected and understood by the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi, the basis for correct understanding of reality. Though widely studied and practiced, exogenous Buddhism and indigenous Daoism were regarded by orthodox Neo-Confucians as deluded and potentially destructive.

4 Muslims' acculturation varied considerably from one region to another in both quality and timing—this description applies best to core areas where Chinese literacy was common and elite status relatively accessible.

In the case of Islam, these acculturative processes accelerated under Mongol rule (conventionally 1279–1368 CE), when numerous Central and West Asian Muslims came to live in the Chinese culture area as merchants, soldiers, government officials, scholars, and adventurers. In the Ming period (conventionally 1368–1644), their descendants settled and stayed, living in scattered communities in commercial cities or along trade routes, often placing themselves as middlemen between Chinese culture and its diverse internal and external frontiers. By the sixteenth century, some intellectual and religious leaders among these Muslims had begun to translate Islamic texts and ideas into Chinese, which had become their primary language of daily life. As their coreligionists gradually acculturated, they worried that their communities would lose their Islamic distinctiveness as well as their capacity to transmit the religion from generation to generation.

In addition, after the mid-fifteenth century the Ming government demanded Neo-Confucian ideological and ritual conformity (orthodoxy and orthopraxy) of its subjects and strictly controlled contact between its territory and foreign cultures. The centralized state, with the Son of Heaven/Emperor/Huangdi at its apex, grew more effective and intrusive, while the *jiazu* lineage-village form of social organization became more pervasive and normative.[5] The rituals of ancestor veneration and family solidarity spread widely across classes and regions, accompanied by intensified attention to education in the Neo-Confucian canon, aimed at both success in the imperial civil service examinations and maintenance of a social and moral order based on clearly defined and theoretically stable hierarchies.

These political processes influenced social ethics, intersecting with intellectual and religious emphasis on loyalty and obedience to established authority (*zhong*) and filial reverence for parents and ancestors (*xiao*). Some Muslims participated fully in this evolving Chinese culture, some remained deeply attached to the West Asian textual sources of their religion, written in Arabic and Persian, and some did both. Finding their coreligionists' deepening absorption in Chinese culture disturbing and anxious that Islam not be diluted to the point of extinction, Muslim intellectual elites sought to preserve its principles and rituals while remaining at home in China.

5 Historians and anthropologists have created a huge, sometimes contentious literature on the evolution of lineage-village institutions in Chinese culture. A summary, itself the subject of academic controversy, is Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor*.

The conventional narrative holds that Hu Dengzhou (1592–1597), of Shaanxi in northwest China, returned from the pilgrimage to Makkah bearing Islamic texts and a vision of strengthening Islamic education in his homeland.[6] His innovative pedagogy, now called *jingtang jiaoyu*, "scripture-hall education," combined the study of Arabic and Persian languages and texts with spoken Chinese instruction and gradually with Chinese literacy, thus encouraging translation and vernacular comprehension.[7] Stemming from Hu Dengzhou's initiative and the efforts of many other scholars, over the next century a network of schools founded by Muslim intellectuals literate in Arabic, Persian, and Chinese spread over much of the Chinese culture area, with significant presence in Beijing, the Yellow River valley, the Yangtze valley (especially Jiangnan), Guangzhou, and Yunnan as well as Hu's Shaanxi.

Many of their students became resident clergy in conventional mosques, but starting in the mid-seventeenth century, some of them responded to what they saw as their communities' needs by writing about Islam in Chinese. They produced translations, commentaries, and original apologetic works, explaining Islam to a Chinese-literate audience, most of it Muslim. From the mid-seventeenth through the end of the nineteenth century, in numerous books and pamphlets these scholars strove to teach Islam to their coreligionists (and occasionally others) and to persuade them that being a Muslim was entirely compatible with being a full participant in Chinese civilization, that the two could coexist without conflict, indeed that in some ways they were identical. In the past half century, their literary works have come to be called by the appropriately bilingual term *Han kitāb*, the Chinese [Islamic] book(s).[8] This corpus included many genres, from textbooks of Arabic grammar to metaphysical

6 Among Chinese-speaking Muslims, Hu Dengzhou is often called Hu Taishi, Hu the Great Teacher, an official title given to the emperor's personal tutors. Benite, *The Dao of Muhammad*, especially pp. 39–43. For a detailed history of scripture-hall education, see Stöcker-Parnian, *Jingtang Jiaoyu*.

7 The local Chinese vernacular used in religious instruction incorporated many transliterated and translated Arabic and Persian terms, resulting in a mixed language called "scripture hall vernacular" (*jingtangyu*), related to the *Huihuihua* that Chinese Muslims used as a "language of authenticity." According to a recent dictionary, "[scripture-hall vernacular] generally used Chinese for verbs and Arabic and Persian transliterations, translations, or a combination of the two for nouns, structured within a largely Chinese grammar."

8 There is an entirely Chinese name for this body of intellectual work, *Hanwen yizhu*, "Chinese-language translations and works," commonly used by Chinese Muslim scholars instead of the bilingual *Han kitāb*. For a general overview, see

theorizing and theological apologia. The question of audience has intrigued scholars interested in these books—were they written for Muslims, aimed at rescue from acculturation, or at non-Muslims, to persuade them of Islam's rectitude? No simple answer can suffice, and we will consider this issue below.

2. COMBINING AND BALANCING TRADITIONS: MA ZHU (1640?–1710?)

Beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, writers schooled in the scripture-hall education network, with a (mostly) common curriculum of Arabic and Persian texts, produced their Chinese-language Islamic literature. Its authors and readers shared their writings, frequently in manuscript form, and freely borrowed from one another.[9] They used Arabic and Persian manuscripts as their primary sources. Some translated Islamic texts into Chinese, while others wrote original explanations of their ancestral religion, based on those exogenous texts. Until the mid-nineteenth century they wrote primarily in Chinese, partaking of two distinct linguistic and textual traditions, which presented them with both opportunities and dilemmas.[10] They shared rich literary and intellectual resources in both, but moving between them required sophisticated translations, avoiding violation of either Confucian or Islamic orthodoxy, meeting both cultures' requirements for civilization and rectitude. Scholars have used the late twentieth century notion of "civilizational dialogue" (*wenming duihua*) to comprehend the construction of this Muslim Chinese literary identity:

Petersen, *Interpreting Islam in China*, especially ch. 1–2. Sachiko Murata has translated a number of these Sino-Islamic works into English, with invaluable scholarly introductions and annotation, in *Chinese Gleams of Sufi Light, The Sage Learning of Liu Zhi,* and *The First Islamic Classic in Chinese*.

9 Benite, *Dao of Muhammad*, pp. 137–144.

10 Though many Sino-Muslims had sojourned in the Muslim heartlands before, by the 1840s, European ships enabled more Chinese Muslims to undertake the pilgrimage and to study for extended periods in the Middle East. Ma Dexin (1794–1874), for example, became an accomplished writer of Arabic as well as Chinese and published books in both languages. Petersen, *Interpreting Islam in China*, especially chapters 3 and 5.

> *Han kitāb* scholars carved out a *topos* made of two overlapping imagined spaces, broadly defined as 'China' and 'Islam,' and positioned themselves within it. It was from that overlapping center that, through the creative use of geographical and historical imagination, Chinese Muslim literati engaged in dialogue with the dominant Chinese elite.[11]

Scripture-hall education spread to mosques throughout the Chinese culture area, from its origins in the north to the core cities of the east and to distant frontiers such as Yunnan, in the far southwest.[12] Earlier governed by indigenous Buddhist states (Nanzhao and Dali), Yunnan had been conquered in the thirteenth century for the Mongol empire by an army under a Central Asian Muslim general, Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Dīn 'Umar al-Bukhārī (Sai Dianchi 1211–1279).[13] Sayyid Ajall's troops and their families established Muslim communities throughout the province; his lineal descendants governed Yunnan for several generations and later included the famous eunuch-admiral Zheng He. In the Ming and Qing periods, the region was gradually incorporated into mainstream Chinese culture and became a frontier center of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy as well as Islamic education. By the seventeenth century, many Yunnanese Muslim elites claimed descent from Sayyid Ajall and studied both the Islamic and the Chinese curricula.[14]

Yūsuf Ma Zhu, a key author in the Sino-Muslim intellectual network, was born in Baoshan, a Yunnanese frontier town, around 1640, in the last years of the Ming state. He claimed to be a descendant of Sayyid Ajall and thus a forty-fifth-generation *sayyid*. His father, a Muslim teacher of the Confucian canon, groomed him for the imperial civil service, and he passed the lowest level (*xiucai*) examination

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11 Benite, *Dao of Muhammad*, p. 15.

12 Zhihong Ma, "Succession in the Yunnan School," pp. 30–31. Benite, *Dao of Muhammad*, p. 59, notes Wang Jianping's epigraphic evidence for a sixteenth-century Islamic school in Yunnan, founded by a disciple of Hu Dengzhou.

13 The Arabic title *sayyid* denotes a lineal descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. Sayyid Ajall claimed to be in the twenty-fifth generation after the Prophet, so he and all of his numerous descendants could legitimately use the *sayyid* title.

14 Though intensely focused on Confucian texts, Chinese education in this period always included Buddhist and Daoist materials as well. Often denigrated by Confucians, Daoist books such as the *Laozi* and *Liezi* and Buddhist religious and narrative texts nonetheless constituted a part of Chinese literacy and an important source of ideas.

while still in his teens, during the decades of war between Ming and Qing armies. After briefly serving as a minor official in the court of one of the last Ming imperial descendants, who had fled to Yunnan to escape the Manchu-led invasion, Ma Zhu did not strive for civil office under the victorious Qing state. Rather, he found conditions in Yunnan unstable and dangerous, so he moved with his family to Beijing in the late 1660s and spent a decade there teaching Confucianism to metropolitan elites, including members of the Manchu imperial family,[15] and studying the Islamic curriculum in the capital's *madrasas*. During this period he strengthened his ability to read Arabic and Persian and made connections throughout the widespread Sino-Muslim education network. By the late 1670s, an accomplished scholar of both Islam and Confucianism, Ma Zhu determined to remedy what he saw as Chinese Muslims' shallow understanding of their religion, and he wrote a book in Chinese to enlighten them—*Qingzhen zhinan* (QZZN), The Compass [Guide] of Islam[16]—then returned to Yunnan and spent the rest of his life as a private teacher and lay Muslim gentryman (*Huishen*).[17]

On the long journey home to Yunnan from Beijing with his family in the 1680s, Ma Zhu visited most of the major centers of mosque-based education, knowing that he would find like-minded men with whom he could discuss the correct understanding of Islam in their Chinese context: "I wanted to meet the famous teachers of China, observe their books, and listen to their teachings."[18] Dozens of scholars read his book in manuscript, and a number of them contributed poems as prefaces, though modern scholars disagree about how many of the poems in QZZN were actually written in response to Ma Zhu's visits.[19]

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15 He lived for a time in the household of Aisin Gioro Yuele, Prince An, Nurhaci's grandson and a successful general.

16 I have used the 1869 woodblock edition, printed by a Guangzhou mosque and reproduced in *Yunnan Huizu guji dianzang*, vols. 6–10. This edition was also reprinted, in typeset form with a vernacular translation, in Ma Baoguang (ed.), *Zhongguo Huizu dianji congshu*, vol. 3. The two publications differ in some readings, none crucial to this essay.

17 Detailed accounts of Ma Zhu's life may be found in Xu Shujie, *Ma Zhu sixiang*, and Liu Yujian, "*Ma Zhu de jia-shi*," the latter a meticulous and well-documented chronology.

18 Benite, *Dao of Muhammad,* p. 139.

19 Most readers accept all of the poems as genuine, but Wu Jianwei, one of the leading scholars of Chinese Muslim history, finds that only a few of the poems can indisputably be attributed to authors who met with Ma Zhu on his homeward journey. Wu Jianwei, "Qingzhen zhinan *hainei zengyanshi*."

Ma Zhu participated in Chinese culture's turn toward a social hierarchy based on lineage and genealogy as well as success in the examination system, and he concluded that *sayyid* status—Prophetic descent—deserved equivalence with that of Confucius's descendants, the Kong family, originally of Qufu in Shandong.[20] Yunnanese Muslim families claiming descent from Sayyid Ajall produced or preserved genealogical books to demonstrate their antiquity and *sayyid* status.[21] Ma Zhu himself wrote a memorial to the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662–1723), requesting imperial recognition of his family's descent from "the Sage of the west,"[22] but this effort failed. To position himself in a world radically altered by the fall of the Ming, he focused on lineage and genealogy, calling meetings of clansmen to memorialize Sayyid Ajall's tomb, create a common narrative of his life, and specify the range of his descendants.[23] Within Muslim communities, especially in Yunnan and within the scripture-hall education network, he gained considerable prestige from these claims and his genealogical work.

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20 The lineal descendants of Confucius achieved high status in late imperial times, an exception to the meritocratic imperial examination system for elite recruitment. Ma Zhu argued that the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad—who, like Confucius, was called a Sage (*shengren*) in Chinese—should share that standing. See Lamberton, "The Kongs of Qufu."

21 Several papers in Ma, Abt, and Yao, eds., *Islam and Chinese Society*, deal with this Muslim genealogical tradition in Yunnan, including Jianxiong Ma's "Introduction," Jianxiong Ma and Jide Yao, "The Mosque and Scripture-Hall Education," and Jianping Wang, "A Hui Muslim Lineage." See also Jianxiong Ma, "Re-creating Hui identity."

22 The memorial, entitled *Qing bao biao*, "a request for honor," is included in the first *juan* of QZZN. Like many Chinese Muslim writers, Ma Zhu referred to a passage from the *Liezi*, a Daoist text of the fourth century ce, in which Confucius (who died many centuries before the book was written) is made to say, "Among the people of the Western regions, there is a Sage." Graham, *The Book of Lieh-tzu*, p. 78. The "Western Sage" in this passage has been identified with Buddha, Jesus, and Muhammad by writers seeking legitimacy for their respective religions. See also Yang, "Facing West to Worship Heaven."

23 Jianxiong Ma, "Re-creating Hui identity," argues that Ma Zhu utilized genealogical texts, communal charities, and scripture-hall education to build a firm place for Muslims in Chinese society and to justify his own position as a Muslim-Confucian gentryman.

3. VIRTUE IN TWO TRADITIONS

In a recent essay, I described Ma Zhu's solution to the problem of narrating monotheistic *creatio ex nihilo* in Chinese—that is, explaining an Islamic understanding of God's creation of the cosmos in an idiom appropriate to China, making it believable in a culture that lacked such a creation story.[24] In contrast, this essay deals with a superficially easier issue, Ma Zhu's focus on the centrality of Confucian social ethics in being a good person. This is not a difficult argument for a Muslim to make, for Islamic and Chinese texts clearly and strongly advocate similar social virtues, among them loyalty and obedience to legitimate authority (*zhong*) and filial devotion to parents, ancestors, and lineage (*xiao*). For the fifth *juan* of QZZN, Ma Zhu wrote an entire section on loyalty and filiality, which provides much of the evidence for this essay. That Ma Zhu, a successful civil service examination graduate and thus a learned Confucian, emphasized these very Chinese virtues is no surprise, but his justification demands our attention. Rather than simply assuming the validity and universal value of loyalty and filiality, obvious to most culturally Chinese people, Ma Zhu attributed them to an exogenous and non-Chinese Islamic God, *Allāh*, that he called *Zhenzhu* (True or Real Lord).[25]

Ma Zhu's sources were conventional in both of his literary traditions—Chinese classics, histories, and literature,[26] and on the Islamic side Qur'an, *hadīth*, and Sufi books popular in the scripture-hall education curriculum, which he read in Arabic and Persian. He also relied on earlier Sino-Islamic texts, especially admiring the works of Wang Daiyu (1590?–?), who wrote *Zhengjiao zhenquan* (*Real*

24 Lipman, "A Proper Place for God."

25 Hereafter, following Ma Zhu, I shall use the Chinese name *Zhenzhu* for the Islamic God (Ar. *Allāh*). For Chinese Muslim use of *Zhenzhu* as God's Chinese name, see Frankel, *Rectifying God's Name*. Sino-Muslim authors sometimes transliterated Arabic *Allāh* into Chinese as *Anla* (安拉), but Ma Zhu generally did not. See also Murata, *Chinese Gleams of Sufi Light*, p. 121. Ma Zhu transliterated more liberally in the sections of QZZN devoted to Islamic ritual.

26 QZZN directly quotes a wide range of canonical Chinese texts, including the *Four Books* and other ancient classics such as *Zuo Zhuan*, the Daoist *Laozi*, Buddhist tales of karma, Song dynasty history (e.g., *Zizhi tongjian*) and philosophy. Two of his other chapters bear titles central to Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian thought, *gewu* (investigation of things) and *qiongli* (exhaustive investigation of Principle), both taken from the *Daxue*.

Commentary on the True Teaching), the first surviving book in that corpus.[27] Beside the Arabic and Persian originals, translations such as *Guizhen yaodao*, one of two Chinese renderings of Rāzī's *Mirsād al-ʿibād min al-mabda' ilā al-maʿād*, a Persian Sufi text, provided him with precedents and vocabulary for QZZN.

How did this author reason, in Chinese, about *Zhenzhu* as the origin of political and social authority and of the virtues of loyalty and filiality fundamental to Confucian ethics? To answer this question we must attend not only to the Chinese texts he cited but also to his Islamic social ethics and his conviction that Islam is not just another human teaching (*jiao*), like Confucianism or Daoism, but rather one uniquely based on divinely revealed truth. He took his Islamic religious principles seriously and did not hesitate to mark himself and his teaching as different in order to do so.[28]

Though Ma Zhu used Chinese words and Chinese texts to justify the pre-eminent Confucian virtues of loyalty and filiality, as a believing Muslim he rested ultimate authority over all reality, including human goodness, in God—*Zhenzhu*. He did so openly, not contesting the validity of the Neo-Confucian virtues but justifying them with Islamic as well as Neo-Confucian reasoning. Ma Zhu drew on both literary traditions to define those possessing earthly authority, in the state and the family, as "*Zhenzhu*'s deputies" (*dai Zhu*). At the beginning of the "Loyalty and Filiality" section of QZZN, he wrote:

> [Considering] the nobility of the Human Ultimate,[29] none is more honored than the sovereign. The sovereign [acts as] *Zhenzhu*'s deputy [*dai Zhu*], transforming and

27 Introduced and translated in Murata, *The First Islamic Classic in Chinese*. Ma Zhu praised Wang Daiyu in his preface to QZZN, calling *Real Commentary on the True Teaching* "a bell tolling on a clear night to awaken [me from] a drunken dream, bitter medicine and a sharp [acupuncture] needle to relieve [me from] illness." QZZN 1.31a–b. Wang Daiyu's *Real Commentary on the True Teaching* contains chapters on "real loyalty" and "utmost filiality," both based in devotion to *Zhenzhu*.

28 Chittick and Murata, "The Implicit Dialogue of Confucian Muslims," deals concisely with this problem in the works of Wang Daiyu and Liu Zhi, respectively Ma Zhu's predecessor and successor in the Sino-Islamic literary tradition.

29 Like many Neo-Confucians, Ma Zhu relied on Zhou Dunyi's explanations of ultimate reality to place the Human Ultimate (*renji*), embodied in Ma's Islamic description as the Prophet Muhammad, in parallel with the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji*) and the Non-Ultimate (*wuji*), all abstract conditions, models, or standards of perfection. These concepts also helped

> managing Heaven and Earth and phenomenal reality, and each finds its [proper] place.[30]

Though reminiscent of Dong Zhongshu's (179–104 BCE) description of the sovereign—he is "the deputy of Heaven [*dai Tian*] to govern the people"[31]—only in the Chinese Islamic texts do we find this ascription of earthly authority to the deputy of an omnipotent, singular, willful *Zhenzhu* rather than the abstract, impersonal "Heaven" of Chinese tradition. Its Islamic origin lies in Qur'an 2:28: "I am setting in the earth a viceroy [deputy]."[32]

Unlike any non-Muslim Confucian, Ma Zhu connected his explanation of earthly authority directly to *Zhenzhu*'s work of creation, especially the genesis of humankind through Adam. Quoting Shaykh Hali (Shihe Hali), he wrote, "As [*Zhenzhu*] said, 'I wished to manifest Myself, so I created Adam.'"[33] In a key passage, Ma provided an Islamic explanation for the sovereignty and power of the Chinese emperor, called "Son of Heaven" (*Tianzi*), as the object of loyalty and filiality:

> [*Zhenzhu*] climbed upon the precious throne Tranquil Heaven [*jing Tian*], also called '*Arsh*, known to be the ninth [and highest] level of Heaven. [*Zhenzhu*] commanded [the heavenly beings] to pay obeisance to Adam in order to fix the separation of lord and

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Ma to explain God's creation of the cosmos (Lipman, "A Proper Place for God"). For Zhou Dunyi, see Robin Wang, "Zhou Dunyi's *Diagram*."

30 QZZN 5.54a–b.

31 Cited in Ma Yanyi, "*Yi Ru duihua*."

32 This is Arberry's classic translation in *The Koran Interpreted*. Khattab's *Clear Quran* translates: "I am going to place a successive 'human' authority on earth." Islamic thinkers have hotly debated the nature of God's deputization of a human being as sovereign—especially the problem of appropriate monarchical succession—and the qualities of the deputy's earthly authority.

33 *Shihe Hali*, "Shaykh Hali," probably refers to Pīr Harī, an as-yet unidentified Persian Sufi mentioned in Rāzī's Persian *Mirsād al-ʿIbād*, twice translated into Chinese and a popular text in the scripture-hall education curriculum. This sentence appears in Wu Zunqi's (Zixian) 1678 translation of the *Mirsād*, *Guizhen yaodao* 3.62a. Thanks to Dror Weil and Rian Thum for discussion of this reference.

> minister [social ranks]. He banished the chief demon [Iblis, Satan], who did not pay obeisance, and severely punished his evil crime. Only then was the [sovereign's] position [firmly] determined and called 'Son of Heaven.' Heaven's son is the people's father. The Three Bonds [*sangang*: father–son, ruler–minister, husband–wife] arose from this, and the Five Cardinal Relationships [*wuchang*: ruler–minister, father–son, older–younger brother, husband–wife, friend–friend] were established from this.[34]

"Loyalty" described the correct behavior and attitude of minister or servant toward the sovereign, and "filiality" that of descendants (especially sons) to parents and ancestors. In this view, these vertical hierarchies construct a virtuous human society and build upon each other, for "Heaven's son is the people's father." A filial son will never disrespect his father, a good wife will never disobey her husband, and a loyal minister will never betray his earthly lord. Each of these roles constitutes a model, a pattern, and those below should emulate the virtues exhibited by those above. Far from being alien to Islamic thought, this Chinese reliance on modeling conforms very closely to an Islamic social vision: "Of the many sources of authority, this one of exemplification of moral qualities… is potentially characteristic not only of religious leaders in formal positions but of leaders in all realms, great and small, of social and individual life."[35] The Prophet Muhammad, a "Sage" (*sheng*) in Ma Zhu's Chinese rendering, provided the standard of human perfection to be emulated as the Human Ultimate (*renji*), the prototype for the Human Way (*rendao*).[36]

But the Confucian Way and Islam could not be perfectly congruent, for at the heart of Ma Zhu's Islamized version of Chinese culture lies human belief in the one true (real) *Zhenzhu*, a conviction essential in Islam for correct understanding and proper relationships. Ma Zhu saw the origin of a foundational Confucian verity—a good society results from proper performance of hierarchical social

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34 QZZN 5.56a–b.

35 Barbara Daly Metcalf, "Introduction," in Metcalf, ed., *Moral Conduct and Authority*, p. 2.

36 The classical Sage, exemplified in Chinese tradition by Confucius, did not communicate directly with God, receive divine revelation, or foretell the future, as an Islamic prophet (Ar. *nabi*) would, but Ma Zhu nonetheless chose "Sage" as a Chinese description of Muhammad's role and status. See footnote 22 for "the Sage of the east and the Sage of the west."

roles—in the existence, character, and actions of an Islamic *Zhenzhu*.[37] That explicit attribution leads me to agree with Zvi Ben-Dor Benite that *simultaneity* is an accurate and compelling name for Ma Zhu's cultural condition.[38]

4. LOYALTY TO THE SOVEREIGN

A common stereotype holds that Muslims must either live under Muslim rule or conduct "holy war" (*jihād*) to convert *dār al-harb* (the territory of the sword) to *dār al-Islām* (the territory of Islam). Muslims have actually lived in non-Muslim states for over a millennium, so Muslim authorities have often debated the problem. Great jurists such as ibn-Taymiyya (1263–1328) argued for *jihād* as imperative for Muslims outside Muslim rule, while others, especially scholars of the Hanafi school of jurisprudence, such as Abū Hanīfa's disciple al-Shaybānī (749–805), held the opposite view.[39] Muslims in the Chinese culture area were overwhelmingly Hanafi and defended their residence under a non-Muslim state as long as its laws did not conflict with Islam.[40]

The Sino-Muslim authors writing in Chinese, striving to be perceived as legitimate subjects of the Ming and then Qing states, wrote of local sovereignty as Confucians did. They argued that only

37 Wang Daiyu found God's purpose in creation to be testing the loyalty and filiality of humankind, citing Qur'an 67:2, which he rendered as, "The Real Lord created and transformed the life and death of humans specifically to test whether or not they have loyalty and filial piety." (Murata, *Chinese Gleams*, pp. 45–46) Khattab, *Clear Quran*, translates this verse, "He is the One Who created death and life in order to test which of you is best in deeds."

38 In this chapter I use "simultaneity" to focus on *time*, moments at which people aimed at "being Chinese and being Muslim," without any assertion regarding either the normative worth or the practical success of doing both. In fact, they often claimed that "being Chinese and being Muslim" in ethical terms contained no duality, for their principles were universal and identical. Thanks to Andrew Abbott for this insight. Benite defines simultaneity broadly, following Pamela Kyle Crossley's definition regarding the Manchus, in *The Dao of Muhammad*, pp. 13–16.

39 Khaled Abou El Fadl provides a summary of these long-lasting debates in "Islamic Law and Muslim Minorities."

40 Tontini, *Muslim* Sanzijing, pp. 13–19.

individual self-cultivation, modeled by the sovereign and other legitimate authorities, can create a stable foundation for social order. As Wang Daiyu put it:

> The sovereign king has responsibility for all under heaven. The district magistrate has responsibility for one area. The head of a family has responsibility for one family. Someone who lives alone has responsibility for his own body. Although all these are equal in responsibility, of most concern are the people and things of your own body, for they are the most important root…The sovereign king has a heavy responsibility and an honorable position. He must begin with the soil of the country of his own body. If his body is in disorder, then the country will surely be in disorder…You should know that the essentials of regulation and disorder lie only in justice and injustice. Even if everyone under heaven is a heretic, this will not be an obstacle to regulation.[41]

In Ma Zhu's justification of legitimate earthly authority, *Zhenzhu* created Adam as the first Sage (prophet), the proper model of earthly governance, and commanded the angels to bow to him:

> The mandate of the whole world was entrusted [to Adam], and *Zhenzhu* bestowed Heavenly status [upon him]. This rank is called Heaven's rank, its rewards called Heaven's rewards, and its people called Heaven's people.[42]

With the conventional Chinese "Heaven" in place of the exotic Islamic *Zhenzhu*, the passage enumerates in impeccable Confucian style the responsibilities and character of the earthly sovereign, who "must preserve [the world] with human-heartedness, forgive with magnanimity, conduct [public affairs] fairly, and guide with trustworthiness."[43] Virtuous rule coincides with the natural order, while decadent, self-indulgent rule can only cause widespread misery.

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41 Murata, *The First Islamic Classic in Chinese*, pp. 166–167.

42 QZZN 5.56b.

43 QZZN 5.56b.

Here Ma Zhu directly expressed his Islamic-Confucian simultaneity by invoking *Zhenzhu*'s manifestation in humankind, embodied in Adam, whose successors as *Zhenzhu*'s deputy on earth included the Chinese Son of Heaven. As the highest human sovereign, the Son of Heaven's rectitude fulfills both his responsibility to humankind and his loyalty to *Zhenzhu*. Ma Zhu illustrated this hierarchy with an utterance attributed to the first emperor of Tang, Li Shimin (r. 626–649):

> [If he] takes pleasure [immorally], the Son of Heaven commits crimes against the world and is not loyal to *Zhenzhu*. Tang Taizong said [to a courtier], 'The sovereign relies on the state, the state relies on the people. Robbing the people to serve the sovereign is like slicing off your own flesh to fill your belly—the belly is full, but the body dies.'[44]

Having derived earthly authority from *Zhenzhu*'s creation, Ma Zhu presented standard Confucian positive and negative examples—the good first sovereigns of the Shang and Zhou dynasties and the wicked last sovereigns of Xia and Shang. A poem from the *Shijing* (*Classic of Poetry*) served as proof text, in which *Shangdi*, the ancient "highest ancestor," stood in for the Islamic *Zhenzhu*:

> August is *Shangdi* on High;
> Looking down he is majestic;
> He inspected and regarded (the states of) the four quarters,
> He sought tranquility for the people.[45]

Following this Chinese evidence that the sovereign acts as Heaven's or *Shangdi*'s deputy, seeking "tranquility for the people," Ma Zhu cited a *hadīth* reiterating the sovereign's obligation to *Zhenzhu*, who will judge him:

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44 QZZN 5.57a. The Tang Taizong quotation, which has become proverbial in Chinese, is taken from the *Zizhi tongjian* 192, "*Tang ji* 8, *Zhenguan zhi dao*."

45 QZZN 5.57b. The translation is adapted from Karlgren, trans., *The Book of Odes*, p. 194. Several Sino-Muslim writers claimed that the ancient Chinese had been monotheists, believing in singular *Tian* or *Shangdi*, but that events such as Qin's burning of the books had led them astray into polytheism.

> The Sage [Prophet] said, 'After death, all rulers, if they have not committed great sins and have been able to govern their states fairly, may ascend to Tranquil Heaven, climb upon the bright throne and gaze upon the various heavens. Their joy will be limitless. [But as for those who] pervert the law, after death they will fall to the lowest extremity, confined in a dark prison, trapped among myriad miseries, their distress without end.'[46]

Here we see a pattern often repeated in Ma Zhu's presentation of evidence on social ethics. He called upon conventional Confucian models of virtue and vice, unimpeachable in Chinese culture, then in close proximity cited sources to justify the same ethics in an Islamic framework, as stemming from *Zhenzhu*'s commands. The text thus demonstrates its author's dual literacy, his familiarity with both textual traditions, and argues for compatibility or even identity between Islam and Chinese values without diluting Islam's exogenous insistence on monotheism and divine revelation. This pattern appears throughout QZZN, revealing Ma Zhu's literary methods as he presented his sources.

It may also tell us something about the audience he expected to reach. Though he wrote in conventional Chinese prose, he knew that non-Muslim Chinese literates would not be familiar with or receptive to an exotic deity like *Zhenzhu*, nor would they know Arabic words such as '*Arsh* (*Zhenzhu*'s throne). Adam, on the other hand, could be defined as identical to Pangu, the first human in some Chinese mythologies, and *Zhenzhu*'s creation of the cosmos could be rendered as the ultimate cause of the familiar Neo-Confucian cosmogenetic sequence beginning with the Non-Ultimate (*wuji*).

As a Muslim Ma Zhu saw no alternative to making *Zhenzhu* the source not only of all phenomenal reality but also of all values and judgments, a proposition unacceptable, or at least entirely unfamiliar, to almost all Chinese. He nonetheless chose to do so, and we might conclude that his main audience lay among Chinese-literate Muslims, not Chinese society in general. Benite sees these Sino-Muslim authors as engaged in "constant implicit dialogue" with non-Muslim elites, while Frankel identifies Muslims and non-Muslims as their audience, though with different objectives for each.[47] Murata, writing about Wang Daiyu, found:

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46 QZZN 5.57b.

47 Benite, *The Dao of Muhammad*, p. 18; Frankel, *Rectifying God's Name*, p. xix.

> Wang clearly assumed that his readers already knew how to practice their religion, so he wanted to explain the rationale for that practice, not least in cases that would meet strong objections in Chinese society, such as dietary rules, the prohibition of alcohol and gambling, and burial customs.[48]

We need not solve this problem, but we should note that both Ma Zhu and Liu Zhi, more deeply steeped in Chinese learning than Wang Daiyu, might have hoped to justify Islam for a non-Muslim audience (including the Kangxi emperor) while focusing their persuasions on Chinese-literate Muslims.

Having defined the qualities of a virtuous ruler and his relationship to *Zhenzhu*, Ma Zhu worked his way down the hierarchy of government officials, describing the tasks and powers of each and the importance of their moral behavior as managers and as models. In descending bureaucratic order, he detailed the scope of action of the feudatories (*fanqi*), nobles (*gonghou*), Ministers of the Six Boards (*liuguan*), and the lower-level "one hundred" officials (*baiguan*). Throughout this section, Ma Zhu described official malfeasance or incompetence as both "disloyalty to the Son of Heaven" and "defiance of *Zhenzhu*," as in this paragraph on the nobles:

> Next are the nobles, who are bound to heavy responsibility in the world. They form [lit. 'mold and smelt'] the myriad transformations and manage *yin* and *yang*, holding power over life and death. In administering justice they are wise; in uprightness, they use themselves as a measure to gauge the wishes of others; in their kindness they are truly benevolent; and in their honesty they are absolute. Being noble, they cannot be arrogant. Being respected, they cannot insult others. They cannot interfere with justice for private profit. For the public good, they cannot seek private benefit. They should exhibit goodness and overcome evil, exhaust loyalty and make up for [the ruler's] errors. If they

48 Murata, *The First Islamic Classic in Chinese*, p. 3.

> hinder the meritorious and are jealous of the able, if they clandestinely endanger state affairs—this is the nobles' disloyalty to the Son of Heaven and defiance of *Zhenzhu*.[49]

Only in the last three characters of this passage did Ma Zhu call upon Islam to denounce the disloyal. "Disloyal to the Son of Heaven" may be a standard Confucian condemnation of evil ministers, but "defiance of *Zhenzhu*" (*wei yu Zhu*)[50] is not, and Ma Zhu included it in his description of each level of officials.

The section on the Six Ministers lists them individually, noting briefly the consequences of official misconduct for each and enumerating the harm that these exalted officials could do if they behaved immorally. For example, the Minister of War:

> [If] rewards [are given] to the undeserving and responsibility to the untalented, the troops lack discipline, the country's [wealth] is squandered, and the people harmed, then rebellion will break out. The outbreak of rebellion [results from] the Minister of War's disloyalty to the Son of Heaven and defiance of *Zhenzhu*.[51]

Ma Zhu then cited a *hadīth* directly linking the earthly ruler and his functionaries to the injunctions of Prophet Muhammad: "The Prophet said, 'You all are like shepherds, and in the future the responsibilities of your positions will be examined one by one.'"[52] One Arabic version of this *hadīth* states:

> Beware! Every one of you is a shepherd and every one is answerable with regard to his flock. The Caliph is a shepherd over the people and shall be questioned about his subjects (as to how he conducted their affairs). A man is a guardian over the members

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49 QZZN 5.58a–b.

50 As elsewhere in QZZN, God's name, in this case the character *zhu*, is raised one space above all other words in the line, as the emperor's title would be in an official memorial.

51 QZZN 5.59b.

52 QZZN 5.61a.

> of his family and shall be questioned about them (as to how he looked after their physical and moral well-being). A woman is a guardian over the household of her husband and his children and shall be questioned about them (as to how she managed the household and brought up the children). A slave is a guardian over the property of his master and shall be questioned about it (as to how he safeguarded his trust). Beware, every one of you is a guardian, and every one of you shall be questioned with regard to his trust.[53]

Zhenzhu will weigh every person's responsibilities and position against actual behavior, with heaven as reward for compliance and hell as punishment for violation.

The Son of Heaven is no exception to this fate, and Ma Zhu added a Chinese historical example to his Islamic evidence with a story about Qin Shihuang, the first emperor of Qin (r. 221–210 BCE):

> [Qin] Shihuang, traveling incognito, saw an old man carrying two sons and leading another child, hulling rice in the village. Shihuang was surprised and asked him, 'An old man like you, how have you no adult sons or daughters-in-law? Working like this, isn't it really extreme?' He replied, 'These three kids are the sons of my three sons.' Shihuang asked, 'Where have your sons gone?' He said, 'They were taken to ram earth into the Great Wall and died [there].' Shihuang said, 'If it's really like this, then yours is an immoral lord!' He replied, 'It is not that Shihuang is immoral but the wickedness of the people below him.[54] If Shihuang were immoral, then Heaven would cut off Shihuang

53 From the "Book on Government" of *Sahih Muslim*. https://hamariweb.com/islam/hadith/sahih-muslim-4724/ accessed 8 February 2022.

54 This phrase is taken from the *Book of Odes* 193, in Legge's translation: "The calamities of the people do not come down from Heaven." The old farmer uses this literary allusion to bolster his argument that the disorder in the state is not the emperor's fault but that of his wicked underlings.

> and preserve the people below him. What does Shihuang have to do with the hardships [caused by] the people below him nowadays?'[55]

The disguised emperor blames himself for his subject's misery, but the old man responds that the officials, not the emperor, should be held responsible. Ma Zhu's point, both Islamic and Confucian, lay in each person bearing responsibility for fulfilling individual duties, subject to punishment by Heaven/*Zhenzhu* for violations. Whether official or commoner, all must be properly loyal to superiors, the deputies of *Zhenzhu*.

To conclude his discussion of sovereign authority, Ma Zhu cited several more Chinese narratives of loyal behavior at the end of a dynasty. When Li Zicheng's rebel army took Beijing and the last Ming emperor died in 1644, the people massacred one another and chaos reigned. Then the Shunzhi emperor of the Manchu Qing brought peace to the realm, an event that occurred during Ma Zhu's lifetime. From ancient history, he brought the famous narrative of Bo Yi and Shu Qi. When the (wicked) Shang fell and the (virtuous) Zhou gained primacy, these two upright ministers fled to the wilderness and starved to death rather than serve a second master, however virtuous the new dynasty. Not only officials but even poor commoners could display this kind of loyalty. Telling a story set at the end of the Yuan period, Ma Zhu commended an old woodcutter who saw unfamiliar banners along his road then committed suicide when he learned that they belonged to a new dynasty, the Ming, known to this commoner as the "Red Turban rebels."

Capping these conventional Chinese stories of loyalty, Ma Zhu emphasized the loyalty of Muslims, who pray that *Zhenzhu* will grant longevity to their sovereign and his dynasty. "Muslims worship every seven days, enter the mosque to praise and lament to *Zhenzhu*. They pray that the Great August King will rule forever, that his noble heirs will reign forever."[56] They ask that the realm will ever be peaceful and safe and beseech *Zhenzhu* that the emperor will have a limitless long life. They pray that *Zhenzhu* will point out the correct Way (*zhengdao*) to "our emperor," and that he will walk that Way forever. Thus

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55 QZZN 5.62a.

56 QZZN 5.63a. Chinese religious life does not include weekly worship at a temple or shrine, so this repetition of prayer for the sovereign would constitute exceptional devotion.

does QZZN esteem loyalty both to *Zhenzhu* and to the sovereign, with stories and assurances from both cultures. Like Wang Daiyu before him, Ma Zhu held that true loyalty can only derive from loyalty to *Zhenzhu*, further evidence that he considered his audience to be primarily Muslims.[57] If these authors hoped to convince non-Muslims of the rightness of Islam ("the correct Way"), they did not succeed, for beyond occasional prefaces by non-Muslims to Sino-Islamic works, we have little evidence of conversion or even intellectual tolerance for the exogenous teaching.[58]

5. FILIALITY TO PARENTS AND ANCESTORS

The Cheng brothers' commentary on the Confucian *Analects*, like the original classical text, places hierarchical family relationships and proper performance of family roles as the foundation of human society: "Practicing true goodness (*ren*) begins with filial piety and fraternal respect (*di*)."[59] In this Confucian ideal, a person raised to respect parents, elders, and ancestors will always be a dutiful subject, unlikely to disrupt social order or trouble the state. Ma Zhu entirely concurred and opened his discussion of filiality with a summary drawn from the Confucian classics:

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57 Murata, *The First Islamic Classic*, p. 155, translates Wang Daiyu: "When you are loyal to the Real Lord and also loyal to ruler and father, there can be the True Way. When the fountainhead is pure, everything will be pure. Those who are loyal to ruler and father but not loyal to the Real Lord are merely heterodox."

58 Chinese Muslim writers often refer to Liu Zhi's *Tianfang dianli* as the only Muslim text included in the great eighteenth-century imperial compendium *Treasury of the Four Storehouses* (*Siku quanshu*), but the text itself was not. In the catalog of that monumental collection, one of the emperor's literary censors wrote of Liu's book, "Islam is fundamentally far-fetched and absurd…His literary style is actually rather elegant. However, the premise is at its root untrue and so the clever literary ornamentation does him no good." Frankel, *Rectifying God's Name*, p. 53.

59 Gardner, *Zhu Xi's Reading*, p. 72. This is a commentary on *Analects* 1:2 (in Gardner's translation): "One who is of filial and fraternal character but at the same time loves defying superiors is rare indeed…filial piety and fraternal respect—are they not the root of practicing true goodness?"

> [After acknowledging and worshipping *Zhenzhu* and obeying the sovereign], there is nothing like filiality, which is to comply with virtue. From the Son of Heaven above to the common folk below, who is without parents? Without parents, whence comes the self?[60]

Ma Zhu took his initial proofs of this assertion entirely from Chinese tradition, citing story after story from *Twenty-Four Exemplars of Filial Piety* (*Ershisi xiao*), a popular Yuan period handbook written within the Guo family of Fujian. These tales were known not only to literate Chinese but also to illiterates through the theater, folk songs, visual representations, and oral traditions. Thus QZZN's references to Zengzi, Min Ziqian, Wang Xiang, Meng Zong, Huang Tingjian, Yu Qianlou[61] and other models of filiality would have been familiar to his audience. From the popular fiction of twelfth-century writer Hong Mai, Ma Zhu selected the cautionary story of an unfilial son who insulted his father and was killed by a thunderbolt.[62] He even added a similar contemporary tale, a 1661 case in which a man's preferring his wife to his mother led to his unnatural death.[63]

But immediately after this conventional Chinese recitation of the rewards of filiality and the perils of disobedience, Ma Zhu took an unusual turn and delved into his Islamic cultural repertoire:

> How great is *Zhenzhu*![64] He sees without reliance on eyes and sees all things, so nothing is unseen. He rewards obedience and punishes defiance…*Zhenzhu* instructs us: 'Obey

60 QZZN 5.64a. "To comply with virtue" (*shunde*), also comes from the Cheng brothers' commentary on *Analects* 1:2.

61 *Twenty-Four Exemplars of Filial Piety*, nos. 3, 4, 18, 20, 21, 24. Min Ziqian was praised by Confucius (*Analects* 11:5) as an extraordinarily filial son and brother.

62 Hammond, "Waiting for a Thunderbolt."

63 QZZN 5.66a.

64 *Da zai, Zhenzhu!* This is a Chinese rendering of the Arabic *Allāhu akbar*, "God is the greatest!"

> your parents, even if your parents are non-Muslims, and I shall forgive you.' Share joy with parents, share worries with parents.[65]

Though no non-Muslim Confucian would invoke *Zhenzhu*'s commandments to justify filiality, Ma Zhu did.

After listing filial and unfilial acts, he returned to the Chinese canon:

> Alas, son of man! Who has not heard of Boyu, who wept at being beaten? Han Boyu's mother beat him. Though he felt no pain, he [nonetheless] wept. His mother said, 'Before, when I was young and strong and beat you, you did not weep. Now I am old, so a beating does not hurt you, but you weep. Why?' He replied, 'I am not crying over the beating. I weep because your strength is decreasing, and I have not exhausted my filial devotion!'[66]

Five more cases from the *Twenty-Four Exemplars of Filial Piety* followed,[67] plus two more stories of Heaven's rewards to the filial and punishment of the disobedient. As in the 1661 case above, Ma pointed an accusing finger at men who favor their wives over their parents, a common trope describing ungrateful sons:

> Ni Jiu, of Shuizao Mountain in Qingtian [Zhejiang], bewitched by his wife's words, treated his mother very badly, not giving her sufficient food or clothing. When they had problems, she was not allowed to speak. When the fall crops ripened, they ordered her to [pound and] hull the new grain. They cooked a chicken and ate their fill, only

65 QZZN 5.66b. Here Ma refers to non-Muslims as *wai Dao ren*, people of an "outer" or other Way. Qur'anic verses (e.g., 29:8, 31:14) mandate filiality but forbid "associating anything with God," even if parents command it.

66 QZZN 5.67a. This story comes from Liu Xiang's *Shuoyuan*, a Han period story collection. See Knapp, *Selfless Offspring*, p. 29.

67 QZZN 5.67a–68a recounts the stories of Laolaizi (No. 7), Wu Meng (No. 17), Huang Xiang (No. 15), Zhu Shouchang (No. 23), and Jiang Ge (No. 14).

> afterwards giving his mother the leftovers. So angry that she could not swallow, his mother called out to Heaven in tears. That night a huge wind and rain storm blew, and a great rock fell from the mountain directly onto Ni Jiu's bed, broke through the left wall and out [of the house], coming to rest on the west side. His mother was unharmed. At dawn, the villagers gathered around to look and found the room empty.[68]

After this second set of admonitions to filiality and recitation of the perils of violating them, Ma Zhu returned to *Zhenzhu* and Islam as the sources of moral behavior, in parallel prose:

> How great is *Zhenzhu*! He hears without relying on ears and hears all, so nothing is unheard. Even for tiny and hidden [acts], retribution falls in the blink of an eye. So *Zhenzhu* instructs us, 'My wrathful command falls upon those who harm their parents and those who involve their parents in sorrow. If parents derive pleasure from him, I derive pleasure from him. If his parents are angry with him, I am angry with him.'[69]

Zhenzhu's commands, not only the admonitions of Confucius or the natural conditions dictated by Heaven, lie at the heart of filiality and thus of the human moral order.

The remainder of the "Loyalty and Filiality" chapter continues with this pattern. The text presents seven more familiar stories from the *Twenty-Four Exemplars of Filial Piety*, more fictional narratives, more Buddhist tales of karmic retribution, popular myths, and quotations from the Chinese classics, interspersed with Islamic injunctions. Having described and praised *Zhenzhu*'s vision and hearing, Ma Zhu called upon *Zhenzhu*'s omniscience:

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68 QZZN 5.68a. This story is taken from a Buddhist morality book (*shanshu*) dealing with karmic retribution, *The Highest Master's Illustrated Tales of Cause and Effect* (*Taishang ganying pian tushuo*). Despite his conventional antipathy for Buddhism and Daoism, Ma Zhu clearly knew some Buddhist literature and used it for his own purposes.

69 QZZN 5.68b. This *hadīth* is reported by al-Tabarānī, among others: "God's pleasure lies in the pleasure of parents, and His anger in their anger."

> How great is *Zhenzhu*! He knows without mind[70] and knows all, so nothing is unknown. Near and far, high and low, retribution is [as inevitable] as breathing. So *Zhenzhu* instructs us: 'An unfilial son invites my anger even if he is one who always worships me, and a filial son gains my forgiveness even if he is one who always sins against me. If the parents are pleased with him, I shall immediately forgive him.' After the parents have died, the book of good and evil [deeds] is determined, and the gates of repentance close.[71]

Despite this, Ma argues, filiality can even extend beyond death, though "the book of good and evil [deeds] is determined," for filial children can pray for *Zhenzhu* to forgive their departed parents:

> Muslims at their prayers always beg forgiveness for parents, whether they are alive or dead: '*Zhenzhu* forgive me, *Zhenzhu* forgive my parents.' [They] beseech, '*Zhenzhu* have mercy on me, *Zhenzhu* have mercy on my parents. Be just as my parents were to me when I was young.'[72]

Not limiting himself to parent-child relations, Ma Zhu included fraternal devotion in his social ethics, noting the virtuous and family-centered behavior of a brother who reunited his father's divided property:

> Zhao Yanxiao's older brother Yanyun liked to wander around for pleasure and wasted half of their patrimony. Yanxiao admonished him, but he paid no heed, so [Yanxiao] asked for the property to be divided. After five years, the older brother had wasted all

70 "Without mind" (*wuxin*) is a Buddhist term, sometimes translated as "non-mind," referring to a state of non-ego, non-thought, and non-emotion, what Zen thinkers sometimes call "free from mind attachment." Applying this term to *Zhenzhu*, Ma Zhu described *Zhenzhu*'s complete separation from human mentality, his "non-association," for in Islam, nothing may be associated with *Zhenzhu*'s absolute singularity.

71 QZZN 5.71a–b. Here Ma Zhu uncharacteristically transliterates the Arabic word *tawba* (*taobai*) for "repentance."

72 QZZN 5.74a.

> his share. On New Year's eve, [Yan]xiao invited him to a banquet and said, 'At first I had no desire to divide the cooking stoves, but [then I] thought that you were not economizing, so I reserved half of the patrimony for you, sufficient to provide for the morning and evening offerings. I beg you to come home and take charge of the household.' He took out the document [of division] and burned it. He also took from his own stores to repay his brother's debts. The next year Yanxiao and his oldest son were both recommended for county [office].[73]

To conclude his discussion of loyalty and filiality, Ma Zhu called upon the devotion that should hold a family together:

> Taking a single root seriously, brothers come from a single body and should have feelings of kinship if they want to leave a lasting name to posterity. This is the beginning of loyalty and filiality. Those with the responsibilities of sons and ministers should think about this![74]

Muslim scholars from cultures outside China, some with knowledge of Chinese, have published scholarly articles comparing Islamic and Confucian precepts on filiality.[75] Citing classical texts from both cultures, they conclude that their ethics are similar but that their foundations differ. They note that Islam and Confucianism require respect for the elderly and for parents, holding that parents are responsible for the moral development of children and that children owe their parents a lifelong debt of gratitude.

Their comparisons, however, stress Islam's claim of divine revelation as its basis, while Confucian

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73 QZZN 5.74a–b. Filial sons of elite families could be nominated for government positions if their devotion reached the ears of local or provincial officials.

74 QZZN 5.74b.

75 Two examples: Bin Abdullah, et al., "Filial Piety in Confucianism and Islam," and Naeem and Shah, "Filial Piety in Confucianism and Islam."

filiality is "secular" and does not promise reward or punishment in the afterlife. The Chinese "Heaven" (*Tian*) cannot be regarded as equivalent to the Islamic God, nor the Chinese classics to the divinely transmitted Qur'an and Sunna. So conforming to the Confucian "Heaven's order" cannot be compared to "obedience to Allah," which will "cause all members of the family to submit to Islam, thus setting the family harmony in order." In contrast, Ma Zhu took a more additive approach to his traditions, presenting both cultures' arguments for social virtues. QZZN describes filiality as a natural consequence of human nature, prescribed by the Chinese classics as the most basic virtue, and reiterates that devotion to parents is also ordained by *Zhenzhu*. So in Ma Zhu's arguments the two traditions reinforce one another rather than one or the other being superior.

6. MA ZHU'S ISLAMIC-CONFUCIAN (*HUI-RU*[76]) SIMULTANEITY

For the final chapter of QZZN, written after he returned to Yunnan from Beijing, Ma Zhu created ten injunctions for Muslim communities in the Chinese culture area. Most dealt with Islamic themes and rules—for example, encouraging the study of religion, selecting and supporting superior leaders and teachers, attending weekly communal prayers, and observing *halāl* food regulations. He recommended establishment of communal property and charitable foundations to support shared expenses for Islamic education, funerals, poverty relief, aid for long-distance travelers and sojourners, and salaries for religious professionals, among other things.[77] These foundations strongly resembled those that had

76 Most Chinese scholars argue that the category *Hui-Ru*, meaning Muslim Confucians, does not appear in the Qing period Sino-Islamic texts, though the characters do appear together, meaning "Islam and Confucianism." Feng Jiewen's recent book on the *Hui-Ru*, following many others, identifies a modern Japanese scholar, Kuwata Rokurō (1894–1987), as the creator of the categorical term. Feng Jiewen, *Ming-Qing shiqi Hui-Ru*, chapter 3. Jin Yijiu, however, finds that Ma Chengyin's preface to *Qingzhen zhinan*, QZZN 1.4b, uses the term to name a category of scholars rather than two teachings, an opinion shared by Zvi Ben-Dor Benite and Sachiko Murata. Murata, *First Islamic Classic*, p. 34, fn3.

77 QZZN 10.17a–29b.

become common in elite families in southern China, but they were housed in mosques rather than lineage halls, based on common religion rather than common genealogy.[78]

Though their target audience was mosque-centered Muslim communities, several of his rules urged Muslims to follow common Confucian ideals of a virtuous society. The tenth rule, for example—"attach importance to funerals"—put Islamic rituals and communal functions in a clearly Confucian context:

> There are three weighty matters in the world—in emotional life, none surpasses [relationships with] father and mother; in righteousness and harmony, none surpasses [relationships between] brothers; in kindness and love, none surpasses [the relationship between] husband and wife. These are the major Cardinal Relationships among the five and the major Bonds among the three.[79]

Ma Zhu quoted the *Book of Odes*, among other texts, to persuade Muslims to maintain virtuous family relationships. Addressed to parents, in Legge's translation, the poem compares parental love to the vastness of Heaven:

> If I would return your kindness,
> It is like great Heaven, illimitable.[80]

When the family coheres, in good times or bad, it brings great joy in this life and comfort after death.

The eighth rule—"be cautious with the young"—straightforwardly suggests a dual education for the community's youth. Children should study the Confucian curriculum, for it inculcates the values of the Chinese culture in which they live, but if they ignore Islamic study, they will assimilate entirely.

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78 Jianxiong Ma, "Re-creating Hui identity." These foundations resemble conventional *waqf* endowments, but Aaron Glasserman, working in materials from Henan, found no transliterations of that Arabic word, for his sources used only conventional Chinese vocabulary to name them.

79 QZZN 10.27b.

80 *The Book of Odes*, 202 (*Liao E*).

Criticizing his era's Confucian schools for over-emphasizing the teachings of Yang Zhu and Mozi,[81] Ma Zhu recommended study of "real Islam and real Confucianism," those teachings he considered orthodox.

> If they study Islam without understanding Confucianism, they cannot comprehend the Great Way of cultivating [the self], harmonizing [the family], governing [the state], and pacifying [the realm].[82] If they study Confucianism without understanding Islam, they cannot examine the Utmost Principle of the origin and the end [cosmogenesis and eschatology].[83] They should seek both simultaneously,[84] for their basic studies choosing [a teacher who] understands Islam and Confucianism. This [method] is foolproof.[85]

Here QZZN presents its case for Islam and Confucianism as mutually supporting ethical systems—"seek both simultaneously"—that should be internalized by children in order for them to become virtuous people. In one summary, Ma Zhu wrote, "As for the relationship of Islam to Confucianism, their teachings (*jiao*) are different but the Principle (*li*) is the same."[86]

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81 Two ancient philosophers whose works, though widely known, did not qualify as orthodox Neo-Confucian texts and were often disparaged as misleading or even destructive.

82 These four verbs, with their implied objects, represent central objectives of Neo-Confucian learning and practice, found in the *Great Learning* (*Daxue*) chapter of the *Book of Rites*, which Zhu Xi selected as one of the "Four Books" at the heart of a Confucian education. See Gardner, *Chu Hsi and the Ta-Hsüeh*.

83 Several Sino-Islamic writers noted that Confucianism provided a perfect system of worldly ethics but did not correctly understand the nature of reality, especially the beginning and the end, because it ignored Islam's singular *Zhenzhu*, who creates and judges.

84 The text reads, *yu qiu liang jian*, literally "desiring to seek the two together."

85 QZZN 10.26a–b.

86 QZZN 3.11a. Here "teaching" refers to the specifics of ritual, religion, and text and "Principle" to the patterns, the underlying forms of reality both physical and moral, which Daniel Gardner (channeling Zhu Xi) defines as, "something like a blueprint or pattern for the cosmos, a blueprint or pattern that underlies everything and every affair in that cosmos." Gardner, *Learning to Be a Sage*, p. 49.

Contemporary Chinese scholars argue about the nature of the this intellectual enterprise. Some call it "using Confucianism to interpret [Islamic] scripture" (*yi Ru quan jing*)[87] or "using Confucianism to elucidate Islam" (*yi Ru shi Yi*), [88] while others prefer "ethical thought of Islam with Chinese characteristics" (*Zhongguo tese de Yisilanjiao lunli sixiang*). [89] Most include "Chinafication" (*Zhongguohua*), "localization" (*zaidihua*), "Sinification" (*Huahua*), "ethnicization" (*minzuhua*), or other unidirectional terms to describe the historical process. This scholarly work rests on the proposition—universal in the People's Republic of China (PRC)—that the *Huizu*, a Chinese Muslim "ethnic group" or "national minority,"[90] evolved by acculturation during the Ming period and has for over 500 years constituted the fundamental structure of Chinese Muslim (which they call *Huizu*) life. Since the 1950s, the PRC government has projected China into the past as a "unified multiethnic country" (*tongyi de duo minzu guojia*), with the *Huizu* as one of its fifty-six *minzu*.[91] This analysis conforms to their version of Chinese nationalism, but it tells only one side of a complex religious and intellectual history.

Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, in a recent review, considers another possibility, "the notion of 'Islamization,' through inclusion of neo-Confucian Chinese cosmological ideas within an Islamic framework of thinking."[92] This Islamization happened whenever Muslim communities evolved inside an enduring local culture. Ma Zhu certainly translated Islamic ideas into Chinese, but he was both rendering Islam comprehensible in a Confucian intellectual context and making Confucianism Islamic, making it

87 Gao Zhanfu, "Cong Qingzhen zhinan kan Yisilanjiao." Gao links *jingtang jiaoyu* and the Sino-Islamic texts in his essay, "'Using Confucianism to Interpret Islam': Critical Thinking and Harmonization of Two Cultures," calling their development an "ideological revolution" and citing a nineteenth-century text: "The Ways of Confucianism and Islam, two teachings, sprang from the same origin and their Principles were identical." Gao Zhanfu, *Huaiqing quanzhen ji*, pp. 123–131.

88 Dai Junfeng, "Ahong yao zuo Yisilanjiao Zhongguohua de daitouren," *Zhongguo minzu bao* (January 30, 2019) http://www.mzb.com.cn/html/report/190136751-1.htm, accessed October 6, 2020.

89 Hei Jinfu, "*Ma Zhu Qingzhen zhinan*."

90 Two translations of a nineteenth-century Sino-Japanese term, J. *minzoku*, Ch. *minzu*.

91 A basic official statement, "National Minorities Policy and Its Practice in China," may be found on the website of the PRC's permanent mission to the United Nations: http://www.china-un.ch/eng/bjzl/t176942.htm, accessed October 8, 2020.

92 Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, "Chinese Islam: A Complete Concert," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* No. 23 (June 2017), p. 177. http://cross-currents.berkeley.edu/e-journal/issue-23, accessed October 6, 2020.

possible for believing Muslims to study and follow Confucianism's ethical dictates. He thus argued for loyalty and filiality, two core virtues in Confucianism and Islam, as identical and universal, articulated within both traditions and thus binding upon Muslims within Chinese culture.

Ma Zhu listed six categories of people who should be excluded from discussions of Islam:

> [Those who] are not loyal to the sovereign, [those who] disobey parents, [those who] are not kind to kinfolk; [those who] do not love coreligionists; [those who] are not loving to the young; [those who] do not return property left in their trust—[with people like these] one cannot discuss religion.[93]

That is, Muslims should not discourse upon religion with people who violate the ethical precepts of Confucianism and Islam, starting with loyalty and filiality, or with those who remove themselves from the Islamic ecumene (Ar. *umma*) by not loving other Muslims.

At the end of his book, Ma Zhu summarized what he saw as the relationship between Islam and Confucianism:

> [Islam's] ethical relations are lord and minister, father and son, elder and younger brother, husband and wife, and friends. [Its] classes of people are scholar-officials (*shi*), farmers, artisans, and merchants. [Its] teachings are profession of faith, ritual [prayer], fasting, charity, and pilgrimage. [Its] instructions are to serve [*Zhen*]*zhu*, be filial to parents, be loyal to the sovereign, be trustworthy with friends, be respectful with people, be righteous in receiving goods, be clean in sustaining the body, and daily scrutinize one's own deeds. [Its] transformations are to persuade [people] to follow the good and cease evil, to repent from misdeeds and renew the self. [Its] rewards and punishments are that the obedient rise to heaven and the disobedient descend into hell.[94]

93 QZZN 5.46b.

94 QZZN 8.60b–61a.

This passage eloquently renders Ma Zhu's two cultures entirely congruent—the first sentence enumerates the (Chinese) Five Cardinal Relationships (*wuchang*) and the second the four (Chinese) levels of social status. The third names the Five Pillars of Islam: affirmation [of *Zhenzhu*] (Ar. *shahada*), prayer, fasting [during Ramadan], charity, and pilgrimage. The fourth lists a set of virtuous actions drawn from both traditions, which Ma Zhu held to be entirely compatible. Serving (Islamic) *Zhenzhu* heads the list, followed by filiality and loyalty, and ending with self-examination, the human responsibility to discipline the self through awareness and judgment of one's own actions. The final sentence describes the rewards and punishments of an un-Confucian afterlife promised by *Zhenzhu*. Never apologetic, Ma Zhu asserts the power and centrality of *Zhenzhu* while affirming the universal validity of Chinese ethics.

Among Ma Zhu's purposes in QZZN we find both the establishment of congruence of Islamic and Confucian ethical values and the reiteration of Islam's distinctive monotheism and the uniqueness of *Zhenzhu*'s revelation. He argued that Muslim children should be educated in both traditions, so that they could learn about moral models for emulation. Both Confucian (*Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety*) and Muslim (the prophets, culminating in Muhammad), these models—some called Sages in Chinese—could be found in the east (China) and the west (the Islamic world). Without Confucianism, Ma argued, people cannot understand the moral framework of their society, and without Islam they cannot understand the Utmost Principles of existence. Like other Muslim thinkers, Ma Zhu held that reality does not make sense without a creating God, *Zhenzhu*, and, like other Confucians, he found the patterns (principles) for good people and a good society in the *Four Books* and the rest of the Chinese canon. Ma Zhu cited both canons to justify earthly authorities—sovereign and parents—as models for a moral society and as *Zhenzhu*'s deputies.

CHARACTER INDEX

baiguan 百官 – the "hundred officials"

da zai Zhenzhu 大哉真主 – "How great is *Zhenzhu*!" Chinese translation of Ar. "*Allāhu akbar!*"

dai Tian 代天 – Heaven's deputy, "in place of Heaven"

dai Zhu 代主 – *Zhenzhu*'s deputy, "in place of God"

di 弟 – fraternal respect

Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒

Ershisi xiao 二十四孝 – *Twenty-Four Exemplars of Filial Piety*

fanqi 藩戚 – feudatories

gonghou 公侯 – nobles

Guizhen yaodao 歸真要道 – *Essential Path for Returning to the Real*, translation by Wu Zunqi (Zixian) of Rāzī's *Mirsād al-'ibād min al-mabda' ilā al-ma'ād*

Han ketabu 漢克塔補 – transliteration of *Han kitāb*, "Chinese Islamic book(s)"

Hu Dengzhou 胡登洲, also called Hu Taishi 胡太師

Huahua 華化 – sinicization

Huihuihua 回回話 – Chinese Muslim mixed spoken "language of authenticity"

Huishen 回紳 – lay Muslim gentryman

jiao 教 – a (human) teaching

jiazu 家族 – lineage-village organization

Jing Tian 靜天 – Tranquil Heaven

jingtang jiaoyu 經堂教育 – scripture-hall education

jingtangyu 經堂語 – scripture-hall vernacular

Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎

Li Shimin 李世民 – Tang Taizong, the first emperor of the Tang dynasty

liuguan 六官 – Ministers of the Six Boards

Ma Dexin 馬德新

Ma Zhu 馬注

minzu 民族 – J. *minzoku*, ethnic group, minority nationality, national minority

minzuhua 民族化 – ethnicization

Qin Shihuang 秦始皇

Qingzhen zhinan 清真指南 – *The Compass of Islam*

ren 仁 – true goodness

rendao 人道 – the Human Way

renji 人極 – the Human Ultimate

Sai Dianchi 賽典赤 – Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Dīn ʻUmar al-Bukhārī

sangang 三綱 – Three Bonds

Shangdi 上帝 – highest ancestor, ancient Chinese deity

sheng(*ren*) 聖人 – a Sage

Shihehali 篩赫哈哩 – Shaykh or Pir Hari

Shijing 詩經 – *Classic* (*Book*) *of Poetry* (*Odes*)

shunde 順德 – to comply with virtue

taiji 太極 – the Supreme Ultimate

Tianzi 天子 – Son of Heaven

wai Dao ren 外道人 – people of an outer (other) Way

Wang Daiyu 王岱輿

wei yu Zhu 違于主 – defiance of *Zhenzhu*

wenming duihua 文明對話 – civilizational dialogue

Wu Zunqi (Zixian) 伍遵契 (子先)

wuchang 五常 – Five Cardinal Relationships

wuji 無極 – Non-Ultimate

wuxin 無心 – "without mind" or "non-mind"

xiao 孝 – filiality

xiejiao 邪教 – heterodox teaching

xiucai 秀才 – lowest-level civil service examination degree

yi Ru quan jing 以儒詮經 – "using Confucianism to interpret [Islamic] scripture"

yi Ru shi Yi 以儒释伊 – "using Confucianism to elucidate Islam"

yu qiu liang jian 欲求兩兼 – "desiring to seek the two together"

zaidihua 在地化 – localization

zhengdao 正道 – the correct (or orthodox) Way

Zhengjiao zhenquan 正教真詮 – *Real Commentary on the True Teaching*, book by Wang Daiyu

Zhenzhu 真主 – True or Real Lord, *Allāh*, God

zhong 忠 – loyalty, obedience

Zhongguo tese de Yisilanjiao lunli sixiang 中国特色的伊斯蘭教倫理思想 – "ethical thought of Islam with Chinese characteristics"

Zhongguohua 中國化 – Chinafication

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