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BRIDGING CULTURES: SUFI UNDERPINNINGS IN THE HAN KITAB SCHOOL OF CHINA MA DEXIN'S COMMENTARY ON LIU ZHI'S "NATURE AND PRINCIPLE IN ISLAM" INTRODUCTION AND ANNOTATED ARABIC EDITION

KÜLTÜRLER ARASI KÖPRÜ KURMAK: ÇİN HAN KİTAB OKULUNDA TASAVVUFUN ALT YAPILARI MA DEXİN'İN LİU ZHİ'NİN "İSLAM'DA TABİAT VE İLKE" ÜZERİNE YORUMU GİRİŞ VE ARAPÇA ANOTASYONLU BASKI

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ABSTRACT

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Ma Dixin Liu Zhi Han Kitabı Neo-Konfüçyanizm Sufizm This study provides an analytical examination of the recently unearthed Arabic commentary on Liu Zhi's seminal work, "Nature and Principle in Islam," authored by the distinguished 19th-century Chinese Islamic scholar, Ma Dexin. It furnishes an exhaustive contextual overview of the Han Kitab intellectual movement, spotlighting significant contributions from luminaries such as Liu Zhi and Wang Daiyu. Additionally, this analysis delves into Ma Dexin's biography, detailing his extensive journeys and pivotal role in championing the cause of Chinese Muslims against the Qing imperial court.

Penned in 1844, Ma Dexin's commentary reveals his profound understanding of Islamic cosmology, philosophy, and Sufi traditions. The document, divided into five chapters, navigates a range of subjects, including the primacy and descents of the macrocosm, the sequels of the macrocosm, and the distinct features of superior and inferior entities. The discovery of this commentary Paugments our understanding of the Han Kitab intellectual lineage and shines a light on the intricate dialogue between Chinese neo-Confucian thought and Islamic intellectual and Sufi traditions. The subsequent section of this study offers an edited and annotated version of the original Arabic manuscript.

ÖΖ

Bu çalışma, 19. yüzyılın seçkin Çinli İslam alimi Ma Dexin tarafından yazılan, Liu Zhi'nin ufuk açıcı eseri "İslam'da Doğa ve Prensipler" hakkında yakın zamanda ortaya çıkarılan Arapça yorumların analitik bir incelemesini sunmaktadır. Liu Zhi ve Wang Daiyu gibi aydınların önemli katkılarına dikkat çekerek, Han Kitab entelektüel hareketine kapsamlı bir bağlamsal genel bakış sunuyor. Ek olarak, bu analiz Ma Dexin'in biyografisini derinlemesine inceleverek onun kapsamlı yolculuklarını ve Çinli Müslümanların Qing imparatorluk sarayına karşı davasını savunmadaki önemli rolünü detaylandırıyor.

1844'te kaleme alınan Ma Dexin'in şerhi, onun İslam kozmolojisi, felsefesi ve Sufi geleneklerine dair derin anlayışını ortaya koyuyor. Beş bölüme ayrılan belge, makrokozmosun önceliği ve inişleri, makrokozmosun devamı ve üstün ve aşağı varlıkların farklı özellikleri de dahil olmak üzere bir dizi konuyu ele alıyor. Bu yorumun keşfi, Han Kitab'ın entelektüel soyuna dair anlayışımızı artırıyor ve Çin neo-Konfüçyüsçü düşüncesi ile İslami entelektüel ve Sufi gelenekleri arasındaki karmaşık diyaloğa ışık tutuyor. Bu çalışmanın sonraki bölümünde orijinal Arapça yazmanın düzenlenmiş ve açıklamalı bir versiyonu sunulmaktadır.

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Background

Wang Daiyu 王岱輿 (1584-1660), Ma Zhu 馬注 (1640-1711), Liu Zhi 劉智 (1670-1730), Ma Dexin 馬 德新 (1794-1874), and his prominent disciple Ma Lianyuan 馬聯元 (Nūr al-Ḥaqq) (1841-1904) stand as eminent scholars within the Chinese Islamic Han Kitab (Han Qitabu 漢克塔補) tradition. The inception of this intellectual movement can be traced back to Wang Daiyu's seminal work, "*True Commentary on the Real Teaching*."¹ It is worth noting the significant contributions of Sachico Murata, who has diligently advanced a nuanced appreciation of the intricate worldviews propounded by Liu Zhi and Wang Daiyu.

In the introductory section of "*The Sage Learning*," Murata and William Chittick identify Liu Zhi as the most intricate and nuanced writer within the entire school's oeuvre.² The assertion regarding Han Kitab is corroborated by our current understanding. It's evident that Liu Zhi wrote predominantly in Chinese with an intention to acquaint Chinese neo-Confucians with the Islamic intellectual and Sufi traditions. In "The Sage Learning," Chittick and Murata diligently endeavored to translate and delve deeper into Liu's perspectives. Furthermore, "The Sage Learning" incorporates a commentary on Liu's "*Nature and Principle in Islam*" by Nūr al-Haqq, titled "*Sharḥ al-lațā'if* (Explaining the Subtleties)." Initially published in Yunnan, southwestern China, in 1898, and subsequently in Kanpur, India, in 1902, the complete Arabic text of Nūr al-Ḥaqq's commentary is encapsulated in "The Sage Learning."

During their work on "The Sage Learning," "Sharh al-Lață'if" was perceived as the sole extant Arabic commentary on the book. However, post its publication, another antecedent Arabic commentary on Liu's "Nature and Principle in Islam" surfaced. In the succeeding discussion, I will shed light on this newfound manuscript.

1. Life and Times

Yusuf Ma Dexin, also referred to as Ma Fuchu and known in Arabic as 'Abd al-Qayyūm Rūḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 1874), hailed from Taihe, Yunnan, in China. Ma Anli, one of his protégés, traces Ma Dexin's lineage back to Sayyid al-Ajall Shams al-Dīn 'Umar (d. 1279), the provincial governor of Yunnan during the Yuan dynasty.³ This lineage suggests that Ma Dexin belonged to the esteemed lineage of Prophet Muhammad, conferring upon him the title of 'Sayyid'.

Known linguistic skills of Ma Dexin extended beyond his native tongue; he was proficient in Arabic and Persian, the latter being the common language across the Islamic realm during his time. Chinese records indicate that Ma Dexin's father, a distinguished imam and religious scholar, was instrumental in imparting knowledge of both languages to him. Further enriching his knowledge base, Ma Dexin enrolled at the Islamic school in

¹ Sachiko Murata's Sachiko Murata et al., Chinese gleams of Sufi light : Wang Tai-yu's great learning of the pure and real and Liu Chih's Displaying the concealment of the real realm ; with a new translation of Jami's Lawa'ih from the Persian by William C. Chittick (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000); Sachiko Murata et al., The sage learning of Liu Zhi : Islamic thought in Confucian terms, Harvard-Yenching Institute monographs series, (Cambridge, Mass.: Published by the Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2009). Table of contents only http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip0826/2008037045.html; Daiyu Wang and Sachiko Murata, The First Islamic Classic in Chinese : Wang Daiyu's "Real Commentary on the True Teaching" (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017). is an English translation and commentary on Wang Daiyu's True commentary. For more on his role and function as a religious leader in the Yunnan province, see Yang, Guiping, "Issues in the study of Ma Dexin," in Islam 6 (2017), 308-320Guiping Yang, "Issues in the Study of Ma Dexin," in Islam (Brill, 2017).

² Murata, Sachiko, William C. Chittick and Tu Weiming, *The sage learning of Liu Zhi: Islamic thought in Confucian terms*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard Yenching Institute, 2009, p. 7.

³ Wang Jianping, "The Opposition of a Leading Akhund to Shi'a and Sufi Shaykhs in Mid-Nineteenth- Century China," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 12 (2014): 519, http://cross-currents.berkeley.edu/e-journal/issue-12.

Chang'an, Shaanxi. The year 1841 marked his pilgrimage to Mecca for the hajj.⁴ Thereafter, his quest for knowledge and discourse took him to cities like Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and as far as Istanbul and Singapore, facilitating interactions with preeminent Muslim scholars.

It's intriguing to note that during his sojourns in the Middle East in the 1880s, the regions he traversed were predominantly under the Ottoman Empire's jurisdiction, where Hanafi-Maturidi theology was prevalent. Speculations arise that such an environment might have shaped his evident disdain towards Shiʿism and specific Sufi luminaries, as discerned in the final chapters of his work, "Sidian yaohui (The Essential Understanding of the Four Classics)."⁵

Ma Dexin's returns to China in 1849 saw him revered as an erudite scholar, earning admiration from both the Muslim and Confucian communities. An impressive repertoire of writings, totaling 45 books and treatises spanning Chinese, Arabic, and Persian, is credited to him by biographers.⁶ Beyond academia, he was an active voice in the sociopolitical resistance of Chinese Muslims against the Qing imperial regime in Yunnan.⁷ As highlighted by Shiqing Zhang in the preamble to "Sidian Yaohui", Ma Dexin's leadership resonated with the Chinese Muslim factions, particularly the 'beg' or 'baba'.⁸ However, the culmination of his life remains shrouded in some mystery, as he was tragically executed by the Qing court in 1874 for reasons not fully understood.⁹

2. Ma Dexin's Exposition on "Nature and Principle in Islam"

⁶ Yang, "Issues in the Study of Ma Dexin."

⁴ In his chronicle detailing the hajj pilgrimage, Ma Dexin places a significant emphasis on the performative facet of the journey. As posited by Kristian Peterson, Ma Dexin not only underscored the doctrinal imperativeness of the hajj but also championed its transformative potential in refining and rejuvenating religious comprehension (See Peterson, Kristian. Interpreting Islam in China, Chapter 4). Notably, while figures like Wang Dayiu and Liu Zhi never ventured beyond the confines of China, Ma Dexin pioneered the inaugural comprehensive translation of the Quran. As noted by Jianping Wang, up until the 1930s, twenty chapters or five volumes of this translation persisted in circulation. See Jianping Wang, "The Opposition of a Leading Akhund to Shi'a and Sufi Shaykhs in Mid-Nineteenth-Century China," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 3, no. 3 2015, p. 523, https://doi.org/ doi:10.1353/ach.2015.0015, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/566005

⁵ See Jianping, "The Opposition of a Leading Akhund to Shi'a and Sufi Shaykhs in Mid-Nineteenth- Century China." In his writings, Wang offers the following critique: "There exists a state named Fars (Persia) which encompasses a vast expanse of a hundred cities and tens of thousands of townships. Predominantly, the inhabitants adhere to Rafida, deemed a heterodox tradition. The majority of their treatises appear to be riddled with inaccuracies and baseless fallacies; their narrations seemingly fabricated." In a specific passage, Ma Dexin articulates the Shi'i and Sufi tenets, reflecting views often associated with the ghulāt interpretations regarding the significance of the Shi'i imams. This perspective is evident in an excerpt from his treatise, *Sidian yaohui*, as rendered into English by Jianping Wang: "The foundational figure of our faith mirrors the Divine, and this is successively channeled through esteemed figures. This sequential emergence commenced with Ali, was carried forward through his son Hussein, then his grandson, and persisted until the eleventh lineage. Ultimately, it culminated in the form of Nizariyye, a revered figure in our tradition." (Ma Dexin and Shiqing Zhang, *Sidian yaohui*, Xining: Qinghai People Publishing House, 1988, p. 526). Furthermore, Wang narrates an incident from Ma Dexin's hajj journey, whereupon Ma Dexin engages with a Muslim intellectual on the subject of Sufism. The scholar's emphasis on the primacy of adhering to religious duties might have significantly influenced Ma Dexin's stance on Sufi orders, particularly those in China. See also Sidian yaohui [The essential understanding of the four classics], ed. Yongchang Yang and Jizu Ma. Di 1 ban. ed., Xining: Qinghai People's Publication House, (1865) 1988 Dexin Ma, Sidian yaohui [The essential understanding of the four classics], ed. Yongchang Yang and Jizu Ma, Di 1 ban. ed. (Xining: Qinghai People's Publication House, (1865) 1988).

⁷ Yunnan province is in southwestern China. For more on the heritage of Islam in this region, see Brose, Michael C., "Yunnan's Muslim heritage," in James A. Anderson and John K. Whitmore (eds.), *China's encounters on the South and Southwest: Reforging the fiery frontier over two millenia*, Leiden: Brill, 2015, 135-155. Michael C. Brose, in *Four Yunnan's Muslim Heritage* Brill, 2015, p. 135-55.

⁸ Shiqing Zhang Ma Dexin, *Sidian Yaohni* [The essential understanding of the Four Classics] (Xining: Qinghai People Publishing House., 1988, p. 5.

⁹ Yao Guoliang, Ma Fuchu Du Wenxiu Zhuan [Biographies of Ma Fuchu and Tu Wenxiu including Ma Rulong] (Chuxing: Chuxiong Normal College, 2001, p. 66. (trans. Wang).

When examining Ma Dexin's interpretation of Liu Zhi's seminal work, "Nature and Principle in Islam," it becomes apparent that his commentary holds the distinction of possibly being its inaugural Arabic translation and exegesis. Penned in 1844, Ma Dexin's illuminating work predates Nūr al-Ḥaqq's "*al-Lațā ij*" by over half a century, suggesting that the latter might be the subsequent addition to this rich intellectual discourse.

What differentiates Ma Dexin's approach from Liu's original work is the choice of linguistic canvas. Whereas Liu painted his thoughts using Confucian lexicon, Ma Dexin chose to articulate using Arabic terminology, aligning more closely with the scriptural and philosophical roots of the subject matter. While Ma Dexin's extensive oeuvre predominantly revolves around the tenets of Islamic creed, jurisprudence, and his notable translation of the Quran, this particular commentary showcases a different facet of his scholarship, revealing his profound grasp of Islamic cosmology, philosophy, and the mystic undertones of Sufism. Thus, Ma provides the backstory of composing this treatise in his introduction:

> All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds. Peace and blessings be upon His Messenger Muhammad, his family, and his companions. Presented here are five chapters curated by our esteemed teacher, the renowned scholar from China, Badi' al-Zaman. These span from ancient periods to the present. Badi' al-Zaman articulated them in the eloquent language native to his homeland, drawing from select Islamic texts: Ash'at al-Lum'at, Mursad al-'Ibad, al-Lawa'ih, al-Maqsid al-Aqsa, and Sharh al-Mawaqif. He delved into them, transforming them into five distinct volumes, enriched with illustrative explanations. Beyond this, he penned various works aimed at elucidating the core tenets of Islam. His hope was to showcase its virtues to those of other beliefs, either paving their way to conversion or serving as testimony against them on the Day of Judgment.

> Upon my arrival in the radiant city of Medina, a place I pray remains ever-blessed, I found that none were familiar with the Chinese script. A benevolent scholar there, Muhammad al-Atwashi al-Maghribi, commissioned me to render these works into Arabic to unlock their insights. Having perused their depths, he exclaimed in awe, 'By Allah, these are truly remarkable writings!' Subsequently, he entreated me to also translate Badi' al-Zaman's accompanying explanations. I endeavored to do so but faced challenges translating certain terminologies. Before I could finish, my journey took me to the holy city of Mecca. It was there, by Allah's grace, that I completed my task in the year 1260 A.H. and dispatched it to him. Subsequently, my path led me to Istanbul, and sadly, our paths did not cross thereafter. What follows is the original text, paired with the translator's interpretations."

3. Content and Structure of the Manuscript:

Diving into the structure of his manuscript, readers journey through five meticulously crafted chapters:

3.1. An in-depth Exploration of the Precedence and Descents within the Macrocosm

This chapter delves into the intricate concept of Absolute Existence or the Divine Reality (al-Haqq). It underscores the timeless, unconditioned nature of the Absolute, emphasizing its status as the primary foundation of all principles, devoid of a beginning of its own. While the Absolute transcends any specific attributes or names, when its true essence is contemplated, it becomes evident that the Absolute distinguishes itself in an intrinsic manner. This intrinsic differentiation alludes to the movement towards manifest reality without any attribute being explicitly shown. The chapter underscores the Divine's transcendence, indicating it is beyond rational thought, illusions, imagination, direct mystical experiences, or witnessing. Importantly, the chapter firmly establishes that the Absolute is not a mere hypothetical construct but a profound reality. The chapter then delves into the interplay of essence, attributes, and actions, emphasizing the Sufi concept of the 'Muhammadan Reality' as an all-encompassing truth. Concluding, the chapter highlights the emergence of the "Supreme Spirit" or the "Supreme Pen" following the Divine Command, signifying the transition from the Divine to the cosmological realm.

3.2. On the Explanation of the Ultimacy of the Macrocosm and the Characteristics of the Elevated and Lowered Things

Chapter Two delves into the intricate relationship between the intrinsic truths of existence and their manifested forms, emphasizing the profound connection between the spiritual and the material realms. The Divine's existence reveals these truths, referred to as fixed entities in His knowledge. These truths or realities, when reflected upon, are presented in a general sense before delving into specifics. Their forms, powered by the Divine's will, manifest tangibly in the material world. The realities are analogous to a mirror, while the forms are like reflections appearing within it. This relationship between realities and forms is echoed in the relationship between the spiritual realm (*malakūt*) and the material kingdom (*mulk*).

Furthermore, the material kingdom is organized into fourteen layers. Nine of these are elevated realms associated with celestial bodies, while the remaining five pertain to elements and the earth, including the effects of elements present between the sky and the earth. Similarly, the spiritual realm, or malakut, also comprises fourteen levels, mirroring the structure of the material kingdom and underscoring a harmonious symmetry between them. Various celestial spheres are designated as places for specific souls, from prophets and saints to ordinary sinful humans. The closer layers to the moon, for instance, correspond to elements like fire, air, water, and earth, each associated with different aspects of creation like plants, animals, minerals, and rocks.

The chapter also underscores the unique characteristics that define every being. Humans, in particular, possess two primary attributes: knowledge (internal) and power (external). These qualities in humans are more refined and potent compared to other creatures, granting them a special status in the grand scheme of existence. In contrast, other beings, including animals and inanimate objects, possess their own distinct attributes, albeit less pronounced than those found in humans.

3.3. On the Emergence of the Primacy of the Microcosm and the Details of Its Levels

Chapter Three delves into the philosophical and theological exploration of human creation. Drawing parallels between the macrocosm and the microcosm, it emphasizes that God created humans from the finest elements. The chapter portrays the human's embryological development as a transformation from a primordial "drop" in the womb, which undergoes differentiation into distinct properties and colors. These colors and properties, representing elemental forces, subsequently give rise to both internal and external organs, each corresponding to various elemental principles like fire, air, earth, and water. The culmination of this developmental process is the emergence of the animating soul of the fetus, inherently connected to the original "drop" and the broader cosmos.

3.4. On the Ultimate Nature of the Microcosm and Its Characteristics

Chapter Four explores the intricate relationship between the heart and the soul, emphasizing the dual nature of the heart: the physical (or figurative) and the spiritual (or real). The physical heart is analogized as a piece of flesh, while the spiritual heart represents a space that neither the heavens nor the earth can contain but is encompassed by the believer's heart. The completion and perfection of both the figurative and real heart is contingent upon each other. The soul is portrayed as a reflection of the true heart, manifesting itself in the mirror of the physical heart. This relationship is illustrated by stating that the figurative heart cannot exist without the human soul, and the human soul does not manifest without the real heart. The alignment or accord mentioned is about the purification of the physical heart from worldly distractions, directing it toward the human soul, which in turn is oriented towards the true heart. This alignment results in the manifestation of divine beauty and perfection.

The heart is further divided into seven stages, echoing the idea of the seven heavens mentioned in religious texts. Each stage or realm of the heart has a specific distinction or honor, similar to how each heaven has a celestial body. The chapter elaborates on these stages by drawing parallels between them and celestial bodies. For instance, the first stage, associated with Islam, is likened to the moon that takes its light from the sun. Similarly, other stages draw parallels with planets like Venus and Mars. Each stage represents different spiritual and emotional aspects like faith, compassion, divine love, the unveiling of esoteric knowledge, and the

illumination of divine oneness. The final stage emphasizes the culmination of this journey, where the divine light manifests in its entirety, reminiscent of the nature of Saturn and its association with earth.

3.5. Summarizing What Was Mentioned in the Previous Chapters

Chapter five delves into the profound metaphysical and esoteric conceptions prevalent in Islamic philosophy and Sufism, particularly focusing on the relationship between the One, multiplicity, and existence. The text starts by examining the notion of the "One" (*al-Wāḥid*) in relation to numbers, suggesting that just as all numbers emanate from the primordial "one," attributes and manifestations emanate from the primal essence. The analogy establishes the One as the substratum (like matter), with numbers or attributes as its forms.

The chapter further posits a triadic ontological structure for the Absolute Existence (*al-Wujūd al-Ḥaq*): the pure essence devoid of attributes, the manifest existence, and the witnessing after manifestation. These states can be metaphorically described as the collective, the division of the collective, and the unification of the divisions. This triadic existence, however, is conceptual and not actual, emphasizing that in reality, there's only the Absolute Existence with three apparent states.

The text continues with elucidating the evolutionary journey of creation. The Absolute, termed as "*al-Aḥad*" (The Singular), is the initiator of creation, bringing entities from nonexistence to existence, embodying the Divine. The "*Wāḥid*" is the culmination of creation, achieved not through imposition but through divine ordainment. The final state, "*al-Ittiḥād*" (Union or Unity), represents the return of creation to its origin, signifying the ultimate stage and fruitfulness.

The chapter also elucidates the significance of divine attributes and actions. Before their manifestation, attributes were inherent within the essence, just as actions, which are external manifestations of these attributes, lead to the formation and distinction of the Divine aspect. It is through divine actions that the existential realm comes to be, much like letters written by a pen, alluding to the Qur'anic reference to the "Supreme Pen."

Finally, the text offers insights into the Sufi understanding of spiritual hierarchy and realization. The initiation is through "Walāyah" (spiritual guardianship), the intermediary stage being prophethood, serving as conduits for the divine flow into creation. The culmination is the realization of the "Insān al-Kāmil" (Perfect Man), where individuality dissolves into the Absolute, symbolizing the ultimate Sufi aspiration of union with the Divine.

4. Sufi Resources of the Chinese Han Kitab

In the preamble to the discourse, Ma Dexin references five seminal Islamic texts that profoundly influenced Liu Zhi, whom he describes as the most eminent scholar of China, articulating profound truths in the vernacular of his homeland, namely Chinese. Both Ma Dexin and his acolyte, Nūr al-Ḥaqq, hold Liu in high esteem. Within his work *al-Lața ij*, Nūr postulates that, in a hypothetical scenario where another prophetic figure could emerge, Liu would be a prime contender. Liu's profound engagement with both Islamic and Confucian texts is evident. These Islamic masterpieces played a pivotal role in shaping his cosmological perspective from an Islamic lens, subsequently providing a platform for dialogues bridging Islamic and Neo-Confucian thought. Ma Dexin, in his prologue, enumerates these influential Islamic works along with their revered authors. Among the seminal texts he cites are:

A. Jāmī's "Ashiʿʿat al-lamaʿāt" (The Radiance of the Illuminations)

B. Rāzī's "*Mirṣād al-`ibād min al-mabda` ilā l-ma`ād*" (The Guide for Devotees from the Beginning to the End)¹⁰

C. Jāmī's "Lawā'ih" (The Glimmers) 11

¹⁰ Translated into Chinese as Daoxing tuiyuan jing 道行推原經.

¹¹ Translated into Chinese as Zhaowei jing 昭微經 (The classic of showing the concealed).

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D. Nasafi's "Maqşad-i aqşa" (The Supreme Purpose) 12

E. al-Ījī's "al-Mawāqif fī 'ilm al-kalām" (Stances in the Discipline of Theological Philosophy).¹³

In his elucidation of Liu's work, Ma Dexin emphasizes the pedagogical tools Liu employed, notably the integration of diagrams to elucidate intricate tenets of the text. Delving into the impetus behind his translation and commentary on 'Nature and Principle' by Liu Xhi, Ma Dexin recounts his pilgrimage journey to Mecca and subsequently, Medina, in 1260/1844, during which he was accompanied by Liu's manuscript. Surprisingly, the linguistic milieu of Medina was devoid of Chinese proficiency. Upon illuminating the essence of Liu's work to the scholarly circles, a luminary from their midst, Muḥammad al-ʿAṭūshī al-Maghribī (fl. mid-13th/19th century), expressed a keen interest and implored Ma Dexin for an Arabic rendition. Initially, a summarized translation seems to have been crafted, which, upon presentation to al-ʿAṭūshī, kindled a request for a more comprehensive translation, supplemented with annotations. Our reservoir of knowledge concerning al-ʿAṭūshī remains scanty. Al-Kattānī (d. 1382/1962), in his magnum opus '*Fibris al-fahāris*' (The Index of Indices), mentions al-ʿAṭūshī in relation to al-Kazbarī al-Ṣaghīr (d. 1262/1864), indicating that the former granted ijazah (permission) for Hadith transmission to the latter. Evidently, al-ʿAṭūshī¹⁴ was a figure of spiritual and scholarly stature in his era.

In our discussion on 'Sidian yaohui' (The Essential Understanding of the Four Classics), we underscored Ma Dexin's apparent censure and denouncement of the Shi'i school and various Sufi shaykhs, casting them as heterodox. Intriguingly, the fabric of this work weaves elements reminiscent of Shi'i and Sufi paradigms. Such ostensible incongruities are not unprecedented, for there exist Shi'i authors who, despite being immersed in Sufi practices, have expressed critiques targeting the "ignorant amongst the Sufis"¹⁵. A footnote earlier alluded to Ma Dexin's seemingly limited direct exposure to Shi'i Islam. Indications suggest that Ma's introduction to Shi'i and Sufi discourses might be attributed to the writings of an enigmatic Sharīf, who journeyed from Khurasan in Iran to the northwestern realms of China, disseminating his perspectives as Shi'i musings. Regrettably, the Chinese Muslim scholarly circles deemed these reflections deviant. Comprehensive insights into this elusive Sharīf and his contributions remain elusive.

Notably, Ma Dexin's expositions on cosmology subtly unravel the concept of Wahdat al-Wujūd (Unity of Being) without explicitly invoking the term. His narrative on creation echoes the Sufi portrayal where the framework of 'emanation' substitutes the conventional understanding of 'creation'. This existential elucidation delineates existence as a cyclical journey originating and culminating in the Divine. As anticipated, the profound Sufi and Shi'i concept of al-insān al-kāmil (The Perfect Man) emerges in his commentary, acting as an intermediary conduit between God and His creation. Crucially, in his contemplations on the chapter dedicated to the genesis of humankind, Ma Dexin postulates that an individual's divine love attains its zenith when they traverse the realms of sharī'a, ţarīqa, and ḥaqīqa, epitomizing the quintessence of Sufi thought.¹⁶

¹² Translated into Chinese as Yanzhen jing 研真經 (The classic of searching for the real).

¹³ Translated into Chinese as Gezhi quan jing 格致全經 (The complete classic of investigating and extending).

¹⁴ Kattani, 'Abd al-Hayy b. 'Abd al-Kabir, Kitab Fihris al-fahāris wa-l-ithbāt wa-mu jam al-ma ājim wa-l-mashyakhāt wa-lmusalsalat, Fās: al-Maţba a al-Jadīda, 1928.

¹⁵ For more on this see Asghari, Seyed Amirhossein. "Ontology and Cosmology of the 'aql in Sadrā's Commentary on Uşūl al-Kāfī." Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies, vol. 10 no. 2, 2017, p. 157-182. Project MUSE, <u>https://doi.org/10.1353/isl.2017.0011</u>. See Asghari, Seyed Amir Hossein. "Replacing Sharī'a, Țarīqa and Haqīqa with Fiqh, Akhlāq and Tawhīd: Notes on Shaykh Muḥammad Bahārī (d. 1325/1907) and His Sufi Affiliation". Journal of Sufi Studies 9.2 2021, p. 202-214. <u>https://doi.org/10.1163/22105956-bja10010</u>

¹⁶ In a notable passage, Liu articulates, "Forty days after birth, love, hate, speech, and laughter manifest 'the nature of vital-energy' growing to respect propriety and ritual and good use of clarity and awakening manifest 'the root nature." Nūr al-Haqq on the other hand, as such interpreted it "Forty days after it completes its birth, appetite and wrath come forth, so that it may weep and laugh, by means of the manifestation of the psychical [spirit]. Finally, when he matures and performs acts of courtesy and worship and beautifies his attributes, discernment, and thought, the human spirit

It is noteworthy that in his treatise, Ma Dexin concludes with laudatory remarks, extolling the virtues and attributes of his mentor, Liu Xhi, stating:

Know that this author, may God have mercy on him, possessed a formidable prowess surpassing many preceding writers. He held independent views, not merely imitating the scholars before him, particularly in affirming the Divine Attributes of the Sublime: two intrinsic qualities being the knowledge encompassing the realities of entities, and an apparent quality being the power that manifests their forms. He confirmed the primordial nature of the unseen realm and its counterpart, the witnessed world. He also emphasized the principle of the correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm, their differentiation in terms of precedence and succession, internally and externally, within and without. Whoever deeply contemplates his subtle positions and comprehends his wondrous insights realizes that he was bestowed with supreme wisdom and a great favor. May God bless his contributions, and upon God is his reward. Amen, O Lord of the worlds. Dated: the beginning of Sha'ban, 1284 Hijri.

Conclusion

The intricate tapestry of Islamic thought, as it has woven through various cultural and philosophical landscapes, presents a diverse and rich heritage of knowledge. This research has delved into the nuances of Ma Dexin's engagement with Islamic traditions, particularly with the Sufi and philosophical traditions.

Ma Dexin's trifold progression through sharī a, țarīqa, and ḥaqīqa offers a crystallized view into the heart of Sufi thought, emphasizing the spiritual ascent of the believer. This journey, representing the codified law, the spiritual path, and ultimate reality, respectively, captures the essence of the believer's pursuit of divine proximity.

Upon reflecting on the intricate interplay within the Han Kitab school of China, it becomes undeniably clear that Sufi thought played a central role in shaping its philosophical foundations. This pivotal influence serves as a testament to the rich adaptability and expansive nature of Islamic Sufi and philosophical traditions. In facilitating dialogues between Neo-Confucianism and Sufism, there emerges an unprecedented understanding of the capacity of these spiritual doctrines to converge, fostering profound intercultural and interreligious understandings. The intertextual nuances found in the writings of Ma Dexin, especially his engagements with Liu Xhi and Nūr al-Ḥasqq, further amplify the transformative role of individual scholars in bridging these vast intellectual terrains. This exploration underscores the dynamism inherent within Islamic thought, its capacity to foster interreligious dialogue, and the enduring legacy of scholars like Ma Dexin in these cross-cultural exchanges.

In sum, Ma Dexin's writings serve as a profound testament to the multidimensionality of Islamic thought and its ability to engage, adapt, and flourish in diverse intellectual terrains. His works, echoing with the harmonies of both Sufi and Shi'i philosophies, underscore the enduring richness and adaptability of the Islamic tradition, offering insights not just into the synthesis of these traditions in a Chinese context, but into the broader and ever-evolving tapestry of Islamic intellectual history.

becomes manifest. When he perfects the acts of worship and ascetic disciplines and he achieves full recognition of God, and when the realities are unveiled for him and he is annihilated from the things such that the Real's attributes leave traces in his faculties, then the Ascribed Spirit becomes manifest." See Murata et al., *The sage learning of Liu Zhi : Islamic thought in Confucian terms*, p. 130-1.

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KÜLTÜRLER ARASI KÖPRÜ KURMAK: ÇİN HAN KİTAB OKULUNDA TASAVVUFUN ALT YAPILARI MA DEXİN'İN LİU ZHİ'NİN "İSLAM'DA TABİAT VE İLKE" ÜZERİNE YORUMU GİRİŞ VE ARAPÇA ANOTASYONLU BASKI

(Genişletilmiş Özet)

Bu calisma, Wang Daiyu 王岱輿 (1584-1660), Ma Zhu 馬注 (1640-1711), Liu Zhi 劉智 (1670-1730), Ma Dexin 馬德新 (1794-1874) ve onun önde gelen öğrencisi Ma Lianyuan 馬聯元 (Nūr al-Haqq) (1841-1904) gibi önde gelen alimlerin eserleriyle karakterize edilen Çin İslami Han Kitab geleneğini araştırmaktadır. Bu figürler, Cin İslami Han Kitab (Han Qitabu 漢克塔補) geleneği içinde önde gelen alimler olarak kabul edilir. Araştırmamız, bu bireylerin özellikle Liu Zhi ve Wang Daiyu'nun eserlerinde açıkça görülen, İslami ve Çin düşüncesinin benzersiz bir sentezini nasıl oluşturduğunu açıklıyor. Sachico Murata tarafından açıklanan Liu Zhi'nin İslami ve Neo-Konfücvüs düsüncesini entegre etmedeki derin katılımı öne cıkarılıyor. Özellikle "The Sage Learning" eserinde William Chittick ve Sachiko Murata, Liu'nun bakış açılarına derinlemesine dalmak ve çevirmek için özen göstermişlerdir. Çalışma, Liu Zhi'nin Çinli bir kitleye İslami entelektüel ve Tasavvuf geleneklerinin temel ilkelerini tanıtmak icin yazılarında benimsediği nüanslı yaklasımı vurgulamaktadır. Bu makale ayrıca, bu gelenekte öne çıkan bir alim olan Ma Dexin'in hayatını derinlemesine incelemektedir. Ma Dexin'in alimliği ve Arapça ile Farsça dillerindeki uzmanlığı, Kahire ve İstanbul gibi İslami merkezlere yaptığı genis sevahatlerle birlikte not edilmistir. Savvid al-Ajall Shams al-Dīn 'Umar'a davanan sovu ve İslami hukuk, felsefe üzerine 45 kitap ve risale ve önemli bir Kur'an çevirisi şeklindeki katkıları ayrıntılı bir şekilde anlatılmıştır. Çalışma ayrıca Qing rejimine karşı siyasi aktivizmi ve 1874'teki trajik idamını da ele almaktadır. Çalışmanın önemli bir odak noktası, Cince yazılan Liu Zhi'nin "İslam'da Tabiat ve İlke" eserine Ma Dexin'in yaptığı yorumdur. Liu Zhi, Han Kitab'ın en büyük ustasıydı. Ma Dexin'in yorumu, Liu'nun çalışmasının Nūr al-Haqq'ın "al-Latā'if"inden önce gelen ilk Arapça cevirisi ve tefsiri olarak konumlandırılmıştır. Chittick ve Murata, "Liu Zhi'nin Bilge Öğrenimi'' adlı kitaplarını hazırlarken bu el yazmasından haberdar değillerdi. Çalışma, Ma Dexin'in Arapça kullanarak, Liu'nun Çince yazılmış orijinal çalışmasına kıyasla İslami kozmolojiyi ve Tasavvufu farklı bir acıdan incelemesini ele alır. Liu'nun İslami ve Konfüçyüs metinlerle derinlemesine uğrastığı belirgindir. Bu İslami başyapıtlar, onun İslami bir bakış açısıyla kozmolojik perspektifini şekillendirmede merkezi bir rol oynamış ve İslami ile Neo-Konfüçyüs düşüncesini birleştiren diyaloglar için bir platform sağlamıştır. Ma Dexin, önsözünde bu etkili İslami eserleri ve saygıdeğer yazarlarını sıralamaktadır. Alıntıladığı temel metinler arasında şunlar bulunur: A. Jāmī'nin "Ashiʿʿat al-lamaʿāt" (Aydınlatmaların Işıltısı) B. Rāzī'nin "Mirsād al-ʿibād min al-mabda' ilā l-maʿād" (Başlangıçtan Sonuna Kadar Sadıklar İçin Rehber) C. Jāmī'nin "Lawāʾiḥ" (Parıltılar) D. Nasafi'nin "Maqsad-i aqsā" (En Yüce Amaç) E. al-Ījī'nin "al-Mawāqif fī 'ilm al-kalām" (Teolojik Felsefenin Disiplininde Duruşlar). Bunun yanı sıra, Ma Dexin'in el yazmasının içeriğini ve yapısını analiz ettik, bu beş bölüme ayrılmıştır. Bu bölümler, Mutlak Varlık (Wujūd Mutlaq), manevi ve maddi alemlerin etkileşimi, insan yaratılışı, kalp (Qalb) ve ruhun doğası ve varlık ve birlik (Wahdat) üzerine metafizik kavramlarını keşfeder. Çalışma, bu bölümlerin Tasavvuf ve İslami felsefenin özünü nasıl kapsadığını ve makrokozmos ile mikrokozmos arasındaki bağlantıyı vurgulamaktadır. Bu çalışma, Liu Zhi'nin çalışmaları üzerindeki İslami metinlerin etkisini araştırır. Ayrıca, Liu'nun İslami ve Konfüçyüs metinlerle derinlemesine uğraştığını yansıtır. Ma Dexin'in Liu'nun çalışmasını Mekke ve Medine've vaptığı hac volculuğu sırasında çevirmesi, Liu'nun içgörülerine duyulan ilgiyle başlatılmıştır. Makale ayrıca, Ma Dexin'in Şii ve Tasavvuf paradigmasını nasıl anladığını ve bu geleneklerin bazı yönlerine yönelik eleştirilerine rağmen incelemektedir. Çalışma, Ma Dexin'in eserlerinin, özellikle Tasavvuf ve felsefi gelenekler bağlamında, İslami düşüncenin zengin ve çeşitli mirasını yansıttığını sonuçlandırmaktadır. Neo-Konfücyanizm ile diyalogları ve bu geleneklerle olan etkilesimleri, İslami düsüncenin diğer geleneklerle konuşmada uyum sağlama ve genişleme kapasitesini gösterir. Makale, Ma Dexin'in katkılarının İslam alimliğinin dinamik doğasını ve kültürlerarası ve dinler arası anlayışı teşvik etmedeki rolünü vurgular. Onun yazıları, sadece İslami geleneklerin Cin bağlamında sentezini değil, aynı zamanda İslami entelektüel ve Tasavvuf tarihine de katkıda bulunur.

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11º Pilo بين بوجة لحق وظهر ك الطانات ظرهم p.s.y لاند 6:11 Da 2,9 فغانالغا opo ひり لفدنوب نقعان لتقط 1bs 0 SUI 6111in LO 21 2016 ミキン ليسن متل

1:. 1.20 il'sik 4 Perter In सेव हुद्ही Icall Said well'silie 5:1 Cab li 0 ミナい يغوالاحغرانوهنا and (d) والاسمالانهاية لديعن

2

اظوال 21 10 9 al المادلي فاذا li اللا شف 200 19 cio 四 Uin

甲

次化理天井. 尚弟 بن داية من هذه النهار باطن il shi dia Lab Such ذان 10/10/ 膛 تجسل لهابل وجوالتانية 1:21, بالالح وظهو للادلح بالثانية فالكل بعشون واحد لهامرات نزولت يتوع وزر علم متنات ية فالعنفات ظهر الزات والافعال 用 FU/ هاوالامرا تزالا فعال القين aszli っしい 2 العن: لاتفصل الماره افعال 1000 HOLDO, HE المرمع فزوالنات عناهم الغبيا فرد منبغ واعرف المعاف 6:11:31 وعنديعض الاعتان اسم اظھ وبالمالعمد انددر م انفالان 四下 命 الجيمانات دخولاو 惟 وانالداح فاشكل الاحا مر الانلاك والانج والعد الربان والدرة الحاصلة ل 最 عوين ماذه ولاانتها وإذافر للتم تعان فعر النزول فق لعروج وجود ومنتع العروج ساءالنز 有 sin ine 53/10 بقذ الوجع ت فعرعتهايها

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Sec. الهياالالي عندالمض فبن همادة مالانسان نطفت عظاطنه وهي 天 الحسم وه فضلات تضمنة فالاروام 日日の 形 证书種 لنمر ففر سجرة الانسان والانسان تمرة من لتضمن المسا، فالمهما، فتواء المس 化 شجرةالعالم فماكان مبداءالعالم هرالعبا 次 الاولح كان احله وحاف تضمن فيه لاو و و روحاني نضمن فيه اصلا الجسمان 等意 نبغ اصل الجدتمانيات وه تصديق بصااى لنال مبالالانسان تطفة تعمن فيها تظع العرف بمالتحر للكات 小院 は、意 الروطاغ فلذاك كان التنفي فجم اللطني والكلمات الشكال متنجعت دالوع فمساءالعالمالكبيكالشحرف فمنالته الإدهاني ماغنفس واللطبف فحمن الكفي في مدامالعال التكام كذك الاجسام المتنجحة تبين المعفر كالترف فمز النتح بكماكان بهاحفايف الانشياءالنابنة فالعلوم ادم ابااليشرو ويامه وعمقانة من تحق بعاظعل العباالارج عم ادم كناك كان الروح الاعظ اباالعا إوالعا انبعه المكمامن المصبيح والحرف التع المورفع فمس الروح والنطفة متل العبا مادة الاجسام وحماء الحبين عترواءن دار منتفقيظ شفنن تزال اربع طبقاتكاان ذلك ايضا بالبغارالدول والبخارماهاع وفا Tet. (ارد) الصادنينين ال طبيعتين عالم الع عناص بالحرارةمن الرطب ممالا جزاءا لصغب 地 早三 الخلابكاد الجس عيزها وعند التكلميزان الجسم مركب من أجزاد لا يتجر والنشا والعبا الحطبيعتين لانهامن عنبين الروطارويين عانجاجسام نان الحسمان فعالج تمعان فيهاوللرومان الدك 世 وللجسمان السكين ولاذم الحركية الحراية و لاذم السكري المرجدة وغابته هاالمله والنار حيوان النقس 雪 数活

مراتب الظهو لالاولية 大世界造化循 وماكازللعار الناءخ فماغضن النقا ذات والزهر فضمن الناج لان الروح الندانة في شما معان نسان العرفى الروم الحرواني فمذالنان مالروم افعال دران معارنت غزالتفا 環 الحرقة الااتدالارد ننناركضها الانسان والحبوان فانهامن العناصرا لسفتي والروج الانس 79 OJEO الاضاد مخصوصتان للانسان و رض فاص اللكون العليا 2et Lisie حظمن الروم المنفرج بمنابع Sal: فالترتية المتاخ فسنطامن in العا طلواند الظان الادجاي للمرفح والن فان ظاهق فالحل والنفسان لايظه الكبعد الدلادة لظهورالاخ جبن اغتامد العواء الخارجية والزوم الانساني لا روجاها 边 ネ ¿ mi 长久. 世 211111221 四十四 الخنابين التفسانية وبتنو يقليه بتجال 十生 المالانه: العداده ولايظه كالمالا لا لقزل - 2-وينتع ومحدفك باحديد الجع والزوج الانساني ab منزل الغرينغر والردم اعجاء 110

مراتب الظهور لاولة 大世界造化循 وماكازللع الناءخ فما والزهر فحمن النتج لانالد وج ذات معان انسان المعرف والروم دروان افعال 環 النفساخ 910 ننذاركان العناصر السفن والروج المانس 74 0.150 الاضاد تدعم متان الان رض فام اللكون 2et Lisie حظمن الروالمنفي Sala فالنزنبة المناخ فسنها مناضر ila الها فان والراند الظان ظاهق فالحل والنفسان لايظه الكعدال لادة الظهورالاخ جبن اغتامد العواء الخارجية والزوم الانساني لا 边終 وجاضاح 4 ذلسان 世 الاجانسان 막四 性生 لقدل - 2-ورشق ح فلكامدين الجع والردم الانساني ab اعضاء

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國品分人天 المتى حانه فالدايغ الاولي مرتبع ال Cit 人合 جبت هد وه الاحدية النانية والتانية مر اردية الصفات اىظهو وسحانه بالسفى فالناتية シュー Jostilui اجالاوهوالواحدية الظاهة واي الروج الاضافالناى هم مظع الاحديق والثالشة 圖 Ø مرتبة الانسان الكامل الذى انتع البرظه الشقانات واجتمع فيدوهوا لاحدان الجعينة الرابعة مرتبة العالم اما الانان فباعتباركون جسماعي فمن العالم وباعتباركونه فلهل للاحدينا لجعية يكون العالم فحمت والو إحداث تَعَمَّ الحرنَ جعمانتندم من التوصيل والاجالُ عين التفصيل لان التوصيل في ممن الاجان وجعة اوالاجال في ختن التعصيل منه وي ال النفع الفي والدين الكتار في معلوم تفجينى للاحدين والعالم تفجيل للعاحدين و الانسان جال لها انسان 體 四十五 316 世田

النعاية في الرجع الح البلاية 天人渾化圖 لنشغ لاهوت حضرت الذات اللعت 真 فاية النعايات - الغابات وهذه ابطون الحذ الحان بعد الظهم رجوعم مزالفاهم رالحاليط لاودا عيز النانالفة ومنا الذكرة الالصنفة ورالله له الحق لايرى المعادية Elerer وتقدرجوع لي 1,4 ce = cil الابتلا الجاد المعدد ماتوف الانتهاء اعدام الوجه جات فلم يبو إلا النه الاحدققع الجدينة عا تأبيل طبع الداج هذه وفي نة غرفد فاول وبالدين رجاءان