

行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

民國時期伊斯蘭「新教」在西北的發展及其影響：以甘、寧、青地區依赫瓦尼為例
研究成果報告(精簡版)

計畫類別：個別型
計畫編號：NSC 95-2411-H-004-016-
執行期間：95年08月01日至97年01月31日
執行單位：國立政治大學民族學系

計畫主持人：張中復

計畫參與人員：碩士班研究生-兼任助理人員：王義榮 馬孝棋

報告附件：赴大陸地區研究心得報告
出席國際會議研究心得報告及發表論文

處理方式：本計畫可公開查詢

中華民國 97年06月25日

行政院國家科學委員會補助專題研究計畫成果報告

民國時期伊斯蘭「新教」在西北的發展及其影響：

以甘寧青地區伊赫瓦尼為例

計畫類別：個別型計畫

計畫編號：NSC 95— 2411 — H — 004 — 016 —

執行期間： 95 年 8 月 1 日至 97 年 1 月 31 日

計畫主持人：張中復

共同主持人：

計畫參與人員：

成果報告類型(依經費核定清單規定繳交)：■精簡報告 □完整報告

本成果報告包括以下應繳交之附件：

- 赴國外出差或研習心得報告一份
- 赴大陸地區出差或研習心得報告一份
- 出席國際學術會議心得報告及發表之論文各一份
- 國際合作研究計畫國外研究報告書一份

處理方式：除產學合作研究計畫、提升產業技術及人才培育研究計畫、列管計畫及下列情形者外，得立即公開查詢

涉及專利或其他智慧財產權，一年 ■二年後可公開查詢

執行單位：國立政治大學民族學系

中 華 民 國 97 年 6 月 15 日

計畫中文摘要

自明末清初以來，中國伊斯蘭教發展過程中最重要的特色之一，便是宗派多元化現象的出現。這種在外來新興伊斯蘭思潮影響下所形成的宗派分立局面，一般可以分為「門宦」與「新教派」這兩種範疇。其中門宦制度是明末以降，隨著中亞與西亞等地伊斯蘭神秘主義蘇非派（Sufism）各種修道思，在中國有了比較廣泛的傳播以後，在西北地區首先產生並發展起來的一種具有中國伊斯蘭文化與社會特色的宗教組織。而新教派方面，主要指的是自清末傳入西北一帶，以十八世紀阿拉伯半島瓦哈比思想（Wahhabiyya，伊斯蘭基本教義復振思想）為依歸的「依赫瓦尼」（Ikhwan）。而本計畫主要以民國時期西北甘、寧、青等地區依赫瓦尼史為中心的探討，其中包括創建人馬萬福的發跡、建立教派、其在「河湟事變」中的角色，和日後與西北諸馬軍閥勢力結合的過程，以及一九四九年以後社會主義體制改造下所產生的變化等項目。同時，民國時期依赫瓦尼在政治庇護下展開與門宦、格底木勢力間的競爭，其影響結果也是觀察民國以來依赫瓦尼教史的重要切入點之一。此外，一九三〇馬得寶脫離依赫瓦尼另創賽萊非也，並造成依赫瓦尼的分裂與內部對立，其過程與影響也是本計畫研究的要項之一。

Abstract

From the beginning of 17th century, the perspectives of pluralism of religious sects had been the most obvious and sophisticated phenomena in the process of development of Islam in China. It's apparently that the result of the appearance these religious sects should be under the influence of exotic Islamic thoughts that from Western and Central Asia. There were two major categories of these religious sects during that time, one was *Menhuan* (Sufism Orders) and the other was *Jioapai* (New Factions or Teachings). The former belonged to the systems of Islamic mysticism which have found many local religious organizations that combined with the Sufism and traditional Chinese social regulations. The latter usually had been used the names of "Ikhwan", "New Faction" or "venerate-the-scriptures faction" in Northwestern since the beginning of 19st century. The origins of Ikhwan should be traced back to the Wahhabiyya, the Islamic revitalization and fundamentalism movement of 18th century in Arabian Peninsula. The main purpose of this plan will be tried to research the history of Ikhwan of Gansu, Ningxia and Qinghai during Nationalist Period. It's including the introduction of Ma Wang-fu the founder of Ikhwan, and his role in "He-Huang Incident". Due to the northwestern China's Muslim militarists of Ma family tried to use the power of Ikhwan to attack local *Menhuan* and *Qadimu* (Old Factions or Chinese traditional Islam) during the Nationalist Period, so the results and influence of this controversial process will be another main researching point of this plan. In the other hand, the division of Ikhwan in 1930's (Ma Wang-bao and the Salafiyya) and its later developing history in Communist China that these important parts should be also mentioned in this plan.

報告內容

一、研究說明

本計劃為中國伊斯蘭教史中有關地區性宗派現象的研究。自明末清初以來，中國伊斯蘭教發展過程中最重要的特色之一，便是宗派多元化現象的出現。這種在外來新興伊斯蘭思潮影響下所形成的宗派分立局面，曾被視為近代中國伊斯蘭的「回化」趨勢，以有別於已存在數百年、且代表伊斯蘭中國本土化的「華化」結果。這種「回化」影響下所形成的新興宗派，一般可以分為「門宦」與「新教派」這兩種範疇。其中門宦制度是明末以降，隨著中亞與西亞等地伊斯蘭神秘主義蘇非派（Sufism）各種修道思想，在中國有了比較廣泛的傳播以後，在西北地區首先產生並發展起來的一種具有中國伊斯蘭文化與社會特色的宗教組織。而新教派方面，主要指的是自清末傳入西北一帶，以十八世紀阿拉伯半島瓦哈比思想（Wahhabiyya，伊斯蘭基本教義復興思想）為依歸的「依赫瓦尼」（Ikhwan）。無論是蘇非派門宦或是依赫瓦尼，這些屬於伊斯蘭內部宗派分歧發展的現象，不僅使中國最具代表性的傳統「格底木」（老教）的教坊制度，在西北甘寧青等地區逐漸失去占主導的地位，同時也使得中國伊斯蘭的宗教與社會性質，開始進入多元主義（pluralism）的發展階段。

1. 依赫瓦尼的阿拉伯語原義為「兄弟」，同時也被稱作「新教」或「尊經派」。其教義與十八世紀阿拉伯半島瓦哈比思想運動有關。該運動形式上具有當地阿拉伯人反抗奧圖曼土耳其與西方帝國主義的訴求意義，但本質上仍被視為近代阿拉伯改革主義和伊斯蘭復興運動的始祖。十九世紀初，瓦哈比思想運動成為阿拉伯半島脫離奧圖曼土耳其、並建立阿拉伯人自主性政權的核心價值與憑藉。按瓦哈比思想運動在宗教教義方面，反對當時世俗化的經院哲學和神學，只以《古蘭經》和早期制訂的宗教規範為依據，因此很明顯的具有復古式的基本教義思想（或稱為原教旨主義，fundamentalism）的當代實踐意義。換句話說，瓦哈比思想運動一方面具有「回歸原典」的伊斯蘭宗教復興精神，另一方面也藉此改革宗教世俗化之後所產生的「不良現狀」，以重新取得宗教資源與社會控制力。直到今日，瓦哈比思想在沙烏地阿拉伯等地仍具有一定的影響力，成為其建立政教合一國家體制的重要思想依據。
2. 中國依赫瓦尼的創建者為清末民初的馬萬福（1853-1934）。馬萬福為甘肅臨夏人，世稱「果園哈智」，其原出身蘇非派「虎夫耶」系統的北莊門宦。馬萬福於三十三歲時曾赴麥加朝覲，因而接觸到瓦哈比思想，從此便下定決心改革中國伊斯蘭教。其返國後即脫離北莊門宦，並新創建依赫瓦尼，以遂行其宗教改革的意志。依赫瓦尼最初以十大阿訇為骨幹，其最初傳教地點在甘肅，主張「憑經行教」、「尊經革俗」，其改革對象很明顯是針對蘇非派的門宦制度，因而也遭受到各個門宦的強烈反對。從此，依赫瓦尼這個新興教派便成為伊斯蘭宗派現象複雜的西北地區中一支發展快速的後起之秀。光緒二

十一年爆發的「河湟事變」，由於馬萬福的介入，使依赫瓦尼開始走向與世俗政治掛鉤之途。民國時期，西北「諸馬」軍閥更積極地推展扶持依赫瓦尼，以做為打擊門宦勢力的主要手段。這些都使得近代以來，已因宗派紛立而日益分裂的西北穆斯林社會的內部關係更趨於複雜化。嚴格說來，中國的依赫瓦尼在教義解釋與宗教社會改革的訴求上與瓦哈比思想頗為接近，但兩者之間並沒有直接的關聯性。這與門宦制度在西北所形成的各個派別的情況不同。因為絕大多數的門宦都是西亞與中亞各蘇非派以不同方式直接傳入而形成的，其本身教義與其「篩海」(Shaykh, 教主)的傳教世系，都與域外的母源體制有著一脈相傳的關係。相較之下，馬萬福的依赫瓦尼則更具備著「本土宗教改革運動」的宗派色彩。由此可見，研究近代以來的中國西北伊斯蘭教史及其特色，除門宦制度的發展及其變遷外，依赫瓦尼的角色，及其與「格底木」(老教)、門宦之間的互動關係亦應該是相當重要的觀察點之一。

3. 本計畫主要從宗教史、社會史與民族史等方面的觀點，來研究民國時期依赫瓦尼在西北地區的主要發展過程，及其對於當地穆斯林社會所產生的影響。在研究主題及其名稱方面，首先須對「新教」這個概念做一釐清。按中國伊斯蘭教原本無新、老之分。由於前述近代以來域外宗教思潮傳入所引發的「回化」趨勢，導致西北地區各新興宗派與傳統「格底木」之間的區隔和對立逐漸明顯，因此便出現新、老(舊)教的相對概念。像是清代甘肅蘇非派的哲合忍耶門宦曾多次與其他派別衝突，並在乾隆與同治年間兩次發動大規模的抗清起事，歷史上也曾一度被稱做新教。此外，清末民初在甘肅臨潭由馬啓西所創立的西道堂(或稱漢學派)，其性質也屬於地方性的新興宗派。不過，依赫瓦尼的出現與快速發展，及其強烈的宗教改革意識，使其在西北地區成為最具有代表性的「新教」。因此，「依赫瓦尼一新教」此一名稱的使用，及其相關概念的流傳，至今在甘寧青等地的穆斯林社會中仍是十分明顯的現象。另一方面，與其他門宦現象頗為類似的是，馬萬福過世後，依赫瓦尼內部亦出現分裂的情況。其中馬萬福的弟子馬得寶(又稱尕白莊)另立「賽萊非也」派，其宗教改革的意識更為激烈，其和依赫瓦尼之間的對立情形，有時甚至超過與門宦之間的關係。
4. 本計畫的研究目的，是希望透過對於民國時期依赫瓦尼發展史為中心的觀察，來探討當時西北伊斯蘭宗派多元化現象中，「門宦 vs. 教派」的競爭互動模式的本質意義，及其相互之間所援引的錯綜複雜的政教關係，以做為理解近半個世紀以來，當代中國西北穆斯林社會族、教現象演變結果與互動關係的重要依據。本計畫亦希望透過近代中國本土式的伊斯蘭宗教改革運動的形成背景、與格底木和門宦之間的衝突與矛盾、內部的分裂發展、以及與諸馬軍閥的結合互動關係等研究面向，希望藉此鉤勒出民國時期依赫瓦尼歷史的重要輪廓與研究內涵。同時，由於申請人目前正在執行的國科會研究計畫主題為「近代中國伊斯蘭教門宦制度的發展歷程與社會適應」，因此，下年度本計畫如獲得通過完成，則能在台灣做到整合「門宦」與「依赫瓦尼新教」這兩個重點領域，以建立近代中國西北伊斯蘭宗派多元化現象的整體觀察視

野，進而強化並提昇相關研究內容。

5. 申請人近年來多從事於西北穆斯林族群史與蘇非派門宦制度的研究，國內目前尚無其他學者有從事於相關門宦或教派史的研究。大陸學界近年來研究依赫瓦尼的專著有限，大部份也都隸屬於「教派門宦」的範疇之中。當前研究中國伊斯蘭問題時，門宦與教派的角色之所以受到重視，相當重要的一個關鍵在於，部份出身西北回族的民族宗教工作者，基於對周遭伊斯蘭社會文化的熟稔，以及長期接觸並深入了解各門宦與教派的實際情況，以系統化的整理、歸類、與分析，將數百年來在西北穆斯林社會中盤根錯節的門宦現象，以及後來出現的如依赫瓦尼等新興教派，業已釐清出前所未有且通具整體性與全知性的面貌。嚴格說來，這類涵蓋民族志、宗教志、歷史學與文獻系譜學意義的科研成果，為當代中國伊斯蘭研究中開創「門宦教派學」的領域奠定了必備的基礎。出身隴東張家川的回族學者馬通，於八〇年代初期先後出版《中國伊斯蘭教派與門宦制度史略》、《中國伊斯蘭教派門宦溯源》等兩部著作，直接為中國伊斯蘭「教派門宦學」開啓了研究先河。其中《史略》一書，為大陸第一本有系統描述依赫瓦尼興起及其發展、分裂過程的重要著作。其幾乎成為中外學界論述依赫瓦尼史時必備的參考資料。而寧夏學者勉維霖所著的《寧夏伊斯蘭教派概要》與《中國回族伊斯蘭宗教制度概論》兩書中，亦對於寧夏依赫瓦尼發展史有所詳細的介紹。與《史略》不同的是，馬氏的《中國伊斯蘭教派門宦溯源》一書，也從宗教哲學與宗教改革運的角度，來探討依赫瓦尼教義與瓦哈比思想之間的關係，以及日後依赫瓦尼內部分裂的背景與因素。此外，由於民國時期西北諸馬軍閥與依赫瓦尼的關係十分密切，故本計畫參考資料中亦包括對馬家集團的研究成果。在國內，胡平生教授之《民國時期的寧夏省：1929-1949》，對於西北諸馬的世系與興起背景有相當詳盡的論述。該書同時亦對於馬鴻逵在寧夏的宗教政策有專章介紹。在中國大陸部份，早期由於政治因素，導致對西北諸馬的歷史評價有限，且內容多失之偏頗。不過，近年來中南民族大學回族學者許憲隆所著的《諸馬軍閥集團與西北穆斯林社會》一書，是大陸當前學界對於民國時期諸馬歷史論述中較為公正持平的著作。其中有論及西北諸馬的「伊斯蘭教情結」部份，值得注意。
6. 在當代西方學界，有關依赫瓦尼的研究成果雖不如門宦，但凡是涉及西北伊斯蘭教與回族穆斯林歷史等方面的論著，多少都會對依赫瓦尼的宗教改革思想及其影響部份有所著墨。以美國歷史學者李普曼（Jonathan N. Lipman）所著的《熟悉的陌生人：中國西北穆斯林史》（*Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China*）一書為例，其中特別提到民國以來依赫瓦尼與門宦、格底木老教之間的對立衝突，不但造成穆斯林社會的分裂，同時也影響到一九四九年之後中共的穆斯林少數民族政策的落實。此外，美國人類學者杜磊（Dru C. Gladney）所著的《中國穆斯林：人民共和國的族群民族主義》（*Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic*）一書，對於一九八〇年代甘肅、寧夏依赫瓦尼新教與門宦、格底木之間的互動關係，提供

出不少具有田野調查內涵的民族志資料。有關西北諸馬的研究方面，托平（John Themis Topping）在密西根大學的博士論文《中國穆斯林軍閥：馬鴻逵在寧夏，1933-1949》（Chinese Muslim Militarist: Ma Hongkui in Ningxia, 1933-1949），則對於「寧夏諸馬」的歷史及其影響進行系統性的研究。

二、研究內容與重點

1. 本計畫研究方法的內容與取向，原則上以當前中外學界研究西北伊斯蘭「教派門宦學」所呈現的架構為依據，並集中在民國時期依赫瓦尼新教教的興起—分裂過程、宗教學說、及其與門宦、格底木等宗派關係影響評估等這幾個範疇之中。從現有具體研究成果看來，當代學界對於依赫瓦尼（或門宦制度）的研究取向，大致可以區分為以下三點：甲、歷史文獻學的溯源研究與歷史現象的解釋；乙、宗教學對於宗教改革主義、原教旨主義教理與相關伊斯蘭教義內涵的詮釋；丙、民族學（人類學）對教派分化、政教結合影響下穆斯林社會文化變遷現象的歸納與分析。故本計劃即是以這三種取向為主要範圍，將歷史學、宗教學與民族學（人類學）中之相關學理與方法，歸納出與「民國時期依赫瓦尼發展與影響」有關的問題意識與研究架構。同時並規劃進行田野調查，就文獻資料與田野民族志材料做有系統的比較。
2. 在收集文獻資料方面，除以前文中所提及馬通與李普曼、杜磊等人的學術界代表作外，亦應廣泛徵集當代依赫瓦尼的民間資料，以及與之對立的門宦、格底木等勢力的民間材料。以近年來申請人多次前往甘肅、寧夏與青海等地進行田野調查過程為例，雖已發現多種這類珍貴的「民間版」門宦文獻資料，但相對之下，依赫瓦尼的民間資料則十分有限。這一方面是因為大部份門宦的存在歷史已有三、四百年之久，而依赫瓦尼改革主義則出現不到一個世紀。另一方面，門宦是域外蘇非派傳入中土的神秘主義教權組織，其教義與教理在中國化的過程中累積了一定份量的歷史文獻。相形之下，依赫瓦尼的宗教改革是強調簡樸形式與回歸原典的民間運動，其宗教訴求是以《古蘭經》為唯一依據，故相關的教義闡述與經典衍義資料則十分罕見。不過，由於民國時期西北諸馬軍閥大力藉依赫瓦尼力量打擊門宦勢力，故與馬家統治有關的政府或民間資料是值得注意的。例如曾擔任青海教育廳長的高文遠，其曾著有《果園哈智》一書，便是民國時期馬家政府闡揚依赫瓦尼思想的重要文獻。此外，甘肅臨夏地區著名的格底木阿訇祁明德（人稱聾阿訇）過世後，其繼承者編著《聾阿訇》一書反駁依赫瓦尼的新教改革主義，堪稱是當代西北民間反依赫瓦尼論述的代表作品。據了解，像《果園哈智》、《聾阿訇》這類「民間/官方版」的依赫瓦尼/反依赫瓦尼文獻，目前在西北仍有繼續徵集的空間，其應可列入本計畫的執行項目之一。
3. 在田野資料方面，本計畫以探討民國時期依赫瓦尼發展史為主，故仍有必要對於當前相關西北穆斯林地區進行田野資料的收集。本計畫限於時間與經費等因素，田野規劃必須採取精簡但力求深入的方針，故地點主要選擇在甘肅省蘭州市、臨夏回族自治州境內之臨夏市、廣河縣、康樂縣、東鄉族自治縣與積石山保安族東鄉族撒拉

族自治縣，以及寧夏回族自治區銀川市、青海省西寧市等地。按甘肅臨夏為中國伊斯蘭各教派門宦現象最為集中之地區，其夙有「中國小麥加」之稱，因此自民國以來，也成為依赫瓦尼與門宦、格底木競爭衝突最為劇烈的地區之一。所以該地區應是本計畫田野調查的主要觀察地點。由於申請人過去十三年中，已先後十次前往臨夏從事訪察，對本計畫須從事田調之場域已有部份認知與資訊掌握，故有助於事先規劃聯繫與相關研究設計等事宜。此外，在田野研究設計方面，除針對依赫瓦尼新教運動的訴求與影響等議題之外，尤須注意依赫瓦尼清真寺在當地宗教改革過程中所扮演的角色，以映證民國時期依赫瓦尼發展史之後續成效，及其與當代呈現特色之間的關聯性。此外，蘭州西北民族大學保存不少有關民國時期西北諸馬軍閥的史料文獻，以及北京中國伊斯蘭教經學院圖書館亦藏有不少民國時期與教派、門宦有關的報刊資料，因此這兩個地點也是本計畫收集研究材料的重點對象。由於申請人十年前曾在台北多次採訪馬繼援將軍（前青海省主席馬步芳之子），以了解依赫瓦尼在青海發展的基本情況，及其做為自身當事人的觀點。馬將軍現雖已移民約旦，但對於國內少數西北籍回教教親（如青海籍的馬正清先生、臨夏籍的馬凱南先生、與曾在抗戰時銀川工作的賈福康先生等前輩），本計畫仍將之列入可能的訪談對象，以擴大研究深度並增加比較觀點。在研究進度方面，除一般持的文獻收集、整理與分析外，大陸地區的田野調查應集中在七、八兩月中進行。

4. 中國西北的伊斯蘭教派門宦問題所牽涉到的範圍相當廣泛，其中關係到的議題亦十分複雜與敏感，因此有不少「研究禁區與禁忌」須特別注意。尤其依赫瓦尼與分裂出的賽萊非也派之間的對立，其激烈程度反而有時更甚於依赫瓦尼與門宦、格底木之間的互動關係。由於申請人目前正在執行國科會清代以來西北蘇非派門宦史及其當代「社會適應」等議題的研究，故本計畫可視為西北教派門宦互動關係研究的延續，以及建立整體研究觀察視野的機會。按近年來，依赫瓦尼新教在西北地區伊斯蘭宗教文化復振現象中，其所扮演的角色日漸積極。尤其是大陸「改革開放」後，西北年輕阿訇赴沙烏地阿拉伯等地留學人數日增，其受到當地瓦哈比思想的影響十分顯著，因此返回西北後，也帶動出當代依赫瓦尼另一波的積極傳教現象。而這些現代化衝擊下，所產生與依赫瓦尼有關的宗教變遷發展及適應問題，亦是本計畫研究設計中必須重視的議題之一。

三、研究成果與檢討

1. 本計畫首先應從文獻資料與民族志材料中，整理出西北依赫瓦尼教派自清末以來完整的歷史發展脈絡。其中包括馬萬福的發跡、創建教派、其在「河湟事變」中的角色，和日後與西北諸馬勢力結合的過程，以及一九四九年以後社會主義體制改造下所產生的變化等項目。同時，民國時期依赫瓦尼在政治庇護下展開與門宦、格底木勢力間的競爭，其影響結果也是觀察民國以來依赫瓦尼教史的重要切入點之一。此外，馬得寶脫離依赫瓦尼另創賽萊非也，並造成依赫瓦尼的分裂與內部對立，也是本計畫研究問題意識設計的要項之一。整體說來，配合申請人先前有關蘇非派門宦史的研究內容，本計畫企圖在「教派門宦史」研究領域中提出整合性的研究觀點與理路，以做為提供研究中國伊斯蘭教史、西北穆斯林社會文化史、西北少數民族史

等領域的參考。

2. 除歷史發展過程的論述之外，本計畫對於依赫瓦尼宗教改革運動與原教旨主義的宗教學理，其在近代整體西北穆斯林社會的宗教文化發展中所扮演的角色，亦應做到適當的分析與評估。尤其在冷戰結束前後，伊斯蘭國家中無論是激進或溫和的原教旨主義勢力都明顯增長，甚至還成為部份恐怖主義與區域衝突的引爆點。因此，中國依赫瓦尼教派史的當代觀察，就某種意義而言，其也具備著將中國伊斯蘭與世界伊斯蘭現象從事「觀察接軌」的重要援引內容之一。
3. 本計畫除希望擴大國內研究近代中國西北宗教史、社會史與民族史的視野之外，與門宦制度的研究一樣，亦期盼藉此機會，建立對於西北穆斯林社區田野民族志資料分析與歷史研究的互動模式，並提供如依赫瓦尼這類宗教改革主義教派為主要對象的研究案例。

赴大陸地區出差及研習心得

一、2006年10月中旬，計畫主持人至甘肅省臨夏地區進行田野調查，時間共兩週。本次田野主題為伊斯蘭教「齋月」（即回曆九月）中，臨夏各宗派在宗教功修與宗教文化實踐等內容上的比較觀察。按臨夏是「中國的小麥加」，其為中國伊斯蘭教宗派現象最為多元集中的地區，其也是伊赫瓦尼「新教」與格底木、門宦蘇非派等「老教」勢力接觸互動相當頻繁的區域之一。故本計畫乃延續以往相關研究的觀察脈絡，繼續選擇臨夏做為相關田野調查的首選地。

二、本次田野之所以選擇「齋月」後期，最主要的理由是因為該時期為穆斯林一年中宗教實踐最為具體、且信仰最為虔誠的時刻，故從民族學、歷史學的角度而言，是觀察伊赫瓦尼「新教」宗教世俗化現象及其與「老教」之間差異的最具代表性的時機。本次調查對象包括伊赫瓦尼「新教」宗教人士與格底木、門宦蘇非派等「老教」人士。其中多位伊赫瓦尼「新教」宗教人士為計畫主持人首次在臨夏接觸。相關重要訪談人與分析如下（參考自計畫主持人相關研究論文）：

1. 臨夏著名的格底木學者祁明德阿訇（1898 – 1987，人稱聾阿訇），曾以釐清教義本質的嚴謹態度，指陳「新教」的改革主張其實為誤解瓦哈比教義所導致的結果。計畫主持人分別於1992年與此次拜訪祁明德阿訇之子祁介泉阿訇時，他都慎重展示其父自沙特帶回的瓦哈比經典，並參照祁明德阿訇早年細微詳盡的註解，來強調「新教」藉瓦哈比思想經典來反對拱北崇拜等現象，其實都有誤導與扭曲原來經典之嫌。1996年，祁明德阿訇後人所屬的臨夏市明德清真寺印發民間版的《聾阿訇》一書，收錄其一生中諸多重要遺著以及後人的憑弔文獻，以做為改革開放以來，臨夏「老教」反駁「新教」宗教改革主義的有力論證。到了2004年，明德清真寺再次印發民間版的《聾阿訇·第二卷》一書。這次在其序〈真相—必須明確的幾個問題〉裡，對於「新教」的現代改革主義思想毫不保留地加以抨擊。像是將伊斯蘭世界裡大多數的「伊斯蘭復興運動」歸類為瓦哈比組織，當代中國也不例外。其甚至還直言中國是受瓦哈比耶毒害最嚴重的國家之一，其影響所及已威脅到國家的安定團結。

2. 按《聾阿訇》這樣的例子在臨夏是較為突出的，同時也頗為敏感。即使如此，但從體看來，由於受到境外宗教改革主義思潮不同程度的影響，卻讓看似由傳統宗派意識主導之下的現代改革主義思想與反現代改革主義思想之間，出現了以往所不容易看到的發展現象。那就是在新興的宗教復振

氣氛的影響下，宗教改革主義的正當性已不僅僅是建立在區分「異己派別」及對其的批判的傳統基礎之上。因為無論是「新教」還是「老教」，在當代西北所共同面臨的處境，乃是國家在市場經濟、區位發展等既定政策主導下的現代化措施，其對於穆斯林社群的伊斯蘭世俗化的適應過程，以及族群認同、信仰（教門）強化與延續等方面所產生的各種衝擊，確實是前所未有的挑戰。而對這種衝擊所產生的回應需求，也是包括臨夏在內，當前中國其他穆斯林社群在推動宗教復振運動最主要的驅動力之一。另一方面，由於受到外來改革主義思潮的刺激與影響，使得臨夏原本存在的現代改革主義思想出現以往所未有的反思性。

3. 計畫主持人在臨夏田野調查的過程中發現，這種當代反思性現象的出現，提供了另一種從外界來觀察當代臨夏穆斯林社會的新視角。其中較為明顯的是，像是「新教」宗教人士投身於更為務實性的社會實踐，以及對於「異己派別」的寬容態度等。例如計畫主持人於此次訪問曾在前河沿清真寺開學、並留學沙特馬阿訇，其對於今後臨夏伊斯蘭發展所面臨的問題，除了傳統宗派特點的延續外，他更關心的是穆斯林如何適應現代社會快速發展下，將傳統觀念與國家社會制度的必要性合而為一。在傳教過程中，馬阿訇特別注意像是醫療保險這類已往穆斯林社會中無法意識的當代制度，其效應以及所產生的衝擊與影響，應使穆斯林群眾透過宗教信仰的渠道以獲得正確的認識。另外，任教於當地中學的胡老師，他與馬阿訇同樣屬於較為保守的賽萊非也教派，也曾留學沙特並於東南沿海省份擔任過阿訇。他個人目前正著手於《聖訓》完整翻譯成中文的工作，即使在外界看來這樣的工作已無新意。可是在他的看法中，這個吃力的任務是一種無悔宗教奉獻，同時也是教門振興的基礎。他認為今後臨夏傳統的宗派意識在短期內不會消失，但無論是「新教」還是「老教」，忽視現代化的衝擊、且盲目地用排外性宗派意識來區分彼此，同時又不願投身致力於宗教振興的基本工作中。這樣下去，過於世俗化的宗教情結，只會讓臨夏深厚的伊斯蘭傳承陷入淺薄化的危機。與馬阿訇、胡老師不同的是馬博士。馬博士是改革開放後臨夏留學生中，極少數在伊斯蘭國家中取得正式博士學位的人，目前在西北的重點大學中任教。他同樣也是出身於臨夏的賽萊非也家庭，但目前卻從信仰、學術以及生活實踐上去體會蘇非主義深邃的教義與精神內涵。這些例子說明，在臨夏，因現代改革主義與宗教復振所帶動的多元化思想，使得傳統宗派意識的藩籬日趨淡化，這在年輕的宗教工作者與知識份子中已屬較為常見的現象。

三、計畫主持人由於 2007 年 9 月至 2008 年 1 月受邀至北京中央民族大學民族學與社會學學院擔任外聘客座教授，藉此之便特別與來北京求學就業的青海、寧夏的穆斯林進行訪談，以理解當地伊赫瓦尼「新教」的發展情況。

同時，計畫主持人亦於 2007 年 10 月與 11 月兩度前往蘭州與臨夏從事田野調查。其中有關伊赫瓦尼「新教」宗教實踐的部份除延續 2006 年「齋月」的研究之外，本次更集中在伊赫瓦尼「新教」宗教人士主辦的民間宗教教育的內容。在臨夏，伊赫瓦尼「新教」以積極傳教著稱，故其民辦宗教教育亦有這方面明顯的功能。但由於中共當局嚴加防範各種形式的教派衝突現象的出現，所以這類教育在形式上並不凸顯宗派的色彩，以免招致非議。但就私下田野訪查得知，如同部份前述之《聾阿訇》一書所言，伊赫瓦尼「新教」的傳教機能與推動宗教教育的情況仍然相當普遍積極。畢竟伊赫瓦尼「新教」是屬於晚近才傳入的現代宗教改革主義運動，其同時兼具基本教義的復古思想與「尊經革俗」的宗教使命，這也因而造成與其他宗派的矛盾與衝突。這使得宗派現象固然讓中國西北穆斯林社會文化內涵更為豐富多采，但這也意味著當地伊斯蘭教的分化與對立，這是研究中國伊斯蘭教議題時必須加以注意的現象。

- 四、計畫主持人由於 2008 年 1 月 3 日受邀至南京大學中美研究中心進行專題演講，主題為「回族是熟悉的陌生人嗎？從中國伊斯蘭的宗教與族群屬性談起」。會後並與南京大學、南京師範大學、江蘇行政管理學院、江蘇社會科學院等從事元史與回族學研究的學者們進行交流。

出席國際學術會議心得報告及發表之論文各一份

一、會議說明：

計畫主持人於 2007 年 11 月 25 日受邀至日本東京早稻田大學參加「移動する中國ムスリム：ヒトと知識と經濟を結ぶネットワーク」國際研討會。該會議係由日本中國ムスリム研究會與早稻田大學主辦，會議共發表十篇論文，其中日本學者六人、台灣學者一人、中國大陸學者三人。原邀請之美國學者臨時因故無法出席。會議議程分為兩個部份，上午為個人主題論文發表，下午為「移動する中國ムスリム：宗教知識と經濟を結ぶネットワーク」的主題論文發表。計畫主持人此次提交論文為“The Re-dissemination of Modern Islamic Reformism and Its Aspects in Social-Religious Revival: About the Case Studies of Contemporary Linxia”〈現代伊斯蘭改革主義的再傳入及其社會宗教復興現象—以當代臨夏個案為例的研究〉。該論文以中文及英文方式提交，會前日方並將之譯為日文。

二、會議心得

本次會議為日本中國穆斯林研究會接受日本學術振興會委託研究案所主辦的研討會。該研究會為日本近年來較為新近的學術研究組織，主要對象是以回族、維吾爾族等中國穆斯林少數民族。其研究領域包括人類學、歷史學、跨文化研究等，研究人員中較資深者如中央大學歷史系梅村坦、新勉康等教授，都是當前日本學界研究新疆、中亞維吾爾族問題的知名學者。由於近年來日本學術界中對於中國伊斯蘭教相關議題的研究已不再明顯地只集中在新疆問題上，像是說漢語的回族，由於其分佈廣泛，及其與漢族或其他少數民族的互動關係相當密切，故已逐漸吸引不少日本年輕學者的注意與研究投入。本次會議論文方向多數以回族為主，其區域包括寧夏、甘肅、雲南、福建、台灣等地，另有一篇係以新疆維吾爾族為主。論文內容涵蓋清真寺宗教功能、穆斯林社區聚落變遷、穆斯林婦女教育等涉及穆斯林少數民族「社會網絡」等相關主題上。

與蒙古學、藏學或絲綢之路研究等較為老牌的研究領域相比，回族學在日本算是屬於較為新興的學門。但由於回族的特殊屬性不斷被論及，加上學科整合的研究方向較有挑戰性，所以當前的年輕研究者大多都有旺盛的企圖心與豐富的田野研究經驗，其假以時日，或許會成為日後日本研究中國少數民族問題研究隊伍中的一支生力軍。在本次會中，計畫主持人還接觸到不少日本研究者，其專長為中國史、中東國際關係與伊斯蘭教哲學思想等，其對於中國的回族議題亦具有一定程度的理解與關注。可見隨著當代世人對於伊斯蘭議題逐漸重視，日本學界亦有可能更會注意中國穆斯林民族及其相關議題的發展與重要性。

The Re-dissemination of Modern Islamic Reformism and Its Aspects in Social-Religious Revival —About the Case Studies of Contemporary Linxia

Chang Chung-Fu (Zhang Zhung-Fu)

Department of Ethnology, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan

Introduction

In recent years, the objects of studies of modern Islamic reformism almost concentrate on the issues of domestic problems in traditional Islamic countries. Their orientations also focus on the fields so-called “political Islam” that involving in the internal and international affairs. In fact, the cultural adaptation and social conflict that to be stirred by the process of modernization and religious secularization in the Muslim ethnic minorities of non-Islamic countries, it also connects with the thoughts of modern Islamic reformism. During the past 30 years, after being experienced the process of “reform and open policy”, the country just like China that its importance always being ignored in the issues about Islamic world, its religious environment that attached in the society of Muslim ethnic minorities, inevitably has to face the waves of infiltration and impact from foreign Islamic thoughts again, and actually should be included modern Islamic reformism. Nevertheless, the early modern Islamic reformism from Western Asia had been disseminated into Northwest China in the end of 19th century. In the same time it formed some types of sectarian faction and tried to push fierce social reforms eagerly that combined with the political strength of local warlords. This process was as the result of the phenomenon that the internal differentiation of the Muslim society in Northwest China would be more and more obviously. The theme of this paper tries to use the historical and contemporary viewpoints, by way of Linxia that could be the most representative location of the Muslim society in Northwest China, to describe the consequence of the re-dissemination of modern Islamic reformism and its interaction with local religious revival. It also wishes to provide a substantial observation to the issues about the transformation and adaptation of religious thoughts in contemporary China’s Muslim society.

1. The Sectarianism and its Modern Substance in the Viewpoint of “ Four Tides”

No matter how from the historical or contemporary aspects, the dissemination of

Islam in China always encircles two obvious tendencies: first, the attribute of exotic religion of Islam with foreign Muslim immigrants and their descendents, those who have to face the process of “localization” and continue to keep their cultural-ethnic development as well as the adaptive mechanism which co-existing with traditional China; second, according to the traditional motivation of “Mecca complex”, modern Muslim Chinese always maintain necessary interaction with other Islamic countries that lets the consequence of the unceasing introduction of many new-emerging religious thoughts, then to influence the stability and integrity of original construction in Islam and finally to form the phenomenon of plural sectarianism. In the early Nationalist period, one of the forerunners in the field of Chinese Islamic studies, Fu Tongxien began to use the terms of “Sinicizing”(Ch. *Hua-hua*) and “Islamizing” (Ch. *Hui-hua*) to describe the meaning of these two main tendencies and their basic features that mentioned above.¹ But to the ambiguous concept of “Islamizing”, Fu didn’t make a clear sense of explanation for its contents about the complicated phenomenon of sectarianism. Until the end of last century, through many important scholars just like Ma Tong, they begin to make every endeavor in the field of Islamic sectarianism in Northwest China. As the result, their academic achievements of systematical approaches and abundant sources that have been appeared.

Although the phenomenon of internal Islamic sectarianism focuses on the limited areas of Northwest China, without doubt it has become one of the breakthrough points to observe the developing process of modern Islam in China. Western scholars just like Joseph F. Fletcher, Dru C. Gladney who also regard this trend of “Islamizing” as the standard for recognizing the meanings of “three tides” – the historical criteria for explaining the dissemination of Islam in China in different periods, they are: 1. Gedimu traditional Chinese Islam; 2. Sufi communities and national networks; 3. scripturalist concerns and modernist reforms.²

This argument bases on the characters of interaction between China and outside Islamic world, and becomes one of the standards in the field of “studies of sectarianism” of contemporary China. Except to offer the explanation about the historical background, people would be more interesting that through modern viewpoints, the Muslim society in Northwest China (mainly in Gansu, Ningxia and Qinghai) after the reform of socialism system, impact of political movements and the opportunity of growing market economy, China’s national situation has been changed

¹ Fu Tongxien, *Zhongguo Huijiao zhi* (The History of Islam in China), Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Printing House, 1996, p. 119. About the concepts of “*Hua-hua*” and “*Hui-hua*”, Raphael Israeli had used the similar explanations of “Muslim Sinicizing” and “Chinese Islamizing”. See Raphael Israeli, “Established Islam and Marginal Islam in China from Eclecticism to Syncretism”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of Orient*, Vol. 21, Part 1(1978), p. 99.

² Dru C. Gladney, *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People’s Republic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991. pp. 36-61.

tremendously from closing off the country with foreign contact to re-opening during the past 50 years. As for the main traits of sectarianism in the Muslim society of Northwest China, in which the inside religious-cultural structure should be transferred to what kind of the developing tendency? And the modern liberal arts and social sciences should use what kind of approach to observe and study it?

For this argument, Dru C. Gladney proposes the explanation of the “fourth tide” – “ethnic nationalism in an age of nation-state” to be the conclusion.³ This explanation emphasizes the identity and self-consciousness of Muslim Chinese that from new ethnic identification which to be given by the system of nation-state. It seems formally that the “fourth tide” presents its discrimination of religious-culture structure to the other “three tides”. In fact, till today the phenomenon of plural sectarianism in traditional Gedimu, Sufi orders and venerate- scripturalist that it not only has had the influence in the self-identity of internal religious consciousness in the Muslim society of Northwest China, but also to be one of the most representative viewpoints to the meaning of “classification” that about the recognition of Islam in China. This latest view can be found easily in the academic works and the local chronicles in recent years.⁴ Therefore, the concept of “four tides” exactly provides a kind of comparable criteria in the historical development of Islam in China. But we can’t ignore that the concept of former “three tides” does not merely belong to the type of chronological order, it simultaneously also forms the phenomenon of co-existing of religious culture with the creation of social network between each other, and always connects closely with the essential meanings of the “fourth tide”. This is pity that the observation of “four tides” merely to the end of 1980s, and apparently its ethnographic sphere is limited. But the continuing observation should not be stopped. Due to the coming of latter half period of “reform and open policy” since 1990s, according to the eminent increasing phenomena such as overseas trade, pilgrimage

³ Gladney, *Muslim Chinese*, pp. 62-63. As the similar explanation likes “four tides”, Chian’s famous Muslim scholar Yang Huaizhong proposes his different viewpoint. His concept of “four tides” is: 1. Formation of Turk Islamic culture (10-13th centuries); 2. Multi-cultural pluralism of Islamic civilization in Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368); 3. Achievement of Islamic spiritual culture between Ming and Qing Dynasty (1368-1911); 4. New cultural restoration of Muslim in modern China. *Huizu yanjiu* (Huizu Studies), No.1(1994), p15. It’s obviously that the core of Yang’s “four tides” bases on the interaction between historical traits in dynasty circle and their Islamic cultures; The Western scholars’ one emphasizes the transformation of types of Islamic religious culture and the emergence of Muslim ethnic nationalism.

⁴ For examples, Mian Weiling, *Ningxia Yisilan jiaopei gaiyao* (An outline of the Islamic factions of Ningxia). Yingchuan: Ningxia People’s Publishing Society, 1981; Mian Weiling, *Zhongguo Huizu Yisilan zongjiao zhidu gailun* (An outline of religious systems of Hui Islam of China). Yingchuan: Ningxia People’s Publishing Society, 1997; Lee Xinhua, *Zhongguo Yisilan jiaoshi* (The History of Islam of China). Beijing: China Social Sciences Publishing Society, 1998; Bien Wei Hui (Editors Committee), *Linxia Huizu zizhizhou zhi* (The chronicle of Linxia Hui autonomous prefecture). Lanzhou: Gansu People’s Publishing Society, 1990; Bien Wei Hui (Editors Committee), *Linxia Shi Nianjian* (The annals of Linxia city). Lanzhou: Lanzou University Publishing Society, 2002; Michael Dillon, *China's Muslim Hui Community : Migration, Settlement and Sect*. London : Curzon Press, 1999.

and abroad study, China and Islamic world have developed frequent and continuous interaction with each other that has never seen before. Under this circumstance, different kind of modern Islamic thoughts from foreign countries inevitably would be re-introduced to the Muslim society of Northwest China. Apparently, this new trend has never changed or loosed the social structure of sectarianism that shaped by the “three tides”, but it would stimulate and emerge another popular thinking origin of religious reformism that due to the reason of country’s opening. It is not only a new wave of “contemporary Islamizing”, but also represents the meaning of social-religious revival that originated from the Muslim’s self-consciousness.

2. The Interaction between Modern Islamic Reformism and Sectarian Society in Linxia

In the comprehensive studies about modern Muslim society in China, especially to be concerned in the issue like Hui *Minzu* which spreading sphere only less than the majority Han *Minzu*, there is a common question is how to choose a representative location or community that can be obtained the basic and meaningful achievement in ethnographic research, then has been become a sort of challenge in this field.⁵ As the result, if someone would like to observe the impact and influence that stirred by exotic modern Islamic thoughts from the past to present time, it’s no doubt that the area of Linxia in Gansu could be the most representative one. Owing to the character of religious conservatism that difficult to be found in other place, as well as should be the most concentrative location of traditional Islamic sectarianism, till today Linxia still owns its famous alternate name “Little Mecca”.

Nevertheless, after “reform and open policy”, due to the expansion of mentioned reasons just as overseas trade, pilgrimage and abroad study, the introducing wave of exotic modern Islamic thoughts is more easy to find some opportunities to infiltrate and disseminate in Linxia than before. Although the content of this kind of thoughts is very complicated, there is no any substantial difference between it and the doctrines of local sectarianism, and it even doesn’t create systematically any new-born sects. Actually these thoughts would be close linked with some religious ideologies of modern Islam such as pan-Islamism, fundamentalism and religious reformism that spread in contemporary West Asian and North African countries.⁶ Therefore, the new

⁵ About this discussion, see Zhang Zhongfu, “Huizu xienxian guanchade dienyu mian: zhon sanben Huizu diaochade yanjiou chuxian tanchi” (The “Spot” and “Square” in the Observation of Contemporary Hui Communities: In the Cases of Research Approaches in three Ethnographies). *Huizu Yanjiou* (Huizu Studies), No.2 (2003), pp.60-65.

⁶ According to this kind of discussion, it should include new Wahhabi movement that originated in modern Central Asia. But it doesn’t contain in the sphere of this paper. About this issue can see: Ma Fuyuan. “chienxi fanYisilanzhuyi duie woeguo muslinde yinxian ” (An brief analysis on the influence

infiltrating thoughts begin to appear lots of subtle interactions or interdependent relations with the thoughts of modern reformism and anti-modern reformism that have been disseminated in Linxia since the beginning of 20th centuries. It's more important that, in Linxia it just likes the similar situation of other Muslim communities in Northwest China, after re-contacting with modern Islamic world and its religious thoughts during the past thirty years, the appearance of contemporary local Muslim's religious revival is actually non-accidental. As to realize the background of this special phenomenon, firstly it no doubt that is the necessity of restoration for the devastation and restraint to religion that attributing to the political movements from 1950s to 1970s. On the other hand, because of the impetus of market economy that leads the plural development in aspects of opening thoughts and new social networks, this trend also lets the necessity of social stability with the functions of secularization and sectarianism in the substance of Islam that to be increasing continuously. In such condition, it becomes the result of appearing many eminent and unprecedented tendencies of social-religious revival in contemporary Linxia.

Therefore, this paper doesn't want to discuss such issues that so widespread. It only tries to use the interaction that between traditional religious reformism within sectarianism in Linxia and the influence of exotic infiltrating thoughts as a breakthrough point to discuss and analyze some cases that worth paying attention in the phenomenon of local religious revival. First, those who recognize the problems of sectarianism of Islam in China should be realized, the representative of traditional religious reformism in the Muslim society of Northwest China is the case of "third tide: scripturalist concerns and modernist reforms" in the concept of "three tides" as mentioned above, they are Ikhwan and its divisive faction Salafiyya since 1930s. Generally Ikhwan and Salafiyya belong to the latest sects and usually to be called the name "new teaching".⁷ That is to be easier to distinguish the name "old teaching" which represented by the traditional sects just as Gedimu and Sufi orders. In general studies, the origin of Ikhwan in China is close linked with the thought and movement of Wahhabi that has appeared in the Arabic peninsula since 18th century. As for China's Ikhwan belongs to the direct proliferation or indirect transformation from the thought of Wahhabi, Ma Tong has had clear analysis and interpretation in his famous monograph.⁸ The exact background of such argument doesn't originate in the real

of pan-Islamism to China's Muslim), *Shi jie zongjiao yanjiu* (world religions studies), No.1 (2007), pp.60-65.

⁷ The historical primary source had regarded the Sufi orders "Jahriyya" which had been forced to fight against Qing government in Qianlong and Tongzhi periods as "new teaching". About this issue can refer to: Joseph F. Fletcher, "Central Asian Sufism and Ma Ming-Hsin's New Teaching", in Ch'en Chieh-hsien ed., *Proceedings of the Fourth East Asian Altaistic Conference 1971*. Tainan: National Ch'engkung University, 1971. p. 79.

⁸ Ma Tong, *Zhongguo Yislan jiaopai menhuan zhidu shilie* (A brief history of Islam faction and the menhuan system in China). Yingchuan: Ningxia People's Publishing Society, 1986. pp. 180-200.

inheritance of religious doctrines or the distinction of religious theory, but is the dispute of validity which to be emphasized by the emerging domestic reformism that would like to solidify its social basis. The proposition of Ikhwan's religious reformism is closed with the fundamentalism of restoration. But under the influence of globalization in recent years, the thought of fundamentalism and its form which represents to the appeal of politics is becoming very complicated.⁹ Therefore, it's an over-simplified consequence that to consider purely the concept of China's Ikhwan as the sect of fundamentalism. In fact, Ikhwan itself more emphasizes the practicality in modern reformism, and as the position of "scripturalist faction", it opposes positively to the heretical phenomena in which "violates the right ways" just as Sinicization and the worship of *gongbei* (tombs of the Sufism saints or *murshid*) that performed by Gedimu and Sufi Orders. As the result, there is scholar who still considers the nature of Ikhwan as a kind of restoration movement of Islam in China.¹⁰ Basically the nature of Ikhwan should be belonged to the movement of social-cultural reformism, but later due to acquire total supports from the Ma warlords of Northwest China during Nationalist period, therefore it obtained the controversial features of political religious reformism. Just as Jonathan N. Lipman says, the movement of Ikhwan "had become an ally of Chinese nationalism, a tool of an acculturating Muslim elite, and an important bridge between Muslim communities and the burgeoning Chinese nation-state."¹¹ But it can't be denied, under this circumstance, the reformism of Ikhwan also has intensified the complicated phenomenon of sectarianism in Muslim society of Northwest China.

Nevertheless, in Linxia's Muslim society, the consciousness in sectarianism among modern reformism of "new teaching" and anti-modern reformism of "old teaching" that has been shaped up another standard of social identity in interpersonal network. This situation also reflects clearly on the aspects of religious culture and daily life of local Muslims. For examples, the recognition of attribute of religious place, it's very naturally to consider the Nan Guan Mosque and Chien Heyen Mosque as belonging separately to the background of Ikhwan and Salafiyya. On the other hand, the special folklore in religion of "new teaching" such as the custom of the Ramadan Fast (different dates of starting to ending and the special *Zhuma* on *Erde* called "*chu huang jiao*"- the collective *Zhuma* on countryside), the regulation of "If you read scripture, don't eat; if you eat, don't read scripture."(no any payment for reading scripture to ahong), no celebration in Prophet's Day, no erecting of burning incense in

⁹ Bassam Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. pp. 2-5.

¹⁰ Mian Weiling, *Zhongguo Huizu Yisilan zongjiao zhidu gailun* (An outline of religious systems of Hui Islam of China). p. 351.

¹¹ Jonathan N. Lipman, *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997. p. 205.

front of tomb and the different content of *fidya* (ritual act of seeking redemption, atonement for the dead) in funeral. These differences almost display the opposite idea of sectarianism between “new teaching” and “old teaching”. However, with the coming of “reform and open policy” and the appearance of local social-religious revival which stimulated by the pluralism of secular thoughts, while in Linxia even both sides of “new teaching” and “old teaching” still want to defend stubbornly for their sectarian boundaries, but all of them inevitably have to face same challenge from the deconstruction of traditional social closeness and the impact of modernization.

3. Religious Revival: the Re-dissemination of Modern Reformism and its Social Adaptation and Transformation

The phenomenon of religious revival in Linxia is very active and diversiform during past three decades. In addition to the reconstruction and extension of mosque, *gongbei*, *doatang* (Sufi religious center) and the restoration of traditional religious education in the mosque,¹² there are still some local and spontaneous cases can be seen: 1. Supplementary classes or schools established by mosque or local person for learning Arabian (including women’s schools) as well as the promotional activities of religious knowledge (like the case of reciting contest of *Quran*) ; 2. Civilian libraries and learning clubs organized by local intellectuals and folk cultural amateurs, like the cases of “Reading Yourself Library” (closedown in 2006 for sensitive reasons) and “Learning Wisdom Library”; 3. Religious periodicals published by local enthusiasts, just as “*The Bud*” (1994-1995, total 5 issues), “*The Muslim Women*” (1995-2005, total 40 issues) and “*The Manla*” (published by “Reading Yourself Library”, 1998-2000, total 25 issues); 4. The spreading activities of religion that present in the cases such as the growing of unofficial publications of religious scriptures and pamphlets as well as the popularization of religious practice by local Muslim intellectuals. Apparently the religious revival In Linxia, the relevant promoters and their practices don’t display clearly to their sectarian identity. On the contrary, they don’t want to appear so excessive about their sectarian background in order to avoid stirring the nonessential misunderstanding to the others. However, the core of thoughts in modern reformism of “new teaching” that it not only hasn’t opposed the plural appeals of religious revival, but also to be closely to coincides with them. As the result, the thoughts of “new teaching” have been regarded as one of the main motivations to such religious revival. On the other hand, due to the reasons like the increasing of overseas trade,

¹² About the contents and features of the restoration of traditional religious education in Mosque from 1980s to present days in Linxia can refer to: Ding Shiren, “*ershi shiji Hezhou jingtang jiaoyude liazi zhonda tupo*” (The two important breakthrough of traditional religious education in Mosque of Linxia during 20th century). *Huizu Yanjiu* (Huizu Studies), No.4 (2006), pp.53-54.

pilgrimage and abroad study that mentioned above, and under the circumstance of the contact and infiltration of exotic religious thoughts that to be concretely, it's obviously that there are more and more interactions and complementarities between modern reformism and the emerging religious revival in Linxia. What is easy to understand, such likes to be experienced personally in the practices of the thought and reformism of Wahhabi movement that conducted by contemporary Saudi Arabia, or to be realized actually the religious substance of pan-Islamism and its political appeal in modern countries of southeast Asia and west Asia. When these kinds of opportunities appear generally, some of believers of "new teaching" should be naturally to consider the practice of their modern reformism during past thirty years to be an ideal pattern which would like to re-establish the ideological interaction that between contemporary Muslim Chinese and exotic Islamic world. In other words, under the situation of religious revival in contemporary Linxia, after contacting of modern reformism of "new teaching" and the relevant exotic thoughts such as the Wahhabi fundamentalism in modern Saudi Arabia, it's very easy to combine the traditional "Mecca complex" of Muslim Chinese with the missionary proposition of "new teaching", and then further to explain this result as the validity for continuing to carry on the religious restoration in contemporary China.

However, there still is a tenacious tendency of anti-modern reformism in Linxia. It also has the case that to adopt standpoint of attacking completely to the combination of modern reformism with exotic Islamic thoughts in the activities of "new teaching". In early period of 20th century, the Linxia's famous Gedimu scholar and among Chi Mingde (1898-1987, who also be called *Long Ahong* by local people), who had taken an rigorous attitude of the religious substance in Islam, to indicate directly that the proposition of reformism in "new teaching" was actually a result of misunderstanding the original doctrine of Wahhabi movement. As the author of this paper visited among Chi Jiequan, the son of Chi Mingde in the years of 1992 and 2006, he demonstrated carefully to the visitors about the Wahhabi scriptures which his father took from Saudi Arabia many years ago, and referring the detail content of Arabian annotations that also written by his father, to emphasize "new teaching" prohibits the phenomena such as worship of Sufism *gongbei* by the doctrine of Wahhabi that actually has the suspicion of misleading and distorting to the real meanings of classical scriptures. In 1996, the Linxia City Ming De Mosque which managed by the descendants of among Chi Mingde, has unofficially released the book named *Long Ahong*. This book collects lots of important articles of among Chi Mingde and the condolatory papers written by local celebrities. The purpose of *Long Ahong* is very clear that it wants to demonstrate a powerful persuasion from Linxia's "old teaching" to refute the religious

reformism of “new teaching” during the period of “reform and open policy”.¹³ Afterward in 2004, Ming De Mosque unofficially re-releases the book named *Long Ahong: Volume 2*. This time in the introduction “The truth: several questions that have to be cleared”, the editor of this book criticizes fiercely to the modern reformism of “new teaching”. Such as to regards most of “Islam revitalistic movements” in Islamic world shall be attributed to the form of Wahhabi organizations, and there is no any exception in contemporary China.¹⁴ It even presents directly China is one of the most serious countries that have been devastated by Wahhabi movement. The sequence of this influence even has threatened the national stability and unity.¹⁵

After all in modern Linxia, the case of *Long Ahong* is rather extraordinary and sensitive. But by means of more profound viewpoints, because of the appearance of different influences caused by exotic religious reformism and other reasons, it lets both of modern reformism and anti-reformism that conducted by local sectarianism to have been shown another kind of latest development which never seen before. That is under the atmosphere of new-born religious revival, the validity of modern religious reformism has not only established in traditional basis such like the distinction of “dissident sects” and the relevant criticism to them. Owing to no matter of “new teaching” or “old teaching”, both of them have to confront the similar situation in contemporary Northwest China that is the measures of modernization conducted by nation’s policies such as market economy and regional development,¹⁶ to let the adaptive process in Islamic secularization of Muslim communities as well as the various impacts from ethnic identity, strengthening and continuing of religious faith, have to be forced to face a brand new and unprecedented challenge. And to the necessary response of such impacts, this sense becomes one of the most main

¹³ This book was reprinted in 2004. One of the major content of *Long Ahong* is the debating record of 73 “houkuns” (*hukm*, Islamic Law or judgement) which is the key point of the argument between Chi Mingde and Ikhwan ahong Zhenali in Linxia’s Chengjiao Mosque in 1933. These 73 “houkuns” are the proposition of faith and guiding doctrine of “old teaching”, Chi Mingde opposed to regard them as the thought of Wahhabi. See pp. 91-156.

¹⁴ According to the record of this book: “There are many areas where have emerged several small organizations in recent China. They declare for restoration of Islam that don’t belong to any factions. They adopt some different forms which educated persons could be easy to accept, just like establishing Arabic schools or classes, printing pamphlets, publishing periodicals, newspapers and translations, by means of the excuse like restoration of Islam to gradually spread the thought of Wahhabi. ” *Long Ahong: Volume 2* .Linxia: Linxia City Ming De Mosque, 2004. pp. 22-23.

¹⁵ According to the record of this book: “In recent years, the exporting country of Wahhabi has regarded China as its main object. It uses the students of studies abroad, overseas citizens, pilgrims and Wahhabi enthusiasts, to take the methods in secret such as bribing official researchers, accepting Wahhabi Arabic schools and mosques, publishing magazines and propaganda materials, printing free Chinese translation of *Quran* in large quantities and interacting everywhere, to develop Wahhabi influence eagerly. The foreign powers interfere in the sectarian affairs of our country in secret and to manipulate some internal powers, this action causes potential tremendous threat to the aspect of stability and unity in our country. It should bring on the vigilance for everyone”. *Long Ahong*. pp. 24-25.

¹⁶ At present the most representative case of such strategies is “West China Development” which started in 2000.

motivations for promoting religious revival that of including in the area of Linxia and the other Muslim communities in China. On the other hand, because of the stimulation and influence that has been stirred by exotic reformism, the original modern reformism in contemporary Linxia has displayed a new phenomenon of reflexivity that never seen before.

According to the discovery in recent field works by the author of this paper, the appearance of such modern reflexivity could provide another kind of new viewpoint to observe the social transformation of Muslim communities in contemporary Linxia. It's obviously just like the religious figures of "new teaching" who have dedicated to the proposition of social practices that having more practicality, and show more tolerant manner to the antagonists of "dissident sects". For examples, in 2006 the author interviewed with ahong Ma who had held the position of imam in Chien Heyen Mosque and once studied in Saudi Arabia. About the from now on problems of development of Islam in Linxia, except the continuity of the features in traditional sectarianism, he pays more attention to concern how local Muslims to adapt themselves to the circumstance that the modern society in speedy development, and to combine together with the traditional concept and the necessity of national-social system. In his missionary work, ahong Ma also notices specifically to modern social system such as medical insurance that would not be recognized widely in the traditional Muslim society. Simultaneously, he emphasizes about the effects of this system and its impact and influence that should let Muslims themselves to get the correct knowledge from the way of religious practice.

Moreover, teacher Hu who works in local high school and owns the same sectarian background of conservative Salafiyya with ahong Ma, he also once studied in Saudi Arabia and once held the position of imam in the coastal provinces of Southeast China. Now he is dedicating to the work of total translation of *Hadith* from Arabic to Chinese. Even though this personal amateur career has no any special attraction to the others, but teacher Hu still considers this hard-working but strenuous work is a kind of regretless dedication to his religious faith, and this spirit just is the basis of modern Islamic restoration. In his opinion, teacher Hu also considers the traditional sectarian consciousness in Linxia could not disappear in nearly future. But no matter of "new teaching" or "old teaching", if still keep the mind just likes continuously to ignore the latest impact of modernization and blindly to distinguish to each others by tenacious but exclusive sectarianism, as well as has no any will to dedicate to the basic works of religious restoration. Under this circumstance, it's obviously that the result of religious complex that over-secularized would be increased. Such conditions could have the possibility to let the profound Islamic tradition in Linxia to be involved in a new crisis of superficiality.

With the difference to along Ma and teacher Hu, Dr. Ma is one of few Linxia's local residents who studies abroad and finally gets formal doctorate in Islamic country during the period of "reform and open policy". For the time being he teaches in a national university of Northwest China. Although Dr. Ma is born in a traditional Salafiyya family, due to the studying experience in Pakistan, now he with all his strength to experience the profound doctrine and spiritual connotation of modern Sufism from several aspects of his religious faith, academic research and practice in daily lives. By means of these cases can reflect that, in contemporary Linxia, the appearance of pluralism stirred up by modern reformism and religious revival could let the boundaries of traditional sectarianism to fade away gradually. Now this phenomenon can be more common to find among the young missionary figures and local Muslim intellectuals.

Conclusion

The concept of "four tides" proposed by Western scholars is to emphasize the historical interaction and its features between China and Islamic world that to be based on the main viewpoints of sectarian pluralism. Especially the "fourth tide"- "ethnic nationalism in an age of nation-state", its connotation not only to present the Muslims' ethnic awareness under the system of modern nation-state, but also should be included the aspects of contemporary significance such as social-cultural identity and religious revival. After re-opening the condition that closing off the country with foreign contact from 1949 to 1978, by means of the development of "reform and open policy", the Muslim communities in China have carried out the unprecedented interaction with Islamic world. Under this circumstance, with the emergence of modern religious restoration, the exotic thoughts of modern reformism have been infiltrated to contemporary China. In the plural sectarian society of Northwest China, it already had two "new teaching" sects - the Ikhwan and Salafiyya that their doctrines based on the core of modern reformism. However, the proposition and the social practice of modern reformism has had the close relations with cotemporary Islamic countries. After infiltrating and re-disseminating into Linxia and the rest of Muslim areas in Northwest China, as if through the viewpoint of religious restoration, it is very clear that it has strengthened the traditional reformism and lets Linxia's emerging modern reformism to present an unprecedented reflexivity. According to the appearance of such modern reflexivity, it has provided another kind of view to observe the Muslim communities in contemporary Linxia. It includes the religious figures of "new teaching" to dedicate to the proposition of social practices that having more practicality, and show more tolerant manner to the antagonists of "dissident

sects”. Even in modern Linxia, the tendency of anti-modern reformism still demonstrates the special case just like *Long Ahong* .But it can’t be denied that, especially under the present condition of connecting the exotic thoughts of reformism with the phenomena of religious revival, the problem between the proposition of modern reformism in “new teaching” and the proposition of anti-modern reformism in “old teaching” is very clear , that is how to let both of them to face together to the crisis of religious secularization that caused by the impact of modernization. It definitely should become the latest issue that is more worth to care about. On the other hand, the appearance of this tendency can also offer certain research value to observe the transformation and traits of traditional sectarianism in modern Linxia.