

兰州大学

第四辑

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伊斯兰文化

Islamic Culture

主 编
丁士仁
副主编
敏 敬



甘肃人民出版社



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兰州大学伊斯兰文化研究所

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مجلة الثقافة الإسلامية

Islamic Culture

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The establishment of a state was the key step for the Arab Peninsular to enter the history of civilization. The Islamic Uma was the earlier form of state on the Peninsular. Tracing back the history, one would find that in the Islamic states human equality, freedom of belief, thought, social and cultural diversity were ensured as various ethnic and religious traditions which were developed among Muslim societies. As a minority, the Chinese Muslims have been following the true meaning of Islam in terms of peace, harmony, unity and tradition of patriotism. The concept of the state and its practical meaning in Islam is not only a valuable treasure, but also a basis for safeguarding national unity and opposing separatism.

Cultural significance of "Salaam" in Muslims greetings by Pan Shijie(011)

Islamic greeting in Arabic "Assalam Alaikum" simply means "May God give you peace". It is a civilized phrase used by Muslims in daily life for greeting each other when they meet. In Islamic culture, it has a sacred value of cross cultural and linguistic charming, moreover it acts as a symbol to develop sentiments among Muslims while in cross cultural transaction, it plays an unique role. The present paper try to highlight the cultural significance and social effects of "Salam" from linguistic point, so that we could understand custom and courtesy of Muslim in a batter manner.

Contemporary Value of Islamic Filial Piety Philosophy By Ma shaobiao(018)

The Aging of population is a significant feature in development of human society in the 21st century as it alarms attentions of the whole world. China has also faced with more and more serious aging problem. To relieve the pressure of aging and protect the rights of elderly people is severely urgent. Islam gives "filial piety" a special meaning and significance; the Islamic moral system has highlight-



ed the "filial piety" in ground of religious belief, holding the piety is not only a reflection of humanity, but also a way leading to Heaven.

Halal Food Culture, Its Significance and Social Functions By Luo Xiaofang(029)

On the premise of a brief description of the source of "Halal" and discussion of Muslim food in "Quran", the paper tries to explore the profound connotation and strong social function of Halal food culture which reflects the core of Muslim believes in depth. As it produced quite positive effects on social development of the Hui Nationality in the long course of history, it has being playing a important role in their lives today.

On the Glance of Rashid Rida and his reformist thought by Zhang weizhen(040)

Muhammade Rashid Rida was one of the greatest thinkers in the muslim world from the end of 19th century to the beginning of 20th centry.His book *The hind of Muhammade* is still helpful for muslims to analyze the relationship between Islam science and modern society. The guide and mission of the Prophet are precious legacies he ever left to the Muslim.

Primary reflection on body, spirit, mind, and soul in context of Islam-Confucian dialogue

..... By Ma Tingyi(053)

Body, spirit, mind, and soul are the themes of the studies about human being himself, his relationship with the world and with societies and about relations among themselves and about social moralities. Both Islam and Confucianism pay greatly attention to research these themes as a good number of scholars from both sides have contributed extensive and profound researches and left rich legacies to Chinese culture. To explore the meaning of these concepts has a tremendous significance, historically and practically, to inherit and develop the traditional culture and ideology, to excavate intellectual resources and build a harmonious society.

Kindi,His Philosophic Thought and Building of spirit of Muslim philosophy By Jing Xuhui(074)

Kindi was known as the first Arab philosopher. Having interpreted Greek philosophy in Islamic context, he was not only heir of Greek thought but also promoter of it. He introduced themes and notions which became later on the main subjects of Muslim philosophy such as essence, matter, form, intellect, and soul. His greatest contribution was to reconcile between the religion (Islam) and the philosophy (Intellectual reasoning) arguing that the philosophic thinking is a requirement of religious teaching, for the same aim, advocated by the Quran. Moreover Kindi built a spirit of Muslim philosophy that combines rational thinking with scientific facts.

Access of Muslim Philosophy into West and its Impact on Western Thoughts By li Jinghui(082)

Muslim philosophy was introduced to west Europe in called "Dark Ages" via Toledo of Spain and



Sicily of Italy. Entered into the West, it greatly influenced the minds of western scholars and made a profound intellectual impact on western thoughts. On the one hand, it introduced ancient Greek philosophy to the west that they came to know ancient Greek philosophers and their thoughts and led them to a new intellectual thinking. On the other hand, Islamic thinking gained access to the western world and opened a new horizon for them in intellectual fields and promoted the western philosophic thinking as some propositions, which were hotly debated in Islamic world, became the most popular issues in European intellectual circles. However, access of Muslim philosophy to the west promoted rational thinking of the west and gave the rise to modern science which eventually led to the Renaissance.

Islam: A Way of Life By Philip K. Hitti, Translated By Hulong(091)

The Arabia Arts in the field of architecture, engrave and music have not been their peak before the time of Muhammad. Until one or two centuries after Muhammad went to the better world the Arabian have their Arts in different realm such as the music. If we said that the Arab culture has been provided the spiritual support to the Arab Arts that the conquered countries no doubt to provide the technical expertise and material conditions. In any case, Islam has always been to provide a driving force to promote the vigorous development of the Arts.

Origin of Sunism in China By Ding Shiren(109)

Islam, since its rise from the Arabian Peninsula in the 7th century, spreaded rapidly in less than a century, all over the world starting from China in the east to Spain. A cultral cirde of Islamic characteristics has been constituted in the North Africa, west Asia, Central Asia and South Asia. China, although at the edge of the Islamic Circle, yet was deeply influenced by all changes and developments and occurred inside the circle. The different sect, school of thoughts have been experienced in Chinese Muslim. Islam in China at first belongs to the Sunnism then to the Hanafism. All those were happened under the influence of the Central Asian Islam. The present paper is to expound with origin and channel of that influence.

Research on genealogy of the Prophet Muhammad by Jin Zhongjie(125)

Since pre-Islamic period, Arab had mastered the skill of form the genealogy and created an independent discipline - genealogy. Among the genealogies, the best of what created in the kind is what created for the Prophet Muhammad who in his 23 year's mission united Arab tribes, established a complete social order combined belief, education, politics, economy, morality, and law all together. Therefore scholars in the east and west spear no effort to study his contribution and genealogy from different perspectives and enriched Islamic literature. But unfortunately such studies are scarcely being seen in Chinese academia. The present article tries to touch the very issue depending on what



have been done by scholars recently, especially Al Shykh Salim bin Bushra's comment on Ahmad Al-Shawq's poetry in praise to the Prophet and other historical documents.

Islam in Black Africa By Li Weijian(133)

This paper explores French scholars' studies on Islam in West Africa in Colonial times. It not only tries to introduce some scholars and their studies to show how those people based their studies on the field work thoroughly, but also they probed into almost all the pertinent fields of Islamic studies, including Sufism, localization of West African Islam, Muslim ethnics and non-Muslim ethnics, slavery in West African Islam and so on. Their most luminary academic contribution to Islamic studies was the theory of the Islam noir. Their studies were greatly conducive to French colony administration even scholars nowadays have been under influence of their conclusions.

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In 1892, both Ma Dingyuan, from Longzhou of Guangxi province and Zhou Mingde (from Chengdu of Sichuan Province) reprinted work of Ma Junshi, namely *Wei Zhen Yao Lue*. Zhou Mingde mentioned in the preface that Ma Junshi was man of "Qianlong Time". This statement has so great impact on later academics that scholars onward, without seeing the original copy of the book, brought their opinions on the statement and elaborated in a great deal, yet so many myth has been uncovered. The present paper is to expound with some of those myths.

Islam Monthly and Islam Newspaper:the Integration of Islam Culture with indigenous Culture of Yunnan

..... By Xiao Jihong(153)

Yunnan is a place where multiracial people and multi-religions integrated and harmony each other. Islam was propagated in Yunnan since Tang dynasty and developed from the Yuan dynasty to Qing dynasty. With this development,a distinctive religious culture of Islam had come into being in Yunnan Province. In Ming and Qing dynasties, there were some scholars who had had far-reaching impacts on Chinese Islam. More important was when it came into modern times, the Islamic culture of Yunnan was flourished and integrated with the indigenous cultures of Yunnan successively. These were all represented in publications and newspapers of Muslims at that time.

Identity Transformation and Civilization Dialogue: the Investigation and Reflection on Family code through a Marriage between a Muslim and a Christian

..... By Hong Wei(164)

With increasing marriages between different nationalities and believers of different religions, the problems resulting from the divaricating of different religion believers are worth thinking about. Taking

a family is composed through a marriage between a Muslim and a Christian in Nanjing as an example, this paper will expound the identity change of an individual in a multi-cultural family and dialogues between believers of different religions, living habit and political problems.

Real Dialogue in the Virtual Community: Taking the Dialogue between Muslim and Christian in "www.2muslim.com" as the Basis

..... Li Shuhuan(177)

This paper is tries the dialogs of chinese christians and Muslims in the website (www.2muslim.com), especially the dialogue with Muslims, and to studying the current attitude and behavior of Chinese Muslim and Christian though their dialog on the internet.

Understanding and Rethinking of Spiritual Community By Ma Qiang Hu Qunqiong(188)

The traditional Muslim communities begin to dissimilate with the acceleration of urbanization. All kinds of forces that influence the communities integrating. The admixture community that Muslims with any other nation will be dominated way in the future, and the new spiritual community will be constructed simultaneously. The development of modern media and technology offer feasibility for this kind of spiritual community which exists not depending on geography, whereas the related groups are still keen on geographical spaces.

On Obstacles about Urban Adaptation for Migrant Muslims

——A Case of the Hui and the Dongxiang people, Lanzhou city

..... By Gao Xiang, Yu Teng-fei, Song xiang-kui, Cheng Hui-bo(196)

With the urban development of urbanization, a great number of the ethnic people pour into the cities, specially larger cities. As combined with national variables such as national culture, national tradition and national consciousness, the urban adaptation of migrant Muslims, compared to that of the common peasant-workers, seems to be more complex and already becomes one of focuses on city management. From the perspective of changes in social structure, based on the social survey of migrant Muslims in Lanzhou city, this paper analyzes the obstacles that affect their urban adaptation, such as ethnic factors, self-factors, social environmental factors and institutional factors.

Chinese Hui Literature and Middle-Asia Donggan Literature by Yang Jianjun(209)

Middle-Asia Donggan literature and Chinese Hui literature have the common cultural oringin. Their development are different directions of Chinese ancient Hui literature.To analyze the common image and cutural bockground of two nationalities, we can see Hui literature expression islamic cultural features and Donggan Chinese Han mainly. We also have new opion of two nationalities' development,if we take their literature as mutual reference system.



On Zhang Chengzhi's Literature in the New Century By Ma shaoying(218)

Zhang Chengzhi's literature in the new century based on the three northern regions in China, the root standpoint and heretical spirit criticize the reality and world uncompromisingly, at the same time there is no lack of profound self-examination. His writing insisted on humanity and justice, showing the value of the critical character of intellectuals.

The Cultural Characteristics of a Hui Literature Family: an example of Clan Ding in Chendai Town

..... By Li Xiaofeng(227)

The concept of the Hui nationality family Literature is generated from the national identity of who engaged in literature produce. It refers to the group of Muslim or the Hui nationality whom the literature became a home heritage the family with the same surname and the families by marriage relations. This concept consists of three basic elements: Firstly, the literary should be main heritage of the family. Secondly, the group composed of the same family members or who closely related with marriage ties. Thirdly, the group should be Muslim.



论伊斯兰教与国家

敏 敬^①

一、伊斯兰教与早期阿拉伯国家的兴起

国家是社会发展到一定阶段的历史产物。国家结束社会的分裂和混乱状态，把人类从愚昧野蛮引向统一、秩序和文明。伊斯兰教的兴起，加快了阿拉伯国家的建立进程。国家是阿拉伯半岛进入文明历史的重要形式。

公元7世纪，伊斯兰教兴起，此时阿拉伯半岛正处在原始社会末期，部落仇杀和蒙昧野蛮是这一社会的主要特征。半岛上分布着众多大大小小的部族，南部也门人有唐氏族、海木丹族、墨资罕吉族、阿米来族、朱萨姆族、京戴族、艾资德族、胡萨尔族、古达尔族、台尔赫族、克尔布族、朱黑尼族及俄兹莱族之分；北部阿德南族有埃赛德族、瓦依勒族、盖斯·阿兰族、台米母族、胡才尔族、基那奈族的区别。^②部族以下的支族即部落，是最基本的社会生产和组织形式。部落以各自为政，自谋出路为主要特点。部落之间强调祖先和血统因素，但更加重视利益争夺。部落是半岛地区最高的政治和经济单元，部落联盟作为松散的短期联合，本身并不具有约束权威。部落体系下的每个人都要寻求特定血缘团体的保护。一旦冲突发生，会立即形成家庭对家庭、血统对血统、氏族对氏族、部落对部落、联盟对联盟的对立格局和攻伐厮杀。物质因素是导致部落冲突的主要动因。半岛环境恶劣，生产力低下，物资资料紧缺，人口却不断膨胀，致使牧场、水源和耕地供应严重不足。部落因此选择对外扩张来谋求生存，通过掠夺临近部落来扩大自身的经济资源。掠夺以突袭方式开始，以夺取畜群、牧场、水源和劳动力宣告结束。部落的年轻男性成员因此养成劫掠为荣，靠劫掠快速致富、出人头地的价值观

① 敏敬，兰州大学历史文化学院副教授，主要研究伊斯兰教史与中东历史。

② [埃及]艾哈迈德爱敏著，纳忠译：《阿拉伯—伊斯兰文化史》（第一册），商务印书馆，2001年，第6~8页。



念。^①这种观念凝聚部落团结，同时也强化着针对外人的反感和挑战意识。所以，部落是具有强烈排他性和暴力倾向的、基于自助和分权的地区性防卫组织，它与讲究秩序与合作的文明国家可谓是格格不入。部落的上述特性决定了古代阿拉伯半岛战争不断且极其惨烈。历史上，南部也门人常常与北部阿德南人对抗，阿德南人中的勒比尔族和母才尔族又相互攻伐，战争动辄绵延百年。即便血缘最近的部落之间也会爆发战争。阿德南人中瓦依勒族的两个小支族白克尔族和台格里卜族几乎因战争而同归于尽。安德法族的支族阿比斯族和祖白扬族之间更有过著名的“达黑斯之役”和“艾布拉之役”。战争中，胜利者将占有别人的地盘和财产；失败者则远走他乡，继续掠夺别的部落。由此循循相因，引发一轮又一轮的移民浪潮、血亲复仇和战争。

部落劫掠和战争严重破坏半岛的社会和生产力发展，加剧草场退化，导致水坝失修、牲畜减少、人口伤亡和商业萧条。恶劣的生存环境又诱发社会道德滑坡和思想扭曲，形成特殊的阿拉伯蒙昧文化。这种文化鄙视技术革新，崇尚劫掠和强权，进而使男权膨胀，妇女被视为生育机器甚至累赘而备受压迫。买卖妇女、活埋女婴、侵犯妇女权利的现象俯拾皆是。《古兰经》文对此进行了有力控诉：“他为此个噩耗而不与宗族会面，他多方考虑：究竟是忍辱保留她呢？还是把她活埋在土里呢？真的，他们的判断真恶劣。”^②弱肉强食生存法则，使人们普遍亲情泯灭，缺乏怜悯，公德沦丧，而奴隶、孤儿、寡妇和战俘这些社会弱势群体甚至近亲却成了巧取豪夺的对象。“你们应当把孤儿的财产交还他们，不要以（你们的）恶劣的（财产），换取（他们的）佳美的（财产），也不要把他们的财产并入你们的财产，而加以吞蚀。这确是大罪。”^③“你们所费用的财产，当费用于父母、至亲、孤儿、贫民、旅客。你们无论行什么善功，都确是真主所全知的。”^④这是对当时道德和经济不公的真实写照。

伊斯兰教关注社会现实，反对分裂野蛮。先知穆罕默德宣布的神圣启示，一开始就号召人们信仰同一个造物主，结束分裂和仇杀，重建社会秩序，从而为半岛社会输入一种崭新概念。“这种崭新的概念显然与阿拉伯人传统的原始民主制和狭隘的血亲观念大相径庭，包含着倡导新型公共权力和地域原则的明显倾向，从而为阿拉伯人摆脱野蛮状

① William Lancaster, The Ruala Bedouin Today, Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland, 1997.

② 马坚译：《古兰经》，中国社会科学出版社，1981年，第16章59节。

③ 《古兰经》，第4章2节。

④ 《古兰经》，第2章215节。

态和步入文明社会奠定了必要的思想基础。”^①历史上，阿拉伯人第一次被要求接受比氏族部落更大的政治、道德和信仰权威的约束，放弃原先的对立和仇恨，实现社会的和平与延续。

伊斯兰教通过建立国家来重建社会，以“乌玛”为半岛上最早的国家形式。乌玛诞生于麦地那城邦，是一种崭新的社会组织 and 政治共同体。乌玛重塑半岛的社会关系，这个社会人人皆为兄弟，打破了部落、地域、血缘、种族、地位和财富等世俗界限。^②乌玛用伊斯兰法制治理社会，革除蒙昧时代的落后习惯。伊斯兰法制内容广泛，既为穆斯林制定教律，也对公共生活详加规范。民事方面，涉及贸易、借贷和利息等；刑事方面，涉及凶杀、偷窃、强奸、抢劫等；家庭方面，关注结婚、离婚和财产继承等烦琐事务；并对战争、合约的签订、战利品的处置等做出规定。^③伊斯兰法治使半岛社会首次接受统一治理和明晰的道德观念及普世价值。伊斯兰法禁止血亲复仇和部落战争，将法律置于强权主义的部落原则之上。乌玛也突出先知穆罕默德的个人权威和道德力量。“你们应当信仰安拉和他的使者，那个使者是信仰安拉及其言辞的，但不识字的先知——你们应当顺从他，以便你们遵循正道。”“谁违抗安拉和使者，谁必受火狱的刑罚，并且永居其中”。^④这种强调，一方面是将服从使者作为服从安拉的外在表现；另一方面则是从社会组织和社会功能的角度，突显超部落的公共权力的意义。“你们应当服从使者和你们中的主事人。”^⑤实际就是把先知穆罕默德作为所有公共权力的象征，因此同样适用于先知穆罕默德之后的社会。随着公共权力和伊斯兰法制地位的确立，部落便成为国家的附庸，部落之间竞争和对立的关系，逐渐被乌玛与外部世界（比如波斯和罗马帝国）的竞争和对立所取代。

显然，乌玛就是早期的国家。乌玛作为国家的特征随着走向统一而更加显著。乌玛以新的区域公共权威和道德标准，取代旧的部落权威和部落价值，为结束半岛的混乱局面作出了贡献。阿拉伯人从此走出蒙昧时代，跨进文明历史的门槛。国家是阿拉伯人走向统一和繁荣的历史起点，也是后来穆斯林认识国家及其功能的重要参照。

① 哈全安：《麦地那哈里发时代伊斯兰扩张的社会动因》，《西亚非洲》1994年第6期，第43页。

② 马明良：《简明伊斯兰史》，经济日报出版社，2001年，第59页。

③ [埃及]艾哈迈德爱敏著，纳忠译：《阿拉伯—伊斯兰文化史》（第一册），商务印书馆，2001年，第245-248页。

④ 《古兰经》，第114章2节；第7章158节；第72章23节。

⑤ 《古兰经》，第4章59节。

二、伊斯兰国家与多元文化

伊斯兰国家从麦地那乌玛开始，就显现出民族和文化的多元特征。协调和处理多元民族及文化的关系，是伊斯兰统治者及政府的主要职能之一。在这一问题上，伊斯兰教同样提供基本原则，即伊斯兰教反对所有形式的民族和种族歧视。“众人啊！我确已从一男一女创造你们，我使你们成为许多民族和宗族，以便你们互相认识。在真主看来，你们中最尊贵者，是你们中最敬畏者。”^① 这里的“民族”，包括了所有基于肤色、语言、种族和血缘等差异的社会人群，显示了伊斯兰教反对文化和血缘歧视的坚决与彻底。公元632年，先知穆罕默德发表著名的“辞朝演说”，进一步对此加以通俗的阐释。他郑重宣告：“阿拉伯人与波斯人毫无区别，阿拉伯人不比非阿拉伯人优越，非阿拉伯人也不比阿拉伯人优越。黑人不比白人优越；白人也不比黑人优越；所不同者只在于敬畏真主，工作善美而已。”^② 伊斯兰教也反对信仰歧视和宗教压迫：“对于宗教，绝无强迫。”“如果你的主意欲，大地上所有的人，必定都信道了。难道你要强迫众人都做信士吗？”^③ 因此，伊斯兰教是鼓励不同民族、不同文化在同一主权下和平共处的。

麦地那乌玛国家根据上述原则而实施统治。先知穆罕默德初到麦地那，就制定了《麦地那宪章》，承认犹太教徒和多神教徒是乌玛的居民，尊重犹太人的信仰，保护其生命、财产不受侵犯，并允许犹太人依据犹太律法解决内部纠纷。其他多神教徒的生命和财产安全也得到保护。乌玛也规定非穆斯林有义务接受穆斯林政权的统治，和穆斯林共同保卫乌玛的安全。因此，乌玛不只是不同信仰人群的集合，它还是一种统治原则，它对非穆斯林与伊斯兰国家的关系作出明确界定，承认非穆斯林在伊斯兰国家的合法存在及各项权利。并按权利与义务对等的原则，把非穆斯林与伊斯兰政权紧紧联系在一起。早期乌玛的政治实践，证明穆斯林与非穆斯林完全能够在同一国家和平共处，体现出伊斯兰教和穆斯林对客观事实的尊重。

麦地那乌玛之后的伊斯兰国家，均以早期乌玛的经验为处理民族宗教问题的重要参照。从阿拉伯的倭马亚帝国到阿巴斯帝国，从土耳其奥斯曼帝国到大部分现代民族国

① 《古兰经》，第49章13节。

② 《简明伊斯兰史》，第81页。

③ 《古兰经》，第2章256节；第10章99节。



家，穆斯林政权都遵循上述和而不同的原则，尊重民族、宗教的多元事实，使穆斯林地区得以长期保持浓郁的文化多样性特征。

伊斯兰国家民族宗教的多样性随穆斯林人口增多和统治疆域的扩大而日益显著。伊斯兰国家有阿拉伯人、波斯人、柏柏尔人，也有欧洲人、突厥人等其他民族，他们肤色有黑有白，习俗千差万别。伊斯兰国家有基督教、犹太教、琐罗亚斯德教、拜星教及其他原始宗教，皆与伊斯兰教共享信仰自由。在倭马亚帝国和阿巴斯帝国，“迪米人”（有经人，指基督教徒和犹太教徒等一神论信仰者）只要缴纳人丁税和土地税，就可以受到政府保护，享受信仰自由，实行民事和刑事自治，并可出任公职。^① 由于穆斯林民族意识淡薄，穆斯林社会不断上演种族、文化的大融合。^② 在西班牙，犹太人因穆斯林的开明和宽容而享受空前自由。他们在穆斯林的统治下自由旅行、居住、谋生、担任公职，甚至能左右朝政。^③ 这与后来基督教徒“收复失地”，疯狂迫害穆斯林和犹太人，并将其逐出伊比利亚半岛的做法形成鲜明对照。正是不同民族、宗教的多元共存，推动了阿拉伯帝国的文化发展和技术进步，孕育出了中世纪辉煌灿烂的阿拉伯—伊斯兰文明。

公元15世纪崛起的奥斯曼土耳其帝国继承和发扬了这种多元主义的政策传统。奥斯曼帝国横跨欧亚非三个大洲，其民族、人种、宗教和文化的多样性在伊斯兰历史上可谓空前绝后。奥斯曼统治者胸怀开阔，欢迎不同宗教及民族在帝国落足，共筑帝国的雄伟大厦。“奥斯曼帝国鼎盛时期的1453年到1623年间，48位首相中只有5位属于土耳其血统，1个是高加索塞加西亚地方的人，10个出身不详，其余的32个人是皈依的基督徒：即6个希腊人、11个阿尔巴尼亚人、11个斯拉夫人、1个意大利人、1个亚美尼亚人、1个格鲁吉亚人。”^④ 帝国的宗教宽容远胜于欧洲。帝国的“米列特”制度（Millet）实际就是实行宗教自治。所谓米列特就是宗教社团，一个“米列特”就是一个特定的宗教团体；米列特必须服从国家主权并缴纳人丁税，但就有权使用自己的语言文字，发展自己的宗教、文化及教育事业，并实行内部自治，可以根据自己的宗教法律处

① 彭树智主编：《阿拉伯国家史》，高等教育出版社，2002年，第67~68页。

② [埃及]艾哈迈德爱敏著，朱凯、史希同译：《阿拉伯—伊斯兰文化史》（第二册），商务印书馆，2001年，第3~14页。

③ [埃及]艾哈迈德爱敏著，史希同、张洪仪译：《阿拉伯—伊斯兰文化史》（第七册），商务印书馆，2007年，第44页。

④ [德]卡尔·布罗克尔曼：《伊斯兰教各民族与国家史》，商务印书馆，1985年，第363页。