

(Arabic for "path," or Islamic "order"). The founder of the Qadariyya *menhuan* in China was Qi Jingyi, Hilal al-Din (1656–1719). Known among the Hui as Qi Daozu (Grand Master Qi), he was buried in Linxia's "great tomb" (*da gongbei*) shrine complex, which became the center of Qadariyya Sufism in China.¹²⁰ One of the reasons Grand Master Qi continues to be greatly revered among all Sufis in China is that the tradition suggests he received his early training under two of the most famous Central Asian Sufi teachers, Khoja Afaq and Khoja Abd Alla. Qi Jingyi supposedly met with the revered Naqshbandi leader Khoja Afaq (see below) in Xining in 1672, where, according to Qadariyya records, the master sent the 16-year-old acolyte home, saying: "I am not your teacher (*yu er fei shi*); my ancient teaching is not to be passed on to you; your teacher has already crossed the Eastern Sea and arrived in the Eastern land. You must therefore return home quickly, and you will become a famous teacher in the land."¹²¹ Qadariyya followers today feel that their saint received the blessing of the great Naqshbandi Khoja Afaq, while their order was formally founded by his second teacher, Khoja Abd Alla, a 29th-generation descendant of Muhammad.¹²² Chinese Sufi records state that he entered China in 1674 and preached in Guangdong, Guangxi, Yunnan, Guizhou, and Linxia, Gansu, before his eventual death in Guizhou in 1689.¹²³ While Abd al-Kadir al-Jilani is the reputed founder of the Qadiri *ṭarīqa*, it is not surprising to find that Abd Alla perhaps studied in Medina under the reknowned Kurdish mystic Ibrahim b. Hasan al-Kurani (1616–1690), who was initiated into both the Naqshbandi and Qadiri *ṭarīqas*, as well as several other Sufi orders.

The appeal of Qadariyya Sufism as a renewal movement among the Hui is related to its combining ascetic mysticism with a non-institutionalized form of worship, which centers around the tomb complex of deceased saints rather than the mosque.¹²⁴ The early Qadariyya advocated long-term isolated meditation, poverty, and vows of celibacy. The head of the order did not marry and eschewed family life, a radical departure from other Islamic traditions in China. Qadiri Sufi continue to attend the Gedimu mosques in the local communities in which they live, gathering at the tombs for holidays and individual worship. Qi Jingyi was known for his emphasis upon ascetic withdrawal from society,

poverty, and self-cultivation. Formalized Islamic ritual as represented by the "5 pillars" (fasting, pilgrimage, prayer, almsgiving, and recitation of the *Shahadah*) was deemphasized by Qi Jingyi in favor of private meditation. Qadiri maintain: "Those who know themselves clearly will know Allah" and "The Saints help us to know ourselves first before knowing Allah." Union with the divine is accomplished through meditation and self-cultivation, rather than formalized public ritual. "The moment of thinking about Allah," they maintain, "is superior to worshipping him for a thousand years."¹²⁵

The terminology of Sufi mysticism in China is similar to that of Daoism. Islam, among Sufis, began to be known as the *Dao men* (the "order" or "school" of the Dao), whereas traditional Islam was known as the *Jiao men* (the "teaching order"). Three stages of initiation among Sufis began to be taught, and while debate often centers on which stage is most important, or in what order they should be followed, they are generally given as the first stage of *Jiaocheng* or *Changdao*, known in Arabic as the *Sharia*; the middle stage of *Daocheng* or *Zhongdao*, the *Tarīqah*; the final stage of *Zhencheng* or *Zhidao*, the *Hagiqah*. Individual Sufis would be initiated into each of these stages under the guidance of their *Daozu* ("master of the Dao"), which often took place in the *Dao tang* (ritual center of the Sufi *shaykh*, Arabic, "elder"). The system of succession became known as the *Dao tong* ("tradition of the Dao," Arabic, *silsila*). At one point there were even Sufis who became known as the *qingzhen Daoshi* ("pure and true master") and the *qingzhen heshang* ("pure and true monk") because they wore the robes of the Daoist and Buddhist monks. Ma Hualong, the Jahriyya saint, said in one of his poems, "It is in the human stomach that the elixir of life is made," and "It is on the phoenix land that white cranes come to rest."¹²⁶ These Daoist metaphors and terms were familiar to Sufis throughout China and infused their ascetic discourse and practice.

A Chinese inscription above the entrance to a Qadariyya branch tomb complex in Beishan Hui cemetery, Linxia, reads: "The True Dao is Unceasing" (*Ti Dao wu she*). Through religious terminology familiar to the Hui in China, Confucian moral tenets, Daoist mystical concepts, and Buddhist folk rituals infused with new Islamic content pervade Qadariyya Sufism.¹²⁷ Although the Qadariyya *menhuan* has always been less