

卷首语 From the Editor's Desk

从文化相遇的视角看基督教今日在华的主要挑战和机遇^①

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从文化相遇的视角,探讨基督教在 21 世纪中国的生存与发展中所遇到的挑战,我们需要有明确的问题意识。笔者把这些挑战归纳为三大类问题,而对这些问题的理解,将直接关系到基督教在华的生存、发展及对中国的贡献。^②

第一个挑战和机遇是:中国的政治体制要求基督宗教在汉语语境中首先必须面对和处理政治问题,否则,基督教的生存与发展都会遇到很多的困难。基督徒应该如何处理?

一方面需要从中国的政治神哲学本质着眼。中国政治神哲学的本质要求,所有的宗教、哲学与文化主要承担两方面的功能:一为现有政权的合理性提供论证,二为现有政权的稳定性提供帮助。从现实的层面看,汉语学术神学家需要处理基督宗教与无神论极左主义思潮之间的关系。^③从历史的层面,汉语学术神学家需要处理三个问题。首先是从 1840 鸦片战争以来到 1950 年代抗美援朝之间基督宗教与西方帝国主义、殖民主义之间的关系问题及其在中国人民和政府心目中留下的消极影响。^④其次是 21 世纪中期以来至今仍然使中国政府无法放心的西方对华渗透与基督宗教之间的关系。这二者直接关系到基督宗教的在华表现和被接受度。基督徒需要从历史事实的视角梳理清楚基督宗教与这些主义和运动之间的关系,被误解的地方要用学术的方式指出来以正视听,^⑤有错误的地方要勇于道歉和改正,努力消除掉政权的担心。三则基督宗教需要谨慎处理与儒家相遇的问题,因为这个问题随时有可能被民粹主义绑架而变成政治问题。2010 年曲阜建基督教堂遭到部分儒家人士反对的事例就可说明这个问题。^⑥

另一方面,需要从基督宗教的神哲学本质着眼。这是最重要的,因为汉语学术神学家需要在教义的层面处理基督宗教与政治的关系。就基督宗教的神哲学本质而言,它既不只是为了对现有的政权

^① 此部分内容提炼于拙文,黄保罗 2012:“21 世纪汉语语境中应然层面的汉语学术神学之构建”,中国神学论坛第五届研讨会 2012 年 8 月 22-24 日 美国波士顿戈登-康维尔神学院“基督信仰与 21 世纪的中国 Christianity and 21st Century China Conference”。

^② 有人认为,政治、文化及教会本身是基督宗教中国化的核心和难点之所在。参考中央民族大学教授牟钟鉴 2012:“基督宗教中国化的难点及建议”,载《中国民族报》,2012-04-17。

^③ 近年来有一批极左好战无神论者,不同于当前政府的改革、开放与和谐政策,拒绝理性和客观分析,抛开学术层面地分析,从政治视角入手,将自由主义和外来宗教特别是基督宗教视为威胁中国的政治的敌对势力并鼓励政府进行排斥。不但批评国外的基督宗教而且批评国内学术界对之进行的宗教学研究。

^④ 黄保罗 2011:“全球化下基督教对中国形象之塑造的影响”,载李灵、曾庆豹主编《中国现代化视野下的教会与社会》,上海人民出版社,页 82-83。

^⑤ 陈才俊教授关于传教与鸦片贸易的研究,根据历史史料澄清了许多谬误。参见陈才俊 2012:“英国传教士对晚清鸦片贸易的态度与行动”,载《国学与西学国际学刊》,第 2 期,页 91-106。

^⑥ 在 2010 年 12 月 22 日由部分儒家学者发出“尊重中华文化圣地,停建曲阜耶教教堂——关于曲阜建造耶教大教堂的意见书”。笔者撰文评论,见黄保罗 2011:《从全球化视野中的大国学来看曲阜等儒家宣言书》,儒家邮报第 170 期;此后有部分学者回应和批评拙文,见韩星 2011:《对〈从全球化视野中的大国学来看曲阜等儒家宣言书〉的回应》,儒家邮报第 170 期。孙铁骑 2012:《从全球化视野中的大国学来看曲阜等儒家宣言书》一文存在的问题,儒家邮报第 170 期,页 75-83。

合理性进行论证和诠释,也不仅仅是为了对现有政治权力的稳定性提供维护。基督宗教除去对上帝忠诚之外,绝不应该简单地依附于任何政治理念、政治实体或政治权力。但基督宗教在中国是进行直截了当地先知性批判、甘愿冒险被掌权者直接消灭或被民粹主义误解与围剿?还是坚持真理却又“灵巧象蛇”般地处理与政权之间的关系呢?若处理不好,信徒或者会被戴上基督宗教教义本身所部主张的“在属世国度争取革命”的帽子而给教会带来灾难性打击,或者被政权彻底驯服而失去了先知的批判性,如二战时纳粹德国的官方教会。需要客观地指出,从教义本身而言,基督宗教并没有在这个世界上进行“革命”与“夺权”的使命,顺服掌权者对于基督徒来说是责任(罗马书 13:1-7、提前 2:1-2、提多书 3:1 都有论述)。因此,基督宗教信仰与政治并不一定总是冲突的,其间有很大的缓冲与合作余地,双方需要靠智慧来处理它们关系,二者之间并非没有灵巧处理的可能性。

第二个挑战和机遇是,从处境神学与文化相遇的视角,基督宗教必须处理好与中国文化主体性之间的关系。这涉及处境神学、文化相遇与文化主体性三个概念。

所谓处境神学(contextual theology),^⑦是在特定处境中依据福音的能力来回应该语境之挑战的神学,它与让神学适应于某个文化传统形式的本色化(indigenization)努力密切相关。就处境神学的概念而言,基督教在华需要构建汉语学术神学;这是汉语语境中的基督宗教神学,其中心词是“神学”,而“汉语学术”只是起修饰作用的定语。这种神学的核心是要以合适的方式在汉语语境中把基督宗教信仰的本质以理性言说、情感表达和神秘体验等完整性的方式表述出来而被该语境中的受众所认识和接受。

所谓“文化相遇”(encounter of cultures)则表示两种或更多文化的相遇,其中特别需要关注随之产生的排斥(exclusivism)、包容(inclusivism)、多元(pluralism)和个殊主义(particularism)^⑧等处理方式。就汉语学术神学的构建而言,在一首两翼四足一尾的汉语语境中,基督宗教应如何处理与之相遇的“中翼”之儒、道、民间宗教等元素,是采取完全或部分地排斥和包容的处理方式,还是主张条条大路通罗马的多元并蓄,抑或是不重在“破”而在“立”地阐述自己独特之处的个殊主义,是需要认真研究和审慎选择的。

所谓“文化主体性”是指一种文化之所以成为某种文化的不可改变的本质特性。若非天启神学的立场把某种文化视为上帝启示的话,从人文主义的视角而言,每种文化的本质主体性都是在人类社会的发展过程中积淀而成的。因此,人文主义视野中的每种文化模式的发展,又总受到内在和外在双重推动力的影响,一方面是对自己的传统要进行“先知式”的批判继承,另一方面要对外来文化传统进行积极地借鉴和吸收。缺少这两方面的批判和吸收,一个文化模式就会僵化而无法适应新语境所提出的挑战并面临被淘汰的危险。严格来说,人文主义无法产生出“绝对坚持自己的主体性”立场,因为只有神启传统才会产生宣称自己的主体性是绝对正确的可能。但是,以部分儒家为代表的中国本土文化代表者,在处理如何与基督宗教相遇时,会产生理论与实践中的自相矛盾,一方面以人文主义对一

^⑦ Stephen B. Bevans 提到处境神学(contextual theology)有五类:翻译模式(translation model)、人类学模式(anthropological model)、实践模式(praxis model)、会通模式(synthetic model)、超越模式(transcendental model)。参阅 Bevans, Stephen B. 1992: *Models of Contextual Theology*, 纽约 Maryknoll: Orbis Books 出版社; 页 3, 10。“处境神学”一词是非常新的提法,但是关于福音与文化的争论却是长期以来的持久现象。参考 Ahenen, Risto A. 2003: *Lähetys rajojen ylittäjänä. Kokonaisvaltaisen lähetyskäsitteksen vaikutus lähetystyön rakenteeseen*. Kirkon tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisu 84. Jyväskylä: Gummerus; 页 29。中国神学家一直以来都在从事神学本色化(indigenization): 如何调和福音与传统文化的形式。参考 Kena, Kirsti 1993 *Kaukoidän teologian näkökulmia*, STKSJ 181, 赫尔辛基; 页 12; 杨慧林与史晓丽 2004, 《汉语神学的处境化及其问题领域》, 载于《基督教与中国文化》, 2004, 227-234。也可参考王晚朝 1998 《基督教与帝国文化》(Christianity and Imperial Culture: Chinese Christian Apologetics in the Seventeenth Century and Their Latin Patristic Equivalent), 荷兰莱顿: Brill 出版社。

^⑧ 黄保罗 2012: 《大国学视野中的汉语学术对话神学》, 北京: 民族出版社, 页 158-177。

切文化主体绝对性的拒绝来拒绝基督教的主体绝对性,另一方面却又以文化主体性为由来为儒家自己的文化主体性及其绝对性进行辩护。

为了探讨如何从处境神学与文化相遇的视角处理基督宗教与中国文化主体性之间的关系,可以通过索隐神学^⑨和曲阜建教堂问题^⑩为例展开论述。

第三个挑战和机遇是,从人文主义(特别是实用主义)的视角,基督教必须处理好在入世层面上对中国社会可持续发展的影响。因为芸芸众生可能不关心政治与文化,却很少有人不关心世俗的利益。^⑪为此,笔者提出下列视角:

首先,基督教有可能帮助中国克服资本主义私欲野马和官僚主义利维坦的消极影响。就社会的经济和物质发展而言,自由市场的资本主义经济象一匹脱缰的野马,在私人利益的驱动下,疯狂奔驰,积极地促进了社会的经济发展和物质财富的创造。资本主义是一个有力的武器,一旦它与基督教相结合就能为人类带来无限的祝福,关于资本主义精神与基督新教伦理相遇而对现代欧美社会的繁荣发展和社会稳定的积极性,马克斯韦伯有过非常深刻而影响重大的论述。^⑫可一旦与自私的人文主义结合就会产生帝国主义和殖民主义而为人类带来无限的灾难。基督教对资本主义的约束和驾驭能力,是它西方被社会所选择的主要原因之一,而儒家文化的本质似乎很难承担起驯服或驾驭资本主义的重担。^⑬今天,应该积极地论证基督宗教如何与资本主义特别是市场经济相结合,克服其短处、发扬其长处,一方面克服资本主义自私野马的盲目性可能为经济发展带来的伤害,另一方面克服官僚主义利维坦破坏经济发展或腐化社会的消极影响,基督教能在世俗和实用的层面为中国社会造福。

其次,基督宗教有可能帮助中国克服人文主义“众意”民主的消极影响。就社会制度和法规而言,欧美社会可持续发展的根基在于廉洁为民的政府与法制缰绳和笼子对资本主义与利维坦的束缚。基督宗教既主张一切权力来自上帝而教导信徒顺服掌权者,而又拒绝任何政府的完美性,使之永远在上帝的监督之下。在基督宗教传统中,先是如霍布斯所云,拥有绝对权威的政府象利维坦一样,能够保护公民,但会因其自私性也会残害人民。^⑭后经洛克和卢梭^⑮等人发展起来的“公意”民主法制,成了套住资本主义野马避免脱缰的缰绳、与管制利维坦这个怪物避免疯狂伤人的笼子,维护了社会的基本稳定与可持续发展。可是,法制只能套住自资本主义野马的身体却套不住其灵魂,只能管辖利维坦这个怪物的身体却管不住其内心,因此,法治对经济和社会秩序之维持的影响力是有限的。为什么呢?因为民主法制与基督宗教分离而只依靠人文主义的理性时,本来按照超越的真理而寻求“公意”的民

^⑨ 该处文字和核心思想主要引自拙文,见黄保罗 2010:《汉语索隐神学——对法国耶稣会士续讲利玛窦之后文明对话的研究》,载《深圳大学学报人文社会科学刊》2010 年第一期,页 1-10。

^⑩ 在 2010 年 12 月 22 日由部分儒家学者发出“尊重中华文化圣地,停建曲阜耶教教堂——关于曲阜建造耶教大教堂的意见书”。笔者撰文评论,见黄保罗 2011:《从全球化视野中的大国学来看曲阜等儒家宣言书》,儒家邮报第 170 期;此后有部分学者回应和批评拙文,见韩星 2011:《对〈从全球化视野中的大国学来看曲阜等儒家宣言书〉的回应》,儒家邮报第 170 期。孙铁骑 2012:《从全球化视野中的大国学来看曲阜等儒家宣言书》一文存在的问题,儒家邮报第 170 期,页 75-83。

^⑪ 此部分内容的详细论述,请参见拙文,黄保罗 2012:“基督宗教信仰对于社会秩序的意义”,发表于 2012 年 11 月 2-4 日在北京大学举办的“北京论坛 2012”(Beijing Forum 2012: The Harmony of Civilizations and Prosperity for All Panel (Session II Faith and Society: Spiritual Reflections of Global Age))。黄保罗 2012:“从新汉学视角来看基督宗教信仰对于中国社会秩序的意义”,发表于 2012 年 11 月 3-5 日在中国人民大学举办的第三届“世界汉学大学”(Sinology Conference 2012)。

^⑫ 韦伯著、陈平译 2007:《资本主义精神与新教伦理》,西安:陕西师范大学出版社,见“编者序”,页 8-9。

^⑬ 韦伯著、陈平译 2007:《资本主义精神与新教伦理》,西安:陕西师范大学出版社,页 21-27。

^⑭ 霍布斯著、黎思复与黎廷弼译 1985:《利维坦》,商务印书馆。赵敦华 2001:《西方哲学简史》,北京:北京大学出版社,页 208-209。

^⑮ 洛克著、叶启芳等译 1963:《政府论》下篇,商务印书馆,页 57-58。北京大学哲学系西方哲学教研室编 1982:《西方哲学原著选读》,下卷,商务印书馆,页 72。赵敦华 2001:《西方哲学简史》,北京:北京大学出版社,页 252,281-283。

主法制,就会变成完全按照少数服从多数的民粹主义的“众意”,只论人数多少,不问符合真理与否。^{①⑥}这是欧美社会在制度与物质层面稳定而在精神与心灵层面空虚的根本原因之所在。由此可见,民主与法制是一个非常有利的武器,当它与基督宗教结合时,其民粹式的“众意”就可能被控制为符合真理的“公意”,因而在制度层面它可能为社会的可持续发展提供一个和平转换的模式。当民主制度脱离基督宗教和对公意的追求而只顾自己的私利与众意时,就会与暴力结合,走向民粹主义的鼓动宣传和单纯靠少数服从多数的“点人头票数”的模式,很难为社会的可持续发展带来和平的转换模式,难以逃脱“改朝换代”的破坏性模式。^{①⑦}

第三,基督宗教有可能帮助中国从狭隘主义的“民族国家”重返开放化的“天下”提供超越性的精神力量。就精神层面而言,社会的可持续发展需要超越的灵性纬度。基督宗教经历了诞生之初被打压、成为国教一统天下、受到人文主义(特别是理性与科学)的挑战而被限制在私人领域等不同阶段之命运以后,在当代的欧美社会,它变成了救心丸一样的东西,平时不一定被重视,危机关头却被用来救命。这颗救心丸的核心——上帝信仰,作为狭隘人文主义与世俗主义的对立者,对于野马与利维坦的疯狂性和绳索与笼子的局限性,都能产生一定的积极意义,值得汉语学界思考借鉴。^{①⑧}为了避免社会达尔文主义野马的侵略性、人文理性的相对主义、虚无主义和民粹主义的危险,儒家文化的发展有必要探讨与基督教神学相结合的可能性,基督徒有必要建议儒家人士深刻地挖掘儒家传统中的“天”之超越纬度,并积极改变儒家的固有之“天下”概念被近代逐渐压缩成为一个民族国家的狭隘概念的现状,^{①⑨}为中国的社会制度在全球化语境中的合理性与可持续性进行形而上层面的超越性论证,并为其发展提供蓝图与方案。

总而言之,从基督教的形而上超越性来处理人文主义(包括理性主义狭隘科学)的误区和主体性^{②⑩}之缺陷,从而获得能力面对后现代解构而引起的相对主义和虚无主义,是基督宗教可以在华积极发挥影响的领域。

本期国学、西学与神学栏目刊发了牛津学院院长汉科克博士的“社会模型:信仰、形式与政治的想像力”,与北京大学宗教文化学院院长张志刚教授的“共建和谐世界的中国文化资源”。前文探讨了信仰、形式与政治想像力作为社会模型的影响力,后文探讨了中国前辈学者探索和谐世界的成果评述。实践神学与中西教会和社会栏目收录了“中芬天使学术论文集”第一届二等奖获得者武汉大学韩晗博士的“电子媒介、大学生活与基督教传播”一文,与中国人民大学人类学研究所黄剑波教授的“合法性问题与地方基督教的生成”。前文以湖北Z大校内“基督教传播方式”为对象调查分析了新媒体对于基督教传播的影响,后文以一个中国西北内陆教会为例,探讨地方性教会是如何在寻求生存合法性和信仰合法性的互动过程中得以生成。中西经典与圣经收录了美国世华研究中心主席戴德理博士的“保罗以弗所书中和谐社会的根基”与陕西师范大学外语学院副教授马乐梅博士的“缀华语而别赋新义”。前文探讨了《以弗所书》思想对于和谐社会观念的影响,后文以基督教概念“公义”为例探讨了它与和谐理念之间的关系。教会历史与中西社会收录了德国著名差传学专家柯兰霓教授的“得救还

^{①⑥} 卢梭论公意与众意的区别参见赵敦华 2001:《西方哲学简史》,北京:北京大学出版社,页 282-283。

^{①⑦} 以法律为例,“法律必须被信仰”,它才能被人尊重和遵守,否则法制的建立是非常困难的。参见哈罗德·伯尔特曼著、梁治平译 1991:《法律与宗教》,三联书店。

^{①⑧} 参考黄保罗 2012:“基督宗教信仰对于社会秩序的意义”(将于 2012 年 11 月 1-4 日发表于第 8 届北京论坛)。

^{①⑨} 孙向晨 2010:“西学视野下儒学现代转型应有的几个纬度”,载张志刚、严军主编 2010:《信仰与责任——全球化时代的精神反思》,北京:宗教文化出版社,页 270-271。姚大力 2006:“‘天下兴亡、匹夫有责’的再诠释与中国近代民族国家意识的生成”,载《世界经济与政治》2006 年第 10 期;吴增定 2005:“从‘国家’重返‘天下’:中国古代天下观的当代意义”,载《文明的和解——中国和平崛起以后的世界》,北京:人民出版社。

^{②⑩} 笛卡尔我思故我在、书本华意志、弗洛伊德欲望、马克思实践都是以人的主体性觉醒为根基的。

是定罪?”与华东师范大学年轻学者褚潇白博士的“另类的基督教”,前文从索隐神学角度利用大量以前没有出版过的资料探讨了马斯卡雷利在礼仪之争(1701)中的“辩护”,后文从“天兄”耶稣形象探讨了“拜上帝教”的民间信仰特质。比较宗教文化研究栏目收录了武汉大学教授周玄毅博士的“儒耶文化适应性比较初探”与湖北大学康志杰教授的“天主教贞女与基督新教单身女传道”,前文是作者根据其2011年在首届“国学与西学北欧论坛”上发表的演讲修订而成的论文,后文主要对两种基督宗教独身女性进行了比较研究。书评与通讯部分,本刊编辑部与赫尔辛基大学合作,对第十二界国际路德研究学会的会议进行了综述报道,这是五年一次的世界最大规模的路德研究会,本次会议促使了世界华人路德学会的诞生,对于汉语世界对路德的研究将起到极大的推动作用。杨林霞博士的书评对读李向平教授的《信仰但不认同—当代中国信仰的社会学诠释》进行了“信仰社会学”的新视角解读。清华大学教授朱东华博士的“斯文谁复念公善”对桑德尔的《公共哲学》进行了评述。

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English Title:

The Challenges and Opportunities of Christianity in the 21st Century China

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人学、神学与国学
Humanities, Theology,
and Chinese National Studies

Models of Society: Faith, Forms and Political Imagination

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Abstract: This is a paper about the power that inspires poetry and life; human imagination. More specifically, it is about the role religion plays in stimulating and protecting this most precious personal and political gift. My thesis is simply this; imagination is a divinely – inspired human capacity for self – transcendence which is essential to human flourishing. Unless we dream, we die. Societies that suppress creative freedom and the exercise of individual or institutional, imagination cut themselves off from the deepest roots of human flourishing and are, as a result, ultimately self – destructive. Socio – political health is inseparable from individual health, harmony and happiness. Creativity creates and sustains just communities; imagination inspires greatness; frustration breeds dissent. Social tension should not surprise us, if creativity is suspect and imagination is absent. As captured by the poet WB Yeats, working without living leads to ‘raging in the dark’. Society without creativity is dull, lifeless, unimaginative, and most often unjust.

Key words: China, society, intellectual models, imagination

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Introduction

It is an immense pleasure and privilege to be invited to take part in this conversation. Thank you, Prof Zhuo and colleagues at CASS for making this possible. Like many, I am acutely aware of the new challenges facing China’s twenty – five year view of religion as a social good. So, where are we? And, perhaps more pertinently, what has gone wrong? I am delighted and honoured to have a chance to reflect with you on the way forward.

I begin with two quotations. The first from the Irish poet and playwright, WB Yeats (1865 – 1939), who in his poem ‘The Choice’ declares,

The intellect of man is forced to choose
Perfection of the life, or of the work,
And if it take the second must refuse
A heavenly mansion, raging in the dark

The second quotation is from Pope Benedict XVI, in a speech he gave to the German Parliament, the Bundestag, on 22 September this year, quoting the fifth century theologian St Augustine – the recent translation and publication of whose works in China make his magisterial thought so much more widely available – “Politics”, Benedict declared, “must be a striving for justice”; for, as Augustine pointed out in his inimitable way, “Without justice—what is the State but a great band of robbers?”

But this is not a paper about poetry, nor about justice directly (you may be glad to know!). It is a paper about the power that inspires poetry and life; human imagination. More specifically, it is about the role religion plays in stimulating and protecting this most precious personal and political gift. The title of my paper is, “*Models of Society: Faith, Forms and Political Imagination*”. My

thesis is simply this: imagination is a divinely – inspired human capacity for self – transcendence which is essential to human flourishing. Unless we dream, we die. Societies that suppress creative freedom and the exercise of individual or institutional, imagination cut themselves off from the deepest roots of human flourishing and are, as a result, ultimately self – destructive. Socio – political health is inseparable from individual health, harmony and happiness. Creativity creates and sustains just communities; imagination inspires greatness; frustration breeds dissent. Social tension should not surprise us, if creativity is suspect and imagination is absent. As captured by the poet WB Yeats, working without living leads to ‘raging in the dark’. Society without creativity is dull, lifeless, unimaginative, and most often unjust.

My paper is, then, an invitation to consider – a. what model of society best expresses China today? And, b. what model of society new China would aspire to reflect? China and Chinese culture, in all their vast richness and diversity, have always reflected an immense capacity for creativity, born of an open ear to heaven’s call and a will to live well. But will China’s future continue to reflect this? Will it be known and respected globally, in years to come as a *just, imaginative society*? If so, religion will necessarily have a central place. For, as Catholic theologian, Karl Rahner, argues, in the act of imaginative self – transcendence, there exist the contingencies for an encounter with all that is divine. The imaginative, ‘think big’. Indeed, we cannot imagine without God or neighbor. Divinity and altruism are essential elements in enlarging human vision and sustaining human creativity. If all I think about is me, *my* society, *my* wants, *my* needs, I cut myself off from creative, spiritual energy. My world shrinks. My society suffers. I cease to be at peace with God, self or others. The divinely – inspired capacity for self – transcendence creates and sustains dynamic, just, *imaginative societies*. We need little persuading, I hope, of the importance of imagination; after all, most famous inventions and achievements were the result of someone’s imagination. We perhaps do need reminding, as Albert Einstein once declared, “Imagination . . . is more important than knowledge. Knowledge is limited. Imagination encircles the world.”^① It is imagination, not knowledge, our world needs now and into the future, if we are to survive and thrive.

I. Tools for the task

I want to use two heuristic devices in this paper to unlock the complexities of religion and contemporary Chinese society. One is ‘imagination’, which we have touched on already and will return to later; the other is that of ‘models’, which I propose we look at now. Come back to the two – part invitation I issued earlier, which is at the heart of this paper; namely, a. what model of society best expresses China today? And, b. what model of society would new China aspire to reflect? Use your imagination to listen as I do to communicate.

Intellectuals are well – acquainted with the use of ‘models’ to describe all manner of forms and fields of enquiry. In addition to *physical* models (that generate in scale, substance or image another idea, entity or reality, i. e. scale models, biological models, model trains or aircrafts), *human* models (that promote, sell, embody or inspire artistically, i. e. heroes, nudes, celebrities, icons), and *abstract* or semantic models (that conceptualise, interpret, map, calculate, or give structural form to an idea, theory, or working hypothesis), we have become accustomed to the *applied* use of models in the development and teaching of business and macroeconomics, computers

^① Viereck, George Sylvester, “What life means to Einstein: an interview“. *The Saturday Evening Post* (October 26, 1929).

and graphics, statistics and mechanics, systems and theories. Hence ‘model’ is applied to the *related activities of business processes and molecular biology, scientific theory and social analysis, engineering and ecclesiology (the doctrine of the church)*. Years ago I was hugely impressed by the way the theologian, philosopher Cardinal Avery Dulles SJ (1918 – 2008), used ‘models’ to describe and interpret the Church and Revelation (see *Models of the Church*, 1974; *Models of Revelation*, 1985)^②. Here was a use of ‘model’ to encapsulate and expound mysteries and dogmas, theories and decrees. In his *Models of Revelation*, Dulles speaks of his quest to find an appropriate philosophical method to begin to speak of revelation that was free of theological circularity. He also speaks of “the value of models for theology”; particularly as a way of grouping what he calls “major constellations” of thought and thinkers, which share a certain “angle of approach that predetermined the answers to many particular questions”^③(p. viii). Others, of course, have used the category to expound the finer points of cosmology and philosophy over the years; Dulles uses an essentially scientific tool to interpret Christian tradition. He shows how a ‘model’ is, in reality, just a useful, malleable, heuristic device to explain, expound, describe and encapsulate in a succinct, often tangible or visual way, a set of data, another reality, or a new world of meaning. Through a judicious use of ‘models’ a presenter and receptor meet at depth on common ground at the very heart of an issue.

II. Models of society

It is natural we apply ‘models’ to understand society generally, and interpret China specifically today. We might do the same to Britain or America, of course, and could draw interesting parallels and contrasts. But our focus here is China, as we ask; a. what model of society best expresses China today? And, b. what model of society would new China aspire to reflect? One asks about the present, one the future. Put more sharply, we are also asking, what model best describes the way religion functions in contemporary Chinese society?

Applied to society generally, ‘models’ may direct us to summary accounts of different forms of government, or instruments of power, to distinctive visions of community or features of culture, to dominant economic theories and popular narratives of history or development. Hence, we speak, of ‘democratic’ or a ‘patriarchal’, societies, of ‘totalitarian regimes’ and ‘feudal theocracies’, of ‘Keynesian’ or ‘free – market capitalisms’, of ‘pre – or ‘post – modern’ communities, of ‘agrarian’, ‘industrialised’, and ‘post – colonial’ societies. The list is immense. Indeed, we may have to use more than one model to capture change or conflict, progress or retrenchment in any given situation. Societies change. I sensed when I lived on the edge of Washington DC in the late – 80s and early – 90s that I was witnessing the apogee of American imperialism; as a historian, it was fascinating. But the world has moved on. In the context of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the global economic crisis, the rise of Chindia, the new plausibility of post – secularism, the so – called Arab Spring and the renewed confidence in Turkey, new models must be used to describe many societies, be they British, American, French, German, Greek, Italian, Indian, Egyptian or Chinese. This is good and right. Few places are easy to encapsulate; certainly not China! Fine: models should never stultify or constrain, they should always liberate and energise. What interests me here is the impact application of a model has on a society’s identity or self – un-

② Avery Dulles SJ, *Models of the Church* (Doubleday, 1974) *Models of Revelation* (Doubleday, 1985)

③ Dulles, *Models of Revelation*, viii

derstanding; indeed, we may wonder, who has the right to apply or own, a model for a particular society. I might want to imagine Britain is still a Christian country, but members of the British Humanist or Secular Societies will disagree. India may claim to be an industrialised Super – Power, but 500 million, impoverished Dalits will dissent. America may still claim to be Number One; but China, among others, will surely question their claim. ‘Models of society’ are negotiated as much as applied; they are challenged as often as they are accepted. We may say to friends, ‘China’s view of Communism has changed’; but overseas critics and Party Members may say, no. ‘Models’ have a way of clarifying identity, of challenging, and refining self – understanding. It is not enough for a government or an individual to proclaim a particular self – perception or international position: identity is negotiated, ‘models’ are tested, self – definition accountable, behavior significant. We are what we do.

Come back to our key questions – a. what model of society best expresses China today? And, b. what model of society would new China aspire to reflect? And, again, what model best describes the way religion functions in contemporary Chinese society? Our problem in answering any of these is, now, as we have begun to see, not only that they are inherently complicated questions *per se*: the answers we give to them are essentially contestable. ‘Models’ offer opportunities for understanding and dialogue; they do not remove the need for thought. ‘Models’ propose ways of seeing things; they have no power to determine ultimate reality. So behind our questions lies lurking the bigger issue of, who defines what and why and for whom in society? Put another way, what right does any individual, or institution, have to determine a model for a society? – Does the outsider, the insider, the friend, the critic, the government, or the people have the right? In numeric terms, we might ask, how many people are needed for a model to be deemed accurate, or determinative? As we know from flawed Western democracies, numbers of votes and an electoral mandate are not the same.

Political discourse always struggles when it confuses aspiration with achievement, intention with reality. As the Conservative government in the UK has discovered, to *commend* ‘Big Society’ thinking (i. e. that individuals and communities should understand they have a civic responsibility locally to effects things nationally) is *not to create* ‘Big Society’ attitudes. As we all know well, talk of the ‘Harmonious Society’ in China does not create – and certainly has not created! – a ‘Harmonious Society’. Aspiration is not the same as attainment. *But* ‘models of society’ begin to function differently when they arise *from within* a community, and are not imposed *from outside*. As I know from my wife’s African child – hood, Kenya wasn’t liberated on the day the British colonial mandate ended. It was truly free on the day Kenyan’s themselves took charge of their destiny: that took years. China will only be a ‘Harmonious Society’ when the majority of Chinese will and work for it. The imposition of a model *from above* does not effect the reality *from within* or *from below*: people must value and own the vision.

So, the issue isn’t simply, who determines the dominant model of, or for, a society (in China’s case, who decides what constitutes the ‘Harmonious Society’?), but how is that model realized and sustained? In terms of this conference, the issue is, what role does religion have in helping or hindering the development and promulgation of that social vision? Put differently, what model best describes the way religion does, will and should function, in Chinese society? As we have seen, the imposition of a model from above, or outside, will have little effect, unless the model, the vision – the soul of it, we might say – is owned by the populace at large.

I have taken some time on this issue of ‘Models of Society’ because it is important both *methodologically* (understanding how models function) and *strategically* (preparing the way for a clearer account of the role of religion in contemporary Chinese society). Except we grasp the way ‘models’

function we will miss the risk and opportunity their usage present.

III. Weber and ways of thinking about Chinese society

In this next section, I want to look briefly at Max Weber (1864 – 1920), who knew and wrote a lot about societies, and has profoundly influenced the way new China understands itself; not least for the way his second major study, in his magisterial series on religions and societies (so tragically cut short by his early death), *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (1915; adapted 1920)^④, questions Confucianism's capitalist capability and commends the creative energies of Western Christendom.

Weber's seminal study, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904)^⑤ boldly conjoins two models of society and in the process creates a third. First, he encapsulates Protestant morals and social theory as simply 'The Protestant Ethic'; ignoring the inherent diversity and habitual dispute characteristic of much historic Protestantism! He then coins the term 'the Spirit of Capitalism', as if all know the meaning and power of capitalism. He then proposes in the title of his book, a third inevitable, commendable, dynamic, "elective affinity" between aesthetic Protestantism and spirited capitalism. It is a thesis as attractive to its adherents as it is implausible to its critics, for whom *either* Protestantism *or* Capitalism are highly suspect social philosophies!

We all know, though, how influential Weber's translated works have been in modern China. The architects of China's social or religious, policies have, however, been as guilty as Weber, for either co-opting his thought to their agenda, or inserting his model of society into theirs as the best way of understanding and shaping contemporary China's attitude towards Christianity. In light of what we have seen in the previous section, this is not the way societies work. We now know that when 'models of society' are imposed on society they turn from liberating ideals to enforced – but ultimately unenforceable – dogma. We do Weber a disservice if we think he would be happy with this; far from it. It is crucial we recognize that, though we may question Weber's analysis, that is all it was, analysis; and so to him fallible and susceptible of criticism and correction. He claimed no more. To turn Weber into a necessary dogma about religion and society is a simplistic error. His was an exercise in social and political imagination, borne of thought and a will to explain; not a desire to dominate or determine. What's more, if he has indeed inspired China's social vision, and admission of religion, he should also be permitted to vindicate the value of imagination for a society. As he makes clear in his 1897 essay, "Objectivity" in Social Science', both sociology generally, and cultural analysis in particular, depend on the exercise of imaginative subjectivity in a way the natural sciences do not; as he wrote,

There is no absolutely "objective" scientific analysis of culture... All knowledge of cultural reality... is always knowledge from particular points of view. ... An "objective" analysis of cultural events, which proceeds according to the thesis that the ideal of science is the reduction of empirical reality to "laws," is meaningless... The knowledge of social laws is not knowledge of social reality but is rather one of the various aids used by our minds for attaining this end. ^⑥

In other words, Weber saw a necessary connection between social analysis and human creativity; to separate them was to engage in either bad sociology or bad government. He aspired to neither, and nor should we.

④ Max Weber, *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (1915; adapted 1920; ET 1951)

⑤ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904; ET 1930)

⑥ Max Weber, *Sociological Writings*, Excerpts

But there is more to be said about Max Weber. For, if he is generally useful for illustrating how ‘models of society’ do and do not function, he is particularly useful for the light he sheds on the changing profile of religion in a postmodern, post – secular world. I was struck the other day, at a conference in Bangalore on religion in the contemporary Indian ‘public square’, by the abiding value accorded Weber’s thought. One paper in particular drew heavily on Max Stackhouse’s contemporary re – evaluation of Weber in a 2010 article, ‘Max Weber: A Modern – Day Globalization Guru?’^⑦ To Stackhouse, Weber’s value continues to lie in the connection he established between forms of religion and types of culture or society. Following Weber, Stackhouse argues, if Protestantism produced capitalism, contemporary Christianity (with its holistic world – view and attention to universals) inspires globalization. To Stackhouse, this (seemingly simplistic) theme “remains among the most promising lines of enquiry in a world in which the idea that secularization is the inevitable result of modernization seems quite senile.” In other words, Weber’s bold ‘model’ that connected Protestantism and capitalism has spawned another that now connects Christianity and globalization. What’s more, the truth of this new model has, to Stackhouse, been proven by its exposé of the myth that modernity is necessarily antithetical to spirituality. No, argue Weber and Stackhouse, modern, and post – modern societies can be, and often are, deeply and abidingly religious.

In drawing on Weber for inspiration, the framers of China’s religious policy may have underestimated the degree to which human spirituality is both a necessary and a good part of dynamic, globalised cultures. For, if, Christianity is inherently – because theologically – global (the body of Christ is always and indivisibly one), Chinese Christianity will always find here both intellectual and spiritual resources to survive secular criticism and to thrive as a dynamic participant in a globalised world. For, as Weber and Stackhouse make clear, Christianity belongs to that larger global reality in which spirituality and society naturally co – inhere. What Stackhouse calls the “systemic amnesia about these motifs” is striking; as he points out, “It means that we are driving with few mental maps as to where we came from, where we are going and how we are going to where we want to be.”^⑧ That is no way to run a responsible, let alone an *imaginative* society in a new, globalised world.

IV. Political imagination and the gift of religion

We spoke earlier of imagination and return to it now in this brief, final section. However we describe it, imagination is one the most remarkable of humanity’s capacities. Studied by psychologists and literary critics, philosophers and theologians, artists and advertisers, imagination is our capacity to form mental images from words, feelings from sound, new ideas from almost anything; as Edward Casey begins his 1976 monograph *Imagining: A Phenomenological Study*^⑨, quoting the philosopher Bertrand Russell, “Imagination, not slavery to fact, is the source of whatever is good in human life.”^⑩ We are not speaking of something peripheral to human life and the political process. We are speaking of that which arises from and directs us to, their very heart and soul. For, imagination gives us sight, sound, sense and experience to terrify and delight, inspire and dread. It

^⑦ Max Stackhouse, ‘Max Weber: A Modern – Day Globalization Guru?’ (Part V), www.theglobalist.com, April 08, 2010, accessed October 29, 2011

^⑧ Max Stackhouse, ‘Max Weber: A Modern – Day Globalization Guru?’

^⑨ Edward Casey, *Imagining: A Phenomenological Study* (Indiana UP, 1976)

^⑩ *Ibid*, viii

gives substance to words, meaning to experience, purpose to action and hope to the dying. It turns words on a page into a story we inhabit, a play on stage to a life we live. Scholars disagree about how words shape worlds: we cannot doubt they do, like instruments music, lips smiles and eyes tears.

Applied to politics and society imagination can, we have begun to see, exert immense power. In Max Weber's imaginative mind Protestantism turns from a socio – theological act of personal faith into socio – economic form of corporate, moral behaviour. In his later lecture, *Politics as a Vocation* (1919) he goes further and proposes a bold, moral vision for the worthy leader, in which ethical 'conviction' (*Gesinnungsethik*) and personal 'responsibility' (*Verantwortungsethik*) are the ideal – typical forms of value and of instrumentally – rational action. Nicholas Gane, in his monograph *Max Weber and Postmodern Theory* (2002)^①, helpfully connects this later aspect of Weber's thought with the theme of this paper as a whole and of this final section in particular. For, Gane argues, when Weber wrote of 'the politics of vocation' he was addressing the widespread disenchantment with life he saw around him in the midst of war. As Weber famously declared, "The fate of our times is characterised by rationalisation and intellectualisation and, above all, by the 'disenchantment of the world.'"^② This is, Gane maintains, "the closest Weber comes to formulation of a concept of human virtue."^③(p78) Its root is essentially religious; for enchantment is the divine gift of faith imagination inspires. Hence, Weber's virtuous leader, who faces widespread social disenchantment, and is not himself disenchanted, is exercising faith. Seen in this light, political imagination is the glorious, necessary, virtuous, faith – filled gift a leader, thinker, or community exercises when they transcend the immediate with a new vision of life. This did not mean to Weber that politicians should aspire to be saints; it did mean they should be good. Many have criticized Weber for placing an impossible burden on the leader. Not Karl Jaspers, who defends him, "If Max Weber's demands were excessive, the human situation was to blame, not his lack of realism."^④ Part of the abiding power of Weber is this extraordinary capacity to look at the world as both an intellectual idealist and a pragmatic realist. His imagination, surely, enabled this rather unique combination.

But, we may ask, where is this virtuous re – envisioning of life most often to be found? Not in communities disenchanted by rationalization (and rationalism!), defeated by death, fearful of life and dreading war. Nor, surely, in communities that have lost the will or capacity to imagine another way of being and another style of life. It is in individuals and communities attuned to the potentiality of humanity to transcend themselves in a creative act of God – given imagination who are most likely to inspire hope, vision, new possibilities and an end to injustice. For faith is antithetical to deterministic materialism. It resists easy conformism by encouraging a spirit that soars. It sees political forms as provisional realities and physical means as limited and limiting ends. Welsh scholar, Raymond Williams (1921 – 1988), classic Marxist study, *Culture and Society; 1780 – 1950* (1958)^⑤ may have helpfully illuminated the complex ways economic reality shapes the imagination, and laid the foundations for cultural studies and cultural materialism, but his work pre – dates the new recognition that religion and modernity can creatively coexist. Imagination may be stimulated by loss and gain, money and poverty, freedom and injustice. But to impose one socio – economic model upon

① Nicholas Gane, *Max Weber and Postmodern Theory* (Palgrave, 2002)

② q. Basit Bilal Koshul, *The postmodern significance of Max Weber's legacy : disenchanting disenchantment* (Macmillan, 2005) , 11

③ Gane, 78

④ q. Stackhouse, 'Max Weber: A Modern – Day Globalization Guru?'

⑤ Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society ; 1780 – 1950* (Columbia UP, 1983; first publ. 1958)

its origin is akin to snatching at smoke or predicting the wind. Imagination is in so many ways the most humble and most exalted act a human can perform; for when we imagine, we admit we are not the only reality inhabiting the world, nor the least powerful, for we can transcend it in our mind and re – imagine it in our dreams and creeds and prayers.

Conclusion

In this paper we have looked at imagination as the divinely given capacity for an individual, institution or community to think outside the immediate in an act of self – transcending creativity. When harnessed to the desire for self – fulfillment, or self – improvement, the imagination can be an immensely powerful tool. Applied to society, social imagination is one of the most important creative devices humans possess. To say of a society that it is *imaginative* is to give it high praise indeed. But imagination, like creativity, comes at a price. Creativity, like imagination, is compromised if all that is considered is what’s good for me. Egocentrism may be pleasant in the short – term; it is ultimately destructive long – term. Similarly, though altruism may be costly short – term it is essentially self – propagating long – term. Imagination runs out of steam, when I am both the subject and the object of my dreams; it continues indefinitely if its attention is directed to others. So my self – fulfillment and my self – improvement can only be ultimately realised if they are the fruit of a negotiated social contract. Applying Kant’s core ethical test of repeatability to my behaviour in society, the acquisitive society is necessarily implosive and self – destructive, the altruistic society is creative and sustainable, and the *imaginative* society full of both humility and self – confidence.

Which brings us back to Weber: we do Weber (like Tawney) a further disservice if we see him as proclaiming, or describing a selfish, capitalist society; far from it. What makes his vision of society so revolutionary and compelling is that he envisaged the possibility of a society which balanced self – fulfillment with altruistic social development. As long as the Chinese social programme separates the true drivers of altruism from the need for socio – economic development, social tension and destructive greed will prevail. For, it is religion that most often envisions and empowers an altruistic view of life. To love one’s neighbour as oneself is unnatural; it is supernatural. It remains unattained and unattainable without the sense of accountability that flows from prior love for God.

So, what of our models of society for China today? Surely, the model that we should most energetically pursue is a genuinely communitarian view of society, in which self matters as much as neighbour, and neighbour matters as much as me. This model is most aptly termed ‘reciprocal’, or ‘respectful’. Such a society is only achieved when the leadership itself models the behaviour it expects of others. The imposition of altruism, like the enforcement of philanthropy or legislation of generosity is as impossible as it is vain. It is the humility born of piety which is the breeding ground of a leadership that can engender such a society. For great leaders have first great souls and humble spirits, before they have expansive visions and devoted followers. And they will be passionate about that greatest act of human imagination, justice; for justice imagines a society in which each individual is accorded a protected space for dreaming and developing, sowing and reaping, loving and enjoying life. In contrast, an unimaginative society is repressive and fearful, protectionist and petty. No wonder Catholic Christendom echoes still with Augustine’s wonderful warning, “Without justice—what is the State but a great band of robbers?”

中文题目:

社会模式:信仰、形式和政治想像

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提要: 本文探讨刺激诗歌与生命的力量,即人类的想像。更具体地说,它关于宗教在刺激和保护这个最珍贵的个人性与政治性礼物时所扮演的角色。我的论点非常简单:想像是人类的一种为了自我超越的神圣性灵感能力,对于人类的繁荣来说它是根本性的。如果我们没有梦想,我们就会死亡。压制创造性自由和个人及团体想像之实践的社会,将会从人类繁荣的最根本之处切断自己而最终将会毁灭自己。社会-政治的健康不可能与个人的健康、和谐与幸福想分离。创造性将能创造和支撑公义的社团;想像能刺激卓越;虚度光阴将制造纷争。如果没有创造性和想像的话,社会冲突将会毫无疑问地出现。正如诗人叶慈所说,没有生活的工作将会“发生在黑暗中”。没有创造性的社会是愚蠢的、没有生命的、缺乏想像的和最不公正的。

关键词: 中国、社会、知识模式、想像

Chinese Cultural Resources in Building a Harmonious World

—A Review of Exploratory Contributions by Chinese Senior Scholars

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Abstract: In consideration of the importance and urgency of interreligious dialogues, the academic world over the past decades has been putting an increasing focus on eastern and western traditions of religious culture, so as to explore historical experiences and intellectual resources helpful for promoting interreligious dialogue, to resolve conflicts between civilizations, and to build a harmonious world. This essay covers the relevant theoretical explorations made by the older generation of leading Chinese scholars and is roughly divided into three parts: 1. a new understanding of the characteristics of the history of Chinese religious culture; 2. a brief summary of the fine traditions of Chinese religious culture; 3. the intellectual resources provided by the Chinese cultural tradition in promoting interreligious dialogue, resolving conflicts between civilizations, and building a harmonious world.

Key words: interreligious dialogue, a harmonious world, the tradition of Chinese religious culture, the intellectual resources of Chinese culture.

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I . Introduction: Interreligious Dialogue and World Peace

Over the past few decades, ‘interreligious dialogue’ has become a hot topic and a frontier field in international religious academic circle. Hans Küng, who is the chief drafter of *Declaration Toward a Global Ethic*, emphasizes many times that without peace among religions, there could be no peace among nations, countries or cultures; without dialogue among religions, there could be no peace among religions; without religious studies, there could be no dialogue among religions. His argument is actually a “syllogism that explains the importance of interreligious dialogues”. According to its inference, interreligious dialogue is so important that it concerns not only peace among religions, but also peace among countries and cultures. At the end of 1980s, many people held the view that Hans Küng’s syllogism had overestimated the importance of interreligious dialogue. However, 20 years later, with the growth of the problems and phenomena of religions after the Cold War, and the obvious impact of religious elements or background to the conflicts among nations, countries and cultures, the importance of interreligious dialogue has become a common conviction among global politicians, religious leaders and scholars of religious studies.

Paul F. Knitter, the well-known American theologian, hits the nail on the head in terms of the urgency of interreligious dialogue. He argues that, in the development of geographical – political events (conflicts?), fear causes anger, anger causes violence, and that this is becoming more and more the case in some nations and countries. For many people, Samuel Huntington’s view has been verified, and the conflicts among civilizations have become more and more serious. What is even more worrying and threatening is that the conflicts among religions have added to the brimming pot of hatred. Terrorists and Imperialists defend their evil deeds by means of religious beliefs. They call others “evil”, while at the same time considering themselves to be “good”. It is actually a religious declaration, which means, “God is with me, so let me punish you.” In this way, religion has been

used as a tool to abet the spread of conflicts among civilizations, and this is part of the reason why religion has become a global problem. However, religious belief could and should help promote dialogue and cooperation among civilizations, for all religious people would achieve a consensus if they stood by the teachings of the founders and the classics of their religions: religious faith must promote world – peace, rather than turning fostering thoughts of violence. ①

Because of the importance and urgency of interreligious dialogue, academic circles at home and abroad have more and more emphasized the religious cultural traditions of both east and west in order to find the historical experiences and thought sources that help to promote religious dialogue, resolve the civilizational conflicts and establish a harmonious society. This essay is an elucidation of the relevant theoretical inquiries of the scholars of the older generation, and falls into roughly three parts. First is a reconsideration of the historical characters of Chinese religious cultures. Second is a summary of the tradition of Chinese religious culture. Third, Chinese traditional culture can supply the conceptual resources for promoting interreligious dialogue, resolving civilizational conflicts and creating a harmonious world.

II . The Historical Character (Characteristics?) of Chinese Religious Cultures

If we want to argue that Chinese religious cultural traditions can help to promote religious dialogue, resolve civilization conflicts and build a harmonious world, we must know the historical characters of Chinese religious cultures. However, ever since the cultural encounter between the east and the west end of Ming Dynasty and the beginning of Qing Dynasty, the question of how to interpret Chinese religious traditions and their character has always been a tough problem.

Ninian Smart, the well – known scholar of comparative religious studies, introduces Chinese religions this way: “The westerners always feel confused about the religions in China... from the point of view of our westerners, Chinese religion is indeed a hodgepodge.” ② What is more, scholars like Hans Küng claim that, “scholars in the west once inferred that there was no religious life in ancient Chinese society.” ③ Why is it the case? We can find some thought – provoking clues in C. K. Yang’s *Religion in Chinese Society*. The “introduction” of this book contains a section – “some points of view concerning the characters of the religions in Chinese society,” in which Yang mentions that the missionaries who first came to China found something that is completely different from Christianity – that religious belief for the Chinese is superstitious belief. From that time on, this view began to prevail in the western world. The other important reason is that Confucian ethics have determined the social value system for most of Chinese history, functioning as the religious ethics as Christianity does in the west. Therefore, there were no religious organizations, nor any long – time conflicts between the government and the church. For this reason, western scholars who study Chinese culture hold the view that the Confucian tradition is secular in terms of value systems and agnostic in terms of religious thought. This is actually a negation of the role that religion plays in Chinese society. Influenced by the view of western scholars, Chinese scholars in modern times developed the view point that “Chinese society is non – religious”. For instance, Liang Qichao doubted “whether we could write a history of Chinese religion”; Hushi believed that “China is a country

① See Paul F. Knitter, *Introducing Theologies of Religions*, “To the Chinese Reader”, trans. Wangzhicheng, (Beijing: Remmin University Publishing House), 2 – 3.

② Ninian Smart, *World Religion*, 2nd edition, trans. Gaoshining etc. , (Peking University Publishing House, 2004), 113.

③ Hans Küng, *Spurensuche Die weltreligionen auf dem weg*, trans. Yang Xusheng, (Beijing: Sanlian Publishing House 2007), 129.

without religion, and China is a nation that doesn't have the superstitious beliefs of religion"; Chen Duansheng held the view that "Chinese [culture? Civilization?] is non-religious. China doesn't have a great religion...".^④ The reason that I mention the above academic background is to emphasize the value of the following research.

In order to eliminate the negative influence of "western viewpoints" on Chinese religious studies, Prof. Lou Yulie has mentioned ten features of Chinese religious tradition in many conferences and lectures recently.

First, in Chinese history, the authority of god has never exceeded that of the emperor. The view that "all the lands belong to the emperor, and all the people live on these lands belong to the emperor" has always been the dominant standpoint ever since the Shang and Zhou dynasties. Therefore, the authority of god has been always subordinate to that of the emperor. While in the European Middle Ages, which lasted for a thousand years, it was just the opposite.

Second, there has never been a "belief in one god" in Chinese history; instead, there has always been a "belief in many gods". Although there are all kinds of names that designate the superior god, like as "Di", "God", "Heaven" and "the One", they are do not by any means imply exclusive claims to belief or. Therefore, there is no command that "you can only believe in this god rather than that god". The people always burn incense whenever they see a temple, and bow down on their knees whenever they see a statue of a god. It is completely different from the western Christianity, where "the worship of God alone is allowed."

Third, worship of ancestors. The gods in China were always ancestors. For example, "Di" and "God" on oracle bones mainly mean "the ancestors of the primitive tribes", namely, the heroes that had once made great contributions to the tribes. People believed that when these ancestors died, they would bless their posterity. This is in fact a kind of worship of heroes, or of the sages. However, in the Zhou dynasty, this point of view began to change. These gods of the ancestors or the sages never blessed their posterity blindly; rather, they blessed them according to whether they were virtuous or not. For example, the thought that "Heaven is just, and only blesses people who are virtuous" first came into existence in the Zhou dynasty; in the Spring and Autumn (Chunqiu) period, there was the concept that "what Heaven sees is actually what the people see, what Heaven hears is actually what the people hear"; "the people are the masters of the gods". In this way, beginning with the Western Zhou (Xi Zhou), the tradition of "people-oriented humanism" gradually developed.

Fourth, people don't obey the authority of the gods, for don't believe the gods have absolute right; rather, they handle the relationship between god and the people as they deal with interpersonal relationship. Confucius says, "if you cannot handle secular affairs, how can you deal with the affairs concerning gods?" He also says, "in order to help people lead a good life, we should teach them to respect the gods, but never attempt to go near to the gods. This is what we call wise." Liang Qichao once pointed out that the religions in the west can be called "the religion of the divine logos", while the religions in China can be called "the religion of the human logos", which means, in Chinese culture, that the emphasis on the personal relationships overrides the relationship of human beings and the gods.

Fifth, Chinese religious belief is characterized by its worldliness and utilitarianism, while a sense of transcendent divinity is what it lacks. Just as the case in *Tan Jing*, "Buddha Dharma is right in the secular world, so one doesn't need to look for it beyond the world. It is as silly as loo-

^④ Yang Qingkun, *Religions in the Chinese Society—A Research of the Social Function and the Historical Elements of Chinese Society*, trans. Fan Lizhu, (Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2007), 21-24.

king for the horns of the rabbit as to search for the Buddha Dharma outside the world.” Prof. Fei Xiaotong stakes out the position that the Chinese have very practical attitudes towards ghosts and gods. We worship them in order to ask for timely wind and rain for raising crops, and to escape from disasters. Our sacrifices and worship are like offering a bribe to somebody. Ghosts and gods for us are rights, powers instead of ideals; sources of financial resources instead of justice.

Sixth, Chinese religious beliefs are more rational rather than emotional. Ever since the beginning of modern times, some people have argued that Buddhism is religion, some hold that it is philosophy, some say it is both religion and philosophy, while there are still others who maintain that it is neither religion nor philosophy, but rather a kind of method – Buddha Dharma. The reason why people have argued over this so much is that there are many rational elements in Buddhism. From another perspective, Buddhism is a kind of “religion without gods”, for it rejected the view that “God creates the world” with its theory of “Yuan Qi” and “Ye Bao”. It suggests that we look for the ultimate reason from within things, which is “self do, self have”.

Seventh, Chinese religious belief emphasizes “the inner transcendence of the self”. Chinese culture that is directed by Confucian thought is a kind of “culture of cultivating morality”, namely, cultivating oneself, transcending oneself by means of “Xiushen”. Under these circumstances, Chan School, the largest sect of Chinese Buddhism, has completely developed the humanism of the self – freeing of Buddhism, which emphasizes thinking through your own problems and knowing yourself completely; getting to know that the nature of all human beings is Buddha makes a Buddha. It is the aspect of Chinese religion that emphasizes the ethical cultivation of body and soul. Daoism takes Dao as its base, which respects nature and advocates natural inaction. In the final analysis, it is to respect the nature of human beings and to develop spontaneous activity as completely as possible.

Eighth, Chinese religion lacks an intense missionary spirit. It largely relates to Chinese traditional culture. Confucianism is a typical example. As it is said in *Liji*, “people come from all around to learn Li, rather than the Li being spread actively by the teacher.” It is “Jiang Ziya went fishing – freedom is always for volunteers.” Buddhism and Daoism are also the non – missionary. Buddhism doesn’t force someone to believe. Buddha helps the person who has “Yuan” with him. How could western missionaries have this attitude? The missionary work of western religions is aggressive, while the Chinese religions are conservative.

Ninth, the emperor and the government in Chinese history were tolerant about religions, and they allowed all kinds of religions to co – exist. The authority of the emperor always held the leading position, so it adopted a tolerant attitude that reconciled and used all kinds of religions, which let these religions compete with each other, and fostered the consolidation of the power of the emperor and the government. This allowed all religions to communicate frequently in teachings activities and in ceremonies. These religions assimilated to each other among themselves, while at the same time keeping their independence.

Tenth, China is a country with many religions, so China has many problems concerning ethnic religions. Ethnic religions have something in common with the religions mentioned above, but they are also different. For example, Buddhism coming from Xizang and from Southern China is different from that from the Han areas. The former two have combined with the local ethnic culture, and they even become the symbol of their ethnic culture.^⑤

Scholars in domestic academic circles all know that Prof. Mou Zhongjian has devoted his life to the history of Chinese religions studies, and that he completed a great work of nearly a million words – *The History of Chinese Religions* (two volumes, 2000). In the last chapter of this book, Prof.

⑤ The above summary is in “religious studies in search of local cultural tradition”, in *Chinese religions* (vol. 11, 2008).

Mou summarizes five characteristics of Chinese religions. They are, first, the continuing existence and development of an original religion; second, the authority of the emperor always overruling that of religions; third, diversity and inclusiveness; fourth, humanization and secularization; fifth, the connection and disconnection of the three structures. We can draw these conclusions if we compare Prof. Mou's 5 points and Prof. Lou's 10 points.

First, the two persons share consensus at many points. Point 2 of Prof. Mou is what Prof. Lou emphasizes in point 1, "it never occurred in Chinese history that the authority of god exceeded that of the emperor," in other words, "the authority of the emperor always overrules the authority of religion." However, this consensus is more clearly expressed in the following aspect:

Second, points 1, 3, 4 of Prof. Mou are more general than those of Prof. Lou. For example, with regard to point 1, Prof. Mou pointed out that, in accordance with the age-old patriarchal society, the original religions, namely, the worship of nature, of ghosts and gods, and of ancestors have been kept intact, and have developed and strengthened, in contrast to what happened in Greece, Egypt, Persia and India, where their original religions were gradually replaced by creation religions. In this way, the worship of Heaven, god, and ancestors has been combined with the authority of the emperor, which together formed the religion of patriarchal society. This explanation not only contains points 2 and 3 of Prof. Lou, but also helps us to understand its historical reasons. When it comes to point 3, "diversity and inconclusiveness", Prof. Mou emphasizes the diverse-unity structure of Chinese traditional culture, the philosophy of Confucianism, the view of "accommodating divergent views" and the tolerant circumstances of Chinese society. This concept thus includes points 2, 9, 10 of Prof. Lou. What's more, "humanization and secularization", point 4 of Prof. Mou, includes points 4, 5, 6, and their main points are almost the same as well, referring to the ethics, secularity, utilitarianism, humanity and rationality that the Chinese cultural tradition exhibits.

Third, although these two scholars share different viewpoints, they both have profound insights, which can help us use their views as references to help us understand the overall characteristics and the complexity of the tradition of Chinese religions. For example: what Prof. Lou pointed out in 7, 8, namely, "Chinese religions emphasize inner transcendence" and "Chinese religious traditions don't have an intense missionary intent". Another example: Prof. Mou states in point 5, that the beliefs of the Chinese are mostly constituted of "official belief", "scholar belief" and "folk belief". The three kinds of belief are consistent with each other, but relatively independent, and even do not have much relationship with each other. Therefore, we cannot summarize the characteristics of the beliefs of Chinese people with a simple judgment.

Hans Küng keenly pointed out that "the China as the western scholars who do research in Chinese cultures see it" and "the China that the Chinese see it" are totally different. ©With what has been discussed above, we can draw the conclusion that views of the cultural tradition of Chinese religions are also totally different, for "the former Chinese scholars" and "the Chinese scholars nowadays". Now it's time to see how senior scholars summarize the fine tradition of Chinese religious culture based on contemporary research.

© Hans Küng, *Spurensuche Die weltreligionen auf dem weg*, trans. Yang Xusheng, (Shanghai Sanlian Publishing House 2007), 129.

III. The Fine Tradition of Chinese Religious Culture

Based on a long – time of research on the history of Chinese religions, Prof. Mou summarizes the tradition of Chinese religious culture in 5 points.

(1) One of the remarkable historical features of Chinese religious culture is diversity – unity, namely, diversity and harmony, or, difference within harmony.

China is a large country with multiple ethnic groups, religions and beliefs, but these three kinds of multiplicities by no means put China into a situation of division and hostility. Instead, all the ethnic groups are becoming more and more harmonious despite their differences; their beliefs are becoming more rational with communication, and different religions become more abundant in interaction. ⑦

First of all, China is a multi – ethnic country with fifty – six ethnic groups. Various ethnic groups in China live in peace with each other and constitute the Chinese nation together. As a community of oriental ancient culture, the Chinese nation has great cultural cohesion. China has also been a unified country for two thousand years and is still in the process of renewal, which makes it unique in the world.

Secondly, China is a multi – belief country. It not only has Confucianism which is characterized by humanism and rationality, but also numerous religious beliefs characterized with Shinto] worship. Philosophy, religion, and literature mingle with each other, making Chinese philosophy possess an element of religious sanctity and mystique, and also some strong humanism and rationality at the same time. Therefore, neither strong tendencies toward excommunicaton nor zealous religious fanaticism have ever appeared in the Chinese history.

Thirdly, China is a multi – religion country. Throughout its history, there have been a national religion that worshiped Heaven, ancestors and the state; Daoism that occurred and developed in inland China; religions from outside of the country like Buddhism, Christianity and Muslim, and formerly even Judaism, Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism. China is like a “religious garden”, where religions from native religions to world religions can co – exist in peace. There never has been major bloodshed among religions in Chinese history, nor were there cruel and long – lasting wars like those that took place in western history.

(2) Another remarkable feature of Chinese religious culture is that it paid great attention to doing good in order to accumulate merit, teaching the people morality, and eliminating evil at the source. This is the chief spiritual purpose of Chinese religion.

For instance, Buddhism teaches mercy, “the deep and broad mercies of all people”, namely, to have mercy on all living beings. Influenced by the thought of “respecting the Dao and Virtue” and “Paying back hatred with virtue” of *Laozi*, Daoism placed great upon emphasis the key function of morality and virtue in practicing the Dao. There were conflicts among Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism in the Northern and Southern Dynasties periods. In the end they reached a consensus that though they are different, they are one in terms of teaching human beings to do good. These “three religions” are actually three ways of teaching human beings to be moral. Therefore, the essence of traditional Chinese religions is to cultivate public morality. This kind of moral tradition also had great impact on Muslim and Christianity (including Protestantism) in China, making the moral character of their teachings more prominent.

⑦ Mou Yhongjian, “Inherit and Carry forward the Fine Tradition of Chinese Religious Culture”, in *Exploring Religion*, (Beijing: Religious Culture Publishing House, 2008), 86 – 87.

In China, all kinds of religions could survive and develop only by virtue of their good moral reputation. Religious denominations that preach vendetta and panderism are seen as evil cults, thus can by no means be welcomed in broad daylight. Therefore, Chinese religion, with such a profound moral tradition could help to purchase more moral force instead of producing extremism.

(3) The third feature of Chinese religious culture is that it is good at combining loving religion with loving one's country.

China became a vassal of western imperial powers after the Opium War, and suffered a lot from western colonialism. Imperialist Japan invaded China, confronting the Chinese with the danger of losing their own country and race. In the war for the independence and liberty of our nation, almost all the personages from all different kinds of religions who loved the country joined actively in the social movements that defended their own country. Buddhism teaches that "benefiting all the living beings, making the world we live solemn". During the War of Resistance against Japan, Grand Master Hongyi appealed to the society that "you should never forget to save the country even when you are praying to Buddha." He called forth all the monks to resist the Japanese invasion. Chen Yingning, the Daoist master, advocated the spirituality of Daoism, saying that "one believes in Daoism in order to preserve oneself; one promotes Daoism in order to save the nation." Muslims in China established the "Muslim Association for saving the country". Muslim scholar Hu Songshan proclaimed that "Muslims are responsible for the rise and fall of the country". Muslim hero Ma Benzhai organized the "Muslim Group", and vowed to "ask for the blood back for the sake of our country and our people".

In China, the love for one's religion must be combined with the love for one's country. A religious believer who doesn't love one's country cannot live in this society. The religious believers that helped the imperialists invade China were condemned by the people... At the same time, the mainstream of the religious circle in China is not constituted by the narrow nationalists. What the believers struggled for were the revival of the country and the equality of all ethnic groups. What they fought against were the oppression of the weak by the strong, and the ugly deeds of the evil against the good. They wish to get along well with all religions and ethnic groups all over the world, resolve hatred, fight against war, and defend the peace of the world.

(4) Chinese religious culture also has the fine tradition of advancing with the times, of being ready to innovate.

For example, Buddhism has been innovating in its theory ever since it was introduced to China, ending up with Chanzong, which bears Chinese characteristics, and "Buddhism in the World" that established in the modern times. Another example, from "Waidandao's theory of the immortality of the body" to "Neidandao's double exercises of nature and life", from "the new theory of the Spirituality of Daoism" to "Daoism in life", Daoism has been writing its history with consistent innovation. Islam combined with Chinese culture, bringing innovation in both teachings and ceremonies, especially diluting the idea of "the Divine War", and emphasizing the spirit of peace and mercy. Catholics and Protestants both faced the problem of localization. At the end of Ming Dynasty and the beginning of Qing Dynasty, Jesuits respected propriety and Confucianism in China, which received praise from the Chinese, while Dominicans and Francis attempted to use the authority of the Pope to forbid religious ceremonies in China, naturally ended up with being expelled by the Chinese. In the Republic of China, there was "a movement of non-Christianity". Christianity made an effort to establish "the Chinese Church", which aimed "on the one hand, to ask for Chinese Christians to take up their responsibility, on the other hand, to make good use of the grand tradition of eastern culture, to eliminate the belittled name of Yangjiao [foreign teaching] given to Christianity." The patriotic movement of the "Three Spontaneities" since the 1950s, and the theology established since the 1990s are expressions of consistent innovation as well.

(5) It is also one of the good traditions of Chinese religious culture to stress the importance of one's humanity and cultural qualities so as to make more contributions to social and cultural prosperity.

For example, Buddhism and Daoism, with their broad and rich cultural systems, have been exerting extensive and far-reaching influence over Chinese philosophy, Chinese morality, Chinese literature, Chinese

arts, and Chinese folklore, as well as China's science and technology and exchanges between China and other countries, thus becoming constituent parts of Chinese superior culture. In terms of philosophy, Buddhist wisdom in experience-based enlightenment and the Taoist doctrine of life and character have their distinctive features and both have played supporting roles in the enrichment and development of such aspects of Chinese philosophy as cosmology, ontology, mind-nature theory, life theory, epistemology, personal accomplishments and dialectics. Among the three theoretical peaks in the history of Chinese philosophy, including the wisdom of Zen Buddhism, Neo-Confucianism and the Internal Dan of Taoism, two were related to Buddhism and Taoism, while Neo-Confucianism that thrived in the Song Dynasty and the Ming Dynasty was reinvigorated by absorbing nourishment from Buddhism and Taoism. In terms of morality, traditional moral values advanced by Confucianism have been supplemented and enriched by the doctrines of the three retributions, moral living and five commandments and later ten commandments, which belong to Buddhism, and by quietness and passivity, redemption from bitterness, and severe treatment of self to benefit others, which belong to Taoism. ⑧

Mr. Mou's ideas, summed up above, have never been his only, but are shared by the older generation of Chinese scholars. Mr. Fang Tianli, when discussing the important roles religion plays in the construction of a harmonious society, briefly summarizes the superior traditions of Chinese religions in the following four points:

(1) Tolerance among different religions. As shown in religious history, different religions, in spite of their conflicts, have a tendency to be reconciled with each other. For instance, Buddhism and Taoism were reconciled after a period of conflict, and Taoism has long been reconciled with folk religions. Different beliefs between different Chinese religions have never caused long-term conflicts, or even caused religious wars. On the contrary, different religions enjoy their own proper places while getting along well with each other.

(2) Loving and benefiting others. For instance, Buddhism holds ideas of equality, mercy, tolerance and generosity, and Taoism holds ideas of equal mercifulness and goodwill between different kinds, and Christianity and Islam hold ideas of love, mercy, charity and public benefit, and all these ideas are conducive to harmonious relationships between one and others and between individuals and society.

(3) Attachment of the state and the church. It has been shown both in history and reality that Chinese religions favor the unity of attachment to the state and attachment to the church, leading to a positive maintenance of national sovereignty, national independence, national honor and national fundamental interests. For instance, Buddhism holds ideas of sovereign land with people enjoying happiness, and Taoism holds ideas of searching for the way of saving the country by spreading Taoism, while Islamism holds that every Muslim has a share in the responsibility for the fate of his country. All these ideas reflect a noble patriotism and flinty protection of the country among Chinese religions.

(4) Treatment of nature with care. Chinese religions generally acknowledge that the universe is a whole and man and nature form a whole, too. For instance, the doctrine of Conditioning Cause and coexistence in Buddhism holds that man and nature coexist, complementary to each other, according to various causes and conditions. Taoism considers heaven, earth and man as a whole. They all pay much respect to nature, advocating good treatment of all natural things and a harmonious coexistence of man and nature. ⑨

In a comparison between the summaries made by Mr. Mou and those made by Mr. Fang, two impressions are left. On the one hand, it is obvious that the former three points, among five points summarized by Mr. Mou and four points summarized by Mr. Fang, on the superior traditions of Chinese religions, together with their supporting arguments, are in substantial agreement, which may be synthesized into three superior traditions, including advocating of all-embracing, attention to morality and ethics, and solid attachment of

⑧ In the concluding part of his *Panorama of Chinese Religions*, Mr. Mou presents a comprehensive review on the historical contributions Chinese religions have made to Chinese culture and society, the details of which may be seen in the section "on the historical functions of Chinese religions", Chapter 13.

⑨ The details of the 4 points mentioned above may be seen in Fang, Litian, "The Construction of Harmonious Society and the Function of Religion", in *Chinese Religion* (No. 7, 2005).

the state and the church to each other. On the other hand, the last three points made by both Mr. Mou and Mr. Fang, though expressed from different angles, are complementary to each other, and all are conducive to a more complete elaboration of the superior traditions of Chinese religions in the future. As for the theoretical value and practical significance of this study, Mr. Mou explains as follows:

When looking back and observing the journey of Chinese religious culture in the light of crossing different cultures and from the standpoint of comparative religious studies, we will find some traces and characteristics of Chinese religious culture that are quite different from those of western religious culture, with the traditions of Chinese religious culture standing out as valuable in many respects. Especially in the world nowadays when national religious conflicts are getting more and more violent, and the antagonism between the United States with the background of Christianity and the Arabian countries with the background of Islam are getting more bitter, the superior traditions of Chinese religious culture show still more obviously its distinctive values and strong points, of which we can be proud, and which we are required to cherish as our inheritance and transmit, and it is important to do so, both for promoting the stability and prosperity of Chinese society and for promoting the world's peace and development. ⑩

IV. Ideological Resources of the Chinese Cultural Tradition

Based on the above two sections, our train of research should go deeper to explore the inner relationship between the outstanding characteristics and superior traditions of Chinese religions, as discussed in previous sections, and ideological resources of the Chinese cultural tradition. Why should it be explored? Because religion, as Mr. Lou Yulie points out, "is an important social cultural phenomenon. Religion, as an important part of culture, covers its values, thought patterns, ways of life and religious customs, while being closely related to overall cultural ideas and concepts. Therefore, studies of a religious culture, whether national, regional or historical, cannot be made without the whole cultural environment it depends upon, otherwise its cultural characteristics would never be precisely revealed." ⑪ This opinion is applicable not only in studying the characteristics of Chinese religious culture, but also in understanding the cultural traditions of Chinese religions. So, only by exploring the ideological resources Chinese religious culture depends upon, putting Chinese religious culture into the whole of Chinese culture, can we arrive at a thorough understanding of the reasons why Chinese religious culture possesses the outstanding characteristics and superior traditions summarized above.

It is generally acknowledged in Chinese academic circles that the Chinese cultural tradition mainly embraces three ideological headstreams, namely, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Mr. Fang Litian has made a concise description of this as follows. Chinese traditional culture, under the unique Chinese geographical conditions and historical background, mainly consists of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism as three supporting pillars. Their essential thoughts are alike, all paying attention to humanistic values, but their connotations are remarkably different, presenting different branches of each cultural tradition. According to Mr. Fang, in order to advance the superior traditions of Chinese culture, the most urgent of all necessary tasks is to advance Chinese traditional philosophy, mainly the superior traditions of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. History indicates that the superior traditions of the three philosophies, with widespread and enduring influence, have long been nurturing and permeating the spiritual world of the Chinese people and, as an intrinsic force to promote social harmony and national development, have been playing a positive

⑩ Mou, Zhongjian. *An Exploration in Religion*. (Beijing: The Religious Culture Press, 2008), 86.

⑪ Lou, Yulie. "An Exploration in Religious Study Theories in conformity with the Native Cultural Traditions". in *Chinese Religions* (No. 11, 2008).

role in promoting social progress and encouraging national advance. ^⑫This advocacy of the importance of carrying forward the traditional ideological resources of Chinese philosophy is in high affinity to the background of Chinese culture, learning and ideology. Mr. Fung Yu – Lan pointed out that “the place philosophy occupies in Chinese civilization is always as important as that which religion occupies in many other civilizations.” ^⑬Here, let us make some appraisals of how the older generation of Chinese scholars elucidated the philosophical ideological resources of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, by focusing on key theoretical issues and practical questions.

Can the Chinese cultural tradition make new contributions to the coexistence of civilizations? That is the question Mr. Tang Yijie has been thinking about for his refutation of the theory of civilizational conflict. In his essay “Conflicts between Civilizations and Coexistence of Civilizations”, Mr. Tang focuses on the positive ideological resources provided by the philosophical ideas of Confucianism and Taoism. The following are some essential points.

1. Some positive ideological resources provided by Confucian humanity

It is said in *The Bamboo Slip from the Guodian Chu Tombs* that “Dao comes from feelings.” Here Dao indicates humanity, that is, principles in human relations and social relations. Human relations begin to be built up from feelings, and that is the starting point of Confucian Humanity. According to Confucius, to be humane is to love people. Where does humanity come from? Confucius said, “humanity means loving people, among whom family and relatives are the foremost.” Loving one’s family and relatives is the essential feeling that naturally exists in human beings. What is more, loving people goes even further. In Confucian Humanity, loving one’s family and relatives expands into loving all people. That is to say, the feeling of loving one’s own people expands into a larger sense of loving all people.

It is not an easy job to expand loving one’s own people into loving all people. In order to love all people, being honest and considerate is the essential code. One should “treat others in the same way as one would like to be treated”, and “if one wishes to stand firm, one should help others stand firm, too, and if one wishes to be successful, one should make others successful, too.” When humanity is spread into society, it is what Confucius said about “controlling oneself and regaining order”. Zhu Xi, later, gave a further explanation: “to control is to fight against, and one covers his own private desires; to regain is to return, and order includes the laws of nature and universal morals.” That is to say, one should get over one’s own private desires and conduct oneself in conformity with grace and propriety. Fei Xiaotong pointed out that “only by controlling oneself can order be regained, and controlling oneself and regaining order is one of the essential requirements for one to step into society as a social being. One of the key differences between eastern culture and western culture perhaps lies in controlling oneself in the east and indulging oneself in the west.”

Humanity is man’s inner morality, and order includes grace and propriety that normalize people’s conduct. “It is better to normalize people’s conduct by peaceful means.” So people normalize their conduct from spontaneity and consciousness, and from a heart of loving people. As Confucius said, loving people is one’s own free choice, and humanity can never be reached by external forces. With a conscious pursuit for humanity, hearts of loving people may be expected to be formed in accordance with grace and propriety in the whole society, which is sure to be harmonious and peaceful. “Once self is controlled and order regained, the world returns to humanity.”

These Confucian thoughts are hardly of less significance for the rulers of a country and for the ruling elite of developed countries in today’s world (especially for the United States). It is through

^⑫ See Fang, Litian. “To Carry Forward the superior traditions of Chinese culture”, in *The People’s Daily* (Feb. 4, 2005), 15.

^⑬ Fung Yu – Lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, Edited by Derk Bodde, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1976), 1.

“benevolent governance” and “kingly ways”, instead of “tyrannical ways”, that a country is well governed and the world is made peaceful. Different cultures may coexist and develop together where benevolent governance or kingly ways prevail. If tyrannical ways prevail, conflicts between civilizations will arise, and cultures are apt to go in one direction so as to breed cultural hegemony. If Confucian humanity theories are applied to dealing with relations between different civilizations, no conflicts or even wars will be aroused between them, and their coexistence will be realized. ⑭

2. Some positive ideological resources provided by Taoism

In *Daodejing* by Lao Zi, Tao there is a basic concept, with natural inaction as its fundamental characteristics, which is said in Wang Chong's *Lunheng* to be a universal truth.

Natural inaction advocated by Lao Zi may be understood as follows: never do anything against people's will, and social tranquility and world peace will result. Lao Zi quoted ancient sages: “If I am in natural inaction, people will be naturally humanized; If I am in tranquility, people's conduct will be naturally normalized; If I make no disturbances, people will naturally get rich; If I have no desire, people will be naturally modest.” That is to say, rulers of a country should not interfere much with people (should be in inaction), should not disturb people's normal life (should be in tranquility), should not do anything against people's will (should make no disturbances), and should not greedily exploit people (should have no desire), so that people will humanize themselves, normalize their conduct on their own, get rich by their own efforts, and prefer a modest way of life.

In today's interpretation of the above passage, natural inaction has significance not only for a country's internal peace but also for removing conflicts between different civilizations. Further interpretations of the above passage may be added as follows. The more a country interferes in other countries' affairs, the more disorderly the world will be. If big countries or powerful countries are apt to use force or threaten to use force, the world will get more and more turbulent and disorderly. If big countries or powerful countries plunder small countries or weak countries in the name of assisting them, small countries or weak countries will become poorer and poorer. If developed countries contend, from an ever-increasing desire, for the wealth and the reign of the world, it will become a terrible world destitute of morality. I think, therefore, that “natural inaction” may be a good remedy for the leaders of the new empire. If they accept that idea, the world will achieve peace and tranquility. ⑮

3. Some positive ideological resources provided by Chinese Buddhist philosophical ideas

In modern society and in the course of the world's modernization, has Chinese Buddhist philosophy certain values? If it has, what are they in modern terms? That is the question Mr. Fang Litian answers in the conclusion of his magnificent book *The Essence of Chinese Buddhist Philosophy*. Therein, Mr. Fang first investigates the “fundamental characteristics and fundamental contradictions of human society”, and then, having an eye on the developing [or, trends of development] trends in the 21st century, he explains some basic ideas of Chinese Buddhist philosophy, such as “conditioning cause”, “cause and effect”, “equality”, “mercy”, “harmony”, etc. And finally, in view of the three basic contradictions in contemporary human society—contradictions between man and ego, between man and his fellow men, between man and nature, he elucidates the modern meanings, one by one, of Chinese Buddhist philosophy. Among them, what is dis-

⑭ Tang Yijie. “Conflicts between civilizations and coexistence of civilizations”. Academic Mie — — — Selected Essays from Journal of Peking University to Celebrating Its 50th Anniversary of Publication (Volum for Arts and Humanities). Cheng Yuzui, Long Xietao ed. (The Peking University Press, 2005), 518.

⑮ *Ibid.*, 583 – 584.

cussed in the second part, under the title of “harmonizing the contradiction between man and his fellow men so as to maintain world peace”, is closely related to what we are discussing now.

Mr. Fang discusses those relations among human beings, including multiple relations between man and his fellow men, between man and society, between man and his nation, between man and his country. Judging from this view, there are two big problems in today’s world: one is disturbances and conflicts in some parts of the world, caused by such factors as national conflicts, religious conflicts, territorial disputes, contentions for resources and interests, from which some local people in those troubled areas are suffering; meanwhile nontraditional security problems such as terrorism become more and more serious. The other is the ever – widening gap between the rich north and the poor south of the world, owing to which quite a number of people are living in poverty.

With the two problems mentioned above, peaceful coexistence stands out. The two world wars in the 20th century slaughtered millions upon millions of people, and if world wars are repeat in the 21st century, the whole of mankind will possibly be doomed. In order to avoid wars, the causes of war must be rooted out. One of the causes of war is ignorance of the truth that human beings must coexist, rely on each other and be self – interested while altruistic. Also ignored are communication and reconciliation, and respect for other lives. The Buddhist concept of equality stresses equality between all human beings, who are all equal in nature, in personality, in dignity. Equality means respect and peace, and peace comes from a deep understanding of equality between one and others, and only based on equality can peace be real and enduring. Therefore, the Buddhist idea of mutual respect is conducive to human coexistence, and to their common pursuit of a pure land on earth. In addition, such theories as “mercy saving the world”, “the five commandments” and “the ten commandments”, all put “no killing” at the first place, prominently revealing Buddhist noble qualities in respecting life and respecting other fellows. And the Buddhist idea of mercy incarnates sympathy and affection with other fellows, far above war and showing care for peace. Since Master Taixu initiated humanistic Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism has been paying attention to world peace, longing for world peace, and appealing for world peace. It may well be said that to maintain world peace has become one of the utmost Buddha Dharma for contemporary Buddhism to carry forward, and Buddhism has been playing a unique and irreplaceable role in promoting world peace.

The wide gap between the rich north and the poor south and the poverty some people live in do not only concern the existence of disadvantaged groups and toiling masses, but also become root causes of social disorder, and constitute a direct threat to regional or even world peace. Buddhist ideas of equality and mercy provide direction for the solution to those questions. Buddhism has always been attaching importance to mercy saving the world, so as to relieve people’s pain and make people happy. It is an important Buddhist practice to show generosity, giving welfare to others from a mind full of compassion, providing others with money, goods, strength and wisdom, and thus making others happy and wise. Nowadays, Buddhists on both sides of the Taiwan Strait are making great efforts to promote Buddha’s comprehensive kindness and mercy to relieve all living creatures from suffering while seeking no comfort for oneself, and they are emphasizing philanthropy by helping the poor, providing medical care, supporting Hope Projects, converting delinquents and criminals, so that the beneficiaries are not only adequately provided for, but also promoted in their human qualities.

The significance of Chinese Buddhist philosophy in modern times lies in the fact that its important principles have been well elucidated and their functions have begun to be highlighted with originality. If the philosophical thought of Chinese Buddhism is applied to relieving human social contradictions, it is sure to be conducive to the promotion of people’s humane qualities, to the alleviation of people’s present sufferings, to the meeting of people’s new demands, and even more, to the fa-

cilitation of the peaceful coexistence and common development of the world community (or, human society, depending on your meaning). ⑥

4. The Essential Philosophical Spirit of the Chinese Cultural Tradition

In the previous passages, the important practical significance of the ideological resources provided by Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism have been reviewed. The Chinese cultural tradition, which is a blend of the three ideological streams, is obviously an organic whole. What, then, is the philosophical essence of the whole Chinese cultural tradition? What kind of important ideological resources may this philosophical essence provide for the promotion of religious dialogue, for the reconciliation of conflicts between civilizations, and for the construction of a harmonious world? Those two questions may well be considered the frontier subjects Chinese scholars have been exploring since China's opening and reform, especially in the past dozen years. Among major academic achievements, those theoretical explorations made by the older generation of Chinese scholars, whose knowledge expands to cover both the East and the West, are the most notable ones.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Mr. Ji Xianlin summed up the essence of Chinese traditional culture in one sentence: it is the unity of heaven and man, and it is harmony. Nowadays, most Chinese scholars stress the idea of harmony when dealing with the philosophical essence of the Chinese cultural tradition, and explain harmony by Confucius's term "to reach a state merging while retaining differences". But this term alone is not adequate, though we understand the idea of harmony through it as a main concept. It should be raised to one of the basic categories of the Chinese philosophical tradition so as to reveal the wisdom it contains. Let us look at some understandings and interpretations offered in this category by Fung Yu-lan and Zhang Dainian, the two founders of the discipline of the history of Chinese philosophy.

Confrontation is not only conflict, but also often the contrary of conflict, namely, harmony. Harmony is not sameness, and those in harmony with each other are not necessarily similar to each other. Harmony is not unity, either. Those in harmony with each other, though forming a unity because of their relationship with each other, reflect another relation outside the unity. Harmony consists of four aspects: the first is difference, that is to say, the condition of never being absolutely the same; the second is avoidance of mutual destruction, that is to say, no negation of each other; the third is complementation, that is to say, supporting each other; the fourth is a balance maintained between each other. ⑦

That is Mr. Zhang Dainian's definition of harmony, which is raised to the level of a philosophical concept and understood as one of the basic concepts of dialectics. So is Mr. Fung Yu-lan's training of thought. His *New Version of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (in 7 volumes), completed at the age of 95, concluded with the demonstration of the historical clarification[?] of the idea of Supreme Harmony (Taihe). He points out that Zhang Zai, a philosopher in the Song Dynasty, summarized the laws of dialectics in a few sentences: "a phenomenon must have two opposite sides, which must go in opposite directions. When they are opposite to each other, they must hate each other and fight against each other. As a result, their mutual hatred and fighting must tend to be harmonized and dissolved." ("Supreme Harmony", *Discovery of Veiled Truths*) Harmonization is an important category in Zhang Zai's philosophical system, and he says at the beginning of *Discovery of Veiled Truths*: "Supreme harmony is the wisdom of Dao, where there are factors conceived to be op-

⑥ Fang, Tianli. *The Essences of Chinese Buddhist Philosophy*. Vol. 2. (Beijing: The Renmin University of China Press, 2002), 1218-1219.

⑦ Zhang Dainian. "Philosophy Thinking - - - One of Five Lectures on Unity of Heaven and Man". *The Complete Writing of Zhang Dainian*. Vol. 3. (The Hebei Province Press, 1996), 35.

posite to each other, such as ascending and descending, floating and sinking, motion and inaction, and wherein arise antipathies, conflicts, fights, victories and defeats, shrinking and expanding.” So what is to be harmonized is full of contradictions and conflicts, rather than the contrary. “Factors opposite to each other, such as ascending and descending, floating and sinking, motion and inaction,” are contradictions, while “antipathies, conflicts, fights, victories and defeats, shrinking and expanding” are struggles. Therefore, according to Zhang Zai, a normal state of society is a state of harmonizing contradictions, and so is the normal state of the universe. This state is called “Supreme Harmony”. Mr. Fung goes on, with a deeper understanding, to the following conclusion:

In classical Chinese philosophy, “harmonization” is different from “sameness”. “Sameness” cannot tolerate “differences”, while “harmonization” tolerates “differences”, and cannot be called what it is without “differences” to be harmonized.

It is an objective dialectics that “hatred must be harmonized and dissolved”. No matter how people may wish it to be otherwise, modern society, especially the international community, has been developing in accordance with this objective dialectics.

Modern history has been developing in the direction of harmonization of hatred, but the progress of the development of history is usually circuitous, taking as much time as necessary, sometime even centuries……Human beings are the most wise and rational of all creatures, and they will never take the road of “keeping hatred to the end”. So, harmonization represents the future of both the Chinese philosophical tradition and philosophy worldwide. ⑩

The above perceptions of Mr. Fung and Mr. Zhang not only represent the identification of the basic philosophical essence of Chinese cultural traditions to be found among Chinese scholars, but also find echoes among learned scholars in other countries. For instance, Hans Küng, advocate of religious dialogue and global ethics, when introducing Chinese religious cultural traditions to a western television audience, said that in the whole tradition of Chinese philosophy, a consistent trend is the seeking for a harmony between heaven and earth. Even up to now, the Chinese people are still seeking for the harmony between heaven and earth, between man and nature, between mortal and immortal, between oneself and society. He calls this tradition of Chinese philosophy the “great harmony”, and believes that it does not only have great significance for China’s future, but also will make a great contribution to the construction of world ethnics. ⑪

As for the prospect of the development of human society and world culture, Mr. Fei Xiaotong has a wise saying: “one appreciates one’s own beauty and appreciates others’ beauty, too, and a mutual appreciation of each other’s beauty leads to a universal harmony in the world. Can this “harmonious spirit”, full of “appreciations”, provide “Chinese experience with ancient wisdom” for promoting religious dialogue, dissolving conflicts between civilizations, and building up a harmonious world? My answer is Yes.

⑩ The above overview and quotations are seen in Fung Yu - lan. *New Version of The History of Chinese Philosophy*. Chapter 81, Vol. 7; See also Fung Yu - la. *The History of Chinese Modern Philosophy*. The Guangdong People’s Press, 1999. pp. 251 - 254.

⑪ Refer to Hans Küng; *Spurensuche Die weltreligionen auf dem weg Hans Küng*, Chinese version, Beijing; SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2007, p. 180.

中文题目：

共建和谐世界的中国文化资源——中国前辈学者探索成果评述

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提要:鉴于宗教对话的重要性和紧迫性,国内外学术界近十几年来越来越注重反思东西方宗教文化传统,以发掘有助于促进宗教对话、化解文明冲突、共建和谐世界的历史经验和思想资源。本文所评论的是中国老一代著名学者所做的相关理论探索,主要包括三部分内容:一是,关于中国宗教文化历史特点的重新认识;二是,关于中国宗教文化优良传统的概括总结;三是,中国文化传统可为促进宗教对话、化解文明冲突、共建和谐世界提供的思想资源。

关键词:宗教对话、和谐世界、中国宗教文化传统、中国文化的思想资源

实践神学与中西教会和社会
Practical Theology and Sino – Western
Views on Church and Society

电子媒介、大学生活与基督教传播

—以 Z 大校内“基督教传播方式”为对象的调查分析^①

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提要:本文对湖北省 Z 大学的 800 名学生(本科生、硕士生语博士生)进行了问卷调查,通过数据分析,旨在研究电子媒介对大学生基督徒在当下的影响及其二者之间的关系。研究表明,对于当下的大学生而言,电子媒介现已成为认识基督教、皈依基督教与传播基督教的主要工具与管道。文章最后还谈到了高校当局管理基督徒学生时所遇到的问题。

关键词:本科生、基督徒、电子媒介、传播

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基督教在中国大陆高校的传播,是近十余年来一个颇为重要、敏感的社会话题。自本世纪初以来,一些学者已经开始了较为细致、全面的研究,并取得了较为丰硕的成果。就目前的研究状况看,一般以三类成果为主。其一是信教^②情况的调研分析,主要是宏观、全面的调研报告,集中调研某地、某大学一地信教学生的生活、学习与心理状况,进而综合分析,得出结论;其二是比较性的论述,譬如比较某省信教大学生与信教群众的心理状态、比较某大学十年前与当下信教大学生人数的变化等等;其三则是宏观性的论证,与前两者相比,这类论证一般从理论出发,较少实证、调研的一手资料,而是关注于对既成事实的“合法性”论证。三种研究成果,各有千秋,均丰富了目前国内这一领域的研究体系。

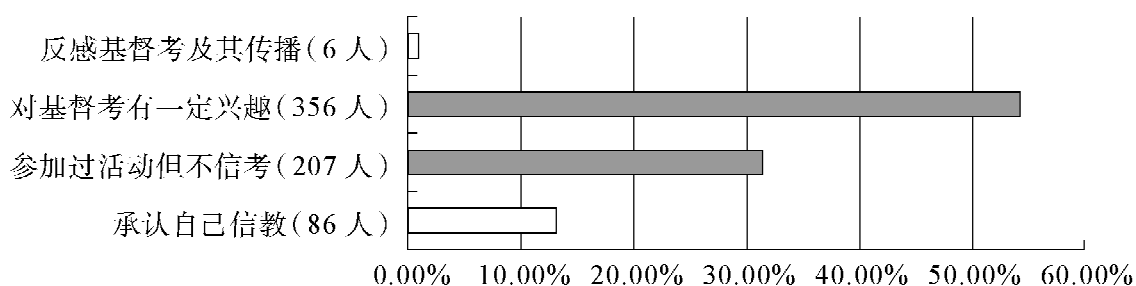
笔者通过对目前现有相关成果的阅读分析,认为当下高校校园的传教方式是一个颇为重要但一直被忽略的课题。之所以这样认为,原因也有三:首先,对大学校内基督教传播的研究归根结底是一项宗教社会学研究,其研究方式一般是社会学的调研、分析,较少涉及到其他学科的研究方法,但事关“传教”方式的调研,则涉及到传播学领域的研究,笔者在本文中则尝试着将传播学的研究方式加入到社会学/宗教学的个案实证、调查、报告及分析当中;其次,就目前而言,全世界人与人的传播方式发生了翻天覆地的变化,无线网络、3G 手机与个人通讯终端的普及,以及博客、微博与“点对点”私人交友网站(如 Facebook、豆瓣网、开心网与人人网等等)的广泛应用,使得人际关系更加便捷化、复杂化;最后,据统计,因为大学生是有知识、对新生事物敏感的特定青年群体,因此近年来大学生中基督徒的数

^① 本文获得首届“中芬天使学术论文奖”二等奖。This article has received the Second Prize of Sino - Finn Academic Essay Prize in 2011.

^② 因本文是以高校中“信仰基督教”的大学生为对象的调研,除了特殊说明之外,“信教”、“传教”一概为“信仰/传播基督教”的简称——笔者注。

量呈直线上升的趋势,实际上这与近十年来基督教传播方式的与时俱进亦息息相关。在对先前一些学者科研成果和经验的吸取之上,在2011年1月,笔者选取了湖北省武汉市某综合类大学Z大校内在校大学生(含硕士生、博士生)为调研对象,调研分析了他们的识教(接触基督教、了解基督教)、入教(参加教会活动)、传教(传播基督教)三者与电子媒介的关系,力图审理作为新通讯手段(或工具)的电子媒介对当下大学生信教的影响。

本调研只针对Z大各培养阶层在读的学生进行随机抽样,共发放匿名问卷800份,回收有效问卷654份,占总问卷量的81.75%,在统计学上具备真实有效性;从对基督教的态度看,其中承认自己“信基督教”者有86人,占被调研总人数的13.15%;“参加过基督教活动但不信教”者有207人,占被调研总人数的31.56%;认为自己“对基督教有一定兴趣”者有356人,占被调研总人数的54.43%;“反感基督教及其传播”者仅有6人,占被调研总人数的0.86%(见图一)。

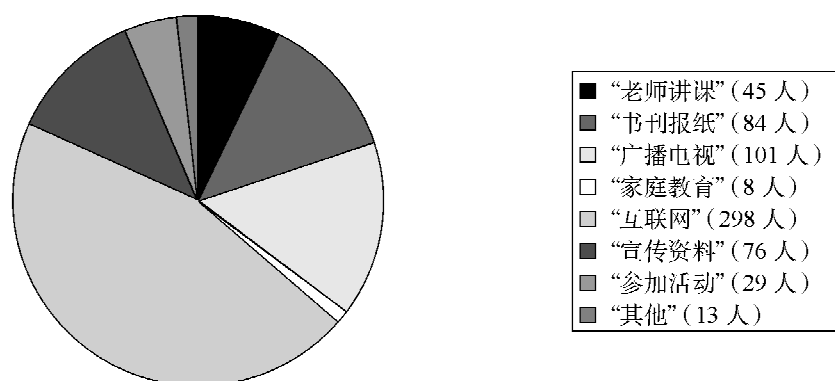


(图一)

从性别上看,在有效问卷中女生384人,男生270人,女生与男生的人数比为1.42:1;从生源来看,农村生源493人,城镇生源161人,农村生源占调研对象的75.38%;从学历上看,本专科生(含网络、成教与自考)523人,硕士生125人,博士生6人,本专科人数占调研对象的79.97%;从民族构成看,汉族学生631人,少数民族学生23人,汉族学生占调研对象的96.48%;从所学专业看,理工农医类324人,文史哲艺类205人,政管经法类115人;从年龄上看,年龄最大者28岁,最小者17岁,平均年龄24.32岁。上述比例基本上与目前国内一般高校基本相当,因此在社会学上具备统计调研的意义。

一、如何认识基督教:互联网成为最大途径

在调研问卷中,笔者设置的第一个问题是:你最早从哪里较为全面地了解到基督教的?有八个选项备选,每一个被调研者只能选择其中之一。八个选项分别是:老师讲课、书刊报纸、广播电视、家庭教育、互联网、宣传资料、参加活动、朋友介绍与其他。其中,选择“老师讲课”的有45人,占到被调研总人数的6.88%;选择“书刊报纸”的有84人,占到被调研总人数的12.84%;选择“广播电视”的有101人,占到被调研人数的15.44%;选择“家庭教育”的有8人,占到被调研人数的1.22%;选择“互联网”的有298人,占到被调研人数的45.57%;选择“宣传资料”的有76人,占到被调研总人数的11.62%;选择“参加活动”有29人,占到被调研总人数的4.43%;“其他”仅有13人,占到被调研人数的2.00%。(见图二)



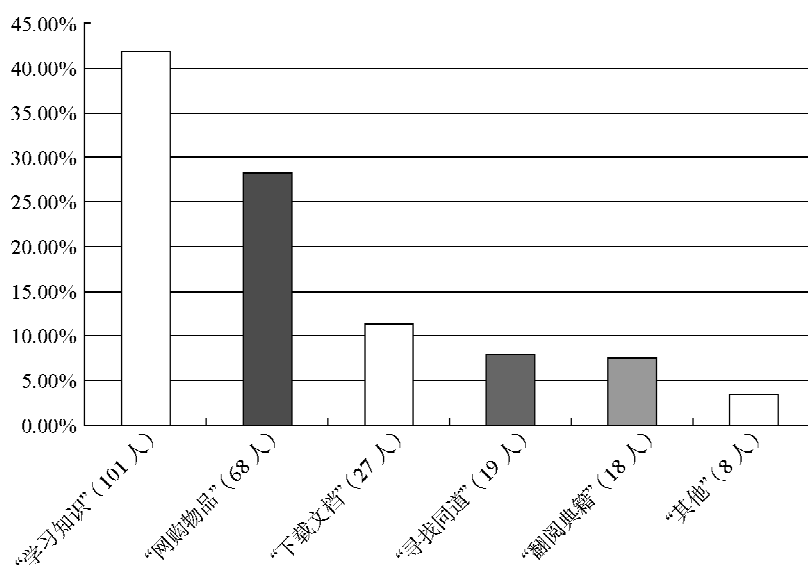
(图二)

通过对一般性大学生的广义性分析得知,他们对于“基督教”的了解,相对多数是来自于“互联网”,其次是“广播电视”,随着近些年宽带、3G等互联网通讯技术的普及,亦成为了这些学生获悉基督教知识的主要因素。笔者同时观察到,在“信仰基督教”的86人中,有78人在上述问题上选择了“互联网”,占到了所有信教学生的90.70%,通过这类数据对比我们也发现,“互联网”是他们中绝大多数踏上信教之路的第一站。在这些学生中,有一部分有可能是主动通过“搜索引擎”有针对性地进行主动地搜索,也可能是在浏览其他网页时,看到一些与基督教有关的广告,而“被动性”地获得相关信息,譬如在Google网站上就长期会有一些关于基督教宣传的广告,当然,也有一些大学生会被动地收到一些群发的电子邮件,这些种种原因使得当下的青年大学生成为了基督教在虚拟世界的“被传播对象”。

“我现在对于基督教只是比较喜欢,有时候会参加一些他们(信教大学生)的活动。”L同学,大二,男,来自于江苏南通,目前不是基督徒。作为选择“互联网”的受访者之一,在回访中如是说,“在上大学之前,我对基督教是抵触的,认为书上说它是‘精神麻醉剂’,但是我有一个隔壁宿舍的老乡信(基督教),所以我也跟着他参加了几次聚会,也都是唱诗、祈祷之类,我只属于他们说的‘慕道友’,但觉得还是蛮有意思的,然后我就上网,上一些基督教的网站,看看他们究竟是怎么回事”。另一位基督徒S同学,女,来自于四川达州某县,大三,亦是选择“互联网”的受访者。“刚上大二的时候,我四级没过,党校推优也没希望,奖学金与助学贷款也拿不下来,真是什么都不顺,我爸妈当时在我们村里属于比较早信耶稣的,当时我也想是不是信耶稣后就会好点,然后我就上网查了一些资料,觉得信耶稣肯定比不信耶稣要好,正好我一个耍得好的老乡也信(耶稣),然后我和她们一起参加过两次做见证,去年底我也受洗了”。互联网的广泛应用,使得基督教在当代世界里有了新的传播范式。一系列基督教网站的出现,音频文件、视频文件的免费下载,让基督教真正地实现了解域化、无阻碍的传播。从当下互联网的使用看,互联网传播可以通过两种方式实现,一种是个人电脑(PC),一种是移动电话(Mobile phone),两者统称为“个人通讯终端”,随着近些年通讯技术尤其是3G技术的进展,多个通讯网已经合并,现在两者均依靠国际因特网传播信息。

作为“海量的数据库”,互联网在信息容纳的层面上,有着其他媒介不能替代的作用。基督教作为西方文明的一种宗教反映,本身具备较为丰富的思想内涵与文化内容,它既适合作为一种整体进行传播,亦适合被拆分为多种元素传播,譬如在“中国基督教网站”(http://www.ccctspm.org/)上就提供了“圣经下载”这一免费服务,而在“基督徒生活网”(http://www.cclw.net/)就有“主内资源”这一分类,可以免费下载电脑屏保、Flash、桌面壁纸甚至诗歌乐谱等多种资源。无论是否信奉基督教,只要感兴趣,都可以获得这些免费资源,显然这对于本身对新生事物好奇的青年人诱惑很大。无疑,之于基督教的传播,这亦是一个非常重要的渠道。

笔者又对 298 位选择“互联网”的受访者进行了问卷回访,回收有效问卷 241 份,有效问卷率为 80.87%,具备社会学的统计价值。在第二次问卷回访中,笔者提到的第一个问题是:通过互联网,你获得与基督教相关的哪种信息最多?答案有六个:一是翻阅《圣经》及相关经典典籍(下文与下表简称“翻阅典籍”);二是下载壁纸音乐或 Flash 等声画文档(简称“下载文档”);三是学习基督教的历史、文化背景及其发展现状等理论知识(简称“学习知识”);四是寻找与自己同信仰的兄弟姐妹(简称“寻找同道”);五是网购与基督教有关的生活用品(简称“网购用品”);六是其他。选择“学习知识”的有 101 人,占样本总量的 41.91%,居于第一;选择“网购用品”的有 68 人,占样本总量的 28.22%,居于第二;选择“下载文档”的有 27 人,占样本总量的 11.20%;居于第三;选择“寻找同道”的有 19 人,占样本总量的 7.88%,居于第四;选择“翻阅典籍”的有 18 人,占样本总量的 7.47%,居于第五;最后仅有 8 人选择其他,占样本总量的 3.32%。(见图三)



(图三)

“我比较喜欢网购一些与神有关的礼品”。G 同学,女,大二学生,来自湖南株洲的她是一位刚刚受洗的基督徒,“虽然这样并不能真正地荣耀神,但毕竟很多时候我们的身份在学校里是不方便被直接公开的。而且,这样做也可以让更多的人认识神”。“搜索一些与基督教有关的知识,我觉得蛮有味”。F 同学,男,研究生一年级,来自湖北荆州,“虽然我不信教,但是知识多学些总没有坏处,因为我女朋友信教,我觉得多了解一些以后和她在一起也有共同语言。我现在没事就喜欢去‘旷野呼声’灌灌水,那里有很多‘懂行’的内行,会为我们这些感兴趣的人解答一些困惑”。“旷野呼声”(kuangye.net)是一个民间的基督教文化网站论坛,类似于这样的网站、论坛还有很多,譬如“信仰之门”(http://www.godoor.net)、“基督缘”(http://www.jiduyuan.com)、福音论坛(http://fuyin.5d6d.com)、和睦之家(http://www.peacehome.cn)、拿细耳人论坛(http://nxer.uueasy.com)、“欢然奔路”福音论坛(http://www.hrbenlu.com)与“小子们”社区(http://www.xiaozimen.com)等等,据 F 同学透露,自己身边有一些同学经常去这些网站,尽管他们也都不是基督徒。

与此同时,“网购”亦是笔者重点关注的—个话题。根据笔者的总结、调研,目前活跃的“主内网店”竟有千余家,这些网店多半是基督徒所经营,对于主内兄弟姐妹采取—定折扣的优惠,并且除了经营“主内礼品”、基督教图书之外还经营其他生活用品,如主营图书的“武汉荣美书房”(http://rongmeibooks.taobao.com/)、主营首饰的“同路人工作室”(http://shop57805075.taobao.com/)、主营生活用品的“拿细耳礼品城”(http://shop57283695.taobao.com/)以及类似于百货公司的“全恩”基督教商

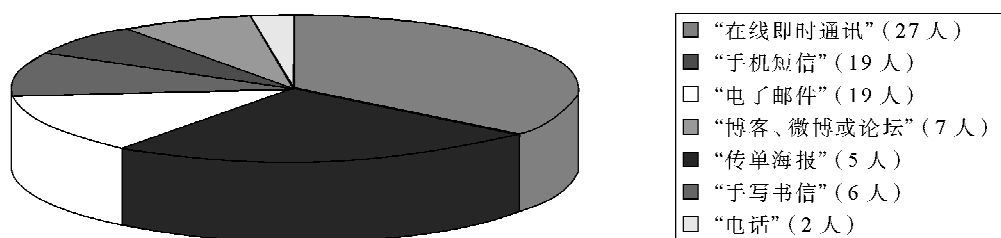
城(<http://www.7grace.cn/>)等等。据“淘宝网”网购信用评价,这些网站都有着较高的信誉与口碑,并且每天都保持较高的购买率。一些商家会将《圣经》漫画、名言或基督教文化中的符号、图像印刷到一些生活用品上,做成“主内礼品”出售,而据笔者向其中两家商家咨询,这类商品的购买者基本上以年轻人为主。作为网购主力群体的大学生,同时也作为基督教类商品的网购主力,这亦合情合理。

由是可知,吸引大学生接触、了解甚至信仰基督教,互联网在当下起了非常重要的作用。这是之前从未有过的。

二、如何参加教会活动? 电子媒介当是首选

通过互联网接触、了解基督教者甚众,但是这些学生未必最后都成为基督徒,互联网除了在“传教”的过程中起到重要作用之外,那么在信教学生的宗教活动(如祷告、唱诗、证道、查经、作见证与交通等等)中,互联网又起到什么样的作用呢?

在对 86 名信教学生的回访问卷中,笔者设置的问题是:在进行宗教活动(如祷告、唱诗、查经、探访、交通、主日学或作见证等等)时,一般最常用哪些通讯交流形式? 选项有八个,每个受访者只能选择其中 1 个。这八个选项分别是:电子邮件、在线即时通讯(Online Instant Message,含 QQ 或 MSN)、博客、微博或论坛、私人交友网站(如 Facebook、豆瓣网、开心网或人人网)、手机短信、手写书信、传单海报和电话。选择“在线即时通讯”的有 27 人,占样本总量的 31.40%,居第一位;选择“手机通话/短信”的有 19 人,占样本总量的 22.10%,居第二位;选择“电子邮件”与“私人交友网站”的有 10 人,均分别占样本总量的 11.63%,并列第三位;选“博客、微博或论坛”的有 7 人,均分别占样本总量的 8.14%,居于第五;选“传单海报”的有 5 人,占样本总量的 5.81%,居于第六;选“手写书信”的有 6 人,占样本总量的 6.98%,居于第七;选其他仅有 2 人,占样本总量的 2.31%(见图四)。



(图四)

通过如上分析得知,依靠互联网或手机联络活动的,占到了绝大多数。有 86.73% 的信教学生选择 QQ 群组、手机短信平台(如移动飞信)、电子邮件、私人交友网站与博客(含微博、论坛)等电子媒介手段沟通联络。无疑,电子媒介已然成为了当下信教大学生交流、沟通的主潮。“我们比较少用 BBS(电子论坛),一般用 QQ 群,这是比较安全的,因为基督教现在有时候还算是一个敏感话题。”Y 同学,女,大学二年级,来自吉林白城。“QQ 群里的每一个用户都是主内兄弟姊妹,有我们学校的,也有外校的。一般有一些简单的活动如查经和作见证等等,群主就会在群内通知了,也会在群共享里分享一些资源、消息。当然,有时候我们也会选择电子邮件,如果你用国外服务器的邮箱,那也是相当安全的”。

K 同学,男,大学四年级,来自山西太原,“我们更多时候会用手机,相对于 QQ 电子邮件而言,手机的时候更多一些,你知道,用 QQ 也不一定完全安全,为了避免一些非议和争议,我们一般都采取手机短信息联系,当然宪法规定公民信教自由,我们又不是做什么见不得人的事情。但是,有时候我们

也会在QQ上发起一些在线的作见证之类的活动。”值得注意的是,新兴的博客(微博)和私人交友网站亦给一些信教学生提供了交流沟通的便利。但作为“点对点”而且可以根据个人兴趣、爱好选择的私人交友网站,对于耶稣、基督等宗教话题是相当敏感的,除了国外运营的Facebook网站可以根据用户的“信仰”寻找同道之外,国内的“人人网”、“开心网”都不具备这个功能,但Facebook目前由于网络管制的原因,在中国大陆很难登陆,除非要依赖专业的IP代理软件才可以使用其部分功能。唯一具备这一功能的是“豆瓣网”。在豆瓣网上,大约有百余个基督徒“兄弟姐妹派对”的小组。譬如“在北京的基督小组”(http://www.douban.com/group/64950/)有三百余成员、人数上千且专门只为“年轻兄弟姐妹说说话”的“青年团契小组”(http://www.douban.com/group/125528/)、北京大学生发起的“耶稣青年会小组”(http://www.douban.com/group/102863/)与“耶稣基督的后花园小组”(http://www.douban.com/group/sweetyard/),该小组也有近400名成员。

这些小组的论坛上都有全国各地信教大学生的征友、征集活动等相关帖子,以及“信主见证”的经验分享。在记者的电话回访中,10位选择“私人交友网站”的受访者均表明“几乎每天去‘豆瓣网’的这些小组”,笔者对做其他选择的受访者亦做了相应的电话回访,这些学生均表明自己“知道这些小组”、“有时会去这些小组”,甚至“参加过这些小组成员发起的活动(如同城家庭教会聚餐、祷告与作见证等等)”。笔者同时也回访了选择“传单海报”的一位P同学。P同学,男,大学三年级学生,来自广东韶关,“其实我本身出生在基督教家庭,从小受洗礼,父母都是个体户,都信奉基督教,来到大学以后,我一开始采取在外面贴手绘海报的形式,譬如写上‘主内寻找小羊’等主内兄弟姐妹都看得懂的字句,但是在下面,仍然会留下我的QQ号码,后来主内兄弟姐妹又变成了QQ交流”。电子媒介对于信教大学生人际交流的影响,由此可见一斑。

刘汉民认为,“特别是互联网,由于其隐秘性、快捷性,大学生们通过QQ和BBS很容易及时获取所需信息,并与境内外有关机构和个人实行互动……是基督教在高校传播的主渠道”,^③这与笔者所调研的结果是相一致的,而且在近几年里,随着手机上网的广泛应用、笔记本电脑的普及以及校园宽带与无线网络的全面覆盖,“互联网”已经成为了高校大学生生活的重要组成部分,当下信教大学生在人际交往、活动沟通上对于互联网的依赖,已经远胜于先前。同时,随着智能手机的普及,手机开始与个人电脑在功能上呈现出交叉的局面。笔者对选择“手机通话/短信”的受访者亦进行了电话回访,10位选择该选项的信教大学生基本上都认为“手机通讯与网络通讯同等重要”、“手机更保险一些,一些重要的消息一般用电子邮件、QQ留言发一遍之后,再用手机短信确认一遍”。

以手机、互联网与个人电脑交织成网的电子媒介,在当下信教大学生进行交流、沟通以及相关活动的组织时,其巨大作用不言自明。尤其是其迅捷、安全、廉价、包容与便于操作性,使得这种通讯形式已然占到了主导地位。尤其是随着多媒体技术的不断扩展、普及,电子媒介不但在信教大学生中扮演着在举行实地宗教活动前的“沟通”、“交流”作用,甚至还可以取代一些语言交流类的实地活动——譬如交换心得、“作见证”或一些原本之前需要互相见面才能实现的谈话等等,而且根据笔者在调研中所观察到的现象来看,在沟通方面对电子媒介的依赖,今后将有更加上升的趋势。

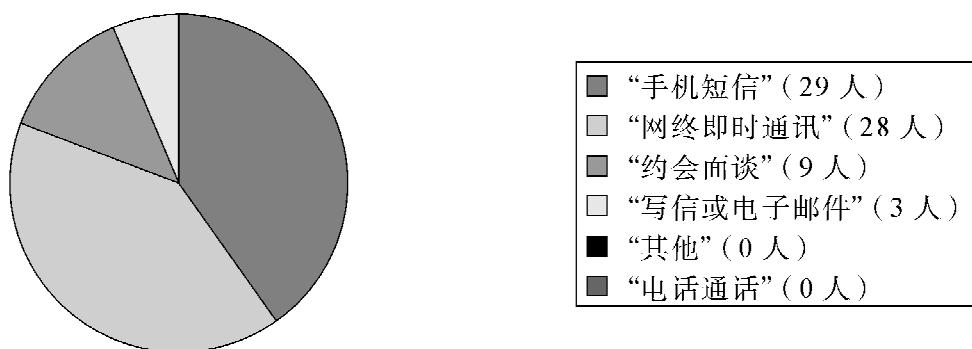
^③ 刘汉民 Liu Hanmin 等,“武汉地区重点高校大学生信仰基督教现状调查报告 Wuhan diqu zhongdian gaoxiao daxuesheng xinyang jidujiao xianzhuang diaocha baogao” [A Field Work Report about the Situation of University Students' Christian Faith from the Important Universities in Wuhan],《湖北社会主义学院学报》Hubei shehuizhuyi xueyuan xuebao [The Journal of Hubei Socialist College],第8期,(武汉 Wuhan:湖北人民出版社 Hubei renmin chubanshe [Hubei People's Publishing House],2008)。

三、如何劝说他人入教：QQ 聊天与手机短信同等重要

陈清河曾如是定义互联网的意义，“网络及个人化媒介，常将使用者之间的类同需求加以群组，而自然产生新部落化社会的时代”、“网络空间既不是任何神学体系的产品，也非物理的空间，但它却是一个属于‘心灵’的新空间”^④。无论是在一般大学生还是信教大学生的相互联系、沟通中，互联网确实处于一种优势，但是这只是基于一种大众性传播，在这两种传播的过程中，我们已经默认了“大学生”与“信教大学生”是两个不同的群组，如果我们将大学生分为“信教/不信教”两种，在他们之间该以何种方式交流、沟通呢？

当然，这种交流、沟通并非是广义上的、一般生活性的往来，而是涉及基督教信仰方面的询问、劝说。笔者在这里，重点考察的是，在当下语境下，信教大学生一般以何种方式劝说不信教的大学生入教？

在 86 名信教大学生中，笔者亦做了一个问卷回访：你有劝说他人入教（无论成功与否）的经历吗？如果有，一般是什么形式？从传播学的角度笔者罗列了六个选项：写信或电子邮件、手机短信、电话通话、网络即时通讯（如 QQ 或 MSN）、约会面谈（含一起参加活动或当面赠送相关资料）与其他。这次回访一共收到有效问卷 69 份，占样本总量的 80.23%，其中选择“手机短信”的有 29 人，占样本总量的 40.03%，居于第一位；选择“网络即时通讯”的有 28 人，占样本总量的 40.58%；选择“约会面谈”的有 9 人，占样本总量的 13.04%；仅有 3 人选择“写信或电子邮件”，占样本总量的 6.35%；无人选择“其他”与“电话通话”这两种（见图五）。



（图五）

传播学将“传播”定义为两种，一种为“点对多点”的“大众传播”，一种为“点对点”的“人际交流”，而原本为“大众传播”的互联网在全球化迅速发展的当下，亦起到了“人际交流”的重要作用，在这种语境下，“网络即时通讯”与“手机短信”实际上都是“点对点”的。但是我们需要注意的是，“电话通话”与“写信或电子邮件”其实都是点对点的，缘何这两种方式并未受到重视？根据相关传播学理论，结合笔者调研、回访以及个人的生活经验推断，实际上这个现象是当下大学生的生活环境、对于基督教的群体性态度与青春期的心理学三者结合作用下的结果。

W. Littlejohn 与 A. Foss 从交流的“不同地域”分析，认为具备信息传递的“人际交流”可分为三

^④ 陈清河 Chen Qinghe,《后电子媒介时代》*Hou dianzi meiji shidai* [Post-Electic Media Era], (台北 Teibei: 三民书局 Sanmin shuju [Sanmin Book Bureau], 2008), 12.

种——一种是“面对面”的交谈,一种是声音的交谈(如电话)、一种是文字的交谈(如笔谈、书信等等),而在同等量信息传播的条件下,“面对面”的交谈所附着的传播者信息最多,而文字的交谈所附着的传播者信息最少,可以很好地隐藏传播者的心理状态、个人语气,而使得信息传播可以去掉干扰,进而更完整、更清楚地完成。^⑤ 前文所叙的是“共地域性”的问题,除此之外,“共时性”也是“人际交流”的另一个重要因素。确实,在信息革命之前,“人际交流”中的文字交谈(如书信)存在着不够“即时性”的问题,致使整个传播过程中信息的交换存在着“不同步”的差异,从而容易造成信息在传播过程中产生“不确切”的转变。互联网与手机的出现,使得这一问题获得了解决,手机短信息(SMS)和在线即时通讯很好地弥补了这一信息交流的沟壑——文字性的“人际交流”也可以即时化。

如上的分析并非笔者赘言,而是为了审理上述调研结果的本质内涵。诚然,作为“集体生活”的大学生,他们较少拥有属于自己的私人空间,而基督教的传播,之于当下中国高校来讲,又是颇为敏感的。除了个别虔诚的信徒之外,其他诸多信教大学生在回访中都表示:自己几乎从不轻易公开自己基督徒的身份——譬如Z大就有明文规定,信教大学生身份一旦被证实,那么他就失去了加入学生会、入党等政治权利,那么这就意味着这位学生今后不能参加有一定要求(譬如学生会工作经验、有着党员身份背景)的公务员考试等相关考选(其实在许多西方国家,个人宗教信仰也属于被法律保护的个人隐私)。而依靠声音传播的电话,本身在大学集体宿舍里就毫无保密性可言,而且,劝说他人入教,本身就有被他人拒绝的可能性,这对于自尊心较强的青年大学生来讲,被拒绝是在面子上“挂不住”的,而且被劝说方若是在电话里或是书信里想拒绝,也不好直接表达,但在线即时通讯与手机短信息却很好地规避了这些可能。因此,出于种种考虑,这两种渠道遂成为了他们试探性劝说其他同学入教的较好方式。

“记得大一的时候,一开始我和一个学姐用短信聊天,聊着聊着她就突然问我信不信上帝,是否相信我们都是神创造的,当时我像突然被带入了另一个系统一样,这与我从小到大所接触的世界不是一个世界。”Q同学来自河南宛平,女,大学四年级,“当时我觉得通过短信聊这个话题很温暖,然后我就试着用短信和我交好的朋友聊天,劝说他们相信主,用自己的行为荣耀神,很多朋友都接受了我的劝说,成为了主内的姊妹。后来我买了笔记本,就开始用QQ或是手机挂QQ,这样更省钱”。“起初我没有劝说他人(入教)的想法。”X同学来自江苏常州,男,研究生二年级。“后来发现有些同学和朋友喜欢和我通过短信或是QQ问我信主之后的一些事情,我也很乐于将这些事情与他们分享,时间一长,我就会通过短信或是QQ邀请一些感兴趣的同学参加一些主内的活动,如祷告、唱诗与证道等等,我总觉得目前很多人还是会用有色眼镜去看宗教信仰,甚至分不清神职人员和普通信教群众的差别,我们学校应该开设这方面的普及课程,让大家不再用有色眼镜看我们”。

劝说他人入教,之于诸多基督徒而言是一件荣耀神的事情,尤其对于身处集体生活、热爱交际的信教大学生来说,更是如此,这也是为何“大学社团”一直成为全国各大高校校园文化主力的原因所在。只是信教大学生的传教、劝说他人参加家庭教会的活动并非结成公开的社团——“青年团契”(Younger fellowship),“青年团契”的成员也非全为大学生——还包括外教、留学生以及社会青年等等。左鹏的调研报告认为,“每个聚会点实际上就是一个辐射点……所以,在同一聚会点经常可以看到同一班级、同一宿舍的同学……最先是一个同学因参加聚会点的活动而信教,最后整个宿舍的同学都参加该聚会点的活动并全部信教”^⑥。实际上在笔者的本次调研中,并未发现Z大有相同或类似的

^⑤ Stephen W. Littlejohn & Karen A. Foss, *Theories of human communication*, (Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth, 2007), 207。

^⑥ 左鹏 Zuo Peng, “大学校园中的基督教聚会点——来自北京某高校的调查 Daxue xiaoyuan zhong de jidujiao juhuidian - - - - Laizi Beijing mou gaoxiao de diaocha” [The Christian Meeting Spots in University Campus], 《北京科技大学学报(社科版)》 *Beijing keji daxue xuebao (Shekeban)* [The Journal of Beijing Science and Technology (Social Sciences Version)], (北京 Beijing:2009)。

情况,而且多数信教学生认为,传教的对象必须是志同道合的同学或朋友,“室友”只是校方的人为安排,未必是好朋友,而且目前高校内的基督教传播仍然属于敏感话题,基本上不可能做到“一人入教,全班皆知”的地步。正因如此,较为隐蔽且又能保证信息传播准确的互联网、手机短信成为了诸多信教大学生首选的传教手段。

四、结语与启示:如何从“被否定”到“被正视”

通过本次调研,笔者基本上对于电子媒介与大学校园内基督教传播的关系有了初步的认识,尽管Z大并不足以全面地代表中国大陆高校的状况,而且这800名被调研者亦不能完全地代表Z大的全部学生,但是通过对这800名大学生的调研,也证明了电子媒介在当下高校的基督教传播中起到非常重要的作用,但是这恰恰反映了如下两个问题。

首先,借助电子媒介,基督教的传播在当下大学校园里非常迅速,我们必须正视这个现实。据官方调查,2003年,北京地区大学生“明确表示信仰基督教”的大学生占到了学生总数的5.2%。^⑦地处偏远的云南财经大学在2009年的调查也发现,有宗教信仰学生占调查总人数的16.1%,所信仰宗教为佛教和基督教^⑧。到了2010年8月,浙江海洋学院的信基督教的学生尽管只占到总人数的4.2%,但信其他宗教的大学生(含天主教、佛教与伊斯兰教)却占到了总人数的33.6%。^⑨这远远高于2010年官方公布的国内平均数据——目前中国大陆基督教徒平均占全国总人口1.8%。^⑩无论如何,这与刘汉民等所统计的“总体上看,信教学生人数大约占在校学生总人数的万分之七左右”^⑪存在着甚大的差距。

这些数据证明两点,其一,结合上述不同学者在不同区域的调研结果综合分析,近几年,国内大部分高校的信教大学生应占到了该校学生总数4.2%以上的比例,^⑫在直辖市与省会城市或许还会更

⑦ 李素菊 Li Suju 等,《青年与“宗教热”》*Qingnian yu zongjiaore* [Youth and Religious Fever],(北京 Beijing:中国青年出版社 Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe [Chinese Youth Press],2000),78。

⑧ 王颖 Wang Ying,“大学生宗教信仰状况调查报告——以云南财经大学为例 Daxuesheng zongjiao xinyang zhuangkuang diaocha baogao —— Yi Yunnan caijing daxue wei li” [A Field Work Report about University Students' Religious Faith],《学理论》*Xue lilun* [Learning Theory],第12期,(哈尔滨 Harbin:学理论杂志社 Xue lilun zazhishe [The Editorial Committee of Learning Theory],2009)。

⑨ 虞浩臣 Yu Haochen,“地方高校学生宗教信仰的现状调查——以浙江舟山为例 Difang gaoxiao xuesheng zongjiao xinyang de xianzhuang diaocha —— Yi Zhejiang Zhoushan wei li” [A Field Work Report on the Contemporary Situation of Local Universities Students' Religious Faith],《高教论坛》*Gaojiao luntan* [The Forum of Higher Education],第8期,(南宁 Nanning:高教论坛杂志社 Gaojiao luntan zazhishe [The Editorial Committee of The Forum of Higher Education],2010)。

⑩ 中国社会科学院世界宗教研究所 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan shijie zongjiao yanjiusuo [The Institute of World Religions, China Academy of Social Sciences] 编,《宗教蓝皮书》*Zongjiao lanpishu* [The Blue Book of Religions],(北京 Beijing:社科文献出版社 Sheke wenxian chubanshe [China Social Sciences Academic Press],2010),90。

⑪ 刘汉民 Liu Hanmin 等,“武汉地区重点高校大学生信仰基督教现状调查报告 Wuhan diqu zhongdian gaoxiao daxuesheng xinyang jidujiao xianzhuang diaocha baogao” [A Field Work Report about the Situation of University Students' Christian Faith from the Important Universities in Wuhan],《湖北社会主义学院学报》*Hubei shehuizhuyi xueyuan xuebao* [The Journal of Hubei Socialist College],第8期,(武汉 Wuhan:湖北人民出版社 Hubei renmin chubanshe [Hubei People's Publishing House],2008)。

⑫ 结合目前所能检索到的其他学者的调研报告来看,虞浩臣 Yu Haochen,“地方高校学生宗教信仰的现状调查——以浙江舟山为例 Difang gaoxiao xuesheng zongjiao xinyang de xianzhuang diaocha —— Yi Zhejiang Zhoushan wei li” [A Field Work Report on the Contemporary Situation of Local Universities Students' Religious Faith] 一文反映了浙江海洋学院信教大学生比例最少,为4.2%,其余有资料可检索的国内诸高校信教学生之比例均高于甚至远远高于4.2%。

高;其二,信教大学生的比重在近几年内呈现出逐年攀升的局面。^⑬事实上,正如笔者所统计的那样,这与互联网、手机等电子媒介的普及是分不开的。在整个过程中,电子媒介很好地扮演了一个“识教”、“入教”与“传教”的渠道角色。陈清河认为,“网络空间不是任何‘神学体系’的产品”,但是事实上它却无意中为“神学体系”中宗教传播的发展起到了颇为重要的作用,成为其在当下发展、完善的重要工具,我们必须正视这个现实。

其次,电子媒介的盛行,在很大程度上也反映了高校信教大学生基本上都有在公开场合“隐藏自己宗教信仰”的想法,这实际上说明了目前一些高校思想政治教育人员对于“大学生信教”有着错误的认识与举措,而“正视”这一现象才是解决这一问题的出路。在调研的过程中笔者也发现,信教大学生本身比较好接触,在性格、道德上并没有让人难以接受的缺陷。华桦的调研报告也发现,对于身边的基督徒,非基督徒大学生往往给予正面评价,同学们普遍认为信教大学生在性格上具备“平和”、“善良”、“宽容”、“博爱”与“真诚”。^⑭

事实上,“宗教作为一种社会现象,具有漫长的历史,在社会主义社会也将长期存在”^⑮,而且《中华人民共和国宪法》也明确规定了宗教信仰自由,为了确保这一政策在高校里也能得到贯彻执行,高校思想政治教育人员(如学工部、研工部、党总支、团委、辅导员与班主任等等)应该一方面承认、正视这个事实,对于信教大学生的宗教信仰,要抱以尊重的态度,让他们将基督徒的平和、博爱与善良的精神和谐社会的建设结合到一起,要求他们在学校内做和谐之表率、道德之楷模。而不是让信教大学生刻意隐藏自己的宗教信仰,甚至偷偷摸摸地参加一些合法的宗教活动。须知大学生既是未来国家建设、民族复兴的重要基础,同时也是中华人民共和国公民,有信仰宗教和不信仰宗教的自由。

无疑,从传播学的角度来调研电子媒介在当下大学校园内基督教传播的过程中所扮演的角色,是一个颇为重要的社会学、宗教学与传播学话题。本调研报告或许有不足或是以偏概全之处,但是笔者希冀从此出发,可以引出一系列的思考与讨论,对于这一问题的后续性、拓展性研究、分析与总结将是更有意义的研究议题。

^⑬ 除了在本文援引的部分调研数据之外,这一问题在华中师范大学教授吴理财 Wu Licai 最近的调研报告“当前大学生的信仰透视 Dangdai daxuesheng de xinyang toushi” [A Perspective on the Faith of Contemporary University Students],《人民论坛》Renmin luntan [People's Forum],第4期下,(2011)中亦作为第一章标题被提出。“大学生信教人数呈上升趋势”这一问题成为《当》文的一个核心内容。这一结论源自于吴理财对相关对比性数据的分析而得出的,结合相关数据,他认为“从数量上看,大学生信仰宗教的总体比例不高,但绝对数近年略有上升之势”、“大学生中接触宗教宣传的人数和次数逐步增加”。

^⑭ 华桦 Hua Hua,“大学生信仰基督教状况调查——以上海部分高校大学生为例 Daxuesheng xinyang jidujiao zhuangkuang diaocha - - - Yi Shanghai bufen gaoxiao daxuesheng wei li” [A Field Work Report on the Christian Faith Situation of University Students],《青年研究》Qingnian yanjiu [The Yough Research],第1期,(2008)。

^⑮ 江泽民 Jiang Zemin,《江泽民文选·第三卷》Jiang Zemin wensuan di 3 juan [Selection of Jiang Zemin's Articles . Volume 3],(北京 Beijing:人民出版社 Renmin chubanshe [People's Publishing House],2006),255。

English Title:

E – media, University life and dissemination of Christianity

——The Statistical Data Study of “Christianity Dissemination style” in Z University

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Abstract: This paper gathers the results of an evaluation based on the 800 college students (including undergraduate students, graduate students, and PhD candidates) of Z University in Hubei. The author uses statistical data analysis to study the influence of E – media on contemporary Christian – undergraduates and the co – relationship between them. This study demonstrates that E – media is nowadays the main tool and channel of knowing Christianity, converting to Christianity and disseminating Christianity for undergraduates. In the last part of this paper, the author also deals with the problems that university officials will face when they try to guide the religious students.

Key words: undergraduates, Christianity, E – media, dissemination

合法性问题与地方基督教的生成

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提要:本文以一个中国西北内陆教会为例,探讨地方性教会是如何在寻求生存合法性和信仰合法性的互动过程中得以生成。作为一种地方基督教的形态,它在其处理被当地社会所接受以及被信仰传统所接纳的张力的过程中,同时也至少在信仰表达形式上丰富了普世的基督教。在个案的基础上,本文试图将政治、社会、文化、信仰四种合法性问题或维度作为对于中国基督教在当下中国社会文化中的一个观察框架。

关键词:合法性、地方基督教、信仰表达

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许多人说,中国已经进入盛世,作为大国已经或正在崛起。有意思的是,在高举神圣性或超越性的基督教内(有时或许是之外)对于当下中国基督教的发展也有一种与这种高昂的民族自豪感同构的乐观情绪,提出基督教不仅是处于一个黄金时代的中国,而中国基督教也同样进入了黄金时代。一系列数据为此提供了有力的证据,例如中国基督徒从 1949 年的 70 多万,到 1996 年的 1000 多万,再到 2010 年的 2300 多万(中国社科院世界宗教研究所数据),以及民间流传的各种远超乎这个判断的数据(甚至有超过 1 亿的说法)^①。无可否认,无论从绝对数还是总人口比例中的相对数来看,基督教在中国的发展足以当得上是举世瞩目^②,是另一种的“中国速度”的表现。但如果我们将基督教或基督徒置于庞大的中国人口及文化社会的大背景下观察,就发现其现实处境并非如此光明,实际上甚至可以说颇为暗淡,或许可以归结为这三个表述:政治上被怀疑,社会上被边缘,文化上被忽视。而这无一不是关乎合法性(*legitimacy*)问题^③。

另一件有意思的事情是,中国基督教历史上一直都存在一个更长久的焦虑,即中国的基督教是否符合正统,且不论这个正统是谁的正统,又是什么样的正统。从明末清初耶稣会在中国传教过程中的种种努力,其与当时其他修会的冲突,及其后来与教廷互动及至修会被取缔;到后来洪秀全之太平天

① 黄剑波 Huang Jianbo、翟杰霞 Zhai Jiexia,《中国基督徒人数之争的学理与政治》*Zhongguo jidutu renshu zhi zheng de xueli yu zhengzhi* [Reasoning and Politics of the Debate on Christian Population in China],《道风:基督教文化评论》*Daofeng: Jidujiao wenhua pinglun* [*Logos & Pneuma*], 总 35 期,(香港 Hong Kong:汉语基督教文化研究所 Hanyu jidujiao wenhua yanjiusuo [Institute of Sino-Christian Studies], 2011)。

② 从 2003 年的“一书一碟”(Jesus in Beijing, by David Aikman, and Jesus in China (“十字架”), by Yuan Zhiming) 到 2011 年英语世界热卖的 God is Red (by Liao Yiwu)。

③ 这不同于一般来说也译为“合法性”的 *legality*。事实上,在政治哲学中一般倾向于将 *legitimacy* 译为“正当性”。对这一概念的讨论,可参见许纪霖等人的论述。

国运动引起的广泛争议;甚至今天诸多论者所关注的中国基督教民间化的问题,其实质实际上是在探讨这些不同形态的基督教的神学或信仰合法性的问题。

以上所谈之政治、社会、文化、信仰四种合法性问题即构成本文对于作为整体的中国基督教在当下中国社会文化中的一个观察框架^④,尽管我的研究向来是以具体个案的经验研究为基础来逐步展开。

一、政治合法性的过程:从差会到地方教会^⑤

在中国大西北地区,天水大概是陕西以西最早看到基督新教传教士并建立教会的地方,这当然与其地理、交通位置直接相关。尽管关于基督教在天水地区传教活动的最早传教人物和年份,已有的几个历史文献,《甘肃省志》和《天水县志》,以及天水市三自爱国运动委员会自己编纂的《天水市基督教教会史》的记载并不完全一致,但是,这几个文献都描述了从早期的内地会传教士,到中国本土教派耶稣家庭的传播,及至后来 1950 年代的“三自”教会运动的历史线索。其中,我们大概可以看到基督教在天水经历了从差会逐渐转化为本土教派(会)的过程^⑥。而这整个过程须臾离不开政治上被认可这个关键要素,无论是在王朝时期,还是后来的民国及人民共和国时期。

(一)差会教会的政治合法性:从被迫认可到国家赋权

1876 年,内地会英国传教士庞克(George Parker)来到天水。这在 1840 年之前是不可想像的,如此纵深腹地岂能容一个外国人窥视。从这个意义上讲,近代中国基督教无可避免地带有“西方侵略”的“原罪”,其进入和发展确实与西方列强的坚船利炮脱不开干系。从得以进入其时闭关锁国的满清王朝,并从沿海港口城市向内陆拓展这一点来讲,基督教(至少当时的传教士)无疑是受益者。然而同时,这也给后来的基督教发展带来了政治上及民族情感上的沉重包袱,直至如今政府对于基督教的发展仍然心存疑虑,就算现今“帝国主义的渗透”之说已然见少,但“文化侵略”的担忧对于政权及民族精英来说仍是一个真实的考虑。就算回到 19 世纪中后期,现在看来当时基督教所获得的政治合法性也是很脆弱的,因为谁都知道,强扭的瓜是不甜的,清王朝被迫性的许可基督教(及天主教)传教士落地,甚至深入内陆,堂堂天朝受此奇耻大辱,情何以堪,因此从宫廷到地方官员都心有不甘^⑦。

并不意外的是,庞克几年的宣教努力,几乎没有留下什么成果^⑧,这和当初马礼逊在广东的传教经历几乎一样,多年之功,信者了了。1880 年,内地会又差派英国宣教士马殿臣(John Martin)、丁秉衡(Douglas Harding)前来天水。他们在水电站住了脚跟,在北关泰山庙对面(今人民路路南)购置地产,建立“福音堂”,是为天水最早的基督教堂。

^④ 需要说明的是,这还只是一组描述性概念,不是更具理论意义的分析性概念。但同时这一组概念的意图也并不仅仅是讨论中国的(地方)基督教的问题,还意在用于探讨其他地区,或普遍意义上的基督教,甚至(如果可能的话)用于一般意义上的宗教。

^⑤ 这里所说的“地方教会”不是指倪柝声推动建立的本土教会体系(local church,也称为小群教会, Little Flock),而是在与普世教会相对应的一个概念,更准确的说是“地方基督教”(local Christianity)这个含义。

^⑥ 本文部分材料曾见于黄剑波 Huang Jianbo:《乡村社区的信仰、政治和生活》*Xiangcun shequ de xinyang zhengzhi he shenghuo* [Faith, Politics and Life in a Rural Community],(香港 Hong Kong:中文大学宗教与中国社会研究中心 Zhongwen daxue zongjiao yu zhongguo shehui yanjiu zhongxin [Center of the Study of Religion and Chinese Society in CUHK],2012);吴梓明 Wu Zimin、李向平 Li Xiangping、黄剑波 Huang Jianbo、何心平 He Xinpeng 等:《边界的共融》*Bianji de gongrong* [The Fusion of Boundaries],(上海 Shanghai:上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People's Publishing House],2009)。

^⑦ 这大概也可以理解一些朝廷要员以及地方官员明里暗里支持,或至少同情民众,特别是士绅对基督教的抵制和抗拒。

^⑧ 见《甘肃省基督教志》*Gansu sheng jidujiao zhi* [Christian History of Gansu Province],甘肃省三自爱国运动委员会编,1998 年;及《天水市基督教志》*Tianshui shi jidujiao zhi* [Christian History of Tianshui City],天水市三自委员会编,1993 年。

传教士除了在城区进行布道工作外,还努力在乡村开辟工作。1895年,马殿臣先后带领三阳川张村的张尊三、张峰和吴庄的吴步一、吴去非信仰基督教。很快,吴等人在吴庄就带领了30多人接受基督教新信仰。1898年,成立吴庄基督教会,1900年建立教堂,是为陇南地区第一个基督教乡村教会。一般认为,中国基督教在义和团事件之后经历了一波相当强劲的复兴运动,其中社会的剧烈动荡,以及国家政权的完全更替与此不无关系。除了通常所看到的社会的不安定与宗教归信相关这一点之外,还与清王朝在这个阶段在实际上对地方社会的掌控能力更为下降有关,更是与其后民国新政权对于基督教的相对友好的态度有关^⑨。政治合法性的议题在此凸显出来。与这个大背景相关,到1920年,吴庄教会已经发展到200多人,并且陆续传到同在三阳川的其他村庄,先后建立教会。到1949年,仅三阳川地区就有教堂11座,信徒1100多人,成为天水基督教信徒最为集中的地区^⑩。至此,天水城区有4个教会,信徒600多人,乡村教会21个,信徒1700多人,城乡共计2300多人^⑪。总体来说,这一时期的天水基督教仍然基本上是差会教会(mission church)。

(二)五十年代以来的地方教会:“爱国”话语及政治空间的变化

1920年代以后尽管天水基督教积极参与到全国性的“自立运动”,但真正在信仰实践上做出有意义的地方性的回应则是1930-40年代从山东传来的中国本土教派耶稣家庭,以及1950年代以后在政治强力下所做出的组织管理体制上的回应。

关于耶稣家庭影响下的教会在崇拜方式以及信仰内容和实践方面的具体方面后文会有更多讨论,而就组织管理体制上来说,1950年代的三自爱国运动所推动形成的“后宗派”的联合礼拜则是另一个值得关注和讨论的问题。尽管这样一个主要是出于适应新的社会政治大环境的教会体系严格来说并不能说是传统意义上的“地方教会”和“宗派”,而且在神学反思和信仰实践方面成就也不多见,但它确实很大程度上反映了基督教在中国地方社会中的“生存策略”,并至少在国家政治的层面上取得了合法性。

1950年,天水城区的大多数基督徒在吴耀宗等人发起的《三自宣言》上签名,次年天水成立三自爱国学习会,信徒参加学习《三自宣言》、《致全国同道的信》、以及《人民日报》的社论,在舆论和思想上做准备工作。1956年,天水市基督教三自爱国运动委员会正式成立,刘茂修任主任,裴正义、魏永亮为副主任。基督教在“爱国”的旗帜下获得了在共和国新政权下的合法性。三自运动进行大约两年后,随着“反右倾运动”的进行和深入,天水地区的一些信徒被错划为右派分子。1959年在宗教改革学习会上,又有些人被捕判刑,另一些人则被戴上各种帽子。同时,城区原有的4个来自不同宗派教会被要求举行联合崇拜,把600多信徒集中起来聚会,进入“后宗派时期”。然而参加礼拜的人数逐渐减少,一些信徒看到政治运动的气氛越来越紧张,开始停止聚会,继续坚持聚会的到后来不过100多人。

1966年3月,基督教界也开展了社会主义教育运动。当年8月,教会正式被关闭,原有的4个教堂以及其他一些教产被没收,停止了一切公开的聚会和宗教活动。在这期间,就是一些原来积极参加三自运动的信徒甚至领袖都受到了政治上的打击,有的还坐牢,从几年到20几年不等。不过,在这段

^⑨ 除却孙中山等相当一批革命领导人自己的基督教信仰因素之外,也与“共和国”的性质有关。无论是1912年的《中华民国临时约法》*Zhonghua minguo linshi yuefa* [Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China],还是次年的《中华民国宪法(草案)》*Zhonghua minguo xianfa caoan* [The draft constitution of the Republic of China],都明确提到了信仰自由。

^⑩ 内地会在其他乡镇的传教活动:1906年,内地会美国传教士李春雷到街子镇传教,成立“中华基督教街子镇教会”,1927年建立教堂,到1949年信徒达到148人;1913年,英国传教士丁柄乾(注:未能查对到英文名)到甘泉传教,1918年购买一处院落作为教堂,1933年建立正式的礼拜堂,当时信徒53人。

^⑪ 再加上甘谷600人、秦安500人、武山150人、清水100人,整个天水的信徒共计3600多人。这些不同的统计口径源于历史上天水地区行政区划的变更。

公开教会被关闭的时期,一些信徒坚持继续聚会,不过是秘密地在家里进行,规模也很小,每次聚会都不过几个人。这一阶段,基督教(也包括其他所有宗教)在政治上的合法空间几乎完全被挤压掉。

1978年“三中全会”以后,宗教政策得以再度放宽,各种宗教重新获得一定的政治空间。1982年以后,天水各地的基督教先后得以恢复公开的聚会,聚会重开以后,各地又开始重建各级三自机构。1982年,北道和甘谷率先成立了三自委员会,接着秦安于1985年,武山和秦城于1987年先后也成立了三自委员会。1990年,天水市三自委员会正式成立。教会刚刚重开的时候,敢于参加公开聚会的信徒还不多,逐渐的,进入教堂的人越来越多。尽管当时政府试图进行一个全市的基督徒统计,但由于大多数信徒还处在政治运动的后怕中,不敢承认自己的信仰,就是还在坚持聚会的,也都是秘密聚会,因此当时并没有得到一个可靠的统计数字。但据当地一些信徒自己的估计,1982年时全市的信徒应该在5000人左右,比之1949年的3600人,经过了长时间的打压之后,人数不仅没有减少,反而有了一定的增长。再一次可以看到,行政命令或政治运动并不能“消灭”宗教。

接下来的故事听起来就比较熟悉了,天水的基督教出现一波比20世纪初更强烈的大复兴,主要体现在信徒人数的急剧增长上。在大约10年的时间中,信徒人数从5000直线上升到20000多人(据天水市基督教三自会1993年的数字)。随着中央政策的调整,地方政府相应地根据各地信徒的规模以及实际需要,先后将部分教堂归还教会,用于聚会使用,在少数原来没有教堂的地方,也新建了一些教堂。天水市区的秦城教会也在韩家巷教堂实在太小,确实不足以容纳现有信徒的情况下,经政府批准,信徒们纷纷捐助,修建了一个可以容纳2500人左右的新教堂,成为甘肃最大的教堂。

梳理这一段历史可见,“爱国”是1950年代以来中国基督教在政治合法性议题上的关键词,包括当时推动起来的“三自爱国运动”,以及持续至今的“爱国”先于“爱教”的提法,而这其实恰好从反面说明了基督教在政治上被怀疑的现实。

需要指出的是,对于“爱国”的强调不仅仅是国家权力的要求,基督教本身也积极做出回应,并广泛使用这一话语来论证和寻求自己在不同时期的合法性^⑩。例如,1920年吴庄教会修建新堂时,内地会美国传教士李春雷(Lloyd Robert Rist)提出捐助白银200两,但要将地契给他,当时教会的长老吴步一予以拒绝。这一点后来《天水市基督教志》及《甘肃省基督教志》都特别提及,作为中国信徒爱国、与西方差会斗争的例子加以褒扬。这件事在吴生荣1983年代表吴庄教会向政府申请要回礼拜堂时递交的一份材料中有非常精彩的描述:

1920年6月间厅子竣工后,到第二年7月间我父亲(吴步一)因病去世。这期间英国传教士李春雷说愿为我们教会捐白银200两,并要把我们教会的地契文约归给内地会保存于上海。当时我们的长老吴步一认识到这是帝国主义分子骗卖我们教会的手段,所以给以坚决的拒绝,使他们的阴谋没有得逞。这在各地教会一般情况来说,还是先例。李春雷既惭愧,又震惊,自称他到中国后还未遇到过这样的情况。此后为了使教会后继有人,吴步一长老趁他健在,就选了青年人吴洁天、吴永福、吴兆蹯三人为长老管理神的家,为神作工,以代替老辈。

1926年春,我们天水地方的驻军师长佟林阁和省立第三中学的校长王孝伯领导,在我们天水发起了农民协会运动。我们教会的长老兼校长吴永福和教师刘冰如积极响应,清算了土豪劣绅的帐,打击了土豪劣绅的气焰。经过了几个月的斗争,最后由于陇南地方农民协会运动的领导人王孝伯被人暗刺,运动失败。我们的长老吴永福、教师刘冰如被监禁,将近2月,因无识农民被释。在这一运动中,许多教友以及教会学生大张旗鼓出了好多力。这也有神的旨意在,将这一社会政治运动落在了我们教会学校的肩头,我们只有感谢神。

^⑩ Huang, Jianbo and Yang, Fenggang, "The Cross Faces The Loudspeakers: a Village Church Preserves under the State Power", in Tamney, Joseph and Yang, Fenggang, eds., *State, Market and Religions in Chinese Societies*, (Brill Academic Publisher, 2005).

1927年,正值全国革命运动高潮期间,我们天水驻军师长佟林阁教友首先在我们各教会发起了中国各教会脱离西方差会的统制,实行教会自治、自养、自传、自立,办中国本色教会的号召。于是我们庄教会成立了“中华基督教自立会”,正式和外国传教士脱离了关系,摆脱了帝国主义对我们教会的统治。当时还由吴洁天长老去天水花40白洋做了一面“中华基督教自立会”的金字匾额,匾上署名是教会创办人吴步一、吴荣一、吴发荣、吴基址四人。为了庆祝这一壮举,我们举行了隆重的迎匾、挂匾仪式。

吴长老如此浓墨重彩地描绘1920年代吴庄教会在自立运动中的“爱国主义”举动,其用意显然也是在表明一种政治立场和态度,且不论这种立场是真的,还只是因为要获得政府批准得到礼拜堂而采取的策略性妥协,都可以看到国家力量对教会,极其领袖的影响。也许有一些基要派基督徒会指责这其实是基督教对政府话语的妥协,但我们在这里想强调的是吴庄基督徒们清楚地意识到了国家的在场,并在一定程度上主动采用了国家的话语系统,“爱国主义”、“抵制帝国主义”、“打击土豪劣绅”、“革命运动”之类词汇的运用一方面体现了国家符号在吴庄这样的乡村社区的成功植入,同时也表达了这些基督徒对政权合法性和正当性的承认。

二、社会合法性的建立:从中国基督徒到基督徒中国人

毋庸置疑,政治上的合法地位对于基督教在中国(乃至任何地方)都是至关重要的,而且其认可程度的不同,或政治空间的大小对于其生存和发展都有显著的影响。而合法性的获得除了国家政权在政策层面上的赋予这条路径之外,还离不开基督教自身的争取和努力,无论是用抗争的形式(包括非暴力不合作,或是斯科特意义上的“弱者的武器”^⑬),还是用妥协共谋或附会的方式。当然,理想的情况还包括在立法意义上的根本上的认可^⑭。

(一)不仅仅是传教策略的慈惠、医疗和教育

需要提醒的是,在如今很多人都单单集中关注政治合法性这个重要维度时,不能忘记一个历史的案例乃至教训,即初期基督教的政治合法性取得其实要大大晚于其社会合法性的确立。斯塔克认为并不是君士坦丁颁布米兰敕令赋予了基督教在罗马帝国的合法地位,相反,君士坦丁所做的不过是在罗马人民已经广泛认可和接受的现实上盖了一个印章而已^⑮。

带着基督教何以在罗马帝国的诸多宗教中胜出这个问题,斯塔克找出了三个“成功秘诀”,开放的社会网络、好的道理,以及好的行动。斯塔克所说的第三点是说,基督教提供了当时社会需要而罗马帝国无法提供的社会服务,他列举了基督徒在瘟疫中的表现,在禁止杀婴及堕胎等问题上更良好的生活方式,以及基督徒用实际行动对罗马帝国根本无力解决的城市痼疾做出了重大改变^⑯。他认为,基督徒的这些“好行为”配合其“好道理”形成了其巨大的竞争力,“当其他所有的宗教的真实性都遭到质疑的时候,基督教却能对事态进行解释,对心灵进行安慰。甚至比这更重要的是,基督教的教义指

^⑬ 詹姆斯·C·斯科特 James C. Scott [James C. Scott] 著,郑广怀 Zheng Guanghuai 译,《弱者的武器》*Ruozhe de wuqi* [Weapons of the Weak], (南京 Nanjing: 译林出版社 Yilin chubanshe [Yilin Publishing House], 2007)。

^⑭ 一个常被忽略的事实是,在中国当下的政治安排中,基督教(或宗教)的问题其实应当被视为更为广阔的言论、集会、结社的问题,因而在那些更为重要或更为根本的问题没有得到妥善的安排之前,要想单就宗教问题得到一揽子的解决显然是不现实的。

^⑮ 罗德尼·斯塔尼 Rodney Stark [Rodney Stark], 黄剑波 Huang Jianbo、高民贵 Gao Mingui 译,《基督教的兴起:一个社会学家对历史的再思》*Jidujiao de xingqi yige shehuixue jia dui lishi de zai si* [The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History], (上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House], 2005)。

^⑯ 同上注。

示人们:不应该停止行动。这也就是说,基督教的方法看起来是十分有效的。”^{①⑦}

过往对于中国基督教的研究也多注意到慈惠和教育事工对于基督教的传播和发展的重要作用,这一点在天水基督教的早期进入的历史中也有所体现。例如,在基督教自己的史料之外,几种地方史志都提到,马殿臣等人开始了颇为成功的传教项目,他们主动接近群众,在冬天给穷人施舍棉衣、春荒时给贫民救济粮食,取得一些群众的了解和信任之后,再进一步登门拜访,很快就赢得了一批信徒。在利用福利方式传教的方式之外,他们也直接到街头、集市、庙会散发传单,赠送单本圣经、画片等,进行直接布道。几年之间,信徒就达到了100人以上。1894年还专设女教堂一处,并在中城新建福音讲堂一座。

在救济贫苦等慈善之外,与其他地方一样,基督教在天水还办医院,开学校,成为当地最早的现代医院服务和西式教育的提供者。尽管这种传教的同时也捎带上西式文明的做法也受到一些本土文化保护论者的批评(当然更多的还是政治意识形态意义上的批判),客观的看,他们对地方公共健康以及普通民众教育水平的提高起到了非常重要的作用。实际上,当初这些传教士所举办的医院和学校所培养出来的本地医护人员和其他各种文化精英,其中一些人至今仍活跃于天水以及更广的地区。这一点与柏格理(Samuel Pollard)等人在贵州石门坎所取得的成就相仿^{①⑧}。需要指出的是,在云南贵州一带的部分苗族人来说,柏格理所带来的不仅仅是上帝或救赎,也是对人们日常生活实际所需的满足,以及应对现代社会生活所要求的知识和才干。另外,他还不遗余力地帮助普通苗民免受土司及其他地方强权的侵扰,以至于他被一些苗民尊称为“苗王”。换言之,柏格理等人虽然是不折不扣的外人,但却被当地苗人接纳为自己人^{①⑨}。用我们这里的话语说,就是他及他所传讲的基督教在当地获得了社会合法性。与柏格理等人在苗人中的成就相比,天水基督教虽然也做出了种种努力,但显然还相去甚远。

(二) 自立运动与“中国人自己的教会”

在通过慈惠、医疗及教育等方式试图在地方社会中寻求获得社会认可之外,社会合法性的确立也与教会本身是差会教会,还是地方教会的性质有关。更直白地说,教会到底是谁的教会?是作为外国人的传教士的,还是作为自己人的(中国)本地人的?在这个问题上,所谓亲疏内外就显现出来了。就算改宗新信仰的人也是值得怀疑的,但是,毕竟,他们还是“我们自己的人”,或是血缘或婚姻上的亲属,或是地缘或业缘一以上的邻人。

从这个角度再来看19世纪末到1920年代这个时期,天水的基督教传教事业以及教会工作、管理都是外国宣教士占据绝对性的主导地位,无论在城区,还是在乡村,占据教会讲台的也还主要是宣教士。不过逐渐地本地信徒已经开始参与一些传教工作,尤其是最初步的福音性布道工作^{②⑩}。这在乡村教会特别明显,因为宣教士毕竟人手还是不够,不能象在城区教会一样常年派驻在每个乡村教会,只能是采用巡回牧养的方式。因此,相对而言,乡村教会这一时期本地人自主权要比城区教会更多,日常的教会事务基本上已经由本地人所掌握。

对于这种管理权力的失衡,一些本地信徒开始对教会一切教务、行政和经济大权掌握在宣教士手

^{①⑦} 同上注,页100。

^{①⑧} 阿信 Axin,《用生命爱中国——柏格理传》*Yong shengmin ai zhongguo—bogeli zhuan* [Love China with Life: a story of Samuel Pollard], (河南 Henan:大象出版社 Daxiang chubanshe [Elephant Press], 2009)。

^{①⑨} 这一点可以在韩国基督教那里得到最佳的印证,在韩国抗击日本统治的历史上,基督徒和教会坚决地与其他韩国民众站在一起,甚至一些信徒成为主要的参与者和领导者。而这一方面使得基督教吸引了大量的信徒,从社会层面上来说,则获得了完全的社会认同。或者说,韩国基督徒被接纳为有基督教信仰的韩国人。

^{②⑩} 例如,据《天水市基督教志》*Tianshui shi jidujiao zhi* [Christian History of Tianshui City]记载,1920年,三阳川张村信徒张真福到秦安县经商,经营西药并传讲福音,10多人先后接受。1923年,租房设立“福音堂”,信徒约30人。

中的状况表示不满。尽管后来成立了由信徒组成的执事会,但主要是做一些事务性的工作,真正的领导权还在宣教士那里。1919年“五四运动”以后,全国上下一片反帝爱国的呼声,并推动形成了“反基督教运动”。在对这个运动进行反思之后,作为一个回应,中国教会开始了一场声势浩大的自立运动。上海、广州等地先后成立“基督教(耶稣教)自立会”或“中华基督教会”。天水教会也受这个运动的影响,1928年改“福音堂”为“中华基督教会”,公推本地信徒曹泰、赵克忠为长老,主持教会工作,聘请康宗正、师生福、熊镇西为传道,宣讲福音,牧养信徒。同时还请号称“基督将军”的冯玉祥的部下、当地驻军将领佟麟阁师长亲笔书写“中华基督教会”匾额。并与上海“中华基督教总会”取得联系,得到会长诚静怡的支持,成为全国当时600多处自立教会之一。

天水教会自立之后,影响了陇南一带一些县城和乡村教会的重组。1928年,天水吴庄教会更名为中华基督教自立会,随后甘泉教会更名为甘泉寺基督教会,宣布与差会脱离关系。街子新建中华基督教街子镇教会,与原来的内地会福音堂分庭抗礼。1932年,甘谷成立渭阳镇中华基督教会,1936年再成立磐安镇中华基督教会,1944年,县城信徒在东关另建教堂,以“甘谷县中华基督教会”之名与内地会的“福音堂”形成对峙之势。

1930年,中华基督教总会派人访问天水教会,鼓励成立自立教会的地方性联合机构,便于统一指导工作、传扬福音。1933年,兰州成立甘宁青西北基督教联合会,同时在水成立陇南区会,以吴洁天为会长,由区会分派传道人到陇南地区的甘谷、秦安、清水、通渭、成县等地领会,牧养信徒。

虽然这个时期宣教士在教会中的领导权被削弱,但他们仍然在水地区继续进行福音工作,事实上也还有一部分教会和信徒没有完全脱离内地会的教会系统。而且与本地信徒领袖也并不是非常紧张的敌对关系,只是不再负责所有教会的行政和管理,而是作为“顾问”的身份为教会、信徒、以及本地领袖提供信仰上的帮助。因此,虽然教会自立了,但信仰上还是以内地会的基要派保守信仰为主体。换言之,尽管这个时期本地信徒在教会中已经逐渐成熟,而且在教会中日渐获得管理上的主导,并建立了一些组织机构上自主的教会,但是,从信仰上来说,他们仍然只能作为被教导或被辅导的角色。

这种状况一直持续到1951年,天水地区的最后一名内地会宣教士宋得时(W. A. Saunders)回到英国,宣告一个时代的结束。无论怎么评说这个共和国新政权全面驱逐外国传教士这个举措,一个客观的结果是使得中国基督教至少从教会治理角度上实现了本地化,从而也就在事实上使得中国基督教从此确实可以称得上是“中国人自己的教会”(Chinese Church)^①,而不再仅仅是“教会在中国”(Church in China),基督教的发展也就不再被视为一种“占领”(Occupation in China)^②。

(三)成为“基督徒中国人”

然而,更为重要的是,中国基督教能否以及是否已经如同韩国基督教那样完成从“中国基督徒”(Chinese Christian)到“基督徒中国人”(Christian Chinese)这样一个社会身份上的转化。在差会教会时期,长久以来的一个说法是“多一个基督徒,少一个中国人”,这种感受从一个中国人的角度来讲是非常正当的,因为当看到另一个中国人加入(或者被拉入)洋人(或洋人主导)的教会,那确实是一种“失去”一位同胞的心情。而这也是中国基督教自立运动的一个内在动力(当然也可以理解为是一种外在压力),试图将教会改造为中国人(或中国人主导)的教会。弔诡的是,这一过程的最终完成是借助了外力的干预,尽管国家政权有着完全不同的出发点和目标。

1950年代以后,所有公共事业都被国家接管,基督教不再有机会在慈善、医疗、教育等方面介入。但是,基督徒个体的“好行为”在日常生活中的实践不仅一方面成为不断吸引新信徒的一个方式,另一方面也在客观上逐渐取得部分地方民众一定程度上的认可。天水吴庄信徒张姨,54岁,右手残废,她

^① Daniel Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, (Wiley - Blackwell, 2011).

^② 这个说法取自20世纪上半期一个重要的宣教事业档案,中文译为《中华归主》。

在给我详细分享了她的“得救”的经历后说：

有一天我们聚会，那天圣灵在我们中间特别感动，大家在祷告的时候都哭了。我也在祷告中得了神的恩典^⑳，从那以后我就再也没想过不信了，我已经尝过神的味道了。（从那以后）我也不再想说求神医治我的手了，灵魂的得救比身体得医治不知要好多少倍。而且，神也让我就是因为手残废了而经历他的爱，他让弟兄姊妹来帮我，好多姊妹主动到我家来帮我做家务，帮我看孩子。后来田土分下户以后，一些弟兄又帮我家种地。84年，孩子他爸到县里一家单位开车，后来又给市政府开车，现在也还在开。两个娃娃也到了城里，上学方便一些。我舍不得村里的房子，常常回来住在这里。村里没有自来水，吃水都要到村头的井去担，我是担不起的，有些信主的娃娃就主动帮我担水。这些娃娃的信心都好着哩。

她的这个分享直接反映了基督徒社区里的信徒互助和“相爱”。圣经对信徒还有更高的要求，“有了爱弟兄的心，又要加上爱众人的心”（《新约·彼得后书》1章7节）。另一位信徒吴得恩给我讲了这样一个故事：

庄西头有一户念佛的，兄弟两个。大的在市里工作，小的留在庄里盖了新房子，房子盖得很好，生活也不错。但他们两个都不愿意抚养老母亲，让她一个人住在老房子里。房子时间长了，去年就塌了一次，后来是教会出面帮她新盖了一间。信主的人看她可怜，就偷偷给她一些面啊、菜啊什么的。她都80多了，下地是不行了，自己做饭还勉强可以。干么要偷偷的？嗨，怕挨她儿子媳妇骂，要说也真是的，她还是儿媳妇娘家的亲姑姑呢。他们骂信主的，不准我们帮忙，觉得我们是多管闲事，让他们没有面子，败坏他们的名声。信主的都很气愤，但也没有办法，只好继续偷偷帮助一些，能做多少算多少吧。大人不方便去的话，就叫娃娃们去，帮忙收拾收拾，挑点水呀什么的。

且不论这种信徒之间或对非信徒的关怀是否普遍见于吴庄信徒中，这种见证流传得又快又广，产生的影响是显而易见的。简言之，信徒个体的这些“好行为”与教会在社会环境允许时所开办的慈惠、医疗及教育服务显然都不能仅仅被视为基督教的传教策略而已，更深刻的意义在于这些行动帮助基督教这个外来的陌生人形象转化为自己人，至少是“熟人”。

不过，由于政治社会空间的限制，天水基督教（和其他地方一样）几十年来没有获得广泛开展慈惠、医疗和教育服务的渠道^㉑。更为重要的是，如今天水基督教自身的主导神学观念所主要关注的是个人得救及敬虔生活，而对社会参与和社会服务持一种就算不是排斥的态度，也是比较谨慎，担心其落入“社会福音”之弊^㉒，因此就算是有限度的展开社会事工，也主要是从传教策略（甚至手段）的角度来理解。其结果就是，基督教和基督徒在天水，尽管已经成功地成为地方社会的一个组成部分，但却是似乎可有可无的边缘部分。大而言之，基督教在中国尽管号称有数千万计的信徒群体，在生存意义上已经是无可争议的社会客观存在，但是，相对于巨大的整体人口以及社会来说，仍然不光是人数比例上的少数，更是社会意义上的边缘。因此，如果基督教自身不在神学观念上有所调整并在实践上有所作为，其在整体社会中获得认同的程度就仍会是一个长期的问题。

三、文化合法性的寻求：论证信仰合理性

对于基督教来说，得到中国社会的认同固是不易，而在文化上获得认同，至少是亲近，同时则减弱

^⑳ 指祷告中“说方言”，有特殊的灵里经历。

^㉑ 近些年来对于宗教等民间团体参与社会福利慈善事业的关注和呼吁日渐增多，也有迹象表明政府也在逐步开辟和允许一定限度内的渠道向这些团体开放。

^㉒ 在中国基督教中，基要派与社会福音派之争不仅是20世纪上半期的历史，其张力持续至今。

其“洋教”与“西方文明”的味道这个难度更大,特别是其近代以来”自西而东”强势进入的这个历史进程不仅是一个历史事实,对于中国人来说还是一个历史记忆,充满伤痛和耻辱感的记忆。换言之,就算在社会生活中基督徒被承认,基督教被接纳,在文化感情上仍然是疏离的,说得好听一些是有着不同的逻辑,直白一些就是仍是异类^⑥。

(一)托古改制:对联的转借与改造

就这个议题来说,明末来华的一些天主教传教士就已经敏锐地感受到了,并提出富有想象力的解释,试图在中国古代文化传统中寻找与基督教信仰相契合的因素。这批被称为索隐派的传教士所努力的是力图说明古代之中国本有敬天法祖的传统,将“神州”解释为“敬神之地”。这种思路无论是在古汉字上寻找基督教上帝的痕迹,还是试图在古典儒家经典中挖掘出对“人格天”的尊崇,或是如远志明那样甚至在老子的思想中寻找“道可道,非常道”与约翰福音中“太初有道”之间的关联的努力,其实质都是在试图论证基督教不仅不是所谓西方的宗教或文明,其实是我们自己老祖宗的东西,只不过被我们给遗忘了,现在所做的才是回归正道,才是真正的接续传统^⑦。有意思的是,这种做法不仅限于中国,基督教在日本也有人采取相似的进路,甚至拍摄出相应的电视片 *God's Fingerprint in Japan*。

我在天水基督教的观察最直观的感受就是当地信徒大量使用对联,其热忱度甚至远远超过当地其他人群。以吴庄为例,村庄中80%以上的院落都贴有门联,其中有超过80%所表达的是基督教信仰的内涵,而在村庄人口比重中基督徒最多也就30%^⑧。这看起来是一个多少有点奇怪的现象,因为通常被认为是背离中国传统文化的基督徒们不但大量使用了本土文化的表达形式,而且比自认为持守传统的非基督徒们用得更多。那么,这是不是可以说作为外来信仰的基督教,尽管通常被视为传统文化的威胁,却在事实上承担了一部分保存乡土传统文化、教育下一代的作用呢?而基督教如此作为的内在动力又是什么呢?看起来似乎与他们试图论证自己与地方文化传统的亲近性和相关性不无关系。

从这个角度来看,吴庄基督教之所以使用对联,在其进入村庄社区时多少有着求得当地文化认同的所谓“本地化”的期待,也可以认为是一种本地化的策略。有意思的是吴庄基督徒自己对这一问题的解释。我曾专门请教当地教会的伏叔和吴召仁为什么吴庄有这么多基督教对联这个问题,伏叔承认他还真没想过这个,不过他说,“很多不信主的人不愿意写”。他的邻居吴召仁的回答则非常精彩,“其实对联是取了当年摩西出埃及的意思,逾越节那天所有的以色列人家门上都要涂抹鲜血,你看现在的对联不基本上也是以红色为主吗?红色就是血的意思啊。”他这个话的实质上是在说通常被我们视为中国文化传统之一部分的对联实际上是来源于圣经文化,只是到中国的时间久了,大家就以为这就是中国本土的了^⑨。因此,基督徒利用对联来表达对上帝的信仰以及对上帝恩典的感谢不仅是合理的,而且是回到了正途,本就该是如此。吴庄基督徒对对联的这个解释应该就算是一种托古改制,努力在古典文化中寻求基督教的信仰元素。

^⑥ 值得关注的一个努力是谢文郁的进路,他试图从思想史的角度重新讨论约翰福音,进而应用到如今基督教对中国文化经典的解读上。谢文郁 Xie Wenyu,《道路与真理——解读约翰福音的思想史密码》*Daolu yu zhenli—jiedu yuehan fuyin de sixiangshi mima* [Way and Truth—Interpretation of the Gospel of John],(上海 Shanghai:华东师范大学出版社 Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe [East China Normal University Press],2012)。

^⑦ 参看远志明拍摄的系列电视片“神州忏悔录”*Shenzhou chanhuilu* [China's confession],以及袁步佳 Yuan Bujia,《〈老子〉与基督》*Laozi yu jidu* [Lao-tzu and Christ],(北京 Beijing:中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [China Social Sciences Press],1997)。

^⑧ 黄剑波 Huang Jianbo,“对联的哲学与政治 *Duilian de zhexue yu zhengzhi*” [philosophy and politics of the couplet],见吴梓明 Wu Ziming、吴小新 Wu Xiaoxin 主编:《基督教与中国社会文化》*Jidujiao yu zhongguo shehui wenhua* [Studies in Christianity and Chinese Society and Culture]第2辑,(香港 Hong Kong:香港中文大学宗教与中国社会研究中心 Xianggang zhongwen daxue zongjiao yu zhongguo shehui yanjiu zhongxin [Center of the Study of Religion and Chinese Society in CUHK],2006)。

^⑨ 这看起来似乎与焚香的来源类似。现在多数中国人已经将焚香视为中国传统礼仪中的一部分,但有人考证发现其实这是从印度随佛教传来,林耀华则进一步考证指出印度的焚香最早乃是从犹太人而来。见林耀华 Lin Yaohua,《义序的宗族研究》*Yixu de zongzu yanjiu* [The study of a Clan in Yixu],(北京 Beijing:三联书店 Sanlian shudian [Sanlian Bookstore Press],2000),246。

(二)吟诵式的唱诗崇拜：“神走近我们”

唱赞美诗是基督教中的一种常见的宗教敬拜仪式,信徒用歌唱的方式来赞美上帝,正如古代以色列人也大量使用诗歌来表达信仰一样。对于不少人来说,格里高利圣咏是最能代表基督教的音乐形式,但显然那是对于拉丁文化背景来说最能打动人心和贴近具有这种文化经验的信徒的赞美诗形式。对于中国信徒来说,用他们所熟悉的曲调来表达信仰的内容无疑具有特别的吸引力。这也正是历史上耶稣家庭等本土教派,以及其他教会所意识到的一点,并采取了一些具体的行动来推动这个想法。陶飞亚提到,耶稣家庭常借用了中国民间一些比较熟悉又容易哼唱的曲调,如流行的“老渔翁”、“高山流水”及“苏武牧羊调”等曲调来唱赞美诗。还有大多数的一些曲调在唱时,带有哼经那样的腔调^⑤。

作为礼拜聚会必不可少的一项活动,天水城区的基督教会的主日正式聚会时主要采用中国基督教协会编纂的《新编赞美诗》,尽管其中也有少量中国曲调的赞美诗,但多数仍然是西方教会传统的曲调和圣诗。但是在其他几乎所有的聚会,包括信徒家庭内或家庭之间的小型聚会,基本上都是用哼经的方式,其曲调大多是一些中国古曲的旋律。在乡村教会中则几乎完全不使用《新编赞美诗》。例如,最为流行的当数“诗篇 23 篇”,使用的就是“高山流水”的曲调。不过,当地信徒其实并不知道他们所唱的曲调乃是来自古曲,认为只是一种从上一辈口传下来的“诗歌传统”。尽管这首诗歌的曲调取自古曲,而且在中国其他地区的教会和信徒也广为流传,但是,天水地区的教会却比正常的曲调慢了好几倍,这首短短的诗歌常常需要用 10 多分钟才能唱完。

另一个值得关注的现象是,天水一带的基督徒在唱这类诗歌时全都不需要歌本,因为所有的歌词都直接是从圣经的经文而来,其中大多是《诗篇》。我们看到一些较为年长的信徒通常能唱数十首这样的诗篇,其中不乏非常长的诗篇,甚至所有诗篇中经节最多的 119 篇。这种赞美诗的唱法与多数我们所熟悉的大城市教会有很大的不同,信徒们一方面可以用这个方式背诵下来不少的经文,并且在实际的唱诗过程中,也确实是用一种吟诵的方式哼出来的,甚至一些长者会一边吟唱,一边摇头晃脑,其情景极为类似中国传统私塾里的夫子诵经。对很多信徒来说,特别年长者来说,吟诵诗篇本身似乎就是一种“更属灵的”崇拜,因为其内容“不是人所写的”,乃是“神自己的话语”。也就是说,在这个崇拜方式中,不仅是曲调本身能够贴近这些信徒,更是其中的歌词,即经文本身能够打动他们,并且带有更深的神圣意味,因为“神的话语每一句都带着能力”。

从某种程度上来说,这种地方化的信仰表达和崇拜方式不仅在一方面贴近了当地民众的生活经验,是一种传教策略,也是一种考虑到了当地信徒的文化场景,对他们在灵性上的有效牧养和关注,而且在另一方面可以说也给普世基督教信仰的表达上增加了一种新的方式,至少是在诗歌崇拜形式上的一种补充。更为重要的是,就我们这里所讨论的文化合法性的议题来说,其意义在于使得至少对于操演这种诗歌崇拜仪式的信徒来说,基督教的形象无疑显得更为可亲了一些,而不是西方或拉丁形式的那种或许显得庄严神圣,但却难脱陌生的面貌。关于这一点,在《十字架》系列片中一位受访者如此评论主要采用河南地方曲调的迦南诗选,她的说法大意如下:过去听西方赞美诗,感受到的是“我们走近神”,而听迦南诗选,更象是“神走近我们”。

(三) Reasonable Faith: 理性与哲学上的论证

在水地区特别是其广大乡村,基督徒之所以能借助门联等形式如此公开地表达自己地信仰,除了他们有内在动力试图论证自己的文化合法性之外,当然也多少与他们在当地社区的人口构成有关。也就是说,由于基督教在吴庄由于人数众多,基础比较雄厚,已经在事实上形成了一股相当强大的村

^⑤ 陶飞亚 Tao Feiya,《中国的基督教乌托邦:耶稣家庭(1921-1952)》*Zhongguo de jidujiao wutuobang: Yesu jiating* (1921-1952) [A Christian Utopia in China: The Jesus Family Movement (1920-1951)], (香港 Hong Kong: 香港中文大学出版社 Xianggang zhongwen daxue chubanshe [The Chinese University Press], 2004), 139。

庄势力,在吴庄这样的地方已经达到差不多30%,而这与全国平均的最多5%的人口比重相比,自是不可同日而语。因此,他们敢于,并在客观也能够通过对联的形式来公开表明自己的基督徒身份,而不被认为,或至少自己不认为是一件不光彩的事情。

确实,与天水吴庄基督徒所不同的是,据我在城市知识分子基督徒中的了解,相当部分人在归信后,仍然害怕被同事或同学知道自己的信仰,更不用说公开自己的“新身份”。这当中一方面是因为知识分子普遍认为宗教或信仰是非理性甚至反理性的,因此一般持蔑视的态度,而这在吴庄这样的农村则没有这个顾虑,因为按照唯物主义的观点来看,大家都一样“迷信”,只不过对象不同罢了。而且事实上,在基督教看来,当地所有其他信仰才是真正的“迷信”,因为“信错了”。另一方面,在城市还存在一定的政治风险和潜在的利益要害,即如果一个学生或职业人士宣布自己的信仰,通常会受到学校或单位的劝阻,对其将来的就业或升迁都会不利。对于这个方面,吴庄基督徒同样也几乎不用考虑。从这个意义上来说,农村的信仰环境要比城市宽松、有利。

而这一方面可以说明乡村相对于城市而言更宽松的政治空间,同时也大概可以看到现代科学理性在城市中显然更为盛行。也就是说,在天水吴庄这样的乡村,基督教只要在政治上获得一定的空间,在社会认可上得到一定程度上的接纳,然后需要的就是针对中国传统文化方面的议题做一些处理。但是,在城市处境中,特别是接受了现代国家统一的学校教育之后的人群中,基督教在前面这些议题之外,还需在科学与信仰、以及逻辑或哲学这样的层面去论证信仰的合理性。这也是为什么在城市基督徒中非常看重里程、范学德等人试图从科学、理性的角度对信仰合理性进行的论证^⑩,其中尤以里程之《游子吟》影响最为深远,广为流传,而范学德所著之《我为什么不愿成为基督徒》所表达的理性和文化认同上的挣扎则让很多与他同时代的中国人心有戚戚焉。

由于诸多原因的共同推动,罗素《我为什么不是基督徒》在中国相当受欢迎,特别是当其与民族情感相结合的时候,就成为一个强大的混合性的论证。在哲学与逻辑上对基督教信仰合理性进行论证的问题上,尽管中国也已经有一些基督徒或亲基督教的哲学家有所涉及,但目前显然还乏善可陈,不过也有通过译介和介绍美国圣母大学哲学家普兰丁格对基督教作为一种合理信仰(Reasonable Faith)的著名论证的诸多努力^⑪。

总体来说,无论从与中国传统文化的相关性论证,还是理性或哲学层面上的合理性论证,中国基督教虽然付出了不少的功夫,但基本上还没有摆脱文化上被忽视这个判断。在文化相关性方面,基督教与佛教的成功案例相比而言,所差就不可以道里计了。同样作为“外来者”的佛教,早已被接受为“中国人自己的信仰”,在文化上已经成为中国传统不可分割的一部分了。另外,在近年来展开的多项大型调查都显示出其是中国人的宗教方面的首选,如果他们要成为某个宗教的信徒的话。在信仰合理性方面,不仅是中国基督教,基督教整体上来说也是在科学理性的高歌猛进下且战且退,而且可以说是节节败退,前面所提的那些努力所产生的影响基本上只局限于信徒和教会范围之内,在公共知识领域的声音微乎其微。

四、信仰合法性的挣扎:神学传统与地方实践

前面提到,政治合法性、社会合法性和文化合法性所处理的是基督教如何在中国的政治、社会、文

^⑩ 他们虽然不是严格学术意义上的讨论理性与信仰、科学与宗教等问题,但却是最成功地在普及层面论证基督教信仰(特别是于中国人)的合理性的传播者。

^⑪ 阿尔文·普兰丁格 Alvin Plantinga [Aerwen Pulandingge], 刑滔滔 Xing Taotao 等译,《基督教信念的知识地位》*Jidujiao xinnian de zhishi diwei* [Warranted Christian Belief], (北京 Beijing: 北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Peking University Press], 2004)。

化格局中获得认可,得以扎根和发展,所要解决的是一个“生存问题”。然而,对于基督徒个体以及基督教作为信仰共同体来说,还必须处理一个对他们来说更根本的问题,即基督徒所说的“生命问题”,也就是他们如何面向上帝的问题。具体来说,就是中国基督徒和基督教如何理解圣经及教会传统。换言之,必须确立或被认可为大公意义上(catholic)的基督徒和基督教的基础之上^⑳,才有进一步讨论中国基督教在中国社会处境中的生存和发展的问題。反言之,就算所谓的中国基督教在中国社会开展得红红火火,在政治、社会和文化的层面上都得到了妥善的处理,却得不到普世教会的认可,或者说没有获得信仰上的合法性,对于中国基督教本身来说,可以说是白忙乎一场。

从这个角度大概就可以从另一个角度理解为什么对于天主教耶稣会的文化适应策略,当时的其他几个修会如此强烈的反对和担忧^㉑,以至教廷最后出面叫停(尽管这个过程几经周折和反复),即他们担心(或者真的看到了)文化上或许已经适应了,可是信仰也被妥协了,甚至信仰的独特本质被消化掉了。事实上,这种担忧并非完全是杞人忧天,不少历史学家(以及教会历史学家)对唐代景教和元代也里可温的考察就指出,他们对已有之政治力量(对王朝的依附)及文化元素(借用佛道概念)的过度使用,最终却成为其在历史上销声匿迹的重要原因。

另外,从这个角度也就可以理解一些观察者对于中国基督教界近些年动辄“中国特色”的提法的批评,认为那不过是民族主义情绪在教会中的一种反映和呈现。他们质疑道,单单强调所谓“中国的教会”还到底是不是“上帝的教会”(Is the church of China a church of God?)?

(一)“如此基督教”^㉒:传统的多与一

这个质疑有其合理的地方,但其设问本身基于一个需要讨论的前设,即基督教存在一个边界(boundary),或者有人更愿意使用的“核心”(core)一词来表明其相对开放的态度,但无论使用哪个词汇,都暗示了正统(orthodox)的存在。而这就涉及一个更为广泛的议题,即所谓正统,到底是哪个正统?是谁的正统?又是什么意义上的正统?换言之,即这样一个简单却又极难回答的问题,何为基督徒?以及何为基督教?

就如很多人对伊斯兰持有的极端、狂热、暴力等刻板印象一样^㉓,我们想像中的基督教似乎是一个内部同一、边界明确的宗教体系。但稍微考察一下历史和现状,就知道这离事实相去甚远。从现状来看,据称基督教存在数以万计的教派或类别,以至于有人说基督教内部之间的差异或许会大于其与非基督教之间的区别,甚至有人主张用复数的Christianities来取代一直使用的单数指称(Christianity)。而从历史上来看,也确实存在多样的传统,在我们所熟知的天主教、东正教及新教所代表的“西方”教会传统之外,其实一直存在一个被忽视的“东方”(叙利亚)教会传统^㉔,以及“南方”(科普特)教会传统。这些教会传统不仅与西方教会传统一样古老,而且也一直持续至今,并不仅仅是历史上的教会而已。

更细致的考察历史,就会发现早期基督教教父之间,如希腊教父与拉丁教父就有观点上很大的不同。甚至回到圣经文本,也可以发现保罗与彼得、雅各等人的差异。这种历史上的多样性当然在很大程度上与神学理解上的多样性相关(尽管纯粹的神学从来不是唯一的,可能也不是最重要的,教会彼此区别和区隔的原因),或许更让人震惊的是在实践上的多样性,甚至可以说千奇百怪。

但是,真正令人惊讶的是,基督教在如此的多样性的情况下,怎么可能维系了作为一个内在一致

^⑳ 这不是我们通常所用来指代天主教的Catholic,而是采用了其最原初的意义。

^㉑ 目前的观察尽管也看到不同修会的神学立场上的差异,但似乎更多的是从修会之间的竞争关系上做出解释。

^㉒ 此语是对C. S. Lewis著之Mere Christianity一书的中译,余也曾将其译为“返璞归真”。

^㉓ 关于伊斯兰的不同形态和风格,高度推荐格尔兹对摩洛哥和印尼的研究。Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed*, (University of Chicago Press, 1971).

^㉔ 这大概是最早与中国有关的基督教传统,我们所说的唐代景教即叙利亚教会传统中的一支。

的宗教在历史上存息和发展。对基督教的这种多与一的关系,奥尔森称之为“马赛克式”的基督教(Mosaic Christianity)^⑧,他试图在看似杂乱无章的片段中找出一个整体的拼图,即所谓 unity with diversities。

从这个角度再来看前面提到的中国的教会是否上帝的教会这个问题,一方面或许应当留意过分强调中国特色确实有可能不过是民族主义的情绪,但也当看到对这个问题的回答不能单是以所熟知的西方教会传统来作为衡量的标准。事实上历史学家早就指出一些如今被接受为(西方)基督教传统一部分的符号和节气其实与欧洲早期的某种地方文化有关,明显的如圣诞节,特别是圣诞老人、雪橇和驯鹿、乃至圣诞树这样的符号。更重要的是,正如陈佐人所指出的,路德和加尔文等人进行的宗教改革的意义之一就是重新审视当时的教会所持有的一些观点和实践,发现这些观点和实践其实并不像其自己所宣称的那样是绝对真理的一部分,而是相反不过是人们后来在自己的文化处境中以及一些现实利益的考虑下所提出的一种主张,而且这些主张逐渐被固化成为一种行为模式或“传统”。也就是说,一些相对的东西被绝对化了。要知道,行为方式成为习惯,习惯成为传统,传统成为“教义”,“教义”成为“律法”,成为一种似乎牢不可破的“结构”。换言之,被作为唯一规范的西方基督教其实也是普世基督教的一个“地方性”的表达。

因此,讨论中国基督教在信仰传统上的合法性,就有必要思考其中一个需要处理的问题就是如何处理基督教的普世性(universality)与地方性(locality)的问题。一方面,不能简单任意的将某种不合西方教会传统的实践和观念贴上非基督教,甚至反基督教的标签^⑨。同时也不能任意地借用那些源自地方文化传统的观念和符号,认为只要是有利于传教,有利于教会建造就可以不加选择的借用,而在事实上以“有没有用”作为标准取代了基督教更为看重的“真与非真”。也就是说,一些可能是绝对化的东西在处境化的话语下被相对化了。

这样一来,很可能的结果就是,在一段时期以内,我们或许不能有一个泾渭分明的基督教的与非基督教的完全清晰的界分,而更可能是一种相对模糊的边缘地带。这显然是一个比较痛苦的状态,因为没有人喜欢这种无法明确分类的情况,而这也是为什么我们用“挣扎”一词来描述中国基督教在这个议题上的思考和实践。

(二) 耶稣家庭的神学及“正统实践”

回到我们主要考察的天水基督教,前面提到了内地会和耶稣家庭两个主要的源流,其中后者对于地方基督教的形成及其特定形态影响更为显著。

历史的来看,1930年代到1940年代末是耶稣家庭进入天水地区传教并广泛发展的阶段。在这一时期,耶稣家庭在天水地区成立“小家”,取得了长足的发展,不仅信徒人数逐渐增长,其神学主张和实践也影响到了其他教会教派。另外,耶稣家庭还以天水为核心扩散到周边地区,如兰州地区^⑩。耶稣家庭影响下的教会主要在天水各乡镇发展,在一些地方出现和内地会影响下的教会交叉重叠的情况。在一些已经存在的内地会信仰传统的教会内部还因着耶稣家庭偏重灵恩等的信仰特点而出现了“新教”与“老教”之间的冲突,甚至教会分裂,例如三阳川的吴庄教会。

从时代大背景上来说,耶稣家庭与真耶稣教会、小群教会等本土教派的兴起在信仰上都深受19世纪英美基督教大奋兴运动的影响。这个大奋兴运动一方面是对启蒙运动的唯理主义的反动,同时

^⑧ 中文译本见奥尔森 Aoerssen [Roger E. Olson],《统一与多元的基督教》*Tongyi yu duoyuan de jidujiao* [Mosaic of Christian Belief], (香港 Hong Kong: 基道出版社 Ji dao chubanshe [Logos Publishers Ltd.], 2006)。

^⑨ 周伟弛近期对太平天国的重新考察是一个值得关注的研究。

^⑩ 据《甘肃省志》*Gansu sheng zhi* [The history of Gansu Province]载,1934年,山东泰安耶稣家庭创始人敬奠瀛与裴丙林、张风云、李明耀等到甘谷梁家庄建立陇南耶稣家庭,后又扩至兰州……据中华人民共和国成立初期统计,甘肃省境内的耶稣家庭以天水为中心下有小家11处,其中只有天水小庄为一等家,有信徒64人。其余均为二等家。

也是对自由派神学摧毁基督教信仰根基的回应,因此非常注重基督教信仰中的非理性或反理性部分的作用。在英国布道家约翰·卫斯理(John Wesley)的成圣(sanctification)观念影响下,19世纪广泛流行的圣洁运动(Holiness Movement)、神医运动(Divine Healing Movement)、前千禧年运动,以及20世纪的灵恩运动,都有将基督教“再巫术化”的倾向。按照韦伯的说法,这场运动的方向是去理性化的(de-rationalization)。这些思潮深深地影响了19世纪后期建立的信心差会,并通过信心差会的传教士影响到了中国本土教派的创始人,如小群教会的倪柝声、真耶稣教会的张保罗、以及耶稣家庭的敬奠瀛等。

裴士丹指出,耶稣家庭在宗教上与20世纪初传入中国的五旬节派有关,而且“正是与神召会(The Assembly of God)传教士安临来(L. M. Anglin)团体的接触,既给了敬奠瀛感情热烈的五旬节主义,也给他一个自给自足的平均主义的基督教社团的榜样,这些直接影响了敬奠瀛在1927年建立耶稣家庭。”^④耶稣家庭等本土教派的这种强烈的“再巫术化”倾向使得它们比西方传统宗派更为农民所欢迎,更容易接受。而这在1950年代以后不再有西方传教士在信仰上的指导之后,更显著的表现出来,其结果就是天水一带的乡村教会相当大程度上都是这样一种类型的基督教。例如,在信仰表达上,他们非常注重祷告。确实,基督教从教导上来说一直会强调祷告,认为在任何时候,基督徒都需要祷告,而且祷告是与上帝沟通的最有效,也是最直接的形式。如果说祷告乃是所有基督徒至少在教导上的共同强调的话,北道教会信徒的祷告则从内容和形式上带有明显的耶稣家庭印记。陶飞亚对山东马庄耶稣家庭的历史研究中提到,耶稣家庭“在祷告时通常会大声哭喊,并带有许多形体动作,如肢体的晃动等行为。注重被圣灵充满,‘说方言’。其创始者敬奠瀛本人就很推崇在祷告的时候痛哭和讲方言。”^⑤

耶稣家庭的这种灵恩派的祷告方式在如今仍然得到了延续和强调。就我的观察所见,他们在祷告的时候,每逢祷告必带着哭腔和(或)流眼泪。无论是教会的长老还是一般的平信徒,皆是如此。在他们看来,一个基督徒是否真正悔改,是否有圣灵的感动,是否会被圣灵充满,关键就是看他在祷告中是否“得着”。而“得着”的具体表现在他们认为就是在祷告中哭泣流泪。显然,在这个形态的基督教会里,所强调的不是“正确的教义”(orthodoxy),而是“正确的礼仪”(orthopraxy)及“正确的感情表达”(orthopathy)。

(三)生活场景与地方基督教的生成

一般来说,天水一带的教会每年有三次“大聚会”:农历春季、秋季聚会和圣诞节聚会。这种类型的大聚会每次有三到五天的时间,其间所有的信徒每天一起用饭,唱诗赞美、祷告讲道。举办圣诞节大聚会固然是可以理解的,而春季和秋季的大聚会则明显可以看到教会在本地信徒生活场景中对农业生活周期的一种调适。陶飞亚提到,“耶稣家庭规定在每年正月初一和六月初一各大聚会一次,……1934年春季更多达1100多人。”^⑥之所以选择这两个日期,其实并不奇怪和复杂,对于农人来说,这正是一年之中的农闲季节。富有趣味的是,对于春季的大聚会来说,正好契合了中国传统的春节庆祝的机会,只不过却移植入了基督教的信仰内容,完全取代了传统中国春节中一般会涉及的家祭和墓祭等内容。

还需要看到的是,这种对当地信徒原本生活场景的契合不仅体现在对于聚会时间的选择和确定

^④ Bays, Daniel H. “Christianity in China, a case study of Indigenous Christianity: The Jesus Family, 1927 - 1952”, *In Religion, Journal of KSR*. (Oct. 1988. Vol. 26. No. 1), 3.

^⑤ 陶飞亚 Tao Feiya,《中国的基督教乌托邦:耶稣家庭(1921 - 1952)》*Zhongguo de jidujiao wutuobang: Yesu jiating (1921 - 1952)* [A Christian Utopia in China: The Jesus Family Movement (1920 - 1951)], (香港 Hong Kong: 香港中文大学出版社 Xianggang zhongwen daxue chubanshe [The Chinese University Press], 2004), 65 - 66.

^⑥ 同上注,页 81 - 83。

上,还可能在一些神学内容和崇拜方式上有一定的契合性。Murray A. Rubinstein 在研究台湾真耶稣教会等本土教派的发展时,指出它们广为民众接受的其中一个原因,是其教义与礼仪的形式与传统中国的宗教和谐一致 (congruence)。他提到了三点:第一,真耶稣教会等有圣经主义 (Biblicism) 的倾向,凡事都得引经据典,援引圣经的权威。这与传统中国人尊重传统典籍,出入诸子百家,喜欢引述圣贤的说法相仿。第二,他们非常看重撒旦、邪灵与天使等位置,及其对人间的作用。这与中国民间宗教所宣扬的一个神佛世界、神明对人间有广泛而真实的影响相仿。第三,真耶稣教会强调应用圣灵恩赐,特别是在崇拜聚会中说方言、或圣灵附体传达神谕。这与传统民间宗教的神灵附体、童占颇为相似^④。

应该说,耶稣家庭与真耶稣教会之间有着相当大的共性,尽管从解释上并不一定与 Rubinstein 的观点一样。实际上,我们需要处理的问题乃是,为什么耶稣家庭这样一个强调灵恩、注重“被圣灵充满”和“说方言”的本土教派在水乡乡村社会中更容易为信徒所接受? 回答这一问题之前,我们先来考察一个相关问题,为什么理性模式的西方传统基督教难为中国乡村社会所接受?

不少学者在研究 19、20 世纪基督教在华宣教历史时,都强调基督教无法见容于知识分子,在社会上层没有建立深厚的根基,对主流社会和文化没有太大的影响力^⑤。这个论断无疑是正确的,但并不准确,因为基督教不仅没能在上层建立深厚的基础,从绝对数字上来看^⑥,在任何一个社会阶层的影响力都是非常有限的。事实上,基督教一直主要在沿海的城市中传播,藉着教育、医疗及各种社会服务,吸引城市的贫民和知识分子信教。即使在内地会及其他注重未得之地布道工作的差会建立之后,也未能扭转基督教的传播重东南轻西北的普遍现象。基督教的教堂集中坐落在人口稠密的大城市里,按比例而言,信徒多是城市居民,而非农民^⑦。尽管当时的差会及中国教会也都注意到这个问题,也做了一些努力,但其策略仍然是照搬城市宣教的方式,收效甚微。这样,基督教仍然不能在乡村社会真正扎根,继续保持在“基督教在乡村”这个阶段,而未转化为契合乡村社会文化的“乡村教会”。

更为重要的是,造成这个基督教集中在城市发展,而信徒也多为知识分子和工人阶层现象的因素,除了传教资源分布(偏重沿海城市而轻内陆农村)与传教策略应用外,基督教的信仰形态与中国农民社会心理格格不入,也是一个重要因素。此即一些学者指出的,农民一般执着于迷信,传统信仰和习俗根深蒂固,同时民智未开,排外心理严重,对作为“洋教”的基督教信仰深有抵触。事实上,更为深层的原因在于,经过启蒙运动唯理主义漂洗之后的西方基督教与中国传统民间宗教在理性化程度存在巨大的差异。按照韦伯提出的评估宗教理性化程度的标准^⑧,经过宗教改革后的基督教的理性化程度显然最高。清教徒拒绝神迹奇事,禁止一切人为的控制手段,甚至连宗教礼仪都非巫术化,尽量压缩圣礼和象征的地位和作用。上帝与人及世界的关系主要是伦理关系,只有伦理上的表现在上帝眼中才有宗教价值。相反,中国的民间信仰却压倒性地是巫术化了的,相信人可藉着某些宗教性的手段,驾御超自然力量,具有显著的萨满性质。因此,极度理性化的西方基督教要想在长期为民间信仰

^④ Rubinstein, Murray. “Holy Spirit Taiwan: Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in the Republic of China”, in D. H. Bays. Ed. *Christianity in China: From 18th Century to the Present*. (Stanford Univ. Press. 1996), 360-362.

^⑤ 孙善玲 Sun Shanling, “中国民间基督教 Zhongguo minjian jidujiao” [Chinese Folk Christianity], 高师宁 Gao Shining、何光沪 He Guanghu 主编,《基督教文化与现代化》*Jidujiao wenhua yu xiandaihua* [Christian Culture and Modernization], (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [China Social Sciences Press], 1996)。

^⑥ 从马礼逊 1807 年到广东算起,至 1949 年,100 多年的宣教努力只赢得 70 多万信徒,占全国人口不到 0.3%,比例极低。

^⑦ 据《中华归主》*Zhonghua gui zhu* [Occupation in China] (中册, 832 页) 记载,1920 年时,中国 5 万居民以上的城市有 176 个,人口总数为 2500 多万,占全国人口的 6%。而基督教有 66% 的传教士、34% 的华人受薪传道人和 24% 的领圣餐信徒分布在城市。

^⑧ 韦伯的标准有二:宗教与巫术之间的界限是否分明;宗教对上帝与世界之间的关系做了何种描述,两者的关系是否稳定,是否集中在伦理层面。

占据的中国农村扎根是极为困难的^{④⑨}。

在这个文化场景下,复原主义立场的耶稣家庭信仰就很容易和舒适地找到了其切入点。他们认为2000年的西方教会历史,已经偏离了耶稣基督为教会所设定的正确道路,附加了许多人为的、文化的因素在其中,从而隐没了基督教的真正精神。梁家麟提到,复原主义者认为基督教最完备的教导和组织模式已由耶稣及使徒充分说明和示范了,清楚地记载在新约圣经里。2000年教会史中一切教义、礼仪和神学的建构,不仅是多余和不必要的,更是错误的,将基督教带入歧途的。因此他们主张恢复初期教会的所有名称和做法,将基督教还原为最基本的形态,废弃所有教义定案、宗派组织和神学传统^{⑤⑩}。因此,敬奠瀛不仅像马丁·路德和加尔文等宗教改革者一样主张要“回到圣经去”,并且要“回到使徒去”,也就是说,教会的信仰、礼仪、典章制度,都得严格按照新约圣经的直接教训和间接榜样来重新规划,当然使徒行传是教会生活最重要的蓝本和典范。同时,他强调采取字面主义(literalism)和灵意解经(spiritual interpretation)^⑥的方式来直探圣经原文,摒弃所有的工具书及前人的研究成果,徒手直接地单单阅读圣经。圣经说什么,就照着执行,这种简单易行,不需要复杂的思辨和学术论证的信仰和实践显然比西方理性化的信仰模式符合农民的口味。在这种复原主义理念的影响下,耶稣家庭极为强调信徒生命的改变,生活和行为上的见证,要求信徒“要一切为了主”,要像初期教会时代信徒彼此相爱,教会应当能“见证神的荣耀”。信徒生活中的改变和教会中的彼此关怀也在客观上成为吸引其他人归信的因素。

另一个能契合本地基督徒原本生活场景的就是与末世主义相结合的灵恩主义教导。宋军的研究提到,中国基督教普遍接受前千禧年主义的末世论在很大程度上与中国传统中的末世情结和关怀有关,至少在表现上有不少的先例,比如弥勒信仰、无生老母等^⑦。末世主义的另一个特点就是认定人类即将面临历史的终局,这是一个最好和最坏的时代,圣灵和邪灵的活动同样频繁,并且一切事物都在过渡的流动状态中,没有任何建制(包括教会与神学在内)值得保留^⑧。而这可以很方便地借用来反对既定的政治/社会/权力结构。马丁在其关于灵恩运动的经典研究中指出,灵恩运动之所以得到全球范围内的流行,其中一个很重要的方面就在于:尽管他们在挑战精英的独裁,但却没有以明显的政治形式来表达^⑨。斯托尔的研究更进一步提出,灵恩主义为反对男性统治提供了重要的支持^⑩。这个观察也适用于天水一带的乡村教会,在这里妇女信徒占绝大多数,而且大多倾向于灵恩。在这些教会的所有类型的聚会中,每次同声祷告时使用“方言”最多的总是妇女,似乎是在用一种不明显的方式对男性信徒占据讲台和话语权提出平和的挑战。另外,我们也注意到妇女普遍希望能找到与人分享自己的内心情感的机会。灵恩主义聚会中的情感投入和宣泄要比保守福音派教会要更自由和通畅,这自然受到了许多信徒,特别是女信徒的欢迎和认同。

简言之,耶稣家庭这样的本土教派的特定神学传统和信仰实践,在与天水这样的内陆乡村社会的

^{④⑨} 一个有趣的现象是,1949年前的天主教在中国农村传播更为成功,成功地在一些地区建立了“天主教村”。其原因或许与天主教比基督教更重视礼仪和象征,“巫术”成分更多,且更倾向于集体主义和传统主义,而不是新教的个人主义有关。

^{⑤⑩} 梁家麟 Liang Jialin,《改革开放以来的农村教会》*Gaige kaifang yilai de nongcun jiaohui* [The Rural Churches of Mainland China Since 1978],(香港 Hong Kong:建道神学院 Jian dao shenxueyuan[Alliance Bible Seminary],1998),148。

^⑥ 这与寓意解经(allegorical interpretation)不完全一样,前者在解释上基本不考虑经文的上下文(context),及其具体的历史社会背景。

^⑦ 宋军 Songjun,《基督教与中国民间信仰》*Jidujiao yu zhongguo minjian xinyang* [Christianity and Chinese Folk Religion],未刊书稿。

^⑧ Land, Steven J. *Pentecostal Spirituality: a Passion for the Kingdom*. (Sheffield Univ. Press. 1994.) 18.

^⑨ Martin, D. *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America*. (Oxford: Blackwell. 1990).

^⑩ Stoll, D. *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth*. (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press. 1990).

日常生活场景中得到了落实和富有创意的发展。或许对于这些教会能在多大程度上符合西方教会传统的正统教义还有待商榷,但更为关键的是,它在这个佛道儒诸种传统已然十分丰富的社会中,成功地吸引了相当一批的信徒,让他们建立起明确的基督徒的身份认同,并在日常生活中用一方面延续自己所理解的神学传统,另一方面灵活地调整与地方文化传统及非基督徒之间的关系。从这个意义上来说,地方基督教的形成乃是一个行动者的主动构建过程,也是外在结构对教会和信徒个体的型塑过程,这个结构既包括社会政治结构,也包括教会传统所形成的类似于结构性框架。借用伯格和卢克曼的话说就是:“社会是人类创造的;社会是一种客观现实;人是社会的产物。”^⑤

五、结论与讨论

在对这个远处中国西北内陆的教会的考察中,我们可以看到一个地方性教会在寻求生存合法性和信仰合法性的互动过程中的生成。这里的主要关注是,作为一种地方基督教的形态,它在其处理被当地社会所接受以及被信仰传统所接纳的张力的过程中,乃是如何丰富了普世的基督教,至少在信仰表达形式上的丰富。

需要指出的是,我们这里分辨出来的所谓合法性的四个维度,不过是为了便于我们的讨论而提出的分析框架,对于基督教,特别是具体的基督徒和教会自身来说并没有如此明确的意识。另外,这里也完全没有暗示在这四个维度中存在一个时间或重要性程度上的序列。事实上,当我们观察基督教在天水这个具体地方的生成过程时,可以意识到这几个维度同时在进行,甚至一些观念和行为本身就可能同时是超过一个维度的意义。例如,我们提到自立运动中本土信徒逐步得到认可和教会的话语权,这一方面当然可以作为社会合法性取得的一个表达,同时也能够从政治合法性的角度予以说明,而一旦本土信徒增加在教会中的参与和带领职责,必定会带来一些文化上的转借、挪移和创造,从而也可以转化为一个文化合法性的议题。不能忽略的一点是,基督徒或基督教会做事,可以说任何事,都需要有一个神学上的解释或理由,即新教徒常说的“是否符合圣经”,传教士在地方教会的逐渐淡出本身是可以在圣经中找到支持的,因此这也不可避免的也是一个神学或信仰合法性的议题。总结起来,我们试图用合法性这个关键词来重新理解中国基督教的历史过程,以及评估其当下的实际处境,以便换一个视角来对加深中国社会的性质,以及基督教的性质的理解。

就后者而言,如果说神学或信仰合法性是在处理基督教的神圣超越性这个(人-神)纵向维度的话,那么政治、社会、文化合法性问题其实可以被视为在处理其社会关联性这个横向的维度^⑥。这纵横两个方面的维度之间本身是存在一定的张力的,但更又是其维持其活力所必要的创造性机遇。如果只看到基督教的神圣超越性这个维度,就很容易落入到仅仅是对经典、对教义的关注,从而只是从被传讲的基督教这个层次来看基督教。而对于基督教自身来说,也就只是蜕变为一个与社会隔绝的隐修团体,成为古代爱色尼人在今天的翻版^⑦,失去与世界的关联,也就谈不上对世界言说和影响的能力,事实上,这样的基督教是没有办法生存下去的。反过来,如果没有信仰合法性,对于基督教来说问题同样是致命的,因为那样一来,所谓基督徒徒留“徒”这一个字而已,所谓基督教所剩下的只是“教”而已,而把它之所以区别于其他人或其他人群的独特性丢失掉了。

这么说来,很容易就掉入一个常见的境地,即似乎这是一个非此即彼的困境,或所谓的张力。但

^⑤ Berger, Peter L. & Luckman, Thomas, *The Social Construction of Reality*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1966), 61.

^⑥ 按王东成教授的说法,此即“分别为圣”与“道成肉身”。

^⑦ 指耶稣时代的犹太人中的一个群体,他们主张隐修以脱离外部世界的侵蚀,维系自己的神圣信仰。

是,正如一位朋友的提醒,事实上,所谓的张力有时候并不是真的实存的张力,而只是解释的张力^⑤。而另一位朋友则进一步提出,这两者其实是互相印证或成全的关系,而非所感受到的那种紧张关系,甚至可以说,如果基督教和基督徒整合地实践出其完整的“福音”和整全的信仰,那么在信仰合法性取得的同时就已在实际上落实了政治、社会和文化上的合法性^⑥。

^⑤ 来自与浙江大学章雪富教授等人的交流,很受启发,于此致谢。

^⑥ 来自与杨大斌兄的交流。

English title:
Legitimacy and the Becoming of Local Christianity

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Abstract: Abstract: Based on the field study of a church in Northwestern China, this article depicts how a local Christianity form comes into being with a struggle between existential legitimacy and religious legitimacy. In the process of dealing with the tension between acceptance by the locals and religious traditions, the local church somehow enriched the forms and expressions of global Christianity. Besides the case itself, the article also tries to propose a theoretical framework for a better understanding of Christianity in Chinese society.

Key words: local Christianity, legitimacy, religious expression

中西经典与圣经
Chinese and Western Classics
and the Bible

Foundations for a Harmonious Society in Paul's Letter to the Ephesians

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Abstract: Paul's letter to the Ephesians provides a comprehensive framework for laying theoretical foundations for a harmonious society. This article first locates an epistemological basis for harmony in the revelation of God given in Scripture, then outlines Paul's understanding of ontology as it relates to social harmony. Finally, the ethical instructions in *Ephesians* for working out harmony in the family, church, and larger society are briefly described. A few comparisons with Confucius, another major proponent of social harmony, will be made during the course of the article.

Key words: harmonious society, epistemological basis, ontology, ethical instruction, comparison

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INTRODUCTION

Building a harmonious society is not just an urgent priority for the current Chinese government; nor is it only a long-held ideal for Chinese since the time of Confucius; it is also a universal human desire.

Over the centuries, Christians have found resources in the Bible for promoting social harmony; indeed, if you include the concept of brotherly love in your idea of social harmony, then you will see the profound connection between fundamental Christian doctrines and the longing which we all have for loving relationships with others.

As Ephesians 1:10 shows, Paul's letter to the Ephesians^① focuses on social, even cosmic, unity, which is one word he uses to express the concept of "a harmonious society."^② Indeed, the

① For a variety of reasons, the Pauline authorship of Ephesians has been disputed. For a recent denial, see Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians* (Dallas: Word, 1990). For a strong and, to me at least, convincing defense, see Peter O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 37 - 47.

② For a brief commentary of Ephesians in Chinese, see my 新約中的瑞士 - 洞悉以弗所書精髓. Pauline theology in general is well treated in Leon Morris, *New Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986); Herman Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975); and G. E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*, ed. Donald A. Hagner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993). Morris and Ladd's books have been translated into Chinese.

future “summing up” of “all things” in Christ is the goal towards which this epistle constantly looks, so that this verse is the “pivotal statement,” not just of the introductory passage,^③ but of the entire letter. As O’Brien puts it: “Cosmic reconciliation and unity in Christ are the central message of Paul’s letter to the Ephesians.”^④ Another term important in *Ephesians* is peace, which is mostly used objectively, as the state of reconciliation and therefore of ontological unity.^⑤

Our study will move in the following direction:

First, the epistemological basis for Paul’s proposal for universal peace (unity, harmony). Without a solid grounding in reliable truth, no plan for a harmonious society will be sustainable.

Second, the ontological basis for universal peace. Without a correct understanding of fundamental reality, including the true nature of man and woman, social harmony cannot be attained.

Finally, Paul’s ethical teaching on social harmony. We shall examine:

The various spheres in which he urges his readers to strive for peace (i. e., family, workplace, church [a small society], and society), and the specific instructions for individuals in each sphere.

The motives for striving towards peace with others.

The obstacles to social harmony.

Power to overcome obstacles to harmony with others.

The role of peace with God in seeking social harmony

The eschatological framework for social harmony today.

Along the way, we shall briefly note a few comparisons and contrasts between Paul’s program and key principles found in the *Analects* of Confucius.^⑥

Ancient Greek and Roman philosophy had three categories: epistemology, ontology, and ethics. Western philosophy has generally followed this pattern, and in that order.^⑦ First: Is there any truth? Can we know the truth? How can we know truth? What is the truth that we know? Second: What does this “truth” tell us about reality? The universe; “God” (or gods); mankind; ethical principles; other realities (such as spirits, etc.) Finally: Based on a knowledge of truth about reality, we build an ethical system that accords with reality.

Epistemology, then, forms the basis for all other thinking and action.

HARMONIOUS SOCIETY IN PAUL’S LETTER TO THE EPHESIANS

Epistemology

Paul’s writing, including his epistemology, flows from certain assumptions, which he does not try to prove. These include:

There is a God who has revealed himself. Like the rest of the Bible, Paul’s letter to the Ephe-

③ T. Moritz, “Summing Up All Things: Religious Pluralism and Universalism in Ephesians,” in *One God, One Lord*, eds. B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke (Cambridge: Tyndale House, 1991), 96, quoted in O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 111, n. 96.

④ O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 58.

⑤ O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 193 – 195.

⑥ Since this paper is about Paul’s thought, not that of Confucius, references to the latter will be confined to listing of passages in the *Analects* and a few other books on Confucianism and Christianity. For a detailed comparison of Confucius and Jesus, see my *Confucius and Christ* (孔子與耶穌——論語 V. S. 聖經約翰福音. Ralph R. Covell, *Confucius, the Buddha, and Christ: A History of the Gospel in Chinese* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1986); includes such a comparison in his helpful survey of Christianity and Chinese cultural interactions.

⑦ See, for example, “philosophy,” in *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy: New Edition*, ed. Ted Honderich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 702.

sians assumes the existence of God, an all – powerful Creator who also governs the affairs of men and nations in a way that is wise and loving.^⑧ He refers to this God in a variety of ways, but most especially as the Father, uniquely of the Lord Jesus Christ and of his people as they are related to Christ by faith.^⑨

This God has not remained hidden, but has disclosed vital information about himself and his will for mankind.^⑩ Of course, such information is meant to serve not only as mere data to be known, but as the ground and content of a vital relationship with God through faith in Jesus Christ.^⑪ As Creator of the world, God possesses the right to reveal his will and ways to whom he chooses, and at the times and in the manners of his sovereign choice.^⑫

Paul says that God has disclosed to his chosen apostles and prophets information about human salvation that no one else has been privileged to know;^⑬ that he is one of these chosen recipients of revelation;^⑭ and that the special insight that was given to him concerns the union of people of all sorts with each other through faith in Christ.^⑮

God's revelation has come by the work of his Spirit to chosen spokesmen,^⑯ and is recorded in the Old Testament Scriptures^⑰; the Old Testament culminates in the revelation of God in the person and work of Jesus Christ; and, as we have said, we know this through the revelation given to Christ's chosen apostles, of whom Paul was one. The intimate connection between the Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament shows up in many ways in Ephesians, perhaps not least in the varieties of images and metaphors used, as well as titles for God and for Christ, that come straight from the pages of the Old Testament.

A few examples would include such words and concepts as: redemption,^⑱ sin,^⑲ salvation,^⑳ temple,^㉑ praising God,^㉒ prayer,^㉓ sacrifice,^㉔ Law of God,^㉕ covenant(s),^㉖ faith,^㉗ and many more.

This idea of special revelation as the only authoritative source of accurate knowledge about essential truth differs from: rationalism; empiricism; pure intuition; traditional myths and stories. We

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- ⑧ Ephesians 1:1, 4, 11, 19, 22; 2:4, 7; etc.
⑨ Ephesians 1:1, 2, 3, 5, 17, and often.
⑩ Ephesians 1:9; 3:2 - 3.
⑪ Ephesians 1:13, 15, and often.
⑫ Ephesians 3:5, 9.
⑬ Ephesians 3:5.
⑭ Ephesians 1:1; 3:4, 7, 9.
⑮ Ephesians 3:3 - 5, 6.
⑯ Ephesians 3:5.
⑰ Romans 1:1 - 2; 10:11, 16; 1 Corinthians 15:3 - 4; etc.
⑱ Ephesians 1:7.
⑲ Ephesians 1:7; 2:1.
⑳ Ephesians 1:13; 2:5; 5:23.
㉑ Ephesians 2:21.
㉒ Ephesians 1:3 - 14.
㉓ Ephesians 1:16 ff.; 3:14 - 21; 6:18 - 19.
㉔ Ephesians 5:2.
㉕ Ephesians 2:15.
㉖ Ephesians 2:12.
㉗ Ephesians 1:13, 15.

can readily discern differences with Confucius' *Analects*, as well as similarities. ㉔ On the one hand, Confucius does seem to believe that Heaven has granted him some sort of special knowledge; ㉕ on the other he seems to rely much more on historical tradition ㉖ and on careful observation of human experience. ㉗ He is quite modest about his own knowledge. ㉘

God's revelation accords with reason, human experience, and our conscience, and it can be known by all those who seek for truth and trust in God's Son Jesus. ㉙ The central term "mystery" does not refer to an esoteric doctrine hidden deep in God, but an openly – disclosed wonder to be received with faith and spread abroad to the whole world. ㉚ Indeed, as we shall see, both the nature of the mystery and the wide propagation of it are core elements of Paul's view of harmonious society.

Ontology

On the foundation of this doctrine of knowledge, Paul builds his doctrine of reality; the fundamental nature and structure of all that exists. ㉛ Very briefly, we can say that Paul believes in the reality of God, as we have seen; the spirit world; ㉜ the created order; ㉝ mankind. He also thinks of time as past, present, and future, including an eternal future. ㉞

Like the rest of the Bible, in Ephesians we see that there is a God: He is one, ㉟ holy, ㊱ just (righteous), ㊲ loving, ㊳ wise/intelligent, ㊴ personal, ㊵ and, indeed, "social." As Father, Son,

㉔ For a comparison and contrast of Confucius and Jesus, see Xinzhong Ya, *Confucianism and Christianity: A Comparative Study of Jen and Agape* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1996), 53 – 66. For a broader comparison, see Julia Ching, *Confucianism & Christianity: A Comparative Study* (New York: Kodansha International, 1977).

㉕ *Analects*, 7.22 (23). See also 14.35. Passages from the *Analects* are cited from the English translation by Chichung Huang, *The Analects of Confucius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); the book and chapter numbers may vary some from other editions. In this citation, the other citation follows in parentheses.

㉖ Among countless passages see, for example, *Analects* 7:17; 8:8, 11, 18.

㉗ E. g., *Analects* 9:18; 15:13.

㉘ See, for example, *Analects* 9:8.

㉙ The late Carl Henry expounded this at great length, especially in *God, Revelation, & Authority*. For a brief treatment of his doctrine of revelation, see G. Wright Doyle, *Carl Henry: Theologian for All Seasons* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 51 – 61

㉚ Ephesians 1:9 – 10; 3:1 – 10; O'Brien, *Ephesians*, 108 – 110.

㉛ For a comparison of Christian and New Confucian ontology, see Grant Chen, *The Concept of Ultimate Reality in Tu Wei-ming and Cheng Chung-yin: A Comparative Study of New Confucian and Christian Understandings*, Unpublished dissertation for Trinity International University, Deerfield, Illinois, 2002.

㉜ Ephesians 1:3, 21.

㉝ Ephesians 1:4, 3:9.

㉞ Ephesians 1:1; 3:5.

㉟ Ephesians 1:4, 10, 21; 3:5.

㊱ Ephesians 1:6.

㊲ Ephesians 1:4; 4:24.

㊳ Ephesians 5:9; Romans 2:26; see also passages in Ephesians which speak of God's judgment/punishment of wickedness, such as 2:2 – 3; 5:5 – 10.

㊴ Ephesians 1:4; 2:4; 5:1 – 2.

㊵ Ephesians 1:8, 11, 17.

㊶ God's personality permeates all of Paul's references to Father, Son, and even Holy Spirit, who can be "grieved" (Ephesians 4:30).

and Holy Spirit, this God has always enjoyed within himself a “harmonious society.”⁴⁶ As the hymn says, they are a “trinity of love and power.” To take only one example, the Son of God is “his beloved”.⁴⁷

Confucius seemed also to have believed in some superior being, called Heaven (*Tian*), who seems to have some personal characteristics, such as understanding and will.⁴⁸ He does not present a well – developed concept of a supreme being, however, since he realized that he could not know much about things that are not seen.⁴⁹ Still, Heaven was assumed to be just and righteous.⁵⁰

With Paul, as in the rest of the Bible, the universe is created by God; it is not self – existent; nor is it radically contingent on anything except the ongoing governance of its Creator.⁵¹ Paul would not accept the Buddhist conception of the world as illusion; or the materialist view that all of reality is contained in the visible world. This has huge implications for our concept of how to build a harmonious society.

Men and women are created by God, in his image.⁵² They are thus of great value, and have the potential to know God, love God, and imitate God's moral qualities.⁵³ Which is to say, we are not only animals, but human beings with a mind and a spirit.⁵⁴ We have bodies,⁵⁵ and we have a soul.⁵⁶ Both are important to God, but Paul would agree with Jesus that the salvation of the soul in this life is necessary for the salvation of both soul and body for all eternity.⁵⁷

Confucius, too, would have valued human life, and he acknowledge an inner, unseen dimension to human nature. We are not just bodies, but we possess ethical and aesthetic sensibilities which must be honored and followed. All of his comments dealing with the moral life demonstrate this conviction of his.

But—to continue with Paul—there is also a principle of evil in the universe, whose origin remains a mystery. This wickedness is personified in an evil being, Satan, who opposes God's purposes.⁵⁸ Long ago, he deceived our original parents into disobedience towards God and disregard of each other's dignity and well – being.⁵⁹ As a result, all people are now radically affected by “sin,” which is any lack of conformity to God's character and will.⁶⁰ As a result, they are unable to love

⁴⁶ Both explicit and implicit references to the Trinity are found in several passages, including Ephesians 1:2, 3, 13, 17; 2:18; 3:14, 16, 20 – 21; 4:4 – 6; etc.

⁴⁷ Ephesians 1:6.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Analects 6.28; 14.35. See also Ching, 112 – 150; and Yao, 57 – 60, 76 – 78, and elsewhere.

⁴⁹ As one of his disciples said, “The Master's cultural accomplishments—we get to hear them, but the Master's ideas on human nature and the Way of Heaven—we hardly get to hear them” (Analects 5.13). See also 7.20; 11.12.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Analects 8.19.

⁵¹ Ephesians 1:4, 11, 20 – 22; 3:9.

⁵² Ephesians 4:24; though this verse refers to re – creation in Christ, it implies an original creation in the image of God.

⁵³ See, for example, Ephesians 1:17 – 18; 3:8, 16 – 19; 4:32 – 5:2; 5:17.

⁵⁴ The “heart” is also considered to be an organ of knowledge. For the interior composition of humans, see Ephesians 1:17 – 18; 2:3; 4:17 – 23.

⁵⁵ Ephesians 5:28 – 29.

⁵⁶ Ephesians 6:6, and all other passages referring to the immaterial part of the human person.

⁵⁷ Ephesians 1:18; 2:7; 5:5; Matthew 10:28.

⁵⁸ Ephesians 2:2; 6:12.

⁵⁹ 1 Timothy 2:14; Genesis 3:1 – 19.

⁶⁰ Ephesians 2:1 – 3; 4:17 – 19; 5:8.

God or each other. ①

All social conflict and dis-harmony results from this fundamental human condition; thus, all efforts to create social harmony without addressing “sin” will not succeed.

As we all know, this view of the fallenness of human nature does not accord with Confucius’ more optimistic outlook. His travels and teachings were not without deep disappointment, but he labored on, convinced that people could be instructed and encouraged to improve themselves.

Soteriology

At this point, Christianity introduces a new category: A teaching about salvation. Precisely because we cannot change ourselves enough to live in harmony with others; and even more because we cannot reform ourselves enough to fulfill God’s requirement of moral perfection, but are, instead, destined for his righteous wrath, ② God must intervene to rescue us from our desperate plight.

The gospel which Paul so gladly proclaims announces that God has done all that is necessary to solve our two fundamental problems; alienation from himself ③ and from each other. ④ Jesus has died as a propitiation for our sins; through his shed blood we have redemption, that is, forgiveness. ⑤ Those who trust in Christ receive the Holy Spirit, so that now they have ready access at all times to God the Father. ⑥ They can praise him, thank him, and pray to him, calling upon him for wisdom and strength to know and do his will. ⑦

Furthermore, believers in Christ enjoy a fundamental security about the future. They trust that they will be raised up on the last day to enjoy unbroken joy with God forever. This world is not ultimate; they are delivered from that fear of death that holds all of us in bondage. The resurrection of Jesus and the possession of the Holy Spirit assure Christians that they are destined for an inheritance that can never be snatched from them. ⑧ Christians know that they are fully and fundamentally loved and accepted by the most important personage in the universe – God – who has made them his beloved sons and daughters in Christ. ⑨

Our second problem has also been solved, and in two ways: First, on the deepest level, one that is now really ontological, we are united with all those who trust in Christ. Paul uses powerful metaphors for this new and very real union: the Body of Christ; the family of God; a temple; a commonwealth. ⑩ This unity exists already, and is grounded in the eternal unity – which we can call an eternal “harmonious society” – of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. ⑪

To enjoy, and to realize on earth what is already ours in the spiritual realm, believers have the very power of God himself, given by the indwelling of Christ through the Holy Spirit, so that they

① Such radical moral impotence is expressed by such concepts as being “dead” in sin (2:1, 5); “darkened” in our understanding (4:18); and depraved in conduct (4:19).

② Ephesians 2:3, 12; 5:6.

③ Ephesians 2:3, 12, 13.

④ Ephesians 2:11 – 12, 14 – 15, 19.

⑤ Ephesians 1:7; 2:13, 16; 5:25 – 26.

⑥ Ephesians 1:13 – 14; 2:18; etc.

⑦ Ephesians 1:3; 3:14 – 21; 5:18; 6:18 – 19.

⑧ Ephesians 1:11, 13, 14, 18, 20 – 23; 2:7; 3:6.

⑨ Ephesians 1:5; 3:14, 15, 19; 5:1.

⑩ Ephesians 1:22 – 23; 2:13 – 22; 3:6; 4:13 – 16.

⑪ Ephesians 4:1 – 6.

can live the life to which they were called, in imitation of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. ② The church itself forms the primary locus and focus of this new harmonious society. ③

A key part of all this is our union with Christ, expressed most often by the prepositional phrase “in Christ” (or, “in him/whom”). ④ Through faith in him and the gift of his Holy Spirit to us, we are united in Christ. ⑤ In some mysterious fashion, we are identified with Christ in God's sight, so that we are righteous and holy and beloved. ⑥ As we are in him, we are thus also in each other in some fundamental sense. Our unity is not just a subjective one, but an objective reality in the spiritual realm, which is no less real than the physical world. Notice how many times Paul uses the phrase “in him,” “in Christ” etc. just in the first paragraph of the letter. ⑦ The metaphor of the Body of Christ, with him as our head, also conveys this idea most dramatically. ⑧

There are many implications to our being united with God and with each other in Christ. One is that we are not in this status because of our own worth or achievement or performance, but solely by virtue of the person and work of Christ on our behalf, communicated to us by what Paul calls God's grace. ⑨ Another is that our unity with each other is not based upon any common features which we share or which we produce, but solely upon our incorporation into Christ through election, faith, the Holy Spirit, and baptism. ⑩ Thus, our unity is assured and unshakeable; as long as we trust in him we can be united in love.

As many have observed, the presence of a doctrine of salvation in Christianity, forming as it does an essential basis for Christian ethics, stands in stark contrast to the teaching of Confucius, who emphasized self-improvement rather than salvation by a higher power. ⑪

Ethics

Finally, we are ready to turn to the practical implications of Paul's epistemology, ontology, and soteriology to the building of a harmonious society on earth.

The Various Spheres in which He Urges His Readers to Strive for Peace

Paul begins the second part of his letter, with its detailed instructions for daily living, by urging believers to live in harmony with each other, “with all humility and gentleness, with patience, showing forbearance to one another in love, being diligent to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the

② Ephesians 1:19; 3:20; 5:1 - 2,18; 6:10.

③ Ephesians 3:10; 4:1 - 32.

④ Ephesians 1:3, 4, 6, 7, and often. The centrality of union with Christ in Pauline thought was brought out long ago by James Stewart, *A Man In Christ: The Vital Elements of St. Paul's Religion* (New York; Harper & Row Publishers, n. d.)

⑤ Ephesians 1:1, 12 - 13, 15; 2:8, 18 - 22.

⑥ Called “saints” = holy ones, for example; Ephesians 1:1, 15; 5:1.

⑦ See note 63.

⑧ Ephesians 1:22 - 23; 4:4, 12,16, 25; 5:23.

⑨ Ephesians 2:5, 8.

⑩ Ephesians 1:4, 5, 12, 13, 15; 5:26.

⑪ On this, see Yao, *Confucianism and Christianity*, 15 - 17, 22, 24, 35, 40, 43, 100, 64; and especially Paulos Huang, *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation—A Systematic Theological Analysis of the Basic Problems in the Confucian-Christian dialogue* (Helsinki, Finland; Edita Prima Oy, 2006); (The revised English version was republished by E. J. Brill and the Chinese version by Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe).

bond of peace”.^② He notes that each person in the church is different, but shows that these distinctions are meant to complement each other, like the parts of a body. As each person fulfills his or her role, the entire body is built up in maturity and Christ – likeness.^③

For that to happen, of course, love is required at all times.^④ Harmony in human relationships depends not only on love, however, but upon truth. The two must work together in harmony if genuine peace is to be achieved. Truth must be spoken in love, but it must be spoken.^⑤

Confucius also emphasized the critical importance of both love, which he called *ren*,^⑥ and sincerity, seen especially in honest communication.^⑦ Of course, there are differences between his view and Paul’s, but at least they would have agreed in the need for both kindness and frankness in speech.^⑧

Since covetousness and lust fight against contentment and love, Paul spends considerable space urging his readers to forsake the passions which drive us to get rather than to give, to use others rather than serving them.^⑨ Rather than seeking satisfaction through pleasure or possessions, we are to be content with God gives us and constantly filled with his Holy Spirit, who gives us genuine joy.^⑩

Now Paul turns to the family. Husbands and wives are bound together as one unit, which the Bible has from the beginning termed “one flesh.” They are thus to submit to each other out of reference for Christ, their common Savior and Lord. Within that mutual submission, the wife is to respect and submit to her husband, while the husband is to love his wife sacrificially, as Christ does the church.^⑪

Confucius says virtually nothing about marriage, so we must be careful not to build an argument from silence, but at the very least it would seem that the relationship between husband and wife, and in particular the duty of the husband to sacrifice for his wife, grounded in the relationship between Christ and the church, represents an emphasis largely absent from Confucius’ teaching.^⑫

Children must obey their parents; but parents should not provoke their children to anger by unnecessary harshness, but train them and teach them according to the revelation of Christ.^⑬ Though these instructions have been taken by many Chinese Christians to be identical with the Confucian concept of filial piety (*xiao*), and though there are of course profound similarities, in practice it seems that Confucius’ teaching emphasized the duty of submission more than the reciprocal duty of fathers to be kind and gentle.^⑭

② Ephesians 4:2 – 3.

③ Ephesians 4:11 – 16.

④ Ephesians 4:16.

⑤ Ephesians 4:15, 24 – 32.

⑥ Analects, 12:22, where it is defined as “loving men.” See also 12:1; 12:3; 6:22; 17:5; 6:30.

⑦ Analects, 1.4, 13; 2.22; 7.24.

⑧ For a detailed examination of the similarities and differences between Confucius and Jesus on this subject, see Yao’s *Confucianism and Christianity*, as well as Ching, 68 – 104.

⑨ Ephesians 5:3 – 18.

⑩ Ephesians 5:18.

⑪ Ephesians 5:22 – 33.

⑫ This is granted by Yao, 204. In the Analects, I could find only two passages on close relations with women, apart from immoral sexual relations: 17.24; 14.2. Neither of them offers positive teaching about marriage.

⑬ Ephesians 6:1 – 4.

⑭ Analects 1.2, 6, 7, 11; 2.5; and often. See also Ching, 97 – 99.

In the workplace, masters and slaves (who represent in our society employers and employees, teachers and students, etc.) have complementary responsibilities. Those under authority should work heartily, as if they were serving Christ himself. Those in authority should treat those under them with fairness, remembering that they too have a Master in heaven, and he will reward each person according to what we have done. ⑤

At this point, allow me to reach back into an earlier section of the letter, in which Paul tells his readers not only not to steal, but to work with their hands, so that they might have surplus funds to give to those in need. ⑥ Since the disparity of income between rich and poor is a source of much discontent in China, this principle of earning money in order to give, not to spend on oneself, is a refreshing antidote to greed and selfishness. If applied, it could diminish the resentment often felt by those at the bottom of the income scale.

Though Paul does not talk in Ephesians about the roles of citizens and rulers, he does so in other places, such as Romans 13:1 - 7 and Titus 3:1 - 2, 8. From these passages, as well as from Paul's own example as we have it recorded in his letters and in the Acts of the Apostles, we know that he intended for believers to submit to government authority; to be kind and gentle to all people; and to engage in good and useful activities that would benefit society as a whole.

The Central Role of the Church

At this point, we should pause to reflect on the central role of the church in Paul's teaching about harmonious society. Most of his instructions deal with relationships among believers in Christ, though of course he speaks also of our obligations to those outside the circle of faith. Christian history teaches us that when followers of Christ begin to put into practice the ethical values of Christ and his apostles, their common life starts to express a kind of harmony and peace not usually found in society as a whole. As outsiders observe how Christians love one another, they are affected, and some, even if they do not come to faith in Christ, try to emulate the sacrificial service and humility that they have seen between Christians. We can also say that those who have been trained, as it were, in their families and churches can then replicate loving and honest behavior in their dealings with non-Christians, and thus act as "salt and light" in the world. The recent series of books by that title gives many examples of Christians who have made a significant contribution to their nation as a result of some contact with Christianity.

These instructions, if followed by Christians, would do a great deal to promote harmony in all domains of society - the home, the workplace, and the wider community. For Paul, as I have said, the primary locus and focus for harmonious living is within the body of believers, where the love of Christ and the truth that God has revealed can create an orderly and yet warm and caring environment for people to flourish.

Obviously, the closest correspondence between Paul's teaching and that of Confucius will be found in this area of ethics. The virtues of righteousness (*yi*) ⑦; honesty (*cheng*) and sincere loyalty (*zhong xin*) ⑧; filial piety (*xiao*); love and forgiveness (*ren, shu*); and respectful courtesy

⑤ Ephesians 6:5 - 9.

⑥ 4:28.

⑦ Analects 4.10; 17.22; see also other passages which indirectly describe righteous conduct, such as 2.24; 17.7; as well as the concept of the moral way (*dao* - See Analects 1.2; 15.24; 1.12; 19.22) and virtue (*de* - See Analects 7.22; 12.19; 19.11).

⑧ Analects 1.4, 8, 13, and often.

(*li*)⁹⁹ would be understood and appreciated by the apostle. The epistemological and ontological basis for Paul's system, as well as his eschatological perspective (which we shall discuss below) would be foreign to the great teacher of ancient China, but he would recognize certain similarities between his program and that of Paul.

Differences there are, of course. Confucius' doctrine of *li* involves much more attention to ceremony and ritual than does Paul's simple call for humility, respect, and gentleness in dealing with others, but there is no reason that the apostle would object to the expression of our courtesy in outward acts of the sort which Confucius valued so highly.¹⁰⁰ In fact, many of us from the West greatly admire Eastern manners and forms of polite deference; our brash and brazen self – promotion – I speak as an American here – finds much to learn from what may be merely ritualized habits, but which nevertheless put a brake on our presumption and cause us, however briefly, to slow down and demonstrate at least some consideration for the feelings and even the “face” of others.

The Motives for Striving towards Peace with Others

Why should Christians pursue harmonious relationships with others? What motivating power does Paul's message possess? Without going into much detail, we can note a few of the reasons he gives for acting lovingly towards other people.

We are called to walk “worthy of [our] call”.¹⁰¹ When God created mankind, he did so in his own image, which is one of holiness and righteousness based upon truth.¹⁰² Indeed, he plans for his people to be holy and blameless, like himself.¹⁰³ Christ died for the church in order to make her holy and spotless.¹⁰⁴ When believers turn away from lust, selfishness, and pride, and pursue justice and generosity, therefore, they are merely living up to their original purpose and final destiny.

Furthermore, when children of God demonstrate forgiveness towards those who have hurt them, they are reflecting the pardon which God has extended towards them in Christ.¹⁰⁵ Self – sacrificial service of others replicates the action of Jesus upon the Cross.¹⁰⁶ For God's people to imitate him is a natural response to his kindness towards them. Perhaps it could be seen as a type of a proper “return” for grace (*bao en*).

Finally, Christians can look forward to a future reward from God for any good deeds they have performed, even if on earth there is none.¹⁰⁷

These motives differ from those offered by Confucius, who seemed to believe, along with the Stoics, that right conduct should be practiced for its own sake, to fulfill one's moral purpose, without regard to any future reward, other than the obvious social benefits and personal satisfaction over having done what is good and the knowledge that one is leaving “”behind the great treasure to later

⁹⁹ Analects 1.9, 12; 2.3; 3.1, 4; 3.12,15, 17, 18; 6.27; 7.17; 8.2; and many other places.

¹⁰⁰ On *li*, see Ching, 168 – 176.

¹⁰¹ Ephesians 4:1.

¹⁰² Ephesians 4:24.

¹⁰³ Ephesians 1:4.

¹⁰⁴ Ephesians 5:26.

¹⁰⁵ Ephesians 4:32 – 5:1.

¹⁰⁶ Ephesians 5:2, 25.

¹⁰⁷ Ephesians 6:8. In this, of course, he was only following the lead of Jesus. See, for example, Matthew 5:5, 12.

generations, by which one has transcended one's limitation and reached the eternal."^⑩ We infer this from the absence of any concept of future personal rewards from *Tian* in his ethical instruction. The following discussion will also feature elements of Paul's ethical program that are not found in the teaching of Confucius.

The Obstacles to Social Harmony

Of course, achieving harmonious relationships with others will never be easy. As we saw before, all people are in bondage to sin, the structures and patterns of this world, and even the deception of Satan.^⑪ Even believers in Christ struggle still with what Paul calls the "old self" (4:22). We see vestiges of this "old man" in the racial prejudice, class consciousness, gender conflicts, and will to power, prestige, and possessions with which we all contend in ourselves and in others every day.

Power to Overcome Obstacles to Harmony with Others

For this reason, Paul provides guidelines for conducting ourselves like "children of light" in a morally dark world. We are to renounce the old ways; allow our minds to be transformed by meditation upon, belief in, and obedience to, the truth; and call upon God's strength in prayer, if we are to overcome both our own inborn tendencies towards self-centered living and the lies of the devil.^⑫ Paul believes that the same power that raised Jesus from the dead can energize his followers to do the good works he has prepared for them to perform,^⑬ we they will only turn to him at all times in prayer.^⑭

We must not underestimate the strategic importance of changed mental attitudes.^⑮ If know that God loves me, I do not have to earn the love of others. He has given me all that I need; I do not have to trample on other people in order to get what I want. Secure in the knowledge that I shall one day inherit a new heaven and a new earth, I do not have to put all my energy or focus all my hopes and fears on the fleeting things of this transitory life. Aware that I am fundamentally flawed, I shall treat others with the humility and respect they deserve and that merely reflects my own true condition.^⑯ And so forth. Changed minds lead to transformed lives.

The Role of Peace with God in Seeking Social Harmony

Clearly, then, our own sense of peace with God must precede our attempts to live peacefully with others. Forgiven, I can forgive. Accepted, I can accept others. Supremely valuable to God, I can acknowledge the inherent worth of everyone around me, and especially the priceless worth of those who have been bought with the blood of Christ. Having a loving master in heaven, I can serve

^⑩ Yao, 172. For Stoic ethics, see J. C. Thom, "Stoicism. 2.2 Ethics," in eds. Craig A. Evans & Stanley E. Porter, *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 2000), 1140 - 41.

^⑪ Ephesians 2:1 - 3.

^⑫ Ephesians 4:17 - 24; 6:10 - 18.

^⑬ Ephesians 1:19 - 22; 2:5 - 10.

^⑭ Ephesians 6:18.

^⑮ Ephesians 4:17 - 24.

^⑯ Ephesians 4:32.

my earthly masters cheerfully, and can treat those under my care in the same way that the Lord deals with me. When confronted with intractable situations, I can turn to God in prayer, trusting that his resurrection power can change the present unhappy situation or alter my perception of it and response to it.

The Eschatological Framework for Social Harmony Today

All this implies an eschatological perspective. ^⑮ Paul believes that God will someday unite “all things” under the headship of the risen Lord Jesus Christ. ^⑯ Even though Satan provokes us to embrace wrong values that engender conflict, God’s purposes will prevail in the end. Our inheritance is secure. Though seen only vaguely now, the fundamental unity which God’s people enjoy with him and with each other will one day become fully manifest, indeed gloriously so. ^⑰

There is a dark side to this final future, however. The “children of disobedience,” if they do not repent and turn to Christ in faith and obedience, will not only not receive any share in the kingdom of God and of Christ, but will be treated as “children of wrath”. ^⑱

Actually, this is a stark reminder that all our efforts to build a harmonious society on earth in this age will be bounded by not only our finiteness but also our fallenness and that of others. There will be no “peace on earth” until the Prince of Peace returns to establish a “new heavens and new earth, in which righteousness dwells”. ^⑲ This brutal reality need not discourage us from pressing on in a zealous attempt to fulfill the commands of God and of Christ, but it does inject a note of sober realism that we must accept.

Meanwhile, however, we do not lose hope. Christ has died; Christ has risen; Christ will come again. The Father has given us the Spirit of his Son to indwell us, flood us with his own boundless love, and impel us into the world with a passion that seeks substantial healing of the wounds of this sorrowful world; that creates a community reflecting the eternal harmonious society of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in a limited but very real way; and that rejoices in the hope of a final consummation in which all dissonance will find its ultimate harmonious resolution in the triumphant kingdom of Jesus Christ, who is our Peace. ^⑳

^⑮ For the relationship of eschatology to ethics in Paul, see Leon Morris, *New Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 86 - 90; and Herman Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 551 - 562. Both of these volumes, though from a previous generation, possess lasting value as excellent treatments of Paul’s theology.

^⑯ Ephesians 1:10. Interpreters are divided on the meaning of this phrase, whether it includes all people who have been born into the world; all creatures, including angels, demons, and even Satan; or only the elect angels and those humans who have believed in Christ. The last seems more likely in light of such passages as 2:3 and 5:5, as well as many similar statements elsewhere in Paul.

^⑰ Ephesians 5:26 - 27.

^⑱ Ephesians 2:2, 3; 5:5,6.

^⑲ 2 Peter 3:13.

^⑳ Ephesians 2:14.

中文题目：

保罗以弗所书中和谐社会的根基

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提要:保罗的《以弗所书》为和谐社会提供了一个全面的理论基础。本文首先探讨了圣经的上帝启示中关于和谐的认识论根基,其次阐述了与和谐社会相关时保罗对本体论的理解,最后简单描述了《以弗所书》中关于如何在家庭、教会和更大的社会范围内获得和谐的伦理教导。在行文过程中,笔者还把保罗与社会和谐的凌夷倡导者孔子的思想进行了一些比较。

关键词:和谐社会、认识论基础、本体论、伦理教导、比较

缀华语而别赋新义

——以基督教概念“公义”为例

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摘要:“缀华语而别赋新义”是学者梁启超提出的一种有效的译介异质文化的策略,颇具亲和力的中华固有词汇可以充分利用汉语表义文字的长处,使受众在接受异质概念时具有一定的联想基础,借助文化同约性达到消解文化震惊,增加了解的目的。本文的目的是以笔者选取的基督教概念“公义”为例,从翻译的角度分析基督教语义进入汉语语言的方法,了解和合本如何在中国建立并传播宗教词语和概念。本文探讨了圣经语境中的“公义”与中华传统文化中的“义”之间的契合与疏离,指出“缀华语而别赋新义”的翻译方式可以把两种完全异质的文化联系起来,但它也有着极大的误导危险,毕竟采用本土的语词语句来译译外来观念,只有利于语义的接纳,却存在有意无意的用本土语境中的现成观念来移植外来观念的可能。

关键词: 圣经、公义(义)、翻译、缀华语而赋新义

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1. 引言

圣经对于汉语言是“异质”的,它与中华传统文化缺少观念价值的共同领域,因而很难在价值体系完整的中华文化和汉语中找到等价概念。一种异质宗教的本土化是个艰难而又漫长的过程,至少需要三个阶段:语义的采纳(Linguistic adoption)、观念的折衷(Conceptual syncretism)及价值的完成(Valuative complementation)^①。归根结蒂,这是一个语义适应过程。外来观念,必需进入本土语境,方可被理解、接受。基督教在中国的译介经历了从折衷到疏离的曲折过程。圣经在中国的历史上,曾经相当自然地纳入“以佛道释耶”或者“以儒释耶”的冲动中。^②文化的自我映射,以及阅读活动中的求同心理,使得早期的圣经翻译都深深地烙上了佛、道、儒的印痕。唐朝诺斯替教(时称景教)传入中国时,从现存的资料来看,大量地采用了归化的翻译手法,借用了当时盛行的佛教中许多术语,结果一方面景教受到了佛教徒的讪笑^③,另一方面景教难有独立身份,最后唐武宗会昌五年灭佛,景教亦在被灭之

^① 唐逸 Tang Yi, “中国基督信仰本土化的类型 Zhongguo jidu xinyang bentuhua de leixing” [The Model of Chinese Indigenization of Christianity], 《世界宗教研究》 *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* [Studies in World Religions], 1999 (2): 43 - 50

^② 杨慧林 Yang Huilin, “《圣经》“和合本”的诠释学意义 Shenjing heheben de quanshixue yiyi” [The Hermeneutics of the Chinese Union Version], 维真学刊 *Weizhen xuekan* [Regent Journal], 2002. 9

^③ 参见大秦景教流行中国碑 *Daqin jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo bei*, “Stele to the propagation in China of the luminous religion of Daqin”.

列。明末清初的耶稣会士在传教过程中,由于敬仰中国的灿烂文化采用了低姿态的“适应”(accommodation)方式译经传道,让完全不同于中华文明的基督教“适应”中华文化。此时的耶稣会士(如利玛窦),引用儒家思想,论述基督教义。许多名词、概念都附会佛儒概念,如“上帝”,“天堂”,“地狱”,“魔鬼”等^④,但这种夸大共性的翻译策略让西方失望,让东方困惑,成为导致耶稣会士传教失败的一个重要原因,正如孔子所谓“名不正则言不顺,言不顺则事不成”。但进入新教翻译阶段,传教士们清楚地意识到汉语语境与《圣经》文本之间的异质性。^⑤他们不再致力于消解二者之间的“张力”,而是想在二者之间找到一个平衡点,使得译文能够在语言的容忍程度之内,同时又能表达异质的《圣经》思想。于是,一种被梁启超先生称为“缀华语而别赋新意”^⑥的翻译方式受到译经者们有意无意的青睐。颇具亲和力的中华固有词汇可以充分利用汉语表义文字的长处,使受众在接受异质概念时具有一定的联想基础,^⑦借助文化同约性达到消解文化震惊,增加了解的目的。和合本中构成基督教信仰的基本观念、形成基督教教义的基本范畴大多采用了这种译名方式,如:信心(信)、罪、中保、义等等。这些词汇乍一看,都是中华文化中已有的概念,但在圣经的文本中,它们的意义已与原义相去甚远。

本文的目的,是以笔者选取的基督教概念“公义”为例,从翻译的角度分析基督教语义进入汉语语言的方法,了解和合本如何在中国建立并传播宗教词语、概念和外来文化。下面笔者首先在汉语言与文化中厘清“义”的中华内涵,继而深入圣经章节,探析这个词的圣经意义,比对它们的契合程度,发现它们的差异和不同,了解“缀华语而别赋新意”在外来的异质文化本土化进程中的贡献。

2. 中华文化中的“义”

在传统的中华文化中,“公义”一词出现很少,在权威的工具书《辞源》、《辞海》中都没有“公义”的词条。在《汉语大词典》中,公义,亦作“公议”,与本文讨论相关的义项是

(1) 公正的义理。《荀子·修身》:“怒不过夺,喜不过予,是法胜私也。《书》曰:‘无有作好,遵王之道。无有作恶,遵王之路。’此言君子之以公义胜私欲也。”汉荀悦《汉纪·武帝纪二》:“圣人以天下为度者也,不以私怒伤天下公议。”宋秦观《白敏中论》:“夫公义私恩适不两全,犹当以道,权其轻重,奈何无故而废之哉。”鲁迅《华盖集续编·死地》:“历史上所记的关于改革的事,总是先仆后继者,大部分自然是由于公义。”(2) 公众的议论,舆论。《后汉书·袁术传》:“绍议欲立刘虞为帝,术好放纵,惮立长君,托以公义不肯同,积此,罅隙遂成。”唐韩愈《顺宗实录五》:“[执谊]既而为叔文所引用,初不敢负叔文,迫公议,时时有异同。”《二刻拍案惊奇》卷十二:“晦翁错问了事,公义不平,沸腾喧嚷。”^⑧

^④ 朱志瑜 Zhu Zhiyu,“《天主实义》:利玛窦天主教词汇的翻译策略 Tianzhu shiyi: Limadou tianzhujiao cihui de fanyi celue” [Matteo Ricci's Tianzhu shi yi (The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven) and His Strategies for Translating Christian Terms into Chinese], 中国翻译 Zhongguo fanyi [Chinese Translators Journal], 2008, 6.

^⑤ 步凡 Bu Fan,“试论《圣经》译本的异化现象和翻译中的殖民化倾向 Shilun Shengjing yiben de yihua xianxiang he fanyi zhong de zhiminhua qinxiang” [On the Foreignization and Colonization in the Chinese Translation of Bible], <http://www.gongfa.com/bufanshengjing-fanyiyihua.htm> 2012/8/17

^⑥ 梁启超 Liang Qichao,“佛学研究十八篇 foxue yanjiu shiba pian [Eighteen Essays on Buddhism],《饮冰室合集》Yinbingshi heji” [Yinbingshi Collection], (上海 Shanghai:上海中华书局 Shanghai Zhonghua ju [Shanghai Zhonghua Press], 1932)《专集》第十四、十五册 Zhuanjì di 14, 14 ce.

^⑦ 许牧世 Moses Hsu,《经与译经》Jing yu yijing [Bible and Bible Translation], (香港 Hong Kong:基督教文艺出版社 Jidujiao wenyi chubanshe [Chinese Christian Literature Council], 1983), 171

^⑧ 《汉语大词典》Hanyu da cidian [Great Dictionary of Chinese], 上海 Shanghai:上海辞书出版社 Shanghai cishu chubanshe [Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House], 2007), 770

由此可见,在中国文化中,尤其是传统文化中,“公义”即为“公议”,公众的议论。

“公义”一词更多出现在现当代语境中,指社会的公平正义,属于社会学范畴。

但“公义”一词中核心概念“义”却是中国传统文化的核心价值观念之一。我们先从“义”字本身说起。在《说文·我部》中,“义”,繁体作“義”,原指“已之威仪也。从我羊。”注:“臣铉等曰:‘与善同意,故从羊。’”在《释名》中,“义,宜也。裁制事物,使合宜也。”《礼记中庸》也有:“义者宜也。”韩愈《原道》中有“行而宜之谓义。”这里“义”已引申指事之宜,正义。《容斋随笔》特别指出“人物以义为名,其别最多。仗正道曰义,义师、义战是也;众所尊戴曰义,义帝是也;与众共之曰义,义仓、义社、义田、义学、义役、义井之类是也;至行过人曰义,义士、义侠、义姑、义夫、义妇之类是也;……禽畜之贤者,则有义犬、义鸟、义鹰、义鹤。”^⑨

作为中国古代重要伦理道德规范的“义”,指思想和行为符合一定的道德标准,古有“十义”之说,即儒家提出的处理人伦关系的十种道德规范。即“父慈、子孝、兄良、弟恭、夫义、妇听、长惠、幼顺、君仁、臣忠”^⑩。孔子把义作为人的立身处世之本,认为“君子喻于义”,“君子之仕也,行其义也”。孟子认为:“羞恶之心义之端也”,并把义作为人的行为规则,“义,人之正路也”。《孟子·告子上》曰“生亦我所欲也,义亦我所欲也,二者不可得兼,舍生而取义者也。”孟子将义作为人的道德品质核心,非常重视,主张“惟义所在”,认为保全正义是至高无上的道德准则,舍生取义是仁人志士所具备的最富足的品德。董仲舒认为“立义以明尊卑之分”,并把“义”与“仁”、“礼”、“智”、“信”并列作为“五常”,要求人人都遵守。但孟子认为“信”若与“义”发生矛盾,则“言不必信,行不必果”,应依“义”而行。在墨家的伦理思想中“万事莫贵于义”^⑪。

“义”除了作为个人思想行为的道德标准之外,中国古代的思想家们还赋予它强国治国的期望。《淮南子》主张治国以“仁义为本”,“法制为末”,“法辅仁义”。《淮南子·本经训》:“是故仁义礼乐者,可以救败,而非通治之至也。夫仁者,所以救争也;义者,所以救败也;礼者,所以救淫也;乐者,所以救优也。”荀子也认为:礼义不仅是道德最高标准,也是“强国之本”,是实行“法治”的保障。因此他要求人们严格按照礼义的标准来修身。《荀子·议兵》中称:“隆礼贵义者其国治,简礼贱义者其国乱。”

“义”虽然主要是道德标准,伦理思想,但“不义”不仅是道德伦理谴责的行为,严重者也是法律惩罚的对象。中国古代就有“不义”之罪。不义:封建法律规定的10种最为严重的罪行之一。下属杀本属府主、刺史、县令、现授业师、吏卒杀本部五品以上长官,及闻夫丧不举哀或作乐、释服从吉、改嫁的犯罪。对于不义的处罚,各朝基本相同,如:谋杀本属府主、刺史、县令,及吏卒谋杀本部五品以上官长者,流二千里。已伤者绞,已杀者皆斩。^⑫

在中华传统文化中,也有“义人”的称谓,指信守节义的人。史记六一伯夷传中记载“(武王伐纣)伯夷叔齐扣马而谏。……左右欲兵之。太公曰:‘此义人也。’扶而去之。”与“义人”意义相近的是“义士”,谓忠义之士。《国策赵策一》中有“赵襄子曰:‘彼义士也,吾谨避之耳。’”“义士”也指勇于救困扶危的豪侠之士。

值得一提的是,在中华文化中“义”的观念也是发展变化的。唐宋以来的政治、经济和文化的变化,已经使贵族失去了往是的权威,从伦理道德方面看,也不再具有强烈的等级身份性烙印。在道德

⑨ 辞海 Cihai [Unabridged Dictionary], (上海 Shanghai:上海辞书出版社 Shanghai cishu chubanshe [Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House], 1989), 3677

⑩ 参见《礼记·礼运》Liji liyun [The Book of Rites: the Conveyance of Rites]

⑪ 参见《墨子·贵义》Mozǐ guìyì [Mohism on benevolence and righteousness]

⑫ 史仲文 Shi Zhongwen, 胡晓林 Hu Xiaolin, 中华文化大辞海 Zhonghua wenhua da cihai [Grand Dictionary of Chinese culture], (北京 Beijing:中国国际广播出版社 Zhongguo guoji guangbo chubanshe [International Broadcasting Press of China], 1998), 103

方面是人人平等的;道德对于不同的人的要求也是平等的。义就是在这种情况下,以平民道德的身份和资格登场,成为当时社会的主要伦理道德规范和道德精神,处理同一等级的人与人之间的关系。“义”在宋明清时成为民间社会关系的维系标准。其典型范例便是“三国气”、“水滸气”,代表人物为“义帝”关公。此时的“义”已与天地正义分离,追求的是个人之间的忠义。这种“忠义”精神后来逐渐发展成为一种民间信养,在华人圈中得到广泛接受,所谓“通行于黑白两道”。但这种“义”太过于狭隘,可能导致“封建性、落后性、愚昧性甚至残酷性的哥儿们义气。”^⑬

3. 圣经中的“公义(义)”

在圣经中,无论是旧约还是新约,“公义(义)”都是一个非常核心的概念。在线上 and 合本圣经中可检索出旧约中有 493 节经文有“公义”、“义”、“义人”、“不义”、“仁义”等字眼,而在新约中,也有 218 节经文与“公义(义)”相关。那么,“公义(义)”在圣经中到底是什么意思呢?

“公义”在希伯来文中对应三个词,分别为为 *sedeq*, *yasar* 与 *mispat*, 而希腊文为 *dikaiosyne*, 译作正直、公正与公义。希伯来文的 *sedeq* 大概是源于意思为“直”的亚拉伯字根;它的引申义因而含有关于标准行为的观念,如“你们施行审判,不可行不义,不可偏护穷人,也不可重看有势力的人,只要按着公义审判你的邻舍。”(利 19:15)。*yasar* 表示公正坦率,如“耶和华啊,你是公义的,你的判语也是正直的!”(诗 119:137)。^⑭ 而 Gerhard F. Hasel 认为 *mispat* 更多与审判(judgment)相关,表示处理事情合情合理,不偏袒哪一方面,特别是在法庭判决的时候,如“凡遵守公平、常行公义的,这人便为有福!”(诗 106:3)。^⑮

在圣经中,首先,上帝是公义的,他就是公义的源头(出 9:27);他的行为都是公义的,“他一切所行的,无不公义”(诗 145:17)。这些命题并非全部是超验的,这是以色列基于上帝的所行所为符合圣约的约定而得出的结论。“‘公义’是基于圣约关系而产生的品格,以色列接受上帝的启示,以上帝的创造、从埃及的拯救以及赐下迦南地等为上帝公义的表达。……以色列在宇宙万物,并在上帝统管列邦及其救恩的行动中,看出上帝与这世界及与其子民之间多重关系之秩序和设计。上帝对其造物,尤其对其选民之忠实态度,表现了上帝的公义。”^⑯其次,他所启示的律法是“公义”的(罗 7:12);他所作出的审判都是“公义”的(罗 2:5;启 16:5)。“耶和华的道理洁净,存到永远;耶和华的典章真实,全然公义”(诗篇 19:9)。

公义指符合和顺应某些期望,而这些期望会随着角色身份之不同而有别。公义(义)就是满足某种关系之期望。在人与上帝的关系中,如果某人的行为符合上帝与人之间的关系(约)的期待,那么他就是义人了。而上帝与人之间的关系中对人的期待就是上帝赐下的律法。因此,公义的基本观念是“严谨地执行律法”。而圣经中被称为“义人”的无不例证了这一条。挪亚是“义人”,因为他与上帝同行(创 6:9)。亚伯拉罕是“义人”,因为他按上帝所彰显的心意生活(创 15:6)。上帝期望人行公义,顺从他的管制和旨意。“他喜爱公义,正直人必得见他的面”,上帝所喜悦的,不是向他献上“千千的公羊,或是万万的油河”,“世人哪,耶和华已指示你何为善。他向你所要的是什么呢?只要你行公

^⑬ 袁良骏 Yuan Liangjun, “‘三国气’和‘水滸气’ ‘Sanguo qi’ he ‘shuihu qi’” [Sanguo Spirit and Shuihu Spirit], 《中国社会科学院院报》*Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuanno* [Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Review] (2000年12月14日), 第4版。

^⑭ 吴罗瑜 Wu Luoyu, 《圣经新辞典》*Shenjing xin cidian* [New Bible Dictionary], (香港 Hong Kong: 天道书楼 Tiandao shulou [Tien Dao Publishing House], 1996)

^⑮ Hasel, Gerhard F. *Gods Judgement*. <http://www.zg163.net/simple/?t1810445.html>, 2012/5/2

^⑯ 陈惠荣 Wai-wing Chan 主编, 《圣经百科全书》*Shengjing baikequanshu* [Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible], (Baker Book House Company, 1999), 502.

义,好怜悯,存谦卑的心,与你的上帝同行。”(弥6:8)

当然,公义不仅指敬畏上帝,在人与人的关系中,也指在社会家庭等方面满足各种关系中上帝命定的期望,包括夫妇之间,父子之间,雇主与雇员之间,商人与客户之间,掌权者与臣民之间,法官与被审判者之间,甚至普通的人与人之间等等。在先知时期,“公义”包括正直、公平、慈爱、帮助穷人和困苦人(但4:27;摩5:12、24),因此也包括施舍。(太6:1-2)公义能达成一个彼此尊重、和平共处的社会。“公义使邦国高举;罪恶是人民的羞辱。”(箴14:34)“公平公义使国坚定稳固”(赛9:7)。

上帝对不义有严厉的惩罚。“上帝是公义的审判者,又是天天向恶人发怒的上帝。若有人不回头,他的刀必磨快,弓必上弦,预备妥当了。”(诗7:11~12);“所以耶和華留意使这灾祸临到我们身上,因为耶和華我们的上帝在他所行的事上,都是公义,我们并没有听从他的话。”(但9:14)。

然而,由于人无法藉着善行与遵守律法,得以在上帝的面前称为义人。这一点非常重要:人无法通过自身努力赢得义人的称号。即便是亚伯拉罕,公义也是上帝的恩典,是给予被选召者的一种礼物。“亚伯拉罕信耶和華,耶和華就以此为他的义。”(创15:6)因为律法本是叫人知罪。于是,公义的观念便与拯救的观念连合起来。耶稣宣称,义是一份礼物,赐给那些获准进入上帝国的人(太5:6)。人虽然是不义的罪人,但因相信耶稣基督和祂的救赎工作,便得到上帝的义。“如今上帝的义在律法以外已经显明出来,有律法和先知为证。……因为世人都犯了罪,亏缺了上帝的荣耀。如今却蒙上帝的恩典,因基督耶稣的救赎,就白白的称义。”(罗3:21-24)

因此,在圣经中,上帝是“公义”的源头,是“公义”的标准。“公义”是宗教概念,敬畏上帝;是法律概念,公平公正;是伦理道德概念,正直慈爱,帮助弱势群体。但最重要的,公义是恩赐,是救赎。人无法通过自身努力,或通过遵守律法获得“义人”的称号,人称义是救恩,是“因信称义”。

4. 圣经语境中的“公义”与中华传统文化中的“义”之间的契合与疏离

从上面的材料中,我们不难看出,圣经语境中的“公义”与中华传统文化中的“义”确有契合之处。首先,它们都是各自文化中公认的正面价值,是各自文化中褒扬的品格,追求的价值。其次,它们都有满足符合某种关系之期待的意义,尤其当圣经语境中的“公义”规范的是人与人之间的关系时。虽然这种期待的内容不尽相同,但相同相近的地方也很明显,比如,在两种文化中,“义”都有“公平”、“正直”、“正确”之意。甚至在一些具体内容上,二者的重合之处也不容忽视,比如,中国的“义士”扶危救困,圣经中的“义人”帮助穷人和困苦人(但4:27;摩5:12、24)。再次,“义”在两种文化中都是治国之术。中国讲“义者,所以救败也”,义可以治国强国;圣经中“国位靠公义坚立”(箴16:12)，“公义使邦国高举”(箴14:34)。最后,两种文化中,“义”都会带来和谐。儒家认为,只要每个人都遵守各自的道德规范,就可达到“父子笃”、“兄弟睦”、“夫妇和”、“朋友信”、“君臣义”的完美境地。而在圣经中,“公义”可使上帝与人和谐,可以使人與人平安相处。

然而,两种语境中的“义”也有着本质的差别。1,在圣经语境中,上帝是“公义”的源头,是“公义”的标准。而在中华传统文化语境中,性善说更占上风,“义”出自个人的良知,所谓“羞恶之心义之端也”。而且,中华之义的标准掌握在众人手中,“公义”即“公议”。而后期的“绿林”之“义”更是以小集团利益为标准,与对错关系不大,所谓“盗亦有道”亦为“义”。2,在西方,“公义”更多是宗教概念,是敬畏上帝;而在中华传统文化中,“义”更多是道德伦理概念,是修身养性。3,在两种文化中,获取“义”的方式不同。圣经中有两种方式获取“公义”,一是遵行律法(除耶稣之外,无人能够);二是“因信称义”。但在中华传统文化中,修身即可成圣,而这正是圣经强烈谴责的“自义”。4,圣经中的“公义”使人“敬畏”(fear),因为它常常与上帝的圣洁相关,与上帝对人的惩罚相关;而中华的“义”让人

“景仰”(respect),因为它常常与人的圣洁相关,与人的真、善相关。5,圣经中的“公义”主要满足的是人与上帝之期待,而中华文化中,“义”主要满足的是人与人之间关系中的期待。6,圣经中上帝的公义是绝对的,完全的,具有历时性。圣经中的公义是指着上帝的性情而讲的,并非关联于任何依附于人的利益。而中华文化中的“义”,常常有其相对性。对一个阶层为义的,常会与另外一个阶层的利益冲突。中国传统文化中被尊为“义”的行为现在大多已被扬弃,同时我们又赋予了“义”新的内涵,“义”古时更强调忠诚,现在更强调正确。7,“义”在中华文化中与中华特有的“侠”文化相关,圣经语境中,“公义”没有类似的联想。

5. 结语

通过上面的分析比对,可以发现,圣经中的“公义”借中华传统文化的“义”之外衣,通过二者之间一些相似的含义,较为轻易地博得了汉语的接纳,同时,圣经中的“公义”通过采取特殊语义手段,努力使其语义中立化,并通过限制语势、创造新义、改造原有语言和象征形式等,来确立其外来价值。^⑰至少,目前我们可以说,“公义”完成了其语义的确立。而且“公义”自其进入汉语以来,默默地改变这个术语的原有意义,现在,“公义”在汉语中,已逐渐脱去其传统意义,更多的指介乎上帝的“公义”与中华传统文化的“义”之间的公平正义,是“缀华语而别赋新义”的成功译名典范。

“缀华语而别赋新义”的翻译方式虽可以建造桥梁,把两种完全异质的文化联系起来,但它也有着极大的误导危险,毕竟采用本土的语词语句来迳译外来观念,只利于语义的接纳,却存在有意无意的用本土语境中的现成观念来移植外来观念的可能,尤其对于《圣经》初读者,这种现象更为严重。但随着阅读的深入,圣经语境的建立,误解,曲解会逐渐减少,这是另一个话题,这里不做详细阐述。

6. 余言

《圣经》文本本身带有对历史的回溯和对西方文化思想的反映,为了保持圣经文本的历史文化相关性,和合本采用了大量的音译词汇,这一来表明了其外来身份,也显现了译者敬虔的态度。^⑱在表达异质性方面,音译当然是首选,然而过多的音译只能破坏阅读。“不译”的音译虽可达到“免争”、“不滥”的效果(章士钊,1910)^⑲,但却使人不知所云,根本达不到翻译的根本目的。况且“表义”的汉字并不是音译词的很好载体,汉字本身的联想破坏了音译的初衷。“意标文字,多望文生义之弊”(胡以鲁,1914)^⑳。而既有意义传递,同时又可赋加新义以表示异质文化的“缀华语而别赋新义”的翻译方法似乎正好符合圣经译者们要求。除上文中的“公义”,其它一些《圣经》中的独有的关键范畴,如“中保”、“罪”、“信”等,都用了中华文化已有的概念进行表述。但细细品来,这些词汇都已不再是其原有含义^㉑。对于初读者,这些词汇首先不像音译词那样令人望而生畏,相反,它们会使人产生一些亲

^⑰ 唐逸 Tang Yi, “中国基督信仰本土化的类型 Zhongguo jidu xinyang bentuhua de leixing” [The Model of Chinese Indigenization of Christianity], 《世界宗教研究》 *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* [Studies in World Religions], 1999 (2): 43 - 50

^⑱ 许牧世 Moses Hsu, 《经与译经》 *Jing yu yijing* [Bible and Bible Translation], (香港 Hong Kong: 基督教文艺出版社 Jidujiao wenyi chubanshe [Chinese Christian Literature Council], 1983), 170。

^⑲ 马祖毅 Ma Zuyi, 《中国翻译简史》 *Zhongguo fanyi jianshi* [A Brief History of Chinese Translation], (北京 Beijing: 中国对外翻译出版公司 Zhongguo duiwai fanyi chubanshe [China Translation & Publishing Corporation], 1998), 66

^⑳ *Ibid.*, 66 - 67

^㉑ 赵维本 Chiu Wai Boon, 《译经溯源》 *Yijing shuyuan* [Tracing Bible Translation], (香港 Hong Kong: 中国神学研究院 Zhongguo shengxue yanjiuyuan [China Graduate School of Theology], 1993), 44 - 45.

切感。但随着阅读的深入,读者们会发现这些熟悉的词汇是完全陌生的概念。

基督文化与中华传统文化相碰撞,基督教汉译体现了译者对这一碰撞的态度,身为传教士的翻译团队小心地避开了中华文化中已有的概念,积极汲取了前几次基督教在华传播失败的原因,极力采用陌生化的方式强行地推介基督教这一异质文化。同时,译者们也考虑到读者的诉求,在保存异质文化与接近读者的接受能力之间,译者们艰难地寻求着平衡点。颇具亲和力的汉语固有词汇在译者手中成为了工具。他们希望读者们稍加留意能够体会出这些词汇的不同的含义。这种“缀华语而别赋新义”的译名策略反映了传教士对基督教和中国传统文化的理解,表明了传教士在基督教与中国传统文化的冲突和摩擦中既确保基督教经典纯正之决心,又试图在两者之间谋求某种契合的意愿。和合本的译名策略为我们现在在全球化的背景下更好地认识其他者、推荐自我提供了有益的借鉴和启发。

English Title:

Extending Chinese Traditional Words to Cover New Meanings

——Take Christian Concepts “righteousness” as an Example

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Abstract: Extending some Chinese traditional terms to cover new meanings is an effective technique by which some foreign concepts make their way into Chinese. The traditional Chinese terms have an advantage over the newly made ones—they can provide the readers with some associations, which can soften the effect of what we call “culture impact” in translation, and enhance understanding. This paper is intended to find out how the translating technique of extension renders two Christian concepts—righteousness and mediator—into Chinese linguistic and cultural contexts. It discusses the similarities and the differences between the biblical “righteousness” and Chinese“义”, and the Christian “mediator” and “中保”, pointing out that extending bridges the Chinese traditional notions and foreign Biblical concepts, at the same time the two are different despite the apparent convergence.

Key words: Bible, righteousness, translating, extending the Chinese traditional terms to cover new means

教会历史与中西社会
Church History
in the West and in China

Salvation or Condemnation? Vincentius Mascarell's "Apologia" in the Chinese Rites Controversy (1701)

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Abstract: The Mandate of the Vicar Apostolic Charles Maigrot (1655 – 1730) of 1693 had started anew the debate about the meaning of the Chinese rites and terms. The case was brought to Holy Office to Rome. In 1700 several propositions taken from books written on Chinese culture by the two Jesuits Louis Le Comte and Charles Le Gobien were submitted to the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne in Paris, which condemned several propositions of the books. This caused a huge public debate about Chinese religion and rites among scholars and theologians in Europe. One of the defenders of the Jesuits accommodation policy in China was the Spanish Jesuit Vincentius Mascarell (1660 – 1730) professor for Holy Scripture, biblical chronology and dogmatic in Salamanca and Valladolid. In his "Apologia historico – dogmatica pro primævi veri Dei cultus apud Sinas perennitate & juxta legem naturæ religiose observantia, ab anonymo Pinciano Professore exarata" he tried to support his confreres' attitude towards Chinese chronology and the possibility that already the Chinese of antiquity had known about the true God, a knowledge they had kept for many centuries. By means of his immense erudition concerning church fathers and contemporary theologians Mascarell constructed an ample defense of the condemned propositions, which, however, was never printed.

Key words: Chinese Rites Controversy, Vincentius Mascarell SJ, Chinese chronology, condemnation by the Sorbonne, salvation of pagans

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1. Introduction

The history of the Chinese Rites Controversy is comparably well known, at least on the whole. ① Several topics are covered, namely accommodation of the Jesuits, meaning of the rites for Confucius and the ancestors, the appropriate Chinese term for God, the meaning of Chinese philosophy and ethics. In the 17th century the controversy started inside the Society of Jesus about the right terms for the Christian God and spiritual/religious names, then the question whether the practical rites were superstitious or not was discussed, and finally towards the end of the century everything starting anew with Charles Maigrot's MEP (1652 – 1730) "Mandatum seu Edictum" of March 26, 1693. The Mandate was sent to Europe, where it not only caused several condemnations of the

① For a short overview *HCC* 1, 680 – 688. The following abbreviations are used; *BM* = Robert Streit (ed.), *Bibliotheca Missionum* 1, 5, 7 (Freiburg 1929 – 32). *HCC* 1 = Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China*. Volume One: 635 – 1800. (Handbook of Oriental Studies, section 4; China 15/1. *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. 4; China 15) (Leiden, Boston, Köln 2001). Migne *PL*, and Migne *PG* = Jacques Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*..., 217 vols. (Paris 1844 – 1855), and Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*..., 161 vols. (Paris 1857 – 1866). The Bible editions used are the *Biblia Sacra vulgatae editionis* (Coloniae Agrippinae 1679) and the so – called King – James – Bible (Oxford 1859). For biographies of theologians the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd edition was used (Freiburg 1986).

Rites (1704, 1710, 1715 and 1742), but also the delegation of the papal Legate Charles – Thomas Maillard de Tourmon (1668 – 1710) to China from 1705 until 1710. ② The most important phase of the whole controversy, however, took place in Europe between 1700 and 1710, then the discussion was more or less stopped by Clement XI who forbade the publication of books and pamphlets about the Chinese rites without explicit permission. ③ The discussion was not only of interest to the theologians and missionaries directly involved in the affair, but also to the educated people in Europe, who informed themselves and who often sided with one party or with the other. Well – known in this respect is the Protestant philosopher and universal genius Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646 – 1716). His correspondents, some of them Jesuits in China, supplied him with information and material. His appellation for accommodation to the Chinese culture, however, remained unheard in Rome. ④

The fact that the learned Europe had become the centre of the controversy caused also a shift of the discussed question. It turned to a question which was nearly as old as Christianity, namely to that of the salvation of the infidels, “*salus paganorum*”. There were always two lines within the Church(es): part of the theologians were convinced that everybody outside the church was condemned, and in this case “outside” also meant before the time of the church. Other theologians had a far more merciful attitude: by God’s grace it is possible that also people were saved who did not belong to the Jews or to the Catholic Church, if they believed in God and lived a life of high ethics. From this the following question emerged: is it possible that non – Christian peoples had and have an idea about the one true God? Would this idea or belief be sufficient for them to be saved by God? Should and could missionaries use the people’s own ideas, rituals and rites, to lead them to the Gospel? Was it permitted to integrate the original religious belief of peoples into Christianity, or was it necessary to make a new beginning, a “*tabula rasa*” and tell people that all of their ancestors were condemned without their own fault? Such questions were discussed in Europe in the second half of the 17th century, for example, between Jansenists and the more moderate Jesuits with respect to China. China represented a nation as numerous and old as none of the European nations, that practiced since thousands of years a religion free of superstition and that had a high moral which resembled the Christian moral, but that had no part of the revelation given to Moses, and which had nothing heard of Christianity. Could such a nation be considered lost or to have been saved? ⑤ The place of the fiercest controversy about this question became the theological faculty of the Sorbonne in Paris, where some books written by Jesuits on the topic of Chinese religion were submitted. Some sentences of these books were taken out of their context and condemned.

2. The law of nature (“*lex naturæ*”)

Christianity since its beginnings became more and more a religion of a centrifugal movement. From the revelation in the Old Testament given to the chosen people of the Jews that a Messiah would be sent, this revelation was interpreted as being given to the “new” chosen people of the Christians, who were considered as the spiritual descendents of the Jews, the Judeo – Christians.

② S. Francis A. Rouleau, “Maillard de Tournon, Papal Legate at the Court of Peking. The First Imperial Audience (31 December 1705)”, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 31 (1962), 264 – 323.

③ S. *BM* 7, # 2609.

④ Rita Widmaier (ed.), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Der Briefwechsel mit den Jesuiten in China (1689 – 1714)*. Französisch/Lateinisch – Deutsch. Textherstellung und Übersetzung von Malte – Ludolf Babin (Hamburg 2006); Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Der Briefwechsel mit Bartholomäus Des Bosses* (Hamburg 2007).

⑤ Virgile Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l’esprit philosophique en France 1640 – 1740* (Paris 1932), 104.

The Apostle Paul expanded this sphere of the chosen people to demonstrate God's all-embracing will for the salvation of all, i. e. the true meaning of "catholic". In his first letter to the Corinthians 10:32; in the letter to the Galatians 3:28, and Galatians 5:6 Paul developed a scheme of three phases of the world history fitting for all human beings and their religions, namely the "*lex naturalis*" (or *lex naturæ*), the "*lex mosaicæ*", and the "*lex evangelicæ*".^⑥ Christianity, also called "law of grace" (*lex gratiæ*) is, of course, the highest level, whereas the "law of Moses", Jewry, is inferior, however, leads to the law of grace. The idea of the "law of nature" is here not to be seen in a juridical meaning, but as a natural theology and moral as described in the letter to the Romans 1:20: "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse,"^⑦ and Romans 2:14: "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves."^⑧ Without special revelation this law as expression of the "*lex æterna*" (eternal law) is written into the heart by God. The "*lex naturalis*" existed besides the law of Moses, which was revealed in history and proclaimed outside, i. e. in the written form. With the help of the "inner" law the heathens learned the essential and most important things of the externally positive law.^⑨

Many theologians were convinced that the pagans could be saved before or outside the line of revelation if they did by "natural impulse" what was written in their heart.^⑩ This doctrine was valid from the church fathers until the end of the 19th century.^⑪ Defenders of this idea of a law of nature were, for example, Irenæus of Lyon (died ca. 202),^⑫ John Chrysostom (347 – 407) who clearly distinguished between pagans and idolaters,^⑬ Augustine of Hippo (354 – 430), who described the doctrine of the three laws,^⑭ and mentioned the "Golden Rule".^⑮ Jesus himself made the connection between the law of nature, the law of Moses and Christianity: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." (Mt 5:17).^⑯ This law of nature outlived in Augustine's opinion all times and remained valid in the heart of pious people, even after the law of Moses had been written down.^⑰ Thomas Aquinas OP (c. 1225 – 1274) thought that the natural perception of God was validated by the supernatural grace.^⑱ A nice example is given by Peter Abelard (1079 – 1142) in his *Collationes sive Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum*, where representatives of the three laws are discussing. The philosopher is a

⑥ Cf. Adolf von Harnack, *Die Mission und die Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig 1924), 259 – 263.

⑦ "*Invisibilia enim ipsius, à creatura mundi, per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta, conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque ejus virtus, & divinitas: ita ut sint inexcusabiles.*"

⑧ "*Cùm enim Gentes, quæ legem non habent, naturaliter ea, quæ legis sunt, faciunt, ejusmodi legem non habentes, ipsi sibi sunt lex; qui ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis, testimonium reddente illis conscientia ipsorum, . . .*"

⑨ "*Participatio legis æternæ, secundum quam homines bonum et malum discernunt.*" *Kirchen – Lexikon* 7 (1851), 485f.

⑩ Johann Riedl, *Das Heil der Heiden nach R 2*, 14 – 16. 26 – 27 (Mödling 1965).

⑪ Encyclica "Libertas præstantissimum", dated 20 of June 1888, cf. Henricus Denzinger, Adolphus Schönmetzer (ed.), *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* (Freiburg 1976) # 3247; cf. 3956.

⑫ Irenæus of Lyon, *Adversus Haereses* IV. XIII, I, quoted after Henry Bettenson (ed.), *The Early Christian Fathers* (London 1982⁵), 101.

⑬ Johannes Chrysostomos, *Hom. 5 in cap. 2 Epist. ad Romanos* (Migne, PG 40, t. IX, col. 426).

⑭ Augustinus *Liber 19 contra Faustum Manichæum* (Migne PL 42, col. 347f).

⑮ *Enarrat. in Psalm. 57*, quoted after *Kirchen – Lexikon* 7 (1851), 487.

⑯ S. Augustinus, *Liber 19 contra Faustum Manichæum* (Migne PL 8, ff. 347f).

⑰ Augustinus, *Sermo LXXXI* (Migne PL 5), 500.

⑱ *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 7 (Freiburg 1986), cols. 811 – 814.

“Gentile” with a natural ethical law, the two others have religious scriptures, but all three of them are devotees of the one God. ①

The question about the law of nature became evident again in the early modern times in the 16th and 17th centuries, when new pagan empires were found with high ethics and morals or when, as in the case of China, such empires were rediscovered. An important factor for the impetus to mission work was the assumption that these peoples were lost, but this seemed to contradict God’s mercifulness. On the other hand non baptized human beings had not to be lost eo ipso, if they had obeyed the “*lex naturalis*”. However, the “*lex naturæ*” was only valid until the law of Christ” was not really spread, and Christianity was the surest way to the eternal salvation. The theological actuality of this doctrine is documented by several books in the 17th century, all published later than Matteo Ricci (1552 – 1610), as Francesco Collius, *De animabus paganorum libri quinque* (Mediolani 1622), ② Jacob de Boulduc, *De Ecclesia ante legem libri tres in quibus indicatur, quis a mundi primordio usque ad Moysen fuerit ordo Ecclesiæ* (Paris 1630), his *De Ecclesia post legem liber analogicus mundum in lucem edidit, in quo ostenditur quanta sit similitudo inter legem naturalem & legem Evangelicam* (Paris 1630), Pascal Rapine de Sainte Marie, *Le Christianisme naissant dans la gentilité. Tome premier: De la foy des gentils de la Loy de Nature, ou sont exposez les mysteres de la Diuinité selon la Doctrine des Patriarches, des Egyptiens, des Perses, des Druydes, & des Nations, tome second: De la Religion des Patriarches, and tome troisieme: Du salut des Gentils. Ov il est traité de la sainteté des premiers Siecles, de l’Origine des Empires, de la vertu des plus grands Princes, & de la Sagesse des Philosophes* (Paris 1655 – 1659). Collius extensively dealt with the prophets and saints of the law of nature of old times, but he was convinced that some of these “saints” despite of their position as prophets at the end were not saved at all. In this context the newly found peoples were not mentioned. ③

Under the presumption that morally high peoples (to which the Chinese belonged according to most missionaries) were the offspring of Noah’s “good” son Shem (cf. Genesis 9:18 – 27) also the Chinese obtained their place in God’s concept of salvation. The primitive revelation given by God to the progenitors of the whole of mankind was valid from Adam until Noah. It contained the exact knowledge about God, but also the promise of the future redeemer. Besides that line of revelation Christian authors as Lactantius (240 – c. 320), Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 263 – 339), Clement of Alexandria (c. 150 – c. 215) and Augustine assumed a special revelation outside the Old Testament, which God had given to the Gentiles. They had a kind of prophets, who in mysterious books, comparable to those of the Jews, had spoken about mysteries of the future redemption. In the early Renaissance this teaching became valid again by the books of the philosopher Gemistos Plethon (1360 – 1452), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463 – 1494), and Marsilio Ficino (1433 – 1499). ④

Such prophets of the gentiles were the Sibyls, Hystaspes, the druids, several Greek philosophers as Plato and Sokrates, Hermes or Merkur Trismegistos, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Zoroaster. ⑤ Their theology is called “*Prisca Theologia*” or “*Philosophia perennis*”. ⑥ It was assumed that the

① Abailard, *Gespräch eines Philosophen, eines Juden und eines Christen* (Frankfurt 1995), 8f.

② BM I, # 408.

③ Louis Capéran, *Le salut des Infidèles* (Toulouse 1934), 286 – 295.

④ Claudia von Collani, “Das Problem des Heils der Heiden. Die Apologie des P. Vincentius Mascarell S. J. aus dem Jahre 1701”, *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 45 (1989), 107.

⑤ D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology* (London 1972), 1f, 20.

⑥ Charles R. Schmitt, “Perennial Philosophy: From Agostino Steuco to Leibniz”, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27 (1966), 505 – 532; Walker, 1 – 5. S. a. Wilhelm Schmidt – Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis. Historische Umriss abendländischer Spiritualität in Antike, Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Frankfurt 1998).

“*Prisci Theologi*” had written down their prophecies already before the birth of Christ, although in reality these books were written after Christ’s birth. ⑤ Actually, many church fathers dealt with this teaching. ⑥

3. The “*lex naturæ*” in China

The Jesuits with their theology shaped by probabilism and a positive world view at least until the beginning of the 18th century, but also other missionaries assumed that the Chinese of antiquity were no abject pagans, sent without salvation to eternal condemnation, but that they had a monotheistic religion at least at their origin. Only later the high level of religion deteriorated to the atheism or agnosticism of the contemporary scholars during the late Ming – time, and the idolatry, i. e. Buddhism and Daoism of the common people. ⑦ As for the antiquity the Jesuits were convinced that also the light of the law of nature must have been known by the Chinese, and that Confucianism was an expression of the “*lex naturæ*”. ⑧ In his so – called diary Matteo Ricci, the pioneer of the China mission, wrote: “*Di dove si può sperare dalla immensa bontà del Signore, che molti di quegli antichi si salvassero nella legge naturale, con quello agiuto particolare che suole Iddio porgere, a quegli che di sua parte fanno quanto possono per riceverlo.*” (“One can confidently hope that in the mercy of God, many of the ancient Chinese found salvation in the natural law, assisted as they must have been by that special help which, as the theologians teach, is denied to no one who does what he can towards salvation, according to the light of conscience.”) ⑨ Ricci and other missionaries after him believed to have found “traces” of this natural law in the books, in the moral and wisdom of the Chinese people. Only later the deterioration started with the arrival of Buddhism in China, and most Chinese became atheists or idolaters. ⑩ According to the missionaries, only the classical “sect of the literati” continued to know a higher *Numen*, but this was more or less destructed by the philosophy of the Neo – Confucians. ⑪ God was known in China under the names *Tiandi* meaning “King of Heaven” 天帝 or Heaven – Earth 天地. In his famous Chinese book *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 Ricci wrote: “There are a few people in the world who, though good now, always behaved morally in the past, and who, though following the truth now, never flouted in the past. The truth I am speaking of is the truth which the Lord of Heaven has engraved on men’s minds, and which He ordered sages and worthies to carve on tablets of stone and to record in books. Those who violate this truth are bound to offend the Sovereign on High.” ⑫

⑤ The non – authenticity of the Sibyllin oracles was already proven by David Blondel (1590 – 1655) in his *Des Sibylles célébrées tant par l’antiquité payenne que par les Saints – Pères* (Charenton 1649). The doctrine of the “inspired” Sibylline books, however, survived until the 18th century. Cf. Capéran, 365 # 6.

⑥ Von Collani, “Mascarell”, 107. S. a. Schmidt – Biggemann.

⑦ Pasquale D’Elia (ed.), *Fonti Ricciani: Storia dell’introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina scrittura da Matteo Ricci*, vol. 1 (Roma 1942) lib. 1, cap. X.

⑧ Philippe Couplet, “Proemialis Declaratio”, *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (Paris 2687), lxix; Claudia von Collani, “Philippe Couplet’s Missionary Attitude Towards the Chinese in Confucius Sinarum Philosophus”, in: Jerom Heyndricks (ed.), *Philippe Couplet, S. J. (1623 – 1692). The Man Who brought China to Europe* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXII) (Nettetal 1990), 45 – 48.

⑨ *Fonti Ricciani*, vol. 1, lib. 1, cap. 10, # 170. The Italian diary was translated into Latin and published by Ricci’s confrere Nicolas Trigault (1577 – 1628) as *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta* (Augsburg 1615). Cf. Louis J. Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583 – 1610* (New York 1953), 93.

⑩ *Fonti Ricciani* I, # 176; cf. Gallagher, 93f.

⑪ Gallagher, 9.

⑫ Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (T’ien – chu Shih – i)*, transl. and intr. by D. Lancashire and P. Hu Kuo – chen, S. J., ed. E. J. Malatesta (Variétés Sinologiques – New Series 72) (Taipei 1985) #. 303; cf. *Fonti Ricciani* I, # 149 and 180.

This attitude towards China and its religion was continued by other Jesuits and missionaries in China. These missionaries believed that if they could tie up Christianity with the vestiges of the “*lex naturalis*”, as documented in the old books of China, the Chinese could easily be led to Christianity. ③ An important exponent of this Jesuit theology concerning China was the Flemish Jesuit Philippe Couplet (1623 – 1692) who edited the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (Paris 1687) and its ample introduction. ④ There were several possibilities how the Chinese could have gained their knowledge about God. They had the “law of nature”, but as descendents of Noah’s son Shem, they must also have received traces of the revelation about the true God. ⑤ This faith was preserved, and already emperor Huangdi 黄帝 (ca. 2697 BC) built a temple for Shangdi 上帝 600 years before Abraham. ⑥ The missionaries had only to study the old Chinese books to find traces of the old primitive religion behind the adulterating commentators, and they could also use the old names for God to help contemporary Chinese to see Christianity not as a new but as a genuine Chinese religion. Therefore, Couplet also pleaded for the names for God “Xam ti” (= *Shangdi*, Emperor in High) and “Tien” = *tian* 天 Heaven for God, which the Jesuits found in the Chinese Canonical books. ⑦

4. Louis Le Comte and Charles Le Gobien in European discussion

When Charles Maigrot sent his confrere Nicolas Charlot (1645 – 1714) to Rome in 1693 to obtain a confirmation of his Decree and a condemnation of the Chinese Rites and terms from the Holy Office in Rome, the question of rites was brought to the European public. ⑧ After 1700 it was no longer a controversy inside the Society of Jesus or between the different orders inside China, or inside the Catholic Church, but a matter for discussion and controversy of the learned and/or the theological circles of Europe. The members of the two parties wrote, translated and edited books and pamphlets pro and con the Chinese Rites in such an extent that Clement XI finally forbade to write about the subject without explicit permission. ⑨ Lacking enough material for the fierce controversy many of the books which appeared in the years 1700 and 1701 had already been written as manuscripts in the 17th century. Some of these manuscripts were edited and translated now. There were, for example, the French translations of the treatises of Niccolò Longobardo SJ (1565 – 1655) and Antonio Santa Maria a Caballero OFM (1602 – 1669), written much earlier and in another context, namely in 1623 and 1668 respectively, which appeared in 1701. ⑩ They made a great impression in the public discussion and significantly influenced the famous *Lettre à Rémond* written by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646 – 1716). ⑪ Other treatises were directly written for the actual

③ Couplet, “Proëmialis Declaratio”, lxxvij.

④ Thierry Meynard, *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (1687): *The First Translation of the Confucian Classics* (Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu) (Rome 2011).

⑤ Couplet, “Proëmialis Declaratio”, lxxivf.

⑥ Couplet, “Proëmialis Declaratio”, lxxijf, lxxxix; cf. Le Comte II (1697), 134.

⑦ Couplet, “Proëmialis Declaratio”, lxxxix – xciv

⑧ Charlot reached Rome after a long travel only in the beginning of 1697 and at once submitted his accusations. Claudia von Collani, “Ein Brief des Chinamissionars P. Joachim Bouvet S. J. zum Mandat des Apostolischen Vikars von Fu – kien, Charles Maigrot MEP”, *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 43 (1987), 194. S. BM5, 941.

⑨ Decree, dated 25 of September 1710, s. BM 7, # 2609.

⑩ S. BM 7, # 2160 and 2161.

⑪ The “Lettre” was only published posthumously, newest edition: Wenchao Li und Hans Poser (ed.), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Discours sur la theologie naturelle des Chinois*. Mit einem Anhang: Nicolas Longobardi, *Traité sur quelques points de la religion des Chinois* (Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz – Archivs) (Frankfurt 2002), 113 – 156.

situation.

Charlot fought on two fronts. After submitting the accusation in Rome he used his relations in Paris and to the arch bishop Louis – Antoine de Noailles (1651 – 1729) to submit the question also to the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne. He chose several propositions out of the context of Le Comte's and Le Gobien's books to obtain their condemnation.⁴² The theologians at the Sorbonne influenced by Jansenism had a quite rigorous attitude towards the possibility for men outside the Catholic Church to be saved. Without the grace of God even the best works of Christians and even more Non – Christians were invalid, and all people who were not baptized were eternally lost. This pessimistic attitude towards the salvation of men was contrary to that of the Jesuits, and it is therefore not astonishing that a clash of theologies was the result.⁴³

The Latin introduction to the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* was quite probably not read by too many people. The new books in French language were published ten years afterwards, namely by Louis Le Comte (1655 – 1728), *Nouveaux Memoires sur l'Etat present de la Chine* I – II (Paris 1696 – 1697), Charles Le Gobien (1653 – 1708), *Histoire de l'Edit de l'Empereur de la Chine en faveur de la Religion Chrétienne: avec une éclaircissement sur les honneurs que les Chinois rendent à Confucius & aux morts* (Paris 1698), and Joachim Bouvet's (1656 – 1730), *Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine* (Paris 1697).

The three books by Bouvet, Le Comte and Le Gobien, which appeared a short time after the “mission” of the first French Jesuits was sent to China, became real best – sellers with many editions and translations⁴⁴ and influenced in a large measure the European publicity in favour of the French enterprise, but were also used as a weapon against the Jesuits as an order in the Rites Controversy, because the Jesuits became incautious within. Especially the first two books caused a huge and hot debate about the possibility of the salvation of the Chinese people in old times. The context of these two books was not the newly enflamed Rites Controversy, as it is often stated. Le Comte's book already appeared in 1696, therefore it cannot be an answer to Maigrot's Mandate of 1693, which was sent to Europe secretly and which became only known to the Jesuits in 1697.⁴⁵ Le Gobien's book appeared in 1698 and aimed at emphasizing the role of the French Jesuits to obtain the Edict of Toleration against the demand of the Portuguese Jesuits in José Suarez' SJ (1656 – 1736) book (which was, however, written in Spanish language).⁴⁶ Whereas Le Comte stayed at least some time in China, namely from the end of 1687 until the end of 1691 when he returned as procurator of the Jesuits to Europe, Le Gobien never left Europe.⁴⁷ The two books together with Bouvet's *Portrait historique* constituted an important part of the politics of the French Jesuits who wanted to become independent from the Portuguese mission. Therefore these books written in French language

⁴² Cf. Pinot, 71 – 140; Jacques Davy, “La condamnation en Sorbonne des Nouveaux Mémoires sur la Chine du P. Le Comte, les débuts de l'affaire”, *Recherches de science religieuse* 37 (Paris 1950), 366 – 397; René Etiemble, *Les Jésuites en Chine: la querelle des Rites* (1552 – 1773) (Paris 1966); David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Studia Leibnitiana Supplementa 25) (Wiesbaden 1985).

⁴³ Pinot, 98 – 105.

⁴⁴ *BM* 5, 933.

⁴⁵ *HCC* 1, 345, 683; von Collani, “Ein Brief”, 188 – 211.

⁴⁶ *La libertad de la ley de Dios, en el Imperio de la China. Compuesta por el Rmo. P. Joseph Suarez, de la Compañia de Iesus, Rector del Colegio de Pekim, corte de aquel vastissimo Imperio. Y traducida de la lengua Potvguesa à la Castellana, por Don Juan de Espinola, &c. Dedicada al Rm. P. M. Tyrso Gonzalez de Santalla, Preposito General de la misma Compañia de Iesus* (Lisboa 1696). In the second part of his book Suarez also mentioned the Rites for Confucius and the ancestors, but not as an answer to Maigrot's mandate, whereas the first part of Suarez' book was published by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in his *Novissima Sinica* (1697) in Latin translation, the language of the educated people, 1 – 149 in the second edition of the *Novissima Sinica* of 1699.

⁴⁷ Mungello, 343, Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome, Paris 1973), 317.

emphasized the role of the French Jesuits in the China mission; their relation to the Kangxi Emperor (reign 1662 – 1723), whom they wanted to convert and who seemed to be so close to the Kingdom of God, their role to obtain the Edict of Toleration in 1692, and their attitude towards Chinese culture and religion. ④

Le Comte's two-volume book is subdivided into 14 lengthy "letters", and so-to-say "addressed" or dedicated to Church authorities and high French nobility. ⑤ In the second volume of the *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine II* (Paris 1697) in "Lettre X" addressed to the Cardinal de Bouillon (= Emmanuel Théodose de la Tour d'Auvergne Cardinal de Bouillon, 1643 – 1715, Cardinal from 1669). Le Comte described the old Chinese religion by repeating and following the line of Couplet's "Proëmialis Declaratio" to the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (Paris 1687), but in French language, which brought him a larger publicity, and especially addressed the French nobility.

Also Le Comte considered the Chinese to be the offspring of Noah, in this way the primitive religion was brought to China. Starting with Fuxi 伏羲, the Chinese emperors of antiquity initiated a cult for God, therefore Fuxi had the also name *Paoxi* 庖犧, the one who offers sacrifice, a name which would for Le Comte fit for a saint of the Old and New Testament. The third emperor Huangdi 黄帝 (2699 – 2588 BC) built a temple of palace for the Highest Lord of Heaven (Shangdi), which Le Comte audaciously called "the oldest of the universe", because it was 600 years before Abraham. ⑥ The fifth emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊 (2490 – 2413 BC) appointed priests and "church Mandarins" ("*Mandarins Ecclesiastiques*") as masters of the sacrifices. Emperor Diku 帝嚳 (2412 – 2343 BC) and his pious wife, who prayed to God for a son, were for Le Comte another proof of the fact that the antique Chinese were monotheists, and also Wu Wang 武王 (1046 – 1043 BC), who wanted to become the sacrifice for his brother. According to Le Comte, idolatry only came to China under emperor Kaiser You Wang 幽王 (781 – 771 BC). ⑦ For Le Comte Confucius was nearly a Christian; "Sometimes it seems that these were the words of a doctor of the "New law" (of grace) instead those of a man educated under the degenerated law of nature. . ." ⑧ The contemporary Kangxi 康熙 Emperor was described as a God-fearing ruler. Despite his inclination to Lamaism ("*il honore certains Bonzes du premier ordre*") he was no slave of this doctrine. ⑨ On certain days of the year Kangxi was offering sacrifice to Shangdi following the old use. ⑩ Le Comte's book was quite successful and had several editions and translations. ⑪

Le Gobien (1653 – 1708) was the procurator of the French mission in Paris, where he collected letters and other information from his brethren of different missions, and he also distributed

④ See the letters written by Joachim Bouvet written to the French Assistant in Rome, Jean-Joseph Guibert, dated 10th of June 1697 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Vittorio Emanuele, Roma, FG A. 8. 63b, and Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Jap. Sin. 166, 200r – 202v.

⑤ Toussaint Forbin Cardinal de Janson (1631 – 1713, Cardinal from 1690), to the Cardinal de Bouillon and to his sister-in-law, Duchesse Marie Anne Bouillon, née Mancini, (1649 – 1714), to German noble and bishop Wilhelm Egon Graf von Fürstenberg (1629 – 1704, Cardinal from 1686), who was an adherent of Louis XIV, to César Cardinal d'Estrées (1628 – 1714, Cardinal from 1671), and Charles-Maurice Le Tellier (1642 – 1710). The dedications were for protectors of the Jesuits and the China mission and should help to create friendly relations and feelings towards the order and its missionary intentions and towards the creation of an own French Jesuit mission in China.

⑥ Cf. Couplet, "Proëmialis Declaratio", lxxxix, and lxxvii.

⑦ Louis Le Comte, *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'Etat présent de la Chine II* (Paris 1696), 106 – 155.

⑧ Le Comte II, p. 334: "Il semble quelque fois que ce soit un Docteur de la nouvelle loy qui parle, plutost qu'un homme élevé dans la corruption de la loy de nature. . ."

⑨ Le Comte II, 150f.

⑩ Le Comte II, 152 – 155.

⑪ BM 5, # 2714.

copies of letters, as, for example, he was mediator between Leibniz and the Jesuits in China. ⁵⁶ His *Histoire de l'édit de l'empereur* ... (Paris 1698) described the background of the Edict of Toleration issued by the Kangxi Emperor after a local persecution had frightened the missionaries and the Chinese Christians in 1692. The Jesuits' efforts at the Court for having their Imperial protector grant them help were finally successful. The second part of the book deals with the rites for Confucius and the ancestors. The report about Kangxi's Edict was probably brought by Joachim Bouvet to Paris when he arrived there as the legate of the Kangxi emperor in 1687. ⁵⁷

5. The debate over the salvation of the gentiles in Europe

Several theses from the books of Le Comte and Le Gobien were submitted to the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne in Paris, namely from Le Comte's *Nouveaux Mémoires*, his *Lettre ... à Monseigneur le Duc du Maine sur les cérémonies chinoises* (bound together with the *Nouveaux Mémoires*) and Le Gobien's *Histoire de l'Édit*. The Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne condemned five of theses on 18th of October 1700 as "*fausses, téméraires, erronées, impies, fausses, scandaleuses, hérétiques, contraires à la parole de Dieu, capables de renverser la religion de la croix de Jésus – Christ.*" ⁵⁸ These sentences did not really concern the Rites question but were more of theological nature concerning the question if it was possible to gain salvation without being baptized. The five condemned theses are the following:

1. "The people of China preserved for almost two – thousand years a knowledge of the true God, and honored him in a manner which can serve as an example and as instruction even to Christians." ⁵⁹

2. "If Judea had the advantage of consecrating (a temple to God) richer and more magnificent, sanctified even by means of the presence and by means of the prayers of the Redeemer, is this not a glorious piety to China, of having sacrificed to the Creator in the oldest temple of the universe." ⁶⁰

3. "That the purity of the morality, the holiness of manners and customs, the faith, the interior and exterior cult of the true God, the prayers, the sacrifices, of the saints, of the men inspired by God, of miracles, the spirit of Religion, the purest charity which is perfection and the character of Religion, and, if I dare to say, said the author, the Spirit of God was preserved formerly among the Chinese during more than two – thousand years." ⁶¹

4. "Be that as it may in the wise distribution of grace that divine Providence has made among the nations on the earth, China has nothing to complain of, since there is no nation that He has more constantly favored." ⁶²

5. "Moreover, it is not necessary that his majesty (Chinese) regards the Christian religion as a foreign religion, since it was the same in its principles and in its fundamental points as the ancient religion, of which the sages and first emperors of China professed, worshipping the same God as the

⁵⁶ Widmaier (ed.), Leibniz, *Briefwechsel*.

⁵⁷ Bouvet mentioned the publication of the three books several times in his letters.

⁵⁸ Text of this condemnation in *Lettre de Messieurs des Missions Étrangères au Pape, sur les idolâtries et sur les superstitions chinoises* (s. l., s. a.) (1700) (Latin – French) s. BM VII # 2091. S. a. [Jacques Philippe Lallemand S. J.], *Journal Historique des Assemblées Tenues en Sorbonne, Pour Condamner les Mémoires de la Chine* (Paris 1700). The condemnations for each proposition changed in the text.

⁵⁹ Le Comte II, 141.

⁶⁰ Le Comte II, 134f.

⁶¹ This condemnation is a summary of several sentences in Le Comte. S. Le Comte II, 135, 141 – 142, 146 – 148, 183, 406, 415 – 416, 421, 431.

⁶² Le Comte II, 147f.

Christians worshipped and recognizing as well as they the Lord of Heaven and of the earth.”⁶³

This condemnation by the Sorbonne caused the Jesuits to look for all kind of defense and apologies against this accusation. In China they therefore made a petition to the Kangxi emperor, which he answered in the way the Jesuits had wished, the so – called “*Declaratio Rituum*” and which was published several times in China and in Europe.⁶⁴ Besides that many Chinese scholars and Christians gave their expertise, which were also collected in Rome. At the same time new apologies were written and published in Europe.

6. The “Apologia” by Vincentius Mascarell

Vincentius Mascarell is a comparably unknown theologian, one of the many professors and teachers at Jesuit colleges of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries who followed the line of classical theological teaching and scholasticism. Mascarell was born in Valencia on 8th of April 1660, joined the Society of Jesus on 4th of April 1682 and started his theological studies. Afterwards he became rector in Avila and León, and finally professor for Holy Scripture in Salamanca, a position which he held for fourteen years. Then he taught in Valladolid until the end of his life in 1730. His further subjects of teaching were biblical chronology – an eminent field at that time – and dogmatic. His most important books are *Sacræ dissertationes præsertim chronologicæ in divinam Scripturam*. . . (Vallisoleti 1721 – 1729) in 5 vols. , and his *Tractatus dogmaticus et canonicus de libertate actus divinæ fidei* (1719).⁶⁵

Despite the fact that Mascarell never left Spain and despite the fact that he only used traditional arguments for his apology, he was nevertheless an open minded theologian who was interested in world mission and concerned about the fate of other nations. He felt responsible to contribute with his education and possibilities as an expert of scholastic theology and chronology to the acute topic of the Chinese Rites Controversy to help to defend the *Societas Jesu*. The full title of Mascarell’s treatise is “*Apologia historico – dogmatica pro primævi veri Dei cultus apud Sinas perennitate & juxta legem naturæ religiose observantia, ab anonymo Pinciano Professore exarata*”.⁶⁶ The manuscript is to be found in the Jesuit archives in Paris and consists of 41 double pages. The text includes fo 1 until fo 38, on ff. 18 and 19 is a letter written by Bartholomäus Alcazar SJ and addressed to his confrere Fr. Barthélémy Germon SJ (1663 – 1718) in Orléans dated February 9 1702, which gives some additional information to the manuscript.⁶⁷ Perhaps Germon was responsible for the print of the manuscript, and therefore the manuscript was conserved in a French Jesuit archive.

On the last six pages of the manuscript there are five censorships of the “Apologia” to obtain the necessary “*nihil obstat*”: the doctrine in the manuscript is orthodox and in may be printed. The first censorship is signed by three professors for theology from Valladolid dated 29 of August 1701. The names are comparably unreadable because of their signatures, the name of the third is Ildefon-

⁶³ Le Gobien II, 104 – 105; cf. *BM 5*, # 2761. The English translations of the quotations are taken from Mungello, *Curious Land*, 333f.

⁶⁴ Claudia von Collani, “Der Ritenstreit und die Folgen für die Chinamission”, *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 215.

⁶⁵ *Gran Enciclopedia de la Región Valenciana* t. 7 (Valencia 1973), 50.

⁶⁶ ASJP, Fonds Brotier 124. The name of Mascarell is not mentioned on the title page of the manuscript, however, the two letters inside the manuscript call him clearly the author. Also Aloys de Backer, Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 5 (Liège) p. 662f, attributed the manuscript to Mascarell. “Pincianus” is somebody from the city of Valladolid (Pincia), where Mascarell taught theology. S. von Collani, “Mascarell”, 22f.

⁶⁷ Germon had for some time the redaction of the Jesuit journal *Mémoires de Trévoux*. <http://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/342-barthelemy-germon> (1 of June 2012).

sus Martinez. The next censorship is dated 2 of September 1701 by Petrus Martinez (?), a professor for exegesis. The third censorship covers one page and is dated October 18, 1701, signed by four lecturers of theology: Josephus Reoyo (?), Michael Gonzalez, Gregorius Martinez and Man (uel ?) Rodriguez Marques. The fourth censorship is dated October 16, 1701, signed by Petrus Rodericus Casonnanus (?). The fifth and last censorship is written by Dr. Dr. Blasius de Tosalinas (?), dated October 21, 1701. All these censorships had no objections against the contents of the Apologia. ⁶⁸

The title of the manuscript and also the censorships mention the year 1701. The condemnation of the Sorbonne was on the 18th of October 1700, the first censorship of Mascarell's "Apologia" dates from the end of August 1701. So we can assume that Mascarell wrote his "Apologia" within nine months. This was possible because he could use his knowledge in the fields of exegesis, dogmatic, chronology and patristic without having special knowledge about China. Mascarell's "Apologia" proves that he was well trained in classical scholasticism and in patristic, who could prove his theses with ca. 400 quotations taken from more than 100 Greek and Latin church fathers, but also from contemporary books in Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French language.

Mascarell based his defense not on really new arguments following the old fashioned and established ways of other authors concerning the descent of the Chinese, the world chronology or the doctrine of the three stages of the world etc. In the world view of Europe in the 16th to the 18th centuries all peoples on earth were considered as descendents of Noah, his three sons and their families, the only human beings who survived the great Deluge in the ark (Gen 9: 9 – 17). They transmitted the true faith and the primitive revelation given by God to the first parents of humanity, Adam and Eve.

The second prerogative was the chronology of the world, which was at that time subject of hot discussions and many calculations. Mascarell was, as most theologians of his times, an adherent of the chronology of the (Latin) Vulgate translation of the Bible which assumed the creation of the world 3700 up to 4000 years before the redemption. These computations were challenged by the Chinese annals which had evidently numbers that were before the great Flood. Therefore theologians were permitted to use the chronology of the Greek Septuagint for China, which took 5200 up to 7000 years for the same epoch. Between creation and deluge 1656 years (Vulgate) resp. 2256 years (Septuagint) were calculated. Mascarell took 4050 years between creation and the arrival of Jesus Christ.

The third prerogative in Mascarell's "Apologia" was the subdivision of world history into three stages: the law of nature (*lex naturalis*, or *lex naturæ*), the law of Moses (*lex Mosaica*) and the law of grace or law of the Gospel (*lex gratiæ*, *lex Evangelicæ*). ⁶⁹ In its composition the "Apologia" follows the arrangement of the five condemned arguments of Le Comte and Le Gobien, and each article is subdivided into several paragraphs with proofs. ⁷⁰

1. Article

Populus Sinensis retinuit per duo fere annorum millia cognitionem veri Dei, huncque ea pietate coluit, quæ Christianis posset esse exemplum.

The Chinese people conserved the knowledge about the true God for nearly two thousand years and venerated him with a piety which could serve as an example and edification for Christians.

Mascarell started the defense of Le Comte's claim with the question why there could and should not exist one or several peoples outside Judah who venerated the true God and why the Chi-

⁶⁸ ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 39r – 41v.

⁶⁹ Von Collani, "Mascarell", 104f.

⁷⁰ Von Collani, "Mascarell", 26 – 28.

nese could not be such a people.

§ 1. *Veri Numinis cultum extra Judaeam populo alicui commune fuisse, ex sacris literis non repugnat sed potius ostenditur*

In the Holy Scripture Mascarell found evidence that peoples existed outside Judah who had the cult of the true God.

Mascarell found the first example of such a people who believed in God outside of Judah in the book of Jonah in the Old Testament. The prophet Jonah was sent by God to the inhabitants of the city of Nineveh to preach so that they would convert. Jonah doubted that his legation would be fruitful, but after his sermon the citizens converted, did penitence and God spared them, because he did not want to damage so many people (Jonah 10:4, 11). Why, so asked Mascarell, should God then not have spared such big cities in China as Peking and Nanking?

§ 2. *Husitas, omnesque Job subditos populous, aut saltem urbem regiam veri Numinis cultum observasse ex sacra pagina probabilius apparet*

Mascarell's second example for a God-fearing people were the inhabitants of the country of Uz ("Husitæ"), the people to which Job belonged. Mascarell stated: "The Husitæ and all peoples subject to Job, or at least those in the capital, venerated the true God, as it seems to be probable from the Holy Scripture." For Mascarell Job was a Canaanite, Israelite, or Edomite, which means that Job was a descendent of Esau (Genesis 36),^① an opinion where Mascarell followed Saint Augustine.^② Following the calculations of Juan de Pineda,^③ Agostino Tornielli,^④ Jacques Salián^⑤ and Denis Pétau (Petavius),^⑥ all of them specialists in the computation for the duration of the world since the creation, Mascarell even gave the exact time when Job lived, namely in the year 2319 after the creation of the world and 1700 years before the coming of Christ.^⑦ On the following pages Mascarell dealt with Job in detail and argued together with the church fathers that Job was the priest king of his people and that his faith was therefore decisive for his whole people.^⑧

§ 3. *Qua mente noto in Judaea Deo plauserit regius vates?*

What did the royal prophet (= King David) mean with "God is known in Judah"?

Paragraph three deals with the meaning of Psalm 75:2, where it is written: "Notus in Judaea Deus et in Israel nomen sanctum eius." ("In Judah is God known; his name is great in Israel"). In Cajetan's interpretation it is not written "notus est Deus Judaea" (God is known to Judah), but

① Edomite = inhabitant of Edom.

② *Sancti Aurelii Augustini episcopi de Civitate Dei libri XXII* (Darmstadt 1981), lib. 18. cap. 47 (volume 2, 330); (Migne PL 41, cols. 609f).

③ Juan de Pineda SJ (1558 - 1637) taught philosophy in Granada and in Sevilla, exegesis in Cordoba, Sevilla and Madrid. He became famous for his commentary to Iob in two volumes *Commentarii in Job* (Coloniae Agrippinae 1597 - 1601).

④ Agostino Tornielli (Milan 1609), CRSP (1543 - 1622), general superior of the Barnabites, refused a bishopric. He wrote the *Annales sacri et ex profanis praecipui ab orbe condito ad eundem Christi passione redemptum* (Milan 1609), later expanded to four volumes (Lucca 1755 - 57). Mascarell often used Tornielli's chronology.

⑤ Jacques Salián SJ (1558 - 1641) taught humanities, Holy Scripture and moral theology at several colleges. He became well-known for his six volumes of the *Annales ecclesiastici Veteris Testamenti ab orbe condito usque ad Christi mortem* (Paris 1627).

⑥ Dionysius Petavius (Denis Pétau) SJ (1583 - 1652), humanist, scholar, historian, who provided editions of classical books and church fathers. During his studies of the fathers he found the term of the uncreated grace. Also his book *Liber de doctrina temporum...* was quite important.

⑦ They all were adherents of the chronology based on the Vulgate version of the Bible, *i. e.* there was a period of ca. 4000 between creation and redemption.

⑧ ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 4r - 5v; von Collani, "Mascarell", 28f.

“in Judaea”, i. e. God is acknowledged by all human beings living in Judah.⁷⁹ It also means, so Mascarell, that God’s power and mercy remains hidden and secret if God does not unveil them himself, as can be read in Isaiah 45:15: “Verily thou art a God that who hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour.”⁸⁰ The Augustinian Jacobus Perez de Valencia even made a figurist interpretation of this verse,⁸¹ namely that David, the “regius vates” (royal prophet), foresaw the victory which would be gained by Christ by his passion, his death and his resurrection in Jerusalem over the devil. The secrets of our redemption were spread from Jerusalem (a figure for the future church) and Judah over the whole earth, which means that all peoples knew about them.⁸²

§ 4. *D. Dionysius, et præclarissimus eius elucidator Hugo de Sancto Victore assertis hucusque egregie sufragantur*

Dionysius and his quite famous interpret Hugh de St. Victor sufficiently continue this line [of argumentation] in an excellent way.

Another topic in Mascarell’s argumentation was the old belief that each nation had an angel responsible for its spiritual and worldly welfare. Here Mascarell took recourse on Dionysius⁸³ and Hugh of Saint Victor (c. 1096 – 1141),⁸⁴ starting with the triple hierarchy of angels developed by Dionysius,⁸⁵ who assigned an angel to each people. The archangel Michael was the angel of the Jews, the other angels were the princes of the pagan peoples. Hugo of St. Victor further developed this doctrine based on Daniel 10:13. Also in other parts of the Holy Scripture such angel princes are mentioned. These angels had the duty to educate peoples and to bring them to the veneration of the one true God as Egyptians and Babylonians.⁸⁶

§ 5. *Idem docuerunt Augustinus & alii Patres*

Augustine and the Church Fathers taught the same doctrine.

As an important witness that not only the Hebrews knew the true God was Saint Augustine. As answer to the question of a certain Porphyrius what happened with men who lived a long time before Jesus Christ, Augustine answered that the only way to salvation is described in the books of the Hebrews (i. e. the Old Testament) where one can read about men who were not descendents of Abraham nor belonged to the people of Israel but who nevertheless participated in the sacrament of the faith. Why, Mascarell argued, should there not be such peoples who were unknown until recent

⁷⁹ Cajetanus = Thomas de Vio OP (1468 – 1534), general superior of the Dominicans, cardinal since 1517, wrote commentaries to Thomas Aquinas.

⁸⁰ “Verè tu es Deus absconditus, Deus Israel salvator.”

⁸¹ Jakob Perez of Valencia OSA (1408 – 1490) a saintly man, prior and provincial of his order, professor at the university of Valencia, since 1486 bishop of Christopolis, wrote *In Cantica canticorum* (Valencia 1486). *LThK* 5, col. 848.

⁸² ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 6r – 7v.

⁸³ Dionysius Areopagites, is said to have lived in the first century as bishop of Athens, where he was member of the Areopagus, converted by the apostle Paul. (Acts 17:34). The apocryphal Christian author Pseudo – Dionysius published books, treatises and letters under his name in Greek language in the 5th and 6th centuries. He blended Christian with Neo – Platonic ideas and exercised a great influence on the Christian philosophy and mystic of the Middle Ages.

⁸⁴ Hugh of St. Victor, Augustinian, philosopher, theologian and mystic, lived from the end of the 11th century, died in Paris in 1141. He blended mystic with scholastic. He wrote *Commentarioum Hierarchiam coelestem S. Dionysii Areopagitae secundum interpretationem Joannis Scoti* (Migne PL 175 ; *Hugonis de S. Victore opera omnia*, Paris 1879), where he described the several classes of angels.

⁸⁵ Dionysius Areopagites, *De Hierarchia coelestis* sect. VII, c. 1.2. He described three classes of angels in three departments the first class consisting of Guardians of the Throne, Seraphim, Cherubim, and the third class were the archangels Gabriel, Michael, Raphael. This classification became a dogma with Gregory the Great. D. Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti, *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte* (Leipzig 1835), 312f

⁸⁶ ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 7r – 8v. Jean Daniélou, *Vom Geheimnis der Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1968), 57 – 71.

times?^⑧

However, elsewhere Augustine wrote about this problem that without the faith in the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ also the righteous people of old times could not be justified from their sins and be saved. This was true before the deluge and from there on until the law of Moses and even at the time of the written law; it was valid for the sons of Israel, but also outside of Israel, i. e. for Job.^⑨ Only those peoples could be saved who belonged to the Israelites, in this case, however, not to the fleshly nation but to the heavenly community of the true Israelites. Augustine taught that besides those pagan peoples mentioned in the Holy Scripture there were others who lived following God's laws. This does not mean that Israel had an outstanding position in God's eyes, who was always the true ruler of Israel. This was apparent during the time of the Judges, and also "Abulensis" wrote: "During the times of the judges in Israel, God ruled the Israelites and no human being was lord. Then the kings started and no longer God was the lord but those kings."^⑩

Mascarell felt sure that also pagans by observing the law of nature could attain the eternal salvation, not only those belonging to the state of Israel, for in the Holy Scripture Jews and pagans were described in a figurative way (præfigurati). The church fathers understood stories of the Bible in a figurative way, as, for example, the parable in Matthew 21:28 about the two sons who were sent to the vineyard by their father. These persons were interpreted as figures for Jews and pagans (so Tostado, Chrysostom, Origen, Jerome, Euthymius the Great).^⑪ Especially Mascarell's favorite author Alfonso Tostado ("Abulensis") connected this passage with the letter to the Romans: "Their father is God, who created, owns and guides all, pagans and Jews." In Romans 3:29, where one reads: "Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also."^⑫ Tostado interpreted the older son in the vineyard as a figure for the gentiles, because he refused to work in the vineyard, i. e. most pagans apostatize and perform idolatry. Tostado clearly said the greater part, but not all, of them continued to venerate the true God. Actually also the law of nature teaches peoples to adore the one God. Following Jerome, Tostado stressed that only the belief was important, as one can read in the letter to the Hebrews (Hebrews 11:1-3).

After further explanations Mascarell quoted Chrysostom, who defined the term "pagans" in the following way: "You call pagans not those who are idolaters, but those who adore God, who obey the law of nature..." Melchisedek with his people, Job, the citizens of Nineveh and Cornelius (Acts 10) belonged to them.^⑬

Tostado agreed by adding Ptolemy. Actually many heathens understood that their idols were vain, therefore they believed in one God and were saved. It seemed also probable for him that many

^⑧ ASJP, Brotier 124, fo 9r.

^⑨ Aurelius Augustinus, *Liber de peccato originali* lib. II, cap. 24 (Migne PL 44, col. 398): "Itaque sine ista fide, hoc est sine fide unius mediatoris Dei et hominum hominis Christi Jesu; sine fide, inquam, resurrectionis ejus, . . . sine fide ergo incarnationis et mortis et resurrectionis Christi, nec antiquos justos, ut justis essent, a peccatis potuisse mundari." Also Aurelius Augustinus, *De civitate Dei* lib. XVIII cap. 47 (Migne PL 41, cols. 609f).

^⑩ "Abulensis" means a bishop of Avila, in this case Alfonso Tostado Ribera (1400 - 1455), a famous Spanish Theologian, who took part at the Council of Basel 1431 - 1449. He wrote commentaries to the books of the Old Testament and Matthew, was doctor of theology, member of the college of Valladolid. In 1449 Tostado became bishop of Avila. For Mascarell he was the most important author with his *Alphonsi Tostatoi Hispani, Episcopi Abulensis Opera Omnia* (Venezia 1728). Tostado, *In librum Judicum Praefatio*, quaest. VII: "Unde Judices non vocabantur domini Israel, nec alioquorum de Israel; sed solum ad judicandum constituti, ita ut haberent jurisdictionem, sed ad dominium."

^⑪ Origen of Alexandria, prominent church father (184/85 - 253/254). Euthymius, Saint, also styled the Great (377 - 473).

^⑫ Tostado, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*, tom 5, quaest. 166.

^⑬ Johannes Chrysostomos, *Homilia 5 in cap. 2 Epist. ad Romanos* (Migne PG 60, col. 426): "Graecos autem seu gentiles hic vocat, non idolatras, sed eos qui Deum colebant, qui naturali lege parebant, qui praeter Judaicas observationes omnia, quae ad piam religionem spectant, observabant; quales erant Melchisedek et Job, quales erant Ninivitae. . ."

heathens before and at the time of the law of Moses were saved, if they only regretted their sins against God committed by idolatry before they died. ⑳

2. Article

Si Judeæ gloriosum est dicasse Deo templum opulentissimum et magnificentissimum et sanctificatum ipsius Redemptoris præsentia, et oratione. Sinis quoque non parum honorificum Creatori sacrificasse in templo omnium antiquissimo

If the Jews have the glory to have dedicated God the most beautiful and splendid temple and to have sacrificed in their prayers in the presence of the savior it is not less honorable for the Chinese to have sacrificed God in the oldest of all temples.

For Mascarell the second claim from Le Comte's book, condemned by the Sorbonne, concerned three questions:

1. Does the assumption that there was an older temple than the temple of Salomon contradict the Holy Scripture?

2. Does the assumption that such a temple could have existed in China contradict the Holy Scripture?

3. If there was a temple in China dedicated to the true God, was it then the oldest one?

Mascarell as a Jesuit answered these questions in a probabilistic way.

§ 1. *Ex sacris literis et Patribus deducitur existisse templum Salomonico antiquius vero Deo sacratum*

The Holy Scripture and the church fathers give evidence that there was an older temple than the temple of Salomon.

As a proof Mascarell used complicated chronological computations with authors who pretended to have exactly calculated the duration of the life of the patriarchs of the Old Testament. Mascarell as an adherent of the chronology of the Vulgate used contemporary authors relying on old ones. The most important of his authors were Gilbert Génébrard,^㉑ Jacques Salián, Juan de Pineda and Agostino Tornielli. The question concerning this oldest temple of the world as mentioned in the Bible is answered here only in a short way. The first example is taken from 1 Samuel 1, where the priest Eli is sitting in front of the temple (1 Sam 1:9); this temple is said to have existed in the 2900th year of the earth.

The second example is taken from Genesis 25:22 when Rebekah, Isaac's wife, asked the Lord about the fate of their sons fighting each other in her womb. This happened, as Mascarell's main witness Salián said, in the year 2198 after the creation of the world and 542 years after the deluge. Mascarell refuted the objection that this happened at a place for prayer and not in the temple. ㉒

⑳ ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 8v – 12v. Tostado, *Commentaria in Genesim* cap. XVII, 547. Question: how is it possible that heathens of the time of the law of Moses can be saved? Answer: if they lived a good life (if they pleased God), if they committed no sin against the law of nature (*jus naturale*), if they believed into the true God. They could even be saved if they did not believe into Trinity, or if they believed in idols, if they only regretted their sins before dying "*si tamen ante mortem poeniterent eos, talia contra verum Deum commisisse*", then they came into the purgatory. "Therefore it is quite probable that many of the gentiles of the time of the law of Moses or before the law of Moses were saved."

㉑ Gilbert Génébrard OSB (1537 – 1597), orientalist, exeget, bishop of Aix – en – Provence. Mascarell especially used his *Chronographiae libri IV* (Paris 1580).

㉒ ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 12v – 14r.

§ 2. *Sacris litteris non contradicitur asserens, apud Sinas templum Salomonico antiquius extitisse*

The Holy Scripture does not contradict the assumption that the Chinese had a temple which was older than the temple of Salomon

Mascarell started the next step in his argumentation: there existed older temples than the temple of Salomon at peoples who were not Hebrews, but heathens.

The first example is Melchizedek who was priest of the Lord (Psalm 110:4: “Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.” The Jewish author Flavius Josephus assumed that Melchizedek built the most famous temple of the world, which happened in Génébrard’s chronology in 1949 after the creation. ⑥ The objection that Melchizedek was identical with Noah’s son Shem (the temple then would not have been a pagan one) ⑦ Mascarell rebutted with chapter 7 of the letter to the Hebrews, where it is stated that Melchizedek had no ancestors (Hebrews 7:3). In Salian’s chronology also Job was a priest king of the heathens and sacrificed quite probably in a big temple in the year of the world 2544.

The sacrifice of Cain and Abel and the first murder surely did not happen in a temple, but in the field, for in a temple not even Cain would have dared to kill his brother (Gen 4:3 – 8). ⑧

§ 3. *Citra theologiam censuram in aliquot vero sensu dici potest, Sinense templum vero Numini dicatum esse omnium antiquissimum*

Besides the theological censorship in a certain meaning it is justified to say that the Chinese temple dedicated to the highest divinity was the oldest of all temples.

After the deluge Noah sacrificed on a mountain in Armenia, where the arch was landed, but this took place not in a temple but on a temporary altar, which was made of soil as proved by several authors. This happened in the year of the world 1724. For Mascarell it was not sure when and where the oldest temple was built, perhaps in China, perhaps not there. But this was a question which was not dependent to censure. ⑨

In Mascarell’s covering letter which contained some accompanying information for the publication of the treatise, there is a remark according to which Mascarell thought that one of the sons of Joktan ⑩ could have built a temple in the empire of China, which was older than Melchizedek’s temple. ⑪

3. Article

Moralium disciplinae puritas, morum sanctitas, fides, cultus Dei very internus et externus, sacerdotes, sancti homines, ac inspirati a Deo, miracula, spiritus religionis purissima, charitas, quae religionis est perfectio, et character, et spiritus Dei apud Sinas olim per duo annorum millia, vel amplius permanserunt

The purity of ethics, the sanctity of morals, the interior and exterior cult of God, the priests, the holy by God inspired men, the miracles, the religious spirit, the purest charity, the perfection,

⑥ Flavius Josephus, Roman – Jewish historian (37/38 – 100), wrote *The Jewish War*, and *Antiquities of the Jews* (*Geschichte des jüdischen Krieges*, übers. v. Dr. Heinrich Clementz (Halle s. a.) lib. 6 cap. 10).

⑦ Concerning this problem Mascarell did not join Tostado (*In Genesim Commentaria* cap. XI, quaest. 15, p. 165) and Jacques Boulduc, *De Ecclesia ante legem* (Paris 16302), lib. I cap. 11 (p. 71). Both assumed that Melchizedek was only another name of Shem.

⑧ ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 14v – 15v.

⑨ ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 16v – 20r.

⑩ Joktan, descendent of Shem, Genesis 10:24f.

⑪ ASJP, Brotier 124, fo 18

the character of religion and the spirit of God were conserved in China for 2000 years and more.

§ 1. *Locis theologicis non adversatur diuturnitas cultus Deo (ut asseritur) per duo annorum millia a Sinis exhibiti*

Theology does not contradict the assumption of a cult of God (as it is said) since two thousand years.

Mascarell explored the data about the beginning of idolatry and the gradual reduction from the true cult. He believed that according to several early church fathers, and also to Philo of Alexandria (20 BC – 50 AD), idolatry already started with Tubal – cain, a descendent of Cain (Genesis 4: 20) a short time after the deluge, when images of gods were made. Cyrill of Alexandria argued that the descendents of Adam until Shem had adored the true God, but mankind in the 14th generation after Adam started to sacrifice demons and idols. ⑩

In Genesis 4: 26 Enosh was the first one to call the name of God. Some theologians as Tostado, Martin Delrio, and Manuel de Sà interpreted the passage that the name of God became profane, a thesis refuted by Hieronymus. ⑪ Others argued that idolatry started at the time of Therah, Abraham's father (Genesis 11:27 – 32) in Chaldea in the year 2113 after creation (so Salian) or under Serug (Genesis 11:22 – 23), the year 1820 after the creation in Générard's calculation. Jerome considered Ninus, son of Belus, as initiator in the year 2050. ⑫ In Cyril of Alexandria's opinion Noah's sons did not know any idolatry. ⑬ Lactantius argued that Prometheus made images of human beings, which was the start of the cult of new gods. ⑭ In Eusebius' chronicle this happened in the year 114 of the deluge of Deukalion. ⑮ The king of the Athenians Kekrops is said to have venerated gods in the year 842 after the deluge. ⑯ That means that the Greek venerated the true God for about 800 years. Perhaps it was the same with the Chinese, because in Salian's opinion they descended from Joktan, Eber's son, a descendent of Shem (Genesis 10:25 – 31). The sons of Joktan not only reached the Ganges in the Indies, but also China, Japan and America. Joktan is considered as a very humble man, who retired from the world dealing with religious and philosophical things instead. His philosophy of life reached the Far East together with his offspring. During his lifetimes Shem was still alive, who taught piety to his posterity. Salian calculated the year 2158 of the world for Shem's death. Joktan's brother Peleg (Genesis 10:25, and 11:16 – 17) became the ancestor of the Hebrews.

In Augustine's opinion the Babylonian confusion happened at Peleg's midlife, i. e. 273 after the deluge. Until then there existed no idolatry. ⑰

⑩ Cyrill of Alexandria, *Adversus Julianum*, lib. I (Migne PG 76, cols. 514f)

⑪ Martin Antoine Delrio SJ (1551 – 1608), doctor in Salamanca, taught Holy Scripture in Douai, Liège, Graz and Salamanca and died in Leuven. He wrote *In Canticum Canticorum Salomonis Commentarius litteralis et catena Mystica* (Ingolstadt 1604). – Manuel de Sà SJ (1530 – 1596) taught philosophy in Alcalá, afterwards Holy Scripture at the Collegio Romano. He wrote *Notationes in totam Scripturam sacram, quibus omnis fere loca difficilia brevissime explicantur*.

⑫ Hieronymus, *Commentarium in Osee*, lib I cap. 2 (Migne PL 25, col. 838): “*Primum omni Asiae regnasse Ninum, Beli filium. . . qui apud Assyrios Ninum sui nominis condidit civitatem, quam Hebraei vocant Niniven. . . Hic adversus Zoroastrem magnum, regem Bactrianorum, forti certamine dimicavit: in tantum pervenit gloriam, ut patrem suum Belum referret in Deum, qui Hebraice dicitur Bel. . .*” Ninus is considered as the fabulous founder of the Assyrian Empire who built the city of Nineveh.

⑬ Cyril of Alexandria, + 444, exeget, fought Nestorius. *Adversus libros athei Juliani* lib. I (Migne PG 76, col. 527).

⑭ Lucii Caelii Firmiani Lactantii, *De divinis institutionibus*, lib. II cap. 11 (Migne PL 6, cols. 313f).

⑮ Eusebii Pamphili, *Chronicorum liber primus*, cap. 30 (Migne PG 19, cols. 216ff).

⑯ Kekrops, mythological founder of the castle of Kekropia. Vollmer, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (Stuttgart 1874, repr. Leipzig 1978) p. 126.

⑰ ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 20r – 23r. Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XVI, cap. 10 (Migne PL 41, col. 488f).

§ 2. *Aliis argumentis idem stabilitur*

Other arguments to confirm this thesis.

The descend of the Chinese from Joktan cannot as easily be proven as the descend of the Assyrians from Assur or of the Hebrew from Eber. ⑩ In this case even Mascarell's favorite theologian Tostado had no opinion; he did not know where Joktan's sons had wandered. Mascarell, however, is not astonished that none of the old theologians dealt with the lineage of the Chinese, because in former times nobody knew about them.

After a long discourse Mascarell took recourse to Générard as witness for the long duration of the faith. Until the year 2239, so Générard, the "church" was so to say Catholic, for all men knew about Noah as their ancestor and believed in one God, as shown by Melchizedek, Abimelech (Gen 21:22 – 23), and Job and his family. ⑪ For Générard, mankind believed into one God until the time of Moses, i. e. until the year 2544 of the world and 888 years after the Flood. But monotheism not only survived at the Hebrews, but also at the heathens. Mascarell mentioned Jethro, Moses' father – in – law (Exodus 3:1 and 4:18) and the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10:1 – 13) who lived under the law of nature. ⑫ The Queen visited Salomon in the year 3045 of the world (at least in Salian's chronology). Jonah, who brought the citizens of Nineveh back to the true God lived in this chronology in the year 3212 of the world and 1560 years after the Flood. Also the Persian King Darius was converted by Daniel (Daniel 6:27 – 28).

The religion of the law of nature flourished until the birth of Jesus Christ among the pagans, which is proven by the story of the Mage Kings (Matthew 2:1 – 2). Jesus Christ announced his birth to his friends by means of the star of Bethlehem, so Tostado's opinion. ⑬ They were instructed about it by the prophecy of the prophet "Balaam" (= also Bileam, Numbers 24:17), who was older than Moses. He was paid to curse the chosen people Israel, but, inspired by God, he was only able to bless Israel in three oracles. In the fourth oracle he foretold the coming of the Messiah: "I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel." (Numbers 24:17) ⑭

Clement of Alexandria saw in the sermon of Saint Paul before the altar on the Areopag in Athens, dedicated to the true god (Acts 17:22 – 33), that this was the highest God, the creator of the world and origin of all things. ⑮ This was not idolatry or superstition, as Tertullian (c. 160 – c. 225) and Chrysostom argued. In Augustine's opinion such a veneration outside the church was already useless and futile at that time, only inside the church it was wise and salutary, ⑯ for the law of the Gospel was already valid, which made the law of nature useless. For Mascarell Jerome's (347 – 420) interpretation sounded as if he interpreted Paul's words that also pagan peoples knew well about God's name and majesty, for the Athenians had built an altar for the unknown god.

Tostado, Mascarell's main source, and with him Mascarell were convinced that before the

⑩ Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XVI, cap. 11 (Migne PL 41, cols. 490 – 492).

⑪ Gregor of Nyssa, *Homilia IX in Cantica Canticozum*. (Migne PG 44, col. 974).

⑫ Chrysostomos, *Homilia 43 in cap. Mt 12* (Migne PG 57, col. 459). About the Queen of Sheba cf. Matthew 12:42.

⑬ Tostado, *Commentaria in Evang. Matth.* tom. I cap. 2, q. 10 und 19: "Eos prophetia et doctrina Balaam instructos appellat, in quo alii PP. conveniunt." (p. 12).

⑭ "Videbo eum, sed non modò; intuebor illum, sed non poprè. Orietur stella ex Jacob, & consurget virga de Israel." The whole story is told in Numbers 22:2 – 24, 25. The prophecies are interpreted as the coming of the future Messiah, the story is connected with the adoration of the three kings or Magi from the East.

⑮ Clemens of Alexandrien, *Stromata*, lib. I cap. 19 (Migne PG 8, col. 806).

⑯ Augustinus, *Contra Cresconium Grammaticum*, lib. I cap. 29 (Migne PL 43, col. 463): "Fortasse ad hoc dicas, fieri non posse ut extra Ecclesia idem ipse unus Deus colatur, aut eadem fidem qua confitemur Christum Filium Dei, . . . etiam in eis qui non sunt in Ecclesia, reperiat." "

propagation of the Gospel all pagans of old times could have been saved, because the precepts of the law of nature were sufficient. Examples were philosophers as Sokrates, Platon and others. ⑩ Many gentiles knew the true God and adored him, however, under different names for his different attributes. They used names as Jupiter, Phoebus, Mars, but also Diana, Minerva and others. After some time also the images became different so that in one temple there were often 20 images and statues to represent one and the same Jupiter. Roman poets as Cato and Vergil clearly mentioned this. ⑪

§ 3. *Religionis apud Sinas assertae attributa perpenditur*

The attributes of the probable religion at the Chinese people are investigated

Mascarell continued that nothing in the Holy Scripture contradicted the assumption that the cult of the true God survived such a long time at the Chinese. In this way faith, hope and charity (as postulated by Le Comte) could have survived the law (of nature) at the heathens, and it is no useless and vain religion, but true and salutary. Besides that peoples outside Judaea not only had a natural cult, but, conform to Augustine, also a supernatural cult, for also heathens can belong to the spiritual Jerusalem. ⑫

For Tostado many pagans were saved before the arrival of Christ, because they were not obliged to the law of Moses, as were the men from the tribe of Jacob. ⑬ Chrysostom had the same opinion thinking that the citizens of Nineveh, Melchizedek with his people, Job and the Roman captain Cornelius had been saved. ⑭ The law of nature was the reason that also the “pagans” had moral discipline, purity of customs, faith, internal and external veneration of God. This true religion and the observation of the law of nature survived quite probably also in China from the deluge until the arrival of Jesus Christ, as the church father acknowledged and as one can conclude from the Holy Scripture.

In Augustine’s and the Venerable Bede’s (672/73 – 735) opinion the church did not exclude any time, any place or any human race, in contrast to the synagogue, which as a special part of this church (“ecclesia particularis”) and non catholic (i. e. not all – embracing) was limited to a part of time (until the arrival of the Messiah), a special place (Salomon’s temple) and one family (sons of Jacob). ⑮ Also Cardinal Roberto Bellarmin SJ (1542 – 1621) was convinced that even

⑩ Tostado, *Commentarium in Genesim*, cap. 2, q. IV, 81, wrote that it is wrong to state that all human beings before the law of Moses were condemned, for all pagans could be saved before the spread of the Gospel if they obeyed the rules of the law of nature; to love the true God, not to molest the others, which is the whole Decalogue.

⑪ Tostado, *Commentaria in Iudicum*, cap. 3, q. XXIII, 42: “The pagans venerated God in several ways, for they believed, that there is one God. Many poets were convinced that there is one single God, who was called Jupiter, and that he had different names because of his different attributed, but that his normal name was Jupiter.” This was also the opinion of Cato Uticensis quoting *Lucanus* lib. 9: “*Juppiter est quocumque vides quocumque moveris.*” Vergilius said the same in the *Bucolica*, Ecloga 3: “*A Jove principium musae, Jovis omnia plena.*” (Publius Vergilius Maro, *Landleben* (München 1981⁴), 18). It seems that Mascarell did not use the originals but his main source Tostado. ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 23r – 30v.

⑫ Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, lib. 18, cap. 47 (Migne PL 41, cols. 609f).

⑬ Tostado, *Commentaria in Ruth*, cap. II q. XII, 386.

⑭ Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homilia VI*, cap. 2, c. 17 (Migne PG, col. 435).

⑮ Venerable Bede OSB (672/73 – 735), doctor of the church, influenced from the school of Canterbury. He used the knowledge about the pagan antiquity for the understanding of the Holy Scripture. He had a global understanding of the church: “*Ecclesia enim catholica non excludit ulla tempora, loca vel hominum genera; At Synagoga, ut pote particularis ecclesia, non catholica, alligata erat uni tempori, extra quod non poterat sacrificare: et uni familiae, id est, filiis Jacob.*” ASJP, Brotier 124, fo 31v; cf. Beda Venerabilis, *Cantic.* cap. 6 (Migne PL 91, col. 1182).

at the time of the law of Moses pagan peoples could belong to the church.¹²⁸ Augustine and Bellarmin thought that many of the gentiles could be saved and even were saved at the time of the Old Testament,¹²⁹ and therefore really belonged to the church.¹³⁰ The same opinion was held by Dionysius Areopagita, Thomas Aquinas,¹³¹ Baronio,¹³² Bozio¹³³ and Salmeron¹³⁴.

Mascarell continued mentioning several “Prisci Theologi”, i. e. women and men of gentile peoples, who as a kind of prophets announced the future Redeemer, for not only the Hebrews had their prophets, but God had mercy with the heathens giving them their own prophets. The theologians Michael de Medina,¹³⁵ Sixtus Sinensis,¹³⁶ Thomas Aquinas,¹³⁷ Francisco Suarez¹³⁸ and Cesare Baronio¹³⁹ found hints given by the church fathers that, for example, the Sibyls belonged to the inspired persons to unveil the secrets of the future law of grace. They are said to have been older than Moses, to have known about God and were flown through with light, so that they quite probably possessed also the other gifts of grace. Augustine mentioned the Sibyl of Erythraea,¹⁴⁰ others spoke about the Sibyl of Cumæ. Lactantius counted ten Sibyls and added that they had proclaimed the true God against idolatry.¹⁴¹ The religion of the three Kings proved that the true religion was still alive in the law of nature until the birth of Christ, for Magians not meaning sorcerers (malefici), as can be seen from the Bible and the church fathers.¹⁴²

¹²⁸ Roberti Bellarmini Politiani S. J. *Opera Omnia* t. II, ed. Justinus Fèvre (Paris 1870), *Controversiarum de Conciliis liber quartus ubi de notis Ecclesiae*, cap. 7 (p. 372): “*Ecclesia enim vere Catholica non solum debet amplecti omnia tempora, sed etiam omnia loca, omnes nationes, omnia hominum genera.*”

¹²⁹ Augustinus, *De praedestinatione sanctorum liber ad Prosperum et Hilarium primus*, lib. 1, c. 9 (Migne PL 44, col. 974): “*Ita salus religionis hujus, per quam solam veram salutem veraciter primitur, nulli unquam defuit qui dignus fuit; et cui defuit, dignus non fuit.*” – Augustinus, *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali contra Pelagium et Coelestium libri duo*, lib. 1, c. 24 (Migne PL 44, cols. 398f).

¹³⁰ Robert Bellarmin, *De verbo Dei non scripto*, lib. 4, cap. 4. “*Gentiles multi salvari potuerunt et salvabantur tempore testamenti veteris, et vere ad Ecclesiam pertinebantur.*” (quoted in Mascarell, fo 32r).

¹³¹ *Divi Thomae Aquinatis Summa Theologica*, t. III (Paris 1859), sententia 2a, 2ae q. 2 art. 7 ad 3 (p. 35): “*Utrum explicite credere mysterium incarnationis Christi sit de necessitate salutis apud omnes.*”

¹³² Cesare Baronio (1538 – 1607), member of the Oratory of Philippe Neri. Dr. utr. iuris, priest, successor of Neri in the Oratory, confessor of Clement VIII; since 1596 librarian of the Vatican library. He wrote the *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198* in 12 volumes (1588 – 1607) and edited the *Martyrologium Romanum* in 1589. Here we use the edition of his *Annales* of Paris 1864.

¹³³ Tommaso Bozio, OR (1548 – 1610), canon and church historian, wrote *De signis ecclesiae dei libri XVIII* (Köln 1591 – 92) in 2 volumes, and the *Annales antiquitatum*. Here a quotation from *De Signis ecclesiae*, tom. I cap. 8, § 3: “*Igitur sciendum plurimos e Gentibus olim consecutos aeternam salutem, quamvis Judaeorum ritum non amplecterentur, ut in epistola ad Romanos scriptum reliquit Paulus, ibique Chrysostomus, quibus subscribitur SS. Dionysius Areopag. et Justinus.*” Quoted after Mascarell fo 32r; cf. *BM I*, # 187 (8 editions!).

¹³⁴ Alfons Salmerón SJ (1515 – 1585), one of the first six adherents of Ignatius of Loyola, took part at the Council of Trent.

¹³⁵ Michael de Medina OFM (1489 – 1578), Spanish exeget, theologian at the Council of Trent since 1562. He wrote the *Liber de recta in deum fide* (Venetiis 1563).

¹³⁶ Sixtus Sinensis = Sixtus of Siena (1520 – 1569), a former Jew, then baptized, was condemned because of heresy, then became Franciscan. Michael Ghislieri, who later became Pius V. Sixtus dedicated him his *Bibliothèque Sainte*. François Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris 1964), 241.

¹³⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* 2a 2ae quæst. 176 art. 6 (p. 1214): *Unde Sybillae multa vera praedixerunt de Christo.*

¹³⁸ Francisco de Suárez SJ (1548 – 1617), leading theologian of the Spanish scholastic, professor for theology in Valladolid, commented the “Summa” of Thomas Aquinas. His teachings later became the “Suarezianism”, important for the Jesuit order.

¹³⁹ Relying on Basilus and Jerome Baronius affirms that the magians were Chaldeans “*eosdem ab Erythraea Sibylla de Christo venturo edoctos esset testantur Basilus et Hieronymus.*” Baronius, *Annales* t. I, 7, Nr. 23.

¹⁴⁰ Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, lib. 18, cap. 23 (Migne PL 41, cols. 579f).

¹⁴¹ *Lucii Caecilii Firmiani Lactantii divinarum institutionum*, lib. 1, cap. 6 (Migne PL 6, col. 141 – 148).

¹⁴² *Aurelii Augustini Sermo XXII in Epiphania Domini*, IV (Migne PL 38, cols. 1033 – 1035).

Another wise man outside the Bible was the Persian Hystaspes, who spoke about the redeemer in his oracles.^⑬ Peter and Paul praised his prophecies in their sermons to the gentiles.^⑭ Some authors even compared the books written by Hystaspes with the books of the Sibyls, both being revealed by God. Mascarell was convinced that Hystaspes also owed the necessary virtues.^⑮

Paul's sermon on the Areopag in Athens before the altar for the unknown god proves according to Mascarell the duration of the true religion until Christ's birth and even longer. But who was the unknown worshipped god? Some fathers, as Tertullian, Chrysostom and Oecumenicus^⑯ were convinced that it was a higher being from the fable (*fabulosum aliquid numen*). Others as Clement of Alexandria,^⑰ – and Mascarell agreed – argued that the Athenians had considered this god as the true creator of the world and highest god. Many philosophers have been saved because they adored the true God even before the announcement of the Gospel by observance of the law of nature.^⑱ Therefore, and this is Mascarell's conclusion for this part, also outside of Judah existed the cult of the true God for 2395 years (namely from the flood until the birth of Christ). Therefore, it is possible that the true religion also existed in China until the arrival of Christ as is proven by the Holy Scripture and by the fathers. The true religion is necessary conveyed, as Tommaso Bozio wrote, not in a miraculous, the human intellect surmounting way, but in many ways, which are infused into our souls by the divine charity and wisdom.^⑲ Although the church under the law of nature was of a lower level than the synagogue, it was orthodox and therefore sufficient for the gentiles. Why then not for the Chinese? God's grace was sufficient to beware them of idolatry and have them adore the true God. Tostado wrote in the same way: "Many gentiles were saved before the coming of Christ, not only those who were descendent of the house of Jacob." ("Multos de gentilibus ante Christi adventum salvos fuisse, nisi soli isti, qui descendebant de stirpe Jacob.")^⑳ Also Chrysostom proved himself to be an adherent of the salvation of the pagans because he wrote that by the observation of the law of nature outside of Judaea many philosophers were saved.^㉑

4. Article

Non est quod Sine conquerantur de Divina Providentia, quæ dona sua Gentibus sapienter distribuit; cum dona hæc ex alijs Gentibus nulla constantius acceperit

The Chinese have no reason to complain about the divine providence, which contributed its gifts wisely to the peoples, because none of the Gentiles received these gifts more consistently.

^⑬ Hystaspes, Persian king and wise man, adherent and protector of Zoroaster (who also belonged to the *Prisci Theologi*). Justin (*Apologie* I, 20 und 44), Lactantius, (*De Divinis Institutionibus*, VII, 15 and 18) and Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* lib. VI, cap. 43) wrote that he was author of a apocalyptic book, comparable to the Sibyllines and the Hermetica.

^⑭ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, lib. 6, cap. 5, German translation; *Des Clemens von Alexandrien Teppiche wissenschaftlicher Darlegung, entsprechend der wahren Philosophie*, I – VII, übers. Otto Stählin (München 1937), 266.

^⑮ ASJP, Brotier 124, ff. 32v – 33r. Mascarell encounters Sebastian Barradas, Salmerón, Lactantius and Justin.

^⑯ Oecumenicus: "*Tota autem aræ inscriptio hæc est: Divis Asiae et Europae ac Libyae, Deo ignoto et peregrino.*" *Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum Oecumenii Tricæ in Thessalia opera omnia* (Migne PL 118, col. 238).

^⑰ *Clemens Alexandrini opera quæ exstant omnia* (Migne PG 8, col. 806ff), *strom.* I, cap. 19.

^⑱ Tostado, *Commentaria in Genesim*, cap. 2, q. 114.

^⑲ Tommaso Bozio, *De signis ecclesiae dei* (Köln 1592, Lyon 1594, Kön 1626), lib. 5, arg. 3, sig. 12.

^⑳ Tostado, *Commentaria in Ruth*, cap. 2, q. 12, quoted after ASJP, Brotier 124, fo 31.

^㉑ Johannes Chrysostomos, *Homilia 5 in cap. 1 Epist. ad Romanos*, *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Romanos* (Migne PG 60, col. 426), ASJP, Brotier 124, fo 30r.

§ 1. *Adversus hunc articulum inofficiosi querelam nec Hebræorum, nec Gentium populus aliquis instituere potest*
 Against this article neither the Hebrew nor the Gentile peoples can have any objections

At first Mascarell observed that the Chinese were not especially distinguished in comparison to the other pagan peoples, they only were quite fervent devotees of God before the propagation of the Gospel when all heathen peoples outside of Judah were equal. The Jews did not suffer any injustice concerning the veneration of God by the Chinese since the Chinese are not compared with them, but with other peoples outside the synagogue. Tostado helped to define the term “gentiles” (gentes): in the Holy Scripture gentiles are understood as those peoples who neither with regard to the ancestry nor the rite belonged to Israelites (“scitis quia principes Gentium. . .” Matthew 20:25). In the Holy Scripture all humans besides the Jews were pagans, and the number of the Jews was quite small in comparison to the others.^④ This was also Paul’s opinion in the letter to the Romans 3:29: “Is he the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also.”

The true God was venerated by the Chinese for 2000 years, while his veneration by the Jews was shorter. In the chronology of Pétau he was revered from Abraham until the arrival of Christ for 2026 years, but from the proclamation of the law of Moses until Christ there were 1530 years (in Pétau) or, in other chronologies, 1508 years. The election of Israel started with Israel’s exodus from Egypt. Besides that also the Jews were not constant in the cult of God, sometimes they dropped off, when they, for example, adored the Golden Calf (Exodus 32) or when they venerated Belphegor (Ba’al of Pe’or, Numbers 25). During the time of the judges they served Ba’al (Judges 2:11f; 2:17; 3:12 a. o.).

The objection why not the more constant Chinese or another people but the Jews received so many benefits from God was responded by Mascarell by arguing that God’s donations had not to be in connection with good deeds, as Paul said: “What hast thou that thou didst not receive?” (1 Corinthians 4:7). The Jews received by God’s special care many miracles, revelations, prophecies and other good things. Concerning sainthood they exceeded all other nations, and the example of St. Peter proves similar things, for he betrayed the Lord three times and yet he was chosen. Therefore the Jews exceed all other nations with their sanctity and God’s gifts, the Chinese, however, exceed them in constancy of faith. Their sanctity cannot be doubted, for even David, Magdalena and Augustine declined for some times from God, but were still saints.

5. Article

Non debet Sinarum Imperator Christianam religionem æstimare novam, et insolentem; cum illa habeat principia, et fundamenta eadem, atque antiqua religio, quam profitebantur vete-res Sinarum sapientes, atque Imperatores, qui eundem olim quem nunc Christiani Deum coluere, eundemque Cæli, et terræ Dominum agnovere

The Chinese emperor must not consider the Christian religion as something new and insufficient, because it has the same principles and fundamentals as the old religion confessed by the old wise men and emperors of China for they adored the same God as the Christians do and acknowledged him as Lord of Heaven and Earth.^⑤

§ 1: *Erroris nihil, magnam imo probabilitatem præfixus articulus continet*
 This article quite probably contains no error

^④ Tostado, *Commentaria in Matthæum*, ASJP, Brotier 124, fo 34r.

^⑤ Cf. Le Gobien, p. 104.

Mascarell assumed that China was colonized by Joktan, Eber's son, or his grandsons, who laid there the fundamentals of the true religion.

In Mascarell's opinion this is in accordance with the church fathers and the dogmata, for the true church is older than paganism. This is confirmed by Tertullian,¹⁴⁹ and by Thomas Aquinas who wrote that many heathens even received a revelation, as could be seen from Job 19:25: "*Scio quod redemptor meus vivit.*" ("For I know that my redeemer liveth.")¹⁵⁰ Augustine mentioned the Sibyls who prophesied much on Christ.¹⁵¹ That the true religion is older than the wrong religion is proven from the parable in Matthew 13:24 – 30, where a man sowed good seed, his enemy, however, sowed tares (weeds, zizania) between: the good seed, thus the true religion existed before the bad seed, i. e. idolatry, was added. Générard wrote that Noah and his sons and grandsons conserved the true old religion and that Noah even received a supplementary revelation (Hebrews 11:7). This religion survived during the following centuries. Noah and his descendents already passed the Christian dogmas, as the dogma concerning the Trinity of persons and the unity of God, the faith into the coming of Christ, the office of the High Priest, the visible indications of the faith as the sacrifice in the Old Testament as typos of the bloody sacrifice of Christ and the bloodless as typos of the Eucharist sacrament (for there were sacraments even in the law of nature).¹⁵² There existed temples and religious places and everything necessary for the veneration of God.¹⁵³ Reports about such revelations concerning the future Redeemer Jesus Christ and his virgin mother were given by Jacques Boulduc¹⁵⁴ and by "Navarrus".¹⁵⁵ The druids of the old Gauls had erected an altar with the inscription "*Virgini pariturae*" (for the birth giving virgin) before Christ's birth. The church father Justin the Martyr wrote about Sokrates that he was not only saved but that he even was a martyr for the Athenians had punished him with death because he had confessed the one God. Many eminent philosophers of the gentiles were saved in Justin's opinion because they believed in Jesus Christ.¹⁵⁶

In Générard's and Pétau's chronologies the heathens received the true religion from Noah and his offspring. After the Flood Noah lived still 350 years (Genesis 9:28) and orally passed down the old traditions, which remained pure until the 11th generation. Therefore the roots of the faith were in the "most noble Empire of the Chinese" very deep, much deeper than the seed of the wrong religion, the Zizania.

Mascarell found the reasons why there were no proofs for the old true religion in China in Greek and Latin. He observed that India and the adjacent regions were settled by Joktan's sons. However, the names of the corresponding peoples were unknown and therefore it was impossible to report about them. There distances were too huge. Also Hieronymus wrote that one did not know the names of the peoples who were the offspring of Joktan.¹⁵⁷ Mascarell rhetorically asked: if we only

¹⁴⁹ Quinti Septimii Florentis Tertulliani *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro christianis*, cap. 19 und 20 (Migne PL 1, cols. 438ff).

¹⁵⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 2a 2ae q. 1, art. 7, 313f.

¹⁵¹ Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, lib. 18, cap. 23 (Migne PL 41, cols. 579f).

¹⁵² Paul Beurrier, *Speculum christianae religionis in triplici lege naturali, mosaica et evangelica* (Paris 1666), 390 – 406.

¹⁵³ Quoted from Générard, lib. 5 of his chronology; ASJP, Brotier 124, fo 36v.

¹⁵⁴ Jacques Boulduc (or Bolduc), capuchin, born in Paris about 1580, famous preacher and author of theological books, especially *Ecclesia ante legem libri tres* (Lyon 1626), and *De oggio christiano libri tres, quibus declarantur antiquissimi sacrosanctae Eucharistiae typica mysteria* (Lyon 1640), where he wrote that Adam and Noah already constituted the eucharist.

¹⁵⁵ "Navarrus" = Martin de Azpilcueta (Dr. Navarrus) OSA (1493 – 1586), an uncle of Francisco de Xavier SJ, professor for law in Toulouse, Salamanca and Coimbra.

¹⁵⁶ Justinus, *Apoloogia* II (Migne PG 6, cols. 459 – 462) and *Apoloogia* I (Migne PG 6, col. 358).

¹⁵⁷ Tostado, *Commentaria in Genesim*, cap. 10, q. 10, 159: , . . . *Et nomen fratris ejus Jectan. Sicut ait Beatus Hieronymus isti populi nobis ignoti sunt, vel propter nomen antiquos mutationes, quia propter bella delecti sunt, vel longinqui a nobis sunt, vel aliis populis mixti.* " Cf. cap. 10, q. 11.

know so few things about these peoples, how can we then dare to judge their deeds following the criteria of our censorship? Nothing in the Holy Scripture or in the church fathers contradicted the five condemned propositions.

Conclusion

The Spanish Jesuit Vincentius Mascarell did evidently not belong to those theologians of his times who were convinced that everybody, who was not baptized, was lost eternally, regardless of his belief and ethics. With their books dealing with the old Chinese religion the Jesuits had come to a field which was quite dangerous, for their adversaries reproached them (and especially Le Comte) to preach Deism or even Socinianism to the Chinese people, i. e. an insufficient faith where one did not need to believe explicitly in the necessity of the redemption by Jesus Christ, in Trinity and other dogmata. Mascarell tried to escape this accusation with the help of a negative proof: nothing in the Holy Scripture contradicts the assumption that the Chinese might have been saved. The Chinese people as offspring of Noah's good son Shem lived in remote areas where they kept the original, pure faith for a long time. ^⑬

For theologians like Mascarell several possibilities existed how mankind outside Christianity could perhaps have been saved;

1. by the revelation given to the parents of mankind, which was traded by Noah and his sons to the Chinese, who are descendents of Noah's son Shem;
2. by following the law of nature written into the heart;
3. by following the instruction and example of certain enlightened men and women, who lived outside the Jewish - Christian tradition, the "*Prisci Theologi*", as the philosopher Confucius in China, who played an important role in the Jesuits' reports as prophet of Jesus Christ. ^⑭

Mascarell's "Apo - logia" was written as a tool for the Jesuit order in the Rites Controversy to defend their method of accommodation. This meant not to reject the good features of the Chinese culture and especially things of the Chinese religion and philosophy which seemed to be compatible with Catholicism. Mascarell's attitude was not so much shaped by practical accommodation but by a world view presented and traded by the church fathers. His understanding of the Catholic Church was an "inclusive" one, i. e. the Church in principle embraced all places, times and peoples. In this way other religions of the world were interpreted within the framework of Catholic dogmata and traditions, and in this respect Mascarell followed the line of other contemporary Jesuits in China, as Philippe Couplet (or *Prospero Intorcetta*) in the introduction to the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, the Figurists and others. However, proceeding like this led to negate the otherness of religions in China (old Confucianism is the same religion as the primitive religion of mankind, law of nature) and to refuse it as idolatry and atheism (modern "atheist" Confucianism, idolatrous Buddhism and Daoism).

Mascarell's "Apologia" was never printed, perhaps there was not enough time, perhaps it was too learned. The attitude of the Jesuits, however, seem to be confirmed by the Decree "Nostra Aetate" of Vaticanum II, where we read: "From ancient times down to the present, there is found among various peoples a certain perception of that hidden power which hovers over the course of thing and over the events of human history; at times some indeed have come to the recognition of a Supreme Being, or even a Father. This perception and recognition penetrates their lives with a pro-

^⑬ Von Collani, "Mascarell", 25f.

^⑭ For example in Martino Martini's SJ (1614 - 1661) *Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima* (Monachii 1658), 131f, because he interpreted the Unicorn as a figure of the future Messiah.

found religious sense."^⑩

Despite the quite traditional argumentation the ideas and arguments of Mascarell and his brethren have a quite modern appearance because they were open for other non European peoples, who did not belong to Christianity. Many theologians and missionaries had an image of an all – embracing Church being “Catholic” in the literal and best sense; the real spiritual church did not exclude any time, place and people, as was stated by the Venerable Bede or by Roberto Bellarmin. This may seem pretentious but in this way, the old demand “*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*” (outside the Church is no salvation) was also fulfilled.^⑪ In the course of the Rites Controversy, however, such an image became narrow again by men who were anxious about the purity of the faith and who rather pleaded that the whole Chinese nation and other “pagan” nations to be lost since their beginning if they were not baptized.

In 1968 Joseph Ratzinger, later to become Benedict XVI, wrote: “What concerns us is no longer how the others’ will be saved. Certainly we know, by our faith in divine mercy, that they can be saved. How this happens, we leave to God. The point that does concern us is principally this: Why, despite the wider possibility of salvation, is the Church still necessary? Why should faith and life still continue to come through her? In other words, the present day Christians no longer question if their non – believer brothers can reach salvation. Overall, they desire to know what is the meaning of their union with the universal embrace of Christ and their union with the Church.”^⑫

^⑩ “*Iam ab antiquo usque ad tempus hodiernum apud diversas gentes invenitur quaedam perceptio illius arcanæ virtutis, quæ cursui rerum et eventibus vitæ humanæ præsens est, immo aliquando agnitio Summi Numinis vel etiam Patris.*”

^⑪ Originally, Cyprian of Carthage (200/210 – 258) spoke not about pagans, but about a schismatic church, s. his Epistola 73,21. However, it is no dogma but means that the surest way to salvation is the Catholic Church, but other ways are possible if men do not belong to it because of ignorance. For quotations from church fathers to the topics. <http://www.churchfathers.org/category/salvation/salvation-outside-the-church/> (2 of June 2012).

^⑫ Joseph Ratzinger, “*Necessita della missione della Chiesa nel mondo,*” in *La Fine della Chiesa come Società Perfetta*, Verona: Mondadori, 1968, 69 – 70.

中文题目:

得救还是定罪？马斯卡雷利在礼仪之争(1701)中的“辩护”

柯兰霓

远东差传学专家,德国维尔茨堡大学天主教神学专业神学博士,2005年于明斯特大学天主教神学院远东差传学方向获得教授资格并开始任教职。其后参与爱尔兰根大学、澳门和旧金山利玛窦研究所及“Encyclopedia” of Stochastikon GmbH (scientific bio - bibliographies)等研究项目。论著集中于差传历史、差传神学、中欧文化交流及中国礼仪之争。最新论著为: *Von Jesuiten, Kaisern und Kanonen. Europa und China - eine wechselvolle Geschichte* (Darmstadt 2012). Schieshausstrasse 15, D - 97072 Wuerzburg, Germany. Email: claudia.von.collani@T - ONLINE. DE.

提要: 颜瑄 (1655 - 1730) 在 1693 年的命运引起了关于中国礼仪及其术语的新争论。此事件被提交到了罗马教宗那里。1700 年,从耶稣会士李明和哥比安所写的关于中国文化著作中节选的一些主题被交到了在巴黎的索邦神学院而被定罪。这在欧洲的学者与神学家中间引起了对中国宗教和礼仪的广泛争论。为耶稣会士在中国的适应策略进行辩护的学者之一,是西班牙耶稣会士马斯卡雷利 (1660 - 1730);他是位于萨拉曼卡和瓦亚多利的圣经学、圣经编年史学和教义学教授。在其“*Apologia historico - dogmatica pro primævi veri Dei cultus apud Sinas perennitate & juxta legem naturæ religiose observantia, ab anonymo Pinciano Professore exarata*”著作中,他试图支持其同行关于中国编年史、古代的中国人可能已经认识了真正的上帝,并且拥有这种知识已经数百年了等观点。通过其关于古代教父以及当代神学家的深刻和广播的学识,马斯卡雷利为那些被定罪的主题构建了充分的辩护,然而,这些论述却从没有机会出版过。

关键词: 中国礼仪之争、马斯卡雷利、中国编年史、索邦定罪、外邦人的得救

另类的基督教

——从“天兄”耶稣形象看“拜上帝教”的民间信仰特质^①

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提要:本文从太平天国拜上帝教绘画和诗文中所表达的耶稣基督形象来探讨其与民间信仰间的关系。与基督教传统把耶稣基督安放在基督信仰的中心不同,拜上帝教只是借用耶稣基督形象,把他作为中介性符号。本文认为这正体现了洪秀全和拜上帝教对基督信仰和本土性意识这二者关系的独特调整,即以本土性意识转化性地诠释耶稣基督形象的符号所指。

关键词:“天兄”耶稣形象、拜上帝教、民间信仰、符号

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菲利普·A·库恩在《剑桥中国晚清史》中将太平天国事件称作“19世纪50年代和60年代初期震动和蹂躏了长江下游的叛乱”,他亦明确指出正是这件“无比重要的事件使内地中国人认识到另一种形式的基督教”。^②从事件结果的历史效应上来看,太平天国及其传扬的宗教与清朝后期中国人对基督教的理解有极大关联。本文主旨不在于呈现太平天国运动中“拜上帝教”的宗教全貌,也不试图评判此宗教之“基督教异端”抑或“邪教”的属性,因为太平天国宗教的性质,历来众说纷纭。^③不过,无论如何评定,我们首先都无法否认“拜上帝教”与西方基督教的渊源:如果说洪秀全对于基督教的误读源自梁阿发(1789-1855)非常有名的传教册子《劝世良言》,那么其创立“拜上帝教”的最初启发亦是来自这本由中国本土基督徒自己创作的传教书;而“拜上帝教”的创始人们也都坚信自己是纯正的基督教徒。其次,值得注意的,也是本文要探讨的重点就是“拜上帝教”与本土民间信仰^④的关系。

^① 本研究为2010年度上海市哲学社会科学青年基金项目(2010EWY002)、2011年国家社科基金青年项目“本土基督教与中国民间信仰关系研究:以晚清圣母及圣子形象的民间演绎为例”(11CZJ017)的阶段性成果。

^② 费正清 Fei Zhengqing、刘广京 Liu Guangjing 编:《剑桥中国晚清史(1800-1911)》(上卷) *Jianqiao zhongguo wanqingshi* [Cambridge History of Chinese Later Period of Qing dynasty], (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Sciences Press], 1985), 536。

^③ 关于“拜上帝教”是否为基督教异端,基督教的一个教派或者根本是邪教的研究争论及其成果在学界已颇为丰富。参见:夏春涛 Xia Chuntao:《天国的陨落——太平天国宗教再研究》*Tianguo de yunluo - - - taipingtianguo zongjiao zaiyanjiu* [Heaven's Fall: the Further Study of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's Religion], (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [China Renmin University Press], 2006)。

^④ 本文不用“民间宗教”而采用“民间信仰”的概念,是因为国外汉学人类学者对于民间中国是否存在“一个宗教”问题尚存在很大争议:有学者不承认民间的信仰、仪式和象征为宗教;也有学者认为它们构成一个“民间宗教”。参见王铭铭 WANG Mingming:“中国民间宗教:国外人类学研究综述 *Zhongguo minjianzongjiao: guowai renleixue yanjiuzongshu*” [Chinese Folk Religion: an Overview on the Overseas Anthropology Research],《世界宗教研究》*Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* [Studies in World Religions], no. 2, (1996), 125。在国内学界,关于中国民间信仰是否构成宗教体系,也依然是一个议论不休的难题,参见:范正义 Fan Zhengyi:“民间信仰研究的理论反思 *Minjian xinyangyanjiu de lilunfansi*” [The Theoretical Introspection on the Folk Faith Research],《东南学术》*Dongnan xueshu* [Southeast Academic Research], no. 2, (2007), 162。

按照中国民俗学界对“民间信仰”的定义,我们可以将其视为以下层民众为主体的各种信仰,在长期历史发展过程中,在民众中自发形成的一套神灵崇拜观念、行为习惯和相应的仪式制度。^⑤ 在中国,民间信仰具有非常庞杂的内容,既有远古时期的巫教巫术,也有各个民族的民间方士方术,还有神仙传说、对各路自然神的崇拜、阴阳五行风水、医术及养生学等等。太平天国的宗教崇奉基督教式的严格“一神教”,这与中国民间信仰中普遍的多神崇拜不同,但其崇拜观念、行为习惯和一些仪式制度与中国“小传统”中的民间信仰特征却又极为相似,在有些方面甚至如出一辙。本文正是将太平天国宗教置于中国民间信仰的宏观结构中,从其文献资料中去爬梳这个与西方基督教有极大关联的“拜上帝教”对耶稣基督形象的理解、表述乃至运用,并从中探究:“拜上帝教”之救赎观所折射出的中国民间信仰的救赎模式及其特质,最终读解分析基督形象在19世纪中下叶变迁过程中的重要一环。

一、“天兄”耶稣形象:被篡改的救赎所指

太平天国的官方出版物《三字经》中写道:“皇上帝,悯世人,遣太子,降凡尘。曰耶稣,救世主,代赎罪,真受苦。十字架,钉其身,流宝血,救凡人。死三日,复番生,四十日,论天情。临升天,命门徒,传福音,宣诏书。信得救,得上天,不信者,定罪先”;^⑥其儿童读物《幼学诗》中也有三首歌颂耶稣的诗歌:“耶稣为太子,上帝遣当年。赎罪甘指命,功劳认实先”;“十字架难当,愁云暗太阳。天堂尊贵子,代尔世人之”;“苏后复升天,煌荣沃万权。吾济知倚靠,得救世人之”。^⑦

从这四首具有民歌性质的童谣中,可以看到基督教中耶稣为上帝之子的身份在太平天国为人所知,而且人们非常看重耶稣“太子”、“天堂尊贵子”的地位。对于耶稣在十字架上“钉其身”、“流宝血”的救赎目的也说得直接:所谓“代赎罪”、“救凡人”,将耶稣的受难与救赎清晰无误地联系在一起。至于复活事件、耶稣在临升天前对门徒关于传福音的嘱托以及复活升天后之尊荣也都简洁明了地跃然纸上。

那么,“拜上帝教”真的对耶稣形象这个基督教核心符号之基本所指有确切把握吗?由于童谣的词句过于简单,我们很难从这四首诗歌中确知上述问题的答案,在另一个文本叙述中,可以部分得到这个问题的答案。这个文本就是在天平天国运动中流传最广,甚至可以说“人人尽知”的洪秀全之奇梦。在太平天国整个运动中,洪秀全的“奇梦”地位显赫:几乎所有太平天国镌刻的书籍中都记载着这个奇梦的内容。原来,洪秀全曾在屡试不中的情况下大病一场,他后来称自己在病中曾于梦中升天,并在天上见到了上帝、天妈、天兄、天嫂、天妹等神明。不仅如此,上帝还面赐印玺、宝剑于他。他先在天上诛妖得胜,于是上帝封他为“天王大道君王全”,然后差遣他下凡“斩妖留正,作主救人”,也就是要做天下万国的真主。

在这个“奇梦叙述”中,洪秀全“看见”了一位“披金发,衣皂袍,巍然坐于最高之宝座上”的“老人”,几年之后,他认定这位老人就是基督教中的那位上帝。在洪秀全看来,上帝不仅有像有形,而且还有妻室、儿子和家庭。按照洪秀全推演,上帝为家庭之长,耶稣为上帝长子,洪秀全本人是次子,太

^⑤ 钟敬文 Zhong Jingwen:《民俗学概论》*Minsuxue gailun* [An Introduction to Folklore Studies],(上海 Shanghai:上海文艺出版社 Shanghai wenyi chubanshe [Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House],1998),187。

^⑥ 中国史学会 Zhongguoshi xuehui [Association of Chinese Historians] 编:《中国近代史资料丛刊·太平天国》,第一册 *Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan taipingtianguo* [Materials on Modern Chinese History Series, Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, vol. 1],(上海 Shanghai:神州国光社 Shenzhouguoguangshe [Shen Zhou Guo Guang Press],1953),226。

^⑦ 同上书 (*Ibid*),第232页。

平天国其他各王分别是上帝的三子、四子等等。^⑧在太平天国文献中,不遗余力介绍、渲染的故事正是这个关于洪秀全升天的奇梦。梦的关键环节在于洪秀全本人与上帝确立血缘关系。除此之外,我们无法读解出任何与《圣经》记载耶稣其人其事的一鳞半爪。其实,不仅在这个“奇梦叙述”中不曾提及关于耶稣的生平故事,太平天国的其它文献虽然不时提及,但大多仅有寥寥数语,提及的内容也不外乎指出洪秀全乃是耶稣的胞弟。德国学者魏克德在研究太平天国文献之后得出如下结论:“论述耶稣、耶稣的身世以及他们的门徒的形位的《新约全书》,洪秀全主要是在证明他是耶稣的兄弟时才用。我们看不出他对耶稣的实际目标有什么真正的认识,也看不出他对耶稣的品格……有什么理解。”^⑨

在洪秀全的“奇梦叙述”中,耶稣的出场并非以其十字架救赎为指向,而变成了洪秀全本人作为“天王”出场的一段铺垫、一个引子。洪秀全甚至因为耶稣没有儿子,根据“不孝有三,无后为大”的观念将自己的儿子洪天贵福“慷慨”地过继给了这位长兄耶稣。这是一处明显以中国传统家族伦理来为基督教改头换面的地方,也是“拜上帝教”具有中国民间信仰特质中之“人间性”或“人伦性”特质的一个重要例证。我们知道,在中国民间信仰体系中,各种神灵都有自己的名字、妻室及儿女。^⑩与之不同的是,在基督教中,对家族关系的强调是被刻意削弱的。洪秀全及其拜上帝教在教义中添加了许多《圣经》中完全没有的家族伦理意味,并按照纯粹中国的方式为耶稣立继承人。这也许不是洪秀全刻意为之的一个要篡改基督教的“阴谋”,而是身处其境者身不由己的一种文化表达。在这种充满着伦理诉求的文化表达中,那种西方意义上的神圣的“宗教意味”被属世的人伦情结冲淡了。不过,洪秀全并没有完全忽略耶稣替众人赎罪这个基督教教义中的核心精神,他对这种“救赎”进行了如下表述:

“人人竟忘天父之恩德,将天父之功劳妄认为魔鬼之功劳。故天父鉴观在上,见凡间人民从妖变妖,古古怪怪,不复成人。天父于是又复大怒,欲尽灭之则不忍于心,欲姑留之则不合于义。时有天父太子天兄耶稣大作担当,愿捐命代世人赎罪。”“此天父第三次大怒之大权能大凭据也”。^⑪

这段文本的重点是将耶稣“捐命代赎”说成是“天父第三次大怒之大权能大凭据”。不仅如此,在耶稣“捐命代赎”之后,天父依然频频发怒,以至于天父第四次大怒时,“差天王下凡为天下万郭太平真主,救援天下人民”;第五次大怒,则“差东王下凡”。^⑫

在基督教教义中,上帝对人类的救赎是在耶稣基督身上一一次性完成的。在耶稣之前的犹太传统中,人类要靠定期向上帝献祭来赎清自己的罪孽,而普通民众并不能够直接进入圣所献祭,唯有那些利未族的大祭司可以“先为自己的罪,后为百姓的罪献祭”^⑬,但是耶稣是“圣洁、无邪恶、无玷污、远离罪人、高过诸天的大祭司”,他根本“不用山羊和牛犊的血”,“乃用自己的血,只一次进入圣所,成了永远赎罪的事。”^⑭在基督教中,罪的起源是亚当不听神的劝告,擅自吃了智慧树上的果子;而罪的清洗则全靠耶稣基督在十字架上用宝血完成,所谓“因一人的悖逆,众人成为罪人;照样,因一人的顺从,众

⑧ 夏春涛 Xia Chuntao:《天国的陨落——太平天国宗教再研究》*Tianguo de yunluo - - - taipingtianguo zongjiao zaiyanjiu* [Heaven's Fall: the Further Study of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's Religion], (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [China Renmin University Press], 2006), 297。

⑨ 《太平天国译丛》第1辑 *Taipingtianguo yicong Di yi ji* [Translation Serious on Taiping Heavenly Kingdom vol. 1], 北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghuashuju [Zhonghua Book Company], 1981), 283。

⑩ 如灶神姓张,灶神之妻灶王奶奶字卿忌,有六女。土地爷爷也有土地奶奶,连玉皇大帝还本姓张。如此人情味十足的神灵在中国俯首即拾。

⑪ 中国史学会 Zhongguoshi xuehui [Association of Chinese Historians] 编:《中国近代史资料丛刊·太平天国》,第一册 *Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan taipingtianguo Di yi ce* [Materials on Modern Chinese History Series, Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, vol. 1], (上海 Shanghai: 神州国光社 Shenzhouguangshu [Shen Zhou Guo Guang Press], 1952), 362 - 366。

⑫ 同上书 (*Ibid.*), 362 - 366。

⑬ 《新约·希伯来书》*Xinyue xibolaishu* [NT: Hebrew] (7:26 - 27)

⑭ 《新约·希伯来书》*Xinyue xibolaishu* [NT: Hebrew] (9:12)

人也成为义”。^⑮耶稣基督由此成为从《旧约》过渡到《新约》的关键人物：他不仅是上帝全部救恩计划的开端，亦是终结；他是一次性救赎中永远的大祭司，凡顺从他、信靠他的人就得到了“永远得救的根源”。^⑯

这种“一次即永恒”的救赎观与“拜上帝教”的救赎观显然大有抵牾。对于“拜上帝教”来说，不仅上帝极其易怒，而且耶稣的赎罪似乎根本起不了多大的作用。作为上帝“长子”的耶稣虽然“大作担当”，甚至“捐命”为世人“代赎”，但功效依然捉襟见肘：转眼间上帝再次震怒，而这次平息其怒火的，却是天王洪秀全——上帝的“小儿子”。

我们看到，当耶稣基督这一象征符号的核心所指，即受难与救赎的功能被严重弱化甚至完全篡改时，耶稣形象就不复成为能够担当起基督教最关键意义的符号。在意义完全失重的情况下，耶稣形象的极度贬值使“拜上帝教”是否还能被称作某种特殊形式的基督教打上了一个严肃的问号。当耶稣形象的救赎意义被篡改后，救赎变成了一个应接上帝震怒的循环往复的环。在这个环形结构中，“奇梦叙述”宣称了继耶稣之后的另两次救赎：“天王”洪秀全成为继“天兄”耶稣之后的第四位救赎者，而“东王”杨秀清则充当了第五位。一次性永恒救赎的落空必然导致多次赎罪的进行，起点是上帝的愤怒，解决之道总是临时的。这个环状结构让人重新回到了耶稣诞生之前的犹太传统，进入到周而复始的赎罪轮回中。当然，此结构不是拜上帝教的独创，在中国民间信仰中，救恩从来不是一次性完成的，救赎总是在对神灵近乎谄媚的讨好中姗姗来迟。

二、民间信仰的心理模式：“惩罚—救赎”之循环过程中的性别对峙

按照“拜上帝教”的理论，帝是天下凡间的“大共之父”，世人都是他的子女，“上帝原来是老亲”。^⑰在这样一位伦理化特征非常明显的上帝身上，体现着中国的父权家族本位模式。洪秀全“奇梦”中那位“披金发，衣皂袍”、“身穿乌龙袍，金须最长施肚脐”^⑱的皇上帝：公义、易怒、嫉邪并乐于征战。这个皇上帝与中国传统信仰中的男神具有相似的特点，他们大多是对国君及其辅弼功臣形象的模拟：这些男性神的地位越高，神力也越卓越，而同时也越威严甚至冷酷。在一个宗法制度与长老权威无所不在的中国近代社会，将上帝理解为“仁爱的父亲”恐怕是件颇有难度的事。从玉帝到关帝，中国的男性神界充满了刚强、暴烈与战事。上帝形象中强烈的男性意味使民众，特别是女性民众，对所谓的“上帝之爱”有所隔膜，而作为上帝之子的耶稣基督，同样因为具有男性身份而导致一种宗教情感上的疏离感。

皇上帝的形象不仅在太平天国的“拜上帝教”内缺乏一个“爱”的向度，在近代民间，教民所描述的天主也是庄严、公正而且相当严厉的。传说明朝崇祯末年，有一个“起死回生”的信徒周游了天堂和地狱，他见到的“天主”接近于民间传说的“阎罗王”：“威严森肃”，又“若有悲容”，根据功过簿记录的

^⑮ 《新约·罗马书》*Xinyue luomashu* [NT: Romans] (5:19)

^⑯ 《新约·希伯来书》*Xinyue xibolashu* [NT: Hebrew] (5:9-10)

^⑰ 《太平诏书》*Taiping zhaoshu* [Taiping rescript], 太平天国历史博物馆 *Taipingtianguo lishi bowuguan* [Historical Museum of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom] 编：《太平天国印书》(上册) *Taipingtianguo yinshu Shangce* [Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Books, vol. 1], (南京 Nanjing: 江苏人民出版社 *Jiangsu renmin chubanshe* [Jiangsu Renmin Publishing House, 1979], 16。

^⑱ 中国史学会 *Zhongguoshi xuehui* [Association of Chinese Historians] 编：《中国近代史资料丛刊·太平天国》，第六册 *Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan taipingtianguo Dilu ce* [Materials on Modern Chinese History Series, Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, vol. 6], (上海 Shanghai: 神州国光社 *Shenzhouguangsheshe* [Shen Zhou Guo Guang Press], 1953), 841。

死者生前的言行以定赏罚。^① 在流传于民间的画像中,上帝以地狱之王阎罗的特征出现,同官吏们一样坐在一个金案之后的玉石御座上。^② 人们习惯了上帝之主宰力量的绝对性及其显赫的男权特质,这种习惯性心理与自古以来中国人对天意莫测之畏惧的感受倾向交融在一起,形成了以惧怕为底色的宗教意识。如果说,“上帝”一词在西方基督教传统中有“对世人之爱”这样一个明确的所指的话,那么,在中国,这个所指即便不是完全不存在的,也至少是大打折扣的。这倒不是说,中国人先天缺乏对爱的渴望,而是作为男性形象的上帝在文化习惯中很难与这种渴望勾连起来。能够满足中国人这种渴望的对象往往是以女性形象出现的。人们渴望一种阴性的、温柔的、防御的力量去缓解和协调现实的压迫及宗教世界中男性神界的暴烈,从而创构了一批仁慈的女神。当然,这也与中国民间信仰持有者多为女性有重要关联。

我们看到,佛教作为一种外来宗教,其在中国本土化、民间化的一个重要内容就是观世音菩萨的女性化。在唐朝以前,观音一般取面部留有蝌蚪形小髭的男相,而五代宋之后则转变成风姿绰约的女性形象。另一个典型的具有女性特质的“慈悲符号”是妈祖形象。除了香火最盛的观音庙和天后宫,全国还有数不清的老母庙、奶奶庙、金花庙、碧霞元君庙、龙母庙、蚕神庙、苍姑庙等,这些庙殿内供奉着执掌现实生活诸事的女性神,足见中国宗教文化对女性神祇的青睐。

在中国近代天主教教民心目中,天主是一位长者,但仁爱的维度较少表现,且天主的形象不如作为引路人的圣母形象鲜明。据中国天主教教会内部文献记载,一些教民将玛利亚称作“圣母娘娘”^③,并将她描绘成“头戴金冠,满身异香”的中国式女神,文献中还多次出现称她乃“罪人之杞,忧苦之慰,病人之愈”。^④ 作为耶稣的肉身之母,圣母不仅因着这层血缘关系备受信徒尊崇,且其自身还具备了拯救世人的法力,成了温柔良善而无时无处不在的救赎者。我们分析圣母形象在近代天主教教民心目中的救赎力量及这种力量在中国观音、妈祖等女神身上的一致性,并不是否认耶稣基督在近代教民心目中的救赎者地位,而是要通过这些现象来分析论证中国女性神祇之流行背后的救赎观以及这种救赎观与耶稣形象之救赎所指的关联。

当救赎不是以“一次即永恒”的方式在信仰中被坚立下来的时候,那么各种人间灾难的发生就需要神灵一次又一次的拯救来度过“劫难”。民间信仰在中国发展到清代已是教派林立、名目繁多,影响较大的宗教组织有罗教、红阳教、八卦教、天理教、黄天教、清茶门教、圆顿教等。这些民间信仰一般可分为两个系统:一是以寒山童创立的白莲教,另一是罗教系统。前者主张在劫难之后实现天下太平、把人间建成理想的天国;后者把斋戒视为脱离劫难之主要手段。^⑤ 这两个系统有一个共同点,就是其教义皆围绕着如何“化劫为福”。“劫难”是这些教派需要通过不同的信仰解释去面对并解决的主要问题。外来宗教在本土化过程中往往需要将原本的信仰重点调整到这个“化劫为福”的主题上,才能契合民众对信仰的需求。

中国民间信仰对创世者,即造物主的心理依赖情结远远不如对于救赎者来得浓厚,而且那种西方

^① 谢和耐 Jacques Gernet,《中国与基督教——中西文化的首次撞击》*Zhongguo yu jidujiao——zhongxiwenhua de shouci zhuangji* [Chineet Christianisme], 耿昇 Gengsheng 译,(上海 Shanghai:上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe, [Shanghai Classics Publishing House], 2003), 140-142。

^② 同上书 (*Ibid.*), 356。

^③ 同上书 (*Ibid.*), 49。

^④ 包士杰 Bao Shijie:《拳时北京教友致命》(第四册) *Quanshi Beijing jiaoyou zhiming Disi ce* [The Martyrs during the Boxer Uprising Period in Peking. vol. 4], 北京 Beijing:救世堂 Jiushitang [Jiushitang], 1920, 15。

^⑤ 野口铁郎 Noguchi, Teturo,《道教与民众宗教结社》*Daojiao yu minzhongzongjiao jieshe* [Taoism and Folk Religionary Tong], 冯佐智 Fen Zuozhi 译,(上海 Shanghai:上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe [Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992], 169。

式的将“造物-救赎”融于一神的情况亦很少出现。^{②④}在这种创世即主宰、主宰即惩罚的等价公式中,创世神的一个主要功能不是施恩于人,反而是将惩罚以现实灾难的形式降临在人类身上。正如前文所论述的:一个慈爱的父亲形象的匮乏,使中国的男性神界都充斥着威严与冷酷。况且,民间信仰的信奉者以女性居多,潜意识中的性别意识更容易在其所开创并投身的信仰中得到曲折的表达。在明清民间宗教中,哪怕是在创世功能和救赎功能有所混一的无生老母身上,那种杂糅的终极神性也是以母性的凸显为前提的,这种母性内含阴阳却超越阴阳,形式上表现为纯粹的女性形象。

在周而复始的“惩罚-救赎”循环过程中,中国民间信仰,特别是明清民间信仰中具有救赎功能的神灵可排上长长一列队,而其中有不少都以女性形象出现。“男性=冷酷=惩罚”和“女性=慈悲=救赎”的信仰心理公式在中国民间“惩罚-救赎”的循环结构中演绎出一种素朴的,以女性性别意识为主导的二元对峙。

回到太平天国的“拜上帝教”,我们看到,它同样非常强调“惩罚-救赎”的循环过程以及一位严父式的上帝形象。由于缺乏对基督教“三位一体”神学的必要理解以及受到民间信仰基调的影响,它所崇奉的“造物主”与“救赎者”之间亦没有“同一”的关系,神灵之救赎功能与其创世功能被分裂开来,不同的功能享有独立的神灵形象。然而,与民间信仰中将救赎功能与女性形象勾连的做法却没有发生在“拜上帝教”中。稍加思索,我们便能得出其间的缘由:首先,“拜上帝教”中的“救赎者”不是一个纯粹的表明神灵慈爱特质的符号,在太平天国运动中,“救赎者”自始至终象征着无上的权力,那么,这其实是一个与神权政治息息相关的符号。所以,“救赎者”一定要由太平天国领导层中最有权势的人物来充当。这本来就迥异于普通民间信仰中的“救赎功能”(当然,中国历史上数不清的秘密结社与农民起义都对这种民间信仰“救赎功能”进行了神权政治化的变调,这不是太平天国的发明);其次,“拜上帝教”是一个在短期内迅速创生的宗教,其创始者们皆为男性,所以他们的信仰表达中存在着强烈的男权特征而缺乏上文论述的那种以女性性别意识为主导的二元对峙状况。

三、神功崇拜:“惩罚-救赎”循环结构的必然诉求

在中国民间信仰结构的“主色调”中,现世功利的底色一直被牢牢地晕染在“神功崇拜”的信仰心理中。这种“神功崇拜”的表现特征在于:当某位神灵的神力卓越,在民间祈求过程中频频“显灵”时,民众就会趋之若鹜地让其香火鼎盛;但当人们在恳求、讨好、乃至贿赂神灵之后,如果还未见效,那么这个神灵就可能被打入冷宫,更有甚者,不显灵的神灵甚至会成为人们鞭挞的对象。从完全按民众自身的现世需要去创造神灵,直到肆意打骂折磨无法实现需求的神灵,中国民间信仰中的“人间性”及“功利性”特质显现得异常充分。这些民间信仰中都弥漫着为现世利益筹划、在实际生活中趋福避祸的氤氲之气。人们关注的是神灵的职能和效验,很少在意其谱系源流、教派界限等区分,我们将此信仰特质定性为“神功崇拜”。

拜上帝教的神功崇拜充分体现在洪秀全对于他自身和幼主洪天贵福降生之与众不同的描述。在谈到洪天贵福的降生时,说“是晚屋上发红圆光一道,远见者疑为焚烧,近者见渐高而散,一连两夜如是。”^{②⑤}所谓诸如“红光”之类的描述,都是通过强调身份的先天性不同,以隐射其具有的权柄或者说神功的效力。这在基督教传统中则基本并不具备。《圣经》也有关于耶稣基督降生的描述,例如天使报

^{②④} 民间信仰中“造物-救赎”融合在一起的情况很少,可能的一个例外是:无生老母形象。她是明清时代民间信仰中的女神,既是创造万物的神,是人类的祖先,同时又拯救沉沦的后代,派释迦佛或弥勒佛等下凡,有时也自己亲自下凡救度众生。不过,多数情况下,无生老母还是以最高创世神的形象出现,而救世主则由三佛和许多教派的宗师来充当。参见李尚英 Li Shangying:《中国历史上的民间宗教》*Zhongguo lishi shangde minjianzongjiao* [The Folk Religions in Chinese History.],(北京 Beijing:华夏出版社 Huaxia chubanshe [Huaxia Press],1996)。

^{②⑤} 中国史学会 Zhongguoshi xuehui [Association of Chinese Historians] 编:《中国近代史资料丛刊·太平天国》,第二册 *Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan taipingtianguo Di'er ce* [Materials on Modern Chinese History Series, Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, vol. 2],(上海 Shanghai:神州国光社 Shenzhouguangsheshe [Shen Zhou Guo Guang Press],1952),574。

佳音给牧羊人说,“我报给你们大喜的信息,是关乎万民的。因今天在大卫的城里,为你们生了救主,就是主耶稣基督。你们要看见一个婴孩,包着布,卧在马槽里,那就是记号了。”^{②⑥}虽然经文中也出现关于确定身份的“天使”之说,然而这两种文字的象征性有着巨大差别:在中国民间信仰中,“红光”代表富贵和神功,是世俗权力的标志。然而耶稣基督却只降生在马槽里,这符号并不是要去彰显他世俗的权柄。语言符号的这种象征性差异,正表明不同宗教符号所显示的救赎功能在社会结构中的不同指向。^{②⑦}

洪秀全和太平天国的将领们不仅深受这种民间信仰符号及其象征意义的支配,从他们的言行观之,他们更善于娴熟地运用转换技巧。神功崇拜的演绎和强化已经触及民间生活意识盼望的本质,这就是基于民间信仰的盼望,也就是那种在当下就可以在一定的空间内展开的盼望,而有关耶稣基督的差遣也必然与此种盼望联系起来。在耶稣基督的差遣中没有得到实现的,可以通过洪秀全及其家族的差遣来兑现。生活的具体性于是就成了这种差遣意识最重要的象征性意指。洪秀全们在下意识中非常熟悉这种符号运用背后的象征性技巧以及心理诉求,因为它长期以来就存在于民间信仰的欲望运作之中。举例来说,本以寻求灵魂解脱为终极旨归的佛教进入中国之后,就常以增福增寿、消灾去厄来吸引人:《灭十方冥经》中向人们许诺,念十方佛就能“有所兴作,悉当如愿”;《观世音菩萨普门品》:“若有无量百千万亿众生受诸苦恼,闻是观世音菩萨,一心称名,观世音菩萨即时观其音声,皆能解脱。”这些佛经不仅都给予民众一个悉随所愿的许诺,而且愿望达成的手段还被描述得异乎简单。这样一来,信仰佛教就似乎成了个人获利最简便直接的手段。在各种祷文记载中,这种许诺的现世功能性被突显得一清二楚:“合家去离三灾九厄,福命延长”、“常生尊贵,莫经三途八难”、“合家安吉,四时无纤小之灾,八节有康泰之虞”^{②⑧}……还有一些神迹传说更使这种现世功能充满了神功崇拜情结。民间最常见的传说依然是关于观音等女神故事的:“法智白衣时,独行大泽中,忽遇猛火四起,走路已绝,便礼诵观世音,俄而火过,一泽之草,无有遗茎,惟智所容身处不烧。”^{②⑨}这则《古今怪异集成》中的观音故事,与庚子之变时在教民和义和团成员中流传的“白衣圣母”传说非常相似,而正如前文所言,后者正是在前者关于民众对女神特质及其神力功能的原型崇拜中变异而来的。宗教的象征性符号目的是要取得对人们情绪的支配并使得这种情绪具有实在性,从而在人们中间建立起以之为新的联结之强有力的、普遍的和持续长久的情绪及动机。^{③①}由此,有效的宗教符号必须能够满足情绪和动机的要求,不然的话,这个符号由于不能获得其象征意义,它就不具有意义赋予的特征。中国民间信仰的基本特点,就是在相信彼岸来世、天堂佛国的同时,更注重其功利性和现实性的一面。所谓“割目下之近欲,修难成之远工”的宗教超越性是很难达成的:人们不会轻易放弃务实的考虑,牺牲现实生活的利益去追求遥远的彼岸事业。

毫无疑问,洪秀全以及他的创教伙伴们概莫能外地置身于这种小传统之中。他们身受中国民间

^{②⑥} 《新约·路加福音》Xinyue Lujiafuxin [NT:LUKE] (2:11-12)

^{②⑦} 格尔茨解释了人类学与宗教研究的关系:“第一步,分析构成宗教的象征符号所表现的意义,第二步,将这些系统与社会结构和心理过程联系在一起。”(克利福德·格尔茨 Clifford Geertz,《文化的阐释》Wenhua de chanshi, [The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays], 韩莉 Han Li 译, (南京 Nanjing: 译林出版社 Yilin chubanshe [Yilin Press, 1999], 153。他的结论在诠释宗教符号及其象征意义与人类学意识的呈现上可谓相当准确。

^{②⑧} 见《清史资料》Qingshi ziliao [Materials of Qing Dynasty], 转引自:侯杰 Hou Jie、范丽珠 Fan Lizhu:《世俗与神圣——中国民众宗教意识》Shisu yu shensheng - - - - zhongguo minzhong zongjiao yishi [Secular and Sacred: The Folk Religionary Consciousness in China], (天津 Tianjin: 天津人民出版社 Tianjin renmin chubanshe [Tianjin Renmin Publishing House, 2001], 101。

^{②⑨} 民国中华书局 Minguo zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua book company] 编:《古今怪异集成》Gujin guanyi jicheng [The Fantastic Stories in Ancient and Modern Ages], (北京 Beijing: 中国书店 Zhongguo shudian [CATHEY Bookshop], 1991), 91。

^{③①} 克利福德·格尔茨 Clifford Geertz, 《文化的阐释》Wenhua de chanshi, [The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays], 韩莉 Han Li 译, (南京 Nanjing: 译林出版社 Yilin chubanshe [Yilin Press, 1999], 111。

信仰的现实性和功利性影响,而这进一步与中国民间社群结合,形成了它自身的神功崇拜特点。需要看见的是,神功崇拜后面所显示的是一种生活意识,就是对生活中之苦难的摆脱方式。如果说文化本质上就是符号,那么种种的符号就是要使个体成为真正的人,有尊严的人。就这个方面来说,由于中国文化的精神生活里面缺乏严格意义上的对超越之神的诉求,由此,神的符号必然与世俗的,而非与精神的出路相关,或者说精神本身也只是一般世俗性的维度。当生活中的精神性都可以尺度化为世俗性的某种形式时,可以看到对于神的那种力量性的、秩序性重建的诉求就必然高于德性和灵性。神功崇拜在这里作为一种生活意识,正是表现了中国民间信仰对于苦难的摆脱意识。摆脱苦难应当是在现世可以看见的、旧有的生活方式被颠倒过来的方式,至于这种颠倒在多大程度上体现出正义则并不重要,也并不得到关心。当这样去面对耶稣基督的形象时,苦难与罪的关系就被重新表达,耶稣基督也必然被重新表达。非常有意思的问题正在这里。耶稣基督在基督教传统里作为一种生活意识的构成,在拜上帝教里却被代之以另外一种生活方式。拜上帝教用神功崇拜来取代十字架之符号,正表明中国民间信仰的救赎结构完全不同于基督教传统的救赎结构。在基督教传统的救赎结构里,耶稣基督始终是一个核心性的符号,因为上帝所差遣的唯一者就是耶稣基督,所有人之仿效耶稣基督就在于仿效耶稣基督被上帝差遣的方式。由此我们完全可以理解说,为什么耶稣基督的形象乃是一种生活方式,或者说是一种生活方式的符号,而不是单纯的教义或名称。然而在神功崇拜里,苦难的摆脱不是基于对苦难所表现出的生活意识的认同,而是表现出对于力量的认同。太平天国运动从肇始之时起就以这种“神功崇拜”为信仰基础,这就意味着他们一开始就以非常本土的生活意识置换基督教传统的耶稣基督形象。在有关耶稣基督的诠释上,这是一种非常清楚的文化诠释方式。拜上帝教在立教初期即宣称“若世人肯拜上帝者,无灾无难,不拜上帝者,蛇虎伤人”。^④ 洪秀全的个人发迹史也是以一系列的“神迹”现象为重要辅助的,例如:当时白蚁蛀蚀了被洪秀全诅咒过的庙宇神座,人们就以为这是洪秀全的神力所致。^⑤ 太平天国的祈祷文是“希望上帝让他的忠诚信徒有衣有食、无灾无难、万事胜意、大吉大昌”。^⑥ 1851年3月18日,萧朝贵代“天兄”耶稣下凡说:“要同心同力,同打江山。”并许诺道:“目下苦楚些,后来自有高封也”。^⑦ 在诸如此类的行为背后,可以看到耶稣基督形象在拜上帝教中的象征性所在。在萧朝贵的表述中,耶稣基督是一种向着新生活的视界,这就是要以一个国度的结构代替另外一个国度的结构。在这个崭新的国度结构里,通过对旧有秩序的颠覆从而使受苦受压迫、缺衣少粮的日子一去不复返。耶稣基督的形象作为这样的一种新生活的代表,与战争的目的联系在一起。

拜上帝教有关耶稣基督的理解既然是以神功崇拜为主旨,其背后蕴含的就是普通民众所寄托的大同理想,是现世生存的盼望。耶稣基督形象只不过为诸多类型的民间信仰提供了统一的框架。神功崇拜把现世生存中不足的东西寄托在将临国度的实现,拜上帝教由此把耶稣基督从作为超越的上帝之国度形象向着世俗国度移位,凸显国度的现实层面。由此基督教传统之耶稣基督也就被转化为

^④ 罗尔纲 Luo Ergang 选注:《太平天国诗文选》*Taipingtianguo shiwenxuan* [Poetry and Prose of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom], (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua book company], 1960), 110。

^⑤ 《太平天日》*Taiping tianri* [Taiping Tianri], 太平天国历史博物馆 *Taipingtianguo lishi bowuguan* [Historical Museum of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom] 编:《太平天国印书》(上册) *Taipingtianguo yinshu Shangce* [Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Books, vol. 1], (南京 Nanjing: 江苏人民出版社 Jiangsu renmin chubanshe [Jiangsu Renmin Publishing House, 1979), 44。

^⑥ 王庆成 Wang Qingcheng:《太平天国的历史和思想》*Taipingtianguo de lishi he sixiang*, [the History and the Thoughts of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom], 北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Zhonghua book company], 1985), 316。

^⑦ 中国史学会 Zhongguoshi xuehui [Association of Chinese Historians] 编:《中国近代史资料丛刊·太平天国》,第一册 *Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan taipingtianguo Diyi ce* [Materials on Modern Chinese History Series, Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, vol. 1], (上海 Shanghai: 神州国光社 Shenzhouguangsheshe [Shen Zhou Guo Guang Press], 1953), 61。

解困的神。在乡村社会的多神信仰中,作为三教之祖的孔子、释迦、老君固然是上位神,但最受欢迎的还是与现实生活息息相关的观音之类的女神,正所谓“神无大小,灵者为尊”。在这里,基于对苦难的解决之道的不同理解,作为解决苦难的“救赎”也就具有不同的寄托形式。基督教传统所理解的“苦难”是直指人的罪性内蕴,指出苦难乃是来自于罪的把持,而人无法藉着自我的努力(包括道德修养)摆脱这种罪的状态,耶稣基督的降临正是在于除去并担当罪,从而担当罪所引发的苦难。在这里,苦难被当作结果,罪则是当作起因。耶稣基督的救赎是要解决苦难的起因,即罪的支配。由此,这种救赎是更新人的存在特性,是要造就新人。然而受民间信仰的支配,拜上帝教把救赎转变为直接地解决苦难。在这个位移中,耶稣基督与新人(无罪的人)的联系就被转换为耶稣基督与现世生存关怀的联系。一个世俗的国度,就在于建立民间意识下的国家,而这正是身处中国民间信仰小传统中的洪秀全所无法避免的,他必然会受到民间信仰的世俗诉求的支配。因为洪秀全的追随者们本身就抱着为了这种苦难的世俗解决的愿望而参与了“天国”的世俗化运动。当耶稣基督被作为一场社会运动的符号时,他的差遣就早已世俗化了,它的存在诉求成为一种社会的符号,他被看作是一个新的更为平等的世俗国度之超越性符号。洪秀全和拜上帝教的本土性正在于此,世俗性和超越性成为共生的东西,是不可分离的。由此,在19世纪中下叶的中国大地上出现了一种与原有规定性教义迥然有异的民间信仰特质的集中表现。“一次即永恒”的救赎模式变成了“惩罚-救赎”循环过程,而在此过程中的救赎者耶稣形象的关键所指被篡改,“救赎行动”成了权力和神功的强势表达。但无论如何,这个“天兄”耶稣形象及与之勾连的种种救赎者形象都成为中国近代历史上具有影响力的“耶稣形象”之重要一环。

English Title:

Another Type of Christianity

——The Image of Jesus Christ the ‘Heavenly Brother’ in the Chinese folk religion ‘The Religion of the Worship of God’

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Abstract: This article discusses the image of Jesus Christ in the paintings and poems of the Religion of Worship of God (henceforth RWG) of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. The RWG, unlike the Christian tradition which places Christ at the centre of Christian belief, merely borrowed the image of Christ as a mediating symbol. This was a creative measure taken by Hong Xiuquan and the RWG to manage the relationship between Christian faith and native Chinese consciousness; and this was also a creative transformation of the symbolic connotation of the image of Christ illuminated by native consciousness.

Key words: Image of the Heavenly – brother Jesus, Religion of Worship of God, Folk Beliefs, Symbol

比较宗教文化研究
**Comparative Religious and Cultural
Studies**

儒耶文化适应性比较初探

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提要:文化适应性比较应成为儒耶比较的核心议题之一,而相关的考察可以从以下两个方向展开:一则以并列关系的视角,比较它们在各自领域内如何应对历史过程中具有相似性质的重要变迁与挑战;二则以交互关系的视角,比较它们在直接相遇时如何应对直接由对方引发的冲击。经过历时性和共时性的双重比较可得出初步结论:相较而言,儒家在文化适应上采取的是弥散性的、侧重于融合现实社会生活的、强调自我实现的路径;基督宗教在文化适应上采取的则是抽离性的、侧重于改造宗教身份认同的、强调他者意识的路径。正是由于在文化适应性上的这些区别,儒耶文化将在 21 世纪共同作为中国文化重建中最有价值的思想资源处于极具张力的互动关系之中。

关键词:儒家、基督宗教、文化适应性

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21 世纪到底是儒家的世纪还是基督宗教^①的世纪?或者说,本世纪中国更可能出现文化趋向,究竟是以儒家思想为代表的传统文化的全面复兴,抑或是以基督宗教文化为基石的西方文化的全面同化?现在看来,这两种充斥着民族/宗教色彩和热忱文化想象的观点,似乎都可以以一种信心十足的方式全面论证自己的预言。前者以当前全球经济危机下的中国救世论为鲜明代表,对孔子学院的急剧扩张和国学热等文化现象津津乐道;后者则高举普世价值的堂皇旗帜,同时也有基督徒数量在东方世界(特别是在一向被视为儒家传统文化基本盘的中国农村社会)的大规模增长作为数据支撑。

然而,如果我们以上世纪末亚洲金融危机给当时刚刚兴起的新儒家“东亚价值”论造成的尴尬为前车之鉴,就应该清楚地认识到,这些当下最能吸引眼球的文化理论和实证研究,往往掩藏着深层次的意识形态和民族/宗教情感因素,而它们所谓的价值与实证,通常也只是在为某种根深蒂固的“刻板印象”(Stereotype)寻找内在的印证与外在的证明——对于无限丰富的人类精神和复杂多变的世界形势而言,这种工作实在不是什么难事,也没有什么恒久的价值。

所以我们应该警醒的是,既不要对某种文化在某些方面的成果(主要是经济数据的进步和信徒人数的增多)而沾沾自喜过度诠释;也不要因为某些文化元素所表现出的优势(考虑到它们并不能单独发挥作用,而且很有可能并非为某个文化圈所专有)而志得意满望天打卦,做出种种不切实际的猜想和预测。还原其本义,“文化”既然是涵盖人类种种生活现象的最广义的概念,文化比较就既不应计较一时一地之得失,也不应局限于一枝一叶之较量,而是要贯彻其核心议题,也就是要回到对历史变迁与社会生活的“适应性”这个问题上来。

^① 本文所使用的“基督宗教”概念包括天主教、新教以及东正教等在内的所有派别。

因此,如果我们充分认识到,理性的狡计在风云诡谲的历史现象中总是让人捉摸不透,那么问题的关键就并不是对这两种文化的最终命运给出一个预测性的结论,而是要厘清二者在文化适应性上的本质特征和内在机制,并以此作为分析具体现实时的参照和思路。所以笔者所提出的问题是:儒家思想与基督宗教作为当今世界最有生命力的文化现象,在文化适应性上到底有哪些本质的区别,这些区别又将怎样影响二者在当今中国的发展方向?

文化的适应性之所以会成为一个重要的问题,总是与其所面对的剧烈环境变化有关。大致而言,对两种文化适应性的考察与比较,一则是要侧重二者的并列关系,看它们各自在其文化区域内如何应对历史发展过程中的沧桑巨变,如何在相似处境中以不同方式解决问题;二则是要侧重二者的交互关系,看它们在直接相遇时如何应对由对方引发的挑战与冲突。概言之,这两个层次的考察分别是历时性的和共时性的,而由此得出的初步结论是:相较而言,儒家在文化适应上采取的是弥散性的、侧重于融合现实社会生活的、强调自我实现的路径;基督宗教在文化适应上采取的则是抽离性的、侧重于改造宗教身份认同的、强调他者意识的路径。正是由于在文化适应性上的这些区别,儒耶文化将在21世纪共同作为中国文化重建中最有价值的思想资源处于极具张力的互动关系之中。本文的具体论述也将就这两个层面展开。

一、弥散与抽离:儒耶文化适应性的根本特质

在对儒耶文化适应性分别进行历时性的考察时,任何人都会承认,无论是面对时代变迁的磨砺还是异质文化的挑战,儒耶文化圈都表现出了毋庸置疑的强大生命力。而深入剖析我们又会发现,二者同样强大的生命力却是来自于不同的应对策略,或者用汤因比的话来说,是源于不同的“挑战—应战”模式。前者以“弥散性”(Diffuse)为根本特质,后者则以“抽离性”(Abstract)为根本特质。

就前者而言,虽然儒家也有至高无上的“天命”、“天道”概念,也有以四书五经为代表的典章集成以及以孔子为核心的崇拜对象,更有士人阶层规范化的组织形式和祭祀礼仪;然而无论是在圣神、圣典、圣仪还是在教会组织上,儒家都缺乏一种超越世俗生活,抽离性地对待现实社会的思想维度。事实上,孔子从来就不会对任何概念进行抽象的界定,^②也拒绝对抽离于现实生活的彼岸世界进行任何论断,^③而是坚持在具体的生活语境中“有教无类”,因人而异地为其门徒讲解“仁义”、“孝悌”等核心概念。一言以蔽之,孔门心法不管进路为何后人如何诠释,总得以“道不远人”的人本主义为基本宗旨,就算穷尽太极无极之妙,也总要以不离百姓日用之实为最终归宿。

相反,基督宗教虽然也会依据时代、地域和文化的差异调整自己的传教策略与组织形式,力图使教会的影响力弥散融入到社会生活的各个方面,甚至在某些时代也出现过于“人文主义”的倾向,但是耶稣所宣称的“我的国不属于这世界”(《约翰福音》18:36)却始终是没有动摇过的基本原则。正因为如此,基督教神学在抽离性上表现出登峰造极的水准,无论是教父时代对三位一体、神人二性和原罪与救赎等问题的深邃论辩,还是经院哲学时代在三段论逻辑和上帝存在之证明上所表现出的苦心孤

^② 最典型的例子是《论语·颜渊》Lunyu. Yan Yuan 第四章:“司马牛问君子。子曰:‘君子不忧不惧。’曰:‘不忧不惧,斯谓之君子已乎?’子曰:‘内省不疚,夫何忧何惧?’”按照最基本的逻辑规则,孔子最后的回答根本就是在回避司马牛的问题,但是司马牛也没继续追问,这段似乎答非所问的对话之所以能够被收录进具有最高权威性的《论语》Lunyu,其中的奥妙就在于,儒家智慧的根本特征就是拒绝任何抽离性的定义(否则孔子就变成了亚里士多德),而是永远围绕具体生活语境以内心感悟的方式来理解问题,所以孔子并不是答非所问,司马牛也并不是资质愚钝,他们只是在按照这种弥散性的方式进行对话罢了。

^③ 对此观点,最常用的论据当然是孔子那句“未知生,焉知死?”(《论语·先进》Lunyu. Xianjin 第十二章)不过笔者觉得,《论语·八佾》Lunyu. Baxiu 第十二章所谓“祭如在,祭神如神在”中的这个“如”其实也是极有深意的——最现实主义的态度并不是否定超现实,而是对超现实的东西存而不论,敬而远之。

诣,基督宗教在探讨这些抽象问题时所表现出的不怕外部打压和内部分裂,也无惧陷入理论纠缠的精神,^④归根到底都是由于它以抽离性为根本特质,始终关注着超验的维度而不以尘世为念。在这种精神的影响下,甚至是西方近代经验科学的兴起这样一些通常被看作世俗化进程的代表性事件,细究其内在的理论结构,也仍然能够看到明显的基督教神学彼岸性特征。^⑤

总之,儒家即便在思考出世之事务时仍然贯彻入世之精神,而基督教即便是在处理入世之事务时也仍然秉承出世之理念。后者始终坚持超验之维的态度,在前者看来是文化理解上的最大隔阂。谢和耐(Jacques Gernet)在《17世纪基督徒与中国人世界观的比较》^⑥中引用张潮的话说:“夫泰西之说诚胜于诸教。惜乎天主为言,则辞不雅,驯流于荒诞,缙绅先生难之。苟能置而不谈,则去吾儒不远矣。”谢氏认为“这是一种肤浅的评价”,站在基督宗教的立场上当然只能这么说,不过站在文化比较的中立角度,“天主为言”这个抽离性的维度的确是儒耶文化最大的差异所在。

思维模式和关注维度的差异导致文化适应性的差异。所以,在对弥散与抽离这两个概念进行简要说明之后,现在我们可以从文化适应性的角度,在历史进程中对这两种特质的相应表现进行考察。总体而言,儒家与基督宗教在各自两千年左右的发展史中所遇到的主要问题很大程度上是类似的,但是二者基于各自的文化特性采取了不同的适应方式,这使得我们可以用弥散与抽离这对概念作为线索,按照儒家与基督宗教所面对的类似问题,分别对二者在文化适应性上的区别进行简要的分析。^⑦

第一,如何超越文化母本以确立自身地位的问题。从孔子到荀子的先秦儒学对夏商周三代传统的总结与提炼,与从使徒时代到教父哲学的早期基督宗教对希伯来与希腊传统的扬弃与借鉴采取的是非常不同的进路。虽然同样实现了从外在规范向内心认同的伦理范式转换,但前者是以“述而不作”为原则,以“克己复礼”为进路,始终反对自我作古式的标新立异;后者则是以传播新信息(福音)为己任,以“成就”律法为目标,自我宣示为新纪元的开创者。具体来说,孔孟继承的是周公开创的人文主义传统,“复”礼的要义,在于通过对古代经典的搜集、编纂与学习,体会尽己之心和推己及人的忠恕之道,儒家的核心价值与主要经典也正是在这一时期得以确立的。对于可以上溯到三皇五帝的儒家文化母体来说,这是一种在学习中潜移默化地发生的自我意识觉醒和价值体系超越。而耶稣与使徒虽然也经常援引犹太教经典的权威,甚至有“就是到天地都废去了,律法的一点一画也不能废去,都要成全”这样的说法(《马太福音》5:18),似乎比儒家更尊重传统,然而他们关注的却并不是在文化母体之内的复归,而是扬弃其文化母体的“成全”,细究此概念,隐含着后来者具有更高权柄的意谓,而这是原始儒家无论如何也不敢自况的。以此而论,基督宗教在其开端就表现出强烈的超越性,甚至(在其主张遭到拒绝时)不惜直接以其犹太教文化母体为敌,也正因为如此,早期基督徒与犹太人之间才存在着如此紧张的对立关系。

第二,如何适应巨大的社会变迁,具体来说,就是如何适应封建与专制制度环境的转换问题。儒

^④ 比如罗马帝国时代对早期基督教某些仪式和教义的误解所导致的迫害,比如东西方教会在1054年由于“和子”问题所产生的一大分裂,又比如中世纪经院哲学家对于“天堂的玫瑰是否有刺”,“一根针尖能站多少个天使”这样一些问题的严肃探讨。

^⑤ 参见周玄毅 Zhou Xuanyi,《经验理性的神学之维——英国早期经验论哲学与自然神论思想的兴起》*Jingyanlixing de shenxue-zhiwei* [Empiricism and its Theological Background: On the Relationship between the Early Modern Empiricism and the Rise of English Deism], (武汉 Wuhan: 武汉大学博士论文 Wuhan daxue boshi lunwen [Ph. d. dissertation in Wuhan University], 2007)。

^⑥ 见《明清间耶稣会士入华与中西汇通》*Mingqingjian yesuishi ruhua yu zhongxi huitong* [Jesuits' coming into China and the Communication between Eastern and Western in the Ming and Qing Dynasty], (北京 Beijing: 东方出版社 Dongfang chubanshe [The Eastern Press], 2011), 242。

^⑦ 当然,二者面对的相似问题还有很多,这份对比清单还可以一直排下去,比如如何面对文明程度较低的竞争对手(蛮族入侵问题),如何面对文明程度相等的竞争对手(儒家与佛教的关系以及基督教与伊斯兰教的关系)等等,但在这里由于篇幅所限,我们只讨论早期儒家与基督宗教所面对的两个最重要的问题。

家理想起源于氏族社会以及封建社会早期,成熟于封建社会末期,而发挥影响却主要是在漫长的宗法专制社会。“礼”从周人的部族礼仪变成具有普适性的社会规范,“仁”从特定社会阶层的伦理价值变成知识分子普遍接受的最高原则,这都不是自然而然发生的事情,而是历经了秦汉时期的剧烈动荡才形成的。此阶段儒家的首要任务,是要顺应秦汉以来所确立的郡县制度,使一种源自封建社会^⑧的宗法礼制传统,并且在四分五裂又不失思想自由的诸子百家论战环境中成熟起来的思想资源,适用于大一统的专制主义国家。而在经历焚书坑儒的毁灭性打击之后,这些工作主要是由叔孙通、董仲舒等人在礼仪以及国家意识形态(融合了道家与阴阳家的天人感应学说、三纲五常以及大一统思想等等)方面的建设来恢复完成的。^⑨概言之,儒家面对的是如何适应从封建向专制转变的问题,并且在短暂的遭受迫害之后,主动以靠拢权力中心的方式来适应这种转变。

与儒家这种典型的上层路线不同,基督教从犹太教内部一个奉拿撒勒人耶稣为基督的激进支派发展起来,在最初的三百年左右都是受到全方位打压的异端,这就决定了它只能从最底层着手,并且在发展初期就被迫学会了如何在一个强大帝国内部凭借自身力量顽强生存。在经历过若干次比焚书坑儒规模大得多的血腥镇压之后,基督教的生命力及其伦理的实用价值终于受到最高权力的认可,并且更重要的是,遵循这种底层路线,教会在帝国崩溃之前就使日后入主的蛮族接受了(即使是不正统的)基督教信仰,而这一点在确立中世纪教会至上权威方面是至关重要的。

因此,与儒家正好相反,基督教面对的是从专制帝国到封建社会的转型问题,它在极其严苛的成长环境中强化了自己的彼岸意识与殉道精神,并凭借这种精神所产生的强大凝聚力和战斗力,首先是使压迫者被迫妥协(公元313年的米兰敕令宣布其合法性),然后是令自身转变成为压迫者(公元392年成为国教后开始取缔异教活动),最后是借助蛮族入侵导致的帝国崩溃,在群龙无首的中世纪欧洲成为凌驾诸封建王国之上的最高权威。

总之,原始儒家的经历是由封建而帝国,早期基督教的经历则是由帝国而封建,这种历史顺序上的颠倒,对其文化适应性所产生的影响是决定性的。前者先是在一个相对宽松的环境里秉持现世的人文和政治关切,之后被迫向皇权靠拢并成为具有神学意义的国家意识形态工具;后者则先是在一种相对严苛的环境里坚持彼岸性的神学改革关切,在迫害与压制中利用殉道和宣教强化组织并扩大影响,最终不但反向征服了那个原本压迫它的专制帝国,而且也在精神上征服了摧毁这个帝国的日耳曼蛮族。对前者来说,“道不远人”的原则不仅与其百家争鸣的思想土壤有关(宽松的讨论氛围和激烈的现实竞争会自然淘汰那些或偏激或玄虚的思想),同样也可以解释其与最高权力的天然接近(强烈的参政意识是其入世精神的逻辑结论);而对后者来说,“我的国不属于这世界”才是其应对巨大压迫崛起于社会底层的力量之源,^⑩也是它具有跨文化性、跨民族性和世界性的根本原因。正是由于儒家与基督教在理论架构和最初的生存环境上的这些区别,才使二者在文化适应性方面呈现出不同的特质。

^⑧ 本文采用冯天瑜 Feng Tianyu《“封建”考论》*Fengjian kaolun* [On the Conception of Feudalism] 中的说法,对封建与专制社会进行严格的区分。

^⑨ 这方面可参考朱维铮 Zhu Weizheng:《“儒教”在中国的历史命运》*Rujiao zai zhongguo de lishi mingyun* [the Fate of Confucianism in China] 一文。见吴梓明 Wu Ziming 辑《廿一世纪的宗教展望》*Nianyi shiji de zongjiao zhanwang* [the Prospect of Religions in the 21st Century], (香港 Hong Kong: 香港中文大学崇基学院 Xianggang zhongwen daxue chongji xueyuan [Chung Chi College, the Chinese University of Hong Kong], 2001)。

^⑩ 最能说明这一点的,是基督教在成为国教之后兴起的修道运动——如果不能以牺牲生命殉道的方式来坚持彼岸理想,那就以牺牲肉体享受的方式来殉道,在一个已经承认其合法地位的社会中继续做另一种意义上的殉道者。

二、渗透与改造：儒耶文化适应性的表现形式

如果说理论基调与最初的生存状态决定了儒耶文化适应性的根本特质,那么从表现形式上说,最能帮助我们理解儒耶文化适应性之差异的,莫过于对二者相遇时的相互适应情况进行考察。以弥散性与抽离性为根本特质的儒耶文化适应性,在相互以对方为对手时当然也会表现为截然不同的形式,而在这一点上,最值得研究的就是所谓的“儒耶会通”问题。

“儒耶会通”固然是个老问题,相应的解读与设想也有很多,但是不管其进路是基督宗教主动适应儒家以求先融入再超越,还是儒家主动接触基督宗教以寻求新知,^⑩只要真的是在追求“会通”而非排斥或者自我求证,也不仅仅是以妥协与相安无事为目标,就总会有一个敏感的核心议题是怎么也绕不过去的,那就是:这种所谓“会通”的结果究竟是基督宗教式的儒家,还是儒家式的基督宗教?对此笔者认为,正是由于儒耶文化适应性在表现形式上存在截然之分别,前者体现为渗透性的适应,后者体现为改造性的适应,^⑪所以,虽然会通到最后永远只可能是“儒家式的基督宗教”而不是“基督宗教式的儒家”,但是这并不意味着基督宗教的胜利或者儒家的失败,而只是反映双方文化适应性的不同表现形式而已。而且进一步说,儒家作为渗透的一方可以用一种柔性的方式拒绝身份认同上的根本性改造,^⑫但是基督宗教作为改造的一方却不可能完全杜绝儒家文化的反向渗透。^⑬

儒耶文化适应性之所以在表现形式上会有渗透与改造之别,归根到底是因为前者关注的是文化认同,而后者关注的则是宗教身份的转化。就此而言,因为儒家本质上是文化性而非宗教性的,所以它在身份转化上的弱势也正是其在文化渗透上的长处,可谓以天下之至柔驰骋天下之至坚,因此儒耶会通完全没有必要非得把对儒家的文化认同上升到宗教性的决志认信程度,^⑭而是需要认清其在文化适应性上特有的优势。

对这一论点的进一步解释和澄清,需要围绕“儒家基督徒”这个在儒耶会通研究中经常出现的概念来进行。有人认为,正是由于儒家的宗教性,所以才可能存在所谓“儒家式”的基督徒,既然儒学和基督宗教能在同一个层面有意义地对话(例证就是“儒家基督徒”的存在),儒家就肯定也是一种宗教^⑮。这个结论也许不错(笔者只比较文化适应性的区别,儒家本身是不是宗教并不是关键问题),但是论证思路却是有所问题的——焉知这种儒耶对话是否只是文化层面的而非宗教层面的?焉知是否正

^⑩ 明末清初以利玛窦为代表的耶稣会士对儒家经典的学习和翻译是前者,而那些主动与这些传教士交流,以期学习速记术、天文学、历法与几何等领域知识的儒生则是后者。与其他非西方文明相比,儒家在这方面的表现可以说是特别积极的。

^⑪ 当然,渗透与改造并不是泾渭分明的,但总归是有所侧重。或者我们可以说,儒家即使是在改造异质文化时也是一种渗透的方式改造,而基督宗教即使是在对异质文化实行渗透时也是以一种改造的方式进行渗透。

^⑫ 比如顺治对汤若望传教努力的那种温和而坚定的最终态度,参见张西平 Zhang Xiping:《基督宗教在中国文化语境中的困境》Jiduzongjiao zai zhongguowenhua jingyu zhong de kunjing【The Difficult Situation of Christianity in Chinese Culture】,见《学术研究》Xueshu yuanyiu【Academic Research】,第1期,(广州 Guangzhou;2008)。

^⑬ 从天主教在“礼仪之争”后的在华发展史中我们可以看出,当基督宗教对儒家文化采取敌视与防范态度的时候,后者所表现出的反弹力量是巨大的,而且这种文化阻力并不以国势之强弱为转移。

^⑭ 以此而论,17-18世纪的“礼仪之争”就是由天主教会由于一种悲剧性的误读挑起的无谓争端。儒家的祭祖与偶像崇拜最本质的区别,就是前者并没有,也没有兴趣把相关礼仪建立在宗教学说或者神学基础上,而只是源于“追思”这种最本能的自然情感,再结合社会生活中的传统习俗而已。真正意义的偶像崇拜当然也有,但那些“淫祀”同样是为正统儒家所不齿的。论语所谓“祭如在”的这个“如”字已经对此进行了充分的暗示。

^⑮ 贾未舟 Jia Weizhou:《儒学与宗教对话:以“儒家基督徒”为视角》Ruxue yu zongjiao duihua: yi Rujia jidutu wei shijiao【Confucianism and Religion Dialogue: in the view of the Confucian Christians】,见《江汉论坛》Jianghan luntan【Jianghan Tribune】,第5期,(武汉 Wuhan;2009)。

是由于儒家文化内核并不是一种真正意义上的宗教信仰,而只是某种生活“方式”,所以才有儒家“式”的基督徒这种说法,而反过来所谓基督宗教“式”的儒家却并不成立?其实,从该文作者将儒家基督徒界定为“服膺儒家的存在方式并认信基督为终极信仰的知识性个体”,并且强调他们“绝不是双重教籍的身份”的字里行间我们可以看出,他实际上已经暗示了儒耶之别是“存在方式”和“终极信仰”之别,因此一个人在文化上大可以由儒而耶或由耶而儒,但是在宗教身份上却绝非亦儒亦耶。

与之相应,一个有意思的现象是,学界对明清以降以儒生身份接受基督宗教信仰的“儒家基督徒”一直表现出充分的兴趣,但却几乎没有人觉得应该使用“基督徒儒家”这个与之相对应的概念来形容那些以基督徒身份转而接受和崇尚儒家文化的人。这一方面当然是因为由儒而耶者众,由耶而儒者寡;^⑭然而更重要的原因却是,这两个概念其实在内涵上并无本质的不同,都是指那些既崇尚儒家文化价值,又认信基督宗教信仰的人,因此并不必要旁生枝节。无论是明清之际以来以徐光启等人为代表的“儒家基督徒”,还是当代所谓“波士顿儒家”、“夏威夷儒家”等西方知识分子群体,在作为基督徒的宗教身份上其实是没什么两样的。

那么,为什么“儒家基督徒”和“基督徒儒家”归根到底都是基督徒?两个词项的前后变化居然不会改变这个概念的含义,这岂不是一种非常古怪的语法现象?其实问题不是出在语法上,而是出在词项的隐含意义上——这里的“儒家”指的是“儒家型的”、“儒家式的”,是一个形容词,强调的是文化认同而不是身份区别;反之,这里的“基督徒”却是一个典型的身份界定,不管把“儒家”这个词项放在它的前面和后面,都不会影响它作为真正主词的地位。

通过以上这些分析我们可以发现,在儒耶对话中几乎总是存在着“文化认同者”和“宗教信徒”这两种身份的定位问题,如果我们要对儒家与基督宗教的相遇进行研究,并且希望由此得出对儒耶文化适应性的认识,就必须首先区分这种相遇到底是以何种身份进行的。按照这种思路,参照明清以降至于当今的史实与统计数据来说,首先,以“宗教信徒”的身份争取而论,儒家在文化适应性上完败于基督宗教,因为由于对儒家身份之认同而放弃基督徒身份者极少,而由于基督徒身份放弃儒家礼仪者极多,对儒家而言最好的结果,也只不过是儒家信徒坚决不接受基督教信仰,或者是基督徒的宗教身份与儒家文化认同相安无事而已。然而另一方面,以“文化认同者”的身份而论,儒家文化的传播所面对的阻力却比基督宗教小得多,因为无论是天命心性还是仁爱孝悌,都是基于人类共有的自然本性之推演与群体生活之体验,无求于特定启示或专属的圣史传统,也不需要以“改造”为前提去适应异质文化之冲击。在处于强势地位时,这种渗透式的影响是潜移默化而又持之以恒的,反弹极小且行之有效;在处于弱势地位时,这种渗透式的进路则可以保证自身的韧性与反向征服的可能。这就是为什么我们只听说有儒家之基督徒、儒家之穆斯林、甚至儒家之犹太教徒^⑮等群体的存在,却完全无法想象后三者会有任何交集。^⑯换言之,儒家在文化适应性上的得天独厚之处就在于只有它能成为一个最大公约数,能够渗透到哪怕是最保守的一神教文化土壤之中。有鉴于此,承认儒家在宗教性上的缺失其实并

^⑭ 考虑到基督宗教有强烈的传教扩张趋向以及近代以来西方文明的强势地位,这一点并不奇怪。虽然儒家文化也有所谓教化四夷的传统,只是这种教化并不要求宗教信徒式的身份转换,这也是其“渗透性”的一种表现。

^⑮ 比如“犹太人儒学知识群体”这个概念。参见赵广军 Zhao Guangjun:《明末清初开封犹太人儒学群体的形成及其儒化》Mingmoqingchu kaifeng youtairen ruxue qunti de xingcheng jiqi ruhua【Formation of Confucian Community of Kaifeng Jews in Late Ming and Early Qing】,见《宗教学研究》Zongjiaoxue yanjiu【Religion Studies】,第3期,(成都 Chengdu:2010)。虽然与儒家基督徒不同,这些犹太人最终被儒家同化并事实上放弃了自己的犹太教徒身份,不过公平地讲,开封犹太人被同化只是极端孤岛环境中的特例,源于以巨大人口基数为支撑的汉民俗文化无孔不入的影响,以及官本位环境中的入仕传统对犹太教精英分子的吸引,而这种情况在我们今天的讨论语境中基本上已经不存在了。

^⑯ 编辑部按:早期的犹化派基督徒是否可以看作一种交集?

不是坏事,^②反而有利于我们认清儒家在文化适应性上的固有优势,在当今的世界文化对话中为儒家文化确立自己的独特地位。

以此而论,笔者对当代新儒家如牟宗三、杜维明等人从宗教性角度去解释儒家思想的做法是不甚认同的,这种硬要把儒家说成宗教的态度与其说是基于文化自信,毋宁说是由于基督宗教文化的冲击而心有不甘的一种表现。^③强行将一个在其理论倾向的各方面都不像宗教,而且历史事实上也并没有切实行使宗教职能^④的儒家当成宗教,明显是在应对基督宗教的挑战时附会出来的观点。而以此方式应战,实在不是一种明智的态度。

三、自我意识与他者意识:对儒耶文化适应性的展望

作为总结,我们可以进一步在以上两对概念中发掘出儒耶文化适应性的活力之源。儒家文化的“弥散—渗透”性归根到底是由于它坚持以“道不远人”,从日常生活语境出发的原则来处理包括信仰在内的一切问题。在真正的儒家知识分子看来,理论与生活是合一的,政治与教化是合一的,江湖之远与庙堂之高也是合一的,因为所有的教化无非都是源于对人类自然本心的发现和升华,“人人皆可为尧舜”绝不只是一种遥不可及的理想状态,而是切切实实的立论根基。以此而论,儒家的生命力就来自于这种自我的发现,其理论意义也必将弥散和渗透于一切在现世社会生活里追求自我修养,以至达到天人境界的努力之中。所以说,虽然很多学者敏锐地认识到儒家文化的影响力事实上仅限于华人文化圈,并且历史上一直是以传统的乡村社会结构为支撑的,然而究其根本,我们完全有理由展望,根植于人性的自我发现,秉承最具有普适性的理性精神和现实态度的儒家思想,可以在现代化的语境中更加积极地参与全球伦理重建的过程。

与之相反,基督宗教在“抽离—改造”方面的文化生命力来自于永恒的他者意识和彼岸追求,正是因为始终关注人与至高上帝的对话性相遇,基督宗教才能不受具体文化语境的制约,具有了鲜明的跨地域、跨民族和跨文化性;正是因为始终以超验的维度为目标,基督宗教才能在最初的恶劣生存环境中经受考验,在组织性、凝聚力和身份认同方面做到极致,从而成为当今世界最具适应力,^⑤也最具发展之活力的文化现象之一。

总之,在21世纪的中国这个舞台上,儒学复兴与基督教的发展在相当一段时间内并存已经是不争的事实,但这却并不一定是东风压倒西风或者西风压倒东风式的争斗,因为二者在文化适应性上的根本特质不同、表现形式不同、核心的活力之源也不一样,完全可以从不同角度为当前的文化建设做出贡献。^⑥有理由预期,儒耶文化将在21世纪共同作为中国文化重建中最有价值的思想资源处于极具张力的互动关系之中。

^② 即使是对儒家的宗教性与超越向度持有最强肯定态度的白诗朗本人,也只是在以过程神学为视角看待儒耶对话时才得出这种结论的,而过程神学的预设跟传统有神论的所谓“宗教性”相去甚远。

^③ 这方面的综述可以参见白诗朗 Bai Shilang [John H. Berthrong]:《儒家宗教性研究的趋向》Ruxue zongjiaoxing yanjiu de quxiang【Trends in the Interpretation of Confucian Religiosity in the West】,见《求是学刊》Qiushi xuekan【Journal of Heilongjiang University】,第6期,(黑龙江 Heilongjiang:2002)。

^④ 虽然发源于上古巫传统,但儒家自从其创立者孔子以来就自觉地与这种传统进行了切割,并在事实上将宗教职能分担给了道教、佛教以及各种民间宗教传统。

^⑤ 当然这也是由于现代化和全球化本身就是西方基督教文明内生的结果。

^⑥ 况且就当今中国而言,二者现在基本上都是处在恢复和发展时期的非主流意识形态,完全不必以对方为主要对手。

English Title:

An Analysis on the Cultural Adaptability of Confucianism and Christianity

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Abstract: Cultural adaptability should be considered as the main topic of cross – cultural studies between Confucianism and Christianity, and there are two entrances to carry through the corresponding research: 1. paratactic analysis, which means treat them as two independent entities and compare their replies to similar great challenges and transformations in their own histories; 2. interact analysis, which means treat them as a couple and compare their counterpunches to each other's impacts. Through both historical and contemporaneous analysis measures, we can draw a conclusion that Confucian strategy of cultural adaptation is more diffusible and realistic, focus on social – life and self – fulfillment; whereas Christianity is more abstract and shows much more attention in the religious identity with the consciousness of Other's (God) presence. For these different strategies of cultural adaptability, Confucianism and Christianity should still be in strong tension in the reconstruction of Chinese culture in the 21 Century.

Key words: Confucianism, Christianity, Culture Adaptability

Catholic virgins and Protestant single female missionaries

—The comparison of two types of Christian single females

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Abstract: Two kinds of single females within the church, Catholic virgins and Protestant single female missionaries, share many similarities. They both work for the church and are actively involved in many aspects of social services and public welfares, such as medicine, education and all kinds of public welfares. In contrast to the Protestant single female missionaries, instead of going to church, Catholic virgins tend to stay at home or gather in small groups, while Protestant single female missionaries have more flexible choices in life. Additionally, their celibacy status could change. This paper analyzes the roles of two female groups and their important contributions in Chinese society through their titles, lifestyle, work characteristics and many other aspects.

Key words: Catholic, virgins, Protestant single female missionaries, Comparison

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Catholic virgins are single Christian women who stay at home and do not attend church. Some of the Protestant female missionaries are single as well. Although both groups of Christian women share similar religious background, many differences exist in their perspective on chastity, life and work.

1. Summary

Catholic chastity system began in Roman era and was brought into China again at the end of the Ming dynasty. Many religious female chastity and took the responsibility of serving the church. Since European nun had not entered into China before the Opium War, Catholic virgins were actually playing the role of nuns. They worked for the church, involved in different types of public welfare, and made important contributions to the promotion and development of the church.

The way of Protestant single female missionaries entering China was very different from that of the Catholic virgins. Protestants, who separated from the Roman Catholic Church during the reformation in the 16th century religious reform, broke the tradition of celibacy in religious professions and established a church management system in the secular society that is based on equality and freedom. Therefore, many missionaries who came to China in the modern times brought along their families; and such practice set an example for their followers. As the missionary work progressed, women gradually started participating in the missions; and various female mission agencies started budding.

American Protestant societies were a vital force in the Chinese missionary work. Based on their understanding of the Chinese society, the Protestant missionaries found that female missionaries played an important role in the missionary work. "As early as 1890, women constituted 60 percent of missionary volunteers and proved to be a particularly persuasive voice in disseminating American influence in China."^①

^① Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility, American Women Missionary in Turn-of-the-Century China*, (Yale University Press New Haven and London, 1984), 3.

“Pure Women Awareness” appeared in the United State in the 19th century and included four aspects: piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. ②Piety is the most important virtue of women and is considered as the source of vitality. The pure image, submissiveness to the patriarchal leadership and care for domesticity are merely the manifestation of piety virtue. Indoctrinating Chinese women with “Pure Women Awareness” through practice among female Christians was unique to the work of American Episcopal Church female missionaries.

The Baptist church was very active among evangelism of different missionary sects in China. In 1894, “Four missionaries came to China. They were Miss Lottie W. Price, Miss Willie H. Kelly, Miss Julia K. Mackenzie and Mr. W. W. Lawton. Miss Lottie W. Price and Miss Willie H. Kelly worked at the Shanghai Chapel and spread the Gospel to visiting families. They also opened a girls school in 1897, known as ‘Lady’. Due to the dedication and hard work of the founders and their successors, the school became the Eliza Yates Academy for Girls.” ③The female missionaries who worked at the girls’ schools played an important role in disseminating western culture and religion and social science.

Among its many religious activities and goals, establishing female missionary organization was a critical strategy of the Baptist church. “The first female missionary society was Shanghai Lao Bei Men Baptist Organization(上海北老门浸会), which consisted of five female followers in 1895. Soon thereafter, other churches followed suit, and the female missionary Organizations appeared across the central sermon district.” ④

Subsequently, some female missionary organizations appeared in Guangdong, Guangxi and Shandong as well. Baptist Single female missionary was the backbone of the female missionary Organization, and their high level of cultural knowledge and strong organizational ability won the support of many believers.

Lutheran missionaries in China also made striking achievements by leveraging the strengths of the female missionaries. Henan Zhengyang (正阳)Lutheran Church is a great example. “Lutheran Church entered Zhengyang, since Qing Guangxu dynasty, year twenty eight…Republic of China, year three, there were female missionaries: Lanying Sang(桑兰英), Gengxin Ye(叶更信), Meitai Guo(郭梅泰), the number of believers was increasing every day…”. ⑤

Protestant missionary organizations that entered China in the modern period also made important contributions in encouraging female participation in the church and missionary activities. There were female preachers, deaconesses and female clerks. Most of the volunteers in the church were female, and they took upon themselves most of the work in the church, such as preaching, visiting, teaching, cleaning, etc. Nevertheless, women’s status in the church service was still lower than men. ⑥

Before the War of resistance Against Japan, Anglican Church ordained the first Chinese female

② See 林美玫 Lin Meimei 主编,《妇女与宗教:跨文化领域的视野》*Funü yu zongjiao: Kua wenhua lingyu de shiye* [Women and religions: Interdisciplinary scopes, methods and approaches], (台北 Tai bei: 里仁书局 Li Ren Shuju 2003), 40.

③ Lila Watson ed; *Brief Historical Sketches of Baptist Missions in China 1836 – 1936*, (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1936), 67.

④ Ibid., 74.

⑤ 魏松声 Wei Songsheng 等编纂, 中国方志丛书·华北地方·第一二三号,《河南省正阳县志》(一), *Zhongguo Fangzhicongshu · Huabei difang · di yibaiershisan hao, Henansheng Zhengyangxianzhi, yi* [Chinese local Chronicles series of north area, No. 123, Zhengyang local records of Henan province, part 1; it was edited by Wei Songsheng in the Republican period and was printed in 1936], (台湾 Taiwan: 成文出版 Chengwen chubanshe, 1968), 320 – 321.

⑥ See 林德皓 Lin Dehao、麦永安 Mai Yongán 主编,《中国教会中妇女的境况》*Zhongguo jiaohui zhong funü de jingkuang* [The Situation of Women in Chinese Church], (世界信义宗联合会出版 Shijie xinyizonglianhui chuban [Lutheran World Federation Press], 1997), 83.

pastor Li Tin' ai (李天爱). Since female priests were rare until 1949, a large number of female missionaries played an important role in missionary work. They "should not get married, because they should be totally dedicated".^⑦ Although female preachers had lower wages than their male counterparts, could not be ordained, and was not allowed to be in charge of the sacrament, the performance of the female missionaries showed the characteristics of independence. They gained the respect, love and esteem from many believers because of their self - esteem, self - respect, independence and self - reliance.

2. Various names and titles of virgins and female missionaries

Catholic virgins had various titles, such as "zhennü (chaste women), xiaozhen (small chaste [women]), tongzhen tongshen or tongzhenshen (virgins)",^⑧ also known as "zhujiadi, guniang, gutaitai, auntie, etc.".^⑨ Similarly, the Chinese society also had some corresponding titles for the female Christian missionaries. Comparing to the Catholic virgins, the Protestant single female missionaries had simpler titles. The most common one was "guniang" (姑娘) or "miss".

For example, towards the end of the Qing dynasty, in Shangyuan town 上元 (Jiangning district 江宁): "A large American hospital was built in Houjiaqiao in the city. A new female practitioner, Miss Hang, helped with the diagnosis and treatment of women diseases."^⑩ "In the Ganheyan American Christ Church lived clergy Mr. and Mrs. Ferguson from the Methodist Episcopal Church with two children and teacher Miss Sha."^⑪ In Jinhua town, "American clergy women, Miss Lai and Miss Rong, lived on the west side. They bought land, built house and set up classes by themselves."^⑫ Chinese archives records is quite a few about female missionaries, this need not.

In the early stage of missions, most of single female missionaries in China were westerners. Generally those who were called Miss were unmarried. For example, there was a female missionary Miss Jin, who was in charge of a school in Wu town Jiangsu province (江苏吴县). The school had

⑦ *Ibid.*, 83

⑧ Eugenio Menegon: "Child Bodies, Blessed Bodies: The Contest Between Christian Virginité and Confucian Chastity". *Nan Nu: Men, Women, and Gender in Early and Late Imperial China*, 6.2., (Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands, 2004), 229.

⑨ See R. G. Tiedemann, "Controlling the Virgins: female propagators of the faith and the Catholic hierarchy in china", *Women's History Review*, Vol. 17, N.4, September 2008, 502.

⑩ 台湾中央研究院近代史研究所编并出版 *Taiwan zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo bian bing chuban* [Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica in Taiwan compiled and pressed], 《教务教案档》第六辑(二) *Jiaowu jiaoran dang di liu ji er* [Archives of Church affairs and Anti-christian case, The 6th volume, part 2], (台湾 Taiwan: 光绪二十二年 - 光绪二十五年 Guangxu er shi er nian - guangxu er shi wu nian [Guangxu year 22 to Guangxu year 25], 1981), 855.

⑪ 台湾中央研究院近代史研究所编并出版 *Taiwan zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo bian bing chuban* [Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica in Taiwan compiled and pressed], 《教务教案档》第六辑(二) *Jiaowu jiaoran dang di liu ji er* [Archives of Church affairs and Anti-christian case, The 6th volume, part 2], (台湾 Taiwan: 光绪二十二年 - 光绪二十五年 Guangxu er shi er nian - guangxu er shi wu nian [Guangxu year 22 to Guangxu year 25], 1981), 785

⑫ 台湾中央研究院近代史研究所编并出版 *Taiwan zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo bian bing chuban* [Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica in Taiwan compiled and pressed], 《教务教案档》第五辑(三) *Jiaowu jiaoran dang di wu ji san* [Archives of Church affairs and Anti-christian case, The 5th volume, part 3], (台湾 Taiwan: 光绪十三年 - 光绪二十一年 Guangxu er shi er nian - guangxu er shi wu nian [Guangxu year 13 to Guangxu year 21], 1981), 1813.

its door facing north and four Chinese – style rooms. ⑬

The Methodist church female missionaries were very active in Guangdong. Running girls school was the main emphasis of their work. “In 1863, Miss Broxholme arrived in Canton…Three years later, Jane Radcliffe joined the faculty.” ⑭ These missionary ladies made important contributions to modern women education in China.

Annie Skau Berntsen (Chinese name: 司务道) was a missionary of the China Inland Mission. She stayed single in her whole life for missionary work. She used to preach in the northwest China. The local children friendly referred to her as “Aunt Priest” or “Auntie Priest”. ⑮

Female missionaries in northern Taiwan were called “young girls”(姑娘仔). The requirement to obtain this qualification was that they “were single or unmarried, had a strong and mature faith in Christ, were healthy, educated, mature and balanced emotionally, and had large tolerance to other cultures and religions. Among them, the ‘educated’ referred to those who preferably had bachelor degrees, ‘had a teaching license’, or at least had completed the classes in ‘Missionary and Deaconess Training School’. But in fact only one third of the girls met the above requirements.” ⑯

In general, single female Protestant missionaries from Europe and America could be called “girl” or “Miss”; but those single missionaries who were in China were mainly called “girl” (Most of single female Protestant missionaries from China’s local could be called “Gu niang”. One important work of the European and American female missionaries in China was training single women who were dedicated to the missionary career, which was similar to the training of virgins by Catholic female missionaries from Europe and America. As a result of the training program, a large number of female missionary agencies appeared all over the country, a majority of which were agencies for young Chinese female Christians.

3. Life style

As soon as Catholic virgins decided to live a chaste life, they must take a vow of celibacy. Protestant female missionaries could stay single but could also exit their single life as long as they find an appropriate life partner. For example, American Episcopal Church female missionary Aizhen Tang (汤爱珍) married missionary Aili Tang in 1861. As an American Episcopal Church

⑬ 台湾中央研究院近代史研究所编并出版 *Taiwan zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo bian bing chuban* [Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica in Taiwan compiled and pressed], 《教务教案档》第六辑(二) *Jiaowu jiaoran dang di liu ji er* [Archives of Church affairs and Anti – christian case, The 6th volume, part 2], (台湾 Taiwan: 光绪二十二年 – 光绪二十五年 *Guangxu er shi er nian – guangxu er shi wu nian* [Guangxu year 22 to Guangxu year 25], 1981), 881.

⑭ See John Rose, “Being an Account of the First Hundred Years of the Methodist Church in South China(1851 – 1951)”, in Yeung Lam, eds., *A Church born to suffer* (The Methodist Church, Hong Kong, 1984), 46.

⑮ Annie Skau Berntsen, *Trails of Glad Tidings in Shan Xi—An Autobiography of Sister Annie Skau Berntsen*, (Baoling Gospel missions of Hongkong Baoling Hospital, the 9th edition, 2004), 62, 159. Sister Annie Skau Berntsen was born in Norway in 1911, May, 29th. She started to learn nursing after graduation from middle school. She was trained at England London island mission during October of 1937 to June of 1938. She came to China to preach in 1938 mainly in the area at the southern part of Shanxi province, including Shangxian, Shanyang(山阳), Luonan(洛南), Shangnan(商南) and Luojuzhai(龙驹寨).

⑯ 恩郑仰 Zheng Yangén, 《信仰的启蒙文化? 英国和加拿大长老会在台宣教初期工作之探讨》*Xinyang de qimeng wenhua? Yingguo he Janada zhanglaohui zaitai xuanjiao chuqi gongzuo zhi tantao* [Enlightening culture of faith? The discussion of English and Canadian Presbyters’ preaching work of initial stage at Taiwan], 王成勉 Wang Chengmian 主编: 《将根扎好——基督宗教在华教育的检讨》*Jiang gen zahao—Jiduzongjiao zaihua jiaoyu de jiantao* [Setting the Roots Right – Christian Education in China and Taiwan], (台湾 Taiwan, 台湾黎明文化事业股份有限公司 Taiwan liming wenhua shiye gufenyouxiangongsi [Taiwan Liming cultural undertakings limited liability company, 2007], 368.

female missionary, she represented and symbolized the transformation in identity from a single teacher to a missionary's wife.

Consequently, there emerged two types of the Protestant female missionaries - "wife of the teacher type", the wife of missionaries who came to China or "single type", the unmarried young women. The single women who decided to dedicate their life to missionary work were usually influenced by their family background. Single female missionary from China Inland Mission, Annie Skau Berntsen (Wudao Si), was an excellent representative of them.

Performing the missionary works, the "wife of the teacher" type and the "single type" often cooperated. For example, "In Shangyuan town(上元县), there was a big American Jesus Church, where lived the wife of the missionary Di from the American missionary and' girl' Yao who was in charge of the girls school." ⑦

In Guangxu Year 19 of the Qing Dynasty, a large American Christian Church in Shangyuan was home to missionaries from American Presbyterian Church, Mr. and Mrs. Man Li, Mr and Mrs. Wende Dong(董文德夫妇), Mr. and Mrs. Zichun He(贺子椿夫妇), the wife of missionary Ai, girl Mei(美姑娘)and girl Ren(任姑娘). All of them were doing the missionary work. There was a school in the church with more than 20 boys and taught by Chinese teachers. ⑧This was the mission branch in Shangyuan town. Single female missionaries and missionary families often worked together, which increased the flexibility of the missionary activities.

The Baptist Church is one of those churches that have a significant amount of single female missionaries. Therefore, single female missionary Miss Lila Watson (Chinese name: Leli Wu 吴立乐)'s book '*100 years history of Baptist missionary in China (1836 - 1936)*' gave the female missionaries their much - deserved social status. The book recorded many stories of the female missionaries, and many of these recorded the cooperation between the single female missionaries and the wives of missionaries. For example, Miss Lula Whilden was the daughter of a Cantonese missionary. After completing her education in the U. S. , she came back to Guangzhou and began preaching, teaching and visiting families in 1872. She founded MuGuang Blind Hospital, which treated the blind people, especially women. After 42 years of loyal and diligent work, she returned to the U. S. due to health reasons and passed away in South Carolina. After she left Guangzhou, the wife of missionary Haobi Ji (Mrs. Janie I. Graves) continued running the hospital. ⑨

The secular meaning of the Reformation was that celibacy was no longer considered as a sacred way of life. Therefore, devout followers no longer desired for celibacy. Basically, celibacy of the Protestant female missionaries was never due to the constraints of religion. They were free to choose to stay single or get married. For example, Miss Yimei Rong (Miss Emma Young, 容懿美) from Baptist Church came to China in 1883, founded Peidao Girls' School(培道女校), and went back to her home country to get married. Miss Bo (Miss Carrie Bostick) took over her job and served as

⑦ 台湾中央研究院近代史研究所编并出版 *Taiwan zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo bian bing chuban* [Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica in Taiwan compiled and pressed], 《教务教案档》第七辑(二) *Jiaowu jiaosan dang di qi ji er* [Archives of Church affairs and Anti - christian case, The 7th volume, part 2], (台湾 Taiwan: 光绪二十六年 - 宣统三年 *Guangxu er shi er nian - xuantong san nian* [Guangxu year 22 to Xuantong year 3], 1981), 625.

⑧ See 台湾中央研究院近代史研究所编并出版 *Taiwan zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo bian bing chuban* [Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica in Taiwan compiled and pressed], 《教务教案档》第五辑(二) *Jiaowu jiaosan dang di wu ji er* [Archives of Church affairs and Anti - christian case, The 5th volume, part 2], (台湾 Taiwan: 光绪十三年 - 光绪二十一年 *Guangxu shi san nian - guangxu er shi yi nian* [Guangxu year 13 to Guangxu year 21], 1981), 844.

⑨ See Lila Watson eds; *Brief Historical Sketches of Baptist Missions in china 1836 - 1936*, (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1936), 15 - 16.

the principal of the school. ②

The life of single female missionaries was very flexible. They often worked with missionary couples. If they met the right partner, they would also start a family. If so, the “girl” title would no longer be used. In the English expression, a single female missionary was called Miss and then Mrs. after being married. This kind of transformation of title was frequently recorded in Protestant literature (This transformation had been mostly recorded in Protestant literature and Chinese documents (such as Archives of Church affairs and Anti – Christian case), here do not add repeat explains.)

Why did some of the single female missionaries finally choose the married life? The secret was that their standard partner of life was the male missionary. Hence, most wives of the missionaries in the 19th century had ambitions of missionary work overseas before they found their loved ones among their missionary partners. “The time sequence of working first and marrying later proves that they all have dreams of their careers.” ③ Therefore, many single female turned to wives of missionaries and helped their husbands’ work.

On the contrary, the Catholic virgins were different. Once they took the vow of celibacy, they were in covenant with God and would live according to the rules of virgins. Thus virgins needed to wear costumes and certain hairstyle and accessories in order to identify themselves. There was no dress code for Protestant female missionaries. Their status could be changed from single to married. They might step into the marriage hall one day and exit the single life. In general, the higher the degree of secularization, the less meaningful of the dress code in identification. Vice versa, the more strict and systematic the religion is, the more stringent the dress code is.

4. Service and dedication

Developing missionary work among women in China was a common feature of all Protestant missionary society. “American missionaries who came to China in the early times found the importance of female’s work in their career. While the single females started joining missionary work only after civil war, the work of the Chinese females had a continuous plan. The separation of different sex in China prohibited half of the population from missionary work.” ④

Training Chinese female followers was the goal of European and American missionaries. For example, “Miss Willie H. Kelly of the Baptist church offered women Bible reading class in Shanghai Laobeimen Baptist Church and trained a number of female preachers.” ⑤ They also founded a Bible study school where the most of the members were women from poor family. Under the leadership of female preachers, “Christian female members visited the sick and elders, taught classes in day school and catechist school, organized Bible reading classes, set up the altar, joined choirs, etc.” ⑥ The methods and style of work were the same as the European and American sisters training Chinese virgins.

② See Lila Watson eds; *Brief Historical Sketches of Baptist Missions in china 1836 – 1936*, (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1936), 16.

③ Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission : A Social History of Thought and Practice*. (Macon University, 1997), 19 – 21. See 梁家麟 Liang Jialin, 《华人传道与奋兴布道家》*Huaren chuandao yu fenxing budaojia* [Evangelists And Revivalists Of Modern China], (香港 Hong Kong: 宣道出版社 Xuandao chubanshe [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1999), 引言 yinyan [Preface].

④ Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility, American Women Missionary in Turn – of – the – Century China*, (Yale University Press New Haven and London, 1984), 11.

⑤ Lila Watson eds., *Brief Historical Sketches of Baptist Missions in china 1836 – 1936*, (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1936), 75.

⑥ Jessie G. Lutz, *Women and Gender China*, (Lehigh University, 2010), 20.

Under the leadership of female missionaries, it was very common for the Christians to participate in charity works. In Mei Town(梅县), Guangdong Province, “Baptist female organization donated a large amount of money to relieve the local residents as well residents from other towns suffering from natural disasters and famine.”^⑤ Catholic sisters and virgins often had the same responsibilities in the charity works.

Coming from the two major sects of Christianity, Catholic single women (nuns, virgins) and Christian female missionaries shared many similarities in working ethics and methods. The main audience of their work was women, and the goal is to gradually change the social status of the Chinese women. “The church used a single – dimension image of the female figures in the Bible as the example and asked the female members in the church to follow the example, hence making them ‘obedient, humble, loyal and cooperative.’”^⑥ The difference is that Protestant single female missionary’s residence was often attached to the church with schools and clinics (or hospitals). They used school and hospital as a medium to conduct missionary work individually. Therefore, “an important influence that female missionaries brought onto their Chinese followers was a clear image of professional women.”^⑦ Protestant female missionaries paid more attention to building community school in addition to Bible school. In contrast, virgins provided the children with theological training which often lacked social and universal applicability. In addition, the Catholic single females were further divided into two groups, nuns and virgins, who had clear division in labor, responsibilities and roles.

For female missionaries, “religious devotion is one way for women to get rid of the shackles of family and social bondage.”^⑧ Therefore, their work in the secular society is very versatile, such as advocating emancipation of women, fighting against foot – binding and infanticide, etc. Compared with Protestant female missionaries, the virgins often lived in relatively small spaces; consequently, the focus of their work was almost always in the church. After forming religious groups, virgins started trans – regional missions and social services. (Such as Hien – tan – hoei in Shanghai diocese, established by French Society of Jesus. The original name is Présentandines. The Chinese meanings: “*xian* ” means “offering”, “*tang* ” means “altar”, “*hui* ” means “congregation”).

Chinese Catholic virgins began to appear at the end of Ming dynasty, but their belief and lifestyle were difficult for the traditional Chinese society to accept. After the prohibition of religion in the middle of Qing dynasty, this group was transformed into an influential group. Each diocese established and managed local Sisters in modern China, with the major human resources being the virgins who stayed at home. When Christian protestant female missionaries entered China, the environment was relative open. The project of educating local female missionary led to a new force of female missionary team. The female missionary society and women’s aid society found near the end of the Qing dynasty proved that the Christian Protestant growth was already rapid and influential, and one of the most important contributing forces was the female missionary, especially those single female missionary.

Through their hard work, two groups of female women with very similar faiths have left their mark on the history of China. However, due to the differences that existing in church structures and theological doctrines, there are many differences between these two types of religious single women’

^⑤ Lila Watson eds; *Brief Historical Sketches of Baptist Missions in china 1836 – 1936*, (Hong Kong: Baptist, 1936), 51 – 52.

^⑥ Angela, Wong, *Gender consciousness and biblical interpretation*, (Hong Kong, Hong Kong Christian Institute, 2000), 150.

^⑦ See 梁家麟 Liang Jialin, 《华人传道与奋兴布道家》*Huaren chuandao yu fengxing budaojia* [Evangelists And Revivalists Of Modern China], (香港 Hong Kong: 宣道出版社 Xuandao chubanshe [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1999), 104.

^⑧ *Ibid.*, 109.

s and the roles each played in the Chinese society. Unfortunately, the Catholic virgins and Protestant single female missionary almost never cooperated during their times. Had they been able to participate in friendly cooperation in social services and other activities, each would definitely be able to complement one another and perhaps the history of Chinese Christianity would be richer.

中文题目:

天主教贞女与基督新教单身女传道:两种基督宗教独身女性的比较

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提要: 在基督宗教中,有两类独身女性十分相近,她们是天主教贞女和新教单身女传道。两者的共同特点是为教会工作,并积极参与社会的医疗、教育以及各类公益事业;不同的是:天主教贞女在家守贞(或结为小的团体),不进入修会;新教女传道人的人生选择则较有弹性,独身的身份可以转变。本文通过称谓、生活模式、工作特点等多个侧面,分析两个女性团体在中国社会所扮演的角色以及做出的重要贡献。

关键词:天主教、贞女、新教单身女传道、比较

书评与通讯
Reviews and Academic Reports

Report on the 12th International Congress for Luther Research^①

Committee of International Journal of Sino – Western Studies

The 12th International Congress for Luther Research was held from 5th to 11th of August in 2012 in the University of Helsinki, which was founded by Queen Christina of Sweden in 1640. The overall theme of the congress was “Luther as Teacher and Reformer of the University”. Lectures and seminars took place in the city center, on the campus surrounding the main building of the university. The opening ceremony and first lecture, “Doctor communis? The ecumenical significance of Martin Luther’s theology” by emeritus bishop Eero Huovinen, took place in the Lutheran Cathedral of Helsinki on Sunday evening, the 5th of August at 6.30 pm. The congress closed with an evening banquet in Helsinki House of Shares on Friday, the 10th of August.

Each morning, in addition to morning devotions in the Lutheran Cathedral of Helsinki, there were two or three main lectures as follows. Ulrich Köpf: Luther’s Proposals for University Reform / Luthers Beitrag zur Universitätsreform. Christine Helmer: Teaching Theology with Luther / Luther als Lehrer der Theologie. Risto Saarinen: Luther and Humanist Thought / Luther und Humanismus. Mark Mattes: Luther’s Use of Philosophy / Philosophie bei Luther. Tarald Rasmussen: The Early Modern Pastor between Ideal and Reality / Der frühneuzeitliche Pfarrer zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit; and Pilgrim Lo: Luther between Theology and Cultural Studies / Luther zwischen Theologie und Kulturwissenschaften.

On *Wednesday 8. 8.* there were about 72 short presentations and Excursion, the Chief Editor of International of Sino – Western Studies Prof. Dr. Paulos gave a presentation titled with “Luther in China”.

On *Thursday 9. 8.* there were lectures of Luther in the New Perspective on Paul / Luther in der “Neuen Perspektive der Paulusforschung” by Jens Schröter, Bo Kristian Holm and Notger Slenczka.

Each afternoon there were originally planned to have around 30 seminars, and finally 22 of which were fulfilled on the following themes:

1. Ricardo Rieth: Universitäten und Hochschulen des 21. Jahrhunderts als Erben der Bildungsreform Luthers / The Legacy of Luther’s Educational Reform for Universities and Seminaries of the 21st Century
2. Volker Leppin: Die Verwendung von Autoritäten in den frühen Wittenberger Vorlesungen und Disputationen / The Use of Authorities in the Early Wittenberg Lectures and Disputations
3. Mary Jane Haemig: Luther, Preaching, and the Reformation
4. Michael Beyer: Schola Wittenbergensis: Freunde und Kollegen Luthers
5. Anna Vind: Luther’s Commentary on Galatians 1519
6. Irene Dingel: Die Aufnahme Luthers und Melanchthons in der Schülergeneration: Memoria – theologische Synthese – Autoritätenkonflikte / The Reception of Luther and Melanchthon among Their Students: Memoria – Theological Syntheses – Conflicts of Authority

① This report has employed materials from the website of <http://www.helsinki.fi/teol/pro/luther2012/index.htm>

7. Charles Arand: Catechesis in the Context of University Theology
8. Markus Wriedt: Pietas et Eruditio. Erziehungskonzepte in reformatorischer Theologie / Pietas et Eruditio. Concepts of Education in Reformation Theology
9. Christopher Brown: The Impact of Luther's Hymns
10. Kirsten Busch Nielsen: Luther's Critical Concept of Church / Kirchenkritik in Luthers Verständnis von Kirche
11. Pekka Kärkkäinen: Philosophical Psychology in Luther's Theology
12. Christoph Burger: Luther als Bibelausleger / Luther as Exegete of the Bible
13. Brooks Schramm with Kirsi Stjerna: Luther and the Old Testament / Luther und das Alte Testament
14. Miikka Ruokanen: Luther Reception in Asia and Africa
15. Else Marie Wiberg Pedersen: Disciplined Freedom, or Free versus Slave? Recuperating Luther for Feminist Theology in an Age of Terror
16. Andrew Wilson: Luther in the Ibero - American World
17. Roger Jensen: The Legacy of Swedish Luther Renaissance
18. Friederike Nüssel: Sola scriptura
19. Hans - Peter Großhans: Glaube und Vernunft bei Luther / Faith and Reason in Luther's Thought
20. Paul Hinlicky: A Post - Modern Luther? New Readings of the Critique of Epistemology and Revision of Metaphysics
21. Theo Dieter: Luthers und Melanchthons Aristoteles / Luther's and Melanchthon's Aristotle
22. Wolfgang Thönissen and P. Augustinus Sander OSB: Luther - Katholik und Reformier?! / Luther: Catholic and Reformer?!

Since 1956, the International Congress for Luther Research meets regularly in different countries and continents. The congress of 2007 was held in Canoas, Brazil and the meeting in 2017 will take place in Wittenberg, Germany. The Continuation Committee of the Congress is chaired by Scott Hendrix (USA); other members include Mary Jane Haemig (USA), Robert Kolb (USA), Albrecht Beutel (Germany), Michael Beyer (Germany), Volker Leppin (Germany), Carl Axel Aurelius (Sweden), Antti Raunio (Finland), Anna Vind (Denmark) and Ricardo Rieth (Brazil).

The Continuation Committee met in Helsinki in August 2009 and decided about the programme of 2012 congress. It also asked Bishop Eero Huovinen to act as the President of the Congress during its meeting in Helsinki. The main lectures and seminar reports of the congress are regularly published in Lutherjahrbuch.

The Local Preparatory Committee of Helsinki 2012 congress is chaired by Professor Risto Saarinen; other members include Kaarlo Arffman, Simo Heininen, Juhani Forsberg, Gunnar af Hällström, Vesa Hirvonen, Jari Jolkkonen, Jussi Koivisto, Ilmari Karimies, Pekka Kärkkäinen, Antti Raunio and Beatrice Sundkvist. The local committee works in collaboration with the "Renaissance and Reformation Team" of the "Philosophical Psychology, Morality and Politics" Centre of Excellence. The Congress has established her own website <http://www.helsinki.fi/teol/pro/luther2012/index.htm>

Some scholars from Japan, Korea, Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan were also participating in the Congress, and they had active discussions concerning Luther in Asia and especially in China. Benefited by the research results presented in the Congress, encouraged by Luther scholars related to China, and led by Dr. Paulos Huang, a research institute "Luther Academy for China"

(Shijie huaren Lude xuehui) was established in August 2012 after the Congress in Helsinki. In addition to his twice presentations titled with “Luther in China” in the Congress, Dr. Paulos Huang is now leading a project to translate Dr. Martin Luther’s Hauspostille and Kirchenpostille into Chinese. The project is planned to let the Reformer to refresh the world through Chinese language, and concretely is planned to publish some of these sermons of Luther by 2017 when the Reformation is celebrated its 500 anniversary in Wittenberg.

中文题目：

第十二界国际路德研究学会 会议综述

《国学与西学国际学刊》编辑部

赫尔辛基, 芬兰

“信仰社会学”：解读信仰与宗教信仰的新视角 ——读李向平教授《信仰但不认同——当代中国信仰的社会学诠释》

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最近,在当代中国宗教社会学研究领域内,有关信仰与社会关系的关注与研究正以其新颖的视角、独到的见解、精辟的论证而引起学界的广泛关注。华东师范大学宗教与社会研究中心主任、李向平教授凭借其《信仰但不认同——当代中国信仰的社会学诠释》一书,毫无争议地成为这种新思路的领军式人物。

该书的标题——“信仰但不认同”,既是李向平教授根据多年来的研究思考而对当代中国社会信仰现状的一个精辟概括,同时又是对欧洲著名宗教社会学家格瑞斯·戴维(Grace David)所提出的“信仰但不归属”(Believing but without belonging)一个回应性讨论。长期以来,无论是社会学还是宗教社会学领域,都恒久存在着理论的适用性及本土化问题,甚至对“宗教”这一最为基本的概念,都存在不同的讨论。在该书中,李向平教授基于对当代中国社会的复杂信仰现象、以及政治信仰与宗教信仰等互动关系的观察与研究,展开了宗教社会学领域中对中国信仰现象的独到解读。

在最基本的“宗教”概念问题上,李向平教授从杨庆堃先生关于制度性宗教——扩散性宗教概念出发,把对此类问题的讨论推向了更深一层,即对于中国的宗教、中国人的信仰进行更为细致的甄别。在《从“信仰危机”到“宗教危机”》、《60年中国人的信仰变迁》等文中,他明确区分了宗教与信仰两个概念。他认为,信仰是个人作为信仰主体而选择的终极关怀形式;而宗教是以信仰为纽带的群体信仰结构,具有社会组织形式,甚至是制度化的信仰实践。简单地说,宗教是公共的或社会的信仰方式;而信仰则是局限于私人领域对神圣关系的诉求。

正是因为杨庆堃所谓扩散性宗教的存在,以至于使信仰在中国社会语境之中呈现了不同的现实表达方式,呈现为不同的信仰类型,成为信仰者的不同选择,呈现为宗教信仰、民间信仰、政治信仰等不同信仰方式。而信仰的私人性,使中国人无法为自己的信仰去虔诚、去奉献,或者把自己归属于一个信仰认同的群体信仰结构之中,只能以自己的现实利益及其欲求,去认识、解释其信仰对象。在此信仰认知基础上,我们似乎可以反思一下学界对于马克斯·韦伯有关“新教伦理”命题的片面解读。人们一般注意到,韦伯提到的新教的“伦理”与资本主义精神有着内在契合,同时不难发现,儒教的教条也至少部分地暗含这些伦理,但它却并未产生出资本主义来。这样的话,似乎从根本上否定了韦伯关于新教伦理与资本主义的命题。但是,根据李向平教授对于“公共宗教”与“私人信仰”的划分我们可以明确看出,在中国,因为信仰仅限于私人层面,缺乏信仰上的社会“认同”,即缺少的正是“新教”基于宗教组织那种团体层面、社会层面的精神和伦理,所以导致了不同的结果。

这充分表明,中国信仰与宗教信仰的社会学研究,应该结合原自于西方社会学理论语境之下的

“宗教”概念及其理论方法,针对中国人独特的信仰现象进行对话与探讨。既要深入研究宗教领域中的信仰特征及其实践方式,更要梳理不同现实关系中不同信仰的表达路径。可以说,宗教信仰的表达,依据的是宗教共同体;民间信仰的表达,依据的是民间礼俗,政治信仰的表达,则依据政治政党组织等等。如果说,信仰就是信仰者对神圣性的诉求,那么,信仰就不会完全局限于宗教中对神的信仰,而是神圣关系与各种社会利益的整合。这正是李向平教授所致力于建构“信仰社会学”的学科领域及其社会理论的特色。

李向平教授对于信仰进行了类型学划分,从而把宗教信仰作为信仰的一种类型,同政治信仰、文化信仰、民族信仰、家族信仰等等成为并列存在的信仰类型。在此基础上,包括宗教信仰在内的各类信仰都不可避免地同权力、现实利益发生各种各样的交往。李向平教授基于其深厚的历史社会学基础和宗教学研究背景,对于古往今来的中国人的信仰(尤其是儒教信仰体系)同国家权力之间的关系进行了详尽的分析。在《合法与非法:基于信仰——关系的权力实践》一文中,李向平教授明确指出,中国社会的政教关系,本质上是信仰与权力之间的整合关系。这就使得对于信仰的分析必须结合信仰的表达基础而进行。

有心的读者一定能发现,早在2006年,李向平教授在其先后出版的两部著作——《信仰、权力与革命秩序——中国宗教社会学研究》及《中国当代宗教的社会学诠释》中,他的研究旨趣实际上就已经十分明确,即对于中国社会中的信仰与权力关系加以关注。在此意义上,《信仰但不认同》一书即是继前两本书以来,对相关信仰与社会关系研究的深化,同时也是其一以贯之的“信仰”社会学研究的拓展。

在中国信仰与中国社会关系的研究基础上,李向平教授致力于把自己的研究同宗教社会学领域内的最新理论研究成果相结合。即是在宗教世俗化理论之后,理性选择理论的宗教社会学研究,作为新范式,经由杨凤岗教授的介绍以“宗教市场论”的理论体系,引发了国内宗教学、宗教社会学界的热烈讨论。杨凤岗教授据此分析了中国社会的宗教现状,把中国的宗教市场划分为“红色、灰色、黑色”三大结构,并指出:宗教的增长与衰微主要取决于宗教产品的提供方能否满足宗教需求者的需要。市场上产品提供者越多,市场就会愈加繁荣,宗教也就会蓬勃发展。

李向平教授结合上述论断,在把宗教与信仰进行了区分之后,撰写了《私人信仰与中国宪政建设》。在此文中,李向平给出了一个关于中国信仰与宗教市场结构的明确梳理:中国的宗教与信仰已经构成了两个供需关系。一个是由体制宗教构成的供方结构,一个是由私人信仰构成的需方结构。中国人的私人信仰,就是中国人巨大的需求结构;而体制宗教及其资源的整合方式,就构成了一个独特的供方结构。供方偏向于计划安排,需方接近于自由选择,双方有交往,有交换,但也有冲突与终端。私人或私人的信仰需求的满足,有时是直接走进了供方市场,有时或更多时候则不需要走进供方市场,可以选择信仰的自我满足方式,不需要体制化的宗教产品。私人信仰尽管自我满足,体制宗教只管信仰的公共表达。两者之间虽有冲突,但几乎是一种共谋结构。

正是在这一论述的基础上,作者要着重表明这样的观点:在当代中国,所谓的信仰危机,并不是说中国人没有信仰。中国人是有信仰的,正如中国社会是有宗教的。信仰不是问题,而关键是如何信仰,即信仰的实践方式问题。在中国,信仰同权力的恒久交织、不分你我,使得信仰问题变得更为复杂而具有特殊性。要从根本上解决信仰的问题,信仰必须要能够进行社会体化,即把那种个人的、神秘的、巫术的、独享的信仰方式,必须变成一个社会构成的、理性的、共享的信仰实践模式。惟其如此,当代中国的社会信仰结构、公民信仰体系方能建构起来。

总体而言,作者以全新的“信仰社会学”视角,把模糊不清的宗教、信仰概念进行了明确界定,对中国社会的宗教——信仰现状与问题进行了梳理与分析。

李向平教授原为中国宗教史研究背景,后转向宗教社会学研究。历史学的专业基础加之社会学

的理论,使得作者在把握中国宗教发展的论述中多了许多更为本源的思考与追究,从而在宗教——信仰之研究中,能够理出一整幅关于中国人古今信仰传承变迁的完整画卷,并于中国人的信仰、权力及社会之关系等问题上有独到见解。其理论视野大开大合,文字生动开放,无论是学术理论探讨,抑或是中国信仰现状问题之分析,皆能俯仰自如,游刃有余,其学术功底之深厚,可见一斑。

该书作为论文集,书中的不少文字都有一定的时效性,如《宗教与灾后社会重建》、《我们都被信仰了!》、《大寨造大庙,信仰大转型》……同时,思维也会更多地带有拓展性。但是,这并不影响读者对于书中核心观点与重要内容的领略与掌握,进而使书中各个文章的表达形式更为活泼,使该书与一般的学术性著作不同,一改晦涩难读的文字行文风格,常以一种诙谐轻松的方式来进行宏大严肃的宗教与社会的问题之分析与讨论,读来亦庄亦谐,让人摆脱传统的沉闷说教,不时能够会心一笑。时过境迁,反过来重读这些文字,作者对某些社会现象和问题的考察与分析及作者犀利独到的论调、诙谐幽默的笔锋,仍常令人不觉击节叹赏,为之倾倒。相比起前两部著作,相信熟悉李向平教授学术论述的读者,更能从本书中充分领略到作者洒脱的性情、独到的视角及对时事世事的敏锐洞察。

据悉,近期李向平教授又出于“信仰社会学”的理论视角,在致力于中国当代民间信仰的调查与研究,同时还在撰写《信仰社会学概论》一书,拟将信仰现象的田野观察与理论讨论整合为一专业论述体系。每念及此,读者难免翘首以盼,期待其新作早日问世,以推动和强化对中国信仰与宗教信仰的社会学研究。

English Title

Sociology of Faith: A New Perspective to Interpret Faith and Religious Faith

—A Review on Professor Li Xiangping's New Book *Believing without Identifying : The Sociological Interpretation of Spiritual Beliefs in Contemporary China*

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来美国不久,便赶上了“耶鲁杯”橄榄球赛。“哈佛深红色”大落大起,几度“鏖战”,终以较大比分战胜了老牌劲敌“耶鲁牛头犬”。初冬的球场已颇有些凉意,然而观众席上的热浪此起彼伏,上下翻滚,令人不禁想起了张岱式的感慨:“七月半之游人”比“七月半之西湖”更有看头。看完球赛归来,我一面翻看万俊人教授推荐的桑德尔(Michael J. Sandel)的文集《公共哲学》(*Public Philosophy*, 2005),一面在心里头还老惦记着那种有似于民主政治生活的球场氛围。翻着、翻着,我忽然翻到了书中的“体育与公民认同”一章。就这样,因着看球赛的机缘,我不是从第1章而是从第11章开始了《公共哲学》一书的阅读。

在“体育与公民认同”(§11)这篇短文中,桑德尔明确地将体育看作是贝拉式的“公民宗教”,将比赛场馆看作是举行输赢祈盼仪式的公共空间(即所谓“公民宗教的大教堂”),并认为体育赛事乃是社会粘合以及公民自豪感的活源之一。因为在桑德尔看来,球迷看比赛时所体验的无非是“民主的公共生活的这样两个重要方面”:一是“境况大同”,二是向着某方的“归属感”。在赛场这样的公共空间里,往往是总裁与邮差比邻而坐;无论是贫贱还是富贵,你吃热狗我也吃,你若淋雨我也淋,你我因己方球队的命运而休戚与共。然而,令人遗憾的是,这种“民主的公共生活”如今已被过度的利益追逐所破坏。由于豪华包厢的出现,球迷便分出了贫富贵贱的等级而不复有“境况大同”的感受;由于球队常常作为私产被转卖,球队原属的共同体便有可能被排挤出局,球迷的“归属感”也便难以为继。赛事成了纯粹的生意,私产与公益难以兼顾,这就是桑德尔所担忧的“市场的道德局限”。

如果说第11章是《公共哲学》一书中并不怎么起眼的一篇短论,那么桑德尔在该书第三部分刻意收录的“犹太教如何看待宰制与傲慢”(§27)一文,则显得有些“抢眼”(按:该文原刊于2004年,是本书中最新的两篇论文之一)。桑德尔在文中分析了犹太教公共哲学家哈特曼(David Hartman)的多元主义伦理观以及宗教人类学的思想,尤其阐述了哈特曼反对宰制自然、主张收束傲慢心态的三重理由:承认人类的有限性、守安息日和反对偶像崇拜。值得注意的是,桑德尔阐发哈特曼思想的目的并不在于单纯的回顾和纪念,而是为了回应一些尖锐的现实问题。比如,桑德尔在分析拜偶像的问题时就曾指出:当今之世,偶像崇拜已然从政治领域转移至消费、娱乐、技术等领域。在消费社会中,世人沉迷于消费,一切都成了商品;同时全球扩张的娱乐业也造就了明星偶像,世人追星、捧星,其热衷程度无以复加(“恐怕连罗马帝王也会妒羨不已”)。更有甚者,当代日益发达的生物技术还滋生了世人“自我圣化”的“扮神”(playing God)念头。因此,桑德尔认为,只要偶像崇拜还是一宗大罪,只要冒犯与傲慢仍然与宗教精神格格不入,那么,先贤们反对自我圣化的不懈努力“仍将会在当今之世找到其

用武之地”。^①

桑德尔这篇文章的寄意是很明显的：他试图表明宗教或神学的思考有助于阐明当前的道德问题和政治问题。事实上，强调完备性道德学说或宗教学说有可能为真并有可能构成公共慎思的重要向度，这乃是桑德尔的一贯主张，同时也是他与罗尔斯的主要分歧之一。早在1989年，桑德尔读了罗尔斯的“公平之正义：政治的而非形而上学的”（1985）一文后，便在“道德主张与自由主义的宽容”（§21）一文中对罗尔斯这种“底线论自由主义”（*minimalist liberalism*）提出了一种质疑：这种自由主义一方面出于政治认同和社会合作的目的，而力图悬搁道德争议或宗教争议，另一方面又在一定程度上对争议的问题采取了某种潜在的立场。桑德尔以“堕胎”问题为例，指出了底线论自由主义的中立立场仍然暗含着某种道德前提：我们愈是认定胎儿与婴儿在相关的道德内涵方面有其分别，我们才愈有可能出于政治目的而认定有必要悬搁胎儿的道德地位问题。^②显然，在桑德尔看来，底线论自由主义达不到它自己设置的中立标准。换言之，要彻底将道德或宗教的观念排除在公共慎思之外，其实很困难——甚至不可能！

1993年罗尔斯发表《政治自由主义》，彻底将其“公平之正义”理论从社会伦理层面擢升至政治自由主义的政治层面，这样，完备性学说的性质和地位问题也因之变得更加尖锐起来。1994年，桑德尔在其同名评论文章（§28）中进一步指出了政治自由主义的中立立场的理论风险：出于政治目的而悬搁完备性道德学说或宗教学说的做法是否合理，在相当程度上取决于其中哪一种学说有理。他仍以“堕胎权利之争”这一严肃的道德问题和宗教问题为例。他指出，倘若天主教的主张有道理，倘若在道德意义上，人的生命的确从怀孕那一刻开始，那么，悬搁这种道德和神学的学说与悬搁那些持相反观点的道德假设或宗教假设相比，要显得不合理得多。换言之，在天主教主张有可能为真的情形之下，政治自由主义的中立立场将面临巨大的挑战。当然了，堕胎问题只是桑德尔喜欢援引的案例之一，政治自由主义的理论风险也并非只此一端。桑德尔在文中认为，政治自由主义的“拯救权利优先性”的学术目标其实带来了三重理论风险，因而相应地也会遭到三重反驳：其一、出于政治价值的优先性而悬搁完备性道德学说或宗教学说，这样做并不总是合乎情理。悬搁的风险就在于：可能有比宽容、公平、政治合作等政治价值更为重要的道德价值。其二、对政治自由主义而言，权利优先于善的问题有赖于这样一个提法：现代民主社会的特征是具有关于善的“理性多元论的事实”。诚然在现代民主社会中，人们持有各种相互冲突的道德立场和宗教立场，但我们并不能因此而认为，“理性多元论的事实”只存在于道德或宗教问题之上，而不适用于正义问题。其三、遵照政治自由主义所提倡的公共理性的理想，公民不得援引其道德和宗教的理想来探讨政治和宪法的根本问题。但这种过分的严苛，不仅会造成政治话语的枯竭，而且还可能消除公共慎思的某些重要维度。^③

显然，桑德尔的上述批评一方面对罗尔斯的理论转型做出了回应（即突出了完备性学说的性质和地位问题），同时又在相当程度上继承了《自由主义与正义的局限》（1982）的批评视角（即重提“权利优先于善”的问题）。不过，正如桑德尔本人所指出的，批评自由主义的线索应该有两条。^④揭示中立或悬搁的理论风险仅仅是其中之一，除此之外还应该有这样一条批评的主线：自由主义强调个人选择，对共同体、团结和成员身份则缺乏应有的阐发。为此我们可以看一看《公共哲学》一书中所收的两篇旧文（1984）：“德性与自由主义理想”（§22）以及“程序共和国与放任的自我”（§23）。这两篇文章一方面认为，康德与罗尔斯的自由主义比功利主义更有说服力，“自由选择的独立自我”取代“偏好

① Michael J. Sandel, *Public Philosophy: Essays on Morality in Politics*, (Harvard University Press, 2005), 210.

② *Ibid*, 133

③ *Ibid*, 223 - 225.

④ *Ibid*, 145.

和欲望的集合体”有其合理之处；另一方面，康德或罗尔斯式的“放任的自我”（unencumbered self）仍有其自身的问题，即它难免会损耗“忠诚”和“传统”这些“赋予生命以道德特性”并“使我们得以安身立命”的东西。自由主义者总是担心忠诚、服从、传统等等公共意向可能会为成见和不宽容洞开方便之门。桑德尔则针锋相对地提出了“处境的自我”（situated self）的概念，并站在共同体主义立场上指出：恰恰是生活方式错乱、传统根基动摇的社会最有可能滋生不宽容；恰恰是“气馁的原子化自我”的杂念而不是“自信的处境式自我”的信念，在我们时代触发了极权主义的冲动。因此，桑德尔认为，如果坚持公善的一方是有道理的话，那么，美国当前最紧要的道德任务和政治任务就应该是：设法去激活传统所隐含、如今已沦丧的公民共和主义的诸种可能性。^⑤

桑德尔的这两篇旧文在其思想发展历程中具有某种承前启后的意义。如果说，《自由主义与正义的局限》一书已然在罗尔斯思想的整体架构中发现了诸多优先性之间的平行关系，那么在这两篇旧文中，桑德尔的两条批评主线（即批评“权利优先于善”与批评“自我优先于目的”），则也已经在桑德尔的整体批评架构的雏形中凸显出来，并且以一种生机勃勃的方式交汇在一起。桑德尔此时提出的问题是：“放任的自我”与“处境的自我”之争在政治上的要害何在？权利政治学与公善政治学在实践上的分歧何在？^⑥显然，桑德尔已经赋予了他的理论批评以实践层面上的关怀——他要考察哲学主张之间的张力是如何在现实的政治环境中表现出来的；而且随着时间的推移，他的这种理论诉求还进一步演化成了对“美国民主之缺憾”的全面诊断，和对“市场之道德局限”的深入揭示。

1996年《民主的缺憾》（*Democracy's Discontent*，或译为《民主的不满》）一书的出版，标志着桑德尔思想发展进入了一个新的阶段。此时的桑德尔试图在美国的政治哲学与美国的政治实践之间建立更多的联系，因而他的问题也便由“权利政治学与公善政治学在实践上的分歧”而具体化为“程序自由主义与公民共和主义在美国公共生活中的冲突”。他认为，当代美国政治实践已然表明，程序自由主义已经逐步取代公民共和主义，并给美国民主带来了极大的困扰与缺憾（桑德尔在接受《哈佛哲学评论》访谈时将这种缺憾概括为“无力感”和“挫折感”）。虽然更准确点说，程序自由主义作为一种深深扎根于美国公共生活之中的政治理念，直至20世纪70年代才获得充分的哲学表达，但是成为一种哲学理论之后的程序自由主义不仅反映着而且还塑造着当代美国的政治实践。因此，积极应对程序自由主义对公民共和主义的批评，并通过批判程序自由主义来为复兴或重构公民共和主义提供助力，这种努力很快以一种压倒性的势头变成了桑德尔在新时期的学术研究之重点。

《公共哲学》第一部分7篇文章探讨的便是“美国的公民生活”。其中“美国在寻求一种公共哲学”（§1）和“罗伯特·肯尼迪的承诺”（§7）两篇，系由《民主的缺憾》一书第二部分的若干章节删改而成（按：“美国在寻求一种公共哲学”也是该书的副标题）；其余5篇与克林顿当政有关的文章（尤其是§3-§6），也大体上写于《民主的缺憾》成书的前后，因此都可以与《民主的缺憾》参照起来阅读。不过，总的看来，问题讨论得最集中、最透彻的还是《公共哲学》的第1篇。桑德尔在这篇文章中，以政治经济学为切入点，通过回顾二百年多年来美国国内围绕经济政策的政治后果所发生种种争论，大致上梳理了公民共和主义与程序自由主义在美国公共生活中的“冲突史”。按照桑德尔的理解，“公民权的政治经济学”作为公民共和主义在经济思想领域的理论形态，其在美国历史上的传承可谓是“源远流长”、“影响深远”。早在立宪时代，托马斯·杰斐逊就已经为公民权的政治经济学提供了经典的表述：田园生活方式造就品德高尚、宜于自治的公民，而大规模的国内制造业却会造就“缺乏独立性的无产阶级”。虽然杰斐逊对经济安排之政治后果的共和主义考量最终未能大行其道，但是从美国革命直至南北战争，此种政治经济学却一直在美国国内政策辩论中扮演着重要角色，甚至在20世纪革新党

^⑤ *Ibid*, 155.

^⑥ *Ibid*, 153.

人反对大商业的斗争中,我们还能够看到它的余绪。^⑦真正决定性的转折发生在罗斯福新政的后期(尤为关键的是60年初约翰·肯尼迪当政的时期),因为新政的财政政策(即“庞大的政府开支”)的成功实施需要两个条件:第二次世界大战为其提供了历史机遇,而凯恩斯主义则为其提供了理论依据。由于凯恩斯主义主张维持既定的消费偏好,并试图通过操控总需求来调节经济,因而在它为政府所提供的控制模式中,并不涉及何谓良好社会的争议和抉择。在凯恩斯主义影响下,上世纪60年代的美国经济学家和政策制定者大都认为“国家的首要经济问题是谋求和维持高速增长的总产出”,他们首先关心的是国民财富的数量和分配问题。这样一来,“增长和分配正义的政治经济学”便最终取代了“公民权的政治经济学”。^⑧桑德尔在作出上述分析后,还进一步阐述了凯恩斯主义与自由主义之间的内在关联。他认为,凯恩斯主义的财政政策一方面“体现了”这样一种自由主义的理念:政府应该在良善生活观念问题上保持中立,以便将个人作为这样的自我来予以尊重,这个自我是自由的、独立的,并有能力选择自身的目标。与此同时,凯恩斯主义也加剧了这种自由主义对美国公共生活的控制:一、它为政策制定者或当选官员们提供了一种途径,藉此他们得以“搁置”有关良好社会的思想分歧;二、它取消了(公民)培养计划,因而推卸了政府对其公民道德品质所担负的义务,并认肯了个人乃是自由独立之自我的观念。为此,桑德尔得出结论说:这种新的政治经济学的出笼,堪称是美国政治中共和主义路线终结、当代自由主义兴起的重要转折点。^⑨

当然,这种自由主义政治话语的大行其道也难免会招致不满和抗拒。这种状况在里根时代已经有所表露。里根在选举上取得了成功,并开创了共和党当政的新局面。显然在里根的施政纲领中有某种公民保守主义的“修辞”——他能够驾轻就熟地诉诸于家庭、邻里关系、宗教以及爱国主义等社群价值,因而在一定程度上,他已经偏离了当时的自由主义公共哲学(尽管他还仅仅是有所偏离而未能真正缓解这种公共哲学所带来的缺憾)。^⑩与共和党的成功相比,民主党在当代美国选举政治中陷入了颓势,桑德尔在分析其原因时批评说:民主党将共同体话语让给了里根去说,从民主党那里很难再听到道德的和公民的呼声(§2“超越个人主义:民主党人与共同体”)。而与桑德尔“所见略同”^⑪的阿肯色州州长克林顿则吸取了教训,成功地从共和党人手中夺过了“共同体和道德价值”的话语权,直至他的性丑闻最终断送他在任总统期间所推行的“讨巧的美德之政治”。

这里值得注意的是:所谓“修辞”、“讨巧”云云,不过是表明了美国民主的缺憾并未从根本上得到诊断和治疗。在桑德尔看来,美国民主缺憾的根本症结就在于“控制权之丧失”以及“共同体之萎缩”。^⑫尤其是在当今的全球化时代,共和主义政治的可能性依然是个问题——它将面临如下两大挑战:一是需要赋予政治机构以驾驭全球经济的能力;二是需要培育公民认同以应机构维持之所需,同时还要为这些机构提供必要的道德权威。桑德尔认为,共和主义政治的这两项要求并不见得都能够得到满足;^⑬或者说,我们仍有理由担心共和主义的建构性谋划能否在我们时代实现。因此,尽管桑德尔对“民主缺憾”的诊断似乎让人闻到了一丝血腥味儿,以致有学者(比如金里卡)认为它是亨廷顿“文明冲突论”的一个国内版本,但是,鉴于程序自由主义已然在美国成为主导的公共哲学,桑德尔的论说与其说是一种冲突论,不如说是公民共和主义怀旧情绪的一种宣泄。

此外,在桑德尔的著作中,有关公民共和主义的正面表述似乎并不是很多。他的诊断胜于疗治,

⑦ *Ibid*, 11 - 12.

⑧ *Ibid*, 17 - 18.

⑨ *Ibid*, 19.

⑩ *Ibid*, 22 - 23.

⑪ *Ibid*, 8.

⑫ *Ibid*, 28, 30.

⑬ *Ibid*, 30 - 33.

他的批评多于建构。为此潘高、佩迪特等学者也已向他提出强烈的要求,即希望他针对共和主义的一些深层次问题给予答复。这里我们再结合《公共哲学》一书,简要谈一谈桑德尔的“答复”——我们将其思想的要点概括如下:其一,桑德尔主张复兴的“公民共和主义”乃是一种“强势的共和主义”,或者说一种“新雅典共和主义”。这种共和主义思想可以追溯到亚里士多德那里,并可以在汉娜·阿伦特那里发现其现代表达。其核心思想是认为政治参与对于人类繁荣而言具有“内在的价值”,其理想是追求这样一种公民的自由概念,这种自由植根于公民共同参与的“自治”。正是因为共同参与自治能够培养人类繁荣所必需的品德,因而共和主义理想能够历经现代世界的种种障碍而依然燭火不息(当然了,这种理想若要与现代政治相联系,还得进行某种重构,因为“从亚里士多德的城邦到杰斐逊的田园理想,公民的自由概念都植根于一些自给自足的小地方,这些地方的居民过着这样一种生活,这种生活使得他们有闲暇、学识和共性去考虑他们共同关心的事务”,而我们今天却已经不再按这种方式生活^⑭)。其二,桑德尔主张复兴的“公民共和主义”是托克维尔式的而非卢梭式的。桑德尔承认共和主义政治本身也是带有风险的,但他同时又认为,公民共和主义并不一定如卢梭所论述的那样体现为强制性的意见一致,而是也可以如托克维尔所描述的那样体现为多元化见解之间的争论,体现为所谓的“社会自身的潜移默化”。^⑮其三,桑德尔认为,若要重新激发美国政治的公民主义呼声,还得重新学会将经济政策的政治考量与道德考量引入到民主话题之中。桑德尔通过对“公民权的政治经济学”的历史考察,表明了美国传统中隐含着这样一种共和主义的诉求:即要考察经济安排是否有助于维护共同体和公民的自治,是否有助于公民的独立和公民美德的培养。尤其是在程序共和国已然确立、价值中立主义立场大行其道的时代,激活上述共和主义的诉求,更显得是一项紧要的道德任务和政治任务。

也正是带着这样一种理论诉求,桑德尔近年来在诊断“民主缺憾”的时候,总念念不忘地要去揭示“市场的道德局限”。《公共哲学》第二部分便收录了这方面的小品时文六、七篇(桑德尔在书中还预告说,他的下一本新书将系统地探讨这一主题)。桑德尔的 these 文章一事一议,颇具针砭的气势。如:“反对州办博彩”,因为博彩败坏民风(§8);反对“课堂里的广告”,因为广告旨在诱发消费欲望,而学校旨在培养具有反思和克制能力的公民(§9);反对“公共场所上牌号”,因为那样做会滥用公共场所的尊严和权威性(§10);重视“体育与公民认同”之间的联系,并为近年来体育界出现的过度的利益追逐而担忧(§11);反对“出售历史”(包括拍卖某些历史文献或公众人物的纪念物等),认为有些东西是不能随便在公域与私域之间转让的(§12);担忧优秀奖学金的频繁颁发会不利于优秀品质的培养,因为“奖优”意味着市场价值侵入到了教育之中——是“市场冲着优而来”(§13);此外,美国主张全球环境协议应包含缴费排放的方案,应允许各国买卖排污权,针对美国的这一立场,他也提出了质疑:“我们可以花钱买排污权吗?”(§14)显然,桑德尔的 these 文章从不同的角度表达了他的公民共和主义的理论诉求:即要揭示市场的道德局限,或者表明市场活动和商业压力有可能败坏公民组织或侵蚀公共领域。

《公共哲学》第二部分还收录了其他主题的论文,这些论文同样表达了公民共和主义的政治主张和道德主张。比如§15-§17这一组论文便是围绕着残疾人权利、认同行为以及定罪量刑等议题,就机会、荣誉和奖励的公平分配问题所引发的争议进行了探讨,其中尤其涉及了这些争议背后所隐含的道德赏罚问题。而§19-§21这一组论文则通过探讨堕胎、同性恋、医助自杀、干细胞研究等涉及生命起源或生命神圣性的热点问题,一方面表明了宗教的思考有助于阐明当前的道德问题和政治问题,同时也表明了自由主义的宽容是有缺陷的,因为它试图裁定权利而又不在内容上考虑实质性的道德

^⑭ *Ibid*, 24.

^⑮ *Ibid*, 24-26.

主张和宗教主张。

相比较而言,《公共哲学》第三部分所收的大都是行文严谨、注释规范的学术论文。其中有好几篇我们已经在上文重点涉及,这里因篇幅所限不再赘述。不过,我们仍要强调的是,第三部分的论文虽然写作的时间跨度大、涉及的主题多,但是它们仍然有一条贯通的主线:它们力图为这样一种政治辩护,这种政治“相当重视公民权、共同体、公民美德等与良善生活问题密不可分的内容”。自由主义者总是担心,将道德立场和宗教立场带入公共领域,往往要冒强制和不宽容的风险。针对自由主义者的这种担心,桑德尔告诉我们:实质性的道德讨论并不是与递进的公共目标格格不入的;多元化的社会也不必对其公民所带入到公共领域中去的那些道德信念或宗教信仰避之惟恐不及。^⑩

总之,桑德尔的《公共哲学》一书,或以洋洋万言的长文申述要义,或以一事一议的寸言小品针砭时弊,有抑有扬,条贯缕析,蔚为大观。若是结合桑德尔个人思想发展的历程来看,我们的总体评价是:该书承接《局限》一书的批评视角,兼摄《缺憾》一书的理论精义,同时超出两书的重要论文又占大半,因而该书对于全面了解桑德尔的思想来说,具有重要的参考价值。

至于桑德尔本人,国内学界对他已是耳熟能详,本来用不着再多说什么。不过,与先前的著作相比,《公共哲学》一书会给我们一个更为丰满的桑德尔形象:桑德尔先是作为罗尔斯的批评者而登场,事实上,他也确实针对罗尔斯的思想而提供了一种颇为精致的哲学批评。2002年罗尔斯病逝,桑德尔写下“纪念罗尔斯”(§29)一文,极力称赞罗尔斯的人格魅力,并一再肯定其学术影响力(有“三项突出贡献”以及进入政治哲学名人祠的“奇迹”;^⑪另§28“政治自由主义”也指出《正义论》之伟大在于它同时激发了三场论辩)。也许应该说,桑德尔与罗尔斯的不解之缘,并未因哲人陨落而断绝。即使在95%的实际问题上,批评者与批评者可以有一致的政治吁求,但作为批评者而言,桑德尔至今依然不肯轻易放过哪怕是5%的理论分歧,更何况在他看来,主义之争“兹事体大”,非认真对待不可。过去有些学者将桑德尔与罗尔斯之争视为共同体主义与自由主义之争,将桑德尔视为共同体主义的健将。为此,桑德尔也曾著“共同体主义的局限”(§30)一文作答。他说,虽然在某种程度上,“共同体主义”这一术语也有可取之处,但是他本人在争论中并不总是站在共同体主义一边,因为如果“共同体主义”仅仅意味着“多数至上主义”,但这并不是他想要维护的观点。^⑫近年来桑德尔作为“公民共和主义者”的形象开始凸显出来:桑德尔明确地将自己的理论诉求界定为“非工具性共和主义”的理想,并认为自己主张复兴的这种公民共和主义是托克维尔式的而非卢梭式的(即力图避免“多数的暴政”)。因此,我们可以说,桑德尔与罗尔斯之争也就是一种特定版本的共和主义(即公民共和主义)与一种特定版本的自由主义(即程序自由主义)之争。而在这一场不对称的“主义之争”当中,桑德尔能否为他那“阔视缓步”的主义赢得更多的理论地盘,我们仍将拭目以待。

^⑩ *Ibid*, 5.

^⑪ *Ibid*, 248 - 251.

^⑫ *Ibid*, 252.

English Title:

A Review on *Public Philosophy* by Michael J. Sandel

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《国学与西学:国际学刊》 (中英文双语半年刊)

投稿须知

《国学与西学国际学刊》(GUOXUE YU XIXUE Guoji Xuekan)创刊于2011年12月,由国学与西学北欧论坛(Nordic Forum of Sino - Western Studies)主办、赫尔辛基大学世界文化系宗教学中心、北京大学高等人文研究院世界宗教与普世伦理中心、与吉林大学文学院国学与西学比较研究中心协办之中英文双语学术期刊,整合北欧四国(芬兰、瑞典、挪威、丹麦)学者之力,每年于芬兰出版两期(六月及十二月出版)。栏目有:

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黄保罗 Huang Baoluo,《汉语学术神学》*Hanyu xueshu shenxue* [Sino-Christian Academic Theology],(北京 Beijing:宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [Religion and Culture Press],2008),155-159。

Paulos Huang, *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation: A Systematic Theological Analysis of the Basic Problems in the Confucian-Christian Dialogue*, (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2009), 88-89.

2. 编著 Compiled works:

罗明嘉 Luo Mingjia、黄保罗 Huang Baoluo 主编,《基督宗教与中国文化》*Jiduzongjiao yu zhongguo wenhua* [Christianity and Chinese Culture],(北京 Beijing:中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Sciences Press],2004),155。

Miikka Ruokanen & Paulos Huang, eds., *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), 3.

3. 译著 Translated literature:

麦克·阿盖尔 Maiké Agaier,《宗教心理学》*Zongjiao xinlixue* [Religious Psychology],陈彪 Chen Biao 译,(北京 Beijing:中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China]),2005,30。

Fung Yulan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, tr. by Derk Bodde, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 150.

4. 外文稿件引用中文资料 Chinese literature in non-Chinese articles:

Liang Qichao, 《古书真伪及其年代》*Gushu zhenwei jiqi niandai* [The Genuinity of Chinese Ancient Books and their Dates], (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1923), 20.

5. 文集集中的文章 Articles in collections:

张敏 Zhang Min, 《基督徒身份认同——浙江温州案例》*Jidutu shenfen renting —— Zhejiang Wenzhou anli* [The Personal Identity of Christians], 张静 Zhang Jing 主编:《身份认同研究:观念、态度、理据》*Shenfen renting yanjiu: guannian, taidu, liju* [A Study on Personal Identity], (上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People's Publishing House], 2006), 101 - 105.

Zhuo Xinping, "Comprehensive Theology: An Attempt to Combine Christianity with Chinese Culture," in Miikka Ruokanen & Paulos Huang, eds., *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), 185 - 192.

6. 报纸中的文章 Articles in newspapers:

曹曙红 Cao Shuhong, 《信仰之旅 慈善之行 - 上海玉佛禅寺觉群慈爱功德会参访团西藏行纪实》*Xinyang zhi lu, Cishan zhi xing - - - - Shanghai Fochansi Juequn ciai gongdehui canfangtuan Xizang xing jishi* [The Trip of Faith and the Travel of Charity], 《中国民族报》*Zhongguo minzubao* [The Newspaper of Chinese Ethnic Minorities] (2011年8月23日), 第5版。

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9. 学位论文 Dissertations:

刘家峰 Liu Jiafeng,《中国基督教乡村建设运动研究(1907 –1950)》*Zhongguo jidujiao xiangcun jianshe yundong yanjiu* [A Study on the Movement of Chinese Christian Countryside Construction], (武汉 Wuhan: 华中师范大学博士论文 Huazhong shifan daxue boshi lunwen [Ph. D. dissertation in Central China Normal University], 2001), 55。

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10. 互联网资料 Internet source:

<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/polis/englishschool/wilson03.doc>, 2005 –03 –27.

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同上书, 第 19 页。

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