

卷首语 From the Editor's Desk

儒基会大战吗？

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本文试图从排他性的本质来探讨参杂了欧美文化特征的基督教与中国文化相遇中的挑战,并努力面对儒家与基督教是否会大战的问题。

欧美特别是美国的基督教文化之本质看起来是排他性的,在多数中国人的眼里,这似乎是不言而喻的。这种印象首先源于其强大的经济、军事和政治的硬实力,特别是第二次世界大战以来,其以私利追之为本质的实用主义在全世界产生了巨大而深刻的影响,可谓是席卷全球的每个角落,以至于许多人在痛骂美国的同时又视之为人间天堂而趋之若鹜。其次源于其软势力,因为从文化与文明的视角而言,美国对民主、人权、自由、平等和博爱的提倡,成为其批评和审判世界各国的价值标准和畅界各地的软实力。这既与基督教的影响有着不可割裂的关系,又与启蒙运动以来的理性至上密不可分;因此,基督教的天启真理与自以为是的理性至上相结合,欧美就似乎掌握了世界与宇宙的真理。我们可以批评的是,基督教宣称的排他性真理是值得尊重的,但具体的国家、教会、信徒个人或团体却不一定能代表基督教所宣称的真理。同样,理性能够帮助人认识真理,但理性至上却无法帮助人达到绝对真理。因此,参杂了欧美理性至上与实用主义的基督教,给人以明显的排他性特点,尽管它不一定能真正地代表基督的真理。

中国文化在众人的印象中是以包容性而著名的,常举的例子有:中华文明五千年历史源远流长,吸纳了多种元素;中国历史上的许多乱华的少数民族,包括一些曾经统治过全中国的民族如蒙古和满族等,最后都被中国文化所同化;佛教来到中国之后也极大地中国化了;而排他性极强的犹太文化在宋朝的首都开封虽留有一赐乐业痕迹,但最终也被中国文化所淹没和融化了。可是,笔者要说明的是,上述的包容性并不能否定中国文化特别是儒家文化中的排他性本质;因为疆土辽阔的中国有自成一体的排他性概念:皇帝威加海内,君临天下、天下一统,普天之下莫非王土,率土之滨莫非王臣。^①这种自以为普天之下唯我独尊的思维模式,不仅是中国历代皇帝和精英的特点,而且成了多数老百姓的所思所想。1863年中国皇帝致函美国总统林肯而自高自大地说:“朕承天命,抚有四海,视中国和异邦同为一家,彼此无异也。”^②此时中国清朝已经割地赔款多次了,但皇帝似乎仍然认为:“这些灾难与

^① 基辛格 Jixing [Henry A. Kissinger]:《论中国》*Lun Zhongguo* [On China] (北京 Beijing: 中信出版社 Zhongxin chubanshe, 2012): 1-4。

^② *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs Accompanying the Annual Message of the President to the First Session of the Thirty - eight Congress*, vol. 2 (Washington, D. C. : US Government Printing Office, 1864), Document No. 33 ("Mr. Burlingame to Mr. Seward, Peking, January 29, 1863), 846-848) “外交事务文件集:总统对第38届国会首次会议的致辞”,第2卷(华盛顿:美国政府印刷局,1864年),第33号文件(“伯林盖姆先生致苏厄德先生函”,北京,1863年1月29日),第846-848页)。

其他野蛮人的入侵没有二致,最终也会败在中国人的坚韧不拔和优越的文化”。^③“中国的精英阶层逐渐习惯于认为,中国举世无双,不仅是世界诸文明中的‘一个伟大文明’,更是文明的化身。”^④“中国与外国人通商,偶尔也会采纳国外的思想和技术。但中国人一般认为,无论奇珍异宝还是知识学问,中国都应有尽有。由于各国渴望与中国通商,中国精英阶层不把通商看做是普通的经济交换,而称之为‘朝贡’,以示他国承认中国的至尊地位。”^⑤这种深刻而坚韧的排他性,是中国文化的重要特征之一。若说鸦片战争以前之中国人的如此思维,是因为“对外国的排斥加上本国的封闭导致中国人根本没有比较的机会,这可悲地禁锢了他们的思想,使中国人完全无力挣脱自己的生存环境,评判任何事情皆套用中国的传统观念。”^⑥但到了21世纪,李光耀指出,中国与周边国家的关系仍可能受到过去习惯的藩属国朝贡模式的影响。虽然中国声称和平,但周围小国现在仍有的担心是,如李光耀所云:“当我们做了中国不喜欢的事,他们就说你让13亿人不高兴了,……所以,请搞清楚你的位置。”^⑦就此而言,中国文化虽然有丰富的包容性,但其本质内涵中也具有强烈而坚韧的排他性。

在多元化的地球村中,多元主义理论无法真正地解决各种文化、文明和宗教相处中遇到的冲突。因为多元主义是变相的包容主义,而包容主义的本质是排他主义,所以,如何辨认出一些强势文明的排他性本质,从而加以实事求是地面对和探索相处的方式,将非常重要。

在理性主义和实用主义畅行各地的全球化语境中,中国的经济、军事和政治硬实力已经成为世界第二并将可能成为第一,以欧美为代表的基督教文明在短时间内不可能完全退出舞台;因此,中国以儒家为核心的传统文明如何影响中国以及将如何与基督教文明相处,将是一个影响世界未来格局的十分重要的问题。^⑧

根据1907年的克劳备忘录(The Crowe Memorandum, Eyre Crowe),当1871年德国由39个小国而同一成为一个大国时,尽管德国的领袖和精英有着和平崛起的主观善良愿望,但它最终仍将无法避免与当时的超级大国英国之间的冲突。后来的第一和第二次世界大战也的确映证了这种担心。那么,在21世纪,中国和美国的冲突是否会不以领袖与精英的主观善意而转移地不可避免呢?现在的全球化高于1907年,而且现在人们所拥有的以核武器为代表的破坏力已经足以摧毁地球许多次,这两个新的特点,促使中国与美国必须避免绝裂,否则,将不会有赢家,甚至这个地球都将不复存在。为此,直面基督教与儒家相处中的这种排他性的挑战,努力寻求妥协与合作的解决方案,将会有重要意义。若我们能处理好这个问题,也许我们将会避免亨廷顿所担心的文明冲突的恶果,否则,人类的文明前途将难以预测,因此,笔者在此专门提出这个问题,以期引起相关学者的关注。^⑨

本期“国学、西学与神学栏目”收录了美国宗教科学研究学会的侯任主席及普杜大学的杨凤岗教授的中文版“基督教会、民主制度、公民宗教”与本刊主编黄保罗的英文版“基督教在当代中国所面临

^③ 基辛格 Jixing 2012:7。

^④ 基辛格 Jixing 2012:6。

^⑤ 基辛格 Jixing 2012:9

^⑥ Thomas Meadows 1847; *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China* (London: W. H. Allen & Co.), as excerpted in Schurmann and Schell, eds. *Imperial China*, 150.

^⑦ 李光耀 Li Guangyao [Lee Kuan Yew]:《李光耀论中国与世界》*Li Guangyao lun Zhongguo yu shijie* [The Grand Master's Insights on China, the United States, and the World],李光耀口述,艾利森(Graham Allison)、布莱克威尔(Robert D. Blackwill)和温尼(Ali Wyne)编,蒋宗强译,(北京 Beijing: 中信出版社 Zhongxin chubanshe, 2013),6。

^⑧ 此处思路,部分得益于2013年11月笔者与中国社会科学院世界宗教研究所儒家研究中心副主任赵法生 ZHAO Fasheng 教授、北京师范大学哲学及社会学学院刘孝廷 LIU Xiaoting 教授和张百春 ZHANG Baichun 教授对话。特此致谢。

^⑨ 笔者在拙著中专门探讨了包括儒基在内的对话,见黄保罗 Huang Baoluo [Paulos Huang]:《大国学视野中的汉语学术对话神学》*Da guoxue shiye zhong de hanyu xueshu duihua shenxue* [The Sino-Christian Academic Dialogical Theology in the Light of the Great Guoxue](北京 Beijing: 民族出版社 Minzu chubanshe, 2012)。

的挑战与机遇”。“实践神学与中西教会和社会”栏目收录了西南民族大学白玛措教授的“藏传佛教在美国——一个藏族女性的视野”与华东师范大学青年学者符哲琦的“网络基督教的认同状况及其影响——基于对网络基督徒的调查”(该文获得第二届“中芬天使学术论文二等奖”)。“中西经典与圣经”栏目刊录了美国弗吉尼亚神学院叶约翰教授的“冲突与和谐:冥思圣经对于社会关系的愿景”与河南大学梁工教授的“圣经研究与西方文论建构”。“教会历史与中西社会”栏目收录了上海大学副教授刘义博士的“建构地方教会的全球网络:活力排、家庭聚会及合一身体”和复旦大学郁喆隽博士的“诸神之争——当代中国公共领域中的信仰冲突”。“比较宗教文化研究”栏目收录了台湾儒家学者林安梧教授的“‘儒耶会通’初论——关于‘人性’的‘罪’与‘善’之釐清与融通”与台湾南华学齐伟先教授的“现代台湾民间宗教组织的发展和特点——及其与西方基督教的关键差异”。“书评与通讯”部分收录了王文峰先生关于第六届中国神学论坛英国牛津研讨会综述“基督教与当代中国社会思潮”、法国国立东方语言文化学院汲喆副教授的书评“赵文词的《民主的教法》”和丹麦哥本哈根大学涅尔斯·格勒格森教授的书评“双向式相互影响之中的儒家与基督教——黄保罗对儒基对话的贡献评定”。

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English Title:

Is there going to be a war between Confucianism and Christianity?

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

基督教会、民主制度、公民宗教^①

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提要:本文以美国为案例,集中讨论神圣合法性的三个方面:作为三权分立的信仰基础,作为民主共和总裁综合政体的教会基础,作为公民宗教的文化基础。基于这种分析,我愿展望这样一种中国未来,其中包括一种双重底色的天下公民宗教。

关键词:基督教会、民主制度、公民宗教、双重底色

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政治是事关公共利益的事务。有人群就有社会,有社会就有政治,有政治就要有权力,因为人们的利益和观点必然千差万别,其中一些人的意志得以推行,需要对此做出制度安排。政治制度就是关于如何分配和使用权力的安排。但是,政治制度不能局限于权力分配,而是需要有信仰作为基础,需要有多重合法性,比如,契约合法性,民意合法性,历史合法性等等,其中还需要具有神圣合法性。即使是武力征服获取的领地,其权力的使用和分配的政治体制,如若维持延续,也需要补充多重合法性,包括神圣合法性。没有信仰作基础的政治体制,是难以持久的。

本文以美国为案例,集中讨论神圣合法性的三个方面:作为三权分立的信仰基础,作为民主共和总裁综合政体的教会基础,作为公民宗教的文化基础。基于这种分析,我愿展望这样一种中国未来,其中包括一种双重底色的天下公民宗教。

一、三权分立的信仰基础

美国的政治制度是广义的民主制,是民有、民治、民享的制度(of the people, by the people, for the people),这可以说是原版的三民主义。通过什么样的制度安排实现这样的三民主义理念?迄今为止人们的注意力主要集中在三权分立上,即立法、司法、行政互相分离,彼此制衡,以避免权力过分集中。

之所以采纳这样的权力制衡设计,是因为开国之父那一代政治精英对于人性的共识,即每个人都是有罪性的(sin),在遇到诱惑(temptation)时难免犯罪。权力(power)是具有很强腐蚀性的诱惑之一。直至今日,经常听到美国人说:权力导致腐败,绝对的权力导致绝对的腐败。之所以持有对于人的本性和权力的这种认识,毫无疑问是受到基督教的影响。

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需要指出的是,这个基督教是经历了宗教改革和启蒙运动之后的基督教,而不是任何版本的基督教,尽管这样的人性观的元素存在于基督教各个传统中。这个版本的基督教对于人性的认识有两个方面,缺一不可。一方面强调,人是按照上帝的形象而造,因此人人具有神性,其生命、自由和尊严是天赋的,即上帝赋予的,因此不可任意剥夺。另一方面指出,人的堕落本性,具有原罪和本罪,需要惊醒修行,追求圣洁(sanctification)。不仅是个人的惊醒修行,而且要落实在政治制度的设计上。

值得特别指出的是,这个版本的基督教人性观,强调的是对于普通人的天赋生命、自由和尊严的尊重和保护,同时强调对于政治精英的限制、监督和制衡。政治制度设计者为自己这个精英群体设定限制,却保护普通民众的天赋人权,这显然超越了精英个体和小群体的自身利益考虑,假如没有超验的宗教信仰,这恐怕是不可能做到的。权力的诱惑会导致腐败,只有超验的信仰可以抵制这种诱惑,超越个体和小群体的自身利益。

二、权利运作程序的综合政体

不过,三权分立只是从不同的政治功能或权力的切割分配角度来看美国的政治制度。其实,还应该从政治运作程序的角度来分析和理解美国的政治制度。如果说美国的三民主义政权是一种“权为民所赋”的话,权力是通过怎样的程序赋予的?哪些由公民赋予出去,哪些由公民保留?有句俗语说:the devil is in the details(魔鬼在细节中),因此不能光说起来好听,看上去好看,还需要仔细检查其细节的设计和 implement。民主政治的运作程序,这正是国人对于民主政治的理解和实践非常欠缺的方面,非常需要补课。

在权力运作程序上,准确地说,美国是个综合政治体制,其中包括了狭义的民主决议制、代议共和制、总统独裁制。

狭义的民主决议制是一种大民主(democracy),决策过程全体参加,人人平等,一人一票,共同决策,少数服从多数。比如有些法案需要公民的票决,以及地方首席行政官的选举。这种程序的好处是人人平等,权力共享。缺点是少数人的利益难以得到保障,而且民众的思想情感、利益选择具有随意性,流动性,缺少一贯性和稳定性。

代议共和制是指由代表代行决策(republic),公民选出代表或者由特定的程序指定代表,诸多代表组成议会(council),在议会中议事和共同决策。其决策虽然是由这些代表决定的,即公民中的一小部份人的决策,但是对于被代表者也具有约束力。显然,这是一种精英体制,因为被选出或指定的代表,需要具备一定的素质和知识,具备一定的议事能力,能够在议会中有效地议事(deliberation),即对于事项有知识有能力进行权衡利弊,逻辑推理,摆事实讲道理。代议共和制的优点是精英决策,效率较高,具有较大的稳定性。缺点是代表们有可能形成利益集团,从而导致其决策有利于利益集团而牺牲大众利益。不经选举的代表,更容易牺牲大众利益。因此,代议共和制中的代表,一般要由选民通过民主选举获得代表资格,并且通过定期选举实行监督和制衡。与此同时,议会内的议员彼此之间和决策程序上,则是议员之间的平等民主决议制。

总统独裁制(presidency)是由一人负责决策,其决策对于下属和民众具有约束力。这种权力制度在人类历史上屡见不鲜,从国王到皇帝等传统君主制都是如此。现在的人们容易想到独裁的缺点,即一个独裁者任意妄为,违背民意,便会损害大众利益。这可能是中国历史上出现过太多的昏君暴君。但是,总统独裁制其实也有其优点,其中一个优点就是效率高,稳定性高。如果独裁者体贴民意,顺从天意,内圣外王,君临天下,实在是其下属和臣民的福分,是众人最省心省力的政治体制。独裁制也是最为稳定的一种政治制度,因为一个人无论如何任意妄为,其意念也是有限的,少于一群人的意

念和万人的意念。

美国的政治是个综合体制,就包括了民主决议制、代议共和制、总统独裁制。民主体现在定期的选举和公民票决,共和体现在议会,独裁体现在总统一人行使行政决策,并且是三军统帅。这三者也是一种制衡,避免了大民主的混乱和变换无常,制衡了政治精英的集团利益,总统则需要民选、向议会报告,并且对于总统的权力范围和任期进行了严格的法律限定。总体来说,总统的权力和权威,议员的权力和权威,公民的权力和尊严,都在很大程度上得到兼顾和尊重。这样一套复杂的综合体制,由宪法和法律固定下来,成为一套具有动态稳定的政治制度。这样的综合体制形成以后,逐渐显示出其优越性。虽然总有这样那样的缺点和遗憾,需要不断地进行修补和微调,但是,对于一个幅员辽阔、人口众多的大国来说,这是迄今为止最为行之有效的政治制度。

为什么美国建国之时制定了这套综合政治体制?尽管权力行使的三种形态在柏拉图的《政治家》中已经有所论述,但是这套综合体制主要不是出于几个聪明绝顶的政治精英的主动设计,其实是当时各方政治势力进行博弈的结果,特别是基督教会多年实践外化为政治制度的结果。

三、基督教会的三种体制

美国建国之时的各方政治势力是怎样的呢?这有必要到当时的基督教会去找,因为是在教会这个最基层的公共空间里人们最先实践了民主共和以及总裁制度。对于基督教内部权力结构有所了解的人知道,基督教虽然宗派众多,但是教会的权力制度有三种基本形态:一是主教制(episcopalism),二是长老制(presbyterianism),三是会众制(congregationalism)。

主教制历史最悠久,与基督教会的形成过程紧密相联。主教总裁一个教区的教务,一个教区之内会有多个地方教会。教区内的权力等级分明,地方教会的牧师或神父需要顺服主教的权力权威,信众顺服牧师或神父的权力权威,另外还有一些明确的职份及其相应级别的权力。在一个教区内,主教可以说是上帝之下,万人之上,权力集中,实行独自裁决。不仅天主教会实行主教制,而且圣公会(安立甘宗)、卫理会(循理宗)、信义会(路德宗),也实行主教制,尽管细节上各有不同。

长老制在近代宗教改革过程中被一些教会采纳施行,由地方教会会众选出德高望重而又灵性很好的长老组成长老议会(council),长老集体议事决策,治理教务。会众需要服从长老议会的集体权力权威。几个教会的联会组成相应的长老联会,治理联会辖区内的教务。联会再组成区会,区会再组成总会。不仅基督教长老会实行长老制,还有一些其他宗派(比如在华人中影响较大的宣道会、中华基督教会等)实行长老制。同样的,各宗派在细节上各有不同。

会众制则是每个地方教会彼此独立,教会内全体会众共同决策,会员人人平等,一人一票,即使牧师传道人,在决策时也仅此一票,并不比普通会员拥有更大的权力。会众制形成于宗教改革时期的独立教会和再洗礼派运动。“五月花号”清教徒在普利茅斯和马萨诸塞发展出公理会教会(Congregational churches),广泛传播于新英格兰各地。美国早期建立的一些大学,包括哈佛和耶鲁,是由公理会建立的。不过,会众制的不稳定性或变换多端,具有很多表现。美国公理会神学早期接近加尔文主义,甚至难分彼此,但是由于施行会众制,其中一些地方教会不久就衍生出了唯一神论(Unitarianism)、理神论(Deism)、超验论(Transcendentalism),这些地方教会逐渐分化分流出去。经过分分合合而形成的现在这个联合基督教会(United Church of Christ),已经从清教徒的观念变成在神学上最为自由开放的教派之一。现任美国总统奥巴马在芝加哥受洗的教会就是个公理会。实行会众制的教会现在人数最多的是几个浸信会教派。虽然是教派,但与主教制和长老制的教派不同,区会或总会对于每个地方教会没有上下级的领导关系,只有指导性和自愿性的关系,区会和总会的决策对下没

有约束力,地方教会各自独立决策。浸信会是北美华人中数量最多的教会,其他很多独立教会实际上实行会众制,或者游离于会众制和长老制之间。

在美国独立战争时期,这三种类型的教会制度都有很多信众。主教制主要源于英国国教即圣公会,圣公会是弗吉尼亚(包括西佛吉尼雅)的主导教会,乔治·华盛顿和托马斯·傑佛逊都是弗吉尼亚人,深谙此道。长老制和会众制在马萨诸塞和新英格地区广为实践,到独立战争时已经实践了一百多年,积累了很多经验。当开国之父们聚到一起设计国家制度时,对于这三种制度的利弊各有体会、阐述、协商、研判,扬长避短,最终形成了综合性政治体制。

完全可以说,如果没有公理会、长老会和圣公会广大信众的实践,是很难想像和设计出这样一套综合政治体制的。教会内的权力分配和行使的实践,为社会政治领域里的权力分配和行使,提供了模板,积累了经验。不同类型的教会成为美国民主共和总统制的社会基础,这个社会基础是非常重要的。民主、共和不是停留在理念和口号上,不是停留在书本上,而是融化在基层社会的日常生活实践中,因此可以说,美国的政体是自下而上的,是水到渠成的历史发展结果。当然,开国之父那一代精英的主动选择和历史贡献也不可低估,他们秉持的基督教信仰和启蒙运动思想,都是宝贵的资源,合力促成了美国综合政体的创立。

四、公民宗教以及多元宗教

同样重要的是,开国时期信众在教会生活中的实践,也决定了美国精英在政体设计中对于信仰的尊重和重视。政治制度本身是权力的分配和行使规则,但是,任何政治体制如果缺少了信仰作为根基,就很难长期稳定。因为无论是会众决议制、长老代议制还是主教总裁制,在基督教会里的实践,都是以信仰为根基的,是服膺在上帝的绝对权柄之下的。即使是主教总裁,主教也不过是上帝与信众之间的大祭司,主教应该服膺上帝权柄。因此,在政治制度的设计中,美国的开国之父们,从独立宣言到宪法条款,再到第一任总统就职典礼,再到被统称为权利法案的宪法修正案前十个条款,都体现出对于上帝权柄的敬畏和服膺。

乔治·华盛顿将军曾经被拥戴称王,也就是作终身君主,这在弗吉尼亚社会环境中,是合情合理的期许,因为弗吉尼亚深受英国国教会(安立干宗、圣公会)的传统影响。但是,华盛顿本人拒绝作王,坚持建立有限任期的总统制,也就是对于主教制传统进行了重大调整,限制其权力的范围和时段。但是与主教相同的是,在宣誓就职时,第一任总统华盛顿特别祈求上帝,帮助他遵守和保护宪法,以此表明这个国家首脑和三军统帅,是服膺在更高的上帝权柄之下。

到美国南北战争这个重大历史时期,林肯总统通过演讲和行动,进一步重申美国政治体制中的神圣维度或原则,并且注入了生死献祭的宗教性因素。由此发展完善了一套宗教政治文化系统,这个神圣系统独立于任何一个宗教及其教派,它由宪法和法律确保各个宗教和教派在法律面前的自由和平等,既不立国教或独尊某个宗教,也不禁止任何一个宗教的实践。与此同时,这种宗教政治文化体系赋予政治体制以神圣维度和信仰元素,权力服膺在上帝的权柄之下。总统虽然是在万人之上,却是在上帝之下。任公职的官员和选举产生的各级议员,都要手抚圣经进行宣誓就职仪式。其实,这并非法律的强制规定,而是柔性的传统规范,民众期许,文化认同。这是美国政治的一个奥秘。

这样一套宗教政治文化系统,被当代社会学家罗伯特·贝拉称之为“公民宗教”(civil religion)。公民宗教不是国教,也不是具体的任何一个宗教或教派组织,而是以经过了启蒙运动启迪的基督教信仰为底色的价值观念和文化符号系统。这样一种公民宗教,在具体宗教的自由平等获得宪法和法律保障的前提下,为美国的政治体制提供了神圣合法性维度。大陆新儒家领军人物蒋庆批判西方现代

民主制度缺少神圣合法性,是因为他没有看到美国政体中的这个神圣维度,他还不理解公民宗教这个奥秘。

五、美国宗教的历史变迁

美国的宗教结构在过去二百多年中发生了极大变化。开国时期的 13 个州,大多数是基督新教的不同教派,可以说基督新教是美国的灵魂、价值观念、文化认同。经过 19 世纪中叶到 20 时期初的移民浪潮,天主教徒和犹太教徒比例急剧上升。到了 1950 年代,美国学者认为美国的灵魂已经从单一的基督新教转变为基督新教、天主教和犹太教的三合一,从此简称为犹太基督文化和价值体系。1960 年代以来的新移民浪潮,则带来伊斯兰教、印度教、佛教等各种宗教的众多信徒。现在美国人所能说的,只能是“上帝之下的民族”(one nation under God),至于这个上帝是哪个宗教的上帝,则已是众说纷纭,莫衷一是了。还有些无神论者,不断挑战“上帝之下的民族”这个观念本身,想要把“上帝”彻底放逐出美国政治和公共领域。美国政治体制的神圣合法性,正在遭遇前所未有的挑战,未来如何发展,并无必然可谈,取决于各种政治力量的博弈。

幸好美国实行的不是大民主,不是纯粹的民主决议制。由于总统独裁制和代议共和制的稳定性,也由于宪法所确定的三权分立的稳定性和法律制度的稳定性,美国的宗教政治文化体系虽然经受严峻挑战,但是其基本结构,迄今为止依然健在。来到美国的移民宗教,都自觉或不自觉地进行调整和同化。比如,美国现在圣公会信徒已经很少,人口比例很小,但是,同样施行主教制的天主教徒已经很多,已经占到美国人口的四分之一左右。可是美国天主教已经不再是宗教改革前的天主教,不仅适应了美国的政治社会文化,接受了作为诸多基督教派之一的事实,而且,在经过 1960 年代的梵蒂冈第二届大公会议之后,也适应了现代民主政治。因此,在今日美国,天主教在社会政治功能上已经在很大程度上取代了开国时期的圣公会。美国最高法院九位大法官中,其中六位是天主教徒(另外三位是犹太教徒,没有基督新教徒)。再比如,虽然公理会信徒人数已经很少,人口比例很小,但是,同样实行会众制的南方浸信会则已经成为除了天主教以外最大的教派,而且已经从社会最底层晋升到美国精英主流之中。卡特总统、克林顿总统都是美南浸信会出身。而犹太教一向实行会众制。与此同时,各种各样实行长老制的教派宗派依然很多,在政治、经济、社会、文化等各个领域担当中流砥柱。

另外还有一个经常被忽略的历史事实,1960 年代以来的新移民虽然很多来自亚非拉和中东,其中多数人其实是基督教徒,要么是移民之前就是基督徒,要么是移民美国之后改信基督教。更有一个尚未被人们充分认识到的发展变化,即其他宗教来到美国后,无论是伊斯兰教、印度教还是佛教,也在信仰、组织、会众等方面日益趋近美国的主流宗教。因此,美国的灵魂、价值观念、文化认同虽然变得更加绚丽多彩,但基本色调依然是犹太基督文化。迄今为止这依然是个事实,而且意义深远。

六、展望中国的一种未来

以美国的经验反观中国,基督教对于民主政治能够做出怎样的贡献呢?这是个极具挑战性的问题。当我们面对现实并且展望未来时,一种可能是我们变得非常乐观,盲目乐观,结果会惨败,直至丢盔卸甲,惨不忍睹。一种可能是我们变得非常悲观,看到现实与理想相距遥远,结果是灰心丧志,放弃努力,这也将是惨不忍睹的。当我们认清了现实,确定了目标之后,我们还能不能以超然的勇气和毅力,坚定地踏实地向目标行走?

从基督教神学来说,建立人间天堂是自由开放派的主张,与世隔绝的超然圣洁生活是基要派虔敬

派的主张。对于这两种神学进路大家比较熟悉。近年来在城市新兴家庭教会众发展较快的改革宗神学,强调积极入世,力行改造世界。但是,这种神学主张,也容易导致身体力行者的挫折感,因为这个世界毕竟是多种力量并存的世界,特别是在基督徒还仅仅是社会中的少数群体和政治上的弱势群体时,改造世界的努力往往成效有限,而且常常需要付出生命和血的代价。

我们必须认识到,在全球化时代,任何宗教的一元垄断的局面已经在走向终结。多元宗教和多元文化并存共生,已经成为晚期现代社会的必然现实。多元并存有可能导致后现代相对主义,这有可能导致社会的分崩离析和经常性的暴力冲突。走出这种后现代困境的途径,在于建立宪政法治,在社会基层实践民主共和总裁,同时树立公共生活的共享神圣维度,也就是公民宗教。

公民宗教不是宗派宗教,而是公民社会中公共生活的神圣维度。美国的公民宗教是以基督教为底色的,但不等同于基督教。美国的公民宗教在过去经历了宗教多元化的冲击和整合重建,目前正在经历新一波多元宗教和多元文化的更大挑战和重新建构。

中国目前没有公民宗教,如若建构未来社会的公民宗教,不可避免地需要以儒学或儒教为底色,但是同时需要基督教为底色。没有儒学对于基督教的主动吸收,没有华人基督徒的主动参与,未来社会的公民宗教是不可能的。秉持“知其不可而为之”的精神,我愿展望这样一种双重底色的天下公民宗教,其骨架或可概括为:天之主——上帝,国之法——宪政,家之情——情义,人之爱——博爱。

最后,还应该指出的是,我的教会的牧师在最近的一次讲道中,特别阐述了另外一种福音派神学主张:基督徒在这个世界上是客旅,是朝圣者,走在世界之中,为世界带来福音的信息,在社会生活中作光作盐,目标始终定睛在上帝的国度和精神家园,相信这个世界如何发展,完全掌握在上帝的手中,基督徒不过是竭力行走在上帝为他们选定的道路上。

也许,面对现实,展望未来,定睛天国,我们应该做的,就是全力以赴传播福音,在教会这个生命共同体中实践信仰生活,包括民主决议制、代议共和制、总统独裁制,并且在社会生活中作光作盐。我认为,只有在基督教有了更加广泛的传播之后,才有希望看到中国民主政治的落实。这在目前看来虽然显得遥不可及,恐怕却是没有其它捷径的。我们只能抱定信念,信靠基督,坚定地行走在朝圣之途上。

English Title:

Christian Church, Democratic System and Civil Society

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Abstract: USA has been taken as a case of study in this article to explore three aspects of the divine legitimacy: the faith basis of three separation of powers, the church basis of the democratic republic comprehensive presidency regime, and the cultural basis of civil religion. Based on such an analysis, the author has foreseen a future of China, which includes a kind of world civil religions with dual colors background.

Key terms: Christian church, democratic system, civil religion, dual colors background

The Challenges and Opportunities for Christianity in Contemporary China

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Abstract: This article contains five main topics. Firstly, the aim is to briefly describe the number of Christians and the characteristics of Christian development in China through four periods. Secondly, the aim is to describe the characteristics of the contemporary Chinese context through a metaphor constructed by me for this purpose. It is of a flying dragon with one-head-two-wings-four-feet and one-tail. Thirdly, the aim is to explore three challenges and opportunities by describing the legislative limitations to the “selfish wild horse of capitalism” and the Levithan of Bureaucracy. This is done by using the metaphors of rope and cage. The role of Christianity within the contemporary secular and humanistic society is also discussed with the aid of a metaphor, that of a “rescuing pill”. Finally, the article has focused on the challenges and opportunities for Christianity in contemporary China through an analysis of political theology, cultural theology (especially identity) and humanistic theology (especially as related to Christianity’s pragmatic and secular functions in contemporary China).

Key words: period, amount, the flying dragon with one-head-two-wings-four-feet and one-tail, political theology, cultural identity, secular influence

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I . The Four Periods of Christian Development in China

Christianity in the forms of Nestorianism, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism has experienced a history of over 1200 years in China. The beginning of this timeline can be traced back to AD 635, when Nestorianism entered China during the Tang dynasty. The timeline as related to these three periods runs to 1840 when the Opium War took place between the United Kingdom of Britain and China. Within this long period, there have altogether been three highest peaks and lowest valleys.

The first highest peak and lowest valley: In AD 635 Alopen arrived in Chang’an, the capital of the Tang dynasty, with his Nestorian monks. In AD 845 the Wu Emperor of the Tang dynasty destroyed Buddhism because of its strong threat to the government. Nestorianism was also destroyed that same time. There were 210 years when Nestorianism developed well and there were 426 years

when Nestorianism was persecuted or forbidden. The world then developed slowly, and because of undeveloped technologies and geological difficulties there was not much communication and exchange between the East and the West.

The second highest peak and lowest valley: In 1271 the Mongolian Yuan dynasty was established in China and in 1580 of the Ming dynasty Jesuit missionaries were allowed to live in Dadu (today's Beijing), the Capital of the Yuan dynasty. The highest peak year was in 1368 when the Yuan dynasty was overthrown. There were 97 years when Nestorianism developed well and there were 212 years when Nestorianism was forbidden or destroyed. During the Ming dynasty the door of China was closed. However, the European countries had showed their strength in politics, economics, cultures and religious faith, after the great geological discovery of North – America. In addition to the above, the communication technologies had also been very much improved, thus, it was difficult for China to keep herself isolated from the other part of the world. The valley period of 212 years was much shorter than the previous valley period of 426 years.

The third highest peak and lowest valley: This took place in 1580 when the Jesuit missionaries were allowed to live in Dadu (today's Beijing) and in 1840 when the Opium War took place between China and the UK. The highest peak year was in 1723 when the Yongzheng Emperor of the Qing dynasty came into power; he started to forbid Roman Catholic missionary works in China. There were 143 years when Christianity developed well, and 117 years when Christianity was forbidden or destroyed. Because of the following elements, in the context of globalization China had much more difficulty in keeping herself isolated from the other parts of the world: (1) Foreign political and economic power became stronger and stronger; (2) The strategy and power of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Christian missionary works became stronger and stronger; (3) The gap between China and the European countries became bigger and bigger. Finally it was difficult to forbid Christianity in China, although some bitterness had appeared in the encounter between Christianity and China.

Among the whole 1205 years from 635 to 1840, the period of the high peak was 450 years, and that of the low valley was 755 years. They occupy respectively 37,3 percent and 62,7 percent. ^①

The fourth period started from the Opium War in 1840 and we today are still experiencing this stage. In the 18th century, many Chinese had been converted to Christianity, and Christianity had contributed to China in many areas. Contributions had taken place, for example, in political modernization, democracy, thinking liberation, scientific and technological development, equality between men and women, modern education, medical care and charity, etc. Meanwhile this period also witnessed many persecutions and anti – Christianity movements.

The de-facto context of contemporary China can be described with a metaphor of a flying dragon, which has one-head, two-wings, four-feet and one-tail. The head is the authority of

^① Dong Conglin 2007; *Long yu shangdi* (Dragon and God), Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 73 – 76. Huang Baoluo 2012; *Daguo xue shiye zhong de hanyu xueshu duihua shenxue* (The Sino – Christian Academic Dialogical Theology in the light of the Great Guoxue), Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 186 – 187

government, which leads and influences almost every aspect of Chinese spirituality, culture, ideology and religion. The four feet are four types of elements. They are: (1) Chinese original indigenization such as Confucianism, Daoism and folk religions; (2) Universal types of elements such as secularism, materialism and pragmatic ideas, human rights, etc; (3) Foreign originated but contextualized elements such as Buddhism and Marxism; (4) Foreign original elements which are still in the process of contextualizing, such as Christianity and Islam. In addition to these four feet, there are more newer and smaller elements, which are like hairs of the tail. All these elements can be divided into either being of Chinese origin or foreign origin, and are likened to the two wings. Such a division of origin has again become a way of thinking, considering Chinese origin as loyal and foreign origin as potentially hostile.^② In contemporary China, Christianity is living within such a context, which has many challenges and also opportunities.

II. The Characteristics of the Number of Chinese Christians

Regarding the number of Christians and clergies in China, the following data is worthy of attention.^③

In AD 840 when the Wu Emperor of the Tang dynasty persecuted Buddhism and Nestorianism, there were around 2000 Nestorians in China.^④ But most of the Nestorians then were foreign immigrants, and very few Chinese local people believed in Nestorianism.

In the 12th century of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty, many Turkestan people believed in Nestorianism, and there were about 200 000.

In the 19th century, during the Qing dynasty, there were about 200 000 Roman Catholic Christians. In 1807 when British Robert Morrison arrived in China as the first protestant missionary, and until 1839 there were about 100 Protestant Christians in China.

In 1860, there were about 300 000 Roman Catholic Christians, and only several hundred Protestant Christians. Most of the Western missionaries then were living in the coastal area, and there were only two Chinese Protestant pastors.

In 1900, there were about 100 000 baptized Chinese Protestant Christians, and there were around 3500 Western missionaries in China. There were about 800 000 Chinese Roman Catholic Christians.

In 1920, there were about 500 000 Chinese Protestant Christians, and there were about 8000 Western missionaries in China.

② Huang Baoluo 2010: "Cong Oumei shijiao kan tixian zhongguo ruanshili de daguoxue" (The Great guoxue, which Shows the Soft Power of China, in the Perspectives of Europe and North America), in *Zhongguo shehui kexue bao* (Review of Chinese Social Sciences), No. 68, volume 13 Haiwaiiban.

③ These data are from a lecture by professor Miikka Ruokanen in the Department of Systematic Theology at the University of Helsinki in 2011.

④ Generally scholars believe that these were Nestorianists from Syria, but some others do not consider Alopen belonging to this school, for example, professor Zhu Donghua from Tsinghua University, China.

In 1902 the Finnish Mission Society started to send missionaries to China. Pastor Päivö Parviainen left China in 1953 as the last Finnish missionary who had lived for several years in Communist China even after 1949 when the People's Republic of China had been established. Since then Western missionaries have been totally officially forbidden to do evangelical work in China. In that time when Parviainen left China, there were about 700 000 or 800 000 Protestant Chinese Christians, and 20% of them were indigenous congregation members, who did not have any relationship with foreign Christian organizations. There were then about three million Roman Catholic Chinese Christians.

In the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966 – 1976) in China, Christianity was persecuted very seriously, and many Western Christians worried that Christianity had been destroyed totally in China. However, recent facts show the opposite, since the amount of Chinese Protestant Christians grew 6 times to reach about 5 million. Since in that period the Christian Church was closed officially, many Christians met secretly at home without any official registration, thus, the House Church was born.

Today, in the 21st century, the number of Chinese Christians is a disputed issue. Three of the numbers are famous: According to the Chinese government and the Chinese Christian Council there are about 23 million Protestant and 8 million Roman Catholic Christians in China. According to David Aikman and overseas Christian organizations there are 100 million Protestant Christians. According to many academic scholars there are about 50 million Protestant Christians in China.^⑤ In any case, the Chinese Christian church, especially the Protestant Christian Church in China is one of the most fast growing churches in today's world.

Through the above observations we may notice that the amount of Chinese Christians was growing the most during three periods: One was during 1900 – 1930 when the anti – Christian movement was happening. Another was during 1949 – 1976 when Christians were persecuted, especially in the Cultural Revolution. The third has been since 1980 until today, when political persecution has become less but secularization is becoming more and more serious in Chinese society.

III. Three Challenges and Three Opportunities for Christianity in Contemporary China^⑥

^⑤ The Blue Book of Religions in China in 2010, by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of World Religions has published a data that there are 23 millions of Protestant Christians in China in 2009 – 2010. This is close to the official date offered by the Chinese Government and Chinese Christian Council. Roman Catholic Christians were not included in this data.

^⑥ This part is abstracted from an article of mine, Huang Baoluo 2012: “21shiji hanyu yujin zhong yingran cengmian de hanyu xueshu shenxue zhi goujia” (The Construction of Sino – Christian Academic Theology, which should be in the 21th century in China), “Christianity and 21st Century China Conference”, The 5th Forum of Chinese Theology, August 22 – 24, 2012 in Gordon – Conwell Theological Seminary, Boston, USA.

Based upon the above characteristics of the stages and numbers of Chinese Christianity, we may foresee that, the existence and development of Chinese Christianity has important meaning to Christianity in general and to the whole world. In order to investigate the challenges for Christianity, we need to have a clear sense to realize and to distinguish what the real problems are. I have summarized these problems as three kinds of challenges, and proper resolution to these challenges will change them into great opportunities for Christianity to develop herself in China.^⑦

The first challenge and opportunity is political theology. Chinese political reality requires Christianity to face and solve political problems in the Chinese context, otherwise, there will be many difficulties for her to exist and to develop. How should Christians deal with this?

On the one hand, it is necessary to understand the philosophical essence of Chinese politics. Chinese politics require all religions, philosophies and cultures to have two kinds of functions; they are both in offering legal apologetic argument for the contemporary political authority and in offering help to maintain stability for the contemporary political authority. In the contemporary Chinese political context, Christianity needs to deal with the relationship between Christian faith and radical aggressive leftist atheism.^⑧ Historically speaking, Christianity and its theology should deal with two issues: One is the negative and bitter memory resulting from the relationship between Christianity and Western imperialism or colonialism since the period of the Opium War in 1840 and the Korean War in the 1950s.^⑨ The other issue is the worry of the Chinese political authority that Western political powers harm China (or the Chinese authority) through Christianity. These two issues relate directly with the existence and acceptance of Christianity in China. Christian theology needs to investigate and clearly state the relationship between Christianity and these ideologies or political movements historically. Misunderstandings should be distinguished out with academic method,^⑩ forgiveness should be asked for mistakes and these mistakes corrected so as to do away with the unnecessary worries. In addition, Christianity should also deal with her relationship with Chinese Confucianism, which may become a political issue through the influence of populism. One such example was that in 2010 some Chinese Confucian professors opposed a Christian Protestant church

^⑦ Some people consider that politics, culture and the development of the church herself are the essences and difficulties for the contextualization of Christianity in China. For example, Mou Zhongjian 2012: "Jidujiao zhongguohua de nandian ji jianyi" (The Difficulties and Suggestion for the Chinese Contextualization of Christianity), in *Zhongguo minzu bao* (Chinese Nationality Daily), 2012 - 04 - 17.

^⑧ Recently some radical aggressive atheists have disagreed with the contemporary Chinese official policies of Open Door and Reform; they have been trying to criticize all religious research and teaching in universities from political and nationalist perspectives.

^⑨ Huang Baoluo 2011: "Quanqiu hua xia Jidujiao dui zhongguo xingxiang zhi shuzao de yingxiang" (The Influence of Christianity to the Formation of China's Image in the Context of Globalization), in Li Ling and Zeng Qingbao ed. *Zhongguo xiandaihua shiye xia de jiaohui yu shehui* (Church and Society in the Perspective of Chinese Modernism), Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 82 - 83.

^⑩ Professor Chen Caijun has studied the relationship between missionaries and Opium trade, and he has corrected many misunderstandings concerning this history. Referring to Chen Caijun 2012: "Yingguo chuanjiao shi dui wanqing yapian maoyi de taidu yu xingdong" (The Attitude and Action of British missionaries to Opium trade in the late Qing dynasty), in *International Journal of Sino - Western Studies*, no. 2, 91 - 106.

to be built in Qufu city, the hometown of Confucius. ⑩

On the other hand, it is necessary to understand the theological and philosophical essence of Christian politics, thus, it is important to investigate the relationship between Christianity and politics theoretically from the viewpoint of dogmatics. Christianity does not exist either in order to offer apologetic argument and interpretation for any political authority, or in order to maintain stability for any political authority, since her final aim is loyalty to the Triune God and the Kingdom of God rather than any society or system in this earthly world. Thus, Christianity should not be bound to any actual political ideology, authority, government or power. This is the basic principle and essence of Christian political theology and philosophy. In reality, Christians should be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves. Christianity should hold on to her role of prophet in proclaiming Truth; meanwhile Christians should find a proper and innocent role in the real Chinese context in order to fulfill this prophetic responsibility through serving. Neither should the roles of prophet and that of serving be ignored. It is crucial to remember that Christian basic doctrine concerning politics is to obey the existing authority instead of joining in a revolution for the sake of attaining power (Rom 13: 1 – 7, 1 Tim. 2:1 – 2, Titus3:1). Thus, although conflicts exist between Christianity and politics, in the current day it is not always a tension between Christianity and Chinese politics, since cooperation or compromise is always possible without essential harm to either.

The second challenge and opportunity is cultural contextual theology. It involves three key conceptions here: contextual theology, cultural encounter and cultural identity.

The so-called contextual theology^⑪ refers to theology, which is to face the challenges from a certain context with the power of the Gospel. It relates to the attempt at indigenization, through which a certain theology adjusts to a cultural tradition. As far as contextual theology is concerned, Christianity needs to construct a Sino – Christian Academic Theology in China, which is a Christian

⑩ In December 22, 2010, some Confucian scholars had published a public letter entitled “Zunzhong zhonghua wenhua shengdi, tingjian qufu Yejiao jiaotang—Guanyu Qufu jianzao Yejiao dajiaotang de yijianshu” (To honour Chinese Cultural Saint Place and Stop Build Christian Church in Qufu—A Opinion Letter concerning Building a Christian Protestant Church in Qufu). I have written an article commenting on this issue, Huang Baoluo 2011: “Cong quanqiu hua shiye zhong de daguoxue lai kan Qufu deng rujia xuanyanshu” (Qufu and other Confucian Declarations in the light of the Great Guoxue) in *Rujia youbao* (*Confucian Post*), no. 170; Later there are three articles criticizing my article: Hanxing 2011: Dui ‘Cong Quanqiu hua shiye zhong de daxue lai kan Qufu deng rujia xuanyanshu’ de huiying (A response to Qufu and other Confucian Declarations in the light of the Great Guoxue), in *Rujia youbao* (*Confucian Post*) no. 170. Sun Tieqi 2012: ‘Cong quanqiu hua shiye de daguoxue lai kan Qufu deng rujia xuanyanshu’ yiwen zhong cunzai de wenti (The problems in the article Qufu and other Confucian Declarations in the light of the Great Guoxue), in *Rujia youbao* (*Confucian post*), no. 170, 75 – 83.

⑪ Stephen B. Bevans has mentioned five types of contextual theology: translation model, anthropological model, praxis model, synthetic model and transcendental model. Cf. Bevans, Stephen B. 1992; *Models of Contextual Theology*, New York: Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 3, 10. Ahonen, Risto A. 2003; *Lähetys rajojen ylittäjänä. Kokonaisvaltaisen lähetyskäsitteksen vaikutus lähetystyön rakenteeseen*. Kirkon tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 84. Jyväskylä: Gummerus; 29. Chinese theologians have been working on indigenization, i.e., how to adjust the Gospel with Chinese traditional cultural model. Kena, Kirsti 1993; *Kaukoidän teologian näkökulmia*, STKSJ 181, Helsinki; 12. Yang Huilin and Shi Xiaoli 2004; “Hanyu shenxue de chujing hua jiqi wenti lingyu”, in *Jidujiao yu zhongguo wenhua*5 (*Christianity and Chinese culture*), 2004, 227 – 234. Cf. also Wang Xiaochao 1998; *Jidujiao yu diguo wenhua* (Christianity and Imperial Culture: Chinese Christian Apologetics in the Seventeenth Century and Their Latin Patristic Equivalent), Leiden: Brill.

theology in the context of Chinese language and culture. The aim of such a theology is to express the comprehensive essence of Christianity through rational expression, emotional statement or mystical description and other possible means so that it may be understood and even be accepted by the audiences in the context of Chinese language and culture.

The so-called encounter of cultures refers to the encounter between two or more cultures, and here the methods of exclusivism, inclusivism, pluralism and particularism should be especially paid attention to.^⑬ As far as Sino – Christian Academic Theology is concerned, it is important to notice that the contemporary context of Chinese is like a metaphor of a flying dragon, which has one hand (political authority), two wings (Chinese and foreign elements) and four feet (the Chinese, universal, originally foreign but already Chinese contextualized, and foreign origin and still in the process of Chinese contextualization). In such a context, Christianity should deal with the head, Chinese elements and other originally foreign elements.

The so-called cultural identity refers to the essential characteristics which make a specific culture itself. If a culture is based on theistic revelation, for the perspective of humanism, the identity of a culture is the result of its development through various stages in the history of the society. Thus, from the viewpoint of humanism, the model of every cultural development is the interaction between interior and external elements, as well as powers. On the one hand, a certain culture needs to criticize its own tradition prophetically; on the other hand, a certain culture needs to learn from and absorb positive elements from foreign cultures. In the lack of any aspect of the above two sides, a cultural model will not be able to face the challenges so as to fall into the danger to be eliminated. Strictly speaking, humanism cannot result in an absolute identity of any one culture, since every culture is the result of a mixture of various elements from local and foreign cultures through the long history of development in society. Only theistic revelation or theism can result in a claim that a culture is based upon God or the metaphysical background is absolutely correct and non – changeable. However, some nationalist Confucian scholars face a self – contradictory situation between their theory and practice in dealing with the encounter with Christianity. On the one hand, this viewpoint rejects the identity of Christianity as the absolutely correct one, since it emphasizes that according to humanism no cultural identity is absolutely correct. On the other hand, this viewpoint considers Confucian identity as the one, which should not be changed essentially, since if so, there would be no real Confucianism anymore.

In order to explore the relationship between Christian and Confucian cultural identities from the perspective of cultural encounter and contextual theology, Sino – Christian Figurist theology^⑭ and the issue of building a protestant church in Qufu city^⑮ may be studied as two important cases.

^⑬ Huang Baoluo 2012: *Daguo xue shiye zhong de hanyu xueshu duihua shenxue* (The Sino – Christian Academic Dialogical Theology in the light of the Great Guoxue), Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 158 – 177.

^⑭ Cf. Huang Baoluo 2010: "Hanyu suoyin shenxue—Dui Faguo Yesuhuishi xujiang Limadou zhihou wenming duihua de yanjiu" (Sino – Christian Figurist Theology—A study on the civilization dialogue continued by French Jesuits after Matteo Ricci), in *Journal of Shenzhen University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, No. 1, 2010, 1 – 10.

^⑮ The opinion letter, disputations between Paulos Huang (Huang Baoluo) and Han Xing, Sun Tieqi have been referred to above.

The third challenge and opportunity is the pragmatic function of Christianity. From a humanistic and especially a pragmatic perspective, Christianity needs to explore what kind of influence it can have in the secular society. Many people care about neither political nor cultural interest, but they do care about the potential continuous influence of Christianity coming from a secular perspective.^⑯ Therefore, through the following metaphors invented by myself, I emphasize three issues that relate to the secular influence of Christianity within contemporary China.

First, Christianity may help China overcome the negative influence arising from selfish capitalism and from the Levithan of Bureaucracy. As far as the development of social economics, capitalist free market economics is like a wild horse without a rope; since it seeks selfish benefit blindly, it can bring certain economic and material development to human society. Free market economics and capitalism are a powerful weapon, which may bring great blessings to human kind and stability to society once it is properly connected with Christianity, as the history in Europe and North America has shown. Max Weber has explored the relationship between the Capitalist spirit and Protestant ethics.^⑰ However, once it is separated from Christianity, capitalism may bring much damage to society and human kind as the history since the Enlightenment Movement has shown: capitalism and free market economics may result in imperialism and colonialism. Christianity can play a role of limiting and controlling capitalism and the selfish free market wild horse to a certain extent so that the stability of society can be attained. But Confucianism and the Chinese traditional value system have difficulty in playing such a role of relating to capitalist wildness.^⑱ In contemporary China, it is important to employ Christianity to balance capitalist free market economics so as to take advantage of its good side and to avoid the negative influence of it. On the one hand, Christianity may help China overcome the blindness of the capitalist wild horse, that is, its potential of harming Chinese economic development. On the other hand, Christianity may help China overcome the negative influence of the Levithan of Bureaucracy; the negative influence can be harmful towards economic development and can cause social corruption. In secular and pragmatic aspects, it is important to explore and to develop the positive influence of Christianity to China.

Second, Christianity may help China overcome the negative influence of populist democracy which tries to flatter the will of all. As far as the social system and principle are concerned, the continuous development basis of European and North American societies is rooted in the non-corruption of government and the limiting capacity of law as related to capitalism and to the Levithan of Bureaucracy. Christianity does not only emphasize that Christians should be obedient to

^⑯ Huang Baoluo 2012: "Jiduzongjiao xinyang duiyu shehui zhixu de yiyi" (The significance of Christianity to Chinese social order), presented in Beijing Forum 2012: The Harmony of Civilizations and Prosperity for All Panel (Session II Faith and Society: Spiritual Reflections of Global Age), November 1 - 4, 2012. Huang Baoluo 2012: "Cong xinhanxue shijiao laikan Jiduzongjiao xinyang duiyu zhongguo shehui zhixu de yiyi" (The significance of Christian faith to Chinese social order from the perspective of New Sinology), presented in Renmin University of China, November 3 - 5, 2012 in the Third Sinology Conference 2012.

^⑰ Weibo zhu, Chen Ping yi 2007: *Zibenzhuyi jingshen yu xinjiao lunli* [Capitalist spirit and Protestant ethics], Xi'an; Shaanxi shifan daxue chubanshe, "Bianzhe xu", 8 - 9.

^⑱ *Ibid.*, 21 - 27.

governmental authority but also denies the existence of perfection in any government or any secular authority, thus, within a situation of stable obedience, government is under supervision of God and the democratic supervisory institutions. In the Christian tradition, government has been described by Hobbes as a Leviathan, which can bring blessings but also may harm the common people.^① Later, through thinkers such as John Lock and Rousseau,^② law in the democratic system has become a rope to control the wild selfish horse of the capitalist free market, controlling the Leviathan so as not to harm people. In this way the continuous and stable development of Europe and North America has been achieved. However, law can control only people's bodies rather than their souls, thus, law only has a limited positive influence on economic and social order. Why? Since democratic law is separated from Christianity and is related only to humanist rationality, the democracy which originally sought for the General Will becomes populist in nature, seeking only the Will of All; thus, only the majority is important, and truth itself becomes more and more invisible and less important.^③ This is the main reason which today causes the European and American societies to be stable in the material aspect but empty and uncertain in the spiritual aspect. Thus, democracy and law are powerful weapons. Once they are connected with Christianity, the populist negative aspects of the Will of All may be limited and controlled so as to be transformed into a seeking of the General Will in accordance with Truth. Therefore, in the sense of system development, it may offer a platform for peaceful transformation. When democracy is separated from Christianity and from the seeking of the General Will, it may be connected with violence, populism and the simple opinion that the majority is correct. Thus, such a model cannot bring peaceful and continuous transformation to societies, and it is impossible to avoid the damage of dynastic revolutions.^④

Third, Christianity may help China return to the universal horizon (*Tianxia*/All Under Heaven) from a narrow-minded national country by offering transcendent spiritual power.

As far as the spiritual aspect is concerned, the continuous development of a society needs a metaphysical spiritual latitude. Christianity has experienced persecution in the beginning stage of her birth, became the state religion of the Roman Empire, and has been challenged by humanism, especially rationality and science. Gradually she has been limited into the private area of human lives; within contemporary Western countries, she has become like an instant cardio – reliever pill, which is not used everyday but works very well in the crucial moments such as in the event of social

^① Huobusi zhu, Li Sifu and Li Yanbi yi 1985: *Liweitan* [The Leviathan], Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan. Zhao Dunhua 2001: *Xifang zhexue jianshi*, Beijing daxue chubanshe 208 – 209.

^② Luoke zhu, Ye Qifang deng yi 1963: *Zhengfulun (xiapian)*, Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 57 – 58. Beijing daxue zhaxue xi xifangzhaxue jiaoyanshi bian 1982: *Xifang zhaxue yuanshu xuandu (Xiajuan)*, Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 72. Zhao Dunhua 2001: *Xifang zhaxue shi*, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 252, 281 – 283.

^③ Rousseau has distinguished general will from the will of all, cf. Zhao Dunhua 2001: *Xifang zhaxue jianshi*, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 282 – 283.

^④ Taking law as example, only when law should be believed in can it be respected and obeyed in practice, otherwise it is difficult to establish law. Cf. Haluode Boerteman zhu, Liang Zhiping yi 1991: *Fali yu zongjiao* (Law and Religion), Sanlian shudian.

chaos caused by a Tsunami or terrorist attacks. Faith in God as such a pill is contrary to narrow – minded humanism and secularism, and has positive significance in limiting the wild horse of capitalism and the bureaucracy of the crazy Leviathan (as a rope and a cage). And we may learn much from this to find a proper solution to the Chinese context. ② In order to avoid the aggressive danger of a social Darwinist wild horse of humanism, relativism, nihilism and populism in contemporary China at a time when Confucianism is employed to construct the soft power of China, it is necessary to connect it with Christianity in many aspects so that Confucianism may explore the traditional concept of its *Tianxia* (All Under Heaven). This can be done so as to adjust it to the contemporary globalized context, and connect the concept of *Tian* (Heaven) with the universal concept of God in Christianity. ③ Uniting the two concepts may offer very much help to China in facing the globalization challenge and the requirement of continuous development by offering a metaphysical basis, a concrete vision and plan for China’s development.

In summary, Christianity can play many positive roles in China. For example, the Christian metaphysical perspective may be useful in solving the misunderstanding of humanism (especially that of narrow – minded rational natural science) and the problem of cultural identity. ④ And such an attempt may help China in gaining the capability to face the challenges posed by post – modern deconstructionism, relativism and nihilism.

② Huang Baoluo 2012: “Jiduzongjiao xinyang duiyu shehui zhixu de yiyi” (The Significance of Christianity to the Social Order in China), presented in Nove. 1 – 4, 2102 Beijing Forum 2012. Peking University.

③ Sun Xiangchen 2010: “Xixue siye xia ruxue xiandai zhuanxing yingyou de jige weidu” (Several Latitudes for Confucianist Transformation in the Perspective of Western Studies), in Zhang Zhigang, Yan Jun ed. 2010: *Xinyang yu zeren – – Quanguohua shidai de jingshen fansi* (Faith and Responsibility), Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 270 – 271. Yao Dali 2006 “‘Tianxia xingwang, pisu youze de zai quanshi yu zhongguo jindai minzu guojia yishi de shengcheng’”, in *Shijie jingji yu zhengzhi*, 2006, No. 10; Wu Zengding 2005: “Cong guojia chongfan tianxia; Zhongguo gudai tianxiaguan de dangdai yiyi”, in *Wenming de hejie—Xhongguo heping jueqi yihou de shijie*, Beijing: Renmin chubanshe.

④ Descartes, Freud and Karl Marx are such examples, who emphasize the wakening of human subjective identity.

中文题目:

基督教在当代中国所面临的挑战与机遇

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摘要:本文简述了基督教在华传播的四个阶段特点与不同时期的信徒数量发展特点之后,特别通过笔者独创的“一首两翼四足一尾的飞龙”来描述当代中国的语境特点,以“缰绳”与“笼子”来描述法律对资本主义自私野马和官僚主义利维坦的约束,以“救心丸”来描述在世俗化人文主义猖獗的社会里的独特作用,重点论述了基督教在华生存与发展中在政治神学、文化相遇与世俗影响三个方面所遇到的挑战与机遇。

关键词:阶段、数量、一首两翼四足一尾的飞龙、政治神学、文化主体性、世俗影响

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

Tibetan Buddhism in America—A Tibetan Woman’s Insights

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Abstract: Tibetan Buddhism has moved beyond the ethnic minorities of the Himalayas and has been adopted by Westerners, thus recognizing and generating many benefits for cross – cultural understanding by many people. As such, it has now become an international, and even global, religion. Tibetan Buddhism no longer solely belongs to Tibetan/Himalayan people. It benefits all of the world’s people who study Tibetan Buddhism. Having studied and researched contemporary Tibetan Buddhism in Amdo, Kham, and in Western and Eastern Tibet for more than ten years, I received scholarships at the University of Virginia in 2008 –2009 and at Harvard University in 2011 –2012. During this time, I did field work concerning Tibetan Buddhism in America. My main question during my field work has been: what are the differences between traditional Tibetan Buddhism taught in America versus that taught in Tibet. In this article I will point out five differences of Tibetan Buddhism in America versus Tibet.

Key words: Tibetan Buddhism, America, A Tibetan Woman, Insight

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Background of my research

Since 1988, I have been teaching and researching Tibetan culture at South-West University for Nationalities in Chengdu, China.

Before 1999, I researched many young, contemporary Tibetan authors and noticed their literature referenced Tibetan Buddhism. This led me to understand that if I wanted to really understand Tibetan literature, I had to really know Tibetan Buddhism. When I studied and taught Tibetan culture, whether it

was classical logic, astronomy, medicine, poetry, theatre, or architecture, all were related to Buddhism and the Dharma. Additionally, when I went back to my hometown, or when I did my fieldwork in the Tibetan countryside, I was always inspired and emotionally moved by how deeply devoted Tibetan people are to Buddhism.

They regularly engage in pilgrimages, prostrations, and chanting. This encouraged me to reflect on, and look for the reasons why, Tibetan Buddhism has been practiced and passed down for over a thousand years. Basically, my search was for the significance of what Tibetan Buddhism affords to the people of the Tibetan region. Therefore, I chose Buddhism for the major of my PhD, and I wrote my dissertation on: A study on the devotional practice of Padmasambhava in Tibetan Buddhism, also covering the life of Guru Rinpoche, and the ritual dance of Guru Rinpoche. From 2008 to 2009, I received a scholarship to do postdoctoral research at the University of Virginia, and then later as a visiting scholar at Columbia University, where I started to think about Tibetan Buddhism in America. From 2011 until present, having received a scholarship at Harvard University, I chose to do field work and more research about Tibetan Buddhism in America. But I want to make clear that the research is still in the early stages, and that there are many investigations, interpretations, and analyses that I still want to do.

Before I came to America, I thought that there were many monasteries in America, like there are in the Tibetan area. I thought that I would try to understand the form/s of Tibetan Buddhism in America, but there are no monasteries, and not many monks and nuns. I remember the first time I went to a Tibetan Temple in Charlottesville, in February 2008. I asked the Khanbo “How many monks are there, and where are they?” The Khanbo told me, “there is just me in the cho tshogs.” He used the word “cho tshogs” instead of “gon pa” (monastery). This is my first time I heard of “cho tshogs”—Tibetan Buddhist centers which named Tashi Choeling Buddhist Center. I went to every Saturday teaching the Khanbo gave, and found out what it was that I wanted to research and to further understand.

My process of research

After I had some understanding of the conditions surrounding Tibetan Buddhism in Virginia and Boston area, I listed the main questions that I am focusing on:

1. What are the differences between traditional Tibetan Buddhism and the version adopted by Americans?
2. What is changing, and what the features and characteristics specific to Tibetan Buddhism in America?
3. How do Americans find/come to Tibetan Buddhism?
4. Has Tibetan Buddhism influenced/changed American life, and if so, how?
5. How do Americans learn and practice Tibetan Buddhism? Have Americans had any difficulties with Tibetan Buddhism?

I went to many teachings and retreats. For example, I went to Junang Khanbo, Geshe Tudan, Kargyu Dzuche, and other Lama's teachings, as well as some retreats with Lama Soredha, Lama Willa, Kandro Renboche, and Sogyal Renboche. Those have helped me to know and understand more about the details of Westerners' practice and study of Tibetan Buddhism. One interesting and important thing that I found is some different explanations for some Buddhist words.

Since August 2011, I have engaged in some particularly interesting fieldwork. I started to record interviews with some Western Tibetan Buddhists. I have at least 50 individual surveys and have done formal

interviews with at least 20 people. If I have more time and opportunity in America, I will improve my questionnaire and will do a more scientific survey, and more in depth interviews. For now, I have some experience and initial thoughts about Tibetan Buddhism in America, but the research needs more work, including more in depth field work and transcription.

Reflections on and findings of my initial field work

In my opinion, Tibetan Buddhism has moved beyond the ethnic minorities of the Himalayas, and has been adopted by Westerners, resulting in many benefits for cross – cultural understanding for many people. It has, in fact, become an international, and even global, religion. Tibetan Buddhism no longer belongs only to Tibetan, or Himalayan, people. It benefits all people of the world who study Tibetan Buddhism.

The differences of Tibetan Buddhism in America and Tibet, there are:

1. It exists in different forms, and has different organizational structures

There are no monasteries, and not many monks and nuns, in America. Tibetan Buddhism has centers^① with communities called “Sangha”.

I am familiar with the Rigpa and Shambhala centers in Boston and Colorado, the Drochen Center, the Kargyu center, the Dgelugs Kulukula^② center and the Natural Dharma Fellowship^③ in Boston, and the Jonang center^④ and Dgelugs Jefferson Tibetan center in Charlottesville^⑤, VA. I only met 4 monks but many lay practitioners. I think this is biggest difference for Tibetan Buddhism in the West. In Tibet, there is a large, or small, monastery in each Tibetan village. Almost every Tibetan family has at least one monk or nun who stays in a monastery, and is supported by relatives or donation. In Kham, some monasteries have more than one thousand monks and nuns. It is clear that Tibetan Buddhist centers in the West replace the monasteries.

There is a difference of culture and social systems, too. In the West, monks and nuns support themselves, and have to work and live in society. There are just a few monks who live in centers and are supported their students. Also, the organizational structures are very different. In Tibet, monks organize their monasteries, and there is a monastic management committee. In America, there is a board, which generally has at least 5 lay people to organize the Sangha or center.

2. The ways and methods of accepting Tibetan Buddhism are different

First, The Buddhist identity for Tibetan people comes from our cultural background, rooted in the Buddhist custom and the families. Tibetan people are born into the Buddhist culture.

Americans are born into a Christian heritage, and often literally baptized into their parent's, or their own chosen, religion.

According to the answers to my Questionnaire^⑥, Westerners most often come to Buddhism through: books, a relative/friends, by visiting centers, attending a public talk, through prior and uninstructed practice of meditation, yoga, travel to Asia, and through seeking meditation as a form of stress relief.

Second, the ways that Americans learn and practice Tibetan Buddhism varies from teacher to teacher.

① Rick Fields, *How The Swans Came To The Lake*, (Boulder: Shambhala Publication, 1981),308 –338

② <http://www.kurukulla.org/>

③ <http://www.naturaldharma.org/>

④ <http://www.tbcci.org/tibetan/>

⑤ <http://jts.avenue.org/about.htm>

⑥ The Questionnaire had been done when I was in Boston, San Diego and Denver during 2011 and 2012.

However, there are some common characteristics. The forms that are being offered include books to read, teachings to attend, retreats, audio teachings to listen to, DVDs to watch, and, one of the newest, is that of web streamed videos, and even live events. Vajra TV. Com is an example. Sogyal Rinpoche has frequently offered live streaming of events involving special lamas and important rituals. For example, the latter has included many important Teachers, a Long Life Ceremony for Sogyal Rinpoche, and memorial ceremonies for Great Masters.

3. The differences in practice

First, Tibetan practice and the learning of Dharma, is done at the monasteries^⑦. Westerners learn to practice and study at home and at centers. In the Tibetan area there are monks, nuns, and lay practitioners. In America, there are few monks and nuns, and there are mostly lay practitioners, studying with a teacher. Lay Tibetan people rely on their faith, chanting, and do pilgrimages.

American lay practitioners do discover peace, and open to compassion, through the practice of sitting and chanting. According to my questionnaire, some answers given are often like this:

I came to Buddhism because: the chanting opened my heart; it taught me to be more compassionate; or it teaches me to be more open and spacious.

Second, chanting in different languages and melodies.

The differences of the chanting in regards to language and melody. In America, most Buddhists chants and text are read in English, or Aphanlik Tibetan, which is very different from Tibetan letters, or Wylie. When I was in centers and read the Aphanlik Tibetan, I could not understand the meaning of the sounds, or what the Tibetan words were. This caused me to worry and to think that the irregular Tibetan writing might change the meanings of Tibetan language in western Buddhism. I really wonder, and somewhat worry, about the future of Tibetan language in western Tibetan Buddhism.

Also, the melody and tones used in western Buddhism are very different. I am not used to hearing the western style melodies, though they are quite beautiful. While I have studied that the Buddhas are beyond concepts and preferences, I still wonder about the effects of this on the practices and their effectiveness. Also, while it is said that the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are beyond preferences, it is also said that this is not true about some of the others, particularly the protectors and local deities. I wonder if these differences have any effect on them.

Third, the differences in content of practice.

I compared the different forms of content and of practice. In Tibetan monasteries, special Tibetan Buddhist institutes, there are Bshad grwa and Grub grwa. Practitioners should study sūtra in bshad grwa for around 10 years. Then, they will go into Grub grwa to do tantric practice for at least three years. Furthermore, practitioners have to finish the ngöndro^⑧(preliminary practice) and Bodhicitta^⑨, to be able to get the highest teachings like Dzogchen, or Mahamudra. Tibetan laypeople have almost no chance or qualifications to get the whole highest teaching without finishing their ngöndro.

⑦ 多识仁波切 Duoshi Renboqie,《藏传佛教常识》Zangchuan Fojiao Changshi [The Knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism],(兰州 Lanzhou:甘肃民族出版社 Gansu Minzu Chubanshe [Gansu Minorities Publishing House],2009)2-5.

⑧ Ngöndro,前行 Qianxing,《普贤上师言教释》Puxian Shangshi Yanjiao Shi[‘od gsal rin chen snying po, Kun bzhang bla ma’i zhal lung gi zen bres],(成都 Chengdu:四川民族出版社 Sichuan Mingzu Chubanshe, [Sichuan Minorities Publishing Hous,1996). 13-331.

⑨ Bodhicitta is the “enlightening attitude” of wishing to become a Buddha and liberate all beings from suffering. 菩提心 Putixin.

For Westerners, the content of the teaching is often about natural mind and awareness, about Shamatha and Vipashyana, and even about Dzogchen or Mahamudra. Americans are more conceptual and learn intellectually, often missing the experiential meaning of the teachings. This is most unfortunate, and I see this as one of the most important differences between the two cultures and their learning of Tibetan Buddhism, as Buddhist practice strives to bridge the difference between intellect and experience.

Surprisingly, many Americans don't finish the preliminary practice, ngöndro^⑩, yet they still get the highest Teachings of Dzogchen^⑪ and Mahamudra, but I think with different level of understanding. They struggle with the length and discipline involved with it, and want to just “get on to the good stuff”, the highest teachings, which again they often get, but not really realizing that preliminary practice is necessary preparation for these Teachings. In the Tibetan tradition, there is a reason to ask students to finish the practice, as they need the preparation to fully understand and accomplish the higher teachings. Also, most Westerners do not seem to know that the preliminary practice actually contains some of the highest teachings hidden in it. Many Tibetan High Lamas focus on the Ngöndro, near the end of their lives, and just practice that.

Fourth, is the difference of teaching methods.

In America, there are two unique features that Tibetan tradition doesn't have. One is that of questions and discussion during teachings. Another is that of using personal experiences and people's life stories to teach Dharma. Many Americans like stories that illustrate the inner meanings, which can be very important in their study of the Dharma.

4. The differences for Buddhist women in their positions and their roles

In America, I attended female Lamas' public talks, teachings, and the giving of empowerments and the refuge vow. I also met some Tibetan Bhiksuni^⑫ nuns who are teaching or studying at universities. There are clearly more chances for practice and in education that are open to Buddhist women in the West. In the Tibetan area, I didn't see any nuns giving public talks or teachings, but the roles and educational opportunities for Jomo's has improved step – by – step since the 1980s.

In Tibetan history, there were not many nunneries having whole teachings for Jomo^⑬, who are people who take of Dge tshul ma vows. Following the Cultural Revolution, and over the past 35 years, Tibetan Buddhism has been somewhat revived, and many of the monasteries rebuilt. During the first 10 years after the Cultural Revolution, it was not easy for Jomos to get an education in nunneries, but for monks it was still easy. Basically every monk studied and practiced in the monasteries, and lots of them got the degree of

⑩ 噶玛 Gama [Gar ma], 《大圆满前行》大圆满前行引导文 *Dayuanman qianxing Dayuanman Qianxing Yindaowen* [A Guide to the Preliminaries of the Great Perfection], (马尔康 Maerkang: 马尔康昌林寺印刷 Maerkang Changli Si Yinshua [Maerkang Changli Si Press], 2004), 上下册 Shangxia Ce [Two Books].

⑪ 无垢光 Wugouguang [Yed das 'od], 刘立千翻译 Liuliqian Fanyi [Translated by Liu Liqian], 《大圆胜慧本觉心要修证次第》 *Dayuan Shenghui Benjue Xinyao Xiuzheng Cidi* [Sequence of Essential Practices of the Innate Wisdom of Great Perfection] (北京 Beijing: 民族出版社 Minzu Chubanshe [Minorities Publishing House], 2006), 103 – 193.

⑫ Bhiksuni is one of the four assemblies. The “four assemblies” of a Buddhist society are bhikusus, bhiksunis, upasakas (laymen), and upasikas (laywomen).

⑬ 德吉卓玛 Deji Zhuoma [Bde skied sgrol ma], 《藏传佛教出家女性研究》 *Zangchuan Fojiao Chujia Nuxing Yanjiu* [Study of Monastic Women in Tibetan Buddhism], (北京 Beijing: 社会科学文献出版社 Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe [Social Sciences Publishing House], 2003), 60, 185

Mkhanpo (Khempo)^⑭, or Geshe, enabling them to give teachings to the monks and nuns, lead rituals, or give empowerments.

Tibetan Buddhist doctrines hold women in high esteem. As early as 2 500 years ago, the Buddha taught that women could reach enlightenment. Tantrayana practices, moreover, give women a lofty status. In tantrayana precepts, the foundation of all vows is that one cannot vilify or disrespect women. Tibetan Buddhism recognizes and promotes women's characteristics of wisdom and compassion and teaches that "Wisdom is the mother of the Buddha." So, within Tibetan Buddhism women have come to symbolize wisdom, and the merits of women's wisdom and compassion are acknowledged.

In Tibetan Buddhism, Tara (Drolma) descended into the World of Various Lights as Princess Yeshe – Dava^⑮. Once, after making an offering, Princess Yeshe Dawa's bodhicitta was aroused for the first time. At that moment, all of the bhikkhus urged the princess, "Now that you have built such a good foundation with your offerings, you should vow and pray to be reborn as a man so that you can further spread the Dharma and benefit all beings."

After several exchanges with the bhikkhus, the princess said, "Here there is no male or female, no self or others, and even no mind or consciousness. "Man" and "woman" are but makeshift names that are ultimately meaningless, and yet deluded people in the world ignorantly make that distinction." She further said, "Many have assumed that it is easier to reach enlightenment in a man's body and that few women can benefit sentient beings, but I shall save and benefit all sentient beings in a woman's body till samsara is emptied." She was then enlightened through skillfully utilizing the five kinds of sensual pleasures and contemplating in Samadhi. Therefore the princess is respectfully called "Mother That Saves and Transports." The Tara stories in Tibetan Buddhism provided female practitioners with the precedents of enlightenment and powerfully denounce gender discrimination in society.

In contrast to how Tibetan Buddhism views women, traditional Tibetan culture views women with much societal bias^⑯. Women's status and role in the family contrasts with their status and role in society. In traditional Tibetan families, women's kindness and hard work are acknowledged and respected. As family members, they are acknowledged and respected for their diligence and endurance at work, for their raising of children and caring for the elderly, and for their virtues of being kind and compassionate towards others.

This respect for their familial role, however, is unstable and has not translated into recognition within traditional society. As such, women have no voice and no statue in traditional social circles. In the inter-familial social occasions the respect for women's diligence and kindness disappears. Tibetan men, on these occasions, authoritatively demand that women be compliant, gentle, and subservient. They furthermore presume that women are stupid and ignorant, "they don't know anything" just good for making tea and cooking meals at the stoves for the men who are engaging in loud and empty talk, but the women themselves have no chance to speak.

This humble service may well be one of the virtues of Tibetan women. However, the manifestation of

^⑭ 堪布 Kanbu [khenpo] is often interpreted to mean "abbot." In the Kagyü and Nyingma schools, it is also used to denote a recognized level of knowledge and authorization to teach, especially to monks and nuns. Here the term is used in the latter sense.

^⑮ 金剛寺文印 Jingang Si Wenyin [Droji Monastery Press], 《二十一度母文》*Ershiyi Dumu Wen* [Twen one Dara Pray], 5-9

^⑯ 仓央卓玛 Changyang Zhuoma [Jam dbyangs sgrol ma], 《西藏妇女研究综述》*Xizang Funu Yanjiu Zongshu* [General Introduction to the Study of Tibetan Women], (拉萨 Lasa: 《西藏研究》*Xizang Yanjiu* [Tibetan Studies] 1, 2008), 116

their value in society, their individual capability as social agents, and their awakening to their own intelligence and confidence, are all frozen due to the lack of participation in social activities and the lack of voice.

To sum up, looking at women's status from the angle of Tibetan culture, there are three characteristics. First, women are held in high esteem by Tibetan Buddhism. Second, inside a traditional family, women's diligence and good-heartedness are respected. Third, women have little voice in traditional society and have an inferior position.

This means that although on the conceptual level, Tibetan Buddhism gives women much room to develop, within the confinement of a social framework, not many have awakened to their own value and not many are aware of the merit that they have and the contributions that they make to the development of society. So, in reality, very few Tibetan women can really roam freely in the sunny space provided by the Buddha Dharma.

Under the masculinization of societal voice, most Tibetan women lose the awareness of their own values, together with confidence and agency. This is reflected and reinforced in the way the history is written. In the history of Tibetan culture, almost all of the authors and commentators have been men, and the official history has rarely ever recorded women's achievements or biographies. There are biographies of Yeshe Tosgyel and Machig Lapdron, but there are no serious commentaries on their lives. The lack of accounts about women in Tibetan history has left people with the impression that "women are but part of the process of men achieving Buddhahood." This view falls under the philistine "mind of distinction" and betrays the idea of "inequality." It leads to the associate status of female practitioners, which further results in the notion that women should be subordinate to men.

The contradictions found between the ideas that women have the potential to be fully enlightened, the values of selfless service and humility and the limitations on the roles that they have within society, are also reflected within the monastic institution. I will look at the lives, Buddhist education, and Dharma practice of the nuns at the Larung and Yachen Temple, based on my first-hand experiences and interviews. I think for contemporary nuns in the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, their status and opportunities improved in the new education system. Through my fieldwork, I could see these opportunities increasing and slowly growing, due to the changes in the educational system.

When Larung Khar set up at 1980, Khan po Jeg Med Phun tsho gave Jomos the chance to study and practice Buddhism. So, in the early years, a few Jomos, such as Men tsho mkha' droma, came to Larung khar and studied with the Mkhanpos. After a few years, lots of Jomo came and stayed there to learn Buddhism.

Around the mid 1980's, there were 4 Jomo who studied very hard and were exceptional practitioners. In recognition, Kham po Jeg med Phun tsho gave them the title of Khanmo after they passed a exam. This means that a female Buddhist teacher, just as Khanpo does, can give a teaching to nuns. So, a new education system for Jomos was created by khanbo Jemed Phutsho around the mid 1980's.

At this time, the new word, "Mkhan mo" came out, meaning a female Buddhist teacher, like a male Khempo. However, in Hanna Havnevik's classic work about Tibetan Buddhist nuns, "Tibetan Buddhist nuns: history, cultural norms, and social reality", 1989, the new word unfortunately did not appear. In 2003 when I was at the Larung Buddhist Institute, there was one Mkhanpo who gave the teaching of Kun bzang la ma'I zhan klong in the Jomos' large hall. While in 2003 there were 8 Mkhanmos, who tutored and

guided the nuns in their review and study after the khan po taught, in 2010, there were 25 Mkhanmos and 55 tutors (in Larung).

In Yachen in 2007, there was one main Khanmo who could individually guide Jomos, and then in 2010 there were 3 Khanmo who could give teachings, along with 30 Mkhanmos' assistants. We can clearly see that the Tibetan nun's position in the monastery has been improving, step-by-step. In fact, the new education system gives Tibetan Jomos the opportunity, or chance, to obtain a higher standing in the monastery, along with giving them more things that they can learn and practice. This is a very favorable trend.

Tibetan Buddhism gives Tibetan women a lofty status and a sunny space on a conceptual level. The challenge that Tibetan women in general, and Tibetan nuns in particular, are facing in the twenty – first century is how to put into effect the conceptual recognition with the reality of life, so that more women can be more aware, confident, and self – reliant in playing their social roles, studying, contemplating, and practicing the Dharma, and in realizing compassion and wisdom, so that they may continue to make progress and gain recognition and affirmation by both religion and society.

As Western society has been involved with the equalization of men and women for several decades now, it is hoped that women may have an easier time advancing and begin recognized in Tibetan Buddhism in America.

5. The different explanations of some Buddhist words

There are some Buddhist conception and words in Tibetan daily religion life. Those conception and words express the content of Dharma in Tibetan daily life. How believers understand and explain those words reflects how they comprehend the meaning of Tibetan Buddhism, and reflects what the sight of their faith. While doing interviews I found some Buddhist words have very different interpretations, and are understood quite differently.

According to my questionnaire^⑰ results, there are four Buddhist words that are understood very differently between Tibetan people and westerners.

(1) Sangha

The meaning of Sangha in Tibetan Buddhist in China is the community of ordained monks and nuns. As the third of the Three Gems or Jewels and the Three Refuges – Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, it applies to the ariya – sangha, the community of the saints of Buddhist monks or Lama which Tibetan people consider when they chat the Three Refuges. According to my questionnaires, I found American Buddhist regard sangha as Buddhist center community members; people on the path; mutually supportive persons engaged together in spiritual pursuits; support; friendship; lineage of past and present Buddhist practitioners; a group that sees each other in a 'sacred' way ; community with the goal of benefitting others ; challenge; a container.

In the Tibetan area, we think about Dge 'dun is ordained Bhikhu who has Accomplishment and don't have a lot of "defilements or afflictions". Sangha is very sacred and holy, and doesn't relate with laypeople as ordinary people.

(2) Blessing

Blessing is very common word in Tibetan area. When Tibetan people or Tibetan Buddhist make a

⑰ The Questionnaire had been done when I was in Boston, San Diego and Denver during 2011 and 2012.

pilgrimage to a holy place and monasteries, or visit a high lama and master, they think they get some blessing from there or him. They think the blessing is a sense of pure spiritual and couldn't use a word to explain. Some of them said that was a secret power that came from a Buddha, Budhisattva, Yidam, or a Lama. American Tibetan Buddhists confirm Blessing is as mind becoming positive under the influence of teachings; Mind becoming positive under the influence of teachers; Mind becoming positive under the influence of practice; Mind becoming positive under the influence of holy beings; transfer of positive energy; openings to deepen practice; empowerments of one's practice; giving and receiving of love and compassion; wishes and intentions.

(3) Retreat

Retreat is one main practice of Tibetan Buddhism and means a period of intensive meditation practice. In Tibetan Buddhism retreat means the three or more years practice at the retreat house or in a monastery. In Tibet, retreat, we say tsham, is mostly for monks and nuns who stay at tsham kham, or go to a cave to practice. Different schools have their own practice during the three years retreat. In America Buddhism retreat, as some Tibetan Buddhists answered, is to enhance the teachings; ground and open the heart; support practice; focus and not be distracted; invoke deities; surrender myself to ritual/to let go of myself; express compassion and gratefulness; practice in a group; and separate from daily social life and work.

(4) Ritual

Tibetan Buddhism has the main content of Mahayana and Vajrayana. There are many rituals in Tibetan Buddhism. For Tibetans, when we say ritual it means the monastic Cho ka. For America Tibetan Buddhists, they think ritual is puja, like guru puja, medicine buddha puja, Tara puja, or they said refuge, offering incense, reciting prayers and prostration are rituals. Some of them think Tibetan Buddhist visualization, or cleaning the prayer room is ritual. Of particular note is that some of them said they made up their own rituals.

Also, I found significantly different concepts about the relationship between Teacher/s and student/s. Some people told me their teacher is their friend and role model, while some of them said the teacher is an enlightened being. The answers by westerners, in regards to their relationship with their teacher, are: trusting; safe; open; friendly; totally supportive; guide and pupil; warm; inspirational; learn from teacher; compatible. An American Buddhist told me: "my teacher fulfills some aspects of the role normally filled by mental health professionals." For Tibetan, Lamas have very high place in peoples' minds, and people will follow whatever their Lama requests.

Conclusion:

Tibetan Buddhism in the Tibetan area is deeply understood and integrated into everyday life, with the entire population "in on it". In America, many knowledgeable students say that they are "just finally beginning to understand it". The American culture is based on Christianity, and not on Tibetan Buddhism. Also, Tibetan Buddhism is a very large "Vehicle", so there is a lot to learn. Finally, there are many American practitioners have spend enough time with their Teachers, and are finally showing some real "signs" in their practice, and are beginning to understand what it is all about.

In traditional Tibetan Buddhism, the ngondro is readily accepted as a preliminary and necessary part of the training and path. Americans really struggle with the length and discipline involved with it, and want to just "get on with the good stuff", not realizing that it is necessary preparation for the main part, the "good stuff", and in many ways is and includes the "good stuff".

The emphasis on the Teacher, or Lama, as central to traditional Tibetan Buddhism, and faith in and surrender to, is key to one's spiritual success. In America, they often have problems with this. For one thing, Western religion teaches that there was only one enlightened being, or master, ever, and he died over two thousand years ago. Furthermore, if you believe in someone else, you will be damned and go to hell. This is supported by the frequently quoted Bible scripture, "For no man (woman) shall come unto the Father but by me". The belief system is strong and is held in place by fear of eternal damnation. That is a lot to overcome.

Americans are very intelligent and very sincere. They also have the capacity to work very hard and develop strong devotion. If shown that something works, they tend to do whatever works and are able to drop their old ideas about things, perhaps more easily than many Tibetans. This is being supported and bolstered by the scientific research that is coming out about the effects of Tibetan Buddhist meditation by several monks and Teachers, and especially the recent book, *The Joy of Living*, by Mingyur Rinpoche. Americans are interested in what works, and what helps them to be better people, even without understanding the entire path and the stages involved. The form that is being offered includes books to read, teachings to attend, retreat, audios to listen to, DVDs to watch, and, one of the newest but increasingly used, is that of web streamed videos and even live events.

Tibetan Buddhism now has more than a thousand years of history. Because it has greatly benefited the Tibetan people in numerous ways, it is now a subject in the Tibetan cultural system and considered to be an inheritance. According to my questionnaire, for Westerners, Tibetan Buddhism has affected/influenced their life because Tibetan Buddhism has given them a sense of purpose, taught them to be more compassionate, and has helped them to be good persons. Many Westerners said that Tibetan Buddhism had changed them by teaching them to work with their mind, seeing how thoughts affect their life, teaching them to be more open and aware, preparing them to face illness and other difficulties, healing mental illness and preserving mental health, and allowing them to inquire deeply into the nature of experience. With the exploration of Tibetan Buddhism by both Tibetans and Westerners, there are some common characteristics emerging. As a Tibetan scholar, I look forward to doing more research to understand what these commonalities are, as well as noting the differences.

中文题目:

藏传佛教在美国

——一个藏族女性的视野

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摘要:藏传佛教随着时代的变化,其信仰群也发生着变化。从青藏高原传到了太平洋彼岸,从纯藏族群体演化为多民族信仰群。如今藏传佛教已不再仅仅属于藏民族,也不仅仅与藏族文化为载体,它被传到了西方,成为国际性的宗教。本人利用了2008-2009年在佛吉尼亚博后访学,以及2011-2012年哈弗大学访学阶段,做了藏传佛教在美国的田野调查。田野的主要问题是“藏传佛教究竟在美国和在传统藏区相比主要有什么不同”,此文^⑩我将阐述五个不同的方面。

关键词:藏传佛教、美国、一个藏族女性、视野

^⑩ This research was conducted under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, General Project 10YJA730001, 13TD0060 and SWUN project 13S81804, 2013XWD-S0101. Assistance with English provided by Wm. Michel Smith, PhD, a psychologist and Tibetan Buddhist scholar.

网络基督教的认同状况

——基于对网络基督徒的调查分析

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提要:网络基督教具有开放性、交互性和自主性等优势,它重构着基督教的内在结构和运行机制,也推动着整个中国社会的组织形态、交往模式、价值体系的转型。本文拟对网络基督教在中国的认同状况进行考察和研究,基于对网络基督徒群体的问卷调查和深度访谈,以及对基督教网站的内容分析,结合网络基督教传播的特点和实际传播效果,从网络基督徒的宗教信仰认同、自我认同以及社会对其的认同三个维度入手,着力分析、探讨网络基督教在当下中国社会的认同状况。在理清其内在的运行规律、外部社会环境、社会作用机制和发展潜力的同时,揭示出网络基督教与传统基督教、网络基督徒个人、社会之间的认同关系,从而为其在中国社会的进一步发展提供数据支撑和理论支持。

关键词:网络基督教、认同、网络基督徒群体、基督教传播、中国社会

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网络社会的自由精神、突破时空的可能性以及新的行动准则、社会互动模式正消解并重构着基督教的内在结构和运行机制,“网络基督教”在中国社会的诞生和成长,是基督教进入中国社会的新机遇。

本论文中提出的“网络基督教”概念,是指基督教的网络化存在,它以网络空间为主要阵地,融合了传统基督教的教义教理与网络社会独有的本质特征,呈现为一套新的拥有意识形态、话语逻辑、运行规律、社会交往模式等丰富元素的完整体系。就此衍生出的“网络基督教生活”概念,指的是基于互联网空间展开的基督教生活,包括在线浏览基督教相关的信息,参与基督教主题的网络社区内的讨论学习,参加或组织在线的基督教仪式或活动等等行为。“网络基督徒”则对应一个“关注网络基督教,并曾经有过网络基督教生活经历或经常参加网络基督教生活”的网民群体。

本文采取调查法与理论分析相结合的研究方法,实证研究部分所涉及的数据样本主要来自两方面:一方面是对基督徒个人的调查数据,另一方面则是具有代表性的、在国内有一定知名度并且有固定受众群的基督教网站(包括新闻主页、博客、论坛等)。

调研调查同时采用了在线调查和实地调查两种渠道。在线调研在专业的调研网站“问卷星”上发布问卷,并将该调研主页的地址链接到各大基督教网站(活水网站、大陆基督徒论坛、督徒生活网等),邀请广大网络基督徒参与问卷调研;实地调研先后在上海市的三个基督教堂点(西藏中路的沐恩堂、衡山路国际礼拜堂、长宁路的沪西礼拜堂)进行,集中对教堂的基督徒进行问卷,并根据具体情况选择合适的对象进行深度访谈。

根据本研究的需要,有针对性地选择了一些具有代表性的基督教网站为个案进行重点考察分析。利用百度搜索引擎可以发现,互联网上存在着数百万个中文基督教网站,我们只选择了其中一部分内容全面、架构清晰、界面美观、口碑较好的网站(如信仰之门、基督徒生活网、活水网站、华人基督徒博

客、新浪微博、中文圣经在线等)作为样本来源,对其新闻报道材料、论坛讨论内容、博客文本等进行内容分析,并就某些问题与网络基督徒展开交流和讨论,以期获得更贴近实际的结论。

一、网络基督教认同现状调查结论及分析

本次问卷调查通过在线调研和实地调研,共发放问卷 281 份,回收 253 份,其中有效问卷 226 份,有效率为 89.3%。通过对有效问卷的对比分析,结合深度访谈所得数据内容,我们就网络基督教宗教认同的建构与维持、认同的面向和层次、认同的呈现与形塑等三个方面进行科学统计,并得出相关参考数据。

(一)网络基督教认同的建构与维持

1. 最初接触网络基督教的途径

调研数据显示,受众最初接触网络基督教的途径依次为:上网时偶尔发现,产生兴趣(29.63%);家人、朋友的推荐(27.16%);其他网站、论坛、博客等的链接、推荐(25.93%);教职人员、信徒朋友的介绍(17.28%)。

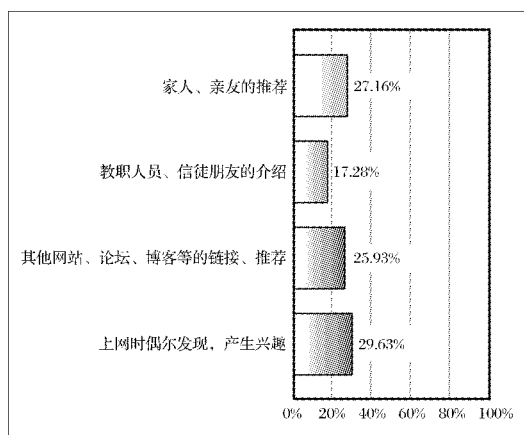


图 1

进入网络时代之后,随着社会网络中信息流动机制和社会交往结构的改变,虚拟的社交关系在很大程度上替代了现实生活中人与人的交往关系,网络重新形塑个人对自我社会身份及社会关系的认同,赋予了宗教体验中的“首要认同”,这对于网络基督徒身份的确立起着重要作用。

2. 网络基督教生活的维持

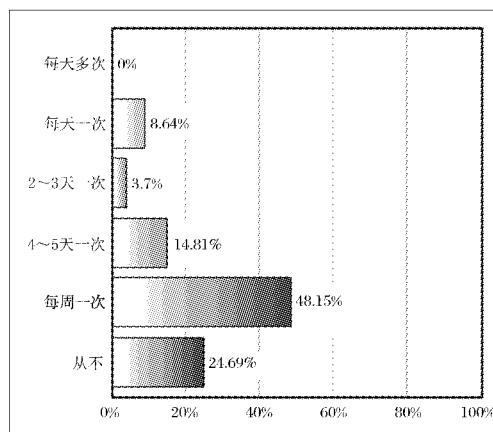


图 2

在调查受访者的网络基督教生活频率时,24.69%的受众表示从不参与网络基督教生活,在有网络基督教生活行为的受众(即本调查所指的“网络基督徒”)中,每周一次开展网络基督教生活的人数占比最多,达48.15%,每4~5天接触一次网络基督教生活的人数占14.81%,每天会进行一次网络基督教生活的占8.64%,2~3天接触一次的人数较少,占3.7%,而调查中则没有人表示会在一天中多次进行网络基督教生活。总体看来,大多数网络基督徒接触网络基督教生活的频率保持在一周一次左右,频率越高,选择的人数越少。

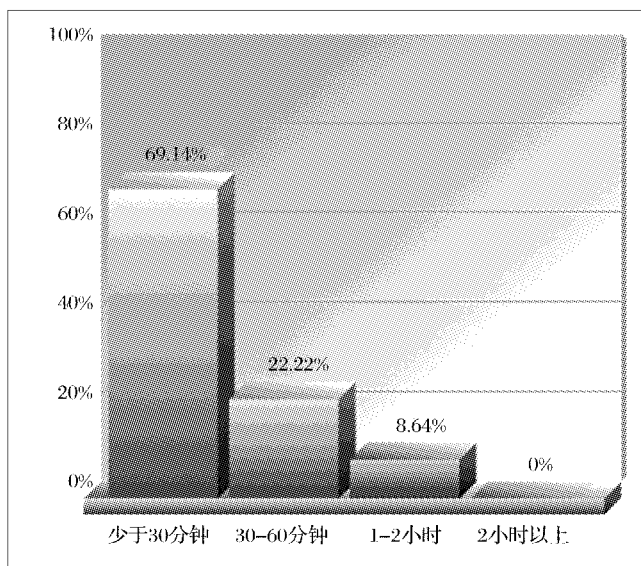


图3

并且,网络基督徒对网络基督教生活的接触时长也不尽相同,每次进行网络基督教生活的时间在30分钟以上者占了大多数,达69.14%,时间在30~60分钟之间的占22.22%,每次时长为1~2小时者只有8.64%,而每次耗时2小时以上的则为0。网络基督教生活的快节奏、高效率,现代人的网络使用习惯和“泛而不专”的资讯掌握方式,都是影响单次网络基督教生活的时长的因素。

(二)网络基督教认同的面向和层次

1. 网络基督徒对基督教教义的认同

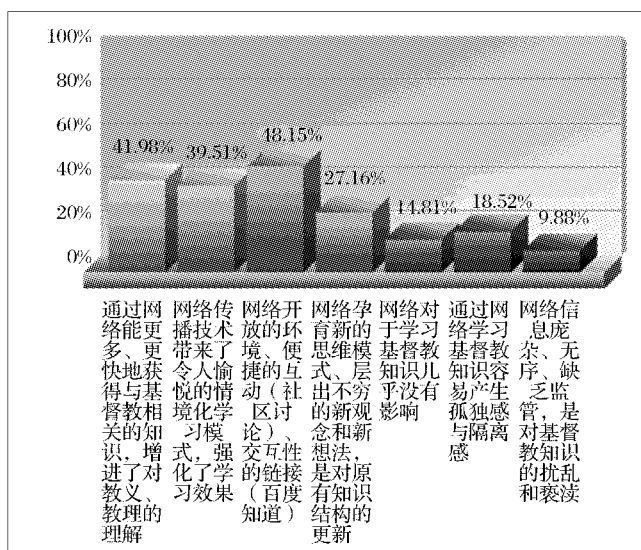


图4

在调查网络对学习基督教教义有何影响时,48.15%的受访者表示网络开放的环境、便捷的互动(社区讨论)、交互性的链接(百度知道)更有利于学习效率的提高;41.98%的受众认为通过网络能更多、更快地获得与基督教相关的知识,增进了对教义、教理的理解;39.51%的受众觉得网络传播技术带来了令人愉悦的情境化学习模式,强化了学习效果;27.16%的受众认为网络孕育新的思维模式、层出不穷的新观念和新想法,是对原有知识结构的更新;另外,认为通过网络学习基督教知识容易产生孤独感与隔离感的人数占18.52%;认为网络信息庞杂、无序、缺乏监管,是对基督教知识的扰乱和亵渎的受众占9.88%;还有14.81%的受众表示网络对于学习基督教知识几乎没有影响。可见,大部分受众认为网络在个人学习基督教知识的过程中起着积极作用,对网络基督教生活的自主学习特征持肯定态度。

宗教认同的建立是一个从“认知”到“意义”的过程,只有对基督教教义教理等知识形成一定程度的认知,才能建构相应的“意义”。因而,网络为信徒学习基督教知识提供了海量的信息、宽泛的交流渠道、多媒体的情景化学习模式、开放的互动平台和新的思维习惯,这无疑对于宗教认同的确立和巩固具有重要作用。

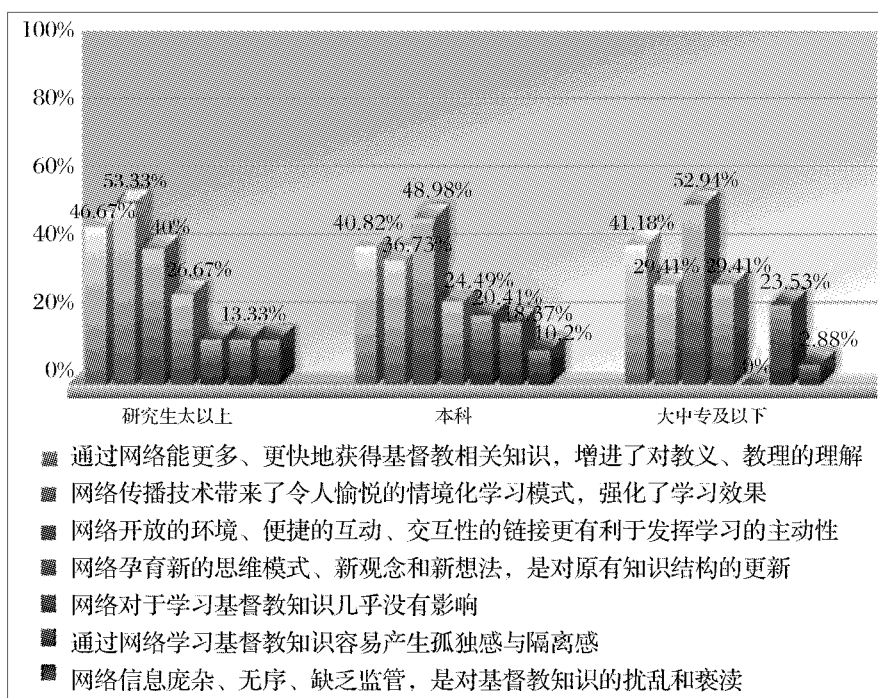


图 5

在进一步分析之后发现,受众的学历不同,对此问题的看法也有较大差异。学历为研究生及以上的受众中,有57.14%的人偏好网络传播技术带来的情境化学习模式,认为这强化了学习基督教知识的效果,并且选择这一项的人数远大于其他任何选项。在学历为大中专的受众中,有52.94%的人最看重网络开放的环境、便捷的互动和交互性的链接,因其更有利于发挥学习主动性,并且,该学历分布的受众群也是选择“通过网络学习基督教知识容易产生孤独感与隔离感”这一项人数最多的群体。对“网络信息庞杂、无序、缺乏监管,是对基督教知识的扰乱和亵渎”这一选项的数据进行分析,可以发现,受众群的学历越高,选择该项的人数越多。

综上所述数据可知,学历高的群体拥有较完善的知识结构背景,自主学习能力强,熟悉各种获取信息的渠道,并懂得如何在与他人交流互动和自己独立思考之间找到最佳平衡点,因而对自主学习的效果要求较高,更看重知识信息的质量和在学习过程中获得的愉悦体验。相对来说,学历较低的群体对

自身所处的学习环境依赖性较强,他们更看重的是网络开放的话语空间、便捷的互动交流和交互链接技术,希望这些因素能为他们与其他信众之间的交流互动开设便利渠道,营造良好的“共同学习”氛围,从而获得比传统模式下更好的学习效果。

2. 网络基督徒对宗教团体的认同

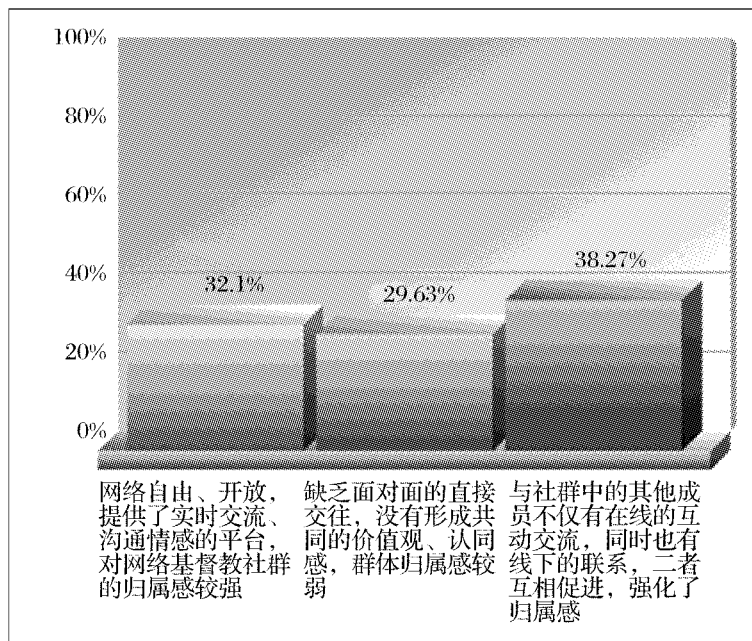


图 6

在调查受众对网络基督教团体的认同情况时,38.27%的受访对象认为通过在线互动和线下交流相结合的形式,他们与网络基督教群体中的其他成员紧密联系,具有较强的归属感。32.1%的受访者认为网络为群体成员互动交流提供了很好的平台,增强了群体归属感。29.63%的受众表示不认同网络的非直接交往模式,不能形成共同价值观和认同感,因而群体归属感较弱。

网络在现实世界之外开拓了一个无边际的社会接触空间,为群体内部、群体之间的互动和交往打开新的渠道。网络基督徒不仅可以进行在线交流,开展团契活动,还可以组织线下的集体活动,二者并用,让信众在信仰的分享与共融中提升群体归属感,从而强化对宗教团体的认同。

“社会学家伯格曾用‘飘荡的心灵’(homeless mind)来形容现代化进程中人们所产生的那种难以安身立命、无所依属的‘疏离’与‘荡’感。”^①在社会生活中的不确定感急需用群体归属感和共同的信仰来给予心灵的慰藉与力量,而网络基督教正集结着这种人性的张力,这便是它为多数现代人所认同的原因之一。

3. 网络基督徒对宗教活动场所的认同

网络基督教将宗教活动的场所从现实世界转移到了虚拟的网络世界中,为调查信徒对宗教场所的认同状况,本研究试图将网络基督教生活与现实基督教生活进行对比,探寻受众对宗教场所的认同态度。

^① 瞿海源 Qu Haiyuan,《术数流行与社会变迁》Shushu liuxing yu shehui bianqian[The Popularity of Astrology and the Change of Social],“宗教、灵异、科学与社会研讨会”Zhongjiao lingyi kexue yu shehui yantaohui[The Conference on Religion, Supernature, Science and Society],(台湾 Taiwan,中央研究院 Zhongyang yanjiuyuan[Academia Sinica],1997年12月5-6日)。

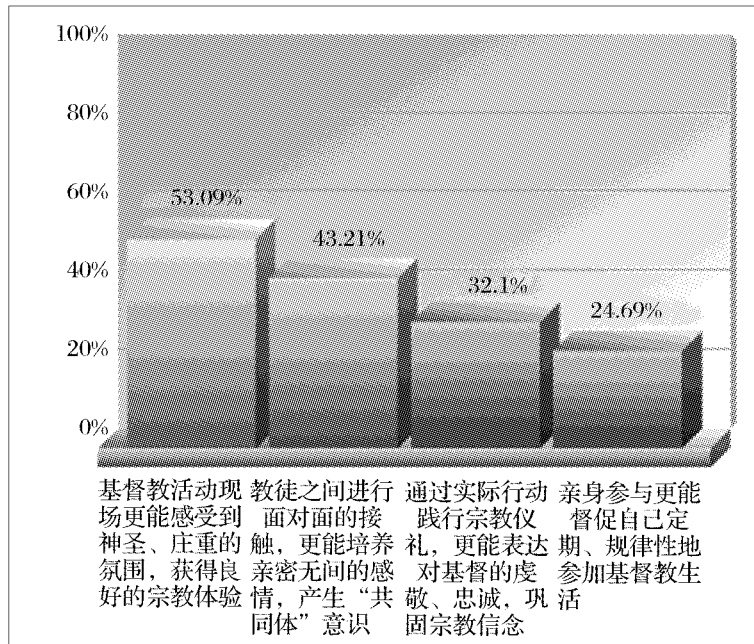


图 7

调查表明,比较倾向于现实基督教生活的受众中,53.09%的人认为基督教活动现场更能感受到神圣、庄重的氛围,获得良好的宗教体验;43.21%的受众认为教徒之间进行面对面的接触,更能培养亲密无间的感情,产生“共同体”意识;32.1%的受众表示通过实际行动践行宗教礼仪,更能表达对基督的虔诚、忠诚,巩固宗教信仰;另有24.69%的受众表示亲身参与更能督促自己定期、规律性地参加基督教生活。

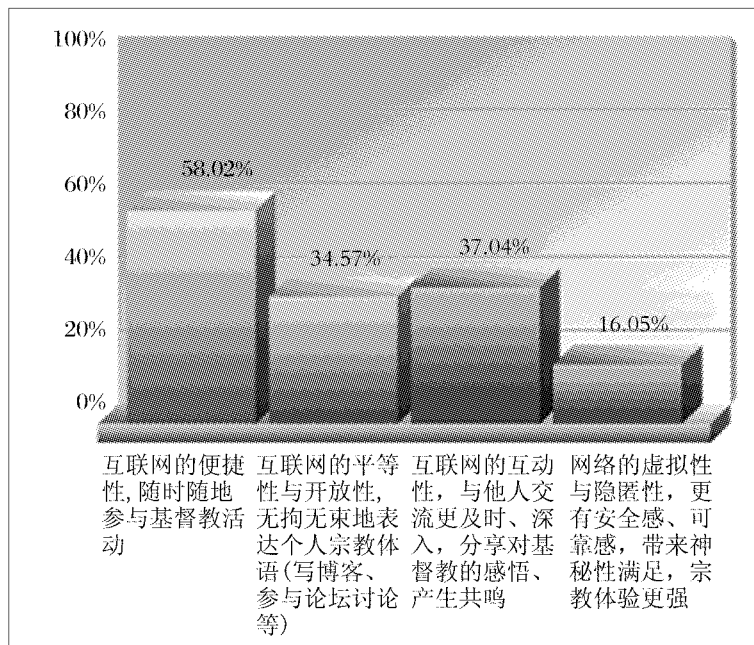


图 8

倾向于网络基督教生活的受众中,58.02%的受众最看重互联网的便捷性,其突破时空限制的特性为信徒创造了随时随地参与基督教生活的条件,这是传统基督教所无法实现的;37.04%的受众最看重互联网的互动性,通过网络能与其他信徒、网友展开更及时的交流和更深度的互动,在与他们分

享宗教感悟的时产生内心的共鸣,从而强化宗教团体认同和对网络基督教本身的认同感;34.57%的受众最看重互联网的平等性与开放性,基督教博客、基督教论坛等均为信徒开辟了新的话语空间,使其能够无拘无束地表达个人宗教体悟;还有16.05%的受众看重的是互联网的虚拟性与隐匿性,认为这更能带来安全感和可靠感,强化宗教的神秘性满足,因而得到的宗教体验更强。

对比以上两项调研结果可知,现实的基督教活动场所吸引信众的最大特点在于活动现场传达给人的神圣、庄重氛围,使他们从实地参与中获得最直观和强烈的宗教体验;而虚拟的网络基督教尽管在这一点上逊色于传统基督教,但它最大的优势恰恰在于对“在地性”的颠覆,网络突破了传统基督教的时空限制,尤其是在生活节奏越来越快,社会关系越来越原子化的当代社会,通过网络媒介随时随地就能进入基督教生活状态、找到宗教归属感成了吸引信众的最重要原因。

而两项结果均反映了受众对“信仰共同体”的重视,相当大比例的受众倾向于现实基督教活动空间是缘于他们认为“面对面的接触更能培养教徒之间亲密无间的感情,产生共同体意识”;而很多偏向于网络基督教活动空间的受众恰是出于相同的理由,只是他们更认同网络那种及时、深度的交流和互动模式,认为在线的基督教活动比现实中的活动更能催生共鸣效果,所产生的宗教团体认同也更强烈。

4. 网络基督徒对宗教体验的认同

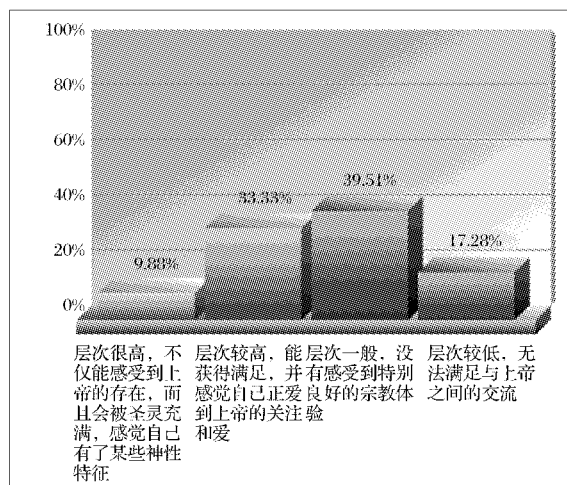


图 9

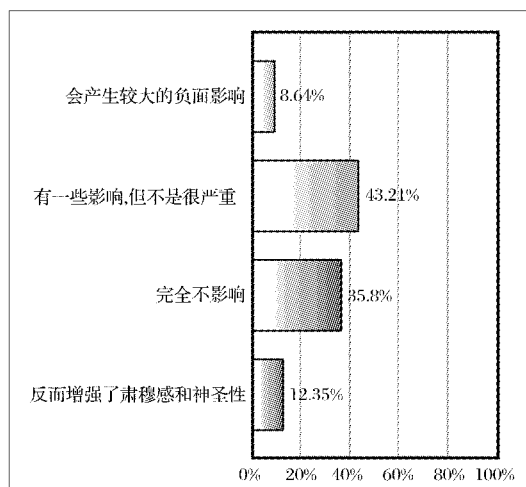


图 10

对于网络基督教生活带来的宗教体验,43.21%的受众表示在线祈祷、网络团契等基督教活动会对基督教的肃穆感和神圣性产生一些影响,但负面效果并不严重;35.8%的受众认为能从网络基督教生活中获得良好的宗教体验,对这部分受众进行深度访谈之后可知,他们能从网络基督教生活中获得满足感,并感觉自己正受到上帝的关注和爱,网络基督教依然保持着基督教宗教固有的神圣性和庄严感;12.35%的受访者表示网络基督教带来的宗教体验层次更高,不仅能感受到上帝的存在,而且感觉自己会被圣灵充满,仿佛自身有了某些神性特质,网络基督教也比传统基督教更具有肃穆感和神圣性;而认为网络基督教对信徒的宗教体验会产生较大负面影响的人数仅占8.64%。总体来看,绝大多数信徒对网络基督教中获得的宗教体验持认可态度,对网络基督教生活的宗教体验认同程度较高。

(三)网络基督教认同的呈现与形塑

1. 网络基督徒认同的宗教生活形式

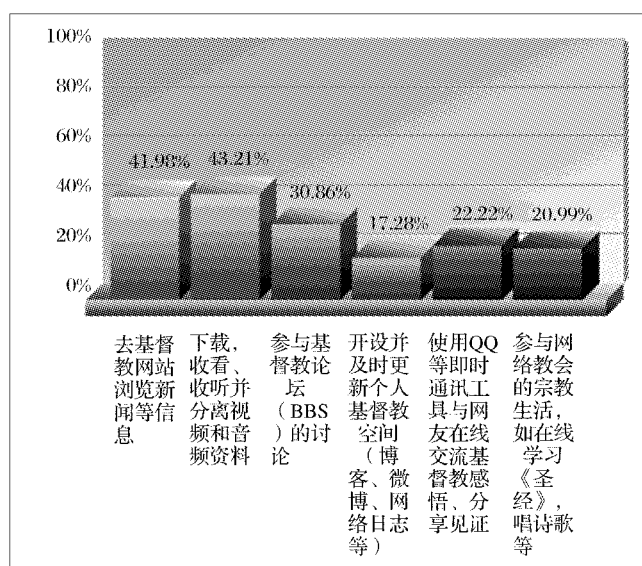


图 11

调查结果显示,43.21%的受访者最常进行的网络基督教生活是下载、收看、收听并分享与基督教相关的视频和音频资料;41.98%的受众经常去基督教网站浏览新闻等信息;30.86%的受众有参与基督教论坛的讨论的习惯;22.22%的受众通常使用QQ等即时通讯工具与网友在线交流基督教感悟、分享见证;20.99%的受众会参加网络教会组织的宗教活动,如在线学习《圣经》,唱诗歌等等。从选择比例最高的两种网络基督教生活方式来看,网络基督教吸引信徒的最大优势在于其提供的海量信息、及时资讯和多媒体资源。

2. 网络基督教徒的信仰实践状况

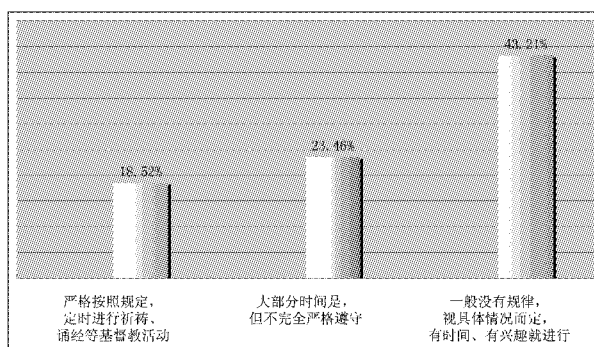


图 12

针对网络基督徒的日常宗教实践情况,本研究所获得的数据表明,43.21%的受访者参加网络基督教生活没有固定的规律,一般视情况而定,有时间、有兴趣、有需要就进行;23.46%的受众会按时、有规律地接触网络基督教;18.52%的受众会严格按照网络基督教社群的规章制度,自觉、虔诚、有规律地参与网络基督教生活。

可见,网络基督徒的宗教实践体现了较大的自由度和随意性。脱离了现实环境的强制色彩和限定因素,网络带给信徒的是更为宽泛的自由选择和灵活安排的空间;相应的也呈现出更明显的个性化特点和自主性。

3. 网络基督教对信徒人格的影响

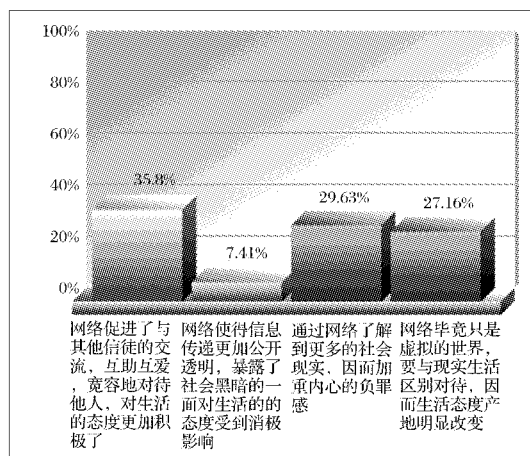


图 13

统计结果显示,35.8%的受众认为自己与其他信徒的交流,在现实生活中更懂得互助互爱、宽容待人,整体的生活态度更加积极了;27.16%认为接触网络基督教之后,他们的生活态度并无多大改变,因为网络毕竟只是虚拟的存在,应与现实世界区别对待,网络宗教生活尚未对其人格产生实质性的改变;7.41%的受众表示,网络信息传递前所未有地公开透明,暴露了社会黑暗的一面,因而自己对生活的态度受到消极影响;此外,有29.63%的受访者表示,通过网络了解到更多的社会现实,加重了内心的负罪感。

总体看来,大多数受众认为,网络对于基督徒生活态度的改善、个人人格的提升发挥着积极作用。但不可否认,网络增加了信息的公开性,加速了信息的流动,各种社会现象都在一个透明化的网络中得到呈现,之前很多被隐藏了的社会黑暗的一面也随之暴露出来,这无疑会对一部分信徒的生活态度产生消极影响,如何引导信徒树立正确的人生观、世界观、价值观是网络基督教未来发展中不得不重视的问题。

4. 对网络基督教未来发展的认同

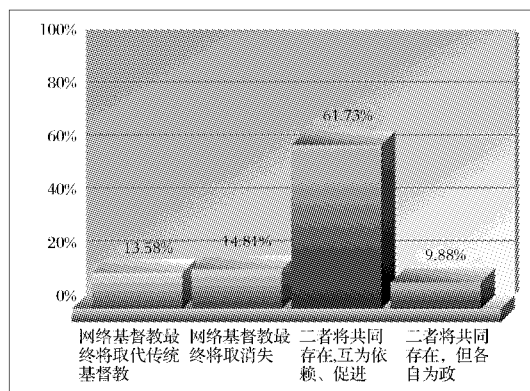


图 14

调研结果显示,对于网络基督教的未来发展前景,除了 14.81% 的受众觉得网络基督教最终将消失之外,绝大多数的受访者对其持乐观态度,其中 61.73% 的受众认为网络基督教将与传统基督教和谐共存,互为依赖、相互促进、共同发展,认同这一观点的受访对象占比重最大。可见,人们对于网络基督教的未来发展充满了希望和期待。

二、网络基督教徒的信仰认同

“信仰认同往往是与特殊的信仰方式及其崇拜观念紧密联系的,认同的建构是一个至为严肃的镜子游戏。它是多重的识别实践的复杂的时间性互动,这种识别发生于主体或人群的外部 and 内部。至于在那些传统的体系中,认同则分配在更大的社会网络中。”^②网络基督教为人们重新理解基督教教义、界定基督教信仰、建构宗教认同提供了客观环境、动力因素和引导力量,同时,网络基督教本身的虚拟性加重了基督教原有的神秘色彩,使其散发出更具神圣性的魅力;交互性技术、数字化、多媒体技术等先进科技为信徒带来了更好的宗教体验;以交互性为特色的网络更能提升网络基督徒的“共同体”意识,这些特质无不强化着信徒对网络基督教的信仰认同。

(一)网络的虚拟性强化宗教的神秘色彩和神圣性

网络虚拟空间内,信息的存储和传递方式不同于以往,通过数字化或者说字节化,原本的文字、声音、图像等传播介质被无数个字节、电子信号取代。现实社会中的传播主体、传播场所被移到了虚拟世界之后,也脱离了具体的物质形式,成为虚拟的存在。“特定的网络空间有可能推动虚拟的仪式建构事件,这些虚拟事件在一个解释学意义上的对话/游戏里将无实体的人和虚拟的建筑聚集起来”^③,借助超现实的网际互动,实现信息的传输与分享,建立起一个异于传统的宗教空间。

在网上,作为宗教活动主体的网络基督徒、教职人员、一般网民等,作为宗教活动场所的网络社区、论坛、博客等,作为社群的网络基督徒群体,其本质均是虚拟化的网络实体;而网络基督教活动,如在线祈祷、网络听经、分享见证等,形塑了人们以身体不在场为基础的全新交往模式。从信徒个人到信众群体,从活动地点到活动本身,无一不强化着基督教本身就有的虚拟性,使得宗教的神秘色彩更加浓重。而“令人敬畏的神秘”与“令人沉醉的神圣”始终密切相关,正如奥托在《论神圣》中所述,“神秘”其实就是“神圣”的一个非理性的基本素质,而这非理性的一面才是宗教的本质。”“令人畏惧的神秘(mysterium tremendum)”是一种“原初”的感受,即“宗教感受中最深层、最基本的因素”。^④网络基督教的虚拟性突出和强化了基督教的神圣属性,从而有助于信徒获得神秘的宗教体验,稳固对神圣对象、理念的崇拜,加深宗教信仰认同。

(二)先进的数字技术带来更高级的宗教体验

宗教性体验的首要之处在于,信徒自身能够感受到神性的存在,并依据对超自然力量的崇拜而坚守自己的信仰。网络对信徒宗教体验的提升效果是不容忽视的。

凭借互联网的交互技术,网络信息实现了双向乃至多向流动。在网络营造的共同信仰空间中,网

^② 乔纳森·弗里德曼 Jonathan Friedman,《文化认同与全球性过程》*Wenhua rentong yu quanqiu xing guocheng* [Cultural Identity and Global Process], 郭建如 Guo Jianru 译, (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan [Commercial Press], 2004 年), 44-50, 213。

^③ 许正林 Xu Zhenglin、贾兵 Jiabing,“当前西方基督教网络传播态势及其研究视野”“Dangqian xifang jidujiao wangluo chuanbo taishi jiqi yanjiu shiye” [Current Situation and Research Vision of Western Christian Network Communication], 《上海大学学报》*Shanghai daxue xuebao* [Shanghai University Journal], No. 6, (上海 Shanghai: 上海大学出版社 Shanghai daxue chubanshe [Shanghai University Press], 2010), 69。

^④ 鲁道夫·奥托 Rudolf Otto,《论神圣》*Lun shensheng* [The Idea of the Holy], 成琼 Cheng Qiong、周邦宪 Zhou Bangxian 译, (成都 Chengdu: 四川人民出版社 Sichuan renmin chubanshe [Sichuan People's Press], 1995), 14。

络基督徒们进行着实时、广泛的在线互动——在线阅读经典、分享自己的见证、交流生活中的神圣感悟等,互动性机制不仅加深了网络基督教参与者对教义、教理的理解,更能够通过团队的氛围强化基督徒对于神性观念的信笃。

本研究的深度访谈结果显示,多数教徒认为自己通过与网友交流感悟、分享见证,更加真切地感受到了上帝的存在,体验到在与神交往的过程中所带来的愉快与惬意;另一方面,由于其他信徒的监督和鼓励,更有利于信仰从意识形态到具体实践的落实,这些因素共同激发了网络基督徒对自身、所属虚拟社群及信仰对象的认同感,优化网络朝圣之旅的宗教体验。

网络独有的多媒体技术对宗教体验的提升作用同样不容小觑。例如,基督教经典文本以多媒体的形式呈现,不但更具吸引力,还增进了教徒对其内容的认知、认同感。在阅读这些基督教文本的时候,教徒可以利用各种数字化手段来检索、记录、存储、呈现和传播基督教信息,如语义查询、概念关联、自动对比、自助听读、多功能动画书、文本诵读、视频导读、学习自测等功能,充分获得创造、合作和分享的全新阅读体验。而这些前所未有的阅读体验、愉悦的学习环境和交流氛围,会在很大程度上加强信徒对基督教教义的理解,对信仰对象的神圣性的确定和对宗教信仰的坚守,从而产生比传统基督教所能带来的更高级的宗教体验。

(三) 互动性加深“信仰共同体”意识

网络已经成为人际交往的新平台,其独特的虚拟、去中心、平面化、碎片化、开放性等特性,让使用者克服物理世界的现实,以一个较为流动且“身体不在场”的自我,经营线上的人际关系。因而,虚拟社群的一个重要特征就在于,冲破现实空间中的地域束缚之后,实现了更为自由与有效的在线精神交往。这就更强调作为“共同体”的社会心理基础,而不是其地域属性,这也更接近滕尼斯所谓的“共同体”的那种“天然的状态”^⑤。

迪尔凯姆指出,宗教的目的不仅仅在于提供一套解释世界的理论,而在于为群体或社会建立一套行为准则,成为群体或社会得以延续存在的黏合剂。网络基督教社群依靠网络的互动性,将“黏合剂”效应发挥得淋漓尽致,作为一种信仰或价值的组合,它是被网络基督徒理解的组织方式、被社群共享的价值象征体系,不但强化了基督徒身份的建构、群体认同方式和人群信任,更通过线上线下同时展开的聚会、团契模式等形式促进了社群的凝聚力。

在本研究展开的深度访谈中,很多受访者表示,传统的教会活动有些枯燥乏味,人与人之间的沟通交流太少。由于成员背景复杂,生活经历、教育背景相去甚远,很难遇到有共同话题的人,而网络社会的互动模式为他们找到“同类”提供了便利,使得具有相同或相似生活经历、教育背景的人自发、自由地聚集到一起,由这些人组成的社群往往成员联系更紧密,更有共同语言,依赖性更强。

问卷调查还发现,网络的隐匿性和开放性促进了社群成员间的交流。“虚拟的真实感”使得沟通更加轻松随意、无拘束,大家不仅可以就信仰方面的问题进行各种形式的深入交流,还可以交流感情、学习等信仰之外的许多问题。而且除了在固定的场所举行聚会活动之外,他们还可以组织聚餐、郊游和室外娱乐活动,这样丰富多彩的形式让大家的精神交往更轻松随意,也加强了每个人对社群的归属感和文化认同感。

另一方面,网络基于自由、平等的对话机制,在给群体内成员提供了一个交流情感、分享经验的平台的同时,也为群体与外部世界的沟通打开了流畅的渠道。在各种意见、立场、态度的交锋中,群体之间的边界逐渐清晰,网络社群成员对所属群体的认同心理也会随之而强化,因为“只有当他们与其他群体接触并在接触过程中鲜明地感觉到彼此之间存在着根本性的差异和利益冲突时,才会去强化‘本

^⑤ 斐迪南·滕尼斯 Ferdinand Tönnies,《共同体与社会》Gongtongti yu shehui[Community and Civil Society],林荣远 Lin Rongyuan 译,(北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan[Commercial Press],1999),52-53。

群体’的意识,族群意识正是在需要明确区分开‘本群体’与‘他群体’这样的客观要求下产生。”^⑥意义从来不会通过个人化,而是以集体的方式得到建构,网络基督徒更倾向于将自己归属于某个网络基督教群体“共同体”,这种群体身份的约束使其自觉或不自觉地以群体的思考、行为方式来建构意义和采取行动,这就无形中强化了宗教信仰认同。

三、网络基督徒的自我认同

“自我认同指的是自我发展的过程,通过这一过程我们形成了对自身以及对周围世界的关系的独特感觉。……正是通过个人与外部世界不断的沟通才创造和改变了他或她的自我感觉。自我与社会之间的互动过程有助于把个体的私人世界与公共世界联系起来。”^⑦

网络基督教在当下中国的发展问题,实际上也可以体现个人与社会秩序之间的关系问题。“现代神圣世界的结构及其主题内容代表着一种新的宗教社会形式的出现,而这种形式又是由个人与社会秩序之间关系的根本转变所决定的。”^⑧当下中国基督教的结构基础并不在实体教会之中,也不在国家之中,更不可能在经济发展之中,换言之,其只可能处于私人领域,在个人自我认同的建构之中。信徒自我认同的建构不仅关系到网络基督教的宗教认同水平,更会对整个社会秩序和社会基本结构产生作用。

(一)“向善”力量引导现代人重建价值观

由于市场经济日新月异的发展和社会的急剧变迁,原有的道德标准和价值观念不再适应个人生活、社会发展的需要,而新的价值观又尚未在社会中确立或被普遍认可,面对这样的断层,处于转型期的中国人正急需一种新的力量来帮助他们重建价值观。

鲍德里亚称 20 世纪以来人们进入了“消费社会”,消费时代的人们沉醉于欲望的虚假的满足,追求感官刺激,一切都以金钱为最终价值目标,唯利是图和拜金主义大行其道;当人们日渐沉迷于由物质搭建起来的幻象世界,就与理性思维愈来愈远了,空虚于是成了当下中国人的精神常态。在喧嚣和浮华的世界中,他们无法找到自己的奋斗目标和精神支柱,精神生活被消极和茫然填满,这就导致整个社会陷入混乱无序的状态。重建价值观以稳固社会结构是中国社会发展至当下的内在需求,而网络基督教在这时适时地出现,正好起到了积极的引导作用。

“毋庸置疑,宗教信仰本身就是意识形态,指导及影响了信徒的人生观、价值观及世界观,这些均具备一定的政治含义。”^⑨宗教具有从根本上改变和约束人的行为的力量,而网络基督教更通过互联网的广泛传播和极大影响,在全社会渗透了基督教“向善”的正面引导力量和精神源泉,积极推动更快地重建价值理念。

^⑥ 马戎 Ma Rong,《社会学的族群关系研究》*Shehuixue de zuqun guanxi yanjiu*[Sociology of Race Relations],(北京 Beijing:北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe[Beijing University Press],2004),78。

^⑦ 安东尼·吉登斯 Antony Giddens,《社会学》*Shehuixue*[Sociology],(北京 Beijing:北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe[Beijing University Press],2003),38。

^⑧ 托马斯·鲁曼 Thomas Luhmann,“无形的宗教——现代社会中的宗教问题 *Wuxing de zongjiao: xiandai shehui zhong de zongjiao wenti*”[Invisible Religion: Religious Issues in Modern Society],转引自李向平 Li Xiangping:《“无形的教会”与“公共的信仰”》*wuxing de jiaohui yu gonggong de xinyang*[Invisible Church and the Public Faith],<http://www.christiantimes.cn/news/201109/05/3327.html>

^⑨ 基督徒香港守望社 Christian Hongkong Watch Agency,《过渡期的香港:政治、经济、社会》*Guoduqi de xianggang: zhengzhi, jingji, shehui*[Hong Kong in the Transitional Period: Political, Economic, Social],(香港 Hong Kong:广角镜出版社 Guangjiaojing chubanshe[Wide Angle Press,1988],6。

(二)“中间组织”弥补缺失的归属感和满足感

当下,人类生活在钢筋混泥土的层层包围中,又因高度的社会分工而被分隔于不同的单元套间内,传统的关系网渐渐减弱甚至消失,取而代之的是一个散漫的、无中心的“原子化社会”。由于人类社会最重要的社会联结机制——中间组织的解体或缺失,造成了社会的无序互动状态,社会生活和文化图景显得支离破碎,伴随而来的是人际关系的疏离和个体的孤立。个体之间缺乏真正的情感交流互动,孤独感成为一种普遍性的心理状态弥漫在人群中,每一个孤立的个体遭遇前所未有的自我认同困惑和归属感的缺失。

网络基督教作为一种新的社会交往模式,在这时适时出现,或许正可以弥补现代社会人际关系的空白与缺失。随着现代社会的逐步转型,人与人之间的关系日渐冷漠,情感交流越来越少,而成为网络基督教的一分子,则能在虚拟的宗教空间中重新获得人际互动和群体认同。他们在虚拟的宗教空间中自由徜徉、释放烦忧,建立以“兄弟姐妹”相称的虚拟关系,通过网络获取各种信息,与人交流并在此获得话语权和认同感。

从另一个角度来看,现代社会的快节奏生活、虚无感、竞争性已经使得人们的精神承载超负荷,孤独、焦虑和压力无处不在,而它们正如米兰·昆德拉所言的“生命之中不能承受之轻”,看似轻飘飘的无,实际上是无处不在的窒息,阻碍着个人生命意识的扩展和张扬。当人们无法及时消解这些精神压力时,总是幻想着躲进一种抽象的符号体系中,希望通过自己对于符号世界的自主建构来实现自我生命的超越性追求,而网络基督教正是这样的一个信仰符号。尽管从虚拟世界中获得的满足并不等同于现实的获取,但至少借由这样一种符号化生存的形式,现代人找到了将焦虑与压力释怀的有效途径,能够从心理上实现自我调整,减轻焦虑、恐惧情绪,获取精神支撑和感情慰藉。

(三)“自媒体”帮助建构和巩固网络基督徒身份

网络技术为个体提供了更佳自我表达途径,通过个人主页的“公告栏体”、博客的“日记体”、微博的“随感体”等不同的“自媒体”,网民及时更新着展示自我存在价值的内容,表达自己丰富的认知和与众不同的精神世界,正如有人说博客是一个“自我倾诉、自我欣赏、自我抚慰”的个性化场所,通过博客等“自媒体”,基督教教会人士、知识分子等与广大网民“亲密接触”,展现出更人性化和普世性的一面;普通大众则获得了展示自己的机会和自我实现的满足感,例如,一些网络基督徒的博客空间带有自己设计的 LOGO、头像、背景图等,并且根据个人的兴趣爱好设置网页布局、语言风格、音乐背景、链接主题、关注好友等,极具个性色彩。经营博客可以看作是一个发掘自我、建构自我、确认自我的行为,而这一系列的行动无不深化着个人对自己网络基督徒身份的建构和认同。

“自媒体”让人们“不只思索我们的认同,并且转换我们思考自身的方式,也将我们改变为我们意欲成为的人。”^⑩网络扭转了社会的人际互动模式,扭转了传统意义上的本质认同观或自然认同观,强调个体的认同可以是变化的、多元的弹性建构。据此,人们自我构建的身份表现出明显的流动性、转化性、不确定性、去中心化和无主体性,而对应的建构过程则是不断“切换、摸索、探视”的过程。“在进入后现代时代以后,多重认同已不再是罕见难得的事物。”^⑪后现代社会中公民身份的多重性与网络社会的流动性紧密相关,在虚拟的网络空间里人们可以根据需要不断地转换自己的身份,在现实的自我与模拟的自我、网民、网络基督徒、意见领袖等角色之间进行自我的再造或再现。正是这种带有“后现代”游弋、流动特质的多元化建构机制,具有极大的解放性力量,它可以将个体从具体的地理认同空间中解放出来,更可以超越具有固定意义与规则的社会认同限制,使人们摆脱种族、肤色、性别、语言

^⑩ Thurlow, C., Lengel, L., Tomic, A. *Computer Mediated Communication: Social interaction online*. (2004), 144, 246.

^⑪ 雪莉·特克 Shirley Turk,《虚拟化身:网络时代的身份认同》*Xuni huashen; wangluo shidai de shenfen rentong*[Avatars: Identity in the Internet Age], 谭天 Tan Tian、吴佳真 Wu Jiazhen 译。(台湾 Taiwan: 源流出版 Yuanliu chuban[Origin Publishing, 1998]), 245。

等社会属性的区隔,在更为平等和多元的网络空间重新审视自己,将自己视为一个完整的个体。

又由于网络虚拟社会具有“去中心化”的特点,为个人主体意识的发掘创设了有利条件。网络社会不存在一个中央集权的指挥机构,现实中的等级制度遭到瓦解,个体在交互式的网状信息结构中得以自由地选择、获取和发表信息,随时随地与网络中的其他节点进行信息互换交流,而他者是自我的延长和同类复制,通过他者可以清晰而直观地映射出自我。如网络基督教论坛就是典型的开放式公共话语空间,无论是普通网民、基督教慕道友、网络基督徒,还是教会人士、知识分子,都可以在这里自由发表言论、参与网络基督教活动、寻找具有共同价值观念的他者、加入自己认同的网络基督教社区。在意见的自由表达中,与其他基督徒或非基督教信徒的互动中,每一个人都自然地完成了重新认识自我的过程,也自觉地固化着对自己网络基督徒身份的认同。

总 结

网络基督教凭借其庞大的信徒群体、优越的自我服务、灵活的组织形式、自主自由的宗教生活特点,与生俱来某些传统基督教或其他社会组织所没有的社会功能。网络基督教没有脱离其宗教的本质,归根结底仍是一个意义系统,或者称之为“信仰型社会组织”(FBO, Faith - Based Organizations),它伴随着当代中国社会的变迁而逐步发展,形成了一套自我传播、自我管理、自我服务的机制,在促进网络基督徒的信仰认同、自我认同的同时,也在更大的层面上获得了中国社会的认同,表现为与其他社会组织、政治国家、社会之间良性互动、协调发展的关系。

English Title:

The Recognition Status of Online Christianity and its Influence

——Based on the Survey of Online Christians

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Abstract: Online Christianity has the advantage of openness, interaction and autonomy. It has reconstructed the internal structure and operation mechanism of Christianity, and contributed to the transformation of organization manner, interaction model and value system in Chinese society. It is important to understand the recognition status of Online Christianity in contemporary Chinese society. In order to explore the true recognition status, the thesis closely relied on the questionnaire surveys and in - depth interviews carried out within online Christian groups, as well as content analysis of the Christian sites. Referring to the characteristics and effects of the online Christian propagation, there are three important dimensions, to consider: online Christians' faith recognition, their self - recognition and social recognition, sorting out its internal operating rules, external social environment, influence on the society and potential development. At the same time, it revealed the recognition relationships of Online Christianity with traditional Christianity, online Christian individual, Chinese society and so on, which provides data support and theoretical background for its further development in China.

Key terms: Online Christianity, Recognition, Online Christian Group, Online Christian Propagation, Chinese Society

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

Conflict and Concord: Meandering on Biblical Visions of Social Relations

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Abstract: History is often written by war more than peace, and human society conditioned by tension and conflict rather than amity and unity between races, nations, classes, and genders. So, social harmony often represents a utopian dream, desirable but not realizable. As religious scripture and cultural canon, the Bible has formed and shaped Christian values and visions in profound ways. What does the Bible have to say about social relations? This essay examines biblical traditions on conflict and concord and evaluates their appropriations by major Western and Chinese interpreters who have evoked the Bible to critique social evil and promote the common good resulting in different consequences. It is my hope that a macroscopic review and critical reflection on the impact of biblical visions on social relations may yield some helpful religious insights on the advancement of social harmony.

Key words: conflict, harmony, social relations, biblical interpretation, Christian vision

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Civilization, one may argue, has been shaped much more profoundly and profusely by destructive wars than the transitory peace sporadically found in human history, and sadly social relations in every society are often marked by suspicion and hostility among groups of people rather than amity or trust. Precisely because tension and conflict between races, nations, classes and genders, for cultural, political, economic or personal reasons, are so common and rampant in human life, “building a harmonious society”^① may sound like Sir Thomas More’s imagination of the Utopia or Confucius’ ideal of *Datong* world (a commonwealth state), desirable indeed but elusive and unreachable. No one would dispute, however, that it is a deep human longing to live in harmony with one another, as aptly reflected in the Jewish greeting of “*shalom*,” the Muslims’ “*salaam*,” the Christian “peace,” and the Chinese “*nin hao*.” There is no quarrel,

① * This essay was first read at the International Conference on “Ancient Wisdom and Harmonious Society,” held at the College of Foreign Languages, Peking University, Beijing, China, May 31-June 3, 2010. On February 19, 2005, Chinese President Hu Jintao, who is also general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), instructed his leading officials and Party cadres to place “building a harmonious society” top on their agenda at the opening ceremony of a training seminar for provincial and ministerial leaders: “The CPC [Communist Party of China] and the central government have made it an important task to build a harmonious society, as China is facing thorny domestic issues, as well as complicated and volatile international situations.” The full text of Hu’s speech was released on June 26, 2005. Accessed 2013-09-30 from http://english.people.com.cn/200506/27/eng20050627_192495.html

furthermore, that people living in a harmonious society will develop a proud sense of identity and a strong bond of solidarity with fellow citizens, and will be better motivated to pursue the common good for their society and build a stable and prosperous nation. Idealistic notwithstanding, therefore, harmony is an important and worthy goal for any progressive society to promote and pursue.

What is harmony? Can it serve as a motivating vision or political goal to resolve social conflict that often wreaks havoc in nation building? Is it viable and feasible in light of human instinct for self – interest and aggression? One can approach these questions from the perspectives of philosophy, sociology or political science. For sure, the answers will be different among competing schools of thought and between the cultural views of the East and the West; the implications for their practical implementations will be widely different, too. Regarding such questions, this essay has a humble purpose. It offers a critical reflection on major visions of conflict and concord in the Bible and evaluates their appropriations by Western and Chinese interpreters. The final goal is to make a contribution toward a religious understanding of social harmony from a Christian point of view.

Why do we focus on biblical visions? As the scripture of authority for Christianity, the Bible has provided its believers with religious insights to construct a symbolic universe, in which God is believed to be the almighty Creator and compassionate Redeemer who is holy, merciful and just, and God’s people are expected to live in righteousness in accordance with the law of their covenant with their Lord God. As an influential cultural canon in the Christian West, the Bible has also formed a distinctive worldview and offered moral principles to norm their way of life and transform their communities. In this globalized age, the Bible, with its time – tested wisdom and deep influence in the West, for good or for ill, can serve as a valuable intellectual text for reflection on the important topic of social harmony for the East, and indeed for the whole world. It is particularly urgent in a time when domestic violence and divorces are not considered headline news anymore and senseless killings of the innocent are happening in every continent, such as the massacre of the summer campers on the Island of Utøya, Norway in July 2011, the carnage of school children at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut, USA in December 2012, and the butchery of mall shoppers in Nairobi, Kenya in September 2013. In addition to domestic abuses and gun violence, the “clash of civilizations”^② which Samuel Huntington defined as the cultural rather than ideological or economic divide between the West and the rest of the world, has been horrifically manifested in the terrorist attacks in New York and London, let alone the constant trading of missile strikes and helicopter shootings that brutalizes the inhabitants of Israel and Gaza. We have also seen the raging wars of fury that continue to destroy lives and infrastructures in Islamic countries, such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Egypt and Syria. On economic side, even when a few big corporations are reaping obscene profits and their CEO’s becoming billionaires, so much more ordinary hard – working people are plunging into the bottomless pit of poverty without any hope to find a better life, as the great depression of 2008 and the “Occupy Wall Street” movement have made so obvious. The huge gap between the top one percent of the population and the ninety-nine percenters is unbridgeable and the resentment is deep. A storm of social revolution seems looming in the horizon. Is there any wonder that everybody yearns for peace and harmony? What then does the Christian Bible have to say

② Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 207 – 245. James Hodge and Samuel Huntington eds., *The Clash of Civilizations: The Debate*, 2nd ed. (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2010), *passim*.

about the broken human relationship and the threat of social mayhem? What advice can it offer to the world to promote social harmony? We will review a few visions of conflict and concord beginning with the Old Testament.

I . Hebrew Scripture (Old Testament)

The authors of the Hebrew Scripture (Old Testament) share a fundamental belief in Yahweh as the Creator of the universe, the Savior of Israel and the Lord of human history.^③ They observe and address the complex issues of human life-moral character, personal behavior and social relationship—from a monotheistic point of view, with the conviction that Yahweh their God takes serious interest in human affairs and gives Abraham and his offspring special favors as a chosen people (Genesis 12 – 36 and Exodus 1 – 24).^④ The Pentateuch is bluntly honest in showing how often the people of God fail to maintain their covenant with God and show no mercy to others; as a result they repeatedly crash their societies with exploitation and violence. The Prophets are particularly outspoken in condemning the brutal kings, the selfish elders, and the greedy rich who take advantage of the poor, and in advocating the cases for the widows and the orphans. As we survey the OT, several themes on human relationship are noteworthy.

1. Conflict and Concord

First to be noted is the repeated conflict in the Pentateuch that takes place at different levels of human relationship. In the sagas of the patriarchs in Genesis, for instance, we witness several tragedies of family feud that rips apart the most intimate relationship in human life: the first spousal tension in Adam's hasty accusation of his wife Eve, the first case of fratricide in Cain's brutal murder of his brother Abel, and the dysfunctional families of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in which members cheating, tricking, and betraying each other.^⑤ In the liberation epic of Exodus, we see the legalized apartheid system and systematic racial discrimination in Egypt in the enslavement of the Hebrews and the killing of their baby boys (Exod 1:8 – 16). In the so – called conquest narrative of Joshua, we are confronted with a series of horrific genocides (Joshua 10:28 – 40) perpetrated by the newly liberated Hebrews who became violent aggressors plundering the land of the Canaanites, raiding their properties, and massacring their people. Worse yet, they used divine decree to justify their holy war (Joshua 10:8 – 14; 11:6, 20; Judges 1:1 – 2; 4:16, 24)! In History books and the Psalms, we also see the atrocities of conflict among nations played out gruesomely by the Assyrian invasion of Israel and the Babylonian conquest of Judea. The looting and burning of the Temple and the raping and killing of the people of Israel are inhumanely ruthless (e. g. 2 Kings 25). The life as prisoners of war in exile is certainly hard and humiliating, as a psalmist

③ Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 145 – 228.

④ R. W. L. Moberly, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament: Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 105 – 146.

⑤ Norman Cohen, *Self, Struggle & Change: Family Conflict Stories in Genesis and Their Healing Insights for Our Lives* (Woodstock, VT. : Jewish Lights, 1995).

sitting by the river of Babylon wrote: “For there our captors asked us for songs and our tormentors asked for mirth, saying, “Sing us one of the songs of Zion!” How could we sing the Lord’s song in a foreign land?” (Psa 137:3 – 4). Thirsty for retribution, the same psalmist continued, “Remember, O Lord, against the Edomites the day of Jerusalem’s fall, how they said, “Tear it down! Tear it down! Down to its foundations!” O daughter Babylon, you devastator! Happy shall they be who pay you back what you have done to us! Happy shall they be who take your little ones and dash them against the rock!” (Psa 137:7 – 9). In numerous prayers and lamentations in the Psalms, we also hear constant requests for God’s protection from personal enemies and persistent pleadings for bloody vengeance (e. g. Psa 5:8; 7:1; 17:8 – 9; 58:10; 94:1).^⑥ All these conflicts are caused by fear, anger, greed or hatred, but ultimately by the human drive for self – preservation and self – aggrandizement, called “sin” in theological term.

While critiquing the destructive power of sin that damages relationships and causes conflicts, however, the OT authors also provide clear visions of concord and harmony as divinely ordained and worthy of pursuing. Let us take the first human couple in the creation story of Genesis again for example. Adam and Eve share the same flesh, so they are supposed to love each other in perfect union, and it is declared that marriage should be honored as sacred because husband and wife are joined together by God and no one should tear it apart (Gen 2:24). The author of Genesis also claims that all racial and ethnic groups of people originated from Adam and Eve and lived in peace with one another. It was not until they conspired to build the Tower of Babel in defiance of God when God divided them into different language groups (Gen 11:6 – 8). In that story, it appears that God was jealous of and may be afraid of what human cooperation might achieve, so God separated them and broke their concord. God’s purpose, however, was exactly the opposite. In light of the fact that God regarded everything in the creation, including humans, as “good” (Gen 1:4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31), God was concerned that their ambition and defiance against the Creator, if not contained, would inevitably result in aggression against each other and domination over the nature. In other words, God used separation as a time – out measure to teach them an important lesson: human collaboration to excel should be based on a reverence to God their Creator and respect for God’s creation. It is also important to note that, subsequently in the narrative, God promised that all nations on earth shall one day be blessed through Abraham, at the moment when Abraham was elected and called out of his land and family (Gen 12:3). The fact that the particular election of Abraham and the universal blessing of all nations are tied together suggests that God is impartial and God wishes all nations to enjoy peace and harmony with one another. It is no accident that the dramatic sagas of Jacob and Joseph both end with a touching scene of brotherly reconciliation, the tragedies of sibling rivalry finally turned into the happy ending of family reunion (reconciliation between Jacob and Esau in Genesis 33; reunion of the twelve brothers in Genesis 45). The stories of patriarchs in Genesis demonstrate that hurtful conflicts in family life – the most basic unit of human

^⑥ Sung – Hun Lee, “Lament and the Joy of Salvation in the Lament Psalms,” in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* (Peter Flint and Patrick Miller, ed. ; Leiden; Brill, 2005), 224 – 247.

relationships – should and can be resolved into a loving harmony. Conflict may be dominant in our lives, but we should strive for concord.

2. People of the Covenant

As Moses led the Hebrews, also called the Israelites, out of Egypt and traveled through the desert to worship Yahweh on Mount Sinai, the former slaves became people of the covenant. Before sending Moses to Egypt, God had said this to him:

⁶ Say therefore to the Israelites, ‘ I am the Lord, and I will free you from the burdens of the Egyptians and deliver you from slavery to them. I will redeem you with an outstretched arm and with mighty acts of judgment. ⁷ I will take you as my people, and I will be your God. You shall know that I am the Lord your God, who has freed you from the burdens of the Egyptians. ⁸ I will bring you into the land that I swore to give to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; I will give it to you for a possession. I am the Lord. ’ (Exod 6:6 – 8)

In keeping with his covenant with Abraham (Gen 17:4 – 11), Yahweh will liberate the Israelites from slavery, adopt them as his people, and give them a land to call their own. And so he did, outstretching his powerful arm to rescue his oppressed people from slavery and performing mighty miracles to punish their Egyptian overlords. God also fed, protected, and guided them as they wandered through the desert. Up on Mount Sinai, the Israelites were then given a new identity as the people of covenant, who can be called God’s own. The faithfulness of God demonstrated in the Exodus event was so powerful and the sacred memory of the Sinai covenant so embedded in the minds of the Israelites that, from then on, the OT understanding of human relationship began to model on Yahweh, the Lord God who kept his covenant with Abraham and rescued his suffering people. The idea of covenant does not simply reveal the character of God, but carries with it a proposal for the organization of society for the people of Israel. ^⑦ Social relations in the OT were therefore defined by the principles of faithfulness/loyalty (*ds, x, , ḥ esed*), compassion/tender mercy (*~ x; r; ra ḥ am*) and righteousness/justice (*hq’ d’ c. tdaqah*), which their ancestors had experienced in God’s mighty acts of liberation in the dramatic events of the Exodus. To remind the Israelites of God’s faithfulness and their covenant with God, the whole congregation was taught to profess a credo in unison at the annual offering of the first fruit, as a liturgical response to the priest:

⁵ A wandering Aramean was my ancestor; he went down into Egypt and lived there as an alien, few in number, and there he became a great nation, mighty and populous. ⁶ When the Egyptians treated us harshly and afflicted us, by imposing hard labor on us, ⁷ we cried to the Lord, the God of our ancestors; the Lord heard our voice and saw our affliction, our toil, and our oppression. ⁸ The Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, with a terrifying display of power, and with signs and wonders; ⁹ and he brought us into this place and gave us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. ¹⁰ So now I bring the first of the fruit of the ground that you, O Lord, have given me. (Deut 26:5 – 10)

^⑦ Walter Bruggemann, “Covenant and Social Possibility,” in *A Social Reading of the Old Testament: Prophetic Approaches to Israel’s Communal Life* (Patrick Miller ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 54 – 69, esp. 57.

It is noteworthy that, right after reciting this credo at the annual thanksgiving ritual, the Israelites were instructed to celebrate, with all the bounty that the Lord gave them, “together with the Levites and the aliens who reside among them.” (Deut 26:11). Their ancestors’ experience as sojourners in strange lands should make them empathetic to the anxiety of the foreigners residing among them and motivate them to extend hospitality to all travelers and immigrant workers. The way God cared for their ancestors should be the way they treated the strangers among them. Thus, the resident aliens in their society should be included in the corporate celebration of the harvest festival. When people of different birth background can sit at the same table for feast, the racial boundary is broken and ethnic tension lowered. As such, this thanksgiving festival was meant not only to strengthen the bond of love among the Israelites but also to improve their relationship with outsiders and enhance harmony among the ethnic groups in their society.

One disturbing question regarding the conquest narrative of Joshua 10 – 12 and Judges 1 – 2 cannot be glossed over. Joshua’s victories over the Canaanite people in various cities do show that God’s promise to Abraham (Gen 12:1; 15:18 – 19; Exod 3:17) was fulfilled when the Israelites took possession of the land of Canaan (Josh 21:43 – 45; 23:14). In that narrative, however, Yahweh as a Warrior God to fight for Israel (Josh 10:14) is theologically problematic. Does it show a “dark side of God”?^⑧ Is Yahweh merely a patron god of Israel or the Lord of all people? How can Yahweh who punishes the Egyptians for their oppression of Hebrew slaves condone, let alone command, the Israelites to commit the heinous crime of genocide? Can the Bible still assert God’s mercy and justice? The conquest narrative is also ethically problematic. It is true that the dispossessed Israelites had suffered as slaves in Egypt and lived a homeless life in the desert, but does their misery make it right to slaughter the Canaanites and raid their land? If divine decree can be used as an excuse for ethnic cleansing, how can the Bible be trusted and used for ethical deliberation for anyone but the people of Israel? It is sad to acknowledge that the conquest narrative has been used over and over again by believers to justify atrocities against other people, such as the Dutch settlers in South Africa and the English pioneers in America. Some Jewish and Christian Zionists continue to cite it as divine warrant to expel Palestinians out of the land they have inhabited for thousands of years.^⑨ In these cases, religious scripture has been grossly abused for political and economic gains.

In light of the grave consequences of biblical interpretation, how should we understand the conquest narrative in an ethical manner? I offer a brief reflection in three points. First, God did promise to give Abraham and his offspring a land of milk and honey they may call their home. The key point of the conquest narrative is thus to demonstrate that the faithful God cares for the displaced refugees who need a land in which to settle. In ancient times, the almighty and merciful God rescued the Hebrew slaves from their torturers and led them to the promised land of Canaan. In the sixth – century BCE, when the Israelites were suffering in exile losing land and faith, God’s promise of land was formulated in the Torah canon to sustain

^⑧ Walter Dietrich and Christian Link, *Die dunklen Seiten Gottes*, 2 vols. (Neukirchen – Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997, 2000). John Barton, “The Dark Side of God in the Old Testament,” in *Ethical and Unethical in the Old Testament: God and Humans in Dialogue* (Katharine Dell, ed.; New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 122 – 134.

^⑨ For political contexts of the land issue, see Jimmy Carter, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006). Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006). For interpretations of biblical texts on the land issue, see L. Loden, P. Walker, and M. Wood eds., *The Bible and the Land: An Encounter* (Jerusalem: Musalaha, 2000). Walter Brueggemann, *The Land: Place as Gift, Promise and Challenge in Biblical Faith*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002). Gary Burge, *Whose Land? Whose Promise? What Christians are Not Being Told about Israel and the Palestinians* (Cleveland: Pilgrim; London: Paternoster, 2003).

the life and hope of the exilic community. ^⑩Today, if we believe that God is the Creator and Redeemer of all people, not only of Israelites, we can argue that the almighty and merciful God will also take care of the landless refugees in similar needs regardless of their race or ethnicity. That means, then, true people of God cannot use the conquest narrative as an excuse to practice xenophobia or endorse aggression. Susan Niditch rightly calls for an “ideology of nonparticipation” in war except for self – defense. ^⑪Second, massacre is not the only way to acquire the land of promise. In fact, Abraham made allies with the Amorites, Mamre, Eshcol and Aner, to fight against the four kings who looted his nephew Lot (Gen 14:13) and purchased a piece of land from his neighbor the Hittites in Hebron (Gen 23:17 – 18). People who claim to be the children of Abraham by blood or by faith should learn from their ancestor Abraham. True believers of God should not allow egoism and genocentrism dictate their way of life, even in the name of national security or national interest. Instead, they should always strive to find an ethical way to fulfill God’s word. Finally, in terms of biblical hermeneutics, even if the divine order to exterminate the Canaanites was a divine decree, it should be considered a special case in a particular context, not to be used as permission for aggression or pretext for violence, because the approach to the war in the OT is “deliberately *complex, ambivalent, conditional and incomplete.*” ^⑫There are other texts in the Bible that demand peace rather than war in dealing with conflicts. To all people God is impartial and to the wicked God will judge. Too many so-called holy wars have been waged to perpetuate human conflicts and dishonor God’s name!

3. Children of the Law

As people of the covenant, the Israelites were expected to become children of the law. God’s salvation obliged them to learn and obey God’s will prescribed in the Ten Commandments, as Moses said to them:

⁴ You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles’ wings and brought you to myself. ⁵ Now therefore, if you obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my treasured possession out of all the peoples. Indeed, the whole earth is mine, ⁶ but you shall be for me a priestly kingdom and a holy nation. These are the words that you shall speak to the Israelites. (Exodus 19:4 – 6)

By rescuing the Hebrew slaves, God demonstrated his faithfulness to Abraham, and revealed his compassion for the oppressed and his judgment on the oppressors. If the Israelites keep their obligations to obey God’s voice, they shall be treasured by God and become a priestly nation and holy society serving God. In other words, the people of God are expected to emulate God’s actions, to obey God’s bidding, and to display God’s character of faithfulness, compassion, and justice in dealing with one another.

What is the voice of God to be obeyed? First and foremost are the Ten Commandments given through Moses. The first four commandments regulate the Israelites’ relationship with God (“You shall have no other gods before me ... etc.” Exod 20:1 – 11) and the latter six govern their relations with other members of the society (“Honor your father and your mother ... etc.” Exod 20:12 – 17). ^⑬On the basis of this

^⑩ Bruce Birch, Walter Brueggemann, Terence Fretheim and David Petersen, *A Theological Introduction to the Old Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 178.

^⑪ Susan Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible; A Study in the Ethics of Violence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 134 – 149.

^⑫ P. P. Jenson, *The Problem of War in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Grove, 2002), 5.

^⑬ Patrick Miller, *The Ten Commandments* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2009), 415 – 432.

“*Foundational Covenant Document*,”^⑭ a grand legal system including religious laws and civil laws was developed over time. Besides religious rules on holy days, sacrifices, and temple services, civil laws adjudicating social relationship such as marriage, property, criminal cases, penalties, retribution and compensation were meticulously and comprehensively scripted by priestly leaders into legal codes. Interpretations and appropriations of these legal codes continued to be multiplied after the Hebrew Scripture was canonized by the Pharisaic rabbis in Yavneh at the end of the first century. Generations of rabbis studied, taught, and expanded their biblical laws into a grand “oral Torah” preserved in *mishnah*, *halakoth* and *midrashim*.^⑮ This wide – ranging and complicated legal system became an institutional tool used by political, religious, and civil leaders to maintain order and keep peace in Jewish society. Regarding social relations, the basic assumption of biblical laws is justice based on the principles of fairness and reciprocity (*lex talionis*; “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth” Deut 19:21), and it is patterned after the way God rendered justice to all, liberating the Hebrew slaves and punishing their Egyptian overlords.

OT prophets also issued exhortations and admonitions to teach the people of Israel how to obey the law of God and live their lives properly with other people. Speaking to a nation trying to live out their identity as the people of the covenant and children of the law, the prophets’ main concern, interestingly, was the sin of idolatry. Their logic is simple but compelling. If the people could forget Yahweh their Lord who had gifted them with liberty, identity, the land and the law, what constraint was there for them not to commit transgressions against other people for selfish gains? What moral strength might exist in them to defuse social conflicts when tensions erupt? Idolatry was the principal sin for theological and social reasons.

Besides idolatry, the most frequently-mentioned sin in the mouths of the prophets was social injustice perpetrated by corrupted rulers who abused their authority and the greedy rich who exploited the poor. In the eyes of the prophets who spoke with the authority of God’s inspired words, political corruption and economic exploitation were two major causes of social injustice and social conflict. When political authorities abuse their power and economic elites take advantage of the poor, relations between social classes will of course be broken and social conflict hard to avoid. Thus, OT prophets often censured greedy leaders with divine judgment. For instance, Isaiah declared:

Ah, you who make iniquitous decrees, who write oppressive statutes,² to turn aside the needy from justice and to rob the poor of my people of their right, that widows may be your spoil, and that you may make the orphans your prey!³ What will you do on the day of punishment, in the calamity that will come from far away? To whom will you flee for help, and where will you leave your wealth,⁴ so as not to crouch among the prisoners or fall among the slain? For all this his anger has not turned away; his hand is stretched out still. (Isaiah 10:1 –4).

Jeremiah also reprimanded the powerful and the wealthy with a sarcastic diatribe:

^⑭ Daniel Block, “The Decalogue in the Hebrew Scriptures,” in *The Decalogue through the Centuries: From the Hebrew Scriptures to Benedict XVI* (Jeffrey Greenman and Timothy Larsen, eds.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2012), 1 –28.

^⑮ Jacob Neusner, *Scripture and Midrashim in Judaism*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1994 –1995). Idem., *Jewish Law from Moses to the Mishnah* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1998).

³² Can a girl forget her ornaments or a bride her attire? Yet my people have forgotten me, days without number. ³³ How well you direct your course to seek lovers! So that even to wicked women you have taught your ways. ³⁴ Also on your skirts is found the lifeblood of the innocent poor, though you did not catch them breaking in. Yet in spite of all these things ³⁵ you say, “I am innocent; surely his anger has turned from me.” Now I am bringing you to judgment for saying, “I have not sinned.” (Jeremiah 2:32 – 35)

God demands justice from his people, because “the Lord is a God of justice” (Isa 3. 18; 61. 8). Without compassion for the down trodden, there can be no social harmony either, so the prophets often urged people to “learn to do good; seek justice, rescue the oppressed, defend the orphan, plead for the widow.” (Isa 1:17).

In the Prophets, there is a distinct emphasis on God’s concerns for the poor, the widows and the orphans. Bruce Birch calls it “God’s partiality to the dispossessed.”^⑩ This prophetic emphasis reflects the crisis of economic disparity in the society of their time. Greed and self – interest led the powerful and the wealthy to exploit their citizens, and created a chasm between the haves and the have – nots.^⑪ If there is no kindness or mercy shown to the less fortunate, how can there be true harmony in the society? The prophet Micah summarized very well what God wants his people to do: “He has told you, O mortal, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?” (Micah 6:8; see also Isa 61:8; Jer 21:12).

Compared to the priests who institutionalized and administrated the laws as a legal system with official authority, the prophets often operated individually outside the system. But they were authorized by God through their calling, their wisdom, and the extraordinary ability to speak prophecy and perform miracles. For the priests and ruling class, social harmony mostly meant to maintain a stable order and keep the status quo, which was good for the privileged. For the prophets who were critics and reformers of the society, however, harmony meant to render justice for all, especially the defenseless, and to show compassion to the poor. These two groups of leaders held opposing views on what harmony entailed and on how best to attain it for the society, but both enrich the meaning of social harmony and both are relevant to our effort to build a harmonious society today.

4. Light to the Nations

Besides condemning corrupted leaders and defending the poor, some OT prophets also issued a grand vision of peace for all nations. Having witnessed the Assyrian Empire’s ruthless conquest and brutal aggression against other peoples, Isaiah declared that God’s will was to see all peoples in the world live peacefully with one another, because all were his children. No one deserves to be violated, hurt, subjugated or oppressed. One day God will send his anointed one to execute judgment against the wicked nations that instigate international conflict and then every nation will show goodwill to others. In visionary and symbolic language, Isaiah declared:

^⑩ Bruce Birch, *Let Justice Roll Down: The Old Testament, Ethics, and Christian Life* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), 121 – 123.

^⑪ Norman Gottwald, “A Hypothesis about Social Class in Monarchic Israel in the Light of Contemporary Studies of Social Class and Social Stratification,” in *The Hebrew Bible in Its Social World and in Ours* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993), 139 – 164.

⁶ The wolf shall live with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the calf and the lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. ⁷ The cow and the bear shall graze, their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. ⁸ The nursing child shall play over the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put its hand on the adder's den. ⁹ They will not hurt or destroy on all my holy mountain; for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. (Isa 11:6-9)

How can this grand vision of peace be realized in the world? God will make it happen by sending his anointed one to judge all people by the power of the Spirit (Isa 11:1-5). Meanwhile, the people of Israel are given a mission to be the light to all nations, as Isaiah said on behalf of God:

“I am the Lord, I have called you in righteousness, I have taken you by the hand and kept you; I have given you as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations, to open the eyes that are blind, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, from the prison those who sit in darkness.” (Isa 42:6-7).

To remind the people of Israel of their mandate as a witness to the God of compassion and justice among all nations, Isaiah again spoke:

⁶ Is not this the fast that I choose: to loosen the bonds of injustice, to undo the thongs of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke? ⁷ Is it not to share your bread with the hungry, and bring the homeless poor into your house; when you see the naked, to cover them, and not to hide yourself from your own kin? ⁸ Then your light shall break forth like the dawn, and your healing shall spring up quickly; your vindicator shall go before you, the glory of the Lord shall be your rear guard. (Isa 58:6-8)

To summarize what we have observed in the OT, (1) the tragic stories of family feud from Adam to Joseph in Genesis are an archetype of human conflict at other levels frequently seen in human history. They demonstrate the weakness of human nature and the destructive power of sin. The surprising endings of those stories also show that there is still hope for reconciliation even in the thickness of hostility. (2) The Israelites started as a small group of wandering people, without land and struggling for survival. But they were chosen and liberated from slavery by Yahweh to become a people of the covenant and were taught to live their lives as children of the law. As evident in the Pentateuch and the Prophets, the way they related to one another and interacted with other peoples was expected to reflect the good character of their God as revealed in the saving event of Exodus, namely, faithfulness, compassion, and justice, with an emphasis on justice. (3) They were chosen for redemption and given the law, because God wanted them to enjoy social harmony. But that is not the final goal. They have been commissioned to serve as a light to all nations showing them how conflict can be avoided and harmony can be achieved if justice is given to the victims and the poor. (4) In the OT, we also see a tendency in the priestly tradition to regard harmony as a stabilizing force for social order that supports the status quo. The prophetic tradition, on the other hand, tends to see harmony as a final goal for which the status quo – social injustice, political corruption and economic exploitation – needs to be subverted and reformed. Justice for all and kindness to the poor are essential

conditions for the establishment of a social harmony sanctioned by God.

II . New Testament

Like their counterparts in the OT, NT authors are also keenly aware of human conflicts and still offer visions of harmony for their readers. Just as OT authors base their teachings of human relations on God's actions of creation and salvation and God's character of mercy and justice, NT authors pattern their teachings after Jesus who befriends sinners and loves enemies.

1. Order or Harmony

Living under the iron rule of the Roman Empire in the first century, Jesus and NT authors were familiar with various forms of social injustice and political oppression. It was a society with a pyramid structure of power from top down: the Emperor owned and ruled all; the senators and generals possessed resources and control management; bureaucracy maintained imperial system; free citizens tried to make a living; freed slaves struggled to survive, and slaves sacrificed their lives to make everything running. Upper social classes acquired privileges and prosperity through conquest or bequeath. Slaves, about one third of the population in Roman society, ^⑧ were caught or bought and were forced to labor in dangerous places. The Empire was built by military force and maintained by heavy taxation and ruthless suppression. *Pax Romana* was the top priority, by law if possible and by sword when necessary. The social harmony was coerced and imposed, and thus a kind of peace and order, good for the rulers who benefited from the status quo. Numerous robberies and frequent civil wars proved that the Roman style of social harmony was neither fair nor just to the commoners and slaves who constitute the majority of the society. So, protests, riots, and rebellions never cease.

The Jewish society in Palestine in the NT time was also full of tensions and conflicts. ^⑨ There was mutual contempt between inhabitants of Jerusalem and Galilee, big cities and little villages. "No prophet is to arise from Galilee," the Pharisees in Jerusalem once said this about Jesus (John 7:52). There were also tensions between social classes (civil leaders, merchants and peasants) and between religious groups (Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes). The Pharisees called the peasants in Galilee "*ham - ha - aretz*" (people of the dirt) with scorn, because they did not study the law seriously. The scribes considered themselves religious elites and nosed down on the unclean, sinners, prostitutes, and workers in some professions. Then, there were religious ranks. The Temple service system gave priestly class authorities and privileges so they profited politically and economically. When the high priest Caiaphas said that it was better to have Jesus killed than to

^⑧ M. I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (New York: Viking, 1980), 80. J. Albert Harrill, *The Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995), 44.

^⑨ Richard Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence: Popular Jewish Resistance in Roman Palestine* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 1 - 58.

have the whole nation destroyed (John 11:50), it was clear that many Jewish leaders considered social harmony as peace and order for the status quo from which they benefited, but not necessarily the justice for all or compassion for the poor, which the OT prophets have taught.

2. Kingdom of God

Jesus' central message was the imminence of the kingdom of God that calls for repentance (Mark 1:15). How are human relations envisioned in his kingdom of God?

As reflected in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus shared similar visions of social relations with many OT authors. He charged his disciples to serve as "the salt of the earth" and "the light of the world" (Matt 5:13, 14), and declared that he had come not to abolish but to fulfill the law and the prophets (Matt 5:17). Those who obey and teach his commandments shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven (Matt 5:19). His commandments have a high standard, higher than that of the Ten Commandments as traditionally understood. For instance, getting angry with brothers is equivalent to committing murder (Matt 5:21 - 22), reconciling with brothers is more important than offering gifts to God (Matt 5:23 - 24), looking at a woman with lust means committing the sin of adultery (Matt 5:27 - 28), and plucking out one's eye that causes him to sin is better than entering hell with the whole body (Matt 5:29). Jesus' radical teaching is most strikingly seen in his commandments to resist no evildoer, turn the other cheek, give up the cloak, walk the second mile, love enemies, and pray for persecutors (Matt 5:38 - 44). Unreasonable these teachings may seem, Jesus insists that good relations are worth sacrificing everything else to keep. These radical measures, if followed, may indeed eliminate hostility and create goodwill among people. But why are they so important? Jesus offered his disciples a special reason:

⁴⁵ so that you may be children of your Father in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the righteous and on the unrighteous.⁴⁶ For if you love those who love you, what reward do you have? Do not even the tax collectors do the same?⁴⁷ And if you greet only your brothers and sisters, what more are you doing than others? Do not even the Gentiles do the same?⁴⁸ Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect. (Matt 5:45 - 48)

In the kingdom of God, the almighty God is our heavenly Father (Matt 6:9), and because of that relationship we become brothers and sisters to each other, sharing an intimate relationship of family. Hence, (1) loving others as oneself should be the first principle of human relationship, as embodied in the Golden Rule, "In everything do to others as you would have them do to you; for this is the law and the prophets." (Matt 7:12). There is no wonder that Jesus also declared that loving God with all heart, all soul and all mind is the first and greatest commandment and loving neighbors as oneself is the second; on these two commandments hang the law and the prophets (Matt 22:37 - 40). (2) *Imitatio Dei* is another important principle. The children of God should imitate their heavenly Father who cares for all people indiscriminately, giving the sun and the rain to both good and bad people. If believers model their lives after the perfect God, the world will have much more kindness and less violence. (3) Witnessing to Jesus is yet another principle. Loving undeserving people will distinguish Jesus' disciples from other people such

as tax collectors and Gentiles, who were regarded as greedy and selfish but knew to reciprocate. Most remarkably, Jesus' teaching of loving enemies exceeds the OT prophets' teaching of finding justice for all and showing kindness to the poor. Loving enemies is indeed counter – intuitive and may not be simplistically applied to complicated political or social issues, as the long debates between pacifism and just war theory have shown. ② If practiced, however, it may enable us to reconcile with those who hurt us, to cut off the cycle of vengeance and to rebuild harmony for a better future, as remarkably demonstrated by the Amish community in Nickel Mines, Pennsylvania, USA, who readily forgave the killer who shot dead ten of their schoolgirls in October, 2006. ③

Humility is also essential. When the disciples got angry with one another because they wanted to be leaders of the group, Jesus taught them a concept of “servant leadership” saying:

You know that among the Gentiles those whom they recognize as their rulers lord it over them, and their great ones are tyrants over them. ⁴³ But it is not so among you; but whoever wishes to become great among you must be your servant, ⁴⁴ and whoever wishes to be first among you must be slave of all. ⁴⁵ For the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many. (Mark 10:42 – 45).

In Jesus' view, humble service rather than manipulative domination is the hallmark of leadership befitting the kingdom of God. Hypocrisy and greed, on the other hand, are the most damnable sins that could discredit community leaders and damage their relationship with colleagues or followers. Thus, he issued harsh woes to denounce those false leaders and promised them God's judgment (Matt 23: 13 – 39).

Jesus did not simply talk the talk, but walked the walk putting his teaching into practice. He did not look down upon those who were considered “unclean” but often associated himself with tax collectors, prostitutes, and other sinners. For those outrageous relationships, he was criticized by the Pharisees (Mark 2:16), but he defended his action saying only those who are sick need the physicians (Mark 2:17). He also welcome Gentiles and granted them healing and truth, such as the Centurion in Capernaum (Matt 8: 13), the Canaanite woman in Tyre and Sidon (Matt 15:22), and the Greeks in Jerusalem (John 12:20). Most remarkable of all, when he faced betrayal, suffering and death on the cross (Mark 10:45), he asked God to forgive his executioners: “Father, forgive them; for they do not know what they are doing” (Luke 23:34). He loved his enemies and prayed for them!

If love is at the heart of his teaching, why did Jesus say: “Do not think that I have come to bring peace to the earth; I have not come to bring peace, but a sword. For I have come to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and a daughter – in – law against her mother-in-law; and one's foes will be members of one's own household” (Matt 10:34 – 36)? This statement does sound provocative and even violent, but there will be no misunderstanding if one realizes that Jesus used the images of sword

② Lisa Cahill, *Love Your Enemies: Discipleship, Pacifism, and Just War Theory* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), *passim*. John Yieh, *Making Sense of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Grove, 2007), 19 – 22.

③ Donald Kraybill, Steven Nolt, and David Weaver – Zercher, *Amish Grace: How Forgiveness Transcend Tragedy* (San Francisco: Jossey – Bass, 2007), 125 – 140.

and fighting here as literary metaphors and he made the statement as a hyperbole to challenge his audience to change their minds (repentance) and make up their minds (believing) to accept his gospel of the kingdom of God, even if their family members objected it. It is significant that early Christians confess Jesus to be the “prince of peace” that Isaiah has proclaimed (Isa 9:6; Luke 2:14; John 14:27; Acts 10:36; Eph 2:14).

3. Body of Christ

Jesus promised to leave his disciples with a “peace” that overcomes the turmoil of the world (John 14:27; 16:33) and NT authors often called God “the God of peace” (Rom 15:33; 16:20; Phil 4:9; 1Thess 5:23; Heb 13:20) who grants peace to believers (e. g. Rom 1:7; 1Cor 1:3). Unfortunately, early Christians did not always enjoy harmony in their communities. As evident in Paul’s letters, many NT communities were torn apart by the passionate debates on doctrinal issues and the tension between Jewish – and Gentile – Christians (e. g. the “agitators” in Gal 5:12). They suffered from faction rivalry (1Cor 1:11 – 12, Rom 15:5 – 6), social – economic classism (1Cor 10:31 – 33), leadership competition (1Cor 12:27 – 31), and furious schism (1 – 3 John).^② They did not find peace in their societies, either. They were constantly harassed by the synagogues as reflected in Matthew, John, and Acts, and were persecuted by Roman authorities as evident in Revelation. Loyalty to God or Caesar was a live – or – die challenge and each author responded to the authority of the government with a different attitude: Romans 13 espouses submission and obedience, while Revelation urges the willingness to defy with endurance.^③ But one fact is clear to all: real peace and genuine harmony is nowhere to be found in the present world. Where can one find the peace on earth and goodwill among people that God promised at the birth of Jesus Christ (Luke 2:14)?

Meeting the challenges of internal strife, Paul issued in his letter several messages worth noticing. (1) To the members vying for the position of leadership in Corinth, he reminded them that “there are varieties of gifts, but the same spirit; and there are varieties of service, but the same Lord; and there are varieties of activities, but it is the same God who activates all of them in everyone” (1Cor 12:4 – 6). Moreover, the church was the “body of Christ” and they were all necessary members (1Cor 12:12). To the squabbling Philippians he urged them to be humble like Jesus and to regard others as better than themselves, with the “kenotic hymn” that shows how Christ emptied himself to become an obedient servant even dying on the cross and as a result was exalted to the highest place of honor (Phil 2:5 – 11). (2) To the Galatians who thought less of Gentile converts, he presented a grand vision saying: “As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus” (Gal 3:27 – 28). The eschatological vision that transcends racial – ethnic discrimination, social – economic disparity, and sex – gender injustice can be realized in the church when all the baptized receive a new life in Christ and love one another as Christ does all. There is hope for the world to find that equality, peace, and unity. (3) Last

^② Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), 121 – 144. Abraham Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (2nd enl. ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 92 – 112.

^③ Bruno Blumenfeld, *The Political Paul: Justice, Democracy and Kingship in a Hellenistic Framework* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 378 – 414. N. T. Wright, “Revelation and Christian Hope: Political Implications of the Revelation of John,” in *Revelation and the Politics of Apocalyptic Interpretation* (Richard Hays and Stefan Alkier eds.; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2012), 105 – 124.

but not least, to all believers, Paul advised them to beware of their social life beyond the walls of the church. They should pursue the most excellent way of life, the enduring love (1Cor 12:31 – 13:13), and live in harmony with outsiders, behave well to command respect, and leave grievance to God.

¹⁶ Live in harmony with one another; do not be haughty, but associate with the lowly; do not claim to be wiser than you are. ¹⁷ Do not repay anyone evil for evil, but take thought for what is noble in the sight of all. ¹⁸ If it is possible, so far as it depends on you, live peaceably with all. ¹⁹ Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave room for the wrath of God; for it is written, “Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord.” ²⁰ No, “if your enemies are hungry, feed them; if they are thirsty, give them something to drink; for by doing this you will heap burning coals on their heads.” ²¹ Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good. (Rom 12:16 – 21; see also Rom 15.5; Col 3.14 “Above all, clothe yourselves with love, which binds everything together in perfect harmony”)

For Paul, living in harmony with others is of primary importance to Christian witness, because it will command respect from outsiders. It is important for believers to follow Jesus’ teaching to love their enemies without seeking vengeance, because it will make their enemies think twice about the power of the gospel that changes life. He also believed that, by the power of the Holy Spirit, Christians can overcome evil with good, and they can trust in God’s power to execute justice in the end. As such, Paul’s teaching on social relations was a confluence of the law, the prophets, and Jesus’ teaching.

Some may ask, if keeping harmony in the church and peace in the society is so important, why did Paul sound so angry when he refuted his opponents (Galatians and 2 Corinthians)? Can the use of polemic language be justified by the passion to defend truth? Indeed, truth needs to be discerned and insisted in order to maintain the identity and integrity of faith, but as is often seen in religious wars – Christian Crusade and Islamic Jihad – angry language could lead to violent acts. The best way is certainly to talk over the differences before the red line of collision is crossed. Is there then a proper religious discourse to attain understanding, respect and peace among dissenters? This is a serious question today, because the world has been saturated with the rhetoric of hatred and cacophony of vengeance. How to debate is as important as what to debate, if harmony is to be attained in a multi – cultural and multi – religious society. In this regard, the recent “scriptural reasoning” movement, which several noted scholars of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam in the American Academy of Religion have started, may provide a welcome model for friendly and honest inter – faith dialogue. ²⁴ These scholars understand that major religions respect their own scriptures and use their time – honored traditions to construct a coherent belief system in which they explain their beliefs and decide on their behaviors, so they come together to form a circle of friends, striving to make their reasoning public, listen to each other’s arguments and make sense of each other’s convictions with the best intention. This model, if emulated by religious and political leaders, could go a long way to prevent misunderstanding, remove mistrust, and defuse crises.

4. Faithful Martyr

One may also ask, why did Paul advise the Christians in Rome to subject themselves to the governing authorities (Rom 13:1 – 7)? Did he really want the church to uphold harmony with the state even at the

²⁴ David Ford and C. C. Pecknold eds., *The Promise of Scriptural Reasoning* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 1 – 76.

expense of religious freedom? In Rom13: 1, he gave a theological rationale saying that governing authorities are instituted by God to execute justice, so Christians should subject to its authority for the sake of conscience. Here we see the importance of justice for a divinely sanctioned society. Governing authorities are meant to serve the cause of justice protecting the righteous and punishing the evil. It is for that purpose, they deserve respect and obedience from the citizens. Why, then, did John the seer choose to defy the Roman authorities in Revelation even at the price of exile or martyrdom? Is there a contradiction between Paul and John regarding the relationship between the state and the church? This is a complicated question in terms of exegesis and theology, and much has been discussed.^⑤ However one may interpret it, one historical fact needs to be considered: the Roman Empire as reflected in Revelation was not an agent of social justice but a brutal power machine that oppressed and exploited its people. Living under its arrogant tyrants and ruthless proxies, most people were suffering from religious discrimination, economic exploitation and dehumanized oppression. Christians in west Asia Minor in particular were pressured to conform to the society with regard to the worship of imperial cult. It is understandable then why John took a different response than Paul's. Even so, it should be emphasized that there was no call of arms to revolt, but an earnest appeal to endure with patient hope and bear faithful witness (*Zeugenschaft*) even as Christians faced persecution and martyrdom.^⑥ Like Paul, John followed Jesus' teaching on loving enemies and entrusted vengeance to the hands of God who will execute justice in the end. It is to the God of faithfulness, compassion, and justice, and Jesus Christ their Lord that both Paul and John pledged their ultimate loyalty.

To summarize, the NT shows that, while Roman rulers and Jewish leaders wanted to maintain peace in the sense of social order and stability to monopolize power and privilege, Jesus offered a grand vision of the kingdom of God in which all people are children of God and sibling to one another. Because the almighty God is their heavenly Father who cares for all, they should imitate God to love neighbors and even enemies as the gratuitous God has done to sinners through Jesus and his cross. Peace among all people is understood as social harmony and reconciliation in loving relationship. It is true that Jesus' grand vision had not been fully fulfilled in the life of the early Christian communities, but Paul continued to emphasize the mandate of the gospel of peace for believers to strive for unity in the church because they were all members of the same body of Christ, equally worthy and mutually needed. Christians should also live in peace with outsiders to win their respect. In Paul's view, governing authorities are given authority not to benefit the leaders but to serve justice, so Christians should be law-abiding citizens and make contributions to the building of a harmonious society. If governing authorities have become corrupted and coercive, however, John advises the believers to persist in their faith in the God of justice and to take actions of civil disobedience without resulting to violence. All these visions on human relations are grounded

^⑤ J. P. M. Sweet, "Maintaining the Testimony of Jesus: The Suffering of Christians in the Revelation of John," in *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament* (W. Horbury and B. McNeil eds.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 101-117. B. Latagan, "Reception: Theory and Practice in Reading Romans 13," in *Text and Interpretation: New Approaches in the Criticism of the New Testament* (P. Hartin and J. Petzer, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 145-170. Christopher Bryan, *Render to Caesar: Jesus, the Early Church, and the Roman Superpower* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 77-112.

^⑥ Stefan Alkier, "Witness or Warrior? How the Book of Revelation Can Help Christian Live Their Political Lives," in *Revelation and the Politics of Apocalyptic Interpretation* (Richard Hays and Stefan Alkier eds.; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2012), 125-141; esp. 140-141.

in a deep trust in the God of justice who desires mercy and wants all people to live in peace in the kingdom of God. Leaders of the church and rulers of the government are to be duly respected for using their authority to maintain peace as harmony not simply as order, so that all people may enjoy the relationship with one another as a loving family that God has intended.

III. Christian West

The Bible has provided visions of conflict and concord, as discussed above, to reveal a Christian view on human relations. How have these visions been appropriated in the West when believers try to resolve conflict and promote harmony?

Soon after the first church was established in Jerusalem, Christianity expanded steadily into the urban centers of the Roman Empire, such as Antioch, Ephesus, and Rome, but it was considered a heretical sect by Jewish synagogues and an illicit religion by the Roman authorities. Besides its unusual faith in a savior who was executed as an insurrectionist by the Empire, it was considered a suspicious group with members from various ethnic backgrounds and social classes. Without political or social standing, it is little wonder that Christians were easily harassed or persecuted. To defend themselves and explain their beliefs, well – educated Greek speaking apologists began to explain the doctrines of the church to the intellectual elites. To testify to the gospel and show their benevolence, believers tried to live a respectable life of faith, hope, and charity. As a minority group originated from the periphery of the Empire, their relationship with other social or religious groups were often stretched and tested. By following Jesus’ teaching to love God, neighbors, and enemies, however, they grew into different social ranks and expanded from cities to the villages and the country even when they were subject to persecution, as evident in the Governor of Bithynia Pliny’s Letter to the Emperor Trajan. ²⁷

After Emperor Constantine was converted, Christianity became a favored religion of the Empire and began to acquire political privileges and social status. The church’s view of social relations underwent a paradigm shift. In civil discourse with the society, the church changed its attitude from the passive submission to dominant custom to the active creation of new culture. As the church increased its social influence, the earlier Christian practice of personal virtue following Jesus’ radical love gave way to the exercise of institutional authority to administer justice much the same way as the priests did in the OT times in developing a legal system. Enforcing justice for the public rather than showing compassion to the poor became the primary mode of thinking. Over time, the Scholastic tradition developed a comprehensive system of theology and ethics following the pattern of Greek philosophy and culminating in the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas. Clerical hierarchy was also firmly established to minister the laity and manage the church. The bishops and priests garnered so much political power and social privilege that, unfortunately,

²⁷ Pliny, Epistles X. 96. For an English translation, see J. Stevenson, *A New Eusebius: Documents Illustrating the History of the Church to AD 337*, New Edition revised by W. H. C. Frend (London: SPCK, 1987), 18 – 19.

moral decay and financial abuse began to infect the leadership of the church. In Medieval time, power struggle and money grabbing had corrupted the clergy so much that some bishops and priests became religious exploiters, not unlike the wicked kings chastised by the prophets in the OT and the hypocritical Pharisees condemned by Jesus in the NT. They preyed on the piety of the laity for personal gain and launched several Crusades to fight the Muslims for political reasons. The biblical ideal of God's people showing mercy and justice to strangers and as Christ's body serving each other and loving enemies was very far from being practiced.

During the Reformation period, the Roman Catholic Church tried to suppress Reformers, such as Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Ulrich Zwingli, with inquisitions and executions. In the name of the Church, some Popes did not hesitate to use violence to impose law and order within the Christendom. Kings and princes were coerced to choose sides and were dragged into religious wars. As tension and conflict arose between the Catholics and the Reformers, Anabaptists were determined to follow Jesus' teaching to resist no evildoer and turn the other cheek, so they refused to take up arms to fight even for self – defense. They turned into robust pacifists to remind people that all people are equal and should live in peace with one another. Following the non – violence principle of Jesus' teaching, as they did, several civil leaders such as Tolstoy, Gandhi, and M. L. King have rectified unjust social relations in remarkable ways, upholding the poor peasants in Russia, winning national independence for India, and acquiring civil rights for African Americans in the US. It is noteworthy that, while Luther was fighting the doctrinal mistakes and moral decay of the Roman Catholic Church, he also denounced the Anabaptists' radical pacifism that led to the damages and chaos of the Peasants' War. Luther took Paul's position to entrust the governing authorities to Christian princes who supported his efforts to reform the church. Keeping order and justice for the society was considered as important as supporting individual believers' right to exercise freedom and love. With the so – called “two kingdoms” theory, therefore, Luther allocated to the church and the state separate authorities to regulate social relations in spiritual sphere and civil sphere. ②

In recent times, Liberation theologians reminded us another vision from the Bible that is also vital for sustaining social harmony, namely, the prophetic. They shared the pain of the suffering people—the peasant, the poor, the uneducated, and the oppressed—especially those living in South America, as the state and the church refused to hear the groaning of the poor, because they wanted to uphold the status quo in the name of stability and prosperity. Like biblical prophets, therefore, Liberation theologians criticized the structural evil of the society that enslaved and exploited the underprivileged, condemned the selfish and greedy social elites who looked out only for self – interest, and tried to empower the poor and the oppressed to find their voice and seat at the table. For them, justice for all and compassion to the poor are not only prophetic vision but also gospel mandate. When there is disparity between social classes, there can be no harmony in

② William Wright, *Martin Luther's Understanding of God's Two Kingdoms: A Response to the Challenge of Skepticism* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010), 113 – 146.

the society. In order to create a new society, the church should stand in solidarity with the poor in protest against their exploiters. ⑲

In the USA, there are two schools of thought on social relations. In rough comparison, the Christian realism of Reinhold Niebuhr argues for the need of law to maintain justice in the society, because only individuals can make moral choices to sacrifice their personal interest and love their enemies as Jesus did. ⑳ A society needs a fair legal system with law enforcement to ensure the equal distribution of justice to all, to prevent crimes from happening, and to protect innocent people. Law and order are therefore the responsibilities of civil authorities, not of church leaders, an idea similar to Luther's. The Christian pacifism of Stanley Hauerwas, on the other hand, insisted on the validity of the Anabaptist tradition and the influence of Jesus' radical love. ㉑ Christians should and can overcome evil by good as God did through Christ. That is indeed a moral point of the theology of resurrection. Evil engenders evil, so only the radical love that is willing to forgive enemies can sever the vicious cycle of vengeance and violence. To be a pacifist, however, one needs to be willing to suffer hurtful consequences. It takes a brave person with moral character to make that conscious decision. So, cultivation of Christian character in a community of faith is essential for such a virtue ethics. ㉒ *Imitatio Christi* is the key.

This broad-brushed sketch of major approaches to social relations in the Christian West shows that Christianity continues to experience and suffer from a variety of conflict inside the church and in the world. It has witnessed the damage and hurt that the many conflicts in family, in leadership, and among nations have caused for the church and the society. The church itself is far from perfection. On each bad turn, however, the biblical visions of peace and harmony, mercy and justice, reconciliation and unity that God has promised and Jesus Christ has embodied have given the people of God new hope and renewed strength to continue pursuing that high call of harmony. This quick sketch also shows that the biblical vision of concord for the society is not merely a religious dream to offer believers some sort of psychological compensation. Rather, it has started a steady stream of efforts by the faithful, each turn gathering more wisdom from experience, to make real peace in their lives, in their communities, and in their world.

IV. Chinese Christians

Taiping Tianguo (太平天国 The Great Peace Heavenly Kingdom) is an interesting case that shows how a biblical vision of social relations was once experimented on China's soil in the nineteenth century. Sun Yatsen and Mao Zedong both respected Hong Xiuquan (洪秀全 1814 –

⑲ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1973), 299–306.

⑳ Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (New York: Scribner's, 1960).

㉑ Stanley Hauerwas, *Character and the Christian Life: A Study in Theological Ethics* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).

㉒ Stanley Hauerwas, *A Community of Character: Towards a Constructive Christian Social Ethic* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981).

1864), the leader of the Taiping Rebellion in Qing Dynasty, as a pioneer of peasant revolution that gave poor people a chance to share social resources with the ruling class and land owners.^③As a self-taught quasi-Christian, Hong implemented some biblical views in his famous land reform (天国田亩制度 *Tianguo tianmu zhidu* [*The Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty*]), property redistribution and public fund (holy treasury), gender equality (women can fight as soldier and serve as officials), and social support system (neighborhood unit of 25 families).^④The principles of justice for all and compassion to the poor in his movement are similar to the ideas of the prophets in the OT, which attracted numerous followers to establish the Taiping Tianguo in Nanjing.^⑤He also instituted civil laws based on the Ten Commandments and other biblical laws for his people to follow. Unfortunately, his personal corruption by power and sex resulted in the catastrophic failure of an incredibly promising social experiment. This historical case demonstrates the importance of virtue ethics and moral character that political, social, and religious leaders need to have. No one can build a harmonious society by fantastic visions and campaign slogans. Hypocrisy can ruin the trusting relationship among people and hurt social harmony.

Wu Leichuan (吴雷川 1870 – 1944), the Chinese Chancellor of Yenching University, believed that Christianity was side-lined by Chinese intellectual leaders, because it emphasized exclusively the gospel of individual salvation. In reality, he contended, old and flawed social systems had caused so much suffering to the people in China that Christianity, if it was to show any relevance or usefulness to the life of the people, should make a tangible contribution by reforming the Chinese society. To do so, Jesus in the Gospels can serve as a good paradigm and the Lord's Prayer provides the best blueprint to materialize his social ideals in China. In Wu Leichuan's view, Jesus' kingdom of God is an ideal society in which the loving God who cares for all people shall rule. In this society, the perfect character of God is the ethical standard for all people to emulate, the economic system should be communitarian in which everybody shares what they have, and the political system should be democratic without the traditional nepotism and favoritism.^⑥Clearly, it was Jesus the moral teacher and his wise teaching of love for all that inspired Wu Leichuan to envisage a brave new world for China, a society in which the boundary of social classes are broken and every member lives in equality, charity, and harmony as brothers and sisters. Transforming human hearts is the beginning step to changing a social system, and moral motivation is as essential as political policy in building a harmonious society.

Also to be noted is Wu Yaorong (吴耀宗 1893 – 1979), leader of the Three Self Patriotic

^③ Paul Cohen, *China Unbound: Evolving Perspectives on the Chinese Past* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 212.

^④ 謝興堯 Xie Xinyao 編,《太平天國的社會政治思想》*Taiping tianguo de shehui zhengzhi sixiang* [*The Social – Political Thoughts of Taiping Tianguo*], (上海 Shanghai: 商務印書館 Shangwu Yinshuguan [Shangwu Printing House], 1935)。Jonathan Spence, *The Taiping Vision of a Christian China 1836 – 1864: The Eighteenth Charles Edmondson Historical Lectures of Baylor University* (Waco: Markham, 1998)。

^⑤ Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 110 – 139.

^⑥ 吳雷川 Wu Leichuan,《耶穌的理想社會》*Yesu de lixiang shehui* [*Jesus' Social Ideal*], (上海 Shanghai: 青年歸主協會, Qingnian guizhu xiehui [Youth Association], 1934)。

Movement, who in his early career, actively participated in the Society of Reconciliation, which was established after WWI to promote peace and reconciliation in the world.^⑤ A pacifist, Wu took the position of non – violence when Japan began to invade China, and proposed to bring the case of Japan’s invasion to the International Court for mediation and arbitration and, if necessary, organize an economic boycott to Japanese products to avoid a war. Eventually, the horrific violence of the Japanese army perpetrated on Chinese people changed his mind. He decided to join the war to fight Japanese. His painful spiritual struggle shows how challenging it is to implement a moral vision in a world where the survival of the nation takes the center stage and overrides moral choice of the individuals. Both biblical vision and social reality need to be critically considered and wisely matched for a proper appropriation.

Conservative Christians hold an ambivalent view on the pursuit of social harmony. On the one hand, they believe that human nature is so depraved and the world so corrupted that no true harmony can be achieved in the present world even with the best intention and the best policy. On the other hand, they also believe in the conversion of hearts, minds, and lives; and to testify to the gospel, they certainly want to live in harmony with their neighbors. Even though it is not their theological conviction to build a kingdom of God on earth, they believe it is their mission to live a holy life as honest citizens for the glory of God. It should be noted that, with a sincere motivation to love God and neighbors, they can be sincere and important contributors to the construction of a harmonious society.

V. Conclusion

The Bible contains inspiring resources and rich traditions on human relations that may help us reflect on what social harmony means and how it may be achieved in reality. First to be noted is that all major biblical visions—the law, the prophets, Jesus and Paul—affirm the importance of harmonious relationship for the people of the covenant and the children of God. God as Redeemer of Hebrew slaves in Exodus has left his people with a good example of faithfulness, compassion, and justice. God as heavenly Father in Jesus’ teaching has served as the perfect model for his children to relate to others in the kingdom of God.

In the Bible, we also see harmonious relations are encouraged and demanded through legal requirement, moral persuasion, radical discipleship, and eschatological hope. (1) The legal system reminds people of God’s actions of mercy and justice in the Exodus event and provides clear guidance for them to properly relate to one another. As an institutionalized standard with enforced penalties, it is also intended to deter improper or hurtful behaviors toward others. The *modus operandi* of this system is justice in the sense of reciprocity and retribution. (2) Since no law can regulate personal motivations, the prophets tended to rely on moral persuasion to

^⑤ 姚西伊 Yao Xiyi,《中國基督教唯愛主義運動》*Zhongguo jidujiao weiai zhuyi yundong* [The Protestant Pacifist Movement in China], (香港 Hong Kong: 基道 Jidao [Logos], 2008), 121 – 188.

encourage harmony between social classes by pointing out the hazard of conflict and the value of concord. They emphasized God's preferential love for the poor.^③In addition to justice, therefore, compassion is considered essential for a social ethic that seeks to transform the status quo of the society for the common good. (3) Jesus' vision of the kingdom of God calls for repentance and believing, the willingness to change one's life and the trust in God's power to create everything anew, including social relations. To follow Jesus' commandment to love the invisible God, the suffering neighbors, and the despicable enemies, and to imitate his self-sacrifice and forgiveness for his persecutors, one needs to have a new value and new attitude toward other people. Only when a person is totally converted by the teaching and life of Jesus can he find the courage and strength to treat others with altruistic love as Jesus did. Thus, a virtue ethics focusing on character formation is vital. (4) Finally, Paul's vision of all baptized people being one in Christ gives us an eschatological hope to see racial-ethnic, national, social, and gender boundaries be dismantled and a new society that transcends harmony to become unity be established. A church that displays unity in love is the best preview to this ideal society. When a society is harmonious, world peace becomes attainable.

In our brief survey of biblical interpretation in the West and in China, we have seen how biblical visions of conflict and concord are appropriated in different social-historical settings. To apply the wisdom of the Bible to the construction of a harmonious society, we will do well to combine several sets of ideas: (1) to remember God's amazing grace to us and imitate his faithfulness, compassion, and justice in all our dealings with other people; (2) to obey the biblical law of justice, adhere to the prophets' teaching of kindness, follow Jesus' example of self-sacrificial love, and take Paul's advice of love in unity; (3) to cultivate personal moral character and as a society to develop a fair and just legal system; and (4) to consider political, social, and cultural realities and to pursue biblical ideals to ensure justice for all and practice kindness to the poor. From a biblical point of view, a long-lasting harmonious society can be built, if every citizen practices virtue ethics in their individual lives and national leaders apply social ethics to their making of policies and laws.

^③ Daniel Groody, *Globalization, Spirituality, and Justice* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2007), 194-197.

中文题目:

冲突与和谐:冥思圣经对于社会关系的愿景

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摘要:历史多是由战争而非和平写成的,而人类社会受制于种族,国家,阶级与性别之间的紧张与冲突远大于和睦与团结。因此,社会和谐常是一个乌托邦式的梦想,可欲不可得。圣经作为宗教经典与文化规范,对于型塑基督教文明的价值与愿景有极为深刻的影响。那麽,圣经对于社会关系有什么特别的看法呢? 这篇论文检验圣经文本几个主要传统对于冲突与和谐这个主题的看法,并评价中西方几位有代表性的释经家,看他们如何使用圣经来抑恶扬善改造社会。本文针对圣经对于社会关系的愿景与影响作一个宏观的评论与深刻的反省,希望对于促进社会和谐这个命题能提出一些有益的宗教看法。

关键词:冲突、和谐、社会关系、经典诠释、基督宗教愿景

圣经研究与西方文论建构

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提要:考察西方文论与圣经研究的相互关系,能发现圣经研究为西方文论的建构做出了重要贡献。具体表现为:圣经研究孕育出某些文论,圣经研究为某些文论的成长提供了营养,一些释经规范转型为诗学原则,圣经研究施惠于文艺批评方法,圣经研究为检验新兴文论提供了试金石。

关键词:圣经研究、西方文论、释经规范、诗学原则、批评方法

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自圣经成书之日起,在长约两千年的西方文化史上,文学与释经学、文学理论与释经学理论始终同时并存,既相互渗透又彼此推动,这一特点在 20 世纪表现得特别显著。一般说来,文学理论是文学批评的产物,然而它的形成、发展和演变也会得到来自其他渠道的滋养。考察西方文论与圣经研究的关系,能发现历代文论尤其当代多元文论的成长受到过古今圣经研究的有力促进;换言之,圣经研究为西方文学理论的建构做出了重要贡献。

一、圣经研究孕育出某些文论

20 世纪形形色色的文化和文学理论与圣经研究均有错综复杂的关联性,其中关联度最高的当属哲学阐释学和神话 - 原型批评,二者皆由圣经研究孕育而成。

当代哲学阐释学的理论殿堂建构于文本阐释学的根基之上,文本阐释学则大体上发端于犹太教和基督教对圣经的阐释,或谓圣经阐释学。自圣经成书时代起,亚里思托布鲁斯、斐洛、亚基巴、希勒尔、沙迈、迈蒙尼德等历代犹太释经家,使徒保罗、伊里奈乌、德尔图良、克莱蒙、奥利金、尤西比乌斯、亚大纳西、安布罗斯、奥古斯丁、托马斯·阿奎那、埃克哈特、伊拉斯谟、马丁·路德、加尔文等历代基督教释经家,就对释经学的发展和完善做出持续不断的贡献。施莱尔马赫从释经学中引申出一般阐释学,狄尔泰、海德格尔、伽达默尔、保罗·利科等人进而提升出哲学阐释学,使之成为带有普遍意义的当代文化哲学理论。继之,哲学阐释学为姚斯和伊瑟尔的接受美学、斯坦利·费希的读者反应批评,以及德里达的解构理论提供了思想资源,又对 20 世纪人文学科的所有领域均发生某种程度的影响。

神话 - 原型批评的首要理论家是加拿大学者诺思洛普·弗莱,他固然从弗雷泽、荣格那里汲取了某些文化资源,他对神话原型理论的主要贡献(见于其代表作《批评的剖析》、《伟大的代码:圣经与文学》等)却基于圣经研究。由于两大原因,其学术生涯与圣经研究结下了不解之缘,一是基督教

家庭语境的熏陶,二是英国诗人布莱克的影响。他坦言其学术活动无不围绕着圣经进行:“从一定意义上说,我所有的文学批评著作,从1947年发表的对布莱克的研究开始,到十年后完成的《批评的剖析》,都是围绕着圣经的。”^①弗莱不满于历史考据学肢解圣经以求从文本细小单元中发掘历史元素的机械做法,而主张将全部圣经视为一个宏大整体,亦将古今文学视为一个整体,以便着眼于全局把握对象;在他看来,圣经神话原型在整体性的文学世界中发挥了某种贯通古今的结构功能。他在《神力的语言》中剖析了“高山”、“花园”、“洞穴”、“熔炉”四种原型模式,认为它们均植根于圣经,又移位变形于后世西方文学的各类作品中。

二、圣经研究为文论的成长提供营养

盛行于当代的心理学-精神分析文论、女性主义文论、后殖民文论、生态批评文论等皆从圣经研究中得到滋养。

心理学-精神分析文论是在多方面汲取前代资源的基础上发展起来的,其中富含圣经-基督教心理学研究的成果。圣经擅长展示人们追求口腹声色之乐的心理,如福音书中的耶稣被称为“贪食好酒的人”;^②使徒书信谓保罗认可男欢女乐的性欲:“倘若自己禁止不住,就可以嫁娶;与其欲火攻心,倒不如嫁娶为妙。”^③其中对人类精神现象的细致观察成为心理学文论可资研讨的原初材料。弗洛伊德和荣格皆熟谙圣经,并从中撷取所需的素材,如荣格在精神病患者的梦中发现一种“四位一体”原型,为了证实其普遍意义而从圣经中检索依据:伊甸园中流淌着四条河;以西结的异象中有四个活物;活物各有四张脸、四个翅膀、四个轮子。荣格甚至主张用“四位一体”取代正宗教义的三位一体,提出“正统的基督教信条不完整,因为恶的原则(the evil principle)未见于其中,而是作为魔鬼撒旦独立笨拙地存在着”。^④他引用一位天主教权威人士之言“撒旦的存在只能从与三位一体的关联中去理解”相佐证,断言“对魔鬼的任何神学处理如果游离于上帝三位一体的意识,都是对其实际位置的篡改”。^⑤

就圣经研究对女性主义文论的哺育而言,早在西方妇女解放运动第一次浪潮中,斯丹顿就出版秉持女性主义立场的《妇女圣经》(1895),该书成为日后女性主义文论的理论基石。圣经学者既用“质疑的诠释学”搜索圣经所载妇女的负面资料,如妇女受凌辱、被歪曲、遭轻视的事例,对经文予以批判性分析;也用“修正的诠释学”恢复和重建圣经传统中有关妇女的正面内容,聆听被淹没的女性声音、重构圣经中的女性主题,并发掘上帝形象的母性元素等。这方面的分析直接汇入女性主义文论,成为其两大基本命题——颠覆男权中心文化、维护女性权益和地位——赖以建构的重要资源。

圣经研究对东方学乃至后殖民文论也发生过不可或缺的滋养作用。后殖民文论的奠基作是萨义德的《东方学》(1978),仅从该书就能看出,历史上的圣经研究对东方学甚至后殖民文论的兴起立下过显著的推动之功。概观之,在欧洲人心目中,“东方”的最初含义就是“圣经所述之地”;“东方学”作为一种不断累积的集体合作事业,与包括圣经研究在内的西方学术传统有着水乳交融的关联

^① 弗莱,诺思洛普 Fulai, Nosiluopu [Frye, Northrop]:《伟大的代码——圣经与文学》*Weida de Daima——Shengjing yu Wenxue* [Great Code: The Bible and Literature],郝振益 Hao Zhenyi、樊振国 Fan Zhenguo、何成洲 He Chengzhou 译(北京 Beijing:北京大学出版社 Beijing Daxue Chubanshe [Beijing University Press],1998),4。

^② 《路加福音》*Lujia Fuyin* [Luke] 7:34。

^③ 《哥林多前书》*Gelinduo Qianshu* [1 Corinthians] 7:9。

^④ 荣格 Rong Ge [Jung, C. G.]:《荣格文集》*Rong Ge Wenji* [The Collected Works of C. G. Jung],冯川 Feng Chuan 译(北京 Beijing:改革出版社 Gaige Chubanshe [Reformation Press],1997),363。

^⑤ 同上书,363。

性;在东方学的发展过程中,近代圣经考据评判学为之提供了强劲的推动力,甚至成为其有机组成部分;圣经中丰富多彩的典故和形象早已融会于东方文化的血脉中,成为进行东方研究时无法回避的元素;人们可以肯定、否定或有所分析地对待圣经,却不能无视它、排除它或绕开它;东方学的不断发展意味着学术界对“东方”的认识日益远离了圣经说教,尽管一些欧洲学者迄今仍难以摆脱圣经的古训。

当代生态文论的勃兴也从圣经批评中深受其益。早在20世纪60年代基督徒学者林恩·怀特就撰写论文,断言圣经对生态危机的爆发负有不可推卸的责任。其论文获得美国生态学会颁发的米斯(Mercer)奖,引起犹太教和基督教学者旷日持久的争论。一批思想开放的自由派人士支持其见解,强调人类只有一个地球,工业革命以来这个地球上的生态危机日益加重,造成触目惊心的后果,圣经作为深刻影响后世的文化元典,对此严重势态的形成难辞其咎。^⑥亦有人主张客观冷静地钻研古代遗产,认定圣经传统中富含生态平衡意识和环境保护观念,可为当今的生态事业所运用。无论何种看法,都激起研究者对生态问题的重视,从源头上推动了生态运动的进展,促进了生态文论的建设。

三、释经规范转型为诗学原则

从斐洛、奥利金到中世纪主流诠释传统,古典释经学最具特色的运作规范当为“寓意释经法”,典范形态是中世纪的“四重意义说”,即圣经语句皆有字面的、譬喻的、道德的、寓言的四重意义,“字面”传达约定俗成的书面意义(或谓历史意义),“譬喻”告诉人们应信之事,“道德”规范人们应做之事,“寓言”则显示基督徒所盼望之事。据此,经文中的“耶路撒冷”便有了如下四种内涵:在字面上指位于巴勒斯坦的一座山城,就譬喻而言特指教会,在道德上喻指人的精神与灵魂,就寓言而论又指向天国之城。

中世纪末期意大利诗人但丁将这种“四重意义说”引入诗学,提出著名的“诗为寓言论”:诗或文学皆有寓言性质,亦具备字面的、譬喻的、道德的、寓言的四重含义,其中后三种属于“神秘意义”,是诗或文学的精华之所在。他以圣经诗句“以色列人出了埃及,/雅各家族逃离说异言之民,/那时犹太为主的圣所,/以色列为他所治理的国度”^⑦为例,具体分析道:

假如就字面意义而论,出现于我们面前的只是以色列人的子孙在摩西时代离开埃及这件事;可是如果作为譬喻看,它就表现基督替我们所做的赎罪;如果就道德意义论,我们看到的就是灵魂从罪恶的苦难到天恩圣境的转变;如果作为寓言看,那就意味着从腐朽的奴役状态转向永恒的光荣的自由。虽然这些神秘意义都有各自的特殊名称,但总起来都可以叫作寓意,因为它们同字面的历史的意义不同。^⑧

但丁宣称其《神曲》如同圣经一样寓有微言大义,就字面意义论不外乎“亡灵的境遇”,但若就隐喻义解,则是说“人们在运用其自由选择的意志时,由于善行或恶行,终将得到善报或恶报”。^⑨

但丁的“诗为寓言论”开创了西方近现代文论的“意在言外”诗学传统,叔本华、尼采、柏格森的直觉主义,克罗齐的表现主义,爱伦坡对“神圣美”的追求,波德莱尔的“感应系统”理论,以及马拉

^⑥ Kay, Jeanne. “Concepts of Nature in the Hebrew Bible”, *Environmental Ethics* 10. 4 (1988): 309-327.

^⑦ 《诗篇》*Shi Pian* [Psalms] 114: 1-2。

^⑧ 伍蠡甫 Wu Lifu 主编:《西方文论史,上卷》*Xifang Wenlun Shi, Shangjuan* [A History of Western Literary Theories, vol. 1] (上海 Shanghai: 译文出版社 Yiyen Chubanshe [Translation Press], 1979), 159。

^⑨ 同上书, 159。

美、瓦莱里、叶芝、庞德的象征主义诗论等,便是这一传统的若干表现样式。直觉主义、表现主义、象征主义把艺术家和欣赏者的主观心灵放到首位,重视情感,推崇形式,以矫枉过正的态度反对艺术对社会生活的直线式反映和简单摹仿;“突出艺术家的特点和艺术的内在规律,严格划分它与自然科学及其他社会科学的界限,张扬天才、个性、灵感和艺术的特殊功能,甚至将其提高到与生命、本体、人生态度和宇宙世界观相联系的地位”。^⑩在该派文论家看来,世界的本质不在于直观可见的此岸经验世界,而在于充满奥秘意义的彼岸精神世界,但此岸与彼岸之间存在着内在感应关系,诗人的任务就是运用象征、暗示等手法揭示那种关系,赋予人生和世界以意义。由于“言有尽而意无穷”,他们无不注重以精雕细刻的语言表达内心的独特体验和感受,运用象征手段暗示隐秘的心灵世界,以及深藏于表象世界背后的“纯粹精神本质”。

这类文论与释经学中的“寓意解经法”有着显见的相通之处,二者都追求超越文本的字面含义而进入一个精神性国度。但二者又有某些不同:直觉主义、表现主义和象征主义固然在某些层面涉及宗教信仰,其表达的大体上仍是诗人的心灵世界;寓意解经法致力于从经文的字里行间开掘出隐秘寓意来,则要最终服务于对宗教信仰的张扬和传播。

四、圣经研究施惠于文艺批评方法

一些例证表明,圣经研究还为当代文艺批评方法的创新提供了可资借鉴的经验。弗洛伊德的论文《米开朗琪罗的摩西》(1914)堪称一个方法论范例,示意研究者能如何将精神分析运用于文艺批评。在弗洛伊德看来,米开朗琪罗塑造了一个情感服从于神圣使命的摩西形象,刻画出一个超越了自我的非凡人格。艺术品是艺术家观念、意图、情感活动的外部表现,目的在于引起观众的情感共鸣——从这种思路出发,弗洛伊德细致地解释了摩西塑像的形体特征,以求揭示隐藏于其间的艺术家的无意识冲动,找出那尊塑像所具备的宣泄情感、净化心灵功能的内在理据。他赞成克纳克弗斯的论断“摩西所产生效果的巨大秘密,在于他的内部激情与外部平静的冲突”,^⑪据此剖析道,摩西塑像从上到下展示出三个不同的心理层面:脸部线条表达出处于优势的情感,那是理性原则或“超我”的体现;形体中部显示出被压抑行为的痕迹,表明当事者的冲动正在被现实性原则或“自我”所束缚;腿和脚依然保持着准备行动的姿态,暗示出其潜在本能或“本我”的冲动。摩西内心的张力还从其两只手表现出来:一只手温和地放在膝上,抚弄着天然垂落的胡须末端,仿佛正以其超我的理智抵御着狂怒的激情;另一只手则“在片刻之前狠狠抓住了胡须”,^⑫那种下意识行为似乎是一种本我冲动的瞬间爆发。他的整个肌体虽处于内心振荡和外表平和的紧张关系中,其整体造型却显示出抵制后的平静。这些论证表明,弗洛伊德正是基于对圣经的深刻理解及其对圣经人物心理的深度把握,才可能将精神分析学说成功地推及文艺理论,为精神分析文论及其方法论的建构所借用。

一批女性主义学者如特丽波、菲奥伦查、米克·巴尔等擅长运用多种手段富于创意地解析圣经,既将女性主义文论提升到更高的哲学层面,亦有效地丰富和充实了它的方法论。且以特丽波的“非父权化”和“性别修辞”阐释法为例。所谓“非父权化”阐释,是指对经文做出迥异于父权化解读的阐

^⑩ 马新国 Ma Xinguo 主编:《西方文论史》*Xifang Wenlun Shi* [A History of Western Literary Theories] (北京 Beijing: 高等教育出版社 Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe [Higher Education Press], 2002), 317。

^⑪ 弗洛伊德 Fuluoide [Freud, S.]: “米开朗琪罗的摩西” Mikailangqiluo de Moxi [“Moses of Michelangelo”], 《弗洛伊德美文选》*Fuluoyide Lun Mei Wenxuan* [Selected Articles on Aesthetics by Freud], 张唤民等 Zhang Huanmin etc. 译(上海 Shanghai: 知识出版社 Zhishi Chubanshe [Knowledge Publishing House], 1987), 123。

^⑫ 同上书, 131。

释,或者避开父权制观念的干扰而重新理解某些圣经篇章,其哲学依据是现代神学家布尔特曼的“非神话化”阐释学思想。布尔特曼认为,在理性与科学居主导地位的现代语境中,若僵硬地恪守圣经文本中的神话表述,如马利亚感受圣灵怀孕生下耶稣,以及耶稣死后第三日复活等,势必导致现代理念与古代世界观的正面冲突,进而削弱基督教信仰的切实有效性。所以,不必拘泥于圣经文本的表层逻辑,而应将其理解为表达宗教体验的神话故事,以求抽取出文本蕴含的文化精神,服务于当下的精神文明建设。

受布尔特曼的启迪,特丽波相信圣经故事的原初形态表达了平等和谐的两性关系,只是那种形态被后来的父权制释经传统所遮蔽,而女性主义诠释者的使命就在于剥离后世的遮蔽,恢复文本的原初意义。伊甸园故事是传统释经家贬抑女性的重要依据,他们由夏娃断言女人是诱惑者,是罪的始作俑者,故女人应当顺从丈夫,受男人管辖。特丽波却另辟蹊径,运用“非父权化”阐释法揭示出一种消弭了性别偏见的圣经信仰,提出‘*adam*(亚当)一词并不专指男人,而泛指全人类,其性别特征是“雌雄同体”。就创世顺序而言,上帝依次造出日月星辰、植物动物,随后是‘*adam*,最后是女人,这说明造女人是创造过程的最高峰;依据耶稣之言“最后的将成为最先的”,^⑬女人理当最受推崇——由此可见,后世神学家对夏娃的责难纯属无稽之谈。

特丽波还主张对圣经文本进行“性别修辞”批评,即借鉴古希腊罗马学者对古典著作的语词考据、注释或训诂,对圣经中的某些术语予以女性主义的辨读。例如《创世记》称女人是用“亚当的肋骨”造成的,传统观念认定肋骨表示“低级”或处于从属地位;特丽波却断言,这其实是误读,因其本义仅仅是以肋骨为造出女人的质料;较之造出男人的质料尘土和气息,肋骨实际上更坚固,并不表明女人比男人低一等。

五、圣经研究为检验新兴文论提供试金石

各种层出不穷的新兴文论是否具备真理性?如何验证其内在价值和实效性?——当代文论家遇到这类问题时,不难发现,他们每每把圣经文本当作自己的演兵场或试金石。一如谢大卫对此类文论家何以介入圣经批评的判断:他们实际上并不真正关心圣经文本,并非为了深入了解圣经而钻研它;而是为了借用圣经检验自己的理论,因为圣经恐怕是“目前世界上尚存的、仍旧能够抑制被任何一种理论任意摆布的惟一文本了”。^⑭

这种“借圣经以试刀”做法枚不胜数,比如,雅各·德里达在《给予谁?(知勿知)》中围绕着亚伯拉罕祭献以撒的困境,以“令人颤栗的奥秘”(*mysterium tremendum*)为焦点,精深释读了克尔凯郭尔的《恐惧与颤栗》,揭示出后现代哲学的“同一性”悖论。^⑮雅克·拉康在《“父亲的名字”研讨会引论》中聚焦于上帝的“欲望”(*desire*)而非其“快感”(*bliss*),使上帝本身进入语言秩序之中,进而运用精神分析理论重释圣经文本,对其间的权力性质予以释读。^⑯米克·巴尔强调跨学科的视界和方法,

^⑬ 《马太福音》*Matai Fuyin* [*Matthew*] 18:4。

^⑭ Jeffrey, David L. “The Bible as Literature in the 1980s; A Guide for the Perplexed”, *The University of Toronto Quarterly* 59. 4 (1990): 577 - 580.

^⑮ 德里达,雅各 Delida Yage [*Derrida, Jacques*]: “给予谁?(知勿知)”“*Geiyu Shui? (Zhi Wuzhi)*”“Whom to Give to (Knowing Not to Know)”,刘平 Liu Ping 译,《圣经文学研究》*Shengjing Wenxue Yanjiu* 第3辑 [*Biblical Literature Studies*, vol. 3] (北京 Beijing: 人民文学出版社 Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe [*Peoples' Literature Publishing House*], 2009), 132 - 170。

^⑯ 拉康,雅克 Lakang, Yake [*Lacan, Jacques*]: “父亲的名字研讨会引论”“*Fuqin de Mingzi Yantaohui Yinlun*” [“Introduction to the Names-of-the-Father Seminar”],黄汉平等 Huang Hanping etc. 译,《圣经文学研究》*Shengjing Wenxue Yanjiu* 第3辑 [*Biblical Literature Studies*, vol. 3] (北京 Beijing: 人民文学出版社 Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe [*Peoples' Literature Publishing House*], 2009), 171 - 193。

注重揭示不同学科的若干作品表现同一对象时的互释作用,她在《用作书写策略的身体》中以包括圣经在内的三种文本和一种图像为例,综合剖析了图文之间的再现关系,“将结构主义朝着后现代主义的文化潮与思想潮敞开”。^{①⑦}

罗兰·巴尔特、保罗·利科一类理论家涉足于圣经研究时,与通常的大学师生也迥然不同,巴尔特《结构分析与圣经阐释:解读文集》便以圣经阐释为手段,来论证结构主义具有消解边界的功能。^{①⑧}巴尔特早年作为结构主义理论家,曾致力于寻求叙事文本表层话语背后的深层结构,进而认识叙事性作品共同的内在规律,其方法与普罗普和格雷马斯的形式分析异曲同工。但他后来却拒绝高度模式化,而采纳了相对主观化或非科学化的态度。在解读巴尔扎克小说《萨拉辛》的著作《S/Z》中,以五种代码(阐释代码、意素代码、象征代码、情节代码、文化代码)切割文本,为发掘出文本的多元意义找到方便易行的操作步骤。为了证实其运作方式的有效性,他又在《〈使徒行传〉第10-11章的叙事结构分析》中罗列出该文本中的叙事代码、地学代码、专有名词代码、历史代码、意素代码、修辞学代码、行动位代码、时序代码、接触代码、象征意义代码、奥秘学代码和元语言代码,以示那个片段乃是由各类可能的代码组合成的,它们表面上似乎构成一个意义连贯的系统,其实不过是一些能指碎片的集合。因而“对此文本的发问”固然是为了“建立一种一般叙事语言结构”,但却“面临着讨论此唯一性文本的必要”。^{①⑨}任何文本都是“唯一的”,它可能兼备的“一般叙事语言结构”只拥有较次要的意义——正是基于这种见解,巴尔特最终超越了传统的结构主义而抵达后结构主义。

从巴尔特对圣经故事“雅各与天使摔跤”的分析中能看出他尝试超越传统结构主义时的足迹。他认为,雅各击败天使的结局呈现出“逻辑的突然性”:“兼具知识、秘密、特殊击法之人,却被击败了。换言之,序列本身尽管完全是行动性的、完全是传奇性的,其作用却是使格斗双方失去平衡,不仅是通过一方对另一方的意外胜利,而且尤其是通过此胜利的非逻辑的、颠倒的特征。”^{②⑩}这就难免导致读者对文本意义的多元化解读,甚至是相互抵触的理解,从而无法对文本的内在结构达成共识。巴尔特以此迈出突破结构主义思维定势的重要一步,认同了文本寓有多重意义的可能性。他“实际上并未把文本规约为任何一种可能的所指(历史的、经济的、民间故事的或者宣教的),而是维持着其意义的开放性”。^{②⑪}

刘意青论及后现代文学理论呈现出多元化格局的意义时指出:“这种多元化不仅使20世纪中后期的学术达到空前繁荣活跃,也使文学文本显得那么多姿多彩,含义无穷。承认文本解读的多种可能和意识形态的多元权威,能促进世界文化和政治的多元化运动,使中心和权威受到挑战,使少数群

^{①⑦} 巴尔,米克 Bar, Mike [Bal, Mieke]:“用作书写策略的身体”“Yongzuo Shuxie Celue de Shenti”“Body Politic”,张思齐 Zhang Siqi 译,《圣经文学研究》*Shengjing Wenxue Yanjiu* 第3辑 [Biblical Literature Studies, vol. 3] (北京 Beijing:人民文学出版社 Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe [Peoples' Literature Publishing House], 2009), 194-225。

^{①⑧} 刘意青 Liu Yiqing:《圣经的文学阐释——理论与实践》*Shengjing de Wenxue Chanshi——Lilun yu Shijian* [The Literary Interpretation of the Bible: Theories and Practices] (北京 Beijing:北京大学出版社 Beijing University Press, 2004), 3。

^{①⑨} 巴尔特,罗兰 Barte, Luolan [Barthes, Roland]:“叙事结构分析——关于〈使徒行传〉第10-11章的分析”“Xushi Jiegou Fenxi——Guanyu <shituxingzhuan> di 10-11zhang de Fenxi” [“An Analysis on the Narrative Structure of the Acts 10-11”],《符号学历险》*Fuhaoxue Lixian* [L'aventure Sémiologique], 李幼蒸 Li Youzheng 译(北京 Beijing:中国人民大学出版社 China Peoples' University Press, 2008), 181-206。

^{②⑩} 巴尔特,罗兰 Barte, Luolan [Barthes, Roland]:“与天使摔跤——〈创世记〉32:22-32的文本分析”“Yu Tianshi Shuaijiao——〈Chuangshiji〉32:22-32 de Wenben Fenxi” [“An Analysis on the Narrative Structure of ‘Jacob Wrestled with the Angel’ (Genesis 32:23-33)”],《符号学历险》*Fuhaoxue Lixian* [L'aventure Sémiologique], 李幼蒸 Li Youzheng 译(北京 Beijing:中国人民大学出版社 China Peoples' University Press, 2008), 212-214。

^{②⑪} 同上书, 219。

体和族类能发出自己的声音,争取到自身的权利。”^①其间多元化文学理论与圣经批评彼此影响、相生互动,这一进程业已大大拓宽了人们观察文学理论的视野,并将促使文学理论的发展更趋成熟和繁荣。

^① 同14,16-17。

English Title:

Biblical Studies and the Establishment of Western Literary Theories

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Abstract: When investigating the relationship between western literary theory and biblical studies, one can find that biblical studies had done important contributions for the establishment of western literary theories, which embodies in, biblical studies give birth to some literary theories, biblical studies provide nourishment for the growth of some literary theories, some criterions of hermeneutics had been transformed as poetics models, biblical studies bestowed upon methods of literary criticism, biblical studies supply touchstone for inspecting new literary theories.

Key terms: biblical studies; western literary theory; criterions of hermeneutics; poetics models; methods of criticism

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

Building a Global Network of Local Churches: Vital Group, Home Meeting, and Cooperate Body^①

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Abstract: The local church movement initiated by Watchman Nee (1903 – 1972) and Witness Lee (1905 – 1997), is one of few Chinese Christian churches, which went globalized with a local conversion capability. Originally influenced by the Plymouth Brethren, it developed a Chinese version as part of the indigenization movement, and updated against the new background of world Christianity since the 1970s. Opposed to the traditional clergy system of one preaching while all others listening, Nee and Lee promoted a cooperate Body of functional members. Vital group and home meeting are two important tools. Churches are divided as cell groups, and every believer becomes an evangelist. While a local church is the contacting point of each locality (defined as a city), regional work/mission guarantees the inter fellowship between the local churches, and international conferences formed a universal network. Full – time training is the school for “professionals.” Based on a solid theological foundation and with more than 250,000 followers across the five main continents, it not only provides a legacy for “House Churches” in China, but also proves effective in the global landscape of Christianity.

Key words: vital group;home meeting;local church;Witness Lee

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In *Houses that Change the World*, Wolfgang Simson proposes an ideal church model of this global era: The church I dreamed of is like a spiritual extended family – organic, not organized, relational, not formal. It has a persecution – proof structure. It matures under tears, multiplies under pressure, breathes under water, grows under the carpet; it flourishes in the desert, sees in the dark and thrives in the midst of chaos. A church that can multiply like five loaves and two fish in the hands of Jesus, where the fathers turn their hearts to their sons and the sons their hearts to their fathers, where its people are its resources, and which has only one name to boast about, the Lamb of God. ^②

This ideal model which Simson dreamed of is house church. A classic on this topic, he considers that his book has three purposes: as a vision statement, a manifesto, and a church – planting manual.

^① This research is supported by the National Grant for Social Sciences of China, “Global Pentecostalism and Christianity in Contemporary China” (11CZJ009). 本文受国家社科基金项目“全球五旬节运动与当代中国基督教” (11CZJ009) 支持。

^② Wolfgang Simson, *Houses that Change the World; The Return of the House Churches*, (Emmelsbull, Germany: C & P Publishing, 1999), X iii. Similar discussions can also see: Larry Kreider, *House Church Networks: A Church for a New Generation*, (Lititz, PA: House to House Publications, 2001).

Simson's first thesis is — “Christianity is a way of life, not a series of religious meeting.”^③ As he says, the current church model started with Constantine, and it is a combination of two elements: “a Christian version of the Old Testament temple – the Cathedral – and a worship pattern styled after the Jewish synagogue.”^④ He calls this the “cathagogue,” which became a blueprint of churches in the historical process. As he says:

This reformed-Roman-Catholic-Jewish meeting pattern was baptized by Baptists, anointed by Pentecostals, misused by cults, renewed by Charismatic Christians, put into uniform by the Salvation Army, dry-cleaned by Quakers-but was never radically changed. The “services” were still essentially performances, audience-oriented masses, usually formal and liturgical religious events, where many spectators and consumers observe a few very involved religious specialists performing for them and with them.^⑤

He criticizes the predominant model of Protestantism, i. e. the congregational church. In his view, the congregational church is a compromise of two kinds of churches: the cell and the celebration. However, it missed out on both sides. The congregational – type church is “a political solution which suited the state and conveniently fitted into the religious patterns of the world at the same time”; and in many ways, it is “a triumph of the religious spirit, a return to the law and religious patterns of the Old Testament and even pagan religions.”^⑥ The congregational church is a self – defeating structure; it creates the very problems it wants to solve.

Simson thinks that this traditional church model is the biggest barrier to Christianity as a faith; and house church is the solution to this problem. In his definition:

The house church is a way of living the Christian life communally in ordinary homes through supernatural power. It is the way redeemed people live locally. It is the organic way disciples follow Jesus together in everyday life. ... House churches emerge when truly converted people stop living their own life for their own ends, start living a community life according to the values of the Kingdom of God, and start to share their life and resources with those Christians and not – yet – Christians around themselves.^⑦

Hegoes on further to say that house church is “the body of Christ in an ordinary house,” and it is like “a spiritual extended family.”^⑧

Simson discusses the basic characteristics of a house church: “meating” (the Lord’s Supper is a substantial supper with a symbolic meaning rather than a symbolic supper with a substantial meaning); teaching each other how to obey; sharing material and spiritual blessings; praying together.^⑨ He also differentiates house churches from homegroups; while the former is “in itself the church in its fullest and most holistic sense”; the latter is just a small part of the big and “real church,” or a “mini – version” of the church.^⑩ A more important distinction is made between house churches and cell churches. He listed

③ *Ibid.*

④ *Ibid.*

⑤ *Ibid.*, 7.

⑥ *Ibid.*, 25 – 26.

⑦ *Ibid.*, 79.

⑧ *Ibid.*, 80.

⑨ *Ibid.*, 82 – 89.

⑩ *Ibid.*, 94.

13 items from philosophical through structural to contextual dimensions. Simply speaking, he thinks that the cell church is still a program – oriented organization with a pyramid leadership, while the house church is a kind of organism characterized by interdependence and fatherhood.^① At last, Simson promotes a five – fold ministry, as recorded in Ephesians 4: 11 – 13, i. e. the apostles, the prophets, the evangelists, the pastors and the teachers; rather than the popular models of pastors or evangelists. For him, the church should be “built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Jesus Christ himself as the chief cornerstone.”^② Following this, the union of churches is not based on denominationalism, but based on a locality.

The above discussions are very inspiring to the “house churches” in China. And Simson does quote one Chinese Christian, Watchman Nee, in his argument, and lists Nee’s book in his reference readings. One the other hand, the Chinese house church movement also becomes a distinctive case in the landscape of world Christianity. Among all, the Local Church initiated by Watchman Nee and Witness Lee, updated with a global version since the 1970s, can be taken as a typical example to discuss the simultaneous developments of Chinese Christian churches and world Christianity in the contemporary period.

I. From Watchman Nee to Witness Lee: A Chinese Brethren Movement

The Local Church Movement, under the supervision of Watchman Nee (Ni Tuosheng, 1903 – 1972) and Witness Lee (Li Changshou, 1905 – 1997), can be seen as a Chinese version of the house church movement, which also has a large influence on the Chinese “House Churches.”^③ While Nee is a popular figure in the Western Christian world due to his books, such as *The Spiritual Man* and *The Normal Christian Life*, Lee brought the Chinese ministry to the West physically, and nourished a global campaign that exists even now. In the 1930s, under the influence of the Plymouth Brethren, Nee developed his ecclesiology in the well – known *Rethinking the Work* (*Gongzuo de zaisi*).^④ A year later, the English version was published under the title, *Concerning Our Missions*. In this breakthrough work, Nee proposed his famous argument on the ground of the church; that is, the church should be based on locality, or just city, as recorded in the New Testament. He also argued that, home is a right place for church meetings, rather than the large halls; and fellowship is more important than buildings. Lee updated Nee’s

① *Ibid.*, 137 – 154.

② *Ibid.*, 119.

③ See Liu Yi, “Globalization of Chinese Christianity: A Study of Watchman Nee and Witness Lee’s Ministry,” presented in “The 9th International Seminar of Northeast Asia Council of the Historical Studies of Christianity” (Yokohama, Japan: Keio University, August 7 – 9, 2012).

④ Now in the official publishing house, the work is entitled *The Normal Christian Church Life*; and to some extent, this change just reflects the new interpretation of Watchman Nee’s ministry under the leadership of Witness Lee. See Watchman Nee, *The Normal Christian Church Life: The New Testament Pattern of the Churches, the Ministry, and the Work*, (Anaheim, CA: Living Stream Ministry, 1980; 1994). A discussion on Watchman Nee, see Liu Yi, “Universal Body & Local Churches: Watchman Nee’s Legacy in the Chinese Context,” in Lin Shih Hao and Chou Fu Chu, eds., *No Death, No Life: 2011 Symposium on Modern Chinese Christian Theology*, (Taipei: Olive Publishing, 2012), 93 – 111.

visions, both in the revivals of 1940s, and more importantly in the new context of 1980s. Then, Witness Lee returned to Taiwan from the United States, in order to promote “the God – ordained Way,” or “the New Way.” His basic practice is similar to the cell groups popular in Korea or the house churches in America; that is, to divide the large congregation in small groups, and at the same time, to make the congregation and cell groups more alive through the function of every believer.

In the author’s view, this development is not only a continuation of Nee’s ministry, but also a development under the influence of the new trends in the West. While Witness Lee is still a controversial person both in China and the Christian world, the author thinks that his thinking on this topic is not only a reflection of the situation of “House Churches” in China, but also provides some new inspirations to “Chinese Christianity” as part of world Christianity. In the following, the author will focus on the works and preaches of Witness Lee since the 1980s, to discuss his view as a Chinese version of the house church movement.

The God-ordained Way

Witness Lee begins his discussion with criticizing and reflecting on the current situation of Christianity. In his view, “The practice of today’s Christianity is a destruction of the church life”.^⑮ Christianity is now a human religion saturated with demonic and satanic things. It is full of organizations, as well as formalities and rituals. Especially, the clergy – laity system annuls the function of the members of Christ. The extreme example can be seen in Roman Catholicism, characteristic of a hierarchy of cardinals, archbishops and bishops with the Pope as the center.

Based on a careful and hard study of the Scriptures, he thinks, “God’s ordained way has been fully and clearly revealed in the New Testament, yet Christians through all the centuries, from the last part of the first century down to today, have neglected it”. It is also called “the new way”. The point is that “it is not old but quite ancient”. It does have a root in early Christianity. However, everything that belongs to God is always new. “With God, there is no oldness, everything is new.”^⑯

In this new way, there are four specific steps. First, all believers are priests of the New Testament gospel. Thus all of them have to go out to preach and to bring people to Christ. Second, when new believers got in, they have to be fed and nourished in home meetings. Third, all believers need to become perfect through the help of each other in small group meetings. Fourth, all believers need to prophesy in small meetings and church meetings for the building up of the Body of Christ.^⑰ In simple terms, it is called begetting, feeding, perfecting and building, corresponding to four forms of meeting—gospel meeting, home meeting, district meeting and church meeting.

^⑮ Witness Lee, *The God – ordained Way to Practice the New Testament Economy*, (Anaheim, CA: Living Stream Ministry, 1987), 18.

^⑯ Witness Lee, *The Exercise & Practice of the God – ordained Way*, (Anaheim, CA: Living Stream Ministry, 1989), 2.

^⑰ *Ibid.*, 3 – 9.

In early times, Witness Lee paid particular concern to gospel preaching and home meeting. As he says:

I made the decision to come back to the biblical way, that is, the God – ordained way to preach the gospel in the homes, to set up meetings in the homes, to edify the saints in the homes, and to build up the church in the homes. Home sweet home! In this new way there are just two words: Go! Home! We should go out of our own homes and bring the Bible, the gospel, the Lord Jesus, the Triune God, grace, light, life, and the dynamic salvation into the new ones' homes! Do not ask them to come to us; rather, we must go to them to set up the church meeting in their homes. We will fulfill our destiny to bear fruit by going out to others' homes. ¹⁸

According to him, gospel preaching is the believers' destiny which is defined in God's economy. In a parabolic way, it is described as fruit – bearing. "To bear fruit is the way to fulfill God's destiny, and the way to bear fruit is to visit people by knocking on their doors. The way to have fruit that remains is by setting up home meetings with the new believers and by praying for the home meetings of the believers." ¹⁹

Witness Lee compares the old way and the new way: the former is called the worship in religion and the latter as the worship in reality. "Christianity has brought the church into the religious world, but today in the Lord's recovery we are endeavoring to enjoy the Lord by being rescued from Christianity." ²⁰ While the old way annuls the function of the children of God, the new way is just to recover this function. It is also a way to save Christianity from formality and degradation, and to recover its living and activeness as the faith in Jesus Christ.

Home Meeting

Following the tradition of Christianity, Witness Lee takes the Pentecost as the initiation of church. However, he grabbed two phrases in Acts 2:46, "day by day" and "from house to house," to show that home meeting is the right way of church. ²¹ He continues with the example of Acts 5:42—every believer's home is promising; every believer can set up home meetings. ²²

To some extent, Witness Lee is crazy with home meetings. His principle is "just to set up home meetings". As he says:

Are you going to be holy? Set up a home meeting. Are you going to be spiritual? Set up a home meeting. Are you going to know the Bible? Nothing will force you to seek the knowledge of the Bible more than setting up a home meeting. The home meetings will force you to seek after the proper, spiritual knowledge, and while you are seeking the knowledge for teaching others, you yourself will be taught, enlightened, and nourished. ²³

¹⁸ Witness Lee, *The God – ordained Way to Practice the New Testament Economy*, 103.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 117.

²¹ Witness Lee, *The Home Meetings: The Unique Way for the Increase and the Building Up of the Church*, (Anaheim, CA: Living Stream Ministry, 1986), 7 – 8.

²² *Ibid.*, 19 – 20.

²³ *Ibid.*, 20.

His passion and fascination also has a deep theological implication, for he believes that “the home meetings are absolutely the meetings of the church and in the church.”^{②④}

As a Chinese, even though he was displaced from his hometown, Witness Lee appreciates the warm and living environment of homes, in contrast to the formality and void of big halls. He also takes the parable of family feast to describe the home meetings. For example:^{②⑤}

The home meetings are all in the brothers’ and sisters’ homes. One sits here; another sits there. One comes early; another comes late. Everyone speaks a little, and there is no need for any formality. This is the best point about the home meetings.

In every meeting we should eat and drink the Lord’s word.

The home meeting is not a Bible class in a seminary. …The home meetings are “eating” meetings.

The most important thing is to spread out the Lord’s words as a feast.

Mutuality and speaking are two key characteristics of home meetings. He says, “The main purpose of the home meeting is to promote speaking by everyone,”^{②⑥} and “to speak in the meetings is a way of blessing”.^{②⑦} In his view, human beings are communal, and Christians are even more communal than the common people. The church should be a meeting of love. However, most Christians even don’t know the other one beside him or her when they go to attend church service. It is really a miserable matter of today’s Christianity.

He compares the situation in big meetings and home meetings:

In the big meetings you cannot pray, but in the home meetings you can pray. In the big meetings you cannot speak, but in the home meetings you can speak. In the big meetings you cannot sing, but in the home meetings you can sing. All these are functions that cannot be fulfilled by the big meetings.^{②⑧}

In the home meetings, everyone becomes a seeking one, a serving one, a preaching one, a teaching one, and one that spontaneously witness for the Lord.

Witness Lee can’t help showing his love and passion to home meetings. As he says, “My heart is in the home meetings. My concern is for the home meetings. My joy is in the home meetings, and my compliments are concerning the home meetings”. However, he does have a reasonable cause for this, with the conclusion: “the increase and spread of the church depend fully on the home meetings,” and “The home meetings are the foundation for the building of the church”.^{②⑨}

One further discussion is that, people should not just invite others to have meetings in their homes, but also send deliveries to others’ homes. This is called “one – on – one” service.

^{②④} *Ibid.*, 44.

^{②⑤} Witness Lee, *Key Points on the Home Meetings*, (Anaheim, CA: Living Stream Ministry, 1986), 14 – 16.

^{②⑥} *Ibid.*, 21.

^{②⑦} *Ibid.*, 23.

^{②⑧} *Ibid.*, 24.

^{②⑨} Witness Lee, *Key Points on the Home Meetings*, 71 – 72.

Witness Lee uses the example of restaurants. He says, formerly people can only come to our place to have food; if they came at the wrong time, they will have nothing to eat. Now, we should develop delivery service, that is, to send food to people's homes. This guaranties that they can have food timely and continually. It may be seen as the outreach service of home meetings. ^⑩

The Vital Group

In early times, Witness Lee did not make distinction between home meeting and small group meeting. Later, he found that the home meeting is mainly for feeding and nourishing new believers, while small group meeting is the key characteristic of God – ordained way. Based on this, he went further to develop the concept of “vital group.”

According to him, the purpose of the vital groups is to live two kinds of lives: the kingdom life and the church life. He quotes the scriptures in Matthew 18: 15 – 22 and 2 Timothy 2:22. The former is on kingdom life, while the later is on church life. And he says that “a vital group is a real representation of the church”. ^⑪

He describesthat the constituents of the vital groups are in six categories: the believers in Christ, the disciples of Christ, the Witnesses of Christ, the members of Christ, the brothers of Christ, and the prophets of Christ. ^⑫ And to be vital, the believers should have intimate and thorough fellowship with the Lord; have a thorough confession of their failures, defects, and wrongdoings, as well as practices of the flesh and of the natural man; pray thoroughly for visiting of people and for those whom they visit and contact; and be familiar with all the outlines of the recent messages concerning the person of Christ and His accomplishments in the three stages of His full ministry. ^⑬

Witness Lee connects the vital group with the ministry of overcomers. He describes the foursteps of God's move on the earth: through the Adamic race, through the Abrahamic race, through the church, and through the overcomers. ^⑭ He thinks that we are now in the age of overcomers. “The vital groups should be composed of people who are overcomers”. ^⑮ He says, “the overcomers are the successful people in God's economy”; to be vital means to be living and active, that is to overcome deadness and lukewarmness; that is also to overcome the degradation of today's church. ^⑯

However, the vital group is not a matter of miracles. He insists that “a vital group is a group of normal Christians,” ^⑰ and “to be vital is to be common”. ^⑱ Then, what is the meaning of being

^⑩ *Ibid.* , 75.

^⑪ Witness Lee, *The Vital Groups*, (Anaheim, CA: Living Stream Ministry, 1996) , 7.

^⑫ *Ibid.* , 15.

^⑬ *Ibid.* , 136 – 137.

^⑭ Witness Lee, *The Training and the Practice of the Vital Groups*, (Anaheim, CA: Living Stream Ministry, 1993) , 5.

^⑮ *Ibid.* , 12.

^⑯ *Ibid.* , 15 – 20.

^⑰ *Ibid.* , 60.

^⑱ *Ibid.* , 145.

normal? Witness Lee defines it in the God – ordained way:

Normal Christians beget, bring forth, normal Christians. After hearing the preaching of the gospel, a person should be led to repent thoroughly. He should make a thorough confession before God of his mistakes, wrongdoing, shortcomings, defects, transgressions, trespasses, sins, and evils. He should also ask forgiveness of anyone whom he has offended. Through this kind of repentance and confession, he will begin to have a close, intimate fellowship with the Lord and with his fellow believers. Then he can also be perfected concerning how to pray, how to read the Word of God, how to call on the Lord’s name, and how to exercise his spirit. Spontaneously, he will become vital – living, burning, and fruit – bearing. A vital person is one who repents to the uttermost, confess thoroughly, contacts the Lord God intimately, and fellowships with this fellow Christians closely. ③

This is the normal Christian life. According to Lee, deadness, lukewarmness, and barrenness are three main enemies for good Christians. And people should be alive, charismatic and fruitful.

In later times, the vital group becomes a powerful weapon of gospel preaching. For this, Witness Lee talked a lot, on how to contact and gain people. A key practice is PSRP—pray – reading, studying, reciting, and prophesying. He suggests that people should always keep four or five new ones under their care. In his words, “the only way for us is to contact people, and the only secret of our success is to have constant contacts for our whole life”. ④

Prophesying

Witness Lee has a distinctive interpretation of 1 Corinthians 14: “Prophesying is not in the sense of predicting, foretelling, but in the sense of speaking for the Lord and speaking forth the Lord to dispense Christ to people. It is the excelling gift for the building up of the church”. ⑤ He emphasizes the meaning of “dispensing”. To speak forth implies to dispense; and to speak forth God and Christ is to minister and dispense God and Christ to people. ⑥

According to him, prophesying is the highest function of church meetings. It is defined in three dimensions: building up for the church, encouragement for the believers, and consolation for the saints’ welfare. ⑦ In a prophecy, it includes the following constituents: the knowledge and experience of God, Christ, and the spiritual things; the utterance to speak forth what we know and have experienced of God, Christ, and the spiritual things; the sight under the divine enlightenment concerning the situation and environment in which we are; the instant inspiration of the indwelling Spirit that stirs up our spirit to speak. ⑧

③ *Ibid.*, 62 – 63.

④ *Ibid.*, 103.

⑤ Witness Lee, *Prophesying in the Church Meetings for the Organic Building up of the Church as the Body of Christ*, (Anaheim, CA: Living Stream Ministry, 1989), “Preface.”

⑥ Witness Lee, *The Practice of Prophesying*, (Anaheim, CA: Living Stream Ministry, 1990), 8 – 9.

⑦ Witness Lee, *Prophesying in the Church Meetings for the Organic Building up of the Church as the Body of Christ*, 22.

⑧ Witness Lee, *The Practice of Prophesying*, 13 – 15.

Lee insists that “All the believers have the capacity to prophesy and have the obligation to prophesy”.⁴⁵ The capacity is in the divine life, which the believers possess and enjoy and which needs to increase within them. Then the capacity may be developed unto their ability. The obligation is the fulfillment of their spiritual service, in which they are indebted to God’s salvation.

Prophesying is “divine speaking, God’s oracle”; it is not “ordinary words spoken in a natural way,” but rather “a speaking in the element of God’s divinity.”⁴⁶ As Lee says:

In speaking forth a proper prophecy, we should not adhere to personal experiences, testimonies, feelings, thoughts, opinions, affections, and reactions to any persons, matters, and things. When we prophecy, we should reject our personal feelings, thoughts, opinions, and even affections. We should also stay away from our reactions to our spouse, our neighbors, the elders, and the brothers and sisters. To prophecy, in principle, is not to speak for oneself, not to speak forth oneself, and even the more, not to dispense oneself into people.⁴⁷

Thus, Lee thinks that a prophecy must have “the instant inspiration of the Spirit”.⁴⁸ It is not a speaking according to letters but one filled with the revelation of the Holy Spirit; it is not to read what we have composed but at the opportune time to speak what we have composed in a living way; it should not be mere doctrine gained from a Bible study, but something of a spiritual vision.

For Lee, to prophesy is to cooperate with God. He thinks that it is the expression of the principle of incarnation. As he says:

In the New Testament, God operates through the principles of incarnation. God does not do anything by Himself, especially in the matter of speaking. He prefers to speak through us and speak within us. Moreover, the principle of incarnation is not merely that God works with man. It is that God works within man, and the two work as one. When we speak, the very Lord whom we speak forth is speaking with us and within us.⁴⁹

Conversely, all men’s speaking constituted a universal sound on the earth, which is represented by the church as the Body of Christ.

II. House Churches in China: Reality and Vision

Since the 1980s, there is a so – called “house church” movement in China, against the

⁴⁵ Witness Lee, *Prophesying in the Church Meetings for the Organic Building up of the Church as the Body of Christ*, 25.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁴⁷ Witness Lee, *The Practice of Prophesying*, 37.

⁴⁸ Witness Lee, *Prophesying in the Church Meetings for the Organic Building up of the Church as the Body of Christ*, 55.

⁴⁹ Witness Lee, *The Practice of Prophesying*, 41 – 42.

bigger context of “Christian Fever” or “Religious Fever.”⁵⁰ Though some of them are not in “houses,” as a whole, they form a kind of “new Christianity” different from Roman Catholicism as well as the Protestant denominations. This can be seen as part of the great changes of world Christianity, featured in Philip Jenkins’ two notorious books, *The Next Christendom* and *The New Faces of Christianity*.⁵¹ Or as a Chinese American scholar argued recently, it is a “popular Christian movement.”⁵² There are a lot of descriptions and explanations for this phenomenon. Put it simply, from a perspective of history of religion, we may just say that it is the flow of the Holy Spirit.

The author’s questions are these: How will this new movement challenge the current church structure in China? Does it have any universal significance in Christianity as a world movement? What can the Local Church Movement contribute to this new trend as a typical case?

First, most people will agree that the “house churches” have created division and antagonism among the Chinese churches. And for the authorities both in the political and religious sphere, “house church” means a trouble to much extent. Objectively, we have to admit that it is a challenge to the current church structure under the leadership of The Three – self Patriotic Committee and the China Christian Council. It can be traced to the political campaigns during the 1950s, typically represented by the inter – personal enmities between prominent figures such as Wang Mingdao and Ding Guangxun (K. H. Ting, or later Bishop Ting).⁵³ And we still can feel it obviously during field work today. Mostly, we are told that the TSPM churches are unbelievers, political agents or even traitors of the church. Whether these are facts or not, it reflects that the current church structure lags behind the new trends of Chinese Christianity.

Second, there is a church reconstruction campaign since the 1980s, with Bishop Ting as a prominent leader, including returning of church properties, church buildings, theological education, social service, etc. Due to his personal denominational background and also China’s church situation, Bishop Ting once hoped to reconstruct the Chinese church structure according to the Anglican – Episcopal way, which later proved to be a failure.⁵⁴ And as much as I know, a lot of young church leaders as well as teachers and students in theological seminaries preferred to a

⁵⁰ See Alan Hunter and Kim-Kwong Chan, *Protestantism in Contemporary China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Tony Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, (Wheaton, Illinois: Harold Shaw Publishers, 1994); David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power*, (Washington, DC: Regnery; Lanham, MD: National Book Network, 2006 [2003]).

⁵¹ Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); idem, *The New Face of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁵² See Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in China*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁵³ On the Three-self Movement in the 1950s, see Philip L. Wickery, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three – Self Movement, and China’s United Front*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988); Ying Fuk – tsang and Leung Ka – lun, *Wushi niandai sanzhi yundong de yanjiu* [The Three – Self Patriotic Movement in 1950s], (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1996).

⁵⁴ Ting’s thinking and activities can be seen in: Philip L. Wickery, *Reconstructing Christianity in China: K. H. Ting and the Chinese Church*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2007).

kind of “reformed theology,” symbolized by a Presbyterian system on earth.⁵⁵ However, very unfortunately, most of them easily fall in the dualism of orthodoxy – heterodoxy, as in Chinese history and the political authorities, and always tend to denounce some groups as cults for theological or practical reasons. This prevented a mutual understanding between the professional clergy and the laity, the urban and the rural, as well as the intellectuals and the common people.

Third, while there have been numerous proposals to solve this issue, the author proposes that “house church network” should be an alternative way for consideration. On one side, it reflects the reality of Chinese churches today; on the other side, it is a universal version originating from the new trends of world Christianity and shared by many innovative ministries around the globe. The Local Church Movement initiated by Watchman Nee and Witness Lee should be a reference, even just for critical reasons. Its legacy is firstly historical, for it is born in the Chinese land as a solution to the church issue in modern China; and secondly, it is connected with the global landscape of Christianity due to Witness Lee’s groundbreaking work in the United States, Latin America and Southeast Asia, and even Europe.

However, the actual situation is always more complicated than ideal models. Even in the historical period, Watchman Nee had to face the paradox of denominationalism and division inside;⁵⁶ and till now Watchman Nee was still a counter – revolutionary in terms of the Chinese political authority. The new group under the leadership of Witness Lee even became “*xiejiao*” (evil cult) which is with the name of “the Yellers” (*huan pai*). And presently, we are informed that the Local Churches are separated from both TSPM churches and house churches, for they claimed they are the only orthodoxy and others cannot accommodate their distinctive systems unless they join their exclusive membership. From the other side of the picture, we can see that huge church buildings become a vision for most church leaders, whether they are in TSPM or house churches. Both the Christians and the larger society tend to see physical buildings as proofs of Christianity. And in the common worship service, we can see that more and more people prefer the ritualized Anglican – Episcopal style. Institutionalization is accelerating when the church membership is big enough; and it seems that the West has much more power than the indigenous, and the urban more power than the rural.

III. Conclusion

This article is a preliminary discussion on house churches, with a comparison to the similar

⁵⁵ For example, Aiming Wang, *Church in China: Faith, Ethics, Structure: The Heritage of the Reformation for the Future of the Church in China*, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009).

⁵⁶ One example is the debate between Watchman Nee, David Yang (Yang Shaotang) and Huang Yu Shen in early 1950s, see Liu Yi, “Jindai zhongguo de jiaohui wenti: yi Ni Tuosheng, Yang Shaotang he Huang Yu Shen de taolun weili” [Church Issue in Modern China: A Debate between Watchman Nee, David Yang and Huang Yu Shen], presented in “Duoxueke shiye xia de jidujiao bentuhua xueshu yantaohui” [Symposium on Indigenization of Christianity from Multi – Disciplinary Perspectives], (Fuzhou: Fujian Normal University, November 2 – 4, 2012).

trends globally and a particular concern to the Local Church Movement led by Watchman Nee and Witness Lee. The author have a few purposes: (1) To believers, researchers and administrators inside, they need to go beyond the “distinctive situation” of China, to have a more comprehensive view of Christianity, rather than to sting on Chinese characteristics; (2) To Christians, scholars, politicians and social activists who have a concern on Chinese church, they need to go beyond the imagination of persecutions and revivals, to have a more specific and complex picture of Chinese churches, and to try to understand them in their historical process and local context; (3) Especially to scholars whether they are foreigners or Chinese, including the author himself, we should understand the limitations of academic research. We can put out a lot of proposals, but we should never think to take on the role of administrators instead of advisors. And we should try not to become agents of different parts of the debate, politically or religiously.

A last word is for the house church itself. I will not agree with Wolfgang Simson or Witness Lee completely; and as a scholar, most of all, I can't accept their absolutism, which also led to the ruthless critics of their opponents. However, in this paper, I have to call the scholars' attention to house churches, not only as a distinctive Chinese phenomenon, but also as a new trend of world Christianity. Especially in the Chinese context, political administrators, academic scholars and Christian believers have to admit the organism and diversity of Christian Churches; and to some extent, it is a better choice to keep the balance between TSPM churches and house churches, as well as between state and church, rather than dreaming to solve the problem once for all.

中文题目:

建构地方教会的全球网络:活力排、家庭聚会及合一身体

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摘要:由倪柝声(1903 - 1972)和李常受(1905 - 1997)发起的地方教会运动是少有的走向全球并致力于当地信徒皈依的华人教会。它最早受普利茅斯弟兄会的影响,后在本色化运动中发展出了独特的中国模式,并在1970年代以来世界基督教运动的新背景下得以更新。同传统上一人讲道、众人听的教会模式不同,倪柝声和李常受倡导教会所有成员的功用与合一。活力排和家庭聚会是两大重要的方式。教会被分化为许多细胞组织,每一个信徒都可以做传道人。地方教会是每个地方信徒的联络点(以城市为单位),地区性的工作(差传)保证了不同地方教会的交通,一年七次的国际会议则培养了一个全球网络。全时间训练是培养“专业人员”的学校。建立于一个坚实的神学基础,并在全球五大洲拥有超过25万信徒,地方教会为中国的“家庭教会”提供了合法性,并在全球基督教的大环境中证实了其有效性。

关键词:活力排、家庭聚会、地方教会、李常受

诸神之争

——当代中国公共领域中的信仰冲突

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提要:宗教世俗化理论中的私人化命题近年来受到了越来越多的挑战。在世界范围内,公共领域中的宗教也日益引发学术争议。本文试图借助马克斯·韦伯“诸神之争”的理论视角,通过对四个案例的分析——包含了基督徒、文化传统主义者、佛教徒和非宗教信徒之间的论争——来揭示当代中国的信仰冲突状况;进而在此基础上,分析其背景、机制、特征和社会结果。

关键词:诸神之争、信仰冲突、公共领域中的宗教、世俗化、文化多元

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昔日的众神从坟墓中走出来,由于自己已遭除魅,他们不再表现为拟人的力量。他们企图再次主宰我们的生命,并且又一次展开了他们之间的永恒争斗。……我们的文化命运已经注定,我们将再度清楚地意识到多神才是日常生活的现实。

——马克斯·韦伯^①

一、理论背景

虽然宗教世俗化(secularization)的理论范式在20世纪60年代以来,在宗教社会学界受到了理论和经验的双重挑战,但一直要到“9·11”事件发生之后,宗教问题才重新引发了大众媒体以及宗教社会学专业领域之外广大学者的广泛关注。在过去的十年中,一方面“非世俗化”(de-secularization)、去私人化(de-privatization)等术语占据了主流学术刊物和著作的标题;^②另一方面,各大宗教在世界范围内的可见度也逐渐增高,一些宗教团体抵制被边缘化和私人化的趋势,有意识

^① 马克斯·韦伯 Max Weber (Max Webber) 著:《韦伯作品集I:学术与政治》Weibo zuopinji I: Xueshu yu zhengzhi [Collection of Max Weber I: Academy and Politics],(桂林 Guilin:广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe [Guangxi Normal University Press],2004),180-1。

^② 参见:Berger, Peter L. “The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview.” In *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, edited by Peter L. Berger. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1999; Casanova, Jose. “Private and Public Religions.” *Social Research* 1 (1992): 17-57; Knoblauch, Hubert. “Der Mythos der Entzauberung, Die Populäre Religion und das Ende der Privatisierung.” In *Alliierte Im Himmel: Populäre Religiosität Und Kriegserfahrung*, herausgegeben von Gottfried Korff, (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 2006),371-90。

地进入或者重返公共领域。近来的有关宗教与公共领域的讨论吸引了一些国际大牌学者的参与。尤尔根·哈贝马斯、约翰·罗尔斯和查尔斯·泰勒均对此问题提出了自己的独到见解。^③ 这些学者的关注也是双重意义的：一方面，他们试图纠正我们继承自启蒙时代的世俗主义（secularism）立场^④——即认为宗教应当受到世俗政权的限定和管制，宗教在本质上是与公民的公共生活格格不入的。他们提醒我们，理性和信仰并非如此截然对立，耶路撒冷与雅典的相遇与融合构成了西方文明的主线。宗教传统可以成为一种不容忽视的精神资源，用以反思人类当下的处境和困局；另一方面，在宪政、自由以及文化多元的前提下，他们对宗教信仰进入公共领域保持充分的审慎态度，希望通过设定各种“门槛”来防止宗教可能引发的“副作用”，例如非理性的论争、族群分裂、宗教冲突等。^⑤

20世纪60年代德国哲学家尤尔根·哈贝马斯以其《公共领域的结构转型》一书，开启了当代西方对“公共领域”（Öffentlichkeit/public sphere）的讨论。^⑥ 但是公共领域与私人领域的区分在西方政治、哲学传统中的源头可以追溯古典时代。可以说，有关公共领域和市民社会的讨论基本上是在西方的市民社会和政治实践之上的。对于“公共领域”概念是否能够用于理解和分析中国历史或当下，始终存在巨大的争议。相关学术讨论曾经在世纪之交引发了两次较为集中的辩论：第一次是1993年《现代中国》（*Modern China*）上有关市民社会与公共领域的专辑；^⑦第二次是中国本土刊物

③ Habermas, Jürgen. “Religion in the Public Sphere.” *European Journal of Philosophy* 2 (2006): 1–25; Habermas, Jürgen. “Ein Bewußtsein, von dem, was fehlt.” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 10 Feb. 2007; Habermas, Jürgen. “‘The Political’: The Rational Meaning of a Questionable Inheritance of Political Theology.” In *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*, edited by Eduardo Mendita and Jonathan Vanantwerpen, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 15–33. 该文中译本见：哈贝马斯 Habeimasi [Habermas] 著、郁喆隽 Yu Zhejun 译：“‘政治性’：政治神学可疑遗产的合理意义 Zhengzhi xing: Zhengzhi shenxue keyi yichan de heli yiyi [Politicians: The Reasonable Meaning of Doubtful Heritage of Political Theology]”，刊：《当代国外马克思主义评论》*Dangdai guowai Makesi zhuyi pinglun* [Review on the Contemporary Foreign Marxism]，第10期 [No. 10]，2012，329–344；Rawls, John. *The Law of People*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001；Taylor, Charles. *The Secular Age*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

④ Taylor, Charles. “Modes of Secularism.” In *Secularism and Its Critiques*, edited by Rajeev Bhargava, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 31–53.

⑤ Audard, Catherine. “Rawls and Habermas on the Place of Religion in the Political Domain.” In *Habermas and Rawls: Disputing the Political*, edited by James Gordon Finlayson and Fabian Freyenhagen, (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), 224–46. 另参见：哈贝马斯 Habeimasi [Habermas] 著、郁喆隽 Yu Zhejun 译、张庆熊 Zhang Qingxiong 校：“《在自然主义与宗教之间》（导论）Zai ziranzhuyi yu zongjiao zhijian daolun [An Introduction: Between Naturalism and Religion]”，载：张庆熊、林子淳 Zhang Qingxiong and Lin Zichun 编，《哈贝马斯的宗教观及其反思》*Habeimasi de zongjiao guan jiqi sansi* [The Religious Viewpoint of Habermas and its Reflection]，（上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People Press]，2011），2–7。

⑥ Habermas, Jürgen. *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*. (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1990[1962]).

⑦ 相关论文参见：Madsen, Richard. “The Public Sphere, Civil Society and Moral Community: A Research Agenda for Contemporary China Studies.” *Modern China* 2 (1993): 183–98；Rankin, Mary Backus. “Some Observations on a Chinese Public Sphere.” *Modern China* 2 (1993): 158–82；Rowe, William T. “The Problem of ‘Civil Society’ in Late Imperial China.” *Modern China* 2, (1993): 139–57；Wakeman, Frederic. “The Civil Society and Public Sphere Debate: Western Reflections on Chinese Political Culture.” *Modern China* 2 (1993): 108–38；Huang, Philip C. C. “‘Public Sphere’/‘Civil Society’ in China?: The Third Realm between State and Society.” *Modern China* 2 (1993): 216–40.

《历史研究》的讨论。^⑧ 这两次集中讨论均没有得出最终的结论,中外学者对于“公共领域”是否能用于中国语境始终表示莫衷一是。因此,本论题——当代中国公共领域中的宗教——从一开始就面临双重的困难。本文无意认为,“公共领域”概念可以不加反思地直接应用于中国语境。但其对立面——认为中国因为其特殊历史、文化乃至国情可以免于任何西方理论的分析——所蕴含的“中国例外论”(Chinese Exceptionalism)可能是更为不可取的。但本文也清醒的意识到,由于主导意识形态、宣传管控等实际因素,当下中国的公共领域依然是十分有限和脆弱的。同时,由于近几年来社交网络(social networking service, SNS)的崛起,发言门槛降低,信息发布和传播更为便捷。以往那些无法进入正式公共领域的信息,得以出现在网络平台上。虽然和传统的公共领域相比,网络的虚拟空间还因为匿名、无法辨识信息证伪等因素而常常被人诟病,但从信息内容和传播形式方面而言,不失为一种替代性的公共领域(alternative public sphere)或准公共领域(semi-public sphere)。

二、案例与分析

本研究将选取近年来的四个案例来对当代中国公共领域中发生的信仰-世界观冲突进行阐释。其中的一些案例最初出现在传统公共领域的载体之中(例如报刊杂志等平面媒体),然后在新媒体(例如网络论坛、微博)上得到传播与评论,并在短时间内形成一个关注度较高的议题。还有一些案例自始至终都是在新媒体平台中传播的。但本文认为,类似社交网络这样的新媒体已经成为当代人重要生活方式,虽然在受众文化程度、年龄等社会要素上与人群整体有所差异,但不容否认的是,这些案例中的讨论乃至论证最终将产生网络之外的实际社会影响。

由于本文所探讨的案例多具有争议性,为了避免个人信仰-世界观立场影响分析的中立性,本文将采取马克斯·韦伯“价值判断无涉”(Werturteilsfreiheit/value free)的立场。^⑨ 换言之,本文无意评价具体个案中每一方立场的优劣高下,即不进行价值判断,而着眼于分析其形成的社会背景、原因、各方的立场差异及其社会影响、功能。

1. 曲阜圣三一堂重建事件

2010年12月山东曲阜传出要建教堂的消息,距离孔庙仅3公里距离。该教堂计划高度为41.7米,超过了24.8米的孔庙。而设计容纳3000人被认为是暗喻孔子3000弟子的意思。不久之后,武汉大学国学院院长郭齐勇、北京大学哲学系教授张祥龙、山东大学哲学与社会发展学院教授颜炳罡、

^⑧ 相关论文参见:马敏 Ma Min:“商事裁判与商会——论晚清苏州商事纠纷的调处 Shangshi caipan yu shanghui - Lun wan Qing Suzhou shangshi jiufen de tiaochu [Commercial Judge and Commercial Association - On the dealing of commercial conflicts of Suzhou in the late Qing]”,刊:《历史研究》Lishi yanjiu [Historical Study], (第1期,1996), 30-43;王笛 Wang Di:“晚清长江上游地区公共领域的发展 Wan Qing Changjiang shangyou diwu gonggong lingyu de fazhan [The development of public field in the upper part of Changjiang River in the late Qing Dynasty]”,刊:《历史研究》Lishi yanjiu [Historical Study], (第1期,1996), 5-16;朱英 Zhu Ying:“关于晚清市民社会研究的思考 Fuanyu wan Qing shimin shehui yanjiu de sikao [A thinking about the research of civil society in the late Qing Dynasty]”,刊:《历史研究》Lishi yanjiu [Historical Study], (第4期,1996), 122-136。

^⑨ 德语中的“价值判断无涉”其实由三个词组成:价值(Wert)、判断(Urteil)和无涉(Freiheit)。该词一般被翻译为英语的Value free或value neutrality。但这些翻译均会引起一些误解:前者省略了“判断”。韦伯并不认为文化科学可能全然脱离价值,他非常注重所谓的“价值关联”(Wertbeziehung)问题;后一种翻译中的“中立”(neutrality)让人联想到国际政治中的中立概念。但是“无涉”是不进行价值判断的意思,并非一种“明哲保身”的人生哲学立场,也不是寻求妥协的态度。也有学者将价值判断无涉翻译为“价值阙如”。韦伯有关价值判断无涉的论述主要参见:韦伯 Weibo [Webber]:“社会学与经济学的‘价值阙如’的意义 Shehuixue yu jingjixue de 'jiazhi queru' de yiyi [The meaning of the absence of value in Sociology and Economics]”,载:《社会科学方法论》Shehui kexue fangfa lun [Methodology of Social Sciences],(北京 Beijing:中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China],1999),111-49;以及《学术与政治》Xueshu yu zhengzhi [Academy and Politics]一书。

首都师范大学儒教研究中心主任陈明等 10 位知名学者联名签署的反对信,并认为建该教堂伤害了儒家文化信众的情感,建议停建该教堂。有意思的是,在 2010 年 9 月召开的首届尼山论坛上,以“和而不同与和谐世界”为主题,展开儒家文明与基督教文明的对话。^⑩

本文认为,曲阜圣三一教堂重建事件反映出了当代中国公共领域中文化传统主义者(cultural traditionalist)与基督徒群体之间的张力。一方面,近年以来有一些知识分子认识到,五四运动以来对传统过于激进的批判导致了当下国民的“精神断根”状况,由此提出要回到传统中去寻找资源来克服当下的精神危机以及道德沦丧等社会问题。在这一背景中,出现了汉服和读经等运动。另一方面,民众产生了一种印象,即基督教(尤其是新教的家庭教会)在中国城市和农村快速发展。虽然中国基督教的绝大多数信徒和神职人员都是中国国民,但由于在近代历史叙述中,传教士和殖民主义、不平等条约之间存在千丝万缕的“联系”,加之基督教的神哲学体系并未完成本土化,广大民众乃至知识分子仍然倾向于给基督教贴上“洋教”的标签。文化传统主义者担心,随着基督教的快速“扩张”,中国将被洋教所“占领”,中国本土文化将面临危机。似乎佛、道教徒和当代儒家知识分子构成了一种“想象的联盟”,将基督教作为“假想敌”,来抵抗后者的传播。可以说,曲阜教堂事件其实折射出的是当代中国人深刻的文化身份危机。其实体现了文化传统主义者在焦虑中,不得不采取以攻为守的姿态。同时,文化传统主义者也面临自身的困难。五四运动以后的愈来愈激进化的反传统主义,加深了传统和现代之间的断裂,使得他们所希望的“文化复兴”更为困难。传统智慧如果不进行创造性的转化,也无法解决当代人生存境遇中的难题。

2. 王菲方舟子之争

2011 年大年初三(2 月 6 日),网友“我执难破”发表微博,感叹一尊木质佛像在大火中完好无损。著名歌星王菲随即转发,并称“无以言表,不可思议,顶礼便知佛尊。”该评论被网友“我是有才哥”转给了方舟子,并问方有何看法,方舟子立即发表评论:“还有无数尊葬身火海的佛像你也别忘了顶礼。谁要觉得这尊佛像不可思议的,拿来点把火试试?”王菲随即响应,质问方舟子:“你想试什么?能不能点着么?”方舟子再次“回击”,表示要用“实验检验传奇”。之后王菲再写了一条微博请方舟子“不要科学地不讲理”。^⑪ 双方“粉丝”随后出现了站队并进行相互言辞攻击,很快演变成了一场鸡同鸭讲的“口水仗”。

本文认为,王菲和方舟子的上述论争具有如下的典型意义——这是当代中国公共领域中宗教信仰和唯科学主义(scientism)者的首次公开对立。王菲作为虔诚的佛教徒是前者的代表;而方舟子因其教育背景和一贯进行学术打假的身份,而是后者的代表。由于近现代思想史上对传统世界观和宗教信仰过于激进的批判,科学技术(以及进步发展)成为了一种替代性的价值,乃至成为了某种形式的“准宗教”。对于唯科学主义者来说,科学自身是具有价值的,是神圣的,是解决一切问题的资源。按照约翰·罗尔斯的定义,这已经成为了某种“综合学说”(comprehensive doctrine)。而作为典型“综合学说”的宗教信仰,一定会对人生、世界、宇宙提出一套整全的解释、意义说明乃至行为指导。而唯科学主义与宗教天然是无法融贯的。在西欧和北美社会中,类似的论争通常表现为关乎公民权利的公共议题,例如堕胎、胚胎干细胞研究、安乐死等。而在当下中国社会中,宗教信仰本身在唯科学主义面前,还需要对其合理性和合法性进行辩护,因此尚无法展开有效的、针对公共议题的讨论。

^⑩ 凤凰网 Fenghuang wang [Website of Phoenix]:“孔子故里曲阜将建 41.7 米高大教堂 距孔庙仅 3 公里”。<http://news.ifeng.com/mainland/detail_2010_12/23/3664158_0.shtml>, 登录日期 2013 年 5 月 28 日。另参见:南风窗 Nanfengchuan [Window of South Wind]:“曲阜基督教堂风波”。<<http://www.nfemag.com/article/2612.html>>, 登录日期 2013 年 5 月 28 日。

^⑪ 新浪网 Xinlang wang [Website of sina]:“方舟子王菲微博‘起火’火缘起‘一尊佛像’”。<<http://ent.sina.com.cn/s/m/2011-02-08/09003225119.shtml>>, 登录日期 2013 年 5 月 27 日。

因此一旦涉及信仰立场的问题,我们看到的更多的是好斗的无神论者(militant atheist)对宗教信仰徒发出的挑战。

3. 吕丽萍孙海英“非同”言论

2011年6月,基督徒女演员吕丽萍在微博公开表示,同性恋行为是“可耻、罪人”等言论。随机引发了不少人的批评。甚至在7月4日中央电视台评论员邱启明在新闻节目中也对此发表评论,呼吁社会名人应当反思并抛弃对“特殊群体”的歧视,尊重每个群体的自我选择。^⑫不久之后,2011年8月14日,吕丽萍的丈夫孙海英在接受“第二届东方情感文化论坛”的访问时,公开表示:“什么叫同性恋啊,什么叫双性恋啊?这都不是道德堕落、败坏可以形容的,简直是犯罪!这都是违背人性的,都是犯罪!这没有什么好谈的,我决不能认同。中国人谨慎了一辈子,这个问题上倒前所未有的开明起来,说什么要理解,要容许。不行,我坚决不同意!”^⑬其实从2007年到11年,吕丽萍、孙海英夫妇多次在微博上声称同性恋是犯罪,遭到性别问题研究者李银河的反驳。早已公开同性恋身份的台湾艺人蔡康永在微博上发表声明,对吕、孙夫妇的“恐同”言论进行了反驳和批评。^⑭而2011年9月,在北京举行的某场新片发布后,当吕丽萍、孙海英走出会场时,遭到一群的男子举牌抗议抵制。^⑮

本文认为,这个案例体现了宗教信仰徒与(非宗教)社会边缘人群之间的冲突。宗教(尤其是基督教)具有自身严格的伦理规范和生活方式要求,并对社会之整体具有批判性。但本案例中所涉及的同性恋群体,是一个不容忽视的群体(据估计在人口的3-5%)。同性恋也是一种无法回避社会现实。吕丽萍和孙海英夫妇对同性恋群体的道德批判所造成的结果是,后者首次以群体的形象在公共领域中登场,并表达了维护自身生活方式和选择的诉求。以吕丽萍和孙海英为代表的基督徒而言,同性恋是信仰和伦理上的“他者”。通过他者可以来界定自我群体的边界,重塑内在的道德规范,并占领道德所制高点。我们可以看到,其实基督徒群体和同性恋群体在过去的几十年中,相对于中国社会之主流,遭受了非常类似的命运——即边缘化和污名化。基督徒群体相对对于中国社会中的非宗教徒、无神论者和其他宗教信仰徒而言,亦是文化和伦理上的“他者”。所以可以说双方作为“他者”的过程中,均没有学会如何与“他者”共处。换言之,在确立自我边界的过程中,宽容、理解等一些本来也包含在基督教精神中的价值,被边缘化了。

4. “法海你不懂爱”风波

2012年底,在湖南卫视跨年晚会上,歌手龚琳娜演唱了一首《法海你不懂爱》被网友称为“神曲”,并引发了广泛关注和评论。在这首歌曲中有这样的歌词:“法海你不懂爱,雷峰塔会掉下来……”但在佛教界看来,该曲中的“法海”是佛教禅宗历史上的著名人物法海禅师。明贤法师随即在其个人博客发表“一位僧人眼中的《法海你不懂爱》”署名文章,希望龚琳娜能够向佛教界道歉,并撤销所有调侃佛教领袖法海禅师的相关资料。^⑯有学者认为,这首歌“戏谑佛教跌破娱乐‘道义’底

^⑫ 网易 Yiwang [website of 126]:“央视批吕丽萍‘反同’言论:同性恋者权利不容侵犯”。<<http://ent.163.com/11/0705/09/786JE5KA00031H2L.html>>,登录日期2013年5月27日。

^⑬ 搜狐 Souhu wang [website of sohu]:“孙海英炮轰同性恋:‘这都是犯罪’”。<<http://cul.sohu.com/20070810/n251527749.shtml>>,登录日期2013年5月27日。

^⑭ 网易 Yiwang [website of 126]:“孙海英吕丽萍夫妇的‘恐同’结果”。<<http://ent.163.com/11/0705/20/787NTG4V00034KRR.html>>,登录日期2013年5月27日。

^⑮ 新华网 Xinhua wang [website of xinhuanet]:“吕丽萍孙海英被举牌抗议疑‘反同性恋’遭报复”。<http://news.xinhuanet.com/ent/2011-09/20/e_122057954.htm>,登录日期2013年5月27日。

^⑯ 参见:凤凰网 Fenghuang wang [website of phoenix]:“明贤法师:一位僧人眼中的《法海你不懂爱》”。<http://fo.ifeng.com/news/detail_2013_01/18/21337922_1.shtml>,登录日期2013年5月28日。

线”。^{①⑦} 北大国学社也对此发表评论,提出“娱乐至死就是世界尽头”的说法。^{①⑧} 媒体随后也展开了有关娱乐底线的讨论。

本文认为这一案例的典型性在于,这是一次宗教信徒、宗教界与非宗教信徒之间的“认知差异”。这种“认知差异”以如下的方式表现出来:对佛教信徒和佛教界而言,法海是历史上德高望重的法师,在中国佛教历史中具有重要的意义和价值——这是一种典型的佛教信仰“局内人”(Insider)的理解;而对非佛教信徒而言,法海的意义是不同的。他们更多地受到通俗文化和民间文学的影响,例如《白蛇传》和《白娘子创奇》之类的通俗文学和影视作品——这是一种典型的佛教“局外人”(Outsider)的理解。他们并不认为,“法海”是佛教专属的人物,甚至也不认为佛教界对“法海”形象具有排他的阐释资格。甚至绝大多数有关这一事件的报道出现在传统媒体的娱乐板块中。可以说,局内人和局外人的认知之间有一道鸿沟。龚琳娜虽然在一段时间之后以委婉的方式表达了对佛教信徒的尊重,但《法海你不懂爱》这首歌曲更多地成为了佛教信徒抓住的一条“红鲱鱼”(red herring)。从语用效果来看,在宗教界缺乏固有发言渠道的前提下,佛教界的这次集体讨伐,也达到了发声和正名的效果。他们所实际反对的并非龚琳娜或《法海你不懂爱》这首歌曲,而是佛教自身在商业社会中的庸俗化和商品化。

三、思考和结论

上述的案例为我们标界出在当代中国公共领域中的大致状况。当然,还有引起更大关注的事件和案例由于众所周知的原因而无法在此进行讨论。但这些言说和未言说的事件都构成了本文思考的问题意识和现实背景。

改革开放三十年以来,中国官方和国民的思想状况都呈现出逐渐多元和多样化的趋势。这种一种趋势是伴随着经济改革和激烈的社会变革而产生的。一方面,对于国家和执政党而言,原有的集体主义意识形态,在剧烈变化的生存环境面前受到了越来越的挑战。即便始终存在自上而下地来维护或建构一套支配性思想体系的努力,但毫无疑问的是,原本齐一的意识形态已经被打破。虽然目前官方意识形态在形式上依然占据了支配性的地位,但也不得不面对其它众多的思想;另一方面,个体在市场化进程中,自愿或不自愿地脱离了原有国家体制的庇护。前改革开放时代的世界观、人生观和价值观无法再被个人拿来应对当下的处境。社会分层(social stratification)的复杂化,要想用单一思想来适用所有人群,似乎越来越困难。换言之,每个个人都要重新寻找自己安身立命的根本。这种精神上的重新定位或者适应的特征是个体化——即个体主要按照其喜好来选择新的精神资源有人回到传统文化中去,有人接受拜金主义,也有人则进入宗教(基督教或佛教)来获得资源,以应对新的人生境遇。从社会学角度来看,改革开放三十年中国经历了明显的意识形态分化(differentiation)和个体化(individualization)过程。这两个过程为公共领域的形成、扩大创造了框架条件,也成为近几年来宗教复兴(religious revival)的前提。

上述过程的结果与马克斯·韦伯所说的“诸神之争”(Kampf der Götter/struggle of gods)状态非常契合。通常认为,韦伯在谈及宗教与现代化的关系时,强调的是“世界的祛魅”(Entzauberung der Welt/disenchantment of the world)——即世界中巫术和神秘的力量被驱除,一切在原则上都变得是可

^{①⑦} 凤凰网 Fenghuang wang [website of Phoenix]:“金易明:龚琳娜戏谑佛教跌破娱乐‘道义’底线”。<http://fo.ifeng.com/news/detail_2013_02/01/21843405_0.shtml>, 登录日期 2013 年 5 月 28 日。

^{①⑧} 中国民族宗教网 Zhongguo minzu zongjiao wang:“北大国学社:娱乐至死就是世界尽头——评龚琳娜《法海你不懂爱》”。<<http://www.mzb.com.cn/html/Home/report/376660-1.htm>>, 登录日期 2013 年 5 月 28 日。

理解和可支配的。按照这种较强的解读,传统的世界观(尤其是宗教)将无可奈何地衰落。这也成为了二十世纪世俗化(secularization)理论的主要来源之一。但人们往往忽略了韦伯在另一方面的论述。沿着这些论述可以开启一种对韦伯较弱的解读方式:

一事物,非但其为不美、不神圣、不善,皆不碍于其为真,并且正是因为其为不美、不神圣、不善,所以才为真;这实在是一项日常的智能。各个领域、各种价值的主宰神互相争斗。^{①9}

这就是所谓的“诸神之争”。而对每个人而言,他“必须自己决定,对他来说,哪一个上帝,哪一个是魔鬼。”^{②0}在此意义上,宗教并不会在现代化进程中衰落,而是成为诸多相互竞争、争斗的世界观、价值观中的一方。原本处于支配地位的宗教传统(例如欧洲的基督教)将逐渐失去其核心位置,众多其他世界观(例如无神论、不可知论、虚无主义或唯物主义等)的挑战。而另一个必然结果是价值无政府主义,即任何一种信仰、世界观仅仅是诸多信仰和世界观中的一种。任何单方面地将一种信仰强加于另一种信仰之上的做法,都会被认为是缺乏合法性的“越界”。换言之,在诸种信仰之上并没有一套终极的信仰可以来裁断其他信仰。信仰的世界是碎片化的。

如果从这个视角来反观当代中国公共领域中的宗教,就会发现一些交错、矛盾的特征:首先,和西方宗教出现“信仰但不归属”(believing without belonging)现象形成强烈反差的是,^{②1}当代中国的宗教信徒特别突出归属感。个人的宗教归属感(religious belonging)可能是帮助孤立个人重新定义自身身份、寻找认同感的重要资源。但另一方面,在几乎所有宗教均迅速恢复、发展的过程中,信仰团体的阵营化也日趋明显。在本文所列举的案例中,阵营化体现在与其他信仰群体的论争和冲突中。

其次,由于在中国的国民教育体系中,存在一个明显的缺位——即有关宗教的任何知识性介绍几乎是不存在的。除了极少数大学有宗教学教育之外,一个成年公民几乎没有从其学校教育中接受有关各大世界宗教基本常识(教义、历史、人物等)的机会。这与个人亟须精神资源的状况形成了很大的张力。其结果是一种恶性循环:非宗教信徒对宗教一无所知;一种宗教信徒对其他宗教一无所知;宗教信徒与非宗教信徒之间认知鸿沟十分明显,且有日益扩大的趋势。

再者,在西方的公共领域中,宗教往往能够成为辩论公共议题(例如环保、慈善问题)的主要思想资源。但在中国语境中,宗教信仰还没有为讨论公共议题提供建设性的思想资源,反而宗教信仰和特定的宗教事件本身成为议题。如果每种宗教都坚持自身立场而排斥其他宗教的立场,那么就会陷入一种无法或无效对话的境地。

如果要贯彻韦伯的价值判断无涉原则,本文应当就此打住,但现实的窘迫让人不得不产生如下的期望:即各宗教群体走出信仰的自我中心,借用交往伦理和话语伦理学的资源,来达成某种共识,或至少适应于多元文化条件的共存。

^{①9} 马克斯·韦伯 Maksi Weibo (Max Webber) 著:《韦伯作品集 I:学术与政治》Weibo zuopin ji I: Xueshu yu zhengzhi [Collection of Webber I: Academy and politics], (桂林 Guilin: 广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe [Guangxi Normal University Press], 2004), 179.

^{②0} 同上 *Ibid*, 180。

^{②1} 该表述来源于 Davie, Grace. *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging*. (Oxford & New York: Blackwell, 1994). 指信众越来越不愿意参与教会活动,但仍然持有某种宗教信仰并认为宗教在其个人生活中起到了至关重要的作用。

English Title:

Struggle of Gods:of Faith in Public Sphere of Contemporary China

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Abstract: The privatization thesis of secularization theory has been challenged since last decades. Religion in public sphere is becoming contentious all over the world. Through the theoretical perspective of Max Weber's "struggle of gods", this paper tries to analyze four controversial cases in the past three years, which include disputes among cultural traditionalists, Buddhists, Christian and non-believers, to reveal the of faith in contemporary China. On that basis, its cultural background, mechanism, pattern and social consequences will be discussed.

Key terms: struggle of gods, of faith, religion in public sphere, secularization, multiculturalism

比较宗教文化研究
**Comparative Religious
and Cultural Studies**

“儒耶会通”初论

——关于“人性”的“罪”与“善”之釐清与融通

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提要:“性善”一般用来指的是儒家孔孟一系的人性论,而“原罪”则用来指基督宗教对于人性的看法。关联著“性善”说,其“天人”、“物我”、“人已”的关系乃是一“连续”的关系,而不是“断裂”的关系。关联著“原罪”说,其“天人”、“物我”、“人已”的关系乃是一“断裂”的关系,而不是“连续”的关系。关联著“连续观”,是经由一“气的感通”而关联成一个整体。“气的感通”所强调的是主体的互动,而不是主体的对象化。关联著“断裂观”,是经由一“言说的论定”而分裂成主、客两端,这是经由一主体的对象化活动而开启的主客对立格局。“原罪”经由“言说的论定”,由“本无一物”转而“如有一物”,再落而为“果有此物”,既“果有此物”便非得“救赎”不可。“性善”经由“气的感通”,由“本之在天”转而“本之在人”,再落而为“本之在心”,既“本之在心”,便即心言性,因而说其为“性善”。解消“原罪”之“果有此物”,知其“如有一物”,进而溯源,体悟其“本无一物”。因其本无一物,故可以解消言说之论定,而与其他宗教融合之可能。正视“本之在心”的“性善”之论,知其“本之在人”,进而溯源,识其“本之在天”。经由主体能动性超越总体性的对比,而走出气的感通之浑沦,再济之以言说之论定,而有一与基督宗教相对比、相融合之可能。基督宗教之“原罪说”当得回本,而儒家之“性善说”当该贯末,两者或可有融通之可能。

关键词:神、人、存有、连续、断裂、气的感通、救赎、本末

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1 “性善”一般用来指的是儒家孔孟一系的人性论,而“原罪”则用来指基督宗教对于人性的看法。

1.1 “性善”不是天生本质之为善,不是就本质论上去了解人性而说其为善,不是将人性定义为“善”。

[诠释]此所强调重在其非本质论式的思考,而是回到人之为人之存在本身,如其本真之端,本真之始而说的。如孟子所谓的“怵惕侧隐”之为善。^① 这亦不是理论之设定,而是存在之当下呈现。^②

1.2 “性善”指的是人之为人,就其生命的根源处,而说其为“善”,此“善”乃是就一生命之定

^① 请参见《孟子·公孙丑》*Mengzi Gongsun Chou* [Mencius Gongsun Chou] 上,孟子曰:“……今人乍见孺子将入於井,皆有怵惕侧隐之心;非所以内交於孺子之父母也,非所以要誉於乡党朋友也,非恶其声而然也。”清·阮元 *Ruan Yuan* 校刊 1956,《十叁经注疏》*Shisanjing zhushu* [Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics],(台湾艺文出版社印行 Taiwan yiwen chubanshe)。

^② 当代新儒家於此有一极具争议之公案,民初冯友兰与熊十力对孟子之性善各有所论,前者以为是预设,後者则以为是呈现。此可参见牟宗叁 *Mou Zongsan*《五十自述》*Wushi zishu* [Readme at age of 50],(台北 Taipei:鹅湖 Ehu,1989), 页 88。

向上而说。

[诠释]入於生命根源,故可上溯至存在源头之律动说,如《易传》所说“一阴一阳之谓道,继之者善,成之者性”。顺此“存有之道”的律动,能“继之”而为“善”也。这强调人的参赞化育而为善,王夫之即顺此说“道大而善小,善大而善小”,言之颇深刻。^③如孟子之言其为定向也,彼说“人性之善,如水之就下”,信然。^④

1.3 “原罪”则在基督宗教的发展史上,由一深切的负面的对人性的刻划,转为本质性的定罪。

[诠释]就基督神学来说,“任何违背、违抗神律法或旨意的思想、行为、言语或状态。”(《提多书》二 14)便是“罪”。在《罗马书》里保罗更强调“罪是人内在的一个律;罪不单是一种行为,罪也是住在人里面的一个律”。保罗也提过他自己与罪的律挣扎(《罗马书》七 14、17 至 25);所有人都有罪性(《加拉太书》叁 22)。而这罪之被解释为“原罪”主要起因於《创世纪》之人类始祖亚当、夏娃违背上帝旨意,吃了智慧之果所致。

1.4 “定罪”并不是“原罪”,换言之,今所谓的“原罪”是经由一“定罪”的历程而成的,并不是一存在的实然,而是一言说的定然。

[诠释]即若亚当、夏娃是人类始祖,但也不是生而有罪,而是违悖上帝旨意才有罪,在未食智慧之果前是无罪的。即若犯了罪也是可悔改的,至其不能悔改,只能取决於上帝之预定,而说其为可悔改,此便是一奇诡之辩证历程。此其实是人类文明与人意志自由辩证之所产,此即我所说乃“言之定然”,而非“存在之实然”。

1.5 关联著“性善”说,强调的是回到生命源头处,由此源头处发出一根源性的动力,即能有所成就其原本可能成就的理想人格。

[诠释]此根源性之动力实如《易经》蒙卦所说“山下出泉,君子以果行育德”,亦如孟子所说“源泉混混,不舍昼夜,盈科而後进,放乎四海,有本者如是”,“可欲之谓善。有诸己之谓信。充实之谓美。充实而有光辉之谓大。大而化之之谓圣。圣而不可知之之谓神”。^⑤此是自性之善的生长与完成。天人不二,本可合德也,肉身可以成道也。

1.6 关联著“原罪”说,强调的是超越的救赎,由一超越的人格神经由一道成肉身的耶稣而来的救赎,由此救赎才能免於永劫之地。

[诠释]未始之前,原本无罪;违悖诫命,犯之成罪。罪原可宥,^⑥其罪既定,定之难解,唯繫於救赎。此救赎来自於超越界,来自於那唯一的超越人格神之经由道成肉身之耶稣基督,方可完成。此是神人隔限之格局,与天人合德者,大相迳庭。

^③ 请参见船山 Wang Chuanshan 《周易外传》 *Zhouyi waizhuan* [External Commentary on Zhouyi], 卷五“道大而善小,善大而性小,道生善,善生性。道无时不有,无动无静之不然,无可否之不任。受善则天人之际,有其时矣!善具其体而非能用之,抑具其用而无以为体,万彙各有其善而不相为知,而亦不相为一性则敛於一物之中,有其量矣!」。拙於此有论,请参见林安梧 Lin Anwu 《王船山人性史哲学之研究》 *Wang Chuanshan renxing shi zhexue zhi yanjiu* [A Study on the History of Human nature of Wang Chuanshan], (台北 Taipei: 东大图书 Dongda tushuguan, 1987), 页 59-60。

^④ 见《孟子·告子》 *Mengzi Gao Zi* [Mencius Gao Zi] 上,告子 Gao Zi 曰:“性,犹湍水也,决诸东方则东流,决诸西方则西流。人性之无分於善不善也,犹水之无分於东西也。”孟子 Meng Zi 曰:“水信无分於东西,无分於上下乎?人性之善也,犹水之就下也。人无有不善,水无有不下。今夫水搏而跃之,可使过颡,激而行之,可在山,是岂水之性哉?其势则然也。人之可使为不善,其性亦犹是也。”水之向东、向西,可东可西,甚至搏而跃之,可使过颡,激而行之,可在山,但这都不是水的性子。水的性子,是它有一定向,孟子以此说人之性亦有定向。

^⑤ 此所引言,前见《易经》〈蒙卦〉[大象传] *Yijing Menggua Daxiangzhuan*, 後见《孟子》〈离娄〉下、〈尽心〉下 *Mengzi Lilou xia, Jinxin xia*。

^⑥ 如伊斯兰教之系统即以为罪为可宥,该教认为人类的始祖阿丹(亚当)和好娃(夏娃)违背阿拉的旨意食用禁果并不是“罪”(只是犯错误),他们向安拉悔过後,安拉已经原谅了他们。

2 关联著“性善”说,其“天人”、“物我”、“人己”的关系乃是一“连续”的关系,而不是“断裂”的关系。

2.1 连续的关系,所以关联成一个整体,不在此世界之上另立一彼岸,或者说若以“此岸”与“彼岸”对举的来说是不恰当的。在语言上若仍以“此岸”与“彼岸”对举,则此亦不能相违。

[诠释]如实说,此岸与彼岸通而为一,不分彼此也。既不分彼此,则生死幽明,通而为一。孔子有言“未知生,焉知死”这并不是说只论生,不论死,而是说应由“生”去了解“死”。所谓“生,事之以礼,死,葬之以礼,祭之以礼”也。应由此岸去了解彼岸也。或说此岸与彼岸之区别,只在一念之“觉”与“不觉”而已。

2.2 因为此岸与彼岸之关系如此,所以“超越”与“内在”这两组辞亦不是对举而相悖的,而是相容为一个整体的。因此,或有诠释“性善”乃是既“超越”而“内在”的。

[诠释]就其超越处说为“天理”,就其内在处说为“良知”(或“本心”),一般华人将此两者和合为一,谓之“天良”。或亦可说依华人哲学传统之大流,主张“天人合德”,天道论与心性论本通而为一。此非先有天道论在落实而为心性论,亦非以心性论论证天道论也。关于此,拙有专文〈关于“天理、良知”的超越性与内在性问题的一个反省〉论及于此,可参看。^⑦

2.3 实则,既超越而内在,并非由超越降而为内在,而是以“内在之根源”而收摄“外在之超越”。今人又有“内在超越”与“外在超越”对举的说,皆当本于此,然所用辞语不善巧,易流失滑转也。

[诠释]此所以说以“内在之根源”而收摄“外在之超越”,此大体顺当代新儒家之思路说,此一九九五年时之思路也。若今,则更而主张此两者为“交藏而互发”,是一互为主体际之相生相涵。^⑧虽互为主体际之相生相涵,然毕竟人为参赞之主体,故说其为收摄亦无不可,以王夫之哲学视之为近,盖“两端而一致”也。^⑨

2.4 “性善”说所成之儒教,亦是一宗教,唯此宗教不是一具有超越人格神的宗教,而是一强调内在根源而成就其终极关怀的宗教。

[诠释]吾以为宗教不可只限于一神论为中心之思考,应做一宽广之解释,我以为狄利希(Paul Tillich)终极关怀(ultimate concern)之说,最为可取。^⑩又关于此,我于第一届全国儒教学术研讨会上曾有一发言,主要申明就教义、教主、教团、教规,儒教之可为一宗教是一发散型之宗教,而非一收

^⑦ 请见林安梧 Lin Anwu 〈关于“天理、良知”的超越性与内在性问题的一个反省〉Guanyu tianli, liangzhi de chaoyuexing yu neizaixing wenti de yige fanxing [A Reflection on the Transcendence and Internality of Heavenly Principle and Conscience],收入於香港浸会大学哲学系 Xianggang Jinhui daxue zhexuexi [Department of Philosophy, Baptist University of Hong Kong] 编《当代儒学与精神性》Dangdai ruxue yu jingshenxing [Contemporary Confucianism and Spirituality], (中国桂林 Guilin: 广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe [Guangxi Normal University Press] 印行,2009年4月),页134-147。

^⑧ 船山论及“藏互宅而各有其宅,用交发而各派以发”之论,请参见《尚书引义》Shangshu yinyi 卷一 vol 1 <大禹谟> Dayumo, (台北 Taipei: 河洛图书公司 Heluo tushu gongsi, 1975), 页22。

^⑨ 船山有关“两端而一致”之说,请参见曾昭旭 Zeng Zhaoxu 〈王船山两端一致衍论〉Wang Chuanshan liangduan yizhi yanlun 《鹅湖》Ehu 21 卷第1期,1995年7月,页133-139。又请参见林安梧 Lin Anwu 《王船山人性史哲学之研究》Wang Chuanshan renxingshi zhexue zhi yanjiu, 页111。

^⑩ 请参见林安梧 Lin Anwu 《中国宗教与意义治疗》Zhongguo zongjiao yu yiyi zhiliao [Chinese religions and meaning treatment], 第一、第二两章,(台湾 Taiwan: 明文书局 Mingwen shuju, 2001年)。

敛型之宗教。^⑩

2.5 这样所成的宗教强调的是内在的、自力的成就,而不是超越的、外力的救赎。

[诠释]儒教之为“内在而自力”,基督宗教之为“超越而外在”,此是就其大要之分判,并无高下之别。既为宗教,落於人间,不免各是其所是,非其所非;然“恢诡譎怪,道通为一”,实亦可各有其所擅长者,不必相非议也。儒教之“内在而自力”其所缺者,正基督宗教之“超越而外在”也。基督宗教之“超越而外在”其所缺者,正乃儒教之“内在而自力”也。

3 关联著“原罪”说,其“天人”、“物我”、“人己”的关系乃是一“断裂”的关系,而不是“连续”的关系。

3.1 断裂的关系,所以分裂成两个部分,於是就在此世界之上另立一彼岸,“此岸”与“彼岸”是对列而分的。

[诠释]此所说之彼岸、此岸,与佛教之说不同。佛教之彼岸、此岸,其所关联的是业力因果轮回,此有一时间之循环概念。基督宗教所关联者是一原罪之救赎,此有一线性的时间概念。其所关注者在罪之赦免与否,以是而有永生与永死之问题。儒教则通此岸与彼岸而为一,从人伦定位去处置生生世世之问题,其时间观亦是一循环往复之概念。儒教原是一家庭宗族之连续观,此与佛教之业力业力循环观虽有不同,然较易融通。其於人间伦理,耶为“罪感文化”,佛为“业感文化”,儒为“耻感文化”,此或可相提并论。^⑪

3.2 因为此岸与彼岸是对列而分的,因此“超越”与“内在”这两组辞是对举而相悖的,超越必然指向外在,此与内在当然是相悖的,是不相容的。

[诠释]美国学者安乐哲(Roger Ames)即有此论,他以为当代新儒学讲既超越而内在,是圆凿方枘。^⑫ 其实,这是中西宗教文明总体类型之差异,其批评属各是其是,各非所非,并不中理。但若置於西方观点来说,此论点是自然、当然、果然的,无庸置议。於此,我们看到任何诠释都离不开其历史性,离不开其诠释的视域,各有限制。其实,正因承认有此限制,凡可以解开此限制也。

3.3 就其“超越”而言,则指的是上帝,而就其“内在”而言,则指的是“人”。上帝是一无限者、圆满者、绝对者,而人则是一有限者、缺漏者、相对者。

[诠释]此之所谓“上帝”专就基督宗教之 God 而言,非中文原先於诗经、书经所说之上帝也。中文原先之脉络所说“小心翼翼,以昭事上帝”,此与基督宗教之虔敬上帝虽颇不同,然亦有其可再探讨者。至大之异同在於,东土华夏是一“天人合德”之传统,西方则是一“神人分隔”之传统。东土华夏强调人虽有限而可以无限也,基督宗教则断然强调人之为有限也。甚至,强调此有限之人,截

^⑩ 请参见林安梧 Lin Anwu,“關於‘儒教’、‘儒家’与‘儒学’的基本义涵之厘清——在第一届全国儒教学术研讨会上的主题发言 Guanyu rujiao, rujia yu ruxue de jiben yihan zhi liqing-zai Diyijie quanguo rujiao xueshu yantaohui shang de zhuti fayan”,收於陈明编《激辩儒教》Jibian rujiao [Hard Dispute on Confucianist Religion],(贵州人民出版社 Guizhou renmin chubanshe 印行,2010)。又關於此次论议之报导,首先由陈占彪 Chen Zhanbiao 主笔,刊於《社会科学报》Shehui kexuebao 2005 年 2 月 23 日,第 1,4 版;上海 Shanghai。

^⑪ 關於此,请参见林安梧 Lin Anwu,“儒学与中国传统社会之哲学省察 Ruxue yu Zhongguo chuantong shehui zhi zhixue xingcha” [A Philosophical Reflection on Confucianism and Chinese Traditional Society],(上海 Shanghai: 学林出版社 Xuelin chubanshe,1998 年),页 71。又关联著此参者的异同,“耻感”强调的是反躬自省,“罪感”强调的是上帝救赎,而“业感”强调的是解脱轮回。又“耻感的文化”之论法,请参见朱岑楼 Zhu Cenglou,“从社会、个人与文化的关系论中国人性格的耻感取向 Cong shehui, geren yu wenhua de guanxi lun zhongguoren xingge de chiru quxiang”,收入李亦园 Li Yiyuan、杨国枢 Yang Guoshu 编《中国人的性格》Zhongguo ren de xingge [Chinese People's Personalities],(台北 Taipei, 中央研究院民族学研究所 Zhongyuan yanjiuyuan minzuxue yanjiusuo,1972 年)。

^⑫ Ames, Roger T, 安乐哲 An Lezhe,“孔子思想中宗教观的特色:天人合一 Kong Zi sixiang zhong zongjiaoguan de tese: Tianren heyi” [The Charactersitics od COnfucian Religious Viewpoint: The Union between Heaven and Human Beings],(台北 Taipei: 鹅湖 Ehu; 第九卷第十二期(总号:108,1984 年 06 月发行), 页 42-48。

然不可与於上帝也。其与於上帝为上帝之所预定也。^⑭

3.4 “原罪”说所成之宗教强调的是一具有超越人格神的宗教，而不是一强调内在在根源而成就其终极关怀的宗教，原罪经由那超越的人格神所派遣而来的独生子，以其宝血来清洗。

3.5 这样所成的宗教强调的是超越的、外力的救赎，而不是内在的、自力的成就。

[诠释]在伊甸园，未食智慧之果前，人本无罪。人违反上帝之意旨，食了智慧之果，因而犯罪。犯罪而被定罪。如此，由无罪、犯罪，而定罪，定之既久，说此犯罪之原，成了本质之原。人因之而无能力解决此罪，是谓原罪。因之而须有一道成肉身者，耶稣基督，以其宝血，为人类救赎此罪。若人於根源，以其救恩处，以其光照处，以其恩宠处，则亦可以跨出“原罪—救赎”之格局来思考问题。此亦可以如其为一内在根源，而成就一终极关怀之宗教也。

4 关联著“连续观”，是经由一“气的感通”而关联成一个整体。“气的感通”所强调的是主体的互动，而不是主体的对象化。

4.1 强调“主体的互动”，故其基本的存在模式乃是一“我与你”(I and Thou)的方式，而不是一“我与它”(I and it)的方式。

[诠释]此借西哲马丁·布伯(Martin Buber)之《我与你》(I and Thou)一书之言以为论也。“我与你”是两个位格之主体互动，然於东土，此特别强调的是“气的感通”下之主体互动，亦可以关联著“一体之仁”来理解。阳明《大学问》所论^⑮及程明道《识仁篇》^⑯所述皆可与於此也，皆乃主体之互动，非主体之对象化也。

4.2 因其气的感通而关联成一个整体，故人之为一主体亦是涵摄於此整体之中的主体，主体并未经由主体对象化的过程，从整体擘分出来。

[诠释]人之为主体，其与整体之关系，如熊十力所说体用之关系，即用而言，体在用，即体而言，用在体，体用一如。亦如众沓之与大海水也，众沓即是大海水，大海水即是重沓也。^⑰整体之极者，道也。道者，天地万物人我通而为一以为道也。人之与於此道，而道亦生之，人以德蓄之，如此而为人也。人是居於天地之间，成就其为叁才的主体能动性之存在，然此主体能动性实不能外於此天地也。此是一天地人叁才之传统，不同於西方近现代之人文主义，之以人之理智为中心之思考也。^⑱

4.3 换言之，如此之主体只是知识作用上所暂立之主体，而不是一存在上恒立之主体。或者直说主体乃是一作用或功能，而不是实体。

[诠释]东土华夏传统并不从 to be, 去讲 Being, 而是从生生不息, 去讲存在, 特别讲的“存”“在”, 都强调人之参与於天地之间而为存在也, 都从物之生生处去说存在也。^⑲ 说存在就由人之及

^⑭ 请参看林安梧 Lin Anwu 译, “神学中的决定论: 预定论 Shenxue zhong de jue ding lun: Yuding lun”, 文刊於《鹅湖》Ehu 第十叁卷第六期(总号 150), (台北 Taipei, 1987 年 12 月), 页 34-41。此文乃早岁承乏担任观念史大辞典之翻译所作者。

^⑮ 关于阳明一体之仁, 请参见林安梧 Lin Anwu, “王阳明的本体实践学: 以王阳明《大学问》为核心的展开 Wang Yangming de benti shijianxue: Yi Wang Yangming Daxuewen wei hexin de zhankai”, 收入《中国宗教与意义治疗》Zhongguo zongjiao yu yiyi zhiliao [Chinese Religions and Meaning Treatment] 一书, (台北 Taipei: 明文书局 Mingwen shuju, 2001)。

^⑯ 程颢 Cheng Hao《识仁篇》Shiren pian 有言“学者须先识仁。仁者, 浑然与物同体, 义、礼、智、信皆仁也。识得此理, 以诚敬存之而已”。

^⑰ 熊十力 Xiong Shili 于《新唯识论》Xin Westhilun、《体用论》Tiyong lun、《明心篇》Mingxin pian、《原儒》Yuanru 等著作皆盛发此旨, 可参看林安梧 Lin Anwu《存有、意识与实践: 熊十力体用哲学之诠释与重建》Cunyou, yishi yu shijian: Xiong Shili tiyong zhexue zhi quanshi yu chongjian 一书, (台北 Taipei: 东大图书 Dongda tushu, 1993 年)。

^⑱ 请参见林安梧 Lin Anwu《中国人文诠释学》Zhongguo renwen quanshixue 一书, 特别在第叁章〈人是世界的参赞者、诠释者〉, (台北 Taipei: 台湾学生书局 Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 2009 年), 页 65-89。

^⑲ 盖“在”之古字是“从土才声”, 这是一形声兼会意字, 指的是万物始生也。“存”是“从子从在省”, 这是一个“子”字与“在”字结合的缩简写法, 意思是说人之参与於在也。

於那不可分的天地万物人我通而为一之总体,人之为一主体非剥分出来之主体,而是一作用功能,而与於整体之道的主体,这是一“参造化之微”,“审心念之几”,也是一“观事变之势”之主体。^②但如是主体总在生生化化之大流之中,及此生生而为德也。

4.4 如上所说的主体义,则人之为一实际的存在,其“个人”义便不能豁免。或者说,最基本的一单位并不是一独立的个人,而是一小型的整体,如“家”便是。

[诠释]或者说,东土华夏非“个人本位”之思考,而是一“人伦定位”之思考;人伦也者,於家庭中长养以成者,“孝悌也者,其为仁之本与”,^③“仁者,事亲是也,义者,敬长是也”。^④这是一波纹型之结构,非一捆材型之结构,费孝通於此论之甚详。^⑤吾以是而论此为一“血缘性纵贯轴”之结构。^⑥此血缘性纵贯轴是由“血缘性的自然连结、人格性的道德连结、宰制性的政治连结”所构造而成者。

4.5 以其为“气的感通”,因此交光互网,通而为一,是由一小的整体扩大而为一较大的整体,再而扩大为一更大的整体。《大学》之讲“格、致、诚、正、修、齐、治、平”所指即为如此。

[诠释]顺前所论,此是一波纹型之格局,是一血缘性纵贯轴,是一存有的连续观,逐层而扩散发展开来的,这是一生生之不容已。“修身、齐家、治国、平天下”步步推展而开,这是一实践之理序,是一生命生长生生之理序。“自天子以至於庶人,壹是皆以修身为本”,至於“修身”则本乎“格物、致知、诚意、正心”也,此是论理之次序也。身家国天下,本为一体也。於人间学,皆可以“一体之仁”以为论也。於自然哲学,则可以“一气之化”以为论也。

5 关联著“断裂观”,是经由一“言说的论定”而分裂成主、客两端,这是经由一主体的对象化活动而开启的主客对立格局。

5.1 强调“主体的对象化活动”,故其基本的存在模式乃是一“我与它”(I and it)的方式,而不是一“我与你”(I and Thou)的方式。

[诠释]亦在此“我与它”为主导之模式下,进而言“我与你”的可能,盖宗教神学者,皆不免於“我与你”之论也。一神论之宗教,其所论之“我与你”为第二义,其第一义者,仍为“我与它”,而且就在绝对的它化、神圣的它化、超越的它化,终而使得此“它”,晋昇为一“祂”,此即是一“上帝”的“他者”之“祂”。人之对此“祂”,而形成一新的“我与你”的关系,这不同於东土华夏传统之“我与你”的关系。盖前者为言说话语之论定所成之格局也,後者则为生命之气的感通所成之格局也。基督宗教由“我与你”而可进及其“冥契上帝”也,此近於东土华夏之“默弃道妙”也,然是又不同也。

5.2 经由主体的对象化活动,而将人从整体中分离出来,成为一切对象化的起点,以言说的论定去论定其所对的对象,并从而使此对象成为一定象性的存在。

② 此处所论,可参看林安梧 Lin Anwu 前揭书第四章〈语言:存有之道落实於人间世的居宅〉Yuyan: Cunyou zhidao luoshiyu renjianshi de juzhai、第五章〈道(存有):语言调适而上遂的本源〉Dao (Cunyou): Yuyan tiaoshi er shangsui de benyuan,又“参造化之微”,“审心念之几”,“观事变之势”叁句乃余讲习《易经》Yijing 廿餘年来之心得也,可参看林安梧 Lin Anwu,2002年12月,“易经思想与二十一世纪文明之发展”Yijing sixiang yu 21 shiji wenming zhi fazhan,《鹅湖》Ehu 二十八卷六期(总号330),(台北 Taipei),页36-48。

③ 语出《论语》〈学而篇〉Lunyu Xueerpian 第二章:“有子曰:”其为人也孝弟,而好犯上者,鲜矣;不好犯上,而好作乱者,未之有也。君子务本,本立而道生。孝弟也者,其为仁之本与!”。

④ 语出《孟子》〈离娄下 Mengzi Lilou xia: 孟子曰:”仁之实,事亲是也。义之实,从兄是也。智之实,知斯二者弗去是也。礼之实,节文斯二者是也。乐之实,乐斯二者,乐则生矣。生则恶可已也?恶可已,则不知足之蹈之、手之舞之。”]

⑤ 请参见费孝通 Fei Xiaotong《乡土中国》Xiangtu zhongguo 一书,(中国北京:叁联书店,1948年)。

⑥ 该书起稿於一九九叁到九四期间,时在 Wisconsin University at Madison 访问,後来删修为《儒学与中国传统社会之哲学省察:以“血缘性纵贯轴”为核心的展开》Ruxue yu zhongguo chuantong shehui zhi zhexue xingcha: Yi xueyuanxing zongzhou wei hexin de zhankai,於一九九六年於台湾 Taiwan 由幼狮出版社 Youshi chubanshe 印行,一九九八年上海 Shanghai 学林出版社 Xuelin chubanshe 亦出版简体字版。

[诠释]上帝经由言说而造此天地万物,唯人是上帝依其肖像所抟揉而成者,然人亦用言说来论定此天地万物。其为主体之对象化活动,其论理之结构是与上帝一样的。近世以来,人之以其理智做为万有存在之起点,此是话语之论定、主体之对象化活动之极致表现也。如此一来,使此存在之对象之为一话语之对象化、主体之对象化所成之定象性存在,并以此定象性之存在当成存在之自身也。此是顺西方之主流传统,加之中世纪之神学所致的一个极致表现,它导致严重的“存有的遗忘”^⑤之后果。

5.3 如此一来,此主体与对象便不只是一知识作用所成之主体与对象,而且是存有所成主客对立格局下的主体与对象。主体与对象都有其实体义,此实体是相待而起的。

[诠释]实者此实体之为实体,非真乃存在之本真之体,而是一在主客对立格局,经由主体的对象化活动,经由话语的论定活动所成之相对待之“权体”以为实体也。此以权为经,以假为真,以暂为恒之实体,此造成了一严重的“具体性的误置”(misplaced concreteness),如怀悌黑(A Whitehead)之所论。^⑥

5.4 主体、客体皆有其实体义,因而人之为一实际的存在,其“个人”义便得豁显。即此个人而为一独立之存在,即为一不可划约的个人。

[诠释]如此之个人就是在话语论定中所置定之个人,人并以此做为立基点,并以话语再去置定这世界。此即,我前面所述,经有一主体的对象化活动,经由一“我与它”的方式而开启的定位活动。这较接近於一原子式的思考(atomic thinking),它不同於东土华夏之为一脉络性的思考(contextual thinking)。我以为这是在共相之昇进中所做的原子式的定位、个人本位的定位;它不同於在生命的感通下所座的脉络性定位、人伦性定位。

5.5 以其为“言说的论定”,因此主客对立、个我相待,於是须由一外於此个我之上的法则将此些个我连结成一个整体。基督宗教之特别重视律令、诫律者在此。

[诠释]依费孝通言,此即为一捆材型的格局,与东土华夏之为一波纹型之格局不同。前者之为一神论(Monothelism)的传统,而後者则为一万有在道论(Pantheism)。前者重在對於上帝诫命的遵从,并强调“因信称义”;後者重在一气之感通,并强调“一体之仁”。此“言说之论定”与“气的感通”适成为一有趣之对比,後者与於“无言”,而前者则以“神圣之言”为底据。盖《论语》有言“天何言哉!四时行焉,百物生焉,天何言哉!”;《旧约全书》〈创世纪〉有言“上帝说有光,就有了光,於是把它分成白昼与黑夜”,此为最明白之对比。^⑦

6 “原罪”经由“言说的论定”,由“本无一物”转而“如有一物”,再落而为“果有此物”,既“果有此物”便非得“救赎”不可。

6.1 “本无一物”之原罪观,是在《新约》、《旧约》之前的原罪观,此非经救赎而消罪,而是经由包容(爱)而消罪。

^⑤ 鍾振宇 Zhong Zhenyu 认为“海德格终其一生以批判传统形上学對於存有的遗忘为已任,并嚐试由各种不同的角度阐发存有的真义。在此一科技发展迅速,人性深层意义为人所遗忘的时代,其理论之深度与广度均是中华文化所应吸收与参照”。文见《海德格之有无——说与任其自然:兼论中国哲学对海德格哲学之一判教可能》Haidegeer zhi youwu tongyi shuo yu renqiziran; Jianlun zhongguo zhexue dui Haidegeer zhexue zhiyi panjiao keneng,《香港人文哲学会》Xianggang renwen zhexue hui 第3卷第1期,2005年5月,页56-68。

^⑥ 此说借自於 A. N. Whitehead 所论,请参看傅佩荣 Fu Peirong 译《科学与现代世界》Kexue yu xiandai shijie 第叁章〈天才的世界〉Tiancai de shijie,黎明文化 Liming wenhua,(台北 Taipei, 1981年)。

^⑦ 拙於〈绝地天之通与巴别塔:中西宗教的一个对比切入点之展开〉一文有详论,收入林安梧 Lin Anwu《中国宗教与意义治疗》Zhongguo zongjiao yu yiyi zhiliao [Chinese religions and meaning treatment]一书,第一章。

[诠释]人类始祖亚当、夏娃在未破上帝之诫命前,未食智慧之果前本为无罪。此时,若说其原罪应说是原本无罪,但此原本无罪却亦潜隐著犯罪之可能。此可说是原罪之潜隐状态,亦可说是一无罪状态。或说其为一潜隐状态,经由上帝之恩宠、光照而可归返於原本之无罪。甚至就此无罪而说其有一基极为善之可能,亦可如上帝之诫命而为善也。^⑳

6.2 《旧约》是由“如有一物”落而为“果有此物”,既为“果有此物”故此物之不可解。

[诠释]关联社会史之演进来看,基督宗教之上帝由原先希伯莱之战神发展而来,配合著中东地区的集权官僚体制,而逐渐演变成一天上之王的最高神观念,这位最高的神从空中将人类与世界创造出来,并且成为一超俗世的伦理支配者,他要求每一个被造物都要来做他的工。“言说”乃是一主体的对象化活动,而“分”亦是一主体对象化活动所衍申出来的主客对立的活动。“创造”与“支配”相连,“爱”与“权能”和合为一。^㉑如是演变之过程,其实也是人类文明的发展过程,也是“罪”之“固结”的过程,同时也是人类“自由意志”之“固结”的过程。此时之由“如有一物”落而为“果有此物”,就果真定下此物。

6.3 《新约》是由“果有此物”,再承认“果有此物”,并将此物全幅交给耶稣,而此物因而得以放下。此放下即为得救。

[诠释]主体的对象化充极而尽的发展,一方面摆定了这个世界,另一方面则置立了一至高无上的上帝,这上帝便成了一切的起点,以及一切的归依之所,而且它是在这个世界之上的,因为它若不在这个世界之上便不足以显示其绝对的神圣性、绝对的威权性。再者,这样的政治社会共同体是由一个个原子式的存在,经由一言说的论定、权力的约制而逐层的聚合在一起,最後则统於一。^㉒在每一层阶的聚合所成的单元都有其自主性、圆足性、以及独立性。而他们之所以聚合在一起,则起於实际利害上的需要所致。“果有此物”的“论定”,再全幅“臣服”,并因其“臣服”而“信仰”,因此信仰而得“放下”此罪,因此罪之放下而为“得救”。《新约》重点不在“创造”与“支配”,而是“爱”与“权能”。

6.4 以“原罪”之为“果有此物”,因其不可解,而有一莫可如何之必然性;但又信其当为耶稣所赎罪而得救,此又有其必然性在。

[诠释]此必然性与西方“言以代知,知以代思,思以代在”之传统密切相关,此是一因执而染,因染而执,相与缠缚所成之统系。将此关联到西方哲学自古希腊亚理士多德(Aristotle)以来的主流传统,就朗然明白了。好像逐层上升的共相一般,每一共相之统结聚合了许多的殊相,都起於彼此能统合为一具有自主性、圆足性、独立性的单元,而且一旦成了一个单元,它就具有其本质性的定义。这样的过程看起来只是理性在作用,其实其中自也包括了权力、欲求、利害等等的作用。用佛教的话来说,凡是执著的、必然也是染污的,由执生染,似乎是不可避免的。佛教立基於一“无执著性”,此与西方之立基於“执著性”,是迥然不同的。广的说来,中国本土所生的儒、道两家亦都具有此“无

^⑳ 如此之论,与灵恩运动(Charismatic Movement)或可比拟讨论,但却不相同,最主要的是,灵恩运动截至目前为止,仍只是有別於正统之论的另一个对立面,并未能超越出来,入於本源。基督教联合圣经公会1961,《圣经》Bible(和合本)

^㉑ 此可参看林安梧 Lin Anwu《儒学与中国传统社会之哲学省察》Ruxue yu Zhongguo chuantong shehui zhi zhaxue xingcha 一书第六章《血缘性纵贯轴下的宗教与理性》,(台湾 Taiwan:幼狮 Youshi,一九九六年)。

^㉒ 费孝通 Fei Xiaotong 即谓此为一“綫材型格局”,而有别於中国之为一“波纹型格局”,见氏著《乡土中国》Xiangtu Zhongguo <差序格局>,页22-30,上海观察社出版 Shanghai guancha chubanshe,1984年,上海。又如此之“差序格局”不只行於中国内地,实亦行於汉人之移民社会。请参见陈其南 Chen Qinan《家族与社会——台湾和中国社会研究的基础理念》Jiazu yu shehui —— Taiwan he Zhongguo shehui yanjiu de jichu limian,第二章<台湾汉人移民社会的建立及其转型> Taiwan hanren yimin shehui de jianli jiqi zhuanxing,(台北 Taipei,联经出版公司 Jinglian chuban gongsi 印行,1990年叁月)。

执著性”的特色在。^⑩

6.5 前一必然性乃是一事实之必然性,而後者之必然性乃是一信仰之必然性,此两必然性而成“预选说”(Predestination),至於“天职说”(Calling)亦可由此来理解。

[诠释]显然地,绝对的一神论,与征战、权力、语言、命令、执著性、对象化、理性、约制、绝对、专制、共相等观念是连在一起的。此不同於东土华夏之万有在道论,与和平、仁爱、情气、感通、无执著性、互为主体化、道理、调节、和谐、根源、整体等观念是连在一起的。经由如此之对比,基督宗教迭有变革,後来如喀尔文教派之提出预选说,路德教派之提出天职说,皆与此所论之必然性有著难以分隔的关联。这甚至可以说是其极致的表现,这表现又紧关联著现代性。^⑪

7 “性善”经由“气的感通”,由“本之在天”转而为“本之在人”,再落而为“本之在心”,既“本之在心”,便即心言性,因而说其为“性善”。

7.1 “本之在天”之“天”是就其总体义说,而不是就一超越於人世之上的形上义、超越义说。然就历史言,因古巫教之馀绪,则有歧义。

[诠释]相对於前面所述,东土华夏传统其政治社会共同体较为优先的概念是和平、仁爱、情气、感通、无执著性、互为主体化、道理、调节、和谐、根源、整体等等。他们强调天地宇宙万有一切和谐共生的根源动力,或者我们就将此称之为“道”,而主张的是一“万有在道论(Panentaoism),不是“绝对一神论”(Absolute Monotheism)。^⑫更值得注意的是,我们甚且就将此和谐而共生的根源动力彻底的伦理化了。像这样的宗教,我们仍然可以归到“血缘性的纵贯轴”这基础性的概念来理解。就这血缘性纵贯轴的方式而销融了此巫教之统绪,也弱化了其可能的形上义与超越义,而朝一总体义、内在义、根源义趋。

7.2 “本之在天”之原性观,是在孔子之前的原性观,商、周之际可以为代表。此是由“本之在帝”之权威性转而为“本之在天”的普遍性。

[诠释]相对於西方的征战与防禦,东土华夏之政治社会共同体乃因治水、农耕等而建立起来,自然他们的构造方式就与西方原来的方式不同,因而其共同体之最高的精神象徵就不是绝对唯一的人格神。在中国传统里,最先由血缘性的纵贯轴所开启的聚村而居,从事农业的生产,形成了氏族性的农莊村落,他们的宗教,或者说祭祀对象非常繁多,但大体离不开他们的生活世界所开启之象徵、符号。^⑬商、周之际之由“本之在帝”之权威性转而为“本之在天”的普遍性,正可以视为一道德理性化的过程。“文王之德之纯”盖如是之谓也。^⑭

^⑩ 笔者於此所论,显然地是将哲学里所谓的“共相”之形成与社会权力、人群之组构等相关联来谈,这一方面是受近现代以来知识社会学的启发,而另一方面则是由佛学之“执”与“无执”、“染”与“不染”诸问题所引发而来的思考。为人群组构、社会权力的型态等之异同,我们实可说中国并无西方古希腊哲学所谓的“共相”观念。“太极”、“道”等辞与“共相”虽属同位阶之概念,但涵义却颇为不同。

^⑪ 此可以 Max Weber 所著《基督新教伦理与资本主义精神》Jidu xinjiao lunli yu zibenzhuyi jingshen 所论为代表,请参看林安梧 Lin Anwu 〈理性的弔诡:对《基督新教伦理与资本主义精神》一书的心得与感想〉Lixing de diaogui: Dui Jidu xinjiao lunli yu zibenzhuyi jingshen yishu de xinde yu ganxiang, 文刊於《鵝湖》Ehu 106 期,(一九八四年四月,台北),页 24 - 30。

^⑫ “万有在道论”(Panentaoism)一词乃笔者所拟构者,其义涵在强调“万有一切”咸在於“道”,如老子《道德经》所谓“道生一,一生二,二生叁,叁生万物”即可为證。“绝对一神论”(Absolute Monotheism)所强调者在一超越的、唯一的人格神。就宇宙万有造化而言,前者多主张“流出说”或“彰显说”,而後者则强调“创造说”。此又与天人、物我、人己之为“连续”与“断裂”有密切的关联,请参见林安梧 Lin Anwu 《绝地天之通与巴别塔》Jueditian zhitong yu Babieta 一文,如前所述者。

^⑬ 请参见玛克斯·韦伯 Weibo 著、简惠美 Jian Huimei 译《中国的宗教》Zhongguo de zongjiao [Chinese religions], 第二章、第叁章,新桥译丛 Xinqiao yicong, (台北 Taipei, 一九八九年一月)。

^⑭ 语出《诗经》〈周颂〉Shijing ZhouSong “维天之命,於穆不已。於乎不显!文王之德之纯”。

7.3 由“本之在天”而“本之在人”的原性观,此是由一超越而普遍的总体义转而为内在普遍的具现义的原性观。

[诠释]如果我们说原先西方政治社会共同体的建立在於“权力的约制”与“理性的确定”,那我们可以说原先东土华夏传统政治社会共同体的建立在於“生命的感通”与“情志的相与”。前者,推极而尽必产生一至高的、理性的、绝对权能;而後者,推极而尽则产生一整体的、生命的、情志的根源。前者是外在的,而後者则指向内在,此又与前者之共同体是一“外向型的共同体”,而後者则是一“内聚型的共同体”密切应和。前者之为一“契约型的共同体”,相应的是一最後的契约或者言说的命令者与创造者,後者之为一“血缘型的共同体”,相应的是一最後的根源或者生命之气的发动者与创生者。前者即一般所以为的 God(上帝),而後者即一般所以为的“天”。正因如此,原先的“本之在帝”,经由“本之在天”落实而为“本之在人”的原性观,这是由一超越而普遍的总体义转而为内在普遍的具现义之历程。

7.4 “内在普遍具现义”之原性观,强调其为内在,其为普遍,并经由具体体现的历程而彰显,此是由“王”而“圣”,并因之而说“圣王”。

[诠释]上帝是通过“言说”的方式而创造这个世界的,但是“天”则不然,“天”是经由“非言说”的方式,是经由气的运化的方式,是以默运造化之机的方式,而创造了天地万物。《论语》书中,孔老夫子说“天何言哉!四时行焉,百物生焉,天何言哉!”这与基督宗教的《旧约全书》[创世纪]开首所说“上帝说有光就有了光,於是把它分成白昼与黑夜”形成有趣而且强烈的对比。^⑤“圣王”之为“圣”、“王”,“圣”是耳听於天,口宣之於人,“王”是通“天、地、人”叁才而为“王”。这在在是内在普遍具现义之原性观之体现者,如此而可上达於超越之境、绝对之境,这亦可理解为“肉身成道”,而非“道成肉身”者。盖此是即有限而及於无限也。

7.5 再由“本之在人”而“本之在心”,即此心而言性这样所成的原性观,即为我们所谓的“性善”之论。其极至则说“此心即是天”,此是将内在的主体能动性即等同於一超越而普遍的总体。

[诠释]显然地,“本心论”的性善论是存有连续观的极致,而“原罪论”的“性恶论”是存有的断裂观的极致。前者,强调“天人、物我、人己”通而为一内在根源的总体,即此总体而为道体,即此道体而为心体;後者,强调一“神人、物我、人己”分而为二,主张有一超越的、绝对的、神圣的人格神的一神论。从“本之於帝、本之於天、本之於人”,进而“本之於性”、“本之於心”,这其实亦是一人类文明的发展历程。

8 解消“原罪”之“果有此物”,知其“如有一物”,进而溯源,体悟其“本无一物”。因其本无一物,故可以解消言说之论定,而与其他宗教融合之可能。

正视“本之在心”的“性善”之论,知其“本之在人”,进而溯源,识其“本之在天”。经由主体能动性与超越总体性的对比,而走出气的感通之浑沦,再济之以言说之论定,而有一与基督宗教相对比、相融合之可能。

基督宗教之“原罪说”当得回本,而儒家之“性善说”当该贯末,两者或可有融通之可能。

壬辰之夏七月廿六日成稿於台北福德街象山居

^⑤ 關於此对比,笔者於〈绝地天之通与巴别塔〉Jueditian zhi tong yu Babieta 一文中论之颇详,请参阅前揭此文。

English Title:

A Preliminary Study on the Integration between Confucianism and Christianity

——A Clarification and Intermediation between Sin and Goodness in Human Nature

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Abstract: “Human nature is good” refers generally to the theory of the Mencius tradition of Confucianism, and original sin refers usually to the Christian viewpoint. According to the theory that human nature is good, the relationships between heaven and human beings, between the world and me, and between other people and myself are continuous rather than broken/disrupted. According to the theory of original sin, the relationships are broken rather than continuous. From the viewpoint of continuity, it is breathing the same air that unites all into one whole. And the sharing of air emphasizes the interaction among subjects rather than objectification of the subject. From the viewpoint of discontinuity, the whole is divided into subject and object through the verbal judgment, and it is through the objectification of subjects that subject and object are divided. Through the verbal judgment original sin has become real so that human beings have to be saved by an external power. Through the sharing of air the theory that human nature is good has become real in human hearts. In fact, original sin does not exist, and the good nature of human beings has its root in heaven. The possibility of integration between Confucianism and Christianity may be fulfilled through a contrast between subjective activity and transcendent wholeness so as to overcome the sharing of air and to get help from verbal judgment. If the theory of original sin of Christianity would return to its root, and the theory of the good nature of Confucianism would reach completion, it will be possible to integrate the two.

Key terms: God, human being, being, continuous, discontinuity, breathing the same air, salvation, whole course of an event from beginning to end

The Development and Cultural Characteristics of Local Religious Organizations in Modern Taiwan

—An Its Main Distinction from Christianity

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Abstract: Two forms of religious expansion can be found in the field of local religious organizations in modern Taiwan: one is the expansion of a hierarchical pattern, and the other is the creation of sub – units from one mother – unit. This typology helps us to see two kinds of religiosity in Taiwanese local religions. In addition, this study explains that one common property can be found behind these two different types of organizational expansion, that is, symbolic institutionalization. This is essentially different from Christian institutional expansion in the Western world. This comparison with organizational expansion in the Christian world helps us to understand the cultural characteristics of local religions in modern Taiwan.

Key words: Religious Expansion, Religious Organization, Folk Religion, Religiosity, Taiwanese Religion

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I . Introduction

The expansion of Taiwanese religious organizations occurs in two different patterns: one is the expansion of a hierarchical pattern (such as organizations described as “humanistic Buddhism” and “new Zen”); the other one is the creation of sub – units from one mother – unit (such as Yiguan Dao and folk religions). Both of these patterns of expansion are well – known to religious scholars. But why is the first type characteristic of Buddhist organizations, while the second type is mainly found in folk religions? Is there any common denominator amongst religious groups of the same expansion pattern? If there is, is it significant? Does the expansion pattern of a religious organization have any relation to its belief system? This paper investigates these two expansion patterns of religious organizations by examining the cultural properties of each type.

Research on the development of an organization needs to focus not only on its internal decision – making mechanism, but also the influential factors in its external environment. The theoretical viewpoint of new institutionalism emphasizes the close relationship between organizational development and the environment, and when examining religious organizations it’s

especially important to take into account the impact of the cultural environment. An overview of the development of Taiwan's religious groups in recent decades shows that, in addition to the increasing diversification of religious activities and the emergence of new religious groups, religious groups are gradually taking the form of modern organizations,^① especially in terms of flexible management and active recruitment strategies. We would be ignoring substantial reasons if we were to ascribe such qualitative change solely to the influence of religious leaders on the management strategies employed by their organizations. The significance of the evolutionary trends of religious organizations should not be overlooked, and some of my empirical observations are, for example, hard to explain: the leaders of some religious organizations often have similar concepts and use similar strategies to promote their activities. However, if we begin with their institutional environment, some organizational development trends can easily be explained. Religious organizations are categorized as belonging to the third sector of modern society, different from both the for-profit sector (the market) and the public sector (the state). Thus their institutional environment is closely related to the special attributes of the third sector. This paper argues that we should not fall into the myths of "rationalization" and "modernization" by claiming that the changes in religious organizations in recent years are part and parcel of the rational development of the organization. The cultural characteristics exhibited by the expansion of religious organizations provide substantial clues as to the relationship between them and the institutional environment.

II. On the way to modern religious organization

In contrast to the modern model of organization, the institutional basis of Taiwanese popular religion consists of two different types of institutional resource; one consists of the local customs closely related to belief in a deity, and the other is religious professionalism. The former is public and part of community life shaped by common beliefs and ritual systems, while the latter refers to the realm of religious "expert groups", such as Daoist priests, Buddhist monks, and different groups of spirit mediums. The possibility to become a "religious expert" is not open to everyone, but only to those who can meet some essential qualifications. Their sacred status sets a clear boundary between them and the profane world. This boundary between religious experts and others does not, however, prohibit their interaction. Some customs and ritual traditions of folk religion need religious experts for executing formal acts, such as the role of the Daoist priest in the *jiao* ceremony (醮 *jiao*), the Daoist master in different *fa*-ceremonies (法會 *fahui*), as well as the spirit medium in folk medicine.^② The construction of traditional religious elements is closely

① Chen, Chi-Ming,《宗教組織的發展趨勢》*zong jiao zuzhi de fa zhan qushi* [The Developmental Trend of Religious Organizations], (台北 Taipei: 大元 Dayuan, 2005), 27-33.

② Lee, Fong-Mau,《台北市寺廟信仰習俗與社區文化》*Taipei shi di miao xin yang xi su yu she qu wen hua* [The Belief Custom and Community Culture of Temple in Taipei],《佛學研究論文集,當代臺灣社會與宗教》*fo xue yan jiu lun wen ji; dang dai tai wan she hui yu zong jiao* [Collections of Buddhist Studies; Society and Religion in Modern Taiwan], (台北 Taipei: 佛光山基金會 [Fo-Guang-Shan Foundation], 1996), 214

related to the knowledge and instructions of these religious experts. Traditionally, these religious experts would not appeal directly to the public, but instead saw themselves as service providers. They provided religious services for sacred acts, their credibility being mostly due to their self – recognized efficacy in the other-world. Their role was not the dissemination of a specific belief system.^③ The traditional mode of providing religious services takes the form of a “production/consumption” mechanism. The production/consumption mechanism of traditional religions should be examined on the basis of the local institutionalized customs. Figure 1 shows the production/consumption mode of providing traditional religious services.

Figure 1 shows that religious experts are basically passive in providing religious services. Local believers and their organizations learn their beliefs, logic, and symbols while participating in their religious services. All these are constructed in the community through long – term interaction between believers and religious experts. These religious elements are diffused in the public through traditional and institutionalized customs and habitus. In addition, some groups actively spread their religious ideas, and this has a substantial influence on their popularity. Examples include the traditional preaching associations and phoenix halls (鸞堂 *luan tang*) where “spirit – writing mediums” (鸞手 *luan shou*) produce “phoenix books” by channeling messages from certain deities. Some of these phoenix books are printed in mass and freely distributed.^④ However, the readers of these publications are free to interpret these writings in their own way, in accordance with their personal experiences and customs.

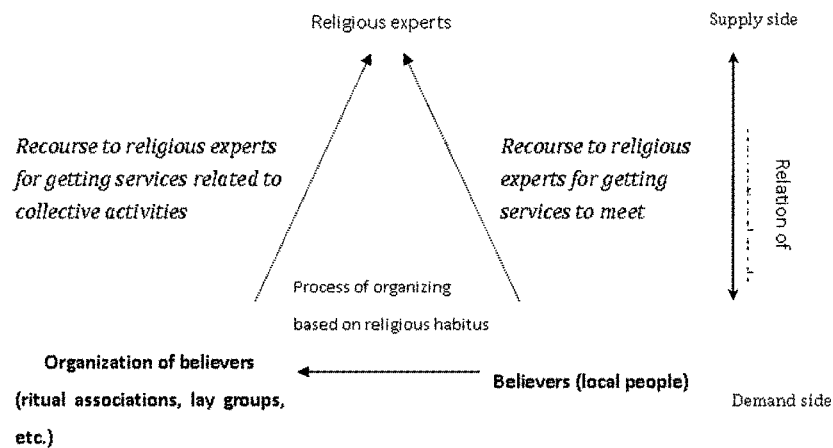


Figure 1. Conventional Mode of Religious Production and Consumption

Institutional change in the field of religion is closely related to political developments. The process of nation – building necessarily entails increased control over religious activities (see

③ Lee, Fong-Mau,《道教齋儀與喪葬禮俗複合的魂魄觀》*Daojiao zhai yi yu sang zang li su fu he de hun po guan* [Cosmology of Soul in the Combination of Daoistic Rituals and Funerals] 《儀式、廟會與社區：道教、民間信仰與民間文化》*Yi si, miao hui yu she qu: dao jiao, min jian xin yang yu min jian wen hua*[Ritual, Ceremony of Temple and Community: Daoism, Popular Belief and Folklore Culture], (台北 Taipei, 1996), 463

④ Lee, Shi – Wei,《日據時代臺灣儒教結社活動》*Riju shi dai tai wan ru jiao jie she huo dong* [Activities of Religious Associations Based on Confucianism in Taiwan under Japanese Regime], (台北 Taipei: 文津 Wenjin, 1999), 190 – 193

Figure 2). After Taiwan became a part of the Republic of China in 1945, the new government's attitude toward Taiwan's local religious affairs was characterized by both instructive guidance and strict prohibition, depending on different issues. There were even different standards for different religious groups due to certain political considerations. But overall, the religious policies at that time took the form of regulations which required existing religious organizations to make some changes to their management.^⑤ One of the most significant institutional regulations was the "Temple Management Act." This led to the transformation of the old regent system into a modern form of "committee" or "foundation" beginning in the 1980s.^⑥

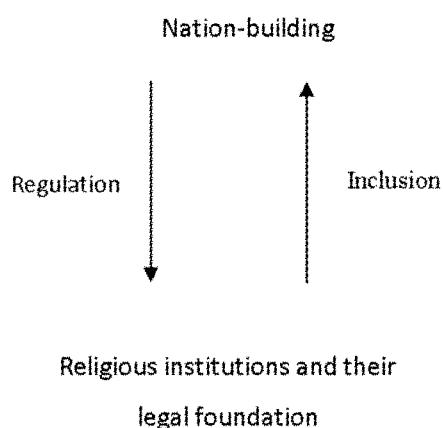


Figure 2. Political Ideology of Nation Building

Increased regulation made it easier for the government to manage and control religious organizations, and also helped to reduce financial disputes, but also contributed to an increased sense of "private property" amongst religious organizations. In the theoretical viewpoint of new institutionalism, each organization develops in interaction with its institutional environment, specifically, in interaction with other organizations. In these interactions, a religious organization comes to know its own position and authority in the specified religious field. In the process of taking on a modern form, religious organizations become legal persons under the regulation of the state, a process which entails increased awareness of property rights and the distinctions between owner/non-owner and members/non-members. This results in stricter membership criteria, as shown by the fact that relatively new religious organizations tend to make a clear classification regarding their members' role: donors, volunteers, etc. The religious organizations classified as humanistic Buddhism and new Zen are typical examples.^⑦ The use of such objective criteria strengthens the sense of organizational identity.

^⑤ Chen, Chi-Ming, 《當代新興佛教—禪教篇》*Dangdai xinxing fojiao: chan jiao pian* [New Buddhism in Modern Time: Zen]。 (嘉義 Jiayi: 南華宗教文化研究所 [Research Centre of Religious Culture of Nanhua], 1998), 62, 87.

^⑥ Ibid.

^⑦ Lu, Hui-Shin, "佛教慈濟功德會「非寺廟中心」的現代佛教特性 *Fojiao Ciji gongdehui 'fei shi miao zhong xing' de xiandai fojiao texing*" [Modern Buddhistic Characteristics of "non-Temple Centre" in Ciji Foundation], 《寺廟與民間文化研討會論文集, 下》*Fo shi miao yu min jian wen hua yan tao hui luen wen ji* [Collections of Temple and Folk Culture]。(台北 Taipei, 1995), 736-741

Similarly, traditional religious groups, such as temples and ritual associations, are experiencing internal qualitative change due to the changing institutional environment. For example, Li and Wu found that the object of traditional religious services is gradually changing from community and village to individuals.^⑧ Temple tourism and public religious rituals (especially traditional village processions) are two examples.^⑨ The meaning of “religious tourism” is manifested in two ways: for the religious tourist, tourism represents the construction of a viewpoint of “the other” who identifies himself as a participating “outsider.” For the practicing believer, tourism represents the construction of self – awareness of religious particularity. This religio – cultural construction of “insiders and outsiders” has developed in conjunction with the “religious tourism” trend which began in the 1990s. And this construction of religious identity comes along with the emerging conception of “property,” because the believers and their organizations are more aware of the cultural value of their own rituals and activities. All this shows how organizational boundaries become clearer in the process of modernization. As a result, there comes an increasing awareness of the rights and duties of being a member, and the rules of membership are regulated much more strictly. Figure 3 shows this modern mode of religious consumption.

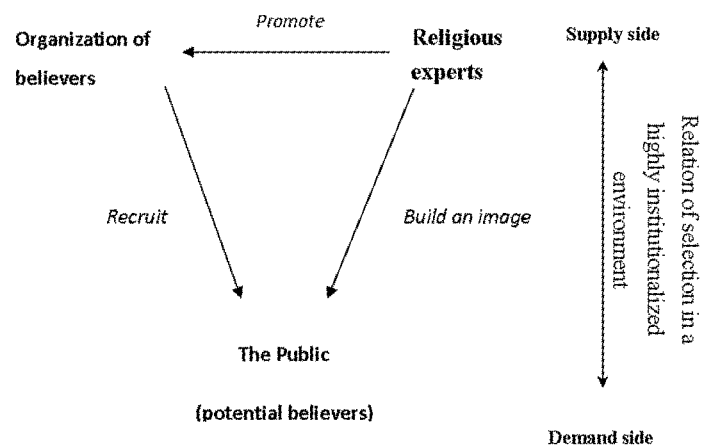


Figure 3. Modern Mode of Institutionalized Religious Consumption

Lin points out that the social network of people with religious inclinations functions differently than that of people with no specific religious inclination.^⑩ This means that religious inclination and the social network have become two independent variables. In the past, religious knowledge

⑧ Lee, Ding – Tsan and Je – Ming Wu, “現代性、宗教、與巫術：一個地方公廟的治理技術 Xiandaixing, zongjiao, yu wushu: yige difang gongmiao de zhili jishu” [Modernity, Religion, and Magic: Governmentality of Local Temple], 《臺灣社會研究季刊》*Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan* [Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies], No. 59, (2005), 160.

⑨ Song, Kuan – Yu 1995, “當前臺灣民間信仰的發展趨勢 Dangqian Taiwan minjian xinyang de fazhan qushi” [The Development of Folk Beliefs in Modern Taiwan], 《宗教與社會》*Zongjiao yu shehui* [Religion and Society], (台北 Taipei: 東大 dong da, 1995), 233 – 246.

⑩ Lin, Ben – Shuen, “社會網絡在個人宗教信仰變遷中的作用 Shehui wangluo zai geren zongjiao xinyang bianqian zhong de zuoyong” [The Role of Social Networks in the Development of Individual Religious Beliefs], 《思與言》*Si yu yan* [Thought and Words; Journal of the Humanities and Social Science], No. 37, (1999), 204.

and religious habitus were learned and cultivated in community life. Therefore, the religious inclination and social network were not separate from each other. The possibility of free participation nowadays brings with it the concepts of rights and duties, and represents the emergence of a new type of organization as well as a new institutional environment. When believers become resources for developing religious organizations, expanding the number of believers means increasing the organizational capital of a religious organization and increased legitimization. Religious leaders can recruit more followers by active management of public relations and by actively organizing their followers for achieving generally acknowledged goals. Contemporary religious organizations also make use of their own “think tank” of religious experts. In this mode of religious consumption, the religious experts belong to the supply side. This kind of active role did not exist in the past. This evolutionary change of religious institutionalization represents the development from the conventional mode to the institutionalized – selective mode. This paradigm shift is an important feature of the development of religious organization in recent decades in Taiwan.

III. Two Types of Religious Expansion

In the traditional religious consumption pattern, religious expansion often went hand – in – hand with the growth of the community or cross – regional expansion. The geopolitical social network is a major factor in this kind of expansion. For example, devotees of Mazu often built a new Mazu temple after migrating to a new location, an undertaking accomplished by “dividing incense” (分香 *fenxiang*) from a mother temple. In other words, changes of community size and social network have long been one of the main reasons for religious expansion.

The modern organization of Taiwanese religious organizations can be ascribed to the changing infrastructure of social communication, as well as to qualitative changes in the institutional environment due to political influence. When cross – regional communication becomes widespread, social networks are no longer subject to geographical constraints, and the expansion of organizations can develop cross – regionally, and the target group of potential believers is greatly expanded. The various forms of organizational expansion in the religious field can be categorized into two different expansion patterns: (a) Expansion by division: A new religious unit can be established by “dividing incense” from an ancestor unit (as in Yiguan Dao and traditional folk religions), in which the genealogical relation doesn’t interfere with the autonomy of the descended unit; and (b) Hierarchical expansion (as in humanistic Buddhism and new Zen – sects): In this kind of expansion a branch unit is set up and remains under the control of the “headquarters.”

As expansion by division continues, there needs to be some mechanism that keeps certain key religious symbols (such as Mazu, Ur – Mother, or the Three Treasures) open to each religious unit, such that no single organizational unit can lay exclusive claim on their ownership.

The genealogical sub – line structure of Yiguan Dao and the traditional descent system are based on this same logic of sharing. Shared symbols represent shared spiritual power, and the sharing ceremony conveys legitimacy by relating the sub – line to the original source. Shared religious symbols become the medium for each unit to construct its self – identity. Each sub – line or descendent temple constructs its own understanding of and relationship with the transcendental power which inheres in its shared symbols. It is important for believers to be able to “prove” and to confirm the presence of this authentic source in their own way. This kind of “spiritual confirmation” is, however, not totally personal, because such a spiritual confirmation relies heavily on common experiences, shared memories, and mutual communication. In other words, the collective life is the basis of constructing the transcendent world view of believers. The transcendent meaning cannot be understood without considering the daily life of believers. Besides, their religious expansion is based on the common religious symbols interpreted in different ways under various community circumstances. These common religious symbols can be interpreted and understood as a meaning structure. This kind of expansion with its sharing – mechanism spreads the common symbols (“significant”) to different social groups and individuals. The meaning structures, however, are not the same. This is why there is no one “authentic” meaning structure which is spread cross – regionally and cross – organizationally when a religious organization expands.

In hierarchical expansion the organization diffuses specific doctrines or self – cultivation practices. All activities of this kind of organization focus on these transcendental elements. The specific self – cultivation practices of this kind of organization are principally created by the founder (often referred to as the “master”), who often also serves as the leader of the organization. Because the transcendental elements are closely related to the founder, and the charisma of the master can have a strong influence, the charismatic effect is thus the essential source of legitimation of the transcendental discourse. Due to the close link between the transcendental discourse and the charismatic master, the specific transcendental elements cannot be used by other organizations without permission from the master. The establishment of an organizational sub – unit is only possible if it has a link with the same master. That is to say, the sub – unit can only exist as a branch. This type of expansion can thus only take a hierarchical form.

IV. The Cultural Character of Religious Expansion

In the expansion of Christianity in the West, we also find two similar expansion patterns.

The hierarchical pattern of organizational expansion can be found in Catholicism. But the difference is that there is a mechanism of “routinized charisma” (*das verallt ? glichte charisma*), that is, the huge Catholic system has developed a routinization mechanism in substitution of the

true charisma (*das genuine charisma*, i. e., *charisma Jesus*) which once existed, but is now only a memory.^⑪ The function of a routinized mechanism is to “relive” the genuine charisma. The Catholic Church maintains itself by way of “*supplément*”,^⑫ wherein all the institutional agencies are endowed with certain transcendent authority. But in Taiwan, hierarchical religious organizations, at least currently, rely on the charisma of the present master. This is why the difference between genuine charisma and routinized charisma doesn’t appear in this type of organization in Taiwan. Although the leader of Ciji (Tzu Chi) tries to routinize her charisma by highlighting the “Ciji spirit” while preaching, her real-life charismatic qualities, which are “live” to her believers, still have an irreplaceable priority in the operation of the organization.^⑬ Purely objective doctrines (dogma), without any relation to the “person” of the master, could not, therefore, characterize this kind of organization.

On the other hand, the expansion of Western evangelical movements is characterized by independent units splitting off from existing ones. Finke and Stark have pointed out in their study on American church history that the expansion of evangelical churches takes the form of church – sect – process.^⑭ This church – sect – process refers to the development of new sects by splitting from existing churches, typically when some members think the existing church’s orientation deviates from its “original position.” These members thus attempt to set up a new sect which holds to the “fundamental position” that means a lot to them. Finke and Stark point out that a new sect normally has more tension with its environment due to its “fundamental position.” When the sect grows up and gains more followers, its orientation changes and it has less tension with its social environment. This is the way a sect turns into a church. Then the same process starts again; internal voices call for a return to the former “original position.” This continually re – interpreted “original position” is what Troeltsch says about “the basic teachings of Christ” (*Christusdogma*).^⑮ This controversial process of searching for the “original position” represents the ontological characteristic of *Christusdogma* and expresses its identity. The evangelical church emphasizes personal “salvation” by resorting to the belief of each individual. The church is just “mutually aiding” groups for personal salvation, and the organization of fellowship is thus secondary. Therefore, there is no inherent link between the particularity of the organization of fellowship and the transcendent existence. The “universality” of the transcendental existence assures the universality of the concept of the “individual.” In this kind of transcendental

⑪ Ebertz, Michael N., “Herrschaft in der Kirche. Hierarchie, Tradition und Charisma im 19. Jahrhunderts,” in Franz-Xaver Kaufmann & Karl Gabriel, eds., *Zur Soziologie des Katholizismus*, (1980), 110 – 112.

⑫ Derrida, Jacques, *De la grammatologie*, (Paris: De minuit, 1967), 379 – 382.

⑬ Ting, Ren – Je, “現代社會中佛教組織的制度化及其有關問題之探討 – 以台灣佛教慈濟功德會的發展為例 *Xiandai shehui zhong fojiao zuzhi de zhiduhua jiqi youguan wenti zhi tantao: yi Taiwan fojiao Ciji gongdehui de fazhan wei li*” [Problematics of Institutionalization in the Buddhist Organizations of Modern Society: A Case Study on the Development of Ciji Foundation in Taiwan] 《佛學研究論文集 1. 當代台灣的社會與宗教》*Foxue yanjiu lunwe ji: Dangdai Taiwan shehui yu zongjiao* [Collections of Buddhist Studies: Society and Religion in Modern Taiwan], (台北 Taipei: 佛光山基金會 [Fo – Guang – Shan Foundation], 1996), 98.

⑭ Finke, Roger and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776 – 1990*, (New Jersey: 1992), 42.

⑮ Troeltsch, Ernst, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, (Aalen: Scientia, 1965[1922]), 968.

discourse, the existence of transcendence is independent of personal experience.

The expansion mode of evangelical churches appears to be similar to that of the sharing mechanism in Taiwan. But the evangelical split – up pattern is promoted by the internal tension by interpreting *Christusdogma*. The identity of an evangelical church is associated with the particularity of its transcendental discourse. The inherent tension is, however, not found in the pattern of descendent split – up in Taiwan. The organizational expansion of descendent split – up is not due to the discursive search for authenticity of the transcendental power. The identity of this kind of religious organization in Taiwan is not associated with the particularity of its transcendental discourse, but the particularity of the organization. When a secular problem of social relations, framed by the organization, can be solved in a transcendental way, the transcendental power is thus identified with this group of people. This kind of transcendental effect needs to be relived constantly to revive the link with the transcendental power. Because the transcendental effect is particular to certain social groups, it is thus hard to transfer or translate to other groups.

In the foregoing description, we found similarities in the appearance of organizational expansion in different cultures, but the dynamics behind the expansion are totally different. Both patterns can be found in Taiwan as well as in Western Christianity. However, the inherent dynamics are not the same. The expansion of Catholic or evangelical organizations has centered on the *Christusdogma* which is traced back to the absence of Christ and needs to be interpreted in a way that assures Christ's position as "the one and only." This ontological existence of the *Christusdogma* is a cultural "imprint," similar to Derrida's "trace" that constantly needs *supplément* to justify its existence, and it becomes the "center" of the Christian discursive structure, no matter if the expansion is of the hierarchical or split – up form. In Taiwan these two forms of expansion have in common the transcendental power that links with the secular sociality, i. e. , with the particularity of collective experience of a social group (in the case of the temples of popular religion) or with the particularity of the master as the leader of the organization (as in case of Ciji). Religious expansion in Taiwan is a process of creating a socially inherent transcendence. They share some of the same symbols which are free to be interpreted without any preconditioned meaning structure, but in the context of social life. ^⑩

V. Is the religious field a contentious field of an economic type?

Is there a type of economic competition between Taiwan's diverse religious organizations? In terms of the characteristics of a perfectly competitive market, the most important criterion of the market is that there should be symbolic generalized mediums, such as different forms of capital.

^⑩ Chi, Wei – hsian, "符號關聯分析在宗教研究方法上的探討:臺灣宗教的建構觀察 Fuhao guanlian fenxi zai zongjiao yanjiu fangfa shang de tantao; Taiwan zongjiao de jiangou guancha" [Semantic Analysis as Methodology of Religious Study: An Examination of the Constructive Process of Taiwanese Religion],《政治與社會哲學評論》*Zhengzhi yu shehui zhexue pinglun* [Societas: A Journal for Philosophical Study of Public Affairs], No. 10, (2004), 215 – 230.

Does there exist this kind of capital throughout religious groups in Taiwan? Due to geographical and juridical constraints, competition between religious organizations has been rare. The religious organizations were too busy with local affairs. However, when religious groups begin to take on the characteristics of a modern organization, as mentioned above, the boundary between members and non – members becomes clearer, and the concept of “property” gains importance. Organizational expansion is thus regarded as the expansion of the organization’s “private property.” Especially in the discussions of the religious economists, “believers” have become one kind of “capital” (Iannaccone, Olson, and Stark 1995: 726).^⑰ Further observation shows, however, that “religious goods” are very different. Thus the objective basis cannot be found in the content of “religious goods,” such as certain religious activities, transcendental power, and transcendental discourses. What could this be? This question can be traced back to the institutional environment that characterizes the relationship between competing religious organizations.

The development of an organization cannot be discussed without considering its institutional environment, just as the development of a religion cannot be talked about without considering the social expectations and perceptions of the public about religious organizations in the context of the whole society. The social expectations about religion are the basis for a religious organization’s legitimation in society. The efforts to strengthen their legitimation follow the logic of “negation” (*la dénégation*) in Bourdieu’s terms.^⑱ That is, they must disavow their interest in the management of economic capital to build their social capital in society. The social expectations take the form of symbolic capital. Like other non – profit organizations (the third sector), they disavow their interest in economic capital to gain social recognition. That is to say, if there is any generalized symbol shared in the religious field, it would not be a particular doctrine (dogma), nor any ritual, nor any transcendental element, but the symbolic capital constructed in a social context. Religion is a socially constructed field in terms of social expectations (including governance of the national discourse) where symbolic capital is competed for by different religious organizations (Meyer and Rowan 1991: 41).

The emergence of these symbolic elements is different from the process of “standardization” of the Frankfurt school.^⑲ It is the process of establishing a field where different organizations share some set of symbolic capital in order to legitimate their positions in the field. In contrast to “rational institutional myths,” religious groups are not located in the field of a national government’s official bureaucracy, nor in a market, both of which could be characterized as a field of instrumental rationality. Instead, they are located outside the field of instrumental rationality, in the realm of the third sector, an environment derogating the value of for – profit instrumental rationality. Thus, the emergence of a religious field comes along with the fact that the

^⑰ Iannaccone, L. R., Olson, Daniel V. A. and Rodney Stark, “Religious Resources and Church Growth”, in *Social Forces*, No. 74, (1995), 726.

^⑱ Bourdieu, Pierre, *Le sens pratique*, (Paris: De minuit, 1980), 216.

^⑲ Adorno, Theodor, “On Popular Music,” *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, No 9. (1941), 17 – 18.

symbolized term “religion” is legitimated in the social environment. Religion itself also becomes a legitimated symbol in society and represents a medium through which three categories—religious field, religious organization, and religious self—emerge. If the Western Christian religion is constructed depending on the Christian doctrine (dogma), Taiwan’s social construction of the religious field is based on the social discourses about religion and in the process of symbolization of religion. Unlike the “rational institutional myth”,^② Taiwan’s religious institutional environment seems closer to the myth of the “symbolic system (symbolic institutional myths).”

VI. Conclusion

The main trends in Taiwanese religion are the legal registration of religious organizations under the governance of the state, and, more importantly, religious organizations (as organizational agents) constructing a field with objective symbolic capital. Many religious groups committed to philanthropy have emerged in recent years. Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, the Taiwanese government has encouraged religious organizations to promote charity and public welfare by giving awards to those who donate a certain amount of money. These awards may not directly affect the religious organizations very much, but they do strengthen the social expectations of religious organizations. For those organizations which are eager to attract more people, the awards could help to build a good public image. Religious organizations may not really care about the award itself, but receiving the award does help to legitimate their position and strengthen their identity in the religious field. The trend of engaging in charity can thus be seen as an example of homogenization (isomorphism).^②

Each religious organization, whether in transition or newly established, learns to find a “position” in modern society for constructing its organizational autonomy. Any institutional environment should not be understood as “rational” just because it fits in with the political institutionalization of nation – building.^② The third sector is a distinctive alternative “field” between the for-profit market and the state, both of which are characterized by instrumental rationality. In the viewpoint of social exchange, the operation of the third sector follows the logic of the denegation of instrumental rationality. Religious organizations seek their own identity in the institutional environment by way of denegation of instrumental rationality. Therefore, their field should not be viewed as equivalent to the market.

In addition, an analysis of organizational expansion shows that the construction of religious symbols in the religious field in Taiwan is basically different from that of Western Christianity.

^② Meyer, John and Brian Rowan, “Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony,” in: Powell, W. and Paul DiMaggio, eds., *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, (Chicago: 1991), 47 – 48.

^② Powell, W. and Paul DiMaggio, “The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields,” in *ibid.*, eds., *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, (Chicago: 1991), 67 – 69.

^② Meyer, John W., “Rationalized Environments,” in Scott/Meyer, ed., *Institutional Environments and Organizations*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage 1994), 38 – 39.

This difference in the operation of religious construction cannot be judged by the expansion pattern, but by the production of symbols which are shared by the agents of the same field. The characteristics of symbolic creation in the Taiwanese religious field are not only evident in the organizational expansion pattern, but also in the inclusion of symbolic capital in the institutional environment. Because of the characteristics of this cultural construction, there is no “center” like that found in the structure of Western Christianity. Therefore, the degree of stability and autonomy of the religious field seems to be not so high in the Christian field. This is related not to organizational management, but to the characteristics of cultural operation embedded in the institutional environment.

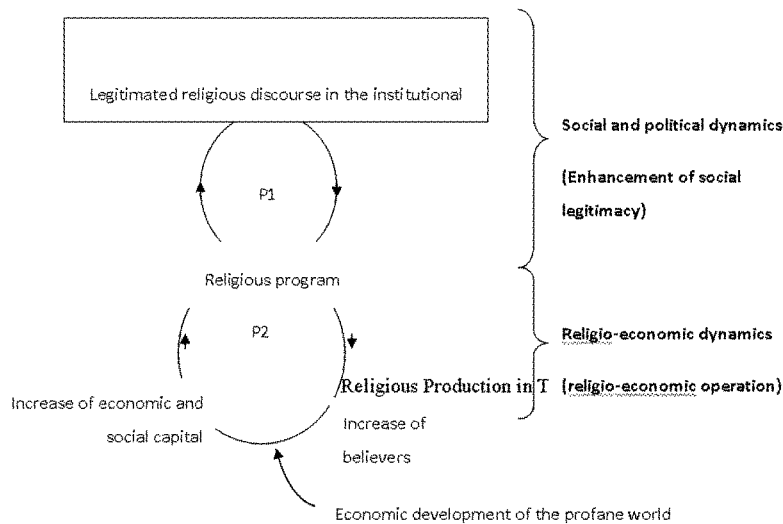


Figure 4. Dynamics of Religious Production in Taiwan

中文题目：

现代台湾民间宗教组织的发展和文化特点
——及其与西方基督教的关键差异

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摘要：台湾宗教团体展现出两种不同的组织扩张模式：一种是科层式的扩张模式，另一种是分香、分庙的扩张模式。本研究试图说明，台湾本土宗教团体所展现的这两类扩张模式，分别代表台湾本土宗教场域中存在着两种不同宗教性。此外，本研究也阐明了在这两种不同宗教性的团体背后，其实体现出一共通特质，亦即符号性的制度化过程。就这点上，台湾本土宗教展现出了有别于西方基督教组织的不同之处。藉由与西方基督教组织扩张的比较，让我们可以清楚看到台湾本土宗教的宗教性与西方基督教的关键差异。

关键词：宗教扩张、宗教组织、民间宗教、宗教性、台湾宗教

书评与通讯
Reviews and Academic Reports

基督教与当代中国社会思潮

——中国神学论坛第六届研讨会英国牛津大学召开

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幽深绵长的街巷、古色古香的城镇、高耸入云的塔楼。牛津的校园氛围和学术气息格外令人眷恋。带着对中国现状与未来发展的憧憬和展望,一百余位具有自由主义、新左翼、新儒家及基督教等不同学术背景的中西学者齐聚被誉为“世界学术之都”的牛津大学,就“基督教与自由主义”、“基督教与新左翼”、“基督教与新儒家”等话题展开坦诚的沟通 and 交流。据主办方透露,此次于2013年8月20-23日在牛津大学召开的研讨会乃是伴随着一个大背景而召开的。

众所周知,在20世纪与21世纪交际的1993年夏季,有两件重大的文本信息一度引起全球范围内极大的关注,其一是塞缪尔·亨廷顿(Samuel P. Huntington,1927- -2008)于美国《外交》季刊发表的《文明的冲突?》一文;其二是孔·汉思(Hans Kung,1928-)等人在1993年9月于世界宗教议会一百周年期间发布的《走向全球伦理宣言》。前者尖锐地提出了当今世界各国民族政治、军事、宗教之张力和冲突的缘由,后者则为当今世界范围内各种文明形态的张力和宗教文化的冲突提出了解决的方案和和解的共识。

当20世纪90年代初大洋彼岸兴起“文明的冲突”和“走向全球伦理宣言”之风时,中国本土也刮起了“市场经济”的“旋风”。伴随着这场市场经济的旋风,中国不仅迎来了经济高速发展和国力迅速提升的气象,同时也造成了“贪污腐败”、“贫富差距”、“国有财产流失”等等严重的不利局面。中国该向何处去?成了亟待解决的头号问题。思想界围绕这些问题分化为不同的阵营,就以上问题以及经济发展、个人自由、社会福利、政治体制、文化发展等议题展开了全方位的争论。

对于在世界文明格局中占据重要地位的中华文明群体来说,如何面对内部各大思潮所存在的冲突以及可能存在的冲突,不仅决定了中华民族群体内部之间的关系,同时也决定了中华民族与世界各国民族之间的关系。

有鉴于此,作为以基督教为背景的中国神学论坛,他们希望带着友好、和平的心境为中国学术界的同仁们提供一个交流的机会。他们期待通过这次高端的研讨和交流,能促包括基督教在内的中国各大社会思潮的坦诚沟通和对话,并能借此积极建言中国在21世纪的未来走向和发展。

鉴于对此次研讨会的重视,承办方OCMS和Wycliffe Hall of Oxford University特地于8月20日晚在始建于1264年的牛津大学最古老的默顿学院(Merton College)之默顿大厅(Merton Hall)举行隆重的开幕晚宴。包括牛津大学、爱伯丁大学、伯明翰大学、赫尔辛基大学等多位欧美资深学者到会祝贺,此次华人圈的学者有来自中国社会科学院、北京大学、清华大学、复旦大学、中国人民大学、华东

师范大学、北京航空航天大学、香港中文大学、台湾中原大学等院校。

此次研讨会的主题为“基督教与当代中国社会思潮”。8月20日的议题为“基督教与自由主义”，8月21日的议题为“基督教与新左派”，8月22日的议题为“基督教与新儒家”。与会者有来自中国、英国、美国、德国、瑞士、芬兰、加拿大、韩国、马来西亚、香港、台湾等地，会议共举行三天，共有四十来位资深学者在会上做了专门的发言。据主办方透露，此次研讨会在中国及欧美学术界引起了高度重视，其原因有三点，其一，这是当代中国各大社会思潮的代表人士近十几年来首次坐在一起交谈和沟通。其二，研讨会期间，各背景学者就中国当下的现状畅谈了自己的看法，并经过多次深入的坦诚沟通和交谈，促成了一个共识文本：关于中国现状及未来发展的若干共识。据赴会者透露，这将是具有自由主义、新左派、新儒家及基督教背景之中国学者第一次达成了共识文本。从这个角度来讲，它的意义已远超本次研讨会的范畴，有学者指出，它将会成为中国学术界日后商谈共识议题的一个基础文本。其三，此次研讨会乃是基督教与当代整个中国社会思潮的第一次全面对话。

在8月21日题为“基督教与自由主义”之会议的第一天。大会安排的主题发言学者有八位，其中具有自由主义背景的学者有四位，他们是中国社会科学院的徐友渔教授、清华大学的秦晖教授、北京航空航天大学的高全喜教授及北京大学的郑也夫教授。他们的发言主题为“基督教文化与当代中国社会思潮”、“‘圣徒’还是‘神学家’——关于‘实践自由’及其先驱者”、“从政治立国到文明立国——百年中国的宪政之路”、“国家政策对教育的破坏”。来自基督教的发言学者为中国人民大学何光沪教授、香港中文大学邢福增教授、中国社会科学院刘澎教授、加拿大多伦多大学郑家栋教授。他们的发言主题为“当代中国的国家目标——一种基督教角度的思考”、“刘氏的十字架隐喻”、“基督教在当代中国的处境”、“汉语神学评议”。同时 Richard Mouw、Rick Lints、Martin Conway、高师宁、邓守成、孙尚扬等学者分别在会上做了回应发言。

在8月22日“基督教与新左派”的对话中，大会也安排了八位主题发言学者，其中来自新左派背景的学者有吕新雨教授、罗岗教授及黄纪苏教授（另外许纪霖教授替代另一位无法出席的学者发言），他们的发言主题为“解构主义、神学与启蒙精神”、“十字架下，载歌载舞——社会文艺手记”、“独根、造根与寻根——自由主义为何要与轴心文明接轨”、“两种改革：从80年代到90年代”。来自基督教背景的发言学者为台湾神学院前院长林鸿信教授、台湾中原大学曾庆豹教授、赫尔辛基大学黄保罗教授、复旦大学朱晓红教授，他们的发言主题为“莫特曼论自然——从‘自然的神学’到‘自然神学’”、“中华现代性的批判：中国激进主义基督教与新左派的对话”、“罗马天主教中国教会的修和之路”、“基督教视野下处于国家政权利维坦和自由主义野马之间的新左派”。同时 Dennis Hollinger、Tony Lambert、Thomas Harvey、Soott Sunquist、金雁、孙毅等学者也分别在会上做了回应发言。

在大会最后一天8月23日的“基督教与新儒家”的对话里，来自新儒家的学者有首都师范大学的陈明教授、北京航空航天大学的姚中秋教授、北京天则经济研究所的盛洪教授、中国人民大学的干春松教授。他们的发言议题为“基督教在中国和谐发展的必要性与可能性”、“一个文教，多种宗教”、“天道与神意——宪政主义的形而上起源比较”、“康有为对于耶教的认知及其对他创立孔教会的影响”。来自基督教背景的发言学者为中国社会科学院的卓新平教授、美国普度大学的杨凤岗教授、武汉大学的赵林教授及美国创欣神学院的李锦纶教授。他们的发言主题为“基督教思想的中国处境及其文化适应”、“基督教会、民主制度、公民宗教”、“基督教在全球的发展态势及其在中国面临的文化困境”、“中国天道观的神学诠释——新儒以外之选择”

纵观研讨会的三天议程，再次凸显了中国神学论坛的几大特色：1、高端性：研讨会邀请了多位在各领域富有代表性的学者参加。2、对话性：注重不同背景人士的对话和沟通。3、广阔性：邀请了不同国家和地区关心中国现状和发展的人士赴会。4、实效性：众多嘉宾的发言为中国的发展提供了难

得的建议和方案。还有,鉴于会议涉及的议题范围非常广,因此众多嘉宾的发言和赴会者的互动都没有足够的时间深入,不过,由于会后空余时间多,因此众多赴会者在私下又进行了更深入的探讨和交流,这种状况也使得本届研讨会如以往一样呈现了会上议题广、会后交流深的特点。难得的是此次研讨会让更多关注中国发展但平常不易见面的各派人士能相聚一起深入交谈相关议题,尤其难能可贵的是“对于中国现状与未来发展的若干共识”的发布,这已远超越本次研讨会的意义,事实上它将是学术界一次富有历史意义的共识文本。

主办方最后指出,中国神学论坛有自己的信仰立场和公共使命,但他们将一如既往地履行自己的使命,即在这个时代能扮演一个和平使者的角色,无论是学术界、教会界抑或是政府部门,论坛都愿意给他们提供一个对话和沟通的空间和平台。

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书评：赵文词的《民主的教法》

Richard Madsen, *Democracy's Dharma: Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan* (民主的教法：台湾的宗教复兴与政治发展), University of California Press, 2007. 191p.

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一般而言，宗教既会包含有关天理和人生的某些基本假设，从而为个体对自我的理解与建构提供参照，同时也会涉及到集体行动的组织与动员，并建立起对这种组织与动员的正当化论述。正因如此，宗教具有私人与公共的双重属性。不过，作为社会制度的“公”、“私”领域的定义与分野总是随着政治与经济条件不断演化的。在通常所说的现代社会中，由于自由市场与民主制度的出现，“私人领域”逐渐演化为能够体现个体自主性并被转译为“个体权利”的那部分生活内容，例如对生产与消费的参与以及私密关系的维系。与此同时，“公共领域”则被看作是处在国家与市场之外、对与公民的权利和福利有关的议题进行商讨与协作的空间。在这种情况下，如何在“公”与“私”的两个维度上重新组织信仰与实践，无疑成为宗教在现代社会中重新定位的关键。最近二、三十年间，伴随着台湾经济与政治的迅速发展，岛内宗教的基本格局也发生了重大变化。各类新兴宗教团体的活动与影响不仅为华人学者所重视，而且也受到了越来越多西方学者的关注。经过这些年的积累，学术界对台湾宗教现象的理解日趋丰富和深刻。尤其是在与私人领域相关的议题上（例如宗教与自我认同的形成，宗教与家庭、性属的关系，皈依、改宗的原因与条件等等），描述和分析已经相当细致。相比之下，对台湾宗教与公共领域的研究则尚存较多有待深入的空间。就此而言，美国社会学家赵文词（Richard Madsen）2007年出版的《民主的教法：台湾的宗教复兴与政治发展》一书提供了一个范本，从公共领域的角度，在更为广阔的政治—社会学背景中揭示了当代台湾宗教变迁的社会意涵。

汉语学界对赵文词并不陌生。作为美国加州大学圣迭哥分校的社会学教授，他曾以对广东一个千人小村——陈村——的社会史研究而著名^①。而他与罗伯特·贝拉（Robert Bellah）等人合著的《心灵的习性》一书则为他赢得了国际声誉^②。无论研究对象是中国社会还是对美国社会，宗教、道

^① *Morality and Power in a Chinese Village*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984; *Chen Village under Mao and Deng* (co-authored with Anita Chan and Jonathan Unger), University of California Press, 1992.

^② *Habits of the Heart* (co-authored with Robert Bellah, William Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven Tipton), University of California Press, 1995.

德与政治这三者的关系始终是赵文词分析的主题。近年来,赵文词始终密切关注着当代华人社会的宗教变迁,并尝试将这种变迁纳入到现代性、全球化以及“道德人类学”的脉络中加以诠释。而赵文词与台湾的因缘则可以上溯到1968年,那时这位未来的社会学家尚未正式进入学术生涯,而是以天主教徒的身份前往台湾传教。三十多年后,台湾蓬勃发展的宗教组织和日益成熟的民主政治则成为了他力图从中获得教益的研究课题。在台湾社会中,宗教与民主究竟是何种关系?这一追问正是《民主的教法》全书的出发点。

《民主的教法》篇幅不长,论述言简意赅,全书围绕对四个个案的比较研究加以结构,所涉及到的都是台湾最具有影响力的宗教团体,包括慈济、佛光山和法鼓山三个佛教机构以及道教组织行天宫。在第一章中,作者首先介绍了台湾的社会与宗教的历史背景,然后分别以四个专章描述了上述宗教团体的建立与发展的过程,分析了它们的理论和实践,最后以一章内容丰厚的结论收束全文。虽然本书讨论的核心是宗教组织的政治维度,但赵文词所感兴趣的并不是它们在选举等直接的政治活动中的策略与态度,而是这些团体在公民社会(civil society)的建设中所发挥的作用。赵文词注意到,这些宗教组织吸纳了台湾新兴城市中产阶级,组织他们参与社会互助活动,为他们提供了政府所无力提供的信心、希望与理想,从而使台湾的公民社会具有了实质内容。作者指出,他所研究的四个团体分别对应于台湾中产阶级内部的不同群体:行天宫所吸引的主要是最基层的中产者,例如小商人和职员;佛光山的支持者中多有企业主、官员和政治人物;慈济以中层管理者和专业人士为骨干;而法鼓山则更多地得到了学者和知识人的认可。这些信众或支持者成为中产阶级的方式不同,他们的思维和感受方式不同,因此所选择的要亲近的宗教团体也不同。此外,这几个宗教组织的族群特征也有差别。行天宫最具本土色彩,慈济团队中的台湾本省人也比较多,佛光山和法鼓山则以外省人为主。从宗教实践的特点上看,行天宫侧重传统的仪式,多以满足个体的愿望为目标;法鼓山注重禅学义理和个体修行;佛光山是一个综合性的大型佛教团体,能为信众提供多种选择;而慈济则专以慈善工作为其事业的核心。然而,重要的是,尽管存在着这些差别,所有这些宗教团体都吸收了赵文词看来属于儒家传统的一些道德准则,例如对家庭的照顾。综合而言,这些团体均能强调个体的社会责任,提倡慈悲与宽容,呼唤希望与和平。而这些伦理价值,恰恰是一个健康的民主社会所不可或缺的道德基础。

因此,赵文词认为,这些宗教团体不仅仅是台湾民主发展、结社自由的产物,它们本身也主动地促进了台湾政治与社会的顺利转型、减少甚至避免了从威权体制到民主体制的政治变迁中常常会发生的社会冲突。概言之,民主的进步与宗教的兴旺在台湾互为因果关系。这里的关键在于,象慈济、佛光山这样的宗教组织集中地体现并表述了台湾社会的道德秩序,从而发挥了“公民宗教”(civil religion)的作用。赵文词指出,他所研究的所有宗教团体都确认,个体、家庭、地方社群直至民族国家的利益都应当服从于更具普世意义的价值。这些群体与国家的合作不仅建立在自愿与非暴力的前提之下,而且其所坚持的道德原则高于任何特定的政治要求。由此,台湾的宗教发展没有导致或加剧政治分化,而是通过对普世价值的弘扬,促进了社会的团结、稳定、开放和宽容。

借助宗教,台湾的现代经验既有自身的独特之处,同时又具备了超越本土视野的道德高度,为破除某些既有的学术和意识形态成见提供了现实依据。首先,不能把宗教复兴看作对现代化的反动。该书所涉及的四个宗教组织中的积极参与者都不是现代政治经济条件下的失败者或边缘人,因此,那种把现代化看作宗教的敌人、认为宗教在现代社会必然衰退的经典世俗化论点是成立的。其次,台湾的经验也否定了那些将所谓的“亚洲价值”与普世价值对立起来、认定儒家社会与民主制度互不相容的种种观点。台湾的民主化既没有西方化、更没有基督教化(象韩国那样),而是与传统文化的复兴相伴相生。这种民主化并没有接受作为美国式民主之基础的那种个人主义。在台湾宗教组织所倡导的伦理中,个人、团体与政府的界限有时并不十分清楚,公私领域也会混同。社会更多地

被看作是一种扩大的“家”。但是,这种重视社群公善的传统伦理,并没有削弱台湾民众的民主权利和意识,反而构成了台湾公民社会的道德保障。这一事实也说明,“文明冲突”的假设没有道理。从世界范围来看,虽然某些保守的宗教团体可能会以文化之名引起不同民族或国家之间的纷争,但传统宗教也有潜力在巩固具有地方特色的现代性的同时促进全球的人类团结。

事实上,赵文词认为,宗教都具有消极和积极两个方面,关键是要让宗教能够发挥其积极的一面,也就是那种“进步的”、能够带来希望的一面。从威权体制向民主政治的过渡是一个充满风险的历程,宗教完全有可能激化政治矛盾和族群冲突,事实上这样的冲突在当今世界并不罕见。而台湾的幸运之处就在于,本土的宗教传统能够致力于社会的宽容与淳善,从而舒缓了政治转型所带来的紧张。赵文词对此评价甚高,他指出,无论台海两岸的局势未来如何发展,台湾经验已经为值得期待的宗教创新提供了一个令人欣慰的范例:这就是以宽广的慈悲软化竞争,将个人自由与社会责任结合起来,在尊重多元文化的同时秉持普世价值。

在《民主的教法》一书中,赵文词坚持了他批判经典世俗化理论、反对美式自由主义和个人主义的一贯立场,力图在道德普世主义与文化多元主义之间寻找到结合点。他对台湾宗教的进步性的分析相当充分,但是,他对于产生这种进步性的条件的探讨却稍嫌不足。例如,赵文词指出,台湾民主转型的一个独特之处就在于,这种民主化是通过国家与社会的合作、而不是国家与社会的对抗达成的。在台湾,真正的公民社会是在解严和民主化之后才成长起来的。在民主化之前与之初,并没有一个足以对抗国家的公民社会。宗教组织往往都与官方合作,而官方也都认可它们在解决社会问题上的贡献,对它们给予了适当的支持。赵文词似乎相当赞赏这种非对抗的模式,并暗示该模式最终有助于社会的稳定,有助于促成宗教在民主化过程中的正面角色。但问题在于,这一切的条件是要存在一个有信心和意愿与社会合作、而不是全力压制并解构社会的国家。换言之,宗教对公共生活的可能贡献,决不是单纯由宗教所依据的文化传统所能决定的,因为公共领域的开放程度和游戏规则,在相当程度上亦受制于国家和市场的性质与模式。如果一个社会中的国家与市场的运行逻辑从根本上就并非以公善为目标,如果其政治、经济与文化精英不相信在“利益”之外还有任何其他真实可靠的价值,如果在公共生活中没有确立国家和宗教都必须遵守的任何共同规范、甚至连有关这类规范的讨论都要遭到禁止,那么,宗教与国家的一味合作不仅不会产生什么新的希望,而且还意味着宗教的自我背叛与堕落。从这个角度来看,台湾宗教的经验究竟能否、并在多大程度上有助于“在其他的时间和地点”培育出新的“希望之苗”来,仍然是个悬而未决的问题。

English Title:

A Review on Richard Madsen's *Democracy's Dharma: Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan*

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Confucianism and Christianity in Mutual Interaction

An Appraisal of Paulos Huang's Contribution to the Dialogue

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During the 21st century, the interaction between Chinese and Western culture is likely to constitute the single most important dialogue between civilizations. All of us should therefore be grateful to Dr. Paulos Huang for mapping so helpfully the historical and actual dialogues between Confucianism and Christianity, and for pointing so succinctly to zones of conflict as well as convergence between the two traditions.

Inter-cultural dialogue is today not only going on between persons living far away from one another on different continents. The most intense dialogue takes place in the minds of individuals who have the burden and advantage of embodying more than one culture. Such person is Dr. Huang who is a Chinese living between Hong Kong and Helsinki, and a Chinese Christian deeply immersed in Chinese tradition and mentality. He states his own tension as follows: “Every time when I focus on my own deeds, I realize that *sola gratia* is my hope. Once I have peace and certainty concerning salvation, I will again paradoxically try to self – cultivate”.^① The tension expressed here is between acknowledging the duties of Heaven (in Christian parlance, the divine Law), while trusting the grace of God by which God accepts the human person (according to the Christian Gospel), even in states of human imperfection.

Whether one pursues the Confucian Way or the Christian Way, or combines aspect of the one with the other, it becomes clear that both traditions have long ago left the domains of magic and superstition. What matters is the formation of mentalities and attitudes towards reality, inspired by the great practical teachings of canonical Books. The open question, then, is what constitutes, human reality, and what is Ultimate Reality? Is, or should, Confucianism be open to the Christian awareness of a personal – like God? And is,

^① Paulos Huang, *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation: A Systematic Theological Analysis of Basic problems in the Confucian – Christian Dialogue*, (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2010).

or should, Christian theology be open to the concerns expressed in the Confucian concept of self – cultivation?

The work of Dr. Huang shows convincingly that Confucianism and Christianity cannot simply be either contrasted or united, as if each partner in the dialogue were clearly defined units. Within Christianity, two varieties are sorted out, *viz.* Catholic and Protestant theology. As for Confucianism, Dr. Huang helpfully proposes a typology of five phases of Confucian self – development, from Ancient Confucianism over Neo – Confucianism to varieties of Modern Confucianism. All of these schools claim to constitute the genuine Confucian heritage, but differ, as a matter of fact, markedly from one another. No surprise, therefore, that some forms of Confucianism are hostile to Christianity while others are highly appreciative of Christianity. The main question, as pointed out by Dr. Huang, is the question of transcendence vs. monism. His thesis is that both Ancient Confucianism and several varieties of Modern Confucianism are sympathetic to Christian ideas of transcendence.

One example of this trend is the Harvard Professor TU Weiming, who argues that Confucian humanism differs from secular humanism by assuming that human morality is inconceivable without a constant reference to Heaven, which according to the *I Ching* is creativity in itself. According to TU Weiming, Heaven cannot be conceived merely in naturalistic terms; the role of human persons is exactly to *participate* in the creativity of Heaven, as it were by *attuning* oneself to the resources of Heaven. In this sense, human beings are also co – creators. So conceived Heaven is omnipresent and omniscient, but not omnipotent; the role of human beings is exactly to complete Heaven’s great work. ②

Let me take this opportunity to say where I as a Christian theologian find consonances with and differences to the Confucian notions of self – cultivation. I do appreciate the Confucian concept of self – cultivation, and see this as a fertile concept to explore in future dialogues. The idea of self – cultivation may even be endorsed by Christians, in so far as also Christians assume that God’s Law is not extrinsic to human nature, but is part of the human condition of being placed in a constant relation to God. This relation to God is part of being a human, even where the person lives as a sinner in a sinful world. Even the most austere view of human possibilities in the Christian tradition has always claimed that being a “sinner” can never characterize a human being fully, without giving due account of the positive view of the human person as “created in the image and likeness of God” (Gen 1:26 – 27).

To put it in traditional terms, human nature may have become perverted, but human nature cannot simply be deleted or annihilated. To put in other terms, the person living in sin cannot exist without traces of being destined to live in attunement to God (or Heaven). Moreover, the Christian Gospel states that even though the human relation to God is distorted, God is steadfast in keeping His relation to each and any human being, wherever he or she lives. Even where human beings do not actually trust God, God trusts in human beings. Let me here remind of a central passage in St. Paul’s Letter to the Romans: “What if some were unfaithful? Will their faithlessness nullify the faithfulness of God? By no means!” (Romans 3:3 – 4). The point is that God’s positive relation to humanity is maintained, even where human beings neglect God’s Law in their minds and deeds.

Exactly here, however, differences emerge, and no sincere dialogue between Confucianism and Christianity should neglect remaining differences. As Dr. Huang points out there is no correlate in

② TU Weiming, “Confucian Spirituality in Contemporary China”, Paper for the Beijing Summit on Chinese Spirituality.

Confucian thought to the Christian notion of God's "justification" of humanity in Jesus Christ. The central idea is here that human beings are unconditionally accepted by God, even where we are weak, unwise, and wrongdoers. However, as Dr. Huang point out, there might be a stronger resonance between the Confucian understanding of self – cultivation, and the Christian notion of "sanctification".

There are here, as I see it, interesting zones of contact between Confucianism and Christianity. Confucians remind Christians of the fact that God's Law is not purely external to being a human with God – endowed possibilities. Christians, on their side, may remind Confucians that our self – cultivation will always be incomplete. The very claim to be or to become *perfect* via self – cultivation constitutes the problem, seen from a Christian view. For what is perfection, if so strive so ardently for becoming perfect that we take pride in our achievements, and constantly need to inform other people about our own superiority (thus hiding our own weakness)? The Christian response might be that we are actually never becoming perfect by our own achievements. The hidden spot (in Christian terms, "sin") lies in the very Self that we tend to see as the engine or activity – basis of our many attempts to cultivate ourselves towards perfection. According to Christian teaching, our own Self needs to be freed from self – inflation, that is, from attempts of self – justification. This is where Christians point to the Other – Power of God, who is at work not only from the Heaven, but dwells amongst us, in the midst of our struggles and weaknesses. So St. Paul says, "Do nothing from selfish ambition or conceit, but in humility regard others as better than yourself" (Philippians 2:3). By acknowledging our own imperfection, we can take joy in any progress of cultivation, for "it is God who is at work in you, enabling you both to will and to work for his good pleasure" (Philippians 2:13).

In this view, there is no contrast between divine and human powers. There is no fixed – pie view of power, so that if one takes a bite from the cake, there is less left to the others. It is not the case that when God does something, we are rendered powerless, and when we cultivating ourselves, we are detracting from God's power. Rather God uses power to empower us, in the midst of our lives. God is generous by giving so as to be able to receive. Similarly, on the Christian conception of God it is as natural for God to live in the midst of our earthly turmoil, as it is for God to reside in Heaven. "The Word of God became flesh and lived among us", as it is expressed in the Christian doctrine of incarnation (John 1:14).

What I suggest is that both Confucians and Christian may be able to say that the active role of human beings always presupposes a mutual relation between Heaven and humanity. How this is going to be spelled out remains to be explored in future dialogues. At this stage I can only express my deep gratitude and respect for the many impulses for dialogue that we have received through this important work of Dr. Paulos Huang.

中文题目：

双向式相互影响之中的儒家与基督教
——黄保罗对儒基对话的贡献评定

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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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Use continuous footnotes from the start to the end of your article.

2. 一般情况下,引用外文文献的注释仍从原文,无须另行译出。

Use original literature when the reference is in a language other than the article, a translation of the citation is not required.

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Independent bibliography is not required.

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Please use authentic, accurate, and standard literature references.

5. 非汉语语言以英文为例。

We use English as an example of all the non-Chinese languages.

二、分则 Detailed Rules

1. 专著 Monograph:

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。

David E. Sanger, “U. S. and Seoul Try to Ease Rift on Talks with the North,” *New York Times*, (11 June, 2005).

7. 期刊中的文章 Articles in journals:

李炽昌 Li Chichang, 《跨文本阅读策略: 明末中国基督徒著作研究》*Kuawenben yuedu celiue: Mingmo Zhongguo jidutu zhuzuo yanjiu* [The Strategy of Readings in Chinese Christian Writings], 《基督教文化学刊》*Jidujiao wenhua xuekan* [Journal of Christian Culture], No. 10, (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China], 2003), 168。

J. R. Carrette, “Religion and Mestrovic's Postemotional Society: The Manufacturing of Religious Emotion,” *Religion*, vol. 34, (2004), 271.

8. 会议论文 Conference papers:

田海华 Tian Haihua, 《汉语语境中的“十诫”: 以十九世纪基督新教的诠释为例》*Hanyu yujing zhong de “Shijie”: Yi shijiu shiji jiduxinjiao de quanshi wei li* [The Ten Commandments in the Chinese Context], “第四届‘基督教与中国社会文化’国际年青学者研讨会”*Disijie “Jidujiao yu Zhongguo shehui wenhua” guoji qingnian xuezhe yantaohui* [The Fourth International Young Scholar Conference on Christianity and Chinese Social Culture], (香港 Xianggang, 香港中文大学 Xianggang zhongwen daxue [Chinese University of Hong Kong], 2008年12月5-9日), 3。

John Barwick, “Liu Tingfang, Chinese Protestant Elites, and the Quest for Modernity in Repu Xinping

Republican China”, presented in “The 4th International Young Scholars’ Symposium on ‘Christianity and Chinese Society and Culture’”, (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 5 – 9 December, 2008).

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。

Nathan C. Faries, *The Narratives of Contemporary Chinese Christianity*, (The Pennsylvania State University, PhD dissertation, 2005), 22.

10. 互联网资料 **Internet source:**

<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/polis/englishschool/wilson03.doc>, 2005 – 03 – 27.

11. 重复引用 **Consecutively repeated citations:**

同上书,第 19 页。

Ibid., pp. 73 – 75.

12. 转引 **Quotation from a secondary source:**

新疆档案馆档案政 Xinjiang dang“anguan dang”an zheng 2 – 5 – 140 [Xinjiang Archives . Politics], 转引自木拉提·黑尼亚提 Mulati Heiniyati:《喀什噶尔瑞典传教团建堂历史考》Kashigeer Ruidian chuanjiaotuan jiantang lishikao [A Study on the History of Church Establishment in Kashgar by Sweden Missionaries],《新疆社会科学》*Xinjiang shehui kexue* [Social Sciences in Xinjiang], (乌鲁木齐 Wumumuqi:2002 年第 3 期), 64 – 65。

Stanley A. Erickson, “Economic and Technological Trend Affecting Nuclear Nonproliferation,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, vol. 8, no.2, 2001, p. 43, quoted from Michael Wesley, “It’s Time to Scrap the NPT,” *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 59, no. 3, (September 2005), 292.

13. 字体、字号 **Font and size:**

所有字体使用 SimSun 或 Times New Roman;文章标题用 14.5 号;外文题目、纲要与关键词用 9.0 号,行距为 1.0;汉语正文用 10.5 号,小标题用 13.5 号,行距为 2.0;外文正文为 11.5,小标题 13.5 号,行距为 1.0;正文中的引文用 9.0 号,行距为 2.0;注释用 8 号,汉语行距为 2.0,外文行距为 1.0。

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16. 其他 Others:

河北省地方志编纂委员会 Hebei sheng difangzhi bianzhu an weiyuanhui [The Editorial Committee of Hebei Provincial Chorography] 编:《河北省志·宗教志》Hebei sheng zhi . Zongjiaozhi [Hebei Provincial Chorography . Religions], (北京 Beijing: 中国书籍出版社 Zhongguo shuji chubanshe [Chinese Books Publishing House],1995),224。

U.S. Agency for International Development, *Foreign Aid in the National Interest*, (Washington, D. C. , 2002), 1.

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