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\* Neither English abstracts nor key words are provided for the foreword from the editor's desk, book reviews and academic reports.

## 卷首语 From the Editors' Desk

### Orthodoxy in China: History, Current State and Prospects for Studies<sup>[1]</sup>

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The Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church officially appeared in 1956, but the history of Orthodox Christianity spreading in China goes back more than three centuries. It should be noted that during this period Christianity has taken in only a small number of Chinese, but the successes of Orthodox missionaries in this field have been even smaller than that of Catholics and Protestants. Orthodox Christianity in the territory of China mainly was professed by descendants of Albazianians and those Russians who had moved to China. Currently, the number of Orthodox in the People's Republic of China does not exceed a few thousand. However, this topic is of great interest because it is a part of the history of Sino-Western spiritual dialogue and history of Russian-Chinese cultural intersection. In addition, the spread of Orthodoxy in China has always been associated with the development of bilateral interstate relations between China and Russia.

### **The First steps of Orthodoxy in China. Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing.**

In 1685, the Orthodox Priest Maxim Leontiev came to Beijing with a group of Russians captured by the Qing military troops in the fort of Albazin, and as a result of this the first Orthodox Chapel appeared in the Qing capital. In 1715—1716, the first Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, formed according to Peter the Great's edict, arrived in China. It was headed by Archimandrite Hilarion (Lezhaisky).

The Mission was first officially recorded in the Sino-Russian Treaty of Kyakhta (1727). Under Sava Vladislavich's pressure<sup>[2]</sup>, the Qing government conceded to the Russians the right to establish permanently the Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing as it was written in Article V of the Treaty.

The Mission operated in China for about three centuries. Apart from their religious activities, members of the Mission's staff figured prominently in promoting Sino-Russian cultural exchanges in various fields. More remarkably, it is largely owing to the Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing that Russian Sinology began to take its shape. The Mission is considered to have served as a major channel for communication and transmission of

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[1] The first four parts of this article are written by SAMOYLOV, and the last part is written by Paulos HUANG.

[2] Count Sava Lukich Vladislavich-Raguzinsky (169-1738) was a famous Russian diplomat in the employ of Peter the Great and his successors who signed the Treaty of Kyakhta, which regulated relations between the Russian Empire and the Qing Empire until the mid-19th century.

cultural concepts and ideas between Russia and the Qing Empire.

Russian Orthodox missionaries slowly established a small Orthodox Christian community in Beijing and its suburbs. They endeavored to translate liturgical books into the Chinese and Manchu languages, as well as translate Chinese and Manchu texts about the Qing Empire into Russian. More noticeably, members of the Mission carried out various diplomatic assignments, and since 1917 they began to focus on the spiritual care and moral support of a large group of Russian exiles due to the Revolution and Civil war in Russia.

Nowadays, there is still a need to further explore the history of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in developing spiritual ties between Russian and Chinese peoples in the process of socio-cultural interaction. Now there are a lot of books and articles on the pre-revolutionary period of the Mission history, but some key issues deserve more serious study and analysis: 1) the place of Russian Orthodox Christianity in the religious exchanges and dialogues between Russia and China; 2) the importance of Russian and Chinese works written by Russian missionaries in the cultural interaction process; 3) the role of the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission in the formation and transformation of multilayered cultural images in Russia and China. Based on in-depth analysis of these issues, we will get a better summary of the historical role of the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission in the Russian-Chinese cultural dialogues during the early modern period.

The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing had a clear goal to ensure mutual understanding and interaction between Russia and China. 18 groups of Russian Orthodox missionaries were dispatched to Beijing in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and their activities clearly suggested a three-in-one role: 1. Preaching Christianity; Fulfilling diplomatic assignments from the Russian imperial government; Studying Chinese language, history and culture for practical and intellectual purposes. The direct contacts between Russians and Chinese certainly allowed abundant room for Chinese perceptions of Russian people and culture. However, largely due to the diplomatic and scholarly twist of their missions, the Orthodox missionaries often fell short of evangelical enthusiasm.

The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission also made its own contribution to the cause of teaching the Russian language in China. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of March, 1708, during the reign of Kangxi, the first school of the Russian language was founded in Beijing. This was approved by the imperial court. At the beginning the Russian language teachers were merchants, who arrived in Beijing with trade caravans. When the merchants left with caravans, the classes stopped. In a few years, students from the school were taught by some representatives from the Albazin community. A new stage in teaching Russian language began with the arrival of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission. After the Yongzheng Emperor's (1723-1735) ascension to the throne, there was a reorganization of the school, which in 1716 was renamed as the School of Russian Language at the Imperial Chancellery. After the emperor's edict, two priests from the Orthodox Mission were invited to teach Russian in the school. From then on, priests from the Russian Mission were actively engaged in teaching, and introduced students to not only the basics of Russian language, but also acquainted young Chinese and Manchu people with important and useful aspects of Russian culture and daily life. In so doing, the Orthodox missionaries managed to maintain a vital component for their spiritual dialogues with Qing Chinese people.

In the first half of the 19th century, some members of the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission became well-known sinologists and made noticeable contributions to Russian intellectuals' knowledge of Chinese culture, history, and language. They acted as interpreters of Chinese culture, and as its original foreign chroniclers, promoted the Russian formation of what was essentially a new communication mode for socio-cultural interaction.



Among members of the Mission whose scholarly achievements won wide recognition there were Archimandrite Iakinif (Bichurin, 1777-1853), Archimandrite Pyotr (Kamensky, 1765-1845), Archimandrite Palladius (Kafarov, 1817-78), and Vasily Vasilyev (1818-1900). They studied the history of the Qing Dynasty, Manchu Army, the relations between China and neighboring countries, Chinese religions, and they also endeavored to translate many Chinese and Manchu historical sources into Russian. However, many members of the Beijing Mission's clerical staff that were actively engaged in research and translation work almost failed to fulfill their pastoral duties.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of November, 1863, Russian Emperor Alexander II approved the "Act on the transformation of the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission"<sup>[3]</sup>. Under this edict, it was separated from diplomatic activities and all secular persons from the Mission staff (a physician and students) were transferred to serve in the Russian Diplomatic mission established in Beijing in 1861<sup>[4]</sup>. In this new situation, the Russian missionaries who served in the Beijing Mission could focus on guardianship and protection of the Albazin Orthodox community and preached Christianity among the Chinese and Manchu.

During the Yihetuan (Boxer) Rebellion of 1898-1900, the Mission was destroyed, and more than 200 Chinese Orthodox Christians were killed. At the same time, the famous library of the Mission and its archive were burned in a fire. The anti-Western uprising targeted missionaries as well as Chinese converts to Christianity. The Orthodox liturgical calendar for the 24<sup>th</sup> of June remembers the 222 Chinese Orthodox Christians who were slaughtered in 1900 as Holy Martyrs of China, including the first Chinese Orthodox priest Father Mitrofan (弥特若梵·杨吉, 1855-1900).

Since 1901, the Head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, Archimandrite Innocent (Figurovsky), had been working hard to restore the Mission and baptized new groups of Chinese into the Orthodox faith. In 1902, he was consecrated Bishop in Russia and returned as the first Orthodox Bishop of China. He spent a lot of effort working to restore Orthodox churches that were destroyed and burned during the Boxer Rebellion. The number of Chinese priests increased. Bishop Innocent was very pessimistic about the possibility of converting people from the educated strata of Chinese society and decided to focus on the common Chinese who represented the lower strata of society. For this purpose, missionary stations were established in the hinterland.

At that time, Russian missionaries began to use Chinese traditions in order to strengthen the Orthodox community and create links between Orthodox Chinese from different villages near the missionary stations. The Chinese Orthodox priest Mikhail Ming wrote that after the Divine Liturgy and baptizing in Tongzhou village, he organized a traditional holiday dinner for Chinese from neighboring villages<sup>[5]</sup>. Another priest, Mikhail Tang, mentioned in his report (31. 12. 1915) that after the Liturgy in Yongpingfu village (Zhili Province) he provided renshi hui (认识会) - a meeting where Orthodox people from the surrounding areas could get acquainted with each other<sup>[6]</sup>.

[3] "Китайский благовестник" [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Issue 7-8. 1916. P. 18-19.

[4] О преобразовании Пекинской миссии [O preobrazovanii Pekinskoj missii \ On transformation of Peking Mission]. In: Странник [Strannik \ Pilgrim]. Issue 1. P. 33-34.

[5] Священник Михаил Мин [Fr. Mikhail Ming]. [Korrespondentsiya iz Tongzhou \ Корреспонденция из Тунчжоу]. In: Китайский благовестник [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Issue 1-2. 1916. P. 18.

[6] Священник Михаил Тан [Fr. Mikhail Tang]. Праздник в Юнпинфу [Festival in Yongpingfu]. In: Китайский благовестник [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Issue 1-2. 1916. P. 19.

By the end of 1915, missionary work had been organized in Beijing and six provinces of China, and there were 5587 baptized Orthodox Chinese. In possession of the Mission there were: The Assumption Monastery in Beijing, the Holy Cross Skete in Xishan mountains near Beijing, the metochions in Harbin, Dalian and Manzhouli, nineteen churches across the cities of Beijing (four), Shanghai, Tianjin, Hankou, Harbin, Beidaihe, Yunpinfu, Dundin'an village, etc., three chapels, five cemeteries, 32 missionary stations (14 - in the province of Zhili, 12 - in Hubei, 4 - in Henan, 1 - in Jiangsu and 1 - in Inner Mongolia), one seminary in Beijing, seventeen male and three female schools, and also a poorhouse near Beijing for 104 people<sup>[7]</sup>.

Soviet historians during the time of atheist rule in the Soviet Union did not write anything about the religious and cultural activities of the members of the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission, focusing their studies on sinological works of the Mission staff and students associated with the Mission. On the contrary, Russian sinologists since 1991 have published a number of works in which they very highly appreciated all aspects of the activities of the Mission staff<sup>[8]</sup>.

## Formation of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church

Since 1917, Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China began to focus on the spiritual care and moral support of a large group of refugees from Soviet Russia. By 1949, parishioners included not only Russians, but also approximately 10,000 Chinese converts.

In 1944, during the Japanese occupation, Bishop Victor (Svyatin), who stayed at that time in Harbin in the territory of the puppet state of Manchukuo, appealed to the Moscow Patriarchate with a request for reunification, but received no response. In July 1945, an Episcopal meeting in Harbin decided to ask the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Alexy I (Simansky) to return to the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. Reunification was held on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December, 1945. In 1946, the East Asian Exarchate was formed and included Beijing, Harbin, Shanghai, Tianjin and Xinjiang dioceses.

Then, in 1946, Bishop Ioann (John) of Shanghai (Maximovitch) restored communion with the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia. His activities led to the creation of parallel structures, and in Shanghai relations were broken with the Beijing center of Chinese Orthodoxy. However, after the Communist victory in the civil war in 1949, Archbishop Ioann (later glorified among the saints) was forced to leave with his congregation and clergy to the Philippines, and then to the United States, where he became Archbishop of San Francisco. A large part of the eparchial property was exported, and many important documents and materials from the Mission Council were destroyed.

After the Communist Party of China came into power in Mainland China, most of the Russian emigrants went away from China, and so the Moscow Patriarchate headed the creation of a Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church for the Chinese people where most of the bishops would also be Chinese. During the period from 1951 to 1953, 310 Chinese were baptized in Beijing. In 1950, at the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius (the most important Russian monastery and the spiritual center of the Russian Orthodox Church situated near

[7] Отчет о состоянии Пекинской Духовной Миссии в 1915 году. [Otchet o sostoyanii Pekinskoy Duhovnoy Missii v 1915 godu \ Report on the state of the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission in 1915]. In: Китайский благовестник [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Issue 1-2. 1916. P. 20-21.

[8] Православие на Дальнем Востоке. СПб., 1993; [Pravoslavie na Dal'nem Vostoke. St. Petersburg, 1993. \ Orthodoxy in the Far East. St. Petersburg, 1993].

Moscow), Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Alexy I (Simansky) consecrated the first Chinese bishop-Feodor Du Runchen, who descended from the ancient Albazinian family of Du Binir<sup>[9]</sup>. Many Chinese were also ordained as priests and deacons. Archbishop Victor had no doubt that successful missionary work would require an appearance of a second Chinese bishop. In his report to the Patriarch Alexy I on February 16, 1951, he suggested Archimandrite Vasily (Shuang), the Mission's confessor, to be consecrated as the new bishop.

By 1951, all the Chinese religious organizations established official "patriotic unions", which included Chinese believers only, and according to the new law did not have to be controlled from abroad. However, Chinese Orthodox believers could not do the same: Bishop Simeon (Du) had not full power, and Archbishop Victor (Svyatin) was a foreigner. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of July, 1954, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church decided to abolish the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China and donated its territory to the Soviet Embassy in Beijing.

In May 1956, Archbishop Victor (Svyatin) had to move to the USSR, where he served as Archbishop of Krasnodar and Kuban, and in 1961 received the rank of Metropolitan. The Chinese authorities agreed to the appointment of the head of the Chinese Orthodox Church, a Chinese citizen-a cleric of the Mission Archimandrite, Vasily (Shuang). That same year, on November 23, the Chinese Church received autonomous status from the Moscow Patriarchate.

"Draft terms of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church," was approved and signed on that day by His Holiness Patriarch Alexy, and included the following items: 1) In view of the closure of the East Asian Exarchate, the Moscow Patriarchate grants autonomy to the Orthodox Church of China; 2) The Moscow Patriarchate approves (in the absence of canonical obstacles) the head of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church after his election by this Church; 3) The Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church receives Holy Chrism from the Russian Orthodox Church, offers His Holiness the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia in worship and takes part in Local Councils of the Russian Orthodox Church through their representatives; 4) In its internal affairs the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church has full independence"<sup>[10]</sup>.

On May 30, 1957, in Moscow, the second Chinese Orthodox bishop was consecrated and the Chinese citizen Archimandrite Vasily (Shuang) became Bishop of Beijing. By that time the Chinese Orthodox Church had reached its greatest numbers. There were more than 100,000 communicants in North-Eastern China alone, with 200 priests in 60 parishes, several monasteries and a seminary. In other parts of China, there were 200,000 Orthodox Christians and 150 parishes.

Unfortunately, many churches were destroyed during the "Cultural Revolution" (the most famous of them was St. Nicholas Orthodox Cathedral in the center of Harbin), and the number of believers at that time was sharply reduced. In the late 1960s, the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church practically ceased to exist and has not fully recovered up until now.

The most tragic events at that time took place in Harbin, where many Orthodox believers lived. Groups of hongweibing burnt all icons of St. Nicholas Cathedral, including a great relic of the city-the wonder-working image of Saint Nicholas, which earlier was at a city station. Icons of Saint Alexis and Our Lady of Iveron

[9] On the history of this family see the book: 杜碧宁 在中国 Du Bining zai Zhongguo [Du Bining in China, private publication].

[10] Священник Дионисий Поздняев [Fr. Dionisiy Pozdnyayev]. Православие в Китае (1900-1997). М., 1998. С. 170-171. [Pravoslaviye v Kitaye (1900-1997) \ Orthodoxy in China. Moscow, 1998. P. 170-171].

temples were also burnt. During three days of icon burning, “Red guards” randomly rung the bells of temples. In some parks and working clubs icons were displayed for public desecration. After the closing of the Church dedicated to the Our Lady of Iveron in Harbin, a sewing workshop was arranged there. The St. Sofia temple was transformed into a working hostel. St. Alexis temple was remodeled into a dining room and a grocery warehouse. All temples on the former Chinese-Eastern railroad line were closed. “In those days the Orthodox clergy suffered also. Priests were clothed in clown’s dressing gowns, their faces smeared with soot, hanged with posters with blasphemous inscriptions, gave crosses in their hands and in such attire led on streets. They were beaten; the crowd was reviling them, mocking the Orthodox relics”<sup>[11]</sup>.

After the start of Chinese economic and political reforms (“Reform and Opening-Up Policy”), the official attitude towards religions changed for the better. In 1983, the Government of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region officially recognized the right of the “Russian minority” (i. e., ten thousand Chinese citizens of Russian nationality who lived there) to celebrate Christmas and Easter, and declared these days for them as excluded days.

## Orthodoxy in contemporary China

According to the official sources from the Russian Orthodox Church, there are about 15 thousand Orthodox believers in today China<sup>[12]</sup>, and their number is growing both due to the increasing number of permanent or long-term resident aliens, and to growing interest in Orthodoxy among the Chinese. Therefore, the problem of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church’s revival is quite acute.

Some Western sources even say that, “there are currently 20 thousand Orthodox Christians in China”<sup>[13]</sup>. At the same time, Chinese scholars indicate much smaller numbers. In 2010, the Institute of World Religions (世界宗教研究所) at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences conducted a study in Heilongjiang Province and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in order to determine the number of Orthodox believers. Some of the results of this study were published in 2012 in the journal “World religious culture” (世界宗教文化). Based on similar calculations in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region where, on the basis of predetermined criteria, Chinese scholars counted not more than one thousand Orthodox believers, Tang Xiaofeng said that the total number of Orthodox in China is substantially less than 15 thousand people<sup>[14]</sup>. He considers that the inflated figures are due to the fact that all the representatives of the “Russian minority” (even the non-believers) are equated to be Orthodox, but he does not agree with this. Chinese scholars involved in this issue don’t apply precise methodology to the interview. They don’t take into account the self-identity of respondents, and offer their own (very strict) criteria.

At the same time, the Chinese authorities are considering the question of Orthodoxy in China in the overall context of contemporary Russian-Chinese relations and don’t want such a “small” (from their

[11] Ibid. P. 210.

[12] <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Patriarch-Kirill-starts-China-visit-today-27884.html>

[13] <http://vaticaninsider.lastampa.it/en/world-news/detail/articolo/cina-china-cina-chiesa-church-iglesia-ortodossia-ortodoxy-24749/>.

[14] 唐晓峰 TANG Xiaofeng 2012: “从宗教传播要素看东正教在中国的传播 Cong Zongjiao chuanbo yaosu kan Dongzhengjiao zai Zhongguo de chuanbo” [The Spreading of Orthodoxy in China in the Light of Religious Spreading Key Elements] in 世界宗教文化 *Shijie zongjiao wenhua* [World’s Religions and Cultures], 2012, Volume 6, 31-32.

perspective) problem that could create difficulties in the bilateral relationship. In this regard, they are willing to make minor concessions.

In this connection, it's very important that the official contacts between the Head of the Russian Orthodox Church Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Russia and Chinese leaders have become regular during last few years.

Patriarch Kirill paid his first visit to China in 2013. On May 10, the first day of his visit, he met in Beijing with the Chairman of the People's Republic of China Xi Jinping, as well as with Wang Zuoan, director of the China's State Administration for Religious Affairs. Xi Jinping said: "You are the first Patriarch of Moscow and the first supreme religious leader from Russia to visit our country," Xi told Kirill, presenting this unprecedented event as a "clear sign of the strength and high level of relations between China and Russia." Russian news agency RIA Novosti reported that during their conversation, Kirill emphasised the "special relationship that has blossomed between Russia and China in recent years." The same day in the evening, a reception was given on behalf of the Director of China's State Administration for Religious Affairs in honor of the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church<sup>[15]</sup>.

## Conclusion

The Orthodox Church has a long historical path in China. Though during the years of the "Cultural Revolution" and other repressions it suffered heavy losses, the country has a sufficient number of believers who require the authorities to restore the normal religious life of their communities. The number in the thousands is very conditional, because some Chinese citizens can't participate in religious life for fear of political and other social impacts, while others-because of the remoteness of their place of residence from the nearest church, or due to inability to obtain sufficient information.

Orthodox Christianity now is not included in the official list of all Chinese religions, and is considered to be the religion of the Russian minority. The main problems of the Orthodox Church in China lie in the lack of clergy, which, in turn, results from the fact that, on the one hand, a proper theological education is not available in the country and, on the other hand, they are not authorized to ordain priests.

In general, the official position of the Chinese authorities towards the Orthodox Church in China can be summarized as follows: Now Chinese Orthodox Christians enjoy the same freedom of religion, like all other believers that are citizens of China; the group of Orthodox believers in China is extremely small, and Orthodoxy can be attributed to minority religions, regional and national; Orthodox are mostly representatives of the Russian minority (ethnic Russians who are the citizens of the People's Republic of China) who live in limited areas of the Northeast and Northwest China; the Chinese government officially is not against Russia's assistance in the education and training of "qualified" priests, but according to the Chinese Constitution, religious organizations can't be controlled from abroad, and these priests must be Chinese citizens and obey the Chinese authorities.

A special issue is the presence in the territory of China of a significant number of Russian citizens who have "religious needs". For them, in accordance with Chinese legislation, religious services may be carried out periodically by Russian priests, but divine worship for foreigners should not be confused with divine

[15] [mospat.ru/en/2013/05/16/news85332/](http://mospat.ru/en/2013/05/16/news85332/)

worship for Chinese citizens.

At the present time, Chinese consider Orthodoxy to be exclusively a Russian religion, and the other Orthodox churches are unfamiliar even for educated Chinese. Therefore, some Chinese scholars consider all issues connected with position and activities of the Orthodox Church to be a part of Sino-Russian bilateral relations, and due to the fact that nowadays Russia is a friendly country, the intention of the Russian Orthodox Church to spread Orthodoxy in China should be viewed in the overall context of bilateral relations. Therefore, at present the Chinese leaders have shown their willingness for constructive cooperation in this matter.

The key point for registration of religious communities and their normal life is the presence of the priests. The Chinese authorities have agreed on training a number of Chinese priests in Russia. What remains unclear is the problem of ordination. Based on the precedents, the ordination carried out by foreign bishops can be interpreted as a violation of Chinese law prohibiting foreign control over Chinese religious organizations. But perhaps the Chinese government can permit it as an exception if the candidates will be agreed and coordinated with them and at the same time “elected” by the Chinese Orthodox communities.

In fact, the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church should resolve the same problem as before with the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in the 18th century-to fit into the Chinese legislation which doesn't recognize the full freedom of religious activities. Russian sinologist Alexander Lukin considers that “the Chinese Orthodox Church should be registered according to Chinese law, following the example of other ‘patriotic associations’”<sup>[16]</sup>.

Answering a journalist's question Metropolitan Hilarion, Head of the Department for External Church Relations, Moscow Patriarchate said: “The Orthodox Church of China is not some project imposed on us from outside. It was born in the depth of the Chinese Orthodox community, which is small, but is strongly committed to its faith. And I hope that this understanding will keep growing from now on.” The Metropolitan went on to describe the main task as securing the ordination of Chinese priests and resuming religious services at churches that still function as lay churches<sup>[17]</sup>.

Meanwhile, the revival of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church, whose status is not defined either in terms of the canonical law or from the standpoint of Chinese state law, is impossible without close cooperation and active interaction with the political leadership of the PRC. The Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate is negotiating with Chinese officials in a framework of consultations in the Russian-Chinese group of contacts and cooperation in the sphere of religion, but is still far from making specific arrangements. It seems that one of the obstacles to the success of consultations with representatives of the Chinese is a lack of understanding of China's position and concerns (real or perceived) of the Chinese leadership.

In this situation, the development of good-neighborly relations and partnership between Russia and China will contribute to improving the situation of Orthodoxy in China and will create an opportunity for the revival of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church. In this context, the personal contacts between the Patriarch Kirill and the Chairman of the PRC Xi Jinping look very promising.

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[16] Лукин А. В. [Alexander Lukin] Статус Китайской Автономной православной Церкви и перспективы Православия в Китае. М., 2013. С. 43. [Status of Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church and the prospects of Orthodoxy in China. Moscow, 2013. P. 43].

[17] <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/english/print61636.htm>

## About this volume

In our issue, scholars from Russia, Finland, Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Germany demonstrate various aspects of history and current state of Orthodoxy in China, such as Chinese explorations of Orthodox Theology, problems of translation of Orthodox lexis to Chinese, the Orthodox Catechism in Manchu collections in St. Petersburg, Chinese culture and religion in periodicals of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking, Chinese Orthodox martyrs of 1900, perspectives of the Orthodox Church in China, the intellectual approach of Chinese academia towards Orthodox Church, etc.

There are 13 articles in this volume.

In **the part of Humanities, Theology, and Chinese National Studies**, there are two articles. **The first article** is Aleksandrs Dmitrenko's "The intellectual approach of Chinese Academia towards Orthodox Church" from Heidelberg University, and the author talks about general tendencies in the interpretation of the Orthodox Church and missionary work in the works by Chinese scholars. Three major statements that can be found in the works by Chinese scholars have been found as follows: 1. The presence of the Orthodox Church in China is viewed as a result of the aggressive policy of the Russian Empire; 2. Missionaries are viewed as agents of the Russian government; 3. The Orthodox Church is closely linked with the Russian government. While focusing on the above-mentioned interpretations the author also provides overall comment on positive aspects and shortcomings of the studies done by the Chinese scholars. **The second article** is LAI Pan-chiu's "Chinese Explorations of Orthodox Theology: A Critical Review" from Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the author analyzes and evaluates critically the existing Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology. Lai shows that the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology were shaped not only by the renaissance of Orthodox theology in the twentieth century, but also by the contemporary Chinese context. It is expected that these limitations can be overcome, at least partially, through dialogue with contemporary Orthodox theologians. The dialogue may also help the Orthodox theologians to understand the possibly distinctive positive contributions to be made by Chinese theologians and scholars towards the contemporary articulation of Orthodox theology.

In the part of **Practical Theology and Sino-Western Views on Church and Society** there are two articles. **The first article** is L. A. Afonina's "Chinese Orthodox Martyrs of 1900: Survey of Historical Sources and Church Veneration". The author summarized and thoroughly examined all available sources on the Chinese Orthodox martyrs, who had suffered during the Yihetuan (Boxer's) uprising in 1900, analyzed the wide-spread historical myths concerning this topic and described the procedure of glorification and the practice of veneration of the Chinese martyrs in the Orthodox Church in different historical periods. **The second article** is Dmitry I. PETROVSKY's "Modern State and Perspectives of the Orthodox Church in China" from Asian desk chief at the Department for external church relations of Moscow Patriarchate, and the author states that Russian missionaries brought Orthodoxy to China over 300 years ago. The fruit of their efforts was formed as the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church. However, the development of the young Church organism was tragically interrupted under the stress provoked by the Cultural Revolution. Now the Russian Orthodox Church is exerting every effort to normalize the condition of the Chinese Orthodox Church, including the official state recognition on the all-China level. Proposed approaches met by the Chinese state, so the gradual development is on gone, but more has to be done.

In the part of **Chinese and Western Classics and the Bible** there are two articles. **The first article** is



Dmitri MAIATCKII's "The Book 'Conversations in the Assembly of Angels' by N. Bichurin as the First Experience of Creating an Orthodox Religious Text in Chinese", and the author presents a survey of a first Orthodox book in Chinese, issued in 1811 in China by the member of the 9<sup>th</sup> Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing (1807-1821) -Nikita Bichurin. Five copies of this book are collected in the Oriental department of the Scientific Library in St. Petersburg State University. The author examines bibliographical characteristics of these copies, discusses some circumstances of the book's creation, including its purposes and textual basis, structure and language features, the main stress is put on the specific ways and methods used by Bichurin for introducing Christian terminology to Chinese people. The second article is Tatiana A. PANG's "The Orthodox Catechism in the Manchu Collection of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences", and the author finds that the Christian texts in the Manchu and Chinese languages were mostly written by the Jesuit fathers in Beijing. Those were translations of Catholic works, prayer books and several known catechisms. The Russian Ecclesiastic mission produced rather few religious texts. The most known is the Chinese catechism by Iakinf Bichurin, which turned to be a version of the Catholic catechism. The already published Manchu language catechisms were composed by Jesuit missionaries. The article presents an unknown Manchu language catechism from the collection of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. It was written by the member of the Russian Ecclesiastic mission and reflects the Orthodox Greek tradition. Arranging his catechism in a usual form of questions and answers, its author made clear references to the New Testament. The Manchu manuscript seems to be a draft of a bigger work, since it bears corrections and is not complete. The available part of the manuscript deals with the questions of faith, origin of the Universe, explanation of the sin and punishment for it, as well as the ways of respecting God. The manuscript is a unique example of the Orthodox catechism, and the article presents its transliteration and English translation.

In the part of **Church History in the West and in China**, there are two articles. **The first article** is Irina KEIDUN's "History and Present State of Orthodoxy in China: A Review of Studies Published in the Russian Far East after the Year 2000" from Amur State University, Russia and the author analyzes the studies of the Orthodoxy in China that were published in the Russian Far East after the year 2000. This time Russian authors prioritize the questions of regional cooperation which for the most part are the results of the territorial proximity between the Russian Far East and Northeast China. **The second article** is Hartmut WALRAVENS' "The Publications of Sinologist A. Leont'ev as Reviewed in the *Russische Bibliothek* (St. Petersburg)" from Berlin State Library, and the author states that Leont'ev (1716-1786) was one of the earliest Russian Sinologists who had studied at Peking, and at the same time a prolific translator from Chinese and Manchu; many of his works were published. The article investigates whether these were recognized by the public. The author uses two approaches for this purpose: He checks whether the publications experienced more than one edition and whether they were translated into other languages-both is the case. He further investigated whether these books were reviewed in Hartwig Bacmeister's (1730-1806) famous *Russische Bibliothek* (1772/3-1787/9), the first Russian review organ and the basis for a prospective national bibliography. Bacmeister aimed at listing and reviewing all current Russian publications, a very difficult undertaking, considering the lacking infrastructure of the Russian book sector at the time; but he achieved it to a large degree. Because of the enforcement of stricter censorship regulations he had to give up the journal, despite his declared maxim to dispense with critical evaluations. The present article reproduced the full text of the review, identifies the originals of the translations and adds comments when necessary. On account of the



distribution and the reputation one may safely assume that the reviews contributed substantially to the advertisement and the dissemination of Leont'ev's publications-in Russian and abroad as well.

In the part of **Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies** there are two articles. **The first article** is A. V. LOMANOV's "Issues of Chinese Culture and Religion in periodicals of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking (1904 – 1917)". In the early 20th century Russian Ecclesiastical mission in Beijing has been actively engaged in preaching among the Chinese population. It was an incentive to pay attention to culture and religion of China. In 1904 was established the journal of the Mission in China under the title "Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae" (News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China), in 1907 it was renamed as "Kitajskij blagovestnik" (Chinese Good News). This periodical reflected the views of the Russian missionaries on cultural traditions, religious ceremonies and daily customs of the Chinese. On the basis of primary sources this article focuses on missionary' evaluations of Chinese culture and religious life, different interpretations of the prospects for propagation of Christianity in China at the backdrop of modernization of society and revolutionary change in politics, attempts to adapt the Orthodox message and organization to the specifics of Chinese society. The period is limited by the year 1917 because after the revolution in Russia the Mission had to abandon preaching among the Chinese. **The second article** is "Two Dialogues on Russian Philosophy and Orthodox Research" among Paulos Huang from Shandong University/University of Helsinki, Xu Fenglin from Peking University and Zhang Baichun from School of Philosophy at Beijing Normal University. They have discussed about the studies of philosophy, philosophy of religion and Orthodoxy of Soviet Union and Russia in China.

In the part of **Reviews and Academic Reports** there are three articles.

**The first article** is Elena KOLPACHKOVA's "Problems of Translation of Orthodox lexis to Chinese" from St. Petersburg State University, and the author states that Church and religious vocabulary as a specialized terminology represents a single corpus of denominational terms servicing the Orthodoxy as an important area of social life and human activities, since its linguistic units function in a niche sphere-in church use and religious practices. Nowadays, when the interest to the Orthodoxy resumed in China, when Russian Orthodox Church launched its international educational activities, study and standardization of the Orthodox vocabulary as a sui generis stratum within the Chinese language system has become a pressing need. Despite the seeming fixity of lexical units within this field, their comprehensive lexicographic and semantic analysis show that both meaning and denotation of certain concepts do not always pay due regard to denominational context and existing speech practices, which results in translation errors and distorted understanding of theological terms and religious doctrines.

**The second article** is "Scientific Conferences "Orthodoxy in the Far East" in St. Petersburg: Important Contribution to Religious and Cultural Studies" by Ekaterina ANDREEVA and Natalia PETUKHOVA from St. Petersburg State University, and the authors deal with the contribution to religious and cultural studies made by scholarly conferences "Orthodoxy in the Far East" held in St. Petersburg University in the 1990s-early 2000s. The results of the conferences are presented in four issues of collected publications under the same title. Various articles by a wide range of scholars and theologians bring this aspect of sinology to a new level of interest, turning it into a highly interdisciplinary subject matter in the contemporary humanities.

**The third article** is a Book Review on Wang Xuedian's *Chronicle of the 20th Century Chinese Historiography* *Chronicle of the 20th-Century Chinese Historiography*, (2 volumes, Commercial Press, Beijing, 2014) by LIU Xiaoyi and CHEN Feng from Shandong University. The authors state that Wang Xuedian's

*Chronicle of the 20th Century Chinese Historiography* is a chronological masterpiece on the 20th-century Chinese historiography in recent years. It clusters up affairs year by year, deals with characters in the order of events, and discusses scholarship through characters, reflecting the profiles of the 20th-century Chinese historiography in both macroscopic and microscopic perspectives. It unfolds not only the multifaceted historiographical landscape of modern China but also the socio-ideological context subterranean to its remarkable changes. Adopting annalistic format for its cardinal narrative, the Chronicle also consorts with a variety of other historiographical genres and is of great significance to philology, academic history, and intellectual history.

Special thanks are expressed to the following scholars. Professor Nikolay SAMOYLOV from St. Petersburg University has been invited as a special editor for this volume, and Dr. John Barwick from the History Department of Cornell University, USA has been polishing the English language of all the abstracts. Dr. Prof. XIAO Qinghe from Shanghai University has helped in the online version of this volume in [www.sinowesternstudies.com](http://www.sinowesternstudies.com), Dr. Prof. SU Dechao, researchers WANG Weiping and HU Zongchao from Wuhan University, have helped in the Wechat version of this volume.

中文题目：

东正教在中国：历史、现状和研究前景

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



# The Intellectual Approach of Chinese Academia towards the Orthodox Church

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**Abstract:** In this article, the author talks about general tendencies in the interpretation of the Orthodox Church and missionary work in the works by Chinese scholars. There are three major statements that can be found in the works by Chinese scholars; 1. The presence of the Orthodox Church in China is viewed as a result of the aggressive policy of the Russian Empire; 2. Missionaries are viewed as agents of the Russian government; 3. The Orthodox Church is closely linked with the Russian government. While focusing on the above-mentioned interpretations the author also provides overall comment on positive aspects and shortcomings of the studies done by the Chinese scholars.

**Key Words:** Orthodox Church, Russian Ecclesiastical mission, Chinese Academia, Sino-Russian relations

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Despite a 300 year long history of the Orthodox Church in China, its history and heritage remain fairly unknown to the most of the Chinese society. Even Chinese scholars indicate that Chinese Orthodox Church is a quite unpopular topic within Chinese Academia and there is a lack of specialists in this field.〔2〕

In this paper, I do not intend to provide criticism to every single article or monograph produced by Chinese scholars but will try to introduce general tendencies as well as positive aspects and shortcomings in Chinese Academia. Different scholars study different aspects of the Orthodox Church and it would be hard to discuss all these matters, that is why I will mainly focus on the authors who are studying the history of the

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〔1〕 Selected publications by the author; 1) Dmitrenko A. "Interpretation of the term "Comforter" in the Four Chinese Translations of the Gospel of John." In *Oriental Readings. Religions. Cultures. Literatures. The materials of the 4th Annual International Conference. Nov 17-18, 2017, Moscow*, Collection of materials/ ed. A. S. Balakhovskaya. Moscow, 2017, pp. 72-75. 2) Dmitrenko A. A. "St. Gury Karpov Chinese New Testament translation background" ( Rus. ) 47-я научная конференция Общество и гос-во в Китае. Том XLVII. Часть 1. / Редколл. : А. И. Кобзев и др. М. : ИВ РАН, 2017, с. 232-238. 3) Dmitrenko A. A. "Translation of Catechetical Literature as Basis for Preaching Christianity in China." ( Rus. ). *Issues of Far Eastern Literatures. Conference Materials. Vol. II, 2016*, pp. 30-38. The main fields of research; Chinese textbooks, the history of the Russian Orthodox Church in China, the history of Christianity in China, Chinese Bible translations.

〔2〕 李栋材 Li Dongcai, 《首届“中国的东正教研究及东正教群体”学术研讨会综述》Shoujie "Zhongguode Dongzhengjiao yanjiu ji Dongzhengjiao qunti" xueshuyantaohui zongshu [The Summary of the first conference on The studies of the Chinese Orthodox and Orthodox community], 《世界宗教研究》Shijie zongjiao yanjiu [Studies of World Religions], April (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学院 [Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], 2015), 190.

Orthodox Church in China.

First of all, I would like to highlight a translation and publication of the work by a Russian scholar Nikolaj Adoratsky about the history of the Orthodox Church in China, entitled 东正教在华两百年史, completed by Xiao Yuqiu 肖玉秋 in 2007. This work is very important for Chinese Religious studies because it provides access to one of the most important studies about the history of the Orthodox Church in China to a Chinese reader and may act as a bridge or a path to a dialog between Chinese and Russian scholars.

Chinese scholars who have studied the Russian Ecclesiastical missions in China, or who are considered to be experts in the history and theology of the Orthodox Church, are Xiao Yuqiu, Yue Feng, Zhang Sui, Zhang Baichun, Xu Fenglin, Yan Guodong<sup>[3]</sup> and others. Especially important in this sphere is the doctoral dissertation by Zhang Fan on the interpretation of Orthodoxy in Modern China by modern Chinese scholars. This is a document that we will refer to in the analysis of works by Chinese scholars.<sup>[4]</sup>

Most Chinese scholars interpret the Orthodox Church in China as a foreign “Russian national religion.”<sup>[5]</sup> This, of course, is a false understanding, because Orthodox Christianity is an international religion, and the Russian Orthodox Church in its Moscow Patriarchate is just one of several autocephalous Orthodox Churches.<sup>[6]</sup> The Orthodox Church in China is not included among the five official religions,<sup>[7]</sup> and so is viewed as a separate religion distinct from Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.<sup>[8]</sup> In this regard, Yue Fang’s History of the Orthodox Church 东正教史 is definitely a good source for a Chinese reader to get information about the other autocephalous churches. Nonetheless, it would be incorrect to start talking about

[3] 肖玉秋 Xiao Yuqiu,《俄国东正教驻北京传教团在华活动的历史评价》Eguo Dongzhengjiao zhu Beijing chuanjiaotuan zaihua huodongde lishi pingjia [Historical evaluation of activity of the Russian Orthodox Beijing Ecclesiastical mission in China], Nikolaj Adorackij:《东正教在华两百年史》Dongzhengjiao zai Hua liangbainian shi [A 200 year History of the Orthodox Church in China], (广州 Guangzhou: 广东人民出版社 Guangdong renmin chubanshe [Guangdong People’s Publishing House], 2007), 293-320; 肖玉秋 Xiao Yuqiu,《俄国传教团与清代中俄文化交流》Eguo chuanjiaotuan yu Qingdai ZhongE wenhua jiaoliu [The Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing and Sino-Russian Cultural Exchange during the Qing dynasty], (天津 Tianjin: 天津人民出版社 Tianjin renmin chubanshe [Tianjin People’s Publishing House], 2009); 乐峰 Yue Feng,《东正教史》Dongzhengjiao Shi [The History of the Orthodox Church], (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo sheshui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Science Press], 1999); Yue Feng, “Pravoslavniye propovedniki i kuljtura Kitaja” [Orthodox missionaries and Culture of China. ] In S. L. Tikhvinsky, V. S. Myasnikov, eds, Istoriya Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitaje [The History of The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China. Collection of Articles. ], (Moscow: St. Vladimir Brotherhood Press, 1997), 376-382; 张绥 Zhang Sui,《东正教和东正教在中国》Dongzhengjiao he Dongzhengjiao zai Zhongguo [Orthodox Church and Orthodox Church in China], (上海 Shanghai: 学林出版社 Xuelin chubanshe [Xuelin Press], 1986); 张百春 Zhang Baichun, “俄罗斯政教关系” Eluosi zhengjiao guanxi [State and Church relations in Russia], in 乐峰 Yue Feng 主编:《俄国宗教史》Eguo Zongjiao Shi [The History of the Russian Religions], Vol. I. (北京 Beijing: 社会科学文献出版社 Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe [Social Sciences Academic Press], 2008), 434-484; 徐凤林 Xu Fenglin,《俄罗斯宗教哲学》Eluosi zongjiao zhexue [Russian Religious Philosophy], (北京 Beijing: 北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Peking University Press], 2006); 阎国栋 Yan Guodong, “19 世纪末 20 世纪初俄国东方派代表人物的中国观” 19 shijimo 20 shijichu Eguo dongfangpai daibiaorenwude Zhongguoguan [China Views of Representative Figures of the Russian Orientology School in late 19th and early 20th centuries] in A. A. Rodionov ed., Issues of the Far Eastern Literatures. The 7th Interantional Conference. Vol. 2, (Saint Petersburg, June 29-July 3, 2016), 149-157.

[4] Zhang Fan, Interpretacija Pravoslavlja v sovremennom Kitaje kitajskim religiovedenijem, [Interpretation of the Orthodox Church in the Modern Chinese Religious Studies] (Tzansbaikal State University, PhD dissertation, 2015).

[5] Ibid., p. 3.

[6] It is the same as to state that Catholicism is the national religion of the Romans. But as Zhang Fan indicates, Catholicism in fact is not associated with Rome, just as Protestantism is not associated with the US. See: Ibid., 95.

[7] The five official religions in the PRC are Buddhism, Daoism, Catholicism or 天主教, Islam, and Christianity (meaning Protestantism). See: Ibid., 19; 41.

[8] The Chinese Orthodox Church is not included into official religions because it does not have as many adherents in China. While the Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant Churches definitely represent different Churches, still all these Churches are related to Christianity.



the history of the Orthodox Church from the 4<sup>th</sup> century as it is indicated in his monograph<sup>[9]</sup> because Christianity appeared in the first century AD.

## 1. “The Orthodox Church in China as a result of aggressive policy of the Russian Empire”

As mentioned by both Dacyshen in his monograph<sup>[10]</sup> and Lomanov in his review of the above mentioned Yue Feng’s work the origin of the Russian Orthodox Church in China is explained by a statement which is typical of a Chinese historiography, namely: “aggressive policy of the Russian Empire”.<sup>[11]</sup> Russian missionaries, just like other foreign missionaries, are viewed by some Chinese scholars as agents of foreign aggression<sup>[12]</sup> and are accused of doing nothing related to missionary activities, having an inadequate knowledge of Chinese and Manchurian languages.<sup>[13]</sup> On the other hand, Yue Feng indicates some of the positive influences of Chinese culture on Russian missionaries and describes their deep understanding of Chinese culture and competent knowledge of Chinese languages.<sup>[14]</sup> According to Zhang Fan, Yue Feng’s

[9] 乐峰 Yue Feng,《东正教史》Dongzhengjiao Shi [The History of the Orthodox Church], (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo sheshui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Science Press], 1999), 3; 121-135.

[10] V. G. Dacyšen, Istorija Rossijskoj duhovnoj missii v Kitae [History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], (Hong Kong: Orthodox Brotherhood of Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, 2010), 36.

[11] A. V. Lomanov, “Recenzija na knigu professor Jue Fen Dongzhengjiao shi,” [Review of the book by prof. Yue Feng Dongzhengjiao shi] Kitajskij Blagovestnik, Nr. 2, (1999); <http://www.chinese.orthodoxy.ru/russian/kb2/Review.htm>, 2016-11-5.

[12] 肖玉秋 Xiao Yuqiu,《俄国传教团与清代中俄文化交流》Eguo chuanjiaotuan yu Qingdai ZhongE wenhua jiaoliu [The Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing and Sino-Russian Cultural Exchange during the Qing dynasty], (天津 Tianjin: 天津人民出版社 Tianjin renmin chubanshe [Tianjin People’s Publishing House], 2009), 1-18; 肖玉秋 Xiao Yuqiu, “俄国东正教驻北京传教团在华活动的历史评价” Eguo Dongzhengjiao zhu Beijing chuanjiaotuan zaihua huodongde lishi pingjia [Historical evaluation of activity of the Russian Orthodox Beijing Ecclesiastical mission in China], in Nikolaj Adorackij:《东正教在华两百年史》Dongzhengjiao zai Hua liangbainian shi [A 200 year History of the Orthodox Church in China], (广州 Guangzhou: 广东人民出版社 Guangdong renmin chubanshe [Guangdong People’s Publishing House], 2007), 293-320; 乐峰 Yue Feng,《东方基督教探索》Dongfang jidujiao tansuo [The study of the Eastern Christianity], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [China Religious Culture Publisher], 2008), 413-426; 郑永旺 Zheng Yongwang,《俄罗斯东正教与黑龙江文化》Eluosi dongzhengjiao yu Heilongjiang wenhua [Russian Orthodox Church and the Heilongjiang culture], (哈尔滨 Harbin: 黑龙江大学出版社 Heilongjiang daxue chubanshe [Heilongjiang University Publishing House], 2010), 96, 97. Zhang Fan indicates the same characteristics found in works by Chinese scholars, stating that there are political reasons for viewing Christian missionaries as aggressors. See: Zhang Fan, Interpretacija Pravoslavija v sovremennom Kitaje kitajskim religiovedenijem, [Interpretation of the Orthodox Church in the Modern Chinese Religious Studies] (Tzansbaikal State University, PhD dissertation, 2015), 42. It can be stated that in certain circumstances missionaries were used by political powers for their national interests, like in case of the Juye incident (1897) when two German priests were murdered by members of the Big Sword Society (大刀会 Dādāohuì). However, this is not a good reason to accuse missionaries of only being agents of “Western Powers” who came to China not for God’s sake, but to occupy China. See more on the Juye incident in: Joseph W. Esherick, The Origins of the Boxer Uprising, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 123-135.

[13] 张绥 Zhang Sui,《东正教和东正教在中国》Dongzhengjiao he Dongzhengjiao zai Zhongguo [Orthodox Church and Orthodox Church in China], (上海 Shanghai: 学林出版社 Xuelin chubanshe [Xuelin Press], 1986), 241, 242. It should be noted that this volume was one of the first Chinese monographs focusing on the history of Orthodoxy and the Orthodox Church in China. See: Zhang Fan, Interpretacija Pravoslavija v sovremennom Kitaje kitajskim religiovedenijem, [Interpretation of the Orthodox Church in the Modern Chinese Religious Studies] (Tzansbaikal State University, PhD dissertation, 2015), 42.

[14] Yue Feng, “Pravoslavnije propovedniki i kuljtura Kitaja” [Orthodox missionaries and Culture of China. ] In S. L. Tikhvinsky, V. S. Myasnikov, eds, Istorija Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitaje [The History of The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China. Collection of Articles. ], (Moscow: St. Vladimir Brotherhood Press, 1997), 376-382.

work on Orthodoxy is a widely read book, not only by Chinese scholars but also among Russian scholars,<sup>[15]</sup> indicating the high academic level of this work.

One of the main problems in justifying such statements as: “aggressive policy of the Russian Empire” or “mission was only a tool of Czarist Russia aggressive policy” is that at the very beginning the Chinese authors provide these statements without providing adequate proof;<sup>[16]</sup> certainly, every particular historical claim does not necessarily indicate that missionaries came to China for that reason, or that they did nothing related to missionary work.<sup>[17]</sup> Such an interpretation of the Ecclesiastical Mission in China is close to interpretations given in atheistic literature during Soviet times, where the Mission was viewed as “a military-political agency of the tsarist government” and missionaries were “accused of supporting the colonial expansion and ideological aggression of the Russian tsarism.” This kind of statements are viewed by the Russian scholars, Bogoliubov and Samoylov, as not objective and biased.<sup>[18]</sup>

Certainly, this kind of statements made by various Chinese and Russian scholars raise several questions: Why and how could a government use the Church as a means of “aggressive policies”? If a government intends to invade a country it may not need to study the history, culture, and philosophy of this country (and that is exactly what the Russian missionaries and sinologists did in China).<sup>[19]</sup> If the Russian imperial government used the conflict in Albazin in 1685 as an excuse to bring Orthodox faith to China, and by that

[15] Zhang Fan, *Interpretacija Pravoslavlja v sovremenom Kitaje kitajskim religiovedenjem*, [Interpretation of the Orthodox Church in the Modern Chinese Religious Studies] (Zansbaikal State University, PhD dissertation, 2015), 9. I would rather doubt this statement, because I've never met any reference to this book in works by Russian scholars. Even if certain Russian scholars read this book, I assume they do it just to know how Yue Feng interprets the history of the Orthodox Church.

[16] For instance, Yue Feng states that mission became a kind of “spiritual weapon”, See: 乐峰 Yue Feng, 《东方基督教探索》*Dongfang jidujiao tansuo* [The study of the Eastern Christianity], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 *zongjiao wenhua chubanshe* [China Religious Culture Publisher], 2008), 414. despite the fact, that missionaries were not active in spreading Orthodox faith and from 1685 till 1900 the amount of Orthodox Christians in Beijing has reached only 450 members. See: V. G. Dacyšen, *Istorija Rossijskoj duhovnoj missii v Kitae* [History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], (Hong Kong: Orthodox Brotherhood of Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, 2010), 261. When the eighth mission arrived (1794) only 10 Orthodox Christians were not descendants of Albazinitians. See: A. A. Volokhova, ‘Rossijskaja dukhovanaja missija v Kitae v XVIII v.: ocenka amerikanskogo istorika’ [Russian Ecclesiastical mission in China during the XVIII c.: opinion of the American scholar], in M. N. Bogoliubov ed., *Pravoslavije na Daljnem Vostoke* [Orthodox Church in the Far East], (Saint Petersburg: Andreev i Sinivja, 1993), 28.

[17] Similar statements were used by Xiao Jingyu in his article about the Orthodox Church in five Middle East countries. See: 萧净宇 Xiao Jingyu, “俄罗斯东正教在中亚五国” *Eluosi Dongzhengjiao zai Zhongya wuguo* [Russian Orthodox Church in five countries in the Central Asia], in 《俄罗斯研究》*Eluosi yanjiu* [Russian Studies], No. 6, Dec., (上海 Shanghai: 华东师范大学 *Huadong shifan daxue* [East China Normal University] 2009), 132-143.

[18] M. N. Bogoliubov, N. A. Samoylov, Forewords to M. N. Bogoliubov ed., *Pravoslavie na Daljnem Vostoke* [Orthodox Church in the Far East] Nr. 4 (Saint Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta, 2004), 4.

[19] Some would argue that this was exactly what was needed to invade the foreign country successfully, but it is a simplification of a problem. In each certain case one should analyze actions of each particular missionary and indicate what kind of role he played in a particular conflict. For instance, archimandrite Pallady (Kafarov, 1817-1878), while being involved into diplomatic discussions between the Russian Empire and Qing Empire, condemned aggressive attitude and actions of the Russian admiral Y. V. Putyatin (1803-1883) towards the Qing government while signing a trade agreement with China at Tianjin (1858), and believed that Russians should give the Qing government an advice about how they should resist to the British army during the Second Opium War (1856-1860). See: A. M. Kulikov, *Kitaevvedcheskaja I diplomateskaja dejatel'nost' arhimandrita Palladija (Kafarova)* [Archimandrite Pallady (Kafarov's) involvement into Sinology and Diplomacy], (Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, PhD dissertation, 2016), 242-245. Certain religious leaders might be more or less politically engaged, but it's a choice of each particular man.

means to occupy China,<sup>[20]</sup> why did the Qing government supported the mission and allowed the Russian Ecclesiastical mission to enter China in 1715? Why did the mission repeatedly have little financial support from the Russian government?<sup>[21]</sup> Why did the Ecclesiastical mission continue to exist after 1861, when the Russian Imperial Diplomatic mission was established? Moreover, Metropolitan Innokenty Figurovsky, the head of 18<sup>th</sup> mission (1897-1931), was in conflict with Russian officials who wanted to abolish the mission, and so Figurovsky was able to save the mission and lead it to its most flourishing period.<sup>[22]</sup> Remarkably for some, this same mission existed even after the USSR was established, and from 1920 to 1945 was administrated by the synod of the Russian Orthodox Church outside of Russia.<sup>[23]</sup>

## 2. “Missionaries Agents the Russian Government”

Missionaries are accused by some scholars of being the agents of the Russian Empire and doing nothing related to a missionary work, and their involvement in diplomatic affairs is usually mentioned as the only reason for the failure<sup>[24]</sup> of the Ecclesiastical mission.<sup>[25]</sup> Indeed some of the missionaries like Archimandrite Gury Karpov, Archimandrite Pallady Kafarov, some of the mission students, like N. K. Vojkov or A. L. Leontjev worked in Lifanyuan or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>[26]</sup> But the question is what is bad in diplomacy? It was official; some mission members were teaching Russian in the school established by Lifanyuan.<sup>[27]</sup> As indicated by Pang this school was founded during the reign of Kangxi between 1707 and 1719 for preparing translators and interpreters for communication with Russia.<sup>[28]</sup> In 1858 Qing government

[20] 肖玉秋 Xiao Yuqiu, “俄国东正教驻北京传教团在华活动的历史评价” Eguo Dongzhengjiao zhu Beijing chuanjiaotuan zaihua huodongde lishi pingjia [Historical evaluation of activity of the Russian Orthodox Beijing Ecclesiastical mission in China], in Nikolaj Adorackij: 《东正教在华两百年史》 Dongzhengjiao zai Hua liangbainian shi [A 200 year History of the Orthodox Church in China], (广州 Guangzhou: 广东人民出版社 Guangdong renmin chubanshe [Guangdong People’s Publishing House], 2007), 295.

[21] V. G. Dacyšen, Istorija Rossijskoj duhovnoj missii v Kitae [History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], (Hong Kong: Orthodox Brotherhood of Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, 2010), 209.

[22] V. G. Dacyšen, Mitropolit Innokentij Pekinskij [Metropolitan Innocent of Beijing], (Hong Kong: Orthodox Brotherhood of Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, 2011), 195-201.

[23] V. G. Dacyšen, Istorija Rossijskoj duhovnoj missii v Kitae [History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], (Hong Kong: Orthodox Brotherhood of Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, 2010), 304-360.

[24] 张绥 Zhang Sui, 《东正教和东正教在中国》 Dongzhengjiao he Dongzhengjiao zai Zhongguo [Orthodox Church and Orthodox Church in China], (上海 Shanghai: 学林出版社 Xuelin chubanshe [Xuelin Press], 1986), 241, 242;

[25] I mention 4 main reasons for the failure: 1. Lack of the outstanding missionaries; 2. Lack of interest of the Holy Synod. 3. Bad financial support. 4. Lack of effort in translating catechetical literature. See: A. Dmitrenko, “Translation of Catechetical Literature as Basis for Preaching Christianity in China,” (Rus.) A. A. Rodionov ed., Issues of the Far Eastern Literatures. The 7th Interantional Conference. Vol. 2, (Saint Petersburg, June 29-July 3, 2016), 29-38. Kulikov thinks that mission failure was due to difficulties in preaching Orthodox faith in the unknown cultural environment, as well as due to the fact that missionaries were not prepared enough (were not qualified enough as missionaries). See: A. M. Kulikov, Kitaevvedcheskaja I diplomatičeskaja dejatel’nostj arhimandrita Palladija (Kafarova) [Archimandrite Pallady (Kafarov’s) involvement into Sinology and Diplomacy], (Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, PhD dissertation, 2016), 48.

[26] V. G. Dacyšen, Istorija Rossijskoj duhovnoj missii v Kitae [History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], (Hong Kong: Orthodox Brotherhood of Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, 2010), 110.

[27] N. Adoratskij, ‘Istorija Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitaje’ [The History of The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], in S. L. Tikhvinsky, V. S. Myasnikov, eds, Istorija Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitaje [The History of The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China. Collection of Articles.], (Moscow: St. Vladimir Brotherhood Press, 1997), 23.

[28] T. A. Pang, “Nekotorije manchurskije dokumenti o dejatel’nosti pekinskoj duhovnoj missii v XIX veke,” [Some Manchu documents on the Beijing Ecclesiastical mission in XIX century], in M. N. Bigilubov ed., Pravoslavie na Daljnem Vostoke [Orthodox Church in the Far East], (Saint Petersburg: Izdatel’stvo Sankt Peterburgskogo Universiteta, 2004), 26, 27.

officially stated that it will not prosecute Christians and allow spreading Christianity among Chinese people, but even in 1768, when the Roman Catholic Christians were prosecuted, the Orthodox Christians were not prosecuted because they were viewed as descendants of Albazianians.<sup>[29]</sup> From the very beginning, missionaries were mainly focusing on ministering to Albazianians or previous members of a parish.<sup>[30]</sup> Even Russian sinologists admit that the mission was established in order to respond to religious needs of a small group of Albazianians and prepare translators. The Russian Academy of Sciences indicated that missionaries should perform certain academic tasks.<sup>[31]</sup> But this does not allow anyone to view missionaries only as the political agents. Both Russian government and missionaries were interested in building good relationships with Qing government and not to cause any negative attitude of the Qing government towards Orthodoxy (in contrast to the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries). Xiao Yuqiu mentions that archimandrite Iakinf Bichurin in twelve years of ministry in China has never come to celebrate service in Church (making this an argument to show that the Ecclesiastical mission was not doing any missionary work),<sup>[32]</sup> but he does not mention that this kind of actions were condemned by the Holy Synod. After coming back to Russia Iakinf Bichurin was prosecuted by the Holy Synod, deprived of his title and position as Archimandrite, and was banished to the Valaam Monastery in the status of an ordinary monk. He spent four years in exile in Valaam. Moreover, almost all members of this mission were prosecuted.<sup>[33]</sup> It should be mentioned that the lack of involvement of missionaries in missionary work was criticized by both the Holy Synod and scholars in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Russia.<sup>[34]</sup>

### 3. Orthodox Church and Russian Government

As indicated by Zhang Fan, Chinese scholars analyze Orthodoxy through the analyses of the attitude of the leaders of the Russian government towards Orthodoxy, while in analyses of the Western missionaries Chinese scholars never mention that missionaries acted in accordance with an order of a particular leader of a certain European country.<sup>[35]</sup> In other words, what we can see is that certain Chinese scholars link together Orthodox Church and policy of the Russian government, which is inherently wrong. First of all, Orthodox

[29] V. G. Dacyšen, *Istorija Rossijskoj duhovnoj missii v Kitae* [History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], (Hong Kong: Orthodox Brotherhood of Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, 2010), 185, 186; B. G. Aleksandrov, *Bej-guanj; Kratkaja istorija Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitae* [Beiguan: A short history of the Russian Orthodox mission in China], (Moskva; Sankt-Peterburg; Aljans-Arheo, 2006), 46.

[30] V. G. Dacyšen, *Istorija Rossijskoj duhovnoj missii v Kitae* [History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], (Hong Kong: Orthodox Brotherhood of Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, 2010), 104, 105; N. Adoratskij, 'Istorija Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitaje' [The History of The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], in S. L. Tikhvinsky, V. S. Myasnikov, eds, *Istorija Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitaje* [The History of The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China. Collection of Articles.], (Moscow; St. Vladimir Brotherhood Press, 1997), 21.

[31] V. S. Myasnikov, "Zametki o Hristianstve v Kitae" [Notes on Christianity in China], *Pravoslavie na Dalnjem Vostoke* [Orthodox Church in the Far East], Vol. 4, (Saint Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Sankt Peterburgskogo Universiteta, 2004), 17.

[32] 肖玉秋 Xiao Yuqiu, "俄国东正教驻北京传教团在华活动的历史评价" *Eguo Dongzhengjiao zhu Beijing chuanjiaotuan zaihua huodongde lishi pingjia* [Historical evaluation of activity of the Russian Orthodox Beijing Ecclesiastical mission in China], in Nikolaj Adorackij: 《东正教在华两百年史》 *Dongzhengjiao zai Hua liangbainian shi* [A 200 year History of the Orthodox Church in China], (广州 Guangzhou: 广东人民出版社 Guangdong renmin chubanshe [Guangdong People's Publishing House], 2007), 302.

[33] V. G. Dacyšen, *Istorija Rossijskoj duhovnoj missii v Kitae* [History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], (Hong Kong: Orthodox Brotherhood of Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, 2010), 129.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 91.

[35] Zhang Fan, *Interpretacija Pravoslavija v sovremenom Kitaje kitajskim religiovedenijem*, [Interpretation of the Orthodox Church in the Modern Chinese Religious Studies] (Tzansbaikal State University, PhD dissertation, 2015), 95.

Church existed in different countries under different forms of government: Christianity (as a united church) existed in the Roman Empire when Christians were persecuted, it existed in Byzantine Empire, in the Soviet Union (where it was persecuted by the government), it exists in modern democratic countries as well as non-democratic countries. Orthodox Christianity as a religion neither should be linked to any particular form of government nor to any particular country (in this case, the Russian Empire). If someone is studying political history of the Sino-Russian relationships he should not talk about that only in the context of the history of the Orthodox church in China (because it's not about the Orthodox Church but about Sino-Russian political history). If particular missionaries or students of the mission were involved in diplomacy, then one should indicate the particular role of these members of the mission. If they acted as translators, interpreters, diplomats and teachers of the Russian language why their actions are viewed as a threat to Qing government? As indicated by a Russian scholar and a member of the Ecclesiastical mission N. Adoratsky, missionaries have received information from the Qing government and informed the Russian officials, but all that was known to the Chinese government.<sup>[36]</sup> It is diplomatic matters and there is nothing bad in providing information about the political situation in a particular country.

Moreover, the Orthodox missionaries had good relationships with the Qing government. For instance, in 1844 Qing Emperor Daoguang has even given mission members as a present such important Tibetan classics as Kanjur(甘珠尔) and Tengjur(丹珠尔).<sup>[37]</sup>

## Overall Comment

A very positive aspect in Chinese Religious studies is translations of the Russian religious philosophers (such as S. N. Bulgakov, P. N. Evdokimov, N. A. Berdyaev and others). Many Chinese scholars provide references not only to previous studies done by Chinese scholars but also to Russian authors as well as original resources such as letters, official documents etc. Chinese scholar Zhang Baichun has pointed out that Chinese scholars should focus more on studies of the Orthodox Church per se. He also states that Chinese scholars should be more objective.<sup>[38]</sup> Indeed; quite often scholars are talking about political history and not indicating specifically in what kind of missionary activities they were involved? How much was done in translating service books, the Bible or any other literature?

It should be noted that some scholars<sup>[39]</sup> indicate certain positive aspects of the influence of the

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[36] N. Adoratskij, "Istorija Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitaje" [The History of The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China], in S. L. Tikhvinsky, V. S. Myasnikov, eds, Istorija Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitaje [The History of The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China. Collection of Articles. ], (Moscow; St. Vladimir Brotherhood Press, 1997), 20.

[37] Avgustin Nikitin, arhimandite, "Sankt-Peterbugskaja Duhovnaja akademija i Rossijskaja Duhovnaja Missija v Pekine: Arhimandrit Gurij Karpov (1814-1882)" [Saint Petersburg Theological Academy and the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing: Archimandrite Gury Karpov (1814-1882)], in ed. M. N. Bogoljubov, Pravoslavlje na Daljnem Vostoke [Orthodox Church in the Far East] Vol. II, (Saint Petersburg: Andreev i Sinivja, 1993), 40.

[38] 李栋材 Li Dongcai, "首届中国的东正教研究及东正教群"学术研讨会综述" Shoujie "Zhongguode Dongzhengjiao yanjiu ji Dongzhengjiao quanti" xueshuyantaohui zongshu [The Summary of the first conference on The studies of the Chinese Orthodox and Orthodox community], in 《世界宗教研究》Shijie zongjiao yanjiu [Studies of World Religions], April (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学院 [Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], 2015), 191.

[39] For instance, Yue Feng, Zheng Yongwang.

Orthodox Church (such as literature and education)<sup>[40]</sup> as well as achievements in Sinology. Zheng Yongwang also indicates that mission cannot be viewed only as a “spy ring”.<sup>[41]</sup> It is also very good that Zheng Yongwang at least points out some interpretations or opinions of the Russian scholars on certain problems or events.<sup>[42]</sup>

Nonetheless, despite the fact that Chinese scholars use original documents and works by Russian sinologists (but not all of them) sometimes one can find factual mistakes or misinterpretations. For instance, as it was precisely pointed out by Lomanov,<sup>[43]</sup> it is strange that Yue Feng indicates “fundamental characteristics” of the Orthodox Church by referring to works by K. Marx.<sup>[44]</sup>

Zheng Yongwang indicates that Metropolitan Vladimir of Tashkent has pointed out that Alexander Nevsky has sent missionaries to China during Yuan dynasty. First of all, Zheng Yongwang does not provide a reference to the source where this information comes from;<sup>[45]</sup> secondly, Alexander Nevsky has never sent any missionaries to China.<sup>[46]</sup> 耿旭 Geng Xu states that Russian missionaries have entered North East China region after 1898 together with “Tsarist Russia invasion” and Beijing missionaries after getting legal status together with new missionaries “have seized political and economic information”.<sup>[47]</sup> It would be incorrect to state this, because by that time Orthodox mission already had “a legal status” mentioned by the author and could spread Orthodox faith all over the country, it was not related to any “Russian invasion”, nor missionaries “main responsibility” (as stated by the author) was seizing or getting political information. As it was already mentioned the head of mission archim. Innokenty Figurovsky was in conflict with the Russian officials and it was only due to his effort that mission continued to exist in China.

Such author as Tong Xun 佟洵 states that Tsarist government has strengthened its Religious control in 1721 in order to invade China,<sup>[48]</sup> hence this author is basically stating that the Holy Synod of Russia was

[40] 郑永旺 Zheng Yongwang, 《俄罗斯东正教与黑龙江文化》Eluosi dongzhengjiao yu Heilongjiang wenhua [Russian Orthodox Church and the Heilongjiang culture], (哈尔滨 Harbin: 黑龙江大学出版社 Heilongjiangdaxue chubanshe [Heilongjiang University Publishing House], 2010), 91.

[41] 同上书 Ibid, 第 96 页.

[42] 同上书 Ibid, 第 96 页.

[43] A. V. Lomanov, “Recenzija na knigu professor Jue Fen Dongzhengjiao shi,” [Review of the book by prof. Yue Feng Dongzhengjiao shi] Kitajskij Blagovestnik, Nr. 2, (1999); <http://www.chinese.orthodoxy.ru/russian/kb2/Review.htm>, 2016-11-5.

[44] 乐峰 Yue Feng, 《东正教史》DongzhengjiaoShi [The History of the Orthodox Church], (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo sheshui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Science Press], 1999), 46, 47.

[45] 郑永旺 Zheng Yongwang, 《俄罗斯东正教与黑龙江文化》Eluosi dongzhengjiao yu Heilongjiang wenhua [Russian Orthodox Church and the Heilongjiang culture], (哈尔滨 Harbin: 黑龙江大学出版社 Heilongjiangdaxue chubanshe [Heilongjiang University Publishing House], 2010), 92.

[46] For instance a Russian historian A. P. Bogdanov in his study “Aleksandr Nevsky” has not indicated it anywhere in the whole book (197 pages). I haven’t read this kind of information in any other study or the life of saint. See: A. P. Bogdanov, Aleksandr Nevsky, (Moskva: Veche, 2009).

[47] 耿旭 Geng Xu, 《近代东正教在我国东北地区的传播及影响》Jindai Dongzhengjiao zai Woguo Dongbeidiqude chuanbo ji yingxiang [Spread and influence of the Orthodoxy in China during the Modern times], (烟台 Yantai: 鲁东大学硕士学位论文 Ludong daxue shuoshi xuewei lunwen [MA dissertation in Ludong University], 2016), II. This sounds even stranger, in the context of the author describing later on that “the Tsar suppressed minorities both politically and economically” and “forced them to become Orthodox Christians”, hence some of them escaped to China, only some of them continued to be the Orthodox Christians thus becoming the first Orthodox to come to China. At the same time, the author also mentions the treaty of Nerchinsk and the first Orthodox Ecclesiastical mission entering Beijing in 1715. Wasn’t that “legal”? See: 同上书 Ibid, 第 9, 10 页.

[48] 佟洵 Tong Xun, “试论东正教在北京的传播” Shilun Dongzhengjiao zai Beijingde chuanbo [On spread of the Orthodox Church in Beijing], in 《北京联合大学学报》Beijing lianhe daxue xuebao [Journal of Beijing Union University], Jun. Vol. 13, No 2. Sum No. 36, (北京 Beijing: 北京联合大学学报编辑部 Beijing lianhe daxue bianjibu [Beijing Union University editorial office], 1999), 9.

created by Peter the Great only because of his kind of ambitions, namely in order to invade China! It is inherently wrong to state that Politico-Religious organ influencing first of all the inner political and religious situation (or something related to domestic policy) was created in order to implement certain political ambitions of the ruler related to the foreign affairs. Otherwise, the author should prove on the basis of documents, that the Holy Synod had been established for the sake of the Russian Ecclesiastical mission in China and the foreign affairs.

These are only some examples of the factual mistakes and misinterpretations that can be found in works by the Chinese scholars. I assume that some interpretations of certain historical events will never be changed (in national historiographies), but it definitely would be an advantage if scholars could introduce a variety of interpretations and provide some comments on them.

**中文题目:**

## **汉语学界对东正教研究的基本取向**

**亚历山大·德米特兰科**,德国海德堡大学中国研究所博士后、2017 从香港城市大学获中国历史学博士、2013 年从台湾云林科技大学获硕士学位、2010 从拉脱维亚大学获人文学学士。

**提要:**在本篇文章,作者介绍中国学者对东正教及其传教活动的解释的基本取向。中国学者的著作有三个主要的论点:1. 东正教因俄罗斯帝国侵略政策来华;2. 传教士是俄国政府的间谍;3. 东正教与俄国政府有密切的关系。作者不仅为这三个论点作出详细的注释,他也为中国学者的著作的优点及缺点作出整体性的评论。

**关键词:**东正教、俄罗斯传教团、汉语学术界、中俄关系



# Chinese Explorations of Orthodox Theology: A Critical Review

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**Abstract:** In spite of the small number of Orthodox Christians in China, Chinese publications related to Orthodox Christianity have mushroomed in recent years. Many Chinese theologians from other denominations of Christianity or scholars without formal religious affiliation are involved in the explorations of Orthodox theology. This essay analyzes and evaluates critically the existing Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology.

Through making references to the contemporary development of Orthodox theology, especially the revival of the doctrine of deification, this essay will show that the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology were shaped not only by the renaissance of Orthodox theology in the twentieth century, but also by the contemporary Chinese context. The involvement of the Chinese context affects the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology in both positive and negative ways. On the one hand the scope of exploration as a whole is largely focused on the areas or issues particularly relevant to the Chinese context, especially the relationship between Christianity and Chinese culture. Furthermore, in terms of depth, due to the religious backgrounds of the researchers, some of the Chinese studies of Orthodox theology fails to take seriously the connection between the theological, liturgical and spiritual dimensions of the Orthodox tradition, and exhibit difficulties in interpreting, for instance, the mystical theology in Orthodox Christianity.

It is expected that these limitations can be overcome, at least partially, through dialogue with contemporary Orthodox theologians. The dialogue may also help the Orthodox theologians to understand the possibly distinctive positive contributions to be made by Chinese theologians and scholars towards the contemporary articulation of Orthodox theology.

**Key Words:** Chinese Culture, Confucianism, Deification, Mystical Theology, Orthodox Theology

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## Introduction

Orthodox Christianity in China has a history dating back several centuries and there are Orthodox churches in Hong Kong and Taiwan, but the number of Orthodox Christians in the Chinese speaking world remains very small in comparison to the number of Catholics or Protestants in China. In fact, unlike Protestantism and Catholicism, which are among the five officially recognized religions in China, Orthodox Christianity has not yet attained legal status in the People's Republic of China. However, it is interesting to

note that the Chinese publications related to Orthodox Christianity mushroomed in recent years.<sup>[49]</sup> Among these publications, only a few are published by the Orthodox churches,<sup>[50]</sup> while the majority are published by either Christian academic institutions,<sup>[51]</sup> or secular publishers without any religious background. In fact, some of these publications are authored by Chinese intellectuals without any formal religious affiliation.<sup>[52]</sup> This might reflect the influences of the cultural qua theological movement known as Sino-Christian theology, which involves many Chinese intellectuals who studied Christianity without formally becoming member of any Christian church.<sup>[53]</sup> In addition to the relevant publications in Chinese, there are also publications concerning Orthodox Christianity written by Chinese theologians but in English.<sup>[54]</sup> These Chinese and English publications authored by Chinese theologians or scholars might exhibit some degree of appreciation of Orthodox Christianity and/or attempts to explore the significance of the Orthodox theology for the future development of Chinese Christian theology.

Different from the previous exploratory studies concerning the significance of Orthodox theology for Chinese Christian theology,<sup>[55]</sup> this essay tends to adopt a more critical approach, aimed at evaluating the existing Chinese interpretations of Orthodox theology. It will show that the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology were shaped mainly by two factors. One is the renaissance of Orthodox theology in the twentieth century, and the other is the contemporary Chinese context, including the Chinese Christians' understanding of their context as well as theological tasks. Based on a survey of the contemporary Chinese reception of Orthodox theology, the essay will offer an evaluation of the achievements as well as limitations of the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology so far. It will further suggest how the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology for the future development of Chinese theology can be further improved.

[49] For a brief survey of the Chinese publications on Orthodox Christianity, see: Sha Mei 沙涓 and Lai Pinchao 赖品超, "Hàn yǔ xué jiè dí jī dū zhèng jiào yán jiū" 汉语学界的基督正教研究 [Chinese Studies of Orthodox Christianity], in: É luó sī zhé xué píng lùn, dì yī jí 俄罗斯哲学评论·第一辑 [Review of Russian Philosophy, vol. 1], edited by Chen Shulin 陈树林 (Harbin: Heilongjiang university Press, 2012. 10), pp. 209-226.

[50] For instances, Qià lā kè · qià ěr dùn 卡拉克·卡尔顿 [Clark Carlton], Zhèng dào: xīn jiào xìn tú duì zhèng jiào xū zhī 正道: 新教信徒对正教须知 [The Way: What Every Protestant Should Know About the Orthodox Church], translated by Li Lishi 李丽诗 (Hong Kong: Orthodox brotherhood of Apostles Saint Peter and Paul, 2013), and, Dū zhǔ jiào yī lā lǐ yōng (ā ěr fēi yé fū) 都主教伊拉里雍 (阿尔菲耶夫) [HE Metropolitan Dr. Hilarion (Alfeev)], Zhèng xìn àu yì: dōng zhèng jiào shén xué dǎo lùn 正信奥义: 东正教神学导论 [The Mystery of Faith: Introduction to Orthodox Theology], translated by Lín Sen 林森 (Hong Kong: Orthodox Brotherhood of Apostles Saint Peter and Paul, 2015).

[51] The most representative and influential is probably the Institute of Sino-Christian Studies, a Christian organization based in Hong Kong, which published many books about Orthodox Christianity, including: Pà lì kǎn 帕利坎 (Jaroslav Pelikan), Jī dū jiào chuán tǒng. dì èr juàn: dōng fāng jī dū zhèng jiào shì jiè de jīng shén 基督教传统. 第二卷: 东方基督教世界的精神 [The Christian Tradition: Vol. 2: The Spirit of Eastern Christendom], translated by Sha Mei 沙涓 (Hong Kong: Logos & Pneuma Press, 2009).

[52] For example, Zhang Baichun 张百春, Dāng dài dōng zhèng jiào shén xué sī xiǎng 当代东正教神学思想 [Contemporary Eastern Orthodox Theology] (Shanghai: Shanghai Joint Publishing, Co., 2000).

[53] See further: Pan-chiu Lai & Jason Lam (eds.), Sino-Christian Theology: A Theological Qua Cultural Movement in Contemporary China (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2010).

[54] For instance, Ambrose Mong, Purification of Memory: A Study of Modern Orthodox Theologians from a Catholic Perspective (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2015).

[55] A recent attempt can be found in: Lai Pinchao 赖品超 [Pan-chiu Lai], "Jī dū zhèng jiào zhī shén xué fù xīng jí qí duì hàn yǔ shén xué dí yì yì" 基督正教之神学复兴及其对汉语神学的意义 [Renaissance of Orthodox Theology and its Significance for Sino-Christian Theology], Dao Feng 道风 [Logos & Pneuma] 32 (Spring 2010), pp. 247-272 (in Chinese with abstract in English). It is reprinted in: Lai Pinchao 赖品超, Guang chang shang de Han yu shen xue 广场上的汉语神学 [Sino-Christian Theology in the Public Square] (Hong Kong: Logos & Pneuma Press [Dao Feng Shu She], 2014), chapter 7, pp. 169-191. Some of the data presented in the present essay are adopted from this book, especially chapters 5-8, pp. 117-216.

## Renaissance of Orthodox Theology

It is rather well known that the Orthodox churches in Russia and some other countries in Eastern Europe underwent some sort of revival in the last few decades after experiencing certain suppression under different Communist regimes. In fact, more than mere survival, the Orthodox churches became very powerful in the cultural, political and social spheres in Eastern Europe.<sup>[56]</sup> However, after the collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, with new laws related to religion established under the new political systems, a higher degree of religious freedom was granted.<sup>[57]</sup> In this new situation, in addition to the internal difficulties, the Orthodox churches in these countries have to face not only the external challenges from secular ideologies of secularism and individualism, but also the competition from other Christian denominations and even other religions. It is thus quite right to describe it as “A Troubled Renaissance”.<sup>[58]</sup> However, it is also important to note that there had been signs of theological renaissance even before the Communist domination in Russia and Eastern Europe.<sup>[59]</sup>

Soon after the Russian revolution, many of the Russian intellectuals, including a significant number of theologians, migrated to the western world. Since then, some Orthodox theological seminaries were established, including the St. Sergius Theological Institute in Paris and the St. Vladimir’s Theological Seminary in New York. Some of the influential Orthodox theologians in diaspora, including Vladimir Lossky (1903-1958) and John Meyendorff (1926-1992), were affiliated to these seminaries.<sup>[60]</sup> Besides these, equally important is the Greek Orthodox church flourishing in Greece and related areas. This is because some influential Orthodox theologians, e. g. John Zizioulas, come from the Greek Orthodox church. The influence of his theology, including particularly his Trinitarian theology and ecclesiology, are far beyond the boundary of the Orthodox churches.<sup>[61]</sup>

As Timothy Ware points out, “Orthodox theologians are few in number, but some of them, often under the stimulus of western contacts, are rediscovering forgotten yet vital elements in their theological inheritance.”<sup>[62]</sup> In other words, the contemporary revival of Orthodox theology is not only inspired by the inherited Orthodox theological tradition, but also stimulated by its dialogue with Catholic as well as Protestant theologies, and driven by its attempt to address some issues of the contemporary world. These factors make Orthodox theologians become more open to the theological or spiritual traditions of other Christian denominations as well as other intellectual traditions. In reverse, there are also some Catholic and Protestant theologians becoming interested in Orthodox theology. As a result, there are many recent studies comparing

[56] See: Niels C. Nielsen, Jr. (ed.), *Christianity after Communism: Social, Political, and Cultural Struggle in Russia* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).

[57] See: Silvio Ferrari and W. Cole Durham, Jr. (eds.), *Law and Religion in Post-Communist Europe* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003); also, W. Cole Durham, Jr. and Silvio Ferrari (eds.), *Laws on Religion and the State in Post-Communist Europe* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004).

[58] Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, New Edition 1997), pp. 160-166. [Chinese translation published in 2013.]

[59] For the modern revival of Orthodox theology, see: John Binns, *An Introduction to the Christian Orthodox Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, third printing with corrections in 2006), pp. 86-96.

[60] Concerning the Orthodox churches in diaspora, see: Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 172-187.

[61] Concerning the studies of Zizioulas, see: Liviu Barbu (compile), “Secondary Works on John Zizioulas,” in: *The Theology of John Zizioulas: Personhood and the Church*, edited by Douglas H. Knight (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 197-201.

[62] Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, p. 191.

the position of an Orthodox theologian with that of either a Protestant or Catholic theologian.<sup>[63]</sup>

## Orthodox Theology and Ecumenical Movement

In the last few decades the Orthodox churches have been engaged in various kinds of ecumenical dialogue—not only among the Orthodox churches, but also between the Orthodox and many other denominations, including the Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, and Reformed traditions. Particularly relevant to the Chinese Christian churches is perhaps the dialogue with the Evangelicals,<sup>[64]</sup> because the theological tradition of Evangelical Christianity remains very influential among the Chinese Protestant churches.

Due to the active participation of Orthodox churches in the ecumenical movement, there are recognizable results both in church unity and in theological developments in both Orthodox and Western theologies. Apart from the influences of Orthodox theology on individual western theologians,<sup>[65]</sup> the Orthodox involvement in ecumenical theological dialogue with other denominations also contributed enormously to the revival of some doctrines, including particularly the doctrines of the Trinity and deification (theosis). It is widely agreed that Orthodox theologians, especially Valdimir Lossky and John Zizioulas, played important roles alongside Karl Rahner (1904-1984) from the Catholic tradition, and Karl Barth (1886-1968) from the Protestant side, in the renaissance of Trinitarian theology in the twentieth century.<sup>[66]</sup> Since there are many studies on the contemporary revival of Trinitarian theology, the following survey will focus on the doctrine of deification, which received more attention than that of the doctrine of the Trinity in the Chinese speaking world.

Historically, the doctrine of deification was developed mainly by the Greek fathers, as the book *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, which was translated and published in Chinese in 2014, sketches.<sup>[67]</sup> In fact, there are many studies of the doctrine of deification within the Orthodox theological circle.<sup>[68]</sup> However, in recent years, there are many contemporary Protestant and/or Catholic studies of the doctrine, and it becomes a focus of ecumenical dialogue. In *Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in the Christian Traditions*,<sup>[69]</sup> which was translated and published in

[63] Notable studies authored by Chinese theologians include: Man-yiu Lee, *The Church as Person in the Theologies of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, John Zizioulas and Jürgen Moltmann* (Hong Kong: Nation-Blessings Consultancy Company, 2013); and, Yik-pui Au, *The Eucharist as a Countercultural Liturgy: An Examination of the Theologies of Henri de Lubac, John Zizioulas, and Miroslav Volf* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2017).

[64] See: Daniel B. Clendenin, "Orthodox-Evangelical Dialogue: Past, Present, and Future," in: *Eastern Orthodox Christianity: A Western Perspective* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, Second Edition 2003), pp. 161-177.

[65] In addition to the Western theologians being converted or "homecoming" to Orthodox churches, e. g. Jaroslav Pelikan (1923-2006) from Lutheran and Richard Swinburne from Anglican backgrounds respectively, there are also Western theologians, e. g. Amos Yong from Pentecostal background, who openly admit their indebtedness to the Orthodox theological approach. See: Amos Yong, *Spirit-Word-Community: Theological Hermeneutics in Trinitarian Perspective* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2002), p. ix.

[66] See: Christoph Schwöbel, "Introduction-The Renaissance of Trinitarian Theology: Reasons, Problems and Tasks," in: *Trinitarian Theology Today*, edited by Christoph Schwöbel (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), pp. 1-30, especially 3-7, 15-19.

[67] See: Normal Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). [Chinese translation published in 2014.]

[68] For instances: Gregorios I. Mantzaridis, *The Deification of Man: St. Gregory Palamas and the Orthodox Tradition*, translated from the Greek by Liadain Sherrard (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984); and, Panayiotis Nellas, *Deification in Christ: Orthodox Perspective on the Nature of the Human Person*, translated from the Greek by Normal Russell (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1987).

[69] Michael J. Christensen and Jeffrey A. Wittung (eds.), *Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in the Christian Traditions* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007). [Chinese translation published in 2016.]

Chinese in 2016, the plural form “traditions” is employed in the sub-title in order to indicate that this doctrine, instead of belonging exclusively to the Orthodox theological tradition, can be found in the theological traditions of other denominations, including Catholic and Protestant. The book covers not only the theologians acclaimed by the orthodox churches, e. g. the Cappadocian Fathers and Maximus the Confessor (d. 662), but also St. Anselm (1033-1109), Martin Luther (1483-1546), John Calvin (1509-1564), John Wesley (1703-1791), Karl Rahner (1904-1984), and even the theologies of the Copto-Arabic tradition. This book illustrates not only the orthodoxy of the doctrine of deification, but also its plurality or richness in the Christian tradition.

These publications indicate that the doctrine of deification is no longer considered a doctrine exclusive to the Orthodox churches. Instead, it is recognized as part of the common theological heritage shared by Catholics and Protestants. It is quite fair to say that the contemporary development or renaissance of this doctrine is largely due to the Orthodox involvement in the ecumenical dialogue.

## Orthodox Theology and Contemporary Issues

In addition to their involvements in ecumenical dialogue, Orthodox theologians are also involved in the Christian responses to the contemporary issues. It is well known that Orthodox theology emphasizes the transmission of tradition.<sup>[70]</sup> This might give the impression that Orthodox theology is very conservative and thus obsolete if not outdated. However, there are also a significant number of Orthodox theologians engaging in the discussion on various contemporary issues, including environmental protection, religion-science dialogue, postmodernism, and religious pluralism.

Among the contemporary issues, environmental protection is probably the favorite topic for Orthodox theology. The previous Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios (1914-1991) had already indicated his concern for ecological issues.<sup>[71]</sup> The current Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I, due to his involvement in and contribution to the environmental movement, is acclaimed as “Green Patriarch.”<sup>[72]</sup> The insights of the Orthodox theology on the environmental issues is recognized not only within the circle of ecumenical movement,<sup>[73]</sup> but also by individual western theologians specializing in ecological theology.<sup>[74]</sup>

In relation to the ecological issues, Orthodox theologians are also involved in the discussion concerning religion and natural science. Apart from the general discussion concerning theology and science,<sup>[75]</sup> there are also specific studies of bio-ethics from an Orthodox theological perspective.<sup>[76]</sup> Orthodox theologians are also

[70] Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 195-207.

[71] Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 235.

[72] See: His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, *Encountering Mystery: Understanding Orthodox Christianity Today* (New York: Doubleday, 2008).

[73] See: Gennadios Limouris (ed.), *Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation: Insights from Orthodoxy* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1990).

[74] For example, Willis Jenkins, *Ecologies of Grace: Environmental Ethics and Christian Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), includes two chapters related to Orthodox theology, especially the relevance of the Orthodox doctrine of deification to the development of ecological spirituality: “After Maximus: Ecological Spirituality and Cosmic Deification”, pp. 189-205; and, “Thinking Like a Transfigured Mountain: Sergei Bulgakov’s Wisdom Ecology”, pp. 207-225.

[75] Alexei V. Nesteruk, *Light from the East: Theology, Science, and the Eastern Orthodox Tradition* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003).

[76] See: Jon and Lyn Breck, *Stages on Life’s Way: Orthodox Thinking on Bioethics* (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2005).

engaged in dialogue with Western theologians on the relationship between theology and science.<sup>[77]</sup> The relevance or contribution of Orthodox theology is well recognized by some Western theologians. For example, references to the Orthodox interpretations of wisdom (Sophia) are made when addressing the theological issues derived from the recent developments in biology.<sup>[78]</sup>

The references to Orthodox theology made by western theologians often assume that Orthodox theology can offer an alternative radically different from western theology which was largely dominated by the mentality of the Enlightenment. In fact, some Orthodox theologians are very critical towards the modern western culture influenced by the Enlightenment, and are interested in the discussion concerning postmodernity.<sup>[79]</sup> For example, Christos Yannaras attempts to criticize modern western culture from the standpoint of orthodox theology,<sup>[80]</sup> to conduct comparative and/or dialogical,<sup>[81]</sup> studies between the Orthodox theological tradition and representatives of post-modern thought,<sup>[81]</sup> and even to make use of the Orthodox theological resources to develop a postmodern metaphysics.<sup>[82]</sup>

The openness of Orthodox theology is shown in its response not only to postmodern thought, but also to religious pluralism. In the discussion concerning theology of religions, Orthodox theologian Georges Khodr's brief exploration of the significance of pneumatology for theology of religions inspired some western theologians in their attempts to address the issues of religious pluralism from a Trinitarian theological framework, which highlights the role of the Holy Spirit in revelation and/or salvation.<sup>[83]</sup> The significance of the Orthodox rejection of filioque for a Trinitarian theology of religions has also been explored.<sup>[84]</sup> Furthermore, some Orthodox theologians actively participate in the discussion concerning theology of religions,<sup>[85]</sup> and contribute to the explorations concerning comparative theology and Buddhist-Christian dialogue.<sup>[86]</sup>

[77] See; Michael Welker (ed.), *The Spirit in Creation and New Creation: Science and theology in Western and Orthodox Realms* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2012); also, Philip Clayton and Arthur Peacocke (eds.), *In Whom We Live and Move and Have Our Being: Pantheistic Reflections on God's Presence in a Scientific World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), which includes and groups three chapters authored by Orthodox theologians, including Kallistos Ware, Alexei V. Nesteruk and Andrew Louth, to represent the "Eastern Orthodox" perspective.

[78] See; Celia E. Deane-Drummond, *Creation Through Wisdom: Theology and the New Biology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), pp. 73-111.

[79] Recent studies include: Aristotle Papanikolaou, "Orthodoxy, Postmodernity, and Ecumenism: The Difference that Divine-Human Communion Makes," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 42. 4 (Fall 2007), pp. 527-544; Gabriel C. Rochelle, "Apophatic Preaching and the Postmodern Mind," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 50. 4 (2006), pp. 397-419.

[80] Christos Yannaras, *Orthodoxy and the West: Hellenic Self-Identity in the Modern Age*, translated by Peter Chamberas and Normal Russell (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2006).

[81] Christos Yannaras, *On the Absence and Unknowability of God: Heidegger and the Areopagite*, edited with an introduction by Andrew Louth, translated by Haralambos Ventis (London: T & T Clark International, 2005).

[82] Christos Yannaras, *Postmodern Metaphysics*, translated by Normal Russell (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2004).

[83] See; Georges Khodr, "The Economy of the Holy Spirit," in: *Mission Trends*, No. 5: Faith Meets Faith, edited by Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky (New York: Paulist, 1981), pp. 36-49. Khodr's view is referred to, for examples, in: Amos Yong, *Discerning the Spirit (s): A Pentecostal-Charismatic Contribution to Christian Theology of Religions* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); and, Gerald R. McDermott and Harold A. Netland, *A Trinitarian Theology of Religions: An Evangelical Proposal* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2014).

[84] Pan-chiu Lai, *Towards a Trinitarian Theology of Religions: A Study of Paul Tillich's Thought* (Kampen, the Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1994), pp. 37-42.

[85] Michael Oleksa, "All Things New: An Orthodox Theological Reflection on Interfaith Dialogue," in: *Grounds for Understanding: Ecumenical Resources for Responses to Religious Pluralism*, edited by S. Mark Heim (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), pp. 122-136.

[86] See for details; Ernest M. Valea, *Buddhist-Christian Dialogue as Theological Exchange: An Orthodox Contribution to Comparative Theology* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2015).

## Orthodox Christianity and Chinese Culture

Given their participation in the dialogue with other religions, it is not surprising to find that some Orthodox theologians are interested in the dialogue between Christianity and Chinese culture. In fact, there are some studies done by Orthodox theologians or scholars comparing Orthodox theology with Daoism or Confucianism.<sup>[87]</sup> In fact, the significance of Orthodox theology for the communication between Christianity and Chinese culture has also attracted the attention of some Chinese Christian theologians. Some decades ago, Xie Fuya (also known as Zia Nai Zin, 1892-1991) briefly explored the significance of the Orthodox theological tradition for the communication between Christianity and Chinese culture in his introduction to a Chinese edition of an anthology of the Eastern (Greek) fathers, which includes the works by Gregory of Nyssa (335-394), Pseudo-Dionysius (fl. late 5<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century), Maximus the Confessor, and John of Damascus (676-749). Xie notes that mysticism is one of the major characteristics of their theological tradition and this characteristic puts the Orthodox theological tradition in stark contrast with the Latin fathers and Scholasticism, but echoes the Daoist philosophy of Zhangzhi (Chuang-tzu) and Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism.<sup>[88]</sup> Besides, Xie continues, different from the emphasis on the extrinsic redemptive function of Christ in Western theology, the Christology of Eastern Christian theological tradition places emphasis on the interiority of Christ. It is expected that the Christian theology to be grown from the Chinese cultural soil in the future should come closer to the Eastern theological tradition.<sup>[89]</sup>

In recent years, several Chinese theologians have attempted to explore the significance of orthodox theology for the communication between Christianity and Chinese culture, especially Confucianism. Lai Pinchao (also known as Pan-chiu Lai) argues that many of the Confucian criticisms of Christianity, especially those based on the concepts of immanence and transcendence, are not applicable to the Orthodox tradition. Instead of emphasizing one-sidedly the divine transcendence, the Trinitarian doctrine of God in the Orthodox tradition, with its mystical rather than spatial understanding of the divine transcendence, emphasizes both the divine transcendence and immanence without assuming their opposition or contradiction to each other. Furthermore, the Orthodox understanding of human transcendence embodied in Gregory of Nyssa's understanding of the creation of the human being with its root in the doctrine of image of God, highlights the goodness, freedom and dignity of the human being, who is endowed with the tendency of moving towards goodness and the potential to be sharer of the divine life and become perfect through unity with God. The Orthodox theological anthropology is radically different from the Western understanding of the human being characterized by its emphasis on the doctrine of original sin, and is thus more compatible with Confucianism,

[87] See: Hieromonk Damascene, *Christ the Eternal Tao* (Platina, CA: Valaam Books, Third Edition 2002); also, Luó mǎn nuò fū 罗曼诺夫 (Alexandre Lomanov), "Rú jiā sī jiǎ yǔ é luó sī dī líng xìng chuán tǒng" 儒家思想家与俄罗斯的灵性传统 [Confucian Thought and Russian Spiritual Tradition], in: *Chuán chéng yǔ shǐ mìng: ài xiāng dé bó shì shì sī shí wǔ zhōu nián jì niàn xué shù wén jí* 传承与使命: 艾香德博士逝世四十五周年纪念学术文集 [Heritage and Mission: Memorial Volume to Rev. Karl Ludvig Reichelt], edited by Chen Guangpei 陈广培 (Hong Kong: Tao Fong Shan Christian Centre, 1998), pp. 75-95.

[88] Xie Fuya 谢扶雅, "dǎo lùn" 导论 [Introduction], in *Dōng fāng jiào fù xuǎn jí* 东方教父选集 [Eastern Churches], edited by Fèi duō duō 费多铎 [George P. Fedotov] (Hong Kong: The Foundation for Theological Education in Southeast Asia in association with the Council on Christian Literature for Overseas Chinese, 1964), pp. 22-23.

[89] Xie Fuya, "dǎo lùn", p. 40.



especially the contemporary Neo-Confucian emphasis on human goodness.<sup>[90]</sup> According to Lai, in addition to Gregory of Nyssa's understanding of the creation of the human being, his understanding of salvation is also relevant. Gregory understands salvation mainly in terms of deification, and assumes that the human being is not merely a passive recipient of divine grace but also an active agent or co-worker of salvation.<sup>[91]</sup> Lai further argues that the Orthodox doctrine of deification, which is associated with the Trinitarian understanding that humanity is shaped by the Word and the Spirit as the two hands of the Father, is founded in both the Greek and Latin theological traditions and can make positive contribution to Christian-Confucian dialogue on human nature.<sup>[92]</sup>

The positive role to be played by the Orthodox doctrine of deification (theosis) for the communication between Christianity and Confucianism is affirmed and further explored more recently by Alexander Chow, whose doctoral dissertation turned book, highlights the similarity between the Orthodox understanding of deification and the Confucian understanding of the unity between Heaven and humanity, and further explores how Orthodox theology may inform the formation of a contextual theology for contemporary China.<sup>[93]</sup>

Apart from the dialogue between Christianity and Confucianism, there are also Chinese studies of Buddhist-Christian dialogue with references to the Orthodox theological tradition. A notable example is Lai's efforts in articulating a Christian understanding of universal salvation in response to the challenge of Mahayana Buddhism through making references to Orthodox theological resources.<sup>[94]</sup> In order to argue for the possibility of salvation for those who are in hell, Lai makes references to Orthodox theologian Hilarion Alfeyev's view that Christ's descent to hell became the starting point for the ascent of humanity and this path of deification (theosis) is opened for all.<sup>[95]</sup> In order to clarify that this concerns the possibility rather than actuality of universal salvation, Lai quotes another Orthodox theologian Timothy Ware who states "It is heretical to say that all must be saved, for this is to deny free will; but it is legitimate to hope that all may be saved."<sup>[96]</sup> With regard to the existence and nature of hell, Lai refers again to Ware's view that hell may exist as the final possibility, but it is not created by God for the purpose of punishing or imprisoning human

[90] Lai Pinchao 赖品超, "Chāo yuè zhě dì nèi zài xìng yǔ nèi zài zhě dì chāo yuè xìng" 超越者的内在性与内在者的超越性 [Immanence of the Transcendent and the Transcendence of the Immanent], in Lai Pinchao 赖品超 and Lin Hongxing 林宏星, *Rú yé duì huà yǔ shēng tài guān huái 儒耶对话与生态关怀* [Confucian-Christian Dialogue and Ecological Concern] (Beijing: Religious Culture Publishing House, 2006), pp. 1-42.

[91] Pan-chiu Lai, "Christian Transformation of Greek Humanism and its Implications for Christian-Confucian Dialogue," *Korea Journal of Systematic Theology* 22 (2008. 12), p.245-269.

[92] Pan-chiu Lai, "Shaping Humanity with Word and Spirit: Perspectives East, West and Neither-East-Nor-West," in: *Word and Spirit: Renewing Christology and Pneumatology in a Globalizing World*, edited by Anselm K. Min and Christoph Schwöbel (Berlin & Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), pp. 131-149. A Chinese version of this essay is included in: Lai Pinchao, *Guang chang shang de Han yu shen xue*, chapter 8, pp. 193-216.

[93] Alexander Chow, *Theosis, Sino-Christian Theology and the Second Chinese Enlightenment: Heaven and Humanity in Unity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). [Chinese translation published in 2015.]

[94] See: Pan-chiu Lai, "Reconsidering the Christian Understanding of Universal Salvation in Mahayana Buddhist Perspective," *Ching Feng*, n. s. 12 (2013), pp. 19-42.

[95] See: Hilarion Alfeyev, *Christ the Conqueror of Hell: The Descent into Hades from an Orthodox Perspective* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2009), pp. 213-218; cf. Lai, "Reconsidering the Christian Understanding of Universal Salvation in Mahayana Buddhist Perspective", p. 37.

[96] Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, p. 262; cf. Lai, "Reconsidering the Christian Understanding of Universal Salvation in Mahayana Buddhist Perspective", p. 37.



beings; rather, it is a place of self-enslavement made by human beings and chosen by the misuse of their freedom.<sup>[97]</sup> In order to point out that the real basis for this hope for universal salvation is the compassion which a Christian should have, Lai follows Ware in citing the saying of Isaac the Syrian (also known as Saint Isaac of Nineveh, d. 700) that “a merciful heart” is “a heart that burns with love for the whole of creation, for humans, for the birds, for the beasts, for the demons, for all creatures.”<sup>[98]</sup> For Lai, the Orthodox approach of taking this merciful heart as the basis for the hope for universal salvation echoes the Mahayana affirmation of universal salvation, which includes not only the doctrine that all sentient beings, including icchantika, will attain Buddhahood, but also the bodhisattva’s compassionate vow of saving all beings from hell before entering into nirvana.<sup>[99]</sup> Lai further affirms that though there are similar ideas in the Roman Catholic tradition, among the major denominations the Orthodox tradition is the most compatible with the Mahayana Buddhist doctrines related to universal salvation.<sup>[100]</sup>

It is rather obvious that the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology, especially those surveyed above, instead of being shaped merely by the modern renaissance of Orthodox theology, were also shaped by the Chinese Christians’ own concerns, including especially the relationship between Christianity and Chinese culture. This might be part of the reason why there are many Chinese studies of Orthodox theology conducted by scholars who are not from the Orthodox churches. The interplay between the Orthodox theological tradition and the contemporary Chinese context in the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology may be able to enrich the studies of the Orthodox tradition with its rather distinctive Chinese perspective or cultural resources. For example, in Amos Yong’s study of pneumatology and Christian-Buddhist dialogue, he makes extensive references to the Orthodox tradition, especially the Desert tradition of Spirituality and the goal of salvation in terms of becoming divine.<sup>[101]</sup> From the Buddhist side, Yong chooses the Theravada tradition of Self-Renunciation for comparison.<sup>[102]</sup> He might have overlooked that the Mahayana Buddhist doctrine of Buddha-nature, which flourished mainly in Chinese Buddhism, could be closer to the Orthodox doctrine of deification, though not without some basic differences. It is interesting to note that many decades ago, a Chinese named Zhang Chun-yi (1871-1955) had compared the Mahayana Buddhist doctrine of Buddha-nature with the Christian doctrine of spirit, and even attempted to propose a Buddhist-Christian pneumatology, which emphasizes the unity between humanity and divinity. According to Zhang, the concept of spirit applies also to the human spirit rather than exclusively to the Holy Spirit, and thus relates to human nature, which is also what the Buddhist doctrine of Buddha-nature teaches.<sup>[103]</sup> If Yong were more familiar with Chinese Buddhism, he might find more room for exploration and comparative studies of Buddhism and Orthodox

[97] See for details: Bishop Kallistos Ware, “Dare We Hope for the Salvation of All?,” in: *The Inner Kingdom: Volume 1 of the Complete Works* (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2004), pp. 193-215; cf. Lai, “Reconsidering the Christian Understanding of Universal Salvation in Mahayana Buddhist Perspective”, p. 38.

[98] Isaac the Syrian, *Mystic Treatises*, edited by A. J. Wensinck (Amsterdam, 1923), p. 341; cf. Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, p. 262; Lai, “Reconsidering the Christian Understanding of Universal Salvation in Mahayana Buddhist Perspective”, p. 38.

[99] Lai, “Reconsidering the Christian Understanding of Universal Salvation in Mahayana Buddhist Perspective”, p. 38.

[100] Lai, “Reconsidering the Christian Understanding of Universal Salvation in Mahayana Buddhist Perspective”, p. 40.

[101] Amos Yong, *Pneumatology and the Christian-Buddhist Dialogue: Does the Spirit Blow through the Middle Way?* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 107-130.

[102] Amos Yong, *Pneumatology and the Christian-Buddhist Dialogue*, pp. 131-158.

[103] For the thought of Zhang Chun-yi 张纯一, especially his pneumatology and Buddhist-Christian studies, see: Pan-chiu Lai & Yuen-tai So, “Zhang Chun-yi’s Buddhist-Christian Pneumatology,” *Ching Feng* (New Series) 4. 1 (2003), pp. 51-77; also, Lai Pan-chiu & So Yuen-tai, “Mahayana Interpretation of Christianity: A Case Study of Zhang Chunyi (1871-1955),” *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 27 (2007), pp. 67-87.

theology, especially the doctrine of deification.

## Limitations of the Chinese Explorations

It is quite understandable that the interplay between the Orthodox theological tradition and the contemporary Chinese context might also bring forth certain limitations to the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology.

In terms of scope or width, the Chinese Christian studies of Orthodox theology have not adequately covered the diverse issues of contemporary Orthodox theology. Admittedly, the Orthodox approach to ecological theology has attracted the attention of some Chinese theologians. The Orthodox approach is regarded as one of the seven major approaches to ecological theology according to a Chinese handbook for contemporary theology.<sup>[104]</sup> Some references to Maximus the Confessor and John Zizioulas are made in the dialogue between Christianity and Confucianism on ecological issues.<sup>[105]</sup> However, the Chinese explorations of Orthodox ecological theology remain very few and preliminary. The Orthodox theological engagements in the dialogue with postmodernism and with science are largely ignored by Chinese scholars.

Furthermore, the existing Chinese studies of Orthodox theology are mainly about theologians of the Greek Orthodox Church, Russian orthodox theology before the Communist revolution, or Russian Orthodox theologians in diaspora. The Orthodox churches and their theologies in post-Communist Eastern Europe are largely ignored. The Orthodox theologies beyond the Greek and Russian Orthodox churches are also largely neglected in the Chinese academia. However, it is important to note that the Orthodox theologies in post-Communist Eastern Europe, especially their theological reflections on their political experience under the Communist regimes can be highly relevant to the Christian churches in China. The Orthodox theology beyond Greek and Eastern Europe may have made its own rather distinctive contribution to the theological discussion concerning some contemporary issues which are relevant to the Chinese context.<sup>[106]</sup> These could be areas to be further explored by Chinese theologians or scholars.

Notwithstanding the enormous areas for further explorations, before moving forward, it is very important to examine the limitations of the existing studies with regard to their depth or approach. As we shall see, the existing Chinese studies of Orthodox theology betray a rather subtle yet fundamental limitation regarding the approaches adopted. This limitation or barrier might sometimes make the Chinese studies of Orthodox theology far from adequate.

Perhaps one may take the Chinese appropriation of the Orthodox doctrine of deification for Confucian-Christian dialogue as an example for illustration. Lai's aforementioned attempt at making references to the Orthodox doctrine of deification to address the Confucian query concerning whether Christianity can affirm

[104] Lai Pinchao 赖品超, "Shēng tài shén xué" 生态神学 [Ecological Theology], in: *Xin shì jì dí shén xué yì chéng, xià cè* 新世纪的神学议程·下册 [Theology for the New Century, vol. 1] edited by Guo Hongbiao and Du Jianwei (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, 2003), pp. 423-451.

[105] Lai and Lin, *Rú yé duì huà yǔ shēng tài guān huái*, pp. 283-308, especially 287 and 303-304.

[106] For example, Paulos Mar Gregorios (1922-1996), the then Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan of New Delhi, published rather extensively on patristic theology as well as issues related to science, technology and ecology. See for instances: Paulos Mar Gregorios, *Cosmic Man-The Divine Presence: The Theology of St. Gregory of Nyssa (ca 330 to 395 A. D.)* (New York: Paragon; House, 1988); *The Human Presence: Ecological Spirituality and the Age of Spirit* (New York: Amity House, 1987); *A Light Too Bright-The Enlightenment Today: An Assessment of the Values of the European Enlightenment and a Search for New Foundations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).

that every human being can become Christ, is challenged by Paulos Huang. Huang finds particularly unacceptable Lai's suggestion that based on a rereading of the Chalcedonian formula, it is quite possible to affirm that every human being can become Christ through a Christological doctrine of human goodness.<sup>[107]</sup> Huang attempts to identify Lai's position in terms of semi-Pelagianism and semi-Augustinianism, and to argue for maintaining the distinction between "Christlike" and "becoming Christ", while agreeing to Lai's suggestion that to "become participant in divine nature" is the goal of Christian salvation.<sup>[108]</sup> Huang's query and counter-proposal may raise the question if his query is based on his Lutheran background as well as the presupposed Latin Western theological framework, which is quite different from the Orthodox theological framework assumed by Lai's suggestion.

It is understandable that there are certain tensions between the Orthodox doctrine of deification and the forensic doctrine of justification by faith associated with Lutheranism. In fact, the tension between the Lutheran doctrine of justification by grace alone and the Confucian emphasis on self-cultivation are highlighted in Huang's and Redse's studies.<sup>[109]</sup> However, it is noteworthy that according to the Finnish interpretation of Luther articulated mainly by Tuomo Mannermaa (1937-2015), Luther's understanding of salvation, instead of being exhausted by the forensic doctrine of justification by faith, is focused on union with Christ and implies a doctrine of deification comparable, though not entirely equivalent, to the Orthodox understanding.<sup>[110]</sup> Under the influences of this interpretation of Luther, there are many studies arguing that the doctrines of justification and deification are compatible and it is possible to develop a Lutheran approach to deification.<sup>[111]</sup> If Huang had properly taken into consideration the implication of the Finnish interpretation of Luther,<sup>[112]</sup> perhaps Huang might find Lai's suggestion less unacceptable.

Unlike Huang's query which relates directly to Lai and only implicitly or indirectly to the Orthodox doctrine of deification, the query made by Liu Xiaofeng against Orthodox theology is much more direct and explicit. In his introduction to the Chinese translation of Vladimir Lossky's *Orthodox Theology: An Introduction*, Liu tends to identify mystical theology with negative theology, and even criticizes Orthodox theology on the ground that it takes human sinfulness too lightly. For Liu, given Barth's emphasis on the infinite distance between God and the human being, what should be emphasized is human sinfulness rather than human similarity to God. Liu further comments that what should be taken seriously is the direct

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[107] Pan-chiu Lai, "Christian-Confucian Dialogue on Humanity: An Ecological Perspective," *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue* 14. 2 (2004), pp. 202-215, especially p. 211.

[108] Paulos Huang, *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation: A Systematic Theological analysis of the Basic Problems in the Confucian-Christian Dialogue* (Helsinki: Department of Systematic Theology, University of Helsinki, 2006), pp. 195-197. [Chinese translation published in 2009.]

[109] For instance, Arne Redse, 'Justification by Grace Alone' *Facing Confucian Self-Cultivation: The Christian Doctrine of Justification Contextualized to New Confucianism* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[110] See; Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson (eds.), *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998); also, William W. Schumacher, *Who Do I Say That You Are: Anthropology and the Theology of Theosis in the Finnish School of Tuomo Mannermaa* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2010).

[111] See; Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *One with God: Salvation as Deification and Justification* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2004); also, Jordan Cooper, *Christification: A Lutheran Approach to Theosis* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2014).

[112] In his book, Huang did mention briefly Tuomo Mannermaa's interpretation of Luther. See; Huang, *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, pp. 262-263.

experience of the Bible rather than the Orthodox claim for its distinctive tradition.<sup>[113]</sup> It is all too obvious that Liu's criticism is based on a Protestant standpoint, which is based on a rather one-sided reading of Barth and overlooks that Barth's own position might exhibit certain similarities, in spite of the apparent differences.<sup>[114]</sup> However, the most important problem remains that Liu's criticism of Orthodox theology betrays his lack of sympathetic understanding of the Orthodox tradition in general as well as inadequate understanding of the Orthodox mystical theology in particular.<sup>[115]</sup> The case of Liu vividly illustrates that many Chinese scholars may find it rather difficult to understand the mystical tradition of Orthodox Christianity and this may be due, at least partially, to their own religious backgrounds which differ radically from the Orthodox tradition.

In his introduction to the Chinese edition of an anthology of Pseudo-Dionysius, Chen Zuoren (also known as Stephen T. Chan) perceptively points out the relationship between Pseudo-Dionysius's negative theology and that of Meister Eckhart (c. 1260-c. 1328) and Martin Heidegger (1889-1976).<sup>[116]</sup> Chen makes reference to Jean-Luc Marion's proposal concerning God without being,<sup>[117]</sup> and further explores the significance of Pseudo-Dionysius's negative theology for Chinese theology.<sup>[118]</sup> Though Chen affirms that there is no contradiction between negative theology and affirmative theology,<sup>[119]</sup> when exploring the significance of Pseudo-Dionysius for Chinese theology, his discussion is focused on the negative theology in *Mystical Theology*, and he neglects the significance of Pseudo-Dionysius's other works in the anthology, including *Celestial Hierarchy* and *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and makes no connection among the three works by Pseudo-Dionysius.

Chen's interpretation of Pseudo-Dionysius is in sharp contrast to the interpretations offered by scholars from the Orthodox tradition. For example, Andrew Louth's study of Pseudo-Dionysius emphasizes how the concept of "hierarchy" in *Mystical Theology* is connected to *Celestial Hierarchy* and *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and how it differs from the Neo-Platonic interpretation of the concept. Louth further highlights the distinction between negative theology and mystical theology. While the former belongs to the sphere of human reason, the latter involves the immediate divine-human relation and relates to church liturgy, which is an invitation to open oneself to accept and respond to divine love. In this sense, mystical theology refers to the

[113] Liu Xiaofeng 刘小枫, "Zhōng yì běn dǎo yán" 中译本导言 [Introduction to the Chinese Edition], Fú. Luò sī jī 弗·洛斯基 (Vladimir Lossky), *Dōng zhèng jiào shén xué dǎo lùn* 东正教神学导论 [Orthodox Theology: An Introduction], translated by Yáng déyǒu 杨德友 (Shijiangzhuang, PRC: Hebei Education Press, 2002), pp. 1-29, especially p. 28.

[114] How and to what extent Barth's understanding of participation in Christ differs from the Orthodox doctrine of deification remains a controversial issue in Barth scholarship. See: Bruce L. McCormack, "Participation in God, Yes; Deification, No: Two Modern Protestant Responses to an Ancient Question", in: *Orthodox and Modern: Studies in the Theology of Karl Barth* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2008), pp. 235-260; Adam Neder, *Participation in Christ: An Entry into Karl Barth's Church Dogmatics* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009), pp. 86-92; and, Zhang Shaobo 张少博, *Zhèng jiào dí chéng shén jiào yì yǔ bā tè shén xué* 正教的成神教义与巴特神学 [Orthodox Doctrine of Theosis and Barth's Theology] (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, unpublished Ph. D. thesis 2015).

[115] For a critique of Liu's criticism of Orthodox mystical theology, see: Lai Pinchao 赖品超, "Zhōng yì běn dǎo yán" 中译本导言 [Introduction to the Chinese Edition], in: *Méi yán duō fū* 梅延多夫 (John Meyendorff), *Bài zhān tíng shén xué zhōng dí jī dū* 拜占庭神学中的基督 [Christ in Eastern Christian Thought], translated by Tan Lizhu 谭立铸 (Hong Kong: Logos & Pneuma Press, 2011), pp. xiii-xxxv, especially xxvi-xxxv. This essay is reprinted in: Lai Pinchao, *Guang chang shang de Han yu shen xue*, chapter 6, pp. 145-168.

[116] Chen Zuoren 陈佐人, "Zhōng yì běn dǎo yán" 中译本导言 [Introduction to the Chinese Edition], in: (Tuō míng) Dī ào ní xiū sī (托名)狄奥尼修斯 [Pseudo-Dionysius], *Shén mì shén xué* 神秘神学 [Mystical Theology], translated by Bao Limin 包利民 (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1998), pp. 23-26.

[117] Jean-Luc Marion, *God Without Being*, tr. by Thomas A. Carlson; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[118] Chen Zuoren, "Zhōng yì běn dǎo yán", pp. 26-29.

[119] Chen Zuoren, "Zhōng yì běn dǎo yán", pp. 20-23.

union with God or deification which is embodied in the liturgy.<sup>[120]</sup> In similar vein, in his comparative study of Pseudo-Dionysius and Heidegger, Christos Yannaras points out that unlike the Western theologians who tend to identify negative theology merely as a corrective of affirmative theology or cataphatic theology, the Orthodox understanding of negative theology, following Pseudo-Dionysius, refers to the divine-human relationship which involves personal participation as well as erotic communion, and is beyond human conceptuality.<sup>[121]</sup> The difference between the existing Chinese and Orthodox interpretations of Pseudo-Dionysius might reflect a rather basic problem of the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology to be addressed.

## Concluding Remarks

In the Chinese academia, the study of Christianity as a whole is dominated by the studies of Protestantism or studies with the Protestant perspective. There are a significant number of studies of Catholicism or studies with the Catholic perspective. The studies of Orthodox Christianity constitute just a very tiny part of Christian Studies in the Chinese speaking world. This unbalanced situation in turn makes the study of Orthodox Christianity, especially Orthodox theology, even more difficult. This is because many Chinese scholars might approach the Orthodox theology with an inappropriate framework inherited from other Christian theological traditions or even secular intellectual traditions.

Some of the aforementioned limitations of the Chinese explorations of Orthodox theology are partially due to the contextual concerns of Chinese theologians and scholars. But more often they are constituted by the religious backgrounds of the researchers, and many of whom are not members of the Orthodox churches and not familiar with the Orthodox tradition. Some of them might thus approach Orthodox theology with a theological framework inherited from the Western Latin theological tradition, especially Protestant theology. Some others might even adopt a more intellectual or philosophical approach in their interpretations of Orthodox theology.<sup>[122]</sup> As a result, the vital connection between theology and spirituality as well as liturgy in the Orthodox tradition is often neglected. It is rather unfortunate that the Orthodox theological tradition is deeply embedded in its liturgical and spiritual, especially mystical, tradition. Unlike the systematic and intellectualistic tendencies of modern western theology, especially academic theology, the Orthodox theological tradition takes seriously the limitation of human language and does not rely on an intellectualistic articulation of a theological system. It is thus rather difficult for an outsider of the Orthodox tradition to have an adequate understanding of Orthodox theology, especially its mystical theology, without a proper and comprehensive understanding of its liturgy, visual arts, spirituality, etc. Admittedly, some Chinese studies of Orthodox theologies may be able to highlight properly the connection between the Christian liturgy and the negation of language in the Orthodox tradition.<sup>[123]</sup> But how to overcome the limitation or barrier constituted by the researcher's own religious background or lack of it, remains a crucial challenge for many individual researchers of Orthodox theology and the future development of Chinese studies of Orthodox theology as a

[120] Andrew Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1989), pp. 104-109.

[121] Christos Yannaras, *On the Absence and Unknowability of God*, pp. 83-110.

[122] For example, Xu Fenglin 徐凤林, *É luó sī zōng jiào zhé xué 俄罗斯宗教哲学 [Russian Philosophy of Religion]* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2006).

[123] For example: Li Bingquan 李丙权, *Mǎ xī wēng, jì zhòu lā sī hé kè fú běn tǐ-shén xué wèn tí 马西翁, 济宙拉斯和克服本体-神学问题 [Jean-Luc Marcion, John Zizioulas and the Problem of Overcoming Onto-Theology]* (Hong Kong: Logos & Pneuma Press, 2015).

whole.

One of the possible ways of overcoming the limitation or barrier outlined above is to engage the relevant Chinese scholars and Orthodox theologians in dialogue. Through dialogue, the Orthodox theologians may be able to furnish the Chinese scholars an insider's point of view and help them to have a more sympathetic understanding of the Orthodox tradition as a whole so that they can have a better understanding of Orthodox theology. Furthermore, the dialogue with living Orthodox theologians, especially those from post-Communist Eastern Europe, may also help the Chinese scholars to learn from the Orthodox churches' rich experience of living under political pressure and/or persecution, and from their theological reflections on political totalitarianism. This may help the Chinese scholars and theologians to consider their ways of living in their own political context. In return, through the dialogue, Chinese scholars and theologians may have the chance to share their exploration of Orthodox theology with Orthodox theologians. Although their explorations may be fragmentary and preliminary, with their rather distinctive cultural resources, socio-political experiences, and worldviews, their contributions may help to enrich the development of Orthodox theology.

中文题目:

## 汉语学界对正教神学的探索:一个批判性的回顾

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**提要:**虽然基督正教徒在中国为数甚少,但关于基督正教的中文书刊却如雨后春笋。在汉语学界,不少来自基督宗教的其他宗派的神学家,以至在形式上没有宗教归属的学者,都有参与对正教神学的探索。本文尝试分析并评估汉语学界的这些对正教神学的探索。

藉着参考正教神学在当代的发展、尤其成神论的复兴,本文将会指出,汉语学界对正教神学的探索,既受到二十世纪正教的神学复兴的影响,也受到中国处境的左右。中国处境的介入对中国学者对正教神学的探索,有着正反两面的影响。一方面,在探索的范围或广度上,整体来说是高度集中在与中国处境、尤其与基督宗教与中国文化关系的议题或领域上;此外,在探索的深度上,由于研究者的宗教背景,汉语学界一些对正教神学的研究,未能掌握正教传统中,神学、礼仪与灵性等向度的紧密关系,并因此在诠释例如正教传统中的冥契神学时,显得有点困难。

可以预期的是,透过与当代的正教神学家的对话,至少可以部份地克服这些限制。这种对话也将有助正教神学家理解,汉语界的神学家及学者的探索,对于正教神学的当代陈述,也有可能作出颇为独特的贡献。

**关键词:**中国文化;儒家;成神;冥契神学;正教神学





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



# Chinese Orthodox Martyrs of 1900: Survey of Historical Sources and Church Veneration

L. A. Afonina<sup>[1]</sup>

**Abstract:** The author summarized and thoroughly examined all available sources on the Chinese Orthodox martyrs, who had suffered during the Yihetuan (Boxer's) uprising in 1900, analyzed the wide-spread historical myths concerning this topic and described the procedure of glorification and the practice of veneration of the Chinese martyrs in the Orthodox Church in different historical periods.

**Key Words:** Chinese Orthodox martyrs, Yihetuan uprising, Boxer's rebellion, Orthodoxy in China, Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China

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At the turn of the twentieth century China was in fact a semi-colonial, backwardly developed country in which foreigners were dominated in many spheres of life. The local population perceived the imposition by foreign powers of the latest technology and the import of goods extremely negatively, since this led to the destruction of the traditional way of life and left a huge number of people without a means of living. One of the most important reasons for enmity towards foreigners was widespread drug abuse due to the spreading of opium by Europeans. Gradually, popular discontent turned into social uprisings, especially in the north-east regions, where in the last years of the nineteenth century the failed harvests as a result of drought made worse the already poverty-ridden state of the people. The Qing government, in order to divert popular anger, had an interest in the formation and inflaming of a public opinion which tied China's misfortunes to foreign dominion.

Alongside the numerous foreigners in China engaged in trade, railway construction and factory output there arrived in the country Christian missionaries who had the ambitious aim of converting the Chinese to Christianity.

The issue of missionaries became particularly acute after the signing in 1858 of the Tianjin international

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treaties that permitted freedom to preach religion in China. The Celestial Empire was inundated by representatives of various Christian groups who earlier had no presence in China and who actively began to exert their influence.

In China at the end of the nineteenth century there could be noticed the numerical successes of the Catholic and Protestant preachers; however, the fact that the locals were baptized was not always accompanied by a sincere acceptance of the faith of the adepts, but at times signified a desire to obtain various advantages through membership of a community. In spite of the visible results of preaching in society as a whole, there still hung around the spirit of a negative attitude towards foreign missionaries, at times going as far as genuine enmity. This is explained by the generally hostile mood towards foreigners and as a result of the unworthy behavior of many missionaries and their open denigration of the Chinese gods, who, so the people believed, could be moved to anger.

The appeals of the Zongli Yamen ( 总理衙门, the Main Directorate of Foreign Affairs of the Qing Empire) to the Russian ambassador in Beijing A. G. Vlangali for 1871 contain a comment on what was happening: “Since China and the European powers have exchanged treaties, many unworthy people have become the followers of Christian teaching. Although they follow a teaching which leads people to good, they in fact despise people. They do not respect the feelings of the people. And the newly-converted have used the missionaries’ influence to denigrate the simple people. The people all the more so could not accept this. The result has been a mutual enmity between the people and the missionaries. There have been heated exchanges and incidents have been provoked. But as soon as the local authorities started to take notice, the missionaries would take under their protection their faithful, thereby opposing the authorities. The people’s feelings even more so became set against them. Moreover, Chinese criminals and rebels inciting riots, in order to save themselves, accepted Christianity, and, using its influence, provoked disorder. Anger boiled over even among the simple people. Anger grew into hatred. Hatred grew into confrontation. In various places the people, unable to understand the difference between Protestants and Catholics, on the whole expressed their dissatisfaction with Christianity. Not knowing the differences between Western countries, the people expressed its common dissatisfaction in relation to all foreigners”<sup>[2]</sup>.

The negative attitude of the Chinese towards missionaries, the “evil-temperedness of missionary failures,” was testified in the travel diary for 1907 of the Russian Sinologist Academician V. M. Alexeyev. He brought together a huge collection of Chinese popular prints, some of them clearly expressed the feelings of the aggrieved population towards the missionaries and which called upon the people to rise up against them. Alexeyev convincingly wrote that the “unconcealed contempt for the national Chinese religion cannot but evoke protest”<sup>[3]</sup>. He points also towards the complex situation which baffled the Chinese in which Christian denominations would fight among themselves<sup>[4]</sup>.

Alexeyev noticed that the British consul E. Werner severely condemned the missionaries and was of the firm belief that the missionaries had brought to China a weapon that could be used against all Europeans<sup>[5]</sup>.

The participant in defending the foreign embassies and the siege of Beijing in May-August 1900 and

[ 2 ] S. G. Andreyeva, “Anti-missionary Disturbance in China in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century with Particular Regard to the Situation of the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission” ( in Russian ), State and Society in China ( in Russian ), №32, (2002) ,116-125.

[ 3 ] V. M. Alexeyev, In Old China ( in Russian ), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. , ( Moscow: Vostochnaya Literature, 2012 ) ,229.

[ 4 ] Ibid. ,308.

[ 5 ] Ibid,478.

medical doctor of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China (REMC) and the Russian Imperial Embassy V. V. Korsakov, in analyzing the causes for what happened, came to the following conclusion: “Catholicism primarily wields a huge economic power in China, it owns huge swathes of land. The missionaries are constantly buying up land from poor Chinese and settling their Christians upon them. Having planted the first grain, the missionaries began to exert their influence so that it bears fruit. The new Christian already begins making converts to Christianity by influencing the poor. He prepares the soil. The missionaries immediately offer help and money to the poor Chinaman who is inclined to accept Catholicism or they buy the necessary implements for the poor Chinese farmer and even buy him land—and land for a Chinese farmer is the only ideal of happiness! Having created a Catholic nucleus in the village, the missionaries keep a tight grip on it, while the new members, the Chinese Catholics, immediately break their ties with their blood brothers. They not only become alienated from one another, but begin to hate each other. If a misfortune befalls a Chinese Christian or if he is humiliated by a Chinese official, then the Christian complains to the missionary; the missionary quickly passes on the complaint to the embassy, which sees itself as the protector of Catholicism; the Chinese Christian, it turns out, is always right: he is backed not only by a multitude of missionaries, but also by Christian Europeans. In brief, Catholic mission has created in China its own state and made subjects out of the Chinese Catholics”<sup>[6]</sup>.

He testified that the missionaries in Chinese society were universally hated by everyone—both the aristocracy and the officials, both the military and people.

Archimandrite Avraamy (Chasovnikov), who served at that time at the REMC, speaks of the causes for the rebellion: “The people sought a cause for the disasters visited upon them from heaven, while at the same time the people were indignant at the intrigues of unworthy Christians who denigrated their neighbors the farmers by using the influence and authority of the foreign missions”<sup>[7]</sup>. He called this situation a “repression of Chinese heathen by Chinese Christians”: “The Chinese Christians abused too often their ties with Europeans, using these ties for scaring the local courts and for taking away land from their neighbors”<sup>[8]</sup>.

Thus, after 1858, the number of Christian missionaries who had come to work in China increased, their number changed and the nature of their preaching changed, which led to conflicts between the missionaries and the Chinese, and often there were instances of attacks upon and killings of missionaries<sup>[9]</sup>.

The first wave of anti-missionary demonstrations from 1868 to 1871 led to a fall in the activities of religious missions in the 1870s, but from the 1880s the number of missionary societies in China began to rise, which became the reason for the new popular demonstrations that enveloped the country.

Against the background of the above, let us turn to the presence of Orthodox Christianity in China. The Orthodox community was formed in Beijing at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Its life and work were linked to the activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China (REMC). Originally the Mission was dispatched to

[6] Ibid, 90-91.

[7] Avraamy, hieromonk. A Short History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, compiled on the Occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Existence in 1913 (in Russian), (Peking: Dormition monastery printing house, 1916), 189.

[8] Avraamy, hieromonk. “The Beijing Siege: from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China” (in Russian), Christian Readings, №1, (1901), 65.

[9] S. G. Andreyeva, “Anti-missionary Disturbance in China in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century with Particular Regard to the Situation of the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission” (in Russian), State and Society in China (in Russian), №32, (2002), 116-125.

China for the spiritual care of compatriots who were to be found there—Cossacks who had been captured by Chinese imperial guards in 1685 during the defense of the Albazin fortress. Hence their historical name—the Albazians. The Albazian Cossacks settled in Beijing and were incorporated into the Manchurian military of Bordered Yellow Banner, were married off to the wives of executed criminals and were given a building to be used as an Orthodox church. In spite of the contradictory historical information on the life of the Albazians in China, for many centuries they succeeded in retaining the memory of their origin and their faith.

Gradually, the Mission concentrated its efforts on attending to the spiritual needs of Russians who found themselves in China, while only a single hieromonk from the Mission's clergy attended to the Albazians. Moreover, throughout the first 150 years of its existence, the REMC was obliged to solve problems unusual for an ecclesiastical representation, such as guaranteeing diplomatic interaction between the Qing and Russian Empires. The setting up of a Russian embassy in Beijing in 1861 allowed the REMC to concentrate exclusively upon church work.

As a result of the active work of the Mission, towards the end of the nineteenth century the Orthodox faith had already begun to spread among the local population. By 1898 the community of Orthodox Chinese in Beijing numbered 458 people<sup>[10]</sup>. The Mission had five churches—in Beijing the Church of the Dormition in the north metochion (Beiguan) and the Church of the Meeting of our Lord at the diplomatic mission (previously the south metochion of the REMC), the Church of St. Innocent of Irkutsk in the village of Dongding'an (Tongzhou district located 50 km from Beijing), the Church of St. Alexander Nevsky in Wuhan, and the Church of the Trinity in Zhangjiakou<sup>[11]</sup>.

By the end of the nineteenth century an important historical event occurred in the life of the Orthodox community of Beijing—the first Chinese priest in history was ordained: Fr. Mitrofan Yang Ji (杨吉). He was born on 17<sup>th</sup> January 1865<sup>[12]</sup>, (according to the traditional Chinese calendar the 10<sup>th</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month 1855)<sup>[13]</sup>, and his ancestors came from the Manchurian banner troops<sup>[14]</sup>. His father died when he was still a young child and he was brought up by his Orthodox grandmother Yekaterina and his mother Marina, who was a teacher in the women's mission school. The head of the 15<sup>th</sup> REMC (1865-1878) Archimandrite Pallady (Kafarov) paid special attention to the upbringing of Mitrofan with the aim of preparing him later on for ordination to the priesthood.

Before his priestly ordination, Yang Ji worked at the Mission as an instructor in catechism and a translator. Being a humble and silent man, and considering himself unworthy, he refused to become a priest. However, he was persuaded by the head of the 16<sup>th</sup> REMC Archimandrite Flavian (Gorodetsky). At the behest of Archimandrite Flavian on 14<sup>th</sup> January 1881 the Holy Synod by its decision of the 7<sup>th</sup> October 1881 confirmed Mitrofan as worthy of receiving the office of priest. It should be especially noted that this position among the staff of the Mission had existed since 1863, yet had not been occupied by virtue of the fact of an

[10] Avraamy, hieromonk. A Short History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, compiled on the Occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Existence in 1913 (in Russian), (Peking: Dormition monastery printing house, 1916), 188.

[11] Orthodoxy in China (in Russian), (Moscow: Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, 2010), 256.

[12] All events and documents relating to the period before 1<sup>st</sup> February 1918 are dated according to the Julian calendar (Old Style) and from 1<sup>st</sup> February 1918 according to the Gregorian calendar (New Style).

[13] The Orthodox Church in Japan, 06. 2011. URL: <http://www.orthodoxjapan.jp/jihou/201106.pdf>

[14] Eight Banners' is the Manchurian principle of administrative division combining military and civil elements and an integral part of the state of the Qing Empire.

absence of worthy candidates.

In his petition Archimandrite Flavian characterized Mitrofan thus: “Instructor in catechism Mitrofan Ji, by both his moral qualities and his deep knowledge of Orthodox Christian doctrine, is deemed worthy, capable and trustworthy of occupying this position as a priest from among the natives”<sup>[15]</sup>.

On his visit to Tokyo in 1882 during the All-Japanese Orthodox Council Mitrofan became a deacon on 27<sup>th</sup> June and on 29<sup>th</sup> June he became a priest. His ordination to the priesthood was performed by the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan Bishop Nikolai (Kasatkin) of Revel in the Cathedral Church of the Resurrection. On this trip to Japan Mitrofan was accompanied by Archimandrite Flavian, the instructor in catechism Pavel Wang Wen (王文) and translator of the Mission Yevmeny Li Yu (李玉) who at the same place were tonsured as readers.

Fr. Mitrofan carried out his priestly ministry in the Dormition Church in Beiguan. Upon his ordination the practice of worshipping in the Chinese language was established. As his descendants recall, at the metochion of the Mission he was known as priest Ji (吉神父), which came from his Manchurian name, or as priest Fan (梵神父), from his name in baptism, Mitrofan (弥特罗梵).

He combined his pastoral work with teaching in the men’s school of the Mission<sup>[16]</sup>. It is known that Mitrofan had a fine command of the Russian language and translated works of religious literature. For his translation work Fr. Mitrofan was awarded the epigonation on 5<sup>th</sup> April 1884<sup>[17]</sup>.

Because of the humble and quiet demeanor of Fr. Mitrofan Yang Ji and his characteristic kindness and credulity, he often had to endure offensive incidents and many people took advantage of his unmercenary nature. At the same time, he suffered from nervous attacks which became more frequent with every year and eventually made Fr. Mitrofan mentally ill so that towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Mission (1884-1896) he began to avoid people and he could no longer serve in church or work with translations<sup>[18]</sup>. From 1897 onwards the priest ceased to celebrate the services regularly and led a quiet life in his native home near Beiguan. The Holy Synod, out of respect for his work, allocated him an annual pension of 240 roubles<sup>[19]</sup>. The priest had a family-his wife Tatiana Li and his sons Isaiah, Sergei and Ioann.

So that the practice of serving in the Chinese language could be continued after Fr. Mitrofan’s illness, in October 1897 Archimandrite Innocent proposed to the Holy Synod two candidates for ordination to holy orders-Pavel Wang Wen as priest and Innocent Fan Zhihai as deacon<sup>[20]</sup>.

It is important to note that over the two centuries of its peaceful and legal existence the REMC, unlike the other Christian missions, was never subjected neither to persecution from the authorities, nor to attacks

[15] National Library of Russia (RNB). Manuscript Department. Inventory №1457. Document №197: “Bulletin on the Service of the Head and Members of the Mission” (in Russian), 14<sup>th</sup> January 1885.

[16] Avraamy, hieromonk. A Short History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, compiled on the Occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Existence in 1913 (in Russian), (Peking: Dormition monastery printing house, 1916), 166.

[17] National Library of Russia (RNB). Manuscript Department. Inventory №1457. Document №215. ‘Proposal of the Holy Synod on the Appointment to Free Vacancies of the Priest and Teacher of the Mission Pavel Wan and Innokenty Fan’ (in Russian), 5<sup>th</sup> October 1897.

[18] Avraamy, hieromonk. A Short History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, compiled on the Occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Existence in 1913 (in Russian), (Peking: Dormition monastery printing house, 1916), 182.

[19] “The First Christian Martyrs from among the Orthodox Chinese” (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, (1935), 79-85.

[20] Avraamy, hieromonk. A Short History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, compiled on the Occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Existence in 1913 (in Russian), (Peking: Dormition monastery printing house, 1916), 186.

from the mob<sup>[21]</sup>. However, in May and June of 1900 the Orthodox community of Beijing encountered much tribulation.

In 1898 in the province of Shandong there arose a xenophobic patriotic sect called the Yihetuan Movement (义和团运动), which brought many victims in its wake. The beginnings of the Yihetuan Movement go back to the period of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, when upon the end of the war, Chinese mercenary soldiers were discharged and, by way of an alternative means of making a living, these former soldiers formed bands to rob the local inhabitants. In order to defend the local population the Yihetuan Movement was formed with the task to protect the oppressed and support justice.

The formation of an anti-foreign movement in the province of Shandong was not fortuitous. In Shandong at the end of the nineteenth century the Germans dominated, their treatment of the population led to conflict and clashes as a result of which the population set up a militia calling itself the Yihetuan in order to combat the Germans. As a result the self-protection units formed into political unions with the intention of defending the integrity and independence of China and of getting rid of the Manchurian dynasty in favor of a Chinese dynasty.

The movement against the Europeans was gradually expanded by the addition of new members. The rebels seized various areas and battled against the troops and moved closer to Beijing. On the way they treated the Christian settlements brutally, believing that the missionaries had brought calamity to the Chinese people, while those Chinese who had adopted Christianity had renounced the cult of the ancestors and worship of the Buddha, for which the heavens had punished the people by sending down drought and disease.

The symbol of the Yihetuan Movement was a clenched fist. For this reason, and also for the reason that among the rebels there were many masters of the Chinese martial arts, the Europeans gave them the nickname of the "Boxers". The Yihetuan had as their goal to destroy everything that was foreign, as well as those Chinese who had contact with foreigners through trade or religion. They believed the Europeans and missionaries to be the cause of all the bad things that had befallen China, and considered the destruction of the enemy, for which they zealously prepared, to be a heroic deed. They called foreigners demons, baptized Chinese the off spring of demons<sup>[22]</sup>.

The rhetoric of the Yihetuans was full of superstitious heathen and Buddhist concepts with elements of mysticism such as witchcraft and curses. They knew that it was pointless to engage in combat with well-armed Europeans using conventional weapons, and so they tried to make themselves invulnerable to attack by means of exercises and the reading of curses. They called down a spirit to enter the person which could manifest in him a great strength not normally granted to people. V. N. Korsakov described these ritual actions thus: "They would face the south-east before votive candles, chanted curses and burnt pieces of paper on the candles, calling upon the spirit to enter into them. After this, they would get down on all fours, fold their arms in a peculiar way, and would sway their torsos from side to side. These monotonous exercises would lead them into a state of nervous hysteria and gave rise to a fanatically inclined mob"<sup>[23]</sup>.

A new member of the society was to bow down to the earth three times before the altar with his hands

[21] "The Feast Day of the Holy Martyrs of the Orthodox Church in China" (in Russian) // The Chinese Herald, No6-7, (1904), 12-17.

[22] "Materials for the Acts of the Martyrs in China; The Notes of Priest Fr. Sergei Chang" (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, No5-6, (1918), 12-18.

[23] V. V. Korakov, The Beijing Events; The Personal Events of a Participant in the Siege in Beijing-May-August 1900 (in Russian), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Moscow; Lenand, 2016), 416.



folded and placed on his forehead. Then he would fall and lie for three hours with his eyes closed and afterwards, without opening his eyes, he would move his hands around as though he was cutting something with a knife<sup>[24]</sup>. When the leaders recognized the new member's readiness, they would present to him a consecrated knife and sable. After this, exercises would be continued in the temples preceded by a twenty-four fast and all the society's members were forbidden to eat animal flesh. Buddhist bonzes played a significant role among the rebels.

The Yihetuan units would be organized into communities. The basis of the society's organization would be circles led by one of the society's experienced members. When each circle would reach a state of readiness, then its members would gather new circles and become their leaders. The unit's fighters would wear red sashes and red headbands with the 'Fo' (佛) hieroglyph written on them, meaning "Buddha."

The leaders of the units would spread rumors about the supernatural powers of their members. There was the belief that the Boxers were invulnerable to cold arms and rifle bullets, they did not need the use of fire to burn down buildings—it would be enough merely to point their finger at them. The Yihetuans said that they could see the white smoke coming from houses where Christians were in hiding [18].

The simple people willingly believed all of this, as well as in the immortality of the Yihetuans. It was believed that the state of visible death of a Yihetuan could last for three days, after which they would arise and continue to fight further. There is even testimony that some Boxers would put on armor made from a cloth of compressed wadding for self-protection to support the myth of their invulnerability [14].

Many adolescents and young people were excited by the teaching of the secret society of the Yihetuans and resorted to ritual actions and bodily exercises to attain a miraculous strength and invulnerability. Street urchins also became Boxers and there were many beggars who joined them in order to be fed [14]. It has to be added that when there was no rain the peasants did not have anything to occupy themselves with, inaction and the feeling of inevitable famine often propelled them into taking part in the actions of the Yihetuans, and after they were initiated they were given food.

In the spring of 1900 throughout Beijing and its environs news started to spread about the success of the Yihetuan rebellion, about the miraculous abilities of the sect's members and of the burning down of Christian missions in their way. At that same time there appeared proclamations calling upon people to rise up against the Europeans. Rumors started to spread among the city's inhabitants that Europeans were poisoning the water in the wells, which was the reason for an epidemic of various diseases and high mortality rates. The posters also stated that there would be no rain until the Europeans would be expelled from Beijing.

From mid-May the Boxers started to be active on the territory between Tianjin and Beijing. The Chinese population had always disliked the Europeans, but with the coming of the railway from Tianjin to Beijing, when tens of thousands of people were left without an income from carrying passengers and loads, it was easy to arouse a feeling of hatred in them. On 23<sup>rd</sup> May the railway connection between the cities was destroyed. Then the government once more tried to dispatch troops to quell the rebels, but at the same time soldiers willingly went over to the side of the Boxers [14].

In May of 1900, having received support from the Empress Dowager Cixi (慈禧太后), Yihetuan units moved on Beijing. According to the written testimony of Archpriest Sergei Chang Fu (常福, son of the priest-

[24] Avraamy, hieromonk. "The Beijing Siege; from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China" (in Russian), *Christian Readings*, No1, (1901), 67.

martyr Mitrofan Yang Ji), not long before the Boxers appeared in Beijing, the city police gathered information on the number of Chinese Christians and checked their lists street by street, carrying out a type of registration<sup>[25]</sup>. If we take this testimony into account, as well as the fact that the rebels together with soldiers from the imperial army often went out seeking reprisal, all that took place in those days was the result of a deliberate internal political decision taken at the highest level.

In that year half of the Orthodox community of Beijing perished. The 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> June of 1900 were the days which claimed most martyrs. Very few testimonies have survived of their lives and deeds, much of it scarce and contradictory information. We can imagine what sort of people they were, how they lived and how they died, on the basis of the following documents that have come down to us.

The earliest main source is a list given by the head of the 18<sup>th</sup> REMC Archimandrite Innocent (Figurovsky) on 11<sup>th</sup> October 1901 to the Holy Governing Synod (published in the journal of the REMC Kitaisky blagovestnik (The Chinese Herald) in 1904, issues 6-7)<sup>[26]</sup>. It was compiled from the evidence given by relatives and neighbors of Christians who died a martyr's death. The list was most probably used as the justification for the amount of compensation the Chinese government ought to pay. The list can be used as a reference material, but does not contain any exhaustive information, it has a number of inaccuracies and, compared to later sources, poses many questions.

Additional information on some martyrs can be gleaned from the material of hieromonk Avraamy (Chasovnikov) entitled 'Praise for the Murdered' (Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslanoi tserkvi v Kitae (News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China), 1905, issue 8)<sup>[27]</sup>.

The article entitled 'The Feast of All Martyrs' (in the 'Chronicle of Church Life' section of Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslanoi tserkvi v Kitae (News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China), 1905, issue 8) provides information on the renewal of the community's life after the tragic events, on the first honoring of the memory of those who suffered and on the commemoration of those Christians who perished at the hands of the Yihetuan<sup>[28]</sup>.

The entry entitled 'The Holy Martyrs' tells us of the details of the terrible days of the tragedy (Kitaisky blagovestnik (The Chinese Herald), 1911, issue 8)<sup>[29]</sup>.

A most important testimony to the martyrs is the detailed narrative by Archimandrite Avraamy (Chasovnikov) entitled 'Stories of the Martyrs of the Chinese Orthodox Church Who Suffered in Beijing in 1900' (published in the journal Kitaisky blagovestnik (The Chinese Herald), 1917, issues 12, 13-14). It gives more detailed information on most of those who suffered. In all probability the text was compiled from reminiscences by eyewitnesses more than ten years after the tragedy<sup>[30]</sup>.

Of interest are the reminiscences of archpriest Sergei Chang Fu, the son of the priest-martyr Mitrofan, under the title 'Materials for the Acts of the Martyrs in China. Notes of priest Fr. Sergei Chang' (Kitaisky

[25] "Materials for the Acts of the Martyrs in China: The Notes of Priest Fr. Sergei Chang" (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, №5-6, (1918), 12-18.

[26] "List of Orthodox Christians Murdered in China in 1900", News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China, № 6-7, (1904), 3-11. URL: <http://orthodox.cn/localchurch/izvestijabratstva/1904/190407...htm>

[27] "Praise for the Murdered" (in Russian), News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China, №8, (1905), 5-8.

[28] "The Feast Day of the Holy Martyrs of the Orthodox Church in China" (in Russian) // The Chinese Herald, №6-7, (1904), 12-17.

[29] "The Holy Martyrs" (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, №8, (1911), 13-18.

[30] "Stories of the Martyrs of the Chinese Orthodox Church in Beijing in 1900" (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, №12, (1917), 8-15.

blagovestnik (The Chinese Herald), 1918, issues 5-6)<sup>[31]</sup>.

The first Orthodox Christians to encounter the rebel killers were the inhabitants of the village of Dongding'an (东定安) 50 km from Beijing, where the mission station and Church of St. Innocent of Irkutsk were located. Several families of Orthodox Chinese who had converted in the 1860s lived there.

In April of 1900 the Yihetuans formed their own lodge here and began to recruit the local inhabitants. Having received a letter on affairs in the village, as well as being aware of Christian victims in the other populated areas, the head of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mission Archimandrite Innocent (Figurovsky), along with volunteers (singers and teachers) undertook the risky journey to Dongding'an to render spiritual support to the faithful. Here he celebrated services in the church and visited the homes of Christians<sup>[32]</sup>. It must be noted that in these conditions of fear and uncertainty people accepted baptism—the archimandrite performed this sacrament over six believers during his visit. The local inhabitants, when they saw the sacraments being celebrated, hurled insults upon the newly baptized.

Several days before the tragedy a notice was stuck to the wall of the metochion stating that the church would be destroyed. A few days past after the archimandrite's visit, on 25<sup>th</sup> May at six o'clock in the early evening, a unit of Boxers, consisting of no more than ten men accompanied by a mob, appeared in the village. They conducted their prayer ritual on the square with lit torches and, shouting "Sha!" ("Kill!"), they pulled down the locked gates of the churchyard and belfry constructed in the form of gates of triumph on wooden columns with an awning, burnt down the guardhouse and then headed for the church. While the Boxers broke down the doors of the church, local women and children brought straw and reeds in order to burn it down. There were no valuable items in the church, so the riot was limited to smashing windows and scattering books and candle stands. Flammable liquid was poured all over the church and it went up in flames in an instant when torched.

Other Boxers at the same time burnt down the homes of Christians, the majority of whom had managed to escape. However, there were fatal casualties, among whom were heathen suspected of being sympathetic towards the Christians. In various circumstances and at different times among the Orthodox inhabitants of the village nine or ten people became victims of revenge, among them children. The following day those Orthodox who had managed to escape this revenge conveyed what had happened to Beijing<sup>[33]</sup>.

The Boxers treated the majority of Christians according to the same scenario as had happened in Dongding'an. They would warn of their attacks on villages or buildings several days beforehand in proclamations glued to the walls in the street. On the appointed day (and more often with a delay) they would come, perform their prayer ritual with lit torches, head for the churches, pour inflammable liquid over them and then over the homes of Christians. Those who could not escape were murdered or burnt alive. The Yihetuans themselves had no use for the Mission's or Christians' property, but bands of robbers who followed them would plunder them for valuable items and murder unfortunate victims.

The proclamation that appeared in Beijing stated that the destruction of the Orthodox Mission in Beiguan

[31] "Materials for the Acts of the Martyrs in China; The Notes of Priest Fr. Sergei Chang" (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, No 5-6, (1918), 12-18.

[32] Avraamy, hieromonk. A Short History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, compiled on the Occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Existence in 1913 (in Russian), (Peking: Dormition monastery printing house, 1916), 190.

[33] "Materials for the Acts of the Martyrs in China; The Notes of Priest Fr. Sergei Chang" (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, No 5-6, (1918), 12-18.

was planned for 27<sup>th</sup> May and the chapel at the Orthodox cemetery for the 29<sup>th</sup> May. The walls and gates of Beiguan were not used for defense purposes and so would be unable to withstand any attack. And there was nearby a city wall which was higher than all of the Mission's buildings, which made it impossible to defend<sup>[34]</sup>.

All foreigners in Beijing and the environs at that time gathered in the embassy quarters. In view of the situation which had arisen, the Russian ambassador to Beijing M. N. Girs personally journeyed to Archimandrite Innocent and convinced him and the members of the Mission to flee Beiguan and with those Orthodox Chinese who so desired to move under the protection of the embassy. Archimandrite Innocent agreed to this only after having to be long convinced<sup>[35]</sup>.

Having decided to leave, Archimandrite Innocent gathered his Chinese flock and spoke to them of the need to flee Beiguan. He proposed that they should seek refuge in another place or go with him to the embassy. Only two Chinese-Yakov Qi (齐) and Luka Quan (全)-dared to make the journey to the Russian Embassy. Almost no information about Yakov has survived other than that he was a servant at the Mission. But it is known about Luka that he was a widower over the age of sixty, a descendant of Russians who had retained some of their European physical features, but who spoke Russian very badly. He was devout, attended all of the church services, enjoyed respect and influence among the Christians, occupied an administrative post in the Albazian regiment and had the rank of major. At the time of the tragedy he had married children who decided to seek refuge in a different secure place<sup>[36]</sup>. After the tragedy Luka Quan was tonsured a monk and given the name Papius.

The remaining Chinese Orthodox did not want to go with the Russian missionaries as to be found with Europeans at that time was too dangerous.

In the evening of 26<sup>th</sup> May there moved from Beiguan to the embassy quarters under the protection of the army all the Russian missionaries-Archimandrite Innocent, hieromonk Avraamy (Chasovnikov), priest Nikolai (Shastin), deacon Vasily Skrizhalin, two students of the Ecclesiastical Mission and two Chinese, who stayed with the head of the Mission until the end of the siege<sup>[37]</sup>.

The Chinese government ordered that the Mission's property be kept under guard. The missionaries were assured that the church and living premises would fall under the responsibility of the Chinese Foreign Ministry and that officials would come to seal the property, but this never happened<sup>[38]</sup>. Before leaving, the missionaries made an inventory of the property and took with themselves only the liturgical vessels and a Gospel book, as well as an old icon of St. Nicholas of Mozhaik, which had been brought to China by the Albazians in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>[39]</sup>. The remaining holy items were locked away beneath the sanctuary of the

[34] Avraamy, hieromonk. "The Beijing Siege; from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China" (in Russian), Christian Readings, №1, (1901), 69.

[35] V. V. Korakov, The Beijing Events; The Personal Events of a Participant in the Siege in Beijing-May-August 1900 (in Russian), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Moscow; Lenand, 2016), 416.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Avraamy, hieromonk. A Short History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, compiled on the Occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Existence in 1913 (in Russian), (Peking; Dormition monastery printing house, 1916), 190.

[38] Avraamy, hieromonk. "The Beijing Siege; from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China" (in Russian), Christian Readings, №1, (1901), 73.

[39] "Materials for the Acts of the Martyrs in China; The Notes of Priest Fr. Sergei Chang" (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, №5-6, (1918), 12-18.

church.

Some Orthodox Chinese would come to the embassy during five days reporting to the head of the Mission that Beiguan was in good condition and was being guarded by Chinese soldiers<sup>[40]</sup>.

On 29<sup>th</sup> May an imperial order was issued appointing Zaifen (载沣)<sup>[41]</sup>, the Grand Prince Chun (醇亲王)<sup>[42]</sup> as main chancellor. He was known as an implacable enemy of Europeans and curator of the Boxer Rebellion. Then started the siege of the foreign embassies by the Boxers and regular troops, that lasted two months. The unrelenting attacks of night and day were exhausting for them. People lived in overcrowded accommodation, undergoing a lack of food provisions, oppressive heat, a vast number of insects and disease.

Yet nevertheless the Europeans never abandoned the Chinese Christians. Thus, during the siege 356 Chinese lived in the British Embassy<sup>[43]</sup>. It is to be noted that the Chinese Christians rendered invaluable help by working to build up barricades and digging earthen trenches<sup>[44]</sup>.

More than 1500 Chinese Christians, under the protection of forty French and Italian marines, hid in the Catholic Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Beitang (北堂), having been surrounded by Chinese soldiers in difficult conditions under siege with limited food supplies<sup>[45]</sup>.

From the end of May the Boxers went through the streets of Beijing in military formation, in places where there were Christian communities notices were put up telling people on what day which Christian areas and buildings would be destroyed [30]. From the 31<sup>st</sup> May arson attacks upon buildings began in the city, in the homes of Europeans and in areas where Chinese Christians lived. There were destroyed the Catholic Cathedrals of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin Mary (南堂, Nantang), of the Holy Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel (西堂, Xitang), of St. Joseph (东堂, Dongtang), as well as the Orthodox chapel at the cemetery and a number of Protestant churches.

The Boxers kept the inhabitants of Beijing in a state of subjugation, forcing them to make sacrifices and worship pagan gods, making a note of how enthusiastic or otherwise they were in doing so<sup>[46]</sup>. For example, the city dwellers were forced to place a cup of water in front of their homes with incense sticks. Those who disobeyed were robbed and murdered. Denunciations were commonplace-neighbors indicated to the Boxers the houses of Christian families<sup>[47]</sup>.

The Boxers used quite strange means of defining who was a Christian, and quite a few heathens suffered alongside the Christians. Someone suspected of confessing Christianity would be struck on the forehead with an open palm, and if he was a Christian a white cross would appear where he had been struck<sup>[48]</sup>. Often it

[40] Avraamy, hieromonk. "The Beijing Siege: from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China" (in Russian), Christian Readings, №1, (1901), 74.

[41] The father of Puyi, the last emperor of China.

[42] One of the highest official titles under the Qing dynasty.

[43] Avraamy, hieromonk. "The Beijing Siege: from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China" (in Russian), Christian Readings, №1, (1901), 65-112.

[44] Avraamy, hieromonk. A Short History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, compiled on the Occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Existence (in Russian), (Peking: Dormition monastery printing house, 1916), 191.

[45] P. S. Popov. "The Two Months of the Siege of Beijing" (in Russian), The Herald of Europe, № 2, (1901). URL: [http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/China/XIX/1880-1900/Popov\\_P\\_S/2\\_mes\\_pekkin\\_1.htm](http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/China/XIX/1880-1900/Popov_P_S/2_mes_pekkin_1.htm)

[46] Avraamy, hieromonk. "The Beijing Siege: from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China" (in Russian), Christian Readings, №1, (1901), 68.

[47] "The Holy Martyrs" (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, №8, (1911), 13-18.

[48] Ibid.

was enough to point somebody out to the Boxers and say that he was a Christian for him to be murdered.

The Mission was destroyed on 1<sup>st</sup> June. As the gates had been locked, the fighters destroyed the wall by using rocket shells. The first things to be plundered were the missionaries' quarters, the library, the school and the printing house. The Mission's archives and the rich library which contained many rare books were also destroyed<sup>[49]</sup>. After this the robbers broke down the doors to the Dormition Church, plundered it and set it on fire. Having destroyed the church, the Boxers made their way up the bell tower and struck the bells with sticks, making a senseless noise. The bell tower burned until two o'clock in the morning, first the main bell fell and then the other bells<sup>[50]</sup>. Soldiers from the imperial army also took part in the plundering of the metochion of the Mission alongside the Boxers and raiders.

After the Mission had been burnt down, many Orthodox Christians fled from the city, but soon they had to return to their homes since they had no means of hiding or taking shelter, or of being able to feed themselves outside Beijing<sup>[51]</sup>.

Shortly before the mass killings in the city, around seventy Orthodox Chinese gathered in the house of Fr. Mitrofan. The faithful found themselves in the depressed state of the presentiment and expectation of death. Fr. Mitrofan strengthened those who had gathered with words of support, among whom were his former offenders. It is known that several times a day he would go and look at the burnt down church<sup>[52]</sup>.

On the eve of the terrible night from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> June the area where the houses of Orthodox Christians were located was cordoned off by soldiers. From the city wall they observed the actions of the Boxers who, accompanied by a mob, entered the courtyards of houses with lit torches. If the inhabitants showed submission by kneeling and burning incense before the spirits they would be left alone, but if they did not submit, then the Boxers would rush into their house, take all the property and people and kill them on the threshold with spears and knives, while setting fire to the house, often with people still alive inside.

On 10<sup>th</sup> June at nine o'clock in the evening the soldiers and Boxers surrounded the courtyard of the priest. The strongest and most agile inside were able to flee the house—some avoided an unfortunate fate, others were caught and killed. The priest remained in the house with many women and children.

Fr. Mitrofan was found murdered in the courtyard of the house beneath a fig tree; he had up to thirty stab wounds on his chest. The crude weapons of the Boxers were made of iron and were rusty, but they could inflict many avulsive wounds with them. Fr. Mitrofan had come out into the courtyard to meet the killers, leaving his wife and children inside, probably in the hope that his death alone would suffice. However, the killers did not spare the women and the children in the house, subjecting them to torture and death. The house of the priest was burnt down and many perished in the fire.

The Boxers had heard of the Christian teaching on the resurrection of the dead. In order to avert the resurrection of their bodies, they assaulted and stabbed the already dead bodies (as was the case with Fr. Mitrofan) and this is why they tried to burn the bodies of the murdered<sup>[53]</sup>.

Another group of Orthodox Christians was taken behind the Gates of Andingmen (安定门) to the Boxer

[49] "The Boxer Rebellion of 1900", *The Chinese Herald* (in Russian), (1935), 105-108.

[50] Avraamy, hieromonk. "The Beijing Siege: from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China" (in Russian), *Christian Readings*, No1, (1901), 94.

[51] *Ibid.*, 92.

[52] "Stories of the Martyrs of the Chinese Orthodox Church in Beijing in 1900" (in Russian), *The Chinese Herald*, No12, (1917), 8-15.

[53] "The Holy Martyrs" (in Russian), *The Chinese Herald*, No8, (1911), 13-18.

lodge near the Temple of the Earth (地坛, Ditan), where on 11<sup>th</sup> June in the morning they were executed en masse. Among them was the wife of Fr. Mitrofan, Tatiana Li, who on the day her husband died had managed to escape but was captured the following day and beheaded. The place of their martyr's death in historical literature and in the reminiscences of the Albazianians is called the Triangle (三角地), where the old Albazianian cemetery was located, and later an almshouse was built on the site of the martyrdom.

Fr. Mitrofan eldest son Isaiah was twenty-three when he was beheaded at the Gates of Pingzemen (平则门) (now—阜成门, Fuchengmen). His middle son Sergei Chang Fu managed to escape death. He later became a priest and continued his father's work of giving spiritual guidance to the Chinese flock. The Boxers had hacked away at the shoulders and cut off the toes, nose and ears of his youngest son Ioann, who was eight years old. The following night Maria, the bride of his brother Isaiah, hid him in the backhouse and by morning Ioann was sitting at the entrance without clothing or shoes. Asked whether he was in pain, he replied that "it is not painful to suffer for Christ." He had to endure the mockeries of the boys from neighboring courtyards. He asked for water from his neighbors but was refused. Later he was captured by executioners and tortured to death<sup>[54]</sup>.

The faithful who were brought to the Boxer lodge were subjected to harsh trials. Here they were forced to renounce their faith in Christ and burn sweet-smelling incense before the Buddhist deities. The place of the martyrdom of many Orthodox Chinese was the ancient Buddhist temple of Cheng'ensi (承恩寺), located in the Dongsu Batiao hutong (东四八条胡同). The hutong has survived in its historical form with buildings which saw the sufferings of Orthodox Chinese martyrs; however, the temples there were closed and rebuilt as living accommodation in the first years after establishment of the People's Republic of China.

Archimandrite Innocent testifies to the heroic feat of the Chinese Christians: "On the previous evening proclamations had been hung up on the streets calling upon the heathen to assault Christians and threatening with death anyone who dared to give them shelter. At night, the Boxers appeared with burning torches all over Beijing, attacked Christian homes, kidnapped unfortunate Christians and tortured them, forcing them to renounce Christ. Many, out of fear of torture and death, renounced Orthodoxy in order to save their lives and burnt incense before the idols. But others, not fearing torment, courageously confessed Christ. Their lot was terrible. Their stomachs were ripped open, they were beheaded and burnt alive in their homes. The search for Christians and killing continued throughout all of the following days of the rebellion. After the destruction of their homes Christians were taken beyond the city gates to the temples of the Boxers, where they were interrogated and burnt alive"<sup>[55]</sup>.

On those days one could see all over Beijing burnt out decapitated bodies with stomachs ripped open, heads, hands and legs cut off, and children's bodies cut in half or with the smashed skulls.

People lived in fear and tried to escape death—some managed to bribe their way out of death, others died even though they had paid money to the Boxers, others managed to flee the city or hide away by some miracle in the city. Fear and despair engendered suicide attempts, there were those who renounced their faith and worshiped idols, some sought refuge with their relatives, others hid themselves in the cemetery. Relatives and neighbors would denounce Christians to the Boxers out of fear and hatred. Many were burnt alive in their homes, others were stabbed to death with spears or hacked to death by sword, still others were held at Boxer

[54] "Stories of the Martyrs of the Chinese Orthodox Church in Beijing in 1900" (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, No12, (1917), 8-15.

[55] D. Pozdnyaev, priest. "Orthodoxy in China" (in Russian), Russia and the Modern World (in Russian), No1, (2001), 165-181.



lodges and subjected to torture; the most common form of execution was beheading. The killers spared neither women nor children. The sources even mention the ritual extraction and eating of the hearts of their victims by the Yihetuans. There were some Orthodox Christians who had been murdered and later found covered in stones at the bottom of wells.

When the Christians tried to flee the city, the imperial soldiers captured them as they went through the city gates. The fugitives were subjected to interrogation and execution in one of the temples at the Gates of Aningmen and their bodies would be buried nearby. The Chinese authorities undertook no measures to stop the orgy of violence.

There were many Albazinians among the martyrs who suffered for their faith. The materials of the REMC before the Boxer Rebellion mention the Albazinians as being ignorant people who had forgotten their homeland and faith, lazy and deprived in their idleness of all moral virtues, and inclined towards vice [10]. When the critical situation arose, and the preservation of one's life depended on simple ritual actions, these people testified to their fidelity to Christ unto death. Thus, Fr. Avraamy in his reminiscences wrote: "All of these dubious Christians, whom we believed to be indifferent to religion and the Church, now wept like children and wailed over the destruction of God's temple"<sup>[56]</sup>.

Among those who perished in the mass killings were Pavel Wang Wen and Innocent FanZhihai, who had been presented to the Holy Synod as candidates for ordination to holy orders. The Synod confirmed their candidacy on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1900, but they were never to learn of this<sup>[57]</sup>.

More than two hundred Orthodox Chinese died in the most horrible manner in those days. One important issue is the number of those murdered for their faith during those terrible days. Church circles speak of 222 Chinese martyrs. This is the number quoted by Archimandrite Innocent in the list presented to the Holy Governing Synod. However, it would be wrong to claim on this basis alone that the number of martyrs matched this convenient figure. We have our doubts as to this and can adduce a number of arguments to the contrary.

Two of the martyrs in the list of Archimandrite Innocent in later sources are said to have survived, and these are Herman, the grandson of Kyr Zhang Fucheng, and Yevdokia, the daughter of Alexey Zhang Furun. And in the Stories... of Archimandrite Avraamy new names of the murdered are added who were absent in the 1901 list, for example, Ioann, the son of Kyr Zhang Fucheng, and some others.

And from the Stories... we know that the daughter-in-law of Kyr Zhang Fucheng, whose name is unknown, was killed along with her three children and thrown into a swamp. We do not know their names, only that they were not baptized. By tradition they can be considered as having received baptism through the shedding of blood.

The circumstances and place of death of a whole number of people is indicated as being uncertain, while the site of death for many who suffered is indicated only conditionally. Some may have disappeared without trace, that is, there is a definite possibility that they may have survived. For example, the young Filimon, the son of the Albazinian Petr Li Yunan, is listed in the 1901 list as having died, while the Stories... say that he was abandoned by the Boxers on the road and most likely taken in by locals. That is, his genuine fate is not known to us.

[56] Avraamy, hieromonk. "The Beijing Siege: from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China" (in Russian), Christian Readings, №1, (1901), 65-112.

[57] Ibid.



The Stories... list the names and the narratives of the deaths of almost all people from Archimandrite Innocent's list, with the exception of the wife and children of Pavel Wang (not the instructor in catechism), Nikolai A with his wife and daughter and Olga, the daughter of Samson Pan. The Stories... were written in detail, all of the names of those who suffered are listed diligently, but it remains a mystery why they made no mention of these people.

The materials give us two episodes linked to suicide attempts. There is the testimony of Joseph Lun, who was surrounded by Boxers and, out of fear of torture, hanged himself from a tree using his belt. After he had hanged himself, the Boxers cut off his head, but the true cause of his death and how to qualify this episode correctly remain unclear. At the same time, a different earlier source by Fr. Avraamy states that Joseph was strangled to death by the Boxers with a rope. The family of Alexey Wen Heng, before the arrival of the Boxers, was poisoned by opium. It is also known that the father of the family was subjected to torture before death, as were his family, and then the Boxers would rip out his heart and bite of it in a ritual manner.

There was in the family of Iliya Quan an infant who is not mentioned in the list of Archimandrite Innocent, but there is information about him in later sources stating that the child was cut in half. It should also be noted that among the martyrs there were at least two pregnant women.

The 1901 list mentions the children of Ivan Rong who perished—Nina and Maria, but for some reason their brother Vasily and Yelena, the daughter of Mikhail Quan, who perished as a result of the appalling conditions at the Boxer lodge, are forgotten, as well as Maria, the daughter of Alexander Cheng, who was with them and also died.

Innocent's list mentions only the daughter Elizabeth in the family of Feodor Yue, while the Stories... also mention alongside with her the eighteen year-old Tatiana. At the same time, the list of Archimandrite Innocent notes Tatiana separately as being nineteen years old without any family. It is quite probable that we are dealing with the same martyred young woman, and probably not.

There is information to suggest that the martyr Matrona Lian, apart from the daughter mentioned in the List of Archimandrite Innocent, also had an older daughter who was married to a heathen. When the rebellion began, her husband's relatives starved her to death. Here we ought to mention that according to the List by Archimandrite Innocent Minodora Wang had a daughter called Anna, who was married to a heathen. It is noteworthy that she is absent in the Stories...

The inaccuracy of the accounts is affirmed by the following phrase from the reminiscences of Fr. Avraamy, written immediately after the tragedy: "It is difficult to say how many of our Christians were murdered on that night. Undoubtedly, many of those who fled and have yet to return will be located, maybe there are those who will not return, but there cannot be so many of them. If we take into account that now around one hundred people have returned to us and if the same amount of people were still to return, and there were as many as up to five hundred people, then the number of those murdered with those murdered previously comes to around three hundred people"<sup>[58]</sup>.

There is also a discrepancy in the dates of the martyrs' deaths in the sources. For example, hieromonk Avraamy in his reminiscences entitled *Siege of Beijing* indicates that on the day Beiguan was burnt down there were murdered around twenty-nine Orthodox Christians. However, neither in the List of Archimandrite

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[58] Avraamy, hieromonk. "The Beijing Siege; from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China" (in Russian), *Christian Readings*, No1, (1901), 65-112.

Innocent, nor in the Stories... compiled by the then Archimandrite Avraamy do we find the first of June as the date of death.

It is evident that the dates of all those villagers of Dongding'an who suffered are mistakenly indicated in the List as they are given as the date of the burning down of the village church. The majority of them suffered after a number of days in exile.

In the List we find discrepancies also on the age of some of those killed—there is a difference in age indicated in the List of Archimandrite Innocent and in the Stories... of Archimandrite Avraamy. It is possible that this is linked to the method of calculating age in the Chinese tradition which is done according to the number of lunar new years one has lived. A newborn is considered to be one year old if he was born after the day of the new year according to the lunar calendar, but if he was born on the eve of the lunar new year, then on the first day of the year he will be considered to be two years old [1].

The following fact points to the approximate age of those killed. According to the List of Archimandrite Innocent, at the time of his martyr's death the priest Mitrofan was forty-five years old and his wife Tatiana was forty-four. However, in Fr. Mitrofan's service record, under the signature of the head of the 17<sup>th</sup> REMC Archimandrite Amfilokhy (Lutinov), it is indicated that in 1884 Mitrofan Yang Ji was twenty-nine, whereas his wife Tatiana was twenty-six<sup>[59]</sup>. It is clear that there is a discrepancy in the age difference between man and wife in two sources. The same picture presents itself with the age of the two instructors in catechism—Innocent Fan and Pavel Wang. According to the List of Archimandrite Innocent, their ages at the time of their martyr's death in 1900 were forty-eight and thirty-six respectively; however, in a document from 1897 presented to the Holy Synod, their ages were indicated as forty and thirty-four<sup>[60]</sup>.

When reading the List, another question arises—why do we not see the surnames of the Albazianians widespread in the literature? The answer is that up until 1911 the Albazianians usually did not use them but used Chinese surnames of Manchurian origin. After the overthrow of the Manchurian Qing dynasty, they gradually went over to using surnames derived from their Russian surnames. For example, Yao (from Yakovlev) previously had the surname Shuang, Luo (Romanov)—Ming, Du (Dubinin)—De, and so on.

The Chinese Orthodox faithful in the main were of noble origin and were representatives of the aristocracy, belonging to Manchurian banners.

Very little data on relatives who perished in 1900 have survived in the Albazianian families. This is most probably a result of the fact that they were thought of as being victims of violence, but not as being holy martyrs who died for their faith. However, the rare descendants of the Albazianians can nonetheless list the names of those who died in 1900. For example, Anna Luo, who lives in Tianjin, testifies to the death of her grandfather who was called Ivan and whose skull was smashed to pieces by the killers.

On the basis of the analysis carried out, we can assume that not all information on those who suffered was documented. In spite of the fact that over fifteen years later Archimandrite Avraamy tried to fill this gap, this information is nevertheless not exhaustive and allows for questions to be raised. Unfortunately, the Chinese names of the martyrs were not recorded by the members of the Mission.

[59] National Library of Russia (RNB). Manuscript Department. Inventory №1457. Document №197. 'Record about work of head of Mission and its members (in Russian), 14th January 1885.

[60] National Library of Russia (RNB). Manuscript Department. Fund №1457. Document №215. 'Proposal to the Holy Synod on the Appointment to Free Vacancies of the Priest and Teacher of the Mission Pavel Wan and Innokenty Fan respectively' (in Russian), 5<sup>th</sup> October 1897.

The further study of the circumstances of the deaths of the Chinese Orthodox may lead us to surmise exactly what rank of saint they may belong to. In view of the fact that there is information on their deaths from disease, from being badly treated by their heathen kin, from long periods of wandering in exile in an attempt to be saved and from the unbearable conditions of the Boxer lodges, it is probable that some of them should be called confessors of the faith, rather than martyrs.

The horrific murders and riots ended only in August. On 1<sup>st</sup> August 1900 troops from the international coalition entered Beijing, and by the end of the month the Yihetuans were finally driven from the city. Bonfires smoldered on the streets of the city and uncollected bodies and abandoned weapons lay scattered around.

On the second day after the allied troops entered Beijing, Archimandrite Innocent returned to Beiguan to find the charred ruins of the Mission's buildings. The Chinese faithful thought that all the Europeans had perished, which is why they were so joyful to see that the missionaries were alive. Many tears of grief and joy were shed in these days—people learnt of the death of their beloved and rejoiced in the miraculous discovery of relatives who had survived<sup>[61]</sup>.

The archimandrite set off for the neighboring Yonghe Lama Temple (雍和宫). According to the reminiscences of the Albazianians, it was here that some Orthodox Christians managed to hide, including the future bishop of Beijing Vasily Yao Fuan (姚福安), who was then an adolescent. The Yonghe Temple and the ruins of Beiguan were at that time under the control of the Japanese army, and so Archimandrite Innocent had to apply to the Japanese ambassador to allow him to occupy the palace which was earlier used by the emperors<sup>[62]</sup>.

The palace buildings were ideal for accommodating the suffered Christian families who had come to the archimandrite. In one of the palace halls a temporary church was built where the Chinese began daily prayers for their relatives who had died a martyr's death. In order to accommodate those families who had nowhere to live, the head of the Mission purchased near the burnt out land several dozen half-destroyed houses where they could spend the winter.

Immediately after the end of the siege of the embassies, i. e. two months after the tragedy, the Russian missionaries with the Christians who had survived began to bury the dead. Unfortunately, no information has come down to us on what happened to the bodies during these two months. There is evidence that from a well the remains of Orthodox Chinese tortured by the Boxers were removed only after the rebellion had been crushed. It is important to note that, in spite of the hot Beijing summer, many of the bodies were untouched by corruption<sup>[63]</sup>.

The bodies of many of the martyrs had been hacked to pieces, making them difficult to identify, while others had been burnt. Others were buried beyond the city walls immediately after the tragedy but their burial sites could not be found, while the circumstances of the deaths of some could not be ascertained. All of the

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[61] Avraamy, hieromonk. *A Short History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China*, compiled on the Occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Existence in 1913 (in Russian), (Peking: Dormition monastery printing house, 1916), 192.

[62] Avraamy, hieromonk. "The Beijing Siege: from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China" (in Russian), *Christian Readings*, No1, (1901), 65-112.

[63] "Church Festivities in Beijing on the Occasion of the 250<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China" (in Russian), *The Chinese Herald*, (1935), 13-20.

remains gathered after the end of the rebellion were buried in a common grave in the Mission's estate<sup>[64]</sup>. Hieromonk Avraamy carried out the burial service for Fr. Mitrofan separately.

In July 1901 the head of the 18<sup>th</sup> REMC Archimandrite Innocent (Figurovsky) was recalled to St. Petersburg, where, upon learning of the terrible tragedy in Beijing, the idea arose of closing the Mission. However, thanks to the leading member of the Holy Synod Metropolitan Anthony (Vadkovsky) of St. Petersburg and Ladoga, the Mission was not only saved, but also its income was doubled, and the head of the Mission was elevated to the rank of bishop<sup>[65]</sup>.

On 11<sup>th</sup> October 1901 Archimandrite Innocent presented to the Holy Governing Synod a list of Orthodox Chinese who were killed for their faith in Beijing in 1900. To the list was added his petition (document no. 104) on the permission in memory of the martyrs to build on the site of the destroyed Dormition Church in Beijing a church of All the Holy Martyrs with a vault beneath the sanctuary for the burial of the remains of those who had been murdered. Archimandrite Innocent proposed making the 10<sup>th</sup> June in China a day of strict fasting and to celebrate a memorial Liturgy with a requiem service for those murdered. He proposed that worship should be conducted on the 11<sup>th</sup> June in the name of the holy martyrs of the Orthodox Church with a procession of the Cross on the site where the Chinese Orthodox were assaulted or around the church while singing the heirmos for Great Saturday 'He, who with a sea-wave had buried the tyrant pursuer long ago...' and, after the customary salutation of Many Years, to sing 'Memory Eternal' to all those Chinese who had suffered with dignity for their Orthodox faith<sup>[66]</sup>.

By decree no. 2874 of 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1902 the Holy Synod satisfied the petition of Archimandrite Innocent. The text of the decree in effect repeats the text of the archimandrite's petition. The Holy Governing Synod decreed: "To convey its blessing to the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China to satisfy the proposals of Archimandrite Innocent on the making eternal of the memory of the Orthodox Chinese who have died a martyr's death for their faith during the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900 by building in Beijing a church in honor of All the Holy Martyrs of the Orthodox Church with a vault beneath the sanctuary for the burial therein of the bones of the murdered Orthodox Chinese and the establishment for the Orthodox community in China an annual commemoration on 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> June according to the aforementioned proposal with, if local conditions permit, a procession of the Cross to the site of the murdered Orthodox Chinese or around the church."

In other words, commemorative services were to be celebrated for the Chinese martyrs who suffered for Christ. This was how their memory was venerated henceforth.

However, many modern-day publications on the Orthodox martyrs of China mistakenly speak of their canonization as taking place in 1902. This information has been put about widely but does not correspond to historical reality. When reading the materials of the REMC we see that throughout the decades of its existence after the tragedy no services were compiled to the martyrs, no prayer services were conducted to them, their icons were not painted, but only commemorative services to them were celebrated. Having thus described their deaths in his *Stories of the Martyrs of the Chinese Orthodox Church* in 1917 Archimandrite Avraamy adds:

[64] "The Boxer Rebellion of 1900", *The Chinese Herald* (in Russian), (1935), 105-108.

[65] Avraamy, hieromonk. *A Short History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China*, compiled on the Occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Existence in 1913 (in Russian), (Peking: Dormition monastery printing house, 1916), 194.

[66] Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA), fund 796, inventory 182, file 4123, list 1-9.

“Give rest, O Lord, to the souls of thy servants the priest Mitrofan and those with him and make their memory to be eternal!”<sup>[67]</sup>. The commemorative service is also mentioned in the description of the solemnities on the occasion of the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Orthodoxy in China in 1935. There was no act of their glorification among the church-wide or locally venerated saints.

On the basis of the agreement between the Chinese Qing government and the Russian Embassy, the REMC received compensation for the Orthodox faithful who had died-for adults one hundredtaels of silver, and for children and adolescents fifty taels of silver. On the 18000 taels of silvers given as contributions there were built houses for Chinese families, a house church, a school and boarding school for orphans, while those who suffered were given financial compensation<sup>[68]</sup>. Moreover, Bishop Innocent acquired large plots of land upon which there were constructed churches, monastery hostels, libraries and workshops for laborers from among the Chinese flock<sup>[69]</sup>.

By 1903 the Church of All the Holy Martyrs had been built on the site of the burnt down Dormition Church. This was a white stone church with two altars in the Old Russian style, topped by five cupolas. A staircase led from both sides to a platform in front of the Church of St. Nicholas on the second floor. The Church of the All the Holy Martyrs became a symbol of the Mission and was depicted on the title page of the periodical *Kitaisky blagovestnik* (The Chinese Herald).

Part of an estate near to Beiguan with the Siyefu palace (四爷府) of the son of the Qianlong Emperor (乾隆), was purchased. The prince's palace became the residence of the head of the Mission and in one wing of the palace there was built a house church dedicated to St. Innocent of Irkutsk. On the contributions received from the Chinese government there was also constructed the Dormition Church in 1903, a stone Church of St. John the Theologian in the village of Dongding'an, and some other churches.

In 1900, beyond the Gates of Andingmen where the country road branches off, the Boxers buried the bodies of Christians whom they had tortured. In the middle of July 1901 the Chinese government, by way of compensation for the destruction of the building, granted the REMC the right to build a wall around this site without having to redress the owners of the land<sup>[70]</sup>. On this site there was instituted a new Russian Orthodox cemetery where between 1903 and 1906 a church dedicated to St. Seraphim of Sarov was built.

After the tragedy Archimandrite Innocent was faced with the decision of what to do with the apostates from within his flock who fulfilled all the heathen rituals demanded of them but later returned to the community, being aware of their guilt and begged to be allowed to become again members of the community. Nobody reproached them for their apostasy; they came to the Russian missionaries and wept as they repented<sup>[71]</sup>. Archimandrite Innocent sent to the Holy Synod notification of those Chinese who had renounced their faith and had now repented by dividing them into three categories according to culpability and asking how they should be received back into the Church<sup>[72]</sup>. In August 1902, when Archimandrite Innocent returned from Russia to Beijing, Christians received the joyous news that the Synod had permitted them to

[67] “Stories of the Martyrs of the Chinese Orthodox Church in Beijing in 1900” (in Russian), *The Chinese Herald*, No12, (1917), 8-15.

[68] “The Phoenix” (in Russian), *News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China*, No2, (1905), 1-4.

[69] “The Boxer Rebellion of 1900”, *The Chinese Herald* (in Russian), (1935), 105-108.

[70] Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA), fund. 796, inventory 180, file 3567-a, list 82, 83-86.

[71] “Archimandrite Avraamy”, *The Chinese Herald* (in Russian), vol. 7-8, (1918), 5.

[72] Avraamy, hieromonk. “The Beijing Siege: from the Diary of a Member of the Orthodox Russian Mission in China” (in Russian), *Christian Readings*, No1, (1901), 94.

join once more the Orthodox Church. The rite of reconciliation with the Church was conducted with great solemnity<sup>[73]</sup>.

The feast day of all the holy martyrs was celebrated in 1903 for the first time and the anniversary of the murder of Christians in Beijing was marked. The feast day was celebrated on two days; the 10<sup>th</sup> June was a day of fasting and commemoration, while the 11<sup>th</sup> July was a day of festive divine worship.

On 10<sup>th</sup> June 1903 the vault was consecrated, and with a lesser procession of the Cross and the singing of the heirmoses of the Burial Canon the remains of the martyrs were brought to the vault beneath the church. Before this the remains had to be removed from the earth<sup>[74]</sup>. By evening they were laid out on a long table, wrapped in silk clothes and oil-proof canvas. With the arrival of Bishop Innocent there began the singing of a Vigil for the Departed with kneeling prayers. Prayers were sung alternately in Slavonic and Chinese. The teaching at the reading of the Psalms was given by the son of the murdered priest Mitrofan, Sergei Chang, the then instructor in catechism. He spoke of the history of the creation of Christ's Church from the beginning of the world, turning his listeners' attention to the fact that the blood of the martyrs was always the vivifying water which fed her roots and embellished her with the flowers of piety. Afterwards the Psalter was read throughout the night in the vault [36].

A memorial Liturgy was served in the Dormition Church on 11<sup>th</sup> June early in the morning. The iconostasis was decorated with flowers while the worshippers also held flowers in their hands. All of the clergy of the Mission took part in the service.

At the end of the Liturgy there began a prayer service to all the holy martyrs<sup>[75]</sup>, and as the canon of Great Saturday was being sung, the procession of the Cross made its way towards the vault of the martyrs.

In the vault Bishop Innocent read the prayer of absolution above the bodies of the buried and after the litanies the graves were sprinkled with holy water. As the heirmos "Lament not for me, O Mother..."<sup>[76]</sup> was being sung, the bodies of the martyrs were lowered into six marble burial vaults, which became their common grave, covered with marble plinths with depictions of the Cross. The archive's documents do not mention the number of martyrs found and buried. "Memory Eternal!" was sung to all those who had suffered for their faith in China<sup>[77]</sup>.

After serving the Litiya in the vault, the procession headed through the gates of the monastery to the sites where the just buried Christians were tortured and killed. The Litiya was served on the sites of the martyrs' deaths, including the site of the mass killings of the martyrs by the gates of the shelter known as the Triangle (in memory of those who died here the Mission built a refuge home for sixty persons for the Chinese people, and not only for those who were Orthodox<sup>[78]</sup>). On the way back the procession of the Cross passed through the monastery courtyard where the Litiya was served at the site of the death of Fr. Mitrofan and others who were murdered. The final destination of the procession of the Cross was the Russian cemetery situated beyond

[73] "The Feast Day of the Holy Martyrs of the Orthodox Church in China" (in Russian) // The Chinese Herald, №6-7, (1904), 12-17.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] The 9<sup>th</sup> heirmos of the Canon for Great and Holy Saturday

[77] "Chronicle of Church Life: the Feast of All the Martyrs" (in Russian). News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China, №2, (1905), 9-14.

[78] K. B. Keping, "The Church of All the Martyrs in Beiguan (Beijing)" (in Russian), Orthodoxy in the Far East (in Russian), issue 3, (2001), 113-124.

the city walls of Beijing at a distance of just over three kilometers from Beiguan<sup>[79]</sup>. To the sound of the bells of the cemetery bell tower the procession of the Cross came into the cemetery where in the church the Litiya was served and “Memory Eternal!” was sung to the Christians who had perished.

It is worthwhile to note that on that very same day of 11<sup>th</sup> June 1903 sixteen Chinese received baptism in the domestic church, heralding the second hundred of those baptized after the riots. This particularly interesting fact demonstrates that, in spite of persecutions and fear, the Chinese Church had begun to revive and to be filled with new people.

From that time on in the Church of All the Holy Martyrs the names of those who had suffered were commemorated daily at the Proskomedia and on Saturdays at the Litiya<sup>[80]</sup>. Annually on 11<sup>th</sup> June according to the Old Calendar the solemn commemoration of those who had died was marked with a procession of the Cross. This tradition of marking the feast day did not change for decades.

Using the same approach as was employed in 1902, the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church of 1917-1918, by decree of 18<sup>th</sup> January 1918 [32], determined that the 25<sup>th</sup> of January or the following Sunday ought to be a day for the prayerful commemoration of “all those confessors and martyrs who have fallen asleep in the Lord in these harsh times of persecution.” The Council recommended that on this day processions of the Cross should take place to the sites where the new martyrs were killed and buried and that commemorative services should be performed for them.

In 1935 there were solemnities on the occasion of the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the REMC. By this time there had been erected three monuments in honor of those who had been killed for their faith in 1900; the first was on the site of the murder of Fr. Mitrofan, the second in the garden by the well where the Boxers had thrown the bodies of the Orthodox Chinese whom they had tortured, and the third by the candle workshop of the Mission<sup>[81]</sup>.

During the solemnities in the Church of All the Holy Martyrs a Litiya was served for the murdered Orthodox Chinese, a procession of the Cross took place to all three monuments where the head of the 20<sup>th</sup> REMC Bishop Viktor (Svyatin) of Beijing and China read the prayer of consecration and blessed the monuments with holy water.

The first and third monuments were openwork metal crosses on a granite base. The second monument was made of white marble, its foundation was made of stones taken from the well into which thirty-five years ago the bodies of the martyrs had been cast, while at the foot of the monument a granite ring had been erected which served as the opening to the well. On the front of the monument in Russian and Chinese was the inscription: “Blessed are those whom thou has chosen and taken, O Lord. To the memory of the 222 Orthodox Chinese who suffered here in the name of Christ on 10<sup>th</sup> June 1900.” On the reverse side there was the inscription: “Consecrated on the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China. 1685-1935”<sup>[82]</sup>.

In 1954 for political reasons the REMC was abolished. In those years the Chinese government conducted

[79] “Chronicle of Church Life; the Feast of All the Martyrs” (in Russian). News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China, №2, (1905), 9-14.

[80] “The Holy Martyrs” (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, №8, (1911), 13-18.

[81] “Church Festivities in Beijing on the Occasion of the 250<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China” (in Russian), The Chinese Herald, (1935), 13-20.

[82] Ibid.



a policy of autonomy for Chinese religious organizations and the rupture of their ties with foreign religious centres. The Mission's property was transferred to the Chinese government, while moveable items were placed at the disposal of Archimandrite Vasily (Yao Fuan). The territory of Beiguan was transferred by the Chinese government for the use of the embassy of the USSR (now the Embassy of the Russian Federation in China). The churches and monasteries in Beiguan were desecrated and pulled down on the orders of the Soviet ambassador to the People's Republic of China P. F. Yudin. The Church of All the Holy Martyrs and a monument to the Chinese martyrs were demolished in 1957<sup>[83]</sup>.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1957 Archimandrite Vasily (Yao Fuan) appealed to His Holiness Patriarch Alexy I (Simansky) of Moscow and All Russia for a blessing to transfer the remains of the martyrs to the Church of St. Seraphim at the cemetery because of the intention of the Chinese authorities to remove the territory of Beiguan from the Church's jurisdiction and transfer it to the Soviet embassy. On 12<sup>th</sup> January 1957 His Holiness Patriarch Alexy I sent a telegram blessing the transfer of the remains of the martyrs to the cemetery church.

In January 1957 the remains of the martyrs, according to the reminiscences of the granddaughter of Bishop Yao Fuan, were placed into two coffins and reburied alongside the Church of St. Seraphim of Sarov. And by 1958 the authorities had decided to use part of the mission's cemetery and its adjacent land to build a park called The Lake of Youth (青年湖公园, Qingnianhu). Part of the cemetery was flooded during the construction works, which, however, did not affect the church, and the rest of the cemetery continued to function as such. Bishop Vasily (Yao Fuan) of Beijing reposed in the Lord on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1962 and was buried at the cemetery. It was in the same year that the last service in the Church of St. Seraphim was celebrated. The church was then used as a warehouse.

In 1966 the park was renamed as the Park of Red Youth (红色青年公园). In August of the same year the cemetery was desecrated. Detachments of Red Guards made up of students from Beijing's secondary schools, as part of the campaign of the struggle against the Four Olds, most likely by command from on high, laid to waste the cemetery monuments located in the central part of the park. The cemetery church was also desecrated.

The only things that were not destroyed were several grave monuments relating to the burials connected to the Soviet embassy, while the tombs of Bishop Innocent, Bishop Simon and Bishop Vasily (Yao Fuan), located in the vault, were opened, emptied and desecrated.

According to a document of 20<sup>th</sup> September 1966 presented to the Chinese Foreign Ministry by the People's Committee of Beijing entitled 'An Inquiry into the Instructions Regarding the Situation on the Ruined Orthodox Cemetery,' the cemetery was surrounded by a wall, occupied 0.6 hectares of land and contained 318 burials (excluding, most likely, those flooded in 1958)<sup>[84]</sup>.

The document contained an inquiry into the closure of the cemetery and its transfer to the park. It was proposed to preserve the three graves belonging to the Soviet embassy (including the grave of the Russian mother-in-law of Li Lisan (李立三), one of the founders of the People's Republic of China) and not to rebury

[83] D. G. Napara. "In Memory of the Alapaevsk Martyrs Rested Beneath the Vault in China" (in Russian), 5 January, 2005. URL: <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/1838.html>

[84] 关于东正教公墓被砸毁情况和处理意见的请示 Guanyu dogzhengjiao gongmu bei zahui qingkuang he chuli yijian de qingshi [The People's Committee of Beijing: Inquiry into Instructions Concerning the Resolution of the Situation on the Ruined Orthodox Cemetery], 20 September, 1966.



the remains in the already ruined graves. It was proposed that it was the obligation of the park's administration to clear the territory.

A secret document from the foreign department of the People's Committee of Beijing of 7<sup>th</sup> November 1966 entitled 'Additional Information on the Beijing Soviet Orthodox Cemetery' confirms that the burial sites of the two Russian bishops would not be preserved, but their coffins would be buried deeper on the site of the former cemetery. The People's Committee of Beijing decreed to use the territory of the cemetery as the territory of the park and to preserve only those burial sites relating to the Soviet embassy as well as the three burial sites of Russians after 1949 by transferring them to another cemetery (东郊外侨公墓)<sup>[85]</sup>. The decision was made to get rid of the other burial sites.

The cemetery was cleared by 1968. There is no information on whether any other graves, apart from those mentioned above, were moved or to where. It was at this time that the cupola of the Church of St. Seraphim was destroyed. On 28<sup>th</sup> January 1976 the surrounding railing of the cemetery was destroyed. In 1977 work was completed on the construction of a canal on the north side of the cemetery. On 25<sup>th</sup> March 1987 the Committee for National Affairs of Beijing and the Bureau of Religious Affairs of Beijing agreed to the laying down of new grass and the planting of new flowers and the reconstruction of the cemetery territory by the Beijing Directorate of Parks, as well as to the pulling down of the church building<sup>[86]</sup>. In 1987 the church building was totally destroyed.

A golf course is now located on the site of the church and the cemetery in Qingnianhu Park. On the west side of the field a part of the old cemetery wall has survived, the north staircase of the cemetery has been preserved, and if one looks carefully around the park, one can come across fragments of grave plinths. There is definite evidence to suggest that the remains of the Chinese martyrs to this day rest in Beijing in the place where there is now a golf course in the park.

On 9<sup>th</sup> September 1996 the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (ROCORA), on the basis of the report presented by Archbishop Hilarion (Kapral) of Sydney and Australia and New Zealand (evidently inspired by the Chinese Orthodox faithful who had emigrated to Australia), resolved to venerate the memory of holy Chinese new martyrs on 11<sup>th</sup>/24<sup>th</sup> June. From this moment the calendars of the ROCORA contain the names of the Chinese martyrs, services are celebrated to them and an icon has been painted of them. The first service to the Chinese martyrs took place on their feast day in 1997 in the Church of the Protecting Veil in the Sydney suburb of Cabramatta. The service was headed by Archbishop Hilarion of Sydney and Australia and New Zealand, now the First Hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia.

Following this, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1997 decided to commemorate liturgically the martyrs of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church who were murdered for Christ in 1900. If we ignore an obvious inaccuracy—"to restore the execution of the degree of the Holy Synod no. 2874 of 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1902 on the veneration as local saints (as was pointed out above, the decree speaks only about the commemoration of the departed) of the martyrs the priest-martyr Mitrofan and the 221

[85] 北京市人民委员会外事处关于北京苏联东正教公墓的补充情况 Beijing shi renmin weiyuanhui waishichu guanyu Beijing sullivan dongzhengjiao gongmu de buchong qingkuang [The Foreign Department of the People's Committee of Beijing: Additional Information on the Beijing Soviet Orthodox Cemetery], 7 November 1966.

[86] 李萌 Li Men, 青年湖与尼布楚 Qingnianhu yu Nibuchu [Qingnianhu Park and Nerchinsk], 《万象》 Wanxiang [All things in the world], No3, 2011.

Orthodox laymen and women who suffered with him in China”-then we can consider the Synodal decision of 1997 to be an act of canonization by the Russian Orthodox Church of the Chinese martyrs as locally venerated saints. Their feast day was fixed as the 11<sup>th</sup>/24<sup>th</sup> June<sup>[87]</sup>.

On the basis of the decision by the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church of 17<sup>th</sup> February 1997 the temporary head of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church was to be the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. In accordance with the order adopted on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1993 on the canonization of locally venerated saints, the right of canonization of saints venerated in local churches and the local dioceses belongs to the ruling bishop with the knowledge and blessing of the Primate of the Church-the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia.

However, after 1997 the Chinese martyrs were not to be found in the calendar of the Moscow Patriarchate as locally venerated saints are not indicated in church-wide calendars. Nevertheless, in some places-in some churches of Moscow and the Far East dioceses of the Russian Orthodox Church, in parishes in China and in the parish of the Antiochian Patriarchate in Boston-services were conducted to them and icons have been painted of them both in synaxis form and individually.

After the signing of the Act of Canonical Communion between the Moscow Patriarchate and the ROCOR in May 2007, by decision of the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church of 2008 the Holy Synod was entrusted with the task of reviewing in the inter-council period the issue of canonizing the saints of the ROCOR who had been canonized during the period of division.

The work undertaken by an ad hoc group set up by the Holy Synod on 6<sup>th</sup> October 2008 (protocol no. 73)<sup>[88]</sup> was continued from 2013 in the working group on the harmonization of the calendars of the Moscow Patriarchate and the ROCOR, formed with the blessing of His Holiness Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Russia. The topic of the Chinese martyrs was one of the first to be reviewed.

The Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church on 2-3 February 2016 took a decision on the church-wide glorification of a number of locally venerated saints, including a number of saints of the ROCOR glorified during the period of division. The decision blessed the church-wide veneration of the “priest-martyr Mitrofan and those many martyrs who suffered with him and received the crowns of martyrs in 1900 in Beijing.” The date for the church-wide veneration of the martyrs was rightly chosen as 10<sup>th</sup>/23<sup>rd</sup> June-the date when Fr. Mitrofan accepted a martyr's death.

It ought to be noted that the Council did not limit the number of the martyrs as it is genuinely not known precisely how many people suffered for their faith in those days, while an analysis of the Archimandrite Innocent's list of the 222 people and of the accompanying sources leads us to conclude that the numbers of martyrs differ.

The Bishops' Council resolved to inform the Primates of all the Local Orthodox Churches of the glorification among the saints of the Chinese martyrs so that that they can be included in the calendars of world Orthodoxy.

At present we know of the following liturgical texts in memory of the Chinese martyrs:

[87] “Minutes of the Session of the Holy Synod of the Russian Church for the 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1997” (in Russian), Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, 1997, № 6, 7-8.

[88] “Minutes of the Session of the Holy Synod of the Russian Church for the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 2008” (in Russian). URL <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/470180.html>

1. The All-Night Vigil service to the Chinese new martyrs compiled in 1997 by the sisters of the Convent of the Protecting Veil in Knyazhevo (the Bulgarian Old Style Orthodox Church) with the blessing of Archbishop Hilarion of Sidney and Australia and New Zealand (the ROCOR). It is used in ROCOR up to the present.

2. A Vigil service to the Chinese new martyrs was compiled by the nun Nadezhda (Soboleva, 1922 – 2001) of the Russian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate. When she compiled it she used only one source: *The Stories of the Martyrs of the Chinese Orthodox Church, who suffered in Beijing in 1900*, which was published in 1917 and reprinted in 1932. The text of the service was published in *Kitaisky blagovestnik* (The Chinese Herald) (no. 2 for 1995) issued with the blessing of Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, now Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. The service is used in parishes of the Moscow Patriarchate and ROCOR. However, it has not yet received the approval of the Synodal Liturgical Commission. A Chinese translation exists of this service.

3. Another version of this service (edited in 2001 by nun Kassia [Senina], who is in the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Autonomous Church)<sup>[89]</sup> was published on the website of the St. Elisabeth parish of the ROAC in St. Petersburg. There is no information on its use.

4. A Vigil service to the Chinese new martyrs was also compiled at the Holy Transfiguration Monastery of the Holy Orthodox Church of North America (Boston, USA)<sup>[90]</sup> in English. There is no information on its use.

We hope that in the near future the resolution of the 2016 Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church to compile a service to the priest-martyr Mitrofan and those martyrs who suffered with him in Beijing will receive the blessing of the highest ecclesiastical authorities for universal use in all of the churches of the Russian Orthodox Church.

It should be especially noted that the veneration of the Chinese Orthodox martyrs has never incurred the disapproval of the Chinese authorities—neither at the time of the Chinese Empire, nor in Republican China, nor in Communist China. This can be explained by the local character of veneration among the few Orthodox communities. Moreover, the aforementioned decision of the authorities to transfer the remains from Beiguan to the cemetery by the Gates of Andingmen may be viewed as a manifestation of certain concern on the part of the state authorities.

On the commemoration day of the Chinese martyrs in 2012 the chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate's Department for External Church Relations Metropolitan Hilarion of Volokolamsk, with the consent of the Chinese authorities, celebrated the Divine Liturgy in the Church of the Protecting Veil in the city of Harbin. Representatives of the State Administration for Religious Affairs of the People's Republic of China and of the Administration for Religious Affairs of the province of Heilongjiang and the city of Harbin attended the service. In his sermon Metropolitan Hilarion made a positive reference to the Chinese martyrs and this did not incur any negative public reaction from the official Chinese representatives.

Against the background of complex evaluations in modern-day China of the Boxer Rebellion, the Orthodox Church has never given a political evaluation to this event; it is only the fate of those who died for their faith that has been the object of study in this historical topic.

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[89] Not recognized by any of the Local Orthodox Churches and has no Eucharistic communion with them.

[90] A non-canonical Old Style jurisdiction.

Separate mention should be made of priest Mitrofan's three children only the middle one survived-Sergei Chang Fu (常福). Chan Fu became a priest soon after the Yihetuan rebellion, the first to be ordained after the tragedy of 1900, and later elevated to the rank of archpriest. Fr. Sergei died in Tianjin in 1936 at the age of fifty-six. He was buried in Beijing at the cemetery beyond the Gates of Andingmen. Fr. Sergei and his wife Yelena (常徐氏, who died in 1968 from cancer) had four children-two sons and two daughters. At present his two granddaughters live in Beijing-Anna and Nina, who have been located and were happy to share their reminiscences.

Like the early Christian martyrs, the Chinese who suffered for Christ became the seeds of the Chinese Church. God has glorified them and revealed to us all the images of their sanctity so that the fullness of the Church can offer up prayers to them for the rebirth of Orthodox Christianity in China. At the same time, their life, sufferings and the fate of their relics require deeper study. The introduction of new information into scientific use would not only enrich academic Sinology, but would also be a new testimony of the Chinese Orthodox faithfuls' fidelity to Christ. At the same time, the study of Chinese sainthood ought not to be limited to the martyrs of the beginning of the twentieth century. The destinies of the Chinese Orthodox confessors who underwent the crucible of the Cultural Revolution also await their researchers.

**中文题目:**

**1900 年的中国东正教殉道者: 历史记载及教会敬奉研究**

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**提要:** 本文章作者试图全面、系统的收集和辨析可以用于探究有关于在 1900 年义和团起义中死亡的中国东正教殉道者的各种信息来源, 分析很普遍的与该题目有关的历史认识误区与空白, 同时介绍中国殉道者宣圣过程和在不同历史阶段的教会敬奉方式。

**关键词:** 中国东正教殉道者; 义和团起义; 东正教在中国; 俄罗斯驻华东正教传教团; 基督教



# Modern State and Perspectives of the Orthodox Church in China

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**Abstract:** Russian missionaries brought Orthodoxy to China over 300 years ago. The fruit of their efforts became the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church. However, the development of the young Church organism was tragically interrupted under the stress of the Cultural Revolution. Now the Russian Orthodox Church is exerting every effort to normalize the condition of the Chinese Orthodox Church, including obtaining official state recognition on the all-China level. Proposed approaches have been communicated to the Chinese state, so the gradual development is ongoing, but more has to be done.

**Key Words:** Orthodoxy in China, Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church, Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China, first Chinese Orthodox priest, Albazinians

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China today has entered a peculiar period of development as the destruction of the ideological foundation of atheism and the period of economic and social transition have led to a spiritual vacuum. For the past thirty plus years the number of Christians in China has increased many times over. Tens of thousands of Catholic and Protestant parishes have opened throughout the country. It is only Orthodoxy that remains a Christian confession whose parishioners and churches have not increased in number as vividly.

In speaking of Chinese Orthodoxy, it is necessary to consider the problems of Orthodoxy in China proper, to which we include with certain reservations Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, and Orthodoxy in Chinese communities outside China, primarily in Russia.

Orthodoxy in China has a long history in which a special role belongs to the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission (俄罗斯东正教传教团) which worked in China for two and a half centuries. Such a long existence of Orthodoxy in China allows us to treat it as a part of Chinese culture<sup>[1]</sup>. Orthodoxy came to China peacefully in order to take spiritual care of its followers who found themselves in a foreign land. At the same time, it laid the foundation for mutual acquaintance and dialogue between the Russian and Chinese civilizations to become a spiritual and moral pillar for the development of relations between the two countries.

The work of the Mission included the study of the language, culture, history and contemporary life of the

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[1] Metropolitan of Volokolamsk Hilarion: Orthodoxy in China is a part of the cultural tradition <https://mospat.ru/en/2015/06/12/news119933/>

Chinese people. Through the efforts of its members it made a considerable contribution to the development of world and Russian sinology. However, all the concerns of the Mission were focused, in the first place, on the preaching of the Good News of Christ, the translation of liturgical texts, as well as the spiritual guidance of the Orthodox faithful in China, both Russian and Chinese, who followed Christ according to the dictates of their hearts.

The beginning of the Mission's work is traditionally dated to 1685 when the first Orthodox priest, Maxim Leontyev, began his service in the Chinese capital-Beijing. Formally the Mission was established in 1713, while the intention to set it up was documented in 1700, 1703, 1706 and 1709<sup>[2]</sup>.

The traditionally loyal attitude of the Orthodox faithful towards the Chinese authorities and their respect for local customs have determined the long life of the faithful in the Chinese environment.

Already in the late 17th century, the Orthodox Church sought to fit into the Chinese public order and to avoid conflicts with the authorities. Priests in China were called to behave carefully to avoid provoking unnecessary friction with the authorities of the neighbouring empire. It should be stressed that the tasks of pastoral care for the Russian Cossacks (more known as Albazianians), who lived in Beijing, and the Russian visitors were made a priority.

The Mission proper as a Church institution was established only after the consent of the Chinese side. With the blessing of Metropolitan John (Maximovich) of Tobolsk and All Siberia, the first Orthodox mission was formed in late 1712 or early 1713 and arrived in Beijing in 1715<sup>[3]</sup>.

Initially, the Mission was a Church institution under the Sacred Governing Synod. It was only after the status of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing was approved by the Treaty of Kiakhta, Article 5, on June 14, 1728, that it was placed under the authority of both the Synod and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire—a situation that lasted until 1863<sup>[4]</sup>. Subsequently the Mission became subordinate only to the Synod and was engaged only in religious work.

The Orthodox Church is universal. This universality, however, is made up of a diversity of national Orthodox Churches. It is precisely in creating a national Chinese Church that the Russian clergy in China saw the meaning of their work.

By the 20th century there had been formed a large Chinese flock with its own national clergy and later the episcopate. The spiritual planting of seed by Russian missionaries and the presence of Russian settlers in China brought forth as a fruit the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church (中华自主东正教教会). In the rules of Orthodoxy, the autonomy of the Chinese Church implies full independence in its internal governance. The Chinese Church preserved only spiritual ties with the Church in Russia, from which Orthodoxy had come to China. However, the development of the young Church organism was tragically interrupted under the stress provoked by the Cultural Revolution.

In the 1950s, the first relatively stable decade in the PRC's life, the Chinese Orthodox people did not manage to finish the construction of their own Church and to lay a solid organizational foundation for it. The legal status of the Church was vulnerable as it had failed to set up at that time “an Orthodox patriotic association”, as the authorities demanded. It should have been a structure recognized by the state as a body for building Church-state relations. Such patriotic associations were established in the PRC by the Catholics,

[2] Orthodoxy in China (in Russian), (Moscow: Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, 2010), 16-30.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid, 66.



Protestants, Muslims, Buddhists and Daoists. That time all Russian missionaries had already been forced to leave the country. Without their support and due to internal disorder, caused mostly by nonconformity of the bishop of Shanghai Simeon (Du Runchen, 杜润臣)<sup>[5]</sup>, the first state-recognized and ordained in Moscow head of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church bishop of Beijing Basil (Yao Fu'an, 姚福安)<sup>[6]</sup> did not succeed in gathering the first Council of the Chinese Orthodox Church to complete the formalities.

As a result, the Church in the PRC failed to complete the procedure of state recognition on the national level, remaining a group of separate parishes in various parts of the country. It proved impossible to fulfil the procedure of recognition during the upheavals of the 1960s-70s. The persecution in the period of the Cultural Revolution and the loss of most of the clergy led to the present difficult situation of the Chinese Orthodox Church.

Nevertheless, the Orthodox Church in China is still alive, although there is no state-recognized national Chinese Orthodox organization in China, but only four local registered churches as places for worship. Meanwhile, there are about 15,000 Orthodox believers in the country, most of them living in Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia, the north-eastern Province of Heilongjiang as well as in Beijing, Shanghai and other places. To continue living, the Chinese Orthodoxy needs priests and bishops but there are no Orthodox educational institutions in the PRC. Orthodox Chinese have repeatedly appealed to the Russian Orthodox Church to send them a priest for celebrating the liturgy and requested services, such as baptisms, weddings and church funerals.

The Russian Orthodox Church respects the principles of independence and autonomy of the religious communities in the PRC. It is precisely on this basis that in due course she granted the status of self-governance to the Chinese Orthodox Church. However, the Russian Church cannot be indifferent with regard to the situation of our faithful in China; the more so that most of them belong to the Russian ethnic minority.

The numerous appeals made by Chinese citizens to the Russian Orthodox Church to provide pastoral care have increased with the policy of reforms and openness. Then the Russian Church had to face a difficult dilemma—to begin responding to the actual needs of the Orthodox flock in China by sending priests even without the knowledge of the Chinese authorities or to remain faithful to the missionary tradition of loyal existence in the Chinese milieu and respectful of the political realities and to begin a long official dialogue for normalizing the status of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church as a whole—which will make it possible to solve particular problems of pastoral care.

The second way of dialogue was chosen. It was Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, now His Holiness Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, who became the architect of the efforts in the Chinese area.

There is no reason to believe that the problem of the Chinese faithful can “disappear” in the wake of their full immersion into the surrounding secular culture when they are left without pastoral care. The point is not only that the Chinese Orthodox Christians seek to preserve their religious traditions and to hand them down to their descendants. In today's open world, the size of the Russian diaspora in Beijing and other large cities in China is growing. Therefore, the need for reviving the Chinese Orthodox Church is felt already now not only by the Albazianians' successors but also by the ethnic Russian newcomers and their descendants from mixed marriages, as well as the Orthodox citizens of third countries. Today many Chinese (mostly Han

[5] Simeon Du. <https://drevo-info.ru/articles/3766.html> (in Russian)

[6] Vasily Yao. <https://drevo-info.ru/articles/24870.html> (in Russian)

national majority, young people with very active position) are interested in Orthodoxy, often choosing it as their faith.

The Chinese Orthodox Church did not perish during the years of trials, but her revival needs care and support from the Mother Church. Nowadays China is for the Russian Orthodox Church a region of pastoral responsibility and will remain as such until the hierarchy of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church will be restored<sup>[7]</sup>.

At present, Orthodoxy in China has the status of one of the traditional religions of ethnic minorities. This status does not correspond to the universal nature of the Christian Church and already now represents a limiting factor in the normal development of Orthodoxy in China, as was noted in the report of Shi Hengtan (石衡潭), Institute of World Religions, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (中国社会科学院世界宗教研究所), which reported the findings of a field study on the life of Orthodox Chinese in a number of regions of the country at the Russian-Chinese Conference on “Russian Cultural and Historical Traditions and Russia’s Relation to the Asian-Pacific Countries,” which took place in December 2013 in Beijing<sup>[8]</sup>.

Although the problem of restoring the legal status of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church in the PRC is still unsolved on the state level, the Chinese Orthodox Christians are free from internal disorders. Even in the absence of a centralized Church administrative organization, the Chinese faithful have preserved an enviable internal unity. This enables it to easily restore the legal internal governance structure, making it mutually correspondent with the Chinese socialist society.

At present the officially open Orthodox churches in the PRC have the legal status of places for worship (宗教活动场所) (means-in which it is permitted to celebrate Orthodox divine services). In China today, however, there is not a single Orthodox religious organization. This seriously complicates the task of normalizing Orthodox life, in which the first step lies in the ordination of Chinese priests. The Russian Orthodox Church is exerting every effort to support the Chinese Orthodox Christians’ desire to receive official state recognition on the all-China level.

Beneficial prospects for reviving the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church have been created by the policy proclaimed by the Chinese authorities to create a “harmonious society” called to unite different interests of various social groups for the benefit of developing the whole country and thus also to reveal and develop the positive role of religion in promoting social harmony. The consistent implementation of this policy will help realize the aspirations of the Chinese Orthodox who for the last three centuries have become an integral part of China’s diverse religious culture.

Proclaimed by President Xi Jinping (习近平) “sinicization” is not a challenge for the Orthodox community because the task of the Russian missionaries was exactly a building the national Chinese Church, not a representation of the Russian Church.

At the same time, the close partnership of the two countries stimulates the interest of the Chinese in Russia and Orthodoxy as an organic part of contemporary Russian religious culture.

Since 2004, the theme of Orthodoxy in China has been featured in high-level talks. The problems began to be discussed during the visits made by Russian President Vladimir Putin to Beijing in October 2004 and in

[7] Metropolitan of Smolensk and Kaliningrad Kirill “Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church: history, today’s state and perspectives”. <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/329177.html> (in Russian)

[8] В Пекине прошла конференция о Православии и русской культуре в Азии <https://mospat.ru/ru/2013/12/20/news96000/> (in Russian)

March and June 2006, and during the visit made by the PRC President Hu Jintao (胡锦涛) to Moscow in July 2005. It is noteworthy that along with the political dialogue on Orthodoxy in September 2010, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, as part of his official visit to China, presented the PRC President Hu Jintao with a book on the history of Orthodoxy in China<sup>[9]</sup>.

Initially this agenda was limited to particular problems, such as the restoration of the Dormition Church in Beijing. Later, complex problems began to be posed concerning the Russian Orthodox Church's pastoral care of our compatriots in China at the Olympics in 2008, Expo in 2010 and the ROC clergy's service for Orthodox compatriots in surviving Orthodox churches in China.

The continuous dialogue on these questions was reflected in bilateral documents adopted at a high level, such as action plans for implementing the Treaty of Good-neighbourliness, Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China for 2005-2008, 2009-2012, 2013-2016 and 2017-2020, which envisioned the establishment and development of dialogue and cooperation between the leading religious confessions in Russia and China, as well as the establishment of contacts and the deepening of relations between the Presidential Council for Cooperation with Religious Organizations and the PRC State Administration for Religious Affairs (国家宗教事务局), and between the Interreligious Council in Russia and the Chinese Association for Cultural and Religious Relations. All this led to the establishment of a mechanism for regular contacts on the departmental level—the working group for contacts and cooperation under the Presidential Council for Cooperation with Religious Organizations and the PRC State Administration for Religious Affairs.

In terms of practice, the common efforts succeeded to restore the Dormition Church on the territory of the Russian embassy in Beijing, to come to an agreement concerning the service of priests from Russia for Orthodox participants and guests of the Olympics in 2008 and the Expo in 2010, as well as the celebration of the Easter service by a priest from Russia for compatriots at the Pokrov Church (Protection of the Mother of God) in Harbin in 2010 and 2014.

A possible level of contacts was secured between the Russian Orthodox Church and the PRC State Administration for Religious Affairs, as well as a number of official visits of Russian Orthodox Church delegations to China. In July 2006, the head of the PRC State Administration for Religious Affairs Mr. Ye Xiaowen (叶小文) made an unofficial visit to Russia. He met with the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia and the Chairman of the Department for External Church Relations.

In February 2009, a delegation of the PRC State Administration for Religious Affairs led by its head Mr. Ye Xiaowen made an official visit on the occasion of the enthronement of Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Russia. His Holiness Patriarch Kirill and Mr. Ye Xiaowen had a meeting<sup>[10]</sup>.

In November 2009, a delegation of the Presidential Council for Cooperation with Religious Organizations together with representatives of the Moscow Patriarchate Department for External Church Relations visited China at the invitation of the PRC State Administration for Religious Affairs. They held negotiations concerning the development of the Russian-Chinese cooperation in the religious sphere. As a result of the visit, the two bodies signed memoranda on mutual understanding concerning the cooperation procedure and

[9] A book on Orthodoxy in China has come out. <https://mospat.ru/en/2010/09/28/news27021/>

[10] His Holiness Patriarch Kirill received the chairman of the State Administration for Religious Affairs Ye Xiaowen (in Russian). [http://mospat.ru/archive/2009/02/44066/A.Lukin.The.Status.of.Chinese.Autonomous.Orthodox.Church.and.Perspectives.of.Orthodoxy.in.China.\(in.Russian\),Analytical.reports.of.MGIMO,Vol.4\(39\),\(2013\),p.21.](http://mospat.ru/archive/2009/02/44066/A.Lukin.The.Status.of.Chinese.Autonomous.Orthodox.Church.and.Perspectives.of.Orthodoxy.in.China.(in.Russian),Analytical.reports.of.MGIMO,Vol.4(39),(2013),p.21.)

the training of Chinese students at Russian Orthodox Church theological schools<sup>[11]</sup>.

The Presidential Council for Cooperation with Religious Organizations set up a working group for cooperation with the PRC in the religious sphere. On June 8, 2011, the first consultations of the Russian-Chinese working group for contacts and cooperation in the religious sphere were held in Moscow<sup>[12]</sup>. The second round of consultations took place on June 19, 2012, in China<sup>[13]</sup>. The third round of consultations, held on July 16, 2014, in Moscow, was attended by the leader of the PRC State Administration for Religious Affairs Mr. Wang Zuo'an (王作安)<sup>[14]</sup>. The fourth round took place on May 14, 2015 in Beijing<sup>[15]</sup> and the fifth one on August 23, 2016 in Moscow<sup>[16]</sup>.

The progressive development of constructive dialogue with the State Administration for Religious Affairs has helped to advance Chinese citizens' knowledge about the history and role of Orthodoxy in their country and to implement beneficial cultural and religious projects. These efforts had as their most important result the historic visit made by His Holiness Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Russia to China in May 2013. It was the first ever visit made to China by a Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church.

On May 12, His Holiness Patriarch Kirill celebrated the Divine Liturgy on the territory of the Russian embassy in Beijing, on May 14 at the Pokrov Church in Harbin and on May 15 in the building of the former Cathedral of Our Lady the Warrantress of the Sinful in Shanghai<sup>[17]</sup>. In Shanghai, among the concelebrants of the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church, along with the Russian delegation members in holy orders, were the clergy of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church, including priest Michael Wang (王泉生) and protodeacon Evangel Lu (卢亚夫). The Patriarchal services were attended by a great number of faithful. During his visit to China, His Holiness the Patriarch met with the President of the People's Republic of China Mr. Xi Jinping, Chinese religious leaders, the director of the PRC State Administration for Religious Affairs Mr. Wang Zuo'an and the leaders of Heilongjiang Province and Shanghai<sup>[18]</sup>.

The Patriarch and the PRC President had a talk at the Great Hall of the People. Reports about his meetings with the head of the Chinese State and other state officials were on the news of the Chinese central TV networks and became the topic of Renmin ribao's editorial<sup>[19]</sup>. Only a few years before that, the Chinese media did not cover any event of religious life and a visit of the head of a Church from a foreign state, institutionally unregistered in China, was unimaginable. The meeting between Patriarch Kirill and President Xi Jinping was the first ever meeting between the leader of the People's Republic of China and the head of a Christian Church.

Among the important tasks of the visit was to coordinate with the PRC political leaders a vision of the ways for normalizing the status of the Chinese Orthodox Church, replenishing its clergy and restoring regular

[11] Talks on Russian-Chinese relations in religious sphere held in Beijing. <https://mospat.ru/en/2009/11/17/news8611/>

[12] Russian-Chinese consultations concerning contacts and cooperation in religious sphere held in Moscow. <https://mospat.ru/en/2011/06/08/news42776/>

[13] Russian-Chinese Group holds consultations on contacts and cooperation in religious sphere. <https://mospat.ru/en/2012/06/19/news66333/>

[14] 王作安局长率团访问芬兰和俄罗斯. <http://www.sara.gov.cn/old/xwzx/xwj/123618.htm>

[15] 中俄宗教交往合作小组第四次工作会议在京举行. <http://www.sara.gov.cn/old/xwzx/xwj/209592.htm>

[16] 陈宗荣率团赴俄参加中俄宗教交往合作第五次会议. <http://www.sara.gov.cn/xwfb/tp/b/515495.htm>

[17] His Holiness Patriarch Kirill completes his visit to China. <https://mospat.ru/en/2013/05/16/news85332/>

[18] Patriarch Kirill meets with Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Xi Jinping. <https://mospat.ru/en/2013/05/10/news84875/>

[19] 习近平会见俄罗斯东正教大牧首. <http://politics.people.com.cn/n/2013/0511/c1024-21445184.html>

services in surviving Orthodox churches in China.

During his meetings with both the supreme political leaders of the country and the state officials in charge of the PRC's religious policy in the country as a whole and in particular provinces and cities, His Holiness the Patriarch consistently explained the above-mentioned approaches of the Russian Orthodox Church towards the normalization of the status of the Orthodox Church in China and the positive impact resulting from contacts in the religious sphere on relations between our two countries as follows:

- Russian missionaries brought Orthodoxy to China over 300 years ago. Now it is formed as the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church. The Russian Orthodox Church does not interfere in the internal affairs of the Chinese state, but it cannot be indifferent regarding the situation of our faithful in China;

- The creation of favourable conditions for normalizing the religious life of the Orthodox Christians in China will give an impetus to the development of humanitarian contacts and strengthen the cultural and religious components of our cooperation;

- The Russian Church regards it important that the Chinese civilization may be seen by the Russian people not as an interesting though alien culture but, on the contrary, as a spiritually close culture. In this connection, the Chinese Orthodox Christians represent a part of the Chinese people that can play a special role in the development of our relations;

- The restoration of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church will contribute to the strengthening of the PRC's relations not only with the Russian Orthodox Church, but also with the countries of the Russian Orthodox Church's canonical space including Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova and the countries of Central Asia.

This approach of the Russian Orthodox Church to the problems of Orthodoxy in China was appreciated and supported by the Chinese side.

In response to Patriarch Kirill's invitation to continue talks, on May 8, 2015, a meeting took place in Moscow between His Holiness and President Xi Jinping<sup>[20]</sup>. They continued discussing the significance of a value approach to policy, state development and consolidation of society and the role of religion in promoting social harmony and fostering patriotism. They continued considering the problems of Orthodoxy in China. The PRC President gave a high value to the patriotic role that the Russian Orthodox Church played during the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) and to her contribution to the struggle against German fascism and Japanese militarism.

The high-level meetings have given an impetus to the work in all areas.

As far as it concerns the implementation of the agreements reached about the training of Chinese students in Russia, the Chinese side nominated two Orthodox citizens of the PRC from Harbin. In October 2012, they arrived in Russia and began their studies. In September 2014, the student who was trained in St. Petersburg was ordained deacon. During the fourth round of consultations in May 2015 in Beijing, an agreement was reached that he be ordained as a priest and an intention was expressed to send new candidates for training. On October 4, 2015, Alexander Yu Shi (遇石) was ordained as a priest and became the first priest of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church to appear in China after the Cultural Revolution<sup>[21]</sup>. In September, 2017 the next candidate Paul Sun Ming (孙明) from Inner Mongolia started his studies at St.

[20] His Holiness Patriarch Kirill meets with Mr. Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic Of China. <https://mospat.ru/en/2015/05/08/news118852/>

[21] Priest ordination of the foreign students' faculty student was conducted at the Academy's church (in Russian). <http://spbda.ru/news/v-akademicheskoy-hrame-sovershena-ierayskaya-hirotoniya-uchaschegosya-fakulteta-inostrannyh-studentov/>

Peterburg seminary.

Starting his pastoral service in Harbin, Father Alexander Yu Shi is serving now his own people, taking pastoral care of the Chinese faithful and the Russian compatriots living in China, who are seen by the Russian Orthodox Church canonically as the flock of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church.

Once he and his followers begin their service in China, the Church life of the Orthodox communities, in which they are working and will work, is taking a normal course. I believe that following the appearance of the clergy, these communities can be legally recognized as local religious organizations, which will eventually form an all-China Orthodox religious organization—the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church which will have regained state recognition after it had to stop its work for historical reasons in the 1950s.

With an increased number of clergy, the Orthodox communities will need to regulate their governance. In the Orthodox tradition, this concern for the parishes is the duty of a bishop. The Chinese Orthodox bishop, who will be elected by the Chinese faithful and approved by the PRC state authorities as head of the Chinese Orthodox Church, will govern their work, cooperate with the authorities and maintain contacts with other religious communities, including developing relations with the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Russian Orthodox Church is the only Local Church involved in preaching Orthodoxy in China. By virtue of legal succession, it is the Russian Orthodox Church that is responsible for the fate of Orthodoxy in China. However, for instance, the Patriarchate of Constantinople has made attempts to challenge both the legal succession and the principles of canonical life of the Church in China laid by the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople does not recognize the factual existence in China of her own national Orthodox Church and in 2008 included the territory of China in the metropolitanate of Hong Kong. The Russian Church immediately made a public statement about the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of the Chinese Church. We stood out in defence of the rights of the faithful of the Chinese Orthodox Church and stated that the decision of the Patriarchate of Constantinople was illegal. Of course, it would have been better if such a statement had been made by the Chinese Orthodox Church herself, but in China there is no Orthodox bishop of her own as yet, who would represent the Chinese Orthodox Christians at the international level and defend their interests.

At present, the process of preservation and restoration of Orthodox churches in China is underway. Thus, during the Patriarch's visit to China, a question was posed about the need to preserve the Church of St. Alexander Nevsky in Wuhan, the oldest Orthodox building in China today. The church was to be demolished in view of the construction of a tunnel under the Yangzi River, but the efforts to preserve it were a success. With the help of Russian specialists, it was restored and recently opened, though only as a cultural centre so far<sup>[22]</sup>. The Chinese authorities also restored the cathedral in Shanghai and re-equipped it as an exhibition hall. During his visit to China, Patriarch Kirill celebrated in it, and negotiations are underway to be able to celebrate Easter services in it<sup>[23]</sup>.

In China, there are Orthodox citizens of her own nationality (we differ from the PRC authorities in statistical estimates because of the complexity of counting, primarily due to the unorganized Church structure, but we are talking about thousands). The dialogue with the Chinese state institutions and its positive fruits points to the PRC leadership's desire to normalize the situation of the Orthodox faithful in the country as part

[22] Restoration completed at the church of St Alexander Nevsky in Wuhan, China. <https://mospat.ru/en/2015/08/07/news121706/>

[23] His Holiness Patriarch Kirill celebrates Divine Liturgy in Shanghai. <https://mospat.ru/en/2013/05/16/news85343/>

of the efforts to build a harmonious society. The removal of obstacles for the natural development of Orthodox Church life will contribute to the strengthening of mutual understanding, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations between the Russian and Chinese nations.

Having considered the common approaches, need to dwell on the pastoral care of our compatriots and citizens of the third countries, who live or reside in China. It is easier to organize their religious life than to solve all the problems of Orthodoxy in China.

Therefore, pastoral work with the foreigners of Orthodox confession can and must become an active part of the effort to preserve Orthodoxy in China. Without focusing on legal regulations and actual law enforcement of the "Provisions on the Administration of Religious Activities of Aliens Within the Territory of the People's Republic of China" (中华人民共和国境内外国人宗教活动管理规定), stress some important approaches to Church mission among them.

Speaking of the peculiar features of mission among Orthodox foreigners in China, should to repeat that China, in a strict sense, is not a mission area but represents the territory of a national autonomous Orthodox Church. Therefore, Orthodox foreigners in the Church comprise a flock of the Chinese Church. And the common task for all the Orthodox faithful in China is to help normalize the situation of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church.

The Russian Orthodox Church as Mother Church is responsible for preserving the integrity of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church; she does not create in China any structures distinct from the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church; she seeks to prevent canonical conflicts in China or claims by other local Churches. To organize mission among foreigners in China, other Local Churches are invited to help as much as they can with normalizing the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church, provided that they share the above-mentioned principles. This activity of Orthodox Churches cannot be used for any interference in China's internal affairs and is carried out with respect for the established historical realities including all possible consideration for China's political realities and for the need to build the canonical architecture.

In taking care of Orthodox foreigners in China with the above-mentioned understanding, it is possible to educate Christians to integrate into the Chinese reality around them with the clearly articulated Christian message. The clarity of the message free from political or social implications and focused on the saving mission of Christ and His Church is extremely important. I believe that the pure Christian message has an essential advantage over the preaching that mimics the Chinese cultural phenomena.

Along with a well-considered Church understanding and vision of the future of the Church in China, the organization of communities for foreigners should be accompanied by special pastoral and missionary responsibility.

There is a revived Parish of Apostles Saints Peter and Paul functioning in Hong Kong. Through its efforts a broad translation and publishing work is carried out. Among the parish clergy is Anatoly Gong, a citizen of Hong Kong, who recently started to provide pastoral support to the international community in Hong Kong.

In Shanghai, there is an international and a Chinese Orthodox community working in close cooperation. With the consent of the authorities, a priest from Russia conducts regular services in the surviving St. Nicholas Church in which Russians and Chinese worship together. When priest Michael Wang Quansheng and protodeacon Evangel Lu Yafu, the oldest clergy in the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church, died, the



funeral services for them were conducted by the Russian and the new Chinese clergy<sup>[24]</sup>. The representatives of the Shanghai bureau for religious affairs were attended.

There is growing cooperation between the Chinese Orthodox community in Beijing and the clergy and parishioners of the Dormition Church on the territory of the Russian embassy. On August 28, 2015, the rector of the Dormition Church on the territory of the Russian embassy in China, Father Sergiy Voronin, celebrated the Divine Liturgy in one of the Catholic churches in Beijing for the Orthodox citizens of the PRC<sup>[25]</sup>.

The request to conduct a festive service on the Dormition Day was made to the authorities by the Orthodox Chinese, descendants of the Russian Cossacks who brought the seeds of Orthodox faith to China 330 years ago. There are several hundreds of their descendants who have preserved the faith of Christ through centuries and who live to this day in Beijing, Shanghai, Harbin and other cities of the Celestial Empire.

The exact day when the Cossack prisoners of war and Father Maxim Leontyev came to Beijing from the Albazian fort is not known. For this reason, the festivities were timed to the patronal feast of the first Orthodox church in Beijing, which was consecrated by Father Maxim in 1696 and dedicated to Holy Sophia the Wisdom of God. In 1732, this church was consecrated again by the head of the Second Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China, Archimandrite Anthony (Platkovsky) and dedicated to the Dormition of the Mother of God. Due to the fact that the Dormition Church in Zhenwumiao Street (北京市东四区真武庙一号), which was the cathedral church of the first primate of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church and a descendent of the Yakovlev Cossacks, Bishop Basil, who died in 1962, was closed during the Cultural Revolution<sup>[26]</sup>, the Catholics in Beijing were so kind as to offer to the Orthodox one of their churches in Beijing for the festive service.

The liturgy was attended by over 80 people. Most of them went to confession and partook of the Holy Mysteries of Christ. Among the worshippers were Albazian Chinese, young citizens of the PRC who have chosen Orthodoxy as their faith and Orthodox compatriots.

Through the efforts of Russian believers a temporary procedure for sending Russian Orthodox Church priests to Harbin has been developed for them to come for special Church occasions with the consent of the authorities. In May 2015, a bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church came to celebrate the Divine Liturgy at the church in Ergun city, Inner Mongolia<sup>[27]</sup>.

The Russian side has consistently posed a wide range of questions concerning the organization of the pastoral care for our compatriots and the normalization of the situation of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church.

Special note is about a pilgrimage of the Chinese Orthodox believers into Russia during the Easter period of 2016. About 45 descendants of Albazians and newly converted Chinese Orthodox Christians visited different cities of Russia-Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tver, Great Novgorod, Valday and Sergiev Posad-by the invitation of His Holiness Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia<sup>[28]</sup>. Such an invitation was extended to

[24] The oldest cleric of the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church is buried in Shanghai. [https://mospat.ru/en/2017/03/10/news143511/The\\_oldest\\_Chinese\\_priest\\_dies](https://mospat.ru/en/2017/03/10/news143511/The_oldest_Chinese_priest_dies). <https://mospat.ru/en/2015/06/04/news119702/>

[25] Chinese Orthodox community in Beijing celebrate Assumption Day. <https://mospat.ru/en/2015/08/29/news122181/>

[26] Orthodoxy in China (in Russian), (Moscow: Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, 2010), 173.

[27] Metropolitan Hilarion celebrates Divine Liturgy at the church of St. Innocent of Irkutsk in Labdarin. <https://mospat.ru/en/2015/05/16/news119132/>

[28] Chinese Orthodox faithful complete their pilgrimage to Russia. [https://mospat.ru/en/2016/05/10/news131170/His\\_Holiness\\_Patriarch\\_Kirill\\_meets\\_with\\_a\\_group\\_of\\_pilgrims\\_from\\_China](https://mospat.ru/en/2016/05/10/news131170/His_Holiness_Patriarch_Kirill_meets_with_a_group_of_pilgrims_from_China). <https://mospat.ru/en/2016/05/01/news130975/>



them by the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church during his visit to China on 2013<sup>[29]</sup>.

Dwelt in detail on the work in China since in the Chinese Orthodoxy outside of China, especially in the Chinese Orthodox communities in Russia, the attitude towards particular developments in China is of great importance. As the Chinese diaspora is very closely linked with the current political, economic, social, cultural and religious reality in Mainland China, positive shifts in the situation of Orthodoxy in China proper contribute to a more calm and interested attitude towards Orthodoxy among the Chinese in the diaspora.

Speaking about the direct work among the Chinese in Russia, it should be stressed, that there are no restrictions here. For this reason, the Chinese diaspora in Russia, the PRC citizens who live or reside in the Russian Federation, are an object of the missionary interest of the Russian Orthodox Church. We can and must carry out mission among the Chinese in Russia. To organize mission in the Chinese milieu with its specificity it is necessary to take into account the attitude towards Orthodoxy in China itself. For this reason, among the important stages of this mission should be the introduction of Chinese citizens to the history and today's status of Orthodoxy in China and its long historical journey that allows speaking of Orthodoxy as traditional for China. It is especially important to draw attention to the above-mentioned approaches of the Russian Church to the problem of normalizing the situation of Orthodoxy in China at the present stage. These approaches are as follows: non-interference in the internal affairs, respect for the established historical realities including as flexible as possible consideration for China's political realities and the building of a canonical structure.

Such kind of approach can be extended to frontier dioceses, in which there should appear churches oriented for work with the Chinese faithful. At present, the appearance of such churches is restricted by an objective shortage of personnel in the Far East, as well as a lack of understanding and experience in organizing the work in the Chinese area.

It worth mention the work carried out in Chinese Internet communities. The creation of Orthodox Weibo by local believers<sup>[30]</sup>, the Chinese analogue of Twitter, as one of the most operative forms, appears to be very effective for such a widely Internet-covered country as China. If political assessments are avoided, such blogs can quite successfully exist even in a situation of state control. And there are very successful examples of it.

The work carried out in China, Hong Kong, Russia and other countries helps to preserve the Orthodox presence in China and helps Chinese people to meet Christ as He is known in the Orthodox Church—the Christ, the knowledge of whom was spread by the workers of the Russian Orthodox Mission in the Celestial Empire more than 300 years ago.

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[29] Patriarch Kirill: The dreams of the Chinese Orthodox Church's bright future begins to come true. <https://mospat.ru/en/2013/05/13/news85047/>

[30] 中国东正教会 Zhongguo Dongzheng jiaohui [Chinese Orthodox Church]. <https://weibo.com/u/3100208283>

**中文题目:**

## **中国东正教会现状与前途**

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**摘要:**三百多年前俄罗斯传教士把东正教带到中国。他们努力的结果为中华自主东正教教会的形成。然而还没成熟的教会机体的发展因文化革命很不幸被中断了。目前俄罗斯东正教会作出努力把中华自主东正教教会情况正常化,包括全国在法律上的承认。选定的方案受中国政府的认可,可以看到逐渐的发展,但未来还有很多事情等着去做。

**关键词:**东正教在中国、中华自主东正教教会、俄罗斯东正教传教团、第一位被祝圣中国东正教司祭、阿尔巴津人

中西经典与圣经

**Chinese and Western Classics and the Bible**



# **The Book “Conversations in the Assembly of Angels” (天神会课) by N. Bichurin as the First Experience of Creating an Orthodox Religious Text in Chinese**

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**Abstract:** This paper presents a survey of the first Orthodox book in Chinese, issued in 1811 in China by member of the 9<sup>th</sup> Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing (1807-1821)-Nikita Bichurin. Five copies of this book are held in the Oriental department of the Scientific Library in St. Petersburg State University. The author examines bibliographical characteristics of these copies, discusses some circumstances of the book's creation, including its purposes and textual basis, structure and language features. The main stress is put on the specific ways and methods used by Bichurin for introducing Christian terminology to Chinese people.

**Key words:** Hyacinth, Catechism, Orthodox missionaries, Brancati, translation issues

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## **I . Bibliographical Characteristics of the Copies of “Conversations in the Assembly of Angels” Collected in St. Petersburg University**

In this paper the author will deal with a book found by him in the Fund of Rare Oriental Books at the Oriental Department of the Maxim Gorky Scientific Library of St. Petersburg State University. Usually the Department is simply known as the “The Oriental Faculty's Library at SPbSU” or “The Library of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies at SPbSU”. In the paper we may occasionally use each of these names.

The book's name according to its title page is “Tian shen hui ke” (天神会课, “Conversations in the Assembly of Angels”). It is available in five exemplars in the Library and each exemplar has biographical

characteristics as follows<sup>[1]</sup>. The book is located under three Library Position Codes: 1) BY-212 (a, b, c); 2) Xyl. 134; 3) Xyl. 1031. The letters “a”, “b” and “c” in the first code indicate that the book in the place “BY212” is stored in three exemplars. The book is written in Chinese. Its author is also mentioned on the title page, where we can read such words: “Respectfully engraved by the Great Father Hyacinth” (originally “Da shen fu yi a qin te jing ke” 大神父乙阿钦特敬刻). There are no signs of the place and time of publishing on the book. Obviously, the method of its publication is woodcut block print—this can be seen due to the traces of wood fiber on the color. The book’s size is 27,4 cm in height and 17 cm in width. One exemplar is without cover, one has a cover of thin pink paper, and the last three have a cover made of loose yellow paper. Each exemplar is stitched with a thin black thread in twelve places and consists of 28 sheets. The paper of sheets is rice thin Chinese. Each sheet is doubled as it was usual for Chinese xylographs and each one has a frame. The frame’s size is 18 cm X 26 cm. One side of a sheet has eight strokes of Chinese characters; the strokes are divided by black lines. One stroke has place enough for 16 characters. In the place of folding of the sheets there are indications of the book’s title, as well as a turned down black fish tail, titles of the chapters and sheet numbers. Seven half sheets contain different pictures with black images of flowers. Three exemplars belongs to the Chinese books collection of Russian sinologist and academician Vasily P. Vasiliev (Chinese name is Wangxili, 王西里, 1818-1900), stored separately in the Library. This book is also available in 129 exemplars in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts by Russian Academy of Science at St. Petersburg (the book’s Position Numbers are: D598, E122, E211, E974, E986)<sup>[2]</sup> and one exemplar can be found in the Russian State Library in Moscow (with the Position Cipher: 3B2-4-145-0).

## II. “Tian shen hui ke” and Its Historical Backgrounds

“Tian shen hui ke” is supposed to be the earliest Orthodox Catechism, written in the Chinese language. Some materials about the Catechism are discussed in works by Russian researchers Inna P. Karezina (Карезина И. П.)<sup>[3]</sup> and Alexander N. Khokhlov (Хохлов А. Н., 1929)<sup>[4]</sup>. In this paper we would like to put together all the information, which is related to the Catechism and which is available. Exactly we would

[1] The description of the book is available in Russian and Chinese. See: Завидовская Е. А., Маяцкий Д. И. Описание собрания китайских книг академика В. П. Васильева в фондах Восточного отдела Научной библиотеки Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета. С.-Петербург: Студия НП-Принт, 2012. 314 с. (Yekaterina A. Zavidovskaya, Dmitri I. Maiatckii, Catalog of the collection of Chinese books by Academician V. P. Vasiliev in the funds of the Oriental Department of the Scientific Library by the St. Petersburg State University, (St. Petersburg: Studio NP-Print, 2012), p. 314).

[2] See: Каталог фонда китайских ксилографов Института Востоковедения АН СССР. Т. 1-3. Москва: Восточная литература, 1973. Т. 2. С. 424-425 (Catalog of Chinese xylograph fund in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences USSR, vol. 2, (Moscow: Oriental Literature, 1973), p. 424-425).

[3] See: Карезина И. П. Тянь-шэнь хуй кэ // Духовная культура Китая: энциклопедия; в 5 т. Т. 2. Мифология. Религия. Под ред. М. Л. Титаренко и др. - Москва: Восточная литература, 2007. С. 621-622 (Inna P. Karezina, Tian shen hui ke; Spiritual culture of China, Encyclopedia in 5 volumes, vol. 2, Mythology. Religion, Ed. by Titarenko M. L. and others, (Moscow: Oriental literature, 2007), pp. 621-622); Inna P. Karezina, Conversation of the Angels, [http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/index\\_en.html](http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/index_en.html), 22. 10. 2017; Inna P. Karezina, Chinese Catechism of Fr. Francesco Brancato as a source of catechesis of Archimandrite Iakinf (Bichurin), [http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/20060926historycatech\\_en.htm](http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/20060926historycatech_en.htm), 22. 10. 2017.

[4] See: Хохлов А. Н. Российская православная миссия в Пекине и китайские переводы христианских книг // Китайское языкознание. VIII Международная конференция. Москва: Институт языкознания РАН, 1996. С. 160-164 (Aleksander N. Khokhlov, Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing and the Chinese translations of Christian books; Chinese linguistics, VIII International Conference, (Moscow: Institute of linguistics, Russian Academy of Science, 1996), pp. 160-164).

like to examine the historical background of the book’s appearance, to investigate its text and to understand the method of Bichurin for explanation of Orthodox Christianity by the means of the Chinese language.

As we already mentioned above, the book “Tian shen hui ke” was prepared by Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin (Russian name: Никита Яковлевич Бичурин; Chinese name<sup>[5]</sup>: Nijita Yakefulieweiqi Biqulinq 尼基塔·雅科夫列维奇·比丘林, 1777-1853). This man is better known as Archimandrite Hyacinth, or Iakinf (Russian: Иакинф; Chinese: Yiaqinte 乙阿钦特/ Yajing 雅经). He was the head of the 9<sup>th</sup> Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing (1807-1821) and is regarded in Russia as one of fathers of Russian sinology.

There are a lot of monographs and papers devoted to Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing (1685-1954). Mainly they are in Russian, but there are also some materials in English<sup>[6]</sup>. Russian sinologist and historian of the mission, Professor Ksenia Kepping (1937-2002), who was a niece of the 20<sup>th</sup> leader of the Mission in Beijing Victor Sviatin (о. Виктор, Леонид Викторович Святин, 1893-1966), says that the Russian missionaries themselves considered the year of 1685 to be the starting point for their history in China<sup>[7]</sup>. That year more than hundred of Russian prisoners of war (“Albazinians”) were trapped to China during military conflicts between China and Russia in the Amur region in the 1680s. Among them there was an Orthodox priest Maksim Leontiev (? -1711/1712). These people were settled near Dongzhimen in Beijing and included into the guard of Kangxi emperor. After the death of Maksim Leontiev Russian government reached with the Chinese government an agreement to sent Orthodox Missions to China regularly. The Missions were obliged to provide religious services for descendants of Albazinians. At the same time their members were instructed to study the Chinese and Manchurian languages, as well as different spheres of Chinese life.

Russian missionaries, unlike the Catholic ones, till the second half of nineteenth century did not spread the Christianity among the Chinese and the Manchus, especially since they did not participate in court intrigues. The organizer of the Missions Peter the Great (1682-1725) once wrote instructions in his letter to the missionaries: “Just for God’s sake be careful do not anger both the Chinese authorities and the Jesuits, who already have their own nest there for a long time”<sup>[8]</sup>. The Mission was limited only to maintaining the faith among the Albazinians, carrying out diplomatic assignments of the Russian government, giving shelter and assisting Russian merchant caravans, studying Chinese and Manchu languages. Due to these features, the Qing government treated it with loyalty. The Orthodox Mission has escaped the persecution by the Chinese authorities against Christians.

Even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the missionaries themselves did not believe that China would ever become a

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[5] This and two following Chinese names are mentioned in the paper “俄国汉语研究概况 Eguo hanxue yanjiu gaikuang”, issued by Irina F. Popova (See: 波波娃 Irina F. Popova, “俄国汉语研究概况” Eguo hanyu yanjiu gaikuang [General situation in the study of China in Russia]; 东亚文化交涉研究 Higashi ajia bunka ko;sho;ken’kyu; [Cultural communication in East Asia], Vol. 8 (大阪 Osaka: 関西大学文化交渉学教育研究拠点 Kansai daigaku bunka ko;sho;gaku kyo;iku ken’kyu;kyo ten [Kansai University Cultural Interaction Studies Education Research Base], 2012), p. 160.

[6] For the first period of the Mission see: Eric Widmer, *The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking During the Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 262 p.

[7] See: Кепинг К. Судьба Российской Духовной миссии в Китае. Последние статьи и документы. С. -Петербург: Омега, 2003. С. 242 (Ksenia Kepping, *The Fate of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, The last papers and documents*, (St. Petersburg: Omega, 2003), p. 242).

[8] See: Краткая история российской духовной миссии в Китае. М., СПб, 2006. С. 13-14 (Bei-guan. *A brief History of Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China*, (Moscow and St. Petersburg: Alliance-Archeo, 2006), p. 13-14).

Christian state. Service in Beijing for them was looked upon as a heavy duty or exile<sup>[9]</sup>. The missionaries still were rejecting the methods of active preaching used by Western missionaries and believed that Orthodoxy's "peculiarity is not to impose moral chains upon the souls of people to bind them to church"<sup>[10]</sup>.

A member of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Missions (1879-1896) Father Alexiy Vinogradov (Александр Николаевич Виноградов, 1845-1919) characterized remarkably the specifics of Russian missionaries in comparison with Western participants: "The English and American Missionaries are greatly concerned with preaching, teaching, organizing schools, distribution of all sorts of books and manuals among the people. . . But the Russians, placed in the position of Missionaries among the Chinese, focus on Church Service, the performance of the sacraments. . ." <sup>[11]</sup>. He also noted: "... a great obstacle to acquaintance with the activities of foreign Missionaries is the ignorance of their languages by the Russian Missionaries, as well as foreign Missionary magazines and books devoted to the study of China and other countries of the East"<sup>[12]</sup>.

According to the opinion of many specialists in the history of Russian Missions in Beijing, the reasons of low activity in preaching Christianity in China also had the deep ties with the special tasks determined by Russian government and was also influenced by poor financing of the Mission. Russian historian Vladimir Datsishen wrote about the 11<sup>th</sup> Mission: "Despite the formal status of a missionary institutions, the main tasks assigned to them in St. Petersburg were 'facilitating with the help of them relations with Beijing, to maintain and consolidate existing with China peaceful and trade relations and to averse all that could damage the benefits and interests of Russia in its affairs in that region' ..."<sup>[13]</sup>. In fact the same applies to all other missions. For example, Vladimir Datsishen notes that the chief of the 13<sup>th</sup> Mission Archimandrite Palladiy Kafarov (о. Палладий, Петр Иванович Кафаров, 1817-1878), mainly dealt with political issues<sup>[14]</sup>. In the end, it turns out that the government only used the mission for its own purposes, and the Holy Synod, which also obeyed the authorities, was also not particularly interested in missionary activity. This situation gives the right to some modern authors<sup>[15]</sup> to assert that the Russian missionaries did not preach at all<sup>[16]</sup>, but that is not entirely justified, since they spiritually nourishing their flock, translated religious literature, including liturgical books and the Bible. And when in 19<sup>th</sup> century the missionaries started their active translation work the flock begun to grow gradually, especially by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to historians the quantity of flock during the 18<sup>th</sup> century decreased till 35 people (figure for the year of 1810<sup>[17]</sup>). On the

[9] Дацьшен В. Г. История Российской духовной миссии в Китае. Гонконг: Православное Братство святых Первоверховных апостолов Петра и Павла, 2010. С. 108 (Vladimir Datsishen, History of Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China, (Xianggang: Orthodox Brotherhood of Saints Apostles Peter and Paul, 2010), p. 108.

[10] Ibid., 213.

[11] Ibid., 215.

[12] Ibid., 215.

[13] Ibid., 177.

[14] Ibid., 184.

[15] For example, Petr Scatchkov and Zhang Sui. See: Скачков П. Е. Очерки истории русского китаеведения. М.: Наука, 1977 (Petr Ye. Scatchkov, Essays on the history of Russian sinology, (Moscow: Science, 1977); 张绥 Zhang Sui, 《东正教和东正教在中国》 Dongzhengjiao he dongzhengjiao zai Zhongguo [Orthodox and Orthodox Church in China], (上海 Shanghai: 学林出版社 Xueshu chubanshe [Science Press], 1986). Chinese authors usually has the same point of view as Zhang Sui.

[16] We should also to note, that the preaching of Christianity was strictly prohibited till 1858. Catholics and Protestants by their activities violated Chinese laws. Russian missionaries did not.

[17] Скачков П. Е. Очерки истории русского китаеведения. Москва: Наука, 1977. С. 91 (Petr Ye. Scatchkov, Essays on the history of Russian sinology, (Moscow: Science, 1977), p. 91.



other side by the year of 1900 the number of parishioners increased up to 450 persons<sup>[18]</sup>. This change was related with translation activities of Guriy Karpov (1814-1882) and his followers.

Nevertheless Russian people made some attempts to translate Orthodox books into Manchurian or Chinese several decades before Guriy Karpov. The first translator of Russian Orthodox book in China was participant of the 8<sup>th</sup> mission - Stepan Lipovtsev (1772-1841). He since 1794 till 1808 carried out the translation of the New Testament into the Manchurian language<sup>[19]</sup>. However, he did this without official permission of the Holy Synod. Nevertheless, the translation was adopted and published by the British and Foreign Biblical Society. Subsequently, this book was used by Protestant missionaries in their schools and for preaching in Manchuria<sup>[20]</sup>.

"Tian shen hui ke" by N. Bichurin, as we mentioned above, was chronologically the first experience of creating an Orthodox religious text by Russian missionaries in Chinese.

By the time of Bichurin's arriving at Beijing the descendants of Albazinians already did not know the Russian language and had a very simple understanding of the Orthodox teaching<sup>[21]</sup>. Historian of Orthodox Missions father Nikolay Adoratskiy (1849-1896) wrote that these people gradually assimilated with Chinese people and even began to practice Chinese believes. For the needs of the flock still keeping connections with the Mission, Archimandrite Iakinf compiled the short catechism "Tian shen hui ke" in Chinese and published it in 1810 in 400 copies<sup>[22]</sup>. Later this book was translated into Russian in the College of Foreign Affairs by S. V. Lipovtsov (1770-1841) for submission to the Holy Synod (1814). The title of the translation is "Orthodox teaching" (《Православное учение》) and it is stored now in the Russian National Library (Department of Manuscripts, Fund 1457, № 24)<sup>[23]</sup>.

According to reports by Iakinf, during 1808-1809, in addition to translating the brief catechism, the

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[18] Дмитренко А. А. Перевод духовной литературы как основа проповеди христианства в Китае / Проблемы литератур Дальнего Востока. Сборник материалов VII Международной научной конференции. 29 июня-3 июля 2016. С. -Петербург: Студия НП-Принт, 2016. Т. 2. С. 32. (Alexander A. Dmitrenko, Translation of Cathetical Literature as Basis for Preaching Christianity in China: Issues of Far Eastern Literatures. Book of papers of the 7<sup>th</sup> International scientific conference. June 29-July 3, 2016, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Studio NP-Print, 2016), p. 32).

[19] Виноградов А. Китайская библиотека и ученые труды членов Императорской Российской Духовной и Дипломатической миссии в г. Пекине, или Бэй-Цзине (в Китае). С приложением каталога, чертежей и рисунков. С. -Петербург: Типография братьев Пантелеевых, 1889. С. 26 (Aleksiy Vinogradov, Chinese library and scholarly works of members of the Imperial Russian Ecclesiastical and Diplomatic Mission in Beijing, or Beijing (in China). With the application of the catalog, drawings and drawings, (St. Petersburg: Pantelev brothers Press, 1889), p. 29).

[20] Поздняев Д. Актуальность переводов православной литературы на китайский язык (D. Pzdniev, The urgency of translating orthodox literature into Chinese, <https://pravoslavie.fm/articles/aktualnost-perevodov-pravoslavnoy-literaturi-na-kitayskii-yazik/>, 15. 11. 2017.

[21] Адоратский Н. Отец Иакинф Бичурин (Исторический этюд) // Православный собеседник, 1886. С. 166. (Adoratskiy N., Father Iakinf Bichurin (Historical sketch); Orthodox interlocutor, (Kazan, 1886), p. 166).

[22] See: Карезина И. П. Тянь-шэнь хуй кэ // Духовная культура Китая: энциклопедия: в 5 т. Т. 2. Мифология. Религия. Под ред. М. Л. Титаренко и др. - Москва: Восточная литература, 2007. С. 621-622 (Inna P. Karezina, Tian shen hui ke; Spiritual culture of China, Encyclopedia in 5 volumes, vol. 2, Mythology. Religion, Ed. by Titarenko M. L. and others, (Moscow: Oriental literature, 2007), pp. 621-622); Inna P. Karezina, Conversation of the Angels, [http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/index\\_en.html](http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/index_en.html), 22. 10. 2017; Inna P. Karezina, Chinese Catechism of Fr. Francesco Brancato as a source of catechesis of Archimandrite Iakinf (Bichurin), [http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/20060926historycatech\\_en.htm](http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/20060926historycatech_en.htm), 22. 10. 2017; Хохлов А. Н. Российская православная миссия в Пекине и китайские переводы христианских книг // Китайское языкознание. VIII Международная конференция. Москва: Иститут языкознания РАН, 1996. С. 160-164 (Aleksander N. Khokhlov, Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing and the Chinese translations of Christian books; Chinese linguistics, VIII International Conference, (Moscow: Institute of linguistics, Russian Academy of Science, 1996), p. 161).

[23] The translation was published in: Архив российской китаистики. Сост. А. И. Кобзев. Т. III. М., 2016. С. 311-364 (Archive of Russian sinology, compiled by Artem I. Kobzev, vol. 3 (Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies at Russian academy of Sciences, 2016), p. 311-364).

Archimandrite was also engaged in translating the Greek-Russian Orthodox teaching, a brief sacred history and “some peaces from the liturgy into Chinese, so as to gradually introduce these materials by the mean of local language, which is necessary for the education of the Albazinian descendants, who sincerely wished to become Christian”<sup>[24]</sup>.

### III. Source Basis of “Tian shen hui ke” by Bichurin

Inna Karezina and Alexander Dmitrenko wrote in their works, the Catechism by N. Bichurin was prepared on the basis of the catechism with the same title-“Tian shen hui ke” (天神会课, “Conversations in the Assembly of Angels”) by the Jesuit missionary Francesco Brancati (Chinese name Fan Guoguang 潘国光, 1607-1671)<sup>[25]</sup>.

Francesco Brancati preached in Suzhou, Songjiang and Shanghai. During his service in Shanghai issued several catechisms, including “Tian shen hui ke” (1661) for children. Later this catechism was published again in Beijing (1739)<sup>[26]</sup>. The text of the second edition was partly translated into Russian by Alexey L. Leontiev (Алексей Леонтьевич Леонтьев, 1716-1786)-the book was issued in 1781 in St. Petersburg by the Russian Academy of Science under the Russian title 《Тянь шинь ко, то есть Ангельская беседа》 (“Tian shen ke, or the Angel’s Conversation”). This book is available in the Library of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies (Book Position number is; CII-1150).

Why did Iakinf use the Catechism by catholic monk? There could be some reasons. The first reason was by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Catholic Mission had got reach experience in popularizing of Christianity in China. The famous historian of the Bichurin’s life professor Petr V. Denisov wrote in his book that N. Bichurin was instructed to establish contacts with the Catholics and to study their preaching methods<sup>[27]</sup>. As a result the Russian Archimandrite made friends with the rector of the Southern Monastery of the Portuguese mission Ribeiro and his companion father Constant Pereira. Thanks to them he got access to the library of the Portuguese mission<sup>[28]</sup>. There he could read many works by European sinologists. Maybe he chose the book by Brancati, because its language does not contain complicated religious terms. The book is comparatively easy for understanding by non-Christian people as it was adopted for children. Moreover, after

[24] Ibid., 59.

[25] See: Карезина И. П. Тянь-шэнь хуй кэ // Духовная культура Китая: энциклопедия; в 5 т. Т. 2. Мифология. Религия. Под ред. М. Л. Титаренко и др. - Москва; Восточная литература, 2007. С. 621-622 (Inna P. Karezina, Tian shen hui ke; Spiritual culture of China, Encyclopedia in 5 volumes, vol. 2, Mythology. Religion, Ed. by Titarenko M. L. and others, (Moscow; Oriental literature, 2007), pp. 621-622); Inna P. Karezina, Conversation of the Angels, [http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/index\\_en.html](http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/index_en.html), 22. 10. 2017; Inna P. Karezina, Chinese Catechism of Fr. Francesco Brancati as a source of catechesis of Archimandrite Iakinf (Bichurin), [http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/20060926historycatech\\_en.htm](http://www.orthodox.cn/catechesis/tianshenhuike/20060926historycatech_en.htm), 22. 10. 2017; Дмитренко А. А. Перевод духовной литературы как основа проповеди христианства в Китае // Проблемы литератур Дальнего Востока. Сборник материалов VII Международной научной конференции. 29 июня-3 июля 2016. С. -Петербург: Студия НП-Принт, 2016. Т. 2. С. 32 (Alexander A. Dmitrenko, Translation of Cathetical Literature as Basis for Preaching Christianity in China; Issues of Far Eastern Literatures. Book of papers of the 7<sup>th</sup> International scientific conference, June 29-July 3, 2016, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg; Studio NP-Print, 2016), p. 32).

[26] This book is stored in two copies in the Oriental Department of the SPbSU Library. One is xylograph (Xyl. 133), another one is manuscript (Xyl. 912).

[27] See: Денисов П. В. Слово о монахе Бичурине. Чебоксары, 2007. С. 51 (Petr V. Denisov, About father Bichurin (Ceboksary, 2007), p. 51).

[28] Ibid., 78.

two years of living in China Bichurin could still did not have enough knowledge in Chinese. Russian missionaries did not have good dictionaries of Chinese that time. Only by the time of finishing his mission Bichurin prepared the fullest dictionary.

Maybe because N. Bichurin used the book of Jesuits and published it under the same title (“Tian shen hui ke”), it was soon prohibited by the Chinese government<sup>[29]</sup>. The information about this accident is depicted in two sources. First of all, one of the exemplars of Bichurin’s Catechism stored in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts at St. Petersburg contains a handmade writing in Russian: “Orthodox Catechism in Chinese, organized in questions and answers. Printed in 1810 or 1811 in Beijing by hieromonk Iakinf. Was prohibited and withdrawn by the local authorities”. On the other hand the same information was written on a copy of Catechism available in Rome. In 2002 a monk Albert Chan published a catalogue “Chinese books and documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome; descriptive catalogue” (罗马耶稣会档案处藏汉和图书文献 Luoma Yesuhui danganchu cang Hanhe tushu wenxian: 目录提要 Mulu tiyao), where he describes Chinese books and manuscripts in the Jesuits collection. Albert Chan mentions there the book by Bichurin (Book’s number: II, 170) and gives the inscription made in French on the cover of the book: 《Catéchisme de la / Religion Grecque / publié à Pekin par / l’Archimandrite Russe / Hyacinthe / Les planches de cet ouvrage / ont été détruites par ordre / de gouvernement chinois》 (The Catechism of the Greek Confession, published by Russian Archimandrite Iakinf. Printed boards of this work were destroyed by order of the Chinese government)<sup>[30]</sup>.

#### IV. Features of Structure and Christian Text in “Tian shen hui ke” by N. Bichurin

The Catechism by N. Bichurin consists of “Contents” (Page 1b) and five chapters: “Sheng jiao yao li liu duan” (圣教要理六端, English: “The six essential doctrines of the Church”, Pages 2a-3b), “Sheng jiao yao li wen da” (圣教要理问答, English: “Questions and answers on the essence of the Church’s doctrine”, Pages 4a-14b), “Tian zhu shi jie wen da” (天主十诫问答, English: “Questions and answers on the Ten Commandments of the Lord”, Pages 15a-19b), “Tian zhu jing jie” (天主经解, English: “Explanation of the Lord’s Prayer”, Pages 20a-23a) and “Tian shen hui gui”<sup>[31]</sup> (天神会规, English: “Precepts of the Church with explanation”, Pages 24a-28b). If we compare this structure with the Contents in Brancati’s book, we will find that two parts in it are of absolutely the same title (Chapter 1 “Sheng jiao yao li liu duan” 圣教要理六端 and Chapter 7 “Tian zhu jing jie” 天主经解) and two parts are of similar titles (Chapter 10 “Tian zhu shi jie jie” 天主十诫解 and Chapter 11 “Sheng jiao si gui jie” 圣教四规解). Generally speaking the manner of questions and answers was borrowed by Father Iakinf too.

[29] The Catholic Church was banned since 1724 till 1844. See: Ломанов А. В. Христианство и китайская культура. М., 2002. С. 247 (Lomanov A. V., Christianity and Chinese culture (Moscow: Oriental literature, 2002), p. 247).

[30] Chan, Albert, Chinese books and documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome; descriptive catalogue (罗马耶稣会档案处藏汉和图书文献 Luoma Yesuhui danganchu cang Hanhe tushu wenxian: 目录提要 Mulu tiyao), (New York, London: Sharpe, 2002), p. 461. See pdf of this book on the Google-Books; [https://books.google.ru/books?id=yP0vCgAAQBAJ&pg=PT667&lpg=PT667&dq=%E4%B9%99%E9%98%BF%E6%AC%BD%E7%89%B9+%E5%A4%A9%E7%A5%9E%E6%9C%83%E8%AA%B2&source=bl&ots=ZQLRsEi8HK&sig=RjFlzci4Q8iTOChqYRyLPjeWIEM&hl=ru&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjB3Jnlrt\\_WAhXBQpoKHYCeA44Q6AEINDAC#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.ru/books?id=yP0vCgAAQBAJ&pg=PT667&lpg=PT667&dq=%E4%B9%99%E9%98%BF%E6%AC%BD%E7%89%B9+%E5%A4%A9%E7%A5%9E%E6%9C%83%E8%AA%B2&source=bl&ots=ZQLRsEi8HK&sig=RjFlzci4Q8iTOChqYRyLPjeWIEM&hl=ru&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjB3Jnlrt_WAhXBQpoKHYCeA44Q6AEINDAC#v=onepage&q&f=false), 22. 10. 2017).

[31] On the 24<sup>th</sup> page (side “a”) the chapter has a different title-“Sheng jiao hui ding gui jie” (圣教会定规解, “Explanation of the main principles of the Holy Church”).

German orientalists Julius Heinrich Klaproth (1783-1835) in 1831 published an article “Note sur le catéchisme chinois intitulé Thian chin hoei kho” (“Some notes on the Chinese catechism entitled Tian shen hui ke”)<sup>[32]</sup>, where he asserts, that the text by N. Bichurin was in fact compiled on the basis of two Chinese-language catechisms of Catholic authors. Particularly, chapters 1, 3-5 are the variations of Brancati’s Catechism<sup>[33]</sup>. While writing the second chapter, the author used the “Petit Catéchisme des missionnaires catholiques de Péking”<sup>[34]</sup> (Brief Catechism of Catholic Missionaries in Beijing), which probably was lost.

Let’s have a look at the first chapter of the book by Bichurin. It deals with the six principles of the fundamental dogmas in the Christian religion. The first and second of these principles were word for word taken from the work by Brancati. For the third one, text of the Sicilian Jesuit and that of the Russian Archimandrite are almost the same. The only difference is Bichurin used the words “**圣父 Shengfu**” (“The Holy Father”), “**圣子 Shengzi**” (“The Holy Son”) and “**圣神 Shengshen**” (The Holy Spirit) instead of “**罢德肋 Badele**” (Latin “Patrem”, or “Father”), “**费略 Feilue**” (Latin “Filius”, or “Son”) and “**斯彼利多三多 Sibiliduosanduo**” (“Spiritus Sanctus”, or “Saint Spirit”), that transcribed original Latin word in Chinese characters. These words are replaced in the whole Catechism by N. Bichurin.

We can see, Iakinf attached great importance to terminology. Catholic preachers preferred to transcribe the basic concepts of the Christian faith. Bichurin, believing that this would lead to a distortion of the teaching, insisted on the preferability of the translation. There is another example of such his strategy—the concept of “Church” is given in Brancati’s book by hieroglyphs “**厄格勒西亚**”<sup>[35]</sup> (Ecclesia), but Iakinf uses a term “**圣教会 Sheng jiaohui**” (“Christian assembly”).

The fifth and sixth principles are completely identical, as will be seen from the following passages, demonstrating. For the readers convenient we will select similar words in bold in both of the passages. The words replaced by Bichurin are highlighted in color.

Text by N. Bichurin:

### 圣教要理六端

人欲进天主圣教先该明圣教要理六端

第一该明未有天地之先有一大主宰从无而生天地万物又恒保护所生之物令各得其所而常为之主宰

第二该明天主赏善罚恶审判生死者

第三该明一个天主有三位曰圣父曰圣子曰圣神三位共是一性一体无大小先后之别

第四该明第二位圣子降生为人为救我万民自甘受难被钉十字架死第三日复活第四十日升天

第五该明人灵魂有始无终常在不灭人得天主宠祐在生为善身后天主赐其升天堂享无穷之福不得天主宠祐在生为恶身后天主罚其下地狱受无穷之苦

[32] Klaproth J., Note sur l’abrégé du catéchisme chinoise intitulé Thian chin hoei kho, publié à Peking par l’archimandrite Hyacinthe Bitchourin; Nouveau journal asiatique, ou Recueil de Memoires, D’Extraits et de Notices, tome 8 (Paris, 1831), p. 66-80. See the whole text of this book on the Google-Books: <https://books.google.ru/books?id=uumzFCxleVMC&pg=PA72&lpg=PA72&dq=Petit+Cat%C3%A9chisme+des+missionnaires+catholiques+de+P%C3%A9king&source=bl&ots=SiqRLEqig2&sig=MlefxUyHJ7CbYXABMcoGZ-uXayE&hl=ru&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjE14WM9ubWAhWLO5oKHd3LAUcQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=Petit%20Cat%C3%A9chisme%20des%20missionnaires%20catholiques%20de%20P%C3%A9king&f=false>.

[33] Ibid., 72.

[34] Ibid., 73.

[35] 见 See; 潘国光 Pan Guoguang 1739:《天神会课》Tianshen huikē [Conversations in the Assembly of Angels], 第 26 页。

第六该明天下设教者最多惟天主教至公至正能使人得天上之福免地狱之苦所以天下万民皆当奉事真主以救己灵魂若恃自己力量必不能为善立功不能上升必致下坠所以凡人必须天主宠佑又须自己勉行<sup>[36]</sup>

Text by F. Brancati:

### 圣教要理六端

问:人欲进天主教。该行何礼。

答:先该明白圣教要理。后该读熟。圣教经言。

问:圣教经言。有几种。

答:当紧者。有七种。(一)圣号经。(二)天主经。(三)圣母经。(四)信经。(五)悔罪经。(六)天主十诫。(七)圣教四规。

问:圣教要理。该明几端。

答:该明六端。

第一。该明未有天地之先。有一大主宰。从无而生天地万物。又恒保护所生之物。令各得其所。而常为之主宰。

第二。该明天主赏善罚恶。审判生死者。

第三。该明一个天主。有三位。曰罢德肋。曰费略。曰斯彼利多三多。三位共是一性一体。无大小先后之别。

第四。该明第二位费略。降生为人。为救我万民。自其受难。被钉十字架死。第三日复活。第四十日升天。

第五。该明人灵魂。有始无终。常在不灭。人得天主宠佑。在生为善。身后。天主赐其升天堂。享无穷之福。不得天主宠佑。在生为恶。身后。天主罚其下地狱。受无穷之苦。

第六。该明天下设教者最多。惟天主教。至公至正。能使人得天上之福。免地狱之苦。所以天下万民。皆当奉事天主。以救己灵魂。若恃自己力量。必能为善立功。不能上升。必致下坠。所以凡人必须天主宠佑。又须自己勉行。<sup>[37]</sup>

[36] 见 See:乙阿钦特 Yiaqinte 1810:《天神会课》Tianshen huike [Conversations in the Assembly of Angels],北京 Beijing,第2-3页.

[37] 见 See:潘国光 Pan Guoguang 1739:《天神会课》Tianshen huike [Conversations in the Assembly of Angels],第1-2页.

In the third Chapter Bichurin, while copying the Decalogue of Fr. Brancati, changed some word and commandments :

N. Bichurin;	Fr. Brancati;
一 钦崇一天主万物之上 You shall serve to the single Lord, who is above all the things in the world	一。钦崇一天主万有之上。 You shall serve to the single Lord, who is above all the things existing in the world
二 毋拜土木之像 You shall not make for yourself a graven image	二。毋呼天主圣名以发虚誓。 You shall not take the name of the Lord in vain
三 毋呼天主名以设发虚誓 You shall not take the name of the Lord in vain	三。守贍礼之日。 Keep holy the day of rituals
四 守贍礼之日 Keep holy the day of rituals	四。孝敬父母。 Honor your father and your mother
五 孝敬父母 Honor your father and your mother	五。毋杀人。 You shall not kill
六 毋杀人 You shall not kill	六。毋行邪淫。 You shall not commit adultery
七 毋行邪淫 You shall not commit adultery	七。毋偷盗。 You shall not steal
八 毋偷盗 You shall not steal	八。毋妄证。 You shall not testify falsely
九 毋妄证 You shall not testify falsely	九。毋愿他人妻。 You shall not covet your neighbor's wife
十 毋愿他人妻亦毋贪他人财物 You shall not covet your neighbor's wife, or anything that is your neighbor's	十。毋贪他人财物。 You shall not covet your neighbor's property

The numbering of the Decalogue's commandments is brought into line with the Orthodox tradition. In the interpretation of the second commandment, Bichurin, like Brancati, claims that a fortune-telling practice breaks this commandment.

In the first statement Bichurin put the word 物 ( things of the world) instead of 有 ( existing things). In the second one he insert a new statement ( 毋拜土木之像), missing in the Brancati's Decalogue. For this reason the following sequence of commandments is subsequently shifted in numbering. In the third statement Bichurin inserts a new word 设 ( to establish). In the seventh he changes a character 淫 yin into 媼 yao of the similar sense. Finally, he divides the tenth Brancati's commandment into two parts.

In other chapters N. Bichurin significantly reduced the text by Brancati and brought it into line with the Orthodox tradition. The Orthodox missionary did not need to make corrections of a dogmatic nature, since the text intended for children was not overloaded with theological provisions. For the explanation of Faith Brancati used not the Nicene-Constantinople' Creed, but the Apostles' Creed. The last one does not contain the dogmas of consubstantiality, of the procession of the Holy Spirit etc. Bichurin, if possible, tried to bring the text closer to the Nike-Constantinople exposition.

Thus, in the 5th Article of the Creed, the Archimandrite deemed it necessary to omit the Descent into Hell, since it is not mentioned in the Nicene-Constantinople symbol of the Faith. In the ninth Article, for the same reason, "effective communication of the saints" is omitted. In the tenth Article, the Archimandrite adds the mention of baptism, which is not mentioned in the text of the Apostles' Creed.

## V. Conclusion

The examples we used above shows us the book by N. Bichurin was indeed written mainly on the basis of the Brancati’s book. Bichurin borrowed some structure organization and pieces of text. But he did few changes, when they were related to different approaches in Catholic and Orthodox Church. At the same time N. Bichurin tried not to transcribe Christian terms as the Jesuits did, but was seeking for language equivalents, supposed by him to fit more.

Maybe the Russian Holy Synod approved the Bichurin’s practice of processing the texts by Catholic missionaries and recommended it for further works. The terms of the Bichurin’s Catechism, which were borrowed from Brancati or found by Russian author, appear in the later catechisms and Christian books issued by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission-especially by Father Guriy Карпов (Григорий Платонович Карпов, 1814-1882).

**中文题目:**

**比丘林的《天神会课》——东正教传教士用中文创造宗教文本的初次经历**

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**提要:**本文探讨俄罗斯东正教第九届北京传道团的成员比丘林与一八一一年在北京出版的东正教文本的最早的中文翻译。该书的五分藏在圣彼得堡大学的东方系图书馆。笔者对此书进行书目描述。再研究有关本书的各种问题,包括创造情况、书的基础结构与术语翻译的特点。笔者着重研究译者运用什么样的方法表达东正教大意。

**关键词:**乙阿钦特、教理问答、东正教传教士、潘国光、翻译研究



# The Orthodox Catechism in the Manchu Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences

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**Abstract:** The Christian texts in the Manchu and Chinese languages were mostly written by the Jesuit fathers in Beijing. Those were translations of Catholic works, prayer books and several known catechisms. The Russian Ecclesiastic mission produced rather few religious texts. The most known is the Chinese catechism by Iakinf Bichurin, which turned to be a version of the Catholic catechism. The already published Manchu language catechisms were composed by Jesuit missionaries. This article presents an unknown Manchu language catechism from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. It was written by a member of the Russian Ecclesiastic Mission and reflects the Orthodox Greek tradition. Arranging his catechism in the usual form of questions and answers, its author made clear references to the New Testament. The Manchu manuscript seems to be a draft of a bigger work, since it bears corrections and is not complete. The available part of the manuscript deals with the questions of faith, origin of the Universe, explanation of sin and punishment, as well as the ways to revere God. The manuscript is a unique example of the Orthodox catechism, and this article presents its transliteration and English translation.

**Key words:** Russian Ecclesiastic mission, Orthodox religion, catechism, Manchu manuscript, Manchu language, Manchu translations.

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The official Russian-Chinese relations started in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> c. during the reign of the Qing dynasty in China. They are closely associated with the activities of the Russian Ecclesiastic Mission, which was established in Beijing in 1717 by the order of Peter the Great. Till 1858 (the Tianjing treaty) the Mission combined religious and diplomatic activities, as well as scholarly research in history and culture of China. The history of the Russian mission is studied in various outstanding works in Russian, European and Oriental languages, and the works of Russian missionaries based on Manchu language materials are reflected in the main bibliographic catalogues by Hartmut Walravens and Giovanni Stary.<sup>[1]</sup> The interests of the members of the Russian Ecclesiastic mission were mostly in translations of various Manchu and Chinese historical and administrative texts. We may agree with Hartmut Walravens that the Manchu language Christian

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[1] For detailed bibliography see: Rudolf Richard. C. (1909-2003), Walravens Hartmut, "Comprehensive Bibliography of Manchu Studies", *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 57 (2009), 231-494; Stary, Giovanni, *Manchu studies. An international bibliography*. Vol. 1-3, 1990, Vol. 4. 2003, Wiesbaden; Harrassowitz; vol. 5, (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Neuerwerbungen der Ostasienabteilung).

literature “is actually a synonym for Catholic works because the other denominations did not care for the language”.<sup>[2]</sup> Indeed, we have a good number of theological works in Manchu written by the Jesuit missionaries and rather few by Russians. Detailed annotated catalogues of Christian literature in Manchu were compiled almost simultaneously by Hartmut Walravens<sup>[3]</sup> and Giovanni Stary.<sup>[4]</sup> Nevertheless, there are rather few special research works on religious translations into Manchu.<sup>[5]</sup> There are several Catholic catechisms in Manchu that were studied and translated into European languages. John Mish latinized and translated into English João Soeiro’s “Sanctae legis compendium” (Abkai ejen-i enduringge tacihiyani-oyonggo gisun-“The main words of the Devine teaching of the Lord”)<sup>[6]</sup>. While Hartmut Walravens gave German translation of several Christian texts (Lord’s Prayer, Hail Mary, Credo, Decalogue) and compared the variants of Manchu translations.<sup>[7]</sup>

We can find scarce materials on Russian missionary religious activity in Manchu or Chinese. One of the detailed works belongs to Alexei Ivanovsky, who studied the history of the Russian translations of various liturgical texts into Chinese and the problems of rendering religious terms.<sup>[8]</sup> The research by I. P. Karezina and F. Pyotr Adamek on the only known catechism in Chinese by Iakinf Bichurin clearly showed that it was an abridged version of Jesuit father Francesco Brancati’s Tian shen huike 天神会课 specially adopted to the Orthodox faith.<sup>[9]</sup>

The Manchu collection of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, keeps a number of materials that belonged to the members of the Russian Ecclesiastic mission. They are mostly the copies of official correspondence between the Board of Colonial Affairs (Lifan-yuan) and the Russian Senate and Synod,<sup>[10]</sup> as well as correspondence concerning everyday life of the mission in Beijing.<sup>[11]</sup> There are only two religious texts written by the members of the of the Ecclesiastic Mission-“Christian Mysteries in Two

[2] Walravens Hartmut, “Christian Literature in Manchu. Some bibliographic notes”, *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 48 (2000), 445.

[3] Walravens Hartmut, *Ibid.*, S. 445-469.

[4] Stary Giovanni. “Christian literature in Manchu”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 44 /2 (2000), 305-316.

[5] Mende, Erling von. “Problems in translating the Bible into Manchu: Observations on Louis Poirot’s Old Testament”, in *Sowing the word. The cultural impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1804-2004*. Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004, p. 149-168; Mende, Erling von. Einige, “Bemerkungen zu den Druckausgaben des manjurischen Neuen Testaments”, *Oriente extremus*, 19 (1972), 215-222; Edkins, Josef. “Remarkable identities in words”, *China Review*, Hongkong, 24 (1899/1900), 70-71; Das Gebet des Herrn in den Sprachen Russlands. Photomechanischer Nachdruck mit Nachwort hrsg von Wolfgang Veeker. Wiesbaden; Harrassowitz, 1971 (Slavistische Studienbücher, 9); Matsumura Jun. “Manshūgo yaku no seisho nit suite”, *Tōyō bunko shohō*, 7 (1975), 37-53.

[6] Mish, John Leo. “A Catholic catechism in Manchu”, *Monumenta Serica*, 17 (1958), 361-372

[7] Walravens Hartmut, “Zu zwei katholischen Katechismen in manjurischer Sprache”, *Monumenta Serica*, 31 (1974-1975), 521-549.

[8] Ивановский Алексей (Ivanovsky Alexei), “Богослужбные книги Православной Церкви на китайском языке” [Orthodox religious service books in the Chinese language] *Китайский благовестник* [Chinese outreach], 2 (2000), 115-139.

[9] Карезина И. П. (Karezina I. P.), о. Петр Ададек (F. Pyotr Adamek), “Православный катехизис на китайском языке архимандрита Иакинфа (Бичурина)” [Orthodox catechism in the Chinese language by archimandrite Iakinf (Bichurin)], *Общество и государство в Китае. XXXVI научная конференция. К 70-летию Алексея Анатольевича Бокшанина* [State and society in China. 34<sup>th</sup> scientific conference. Dedicated to the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Alexei Anatolievich Bokshchanin]. Moscow; Nauka; Vostochnaya literature [Science; Oriental literature], 2006, 198-209. The Manchu text of Francesco Brancati’s catechism is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and Library of the Saint-Petersburg State University, see; Walravens H. “Christian Literature in Manchu”, 458.

[10] Волкова М. П. (Volkova M.) Описание маньчжурских рукописей Института народов Азии и Африки АН СССР [Description of Manchu manuscripts kept at the Institute of the Peoples of Asia and Africa, USSR AS]. Moscow; Nauka; Vostochnaya literature [Science; Oriental literature], 1965, 108-127.

[11] Пан Т. А. (Pang T. A.) “Некоторые маньчжурские документы о деятельности Пекинской Духовной миссии в XIX в.” [Some Manchu documents concerning the activities of the Ecclesiastic mission in Beijing in the 19<sup>th</sup> c.] in *Православие на Дальнем Востоке* [Orthodox in the Far East]. Issue. 4. Saint Petersburg; Saint Petersburg State University, 2004, 22-31.

Languages” ( Tainstva khristianskie na dvukh jazykakh ) and the Catechism, which Gioavanni Stary characterized as “brief compositions of Russian priests, having the character of private exercises”<sup>[12]</sup>. Having in our possession the Chinese catechism by Iakinf Bichurin and several similar Catholic texts in Manchu, we put a task to find whether our text of the catechism is a copy of the other text or an original new text.

The Manchu text of the Catechism from the Institute of Oriental manuscripts, RAS, is on 4 leaves of Chinese paper written in Chinese ink with 12 lines on a page.<sup>[13]</sup> Originally the manuscript was folded as harmonica, but the leaves were torn in process of time; the size of the first two separate folia is 22,7 × 16 cm, the third leaf remains folded, the edges of the leaves are slightly torn. On the top of the first folio is the title in Russian in blue pencil: Катехизис. In the bottom of the third folio over the Manchu text is an inscription in black ink in Russian: *Великаго дай великаго* (“give great to great”). This phrase is written in the handwriting of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, which most probably should suggest the date of this manuscript. The text of the Catechism is given in its usual form-questions and answers. All questions are marked by triangle Δ, the answers-by circle ○. On folia 1a-3b every question is written from the beginning of a line, on folia 4a-4b the questions and the answers are written together. The text has corrections and is not finished; it looks like a draft for the other serious work.

Transliteration of the Manchu text:

(1a) Δ akdambi serengge ai. /

○ akdambi serengge. uthai unenggi gūnin-i ewanggeliyo de daharangge inu. /

Δ ere ujen dorо be ya bithe de ulahabi. /

○ julgei enduringge niyalma jai Yesu enduringge sabisa-i araha bithe be baktambuha enduringge nomun de / ulahabi. geli akdaci acarara nomun de šošohobi. akdaci acara nomun-i gisun. /

+ bi. abka na. yai eiten sabura saburakū jaka be banjibuha. salafi kadalara abkai ejen ama / emke be akdambi. bi. jalan fon bisire ongolo abkai ejen ama de damu emke abkai ejen-i jui / Yesu Heristu banjija. musei ejen inu banjija be akdambi. bi elden de elden. unenggi abkai ejen de / unenggi abkai ejen banjija. jai abkai ejen amai emu beye ofi eiten jaka be banjija be akdambi. / bi muse niyalma be aitebure jalin. abkai ejen -i jui abka ci wasinjifi. enduringge enduri / enggelehede. jekdun sargan jui Maiya-i hefeli de jui taksifi banjija be akdambi //

(1b) Δ dergi weile de giyangnaha ai. /

○ abkai ejen-i bisirebe banjitali saci ojoro gingguleci acara be giyangnahabi. /

Δ damu abkai ejen-i bisire be banjitali safi ūilehe de. beyebe aitubuci ombi seme gūnimbio. /

○ gūnirakū. adarame seci. abkai ejen be banitali takafi ūilerengge. abkai ejen-i fafun šajin be / jurcerakū tuwakiyara de bi. bi serengge. abkai ejen-i tacihyan be efulere weilengge / niyalma be dahame. tuttu beyei weile be šaringgiyara encu emu jugūn baici acambi. /

Δ ere beye be aitubure oionngo arga serengge ai. /

○ beye be aitubure arga uthai Ewanggeliyo de akdarangge inu. /

Δ Ewanggeliyo serengge ai gisun.

○ Ewanggeliyo serengge. uthai mini weile be guwebure. mimbe abkai ejen-i jui-i ton de dosimbure //

[12] Stary Giovanni. “Christian Literature in Manchu”, 311.

[13] Volkova M. P. Opisanie..., N 55, call number A 144 mss

(2a) Δere akdaci acara nomun-i gûnin be giyangnarao. /

○akdaci acara nomun-i gûnin emu oci. abkai ejen-i beye emke gocime ilan soorin. / uthai banjihakû abkai ejen ama. erin bisire onggolo. gisurehe seme wajirakû doroi / abkai ejen ama de banjire abkai ejen jui. ulhici ojurakû doroi ineku / abkai ejen ama ci banjirara abkai ejen enduringge enduri inu. ere ilan soorin / umai enculerakû. doroloro ginggulere be sasa alimbi. jai. jai soorin abkai / ejen jui. niyalma ehe weile de afabuha be šari seme gosime. niyalmai yali beye de / abkai ejen-i banin be solifi. niyalma ofi banjire jakade. tuttu ere jalin de wasinjire / somishûn arga deribufi muse niyalma de ini enduringge gûnin be iletu tucibuhe. muse / niyalmai farfabuhangge be geterembufi. unenggi abkai ejen be takabuha. buye-i ici oho / mujilen be halara. endebuku aliyara be tacibufi nini gosin de ertubume bejihyehhe. // (2b) bi Pangciyo Pilatu hafan tehe fonde abkai ejen-i jui jobolon be aliha. hetu undu / mooi giyase de hadabufi bucehe. burgiha be akdambi. bi abkai ejen-i jui. nomun de / doigomšome araha gisun-i songkoi ( abkai ejen-i jui-вставлено ) ilaci inenggi dahûme weiyuhe be akdambi. bi / abkai ejen-i jui abka de wesifi. abkai ejen ama-i ici ergide tehe be akdambi / bi abkai ejen-i jui horonggo arbun-i weihun urse bucehe urse be baideme geli jidere. / jai enteheme gurun ba alire dasara be akdambi. bi ( wembure weiyubure-deleted ) abkai ejen amaci banjirara. / abkai ejen ama. abkai ejen-i jui-i sasa duroro ginggulere be alire. / julgei enduringge niyalma de doigomšome ulhibufi gisurebuhe. wembure weiyubure / enduringge enduri musei ejen inu be akdambi. bi enduringge bime siden ningge Yesu šabisai / ilibuha acin emke be akdambi. bi. enduringge mukei obubuha de teni weile ci / guwere be akdambi. bi bucehe niyalmai weiyure be akdambi. bi amgan jalin de enteheme banjire be akdambi. amin.

(3a) Δabkai ejen-i bisire be safi. abkai ejen-i turgun be giyangnarao.

○abkai ejen serengge uthai / tumen jaka-i fulehe da. beyebe beye bisire. akû ume muterakûnge inu. Δabkai ejen-i bisire / safi. geli ai be bahafi sambi.

○abkai ejen-i bisire be safi. geli abkai ejen-i ( erdemu muten-inserted ) enduringe banin gûnin bahafi sambi / ere doro adarame ni.

Δabkai ejen beyebe beye bisire akû ume muterakûnge oci. uthai abkai ejen emke. deribun akû. dube akû. enteheme bisirengge inu. abkai ejen / enteheme bisirengge oci. uthai arbun akû. giru akû. ( mukiyerakûnge-вставлено ) bucerakûnge inu.

uttu be dahame. abkai ejen / gulu enduri inu. abkai ejen gulu enduri oci. uthai den-i mergen šuwe hafu. den-i erdemungge / ten-i gosingga. ten-i jurgangga. ten-i enduringge. ten-i mutengge inu. erebe tuwaha de / abkai ejen umesi huturingga. eiten jaka be salifi kadalara ejen inu /

○ abkai ejen-i bisire jai. abkai ejen-i banin gûnin saha de. tusa ba bio.

Δ tusa ba ambula bime amba. / bi abkai ejen-i bisire be safi. mini yabure gûnire ele baita be. ini enduringge hese de acabume gamaci acambi. / abkai ejen yongkiyaha mutengge oci. mini jobolon be aitubumbi seme ereme gûnici acambi. //

(3b) abkai ejen gosingga jilgan oci. mini yabuha sain baita anjihe de seme bi inu šang / bahara be akdaci acambi. abkai ejen jurgangga oci. bi ehe be yabuha eiten weile bahara be dahame / abkai ejen yali banjirahû seme ehe baita be yaburakû oci acambi. /

Δ abka na be banjihangge wen. geli adarame banjibuha ai.

○ abka na be anjihangge. uthai ere amba / abkai ejen inu. abkai ejen abka na eiten jaka be ini kesi be alikini seme. abka na be sukdu akû ci cihangga ini cisui banjibuha. / šangabuha dabala. umai hafarabufi banjibuhangge waka.

△ banjibuha jaka sain eheo.

○ eiten jaka giyanggiyan / abkai ejen-i banjibuhangge ofi. iooni sara. damu jeiyengge akûra jafafi. sui akû niyalma be wara. sure merge be / baitalame koimali arga deriburengge. uthai sain jaka be ehe jaka oburengge inu.

△ abkai ejen niyalma be ai / gese banjibuhabi.

○ abkai ejen niyalma be ini arbun dursun-i adali banjibuhabi. abkai ejen-i arbun / dursun serengge. uthai abkai ejen-i erdemu muten de adališarange inu duibuleci abkai ejen de sure mergen // (4a) bi. niyalma de inu sure mergen be salgabuhabi. abkai ejen sain be saisambi. ehe ubiyambi. / niyalma de inu sain be buyere ehe be ubiyara banin be hesebuhebi.

△ niyalma de udu hacin kamcihabi. /

○ niyalma de kamcihangge juwe hacin. uthai yali beye mukiyerakû sure fayangga inu.

△ abkai ejen abka na be neibufi kemuni tuwašambi akû.

○ abkai ejen eiten jaka de muture fusere gû... (the word is not finished) / (empty space in the beginning of the line) jai yaya hacin be sain-i duhembume. abka na be erin akû tuwašame karmara be dahame / abka na-i sidende. turgun akû umainaci ojarahû. abkai ejen-i hese gûnin akû de banjinaru hacirakû. /

△ abkai ejen. abkai na be banjibufi kemuni tuwašara be saha de. si tusa bahambio akûn.

○ bi. abkai ejen / abkai na be neibufi banjibufi kemuni tuwašara be gûnire de. mimbe banjibuha teni mutengge gosime tuwašara abkai ejen be uneggi / gûnin-i hing seme gingguleci acara be dorgideri ulhimbi.

△ abkai ejen be ginggulere doru adarame ni. /

○ abkai ejen be ginggulengge uthai abkai ejen de hengkereme dahafi. uneggi gûnin-i hing seme weilerengge. /

△ abkai ejen be ginggulere hacin udu bi.

○ abkai ejen be ginggulere hacin. juwe uthai dorgi ginggulere tulergi // (4b) ginggulengge inu. dorgi ginggulembi serengge. uthai abkai ejen be hairara. abkai ejen-i gebu iletulere. kesi be / hukšere. abkai ejen de gelere. wehiyere aisilara be baire. beyede entebuku ufaracun bifi weilengge niyalma ojoro be gûniyarange / inu tulergi ginggulembi serengge. uthai هنگkilere. sejilere. tangki de dorolome generengge inu. damu abkai ejen be tulergi / ginggulere. uthai hontorongge be dahame. tuttu dorgi ginggulere hacin akû de. abkai ejen be tulergi gingguleci acarakû /

△ abkai ejen be ginggulehede. ai bahara be erembi.

○ umei bahara be ererakû de. bi inu abkai ejen be hairarakû. / bi hing seme akdambi. jai abkai ejen jurgangga be gûnici. abkai ejen-i hese be jurcere. abkai ejen be uilere be oiholara niyalma erun alira be inu umai genehenjere ba akû.

△ niyalma de šang isibure weile ararange ya jalan de bi.

○ yaya niyalma sain baita / yabuha amala. yargiyan-i ere jalan de mujilen-i tolu urgunjere šang bahara. ehe baita be yabuha niyalma dolo jobošome ališara gosihon be / alira gojime. damu sain niyalma ememu fonde jobolon de tuhenefi. gûnin gosire de isinara. ehe niyalma kemuni beye dubetele / urgun sebjen-i baire be dahame. tuttu amgan jalan de enteheme baifi. sain niyalma šang bahara. ehe niyalma guweci ojarahû. / erun koro alire be umai genehunjirakû akdambi.

△ si abkai ejen be ginggulere be akûmbume. abkai ejen-i hese be jurcerakû ume / mutembi.

○ ai gehun akû ere gisun tucimbi. adarame seci. mini de banin burubuha. hûsun eberi bisire // < ... >

Translation<sup>[14]</sup> :

Δ What does it mean-to believe?

○ To believe is to follow sincerely the Gospel.

Δ In what book is this important law?

○ Ancient sages collected all the miracles of Jesus,<sup>[15]</sup> put them into a book, retold them in the Canon of sacred books and unified them in the Symbol of Faith. These are the words of the Symbol of Faith :

I believe in one God the Father, helper and ruler,<sup>[16]</sup> who created all visible and non-visible. I believe in Lord, the Son of God Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten, Begotten of the Father before all ages. I believe [ in Jesus Christ ], begotten from the God Father as Light from Light, True God of True God, of one essence with the Father, by whom all things were made. I believe that the Son of God for us men and our salvation came down from heavens, and was incarnated in the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary.

Δ How do [you] explain “Supreme sin”?

○ It is explained through reverence of the existence of God.

Δ If you live<sup>[17]</sup> knowing about existence of God, can you hope for salvation?

○ How is possible not to think on it? Those who live in faith ( who respect, knowing about existence of God ), they refraining from breaking God’s Commandments. I believe that if a man is guilty in breaking the God’s Commandments, he must repent ( lit. : wash off his own sin ).

Δ What is a way for personal salvation?

○ The way of personal salvation is based on the Gospel.

Δ What is said in the Gospel?

○ The Gospel says that salvation will be, when we hear joyful news of the Son of God’s advent.

Δ Is it explained in the Symbol of Faith?

○ Only according to the Symbol of Faith the one God sits on three thrones ( hypostasis)<sup>[18]</sup>. Not born before all ages the God Father, the God Son eternally born from the God Father, the Holy Spirit who proceedeth from the Father-these three thrones are inseparable and worshiped. The second throne ( hypostasis ) is the Son of God. He suffered for men who made evil acts, with mercy he became man. For compassion to men’s sins and God’s empathy, he came down from heavens in order to show people the sacred intension and the way to salvation, to save us from human temptations, to know the true God, and with his

[14] I thank the researcher of the Department of manuscripts and documents at the Institute of Oriental manuscripts, RAS, Mr. Fionin ( F. Maxim Fionin ) for his help in interpreting theological aspects of the text, especially when there meaning was not clear according to Manchu grammar.

[15] julgei enduringge niyalma-“divine people of old times”. The author of the Catechism refers to the passage in Luka 1 : 1. 4 about the collecting of materials on Jesus life.

[16] salafi kadalara-“help and control”. The Russian Orthodox text talks about “Almighty God”, while here the author underlines His only two aspects.

[17] Here ùilembi-“to work” is used as a synonym to weilembi-⟨to work, to live everyday life⟩.

[18] soorin-“throne”. The Greek word ὑπόστασις-“substance” ( according to Liddle H. G, Scott R, Jones H. S. , etc. A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford, Oxford University press, 1843, p. 1893 ) is translated into Manchu as “throne”. This unusual translation could be explained from the reference to the Grechesko-russkij slovar’ ( Greek-Russian Dictionary ) by Weisman A. D. ( Saint-Petersburg, 1899 ) who translated ὑπόστασις as podstavka ( stand, pedestal ). In theology, this Greek word refers to “personality”, i. e. hypostasis. Here the author means the three hypostasis of God.

mercy to change our hearts and teach us to repent his sins, to find solace and rely on his mercy. I believe [ in Jesus Christ ] who suffered, was crucified and died [ for us ] under the rule of the official Pontius Pilate. I believe that according to previously written words in the Scriptures, the God Son rose again on the third day. I believe that the God Son ascended the heavens and sits at the right side of the Father. I believe that he will come again in a strange way to judge both the living and the dead, and the eternal kingdom will have no end.<sup>[19]</sup> I believe in resurrection of God, and piously respect The Father and the Son. I believe in the Lord, the Giver of Life, the Holy Spirit who speaks through the sages ( prophets ) who are reverently inspired by the Father and the Son. I believe in One Holy Church of Jesus ( lit. : one meeting of sacred disciples of Jesus ). I believe in Baptism ( lit. : washing with sacred water ). I believe in Resurrection of the dead. I believe in the life of age to come. Amen.

Δ How you explain the Divine origin?

○ God is the origin of ten thousand things, He is bodiless.

Δ How to know the Divine essence?

○ Speaking about the Divine essence, you must know the sacred nature of God, what is its core?<sup>[20]</sup>

Δ If God is bodiless, He is the One without beginning and end. He is eternal. If God is eternal, He has no face, no body, He does not die. That is why God is a pure Spirit. If God is a pure Spirit,<sup>[21]</sup> He is an all-penetrating supreme mind, a supreme wisdom, He is merciful, extremely impartial, incredibly holy and almighty. If to think so, God is full of grace, He is the owner and the ruler, and He saves everybody.<sup>[22]</sup>

○ If you know that God exists and you know His nature, how does He help?

Δ God helps in many things. When I know that God exists, then all my deeds and thoughts are realized according to the Divine Providence.<sup>[23]</sup> God is perfect and almighty, I believe he helps me in grief. The Voice of God is merciful, and I believe in His support in all my good deeds. God is impartial, and I believe He will not allow me to commit sins and evil acts.

Δ Everything that is born in the heavens and on the earth is perfect. How does this happen?

○ Everything that is born in the heavens and on the earth is [ creation ] of God.<sup>[24]</sup> Everything that is in the heavens and on the earth was created thanks to God's mercy. Heaven and Earth were created from nothing by His will, and there is nothing, which appeared without His will.

Δ Are born things good or bad?

○ When we speak about various things, we accept that they were created by God. But good may turn into bad, a man who took a sword may kill innocent, treacherously deceive clever.

Δ How did God create a man?

○ God created a man according to His image and likeness. When we speak about likeness with God, it means like Divine abilities and mind. He gave people intellect. God praises good and despises evil. He

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[19] The Greek Orthodox tradition speaks about "whose kingdom shall have no end" and not kingdom in general.

[20] Doro-"law". John Mish suggests to translate this word as "path", giving the parallel to Buddhist and Taoist meanings of this word (Mish John, Ibid., 370, footnote 17)

[21] Reference to John 4:24: "God is Spirit"

[22] Reference to John 1:14-16: "The Father is full of Kindness, in fact from His fullness we all received indeed Kindness upon Kindness»

[23] enduringge hese-«sacred law» here is used in the meaning of "Divine Providence"

[24] According to grammar the phrase uthai ere amba abkai ejen inu should be translated as "this is God", but this contradicts with the theological point of view, since the God is not similar to the world he created.

wishes people well-being, hates bad, determines the image of a man.

Δ Of what consists a man? (lit. :how many parts are in man?)

○ Man consists of two parts: body and unfading, intelligent soul.

Δ God created Heaven and Earth, which did not exist before<sup>[25]</sup>

○ God takes care of every creature <... > and protects everything. There is nothing between Heaven and Earth that exists without reason, that is born without God's will.

Δ What is an advantage to know the Divine idea of the creation of Heaven and Earth from nothing?

○ When we think about the Divine idea of the creation of Heaven and Earth from nothing, God created me. This is possible to understand through devout, earnest and sincere prayer to God.

Δ What are the ways to respect God?

○ There are two ways of respecting God: inward and outward respect. Inward respect is to be compassionate to God,<sup>[26]</sup> to praise His name, to accept his mercy with veneration, to fear God, to accept help, a sinner must think on his sin. Outward respect is to pray standing on one's knees, to walk hunched over and sigh. Those who show only outward respect of God do not have inward respect. Only outward respect is not enough.

Δ What do you hope for when you worship God?

○ I sincerely believe that if you hope for nothing, you are not compassionate to God. When we think about God's justice, then those who neglect worshipping God and break His Commandments will not escape punishment.

Δ Does man receive reward or punishment during his life?

○ Everyone who does good acts obtains joy in his heart. Those who do bad acts remain in internal confusion and grief. Good people in grief humbly thank and ask for mercy. Bad people exhaust themselves with joy and pleasure thinking that it will continue in their future life. Good people receive rewards, bad people will not escape punishment. I believe that they will not avoid torture and punishment.

Δ [What will happen], if you do not show respect to the God and could not avoid breaking God's Commandments?

○ How can you shamelessly ask about it! When you say so, my mind dims, my forces weaken <... >

The manuscript is ended with an unfinished sentence, and, most probably, the continuation of this Catechism is lost. The Catechism from the IOM RAS collection is based on the Symbol of Faith, which is interrupted by explanations of the meaning of Supreme Sin. The text deals with the creation of Universe and man, as well as answers the questions about ways of respecting God, God's will, punishment for breaking God's Commandments. The author was well versed in theological texts and made allusions to various parts of the New Testament, like to passages from canonical Gospels of Luke, John, letters of Apostle Paul.

The Symbol of Faith, as given in our manuscript, reflects the main difference between Catholic and Orthodox faith expressed in filioli: abkai ejen ama ci banjinara abkai ejen enduringge enduri inu-“the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father”. This clearly shows that the text belonged to the Orthodox tradition. We may assume that the translation was made with reference to the Greek version of the Symbol of Faith, since the author had a problem in translating the Greek word ὑπόστασις-“hypostasis” and used the first meaning

[25] The author of the Catechism means “Did God create Heaven and Earth from nothing?”

[26] Here the author speaks about “thinking on the passion of the Christ”.



of this word from a Greek-Russian dictionary.

The text of the present Catechism shows the technique of translation into Manchu, and we may agree with John Mish “that Manchu equivalents for the newly created Chinese terms could be easily found (e. g. *abkai ejen* for *t'ien-chu* 天主)”<sup>[27]</sup>. Literal translation of 天主 for “God” was adopted by the Catholic Church,<sup>[28]</sup> while “Our Lord” is translated into Manchu as *musei ejen*. A short list of theological terms may be derived from our manuscript: *ewanggeliyo*-Gospel, *enduringge nomun*-Sacred teaching, *akdaci acara nomun*-Symbol of Faith, *abkai ejen*-God, *abkai ejen ama*-God the Father, *abkai ejen-i jui*-Son of God, *enduringge enduri*-Holy Spirit, *dergi weyele*-Supreme Sin, *soorin*-hypostasis, *Pangciyo Pilatu*-Pontius Pilate, *hetu undu moo**giyase*-a cross, *enteheme gurun*-eternal kingdom, *enduringge mukei obubuha*-Baptism (lit. : washing with sacred water), *enduringge bime siden ningge Yesu šabisai*-One Holy Church of Jesus (lit. : one meeting of sacred decuples of Jesus), etc. This short list clearly shows that the Russian author of the Catechism tried to translate the terms into Manchu, while the known examples of Catholic texts often show transliterations of Latin words.<sup>[29]</sup>

The present Catechism is a unique example of Manchu language theological work composed by the priests of the Russian Ecclesiastic mission in Beijing. It is not a Manchu translation of the Chinese catechism by Iakinf Bichurin, neither of any known Catholic texts. It clearly shows the Orthodox approach to religious matters and presents its own technique of translation.

The published text could be used for future religious and Manchu language studies, as well as witness the Russian religious studies in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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[27] Mish John. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

[28] Mish John. *Ibid.* p. 366, footnote 1.

[29] A list of religious terms in Manchu could be found in Walravens Hartmut. “Zu zweikatholischen Katechismen”, p. 547-549.

中文题目:

## 俄罗斯科学院东方文献研究所收藏的满文东正教理问答

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**提要:** 满文和汉文的基督教文献大都出自北京的耶稣会士之手, 包括天主教著作、祈祷书和一些教理问答的译本。俄罗斯传教团写下过不多的几种宗教读物, 其中最著名的是雅科夫列维奇·比丘林(另译为雅金甫·俾丘林)用汉语写的教理问答, 那是一个天主教理问答的译本。已经刊布的满文教理问答是由耶稣会传教团编写的。本文提供俄罗斯科学院东方文献研究所收藏的一部未知的满文教理问答。该书由一位俄罗斯传教团的成员编著, 反映了东正教的希腊传统。著者以常见的问答形式成书, 其间明确提到了《新约》。这个满文写本似乎是一部较大著作的草稿, 因为其间有校改, 而且并未写完。写本的现有部分讨论了信仰和宇宙起源的问题, 解释了罪与罚和敬神的方式。该写本是独一无二的东正教理问答, 本文提供了满文的拉丁转写和英译。

**关键词:** 俄罗斯东正教会、东正教、理问答、满语抄、满文、满语翻译

教会历史与中西社会

**Church History in the West and in China**



# History and Present State of Orthodoxy in China: A Review of Studies Published in the Russian Far East after the Year 2000

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**Abstract:** This article analyzes the studies of the Orthodoxy in China that were published in the Russian Far East after the year 2000. The Russian authors prioritize the questions of regional cooperation which for the most part are the results of the territorial proximity between the Russian Far East and Northeast China.

**Key Words:** Orthodoxy in China, Orthodoxy in Manchuria, the Russian Far East.

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In the Russian Far East studies on the subject of Orthodoxy were published by the members of various regional scientific and educational organizations. The specifics of those studies were largely determined by the geographical vicinity of certain regions of the Russian Far East and northwestern China. And that in its turn resulted in Far Eastern writers being heavily interested in the processes that took place in the neighboring regions of China.

Another important feature of those scientific studies is their active usage of material found in local archives while some of them even present certain results of the field researches conducted by the authors themselves.

The overwhelming part of the information is presented in forms of articles reflecting various scientific findings and the large number of publications clearly shows a continued interest towards the subject. Under the conditions of an incessant search for a spiritual basis of a contemporary life, the process of analyzing and rethinking both history and present state of Orthodoxy keeps being relevant.

Significant bodies of information can be found in periodicals and collections of scholarly articles of scientific conferences. A profiled scientific magazine titled “Religiovedenie” that touches upon religious studies is published by the Amur State University (Blagoveshchensk). Institute of history, archaeology and ethnography of the peoples of the far east of Russian Academy of Sciences (Vladivostok) publishes a magazine titled “Russia and the Asia-Pacific Region” with some of its articles discussing certain aspects of history and present state of Orthodoxy in China. An important part of contemporary scientific life of the Russian Far East is made up by various both regional and international scientific conferences. For example, there are “Russia and China on the Far-Eastern borders” (Blagoveshchensk), “Christianity in the Far

East”, “Russian compatriots in the Asia-Pacific region. Vistas of cooperation”, “Russians in the Asia-Pacific region. Cooperation on the border of centuries” ( Vladivostok ), “Spiritual life of Russian Far East”, “Russian Far East-Chinese Northwest: historical experience of interaction and new vistas of cooperation” ( Khabarovsk ) etc. Conference information packages contain publications related to the topic of examining different problems of Orthodoxy in the Far East. Existing scientific works mainly explore the following subjects: history of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, Orthodoxy and the activity of Russian Orthodox Church in Manchuria, orthodox culture in China, Old Belief in China.

History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China is depicted in the monograph of S. A. Golovin “Russian Orthodox Mission in China: a historical outline”.<sup>[1]</sup> Using existing Russian-language sources and literature as a basis for the study the author attempted to summarize all the available information on history and details of the mission’s work. Also Golovin touches upon the question of the present state and possible perspectives of the Orthodoxy in China. S. G. Andreeva, while studying various aspects of the history of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China noted that generally the results of preaching Orthodoxy in China were rather insignificant. This outcome in her opinion have a lot to do with such factors as insufficiency of both information on the Chinese culture and necessary financial resources, lack of support from Russian Government and senior leaders of the Church and a very late start of the whole preaching campaign itself.<sup>[2]</sup> However despite the underwhelming results of the Mission’s efforts of spreading Orthodoxy Andreeva notes the absolute indisputability of the fact that Mission played a considerable role in bringing the people of Russia and China closer together and helped to establish important political and religious contacts.<sup>[3]</sup> On top of that, Mission served as the chief base of studying oriental languages and training highly-qualified language specialists as well as a major center of translation and analysis of various types of important material in different area of knowledge. The studies conducted with Mission’s help would later serve as a basis for the researches of Russian orientalis.<sup>[4]</sup> Another scholar who also addresses the problematics of the historical lessons taught by the missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church in China is Li Innan. The reasoning for the underwhelming results of missionary activities of the Orthodox Church that he provides in his study of the history and present state of Orthodoxy in China has a lot in common with the points of view of other researches. He states that the key factor responsible for the successful spread of a certain religious dogma is the creation of its own separate confessional structure. The development of Orthodoxy in China on the other hand was closely tied with the activity of the Russian Orthodox Mission and considerably slowed down the process of implementing such a structure. That ultimately resulted in cementing the Chinese people’s view of

[ 1 ] Golovin S. A. , Rossiiskaia dukhovnaia missiia v Kitae: istoricheskii ocherk [ Russian Orthodox Mission in China: a historical outline ]. ( Blagoveshchensk: Izdatel’stvo BGPU [ BGPU Publ. ], 2013 ).

[ 2 ] Andreeva S. G. , Missionerskaia deiatel’nost’ Russkoi ( pravoslavnoi ) dukhovnoi missii v Kitae [ Missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China ], Religiovedenie [ Study of Religions ], No. 1, ( Blagoveshchensk: Izdatel’stvo AmGU [ AmGU Publ. ], 2009 ), 79-86.

[ 3 ] Andreeva S. G. , Uchrezhdenie pervoi pravoslavnoi episkopskoi kafedry v Kitae [ Перевод названия на английский ], Religiovedenie, [ Study of Religions ], No. 3, ( Blagoveshchensk: Izdatel’stvo AmGU [ AmGU Publ. ], 2003 ).

[ 4 ] Andreeva S. G. , Deiatel’nost’ Rossiiskoi ( pravoslavnoi ) dukhovnoi missii v Pekine v oblasti izucheniia iazykov i podgotovki perevodov [ The Activities of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing in the field of language studying and translation preparations ], Religiovedenie [ Study of Religions ], No. 1, ( Blagoveshchensk: Izdatel’stvo AmGU [ AmGU Publ. ], 2004 ), 113-121.

Orthodoxy as a “Russian religion” incapable of infiltrating Chinese culture.<sup>[5]</sup> The works of S. A. Shubina,<sup>[6]</sup> E. I. Nesterova<sup>[7]</sup> and some of the other authors published in the far eastern sources elaborate on the topic of different aspects of functioning of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China which enables achieving a deeper understanding of its history and modus operandi.

A serious interest of the far eastern researchers is directed to the questions related to the state of Orthodoxy in Manchuria and the activities conducted by the Russian Orthodox Church in that region of China. The beginning of history of Orthodoxy in Manchuria dates back to the end of XIX century, when Russia received the right to construct the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER) and territories surrounding construction sites started becoming populated by the first Russian settlers in whose lives the Orthodox religion played a huge part. Iu. V. Argudiaeva states that the strengthening of the Orthodox religion in those territories was viewed as a way of reinforcing the settler's own sense of national identity and this is why all the aspects of religious life were reproduced in the precisely the same way they existed in Russia.<sup>[8]</sup> After the October revolution of 1917 the northwestern regions of China turned into a place of mass gathering of Russian immigrants who made a lot of effort to keep alive the memories of their prerevolutionary country. The role Russian Orthodox Church in that process was immense as turning into the center of spiritual communication is brought immigrants closer together, provided them with moral support, took care of sick and poor, fed and taught people and of course laid them to rest when their time came.<sup>[9]</sup> One of the most important goals of its cultural, educational and missionary activity was propagation of the book culture among both immigrant and Chinese large public. The Church also took many efforts in the fields of publishing and librarianship. Harbin alongside Shanghai and Beijing was one of the largest Orthodox publishing centers in China. With the help of the Orthodox book culture and the system of spiritual education created by the Russian Orthodox Church in

[ 5 ] Li Innan', *Missionerskaia deiatel'nost' russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi v Kitae-istoricheskie uroki* [ Missionary activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in China; historical lessons ], *Rossiiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh. Istoricheskii opyt vzaimodeistviia kul'tur* [ Russia and China on the Far Eastern borders. A historical experience of cooperation between cultures ], Iss. 11, ( Blagoveshchensk: Izdatel'stvo AmGU [ AmGU Publ. ], 2015 ), 22-34.

[ 6 ] Shubina S. A. , «Kitaiskii blagovestnik» kak istochnik po istorii Rossiiskoi dukhovnoi missii v Kitae (obzor publikatsii za 1904-1918 gg. ) [ “Chinese Blagovestnik” as a source of material on the history of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China (review of publications between 1904-1918) ], *Rossiiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh* [ Russia and China on the Far Eastern borders ], Iss. 3, ( Blagoveshchensk: Izdatel'stvo AmGU [ AmGu Publ. ], 2002 ), 603-619.

[ 7 ] Nesterova E. I. , *Albazintsy i Russkaia Dukhovnaia Missiia v Pekine; stranitsy istorii* [ People of Albazin and the Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing; pages of history ], *Khristianstvo na Dal'nem Vostoke. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii* [ Christianity in the Far East. International scientific conference proceedings ], Pt. 1, ( Vladivostok: Izdatel'stvo DVGU [ DVGU Publ. ], 2000 ), 140-144.

[ 8 ] Argudiaeva Iu. V. , *Pravoslavnoe vostochnoslavianskoe naselenie v Man'chzhurii* [ Orthodox East-Slavic Population ], *Rossiiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh* [ Russia and China on the Far Eastern Borders ], Iss. 3, ( Blagoveshchensk: Izdatel'stvo AmGU [ AmGU Publ. ], 2002 ), 563-569.

[ 9 ] Fomin V. N. , *Goverdovskaia L. F. , Rol' khristianskikh organizatsii v ukreplenii nraivstvenno-psikhologicheskogo sostoiianiia russkikh emigrantov v Kitae* [ The Role of Christian organizations in reinforcing moral and psychological strength of the Russian immigrants in China ], *Rossiiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh* [ Russia and China on the Far Eastern Borders ], Iss. 3, ( Blagoveshchensk: Izdatel'stvo AmGU [ AmGU Publ. ], 2002 ), 593-598; *Goverdovskaia L. F. , Russkaia emigratsiia i pravoslavnaia tserkov' v Kitae (1917-1945)* [ The Russian immigrants and the Orthodox Church in China ], *Khristianstvo na Dal'nem Vostoke. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii* [ Christianity in the Far East. International scientific conference proceedings ], Pt. 1, ( Vladivostok: Izdatel'stvo DVGU [ DVGU Publ. ], 2000 ), 108-113.

China it became possible to indulge in Christianity even some representatives of the native people.<sup>[10]</sup> Iu. S. Fedorova while marking out the main courses of activities conducted by the Orthodox center in Manchuria (cultural-taking care of the Russian immigrants, satisfying the religious needs of Russian and local population and political-using spiritual basis to create an opposition to the Communist regime), describes those activities as contradicting one another. Herculean efforts in the field of saving Russian culture came to have a political nature to them.<sup>[11]</sup> The tragic pages of history of the Russian Orthodox Church during 1920-40s are researched in the works of V. F. Pecheritsa and I. G. Sirenko. During even the very first years of exile, the Church became torn apart by all kinds of opposing views and eventually slit up into several groups. With arrival of the Japanese the Russian Orthodox Church in Manchuria became a lot less active. Many immigrants including priests moved to Shanghai, the overall congregation significantly diminished and some churches closed. The hardest difficulties Russian Orthodox Church faced in the CER right of way where a Soviet regime existed. Authors also note contradicting moments in the activities of the Church abroad; some of the priests collaborated with Japanese militarists, white immigrants organizations were subsidized in their struggle against the USSR, general immigrant public was provoked to take hostile actions against other churches and those who publicly criticized these actions were bullied. All of that contributed to an even further split between different orthodox churches.<sup>[12]</sup> However all of the authors who researched this subject do agree that these kinds of actions were not determinant in the whole course of activities conducted by the Russian Orthodox Church.

Religious life of Russian Harbin is discussed in the monograph titled “Russian Harbin: an experience of organizing life on the far eastern frontier”.<sup>[13]</sup> Analyzing the distinctive features of ethno-cultural and ethno-religious identity within the framework of interethnic cooperation the authors confirm that in Manchuria the Orthodoxy managed to keep a stronger position than anywhere else in China. Mainly due to the fact that the number of Christians in Manchuria was the highest among all Chinese regions. The monograph’s chapter titled “the Orthodoxy” describes the structure of the orthodox ecclesiastical polity in Manchuria, orthodox churches

[10] Prozorova G. V., Knizhnaia kul'tura Russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi v Kitae kak sostavliaiushchaia missiionerskoi deiatel'nosti (1922-1945 gg.) [Book culture of the Russian Orthodox Church in China as a part of missionary activities (1922-1945)], Rossiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh [Russia and China on the Far Eastern Borders], Iss. 3, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2002), 598-603; Prozorova G. V., Kharbinskaia eparkhiia; uchrezhdenie i razvitie. 1922-1942 gg. [The Harbin eparchy; establishment and activity], Rossiiskie sootchestvenniki v Aziatsko-Tikhookeanskom regione. Perspektivy sotrudnichestva [Russian compatriots in the Asia-Pacific Region: Vistas of cooperation], Iss. 3, (Vladivostok; Informatsionno-reklamnoe agentstvo «Komsomolka-DV» [“Komsomolka-DV”], 2003), 128-135; Moroz R., Prozorova G. V., Missionerskaia deiatel'nost' Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi v Kitae (1685-1917 gg.) [Missionary activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in China], Khristianstvo na Dal'nem Vostoke. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii [Christianity in the Far East. International scientific conference proceedings], (Vladivostok; Izdatel'stvo DVGU [DVGU Publ.], 2000), 137-140.

[11] Fedorova Iu. S., O deiatel'nosti Russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi v Severo-Vostochnom Kitae v usloviiakh emigratsii [On the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in the northwestern China in emigration], Muzei-tsentry koordinatsii kraevedcheskoi raboty. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii [Museums as the centers of the regional ethnographic work. International scientific conference proceedings], (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2001), 48-51.

[12] Pecheritsa V. F., Sirenko I. G., Russkaia pravoslavnaia emigratsiia v Kitae v 20-40-e gg. XX v. [Russian Orthodox immigration in China], Religiovedenie [Study of Religions], No. 2, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2007), 43-48; Pecheritsa V. F., Rol' pravoslavnoi tserkvi v dukhovnoi zhizni russkikh emigrantov v Kitae [The Role of the Orthodox Church in the spiritual life of the Russian immigrants in China], Khristianstvo na Dal'nem Vostoke. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii [Christianity in the Far East. International scientific conference proceedings], Pt. 1, (Vladivostok; Izdatel'stvo DVGU [DVGU Publ.], 2000), 144-147.

[13] Zabiako A. A., Zabiako A. P., Levoshko S. S., Khisamutdinov A. A., Russkii Kharbin; opyt zhiznestroitel'stva v usloviiakh dal'nevostochnogo frontira [Russian Harbin; an experience of organizing life on the far eastern frontier], (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2015).



and cathedrals of Harbin and the everyday life of the orthodox eparchy.

Close attention of the researches was paid to many different spheres of the orthodox culture that were present in China. A number of works studies various aspects of the orthodox architecture in foreign counties bordering Russian Far East. N. P. Kradin<sup>[14]</sup> and S. S. Levoshko<sup>[15]</sup> in their publications tell about the orthodox temple architecture in China between the end of the XIX century and the end of the first half of the XX century. The authors describe various architecture, artistic and design features of some of the temple complexes in Harbin, Dalian, Shanghai and Port Arthur. Levoshko believes that the blooming of temple architecture was promoted by the special conditions of foreign life as well as high morale and spirituality of the people. Finding themselves in an unfamiliar and culturally distant place they were became very determined to recreate the cultural structure that they grew accustomed to at home in which the religion traditionally played a key role.<sup>[16]</sup> Levoshko also was the first one to study the architectural aspects of the orthodox memorial churches built in honor of the Russian warriors in China.<sup>[17]</sup> The discussion of the subject of orthodox culture in China is further continued with G. V. Efendieva's study<sup>[18]</sup> on the poetic religiousness of the Russian immigrant poetesses (Marianna Kolosova, Lydia Khaindrova etc. ) and I. K. Kapran's publication about musical culture (church choirs) of the Russian Harbin.<sup>[19]</sup> Forced immigration sharpened the religious senses of the former Russian citizens. Their turn to religion is explained by the desire to save and to reinforce their identity (Russianness) as well as to find a certain source of moral and spiritual support. Sacred music and church choir singing being an inseparable part of Russian cultural tradition were viewed by the immigrants as means of preserving their national identity.

In the end of 1920s and beginning of 1930s a large group of Far Eastern and Siberian old believers who

[14] Kradin N. P., *Nikolaevskii sobor v Port-Arture* [Nikolaevsky Cathedral in Port Arthur], *Rossii i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh* [Russia and China on the Far Eastern borders], Iss. 3, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2002), 645-650; *Troitskaia tserkov' v Blagoveshchenske i Sofiiskii khram v Kharbine i ikh prototipy* [Trinity Church in Blagoveshchensk and St. Sofia Cathedral in Harbin and their prototypes], *Rossii i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh*, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2001); *Blagoveshchenskii khram v Kharbine* [Annunciation Cathedral in Harbin], *Rossii i ATR* [Russia and the Asia-Pacific Region], No. 1, (Vladivostok, 2001); *Kharbin-russkaia Atlantida* [Harbin-a Russian Atlantis], (Khabarovsk; Izdatel'stvo Khvorov Iu. A. [Iu. A. Khvorov Publ.], 2001); *Iz istorii russkoi tserkvi v Pekine* [Excerpts on the history of the Russian Church in Beijing], *Dukhovnaia zhizn' Dal'nego Vostoka Rossii. Materialy regional'noi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii* [Spiritual life of the Russian Far East. Regional scientific conference proceedings], (Khabarovsk, 2000), 252-258.

[15] Levoshko S. S., *Russkoe religioznoe iskusstvo kontsa XIX-nachala XX v. i pravoslavnye khramy v Russkom Zarubezh'e na Dal'nem Vostoke pervoi treti XX v. K postanovke problemy* [Russian religious art between the end of XIX and the beginning of XX century and the Orthodox cathedrals in the countries neighboring Russian Far East in the first third of the XX century], *Khristianstvo na Dal'nem Vostoke; Sb. nauchnykh trudov* [Christianity in the Far East. Collection of research papers], (Ussuriisk, 2001).

[16] Levoshko S. S., *Pravoslavnyi khram v dal'nevostochnom russkom zarubezh'e: arkhitekturno-khudozhestvennaia traditsiia i istoricheskoe vremia (pervaia polovina XX v.)* [An Orthodox Cathedral in foreign countries neighboring Russian Far East: architectural and art tradition and historical influence (first half of XX century)], *Religiovedenie* [Study of Religions], No. 4, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2003), 136-146.

[17] Levoshko S. S., *Pravoslavnye khramy-pamiatniki russkim voimam v Kitae: ideinoe sodержanie i arkhitekturnaia simvolika* [Orthodox memorial cathedrals built in honor of the Russian warriors], *Rossii i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh* [Russia and China on the Far Eastern borders], Iss. 5, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2003), 415-420.

[18] Efendieva G. V., *Poeticheskaia religioznost' russkikh poetess-emigrantok (po stranitsam kharbinskoi liriki)* [Poetic religiousness of the Russian immigrant-poetesses (through the pages of Harbin lyrics)], *Religiovedenie* [Study of Religions], No. 4, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2006), 109-118.

[19] Kapran I. K., *Muzikal'nyi Kharbin: tserkovnye khory* [Musical Harbin; Church choirs], *Rossiiskie sootchestvenniki v Aziatsko-Tikhookeanskom regione. Perspektivy sotrudnichestva. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii* [Russian compatriots in the Asia-Pacific Region; Vistas of cooperation. International scientific conference proceedings], (Vladivostok; Informatsionno-reklamnoe agentstvo «Komsomolka-DV» [“Komsomolka-DV”], 2003), 149-156.

protested against collectivization and other socialist changes in villages fled the USSR immigrating to Manchuria. Iu. V. Argudiaeva has many studies<sup>[20]</sup> dedicated to researching the Old Belief in the Far East. Analyzing the questions of cultural legacy of the old believers, who immigrated to northwestern China, Argudiaeva evaluates the level of preservation of Russian traditions and thoroughly examines their way of life in Manchuria. Argudiaeva believes that the migration of old believers to Manchuria boosted the spread of Russian folk tradition in the northwestern China what ultimately resulted in preserving religious beliefs and Russian folk culture. Conservatism remained in family relations, household activities, connections with “outside world” and many other aspects of life. Different questions about the old believers’ life in Manchuria are also raised in the articles of I. V. Shevnin,<sup>[21]</sup> V. S. Matyushchenko<sup>[22]</sup> and others.

Contemporary state of the Orthodoxy in China is discussed in a number of articles with varying subjects. The general problems of the Orthodoxy in China and the possible perspectives of the Orthodox Church activity in the region are analyzed in the articles of D. Pozdnyaev, published in far eastern collections of scientific materials.<sup>[23]</sup> O. V. Buzmakova examines traditional and modern principles of missionary work used by the Russian Orthodox Church among the Chinese people.<sup>[24]</sup> An article by R. A. Kobyzov compares the approaches used towards the people of China by missionaries of different Christian confessions including the Orthodoxy. The beginning of a contemporary period in the orthodox missionary work at the end of XX-beginning of the XXI century Kobyzov ties with a renaissance of the Orthodox Church in China that had

[20] Argudiaeva Iu. V., Obriady zhiznennogo tsikla u russkikh staroobriadtsev v Severo-Vostochnom Kitae [Life cycle rites of the Russian Old Believers in northwestern China], Religiovedenie [Study of Religions], No. 1, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2016), 19-30; Obshchestvennyi byt russkikh staroobriadtsev v Man'chzhurii [Social life of the Russian Old Believers in Manchuria], Religiovedenie [Study of Religions], No. 4, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2016), 3-13; Russkie staroobriadtsy Primor'ia; formirovanie i emigratsiia v Severo-Vostochnyi Kitai [Russian Old Believers of Primorye region; origins and emigration], Religiovedenie [Study of Religions], No. 2, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2015), 60-72; Khoziaistvennaia deiatel'nost' russkikh staroobriadtsev v Man'chzhurii [Household activities of the Russian Old Believers in Manchuria], Rossiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh. Etnokulturnye protsessy v politicheskom kontekste [Russia and China on the Far Eastern Borders. Ethno-cultural processes in the political context], Iss. 10, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2013), 111-125 et alia.

[21] Shevnin I. L., Peregiska S. Iu. Vitte s D. S. Sipiaginyim i V. K. Pleve o predostavlenii svobody veroispovedaniia staroobriadtsam v Man'chzhurii (1899-1903) [Correspondence between S. Iu. Vitte, D. S. Sipiagin and V. K. Pleve concerning granting the Manchurian Old Believers the freedom of faith], Religiovedenie [Study of Religions], No. 3, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2010), 20-26.

[22] Matiushchenko V. S., Problema sokhraneniia kul'turnoi i religioznoi identichnosti staroverov v kitaiskoi etnokul'turnoi srede [The problem of preservation cultural and religious identity of the Old Believers in Chinese ethno-cultural environment], Rossiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh. Etnokulturnye protsessy v politicheskom kontekste [Russia and China on the Far Eastern Borders. Ethno-cultural processes in the political context], Iss. 10, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2013), 126-131; Migratsii staroobriadtsev-popovtsev v Man'chzhurii [The migrations of the Popovtsy Old Believers to Manchuria], Rossiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh; ot konfrontatsii k sotrudnichestvu. Sbornik materialov nauchnoi shkoly i mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii [Russia and China on the Far Eastern borders; from confrontation to cooperation], Iss. 8, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2009), 162-169.

[23] Pozdnyaev D., Pravoslavnaia tserkov' v Kitae-problemy i perspektivy [The Russian Orthodox Church in China-problems and perspectives], Khristianstvo na Dal'нем Vostoke. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii [Christianity in the Far East. International scientific conference proceedings], Pt. 1, (Vladivostok; Izdatel'stvo DVGU, 2000), 147-149; Missiia russkoi emigratsii v ATR; vchera, segodnia, zavtra [The mission of Russian emigration in the Asia-Pacific Region] yesterday, today and tomorrow], Rossiiskie sootechestvenniki v Aziatsko-Tikhookeanskom regione. Perspektivy sotrudnichestva; materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii [Russian compatriots in the Asia-Pacific Region; Vistas of cooperation. International scientific conference proceedings], (Vladivostok; Informatsionno-reklamnoe agentstvo «Komsomolka-DV» [“Komsomolka-DV”], 2003), 21-25.

[24] Buzmakova O. V., Traditsionnye i sovremennye printsipy missiionerskoi raboty russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi sredi kitaitsev [Traditional and contemporary principles of the Russian Orthodox Church missionary work among the Chinese], Rossiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh. Russkie i kitaitsy; regional'nye problemy etnokul'turnogo vzaimodeistviia. Sbornik materialov mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii [Russia and China on the Far Eastern borders. Russians and Chinese; regional problems of ethno-cultural cooperation. International scientific conference proceedings], Iss. 9, (Blagoveshchensk; Izdatel'stvo AmGU [AmGU Publ.], 2010), 24-33.

begun in the middle 1980s with opening of Holy Protection Church in Harbin.<sup>[25]</sup> A. P. Zabiayko and A. A. Zabiayko in their publications study the contemporary state of the Orthodoxy in the region of Trekhreche (Inner Mongolia, Chinese People's Republic).<sup>[26]</sup> A considerable part of Russian people living in Trekhreche still remain devoted to the Orthodoxy which is viewed and professed as a folk religion and not as a church one. The foundation of religious practices is made of domestic ritual actions, related to orthodox holidays and funeral rites. Authors believe that the present state of religious mentality of the Russian people living in Trekhreche can be defined by a term "triple faith" which is a type of syncretic religiousness, combining together elements of the Orthodoxy, pre-Christian Slavic beliefs and Chinese folk beliefs.

Overall, the authors stress the weakness of the Christianity's attempts to gain foothold in China. That can be explained by separation of the far eastern peoples from Christianity as a foreigner's religion by a wall of materialism and Confucianism.<sup>[27]</sup> Among other reasons for missionary work being unsuccessful, the authors mention a number of "deep-water" factors, related to the very structure of the Russian Orthodox Church and its position in the Russian State.<sup>[28]</sup> There is no doubt that the subject of Orthodoxy in China attracts gathered close attention in the Russian Far Eastern scientific publications. The Contemporary stage of researching this problem reflects authors' paying a priority attention to the questions of regional cooperation.

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[25] Kobyzov R. A. , Kitaitsy kak ob'ekt missionerskoi deiatel'nosti khristianskikh konfessii [ Chinese as an object of the missionary activities of Christian confessions ], Rossiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh [ Russia and China on the Far Eastern borders ], Iss. 3, ( Blagoveshchensk : Izdatel'stvo AmGU [ AmGU Publ. ], 2002 ), 570-575.

[26] Zabiayko A. P. , Zabiayko A. A. , Magiia, demonologiia i videniia v religioznoi kulture russkikh Trekhrechiá [ Magic, demonology and visions in the religious culture of the Russians living in Trekhreche ], Religiovedenie [ Study of Religions ], No. 4, ( Blagoveshchensk : Izdatel'stvo AmGU [ AmGU Publ. ], 2016 ), 96-110; Zabiayko A. P. , Zabiayko A. A. , Zinenko Ia. V. , Narodnoe pravoslavie russkikh Trekhrechiá [ Folk Orthodoxy of the Russians living in Trekhreche ], Religiovedenie [ Study of Religions ], No. 3, ( Blagoveshchensk : Izdatel'stvo AmGU [ AmGU Publ. ], 2016 ), 121-135.

[27] Popov A. V. , Iz istorii Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi na Dal'нем Vostoke ( Kitae, Koree i Iaponii ) [ Excerpts on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Far East ( China, Korea and Japan ) ], Khristianstvo na Dal'нем Vostoke. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii [ Christianity in the Far East. International scientific conference proceedings ], ( Vladivostok : Izdatel'stvo DVGU [ DVGU Publ. ], 2000 ), 149-154.

[28] Li Innan', Missionerskaia deiatel'nost' russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi v Kitae-istoricheskie uroki [ Missionary activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in China; historical lessons ], Rossiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh. Istoricheskii opyt vzaimodeistviia kul'tur [ Russian and China on the Far Eastern borders. A historical experience of cooperation between cultures ], Iss. 11, ( Blagoveshchensk : Izdatel'stvo AmGU [ AmGU Publ. ], 2015 ), 22-34.

**中文题目:**

**中国东正教历史与现状:对 2000 年后出版于俄罗斯远东地区的研究指之述评**

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**提要:**本文分析了 2000 年以后俄远东地区关于中国东正教方面的出版物。这一问题的研究水平体现在作者对区域合作的研究取向上,这里的首要原因是由于俄远东地区与中国东北地区相邻。

**关键词:**中国东正教,满洲里东正教,俄远东,学术出版物。

# The Publications of Sinologist A. Leont'ev as Reviewed in the *Russische Bibliothek* ( St. Petersburg )

Hartmut WALRAVENS

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**Abstracts:** Leont'ev ( 1716—1786 ) was one of the earliest Russian Sinologists who had studied at Peking, and at the same time a prolific translator from Chinese and Manchu; many of his works were published. This article investigates whether these were recognized by the public. The author uses two approaches for this purpose: He checks whether the publications experienced more than one edition and whether they were translated into other languages—both are in fact the case. He further investigated whether these books were reviewed in Hartwig Bacmeister's ( 1730—1806 ) famous *Russische Bibliothek* ( 1772/3—1787/9 ), the first Russian review organ and the basis for a prospective national bibliography. Bacmeister aimed at listing and reviewing all current Russian publications, a very difficult undertaking, considering the lack of infrastructure of the Russian book sector at the time; but he achieved it to a large degree. Because of the enforcement of stricter censorship regulations, he had to give up the journal, despite his declared maxim to dispense with critical evaluations. The present article reproduces the full text of the review, identifies the originals of the translations and adds comments when necessary. On account of the distribution and the reputation, one may safely assume that the reviews contributed substantially to the advertisement and dissemination of Leont'ev's publications—in Russia and abroad as well.

**Key Words:** Russian sinology-history; A. L. Leont'ev ( 1716—1786 ); translations from Chinese and Manchu; *Russische Bibliothek*, by Hartwig Bacmeister ( 1730—1806 )

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One of the first Russian Sinologists was also one of the most prolific writers in the field: Aleksej Leont'evič Leont'ev ( also spelt Leontiev ); according to one source he was the son of a priest, born in Moscow in 1716. His first instruction he received at the school of the Zaikonospasskij Monastery, as of 1738 he learnt Chinese from the converted Chinese Fedor Džoga.<sup>[1]</sup> He was sent to Peking as a member of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in 1742. He returned to Russia in 1756 after he had thoroughly studied Chinese and Manchu. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs employed him as an interpreter; in 1762 he was promoted to the rank of a captain. In 1767 he accompanied colonel Ivan Ivanovič Kropotov ( 1724—1769 ) to Peking to solve some controversial issues, and consequently Leont'ev was promoted to secretary with the rank of a major. And in 1779 he became aulic councillor. He died in St. Petersburg on May 12/23, 1786. This is practically all the available information on him from published sources. As mentioned, Leont'ev was a prolific translator from

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[ 1 ] Čžou Ge i ego škola perevočikov. In: P. E. Skčkov; *Očerk istorii russkogo kitaevedenija*. Moskva 1977, 56-61.

Chinese and Manchu. Considering that most Russian Sinologists since then deplored that it was almost impossible to publish their scholarly works—too costly, little public interest—and consequently many manuscripts of these scholars still rest in archives, it is quite remarkable that Leont'ev managed to publish what he wrote. Two further exceptions were the monk Iakinf<sup>[2]</sup> (Nikita Jakovlevč Bčurin, 1770—1853) who had many connections, and Vasilij Pavlovič Vasil' ev<sup>[3]</sup> (1818—1900) who taught Chinese and other languages at the St. Petersburg University when China played a role already in Russia's politics and economy. The list of Leont'ev's publications comprises 34 numbers, and some works were quite substantial. Among them is the Nestorian Inscription of 781, the Christian Manchu Joseph Depei 德沛 (Depei, 1688—1752)<sup>[4]</sup>, a great-grandnephew of Prince Jirgalang, a collection of Chinese essays, information on the Chinese game of chess (*weiqi* 围棋), tea and silk, two of the Confucian Four Books, *Sishu* 四书, a description of the military campaign against the Dsungars (according to the Kangxi Emperor's *Han-i araha Wargi amargi babe necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon-i bithe*), a Chinese embassy to Russia (by Tulišen) and a 16 volume description of the Chinese banner organisation (in cooperation with Ilarion Rossoxin), based on the *Jakôn gôsai tung j'i-i sucungga weilehe bithe*. Another work which shows an even closer relation with the activities of the REM was the translation of a Chinese catechism, written by P. Francesco Brancati S. I. (1607—1671) for the Guadian Angle Society, *Tianshenhui ke* 天神会课. This translation into Russian probably had very little effect; but when Alexander von Humboldt, the celebrated explorer returned from his trip to Russia in 1829, he brought with him a copy of the Chinese text which had been edited by Father Iakinf to suit the needs of the REM and which eventually led to a polemic discussion between European Sinologists.<sup>[5]</sup>

Leont'ev's translation deserve particular attention because in those days authentic information about China was almost exclusively provided by the Jesuit missionaries. Leont'ev was able to translate directly from original works at St. Petersburg, which was important as Pope Clement XIV disbanded the Jesuit order in 1773, on the political pressure of several European powers, and thus this particular source of information dried up. Even Protestant China watchers like Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1733—1811)<sup>[6]</sup> regretted this development.

For this reason, the impact of Leont'ev's works not only on the few scholars but also on a wider educated audience is of interest. A reliable comment on this issue could only be made by a Russian historian with a thorough knowledge of the literature the time, and probably not without time-consuming studies as the necessary sources were scarce in the second half of the 18th century in Russia. But there are some means of coming to a preliminary evaluation.

Some of Leont'ev's translation were retranslated into German, such as *Chinesischen Gedanken*, a rendering of *Kitajskija mysli*, Weimar 1776. It comprises imperial instructions, excerpts from the literary anthology *Guwen yuanjian* 古文渊鉴 and quotations from military-strategic works. The translator had some

[2] H. Walravens; *Iakinf Bičurin, russischer Mönch und Sinologe. Eine Biobibliographie*. Berlin: Bell 1988. 70 p. (Han-pao tung-Ya shu-chi mu-lu 34.)

[3] H. Walravens; Vasilij Pavlovič Vasil' ev (1818—1900). Zu Leben und Werk des russischen Sinologen. *Oriens Extremus* 48. 2010, 199-249.

[4] 4 Cf. Arthur W. Hummel (ed.): *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*. Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress 1943/44, 714-715.

[5] H. Walravens; Zu den von A. v. Humboldt aus Rußland mitgebrachten Büchern. *HiN* [Humboldt im Netz] 34. 2017, 97—146.

[6] Eines Protestanten, Herrn Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, der Reichsstadt Nürnberg Zollamtmanns, und Mitglieds des königlichen historischen Instituts zu Göttingen, und der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Berlin etc. *Acht und zwanzig Briefe über die Aufhebung des Jesuiterordens*. [Stuttgart] 1774. 170 S., 2 S.

background in the China field as he included references to translations provided by P. Jean-Baptiste du Halde in his *Description de la Chine* (Paris 1735). Long quotes from Kitajskoe uloženie, dem the Chinese code of law (*Da Qing lili* 大清律例) were given immediately after the publication of the Russian work, in *St. Petersburgischen Journal* 8. 1779, by Christian Gottlieb Arndt (1743—1829).<sup>[7]</sup> There is also a Short description of the cities, population etc. of the Chinese Empire, and all empires, kingdoms and principalities known to the Chinese, which was printed by Anton Friedrich Büschings *Magazin für die neue Historie und Geographie* 14. 1780<sup>[8]</sup> by Christian Heinrich Hase<sup>[9]</sup>, *Consistorialrath und Pastor zu Stadt-Sulza*, two years after the Russian original. In a similar fashion a longer translation form the Statutes of the Qing Dynasty (*Da Qing huidian* 大清会典)<sup>[10]</sup> was published. The fact that three translations were printed just after the publication of the original indicates that the subjects, namely Chinese geography, administration and culture filled a gap and were of particular interest in the field of politics and economy. A new edition of *Chinesischen Gedanken* was printed in 1796, from the version of 1786, with the addition of a small work by Depei, as in the original Russian edition. While the translator of the earlier edition remained anonymous, the one of new edition is identified by his initials as Jean-Benoît Schérer (1741—1824).<sup>[11]</sup> The reconstruction of the name Depei as «De-pe-a» is a misunderstanding as the original title clearly runs: Depej Kitaec-the Chinese Depei. Scherer's preface is very brief while that of the Weimar anonymus is more detailed and worth looking at: «The compositions are mostly of a moral and political character and recommend themselves by often very pertinent principles of general love of humanity and genuine statecraft among which occasionally few traces of a prevailing national superstition occur. We still know too little of Chinese literature to regard the efforts to slightly enrich the information on it by this contribution as superfluous even if one would not want to maintain that completely new truths or nothing but things above the mediocre would be contained in it. . . . It would be desirable that we could draw from the originals, besides what Du Halde provided. the closer locked the access, the more eager one accepts the few that is available. . . . Russia would have first opportunity to provide fragments or collections of Chinese books in correct translations.»<sup>[12]</sup>

We have seen that five of Leont'ev's works were published in German translation, one even in two different versions. This certainly proves a strong interest in these books.

Another criteria are the editions. We note more than 1 edition for

Depej kitaec<sup>[13]</sup>-2

Kitajskija mysli-3

[7] p. 37—61, 83—125, 171—202, 235—251, 307—341.

[8] p. 409—556.

[9] †1791, Magister of philosophy; he was a prolific translator from Russian, and according to G. S. Rötger (*Nekrolog für Freunde deutscher Literatur*; 1791—1794. Helmstädt; Fleckenstein, 1796—1799. 4 Bde) he was author of the translation of *Kitajskija mysli* of 1776.

[10] Taizin gurun und Ucheri kooli. *Neues St. Petersburgisches Journal* 2. 1782. Teil 1, p. 1-60; Teil 2, p. 43—143. By mistake, the translator considered the Manchu genitive particle to be Russian «and» (и). Read: *Daicing gurun-i uheri kooli*.

[11] *Chinesische Gedanken*, das ist: Chinesischer Kaiser Reden und Verordnungen an ihr Volk, anderer vornehmer und berühmter Chineser Reden an ihre Kaiser, oder Abhandlungen über verschiedene Staats- und Verwaltungs-Gegenstände; Nebst einem kleinen philosophischen Werke des De-Pe-a über den Einfluß der Seele in den Leib. Aus dem Chinesischen in das Rußische übersezt, und. . . zum Druk befördert, durch Alexis Leontieff, Sekretarius des Kollegiums der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten in St. Petersburg. Aus dem Rußischen in das Deutsche übersezt durch J. B. S. [Karlsruhe] 1796. 304 p. -On Scherer see Ludwig Stieda; Scherer, Johann Benedict. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 31. 1890, p. 103-104. Scherer was from Alsace, studied at Straßburg (Strasbourg) and served as a French diplomat at St. Petersburg.

[12] From Vorbericht des Übersetzers, to *Chinesische Gedanken*. Weimar 1776, unpag.

[13] Sanktpeterburg 1771. 50 p. Translation of *Shijian lu* 实践录 of 1736.



Ge jan<sup>[14]</sup> -2

Kitajskija poučenijska<sup>[15]</sup> -3

Putešestvie kitajskago poslannika<sup>[16]</sup> -2

Thus one may agree with the author of the preface of the *Chinesische Gedanken* in assuming that the book 《sold well》, and this seems to have applied to the other titles as well.

A very important source is the *Russische Bibliothek zur Kenntniß des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Literatur in Rußland* [Russian Library for the knowledge of the present situation of literature in Russia], the first Russian review journal, founded and edited by Hartwig Ludwig Christian Bacmeister<sup>[17]</sup> (1730—1806), son of a Mecklenburg parson, at St. Petersburg. After having studied history and linguistics at Göttingen University he spent the years 1760—1762 as a private tutor in Livonia. On the suggestion of Anton Friedrich Büsching (1724—1793) he went to St. Petersburg, together with his cousin Johann Vollrath Bacmeister (1732—1788), and several other Göttingen scholars such as Georg Thomas von Asch (1729—1807), Johann Albrecht Euler (1734—1800) and Peter Simon Pallas (1741—1811). There he studied with Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705—1783) and August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735—1809) at the Academy of Sciences. He published several historical monographs but his most outstanding publication remained the *Russische Bibliothek* which was acclaimed by scholars:

Johann Bernoulli (1710—1790), member of the Berlin Academy, wrote in 1780: «Dieses Werk ist ein wahrer Schatz für die Liebhaber der gelehrten Geschichte, und um Weitläufigkeit zu vermeiden. kann ich nicht umhin, mich öfters auf dasselbe zu beziehen; zumal da es ohnehin denjenigen unter meinen Lesern, welche sich um die gelehrte Geschichte bekümmern, unentbehrlich ist.» The academician Peter Köppen (1793—1864) hailed the journal as «издание, которое почеть можно главным источником Библиографии того времени.»<sup>[18]</sup>

The *Russische Bibliothek* was published in 11 volumes (1. 1772/73—11. 1787/89) by Johann Friedrich Hartknoch. It aimed at publicizing possible all monographs and maps currently published in Russia, by giving an idea of their contents through excerpts but avoiding evaluations. He was in doubt whether his attempt would last, as such an enterprise did not rely on its reception by the targeted audience only. As a matter of fact the *Bibliothek* ceased publication when stricter censorship rules were enforced. . . Bacmeister's work is an indispensable tool for the study of the late 18th century and it is also regarded as a precursor of a Russian national bibliography.

Needless to say, it must be of high interest to see which of Leont'ev's publications found their way into the *Russische Bibliothek* and what was said about them.

[14] *Ge jan, to est' umnye rečy. Perevel s kitajskago na rossijskij jazyk* A. L. S. Peterburg 1776. 112 p. - Translation from *Geyan jiyao* 格言辑要 (Koolingga gisun-i oyonggo be ㄆㄨㄛˊ ㄅㄧㄝˊ ㄅㄧㄝˊ ㄅㄧㄝˊ).

[15] *Kitajskija poučenijska, izdannaja ot Chan Jundžena dlja voinov i prostago naroda. Sanktpeterburg 1778. 62 p.* [Chinese instructions, promulgated by Khan Yongzheng in the 2nd year of his reign (1724)]. Translated from the Chinese into the Russian language by Secretary Leont'ev]. Translation of *Shengyu guangxun* 圣谕广训.

[16] *Putešestvie kitajskago poslannika k kalmyckomu Ajuke chanu, s opisaniem zemel' i obyčaev Rossijskich. Perevel s Manžurskago na Rossijskoj jazyk Kollegii Inostrannyh del Nadvernoj Sovetnik Aleksej Leont'ev. Sanktpeterburg: Akademija nauk 1782. 166 S.* - Translation of Tuličen's *Lakcaha jecen de takōraha babe ejehe bihe*; Chinese translation: Yiyulu 异域录.

[17] Franz Xaver von Wegele; Bacmeister, Christian. *ADB* 1. 1875, S. 757—758.

[18] Both quotes from Annelies Lauch; *Wissenschaft und kulturelle Beziehungen in der russischen Aufklärung. Zum Wirken H. L. Ch. Bameisters.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1969, p. 89.



In the following, the reviews of Leont'ev's works are quoted verbatim. For purposes of identification a modern title transcription is added; in the texts a number of names and terms are given in current transcription, in brackets [ ]. Some comments by the present editor provide explanations when considered necessary. As the reviews are mainly excerpts there did not seem to be a need for translating them.

The reviews follow the editor's design-samples, but no evaluation. Therefore names and details are reported which may have had limited value for the audience, especially as the Russian rendering of Chinese words made correspondences to similar information from French sources awkward, not to say difficult. In one case, a preface by the Kangxi Emperor, the reviewer cited a sample but admitted that the rest was unclear to him. But the main aim was, after all, to alert the public to the existence of books and give an idea of the contents. This may sound a bit trivial from today's point of view but Bacmeister said in the introduction to his journal that it is not easy to find books published in Russia, not even to track down those printed at St. Petersburg. This situation did not change substantially during the 19th century, and more than a hundred years ago the Orientalist Berthold Laufer (1874—1934) stated it was easier to get books directly from China than books on Chinese studies from Russia. . . .

## Conclusion

Leont'ev's publications were in demand as proven by new editions and translations into German. The latter were made by initiative of A. F. Büsching, C. G. Arndt and J. B. Scherer scholars who all had lived at St. Petersburg for years. The Russische Bibliothek made the books known on a national and international level and thus contributed to their distribution.

**Uvědomlenie o byvšej s 1677 do 1689 goda vojně u Kitajcev s Zengorcami.** Vypisal iz Kitajskoj istorii Sekretar' Leontiev.

V Sanktpeterburgě, pri Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk 1777 goda. 102 p.

[ Communication regarding the war between the Chinese and the Dsungars, 1677—1689. Selected from a Chinese chronicle by Sekretary Leontiev. ]

Translation from: *Han-i araha Wargi amargi babe necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon-i bithe*. 1710

The appendix is taken from: Aisin, Dailiyoo. *Yuwan-i suduri*.

*Russische Bibliothek* 5. 1778, 355-360

Uwjedomlenie o b'üwschej s' 1677 do 1698<sup>[19]</sup> ghoda wojnje u Kitajzew' s' Zenghortzami. W' üpisal' iz' Kitajskoj istorii Sekretarj Leontiew'. W' Santpeterburghje pri Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk 1777 ghoda.<sup>[20]</sup>

Mit dem Anhang von Mongolischen Chanen zusammen 103 Octavseiten, außer der Vorrede, Kostet 25 Kopek.

Von der Quelle dieser Nachricht können wir weiter nichts melden, als was Herr Leontiew' in dem

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[19] 1689 ist ein Druckfehler. [1689 is a typo]

[20] D. i. Nachricht von dem Krieg der Chineser mit den Sengoren von dem Jahre 1677 bis 1698 ausgezogen aus der Chinesischen Geschichte von dem Secretaire Leontiew'. St. Petersburg bei der Akademie der Wissenschaften 1777.

kurzen Vorberichte davon sagt: «Er habe sie aus einer Chinesischen Geschichte, die ein sehr umständliches Tagebuch des in dem Titel erwähnten Krieges in manschurischer Sprache enthalten, übersetzt, und zwar, um dem Leser keine Langeweile zu verursachen, abgekürzt.»

Mit diesem Kriege hatte es die folgende Bewandniß: Die Songaren oder Sengoren [Dsungars], die einen von den ehemaligen vier Hauptzweigen der Ölöt oder Kalmücken [so-called Dörben Oirad] ausmachen, hatten einen Chan, der hier (S. 2) Chodoschotzin', und in Herrn Pallas historischen Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften Th. I. S. 39 erst Baatur-Taidschi [Batur Taiji], und hernach Erdeni-Baatur [Erdeni Batur] heißt. Nach seinem Tode folgte ihm sein Sohn Söngä [Sengge] in der Regierung; und als dieser ermordet wurde, warf sich dessen leiblicher Bruder, bis dahin ein Lama oder Geistlicher, zum Chan auf, der hier schlechtweg Galdan, selten Taidschi [Taiji] Galdan, bei Pallas aber (S. 40) erst Galdan-Chutukta [qutuχtu], und hernach Buschtu-Chan [Galdan bošoχtu qaχan], genannt wird. Die erste Begebenheit, die in Herrn Leontiew's Nachricht erzählt wird, ist, daß der Chinesische Chan oder Kaiser Kansi [Kangxi] im 16ten Jahre seiner Regierung, welches das 1677ste nach Christi Geburt sein soll, einen Brief nebst Geschenken von dem Taidschi Galdan erhalten habe. Bald hatte dieser unruhige Kopf Händel mit den Kalken [Khalkha, Xalxa] (gewissen Mongolen), deren sich Kansi annahm. Darüber kam es zwischen den Chinesern und Sengoren, aber nicht eher als im Jahre 1690 (S. 18) zu Feindseligkeiten. —Galdan wurde endlich durch Chinesische List geschwächt, flohe von einem Orte zum andern, und starb 1697 an einer Krankheit (S. 65). Nach der Vorrede hatte er Gift genommen. Sein Sohn und seine Tochter wurden an dem Pekinischen Hofe anständig versorgt (S. 68). —Davon handelt nun Herrn Leontiew's Auszug, der aber auch viele andere merkwürdige Vorfälle enthält, die diese Sengorischen Händel, wie es scheint, nichts angehen.

In der schon erwähnten Vorrede stellt der Kaiser Kansi selbst Betrachtungen über diesen Krieg an, und erwähnt zwar zuletzt des Geschichtsbuches, aber ohne sich für dessen Verfasser zu erklären.

Der Anhang, den Herr Leontiew' (nach dem Vorbericht und S. 81) «aus einer besonderen Chinesischen Historie ausgezogen hat», besteht aus drei Geschlechtsregistern oder vielmehr Monarchien mongolischer Chane (S. 69—103), von denen man nicht wohl einen Begriff geben kann, ohne den Lesern mit einiger Weitläufigkeit und mit einigen wunderlichen Namen beschwerlich zu fallen.

Das erste Geschlecht hieß erst Kitanj 契丹 [Qidan] oder Kitaj, hernach Daj-Liou 大辽 [Da Liao]. Des Ursprunges dieser neuen Benennung wird nicht gedacht. Der erste Chan der Kitanischen Horde hieß Tzisju [Qishou] (S. 70). Einer von den folgenden Chanen, Abodsi [Abaoji], war im neunten Jahrhundert gebohren (S. 74). Unter seinen dreizehn Nachfolgern waren auch zwei Damen, von welchen die eine, Gantanj, sieben Jahre, und die andere, Pusuwanj, vierzehn Jahre regierte. Diese Daj-Liouische Monarchie dauerte 310 Jahre, und erstreckte sich über einen Umfang von 6000 Wersten bis ans östliche Weltmeer. Peking war eine von ihren fünf Hauptstädten (S. 80. 81).

Das zweite Geschlecht ist Ajschinj [Aisin]. Vorhin hieß es Njüdschi<sup>[21]</sup> [Jürčen], und stand unter denjenigen Kitanern (Kitajern), die sich zuletzt Dailioujer nannten. Aber einer von den Njüdschischen Fürsten, Aguda, machte sich durch seine Tapferkeit unabhängig, und gab seiner Herrschaft den Namen Aschinj [!], d. i. golden, mongolisch altaj. Nach ihm sind hier nur noch acht Beherrscher dieser sogenannten goldenen Horde angegeben, unter welchen sich der unten vorkommende Dschandsun-Chan nicht befindet (S. 81—86).

[21] Njüdschi sind die jetzigen Manschuren, sagt Herr Leontiew' in einer Anmerkung.

Das dritte Geschlecht hieß Juan 元 [ Yuan ], vorhin Mongo ( S. 86 ). Die Ursache dieser Namens-Änderung wird auch nicht gezeigt. Die Mongo hatten erst elf Ältesten ( Starschinen, Fürsten ); doch der neunte nannte sich schon Chan. Der eilfte, Jesughej [ Yesügai ], war der Vater des berühmten Temudsin' [ Temüjin ], der nach vielen Eroberungen sich zum Chan erklärte, und sich den Titel Tschingis-Chan beilegen ließ. Damals regierte in der goldenen Monarchie Dschansun-Chan ( S. 91 ). — Tschingis-Chan kriegte mit der östlichen und westlichen Goldenen Monarchie ( S. 92 ), — eroberte Peking u. s. w. Dann liest man Lebens-Umstände seiner zwölf Nachfolger. Unter diesen führte sein Enkel Kubilaj « die mongolische Schrift ein. Ein Lama, Namens Basha [ wohl ' P ' ags-pa Lama, der die Quadratschrift einführte ], hatte sie erfunden. Bis dahin hatten die Mongolen keine Schrift gekannt, sondern zuweilen, im Falle der Noth, die Chinesische ( Kitajsche ) oder Uw' üische [ uigurische ] gebraucht. Eine Copey seines hierüber bekannt gemachten namentlichen ( oder speciellen ) Befehls ist in dem « Geschichtbuche », nämlich aus welchem dieses Geschlechtsregister ausgezogen ist ( S. 96 ). Er unterwarf sich ganz China. Der letzte von diesen zwölf Chanen ist Tochuan-Temur [ Toḡan Temür ], der mit allen seinen Mongolen aus China vertrieben wurde.

Comment

Historical facts like information about the three dynasties formerly having rules over North China, the Qidan, the Jučen and the Mongols, may certainly have been to the readers' interest, like the more recent details about the pacification of the Oirats under Galdan, as accomplished by the Kangxi emperor.

History is presented in a very condensed form as the translator correctly assumed too many difficult and unintelligible names might not win the readers' attention. The reviewer just puts the facts into context but does not offer further explanations.

**Ge jań, to est' umnye rečy.** Perevel s kitajskago na rossijskij jazyk A. L.

Sanktpeterburg 1776. 112 p.

[ Geyan, di. e Wise words. Translated from the Chinese into Russian by A. L. ]

Translation from the Geyan jiyao of which a copy in Manchu was available in the Petersburg Academy Library; Koolingga gisun-i oyonggo besósoho bithe.

Russische Bibliothek 5. 1778, 437-439.

Ghejan', to estj, umn' üja r' jetschi, perewel' s' Kitajskagho na Rossijskoj jaz' ük A. L. W' Sanktpeterburghje 1776 ghoda<sup>[22]</sup>. 112 Octavseiten. Kostet 30 Kopek.

Von diesem Werke ist weiter nicht zu sagen, als daß es ohne alle Abtheilung oder sichtbaren Plan lauter solche moralischen Sätze enthält, als die folgenden, die wir zur Probe anführen:

S. 13. Groß ist, wer eine Leidenschaft ausrottet, so bald er ihren Anfang empfindet. Niederträchtig ist, wer sich rechtschaffen und gutthätig anstellt, und doch mit Tücken und Bosheit umgeht. Ein Vieh ist, wer die Liebe und die Pflichten gegen den Vater und den Monarchen verkennet.

S. 18. Wenn die Menschen uns im Glücke Hochachtung bezeugen, so müssen wir bedenken, daß sie nicht uns, sondern unser Glück hochschätzen: Und wenn sie uns im Unglück beleidigen, so müssen wir bedenken, daß sie nicht uns, sondern unser Unglück beleidigen. Folglich müssen wir eben so wenig uns über

[22] D. i. Ghejan', das ist, Kluge Reden; aus dem Chinesischen ins Russische übersetzt von A. L., St. Petersburg 1776.

ihre Hochschätzung freuen, als über ihre Beleidigung zürnen.

S. 19. Groß ist der Mann, der seine Größe nicht kennet.

S. 21. Der ist noch nicht sehr gelehrt, der zwar mit guten Leuten, aber nicht mit bösen, umzugehen weiß.

S. 31. Es ist keine Schande, von einer Sache, die du thun kannst, nicht reden zu können; aber eine Schande ist es, von einer Sache, die du nicht thun kannst, reden zu können.

S. 31. Es ist niederträchtig und einfältig, einen Ruhm darinnen zu suchen, daß man gethan hat, was recht ist.

S. 41. Der Mann ist verständig, der das, was er jeden Tag gethan hat, des Nachts überlegt, über das Gute sich freut, und das Böse bereuet.

S. 48. Man muß sich gegen die Nacht vor Trunkenheit, und frühmorgens vor Zorn hüten. — Früh muß man nicht Wein trinken, und spät nicht essen. ( Dergleichen Gegensätze kommen vor. )

S. 54. Um deine Geschäfte außer Hause muß die Frau, wenn sie gleich verständig ist, und um deine Geschäfte in dem Haus der Bediente, wenn er gleich geschickt ist, sich nicht bekümmern.

S. 63. Kleine Geschäfte muß man ausrichten, wie große, ohne Trägheit und ohne Vernachlässigung. Große Geschäfte muß man ausführen, wie kleine, ohne Ermüdung und ohne Stolz.

S. 66. Für einen Dienst muß man einen geringen Menschen lieber überflüssig belohnen, als ihm zu viele Gewalt einräumen.

S. 109. Man muß mehr sitzen als gehen; mehr schweigen als reden; — mehr nachgeben als streiten; mehr allein sein als in Gesellschaft, mehr sich freuen als sich erzürnen.

S. 111. Derjenige tapfere Kriegsheld ist immer außer Gefahr, der sich einen Ort bereit hält, dahin er seinen Rückzug nehmen kann.

S. 112. Einem guten Rathe gemäß handeln, ist besser als viele Bücher lesen. Eine kleine gute That ist besser als tausend Worte.

Comment

Here the reviewer would have had no other option—even if it had not already been the editor's rule—just to give samples from the text—wise words, proverbs and proverbial phrases which do appeal immediately to the reader. There is no description or discussion of the original book by the translator. .

**Kitajskoe ułoženie.** Perevel sokrašččno s manžurskago na rossijskoj jazyk Kollegii inostrannyh děl majorskago ranga sekretar' Aleksěj Leontiev. Časti 1—2.

S. Peterburg: Akademija nauk 1778—1779. 15, 290; 16, 238 p.

[ The Chinese code of law. Translated in condensed form from the Manchu into Russian by the Secretary with the rank of a major of the Foreign Office Aleksej Leontiev. ]

Übersetzung aus *Hesei toktohuha Daicing gurun-i fafun-i bithe*. 30 debtelin [ chapters ].

Russische Bibliothek 6. 1779, 151—159

Kitajskoe ulozhenie: perewel' sokraschtschenno s' Manžurskagho na Rossijskoj jaz' ük' kolleghii inostrann' üch' djel' Maiorskagho rangha Sekretar' Alekszej Leontiew'. Tschastj perwaja. Tzjena 80 kop. W' Sanktpeterburghj pri Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk' 1778 ghoda.

— Tschastj wtoraja. Tzjena 60 kop. W' Sanktpeterb. pri Imp. Akad. nauk' 1779 ghoda.<sup>[23]</sup>  
 Außer den beyden Titelbogen beträgt der 1. Theil 190 Octavseiten, und der II. Th. 238 Seiten.

Die Vorrede des Chans (oder Kaisers) Jun Dschen [Yongzheng] ist im dritten Jahre seiner Regierung, welches nach einer Anmerkung des Herrn Übersetzers in das 1725 nach Chr. Geb. fällt, unterzeichnet. (Gleichwohl findet sich im 1. Theile S. 38 eine Verordnung vom sechsten Jahre seiner Regierung.) Er sagt, er habe gleich nach seiner Thronbesteigung die Gesetze und Verordnungen untersuchen, verbessern und ergänzen lassen; dann habe er selbst sie aufs genaueste geprüft, mit seinen Ministern darüber berathschlagt, und sie solchergestalt zur Vollkommenheit gebracht; jetzt mache er sie durch den Druck zur allgemeinen Befolgung bekannt; er will, daß sie nicht nur von allen, die dem Staate dienen, oder künftig dienen wollen, fleißig gelesen und wohl erwogen, sondern auch von den Befehlshabern über Städte, Flecken und Dörfer den Einwohnern, die Bauren nicht ausgenommen, vorgetragen, und faßlich erklärt werden.

Dieses verbesserte Gesetzbuch ist es, aus welchem der Herr Sekretaire Leontiew' seinen Auszug in russischer Sprache gemacht hat. Von dem Manschurischen Original<sup>[24]</sup> giebt er keine Nachricht. In den mehrsten seiner eben nicht seltenen Anmerkungen hat er die beybehaltenen Chinesischen oder Mandschurischen Wörter erklärt, und in den übrigen die Sachen selbst erläutert.

Das Buch besteht aus 30 Capiteln, in jedem Teile 15. Erster Theil: 1) Von der Bestimmung der Verbrechen und der Strafen, 2) von den vornehmsten Staatsbeamten, 3) von dem gerichtlichen Verfahren, 4) von den Familien, 5) vom Ackerbau und Getraide, 6) vom Heirathen und vom Ehestande, 7) von den Einkünften und dem Eigenthum des Staats, 8) von den Zöllen, 9) von den Schulden, 10) vom Handel, 11) von den Opfern, 12) von den Ceremonien und andern Sachen, 13) von den Wachthabenden, 14) vom Kriegswesen, 15) von den Kriegs-Verordnungen; — Zweyter Theil: 16) von den der Krone zugehörenden Pferden und anderem Viehe, 17) vom Postwesen, 18) von den Staatsverbrechern, Dieben und Räubern, 19) von der Bestrafung der Mörder, 20) von der Bestrafung wegen Schlägereyen, 21) von der Bestrafung wegen Beschimpfung und Scheltworte, 22) von den Bittschriften und Anklagen, 23) Strafen wegen Bestechungen, Geschenke, Gewinnsucht, 24) wegen Betrügereyen, 25) wegen Unzucht, 26) wegen verschiedener ungewöhnlicher Vergehungen, 27) von der Aufsuchung und Auslieferung der Verbrecher und entlaufenen Leute, 28) von der Gefangenschaft der Verbrecher, 29) von den Krons-Gebäuden und Arbeiten, 30) von den Dämmen und Brücken.

Da fast in einem jeden von allen diesen Gesetzen auch die Strafe für dessen Übertretung vorkömmt; so ist es sehr nöthig, das jetzige Chinesische Strafsystem zu kennen; und dazu dienen die drey voranstehenden Verzeichnisse (S. 7 bis 20): 1) Beschreibung der Geräth zur Verwahrung und Bestrafung der Verbrecher, nämlich der aus Schilf gemachten Pritsche, der Ketten, der Fesseln, u. dgl. alle nach Maaß und Gewicht aufs genaueste bestimmt. 2) Verzeichniß der fünf Abtheilungen von Leibesstrafen. 3) Verzeichniß, was an Silber und Getraide, nach Verschiedenheit der verurtheilten Personen, anstatt der Leibesstrafen erlegt wird.

Hierbey muß man vorläufig merken, daß, obgleich in dem Gesetzbuche selbst die mehrsten Strafen nach

[23] D. I. Chinesisches Gesetzbuch; Abgekürzt und aus der manschurischen in die russische Sprache übersetzt von Alek'sjej Leontiew', Secretaire des Collegiums der auswärtigen Geschäfte mit Majors Rang. Erster Theil. Kostet 80 Kopek. St. Petersburg bey der Kaißerl. Akad. der Wissensch. 1778. — Zweyter Theil. Kostet 60 Kopek. St. Petersb. bey der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. 1779.

[24] *Hesei toktobuha Daicing gurun-i fajun-i bihe kooli*. The preface in question is dated 9. IX. Yongzheng 3 = 14. Oct. 1725. Cf. H. Walravens; *Mandschurische Handschriften und Drucke im Bestand der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*. Wiesbaden; Steiner 2014, Nr. 40 (1768 edition).

Stockschlägen angesetzt sind, dennoch seit der Manschurischen Regierung niemals Stockschläge, sondern statt derselben (wenn man sich nicht davon loskauft) allemal eine kleinere Anzahl Streiche mit der Schilfpeitsche, nach jenem zweyten Verzeichniß gegeben werden.

Jede der fünf Abtheilung von Leibesstrafen hat gewisse Stufen. Die 1te Abtheilung begreift bloß 10 bis 50 Schläge mit dünnen Stöcken (in den folgenden Abtheilung sind immer dicke Stöcke zu verstehen); die 2te Abtheilung bloß Stockschläge von 60 bis 100; die 3te Abtheilung 60 bis 100 Stockschläge nebst Verurtheilung zu gemeiner Arbeit auf 1 bis 3 Jahre; die 4te Abtheilung 100 Stockschläge, nebst Verweisung in eine Entfernung von 2000, oder 2500, oder 3000 Li (letzteres macht 257 deutsche Meilen); die 5the Abtheilung, Erdrosselung und Enthauptung. — Also sind zusammen 20 Stufen von Leibesstrafen.

Nach dem erwähnten heutigen Gebrauche werden z. E. anstatt 30 Stockschläge zehn Streiche; anstatt 100 aber 40 Streiche mit der Schilfpeitsche gegeben. Aber, nach dem dritten Verzeichniß, können sich die Verbrecher durch Erlegung einer Buße an Silber und an Getraide nicht nur von der Schilfpeitsche, sondern auch einige Personen, als Kinder, Greise, gewisse Weiber etc. sogar von der Verweisung und der Todesstrafe frey machen. Am Ende dieses dritten Verzeichnisses (S. 20) heißt es zwar: «Alle, die diese Buße nicht erlegt haben, sollen gepeitscht und bestraft werden.» Aber man schließe hieraus nicht, daß ein Verbrecher allemal die Wahl der Strafe habe! denn das wird eben, wie es scheint, in der folgenden Verordnung bestimmt, in welchen Fällen diese Wahl Statt finden soll. Übrigens kommen in einigen Verordnungen Strafen vor, deren in den drey Verzeichnissen nicht gedacht wird, z. B. Absetzung vom Amte und andere, von denen wir unten Beyspiele anführen werden. Hergegen haben wir keinen Fall gefunden, in dem bloß mit Gefängniß oder bloß mit Beschimpfung gestraft würde, obgleich schon die zehn Stockschläge der ersten Stufe zugleich für eine Beschimpfung erklärt werden. (S. 24)

Die fünf Abtheilung oder 20 Stufen von Leibesstrafen wurden zur Zeit des Königs Juj [Yu 禹] (der 2200 Jahre vor Christi Geburt regiert haben soll) angeordnet, und bis 176 Jahr vor Christi Geburt beobachtet und ausgeübt, da der König Wündi [Wendi] alle Leibesstrafen verbot. Aber im 7ten Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt wurden sie von neuem eingeführt, und dauern bis jetzo fort (S. 23. 24). Die Buße an Silber und an Getraide statt der Leibesstrafe kam auch schon unter der Regierung des Königs Juj auf, und zwar in der Absicht, nach einer billigen Gelindigkeit gegen die Menschen zu verfahren, ohne das Ansehen des einmal gegebenen Gesetzes zu schwächen (S. 25).

Kaum wagen wir es, aus diesem Gesetzbuche etwas anzuführen; denn eines guten Commentars scheint es gar sehr zu bedürfen. Indessen möchten doch wohl die folgenden Verordnungen keinen Mißverständnissen ausgesetzt seyn; nur beliebe sich der Leser beständig zu erinnern, daß die Stockschläge immer in eine andere Strafe verwandelt werden. Erster Theil S. 69. Die Obrigkeitlichen Personen und ihre Untergebene sollen sich die Gesetze wohl bekannt machen, damit sie selbige verstehen und auslegen könne. Wenn sie bey dem alljährlich anzustellenden Examen nachläßig befunden werden, so verlieren jene die Besoldung von einem Monat, und diese bekommen 40 Schläge mit dünnen Stöcken. — S. 117. Ein Befehlshaber, der verwaisete, oder siechhafte, oder betagte Leute, die keine vermögende Verwandte haben, und sich selbst nicht ernähren können, nicht zu Krons-Kostgängern annimmt, bekommt 60 Schläge mit dicken Stöcken. — S. 143. Wer seine Frau einem anderen verpfändet, oder vermiethet, um ihm Frauendienste zu leisten, — 80 Schläge mit dicken Stöcken. — 156. Wer seine Frau ohne eine von den sieben gesetzmäßigen Ursachen verstößt, muß sie wieder zu sich nehmen, und 80 Schläge mit dicken Stöcken. — Jene sieben Ursachen sind, 1) wenn die Frau unfruchtbar ist, 2) die Ehe bricht, 3) den Schwager oder die Schwägerinn verachtet, 4) zu viel spricht (d. i.

murret, brummet, u. dgl. ), 5. stiehlt, 6) boshaft und tückisch ist, 7) eine schlimme (gefährliche) Krankheit hat. — S. 157. Auch der, der seine Frau nicht verstößt, wenn eine von diesen sieben Ursachen Statt findet, empfängt 80 Schläge mit dicken Stöcken. — Wenn aber beyde, der Mann und die Frau, sich wegen Ungleichheit ihrer Gemüths-Characteren von einander trennen wollen, so steht es ihnen frey. — S. 210. Wer bey der Zubereitung der Arzney für den Chan einen Fehler begeht-60, und, wenn er es zu arg macht, 100 Schläge mit dicken Stöcken. Einen Chanischen Koch, der sich übereilt, geht es nicht viel besser. Wer in die Küche des Chans kömmt, und eine Arzney bey sich trägt, muß sie selbst einnehmen, und-100 Schläge mit dicken Stöcken. — S. 239, 240. Auf der Sternwarte muß Tag und Nacht einer von den Lehrlingen den Himmel beobachten, und, so bald er etwas ungewöhnliches bemerkt, es seinem obersten Vorgesetzten schriftlich melden. Dieser muß, wenn es was merkwürdiges, dem Monarchen Bericht davon abstatten, oder 60 Schläge mit dicken Stöcken. — Für den Lehrling, der etwa eine Himmels-Erscheinung verschläft, ist hier keine Strafe angesetzt. — S. 240. Ein Wahrsager, der dem Reiche etwa prophezeyet, es sey gutes oder böses-100 Schläge mit dicken Stöcken. — Zweyter Theil S. 8. 9. Wer 1, 2 bis 3 Ochsen stiehlt, sitzt 30, 35 bis 40 Tage gefangen unter einem schweren auf den Schultern liegenden und den Hals umgebenden zweyfachen Brete [Kang], und bekömmt 80, 90 bis 100 Schläge mit dicken Stöcken; für 4 Ochsen ist die Strafe 40 Tage unter dem Brete, 60 Schläge und Verrichtung gemeiner Arbeit während eines Jahrs; für 5 Ochsen 40 Tage unter dem Brete, 80 Schläge und zweyjährige Arbeit; für mehr als 5 (doch weniger als 10) Ochsen 40 Tage unter dem Brete, 100 Schläge und drey Jahre Arbeit; für einen zweyten Diebstahl 100 Schläge und Verweisung auf 257 deutsche Meilen; für öftern Diebstahl Verweisung in eine Gränzfestung zum gemeinen Soldaten und Brandmarkung; für 10 oder mehr gestohlene Ochsen Erdrosselung, zu deren Bewerkstelligung jedoch (so wie in vielen andern Fällen Th. I. S. 25) erst eine besondere Erlaubniß des Monarchen nöthig ist. Dieser ganze Artikel wird ein neu gegebenes Gesetz genennet, und wird wohl eine von den Ergänzungen seyn, deren der Chan in seiner Vorrede erwähnt. — S. 170. Wer ein Mädchen von wenig als zwölf Jahren zur Unzucht verleitet, wird eben so, als wenn er eine genothzüchtigt hätte, gestraft, nämlich erdrosselt. — S. 210. Ein Wachthabender, der einen Gefangenen beleidigt oder beraubt, wird ungefähr eben so bestraft, als wenn es kein Gefangener wäre. — S. 237. Brücken und Wege müssen die Aufseher sorgfältig im guten Stande erhalten, und sie außer der Ackerzeit ausbessern lassen; widrigenfalls — 30 Schläge mit dünnen Stöcken.

#### Comment

The reviewer gives a brief overview over the contents of this penal code of 1724, then focuses on the punishments usually strokes with thin or thick sticks, and concludes with a number of examples but expresses hesitation because he is under the impression that more explanations are needed.

Neither the translator nor the reviewer feel like discussing the contents of the code, e. g. making comparisons with the Russian system - for obvious reasons.

**Kratčajšee opisanie gorodam, dochodam i protčemu kitajskago gosudarstva, a pri tom i vsëm gosudarstvam, korolevstvam i knjažestvam, koi kitajcam svědomy.** Vybrannoe iz kitajskoj gosudarstvennoj geografii, koja napečatana v Pekině na kitajskom jazykě pri nyněšnem Chaně Kjañ Luně. Sekretarem Leontievym. Cena 80 kp.

VSanktpeterburgě 1778 goda. 332 p.

[Short description of the towns, revenues etc. of the Chinese Empire, including all empires, kingdoms and principalities known to the Chinese. Selected from the Chinese national geography printed in Chinese



under the present Khan Qianlong, by the Secretary Leontiev. ]

*Russische Bibliothek* 6. 1779, 191—196

Krattschajschee opisanie ghorodam', dochodam' i prottschemu Kitajskagho ghosudarsta, a pri tom' i ws'em' ghosudarstwam', korolewstwam' i knjazchestwam', koi Kitajtzam' swjedom' ü; w' übrannoe iz' Kitajskoj ghosudarstwennoj Gheoghrafii, koja napetschatana w' Pekinje na Kitajskom' jaz' ükje pri n' ünjeschnem' Chanje Kjaan' Lunje, Secretarem' Leontiew' üm'. Tzjena 80 kop. W' Sanktpeterburghje 1778 ghoda.<sup>[25]</sup>

332 Seiten in Octav.

Da der Chinesischen Reichs-Geographie, aus welcher diese Beschreibung geschöpft ist, nicht weiter, als nur in dem Titel, gedacht wird, so wollen wir diesen Mangel dadurch ersetzen, daß wir die in dem St. Petersburgischen Journal, April 1779, S. 236, von dem Herrn Assessor und Unterbibliothekar Baemeister<sup>[26]</sup> mitgetheilte Nachricht, mit seiner Verbesserung der daselbst in der Anmerkung befindlichen Druckfehler, hier einrücken. Jenes Chinesische Werk 《wird in der Bibliothek der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften aufbewahrt, führt den Titel: Day syn i tun dschy [Da Qing yitong zhi], und besteht aus 24 Bänden oder Portefeuilles, von welchen jeder wieder seine besondern Theile hat, deren Anzahl sich auf 107 beläuft. Die geographischen Charten welche dieser Beschreibung beygefügt sind, machen einen vollkommenen Chinesischen Atlas aus, und bestehen aus 496 Blättern. Die Verfertigung des ganzen Werkes geschah auf Befehl des Chans durch eine besonders dazu ernannte Gesellschaft gelehrter Männer, und ist die vollständigste, die man von diesem Reiche hat. — Die dem dritten Theile des Büschingschen Magazins einverleibte deutsche geographische Beschreibung des ersten Gouvernements Dschi Li rührt aus einer andern Urschrift her, von welcher der verstorbene Translateur Rossochin<sup>[27]</sup> verschiedene Gouvernements, nicht die acht letztern, ins Russische (jedoch abgekürzt) übersetzt hat. Aus diesem Rossochinischen Werke ist jene deutsche Beschreibung in dem Büschingschen Magazin<sup>[28]</sup> übersetzt worden.》

In dem von Hrn. Leontiew verfertigten Auszuge geht die Beschreibung des Chinesischen Reiches bis S. 287. Jedes Gouvernement (Sch' ün [sheng]), deren es achtzehn giebt, wird erst überhaupt, und dann eine jede Provinz (Fu) desselben besonders beschrieben. Da beyderley Beschreibungen nicht lang sind, so ist das kürzeste Mittel, einen Begriff von deren Beschaffenheit zu geben, die Anführung eines Beyspiels. S. 91. 《Das fünfte Gouvernement Schanj Dun [Shandong] ist von Osten nach Westen 984, und von Süden nach Norden 486 Werste lang. In demselben sind 10 Provinzen, 108 Städte, 2 große Flüsse, 2, 431, 936 im Acker-

[25] D. i. Sehr kurze Beschreibung der Städte, Einkünfte u. s. w. des Chinesischen Reiches, wie auch aller Reiche, Königreiche und Fürstenthümer, die den Chinesern bekannt sind; aus der unter der Regierung des jetzigen Chans Kjan' Lun' zu Peking in chinesischer Sprache gedruckten Chinesischen Reichs-Geographie ausgezogen von dem Secretaire Leontiew'. Preis 80 Kopek. St. Petersburg 1778.

[26] Johann Vollrath Baemeister (1732—1788), Hartwig Baemeister's cousin, worked at the library of the Academy.

[27] Ilarion Kalinovič Rossochin, 1707 oder 1717-1761; cf. V. P. Taranovič Ilarion Rossochin und seine Arbeiten zur Sinologie. Aus dem Russischen von H. Walravens. *NOAG* 118. 1975, 53-77.

[28] Vol. 3, 575-604; J. von Stählin; Atlas von China nebst einer geographischen Erläuterung desselben. Abgefasset von einem gebornen Chinesen zu Peking 1746 und aus der chinesischen Sprache zu St. Petersburg 1756 von Rossochin in die rußische, aus dieser aber nun in die deutsche übersetzt.



Verzeichniß angesetzte Bauren.<sup>[29]</sup> Die Krone empfängt (und zwar von diesen Bauren, wie in andern Gouvernements hinzugesetzt ist) jährlich 1,271,494 Danj [dan] Getraide und 3,463,224 Lana [liang] Silber.<sup>[30]</sup> Landesproducte und ausgehende Waaren sind Kupfer, Zinn, Eisen, Bley, Salz, Thee, Seidenwaaren, Baumwolle, — Porcellain-(und andere) Gefäße, mehrerley aus Steinen gemachte Sachen, Farben. An Kriegsvölkern sind 1600 Mann Mandschuren und 11000 Chineser. Der General (Gängün) [jiangjun 将军] ist ein Mandschur. Diesem Gouvernement ist ein Statthalter (Dsundu) [zongdu 总督] vorgesetzt. »-Unter den zehn Provinzen dieses Gouvernements mag die Beschreibung der sechsten zum Beyspiele dienen. Sie hat, so wie alle andere Provinzen, von einer Stadt ihren Namen. «Die Provinz [d. i. Präfektur] von Laj dscheu (Fu Laj Dscheu) enthält 7 Städte: 1) Laj Dscheu hat eine Mauer<sup>[31]</sup> von 3 Wersten im Umfange, 4 Thore, einen Teich, 2) Wüj Chänj eine Mauer von 5 Wersten 200 Faden im Umfange, 4 Thore, 1 Teich, 3) Pin Du, eine Mauer von 3 Wersten im Umfange, 3 Thore, 1 Teich, 4) Tschanj Ba, eine steinerne Mauer, 3 Werste im Umfange, 3 Thore, 1 Teich, 5) Dsiou Dscheu, eine steinerne Mauer, 2 Werste und 200 Faden im Umfange, 3 Thore, 1 Teich, 6) Gou Li, eine Mauer von 2 Wersten im Umfange, 4 Thore, 1 Teich, 7) Dsi Mo, 2 Werste 250 Faden im Umfange, 5 Thore, 1 Teich. — In dieser Provinz sind 13 Schulen, 59 Berge<sup>[32]</sup>, 9 Inseln, 20 Flüsse, 52 alte Gebäude, 25 steinerne Brücken, 19 Tempel und 31 Klöster. Aus den Städten Laj Dscheu und Dsiou Dscheu wird Salz ausgeführt. »-Aus fast eben solchen Artikeln besteht die Beschreibung der übrigen Gouvernements; nur findet man in den drey ersten mehr Umständlichkeit, besonders in Ansehung der Stadt Peking. — Zuletzt ist das folgende allgemeine Verzeichniß angehängt, S. 286. «Es sind in dem ganzen Chinesischen Reiche 1572 große und kleine Städte, 25,212,524 im Acker-Verzeichniß angesetzte Bauren, von welchen die Krone jährlich für die Äcker nimmt 6,425,388 Danj Getraide und 28,400,873 Lana Silber<sup>[33]</sup>, 2338 Schulen, 14607 Berge, die einen Namen haben, 765 Seen, 10,809 verschiedene alte Gebäude, 1193 Festungen (Guan), 119 Postirungen, jede bey einer Durchfahrt durch die große Mauer, 3158 steinerne Brücken, 2796 Tempel, 2606 Klöster, 38 Inseln.

Das zweyte Stück dieses Buches (S. 289 u. folg.) hat seinen besondern Titel: «Übersetzung einer kurzen Beschreibung der unter dem Chinesischen Scepter stehenden Königreiche und Fürstenthümer, wie auch der (übrigen) Staaten, aus denen zu den Chinesern Gesandte kommen, und die den Chinesern bekannt sind. » Es ist der gewöhnlichen Vorstellung, die man sich von der Erdkunde der Chineser macht, vollkommen gemäß. Die Länder und Völker stehen in einer Ordnung, von der man oft keine Regel sieht. Einige kommen zweymal vor, wie Holland, auch Rußland und Moskowien. Von Deutschland, von Polen, von Dänemark, ein Paar Zeilen! — von manchen doch weit umständlicher, z. E. von Rußland, und vornehmlich (S. 313—320) von der jetzigen Eintheilung der Mongolen in 24 Stämme, die 49 Fahnen ausmachen.

[29] Ob hier lauter wirkliche Bauren, ob bloß die Väter der Familien, oder bloß die Erwachsenen, ob bloß die Mannspersonen, oder ob alle Seelen im Bauerstande gemeynet sind, darüber findet sich keine Erklärung. Auch das Chinesische Gesetzbuch (Nr. DCXLV. A.) giebt hierüber keinen zuverlässigen Aufschluß, ob gleich im vierten Capitel von dieser Materie gehandelt wird.

[30] Danj [dan 石] ist ein Maaß von 1000 Handvoll. Lana [liang 两] ist keine Münze, sondern ein Gewicht von 8 Russischen Solotniken, oder 8 Quentchen.

[31] Mauer, stjena [stena], eine jede aufgeführte Umfassung, sie mag von Steinen oder von Holz oder von Erde gemacht seyn, wovon in andern Gouvernements Beyspiele vorkommen.

[32] Nämlich nur solche Berge, die eigene Namen haben, nach S. 16.

[33] Diese drey Artikel, die Bauren, das Getraide und das Silber, fehlen in der Beschreibung des zwölften Gouvernements S. 186, und sind also in diesen Summen nicht mit begriffen, wenigstens die Bauren nicht; denn die haben wir nachgerechnet.

Comment

This deals with a translation from the Description of China, an official handbook by the imperial government (*Da Qing yitong zhi* 大清一统志). It provides not only details on the number of cities, towns, farmers, taxes, schools, temples, stone bridges but also on products, the geography etc. The description follows the administrative order, by provinces (here called governments, following the Russian custom), prefectures (here called provinces), and so on. Foreign countries are dealt with only marginally. An important tool for political statistics.

**Sy šu gei, to est' četyre knigi s tolkovanijami.** Kniga pervaja filozofa Konfuciusa. Perevel s kitajskago i Mandžurskago na rossijskoj jazyk Nadvornoj sovětnik Aleksěj Leontiev.

V Sanktpeterburgě, pri Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk 1780 goda. 123 p.

Inhalt: Da chio to est' učenie velikoe.

[Sishu jieyi 四书解义, i. e. the Four Books with explanations. The 1st book of the philosopher Confucius. Translation from Chinese and Manchu into Russian by aulic councillor Aleksej Leontiev.

Contents: Daxue, i. e. The Great Learning. ]

*Russische Bibliothek* 7. 1780, 282—286

S' ü schu ghjei, to estj, tschet' üre knighi s' tolkowanijami, krigha [!] perwaja Filozofa Konfuciusa. Perewel' s' Kitaskagho i Mandžurskagho na Rossijskoj jazük' Nadvornoj Sowjetnik' Aleksěj Leontiew'. W' Sanktpeterburghje, pri Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk', 1780 ghoda.<sup>[34]</sup>

125 Octavseiten.

Das Buch selbst führt die Überschrift: «Da Chio, das ist, die große Lehre» und enthält, nach dem kurzen Vorberichte, die Überlieferungen der alten Könige und Regenten, und die von ihnen den Menschen gegebenen Lehren und Gesetze, welche von Kunds' ü (s. i. Konfucius) in eine gewisse Ordnung gebracht, von Dsends' ü [Zengzi] in zehn Theile getheilt sind, und den Namen große Lehre deswegen erhalten haben, weil ohne sie niemand weder ein heiliger Mann, noch ein würdiger Regent seyn kann.

Darauf folgt wirklich dieses Buch in seinen zehn Theilen. Ob nun aber eben dasselbe von einer andern Seite etwa als ein Inbegriff von den vier Büchern, deren der Titel erwähnt, angesehen werden kann, wann nur die Vorrede des Chans Kan Si [Kangxi], (der vom Jahr 1661 bis 1722 regierte) nicht so unverständlich abgefaßt wäre. Im Anfange derselben sagt er, die Heiligen und hochehrwürdigen Männer, nämlich die Regenten Jou [Yao 堯], Schun [Shun 舜], Juj [Yu 禹], Tan, Wün [Wenwang 文王], und die Lehrer Kunds' ü [Kongzi], Dsends' ü, Ds' üs' ü, M' ünds' ü [Mengzi] haben die Bücher Ighin [Yijing], Schughin [Shujing], Schighin [Shijing], Lunj Juj [Lunyu], Dschun Jun [Zhongyong], M' ünds' ü geschrieben. Aber aus Seite 5. ist nur soviel zu verstehen, daß man nicht meynen muß. als wenn ein jeder von diesen vier Lehrern eines von diesen vier Büchern, und also auch Kunds' ü das Buch Da Chio [Daxue], geschrieben, und keiner an des andern Arbeit Antheil gehabt habe. Nach dem Chinesischen Lesebuch (Nr. DCCLXIX.) hat Dsends' ü [Zengzi], des Kundsü Schüler, dieses Buch Da Chio geschrieben. Wir nehmen es indessen

[34] D. i. S' ü schu ghjei, das ist, vier Bücher mit Auslegungen. Erstes Buch des Philosophen Konfucius. Übersetzt aus dem Chinesischen und Manschurischen ins Russische von dem Hofrath Aleksěj Leontiew'. St. Petersburg, bey der kaiserl. Akademie der Wiss. 1780.

ohne Rücksicht auf den Titel, so, wie es da ist. Die Einrichtung desselben ist diese: Ein jeder von den zehen Theilen besteht aus kurzen meist moralischen Sätzen, und auf jeden Satz folgt die Auslegung desselben. Zu einem Beyspiele wählen wir den ersten (S. 10), theils weil der Inhalt des ganzen Werkes darinn liegen soll, theils weil er sowohl selbst als die Auslegung unter die verständlichsten gehöret. Er lautet so: «Das Gesetz der großen Lehre besteht darinn, daß wir unsere verständige Seele erleuchten; daß wir gemeine Leute durch die Erleuchtung verbessern; und daß wir uns selbst und auch andere des wahren Guten theilhaftig machen. Auslegung: mit diesen Worten des Kunds' ü überliefert uns Dsends' ü die Regel, welche zu unserer eigenen Wohlfahrt und zu anderer Verbesserung unumgänglich nöthig ist, und auf welche die große Lehre gegründet ist. Sie kann, wie Kunds' ü sagt, sowohl für das ganze Reich, als für alle Enden der Welt dienen. — Unsere Seele ist vom Himmel erschaffen. Ihr Sitz ist in unserem Herzen. Ihrem Wesen nach ist sie ganz rein und unbefleckt; sie begreift, durchdringt und umfaßt die Ursachen aller Dinge und Gegebenheiten, und kann sich in allen ersinnlichen Vorfällen so betragen, wie es sich gehört. Ihrem Ursprunge nach hat sie einen Lichtglanz in sich; aber da sie bey unserer Geburt mit Leibes- und Luft-Hüllen bedeckt, und nach der Geburt durch Begierden und Leidenschaften eingeschränkt wird; so verwandelt sich dadurch ihr Lichtglanz oft in Dunkelheit, ohne doch deswegen weder ihr ursprüngliches Wesen noch ihre Wohnung in dem Herzen zu verlieren. Sobald sie sich also in unserm Herzen spüren läßt, müssen wir diese Gelegenheit nicht ungenützt lassen, sondern an unserer Erleuchtung eifrig arbeiten, weil wir dadurch in unserer Seele die ihr anerschaffene Reinigkeit und Scharfsinnigkeit wieder herstellen können. Das ist eine wohlbegründete Lehre, die Lehre jenes großen Mannes, die in der Erleuchtung der verständigen Seele besteht. Da aber die erwähnte Eigenschaft der Seele nicht uns allein eigen, sondern allen Menschen gemein ist, so müssen wir, wenn wir uns selbst erleuchtet haben, auch andere erleuchten, und andere dazu ermahnen und aufmuntern, mit dem Wunsche, daß alle Menschen die alte Unreinigkeit ganz aus ihrem Herzen vertreiben, und wir hiedurch unserm Vaterlande und dem ganzen Staate wirkliche Dienste erweisen mögen; Denn wir wissen, daß durch ein solches Bestreben diese Lehre nicht unthätig bleibt, sondern die Erneuerung und Erleuchtung anderer Menschen bewürket wird, und daß zur Erleuchtung unserer verständigen Seele und zur Verbesserung anderer Menschen es ein durch sich selbst bestehendes (unabhängiges) Mittel giebt, das weder Zusatz noch Abnahme leidet, und deswegen das wahre Gut genannt wird;» u. s. w. — Das übrige ist nicht recht verständlich.

#### Comment

A translation of the first of the Confucian Books, the Great Learning (Daxue 大学) from an edition with a commentary. The reviewer gives an example from the first part which is supposed to contain the essence of the book. Then he continues by saying: The remaining part is not really intelligible. He also notes that the preface by the Kangxi Emperor is not clear and therefore not particularly helpful. This leads us to assume—even though the reviewer does not remark on that—that the translator had difficulties with the philosophical content; he was probably more familiar with historical and administrative texts. The illustrative title page, by the way, belongs to vol. II of this edition: Zhongyong, the second of the Four Books. Leont'ev did not attempt to translate the Lunyu and Mengzi (i. e. vol. 3—4). — The original seems to be the Rijiang sishu jieyi 日讲四书解义 Han-i araha inenggidari giyangnaha s' e šu-i jurgan be suhe bithe, i. e. The imperially commissioned Four Books with the daily commentaries for the instruction of the princes, with preface by the Kangxi Emperor dates Dec. 31, 1677

**Bukva ř kitajskoj sostojaščej iz dvuch kitajskich knižek**, služít u Kitajcev dlja na čal' nago obu čenija malol čtnych d čtej osnovaniem. Pisan na stichach, i soderžit v seb ě mnogo kitajskich poslovic. Perevel s kitajskago i Manžurskago na rossijskoj jazyk prozoju Nadvornoj sov ětnik Aleksěj Leontiev.

V Sankpeterburg ě, pri Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk 1779 goda. 49 p.

[ Chinese primer, composed of two Chinese booklets, serves the Chinese as basis for the primary education of small children. Written in verses and contains many Chinese proverbs. Translation from Chinese and Manchu into Russian in prose by aulic councillor A. Leontiev. ]

*Russische Bibliothek* 7. 1780, 329-331

Bukvarj kitajskoj sostojaschtschej iz' dvuch' kitajskich' knizchek'. sluzhit' u Kitajzew' dlja natschaljnagho obutschenija maloljetn' ũch djetej osnovaniem'; pisan' na stichach, i soderzhit' w' sebje mnogho Kitajskich' poslowitz'; perewel' s' Kitajskagho i Manzhurskagho na Rossijskoj jaz' ũk' prozoju Nadworn' ũj Sowjetnik' Aleksěj Leontiew'. W' Sanktpeterburghje, pri Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk', 1779 ghoda.<sup>[35]</sup>

49 Oktavseiten.

Alles das, was ein angehender Chinesischer Leseschüler, anstatt Buchstaben, Sylben und dergleichen, zu lernen hat, findet man in diesem Werke nicht, sondern ungefähr so etwas zur Übung im Lesen, als man unsern ABC-büchern anzuhängen pflegt. Es ist, wie auch der Titel sagt, in zwey Büchelchen abgetheilt. Das erste (S. 5—23) heist: San ds' ũ ghin [ Sanzijing 三字经 ], d. i. das Drey-Wörterbuch, weil es im Chinesischen aus lauter Versen von drey Wörtern besteht. Von diesen Versen gehören immer zwey und zwey gewissermaßen zusammen. Ihr Inhalt betrifft allerley Sachen, die zum ersten Unterrichte der Kinder dienen können, und theils aus der Sittenlehre, theils aus der Staatsgeschichte, theils aus der gelehrten Geschichte, theils aus verschiedenen andern Wissenschaften geschöpft sind; worunter denn auch die Jahrszeiten, die Weltgegenden, und die Elemente vorkommen. Einen nähern Begriff von denselben wird man durch die folgenden Beyspiele erhalten. Die drey ersten Paar Verse sind:

*Der Mensch, nach seinem Ursprunge,*

*Hat eine mit dem Guten begabte Natur.*

*Von Natur ist ein Mensch von dem andern wenig verschieden.*

*Durch den Unterricht ist ein Mensch von dem andern sehr verschieden.*

*Wer keinen Unterricht erhält,*

*Dessen Natur verschlimmert sich.*

*Und weiterhin, S. 11, Das Buch Da Chio. Ist von Dsends' ũ [ Zengzi ] geschrieben:*

*Nach demselben wird, durch die Verbesserung des Menschen und die Ordnung in seiner Haushaltung, Stille und Ruhe im Reiche bewürkt.*

Das zweyte Buch (S. 25) heist: Min sän dsi [ Mingxianji 明贤集 ], d. i. Reden berühmter Männer, und besteht aus vier Abtheilungen, in dem die Verse von vier, fünf, sechs und sieben Wörtern sind. Je zwey Verse

[35] D. i. das chinesische Lesebuch, bestehend aus zwey chinesischen Büchelchen, dienet bey dem [!] Chinesern zur Grundlage des ersten Unterrichts kleiner Kinder; ist in Versen geschrieben, und enthält viele chinesische Sprüchwörter; Aus dem Chinesischen und Manschurischen in russische Prosa, übersetzt von dem Hofrath Aleksěj Leontiew'. St. Petersburg, bey der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1779.

machen ein Sprichwort aus. Auch hievon wollen wir Beyspiele geben :

*Wer sich mit Ausrichtung guter Thaten beschäftigt ,  
Muß im geringsten nicht auf Belohnungen denken.*

*Wer seinen Nächsten nützt ,  
Der nützt sich selbst.*

*Oft fehlt es dem Ochsen auf der Weide an Gras und Futter.  
Immer hat eine Maus in dem Speicher einen Überfluß an Korn.*

*Der ist nicht dumm ,der den Menschen nachgiebt ,  
Er hat gewiß Nutzen davon.*

*Einen treuen Diener muß man nicht vergessen.  
An einen ungerathenen Sohn muß man nicht denken.*

*Zu einem Armen ,wenn er auch am Markte wohnt ,kommt niemand.  
Zu einem Reichen ,wenn er sich auch in einer Höhle verbirgt ,finden auch entfernte Verwandte.*

Comment

The Chinese Primer offers the well-known Three Character Classic *Sanzijing* 三字經 which is rhymed in Chinese and used for elementary education, then the *Daxue* but without commentary and the *Mingxianji* 明賢集, Sayings of Wise Men, in metric form, which resembles the *Geyan* already mentioned.

УВѢДОМЛЕНІЕ  
о бывшей  
съ 1677 до 1689 года  
В О Й Н Ъ  
У КИТАЙЦЕВЪ  
Ъ ЗЕНГОРЦАМИ.

Выписалъ изъ Китайской Исторіи  
СЕКРЕТАРЬ ЛЕОНТИЕВЪ.



ВЪ САНКТПЕТЕРБУРГѢ  
при Императорской Академіи Наукъ  
1777 года.

Uvedomlenie o byvszej s 1677 do 1689 goda vojne u kitajcev....

КИТАЙСКОЕ  
УЛОЖЕНІЕ,

Перевелъ сокращенно съ Манжурскаго  
на Россійской языкъ коллегіи Ино-  
странныхъ дѣлъ маіорскаго ранга

*Секретарь Алексѣй Леонтиевъ.*



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ЧАСТЬ ПЕРВАЯ.

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Цѣна 80 коп.

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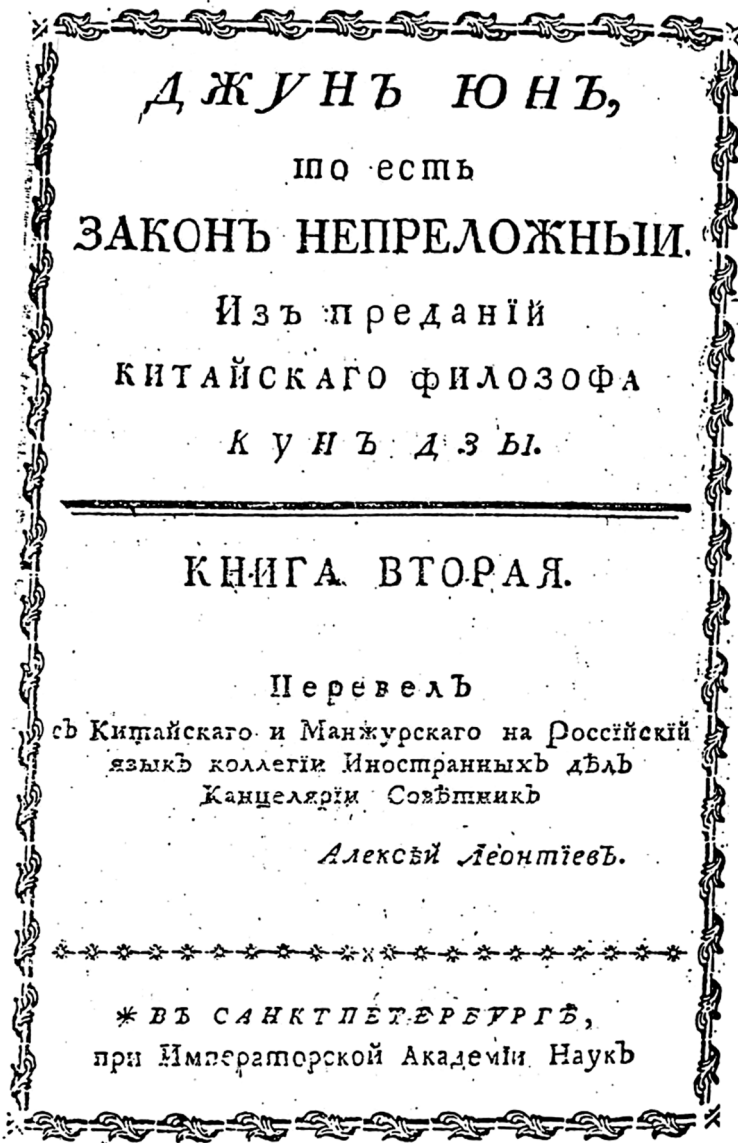
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ВЪ САНКТПЕТЕРБУРГѢ  
при Императорской Академіи Наукъ

1778 года.

*Sus Statut. 2892 W*

Kitajskoe ulozenie



Džun Jun [Chung-yung], to est' zakon nepreložnyj

Sishu jieyi, vol. II



# БУКВАРЬ ИТАЙСКОЙ

состоящей

двухъ китайскихъ книжекъ,  
у Китайцевъ для начальнаго  
обученія малолѣтнихъ дѣтей  
основаніемъ.

на спихахъ, и содержишь въ  
много Китайскихъ пословицъ.

съ Китайскаго и Манжурскаго на  
Россійской языкъ прозою

Надворный Совѣтникъ

*Алексѣй Леонтиевъ.*



ВЪ САНКТЪ ПЕТЕРБУРГѢ,  
Императорской Академіи Наукъ  
1779 года.

Bukvar kitajskoj

中文题目:

## 俄国汉学家列昂季耶夫的出版物及其在《俄罗斯图书馆》(圣彼得堡)杂志中的评论

魏汉茂,柏林国家图书馆馆长(荣休),柏林自由大学研究员(荣休), Begasstr. 2, D-12157 Berlin, mail: hwalravens@gmx.net

**提要:**列昂季耶夫(A. L. Leont'ev, 1716-1786)系首批在北京深造过的俄国汉学家之一,又是一位中、满文译作甚丰的翻译家。本文探讨的话题是,这些出版物是否被公众所留意。本文的作者有两个出发点:查证这些出版物还有哪些其他版本以及它们有没有被译成别种文字,兼顾这两个层面。此外,笔者还调查这些书有没有被编入巴克麦斯特(Hartwig Bacmeister, 1730—1806)主编的著名刊物《俄罗斯图书馆》(1772/3—1787/9)。这是第一个俄罗斯图书信息库,它为全俄文献书目的编制奠定了基础。巴克麦斯特的目标是,让当时俄罗斯流行的所有出版物都记录在案并提供文字介绍。在当时图书销售的渠道不很畅通的情况下,这无疑是一个十分艰巨的工程。而他知难而进,基本如愿。唯因书报检查的规定越来越严,他不得不再次停办他的刊物,尽管他在总体上已放弃批评意见。本文原封不动地照搬这些评论文章,一一核对所评著作的原文,并作必要的评论。鉴于《俄罗斯图书馆》的影响和声誉,人们可以断定,这些书评为列昂季耶夫出版物的为人了解和推广作出了重要贡献——无论在俄国还是在其他国家。

比较宗教文化研究

**Comparative Religious and Cultural Studies**



# Issues of Chinese Culture and Religion in Periodicals of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking (1904—1917)

Alexander V. LOMANOV

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**Abstract:** In the early 20th century Russian Ecclesiastical mission in Beijing has been actively engaged in preaching among the Chinese population. It was an incentive to pay attention to culture and religion of China. In 1904 was established the journal of the Mission in China under the title “Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae” (News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China), in 1907 it was renamed as “Kitajskij blagovestnik” (Chinese Good News). This periodical reflected the views of the Russian missionaries on cultural traditions, religious ceremonies and daily customs of the Chinese. On the basis of primary sources this article focuses on missionary’ evaluations of Chinese culture and religious life, different interpretations of the prospects for propagation of Christianity in China at the backdrop of modernization of society and revolutionary change in politics, attempts to adapt the Orthodox message and organization to the specifics of Chinese society. The period is limited by the year 1917 because after the revolution in Russia the Mission had to abandon preaching among the Chinese.

**Key Words:** Russia, China, Eastern Orthodoxy, tradition, modernization

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The first decade of the 20th century witnessed the blossoming of the Russian Mission in Peking. It was rather short period when the Russian Mission consciously and purposefully focused on propagation of the Orthodox Christianity among the Chinese. The Mission started to build new churches, schools and missionary stations in different parts of China beyond Peking<sup>[1]</sup>.

Since 1904 the Mission published its own journal. In was established in 1904 in Harbin under the title “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” (Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China). The Orthodox Brotherhood was established in North-East China to take care of spiritual needs of Russians during the Russo-Japanese war and to provide help to wounded soldiers. Later in 1907 the journal moved to Peking to the headquarters of the Mission and remained there till the middle of the century. Since autumn of 1907 it was published under the title

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[1] Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume Two; 1800 to the Present. Edited by R. G. Tiedemann. Brill, 2010, 553-558.

“Китайский благовестник” ( Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News ).

The journal covered broad range of topics that included Orthodox faith, political events in China and in Russia, history of Russian Mission in Peking and of Western Missions in China. The period from the 1904 till 1917 is distinguished by vivid interest in problems of China and Chinese culture. Though this interest was sometime utilitarian and focused on the tasks of propagation of Christianity, the views and assessments of the Russian missionaries of that time provide a rare glimpse into the process of formation of cross-cultural perceptions between two neighboring countries.

## 1. Assessments of Chinese National Character

In the first half of the first decade of the 20th century missionary descriptions of Chinese life were filled with admiration of patriarchal way of village life. This can be seen from the diary entries of member of the Orthodox brotherhood A. M. Akhlebiniskij who recorded his impressions of the trip from Peking to Russia. Conversation in the roadside inn with a young Chinese man who offered the traveler some small apples impressed him by “simplicity, informality, and also moderation in the manners of that Chinese”<sup>[2]</sup>.

Communication with local population on the road from Peking to Kalgan made a deep impression because there were no drunks and brawlers in the villages. The traveler heard no noise and saw no angry faces. It made him to remember that in Russia every village has a tavern or state-owned wine shop with a crowd of drunken men. The comparison was made in favor of the Chinese: “. . . we, Russians, are no better than the people whom we see as pagans. Our man, with eyes clouded by vodka and violent, is not at all like a Christian, although he often visits the Church and hears the gospel truths about vastness of Christian love that extends not only to your neighbor but to all God’s creatures. The Chinese do not say that, they do not have societies that pursue humane truth, however, one must wonder at their care and love at least to domestic animals”<sup>[3]</sup>.

These assessments were obviously superficial because they lacked understanding of Chinese history, culture and traditional moral values. However, it was although naive but very positive perception of the Chinese and their everyday life. Russian traveler shared his sense of security-in his words, in China you can travel alone and the Chinese won’t offend anyone who did them no harm. He concluded that China is a great place for preaching Christianity: “How deep here the susceptibility to everything beautiful.”<sup>[4]</sup>

The author reasoned that after the suppression of the “rebellion” of 1900 it was natural to expect growth of anger of the Chinese against the Europeans. However, being among the Chinese, he did not feel any slightest hostility and hatred, therefore he reasoned that it is wrong “to attribute the impulses of brutality to the character of the Chinese as its main feature.” It was concluded that China is standing on the threshold of new state of life: “It’s kind of quiet and sleepy, it is either a sleeping or awakening kingdom in the realm of

[ 2 ] “По Монголии ( Из Пекина в Россию ). Путевые заметки братчика ” [ Po Mongolii ( Iz Pekina v Rossiju ). Putevye zametki bratchika \ Across Mongolia ( From Peking to Russia ). Travel notes of a Brotherhood Member ]. “ Известия братства православной церкви в Китае [ Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China ] Issues 12-13. 1904, Oct. 1st, 17.

[ 3 ] “По Монголии ( Из Пекина в Россию ). Путевые заметки братчика ” [ Po Mongolii ( Iz Pekina v Rossiju ). Putevye zametki bratchika \ Across Mongolia ( From Peking to Russia ). Travel notes of a Brotherhood Member ]. “ Известия братства православной церкви в Китае [ Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China ] Issue 14. 1904, Oct. 15th, 10.

[ 4 ] Ibid. ,12.

thought and action, a kingdom which enjoys this state of being half asleep, and if it is awake, if it wants, it can be no inferior to its neighbors—both to the yellow and the white. Let's see how quickly, if they want, the Chinese learn everything European: language, and crafts, and customs. If the desire to adopt European will progressively increase in masses and among individuals, then we can say with almost certainty that China is on the eve of its awakening"<sup>[5]</sup>.

Despite the persistent feeling of inevitable and imminent changes in China, the emphasis on stability of the daily life prevailed in missionary publications. "The whole life of the Asians is on the street. Here they drink, eat, amuse themselves with games. . . And with all this noise, the life of each individual courtyard is pretty quiet and monotonous. Same faces, same activities, what happened yesterday repeats today without any change. The Chinese know how to settle with comfort in their courtyards. . . ." <sup>[6]</sup>

Everyday contacts led Russian missionaries to positive observations about the Chinese. Once during a travel the head of the Russian Mission was unable to find the road, then "naive and cute, sometimes annoying, but at all time very helpful Chinese" provided their assistance. Interest in Chinese character was sincere but shallow due to insufficient understanding of traditional culture. About the Chinese people missionaries said: "They have something purely simple, childish and pristine, he (a Chinese) is not a savage and not a citizen of a civilized country, it is a human plant that has grown freely on fertile soil far away from any alien influence"<sup>[7]</sup>.

It is noteworthy that a Chinese Orthodox catechist spoke of his countrymen with more criticism than Russian priests. In his notes on the visit to the Fujian province from where the Mission received a letter about the desire to adopt the Orthodox faith, Chinese catechist wrote: "In general the people there are industrious and hardworking. Trade goods are carried by people on shoulders. It is a pity that many smoke opium. The people living in villages are very rude, they do not understand the law and constantly commit murder, do mutual insults, and so on". <sup>[8]</sup>

The emphasis on similarities between Russian and Chinese villagers was popular among the missionaries as an indirect justification of possibility and desirability of Orthodox preaching. "By appearance a Chinese here resembles our village residents, so sometime I forget, is that a Chinese of a Russian I see in front of me? In these two ethnic groups, may be because by majority they are farmers or due to other reasons, there are so many similar spiritual features. Could that explain a strong inclination of the Chinese to Orthodoxy and their

[5] "По Монголии (Из Пекина в Россию). Путевые заметки братчика" [Po Mongolii (Iz Pekina v Rossiiu). Putevye zametki bratchika \ Across Mongolia (From Peking to Russia). Travel notes of a Brotherhood Member]. "Известия братства православной церкви в Китае [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China] Issue 1. 1905, April 15<sup>th</sup>, 12.

[6] "Происхождение Тяньцзиньского подворья Пекинской Духовной Миссии (окончание)". [Proiskhozhdenie Tian'zins'kago podvor'ya Pekinskoj Duhovnoj Missii (okonchanie) \ Origins of the Tianjin metoch of the Peking Spiritual Mission (the end)]. "Известия братства православной церкви в Китае [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China] Issue 1. 1905, April 15<sup>th</sup>, 9.

[7] "Поездка Его Преосвященства Преосвященнейшего Иннокентия из Шанхая в Саньянчжэнь (Дневник) (продолжение)" [Poezdka Ego Preosvyashchenstva Preosvyashchenneishego Innokentii iz Shankhaya v San'yanchzen' (Dnevnik) (prodolzhenie) \ The visit of His grace Bishop Innokentii from Shanghai to Sanyangzhen (Diary) (continued)] "Известия братства православной церкви в Китае [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China] Issues 11--12. 1905, August 1<sup>st</sup>, 21.

[8] «Записки Павла Тан о поездке в город Сянь-ю-сянь провинции Фуцзянь» [Zapiski Pavla Tan o poezdke v gorod Syan'yuyuan' provintsii Futszyan' \ Notes of Pavel Tang on his visit to the city of Xianyouxian in Fujian Province] "Китайский благовестник" [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 6. Issue 1. 1909. January 15<sup>th</sup>, 7.

good attitude to the Russian Mission?”<sup>[9]</sup>

The Russian missionaries for a long time kept positive and sometime idealistic vision of Chinese way of life. They wrote about a Chinese peasant Orthodox family that “by the mood, peaceful nature, obedience to God, hard work and family unity they closely resemble a good patriarchal Russian family. . . . The Chinese are closest to the Russian Orthodox people. One can only wish that the Orthodox Church will be more spread among the Chinese people”<sup>[10]</sup>.

No doubt that the missionaries have encountered the problem of lies and deception in everyday life of the Chinese. Once in their trip they saw a device for infusion of water into the carcass of a bull in winter in order to increase the weight and sell the water along with carcass on the price of meat. One of Russian missionaries bitterly commented; “Everyone knows about it, but do not protest. This is the custom. People here don't live in truth”<sup>[11]</sup>.

Missionary understanding of psychology of the Chinese carried the sense of mystery. This can be understood from the description of how the Chinese perceived an Orthodox sermon. “The crowd watched and listened to “in Chinese style”, i. e. they were serious, thoughtful, reserved, but at the same time their faces did not reflect an impression of what they see and hear; spiritual life of the Chinese is not reflected on face, so one can not make out if they listen to or not listen to, think about something or do not think; do they feel anything or not, but at the same time there is no dullness on face, on the contrary, the wit is glowing in the eyes”<sup>[12]</sup>.

In the journal there were specific descriptions of some Chinese customs. In particular, there was an article on Chinese custom of “giving face”. The missionaries watched its manifestation at the Paotongsi railway station near Tongzhou. To the crowd waiting for the train approached people who brought a table and put some food on it—fruits, cookies, nuts. When everything was ready, they invited to the table of a man of sixty who was waiting for the train with the crowd. The table was served by local officials. They began to kowtow, handed business cards and offered food, but the old man did not eat anything. Russian missionaries found that the “venerable old man was an intendant official who came here from his homeland in Henan province to handle food supplies for the local troops, and now he returns home. All officials who came into contact with him on duty were moved by his justice, mercy and other virtues, and now thank him in this way publicly. This custom is called by the Chinese “to give face”. ”<sup>[13]</sup>

Another story describes a Chinese customs in the context of interactions with the Russian Mission. The dwellers of Dongding’ an and surrounding villages presented honorary address to the Head of the Russian

[9] “Поездка Его Преосвященства Преосвященнейшего Иннокентия из Шанхая в Саньянчжэнь (Дневник) (продолжение)” [Poezdka Ego Preosvyashchenstva Preosvyashchenneishego Innokentiya iz Shankhaya v Sanyanchzhen’ (Dnevnik) (prodolzhenie) \ The visit of His grace Bishop Innokentii from Shanghai to Sanyangzhen (Diary) (continued)] “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China] Issues 13—14. 1905, September 15<sup>th</sup>, 17.

[10] “Поездка в Юнпинфу, Лувэйшань и Пэйтиахо” [Poezdka v Yunpinfu, Luveishan’ i Peitaikho \ Travel to Yongpingfu, Luweishan and Beidaihe] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 11. Issues 15-16. 1914, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 28.

[11] “На кирпичном заводе”. [Na kirpichnom zavode \ In a brick factory] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 8. Issue 13. 1911, December 1<sup>st</sup>, 5.

[12] “Поездка в Юнпинфу, Лувэйшань и Пэйтиахо” [Poezdka v Yunpinfu, Luveishan’ i Peitaikho \ Travel to Yongpingfu, Luweishan and Beidaihe] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 11. Issues 17-18. 1914, October 15<sup>th</sup>, 27.

[13] 《Из китайских обычаев》 [Iz kitaiskikh obyчаev \ From Chinese customs] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Issues 18-19. 1908, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2.



Mission to express gratitude for opening a church and a school there. It was a wooden tablet with Chinese characters 教泽无垠 “spreading the good teaching boundless as the ocean” (as it was translated into Russian in the journal). The article explained that such tablets with four characters are presented in China to the dignitaries to thank them for giving benefits to the people, to generals for the rescue of property from robbers, and to doctors for the cure of intractable diseases<sup>[14]</sup>.

## 2. Religious Traditions of China and the West

Missionary criticism of folk beliefs of the Chinese was present in the travel notes about the Yellow River. “Superstitious Chinese revere the river, they bring propitiatory sacrifices to its spirit, and the river continues from year to year to wipe out inexorably millions of capital from the treasury and to cause innumerable damages to the population. There are many legends about the river, the names of best administrators and famous heroes of ancient China are associated with it. . . .”<sup>[15]</sup>

Superstitious behavior was manifested when the people confronted forces of nature—it can be not only floods, but also drought. Orthodox missionaries reported that in time of drought “Chinese wore out their clothes and shoes visiting temples with ceremonial processions on pilgrimage”. Irony-filled story tells about complicated searches for causes of lack of rain and attempts to improve the situation. Taoist monks along with magicians and fortune-tellers besieged a local official with demands to rebuild his home. They argued that there is no rain because the official has narrow internal yard and the location of the entrance gate was wrong<sup>[16]</sup>.

Folk beliefs were criticized from moral standpoint. Description of summer temple festival was accompanied by disappointed comments. Here we see an image of prosperous life of rural Chinese, because donations of few days could provide the shrine with money for the whole year. On a hot day Chinese peasants went to the shrine on the hilltop. “Merciful Lord rewarded them hundredfold in this life for their hard persistent work, and they rush to the hill to thank the straw idol and blue clothes of the villagers, like a rain cloud, cover the top of the hill”<sup>[17]</sup>

There was a problem of Chinese perceptions of relations and differences among the branches of Christianity. In the journal there was an account of speech at the dinner with the missionaries of a Chinese preparing for baptism in Orthodoxy. He stated that the Eastern Orthodox faith is true because its missionaries, “like the apostles are different from other missionaries by their accessibility, humility and communication, they are not hiding their teachings and rituals from us the non-baptized.” For comparison it was said that the French missionaries did not allow the Chinese to attend the worship and to enter the courtyard of the mission.

[14] 《Из китайских обычаев》 [Iz kitaiskikh obyчаev \ From Chinese customs] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Issue 20. 1908, June 15th, 2.

[15] “В среднем Китае. Путевые заметки”. [V srednem Kitae. Putevye zametki \ In Central China. Travel Notes] “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China]. Issues 36-37. 1906, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 6.

[16] Корреспонденция. (Из Вэй-хуй-фу). [Korrespondentsiya. (Iz Vei-khui-fu) \ Correspondence. (From Wei-hui-fu)]. “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 5. Issues 21-22. 1908, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 28.

[17] “Престольный праздник (из записок миссионера в Китае)” [Prestol'nyj prazdnik (iz zapisok missionera v Kitae) \ Feast Day (from missionary diaries in China)] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Issues 56-57, 1907, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 4.

Protestants are more accessible and more sociable, but “in every sermon they only know how to scold us, finding that we, the Chinese, are very spoiled—all we have is bad and only all European is well. That is why many find their sermons unpleasant”<sup>[18]</sup>.

It is noteworthy that in his response the Orthodox missionary refrained from criticizing other Christian churches and even tacitly supported them. He said that the Catholics can hardly ban the Chinese from divine service and mission yard without a reason. He also doubted that the Protestants revile the Chinese. He suggested that this may be the fault of the Chinese Christians. Instead of having to explain to pagans their faults, they use the name of missionary to treat their fellow Chinese with arrogance. “Almost everybody agreed with me and admitted that the Chinese Christians are not quite brotherly in their approach to pagans”<sup>[19]</sup>.

Journal publications presented rather objective picture of motivation for conversion to Christianity after the Europeans suppressed the Yihetuan rebellion. Chinese in the provinces established societies and send delegates to urban Christian mission in order to gather information and learn about ways to get rid of the tyranny of Chinese officials. Representatives from Fengkou, Hubei province came to the Orthodox mission in Hankou. These people wanted to baptize in Orthodoxy. They were also considering getting Russian citizenship in order to “tolerate no insults from the Chinese authorities and to use land and property rights justly belonging to them”<sup>[20]</sup>

Chinese aspirations to become “rice Christians” in the Orthodox Church caused resentment among the priests. They called “childish” and “inconsistent” desires of the Christians to get from Mission’s permit to live as “state within a state” and even to obtain Russian citizenship. Some of the Orthodox Chinese did not want to pay for the support of local police force. To explain their position they said that recently to their village came a Dutch Catholic priest and told his Catholic flock that they should not pay any duties and that the he will cover their payments for the police. Orthodox missionaries did not support this approach. They said that if the Chinese Christians use the services of the Chinese police to find stolen items, than they should pay for this service. They should not pay only for Chinese theater and temple, and should not go there, “all other duties you have to pay, it is not for rebellion you took the faith of Christ”<sup>[21]</sup>. Christians from the Xiyangzhuang village made a bad impression on Orthodox missionaries due to “stubbornness” and “pretensions to something high”: “they are busy with earthly things; all their aspirations are here, not in Heaven.”

In the autumn of 1907 the “Kitajskij blagovestnik” published a story that reflected the complexity of conflict between different cultural traditions. It was a missionary account of the story of deceased Orthodox Chinese Mina Lian. He was a lonely person who lived at the Mission quarters in Peking. Long ago he helped the Orthodox missionary hieromonk Isaiah, later he came to the Mission and baptized, but then he began to abuse alcohol and slipped to dire poverty. Mina Lian returned to the Orthodox Mission in 1901 in the

[18] “Корреспонденция. Письма из Вэй-хуй-фу” [Korrespondentsiya. Pis'ma iz Vei-khui-fu \ Correspondence. Letters from Weihufu] “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China]. Issues 42-43. 1907, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 25.

[19] Ibid.

[20] 《В провинциях Китая》. [V provintsiyakh Kitaya \ In provinces of China] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 4. Issues 5-6. 1907. November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2.

[21] “На кирпичном заводе”. [Na kirpichnom zavode \ In a brick factory] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 8. Issue 13. 1911, December 1<sup>st</sup>, 8.

atmosphere of hunger and fears that the Chinese will start killing the Europeans again. After the Yihetuan rebellion foreign troops occupied Peking and divided the city into eight quarters according to the number of invading powers. City dwellers “groaned under the burden of incompetent management and lost all faith in the culture of the Europeans. . . Pekingers were patient and in the eyes praised their Kultur-tragers, but behind their backs reviled them, harboring anger and discussing how to get rid of uninvited guests”<sup>[22]</sup>.

In this difficult situation MinaLian came to the Orthodox Mission and persuaded the priest to visit his house for prayer service. After some hesitation the priest agreed. At home Orthodox Chinese asked the priest to pray for his deceased father who passed away while preparing for baptism. In the eyes of the priest his father was a pagan and he refused to pray for him. The Chinese asked him what he should do. Does a Christian have to go to the shrine to the priest who bows to demons and ask him to pray for his father who aspired for the Kingdom of Heaven? “They worship the demons, the demons-why should I go there?” - said Orthodox Chinese, helplessly gesturing with his hands. This episode remained in the memory of the Orthodox priest: “It was a pity that there was nothing to help this man; he believed sincerely and surrendered to the will of God wholeheartedly, out of love to the father he asked for good for him, he asked earnestly and not received what he desired. And now he has already descended into the grave, but his question burdens my conscience and his small figure, as a living one, resurrects in front of me, helplessly gesturing and waiting for response”<sup>[23]</sup>

The problem of compatibility of Christianity with the cult of Confucius and worship of ancestors for several centuries provoked fierce disputes among the Western missionaries. In the early twentieth century this topic became relevant also for the Orthodox missionaries. They condemned “meaningless worship of idols”, but tried to avoid attacking Confucius. While preaching in Henan province Hierodeacon Innokenty said about Confucius that “he was a man, but a smart one, and for his intelligence and useful guidance you can respect him and remember him but not worship, you can possess his image but should not bow to it to honor him as deity, because he was created by God, as we are.” This neutral restrained assessment was met positively by the audience. “Tonight two students specially came to us and thanked the preacher for good attitude to Confucius, saying that they know that he is not god and is not necessary pray to him, but they worship him for all good he did for the Chinese.” They also explained that long time ago they could have received Protestant or Catholic baptism, but those force you to forget Confucius, and therefore they were not baptized.<sup>[24]</sup>

Missionaries formed their understanding of commitment of Chinese officials to traditional culture in process of personal communication. In particular, it was confirmed in conversation with a fellow traveler in the train. The missionaries commented to him that although there are many religions in China, but officials adhere to the religion of Confucius. “On this subject, our interlocutor spoke a lot and with enthusiasm. He noticed that we pleased him by talking on this matter; that the religion of Confucius by prescribing rules of respect for parents and elders serves as unshakable basis of family and public life of people and that if there are unhappy years of disorder in the lives of some nations, it happens due to neglect of the sacred laws of “Kong-zi”. We

[22] 《Мина Лянь. Рассказ пекинского миссионера》 [Mina Lyan: Rasskaz pekinskogo missionera \ Mina Lian. Story of Peking Missionary] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Issues 3-4. 1907, October 31st, 17.

[23] Ibid. 24.

[24] 《Миссионерский стан в Цисяне (провинция Хонань)》 [Missionerskii stan v Tsiyane (provintsiya Khonan) \ Missionary station in Qixian (Henan province)] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 6. Issue 1. 1909. January 15th, 24.

didn't dare to argue...”<sup>[25]</sup>

There was also an impression of indifference of educated Chinese youth to the problems of faith in their demonstration of external respect to Christianity. Another fellow traveler of the Orthodox missionaries was a young (about 25 years old) police officer. He saw on the table the book “The Life and Behavior of Christian” in Chinese language and expressed politeness by saying some “flattering words about missionaries.” The officer started reading that book and chanted its headlines, “but soon put it back and said that all this is very good, he knows all that and he visited many times the Catholic Cathedral on legation street in Peking—than he turned to the other side and fell asleep. . .”<sup>[26]</sup>

The journal had printed a story about the Full Moon Festival and related Chinese beliefs that on the Moon there are house, Yuegong deity, a tree and a huge hare with mortar and pestle producing magical drug. Description of the holiday was detailed and based upon first-hand impressions of a Russian Orthodox member of the Mission. “Many people say that the Chinese are now already ceasing to believe in their false gods and abandoning superstitions at all. But on the Moon Festival we didn't notice it; the sacrifices are offered in superstitious fear, they donate generously, donate with a hope of acquiring happiness. O, man!”<sup>[27]</sup>

In 1910 the journal published a sermon that gave Christian assessments to traditional Chinese festivals. It has touched again the theme of the Moon Hare: “If men of science can't invent the way to the moon, and rise only into the clouds on balloons and come down again—than how the hare can get to the moon? There are no living creatures on the moon”<sup>[28]</sup>

Criticism of worship of hare and other animals was often present in the missionary preaching. Orthodox missionaries warned their audience against the Chinese superstitions. They argued that God alone is the true spirit and all other spirits—shen are false, fictitious and non-existing. Their listeners argued and disagreed. One of the stories in the journal tells that an old hotel-keeper told the missionaries that he himself observed supernatural phenomena attributed to the spirits like spontaneous inflammation and noises in empty rooms, shrines and houses. This view was supported by other Chinese listeners. One said he saw a sorghum fence to get into flames by itself, others claimed that they heard the noise “khurul-khurul” in the shrine, and that, in their opinion, certainly was the deed of spirits, evil or good. To challenge these beliefs the missionaries appealed to common sense and used scientific knowledge about natural phenomena<sup>[29]</sup>.

### 3. Modernization of China and International Politics

After the defeat of the Yihetuan rebellion in the first two decades of the 20th century there were favorable conditions for propagation of Christianity in China. Foreign missionaries faced no opposition from the

[25] Внутрь страны [ Vnutr' strany \ To the inland ] “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” [ Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China ]. Issues 27-28. 1906, May 15th, 6.

[26] Ibid, 7.

[27] Корреспонденция. Праздник луны или полнолуния восьмого месяца (этуод с натуры). [ Korrespondentsiya. Prazdnik luny ili polnoluniya vos'mogo mesyatsa (etyud s natyry) \ Correspondence. The Moon Festival or of the full moon of the eighth month (study from nature) ] “Китайский благовестник” [ Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News ]. Year 6. Issues 19-20. 1909. December 15<sup>th</sup>, 25.

[28] «Годовой круг жертвоприношений у китайцев» [ Godovoi krug zhertvoprinoshenii u kitaitsev \ The annual round of sacrifices at the Chinese ] “Китайский благовестник” [ Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News ]. Year 7. Issue 7. 1910, August 1<sup>st</sup>, 25.

[29] «У яслей» [ U yaslei \ By the crèche ] “Китайский благовестник” [ Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News ]. Year 8 Issue 12. 1911. November 1<sup>st</sup>, 24.

weakened imperial power, and there was no open hostility from the social forces. Many Chinese intellectuals sought for path modernization, these searches stimulated their interest not only to material but also to the spiritual side of Western civilization. After the fall of the Qing dynasty the Republic was established in China that guaranteed religious freedoms to all citizens.

Orthodox missionaries felt the accumulating tensions within the Chinese society before the Xinhai revolution. They noted growing hostility of the Chinese against the Manchus, explaining that the Japanese are fueling this hostility and call on the Chinese to come together, to prepare and to rebel against the Manchus. According to the missionaries, from Chinese youth they often heard rather unflattering words about the imperial dynasty and the Manchus in general. “The newspapers say about the appearance of the comet, about some thunder heard in the Hankou area for three days, and so on. Currently in southern China there is great famine which is killing hundreds of people every day. All these events the Chinese interpret in the most disturbing sense saying that Heaven itself notifies them of the onset of hard times for China. . . ”<sup>[30]</sup>

Orthodox missionaries paid attention to changes in the Chinese society. In the last years of the Qing dynasty it was noticeable that China is entering new period of development. In particular, the journal observed that new buildings in European style were constructed in Tianjin. Among the signs of a new era were factory chimneys, bicycles on the streets, Chinese soldiers that looked “decent and self-confident”. “This is a resurgent China. Under the influence of the example of the Japanese, under vigorous leadership of vice-king (Yuan Shikai-A. L. ), the Chinese began to improve their military and to introduce the external features of European civilization”<sup>[31]</sup>

There was an attempt to draw a positive parallel between the reforms development in Imperial Russia and Imperial China. In October 1905 the Russian Tsar issued the Manifesto that imposed self-limits on autocratic power and promised the path of constitutional monarchy with extended civil liberties. The journal wrote that “Orthodox Chinese hope that the dawn of freedom in Russia will make beneficent impact on their small family, like a lightning shining in the West and visible at the same time in the East”<sup>[32]</sup>

There were hopes that as far as China was also committed to reforms, it will gain greater confidence and enthusiasm in relations with the reformed tsarist Russia. Finally these reforms ended with revolutions and collapses of autocracies in China and in Russia.

During their travel en route to Peking Russian missionaries saw very old and dilapidated cities. They believed that these cities should not be rebuilt because “the revived China will create another life, another cities, and these will be buried under sand.” The missionaries paid attention to new uniforms of Chinese soldiers in Baodingfu and new barracks of the Zhili army, these convinced them that “governmental China stepped far and boldly.”

Together with Russian missionaries traveled on the train there were some young Chinese - children of the

[30] “Корреспонденция. Письма из Вэй-хуй-фу” [Korrespondentsiya. Pis'ma iz Vei-khui-fu \ Correspondence. Letters from Weihufu] “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China]. Issues 42-43. 1907, February 28th, 26.

[31] “Происхождение Тяньцзиньского подворья Пекинской Духовной Миссии (окончание)”. [Proiskhozhdenie Tyan'zins'kago podvor'ya Pekinskoj Dukhovnoj Missii (okonchanie) \ Origins of the Tianjin metoch of the Peking Spiritual Mission (the end)]. “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China] Issue 1. 1905, April 15<sup>th</sup>, 11.

[32] «Разсвет свободы» [Razsvet svobody \ The dawn of freedom] “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China]. Issues 19-20. 1905. December 15<sup>th</sup>, 5.

officials and future officials. Some of them have visited Japan, they studied French and English languages; in conversations with foreigners they praised everything European. Missionaries noted their openness to new knowledge and ideas but doubted their spiritual character. “They attend Catholic schools, but, alas, not to get acquainted with the religion of Christianity, but only to learn languages and customs of the Europeans; they do not intend to be baptized. Under the influence of Western culture percolated through a filter of pagan Japan this new trend is equally indifferent both to ancient religions of China and to Christianity. Atheism and worship of man are credited to the younger generation; Christian preachers of different denominations are losing power in mutual hostility when ripe fruit escape from under their nose. China is looking for new foundations of life and it is reborn now under the influence of Japanese culture that is hostile to Christianity and the West. It can not be said that the Chinese are very sympathetic to the Japanese; they love only themselves and believe only in their talents and abilities, but circumstances forced them to give a hand to Japan and go where it leads”<sup>[33]</sup>.

The missionaries noted that the New Year in “pagan China” is celebrated with particular solemnity. Under “new progressive trends” the timing of the celebration is reduced, but still the traditions are alive and New Year celebrations represent an important event when consciousness of the entire nation and each individual are manifested.

“Progressive China, via establishing new forms of life, in recent years began to unite in various societies or unions that seeking one or another progressive goal. The Chinese, while starting to learn various improvements from the Europeans, want to continue to be themselves, want to preserve the original foundations of the nation. It is clear that they'll try to hold to paganism as to behest of the antiquity.” It was suggested that following the growth of numbers of Chinese Christians they should unite to repel the actions of the new paganism and to counteract the indifference of Chinese intellectuals and officials, acting for self protection and fulfilling evangelical commandments of the unity of the faithful.<sup>[34]</sup>

The defeat of Russia in war with Japan became a new factor in the perception of China and prospects of relations between the Russians and the Chinese. The report on the state of the Russian ecclesiastical mission in China in 1904 has noted that the shock of the war with Japan forced most of the Russian flock to move out of Manchuria. “As for the Chinese population, despite battlefield failures of the Russian army and navy, it remained quite friendly to the Russians and has not changed its sympathy to the Orthodox Church, as evidenced by the opening of new mission station in the city of Yong-ping-fu that is the centre of the location of the North Chinese army, the journey of the Bishop to northern and southern China, and numerical increase of the Chinese Orthodox congregation”.<sup>[35]</sup>

There were new fears of alliance between Japan and China for joint military invasion into Russia. The perception of Russia among the Chinese had also changed. In the city of Xingfengkou a Chinese official told to

[33] Внутрь страны [Vnutr' strany \ To the inland] “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China]. Issues 27-28. 1906, May 15<sup>th</sup>, 20.

[34] «Новый год у китайцев христиан в Пекине» [Novyi god u kitaitsev khristian v Pekine \ New year of Chinese Christians in Peking] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 5. Issue 13. 1908. March 13<sup>rd</sup>, 1-2.

[35] О состоянии русской духовной миссии в Китае в 1904 году (из годового отчета) [O sostoyanii russkoi dukhovnoi missii v Kitae v 1904 godu (iz godovogo otcheta) \ On the situation of the Russian ecclesiastical Mission in China in 1904 (from annual report)] “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China]. Year 3. Issues 25-26. 1906. April 30<sup>th</sup>, 29.

Orthodox priest: “In the past our city considered the Russians to be the only true believers and strong nation of the world, but when petty Japanese started to defeat the Russians, we have completely lost hope in true faith and might of the Russians.” Political disillusionment was aggravated by duty limitations. The journal reported that the Chinese interlocutor considered conversion into Orthodox Christianity, but he had no chance to do that as far as “Chinese officials cannot be baptized because they are obliged to make sacrifices and to worship idols on the 1st and 15th day of each month”<sup>[36]</sup>.

The journal published different descriptions of Chinese attitudes to the Russians after the Russo-Japanese war. In autumn of 1910 a letter from Mukden informed that the Chinese turned away from the Japanese and became more sympathetic to Russians. However, the rapid intellectual progress of the Chinese society created new standards for missionary activities. “The preacher here must be highly educated, because the population is very advanced, everyone reads, everyone is trying to accept consciously the fruits of progress, they have a keen interest and experience in religion. (The population) require a clear and explanatory presentation of the essence of faith”<sup>[37]</sup>.

The missionaries observed the rise of nationalist consciousness after the Xinhai revolution. “Concerning the preaching, it should be noted that the modern movement in China cannot be considered as favorable condition for the preaching. National feeling, the desire to free themselves from foreign tutelage, and therefore imitation of all things European with selfish goal, is not a convenient ground for sowing the gospel word”<sup>[38]</sup>.

Publications of the Russian Orthodox journal in China explicitly proclaimed that the awakening nation needs spiritual guidance and the European nations can not cope with this task. “China wakes up and begins to discover its hidden power. China is looking for the light, looking for new forms of life, knocking at the doors of European progress. And if it will not find among the European nations the bearer of divine truth and will not accept it, it will try to establish its own truth that is alien to Christianity”<sup>[39]</sup>. The article stressed that for this reason it is necessary to support Orthodox missionaries in China “according to the Greatness and Power of Orthodox Russia.”

The missionaries discussed the impact of the Xinhai revolution upon the religious and moral condition of the Chinese people. They identified new areas of cultural conflict: “In the last decade in China’s life growing importance acquire the collision of Chinese culture with European one and of Chinese paganism with Christianity.”<sup>[40]</sup>

The article noted that China is experiencing a period of Europeanization and Christianization. The Europeanization of China accelerated after the revolution, the dynamics of Christianization remained unclear

[36] «Опять война» [Opyat' voyna \ The war again] “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” [Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China]. Year 3. Issues 21-22. 1906. February 15th, 22.

[37] «Корреспонденция. (Из Мукдена от 25-го ноября 1910 г)» [Korrespondentsiya. (Iz Mukdena ot 25-go noyabrya 1910 g) \ Correspondence. From Mukden of November 25, 1910] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 8. Issue 1. 1911, January 1911, 17.

[38] «Праздник всех святых мучеников и юбилей Миссии» [Prazdnik vseh svyatykh muchenikov i yubilei Missii \ Celebration of All Holy Martyrs and the Jubilee of the Mission] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 9. Issue 4. 1912. June 10<sup>th</sup>, 13.

[39] «О подворьях миссии» [O podvor' yakh missii \ About metoches of the Mission] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Issue 20. 1908. June 20<sup>th</sup>, 6.

[40] «Религиозный вопрос в Китае» [Religiozniy vopros v Kitae \ Religious question in China] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 11. Issues 1-2. 1914. January 15<sup>th</sup>, 29.



and for its evaluation it was proposed to wait when the excitement caused by the revolution will calm down. After the establishment in China of the new Republican form of government there was an initial tide of hostility to old pagan beliefs and sympathy for Christianity. But then there was a turn to the “old cult”. Western missionaries reported that Chinese peasants rebuild and repaint their pagodas, in 1913 the Confucian society was established and the question of recognition of Confucianism as the state religion was raised.

The prediction was made that the struggle between paganism and Christianity in China will become more intense. In case of acceptance by the Chinese people of Christian faith “Confucianism as moral teaching that has elements of universal morality and that served as a school for educating the people to adopt Christianity will find its place in Christian morality”. At the same time it was also considered possible that China can remain non-religious<sup>[41]</sup>.

Orthodox priests admitted that the East is awakening and coming out of prolonged stagnation, and China is no exception. “China will borrow from the West what is useful and adapt it to its needs, but until common culture of China rests upon the old foundations no radical renewal will emerge.”<sup>[42]</sup>

From this point of view only the adoption of Christianity could herald the real renaissance of China. However, there was growing understanding that the Chinese culture will not be destroyed and it will keep its unique identity while embracing the spirit of Christianity. There is no need to reject Confucianism completely for the sake of Christianity because these teachings belong to two different spheres of being. Confucianism represents the fundamentals of natural life and Christianity rests on the laws of spiritual life.

“Confucianism can be reconciled with the moral principles of natural life of the West and can serve as universal foundation on which will be erected the temple of God-the Kingdom of Heaven. If China will seek merely the external wealth and borrow from the West only useful inventions and knowledge, it will always lag behind the West and will be dependent on it”. Christianity is needed for spiritual revival of China, and this revival will stimulate creativity within the Chinese culture. “In the past China demonstrated ability to creative work. It created such forms of state, social and family life, which allowed it to survive for four millennia. It lacks spirituality, inner ascent to a higher sphere of being. If China will reborn spiritually, it can create a kind of original spiritual culture, then maybe the West will have something to learn from it”<sup>[43]</sup>

The idea of Confucian-Christian synthesis was counterbalanced by missionary arguments on the necessity to prevent the spread of Chinese culture in Russia. Archimandrite Avraamy spoke about that in the first half of 1914 when he went to Moscow and St Petersburg to collect donations for the construction of the new majestic Orthodox Cathedral in Peking.

He emphasized that the famine forces the Chinese to go West to seek earnings. They bring with them their culture, and they stick to it firmly. “The unity of the Chinese is not due to religious fanaticism, or patriotic feelings, or language, but due to the system of education based on Confucian principles. We must fight, therefore, not with the people, but with the books, for this task it is necessary to disseminate Russian books in Chinese language. It is necessary to study China and to work actively spreading Russian influence

[41] Ibid., 30.

[42] 《Возрождение Азии》 [ Vozrozhdenie Azii \ The Renaissance of Asia ] “ Китайский благовестник ” [ Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News ]. Year 11. Issues 7-8. 1914. April 15<sup>th</sup>, 18.

[43] Ibid., 19.



and Orthodox faith in China”<sup>[44]</sup>

The perception of Chinese culture as obstacle to propagation of Christianity led this Orthodox Archimandrite to the expression of position that followed closely the strategy of Western Catholic missionaries of that time. They have abandoned a long-standing aspiration to convert the Chinese elite and turned to preaching among the common people. Archimandrite Avraamy claimed: “Due to pagan pride of educated Chinese it is difficult to influence them by Christian sermon. Those turning to the Christian faith are mainly the people who do not belong to the so-called literati, they are believers by simplicity of souls.”

This approach led to emphasis on the need to oppose the Chinese customs. Avraamy said that from the beginning an Orthodox missionary has to face with the cult of ancestors that is their deification. “(You) tell the Chinese that it is not good to worship ancestors, and they say that Russian do not respect their elders and are willing to turn away. . . you have to be persistent, clever and not afraid of those two hundred volumes, which set out the rules of honoring the ancestors.” According to him, the Russian Orthodox Mission “overcomes the two hundred volumes of Chinese ceremonies in relation to the ancestors and all the tricks and clarifications by the special Chinese Ministry—the Ministry of Ceremonies that supports the cult of the ancestors”<sup>[45]</sup>.

In another lecture in Russia Archimandrite Avraamy talked about the influence of the classic “Book of ceremonies” (Li Ji) on the formation of “peaceful character of the Chinese”. On the prospects of revival of the Confucian religion and future propagation of Christianity he noted that “coup d’état in China” (that is the Xinhai revolution) “has the good side that it had shaken the foundations of the Confucian cult”. In particular, after the abdication of the Qing dynasty “those particularly revered by the Chinese New Year sacrifices in the Temple of Heaven. . . have lost their value”. Reference was made to the rumors that Yuan Shikai secretly professes Protestantism. “All this shows that the return to the old cult has become impossible and in the end Christianity will prevail in China. What religion will be dominant, it’s hard to say”<sup>[46]</sup>.

The head of the Mission Bishop Innokenty warned that the Russians paid not enough attention to China and to serious danger coming from China. “The Chinese have a completely unique ability of cultural conquest. I’ve seen than on many examples over the 17 years of my stay in Peking. I remember the Englishman Robert Hart who was much more Chinese than English. I could give many such examples. I would like to draw attention to this absolutely exceptional Chinese ability of cultural conquest”<sup>[47]</sup>. However, in his speeches the Bishop emphasized good attitude of the Chinese towards the Russian, because of not wanting to create psychological barriers when Orthodox priests and monks were deciding if they should move to serve in China.

[44] 《Чтения о. Архимандрита Авраамия о Китае》 [Chteniya o. Arkhimandrita Avraamiya o Kitae \ Lectures of f. Archimandrite Avraamy about China] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 11. Issues 15-16. 1914. September 15<sup>th</sup>, 21.

[45] Ibid. ,22.

[46] Ibid. ,23.

[47] 《В китайской междоусобной войне》 [V kitaiskoi mezhdousobnoi voine \ In the Chinese civil war] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News] Issue 10. 1913, October 1st, 27.

#### 4. Russian Orthodoxy in China: Adaptation and Aspirations

There was a strengthening conviction that China's population abandoned the old beliefs and it is now ready to accept Christianity. "Long time ago these people in their concepts and feelings became so ripe that without being forced by anyone they themselves removed idols from their homes and abandoned pagan rituals and customs; simpletons, though holding to pagan antiquity, but in his heart they lost faith in their gods and wait for renewal. These are really sheep without a shepherd and the ripe harvest in the field"<sup>[48]</sup>

The missionaries admitted that they were met with rejection by the part of Chinese population, but attributed this phenomenon to the negative impact on the minds of the Chinese by the Western Christians. "In remote areas of China the widespread opinion of Russians is very unflattering. In their imagination a Russian is cruel barbarian bowing to rude idols; the latter view we ascribe to the dissemination of sermons by the Protestant missionaries who want be different from other Christian religions and resort to this method in describing our honoring of icons." It was suggested that with all contempt for the European things the Chinese have great respect to Christianity and aspire to baptism. However they are confused by the differences and the apparent hostility between different parts of Christianity. "Orthodoxy, about which the Chinese knew for the first time, is attracting them by its Eastern rites and indifference within the party structure of existing Christian communities in China"<sup>[49]</sup>.

In the period of intensified missionary work there was an interest in adapting methods of Orthodox Christian charity to the Chinese conditions. Publication of 1905 examined the history of emergence and activities of the "Triangle" shelter opened by the Russian Orthodox Mission outside the Andingmen gate in Peking. It was emphasized that in China it is very difficult to provide charity and it is especially hard for the foreigners. For the Western missions it was not easy to discern the true needs of applicants and often the wealthy people become the recipients, mostly the relatives of those Chinese who were entrusted to distribute the aid. When the Europeans were personally handing out alms it led to a big mess, sometime even it was necessary to call the police and troops to restore calm. After receiving in one day, beggars demanded more alms on another day, even if the sum was already disbursed.

The article provided background information on classification of the poor people in Peking into four categories.

The first is the families of poor peasants, ruined by debts or by poor grain harvest. To save them from death the Emperor opens at the main city gates on the four sides of the city free distribution of boiled rice, and in the winter also of warm clothing. The number of these poor is huge, but after the hard time is passed, they're back to their work and do not bother urban dwellers with demands of handout.

To the second category belong the people rejected by families due to physical disability and inability to

[48] Поездка Его Преосвященства Преосвященнейшего Иннокентия из Шанхая в Саньянчжэнь (Дневник) (продолжение) " [ Poezdka Ego Preosvyashchenstva Preosvyashchenneishogo Innokentiya iz Shankhaya v San 'yanchzhen' (Dnevnik) (prodolzhenie) \ The visit of His grace Bishop Innokentii from Shanghai to Sanyangzhen (Diary) (continued) ] " Известия братства православной церкви в Китае [ Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China ] Issues 13-14. 1905, September 15th, 16.

[49] «Отчет о состоянии Пекинской Духовной Миссии за 1902 г. и 1903 г.» [ Otchet o sostoyanii Pekinskoj Dukhovnoi Missii za 1902 g. i 1903 g. \ Report on the situation of the Peking Ecclesiastical Mission in 1902 and 1903 ] " Известия братства православной церкви в Китае" [ Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China ]. Issues 11-12. 1905, August 1st, 6-7.

work; these are also orphans and children who do not know their parents. They can be brought back to life in human society and they want to get out of their difficult situation, but can't find good people who would have accepted them by reconciling with their physical disability or take care of them if they are children.

For the third category poverty was the result of failures in life or some shock. They are bitterly against other people and mentally insane, they are anchorites who voluntarily chose poverty, and also children who remained in the second category for time too long. These people can't go back to old life because they do not want this.

The fourth group consists of professional beggars who earn more than workers. Upon mutual agreement they divide the city into sections, these people have mastered the ways to beg for money. The article pointed out that a poor person dressed in ordinary clothes will not get a single penny. In China it is necessary to "show" poverty. To do that professional beggars artificially disfigure themselves, they wear sacks with patches, stain faces and hands with soot and dirt; they are not supposed to have shoes and hats. They are sitting on ground and pretend to eat from the slop tubs; they chew and spit out the dirt to show passers-by that they do not have any better food. "It is difficult to list all ways of humiliation practiced by beggars to ask for a handout".

Orthodox missionaries concluded that "hand alms" never lead to the goal and give no hope for a man to come out of bitter situation. Russian Mission established charity shelter "Sanjiede" for 60 persons to help the poor of the "second category" who were thrown out of their families but want to return to normal life<sup>[50]</sup>.

Another remarkable topic on adapting the Church order to the Chinese reality was connected with the discussion in Russia of the theme of restoration of the institution of deaconesses. In the days of the Apostolic Church they prepared women for baptism and helped at the ceremony. Later their ordination was cancelled, but deaconesses could be particularly demanded in the Chinese Orthodox Church

"Here the Orthodox Church is exactly in the same conditions as it was in the first centuries of Christianity in the Roman Empire. In the pagan state the deaconesses are active helpers of the missionary evangelists in the work of preaching among women and guiding them in Christian life. Isolation of Chinese family makes it impenetrable to the words of evangelist, but lady deaconess can stand close to a pagan family that wants to adopt Christianity. Charities, care of orphans, educating them in the spirit of Christianity-it is most natural to entrust these to deaconesses"<sup>[51]</sup>.

One can note the presence in the journal of the theme of frustration of the Chinese with their own religious traditions as precondition to fill the spiritual void. "Now is the most favorable time for the preaching, as people everywhere realize the inanity of their religions. In Christianity they like the idea of love, mercy and compassion to the poor and to neighbor in general. Mass conversion of Chinese to Christianity is in most cases hindered by immoral and debauched life and to the highest degree rude and inhumane treatment of the Chinese by the Europeans, and also by not infallible and improper interventions of missionaries into Chinese life. If there are few or no Europeans at all, there the Chinese are different: kind, conscientious and not aspiring to get someone else's property, there is good ground for preaching the word

[50] 《Треугольник》 [ Treugol'nik \ The Triangle ] "Известия братства православной церкви в Китае" [ Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China ]. Year 2. Issues 4-5. 1905, June 1st, 3-4.

[51] 《Диаконисы в канонической Церкви》 [ Diakonisy v kanonicheskoi Tserkvi \ Diaconesses in Canonic Church ] "Известия братства православной церкви в Китае" [ Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China ] Issues 19-20. 1905, December 15th, 7.

of God.”

To succeed the Orthodox should focus wholeheartedly on the great Apostolic cause. They cannot look at the Chinese as inferior race but as humans created in the image and likeness of God. On the other hand, it is impossible to idealize and embellish the Chinese culture. “Many Russians say; why convert the Chinese to Christianity? They have their own very humane teaching. One who knows that humane teaching only from the books should look here in the wilderness on what the Chinese worship to; not only different idols but even trees, badgers that made holes in the hills, hares and other animals and stones”<sup>[52]</sup>.

In 1909 “Kitajskij blagovestnik” published two articles by well-known conservative Orthodox preacher Ioann Vostorgov who paid great attention to the promotion of Christianity in Asia<sup>[53]</sup>. His sermons were emotional and uncompromisingly critical of Chinese traditional culture. He was neither China scholar nor a member of the Russian Mission in China. In 1909 Vostorgov visited Peking, North Manchuria, Japan and Korea to explore the situation of the Orthodox missionary work.

Vostorgov’s impression of the trip was very disturbing. “When one travels across a significant part of China from North to South and inland; when one sees, at least superficially, but personally, this populous nation living in the richest country in the world; when one visiting and watching these innumerable shrines, those temples in the cities and in solitude on mountain tops; when one remembers that in some mysterious and unfathomable attraction China have chosen the Dragon as its patron-protector and banner-then one wonders; is it not here the ancient tempter-serpent has prepared for himself a Kingdom, is it not here he wished and wishes to strengthen and to give the most brutal battle and resistance to the Kingdom of God, Church of Christ, Christian peoples hated by him?”<sup>[54]</sup>

The priest concluded that the devil in the guise of dragon was already defeated. Now the Orthodox should save China from the absorption of European culture that is capable of destroying positive moral qualities of the Chinese people such as filial piety, loyalty, courtesy, willingness to help others, diligence, persistence. Worthy of attention is his criticism of idea supported by some Western Christian missions that due to the influence of national traditions the Chinese have no attraction to religion and are not capable to be religious. In particular, this thesis was present at the religion conference in Shanghai in 1863. Vostorgov pointed to the unity of human nature in which China is no exception.

Although Chinese manifestations of religiosity are rude and Chinese idols “provoke a sense of disgust,” it only confirms inborn and active nature of human religious needs. The Chinese have religiosity and can be taught to it, as evidenced by the courageous deaths of faithful Christian Chinese.

“And the facts that temples are crumbling, that paganism here has apparently decayed, that the former zeal for idols is not there, that the influx and influence of new concepts, attitudes, and needs of life under the influence of Europe penetrate more and more into the inland and in into the deepest pockets of people’s life-

[52] Корреспонденции. От С. С. из Вэй-хуй-фу. 30-го сентября 1906 г. [ Korrespondentsii. Ot S. S. iz Vei-khui-fu. 30-go sentyabrya 1906 g. \ Correspondence. From S. S. from Weihui fu of September 30th, 1906 ] “Известия братства православной церкви в Китае” [ Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae \ News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China ] Issues 38-39. 1906, November 1<sup>st</sup>, 13.

[53] Friesen A. “Building an Orthodox empire; Archpriest Ioann Vostorgov and Russian missionary aspirations in Asia”, Canadian Slavonic Papers, vol. 57 No. 1-2 (2015). Pp 56-75. DOI:10.1080/00085006.2015.1028179

[54] Восторгов И. \ Vostorgov I. «Царство дракона и Богоявление Христово» [ Tsarstvo drakona i Bogoyavlenie Khristovo \ The Kingdom of Dragon and Epiphany of Christ ] “Китайский благовестник” [ Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News ] Year 6. Issues 13-14. 1909. August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2.

all that make mysterious and old gray-haired Chinese nation similar to a “thirty-eight year old invalid” seeking revival and salvation in the Pool of Siloam”<sup>[55]</sup>

In the next publication, which was written during his stay in Hankou, Vostorgov noted that the word “Orient” is very attractive for the Europeans—the word is mysterious, majestic, human mind cannot accommodate it, it is infinitely important and prophetic. However, for many the appeal to the East becomes a mere excuse to invade another country for selfish calculations. European education masks predatory intentions and therefore unpopular in China. The weakening of the West led to the fact that the West himself appealed to the wisdom of the pagan East.

Vostorgov complained that “count Tolstoy in Russia all time refers to the Chinese sages Confucius and Lao Tzu, he sees many things worthy of attention and superior to Christianity in the religion of Fo, that is in Chinese Buddhism”. In this case, “whole quasi-scientific books are trying to prove that Christ, if not inferior, is not superior to pagan wise men”. In Europe there is spreading of Eastern teachings (Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism) and of the “most vile sins of the East”. Finally one unwillingly and with horror thinks that “not Christian nations now make impact on the pagan East, as it was before, but vice versa.”<sup>[56]</sup>

The set of characteristics of Chinese religious teachings was negative and obviously superficial. Confucianism is nothing more than “practical life tips”. Taoism is a “dry discourse about morality not based on religion and therefore barren, cold and dead, groundless and not compulsory to anyone”. Buddhism in its original form is “devoid of religious character and kills the individuality and personal life”, in China the religion of “fo” is “distorted by superstitions and most abominable idolatry.” According to Vostorgov, the Chinese are ready to turn to Christianity, because they understand that Heaven, which they worship as God, under the influence of pagan wisdom turned into “Great Emptiness” (tai xu). The Chinese are burdened by “elevating of hatred into virtue and of revenge into duty (Confucius), by vague speculations on immortality that are equal to its negation (Lao-Tzu)”<sup>[57]</sup>

The theme of penetration of Eastern “paganism” to the West and to Russia in particular amid the frustration of the Chinese with their traditional beliefs was present in other publications of the “Kitajskij blagovestnik”. An initiative of construction of Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg caused discontent among the conservative part of the Orthodox clergy who suspected the sign of return to “idolatry” and harbinger of transition from free thinking and weak faith to no faith at all. Meanwhile, the former “seat of idolatry and paganism” China has been awakened from centuries of sleep, it throws away the idols, the temples turn into public places and offered up for sale—it was reported that the Russian Mission in Peking recently purchased an abandoned Taoist temple. Bad times have come in China also for Confucius. It gets more and more difficult to buy in a bookstore a good edition of classical texts, instead of them booksellers offer books on mathematics and science, illustrated edition in beautiful bindings. It was not left unnoticed that some “obscure authors diligently popularize Darwin, Newton and other scientists, as well as Russian atheists and revolutionaries such as count Tolstoy, Bakunin, Kropotkin, and others; descriptions of the French revolution and the systems of legal institutions of the West, and the like. So, the gods are buried, Confucius is debunked. In front of us face

[55] Ibid. 9-10.

[56] Восторгов И. \ Vostorgov I «Восток свыше». [Vostok svyshe \ The East from above] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 6. Issues 15-16, 1909. 1909 September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2.

[57] Ibid. ,4-5.

to face is China that rejected all religion, materialistic and not believing in anything.”<sup>[58]</sup>

Russian missionary publications from 1904 to 1917 demonstrate that in this period Russian Orthodox Church made serious plans for spreading its message across China. It was a unique period in the life of the Russian Mission that focused in the past on diplomatic functions on behalf of the Russian state and on China Studies instead of proselytism. While discussing the problems of propagation of the Orthodox faith in China, Russian priests touched many problems that were debated by the Western Christians in China for a long time such as compatibility with the cult of Confucius and worship of ancestors.

Researcher of the history of Russian-Chinese interactions Nikolay Samoylov noted the ambivalence of perception of China in Russia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The process of modernization of the Russian society stimulated growth of ideas of “civilizing mission” of Russia among the nations of the East thus leading to the perception of China as backward country that needs outside spiritual guidance. “At the same time, searches for original roots of the Russian culture and its recognition as “non-West” has led some Russian thinkers to opposite conclusions; the origins of true spirituality should be sought in the East, particularly in China.”<sup>[59]</sup>

In the missionary articles prevailed the first approach that called for Christian reconstruction of Chinese culture and for Russian Orthodox participation in this process. This trend was visibly weakened during the years of the First World War when the inflow of financial help to Mission from Russia has dried out. There were no funds to support all missionary stations established in China in the previous years. After the Russian revolution of 1917 hundreds thousands of refugees fled to China from Russia. The Mission completely concentrated on their spiritual needs and woes. Problems of Chinese culture and religion were taken off the agenda together with the tasks of propagation of the Orthodox faith among the Chinese.

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[58] 《Не сотвори себе кумира》 [Ne sotvori sebe kumira \ Do not create an idol to yourself] “Китайский благовестник” [Kitajskij blagovestnik \ Chinese Good News]. Year 7. Issue 7, 1910. August 1<sup>st</sup>, 3-4.

[59] Самойлов Н. А. Samoilov N. A. Россия и Китай в XVII-начале XX века; тенденции, формы и стадии социокультурного взаимодействия [Rossiya i Kitai v XVII-nachale XX veka; tendentsii, formy i stadii sotsiokul'turnogo vzaimodeistviya \ Russia and China in the XVII-early XX century; tendencies, forms and stages of sociocultural interaction]. — СПб; Изд-во С.-Петерб. ун-та, 2014 [SPb; Izd-vo S. - Peterb. un-ta \ St Petersburg; St Petersburg University Press] 2014, 252.

中文题目:

中国文化与宗教问题在俄罗斯驻北京传教团的期刊(1904—1917)

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**提要:**20世纪初俄罗斯驻北京传教团开始了在中国人间传教,因此俄罗斯传教士更重视中国文化和宗教问题。1904年俄罗斯东正教人士于哈尔滨创办了“中国东正教兄弟会消息报”(Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae),1907年刊物编辑部移动到北京而期刊名称改为“中国福音报”(Kitajskij blagovestnik)。此刊物反映了俄罗斯传教士对中国文化传统,宗教仪式和日常习俗的看法。本文在原文材料基础上研究俄罗斯传教士如何评价中国文化和宗教生活,分析他们对现代化和革命化背景下的中国基督教传播前景的不同解读,解释他们如何试图使东正教布道内容和教会组织适应中国社会的具体情况。这个时期限于1917年,因为俄国革命后俄罗斯驻北京传教团不得不放弃在中国人之间传道。

**关键词:**俄罗斯、中国、东正教、传统、现代化





# 关于俄罗斯哲学和东正教研究的两个对话

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## 对话一:黄保罗与北京大学哲学及宗教学系徐凤林教授

### 关于俄罗斯哲学和东正教研究的对话

2017年4月5日北京大学哲学及宗教学系

#### 苏联和俄罗斯哲学

黄保罗(简称“黄”):今天是2017年4月5号,我在北京大学宗教学系和哲学系和徐教授一起来谈谈他的研究和东正教在中国的研究状况。凤林兄,可不可以简单的介绍一下?

徐凤林(简称“徐”):其实,可以说是从研究俄罗斯哲学这边转过来的,现在还在做俄罗斯哲学的研究,东正教这方面,这些年做得多一些。因为开始我上大学的时候,学的是叫苏联哲学,那个时候还是一九八几年的时候。

黄:你是八几年上的大学?

徐:我是1986年上的研究生,上本科是1982年。

黄:你是东北什么地方的人?

徐:黑龙江人。

黄:黑龙江人上北大的哲学系,82年的哲学系?

徐:然后到了1986年就上了外国哲学研究所的研究生。那个时候研究方向就是苏联哲学。

黄:而且你学的外语是俄语。

徐:中学时候学习的外语是俄语,后来就一直上哲学系,专业就是哲学,然后外语一直是俄语,所以英语就比较差,几乎就是上研究生的时候稍微学过一点。

黄:俄语是你的第一外语?

徐:对,因为其实俄语,也还是说阅读方面要强一些,其他的也不是很好,比如说“说”这方面,比较差,因为没有练过,然后在俄罗斯也是没有很长时间在那待过,都是一段时间,几个月,就是这样断断续续的,所以这方面也没下工夫。

黄:那你可不可以介绍一下你学苏联哲学,当时它主要是一个怎么样的状况?

徐:当时的苏联哲学主要是马克思主义哲学。

黄:马克思主义、列宁,有讲列宁吗?

徐:但是咱们这个方向,就是外国哲学里边按国家分的,那个时候我们有西方哲学,下头再分什么德国、法国。

黄:这样分,你就被分到苏联这里。

徐:因为我的外语是俄语。

黄:但是当时应该也有马克思主义哲学,你这苏联哲学和马克思主义哲学从专业学科分类上来说不一样的?

徐:那个是不一样的。因为按照我们哲学的二级学科的话,苏联哲学算是外国哲学下面的三级学科,因为在哲学这个大的学科里面,下面分8个二级学科,然后下面是三级学科。

黄:马克思主义哲学是一类,外国哲学是一类,苏联哲学是外国哲学下面的一个。

徐:没错没错,是这样的关系。但是因为当时就在这里的哲学系上学、上本科,然后外国研究所是一个单独的机构,跟哲学系是平级的,是学校下属的一个机构,是一个只有研究生,没有本科生的这样一个研究所。研究所做的方向主要是现代外国哲学,外国哲学也还分古代、近代、现代。

黄:所以你就是主要专攻现代。

徐:对,是现代,因为外国哲学研究所主要是现代外国哲学的一些老师。

黄:现代哲学是指从什么时候开始?

徐:现代西方哲学在哲学史上是有一个专门的界定,其实差不多就是在马克思主义以后。

黄:就是19世纪后期了。

徐:对,就是黑格尔到马克思主义之后,像尼采也是19世纪,但是他属于现代西方哲学里边的,在西方哲学史上不讲他了。

黄:后来你做苏联哲学,又与马克思主义,又与现代哲学合在一起,研究苏联的哲学家们怎么来诠释马克思主义哲学的?

徐:当时是这样的,当时因为在上研究生的时候,那个方向就叫苏联哲学,跟西方哲学是并列的。

黄:当时有哪些主要的哲学家?

徐:那个时候苏联哲学主要是马克思主义这一个派别,然后有一些做马克思主义哲学的一些老的一些学者,还有一些学派什么的,当时也比较模糊,认识的还不是很清楚。因为等于当时在本科的时候,没有这么分,本科的时候学外国哲学,主要是西方哲学,就是西方哲学史,当然现代也有,现代西方哲学,像尼采,这些都了解一点,但是不深。然后到苏联哲学的时候,想考这个研究生,就是因为外语是俄语,这个方面有点优势;另一方面,在系里面没有这个研究方向,系里的一些主要老师,做西方哲学,外国研究所的一个老师,做这个方面,所以就是考了这方向的研究生。

黄:你的导师是谁?

徐:王永江老师。他当时就是做苏联哲学这方向的,当时这个方向里面,全国也还是有一些人的。

黄:主要的代表?

徐:对,就是苏联哲学这个方向的代表。因为当时苏联哲学是马克思主义这些嘛,所以很多在各个大学哲学系里面,做马克思主义哲学有一些老师是熟悉苏联哲学的,因为都是一个体系,然后他们有的也还会点俄语,都属于这个范围。

黄:如果套用今天的话来说,可不可以说是苏联化的马克思主义哲学?

徐:就是这样的。

### 俄罗斯宗教哲学与东正教神学

黄:那怎么从这里然后转到东正教?

徐:因为等我1989年毕业的以后,就在研究所工作,留到学校里面当老师了。那是1989年毕业,其实我在上研究生的时候学的是苏联哲学,内容主要是马克思主义,上的课有的是外哲所的老师开的课,是讲苏联40年代那个时候,关于马克思主义哲学有些争论,我记得上课的时候老师讲这些东西,

就是关于哲学史上唯物主义、唯心主义斗争,就是把哲学史上的全部哲学划分为这两个学派,就是哲学史怎么讲的问题,我们老师是做这方面的一些研究。我同时也上哲学系的课,上的主要还是马克思主义哲学史这个方面。

黄:所以就象是这种唯物、唯心争论,就使你对宗教产生了一些关注和兴趣。

徐:也还不是,当时是对这个有一些兴趣,来做这个,但是同时,自己也在做一些翻译,比如俄苏联出的《苏联哲学史》,俄语的,没有中文版,然后我自己就尝试做一些翻译。

黄:翻译《苏联哲学史》。

徐:当然也不是说完全的翻译,只是选段。一边读一边翻译。这是学习的过程,同时也是在1985年以后,戈尔巴乔夫改革新思维、公开性什么的,他们的氛围已经很开放了,之后对苏联之前的那些,他们对俄国来说是一种传统的那种哲学家和哲学思想,就有好多介绍,这是在苏联时期。

黄:像“白银时代”那些?

徐:就是“白银时代”以及之前的,像什么陀思妥耶夫这些。

黄:这就是在1985年之后在苏联才开始?

徐:对,因为之前在苏联是禁止出版这些哲学家著作的。因为他们在苏维埃时期被驱逐出境,流放到西方,在西方很有名气,他们也确实是那个时候在哲学史上也有一些成就的,苏联在1985年以前,对这些哲学家还不太熟悉。

黄:就对苏联本国来说都不熟悉?

徐:对本国来说都不熟悉,因为他们的著作不能在苏联出版,只有苏联的个别哲学家了解,他们也是偷偷地看,都是从西方来了解,所以那个时候阅读白银时代哲学家算是一个热潮。那个时候苏联的哲学杂志、期刊大量发表他们的文章,出版界也出版他们的著作。我是因为当时经常在图书馆里面看俄苏联当时的报纸、期刊什么,就是最新的,发现他们有这么多新的关注点,我也就看这些东西,包括报纸上发表的介绍他们的生平和学说概述性的文章,我也一边看,一边做翻译,整理这方面的跟宗教有关系的文章。

黄:就是“白银时代”这批所谓的哲学家们,他们其实实际上很大程度上是神学家,与宗教、神学有密切的联系。

徐:是宗教哲学家,跟神学有一定联系,他们有些人是信徒,有些人又不算是正经的信徒,他自己称是信徒,但是他可能也未必经常去教会,未必严格的受洗。

黄:这个在苏联发生是1985年之后,那你关注是什么时候?

徐:我已经上研究生之后,就是1988年,1989年,已经快毕业的时候。

黄:你开始发表一些文章啊,或者出版啊大约在什么时候?

徐:那就是比较晚了。因为我对这些比较关注以后,一开始是很难的对我来说,因为宗教这些俄语词汇我完全不懂,慢慢的在读,读多了以后,慢慢的有兴趣了,也整理什么的,对别尔嘉耶夫、索洛维约夫他们的大概情况有所了解。后来我就在1989年毕业,又在外国哲学研究所工作以后,那个时候我对这个方向还不明确。因为1991年,其实那个时候,1989年、1990年的时候,马克思主义哲学在当时的苏联已经不是占完全统治地位了,就是有些人对其他的方向,已经做的比较多了,所以我以后还怎么做?当时我刚工作的时候,是很不明确的,很不清楚。后来就发生了一些事情,就是1991年苏联解体了,解体以后,到了俄罗斯之后,后苏维埃时期了,那个时期以后,在俄罗斯哲学界马克思主义哲学已经完全没有地位了,就是大量的做西方哲学跟做俄罗斯宗教哲学,这方面做的人很多。然后我就不知道该做什么方向,一方面就是自己学的是马哲这个方向,另一方面就是对这个宗教的方向比较有兴趣,了解比较多了。

然后在这个时候,通过朋友了解到,台湾有学者在编辑《世界哲学家丛书》,他们是按照一个人物

一个人物写,正好那个时候,就是这两个总编,其中有一个在一九八几年去俄罗斯开世界哲学大会,所以他对俄罗斯还有点了解,正好他在编《世界哲学家丛书》的时候,需要介绍世界各国的哲学家,俄罗斯也算是其中一个,但是以前从来没有出版过关于俄罗斯哲学家的书,他们就有兴趣找,看有没有关于这方面的专家,中国的专家能不能写这个方面。然后那个时候,我通过我们研究所一位做西方哲学的老师知道这个情况以后,就主动和主编联系,然后我提了两个人物方案,别尔嘉耶夫和索洛维约夫,主编就决定了让我写索洛维约夫,因为先前已有另一个老师来写别尔嘉耶夫,是雷永生老师在写,就是确定我写这个以后。其实我对索洛维约夫本人的著作读得不多,但关于他的一些介绍和评论的文章,已经读了很多,也做了一些翻译,有些资料的积累,确定了要写这个本书以后,开始集中精力来做索洛维约夫。

黄:这是写的一本专著?

徐:对,就是有一点思想传记的形式,根据他的年代的先后,介绍他的思想,关于他的生平什么的,占了前面一章,后面全是他的思想,基本上就是这个形式,我大概花了一年多的时间,就做了这本书。

黄:索洛维约夫的思想与你以前学的思想比,他主要的、最突出的东西让你有震撼或者让你有感觉到新鲜吗?

徐:对对,因为是两个不同体系,是两个不同的路径,苏联哲学属于马克思主义哲学,比如说唯物主义辩证法。

黄:索洛维约夫呢?

徐:索洛维约夫是更加体系化的一个哲学家,他的哲学主要是和西方哲学相联系的,还有和基督教思想的联系比较密切一些,因为他的一些著作是按照黑格尔的模式和方式写的,正反合什么的,逻辑性很强,思想很严密,然后成体系,这个方面还是对我比较适合。我比较喜欢这样的一种哲学叙述的方式,所以就从这个开始研究。其实就是写关于他的著作时候,光读他的书肯定是不够的,同时要读一些他所涉及的其他哲学家的书,就是对他的一些评价的书,还有他的书里面所涉及的那些哲学体系的相关的著作,包括西方哲学的著作,因为他的哲学是在西方哲学体系背景下来讲的,在基督教那个背景下来讲的。

黄:这书大约是什么时候写的,或者是什么时候出版的?

徐:1993年到1995年这个期间,1995年出版的。

黄:就是中国大陆?

徐:在台湾的三民书局出版的。就是用了一年多的时间,就是这段时间大概确定了我的。我做宗教哲学跟“白银时代”哲学家的这个方向,就是这段时间确定下来的。所以后边的接着在这个方向里面,过了几年后,我又写了另一本,也还是在那个丛书系列的,费奥多洛夫,这是19世纪的一个俄国哲学家。

黄:他的思想最主要的特色和特点是什么?

徐:他是有俄罗斯特点的这样一个人物,他没有专门学过哲学,他跟索洛维约夫是完全不同风格的,索洛维约夫那是按照西方哲学的那样的一种模式训练出来的,虽然他上的也不是哲学系,但是一直读西方哲学著作,然后按照那个风格来写作,而这个费奥多洛夫是一个很独特的,他上学是学什么的?肯定不是学哲学的,跟哲学也没有太大关系,但是他对思想这个方面就比较有兴趣。我们接着话题聊下来。

黄:好的。

徐:他不是专门研究哲学,然后他是当图书馆员,就是当时在莫斯科当图书馆员,他当图书馆员时候,他就读了大量的世界各国的书,然后提出一种也很独特的思想,他在当时的俄国以及后来的俄国思想家里面,有很大影响。

黄:他主要的思想是什么?

徐:叫做什么?叫“俄国宇宙论”思想,就是他企图用科学手段怎么样改造世界,跟基督教里面的那个改造世界联系到一起。所以这个东西就是很有思想。

黄:这本书大约是什么时候出版?

徐:1998年。

黄:这个晚点。接着下面呢?

徐:后面就是,出了一些翻译的著作,包括“白银时代”哲学家的著作,就是说1999年和大家一块翻译的《俄国哲学史》,我是翻译了其中的一章,是一两章吧,是社科院的贾泽林老师负责,那是我们做苏联哲学的前辈,也是很有能力的一个翻译者。2000年出的是翻译俄国哲学家弗兰克(Франк С. Л., 1877—1950)的一本文集,这个丛书是刘小枫主编的。

黄:对,关于广义汉语神学背景的介绍。所以你跟刘小枫他们挂上钩或者连起来,大约是通过那本书?从而也成为这个属于广义的汉语神学的大潮流中的一部分?

徐:差不多,对。因为当时我对俄罗斯的哲学宗教思想很有兴趣,还读过一些有关的书,所以就是这个包括通过雷永生老师,互相都认识了以后,才请我来做这本文集。那是一本弗兰克文集,不是他专门的一本书,是一些著作集合到一起,成为一本书。

黄:所以它总体上有点像基督教哲学是吧?

徐:对。

黄:在中国当时汉语的语境中,它是有新鲜意义的。

徐:当然,然后到2001年出版的叫《东正教》,布尔加科夫的著作,他是俄罗斯一个哲学家,也是神学家。

黄:是翻译的吗?

徐:是翻译的,是布尔加科夫当年在巴黎的东正教神学研究院里面做的一个讲稿,整理出的一本书,是讲基督教的教义的。

黄:这个就是从东正教的视角讲东正教的?

徐:是东正教的教义,而且是放在整个基督教的一个大的背景下的来讲这个教义,它里面会经常提到东正教跟天主教、基督新教之间的差异。

黄:他也是白银时代,也属于那个时代,是流浪在巴黎是吧?

徐:对对,是白银时代的哲学家,后来他自己就当成了神学家了,就当成了神父。当时一开始,莫斯科大学的政治经济学教授,后面就成为神父,到巴黎主持东正教神学研究院的“教义神学研究室”,当研究室主任。

黄:那你翻译这本书,这个对你也很了解,这跟东正教的教义就是有很大的影响。

徐:对,就是在这个过程中我学到了东正教方面的与教义有关的东西,书很薄,但是看起来很费劲儿,还是费了一些工夫。

黄:这个是什么时候出版的?

徐:这个是2001年出版的。

黄:也是在中国大陆?

徐:对,在商务印书馆出版的。后来到2002年出版了一本索洛维约夫的著作集,叫作《俄罗斯与欧洲》,这也是那个系列里边的。就是翻译的这几本,当然中间还有一本是2001年出版的,还是2000年出版的就是舍斯托夫的,叫《雅典和耶路撒冷》,这是他的一本有名的著作。

黄:宗教间对话,或者是宗教间关系是不是?

徐:它是讲宗教哲学的。



黄:就是哲学与神学之间,或者是。

徐:它基本上是讲宗教与宗教哲学的,而且是偏一点犹太的那样一种倾向,因为实际上他自己是犹太人,但是他也是东正教的,就是对东正教的思想有很深的了解吧,因为犹太人受限制比较多,他娶了一个俄罗斯东正教信徒的太太,他当时都没有敢跟家里说,是出国期间偷偷的在意大利找了这样一个结婚的太太,然后家里是肯定不允许的,如果是犹太人的话。

黄:她就是俄罗斯犹太人是吧?

徐:对,其实是基辅的,现在是乌克兰,当时还是俄罗斯呢。舍斯托夫还是很有风格的,就是他的思想主要是在评论中体现,他写了大量评论性著作,从古希腊到当代哲学家好像找不到哪一个大哲学家他没有评论过,而且也包括大作家,好像他都很犀利的评论过。

黄:这是二零零几年的?

徐:对,也是这个期间翻译的。然后著作这方面的,除了在台湾出版的那两本书,经过我后来又补充啊什么的,在大陆也出版了。然后另外的两本著作就是,一本是2008年出版叫《俄罗斯宗教哲学》。

黄:好的,这个比较著名,你自己写的?

徐:对,里面还是就是把几个重要的俄国哲学家的思想做一些系统化的梳理和概述、分析,这些都有,当时在北大的一个教材系列里面。

黄:他们也是从白银时代的那批?

徐:主要是从白银时代,当然也有早期斯拉夫派也有,还包括托尔斯泰跟妥耶夫斯基,这里边包括12个人物。

黄:好,这就是介绍分析,你对他们的宗教哲学思想。

徐:对对。

黄:这是2008年奥运会那一年。

徐:对对,后来到2012年出版的《东正教圣像史》这本书,这个其实也是断断续续做了很多年。

黄:那本书很有特色。

徐:也比较简单,还是太简略了。

黄:印刷很漂亮,都是彩图。

徐:对,专门的纸,成本也很高,用了好多的经费。

黄:你在北大讲过这个课吗?

徐:课是讲过的。

黄:关于《圣像史》这个研究,你的兴趣大约什么时候产生的?

徐:因为其实兴趣怎么产生,因为在研究东正教的时候,有包括翻译的时候,里面有一章就是讲圣像的,所以那个时候,就看有关的东西,那里面也提到了关于圣像的一些著作,只是说看起来太艰难了,实际上一开始是看不懂。

黄:对,我开始入门我也是看你的那本书,也当教材了。

徐:就是有关圣像的俄语著作,所以太难了,看不懂,我就放下,但后来是因为要参加社科院乐峰老师的一个项目,乐峰老师不久前去世了,后来我才听说的。

黄:对对,他也是前辈了。

徐:他是前辈,做东正教是很早了,他要负责主编《俄国宗教史》,这是他的一个国家社科项目。

黄:是俄国宗教史。

徐:还找了很多专家,然后就分给我两章,其中的一章,就叫《东正教艺术》,这样的话,《东正教艺术》显然是以圣像为主了,所以要准备写的话,看不懂也得看,就下功夫来做这个。

黄:你的那本书是在写这个的过程中诞生的吗?

徐:是之后,之后又过了一些年,慢慢的充实了一下。

黄:这个《圣像》是哪一年出版的?

徐:2012年。

黄:2012年之后,有一些新的?

徐:书就没有了。

黄:那你研究的内容?主要在研究什么?2012年以来主要在做什么东西?

徐:这些年做的比较杂一些,就是没有专门的著作,然后出了一些论文吧,这几年一直在翻译和读洛斯基(Лосский Н. О., 1870-1965)的那本《东方教会神秘神学》,也包括到你那开会,也还是以那个为主。因为跟我上课有关,我上课也是带学生来读这个,因为那个课程叫《基督教神学概论》,所以这个《东正教神学》也算是《基督教神学》里面的重要一部分。所以我上课就是以对这本书的阅读翻译和评论为主,围绕这本书,这些年。

黄:你到我们那边开会是哪一年?我都忘了。

徐:2014年。

黄:对,你写的文章,就是这方面的。与这个相关,然后我们就要谈一下神化、圣化、成神(Theosis),这个概念了。你是大约在搞《东方教会神秘神学》研究在这个过程中。

徐:对,在这个过程中。

黄:大陆把这个词是翻译叫“成神”是吧?

徐:有“成神”这样一个翻法,主要还是香港学者这样翻译的好像,因为大陆的学者对这方面没有发表过什么文章,香港学者好像在哪个杂志上发表一篇文章,就是有这样一个翻法。当然也有翻译成“神化”的,因为如果翻译为“成神”这个词,有点怕从汉语的理解上误解为成仙、成佛什么的。

黄:我谈过这个问题。

徐:对对,这个好像你在哪本书?

黄:在澳门。

徐:你在黑龙江大学的《求是学刊》杂志上发表过一篇文章。

黄:那个叫做《儒家的“生”与基督教的“造”》,其中也提了一些这个问题。

徐:反正我有点印象。

黄:还在澳门理工大学给他们几个就是林安梧、张祥龙、郭齐勇、赵林我们几个,我们专门谈这个观念,就是成佛、成仙、成圣、成神、称义,这几个问题。

徐:就是在这个过程里面,因为这本书这里边都是讲东方教会的这些教义,但是这些教义的很多方面,都涉及这个概念,所以我就写了关于这个概念的一篇东西。

黄:我记得上次你在兰州大学的会议论文也是谈这个与中国儒家的关系吧?

徐:对对,讲了一点。

黄:好像就是有一个切入点,可以聊很多东西的。

徐:是是。

黄:所以这是你的整个研究的基本的一个状况?

徐:差不多吧。然后还有就是稍微了解一点希腊教父的一些东西,当然这也是读过一点东西,没有专门发表过,其实这本《东方教会神秘神学》主要就是讲希腊教父的,我在之前也曾经在那个社科院编的学术版《西方哲学史》里写了一章“教父哲学”。

黄:是哪一個教父和国家?

徐:主要是希腊的,包括奥利金、大巴西尔几个人物,然后这方面后来就读了一点。当然除了洛斯基的这本神秘神学之外,还有另一位晚期拜占庭神学家,帕拉马,就是他的一本书,我是一直在断断续

续的翻译,有10年,就是一直还没有做完。

黄:他的最主要的特色是什么?或者他的主要思想的贡献是什么?

徐:这是一本为静修主义(就是东正教的一种修行方式,叫“静修主义”)辩护的神学著作。这些辩护的思想根据主要是来自《圣经》跟希腊教父,不止希腊教父,还包括叙利亚的、埃及的教父,以这些人的思想为根据,来为静修主义,也就是跟上帝交流的那种神秘方式,进行辩护。这是他一本著作,这个人物是14世纪的一个神学家,这个著作我看的是俄语,就是有一个俄罗斯神父,把这个著作从希腊语翻译成俄语。

黄:他全给翻译成俄语?

徐:然后,我是看俄译本,根据俄译本翻译成汉语。

黄:原文是希腊语?

徐:是希腊语,是14世纪的,就是拜占庭时期的,希腊语写的,当然现在也有英文版,可是汉语本是没有的,英文版大概也比较有限,可能只有一个版本吧,俄文版只有这一个版本,因为太艰难了。

黄:好的,那你现在基本上研究是这样几大块。先研究苏联哲学,然后到宗教哲学,然后到东正教的神学,然后有教父,还有拜占庭的,基本上是这样的几大块,然后这里面,你有没有注意到一点?你比如像,特别是后来的这些神学家或者是宗教哲学家们,他们在进行他的论述的时候,他的主要权威来自哪里?他是强调《圣经》权威?还是强调理性权威?还是强调什么东西是权威?你有没有关注这一点?就总体上的一个印象?

徐:你就是说希腊教父?

黄:不是希腊教父,就俄罗斯这些哲学家和神学家们,特别是神学家们。

徐:他们每个人的风格不一样,差别是很大的,比如说“白银时代”的这些,从广义上来说,其实有些就更加有现代的思想。

黄:就是理性。

徐:对。

黄:理性的逻辑、论证这套东西,这是主要的。

徐:然后有一些更加偏向于教会那边,会神秘一点。

黄:教会和神秘这两块也分开讲,一个是他们在俄罗斯的神学家们或者宗教哲学家们的论述中,他们特别强调《圣经》是权威吗?

徐:不强调。对那些宗教哲学家们来说,他们是利用东正教和基督教里面的某些概念来论述自己的学说,比如人学,因为他们讲“精神”这样一个词,就是来自基督教里面的“灵”,然后是“人格”,也与基督教里面的“位格”相关。因为讲人的问题,人的自由,那就是显然跟人的神性、人的灵性分不开的。但他们同时也利用西方哲学的概念和思想。

黄:我正好最近,我就是去年写的一篇文章,用英文发表的,在这个中国神学年鉴里边,我就想从马丁·路德来看人论,他就把人分为灵、魂、肉体三个部分,灵是与上帝相关了,然后魂是介于这二者之间的,所以这套人论对于很多其他的东西,包括这个伦理学,他都有很大的影响,那你说在这个俄罗斯或者讲东正教的神学家们或者宗教哲学家们都是很强调人论。

徐:对对,其实这是他们的一个主要的特点。而且他的人论,都是在基督教这么一个框架里面来谈,因为都有一定的灵在。

黄:是是,之所以被称为人的一个最根本的就是灵嘛,然后把这个又和比如西方的文艺复兴之后,那种的世俗的人道主义,把这个对比,放到一块对比,然后就能看出来。差异就很大,或者文艺复兴之后,特别是我自己在梳理这一段,我最近主要在研究宗教改革,我认为就是说,文艺复兴它是注重人的尊严,但更多的是强调人的感性等等这一方面,而宗教改革,是要回到所谓的真理,那启蒙运动是在基



督教信仰的背景下来谈理性的价值,但是后来启蒙运动随着在德国、英国、法国,几个线索的不同发展线路,特别是黑格尔左派之后,那些运动就走向了一种抛弃有神论。理性本来是信仰范围内的上帝给人的一种能力和恩赐,后来呢?他把上帝抛掉了,理性就成了一切的标准,没有根基了。

徐:然后这个正是俄国哲学家要反思的东西。

黄:是吧,就是白银时代要反思这个。但是后来苏联哲学的马克思主义哲学,恰恰也是走向极端,就把这个都抛弃掉。

徐:那跟这个没有关系。

黄:是吧,一点都没有关系。这批曾经在俄罗斯,曾经想要呼吁大家,要注意这个背后有神论或者是灵的东西,这批都被流放到国外去了,是不是?

徐:对对,而且这是他们自己的一种思想的探索的一个结果。其实早在苏联革命之前,在一九零几年前后,他们这些人其实都有一个思想转变的过程,包括弗兰克是一个信徒,很深刻的一个宗教哲学家,上大学的时候也曾是马克思主义者,他们很多人都是这样的,都是激进的,但是后来他们自己都发现这是错误的,都自己发生转变。

黄:我正好这次我们在《国学与西学国际学刊》夏天这一期(NO 14,2018),我们在谈这个问题,我在谈这个理性,介绍分析和马丁·路德他的理性和信仰的关系,路德的特别,叫做信仰之前的理性和信仰之后的理性,也就是在信仰之内的理性和信仰之外的理性,所以当抛弃那个信仰的时候,是谈理性,那么,路德就在批评了。一方面他说“理性是撒旦的妓女”,另一方面理性是“上帝给人最伟大的礼物”,这两个是矛盾的,但是他就是看是不是在这个信仰的背景下。

徐:那你这样讲就印证了我刚才所梳理的那一点。像我们的“五四运动”,或者早期的马克思主义等等,也是从苏联“十月革命”来的嘛,刚好是100年前的1917年,传入中国。<sup>[1]</sup>所以,这块也就是说,当时在十月革命那个阶段,白银时代的那一批,宗教哲学或者神学家们,想要来反思理性的有限性的这种主流思想就被当成反动,然后留下的是这个东西,然后我们中国一方面从法国传来,一方面从苏联传来这些东西。这是一个政治的原因造成的这么一种思想,其实在之前的革命,包括在1905年革命的前后,俄国的思想就是很有成就的。

### 芬兰教育与基督教人学

黄:这里涉及什么是真正的“权威”问题。下面我想探讨一下,我上次跟你聊到芬兰学派,就是马丁·路德研究的“芬兰学派”也是路德中教会和东正教,主要是关于成神、神化,这个概念进行对话的。这个背后也是人论,所以今天芬兰的教育,号称是“全球第一”。它的特点就是在强调人的全面性,我一直看他强调人有灵魂体,他教的一个学生首先不是把他当成一个工具和工人来教的,不是把他培养成一个机器人,或者一个螺丝钉,而把他当成一个灵、魂、肉体都健全发展的个体来培养,这样才能称之为“人”,所以,这样的话,他们就开始强调兴趣教育,喜乐教育,然后强调他的这种全面的,你数学不好,但不代表你就是笨蛋,你肯定在其他方面好,所以这样以来,在芬兰的教育他就形成了一种悖论,就是上课时间非常短,但学的很多,大家学的很清楚,竞争力很强,它是不强调竞争,结果竞争力很强,就是很有意思。

所以这样的话,我就想到了人论,他是直接影响到教育理念的背后,因为你作为北大的教授,然后又研究苏联俄罗斯这一块,然后刚才我讲的这个,你感觉从这个教育的角度,你有什么样的点评?

徐:这个方面我可能不太了解。

黄:比如说,你在北大的教学,你觉得这边的学生,你从本科生讲起,这都是中国最优秀的考到北

[1] [备注,本对话发生在2017年].

大来的,你看这些学生他们的主要特点,假如用“灵魂体”这个概念,用芬兰的全人教育,用俄罗斯宗教这个理论来看一下你的经历,你觉得你接触到的学生,和他们学生的追求,学生的知识机构,和学校的教育的设立,你觉得主要有什么特点?

徐:这个肯定还是说要全面的发展或者注重能力的培养,在教育上肯定还是一个最基本的东西,在应用当中应该加强的东西,在这方面,整个中国的从幼儿园开始,就造成不好的一个习惯。

黄:应试教育等等。

徐:所以说,怎么样来改变这样的一种状况,还是一个很艰难的过程。包括我自己的孩子也是出来之后,对这些弊端都很有意识,然后就在怎么样来尽量地避免减少这样的弊端,可是发现这个还是很难的,因为在这个大的环境下面,所以还要适应这样的一种状况,因为就是应试教育,如果成绩不好的话,就意味着考不上好的大学,然后就有一系列的问题产生。所以就只有努力的想避免这种状况。所以对自己的孩子小时候没有抓紧学校课程这些方面,比如说给她报课外班补课,就是比较自由一些。但是到中学以后,就发现还是有一点要求太不够了,因为已经显出来他的一些基本的,就是按照现在的学校要求的基本的训练,包括数学、外语这样的一些基本的训练是有点弱,为什么弱?就是因为其他的学生通过学校和课外班都学三遍,我们只在学校上课,只学一遍,就造成了这样一个比其他人的结果。

黄:对,这是表现的一个现状。但是你作为一个哲学家或者哲学研究者的视角来看,像我们刚才讲的灵魂体的这一种人论,对于我们如果在教育中能够注重灵魂体这样三个方面,对于整个在历史发展的大潮中,人的不迷失,应该会起到大的作用的。你想你所熟悉的,为什么白银时代的哲学家们,社会学家们被流放,最后这个所谓的苏联哲学的这样一个单方面的,这个我想可能是不是存在一个灵魂体的全面和片面的之间的关系,是吧?

徐:对。

黄:我们讲哲学所了解的,比如苏联的哲学社会学发展的历史,就能看到,哲学思想史是这样的,哲学家的个人也是这样,我想他做调整,要么是因为从全面走向片面,或者是从片面又最后回归到全面,这样的话使他们整个的思想有一个全面的改观,是吗?

徐:对,从教育这个方面,在中国的话可能也还是要综合式培养整体人的那种个性的意识,也就是说,对自我的一种了解。

黄:从人论的深度来认识自我。

徐:就是整体上权利、责任和义务,整体方面的,一个全面的教育和提高,这个是应当加强的,或者说怎么样应该像那些做的比较好的国家学习,包括芬兰、包括德国也做的很好,这些都应该是。

黄:但是像白银时代的这批俄罗斯人也是。

徐:大部分是俄国训练出来的。因为从小是贵族出身,像比如说别尔嘉耶夫是法国血统,然后弗兰克是德国血统,都是从小受这方面的教育。

黄:就是这批学者,他们本人的教育背景这也是值得关注的。那总而言之,我想他们这批人,他们的这个特色我刚才讲了就是很全面。当然,芬兰教育,我们是后来才这样总结的嘛。就说芬兰教育是强调灵魂体的全面性,对他们那批人来说,他其实是暗合了,是殊途同归,其实都是这个问题,这可能也是今天芬兰教育引起人关注的很有意思的一点。它这个就是有创新性,你把这个人论,看体的层面,根本不看灵的层面,那你这就会出问题。好的,这是跟你聊的这个话题,这个很有意思,然后还有一点,想谈一谈中国的现状。就是在二战的时候,在哈尔滨、武汉、上海这些地方都是有犹太人,然后特别是在哈尔滨还保留了东正教的教堂,但是现在,好像在上海,还是哈尔滨那个老的神父去世了之后,现在东正教就没有神父了。

徐:已经有了一个神父在哈尔滨教堂里边主持东正教仪式。

黄:是不是一个年轻的,叫作遇石?

徐:一个比较年轻的,是中国人到莫斯科神学院学习的。

黄:对,我上次在圣彼得堡大学的一个教授那里,他给我看了照片,他是一个年轻人,可能30多岁的样子。

徐:大概是,他就是在俄罗斯那边按立神职的。之后回来就可以主持礼拜了。

黄:他是在莫斯科按立的吗?

徐:当然,这是经过双方达成协议的。

黄:那他的这个教会会友主要是中国人还是?

徐:主要是中国人。就是在哈尔滨有一个小的教会,具体有多少人我也不太清楚,但是他们是东正教节日的时候,尤其是复活节的时候不能没有礼拜活动,需要有人主持。

黄:好的,好的。

徐:这方面我稍有了解,以后再我们一起再谈。

黄:好的好的。

(录音整理后由黄、徐二人分别校对润色而成)

## 对话二:黄保罗与北京师范大学哲学学院张百春教授关于东正教研究的对话 2017年4月5号,北京大学西门

黄保罗(简称“黄”):今天是2017年4月5号,我们在北大西门和张百春教授(简称“张”)一起来讨论一下东正教神学的研究状况,我们主要是谈四个方面的话题:第一方面是张教授您自己是怎么走向这条研究道路的;第二是您的研究状况,主要做了哪些比较重要的问题;第三是来点评一下在大陆的汉语学术与经验,以及东正教神学的研究状况,它的主要成就或主要挑战及未来发展的期望;最后,我们谈一下教育问题,因为芬兰教育号称全球第一,我们中国又特别地注重教育,您是北京师范大学的教授,在中国是教育学方面最重要的高等院校之一,所以,希望从这几个方面结合您对东正教和俄罗斯神哲学研究的背景综合来谈谈教育的问题。

### 一、怎么走上俄罗斯或东正教神学研究之路的?

黄:那我们先从第一个问题谈起。您是怎么走上俄罗斯或东正教神学研究之路的?

张:从外部看,很显然,这与我学习了俄语有关。

黄:您是东北人?

张:对。我在读高中时,开始学习俄语。这是一个非常重要的外部原因。但是,学俄语的人很多,不一定都研究东正教。所以,实际上,我最终走上研究东正教研究的道路,内在的原因更多一些。我在大学里学的是数学。但是,当时我在数学领域里没有找到感觉,总感觉自己在理性思维方面不太擅长,对数学那套思维方式不太擅长。我后来转向了文科,硕士阶段学的是自然辩证法。我的经历和我们共同的朋友刘孝庭教授一样,我们俩在大学是一个专业,都学数学,后来都转向了自然辩证法专业,而且我是在他的直接影响下转的专业。在大学,他比我高一届。

黄:您在哪里读的硕士?

张:和本科一样,也是在哈尔滨师范大学,我是1986年考上硕士的。

黄:从数学系跑到这里?

张:对。不过,硕士我只读了一年,意外地有个机会去俄罗斯留学,就是当时的苏联。

黄:去留学是哪一年?

张:1987年春天通知我去苏联留学,但是首先要培训一年俄语,在北京外国语大学培训了大约两周,就转到北京语言学院。培训时间是1987年下学期和1988年上学期。俄语培训结束后,1988年10月初,我就去了圣彼得堡。当时在苏联时期叫列宁格勒。我被派到圣彼得堡大学哲学系,直接攻读副博士学位,我们国家教委为了统一,在我毕业那年就改为攻读博士学位了。

黄:当时苏联还没有解体。您的感觉如何?

张:是的,那已经是苏联解体的前夜了。入学后,我去哲学系听了几次课,课程内容没有任何新意。令我惊讶的是,那里的教授们竟然也这样与中国类似地讲哲学。这些课对我没有任何吸引力,所以,我后来基本上不再去听课了,个别感兴趣的课除外。显然,这些哲学教授们对未来时代的巨变没有任何感觉。

黄:之所以没有新意,在哲学上讲的依然还是辩证唯物主义吧?

张:辩证唯物主义、历史唯物主义,这些内容在中国我们都学过了。

黄:在苏联解体之前,圣彼得堡大学也这么讲?

张:是的。但是,在这个时候,哲学系的学生们表现出非常强烈的抗议态度,他们抗议这些毫无新意的课程。抗议的气氛是可以明显地感觉到的。我是来学哲学的,但是,我要学习的这套哲学,苏联的学生自己都不喜欢。那么,我给自己提出一个非常简单的问题,作为一个搞哲学的,我到俄罗斯能学到什么东西?这个问题其实很大。于是,我开始探索。那么,在哲学领域,俄罗斯有没有什么值得关注的东西?有一次,我和我的同屋两个来自高加索的同学聊天,就问他们一个问题,俄罗斯哲学有没有什么有趣的东西?他们不理解我的问题,反问我,您们中国哲学有什么有趣的东西?我说,您要让我说两个最伟大的哲学家,那么,我就告诉您:一个是老子,一个是孔子。请您告诉我,俄罗斯哲学里最伟大的哲学家有哪些?他们立即向我说出一批俄罗斯哲学家的名字,大概有六七十个,我从来都没有听说过这些哲学家。其中没有我所知道的别林斯基、车尔尼雪夫斯基、杜勃罗留波夫等。这大概是1988年底或1989年初的事情。当时正好俄罗斯科学院开始出一套丛书,其中就包含了这些我未听到过名字的哲学家的著作。就是说,在苏联还没解体之前,传统的俄罗斯哲学家们的著作就开始出版了。于是,我就开始搜集这些书,慢慢熟悉他们的著作。

### 俄罗斯白银时代的非纯哲学的宗教哲学

黄:这是一批什么样的人?

张:主要是宗教哲学家,别尔嘉耶夫(Николай Александрович Бердяев, N. Berdyaev, 1874年3月18日-1948年3月24日)、索洛维约夫(В. П. Соловьев-Седой, Solovyov, 1853—1900年)、弗兰克(Франк С. Л., 1877-1950)、洛斯基(Лосский Н. О., 1870-1965)、舍斯托夫(Иегуда Лейб Шварцман, Lev Shestov, 1866-1938),等等。

黄:是白银时代的?

张:对,他们就生活在所谓的白银时代,距今已有一百多年。一百年之后,他们的著作开始再版。我经常逛书店、书市,见到一本买一本。但是,我的博士论文做的依然是原来的方向——科学哲学,具体而言,是论科学对象的存在问题,这是一个本体论问题。其实,对这个问题,我谈不上反感,但没有太多的感觉。对俄罗斯传统哲学,即白银时代的俄罗斯哲学的兴趣刚刚开始萌发。朦胧之中,心中有了新的目标,我要搞俄罗斯传统哲学。在俄罗斯的五年里,我的主业就是写博士论文。除了作博士论文之外,我把几乎所有的时间都用在搜集和阅读白银时代哲学的资料上。我基本上弄清楚了,白银时代的哲学是一种宗教性质的哲学,这是一种很独特的哲学,它类似于我们研究西方哲学时遇到的中世纪的哲学。在中世纪之后,西方哲学就离开了宗教,走上了独立发展的道路。尽管黑格尔、康德等哲



学家们无不涉及宗教问题,但是,他们自己的哲学却不是宗教性质的哲学,而是所谓的纯哲学,是摆脱了宗教的哲学。纯哲学以理性为基础,彻底抛弃信仰,完全不依靠信仰。俄罗斯哲学则不然,它是宗教性质的哲学,对理性自身的独立性提出质疑,因此,给信仰留下了非常重要的位置。这一点很令我着迷。因为我对西方哲学没有什么感觉,总觉得西方哲学跟科学,尤其是数学,没什么区别。但是,我对数学是没感觉的。我很不习惯这种数学式的思维方式。对我而言,俄罗斯宗教哲学是个发现。在此之前,我对哲学的信心始终没有树立起来。正是俄罗斯宗教哲学把我留在了哲学界。它与传统的西方哲学不一样。因此,我暗下决心,一定要研究俄罗斯宗教哲学。我觉得,它才是我应该从俄罗斯“拿回去”的最主要的东西。

黄:您所说的俄罗斯宗教哲学就是指白银时代的哲学。那么,白银时代在学术界怎么来界定?是什么时间段?

张:白银时代具体指,从1900年开始,最多往前推5到10年,一直到1917年,白银时代总共持续了20多年的时间。

黄:只有20多年?

张:对。狭义的白银时代持续不到30年的时间。

张:白银时代主要是指俄罗斯文学领域的时代,它是相对于以普希金(Алекса́ндр Серге́евич Пу́шкин, Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin, 1799年6月6日-1837年2月10日)等人为代表的黄金时代而言的。白银时代的代表人物有布洛克(Блок А. А., 1880-1921)、别雷(Андрей Белый, Andrej Belyj, 1880—1934)等。从文学自身看,白银时代的俄罗斯文学比黄金时代的俄罗斯文学略逊一筹。但是,在其他方面,白银时代的俄罗斯文学也有自己的独特之处,主要表现在白银时代的俄罗斯文学与俄罗斯哲学的关系非常密切。比如,俄罗斯最著名的哲学家索洛维约夫同时也是一位诗人。他的诗歌对白银时代诗歌有很大影响,特别是白银时代的象征主义。白银时代的几乎所有哲学家和文学家都受到索洛维约夫的影响。白银时代俄罗斯哲学有个非常鲜明的特色,就是对宗教问题的关注,对信仰的忠诚,对理性的怀疑和批判。无论是否把白银时代的俄罗斯宗教哲学归入到西方哲学传统,一个明显的事实是,它直接针对西方哲学的基础——理性,对理性主义进行质疑和批判。这是我非常欣赏的东西。我不喜欢西方哲学传统,但自己又说不清楚,到底不喜欢其中的什么东西。几乎每一位俄罗斯宗教哲学家都对西方哲学中的理性主义传统进行过一定的批判。这些批判对我有很大的启发。在俄罗斯读书期间,直到毕业回国,东正教并没有成为我特别关注的对象。当时我只是非常喜欢俄罗斯宗教哲学。但是,在深入阅读时,我发现,宗教哲学是个比较虚的概念。实际上,一般的宗教哲学是不存在的,只有基督教哲学,即天主教哲学、东正教哲学和新教的哲学,还有伊斯兰教哲学。至于宗教哲学,它是个综合的概念。那么,俄罗斯宗教哲学是什么哲学?它是不是东正教哲学?这个问题一直在困扰着我,很多年都没有弄明白。我毕业回国两三年后,我利用一次机会,再次去俄罗斯进修一年。

黄:您是1993年回来的?

张:对,是1993年底回来的。我1996年再次去俄罗斯。我去莫斯科石油学院进修,因为我当时在中国的石油大学工作,它隶属于石油天然气总公司。在总公司的资助之下,我去俄罗斯进修一年,去莫斯科石油学院。非常幸运的是,我在那里遇到一位非常好的同事,就是莫斯科石油学院教公共课的一位老师谢利万诺娃(Селиванова В. И., 1938-2010)女士。在一次教研室的会议上,她问我到这里来干什么?我说,自己也不清楚,不过,我的研究领域是俄罗斯哲学。她说,那您在这里能学到什么?我介绍您去莫斯科大学哲学系听课。原来,她在莫斯科大学哲学系兼课。经过她的介绍,我去莫斯科大学听了一年的课,几乎一天都没有浪费。具体地说,我是在莫斯科大学教师培训部听课,这些课程的对象是俄罗斯高校哲学教师。讲课的人都是俄罗斯哲学界的大腕,包括几位院士。在一年的进修时间里,我在莫斯科大学听了1000多学时的课,收获很大。

黄:他们还在讲老一套?

张:不完全是老一套。在这个意义上,莫斯科人的嗅觉还是比较灵敏的,彼得堡人完全是外省人。在莫斯科大学,我总共听了大约有五、六十门课。每门课 3 到 5 次不等,一次是一上午或一下午,即 4 个学时。在这些讲课的人中间,绝大部分都是在马克思主义哲学传统里接受的哲学教育,现在,苏联已经解体,他们摆脱了束缚,开始真正地从事哲学研究了。因此,他们的课程还是有点新意的。过去搞辩证唯物主义的,现在研究本体论与认识论,过去搞历史唯物主义的,现在研究社会哲学。

黄:换了名字,但内容还是那一套。

### 当代东正教神学思想

张:新意不多。当时的俄罗斯哲学正处在转型阶段,但是,这个阶段非常艰难。很多人已经无法彻底摆脱教条主义的马克思主义哲学的束缚。不过,有些人真的有自己的想法,在课堂上都充分地展示出来了。可以说,通过这些课程,我大致地了解了当时俄罗斯哲学的状况。同时,也训练了专业俄语的技能。但是,这一次进修我有个意外的收获,就是发现了东正教。东正教在俄罗斯复兴的速度太快了,我刚离开两、三年,大部分东正教的教堂都开放了。

黄:就是 1996 年的时候?

张:是的。就在俄罗斯东正教大规模恢复的同时,各类新兴宗教也纷纷兴起,包括一些所谓的具有破坏性的宗教组织(在我们这里有时候被成为“邪教”),都在迅速地传播。不过,在一定程度上,东正教的复兴对新兴宗教有一种抵制作用。但我最强烈的感受是,东正教似乎在一夜之间就恢复了。而我们所谓的儒学复兴为什么那么慢?东正教和儒学同样都是各自民族传统的基石,它们的命运竟然如此不同。当时我有个模糊的看法是,东正教之所以能恢复得那么快,不是它的理论好,而是因为东正教有一套礼拜仪式,这套礼拜仪式一千多年来始终不变。所以,在经历了 70 年的苏联无神论的压制后,东正教在俄罗斯在非常短的时间内得以恢复,主要就是这套礼仪的恢复,而不是东正教的理论。今天的东正教信徒到教堂里参加礼拜,所做的事情与 70 年之前东正教信徒所做的事情是一样的。于是,东正教礼仪很快就获得恢复。作为中国学者,我不可能不关注儒学的命运。我觉得,儒学的悲哀就是在于它把自己变成一套学问,结果却把自己的那套礼仪丢掉了,于是彻底远离了大众。这个看法直接源自于我对东正教的思考。这样,在俄罗斯进修的那一年,我渐渐地开始关注东正教。在此之前,我从未专门研究过东正教。记得刚去苏联时,一个韩国人在大街上看到我,非要给我一本中文的《圣经》,但是,我没敢要。那是 1989 年。

黄:问题还是比较敏感?

张:那时候我的确担心,拿到这本中文《圣经》后,会是什么样的结果。现在,我对东正教的关注已经开始了,尤其是对东正教的礼仪方面感兴趣。我开始搜集东正教方面的书籍,主要是有关东正教基础知识方面的书。同时接触到一些东正教会的人士,包括一些神父。在莫斯科,我认识了一位神父,叫迪奥尼西(Днионисий Поздняев,仍健在),他对中国很感兴趣。1998 年,迪奥尼西神父到中国来,他要到社科院做报告。他让我联系我国东正教研究方面的著名专家岳峰先生。我就是通过他认识的岳峰老师。

黄:联系上了?

张:联系上了。不过,那时我还没有下决心搞东正教研究。

黄:为什么?

张:我只是对东正教感兴趣而已。我认为,自己的本行还是俄罗斯哲学。我已经开始大量地翻译俄罗斯哲学家的著作,比如索洛维约夫和别尔嘉耶夫等人的著作。因为当时我在石油大学工作,文章的发表有一定难度,所以,我主要从事翻译工作。不过,狄奥尼斯神父在社会科学院宗教所的那场报告改变了我的命运。经过岳峰老师的联络,迪奥尼西神父在 1998 年春天到社会科学院世界宗教所做

了一次报告,我现场翻译。那次报告由当时的副所长卓新平主持。报告结束后,我们之间有个简短谈话,他打算让我写一本书,书名叫《当代东正教神学思想》。我当时有些吃惊,我和卓老师说,我现在连文章都没写出来几篇,这个活儿我不能接。他送给我两本书,是他自己写的,一本是《当代天主教神学思想》,另一本是《当代新教神学思想》,都已经出版了。他说,关于这本《当代东正教神学思想》,找了几个人,都不太合适写这本书。他认为我比较合适。我没敢立即答应,只是说我回去看一看我的资料。他让我和宗教所从事东正教研究的张雅平联系。我从俄罗斯回国时,带回很多书,大部分书都在纸箱子里,还来不及打开。我把纸箱子打开,把书摆在地上,把相关的书找出来后,我心里有了底气,这本书真的只有我能写出来。为什么?因为所有的资料几乎都在我的手上。于是,我就给张雅平说,我可以接这个工作。不过,这毕竟是有关东正教神学思想方面的著作,对我而言,难度是可想而知的,因为对神学,我连入门的知识都没有。可以说,我是一边学习,一边写。最后终于完成了这本书的写作。不过,这本书只能算是我的一个读书笔记吧。这本书于2000年底出版,从此,人们就把我看成是东正教研究方面的专家了。不过,我自己还是有很大压力。东正教领域还有很多东西我并不了解。这本书更多地是从理论上研究东正教的思想,包括俄罗斯的宗教哲学方面的思想。

黄:当人家向您请教东正教问题时,把您看作是专家。

张:大概就在这个时候,我开始参加卓新平组织的基督教学界的年会。

黄:基督教研究会?

张:不是,是基督教研究方面的一个年会,每年举办一次。当时基督教研究在国内刚刚起步,东正教研究方面的人就更少了。很多次会议上,从事东正教研究的只有我一个人。从事天主教、新教研究的学者比较多。他们经常问我一些东正教方面的问题,有神学的,有历史的,等等。有很多关于东正教的问题,其实我知道的也不多,因为我也是刚刚进入这个领域。

黄:这个挑战大了。

张:是的。我当初选择的切入点是,东正教与天主教以及新教之间的区别。如果它们之间没区别,那么,我们只研究天主教和新教就可以了。因此,我觉得,在东正教与天主教、新教之间肯定有非常重要的差别,这是我研究东正教的出发点。我要搞清楚,东正教和天主教、新教之间最重要的差别是什么。也许,这是国内基督教界对我这个东正教研究者的期盼。非常巧的是,东正教的神学家们也都特别关注这个话题,他们都在尝试说明,东正教与基督教其他派别不同的地方在哪里。它们之间的差别是毫无疑问的,但是,我抓不住核心内容,我不清楚,最核心的差别到底在哪里。我一直在寻找。我觉得,这个差别也许应该是东正教相对于天主教和新教的最突出特征。换个说法,如果东正教没有自己独到的特点,那么,我对东正教研究的意义就不大了。因为我国在天主教和新教研究领域的专家学者很多,再加上华人基督徒对基督教的研究,更是有自己独特的优势。他们在基督教研究方面成绩卓著。因此,我觉得自己的使命就是挖掘东正教最突出的特征,这个特征应该把它与天主教、新教彻底区别开来。我只是朦胧感觉到,有这样一个东西,它是东正教最突出的特征,又把东正教与基督教其他两个派别彻底区别开。

黄:这的确是个难题。

张:在研究的开始阶段,我更多地考察的是天主教和新教。在这方面,汉语资料是比较充足的,我就以汉语资料为基础,做基督教研究的入门工作。因为毕竟我的母语是汉语,而不是俄语。用俄语来做入门的工作,是不合适的。总之,所有的基督教神学基本知识,我都是通过汉语掌握的。所以,回国后,我特意搜集汉语方面的文献资料。但是,当涉及到东正教时,汉语资料就比较缺乏了,而且这些东正教方面的材料大部分停留在介绍层面,对很多问题只做了概述。这些东西对于研究东正教最核心的内容与特点而言,是远远不够的。因此,我开始通过俄文资料进入这个话题。



## 别尔嘉耶夫宗教哲学的汉译及研究

黄:出了那本《当代东正教神学思想》后,您又做了哪些工作?

张:在出版这本书之前和之后,我一直在研究俄罗斯哲学中的一个非常有特点的人物——别尔嘉耶夫,翻译了他的主要著作。他是个很有趣的哲学家,准确地说,是个宗教哲学家,其哲学具有宗教性质。他的哲学思想在很多方面受到新教思想的影响,但他毕竟是东正教出身。他的思想比较零散,很难做系统的把握。不过,我当时的主要精力的确用在了别尔嘉耶夫著作的翻译和研究。他的最主要著作大概有9部,我都翻译完了。

黄:翻译了九本?

张:是的。我判断的依据是,有两家莫斯科的出版社出版了别尔嘉耶夫的三卷本文集,其中收入别尔嘉耶夫的9部著作,我都翻译出来了。尽管我发现了东正教研究这个领域,但是,既然我从事别尔嘉耶夫研究那么多年,我必须把这个研究进行到底。于是,我就写了一本书研究别尔嘉耶夫宗教哲学的书:《风随着意思吹》,副标题是“别尔嘉耶夫宗教哲学研究”。

黄:这本书就介绍了别尔嘉耶夫的核心思想?

张:对。他的哲学的核心思想就是围绕着灵的问题展开的。在研究天主教和新教时,我发现,关于圣灵的问题,是基督教神学的一个弱点。天主教和新教汉语学界没有人敢过多地涉及这个问题。我们都知道,有个流行的说法,《旧约》是关于圣父的,《新约》是关于圣子的。但是,关于圣灵的书,没有人写出来。在基督教内部,始终没有人敢承担这个任务。但是,在西方哲学界,很多哲学家都跃跃欲试。其中最成功的也许是黑格尔。他的哲学体系的核心观念是“绝对理念”或“绝对的灵”,我们将其翻译为“绝对精神”。黑格尔研究绝对精神(绝对的灵)不是按照基督教传统的套路,他走的是哲学道路。黑格尔非常自信,认为自己彻底解决了基督教遗留的问题——圣灵问题。因为绝对的灵就是圣灵。然而,圣灵问题毕竟是基督教问题,而非哲学问题。黑格尔的解决方案在哲学领域里有价值,但是,在基督教界,没有人接受他的解决方案。因此,我觉得,在基督教界应该有自己的的一套解决圣灵问题的方案。但是,我的学识有限,对基督教思想了解得很肤浅,因此,根本无法解决这个问题。不过,我在别尔嘉耶夫的哲学里发现,他对圣灵有独到的理解,这个理解不同于天主教、新教以及西方哲学的理解。关于这个问题,我在自己的书里做了粗浅的探讨。

黄:就是《风随着意思吹》吗?

### 对别尔嘉耶夫和白银时代哲学的失望,以及通过霍鲁日而对东正教灵修神学的重视

张:对,2011年出版的。这本书是我对别尔嘉耶夫研究的一个总结。在写作过程中,别尔嘉耶夫对精神的理解令我有些失望。不过,我对这本书的名称很满意,“风随着意思吹”确实反映了别尔嘉耶夫对精神的理解。我一直在探讨东正教对圣灵的理解,在这方面,别尔嘉耶夫没有给我太多的惊喜。幸运的是,我在2001年认识了当代俄罗斯著名哲学家、神学家霍鲁日(C. С. Хоружий, 1941-)教授。当时我对他了解不多,读过他关于俄罗斯哲学方面的一些东西,感觉到他对俄罗斯哲学的理解非常独特。后来我逐渐弄明白了,这个独特之处就在于,他对东正教思想的研究,尤其是他对东正教灵修的研究。霍鲁日认为,东正教是俄罗斯民族心智的基础,但是,白银时代的俄罗斯宗教哲学并不是以东正教为基础的。因此,白银时代的宗教哲学不能表达俄罗斯民族的心智。在这个意义上,他把白银时代的宗教哲学归入西方哲学传统,是西方哲学传统里的一个学派。

黄:从思路上说,这是很重要的一个发现。也就是说,白银时代的俄罗斯哲学仍然是在西方哲学的框架下进行的,虽然对其中的理性的有限性进行了认真的分析和批判,但仍然属于那个理性的传统。

张:霍鲁日的这个思路对我有很大启发。我记得在俄罗斯上学的时候(当时还是苏联),我花了几年的时间,大量的阅读了港台新儒家的一些作品,是我的一个香港朋友给我邮来的,主要是牟宗三和



唐君毅等人的著作。起初,阅读这些著作令我非常兴奋。但是,逐渐地,这种热情就消失了。现在我有了一些明白了,正如白银时代俄罗斯宗教哲学没有表达俄罗斯民族的心智一样,新儒学也没有能够表达中华民族的心智。不过,我对很多东西依然是模糊的,毕竟我对儒学没有深入了解。于是,我对俄罗斯宗教哲学的热情也大大减弱了,因为它不能回答我的问题。

黄:与白银时代的哲学家们相似,牟宗三和唐君毅等新儒家也是使用西方的理性这个工具和传统来分析中国的儒家的,因此,无法抓住本民族的独特性。因此,您就远离了别尔嘉耶夫?

张:对。刚从俄罗斯回国的时候,我曾打算全力投入对俄罗斯宗教哲学的研究,尤其是对别尔嘉耶夫著作的翻译和研究。当有人对俄罗斯哲学,尤其是别尔嘉耶夫提出不同意见时(比如说别尔嘉耶夫的哲学比较肤浅),我还不高兴。自从认识了霍鲁日,读过他的一些东西后,我对别尔嘉耶夫以及整个俄罗斯宗教哲学的态度发生了变化。

黄:霍鲁日是一个什么样的人,有什么特点?

张:他和我一样,大学学的也是数学,毕业于莫斯科大学物理数学系。不同的是,他一辈子没有一离开过数学,在苏联(俄罗斯)科学院数学研究所工作,成为研究员。但是,他对俄罗斯白银时代宗教哲学的研究,视角非常独特,有自己的一套观念。

黄:好,我们再回到刚才的那个话题。您离开了白银时代俄罗斯宗教哲学之后,继续探索,下一步找到了什么东西?

张:我想要的东西找到了,但不是我自己找到的,而是霍鲁日帮我找到的。这就是东正教的灵修传统。我曾经对东正教的礼拜仪式感兴趣,认为这是东正教里非常独特的东西,其中保留了基督教的一些原始的、原汁原味的东西。但是,霍鲁日对东正教的研究主要集中在东正教的灵修上,并把这个研究与对俄罗斯宗教哲学的研究结合在一起。我发现这个路子非常好。但是,这个结合是如何发生的?对此,我还有些模糊。2009年,借霍鲁日教授来黑龙江大学参加俄罗斯哲学会议的机会,我邀请他在我们学校做了一个系列讲座,我做了现场翻译。这次讲座后,我决定研究东正教灵修问题。我完全同意霍鲁日的意见,东正教的灵修是东正教灵性(精神性)的核心内容,是东正教区别于天主教和新教的最主要的东西。

黄:天主教不是也有灵修吗?

张:对。与东正教灵修相比,天主教的灵修没有形成传统。新教就更不用说了,因为它反抗的对象之一就是天主教的灵修。

黄:您能不能简单介绍一下东正教的灵修?

张:这得从头说起。作为一种运动和潮流,基督教灵修传统产生于第四世纪的埃及旷野。当时主要有两种形式的灵修,一种是由圣安东尼(St. Anthony the Great,约251—356)创立的所谓的独修方式,另外一种是由帕霍米乌斯(Pachomius,约287—347)创立的集体修行方式。不过,在一开始还有一种混合型的,它不完全是集体修行,但也不完全是单独修行。我们知道,基督教第一次大分裂发生在公元1054年,即罗马天主教和东正教的形成。尽管在基督教灵修传统产生的时候,基督教是统一的,但是,自从君士坦丁大帝(Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus,274年2月27日—337年5月22日)把罗马帝国首都迁到君士坦丁堡后,帝国实际上已经一分为二,基督教的传统也开始分裂,东方基督教和西方基督教的独特性逐渐地呈现出来。帕霍米乌斯创立的集体修行方式被东方基督教和西方基督教所接受。伊斯兰教产生之后,当初拜占庭帝国(Βυζαντιον, Byzantium 330—1453)领土上的东方基督教世界大部分被伊斯兰教徒占领,比如埃及、巴勒斯坦和叙利亚等地,曾经是基督教灵修传统产生的地方。不过,基督教灵修传统在西奈山(Mount Sinai)等地有所保留,只是在规模上已经无法和当初相比。在西奈山修道院里,灵修传统获得进一步的发展,并且制定出修行的具体步骤,即所谓的“天梯”。最后,东正教灵修的中心转移到拜占庭,在14世纪的阿峰山(阿索斯, Ορος Αθως, Mount

Athos)上,东正教的灵修传统达到顶峰,彻底形成,其最著名的代表人物是圣格里高利·帕拉马斯(St. Gregory Palamas,1296—1359)。这样,我们看到一条基督教灵修里的线索,这就是独修的线索,它从圣安东尼开始,经过西奈山,最后到阿峰山彻底形成。这个传统有个非常独特的名称——静修主义(古希腊语:ἡσυχασμός, hesychasmos, 英语: hesychasm)。实际上,西方基督教,后来的罗马天主教接受的主要是早期基督教的集体修行方式。至于独修方式,至于静修主义,罗马天主教世界几乎一无所知,因为静修主义在东方基督教世界形成的过程完全独立于罗马天主教世界。在拜占庭灭亡(1453年)后,东正教灵修(独修传统)在俄罗斯、希腊等地得以保留和延续。

### 以东正教的灵修学这个独特性为基础产生的协同人学

黄:好的。那么,东正教灵修传统与俄罗斯哲学有什么关系呢?

张:用霍鲁日的说法,一个民族的哲学应该表达该民族精神(或心智)。他认为,是东正教塑造了俄罗斯民族的精神和心智。因此,俄罗斯哲学就应该表达东正教,揭示其基本内涵。东正教灵性最实质的东西就是灵修传统,就是静修主义。然而,白银时代的俄罗斯宗教哲学根本不是东正教的,而是一般意义上的宗教的,此外,它也没有触及到静修主义,只有20世纪初发生的那场“赞名派”与“反赞名派”的争论是个例外。霍鲁日指责白银时代的宗教哲学用西方哲学的术语来揭示俄罗斯人的心智和精神,其目的是正确的,但手段是不合理的。

黄:这是很重要的点评,值得我们认真反思。那么,您在东正教的灵修里找到了什么东西呢?

张:目前我依然处在研究霍鲁日的阶段。他认为,在东正教灵修传统里,包含一套对人的独特看法,一套独特观念,它们完全有别于西方哲学对人的看法。换言之,东正教人学不同于天主教的人学和新教的人学。在东正教人学的基础上,可以建立一套新的人学。霍鲁日就是这样做的,他获得一种全新的人学——协同人学(synergetic anthropology),它就是在东正教人学的基础上建立起来的。协同人学有强大的解释功能。

黄:我感觉我们还有很多东西要聊,今天因时间关系,就聊到这里,我们再找时间继续聊。

张:好的。

黄:我们接着和百春聊。现在我们依然在聊第一个问题,就是您怎么走上东正教神学的研究这条路的。您开始的时候从事白银时代的宗教哲学研究,后来发现它根本不是对俄罗斯民族心智的反映,然后您就找到了东正教的灵修传统。

张:是的,不过,获得这个发现是通过当代俄罗斯著名哲学家和神学家霍鲁日教授。

### 东正教的灵修

黄:我们刚好聊到了东正教灵修传统,其独特之处在于由静修主义为代表的灵修方式,即独修方式。现在我们接着这个话题聊。在俄罗斯的东正教里,主要的灵修方式是静修主义的吗?

张:其实,基督教的集体和静默(也叫独修)灵修这两个传统,在俄罗斯都有。表面上看,毫无疑问,集体修行方式在俄罗斯占主导地位,比如,在俄罗斯各地的修道院里,修士们主要是从事集体的修行。修道院制度就是集体的修行制度。实际上,在基督教的历史上,完全的、纯粹的独修形式是非常少见的。即使是独修形式的创始人圣安东尼也没有自始至终坚持独修方式,他在修行之初曾经获得过长老的指导,后来他确实把自己关起来,进行与世隔绝的真正意义上的独修。但是,当他修行到一定地步之后,他又开始指导其他修士进行修行。另外,完全的与世隔绝的独修也会面临各类挑战。不过,独修的方式在东正教世界几乎没有中断过,而且独修的方式主要是在修道院里存在。通常,在修道院里,或离修道院不远的地方,有单独的小修道室,个别修士在这里从事单独的修行。这样的修士始终是有的,不过很难被我们发现。只有当这样的修士“修成正果”了,才为外界所知。这样的人一旦出现,无论修道院内部的修士,还是外界的平信徒,都会到他那里去咨询,寻求灵性帮助。这样的人通常就称为“长老”。在俄罗斯,长老制是非常著名的。尽管长老在基督教灵修产生之初就有,但作为一

种制度,长老制是在俄罗斯东正教里成熟的。长老必须从事单独的修行,这种修行方式可能持续十几年或几十年。

黄:这批长老是神父、司祭吗?

张:长老主要都是修士,基本上都没神职。

黄:修士必须是独身了?

张:修士必须独身,就是所谓的出家人,像在佛教里的和尚那样。

黄:但是,东正教的神职人员是有结婚的。

张:东正教里的神职人员的确有结婚成家的。因此,在东正教里,有白神品和黑神品之分。白神品就是指那些有家室的神职人员,黑神品就是指不结婚的,出家的神职人员。白神品是不允许晋升为主教的,除非丧偶后出家成为修士,才可以晋升为主教,因为东正教的主教都是从修士里选出来的。不过,针对早期基督教会里的主教是否应该独身,没有明确规定。大约从第七世纪开始,东方教会的主教就开始从修士里遴选了。因此,在东方基督教会里,修士的地位越来越高。

黄:天主教会里也一样,修士地位非常高。

张:是的,天主教会的所有神职人员都是独身的。不过,天主教修士与东正教的修士有不同的志向。东正教修士生活在修道院里,他们专注于修行,心无旁骛。天主教修士们组成各种修会,每个修会都有自己的使命,比如有的修会以传教为目的,有的修会以从事学术研究为目的,有的修会从事教育活动,有的修会从事慈善事业等等。这些“业务”与纯粹的宗教修行没有直接关系。在东正教的修士们看来,这些“业务”会妨碍修士们的修行。

黄:天主教的修士们要发三愿:绝色、绝财、绝意。东正教的修士也是这样吗?

张:是的。这是基督教修道制度的统一要求。

黄:绝意就是服从。那么,服从谁?修道制度里也有领导,也有组织?

张:在集体修行方式里,就是顺服修道院的院长,在罗马天主教会里,就是服从修会的会长。至于单独修行,刚才说过了,纯粹的单独修行方式是非常罕见的。即使是单独修行,也需要由长老指导,因为否则的话,修行过程中一旦出现偏差,是非常危险的。这就是我们常说的“走火入魔”的状态。因此,长老在单独修行方式里是必不可少的。在单独修行里,修士必须服从自己的长老。这里的服从是在最严格的意义上说的,就是说,修士必须在一切方面,一切问题上绝对服从长老。修士不应该表达自己的意志,长老的意志就是他的意志。这里根本没有什么意志自由之类的观念。比如,关于东正教的灵修有个说法,就是为了获得圣灵。然而,修士们在修行过程中,常常会觉得自己获得了圣灵,被圣灵感动了。但是,长老们会很轻松地发现这是被邪灵感动了,而不是圣灵。

黄:对,您谈到圣灵,在修行过程中非常重要。是不是因此,基督教的修行才叫灵修?

张:灵修这个名称并不十分准确,因为基督教的修行其实也针对身体,尤其是在其初级阶段。有人曾经把宗教的修行翻译成苦修或禁欲主义,就是因为在修行过程里,修行者克制和压制自己的各类身体欲望,甚至有极端的情况,就是残害自己的身体。但这个翻译过分注重修行的身体方面了。实际上,灵修涉及到人的身体、心理、灵性等各个层面,这是一个综合的现象。当然,基督教的灵修自然离不开圣灵的指引。

黄:旧约主要谈圣父,新约主要谈圣子。关于圣灵,说法比较复杂且不是如此的明确。那么,在东正教的灵修里,如何把握圣灵呢?

张:关于圣灵的问题始终是基督教神学的一个难点。东正教神学也没有形成关于圣灵的系统理论。但是,在实践上,东正教传统有自己对待圣灵的态度。这个实践就是灵修。而且,严格意义上的灵修是需要有人指导的。

黄:指导者就是长老?



张:在静修主义里,指导者就是长老。用霍鲁日的话说,长老和徒弟(也叫见习修士)之间构成一个“对子”。一般情况下,单独修行的修士必须在有经验的长老的指导下进行修行。

黄:这个长老是修士自选的?还是由人指定的?

张:实际上是双向选择。

黄:双向选择之外,还有没有组织?

张:没有。

黄:如同我们的学生选导师?

张:差不多,不过,一旦选定,长老和修士之间就是绝对服从的关系,即上边谈到过的“绝意”。修士要百分之百地服从长老,甚至连一天喝几口水都要问长老。在外人看来,这似乎是不可思议的。不过,在灵修过程里,彻底放弃自己的意志是修行的必要条件。因为修士的任何意志表现,几乎都会导致走火入魔。

黄:如果修士在修炼过程中感觉到自己被圣灵感动了,那基本上就是走火入魔了。

张:对。所以必须要有一位修行经验丰富的长老随时指导。他们之间应该非常默契地配合,才能逐渐达到修行的效果。

黄:修士和长老之间应该是心有灵犀,一点就通。不过,这里也有一定的神秘主义成分。

张:的确如此。长老与修士之间的关系带有明显的神秘主义色彩。与我们的老师不同,我们老师担心学生听不懂,就不厌其烦地解释。但是,在长老和修士之间,没有那么多的理论,他们之间的交流,确实一种灵性上的沟通。这也给我们的学术研究带来了一定的困难。无论是东正教会内部,还是俄罗斯的学术界,至今依然很少有人关注灵修的研究。实际从事灵修的人,没有意愿表达自己的感受,外人又很难理解修士所获得的体验。

## 二、您个人的研究现状

黄:现在我们不知不觉地已经开始探讨第二个问题了。第一个问题,就是您如何走向宗教神学研究,我大致已经清楚了。

现在我们讨论第二个话题,就是您目前研究的内容,似乎是俄罗斯哲学和东正教两个东西,起初您用很大的精力研究俄罗斯宗教哲学,现在则主要研究东正教,具体地说,就是东正教的灵修传统。您放弃俄罗斯哲学研究了吗?

### 理性及理性主义

张:当然没有。在宗教学专业方面,我是自学的,没有经过科班训练。起初我是研究俄罗斯哲学的,即使是现在,我也没有放弃俄罗斯哲学研究。在我看来,在哲学和宗教学之间做出过分严格的区分是没有道理的,无论在理论上,还是在实践上,都是行不通的。把它们严格区分开,这是西方学术界的传统做法,在那里一切都是分离的,知识领域越分越细。我个人很不适应这个学科划分的方式,学术研究应该以问题为主,而不是以学科、领域为主。

黄:其实,西方这套做法,现在也用到我们的中学(国学)上来了。

张:确实如此。在西方话语下,无法研究东正教。比如,用黑格尔、康德的哲学来处理东正教内容是绝对不允许的。正如绝对不能用他们的哲学来处理我们的中学一样。不过,以黑格尔和康德为代表的德国古典哲学与天主教和新教之间的关系是另外一个话题。

黄:在这里,我们已经涉及到第二个话题,就是您现在在研究什么。您先是研究俄罗斯白银时代的这批哲学们,后来,霍鲁日教授给您一个重要的提醒,让您意识到这些哲学家们并没有很好地表达俄罗斯民族的心智。其主要原因就是白银时代的这批哲学家们用所谓的西学来阐释俄罗斯民族的心

智。这里的西学就是以理性主义为代表的。

张:没错,在这里完全可以用“西学”这个说法。狭义上的“西学”就是天主教世界的学术传统,以及后来的新教学术传统。

黄:当然,西学还包括文艺复兴和启蒙运动以来的抛弃神学信仰的人文学(感性和理性)传统。那么,俄罗斯民族的心智是不是也应该与理性主义对立呢?

张:是的。俄罗斯著名诗人丘特切夫(Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev, 1803—1873)有一首诗,大意是用理性的尺度无法度量俄罗斯民族,因为俄罗斯的“身材”太独特了,只能通过信仰的途径来接近俄罗斯民族的心智。

黄:白银时代的宗教哲学家们也走了理性主义的路线了?

张:不是的。白银时代的俄罗斯哲学之所以被称为宗教哲学,就是因为它尝试恢复信仰在哲学里的地位。在这个意义上,它是反对理性主义传统的。几乎所有的俄罗斯宗教哲学家都在批判西方的理性主义,将理性主义看作是西方哲学的原罪。

黄:其实,我们中国学术界在上世纪90年代也开始批判西方的理性主义。

张:但是,我们对西方理性主义的批判,似乎始终没有触及它的根源。另外,当今我国哲学研究的立场依然理性主义的。

黄:对,其表现形式就是唯科学主义。

张:理性主义有两个流派,其中有一个流派是唯物主义的理性主义,它与唯科学主义结合在一起。另外一个理性主义表现在唯心主义里,以德国古典哲学为其最高代表。不过,理性主义也其积极的意义。理性是需要的,没有理性是不行的。中国文化传统中就缺乏理性元素,填补理性位置的不是信仰,而是感性。中国人的感性非常发达,甚至过于发达了。所以,理性主义在对中国文化的矫正方面,是有其积极意义的。但是,信仰在本质上并不是一味地反理性的。只有盲目的信仰才是彻底反对理性的。

黄:现在还能说中国文化缺乏理性吗?

张:就当今情况而言,我觉得完全相反,现在我们过分理性化了,理性主义渗透到我们的骨髓。这是非常可怕的。

黄:您是指唯物主义的理性主义吗?

张:是的。有点儿矫枉过正了。

黄:似乎理性可以搞定一切。无论什么真理,都可以靠理性来搞定。

张:确实如此。就是建立人间天堂——共产主义,也不能完全靠理性。我相信,在共产主义里,人类依然需要信仰。

黄:您把理性主义分为两类。其中一类理性主义与唯心主义结合在一起,另外一类与唯物主义结合在一起。那么,白银时代的这些哲学家们所批判的,是不是唯物主义的理性主义呢?

张:不是的。白银时代哲学家们对唯物主义的理性主义批判的不多。他们主要批判的还是唯心主义的理性主义,尤其是德国古典的唯心主义。我觉得,唯物主义的理性主义主要体现在我们今天的中国人的思想里,而且是公开的、明显的。在西方,唯物主义的理性主义一直处在隐藏的状态。

黄:白银时代的宗教哲学家们批判唯心主义的理性主义。那么,是什么东西引起了批判呢?

张:白银时代的哲学家们认为,哲学不能离开宗教。唯心主义的理性主义最终会导致无神论。在这个意义上,无神论是西方理性主义哲学的产物。

黄:所有白银时代的哲学家们都批判了西方哲学的唯心主义理性主义。那么,唯物主义的理性主义的命运是怎么样的呢?

张:实际上,白银时代宗教哲学针对的是西方的唯心主义的理性主义。因为唯物主义的理性主义

在西方表现得比较弱,没有那么明显。所以,对理性主义的批判主要是针对唯心主义的理性主义,即德国古典哲学。不论是唯心主义的理性主义,还是唯物主义的理性主义,最终都会导致抛弃信仰。

黄:是的。唯心主义的理性最后必然导致抛弃信仰,更何况唯物主义的理性主义了。

张:在俄罗斯宗教哲学家们看来,天主教神学是一种理性主义的神学,就是唯心主义的理性主义。托马斯·阿奎那(Aquinas, 1225—1274)的神学以亚里士多德(Aristotle, 约公元前384—322)的哲学为基础。我们知道,亚里士多德的哲学以其理性主义和本质主义为特征。因此,天主教神学是一种理性主义的神学。

黄:也是一种唯心主义的神学。这其实也是马丁·路德(Martin Luther, 1483—1546)所批判的。

张:对,马丁·路德直接针对天主教的理性主义神学。他认为,这种神学已经远离了信仰,远离了《圣经》。在这个意义上,东正教和新教对待天主教的态度是一样的,它们都认为天主教过分陷入到理性主义,因此其信仰成分已经淡化了。

黄:新教的追求是找回被掩盖的信仰自身,并巩固它。

张:东正教徒很聪明,他们从新教徒对天主教的批判中看到了天主教的弱点,即它的理性主义。俄罗斯宗教哲学家们对西方哲学传统的批判主要集中在两个方面,一个是其纯粹的理性主义,表现形式就是唯心主义的理性主义,另一个方面就是信仰的弱化和丧失,结果就是无神论。

黄:白银时代的宗教哲学的代表人物有很多,比如别尔嘉耶夫、索洛维约夫、弗兰克(Франк С. Л., 1877—1950)、布尔加科夫(Михаил Афанасьевич Булгаков, Michail Bulgakov, 1891年5月15日—1940年3月10日)等等,在文学方面还有梅列日科夫斯基(Мережковский Дмитрий Сергеевич, Dmitrij Merejkovskij, 1865—1941)和罗赞诺夫(В. В. Розанов, Vasilij Rozanov, 1856—1919)。他们的立场有没有差别?

张:在对待西方的理性主义传统方面,在对待无神论方面,他们的立场基本一致。因此,可以说,在俄罗斯,有一个宗教哲学传统。宗教哲学家们之间似乎有一种默契。这是一个时代的默契。

黄:但是,我们知道,在俄罗斯之后的苏联,最终是唯物主义、无神论获得了胜利。

张:您说的非常正确。在那场唯物主义和唯心主义,无神论和宗教信仰的较量中,获得胜利的是唯物主义和无神论。这没有什么值得惊讶的。因为我们知道,伟大的哲学家的理论几乎都是乌托邦,比如柏拉图的理论。他认为,理念是真实的,感性世界里的一切都是不真实的,变动不居的。于是,柏拉图在现实生活中是个悲剧人物,他一生也没有找到自己心爱的姑娘,因为她在他的理念世界里。这就是唯心主义哲学的悲剧。

黄:柏拉图用女子做比喻了吗?

张:柏拉图倒是没直接谈到这个比喻。不过,我们可以从他的学说里推断出来。他在追求智慧,智慧不在感性世界里,而在理念世界里。这个理念世界就是理性的世界。

黄:在理念世界里,就没有信仰的地盘了吗?

张:对,理念世界不需要信仰。不但如此,在理念世界里也没有感性的位置。白银时代的宗教哲学反对西方理性主义传统,因为这个传统最终会抛弃宗教和信仰。

白银时代的宗教哲学家们返回到抽象和虚无缥缈的宗教之中,在哲学里他们谈宗教,在宗教里他们又自称为哲学家

黄:白银时代的宗教哲学家们返回到宗教了吗?他们的宗教是什么宗教?是东正教吗?

张:他们追求返回宗教,但他们没有返回东正教,而是返回到了一般意义上的宗教。然而,一般的宗教是不存在的,只有基督教、佛教、伊斯兰教等,只有天主教、东正教和新教等等具体的宗教。

黄:是的,他们所说的上帝和基督教所说的上帝根本不是一回事。

张:他们的上帝是哲学家的上帝,是帕斯卡尔(Blaise Pascal,1623年6月19日—1662年8月19日)批判的那个上帝。基督教的上帝是亚伯拉罕、以撒和雅各的上帝。因此,可以说,白银时代的宗教哲学家们返回到宗教了,但没有返回到东正教,至少大部分宗教哲学家是如此。

黄:看来,白银时代的宗教哲学家们离东正教还是有一定距离的。

张:是的。他们不但远离了东正教,而且远离了一般意义上的基督教。比如,梅列日科夫斯基直接返回到多神教那里去了,罗赞诺夫返回到犹太教那里去了。即使是别尔嘉耶夫等人,也离东正教很远。至少东正教会是不接受他们的学说的。

黄:就是说,虽然他们批判了理性主义,虽然他们批判了信仰的丧失,但是,他们自己却没有能够返回东正教传统,甚至没有能够返回到基督教的传统。

张:对。白银时代的宗教哲学家们想要恢复信仰,恢复宗教。但是,他们不清楚,到底应该恢复什么样的信仰,什么样的宗教。

黄:这就有点像当今西方哲学里的解构主义,它的主要使命是解构、批判。

张:是的,解构主义者们在建构方面几乎没有什么贡献。

黄:白银时代的宗教哲学家们建构的是一种虚无缥缈的东西,他们的上帝应该是打引号的“上帝”。

张:索洛维约夫就把上帝等同于绝对、绝对的存在者。这个上帝几乎不与人交流,是个高高在上的上帝。

黄:在哲学里,他们谈宗教。在宗教里,他们又自称为哲学家。

张:哲学家们的确很狡猾。霍鲁日就发现了,白银时代的宗教哲学家们在对待宗教的态度上过于随意了。他们认为自己没有义务保守东正教传统。因此,霍鲁日断定,他们没有真正地、如实地表达俄罗斯民族的心智。我完全同意霍鲁日的这个判断。如果说科学没有国界,没有中国的数学、物理学和化学等等,那么,关于哲学就不能这么说。哲学很少以纯粹的形式出现,即使是德国古典哲学也带有浓厚的德意志色彩。在我看来,“中国哲学”这四个字是很成问题的。在我国哲学界,竟然有一批哲学家,他们声称自己在搞哲学,是纯哲学,不涉及民族特性。似乎他们在搞一种普遍的哲学。我觉得,这是荒唐的。俄罗斯哲学,尤其是俄罗斯宗教哲学,始终在尝试寻找自己的民族特性。这一点非常吸引我。在方面,霍鲁日是个典型代表。所以,我对他特别关注。后来我极力地向杜维明教授推荐他。2013年,杜维明教授邀请霍鲁日来北京大学高等人文研究院举办一次系列讲座,也是我做的现场翻译。

黄:霍鲁日的讲座都整理出来了吗?出版了吗?

张:他于2009年在我那里举办的系列讲座已经整理出来,2010年在香港出版了。他在北大的那次系列讲座也整理出来了,已经交给一家出版社。不过,出版方面遇到了点麻烦,主要问题是其中涉及到宗教问题。霍鲁日就是研究宗教的,怎么能不涉及宗教问题呢?

黄:哪家出版社?

张:是安徽大学出版社。

黄:现在我清楚了,您对白银时代宗教哲学的态度并不是一味地批判。您发现了白银时代宗教哲学的问题所在。

张:我承认,白银时代的俄罗斯哲学对我的影响非常大。主要的就是让我对宗教有了新的认识。原来,哲学离不开宗教。在中世纪,哲学依赖于宗教神学,为宗教神学服务,在宗教里吸取资源。在近现代,哲学又到科学里吸取资源。今天已经清楚,对哲学而言,科学的资源是有限的,而且几乎被彻底吸收了。所以,哲学开始向宗教返回。我觉得,宗教才是哲学的取之不尽的资源,在西方尤其如此。

黄:但是,“哲学家的上帝”不是“基督教的上帝”。那么,对宗教而言,宗教哲学有什么用呢?



张:其实,康德在《纯粹理性批判》里把基督教的上帝给弄丢了。但是,他在《实践理性批判》里又把基督教的上帝找回来了。有很多人是通过康德走到上帝的。同样道理,在当今的俄罗斯,有很多人正是通过白银时代的宗教哲学而走向东正教的。

### 神学研究者是否必须为信徒?

黄:这就让我想到了我们中国的一种所谓的汉语神学了。其实汉语神学里面牵扯到一个问题,就是从事汉语神学的人,是否一定要成为基督徒。有一段时间,人们对非基督徒从事汉语神学研究持怀疑态度。您怎么看待汉语神学研究?

张:关于汉语神学,我的意见是,信徒和非信徒都可以搞。这是由我们中国的语境决定的。在中国,非信徒的基督教神学研究对汉语神学的贡献是不可低估的。我认为,没有必要怀疑非基督徒对汉语神学的研究是否是正统的。如果我们看看西方的神学研究,那么,就会发现,即使是异端分子,他们对基督教神学的贡献也是不可低估的。在一定意义上,基督教神学的建立就是为了反对这些异端,至少早期教父神学是如此。

黄:那您的意思是,异端也会对汉语神学做出自己的贡献了?

张:是的。我觉得,汉语神学自身的建设还有漫长的路要走。现在不能故步自封,上来就排斥异端。没有异端,汉语神学也很难发展。换言之,没有异端,只能证明汉语神学里惰性太强了。人们不擅长思考,只是盲目地接受西方的基督教神学思想。

黄:就是机械的接受。

张:在神学上的消极性表明我们的神学思维能力不够。这同时也反映出信仰的薄弱。虔诚的信仰很容易导致异端。异端就是一种选择。不同的选择是思想积极性的表达。什么是虔诚的信仰?这里需要个人的体验。在个人体验方面,差别是明显的。

黄:信仰要用心去体验。

张:是的,不怕您走错路。错误的道路必须都经历了,我们才能找到正确的道路。

黄:所以,这可能就是您讲的东正教的灵修传统。在灵修过程里,有各种考验、挣扎和痛苦。

张:在灵性生活里充满考验和挣扎。这里没有逻辑可言,奇迹随时发生。在新约福音书里有一个故事。与耶稣一同被钉十字架的还有两个强盗。当天晚上,耶稣对一个强盗说,您跟我一起进乐园去。天主教和新教通常不太注意这个隐喻。我发现,天主教和新教不关注的东西,东正教特别关注。耶稣之所以邀请那个“善盗”一同进乐园,就是因为这个“善盗”在灵性生命上的高度已经够了。否则,耶稣不会邀他一起去乐园的。这就是灵性生活里的逻辑,它完全不同于我们的日常逻辑。

黄:新教好像没把这个问题当成一个大问题。那东正教怎么来看这个所谓的“善盗”问题?

张:东正教不太看重人的罪。人犯罪是正常的,因为他有原罪。耶稣就反对信仰上的老好人,不冷也不热。汉语神学的建立,不能光靠这些老好人。汉语神学不但要借鉴新教神学的资源,不但要借鉴天主教神学的资源,而且也要借鉴东正教神学的资源,甚至是异端的资源。我认为,中国文化里的资源对汉语神学也是有益的。

黄:对,我顺着这个话题再聊几句,我觉得这个话题很有意思。我曾在深圳大学的学报上发表一篇文章,题目是“汉语索隐神学”。在这里我试图考察一个思想,就是我们大家都是挪亚的后代,既然中国人也是挪亚的后代,也就是亚伯拉罕的后代。那么,我们在中国怎么能找到亚伯拉罕的痕迹?所以,有人在中国的汉字里找到一些蛛丝马迹。比如说,中国的汉字里面有很多的十字架的标志。当然,有些人觉得,这是异端的想法。但我自己后来也研究了一下,觉得我们可以怀疑这样的做法,但是,这个问题是值得探讨的。凭什么说,我们也是或不是挪亚的后代,亚伯拉罕的后代?

张:换个说法,基督教在中国的传播,不能不考虑到中国的语境。比如,老子和孔子。基督教要想在中国传播,必须面对以老子和孔子为代表的中国文化遗产。不能把他们的学说完全看作是异端,彻



底抛弃。基督徒不应该武断地说,老子和孔子就在地狱里受煎熬。我觉得,老子和孔子的学说对基督教而言,也是有积极意义的。正如希腊哲学中的柏拉图和亚里士多德对基督教神学而言绝不是可有可无的一样。

黄:《罗马书》里说,神性是明明可知的。神自身是不可见的,但是,我们可以通过神的造物来了解神。不过,我们不能随意地替代神做判断。我个人觉得,老子和孔子是否在地狱里,这不是我们能够判断的,因为按照我所理解的新教,我们对任何人都是没有办法下终极的结论。但是,我相信,如果孔子现在在天堂里,那么,他靠的也是耶稣基督,虽然耶稣出生在他之后。所谓的耶稣出生在孔子之后,这是就肉身而言的。

张:对,我认同这个逻辑。

黄:我认为,基督教的神是公义的神,他也是慈爱的神。因此,他不会冤枉孔子。所以,我从来不说,孔子应该下地狱,当然,即使他得救,按照新教的教义,他也是应该通过基督而得救的。

张:这是个有争议的问题。不过,我相信,如果孔子在地狱里受煎熬,那么,很多中国人宁愿和他一起受地狱之苦的煎熬,尤其是知识分子,这是他们的秉性。

黄:在对白银时代进行反思时,我们涉及到一个话题,就是那个时候的宗教哲学家们的上帝与基督教的上帝有一定的距离。作为信徒,他们与东正教会之间也有一定的距离。那么,您个人是否也遇到过这样的挑战,比如,您自己不是信徒,但是,您现在却要来研究东正教,研究基督教神学里面的重要问题。那您是否会遇到白银时代宗教哲学家们所遇到的问题?

张:我明白您的意思。不过,我觉得,我不会重蹈白银时代宗教哲学家们的覆辙。

黄:现在,我看您好像是在批判白银时代宗教哲学家们。

张:至少我没有完全跟随他们。很多年以前,我写过一篇文章,论述他们的信仰的悲剧。这篇文章是用俄文写的,发表在《哲学问题》杂志上。白银时代的宗教哲学家们都是信徒,但是,他们对待东正教的态度是有问题的。他们处理东正教的方式过于随意了。与他们不同,我研究东正教是非常严肃的,我的目的是寻找原汁原味的东正教。只不过我是从纯粹学术的立场出发来做这件事情。

“信”如何可能?

黄:比如说,在您谈上帝的时候,您会说这个上帝是一个像黑格尔等人所说的那种抽象的上帝,还是一个哲学家的上帝,或者,您在研究东正教神学的时候,在谈到上帝这个概念时,您是如何理解的?是按照东正教信徒的方式理解吗?再具体点说,您在谈到上帝的时候,这个上帝是亚伯拉罕、以撒和雅各的上帝,还是哲学家的上帝?

张:对我个人而言,这也是个非常大的问题。记得有一次在一个神学院讲东正教灵修,有学生提出一个问题,说您对基督教那么了解,对东正教有那么深入的研究,为什么不接受它呢?到时候,我们基督徒在天堂里,您却没有进去,您不觉得遗憾吗?

黄:我倒没这个意思。我是在学理的层面来探讨。

张:这里涉及到个人的信仰问题,这是个十分隐秘的话题。我当然非常希望进天堂,我也非常愿意相信上帝,但条件是,如果有天堂,如果有上帝的话。就是说,这是我个人的问题,诚实地说,一旦我相信有天堂存在,有上帝存在,我为什么不信呢?我一定要信的。但是,当我对上帝的存在表示怀疑的时候,我不能强迫自己相信上帝。因此,我越来越觉得,在信仰的问题上,是需要完全的自由。信仰上帝需要契机,可能还会有些客观的原因,用佛教的术语,这里可能还需要一定的缘分。总之,自由是前提。没有自由的信仰,我是不能接受的。我目前的状况是,主要精力在学术研究上,我就停留在这个层次上。我不是那种不解决上帝是否存在,就无法生存下去的人。上帝到底是否存在,对我是个悬而未决的问题。这个状态类似于克尔凯郭尔(Soren Aabye Kierkegaard,1813年—1855)讲的那种处在门槛的状态。不过,我把主要精力用在东正教进行的学术研究上。我甚至这样想,如果我不研究

基督教,指不定我现在已经信基督教了。相反,我研究的越多,越深入,看到的东西就越多,研究的冲动就越强烈,对信仰的冲动反倒淡化了。

黄:就是把信仰问题悬隔起来,不敢轻易的采取行动?

张:没错。

黄:或者前进一步,或者后退一步,都让您左右为难。

张:对,确实是左右为难。

黄:您也不敢干脆利索,我就后退一步,放弃研究,一走了之。

张:不可能,绝不可能。

黄:后退一步是绝不可能。那么,前进一步,您觉得有可能吗?

张:对很多人而言,前进一步,或后退一步,也许是个很简单的问题。但是对我而言,问题越来越复杂。首先,到现在为止,让我放弃基督教研究,已无可能。我是在用我的生命做这个研究。很难想象,我放弃基督教的研究后,我还会去研究什么东西。正如我当年曾经非常喜欢读托尔斯泰(Лев Николаевич Толстой, Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy, Leo Nikolayevich Tolstoy, 1828年9月9日—1910年11月20日)的作品,后来,当我接触到陀思妥耶夫斯基(Фёдор Михайлович Достоевский, Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoyevsky, 1821年11月11日—1881年2月9日)的作品后,很难再回头去读托尔斯泰的作品了。同样道理,当我展开对基督教的研究后,其他东西很难再成为我的研究对象了。

黄:在我个人信仰的方面,也发生过与您类似的状况。刚开始的时候,我读《马太福音》,一上来就是家谱,觉得很无聊,然后是什么童女生子。后来我看《创世记》,那里有这样的记载,什么人活了几百岁,我几乎想哈哈大笑。但是,随着阅读的深入,我逐渐地被某种东西吸引了。我甚至产生了一种极度的痛苦。这种痛苦就在于,我的心特别想信,于是我就打算相信。但是,当我的头脑稍微冷静一下后,我发现,自己根本不能信。我一想到我也有可能信的时候,自己会脸红,我会觉得很不好意思,会觉得很羞耻。但到最后,我回到了我自己当初的那个想法。最起码这和新教特别像,我想东正教和天主教的信徒也认可这个观点,即“信”这个东西是个奥秘,它是一个礼物。再有就是,耶稣说,“是我拣选了你们,不是你们拣选了我”。当您刚才讲信仰需要自由的时候,其实就是说,我要去选择接受的话,必须出自心甘情愿的自由,而这种自由仅凭您的一己之力,目前是无法获得的。我自己的情况也是这样,后来当我和别人讲自己是怎么信的时候,说出了我的好多事情作为见证,但是,别人听来听去还是没有完全听懂。因为这是一个奥秘,说不清楚,道不白。所以道不白,是因为人们怎么相信您所说的东西呢?所以说,信心是上帝给的礼物。

张:我特别同意这个逻辑。

黄:就是说,当那个东西来了之后,您就不存在这个问题。这是个时机问题。

张:所以,关于神学院学生向我提出的那个问题,我是这样回答的:我现在确实不是信徒。但是,谁能保证我以后也不信呢?这里最重要的是自由。谁在什么时候信,这是个奥秘,是自由的奥秘。强迫自己相信,这是违反自由原则的。的确有这样的人,您向他简单说几句,他就信了。我不是这样的人。

黄:就本质来说,没有任何一个人能让另外一个人来相信。改变人心的是上帝。至于我个人,我的一个转折点就是承认自己的有限性,我是个罪人。

张:这是基督教的谦卑的美德。在不信的问题上,大多数情况下都与此有关,就是理性的高傲。我目前大概正好处在这个阶段上,我的立场是学术的立场,学术是讲理性的,但不一定是理性主义的。

黄:实际上,理性正是您自己所批判的对象。在理论的层面,您是很清醒的,理性是有限的。但是,在实践当中,您时时刻刻又都在使用理性。

张:没错没错。这就是哲学的悲剧,是哲学家的悲剧。

黄:所以,这样来讲,是不是与柏拉图的悲剧有点像?

张:柏拉图的悲剧也许是真正的哲学家们无法避免的。理论与现实是两个不同的东西,它们之间的和谐是假象。因此,悲剧才是不可避免。君士坦丁大帝很想皈依基督教,但是,他直到临死之前才接受洗礼。在理论上,他接受基督教,但是在实践上,他自己非常明白,作为帝国皇帝,他无法成为一个好的基督徒。

黄:《圣经》里有一个少年的财主来问耶稣,“怎么得永生”?耶稣给他回答后,他是犹犹豫豫地走了。或者说,彼拉多问“真理是什么”?但耶稣准备给他讲的时候,他根本感兴趣继续聆听。所以,我觉得,这可能就要借用您讲的灵修,或者是我们套用宗教的一个神秘主义概念,在这里就需要“祷告”。这时候,祷告可能就要介入了,因为我们的理性思辨是没用的。好了,不好意思啊,打断了您的思路。我觉得,跟您聊的是最精彩的,我自己也很激动。下面我们接着第另一个话题聊。

您是怎么研究东正教灵修的呢?

张:如果非要说是个方法的话,我觉得现象学方法比较合适。

黄:那我想听您说一下,您这个研究的具体内容,研究的对象,或者是第一手材料是什么?现在获得的主要的成果是什么?

张:我先说说我曾经走过的一段弯路。我是2001年认识霍鲁日教授的,当时我和社科院哲学所马寅卯一起去他莫斯科的家里拜访。但是,当时我只是觉得霍鲁日不是一般的学者,他不在主流之内。但是,我还没有抓住问题,也没有想到灵修问题。后来也阅读了他的一些著作和文章。直到2009年,把他邀请来我们这里举办系列讲座,介绍自己的最新成果。我彻底地被他的思想迷住了,下决心要读遍他的著作。霍鲁日的东西是很难读的。莫斯科大学哲学系主任米龙诺夫(Миронов)得知我研究和翻译霍鲁日的东西,就说,他的东西首先需要翻译成俄文。意思是说,他的东西连俄罗斯人都读不懂,需要翻译。当然这是开玩笑。不过,我真的读进去了,感觉没有那么难。霍鲁日把俄罗斯东正教灵修传统描写得已经是无可挑剔了。怎么办?我只好大量地阅读他的著作,研究他的思想。霍鲁日后来多次来中国参加学术会议,我们经常见面。2013年,北京大学人文高等研究院院长杜维明先生邀请霍鲁日来参加每年一届的“嵩山论坛”,并让霍鲁日在人文高等研究院做一次系列讲座。就在这个时候,我把一本关于他的思想的书的提纲给他看,他对提纲进行了修改。这本书的题目、提纲基本上都确定下来了。于是我着手写了。写了几个部分后,有些写不下去了。我完全被霍鲁日限制住了。在介绍他的思想时,我没有任何自由可言。也许他站得太高了,我只能费力地去接近他。他对东正教灵修传统的研究是非常独特的,很多判断是非常准确的。但是,他关于灵修的很多说法,我接受起来是有困难的。原因在于我自己对灵修自身没有深入研究。于是我打算系统地梳理和研究一下东正教的灵修传统。这样,这本书的写作基本停下来,我转而研究东正教的灵修。霍鲁日对东正教灵修的研究,不能替代我自己对它的研究。

黄:从原始资料,第一手资料开始。

张:对,这就是所谓的第一手资料。霍鲁日研究东正教的灵修,即静修主义的方法就是现象学的方法。他写过一本书叫《苦修的现象学简论》。但这本书的调子还是太高了,因为霍鲁日在这本书里,通过现象学方法,对静修主义进行了高度的概括,提炼出静修主义的基本概念、方法等。从这本书里,我还是不能把握静修主义自身。比如,我想了解,静修主义作为一个传统是怎么形成的,怎么发展的,有哪些代表人物,有哪些著作,有哪些理论,等等。关于这些东西,在霍鲁日那里是无法获得全面信息的。于是,我打算从这些最基本的问题入手,自己重新研究东正教的灵修,即静修主义。就是抛开一切先入为主的观念,静下心来,处理这些材料。我想,这大概就是现象学的方法吧。

黄:这样,您的研究对象和方法算是明确了。

张:对。在初步接触到一些资料后,觉得静修主义离我越来越近了,它让我对很多东西有了新的



理解。比如,基督徒信仰的终极目的是什么?就是与基督的结合。如何达到这个目的?按照《马太福音》的讲法,只有一条路——放弃一切,跟随基督。换个说法,就是出家修行。这就是我在阅读《马太福音》时,获得的一个结论,要成为百分之百的基督徒,要百分之百地过基督徒的生活,必须出家修行。我觉得,《马太福音》是一部关于灵性生活的福音。难怪耶稣讲道时,很多想法他只能用比喻,因为在世间的俗人无法理解他,经常把他的意思理解反了。比如,关于再生的问题,不是从娘肚子里再生出来,而是灵性的再生。对于灵性生活,家庭关系就是一种障碍,物质财富也是障碍。因此,耶稣讲的是如何过一种灵性生活。不过,耶稣在离开此世之前,并没有告诉人们,过灵性生活的具体方法。这是需要人自己去实践的。因此,我觉得,像黑格尔那样,尝试从理性主义角度解读圣灵,的确是非常冒犯的。因为圣灵的问题,不是理论问题,而是实践问题。只有通过实践的途径,即修行的途径,才能获得圣灵。在东正教里,灵修的结果就是获得圣灵。东正教在自己历史上的确制造出来一套灵修的方法。

黄:从什么时候开始的?在哪里?

对东正教灵修有重大影响的,有哪些代表人物?

张:就是上边我们说过的,从四世纪开始,在埃及旷野里。四世纪之前,是基督教遭受迫害的时代,几乎没有修道生活。那时候,基督徒们忙于应付帝国的迫害。当基督教成为合法宗教之后,有些基督徒开始逃离帝国的保护,走向旷野。一时间,埃及的尼罗河附近的荒漠地带,出现大批的基督徒,他们在那里修行。

黄:重复再强调地细说一下,对东正教灵修有重大影响的,有哪些代表人物?

张:通常认为,最早从事单独修行的人是圣安东尼(约251—356),他活了一百多岁。在他之前肯定也有到荒漠里的基督徒。但是,正是从他开始,修道生活成为一种运动。圣安东尼本人没有留下什么著作,与他同时代的亚历山大城主教阿法纳西(阿塔那修,Ἀθανάσιος Ἀλεξανδρείας, Athanasios Alexandrias, 亚大纳削、阿塔拿修、亚拿他修,296年—373年5月2日)在他去世后不久就写了一部非常著名的《安东尼传》,对基督教修行运动的传播发挥了重要作用。后来本笃的叶瓦格里(Evagrius Ponticus, 346—399)在理论上阐述了修行的一些基本要素,比如关于祷告,他写了一本书《论祷告》,对修行过程中的祷告做了详细的描述。此外,他还建立了关于欲望的学说。这是很重要的一个学说,因为修行的主要任务,尤其是在初期,就是和欲望斗争。另外一位早期的教父是埃及的马卡里乌斯(Maerius, 约300—390),他的《灵性谈话》是一部非常重要的著作,其中对灵修的高级阶段进行了描述。

黄:这些书都有中文版的?

张:《安东尼传》有中文版的,其他两本书还没有翻译成中文。我看的是俄文版的。七世纪的时候,苦修运动的中心转移到西奈山了,在那里有一座著名的修道院,叫卡特琳娜修道院,有一位修道院院长约翰(John, 约575—650)写过一本书叫《天梯》,作者因此得名“天梯约翰”。这本书已经被翻译出中文,在香港汉语基督教文化研究所出版了,书名是《神圣攀登的天梯》。在这本书里,天梯约翰把修行的整个道路分为30个阶梯。修行者应该一个阶梯一个阶梯地向上攀登,每个阶梯都有自己的特点,直到最高的一个阶梯。

黄:最后的一个阶梯就是与基督结合/联合/合一了?

张:对,这是修行的终点。不过,灵修的终极目的与一般基督徒的终极目的是一样的。也应该如此。因为所有基督徒的终极目的都是一样的,就是与基督结合。

黄:其他的都是表象。

张:对。不过,奇怪的是,终极目的经常被遗忘,那些表象却总是成为信徒追求的目标。

黄:《天梯》的最初几个阶梯是什么?

张:第一个阶梯是摒弃俗世,就是要求修行者彻底放弃俗世以及其中的一切。第二个阶梯是超

脱,是对脱离俗世的巩固。接下来的阶梯就是如何同欲望进行斗争。看上去是很热闹的。

黄:什么是欲望?

张:欲望就是一般人的各种欲望,都需要消除的。修行的人通常把各类欲望看作是魔鬼的诱惑。当战胜所有的诱惑之后,修行就进入到一个相对平静的阶段,静修主义这个名称就来自于这个阶段的修行方式——静修。西奈山之后,就到了拜占庭阶段了。在拜占庭帝国有一座非常著名的圣山——希腊的阿峰山(阿索斯山)。

黄:具体是在什么时候?

张:从西奈山到阿峰山的转移是个漫长的过程。起初,基督教灵修的主要中心在埃及、巴勒斯坦和叙利亚等地,然后是西奈山。公元七世纪,伊斯兰教兴起,曾经是基督教流行的北非、巴勒斯坦等地都被伊斯兰教徒占领,这些地区的修道运动也随之衰落。修道运动的中心开始向拜占庭帝国转移,在君士坦丁堡就曾经经过非常著名的修道院,但最重要的修道中心就是阿峰山。大约在公元十世纪的时候,这里就成了东正教灵修的圣地。非常有趣的是,作为修道圣地,阿峰山是禁止女性进入的。

黄:那么严格吗?

张:对啊,甚至雌性动物都不能进。在阿峰山阶段,东正教的灵修传统彻底形成,不但在实践上,而且在理论上。

黄:主要的人物和主要的作品有吗?

张:当然有。到14世纪的时候,在拜占庭发生一场大争论,它围绕修行方法展开的,但却涉及到修行的理论问题,神学问题。这就是发生在从意大利来到君士坦丁堡的一位东正教修士瓦尔拉姆(Varlaam,?—?)和格里高利·帕拉马斯(1296—1359)之间的争论。帕拉马斯代表了东正教灵修传统的正统派,瓦尔拉姆代表了反对派。在这场争论中,帕拉马斯坚决保卫从事静修的修士们,他写了一本书《三部曲》,就是为了保卫静默修行的人。这本书已经由北京大学的徐教授翻译成中文,可能会在香港出版。帕拉马斯在理论上完善了静修主义的神学。

黄:拜占庭帝国后来被奥斯曼土耳其人给灭亡了。

张:是的,1453年,土耳其人占领君士坦丁堡,拜占庭帝国灭亡了。包括阿峰山在内的拜占庭帝国领土均处在伊斯兰教世界的统治之下。东正教的灵修传统——静修主义也开始衰落了。不过,在拜占庭灭亡之前,东正教已经在公元988年传到了俄罗斯,包括静修主义传统。

黄:静修主义传统在俄罗斯经历了怎样的命运呢?

张:用霍鲁日的话说,静修主义传统在拜占庭经历了大约一千年的历史,在俄罗斯也经历了大约一千年的历史。确实,静修主义随着东正教进入俄罗斯,至今有一千年了。在俄罗斯,静修主义也经历了不同的阶段,有衰落,有复兴。

黄:在俄罗斯有没有著名的修行大师?

张:有的。当东正教刚传入俄罗斯时,俄罗斯的中心在基辅,当时就建立了修道院,即著名的基辅洞穴修道院。洞穴修道院的建立者安东尼就是从阿峰山回来的。修道生活在基辅时期的俄罗斯曾经盛极一时。后来,蒙古人入侵导致基辅时期修道生活的衰落。但是,当莫斯科公国崛起后,静修主义传统在那里曾经有一次复兴,其代表人物是著名的谢尔基·拉多涅什斯基(1314—1392)。随后,静修主义传统在俄罗斯陷入衰落。俄罗斯的一个修士帕伊西·维里奇科夫斯基(1722—1794)到阿峰山修道,在那里搜集静修主义文献,并把静修主义文献集《慕善集》(原文为希腊文)翻译成斯拉夫文,在俄罗斯非常受欢迎。

黄:帕拉马斯的著作吗?

张:不是的。这是一部庞大的文集,有四五卷之多。这是静修主义传统的文献集,包含了从埃及的旷野教父到14世纪拜占庭时期的静修主义基本文献。具体地说,斯拉夫文第一版共四卷,1793年

出版三卷,1797年出版第四卷。俄文版第一版共五卷,有所补充,出版于1877—1890年。我手头有五卷本的俄文版《慕善集》。

黄:还有后续吗?

张:在俄罗斯,在斯拉夫文《慕善集》出版后,静修主义获得复兴,其代表人物是俄罗斯民间非常崇敬的圣徒萨罗夫的谢拉菲姆(Серафим Саровский, Saint Seraphim of Sarov, 1754/1759—1833),他和著名诗人普希金是同时代人。后来,在19世纪末,在俄罗斯的喀山出版了一部非常有意思的著作《一个朝圣者对自己灵性教父讲的故事》,作者不详,从行文中看,作者识字不多,但可以阅读《慕善集》,并实践耶稣祷文,不间断的祷告,最后达到很高的灵性。这本小书出版后立即成为畅销书。

黄:有中文版吗?

张:有,在台湾出版的,大概是在上世纪七八十年代吧。目前在大陆没有中文版出版。

黄:后来就是十月革命了。静修主义传统在苏联的命运如何?

张:首先,静修主义传统的基地不复存在了,在苏联时期,修道院基本上都被关闭了。宗教信仰无法过正常的宗教生活,更不用谈灵修生活了。

黄:就是说,当代再没有东正教灵修方面的大师了?

张:在俄罗斯很可能是没有的,因为灵修的传统中断了大概有七十多年。但是,在俄罗斯境外,在一定程度上,静修主义传统依然在延续。比如在著名的阿峰山就有俄罗斯修士居住的修道院,静修主义传统在那里获得保留和延续。有一位俄罗斯的修士叫索夫罗尼(姓萨哈罗夫,Сахаров, 1896—1993),他在十月革命后流亡国外,曾在阿峰山跟随西拉长老修行。在长老去世后,索夫罗尼写了一部著名的《西拉长老》,介绍长老的修行经历。这本书也被翻译成汉语,是由北京外国语大学的戴桂菊教授翻译的。索夫罗尼后来被迫离开阿峰山,去了法国,最后在英国建立一座修道院。霍鲁日和我说过,他曾到英国拜访过索夫罗尼。可以说,索夫罗尼和西拉长老是当代东正教界最著名的两位灵修大师,是东正教静修主义的传人。

黄:非常好,您把东正教灵修传统的代表人物、主要著作都梳理出来了。不过,您好像坚持霍鲁日的观点,静修主义传统在埃及产生,在拜占庭帝国延续一千年,在俄罗斯延续一千年。在其他地方有没有延续呢?

张:目前我只能按照他的这个说法,研究拜占庭和俄罗斯的静修主义传统。但是,霍鲁日自己也承认,在其他东正教国家里,静修主义传统也有延续,不过不那么有影响而已。另外,我只会俄文,这也是个局限。我现在只好局限于拜占庭和俄罗斯了。

黄:在俄罗斯,除去霍鲁日之外,其他人对东正教的灵修、静修主义问题的关注如何?认可度如何?

张:很有意思的是,霍鲁日在俄罗斯学术界是比较孤独的。哲学界没有人把灵修当作严肃的研究对象。东正教界对他的研究也谈不上认可,只是默认而已。因为教会有自己的关注,有自己的任务,似乎对灵修不是太感兴趣。至于俄罗斯的修道院,目前正处在恢复状态,而且是外在的恢复,修建、重建修道院。至于灵修传统,静修主义等等,不是在短时间内就可以恢复的。

黄:他在俄罗斯是独家了?

张:差不多吧。霍鲁日自己也在积极宣传静修主义的研究成果,但是,在俄罗斯接受的不是太好。他认为我是他最好的学生。我是根据他的这句话判断的。

黄:霍鲁日现在在哪里工作?

张:他在俄罗斯科学院数学所工作了一辈子。苏联解体后,他在俄罗斯科学院哲学所兼职,目前可能是全职了。不过,他创立了自己的协同人学研究所,并任所长,还出版杂志《狄奥根尼的灯笼》。

黄:您在中国积极推广他的思想,大门向他敞开。

张:遗憾的是,除了讲座外,他至今没有能够在莫斯科大学开一门课。

黄:结果是,先知在自己的家乡不被接受。

张:是的。霍鲁日目前经常去欧洲、美国等地方去讲学,好像还去过巴西做系列讲座,还曾经到过香港讲学。

黄:东芬兰大学是研究东正教很厉害,那里有一个专门的东正教专业,搞了好多年,我过去没怎么关注。

张:霍鲁日的思想是有一定深度和难度的,尤其是他的协同人学。所以,推广起来有一定的困难,首先是语言上的障碍。

黄:我只是搞芬兰学派,不过也曾接触过东正教的东西,做过一些沟通和对话方面的事情。信义宗和东正教有过对话,他们谈神化的问题。

张:神化,或者成神,是东正教灵修传统的核心概念,是静修主义的核心概念,也是东正教神学的核心概念。

黄:我非常期待您的研究能尽快出来。您已经动手写东正教灵修方面的东西了吗?

张:还没有动手写,只是翻译了一些材料。另外,我去年(2016年)申请了一个国家社科基金项目“东正教灵修传统研究”,结果中了,这对我是个很大的鼓励。在近期就应该动手写了。

黄:那您现在干什么呢?

张:刚才提到,我把霍鲁日在北大的那次系列讲座整理出来后,交给安徽大学出版社了。其实,我最近一段时间一直忙于这个事情,因为我实际上交给安徽大学出版社8本书,它们都是当代俄罗斯哲学家们在我们北师大举办的系列讲座的产物。我花了几年时间把这些讲座都翻译出来了,大部分是根据讲座录音翻译的。

黄:出版遇到问题了?

张:对。其中有几本可能要审查,因为涉及到政治和宗教方面的敏感问题。

黄:除了霍鲁日的书外,还有哪些人的书?

张:还有两个院士的书,他们曾先后来北师大举办系列讲座,有一本书是《哲学问题》杂志主编的书,还有俄罗斯哲学协会第一副会长丘马科夫(?—?)的书,等等。所有这8本书都弄好了,包括封面设计等等,只等下厂印刷了。结果,还是出了差错。不管怎样,我的任务已经完成了,现在可以全力以赴地干我自己喜欢干的事情了。

黄:您是指东正教的灵修传统研究吗?

张:对。

### 三、中国的东正教研究现状

#### 中国大陆的东正教研究人员队伍

黄:对于您的研究,我非常期待。好,现在我们可以进入第三个话题,就是进入中国,看看当代东正教研究的状况。在东正教研究方面,好像有个老前辈,是您前面提到的那个人吗?

张:是的,就是岳峰先生,我后来与他有过合作,参与他的一本书的写作。

黄:他的东正教研究,是不是主要受马哲传统的影响?

张:在那个时代,很少有人能摆脱这个束缚。

黄:总体上,岳峰先生对东正教的研究到了什么程度?

张:在当时拥有的材料的情况下,他做的东正教研究应该是最好了。不过,他没有涉及到



东正教的灵修问题。

黄:在年轻一代学者中间,社会科学院哲学所的马寅卯老师,他也在从事东正教研究。我会今年邀请他到我们那去一趟,参加个会议。

张:是的,他和我一样,都以俄罗斯哲学和东正教为研究对象。

黄:在对东正教的研究方面,在立场和观点上,他和您之间有一致吗?

张:我们经常保持沟通,在很多问题上,我们的观点和立场基本是一致的。他的优势是英语,还有哲学方面的功底也很深厚。

黄:他说,自己收集了很多资料。

张:是的,他也和我说过。

黄:马寅卯好像是搞白银时代的。

张:他的博士论文做的就是白银时代的宗教哲学。

黄:但是,据我的了解,您对白银时代的这种观察,在国内是很难见到的。国内大部分学者的立场依然是完全认可白银时代的宗教哲学,基本上没有什么批评,一味地赞美。那北大的徐怎么样?他也是研究俄罗斯哲学和东正教的。

张:就白银时代的宗教哲学问题,我们俩没有直接交换过意见。

黄:是吗?

张:在对待白银时代的宗教哲学的立场方面,我受到霍鲁日的影响。但是,凤林的情况我就不清楚了。

黄:因为我觉得,今天听您谈的这些东西,国内学者好像还没有人谈过。

张:在俄罗斯哲学界也很少有人研究这方面的问题。

黄:戴桂菊也是研究东正教的专家。

张:是的,她是做历史出身,做得相当不错,她的问题意识非常强。但是,我觉得她在北京外国语大学把大部分时间和精力都用在讲课上了,那里的课很多。

黄:在东正教研究领域,有徐、马寅卯、戴桂菊和您。还有其他人吗?

张:当然有。比如在社科院宗教所有张雅平和石衡潭。

黄:张雅平,我还不太熟悉。石衡潭好像在搞《论语》和《圣经》比较问题。

张:石衡潭的这个工作很有价值。但是,离东正教远了些。

黄:他原来也做过东正教研究吗?

张:他在北大读博士,博士论文写的是别尔嘉耶夫。

黄:我隐隐约约知道一点,但没跟他深聊。

张:东北那边也有人在搞东正教研究,比如黑龙江大学的陈树林教授,遗憾的是他不久前去世了。

黄:我也认识树林,他后来搞文化哲学了。

张:是的。他那里有个团队,其中就有人在搞东正教研究,尤其是东正教在中国的传播问题。另外,在其他地方还有一些研究东正教的学者。2015年,在世界宗教研究所举办一个东正教研究方面的会议,有二三十人参加会议,其中有不少年轻人。

黄:看来,您得有一些人接上来呀。您自己有没有学生呢?

张:我带了一些学生,包括硕士和博士。

黄:他们和您一样,也在搞东正教研究吗?



张:不是的,大部分学生都没有和我一起搞东正教研究。

黄:那赶紧再继续招。

张:招生依然在继续,每年大概能招到一个博士,而且目前我只招懂俄文的。但是,我对此已经不抱太大希望了。

黄:那您的东正教研究事业,不能后继无人啊?这也太可惜了。

张:即使招到好的苗子,我也没有办法强迫他们从事东正教研究。我目前只好把主要精力用在我自己的学术研究上了。

黄:您不能就这样放弃呀!应该培养人才。

张:没有办法。

黄:好像离退休还有十几年呢?

张:是的。

黄:您好像有什么难言之隐。

张:也没有什么值得隐藏的。您知道目前我们(宗教学领域)的处境。近一段时间以来,一些限制已经严重地影响到正常的学术研究和交流了。比如刚才提到的那套书,我花了几年时间认真地把它们翻译出来,但是在出版方面却遇到了麻烦。好在我目前的学术成果足够了,因此,这对我影响不是太大。您想一想,如果是个年轻人,花费这么大的精力做这件事情,很可能需要这些成果来晋升职称等。因此,目前这方面的研究有一定的冒险性。在我的学生中间,也有不错的,但是,他们大多不愿意把全部精力投入到宗教研究中来,就是因为有这种风险。文章不好发,著作不好出版,因此,年轻人都不愿意跟我做宗教(东正教)研究。很难说,这样的情况还要持续多久。我倒是无所谓,无论刮风下雨,我都会风雨无阻地做自己的事情。但是,年轻人就不同了。他们要实际些,这也是可以理解的。因此,我对中国未来的东正教研究,目前信心不是很足。

黄:我明白了,这的确是个问题,但愿是暂时的。[黑龙江大学的王志军教授对中国东正教的历史,特别是1949年之后的历史及现状有很好的研究。唐戈老师等对东正教也有很好的研究。师从于香港中文大学赖品超教授的沙眉和卓新平老师的博士后现在就职于北大的王帅博士也研究了东正教。]

### 东正教的礼仪研究

黄:我们换个轻松一点的话题。我们曾经聊到东正教的礼仪。您说过,在苏联解体之后,东正教快速复兴的一个重要原因是它的一套礼仪保存得完好,随时可以拿出来。礼仪复兴了,东正教就复兴了。我也跟您简单分享一下我做的一个东西,从新教的角度来,也是涉及教会的,准备在中国出版,叫《基督教主日礼拜手册》,然后底下副标题叫做“礼仪、主题、经课和相应的祷告词”,我有一套这样东西,然后结合利马礼仪(就世界基督教协会,也包括少宗派的、东正教在内的、天主教新教都在一块)编辑而成的,这是最广泛的。

张:我认为,您做的这个工作是个贡献。因为我们知道,新教不太关礼仪,抛弃了天主教礼仪传统中的很多东西。但是,任何宗教都不能没有礼仪的部分。

黄:在中国的状况是这个样子。但是,在路德宗教会不是这样的,在那里是1年52个主日,每个主日都的主题都有一个拉丁语名字,这个传统都是1000多年了,都定下来了。然后是三年一循环的经课,主要经文是什么,祷告词是什么,都有很好的安排。

张:就是把《圣经》读一遍。

黄:然后还,有我在这里试图做了一个本土化中国化的工作,我是想把清明和圣徒纪念日结

合起来,解决基督徒如何在清明扫墓的问题。后来,我又把三八妇女节和纪念马利亚结合起来,我把儿童节和天使纪念日结合起来。

张:您要小心点,可能会有人说您是搞的这些东西有异端的嫌疑。

黄:这个没关系。然后,我还要把元宵日和蜡烛日结合起来。这都是些尝试。

张:很有意思。

黄:我想用这个所谓的旧瓶装新酒的办法,进行本土化成尝试。当然,新教的礼仪无法跟东正教的礼仪传统比。

张:东正教的礼仪是非常完备的。这套礼仪是在东正教的修道院里制定出来的,是修士们制定的。这套礼仪自从形成以来,很少变化。礼仪传统的原则就是其不变性,包括礼仪中最细微的东西都不能随意改变。

黄:礼仪就是重复了?

张:可以这样说。今天东正教教堂的礼拜仪式,和几百年前的东正教徒的礼拜仪式基本上是一样的。

黄:这点很好,基本保留下来了。在芬兰那边,我也给一些教会尝试了两次,做圣餐礼拜的时候,就用这套东西,有的人很感兴趣,有的人就不喜欢,还带点唱的,有的人觉得它是一套很好的东西。礼仪中有启应轮唱,领会说或唱,会众底下回应,这样的话,整个的每环节,都是有神学的意义的,不光是讲道。

张:没错。我参加过新教徒的礼拜,讲道的确是礼拜的主要部分。在东正教的礼拜仪式中,讲道完全是无足轻重的部分,是可有可无的。

黄:礼仪当然是非常重要的。

张:是的,因为礼仪又涉及到圣灵的问题。实际上,圣灵问题不是黑格尔理解的那样,可以对其进行逻辑的推演。圣灵问题是个实践的问题,而非理论问题。这就是为什么在基督教里,圣灵的神学相对是比较薄弱的。如果说,狭义的灵修是少数修士(而不是所有修士)们做的事情,那么一般的修士、平信徒等,他们只能在礼拜仪式中过灵性生活。灵性生活不是理论问题,而是实践问题。

黄:不像我们是坐而论道。

张:对。东正教的礼拜仪式非常讲究,也非常豪华,时间也很长,一般都是两三个小时。而且,在东正教教堂里,是没有椅子可以坐的。

黄:站着礼拜?太累了。

张:怎么说呢?这是对东正教礼拜的一个误解。其实,参加礼拜的信徒并不觉得累。比如说我讲课,三四个小时的课,我并不觉得累,因为我很投入地讲课。假如您让我不讲话,在那里站着,当然几分钟就累的受不了。因此,我理解,虔诚的东正教信徒参加礼拜时,如果他全身心投入其中,是不会觉得累的。

### 目前授课情况

黄:您现在讲什么课?是宗教方面的吗?

张:是的。我每年给本科生开设一门宗教学。

黄:您怎么讲?学生们接受的情况如何?

张:简单地说,我尽量客观地讲,不做任何判断。

黄:怎么做到客观?

张:就是用现象学的方法。我把宗教作为一种现象,给学生们展示出来。我自己不去替学生们做判断,应该信,还是不应该信。

黄:不是应该批判宗教吗?

张:现在已经不能这样做了。

黄:为什么?

张:您想啊,在学生中间,有各类宗教信徒。当他们的面批判宗教,这有点说不过去。再者说,宗教里有太多值得我们学习的东西了,为什么偏偏揪住其中不好的东西呢?我的努力方向是,在宗教里挖掘一些在其他学科里没有的资源。

黄:具体地说呢?

张:我常说,各类宗教信徒都是过灵性生活的专业户,换言之,是过精神生活的专业户。我也需要过精神生活。不信教的人难道就不过精神生活了吗?因此,各类宗教信徒给我们做出了榜样。

黄:好的,明白了。

### 接着讲礼仪问题

黄:接着刚才的话题,就是东正教信徒站着参加礼拜。整个东正教界都是如此吗?

张:原则上说都是如此。但是,有些地方也做了一定的改革。比如,香港的东正教堂里就有椅子,希腊东正教会的很多教堂里也都有了椅子。在那里,东正教信徒可以坐着礼拜。不过,传统的东正教堂里是没有椅子的。我们可能觉得,他们很累。其实,他们自己并不觉得累。就像从事灵修的那些修士们一样。我们把这种灵修翻译成为苦修。其实,这个翻译是很成问题的。在我们看来,可能是苦,但是,在从事灵修的人看来,其中可以获得难以言表的快乐。

### 您研究东正教灵修的目标是促进哲学吗?

黄:那么,您研究东正教灵修的目的是什么呢?

张:我的目的是从学术的立场出发,客观地介绍东正教的这套灵修。首先当然是为了学术界,因为我是把东正教的灵修当作一个学术话题来做的。我也不反对天主教界和新教界借助我的研究来了解东正教的灵修传统。其次,东正教灵修的研究不是我的终极目的,我是想从这里挖掘一些资源,用于我的哲学研究。

黄:就是您所说的,哲学研究需要到宗教里吸取资源。

张:没错,没错。这是当代哲学研究的一个进路。

黄:您的介绍使我想起路德,在那个时代(16—17世纪),他对修道主义他就有许多的批评,比如说,他反对修道院,反对修士出家,独身主义,等等;然后,他还讲,特别是天梯的概念,有一点相当于从下往上的爬的意思。路德很强调,解决人神合一/结合的途径,到底是“从上往下”,还是“从下往上”?从本质上来讲,是从上往下,因为是上帝拣选人而不是人拣选上帝;但是,从主观的人的经验来说,人们往往感觉不到上帝“从上往下”拣选人的大前提下,人所感受的好像是“由下往上”的人的主体努力。

张:对,这就是佩拉纠(Pelagius,约360—418)的问题。为了得救,人到底是否需要做出努力?人是否要与上帝共同努力,共同协作?

黄:对,所以,在东正教里有“协同”(Synergetic)的概念。如此看来的东正教灵修很像佩拉纠主义或半佩拉纠主义了。

张:协同就是人自己也要做出自己的努力,就是回应上帝的召唤。在拯救的问题上,人不能

完全是被动的。

黄:这是个很有意思的。您在讲东正教的灵修时,提到修行的天梯。当修士沿着天梯向上攀登的时候,是不是也需要上帝的帮助呢?上帝会不会拉一把呢?

张:灵修的开始阶段,主要是修士们自己做出努力,与自己身上的欲望斗争,比如消除各类欲望,什么食欲、色欲,等等。但是,当修行到一定地步的时候,就是攀登到天梯的一半的时候,修士已经战胜了各类欲望,进入到一个相对比较平静的阶段,这时,再往上攀登,就需要动力,需要外在的帮助,当然不是人的帮助,而是神的帮助。没有神的帮助,修士是无法达到阶梯的最高层次的。实际上,修行道路的后半段,主要是靠上帝的帮助。在关键时刻,用您的话说,上帝会拉一把的。

黄:罗马天主教也有人神协作说,但其强调上帝的启始性,即在救恩的问题上,上帝 initially 开始来呼召、寻找和拯救人,然后,人需要回应,如此达到人神合作。但以路德为代表的新教完全否认人在拯救中的作为之意义,路德只在伦理、社会和形而下的层面承认人的作为的意义(他区别了 coram Deo/in front of God 和 coram Hominibus/Mundo/in front of human being/the world 两个语境)。那么,在您说的东正教的天梯灵修中,上帝的帮助表现在哪里呢?

张:在修行天梯的中间阶段,修士会明显地感觉到上帝的恩典的帮助。最突出的表现就是祷告成为自动的了。不像刚开始那样,祷告总是被各种干扰给中断。跨越中间阶段后,祷告变成自动的了。

黄:就是上帝来拉您?

张:对。当上帝干预您的修行过程时,您就不能再主动了,而应该被动,就是让上帝的恩典进来。因为您的努力很可能会妨碍恩典发挥作用。

黄:所以,这样来讲,也不能说东正教是真正的人神协作说。

张:不过,从整个修行过程来看,可以说,东正教的灵修就是神人协作的。

黄:但这个协作,路德有不同的观点。路德特别强调的“在上帝面前”和“在人面前”的区分:在人面前和在世界面前,人的行为是有意义的,我给您一杯水喝,我给您一口饭吃,这都是善行,在伦理上,我给您或不给他,对他人就会有不同的影响。但是,在上帝面前,人的一切善行都无法达到完美至善,都是相对的,因此,无法使人自下往上地与上帝彻底结合/合一/联合。

张:当然,灵修主要是人自己的努力。但是,光靠自己的努力是不行的。因为灵修的终极目的不在此岸世界里,而是在另外一个世界里。要达到那个世界,没有神的帮助是绝对不可以的。尤其是修行阶梯的最高阶段,没有神的帮助,是很难上升的。

黄:最后几步靠的是恩典,就是靠基督,他会拉一把的。

张:根据东正教静修主义,修行的人在高级阶段上需要把自己变成透明的,排除自己身上妨碍恩典发挥作用的的东西,就是人性的、太人性的东西。

黄:在灵修里面也用“人性”这个词?也要摆脱过分人性的东西?

张:是的,因为它们妨碍修行,妨碍恩典发挥作用。

黄:人性的东西,具体是指什么呢?

张:就是指常人赖以生活的一切。比如,一个人皈依基督教,就意味着他抛弃了平时赖以生活的一切,过一种基督徒的生活。但是,严格来说,他依然生活在俗世里,依然过着常人的生活。至于修士,就不同了,他们追求过一种百分之百符合基督教的生活,就是达到终极目的,与上帝结合。这样,修士们继续离开俗世,准确地说,是彻底离开俗世,包括其中的基督徒的生活。在一定



意义上,可以说修士们经历了第二次洗礼。

黄:您说的第二次洗礼,这是在象征意义上说的吧?

张:是的。基督教大部分流派都不支持第二次洗礼,再洗礼派除外。因此,我这里是在象征的意义上说第二次洗礼。

黄:好的,您讲这个东西非常有意义。

张:所以,我认为,在基督教里有很多东西需要挖掘。

黄:所以您讲这个,我想这个东西弄了之后,看如果将来有可能的话,您空闲出来之后,我来好好的写一篇文章。把我的路德和您的这个思想碰撞一下。

张:我相信咱们会碰撞出一些新东西来。

黄:所以您讲这个,我就像看到路德。路德虽然在批评修道主义,从表面来看,他的本质不是批评的,他批评的是那种出于形式主义的东西,比如说,结婚还是独身这件事情,路德的基本观点是什么,正常人都要结婚,但是您要想不结婚,这是很好的,您最起码时间上能更好的侍奉神,但是这个上帝恩赐给人的。您不要独身了,却一天到晚欲火攻心。

张:对。天主教会的神职人员一律独身。但是,东正教会的神职人员没有独身的要求。

黄:与其欲火攻心,不如嫁娶为妙,这个是路德追随保罗教导的基本思路,路德就说,不要通过修道院来折磨可怜的青少年少女了。

张:但是,在对待修道生活的态度上,路德有其偏颇的地方。完全放弃灵修是不正确的。

黄:关于路德,我们要注意,他用的语言是夸张的语言,他因为当时面对罗马教皇那么强烈,话怎么狠怎么说。

张:当然了,不适合出家修行的人,就不要勉强。也许这是上帝的呼召。如果没有这个呼召,最好还是过一般信徒的生活。其实,出家的生活是很少有人能忍受的。耶稣基督也不强求人们完全过独身的生活。

黄:路德骂的就是伪装,而且还觉得高人一等。

张:问题就出在这里。很多出家人很可能有着其他目的。

黄:装了之后还觉得高人一等,您看看,“我为了做这些,我都不结婚”。

张:在这个意义上,我觉得路德是有贡献的,他净化了基督教里的很多东西,主张回归原始基督教。不过,路德可能就是矫枉过正了。

黄:但是,路德他开玩笑,他说为什么骂修士,但修士在那看,您看他拿个托钵在那乞讨,主要是不干活,然后您看到他清修,但是饿不死的,有修院管着他。对于当时一个男人要结婚了,要养家糊口,比修士的日子难过多了,有这个理论。所以,我想,就是您把这个研究弄出来之后,我来谈路德怎么对修道的批判,然后,我来看他批判的本质在哪里?

张:路德反对天主教的修道制度,但是,他的灵性是很高的。不过,我估计,他对东正教的修道生活了解得不够深刻。他只了解天主教的修道制度。

黄:其实路德的身上有一个很重要的神秘主义思想,他是一面骂理性,我刚写了一篇文章,路德的原话说,“理性是撒旦的妓女”,您看这个话出来,“亚里士多德若不是披着一张人皮,他就是个畜生”;而另一方面,路德又说,“理性是上帝给人的最大的恩赐”;您看两个是矛盾的。但是,路德的说法里有一个重点是,在信仰之前,理性是无能的和邪恶的,但是在信仰之后,理性就是上帝的恩赐了。像驯服的烈马一样,理性是一个能力,是上帝给人的一种恩赐。必须要在信仰的驾驭下来发挥作用,否则就祸害无穷。

张:路德揭露了天主教里很多虚伪的东西。比如,天主教的修行生活里就有这样的东西。

黄:是的,似乎修士就高人一等了,自己觉得圣洁得不得了。

张:这种高傲的确令人反感。实际上,东正教的修士们从来不觉得自己高人一等。相反,他们在修行的过程中,越来越发现自己的恶习,从不隐藏自己的恶习。在这方面,东正教的灵修教父们有很多教导。

黄:路德当然也追溯教父,路德对教父是很注重的,虽然他也批判,但却是批判地继承,一方面继承、另一方面批判,他不是盲目地崇拜。

张:教父们对待灵修的态度是不一样的。比如拉丁教父就不太注重灵修。希腊教父们都非常关注灵修,他们自己就从事灵修。在东正教传统里,真正的神学家应该是从事灵修的人。

黄:但我估计路德当是对东正教不一定很熟悉。

张:他的经验主要来自天主教。因此,他的批判主要针对天主教。

黄:他根据罗马天主教来看教父,他根据这两个,然后根据《圣经》,再加上他的理性,基本根据上这几个来谈。

张:在一定意义上,可以说,路德在创立新教的同时,也拯救了罗马天主教。

黄:路德其实是拯救了罗马天主教,天主教革新了,特里腾会议之后,“耶稣会”诞生。

张:这里有点乱。天主教和新教之间的关系比较复杂。有些问题,如果不考虑到东正教的话,可能永远也无法获得解决。

黄:所以,我讲课的时候,一再给学生强调,不要以为路德骂的罗马天主教就是今天的天主教,可能路德骂的天主教就是今天的新教;我在芬兰就讲,如果路德活过来,我估计,他首先要骂的就是路德会。

张:路德的改革也给罗马天主教打了一针强心剂。很难想象,没有路德的宗教改革,罗马天主教将如何继续发展,向哪里发展。

**您怎么看基督教在中国的发展?**

黄:我们在这里讲的都是西方的事情。您怎么看基督教在中国的发展?比如,汉语神学未来的命运如何?

张:说实话,我对中国的基督教抱很大的希望。

黄:怎么讲?

张:大家都在谈论一个似乎是常理的东西,就是中国文化从来没有中断过。不过,我以为,从礼仪角度看,中国文化已经中断了,而且中断很久了。我曾经开玩笑说,中国文化已经死掉了,只剩下光秃秃的理论了。实际上,在孔子那里,文化是个整体,包括理论和实践两个部分。所谓的实践,就是礼仪。他生活在一个礼崩乐坏的时代。因此,他的学说主要针对礼的问题。他企图恢复周朝的礼仪。

黄:今天中国的处境不也是礼崩乐坏吗?

张:有过之而无不及。中国号称是礼仪之邦。遗憾的是,今天的中国没有任何礼仪了。

黄:那我们需要恢复传统的儒家礼仪了?

张:不是的。我认为,礼仪在中国是非常重要的,在这一点上,我完全同意孔子的意见。但是,传统的儒家礼仪已经无可挽回了,

黄:那该怎么办呢?

张:这就需要我们的创造了。我们需要一套符合时代要求的礼仪规范。这不是一日之功,要

慢慢来。我相信,中国人在这方面的创造力没有枯竭。现代的中国人应该创造一套符合时代要求的礼仪。

黄:这的确是个非常重要的问题,但也不是在短期内能够解决的问题。

### 中国的基督教之未来

黄:您说,您对未来中国的基督教报有很大的希望,我还是没有明白,您具体是指什么?

张:关于中国文化,没有人否认,它是博大精深的。遗憾的是,从礼仪的角度看,它已经中断了,死掉了。但是,您知道,基督教讲复活。我觉得,也许基督教可以复活我们的中国文化。

黄:在中国文化复活的过程中,基督教能够有什么作用吗?

张:至少会发挥间接的作用。比如,正是基督教告诉我们,一种文化形态,光有理论是不够的,还需要有实践的维度。所以,我由此做出结论,儒家的问题在于丢掉了礼仪的部分。

黄:有道理,与基督教相比,儒家的礼仪似乎逐渐消失了。那您说的中国文化的复活,怎么个复活法?

张:对话啊!

黄:就是通过对话?怎么对话呢?

张:对话就是互相关照。我们应该在基督教里寻找我们所缺乏的东西。基督徒一直在强调要活出基督的样子。就是说,基督教不仅仅是理论,更主要的是一种生活,一种实践。

黄:就是活出基督的样子。

张:这是一种积极的活法。

黄:这就是耶稣说诉说的:我们原是上帝工作,在耶稣基督所造成的,为的是要让我们行善。

张:对。耶稣基督是基督徒们的榜样,基督徒在生活中尝试模仿基督。当然,基督是个理想,常人是很难以达到这个理想的。但是,理想自身就应该是纯洁的、高尚的,不是轻易就可以达到的。只有这样的理想,对我们实际生活才有引导作用。理想必须有一定的高度。如果人总和动物比较,那么他永远也无法上升。

黄:所以,才有这样的说法,“连动物都不如”。

张:这个要求太低了。人怎么能光和动物比呢?人应该有更高的理想。在基督教里,这个理想就是耶稣基督。

黄:在中国哲学里,也讲“天人合一”的。

张:是的,这是儒家非常了不起的地方。

黄:我对儒家的这些很多东西,觉得很有价值。但是,儒家在人性论问题上是不是太乐观了?

张:儒家的价值是不容置疑的。

黄:因此,中国现在大力地复兴国学。

张:这个我持保留意见。实际上,所谓的国学,就是一门学问,而且是少数人从事的学问,与平民百姓没有关系。国学只涉及到那些一生从事国学研究的人。国学被一些人给私有化了。您知道,耶稣基督非常痛恨的一类人是法利赛人。他们对待律法的态度是非常僵化的、刻板的。我觉得,国学就是法利赛人的学问。耶稣基督对法利赛人有个定义,说他们自己不想进天堂,也不让别人进天堂。

黄:不过,现在搞儒学的人,在国内比较厉害了。

张:在什么意义上?

黄:我指的是,和政治结合起来了。



张:确实如此。和政治结合,是他们的“优势”。相比之下,我们这些搞宗教研究的人逐渐地被边缘化了。国学、儒学现在非常时髦。

黄:不过,与政治保持过分紧密的关系未必是什么好事。

张:历史上,东正教的悲剧就在这里。

黄:基督教曾经也犯过这样的错误,其实儒家也是错在这里。

张:我完全同意。

黄:好的,您想这样的话,我就想谢扶雅有这样的类似的观点,基督教的神学家,就是说国内有搞儒家也比较看中他的这种想象,就是儒家为什么能够长时间的传下来,当然他有几个这样的过程,其中有一次就是面对佛教的挑战,最后无论他搞一个东西叫什么,还是不是儒家,但是他是面对这个挑战在这个语境中,他就像当年罗马天主教面对路德,重生了,重生后和原来不一样了,但是他活下来了。

张:没错,儒家的长处在于它的礼仪传统。没有礼仪传统的儒家,什么都不是。

黄:就是从儒家的角度来说的。然后正好前两天我在山东大学讲学,“掌上国学院”的主办者杨鹏先生,在那个讲了一个叫“新儒家式孔子的门徒”,用一个问号,他的结论就是新儒家根本不是孔子的门徒。

张:我完全同意这个观点。其实,孔子是个悲剧人物。他的弟子们已经开始背叛他了。我们知道,孔子本人非常注重礼。但是,他的弟子们觉得,礼是非常奢侈的东西,是浪费。比如,子贡就曾和孔子商量,每月初一都杀羊,能不能不这样。孔子非常生气。遗憾的是,中国人后来都跟随子贡了,而不是孔子。

黄:犹大就曾对耶稣说过,与其让马利亚用珍贵的香膏来膏抹他的头,倒不如卖了换钱去周济穷人。这两个好像回答真像。

张:在儒学与基督教之间,确实有很多相通的地方。因此,我觉得,儒学和基督教的对话是非常有前景的。

黄:根据这个讲法,子贡很像犹大,

张:不过,我不敢断定,西方人跟随了犹大。

黄:好的,那很有意思。我们回到这个话题,就我刚才讲的中国文化的现代和未来,或讲儒家的传统与基础,现在好像有类似的观点就是说,可能儒家要想真正的复活,它需要的是和基督教对话,就是因为您要看到世界的格局,中国文化原来是老子天下第一,跟人都不打交道的,最后从西天来了一个佛教,最后对上了。那么,中国现在的状况就像,您看达沃斯论坛,特朗普都不需要搞全球化了,我们要去搞全球化,我们要搞,那就得要有对手或伙伴。

:全球化是历史进程中的必然阶段,谁都无法回避的。

黄:中国就会遇到伙伴,全世界所谓的欧美社会,就是中国最大的伙伴。基督教是欧美的根基,所以,如果儒家不把基督当成一个敌人,而是把他当成一个伙伴,一起和平共处,这样来复活儒家,所以,这样的话,就可能有一个新的儒家的思想。(当然,非洲那也是伙伴,是另外一种类型的伙伴,但其影响没有欧美那么重大。)

张:是的,重要的是要对话。对话,对双方都是有好处的。对话的前提是相互了解,所以,我们必须研究基督教。在基督教里,有很多资源值得我们借鉴。儒家与基督教之间的差别是明显的,但这个差别并不妨碍相互借鉴,不妨碍富有成效的对话。

黄:我觉得,呼吁对话,是必要的。因为我自己原来是作对话的,我做过儒家和基督教关于救

赎的对话。另外我现在有一个观察,今天上午我和徐凤林教授对谈,今天下午跟您谈,以及我今天下午在清华要与美术界的岛子教授谈进行的对话,基本上都是应对了我这样的一个观察:今天中国的现代性主要来源于苏联和法国。这个现代性的背后的线索是十月革命、法国大革命、法国大革命之前的启蒙运动、和启蒙运动之前的宗教改革。宗教改革时,路德其实已经把理性的双重性(魔鬼的娼妓和上帝的礼物)讲得很清楚了。在路德的宗教改革之前的文艺复兴有南方的文艺复兴和北方的文艺复兴,南方文艺复兴很注重人的感性,如用色彩、光、视觉来体验,没有谈多少理性的问题。路德从这种意义上,路德应该是所谓现代化和现代意义上的真正启蒙家,因为在路德之前的威克里夫(John Wycliffe,约1320—1384)和胡斯(Jan Hus,1371—1415)等都搞宗教改革,但他们没有撼动天主教统一天下的地位。路德最重大的影响就是在于他把天主教的霸权解构了,但是路德在解构的时候他说的很清楚,他不是要建立一个新的教会而是要帮助教会回到上帝之道路中去;而且他在讲理性的时候,他谈得很清楚,因此,在路德和宗教改革中,理性从来没有取代上帝。在路德之后的德国传统和英国传统的启蒙运动中,谈理性的时候,往往是有神论的,不仅是唯心主义的,而且是有神论的;早期还有一部分是基督教有神论,具体的就是亚伯拉罕、以撒、雅各的神,但是,后来到康德、黑格尔的时候,这个神就变成了抽象的哲学家的神了,搞到最后,连抽象的神都不要了。当然,在从苏联和法国引入中国的现代性之中,更是完全用理性取代了上帝,把路德对理性的批判及德国和英国启蒙运动对理性的有限性的认识,都完全忽略掉了。我们中国的现代性,吸收的就是这个的东西。

张:启蒙运动、德国古典哲学,都是西方学术的必经之路。

黄:对,是黑格尔左派之后,他不仅仅是唯心主义的理性主义,他连唯心主义都不要了,更不要说有神论了,最后,理性也就成了审判一切的标准。所以,有人论到“五四”以来的状况时说,“德先生”(Mr. Science)和“赛先生”(Mr. Democracy)其实都没来到中国,是“赛主义”(Scientism,科学主义)来到中国了,它带来的不是科学,而是科学主义。所以,我现在梳理这条线,花大精力,就是要提醒大家,路德早就跟大家说清楚理性的有限性了,不能忘了这一点。

张:宗教改革的一个结果就是资本主义的产生。

黄:我给您举个例子,这里点一个人名,就是著名人物许嘉璐,我几次听到他在大批西方,但他根本就没梳理清楚刚才说的那条线,而且又要用中国的传统来救这个问题,我觉得这里就存在这样一个问题,所以,这个中国的传统怎么样来更新,我觉得,与路德进行对话应该可获得些启发。

张:空洞的口号是没有意义的。

黄:对,所以,在中国目前又是国学复兴的状况里,有不少人都沉浸于得到高层领导的青睐而沾沾自喜。我们要警惕部分人借复兴儒学之名在讨好当权者,结果搞得丑态百出,在儒家的发展历史中又一次留下一个放弃道统而谄媚王统、甚至自愿成为依附权贵和挑动民粹来排他的帮凶的表现。如果儒家能实事求是地面对并把基督教当成一个合作语境里的伙伴而不是当敌人的话,儒家就会在这种语境来更新与复兴自己。

张:儒家传统是需要更新的。苟日新日日新又日新。

黄:老一代人的问题是保守残缺。

张:对啊,每个时代都有自己的特点。西方有一句话,说真理是不用传播的,等那些不接受真理的人都死光了,真理自然就显现了。所以,我们要有耐心。

黄:您根本不着急,做好自己的事。

张:谋事在人,成事在天。

黄:结果您成了信心最大的人了。

张:我信心很大,所以,我要干自己的事情。

黄:不错。但我做这个梳理也是有意义的。当然,我现在没有目标说,什么时候能实现什么具体的目标。就像朱熹之后,发展到王阳明他们这一块,这也是搞了好久。所以,我想要真地从利玛窦(Matteo Ricci,1552年10月6日—1610年5月11日)算起,到现在继续向前促进儒家与基督教和谐对话与合作的话,这可能也是个几百年上千年都说不定。因此,如何从神学和儒学的角度让双方意识到彼此不是敌人而是潜在的合作伙伴,是儒学复兴的重要思路之一。也许,像通过与佛学的合作而产生的宋明理学曾经促进了儒学的重生与发展一样,与基督教神学的对话与合作可能是儒学再次重生与发展的未来重要途径。

张:我们经常犯的一个错误就是,对话的目的就是您死我活,非要分个输赢。

黄:对,基督徒和儒家都有这样的狭隘和极端者。

张:对话是双赢的事情。

黄:2017年在世界儒学大会中获奖的蔡仁厚先生,就曾主张“主客说”,他说儒家是中国的主人,基督教是客人,不管好坏,只论主客,犹如只分中外,不论是非一样。这种思路虽然能唤起民族和民粹主义,但是否符合真理,其合理性的根基很难得到确保。我认为,即使批评或拒绝基督教,也应该从“是否符合真理”以及“是否有实用价值”等视角来找理由,而不应该是简单的“主客论”。

张:就我自己而言,我发现,在基督教里有太多的资源了。只有通过对话的途径,我们才能充分地利用这些资源。当然,为了与基督教对话,我们首先应该了解基督教。我目前就处在了解基督教的阶段。

黄:您做自己的这一块?

张:对。只有在相互了解的前提下,对话才是富有成效的。我自己只能通过俄文来了解东正教的基本内容。

黄:所以,我现在搞路德研究也是跟您有点相似,您懂俄语,您搞这块,我是因为碰巧在芬兰,路德的大本营;然后在中国我又恰恰发现,在人文思想界完全忽略了“信仰之前的理性和信仰之后的理性”的区分;还有第三点就是,在中国的基督教界,都大部分忽略掉路德对理性的论述。所以,这几条线索很有意思。我现在对路德也发一些研究性的文章,但现在我主要把自己定位在以介绍路德为主,包括墨兰顿(Philipp Melancthon,1497年2月16日—1560年4月19日)的我也进行了研究,里面的东西有不少主要的是我编译的,也不是我本人的研究,是介绍性的。

张:我目前的工作也是介绍性的。

黄:我觉得自己应该研究这个。

张:所以,我对东正教的研究,更多地是报着学习的态度,而不是上来就批判。

黄:批判应该是不自信的表现。

张:严肃的批判,实际上就是一种学术态度。但是,通常对宗教的批判没有这个意思。我一直对基督教的资源非常感兴趣。我自己投入太多的精力研究东正教。研究多了,自然会有感情。所以,我认为,东正教研究对中国学术有非常广阔的前景。

黄:儒家里面是有很多好东西。

张:这是没有问题的。

黄:用您的话说,一批法利赛人把儒学搞死了。

张:是的。

黄:比如说,今天的儒家是离不开现代性这个语境的,所以,我要梳理启蒙运动这条线。特别是前段时间我在微信群里面经常讨论理性和自由问题,我提及路德所区分的信仰之前后的理性,好像就在国内没有被充分关注到。这是国内哲学界的一个大遗憾。

张:理性和信仰,永远是个绕不开的话题。

#### 四、俄罗斯与中国视野中的芬兰教育

黄:好了,我们现在该探讨第四个话题了,就是教育问题。因为我们谈了这么多的状况,包括灵修等等。其实,在你提到霍鲁日的协同人学的时候,我就想起了路德的人学或人论(Anthropology of Luther),我们历来把人又分成灵魂、身体二分法。但是,路德是三分法,即灵、魂、肉体;灵就是超自然的永恒的,肉就是物质的,魂这个东西则介于灵和肉二者之间。魂层面的状态,有时候因为肉体而引起,如我今天没吃饭,我就会因为饿而感到不高兴了,肚子饿我情绪就坏;魂的状态也可能因为灵而引起,如即使我不缺吃穿,但我认识不到人生的意义,所以我的魂也会难受。但是,在中国大陆,我觉得,主流学界都是用精神来表述的,它没有区分灵与魂之间的差异。

所以,在这种情况下,我对芬兰教育进行总结,分析芬兰教育现在被号被称为“全球第一”的原因,我认为,核心点就是这种教育背后所运用的“全人教育”的灵、魂、肉体的潜在理论,这是路德对芬兰教会和社会的贡献,深刻到如此的程度,以至于许多人都忽略了它的存在。所以,比如说,小孩子如果7岁了还不知道 $1 + 1 = 2$ ,那他/她就会被认为是个大笨蛋;但是,按照芬兰的教育,一个孩子如果数学不好,并不意味着他/她其他方面也不好。所以,在芬兰就形成了这样一种状况:学生上课时间短,教得少,玩得多,结果学习成绩和效果却还很好。芬兰教育注重的是人的智力、情商、社交、人格等全面的评估。再比如说,芬兰教育强调合作而不强调竞争,结果如此体系和理念中培养出来的具有强大合作能力的孩子,恰恰拥有了最大的竞争力强。

张:那当然。

黄:一个小孩从小被培养到处与人合作,培养出来之后,您想一下,他/她的能力会有多强大。

张:合作精神是人与人之间交往所必须的。

黄:如果从小就是死气白咧,见到谁都要竞争,见到谁都要占便宜,这样的人将来怎么竞争,谁也不愿意跟这样的人打交道。

比如说,您根据东正教的研究和我讲的芬兰教育或中国教育,我们很多谈到的中小学大学教育中,都存在这样的一个问题。

张:针对中国的教育,在理论上,我是没有发言权的。但是,我毕竟在教育第一线工作了几乎是一生的时间。我觉得,我们的教育仍然处在“地心说”的阶段。即使有人意识到,“日心说”更合理,但是,很少有人真的坚持“日心说”。

黄:这是您一个现实主义的观察。

张:是的。

黄:您所说的“地心说”和“日心说”具体指的是什么?

张:我们的教育依然处在“地心说”时代,准确地说,我们的教育实践依然处在“地心说”时代。



但是,我们今天早已经生活在“日心说”时代了。

黄:教育早晚也要过渡到“日心说”的。

张:这里要求根本性的变革。这就要求放弃太多的东西。

黄:您认为,中国教育的问题出在哪里呢?

张:问题在于情感教育的缺失。

黄:怎么讲?

张:您看各类宗教都非常注重信徒的情感教育。基督徒去教堂做礼拜,不是为了增加理论知识,而是激发自己的宗教情感,巩固自己的宗教情感。情感教育在宗教教育里占有首要地位。相反,在我们的教育体制里,情感教育是空白。因此,我们的学生的情感领域是荒漠。

黄:其实,这种教育方式还是现代西方理性和功利主义教育的产物。

张:我们的教育完全继承了现代西方的教育方式。知识灌输成为教育的主要目的。

黄:这可能是历史产物,是阶段性的。

张:但愿如此。不过,我认为,本来意义上的教育,应该以培养人的情感为主,知识灌输为次。所以,我特别强调情感教育。只有培养学生丰富的情感,他们才能凭自己的真实情感做事。否则,人世间会越来越冷淡的。人与人之间交往变得越来越困难。我们周围充满负面情感的人会越来越多。

黄:对,有这个问题。这个教育,我知道您刚才讲的是现实的情况。我们现在从理想主义的角度来谈一下,您用基督教神学的教育观真的会遇到您刚才讲的这些问题吗?基督教内部也有问题,然后语境也有问题,那我们现在不从这个角度谈,而是从比较普通的角度来看,就像中国的教育,因为中国人家长的望子成龙,望女成凤的这种心态,我的感觉好像是在世界上比较特殊,因为在像欧洲很多人,比较独立自主,不那么干涉他人。我们的父母有点想要在儿女的身上延续我们的理想,我没有实现的东西,然后我们投入精力金钱、压力来让孩子实现,这个是独特的一点。第二点就是说,中国的孩子真的是非常的卖力和辛苦,他们的劳动量比起欧洲孩子们要大的多。第三个效果,我们在国内基本上很多人对教育现状都有抱怨或批评,学生缺乏人的全面教育,而芬兰则特别注重以人格建造为核心的全人教育,即使在世俗化非常严重的今天,路德的人学和基督教的理念还是对教育发生了重大的影响。

芬兰教育它是特别强调身心灵的全面发展,然后这个理念有了之后,首先把学生当成一个人的培养,而不是当成一个工人或者工具来培养,这样就产生了一些效果:芬兰虽是很小的国家,她的竞争力、幸福指数在全世界却名列前茅。我觉得,这种意义对中国也有很大的影响。

张:教育应该以人为本,培养具有完善人格的人。完善人格的培养应该以丰富的情感培养为基础,而不能光靠知识的灌输。在我们的教育模式下,学生痛苦,老师痛苦。学习变成了一件痛苦的事情。我们的工作不也是这样吗?本来科学研究,学术研究是件非常快乐的事情。您看我们的学术界,一片怨声载道,似乎大家都是遭受煎熬一样。这里当然有外在的原因,比如科研管理体制的问题,管理者和被管理者如同猫和老鼠一样,都在做毫无意义的游戏,浪费时间,浪费精力。我觉得,这一切的根源都在于人们情感的缺失,把人当作机器来管理。

黄:这就是芬兰教育里特别强调的,我上周跟芬兰的一个奥卢大学的教育学院的院长采访了一个小时,她专门研究学习动力、动机和喜乐学习,这对于教育非常有意义。

张:现在世界是开放的,我们应该学习人家在教育领域里长期积累下来的宝贵经验。同时,也要结合自己的情况,创造出自己独特的教育理念和教育模式。

黄:因为我这是从人论延伸到教育领域的事情,所谓纸上谈兵从理论上探索的。

张:确实,教育的前提是对人的基本看法,就是人论,我更喜欢用人学。这也是我的关注点之一。我认为哲学就是人学。霍鲁日教授创立的协同人学就是当代西方人学发展中的一个完全新的理论。对他的协同人学,我只是暂时搁置起来,把主要精力用在静修主义研究上。

黄:您能不能简单地谈一谈霍鲁日的人学的特点?

张:好的。霍鲁日的协同人学是在他对静修主义研究的基础上创立的。他认为,在静修主义里,包含一套对人的看法,这就是他所谓的静修主义的人学。但是,这个人学只适合于那些从事静修的人。霍鲁日是哲学家,他的研究对象是一般的人。所以,他以静修主义的人学为基础,就是从静修主义人学里抽取出具有一般意义的原则,比如,人没有本质,人是由各类“能”构成的;另外一个原则是,对人的研究只需关注人的极限、界限上发生的事情就够了,等等。经过处理后的这些原则就成了一般人学的原则,在它们的基础上,建立起来一套新的人学,就是协同人学。因此,协同人学的根源在东正教灵修传统里,在静修主义传统里。这是从宗教里吸取资源用于哲学建构的成功范例。我相信,在其他宗教里,也包含对人的独特看法,都值得挖掘。

黄:这里的“协同”是指什么?

张:“协同”本来是个宗教术语,就是刚才我们谈到的神和人之间的一种协作关系。在基督教里,人格,即人的个性和身份,是靠着人与神的关系来建构的。霍鲁日用这个观念来建构他的人学。他认为,一般的人,不仅仅是宗教徒,他们的人格,即个性和身份的建构靠的是人与“他者”的关系。这里的他者就是当代西方哲学里非常流行的那个他者的概念。人与他者之间的关系是决定性的,这个关系应该是协作的关系、协同的关系。因此,他把自己的人学称为协同人学。另外,他把“展开”的概念看作是协同人学的基本概念,因为人与他者的关系的前提是人必须向他者展开自己,否则,人与他者之间的关系无从建立。展开有不同的类型,霍鲁日对所有的展开类型进行了分类和阐述。这是他的协同人学最精彩的地方。

黄:这个很有意思,所以我就刚才讲教育,其核心点就是教书育人了,所以,我用的这个人论,其实就是您讲的人学,在中国还有个学科叫人类学。但是在哲学里面有时候也叫人论、人学这个概念,它应该涉及到宗教哲学,教育学等等,都从这里来。

张:关于这个名称问题,我的意见是,在哲学领域里用人学,在社会学领域里用人类学。在外文里,它们其实是一个词,但这个词有不同的含义。即使在西方,人们在用到这个词的时候,也需要提前说明,是在哪个领域里用,是在社会学领域,还是在哲学领域。

黄:具体的区别是什么?

张:人学的对象是个体的人,人类学的对象是作为集体和类的人。

黄:那在基督教里,我们应该用哪一个?

张:最好用人学。基督教神学似乎是关于上帝的学说,其实这里也包含一套关于人的理论,因此也有基督教的人学。耶稣基督神人二性表明了神与人的联系。

黄:是的。

张:所以,基督教有自己的一套人学。我们的人学研究不能对它完全置之不理。

黄:所以,我在中国人类学论坛有一次讲过“马丁·路德的人论”,或者叫“人学”,他们很感兴趣,特别是搞同性恋、性研究的学者,以前只从社会学、历史学这种角度来谈,没从神学的角度来谈,他们听起来很新鲜。

张:基督教的人学非常丰富,包括天主教人学、新教人学,还有东正教人学。此外,还有其他

宗教的人学,比如佛教人学、道教人学,等等。总之,对我们的哲学研究而言,宗教里的资源太丰富了。遗憾的是,大部分研究人学的人,竟然对这些资源一无所知。

黄:那可能是由于知识结构的缺乏,他没办法了解这种东西,而且没办法改变。

张:这是视野和格局的问题。这些资源就在那里,无论您是否用它们。

黄:好,聊了2个多小时。非常感谢百春教授,我们聊得非常开心。

张:也谢谢保罗兄为我提供这样一个机会,让我自己也整理一下思路。

(录音整理后由黄、张二人分别校对润色而成)



**English Title:**

**Two Dialogues on Russian Philosophy and Orthodox Research among Paulos Huang, Xu Fenglin and Zhang Baichun**

Dialogue 1 on Russian Philosophy and Orthodox Research between Paulos Huang and Xu Fenglin from Peking University

Dialogue 2 on Orthodoxy between Paulos Huang and Professor Zhang Baichun from Beijing Normal University

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书评与通讯

**Reviews and Academic Reports**



# Problems of Translation of Orthodox Lexis to Chinese

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**Abstract:** Church and religious vocabulary as a specialized terminology represents a single corpus of denominational terms servicing Orthodoxy as an important area of social life and human activity, since its linguistic units function in a niche sphere-in church use and religious practice. Nowadays, with interest in Orthodoxy growing in China and the Russian Orthodox Church launching international educational activities, study and standardization of the Orthodox vocabulary as a sui generis stratum within the Chinese language system has become a pressing need. Despite the seeming fixity of lexical units within this field, their comprehensive lexicographic and semantic analysis shows that both meaning and denotation of certain concepts do not always pay due regard to denominational context and existing speech practices, which results in translation errors and distorted understanding of theological terms and religious doctrines.

**Key Words:** Chinese lexicology, translations studies, Orthodox religious vocabulary, loan words in Chinese

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Religion represents one of the most sacred fields of ethnic culture, affecting mechanisms of human psychology and ethical norms. Despite the overall supranational nature of religion, specific elements of the professed religion form within any given culture, which in turn evolve an inherent religious terminology and specific interpretation of texts sacral to the given culture. All this represents a special type of communication qualified as a religious discourse. This is a particular field encompassing the Orthodox Church philosophy, Russian religious culture, and a particular stratum of denomination-specific lexical units reflecting distinctness of Russian Orthodoxy.

In the current context, owing to computer and IT technology development, the religious discourse has long ago moved beyond the temple service and represents not just a corpus of sacral and canonical texts presently available to any interested persons anywhere in the world, but also various educational and op-ed articles on religious subjects published in the Internet. The cyberspace is being intensively filled with religious texts, since the library of Orthodox religious texts previously coming down to the Bible and patristic writings fundamental to Orthodox teachings is expanding through sermons and thematic lectures by priests, religious scholars, educational materials, wherefore the problem of unification and standardization of the relevant in languages wherein this substrate remains fixed arises.

In contemporary society, the religious field forms a constituent part of the global communication. The religious communication field is characterized by heightened requirements to precise conveyance of meaning-

therefore, the need for consistency of the used denomination-marked vocabulary, translation of which requires, from linguistic perspective, compliance with a number of principles and due regard to a number of specific features of this phenomenon, plays a particular part within this field.

Within any language system, the religious substrate is characterized by archaic, sacral, monosemic, symbolic and expressive nature. It appears that preservation of these features in translations to other language should be ensured by the xenonymic reciprocity. Due to their innate missionary and educational functions, religious texts are considerably pragmatic, which must be preserved in translation. This explains the strict requirements to foreign-language religious texts, since in this case a language becomes a medium for denominational identity in the modern polycultural and polyreligious world. It is exactly determination of equivalents between lexical units in two language systems with the view to convey religious experience that creates the greatest difficulties in translation and, as a result, may lead to certain difficulties in readers' comprehension of the text. Substitution of an Orthodox concept with a Catholic one due to better understandability to Chinese readers familiar with the Western culture leads to loss of the original denomination-specific meaning actualized as an element of Russian Orthodox culture. The descriptive interpretative translation of the Bible based exclusively on a translator's personal experience with the use of Catholic vocabulary and practiced on early stages lead to distortions of meaning and errors in Chinese translations of Orthodox literature along with apparent non-compliance with the precision principle in course of selection of lexical units for translation.

Russian Orthodox Church claims that every religious concept should have a number of unequivocal denomination-specific terms, whereas use of a similar Catholic lexical unit causes a shift in the text's religious meaning, disorienting the reader, forming an incorrect idea of religious dominants and submerging the reader into the sphere of the two Christian churches' disputes. Differentiation of such units should rely on lexicographical sources and specialized dictionaries designed to provide an accurate, detailed and true information on a particular church and religious concept of the Orthodoxy; today, however, the issue of such a comprehensive dictionary creation remains unsolved, which is explained by the complexity of the very subject due to its interdisciplinary nature that implies involvement of materials of such disciplines as theology, lexicology, lexicography, translation theory, cultural linguistics, and sociolinguistics<sup>[1]</sup>.

The problem is that since 1930's, upon suspension of activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China and up to the reform and opening-up policy implementation in 1980's, virtually no religious literature was translated to Chinese, whereas Orthodox texts remained inaccessible to citizens of contemporary China up to early 21C. The translation tradition once formed within the Ecclesiastical mission in Beijing and account of the vast experience of other denominations' missionaries in the field of Christian literature translation to Chinese may help to elaborate a unified translation of Orthodox vocabulary within modern Chinese. Pioneer Russian orientalists, who made a great contribution to Russian and global sinology development-A. L. Leontyev, N. Y. Bichurin (archimandrite Iakinf), P. I. Kafarov (archimandrite Palladius)-laid the foundation for translation of religious and liturgical texts from Chinese to Russian<sup>[2]</sup>. However, despite the fact that the

[1] See *Russko-kitayskiy slovar' pravoslavnoy leksiki* (Russian-Chinese Orthodox Dictionary). // Ed. by M. V. Rumyantseva. Moskva, «Vostochnaya kniga», 2008. ; *Yazyk russkogo pravoslaviya* (Language of Russian Orthodoxy). Uchebnoye posobiye na osnove tekstov Yevangeliya ot Marka dlya govoryashchikh na kitayskom yazyke. // Ed. by Garbovskiy N. K. Moscow, Vysshaya shkola perevoda, 2011.

[2] See Khokhlov A. N. *Rossiyskaya pravoslavnaya missiya v Pekine i kitayskiye perevody khristianskikh knig*. (Russian Ecclesiastical mission in Beijing and Chinese translations of Christian books. ) *Kitayskoye yazykoznanie*. M. , 1996. P. 160-164.

history of the Orthodoxy in China goes back to centuries, only a few Christian literature translations to Chinese had been made throughout the entire period of existence of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing. This is primarily due to suspension of the translation tradition caused by social and political events taking place in Russia and in China in early 20C, the problems out-of-datedness in the Soviet era, crackdown on citizens for their religious views, etc.

Chinese translations of the Bible number several stages and were targeted at different audiences. The earliest ones were translated to the classical Chinese *Wenyan*-the language of Confucian hymns at that time comprehensible only to the country's officials and representatives of the intellectual elite. The missionaries' pursuit to make the Holy Bible available to a broader audience manifested in emergence of translations to a more understandable variant of the classical language designed for educated Chinese-that is, to simplified *Wenyan* with its simple grammatical forms and colloquial inclusions. At the same time, a translation to then vernacular language *Baihua*, which rapidly acquired the status of the literary language in China after 1919, was made. Thereafter, religious matters had been almost completely neglected throughout nearly half a century due to social and political reasons. However, works by Russian writers-especially, F. M. Dostoyevsky, L. N Tolstoy, Silver Age poets and philosophers-translated to Chinese in 1940's may serve as a source of relevant lexis, although overall quality of these translations was rather unstable, since certain works were translated not from Russian, but from other European languages, which naturally lead to even greater distortion of the original text.

Early translations were characterized by translators' desire to adapt ideas new to Chinese culture-bearers using concepts habitual to them and to render religious texts into literary forms familiar to them. As a result, thus obtained translations oftentimes proved to be far from original texts, perplexing the unconsolidated terminology ever more. Among linguistic prerequisites to translation standards revision, changes in language should undoubtedly be noted. Over last two hundred years, Chinese underwent radical changes that cannot be narrowed down to the natural language evolution process. Whereas changes in European language systems may be neglected due to the age-old language comprehensibility to a contemporary reader, in China the language used for translation, say, in the 19C, differs so drastically from the modern one that it may prove to be simply incomprehensible for an untrained reader. Thenceforth, Chinese has changed significantly both in terms of vocabulary and in terms of grammar, and therefore many places in old translations seem archaic in what concerns the set of lexical units and stylistic features. Besides, many Chinese characters used in first translated versions of the Bible are already out of use today and cannot always be found in common dictionaries. Chinese vocabulary also changed, showing a manifest quantitative shift from monosyllabic words toward disyllables and polysyllables in the 20C; collocation rules changed within the language, too. In terms of style, contemporary translations of religious texts show a clear trend toward semantic and structural simplification of complex poetic constructions and use of contemporary lexis and vernacular elements, thereby necessarily preserving the elevated narrative style. In such situation, the Orthodox vocabulary continuum in Chinese remains unconsolidated; non-systemic formation of this lexical stratum of Chinese, slowed down as compared to borrowings from other areas of social life, manifests itself in discrepancies in translations, and in lexical and graphic variation of a great number of terms. The problem becomes particularly acute when it comes to translation of similar in form but semantically different phenomena present in Orthodox and Catholic religious and cultural traditions, such as names of church administrative and territorial divisions, clerical ranks, elements of church and liturgical utensils, holidays and rituals, etc.



In this regard, there is also a number of methodological problems. Religion is a field, wherein every word choice is treated with great reverence, wherein every element or connotation of a given religious concept's meaning was long disputed among religious scholars and theologians. Russian Orthodoxy represents entwinement of the Orthodox Christian Church and Russian culture. To a significant degree, this determined of the Orthodox vocabulary substrate formation in Russian, which in turn consists of borrowings and calques from other languages, as well as lexical units of the Church Slavonic and Russian languages. This poses the question as to what source language should be used during translation to Chinese of those lexical units that were borrowed to Russian from other languages. Success depends not just on translation of units from one language to another, but on proper conveyance of all shades of meaning and implications free from original text distortions; thereby, preservation of the Orthodox text component is the most significant to us.

Church and religious vocabulary as a specialized terminology represents a single corpus of denominational terms servicing the Orthodoxy as an important area of social life and human activities, since its linguistic units function in a niche sphere-in church use and religious practices. Dominants of Orthodox culture include units denoting basic Christian concepts, whose major part is represented in the Bible-the main source of Christian teaching<sup>[3]</sup>. Apart from these lexical units, canonical literature has a stratum of church or liturgical lexis that relates to mundane church life and includes units associated with temple rites and rituals, ministers' work and church holidays. This very stratum represents a rather distinctly marked denominational vocabulary.

Orthodox literature translations always contain, in addition to theological terms, everyday non-terminological religious lexis comprised of common literary lexical units, historicisms, and archaisms, whose active usage imparts distinctness and singularity to believers' speech. Chinese translations contain a rather considerable stratum of borrowed lexis, which per se is not religious: 榕树 róngshù 'fig tree', 葡萄 pútáo 'grape', etc.

Within this substrate, the following types of lexical units are distinguished:

1. Polyonyms or common religious lexis representing units denoting concepts incidental to all religions, not only Christian. These units relate to fundamental concepts of religious worldview: for example, correlative pairs like 恶 è 'evil' and 善 shàn 'good', 罪恶 zuì è 'sin' and 正义 zhèngyì 'virtue', 祈祷文 qídǎowén 'prayer', etc.

Polyonyms denote such elements of the surrounding world, which are featured in most linguistic cultures. In contrast to denomination-specific or transient lexis of temporal historical nature, usage of these units is not limited exclusively to the field of religion and theology, this lexis is not only found in sacral texts-it encompasses virtually all key issues of any social group's life regardless of denomination, mono- or polytheism. Having historically emerged in a particular language community, this substrate reflects a set of basic social values and is least exposed to changes over time: 上帝 Shàngdì 'God', 灵魂 línghún 'soul'.

2. Culturonyms representing universal Christian lexis that is common to the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church and assigned to specific elements of Christian culture. This lexical stratum also features cultural universals common to Christian milieu uniting cultures of different countries historically and denominationally. Consequently, this issue is relevant not only to Russian Orthodox discourse, but also to the entire Christian community. Full matches of the most used common Christian and Orthodox lexical units,

[3] Alekseyeva M. O. Terminologiya russkogo pravoslaviya (Terminology of Russian Orthodoxy). Moscow, 2011.

which would ensure proper correspondence between special religious concepts used in a particular field in all languages, rarely happen in practice. One-to-one correspondences are possible only for a small number of universal Christian concepts, such as 圣经 Shèngjīng ‘the Bible’, 福音 fúyīn ‘the Gospel’, 天使 tiānshǐ ‘angel’, 圣徒 shèngtú ‘apostle’, etc. — that is, concepts that emerged prior to division of the Churches. Other examples of such universal Christian culturonyms may be the following words: 圣三一 shèng sānyī, 三位一体 sānwèiyītǐ ‘holy trinity’, 圣灵 shènglíng ‘holy spirit’, 救主 jiùzhǔ ‘savior’, 教会 jiàohuì ‘church’, 忏悔 chànhuǐ ‘confession’, 羊羔 yánggāo ‘lamb’; 教区 jiàoqū ‘eparchy’.

3. Specific Christian lexis that includes words denoting concepts incidental to particular Christian denominations. Within this group, idionyms and xenonyms are distinguished depending on internal or external culture targeting.

Idionyms represent intracultural lexis that emerged as a result of primary verbalization of a cultural continuum assigned to specific elements of internal culture: ‘starobryadets’ (old ritualist), ‘starover’ (old believer) in Russian.

Xenonyms is a foreign-language way of idionym rendering, a result of secondary verbalization of a cultural continuum assigned to specific element of external culture. It is important to note that all possible xenonymic variants derive from their etymon idionym. For example, 旧教派信徒 jiù jiàopài xìntú ‘starover’ (old believer), 旧礼仪派 jiù lǐyí pài ‘starobryadchestvo’ (old ritualists), 临安息日会 lín ānxīrì huì ‘adventism’. In the case of xenonyms, the problem of impossibility of unequivocal differentiation of lexical units in a target language arises, for instance: 弥撒 mísa stands for ‘mass’, but not for ‘liturgy’, as in 安魂弥撒 ānhún mísa ‘requiem mass’ in Catholic.

Xenonyms represent is the most unstable, fluid stratum of lexis. A part of xenonyms consists of occasionalisms, and this field’s representativeness in any language is peripheral and varies significantly due to the field’s narrow specialization. Natural selection of an optimal xenonym variant is rather slow and may be accelerated only through centralized efforts of interested parties. The rate of Orthodox terms introduction to Chinese explanatory dictionary and recognition thereof as vocabulary units is yet rather low. This is due to absence of efficient ways for adoption of new translation variants furnished with adequate and comprehensive explanations comprehensible to Chinese neophytes. Because of discrepant translations, numerous religious terms have several variants and may be rendered in various ways. Thus, ‘svyatoy’ in Russian has a number of translations in Chinese: 圣 shèng (‘Sanctus’) in the meaning ‘coming from God, relating to God’ is translated as ‘holy’ (圣灵 shènglíng ‘holy spirit’, 圣水 shèngshuǐ ‘holy water’); if the word is followed by a proper name, it also should be translated as 圣彼得 shèng Bǐdé ‘Saint Peter’. A word ‘svyatoy’ can also be translated as 神圣 shénshèng ‘divine’ ‘hallowed’, 神圣地方 shénshèng dìfāng ‘halidom’.

Overall, Chinese assimilate the Orthodox vocabulary continuum in accordance with general trends found in other lexical strata of the system. The main strategies used in translation of Orthodox vocabulary are listed below:

Phonetic borrowing (full or partial) implies copying of an original word’s audible form, wherefore a special character set is used<sup>[4]</sup>. The need to use phonetic borrowings in religious terms translation is stipulated by better preservation of the word original flavor. The syllabic nature of Chinese does not allow accurate conveyance of a foreign word’s sounding, and considering the great disparity between Russian and

[4] Gorelov V. I. Leksikologiya kitaiskogo yazyka (Lexicology of the Chinese language). Moscow, 1984, p. 143.

Chinese, reproduction of a phonetic form may only be partial and conventional, usually representing a certain compromise in virtue of divergence between individual ways of perception of foreign-language units, which leads to divergent translation equivalents: 爱色尼派 àisènípài or 艾赛尼派 àisàinípài ‘essenes’. This way of borrowing is characteristic of biblical anthroponyms, proper names rendered through graphic means of Chinese. Chinese speakers are already familiar with a part of these names from English, Greek and other European languages: 圣尼古拉 shèng nígǔlā ‘Saint Nicholas’, 尼古拉神医神医 Nígǔlā shényī ‘Nikolaos the Wonderworker, wondrous healer’. Phonetically borrowed polysyllabic words may cause difficulties in text perception with Chinese readers and are hard to memorize for them.

Calquing or semantic borrowing implies creation of a new word or compound word to denote a particular object based on word-building patterns established within the system out of morphemes that already exist in Chinese<sup>[5]</sup>. This type of borrowing fills a gap within the language, whereby there often arises the need in its supplementary interpretation. Calques usually represent words consisting of two or more morphemes. They convey main features of a described object. In semantic borrowing, phonetic similarity of an original word and its calque is lost. Calques can be of two types: structural and etymological. Structural calques convey semantic and morphological word structure. It is, in fact, a literal translation of an idiom 领洗池 lǐngxǐchí ‘baptistry, kupel dly krescheniya’. Etymological calques reveal a borrowed word’s semantic meaning: 橄榄油 gǎnlǎnyóu ‘yeley, chrism’, 祝福 zhùfú ‘blagoslaveniye, blessing’.

Advantages of semantic borrowings include simplicity of reproduction and memorizing for language-speakers, since such borrowings are recorded in the target language using its own words and morphemes. Calquing is a borrowing through literal morpheme-to-morpheme word translation. Adoption of this type of borrowing allows rendering of an idiom to Chinese with maximum possible preservation of its semantic content; thereby, calques in form of phrases and compound words are most frequent.

A borrowing may be partial, when an original Chinese morpheme is combined with elements of a foreign-language word in a new word, for example, when a Chinese affix is added to a Russian root. This is a so-called hyponymic, or generalized loose translation, wherein source language words denoting specific concepts are rendered with Chinese words denoting generic concepts: 毕士大池 bìshìdà chí ‘Bethesda, a pool near the Sheep Gate’. Such species-to-genus substitution (generalization), wherein a Chinese morpheme/word with a broader definition complements a lexical unit with a narrower definition, is typical for Chinese. Generalization may be caused by extralinguistic factors. When a translation is intended for untrained readers unfamiliar with a particular subject field, generalization designed to explicate the meaning appears to be the most efficient translation method.

Another possible strategy for Christian literature translation may be use of a word denoting something functionally close, even though not identical, to a foreign-language concept. As a rule, functional analogues cause a similar response with Chinese readers—therefore, this strategy was widely used at early stages of Chinese people’s familiarization with Christian literature, when assimilative translation was primarily employed and substitution of foreign-language culturonyms with Chinese culturonyms as functional analogues was observed. Although this technique is admissible for polyonyms, it unavoidably leads to substitution of the original Christian flavor for something fundamentally different and extrinsic when it comes to culturonyms and idionyms. Thus, 圣徒传 shèngtú zhuàn ‘hagiography’ is rendered with the word 传 zhuàn ‘biography’,

[5] ibid., p. 146.

typical for Chinese historiographical tradition since ancient times, whereas in the matter of religious dominants, literature already has negative examples of mixing Christian religious terminology with Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist vocabulary in Chinese. At the initial stage, it allowed conveying meaning of culturonyms, even though not very accurate, thereby losing national and religious flavor and substituting connotative equivalents; starting from 经 jīng ‘text, classics’ for 圣经 the Bible, 鬼神 guǐshén for ‘supernatural being’, ‘spirits’, 净 jìng’ for ‘immaculate’, 长老 zhǎnglǎo was used for Russian idionym ‘starets’.

The difficulty was in conveying theological concepts that had no analogues in Chinese. First missionaries were Catholics, who saw the most efficient and appropriate method of denoting Christian concepts in use of the traditional Chinese philosophical dictionary and borrowing of terms already existing in the language simply accompanied by supplemental explanations concerning new word usage. This approach’s deficiency lay in excessive ‘confucianization’ or ‘buddhismization’ of the Bible.

Thus, such concept of the Christian world as 撒都该人 sādōugāi rén ‘Sadducee’, was purposefully borrowed through phonetic method; a semantic borrowing was used for 奋锐党 fènruìdǎng ‘Zealots’. As for ‘Pharisee’, a phonetic translation 法利赛人 fālìsàirén appears to be a more preferable equivalent for translation of the word ‘Pharisee’ into Chinese as compared to such variant as 伪君子 wèijūnzi ‘double-dealer’ just because of Confucian connotations undesirable for this term within Chinese culture.

The substrate of Russian Orthodox lexis is assimilated by Chinese rather unequally; a number of Orthodox dominants is still non-unified, no systemic fixation of the Russian Orthodox Church vocabulary had been performed up until recently. Availability of various ways of xenonym formation in the context of continuous selection of an optimal term fixation variant explains the observed variation of Orthodox xenonyms, when same elements are denoted with various xenonymic variants correlating to the same idionym. Xenonyms are primarily used in Orthodox conceptual terminology, ecclesionyms (names of places of rites or worship), church holiday names, names of religious movements and sects.

Therefore, xenonymic attribution is very important at the current stage, for it ensures accuracy and reciprocity of xenonymic nomination, along with identification of the Russian Orthodox element. Thus, liturgical white altar bread used in the Orthodox Sacrament of the Eucharist that has two xenonymic variants in Russian- ‘prospora’ and ‘prosvira’-has a unified translation in Chinese 圣饼 shèngbǐn, which literally means ‘holy pancake’ and reflects neither Orthodox nor Catholic practices due to absence of any type of bread in Chinese reality. Accordingly, distinctions existing between Catholic tradition using azyme for host preparation and Eastern Orthodox tradition using yeast bread in the Eucharist were blurred. Thus, the dispute concerning bread for the Eucharist, which played an important role in the history of interrelations between Eastern and Western Christianity and became one of the formal causes of the Great Schism, proves to be incomprehensible to Chinese readers.

Difficulties arise in translation of lexis, which emerged and exists only in the Orthodox culture and is unfamiliar to bearers of other cultures and other language speakers. For example, the Russian polysemic word ‘paskha’ has, in addition to the Easter holiday name translated to Chinese as 复活节 fùhuójié, a meaning of ‘a cake made of tvorog (quark, cottage cheese) consecrated for the Easter holiday to break the fast in the first festive day’. Knowledge of Christian lexis cannot ensure correct understanding and translation of the Orthodox term, since both the paskha dish itself as a realis and nomination of the product it is made of (tvorog) are not present anywhere outside of Russia.

A special note should be given to peculiar religious traditions, for instance names characterizing believers devoting themselves to particular deeds, undertaking commitments or renouncing temptations: 修道士 xiūdàoshi ‘novice’, 斋公 zhāigōng ‘faster’, etc.), in contrast to, for instance, the adjective ‘yurodivy’ (holy fool), can’t be adequately expressed by a word 痴呆 chīdāi with its markedly negative connotation in Chinese.

Although China has a rich monastic tradition, this aspect imparts a great distinction between religious doctrines of the two cultures; however, the very concept of monkhood as of isolated and ascetical lifestyle relates to polyonyms and is intelligible to Chinese readers. The problem is that the particularly broad gauge of the Russian monkhood institute is fixed in a long list of nominations of various types of monks in the Orthodoxy, which is reflected in F. M. Dostoyevsky’s works, wherein Russian text features numerous categories of monks, while in Chinese text all these monastic ranks (‘igumen’, ‘yieromonakh’, ‘inok’, ‘kelar’, ‘poslushnik’ etc) are generalized as 修士 xiūshi ‘monk, novice’, thus negating the differences between various hierarchical stages of Orthodox priests.

The same concern names of monasteries and churches: Russian-language nominations of “lavra”, ‘skete’, ‘podvorie’, ‘poustinia’ in translations to Chinese are generalized as 修道院 xiūdàoyuàn or 隐修院 yǐnxiūyuàn as ‘skete’ and seem to be mixed up with abbeys in Western Europe.

Similarly, variable Russian concepts ‘chapel’, ‘bell tower’, ‘zvonnitsa’ (bell-gable) have a single correlate in Chinese 钟楼 zhōnglóu, whose internal form indicates presence of a chapel bell in the tower. Rendering of these terms is a rather difficult task for translators, since most of them are unfamiliar to Chinese people. Generalization is used for nomination of items of priests’ gown, church utensils, etc.

Any culture contains concepts reflecting universal human ideals and values, whose expression by means of another language does not normally cause any problems; nevertheless, in terms of religious realia, many Orthodox concepts do not have even remote equivalents in Asian cultures and languages, and it is often impossible to find any analogues in another ethnic group’s mentality, philosophy and culture<sup>[6]</sup>. Whereas numerous universal Christian cultural and historical realia already have adequate equivalents in Chinese, Orthodox cultonyms, with rare exclusions, are virtually unknown to citizens of China—therefore, not just interlingual translation as a particular case of interpretation in general, which does not differ fundamentally from intersemiotic translation, appears to be adequate for denominational terms, but special procedures for identification and explanation of Orthodox vocabulary determinants stipulated by historical, lexicographical, stylistic and communication pragmatic factors are required.

At the present stage, when boundary spanning and single information area promoted by computer technologies development stimulate spiritual communication between representatives of Russian and Chinese religious, social and civil life, Chinese readers’ demand for catechetical, liturgical, patristic, missionary and other types of Orthodox literature becomes more and more acute.

Assimilation of Russian Orthodox lexis by Chinese in what concerns Orthodox Christianity as compared to, say, other field of Russian culture, is hampered by the fact that Chinese vocabulary lacks ready-made means relating to Christianity, while substitution of Orthodox elements for corresponding Catholic ones is particularly undesirable in view of the dispute taking place between these two major branches of Christianity

[6] Lomanov A. V. *Khristianstvo i kitayskaya kultura* (Christianity and Chinese culture). Moscow, 2002.

for over a thousand years.

Just as Orthodox vocabulary once formed at the interface of two worldviews-Christian and pagan, Chinese religious lexical substrate represents a result of Christian elements superimposition on the stratum of Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist terminology and requires due regard to all layers of religious lexis: universal religious, universal Christian, and Orthodox lexis pre se due to intricate entwinement of universal human and universal Christian elements with specific elements of Russian Orthodoxy and Russian culture within the field. The Russian Orthodox xenonymic field is assimilated rather fragmentarily, many lexical sets are represented by single xenonyms, whereas certain idionyms are not represented in Chinese at all. Phonetic borrowings and hybrid xenonyms are the most productive ways of Orthodox xenonyms formation in Chinese.

All this indicates that this field requires systematic description and certain standardization in form of dictionaries and textbooks, which would afford correct representation of the lexis of the Russian Orthodox Church and Russian culture in Chinese-speaking world.

汉语题目:

## 浅析现代汉语中东正教术语的翻译

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**提要:**宗教和教会术语属于行业语的范畴,为精确地指明东正教概念的词或词组,它在社会活动和日常生活中用作具有一定意义的系统地约束的标记。目前,华人恢复对东正教的兴趣,俄罗斯正教会也深入开展教育活动,东正教网上资源越来越多,因此东正教术语汉译实现标准化是更为紧迫的问题。本文通过词项的语义分析和词典编纂成分分析作一综述,已经约定俗成的宗教词汇还缺乏一致性和系统性,有很多东正教概念的内涵和外延与其他教会普遍使用的术语不大相同,在推敲译名时,应充分考虑翻译的意义传达避免造成教义上的误解或混乱。

**关键词:**中国词汇学、翻译研究、东正教词汇表、汉语里的借词



# Scientific Conferences Series “Orthodoxy in the Far East” in St. Petersburg: Important Contribution to Religious and Cultural Studies

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**Abstract:** This paper deals with the contribution to religious and cultural studies made by the scholarly conference series “Orthodoxy in the Far East” held at St. Petersburg University in the 1990s-early 2000s. The results of the conferences are presented in four issues of collected publications under the same title. Various articles by a wide range of scholars and theologians bring this aspect of sinology to a new level of interest, turning it into a highly interdisciplinary subject in the contemporary humanities.

**Key Words:** the Far East, Orthodoxy, Christianity in China, Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, theological mission, conference.

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The years of 1991, 1997, 2001 and 2004 became the time when in St. Petersburg four volumes of “Orthodoxy in the Far East” were published summarizing the results of the work of a number of workshops and conferences dedicated to the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in East Asia and organized by and in St. Petersburg State University with participation of St. Petersburg Theological Academy.

The first joint conference “Orthodoxy in the Far East” of St. Petersburg State University and St. Petersburg Theological Academy was held in February 26-27, 1991. The organizers of the conference were motivated by the fact that the year 1991 marked the 275<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing. It was in 1716 that the mission headed by Archimandrite Ilarion (Lezhaiskii) arrived in China thus starting the history of permanent orthodox missions in the Far East. The conference made it possible for the first time to speak openly about an amazing number of sinological works conducted by the members of the Russian mission in Beijing, to name the authors and their ranks, which used to be traditionally left unsaid during the Soviet times. Therefore, the conference became a major breakthrough in this field of sinological studies. The topics chosen by the participants (speakers at the conference) marked out a good range of perspective directions for further scholarly research. Since then the thematic range kept widening together with the geographical boundaries of the areas under consideration, so that all Asia-Pacific started to be

included.

The first conference comprised the talks devoted mainly to the history of the Russian Orthodox missions in China and other countries of East Asia. The second conference focused its attention on Japan and the history of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission and the Russian Orthodox Church there. In addition to these questions, Saint Nicholas of Japan (?), Equal-to-the-Apostles, Archbishop of Japan, his enthusiastic activities and scholarly works were given special consideration. The third conference was commemorated to Saint Innocent of Alaska (Veniaminov) and covered a wide range of issues concerning the history of Orthodoxy in China, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, the Russian Far East, North America and Hawaii as well the present-day state of affairs with orthodoxy in these parts of the world. The fourth conference had even such region as Australia added to its subject matter.

The fifth conference hosted representatives from a variety of regions of Russia, both scholars and clergy. The topics centered around the historical accounts of the way Orthodoxy spread in the Far East and Asia-Pacific, the present-day situation with it in those regions. The conference introduced new, unknown before, facts concerning Russian theological missions in China, Korea and Japan, gave high evaluation to the contribution of Russian orthodox missionaries into the field of ethnographic studies, culture studies and linguistics of the Far East peoples. All the findings can be found in the published proceedings of the conference on the above-mentioned topics with the number of articles (papers) totaling 70.

It is safe to state that the conferences "Orthodoxy in the Far East" marked the beginning of new scholarly research, that of studying the history of Orthodoxy in the countries of East Asia, primarily in China, a new field that needs to combine collaborative efforts of both theologians, clerical scholars, and secular researchers.

The first collection of papers included, as it has been mentioned above, the articles dedicated to different aspects of the work of the Russian Orthodox (Ecclesiastical) mission in China<sup>[1]</sup>. The article written by Natalya Novgorodskaya (Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) is of a generalizing character and acquaints the reader with the role played by the Beijing mission in the history of the Russia-China relationships in the late XVII-XVIII centuries. The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing was engaged in various activities-it did not confine itself exclusively to religious affairs, but also participated in political, commercial, economic, scientific and cultural spheres. The XVIII century witnessed how the relations between the mission and the Qing authorities developed and strengthened due to a more active foreign policy of the both countries. Shortly afterwards, the mission started to train in professional translating and interpreting; cultural exchange acquired a regular character; mutual rapprochement was established at different levels cooperation and interaction.

The paper by Galina Sarkisova (Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) "On the History of the Fifth Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing" considers a long period of work of the mission in China, namely, over the period between 1755 and 1771. Of special note is that the paper contains a report of one of few members of the fifth mission who survived in the early 1770s, that of Stepan Zimin. The importance of Zimin's report lies in the fact that it is the first-hand information on the history of the fifth mission in Beijing touching on a great many of issues. It deals not only with the policy of Christianization, residency of the Albazin descendants in China, the fate of the "renegades" brought to

[1] "Pravoslavie na Dal'nem Vostoke. Izdatelstvo "Andreev I synovia." St. Petersburg, 1993. Orthodoxy in the Far East. "Andreev and Sons publishing." St. Petersburg, 1993.

Beijing in 1764—1771, but also with the varied aspects of everyday life of Russian missionaries in China. The policy of Christianization is a significant side of the mission's activity. It was initiated by the head of the Fifth Mission, Archimandrite Ambrose (Yumatov), who launched it wisely and gradually thus avoiding disapproval and objection on the part of the Qing authorities.

“The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China in the XVIII century as Evaluated by an American Historian” is the title of an article by Alyona Volokhova (the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Moscow). In 1976 Eric Widmer, an American scholar, published his monography on the activities of the Russian Orthodox mission in Beijing in the XVIII century. His knowledge of Russian and Chinese helped him to use a great variety of sources and specialist literature on the subject and give a thorough evaluation of the role of the Russian mission in the Russia-China relationships of that period. On the whole, Dr. Widmer stresses the unique character of the phenomenon, its importance for the Russia-China relations, pointing out, at the same time, that the work of the Mission might have been more effective had the attitude of the Russian government and the society been less neglectful and indifferent. However, Alyona Volokhova argues against this opinion of Dr. Widmer and calls attention to serious obstacles the mission was facing in Beijing, such as malevolence (hostility) of the Qing authorities and a lack of due concern on the part of the Russian governmental circles.

The life and work of Vladimir Vassilievich Gorsky forms the content of the article written by Evgenii Kychanov (The Institute of Oriental Studies, the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg). On the staff of the mission were such prominent orientologists as Archimandrite Palladius (Kafarov), V. P. Vassiliev, I. I. Zakharov. The name of V. V. Gorsky could also have been rightly added to the list had it not been for his untimely death. V. V. Gorsky investigated the early period in the history of the then ruling Qing dynasty, the early history of the Manchu and Manchuria, Buddhism, many languages (Manchu, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian). Unfortunately, his disease (tuberculosis) and death did not let him attain all the goals he had set, but, yet, he left a lasting scholarly legacy which is still of great importance for the Russian and world sinology.

Another member of the 12<sup>th</sup> mission is in the center of the article by Archimandrite Augustine (Nikitin) (St. Petersburg Theological Academy). While a member of the 12<sup>th</sup> Ecclesiastical Mission, Archimandrite Gurii mastered the Chinese language and published a book “Buddhist Vows and the Chinese Ritual of Taking them”. In 1856, being appointed the head of the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian mission and the dean of the Monastery of Assumption in Beijing, he returned to China. Despite the rough times under the permanent threat of warfare, the mission staff were engaged in successful educating endeavors both in Beijing and outside the Chinese capital. Good command of Chinese and invaluable experience made Archimandrite Gurii a skillful diplomat at times all the correspondence between the Russian and Chinese governments was conducted Archimandrite Gurii. In 1863, in addition to the official report on the missionary activities, he also wrote a series of essays under the common appellation “Letters from Beijing about the Progress of Orthodoxy in China”, which were published in the newspaper “Irkutsk Diocese Vedomosti”. Much to our regret, after the death of Archimandrite Gurii a lot of documents from his archive, along with those from the Beijing period, were lost.

Nikolay Samoylov (St. Petersburg State University) in his article “Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission in the second half of the XIX century” acquaints the reader with the principal milestones in the history of the mission after signing the Russian-Chinese treaty of Tianjin and reorganizing the mission itself. Under the new conditions the mission could concentrate all attention on its spiritual activity, scholarly work and translation of

liturgical books. In the second half of the XIX century the work of the Orthodox mission in Beijing greatly contributed to establishing closer relations among Russian citizens residing permanently or sojourning in different provinces of China, spiritually uniting the Russian community scattered all over the vast territory of China. At this time subjects of the Qing Empire began to convert into Orthodox Christianity more actively. As the head of the mission stressed in his reports to the Holy Russian Synod, over that period the members of the mission fully devoted their attention to their duties concerning “the Church, their congregation and colleges”. The number of Chinese converts into Orthodoxy grew, with quite influential people among them. Much of the work on compiling dictionaries and translating liturgical books into Chinese was done by the hieromonch Isaia (Polikin), a graduate of St. Petersburg Theological Academy, though it is worth mentioning that the members of the mission were always extremely careful in what concerned translating liturgical books into Chinese. All in all, the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing, despite the reduced staff and fewer responsibilities remained an important link in the Russian-Chinese spiritual and cultural relations, promoting Russian orthodox culture in China.

The personality of hieromonch Alexii (Vinogradov), whose name was consigned to oblivion by his contemporaries, is described in the article by Michail Chigrinski (The Russian Geographical Society). One of the prominent sinologists of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing, hieromonch Alexii (Alexandr Nikolaevich Vinogradov by his secular name) has no match in the Russian sinology if we take into account an amazing range of his scholarly interests. In 1886 he published the first work in sinology “The work of Western Christian Missions in China” in order to fully train Russian missionaries and get them acquainted with the experience and knowledge of their Catholic counterparts. In 1888—1913 Alexii conducted a laborious task of a largest sinological research “The History of the Bible in the East” in five volumes and two parts. Besides this, he carried out an in-depth study of the grammar of Chinese, compiled dictionaries, made many translations. He spent his last years in Optina Pustyn (Monastery), and the survived manuscripts, though having been transferred to the Lenin Library in Moscow (now-Russian State Library), still remain unstudied.

The article by Alexandr Khokhlov (The Institute for Oriental Studies, The Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) titled “Trainees and Stipend-Holders of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing” casts light on the mission’s strenuous efforts to train professional translators who could facilitate and expand the Russian-Chinese trade relations and to work for the Chinese Eastern Railway. Being educated and trained at the Beijing Orthodox Mission made it possible for some students, including stipend-holders, to get deep knowledge of the Chinese and Manchu languages. Many of those who had a chance to be educated at the Beijing mission later worked in various Russian commercial companies and other enterprises, and greatly contributed to establishing more efficient business relationships between Russia, China and Mongolia.

“The 250<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China (1935)” is the article written by Aida Ipatova (The Institute of the Far East, Moscow) and gives a thorough consideration to this significant date in the mission’s history. The significance of the date is determined not only in terms of religion and church. It was to put a special emphasis on the role of the mission as a principal center in cementing the religious and social structure of the Russian colony in China. To prepare and organize the event appointed for June 21-23, 1935, it was decided to set up a jubilee committee with Bishop Victor as its chairman. A sacred procession was arranged and a meeting was held at the session of which speakers gave talks on the history of the mission. In the same year (1935) after the celebration, the proceedings of the jubilee meeting were published under the title “Chinese Evangelist/Blessed Messenger/Blagovestnik 1685—1935”. The collection

included most of the talks at the jubilee meeting, papers, articles, memoirs, information about the celebrations in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Harbin, greetings and congratulations addressed to the mission, list of the awarded and promoted members of the mission, numerous portraits and illustrations. The scope of the celebration once again emphasized the outstanding role of the mission in China.

The work and achievements of His Holiness Victor, the head of the 20<sup>th</sup> mission, are recounted in the paper by a famous Russian sinologist and diplomat Sergei Tikhvinskii (full member of The Russian Academy of Sciences), which was published in the form of memoirs of the former (?) USSR consul general in Beijing. His Holiness Victor, the 20<sup>th</sup> and last head of the Russian Orthodox mission (1933—1956), like most of his predecessors, made an invaluable contribution into spiritual rapprochement of Russia and China, and the memories of this kind man who lived his hard life in the time of trial will remain in the hearts of both nations forever.

One more article dedicated to the life story of Archbishop Victor was written by Olga Kepping. The sister of the last head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission acquaints the public with letters from the private archives as well as with official materials bringing to light the true picture of his service as an archbishop and head of the mission in Beijing during the most difficult times for the Russian Orthodox Church in China.

Boris Doronin (St. Petersburg State University) addresses another very important aspect of the mission's activity in the paper titled "The History of the Qing Empire in the works of the Members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission (XVIII- mid XIX cc.)". The mission's staff took a keen interest in the history of the ruling Chinese dynasty. The starting point of their studies in the history of the Qing Empire is found in the translations made by I. K. Rassokhin (1717—1761) and A. L. Leontiev (1716—1786). Since then Chinese-Russian translations constituted an essential part of the activity of the Russian Orthodox mission. During the XVIII — early XIX centuries a lot of official books draw attention of the mission, one of them is "The Description of the Eight Banners". Most of the early translations of works in the history of the empire were from the Manchu language, and along with the other studies of the members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission they laid the foundations of the Russian Manchu scholarship. Later, gradually the Mission's staff began to be involved into their own research. Their results and findings were published in a specially created collections of works—"The Writings of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission", which became the first and unique pre-revolutionary Russian edition devoted to China and its matters. A widely known fact is that it was over this period that the work of the mission's members provided a basis for the emerging Russian sinology and gave rise to a true pleiad of bright scholars.

Alexandr Reshetov (The Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography-Kunstkamera) contemplates about the contribution the scholars of the Beijing mission made into ethnographic studies and about the significance of their researches for anthropology. Ample evidence is available that makes it safe to say that a solid foundation of ethnography of the peoples of China was laid by the works of the Russian missionaries in Beijing. First among the founding fathers and pioneers of ethnographic sinology, according to Alexandr Reshetov, is undoubtedly Archimandrite Iakinif (Bichurin) as it is proved by the list of his published works on very different aspects of everyday life and culture of the Chinese. His name is followed by other sinologists of that time, who also made invaluable contribution into ethnographic studies by their shrewd observations-I. K. Rassokhin, Z. F. Leontievskii, hieromonch Abacus (Chestnoy), Archimandrite Palladius (Kafarov). The writings of the members of the Russian Orthodox mission in Beijing were instrumental not only in ethnographic studying of the Chinese ethnicities, but also stimulated the rise of the Russian

ethnographic oriental studies.

The paper written by Tatiana Pang (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Russian Academy of Sciences,) aims to explore the Manchu language studies in the mission. From its beginnings in 1715 till the Tianjin Treaty in 1885 the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, alongside with its spiritual tasks and duties, exercised secular diplomatic functions and was an ever important link in Russia-China relations. So, the staff of the mission had to master Chinese and Manchu. Among the members of the first missions the most prominent are I. K. Rassokhin, A. M. Vladykin, A. L. Leontiev, S. P. Lipovtsev, P. I. Kamenskii, Z. F. Leontievskii, and it was due to their efforts that it became possible for S. Kuling to say that “the Russians were the first European scholars to study the Manchu language thoroughly”. Students and members of the missions were the first to acquaint the Russian society with historical and ideological texts translated from Manchu into Russian. Their untiring efforts and activities in this field can be rightly considered as the beginning of the Russian Manchu studies, thus laying the foundation of this scholarly field.

Unknown before archival materials form the body of the article by Yelena Nesterova (I. Repin St. Petersburg State Academy Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, St. Petersburg) titled “The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing and the beginning of the Russian-Chinese relations in the Sphere of Fine Arts”. Fine arts are the least studied aspect of the Russia-China relations, our knowledge concerning the establishment and development of Russia-China contacts in this field owes much to the efforts of individual researchers, lonely investigators who form the focus of this paper. Z. F. Leontievskii deserves to be given a special acknowledgement, as he was the one who accumulated an amazing collection of artistic objects in Beijing and who in the 1830s opened the first private museum of Chinese everyday life and culture in St. Petersburg. The 11<sup>th</sup> mission was the first to host a professional artist—A. M. Legashov graduated from the Academy of Arts majoring in portrait paintings. During the period of ten years he executed over forty portraits in oil ordered to him and sixteen paintings as gifts to Chinese people. In addition to this, he made drawings of costumes, agricultural tools, musical instruments, sights of Beijing, interiors of Chinese dwellings. After him other painters were sent to the Russian missions in China—K. I. Korsavin (the 12<sup>th</sup> mission), I. I. Chmutov (the 13<sup>th</sup> mission), L. S. Igorev (the 14<sup>th</sup> mission). To a great extent the further development of the Russia-Chinese relations became possible due to this artistic contribution of the Russian painters, because art also helped to bridge the gap between these nations and cultures.

The second collection of the proceedings of the conference “Orthodoxy in the Far East” published in 1996 was commemorated to St. Nicholas, Equal-to-the-Apostles, Archbishop of Japan (1836—1912)<sup>[2]</sup>. This publication is the collection of works presented at the workshop “In Memory of St. Nicholas of Japan” which was organized by joint efforts of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies (St. Petersburg State University) and St. Petersburg Theological Academy. Most of the papers of the collection are dedicated to the life and work of St. Nicholas of Japan, to the growth of the Russian Orthodox (Ecclesiastical) mission in Japan, to the assessment given by contemporaries of the mission and following generations to its role in the life of the Japanese and Russians residing in Japan. Materials concerning China are presented in it rather sparsely.

The article by Irina Moroz (The Institute of Far Eastern Studies, The Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) “The Embassy of Yu. A. Golovkin and the 9<sup>th</sup> Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China” is based on

[2] “Pravoslavie na Dal' nem Vostoke. 2 vypusk. Izdatel'stvo Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta”, 1996, Orthodoxy in the Far East. 2 issue. St. Petersburg University, 1996.

new archival materials of the Russian Federation and the Mongolian People's Republic. It contains information about the correspondence between Russian and Chinese officials prior to the arrival of the 9<sup>th</sup> mission to Beijing which was headed by Archimandrite Iakinf (Bichurin). Despite bureaucratic delays with the documents, suspiciousness and fastidiousness of the Chinese authorities, the author of the article, however, draws a conclusion that the Chinese-Russian relations in the early XIX century were quite friendly, explaining all the delays and complexities by the particularities of the epoch, the specific character of paperwork (records management) in China and the customary routine of the country.

The third book of "The Orthodoxy in China" came out in 2001 and can be rightly seen as a sequel to the previously released collections on the same topic<sup>[3]</sup>. This publication unites papers researching into the development and modern state of Orthodoxy in Siberia, the Russian Far East, China, Japan, Mongolia and America. Some articles deal with the work of the Russian Orthodox missions in the Asia-Pacific region. The main emphasis is put on the life and self-sacrificing activities of St. Innocent (Veniaminov).

The paper "Archimandrite Petr (P. I. Kamenskii)-the Head of the 10<sup>th</sup> Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing" presented by Oleg Shatalov (Voronezh Theological Seminary) reveals the role of P. Kamenskii in Russian oriental studies and the importance of his contribution to the field. It was since his service as head of the mission that new members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing started to be chosen carefully, judiciously, according to their capabilities and desire to study and work diligently. While in China, Archimandrite Petr devoted much of his time and efforts to spreading Orthodoxy, with masses served in Chinese. At this period a college for the children of Albazin families, the Russian cemetery was tidied and put in order. The archimandrite tirelessly enlarged the mission's library and sent books to St. Petersburg, made translations and established contacts with Chinese bureaucrats and with members of other Christian missions in Beijing. Regardless of the fact that in his personal diaries Petr Kamenskii describes his experience in China as negative and assesses it critically, the part he played in the development of the Russian sinology and the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China is huge and can hardly be overestimated.

Zakhar Fedorovich Leontievskii (1799—1874), another prominent sinologist, though unjustly underestimated by both his contemporaries and the later generations, is in the center of the article by Svetlana Shubina (Yaroslavl State University). While a student at the 10<sup>th</sup> Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, Leontievskii seriously studied the Chinese and Manchu languages, compiled several dictionaries, made numerous translations (among them—those needed for Russian merchants). Besides, he collected information about the internal affairs in China, arranged it into a series of journals and sent regularly to the Asia Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other government officials who were interested in this matter. The information he collected was of paramount importance for the Russian government. No less important was his desire to share his knowledge and experience gained in the remote oriental state with public circles and his essays were published in St. Petersburg newspapers and magazines. In the first half of the XIX century Russian orientalism was going through its initial phase, it was only beginning to rise, and a handwritten version of a specialist book could easily meet the needs of scholars, therefore most of his books were never published. This partly explains why his contribution into sinology remains underestimated. Another

[3] "Pravoslavie na Dal' nem Vostokey. 3 vypusk; sbornik statey/ pod redakciey M. N. Bogolyobova. — Sankt-Peterburgskii gosydarstvennii universitet", 2001. — 300 s. Orthodoxy in the Far East. 3 issue. ; Collection of publications/Edited by M. N. Bogolyobov. - St. Petersburg State University, 2001. — 300 p.



explanation can be found in his relations with Iakinif Bichurin whose figure overshadowed Leontievskii, dwarfing his achievements.

“The Church of All Martyrs in Beiguan”, the article by Ksenia Kepping (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies, the Russian Academy of Sciences) acquaints readers with almost unexplored pages of the history of this church in Beijing. In the course of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 the Russian Orthodox mission in Beijing was completely destroyed. During the rebellion and the slaughter of the Christians in the mission, 222 Chinese Christians were killed. To have them buried it was decided to build a church on the place of the demolished church of the mission and give it a name of All Saint Orthodox Martyrs. Services in the church and religious processions of the Cross were held several times a year, on the commemoration day of the Chinese martyrs the crypt-their burial place-was opened. In 1956 when the mission in Beijing was abolished, the Church of all martyrs in Beiguan was blown up. Since then no other buildings have appeared on the territory of the Russian Embassy.

The work of the Young Men Christian Association in the Far East is the topic of the paper by Alexandr Bovkalo (St. Petersburg Theological Academy). In the early XX century the departments of the Young Men Christian Association worked in Siberia and the Far East, in Khabarovsk and Vladivostok. The YMCA was mainly engaged in education and sport activities, the Association organized children festivals, lectures, showed films. With coming of the Soviet rule, the Association moved from the Far East to Manchuria. The department of the YMCA began to function in Harbin in 1918—1919 and its activities were in the focus of debates with the Russian mission in the late 1920s-early 1930s. Some people considered the Association rather harmful for the Russian nationalist movement, while those who tried to defend the organization underlined its cosmopolitan nature. In 1938 the Japanese officials reorganized the work of the gymnasia and college affiliated to the YMCA, and in March 1947 the Chinese authorities closed the Harbin department of the organization. Nowadays there exists an Association Union of those who finished educational establishments of the Harbin department of YMCA, which publishes their periodicals in Sydney, Australia.

The range of the topics discussed as well as the geography of the countries involved widened dramatically, if compared to the previous conferences, at the conference “Orthodoxy in the Far East” held in St. Petersburg in October 17-18, 2003. The most notable outcome of the conference was that it consolidated the results of many years of research conducted by a group of secular scholars and clergy in different cities of Russia. Some of the talks given at the conference were on the topics traditionally pertaining to the history of orthodoxy in China<sup>[4]</sup>.

Vladimir Myasnikov, full member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow), suggested a generalized view on the history of orthodoxy in China in the article titled “Notes on the History of Orthodoxy in China”. He underlines that apprehension of the historical experience of cultural adaptation of Christian belief in China has been one of the oldest issues in the world sinology. The key task for Christian missionaries in China which consists in overcoming religious syncretism typical of the Chinese and their traditional xenophobia is just a part of the universal antagonism between the East and the West in its basic meaning.

Christianity first came to China in the form of the ripe heresy, Christological doctrine of Nestorianism,

[4] There were published result of the conference-4<sup>th</sup> issue of Orthodoxy in the Far East: “Pravoslavie na Dal'nem Vostoke. 4 vypusk: sbornik statey/ pod redakciey M. N. Bogolyobova. — Sankt-Peterburgskii gosydarstvennii universitet”, 2004. — 278 s. Orthodoxy in the Far East. 4 issue: Collection of publications/Edited by M. N. Bogolyobov. - St. Petersburg State University, 2004. — 278 p.

during the Tang dynasty (618—907) brought by merchants of Persian origin. The second wave of Christianity was introduced to China by the Jesuit order that approached the problem of adapting Christianity to Chinese mentality differently, from another angle.

The mid XIX century saw a virtual flow of Protestant missionaries into China who had set up over 100 Protestant organizations by 1932. In the XX century Chinese Catholics acquired institutional and spiritual autonomy (independence), with the state keeping an eye on their activities and using them as a means of establishing strong contacts with Western investors and of maintaining other reforming pursuits.

The second part of Vladimir Myasnikov's paper gives a concise overview of the rising and developing of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing whose activities were not restricted to spreading Christianity in China, but were characterized largely as those oriented to education and research.

The paper by Tatiana Pang (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies, the Russian Academy of Sciences) deals with a number of Manchu documents concerning the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission mainly focusing attention on the material that can reveal everyday problems of the mission. Most of the documents date from the time of the 10<sup>th</sup> mission headed by Archimandrite Petr (Kamenskii), they shed light on such matters as scheduled building works, renting of the premises and lands available, lessons of the mission's students. These documents characterize managerial activity of the mission, its relationships with the Chinese authorities and are of vital importance in studying the everyday private life of the Beijing mission.

In his article "The Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission and the Culture Dialog between Russian and China", Nikolay Samoylov (St. Petersburg State University) lays the stress on the need to look into a wider range of issues which can help to determine the place and role of the Beijing Orthodox mission in establishing and developing spiritual relations between the peoples of Russia and China. The necessity to take different aspects of the mission's activity into consideration when examining the process of socio-cultural interaction in the dialog of the two great cultures-Russian and Chinese - hardly needs stressing. The author of the paper advances several topics for further serious analysis, gives a brief outline of the beginnings and forming of the Beijing mission, acquaints with the main sides of its members' work. The importance of the Beijing Orthodox mission as a channel for cultural interaction between the two neighboring countries is specifically accentuated.

The life and work of A. I. Kulchitskii, a hieromonch of the Beijing Orthodox mission and a hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, is in the center of attention of another paper by Alexandr Khokhlov (the Institute for Oriental Studies, the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow). Hieromonch Alexandr spent in Beijing seven years from 1858 to 1865. In his sojourn there he studied Chinese, customs and traditions of the ethnicities of China, paying special attention to their religious beliefs. These observations resulted in an esteemed article describing marriage customs of the Chinese.

Irina Keydun (the Amur State University, Blagoveshensk) conducts research into another topic connected with the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing. The members of the mission made a careful study of the treatise "Li Ji" ("Records of Rituals") as an integral fundamental component of the Chinese civilization. The missionaries worked with two chapters of the treatise—"Zhong Yong" and "Da Xue". The first translation into Russian was done by A. A. Leontiev, a student of the 3<sup>rd</sup> mission, and was published in 1779 in "Akademicheskiye Issledovaniya" ("Academic research"). There exist handwritten notes that provide convincing evidence that f. Iakin (Bichurin) also worked on the translation of the same chapters and

gave them his interpretation. Later, a member of the 10<sup>th</sup> mission, Daniil Sivillov, suggested his translation of “Da Xue” and “Zhong Yong” “Chung Yung” which was included in to the collection titled “Quatratureuch, or the Love of Wisdom of the Chinese, in Four Parts”. The manuscripts are dated by 1840—1842.

Translations made by O. P. Voitsekhovskii, a medical practitioner of the 10<sup>th</sup> Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing (1821—1830), remained unpublished. In 1847 the same chapters were translated by V. P. Vassiliev, a famous Russian sinologist. All the versions of translations are of high quality and evoke strong interest on the part of foreign sinologists. Most part of the manuscripts, however, is kept in archives and is not open to a wide circle of modern specialists.

The paper presented by Ksenia Speshneva (St. Petersburg State University) introduces into scholarly use a set of documents concerning the fate of Orthodox Chinese who died in Beijing in 1900 during the Yihetuan Movement (Boxer Rebellion). One of the documents is a list of 222 names of the Orthodox Chinese killed in May-July 1900, supplied with their age, gender, marital status and occupation. Along with the list the head of the mission, Archimandrite Innocent sent a request to the Holy Synod asking for permission to fix a memorial date to commemorate the slaughtered Orthodox Chinese and to erect a church on the place of the demolished mission in Beijing. In their positive reply the Synod informed that they saw no hurdle to this (for more detail about the Church of All the Saint Martyrs-see above).

In conclusion to this review we feel safe to state that the four collections of papers which summarize and generalize the work of the five conferences “Orthodoxy in the Far East” can be seen as a notable achievement in sinologist studies. Research done in this field, efforts of the scholars laid the foundation of a complex multifaceted study of the history of Orthodoxy in the Far East and Asia-Pacific countries. Analyzing the activity of the Russian Ecclesiastical missions in the Far East has become an important part in scholarly work of a wide range of schools of thought, scientific centers in Russia<sup>[5]</sup>. This aspect of sinology has gradually attracted specialists in various fields-orientalists, ethnologists, theologians, philosophers, linguists-as well as representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church. The role of the ecclesiastical missions in the life of the peoples and countries of the Far East is beginning to take more clearly-cut shape. A generally expressed opinion is that research in this sphere should become a central topic for deep analytical works, including those of generalizing character.

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[5] Samoylov N. A. Izuchenie istorii rossiiskih duhovnyh missii v stranah Dal' nego Vostoka; osnovnii itogi I perspektivy// Pervie nauchnie chteniya “Universitetskaya nauka b issledovaniya hristianstva”. Sankt-Peterburg, 1999. Str. 20. Samoylov N. A. Studying history of Russian Orthodox missions in the Far East; key results and further perspective//First scientific readings “University science and research on Christianity”. St. Petersburg, 1999. P. 20.

**中文题目：**

**圣彼得堡远东地区东正教学术研讨会对宗教文化研究的重要贡献**

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**提要:** 1990年至2000年,《东正教在远东》学术会议在圣彼得堡大学举行,为宗教文化研究做出了贡献。会议成果发表在同一命题的4部文献上,包括著名汉学家和宗教学者关于各种议题的文章,他们围绕远东基督教发展的跨学科研究发表了各自的观点。

**关键词:** 远东, 东正教, 中国的基督教, 俄罗斯教会差会, 神学差传会议



## Book Review on Wang Xuedian's *Chronicle of the 20th Century Chinese Historiography*

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**Abstract:** Wang Xuedian's *Chronicle of 20th Century Chinese Historiography* is a chronological masterpiece on 20th-century Chinese historiography in recent years. It organizes affairs year by year, deals with historical figures in the order of events, and discusses scholarship through historical figures, reflecting the profiles of 20th-century Chinese historiography in both macroscopic and microscopic perspectives. It unfolds not only the multifaceted historiographical landscape of modern China, but also the socio-ideological context underlying its remarkable changes. Adopting an annalistic format for its cardinal narrative, the *Chronicle* also consorts with a variety of other historiographical genres and is of great significance to philology, academic history, and intellectual history.

**Key Words:** 20th century; Chinese historiography; chronicle; multifaceted

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*Chronicle of the 20th Century Chinese Historiography*, 2 volumes, by Wang Xueidan (editor-in-chief), Cheng Feng, Guo Zhendan and Jiang Meng (compilers), Commercial Press, Beijing, 2014.

The 20th-century China, still tottering in the transition from tradition to modernity, witnessed yet another apogee in academic history since the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. Chinese and Western thoughts intertwined and interacted, bringing about unprecedented cornucopia of new scholarship. Historiography, one of the most noted in academic disciplines, had undergone immense, often “explosive” and “well-blowing,” transformations, the measures and magnitudes equally unprecedented. To give a retrospection to the development of Chinese historiography over the eventful century would be undoubtedly a worthy project. Indeed, enormous enthusiasm and energies had been spent on the endeavor, and some commendable proceedings were out, having enhanced the general public knowledge on the topic. Nevertheless, before 2014, a thorough work that covers the overall progress of the 20th-century historiography had been wanting. The present state in the field of historiographical research dictates that an appropriate genre be adopted to render the full picture on the centennial progress, and chronology is seen as the most ideal choice because of its objectivity and comprehensiveness.

Several chronological compilations on the 20th-century Chinese historiography already exist, but seeking neither creativity nor discovery, they merely excerpted known facts and events from documents of academic history and had them arranged in unadorned chronological formats. Many appear as an addendum to the monograph, their contents sketchy and crude, their accounts erroneous and omissive, and are apt to be styled products of raw-material-collection rather than sophisticated historical writings. This state of underdevelopment did not benefit the hefty status of the 20th-century historiography in the Chinese academic history.

*Chronicle of the 20th-Century Chinese Historiography*, published by the Commercial Press in 2014, makes up for the deficiency. The project is accomplished under the leadership of Wang Xuedian's, a prominent historian at Shandong University and the editor-in-chief of the celebrated academic journal *Literature, History & Philosophy*, who assumes the role of editor-in-chief, and the compiling efforts of three young scholars, Chen Feng and Guo Zhendan from SDU, and Jiang Meng from Renmin University.

Prof. Wang, a pioneer and representative in the realm of contemporary historiography, had authored several works of akin nature such as *The Historical Destiny of the Ideological Trend of Historicism*, *The Mainstream of Historiography in the Latter Half of the 20th Century*, and *The 20th-Century Chinese History Review*, etc. His preponderance is particularly acknowledged in the field of Marxist historiography, for which he has brought out original and important construction on a series of theoretical issues. "Over the past two decades, Wang has published many important works and established himself as an expert on post-1949 Chinese historiography."<sup>[1]</sup> comments Q. Edward Wang, a professor at the University of Rowan and the secretary general of the International Commission for the History and Theory of Historiography.

The *Chronicle*, totaling four volumes and two million words, is divided into two parts: 1900—1949, and 1950-2000. It clusters up affairs year by year, deals with characters in the order of events, and discusses scholarship through characters; in both macroscopic and microcosmic views, it reflects the profiles of the 20th-century Chinese historiography in depth. It seeks extensiveness in selecting materials, highlighting trends and significant currents yet covering as many facets as possible. Lavishing ink on ideologies, events, documents, communities, education, and academic exchanges at home and abroad, it also sheds lights over domestic and international affairs related to historiography, whether they were political, ideological or cultural. Therefore, the *Chronicle* unfolds not only a landscape of the 20th-century Chinese historiography but also a socio-ideological context subterranean to the remarkable changes.

Chronology is a befitting instrument for representing the diachronic and synchronic natures of academic development, as it effectively avoids repetitions; however, the genre also suffers some disadvantages. First, long-term events might be easily disjoined, cut into pieces, and scattered about, the narrative suffering incoherence. Second, many untestable events, due to the obscurity of their happening years and months, are difficult to be positioned, which results in omissions. To make up those known issues, the *Chronicle* adopts annalistic format for its cardinal narrative, but also consorts with a variety of other historiographical genres. It makes the best use of their boons and shuns the pitfalls, records major events in the cardinal narrative using a sequential time order, which Edward Gibbon calls "that infallible touchstone of truth,"<sup>[2]</sup> and renders a complete picture against the backcloth of myriad particulars.

[1] Q. Edward Wang, "Historical Writing in Twentieth-Century China," *Chinese Studies in History*, vol. 45, nos. 2—3, Winter 2011—12/Spring 2012, pp. 3—6.

[2] P. B. Craddock eds., *The English Essays of Edward Gibbon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, p. 507.



The book is a multifaceted, multidimensional representation of the magnificent 20th century which cannot possibly be unfolded linearly. Under the vehemently impacts of the Western disciplinary institutions during the first half of the century, the aged Chinese historiographical establishment was confronted, and faced the needs to reform and reorganize. In the lost era, China's modern historiography was yet to define its academic orientation and disciplinary characteristics. Therefore, the notion "historiography" defined in this book does not fully tally with the concept commonly used presently; it is rather a term of extended connotations. In a sense, its underlying dimensions coincide with that of the "Chinese learning," both covering provinces of history, literature, and philosophy. The literary and philosophical aspects mainly focus on scholarship pertinent to historiography. Studies on the Dream of the Red Chamber, of the Water Margin, and of the Hu Feng incident in literary history, and those on Hu Shih and Feng Youlan in that of philosophy, overlapping immensely with intellectual history, can aptly be seen as within the discipline of historiography. This definition of the parameters of historiography conforms to the unique outlook and actual status of China's academic landscapes in the 20th century.

Unlike most works of academic history, the *Chronicle*, in addition to its disciplinary concerns, also pays heed to historians' life, academic intercourses, and whereabouts they sojourned. In life experience, it focalizes on the scholar's academic biography, including his education at home and abroad, and his teaching activities. In academic intercourses, attention is spent on the communications between scholars, and how schools and factions differed, say, the disputes between the School of New Culture Movement and that of Xueheng. In scholars' mobility, the *Chronicle* mainly records their domestic traveling activities. In the first half of the 20th century, batch migrations happened three times. In 1926 after the occupation of Beijing by the Manchurian warlords, a legion of PKU scholars flew southward to Fujian and Guangdong; in the aftermath of the 1937 Marco Polo Bridge Incident, scholars swarmed to the southwest Sichuan and Yanan, or to the northwest Yan'an; the year 1949 witnessed yet another exodus of intellectuals retreating to Taiwan with the Kuomintang regime. There were flows of individuals, too; Fu Sinian's 1926 entry into Sun Yat-Sen University, Tao Xisheng's 1931 trip from Shanghai to Beijing, and Qian Mu's 1949 withdrawal to Hong Kong. Not irrelevant trifles at all, those individual journeys had immense influence over the geographical distribution of contemporary academic personalities, which deserve no small attention.

The *Chronicle* draws essences from the century-old forerunning studies, but does not rest content with the findings of its predecessors; an embodiment of innovative views and research methods, its values and significances lie in its sophisticated compounding of philology, academic history, and intellectual history into one being.

First and foremost, the *Chronicle* carries vast philological weight. The primary goal of this work is to collect and organize documents of the 20th-century historiography. Through the retrieval of original materials, many hazy accounts are clarified, misplaced historical times rectified, and falsified myths straightened out. For instance, the disputes over the time of the first print of Guo Moruo's *Researches on Ancient Chinese Society* had never received a fair attribution; our editor though, using the earliest edition, settles it to exactness—January 20th, 1930. The initial formulation of the phrasing "fading out thoughts and highlighting academics" in the 1990s is identified as incipiently being proposed in the letter of Li Zehou to the editorial staff of *The Twenty-First Century* bimonthly of Hong Kong in June 1994. The *Chronicle*, having collected many critical historiographical works of the past century, also constitutes a store of bibliographical references. Coming by it, the readers, aside from gaining familiarity with masters, masterpieces, notable events, and famous debates,

may also be amply introduced to essential documents and bibliographies on particular topics of the 20th-century Chinese historiography.

Secondly, the *Chronicle* is a remarkable product of academic history. The unearthed facts, which were buried in ancient dust before, afford a fresh perspective for understanding the engagements of modern academic personalities and schools. The excavation of a great amount of first-hand records, for examples—papers published in Late Qing periodicals such as *Hubei Students*, *Anhui Vernacular Newspaper*, and *Henan*, various local gazetteers, the translated foreign histories in the 1930s under Marxist agenda, and the mass criticism on *People's Daily* promulgated during the Great Cultural Revolution, etc.—provides a treasure trove for researchers in the field.

The editor and compilers seek to uncover overlooked historical facts from original resources, make up deficiencies of preceding researches, retouch the academic pictures drawn by antecedents, and eventually come a new vista of the 20th-century Chinese historiography. Discoveries beget renovated assessments and convictions. The unveiling of certain late Qing historical materials results in a subversive understanding to the outcome of the “New History” revolution, that is, the old school remained robust, and was to demonstrate its potency in the upcoming project of the compilation of the *Qing History Draft*. Again, the excavating of *Literature and History*, a journal founded in 1962 to release raw materials and articles of textual studies brings out a perception on the tenacious survival of the higher textual criticism tradition in the post-1949 environment of Marxism. Shunning a simplistic view, the *Chronicle* establishes itself in multi-dimensional perspectives which lead to compound interpretation and profiling of varied historic phrases.

The third significance of this work lies in intellectual history. Though by nature a chronicle of historiography, historiographical concerns constituting its main body, it nevertheless also deals with intellectual cases which have shaped the progress of historiography. The work amply reflects an assortment of ideological movements, which include but are not limited to: the debates over science and the view of life, the Chinese cultural base, the mass criticism on Hu Shi, Hu Feng, Lin Biao and Confucius, the campaign to review Legalism and condemn Confucianism, the open public discussion on criterion of truth, and the Chinese Culture Rush in the 1990s. Upon opening this book, the readers could readily access the spectacle of the intellectual landscapes and discern what alteration it had gone through in the past 100 years. The ideological and cultural settings, and in where derives the momentum for historiographical evolution, are situated under their eyes.

The publication of the *Chronicle* has been enthusiastically received by China's academic circles. Chen Zuwu, a researcher at the Institute of History of CASS, calls it “an academic masterpiece,” and predicts that “its overall impacts over academics will grow as time goes by.” Yang Qingcun, former deputy director of the National Social Science Planning Office, impressed by its voluminousness, the invaluable academic spirits it upholds and the far-reaching influence it exerts, hails the compilation as “a key, foundational project which advances the studies of Chinese historiography in the 20th century.” He also pronounces it “an actual deed rendered by the academia to glorify the time-honored tradition of Chinese historiography.” Zhang Guangzhi, professor at Fudan University, remarks more vividly: “‘Sunrise is not caused by crowing, but crowing does remind of the sunrise!’ Shall we put it this way: it is the *Chronicle* that reminds us of the sunrise.” Professor Zhang also holds that “in the academic history of modern China, the *Chronicle* is a cardinal work which adopts the chronological form to exhibit the progress of historiography in the 20th century.”

Prof. Qu Lin Dong of Beijing Normal University believes that by reading this book, one not only beholds

the panorama of the 20th-century historiography but also positions himself on the forefront of the field, a vantage point for discovering unsolved problems, which opens up opportunities to reclaim virgin soil. Prof. Chen Qitai from Beijing Normal University points out that the content of this book is not limited to historiography, the inclusion of “Chinese learning” rendering it encyclopedic. Prof. Meng Xiangcai of Shandong University believes that the work has adequately demonstrated the engagement of politics and history and accurately outlined the connection between methods and achievements of historiography. Prof. Meng approves the work for its balanced pen in rendering intertwined relationships between and among scholars, schools, and academic proceedings; key points are highlighted, general accounts given well-proportioned length, and narrative and chronology joined seamlessly. Professor Wu Huaijun of Beijing Normal University gives accolades to two distinctive features of the book. First, the inheritance of the fine tradition of *History As A Mirror*, in which touches of multiple hands do not conflict with statements of a single school. The editor has not only a sense of responsibility but also that of dialectical thinking which runs through the entire compilation. Therefore, says Professor Wu, the practices are worthy of academic emulation. Second, in format the work draws wisdom from the national tradition of history writing, that is, to take chronology as the backbone, but not a confinement; genres of Subject Outlines (*gangmu*) and biography are as well sampled. Inheriting and innovating at the same time, the *Chronicle* is as much reflective of the editor's independent thought as it is pioneering in historiographical frontiers. These attempts give the academic community inspiration, and incentive to ponder over how to enhance the construction of national historiography. Prof. Wang Dong of East China Normal University maintains that the editor, “transforming the venal into the wonderful,” breathes new life into the traditional form of annals, and that his wise choice of the chronological framework maximizes its accommodation of historical phenomena.

In short, the *Chronicle* is a substantial work on modern Chinese historiography in recent years. It takes in all voices and views, provides an essential instrument for researchers of modern Chinese academic history and historiography, and is of critical reference value to the disciplines of intellectual history, philosophical history, literary history, and philology. Of course, problems and deficiencies exist, the most noticeable being that, the *Chronicle*, however exhaustive and comprehensive, cannot possibly be all-embracing in documenting every fabric of a discipline, to say nothing multiple interdisciplinary subjects. The editor, having to represent some happenings with others in the compilation, must make choices to discard and dispense; he lacks the space, and occasionally discernment, to have all essential profiles included in the work. There might be omissions—sometimes important ones—due to personal prejudices or preferences. This, however, is an universal predicament that every editor of such a colossal work has to face.

中文题目:

《二十世纪史学编年》评述

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## 《国学与西学：国际学刊》 (中英文双语半年刊)

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黄保罗 Huang Baoluo,《汉语学术神学》Hanyu xueshu shenxue [Sino-Christian Academic Theology],(北京 Beijing:宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [Religion and Culture Press],2008),155-159。

Paulos Huang, *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation: A Systematic Theological Analysis of the Basic Problems in the Confucian-Christian Dialogue*, (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2009), 88-89.

#### 2、编著 Compiled works:

罗明嘉 Luo Mingjia、黄保罗 Huang Baoluo 主编,《基督宗教与中国文化》Jiduzongjiao yu zhongguo wenhua [Christianity and Chinese Culture],(北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Sciences Press],2004),155。

Miikka Ruokanen & Paulos Huang, eds., *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: Eerdmans,2010),3.

#### 3、译著 Translated literature:

麦克·阿盖尔 Maik Agaiier,《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, *Gushu zhenwei jiqi niandai* [The Genuinity of Chinese Ancient Books and their Dates], (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1923), 20.

#### 5、文集中的文章 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——上海玉佛寺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 cai 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 celue: 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:

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#### 9、学位论文 Dissertations:

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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 Hisotry 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、华人姓名写法 Writing of Chinese personal names:

如果华人拥有外文名字, 则按西文方式名前姓后, 如: Paulos Huang; 若只有中文名字, 则按中国方式姓前名后, 如: Zhuo Xinping 等。If a Chinese person uses the Westernized first name, his name can be written in this way: Paulos Huang; but if he ONLY uses the Chinese name, it must be written in the Chinese way, for instance: Zhuo Xinping, etc.

#### 14、其他 Others:

河北省地方志编纂委员会 Hebei sheng difangzhi bianzhuang 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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