

卷首语 From the Editor's Desk

从传统与自由的关系来看基督教对当代中国的意义^①

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决定中国当代社会的主要思潮,除去官方的中国特色社会主义和政治色彩极浓的新左派之外,强调复兴传统的国学热、与强调自由、平等、民主、人权和市场经济的自由主义是两股最有影响力者。而国学热往往与民族主义紧密相连,自由主义则又被笼统地视为西学的代表,两者的相遇很容易陷入非理性的中西之争,而忽略西学内部自由主义与基督教之间的合作却又冲突的复杂关系。因此,从传统与自由之间的关系来看基督教对于当代中国的意义,对于中西相遇及中国社会各思潮之间的关系处理,都非常重要。

所谓传统,它是人们用来界定人类发展历程的相对性概念,与其相对的是现代,其核心特点是强调时间纬度的历时性与强调空间的广泛性。它几乎被使用到人类活动的每个领域;如,传统思想、传统行为、传统文化、传统技术方法等。传统是以前时代留下的一种文化、观念或行为模式,后代可以超越传统的习俗和限制,但却无法无视其存在,因此,它往往会成为个人、民族或国家的身份认同之一个组成部分。关于中国传统的本质,学者历来有众说纷纭的观点,^②笔者认为,注重此世的实用主义和强调极权的世俗主义是其核心。虽然强调神秘的道家(道教)与强调万物皆空的佛教为中国传统赋予了形而上的特色,但这只是中国的小传统而已;真正起主导作用的中国大传统是强调此世秩序的儒家,它不仅代表了民间日用而不知的以孝为核心的价值观念,而且代表了政治上以忠为特点的极权观念。

① 本文根据笔者的学术报告提要的部分内容撰写而成,见黄保罗 Huang Baoluo 2013:“从传统与自由之间的关系来看基督教对于当代中国的意义 Cong chuantong yu ziyou zhijian de guanxi lai kan jidujiao duiyu dangdai zhongguo de yiyi” [The Significance of Christianity to Contemporary China in the light of the Relationship between Tradition and Liberty],中国神学论坛第六届研讨会 Zhongguo shenxue luntan diliujie yantaohui (Forum of Chinese Theology Sixth Annual Symposium) 2013年8月20-25日 英国牛津差传研究中心 Niujin chaichuan yanjiu zhongxin (Oxford Center of Mission Studies)、牛津大学威克里夫学院 Niujin daxue Weikelifu xueyuan (Wycliff Hall of Oxford University) “基督教与当代中国社会思潮 Jidujiao yu dangdai Zhongguo shehui sichao [Christian Faith and Ideological Trends in Contemporary China]”。

② 张岱年 Zhang Dainian 1984:“论中国文化的基本精神 Lun Zhongguo wenhua de jiben jingshen [On the basic spirit of Chinese culture]”,《中国文化研究集刊》Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu jikan [The Collection of Studies on Chinese culture] 第1辑,复旦大学出版社出版 Fudan daxue chubanshe [Fudan University Press]。张岱年 Zhang Dainian 1986:“文化传统与民族精神 Wenhua chuantong yu minzu jingshen” [Cultural tradition and national spirit],《学术月刊》Xueshu yuekan [Academy Monthly]1986年第12期。许思园 Xu Siyuan 1984:“论中国文化二题 Lun Zhongguo wenhua erti” [Two themes on Chinese culture],《中国文化研究集刊》Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu jikan [Collection of Studies on Chinese culture] 第1辑,复旦大学出版社出版 Fudan daxue chubanshe [Fudan University Press]。杨宪邦 Yang Xianbang 1987:“对中国传统文化的再评价 Dui Zhongguo chuantong wenhua de zai pingjia” [Re-review on Chinese Traditional Culture],载张立文 Zhang Liwen 等主编:《传统文化与现代化》Chuantong wenhua yu xiandaihua [Traditional culture and modernization],中国人民大学出版社出版 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China]。丁守和 Ding Shouhe 1987:“中国传统文化试论 Zhongguo chuantong wenhua shilun” [An attempt of study on Chinese traditional culture],《求索》Qiusuo [Seeking] 1987年第四期。

虽然,儒家的渊源可以追溯到《五经》背后的上帝与天的形而上根基,但自从秦汉以来,在中国历史上真正发挥主流影响的儒家,已经世俗化为注重此世的思想体系;虽然理学与心性之学结合了佛道元素,但其注重实用与此世而缺乏有神论的形而上特征已经固定了下来。因此,真理与终极不再处于遥不可及的彼岸,而是被拉到了人间的精英、君子、圣人与君王的手中。这种强调有序和极权的思维模式占据了中国的社会制度与国人的心理,因此,当极权面临挑战时,它无法从形而上的层面为自己找到辩护的理论根基,便只有采取法家及暴力的强制性来维护自己。

历经洋务运动、戊戌变法、五四运动、三民主义与共产主义的发展,中国的传统在制度、心理与观念的层面,都被迫进入了以自由主义为核心特征的全球化现代之中。在这种语境中,中国的传统与自由主义之间的冲突,成了最主要的矛盾。为了解决这个矛盾,民族主义常常被错误地借用为维护中国传统与抵挡自由主义的工具。

自由的英语为 liberty,拉丁语词为 liber。^③ 自由主义(Liberalism)是以自由为核心价值的思想流派之集合的意识形态和哲学,^④其定义可以多种多样,表现更是千姿百态,如政治自由、思想自由、言论自由、经济自由、财产自由等等。^⑤

就本质而言,自由的核心如《法国人权宣言》第4条所说:“自由即有权做一切无害于他人的任何事情”。这里的第一个要点是主张个人拥有自治权。第二个要点是隐含在上述语句中的人有从“任何事情”中判断出什么是“无害于他人”的能力。就第一点自治权来说,自由又可分为绝对自由与相对自由。在理论上随心所欲的绝对自由是存在的,但从人类的实践历史而言,因为人必须生活在由众人组成的社会中而无法避免责任,因此,绝对自由在实践中是不存在的。正如卢梭所说:“人生而渴望自由,却无时无刻不在枷锁之中”。这就涉及到自由的第二个要点即人是否有能力判断什么是“无害于他人”的问题。18世纪从法国开始的“自由思想者”(Free Thinkers)们开始强调理性,反对以传统与启示作为信仰的最后依据、反对从信仰与宗教的视角来讨论自由。19世纪初德国哲学家康德将自由、上帝、不朽放在本质界(即超越纯理性)的范围,认为人凭理性无法完全认识自由的本质。基督教则从神启的圣经视角来看自由的本质,并主张:神是自主者、启示者和真理;神启示的话语与其本质是相同的

③ Gross, Jonathan. *Byron: the erotic liberal*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001, p. 5.

④ Coady, C. A. J. *Distributive Justice, A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, editors Goodin, Robert E. and Pettit, Philip. Blackwell Publishing, 1995, p. 440. “一般而言,‘自由主义’被定义为一种拥护自由的社会伦理。” Lord Acton说:“自由并不是一种为了达成最终政治目标的手段,它本身就是政治的最终目标。”蒂托·李维 Titus Liwei (Titus Livius, 前 59 年 - 17 年)在其《罗马史》Luomashi [Roman history] 中、奥列利乌斯 Aolieliwusi (Marcus Aurelius, 121 - 180)在其《沉思录》Chensilu [Meditation] 对庶民相贵族取自由的政治都有所提及。但直到中世纪为止,这种对自由的追求都没有取得非常明显的成就与影响。直到文艺复兴人文主义时期,这种争取自由的政治斗争才又重新开始,而且是以自由城市国家对罗马天主教极权的反对为特征的,马基亚维利 Majiyaweili (Niccolò Machiavelli, 1469 - 1527)在《论李维》Lun Liwei [On Livius] 中论述了共和制政府的原则,而英国的洛克 Luoke (John Locke, 1632 - 1704)与法国的启蒙思想家卢梭等人的论述,才促进了自由主义的本质性发展;特别是 1776 - 1788 年间在吉本 Jiben (Edward Gibbon, 1737 - 1794)等人的使用下,“自由”一词才逐渐脱离贬义的内涵而转变为“容忍、免于歧视的自由”。自由主义开始产生明确的定义,是在提出了“自由的个人能够组成稳定社会的根基”的概念以后。这又得益于洛克 Luoke (John Lock 1632 - 1704)首先在《政府契约论》Zhengfu qiyuelun [Two Treatises on Government] 中提出了两个基本的自由概念:经济自由(任拥有和运用财产的权利)以及知识上的自由(包括道德观的自由)。使得这些概念成了影响英国辉哥党人追求选择君王之权、美国独立战争(American War of Independence 或 American Revolution, 1775 - 1783)、法国大革命(Révolution française, 1789 - 1799)的理论根基。

⑤ 英国的霍布豪斯(Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, 1864 - 1929)在其著作《自由主义》中专门论述了洛克(John Lock)、卢梭(Jean - Jacques Rousseau, 1712 - 1778)与潘恩(Thomas Paine, 1737 - 1809)的天赋自由,边沁(Jeremy Bentham, 1748 - 1832)的最大快乐原则的自由,以及科布登的放任主义的自由概念,并且详细介绍了自由主义的诸要素,如公民自由、财政自由、人身自由、社会自由、经济自由、家庭自由地方自由、种族自由和民族自由、国际自由、政治自由和人民主权,分别参见霍布豪斯 Huobuhaosi [Hobhouse]、朱曾文 Zhu Zengwen 译 2009:《自由主义》Ziyou zhuyi [Liberalism], 北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan, 页 24 - 37, 38 - 49 和 8 - 23。

和绝对的,因为主的道就是真理及其本体(约 8:31-32; 14:6)。为了更好地分析二者之间的关系,笔者将自由分成意志自由、行为自由与结果自由三个方面。二者的关系之理想状态是:从意志上人类可以自我支配,从行为上人类凭借自由意志而行动,但在结果上人类必须为自身的行为而负责。因此,自治权虽然是广泛得到人类认可的自由之核心,而判断能力则受到人性本质的局限、行动能力则受到结果上的限制。

所以,在全球化的自由主义语境中,中国传统之类的非西方社会,虽然无法反对自由主义理论中所强调的自治权,但它们在判断能力与行动能力上对自由主义的挑战,往往是切中其弊端的。也就是说,西方的自由主义所判断的“无害于他人”的结论与实践中所从事的“有益于他人”的行为,往往不一定能得到中国等社会的认可与支持。于是在后发民族与国家中兴起的“非西方化的现代化”及“××特色的××主义”等等,就是这种体现。

中国大陆的国学热之兴起,从时间的视角而言,是对现代化所造成的消极影响的反抗与纠正;可其本质却与空间视角的西学的挑战密切相关,因为中国的现代化历程以及对现代性的理解与定位,都与西学的进入中国密不可分。

因此,从上述传统与自由之间的关系而言,我们可以探讨基督教对于当代社会的积极意义。从理论上来说,在中国传统看来,基督教是西学的一个部分,而基督教自身则强调其超越时间与空间的普世性。从实践上来说,基督教在过去两千年的历史中是西学中的领袖与重要组成部分,但在中世纪之前的历史中,西方社会不但受到基督教的影响,而且受到罪性的人类传统之影响;自从文艺复兴和启蒙运动以来,强调理性的自由主义则是以基督教作为敌对面而兴起的,虽然其平等与自由的思想来源于基督教。因此,不能简单地把基督教当成西学的代表,因为在西学的传统内部,基督教与强调理性的自由主义之间充满了合作与矛盾;我们也不能简单地认为基督教与中国传统是冲突的,因为从普世性的视角而言,基督教与中国对传统的强调之间拥有极大的共容空间与合作可能性。因此,论及基督教对于当代中国的积极意义,我们至少需要注意两个方面。

一方面,基督教代表着对终极和绝对的上帝极权之传统的坚持与维护。这与强调秩序与传统的中国国学热之间有很多的共通之处,双方可以在极权与权威的必要性、伦理道德的建设与世俗主义的消极性、以及秩序和稳定的必要性等方面充分探讨合作的可能性。但是,基督教将“极权与绝对”归于精神彼岸的上帝而不是此世的精英、君子、君王或圣人,则在认识论与实践论的层面,可以帮助我们探讨错误与失败的可能性。

另一方面,基督教与强调理性的自由主义之间有着明显的张力。这主要体现在对人类认识和判断“有害”与否的能力与实践“有益”之事的的能力上,虽然基督教与自由主义一样强调人的自治权。这对于中国语境中的自由主义者回应中国传统主义者的挑战,应当有一定的帮助。而且我们需要注意到,基督教代表着上帝面前人人平等和自由的现代性思维,它与自由主义又有着密切的相通之处。

盲目的民族主义^⑥不仅无法通过传统来克服自由主义的消极性,而且会错误地把基督教与自由主义等同起来。传统与自由并非天然地决不相容,国学与西学都有其局限性,认识了这些本质特征之后,我们就会发现,基督教不仅在克服过分依赖理性的自由主义上,而且在过分强调儒家传统的乐观人性论上,都有极大的矫正和弥补意义。

本期“国学、西学与神学栏目”刊发了中央民族大学哲学与宗教学学院何其敏教授的“在多样背景

^⑥ 印度诗人泰戈尔曾经说:“民族概念是人类发明的一种最强烈的麻醉剂。在这种麻醉剂的作用下,整个民族可以实行一套最恶毒的利己主义计划,而一点也意识不到他们在道义上的堕落——实际上,如果有人指出,他们会感到非常恼怒。”见泰戈尔 Taigee [Rabindranath Tagore] 著、谭仁侠 Tan Renxia 译 2010:《民族主义》*Minzu zhuyi* [Nationalism],北京 Beijing:商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan,页 23。

中理解国学”，与云南民族大学副校长张桥贵教授的“多元宗教和谐与冲突”。前文根据作者发表于第二届“北欧国学与西学论坛”上的报告而撰写，特别从多民族文化的视角探讨了国学；后文根据作者在第十届“北京论坛”上的报告而撰写，从云南多元宗教关系视角探讨了多元宗教之和谐与冲突的理论。“实践神学与中西教会和社会栏目”收录了山东大学哲学与社会发展学院、犹太教与跨宗教研究中心赵杰教授的“‘圣地’曲阜宗教‘生态’调研报告之一”，与广州暨南大学文学院陈焕强的“当代中国大陆网络基督徒社群研究”。前文根据作者在第二届“北欧国学与西学论坛”上的报告而撰写，以社会调查为基础而探讨了以儒教与基督教关系为例的曲阜宗教生态；后文是获得第一届中芬天使学术论文奖二等奖的论文，从多媒体的视角探讨了当代中国大陆的网络基督徒社群。“中西经典与圣经栏目”收录了浙江大学人文学院副教授梁慧博士的“中国现代基督徒知识分子是如何读圣经的？”与中国人民大学国学院副教授吴莉苇博士的“视角转换与经典的诠释”。前文的探讨以吴雷川与赵紫宸处理《圣经》的原则与方法为例，后文则从新教传教士对儒学与一神教之关系的讨论研究了汉学典范转移。“教会历史与中西社会栏目”收录了中国中山大学中文系、美国哈佛燕京学社客座研究员姚达兑的“晚年马礼逊与儒耶争胜”与四川大学宗教所王东的“民初基督教救国运动个案研究”。前文以《古圣奉神天启示道家训》一书为中心进行探讨，后文的探讨是以张之江《证道一助》为例而进行的。“比较宗教文化研究栏目”收录了芬兰赫尔辛基天主教会神父鲁道夫·拉仁兹(Rudolf Larenz)的“物理学需要第二次科学革命吗？”与山东大学哲学与社会发展学院原春燕的“离念与恩典”。前文是科学与神学之间的对话而主要探讨了基督教促进物理学基础问题的解决，后文主要对佛教、基督教对信仰偏执问题的解构力进行了研究。“书评与通讯栏目”，首先收录了中国神学论坛秘书长王文峰对第五届中国神学论坛美国波士顿研讨会的综述“基督信仰与 21 世纪的中国”。其次收录了西北师范大学历史文化学院尚季芳和赵赫依的“一部研究边疆医疗卫生史的力作：《医疗与布道：中华基督教会在川康边地的医疗服务研究》评介”。最后是香港中文大学崇基学院神学院王志希的“作为‘中国经验之产儿’的自由主义神学？——读 Lian Xi’s *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907 - 1932*”一文。

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English Title:

**The Significance of Christianity to Contemporary China
in the light of the Relationship between Tradition and Liberty**

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

在多样背景中理解国学

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提要:讨论国学,因为关注的角度不同就有不同的定义,也有不同倾向的努力。本文认为,在传统中国,儒术之尊非汉族或华夏民族之取向,更在于传统中国“天下观”的国家整体文化的建构。国学,既是中国的基础文化,也是一种国家文化。它是各个民族文化的统和的总结,是一种政治文化的建构。我们既可以将中国的多种文化纳入学术研究的视野,也应该将民间实践层面的行为纳入思考的范围。国学与西学关系的研讨,将国学研究带入全球化的语境,所以,我们更需要关注传统国学活动对于人的“意义”,中国国学的“载体”应该被更多地注意。

关键词:国学、多元文化研究、民间传统

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本届国学与西学北欧论坛选择了,“从中国崛起之全球化语境看基督教在中国大国学中的角色”非常有意思,它将具有世界宗教特征的,即,强调普世原则的宗教与在呈现中国独特文化的治人、治世理论,放在全球化的语境中理解,它需要我们反思的既有普世原则的基督教与全球化语境的对接,也有这些普世价值与中国特色文化的关系;同时,更有对中国国学的价值的反思。

我本人对目前学界在国学研究方面的进路不是十分熟悉,因为参与讨论,就阅读了一些小的文章,发现在讨论国学问题的时候,学者们对今天中国社会经济发展而文化建设难以跟进的现状,因此而重提国学都有共识,但叙事思路不尽一致。有的学者认为,“国学”是“一个国家民族所成之共同体的根本常道之学也,是这个民族文化的传统所成之学。甚至,它不只是一个知识的广度,而是一个能力。能力是什么?一个东西来了,你能读。”“国学更是一种能力,一种文化生长创造的能力。”^①大陆学者陈明则主张“广义的国学,与汉学内涵外延相接近,是指有关中国的各种学问及其研究,……狭义的国学则主要是指儒家学说主张。”作为一种人文学,国学的目标“不是寻找或建立一个知识系统,而是维护或建构一种生活方式。”^②比较两者,同一个版面,一个在讨论如何使国学深入人心,另一个更强调国学在今天的意义。我的讨论则是从我研究的田野经验出发探讨国学在中国传统社会的作用;全球化、或者现代化语境中对“国学”理解;最后会举一个例证讨论如何理解基督教在中国社会的角色。

^① 引自林安梧 Lin Anwu, “经典之为经典,原不离生活” Jingdian zhi wei jingdian, yuan bu likai shenghuo [Classics can not be apart from daily life], 载于《南方周末》*Nanfang Zhoumo* [South Weekend], (2011年12月20日“2011年度国学特刊”)。

^② 参见陈明 (Chen Ming), “重新出发,回归国学的本质 Chongxin chufa, huigui guoxue de benzhi”, [Returning to the Essence of Guoxue], 载于《南方周末》*Nanfang Zhoumo* [South Weekend], (2011年12月20日“2011年度国学特刊”)。

一、国学在中国传统社会的作用

2012年夏天我到中国的少数民族地区做调查,曾经听到有人对国学、或者儒学的提法发表不同的意见:有人将中国的文化形容为一条龙,特别提到儒释道三教是龙的主体,那么,我们少数民族的文化就是龙的哪一部分呢?龙触须?龙的鳍?中国文化中的主次之分使得一些边疆地区的少数民族不满意。那么,这种主次之分是否存在?

我曾经有机会参观西南民族大学民族博物馆,那里有一本彝族的算命书,图片部分很难与汉族的服饰分开,而查找命运页码的程序是以“石头”的颠倒牵动绳子,选择出相应的图页。正是“石头”引起了与我同去的藏族教授的兴趣,他一直奇怪,为藏族人算命的“……”在举行法事时也常念“石头”,但他们并没有拿着石头。是否跟这种算命方式有关?

从我们对民族地区文化的田野研究看,中国的地域特点存在边地与中心的关系,但因为三个条件,使得他们融合度相当高。

1. 地理差异造成生产方式的差异和特点,导致了人们在生活中必须互通有无。正是因为中国的地理特征差距大,物资流通成为必然。比如,游牧地区以肉食为主,他们所需要的维生素大多由内地的“茶”帮助解决(在藏族地区有酥油茶、蒙古族地区有奶茶),宗教信仰方面不主张杀生的民族需要有可以“杀生”的民族帮助解决食肉问题,不擅长商业和手工业的民族也需要擅长这些方面的人来帮助自己。在藏族地区,很多回族就与藏族保持着相互合作的关系。

2. 地理的差异为什么没有阻隔交流,反而是加强了交流?还有一个重要的条件,就是中国国家的历史。在世界几个文明中,印度的文化、犹太民族的文化和中国文化有悠久的历史,中间都没有中断,因此“信仰文化发展的前后相续、有因有革”。但与其它两个文化相比较,中国文化一直有强大的国家载体,在整个国家土地上,各个民族因为生产生活的关系都有很多交流,而且在政府的推动下这种交流在民间一直流畅。

3. 自然环境和没有中断历史的国家形态,加之中国的宗法性传统宗教(在民族地区也一样有对家族的依赖),中国以农业生产为主,游牧部落的生态也是以家族为基本的,都保证着中国的基本文化关系和文化生态的特色具有一体的多样性。中国长期稳固的产生方式和社会稳定的联系方式使得中国的治国学问建立在既有的社会基层网络的建构和保障方面。

在这个意义上,由牟钟鉴教授提出来的“宗法性传统宗教”^③可能不仅仅指华夏民族,因为这个宗教形态,将自然的血缘关系变成一种社会关系,以此为纽带,将社会中的各个家族乃至每个人,都纳入一个层层相递的宗族网中。一个人在宗教祭祀活动中的地位,要由他在宗法等级制度中的地位来决定。这个宗法血缘组织的功能是多重的:当它行使宗教祭祀功能时,它是作为宗教组织在起作用。在世俗经济生活中它可以显现出作为社会组织的特性。成为中国传统社会维系社会宗法关系、稳定人际关系、巩固社会等秩序的重要途径。而在这个传统背后有着中国儒家文化的理论支撑。

在中国,以孔子为代表的儒学以修身为出发点,以平治天下为最后归宿。主要讨论做什么样的人,如何做人,如何修身济世、通过成贤成圣实现对国家、天下的抱负,实现对个体生命的超越。儒学在西汉之后被历代王朝奉为独尊至上的“国家哲学”,作为传统中国的主流意识形态,它是对传统宗法制度所做的人文理论的表述。

因此,我认为,正是“国”与“家”的长期关联,使得中国文化在多样性中维持着一体的关系。也形

^③ 周燮藩、牟钟鉴等著 Zhou Xiefan, Mo Zhongjian, et al., 《中国宗教纵览》 Zhongguo zongjiao zonglan [An Extensive Introduction to Chinese Religions], (南京 Nanjing:江苏文艺出版社 Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe, 1992年), 14。

成了“修身、齐家、治国、平天下”的、强调个人修养与国家、天下的逻辑递进关系的儒家文化、或者国学理论的基本精神。

如果将“国学”作为宗法性传统宗教的理论支撑,则我认为,在传统中国,儒术之尊非汉民族或华夏民族之取向,更在于传统中国“天下观”的国家整体文化的建构。国学,既是中国的基础文化,也在一定意义上是一种国家文化,它并不单属于哪个民族。它是各个民族文化的统和的总结,是一种政治文化的建构,其中蕴含了政治权力、文化权力的表达。因此,我很赞赏“大”国学的提法,一方面这个提法可以将中国的多种文化纳入学术研究的视野,另一方面,可以将民间实践层面的行为纳入思考的范围。这第二个方面也是我的下一个问题。

二、全球化语境中的国学

曾经有一位非常喜欢传统文化的学生问我,中国传统文化如何实现现代价值?我的回应是,传统文化的价值是为中国历史证明了的,毋庸置疑。但如果你不能很好的理解现代中国的民间对这种传统的理解和实践,你的关注就会始终停留在传统的优越感和回忆当中。重复古人并不是振兴中国国学之路。西方的文艺复兴,带动了思想的启蒙和“新世界”的构建,因此,认真思考五四时期的批判,可以帮助我们更好地走出基于传统文化的复兴之路。

如果说,当人类生活以血缘关系、地缘关系为主要归属范围的时候,宗族、部落、社区都是社会的主要代表,中国国学对社会整合的指导价值十分突出。在今天的社会生活当中,国学与现代社会的适应是引起人们的思考的关节点。传统的价值之所以被热切地提起,就是因为社会高速发展的过程在改变原有的社会结构组织,原有的社会关系,实际上也在动摇人们的基本生活准则、道德原则。即,当现代社会结构变得多元化和多层化,人口流动、迁徙成为社会的主要特点,人群的归属处于“碎片化”,即多样选择的时候,我们的价值观需要更新,需要改变,需要跟上时代的步伐。原来的中国宗法宗教强调“个体、家、国”关系与强调个体与神灵的拯救关系的基督教存在一定的张力,但这种张力在强调个体多样化选择的今天,开始弱化。但并不表明中国传统文化失去市场。

对社会发展的回应,中国民间采取了对传统宗教的更多关注,一些民族群体正在借助传统信仰的发掘增加民族群体的凝聚力,正在使得它从一种文化性的资本转化为重新构建社会网络、社会关系和生活秩序的资源。在中国广西壮族地区近十年间,每年都举行规模宏大的始祖神布罗陀的祭祀大典,牟钟鉴先生对此的评价是,“布洛陀信仰的复兴是一种比较典型的民族宗教信仰文化重构的社会现象,反映了传统的复苏、民众的需要和时代的特点。”其中反映了传统宗教在象征和凝聚力方面的多重意义。

在中国圣人孔子的家乡有一个尼山世界文明论坛(简称“尼山论坛”),它以开展世界不同文明对话为主题,以弘扬中华文化、促进中外文化交流、推动建设和谐世界为目的,学术性与民间性、国际性与开放性相结合的国际文化学术交流活动。(首届尼山论坛开展儒家文明与基督教文明的对话。主题是“和而不同与和谐世界”,口号是“和谐·仁爱·诚信·包容”。)尼山论坛^④体现的主要是精英的呼吁与思考,更立足于国际视野下的中国传统文化。

福建霞浦民间有一个儒学实践研究会,这个研究会章程对研究会宗旨的表述为:弘扬中国儒家思想文化,让孔子创立的儒学从国学大师书斋走向农村实践,为推动社会主义新农村精神文明建设,构

^④ 资料来源:http://www.nishan.org.cn/sjlt/201009/t20100915_5847341.html,尼山世界文明论坛 Nishan shijie wenming luntan [Nishan Forum of World Civilizations]。

建和谐社会做贡献。^⑤ 它们以儒家道坛的形式,通过引导百姓背诵《弟子规》、《三字经》等,指导乡村百姓实践儒家的主张。这两种振兴儒学的路径正是传统文化对现代生活的价值之“应该”与“实践”之间的双重价值。这个理论与礼俗的两个实现传统文化与现代社会对接的路径,可以实现学者的文化定位与民间的实践推进的双重进步。这种双重路径也充分体现了中国国学传统注意宗教的精神价值和社会建构价值并进的特点。柔性的神道设教并非仅仅关乎思想,更关乎礼仪习俗如何塑造、传承着思想,使得思想有礼仪的载体和依靠。而将顶层设计与民间动机结合的思考,可以使我们能够更深刻的掌握,在中国的全球化语境中,有关传统国学活动对人而言的“意义”。

三、基督教与国学的关系

作为本次论坛的一个主语,“中国崛起之全球化语境”非常有创意,这个创意在于我们一般讨论全球化语境时,常常是把中国作为一个比较被动的顺应者,或者是适应全球化的一个文化存在,但今天的主题强调了,中国的崛起也是全球化语境的一个部分,更有甚者,是全球化语境裹挟了中国的发展,或者在一定程度上,中国是“被发展”。对西方国家来说,中国的崛起就是他们的全球化语境的一个部分,而且是似乎还是充满“威胁”的一个部分,因为中国的崛起会改变世界的利益格局、权利格局。在此,我只想讨论中国人的想法。

在中国的云南省有一个几乎全民信仰基督教的傣僳族群体,我的一位学生记述了她看见的一次“混合文化”的葬礼。那个葬礼在滇中北元谋县姜驿乡。

清晨,寂静的山林被断续的鞭炮声打破,在田间的山路上,出现了一支几百人的队伍,八个人抬着一口棺材走在前面,后面是由男女老少组成的送葬队伍,队伍中穿插着三位手风琴手,边走边弹奏着乐曲。死者是贡茶村的一位老妇人,她生前是个基督徒,家中所有的人都信教。

葬礼仪式由牧师主持,院中央停放着棺材,三个女人(其中一个死者的女儿,另外两个是侄女)围着棺材边哭边用傣僳语唱着《悲调》。上午8:10所有人在风琴手的伴奏下用傣僳语唱起了颂主诗歌,^⑥完后长老宣布仪式正式开始,其他人都站起共同祷告,共道“阿门”。接着长老的儿子雍学士宣布送人的时间,并要求大家再次共同祷告,共道“阿门”。讲道开始,……。上午9:00开始又一轮的颂主诗歌,连着唱了两首,完毕后由一位老年信徒代表引领众人共同为死者祷告,共道“阿门”,家中丧葬仪式结束。随着管事宣布抬棺出门,八个孝子拿着麻绳将棺材捆绑好,然后用胳膊粗的竹竿抬起,送出家门。几乎全村的人都赶来为老人送行,浩浩荡荡的队伍出发了。

陈徐慧指出,虽然在教职人员和所有教徒看来这样的丧葬仪式是纯粹的基督徒葬礼,但仍能从中看到传统的习俗在葬礼上所打下的深刻烙印:“断续的鞭炮声”、“悲调”、“孝布”、“孝子”、“全村人在死者家吃猪肉和豆花饭”等传统元素,牧师领读《圣经》似乎只是一种形式。然而我们却看到,基督教牧师对“死如睡觉”、“只有信基督教才能得到永生”、“死是体与灵的暂时分开和隔绝”“人死后就象一粒种子,耶稣到来的时候,种子就发芽了,然后便升天了”等对人们关注的死亡问题的基督教式解

^⑤ 资料来源:霞浦儒学实践研究会章程 *Xiapu ruxue shijian yanjiuhui zhangcheng* [Principle of Xiapu Confucianist Practice Association]。

^⑥ 《颂主诗歌》*Songzhu shige* [Lisu Hymn Book],(南京 Nanjing 中国基督教协会印 Zhongguo jidujiao xiehui [China Christian Council],1992年)。

读的场景中,我们观察到了一些混合性的文化特征。^① 我们看到,少数民族基督教有着民间化、本土化的特点。即,在今天的少数民族基督教内实际上潜伏着许多民间宗教的因素,它们延续到今天的基督教之中。

我们回到基督教的角色这个主题,中国在崛起,中国的影响力在增加,同样,中国人希望用自己的文化力量实现全球化的融入,用自己的文化建构实现对社会变迁的解释。而谈到基督教在中国大国学中角色的前提是:对于有完全不同文化背景和不同宗教信仰的他者,我们如何去理解和调和彼此之间的差异。

全球化的语境给予个体的是更多的社会身份、文化身份,没有一个人只是为了了一种文化观念或是某一宗教信仰而生活,一个普通人不仅仅是某一种文明,或者宗教的认同者,他还是一个家庭的成员、一个国家的公民等多种社会身份,他除了有捍卫自身信仰的义务还有作为孩子的家长、朋友的伙伴、社区的居民、公司的职员等等义务,每个人都在诸多位置上有自己不可取代的位置,不能只因为一个角色而无视自己的其它责任。

另一方面,在不回避在他者具有多重身份的前提下,在与有不同宗教信仰者的交流中,应该有一种认同和肯定的态度,而不是征服和凌驾在他者之上,矛盾和冲突往往就产生于战胜对方的野心。任何一种宗教都会给人一种“真理只在其中”的信念,但在多种宗教并存的情况下:“真理”从某种程度上往往是一种相对的观念,可以说,在某种意义上试图去尽可能宽容地理解各种不同系统的“真理”,便是真理本身。

因此,无论是对于中国的崛起、还是对于基督教与中国大国学的关系,采取“美人之美,美美与共”的原则,要远远好于“非我族类,其心必异”态度。而中国的国学传统恰恰是强调前者——从不以信仰差异作为人群区分的标准。

同时,中国的崛起带来的对中国国学的载体——中国传统社会关系体系——的冲击是中国国学继续发挥作用必须回应的问题。也是我们反思中国国学实质的契机。

^① 陈徐慧 Chen Xuhui, “基督教与云南傣族宗教信仰的互动” Jidujiao yu yunnan lisuzu zongjiao xinyang de hudong [The Mutual Influence between Christianity and the religious faith of Lisu in Yunnan], 载于何其敏 He Qimin、张桥贵 Zhang Qiaogui 主编,《流动的传统——云南多民族多宗教共处的历程和主要经验》*Liudong de chuantong: Yuannan duo minzu duo zongjiao gongchu de licheng he zhuyao jingyan* [Flowing Tradition: The Historical Process and the Major Experience of the Multi-ethnic and Multi-religious Co-existence in Yuannan], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011 年), 273-275。

English Title:
Discussion of Guoxue in the Multi – Background

HE Qimin

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Abstract: Discussion of Guoxue, concerned about the different perspectives, has different definitions. This paper argues that the result of the efforts in traditional China, Guoxue, as a national culture, has a distinguished status not only for Han ethnic Chinese nation, and it is the foundation as well as the summary of the result of cooperation of various Chinese ethnic culture, and that of the construction of a political culture. We can be incorporated into China's multi – cultural academic research horizons. The social practice traditional folk should also be included in the scope of thinking. The Guoxue research is important for understanding the context of globalization, so we need to focus on the significance of traditional Chinese cultural activities, and the carries of Guoxue should be paid to more attention

Key terms: Guoxue, multi – cultural academic research, traditional folk

Harmonious Coexistence and Conflicts among Religions: ——A Theoretical Approach Based on Cases of Multi-Religion Communities in Yunnan China

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Abstract: The wisdom that brought about harmonious coexistence of different religions can serve as good lessons for the building of harmonious society. Religious harmony is a fundamental element in ethnic harmony and social harmony. The key point in achieving religious harmony is the pluralism of its believers' identity. Religious harmony can't be made without the harmony between the believer group and believer individual, and more importantly between believers of a certain religion and those of another. Religious conflict is not necessarily destructive; on the contrary, it can be constructive and even beneficial when it is controllable in form and in scale.

Key words: religious pluralism, Limitations of Harmony, Constructiveness of Conflict

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Along with globalization, it becomes more and more frequent for different religions to get in touch with each other, to exchange and to mutual interact. How to bring about religious harmony is becoming a more urgent issue facing us. Harmonious coexistence of religions is a kind of religious relationship by which two or more religions exist in friendly state. Religious harmony happens only in those religions that exist in the same time, in the same place and within the same population. Only when two or more religions exist simultaneously and they interact upon each other that it is possible for religious harmony to happen.

I .

Every religion has its own thoughts on harmony and on non - violence. So, religious harmony should not only serve as a guide line for religions to coexist but also be popularized in other sectors of human life. We the Chinese people today are facing historical economic transformation and social transformation but the spiritual transformation which unavoidably accompanies the social and economic transformations is yet to be recognized. Religious harmony can serve as one of the resources for spiritual transformation and provide us with experiences in harmonious coexistence. Therefore, in social governing and in cultural development, we should study religious harmony on

the premise of social harmony and we shall also build a harmonious society based on religious harmony.

Harmony dictates common spirit, common principles, and common rules even, but the ways and the tools by which to achieve harmony can be various. The style of harmony may also be diversified. Religious harmony is essentially a kind of social relationship. Harmonious relationship does not exist in a vacuum. It exists in certain circumstances within a certain population. Some religions may claim universality. But no matter how universal they are, they can not cover all human beings. Their population is only larger than that of other religions, and they are more influential comparatively. When different cultural groups are more frequent in getting in touch with each other, it is unavoidable that different religions shall meet. As that society gets more established, the opportunities for the different religions to be involved with other religions become more frequent. However, religious harmony does not mean religious integration; each of these religions involved shall not lose its independent identity. Rather, each of the religions shall benefit from the others and shall grow together. Therefore, religious harmony is a target, a process, and also a cultural tradition. Objectively speaking it is a phenomenon and a fact, and subjectively speaking it is an ideal and a faith. Advocated by Raymond Panikkar, Paul Knitter, and other famous scholars, the religious dialogue has gained acceptance. But the religious dialogue does not fit the Chinese situation completely. Dialogue is a means for harmony. Under certain conditions, the means may not work. Dialogue may lead to harmony. In other words, dialogue is a means for harmony, but not the other way round by claiming harmony is a means for dialogue.

From the history of religion, we can see that the conflicts between religions are mostly due to the competition for believers. How well the problem of religious identity is solved marks the dividing – line between religious harmony and religious conflict. It is also an important criterion for judging the state of relations between the religious and non – religious social sectors. Chinese history shows that when the dominating religion did not stop its believers from believing other religions at the same time, the relations between religions were harmonious. Yunnan province is outstanding in religious harmony in China. In Yunnan, it could be seen that believers are members of several religions at the same time. Their souls belong to different gods. It is possible that they are major members of one religion and minor members of another. It also could be seen that one religious site is used by another religion. In other words, different religions share a common religious site. This kind of site sharing is a natural result of pluralism of identification.

When the variables of religious harmony are taken into consideration, it appears that the narrower the geographical space is, the smaller the population is the smaller the population is and the more frequent the interactions between religions are, the more typical of relationship the religious harmony is. Religious relationship in essence, is a kind of social relationship. If religious harmony can be achieved within a smaller social unit such as a family, it is easier to achieve the same in a larger social unit such as a village which comprises many families.

II.

All religions share some common characteristics, without which religions can not be put into a same category. However, without generous spirit and tolerant attitude of all religions in a certain region, religious harmony is not possible in this region. So, when we study religious harmony, we should focus firstly on the differences between the religions, secondly on their interactions, and thirdly on their common interests. Religious harmony is characterized by multi – sidedness, limitedness, openness and dynamics. In fact, in comparison with social conflict, social harmony is limited, conditional and temporal. Multi religion is a precondition for a religious harmony, for without the existence of two or more different religions and their interactions upon each other, there would be no base for harmony. In any given community, the religious relationship is always changing, adapting itself with the incoming of a new religion. The surviving of a religion depends on constantly recruiting new believers. The death of old believers makes it necessary for a religion to recruit new believers. What weakens a religion more is that some of its older believers may give up their current religion to take up a new one. Therefore, it not uncommon in history to find that some religions, in order to maintain the size of their memberships, forced their believers to remain and/or force believers of other religions to be turncoats. In Chinese history, there are times when Buddhism and Taoism were in conflict. Either of them worked out theories to protect its faith and they exchanged attacks. In the end, they realized mutual enmity was destructive to both of them. They developed out believer identity tolerance to solve this issue, allowing believers freedom to believe two or more religions simultaneously. This laid down the foundation for the fusion of the three main religions in non – religious social sectors of the Chinese life. There was a famous saying, expressing vividly the fusion of the three religions: “to deal with the society by Confucianism, to cultivate spirit by Buddhism, and to build health by Taoism.”

A religion is a special community organized around a holy faith. The essence of a “god” upon which the holy faith is laid, is to hold together rather than to break apart. The god of one religion is different to the god of other religions. In the theories protecting itself, each religion would from its own position belittle the god of other religions at the neglect of the common essence of all gods. The strategic goals and action logic of religious protection are in two directions: inside, to keep hold of its old believers; outside, to convert new believers. And the two hands of implementing the religious protection are soft hand: religious exhortation and persuasion, and hard hand: religious monopoly, religious inquisition, and religious punishment. When the new believer is at the same time a believer of another religion, theoretical contradictories are unavoidable and belief conflicts are unavoidable. So the more believers a religion hosts, the more likely that it gets into conflict with another religion. This also requires us to limit our study of religious harmony within a specific time and place, and in a specific community. To achieve religious harmony, there are many necessary conditions: proper religious policies, proper background, proper structure, proper function, proper

reasoning, and even proper sentimentality. Any one of these, when unbalanced, may destroy religious harmony. On the other hand, it is much easier to cause religious conflict; a different interpretation of a religious doctrine or even a remark considered improper by another religion may initiate a war between religions or within a religion.

We use “specific” to characterize religious harmony, we are to emphasize that the meeting of religions must happen in a specific time and place; that the relations between religions are multisided; that the social position of all religions are equal; and that the interaction between religions are structural and dynamic. Harmony, in actual social relations, is an ordered state achieved through spiritual, and material supports accumulated from disordered state. To achieve the ordered state, the value of other religions should be planted in the mind of the believers and integrate the foreign value into its own value system. The foreign value should be appreciated, instead of being belittled. A religion which puffs itself up would very much likely deflate other religions. Therefore, it is necessary to overcome self – centralism tendency, and it is most importantly necessary to respect each other, to understand each other, and to appreciate each other. Religious harmony should be a total one; harmonious both inside and outside. It is true some religions are more advanced, but the advanced ones should recognize the equal social position of the less advanced. Some religions have a longer history, but the long history ones should not push shorter history ones. Some religions are stronger, but the strong ones are fair to the weak ones. When totally harmonious, religions are beneficial to each other and beneficial to human beings as a whole.

Suppose two religions have never got in touch with each other. Each is peaceful to the other. But this is not harmony. Without getting in touch with each other, they would not understand each other. Without understanding each other, they would not respect each other. And without mutual respect, there would definitely no room for harmony. Looking at the past and looking at the present, we can see that religious conflicts are mostly caused by misunderstandings. A small misunderstanding snowballs to cause a serious event.

It is a general fact in the development of religion, that there was only one religion in a given community at the beginning. With the communication and exchange of this community with other communities, other religions got into this community. New religions coming into this community brought about three situations: conflict, assimilation, and harmony. Pluralism of religion is the general tendency. Within a religion, fractions are developing. Outside a religion, new religions are coming, as the development of communication and transportation technology has advanced so much in the past years. Religious harmony is merely one type of relationship between religions. It is dynamic and may change to become other types of relationship. The other possible religious relationships are religious conflict and religious assimilation. Religious conflict may include religious war, and religious opposition. Religious assimilation may include religious substitution, and religious dissolving. Religious harmony may include religious dialogue, and religious peaceful coexistence. Therefore, when we talk about religious harmony, we should have a broader,

dynamic, and multi – sided view.

III.

Religious conflict usually is a necessary step to religious harmony. We may be correct to say that without religious conflict there would not be religious harmony. But religious conflict is inevitable and repeated. Between religions there are unavoidable contradictions. Through contradictions, religions get used to each other, understand each other, appreciate each other, and benefit from each other's strong points, so as both are growing. Therefore, natural, restrained, and benign religious conflict is the first step for a religion to become matured. Conflict is therefore of constructive value and significance. At its beginning is far from being perfect on many sides because neither theory, organizational system nor ritual system is well established. It needs to borrow from other religions positive elements to improve itself. So, religious conflict exposes its weak points, which are the target of its rivals. Religious conflict helps it to become aware of its weak points and to stimulate it to find ways to mend up.

Religious conflict and religious assimilation are aimed at monism, while religious harmony is aimed at pluralism. So, when we study harmony, we should pay enough attention to conflict. A conflict is two or more parties rivaling for a targeted object, and a conflict may not necessary result in destruction. As all parties involved in the conflict are fought over the same object, there exist potential constructional elements. When the contradictories between the parties are resolved, there shall appear a new type of relationship. The new relationship is harmony.

Conflicts between different religious groups may strengthen the interior cohesiveness within each of the religion. For example, the Wa ethnic group, in the past, used human scalp to worship their rice god and the grown – up ceremony for a Wa male required him to kill a stranger and use it in the worship. So the relationship between the Wa ethnic group and other ethnic groups was tensed. This kind of situation strengthened the interior cohesiveness of the Wa group. Any person who violated their rules might be expelled from their village. When this happened, death was waiting for the expelled.

Religious conflict does not necessarily result in destruction. Moderate conflict is very often the step needed for an advanced religion to gain a place in the backward religion community. Living in Yunnan's Bingzhongluo township, there are the Lisu, the Nu, the Tibetan, the Dulong ethnic groups. The local main beliefs are primitive religion, Lamaism, Catholicism, and Christianity. In Bingzhongluo members of a family may believe in different religions. Nowadays, these religions coexist peacefully, but in history there were conflicts among them. When a new religion comes into a community, it is unavoidable that the new religion conflicts with the existing religion. For a backward ethnic group, to accept the new religion and give up the old one is like the birth of a new life; pain is unavoidable. The incoming of a new religion at the same time harms the social position and economic interests of some people. But often, on the whole, the incoming of a new religion

rejuvenates the ethnic culture and brings about progress in social productivity. So, we should not take religious conflict as a disaster. We should analyze it and find out what kind of religious conflict it is. Some types of religious conflicts are the expressions of the internal need to develop and establish the religion. However, we should also be on the alert for the possibility that religious conflict might be used by some people to create trouble.

Ideally, harmony should be the normal state of religious relations. But what is happening throughout the world tells us that religious conflicts are everywhere. Even where there are examples of some harmonious cases, the harmony is exclusively a state achieved only after conflicts. There is not an ethnic group that does not have a religion. And there is not a meeting of two or more religions without conflict. Today, Bingzhongluo Township is regarded as a sample of religious harmony. But in history, there were many cases of religious conflict. Records show that at the time when Lamaism came into Bingzhongluo, lamas persecuted the shamans, the priests of the primitive religion. Later when Catholicism came in, there were conflicts between the missionaries and the local lamas.

At the beginning of the 18th century, religion at Bingzhongluo began to become diversified. Du Jiangong, a Living Buddha from Dege Monastery, a Lamaist monastery in Sichuan province, went to Fugong County to spread Lamaism and failed. Then he moved to work in Bingzhongluo, spreading Lamaism among the Nu, the Lisu and the Dulong ethnic groups. This time he succeeded in breaking ice in primitive religion's monologue in belief. The most serious conflict took place during the fourth generation of the lamas. To expand the influence of Lamaism, the lama in charge, invited workers from outside to build larger monasteries. Lamas raised the funds from the local people in whatever possible ways, even by using force. It took seven years to build the Puhua monastery, which was much larger than the Feilai monastery. At its high time, Puhua monastery hosted over a hundred lamas. The monastery owned 130 mu of rice field, 30 mu of woods, 100 more horses, 100 more oxen, and 1000 more goats. But at this time, a malignant communicable disease was spreading and many of the lamas were infected. It was widely believed that disease was spread by ghosts, and Shamans could cure because they could drive ghosts away. The lamas invited all local shamans. The shamans worked very hard in curing the lamas, but they could not "drive the ghosts away"; as the lamas did not recover from the illness. The lamas punished the shamans by killing them all. But one of the shamans named Kunchu managed to get away. Kunchu reported the massacre to the local government. The government imposed on the Puhua a fine of a pail of gold to pay for the lives of the slain shamans. Puhua monastery lost most of its assets and fell into decline. A pail of gold was not the biggest loss for Lamaism. This event made it known that Lamaism was incapable of coping with disease and lamas had to invite shamans to cure them. This cast doubt on Lamaism.

In 1888, I. Leuefieg, a French missionary, was sent to spread Catholicism in Zayu of Tibet but was driven out. He came to spread Catholicism in Bingzhongluo and Catholicism became one of the three biggest religions there. The other two were Lamaism and the primitive religion. But because catholic missionaries tried to increase its influence by forcing local people to convert to

Catholicism, they caused conflicts with Lamaism, which climaxed in the case of Baihanluo Arson. Baihanluo Church was set on fire. Protestantism came later, and learning from the Catholic lesson worked cooperatively and was friendly with other religions. Its influence grew faster.

In fact, Protestantism, after coming to Yunnan, did have conflicts with local religions. Even today, the conflict exist but in a low degree. On the whole it exists harmoniously. Take the Hani ethnic group as an example. Recently, Protestantism caused some problems in some Hani communities and in some Hani families. A possible scenario is one in which one of the couple believes in Protestantism and goes to the church every Sunday. The other has to work on Sundays. As time moves on, the one who has to work every Sunday becomes unhappy with the wife or husband who goes to church instead of work. It happens that the wife or the husband refuses to unlock the door for the other who goes to church and for staying out late.

Different opinions appear in the family of which some members who believe in Protestantism when an old family member dies. Those family members who believe in Protestantism would bury the dead in the Christian way, and other family members would bury the dead in the traditional way, worrying that if buried in the Christian way the dead would never be able to unite with the ancestors. There is another example. Those Hani people who believe in Protestantism do not visit the family graveyard at the Qingming Festival, a traditional festival for family members to go to graveyard to remember their ancestors. This causes relatives to be unhappy.

Traditionally, the Hani village would worship by offering a sacrifice of an ox when they start a big project, such as digging well, or building canal, or a bridge or other public facilities. Hani who believe in Protestantism regard such ceremonies as superstitious and do not participate. Some of them cut trees from the village holy hill for building churches. Such actions make the Hani people who do not believe in Protestantism angry. They cut off water supply and electricity supply to the Christian families. They confiscate the Christians' land and forest. They even drive some Christians out of their village. These cases show that it will not have religious harmony for a community to accept a new religion at the cost of its own traditional culture.

Two causes of religious conflict can be identified: The first cause is neither side understands the differences between them. The second cause is that neither side deals properly over issues of interest between them. When the believers of two different religions can not take an understanding attitude towards each other and both sides are belittling each other, there would not be religious harmony. But the primordial spirit of religion is not to break apart, but to hold together. In a primitive community, religion plays the role of cohesiveness. However, religion is created by man and does not go across its population boundary easily. If there is no limit for a religion to spread over the world and its spirit is not worldly and can not include different believing systems, it shall bring about conflict, not harmony, under the stimulation of non – religious social forces and economic interests. So, the purpose of studying religious conflict is to alert against the magnification of the differences between religions, to clear away the ideological root of this wrong concept, and finally to turn conflict into harmony.

The more pluralistic in its believing system a community is, the less possibility of religious conflict it shall have. On the contrary, those ethnic groups which are more closed in one religion shall have less chance of harmony.

The intermarriage between believers of different religions happens and the intermarriage is well appreciated by other members of the community. This is a sign of religious harmony. This also signifies that people in this community have more freedom in choosing his religion.

In the religious harmonious communities in Yunnan, we see a plurality of religious identifications. A man can acquire the membership of different religions. This means that each of the religions can absorb nutrient elements from other religions. We also see that the same site serves different religions in their religious ceremonies. Sharing the same religious site accompanies the plural religious membership. From dialectical viewpoint, the interaction of religions includes both conflict and harmonious elements. And what kind of religious relationship it is, is decided by which of the two is at the dominating side. Therefore, a harmonious relationship is achieved by constant conflicts between the religions, and harmony is not something that we can make once for all.

中文题目:

多元宗教和谐与冲突

——基于云南多元宗教关系的理论探讨

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摘要:多元宗教和谐共处的智慧能够为和谐社会、和谐世界的建设提供宝贵的经验, 宗教和谐是民族和谐、社会和谐的基础。能否解决信徒的宗教身份归属, 成为宗教之间能否和谐的关键。特定地域内的宗教和谐必然要表现为信徒群体和信徒个人之间的和谐。宗教冲突并不必然具有破坏性, 在可以控制的规模、范围和水平上的冲突, 为了特定的目标而发生, 往往具有潜在的建设性价值和意义。

关键词:多元宗教、和谐的有限性、冲突的建设性

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

“圣地”曲阜宗教“生态”调研报告之一

——以儒教与基督教关系为例^①

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提要:本文围绕 2010 年发生在“圣地”曲阜的两个重要事件,尤其是“曲阜建基督教堂事件”,讨论曲阜当地孔子-儒学-儒教与基督教的关系。借助相关文献资料和对曲阜儒学-儒教与基督教会的调查研究,分析描述了“孔子-儒”的两个重要分支系统,在曲阜当地民众宗教信仰生活中所扮演的角色,及其对曲阜公共生活所带来的影响;同时,对于曲阜基督教会(包括官方教会和家庭教会)在“曲阜建堂事件”中的态度、做法进行分析、描述。结论部分,揭示“儒耶之争”的基本模式,并对近年来的中国宗教生态失衡论加以简单回应。

关键词:“圣地”曲阜、孔子儒学、孔子儒教、曲阜建堂事件、儒耶关系

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2010 年,作为圣人故乡的山东曲阜——儒家学者喜欢称其为“圣地”,发生了两件大事。

第一件事:这一年的九月份在曲阜举办了首届“尼山世界文明论坛”(简称尼山论坛)^②。山东大学作为承办单位,主要有两个研究机构参与了这一盛事:一是儒学高等研究院,二是犹太教与跨宗教研究中心。“尼山论坛”所发表的《尼山宣言》在国内外引起了很大反响。

第二件事:就在尼山论坛结束后不久(当年的 12 月份),儒学十教授联名签署意见书,强烈反对在曲阜建基督教礼拜堂^③。学者们称其为“曲阜建堂事件”。这件事同样在国内外引起了强烈的反响。从观察、研究的角度来看,这件事最耐人寻味之处在于:签署“意见书”的儒学教授,部分出席了之前的尼山论坛,并签署了《尼山宣言》。

^① 本文为教育部人文社会科学重点研究基地重大项目“中国当代宗教生态研究”阶段性成果。课题批准号:JJD730005

^② 2012 年 9 月 25 日下午,首届尼山世界文明论坛新闻通报会在山东省济宁举行。宣布尼山论坛将于 26 日上午 9 时在孔子诞生地尼山开幕,首届论坛将开展儒家文明与基督教文明的对话,主题是“和而不同与和谐世界”,口号是“和谐·诚信·包容·仁爱”。首届尼山世界文明论坛 27 日晚上在山东济宁闭幕。与会中外学者经过两天的对话交流,取得广泛共识,通过《尼山和谐宣言》Nishan hexie xuanyan [Harmony Declaration of Nishan]。《尼山和谐宣言》“是世界第一个以人类和谐为主题的宣言。《宣言》倡导和谐世界、和而不同,呼吁理解尊重,化解积怨,呼吁对话交流,避免冲突,呼吁节俭低碳,呵护家园,呼吁团结合作,共创未来。”

^③ 意见书称:“在‘三孔’之地建造耶教大教堂,无疑唐突中华文化圣地,伤害儒家文化信众情感,有违海内外炎黄子孙心愿,不符合建设‘中华文化标志城’和‘中华民族精神家园’的初衷。”并要求,“鉴于在中华文化圣地修建耶教大教堂问题的敏感性、复杂性以及可能由此引发的激烈争议,应当立即停建曲阜耶教教堂,如选址仍在曲阜附近,至少应满足五个条件:不宜在‘三孔’、‘三孟’以及周公庙视线范围内,至少须在孔庙、孟庙以及周公庙 50 华里以外;高度不宜为 40 余米,不宜超过孔庙、孟庙大成殿的高度;规模不可容众 3000 人;不宜建成中国最大的耶教堂;建筑风格不宜为哥特式风格。”

2012年,笔者所在的山东大学犹太教与跨宗教研究中心,获得一项国家教育部人文社会科学重点研究基地重大课题立项,专题研究“圣地”曲阜的宗教“生态”——当代政教关系影响和统辖之下的曲阜各宗教间关系问题。是年的7-8月份,笔者带领一支由宗教学、人类学、社会学研究方面的专家及研究生组成的研究队伍,进驻曲阜,展开两期“摸底”“勘探”式调查研究。对于曲阜当地以“孔子-儒”为核心的儒学-儒教,当地的佛、道教及民间信仰,以及当地以一神信仰为特征的伊斯兰教、天主教、基督教,都有了一个大体的认识和理解。因为“曲阜建堂事件”是促成我们研究曲阜宗教生态问题的一个最重要契机,所以,在此打算以儒学-儒教与基督教的关系为例,展示曲阜宗教“生态”的一个特点,或面向。

按照我们的理解,原本在曲阜市建设一座基督教礼拜堂,属于国家宗教政策和法律、法规范畴中的事务。2001年,经曲阜市委、市政府落实宗教政策,返还原在曲阜城西关距离孔庙不到一公里处的基督教教产(1919年由美国传教士所建的耶稣教会旧址,1930年左右建立耶稣大堂),^④迁至曲阜城东距孔庙约四公里的于庄村,建造了可容纳600多人做礼拜的钢构建筑作为临时教堂。2006年以来,“曲阜市圣三一礼拜堂”的建设征得山东省、济宁市宗教局的批准和当地民族宗教事务局及发改委、环保局、土地局、规划局等部门审批同意,在于庄村征得建设用地,并于2010年7月27日正式奠基投入建设。筹建中的这座基督教教堂正式定名为“曲阜市圣三一礼拜堂”。

由于儒学十教授联合各种社会力量强力抵制,目前“曲阜市圣三一礼拜堂”处于无限期停建状态。曲阜建堂事件也由此演化成了一个文化事件和社会公共事件。我们认为,“曲阜建堂事件”所折射出的宗教关系问题,非常值得关注和研究

一、曲阜的孔子-儒学、儒教

曲阜既以“圣地”著称,曲阜的公共生活亦确实围绕“孔子-儒”而展开。据史料记载,孔子去世后,起初是以宅为庙,“藏孔子衣冠、琴、车、书”。至明朝正德年间,为了加强对孔庙的保护,将距今址4公里处的曲阜县城移至孔庙所在地,以城卫庙,使整个曲阜县城成了孔庙的外围建筑。其实,直到今日,从整个曲阜城的城市布局来看,“三孔”中的孔府、孔庙仍然处于整个曲阜市的正中心。不仅如此,据我们观察,曲阜作为一个县级城市,其政治、经济、文化生活,也确实是一个围绕孔子-三孔而建构起来的体系。1978年改革开放以来,随着孔子历史性地位的改变和提升,“三孔”在曲阜的地位也得以改变和逐步提升。围绕孔子展开的祭祀、纪念、旅游、文化、学术、政治活动逐年升格,直至大型孔子文化节2005年实现地方政府与中央电视台“对接”,进而于2010年举办首届尼山世界文明论坛,上述活动升格至国家、中央政府的层面,令人感到惊心动魄。我们查阅史志和走访当地相关部门了解到,曲阜的“国事”活动和“外事”活动,的确非常频繁,这不是中国任何一个县级市所可以比拟的。

那么,这一切究竟给曲阜带来了什么?这当然是一个不容易回答的复杂问题。按照曲阜乃至济宁市委市政府的初衷,自然希望这一切能大大带动地方经济的发展和繁荣,从而提升曲阜的国内、国际知名度和影响力。但是有一个现象引起了我们的注意:随着以孔子为主题的各种活动规格逐年升级,曲阜的财政、经济负担也变得越来越重。有证据表明,国家在曲阜城市建设(包括维护、修葺三孔的费用)方面的投资力度不小,然而,曲阜当地人仍然认为曲阜市政面貌改变不大。用当地一位出租车司机的话说,曲阜“太落后”了,多少年都没有变化。究竟是哪个环节出了问题?据我们走访了解,

^④ 据笔者查阅史料和实地考察,在曲阜城西关距孔庙不到两公里的利涉桥附近,曾经有四处重要宗教场所,按照距孔庙由近及远的顺序分别是:伊斯兰教清真寺、天主教堂、玉皇大庙、耶稣堂。目前,除了清真寺还在原址(2001年曲阜市委市政府批准清真寺原址进行扩建),其他三处场所皆改作他用,或易址重建。

在曲阜当地各种政务活动中,仅接待费一项开支就使得当地政府官员感觉压力巨大,市政改造这一块也让官员们感到头疼。这里引用当地一位学者的话说,这叫做“小牛拉大车”。在这位学者看来,曲阜这匹小牛实在是拉不动这辆大车了。当地一位正局级官员也用了“不堪重负”四个字,概括目前曲阜城市建设中的窘境。从城市级别上来看,只是一个县级市的曲阜,每年要举办一系列超高规格的大型活动,接待成百上千的高级别国际、国内团体,市政建设又要超常规发展,而曲阜说到底就只是一个农业县,至今没有建成任何像样的工矿企业,更枉谈什么发达的工商业体系。其中的矛盾和困难,的确可想而知。我们初步观察和调研的印象是,曲阜在整个山东省境内亦属于比较“落后”的地区。

其实,对于我们的研究而言,我们更加关心的是另外一个问题:“孔子-儒”在曲阜的宗教生活中究竟扮演何种角色?在曲阜,确实有“儒教”存在吗?或者说确实有一个信众群体在信仰和实践“儒教”吗?

若说“孔子-儒”在曲阜没有什么影响,这绝对不符合事实。关键是在哪些方面有影响。据我们观察,在曲阜当地,“孔子-儒”似乎可以分作两个系统来考察:一个是孔子-儒学作为思想学术系统;另一个是孔子-儒教作为崇拜和祭祀系统。我们发现,孔府作为孔子嫡裔袭封衍圣公办公和居住合一的场所,其在曲阜宗教生活中的地位和角色非常值得研究。^⑤

依托曲阜师范大学,尤其是1996年国务院中央办公厅【66】号文批准在曲阜成立的中国孔子研究院(正厅级单位),以及最近成立的尼山圣源书院,的确集结了相当一批有影响的学者,推动曲阜当地、带动全国乃至世界对于孔子儒家思想的深入研究和系统推广。这批学者重视对儒家已有经典的研究;强调儒学在中国文化中的主导地位,言谈中甚至时常不自觉地把儒学径直当作中国文化的代名词;同时强调儒学并非基督教那样的“宗教”,儒学并不迫人入教,也不刻意组织信众,而是以孔子儒家思想作为个人人生、及社会公共生活的至高准则加以遵守。既然如此,那么孔子-儒学一系,在曲阜所扮演的基本上可以说是“卫道”——维护孔子儒学在中国文化中的正统主导地位、在中华文明体系中的核心价值——的角色。有一位当地学者在激烈批评政府和社会大众不重视孔子儒学的价值,以至于给其他宗教,尤其是外来宗教——像基督教——留下了“入侵”中国文化的余地时,用了这样一个比喻:人家都闯到你的卧室里来了,你怎么可能不做反应?!学者说这话时言辞恳切、表情庄重,令听者动容。

在曲阜活跃着的,还有另一支与“孔子-儒”有关的社会力量。曲阜当地有一位民间尊孔人士(崇尚和推崇“国学”),早年怀着为儒学培养“基督教牧师一样的传道(教)者”的心志,在一间破旧的房屋里办起了曲阜书院。到2010年时,这位令人尊敬的人士在社会各界的支持下,在当地民政部门成功注册了“曲阜儒者联合会、曲阜国学院”,并招收到了第一批全日制学员18名。作为非营利性社会办学机构,曲阜国学院除了聘请专职和兼职教师,教授儒家经典外,还以孔子的“六艺”作为主要教学科目。特别是教导学员学习各种“祭孔”礼仪。据介绍,2005年恢复国家祭孔以前,民间祭孔活动已经存在了好多年。来自全国各地的尊孔人士陆续自发地向“圣地”曲阜聚集,举办以祭孔朝圣、读经分享、结交师友为主的一系列活动。他们一无活动经费,二无固定活动场所,三无固定组织形式,然而靠着对孔子、“国学”的热爱,坚持了下来。一般说来,每逢传统祭祀时节,各地热衷祭孔的民间人士来到

^⑤ 据史料记载,历代袭封衍圣公作为朝廷任命的孔子祭祀官,不但专门负责按节令祭祀孔子,还会专门负责接待来自朝廷和地方上至皇帝、下至各级官吏来曲阜的朝圣、祭孔事宜。孔子去世后的历代王朝,通过拜谒、祭祀孔子,以及为孔子追封谥号、为孔子嫡裔加封官爵,表达对孔子本人及其思想的绝对尊崇。那么,孔府所主持的祭祀和礼拜孔子的活动有否成为曲阜当地人宗教生活的一项内容呢?首先,孔府内有一个非常特别的建筑——佛堂楼,引起了我们重视;其次,孔府的祭祀活动对于孔氏族人和当地百姓来说,至少不是唯一的宗教生活内容。事实上他们在祈福、攘灾、安顿生死祸福等具有典型宗教意义的生活中总是会自觉地向佛、道教、民间信仰中寻求帮助。据最近一次曲阜文物大普查发现,“文革”以前,曲阜几乎村村有庙宇。佛教、道教、奶奶庙等民建庙宇随处可见。另据史料记载,历代衍圣公经常出资在曲阜各地修建佛教、道教、民间信仰的寺观、庙宇。

曲阜,找到当年的曲阜书院,基本上以自助方式解决饮食、住宿问题。去孔庙祭祀,管理部门会提供免门票、免场地使用费等优惠措施。2005年以后,民间祭孔不再享受优惠条件,官方祭孔也越办越大。有时,官方祭孔会请民间祭孔人士撰写祭文(一种有着固定格式的、文辞优美的追思祷文)。据说,孔子研究院和曲阜国学院的专家学者都曾被邀请为大型祭孔活动撰写祭文。随着全国各地文庙祭孔礼仪的恢复和兴盛,曲阜国学院的同学也有越来越多的机会参与曲阜当地及全国各地的孔庙(文庙)祭祀活动。所以,曲阜国学院的学生好像“不愁找不到工作”。

那么,每年数度举办的大小祭孔活动,其意义何在呢?曲阜当地的老百姓又是怎么看待“祭孔”活动的呢?有一位出租车司机说了这样一句话:祭孔跟我们没关系!我们问,怎么会没有关系呢?当地老百姓不是信孔子、信儒教吗?司机的回答令人震惊:儒教又不是宗教!祭孔都是有头有脸的大人物的事,跟老百姓无关呢!在去曲阜龙尾庄的乡间公交车上,一位姓孔的年轻男子,被问到同一个问题时,其回答与那位出租车司机的答案如出一辙。我们说,您是孔家人,应该是能续上家谱的吧?是孔子的第多少代传人?他笑了笑说,这个能!孔子后裔的家谱不会乱,都能续上。看名字就知道了。我们问,那么您怎么看这些年的“祭孔”活动?他笑了笑说,跟我们这些老百姓没什么关系。都是大人物的事儿。我们问,既然不能参与官方祭孔,那么,作为孔子的后裔,在一些重要的节期会不会在家里祭祀孔子呢?他断然否定:这个不会。

如此说来,我们产生了两个疑问:其一,在曲阜当地“老百姓”的生活中,“孔子-儒”的存在是否真的具有宗教意义呢?或者换一句话说,围绕“孔子-儒”所展开的上述两种类型的活动,究竟是否属于宗教活动呢?在曲阜,谁是真正的儒教徒呢?或者“儒教徒”这个称呼就是不恰当的?其二,在曲阜,究竟是谁(机构或者个人、群体)与曲阜当地的基督教构成关系、产生冲突和竞争?它们在争什么呢?

调研中我们发现两点:孔子-儒学一支(以中国孔子研究院为重镇)很强调儒家文化的主位性不容侵犯,认为容许基督教进入曲阜是短视、乃至错误的行为,因此儒家学者对于基督教进入曲阜“圣地”——中国文化的“卧室”觉得愤愤不平,甚至有些义愤填膺的味道;而孔子-儒教一支(曲阜国学院为中心)非常重视祭孔,认为这是维系中国文化命脉的关键,因此祭孔人士会觉得,基督教不允许信徒祭祀祖先,是不合乎情理的。

有意思的是,围绕“孔子-儒”所“组织”起来的这两支队伍,都不太以为儒学、儒教是“宗教”。其中倒是也有一点区别:孔子-儒学一支对“宗教”更反感,也更多避讳。不愿意儒学跟“宗教”扯上关系。而孔子-儒教一支对“宗教”的态度要温和得多,尤其是对于中国本土的佛教、道教、民间信仰,都不会采取激烈批评的态度。更公开承认,祭祀是儒教的重要内容。但不认为祭祀是宗教生活的全部意义,可以接受佛教、道教、民间信仰作为补充形式。

当被问及有没有寻找过机会跟曲阜的基督教组织或信徒个人做一些交流和沟通?无论是学者还是祭孔者都表示对此没有太大兴趣。与之相对比,他们对于佛教、道教的看法要温和得多,甚至可以说是友好得多。在他们看来,佛教、道教的思想与儒学、儒教“本质上是相通的,只是形式有所分别而已。”并且,正因为本质相通,所以形式上的分别才显得格外有价值。我们追问:那基督教呢?回答是:根本是两码事!

二、曲阜的基督教

光绪二十四年(1898年)有一位美国传教士发现了曲阜城内有一个叫做“泮池”的地方,可作为建设基督教堂的地址。在试图购买这块土地时,遇到了时任“衍圣公”孔令贻联合曲阜当地名流的强力

抵制,只好作罢。这是现存史料中曲阜的“孔子-儒”与基督教发生正面冲突的第一次记录。衍圣公孔令贻及当地士绅联合反对在古泮池建基督教堂的理由是“破坏圣脉”。其后,衍圣公又以同样的理由反对在曲阜城边上修建铁路,致使曲阜老火车站建在了离曲阜城几十里外的一个村庄里。

时隔三十几年(1930年左右),美国浸信会传教士在曲阜城西关取得建堂用地,建起了上文提到的利涉桥西的耶稣大教堂。从那时开始,基督教在曲阜传播,并缓慢发展。目前,曲阜所辖13个乡镇、494个行政村属于中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会、中国基督教协会(俗称基督教“两会”或“三自”)的基督教活动场所共有26处,信徒人数约5000人。另有不属于“两会”或“三自”系统的基督教活动场所十几处(俗称“家庭”教会或“地下”教会,还不知道实际数目),信徒人数约1500-2000人。

在曲阜,无论是“三自”教会,还是“家庭”教会,其敬拜场所虽然称作“教堂”,但其实基本上都是基督徒家庭奉献出“多余”的房屋——建成一间大厅的样式——作为信徒聚会场所。^⑥用我们一位调研员的话说:曲阜的教堂看起来“很不正规”。2001年以来,济宁市、曲阜市两级政府在国家落实宗教政策的大背景下,以及“文化搭台、经济唱戏”的发展战略框架中,积极推动落实宗教政策(包括返还一部分原有宗教资产,和改、扩建宗教活动场所),使得曲阜宗教生活的样貌有所改观。引发曲阜建堂事件争议的于庄临时教堂,正是在2001年那批政府落实宗教政策的计划中得以启动建设的。同批启动的宗教场所还包括曲阜城西关的伊斯兰教清真寺。^⑦还有,就是一处名为芦斗寺的佛教活动场所。

据当地基督教信徒回忆,2001年政府同意补偿西关耶稣教堂教产,但必须是易址建堂。原来的耶稣堂先是改为清真食品厂。该厂倒闭后,改作现在的西关大街市场管理办事处。据知情者回忆,由于“文革”给当地基督徒造成太大的“阴影”,所以,当时信徒们觉得政府同意给个地方建教堂已经很好了,不敢有太多要求。所以,很快同意了政府给出的补偿方案:在距离孔庙4公里左右的于庄村提供2亩地的建教堂用地。后来,曲阜市基督教“两会”主要负责人说服于庄村的大队领导和村民,又租得3亩地与之前的2亩批地相连。2006年,在曲阜当地基督教会内部并非毫无争议的情况下建起了目前的于庄临时教堂。

后来,济宁市基督教两会、曲阜市基督教两会在政策允许、条件成熟时,在原来5亩地的基础上,又征得往东扩展的4亩地。按照曲阜基督教圣三一堂的设计方案,在这9亩地上,除了要建设圣三一堂之外,还要建一个文化交流中心,推动儒学、中国文化和基督教、西方文化的广泛交流和合作。如此设想,看起来不难得到政府部门和社会各界的认可和认同。2010年7月27日圣堂及附属文化设施建设高调奠基,便是证明。出席当日奠基仪式的政府官员和基督教两会部分高层领袖的合影仍然可见于各大网络媒体。

然而,首届尼山世界文明论坛结束后,事情却戏剧般地进入了完全不同的发展轨道。那么,曲阜的基督教会对于搁浅中的圣三一堂建设有何反应?作何打算?社会各界也不断有人追问:“曲阜的基督教堂还要建吗?”

调查中,我们发现,跟“外人”追踪此事的热烈程度形成明显对比的是,曲阜基督教会“三自”系统26个堂点的信徒,对于圣三一堂被迫停建,自始至终未有很“激烈”的反应和动作。这和当地老百姓

^⑥ 曲阜“三自”教会的26个堂点中,除了于庄教堂(曲阜建堂事件中的争论焦点)是建在于庄村公共用地上的一个临时教堂外,其余各处要么是在信徒家中聚会的“基督教活动点”,要么是在信徒奉献的自家老宅基地上建起的“教堂”。只有一处“教堂”是信徒征得本村大队“两委”同意,购买了村中闲置已久的一处“大坑”,填平后建起了两层的“教堂”。而曲阜的“家庭”教会基本上是在信徒家庭中聚会,近来也有在出租商铺租用房屋改作“教堂”的情况出现。

^⑦ 有意思的是,曲阜西关的清真寺距离孔庙仅0.63公里,一个十分醒目的一神崇拜场所,并未引起儒者的任何反应。目前曲阜信仰伊斯兰教的回民人数不过2000人,但伊斯兰教在此地生存下来了,并未遇到抵制。据史料记载,曲阜城里的回民是清乾隆年间由陕西迁入,因为陕西遭遇天灾,朝廷出面将这部分回民安置在曲阜,并建立了清真寺。伊斯兰教进入曲阜未遇抵抗,或许跟朝廷出面有关系。“文革”时,清真寺关闭,2001年政府启动在原址扩建,顺利建成了现在的清真大寺。

对此事的反应恰恰表现得完全一致。我们问及当地一位裱画匠：在曲阜圣人故乡建一座大型基督教堂，您觉得合适吗？他说：人家建教堂，国家都不反对，咱反对什么呀？！不是现在宗教信仰自由了吗？有什么不合适的？所以不用反对人家建教堂。

那么，究竟是什么原因造成当地信徒对建堂事件反应比较“冷淡”呢？摆开各种复杂因素不论，其中有一个原因，却是公开的。据我们了解，“出事”以后，济宁市、曲阜市基督教“两会”的教牧同工立即商议对策，决定：“不上网、不上街、不聚众、不闹事”。而是通过正常“上访”渠道寻求解决问题的办法。

事实上，曲阜建堂事件发生以来，在曲阜当地的确没有发生令政府感到棘手的“群体事件”。儒学十教授联合签署反对在曲阜建基督教堂的意见书之后，在网上公开征集赞同者签名。而基督教方面并未发动网络征集同意在曲阜建基督教堂的签名。有一位很有影响的社会学家评论说，假如基督教会征集签名，想必跟帖同意的人也不在少数。

从事发到今天，两年多的时间过去了。结果是，曲阜圣三一堂的建设被无限期的搁置起来。走访中我们了解到，目前，从中央到地方，没有哪一个级别的部门和领导给出上访的曲阜基督教会一个明确的答复：建还是不建？没有人知道。目前，奠基碑失而复得^⑧，周围的庄稼长起来了，据说是于庄教会的信徒觉得土地闲置太可惜，于是种上了庄稼。

我们尝试换一个角度来看这个问题。目前，曲阜包括“三自”和“家庭”的约7000基督徒到哪里去聚会、敬拜上帝？或者，换一句话说，方案中的曲阜圣三一堂建设在曲阜基督徒中造成了多大程度的期待？很迫切吗？还是不太有所谓？

首先，“家庭”教会的那一部分信徒，看起来不太关心这件事情。并且，事实上他们对于“三自”教会的许多做法都明确表示“不认可、不认同、不合作”。这样的话，还剩下“三自”的约5000信徒。自从1930年代，曲阜西关耶稣堂建立以来，基督教首先在曲阜城北的几个乡镇传播——最早建立的四个基督教家庭聚会点是翟屯、董庄、袁村、石泉庄。目前这几个老基督教点上的负责人大多是曲阜的第三代、第四代基督徒。他们的祖父母、外祖父母大多是在西关耶稣堂皈依耶稣，返回家乡后在自己的家庭组织基督徒聚会、敬拜。就曲阜目前的自然条件而论，几乎五分之四的曲阜人居住在乡下，曲阜的基督徒也就自然大多数分散在乡下的这些基督教堂点。由此不难理解，在曲阜城里建一个大的基督教堂一事，也许并非广大农村信徒的迫切渴望？

这样一来，推动曲阜基督教堂建设的动力究竟来自哪里？就之前的情形来看，政府支持是一个大的动力源。另一个推动因素恐怕是“三自”教会的领袖们。随着国家改革开放，新生代的基督教会领袖们^⑨大多具有文化上开放和包容的视野，同时也能吃透国家政策，并积极寻求与政府及社会各界合作干一番大事业。“对话”、“交流”，把基督教“做大”、“做强”，提升基督教的社会影响力，是时下许多基督教会领袖的自觉追求。笔者走访曲阜城北那批最老的基督教聚会点时，一位老信徒的话十分耐人寻味：现在的基督教会太过效法这个世界了。属灵的气氛很缺乏。他还举了几个例子：现在农村的主日敬拜开始时间越来越早。天不亮，四、五点钟就开始了。结束得也早。他分析说，这样可以不耽误干活。可是“这一天是应该分别为圣献给上帝的呀！”说这话时，他眼神很忧伤。还说，二十多年来，曲阜的基督教会没怎么按立牧师。目前全曲阜只有一位副牧师，还是挂在济宁市基督教两会。当被

^⑧ 2011年8月，曲阜圣三一堂的奠基碑一度被“盗走”，后经当地公安部门介入，一个星期后被放回原址。

^⑨ 就整个山东省的情况来看，山东省、市各级基督教两会的领袖大多出身基督徒家庭。“文革”结束后，这批人得以进入中国大陆的几家神学院接受神学教育。毕业后被分配到各地教会从事牧养和领导工作。对于这批基督教会领袖的神学思想和牧养方式和领导作风，家庭教会的信徒多有批评。中国基督教“两会”作为中国特定社会政治、历史、文化条件下的产物，引起了研究者和观察家许多的思考。由此引申出的中国基督教“三自”教会和“家庭”教会的关系，成为基督教内部“生态”的一个严重问题，值得深入观察和研究。

问及为什么会这么长时间不按立圣职呢？没有牧师谁来牧养曲阜 7000 基督徒呢？他嘟囔着说：“牧师很重要！要管理神的家！”说，目前曲阜的基督教堂点都是自己选出觉得还不错的信徒负责主日讲道。上面的牧师很少下来，顾不过来呀。眼神仍然是充满了忧伤。

或许正是为了应对教牧资源严重短缺这一现实问题，曲阜基督教两会多年来坚持每个周五都要在于庄教堂举办“教牧培训学习”。来自 26 个堂点负责本周主日讲道的人员周五齐聚于庄临时教堂，集中听四场讲道：上下午各两场。要求每位讲道员重点“领受”其中的一场讲道，供主日讲道参考；听一个“见证”；学唱一首圣歌。称为“三个一”。

据曲阜各基督教堂点的负责人介绍，曲阜的基督教近几年来进入了一个“停滞”期。有点“传不动”的趋势。年轻人为了生计外出打工了，老年信徒年事已高，慢慢地离世了。又没有很好的“见证”，福音的火就渐渐地不旺了。说曲阜这些年也供了一些神学生出去念神学，但是回到曲阜当地事奉的很少。问及原因，当地人说不甚了了。

以农村信徒为主的曲阜基督教会，在教牧资源匮乏的情况下，如何进一步发展？这当然不一定是研究者必须关注的问题。近年来，并非是来自严谨观察和严格统计的一种信息，在社会公众舆论中蔓延：“开个开放以来，基督教的迅猛增长严重威胁着中国宗教生态的平衡。”然而，就我们对曲阜基督教的初步观察和统计而论（也非严谨和严格），当地基督教会发展事实上正面临着重重困境。其中，有来自外部的压力，也有内部增长的瓶颈限制。

三、结语

1. 儒耶之争的性质

一直以来，在很多以儒学为业的知识分子眼中，中国文化原本有一个“合礼”的秩序和格局，那就是以儒为主，以道为次，以释（佛）为客。历史上的儒家，对于历朝历代的政治现况并非感到满意，但只要朝廷给予儒学的独尊地位未受到实质性影响，就总算可以说得过去。为了维护孔子儒学的独特地位和优势，儒家经常需要与它的竞争者作战。历史上，儒家的辟佛拒老，倒不一定是非得把佛老赶出中国，而是不能让佛、老占据了中国文化的主位。然而，谁能真正阻止对儒学地位的“僭越”？根据儒家对于传统中国社会的政治格局和权力模式的理解和判断，当然是朝廷。所以，儒家经常鼓动和策动朝廷反对佛、老。

道教是本土的，甘愿屈居次位。佛教是外来的，识趣地居于客位。儒家对此感到比较满意。居于主位的儒家大门是敞开的，可以接纳来自四面八方的客人。因此，你甚至不能指责儒家封闭、排外。儒家很好客，也愿意以礼待客。但有一个前提：客就是客，必须守客的本分，不能喧宾夺主，或者说只能客随主便（儒学十教授联名签署的意见书中公开指责基督教“喧宾夺主”，这很耐人寻味）。

佛、老的问题经过了长期的争执和磨合，可以说基本上已经解决了。近代以来，却突然又冒出来个基督教的问题，令儒家感到十分棘手和麻烦。直到今日，提起基督教，很多儒者总是感到气不顺、意难平、心不安。于是，便有了所谓的“儒耶之争”，也可汇入近代以来所开启的中西“体用”之争。不难发现，在“儒耶之争”中，儒家既强调他的被动地位（被西方文化、基督教入侵）又往往是主动亮剑的一方。无论是进攻还是防守，儒者的目标很明确，保住儒学在中国文化中的主位！出于战略考虑，为了对付基督教这个外来客，儒家甚至不惜联合一切可以联合的力量，共同作战。这时，儒道释属于同一阵营，因为同属于中国文化！西方的科学和理性启蒙也可以拿来一用，因为都是反对基督教的！还有一个最大的杀手锏，过去对付佛老时用过，就是策动当朝反对敌人。这个威力更大。

如果把曲阜建堂事件放到上述儒道释关系模式中加以理解，就不难看清楚“儒耶之争”的真正性

质。甚至儒学十教授反对曲阜建教堂所采取的技术路径都跟传统的做法一模一样。这一点十分耐人寻味。

2. 基督宗教在中国社会中的地位

按照我们的观察和判断,无论是哪一方先挑起争端,基督宗教要想在当代中国社会发挥作用,就不能不受上述竞争关系和模式的影响。事实上,自从基督宗教传入中国以来,其在中国社会中的地位就一直比较尴尬和被动。作为外来宗教(“洋教”)的基督宗教,经常被拿来与佛教相比较。同样作为外来宗教的佛教,至少有两点被中国人所称道:一,它是“骑着大象”来的,意思是佛教是和平进入中国的。而基督宗教的大规模进入是伴随着西方列强的洋枪和大炮来的。于是,基督宗教自来在中国便有了“侵略工具”的污名。二是佛教最终彻底实现了“中国化”,其与中国本土儒、道二家文化所实现的高度融合,一直为中国社会各界所称道。牟宗三先生曾经批评基督宗教说:“不能坚持说‘只有一个是基督,其他人只能作基督徒。’你若是要否定‘一切众生皆可以成佛’,‘人人可以成为圣人’,这样我们不接受。……耶稣也不过是个圣人,为什么必须通过他始能得救呢?为什么单单耶稣可以直接,我们就不能呢?这是抹杀天下人生命的本质。……基督教的教义不能永远停在这儿。如果说基督不是人转化成的,一定是上帝派遣下来的。人人不能作基督,人人只能作基督徒。这样一来,就不能和中国文化的教义形态相适应,当然就要产生相互排拒性。”(《鹅湖》23期,1977年5月)。

一直以来,很多关心基督宗教在中国社会处境的人士,支过很多招数,以改变基督宗教在中国社会中的尴尬和被动地位。大致说来不外乎以下三条途径:

A. 实现基督宗教的中国化或说“本土化”。这是什么意思呢?说到底,就是让基督宗教真正融入中国固有的文化传统。而这又是什么意思呢?我举一个例子,大家一起思考一下,看其中所包含的是什么性质的问题。有一个农村老太太信了基督教的福音。逢人便说信基督好。人家问她好在哪里啊?她说:有病了就祷告,不用打针不用吃药。主会给你治病。问她主是谁?她说:就是天上的老天爷啊!后来这个老太太又不信主了。为什么呢?因为祷告没有治好病。你说这样的基督教信仰本土化程度如何呢?

B. 减少基督宗教的张力。有宗教社会学家的研究表明,不同的宗教会处在与周围社会政治文化环境的不同张力轴线的不同位置。基督宗教以其独特的信仰与中国社会的政治文化环境保持了一定的张力,这是客观事实。如果减少张力的意思是必须改变基督宗教信仰的性质,这就跟上面说的“本土化”难题是一个性质。如何改变呢?或者,保持适度的张力未必完全是坏事情?

C. 基督宗教去制度化。很多人对于基督宗教坚持其信仰的独特性表示不理解,为什么不能放弃基督宗教的“教会”特征,而把基督宗教改造成个人修身养性的事情呢?你在家吃斋念佛没有人管你,你如果只是从内心里相信上帝,谁又能管得了你呢?基督教为何不能“去制度”化呢?制度性的基督宗教难道不正是其难以融入中国社会的症结所在吗?

3. 基督宗教的“使命”

牟宗三先生早年断言:如果基督宗教不改变其教义形态,就不能和中国文化相适应。如果基督宗教不能融入中国文化的心灵,认同中国文化的生命形态,就断难实现对中国文化的领导作用。这里带出来一个看似很重要的问题:基督宗教进入中国的真正目的究竟是什么?在中国的土地上,做中国公民的人,一旦信仰了基督,归入基督教会,这究竟意味着什么?

从儒家的角度来看,进入中国的基督教并非只是作为一个宗教信仰的选项,进入普通中国人的信仰选择当中,而是意味着基督教、西方文化和文明对于儒学、中国文化和文明的主动进犯。于是,儒家对于进入中国的基督宗教,由防范进而到公开表达敌意和排斥,这一切看起来,并非无缘无故,亦非背

情悖理。可是,有一个长期被人忽略的问题是:假如是中国人自觉自愿地选择基督教作为救赎灵魂和改善人生的资材呢?儒家要怎么样看待和处理中国人在选择宗教信仰时的自主性和“自由”呢?当年,牟宗三先生在这个问题上公开表达了其十分纠结的感情和思想。他说,吾人深知宗教信仰自由之可贵,也不反对人信仰基督教。然而,吾人认为,一个自认为是炎黄子孙的有良心的中国人,绝不应该信仰基督教。今天的儒家,一定要,或者说只能采取牟宗三先生一样的态度吗?

事实上,按照我们对于基督宗教福音性质的认识和理解,基督宗教进入中国既不应该有特别的文化使命,也不应该有具体的政治使命。耶稣基督教导门徒说:你们往普天下去,传福音给万民听!这福音是神的大能,要救一切相信的——把一个一个罪人的灵魂从犯罪和死亡当中拯救出来!这应该是基督徒按照圣经所理解的基督宗教福音的本质!因为这是耶稣基督所托付与基督教会(信徒)的唯一“大使命”!

如果是这样,那么,基督宗教在当代中国社会所可能发挥的作用,说到底似乎只应该与这个“大使命”有关。守住了这个大使命,也就守住了基督宗教的本质和本位。在其本质和本位上运作的基督宗教似乎不会与中国传统文化相冲突,也不会与中国政治生活相冲突。因为事实上在“文化”的和“政治的”层面上,基督宗教和它们之间并不存在竞争关系。

那么,在“宗教的”层面上呢?传入中国的基督教会跟中国的哪些东西构成竞争关系?按照我们的判断,基督教当然只会跟中国的各种“宗教”构成关系。进一步问:要如何处理基督教与各种宗教的关系?原则上说,上有国家的法律、法规及宗教管理政策,下有老百姓千百年来积累的处理宗教信仰问题的经验和智慧,如果说前者提供了处理各种宗教间关系的基本框架,那么后者则会发展出各种宗教如何实际相处的生存模式。这些都是可资利用的资源。譬如,在孔府中建佛堂楼,就是在不违背当时皇朝宗教“政策”前提下处理与佛教关系的一种生活的智慧。

如果曲阜当地民众自觉、自愿地选择基督教信仰,而国家法律、法规、宗教政策又允许基督教自由发展,当然,按照目前的实际情况,国家允许各种宗教自由发展(中华人民共和国宪法赋予了中国公民自由选择宗教信仰的基本权利;国家保护各种“正常”宗教活动),那么,这可否理解为,在现当代中国处理各种宗教信仰之间关系的基本框架和模式应该是,让各种宗教在类似市场竞争的框架和模式中自由发展呢?

English Title:

One of the Research Reports on religious “Ecology” in Qufu the “Holy Land”
——Taking the Relationship between Confucianism and Christianity as an example

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Abstract: According to the two significant events which happened in Qufu the “Holy Land” in 2010, especially the “Event of Church – Building in Qufu”, this article deals with the relationship between local Confucianism and Christianity in Qufu. Based on some related sources and a survey of Confucianism and Christianity in Qufu, the article analyzes the role that Confucianism plays in local religious life, as well as its influence to the public life in Qufu. As well, the article studies the attitudes to the Event of Church – Building from Christian churches (official church and family church) in Qufu. It concludes by showing the basic framework of “Jouyet Dispute”, and responding to the religious ecological imbalance in China in recent years.

Key words: Qufu the “Holy Land”, Confucius-Confucianism, Confucius-Confucian Religion, the Event of Church-Building in Qufu, Jouyet relationship.

当代中国大陆网络基督徒社群研究^①

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提要:互联网在宗教方面的应用可追溯至1980年代初。1990年代的前五年中,中国大陆基督徒开始透过中文网站 BBS 沟通交流,成为网络基督徒。直至21世纪初的十年里,宗教媒体网站、宗教团体以及电邮群组开始在互联网上大量涌现。尤其对于中国大陆网络基督徒,当局宗教媒体几乎陷入失语的状态,基督徒 QQ 群(抑或是博客、诸如 Facebook 的社交网站、Youku 等视频分享网站、chinacath.org 数据库以及其他视觉媒体)成为传递宗教讯息的重要媒介。不同背景的信徒相聚在一个群组,成为他们日常生活空间和社会交往局限的延伸。

关键词:网络宗教 中国大陆 基督宗教信仰 网络社群

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互联网络(Internet)在融入民众日常生活的同时正在改变世界宗教的发展轨迹和面貌。各国政府、媒体、国际组织、研究机构和学者除了关注网络与国际关系、网络与市场经济、网络与社会、网络与文化交流等,也开始对“网络宗教”展开思考。^② 中国大陆对“网络宗教”的研究略显滞后,但已经得到充分的重视。继2004年10月上海复旦大学举办“网络时代的宗教”学术研讨会后,2010年12月初中国政界、学界、宗教界和传媒界代表人士齐集的“当代宗教媒体的责任与定位”研讨会在上海玉佛禅寺

^① 在此笔者要特别感谢互联网络上接受采访和参与网络调查并就主旨调查内容提出详尽修改意见和建议的基督信徒。[该文获得第一届中芬天使学术论文奖二等奖。This essay has been received the Second Prize of Sino - Finnish Angel Academic Essay Prize.]

^② 方立天 Fang Litian, “宗教媒体与文化自觉” Zongjiao meiti yu wenhua zijue [Religious Media and Cultural Self - Consciousness], 于《中国宗教》Zhongguo zongjiao [China Religion], no. 12(2011): 30 - 32。另,姚南强 Yao Nanqiang 在“新媒体网络宗教:挑战还是机遇”Xin meiti wangluo zongjiao: tiaozhan haishi jiyu [New Internet Media Religion: challenges or opportunities?] 于“凤凰网·佛教”http://fo.ifeng.com/guandian/detail_2010_12/13/3474373_0.shtml 指出,网络宗教迄今尚无明确定义,可以区分为两种:“广义上说,网络宗教就是指网络上的宗教,既可以指宗教在网上的弘布,也可以包括仅存于网上而无实体的虚拟宗教;狭义上说,网络宗教是以英特网(Internet)为载体,建立网上教团、网上寺庙,倡导网上修行、网上崇拜,通过版主与网民互动而建立起来的宗教形式”。该定义未必能够概括网络宗教的全貌,类似于国际学者对于“religion online”与“online - religion”概念的分别界定。

召开。^③ 2011年3月9日,国家宗教事务局局长王作安做客人民网强国论坛。^④ 国际上较为著名的有网络宣教论坛(Internet Mission Forum)。^⑤ 当前主要研究方向有网络宗教的现状及反思研究,网络宗教中概念定义研究以及网络宗教未来展望等。国内外关于网络与宗教的研究也将引向深入。其中,一些学者已经开始对互连网络与宗教互动的研究。作为一个新兴研究领域,网络宗教的研究方法正呈现出多样化的趋势。

《天风》杂志在2009年8月刊“每月话题”栏目的主题即“基督徒与网络”。然则,与众多相关文论类似,侧重于福音传播,未能深入基督徒群体,考查当前基督徒的网络参与情况。^⑥ Heidi Campbell所著 *Exploring Religious Community Online: We are One in the Network* 为正视宗教信众互连网络社群的一部重要论著;之后,对网络基督徒社群进行个案研究。^⑦ 唐明辉对长沙市网络基督徒的调查研究认为网络宗教生活“加强了信徒的宗教性水平”。^⑧ 笔者撰写本文力图对当前中国大陆基督宗教信徒网络社群的互动研究做一些有益探索,将基督平信徒完整的网络生活纳入考察范围,运用网络社会学、网络心理学、国际关系学、心理学和社会统计学等理论方法,重新估量互连网络对信徒宗教性等的

③ 中国大陆学者较早研究网络宗教者有吴义雄 Wu Yixiong,“互联网上的基督教新教” *Hulianwang shang de jidujiao xinjiao* [Online Protestantism],于《世界宗教文化》 *Shijie zongjiao wenhua* [the Religious Cultures in the World] 67, no.2(2000):15-16。徐以骅 Xu Yihua 整理“国际宗教网站一览” *Guoji zongjiao wangzhan yilan* [The List of International Religious Websites] 调研和资料选编(2004年),送交国务院发展研究中心民族发展研究所供内部出版。唐明辉 Tang Minghui 在其社会学博士论文“宗教组织的网络影响研究——以玉佛禅寺网站为个案” *Zongjiao zuzhi de wangluo yingxiang yanjiu: yi yufochan si wangzhan wei ge'an* [Marketing on the line of the religious organization: A case study to the www.yufotemple.com], (Shanghai University, PhD. Dissertation, 2008)中描述了复旦大学网络宗教研讨会的景象,参会者多是在校研究生,资深学者寥寥。然而,会议论文集仍能给后来者以启发。该文对国外网络宗教研究进行分类梳理:“技术应用”类,即“对宗教组织和个人运用互联网进行宗教活动现象”的研究;“神学类”,即“各宗教对新时代新现象的反思和意义再解读”;网络宗教的社会学视角分析,即“互连网络对宗教的一般影响,以及这种影响的社会效应”。文中指出世界范围内的网络宗教研究仍处于起步阶段,“研究缺乏实证性”。唐氏另有“网络宗教兴起的社会机制探索” *Wangluo zongjiao xingqi de shehui jizhi tansuo* [The social mechanism of the rise of religious in Internet],于《宗教学研究》 *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* [Religious studies] (2006年第4期)。

④ 人民网 Renminwang,2011年3月9日,http://www.sara.gov.cn/xwzx/xwjj/7438.htm。

⑤ 详情参看网络宣教论坛(IMF)主页:www.internetmissionforum.org。

⑥ 张远来 Zhang Yuanlai,“网络——教会事工的器皿” *Wangluo -- jiaohui shigong de qimin* [The Internet: the vessel for Church Ministries],于《天风》 *Tianfeng* [Heavenly Wind], No. 8 (2009),16-18。

⑦ Heidi Campbell关于网络基督徒社群的研究有“The Question of Christian Community Online: The Case of the ‘Artist World Network’”,载 *Studies in World Christianity*, Vol. 13, No. 3, (2007), 261-277。另可参阅 Heidi A. Campbell and Paul Emerson Teusner,“Religious Authority in the Age of the Internet”, *Virtual Lives*, 2011 (URL: www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/130964.pdf)。Lorne L. Dawson 和 Douglas E. Cowan 编互连网络宗教信徒研究论文集, *Religion Online: Finding Faith on the Internet*, (New York: Routledge, 2004); Douglas E. Cowan, *Cyberspace: Modern Pagans on the Internet*, (London: Routledge, 2005); Paolo Apolito, Antony Shugaar 译, *The Internet and the Madonna: Religious Visionary Experience on the web*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005)。Brenda E. Brasher 著, *Give Me that Online Religion*, in Morten T. Højsgaard 和 Margit Warburg 编, *Religion and Cyberspace*, (London: Routledge, 2005)。

⑧ 唐明辉 Tang Minghui,“网络宗教生活对基督徒的宗教性的影响——以长沙市在线基督徒的宗教生活为实证研究基础” *Wangluo zongjiao shenghuo dui jidutu de zongjiaoxing de yingxiang: yi changshashi zaixian jidutu de zongjiao shenghuo wei shizheng yanjiu jichu* [The online religious life's impact on the Christians: an emperical research for the Christian Internet activities],于《宗教学研究》 *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* [Religious studies], No. 2 (2008),112-116。

影响。^⑨

中国大陆宗教从“三自”运动以来,受中共当局意识形态影响,广播、电视、电影、报纸、书刊等媒体中,宗教群体(尤其是基督宗教)几乎陷入失语的状态。^⑩ 宗教媒体这一灵性媒体(spirituality media)在互联网进入中国前发展长期迟滞。中华人民共和国建国以来,“无神论成为中国教育的正统话语”,“当代中国知识分子对基督教以至宗教的否定及敌视,无疑是这种政治体制宰制的结果”。^⑪ 伴随着中国互联网络的发展,大陆宗教获得了更为广阔的活动空间,此间相当数量的网络基督宗教信仰徒集群悄然形成。^⑫ 研究者也渐渐开始对信徒在互联网上的一些言论予以采信而不是排斥。^⑬

刘金光将网络宗教分为四类:“首要之图”为传教的,如网上教堂;兼做电子商务的,经营宗教图书及宗教用品;宗教文化展示类的,提供宗教绘画、宗教音乐和宗教建筑视讯图片信息;宗教研究机构的

^⑨ Yang Feng-gang and Graeme Lang 合编, *Social Scientific Studies of Religion in China: Methodology, Theories, and Findings* (Brill Academic Publishers, 2011)。Sabine Kalinock 长期在德黑兰做关于伊斯兰教的田野调查,曾就伊朗伊斯兰教什叶派宗教网络生态状况做过调查研究,其中涉及神职人员在互联网上提供宗教服务、普通信众与神职人员以及信徒之间在互联网上的互动,诸如聊天群(chat groups)、网络日志(web logs)、什叶派宗教仪式(Shia rituals in the Internet)以及什叶派宗教线上仪式和线下仪式的比较(Shia rituals online and offline—a comparison)。可以视作宗教信徒网络互动研究的范例。详情参阅 Going on pilgrimage online: the representation of the Twelver-Shia in the Internet, *Online-Heidelberg Journal of Religion on the Internet* 2.1 (2006)。关于青少年网络宗教互动参与的实证研究可参见 Mia Lövheim, “Rethinking cyberreligion: teens, religion and the Internet in Sweden”, in *Nordicom Review* 29, No. 2 (2008), 205-217。此一研究重点关注当下流行的社交网站(social networking sites)与瑞典青少年宗教信徒之间的互动。

^⑩ 后毛时代,中国大陆当局对宗教的宽容度有所提高。参见 Liu Peng, “Church and state relations in China: characteristics and trends”, *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 5, No. 11 (1996), 69-79; Donald E. MacInnis, *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice*, (Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 1989); Chang Chi-p’eng, “The CCP’s policy toward religion”, *Issues & Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 5 (September 1983), 55-70。Pitman B. Potter 在“Belief in Control: Regulation of Religion in China”一文中指出,中国共产党中央政治局常委中分管宗教事务和文化宣传的两位委员扮演重要角色,其次是党的统战部和国务院下属的国家宗教局。该文全面梳理了当代中国大陆宗教政策的演变。详见“Religion in China Today”, *The China Quarterly*, No. 174, (Jun. 2003), 317-337。中文读者可参阅邢福增 Xing Fuzeng [Ying Fuk-tsang] 的《当代中国政教关系》*Dangdai zongjiao zhengjiao guanxi* [Political-Religious Relationships of Contemporary China] (香港 Xianggang: 建道神学院 Jiandao shenxueyuan [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1999)。中国大陆宗教政策放宽后,各宗教信徒急剧增加。

^⑪ 邢福增 Xing Fuzeng [Ying Fuk-tsang], “中国知识分子与基督教信仰” *Zhongguo zhishi fenzi yu jidujiao xinyang* [Chinese Intellectuals and the Christian Faith], 于《基督教中国宗教文化研究社通讯》*Jidujiao zhongguo zongjiao wenhua yanjiushe tongxun* [The newsletter for the Christian study centre on Chinese religion and culture], No. 13 (2006), 香港中文大学崇基学院 Xianggang zhongwen daxue Chongji xueyuan [Hong Kong: Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong]。邢福增认为,中国宗教信徒的社会阶层普遍呈现“三多”(农民多、文盲多、老人多)亦与中国大陆政治制度下的无神论教育有关。同时,基督教信仰民间宗教化。1990年代起,城市基督教会的发展,渐渐突破了“三多”,尤其是高校学生信教现象。

^⑫ 据中国互联网络信息中心(CNNIC)发布的《中国互联网络调查报告》*Zhongguo hulianwangluo diaocha baogao* [A Field Work Report on Chinese Websites] (北京, 2010年7月),截止2010年6月,中国网民规模达到4.2亿,普及率攀升至31.8%。限于研究条件和能力,笔者无法估计接触网络的基督宗教信仰徒的总数等重要数据,面向网络基督信徒所做的网络调查也具有相当的局限性。

^⑬ 左旭生 Zuo Xusheng、王斯琴 Wang Siqin, “网络宗教行为及管理对策浅析” *Wangluo zongjiao xingwei ji guanli duice qianxi* [Analysis of online religious activities and regulation], 载《中国民族报·宗教周刊》*Zhongguo minzu bao · zongjiao zhoukan* [China Ethnic News: Weekly Religion], No. 677, (2007年10月9日), 是从监管控制角度立意,不足在于忽略了网络宗教行为的实际状况考察。王光良 Wang Wenliang 撰文“管制还是保护?——也谈网络宗教活动的行政干预” *Guanzhi haishi baohu: yetan wangluo zongjiao huodong de xingzheng ganyu* [To regulate or to protect: administrative interference on Internet religious activities] 与之商榷。

宗教学研究资源网站。^⑭以QQ群和SNS(Social Network Service)社交网站为主要形式的中国网络社群发展迅猛。可以预见,在未来的突发事件中,网络社群很可能成为继微博(micro-blog)后有一种影响力极强的传播工具。^⑮笔者于2011年1月起在互联网上发起“当代中国基督宗教信徒互联网络互动调查”^⑯。笔者调查的目标群体有:基督宗教信徒QQ聊天群若干、同志基督徒QQ群若干、基督信徒网络讨论区(BBS)若干。^⑰

基督徒社群中,有一部分是以现实社会中的关系为基础的。随着互联网络技术的发展,网络媒体,尤其是社交网络(SNS)、博客(含微博)和即时通讯工具等,正在模拟现实社会。彭兰在“2009年中国新媒体传播学年会”之“新媒体与社会交往”主题发言时曾提出,人们开始注重网络空的印象管理、自我表达、社会交往等层面的需求,身处的社会网络结构对个体施加影响。^⑱现实社会交往理论有助于我们理解和解释网络社群个体之间、个体和群体之间的相互影响。

一、中文网络宗教与网络社群发展概况

中国大陆官方关于网民、宗教信徒的统计调查近年来不曾间断。中国互联网络信息中心(CNNIC)2011年1月发布《中国互联网络发展状况统计报告》,截至2010年12月,中国网民规模达到4.57亿。^⑲中国社会科学院世界宗教研究所课题公布的《中国宗教报告2010》中,仅基督新教信徒规模即有2305万。^⑳

网络社群(Internet Communities/Network Communities),又名虚拟社群(Virtual Communities)、虚拟社区、电子社群等,是多个网民透过互联网,互相结识对方、分享交流的群体,建立人际关系产生的一种社会群体。就当前互联网发展情形,网络社群主要是指BBS、留言板、讨论区、新闻组、即时通讯软件(MSN、QQ等)、网志(即博客,包括微型网志,如Twitter、新浪微博等)、社交网站(如Facebook、人人网等)、视频分享网站(如YouTube、优酷等)等。

^⑭ 刘金光 Liu Jinguang,“国际互联网与宗教渗透”Guoji hulianwang yu zongjiao shengtou [The Internet and religious infiltration],《中国宗教》Zhongguo zongjiao [China Religion],No. 8,(2003),25-27。刘氏在文中承认网络宗教对中国宗教管控多个方面产生冲击和挑战,并提出建立优质宗教网站等积极应对手段与外部宗教网站对垒。类似带有意识形态的研究性论述有孔卫英 Kong Weiyang:“新兴媒体条件下宗教向高校渗透的方式、特点及预防思考”Xinxing meiti tiaojian xia zongjiao xiang gaoxiao shengtou de fangshi tedian jiyufang sikao [The ways and features of religion's penetration into colleges and universities under the condition of the present new mass media, and its defending research],《重庆社会主义学院学报》Chongqing shehui zhuyi xueyuan xuebao [Journal of Chongqing Institute of Socialism],No. 1,(2009),63-65。赵冰 Zhao Bing 的网络宗教研究中提及中国大陆各类宗教网络社群的存在,参见其文“中国宗教互联网状况简析”Zhongguo zongjiao hulianwang zhuangkuang jianxi [Analysis of China's online religion situation],载《理论界》Lilun jie [Theory horizon],no. 4,(2010),162-163。

^⑮ 人民网舆情监测室,《2010年中国互联网舆情分析报告》2010 nian Zhongguo hulianwang yuqing fenxi baogao [A Report of Situation Analysis on Chinese Websites in year 2010],<http://media.people.com.cn/GB/137684/13489714.html>。

^⑯ 笔者拟定的“当代中国基督宗教信徒互联网络互动调查表”网络发布地址:<http://www.zhijizhibi.com/questionnaire/249821460?test=1>,亦附于文后。该调查表的不断完善得到友好信徒的支持和帮助,笔者谨此致谢。

^⑰ QQ是当下中国大陆网民最为流行的网络聊天(即时通讯)工具。群聊是其一个重要功能。

^⑱ 彭兰,《从封闭的虚拟社区到开放的社会网络》Cong fengbi de xuni shequ dao kaifang de shehui wangluo [From the closed imagined community to an open social network]。

^⑲ 《报告》详情参见http://www.cnnic.net.cn/research/bgxz/tjbg/201101/t20110120_20302.html。

^⑳ 金泽 Jin Ze、邱永辉 Qin Yong-hui,《中国宗教报告2010》Zhongguo zongjiao baogao 2010 [Annual Report on China's Religions],(北京 Beijing:中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [China Social Sciences Press],2010。

中国网民也都融入了互联网络社群,^②中国基督宗教信徒也在大量加入。笔者通过谷歌以关键词“基督徒 QQ 群”检索,获得约 23 万条网页链接。^③对现有众多大陆中文基督宗教信徒网络社群进行分类,信徒集结的原因有信徒间生活区域相近、婚恋交友、职业交流、学生社交、同性恋等共同性倾向、公益助残、青年团契(含网络团契)、基督神学院校学生、基督信徒(含教职人员)在内的学术研究等。诸多基督徒网络社群名称向外界提示其定位,对内也暗示群体的活动边界,利于有共同需求的信徒找到自己的身份归属。笔者对豆瓣网上的基督宗教信徒社群分类:综合型的,唯有“基督徒”小组,参与者有新教徒、公教徒和正教徒;共同兴趣爱好的有“基督徒看电影”小组、“基督徒旅游”小组和“今日基督教中文讨论组”等;以地域范围划分的有,“上海基督徒”小组、“成都基督徒”小组、“海淀堂”小组等;以婚恋交友为导向的有,“独身的基督徒们”小组、“主爱合一:基督徒婚恋交友”小组等;以青年基督徒为主体的“三一堂少年团契”小组、“青年团契”小组等;同性性向基督徒群体有“基督徒同志 1.0”小组、“同志也虔诚”小组;共同职业的基督徒群体有“五月花企业家经理人团契”小组;基督宗教学术研究方向有“资料文献(天主教,耶稣会与 中国)“小组、基督教会史”小组和“Chinese Christian Studies 中国基督教研究”小组等。

二、网络基督宗教信徒社群生态情况简述

互联网络成为中国内地良好的福音传播媒介,各地信众自愿主动发起各类团体,尽管团体内部的联系多是虚拟的。笔者透过互动信息流量较大的豆瓣网(douban.com)基督徒群组和基督信徒 QQ 群展开网络调查。^④大陆信徒在被问及自己信仰状况时仍旧相当敏感,笔者以旁观者或是慕道者身份了解社群内部的沟通,尽量减少介入。在此,笔者从广义上定义网络基督徒,即基督信徒(或慕道友)中的互联网络使用者。^⑤

笔者自 2011 年 3 月 18 日“蹲点”调查的某同性恋基督徒 QQ 群,截至 2011 年 5 月 13 日,共有群

^① 《中国网络社区研究报告简版 2010 年》*Zhongguo wangluo shequ yanjiu baogao jianban* [A Brief Version of Chinese Social Network Research Report 2010] (调查时间:2010 年 7 月 24 日至 9 月 5 日), <http://www.scio.gov.cn/wlcb/hzlhb/201012/P020101203529005499631.pdf>, 第 10 页。

^② 谷歌搜索 www.google.com, 2011 年 5 月 19 日。

^③ 驻扎在豆瓣网的基督徒 BBS“小组”即有 120 个。信众多、互动活跃的小组有“基督徒”小组、“基督教新教”小组、“天主教——我信有圣而公教会”小组。

^④ 吴幼婷 Wu Youting 的台湾网络宗教研究认为,使用者仍以实体教会环境为主要宗教追求方式,看待网络宗教以“搜寻灵性知识工具”及“宗教社交支持”为主。研究者认为,网络宗教未来可能会使权力下放到每位网络宗教信徒,引发多重改变。参见其文“台湾基督教网路宗教研究之初探”*Taiwan jidujiao wangluozongjiao yanjiu zhi chutan* [A Preliminary Study on the Taiwan Christianity Online Religion], (国立交通大学传播研究所硕士论文,2007)。Lee Chia - Ying 研究社交网络与台湾基督宗教之关系,参见其硕士论文“Christianity & digital culture: analysis of the users' experiences of the Christian social networking site in Taiwan - Walei”, (May 3rd, 2011), University of Jyväskylä, Finland; URL: <https://jyx.jyu.fi/dspace/bitstream/handle/123456789/26950/URN%3ANBN%3Afi%3Aju-2011051210790.pdf?sequence=1>。《福音进中国——网路上下的对话》*Fuyin jin zhongguo—Wangluo shangxia de duihua* [the Gospel and China: dialogue between the superior and the subordinate] (美国基督使者协会 Meiguo jidu shizhe xiehui [American Association of Christ's Apostles], 2007 年)一书的作者范学德 Fan Xuede 称,所谓“网上基督徒”,就是“利用业余时间在网上来传递基督教的信仰”。参见其文“网络宣教——当代宣教新领域”*Wangluo xuanjiao—Dangdai xuanjiao xin lingyu* [Internet Mission: A New domain for contemporary missoinary], 《大使命》*Da shiming* [The Great Commission] 双月刊,第 76 期,(2008 年 10 月)。“网络基督徒”已为大陆基督徒用作定义自己的身份的名词,如,网友“白鸽子”的博文“致没有远方和关注灾区志愿者的网络基督徒”*Zhi meiyou yuanyang he guanzhu zaiqu zhiyuanzhe de wangluo jidutu* [To those Internet Christians, who do not have the Idea of Far Away and who Care about the Volunteers in Disaster Areas], http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_5007cfa00100bvc.html。

成员 197 人,主要散布于中国内地的北京、广州、成都等大中城市,境外华人信徒 6 人。^⑤“同志基督徒”这一特殊群体借由互网络成功集结起来。特殊身份间的互动下,建构其特有的基督信仰文化。诚如李向平所指出的,“中国社会的公民文化在文化资源层面是最为缺乏的”。^⑥当下的互网络给予基督信徒一个较为自由的空间。群成员交流中,逐步形成“领导层”,应对群内事务,制定言行规范的准则,界定成员权利和义务。基督徒群体的身份认同因着这些成文或不成文的规范得到加强。群主作为群内基督徒的核心人物,拟定的规范准则头条即是对群体的定义——“成人同志基督徒群”。此外,又对此定义加以解释和补充,如,同样接纳其他性取向或性生理状态的群体及一些言行方面的约束性条款。

基督信徒网络参与的层次和方面存有诸多差异。BBS 是最早吸引基督徒集结起来的网络社交平台。1996 年,南开大学 BBS 开设“圣经版”,开风气之先。之后,以知识分子为代表的大陆基督教个人网站兴起。基督教网站建设日趋专业化,各自定位发展明确。既有官方管理机构、各地教会、宗教媒体组织的网站,亦有民间信徒、宗教学者等个人网站等。^⑦然而,时至今日,缘由种种,大陆各地教会在互网络时代几乎仍处于失声状态。^⑧大众媒体对宗教过敏。^⑨即便是宗教媒体,多集中报道宗教管理机构、宗教领袖的政令或会议考察活动等。尽管当局提出宗教与社会主义相适应、共建和谐社会的政治号召,官方机构、教会组织(尤其是基督宗教)与境外团体的交流、向灾区捐赠物资等在大众媒体上“销声匿迹”。普通基督信徒更是被置于公众视野之外。笔者认为,活跃的网络基督徒属于网络宗教研究的范畴。

在前述情势下,中国基督徒此一身份群体几乎与社会外层的有机联系被“阻断”,其宗教性更多地体现于内部群体间的互动,更易于捕捉到。关于网络基督教宗教性的考量,笔者通过对基督徒较长时间的蹲点观察记录、访谈、调查取得的资料进行分析。

网络基督徒社群模拟实体教会生活。网络基督信徒里的弟兄姊妹在某一网络空间的集结保持相对稳定,随意“加入”或“退出”者甚少,间有牧师参与讨论。网络社群的资讯和交流平台满足基督徒的社交需要,乃至移植到线下生活中。高度现代性世界,出现超越个体活动和个人参加的场景,是“充满着风险和危险的世界”^⑩。范丽珠亦认为,现代社会中,“个体化的宗教信仰并没有使人的社会性流失,反而更加深了个体对社会的关注”。^⑪网络基督徒间建立现实联系的尝试则是其社会性一面的

^⑤ 以网络基督徒社群言论对宗教情感进行研究的范例参见“网络生活中的宗教情感——基于基督徒网络聊天的内容分析” Wangluo shenghuo zhong de zongjiao qinggan; jiyu jidutu wangluo liaotian de neirong fenxi [The Religious Emotion in the Internet Life: Content Analysis Based on Christian Network - Chat],《当代教育与文化》*Dangdai jiaoyu yu wenhua* [Contemporary Education and Culture], No. 2, (2011), 61 - 64。

^⑥ 李向平 Li Xiangping,“从“宗教文化”到“公民文化”——兼论当代中国宗教社会角色的转变” Cong zongjiao wenhua dao gongmin wenhua: jianlun dangdai zhongguo zongjiao shehui jiaose de zhuanbian [From Religious Culture to Civic Culture],《江海学刊》*Jianghai xuekan* [Jianghai Academic Journal], No. 2, (2011), 113 - 120。

^⑦ 福音时报网站,2007 年 11 月 19 日,“网友谈内地基督教网络事工发展需更加协调与开阔”,http://www.gospeltimes.cn/news/2007_11_19/1156.htm,2011 年 5 月 16 日下载。

^⑧ 福音时报网站,2010 年 9 月 1 日,“中国基督教网络教会的现状与未来”,http://www.gospeltimes.cn/news/2010_09_01/14791.htm,2011 年 5 月 16 日下载。

^⑨ 张世辉 Zhang Shihui,“浅析媒体“遗忘”宗教的原因” Qianxi meiti yiwang zongjiao de yuanyin [A Preparatory Analysis on the Oblivion of Religion by Mass Media],《世界宗教文化》*Shijie zongjiao wenhua* [The Religion Cultures in the World], No. 5, (2010), 6 - 10。

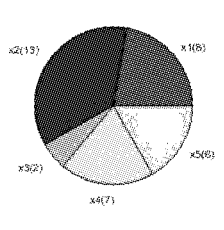
^⑩ 安东尼·吉登斯 Andongni . Jidengsi [Anthony Giddens] 著,赵旭东 Zhao Xudong 等译,《现代性与自我认同》*Xiandaixing yu ziwo rentong* [Modernity and Self-identity], (北京 Beijing: 三联书店 Sanlian shudian [Sanlian Bookstore Press],1998), 13。

^⑪ 范丽珠 Fan Lizhu,“现代社会的“宗教性”阐释:深圳民间宗教研究发微” Xiandai shehui de zongjiaoxing chanshi: shenzhen minjian zongjiao yanjiu fawei [Hypotheses on modern man's religiosity: Based on investigations in the city of Shenzhen],《社会》*Shehui* [the Society], No. 2, (2004), 6。

流露。

表 1：网络基督徒交往虚拟与现实关系转换意愿^②

网络上结交的教友会成为您的线下好友吗？（多选题，受访者共 30 人）	
乐于同网上教友交友，相当顺利（x1）	8 / (27%)
方便往来的，成为线下好友（x2）	13 / (43%)
无论距离远近，都有线下往来（x3）	2 / (7%)
未尝试过，暂时没有这类意愿（x4）	7 / (23%)
计划尝试（x5）	6 / (20%)



三、网络基督徒群体的虚拟生活与社会交往

网络基督徒交往中的社会性与其群体身份认同有着千丝万缕的联系。历史（群体）记忆固然是形成网络宗教信徒认同的重要因素。^③ 网络基督徒有着共同宗教信仰生活；内地网络社群语言相通；同时，生活于更大的公众集体记忆之下。网络基督徒通过互联网频繁接触交流，一起读经、赞美，互致问候，坦露个人的基督信仰体验。因着职业、地域、性别、年龄、宗派和教育经历等分离出的网络基督社群，某些集体记忆在交流对话中被强调，社群的凝聚力进一步强化。笔者调查的某大学生基督徒网络社群则有零星的结伴旅游、相约礼拜或是差旅会晤。广州基督教青年会（GZ - YMCA）则设立徽标、网络 BBS；根据不同服务对象，划分小组，如地贫组、图书馆组、童声童戏组等共 12 个小组，每一小组另设有博客（blog）主页；作为官方注册社会组织，与广东省残疾人康复中心等非营利慈善机构保持合作。故而，王明珂所论之“历史记忆”是“强调一民族、族群或社会群体的根基性情感联系（primordial attachments）”，称之为“根基历史”。^④

网络基督徒社群调查中，笔者能够强烈感受到其特有的氛围。少数受访者在被问及圣名、领洗堂、籍贯、户籍、年龄段时，出于对个人隐私和敏感的政治社会情势的顾忌，抵触戒备心理强烈。网络基督宗教信息资源分享引起基督徒共同关注和讨论。^⑤ 网络查经、教理解读、领袖著作阅读、基督教网络媒体网站地址链接分享多见于各基督教论坛。已故杰出传道人留下丰富的精神文化遗产，备受基督徒推崇，其著作被上传至互互联网，基督徒的灵修选择愈加丰富。除综合性网络论坛外，社群定位细化，均由基督徒自发创设，模拟基督徒现实宗教生活。研究者借由自由开放的网络社群一窥基督徒生活现况，了解当前中国基督宗教生态必须审视网络基督徒社群发展动态。

^② 陈焕强 Chen Huanqiang, “当代中国基督宗教信徒互互联网互动调查表” Dangdai Zhongguo jidu zongjiao xintu hulianwangluo hudong dianchabiao [A Questionnaire on the Internet Interaction among Contemporary Chinese Christians] (2011 年 1 月 15 日 - 2011 年 5 月 18 日网络调查) <http://www.zhijizhibi.com/questionnaire/249821460/analysis/pie/all?scroll=2>

^③ 群体认同与历史记忆、集体记忆 (collective memory) 路径研究相关范例参见：任娟娟 Ren Juanjuan: “网络穆斯林社群的历史记忆与族群认同：对中国穆斯林网站 BBS 社群的个案研究” Wangluo muslim shequn de lishi jiyi yu zuqun rentong: dui zhongguo muslim wangzhan BBS shequn de ge'an yanjiu [The Cyber-community of Muslim's Historical Memory and Ethnic Identity: A Case Study on BBS of the Chinese Muslim Website], 载《青海民族研究》Qinghai minzu yanjiu [Nationalities Research in Qinghai], Vol. 19, No. 2, (2008), 43 - 48。

^④ 王明珂 Wang Mingke: “历史事实、历史记忆与历史心性” Lishi shishi lishi jiyi yu lishi xinxing, 《历史研究》Lishi yanjiu [Historical Research], No. 5, (2001), 138。

^⑤ 如“天主教——我信有圣而公教会”豆瓣 BBS 之“索引 - 网络相关网站及论坛索引” (<http://www.douban.com/group/topic/8052096/>) “索引 - 网络相关数位资料索引” (<http://www.douban.com/group/topic/8072817/>)。

游走于网络与教堂(或是家庭教会,官方称“地下教会”)之间的基督徒,面对虚拟和现实相当从容。网络代祷联结着基督徒的现实生活,如个人学业、工作、情感、健康和亲友,但更广范围社会公共事务话题鲜有。教堂是地区周边基督信徒的归属,获得牧养的崇高而圣洁之地。教堂,作为教会实体的象征,接受当局的管制。教友信徒主动分享地方教堂弥撒活动的主题等讯息。“天主教广州教区·石室耶稣圣心堂”所设豆瓣友情小组有“资料文献(天主教,耶稣会与中国)”上海“徐家汇天主堂”。奠基于1863年的石室圣心天主教座堂,是天主教广州教区的主教座堂。^{⑤6} 教区内除石室耶稣圣心主教座堂外,广州市内另有沙面露德圣母堂、宝岗圣母圣心堂、广州市天河区活动点和增城圣母进教之佑堂,省内另有7个教堂和活动点。天主教广州教区网站发布教会管理机构重要资讯,豆瓣小组是会众互动交流的主要场所。教会或教区专属网络BBS或即时通讯工具成为联结地区基督教信徒的良好渠道。^{⑤7} 教宗和枢机主持主日大弥撒、讲道的音频和视讯。“资料文献(天主教,耶稣会与中国)”学术研究的意味明显,是“收藏、转载天主教及其他基督宗教来华历史,特别是明末至民国时期天主教与中国文化交流、宗教对话有关的文献或链接”。天主教徒可以此为窗口,了解天主教在华的历史和文化变迁。宗教学术研究机构网站公开提供讯息资源或网络链接。^{⑤8} 信徒共同的兴趣之一即学习基督宗教的历史文化,包括基督宗教的音乐、影视和著作等文化产品的消费(参见下页表2)。

表2 网络基督徒宗教类网站浏览习惯调查

您在浏览宗教类网站或其他网站时,会注意:(多选题,受访者共30人)	
选项	数量/比例
综合类(门户)网站涉及的国内外基督宗教新闻资讯(x1)	13/(43%)
基督教堂发布的活动通知(x2)	13/(43%)
教友自发活动通知(x3)	11/(37%)
传经布道内容(x4)	17/(57%)
基督宗教历史文化内容(x5)	22/(73%)
基督教会组织等的捐赠慈善活动(x6)	14/(47%)
传递祝福等讯息(x7)	10/(33%)
下载基督宗教音乐、电影、书籍等文化作品(x8)	22/(73%)
研修基督宗教历史文化知识(x9)	16/(53%)
对一些宗教团体机构发行的“内部出版物”感兴趣(x10)	9/(30%)

网络基督徒对教会亦有表达出离心倾向者。网络宗教产生和演变中,出现利于宗教信徒疏离现实教会的文化形态。徐以骅提出“电脑空间上的宗教”(religion on cyberspace)与“电脑空间中的宗教”(religion in cyberspace)两个概念,互联网时代,“建制宗教衰落”,“更接近路德目标”;宗教发展出现“商品化、时尚化”的倾向,致使“信仰退化”“物质基督教”,其权威性和神秘性丧失;其后果之一,

^{⑤6} 天主教广州教区主页 <http://www.gzcatholic.org/>。

^{⑤7} 关于网络宗教与现实社群的研究可参见 Christopher Helland, Online - religion/religion - online and virtual communities, Jeffery K. Hadden, Douglas E. Cowan(Eds.), *Religion on the Internet: Research Prospects and Promises*, (JAI Press: New York, 2000), 205 - 224.

^{⑤8} 耶鲁神学院 Yelu shenxueyuan [Yale Theological Seminary] 图书馆网站: www.library.yale.edu/div/forfree.html。

“在世俗和私人化的基督教世界成为离散力量”。³⁹

网络宗教信息资源丰富,信徒、教会或研究机构等上传至网络发布的讯息资料以吸引信徒关注和互动。在这过程中,发起者都在有意或无意地引导信众在网络上完成信仰体验交流。上智编译馆提供便捷的圣经检索服务,无论研究者,还是信徒,都可在此查经、读经。⁴⁰“天主教在线”作为官方设立的“中文天主教门户网站”,亦即宗教管理当局的外围宗教媒体网站,发布国内外天主教新闻资讯,天主教经典文献资料、研究著作电子版。⁴¹网站开通信徒QQ群,提供手机浏览服务。内外联系均以电子形式。为加强有效互动,开设独立不依附于其他综合性网站的“天主教微博”、“天主教百科测试”。值得注意的是,网站发起的网络调查活动则有其专横难以令人信服的通告。⁴²一位网名为“BEATA”基督徒指称,“其实教会是罪人的教会,是要人赎罪的”。⁴³基督徒团体中的不为当局或信众相对多数认可的“特殊”社群,如家庭教会、同志基督徒群体,本已脱离“正规”教会组织,借助网络推进传教事工和互助,其独立发展壮大步伐加快。⁴⁴

网络社群自主发起社会动员,吸纳志同道合者。基督信徒利用网络检索,可以迅捷地找到自己理想的社群,而不受时空的限制。P. M. Thornton 专门论述跨国网络宗教或教派活动与中国大陆网络公民行动之关系。⁴⁵尽管有匿名的自由选择,随着时间推移,交流频次增多,以及深入沟通和情感的需要,基督徒网络社群内各自身份多已得到确认。网络基督教讯息资源和基督徒自发建立的各类网络社群,这种网络宗教的体验,正在改变信徒个人或是群体的信念、实践、组织、生活方式和态度,以及他们与网络基督徒群体外的社会的关系。Eileen Barker 调查认为,网络宗教信徒更热衷于找寻信仰和感知相近的讯息和信友,而抛却现实社会中求同存异的相处法则。⁴⁶网络基督徒群体间亦存在各种差异,因地缘因素构建起的教会会众网络社群与因性取向身份认同构建起同志基督徒网络社群,以及因

³⁹ 徐以骅 Xu Yihua 编,《宗教与美国社会:宗教与国际关系》*Zongjiao yu meiguo shehui: zongjiao yu guojiguanxi, di si ji* [Journal of Religion and American Society: Religion and International Relations], 第4辑, (Shishi chubanshe 时事出版社,2007)。另可参见徐氏 Xu Yihua, “宗教与当代国际关系” *Zongjiao yu dangdai guojiguanxi* [Religion and Contemporary International Relations], 载《国际问题研究》*Guoji wenti yanjiu* [International Studies], No. 2, (2010), 44-61。

⁴⁰ 上智编译馆思高圣经检索: <http://www.shangzhi.org/bible/>。

⁴¹ 另可参见 Christopher Helland, *Online Religion as Lived Religion: Methodological Issues in the Study of Religious Participation on the Internet*, <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/volltexte/2005/5823/pdf/Helland3a.pdf>, 2011年5月18日下载。

⁴² “您对教廷中国特别会议文告的看法”, <http://www.chinacath.org/news/china/2011-04-22/11534.html>。略去《文告》具体内容,还只允按提供的选项选择,不允评论。

⁴³ “华人团契的经历”, <http://www.douban.com/group/topic/18764324/>。

⁴⁴ 关于台湾同性恋基督徒与互联网之研究参见游谦 You Qian, “同性恋基督徒与网路沟通” *Tongxinglian jidutu yu wanglu goutong* [Homo Christians and Internet Communication], 《二十一世纪》*Ershiyi shiji* [The 21st Century] 网络版, 2002年11月号, 总第8期, 2002年11月30日: www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/21c/supplem/essay/0207056.htm; 近年来,学界已开始正视中国大陆家庭教会,高师宁 Gao Shining 认为中国城市家庭教会已经走向成熟,参见于建嵘 Yu Jianrong “中国宗教与社会高峰论坛”之“中国基督教家庭教会的现状和未来”(北京大学英杰交流中心,2008年10月8日) <http://www.purdue.edu/crcs/itemProjects/chineseVersion/beijingSummitC/transcriptsC/jianrongYuC.html>。

⁴⁵ P. M. Thornton, *Manufacturing dissent in transnational China*, In K. O'Brien (Ed.), *Popular Protest in China* (pp. 179-294). Cambridge, CA.: Harvard University Press. 关于当代中国网络事件引发社会运动中的“情感动员”参见杨国斌 Yang Guobin, “悲情与戏谑:网络事件中的情感动员” *Beiqing yu xixue: wangluo shijian zhong de ganqing dongyuan* [Of sympathy and Play: Emotional Mobilization in Online Collective Action], 《传播与社会学刊》*Chuanbo yu shehui xuekan* [The Journal of Communication & Society], No. 9, (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2009), 39-66。

⁴⁶ Eileen Barker, *New challenges to religious authority and control as a consequence of access to the Internet*, Moerten T. Højsgaard, Margit Warburg (eds.), *Religion and Cyberspace*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), 67-85. 另可参见 Ineke Noomen, Stef Aupers, Dick Houtman, “Soul-Searching in Cyberspace: Christianity and New Age on the Internet”, in *Kristu Jyoti Journal: Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, Vol. 22, No. 2, (June 2006), 93-107。

惧怕暴露的大学生团契网络社群等,其群体维系的纽带及对外界社会的态度、群体交往边界划分的分歧之处非本文所能详尽叙述的。又如,网名为“加多森尘世天神”的天主教徒,在互动调查中提示笔者,某些网络(宗教)行为有宗派上的差异,基督教徒可以做,而天主教徒在网上是不会做也不能做的。天主教徒网络宗教行为一般是“圣言分享,而且大多要求出处,也就是教会认可的来源和讲解。然后就是代祷”。^{④7}

基督宗教被普罗大众视为外来宗教,而其信众散布于世界各地。学界对于“宗教与国际关系”的研究,尤其是伊斯兰教和基督宗教与国际关系的研究,受到现实国际政治发展情势的影响。徐以骅指出,“全球化和网络媒体进一步造成和加剧了宗教基要主义,政治伊斯兰,宗族/宗教散居社会,宗教非政府组织,宗教恐怖主义,宗教人权运动等跨国宗教运动和现象”^{④8}。中国网络宗教与国际关系,宗教信徒的角色扮演值得关注。^{④9} 2009年新疆“七·五骚乱”事件,中国大陆当局在应对动乱时迅即中断互联网络通讯。前述“天主教在线”发起关于“教廷中国特别会议文告”的网络调查,表明“三自”政策下,内外联系无法完全阻断,而政界和宗教界公开的对外交流仍然遭受严厉管制。宗教管理当局认为,网站易于设立,社会影响较大;宗教网站没有时空限制,传播方式空前开放;具备宗教活动场所的功能;可能成为境外宗教渗透的主要渠道。^{⑤0} 北京市基督教海淀堂网站首页信息则充满人文灵性色彩,开设“主日证道”“事工动态”“小组事工”“报告事项”“青年聚会”“英文聚会”“各类团契”“聚会点”和“圣诗班”等专栏,每条资讯下有互动对话框。^{⑤1} 教会里的基督徒社团又开设自己的网络主页。其中,海淀堂大学生团契建有专属网站和论坛。发布资讯和信徒联络主要借助团契的网站和“海淀大学生团契”QQ群,周边大学院校学生基督徒汇集于此。^{⑤2} 值得注意的是,海淀堂每周进行“英文聚会”,不妨假定参会者多是网络基督徒,不同国籍的信徒汇集于此,亦可视为网络基督徒与国际关系微观研究的理想案例。^{⑤3} 上述案例中,海淀堂充分利用网络作为宣传工具,建立起中外基督信众(主要是海淀区的)紧密联系的平台,信众借由简便易得的网络资讯,群体归属感的效应被放大。接受笔者调查的基督信徒中,绝对多数表示面对面的基督礼仪活动在现代生活仍然是必须的。(见表3)此外,笔者蹲点调查的网络基督徒社群内,“弟兄姊妹”们也多前往教堂聆听讲道,或是线下团契活动。

教会网站吸引的不仅是周边地区的信徒及慕道友,还有许多潜在人群。教会网站的存在,也利于各类事工的招募。友情链接的设置,关注本堂的潜在信徒增多,及时学习和借鉴其他教会的团体组织管理和活动筹划方面的经验。值得注意的是,信众和其他社会人士亦通过网络回应形式表示归属和

^{④7} <http://www.douban.com/group/topic/17073634/>。关于网络宗教行为的研究另可参见 Berger, Helen A., and Douglas Ezzy. "The Internet as Virtual Spiritual Community: Teen Witches in the United States and Australia", in *Religion Online: Finding Faith on the Internet*. Ed. Lorne L. Dawson and Douglas E. Cowan, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 175 - 88. OLeary, Stephen D., "Cyberspace as Sacred Space: Communicating Religion on Computer Networks", in *Religion Online: Finding Faith on the Internet*. Ed. Lorne L. Dawson and Douglas E. Cowan, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 37 - 58.

^{④8} 徐以骅 Xu Yihua, “当代国际传教运动研究的四个跨越” Dangdai guoji chuanjiao yundong yanjiu de sige kuayue [Four Bridges of the Research on Contemporary International Missionary Movement], 《東アジア文化交渉研究(別冊6)》[Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction Studies], 大阪:关西大学[Osaka: Kansai University], (2008), 91 - 100。

^{④9} Stephan Feuchtwang, “Religion as Resistance”, in *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict and Resistance*, edited by Elizabeth J. Perry and Maark Selden, (London: Routledge), 161 - 177.

^{⑤0} 安阳 Anyang 机关党建网:“网络媒体宗教工作亟需高度关注” Wangluo meiti zongjiao gongzuo jixu gaodu guanzhu [A High Attention is Urgently Needed to Be Paid to the Internet Media's Religious Work], <http://jgdj.anyang.cn/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=3044>, 2011年5月20日登录。

^{⑤1} 基督教北京市海淀堂网址:<http://www.hdchurch.org/home.html>。

^{⑤2} 海淀堂大学生团契主页:<http://www.hdcf.org.cn/>。

^{⑤3} 海淀堂“英文聚会”动态:<http://www.hdchurch.org/html/geleituanqi/yingwenjuhui/dongtai/20110516/3818.html>, 2011年5月18日登录。

关注。在谷歌国际(www.google.com)上,以“海淀堂 博客”为检索关键词,锁定新浪网(www.sina.com.cn)内博客,瞬间即可检索出约 171 000 条链接。众多链接中,主要是海淀堂凝聚起的信众和社团及其他友好人士(如佛教界的学诚法师)群体的博客。⁵⁴ 基督宗教神职人员开通个人博客,牧师熟悉的基督信徒在此言说,乃至吸引非信徒皈依基督宗教。以“牧师”为检索关键词,新浪博客站内搜索链接则约有 1010 000 条链接。(2011 年 5 月 19 日)

表 3 网络基督徒对现实教堂或家庭教会生活的态度

您认为面对面的传统基督礼仪活动是必须的吗?(多选题,受访者共 30 人)		
选项	数量/比例	图表
在现代社会教会生活中仍然是必须的(x1)	27/(90%)	
可有可无(x2)	1/(3%)	
完全没必要(x3)	0/(0%)	
一样重要(x4)	4/(13%)	
和教会活动有交叉,地区教堂通过网络组织会众交流活动(x5)	4/(13%)	

网络宣教和福音传播主要是神职人员和基督信众网络行为。网络宗教讯息资源,如亚马逊(AMAZON)网站基督教文化产品、视频和社交网站、教堂网站,又成为神职人员和基督徒宣教媒介;这些共有资源,悄无声息地改变着信徒传播福音方式,突破地域限制。教会网站设定的目标受众是教会信徒,而福音网站设计确定的受众群体是非基督徒与慕道友。东京 2010 年全球宣教大会上,三家网络宗教媒体走到台前,世界各地宣教领袖出席大会。⁵⁵ 教会内外的网络宣教研究已经崭露头角,叶仁昌撰有《网路宣教与传统宣教的比较》,蔡佩芬的《浅谈网路传福音的策略》及陈凤翔之《网路福音事工的挑战》。⁵⁶ 第三届网络宣教论坛将于 2011 年 8 月在纽约举行。该论坛已连续举办三年,宗旨是“联合宣教机构和个人,引领和推动网络宣教异响”。⁵⁷ 2007 年 3 月,《福音时报》转载新闻通讯报道网络事工。此后,开辟“网络事工”专版。⁵⁸ 中国的网络事工培训晚于牧师同工的网络福音传播,现已进入初始状态。2011 年 4 月 3 日,麦田网络事工委员会在浙江苍南苍城堂主办《麦田网络事工及麦田福音网培训会》课程;⁵⁹香港明光社计划于 2011 年 6 月面向教牧及神学生在其训练中心教授“小羊上

⁵⁴ 帅嘉珍 Shuai Jiazhen 等的研究关注的佛教网站两个层次的互动关系,各网站与信众之间的互动方式,以及网站之间的互动关系。后者研究涉及的问题之一即“有实体庙”的网站和“无实体庙”的网站的互动。参见其文“台湾佛教网站之社会网络与呈现初探”Taiwan fojiao wangzhan zhi shehui wangluo yu chengxian chutan [A Preliminary Exploration to the Social Network and Appearance of Taiwanese Buddhist Websites], <http://academic-journal.org/EC/Conference2010CD/papers/90.pdf>, 2011 年 5 月 18 日下载。

⁵⁵ 温以诺 Wen Yinuo [Enoch Wan], “东京 2010 全球宣教大会”Dongjing 2010 quanqiu xuanjiao dahui [Tokyo 2010 Global Mission Consultation & Celebration: From Edinburgh to Tokyo], www.gcciusa.org/Chinese/b5_publications/GCB/2010/Aug/P19.pdf, 2011 年 5 月 19 日下载。

⁵⁶ 基督网一则题为“2015 年中国网民 7.5 亿 发展网络事工刻不容缓”的通讯认为中国网民人数与适于网络宣教人数的正相关。(<http://www.jidunet.cn/content/201103/0301134U2011.html>)叶仁昌 Ye Renchang 审慎分析宣教对象,认为网络宣教受众具有阶层性、文化和知识性的特点,大陆网民数量多,基督宗教信徒人数多,但适于网络宣教的民众甚少。所述文论悉载于 Global Missiology (简体版), Vol 4, No. 6, 2010. 网络阅读 ojs.globalmissiology.org/index.php/Chinese。笔者调查中注意到,网络基督徒互联网互动参与程度存在差异。

⁵⁷ 网络宣教论坛主页:<http://www.internetmissionforum.org/>, 2011 年 5 月 19 日登录。

⁵⁸ 王芸 Wang Yun, “福建青阳堂举办颂赞网名片评选暨庆元宵同乐会”Fujian qingyangtang juban songzan wang mingpian pingxuan ji qing yuanxiao tongle hui [Qingyang Church of Fujian Province: selection of the card of Songzan Website and the celebration of the lantern festival], 《福音时报》Fuyin shibao [Gospel times], 2007 年 3 月 13 日, http://www.gospeltimes.cn/news/2007_03_13/92.htm。

⁵⁹ 麦田福音网 Maitian fuyinwang, “麦田网络事工及麦田福音网培训会侧记”, <http://www.mtfy.org/portal.php?mod=view&aid=654>, 2011 年 5 月 20 日登录。

facebook...教会新媒体事工初探”的培训课程。核心课程是“web 2.0 的教会牧养模式”,探讨“在社交网络中,作为牧养者,应该有什么要注意”,“怎样进入羊群当中,分享我们的生命及作出教导,好使更多人的生命得造就”。^⑩ 豆瓣基督徒小组会集的信众有基督教徒、天主教徒和东正教徒、慕道友等。^⑪ 海外华人基督徒中文 BBS 对国内信众开放。^⑫

Peter Connolly 编著的《宗教研究的诸进路》(Approaches to the Study of Religion)详述 7 种宗教研究进路,其中便有现象学的进路(phenomenological approaches)与社会学的进路(sociological approaches)。^⑬ 此两种进路的研究方法多为网络宗教研究者运用。宗教社会学的研究课题基本上包括宗教信仰、宗教仪式、宗教经验和宗教社群。^⑭ 网络互动中,信徒身份多是彼此陌生匿名的,互动形式有发起讨论、跟帖留言、上载或下载资料。一旦网络宗教行为成为常态,信徒形成网络宗教体验感受。网名为“无奈”的信徒抱怨“为什么我在网上遇到的基督徒都是很恶劣的?”。^⑮ 更进一步者,信徒会在网络社群内为个人权利和制定交流规则争辩。^⑯ David Preston 研究认为,宗教经验是可以通过学习获得;除研习宗教理念外,其他学习的门径也可以获取有关经验。^⑰

三、结语

世界范围内的网络宗教萌生于 20 世纪 80 年代,至 20 世纪 90 年代为网络社会学家关注。^⑱ 同时期,中国的网络基督宗教 BBS 出现。网络技术塑造现今网络宗教的外在形态,网络视讯工具使基督徒网络赞美会复制到互联网上^⑲。中国大陆网络基督徒主要利用即时通讯工具(如 QQ 群)和网络讨论区(BBS)结成社群。无论是获取基督宗教网络资源、抑或参与网络基督徒社群互动交流、群体间的互相关怀,当下网络基督徒的网络宗教行为本色还是宗教性的,即“福音性网站”。^⑳ 尽管海外媒体及时报道中国大陆突发宗教事件,网络基督徒社群内极少论及社会政治等公共事务。个中原因,笔者认为,一方面是中国大陆政治社会环境和历史背景下,单向宣扬无神论和科学,基督宗教与社会长期“隔离”,网络基督徒无意介入公共事务;另一方面,大陆各网络基督徒社群筹划涉及建立时,即定位为基督徒交流分享、灵修和传递福音的平台。^㉑ 论究网络基督徒获得来自基督宗教网络文化资源、利用网络技术工具将有着共同信仰和兴趣彼此联结起来,抑或主动归属于网络基督徒社群。各类网络技术

^⑩ 香港明光社 Xianggang Mingguangshe, <http://www.truth-light.org.hk/event/title/n2323>。

^⑪ 豆瓣基督徒小组 Douban jidutu xiaozu 有 12500 多名信徒, <http://www.douban.com/group/christian/>, 2011 年 5 月 19 日登录。

^⑫ 德国华人基督徒生活网则建议中国大陆信徒一同关注。 <http://sites.google.com/site/edeutschland/>, 2011 年 5 月 19 日登录。

^⑬ Peter Connolly, *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, (London: Cassell, 1999)。

^⑭ Meredith B. McGuire, *Religion: the Social Context*, 4th ed., (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1997), 14-20。

^⑮ <http://www.douban.com/group/topic/14065329/>, 2011 年 5 月 19 日登录。

^⑯ 豆瓣“基督徒”小组讨论专帖: <http://www.douban.com/group/topic/19879928/>, 2011 年 5 月 19 日登录。

^⑰ David Preston, *The Social Organization of Zen Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988。

^⑱ 较早研究网络基督宗教的著作有 JD Baker, *Christian cyberspace Companion: A Guide to the Internet and Christian Online Resources*, (Michigan, 1995)。

^⑲ 2010 年 8 月 30 日基督徒网络聚会赞美会 Jidutu wangluo juhui zanmeihui, <http://video.sina.com.cn/v/b/46598294-1721038452.html>, 2011 年 5 月 19 日登录。

^⑳ 恩典论坛 Endian luntan 内各版讨论区(<http://bbs.edzx.com/>)为基督徒独立网络社群的个案。

^㉑ 基督徒论坛 Jidutu luntan 称,旨在“打造基督徒的交流论坛”,可以进行的网络基督宗教行为有灵修、赞美、祷告、代祷,话题有神学、文学、诗歌、信仰、圣经等,信徒获得心灵关怀,实现灵命成长。(<http://bbs.jidunet.cn/forum.php>, 2011 年 5 月 20 日登录)亦有将网络基督徒论坛置身于世俗热门网站的案例,如“圣保罗教堂”讨论版,参见西祠胡同 Xici hutong, <http://www.xici.net/b2546/>, 2011 年 5 月 20 日登录。

的运用、网络参与程度和各自所属宗派、个体网络宗教行为等差别,是造成网络基督徒群体和个人的宗教体验异化的重要因素。一般地,网络基督徒参与多个层面的互动,个人对网络基督宗教讯息萃取和反馈,个人对网络基督徒社群建构不同程度的参与,网络宗教生活与现实宗教生活相交织。

网络宗教生态的现况,难以准确把捉。基督宗教信徒网络社群繁多,而这类社群的成长无序,聚散自由。中国大陆基督宗教网络媒体主要有“中国基督教网站”(www.ccctspm.org)、“中国天主教在线”(www.chinacath.org)、“福音时报”(www.gospeltimes.cn)、各层级宗教管理机构和教会(教堂)网站和基督宗教研究机构网站。中国大陆中文基督宗教网络媒体起步晚于基督宗教中文网络资源和网络基督徒社群,网络宗教媒体亦试图拓展网络信徒社群服务的建设。^⑦

四、调查后记

笔者观察基督信徒网络活动,还进行互动调查,些许感触,谨记述于此。受访信徒提出针对性的意见和建议,调查表的瑕疵在信友面前几乎暴露无遗。主要原因在于笔者基督宗教的智识匮乏,力所不逮,与现实基督宗教群体接触有待密切;另外,当代中国大陆基督徒群体实证研究薄弱的情形下,更因强烈意识到突破理论束缚。

中国政府和宗教研究者与基督徒接触时,互有攻防。当前,中国大陆网络基督徒社群与家庭教会众多相似之处,如信徒身份隐匿,聚会活动监管真空,网络福音传播和家庭教会合法性问题,渐渐形成有一定建制的社群等。^⑧笔者在向网络基督徒调查时,间或发现家庭教会成员,尚未深入查访。笔者在撰写本文时,注意到 RSA 和布莱尔基金会(the Tony Blair Faith Foundation)刚组织了一次网络宗教研究国际学术研讨会,涉及的议题有网络宗教社群的建立(building religious communities online)、宗教权威与网络极端主义(religious authority and online extremism)、宗教认同与网络社群(religious identity and online communities)和信仰 2.0 时代之宗教与互联网络(Faith 2.0: religion and the Internet)。

网络基督宗教研究对研究者要求较高,基督神学素养、互联网络技术的认识和利用、网络社会学理论及网络调查方法的掌握。诸如此类,制约着网络基督徒社群的调查成效。

文末附表《当代中国基督宗教信徒互联网络互动调查表》。本文其他脚注或涉及受调查者或网络信友隐私。调查表的设计反映了笔者调查的初衷,多项问题未得深入。参与这项调查的信友仅有 30 人,作为参考资料的局限性甚大。从友好信友填写的资料中,找到一些意外讯息;反馈的意见和建议警示笔者调查表尚有待完善,与基督徒接触在措辞上须谨慎斟酌。

^⑦ 网络基督教使团(<http://www.ccim.org>),成立于 1994 年,前身为“华人基督教资源中心”(CCRC),1996 年改为现名。

^⑧ 高师宁 Gao Shining、何光沪 He Guanghu 合撰之“当今中国基督教的主要问题与解决设想”Dangjin zhongguo jidujiao de zhuyao wenti yu jieju shexiang [The main issues and settlement of contemporary Chinese Christianity]一文,“家庭教会”问题即为当今中国基督教的主要问题。<http://www.christiantimes.cn/?action=View&id=2369>,2011 年 5 月 20 日登录。

English Title:

A Research on the Cyber Christian Communities in the Contemporary Mainland China

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Abstract: Religious use of the Internet can be traced back to the early 1980s. In the last 5 years of 1990s, Christians of mainland China are concerned with online religious discussion which surfaced on the BBSs of Chinese web sites, and become cyber Christians. Up to the first decade of the 21st century, increasing numbers of religious media web sites, religious groups and mailing lists began to emerge online. Especially for the Cyber Christians in mainland China, the medium such as the Christian QQ-group (or blogs, social networks such as Facebook, podcasts such as Youku, database such as chinacath.org, and any other technology such as visual projection) has the religious message, but the religious media owned by Chinese authority is quite slow and weak in this aspect. People who are from diverse backgrounds could meet in ways that transcended the physical and social limitations of their daily lives.

Key words: online religion, mainland China, Christians, Internet communities

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

How Do Modern Chinese Christian Intellectuals Read the Bible?^①

—The Principles and Methodologies of Wu Leichuan and Zhao Zichen for the Interpretation of the Bible

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Abstract: In a culture that embodies long literary traditions and possesses rich classical texts that has constituted a pluralistic religious world, how is the Christian Bible read and interpreted in China? Since modern China is a period in which Chinese Christian intellectuals have been very active in theological construction and biblical interpretation, this paper will choose Wu Leichuan and Zhao Zichen for the case study. Through an analysis of their reading strategies, this paper intends to describe and critique the general principles and methodologies that are used by Wu and Zhao in reading the Bible and to examine their contributions to Chinese biblical hermeneutics.

Key words: The Bible, Chinese biblical interpretation, Historical criticism, “Making friends with the ancients,” Evolutionary view

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Today Chinese Christian theologians are searching for viable and suitable principles and methodologies for the interpretation of the Bible within the Chinese contexts. It is a pursuit for not only hermeneutics in general but also for the way in which the Gospels are understood and communicated within Chinese society. China is characterized by its diversity in religion, culture, language, race and class. How to appropriate our faith in Jesus Christ in the context of Chinese cultures, religions, and socio – political scenario is an urgent task to deal with. More specifically, it is also a question of understanding how Chinese Christian scholars, who are nourished by a mixture of both their native and Christian cultures, respond differently from scholars among Western Christians, and how they relate Christian classics to native Chinese culture.

Since Chinese Christian intellectuals have been very active in theological construction and biblical interpretation in the modern period, I have chosen Wu Leichuan (1870 – 1944)^② and Zhao

① This paper is supported by “Wu Leichuan’s Practice and Contribution to Chinese Biblical Reading” (国家社科基金青年项目 08CZJ004), “Young Faculty Research Program of Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Zhejiang University” (2010) and “Zhejiang University Dong Shi Faculty Research Project” (2010).

② Wu Leichuan (吴雷川, real name Zhenchun 震春), born in Xuzhou, Jiangsu. In 1898, he obtained the *jinshi* degree and was deployed by the emperor to work in the Hanlin Academy. After the Revolution of 1911, he was appointed Mayor of Hangzhou; in 1912, he acquired a position in the Zhejiang Provincial Board of Education, and was later transferred to work in the Department of Education in the Central Government in Beijing. He began teaching at Yenching University in 1922 and was appointed Professor in 1925, becoming Vice President of the university in 1926, and president in 1929. His representative works are: *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo wenhua* (Christianity and Chinese Culture), *Modi yu Yesu* (Mozi and Jesus Christ).

Zichen (1888 – 1979)^③ for the case study. As distinguished Christian theologians and educators in the history of the Republic of China, Wu and Zhao carried out a discussion on “Why I want to read the Bible and How I read the Bible” in the early 1920s. Through an analysis of their thoughts, this paper will describe and critique the general principles and methodologies used by modern Chinese Christian intellectuals in reading the Bible.

A. The Beginning of the Discussion

In 1921, Zhao Zichen, Wu Leichuan and Wu Yaozong^④ published an essay in collaboration on “Why I want to read the Bible and how I read the Bible” in the *Life Journal*.^⑤ In this short article, three important Christian scholars in modern China gave their responses to the following two questions: What are my reasons and motives for reading the Bible? What methods do I use in interpreting the Bible? Due to their own personal understanding of Christianity, their answers differed from each other. Zhao Zichen wanted to “read the Bible for life.” Wu Leichuan’s reading aimed at “saving myself and other people.” Wu Yaozong read it because he thought that “Christians are noble – minded and Christianity has a respectable mission.” It would seem that Zhao Zichen and Wu Leichuan had a clearer motive for reading the Bible, which aimed at representing the desire for the Christian faith and the attitudes toward the Bible of their contemporary Chinese Christian intellectuals. We will now discuss their viewpoints in detail.

③ Zhao Zichen (赵紫宸) was one of the most famous Christian scholars and educators in modern China. Born in Deqing, Zhejiang, he graduated from Soochow University in 1910 and went to study at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee in 1914, earning his M. A. in Sociology in 1916 and B. D. in 1917. He returned to teach at Soochow University from 1917 to 1925, being appointed the Dean of the School of Science and Liberal Arts. In 1926, he began teaching at Yenching University and took the position of Dean of School of Religions in 1928. He was chosen to be one of the Chinese delegates to the international Missionary Council in Jerusalem in 1928 and to the Madras Conference in 1938. He was elected as one of the six vice – presidents of the World Council of Churches in 1948 in Amsterdam. His representative works are: *Jidujiao zhexue* (Philosophy of Christianity), *Yesu zhuan* (A Biography of Jesus Christ), *Shenxue si jiang* (Four Lectures on Theology).

④ Wu Yaozong (吴耀宗, 1893 – 1979), was born in Shunde, Guangdong and graduated from the Beijing Customs College in 1913. He was baptized in 1918. In 1924, he came to the United States and studied at Union Theological Seminary in New York, earning his M. A. in philosophy at Columbia University in 1927. He returned to work at the Shanghai YMCA, being appointed Editor – in – Chief of the Association Press of China of the YMCA in 1932. When the People’s Republic of China was set up, he became the founder of the Three – Self Patriotic Movement. His works include: *Meiyouren kanjianguo Shangdi* (Nobody Has Seen God), *Jidujiao yu xin Zhongguo* (Christianity and New China).

⑤ See Zhao Zichen, Wu Leichuan and Wu Yaozong, “Why I Want to Read the Bible and How I Read the Bible,” *Shengming yuekan* (Life Journal) 1:6 (1921), 1 – 2. It was a famous Christian publication founded by the Peking Apologetic Group, which served as a platform that “Christianity is the greatest need in connection with the regeneration of the Chinese society and that the spreading of Christianity is our greatest obligation.” The Apologetic Group included key Chinese and Western Christian intellectuals in Peking. Most members were the leading figures of Yenching University, such as J. L. Stuart, L. C. Porter, H. S. Galt, and J. S. Burgess, and Chinese church leaders and scholars, such as Liu Tingfang, Cheng Jingyi, Luo Yunyan, Hu Jinsheng, Liu Jingshu, Hong Weilian and Zhao Zichen. In the spring of 1924, the Apologetic Group changed its name to Shengming she (The Life Fellowship). Its publication, *Shengming yuekan* (Life Journal), was conducted by an editorial committee, which had been initially chaired by Wu Leichuan. Through its seven years of existence from 1919 to 1926, the magazine was distributed among the Chinese community. In 1926, *Shengming yuekan* was merged with *Zhenli Zhoukan* (The Truth Weekly) of Zhenli she (The Truth Fellowship) and became *Zhenli yu shengming* (The Truth and Life). Zhao Zichen chaired the editorial committee while Wu Leichuan, Liu Tingfang, Xu Baoqian, Bo Jigen, Mei Yibao, Li Rongfang, Cheng Zhiyi and L. C. Porter worked as members. See Lam Wing – hung, *Zhonghua shenxue wushi nian* (Fifty Years of Chinese Theology: 1900 – 1950) (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1998), 55 – 57. Also see Chu Sin – Jan, *Wu Lei – chuan: A Confucian – Christian in Republican China* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 33 – 34.

B. “Why I Want to Read the Bible”

Zhao Zichen’s response was very clear. He said: “The Bible is a book of life. I read it for life, which I want for the service of myself, of others, of the country, and of the world. I am dumb and humble, but I dare not give myself up (is this translation correct?).”^⑥ For Zhao, a Chinese Christian scholar well trained in Western theology at Vanderbilt University in the United States and strongly influenced by the nineteenth century liberal theologians, Christianity was “an ideology, a positive personal as well as social existence, a new life, which has been fulfilled by Jesus Christ.”^⑦ More specifically, he believed that the Christian faith is not based on the texts but on Jesus Christ. This does not mean that Christians can do without the Scriptures but that “Christianity is not a religion of the texts but a religion centered on Jesus Christ and on life itself.”^⑧ How may we view his statement? In the early years, Zhao used to regard religion and life as the same thing. Under the influence of Friedrich Schleiermacher’s practical theology, he believed that the Bible was a repository of different religious experiences going through historical developments, responding to changing situations and finally establishing itself in Jesus Christ.^⑨ The Christian faith is therefore centered on Jesus Christ. On the other hand, he expressed the idea of evolution, believing that through religious experiences we shall all finally come before Jesus Christ, for human experience can be completely sublimated (what does that mean?) only through Him. He said: “Don’t look for God in the remote unknown, but find Him in the direct communications of the human soul, i. e., in life itself.”^⑩ He believed that we find the existence of God in life and that God reveals His Truth in human life. God pushes our life “forward until its richest meanings are revealed.” In this sense, for Zhao, Christianity was a religion established in life; thus, religion and life are one and the same thing. Since Zhao had published his motive for reading the Bible very early, we do not really know whether his claim about “life” had included so many implications. It is clear, however, that he had always wanted to stress the relationship between Christianity and the individual, especially as regards personal religious and spiritual experiences. Later, in his response to the question of how Christianity was able to have an effect on Chinese society, he brought out a solution that advocated “national salvation through the Divine personality.” Specifically, he argued that the spiritual renewal of individual personality would have to go before social and political reforms in building up a perfect society.

^⑥ Ibid., 1.

^⑦ See L. M. Ng, *Christianity and Social Change: The Case in China 1920 – 1950* (Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton Seminary, 1971), 96 – 97. The Chinese version of this book is titled as *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo shehui bianqian* (Christianity and Social Change in China), published by Hong Kong Chinese Christian Literature Council in 1981. Also see Shao Yuming 邵玉铭, “Er’ shi shiji chu Zhongguo zhishifenzi dui Jidujiao de taidu,” (Chinese Intellectuals’ Attitudes toward Christianity in the early twentieth century) in *Dao yu yan: Huaxia wenhua yu Jidu wenhua xiangyu* (Dao and Logos: Chinese Culture Encountering with Christianity), ed. Liu Xiaofeng 刘小枫 (Shanghai: San Lian Publishing House, 1995), 283.

^⑧ Zhao Zichen, “Xuanjiaoshi yu zhenli,” (Preacher and Truth) *Shengming yuekan* (Life Journal) 3:3 (1922), 9.

^⑨ Schleiermacher claimed that religion is human experience accessed through feelings: “Religion is to seek this and find it in all that lives and moves, in all growth and change, in all doing and suffering. It is to have life and to know life in immediate feeling, only as such an existence in the Infinite and Eternal.” (*On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*, 36) He goes on to say: “...true religion is sense and taste for the Infinite.” (*On Religion*, 39) In a summary, Schleiermacher places religion in the realm of feelings, making it an interior, personal experience with an element of the unknowable and the mysterious.

^⑩ Zhao Zichen, *Jidujiao zhexue* (Philosophy of Christianity) (Chinese Christian Press, 1925), 340.

Wu Leichuan's response was different from Zhao's. Wu said: "I studied the Bible before I established my faith and made up my mind to be a Christian. After I became a Christian, I had a better understanding that a Christian would have to do more sharing of his faith with others than improving his own spirituality. Without studying the Bible, I would not have known where I could start. For the purpose of saving myself and saving others, I have kept on reading the Bible for the last five years."^① Wu's view was characteristic of the motivation for reading the Bible among the traditional intellectuals in modern China. Before his conversion, Wu had been a Confucian scholar. He worked together with Zhao Zichen at Yenching University of which he later became the chancellor. Without the background of any Western education, he read the Bible and Christian classics only in the Chinese translations. He was sad about that and commented, "The teachings of Christianity are universal and applicable in all times. It is a pity that I don't know science and philosophy. Neither do I understand a foreign language. I cannot read anything about Christianity without translation. Whatever I understand through reading is superficial. What I can say in response to this discussion is that I read the Bible every day in order not to forget that I am a Christian. Moreover, reflecting on what I have read from the Bible, I can keep myself on the right track so that my life as a Christian is not wasted."^② His background and knowledge (why 'structure'?) did not hinder his enthusiasm in reading the Bible.

He argued that before his conversion, he had read the Bible in order to come to faith, in other words, to save himself. After he had become a Christian, he read it in order to increase his spirituality. Through his reading, he wanted to improve his Christian knowledge and reflect on his daily behavior. But reading the Bible for self-improvement did not conform to Wu's outlook of life. His deep-rooted Confucian ethic had convinced him that "the only principle of life is that the individual should contribute all his talent and potentials to humankind, both in speech, virtues and service."^③ Therefore, to share his faith with others in order to transform society and the life of all people became his second motivation for reading the Bible. Actually, during his life of thirty years of Christian faith he focused all of his academic studies on how Christianity was going to "save the world and save the people." He believed that "saving the self" was both preconditioned by and fulfilled in "saving the people." Christianity was for him not only a personal gospel but a social gospel as well.

Examining Zhao and Wu's different motives for reading the Bible, we see that although both of them were concerned about the contributions of the Christian faith to China in a specific historical period and that they both advocated their views of saving the nation through the Divine they followed different paths. Zhao had an emphasis on individual salvation and spiritual improvement while Wu dwelt on the practical and social functions of the faith. In this sense, reading the Bible "for life" and "for saving the self and others" demonstrated their contrasting orientations in interpreting the Christian classics.

C. "How I Read the Bible"

Having established their principles of biblical interpretation, Zhao and Wu responded differently to the questions of "How do I read the Bible?" or "What methods do I use in reading the Bible?" Zhao's answer was very simple. He wrote: "I use the two methods of criticism and friend

^① Zhao Zichen, Wu Leichuan and Wu Yaozong, "Why I Want to Read the Bible and How I Read the Bible," 1.

^② Ibid.

^③ Wu Leichuan, "Renge: Yesu yu Kongzi," (Personality: Jesus and Confucius) *Shengming yuekan* (Life Journal) 5:3 (1925), 5.

– making. By ‘criticism’ I mean to inquire into the specific details of the characters, places, times, expressions and implications in every book so that I find the truths in them and not just accept the literal meanings. By ‘friend – making’ I mean to open my heart toward the Lord, toward the Saviour, toward the saints and sages so that the sincerity (*cheng*, 诚) of my heart could meet that of Heaven. And my spiritual training in daily life is upgraded. Both these methods are used for the same purpose of acquiring life for myself and for those who read my articles and know my words and deeds.”^⑭ Here, Zhao’s method is obviously a method of historical criticism, which is a common method used in modern biblical interpretation emphasizing the historical context of the texts, i. e., the social identity and background of the authors, the objectives and reasons they wrote, and their treatment of characters, styles, writing strategies, etc. This method has the advantage of enabling the readers to “understand the historical context of the text and the underlying meaning of the writers.” It has its own limitations, however, in not being able to “let us look into the literary strategies and the functions of the reader, the text, and the act of reading itself in the process of interpretation.”^⑮ In other words, it overlooks the impact of the reader’s social context on his interpretation of the Bible. Out of his understanding of the inadequacies of this method, Zhao added a second method of what he called “friend – making.”^⑯ He held that it was a method through which humans experience communion with God, with Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, and with the saints and sages, so that he could understand the teachings and hidden meanings of the text. Zhao believed that this communion could only be established through sincerity of heart (诚心), i. e., “religious devotion.” He admitted that a historical and scientific method alone could not help one to a full understanding of the text. Reading the Bible is, in a larger sense, a communication between a human and the Lord. On the one hand, a person listens to the Lord face to face with Him, while on the other hand the Lord speaks and reveals himself to humans. Although Zhao had a rational and scientific way of interpreting the Bible in his early theological thought, he had already sensed the indispensable “sincerity” or “devotion” in reading the Bible. This sense became firmly established in him later on in the 1930s when he said: “I find it easy to read other books but most difficult to read the Bible. No matter how devoted I am when I am reading, I cannot help finding in myself some suspicion and criticism, for I cannot totally understand the real meaning of the text. It seems that historical criticism and scientific studies have cheated me of a pure faith and direct experience. When I read the Bible, I had to be guided with the reference books. This is of course not reliable. Many believers put aside what they don’t really understand but absorb what they do understand. They are better fed than I am.”^⑰ Zhao’s adoption of the two methods, i. e., historical criticism and “friend – making”, in reading the Bible indicated that, on the one hand, he desired to follow traditional biblical hermeneutics. But on the other hand, he wanted to discover the meaning of the text through personal life. His reading is therefore a synthesis of historical interpretation and personal religious experience.

Compared with Zhao’s double reading strategies, Wu’s method was relatively “up – to –

^⑭ Zhao Zichen, Wu Leichuan and Wu Yaozong, “Why I Want to Read the Bible and How I Read the Bible,” 1.

^⑮ Archie C. C. Lee 李焯昌, ed., *Yazhou chujing yu Shengjing quanshi* (Asian Context and Biblical Interpretation), the series of Asian Contextual Theology, Vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Council, 1996), preface, 1.

^⑯ The second method Zhao Zichen called “friend – making” obviously borrows from Mencius’ teaching of “making friends with the ancients,” which is developed as his classical reading method by the later Confucian scholars. See “Wan Zhang” (Part B), in *The Mencius* (*Meng – tzu*), Book 10, Part 8.

^⑰ Zhao Zichen, “Tantan wode xinling xiuyang” (Talking about My Spiritual Growth) in *Lingxiu jingyan tan* (Speeches for Spiritual Training in Daily Life), ed. Xu Baoqian 徐宝谦 (Shanghai: the Association Press of China of the YMCA, 1947), 21.

date.” He said: “I often hope that my knowledge will evolve with the world so that I may compare and prove the teachings of the Bible in the realistic world. I don’t like to follow outdated interpretations that no longer fit into present society. This is perhaps the method that I have always kept in my mind.”¹⁸ Here we can see that Wu’s method was to interpret the Bible on the basis of a theory of evolution. He wanted to testify to the reality of biblical events, but he didn’t mind deviating from traditional interpretations if he thought they might no longer apply.

Being a modern Chinese Christian with a strong Confucian background, Wu did not follow the Western hermeneutical tradition but derived his interpretations from his personal religious experience. His faith in Christianity was therefore based on a pluralistic ideology with which he looked at Christianity’s historical and realistic implications. First, he did not stress the uniqueness and the exclusive superiority of the Christian faith but believed that Christianity, as compared with other religions and traditional Chinese cultures, had more specific effects and advantages in social reform and national salvation at that specific historical time. He therefore wanted to read the contemporary ideas out of the Bible rather than finding in it historical similarities. In other words, he attempted to prove that the meaning of the Scripture is in accordance with current thought. In order to vindicate his standpoint, Wu proposed an original (what is meant with ‘original’?) idea of evolution in religion. He explained it in detail in his book *Christianity and Chinese Culture*. Studying human instincts, he argued that religion originated in the desires of humankind which elevated human life. Religion was therefore a driving force for the evolution of the human society and must in turn evolve together with the world. In short, religion must also be “up – to – date.” From this viewpoint, Wu refused to accept the miracles or other supernatural events when he interpreted Christian Scripture and Chinese Confucian Classics. He believed that the world was evolving, religion was evolving, and that we should demythologize anything mystical in primitive religions. Therefore, when he read the Bible, his interpretation of the doctrines of Christianity and the text itself was selective according to his own idea of evolution in religion.

How should we view Wu’s conviction that “religion is the original driving force for the human society”? Zhao Zichen’s critique could represent the opinions of his contemporaries. He pointed out that “Wu had not explained how religion became the original driving force for society and neither could he ascribe this driving force to humans’ faith in God.”¹⁹ He thought that Wu had started from the Confucian point of view that “Men are born with desires,”²⁰ regarding desires as the origin of religions. But does this Confucian text mean that religion is simply desire? “If so, what kind of desire is it? Does religion promote desires while at the same time inhibit them?”²¹ He thought that Wu had never given a clear explanation of what desires are, nor had he explained how desires made religion become the driving force for social evolution. Moreover, if religion was to be

¹⁸ Zhao Zichen, Wu Leichuan and Wu Yaozong, “Why I Want to Read the Bible and How I Read the Bible,” 1.

¹⁹ Zhao Zichen, “Yesu wei Jidu: Ping Wu Leichuan xiansheng zhi Jidujiao yu zhongguowenhua,” (Jesus as Christ: Comment on Wu Leichuan’s *Christianity and Chinese Culture*) *Zhenli yu shengming* (The Truth and Life) 10:7 (1936), 413.

²⁰ The quotation is from “Discourse on Ritual Principles”, in *Xunzi*, Book 19, 1. It is the book mostly written by Xunzi (Master Xun), who was an eminent thinker, philosopher and educator of the pre – Qin times (before 221 B. C.), and the most famous Confucian scholar after Confucius and Mencius. The original text is: “How did ritual principles arise? I say that men are born with desires which, if not satisfied, cannot but lead men to seek to satisfy them.” (“礼起于何也? 曰:人生而有欲,欲而不得,则不能无求。”《荀子·礼记第十九》) See John Knoblock’s translation of the book of *Xunzi*, II, in *Library of Chinese Classics (Chinese – English)* (Hunan People’s Publishing House, 1999), 601.

²¹ Zhao Zichen, “Yesu wei Jidu: Ping Wu Leichuan xiansheng zhi Jidujiao yu zhongguowenhua,” (Jesus as Christ: Comment on Wu Leichuan’s *Christianity and Chinese Culture*) 414.

regarded as a driving force related to human desires, what then was God? Was He a mere secret of the universal law, or the natural principle itself? Was it necessary for man to communicate with God? It would seem that Zhao was questioning whether Wu's conversion to Christianity was really a conversion to faith in Jesus Christ or rather to an idea of an evolving religion. He commented that many biblical readings made by Wu were unexpected, such as his interpretation that Jesus' mission was to build a new country for the Jewish people in his time. This lacked any historical support and was not in accord with the facts recorded in the Bible.^② Here we can see that starting from his method of historical criticism, Zhao was not satisfied with Wu's methodology that had "dehistoricized" the Bible.

Wu Leichuan gave no direct response to Zhao Zichen's criticism, but if we study his later work *Mo-tse and Jesus Christ*, we can find his implicit defense of himself. In "A Biography of Jesus Christ," the fourth chapter of this book, he proposed an important view that the Gospels are not history in the strict sense of that word. He found that these books were "not written when Jesus was still alive." Thus he argued that "although the times of the writings have been disputable, they were obviously written a few decades after Jesus' death and they are not, therefore, a 'biography' of Jesus Christ. Not being able to witness for themselves the personal experience of Jesus, the authors wrote only by using historical records of other writers or oral stories heard from their contemporaries." The Gospels are, therefore, "different in nature from history."^③ Here, Wu was questioning the "historical Jesus." He believed that the portrait of Jesus varies in the four books of the Gospels. The variation comes from the authors' purpose of writing, the materials they had chosen to collect, and their methods of editing. Since the writers lived in a time after Jesus, they could not avoid the tendency of injecting their contemporary understanding and feelings into their writings. The Jesus of the Gospels, the "Jesus of faith," is therefore not the real Jesus of history. As the text of Scripture was unavoidably pregnant with the subjective opinions of the authors, Wu believed that an individual reading of the Bible could reasonably be "selective according to the reader's judgment."^④ Thus, he thought, starting from his own religious viewpoint, it would be rewarding in the biblical reading when he was selective, reconstructive, such as "reading out the implication that Jesus as Christ points to a fundamental idea of social reform." Due to the strong criticism from Zhao, in his later book *Mo-tse and Jesus Christ*, he dropped his belief that Jesus "wanted to be King of the Jews," but he still followed his original principles and method for biblical interpretation.

From the above, we see that the contrast and conflict between Wu's and Zhao's reading of the Bible reflect the tension between traditional historical criticism and modern contextual theology. It brings up the question of the extent to which an individual reader of the Bible can follow the historical background and implications in the text to construct a relevant contemporary interpretation that does not deviate from the foundations of the Christian faith. This is a situation that Christians of all generations have to consider and face.

Second, we should ask about Wu's specific understanding of religion itself. As some scholars point out, Wu was, among other modern Chinese Christian intellectuals, "the most eclectic

② Ibid., 424.

③ Wu Zhenchun 吴震春, *Modi yu Yesu* (Mo-tse and Jesus Christ) (Shanghai: the Association Press of China of the YMCA, 1940), 80.

④ Ibid., 79-80.

thinker.”²⁵ It is true that his understanding of Christianity was a combination of diverse ideas and theories and that, to a large extent, he depended on his ideas of religion itself. In general, Wu had no fixed definition of the nature of religion and its relation with other branches of knowledge. In his view, religion was aligned with philosophy of life. He said: “Ever since the beginning of history, religion has been closely related to human life so that in the history of cultures the word religion has always been juxtaposed with such matters as philosophy, literature, science, arts, economics, politics, etc. Although its contents may be naive and obscure, or obsolete and bad, the right thing to do with it is to improve it by cutting out its irrational elements but not to exterminate it.”²⁶ Here, Wu expressed two viewpoints on religion. Firstly, he thought that religion, philosophy and science are all products of human society, with no difference in nature. Secondly, religion is not a hindrance to social evolution but an evolving force itself, with a reasonable existence (not sure what you mean with the last words?). He explained the first point by voicing the idea that “the evolving religion is philosophy of life,” which, he admitted, was an idea derived from the influence of the modern Chinese philosopher Feng Youlan, who placed religion in juxtaposition with philosophy. According to Feng “The only difference is that religion admits myths and arbitrary rituals while philosophy has none.”²⁷ Wu agreed with Feng’s view and believed that religion would shed its mythical and arbitrary elements through its own evolution but still keep its rituals to elevate our emotions. Wu himself was a strong advocate of Christian rituals. His idea of religion was sharply questioned, however, by Zhao Zichen. He questioned two aspects: Firstly, “Can we still call it faith when a religion is understood on the level of a philosophy of life?” He strongly opposed the idea of juxtaposing religion with philosophy by saying that “a philosophy of life is an explanation of religious experience and not religion itself.” Secondly, religion as faith does not go after happiness as its sole end. In his view Wu was overly concerned with the service that religion can offer to humanity but overlooked its relation to a supernatural Being. Zhao, therefore, believed that Wu’s understanding of the category of religion was humanistic in that he took man’s “being religious” as religion itself.²⁸

Wu’s second view of religion was closely related to the social and cultural context of his times. Looking back on the history of modern China, after the May Fourth Movement in 1919, Darwin’s theory of evolution and Western science had pervaded the Chinese intellectual thinking so intensely that both the vernacular traditions in Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, and the newly imported Christian faith were marginalized. The situation for Christianity became difficult in the 1920s when students launched the Anti – Christian Movement in Beijing in 1922, supported by leaders in Chinese intellectual circles. When studying the motives of this movement, some intellectuals came to the superficial conclusion that, due to its elements of strong nationalism, the movement started from the naive reasoning that Christianity was thought to be “out of balance with Chinese traditions” and that “anything foreign that came with the act of invasion was to be rejected.” Other Western

²⁵ Shao Yuming, “Er’ shi shiji chu Zhongguo zhishifenzi dui Jidujiao de taidu,” (Chinese Intellectuals’ Attitudes toward Christianity in the early twentieth century) 284.

²⁶ Wu Leichuan, “Jidujiao gengxin yu Zhongguo minzu fuxing,” (Rebirth of Christianity and Chinese National Revival) in *Bense zhi tan: Er’ shi shiji zhongguo jidujiao wenhua xueshu lunji* (Exploring Indigenous Theology: Selections of the Twentieth Century Chinese Cultural Research on Christianity), ed. Zhang Xiping 张西平 and Zhuo Xinping 卓新平 (Beijing, China: Chinese Television Publishing House, 1999), 67. This essay was selected from *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, Chapter 10.

²⁷ See Feng Youlan 冯友兰, *Rensheng zhexue* (Philosophy of Life). Also see *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, 5.

²⁸ Zhao Zichen, “Yesu wei Jidu: Ping Wu Leichuan xiansheng zhi Jidujiao yu zhongguowenhua,” (Jesus as Christ: Comment on Wu Leichuan’s *Christianity and Chinese Culture*) 414 – 415.

scholars, however, criticized this understanding. Rev. Winfried Glüer, a German scholar well known for his study of Zhao Zichen, acknowledges: “As was the earlier periods aimed at re – evaluating Confucianism, the desire of people to rid themselves of Christianity rose from the belief that it was irrelevant and out of date with science.”²⁹ He admits this is an explanation derived from the view of Western world.³⁰ His comment fits in with the reality of modern China.

As a matter of fact, the biggest challenge the Anti – Christian movement placed on the Chinese Christians was not whether Christianity could finally come into this country but whether it could meet the needs of Chinese society. Under such circumstances, the efforts to search for the integration of Chinese and Western cultures would have to give way to the efforts of establishing actual functioning effects of Christianity on Chinese social reform. When viewed in this perspective, Wu’s understanding of religion in terms of the theory of evolution was exactly an attempt to dissolve the conflict between the theory of evolution and Christian theology. Therefore, while believing in the idea of “religion as a motivation for the evolution of the human society,” he also emphasized the view that religion itself was in a process of evolution from the primitive “worship, prayer and even magic” to its modern form of “noble ideals, extensive sympathy, and passionate perseverance.”³¹ To further synthesize the antithesis of religion and science, he went on to propose an idea of “an evolving religion in synthesis with science,” in which he believed that the adverse effects of religion on science had passed and that “they both originated from the human instincts and therefore follow the same course of evolution.” He explained this idea with an analogy of ancient magic as being the predecessor of modern science. Both religion and science, he said, were necessary for humans and “they were both a proof of the human control over the world.”³² In short, as the driving force of continual human evolution, religion has the permanent existing value as philosophy and science.

How should we view Wu’s view on the relation between religion and science? This was an issue unavoidable for modern Chinese Christian scholars. The choice between religion and science, experience and reason, or both, was a challenge that haunted Chinese Christian intellectuals. Even Zhao Zichen, a strong critic of Wu Leichuan, uncertain about how to deal with the predicament which he expressed as follows: “Facing ‘a marginalized context,’ I am a man that stands in the middle way of two conflicting opinions and times that are opposed to each other. Neither of the sides do I wholly belong to. Therefore, I often painfully feel the tension. I have determined, however, to face the challenge of this complexity, relativity, pessimism, naturalism and ignorance. I want both religion and science, not in that I could reach the Lord but that I will be possessed by Him.”³³ In his early times, Zhao did advocate the juxtaposition of religion, philosophy and science, but he had to acknowledge that they fell in different categories. For example, “How can we tell that an entity excluded by science has no existence?”³⁴ He thus believed that religion surpassed science and philosophy and no complete integration could be achieved among them.

²⁹ Winfried Glüer 古爱华, *Zhao Zichen de shenxue sixiang* (Theological Thoughts of Zhao Zichen), trans. Deng Zhaoming 邓肇明 (Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Literature Council Ltd., 1998), 20.

³⁰ See the detail in Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1968), I, p. 117ff.

³¹ Wu Leichuan, *Christianity and Chinese Culture*, Chapter 1, 3 – 4.

³² *Ibid.*, 5 – 6.

³³ This is from a letter written by Zhao Zichen on January 12, 1950, now kept as the archives by the International Missionary Council in Geneva. See Winfried Glüer, *Zhao Zichen de shenxue sixiang* (Theological Thoughts of Zhao Zichen), 49.

³⁴ Zhao Zichen, “Shengjing zai jinshi wenhua zhong de diwei,” (The Position of the Bible in Modern Culture) *Shengming yuekan* (Life Journal) 1:6 (1921), 11.

Compared with Zhao's complex views of religion and science, Wu was more concerned with the realistic situation of Christianity in China. He believed that searching for the solution of this problem related not only to the contemporary expulsion (not sure what you mean. 'critique', 'attack on'?) of Christianity but more to the "reality in which the Christian faith could meet its (society's) needs." He therefore argued that the central issue of the discussion should be focused on "what contributions Christianity can make to the revival of the Chinese nation."⁵⁵ Within such a premise, he looked at Christianity in terms of an evolutionary theology that argued that the true meaning of Christianity lies in satisfying the demands of the times. In this way, there is no conflict between religion, science and philosophy, but Christianity can bring together different doctrines and theories in the category of religion to provide the most effective path for social changes in China.

D. Conclusion

How should we view Zhao Zichen's and Wu Leichuan's reading strategies of the Bible? As important Chinese theologians conscious about biblical interpretation, their readings represented two approaches taken by modern Chinese Christian intellectuals to read the Bible. One is based on historical and exegetical interpretation, emphasizing the significance of the biblical texts for personal religious and spiritual life. It searches for the renewal of personality, then later on the national salvation. Starting from the social needs and the reader's contexts, the other approach aims at reconstructing Christian theology and explores the contribution that the biblical texts could make to the specific times. In order to achieve this purpose, the interpreter may read the Bible with a predetermined understanding and ideology.⁵⁶

Through the analysis of Zhao Zichen's and Wu Leichuan's principles and methods in reading the Bible, we found a tension between the invariable divine truth of Christianity and the contextualization of the biblical reading in different times and places. The conflict, however, contributes to the enrichment and vitality of the Scripture itself. In other words, the biblical texts are challenged, enlightened and reformulated in the process of reinterpretations. From this perspective, modern Chinese Christian intellectuals' exploration of the methods of biblical reading has offered a particular model in biblical hermeneutics, whether their ways provide a constructive reading of the Scripture, or a "misinterpretation" beyond the Christian tradition.

⁵⁵ See Wu Leichuan, "Jidujiao gengxin yu Zhongguo minzu fuxing," (Rebirth of Christianity and Chinese National Revival) in *Bense zhi tan: Er' shi shiji zhongguo jidujiao wenhua xueshu lunji* (Exploring Indigenous Theology: Selections of the Twentieth Century Chinese Cultural Research on Christianity), 71 – 74.

⁵⁶ See the detail in Grace Hui Liang, "Interpreting the Lord's Prayer from a Confucian – Christian Perspective; Wu Leichuan's Practice and Contribution to Chinese Biblical Hermeneutics," in *Reading Christian Scriptures in China*, ed. Chloe Starr (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 118 – 133.

中文题目:

中国现代基督徒知识分子是如何读圣经的?

——以吴雷川与赵紫宸处理《圣经》的原则与方法为例

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提要:“如何寻找合乎亚洲处境的诠释圣经的原则与方法”,这是近年来亚洲神学界普遍关注的命题,这一问题不单涉及到一般意义上的诠释学,更主要的是关乎在亚洲的处境下如何表达和传递耶稣基督的福音。上述问题对于中国的基督徒而言,更是不容回避的。中国文化的古老历史和宗教的多元化决定了他们面对的是一个“多元宗教经典”(multi-religious classics)构成的世界,同时,不同时代的社会处境也对他们的信仰提出了各种的挑战,在这样的情境中,他们会创造怎样一种阅读圣经的方法,用来诠释基督教经典,并确立自己的身份意识。本文选取吴雷川与赵紫宸为个案的研究对象,以他们读《圣经》的原则与方法为例,来考察中国现代基督徒知识分子是如何看待和阐释经文,试图以此为汉语基督教圣经诠释学提供研究的一个范本。

关键词:《圣经》、汉语圣经解读、批判法、尚友法、进化观

视角转换与经典的诠释

——从新教传教士对儒学与一神教之关系的讨论看汉学典范转移^①

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提要:本文介绍几位新教传教士对中国传统中是否有一神观念的讨论,他们不仅呼应耶稣会士而发掘先秦文献中的“上帝”,还提出理学家具备一神论认识、真神观念始终是中国传统中一种现实存在。此种论述的价值在于,因为诠释立场的变化,而可能创造了一种新的文化观念。此种新的阐释可能并不被认可为属于任何一种既存的文化传统,但它却为文化的发展和更新带来生机和创造动力。如何在创造的层次进行文化沟通,本文涉及的几位传教士汉学家提供了很多启发。

关键词:新教传教士、文化交流、中国经典诠释、一神教、汉学

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十九、二十世纪之交活跃于中国的新教传教士中有一批关注中国文化传统而适足以称之为“传教士汉学家”之人,他们所关心的命题和在文化交流中承担的角色有似于两百年前的耶稣会士,但他们又与耶稣会士有不少区别。他们对儒家经典内涵和中国古代宗教观念的认识无疑深刻影响到早期学习中国文化的本土西方人,对于探讨西方的中国观这一普泛性问题以及汉学典范的形成与变化这一特定问题都有不可忽视的作用。而将他们与耶稣会士对比,又可以看到欧美本土宗教观念和思想观念的变化。但是,除了“译名之争”这个话题之外,新教传教士对儒学中是否含有基督教一神观念的认识尚未得到足够重视。本文以台湾国立清华大学人文社会学院图书馆“欧美汉学研究”计划下之藏书为研究对象,在经过总体性调查的基础上,筛选出几部相关主题的作品,藉以了解这一批兼具宗教关怀与学术兴趣的特殊人群诠释中国经典时的特点,并为思考跨文化诠释的意义提供一些范例。

一、对先秦文献中“上帝”的再解释

中国古人是否知晓上帝,这是耶稣会士时代论题的反响之一。十九、二十之交一些新教传教士对中国之“上帝”的解释生动地呈现出新教徒宗教视野和文化视野的一些变化。

理雅各(James Legge)1852年出版的《中国人关于上帝与鬼神的观念》(*Notions of the Chinese Concerning God and Spirits: with An Examination of the Defense of an Essay, on the Proper Rendering of the*

^① 本文写作获两岸清华大学“汉学的典范转移”合作研究计划资助。

Words Elohim and Theos, into the Chinese Language, by William J. Boone, D. D.)是新教传教士译名之争背景下的作品,在反驳为何“神”不合适而“上帝”更合适作为 God 之译名的同时,也就全面解释了为何可接受中国古代有一神观念。利玛窦(Matteo Ricci)重在摘引含有“上帝”的文句以静态方式呈现出“上帝”高高在上、握有全权的形象,理雅各更致力于论证中国古籍中关于神人关系的表达。“神人关系”本来就是新教的重要教义问题,而理雅各说,神人关系问题正是中国古籍、尤其是《尚书》和《诗经》的主题。古代文献中提到真神作为统治者和监理者的角色远多于提到其创造者和设计者角色,而此种书写方式与讲求哲理之作者的理性之间体现出意味深长的和谐感。有些例子直接表明尘世间的德性政府乃由真神掌管。另一方面,中国文献也提供了很多例子表明人们有意识也有智力去认知真神,而且中国人重视良心也证明真神临在于中国人,中国人很讲求在上天指引下达致道德境界。对神人关系的重视是理雅各与早前主流派耶稣会士的显著不同之一。

理雅各不同于耶稣会士的还有两点。第二点是,他非常重视《易经》,认为《易经》中的“太极”观念与其他古籍中的“上帝”一样,就是 God。《易经》中的“太极”是指混沌未开时的“一”,各种卦象其实代表了“上帝”的各种行为和意志。但是“太极”后来被理学家曲解为物质性第一因,进而又以阴阳互动的二元论观念来进一步错解“太极”。理雅各不仅试图从《易经》本文中发掘关于真神的知识,还引用晚后的《易经》注本作为辅证,证明真神知识的普遍性与永恒性,以及直至近世也有人坚持此种信仰。他大加利用的一个注本是清代的《易经体注》,但他未提供具体版本信息,不知是否来木臣之著。这看起来类似几位索隐派耶稣会士。

第三点是他坚持认为关于一神的观念至今都存在于一些中国人心中,并没有因为理学之昌盛和佛、道之肆行而全然消失。理学虽然对一些古老观念加以曲解,但并非所有的真相都被掩盖。于是,他用以了解中国人一神观念的文本就超出了所谓的最古老文籍,而一直延续到明清,对《易经》注本的选择就体现出此点。而他理解《尚书》还采用明代王樵的注本《尚书日记》。又如,他引杨复(朱熹弟子)“天、帝一也,星象非天,天固不可以象求也,以象求天,是何异于知人之有形色貌象,而不知有心君之尊也”,^②证即使理学家中也有人懂得“天”即“帝”而非物质性天空。再如,他用《大明会典》中冬至祭天礼仪祝词和明朝皇帝祭太庙之祝词来了解中国人对“上帝”的想法,认为其中既表明行礼者对“上帝”的绝对恭谨,也表明“神”在次级位置,“上帝”与“神”绝不可等同,皇帝和官员祭祀鬼神时心中并无“诚”,仅是履行义务而已。祝词也证明,“上帝”在中国人心目中是自在的(self-existent)。理雅各又引袁枚“作诗如作史也,才学识三者宜兼,而才为尤先,造化无才,不能造万物”之语,证明有关真神之思想的外在表现虽然变化不断,但它终究存在,并引导中国人寻找造就人类天性又高于人类天性的力量与智慧之所出,而这个来源就是一个人格性的创作者、支持者兼统治者。此外,他还用清康熙朝虞德升《谐声品字笺》中一段解说证“上帝”在中国人心目中的统治者形象以及中国人懂得区分“帝”作为人主称呼的用法和“天”作为真神代称的用法。又引清初顺治赐序的钦定本《感应篇》证中国人虽然信鬼神,但仍懂得区分“上帝”与鬼神。

理雅各考察古今,认定古代中国人一定是一神论,主要理由有三条。首先,中国人心目中这个“上帝”是完全或完美的,高高在上,是宇宙的创造者与统治者,文献中有“上帝”之处从未提过有什么可与他匹敌的存在,中国人赋予他的赞扬、荣耀和名号都不曾给过其他存在。

^② 理雅各未言其引用来源。杨复(Yang Fu)本人作品中没有这样一段完整的话,而稍晚于杨复的卫湜在《礼记集说》称“秦溪杨氏曰:天、帝一也”,后来的人也多如此引用。卫湜在解释过天、帝的含义后又说“夫在天成象,在地成形,草木非地,则星象非天,天固不可以象求也。以象求天,是何异于知人之有形色貌象,而不知有心君之尊也”。卫湜 Wei Shi,《礼记集说》*Li Ji Jishuo* [Complete Commentary on Book of Rites], 卷十三[Vol. XIII],《四库全书》*Si Ku Quan Shu* [Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature]。理雅各此书中所有的中文引文都未言来源,可能是一个后出的汇编本。

其次,中国古人的信仰沾染了浓重的迷信,但不能因此称之为多神教,就如奉行圣徒崇拜和天使崇拜的天主教和东正教不能被称为多神教。中国人的典型迷信是拜神、拜祖先,此种祭拜表明中国人知道精神性存在,并视之为真神的代理。这本非错误,但中国人错在由此坠入迷信,把这些为“上帝”办事的代理或类似天使的精神性存在误解为沟通真神与人类的桥梁,从而加以崇拜。这正是因为中国人未受到福音启示。理雅各希望利用中国人心中这点灵光来更好地完成拯救使命。另一方面,中国人的遭遇并不孤立,基督教也在一开始就被迷信污染,同在迷信已于近东流行之际东迁之中国人祖先相比,没有实质性差异。

再者,理雅各坚持真神不可能只作用于一个民族,而应该为众多民族所知晓,只是各民族对真神的认识程度不同。虽然古代中国人有众多良风善俗,但真正使该民族屹立四千年的是对真神的认识。他还说,由于基督徒对真神的知识也不敢称为完备,基督徒还没有足够的知识判断真神以什么方式接触哪群人,所以反观中国古人,他们知道真神根本无足奇怪。^③可见,天性及恩典的普遍性是理雅各论证中国人保留有一神信仰的重要论据,他真心相信中国人心中有一神论的知识,坚持中国传统中确实有一个指称真神的术语。利玛窦则更多地强调中国人的自然理性有利于认识真神。截止孔子的古籍中的“上帝”,对利玛窦而言似乎只是一件比他认为源于佛教之“天主”更合适的外衣。

理雅各1867年在《孔子的生平与教诲》(*The Life and Teachings of Confucius*)中评论孔子思想时,再次重申孔子之前的中国的确有一神信仰的知识。这看似是重提耶稣会士的旧话,但重点是,他对孔子与一神信仰之关系的认识不同于耶稣会士。耶稣会士认为孔子是一神信仰的继承者和发扬者,因此孔子的追随者也是这种宗教的继承者。理雅各则认为,一神信仰到孔子时代就已衰落,孔子本人的一神论知识并不明确,倒是明确地修改古代观念使之成为纯粹的社会政治学说。孔子的整个思想特征算不得反宗教的(irreligious),而是非宗教性的(unreligious)。他不关心宗教事务,所以把古代的一神信仰理性化,不谈“帝”而频频谈“天”,没有真正采用更古时代圣贤的措辞,于是为他后来的追随者们用理性主义和自然主义的态度定义God开了先河。被孔子改造的还有与一神信仰差不多古老的祖先崇拜,孔子回避祖先崇拜的信仰意义,而努力将之改造为一种表达孝道敬意和维系亲族的世俗化礼仪。理雅各认为,正是孔子这番去“灵”化改造引导后世儒生否定任何精神性的存在。^④

以今天的眼光来衡量,理雅各对孔子的评价更合理。耶稣会士的论述有着明显的特殊目的,即在中国构造出一个由权威人士担纲的一神信仰继承者群体,把一神信仰塑造为中国的高端认识或主流认识。这并不意味着从利玛窦等人都真心相信此种构建,只意味着他们希望欧洲本土的宗教捐助者们相信这一点。早期的新教传教士没有这种策略性包袱,只是希望从头改造中国人的精神,所以对中国古代精神资源的评价更具客观性,然而其中也包含着一种刻意的对立性,坚持辨析中国古代主要思想与基督教的差异。但从理雅各开始,新教传教士呈现一种新的倾向——相信一神信仰是中国传统的一部分,只是它沉沦暗淡,被诸多纷杂迷信所遮掩,两千年来它肯定不是中国思想的主流,但它确实存在。此种认识导致新教传教士看待中国历代文献和中国人精神状态时的眼光与耶稣会士大不相同。

理雅各对孔子之前的中国古代宗教和思想的认识成为之后新教传教士的共识,他们谈论同类主题时往往喜欢引用理雅各的意见作为前奏。苏慧廉(William Edward Soothill)的基本态度亦追随理雅

^③ James Legge, *Notions of the Chinese Concerning God and Spirits; with An Examination of the Defense of an Essay, on the Proper Rendering of the Words Elohim and Theos, into the Chinese Language, by William J. Boone, D. D.*, (Taipei: Cheng Wen Publishing Company, 1971; First published in 1852 at Hongkong), 1-113.

^④ James Legge, *The Life and Teachings of Confucius; Volume 1*, (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007; First published in 1867), 96-102.

各,承认孔子之前的中国人具有宗教性,懂得一神信仰,并且回应新教传教士中间的译名之争,认为“上帝”和“天”都是比“神”正确的称呼,尽管“上帝”显然是人格化称呼而“天”可理解为一种非人格化称呼。苏慧廉也如理雅各,跳脱出十七、十八世纪耶稣会士只看重《尚书》和《春秋》的倾向,综合利用《诗经》、《礼记》和《易经》。《诗经》和《礼记》对于耶稣会士来说是好坏掺杂的半迷信书籍,使用时较为挑剔,《易经》作为迷信卜筮之书则完全不被主流派耶稣会士认可。

苏慧廉罗列出在古代中国人的表述中,哪些属性是“帝”和“天”所共有,哪些属性是各自独享。“帝”与“天”共有的品质如下:他能听、能看,能享用祭献;有意识和思想,他得人类之协助并给人类尤其是国王及其重臣派分工作;他接受人类的尊崇与效劳,以大能之力被人敬慕并畏惧,赋予人以道德感知力,根据个人的道德质量决定是否眷顾此人;他的意愿荣耀辉煌,可以被人知晓而必须被人遵从;贤德之君正是追随他的心意因此他会赏之以无忧治世与人间尊荣,同时他绝不姑息行为恶劣之人;国王的左右手藉他之手而被安排,但不称职之人定会失去宠眷;他会保护人类,也会撤回保护,他对暴君会施以警告、要求改正并加以惩罚,甚至会折磨他、糟践他直至毁灭他。

除去上述“天”与“帝”都具有的属性,《尚书》和《诗经》中还透露出一些仅属于“天”的属性:天生万民,天赋君王以勇气和智慧,天佑良善并降灾于奸慝,天定社会秩序、社会礼仪、宗教礼仪及人类品德,天会降雨,天慈悲待人并帮助人类,天意从无差池,天不损人寿而人自损之,天与个体的联系不是基于有偏见的人类情感,天命人改正性格,天给人以天性、同情人类并认可他的愿望,天仅为德性所动,但是人类可以对天哭喊、啜泣和祈祷,以求达于天听。“天”被称为来自天堂的访问者,天是我们的父母,天启万民,天有智识与明视,天降福于人并佑人兴旺

《诗经》中还表达了仅属于“帝”的属性:上帝伟哉,生五谷以育万民,殒人以安慰亦投人以厌憎,他享用甜美气息,他对文王发话,他是典范,而且依据一段存疑篇章,他在人间留下足迹,“帝”在天堂。

苏慧廉比较后提出,在中国早就为基督教启蒙做了重要准备,中国人认识并接受一个高高在上、伟大、仁慈而公正的力量,他赏善罚恶,他可以接近祈祷者。而古代中国人称呼天时加上“父”,显得他是在尘世中一样可接近,有如在基督教中称呼“天父”,这是一种易于为民众理解的思想。事实上,根据他所罗列的内容,“天”和“帝”的区别并不明显,特别是在人格化与否这个问题上,“天”也有很多次人格化的出场。但是苏慧廉仍然试图在早已有之的“人格化”和“非人格化”认识基础上,进一步分析两者含义的异同。首先,“天”的出现频率比“帝”高,归之于“帝”的属性也都归之于“天”,反之则不尽然。其次,“帝”被古代中国人理解为一个统治世界的力量而不是有如人类父亲的力量,而“天”在古代中国人心目中不仅是一个统治者,还与人类有着更亲近的关系,因此“天”可以解释为“上帝”的威权,离人更近。第三,古代文献中没有证据说明平民崇敬“帝”,这似乎就是王者的特权,而接近平民的是“天”。苏慧廉这番苦心区别中似乎包含着这样一种意图——将中国人对“天”与“上帝”之微妙离合关系的认识同新教徒和天主教徒对 God 的理解差异联系起来,亦即中国人早就认识到作为无处不在的“威权”而亲近人、无需特权阶级和复杂仪式而直接可与个人沟通、重视人类内心甚于外在表现的至高神。他大约在暗示,古代中国人的宗教知识更接近新教徒,这也是为何他断定古代中国已经有了接受宗教启蒙的坚实基础。

苏慧廉不忘提到,“天”的观念在后世被二元论观念歪曲,中国人引入“地”与“天”并称。他与理雅各同样坚持,可能只有到佛教引入,偶像崇拜才流行起来。不过,中国民众对鬼神的信从亦即对已死之灵的敬拜可能也是古已有之的行为,祖先崇拜则是此种信仰的典型表现形式,并且随着岁月推演,鬼神数量一路增多,到孔子时代已经淫祀成风。由此,他开始评论孔子的宗教角色——孔子致力于改革鬼神迷信,不能推断他怀疑宗教。不把孔子视为反宗教者,此点与理雅各一致。然而理雅各认为孔子心中的宗教知识很模糊,究其实只关心社会、道德与政治,即使自知身承天命,对天命的实际认识却不过是祖述尧舜传统,改造祭祖仪式是为了达成维系社会秩序的目标。苏慧廉则认为孔子有明

确的宗教知识,懂得指引人类的力量之所在,他遏制鬼神迷信正是因为他懂得真神,他通过强调祭祖而将暂时无法消除的鬼神迷信限制在一个(兼具社会效益的)领域,也正是净化多神信仰的一种策略。但是孔子的净化运动失败了,因为他没能引导人民同高居上界的正义之力建立确定性的精神连接。因此,苏慧廉认为孔子的不足在于他像个天主教司铎,想垄断与真神沟通的能力,而没能像个新教徒那样正确理解与真神交流的方式。^⑤

波乃耶也重复了理雅各关于中国古籍中有一神观念的论述观点,但他的特色是以文字“索隐法”巩固此论。波乃耶的“索隐法”比十八世纪法国耶稣会士的索隐法克制得多。波乃耶以汉字及其组成部分在中国传统中的意义解说来表明其中包含一神的知识,这与理雅各从文句阐释中寻找一神信息相互补充。而十八世纪的索隐派耶稣会士则超越了中国的字义解说传统,根据《旧约》中某具体记载而赋予一个字以隐含意义。波乃耶举了“天”、“上帝”、“示”、“卜”诸字。他说,“天”这个字的“一”表示统一体,“大”则表示伟大,因此这个字本身就让观者联想到关于主宰一切的、无限的、高高在上的天空(sky)的思想,这种思想首先是关于伟大性与广漠性的思想。西方人用“heaven”一词时不仅指物质性的天,也指主宰之力,中国人也是以类似方式来拓展“天”一字的含义。这固然是在以一种非人格化方式谈论宇宙之主宰,但考虑到我们头顶只有一个天,以及在“天”这个字中包含了统一体的象征,所以可知中国古人知道宇宙主宰的知识。此外,这个字远在中国思想受到佛教影响之前已经存在,也远早于讲求物质论之道教的诞生。然而除了“天”之外,中国人还有另一个人格化的术语“上帝”,这个术语在古代典籍中的运用表明它是指一切的统治者。“帝”意为宰制者,“上”则意味着高于其他,因此这个词译为英文就是“The Supreme Ruler”。

“示”字是彰显和启示之意,由此推测,中国人的先祖相信“天人交通”。但据许慎解释,此字下半部的意思是太阳、月亮与星辰,倘若此为正解,则说明中国人可能把一神论观念同世界上许多民族都有的天体崇拜(以占星术体现)这一古老信仰混为一体。“卜”这个字很可能就来自龟甲上的线条形状,中国人相信龟有指示休咎祸福的能力,所以这个字表明古代中国人相信预言,而包含了“卜”的“卦”这个字也表达相同的内涵。卦同卜都是寻求预言的方式,但卦出现得较晚也发展得较精致。“鬼”这个字意指看不到的精神,其中包含的“亾”意为奸邪。

以上解释总结起来,则波乃耶对中国古人宗教认识的评价是,中国先人有着关于高居天庭并被统治者崇拜之精神性存在的思想,有着未能发展至更具信仰性状态的自然崇拜,有着引出死者崇拜的畏惧死者的思想,还有一套完善的预言体系。一言以蔽之,有些许光亮,却有更多闇昧。早期的中国人虽未发明偶像,但一神信仰已经同相当程度的多神信仰混杂起来。^⑥波乃耶进一步论述中国人思想中的黑暗内容,古代对一神的信仰后来似乎变成皇帝的专利,民间则盛行各种物化对象崇拜,“帝”这个字在道教盛行之后也被滥用。

从苏慧廉和波乃耶的论述中可以看出,进入二十世纪以后,有些新教传教士的观点又在理雅各的基础上更进一步,继续扩大寻找一神论痕迹的范围,并且相信这是中国传统固有且传承之物。此种倾向在涉及新教传教士对理学的认识时表现得淋漓尽致,体现出新时期的宗教学观点对他们的影响,也体现出诠释在宗教对话中的自然运用。

^⑤ William Edward Soothill, *The Three Religions of China: Lectures Delivered at Oxford*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), 112 - 132.

^⑥ J. D. Ball, *The Celestial and His Religions; or, The Religious Aspect in China. Being a Series of Lectures on the Religions of the Chinese*, (Kessinger Publishing, 2003; First published in 1906 by Kelly and Walsh, Id.), 4 - 9.

二、关于中国人对至高存在之认识的新见解

理雅各对待理学的态度与耶稣会士一致,认为以朱熹为首的理学家不仅是物质论,还以二元论败坏了原来的一神信仰,只是他不认为理学家彻底抹除了中国人的一神记忆,也不认为“太极”是理学家发明的观念。苏慧廉在这方面与他有类似态度。^⑦然而二十世纪初期也已有新教传教士颠覆了关于理学家和朱熹是物质论的一般性认识,试图在朱熹思想中发掘一神观念。布鲁斯(J. Percy Bruce) 1923年在《朱熹和他的老师们:朱熹及宋学导论》(*Chu Hsi and his Masters :? an Introduction to Chu Hsi and the Sung School of Chinese Philosophy*)中声称,他自己一开始也与别人一样,认为朱熹教导物质论和无神论,但是当他开始研究朱熹学派的作品之后,发现“物质论”和“无神论”这两个标签都不正确。

正确理解朱熹哲学的方式是注意其中的伦理因素同其宇宙观之间的关系,作为朱熹言谈重点的理(Law)和仁(Love)是两个关键词,它们表明朱熹强调一个有伦理品格的至高存在,这无疑是承认至高存在的人格性。解答朱熹的一元论是否一神论需研究“天”这个术语,也要研究对“天地之心”的表达。要考虑“理”作为“天命”的含义,还要考虑“理”同神圣存在(the Divine Being)之人格性的关系问题。“道”是道德律,“道”与“天”同一,“天”、“命”、“道”、“理”、“太极”各术语其实表达“天”的不同面相。“天命”有两种含义,而“神圣的无限性”(Devine Immanence)是其主要含义。西方学者会认为对“权能”(power)的感知来自对“力量”(force)的认定和对力量作用方式的追寻。但朱熹的思想中最重要的是伦理而非力量,因此对权能的体认更为直接。“命”指神圣权能的无限性,还包括“权威”之意,指来自一个主宰的命令。“命”传达给人之后就变成人的意识和要服从“命”之组成原则——仁、义、礼、智——的义务感。“命”既关乎人性,又关乎人类命运。“命”表达了 God 无所不在的创造性意愿。“天命”的含义就其根本意义而言,是“天”无所不在的创造性意愿,充盈宇宙,构成人的本质性情。它由宇宙的四端——元(Origin)、亨(Beauty)、利(Utility)、贞(Potentiality)——构成。就其超越性意义而言,称为“道”或道德律,作用于人生则就是仁、义、礼、智。

布鲁斯格外辨析了朱熹那句应该不要忽略“天”有“苍天”含义的话语:“但如今人说天非苍苍之谓,据某看来亦舍不得这个苍苍底”^⑧。人们习惯用这句话表明朱熹是物质论者。但布鲁斯认为,朱熹只是说“天”中包含了指物质性天空“苍苍”(Empyrean)的含义,不意味着他否认“天”的人格性。朱熹的宇宙观是:包括天空和大地在内的整个宇宙都起源于“太极”(the Supreme Ultimate),而“太极”与“天”指同一个存在。此外,朱熹同一段话清楚断定,“上天”的属性无法通过理解力或感觉而洞察。朱熹的“太极”、“太一”、“天”指同一对象,但侧重不同层面,太极(the Supreme Ultimate)和太一(the Supreme Unity)表达用于彰显的载体(manifesting vehicle),但真正的实在终极(the real Ultimate)不是彰显载体,而是具道德超越性的“理”,朱熹观念中有好几组彰显载体和无限伦理原则的对应式表达:道【超越性的】对应器【彰显载体】,天【超越性的】对应苍苍【彰显载体】,理【超越性的】对应元气(Primordial Ether)【彰显载体】。朱熹讲“苍天”时心中必有古代的“上帝”观念,因为他的言谈中时时以“天”为至高统治者(the Supreme Ruler)的代称,而且他明确提过“天”有三种含义:苍天、主宰、理,

^⑦ William Edward Soothill, *The Three Religions of China*, 149-168.

^⑧ 问:“天与命、性与理四者之别,天则就其自然者言之,命则就其流行而赋于物者言之,性则就其全体而万物所得以为生者言之,理则就其事物各有其则者言之。到得合而言之则天即理也,命即性也,性即理也,是如此否?”曰:“然。但如今人说天非苍苍之谓,据某看来亦舍不得这个苍苍底。”朱熹 Zhu Xi 撰,李光地 Li Guangdi、熊赐履 Xiong Cili 等奉敕纂,《御纂朱子全书》*Yuzuan Zhuzi Quanshu* [Complete Collection of Zhuxi Sanctioned by Emperor Kangxi], 卷四十二 [Vol. XLII]《性理一》*Xing Li Yi* [First Chapter on Nature and Law], 《四库全书》*Si Ku Quan Shu* [Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature]。

苍天只是其一,是以“气”呈现的最初形式或精神形式的“天”。还要记得,朱熹的目的不是偏离古代经典中的观念,而是要传递其中的教导,而古代经典中无疑包含人格化统治者的观念。

朱熹对“天地之心”的认识则尤其表达神圣存在的人格性特征。“天地”在理学家那里有三种含义,第一种指物质性宇宙,第二种指乾、坤的交互性力量,第三种则指至高存在,朱熹“天地之心”观念中的“天地”显然就指第三种含义,而且这种含义才是“天地”的正解。在朱熹思想中,物理因素与伦理性的自然结合在一起,类似的,“理”的含义是至高统治者,“理”内在于心,心是至高存在于宇宙中施展无尽大能的器官。朱熹提到“仁是心之德”,“心”的伦理品格显而易见。从西方伦理学观点看,“义”是正确的意愿,“礼”是正确的情感——一种由“仁”生发出的特殊感觉,“智”是正确地知晓,而“仁”(按朱熹的意思)统摄这三者。“心”则是人格性的着落处(Mind is the seat of personality)。由此可见,朱熹的“理”是有意识的,离不开“心”,理的构成原则(仁、义、礼、智)既是心之属性,也是人格性之属性。朱熹又说过“人字似天字,心字似帝字”^⑨。《朱子语类》中还有一段话明确反驳认为天地无心之人:“道夫言:‘向者先生教思量天地有心无心,近思之,窃谓天地无心,仁便是天地之心。若使其有心,必有思慮,有營為。天地曷嘗有思慮來。然其所以‘四時行,百物生’者,盖以其合當如此便如此,不待思惟,此所以為天地之道。’曰:‘如此,則《易》所謂‘復其見天地之心’‘正大而天地之情可見’,又如何?如公所說,祇說得他無心處爾。’若果无心,则须牛生出马,桃树上发李花,他又却自定。’”^⑩“天地之心”的含义总结而言即是:它代表神圣存在中有意识的人格性;它的属性是仁、义、礼、智,这些也是人类之心的属性;它被等同于“帝”——古书中的 God 即作为其代理的贤明帝王对之恳求吁请的人格化之至高统治者。

布鲁斯接下来还将朱熹的思想与布鲁斯同时代的法国哲学家柏格森(Bergson)之创造进化论—生命冲动理论相比较,由此突出“仁”的地位与基督教观念中“爱”的地位一样。在朱熹思想中,仁是心的全方位属性(all-inclusive attribute),是人之根本。朱熹频繁使用“生意”(vital impulse)这个词,此词与“生理”同意,指每个阶段皆周流宇宙万物的创造性法则。无物不是“生意”之结果,此“生意”就是“仁”,“仁”即造物主孕生万物的喜悦和乐事。朱熹认为,即使当万物消失,“仁”也不会减弱。“仁”是他看待宇宙的出发点,由“仁”中生发的四个基本原则仁、义、礼、智周流万物,构成宇宙的道德秩序,构成天地间的恒常(the Eternal Constants)。他在林间走兽、天空飞鹰、水中游鱼身上看到这几个原则,反诸人心也看到同样的原则。他还认识到这些属性也正是神圣者之心(the Divine mind)的属性。“仁”在物理上是万物的源泉,“生意”将创造性能量传递到世间进化的各个阶段,无论是对有生命之物还是无生命之物。“仁”是众善、众德、及周流万物的道德秩序的基石。“仁”是囊括一切的 God 自己的属性,是不灭及不朽之存在。按照基督教观点,爱是三位一体存在模式(a triune mode of existence)中的一位,亦即“爱”是最基本的属性。将“爱”与朱熹关于“仁”的观点比较,则至少可以说“仁”包含着一种人格化的存在。哲学家的表达方式虽然没有那么形象,但是对爱—仁本质的理解与基督徒相比并无差池。

总之,布鲁斯认为朱熹的体系中有足够明确的一神论意味,在回答别人基于无神论立场的提问时,他的一神论倾向尤其明白。但毕竟一神论在他的教导中不比在古代经典和基督教中那样显著,而且朱熹哲学所强调的一些东西尤其加剧人们这种错误印象。出现此种情况的原因是当时的时代趋势,当时有两种趋势,一是极端拟人化(anthropomorphism)和极端先验论,二是物质论,朱熹两者都反

^⑨ 黎靖德 Li Jingde 编:《朱子语类》*Zhuzi Yu Lei* [Analects of Zhu Xi],卷一[Vol. 1],《四库全书》*Si Ku Quan Shu* [Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature]。

^⑩ 同上 [Ibid.]。

对。“而今说天有个人在那里批判罪恶，固不可；说道全无主之者，又不可”^①，此句正表明朱熹不认为人格性(personality)等于拟人化。不过，身为哲学家而非宗教殉道者或布道者，朱熹不会把人格意思讲得很明显，他性格中占主导的因素是智识性而非情感性的，因此他强调精神性多过强调 God 的人格性。“天即理也”已经肯定一个伦理性的“天”，恰是关于“天”之精神性的断语。^②

乐灵生(Frank Joseph Rawlinson)1927 的一篇论文《中国人关于至高存在的思想》(*Chinese ideas of the Supreme Being*)旨在综合论述中国思想中关于至高存在的内容。他继承了理雅各和布鲁斯的观点，又进一步推演，认为中国古人用的指称 the Supreme Being 的词汇很多，而迄今尚无中国思想家进行过这种综合。他把各种称呼分为两类：一、一神论 - 自然主义的词汇或一神论 - 哲学性词汇——天、性、道、理、太极、太一；二、一神论术语——上帝、神、天主、真宰、天父、造物者、圆宰、主宰、上天、老天爷。后一类的人格性含义经理雅各以来诸位认可“上帝”之称的传教士辨析，自然已无疑问，作者也无另外的发明。而前一类词汇的含义同他对朱熹思想的理解实为一体，重点是朱熹的思想是混杂自然主义的一神论，而不是无神论或物质论。

乐灵生对朱熹的认识直接引用布鲁斯《朱熹和他的老师们》一书，亦即他很赞同布鲁斯的认识。首先，朱熹并不排斥“天”和“上帝”指称人格神的古老用法，对于“天”和“上帝”在古代经常互换使用的现象，他并没有刻意区分，这说明他没有把“天”变成无神论术语。其次，朱熹将“性”等同于“道”，这就使“性”在自然意味之外也有神学意味——“道”的本意虽然不含人格性特征，但它指宇宙的起源，含义类似佛教的“真如”，所以被用来译基督教的 Logos。第三，朱熹将“理”解为“天”和“帝”的同义词，认为“理”由仁、义、礼、智组成。第四，“太极”是朱熹常用的概念，他用以指有限性中的极致，而不是指无限性，因为他以“无极”一词指无限性，这说明“太极”并不证明朱熹对万物开端有着自然主义的解释。第五，“太一”指在万物之先存在的伟大单子(Great Monad)。在朱熹之外，乐灵生又认为邵雍对真神也有深刻认识，甚至王阳明也提到人格神，只是比朱熹更加不明确。

综合来看，理学家的主旨在提倡五伦——仁、义、礼、智、信，它们被“信”串联为一体，而“仁”则包括了全部。这些质量都是实在(reality)的重要彰显。而五伦原是中国传统之一部分，至晚在商代(公元前 1086 年)就已出现，由此可见理学家是传统的继承者。理学家这六个概念究其实是指一种原初的、自在的实在(self-existent reality)，因此是一神论 - 自然主义的，它们表达“权能”(power)的作用，而不应从物质强力(material force)或物质能量(material energy)的角度理解。“权能”与“能量”/“强力”不同之处在于，“力量”与人或人格性关联。理学家的这些概念具有伦理品性或性格特征，这些伦理品性因着人际关系而浮现，考虑它们时也就是在考虑人的活动，而且，这些被反复提及的基础性伦理品性被理学家视为精神的属性而不是肉体或物质的属性。五伦实际上表明人与至高存在之间的伦理关系。所以，理学家以伦理化的方式理解宇宙，并非物质论者，这些概念中的神学意味至少不亚于其中的自然主义意味，它们体现的“自然”肯定不会仅指物质性自然。中国古代观念、尤其是重视神与人之关系这一点在中国人的精神世界中始终传承延续，哪怕在一神论 - 自然主义术语中的表达不及在一神论术语中那么明显。^③

布鲁斯和乐灵生着眼于从有关神人关系的认识和论述中看待中国人关于一神的认识，这一点继承了理雅各，但他们又远远超过理雅各。布鲁斯基于神人关系论述引入理学，乐灵生则在认可布鲁斯

^① 朱熹 Zhu Xi 撰，《御纂朱子全书》Yuzuan Zhuzi Quanshu [Complete Collection of Zhuxi Sanctioned by Emperor Kangxi]，卷四十九[Vol. XLVIII]《理气一》Li Qi Yi [First Chapter on Law and Ether]。

^② 关于朱熹思想一神论性质的分析见 J. Percy Bruce, *Chu Hsi and his Masters: an Introduction to Chu Hsi and the Sung School of Chinese Philosophy*, (New York: AMS Press, 1973; First published in 1923 at London by Probsthain & Co.) 全书，特别见 pp. 281 - 314。

^③ Frank Rawlinson, *Chinese Ideas of the Supreme Being*, (Shanghai: Printed at the Presbyterian Mission Press, 1927), 15 - 18.

论述的基础上,又将寻找神人关系论述的视线扩展拉长至民间各个群体的观念,亦即通常被儒士和基督教传教士都视为“迷信”的东西。他分别以识字者、文盲、中国教会学校的学生、道教徒、当代佛教徒以及明末天主教徒韩霖《铎书》中的见解为证据,论述不同层次的中国人都有对至高存在的认识,在中国传统中体现真神思想的最重要线索是伦理性的一神论。无论是被称呼为“天”、“上帝”、“天公”还是“老天爷”,这些术语都呈现出以下属性:至高性、精神性、德性存在、无所不在并无所不知、无所不能、永恒、造物主、爱、一个人。而且祭拜至高存在的礼仪在私人 and 公众领域都一直存在。即使佛教也能达致部分正确认识,即,佛教提供了关于一个永恒实体(an Eternal Entity)的知识,他不会改变,并且具有伦理性,以各种特殊的方式彰显,如来是其彰显之一,而这个永恒实体的彰显就是一个拯救的过程。但是,中国人对精神性的理解方式与接受方式毕竟与基督徒有所不同,这是因为没有人教给他们关于上帝的明确知识,上帝在他们思想之中,只是离得有些远。

无论是仅论述孔子之前有真神知识,还是论述真神知识始终是中国传统中一种现实存在,都不意味着传教士的工作到此为止。以上所列每本书中都明示,他们强烈地期望,要用基督教改造中国,这正是宗教诠释的主旨所在。以乐灵生的总结为例,多神掩盖一神的问题始终为传教士关心,所以要尽量在中国传统中找出一神痕迹。中国人的知识中有正确部分,就意味着曾经受过正确的指点,因为真理的来源只有一个。但是中国人的知识有很大欠缺。真神思想存在于中国人中间和机器人都相信真神是两回事,要从前者进步到后者仍需要艰苦努力。仅个别人体验到真神是不够的,作为整体的中国人没能全面体认神与我们同在,这是莫大的遗憾。比如中国人虽然有视天为父的概念,但在儒生中,君父概念使得“天父”概念很难被接受,而将至高存在之于人类的关系理解为师生关系则对一般中国人都很容易。又如,因为缺少教育,民众(文盲和略识字者)不懂“天”指 The Supreme Being,也不太认识“上帝”与人的联系,所以对“上帝”不求不拜,转而求拜祖灵和众鬼神。这些状况都有赖于传教士去努力。

三、传教士观念变化折射出的汉学典范转移

新教传教士对中国的关注点着眼于宗教拯救,这是其当然的使命,不会因时代变迁而有重大变化。但是在如何拯救、如何看待中国传统与基督教传统之关系的层次,就体现出与明清时期很不相同的关怀点,而这些差异除了从宗教背景解释,也可以从汉学发展的角度加以剖析。如果说明清时期的天主教传教士促生了欧洲汉学的萌芽,那么十九、二十世纪之交的这批兼任汉学家的新教传教士则体现出汉学的新特色。

首先,汉学是西方学术的一支,它的变化总是与欧美学术和思想的变化同调。明清时期的传教士汉学与天主教如何立足中国这个命题紧紧纠缠,耶稣会士们的总体倾向是通过向欧洲传递一个良好的中国形象来换取支持,在这过程中完成了对中国之典籍、历史、文化传统的选择性介绍,同时也开启了欧洲人对中国文化与欧洲-基督教文化之关系的思考。而这种思考的主要特征是立足欧洲文化的需要来理解中国,中国并非欧洲人的思考核心,却更像欧洲人认识和反思自己的参照物。正因如此,天主教会的捍卫者和反对者都可以用中国传统来支持自己,君主制度的支持者和反对者也都可以在中国找到足够的论据。也因为如此,当欧洲的社会发展趋势日渐明朗,当激烈的思想争走向缓和之际,热闹一时的“中国热”也就随之平息。当时也是欧洲的学科分化显形之际,因此尚不能用明晰的学科概念分析或看待中国,而以各种传统基督教观念来裁量中国或设定研究命题则是最常见的认识方法,不过已经风生水起的文本批评法在用于辨析中国史料之可信度问题上发挥了不小作用。

在新教传教士来华的时代,欧洲的宗教观念和学术观念都已发生明显变化,这就意味着在诠释另

一种文化时的立场有了变化。新教神学的发展首先使得对神-人关系的认识发生重大变化。天主教会的系统是为了给人以永恒的快乐而建立的一种神与人之间客观的(非个人的)、量化的(非性质的)、相对的(非绝对的)的关系,教会的管理代表着并实现这种神人关系,实现的基本方式是通过圣礼,而人在圣礼中体现出的功德的多少会影响神恩之降临,司铎的具体职责是对人进行命令和劝告。路德派则强调人与神的关系是个人的,不以任何事物或物体为中介,只通过接受圣经中的“message of acceptance”来建立,这种个人关系为“信仰”,有“信仰”即是接受一个人被神接纳的事实。因此,“信仰”是性质的和无条件的,一个人或者与神分离,或者不与神分离,没有数量、程度之别。显然,对“信仰”的这种认识直接影响到前述作者们格外关心中国传统中关于神-人关系的表达。新教正统主义神学使得理性主义和宗教的道德关怀占据重要位置,并且强调每个人都可以在圣经中发现那些不可变更的基本信条,这些无形中也促使传教士相信真神的教诲一定存在于其他文化中,而他们对各个时代思想的论述正能体现此点。

宗教学、哲学、社会学、宗教社会学、比较语言学、经济学等新学科的发展和实证主义、进步观及科学观的观念性影响也体现在二十世纪初那些传教士的选题和论述视角中,比如,乐灵生非常典型地体现了基督教神学家关于神存在之证明思路受哲学概念分析法和历史视角的影响。乐灵生认为,以往理解中国术语之一神论含义时之所以有困难,是因为当它们表达人格性时常常并不附带至尊性含义。而理解一神论-自然主义术语时的困难则在于,它们有至尊性含义却并不明白表达人格性。首先,需要注意“人格性”(personality)是一个现代术语,所以古代人甚至当今的文盲不能明白地用这个词思考或表达是正常现象。其次,人格性不等于拟人化(anthropomorphism),中国恰恰缺少证据将拟人化同关于至高存在的思想相联系。因此考虑中国古代的典籍,要思考的方向毋宁改为其中有无证据表明古人思想中的至高存在具有人的特征(personal)。“人格性”一词包含着一些具体内容,如自我知觉(self-consciousness),自我督导(self-direction),无所不在(omnipresence),无所不知(omniscience),无所不能(omnipotence),将它们分解开来逐一衡量,则中国的传统中自然是有人格性观念的。而且,思路扩大后,显然不能局限于与孔子有关的文献。何况孔子的思想本就有局限,后人又以局促的方式理解孔子的言论,所以孔子对“天”说了些什么固然重要,但他没说的也很重要,而这些就要从其他路径寻找证据。这就是为何乐灵生会把视线投向不同层次中国人的观念。

其次,汉学永远包含着一种未必关乎学术的观念色彩,即特定西方群体对中国的认识倾向,因此不同类型的汉学家也可能意味着不同类型的汉学。前文比较利玛窦和理雅各对孔子的认识差异时已经体现出,明清时期的耶稣会士和新教传教士虽然同样是基于宗教考虑,但是由于彼此对宗教和传教的理解不同,导致对中国经典的态度有很大差异。另一个例子则是布鲁斯和葛瑞汉(A. C. Graham)的差异。布鲁斯相信朱熹尊奉一个人格化的至高神,朱熹体系中强烈的道德性和伦理性因素足以证明此点。应该说,站在布鲁斯的逻辑之内,这套说辞确能打动人心。而出身神学系的英国汉学家葛瑞汉则坚持认为,宋代哲学家的思维方式非但不能接受一神论或有神论,而且他们对万物生死荣衰的源泉及人类具有情感和意识之原因的追寻与基督教神学推求第一因的动机和指向都格格不入,因为中国人没有宇宙有起点的观念,也没有宇宙万物具有因果关系的概念。葛瑞汉也注意到宋代哲学家的体系强调理性和道德,但他不认为这与至高神的品格或情感有何关系,他认为这只是宋代哲学家把宇宙设想为一个有道德秩序的空间,从而就可以宽慰地相信这是一个适合儒家君子生存的地方。葛瑞汉对一些关键术语的翻译也体现他相信宋代哲学家无关一神论,比如他赞同把“仁”译为 Benevolence

而不是 Love,把“神”译为 Psychic 而不是 Spirits,把“理”译为 Principle 而不是 Law。^⑭ 葛瑞汉的解释也讲得通,而且更符合中国主流派的传统认识。但是,能说布鲁斯是错误的或任意曲解吗?我认为不能。这只能说是两个人对 God 问题的理解有差异,并通过对宋代理学的诠释而呈现出来。

第三,汉学又始终在努力体现跨文化沟通的尝试与进展,而每一阶段的方法都受到自身文化视野和文化立场的影响。利玛窦试图译 God 为“上帝”时已经在构建一种理解和诠释异域文明的方法。利玛窦把道德和理性作为一种普遍性的可以带领人们走向神意的东西,但他并没有或者也不想把中国的道德学说同神意直接关联。他的重要教义著作《天主实义》和《畸人十篇》对于理学的概念都是断然拒绝而且不多解释。

但在利玛窦之后,编译《中国贤哲孔子》(*Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*; 1687)的那群耶稣会士已经在对理学的认识上表现出不同于利玛窦的态度。他们选择了朱熹编定的“四书”,还倚重张居正的注本,这意味着他们选择以理性主义的形而上学方式(而非讲求奥义的象征主义方式)理解中国经典,而朱熹以前并没有人为古典构筑出形而上学解释体系。此种选择实际体现出托马斯·阿奎那(St. Thomas Aquinas)的经院哲学思想在他们身上的影响——把形而上学作为教授、解释和理解神学的工具。为此,他们不得不对理学家的观念进行一些曲解,比如对“至善”的解释,朱熹只提了明明德和亲民止于至善这两层含义,耶稣会士在此基础上补充说,明明德和亲民之后要努力达致永恒的至高之善(supreme good)。他们把“至善”译为有玄学和神学意味的“summum bonum”,即 supreme good,这是对理学家的注释又做了宗教性再诠释,使此书看起来符合“孔子相信上帝”的论调。^⑮ 这样做给他们带来一个矛盾,即一方面采用朱熹形而上学体系,另一方面却继承利玛窦立场坚称朱熹为无神论,而礼仪之争迫使他们又要着意掩盖《中国贤哲孔子》一书中的朱熹成分。此举令知情者怀疑他们究竟是不懂得中国传统,还是有意以不实之词误导众生。这种尴尬立场正是文化沟通遭遇短期利益挑战的鲜明体现。

十八世纪的索隐派耶稣会士则深受文艺复兴以来欧洲流行之神秘主义神话阐释理论影响,又对基督教普世主义精神怀抱最乐观的信从,从而相信“道”和“太极”是关于人格化世界本原的概念,于是将含有“道”这一概念的中国各家各派文献熔铸一体,比如《易经》、《尚书》、《道德经》、《庄子》、《列子》、《淮南子》、《吕氏春秋》、《管子》、《说文解字》、周敦颐和张载的理学,他们又通过解字法寻找《旧约》讯息的密码式表达。索隐派的这种沟通理念曾经被评价为过于任意,既是对中国文化过于任意的理解,又是对基督教过于任意的理解。他们解析汉字的方法由于无视一种文字形成与发展的历史渊源,的确很难被人接受,但他们对中国各时代思想内在联系性的体认比利玛窦和其他主流派耶稣会士的断章取义要准确和深刻,实则表现出他们通过努力学习和理解一种本属陌生的文化而能够较好地把握此种文化。而在用本有的宗教观念诠释异域文化这一点上,所有耶稣会士没有质的差别,只有角度和程度的差异。

本文中几位新教传教士汉学家则更进一步。尽管他们关于朱熹有一神论认识、真神观念始终是中国传统中一种现实存在的论述可能会同时招致大批中国学者和西方学者的反对。但是他们正是因为诠释立场和对神意之理解发生了变化,所以对于沟通不同文化有了新的认识。利玛窦时代认为普遍理性引领人们走向神意,但这几位新教传教士认为道德学说之存在本来就是神意普遍存在的表现。

^⑭ 葛瑞汉 Angus Charles Graham 著,《中国的两位哲学家:二程兄弟的新儒学》*Zhongguo de Liangwei Zhexuejia: Er Cheng Xiongdi de Xin Ruxue* [Two Chinese Philosophers: Ch'êng Ming - tao and Ch'êng Yi - ch'uan],程德祥 Cheng Dexiang 等译,(郑州 Zhengzhou:大象出版社 [Daxiang Publishing House], 2005), 155 - 186。

^⑮ 梅谦立神父将《中国贤哲孔子》1687年拉丁文本的阐释类型和解释层次作了详细分析,详见 Thierry Meynard, *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus (1687): The First Translation of the Confucian Classics*, (Roma: Institutum Historicum Scietatis Iesu, 2011), 3 - 75。

他们的观点在当代其实有呼应者。比如近期耶稣会士梅谦立神父(Thierry Meynard, S. J.)认为,理学以哲学方式表达出的关于终极实在之思想与经院哲学中关于 God 的思想十分接近。^{①⑥} 简而言之,这批新教传教士汉学家之诠释努力的内在价值在于,他们可能创造了一种新的文化观念。此种类型的沟通不是单纯地让一种文化去理解另一种,而是利用两种文化资源以及它们可能具有的相关性而生发出新的解释,此种新解释可能并不被认可为属于任何一种既存的文化传统,但它却为文化的发展和更新带来生机和创造动力,可以说它是在一个创造的层次进行沟通,这要求沟通者和阅读者都能在一定程度上跳脱自己的传统,实则也提示了看待不同文化时可以采用一种积极的宽容视角(而非冷漠的容忍)。话说回来,对于已经长期被界定为截然不同的文化形态,是否不可以就其传统的关键性概念之间有无相关性再行发问? 本文涉及的几位传教士汉学家其实在这方面提供了很多启发。

^{①⑥} Thierry Meynard, *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus (1687)*, p. 74 n. 1.

English Title:

The Changed Perspective and Hermeneutics of Chinese Classics

——A Comment on Shifting Paradigms of Sinology by Examining the Protestant Missionaries' View on Relationship between Confucianism and Monotheism

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Abstract: This paper introduces several Protestant missionaries' discussion on whether theism is a traditional conception among Chinese. They not only responded to the Jesuits' topic to explore the meaning of the term Shang Di in pre-Qin literature, but went further to suggest that the Confucians of Song dynasty knew God and the knowledge of theism existed all the time in the long history of China. The value of their opinions can be found in the fact they probably created a new idea of culture through a hermeneutical perspective. This interpretation can hardly be accepted as any now existing tradition, but it brings us inspiration and force to think about development and renewal of cultures, and to think about the cultural communication on the creative level.

Key words: Protestant missionaries, cultural communication, hermeneutics of Chinese Classics, monotheism, Sinology

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

晚年马礼逊与儒耶争胜 ——以《古圣奉神天启示道家训》一书为中心

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摘要:十九世纪上半叶新教传教士作品有两大主题,一是以马礼逊为代表的“儒耶争胜”(1807-1834),一是以郭实腊为代表的“打开中国”(1834-1851)。本文以晚年马礼逊所撰文集《古圣奉神天启示道家训》为中心,讨论新教教士作品中“儒耶争胜”的主题。该书为马氏译著合集,署名“辩证牧师马老先生”。此书编排体例很特别,有一半内容是《圣经》新旧约,另一半为杂文。该书写作宗旨乃在用基督教教义与儒教性理之学争胜,故取“家训”为名,而最重要的议题即为辩证“神的属性”,以区别于儒教“性理”之说。

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关键词:马礼逊;儒耶争胜;《古圣奉神天启示道家训》;性理。

孔夫子不承认将来有天国的存在,也不承认人们对造物主应有的责任。……这种无神论的思想,成为中国公众信仰的基础……只有用上帝所写的话,就是基督教圣经的教训,才能把他们从迷途中找回来,这是颠扑不破的事实。

——马礼逊的公开演讲^①

早期新教传教士的作品——虽能分出经书、小说、圣诗、论文等体裁,但多数仍是杂糅文体而成,无论采用哪种文体,其主题都颇有相似之处。为达到传教目的,那些可敬的教士日新其德、耗尽心力,将圣经和基督教义转化为一般人容易接受的文本,强调的仍是主题内容,而非文体。文体是载道的工具,但更重要的是作品中所载之道。

自1807年来华,直至1834年逝世,马礼逊(Robert Morrison, 1782-1834)在华廿余年间的文字事业,不仅为中西文化交流做出了卓越的贡献,为传教事业开拓了新的领域,也为后来的教士树立了崇高的榜样。他一生的著作,除语言文字类作品,如《华英字典》、《通用汉言之法》、《英国文语凡例传》和《广东省土话字汇》等书外,还有两类:一是《圣经》及教义阐释之作,二是杂文杂记,大概是介绍西方的历史地理,以及评论华夏的经典。这两类作品,有一个共同的主题,即是他念兹在兹的“儒耶

^① 马礼逊夫人 Mrs. Elizabeth Morrison 编:《马礼逊回忆录》*Ma Lixun huiyilu* [Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison], 顾长声 Gu Changshen 译, 桂林 Guilin: 广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe [The Press of Guangxi Normal University of China], 2004, 第235页。

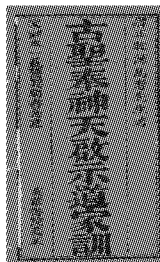
争胜”。

1807-1834年间,马礼逊毫无疑问是早期传教士的代表。他逝世之后,谁堪接重任?其时,曾受马氏影响、帮助和批评的德国传教士郭实腊(Karl Gützlaff, 1803-1851)颇有舍其谁的姿态。“郭实腊认为其他弟兄的能力或胆识等客观条件不如自己,他自命为中国传教事业的代言人实在是当之无愧。”^②马礼逊时代的中国是“关闭时代的中国”。^③郭实腊正是转变的时代,他并未辜负时代给予他的机会,无论是行为还是书写,他都担负起了“打开中国”的重任。笔者曾撰一文,以郭实腊及其著作《开放了的中国》(*China Opened*)等书为中心,详论了1834-1851年间传教士作品中甚嚣尘上的“打开中国”的主题。^④本文以马礼逊作品为代表,宗旨是讨论在郭氏前,即1807-1834年间,传教士作品中最典型的主题——儒耶争胜。从“儒耶争胜”到“打开中国”,这两个主题足以代表十九世纪上半叶传教士作品中的主题内容和递变规律。

《古圣奉神天启示道家训》(1827-1832)一书,为马礼逊晚年作品的合集,既包含《圣经》,也包含杂文杂记,正合适作为“儒耶争胜”这个主题的典型代表。

一、《古圣奉神天启示道家训》提要

《古圣奉神天启示道家训》,辩正牧师马老先生著,(马六甲)英华书院藏板。著者马老先生,即马礼逊,是基督教新教首位来华牧师。此书四册,共四百一十三叶。^⑤第一册封面签写出版于1831年,最后两册实际上出版于1832年。现存两册,分别名为《家训本一》和《家训杂篇本四》。



[马礼逊和《古圣奉神天启示道家训》一书封面]

《家训本一》内封题有“家训本一载旧契约书全意”字样。此册主要内容为《旧约》。据《家训本一》前面所附目录所示,仅有《家训本一》、《家训本二》两册内容,并无第三、四册记录。可见《古圣奉

^② 苏精 Su Jing 著:《上帝的人马:十九世纪在华传教士的作为》*Shangdi de Renma: Shiji Shiji Zai Hua Chuanjiaoshi de Zuo wei* [God's Forces: The Accomplishment of Missionary in 19th century China], 香港 Hong Kong: 基督教中国宗教文化研究社 Jidujiao zhongguo zongjiao wenhua yanjiushe [The Press of Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture], 2006, 第40页。

^③ 清洁理 Katharine Green 著,费佩德 Robert Ferris Fitch、杨荫济 Yinliu Yang 译述:《马礼逊小传》(1934年)*Ma Lixun xiaozhuan* [The biography of Robert Morrison], 第四章“关闭时代的中国”,收入周燮藩 Xiefan Zhou 主编,王美秀 Meixiu Wang 分卷主编:《中国宗教历史文献集成73,东传福音第二十三册》*Dong Chuan Fuyin* [Good News Spread Eastward], 合肥 Hefei: 黄山书社 Huangshan shu she [Huangshan Press], 2005, 第281-283页。

^④ 姚达兑 Yao Dadui:《郭实腊与打开中国》*Guo Shila yu dahai zhongguo* [Karl Gützlaff and Opening China], 载澳门利氏学社 Macau Ricci Institute,《神州交流》*Shenzhou jiaoliu* [Chinese Cross Currents], Bilingua, V. 9. 2, 68-81. Gützlaff's work, see The Rev. Charles Gützlaff, *China Opened or a Display of the Chinese Empire*, London: Smith, Elder and Co. 65 Cornhill, 1838.

^⑤ 熊月之 Xiong Yuezhi 著:《西学东渐与晚清社会》*Xixue Dongjian yu Wan Qing Shehui* [The Dissemination of Western learning and the late Qing society], 上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People's Press], 1994, 第137页。See, Qing'e Sun; Dipin Ouyang, *Catalogue of London Missionary Society Collection, Held by The National Library of Australia*, National Library of Australia, March 2001. The digitalized Books published by London Missionary Society, see: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.gen-vn386486>。笔者未见第二、三本。牛津大学鲍森楼(Bodleian library)有一藏本,目录标明1832年作品,但未知是否仍存有完整的四册。

神天启示道家训》中的前两册与后两册,并非同时印刷出版。事实上,马氏于1827年夏天,完成此书的前两册,1828年完成第三册,后因事业不顺、缺乏经费而无法付梓。^⑥“据1831年马六甲布道站报告,本书最迟已于1831年6月前印成,或许只是前三册,因另据英华书院报告,本书第四册于1832—1833年间完成,印刷全套一百部。”^⑦

从《家训本一》目录可知《家训本二》内容即为《新约》全书,其卷数承接《家训本一》十九卷,从“卷二十”算起。《圣经》本就是众书之书,是文集的丛编。马氏《家训》一书,内中既包含其译旧、新约书,又有其它杂文,体例编排较为复杂。

此书四本内容庞杂,早有伟列亚力的书目记录如下:

《古圣奉神天启示道家训》(Domestic Instructor)。4册;413页;马六甲;1832年。第一、第二册为《圣经》阅读导论,包括从年代学、历史学和文学角度对其所作的介绍以及关于篇、章、节的和系列注解;其后是一篇教会史摘要以及对祷告时间、形式等的说明。第三册是英国圣公会晨、晚祷文的译文,另有一年内所有的短祷和每天读的《圣经》经文和《诗篇》;最后是一份教会日历。第四册内容庞杂,包括法国大革命、神学、上帝和天的区别、救世主、圣灵、万物本原、基督肉身、对世人的训诫、圣礼、基督徒的幸福、偶像崇拜的起源,对于各种经文的简论、一位基督徒给英华书院成员的一封信、欧洲各民族的古风、对欧洲各国的评价、对世风日下的悲叹、讲道词、一位基督徒朋友的来信。^⑧

全书的详细内容如下:(一)、《家训本一》全书内容依次是:《家训本一论》(两卷)、目录(《家训》一、二本目录)、《家训序》、《神天圣书篇名》、《家训》卷一至卷十九(卷一内容为“天地万物论”,大量引称《圣经》篇内之训言,以证明万物皆为神造。“神乃作天地者,为天地之主。”“故称神为天地之主,唯一真神。”卷二至卷十九,则为《旧约》内容)。(二)《家训本二》的内容依次是:小引(《论旧新契约书》,即《神天圣书卷》全旨。又著圣书人名、年代等事)、卷二十至卷二十三为《新约》内容、卷二十四至二十六《神会史记略传》(即教会史略)。(三)、伦敦会藏本《家训本一》封面有时人手迹,其题字标明第三本的内容为“A Translation of the Morning and Evening Prayers”,即内容为祈祷文。马礼逊在此之前曾出版有祈祷文《年中每日早晚祈祷叙式》(*Church of England Common Prayer Book, Malacca, 1818*)。《家训》一书出版后翌年,马氏又出版有《祈祷文 赞神诗》(*Prayers and Hymns, Macao, 1833*)。这前后两本关于祈祷文的书,正是同一书的不同版本。第三册中收入了九篇文章,是1818年在马六甲出版的《神天道碎集传》(*Miscellaneous Essays*)的修订版。^⑨(四)、《家训》第四本,名为《家训杂篇本四》(*Miscellaneous Pieces, Chiefly Religious*),内容大多数为短文,依次是:《法兰西国作变复平略传》、《神天之学》、《神天形天明分论》、《耶稣即救世主之论》、《圣神风即慰导者之论》、《万物所由之说》、

^⑥ “在回两位秘书的信中,马礼逊都表示他已经写成三册《古圣奉神天启示道家训》*Gusheng feng shentian qishi dao jiaxun* [Ancient Sages' Home Teaching concerning Dao in the name of God]的中文书稿,但缺乏印刷费用,希望伦敦会能拨款或公开募捐付印。”苏精 Su Jing 著:《中国,开门! 马礼逊及相关人物研究》*Zhongguo, kai men! Ma Lixun ji xiang guan ren wu yan jiu* [Open China! The study of Missionary and related missionary],香港 Hong Kong:基督教中国宗教文化研究社 The Press of Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, 2005, 第81页。

^⑦ 苏精 Su Jing 著:《马礼逊与中文印刷出版》*Ma Lixin yu zhongwen yinshua chuban* [Robert Morrison and Chinese Printing Press],台北 Taipei:学生书局 Xuesheng shuju [Student Book Store], 2000, 第50页。

^⑧ (英)伟烈亚力 Weilieyali 著,倪文君 Ni Wenjun 译:《1867年以前来华基督教传教士列传及著作目录》*1867 nian yiqian laihua jidujiao chuanjiaoshi liezhuan ji zhuzuo mulu*,桂林 Guilin:广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe [Guangxi Normal University Press], 2011年,第13—14页。原著为 Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: Giving a List of Their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased*, Shanghai, American Presbyterian mission press, 1867, 6.

^⑨ Ibid.

《神天之子降生原意论》、《劝世文论》、《救世主命下之礼》、《天球说》、《基督信徒之福》、《偶像源流》、《教友致书》、《惜世人之非礼》、《劝世说》、《人拜神必以灵心拜之》、《劝善诗》等等。可见《家训杂篇本四》所录并非纯粹是宗教的内容,也有一些世俗的内容,例如首篇《法兰西国作变复平略传》是略述法国大革命历史和拿破仑事迹,《天球说》一文则介绍西方天文学。这些作品大多是取自马氏和米怜(William Milne, 1785 - 1822)所办杂志《察世俗每月统纪传》,如《法兰西国作变复平略传》即载于该杂志嘉庆庚辰年(1820)第36帙。^⑩

由以上所述,可推知《家训》四册是马氏来华二十多年之后,最重要的汉语著作的合集。

值得注意的是,《家训》一书,除《圣经》和卷四的两篇世俗文章外,其它文章全是短论,其共同的主题即为“辩正”是也。《家训本一》在目录前,有《家训本一论》(两卷),共四篇文章,分别是:《有造化天地人万物之神者性理证据论》、《千里镜论》、《神天示世人书卷论》、《灵异神迹论》。由此可推断,《家训本一论》是全书四本的总论,列于四本书之前,突出其宗旨正在于“辩正”。马氏著书宗旨既为“辩正”,那么论辩的敌手是谁,所辩内容又是什么?

二、儒耶争胜

马礼逊热衷于与清廷意识形态性理之学争胜,以此而达到批判儒教中国的目的。他喜欢引述《性理大全》和《朱子全集》,以及其它儒学原典,攻击儒教。^⑪ 他的许多讨论对儒教并不公平,因为针对的其实是中国人的世俗层面,诸如祭祖和多神崇拜。况且,“马氏常把儒教思想和意识形态混为一谈,也是对儒教最严重的误解。”^⑫究其底因,乃在于清廷列儒教为正宗,而其他妨碍社会稳定的教门则为异端。所以马氏等初来的教士在被逐后,一直念念不忘与儒教争胜。传教士无法在内陆参与实际的辩论,因而退而求次,希望凭能够扬播于四海之内的文字,在义理上与假想敌儒教一辩高低。

传教士初至中国便遇到来自政治意识形态方面的劲敌。明清罗马天主教徒面对儒教中国,采取了较为平和的“合儒辟佛”策略。^⑬ 儒教与其说是一种宗教,不如说是一种伦理原则,还不至于如佛、道两教教义一样与基督教教义水火不容。然而晚清来华的基督教新教传教士却不这么认为。他们不像其先驱利玛窦(Matteo Ricci, 1552 - 1610)等人那么宽容,而且此时面对的是正闭关、禁教的中国,所以自然而然地将自身遇到的所有困难,都归咎于清廷的政治意识形态一儒教理学。

马礼逊所著《古圣奉神天启示道家训》一书,本意在于宣扬基督教教义,与儒教教义争胜。马氏编著此书始于1827年,陆续付梓,结束于1831 - 1832年间。早在1827年3月18日,马礼逊在写给其兄长詹姆斯·马礼逊的信件中透露了他已在写此书:“我正用中文写作一本有关神天启示所有重要原则

^⑩ 《法兰西国作变复平略传》*Falanxiguo zuobianfuping luezhuan* [The brief history of French Disorder and Peace] 在《察世俗每月统纪传》*Cha shisu meiyue Tongjizhuan* [Monthly Record of Social Customs] 杂志上面连载时,并不署名。这个杂志发表的文章多数是马礼逊 Ma Lixun [Robert Mporrison] 及其助手米怜 Mi Lian [William Milne] 所写,故而邹振环先生认为:《法兰西国作变复平略传》的著者“不详,很有可能也是米怜”。但其实际著者应是马礼逊,邹先生未见马氏著作,故而语焉未详。详见邹振环 Zou Zhenhuan 著:《西方传教士与晚清西史东渐》*Xifang Chuanjiaoshi yu Wan Qing Xishi Dongjian* [Western Missionary and the Dissemination of Western History], 上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai Guji Chubanshe [Shanghai Classic Press], 2007, 第47页。

^⑪ 龚道运 Gong Daoyun 著:《近世基督教和儒教的接触》*Jinshi Jidujiao He Rujiao de Jiechu* [The contact of Christianity and Confucianism in modern period], 上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai Renmin chubanshe [Shanghai People's Press], 2009, 第41页。

^⑫ Ibid., 47.

^⑬ 关于天主教士如利玛窦 Li Madou [Matteo Ricci] 等人“合儒辟佛”讨论可见王晓朝 Wang Xiaochao 著:《基督教与帝国文化关于希腊罗马护教论与中国护教论的比较研究》*Jidujiao Yu Diguo Wenhua* [Christianity and Imperial Culture], 北京 Beijing: 东方出版社 Dongfang Chubanshe [East Press], 1997, 第127页。孙江 Sun Jiang 著:《十字架与龙》*Shizijia yu Long* [The Cross and the Dragon], 杭州 Hangzhou: 浙江人民出版社 [Zhejiang people's Press], 1990, 第20页。

的作品,从圣经中选取一些内容,并偶尔附以解释性和教导性注释。一个适合该作品的题目是《古圣奉神天启示道家训》(*Domestic Instructions, derived from Divine Revelation*)。它的主要目的是作为与异教思想相比较,辩证错误的根据,以帮助理解基督教原则。”^⑭然而此书一直拖延未得出版,因为晚年的马氏健康状况不佳,又缺乏足够资金支持作品的印刷。直到在1832年2月26日,他在澳门写给“福音小册公会”的信件中,表明此书已出版。他说:“我的《古圣奉神天启示道家训》和《圣经日课》印刷版式相同,从历史、教义及现实角度概述我们的神圣宗教。”^⑮此书包含有《圣经》新旧约的内容,采取1823年马氏自己翻译的《神天圣书》(《圣经》)一书。既然此书主要内容是取自《圣经》,其源乃纯属“神天启示”,缘何又取用“家训”一名?

自康熙晚年开始,清廷便将朱子理学树立为官方的政治意识形态,并出版了不少朱子理学的著作,如《朱子大全》、《性理精义》(李光地纂)等书。^⑯“崇朱颂圣有成规”(陈寅恪诗)。虽然在野的文人士大夫并不皈依这种政治意识形态,但在朝的文官却不得不迎合帝王而推崇朱子理学。其后雍正禁绝基督教传教,又出版了《圣谕广训》等儒家家训之类的书籍。^⑰《圣谕广训》推崇孝治,较趋世俗化。《性理精义》是朱子理学的浓缩版,较趋哲学化。两者一俗一雅,合而为清代的官方意识形态,是帝国的真理。儒教伦理以“家”为中心,推而及之为天下;以“人”为中心,推而及之为“天人合一”。在这种理念影响下的中国人,一方面极为尊崇古圣先贤,另一方面形成了以家庭伦理为中心的世界观,最终道统、治统和家统全部连成一体。因而在出版《性理精义》和《圣谕广训》的同时,清代皇帝的《圣训》也都被收集出版。这些“圣训”,一般是由皇帝的后代和朝臣辑录。有清一代,主要有:康熙《圣谕十六条》、《庭训格言》,雍正《圣谕广训》、清圣祖玄烨命辑《太祖高皇帝圣训》、《太宗文皇帝圣训》。清世宗胤禛命辑《世祖章皇帝圣训》、《圣祖仁皇帝圣训》,清高宗弘历命辑《世宗宪皇帝圣训》、《世宗宪皇帝上谕》等。这些圣训、圣谕,皆是“家训”之属。

明乎上论,便知马氏为何将其著作命名为《古圣奉神天启示道家训》。“古圣”者,迎合了中国人推崇古圣先贤的心理。《家训本一论》中《神启示人书卷论》一文,即说旧新约书的真实无虚,乃启于圣灵(马氏译为“圣神风”,是因希腊语“灵”与“风”同义),承自古圣先贤,延续至今不改。“神天”是上古汉语,后来失去了其超越性的意涵。但其实“神”与“天”在后世中国人心中仍是非常神圣的。是故马氏用“神天”一词,乃为避免圣号论争。“道”,是中国传统的真理。“家训”之名仿自清代皇家家训,则是因为马氏有要与儒教争胜的焦虑。

马礼逊至华遭遇到儒教时,其焦虑是显而易见的。1807年,他甫至广州,便知晓了《圣谕广训》这种官方意识形态——尤其是第七条“黜异端以崇正学”,一向对帝国的臣民灌输这样的思想:基督教属于邪教,是必须取缔的教门。因而,马氏以《圣谕广训》为汉语教材,并想将其翻译成英文。这个任务最终由他的助手米怜(William Milne, 1785 - 1822)完成。马氏在教米怜汉语的同时,指导米怜将《圣

^⑭ 马礼逊夫人编 Mrs. Elizebeth Morrison:《马礼逊回忆录》*Ma Lixun huiyilun* [Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison], 顾长声 Gu Changshen 译,桂林 Guilin: 广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe [Guangxi Norman University Press], 2004, 第191页。

^⑮ *Ibid.*, p 232.

^⑯ 伦敦会对清廷所定的朱子学正统作品甚为重视,现今所存的伦敦会藏书中,便有几本,如《性理精义》*Xing Li Jing Yi* [The Sacred Edict]一书,见澳洲国立图书馆所藏伦敦会藏品。数字化图书见 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.gen-vn408030>。

^⑰ 有清二百年间,大量出版了《圣谕广训》等书,直可当作清廷意识形态的世俗版本。主要研究参照周振鹤 Zhou Zhenhe 撰集;顾美华 Gu Meihua 点校:《圣谕广训:集解与研究》*Sheng Yu Guang Xun : Ji Jie Yu Yan Jiu* [A Study of Sacred Scripture], 上海 Shanghai: 上海书店出版社 Shanghai shudian [The Press of Shanghai Bookstore], 2006。该书收藏了不少“圣谕”书籍,所附论文两篇论述也殊为精当。另可参拙文《圣书与白话——〈圣谕〉俗解和一种现代白话的夭折》*Shengshu yu baihua-Shengyu sujie he yizhong xiandai baihua de yaozhe* [Sacred Scripture and Secular Language], 载《同济大学学报》*Tongji daxue xuebao* [The Journal of Tongji University] (社会科学版 Social science) 2012. 1.

谕广训》译成了英语。在该译本的序言中,米怜声称这个译本是马氏未完成的愿望。^⑮因为在马氏看来,这个文本作为清帝国的真理话语,其重要性再怎么强调也不过分。现存“伦敦差会藏书目录”(澳洲国立图书馆)之中,便可查见其时在华的教会出版社出版有一些《性理精义》、《圣谕广训》的著作,并且两者的英译名称被误定为一,即“*The Sacred Edict*”。

马氏此书套用“家训”之名,显然是模仿中国儒教典籍,与儒教教义争胜。早在出版《家训》之前,马氏便指导了其助手米怜于1820年出版了《乡训五十则》一书。米怜自序称:“此部虽曰《乡训》,然即住于京城之人,亦可看之而受教也。很愿至上神天,以此部之理,而省悟恶者,使之变善,又感发善者,使之大进德也。”^⑯此书名为“乡训”,内容实也是基督教义。而在《家训》第四册《神天之学》(第七页)一文中,马氏说“因在天父者看,众生为一家,”而“耶稣正教,在于开闢世界即人初获罪于神天之时而设”,其后人类始祖家训相传,即为圣书。马礼逊和米怜,都喜欢借用中国传统的“家训”、“乡训”模式,来推广耶教教义。中国传统“家训”诸什,对象当然是童蒙,马氏借“家训”之名,将《圣经》改造成启蒙著作。然而,此书内容艰深、语言晦涩,并非为童蒙而写,能否为启蒙对象所接受,实在不容乐观。

《家训杂篇本四》中的几篇杂篇,对其它教门多有批评,针对儒教最甚。第四册连续的四篇文章《神天之学》、《神天形天明分论》、《耶稣即救世主之论》和《圣神风即慰导者之论》,分别论述的是基督教性质简要、天父、人子和圣灵。在《神天之学》一文中,马氏认为:“现在大概而言之,有三教在世,不是言儒道佛为三,因虽然儒道佛门,多有相异,尚且有一件事,其三皆同一理,就是拜奉偶像,所以今把其三教看之为为一。其外尚有两教不拜偶像,即是回回教与耶稣之正教。”(第七页)马氏下文并无提及道教,也只寥寥几句便打发掉了佛教和回教,只说“佛门经内多有不可解之辞,不可考之言,又教训多事,甚无益于世,并非合天理”(第八页),回回教“其教原主马何默得在古世《神天圣典》内,取出好几件之理,另作经书,又自混入自己之昧见。故在回回教内,有合天理的,亦有不合天理的”(第九页)。而针对儒教,却大作批评,攻驳儒教对鬼神的态度和民间宗教(popular religion)的偶像崇拜。

新儒性理之学继承了孔子“不语怪力乱神”传统,对神鬼之道也存而不论;对此,马礼逊甚多批评。马氏说:“儒门以伊真不明白鬼神来生之理。据朱夫子说‘不可云无之,亦不定说有之,乃远之、去之,亦可也’等语。惟倘或果然有神天之理,来生之要,岂可去之哉。既然人可尽力为修身,获今世数年之福,免数年之祸,或为事君亲之意,而反不想到永祸永福,不事天父万有之神主,成何理哉?”(第八页)在往下的几篇文章中,马氏又批评了民间宗教中的偶像崇拜。儒学,尤其是性理之学,经宋明两代融汇诸学后,已是非常精英的学问,远非一般民众所能懂得。在民间底层,人们接受的更多是儒教的世俗化带来的种种风尚或恶习。所以传教士对十九世纪中国世俗社会中盛行不衰的“偶像崇拜”,经常大加攻击。马礼逊认为祭礼一事在基督教虽有,然则现在在中国看到的,已失去了原有的宗旨。他说:“上古神天设献祭之礼,豫表神子耶稣降生以贵体代世人为祭物,致赎人罪,好使凡悔罪之人,皆可受罪之赦。……遂后满世界各方,皆有祭神祭天之礼,俱从神天原设之礼,而相传流下习成俗也。只是多处地方,已经失其祭礼之原义也。”马礼逊策略性地论证,祭礼须溯“原义”乃在于耶稣为世人赎罪。这与华夏传统中儒家祭天之义,当然大有不同。马氏此种“辩正”的做法,是将中国的风尚接入基督教义的语境中,用教义进行引导。该册后续的几篇文章里,他劝说华人切切不可崇拜偶像。“世人

^⑮ The Rev. William Milne, translated by, *The Sacred Edict, containing Sixteen Maxims of the Emperor Kang-He, Amplified by his son, the Emperor Yoong-Ching; Together with a Paraphrase on the whole* (London: Printed for Black, Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, booksellers to the Hon. East - India Company, Leadenhall street, 1817).

^⑯ 博爱者 Boazhe(米怜 William Milne)纂:《乡训五十二则》*Xiangxun Wushier Ze* [The 52 principles of Countryside Teaching], 马六甲 Maluujia [Malacca]: 英华书院 Yinghua shuyuan [Anglo - Chinese College], 1820, 序 Prologue.

断不可冒昧任己痴心,去造偶像以神字呼之。是乃绝要之大道矣。”“基督领先是望获福,有个道理。伊不是以淫祀、谄鬼、怪诞而求福,乃以奉信天地造主宣于世之福音道,而望神天恩赐之福也。”(三十二页)如要拜上帝,则应与流行宗教所拜的偶像有别。“这位真神,我们必以心敬之,且不要行香,不要祭礼,乃要我以诚实恭敬而拜之。”(四十三页)进而,真要拜的话,必须以心灵与上帝沟通。“盖神天上帝,是纯灵无形之神,故凡有人家拜他,务必用灵心诚实之意拜他,方使得。”(第六十五页)

在上述连续的四篇论文后,《劝世文论》一篇又继续攻击了其他教门,并列出了“儒学多有不足之处”。其一,无造物主。“儒门似不识真神。盖反复论来论去,言及一个天字,其止说云清气升上成天等语。果然依儒家之论,宇宙缺了一个灵觉主宰。且万有之物,缺了一个造主也。是乃儒道之不足也。”(第十六页)其二,无赎罪之道。“儒教未曾示知以罪赦之道,致罪人之心,无奈何失所望矣。是乃儒教之不足也。”(第十六页)其三,不言死后。“且于肉身别后,灵魂或受苦或享福,乃果否有是理,儒门未曾分明。亦为儒教之不足也。”(第十七页)马氏进而结论说,正经的儒者应当正心诚意地承认儒学的这三点不足,而加以悔改。“心向神天之理,与神天了之救世主耶稣所未知,而学习之,方可补儒门之不足也。”(第十七页)

以上引用不外乎说明,马礼逊所论辩的敌手是基督教之外的其它教门,尤其是儒教。

三、性理辨正

儒教在早期新教教士看来,其实对等的是作为政治意识形态的程朱理之学,即所谓的性理学。故而马礼逊在该总集中,对“性理”作了一番辨正。

在《古圣奉神天启示道家训》一书之前,马礼逊出版的与《家训》一书相类似的书籍有:(一)、《神道论赎救世总说真本》(广州,1811。共四页),论述上帝为唯一真神,耶稣自天降地、教予人救赎的真理,篇末附有“祈祷神式”。(二)、《问答浅注耶稣教法》(广州,1812),这是教义问答集(catechism),录有一百零三条问答(篇末间有几条祈祷文和赞美诗)。(三)、《古时如氏亚国历代略传》(1815),内容为旧约大纲。(四)、《养心神诗》(1818),内容为赞美诗。(五)、《年中每日早晚祈祷叙式》(马六甲,1818),内容为祈祷文。(六)、《神天道碎集传》(马六甲,1818),收录了一些杂文。(七)、《神天圣书》(马六甲,1823),内容为《圣经》,共21卷。1831年出版的《古圣奉神天启示道家训》,可算是之前著作的合集,举凡《圣经》、教义问答、祈祷文、赞美诗、杂文集,以“辨正”为宗旨,或改编或重写,皆收录在案。作为马氏所著文章的合集,最重要的作品,《古圣奉神天启示道家训》四本,前三本除了《圣经》内容之外,都是教义论辩的短论,第四本杂文集也多是短论和札记。

《古圣奉神天启示道家训》内文前的《家训本一论》两卷,旨在彰示全书最重要的论题:关于“神的属性”的论辩。首篇《有造化天地人万物之神者性理证据论》:“以时辰表之机关,喻六合之妙和。”(第七页)意在表明:既然时辰表之机关必有设计者,则天地万物,造化而成,必然有赖于神的创造。“盖天上日月七星之运动,下地木草生物彼此机关相符之用比该时辰表,皆盛然显明有个故意造计使之各得其所者。惟原造意令六合内之万有,皆符和者,就是神也。天地人万有之神主,无始自然,从永远自在者也。”(第四、五页)这就从性理方面,找到了“天地人万物之神者”的证据。

为何置于四本书之首的第一篇,要开宗明义地在“性理”方面论证神的存在?因为“辨正牧师马老先生”要论辩的对手,就是作为清帝国政治意识形态的性理之学。这与他的前辈,如罗马天主教教士利玛窦、龙华民(Nicolas Longobardi, 1559 - 1654)之流一样,要在神学与哲学(或理学)之间架起一个沟通的桥梁,通过种种论辩以证明神学与理学有相似性,更进一步说明神学的上帝要比性理之学的“理”要高明得多。基于同样的逻辑,马氏认为“性理所推出之意,与神启示经所载相符。”(第五页)进

而,在《家训本一》首篇的《家训序》中,马氏又称:“世训有二,性理推论一,神天示教一。夫我以神训为主,以人训为仆。神训载《神天圣书》一套。性理之推学,皆属未定,而且不足。若问天地人之由来,性理不能以足信之言答应。若问神何也?人与神何干?人获罪于神如何?可赦否?死后之如何等问?性学只得言不知。若强而言,各人彼此不同,都说猜度估量之词而已。”(第一页)如此,则神天示教的家训要比性理的推论更为高明得多了。要之,关于“神的属性”的界定和辩正,成为了全书中首要的议题。

马氏宣扬“神天启示为要于人,盖无之则天理难明”(第四册第六页),其攻驳性理之学,例举如下:(一)、宋明以来的性理之学,以太极为人文之元,“理一而分殊”,一切都从太极衍化而来。而马氏则说:“在人所称阴阳、太极、无极者之上,另有一位神天,俗所云一个‘道’字,一个‘理’字,即是神天之明见所定之旨也。惟所称苍天、日月星宿神仙之类,及地所载之人类,连禽兽与海间之鳞介等,悉皆被神天造生也。”(第十页)又称,“苟无此理、气、阴、阳等学于世界,大有益矣;远之、去之,狠可也。”(二)“理”源于神天(上帝)。“我们世人所亲见无何大知识。既然如此,世人所论及上天、并论及神仙之言,从何而来了乎?或云人推论才得灵魂、肉身分为两物之理。又推论有个来生、致报应,得均平之理。……又推论必有个永祸报恶,又有个永福报善之理。向来有人说上言之各理,比为人所推算出来的。曰,非然。乃是由神天初生人启示之理,传下各后人来的。”(第六页)以上引自《神天之学》一文。该文论基督教教义的性质,得出的结论是儒教之性理只能将生生之源推衍到太极和无极,基督教则从格物致知有大造物主,而且各种“理”,都是来自“神天”上帝的启示。所以马氏总结说,“既然世界流传下之理为杂,又因世人推论辩驳甚烦,即依各教之理,皆无实据。今已蒙神天启示世界之经典,各人应恭敬接之。不合是经典之理,即去之。各人不可泥古慕新,乃以神天启示经典之言为正矣。”(第九页)

在《家训本一论》中,马氏对“神的属性”作了如下界定:

“既在天地之外,天地之先,天地之上,有个神明设计策造制处行作,可见神无所不在。又因所有之物,俱不能自造,乃必赖自己外,另有使造者,盖物未在先,明然不能动作。故可见造天地人万物之神,必从永远而在。即无始而永在也。又既神使造万有者,永然而在。可见神非赖自己外何物被造,乃永然自在,即自然而然之所谓也。又因在宇宙六合万有之物,皆彼此合用相符,则可见原设计造制万有之神者,是单另独一神也。既然六合显然有一个主意治理万物,可见天上独有一个神主者也。”(第九页)

这个神,永生永在,是万物的造物主,是毋需依赖他者而存在的唯一真神。

既然神如此伟大,具有绝大伟力,则其启示之“道”,当然也是绝对的真理。这里强调了“旧兼新遗诏书”(《圣经》)的神圣性。唯恐读者不信“旧兼新遗诏书”之真,马氏将此书与儒家“四书”和佛经作了对比。

“旧兼新遗诏书,为真书之证据,与孔子四子书为真书之证据相似。盖从出该书之时由来,在出其书之地方,各代人皆以是书为真的。且著该书之时,书内之事,是当下众人所共知,总不能哄骗住该地方,生在该世代之人。又既然出其书该世代之别书,多论及四子书,相传与遂后代及由来代继续不绝,则今代接四书以真为四子所述,明有实在之证据也。”(第十页)

连及中国的其它教门,马氏又攻驳佛经之虚无荒谬如下:

“书卷照佛经之书卷,内独宽皮言(引注:原文如此)‘维时树下有如此佛言’等语,可假做哄骗世界。因经内所言,无何实地方,无何真时候,无何人事、国事详细实录可考。乃所论大概是空然。佛言云云,故不能以当时、该地、众人共知、别书、对质。如此何证据之有哉?惟四子书,佛经大不相同。四

书所载有实地、真时、人事多论及,且当时中国之人所共知也。故别代不能假作其书。外国不能假传是理。斯未辩自明矣。”(第十一页)

从这两段引文,可见得:(一)、马氏所言“旧兼新遗诏书”的真实不虚,乃是因古圣先贤受启于“圣神风”,同时代之人信以为真,而后的信徒则奉为“家训”,代代相传不曾变改。(二)、马氏如其前辈明清天主教徒一样,采取了“合儒辟佛”的措施。虽然儒佛两家都是对手,但儒家教义与基督教义尚可融通,尚可与性理之学在学理上相互“辩正”,而佛教教义则完全无法共存。

其实“合儒辟佛”传教策略,对儒教教义还是颇为尊重的。《家训杂文本四》所载的一些“劝世文”,其委婉口吻和殷殷劝诫,则可说明这点。但是这种“融儒”的策略,至马氏和米怜而止,稍后与二氏共事的郭实腊,则采取了较为激烈的态度批评中国的宗教和伦理。《古圣奉神天启示道家训》出版于1831年,这一年,郭实腊开始在中国沿海活动,并开始写作后来为他赢得盛名的《三次航行中国沿海记》(1834)。^{②①}其后,郭氏出版于鸦片战争前夕的《开放了的中国》一书,借助时势改变了西方人对待中国的态度,从尊崇变为蔑视。马氏和郭氏看待中国的态度趋于两极,分别代表了两种传教的策略。马氏以基督教教义与儒教教义争胜的写作主题,承自明清天主教传教士,又被郭氏继承。但在郭氏那里,新教传教士们的写作主题,已由“儒耶争胜”转变为“打开中国”。^{②②}

^{②①} Charles Gützlaff, *Journal of three voyages along the coast of China, 1831, 1832, 1833* (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1834).

^{②②} 这种转变,请见详论拙文《郭实腊与打开中国》“Guoshila yu dakai zhongguo” [Karl Gützlaff and Opening China],载澳门利氏学社 Macau Ricci Institute,《神州交流》*Shenzhou jiaoliu* [Chinese Cross Currents], Bilingua, V.9.2,68-81。

English Title:

Robert Morrison and competing moral principles between Confucianism and Christianity
——Focuses on Mr. Morrison's work of his late age *Domestic Instruction* (1832)

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Abstract: There were two themes in early protestant missionaries' works. One represented by Robert Morrison's works is "competing moral principles between Confucianism and Christianity", whereas the other by Karl Gützlaff's works is "opening of China". This paper focuses on Mr. Morrison's late work *Domestic Instruction* (1832) to discuss the first theme. The book, signed by author's obscure name "the debater Rev. Senior Morrison", is an anthology of Chinese Bible and Morrison's miscellaneous papers. Morrison tried to use a traditional style of "domestic instruction" to write Christian literature for competing Confucianism. Hence, the primary topic of this book is to "debate" the nature of God and distinguished it from Xinli—the highest moral principles of Neo - Confucianism.

Key Words: Robert Morrison, competing moral principles between Confucianism and Christianity, *Domestic Instruction*, Xinli.

民初基督教救国运动个案研究 ——以张之江《证道一助》为例

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摘要:民国初年,中国处在生死存亡的历史关头,无数仁人志士为了国家的生存和民族的存亡而挺身而出,张之江先生是其中的一位,他是当时基督教救国运动的一个重要推动和参与者,他通过《证道一助》小册子来表达和介绍自己的基督宗教经验,从中可以看到及救国运动以及中国传统文化以在他的基督宗教经验中的张力,是民初基督教救国运动一个鲜活的个案。

关键词:基督教、救国、证道一助、革命

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一

张之江(1882-1966),河北省盐山县留老人庄(今属黄骅市)人,西北军著名将领,是20世纪前期基督教救国运动中的一个重要代表,同当时的“基督将军”冯玉祥一样,张之江也具有“基督将军”的身份和形象。^①张之江原本习文,十八岁的时候应童子试,补诸生。1903年,就是光绪二十九年,清朝政府组织常规军,命令各地抽调子弟入伍。当时,张之江的父亲为村正,应该选派壮丁二人,由于当时无人应征,于是,把自己的儿子送入军队,由于张之江有学文的基础,深受军队官长的重视和提拔,从而开始了他的军人革命之路。张之江在参与革命过程当中,接触基督教,对他产生非常重大的影响,但是,目前中国大陆学界尚没有专文在这个方面研究张之江。本文主要试从张之江出版的、见证他自己的基督宗教信仰的小册子《证道一助》来分析和阐释张之江对于基督教的理解和认识,并探寻他所见证的耶稣基督形象的时代文化背景,见证基督宗教与中国社会互动的个案实践。

二

1807年,第一位来华新教传教士马礼逊(Robert Morrison)(1782—1834)来到中国,他所带来的基督教新教结合西方的政治、经济、教育和文化等力量对中国社会产生重要的影响和作用,推动了近两

^① 刑福增 Ying Fuk-tsang,《基督信仰与救国实践:二十世纪前期的个案研究》*Jidu xinyang yu jiuguo shijian - ershi shiji qianqi de ge'an yanjiu* [Christian Doctrine and the Praxis of National Salvation; A Case Study of the First Half of 20th Century China](香港 Hong Kong:建道神学院 Jiandao shenxueyuan [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1997), 557。

百年来中国社会的巨变。^② 19 世纪末 20 世纪初是中华民族生死存亡的关键时期,中国历史舞台上演了一系列的风起云涌的历史事件。一方面,中国社会内部发生一系列的历史巨变。一方面是科举制度的废除,打破了传统的教育体制,而新兴的教育体系的建立和人才的培养,导致了整个社会阶层的变动;另一方面是辛亥革命的爆发,推翻了君主专制政体。整个中国社会面对的是旧的体制的推翻和新的力量的整合,中国社会内部面临着巨变。^③ 另外一方面是帝国主义垂涎中国领土,实有恨不得把中国瓜分殆尽之嫌。中国面对的是里忧外患的问题,中国的政治、经济、社会、文化各个方面共同发生危机,中国处在“全面危机”的阴影之下,^④面对如此危机的时代处境,中国的基督徒不能不有所响应。胡学诚在 1924 年的《真理周刊》中的社论反映了一个中国基督徒对时局的认识和体会:“中国的命运真不幸啊:辛亥革命,幸而成功,政治上稍稍实现曙光,就遇到一个大野心家袁世凯,因为他要达到皇帝梦,不但使中国坐失建设的机会,而且为我们留下一种后患无穷的遗孽—军阀。环顾国内,一切事业均为武人所占据。而所有的祸患,又无不为军阀之所赐。土匪遍地,险象环生,中国的前途,真是不堪设想!”^⑤。

面对“救国”的课题,时局促使国人倾向于将复杂的国家问题约化为某些终极关怀的问题,然后寻索一种根本性及整体性的解决办法,以达到从根本上将问题彻底解决。^⑥ 因此,五四之前,在中国基督徒的倡议,海外布道家的传扬和青年会的推动下,“基督教救国论”成为中国教会时代处境的主要回应。^⑦ 五四运动之后,更加的催促基督徒积极加入到“基督教救国”的行列中,认识到只有耶稣基督才能真正的救中国。^⑧ 而作为冯玉祥之得力助手的基督徒张之江将军则正处在这个时代洪流的脉络当中。

② 苏精 Su Jing,《中国,开门! 马礼逊及相关人物研究》*Zhongguo kaimen malixun jiqi xiangguan renwuyanjiu* [China open the door! Study of Robert Morrison and related people] (香港 Hong Kong: 基督教中国宗教文化研究社 Jidujiao zhongguo zongjiaowenhua yanjiushe [Christian Chinese Religion and Culture Research Center], 2005), 25。

③ 刑福增 Ying Fuk - tsang,《基督信仰与救国实践:二十世纪前期的个案研究》*Jidu xinyang yu jiuguo shijian - ershi shiji qianqi de ge' an yanjiu* [Christian Doctrine and the Praxis of National Salvation; A Case Study of the First Half of 20th Century China] (香港 Hong Kong: 建道神学院 Jiandao shenxueyuan [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1997), 34。

④ 邹谠 Zou Tang,《二十世纪中国政治与中国文化》*Ershishiji zhongguo zhengzhi yu zhongguo wenhua* [Chinese Politics and Culture in 20th Century], 邹谠 Zou Tang 著:《二十世纪中国政治—从宏观历史与微观行动角度看》*Ershi shiji zhongguo zhengzhi yu —cong hongguan lishi yu weiguan lishi kan* [Twentieth Century Chinese Politics: From the Perspectives of Macro - history and Micromechanism Analysis] (香港 Hong Kong: 牛津大学出版社 Niujin daxue chubanshe [Oxford University Press], 1994), 50。

⑤ 胡学诚 Hu Xuecheng,《社论:我们今后对国事应有的醒悟》*Shelun: wo men jinhou dui guoshi yingyoude xingwu* [Editorial: waking up that we should have for the affairs of state in the future],《真理周刊》*zhenli zhoukan* [The Truth Weekly], No. 41 (北京 Beijing: 真理社 Zhenlishe [The Truth Press], 1924), 50。

⑥ 刑福增 Ying Fuk - tsang,《基督信仰与救国实践:二十世纪前期的个案研究》*Jidu xinyang yu jiuguo shijian - ershi shiji qianqi de ge' an yanjiu* [Christian Doctrine and the Praxis of National Salvation; A Case Study of the First Half of 20th Century China] (香港 Hong Kong: 建道神学院 Jiandao shenxueyuan [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1997), 34。

⑦ 刑福增 Ying Fuk - tsang,《冲突与融合—近代中国基督教史研究论集》*Chongtu yu ronghe—jindai zhongguo jidujiaoshi yanjiu lunji* [Confrontation and Accommodation: Essays on the History of Christianity in Modern China] (台北 Taipei: 财团法人基督教宇宙光全人关怀机构 Caituan faren jidujiao yuzhouguang quanren guanhuai jigou [Christian Cosmic Light Holistic Care Organization], 2006), 86。

⑧ *Ibid*, 93

三

广学会由西人创办于1877年。初期,配合当时的清政府的洋务运动,广学会的目的在于“兴中华”。^⑨ 民国初期,广学会的目的在于服务当时的基督徒,强调“书报布道”的理念。^⑩ 五四运动之后,特别是非基运动的影响之下,促使广学会在出版文字事工上强调本色化。1922年5月2-12日,在上海举行基督教全国大会,大会强调在文字事工上的本色化要求:

中国教会,当以中国本色文字(外国人说中国话,说出来多是外国的中国话,不是本色的中国话,怎能叫做中国本色文字,谅阅者诸君看了这个比方,当能明白)去应付。但现在已经出版了的那些书,虽然因为境遇变动,不合需要,不大畅销,有价值的,还得珍惜,还得感谢那些费了大神的著作家,他们原有各种困难,不易达到他们出书的目的。我们为教会文字事业前途计,也得改弦更张,略变早先所用的政策。现有的书籍,本也多半是外国人用工作做出来的,编辑和管理两方面,都少中国人。今后更多出能应时需的中国本色文字,著作人须得要中国人充当,就是提倡训练中国男女信徒的文字才能,才文字各机关管理上,也要完全给中国信徒充当。^⑪

广学会在出版文字事工上做出相应的调整,做出本色化的转变,获得了教会领袖和信徒的认可。^⑫ 1929年(中华民国十八年),广学会出版了张之江将军的福音见证册子《证道一助》,无疑是广学会文字出版本色化理念的一个成果。不过,值得注意的是,1935年广学会出版了《证道一助》的英文版 *How I Became A Christian* [7]^⑬。书中的内容翻译自中文版本《证道一助》,除了译者在序和跋中对张之江“基督将军”有所赞扬外,并无特别之处,不是本文所要讨论的重点。因此,广学会在当时中国的处境下,发挥其作为基督教机构的角色和责任,难以同中国社会的整体处境和状况分离开,虽然其创办的背景是有西方人所创立,因此,广学会无疑在文字事工上面要发挥调和的功能,体现中西、基督教与中国文化的对话和整合,它难以割舍的一个重要方面是对中国的关怀,对中国复兴的期盼和愿望。

四

已故全国政协委员、原南京中央国术馆馆长张之江先生,以提倡国术,广为大家所知,其背后乃是深深的有一颗忧国忧民、为国奉献牺牲的爱国之心。但是,张之江先生,还有另外一面不太被大家所知道的,乃是他的基督宗教经验,同当时救国救民的革命相交织的历史风云印记。张之江的《证道一助》如前面所述,同当时中国时代历史文化背景分不开。作为张之江将军个人信仰的见证,《证道一助》中我们可以看出张之江所体验的基督宗教的特点。

首先,张之江在《证道一助》中介绍自己信仰过程凸现了“救国救民”是他相信基督教的人生诉

^⑨ 李志刚 Li Zhigang,《百年烟云,沧海一粟—近代中国基督教文化掠影》*Bai nian yanyun, canghai yisu—jindai zhongguo jidujiao wenhua lueying* [One Hundred Years, One Drop in the Ocean: Study of Modern Chinese Christian Culture] (北京 Beijing: 今日中国出版社 Jinri zhongguo chubanshe [Modern China press], 1997), 163.

^⑩ *Ibid*, 166.

^⑪ *Ibid*, 169.

^⑫ *Ibid*, 172.

^⑬ 详参 General Chang Chih Chiang. *How I Became A Christian*. Tran. by Z. K. Zia, M. H. Brown (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1935)

求。张之江相信耶稣基督是同他参加革命,怀着救国救民的关切分不开的。《证道一助》正文的开始,张之江介绍自己参加革命起义失败后决定南下参加北伐军。一路需要经过清军所设的专为查拿革命党人的关口,他在行李中却带有武学书、军服和一条假发辫,这些属于犯禁的东西,倘若发现则有性命危险。他准备登船,需要经过清兵检查行李:

我于是雇人扛着三件行李道码头去,那是,码头上有许多戴红缨帽专任检查的官兵,异常严厉;我心里惶恐得很,以为这一回是决无幸免了,惟默祷上帝拯救而已。不料检查者将我的一件行李解开约有一半,忽然直起腰来说:“让你去吧。”^⑭

这个时候,张之江并没有正式接触基督信仰,而当时的呼求上帝和普通中国人面临困境是呼求上天神灵并没有两样,没有基督教色彩,^⑮而在张之江的眼里,这是上帝对他的特别的看顾和保护,是真神上帝对于他偏加爱护而得以化险为夷。^⑯张之江在正式的介绍他自己信仰基督之前,列举这样的例子无疑是想告诉读者上帝在他的革命生涯中的“实效性”,在他还没有认识耶稣基督之前真正的在他的生命中体会到上帝的保护和拯救,而不是强调耶稣基督的“真理性”,这也就不难理解他在正文的见证中,强调他相信耶稣基督在于他所接触到的基督徒行为使他体会到基督教的独特处。^⑰张之江介绍他第一次对基督信仰有所感动而消减怀疑,是在他同冯玉祥的共事当中,冯玉祥邀请他到青年会认识朋友。张之江在青年会中发现那些朋友们“举止端正,态度谦和,与普通社会的人大不相同”,^⑱正是这些基督徒的行为的不同引起了张之江的关注和反思,并且认为“可见行为感人,比较言语的效力更大。基督教的种子从此就撒在我心灵里了”。^⑲而后,张之江经历生平的第一次大感动,1915年,袁世凯称帝,冯玉祥与蔡锷共同讨袁,张之江奉命到成都商讨有关讨袁的事情,发现成都教会中朋友从事革命活动都很热烈,而且比一般的人诚恳地多,使他感悟到“觉得教会中所造就的人,于国家人民不但无害,而且是大有益的。倘若全国的人都照这样,国家还怕不强吗?”^⑳可见,这一次的大感动,还是从接触到的基督徒朋友的好行为中看到整个国家的希望所在,同他的救国救民的理想是相合的。这也就不难理解,后来张之江接触到另一个基督徒原北洋派官僚吴金彪,从他的良好行为表现而促使张之江决定领洗。^㉑可见,张之江在介绍自己信仰耶稣的过程中,吸引张之江的是基督徒的好行为表现,张之江从这些好的行为表现中所看到的正是基督教改变人心的力量,而这同他的救国救民的理想

^⑭ 张之江 Zhang Zhijiang,《证道一助》Zhengdao yizhu [How I Became A Christian] (上海 Shanghai: 广学会 Guangxuehui [Christian Literature Society], 1929 年出版,1937 年十七版), 2.

^⑮ 刑福增 Ying Fuk - tsang,《基督信仰与救国实践:二十世纪前期的个案研究》Jidu xinyang yu jiuguo shijian - ershi shiji qianqi de ge' an yanjiu [Christian Doctrine and the Praxis of National Salvation: A Case Study of the First Half of 20th Century China] (香港 Hong Kong: 建道神学院 Jiandao shenxueyuan [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1997), 333.

^⑯ 张之江 Zhang Zhijiang,《证道一助》Zhengdao yizhu [How I Became A Christian] (上海 Shanghai: 广学会 Guangxuehui [Christian Literature Society], 1929 年出版,1937 年十七版), 2.

^⑰ 刑福增 Ying Fuk - tsang,《基督信仰与救国实践:二十世纪前期的个案研究》Jidu xinyang yu jiuguo shijian - ershi shiji qianqi de ge' an yanjiu [Christian Doctrine and the Praxis of National Salvation: A Case Study of the First Half of 20th Century China] (香港 Hong Kong: 建道神学院 Jiandao shenxueyuan [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1997), 336.

^⑱ 张之江 Zhang Zhijiang,《证道一助》Zhengdao yizhu [How I Became A Christian] (上海 Shanghai: 广学会 Guangxuehui [Christian Literature Society], 1929 年出版,1937 年十七版), 3.

^⑲ Ibid, 4.

^⑳ Ibid, 4.

^㉑ Ibid, 7.

是相配合的。^② 身为救国救民的将军,张之江反对宗教同革命相左的观念,而且引用孙中山是一个基督徒的例子来证明宗教同革命不冲突,而且“简直可以说是革命的原动力了。”^③ 基督宗教与革命之间的关系,是一个需要抉择和探讨的课题,鉴于当时中国社会当时生死存亡的背景以及张之江救国救民的关怀不难使他认为“救中国的危亡,非真基督徒从军,不能收大而且速的果效,不能有一劳永逸的成绩。”^④

其次,张之江的儒家背景成为他认识和解读耶稣基督的一个文化视角,或者说在张之江身上体现了一次耶儒的对话。张之江原来接受的传统的中国私塾教育,对于儒家的四书五经耳濡目染,他十八岁应童子试,补诸生。^⑤ 因此传统儒家的知识讯息也成为他阐释和理解耶稣基督的一个文化起点:

……常谓旧约上摩西、以赛亚、但以理、以西结诸大先知,和中国的尧、舜、禹、汤、文武、周公、孔孟、老庄古圣先贤同出一源,同是一个宗旨——就是“觉世救民。”例如尹尹说:“天之生此民也,使先知先觉后知,使先觉觉后;予天民之先觉者也,予将以斯道觉斯民也!”这一章的意旨,与摩西、以赛亚、以西结诸大先知的教训及其相合;以及“尊天”“敬天”“发天”“顺天”“昭事上帝”等等…足见都是崇奉一个真主。所以我常以为古圣先贤,均兼有大宗教家的资格;要是把许多有关于“天理”“天命”“天德”“天道”的奥妙,从而发挥阐扬,博采旁证,融会参合;对于启发感化引人归主的效力上,一定可以增大;叫许多人都晓得“道之大原出于天。”信仰统一,精神化合,这就是救世度人的纲领,使人格外容易领悟。^⑥

在张之江的眼里,古圣先贤同圣经不是冲突而是同为一源,而且,在这里“合儒”的模式又与救国关怀结合在一起,^⑦更进一步的说,是用儒家的理论模式来理解和解读基督信仰,比如他理解古圣先贤是先博学而后知天命,而对于信徒来说则是先知天命而后要博学,鼓励信徒努力读书,以扩大主的疆域,^⑧笔者可以赞同这种观点,但是用这种模式来解读摩西,说摩西是“因博学而蒙天召”^⑨。则值得怀疑了。这是儒家传统中经学致用的翻版,毫无疑问,救国成为了张之江的另外一个“人生关怀”,救国成为他打通基督宗教同传统儒家文化经典的一个桥梁和切入点,这是同张之江所处的历史环境所割裂不开的,因为在当时的中国,救国无疑成为整个国家民族的目标指向。

再次,张之江在见证自己的基督信仰的时候列举了很多神秘性的经验。比如,他提到了在决定领

^② 刑福增 Ying Fuk - tsang,《基督信仰与救国实践:二十世纪前期的个案研究》*Jidu xinyang yu jiuguo shijian - ershi shiji qianqi de ge'an yanjiu* [Christian Doctrine and the Praxis of National Salvation: A Case Study of the First Half of 20th Century China] (香港 Hong Kong:建道神学院 Jiandao shenxueyuan [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1997), 336。

^③ 张之江 Zhang Zhijiang,《证道一助》*Zhengdao yizhu* [How I Became A Christian] (上海 Shanghai:广学会 Guangxuehui [Christian Literature Society], 1929 年出版,1937 年十七版), 30

^④ *Ibid*, 24.

^⑤ 刑福增 Ying Fuk - tsang,《基督信仰与救国实践:二十世纪前期的个案研究》*Jidu xinyang yu jiuguo shijian - ershi shiji qianqi de ge'an yanjiu* [Christian Doctrine and the Praxis of National Salvation: A Case Study of the First Half of 20th Century China] (香港 Hong Kong:建道神学院 Jiandao shenxueyuan [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1997), 332。

^⑥ 张之江 Zhang Zhijiang,《证道一助》*Zhengdao yizhu* [How I Became A Christian] (上海 Shanghai:广学会 Guangxuehui [Christian Literature Society], 1929 年出版,1937 年十七版), 9

^⑦ 刑福增 Ying Fuk - tsang,《基督信仰与救国实践:二十世纪前期的个案研究》*Jidu xinyang yu jiuguo shijian - ershi shiji qianqi de ge'an yanjiu* [Christian Doctrine and the Praxis of National Salvation: A Case Study of the First Half of 20th Century China] (香港 Hong Kong:建道神学院 Jiandao shenxueyuan [Alliance Bible Seminary], 1997), 341。

^⑧ 张之江 Zhang Zhijiang,《证道一助》*Zhengdao yizhu* [How I Became A Christian] (上海 Shanghai:广学会 Guangxuehui [Christian Literature Society], 1929 年出版,1937 年十七版), 10.

^⑨ *Ibid*, 10.

受洗礼之前,屡次梦见在盆里或河里沐浴,张之江说“这或者是主默示的预兆!”^⑩此外他还多次提到了自己在行军打仗过程中得到了上帝的帮助:“十四年(1925年),杨村作战的时候,我梦见一个兽,似熊非熊,似狗非狗,从右边跑来,惊醒后,知道右翼必然紧急,时日果然接侦探的报告:敌人约有一旅,果然向我们右侧背抄袭来了……这实在可以证明主的默佑,随时随地的指示我,引领我;如此一类的故事很多;每次遇有大事,事先必有默示。”^⑪如此灵验的经历成为他传扬基督教救恩的信仰见证,而他的见证是同他行军打仗的个人经历是分不开的。出于救国的热情,张之江是否对于自己所从事的救国事业有着“泛信仰化”的解释呢?

最后,他的宗教殊途同归论。在处理基督教同其它宗教之间的关系的时候,一方面,他以自己的信仰见证认同基督信仰,很相信使徒行传四章十二节所说:除他以为别无拯救,因为天下人间,没有赐下别的名,我们可以靠着得救。但是,在提到佛教的时候,张之江说“我想世界各宗教本是殊途同归”^⑫。而且他强调自己素来是一个基督徒,因此不愿意离开基督,“仿佛凿井,要是多凿几个,都不及泉,还不如专凿一井,尚可终身‘取之不尽用之不竭’哩”。^⑬本来《证道一助》是来劝说国人相信基督,但是面对其它的宗教的时候,张之江竟然提出了“殊途同归”论,既然基督教和佛教只是法门的不同,而最终结果是一样的,那么信仰基督的理由何在?难道只是因在救国救民上有帮助呢?因为按照张氏之说法,最终的结局都是一样的。所以救国在张之江的个人生命当中占据非常重要的位置,以至于救国无疑成为张之江来理解和梳理自己的宗教竟然的一个非常重要的坐标和参照。这同张之江所处的当时的中国政治历史处境是分不开的。无疑,张之江的宗教殊途同归论,在他的《证道一助》可以折射出中国传统文化同基督宗教之间的张力和融合,是研究近代中国历史一个不可多得的鲜活的个案。

总之,张之江先生的《证道一助》,离不开当时中国社会“救国”的宏大叙事背景,脱离不开中国传统文化的影响和熏陶,张之江在《证道一助》中介绍基督宗教的时候,脱离不了对当时中国社会救国的深切关怀和愿望,脱离不开传统文化对他的影响,从中我们可以看到基督教同中国社会和中国文化之间的对话和张力,是一本难得的社会历史风情的写照。

^⑩ Ibid, 6.

^⑪ Ibid, 27.

^⑫ Ibid, 34.

^⑬ Ibid, 35.

English Title:

Early 20th Century Chinese Christian movement for saving China

——A Case study of General Chang Chih Chiang's *How I Became A Christian*

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Abstract: in the early 20th century, China was at a vital turning point of either surviving or perishing. Many people joined the movement to save China. Chang Chih Chiang was one of them who join the Chinese Christian Movement to save China. He published a small brochure named *How I became a Christian*, which reflected the tension between the movement of saving China, Chinese Culture and his Christian experience. It is a good case study of early 20th Century Chinese Christian movement for saving China.

Key words: Christianity, Saving China, *How I became a Christian*, Revolution

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

Does Physics need a second scientific revolution?

—Christianity encourages tackling foundational problem of Physics

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Abstract: This article identifies an inbuilt defect of modern Physics. It consists in not providing enough connection between the two bodies of knowledge that make up Physics: observations of and experiments with material things, on the one hand, and mathematical theories, on the other. More specifically, the defect consists in that mathematical structures are *applied* to experiences of the material world, as if they were *only* in the mind of the physicist. Nevertheless, the success of mathematical Physics suggests that these mathematical structures are somehow related to the material realities they are applied to. – Due to the inbuilt defect, mathematical theories in Physics have to undergo a procedure of approval or disapproval by experiments. However, even if approved, the hypothetical character of such a theory cannot be removed. A theory never becomes definitive. – The roots of the said defect lie in the scientific revolution during the 16th and 17th centuries. This article makes three of them explicit: (i) the dominant view that Nature and human cognitive capacities do not fit together, (ii) most present day ways of understanding Mathematics do not involve the material world, and (iii) the scientific revolution has essentially brought, for Physics, its mathematization. – It is proposed that Thomistic hylomorphism is a suitable tool to show how those mathematical structures that are used in Physics *have their root* in material things themselves. The “application” of mathematical structures to experiences of the material world thus has an objective foundation. The belonging of mathematical structures to material things is based on that the hylomorphic structure unites organically the singularity of a material thing and its belonging to a species. – Christianity does not endorse any particular solution of that problem. However, Christianity contributes to a solution insofar it supports strongly the genuine intelligibility of our world. The spirit of Christianity thus supports the view of science as a sort of realist knowledge.

Key words: Physics, Mathematization, Hylomorphism, Intelligibility, Christianity

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I . Introduction

This article focuses on the problem which is commonly called the ‘question of applicability of Mathematics in Physics’. As a result, a work programme is suggested for elaborating the view that certain mathematical structures *stem* somehow from material things. Therefore, these structures cannot be said to be ‘applied’ to material things, as if Mathematics were something alien to them.

We begin by exposing certain basic features of the so called scientific revolution of the 16th and 17th centuries, identify certain problems caused by that revolution and formulate the work programme accordingly. A Chinese reader might particularly notice that the work programme attempts to get the different parts of the problem into a harmonious relationship among each other.

It must be stressed that this problem is completely independent of any religious views. Nevertheless, it is Christianity that strongly encourages scientific and philosophical inquiry by affirming the deep intelligibility of this world. In other words, Christianity is intrinsically science – friendly. This will be briefly discussed in the last section of this article.

The root of modern Physics lies in the philosophy of nature as it has been shaped in antiquity by the Greeks. Their philosophical reflections always were based on observations and brought about the notions of ‘substance’, ‘change’ and ‘cause’. Much later, approximately in the 14th century, another type of knowledge expressed in numbers, numerical proportions and other mathematical structures joined the existent philosophy of nature. About two centuries later, the interplay of these two branches of knowledge underwent a revolutionary change. The mathematical models of material reality had become sufficiently sophisticated that their predictions called for experiments as the tool for testing them. Eventually the tandem {experiment & theory} prevailed over mere observation.

Accordingly, mathematical theories in Physics became more and more dominant and transformed Physics into something like a comet with a theoretical core and an experimental tail. At the same time, theory drifted away from experimental Physics. An example for how far this went is the characterization of the relationship between mathematical theory and material nature given by the physicist H. ? Hertz (1857 – 1894). According to Hertz, we *make ourselves* mathematical pictures or symbols of natural things in such a way that the mathematical consequences of the pictures also yield a picture of the natural development or behaviour of the corresponding natural things. This is the only feature that makes them symbols of material things. Therefore, it is possible that there are many suitable mathematical models or formulations of laws of nature^①.

The thinness of the link between the experienced physical reality and its mathematical model goes hand in hand, surprisingly, with the breathtaking success of mathematical models in Physics. It is as if the physical science of the last three centuries has finally discovered mathematical

① Hertz, H. , *The Principles of Mechanics, Presented in a New Form*. London; Macmillan 1899; Introduction. Reprints New York; Dover Publications 1956; Mineola, N. Y. : Dover 2003.

structures as the intelligible core of nature. Then it almost became a necessity that the cognitive value of experience was estimated lower and lower, while the trust into the cognitive value of mathematical models was increasingly appreciated. The influence of contemporary philosophy fostered the conviction that nature does not release its secrets and that, therefore, the scientist has to furnish himself a picture of nature. Eventually, experience – observations and experiments – ceased to be considered as a *source* of theories. Instead, human genius became considered as inventor of theories, which made experience comprehensible.

Then, the conclusion can hardly be avoided that both experience and theories remain two bodies of knowledge independent of each other. Their juncture takes place, according to most physicists, *only* in the physicist's mind. In other words, it is excluded that mathematical theories in Physics are rooted in one or other way in the material things they refer to. Accordingly, they *are not extracted* somehow from the observer's or experimenter's experience. Application of mathematical structures is something exogene to material things, while extraction is something endogene.

In the former case, the success of physico – mathematical theories would be due to the internal organisation of the physicist's cognitive (and maybe other) capacities only. In the case of 'extraction', it would be due also to reality. Success as well as lack of success takes place in physical processes and is measured in terms of fitting predictions (and efficient technology). That means that success is not something purely theoretical, but requires some *practice*, experimental as well as adapting mathematical tools to an experimental situation. *Thought experiments* are not sufficient.

It is very significant that dealing jointly with experimental data and theoretical concepts is anything but a straightforward procedure. Rather, physicists make certain mathematical hypotheses motivated somehow by observational or experimental data, try to apply them to certain natural phenomena and then, based on that application, elaborate an approval or disapproval of the hypotheses in question. It seems that the hypothetical character of the application of mathematical theories to material things is considered to be unremovable. There is no evidence either that such a removal is considered necessary or beneficial for Physics. Physicists seem to be satisfied with a mere interlocking of both experience and theory, instead of an organic connection also rooted in physical reality than merely in the physicist's mind.

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The situation sketched above suggests we put the question of whether such mathematical structures *stem* from the material things they refer to and, therefore, can somehow be extracted from observational or experimental data about these very same things.

This article's contribution to answer that question develops in two steps: after having supplied some more details about the interlocking of experience and mathematical knowledge (section II.), we present as a first step three ideas that have been shaped during the scientific revolution and have been highly influential in bringing about present day Physics.

The first pivotal idea is that the view about the intelligibility of this world has been “pessimistic” for centuries (III.). The second, that the mainstream of modern Mathematics’ selfunderstanding does not involve any reference to the material world (IV.). Third, the scientific revolution has brought, for Physics, essentially its mathematization (V.). And, due to the way of its historical performance, the mathematization has brought about several problems within Physics (VI.).

The second step offers some considerations about an agenda of overcoming these divisions (VII.). The main idea is to return to the unity of reality expressed by what could be called the metaphysical principle of no – contradiction. This in turn requires a thorough recourse to experience. This in turn requires positively taking into account every single material thing, and negatively to leave unused the known physico – mathematical theories. It is suggested to use, as an appropriate philosophical tool, the key notion of Thomistic philosophy of nature, namely hylomorphism. Among other things, hylomorphism gives a certain account of the singularity of each material thing.

Christianity has no stance with respect to any particular solution of this problem. Yet Christianity settles a general frame for more successfully attempting its solution. This is so because Christianity supports the conviction of the intelligibility of this world, and conversely that the human mind is capable of understanding this world (VIII.). This holds despite of limitations and the possibility of errors of the human mind.

II . The progressive character of the mathematization of Physics

Listening to what physicists say about their own science provides deeper acquaintance with the intellectual climate in Physics. We confine ourselves here to quoting short statements about the relationship between Mathematics and material things of four representative physicists of the 20th century. They essentially agree irrespective of their different philosophical backgrounds.

First, Albert Einstein: The world of experience and the world of concepts are united in the same person, but experiences do not influence the shaping of concepts and vice versa. Therefore it is possible that “all concepts, even those which are closest to experience, are from the point of logic freely chosen conventions, just as is the case with the concept of causality.”^② And even more explicitly: “The theoretical attitude here advocated is distinct from that of Kant only by the fact that we do not conceive of the “categories” as unalterable …, but as … free conventions. They appear to be *a priori* only insofar as thinking without the positing of categories and of concepts in general would be as impossible as is breathing in a vacuum.”^③ Nevertheless, the hermetic separation of the

^② Einstein, A. “Autobiographical Notes”, in Schilpp, P. A. (ed.) *Albert Einstein – Philosopher and Scientist*. La Salle (Illinois, USA): Open Court, 1949 (first edition), p. 13.

^③ Einstein, A. “Remarks concerning the essays ….” in Schilpp, P. A. (ed.) *Albert Einstein – Philosopher and Scientist*. La Salle (Illinois, USA): Open Court, 1949 (first edition), p. 674.

two worlds coexists with their (ununderstandable) correlation: “The very fact that the totality of our sense experiences is such that by means of thinking (⋯) it can be put in order, this fact is one which leaves us in awe, but which we never shall understand. ⋯ The fact that it is comprehensible is a miracle.”^④

The Einsteinian formula ‘incomprehensibility of the comprehensibility’ goes hand in hand with his view that the scientist’s epistemological attitude is divided into strongly opposed parts: “The scientist ⋯ must appear to the systematic epistemologist as a type of unscrupulous opportunist: he appears as a *realist* insofar as he seeks to describe a world independent of the acts of perception; as *idealist* insofar as he looks upon the concepts and theories as the free inventions of the human spirit (not logically derivable from what is empirically given); as *positivist* insofar as he considers his concepts and theories justified *only* to the extent to which they furnish a logical representation of relations among sensory experiences. He may even appear as *Platonist* or *Pythagorean* insofar as he considers the viewpoint of logical simplicity as an indispensable and effective tool of his research.”^⑤

Second, Eugene P. Wigner: “The miracle of the appropriateness of the language of mathematics for the formulation of the laws of physics is a wonderful gift which we neither understand nor deserve.”^⑥

Third, Richard P. Feynman: “I think, it is safe to say, that no one understands quantum mechanics. Do not keep saying to yourself, if you possibly can avoid it,” But how can it be like that? “because you will go” down the drain “into a blind alley from which nobody has yet escaped. Nobody can know how it can be like that”.^⑦

Fourth, Roger Penrose: “I should begin by expressing my general attitude to present day quantum theory, by which I mean standard, non – relativistic quantum mechanics. The theory has, indeed, two powerful bodies of fact in its favour, and only one thing against it. First, in its favour are all the marvellous agreements that the theory has had with every experimental result to date. Second, and to me almost as important, it is a theory of astonishing and profound mathematical beauty. The one thing that can be said against it is that it makes absolutely no sense!”^⑧

These quotations might be interpreted as the opinion of some individuals who cannot claim to

④ Einstein, “A. Physics and Reality”. *Journal of The Franklin Institute*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U. S. : 1936, 221,3, p.351.

⑤ Einstein, A. “Remarks concerning the essays ⋯.” in Schilpp, P. A. (ed.) *Albert Einstein – Philosopher and Scientist*. La Salle (Illinois, USA) : Open Court, 1949 (first edition) , p.684.

⑥ Wigner, E. P. “The Unreasonable Effectiveness of Mathematics in the Natural Sciences”. *Communications in Pure and Applied Mathematics*, New York; John Wiley & Sons, Inc. , 1960, vol. 13, No. 1, last paragraph. Also accessible on – line, for instance, at www.dartmouth.edu/~matc/MathDrama/reading/Wigner.html. Wigner is a major figure in the development of quantum theory during the 30’s, 40’s and 50’s of the 20th century.

⑦ Feynman, R. P. , *The Character of Physical Law*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1967, p. 129. Feynman is a major figure in the development of quantum theory during the 40’s, 50’s and 60’s of the 20th century.

⑧ Penrose, R. Gravity and State Vector Reduction, in: R. Penrose and C. J. Isham (eds.) , *Quantum Concepts in Space and Time*; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, p. 129. Penrose is a major figure in the development of mathematical tools in quantum and relativity theory during the 70’s and 80’s of the 20th century.

represent the stance of the majority of physicists. But, as a matter of fact, none of these views has been convincingly contradicted.

The trend of applying Mathematics to many fields of human knowledge is ever increasing. Therefore, the use of axiomatics, hypothetical deduction and universal propositions occupies more and more space besides the rationality proper of that field before the advenience of mathematical tools. The case par excellence is Physics, where evidences and inductive reasoning, which allows for contingency and exceptions, are increasingly marginalized. Besides, the common use of the expression ‘applying Mathematics’ and similar ones is even a sign for a process of *replacing* the original rationality of experience. The reason is that it implicitly denies that mathematical objects or structures *originate* in some way in the objects they are ‘applied to’.

Applying Mathematics to physical problems is really an art of its own. But it has its limits, because there is always an element of trial and error in connection with a *particular* problem. This situation in turn suggests to distinguish between a purely theoretical and a practical knowledge of the link between mathematical objects and structures and material things. The theoretical knowledge answers to the question ‘why?’ and is missing, at least for the time being. The practical knowledge answers to the question ‘how to use?’ and is highly developed.

Even more: as the history of Physics since Newton’s times shows, the solidity of theoretical Physics with its wealth of ideas furnished by the clear – cut mathematical rationality has led to the conviction that Mathematics is more than a useful tool in Physics. One testimony might be sufficient:

“Although Mathematics and Physics have grown apart in this century, Physics has continued to stimulate mathematical research. Partially because of this, the influence of Physics on Mathematics is well understood. However, the contributions of Mathematics to Physics are not as well understood. It is a common fallacy to suppose that Mathematics is important for Physics only because it is a useful tool for making computations. Actually, Mathematics plays a more subtle role which in the long run is more important. When a successful mathematical model is created for a physical phenomenon, that is, a model which can be used for accurate computations and predictions, the mathematical structure of the model itself provides a new way of thinking about the phenomenon. Put slightly differently, when a model is successful it is natural to think of the physical quantities in terms of the mathematical objects which represent them and to interpret similar or secondary phenomena in terms of the same model. Because of this, an investigation of the internal mathematical structure of the model can alter and enlarge our understanding of the physical phenomenon. Of course, the outstanding example of this is Newtonian mechanics which provided such a clear and coherent picture of celestial motions that it was used to interpret practically all physical phenomena. The model itself became central to an understanding of the physical world and it was difficult to give it up in the late nineteenth century, even in the face of contradictory evidence. A more modern example of this influence of Mathematics on Physics is the use of group

theory to classify elementary particles.”^⑨

This conviction, in turn, has paved the way for making a decisive step. So far, the relationship between mathematical objects and material things has been something outside the focus of attention. Measurements and, more generally, experiments, have been considered as *bridges* between material things and mathematical theories. Bridges are not part of either side; but rather a sort of third entity that connects both sides. Nevertheless, until the advenience of quantum physics the bridges had been practically neglected.

But when the experimental process received its due attention, it could not be denied that the known physico – mathematical theories must be considered *incomplete*, because they do not describe the experimental process. But without any doubt, the experimental process is as natural as any other natural process, and this confronts physicists with the choice of (a) acknowledge this sort of incompleteness without reacting to it, for the time being, or trying to absorb the bridge into one of the two sides; either nature or theory. This latter alternative can be put as (b) trying to think the mathematical theory starting from material things with their own rationality, or (c) trying to think material things starting from a mathematical theory with its own rationality.

Option (b) has not received any attention, while option (c) has been given considerable attention in the field of the foundations of Physics, for the last 50 years. Option (a) continues being dominant in mainstream Physics. Option (iii) is suitably called ? the *theory* of measurement “. The following quotation is taken from the first monograph on the quantum theory of measurement.

“We shall hope to have established a systematic description of the quantum mechanical measurement process together with a concise formulation of the measurement problem. In our view the generalized mathematical and conceptual framework of quantum mechanics referred to above allows for the first time for a proper formulation of many aspects of the measurement problem *within* this theory, thereby opening up new options for its solution. Thus it has become evident that these questions, which were sometimes considered to belong to the realm of philosophical contemplation, have assumed the status of well – defined and tractable *physical* problems”.^⑩

To the date, the results of this attempt have not been satisfactory. Besides mathematical difficulties that seem to be almost unsurmountable, the idea of a *theory* of measurement has split up

^⑨ Reed, M./Simon, B. , *Methods of Modern Mathematical Physics*, vol. I. New York, San Francisco, London: Academic Press, 1972, p. ix.

^⑩ Busch, P. , Lahti, P. J. , Mittelstaedt, P. *The Quantum Theory of Measurement*. Berlin, Heidelberg, New York: Springer – Verlag, 21996, Preface, p. IX. Italics from the authors.

into different approaches that are quite different from each other^①. But there are no signs yet that this option is going to be abandoned. This fact in turn might be interpreted as a sign that the spirit of mathematization has grown too strong. The same basic idea might be read off from some words of the influential mathematician D. Hilbert (1862 – 1943): “It is Mathematics which is the instrument that offers the connection between theory and practice, between thinking and observing. Mathematics is the connecting bridge and yields it stronger and stronger. This is why our present culture, insofar it concerns the intellectual comprehension and use of nature, has its basis in Mathematics.”^②

Concluding we might say that one can hardly avoid the impression that the rationality characteristic for Mathematics is marginalizing and trying to replace the rationality typical for the material world. But this easily can bring about the situation that, in practice, theoretical ignorance of the relationship to nature of mathematical laws of nature advances towards a systematic place in Physics.

The difficulties within option (c) suggest to have a closer look at option (b). Before doing so, it is appropriate to ask whether physical science must be necessarily the Physics we are witnessing today. In fact, there are some factors located in the scientific revolution, which have fostered the historical development of Physics into a certain direction. But precisely by doing so they have created other problems. To show this is the purpose of the following three sections.

III. Three pivotal ideas I : “Nature and human cognitive capacities do not fit together.”

The purpose of this section is to make explicit the strong epistemological skepticism in philosophy since the times of the scientific revolution. It was inevitable that this had, on the long run, an equally strong impact on the emerging modern natural sciences. The quotations of renowned physicists at the beginning of the previous section can serve as a sample of that impact. We confine ourselves to a little anthology of quotations from influential philosophers from the beginning of the modern era until present time.

R. Descartes (1596 – 1650) wished to achieve above all *certainty* of his knowledge. To this end he introduced a methodological doubt onto everything, in order to accept only what escapes this

^① There are several positions in competition without that comprehensive presentations or even reconciliations between them are at sight. The main positions can be characterized by the following key words: operationalism (theory of measurement), hidden variable theories, Copenhagen interpretation, many worlds, many minds, consistent histories, modal interpretations, quantum logic, Bohm – de Broglie interpretation, spontaneous collapse, decoherence. – An overview of the physical problematics can be found, for instance, in Busch, P. *The Quantum Theory of Measurement*. Berlin, Heidelberg, New York: Springer, 2002. A treatment of the philosophical problems of the quantum theory of measurement is offered in Mittelstaedt, P. *Physics and Philosophy. The Interpretation of Quantum Mechanics and the Measurement Process*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Similarly Bub, J. *Interpreting the Quantum World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

^② Hilbert, D. *Naturerkennen und Logik*, Die Naturwissenschaften 18 (1930), S. 959 – 963. The translation is mine.

doubt and thus can serve as a starting point of a rational reconstruction of all other knowledge: “I had long before remarked that, in relation to practice, it is sometimes necessary to adopt, as if above doubt, opinions which we discern to be highly uncertain, as has been already said; but as I then desired to give my attention solely to the search after truth, *I thought that a procedure exactly the opposite was called for, and that I ought to reject as absolutely false all opinions in regard to which I could suppose the least ground for doubt, in order to ascertain whether after that there remained aught in my belief that was wholly indubitable.*”^⑬

The methodical doubt includes also sense perceptions: “When I said that *the entire testimony of the senses should be regarded as uncertain and even as false*, I was entirely serious. This point is essential for a grasp of my Meditations—so much so that anyone who won’t or can’t accept it won’t be able to come up with any objections that deserve a reply.”^⑭ The methodical doubt prevails truth and is not imposed by reality, but by the philosopher, who transforms himself voluntarily into a rationalist.

B. Spinoza (1632 – 1677) is one of those who seem to attach a sort of darkness to reality by saying that things are “mute”^⑮, so that ‘true’ and ‘false’ can be referred to real things only in a metaphorical way. This is why he defends a rational reconstruction of a world view: “more geometrico demonstrata”, that is to say, in a mathematical fashion^⑯. Spinoza’s fundamental idea is that the logical order of thoughts is the same as the order of the corresponding realities.

I. Kant (1724 – 1804) went beyond Descartes by introducing what he viewed as a Copernican turn. Knowledge depends only on the human observer, not on reality: “Although all our knowledge begins *with* experience, that doesn’t mean that it all comes *from* experience.”^⑰ According to this view, the senses do not have any influence on shaping concepts by the mind. Rather, the mind creates spontaneously, while guided by its own a priori’s, concepts and propositions.

The essentials of the kantian view continue being wide spread among physicists. To see this, it is sufficient to observe that theoretical physicists are giving, by and large, mathematical names to physical objects. This corresponds to what Kant expresses thus: “The order and regularity in appearances, which we call Nature, are put there by ourselves. We could never find them in

^⑬ Descartes, R. , *Discourse on the method*; 4th chapter, beginning. <http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdf/descdisc.pdf>. ed. Jonathan Bennett. Accessed 2012 – 09 – 15. Italics are mine.

^⑭ Descartes, R. , *Objections to the Meditations on First Philosophy and Replies*. Fifth set of objections (Gassendi), reply to an objection to the second meditation. <http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdfbits/desco5.pdf>. ed. Jonathan Bennett. Accessed 2012 – 09 – 15. Italics are mine.

^⑮ Spinoza, B. *Cogitata metaphysica*. Benedicti de Spinoza opera quotquot reperta sunt, Vol. IV, I. 6. Den Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1914, p. 198ff; the expression “res mutae” is on p. 200.

^⑯ Two of Spinoza’s principal works are “Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II more geometrico demonstrata. Accesserunt eiusdem Cogitata Metaphysica” (Amsterdam, 1663). , and “Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata” (1675).

^⑰ Kant, I. *Critique of pure Reason* (second edition, 1787), p. 1. www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdf/kantcpr1.pdf (ed. Jonathan Bennett). Accessed 2012 – 09 – 15.

appearances if it weren't that we, or the nature of our mind, had first put them there.”¹⁸ Even though it might seem counterintuitive, the understanding isn't a mere power of formulating rules through comparison of appearances; it is itself the lawgiver of Nature. It's only through the understanding that Nature exists at all! ... Nature is the synthetic unity of the manifold of appearances according to rules. And appearances can't exist outside us—they exist only in our sensibility. Thus, Nature ... is possible only in the unity of self – awareness.”¹⁹ Using a contemporary expression, our experience is considered as *theory – laden*.

As well as in the views of Descartes and Spinoza, also in Kant's Copernican turn the communication between different human subjects becomes dependent on reconstruction. Thence the problem of 'private languages' arises: is it possible to give an account of private languages of different humans in the private language of one of them? In Physics, this problem can be apparently circumvented by advocating the universality of Mathematics.

B. Russell (1872 – 1970) offered another variety of arguing for the need of a rational reconstruction by discarding what he calls 'naïve realism': "We all start from 'naïve realism', i. e. the doctrine that things are what they seem. We think that grass is green, that stones are hard, and that snow is cold. But physics assures us that the greenness of grass, the hardness of stones, and the coldness of snow, are not the greenness, hardness, and coldness that we know in our own experience, but something very different. The observer, when he seems to himself to be observing a stone, is really, if physics is to be believed, observing the effects of the stone upon himself. Thus science seems to be at war with itself; when it most means to be objective, it finds itself plunged into subjectivity against its will. Naïve realism leads to physics, and physics, if true, shows that naïve realism is false. Therefore naïve realism, if true, is false; therefore it is false. And therefore the behaviourist, when he thinks he is recording observations about the outer world, is really recording observations about what is happening in him.”²⁰

K. Popper (1902 – 1994) is considered as the most influential author in 20th century – philosophy of science. His writings bear clearly a Kantian influence. This can be seen in that Popper defines in the final section of his first and most important book "The Logic of Scientific Discovery" (1935) the thesis of the experimenting scientist's relationship to reality as *theory laden* experience:

"Even the careful and sober testing of our ideas by experience is in its turn inspired by ideas: experiment is planned action in which every step is guided by theory. We do not stumble upon our experiences, nor do we let them flow over us like a stream. Rather, we have to be active; we have to 'make' our experiences. It is we who always formulate the questions to be put to nature; it is we who try again and again to put these questions so as to elicit a clear – cut 'yes' or 'no' (for nature

¹⁸ Kant, I. *Critique of pure Reason* (first edition, 1781), p. 125. www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdf/kantcpr1.pdf (ed. Jonathan Bennett). Accessed 2012 – 09 – 15.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 127. Accessed 2012 – 09 – 15.

²⁰ Russell, B. *An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966 (seventh edition), p. 13.

does not give an answer unless pressed for it). And in the end, it is again we who give the answer, it is we ourselves who, after severe scrutiny, decide upon the answer to the question we put to nature.”^①

W. Stegmüller (1923 – 1991) is one of the many who echoes Popper: “Even though people are nowadays quite ready to acknowledge that we are lacking a thorough understanding of the phenomena of *science* and *scientific progress*, they mostly take it for granted that such a progress is a fact. But this too has no support at all. A? priori, it cannot be expected at all that we achieve acceptable theories about the world. To A. ? Einstein is attributed the statement that it belongs to the most ununderstandable things of this world that the world is, for us, understandable. And we could add that this being understandable is a very limited and eternally problematic issue. ‘Our lack of knowledge is without limits and capable of making us understand what we are. Alas, it is precisely the overwhelming progress of the natural sciences?... , which opens our eyes again and again towards our lack of knowledge’.”^②

In conclusion: In philosophy there is a broad, dominant and long tradition of the view that nature and human cognitive capacities do not fit together. However, this intellectual climate has not led to renouncing of investigation and communication. Instead, there have been offered a huge variety of attempts to substitute the supposed lack of intelligibility connected with the luminous and unifying source of *experience* by some other individualistic *rationality*.

IV. Three pivotal ideas II : “Most Present day ways of understanding Mathematics are unrelated to the material world.”

The selfunderstanding of Mathematics is dealt with by mathematicians as well as by philosophers, even though with different points of emphasis. While mathematicians focus, by and large, more on foundational issues of Mathematics, philosophers deal preferably with metaphysical and epistemological questions related to mathematical objects and mathematical knowledge, respectively. Nevertheless, both approaches overlap largely^③.

The view of Mathematics *prima facie* most attractive is the platonistic one. That is to say, that mathematicians refer to abstract entities which exist independently from the mathematician’s mind. These entities just have to be *discovered*, *not invented*, notwithstanding any axiomatization of Mathematics. G. Frege (1848 – 1925) and K. Gödel (1906 – 1978) had views of this kind.

^① Popper, Karl R. *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. London: Hutchinson & Co. , 1959 (first edition); London: Routledge (Routledge Classics) , 2002 (third edition). The English version of that part is unaltered with respect to the German version of 1935.

^② Stegmüller, W. *Probleme und Resultate der Wissenschaftstheorie und analytischen Philosophie*, Bd. II,1 Theorie und Erfahrung. Berlin, Heidelberg, New York: Springer – Verlag, 1974, S. 472. The inner quotation is from: Popper, K. R. , “Die Logik der Sozialwissenschaften”, in: H. Maus und F. Fürstenberg (ed.), *Soziologische Texte*, Bd. 58, Neuwied/Berlin, 1969, S. 103) The translation is mine.

^③ For this whole section has been consulted, above all, the entry “Philosophy of Mathematics” (version 2.5.2012) of the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (abbreviated: SEP, <http://plato.stanford.edu/>) and related entries.

Nevertheless, the three presently relevant views of Mathematics originated in the beginning of the 20th century and are anti – platonistic: the *logicistic* approach attempts a foundation of Mathematics by *reducing* it to logics. It is linked to Frege and B. Russell (1872 – 1970) and is practically abandoned. The *intuitionist* approach is linked to L. E. J. Brouwer (1881 – 1966). He considers the whole of Mathematics as a mental construction in the strictest sense of the word: mathematical objects are only those that have been effectively constructed: Brouwer rejects mathematical objects whose existence is only assured by a proof of the absurdity of its nonexistence. Such non – constructive proofs of existence have the form: “if there were not an x satisfying P, then we would arrive to a contradiction, hence there is an x satisfying P”. He observes that such undesired proofs rest on the logical Boolean axiom that *the negation of a negation of a true proposition is true* which, in turn, is linked to the principle of excluded middle [for any proposition: either p is true or non – p is true]. The intuitionist approach is not used in current mathematics.

The presently dominant view among mathematicians is the *formalistic* approach, which is linked to D. Hilbert (1862 – 1943). It tries to understand Mathematics as a web of formal systems, without reference to any abstract entities. Nevertheless, the natural numbers, whose name suggests some proximity to the physical world, are thought to play a basic role within Mathematics. All anti – platonistic views rest decisively upon axiomatics.

As the views mentioned in the previous paragraph present themselves as rather independent from the physical world, the undeniable success of Mathematics in natural sciences, above all Physics, remains understood. There are, however, also attempts to account for that fact. In this case, not all of Mathematics appears to be linked to the material world. Therefore, accounts of such a link are not necessarily a foundation of Mathematics as a whole. Nevertheless, the multiple internal connections within Mathematics make it difficult to draw a distinction between parts of Mathematics relevant for Physics and others that are irrelevant (at present).

One attempt to understand the link between Mathematics and the physical world goes back to Aristotle. He opposes the platonic view of two separated worlds – the hierarchically ordered ideas, from which the individuals of the material world participate in one or other way. According to Aristotle, each material individual has – so to speak – *incorporated* its own idea or ‘substantial form’, as he calls it.

The account of Aristotle of the status of mathematical objects is centered on five concepts: ‘abstraction’ or ‘taking away’ or ‘removal’ or ‘subtraction’ (*aphairesis*), ‘precision’ (*akribeia*), ‘as separated’ (*hôs kekhôrismenon*), ‘qua’ or ‘in the respect that’ (*hêi*), and ‘intelligible matter’ (*noêtikê hylê*)^④. The first five concepts indicate that the status of mathematical objects is something secondary, derived or otherwise dependent or incomplete. However, the concept ‘intelligible matter’ is less obvious. And, importantly, all concepts indicate

^④ Principal sources are the *Posterior Analytics*, *De Anima* iii.6 – 8, *Metaphysics* iii.2, vi.1, vii.10 – 11, ix.9, x.1 – 2, xi.2 – 3, 7, xiii.1 – 3, *Physics* ii.2. (cf. SEP, entry “Aristotle and Mathematics” (version 26.3.2004), 7.

that mathematical objects do not exist outside the mathematician's mind.

Another attempt of understanding the link between Mathematics and the physical world has been proposed by W. V. O. Quine (1908 – 2000) and H. Putnam (1926 –) and has become known as (methodological) *naturalism* [25]. It consists in renouncing of traditional metaphysical and epistemological thinking and instead consider as basic the currently best *scientific theories*, that is to say, the currently most successful ones. They express what exists, what we know and the way how we know it. To this naturalistic view has to be added Quine's thesis of *confirmational holism*: scientific experience globally confirms a theory as a whole, together with its methodological ingredients. As physical theories are formulated in mathematical terms, through which entire mathematical theories are linked to it, these latter are also confirmed by experience.

Quine goes beyond this. "It seems that mathematics is indispensable to our best scientific theories; it is not at all obvious how we *could* express them without using mathematical vocabulary. Hence the naturalist stance commands us to accept mathematical entities as part of our philosophical ontology. This line of argumentation is called an *indispensability argument*?" [26].

Still another attempt to understand Mathematics is called *Fictionalism*. It is not only opposed to mathematical Platonism, but also to Aristotle's view of mathematical objects as derived and thus dependent from real beings. "Fictionalism holds that mathematical theories are like fiction stories such as fairy tales and novels. Mathematical theories describe fictional entities, in the same way that literary fiction describes fictional characters." [27] Or in more concise terms: "Fictionalism ... is the view that (A) our mathematical sentences and theories do purport to be about abstract mathematical objects, as platonism suggests, but (B) there are no such things as abstract objects, and so (C) our mathematical theories are not true." [28]

With respect to a link of mathematical entities to the physical world, provided they are considered as fictional, it must be concluded that ? scientific theories, in particular physical theories, should be derived, at least in principle, without using Mathematics at all?. Otherwise mathematical theories considered as fictional would appear to be indispensable for Physics. This in turn is at odds with their supposed fictional character. Comparing this with Einstein's stance as mentioned in section II, it remains open whether Einstein would consider Mathematics as indispensable for Physics.

In conclusion: Fictionalism and the current anti – platonistic accounts of Mathematics have no roots in the physical world, except (perhaps) Arithmetics. On the other hand, the aristotelian view of mathematical objects is based on the perceptual knowledge of the physical world. Both the aristotelian and the fictionalist view are opposed to mathematical Platonism insofar mathematical objects exist only in the scientist's mind. The naturalistic view proposed by Quine is foremost

[25] cf. SEP, entry "Naturalism in the Philosophy of Mathematics" (version 1.11.2008), 2.

[26] SEP, entry "Philosophy of Mathematics" (version 2.5.2012), 3.2 Naturalism and Indispensability

[27] SEP, entry "Philosophy of Mathematics" (version 2.5.2012), 4.5 Fictionalism

[28] SEP, entry "Fictionalism in the Philosophy of Mathematics" (version 16.9.2011), 1.1.

characterized by putting *scientific* theories and not philosophical ones as a foundation of our knowledge. Additional principles, namely that of confirmational holism and the indispensability argument, are needed in order to give Mathematics an overall link to the physical world.

The situation is unsatisfactory, because even the aristotelian and the naturalistic view offer only an utmost generic account of the link between Mathematics and the material world. Given the overwhelming success of mathematical theories in Physics, the most satisfactory rationale would be to have a view that certain mathematical objects and structures are something endogene from precisely those material things the behaviour of which they refer to. This would radically eliminate the problem of ‘why mathematics is applicable to nature’, as if mathematics were something exogene to nature.

V. Three pivotal ideas III: “The mathematization of Physics is an essential part of the scientific revolution.”

The term ‘scientific revolution’ is nowadays commonly used to characterize the historical period in which the medieval philosophy of nature has undergone a *metamorphosis* to yield natural sciences as we know them today. This period’s beginning is commonly marked by the publication of Nicolaus Copernicus’ (1473 – 1543) *opus magnum* called “De revolutionibus orbium coelestium” in 1543, where he proposes heliocentrism instead of geocentrism. But there are more major changes, which involve also basic philosophical ideas such as ‘cause’ and ‘order’. A certain completion was reached with I. Newton (1642 – 1727), whose *opus magnum* carries the title “Philosophiae Naturalis Mathematica Principia”. Later major changes within natural sciences such as the transition from classical Physics to Relativity and Quantum Physics or the birth of modern Microbiology are sometimes also called ‘revolutionary’, but they are by far not so deep as the *metamorphosis* that took place during the roughly 200 years from Copernicus to Newton.

Within Physics, outstanding changes during that revolutionary period include first the replacement of *impetus* (inbuilt momentum) by *inertia* (resistance to exterior forces), and second the overcoming of the world’s division into a terrestrial and a celestial region in virtue of universal gravitation, which in turn is linked to the overcoming of the division into light and heavy bodies according to their natural motion. These changes refer to Mechanics and Astronomy. Major changes occurred also in Optics, Chemistry and Medicine.

With respect to properly scientific issues, the scientific revolution is a huge web of many discoveries and developments. They are accompanied, even made possible, by only a few, but deep philosophical changes. One of them is the replacement of causes by laws of nature. The classical view was that of a bundle of four interconnected causes, introduced by Aristotle. Two of them were intrinsic (or constitutive) causes of a material thing, namely form and matter, and two of them were extrinsic causes, namely efficient and final cause. In the course of the scientific revolution, the final cause was dropped altogether, the efficient cause became the most important, and the material

and formal cause were replaced by something more or less unified and gave rise to an atomistic view of material things.

Again, the prominence of efficient causes favoured the importance of experiments. Among these, measurements became particularly important, because they gave way to abstract laws of nature. In Physics and Astronomy, laws of nature could most conveniently be formulated in mathematical terms, such that Galilei (1564 – 1642) could say that the book of nature “is written in mathematical letters”²⁹. Mathematical laws of nature, in turn, allow for calculability, predictions and hence technology.

As a consequence of the profound changes in philosophy of nature and scientific knowledge, there was a profound change of how the human person as a whole related to the nature he or she was living in. The historian of science A. Koyré is one of the first in using deliberately the word ‘revolution’, when he says, for instance: “... this revolution, one of the deepest, if not the deepest, mutations and transformations accomplished – or suffered – by the human mind since the invention of the cosmos by the Greeks, two thousand years before.”³⁰ In other words, such an increasing dominium of nature caused a transition from a sort of contemplative life (*vita contemplativa*) to an active life (*vita activa*)³¹.

Koyré pinpoints the significance of the scientific revolution for the mindset of mankind by giving two characteristics: “(a) the destruction of the cosmos, and therefore the disappearance from science ... of all considerations based on this concept, and (b) the geometrization of space ... nearly equivalent to the mathematization (geometrization) of nature and therefore the mathematization (geometrization) of science. The disappearance – or destruction – of the cosmos means that the world of science, the real world, is no more seen, or conceived, as a finite and hierarchically ordered, therefore qualitatively and ontologically differentiated, whole, but as an open, indefinite, and even infinite universe, united not by its immanent structure but only by the identity of its fundamental contents and laws. ... This in turn, implies the disappearance – or the violent expulsion – from scientific thought of all considerations based on value, perfection, harmony, meaning, and aim, because these concepts, from now on *merely subjective*, cannot have a place in the new ontology.”³²

Thus there are good reasons to think that the mathematization of Physics has been the most important single factor in bringing about the scientific revolution³³. On the one hand, the “silence”

²⁹ Galileo Galilei, *Il Saggiatore* (The Assayer, 1623), translated by Stillman Drake (1957) as *Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo*, pp. 237 – 238.

³⁰ Koyré, A. *Newtonian Studies*, p. 3ff., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965, p. 5. Cf. also Koyré, A. “Galileo and the Scientific Revolution of the Seventeenth Century”, *Philosophical Review* 52 (1943), 333 – 346.

³¹ cf. Koyré, A. *Newtonian Studies*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965, p. 5.

³² *ibid.*, p. 6 – 7

³³ Cf. the monumental oeuvre of E. J. Dijksterhuis, *The Mechanization of the World Picture* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961 [Reprint: *The Mechanization of the World Picture. The Scientific Revolution: A Historiographical Inquiry*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994]), which gives to understand that above many continuities and discontinuities the only real break brought about by the scientific revolution was the work of the Archimedean Galileo and by Kepler, the Platonist and Pythagorean – *the first two scientists truly to mathematize nature*.

of nature most certainly has influenced the view that Mathematics is by itself unrelated to nature. On the other hand, the experimental findings have contributed to giving the mathematization of nature its role as a source of rationality and of consequences in practice (technology) and in mindset (dominium of nature). But the mathematization has also raised philosophical questions concerning the relationship between nature and the mathematical laws of nature, as has been sketched in section I. These are questions of a theoretical understanding, part of which will be addressed in the following section.

VI. Four problems in Physics raised by the scientific revolution

One question at the very root of the mathematization of our view of nature concerns the experiment called ‘measurement’: Everybody has learned to perform simple measurements of length, weight and time. Perhaps this very fact has made him or her forget to wonder about *why* it is possible that two different things can be compared at all. *Why* is it that different measuring devices applied to the same object yield approximately *equal* results? On the other hand, why are the results of different performances of measuring the *same* object only *approximately* equal?

At this point, it must be noted that the formulations in the preceding paragraph depend on the fact that the human observer/experimenter fits into his measurement as a macroscopic body. Therefore, descriptions like ‘long’, ‘short’, ‘heavy’, ‘light’, ‘fast’, ‘slow’ and the like are made in relation to macroscopic units. But there is a qualitative difference between the macroscopic and the microscopic realm. For instance, while the diameter of a macroscopic sphere can be measured by other macroscopic devices, nobody has ever verified that an elementary particle, e. g. an electron, has a geometrical shape, let alone has measured it. Only by hypothetical assumptions and extrapolations from the macroscopic world a physicist might give an electron such geometrical properties.

In other words, the practice of Physics contradicts its theoretical view; on the one hand, the generally accepted theoretical view is that elementary particles and atoms are more fundamental than solid bodies in the sense that solid bodies “consist” somehow of elementary particles. This means that the properties of *macroscopic* things should be traced back to the properties of their microscopic constituents. In fact, the task of solid state Physics is, above all, to link properties of macroscopic bodies to properties of microscopic ones.

But on the other hand, it is a fact that the experimenter is a macroscopic entity and must use macroscopic instruments. This has led to the situation that the properties of a microscopic body are defined in terms of properties of macroscopic instruments. But as these macroscopic instruments themselves consist of microscopic things, their properties should be defined by the properties of their microscopic constituents. If this would be done by using the same procedure, i. e. taking the properties of the microscopic constituents of an instrument as defined by properties of other macroscopic bodies, the result would be a regress ad *infinitum*. Thus there is a need of defining the

properties of a microscopic body by means of properties of other *microscopic* bodies which, in turn, are defined by means of properties of other microscopic bodies. This has not been done so far. Indeed, consistently carrying through this idea would amount to a major internal reform of Physics. One might well object that this enterprise is almost impossible, and that it is not clear how much benefit Physics would gain from it. But such objections “a priori” can hardly be proved.

A second problem arises from the fact that in mathematical laws of nature, the description of behaviour is dissociated from the reference to the individuals, the behaviour of which they describe. Rather, the connection of a law with “its” individuals is exclusively a performance within the experimental physicist.

Truly, predictability and its consequences, above all technology, have been achieved by mathematical laws of nature. But this has been achieved by at the expenses of intrinsic reference of a law to “its” individuals. Obviously, this is a characteristic of the imperfect interlocking of mathematics and nature referred to in section I. And it makes it more easy to understand that the mathematical laws of nature are not obtained by a sort of derivation starting from observational or experimental data. Rather they are hypothetically conceived and then in a procedure of trial and error “applied” to material things.

One might well object that the universality of a law of nature cannot be achieved otherwise than by a loss of intrinsic reference to individuals. Even more; that a law of nature refers intrinsically to a particular individual can hardly mean anything else than that this law of nature is completely confined to that particular individual. It seems that we find ourselves before the choice {lack of reference & universality} versus {incorporated reference & no universality}. But again, this is not proved. Rather one could argue that true laws of nature should be more comprehensive by incorporating individuality as well as universality. Mathematical structures are only part of such a comprehensive law of nature.

A third problem is related to the twosidedness of every measuring process referred to in the beginning of this section. Measurements are based upon the action of the measuring object on the measuring device. But the device – though being an artifact of natural things – is not less a thing of nature than the measuring object. In rigor, then, we have to speak of an interaction of both sides of an experiment. But then, what have we to make with the following words of W. Heisenberg (1901 – 1976) :

“Truly, our accustomed description of nature and in particular the idea that processes in nature follow strict laws are based upon the assumption that it is possible to observe phenomena *without exercising an notable influence on them*. To attribute a certain cause to a certain effect makes sense only if we can observe effect and cause without intervening at the same time in the process perturbing it.”³⁴ But: “By means of the intervention necessary for the experiment we destroy certain

³⁴ Heisenberg, W. *Physikalische Prinzipien der Quantentheorie* (written 1929/30), Bibliographisches Institut, Mannheim, 1958, IV. 3. (Translation and italics are mine.)

connections that are characteristic for the microscopic world.”^⑤

Another prominent text of Einstein – Podolsky – Rosen highlights the same idea: “Any serious consideration of a physical theory must take into account the distinction between the objective reality, which is independent of any theory, and the physical concepts with which the theory operates. . . . *Every element of the physical reality must have a counterpart in the physical theory. . . . If, without in any way disturbing a system, we can predict with certainty (i. e. , with probability equal to unity) the value of a physical quantity, then there exists an element of physical reality corresponding to this physical quantity.*” (Italics by the authors.)^⑥

Even though these formulations have been made many decades ago, they do influence the present day view of most physicists: experiments are unilateral in the sense that experimental devices are expected to yield information about the experimental object, but not vice versa. But physicists learned in the context of quantum physics that they both do interact. Thus the question arises of what hinders to draw the consequence and treat both side equally?

A fourth problem comes from the temporal limitations imposed on experiments. In practice, all experiments are cut out from their environment by boundaries in time. This seems very reasonable, because the experimenter wishes to obtain results in finite time. But does a temporal limitation correspond, in rigor, to something in nature? Is it not plausible that limitations of that kind, which are considered to yield simplifications and practicability, on the long run rather import problems? A similar question could be formulated with respect to spatial limitations.

Summing up we can say that the scientific revolution has brought great achievements in Physics. But it has also introduced new problems into Physics. The most serious ones are, to my mind, the four aforementioned: (1) To the date, the macroscopic realm is *not fully* characterized by means of the microscopic one. Current solid state Physics relies on the idea that macroscopic bodies are built up by bodies of the microscopic realm. But as has been said, the properties of *microscopic* bodies are characterized by the properties of macroscopic instruments. But as these instruments, too, are build up by microscopic constituents, their properties need a characterization by microscopic things *without* the mediation of macroscopic bodies. Otherwise, a regress *ad infinitum* is unavoidable. This exceeds the possibilities of experimentation and, therefore, is a task for a sort of Philosophy intimately connected with Physics. (2) Mathematical laws of nature, being universal, do not contain the unrepeatable features of the individual material things the behaviour of which they are supposed to describe. Problem (3) concerns the profound conflict between two antagonistic features of every experiment: on the one hand, it is a means for gaining information, but on the other hand, it disturbs that information. Perhaps here must be found an appropriate understanding of the activity and passivity of material things. The dynamics in turn is linked to

^⑤ Heisenberg, W. *Wandlungen in den Grundlagen der Naturwissenschaften*. Stuttgart: S. ? Hirzel – Verlag, 1959 (ninth edition), S.103. (Translation and italics are mine.)

^⑥ Einstein, A. , Podolsky, B. , Rosen, N. , “Can quantum – mechanical description of physical reality be considered complete?” *Physical Review*, 47 (1935), p. 777f.

problem (4) which concerns the division of the world into limited space – time regions, to which experiments are considered to be confined.

VII. Conclusion

Thus it turns out that the four problems sketched in the previous section are connected with each other. In some sense, they form a chain, wherefore a renouncing of the spatio – temporal limits of experiments (problem (4)) obliges to deal with problems (1) – (3), too. At this point, one has to choose between two alternatives. Either one declares the success of unreformed Physics as satisfactory. Then Physics continues as until now with the inbuilt risk that the mentioned four problems exercise an uncontrolled influence. Or one tackles the internal reform of mathematical Physics in favour of its transparency and internal consistency. This requires extremely much work, but it might yield, on the long run, an even deeper success. In this latter case, the very success of mathematical theories in Physics strongly suggests to combine the task of solving the four aforementioned problems with the inquiry of why and how *specific* mathematical structures somehow have their roots in material things. These two aims determine the following basics of a work programme:

(α) Renounce of the spatial and temporal limitations of experiments and allow for unlimited interaction of material things.

(β) Give equal weight to *both* sides of interactions, e. g. in an experiment.

(γ) Renounce of using any physico – mathematical theory *at the beginning of the internal reform*.

(δ) Base your considerations exclusively on experience that is not theory – laden.

(ε) Try to specify what could be called qualitatively the “reflective loop” referred to in the previous section as problem (1).

(ζ) Try to extract mathematical structures inductively from all these experiences.

The view expressed here is innovative because this work programme pretends to achieve more than presenting *just a parallel philosophical view of nature* which does not really interfere with how physicists are exercising their profession. It also pretends more than to *provide methodological standards for physical investigation*. If it succeeds, it could be called in all propriety an internal reform of Physics.

*

Despite of its innovative character, the above work programme does not look promising. Things might change to the better, when we go searching for philosophical forerunners. Such a philosophical forerunner would have to meet two conditions. First, it must be experience – *based*. In other words, experience is understood as a genuin *source* of knowledge. What is more, the gap between particular perceptions and a universal theory requires an intelligible link, namely *induction*. Additionally, such a forerunner should offer an account of the activity and passivity of

material things. This condition dissuades from relying on rationalist philosophies.

The second condition concerns the singularity of material things. In order to account for the interaction of individual material things, their singularity must necessarily be taken into account. But it cannot be adequately expressed by using exclusively concepts or linguistic terms: Neither universal concepts (for instance, the platonic $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$) nor even demonstrative pronouns would do it. The only linguistic means to refer precisely to *this individual* is by proper names. But while it is possible to give proper names to macroscopic things, for instance volcanos, rivers or trees, it is impossible to link proper names to single atoms or elementary particles. Therefore, the second condition dissuades from relying on the analytic way of doing philosophy^⑤. Beyond the limits of language alone, one can refer to a material thing by pointing a finger at it. This requires sense perception, sight in particular. But this procedure is simply impossible in the case of elementary particles.

Does that mean that the proposed work programme aims at something impossible? As a matter of fact, the hylomorphism proposed by Aristotle and, in a different framework, by Thomas Aquinas, has a certain account of the singularity of material things. So the work programme can, perhaps, make use of an already developed philosophical conceptuality. However, it is impossible to give an appropriate account of this particular feature of hylomorphism in a few paragraphs.

It must be admitted that Aristotelian as well as Thomistic philosophy of nature are considered outdated. One reason for that is that they have not made any pronouncements about what is an experiment. Even less about the question what is a measurement. But both experiment and measurement are essentials of modern Physics. My claim is that the metaphysical core of Aristotelian – thomistic philosophy of nature is useful for answering these questions. For the present problem, the first relevant metaphysical notion is ‘hylomorphism’. It refers to the constitution of material things as members of species or agglomerations of such members. The second relevant piece is the general principle called ‘*agere sequitur esse*’. It expresses a sort of proportionality between the dynamics of something and what it is. Thus, this principle can be claimed to offer a *rationale* for how laws of nature do stem from the very things they refer to^⑥.

VIII. Is there any specific contribution of Christianity to solving the problem?

Let us anticipate the answer: Indeed, there is a specific contribution of Christianity to solve that problem. But Christianity does not do so by making assertions that belong to the competence of

^⑤ This does not exclude that the analytic approach can offer interesting views, for instance Lowe, E. J. *The Four – Category Ontology. A Metaphysical Foundation for Natural Science*. Oxford, London, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

^⑥ A detailed account of the problems mentioned in section VII. together with the first steps of this work program can be found in Larenz, R. “What can Thomistic Philosophy of Nature Contribute to Physics?”, in: *Societal Studies*, Vilnius (Lithuania): Mykolas Romeris University, 2013 (2), online www.mruni.eu/en/mokslo_darbai/sms/paskutinis_numeris/. Alternative access via www.cceol.com.

professionals in Natural Sciences or Mathematics. Christianity contributes exclusively to a philosophical issue by stating a *positive* view of the intelligibility of this world. Obviously, this view is opposed to what has been said in section III. about the view of most modern philosophers.

The New Testament as well as the Old Testament make far reaching statements about the intelligibility of this world. In particular, the Catholic Church is most explicit in linking both objective intelligibility and subjective capacity of understanding together. She does so by stating that it is possible that somebody reaches, *without* having any knowledge about Christianity, the insight that the things of this world are what the Bible calls ‘created’ and that they, therefore, have a Creator³⁹.

Nothing is said, in this context, about the intellectual path to be followed, not even whether such an intellectual path has been, or will be, realized in history or the future. The statement is confined to saying that the things of this world “give an account” on their being created, and that human mind is capable of understanding this language of reality. From the Catholic point of view, Christian revelation is epistemologically “optimistic”. It follows that experience has a positive cognitive value.

As the status ‘created’ of a thing comprehends whatever belongs to it, no information about this thing can be separated from the insight into its being created. In our context, the emphasis lies on the following conclusion: given the premises (1) the *behaviour* of material things stems precisely from those same things, (2) the *knowledge* of this behaviour, expressed in laws of nature, is connected with the insight into the being created of those things, it follows that *the search for laws of nature profits from the intelligibility of the world and the cognitive capacity of the human mind*, at least insofar as the laws of nature contribute to the knowledge of things as being created.

Therefore, a scientist who happens to be a Christian is, by his faith, enabled to an “epistemological optimism”. And exactly by this, a scientist who happens to be a Christian is almost forbidden by his faith to base the particular propositions of his scientific discourse in any way on this very same faith. He is exclusively relegated to his natural capacity of insight and reasoning.

For the sake of clarity, it should be added that the assertions of the Bible about single historical facts such as the age of the universe, of the earth and of mankind or the extension and dating of the flood are *particular* assertions. They should be evaluated in the light of the Bible’s universal affirmations about the intelligibility of this world and, perhaps, in the light of further exegetical criteria. In this context, creationists easily give too much credit to present day natural sciences, if they do not examine whether the epistemological climate in these sciences is compatible with the epistemological climate generated and witnessed by Christian revelation.

True, Christian faith tells also, that sinfulness *darkens* the human mind and makes its activity laborious, but it does not make it impossible. Therefore, scientific reasoning continues depending exclusively on every scientist’s own intellectual capacity and his or her professional training. A

³⁹ cf. Vatican Council I, Dogmatic Constitution *Dei Filius* (24. 4. 1870), Chapter 2, first paragraph. Online at www.vatican.va/holy_father/pope_pius_9/encyclicals/encyc012_01.htm. Accessed 2012-09-15.

scientist who happens to be a Christian possesses by his faith a guarantee that the thesis of the intelligibility of the world and the cognitive capacity of the human mind *is true*. He or she has *more intellectual steadfastness* in the laborious activity of investigating this world. Likewise, God's grace and a Christian's striving to follow Christ contribute to that same goal. But this interior strength does not provide *arguments* which would be less accessible to non – believers, or not accessible at all.

In conclusion, the statement “there is no specifically Christian way of doing science” is ambiguous. A scientist who happens to be a Christian, should not draw on the Christian revelation, or on the Bible in particular, when making scientific propositions or proving them. Rather he should exclusively focus on the object in question and use his human capacities of inquiry and rational discourse. In that sense, the statement cited is true. But if it comes to the existence of truth at all, which touches the very notion of science, or to the fundamental discernment between an “epistemological optimistic (bright) or pessimistic (obscure) climate”, this statement is false. The Christian way of doing science is embedded in an epistemologically bright or optimistic climate.

IX. Final Remark

The claim that the mathematization of Physics performed in the course of the scientific revolution during the 16th and 17th centuries should be corrected is based on good reasons. It would be a thorough internal reform, almost a second scientific revolution. This is why it should not only be judged by its success in showing why and how mathematical structures are rooted in material things. It must also explain why the present mathematical Physics has been so successful, despite the problems sketched in section VI.

中文题目:

物理学需要第二次科学革命吗?

——基督教促进物理学基础问题的解决

拉仁兹

芬兰赫尔辛基天主教会神父,1947年出生于德国,1966年于柏林大学数学与物理系毕业,获得理论物理文凭;1977年毕业于意大利罗马的圣十架宗座大学哲学与天主教神学专业,获神学学士和哲学副博士学位;1981年被按立为天主教神父;从1983年开始在科隆以数学与物质自然之间关系为课题攻读博士学位,并于1997年获得理论物理学专业的哲学博士学位。自1989年开始在赫尔辛基天主教会从事牧会与科研工作。Fredrikinkatu 41 C 40, 00120, Helsinki, Finland. 电子邮件:rlarenz@gmail.com

摘要:本文指出了当代物理学的内在缺陷。这一缺陷在于当代物理学无法充分勾连构成物理学主体的两种知识:一方面是对以物质世界为对象的科学实验的观察,另一方面则是数学理论。具体来说,这一缺陷可表述为:虽然数学模型被应用于以物质世界为对象的实验,却如同它仅仅在物理学家脑海中运算一样。不论如何,数理物理学的成功,说明这些数学模型在某种意义上是与其所适用的物质实在相关联的。由于其内在缺陷,物理学中的数学理论必须经历实验的证实或证伪。然而,即使被证实,这一理论依然是假设的。一种理论永远无法具有完全的确定性。上述物理学的内在缺陷根源于16、17世纪的科学革命。本文试从三方面对此进行阐释:一、自然与人类认知能力并不统一成为主流观念;二、大多数对数学的理解方式并不涉及物质世界;三、科学革命从根本上导致了物理学的数学化。有人提出圣托马斯·阿奎那的形质说可以作为适合的工具,以阐释为何那些物理学中的数学模型其本身也是根植于物质世界的,从而为数学模型在以物质实在为客体的实验中的应用提供了客观基础。数学模型之属于物质世界,乃建基于形质结构能够将物质实体的个体性和它必然从属于某一类属的属性有机结合。基督教并未认可针对这一问题的任何解决方案。然而,只要基督教还在坚持我们所处世界的可认知性,他就对解决这一问题做出了贡献。从而,基督教精神坚持科学作为一种实在的知识。

关键词: 物理学、数学化、形质说、清晰度、基督宗教

离念与恩典

——佛教、基督教对信仰偏执问题的解构力研究

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摘要:佛教、基督教植根于东西方不同的文化底蕴,但二者在避免信仰偏执问题的解构力方面从根本上来讲是相通的。《大乘起信论》是中国佛教最具代表性的著作之一,它的“离念”思想要求佛教修行者要时时处处“离于妄念”,放弃贪执,保持中道,从而使佛教避免偏执,发展生生不息。基督教是通过恩典思想来避免偏执的。基督教的恩典思想,特别是其中的“因信称义”思想,要求追随耶稣要建立在绝对信任的基础上,放弃任何判断和自以为是,避免偏离追随耶稣轨道的各种可能性。文章首先简单阐述了离念思想和恩典观,使我们对佛教、基督教自身解构力有了比较清楚的认识。然后论述了离念、恩典在个人终极追求和宗教发展方面的重要意义。

关键词:离念、恩典、信仰偏执、解构

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佛教、基督教都有自己的终极目标。佛教以达到离烦恼得解脱的成佛境界为究竟,基督教以追随耶稣、认识神^①为目标。终极目标对于人有限的认识来讲是很难达到的,所以人们常常用“无限”、“终极”等词来指称它。宗教中的“真如”、“道”、“上帝”等都具有无限性、终极性、不可言说性等特点。但实际情况是,人们往往会有所偏执或自以为是,把某种学说、言论乃至个人作为来自终极的话语和启示,而加以崇拜或追求。因为终极是不可言说的,因此一旦这种情况发生,就必然是对终极的背离。本文将这种把当下有限认识误以为是“无限”而产生的各种问题称之为信仰偏执问题。各大宗教都需要一种解构力^②,随时对信仰中出现的偏执问题进行解构、化解,这样才能使宗教正常发展下去,否则就会步入歧途。围绕这个问题,本文就佛教和基督教化解信仰偏执问题的解构力(离念、恩典)展开论述,并进一步探讨这种解构力对各自的重大意义。

中国佛教的离念思想主张不能执着于任何妄念(当下的思想和念头),要想达到最终解脱必须时时处处“离念”,从而避免偏执,保持中道。基督教的恩典思想特别是其中的因信称义思想,要求追随耶稣要建立在绝对信任的基础上,放弃任何判断和自以为是,避免各种偏离追随耶稣轨道的可能性。这两种处理方式构成了佛教、基督教自身强大的解构力,力图随时化解个人终极追求和宗教发展方面的各种偏执,使之避免步入歧途,保证个人追求和宗教的正常发展。

^① 参阅约翰·加尔文 John Calvin,《基督教要义(上)》*Jidujiao yaoyi* [Institutes of Christian Religion],(北京 Beijing: 三联书店 Sanlian shudian [Joint Publishing],2010),20。

^② 文中的解构力指的就是对在宗教发展中容易出现各种偏执、迷信权威等信仰偏执问题的解构力量。

一、中国佛教的离念思想

《大乘起信论》(简称《起信论》)是对中国佛教各个宗派思想的高度概括,是中国佛教最具代表性的著作之一^③。因此,笔者试图从这部代表性著作中的离念思想入手,分析中国佛教对这个问题的处理方式。

(一)念(妄念、相)

《起信论》中并没有对念下明确的定义,而且念在文中不同语境之中也有不同的含义。^④从文中我们可以看出,念有两种最基本的含义:一是指众生当下的各种念头(思考、判断);二是指对这种念头的执着。

念是当下的各种念头。佛教修行者在对佛教义理有了一定的理解之后,也不得不在生存中对各种事物和现象进行思考,形成自己的判断,他们必须知道对待事物的哪种观点和态度才更接近真如,然后再以该观点、态度去看待和判断事物。否则,没有理性思考和判断,人们的生存是无法继续的,会生活在一片茫然之中惶惶不知所措。《起信论》将人们的这些思考和判断称之为“相”和“妄念”。相和妄念不是指错误的思想,而是相对于“真如”而言的众生当下所有的念头。

念是对念自身的执着。学界中有人认为《起信论》中的念(妄念)更多指的是一种执着和攀援,“念指的是心对境的攀援,念依无明而起,念能变现和攀援生死境界。”^⑤也即,念就是由于无明的缘故,心对境的攀援,将各种假相执着为实有。我想这种说法是很有道理的。在《起信论》中,很多时候念是在念的执着义上使用的。念的第一层含义(思考、判断)本身是没有什么问题的,而且在生存中是必要的。念本身并没有对错,但问题就在于对念的执着,形成了人的各种贪欲,使人不得解脱。对于佛教修行者来讲,也正是由于将某种念误以为是真如,并加以执着,从而发生了信仰偏执问题。《起信论》,乃至整个佛教所力图破斥的正是念的这种执着义。所以,念更多的是在第二层含义(执着义)上使用也就不奇怪了。

念的这两种含义,在文中都可以找到,比如:

若知一切法,虽说,无有能说可说;虽念,亦无能念可念,是名随顺。^⑥

意思是说,当知一切法虽然不得不说,但是实际上是没有可说的,虽念(思考、判断)但是没有念是靠得住的,如果做到这一点,就是随顺。在这句话中,“虽念”就是念的第一层含义,也即我们不得不进行判断,形成当下的各种念头。在“亦无能念可念”中的“念”就是念的第二种含义,也即没有念头是可以执着的。

我们说要想真正得到真如和实相,并不像学习知识一样,了解一下佛教义理就可以了,还必须在生存实践的起心动念中去修行。念(思考、判断)相对于作为无限的真如,就只能是各种有限。如果看不到这一点,而将各种相和妄念执着为真如、实有,就会陷入偏执而远离真如。《起信论》看到了这一问题的严重性,因此提出“离念”的概念,来打破对念(妄念、相)执着和攀援力。

^③ 有关《大乘起信论》*Dacheng Qi Xin Lun [On Faith in Mahayana]*的作者和译者,是一个非常有争议的问题。相传为古印度马鸣菩萨著,南朝梁真谛译。但是现在学界大多认为《起信论》应该是中国化佛教的思想产物,而不是来自印度的经典。

^④ 潘永辉 Pan Yonghui,《念与离念》——理解《大乘起信论》的新思路 *Nian yu linian lijie dachengqixinlun de xinsilu [Caring and Escaping from Caring]*,《湛江师范学院学报》*Zhanjiang shifanxueyuan xuebao [Journal of Zhanjiang Normal University]*,2006,vol 27, No. 2。

^⑤ 同上 *Ibid.*

^⑥ 《大乘起信论》解释分 *Dacheng Qi Xin Lun [On Faith in Mahayana]*, *Jie shi fen*。

(二) 离念

一切诸法,唯依妄念,而有差别。若离心念,则无一切境界之相。

是故一切法,从本已来,离言说相,离名字相,离心缘相,毕竟平等,无有变异,不可破坏,唯是一心,故名真如。

以一切言说,假名无实,但随妄念。不可得故。言真如者,亦无有相。^⑦

这段文字是说,一切诸法是因为对妄念的执着才有差别,如果离念,就无一切境界之相。如果能真正做到离各种相,就会达到究竟平等,无有变异,不可破坏的真如境界。一切言说都是假名无实的,但是由于对妄念的执着,不能得到真如的境界,真如即是无相。

顾名思义,离念就是离却妄念。从这段引文中,可以看到离念的“念”不是在念的第一层含义(思考、判断)上使用的,而是在念的执着义上使用的。离念思想,并没有否定念,它所强调的是不能将妄念执为实有,要打破对妄念和相的执着。离念思想要求必须时刻意识到,妄念始终只是妄念,不是真如和实相,念相对于真如永远都只是有限,绝不能执着。必须时时保持一种“于念离念”的开放态度,保持对真如的不断追求。只有离念、无相才能得入真如境界。

从佛教教义的角度来讲,离念思想本身就是佛教的核心教义之一,与“空”一样,所强调的都是打破人们的贪欲和执着。《起信论》中,也多处强调离念与空的一致性。

所言空者:从昔以来,一切染法不相应故;谓离一切法差别之相,以无虚妄心念故。……乃至总说,依一切众生,以有妄心,念念分别,皆不相应,故说为空。若离妄心,实无可空故。^⑧

这句话是说,之所以说空,是因为世间染法从来都是不相应的;说空为的就是远离一切法的差别之相,没有虚妄心念的缘故。……总之,因为众生有念念分别的妄心而不解脱,所以说空。如果离却妄心,实际上就没有说空的必要了。

佛教认为,万法因缘和合,事物是相互联系的,因此事物是自己不能决定自己,空无自性的。而人们沉沦苦海的根本原因就是“贪嗔痴”三毒,而人的这种贪欲和执着就是造成各种烦恼的根本原因。所以,通过空、离念等打破人的各种执着,才能解脱各种烦恼痛苦,才有可能获得最终的解脱。这即是离念、空在佛教中的重要意义。

虽说离念是佛教的核心教义,但是这跟文章的主题并不矛盾,通过对离念思想的梳理,可以看到离念思想对于对在佛教发展中容易出现各种偏执、迷信或步入歧途等问题的强大解构力。因为妄念、相并不是真如,所以一旦出现试图将妄念执为实有和究竟的情况,离念思想就可以给予否定和纠正。因此,虽然在佛教发展中也很容易出现各种偏执和迷信,但由于离念的作用,使这种纠偏工作成为可能,离念力图使佛教徒个人追求乃至佛教自身发展不陷入偏执,从而成为保证佛教发展的生命力。

二、基督教的恩典论

恩典论是基督教的基本教义之一,恩典源于上帝的慈爱和恩宠,因着耶稣基督的缘故,对信任、追

^⑦ 《大乘起信论》解释分 *Dacheng Qi Xin Lun* [On Faith in Mahayana], *Jie shi fen*。

^⑧ 同上 *Ibid*。

随上帝的人们给予救赎。^⑨ 如果能够因信称义,就能获得上帝的慈爱与恩典,得以称义、重生。恩典论在基督教神学中的地位非常重要,它不仅涉及到基督教的核心问题——信仰与救赎,而且同原罪、救赎、称义等概念又紧密相关。它们之间的关系是,原罪是苦难的根源,救赎是上帝的恩典,称义是恩典的结果。下面我们就通过恩典论特别是其中的“因信称义”思想,来看基督教是如何解决信仰中的偏执问题的。

(一) 罪与恩典、救赎

按照基督教教义,人原本是具有与上帝一样的形象、至善和天性的^⑩,是没有苦难的。然而后来亚当和夏娃受蛇的诱惑,背离上帝的旨意,偷吃禁果^⑪,而丧失了本有的源自上帝的天性,至此原罪^⑫产生并遗传给子孙后代,人类就开始了罪的生活。

关于罪的具体含义,我们认为罪是人背弃上帝,顺从自己私欲行事的结果。这里的“私欲”不单指人肉体上的欲望,也是指人灵魂上背离神、按自己心意行事的欲望。加尔文认为,“人心里所有的一切,从思想到意志、从灵魂甚至肉体都被这私欲充满和玷污。……人本身就是私欲。”^⑬据《以弗所书》,背离上帝,人不仅会“良心丧尽,放纵私欲^⑭”,而且人就会变得“无知,且心里刚硬”。因此想要摆脱私欲和无知,就要学基督的道,摆脱私欲,并“要将你们的心志改换一新”。^⑮这句话是说,罪有两层含义,一是指肉体上的情欲,二是指灵魂上的无知。摆脱罪,不仅要摆脱肉体的束缚,而且还要在灵魂层面,摆脱心地的昏昧和无知。但不论肉体上的情欲还是灵魂上的无知,都是对上帝旨意的背离,是人按照私欲行事的结果。因此,我们认为罪最基本的含义应该是,罪是人背弃上帝,按自己的私欲、心意(肉体 and 灵魂)行事的结果。

罪的结果就是人类受到上帝的惩罚,人变得不义、邪恶,并在没完没了的苦海中挣扎、死亡。神对罪的态度,一是忿怒,“因这些事,神的忿怒必临到那悖逆之子。”^⑯二是恩典和救赎。“神爱世人,甚至将他的独生子赐给他们,叫一切信他的,不至灭亡,反得永生。因为神差他的儿子降世,不是要定世人的罪,乃是要叫世人因他而救。”^⑰也即虽然神对人的罪感到愤怒,但出于上帝的恩典和慈爱,神将自己的独生子耶稣派到世间,通过他在十字架上的死亡为人承担了所有的罪行,所以人只要愿意追随耶稣,神不仅不定他的罪,而且人还可以得到救赎。这也即基督教的恩典和救赎理论,认为只要人愿意追随耶稣,听从神的旨意,由于神爱世人,凭着神的恩典,人就可以得到救赎。由于罪是人肉体 and 灵魂上的对神的背离,人要得到救赎也必然是肉体 and 灵魂上都放弃自己的私欲,按上帝的旨意行事,否则即是“死在罪中^⑱”。

但是这样还不够完善,仍隐含着一种危险:当人在生存中面临选择,不知道 A、B 还是 C 才真正符合上帝旨意时,人或者会不知所措,或者会听信某些人的某种解释,或选择放弃判断权,在信任中继续

^⑨ 参阅《罗马书》Romans 3:22-24。

^⑩ 刘新利 Liu Xinli,《基督教与西方文化》*Jidujiao yu xifangwenhua* [Cristianity and Western Culture],(北京 Beijing:中国戏剧出版社 Zhongguo xiju chubanshe [Chinese Theatre Press]),2000,47。

^⑪ 《创世记》Genesis 3:1-20。

^⑫ 奥古斯丁 Augustine 将《圣经》Bible 中的罪发展为原罪说,认为自亚当夏娃偷吃禁果开始,人类的自由意志受原罪的奴役而失去了趋善避恶的能力,远离了上帝。

^⑬ 约翰·加尔文 John Calvin,《基督教要义(上)》*Jidujiao yaoyi* [Institutes of Christian Religion],(北京 Beijing:三联书店 Sanlian shudian [Joint Publishing],2010),229。

^⑭ 这句话的私欲特指肉体上的欲望。

^⑮ 以弗所书 Ephesians 4:17-24。

^⑯ 歌罗西书 Colossians 3:6。

^⑰ 约翰福音 John 3:16-17。

^⑱ 约翰福音 John 8:24。

追随耶稣。第一种情况的不知所措不仅加剧了选择的痛苦,而且解决不了问题。第二种情况下,迷信权威是危险的。纵观中世纪基督教史,当时教会不仅总揽了《圣经》解释权,还认为通过善功、圣礼、忏悔、甚至“赎罪券”^①也能得到神的恩典。这样做的后果实际上是树立起教会至高无上的权威,教徒只能听从教会而无法与上帝建立直接的联系,这样就使基督教出现了信仰偏执问题。而第三种情况,也即因信称义思想,能够化解各种迷信和权威,解构基督教信仰中的偏执问题,重新建立起人与上帝之间的直接联系。

(二)因信称义

下面就来看一下因信称义思想是如何解构基督教信仰中的偏执问题的。因信称义,源自保罗《罗马书》,“我不以福音为耻;这福音本是神的大能,要救一切相信的,先是犹太人,后是希腊人。因为神的义正在这福音上显明出来;这义是本于信,以致于信。如经上所记:‘义人必因信得生。’”^②保罗认为福音源自神的大能,要救一切相信的。神的义已经在这福音上显明,这义是因为信,并致于信,人必因信而称义、得生。在16世纪的宗教改革中,因信称义经马丁·路德、加尔文等人的努力得以重申,并且成为基督教新教的基本教义之一。

因信称义的基本内容是说,称义源于上帝的恩典,出于上帝对世人的爱,由于上帝独生子耶稣的关系,他通过受难、复活替人类承担了所有的罪行,凭着恩典,藉着耶稣的关系,上帝将基督的义归于人。人们只要信任耶稣,就会获得耶稣的义,因信而称义。

但是人们很快就意识到追随耶稣绝不是一件易事,因为摆脱罪的束缚太难了。罪使人被欲望紧紧地束缚着,生活中人还是很容易按自己的心意“为所欲为”,做不到完全按上帝的旨意行事。关于这个问题基督教认为,上帝不是因为人行为上做得好才拯救人,而是源于上帝的恩典和爱,因为耶稣的缘故,白白的救赎人类。^③经上说,“既是出于恩典,就不在乎行为;不然恩典就不是恩典了。”^④可见,因信称义强调的不是人外在的行为,而是“信”,认为世人都有罪,但只要信上帝,并且始终处于认识神的努力之中,就会称义并获得救赎。

那么什么才是真正的信呢?关于真正的信容易产生两个问题:一是人背弃神,并按自己的私欲(罪)为所欲为;二是人信神之后,把自己当下的有限认识误以为是真理,而自以为是。关于第一个问题,我们说生存中人很容易受罪的束缚,如果人在神的旨意和罪的束缚二者地挣扎中,选择了后者,顺从了自己的私欲,那么这就不是真正的信。关于第二个问题,由于生存中人不得不进行一些思考和判断,但如果将这种自己或他人当下的有限认识误以为是真理并加以执着、迷信,就会陷入偏执,从而产生信仰偏执问题。

那么因信称义思想是如何解决这两个问题的呢?关于第一个问题,真正的信要求人不能按自己的私欲(罪)为所欲为。当然对于人来讲,能够时时刻刻战胜罪的束缚是非常困难的,因此这里强调的是过程^⑤,也即信绝对不是简单的宣称,也不是一蹴而就的成就,而是说人的一生都是与罪作斗争的过程。

关于第二个问题,之所以会出现信仰偏执问题,是因为人以为自己拥有判断当下认识是否与真理相契合的判断权。按照因信称义,人在生存中拥有进行思考和判断地权利,但却没有判断某种认识是

^① 赎罪券来源于耶稣、圣母和圣徒所做的善功,教会认为赎罪券可以为自己、死去的人和炼狱中的人赎罪。

^② 《罗马书》Romans 1:16-17。

^③ 参阅《罗马书》Romans 3:22-24。

^④ 《罗马书》Romans 11:6。

^⑤ 谢文郁 Xie Wenyu,《寻找善的定义:“义利之辩”和“因信称义”》Xunzhao shandedingyi :yilizhibian he yinxinchengyi [Look for the Definition of Good; Debate about Righteousness and Profit and the Justification by Faith],《世界哲学》Shijie zhexue [World Philosophy], 2005, No. 6。

否为真理的权利,只有上帝才拥有真理的判断权。人当下的各种思考和判断,在路德那里将其称为“人的良心”。“良心”指的是人的“清晰的理性”^{②④},指有限的人作出的理性判断。路德认为人的良心也必须服从于神的权威,必须清醒地认识到“人的良心并不是真正的权威,最终的权威在神那里。”^{②⑤}也就是说,因信称义让人放弃的不是当下的思考和判断,而是要放弃真理判断权,不能把有限误以为是“无限”而加以执着、迷信,要始终明白“最终的权威在神那里”。我们再来看,“因为人在信心中交出了关于‘义’的判断权。换言之,我是不是一个‘义人’不在于我当下拥有什么样的‘义’;而且,我也没有判断权来决定我该拥有什么样的思想观念和道德品格才算是‘义人’。判断权在我们所信的耶稣的手中。”^{②⑥}这句话就是说,人是否为义人的判断权在神手里,如果人自我判断为义人,就会远离神。这里的“是义人”就是我们所说的“拥有真理”,也即从有限达到无限。在基督教追求真理的过程中,人只有追求真理的权利,却没有判断是否拥有了真理的权利。而那种判断某种观点或某个人是真理,而加以迷信的做法,正是因信称义思想所要解构、破除的。因此,因信称义思想可以避免人的自以为是或对他人的权威的迷信,从而对信仰偏执问题进行一种解构。

经过对基督教恩典论,特别是其中因信称义思想的梳理和论述,我们比较清楚的看到了基督教对个人宗教追求及宗教发展层面的信仰偏执问题的处理。基督教的恩典观,特别其中的因信称义思想,构成了基督教自身的解构力,能够有效的化解偏执和权威,避免歧途,是保证基督教发展的生命力。

三、离念和恩典在教徒个人生存和宗教发展方面的意义

通过对佛教离念思想和基督教恩典观的简单分析,我们对佛教和基督教自身对信仰偏执问题的解构力有了比较清楚的认识。当对终极追求出现偏差的时候,“离念”和“恩典”能够起到及时化解各种迷信、偏执,避免诸多弯路,保持个人终极追求和宗教正常发展的作用。

(一)在教徒个人生存和终极追求方面的意义

人的生存焦虑归根到底来自人的存在的自我分裂。也即精神与肉体的二元分裂。^{②⑦}一方面是人的精神上的无限渴望,另一方面则是人的肉体对现实的无可奈何。这种二元分裂使人感到无助和困惑,并且处于无止境的纠结和痛苦之中。关于这个问题的解决,宗教也给出了自己的解释。“有史以来,害怕痛苦是所有人的共性,人类社会一直在同苦作斗争,……宗教提供了一种消灭苦难的方法。”^{②⑧}这里所说的痛苦从根本上也是指人的精神与肉体二元分裂所导致的痛苦。佛教、基督教认为,要想克服精神和肉体二元分裂所导致的痛苦,人们必须首先克服肉体、欲望对人的束缚。要遵循佛陀的智慧,努力达到成佛的涅槃境界,或服从上帝的旨意,恢复本有的来自上帝的天性,更好地认识神。

对于人的生存而言,给出了终极追求并不能完全解决二元分裂问题。因为人在生存中还是不得

^{②④} 谢文郁 Xie Wenyu,《神的话语和人的良心:路德的双重权威问题》Shendehuayu he rendeliangxin;lude de shuangchong quanwei [The words of God and the Conscience of Human: The Two Authorities of Luther],《求是学刊》Qiushi xuekan [Magazine of Pursuing Truth], 2003,4。

^{②⑤} 同上 Ibid。

^{②⑥} 谢文郁 Xie Wenyu,《寻找善的定义:“义利之辩”和“因信称义”》Xunzhao shandedingyi ;yilizhibian he yinxinchengyi [Look for the Defination of Good;Debate about Righteousness and Profit and the Justification by Faith],《世界哲学》Shijie zhixue [World Philosophy], 2005, No. 6。

^{②⑦} 何中华 He Zhonghua,《哲学导论》Zhexue daolun [Introduction to Philosophy]。

^{②⑧} 学愚 Xue Yu,《苦与苦灭——佛教和基督教的解读》Ku yu kumie fojiao he jidujiao de jiedu [Bitterness and the Disappear of Bitterness of Buddhism and Cristianity],《天国、净土与人间:耶佛对话与社会关怀》Tianguo jingtu yurenjian;yefoduihua yu shehuiguanhuai,中华书局 Zhonghua shuju [Press of China],20008,176。

不进行思考和判断。但一方面是有限的终极追求,另一方面却是当下有限的认识。如果把当下有限的认识误以为是无限,那么就会发生信仰中的偏执问题。此时佛教的离念思想和基督教的恩典观的就显得尤为重要。就佛教来讲,离念思想破除的是人对各种假相的执着(认为甚至对“空”、“真如”也不能有任何执着),要求人要离却种种妄念,做到一切圆融无碍,才有可能接近真如实相。基督教也是如此,如果有所偏执或自以为是,迷信于某个权威或某种偏见,那么人所接受的就不仅不是上帝之光和真理,反而会离上帝越来越远,仍将死在罪中,得不到救赎。

(二)在宗教传播、发展方面的意义

宗教在传播和发展中也很容易出现各种问题。比如,大乘佛教的“方便”思想,主张可以按照不同的文化和个人进行因地制宜,因人而宜的教化。但若“方便”走的太远,没有把握好其中的度,宗教发展却又会背离“究竟”。随着基督教的发展,教义和理论出现了很多争议。中世纪,教会甚至总揽《圣经》解释权,但这实际上却阻断了人与上帝的直接联系,使基督教的发展步入歧途。

再从两大宗教的历史上来看。作为大乘佛教的中国汉传佛教是最讲求方便的,可以将方便思想运用的巧妙而灵活。盛唐时期,中国佛教宗派形成、百花齐放,他们或强调戒律,或强调止观、念佛……慧能禅宗首先认识到方便思想走的太远对宗教发展的破坏作用。针对种种方便,慧能提出“直指人心,见性成佛”,以“无念、无住、无相”的离念思想,来破除人们对种种方便的执着,对中国佛教的发展产生了深远的影响。

明清以来,中国佛教走向了衰败,“血脉中沉浸了封建宗法气息,中国佛教以家族化教制的腐败为核心,在教理、修证诸方面亦趋陈腐孤陋。”^②明清中国佛教的衰败,原因是多方面的,但重要的一点是因为方便思想走的太远,甚至忘记了最初的和最根本的追求,从而沉醉于盲目的念佛,荒废戒律、禅修,热衷于为死人做超度等事物^③。针对佛教的衰败,民国佛教大师太虚、印顺和当今的星云大师倡导“人生佛教”、“人间佛教”,力图将佛教从衰败中拯救出来,回归正统。他们认为佛教不是盲目的念佛、拜佛、乃至为死人做超度等,这不是佛教的根本。真正的佛教要回归到人的生存中来,以“人生”、“人间”为中心,归根到底要解决人生存中的解脱问题。实际上这也是离念思想的具体运用。

16世纪宗教改革之前,基督教出现了信仰偏执问题,教会和教士的权威阻隔了人与上帝的直接联系。而马丁·路德、加尔文等领导的宗教改革运动,倡导因信称义思想,强调称义的唯一条件是“信”,而不是赎罪券或各种善功,并提出“唯独圣经”的思想,人可以直接理解圣经,“人人皆教士”而不需要教会的权威解释。这样就清理了基督教发展中的迷信权威的障碍,发挥了对信仰偏执问题的强大解构力,并促进了新教的产生和天主教的改革发展。

需要指出的是,离念和恩典对于佛教、基督教而言也绝不仅仅是一种解构力,而同时也是佛教、基督教的核心教义。如前所述,佛教、基督教归根到底要解决人的二元对立的生存困境。离念和恩典(因信称义)解决地也正是这个问题,即如何摆脱欲望、罪的束缚,达到精神的解脱。在这个意义上,离念和恩典本身也是佛教、基督教的核心教义,只不过本文所强调的是二者对信仰偏执问题的解构力。同时,真正做到离念和恩典(因信称义)的境界也是非常困难的。关于这个问题,佛教、基督教都有着一套详细的教义理论和修行方法。做到离念和恩典(因信称义)实际上也是一个过程,是宗教修行的一部分。

综上所述,我们说人在生存中不得不进行各种思考和判断,但如果把当下的有限认识误以为是终极真理,此时信仰偏执问题就出现了。佛教强调必须离于妄念才能达到究竟。同样基督教认为“人的

^② 罗同兵 Luo Tongbing,《太虚对中国佛教现代化道路的抉择》*Taixu duizhongguofojiao xiandaihuadaolu de jueze* [Taixu's Chosen of the Modern Way of Chinese Buddhism],巴蜀书社 Bashu shushe [The Press of Bashu],2003,1。

^③ 同上,*Ibid* 第11页。

良心”也必须服从于神的权威。离念和恩典所强调的都是要打破对自己或他人当下各种判断的迷信和偏执,要始终明白最终的权威始终在真如或神那里,避免将有限执着为无限。针对佛教和基督教在个人生存和宗教发展方面容易出现的信仰偏执问题,离念和恩典能够形成强大的解构力,对各种偏执和迷信给予解构,力图保证个人终极追求能够按正确的方向前行,也正是因为有了离念和恩典,才能保证两大宗教能够于几千年的漫长历史中在波折和迂回中不断前进。

English Title:

Keeping away from Mindfulness and Grace

——A Study of Deconstruction to Faith Fanaticism in Buddhism and Christianity

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Abstract: Buddhism and Christianity are rooted in the eastern and western cultures respectively. Basically, however, they both have the powerful deconstruction force towards Faith Fanaticism. As one of the most representative works of Chinese Buddhism, *Dacheng Qi Xin Lun (On Faith in Mahayana)* insists the thoughts of escaping from caring, argues that one should avoid fanaticism, keep the Middle way (中道), so that Buddhism can develop healthily. Christianity develops the powerful deconstruction force through the doctrine of Grace. The doctrine of grace in Christianity, especially the doctrine of justification by faith, demands that following Jesus should be based on absolute trust, giving up any judgment and self-righteousness, avoiding all sorts of deviation from following Jesus. Firstly, these two concepts, that is, escaping from caring and Grace can help us in the understanding of deconstruction forces of Buddhism and Christianity. Then I will argue that escaping from caring and the doctrine of Grace has played a great role in human being's ultimate pursuit and the development of Buddhism and Christianity.

Key words: Keep away from Mindfulness of Buddhism, Grace of Christianity, Faith Fanaticism, Deconstruction

书评与通讯
Reviews and Academic Reports

基督信仰与 21 世纪的中国 ——第五届中国神学论坛美国波士顿研讨会综述

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红墙绿树、碧海蓝天,八月之波士顿的景色格外令人眷恋。带着基督教在 21 世纪之中国发展的憧憬和展望,一百余位满怀中国情结的中西资深学者齐聚被誉为“世界学术之都”的波士顿,就“基督教与中国文化”、“基督教与中国社会”、“基督教与中国教会”等话题展开坦诚的沟通和交流。

中国神学论坛开始于 2009 年 12 月,其创立之目的是希望通过对话和研讨,来推动基督教群体与中国社会、文化等群体的坦诚沟通和和谐相处。此前该论坛已在韩国、新加坡等地举办过四届研讨会,在学界和社会各界得到非常积极的反响。

从学术视角,此次研讨会强调的主题为“基督教与 21 世纪的中国”。与会者有来自中国、美国、英国、芬兰、韩国、新加坡、香港、台湾等地,会议共举行三天,共有三十来位在世界各地从事全球基督教和中国基督教研究的资深学者分别在会上做了专门的发言。8 月 22 日的议题为“基督教与中国文化”,8 月 23 日的议题为“基督教与中国社会”,8 月 24 日的议题为“基督教与中国教会”。鉴于发言嘉宾多、涉及议题广,筹办方还把 22 日的议题分为“基督教与儒家思想在当代的中国”、“新儒家对基督教与儒家思想的评论”、“探讨基督教与儒家的世界观”;23 日的议题分为“基督教与中国的崛起”、“基督教、现代性、以及中国近代史”、“中国教会的社会使命”;24 日的议题分为“中国教会面临的变化与挑战”、“中国教会的概观”、“中国教会与普世宣教”。据主办方透露,此次研讨会在当地学术界引起高度重视(如 Daniel Bays、Doug Birdsalls、David Horn、白诗朗等资深人士都到会祝贺),其原因有三点,其一,这是中国神学论坛继前年在新加坡、去年在韩国后首次在西方的主流国家举办(因此也得到了美国当地基督教研究机构的大力支持)。其二,研讨会发布了重要的共识文本:基督教与中华文化的关系——我们的态度(已有几十位世界各地资深学者签署)。其三,此次研讨会的发言嘉宾是近几十年少有的研讨会阵营,就国界来说,有中西方资深的基督教学者出席;就宗教立场来说,有基督教和儒教学者共同出席;就教会背景来说,有来自多个教会的资深牧者和资深学者共同出席。

由于此次研讨会之主题非常特殊——“基督教与 21 世纪的中国”,因此主办方除了邀请中西资深的基督教学者外,还特地邀请了从事中国文化研究的非基督教资深学者,以使研讨会能真正体现基督教与中国文化及社会的真诚对话。如研讨会协办方哥顿-康维尔神学院院长诃琳葛(Hollinger)及主办方中国神学论坛秘书长王文峰先生在开幕致辞中指出,作为当今世界重要的两个国家中国和美国,如何思考和探讨宗教信仰与国家的协调关系不仅关乎自身的健康发展也决定整个世界的文明进程。

作为研讨会重要环节的 8 月 22 日之“基督教与中国文化”对话环节,上午首先由来自中西的几位

基督教学者分别开始发言。来自中国人民大学的何光沪教授、美国加尔文大学的欧迪安(Diane B. Obenchain)教授、中国社会科学院的石衡潭博士首先在第一场“基督教与儒家思想在当代的中国”做了专题发言。他们各自所涉及的主题为“基督教与中华文化的关系”、“犹太教——基督教与‘儒’的共同体:为了今天的道德改革合作”、“从精英到草根:基督教应对中国文化的历史转折”。此后,来自首都师范大学的陈明教授、台湾慈济大学的林安梧教授、北京天则经济研究所的盛洪教授就第二场“新儒家对基督教与儒家思想的评论”做了专题的发言,他们各自的议题包括“从曲阜建堂事件看大陆耶儒关系的现实状况与发展趋势”、“‘儒耶会通’初论——关于‘人性’的‘罪’与‘善’之厘清与融通”、“仁慈与自由——儒家与基督教价值观的比较”。此外,22日下午,香港浸会大学的罗秉祥教授、芬兰的黄保罗教授、山东大学的谢文郁教授、美国真理堂的庄祖醞牧师还就第三场“探讨基督教与儒家的世界观”做了精彩的发言,他们的议题是“利玛窦哲理神学与儒学的再对话”、“21世纪汉语语境中应然层面的汉语学术神学之建构”、“文本解读和中国神学建设”、“从儒家伦理到基督教伦理——伦理观念的‘哥白尼革命’”。由于“基督信仰与中国文化”之议题涉及耶儒学者的直接对话和互动,因此场下赴会者都非常踊跃地投入了议题的探讨和交流之中,几乎所有的发言场面都出现了超时的现象,这体现了当今学术界对“基督教与中国文化”之关系的热切关注。

8月23日的“基督教与中国社会”的议题也引来了众多赴会者的关注,上午首先有来自中国神学论坛的王文锋先生、中国社会科学院的刘澎教授、北京科技大学的赵晓教授、Ldi集团总裁的唐振基教授就第一场“基督教与中国的崛起”做了专门的发言,他们的发言议题为“基督信仰与当代中国的社会思潮”、“中国需要宗教法”、“天国的福音与中国的转化”、“21世纪中国属灵领袖面临的挑战”。接着,来自哥顿康维尔神学院的包克强博士、乔治·梅森大学的李可柔教授(Carol Lee Hamrin)、美国洛杉矶基督教与中国研究中心的李灵先生、牛津宣教研究中心教务主任唐卫道博士(Thomas Alan Harvey)分别在第二场“基督教、现代性、以及中国近代史”环节做了发言,他们的议题为“20世纪初的中国基督徒精英所带给我们的经验教训”、“信仰与社会:恢复近代中国基督徒的历史遗产”、“从基督教理性主义的视野来看中国的社会现代化”。最后,有来自哥顿-康维尔神学院的姚西伊教授、世界华人研究中心的戴德理博士(Dr. Wright Doyle)、罗耀拉大学的魏忠克教授(Carsten Vala)分别在第三场“中国教会的社会使命”这一环节发言,他们的议题为“从教会论看“中国教会的社会参与”、“基督教如何能够帮助中国建立和谐社会”、“当代中国的宗教、党政、以及公民社会”。鉴于议题对当下中国基督教处境的高度关切,部分发言嘉宾的信息引起了赴会者极大的关注,整个场面始终充满热烈的对话氛围。

8月24日是研讨会的最后一天,主办方除了安排中西方数位资深学者发言外,还安排了数位有教会背景的人士做了精彩的发言和互动。哥顿-康维尔神学院的约翰·戴维斯(John J. Davis)教授就第一场“中国教会面临的变化与挑战”做了发言。他们的议题为“中国团队型教会的转型探讨”、“体制教会与自由教会:问题、危机和可能的出路”、“当代中国城市教会所面临的文化冲击”、“美国福音派主义3.0:对后共产主义中国教会之借鉴”。而后,来自中国社会科学院的高师宁教授、正道福音神学院的柯立天教授、乔治·梅森大学的翟杰霞教授、哥顿-康维尔神学院的特德·约翰逊(Todd M. Johnson)教授就第二场“中国教会的概观”做了专门的发言,他们的议题为“从‘宗教生态失衡’论看中国社会对基督教的认识”、“社会界限:教会的建设、入会仪式、以及有名无实的基督信仰”、“以真耶稣教会为例谈中国本土灵恩运动的发展与影响”。最后,哥顿-康维尔神学院的彼得·库米克(Peter Kuzmic)教授等人就第三场“中国教会与普世宣教”做了专门的发言,他们的议题为“中国教会的普世宣教大计”、“转向外界:中国教会从三自本土原则转移到迎接全球教会普世宣教运动”、“共产主义下的基督教:来自东欧的反思”。

纵观研讨会的三天议程,再次凸显了中国神学论坛的几大特色:1. 高端性:研讨会邀请了多位在

各领域富有代表性的学者参加。2. 对话性:注重不同学术背景人士的分享、对话和沟通。3. 广阔性:邀请了不同国家和地区对中国基督教发展有负担的人士赴会。4. 实效性:众多嘉宾的发言为赴会者了解中国基督教发展状况提供了难得的建议和方案。由于会议涉及的议题范围非常广,因此众多嘉宾的发言和赴会者的互动都没有足够的时间深入,不过,由于会后空余时间多,因此众多赴会者在私下又进行了更深入的探讨和交流,这种状况也使得本届研讨会如以往一样呈现了会上议题广、会后交流深的特点。难得的是此次研讨会让更多关注中国基督教发展但平常不易见面的人士能相聚一起深入交谈相关议题,尤其难能可贵的是“基督教与中华文化的关系——我们的态度”的发布,这将是中国基督教部分群体阐述自身面对中华文化立场的一个历史性机会(文本内容请另见报道)。

主办方最后指出,中国神学论坛有自己的学术立场,但他们将一如既往地履行自己的使命,即在这个时代能扮演一个和平使者的角色,无论是持哪种学术立场,论坛都愿意给他们提供一个对话和沟通的空间和平台。

English Title:

Christian Faith and 21st Century China

——A Report on the Fifth Forum of Chinese Theology in Boston

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一部研究边疆医疗卫生史的力作： ——《医疗与布道：中华基督教会在川康边地的医疗服务研究》评介^①

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邓杰博士的新著《医疗与布道：中华基督教会在川康边地的医疗服务研究》已由中国社会科学出版社于2011年10月出版。这部书主要研究了基督教会在边疆服务中的医疗卫生事业,从社会历史发展不平衡的认知角度,为中国近现代的事实重建提供完整的重要补充材料。

众所周知,边疆研究是中国传统学术的重要组成部分,而晚清历史上的边疆史大多局限于边疆史地的研究范围,更多的则是陈述边疆历史的演变,以及边疆地区在军事、经济等方面所起到的作用等,或属游记或属杂录,相对来说有较少专门涉及有关民族、宗教与社会这一方面,关于医疗学史在内的自然科学史或身体史,则是少之又少。邓杰博士的这部著作,就是立足于边疆史,以中华基督教会在川康边地的主要活动为切入点,对“边服部”在川康边地的医疗服务研究做了系统深入的论述。这部著作,就基督教在中国西部地区医疗布道活动的研究而言,较之以往,相对而言的填补了无人涉足的空白,给我们与研究边疆史、民族史以及宗教史和社会史的融合,展现了新的视角。全书共分为八章,其中,第一、二章介绍了边疆服务的背景以及边疆服务部的筹建和“边运”的开始;第三章陈述了边疆服务中的医疗卫生事业;第四章探讨了“边疆研究”中的医疗研究;第五章概述了学生暑期服务团的医疗服务;第六章在对医疗卫生服务与基督教福音事业的探讨评价之外,还提出了边服部医疗布道中存在的问题;第七章则讲述了边服部向政府移交卫生工作及“边运”的终结;第八章则为余论,就“边服部”在医疗卫生工作上所面临的困难以及成就与社会影响,并作出了总结,最后以客观公正的的学术态度指出了其存在的缺陷及局限性。可以看出,本书对这一主题的研究不仅层次明晰且逻辑结构强,而且解决了以往教会在华医疗布道方面不应该被忽视的历史事实这一局限。诚如作者在本书中所提到的,“本书研究的是1939年至1955年中华基督教全国总会边疆服务运动中的医疗卫生服务,以及与之相关的福音传播及医疗卫生研究工作。这一研究范围看似狭小,但所包含的内容却十分丰富。”而作者所提到的这一点,在全文的内容以及结构布局中表现得很突出,作者对各个时间既有具体

^① 2010年国家社科基金项目《近现代西北民族地区毒品问题与社会控制研究(1840-1960)》(10CMZ025),2012年甘肃省教育厅研究生导师项目《抗战时期甘肃高等教育发展与社会变迁研究》,2012年甘肃省财政厅高等学校基本科研业务费专项资金项目《近代西北高等教育发展与社会变迁研究》,2013年西北师范大学青年教师科研能力提升项目《近代日本与中国西北之关系研究》(SKQNGG12009)阶段性成果。

入微的考证思维,又有内在紧密联系的逻辑思维。

纵观这部著作,有如下几个方面的特点:

一、视野宏阔,见解独到

任何学术研究最终都是以解决问题为前提,而解决问题的关键所在则是如何提出问题以及怎样提问题,问题的立意与内容的展开是密不可分的,可直接影响一篇文章的主旨,邓杰博士的这部著作,则很好地展现了问题的所在。尽人皆知,历史上对基督教在中国的活动研究大多只关注中国沿海及内地,严重忽略了边疆少数民族地区,造成此领域长期无人涉足,所出的成果也接近空白,而基督教在华医疗布道的历史,尤其是在边疆少数民族地区所做的医疗方面的贡献是不应该被忽略的。这部著作则立足于西方教会在川康边地的医疗服务活动,并且以其成立的“边服部”为主要对象来展开问题,如本书中,从第一章介绍边疆服务运动兴起的背景中提到“此时基督教传教中心已从过去的引人入教,增加教徒,逐渐转变成强调被视为社会福音的内在本质要求,因而成为体现社会福音的重要内容。加之国民政府的臂助,边疆服务运动遂在中华基督教会全国总会的倡导下应运而生。”第二章则介绍了边服部的简历及开始。而我们所说的标新立异,则是邓杰博士第一次重建了中华基督教会边疆服务部在川康边区医疗布道的历史,不仅采用多角度、高视野的研究方法,更丰富了既有的边疆史的研究。可见,本书主要以边服部为线索,运用以小见大的表现手法,将各个历史问题以层层递进的关系铺展开来,以个案来透视世界大背景之下的这一时期的历史。这样的提法以及观点新颖独特,不得不引人深思。

二、史料丰富,论证详密

史料作为史学研究的中介,是史学著作的基础,某种程度而言,从材料可以看书作者的写作功底的高低,该书作者在搜求材料上可以说几乎达到了孜孜以求的地步,从文章可以看出该书搜集利用的各类文献多达300余种,其中档案资料的搜集尤为到位,全书利用了包括中国第二历史档案馆、四川省档案馆、上海市档案馆、云南省档案馆以及阿坝州档案馆、理县档案馆、西昌市档案馆、汶川县档案馆、甘孜州档案馆所藏主要“边服部”档案,可以说,但凡藏有边疆服务历史档案的机构,作者都已走遍。以及有些当事人留下的资料,如边疆服务部办的期刊《边疆服务》、《边疆服务研究》,以及交会在全国范围发行的《公报》、《协进》、《国家半月报》、《真光杂志》、《基督教丛刊》、《天风》、《真理与生命》及大量海外教会人士创办的报刊杂志,在邓杰博士的书中都得到充分利用。正是由于作者精益求精的学术精神,使本书立足于翔实的事实材料之上,分析论证了这一时期的历史,使本书理论充足,不仅为人们认识了解边疆服务事业提供了一个新的方位和视角,而且为对于基督教中文文献与基督教宗教在华史研究提供了有价值的素材。

三、方法多样,立足前沿

对于历史研究而言,研究方法的运用与研究对象的确定是密不可分的,本书研究的方法之一就是采用了具体的微观史研究,并能理性分析这一研究方法的利弊,作者力图通过具体的历史个案研究法,旨在探讨这一时期的历史。杨天宏教授说过,“从历史研究的立场上看,任何历史事件的发生、任何历史人物的出场都不是孤立的,一定会与众多事件及人物发生复杂多样的关系。”基于此,邓杰博士

运用普遍联系的方法,非但将文中的个案历史置于广阔的社会背景之中,更将其置于边疆历史的发展脉络中,使读者感受到文章具有的学术品味与时代气息。如文章第五章中论述的学生暑期服务团的医疗服务,通过本书,我们不仅看到基督教徒们不是孤立的去进行服务活动,他们也可以跟当时的社会群体相处融洽,并能发动热心社会群体,如学生志愿者来开展医疗活动去帮助边区人民。可见,作者并未一味的去肯定教会所做的服务活动,对学生志愿者的参与和活动不仅做了细致的描述,也提出了高度的肯定。

但是,如果要求全责备,本书也有一些地方值得商榷,本书的题目为《医疗与布道:中华基督教会川康边地的医疗服务研究》,而且该书在布道方面也有一定的论述,比如在第六章中探讨了医疗卫生服务与基督教福音事业,并且提出对所存在问题的分析。都是从医疗服务的本身去透视历史,这也是我们值得学习和研究的范例。然而本书过多的注重了医疗服务的研究,却不曾涉及与布道相关的联系,在当时的社会背景之下,基督教徒的医疗知识布道的一种手段,其目的就是通过从医治人们的生理然后慢慢渗透到冲击人们的精神领地。再者随着国家政权性质的变化,边疆服务运动的工作是怎样进行的,到新中国成立之后为什么终止了?难道布道在不同政权性质下发生变化,医疗服务也会随之变化?笔者认为这也是值得我们大家去探究的问题。最后,我们要在如此大部头的著作中苛责求全,也是太过苛求,这种不恰当的陋见只能算是一点善意的提醒了。

总而言之,邓杰博士的这部著作,除了具备较高的学术价值和研究价值外,更是一部学术品位高尚的新颖之作,值得各位学术同仁参考研读。

English Title:

A masterpiece of researching on the boundary medical history

——Comments and Introduction of *Medical and Preach; the research about the China Christian Zion medical service on the bonder districts of the Sichuan and Kangding*

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作为“中国经验之产儿”的自由主义神学？
——读 Lian Xi's *The Conversion of Missionaries:
Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907 - 1932*

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核心概念与重要内容

本书的原型是作者的博士论文, 而该文最初的标题与本书的标题略有不同。有趣的是, 对比这两个标题, 便能够发现本书最重要的旨趣, 以及作者如何看待本书的核心概念。本书最初的标题是 *Missionaries Distracted: The Rise of Syncretism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907 - 1932*, 而出版后的标题是 *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907 - 1932*。主标题和副标题, 各有一个关键字的变化, 其一是主标题中的 *Distracted* 改为 *Conversion*, 其二是副标题中的 *Syncretism* 改为 *Liberalism*。

首先, 我们来看副标题。从出版后的副标题可知, 本书的研究主题是二十世纪前三十年美国在华传教士中出现的自由主义 (*Liberalism*); 同时, 阅毕全书便发现, 在作者看来, 在华基督教历史上出现的自由主义, 最本质的反映和表现, 即为宗教上的“调和主义” (*Syncretism*), 而这种“调和主义”, 正是本书所讨论的美国在华传教士的主要特征。在此, 涉及美国本土的自由主义与美国在华传教士的自由主义之间的差异: 在作者看来, 美国本土的自由主义最主要的特征, 是在进化论和高等评鉴学的指导下, 重新塑造基督教; 而美国在华传教士的自由主义则不同, 其最主要的特征, 是宗教和文化上的“调和主义”, 亦即寻求基督教与东方宗教之间根本上的联合。^②

其次, 再回到主标题。出版后的主标题“传教士的归信” (*The Conversion of Missionaries*) 实则化用一位在华自由派传教士葛德基 (Earl H. Cressy) 曾说过的话: “他 (即传教士——引者注) 怀揣着如火般的热情, 来到远东, 传扬信息 (即福音——引者注); 但在这个过程中, 东方也把它的信息说给他听。他出去的时候, 为的是要改变东方; 结果, 回来的时候, 自己却被改变了……远东所导致的传教士的归信 (*The conversion of the missionary*) 使得他不仅是一位传教士, 还成为一位国际主义者, 即一位身处两大

^② Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907 - 1932*, (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 14.

文明之间的媒人。”^③这便是本书所认为的以“调和主义”为内核的自由主义产生的原因：一些美国传教士来到中国，原本意图将基督教的信息带给尚在黑暗中和魔鬼权势下的中国人，不料却被中国的古代文化和现代民族主义这两大信息所吸引；这些信息，转移了(distracted)这些传教士的人生原初的目标(即福音布道)。^④因此，无论是“conversion”还是“distracted”，都形象且传神地归纳了本书的要点：自由主义神学很大程度上是在华传教士的“中国经验之产儿”。

该书的两大部份，本着从具体到一般的原则：在第一大部份，作者从具体的角度，以写传记的形式，用三章的篇幅分别记述了三位美国在华传教士——即医学传教士胡美(Edward H. Hume)、长期任《教务杂志》编辑的乐灵生(Frank Joseph Rawlinson)与普利策奖得主和诺贝尔奖得主赛珍珠(Pearl S. Buck)——如何归信中国的古代文化和现代民族主义的历程；在第二大部份，作者从一般的角度，用了四章分别讨论了自由主义在中国的三大表现(宗派合一运动、民族主义运动与宗教合一运动)，以及归信了东方的传教士(所谓“反向传教士”，missionaries - in - reverse)如何塑造美国本土的自由主义。

评价与思考

本书很特别且出色的一点是，它先用前三章的篇幅，以传记的形式，为读者具体且细致地呈现出三位美国在华传教士，如何渐渐失去保守派的信仰，转而拥抱神学自由主义。在此之后，作者再更一般化地分析二十世纪前三十年左右的自由主义在传教士中的兴起。这样的安排布局，至少从作者的核心旨趣(传教士的中国经验引发自由主义神学式地理解基督教信仰)而言，颇有诱导性和说明力。

不过笔者以为，作者所提出的「作为中国经验之产儿的自由主义神学」这一阐释进路，并非毫无破绽。笔者的疑问是，作者笔下的如胡美、乐灵生与赛珍珠一类的传教士，他们的保守派信仰真的是「失去的」吗？以作者笔下的三位传教士为例。的确，有证据表明，三位传教士在「变节」之前，表达过福音布道(保守派的宣教使命)的意愿。但是我们也同样发现：胡美要成为传教士的决定，是受到艾迪(Sherwood Eddy)和路思义(Henry Winters Luce)的影响；^⑤乐灵生要成为传教士的决定，是受到穆德(John R. Mott)的影响^⑥——就笔者有限的知识，这三个名字都与倾向自由主义的神学及其组织机构(如青年会或纽约协和神学院等)联系。至于第三位传教士赛珍珠，更少有证据表明她的基督信仰究竟如何，连她小时候作出加入教会的决定，似乎也不过是跟风而已；^⑦而作者得出赛珍珠至少在担任传教士的初期是真诚的福音布道的传教士这一判断，亦仅仅给出一则信件材料作为证据而已。^⑧

笔者明白，作者在本书中尝试作出“心灵史”的研究，探讨传教士心态的历时变化，这一进路实属难得。不过笔者仍愿意“吹毛求疵”地提出与本书相反的另一因果之阐释的可能性：即这些传教士不一定是因为中国经验而促生了自由主义的倾向；相反，恰恰是他们的原初背景本身就具有自由主义的特征，后来的中国经验不过是催化了他们早已萌芽中的自由主义神学在中国发芽、生长并最终结果。

实际上，已经有学者发出质疑，尽管是从不同的角度。皮尔森(Samuel C. Pearson)对本书提出质疑：中国的民族主义和中国文化或许的确鼓励了自由派神学，但这种从保守主义向自由主义的转化，

^③ Earl H. Cressy, “Converting the Missionary,” *Asia*, June 1919, quoted in Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907–1932*, (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 207.

^④ Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907–1932*, (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), xii.

^⑤ *Ibid.*, 28.

^⑥ *Ibid.*, 62.

^⑦ *Ibid.*, 107.

^⑧ *Ibid.*, 110.

也同样发生在美国本土那些没有直面中国经验的基督徒身上；而早在 1880 年，就有美国的自由派教士宣扬佛陀和孔子是真实灵性的代言人。³⁹ 既然不具备前述三位传教士这种与中国文化和社会直接冲击的基督徒，也产生自由主义的转向，那么中国经验这个变量，究竟对于自由主义本身的产生是否有决定性的影响？

作者在本书中对此问题的回答是肯定的；但是，笔者则要在此打上一个问号。或者，换个角度来看，笔者以为作者若想更有力地证明自己的核心命题，需要进一步分析的是：为何另一些保守派、基要派的在华传教士，来到中国同样生活了许多年、与中国人相处、阅读并尝试了解中国文化以及直面中国民族主义的兴起，却似乎没有受中国经验影响，没有被中国说服，而仍然坚持唯独基督宗教的救赎才能真正地引领中国人出黑暗、入光明，因此仍然坚持福音布道作为传教的最首要任务？甚至，诞生于中国文化和中国社会之中的中国人本身，为何同样涌现出那么多保守派的信徒？裴士丹 (Daniel H. Bays) 批评本书的时候亦指出，该书给读者一种印象，即 20 世纪 30 年代以后，宣教士中的自由主义影响，仍一直延续下去；但是实际上，从那个时候开始，保守福音派正开始复兴，而这样的复兴也影响了宣教工场。⁴⁰ 因此，笔者所提的上述疑问，或许是作者以本书的“社会学式”进路解释宗教思想史的时候，必须回答的问题。

³⁹ Samuel C. Pearson, “Review: The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907 – 1932,” *Church History*, 67 (1998), 209.

⁴⁰ Daniel H. Bays, “Review: The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907 – 1932,” *The Catholic Historical Review*, 85 (1999), 145.

English Title:

The Liberal Theology as the child of Chinese experience?

——Review on Lian Xi's *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907 – 1932*

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《国学与西学：国际学刊》 (中英文双语半年刊)

投稿须知

《国学与西学国际学刊》(GUOXUE YU XIXUE Guoji Xuekan)创刊于2011年12月,由国学与西学北欧论坛(Nordic Forum of Sino – Western Studies)主办、赫尔辛基大学世界文化系宗教学中心、北京大学高等人文研究院世界宗教与普世伦理中心、与吉林大学文学院国学与西学比较研究中心协办之中英文双语学术期刊,整合北欧四国(芬兰、瑞典、挪威、丹麦)学者之力,每年于芬兰出版两期(六月及十二月出版)。栏目有:

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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.

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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:

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