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* No English abstracts and key words are provided for the foreword from the editor’s desk, book reviews and academic reports.

卷首语

卷首语 From the Editor's Desk

《国学与西学：国际学刊》创刊词

黄保罗

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鉴于全球化世界里中国的影响日渐加增，北欧与中国的空间距离已随着交通与通讯技术的发展而大大缩短。在世界最宜居国家排行榜中，北欧诸国多年来或位居榜首、或名列前茅，它们已成为多人向往的乐土。这不仅是因为其优秀的后工业化科学技术、良好的社会福利制度、人性化的民主人权状况、优美干净的自然环境，更得益于其平等博爱的社会生活、爱好和平的国际诉求与坚持中立的外交原则。宗教文化对这些国家之国民性与社会制度有重大影响，因为这四个国家都以新教的路德宗信义会为国民宗教，公民中绝大多数都是教会会友，政府、教会与公民之间的关系非常融洽。这使得北欧诸国在欧美文化圈中独具极大的优越性。

为增加北欧与中国学界的交流与联系，我们集结芬兰、瑞典、挪威、丹麦等北欧四国的学者专家之力，创办《国学与西学：国际学刊》中英文双语半年期刊（六月及十二月出版）。我们获得了赫尔辛基大学世界文化系宗教学部、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的协助，更在我们的学术顾问与特邀评委中，有幸获得许多一流的中国学者加盟。

我们在最广泛的意义上使用“国学”与“西学”这两个术语，包含了中西宗教文化与人文传统，目的是丰富中外学人的视野和知识结构，以便双方更好地相互理解，共同发展。既要打破狭隘的国学观而为建造真正宏大的国学提供平台，又要将西学也纳入当代具有大视野的国学之中而健康发展，更能为西学在中国的生存与发展进行合法化的论证。为此，结合学术神学的特点，本刊特辟五个栏目，从知识结构和学科体系建设上，来为汉语学术神学之发展建构平台。学术神学是欧美传统

卷首语

大学中的首要院系和学科，神学被称为学术之冠。不懂神学者，不可能正真了解人学，在全球化交流日增的今天，更无法理解欧美文化与社会。

这五个专栏是：“人学、神学与国学”、“实践神学与中西教会和社会”、“中西经典与圣经”、“教会历史与中西国家”、“比较宗教文化研究”。此外，我们还开设了“书评与通讯”栏目，确保及时提供学科最新信息与学者的个人观察。

本期首篇文章是本刊主编黄保罗博士从大国学的视野构建汉语学术对话神学而撰写的，旨在为国学与西学之讨论抛砖引玉。接下来是北京大学杨煦生教授探讨当代中国宗教的三个悖论之文章，敏锐地切中了时代要害。第三篇是高师宁教授关于基督教在中国被认知情况的文章。该文发表于 2011 年 6 月在瑞典斯德哥尔摩大学举办的探讨“中国宗教、信仰、国家与社会论坛”。会议期间，北欧学者得以共同探讨创办本刊之事，并决定收录高教授大作于本期。第四篇文章是北京大学孙尚扬教授与中国人民大学李丁博士关于国学热、意义匮乏与大学生对宗教的兴趣取向在北京市所作的一项调查与分析，提供了最新的资料。接下来两篇关于经典的文章是著名学者温伟耀与游斌教授撰写的，《箴言》的亚洲式解读与比较经学的提出，相信能给读者带来启发。上海师范大学的王建平教授学成于瑞典，其文探讨瑞典传教士眼中的新疆伊斯兰教与相关穆斯林社会的关系，具有独特的视角。上海大学的肖清和博士为本刊撰写了探讨明清天主教徒宗教生活与组织形式的文章，体现了作者认识明清天主教的功力。新加坡著名教授钟志邦的文章，探讨了罗马与中国的和平问题，具有极大的时效性。山东大学的佛教专家陈坚教授以自己独特的视角比较了福音与观音，并大胆提出了基督教中国化的建议，读者不一定能完全接受，但应可能刺激读者进行思考。本刊最后收录了长江学者江怡教授为黄保罗的《大国学视野中的汉语学术对话神学》撰写的书评、陈声柏、田飞与梁玉龙撰写的两个会议报告。除去个人约稿之外，下列会议为本刊提供了文章，在此一并致谢：牛津大学亚洲宗教社会研究院（Institute for Religion and Society in Asia, Oxford, UK）与北京大学希伯来与犹太研究所联合举办的“古代智慧与和谐社会国际研讨会”、兰州大学举办的第三届“宗教对话与和谐社会”学术研讨会、斯德哥尔摩“中国宗教、信仰、国家与社会论坛”、赫尔辛基大学“第一届国学与西学北欧论坛”。

卷首语

在本期创刊号即将出版之际，适逢“第一届国学与西学北欧论坛”（The First Forum of Sino-Western Studies）2011年10月在赫尔辛基大学成功举办，本刊创办者得以与中国大陆的许多著名教授探讨相关事宜，且决定将把论坛中发表的文章刊登于本刊第二期，请读者拭目以待；而孙尚扬与李丁的文章则现在于本期刊出。

学无中外，四海一家，真理面前，人人平等。使徒彼得看到上帝之爱超越种族，在到达外邦的该萨利亚人哥尼流家中时，就开口说：“我真看出神是不偏待人。原来各国中，那敬畏主行义的人都为主所悦纳”（徒 10：34-24）。宋儒陆象山有云：“东海有圣人出焉，其心同也，其理同也；南海、北海、西海有圣人出焉，其心同也，其理同也。千百世以上有圣人出焉，其心同也，其理同也；千百世以下有圣人出焉，其心同也，其理同也”。因此，古、今、中、外，东、西、南、北，都可能是发现真理之处，我们必须拥有开放与宽广的博大胸怀，才能真正地促进国学与西学的发展，才能造福于世界、北欧与中国。

2011年10月10日于赫尔辛基

卷首语

The English Title:

**The Inaugural Statement of
International Journal of Sino-Western Studies**

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人学、神学与国学

**Humanities, Theology,
and Chinese National Studies**

大国学视野中汉语学术对话神学的构建

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提要：本文旨在构建汉语学术对话神学的框架。汉语语境的多元特色促使基督教神学与中国的相遇，从传统的差传路径转变成了对话视角。笔者集中论述对话理论的同时，特别分析了汉语语言与汉语文化的一首（政权）两翼（中外）四足（本土、普世、外来而已本土化者、外来而仍在本土化过程之中者）一尾（各种新兴、细小元素）之特性，最后强调，汉语学术神学对话应该发生在基督教与儒家、道家、佛教、民间宗教、马克思主义、世俗主义、理性/科学主义等相遇者之间。此外还关注了基督教与伊斯兰教等在中国的对话。

关键词：汉语的、学术的、对话、神学、一首两翼四足一尾

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耶稣会士利玛窦（1552-1610）已去世400年，但他与儒佛的对话，至今影响着汉语基督教研究。其主要成就之一，是区分了古代儒家（原儒）与理学（近儒），特别是“天”与“上帝”的认同；并成功指出理学家负面对待基督宗教的原因。他与儒家的对话强调自然理性的中介，并应用哲学思考。¹“修养”（self-cultivation）既是他的起点，也是其最终关怀。²他的许多引自中国古典的语句已被广泛接受，并有助于表明中国传统与基督宗教的关系。³当然，其思想也有局限，特别是其时代性的西方神学家最为普遍的静态思维模式，⁴导致他反对早期儒家之外的儒家各派。不过，正如其他历代西方神学家，利翁也受到奥古斯丁（Augustine）影响；奥氏强调在慈悲上帝的关照下，基督宗教之外也能存在高尚的道德生活；这种兼容论，让利翁能认同来自原儒的价值。可从救赎论看，他又是排他论者，因为“罗马天主教会之外不存在导向救赎的其它真理”是当时教会的基本教义。⁵

¹ 利玛窦 Li Madou [Matteo Ricci], 《天主实义》 *Tianzhu shiyi* [The True Meaning of Tianzhu], 蓝克实 Lan Keshi [Douglas Lancashire] 与胡国帧 Peter Hu Kuo-chen 译, (台北 Taipei: 利氏学社 Lishi xueshe [Ricci Institute], 1985), 47-51。

² 利玛窦 Li Madou [Matteo Ricci], (Taipei: 1985), 51-52。

³ 利玛窦 Li Madou [Matteo Ricci], (Taipei: 1985), 52-53。

⁴ 参考: Jaques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*, Janet Loyd tr., (London/New York: Oxford University Press, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Melbourne /Sydney: New Rochelle Press), 212; 孙尚扬 Sun Shangyang, 《基督教与明末儒学》 *Jidujiao yu Mingmo ruxue* [Christianity and the Confucianism in the End of Ming], (北京 Beijing: 东方出版社 Dongfang chubanshe [Dongfang Press], 1994), 67-71。

⁵ 参拙著“2.1节”，见黄保罗 Huang Baoluo 著、周永 Zhou Yong 译，《儒家、基督宗教与救赎----- 附十八篇汉语学术神学对话与述评》 *Rujia, jidu zongjiao yu jiushu ---- Fu 18 pian hanyu xueshu shenxue duihua yu shuping* [Confucianism, Christianity and Salvation ---- 18 Appendices on Sino-Christian Academic Theological Dialogue and Reviews], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [The Religion and Culture Press], 2009)。本书原文英语初版于2006年，见 Paulos Huang 2006: *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation---- A Systematic Theological Analysis of the Basic Problems in the Confucian- Christian Dialogue*, Helsinki, Edita Prima Oy, Finland. 修订英文版，由 Brill 出版社于2009年在荷兰和美国重新出版，见 Paulos Huang 2009: *Confronting Confucian Understandings of the Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, Leiden & Boston: Brill。

今笔者纪念利翁，并非旨在再次评定其贡献或局限，而是基于提倡“汉语学术神学”志趣，⁶提出从大国学的视野来构建“汉语基督教学术对话神学”（Sino-Christian Academic Dialogical Theology，简称“汉语学术对话神学”）的设想。从“汉语学术对话神学的定义、对话内涵、理论基础、他者框架”四方面，追随利翁脚踪来继续和发展基督教与中国文化的对话。如此提倡的目的，是为了将基督教纳入大的中国国学之中，因为狭隘化的国学观不但排斥汉族之外55个少数民族的文化，而且会排斥历代中国从世界学习而来的已经中国化了的文化，所以厘清概念非常重要，免得不问“真道”却只问“出身”地排斥东、南、西、北海所出的圣人之道。其实，中国的国学应该能充分体现和真实反映中国的精神体系和文化价值，成为正在兴起的中国的软实力系统，对内是国民的身份认同记号，对外是世界他者欢迎接受中国的标志。⁷本文谈论汉语学术对话神学，就是从如此的大国学视野出发的。

一、汉语学术对话神学的定义

“汉语学术对话神学”（Sino-Christian Academic Dialogical Theology）是笔者提出的新概念。

所谓“汉语”有二义：汉语语言、汉语文化（即中国文化是一个“一首两翼四足一尾”的整体）。⁸汉语文化体现了中国和华人兼收并蓄的民族文化认同（National-Cultural

⁶ 黄保罗 Huang Baoluo, <<汉语学术神学---作为学科体系的基督教研究>> *Hanyu xueshu shenxue ---- Zuowei xueke tixi de jidujiao yanjiu* [Sino-Christian Academic Theology ---- The Study of Christianity as an Academic Discipline], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [The Religion and Culture Press], 2008)。

⁷ 此观点，笔者另有专门论述，参见黄保罗 Huang Baoluo, 《从基督教的观点看全球对话主义---兼与金惠敏教授对话》 *Cong jidujiao de guandian kan quanqiu duihua zhuyi ---- Jian yu Jin Huimin jiaoshou duihua* [The Global Dialogism in the Light of Christianity ---- A Dialogue with Professor Jin Huimin], 载河南大学文学院 He'nan daxue wenxueyuan [Faculty of Literature, He'nan University] 《差异》 *Chayi* [Differences], 第6期, (开封 Kaifeng: 河南大学出版社 He'nan daxue chubanshe [He'nan University Press], 2011)。黄保罗 Huang Baoluo, <<大国学视野中的汉语学术对话神学>> *Daguo xue shiye zhong de hanyu xueshu duihua shenxue* [The Sino-Christian Academic Dialogical Theology in the Light of the Great guoxue], (北京 Beijing: 民族出版社 Minzu chubanshe [Ethnic Publishing House], 2012)。

⁸ 刘孝廷 Liu Xiaoting在《文明的冲突与汇流---基督教与中国当代精神之架构》中提出中国文化为“一体两翼三足五元”之说，载王忠欣 Wang Zhongxin 主编，<<基督教与中国>> *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo* [Christianity and China], 第3辑, (恩福基金会 Enfu jijinhui [The Blessings Foundation, Inc], 2005), CA, USA. 9-30, 特别是15-16。笔者根据2007-2009年间在北京大学、武汉大学、厦门大学、中央民族大学、兰州大学和黑龙江大学等校的讲课教案，刚写完《大国学视野中的汉语学术对话神学》 *Daguo xue shiye zhong de hanyu xueshu duihua shenxue* [The Sino-Christian Academic Dialogical Theology in the Light of the Great guoxue] 书稿。除去“新三位一体”（“马克思主义”、“中国传统文化”与“以基督教为代表的西方文化”）之外，笔者曾试图用“一首两翼七足一尾”的“龙”图腾来描述当代中国文化中的诸元素：以“邓三科”（邓小平理论、三个代表和科学发展观）为核心的中国特色的马克思主义是当代中国文化中居于领导地位的“首”，而所有的当代中国文化的构成元素都可以分成“中、外”两“翼”，“七足”则是“儒、佛、道、民间信仰、科学理性、世俗主义和基督教”，而少数民族宗教信仰及其他则可以归“尾”之中。笔者于2009年6月在兰州大学举办的“第二届宗教对话与和谐社会学术研讨会”上就此发言之后，遇到了两方面的挑战，一则有人担心把中国文化描述为“龙”图腾，虽然生动形象，却有可能被误解为《圣经》所云的邪恶象征之“古龙”；二则少数民族的朋友会觉得把自己的宗教信仰归入“尾”可能有被轻视之感，虽然笔者如此划分的本意是基于这些宗教信仰的影响地域性而非全国性。其实，如此误解实无必要，因为龙可被理解为兼收并蓄的集大成者而非“怪物”。后来在厦门大学有听者建议可以把当代中国文化图腾化为“一首两足八羽”的“凤凰”（或“孔雀”），但此比喻可能带来阴性、阳性之争及女权主义的疑虑，首先，针对“龙”的阳性而言，“凤”一般被视为雌性；其次，在“凤求凰”的故事中，“凤”却为雄性，“凰”

Identity)，其中各元素（包括基督教）都是不可分割的组成部分；在此语境中展开基督教与其他元素之间的对话，各方都不应被盲目排斥。“一首”是政权，在当代种的表现，乃是“邓三科”（邓小平思想、三个代表和科学发展观）。基督教若不与此首恰当对话而处理好关系，将会遇到很多困难。“两翼”是中外两大文化源头：一翼是以儒释道等为主要的中国传统（传统的、现代的，书面的、口头的，精英的、民间的大传统和小传统等），另一翼是西方的元素。“四足”则是“本土化之足（如儒、道、民间信仰等），普世性之足（如世俗主义、科学理性等），外来而本土化之足（如佛教）和外来而仍在本土化之足（如基督教和伊斯兰教等），一尾则指其他新兴元素。

所谓“学术的”（academic）⁹，指非“教会的”（ecclesiastical），即中国大陆学术界神学而非教会神学（Church Theology），其最高评判标准不是教会教义或信条信经，而是学术科学的理性，即逻辑推理等。

所谓“基督教的”（Christian）是限定“汉语基督教学术对话神学”的重要定语。它关于上帝的理性言说，与上帝的话语<<圣经>>（the words of God）和基督事件（the event of Jesus Christ, the incarnation of the Word of God）密切相关；因此，它不是其它宗教神学、一般人文性或哲学性的言说。“神学”（theology）一词自柏拉图率先使用，古希腊时代，就被视为关于上帝的言说；不少人基于对希腊语“逻各斯”（logos）的理解，把它更加明确为“关于神的理性言说”。教父时代以来，神学变成了关于基督教上帝的理性言说，而安瑟伦定义其为“信仰寻求理解”（faith seeking understanding），即把基督教的信仰用人们可以理解的方式表述出来。宗教改革时代则把神学化约为“教义学”。近现代理性主义促使了“学术神学”和“教会神学”之分。学术神学既可继承教父神学和宗教改革神学，强调使用理性和学术的语言，同时是认信的；也可是用人文学的方法来研究基督教的上帝，乃非认信的。教会神学则是认信的，强调使用信仰的语言而非理性的学术语言。自1990年代中期，根据汉语世界的问题意识和文化资源，“汉语神学”（Sino-Christian Theology）应运而生，其特点则是突出神学的“学术性”而淡化其“教会性”。

则为雌性；第三，“凤凰”本身往往被理解为雌性，如云“鸡窝里飞出了一只金凤凰”、“山沟里飞出了一只金凤凰”。比较稳妥的说法，可称中国当代文化有一个“中心”（首=邓三科）、“两个基本点”（中、外）和“八个元素”（儒、佛、道、民间信仰、科学理性、世俗主义、基督教和少数民族宗教信仰）等；但这个描述过于单调而缺少生动性和形象感。当然读者也许会对这些元素的数量本身产生不同意见，因为“中国文化”是一个内涵丰富的概念，需要仔细界定。

⁹“学术”表示系统专门的学问，泛指高等教育和研究，在现代语境中理性成了学术的根本性标准。对应的英文词 Academia 更常指进行高等教育和研究的科学与文化群体，相当于“学术界”或“学府”。Academia 来自古雅典外围的地名（Akademeia），那里的体育馆曾由于被柏拉图改为学习中心而闻名。延伸开来，Academia 也可指“知识积累”，可译为“学术”，其发展和传播跨越几个时代。在17世纪，英国及法国的宗教学者常用学院（或学园）来表示高等教育机构。英语称为 academy，法语称为 academe 及 academie。在18世纪的殖民地美国，学术界开始从基督教分裂出来。18世纪，欧洲的学院开始改变。19世纪初，“洪堡理念”（Friedrich Wilhelm Christian Carl Ferdnant von Humboldt, 1767-1835）强调教育的独立性、创造性、完整性及通用性。参考维基百科网页。

“汉语学术神学”乃笔者的提倡，在今天的汉语语境中，是以人文学姿态出现而使用理性学术语言表述的神学。一方面，它不同于教会神学，强调“学术性”而非“教会性”；但二者在“认信”意义上仍有一些相同之处，即它涵括“认信神学”的立场、观点和方法，与中国大陆学术界所说的宗教学意义为主的“学术神学”有明显差别。¹⁰另一方面，作为汉语神学的一个分支，它使用理性和学术的语言，拥有介于认信和非认信之间的模糊。

因此，“汉语学术对话神学”，是以“对话”为核心思路在汉语语境中用学术理性的方式所构建的基督教与汉语元素之间对话的神学。

二、对话神学的内涵

“对话神学”（Dialogical Theology）以“对话”为核心，超越了基督教传统的差传学（Missiology）路径。这与克卢尼（Francis X. Clooney）¹¹、弗雷德里克斯（James L. Fredericks）¹²和沃德（Keith Ward）¹³所说的“比较神学”（Comparative Theology），及潘尼卡（Raimon Pannikar）所说的“内比哲学”（Imperative Philosophy）和“对话哲学”（Dialogical Philosophy）相似。¹⁴

基督教自从诞生起，就处于面对许多他者的境地。但其发展历史就是一部传教史，她主要通过“差传”以基督教的福音去同化和取代他者。特别是19和20世纪以来，差传活动一直不断，其中遇到的问题就成了差传学研究的核心内容。

可是，从1960年代以来，在价值观念日益多元化的世界上兴起了一股强烈反对基督教会差传工作的运动；“多元”、“对话”等概念不断地挑战甚至代替“传教”，“传教”被认为只是处理不同宗教间关系的多种选择途径之一而非唯一选择。对教会来说，如何用世人容易理解的语言和方式为自己拥有差传事工的权力和必要性进行科学的论述，就非常重要。因此，实践之外，“差传学”理论建设也积极发展。

¹⁰ 卓新平 Zhuo Xinping: “序”，载黄保罗 Huang Baoluo, (北京 Beijing: 2008, 321)。

¹¹ Clooney, Francis X., “Comparative Theology: A Review of Recent Books (1989-1995)”, in *Theological Studies*, vol. 56, (1995), 521. 参考苏远泰 Su Yuantai, 《门外鲜花芬芳：克卢尼的比较神学初探》 Menwai xianhua fengfang: Keluni de bijiao shenxue chutan [The Outside Flowers Smell Well: A Preliminary Exploration of Clooney's Comparative Theology], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编, <<比较神学与对话理论>>, (桂林 Guilin: 广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe [Guangxi Normal University Press], 2008), 17-37。

¹² Fredericks, James. L., *Buddhists and Christians: Through Comparative Theology to Solidarity*, (New York: Orbis Book, 2004), 98.

¹³ Ward, Keith 1994: *Religion and Revelation*, London: Clarendon Press, 48. 参赖品超 Lai Pinchao, 《比较神学与汉语神学》 *Bijiao shenxue yu hanyu shenxue* [The Comparative Theology and the Sino-Christian Theology], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编, (2008), 1-16.

¹⁴ Pannikar, “Hermeneutics of Comparative Religion: Paradigms and Models”, in *The Journal of Dharma*, Vol. V., No.1 (1980), 45-46. 思竹 Si Zhu, 《从比较哲学到对话哲学：寻求跨宗教对话的内在平台》 Cong bijiao zhexue dao duihua zhexue: Xunqiu kuazongjiao duihua de neizai pingtai [From the Comparative Philosophy to the Dialogical Philosophy: Seeking for the Internal Platform of the Cross-religious Dialogue], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编, (2008), 44-46。

“基督教对话神学”兴起，是最近几十年之事，它强调以“双向、平等”和“互益”等方式代替“差传学”（Missiology）的“单向、不对等”和单方受益的“救赎”思路。¹⁵

“对话神学”，从基督教的立场说，就是尝试进入与他者的对话之中，以一种他者能懂的方式表达自身的信仰；学术对话神学主要是内在对话（interior dialogue），即通过同一个研究者阅读不同宗教的经典来进行。对内责任是研究者在对话中学懂以新的词汇和概念来表达自己的信仰，对外责任则是回应被他者误解之处。¹⁶

一方面，它不同于“宗教比较学”（Comparative Religions，或“宗教研究” Scientific Study of Religions），因为后者力求客观而不表现出信仰身份，却追求广泛有效地认识每个宗教的特点。对话神学家则主张放弃这种自称中立而实际上不可能的比较，确立一种以各个宗教本身为根基而又始终保持开放性（an open-ended）、多元性（an pluralistic）和自我批判性（a self-critical）的立场。¹⁷

另一方面，对话神学也不同于“诸宗教神学”（Theology of Religions），因为后者是从基督徒自身的信仰出发去反省其他宗教信仰，即以基督教神学架构为标准去探索其他宗教，所使用的概念和术语都是基督教神学的，如上帝论、基督论、救赎论、末世论等。¹⁸

对话神学象克卢尼、沃德等人所说的“比较神学”一样，其明确起点是站在某个宗教立场，¹⁹因为无人可以独立于所有的宗教之外找到一个立足点，去客观地与他者对话或对不同的宗教进行比较；任何人都无法完全不带任何信念的价值中立的观照点（vantage point），都无法从一块白板（tabula rasa）开始，用不偏不倚的理性选择所有信念，即使是人文学者也受到“理性”的限制。²⁰但为了使对话神学“能在进行一种委身的，甚至具有认信色彩的神学的同时，又能尊重所比较的宗教的他者性，而不至于让比较神学沦为出于对自身的宗教或神学传统的自大或不满意的投射，对其他宗教作夸张的美化或丑化，又或不顾别的宗教传统的完整来进行断章取义的挪用”；²¹笔者通过提出“对话神学”而多元地理解“对话”来超越“比较神学”可能遇到的上述弊端。

¹⁵ 黄保罗 Huang Baoluo, (2008), 389-393。

¹⁶ Clooney, Francis X., *Hindu God, Christian God: How Reason Helps Break Down the Boundaries between Religions* (印度教的上帝、基督教的上帝：理性如何有助瓦解宗教间的界限), (New York: Oxford Press, 2001), 166-168, 169-172。

¹⁷ 这与潘尼卡（Raimon Panikkar）所说的宗教内对话（intrareligious dialogue）一致。Pannikar, “Hermeneutics of Comparative Religion: Paradigms and Models”, in *The Journal of Dharma*, Vol. V., No.1 (1980), 38, 45-46. Keith Ward, *Religion and Revelation*, (London: Clarendon Press, 1994), 48.

¹⁸ Clooney, Francis X., “Comparative Theology: A Review of Recent Books (1989-1995)”, in *Theological Studies*, No. 56 (1995), 521. Clooney, Francis X., *Theology after Vedanta: An Experiment in Comparative Theology*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 7, 193.

¹⁹ 其他宗教也可以从自己的立场出发来构建伊斯兰教对话神学、佛教对话神学、道教对话神学等。

²⁰ 沃德 Wode [Keith Ward] 著、李宜静 Li Jingyi 译，《神学作为一门比较的学科》 *Shenxue zuowei yimen bijiao de xueke* [Theology as a Comparative Academic Discipline], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编, (2008), 76。

²¹ 赖品超 Lai Pinchao, 《比较神学与汉语神学》 *Bijiao shenxue yu hanyu shenxue* [The Comparative Theology and the Sino-Christian Theology], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编, (2008), 12。

基督教对话神学要求尽可能客观地认识其他宗教，强调使用该宗教自身术语和概念，拒绝以基督教神学架构去限制其他宗教表述自己的信仰。²²但因主要是西方人从事对该项工作，其能否真正地让非基督教的他者说话就值得怀疑。²³为此，笔者强调“对话神学”不仅为了通过对他者的理解来更好地理解 and 表述自身基督教信仰，²⁴而且为了使基督教信仰在他者语境中不被误解；所以，它不但是理论神学，而且带有实践色彩。

对话神学是建构性神学（Constructive Theology），它不只满足于认识其他宗教或与自身相比较，而是通过其资源和进路寻求“形式相似的等价物”（homeomorphism）²⁵来进行比较之后，以他者为借鉴来改变原来的传统，建构新的神学思维，重新表述自身的信仰，²⁶其本质是“宗教内对话”（intrareligious dialogue），²⁷符合“信仰寻求理解”的神学定义。²⁸

三、构建汉语学术对话神学的理论基础

“对话”是“汉语学术对话神学”的根本特点，强调对话性和开放性，而非独唱性或封闭性。在汉语语境中的对话神学的构建，需要以对话理论的研究为基础。

探讨“宗教相遇“或”宗教关系”可有多种视角、方法、动机，在两方或更多方之间进行互动性交谈（a reciprocal conversation between two or more entities）的“对话”（dialogue, dialog），是处理基督教与中国文化关系的方式之一。该词希腊语的原文为 διά（diá, through, 通过，凭借）+ λόγος（logos, word, speech, 言），表示“在关系之间或之中的意思的流淌”（“the flow of meaning between or in a relationship”）。请注意词头“διά-”（diá-

²² Clooney, Francis X., *Theology after Vedanta: An Experiment in Comparative Theology*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 7. Clooney, Francis X., *Hindu God, Christian God: How Reason Helps Break Down the Boundaries between Religions*, (New York: Oxford Press, 2001), 193.

²³ D'Costa, Gavin, "Book Review: Theology after Vedanta: An Experiment in Comparative Theology", in *Modern Theology*, No. 10. (1994), 431-432.

²⁴ 比较神学的预设“对自我的理解来自对他人更好的理解”（尼特 Nite [Knitter] 著、王志成 Wang Zhicheng 译，<<宗教对话模式>> *Zongjiao duihua moshi* [The Mode of Religious Dialogue], (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China], 2004), 260) 遭到多人怀疑，因每个宗教自身神学传统的研究可能比对他者的理解更重要，正如内因总比外因更重要。笔者所提出的对话神学，并不说他者更重要，而说他者是自身生存、交流和发展的语境和伙伴，与他者对话是必需的。

²⁵ 潘尼卡 Pannika [Raimon Panikkar] 著、王志成 Wang Zhicheng、思竹 Si Zhu 译，<<宗教内对话>> *Zongjiao nei duihua* [Intrareligious dialogue], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [The Religion and Culture Press], 2001), 88. 思竹 Si Zhu, 《从比较哲学到对话哲学：寻求跨宗教对话的内在平台》 *Cong bijiao zhexue dao duihua zhexue: Xunqiu kuazongjiao duihua de neizai pingtai* [From the Comparative Philosophy to the Dialogical Philosophy: Seeking for the Internal Platform of the Corss-religious dialogue], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编 2008: 页 46-51。

²⁶ Clooney, Francis X., "Comparative Theology: A Review of Recent Books (1989-1995)", in *Theological Studies*, No. 56 (1995), 522.

²⁷ 潘尼卡 Panika [Raimon Panikkar] 著、王志成 Wang Zhicheng、思竹 Si Zhu 译, (2001), 第二章“对话的对话”。

²⁸ 参苏远泰 Su Yuantai, 《门外鲜花芬芳：克卢尼的比较神学初探》 *Menwai xianhua fenfang: Kuluni de bijiao shenxue chutan* [The Outside Flowers Smell Well: A Preliminary Exploration of Clooney's Comparative Theology], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编, (2008), 23.

through, 经过, 凭借) 不同于 “ $\delta\iota$ -” (di-, two, 二), 因此对话参与者可以多于二。在对话中, 出现“意思在我们之间流淌” (a flow of meaning between us)。²⁹ “对话”与“比较”(Comparison)³⁰、“对比”(Contrast)³¹、“讨论”(Discussion)³²、“辩论”(Debate)³³和“协商或谈判”(Negotiation)³⁴等概念既不同又相关。汉语学术对话神学, 需要在汉语语境中找到对话伙伴(他者), 弄清对话信息(语词和意思), 确定对话类型, 等等。

对话的类型: 根据参与者数目, 宗教对话可分成“双方对话”, “三方对话”或“多方对话”。根据参与者类型, 可分成两类: 1) 宗教间对话 (Inter-Religious Dialogue), 即不同宗教之间的对话。它又可以分成两个次类: 1a) 不同宗教的代表之间的外在对话 (External/Explicit Religious Dialogue) 和 1b) 同一个人代表不同宗教的内在对话 (Internal/Psychological-Religious Dialogue); 2) 参与者内在的宗教内对话 (Intra-Religious Dialogue), 即经过其它宗教的对照和冲击之后, 参与者对自身信仰进行再评估, 甚至改变自身信仰的内涵。³⁵ 另外, 作为某个宗教内的对话, 如基督教各个宗派之间也可以进行对话而被称为“普世神学”(Ecumenical theology)。汉语学术对话神学, 可包括上述各种类型, 这主要取决于研究者的意愿、目的和可能性等。

对话的代表性、目的、层次、中心、态度、模型、责任、比较材料和研究方法、益处和注意事项等也是需要注意的理论问题。

对话的代表性问题促使我们注意“基督教”和“中国文化”概念内涵的多义性。我们所选择的、所面对的“基督徒”或“中国文化”的“代表”是否拥有代表性? 若有, 我们会清楚其代表性有多大? 若没有, 原因是为什么? 因此, 概念分析和界定非常重要, 否则, 对话者虽然使用相同的术语, 所表示的意思将仍然可能是互不相同甚至互相矛盾。

对话有不同的目的, 可能求同(如宗教合一运动普世神学), 求异(批评和排他的民族主义或自以为义), 求理解(客观中立的聆听), 求真理(判断何方正确何方错误)。但上述各类对话中的参与者或学者潜藏的“前见”都会影响对话, 因此, 学术性研究中, 宗教对话的首要目标(goal)应该是寻求理解(understanding)。

²⁹ 黄保罗 Huang Baoluo, (2008), 407-414.

³⁰ “比较”(Comparison) 可对相类似或相同主题中的差异进行研究和表述。

³¹ 对比(contrast) 可指事物之间的差异(dissimilarity or difference)。

³² 从希腊语原文看, “Discussion”、“percussion”和“concession”的词根都和“discus”相关, 表示“to throw, fragment, shatter”。所以, “讨论”(discussion) 就像把“观点”扔来扔去, 一个“整体的观点”常常被肢解得支离破碎而变成而很多点或部分, 试图在某一点上让他方信服自己是正确的。

³³ “对话”旨在“学习”(learning), “辩论”旨在“获胜”(winning)。

³⁴ “协商或谈判”是通过讨论互相妥协而达成一个双方都可以接受的结果。

³⁵ 参 赖品超 Lai Pinchao, <<近代中国佛教与基督宗教的相遇>> *Jindai Zhongguo fojiao yu jidu zongjiao de xiangyu* [The Encounter between Modern Chinese Buddhism and Christianity], (香港 Xianggang: 道风书社 Daofeng shushe [Logos & Pneuma Press], 2003), 17-18.

对话有很多益处，除去强化自身对对方的理解、通过理解对方而更好地理解自己、双方都丰富自身之外，更基础性的益处是寻求理解，即“我自己理解我是谁”和“对方理解我是谁”。比如，弄清楚中国文化的代表者如何理解基督教的教义，基督教可以获得反馈信息；通过比较和分析中国文化代表者的理解与基督宗教（新教、罗马天主教等）的自我理解是否吻合，将会发现二者是否有误解。

对话的层次可能是实践的，也可能是教义理论的。

对话的中心可能是：1) 教会中心（即“教会外无拯救”），2) 基督中心（即“真正能救赎人的只有基督”），3) 上帝中心（即“所有宗教都是崇拜同一上帝或所有宗教都是终极实在的反映”），4) 实在（或终极存在）中心，5) 问题（实践）中心（如关注地球上的苦难、生态等问题）；6) 生命中心，等。³⁶

对话的态度可能是排他主义（Exclusivism）³⁷、包容主义（Inclusivism）³⁸ 和多元主义（Pluralism）³⁹，这是拉色（Alan Race, 1946-）⁴⁰ 所做的三分法。排他主义认为只有自己才是符合真理的。包容主义也称兼容主义，认为自己正确，但其他的宗教中也有部分真理。多元主义则认为每一个宗教都是合理的。笔者认为：多元主义是变相的包容主义，而包容主义的实质是排他主义。自从希克等人提出多元主义以来，所有宗教的本质都被认为是一样的、只是同一个“真理”的不同表现和反应。⁴¹ 这种以康德式的“物自体”与“现象”区分为根基的理论预设，也受到了很多人的批评，黑姆（Mark Heim）就强调诸种宗教的目的本身并不相同。⁴²

³⁶ 王志成 Wang Zhicheng, 《解释、理解与宗教对话》 *Jieshi, Lijie yu zongjiao duihua* [Interpretation, Understanding and Religious Dialogue], (北京: 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [The Religion and Culture Press], 2007), 17-34.

³⁷ 巴特（Karl Barth）被认为是排他主义的代表神学家，反对“社会福音运动”认为耶稣基督是唯一的真理。

³⁸ 拉纳尔（Karl Rahner, 1904-1984）是包容主义神学家代表，其“匿名基督徒”神学思想直接影响了二梵会议。克莱梅尔（Hendrik Kraemer, 1888-1965）和布鲁纳尔（Emil Brunner, 1889-1966）提出的“破碎的玻璃”比喻，肯定其他宗教的存在，但仍以基督教为中心，认为真理是一种光，基督教是真光，而其他宗教只有真理的光点即局部。参考 Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1938); *World Cultures and World Religions: The Coming Dialogue*, (James Clarke Company, 1999); *Religion and the Christian Faith*, (James Clarke Company, 2002)。Brunner & Brunner, *Christianity and Civilization*, 2 vol., (Ams Pr Inc, 1948-1949)。德考斯塔（Gavin D'Costa）和 Dupuis 对多元主义有所批评，主张包容主义；参 Gavin D'Costa ed., *Christian Uniqueness Reconsidered*, (New York: Orbis Books, 1990) 和 Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Book, 1997)。

³⁹ 希克是多元主义的主要代表，参考希克 2005。现在多认为，不同宗教的终极目标和信仰对象并不同，参潘尼卡（Raimon Panikkar）著，王志成 Wang Zhicheng、思竹 Si Zhu 译，<<看不见的和谐>> *Kan bujian de hexie* [The Invisible Harmony], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [The Religion and Culture Press], 2005)。John B. Cobb, *Beyond Dialogue: Towards a Mutual Transformation of Christianity and Buddhism*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1982); *Transforming Christianity and the World: A Way beyond Absolutism and Relativism*, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1999)。Heim, *Salvations: Truth and Difference in Religion*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995)。林贝克 Lin Beike [George Lindbeck], <<教义的本质>> *Jiaoyi de benzhi* [The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Postliberal Age], (香港 Xianggang: 道风书社 Daofeng shushe [Logos & Pneuma Press], 1997)。

⁴⁰ Race, Alan, *Christians and religious pluralism: Patterns in the Christian theology of religions*, (SCM: London, 1983)。

⁴¹ 希克 Xike [Hick] 著，王志成 Wang Zhicheng 译，<<多名的上帝>> *Duoming de Shangdi* [God Has Many Names], (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe [The Press of Renmin University of China], 2005)。

⁴² Heim, Mark, *The Depth of the Riches: A Trinitarian Theology of Religious Ends*. Sacra Doctrina Series, (Grand Rapids, Mich. and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001)。

因此，希克 (John Hick) 的多元主义所遵循的是“认知-命题的路径方法” (Cognitive-Propositional Approach)，主张描述客观的涉及超自然实在的真理，通过宗教命题来增加人们的确切知识或传递真实信息。此外，还有以施莱尔马赫 (Schleiermacher) 为代表的“经验-体现的路径方法” (Experiential-Expressive Approach) 和林贝克 (Lindbeck) 主张的“文化-语言的路径方法” (Cultural-Linguistic Approach) 等。第四个值得关注的态度是个殊论 (Particularism)，它强调自身的特殊之处，只否定他人坚持他们的信仰也具有同基督教信仰相同的真理的看法，而不否定他人坚持不同信仰的权利。⁴³

对话的模式根据保罗·尼特 (Paul Knitter, 1939-) 的四分法，有置换模式 (德科斯塔 Gavin D'Costa 和杜布斯 Jacques Dupuis 为代表)、成全模式 (拉纳 Karl Rahner 为代表)、互益模式 (希克 John Hick、潘尼卡 Raimon Panikkar 和尼特 Paul Knitter 为代表) 和接受模式 (林贝克 George Lindbeck 和黑姆 Mark Heim 为代表)。⁴⁴

对话的模型可能是：地理学、物理学、几何学、拓扑学、人类学、神秘主义等。从拓扑学模型看，可在不同宗教之间寻找相似性等价物 (如《圣经》的上帝可否与中国的上帝“同化”的问题，二者关系可描述为“相似”和“约等于”，而不是简单地等同或不同)。

对话的责任则有内外之分：对内责任指神学家在对话中学会认识和表述自身信仰；对外责任则是神学家在对话中需回应被其他宗教误解之处，旨在说清楚自己所代表的宗教信仰传统，不停地为信仰增加让人理解的论据，使外人也能明白其独特核心。

根据比较材料和研究方法，宗教对话可分成：1) 研究各种宗教传统的比较宗教学 (Comparative Religion)，主要通过旁观立场使用比较方法，寻求共性，判断各方宗教的优劣。2) 以“人的信仰天赋”为研究对象的诸宗教神学 (Theology of Religions)，主要从某一宗教立场出发，使用多种方法寻求异性或共性，目的为评判优劣或为了理解。

宗教对话要注意的是：不急于下结论，要先努力理解问题，而不是马上解决问题；分析自己的前见，同时也尊重他方的前见；辨认自己的对话动机；倾听是学习和理解的核心。

四、构建汉语学术对话神学的他者框架

“汉语学术对话神学”的构建，需要在对话理论基础上，以“汉语语言”和“汉语文化”中的他者为框架。在今天“一首两翼四足一尾”的汉语文化整体中，与基督教进行对话的他者，就是其中的“马克思主义”之首、“中华”之翼和“儒家、道家、佛教、中国民间信

⁴³ 黄保罗 Huang Baoluo, (2008), 365-371。

⁴⁴ 尼特 Nite [Knitter] 著、王志成 Wang Zhicheng 译, (2004), 见上。

仰、科学理性以及畅通全球的世俗性”等七“元”。

基督教与马克思主义的对话：来源于西方脱胎于基督教的马克思主义，经过儒家式的改造之后，在中国获得了统治地位，是今天中国的“首脑”和“领导者”。从政治和政权上说，它继承了中国传统的“普天之下，莫非王土；率土之滨，莫非王臣”的“政主教从”模式，决定了基督教在中国与马克思主义之间的根本性关系。这种政治神学的研究，是汉语学术对话神学无法回避的核心内容，否则，基督教的生存和发展都会遇到困难。马克思主义无神论与有神论的对话则更是汉语学术对话神学中的重要内容。此外，马克思主义曾经在中国阻碍过基督教的生存和发展，但历经五四运动、现代革命、文化大革命及过去三十年的改革开放，它在批判宗教的同时还彻底地冲击了中国的传统文化和本土信仰，这在一定程度上又为基督教在中国的发展铺平了道路。因此，二者关系错综复杂。

基督教与儒家的对话：自唐朝景教入华，从书面文献而言，儒家就一直是基督教在华的主要对话伙伴。笔者曾把这些与基督教进行积极对话的儒家分为三批：新理学儒家（唐、宋、元、明、清）、文化民族主义儒家（义和团运动中的儒家、20世纪初非基运动中的儒家及其后代的跟随者）和现当代儒家（包括海外新儒学、波士顿儒家和基督徒儒家等孟派和荀派）⁴⁵。这些对话研究可从教义和理论层面进行，也可从实践和社会层面进行，⁴⁶还可以某些问题（如生态与和谐）为核心来进行。⁴⁷

基督教与道家的对话：这可从教义、社会实践或以某些问题（如人与自然的的关系）为

⁴⁵ Paulos Huang 2006: 见上。

⁴⁶ 澳门利氏学社 Aomen Lishi xueshe [Macau Ricci Institute]、台北利氏学社 Taibei Lishi xueshe [Taipei Ricci Institute] 多年来积极推进这类对话。国际间召开多次儒基对话会议，“信义宗世界联合会”的“神学视域中的其它信仰”（Theological Perspectives in Other Faiths）纲要和“儒学工作组总结报告”于1996年曼谷全球咨询会发表。赖品超 Lai Pinchao 与李景雄 Li Jingxiong 于2001年出版了《耶儒对话新里程》*Yeru duihua xin licheng* [The New Mileage of Christian-Confucian Dialogue]，赖品超 Lai Pinchao 后来出版《基督宗教与儒家对话生命与伦理》*Jidu zongjiao yu rujia duitan shengming yu lunli* [The Dialogue between Christianity and Confucianism on Life and Ethics]，何光沪 He Guanghu 与许志伟 Xu Zhiwei 1992 出版《对话：儒释道与基督教》，*Duihua: Ru, shi, dao yu jidujiao* [Dialogue: Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism and Christianity]，（世界宗教博物馆发展基金会 *Shijie zongjiao bowuguan fazhan jijinhui* [The Developing Foundation of World's Religious Museums]）。何光沪 He Guanghu 与许志伟 Xu Zhiwei 出版《对话二：儒释道与基督教》*Duihua 2: Ru, shi, dao yu jidujiao* [Dialogue 2: Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism and Christianity]，（北京 Beijing: 社会科学文献出版社 *Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe* [China Social Sciences Academic Press], 2001）。许志伟 Xu Zhiwei 与赵敦华 Zhao Dunhua 出版《冲突与互补：基督教哲学在中国》*Chongtu yu hubu: Jidujiao zhexue zai Zhongguo* [Conflict and Complementary: Christian Philosophy in China]（北京 Beijing: 社会科学文献出版社 *Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe* [China Social Sciences Academic Press], 2000）。《景风》（*Ching Feng*）、罗明嘉 Luo Mingjia [Miikka Ruokanen] 与黄保罗 Huang Baoluo 主编的《基督教与中国文化——关于中国处境神学的中国-北欧会议论文集》*Jidujiao yu Zhongguo wenhua ---- Guanyu Zhongguo chujing shenxue de Zhongguo-Beiou huiyi lunwenji* [Christianity and Chinese Culture ---- Collection of Articles from the Sino-Nordic Conference on the Chinese Contextual Theology] 中也包含这方面的内容。2007年5月30日至6月1日香港浸会大学的罗秉祥教授 Luo Bingxiang 与山东大学一起在香港组织了“当代语境下的儒耶对话：思想与实践”学术研讨会，邀请了港、台、大陆和美国的学者参加。

⁴⁷ 赖品超 Lai Pinchao、林宏星 Lin Hongxing, <<儒耶对话与生态关怀>> *Ru Ye duihua yu shengtai guanhuai* [The Confucian-Christian Dialogue and Ecological Concern]，（北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 *Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe* [The Religion and Culture Press], 2008）。

核心来进行，⁴⁸ 但这类对话比较少。2004年四川大学举办了“基督教与道教伦理之比较”国际会议，何除与林庆华将其中的20篇论文主编成册 2006年在四川大学出版社出版。其中涉及了基督宗教和道教的一般伦理、基督宗教伦理与道教伦理的比较、性伦理、基督宗教成圣观与道教成仙观比较等。⁴⁹

基督教与佛教的对话：佛教作为来源于印度而在中国扎根的宗教，在唐朝时就与景教关系密切，以至于很多华人误将二者等同起来。其后宋元时代，二者关系详情今已所知不多，但明朝末清初二者多有交锋，互相批评较多。近代以来，二者又是多次相遇，批评之外，也开始了真诚对话。赖品超等编有文集对此有专门介绍，除去二者相遇的总体情况之外，张纯一、徐颂石和许地山等都有人专门研究。⁵⁰ 日本的阿部正雄对耶佛对话、苏远泰对张纯一的佛化基督教神学、邓绍光等人对大乘神学都有研究。⁵¹ 挪威传教士艾香德（Karl Ludvig Reichelt）关于佛耶对话的实践，则更引起学者们广泛关注。⁵²

基督教与中国民间信仰的对话：功利主义和多元化是中国民间信仰的重要特色。首先，在书面文献和社会精英阶层之外，在汉语语境中它们作为基督教的他者是实在而具体的，中国近代历史中的许多基督教与中国人冲突的教案中都有民间信仰的参与。其次，参杂了民间信仰的民间叛乱如太平天国运动，对基督教进行了改造和利用。第三，在“华夷”之争和历代的狭隘民族主义浪潮中，民间信仰往往是抵制和反对来源于外国的基督教的中坚力量。第四，在当代中国社会中，通过田野调查的办法来研究民间信仰与基督教的关系，将会

⁴⁸ 毛丽娅, Mao Liya, <<道教与基督教生态思想比较研究>> *Daojiao yu jidujiao shengtai sixiang bijiao yanjiu* [A Comparative Study on the Ecological Thinkings of Daoism and Christianity], (巴蜀书社 Bashu shushe, 2007)。金东焕 Jin Donghuan, 《从道家‘无为’的视角看路德的称义论》 *Cong daojia wuwei de shijiao kan Lude de chengyilun* [Luther's Theory of Justification in the Light of Daoist Wuwei], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编, (2008), 189-208。

⁴⁹ 何除 He Chu 与林庆华 Lin Qinghua 主编, (<<基督教与道教伦理思想研究>> *Jidujiao yu daojiao lunli sixiang yanjiu* [A Study of the Ethic Thoughts of Christianity and Daoism]), (成都 Chengdu: 四川大学社出版 Sichuan University Press, 2006)。

⁵⁰ 赖品超 Lai Pinchao 编, <<近代中国佛教与基督宗教的相遇>> *Jindai zhongguo fojiao yu jidujiao de xiangyu* [The Encounter between Modern Chinese Buddhism and Chrsitianity], (2003), 见上。重版见赖品超 Lai Pinchao 编, <<佛耶对话：近代中国佛教与基督宗教的相遇>> *Foye duihua: Jindai zhongguo fojiao yu jidu zongjiao de xiangyu* [Buddhist-Chrsitian Dialogue: The Encounter between Modern Chinese Buddhism and Chrsitianity], (北京 Beijing: 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe [The Religion and Culture Press], 2008)。

⁵¹ 赖品超 Lai Pinchao, 《对基督教与中国佛教相遇的历史反省》 *Dui jidujiao yu zhong fojiao xiangyu de lishi fansheng* [A Reflection on the history of encounter between Christianity and Chinese Buddhism], 载罗明嘉 Luo Mingjia [Miikka Ruokanen]、黄保罗 Huang Baoluo 主编, (2004), 169-183。赖贤宗 Lai Xianzong, 《论阿部正雄的海德格与禅的比较研究与佛基对话》 *Lun Abuzhengxiong de Haidege yu Chan de bijiao yanjiu yu foji duihua* [On Masao Abe's Study of Heidegger and Zen, and Buddhist-Christian Dialogue], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编, (2008), 133-150。邓绍光 Deng Shaoguang, 《大乘神学的再思》 *Dacheng shenxue de zaisi* [Re-reflection on the Mahayana Theology], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编, (2008), 151-169。李智浩 Li Zhihao, 《从〈大乘起信论〉思考基督神人二性的联合》 *Cong Dachengqixinlun sikao jidu shenren erxing de lianhe* [Reflection on Christ's Unity between Humanity and Divinity from the *Mahayana-sraddhot pada-sastra*], 载赵林 Zhao Lin、杨熙楠 Yang Xi'nan 主编, (2008), 170-188。吴言生 Wu Yansheng、赖品超 Lai Pinchao、王晓朝 Wang Xiaochao 主编, (<<佛教与基督教对话>> *Fojiao yu jidujiao duihua* [The Dialogue between Buddhism and Christianity]), (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju, 2005)。刘海 Liu Hai 编译, <<当佛陀遇上基督>> *Dang Fotuo yushang Jidu* [When Buddha meets Christ], (西安 Xi'an: 陕西师范大学出版社 Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2006)。

⁵² Eric J. Sharper, *Karl Ludvig Reichelt: Missionary, Scholar & Pilgrim*, (Hong Kong: Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre, 1984)。

非常有意义。⁵³

基督教与世俗性的对话：世俗性以物质主义、消费主义和对此生此世的关注位核心，变成了世界性全球化现象；它们对注重精神彼岸的基督教构成了极大挑战。同样，基督教也为世俗性的消极影响和不足之处提供了极大的精神资源。二者之间既有矛盾，又互相补充。在目前中国的物质主义发展和精神道德层面迷失的语境中，加强和研究二者之间的对话，不但符合汉语语境的需要，而且可以与世界神学界的潮流接轨。

基督教与科学理性的对话：基督教与科学理性的对话，在西方的教会历史中早已有之。在汉语语境中，其特殊性在于，科学和理性拥有类似“真理”代言人的官方地位。所以，这可跟基督教与马克思主义的对话结合起来，因为作为官方意识形态的构成元素，在中国半个多世纪时间里，科学与理性对中国人和中国文化产生了根本性影响。尽管西方的后现代主义已经开始深刻地反省和批评科学与理性的局限性及其副作用，但在中国的汉语语境中，它们却仍然是方兴未艾的思维方式。⁵⁴

其他：基督教与伊斯兰教及少数民族宗教等其它宗教文化之间的对话，在中国的全国可能并不紧迫，却影响了全世界或中国的个别地区（如西藏、新疆）的对话，汉语学术对话神学也需要加以关注。

总之，通过这些“他者”来构建汉语学术对话神学非常重要，但我們要注意这些他者之间的交叉性和复杂性。

在“（中西）两翼”中，基督教代表了“西方”之翼。相对于儒家、道家、佛教和中国民间宗教等来说，基督教的根本特点是其“夷”的身份，即“非中华性”。因此，民族主义是这种对话中需要特别关注的“隐藏他者”（The Hidden Other）。

相对于全球化的世俗性来说，基督教强调神圣的“灵性”，但世俗性则强调物质、享受和现实世界性及通俗性。

相对于无神论马克思主义来说，基督教是有神论，但这二者本身又是亲缘关系，马克

⁵³ 李志鸿 Li Zhihong, 《中国民间宗教研究》 *Zhongguo minjia zongjiao yanjiu* [A Study of Chinese Folk Religions], 载卓新平 Zhuo Xinping 主编, <<中国宗教学 30 年 (1978-2008)>> *Zhongguo zongjiaoxue 30 nian* [The 30 years of Chinese Religious Studies (1978-2008)], (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 China Social Sciences Press, 2008), 213-254.

⁵⁴ 江丕盛 Jiang Pisheng、梁媛媛 Liang Yuanyuan、杨思言 Yang Siyan 编, <<科学与宗教对话在中国>> *Kexue yu zongjiao duihua zai Zhongguo* [The Dialogue between Science and Religion in China], (北京 Beijing: 中国社会科学出版社 Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Chinese Social Sciences Press], 2008)。斯图特 (Melville Stewart) 和郝长墀 Hao Changchi 编、郝长墀 Hao Changchi 和李勇 Li Yong 等译, <<科学与宗教的对话>> *Kexue yu zongjiao de duihua* [The Dialogue between Science and Religion], (北京 Beijing: 北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Peking University Press], 2007)。怀特 (Andrew Dickson White) 著、鲁旭东 Lu Xudong 译, <<基督教世界科学与神学的论战史>> *Jidujiao shijie kexue yu shenxue de lunzhan shi* [The Controversy History between Science and Theology in Christendom] (上 Shang, 下 Xia), (桂林 Guilin: 广西师范大学出版社 Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe [Guangxi Normal University Press], 2006)。

思主义与基督教世俗化密切相关。

在汉语语境中处理了这几大对话之后，作为学术对话神学的基督教研究，将会找到合适的发展路径和方向。

最后，尤其值得关注的是，在当前汉语语境中，基督教与各种元素对话时，有的元素会为了讨好“首”而抹黑基督教等西学元素，其本质是为了使自己获得“首”的重用。表现之一是，狭隘的左倾思想，试图将来自西学传统的一切元素都抹黑为政治上的敌人；表现之二是，狭隘的儒家和本土思想，试图将来自西学传统的一切元素都抹黑为文化上的敌人。这两种狭隘思路的病因，从政治视角看，来源于过去近百年来中华民族屈辱史所留下而没有得到医治的心理苦毒；从文化视角看，来源于他们对传统中国本土的盲目偏爱。问题是，这两类思路既忽视了西学（包括基督教）元素在中国所起到的积极作用，又没有剖析左倾思想及中国传统中的消极性。这两类思路很容易把理性的对话变成情绪化的排外，是汉语学术对话神学构建过程中需要特别加以关注的现象。

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English Title:

A Construction of Sino-Christian Academic Dialogical Theology in the Light of Great *guoxue*

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Abstract: The present article aims to offer an outline of constructing the Sino-Christian Academic Dialogical Theology. The plural nature of the Sino context challenges the Christian Theology to make a shift from the traditional missiological approach to a dialogical one. My focus has been concentrated on the dialogical theories and the real dialogical partners in Chinese language and Sino-culture, which has “one head” (Authority), “two wings” (Chinese and Western), “four legs” (Indigenized foot, universal foot, contextualized foot and the foreign foot, which is still in the process of contextualization) and “one tail” (all kinds of small and new elements). Thus, the dialogue should be conducted between Christianity and Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, folk religions, Marxism, secularism, Rationality/Science and others. In addition, some other dialogues between Christianity and Islam, etc, should also be paid attention. Extreme political and cultural nationalism is the main danger, which may change rational and friendly dialogues into emotional exclusive actions.

Keywords: Sino, Academic, dialogue, theology, one-head-two-wings-four-legs-one-tail

The Transcendental Dimension of the Age of Disenchantment: The Paradox of Religion in the Contemporary Context of China

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Abstract: In the context of modern China, the question of religion has unique significance as a cultural and social issue. This article tries to clarify the basic paradoxes and dilemmas which are often neglected of this area, and therefore reveals the original horizon from the perspective of intercultural hermeneutics.

Key words: religion, intellectual history, intercultural hermeneutics, disenchantment, enchantment

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In the contemporary context of modern China, the question of religion has unique significance as a cultural and social issue. This essay cannot unfold the various dimension of the problem of religion in China, nor can it provide thorough research data for one related question. What we can expect from a short paper like this is that it may clarify some of the basic paradoxes and dilemmas of this area, some of which are often neglected because they seem to be so obvious and familiar. Thus I want to present a very simple discussion of these dilemmas in order to tackle the issue of religion in China from a more basic point of departure.

The First Paradox: The special context of the concept of religion in China: Name and Reality (*Ming yu Shi*).

Seen from a theoretical and academic perspective, the dilemma of religion in China is first of all a dilemma of name and reality.

We know that religion is an important form or an important dimension of the spiritual life of mankind, and religion did more or less develop parallel to the progress of mankind. Being a form of dialogue between the limited human existence and the world of

transcendence, being a special way of listening and responding to the world of transcendence, being a spiritual activity and social conduct as providing meaning (*Sinngebung*) for life from the background of a transcendental world, religion has never ceased to be alive in the history of mankind. However, on the academic map of the humanities the scientific study of religions as one of the secular academic disciplines has only a history of some 150 years, since the efforts of the generation of the German-born English scholar Max Mueller helped to set up the science of religions as a young academic discipline among all the others. The English Protestant missionary James Legge translated a series of Chinese classical texts, and these texts were to become an important part of the great project of the series *Sacred Books of the East*, which were published continually in Europe at that time.

We are confronted with the fact that if a young academic discipline uses its critical expressions to treat the world of religious phenomena which accompanies mankind on its journey through time, then this discipline will face all kinds of shortcomings and deficiencies. This situation happens in the context of China. When we use the religions of revelation that come from the Semitic culture and are related to the tradition of Abraham (Jewish religion, Christianity and Islam) as basic standard in order to analyze religion in our culture and religion within other cultures, then we see that this problem of shortcomings and deficiencies is even more serious.

Here we must state, that the etymological studies within Chinese scholarship is unable to meet the urgent needs of the academic world. In the texts of the old Chinese documents and classical books, the word “religion” (in Chinese *zong-jiao*) is a combined word of two characters and appears in manuscripts that are usually notes and anthologies. Most of these documents in the form of notes basically mention “*zongjiao*” as having the meaning of character formation (“*jiao hua*”) within traditional Confucianism, and this would roughly mean “to establish an authoritative master who teaches (for the local community)” (“*she zongshi yi wei jiao*”). The entry “religion” (*zongjiao*) in the *Jizuan yuanhai* (vol. 28) compiled by Pan Zimu from the Song dynasty may be taken as the most representative:

“Zong jiao (religion),

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In the fifth year of the Han Dynasty (equals 5 AD) authoritative masters (*zongshi*) were set up in every province, in order to correct the descendants of the royal family (in the provinces) and in order to educate (*jiaoxun*) them. These (masters) could choose men of virtue and justice and employ them, and they could write reports to the emperor about those who did not fulfill their duties. In the third year of the Xianning period of the Jin Dynasty (227 AD), authoritative masters (*zongshi*) were established in order to encourage the royal family to follow virtue and justice, and if somebody's conduct was not correct they would hold an assembly and discuss the matter. In the third year of the Wude period of the Tang Dynasty (620 AD), all literati of the whole country were ordered to set up one authoritative master (*zongshi*) in every district (*zhou*), in order to be a general supervisor. At the beginning of the Chongning period of our Dynasty (Song) (1102), Cai Jing asked to set up a Court for Moral Life (*Dun zong yuan*) and ordered to build schools, appointing masters for the supervision of the examinations...

In this text we find the origins of the system of “authoritative masters” (*zong shi*) in the Han, Jin, Tang, and Song Dynasty. In all of these texts we do not find anything mysterious or esoteric, it is all only about character formation (“*jiaohua*”). In the Buddhist scriptures, for example in the *Hongming jishi*, *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, *Wudeng Huiyuan*, *Chanlin Sengbao*, *Linjian Lu*, *Fozu Lidai Tongzai* and other scriptures there appears the word “*zongjiao*” with various frequency, but its basic meaning is always “adherence to some direction (within Buddhism)”, that is to say to confirm and to confess one special school of thought, or it means directly the adherence to “one of the sects”, namely the teaching of one's own sect, and here it usually denotes the Zen School – the Buddhist school which has been thoroughly Sinicized and is still in the process of being Sinicized.

(The monk of Changsha) enters the hall (and says): “If I would always preach to you about our school (*zongjiao*), then this temple would be a desert already. This matter has nothing to do with me, (and) I just want to tell you this. All of the worlds are just an eye of the monk, all of the worlds are just the body of the monk, all of the worlds are just one's own light, all of the worlds are just within one's light, in all of the worlds everybody is himself. I have often talked to you about the three worlds and the many Buddhas who help all the living beings, and this is always the light of mahaprajna (great wisdom). When the light has not started to shine yet, where can you go? When the light has not started to shine yet, there is no Buddha and no message about the all the living beings, and where could there be mountains, rivers, and the land?”¹

¹ Shi Puji 释普济, 五灯会元 *Wudeng huiyuan* 【Compendium of Five Lamps】 , vol.4, (Hunan Changsha Jing Cen Zhaoxian Zen master).

At a first glance, the expression “if I would always preach to you about our school” entail a certain dogmatic differentiation (*panjiao*), which may look similar to the apologetic tradition (Apologie) of Christianity, but in fact the spiritual orientation of the two is absolutely different. When the people expect that the master will tell them something about his own school and enlighten them with his special method, this crazy monk tells them that if they would always talk about his own school then the temple would have been deserted long ago. This kind of extreme and paradoxical way of expression leads religious life to a world of light: “All of the worlds are just one’s own light, all of the worlds are just within one’s light, in all of the worlds everybody is himself”. This on the contrary leads to the association with Derrida’s cherished concept of *Deiwo*, this concept of deity and godhead common to the Indo-European languages. The original meaning of this word is “bright”, “heavenly”.² In this self-sufficient transparency of the Zen school, the “avidya” dissolves and disappears by itself.

As a matter of fact, the expression “*zongjiao*” as used in the context of Chinese classical scriptures is very far away from the context of academic studies today. The contemporary academic meaning of the of the term “*zongjiao*” (religion) was introduced from the Western word “religion” through Japan, and it is now an academic term translated into Chinese (after 1911, the main propagator of the Movement of Confucianism as State Religion of China, the loyal disciple of Kang Youwei, Chen Huanzhang, used a somewhat cumbersome transliteration of the word religion as “*Li-li-jin*” (“re-li-gion”).³ However, one can find similar or corresponding words in the Chinese documents of antiquity, namely even in writings from before the Qin dynasty. In the *Shangshu . Yaodian* we can find the expression “Yin yu liu zong” (sacrifice to the six masters), but this “zong” is very far away from the modern usage of the word “religion” (*zongjiao*). We should first understand it from a sociological point of view. On the other hand, an expression found in the *Zhouyi* (Guangua, Huici) is like this: “watching the divine Dao of Heaven, and keeping it throughout the four seasons; the sage (*shengren*) uses the divine Dao to establish education (*shengren yi shendao she jiao*), and the whole

² Jac. Derrida / Gianni Vattimo, *Zongjiao (Religion)*, (Sanlian, Beijing 2006), 10.

³ See his *Kongjiao Lun, Minguo Congshu* 【Discussion on Confucian Religion, Series of Republic of China】 , 4,2, (Shanghai Shudian, 1989).

country becomes peaceful.” This expression can really lead to a dialogue with the concept of religion in the modern paradigms. In this phrase, the various elements of religion which are confirmed by different modern academic schools of the study of religion are already clearly manifest. Here is the transcendental dimension which is confirmed by different academic schools as the essential dimension of religion, namely: the “divine Dao” (*shendao*), and it is even called the “*shendao* of heaven” (*tian zhi shendao*), which is an absolute, divine, non-secular, and transcendental reality. Here is the problem of the “establishment of education” (*she jiao*), which most institutionalized religions have to face; here is also mentioned the problem of the sociology of religion and ethics of religion, namely the beneficial social factors of religion, which means that “the whole country becomes peaceful” (*tianxia fu*) – religion is not only concerned with the spiritual life of the individual person, it does not only offer meaning and orientation of life for the individual, but it is also concerned with the life of the whole society. In other words, is not merely about the private sphere, but even more about the common public life. If we use the wording of the academic language of today, we can say that this ancient discourse already implies the question how a religion can construct the meaning of the world of common life, namely how to enhance the spiritual harmony of the individual and on this basis establish the harmony of the society as a whole.

However, exactly this expression from the *Yijing* , which implies the ideal concept of “divine Dao establishing education” (*shen dao she jiao*) from a perspective of comparative religion, also presents to us a most vague paradox of religion in China – and this first of all is the paradox of Confucianism. In which sense is a sage (*shengren*) establishing “education” (*jiao*)? Where is the transcendental dimension of this “*jiao*” (education)? What is the concrete morphological feature of this religion? What is the institutional basis of it? What is the model of the practice of this religion? What are the daily ceremonies of it? What kind of clergy supports this religion? All these questions leave those who debate Confucianist religion today with many questions.

The Second Paradox: The Historical Facts of Religion and the Spirit of Religion: Is China a country of religion or has she been an irreligious country right from the beginning?

If we want to discuss the historical facts of religion in China, this doubtless is a topic without limits. Everybody knows that the question of religion in China is an important field of research within the history of thought in China. Putting aside the continuing debate concerning the question of Confucianism as a religion, the fact is that starting with the *Wuism* (shamanism) of antiquity, the Han Dynasty developed a religion which originated in China, namely Daoism, and during the Han Dynasty Buddhism also started to spread far and wide in China, all these developments are historical facts that are not doubted within religious or secular circles. Besides Buddhism, the research on the history of the interaction between Chinese and western religions has become the hot spot in the studies of international sinology, and it also has presented countless topics of research for the field of comparative religion studies. The *Jingjiao* (Nestorian Church) entered China in the year 635 AD during the Tang Dynasty. About the date when Islam entered China there are different views, but the date ascertained by Chen Yuan (giving the second year of the Yonghui period of the Tang Dynasty, 651 AD) seems to be quite convincing. At the same time, Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism, entering China through Persia and Central Asia, were also quite popular in the time of the Tang Dynasty. The studies on them constitute an interdisciplinary subject of great topical interest in the field of Sinology, Religion studies and Central Asia Studies.

During the three phases of the Roman Catholic Church entering China in the eras of Yuan Dynasty, Ming Dynasty and Mid-19th Century, positive dialogue between Chinese culture and Christian culture has been kept on till today, with its beginning from the 16th century Catholic missionaries as Matteo Ricci. Since Robert Morrison, a Protestant missionary from London Missionary Society, entered China in 1807, the interaction between Christian civilization and Chinese civilization began on the level of institution and system, differing from comparatively pure spiritual activities of Catholic missionaries, through establishment of modern newspapers, hospitals and schools, getting involved into the construction of modern Chinese public space.

Apart from the above comparatively institutionalized religions, a combination the southern school of Daoism (*zheng yi jiao*) and folk religions in the South, taking shape in the form of various folk religions and worships, has been active in rural areas. Lamaism,

coming into being as the fusion of Buddhism with the native cultures of Tibet and Mongolia, itself is a branch of studies, impossible to be investigated thoroughly. All above counts for much in academic research, not to mention active shamanistic tradition among nationalities of Altay language, ranging from the Greater Xin'an Mountains to the Tianshan Mountains, and popular belief in Matzu across Taiwan Strait. Any topic in the above field will naturally result in numerous and heated discussions.

However, contrary to the facts mentioned above, among the elite thinkers, including Liang Qichao, Xia Zengyou, Cai Yuanpei, Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, Liang Shumin, existed the discussion on "Is China a country of religion?" in the early 20th century; a new circle of discussion with similar spirit was stimulated by Ren Jiyu in the 1980s and has been carried on into this century. Have they all ignored the above questions concerning the history of religion and the related phenomena? The answer tends to be negative. For both parties of such a discussion, the religious phenomena in Chinese history are actually out of question. Under such presupposition, how could the question whether China is a country of religion come into being? The absurdness of this issue presents us a deeper consideration.

In short, we can make a preliminary remark. In the 20th century's context of academic thought, the elite thinkers and scholars of China live in a world of real facts with Confucianism-oriented spiritual life, which actually should have been discussed with a quite different paradigm. Is there a world of religious spirituality with universal character above this world of real facts? How should we embrace this unique spiritual tradition? The religious concepts, based on paradigm of institutionalized monotheism (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, originated from Semitic areas), led to the judgment of those elites without them being aware of it. Hence, in the context of Chinese civilization, when religious matters are the focus of discussion, monotheistic prophetic religion and revealed religion come to serve as reference and standard. While Europe witnessed openness of Christian theology and religion studies, along with a variety of methods and criteria, in the 20th century, Chinese scholars picked up conservative religious concepts in the framework of Christian theology. Therefore, quite paradoxical questions come out now and then.

YANG: The Transcendental Dimension of the Age of Disenchantment

Gustav Mensching, a noted German theologian, who succeeded in separating independent religious studies from theology in the 20th century academic context, set his definition of “Religion” in the authoritative encyclopaedia of religion studies, *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, simply as *erlebnishaft Begegnung mit heiliger Wirklichkeit und als antwortendes Handeln des vom Heiligen existentiell bestimmten Menschen*.⁴ With his universal theological studies and experience of religious dialogues, Hans Küng, also a noted theologian in Germany, presented his three great world religions “river systems”: the Semitic–prophetic (Judaism, Christianity, Islam), the Indian-mystic (Buddhism, Hinduism), and the China-sage (Confucianism, Taoism, Mahayana Buddhism with Chinese coloring). The two theories may provide us with a new starting-point for the question concerned in this section. Following their working approaches, we can promote religion studies in the light of morphological methodology.

Once the morphological methodology is confirmed, a number of spiritual phenomena, kept in the world of ancient Chinese thought, will have connection with our present academic research, and in the meanwhile, establish relationship with our present living world and spiritual orientation.

We hereby take the above mentioned *Wu* in early ancient times as an example. In recent years, under the influence of cultural anthropology and Chinese studies with an American paradigm, Chinese academic circles get used to taking Shamanism to refer to early ancient *Wu* culture. However, are early ancient *Wu* and today’s Shamanism linked by one genealogy if viewed in the light of the phenomenology of religion? Werner Eichhorn, a German sinologist, directly applied the rigid term Wuismus in his *Die Religionen Chinas*. This term corresponds to that early ancient *Wuism* (*Wujiao*) discoursed by Wen Yiduo.⁵ The term Wuismus can hardly take its hold in academic circles. It is because of this queer term that the morphological character of the ancient Chinese spiritual world is revealed and simple equivalent between *Wu* culture, a specific Chinese tradition, and Shamanism, a significant learning in anthropology, can be avoided. There is much space for detailed investigation in differences of theory between

⁴ Religion, S. 2. *Digitale Bibliothek Band 12: Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, S. 27411 (vgl. RGG Bd. 5, S. 961) (c) J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).

⁵ 闻一多 Wen Yiduo, 闻一多全集 *Wen Yiduo quanji* 【Complete Works of Wen Yiduo】 , Vol. I, (Kaiming Press, 1948), 143.

Shamanism, still active among nomadics in Central and North-eastern Asia, and *Wuism*, a belief of the ancient Chinese forefathers with settled farming life.

From the double standpoints of spiritual history and religion studies, the transition from *Wu* to *Shi* was the key to the exposition of early development of rationalism and a decisive factor for the morphological character of ancient Chinese religiosity. In light of morphology, maybe we can be exempted from this spiritual dilemma: either pay no attention to the basic phenomena and numerous facts of ancient Chinese spirituality, or ignore religiosity of Confucianism tradition, alleging that China has no religion, or simply step into the footprints of some Jesuit missionaries to China as Joachim Bouvet, Jean Francois Foucquet, affirming the monotheism within this spiritual history with their Figurist approach.

The Third Paradox: Religion in the construction of Modernity: Enchantment and Disenchantment

In terms of Max Weber, the noted German sociologist, modern history is actually a history of spiritual disenchantment; religion is one aspect of, or maybe the leading aspect of a “magic charm” that needs to be eliminated. With the progress of the Renaissance and the Reformation, rationalism, scientific and industrial revolution, technical application, representative democracy, the “magic charm” has been gradually taken out from the spiritual world. In the present age, the world of networks and digital tools can only embrace a senseless transparency and colorless nakedness. However, the question is whether religion has stepped off the world and whether the individual spiritual stage follows Nietzsche’s remark “God is dead”. This would be a serious misunderstanding coming from an ignorance concerning the modern developments and the present situation of spiritual life in the West.

In his famous lecture *Wird der Westen das universale Modell der Menschheit?*⁶ Maurice Godelier, the sociologist in France, pointed out that the modern Western world was constructed on three axes: capitalism, representative democracy and Christianity. They constitute the essentials of western modernity: laissez-faire as the core of

⁶ Maurice Godelier, *Wird der Westen das universale Modell der Menschheit?* (Wien: Picus Verlag, 1991).

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capitalistic economy; universal suffrage and representative system as the core of political democracy; Christianity as the core of spiritual life. To use a more generalized language, these are the backbones of modernity: production and communication form the pattern in economic life; organizing skills form the pattern in political life; individual conversion and establishment of meaning are the pattern in spiritual life.

In this way, maybe we can avoid being superficial and can learn to appreciate Weber's proposition of modern world history simply as a process of disenchantment; we can understand the reason why religious life is thriving incredibly with different forms in an age of the globalization of rationalism and scientism; we can face religion's role as a double-edged sword in its social function: dynamics for harmony and root of conflicts. In a world disenchanted by scientific technology and industrialized civilization, a more challenging problem is to reset the transcendental aspect of spiritual life and to reconfirm the richness of individual spirituality without limitation. In a disenchanted world, returning back to enchantment has been a pseudo-problem, just like an adult cannot magically return back to be an innocent and naive child. The problem we are facing is actually one of enchantment. Technical rationality is shining over the world brightly but destroys the sense of the mysterious, religious life doesn't "prepare a way" for modern human beings, who are advancing bravely on the bleak and desolate wasteland without traces of gods and spirits; instead, religious life can provide a spirit-oriented "home to return to" in an awkward situation --- and it can show the way to a specific "home to return to". That is probably an important base for us to understand religious life in the modern age, otherwise we cannot comprehend the new turn with the rejuvenation of institutionalized religions worldwide during the recent decades and the flourishing New Age Movement, along with various forms of new religiosity or substandard religiosity.

Disenchantment and enchantment are probably a starting point for us to understand the vigorous development of Chinese religions during the last 20 years. Discussions on Confucianism's religiosity are now in the ascendant. Buddhism and Taoism with folk colorings, reviving in the vast countryside, gradually come onto the scene of Chinese modern life. The dialogue between Christianity and Chinese religion has long been beyond the circles of scholar-officials and missionaries. In brief, individual, spiritual and inherent aspects of modernity cannot be separated from religious life. This is not an

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exceptional phenomenon within the building-up of Chinese modernity. Making thorough investigations and conducting studies concerning religion and religiosity has become an inevitable aspect for the construction of Chinese modernity.

Obviously, in the social, spiritual, and academic contexts of the 21st century, we can make a candid remark - the question whether China is a country of religion has long been a pseudo-problem, yet one with profound significance. Based on this pseudo-problem, all discussions and studies on religion reveal their pressing character and thereby get their significance.

中文题目：

当代精神史语境中的中国宗教难题

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提要：在当代中国语境中，宗教问题是重大且意义独特的文化主题和社会主题。本文期望将这一领域中的若干根本性问题、难题及其所包含的、而又常常被熟视无睹的种种悖论式困境，进行粗略的讨论，以期从跨文化解释学的特定角度，重启初始的视界。

关键词：宗教、精神史、跨文化解释学、祛魅、致魅

实践神学

与中西教会和社会

**Practical Theology and Sino-Western
Views on Church and Society**

Knowing and Being Known: Chinese Society and Christianity¹

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Abstract: Chinese Christianity has been known in contemporary society through three stages. In the years 1949-1979 Christianity was known negatively through Chinese official media. 1980-2000 Christianity developed fast and was accepted as a part of social culture and received a certain amount of sympathy and support from society. From 2000 till today, the house church has been developing very quickly, and both government and society have gradually come to know the positive sides of Christianity. Through a combination of field work and case study, the present article argues that the ways of knowing Christianity and the means of Christian self-expression are different in the above three stages, and the partial functions of Christianity as part of a civil society have become visible during the process. For the present author, the functions of religions very much depend on the social context of their existence, and Christianity should play a more important role in the fast developing process of civil society in the contemporary China.

Keywords : Christianity, house church, civil society

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Since the reform and opening-up of China in the late 1970s, Christianity has been developing very fast. This has become the focus for the academics of religious studies and has drawn much attention from society. The Chinese society has undergone great changes in the process of recognizing Christianity since 1949. For 30 years Christianity had been seen as the opposite to the mainstream of values, and Christianity had been described to most Chinese people as something negative and called ‘yangjiao’(foreign religion), cultural invader, and so on. On the one hand, there was some strong tension between Christianity and Chinese society for a long time; and on the other hand, owing to the limitation of places for Christian activities, Christian influence on society was very small. In recent years, more and more Chinese have changed their views of Christianity, but their perspectives, generally speaking, are very limited. And Christianity has also undergone great changes in the process of exposing itself to step by step. Of course, there

¹ This article was presented at the Nordic Workshop: Religion, faith, state and society, in Lidingö, Stockholm, on June 8th, 2011. And it was responded by Knud Jorgensen, Adjunct Professor, Norwegian School of Theology, Oslo.

has been some interaction between the knowing and the known which is worth thinking and reflecting on.

I. The Past and Present Reality

As a foreign religion, after entering China, Christianity faced all kinds of misunderstandings and even distortions, so its development was never smooth. However, the Christian churches, especially from the late 19th century to 1949, still carried out many activities beneficial to the Chinese society, including introducing western science and technology, setting up different kinds of schools, founding modern hospitals and training doctors, propagating public health care, establishing Chinese enterprise of modern press and the enterprises of charity, relieving suffering in disasters and advocating the modern ways of life such as weekly work-days system and monogamy, and even the abolishment of women's feet-binding. In summary, at the beginning stage of the transformation of China from a traditional society to a modern one, Christianity played an active and important role.

From these activities, we note two important characteristics: firstly, Christianity has played many kinds of positive social roles; secondly, the church was the sponsor, organizer and actor in all these activities, through which Christianity exerted its positive and impressive social influence. So, naturally, the activities of the Church became the main channel through which many Chinese came to know and understand Christianity.

So, although there have been some tensions between Christianity and Chinese society, to a higher or lower degree, a very important thing for Chinese is to increase their knowledge and understanding of Christianity. And although it is a long way, we can make it shorter through knowing and understanding the positive roles played by Christian churches and their beneficial influence on Chinese society. Thus, through the achievement of the Church activities for the improvement of the society, more and more Chinese have got a positive impression of Christianity. In this sense, we can say that the influence of the activities mentioned above is an important cause for the development of Christianity in China. Although by 1949 when the People's Republic of China (P.R.C)

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was founded there were only 3.2 million Catholics and 1 million Protestant Christians, their impact was much greater than their percentage of the population.

After 1949, because of the radical change in the ideological and political situation, the tension between Chinese society and Christianity became much higher and came to a peak during the Culture Revolution (1966-1976) when Christianity was swept out of society. After the reform and opening-up, the tension between the two began to decrease. Nowadays the tension still exists and has in some ways become more complex, but on the whole it has been reduced to the lowest level in many aspects since 1949.

Linked with the tension since 1949, the process for the Chinese society to know and understand Christianity could be divided into three phases.

The first phase was from 1949 to the late 1970s when all the ways of knowing and understanding Christianity were derived from the propaganda and criticism by the Party and the official media, and even from the self-criticism of the Christian church itself. It is very natural that all the knowledge and understanding not only were negative, and even offensive: Christianity, together with other religions, was criticized and attacked as an ideology in opposition to socialism, as backward superstition and as reactionary thought and a running-dog of western imperialism. These influences have been so deep and vast that some people still hold this view of Christianity today.

The second phase was from the early 1980s when China began the reform and opening-up, to the end of the last century. The feature of this phase is very clear: with the development of Christianity especially in the countryside, the growth of Christian studies, the increase of publications about Christianity, and the policy of 'leading religion to adapt to the society' by the government, the negative knowledge and understanding of Christianity slowly but clearly decreased. The idea of Christianity and religion as opium has been changed into the idea of religion as part of culture. And more and more people have been willing to know and understand Christianity. Some of them gradually began to take a neutral or even sympathetic attitude to it; some even came to accept it and became Christians.

The third phase began at the turn of the 21st century. In the recent 10 years the so-called house-churches have been growing quickly like bamboo shoots after a spring rain.²

² In 1998, some house churches published two announcements: *The Attitudes towards the Religious Policy of The*

With this and other developments, the more positive knowledge and understanding of Christianity have become apparent in Chinese society. President Hu Jintao could tell the 17th National Congress of Communist Party ‘to give full play to the positive role of religious personages and the mass of believers in accelerating economic and social development’. The situation has given Christianity a larger room for activity, and at the same time Chinese society has had more ways to understand Christianity.

This changing process throughout the 60 years since 1949 has a very important trait, that is, the Church, as one side of the tension had almost been totally passive for the first 30 years. And for the second 30 years, the subjective consciousness of the Church has awaked to some degree, but as a result of limitations by the religious administration, the established church (so-called Three Self-Church) cannot arrange any activities anywhere except within sites approved by the government. This means that it cannot play its role in the public life of society. This is also true for the so-called ‘house-churches’ which have been flourishing during the recent 10 years. Having been constrained to some kind of illegal status, they have often lived in unsafe, unstable and half open or half secret situations. Since the Church cannot take an active part in the social life as it did before 1949 and cannot display itself to the public, by what kind of ways does the Chinese society know and understand Christianity?

II. Displaying itself---- from the Perspective of Sociological Investigation

The process of Christianity’s display to Chinese society, corresponding to the process of society’s knowing and understanding Christianity may also be divided into three phases.

The first can be called the phase of being criticised and attacked. Except for being criticised, all the churches and all the Christians had no way to display themselves. For the Church, survival was the first task, and then constant self-criticism became an expedient for self-protection.

In the second phase, Christianity (especially in the countryside) developed very fast, but the churches lived in a much closed situation. The 20 years from 1980s to the end of

Government and Three Self Church by the House Church, Confession of Faith from the House Church. The two announcements show that the family-church exists in Chinese society as an independent power. Henceforth, the family-churches developed fast.

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20th century was the period of reconstructing and rebuilding Chinese churches. During the period, Christian churches in the countryside focused on the struggle for 'being spiritual or not' on the one hand, and on the struggle for their legal status on the other hand. At the same time, the three-self churches were occupied with their own reconstruction and could not spare time for considering other things; as for the new churches or house churches in the urban area, they had no legal status, so they had to take care of their situation and had to put aside all the problems of society.

The third phase began at the beginning of the new century when the Christian Church grew strongly and had more chances and space to display its faith and its impact. This display is a process from an individual level to a collective level, and a process in which churches began to enter the social stage. For the sake of their own development and to alleviate the suppressive situation, house churches began to take care of their own rights, social image and social role; and as for the believers, when their Christian identities could be open to the public, their role as 'light and salt' could also be displayed.

There is much evidence from the sociological investigation that can support the observations above.

In 2003, I issued a questionnaire to 500 Christians in Beijing, in order to know what the main approach is for the common people to understand Christianity. In the questionnaire I listed a variety of possible factors which might affect their knowing and understanding of Christianity. In the 464 valid questionnaires received, 56.6% of Christians said they approached Christianity for the first time through the example of Christians' behaviour; 47.9% through Christians' missionary work; 23% through electronic and other audio-visual products; 14.3% through books and teachers' introduction. In 2009, when I did the same thing in Guiyang city, the percentage of the first and second kind of people was much higher, up to 76.2%.

From these statistics we can clearly see that among the various ways by which people know and understand Christianity, the one with the greatest impact is through the behavior of individual Christians.

This investigation is a Hi-fi reflection of the situation of Chinese society today as regards this aspect. Though the official ideology of Chinese society has weakened greatly, there is still very little knowledge about Christianity taught in schools, and there are only

a few universities which have departments of religious studies. There is very little concerning Christianity in the programs of television, radio, magazines, and Christianity is not allowed to be propagated through mass media. The publications about Christian knowledge and study have increased since the reform and opening-up, but they are still under the constraints and censorship imposed by the Party's propaganda department, and relatively speaking, only a minority of people can read and understand these books which are quite academic.

In the absence of the church in the public life, the behaviors of individual Christians, with their character, morality, responsibility for work and love for neighbors, are naturally standing out. In the investigation we have found that after becoming Christian, many believers have changed greatly and become different persons.

In fact, when Jesuit missionaries came into China in the 16th and 17th centuries, they spread the Christian faith through their own examples, which became their missionary policy. "They did not talk anything about the faith in public when they appeared in the mass at first in order not to make the Chinese doubtful of this new religion".³ What they did was "just to build up themselves and their holy life as an example to others in everyday with the purpose to win the local peoples' favour".⁴ In today's China, it is common for Christians to present good examples, and many live according to their faith without any other purpose. In such a society with the decline of social ethos and the "collapse" of ethics, the good behaviors of most Christians recognized by more and more people are very prominent and have become a main window through which the Chinese society has known and understood Christianity.

In addition the influence of the Christians' enthusiasm for mission should not be ignored. According to my survey in Beijing, more than half (55.8%) of the Christian recipients think that missionary work is so important that they always participate in it. No doubt, this enthusiasm let more people to have more opportunities to know Christianity.

It is worth mentioning that the traditional forms of missionary work are changing, from the way of 'face to face' into E-media including Internet and mobile-phone. And in

³ 利瑪竇 Li Madou 【Matteo Ricci】：《利瑪竇中國書札》 *Li Madou Zhongguo shuzha* 【Matteo Ricci's letters in China】，(北京 Beijing： 宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe 【Religion and Culture Press】，2006)，176—168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 168.

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fact, in recent years, many young people, especially the students at universities, have come to know and understand Christianity from the E-media. In some cases, E-media have become the main gateway for them, and we have reason to say that in the near future E-media will become one of the most important ways to get to know Christianity.⁵

In recent years, the good behaviours of collective Christians have begun to appear, which has made the window of knowing larger and larger for Chinese society. Let me mention some behaviours of a group of Christian enterprisers as an example.

On 24-26th of April, 2009, there was a conference of national Christian-businessmen held at Taihu Lake. More than 280 Christian businessmen joined and all of them voluntarily signed an agreement consisting of three articles: 1) do no tax-dodging or tax-evasion, 2) be just and kind to the employees, 3) have no concubines. When I told about this agreement to a friend who is a businessman, he said: "It's not easy, especially for businessmen. I dare not sign it, though I have not done such bad things".

In other words, with the development of social economy, many Christian enterprisers began to pay attention to paying back to society. Such kind of stories can be heard very often in my investigations.

When the government and the people have come to realize the contributions and effects of NGOs and NPOs, the church would have more opportunity to appear in the public life.

Let us take an example in Yunnan Province. For historical and geographical reasons, Yunnan has been heavily afflicted with drug crimes since 1980's. The official statistics show that at the beginning of the 1990s, the number of drug addicts rose to a historic record of 57,000; at the end of 2002, the number was still high (over 48,000). The central and local governments have used considerable resources on therapy of drug addicts, but it is very difficult to control the situation. From the 1990s to 2006, clinical statistics show the number of drug abstainers is much less than 10% of addicts, that is to say, it is very hard to get the abusers rehabilitated, and still harder to keep them clean. Under such circumstances, the idea of Christian spiritual therapy for drug rehabilitation came out with the basic philosophy: Do not rely on medicines or yourself; rely solely on God. In Yunnan, many Christian communities set up a Christian Rehabilitation Tutoring Station

⁵ This kind of study has just begun and the investigative information still needs to collect. So, my paper is limited to it.

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for this purpose and attained great achievements: in Taocheng (a small town of Yunnan) for example, from 1999—2006, a total number of 82 drug users received assistance from the Christian Rehabilitation Tutoring Station; at the end of 2006, the statistics of recovery are as follow: 62 of them have stayed clean; 4 of them stayed clean until their deaths; 3 of them have relapsed; 5 of them have relapsed and were placed in compulsory rehabilitation centres; 8 of them have no information. The integrity rate is 80%.⁶ The church's success has been recognized by the government, and the interaction between the two began then.

It is after the earthquake in Sichuan Province, on May 12, 2008 that the church began openly to take part in public activities. Since the huge disaster began, various religious organizations have been silently, yet actively contributing to the rescuing work in all kinds of specific ways. Among them, Christian churches, whether large or small, contributed a lot from financial donations (a house-church with nearly 800 members donated 200,000 RMB in one day!) to sending volunteers more than 50% of them are Christians, 80% of Christians came from house-churches), from organizing large-scale prayer meetings, to the mental help in disaster areas, from saving lives at the beginning of the earthquake, to the home-reconstruction one year after. In May last year, when I visited one of the most severely destroyed towns, Beicuan, I found there were still many Christian volunteers, supported by their churches. Christians appeared in the public activities during that disaster more frequently than ever before. More and more people, especially those from the earthquake areas, began to feel personally the role played by churches. Some investigations after the earthquake show that many common people have changed their idea of Christianity, and the number of believers has been increasing in the local churches: *e.g.* in Mianzhu County, before the earthquake, there were 483 Christians and only less than 100 took part in the church activities; two years after earthquake, there are 292 persons baptized and 700-800 people taking part in the church activities. In An County, there were just 30 and some Christians for many years before, but more than 100 now.⁷

⁶ Wang Aiguo, "Christian Spiritual Therapy for Drug Rehabilitation---Explorations and Experiments of Yunnan Christian Community in Social Services", presented in "Religion & Rule of Law: The Legal System and Religion in a Harmonious Society", (Beijing, 2008).

⁷ Gao Yanting: *The rescuing work in / after earthquake in Wencuan County by Chinese Church.*

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The church's involvement is not only in the social services. The year from 2008 to 2009 can be called the 'year of churches' events', because many house churches, such as Qiuyuzhifu in Chengdu, Wanbang in Shanghai, Linfen in Shanxi, Shouwang in Beijing, Liangren in Guangzhou and so on, were attacked in different ways by local government. The tensions between the house churches and the government were clearly growing. In this situation, these churches no longer insisted on the policy of retreat, conceding and concealment, but have begun to maintain their right of religious freedom through the use of reasonable and peaceful ways. Some of them went into public places for arranging worship services after having lost their meeting houses. This kind of action of exposing themselves, even threatening the existence of the churches, has made a deep impression on many people; some people began to know that there is such a religion as Christianity, and some of them wanted to know more about it.

I can give another example: In my home town Guiyang city (capital of Guizhou Province), a city with nearly 20 thousand Christians, there is only one church house capable of holding 800 persons. What is worse is that the house has been in a dangerous condition for many years. So you can imagine how crowded it is every Sunday and Christmas. The worshipping people outside the house make traffic jam for the whole day. This spectacle draws and attracts crowds of people. They have become interested in Christianity, from hearing to watching, from questioning to knowing. In my investigation, the percentage of believers who began knowing Christianity in this way is up to 25%.

The main way to get to know Christianity for urban citizens is different from the way for the people in rural areas. While the way people get to know Christianity in cities is mainly through individual Christians' behaviours, in the countryside, it is through the power of miracles appearing after conversion to the Christian faith. The role of Christianity in ethical and moral life still has a great effect on the mass in the countryside. Some scholars of sociology of religion have observed that in today's rural area, such traditional values as filial piety have declined with the development of urbanization and the dismissal of the kindred relationship. It is Christians who practise those traditional values of Confucianism.⁸

⁸ Cf. the presentation of Li Huawei, a Ph.D. candidate of Peking University, in 'Religion and Cultural Diversity in a Global World international Conference' (Wuxi: July 10—12, 2009).

III. Further Reflections

During the last century, the status of Christianity in China has undergone very dramatic changes: from the beginning of the 20th century to 1949, the Christian church was active in society, taking part in public affairs and exerting huge influence on the transformation of Chinese society; from 1949 to the late 1970s, all the churches had lost their activity under increasing pressure and severe attacks, having no impact on society but just caring about their own existence; from the early 1980s onwards, the growth of the church has brought about the change in the Chinese society's knowledge of Christianity and the increase of Christian influence on the society. Remembering their role as 'Light and Salt', Chinese Christians have taken an active part in churches' charities and social service. Furthermore, their activities for defending rights of their own and of the underprivileged have made contributions to the democratic course in Chinese society.

Based on these developments, we can proceed to some reflections:

1. The realization of religion's social function has a lot to do with the social circumstances, that is to say, the attitude of the society in which religion exists, especially the attitude of the government toward the religion decides to great degree whether and how the religion may realize its social function. The function is different from the role-playing. What a role Christianity could play in contemporary Chinese society, in sum, mainly depends on its relationship to the state in the social system.

2. Judging from the present development, on the one hand, Christians' potential is very great even though their role in and effect on society is still small nowadays, and on the other hand, the church's involvement in public affairs is very significant even though it is just beginning.

As the Christian faith has deep and positive effects on the lives of numerous Christians in today's China, and its influence upon individuals' morality and ethics is especially notable, such effect and influence may gradually spread to the whole society through the role of 'Light and Salt' of scores of millions of Christians. That would be a great impact.

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On the other hand, in contrast to her great contribution to the public life before 1949, the church has done very little, but she has now many more human resources (scores of times) than before. In other words, she should and could make a much greater contribution, if the channel for her to go into social public life was opened. She should and could become an important and effective non-governmental and not-profit organization, which is the necessary factor of a modern and sound society as the ‘third sector’ and the actual means to an autonomic society.

3. Christian church’s organizations could play a very important role in the reconstruction of civil society in China. American scholar of religion, Max Stackhouse, points out that the church is the institution which existed in popular culture prior to civil society; therefore, religion is the main source of civil society’s independent of political institutional system. Although Christianity’s involvement in social affairs is still very limited, we can see that the Christian church is the largest non-governmental organization today in terms of the number of her members and the degree of organization. So, her actions for defending her own rights, her activities of serving the grassroots, her members’ consciousness of taking part in the churches’ affair, etc., should and could make significant contributions to the formation of civil society in China.

4. The Chinese society between 1949 and late 1970s is called by some academics a ‘totalitarian society’ or a unitary society. In that society, the state held the power of controlling and distributing nearly all the resources, and individual persons were provided with their basic existence through the institutional arrangement by the state. Between the state and the individual, there were no social institutions as a bridge or any kind of mediation. Nowadays the situation has greatly changed. While there are emerging many social organizations, be they GONGO (Government organized NGO) or not, more and more people have begun to recognize the importance of social organization and civil society. We can therefore expect that, with the increase of Chinese people’s knowledge of Christianity, more and more people will realize the significance and contribution of the Christian church as an important organization that is beneficial to Chinese society.

中文题目：

认识与被认识：中国社会与基督教

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提要：中国基督教被当代社会认知的过程大抵可按时间顺序划为三个阶段：一，1949 至 1979，人们通过官方媒体的不断批判认识了负面的基督教；二，1980 至 2000，基督教快速发展，被承认为社会文化的一部分并逐渐获得部分人的同情与支持；三，2000 年至今，家庭教会发展势如破竹，同时政府与社会逐渐认识到基督教的积极方面。本文通过问卷调查与个案研究相结合，认为人们认识基督教的方式与基督教自我展现的手段都在以上三个阶段各有不同，在这一过程中基督教作为“公民社会”（Civil Society）一部分的作用逐渐彰显。笔者认为，宗教的作用在很大程度上取决于其所处社会环境，而基督教应当在当前中国市民社会剧烈变化的过程中发挥更重要作用。

关键词：基督教、家庭教会、公民社会

孙尚扬、李丁: 国学热、意义的匮乏与大学生对宗教的兴趣取向

国学热、意义的匮乏与大学生对宗教的兴趣取向： 一项基于北京市的调查与分析¹

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提要: 在国学热与宗教热中, 北京市大学生对宗教的兴趣取向因历史上的学生运动在现当代中国颇具示范性而值得进行调查研究。本文基于以 PPS 抽样方法获取的数据, 以宗教社会学中的意义问题为基本切入点, 展示了北京市大学生思考人生意义问题具有很高的频率, 但半数以上的大学生并未找到令其满意的对于终极性问题的答案, 对于自己在未来社会中的角色定位亦感到迷惑, 意义的匮乏在大学生中确实存在。在对意义的探寻中, 不超过 20% 的学生成了各种宗教的信徒, 我们的调查表明, 思考人生意义问题的频率与信仰宗教的可能性之间存在着正相关。而大学生中最感兴趣的首先是佛教, 其次是基督教, 然后依次是道教、儒教和伊斯兰教。他们在遭遇意义危机时求助的意义系统首先是科学的世界观, 其次是非马克思主义的人生哲学, 再次是宗教, 最后才是马克思主义哲学或在政治思想教育中获得的知识。北京市大学生的意义支持系统既有鲜明的世俗化倾向, 也具有多元化倾向。在意义危机中求助于主流意识形态的人数少于求助于宗教的人数, 这一事实表明宗教正在部分大学生中凸显其核心功能, 并展现出强于前者的吸引力。

关键词: 国学热 意义问题 宗教兴趣取向 世俗化 多元化

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自从 20 世纪 90 年代以来, 中国社会出现了一轮“国学热”。我们基本上可以将“国学热”界定为学习、宣讲、研究和弘扬中国传统文化的热潮。这一热潮得到了社会组织、国家媒体、高等院校(知识界)乃至政府机构的推助, 因而不仅持续的时间长, 而且规模宏大。关于“国学热”的定性, 有学者认为, 它是在中国经历了多年的改革开放后, 随着综合国力的提升, 中国人针对西方文化(或西化)而建构的民族文化认同, 是文化自觉的表现, 是文化自信的彰显。²与此同时, 中国社会在近 30 年来, 又经历了一股“宗教热”, 主要表现形式是各种宗教的信徒人数不断攀

¹ 本文是普度大学(Purdue University)中国宗教与社会研究中心“中国宗教与社会项目”(Chinese Spirituality and Society Program)的子课题之研究成果。初次发表于 2011 年 10 月在赫尔辛基大学举办的“第一届国学与西学北欧论坛”(The First Nordic Forum of Sino-Western Studies)。

² 参李中华 Li Zhonghua:《国学、国学热与文化认同》Guoxue, guoxuere yu wenhua rentong【Guoxue, Guoxue fever and Cultural Identity】, 见《北京行政学院学报》Beijing xingzheng xueyuan xuebao【Journal of Beijing Administration College】, 第 3 期, (北京 Beijing: 2007), 96-101。

升, 弘扬各种宗教的活动方兴未艾, 宗教出版物的数量蔚为壮观, 研究各种宗教的学者日益增多, 研究机构也如雨后春笋。关于宗教热的成因, 来自主流意识形态阵营的学者认为它既是内在需求的结果, 也是国外渗透的使然。至于如何对其定性, 这些学者一方面不得不在肯定宗教自由这类普世价值的基础上, 承认宗教有正功能(即积极作用), 另一方面又在认定国外渗透的前提下, 忧心忡忡地列数宗教热的各种消极作用, 而且更强调后者, 并因此提出了各种对策。³

关于国学热与宗教热的关系, 笔者认为二者有重叠之处。例如, 国学热中对佛学、道家道教乃至儒教的学习、传扬和研究实际上就是宗教热的一部分, 但宗教热中有的现象如对犹太教、基督宗教、伊斯兰教、新兴宗教的传扬、学习和研究则很难被看作国学热的一部分。此二者不是此起彼伏的互斥关系, 当然, 我们更感兴趣的不是国学热、宗教热的成因、定性及其相互关系等问题, 而是以下问题: 在国学热和宗教热中, 对社会实在的感知一向相当敏锐的北京市大学生对宗教的兴趣取向呈现出何种态势? 这种态势中透露出什么样的宗教社会学的意蕴?

对以上问题的回答, 将以我们从 2011 年 4 月至 6 月完成的一项关于北京市大学生对基督教的态度调查为基础, 在这项调查中搜集到的数据透露了一些或许会令人感兴趣的信息。

一、为什么选择北京市的大学生作为调查对象

了解中国近现代史的人应该都知道, 由北京市大学生发起或者有大学生参与的社会运动, 在历史上一般都颇具感召力和动员能力, 从而能使得运动迅速扩大规模, 并向纵深发展, 达到学生背后的组织者的社会-政治目的。

³ 参李晓宁 Li Xiaoning: 《校园“宗教热”、“民族热”现象对高校思想政治教育的影响及对策》 Xiaoyuan 'zongjiaore', 'minzude' xianxiang dui gaoxiao zhengzhi jiaoyu de yingxiang ji duice 【The Influence of the Phenomena of Religious Fever and Nationalist Fever in Campus to the Political Education of Higher Educational Institutes and Resolutions】, 见《云南民族大学学报》Yunnan minzu daxue xuebao 【Journal of Yunnan Ethnic University】, 第25卷第5期(昆明 Kunming: 2008年9月), 157-160; 张炜升 Zhang Weisheng: 《当代中国“宗教热”的探讨》Dangdai Zhongguo 'zongjiaore' de tantao 【An Exploration of the Religious Fever in the Contemporary China】, 见《重庆科技学院学报》Chongqing keji xueyuan xuebao 【Journal of Chongqing College of Science and Technology】, (重庆 Chongqing: 2008年第7期), 7-8; 黄文忠 Huang Wenming: 《我国“宗教热”背后的冷思考》Woguo 'zongjiaore' beihou de leng sikao 【The Cold Thinking behind the Religious Fever in China】, 见《学术探讨》Xueshu tantao 【Academic Exploration】, 第2期, (开封 Kaifeng: 2011年), 236-237。

学生运动史上与宗教无关的典型事例是五四运动和一二九运动, 而与宗教有关的典型事例则是1922年由北京大学学生发起的“非宗教大同盟”运动。这一年, 在得知世界基督教学生大同盟⁴ (World Student Christian Federation) 第十一届大会将于4月在北京的清华园召开后, 上海一些学生于2月26日开会, 筹备建立“非基督教学生同盟”, 并于3月9日发布了“非基督教学生同盟宣言”,⁵ 同时, 他们还向北京清华园及全国各校发出通电, 宣传其主张。受此影响, 北大一批学生于3月11日宣布成立“非宗教大同盟”, 并于3月20日发表了通电及宣言。⁶ 这篇宣言断定“宗教之流毒于人类社会十百千倍于洪水猛兽”, 因为宗教“束缚思想, 摧残个性, 崇拜偶像, 主乎一尊……伐异党同, 引起战争”, 而且与科学真理不相容, 与人道主义完全违背。而“基督教的毒害, 比其他诸教都要重大些。他们的传教方法, 比起他教尤算无微不入。他们最可恨的毒计, 就是倾全力煽惑青年”。“非宗教大同盟”的宗旨就是“非宗教”。在宣言上签名的有李大钊、李石曾等人, 学生领袖则是与李大钊关系密切的金家凤(中国社会主义青年团成员)。⁷

北大学生发起的“非宗教大同盟”在行动上并不止于发表宣言, 他们还在4月9日在北大召开了非宗教大会, 蔡元培、李石曾等人在大会上发表了讲演, 对宗教进行批判, 并提出一些具体措施, 限制宗教在青年学生中的传播和影响。由于“非宗教大同盟”汇集了当时在中国最具影响的各种思潮(自由主义、国家主义、无政府主义、马克思主义等)的代表人物, 承继和发扬了新文化运动以来的反宗教的启蒙传统, 其影响的广度与深度都远远超过了上海的“非基督教同盟”。全国很多城市的学校纷纷响应, 成立了很多反基督教和反宗教的团体, 从而形成了义和团运动之后的又一次反基督教高潮。但这次反教运动主要诉诸非暴力性的口诛笔伐, 成员多为青年知识分子, 因而与义和团有本质上的区别。另一值得注意的事实是, 在一片反基督教和非宗教的声浪中, 一些自由派知识分子如周作人、钱玄同、沈兼士、沈士远、马裕藻五人于3月31日以发表宣言的方式, 大胆而又明确地反对非基督教同

⁴ 此页的“世界基督教学生大同盟”、“非基督教学生同盟”之类的专有名词、引文乃至文章中的“基督教”即 Christianity, 指所有基督宗教。

⁵ 见《先驱》*Xianqu [The Pioneer]* 半月刊, 第4号, (1922年3月15日)。

⁶ 原文载《民国日报》*Minguo ribao* 【Daily of Republic of China】, (1922年3月21日)。

⁷ 以上原文转引自段琦 Duan Qi: 《奋进的历程——中国基督教的本色化》*Fengjin de licheng ---- Zhongguo jidujiao de bensehua* 【The Process of Struggling Progress ---- The Indigenization of Christianity in China】, (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan 【The Commercial Press】, 2004), 187-188。

盟,发出了振聋发聩的声音:“人们的信仰,应当有绝对的自由,不受任何人的干涉。除去法律的制裁以外,信仰自由载在约法。知识阶级的人,应该先遵守,至少亦不应首先破坏”。⁸正是由于出现了这些反对派的声音,非宗教同盟适时地反省自身的言行,于4月2日第二次发表通电,将其引发的运动与义和团、过激党区隔开来,重申其宗旨是“专为解脱宗教羁绊,发挥科学真理”,⁹对于周作人等几位北大教授们的宣言,学生们以充满造反精神的雄辩予以拒绝,认为这些教授虽然声称“不拥护任何宗教”,但他们的宣言不是发表于基督教学生同盟在北京开会的消息传出之后,而是发表于非宗教大同盟等已有组织之后,因而事实上有倾向于拥护宗教的嫌疑,失去了完全的中立态度。他们还申辩道:同盟并不侵犯信仰自由,是基督教学生同盟侵犯了不信教人士的自由。¹⁰

北大学生发起的非宗教同盟在现代中国思想史和中国基督宗教史上影响是深远的,一方面,它将启蒙运动以来对宗教的批判态度和理念更深入和广泛地播撒到青年学生的心性结构之中,并以施加压力的方式迫使国民政府对基督教的扩张采取了一系列限制性的措施;另一方面,它从反面有力地推助了中国基督宗教的本色化运动。

从以上事例还可以看出,尽管影响一种宗教在中国的发展态势并最终决定其命运的因素是政教关系,但政教关系既是自变量,也可以是因变量。比如,20世纪20年代非基督教运动和非宗教大同盟等学生运动就曾深刻影响过国民政府对基督教的政策。换言之,学生运动可以借助于对政府施加压力而影响某种宗教在中国的命运。

大学生对宗教的态度,对宗教的兴趣或反感的大小,直接代表着中国青年的主流态度。如果我们可以假定,“稳定的态度、重要的态度、容易提取的态度、由直接经验形成的态度、在认知与情感上有很高一致性的态度,是最能预测行为的态

⁸ 张钦士 Zhang Qinshi 辑《国内近十年之宗教思潮》 *Guonei jin shinian zhi zongjiao sichao* 【The Religious Thinking Waves in Recent Ten Years in China】, (北平 Beijing: 燕京华文学学校 Yanjing huaren xuexiao 【Yanjing Chinese School】, 1927), 199。

⁹ 转引自前引段琦 Duan Qi:《奋进的历程——中国基督教的本色化》 *Fengjin de licheng ---- Zhongguojidujiao de bensehua* 【The Process of Struggling Progress ---- The Indigenization of Christianity in China】, 191。

¹⁰ 同上。

度”，¹¹ 那么，北京市大学生对各种宗教的态度与兴趣取向就值得进行认真的调查研究。

二、理论框架：意义问题与意义的匮乏

自宗教社会学的奠基人之一韦伯开始，意义问题就成为宗教社会学的主要论题之一。像所有持世俗化理论的学者一样，韦伯清醒地意识到，在宗教和理智之间，尤其是在宗教和理性主义在经验科学的发展之间，存在着根深蒂固的张力，后者会在自身的进展中将宗教从理性的王国推向无理性的王国。但是，救赎宗教会对理性的攻击展开反击，并提出如下的主张：“宗教认识乃是一个不同领域中的活动，它的性质和意义完全不同于理智的成就。宗教所要求的是通过直接理解世界的‘意义’而提供对世界的终极立场。它并不要求提供有关‘是什么’或者‘应当是什么’的理智认识。它要为世界的意义提供答案，但不是借助于理智，而是借助于启示的超凡魅力”。韦伯还认为，宗教人士如果能从理智知识（包括哲学）中解脱出来，就意味着他做好了准备去接受至关重要的关于世界及他本人的生存的意义。¹²

韦伯注意到，宗教信徒试图将世界的过程理解为多少是有意义的努力，会由于不义的苦难这个司空见惯的问题而遇到挑战。¹³ 因此，各种宗教都提供了各种神义论来面对这种挑战，韦伯对这些神义论的社会学意义做了深入的分析 and 挖掘。¹⁴ 当代学者指出，在韦伯的著作中，神义论指称任何对不义与人类苦难提供一种宗教性解释的普泛化的意识形态或意义系统。因此，可以说是韦伯发展了这一概念，从而对宗教对于社会分层与不平等的反应提供了一种比较性的理解。¹⁵

在宗教社会学的后续发展中，有学者注意到，对环境或境遇的感知在意义的形成中具有至关重要的意义。¹⁶ 也许正是对这一点的高度重视，使得人们较为普遍

¹¹ S. E. Taylor, L. A. Peplau, D. O. Sears 著，谢晓非 Xie Xiaofei、谢冬梅 Xie Dongmei、张怡宁 Zhang Yining、郭铁元 Guo Tiejuan 等译，《社会心理学》 *Shehui xinlixue* 【Social Psychology】，（北京 Beijing：北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe [Peking University Press]，2004），171。

¹² Edited, with an Introduction by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, with new preface by Bryan S. Tumer, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1991), 350-353.

¹³ 同上书，页 352。

¹⁴ Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 138-150.

¹⁵ 以上参 Tumer, *Religion and Social Theory*, 80-81.

¹⁶ Joseph Runzo and Nancy M. Martin ed., *The Meaning of Life in the World religions*, 55, 188, 270-271.

的接受以下对意义的界定, 即, 意义指的是依据某种更为宏大的参照系对一些境遇与事件所作的解释(理解)。“意义问题属于个人生活的基本信仰, 涉及对生存的意义(幸福与受苦、善与恶、为什么我在、死的释义、与他人的生存关系)的认识”与理解。¹⁷

简而言之, 从宗教社会学的角度来看, 可以说, 解决意义问题乃是宗教的核心功能——尽管现代社会的高度分化好像在不断侵蚀着宗教的功能领域, 但宗教解决意义问题的功能却日显重要,¹⁸ 并且彰显着其吸引力。

在某些语境中, 由于人为因素造成宗教的社会声望很低, 随着主流意识形态的祛魅, 原先被认为具有天经地义的合法性与正当性的世俗的意义系统日益显得苍白无力, 而新的主流性的意义系统尚未确立, 这时便会出现“意义的匮乏”(scarcity of meaning)。这里, 所谓意义的匮乏指的是, 对于“我是谁(自我认同)?”、“生活的意义究竟是什么?”、“应该如何面对苦难与不义?”等终极性的问题缺乏令人满意的回答。¹⁹

在这样的语境中, 作为中国社会中的天之骄子的北京市的大学生们是如何面对意义问题的? 他们思考意义问题吗? 他们将求助的目光投向那种意义系统? 换言之, 他们对各种宗教的兴趣趋向呈现出何种态势? 这些正是本文试图解决的问题。

三、调查方法与自变量的设定

1. 调查总体与抽样规模

本调查的总体为北京市行政范围内所有教育部直属、其他部委所属或北京市所属 55 所高等院校中的本科生(440030 人)、²⁰ 在校硕士研究生(143017 人)²¹ 和博士研究生(46514 人),²² 总数为 629561 人。针对这一总体, 多大样本规模比较合适呢? 从理论上讲, 样本量可以以估计简单随机抽样的总体比例 P 时的样本量

¹⁷ 刘小枫 Liu Xiaofeng: 《现代性社会理论绪论》 Xiandaixing shehui lilun xulun 【Introduction to Modernity Social Theory】, (Shanghai 上海: 三联书店 Sanlian shudian 【Sanlian Bookstore Press】, 1998), 471。

¹⁸ Cf. Susan Budd, *Sociologist and Religion*, (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1973), 122.

¹⁹ 这里对意义的匮乏的界定参考了 Robert D. Boyd and J. Gordon Myers: “Overcoming Leadership Scarcity: Discerning the Spiritual Journey”, in *Spirituality Today*, Vol. 39, (Autumn 1987), 226.

²⁰ 主要为 2007 级至 2010 级本科生, 部分专业如医学专业等为 5 年制, 同样包括在内。

²¹ 不包括非全日制专业研究生。

²² 不包括在职博士生。

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为基础。在 95% 的置信度下按抽样绝对误差不超过 3% 的要求进行计算, 需要抽取样本量:

$$n_0 = \frac{u_\alpha^2 p(1-p)}{d^2} = 1067$$

这里 d 为抽样绝对误差, 取 0.03, u_α 在置信度为 0.95 时为 1.96, $p(1-p)$ 最大取 0.25。由于本课题准备采用多阶段的复杂抽样 (有利于调查实施), 设计效应 (deff) 一般会在 1.5 和 2 之间, 我们把 deff 定为 2, 这样需要的样本量约为 2,000 个。

2. 抽样过程及结果

课题组通过各种统计资料获得符合调查条件的北京高校名单以及各高校内 2009 年以来普通全日制本科生、研究生以及博士生的统计数。然后采用分层、多阶段、概率与规模成比例 (PPS) 的抽样方法, 首选选出 13 所高校作为调查学校, 然后再在各个被抽中学校内通过宿舍楼进行随机抽样。各阶段的抽样过程如下:

第一阶段以大学作为初级抽样单位。根据首都高校的属性与特征, 我们将全部 55 所高校划分为三大类, 共 11 个子抽样单位。具体见下表:

表 1 各子抽样框各类在校人数统计及估计

框号	学校	学校数	本科	硕士	博士	合计	百分比	累积百分比
1	北大	1	13079	7609	3903	24591	3.99%	3.99%
2	清华	1	13153	10605	5286	29044	4.72%	8.71%
3	人大	1	10585	6721	3113	20419	3.32%	12.02%
4	民族大学	1	11448	3056	772	15276	2.48%	14.50%
5	211 理科	13	153599	59164	19870	232633	37.77%	52.27%
6	211 文科	5	36356	18687	4919	59962	9.74%	62.01%
7	非 211 文科 1	4	36995	7738	876	45609	7.41%	69.41%
8	非 211 文科 2	9	62994	4007	0	67001	10.88%	80.29%
9	非 211 理科	7	54518	4816	0	59334	9.63%	89.93%
10	艺体院校	10	29895	7780	1222	38897	6.32%	96.24%
11	医科院校	3	14761	5661	2727	23149	3.76%	100.00%
	总计	55	440030	143017	46514	615915	100.00%	

北大、人大、清华、民族大学已经具体到学校, 此阶段的入样概率为 1。在其他抽样框内, 我们采用 PPS 抽样法, 抽样之前将这些学校按照中国校友会的大学排名将这些学校排名。除 211 理工子抽样抽取 3 所学校外, 其他各个子抽样框各抽

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取 1 个学校，共抽取 13 所学校（学校总数量的选择考虑到调查的便利性、经费的承担能力以及样本代表性），抽中学校如下表第一列：

表 2 学校抽样结果

名称	设计抽取人数				实际回收人数			
	本科	硕士	博士	合计	本科	硕士	博士	合计
北京大学	88	68	34	190	89	44	31	164
清华大学	80	80	41	201	91	49	41	181
中国人民大学	62	39	18	119	66	53	13	132
中央民族大学	67	18	4	89	77	26	4	107
中国政法大学	87	45	12	144	81	43	7	131
中国地质大学(北京)	122	47	16	185	120	53	10	183
北京邮电大学	122	47	16	185	135	34	4	173
北京化工大学	122	47	16	185	138	41	3	182
首都医科大学	44	17	8	69	57	9	0	66
北京电影学院	89	23	4	116	100	11	0	111
北京建筑工程学院	163	14	0	177	144	26	0	170
首都师范大学	111	23	3	137	74	43	3	120
国际关系学院	188	12	0	200	132	24	0	156

注：北大、清华两校硕士实际调查数与调查设计时的估计数相差较大，首师大，国际关系学院本科生调查数与设计时的估计数相差较大。需进行事后权重调整。

为了反映全体首都大学生（本科、硕士、博士）的总体特征，在被抽中学校内我们对各个年级的学生采取等概率抽样；为了使某些重点学校学生（在历次的学生运动中具有先锋作用）的特征有更好的代表性，我们给予了北大、清华、人大、民族大学相同的较大概率，给了其他 211 学校相对较小的抽样概率。因此，如果要反映全市大学生情况，要在分析时赋予必要的权重。这样，我们将 2000 个样本的 600 人划分给北大、清华、人大、民族大学；其他 211 学校 700 人，剩下 700 人分给其他非 211 学校之类。按照组内等概率的方式得到各个子抽样框内需要抽取的人数（见表 2）。

上述配额结果使得不需要加权就能对北大、清华、人大、民族大学，其它 211 学校，及其它北京高校学生等三类学生分别进行推论。如果需要对北京普通高校的所有总体进行推论则需要进行必要加权，权重系数为：北大、清华、人大、民族大学的权重为 0.5452，其他 211 学校权重为 1.3279，其他学校的权重为 1.0619（如果前期获得的统计数据准确，合理权重还应进行事后调整）。

第二阶段校内实地抽样。这一阶段，项目组首先摸清被抽中学校全部宿舍楼的信息，然后以宿舍为抽样单位选出各楼的被调查宿舍。在抽中具体学校之后，课题组花费了足够的时间充分了解了各个学校的宿舍分布情况，收集到所有本科、硕士和博士的住宿（北大、清华的深圳研究生院等京外住宿楼除外）信息：各楼编号，各楼实际住人房间数（按居住人数分别统计）等。通过实地了解各个学校学生住校比例，发现各校住校比例确实基本都在 90% 以上，具有较好的代表性。因此我们按照计划通过宿舍进行校内抽样。抽样时，按照各楼所住学生在校该校学生中的比例，通过随机抽样的方式抽取了相应的宿舍，最后，凡被抽中宿舍随机选择 1 人接受调查。由于详细资料篇幅过大，兹不列数。

最终调查组共发放了 2000 份问卷，收回 1877 份，其中有效问卷 1876 份，各校实际回收人数如表 2 右侧部分。

在我们设计的问卷中，与本文主题相关的自变量有：思考人生意义问题的频次、对自己在社会上定位问题的困惑程度、是否对人生的意义究竟是什么找到了令人满意的回答。

四、数据分析

本次调查表明，北京市大学生思考人生意义问题的频率很高，具体情况见下表 3：

表 3 思考人生意义及目的的频率

您思考人生意义或人生目的的频率是？	未加权百分比	加权百分比
经常	42.2	41.7
有时	52.8	53.9
极少	4.7	4.3
从不	0.3	0.2
人数	1838	1838

从上表可见，北京市大学生中很少或者从不思考人生意义问题者只占总数的 4.5%，超过 95% 的学生有时或者经常思考人生的意义问题。那么，勤于思考人生意义问题的大学生们是否找到了令其满意的答案呢？表 4 回答这一问题。

表 4 思考人生意义的频率与是否找到活着的意义的关系

您思考人生意义或人生目的的频率是?	人活着的意义究竟是什么? 我至今没有找到令我满意的答案。					人数
	绝对不赞成	不赞成	一般	赞成	非常赞成	
经常	11.9	31.8	20.4	22.9	12.9	775
有时	8.0	34.0	30.4	23.3	4.3	970
极少	9.7	26.1	36.0	19.4	8.9	86
从不	0.0	13.4	56.7	30.0	0.0	5
合计	9.7	32.7	26.5	23.0	8.1	1,836

注: 表中百分比为加权百分比。

从上表中可以看到, 42.4% 的学生找到了人生意义问题的答案, 31.1% 的学生没有, 还有 26.5% 的学生处于犹疑彷徨的状态。换言之, 有超过一半的学生没有找到令其满意的答案, 且经常思考人生意义的学生中对人活着的意义明确表示彷徨的比例相对较高。这说明, 所谓意义的匮乏或短缺在北京市大学生中确实是客观存在的。

大学生对自己的身份认同问题是否有明确的答案呢? 具体情况见表 5:

表 5 社会定位的明确性

	绝对不赞成	不赞成	一般	赞成	非常赞成	人数
我对自己现在及将来在社会中的定位非常迷惑。	2.8	23.9	35.2	30.0	8.0	1876
	2.8	22.8	35.9	30.1	8.3	1876

注: 第一行数据为未加权百分比, 第二行数据为加权的百分比。

从表 5 中可以看到, 对自己现在与将来在社会中的定位非常迷惑的大学生 (38.4%) 多于对此问题有较清醒认识的人 (25.6%), 还有相当一部分学生 (占总数的 35.9%) 对此问题未置可否。

我们不禁要问: 注重人生意义问题而又找不到令其满意的答案的北京市大学生是否会将探寻的目光转向各种宗教? 不妨先看看各种宗教的信徒在大学生中的分布情况:

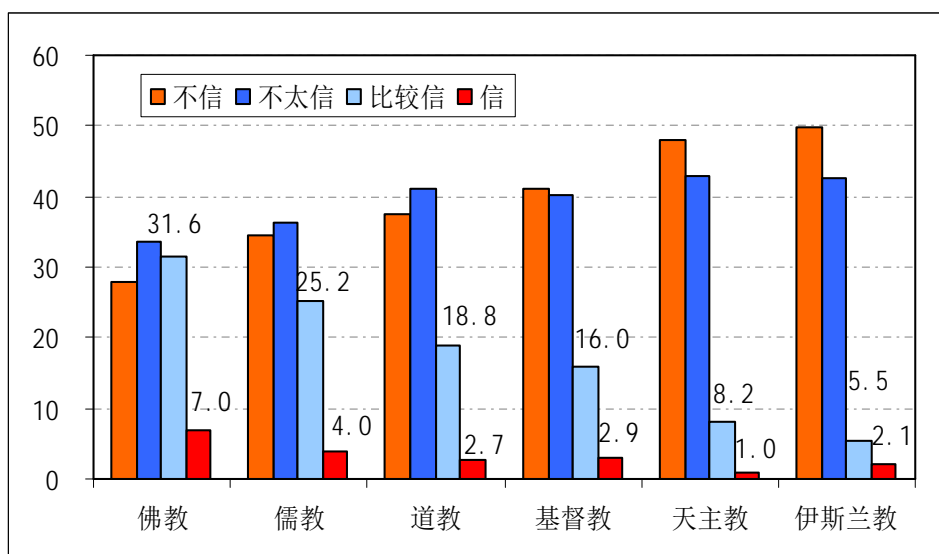


图 1 大学生中各种宗教的信徒分布

从上图中可以看到，北京市大学生中自称信仰佛教的人数最多，占总数的 7%；其次是信仰儒教的，占总数的 4%；再其次是基督徒，占总数的 3.9%（基督徒加天主教徒）；再其次是信仰道教的，占总数的 2.7%，最后是信仰伊斯兰教的，占总数的 2.1%。计算一下，可以发现，大学生中信仰被认定为中国传统宗教（儒释道）的人数（占总数的 13.7%）远远超过基督徒（占总数的 3.9%）。

我们再看看北京市大学生对哪些宗教感兴趣：

表 6 对何种宗教信仰感兴趣

如果您不是宗教信徒，您对下述哪一个宗教最感兴趣：	未加权百分比	加权百分比
佛教	32.0	31.5
道教	9.9	10.2
伊斯兰教	3.4	3.3
基督宗教	17.9	17.6
儒家/儒教	8.0	7.9
对上述宗教都感兴趣	6.7	6.6
对任何宗教都不感兴趣	21.1	21.9
对上述以外的宗教最感兴趣	1.0	1.0
人数	1,811	1,811

从表 6 中可以看到, 有 31.5% 的大学生对佛教最感兴趣, 17.6% 大学生对基督宗教最感兴趣, 10.2% 的大学生对道教最感兴趣, 7.9% 的大学生对儒家/儒教最感兴趣, 3.3% 的大学生对伊斯兰教最感兴趣, 21.9% 的大学生对任何宗教都不感兴趣。

当然, 我们更感兴趣的是大学生思考人生意义问题的频率与其选择某种宗教信仰之间的相关性, 从表 7 中可以略见一斑:

表 7 对于人生意义的思考与宗教信仰之间的关系

您思考人生意义或人生目的的频率是?	佛教**	道教	儒教	基督宗教	伊斯兰*	其他宗教*	人数
经常	44.3	25.5	32.6	24.2	8.3	3.9	764
有时	34.9	18.3	25.8	15.6	6.2	3.0	961
极少	28.0	14.6	20.2	16.9	14.1	7.3	83
从不	15.4	15.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4
合计	38.5	21.1	28.3	19.2	7.4	3.5	1,812

注: 表格中的比例为加权百分比(表 8、表 9 同), 表示某种精神状态的大学生中有多大比例认为自己比较相信或者信某种宗教。需要说明的是, 各类宗教后面的**表示统计相关在 0.01 水平上显著, *表示在 0.05 水平上显著 (significant at 0.05 level)。此外, 伊斯兰教与其他宗教人很少, 不宜过度关注。

从表 7 中可以看到, 思考人生意义越频繁的大学生, 相信佛、道、儒教的比例越高; 或者反过来, 相信佛、道、儒教的大学生思考人生意义与目的越频繁。同样, 思考人生意义越频繁, 越有可能相信基督宗教。需要说明的是, 这里的“相信”(因为合并了汉语意义上的“比较信”)与既有信仰也有归属和行为 (belief, belonging, and behavior) 的信仰意思有所不同。

表 8 社会定位明确度与宗教信仰的关系

我对自己现在及将来在社会的定位非常迷惑。	佛教	道教**	儒教	基督宗教	伊斯兰	其他宗教	人数
绝对不赞成	39.2	24.8	30.8	14.9	6.9	4.4	53
不赞成	37.1	22.9	30.2	19.6	6.5	4.1	439
一般	34.5	18.3	25.1	17.6	8.1	3.5	653
赞成	40.5	19.0	29.5	18.8	6.0	2.3	556
非常赞成	47.6	33.4	33.4	27.0	11.7	5.5	147
合计	38.1	21.0	28.4	19.1	7.4	3.5	1,848

从表 8 中可以看到, 对自身社会定位非常迷惑的大学生相信道教的比例显著高于其他大学生(在这一列中, 非常赞成对应的百分比最大); 与此同时, 对自己的社会定位比较明确的大学生中信仰宗教的比例并不低; 那些对于自己身社会定位不置可否的人信仰宗教的比例相对较低。这可能因为, 社会定位明确的人中, 可能有一部分因为归信了某种而明确了自身的社会定位, 而社会定位不明确的人同样有较大的动力去了解 and 相信宗教。而那些对自身社会定位不太在意和不太敏感的人(意义需求不明确)与宗教的亲 and 度反而相对较低。

表 9 人活着的意义的明确性与宗教信仰

人活着的意义究竟是什么? 我至今没有找到令我满意的答案。	佛教**	道教**	儒教	基督宗教	伊斯兰教	其他宗教	人数
绝对不赞成	40.1	24.7	30.2	15.2	6.1	3.8	172
不赞成	35.8	19.1	27.6	17.6	7.0	3.5	609
一般	33.4	16.7	25.3	19.2	7.7	3.0	505
赞成	44.1	25.3	32.4	21.4	8.8	4.0	405
非常赞成	44.6	26.7	29.0	23.8	5.5	3.2	156
合计	38.1	21.0	28.4	19.1	7.4	3.5	1,847

从表 9 中可以看出, 对于生活的意义问题没有找到满意答案和找到满意答案的受访者, 相信佛教、道教、儒教的比例明显要高一些; 那些对于活着的意义这一问题不甚敏感的人(如果我们认为那些回答“一般”的人为此类人的话)信仰中国传统宗教的比例相对较低。不过, 有意思的是, 对于生活的意义问题越是没有找到满意答案的大学生, 相信基督宗教的比例越高; 这与大学生对我国传统宗教的态度似乎有所不同。不过, 上述生活意义问题与基督宗教的此种相关关系在统计上尚不显著(仅在 0.1 水平上显著, 难以排除此种关系是由随机波动造成的)。总的来说, 这几道题中意义的匮乏与相信基督宗教之间的相关性不甚明显。

但人们遇到各种挫折尤其是不义的苦难时, 也就是当人们遭遇到意义危机时, 往往需要诉诸各种意义系统, 以赋予其不幸以意义, 宗教性意义系统中的神义论尤其具有此种助人度过意义危机的功能。那么, 北京市的大学生在遭遇类似的意义危

机时，摆在他们面前的求助选项是多种多样的，他们认为什么样的选项对他们的帮助最大呢？下表透露了一些可资比较的信息：

表 10 遇到危机时的意义支持系统

当您遇到挫折时，哪个选项可能对您在思想或心理上度过危机最有帮助	未加权百分比	加权百分比
政治思想教育课上学到的知识或马克思主义哲学	7.2	8.0
非马克思主义人生哲学	25.5	24.1
科学世界观	37.3	38.0
宗教	10.7	10.6
其它	19.3	19.2

从表 10 中可以看到，当大学生遇到挫折时，认为对他们在思想或心理上度过危机最有帮助的第一选项是科学世界观（占受访者的 38%），第二选项是非马克思主义人生哲学（占受访者的 24.1%），第三选项是其它（占受访者的 19.2%），第四选项是宗教（占受访者的 10.6），以政治思想教育课上学到的知识或马克思主义哲学为选项的人最少（仅占受访者的 8%）。选择前两项的（科学世界观和非马克思主义人生哲学）人数远远超过半数（占 62.1%），这再次验证了贝格尔的去世俗化理论中的第二个例外论，即全球性的精英亚文化仍然是世俗化的。²³但表 10 中选择第一个选项的人数少于选择第四个选项人数这一事实表明，在北京市的大学生中，主流意识形态正在丧失话语权，或已经经历了强劲的祛魅，而宗教则在享受着其可观的复苏。所谓中国处在宗教热中，于此可见一斑。

五、结语

我们的调查表明，大学生中确实存在着意义的匮乏或短缺。一方面，绝大多数大学生勤于思考的人生意义问题，但是，另一方面，对于自己活着的意义究竟是什么，以及现在和将来在社会中定位究竟是什么等重大问题，他们中有超过一半的人并没有找到令他们满意的答案。

²³ Peter L. Berger ed., *The Desecularization of the World, Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1999), 12.

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那么，在探寻上述终极性问题的答案时，大学生们是否将目光投向宗教呢？我们的调查表明，尽管大学生中各种宗教的信徒占总数不到 20%，但只有 21.9% 的大学生明确表示对任何宗教都不感兴趣。超过 78% 的学生表示他们对某种宗教怀有兴趣。值得注意的是，非宗教徒中对儒释道等传统宗教感兴趣的人（占总数的 49.6%）远远超过对基督教感兴趣的人（17.6%）。这一事实表明，尽管大学生的宗教兴趣取向呈现出多样化的态势，但国学热对儒释道等传统宗教文化的弘扬正在大学生中发挥着潜移默化的作用，或者说，国学热正迎合了大学生的此种态度倾向。我们的调查还表明，大学生思考人生意义问题的频率越高，越有可能将信任的目光投向儒释道耶等宗教，这种相关性表明，宗教解决意义问题的核心功能正在勤于思考人生意义问题的北京市大学生中得到彰显。

值得注意的是，北京市大学生在经历人生的挫折，需要精神资源帮助他们度过意义危机时，他们中大多数人会求助于科学人生观和非马克思主义哲学，而不是具有神圣维度的宗教性的意义系统。但大学生在克服意义危机时求助于宗教的人数多于求助于主流意识形态的人数，这一事实表明缺乏神圣维度的意义系统履行克服意义危机的功能相对较小，这一点也许值得各方人士给予充分关注。

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English Title:

Chinese Traditional Culture Study Fever, Scarcity of Meaning and the Trend of University Students' Attitude toward Religions: A Survey in Beijing (2011)

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Abstract: In the fever of traditional Chinese cultural study and religious studies, university students' trend of interest in religions deserves to be surveyed due to the great influence of the student movements in the history of modern and contemporary China. Based on the data collected through PPS from 13 universities in Beijing, and focused on the problem of meaning, a perspective derived from sociology of religion, this article demonstrates that most of the university students in Beijing keep thinking of the meaning of life frequently, but more than half of them do not find satisfying answers, a fact which signify the existence of scarcity of meaning among them. In searching for meaning, fewer than 20% of them become believers of religions. The sequence of religions that interest them is as following: Buddhism, Christianity, Taoism, Confucianism and Islamism, and the sequence of meaning system to which they resort when they are in crisis of meaning is as following: scientific view of the world, non-Marxist philosophy of life, religion and Marxist philosophy. This fact means that their supportive system of meaning is characterized by secularization and pluralism. But the fact that those who turn to Marxism are fewer than those who turn to religion is of symbolic meaning, namely, the orthodoxy ideology is losing its hegemony of discourse.

Key words: fever of traditional Chinese cultural study, problem of meaning, trend of interest in religion, secularization, pluralism

“Fear of the Lord” as the Beginning of Wisdom: An Asian Reading of the *Book of Proverbs*

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Abstract: In Eastern culture, wisdom has been considered as a distinct ability of thinking and understanding, consisting of two aspects: Perspective and Judgment. According to the Proverbs, wisdom also refers to the “right attitude and approach to life”. Both of them point to a distinct perspective, which includes perspective of totality and perspective of depth. As far as the former is concerned, the fool people refuse to think from plural angles, but wise people open their perspectives of observation. As far as the later is concerned, it is needed to have the ability of observing and judging which surpasses ordinary knowledge. Such a clear mind comes from the control of the low leveled needs, and only through practice can one reach a still heart. Wisdom does not only need a perspective to face life, but also needs a self-reflecting heart to face oneself internally. Therefore, wise people do not always consider themselves as the center of everything, in fact, they may observe problems freely from a transcendent perspective. When the Proverbs say that Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom (Pr. 9:10), it points out the basis of perspective of totality and of depth, and it also denies the blind low level needs and the self-centered seeking.

Key words: Proverbs, wisdom, perspective, Daodejing

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“What is wisdom?” Chinese philosopher Tang Junyi (唐君毅) furnished two long essays on a comprehensive study of wisdom entitled “The Meaning and Character of Wisdom” and “The Manifestation of Wisdom and Moral Practice”. In one of the essays he defines “wisdom” as “a kind of creative thinking which surpasses [ordinary] knowledge and is [constructed] upon a [targeted] problem, towards a goal, along a direction, and synthetically employing known information”.¹ According to this definition, wisdom, as a distinct ability of thinking and understanding, consists of two aspects:

1. Wisdom as **Perspective**: *a way of perception* “upon a targeted problem, towards a goal, along a direction” ;
2. Wisdom as **Judgment**: *a creative synthesis of known information* rendering into an

¹ 唐君毅 Tang Junyi, “Appendix: The Manifestation of Wisdom and Moral Practice” in 《道德自我之建立》 *Daode ziwu zhi jianli* 【Founding a Moral Self】 , (Hong Kong: 人生出版社 Rensheng chubanshe 【Human Life Publishers】 , 1963), 46.

understanding “which surpasses ordinary knowledge”.

In this essay we try to follow these two general schema and see how the *Book of*

Proverbs illustrates wisdom in the Judaeo-Christian Wisdom Literature tradition.

1. Wisdom as Knowledge and Discernment

“Blessed is the man who finds *wisdom*, the man who gains *understanding*. For she is more profitable than silver and yields better returns than gold” (Pr 3:13-14).

Wisdom, as described in *Proverbs*, is generally referred to as “a right attitude and approach to all areas of life.”² And a right attitude and approach to life begins with a *right understanding*. According to *Proverbs*, a person with wisdom can view life differently from ordinary perception.³ For example, regarding happiness and sorrow, *Proverbs* says, “even in *laughter* the heart may *ache*, and *joy* may end in *grief*” (14:13).

As for regarding “to give” and “to gain”, *Proverbs* says, “one man *gives* freely, yet *gains* even more; another *withholds* unduly, but comes to *poverty*”. (11:24) This view point is shared by the Chinese Daoist text *Daodejing* (《道德经》) which also singles out paradoxical concepts in order to direct its readers to a deeper understanding of life.⁴ But how can one achieve such an unconventional view of life? In fact, the “view”, the *perspective*, is indeed the crux of the matter here.

“*Perspective*” (观 *guan*), the way one perceives and contemplates, is well studied and discussed in both Chinese and Western philosophical traditions.⁵ In the *Book of Proverbs*, a Wise is a person who can perceive life from a *higher level* of perception, namely, *perspective of totality* and *perspective of depth*.

² Eldon G. Woodcock, “Basic Terminology of Wisdom, Folly, Righteous, and Wickedness” in *Learning From the Sages: Selected Studies on the Book of Proverbs*, edited by Roy B. Zuck, (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995), 112. For a more comprehensive discussion on the meaning of “wisdom” in *Proverbs*, see Tomas Frydrych, *Living Under the Sun: Examination of Proverbs and Qoheleth*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 15-23.

³ For example, Pr 14:12, “There is a way that *seems right* to a man, but in the end it leads to *death*.”

⁴ A few illustrative examples are: “something” and “nothing”, “the difficult” and “the easy” (Book I: Ch.2), “disaster” and “good fortune” (Book II: Ch.58); “the submissive and weak” and “the hard and strong” (Book I: Ch.36, Book II: Ch.52); “doing nothing” and “nothing that is undone” (Book II: Ch.48, Book I: Ch.37).

⁵ See, for example, H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, (New York: Seabury Press, 1975), 269; and Cornelius van Peursen, “The Horizon” in *Husserl: Expositions and Appraisals*, edited by F. Ellison and P. McComick, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 188. In Chinese Buddhism, *Zhiguan* (止觀 *zhiguan* fixed mind meditation) is a central doctrine of Tiantai Buddhism and *Fajieguan* (法界觀 *fajieguan* meditation of dharmadhātu) is also a major meditative practice in Huayan Buddhism.

2. *Perspective of Totality*

A few years ago I visited the Ryoanji (Temple of Dragon Peace) in Kyoto, fancied by the belief that contemplation upon its famous Stone Garden will lead to attainment of enlightenment. So I decided to give it a try and spend some quiet moments meditating at the Stone Garden. Not long after my mind became restful, there came a group of tourists. Their talking and laughter dissipated the peace and serenity in the air and my effort to attain tranquility was completely foiled. Unable to compose myself again, I looked around aimlessly and saw one of the tourists taking photos of the Garden. Perhaps he realized that it is impossible to capture the artistic garden in one single photo, he took a few more shots from different angles. While I was admiring his cleverness, my attention was drawn to another gentleman who pulled out his video camera and attempted to catch a more comprehensive view of the Garden by walking around the entire area. Looking at these two gentlemen and comparing them with the rest of the group who were satisfied by merely purchasing postcards, I was suddenly enlightened! Different attempts to capture the scenic garden manifested different modes of perspective. A postcard, no matter how beautiful it is, presents only one single perspective of the Garden. Taking several photos can certainly capture more faces of the beauty, yet it was still far from being able to appreciate the Garden in its totality. Not even the gentleman with his video camera could do the job. For there are infinitely different ways to perceive the Garden --- perspective from a helicopter high up in the sky, perspective from an ant under one of the stones in the Garden, perspective from the tree top above the wall of the temple ...In order to attain a *comprehensive* perspective of the Garden, one has to see it from *all possible* places, which is not feasible at all. However, the more different angles one perceives the Garden from, the greater the proximity s/he will be able to present the reality of the object.

The way we look at life resembles the same manner one looks at the Stone Garden: It all depends. It all depends on the perspective that we take. Life seems so miserable, regrettable, or hopeless when we confine our ways of looking at it with a "tunnel vision". When we open up our mind and view life from different perspectives,

the world is still full of beauty and wonders and life becomes worth of living again. And this is how *Proverbs* tries to contrast between “the Wise” and “the Fool”.⁶

The Fool

The Fool is one who stubbornly sticks to his/her own way, as portrayed in *Proverbs*, “a man who remains stiff-necked after many rebukes will suddenly be destroyed – without remedy” (29:1). It is because “a fool finds no pleasure in *understanding* but delights in airing his *own opinions*” (18:2). In other words, it means that a Fool refrains from multi-dimensional thinking.

In the *Book of Proverbs*, the possibility of extending one’s dimensions of perspective comes not mainly from self-reflexive enlightenment, as is in most of the Eastern traditions. Rather, the breakthrough in one’s perception comes from receiving advice from experienced and knowledgeable people. Whereas the Fool “hates knowledge” (Pr 1:22, 29) which is different from his/her own opinions,⁷ the Wise loves to listen to those who think differently. This is why *Proverbs* puts so much emphasis on the virtue of listening to advice: “The way of a *fool* seems right to him, but a *wise* man *listens to advice*” (Pr 12:15).⁸

The Wise

For *Proverbs*, learning is both *informative* and *transformative*. Learning does not only increase one’s informative knowledge, the learning process itself can also be served as a means to acquire wisdom. Pr 9:8-9 says,

“Rebuke a wise man and he will love you. Instruct a wise man and he will wise still.”

Why does the wise love rebuke? It is because rebuke means somebody is holding an opinion which is radically different from yours. The wise would take this as an opportunity to open up new dimensions of thinking. And this is why *Proverbs* says a Wise will love you even more if you rebuke him/her. When a person is capable of

⁶ It is interesting to find that one of the most important Chinese “wisdom literatures” *The Analects* (《論語》 *Lunyu*) [by Confucius] also contrasts the “gentleman’s” (君子 *junzi*) way of life with that of the “inferior man” (小人 *xiaoren*).

⁷ Pr 23:9, “Do not speak to a fool, for he will scorn the wisdom of your words.”

⁸ See also, Pr 13:10; 15:22; 19:20-21; 27:9.

opening up his/her view to different dimensions of perspective, s/he will even be able to see the concerns or issues from his/her counterpart’s perspective. As a result, there won’t be anymore anger and resentment, but understanding and patience. That is why *Proverbs* says, “A man’s *wisdom* gives him *patience*; it is to his glory to overlook an offense” (Pr 19:11).

3. Perspective of Depth

When we read the *Book of Proverbs*, we find many verses relating anger with the Foolish, and staying calm with the Wise:

“A *quick-tempered* man does *foolish* things, and a *crafty* man is hated” (Pr 14:17).
“A *patient* man has *great understanding*, but a *quick-tempered* man displays *folly*” (Pr 14:29).

But why is it so important that a Wise should not be a quick-tempered person? This reveals the next characteristic which distinguishes a Wise from a Fool, namely, the *perspective of depth*.

Impulsivity and a Tranquil Heart

As indicated in many places in *Proverbs*, temper is only one of the many outward expressions of a person’s heart.⁹ Quick-temper reflects a restless heart within: “the heart of the righteous *weighs* its answer, but the mouth of the wicked *gushes* evil”. (Pr 15:28) It takes a clear mind and a still heart when one makes wise judgment, but a reactive-impulsive heart will gush forth evil words. Such an understanding seems to echo what is said in Lao Zi’s *Daodejing*,

“The heavy is the root of the light;
The tranquil is the lord of the hasty...
If he is lighthearted, then the root is lost;
If he is hasty, then the lord is lost” (Book I: Ch.26).

Proverbs encourages *self-control* of one’s anger and directly relates this virtue with the Wise: “A fool gives *full vent* to his anger, but a wise man keeps himself *under control*”

⁹ For example, Pr 15:28; 16:21; 16:23; 18:12; 18:14; 20:5; 21:23; 26:23-25; 27:19.

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(Pr 29:11).¹⁰ It is because when one’s temper is controlled, s/he can scrutinize the situation more clearly and comprehensively.¹¹ And this is why *Proverbs* sees a divine origin in a wise person’s listening and perceiving ability,

“Ears that hear and eyes that see –
The Lord has made them both” (Pr 20:12).¹²

Lower Needs and Discernment

The *Book of Proverbs* also relates wisdom with discernment:

“A *rich* man may be wise in his *own eyes*, but a *poor* man who has *discernment* sees through him” (Pr 28:11).

The interesting thing here is, *Proverbs* also contrasts the rich with the poor in the same context. Why is that so? The reason could be that a rich person who mistakably regards him/herself as “wise” identifies lower needs (*i.e.*, the physiological needs, the safety needs, etc.¹³) with one’s self-actualization. However, despite being deprived of physiological gratification, a Wise pursues the depth of discernment (*i.e.*, “seeing through”).

Here it appears that lower needs gratification is antithetical to a wise heart. “Perspective of depth” here implies a heart that will not rest on superficial and immediate needs. Thus *Proverbs* says,

“Listen, my son, and *be wise*,
And keep your heart on the right path.
Do not join those who *drink too much wine*,
Or *gorge themselves on meat*” (Pr 23:19-20).

Lower needs provide immediate satisfaction, but higher needs like “cognitive needs” (knowledge, understanding, wisdom, etc.)¹⁴ demand discipline, patience and

¹⁰ See James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction*, (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), 83-86, for a discussion on the relationship between “subordination of the passions” and “wisdom”.

¹¹ *Daode Jing* has a similar saying that says when “I hold firmly to *stillness*, the myriad creatures all rise together. And I see thereby their return.”(Book I: Ch.16)

¹² Here the seeing “eyes” and the hearing “ears” are not in their ordinary physiological sense, but referring to the perceptive mind and receptive attitude of the Wise. See R. N. Whybray, *Proverbs* [The New Century Bible Commentary], (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 293-294.

¹³ See A. H. Maslow, “A Theory of Human Motivation” in *Motivation and Personality*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 35-58.

¹⁴ See Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 48-51, 100.

concentration of mind. Perhaps this is the reason why most of the ancient cultures that emphasize the pursuit of wisdom also emphasize asceticism. And the tradition of the *Book of Proverbs* is no exception. In order to acquire wisdom, one has to “pay tremendous attention” and “apply one’s heart” (Pr 2:2; 5:1). And “he who *restrains* his words *has knowledge*, and he who has *a cool spirit* is a man of *understanding*” (Pr 17:27).

4. A Self-Reflexive Mind

In our discussion above, we have seen that in order to acquire wisdom, one has to attain “perspective of totality” and “perspective of depth”. In fact, when we take a closer look into the ability of attaining these perspectives, we find that both of them are related to the trouble of self-centeredness and settling the place of self in one’s life.

Self-Centeredness: The Cause of Blindness

When a person is too preoccupied with his/her own opinions or reputation, it becomes much harder to admit his/her own mistakes.¹⁵ And in order to defend his/her self-righteousness, stubbornness blinds his/her eyes and s/he can no longer perceive situations from beyond his/her own perspective.¹⁶ According to *Proverbs*, this is how self-centeredness makes a Fool. A Fool is one who holds no reflexive mind:

“As a dog returns to its vomit,
So a fool repeats his folly” (Pr 26:11).

In the same way, when a person is overcome by desires of immediate gratification or anger, his/her attention will be engaged and driven by instinctoid yearnings. As a result, s/he loses his/her patience and can no longer think freely and reflexively. Attachment, as the Chinese Buddhism frequently claims, is the enemy of wisdom.¹⁷

Proverbs says,

“Stone is heavy and sand a burden, but provocation by a fool is heavier than both”

¹⁵ Pr 18:2, “A fool finds no pleasure in understanding, but delights in airing his own opinions.”

¹⁶ Pr 12:15, “The way of a fool *seems right* to him, but a wise man *listens* to advice.”

¹⁷ See, for example, Hui Neng (惠能), 《六祖壇經》 *Lizu tan jing* 【The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch】 on “non-attachment (無住 *Wuzhu*)”.

(27:3).¹⁸

Fear of the Lord as the Beginning of Wisdom

With the above understanding, we are now ready to apprehend why the *Book of Proverbs* claims that a person who fears the Lord can acquire wisdom. But before we relate “fearing of the Lord” with “acquiring wisdom”, we must first find out what is the meaning of “fear of the Lord” in *Proverbs*.

When *Proverbs* proclaims that

“The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,
And knowledge of the Holy One is understanding” (Pr 9:10).

The book is not describing a general kind of intelligence that can be acquired autonomously by anyone who cultivates learning and deep thinking. Rather, the “wisdom” and “understanding” mentioned here must first be directly referred to an attitude of reverence towards God.¹⁹ Daniel J. Estes summarizes the meaning of “fear of the Lord” as follows:

“The term ‘fear’ (*yir’â*) in the Old Testament can refer to dread (Dt. 2:25) or terror (Jon. 1:10, 16), or more positively to awe or reverence. The expression ‘the fear of Yahweh’ combines the senses of ‘shrinking back in fear and of drawing close in awe’ (Ross 1991:907). This response is not abject terror which causes humans to cringe before Yahweh, but a sense of awe before the exalted Lord, such as Isaiah experienced when he saw the vision of Yahweh in the temple (Is. 6:1-5).²⁰

According to *Proverbs*, such a strong consciousness of the presence of God generates the four subsequent characteristics in the believer:

1. A sense of humility;²¹
2. A sense of security;²²

¹⁸ See also Tang Junyi’s discussion on how “unnatural desire” can obstruct one’s ability to acquire wisdom in his *Founding a Moral Self*, “Appendix: The Manifestation of Wisdom and Moral Practice”, 87-91.

¹⁹ Pr 3:5-7, “Trust in the Lord with all your heart and lean *not on your own understanding*; in all your ways acknowledge him, and he will make your paths straight. *Do not be wise in your own eyes*; fear the Lord and shun evil.” Also, Pr 21:30, “There is no wisdom, no insight, no plan that can succeed against the Lord.” See Carole R. Fontaine, “Wisdom in Proverbs” in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie*, edited by Leo G. Perdue, et al., (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 111-112.

²⁰ Daniel J. Estes, *Hear, My Son: Teaching & Learning in Proverbs 1-9*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 37.

²¹ Pr 22:4, “*Humility* and the fear of the Lord bring wealth and honor and life.” Also, Pr 23:17, “*Do not* let your heart envy sinners, but always be zealous for the fear of the Lord.”

²² Pr 14:26, “He who fears the Lord has a secure fortress, and for his children it will be a refuge.” Also, Pr 15:16, “Better a little with the fear of the Lord than *great wealth* with turmoil.”

WAN: “Fear of the Lord” as the Beginning of Wisdom

3. A sense of contentment;²³
4. Away from evil.²⁴

“Humility” is the ground for an openness of mind and enhances one’s ability to apprehend comprehensively. Accordingly, humility before the Lord as an expression of self-renunciation opens one’s mind to advice or opinions that are different from one’s own. Then, one is on his/her way to acquiring the “perspective of totality”. That is why *Proverbs* says, “When pride comes, then comes disgrace, but with *humility* comes *wisdom*” (Pr 11:2).

Regarding the “perspective of depth”, as we have seen, a sense of security and restful contentment are essential to one’s pursuit of wisdom and acquisition of a reflexive mind. Similarly, when a person “hates evil”,²⁵ his/her purity of heart releases him/her from the attachment to sensual desires (for example, covetousness or lust) and self-centeredness (for example, anger or pride). With such a tranquil heart, the Wise can perceive the world from a higher level of consciousness, and thus more penetratingly.²⁶

The statement “fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom” might not be able to gain universal acceptance, especially for those who do not belong to the Judaeo-Christian tradition. As Asians, we do have a long and enriched tradition of wisdom that does not presume a belief in a personal infinite Being like Yahweh. Nonetheless, if we do not regard the word “beginning” as an exclusive term, we can still appreciate one of the world’s great religious traditions which does provide insightful contribution to human inquiry of wisdom.

²³ Pr 19:23, “The fear of the Lord leads to life: Then one *rests content*, untouched by trouble.”

²⁴ Pr 8:13, “To fear the Lord is to *hate evil*; I hate pride and arrogance, evil behavior and perverse speech.”

²⁵ See n.25, Pr 8:13.

²⁶ See Rollo May’s discussion on “creative self-consciousness” as the highest stage in a person’s consciousness of oneself, in Rollo May, *Man’s Search for Himself*, (London: Souvenir Press, 1975), 139-142.

中文题目:

敬畏耶和华是智慧的开端：《箴言》的亚洲式解读

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提要：敬畏耶和华是智慧的开端：《箴言》的亚洲式解读：在东方文化的理解中，“智慧”是一种思考和理解问题的特殊能力，包含了处理问题的洞察力与判断力。就《箴言》的描述，智慧也是指“一种面向人生方方面面的正确态度和入手方法”。大家都共同地指向一种不同凡俗的“观”（perspective）。此中包括了整全观（perspective of totality）与深度观（perspective of depth）两个方面。从“整全观”方面说，愚昧人拒绝从多角度地思考问题，而智慧人则开放自己的观察维度。而“深度观”则需要具备超越的洞察力与判断力。这种清明的头脑，是来自对低层次需求的约制，透过历练而迈向专注的心灵。智慧不单需要一种面向人生的“观”，也同时是一种向内的“自省心”。所以智慧人不会是那些执着、以自我为中心的人，他们能够自由地从超越的角度去审察问题。当《箴言》说“敬畏耶和华是智慧的开端”（9：10）时，它正是指出了整全观与深度观的基础，也确切地否定了盲目对低层次需求与以自我为中心的追逐。

关键词：《圣经·箴言》、智慧、观、《道德经》

游斌: 论比较经学作为汉语基督教经学的展开途径

论比较经学作为汉语基督教经学的展开途径¹

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提要: 针对在汉语学术界中开展的圣经研究必须要面对的“多元经典”处境, 本文提出以“比较经学”作为汉语基督教经学的可能途径。通过对圣经研究学术史的考察, 本文认为多元宗教、多元经典之间的比较经学实际上一直构成圣经研究的潜在方法。而所谓“文本辩读”与“经典辩读”, 其方法假设、理念及操作方式, 也可视为一种比较经学的前身。在圣经研究的学术史基础上, 借鉴“经典辩读”或“跨文本诠释”等当代圣经诠释理论, 本文尝试对比较经学做出一个定义, 并对它可能的研究领域进行分析。针对汉语语境下的圣经研究的特殊处境, 本文认为比较经学可谓是一种介于比较宗教学与神学之间的圣经诠释方法, 具有与当代比较神学类似的性质。

关键词: 比较经学、汉语基督教经学、经典辩读、跨文本诠释学

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人们普遍意识到, 在汉语处境中开展基督教神学或《圣经》研究, 一个不可忽视的事实是: 多元宗教经典是汉语文化处境的一个基本特征。这与基督教进入中古欧洲、美洲乃至非洲的情形很不相同, 在上述地区, 基督教也许同样面临着本土多元宗教的处境, 但基督教作为“有经之教”、基督徒作为“有经之人”, 与主要以口传传统 (oral traditions) 作为文明载体的本土宗教有着相当差异, 文字与经典甚至是使这些地区迅速基督教化的重要推动力。² 但在中国文化处境中, 无论是儒教、佛教还是道教, 自身都发展出悠久的经学传统。如何面对这些多元宗教的经学传统, 是汉语处境中的《圣经》研究必须回答的问题。

本文试图提出“比较经学”的概念, 以回应汉语语境下的基督教经学 (即汉语基督教经学) 与中国本土宗教的经学传统之间的关系问题。³ 本文认为比较经学是汉

¹ 本文受教育部人文社会科学重点研究基地项目 (2009JJD730002) 基金资助, 首发于《道风》*Daofeng* (34 期, 2011 年 1 月), 经授权转载, 特此致谢。(编者按: 本刊原则上只发首发文章, 因该文切合中西国学之题旨, 故在此特别刊出。)

² 具体例子可参游斌 You Bin, 《圣经翻译、文字创制与社会转型: 以中国西南少数民族的圣经接受为例》*Shengjing fanyi, wenzi chuangzhi yu shenhui zhuanxing: Yi Zhongguo xinan shaoshu minzu de Shengjing jieshou wei li* 【Bible Translation, the Creation of Writing System and the Change of Social Paradigms: Taking the Acceptance of Bible in Chinese South-Western Minor Ethnic Areas as an Example】,《基督教思想评论》*Jidujiao sixiang pinglun* 【Reviews on Christian Thought】,(上海 Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe 【Shang People's Publishing House】, 2007), 286-298。

³ 关于“汉语基督教经学”的概念, 参游斌 You Bin, 《走向汉语学术的基督教经学》*Zouxiang hanyu xueshu de jidujiao jingxue* 【Towards Sino-Christian Academic Biblical Studies】,《道风: 基督教文化评论》*Daofeng: Jidujiao wenhua pinglun* 【Logos & Pneuma】, No. 31, (香港 Xianggang: 2009), 43-64。

语基督教经学之开展的重要途径。它主要回答以下几个重要问题：首先，比较经学的含义是什么？它在《圣经》研究学术史有什么渊源？其次，在人文学与神学之间，比较经学处于一个什么样的学科位置？换句话说，比较经学分别具有怎样的人文学与神学意义？最后，比较经学具有什么样的宗旨与研究方法？可以对其做出一个怎样的暂用定义（working definition）呢？

一、比较经学的学术史渊源

从某种意义上说，比较经学是现代《圣经》批判学（Biblical Criticism）诞生以来人们研究《圣经》的一个基本方法论前提。启蒙运动和理性主义使人们不再将《圣经》理解为“神启文本”，而是记载古代以色列和早期基督教信仰群体的宗教经验的作品，因此，可以用历史学或宗教学的方法对《圣经》展开研究。这已经内在地包含着用比较的视角来研究《圣经》，即它是不同时间或不同空间内的信仰群体的宗教经验，《圣经》文本可以被拆分为不同的信仰传统。将它们放在一起比较观之，可见它们受制于不同的社会文化处境，神学倾向或信仰表达皆有不同。

在旧约研究领域，这一比较研究得出最著名的理论即“五经四源说”（Documentary Hypothesis）。它的方法论假设就是：《圣经》文本对于上帝性质、神人交往方式、摩西与亚伦的角色等进行叙事时的差异，实际上反映了古代以色列的不同神学传统对于耶和华信仰的不同理解。将它们放在一起比较研究，可以将它们归纳为 J、E、D、P 等四个大传统，其中 J 是属于南国犹大的，它所理解的上帝是人格化的，以拟人的方式与人相交，展现出上帝慈爱、恩典的方面，摩西的角度是被矮化的；而 E 传统则是属于北国以色列的，它所理解的上帝是威严的，以隐秘的方式与人相交，展现出上帝的公正的一面，摩西的角色被突出出来；而 D 则强调在耶路撒冷的集中崇拜，摩西被呈现为律法的解释者等；P 则强调亚伦的祭司角色，并以祭祀作为神人相交的重要途径。⁴显然，它的方法论就是对《圣经》文本进行比较研究，突出《圣经》叙事的细微差异，从而将古代以色列信仰分解为

⁴ 参 Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1885, 再版于 Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1973), 并参 Richard E. Friedman, *Who wrote the Bible?*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1987), 对该理论的应用与评述。

多元的宗教传统。⁵ 可以把这一进路称为“原始的比较经学”（Proto Comparative Scriptural Studies），因为在它看来，《圣经》内部的多元文本实际上就是那些不同信仰群体的权威文本即“经”。在新约研究领域，人们同样以比较的方法去研究新约文本，将早期基督教分解成不同的信仰群体，甚至对四福音书开展比较研究，可以还原出每一部福音书后的信仰群体。

之所以把上述研究称为“原始的比较经学”，是因为它虽然采取了比较的视角，但 JEDP 各传统仍然可视为一个耶和華信仰的不同层面，早期基督教各群体也都认信基督为救主，属于同一个宗教传统。然而，当人们对古代近东世界（Ancient Near East）与希罗世界有了更多了解后，将《圣经》当作古代宗教群体的多元经典中的一员，进而对它们进行比较研究，成为《圣经》研究的主流方法之一。在此意义上，《圣经》研究已经成为一种比较经学了。例如，在旧约研究中，人们意识到巴比伦、赫梯、埃及、亚述、苏美尔与以色列文化和宗教一样，既各有特色，又在不同程度上反映出古代近东文化的某些普遍内容。最初人们将它们放在一起比较，是为了寻找古代以色列信仰与这些近东宗教文化之间的同或异，如吉伽美什史诗（Gilgamesh Epic）与《创世记》的“大洪水与挪亚”之比较、埃努玛—埃利什史诗（Enuma Elish）与《圣经》创世叙事的比较、撒尔贡王的神话与摩西河上漂流的叙事比较、伊玛城（Emar）发掘的古代祭祀文本与《利未记》的祭祀法典的比较等等。事实上，不仅相似的主题或思想被放到一起进行比较，写作的文体（genre）也被加以比较，例如家谱叙事、智慧文学（wisdom literature）、法律文书是旧约和古代近东文化都普遍使用的文体，那么，一方面，对这些文体在古代近东文化中的作用及功能的了解，显然可以帮助人们理解旧约的类似文体的意义；另一方面，人们也可以比较旧约在使用同样的古代近东文体时，又使其发生了什么样的改变，注入什么新的因素。

由于这些比较研究已经跨出了古代以色列信仰或早期基督教的传统之外，带有跨宗教的文本（经典）比较的内涵，因此，这些比较研究已经呈现出“介入比较宗

⁵ 这一进路正受到越来越多的挑战，其中新文学批判法（New Literary Criticism）就认为，不能把《圣经》叙事的某些细微差异扩大化，将它们理解为不同的信仰传统，其实质也是反对历史批判法的比较研究这一方法论假设。参 J. Cheryl Exum & David J. A. Clines eds., *The New Literary Criticism and the Hebrew Bible*, (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993)。

教学与神学之间”的内在困境。⁶对那些批判学者（critical scholars）来说，在异文化中找到了《圣经》文本的对应物，甚至从写作时间断定它们为《圣经》的文本源头，这有力地挑战了《圣经》是上帝的“独特启示”的神学信念。犹太—基督教只不过是诸宗教的一支，犹太—基督教《圣经》不是神圣启示，而是人造作品，是巴比伦或埃及“圣经”的派生或翻版而已。⁷而对有信仰背景的学者而言，比较研究亦可用来证明基督教的传统认信（confessional）立场。人们或者通过把《圣经》文本与同时代的经外文献相比较，从而推断《圣经》文本的历史真实性，进而确认“上帝启示是基于信仰群体的真实历史经验”的神学信念。⁸或者用比较研究来指出以色列神学的独特性，即虽然《圣经》的某些文本取自其他的宗教经典，但在它们进入《圣经》的总体结构后，获得了全新的信仰意义，被《圣经》作者改编成独特的信仰叙事。

当然，由于上述研究多数探讨《圣经》形成过程中与古代近东文化的关系，此时“经”尤其是“封闭的正典”（a closed canon）的概念尚未形成，因此，此类研究很难严格地被称为“比较经学”。但它们已经是在多元宗教、雏型经典之间进行比较研究，其理路及操作原则对汉语基督教经学与中国宗教经典之间的比较经学有一定的启发意义，可简述如下：

1. 两个文化之间的相似与相异都必须加以考虑；
2. 相似之处可能表示共同的文化遗产、知识环境或人类心灵结构；
3. 人们经常会发现表面的相似，但在概念层次的相异；或者相反，发现表面的相异，但在概念层次的相同；
4. 在进行跨文化比较之前，所有的文化元素都必须尽可能地在它们自身的处境中加以理解；
5. 不仅要考虑文本内容，还要考虑文本采用的文体(*genres*)；
6. 在不同的文化中，不同的文体可能扮演的功能是相当的；

⁶ 类似困境亦见于介于“比较宗教学与神学”之间的“比较神学”，对此评述可参赖品超 Lai Pinchao:《比较神学与汉语神学》 Bijiào shénxué yú hán yǔ shénxué 【Comparative Theology and Sino-Christian Theology】，《道风：基督教文化评论》 Daofeng: Jidujiao wenhua pinglun 【Logos & Pneuma】，No. 25, (香港 Xianggang: 2006), 147-164。

⁷ 参 M. W. Chavalas, “Assyriology and Biblical Studies: A Century of Tension,” in M. W. Chavalss and K. L. Younger Jr. eds., *Mesopotamia and the Bible*, (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 21-67。

⁸ 它以正切合《圣经》年表为这些文本所设定的历史阶段的方式，表明《圣经》文本的真实历史性。例如，K. Kitchen 通过将旧约的立约文本与古赫梯的条约之间的比较研究，证明它们反映的是公元前二千纪中期，而不是如批判学者们所认为的公元前一千纪中期的宗教和文化处境。详参 K. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003)。

7. 当某些文化因素被借用时, 它们可能会被那些借用它们的人改变为某种很不一样的东西;
8. 一个文化很少是单一性的 (monolithic), 不管是就其同时代不同部分的差异, 还是考虑其时代变迁的差异而言。⁹

综上所述, 自现代《圣经》批评学产生以来, 比较宗教或文化就是《圣经》研究的一个基本的方法论。它隐含了两个基本前提: 一、多元宗教或多元文化的背景; 古代以色列或早期基督教信仰被理解为多元宗教中的一支, 而非如前批判时期简单地将非犹太—基督教传统斥为“异邦主义”(paganism)。二、其他宗教传统可以成为人们反思或理解基督徒信仰的一种资源。因此, 随着宗教多元主义的格局在现代社会越来越显著, 在基督教传统内部, 人们也越来越多地运用比较宗教或比较神学的眼光来构建神学。¹⁰表现在基督教经学的领域, 最典型的代表就是所谓的“经典辩读”(scriptural reasoning)的潮流。

经典辩读这一名词源于一个犹太名词“文本辩读”(textual reasoning), 它是由一群犹太神学家和《圣经》文本学者发起的运动。《希伯来圣经》是犹太教的根基, 但在近代启蒙主义与历史主义的冲击下, 《圣经》上的一切都似乎需要接受理性或历史的审判。于是, 犹太教知识阶层便发出这样的疑问:

现代“怀疑的解释学”是不是穷尽了犹太教宗教文本的内涵? 在学术怀疑与批判的利刃划过之后, 文本还留下了什么? 文本与今天的解释者群体之间还有相关性吗?¹¹

在他们看来, 《圣经》是一部“意义盈余”的经书, 即使是最精细的批判研究也不能穷尽它。因此, 他们提出“文本辩读”的概念, 即一方面它是基于《圣经》文本的, 另一方面, 它认为文本前面坐着的不是“怀疑者”, 而是“辩读者”(reasoner)。这

⁹ 参 John H. Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible*, (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006), 26-27.

¹⁰ 其代表人物及其著作如 Francis Clooney, *Theology After Vedanta: An Experiment in Comparative Theology*, (Albany: SUNY, 1993); Keith Ward, *Religion and Revelation*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); James L. Fredericks, *Faith Among Faiths: Christian Theology and Non-Christian Religions*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1999)。对他们的综合评议, 参赖品超 Lai Pinchao《比较神学与汉语神学》Bijiao shenxue yu hanyu shenxue【Comparative Theology and Sino-Christian Theology】一文。

¹¹ Steven Kepnes, “Introducing the Journal of Textual Reasoning: Rereading Judaism after Modernity”, *The Journal of Textual Reasoning*, (vol. 1, no. 1). <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/journals/tr/volume1/kepnesTR1.html>, 2009年12月30日登入。

些经文的辩读者就是希望从宗教经文中寻溯到一层与当下信仰群体相关的意义, 用利科的话说, 就是追求一种“寻溯的解释学”(hermeneutics of retrieval)。

文本辩读的目的就是要建立一种“后批判的”或者说“后自由的”犹太经学。为达到这一点, 他们将现代的哲学与神学延请到对犹太经文的解读之中, 其中最典型的代表如科恩(Hermann Cohen)和罗森茨维格(Franz Rosenzweig)的犹太现代神学、林贝克(G. Lindbeck)的文化—语言模式(cultural-linguistic model)、格尔茨(C. Geertz)的文化理论或皮尔斯(C. S. Pierce)的语义学理论等。因此, 文本辩读这一运动的最初动力就来自于将《圣经》经文开放于多样的人文思潮之中, 借助于一种现代“辩读”来重新理解犹太教的经典与传统。这正反映在它的名字上, 一者是犹太教文本, 另一者是“辩读”(reasoning)即理智的力量。

但在一个多元宗教的世界里, 仅仅在某一个宗教的文本与现代人文思潮之间的互动显然不够, 多元宗教经典与传统之间如何相互借鉴, 彼此深化, 本身即是一个重要的问题。因此, 西方三大宗教即犹太教、基督教、伊斯兰教的学者们一起再将“文本辩读”运动拓展为“经典辩读”运动。¹² 它深刻地体现了跨宗教、经典比较的精神, 不仅参加者来自于不同宗教, 而且人们所辩读的经文也选自不同的宗教经典。它的意图是使参与者超越所谓的“批判性”阅读, 使他们都回到自己的宗教传统中, 并在对一段经文、一个形象或一个伦理主张的讨论中, 既相互理解, 又更深地反思并重构自己的信仰。可以这样概括“经典辩读”的几个主要方面:

1. 经典辩读是多元的“他者”共同参与的寻求智慧、真诚沟通的活动。在对话中, 每一宗教传统都被真诚地对待, 是被尊重的“另一个”;
2. 经典辩读既是不同宗教传统之间的对话, 也是它们共同与现代人文学术的对话, 人们在对传统经文的重读走向一种“后批判”或“后自由”的神学;
3. 经典辩读也试图回应当下信仰群体所共同面对的当代问题, 从而使经文具有当代相关性(relevance);
4. 在经典辩读中, 没有任何人或群体独自占有经文的最终意义;
5. 经典辩读要为未来提供一种新鲜的、经过检验的智慧, 要从文本的研读中涉及更多的理论问题、哲学问题、神学问题或公共问题;
6. 所有的宗教传统不仅需要回到自己的经典和传统, 也需要借助于其他传统对自

¹² 其代表人物如犹太学者 Peter Ochs, 基督教学者 David F. Ford, 圣公会神学家 Daniel W. Hardy 等。2007 年后, 一些伊斯兰权威也鼓励穆斯林参与这一运动。

已形成更好的理解和反思;

7. 经典辩读不仅有助于我们理解作为邻居的其他宗教, 也有助于我们更好地理解自己的经典和传统, 最终在寻求智慧的活动中的凸显高于对话之任何一方的绝对的“他者”;
8. 经典辩读的实践包含着一种潜在的自我反省, 包含着对于一切自我封闭、自我诠释和“先在的确定性”(pre-assurance)之消解。¹³

可见, 经典辩读虽然阅读的是某一宗教传统的权威文本, 但其目的却不是劝化阅读者, 而是借用其他宗教的比较视角或资源来深化对自己信仰的理解。它是一种“信仰间的对话”, 是为了深化彼此的理解, 但它更是以信仰对话的方式来寻找“智慧”, 强调经典辩读过程对于参与者的“转型”(transformative)作用, 追求与“终极实在”的相遇。就前者而言, 它是一种人文科学; 而就后者而言, 则是一种神学。它是一个介于人文学与神学之间的运动。

二、比较经学与汉语基督教经学

如上所述, 经典辩读运动的实质是一种比较经学。但在目前, 其参与者、所辩读经文都局限于亚伯拉罕系宗教即犹太教、基督教与伊斯兰教, 它们在信仰上有着很强的亲缘关系。也就是说, “经典辩读”虽然将重心落在对“他者”传统的倾听与开放, 但实际上受制于西方的宗教现实, 参与者的“他者性”并不显著。在此意义上, 将经典辩读的精神引入到汉语语境下的基督教与中国宗教传统之间的对话之中, 不仅对某些权威经典的文本进行辩读, 而且在两大经学传统之间进行比较性对话, 使之成为一种全面的“比较经学”(Comparative Scriptural Studies), 将提升对话参与者的“他者性”, 从而在更深层次上开放与反思自身。

在基督教权威经典——《圣经》与中国宗教的本土经典之间进行交互式阅读的必要性, 已被那些具有本土意识的神学家们所注意,¹⁴ 李焯昌提出的“跨文本阅读”

¹³杨慧林对“经典辩读”的内在精神的分析参杨慧林 Yang Huilin, 《“经典辩读”的价值命意与“公共领域”的神学研究》, *Jingdian biandu de jiazhi mingyi yu gonggong lingyu de shenxue yanjiu* 【The Value Meaning of Classical Reading and the Theological Research in Public Space】, 《长江学术》 *Changjiang xueshu* 【Changjiang Academy】, No. 1, (2009), 51-52。

¹⁴ 韩国的 Tai il Wang 就提出, 亚洲的经典传统有助于基督教《圣经》研究“回到正典”。参 *Return to Canon: Korean Perspectives on Performing the Scripture*, paper presented on *Mapping and Engaging the Bible in Asian Cultures*, (SABS 2008 Conference Handbook), 51-62。

(cross-textual reading) 就是其典型代表。在他看来, 包括中国在内的亚洲经典可以称为“文本 A”(Asian text), 而《圣经》经文可称为“文本 B”(Biblical text)。在汉语语境下的《圣经》解释就是在这两个文本之间的互读, 即“人们能够按另一文本的方式来阅读某一文本, 从一个跨越到另一个, 以把握两个文本的精义。……通过这样的努力, 就可以达到两者之间的创造性整合或丰富彼此内涵的转化”。¹⁵在他看来, 跨文本阅读既是中国文化处境下进行富有成果的《圣经》解释的途径, 也是历史上中国基督徒们的具体信仰实践。在对明末中国基督徒著作的研究中, 他发现“两个文本在这些中国基督徒皈依的生命经验之处相遇”。¹⁶

可以认为, 李焯昌在二十世纪九十年代提出的“跨文本阅读”方法, 具有西方《圣经》学界的“文本辩读”乃至后来的“经典辩读”同样的意义。而他对于中国宗教经典作为基督教《圣经》的对话伙伴的“他者性”意识, 也要优于西方的同行们。但是, 对于汉语学术语境下的《圣经》研究来说, 跨文本阅读仍然不足以完全把握《圣经》与中国经典处境之间的深刻互动。第一、跨文本阅读的中心在于“文本”

¹⁵ 李焯昌 Li Chichang, 《跨文本阅读策略: 明末中国基督徒著作研究》 *Kuawenben yuedu celue: Mingmo Zhongguo jidutu zhuzuo yanjiu* 【The Strategy of Readings in Chinese Christian Writings】, 《基督教文化学刊》 *Jidujiao wenhua xuekan* 【Journal of Christian Culture】, No. 10, (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe 【The Press of Renmin University of China】, 2003), 168。对“跨文本阅读”的总体说明, 参李焯昌 Li Chichang 编, 《亚洲处境与圣经诠释》 *Yazhou chujing yu Shengjing quanshi* 【Biblical Interpretation in the Context of Asian Religions】, (香港 Xianggang: 基督教文艺出版社 Jidujiao wenyi chubanshe 【Chinese Christian Literature Council】), 1996。具体个案研究, 参李焯昌 Li Chichang: “The Chinese Creation Myth of Nu Kua and the Biblical Narrative in Gen. 1-11”(《中国的女媧创世神话与〈创世记〉1-11章》 *Zhongguo de Niwa chuanshi shenhua yu Chuangshiji 1-11 zhang* 【The Chinese Creation Myth of Nu Kua and the Biblical Narrative in Gen. 1-11】), in *Biblical Interpretation*, No. 2, (1994), 312-324; “Death and the Perception of the Divine in Zhuangzi and Koheleth”(《庄子与传道书中的死亡与感知神圣》 *Zhuangzi yu Chuandaoshu zhong de siwang yu ganzhi shensheng*), 《景风》(*Ching Feng*), No. 38, (Hong Kong: 1995), 68-81; “Exile and Return in the perspective of 1997”(《1997 的流放与回归: 从全球化的角度看圣经解释》 *1997 de liufang yu huigui: Cong quanqiu hua de jiaodu kan Shengjing jieshi* 【Exile and Return in the perspective of 1997】), in *Reading from This Place: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective*, ed. Fernando F. Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 97-108; 《论福音与文化中的跨文本解释学》 *Lun fuyin yu wenhua zhong de kuawenben jieshi xue* 【Cross Textual Hermeneutics on Gospel and Culture】, *Asia Journal of Theology*, No. 10, (1996), 38-48; “Syncretism from the Perspectives of Chinese Religion and Biblical Tradition”(《从中国宗教与圣经传统的角度看融合主义》 *Cong Zhongguo zongjiao yu Shengjing chuantong de jiaodu kan ronghe zhuyi*), *Ching Feng*, No. 39, (Hong Kong: 1996), 1-24; “Feminist Critique of the Bible and Female Principle in Culture”(《女性主义释经及文化中的女性原则》 *Nuxing zhuyi shijing ji wenhua zhong de nuxing yuanze*), *Asia Journal of Theology*, No. 10, (1996), 240-252; “the Recitation of the Past: A Cross-textual Reading of Ps. 78 and the Odes”(《对过去的诵读: 〈诗篇〉87 与〈诗经〉的跨文化阅读》 *Dui guoqu de songdu: Shipian 87 yu Shijing de kuawenben yuedu*), *Ching Feng*, No. 38, (1996), 173-200。

¹⁶ 李焯昌 Li Chichang, 《跨文本阅读策略: 明末中国基督徒著作研究》 *Kuawenben yuedu celue: Mingmo Zhongguo jidutu zhuzuo yanjiu* 【The Strategy of Readings in Chinese Christian Writings】, 《基督教文化学刊》 *Jidujiao wenhua xuekan* 【Journal of Christian Culture】, No. 10, (北京 Beijing: 中国人民大学出版社 Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe 【The Press of Renmin University of China】, 2003), 169。

(text)。但是, 无论对于基督教或是中国宗教的经典而言, 其文本必须在各自的经学传统当中才是活着的。光秃秃地将两个文本进行比较, 难以真正地深入这两大宗教传统之中, 对这两个文本的理解也难以深入、准确而全面。第二、跨文本阅读旨在以中国宗教的经典文本诠释《圣经》, 从而使《圣经》文本在中国文化处境中更易于被理解或接收。就其学科属性而言, 更似是《圣经》诠释 (biblical hermeneutics) 或者本土化神学 (indigenization), 较为局限于传统神学的范围之内。而在汉语学术语境之中展开的《圣经》研究, 应该更具有人文学的维度, 而不仅仅是《圣经》诠释的一支。

在此, 笔者提出“比较经学” (Comparative Scriptural Studies) 这一概念, 以之作为汉语学术语境下基督教经学研究的开展方式。从内涵上讲, 它承接《圣经》批判学以来用文化比较的视角理解或反思《圣经》文本的传统, 借鉴当代“文本辩读”和“经典辩读”的学术旨趣, 同时也吸收“跨文本阅读”对于中国多元宗教经典处境的深刻理解; 从学术环境而言, 则考虑到汉语基督教经学乃在中国大学建制内展开这一基本处境。而在更广义的当代神学潮流之内, 它可以被称为“比较神学”的一支。以下对其内容、性质及内在张力做一简单论述。

作为世界文明中两个同样悠久的经学传统, 基督教经学与中国各宗教传统 (尤其是占据中国文化主流地位的儒教) 之经学大致都可分为四个次级领域: 一、本经学。它是对权威文本, 如基督教之《圣经》, 儒家之《十三经》等经典自身的研究。儒家与基督教在本经研究上的一些方法如音韵、版本、训诂等, 可以进行相互比较与借鉴。当代《圣经》研究较为成熟的一些方法如传统史方法 (Tradition History)、新文学批判法、女性主义释经学、意识形态批判法, 也可用儒家经典的研究有所启示。二、经学史。在近二千年的思想文化史发展过程中, 《圣经》、儒家经典都与人类知识的其他领域如神哲学、文学等发生密切关系, 并受到一般性的政治文化背景的深刻影响, 经学大师也都是思想文化史的重要人物。将这些经学史现象放在一起比较, 将深化人们对彼此的理解。例如, 在中国政治文化变化最为剧烈的宋代发生的疑经与尊经共存现象,¹⁷ 与西方宗教改革前后人们的疑经与尊经,

¹⁷ 参杨新勋 Yang Xinxun, 《宋代疑经研究》*Songdai yijing yanjiu* 【A Study on Doubtful Classics in Song Dynasty】(北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju, 2007)。

便是东西文明史上的两个有趣个案。对它们进行比较研究, 对于人们理解东西方宗教及经典的性质、尊经与疑经的辩证关系, 便可以有很好的理解。三、经学诠释学。经学在东西方宗教中都是核心学问, 人们通过对经典的诠释实践中发展出各种神哲学或社会政治思想, 也形成了丰富的诠释学理论。对它们进行比较, 对于构建中国式或基督教式的诠释学理论都将大有裨益。¹⁸ 四、比较经学。如果我们以比较经学的概念反观基督教与中国宗教的历史, 实际上都可以发现其中存在一条隐约的比较经学的线路。在基督教历史上, 犹太教、基督教与伊斯兰教之间的比较与互释, 并非近代才出现的潮流, 在两约时期、中世纪都已有呈现。而在中国历史上, 儒释道三者之间的激荡、比较与融合是中国宗教的一个主流, 而随着天主教和基督教的东传, 中国基督徒们也开始了他们的“比较经学”实践。¹⁹ 另外, 虽然本文主要从基督教的本位, 探讨中国经学传统之作为建构汉语基督教经学的资源的可能, 但从中国经学的本位, 看基督教的经学传统的可能贡献, 亦是比较经学的一个重要面向。

不可否认, 就其本质而言, “比较经学”蕴含着介于人文学与神学之间的内在张力。首先, 它可以是一般的人文学的一支, 类似于比较文学、比较宗教学。我们可以对比较经学做一个人文学性质的定义:

比较经学并不仅仅是把某个经学传统与另一个进行比较, 而是在研究某一个经学传统时, 比较经学能够提供扩大研究者视野的方法——使他能够超越单一宗教的经学传统的界限, 去考察不同宗教经学传统的潮流和运动, 并认识经学与

¹⁸ 关于中国哲学界对于“中国诠释学理论”的呼吁, 可参其代表人物汤一介 Tang Yijie, 《能否创建中国的解释学》 *Nengfou chuangjian Zhongguo de jieshixue* 【Whether can Chinese Hermeneutics be Constructed?】, 《学人》 *Xueren* 【Academic Scholars】, No. 13, (1998), 6-9, 及此后的一系列文章, 《论创建中国解释学问题》 *Lun chuangjian Zhongguo jieshixue wenti* 【Discussion on the Issue of Constructing Chinese Hermeneutics】, 《东海哲学研究集刊》 *Donghai zhexue yanjiu jikan* 【Tribune of Donghai Philosophical Research】, No. 8, (2001), 7-23; 《再论创建中国解释学问题》 *Zailun chuangjian Zhongguo jieshixue wenti* 【Rediscussion on the Issue of Constructing Chinese Hermeneutics】, 《中国社会科学》 *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 【Social Sciences in China】, No. 1, (2000), 83-90; 《三论创建中国解释学问题》 *Sanlun chuangjian Zhongguo jieshixue wenti* 【The Third Discussion on the Issue of Constructing Chinese Hermeneutics】, 《中国文化研究》 *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu* 【Study of Chinese Culture】, 夏 Summer, (2000), 16-20.

¹⁹ 参李炽昌 Li Chichang, 《跨文本阅读策略: 明末中国基督徒著作研究》 *Kuawenben yuedu celue: Mingmo Zhongguo jidutu zhuzuo yanjiu* 【The Strategy of Readings in Chinese Christian Writings】。对于新教来华后的“比较经学”实践, 可参李炽昌 Li Chichang 主编, 《圣号论衡: 晚清〈万国公报〉基督教“圣号论争”文献汇编》 *Shenghaolunheng: Wan Qing Wanguogongbao jidujiao 'Shenghao lunzheng' wenxian huibian* 【Discourses on Naming God: Debate on the Chinese Name of the Christian God in The Globe Magazine in Late Qing Dynasty】, (上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe 【Shanghai Guji Publications】, 2008)。

人类活动其他领域之间的种种关系。简而言之，比较经学可以解释为通过一个以上的经学视野来进行经典研究，并研究经学与其他知识间的关系。

在此意义上，人们为比较宗教学或比较文学设定的学术宗旨亦可适用于比较经学，诸如对异文化的了解、寻求与作为“他者”的宗教传统的应和、扩展不同宗教传统的精神世界并使参与比较的各方都能更深切地理解和反思自身等等。

但是，比较经学也可以是一种特殊的“神学”。也就是说，比较经学不只是为了更深入地了解其他宗教的经典传统，也不只是为了“跨信仰的对话”（interfaith dialogue），而是从其他宗教的经典传统中寻找有益于基督教经学的资源，进而推动当代神学与经学互动，提升基督教对现代问题回应的能力。它的目的是做基督教的经（神）学，只不过是以前比较经学即与中国宗教经典传统相比较的方式去建构基督教知识系统。它既是植根于基督教传统，又是服务于该传统的。在这一点上，它又是与当今的“比较神学”潮流相当类似的。我们也可以对比较经学做一个神学性质的定义：

比较经学尝试通过其他宗教经典传统的资源来探讨基督教信仰的意义。它出入于基督教经学与另一种经典传统，一方面对基督教有一定的委身，另一方面又真诚地投入到另一个宗教的经典传统之中。但其目的是学习另一宗教的经典传统，并以此来发现、重建或加强基督教理解《圣经》、基于《圣经》建构神学的能力。

在此意义上，它是一种“基督教的”比较经学，其比较的立场与目的是为了地地建立一套汉语的“基督教经学”。

可见，比较经学是一个介于人文学与神学之间的学科。就前者而言，它是一种比较宗教学或信仰对话，是“比着讲”；就后者而言，它又是深化某一特定传统的信仰理解，是一种神学（theological reasoning），是“接着讲”。它是一个居间的学术实践，并不试图去消解它自身的内在张力。既远离宣教式的释经学，也不同于单纯的《圣经》批判学，它首先是一个多元化的学科，致力于与其他宗教的经典传统进行对话；其次它是一个自我批判的学科，以其他宗教的经学传统为参照，不断地检审自己的学术渊源；最后它也是一个开放的学科，准备接受其他有益的经学传统，甚至修正或转化自己的信仰体系。

English Title:

Comparative Scriptural Studies

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Abstract: Being concerned about the multi-scriptural context of the Chinese Biblical studies, this paper is to propose the Comparative Scriptural Studies as the approach of doing Biblical studies in China. Through a historical review about the discipline of the Biblical studies, this paper believes that the comparative scriptural approach has always been a methodology in the Biblical studies. Some contemporary biblical interpretations like “textual reasoning”, and “scriptural reasoning”, could be regarded as the predecessors of the comparative scriptural studies, since they agree in the methodological presuppositions, ideas and even practices. This paper tries to reach a working definition for the comparative scriptural studies, and then analyze its working areas. Regarding to the intellectual context of the Chinese biblical studies, the author believes that the comparative scriptural studies is a discipline in-between humanity and theology, somehow similar to the nature of comparative theology. Finally, this paper takes an exemplary study of comparative scriptural reading with Zhu Xi’s Confucian scriptural reading strategy, especially his approaches to the questions of “what is the scripture?”, “why to read the scripture?”, and “how to read the scripture?”, to investigate the significance of his Confucian answers for the construction of Sino-Christian Scriptural hermeneutics.

Key words: comparative scriptural studies, Sino-Christian scriptural studies, scriptural reasoning, cross-textual hermeneutics

王建平: 喀什伊斯兰教及其与南疆维吾尔族穆斯林社会的关系

瑞典行道会传教士所观察的喀什伊斯兰教 及其与南疆维吾尔族穆斯林社会的关系¹

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提要: 本文旨在探讨瑞典行道会传教士所观察的喀什伊斯兰教及其与南疆维吾尔族穆斯林社会的关系。除去引论与结语, 本文包括四个主要部分: 瑞典行道会到喀什传教的由来、传教士眼中的新疆喀什地区伊斯兰教、八十多年前的新疆穆斯林生活习俗、基督教差会发展中遇到来自伊斯兰教的敌意与迫害、战争动乱时期的基督教与伊斯兰教之间的关系。

关键词: 瑞典行道会、喀什伊斯兰教、南疆维吾尔族穆斯林社会

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从第一位瑞典传教士于 1892 年到达新疆 (瑞典资料称“东突厥斯坦”) 至 1938 年最后一批瑞典传教士被当地军阀盛世才驱逐止, 在近半个世纪历史中, 瑞典行道会在新疆喀什地区建立了四个传教站: 喀什市 (1894)、叶尔羌 (现名莎车, 1896)、汉城 (现名疏勒, 1908)、英吉沙尔 (1912); 总共有 60 个瑞典男女传教士先后去那里传教, 同时在教会建立的学校、医院、孤儿院和印刷所工作。有个别传教士及家属在传教事业中献出了生命而长眠于喀什地区。

瑞典行道会在新疆的传教是异常艰难困苦的。单单去新疆的 3000 英里长的旅途就需要非凡的精力和勇气。那里的生活条件是原始的, 气候险恶, 日常生活中易发疾病。传教士的传教工作使他们在身体和心理上都必须忍受万般艰苦, 这因为他们面对的是“保守、几乎是狂热形式的伊斯兰教”。² 但是, 通过向当地穆斯林提供多方面的社会公益事业, 包括医疗、教育、经济、技术、卫生等帮助, 传教士的坚韧努力使一批维吾尔穆斯林皈依了基督教。因此, 瑞典传教士在新疆的传教工作已经远远超越了宗教的意义, 它在文化范畴来说是一次比较成功的交流和合作。当然, 这期间也充满着来自一些伊斯兰极端分子和穆斯林军阀的敌视和迫害。

¹ 本文是作者于 2010 年 1 月至 3 月在香港道风山汉语基督教文化研究所做访问学者的项目研究成果, 谨对该研究所的资助深表感谢, 同时也感谢该所的全体工作人员的帮助。

² 前瑞典驻联合国大使古纳·雅林博士语, 见 Gunnar Jarring, “Preface of *Mission och revolution I Centralasien*,” authored by John Hultvall, 1.

一、瑞典行道会到喀什传教的由来

1878年,瑞典王国的路德宗教会中分出了一个小宗派,名曰瑞典行道会(英文亦称 the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden,简称 MCCS)。它成立后,提出了以欧亚内陆为传教战略重点,因此先向俄国派遣了传教士。最初的传教活动是在首都圣彼得堡附近及周围,后来延伸到乌拉尔山、高加索和伊朗的各少数民族中。19世纪80年代末,美国著名的对华传教士戴德生(Hudson Taylor)访问了瑞典。他在瑞典教会的一系列演讲激发了瑞典行道会传教士想到中国传教的热情。瑞典行道会的传教团多年来一直在俄国高加索地区以及中国湖北地区进行差传并建立传教站的活动,他们想在这两个地区之间再建立一个新的传教点,使其能够连为一线而成为一个网络。因此,传教士何一业(Höijer)选择喀什噶尔(喀什)作为在新疆(西方人称“东突厥斯坦”)开始传教的起点。1892年他带领原籍奥斯曼土耳其的阿维塔兰尼恩(Johannes Avetaranian)作了一次短暂的喀什之行。他们在喀什初步了解传教可行性情况后,何一业返回斯德哥尔摩向行道会总部汇报,同时留下了阿维塔兰尼恩在喀什继续生活并传教。1893年,在斯德哥尔摩召开的瑞典行道会大会上经讨论后批准了在新疆喀什设立新传教点的计划,紧接着就决定派出第一批正式传教人员。1893年夏,传教士胡格堡(Högberg)等停止了在波斯的传教工作而迁徙到喀什筹建传教站。³

1896年,瑞典传教士在叶尔羌建立传教站。1896年马格努斯·鲍格伦德(Magnus Backlund)来喀什传教,他是第一位来喀什前掌握了维吾尔语的瑞典传教士。次年古斯塔·拉奎特(Gösta Raquette)医生来喀什。拉奎特除了接受过系统的医学训练并获得医师资格的学位外,还掌握着相当好的维吾尔语。

³ 新疆档案馆档案政 Xinjiang dang'anguan dang'an zheng 2 —5 —140, 转引自木拉提·黑尼亚提 Mulati Heiniyati: 《喀什噶尔瑞典传教团建堂历史考》 Kashigeer Ruidian chuanjiaotuan jiantang lishikao 【A Study on the History of Church Establishment in Kashgar by Sweden Missionaries】, 《新疆社会科学》Xinjiang shehui kexue 【Social Sciences in Xinjiang】, 第3期,(2002年), 64-65。

瑞典传教士在早期的传教工作中就遭遇到来自伊斯兰教界的敌视。要说明新疆伊斯兰教界的教职人员激烈反对瑞典传教士传教活动的原因, 我们有必要简要地叙述这时期的新疆伊斯兰教和维吾尔穆斯林的基本情况。

二、传教士眼中的新疆喀什地区伊斯兰教

清末民初时期, 新疆大多数人信奉的宗教是伊斯兰教, 至少80%的人口(绝大多数系突厥人)是穆斯林。穆斯林中的绝大多数是逊尼派, 也有什叶派。逊尼派在新疆伊斯兰教中占支配地位。⁴ 那时, 新疆全省有2000多座清真寺。⁵ 乡间的清真寺建造的较简陋, 而城镇中的清真寺则装饰得很富丽。⁶ 喀什作为南疆的宗教、政治和文化中心, 尤其如此。

在喀什传教30多年的瑞典传教士荣通贵(John Törnquist)以如下文字来形容喀什伊斯兰教的清真寺: “清真寺本身由一个开阔的庭园或公园所组成。在其前面有一个大水池。一排木杆, 上面挂着风铃。现在, 整个庭园里跪满了祈祷的人, 他们被非常整齐地排成一排排的。地上铺满了礼拜毯, 也是整整齐齐地排成一排排的。人们跪在礼拜毯上, 紧紧地挨着。前面的讲台坐着庄严肃穆的讲经者。现在看到的是白帽的海洋, 就像波浪那样在起伏, 一波一波的, 整齐而划一, 一切是那么静谧和庄严。这里没有号令的呼唤, 没有乐队指挥的指挥棒……一切都沉浸于喀什的一万多穆斯林人群中”。⁷ 新疆的宣礼塔是清真寺建筑不可分割的一部分, 而在中国内地则很不常有。曾经著述过《中国伊斯兰教: 一个被忽视的问题》⁸一书的英国传教士海恩波(Marshall Broomhall)指出, 中国清真寺就外表而言与其他寺庙差别不大。但根据他的意见, 新疆的宣礼塔受中亚建筑风格的影响。⁹ 中国内地有专门属于妇女的清真寺, 而在新疆穆斯林妇女都在家里礼拜, 清真寺平时是专属

⁴ Nyrén, B, *Svenska Missionsförbundets femtioårsjubileum*, presented on The 50th anniversary of the MCCS, (Stockholm, 1928), 276.

⁵ Lattimore Eleanor, *Vi träffas i Turkestan*, (Stockholm, 1935) (Sw.) (Original: *Turkestan Reunion*, Boston, 1932), 232. 本文笔者认为, 这个数字是非常不可靠的。因为根据解放前的另一数字, 新疆的清真寺数目应该在4万左右。

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Törnquist. J., *Kashgar*, (Stockholm, 1926), 126 f.

⁸ *Islam in China: a Neglected Problem*, published by the C.I.M. with a foreword by Samuel Zwemer. (London: 1910).

⁹ Broomhall, *ibid.*, (1910), 237.

于男人进行宗教活动的场所。从这些描述中可以反映出, 清真寺是新疆伊斯兰教信仰生活的中心, 是突厥族穆斯林社会的中枢。

如同伊斯兰世界其他地区一样, 伊斯兰教渗透了突厥穆斯林生活的各个方面。伊斯兰教的法律制度被与中国法律相平行的采用于新疆的司法行政。为此目的, 每个城镇有几名精通伊斯兰教法的毛拉组成宗教法庭。这样的法庭由中国地方当局任命, 最重要的任务是监督人们是否按照《古兰经》的戒律来生活。¹⁰ 伊斯兰教法所强调的风尚是, 妇女不被允许在公共场所中不戴头巾和面纱。如果她不执行这一条法规, 宗教法庭的“道德官员”可以采取强制措施。以前发生过这样的例子, 犯规的妇女被皮鞭抽打作为惩罚。这些“官员”甚至可以进入闺房, 而正常情况下, 外面的陌生男人是不能进入的。在这样的地点, 他们可以不用任何法律程序来惩罚被发觉有罪的女子。也有这样的情况, 这些官员四处走动, 挨门挨户地检查, 强迫穆斯林到清真寺去礼拜。¹¹

新疆民间藏有许多阿拉伯文的宗教典籍手抄本。在印刷术被引进前, 穆斯林是靠手抄本《古兰经》来学习宗教教义的, 可见维族穆斯林对学习《古兰经》的重视。除《古兰经》以外, 还有《先知穆罕默德传》。有从波斯文和阿拉伯文翻译过来的宗教典籍。但不容许翻译《古兰经》。¹² 传教士兼突厥语学者拉奎特 (Raquette) 医生和雅林博士都目睹过并收集过藏于维吾尔族民间社会有关伊斯兰教的数量可观的手抄本、《古兰经》抄本及其他典籍。

相比逊尼派的正统信仰和严格的教义修持, 什叶派对待其他宗教比较宽容。每年, 新疆的什叶派都要进行历时两星期的纪念穆罕默德的堂侄、哈里发阿里[应该是穆罕默德的外孙侯赛因殉难——笔者注]的哀悼仪式。¹³

广大维族穆斯林基本上是可以严肃地遵守伊斯兰教的五功和宗教义务的。如果某人不遵守宗教戒律, 他就有被整个社团驱逐出去的危险。当他去世的时候, 没有

¹⁰ Lundahl ed., *På obanade stigar* (Untouched territory, Twenty five years in Eastern Turkestan), (Stockholm: 1917), 268 f.

¹¹ Högberg, *Islam och evangeliet* (Islam and the Gospel), the manuscript published after the death of Högberg and revised by G Ahlbert and Tor Andrae, (Stockholm, 1925), 47 f.; Palmaer, G ed., *En ny port öppnas* (A new open door), (Stockholm: 1942), 90.

¹² Arbman, Emst ed., *Världsreligionernas kärnord* (The key words in the religions of the world), (Stockholm: 1957), 82.

¹³ *Ungdomsvännen*, (Friend of the Youth), A magazine for young people published by the MCCS, (In 1940 was combined with *Svensk Veckotidning*), (Stockholm: 1927), 531.

人去看候他，也没有人参加他的葬礼，甚至毛拉也不来料理其后事。¹⁴ 新疆的穆斯林在礼拜方面态度不一。¹⁵ 关于交纳宗教课税，大部分人能够交纳，但也有不少人想逃避。斋月时，虔诚的信仰者们在白天不吃不喝。平时的斋戒可以赎罪。¹⁶ 斋月结束后是两天的伊斯兰教假日。穆斯林成群集队到清真寺做礼拜。喀什的艾提卡尔大寺会有8万穆斯林参加会礼。古尔邦节（宰牲节）和开斋节是那么繁忙，以至于人们基本上不工作。

只有少数一些人有能力从新疆出发到麦加朝觐。通常大家族中推出一人作为代表参加朝觐，众人凑钱。为了朝觐，有人甚至倾家荡产，把财产变卖掉。如果身体不允许，可以出钱雇佣人代朝，然后他获得回赐的恩典。¹⁷ 莎车每年到麦加去朝觐的有数百人。¹⁸ 有时丈夫和妻子一起去朝觐。而那些无力去麦加朝觐的就只好到乡间的麻扎（圣徒墓）去朝觐。喀什郊外的阿帕克陵墓吸引许多穆斯林来朝觐。许多人想在死后安葬在圣人墓边上。但只有有钱人能够买得起坟地。¹⁹ 传教士有次见到有七千至八千人聚集在麻扎周围朝觐。人们把圣徒视为真主与人之间的调解者。人们寻找这样的联结。²⁰

所有的男孩都受割礼。通常是请理发的人做割礼。有时候父母带着男孩到传教站建的医院做割礼。²¹ 新疆的穆斯林是宿命论者。如此现象随处可见。普通穆斯林认为，他们的命运就是贫困和苦难，而这样的命运是无法改变的。²² 真主创造了富人和穷人。穷人的生活是苦的。人为改变它及减轻痛苦是违背了真主的意志的。²³ 许多病人就因为相信宿命论而拒绝任何帮助。²⁴ 宿命论对新疆穆斯林文化的影响是很明显的。

¹⁴ Högberg-Ahlbert, *Islam och evangeliet* (Islam and the Gospel), the manuscript published after the death of Högberg and revised by G Ahlbert and Tor Andrae, (Stockholm: 1925), 60.

¹⁵ Högberg-Ahlbert, *ibid.*, 57 f.

¹⁶ Aagaard, Johannes, ed., *Verdens religioner* (The religions of the world), (Copenhagen: 1966), 483.

¹⁷ Palmaer, *ibid.*, 29.

¹⁸ Broomhall, *ibid.*, 251.

¹⁹ Lundahl, *ibid.*, 227 f.

²⁰ *Ungdomsvännan*, *ibid.*, (1929), 562 and (1930), 230.

²¹ *Ibid.*, note, 129 f.

²² *The Missionsförbundet*, (The Mission Covenant Church of Sweden), (Magazine published by the MCCA, 1901), 275.

²³ Palmaer, *ibid.*, 82.

²⁴ *The Missionsförbundet*, *ibid.*, (1902), 245.

一位传教士认为, 新疆穆斯林的宗教情怀是非常压抑的和被胁迫的。《古兰经》中那些好的东西及存在的东西被丢失了或误解。他评论道: “一个多神信仰者能把祖辈传下来的一些陋习沿用下去, 移植进伊斯兰教的土地。结果是既不像天主教, 也不像犹太教, 又不像异教。他多半找到了圣陵膜拜、迷信、占卦、巫术、求雨师、辟邪物等这样的同类, 而这些都能在突厥社会的伊斯兰教中发现。可以更进一步说: 穆斯林邀请和引诱多神论者接受他们的宗教, 由此, 多神论者就更自在地堕落下去, 掉进罪恶的渊藪, 这倒还不如原先的多神教徒的地位呢”。²⁵

新疆还有强大的伊斯兰教神秘主义——苏非派势力。它以游方信士的教团形式出现。历史上新疆有不少这样的苏非教团。²⁶ 他们穿戴得像行乞的修士那样从群众那里获取施舍。²⁷ 他们经常在圣人墓边举行仪式。有的成员来自祖先好几代是游方信士的家庭。有的游方信士组成的苏非教团人数达数百名。²⁸ 苏非们唱亚萨维的赞诗 (*hikmet*)。苏非长老伊禅 (教团首领) 把他的虔诚弟子集合起来, 他自己坐在清真寺的米哈拉布 (*mihrab*, 窑窝、壁龛) 前, 而苏非弟子则在他周围围成一圈。然后, 他们就唱起来。唱了一段赞诗后, 他们诵念真主的名字。他们跳舞, 旋转, 手舞足蹈。有些甚至倒地昏厥, 周身颤抖, 把腿盘起来, 然后又把腿叉开, 痉挛, 神智不清。然后再站起来。当他们跳完舞后, 诵读一章《古兰经》, 然后礼拜。也有的伊禅组织的苏非仪式不一样。比如, 有的伊禅和弟子坐成一圈, 静坐不动, 头低着, 达一个小时; 而有的伊禅派里的伊禅则站着, 头昂着, 也这样静静地站着达一个小时。当如此的沉思默想结束后, 他们就舞蹈诵诗了。谢赫 (长老) 和圣训博学者们则坚信他们见到了真主。伊禅派的教义是与主合一。如果某人归真了, 那么他就与主合一了。他们说: “我们与主合一就像雨水汇入河水那样”。²⁹ 正统伊斯兰教学者反对那种可以见到真主的观点, 认为真主是没有形象和肢体的。

在南疆有像达威士 (*Dervish*) 和格兰岱 (*Qaladar*) 这样的苏非神秘主义人士, 他们组织为教团, 领导人是皮尔 (*Pir*波斯语, 长老)。要在真正的教团成员

²⁵ *Ansgarius*, "Annals of the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden", (Stockholm, 1919), 107 ff, 116, 130 f.

²⁶ *Palmaer*, *ibid.*, (1942), 120. *Etherton*, P.T. "Chinese Turkestan," in *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, No. 20, (London: 1924), 247.

²⁷ *Raquette*, G. *Muhammeds religion* (The religion of Muhammed), (Stockholm: 1935), 152 f.

²⁸ *Nyrén*, B., *ibid.*, 275.

²⁹ *Schimmel Annemaria*, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, (University of North Carolina Press. 1975), 144, 497; *Gunnar Jarring*, "Dervish and Qalandar", *Scripta Minora*, Vol. 2, (Stockholm: 1985-1986), 16.

与着装、说话和举止方面假冒教团的普通乞丐之间进行区别是很难的。³⁰ 格瑞纳德 (Grenard) 注意到, 达威石的舞蹈是种特殊的舞蹈, 节奏快, 动作剧烈, 当舞蹈的时候还唱动情的赞圣歌曲, 还时常屏气道: “啊, 真主! 凭主的意愿!”³¹ 按规则, 他们唱歌的时候要摇动铁棍和铁环, 高举着棍, 旋转得越来越快, 最后气竭力尽。有时候妇女也跳这样的舞。³² 喀什的大毛拉穆罕默德·阿里著文说, 真正的达威石是生活在洞穴里而不是住在城市里。他们被称为虔诚者或修行者。他们不向人乞讨任何东西。他们知足常乐。³³ 但这样的达威石很少。那些以欺骗的方式骗取财物的人是假达威石, 表面上他们看似在唱歌、跳舞、赞圣, 但其真正的目的是想从人们那里获取钱财。³⁴

此外, 伊斯兰教与政治、军事等发生了密切的联系。发生于1933年的重大事件是南疆的突厥穆斯林成立了“东突厥斯坦伊斯兰共和国”。这个共和国的基本政策是反汉人统治和反俄罗斯苏维埃无神论的。³⁵ 其国旗是白底³⁶加星月形, 再加《古兰经》上摘取的语录。³⁷ 《古兰经》是该伊斯兰共和国的民事和宗教立法的基础, 贯彻《古兰经》经文须严格按照文字字义, 带有非常狂热的倾向。盗贼被吊在树上勒死。³⁸ 如果妇女在大街上或在圣人坟墓旁不戴盖头出现, 则把她们拖回家以皮鞭抽打惩罚之。“如果她们耳朵不听这样的告诫的话, 就让她们的体肤来感受吧”。³⁹ 有些妇女甚至被处死。⁴⁰ 穆斯林所称的“新兴的伊斯兰教”就是在伊斯兰教的旗帜下, 号召突厥穆斯林拿起武器来推翻汉族人的统治, 从而建立一个由突厥穆斯林自己掌握政权的伊斯兰教国家, 以《古兰经》为基础的伊斯兰教法统治。自从1878年新疆被清政府重新纳入中国的版图以来, 突厥穆斯林群众就怀抱着如此希望: 目标是在广袤的土地上建立一个由真主意愿统治的神权国家。传教士乔治·罗本兹 (Georg Roberntz) 强调了叛乱或被穆斯林领袖所称的“东突厥斯坦伊斯兰共和国”的凸现

³⁰ Grenard, *Le Turkestan et le Tibet*, 2, 236-237.

³¹ *Ibid.*, cf. text II:81-82 + n. 37.

³² *Ibid.*, cf. text II, n. 20.

³³ Schimmel, *ibid.*, 340, 491, 506, 421.

³⁴ Gunnar Jarring, *Dervish and Qalandar*, *ibid.*, (Vol. 2), 15.

³⁵ Fleming Peter, *News from Tartary*, (London: 1936), 474. (Common edition, 1948), 252.

³⁶ 也有说是蓝底色的。

³⁷ Wu Aitchén, *The Turkestan Tumult*, (London, 1940), 247.

³⁸ The *Ansgarius*, *ibid.*, (1967), 75.

³⁹ Torvik Otto, *Bak Himalaja* (Behind the Himalayas), (Bergen: 1945), 122.

⁴⁰ Wu, *ibid.*, 248.

性, 以及突厥穆斯林的生存权。⁴¹ 所以, 穆斯林建立了自己的武装和军队。但这个“东突厥斯坦伊斯兰共和国”为另一个穆斯林民族(回族或东干人)的武装势力所摧毁。在政治上, 由于穆斯林为民族、文化、宗派所分割而具有不同的政治利益和不同的目的, 从而喀什地区在上世纪30年代反映出内讧、战乱和政治局势剧烈反复的情况, 伊斯兰教也呈现出不同民族的穆斯林群体及不同宗派之间的分裂与互斗。

三、八十多年前的新疆穆斯林生活习俗

在文献记录中, 南疆盛行的礼仪是苏非神秘主义修行的麻扎(Mazar波斯语, 坟墓, 特指苏非圣贤的墓)朝拜。比如, 莎车维族朝拜七圣徒麻扎, 甚至今天还有众多的人到这里来朝拜。人们认为这些麻扎的一切都是神圣的, 麻扎的井水可以治病, 对着麻扎哭泣, 久婚不孕者可以得子。在回族穆斯林中也有麻扎朝拜现象。⁴² 大型的麻扎活动往往有固定的日期, 且持续时间较长。其间还会有摔跤、刁羊、斗鸡和木卡姆音乐会等娱乐活动, 朝拜麻扎在此种情况下已类似于一种游览、社交和贸易经济活动。这些麻扎都有人定期或不定期的赶赴朝拜。麻扎的朝拜一般定期在农耕前与秋收后进行, 这也是伊斯兰教传入新疆前, 游牧民族与农耕民族集体娱乐活动的传统方式的延续。因此麻扎成为了人们心目中朝拜与娱乐相结合的中心。这种共同崇拜、共同的心理需要、精神状态是麻扎朝拜活动赖以存在的精神支柱。很多人将麻扎视为本地的小麦加。人们会在各类“圣徒”或“圣墓”前祈祷、求助、忏悔。在喀什地区妇女中颇有影响的“布维(女苏非)玛利亚姆”也是如此。在这一习俗下的妇女们认为在后世被天使拷问时必须回答布维玛利亚姆、布维法蒂玛和布维海蒂彻三者的名字。后两人分别是先知穆罕默德的女儿和妻子, 而前者大概与耶稣的母亲玛丽亚有关。新疆维族在接受伊斯兰教之前,

⁴¹ Maillart Ella K, *Forbidden Journey - From Peking to Kashmir*, (London: 1940), 5. *Ansgarius, ibid.*, (1936), 115.

⁴² 韩中义 Han Zhongyi: 《新疆苏非圣徒崇拜初探》 *Xinjiang Sufei shengtu chongbai chutan* 【A Preliminary Exploration to the Worship of Sophie Saints in Xinjiang】, 《西域研究》 *Xiyu yanjiu* 【West Regions Study】, 第2期, (2003年), 68。

基督教景教曾经流行过一段时间, 因此, 女苏非朝拜“布维玛利亚姆”是把以前景教的文化习俗吸纳进伊斯兰教苏非神秘主义文化传统的历史痕迹。⁴³

新疆绿洲各部穆斯林中的传统伊斯兰教习俗差异不大, 但民间宗教习俗的类型和频率却大不相同。维吾尔人广泛地实行民间宗教习俗以培育一种强烈和独特的宗教、文化和民族认同感。在正统伊斯兰教礼俗之外, 民间习俗渗透到维吾尔族礼仪的各方面。这些习俗主要祛除镇尼 (*jinn*, 即邪气或精灵)。在维吾尔农村里, 常见的就是把那种小袋子 (皮或布等缝制的, 里面是一张手抄的《古兰经》纸片) 用着了色的线系在树枝上。它们被称为“公察克” (*qonchaq*), 用来避邪。毛拉告诉那些生病或身体疼痛的人将“公察克”挂在树上。维吾尔族人相信不幸是死者的魂灵引起的, 这些死者有时是因为镇尼引起的疾病而早年夭折。最正统的宗教领袖反对这样的“公察克”和叫作“托玛尔” (*tomar*) 及“口孜·芒察克” (*koz monchaq*) 的辟邪物。这些辟邪物的目的是免于“邪眼”的伤害。“托玛尔”是一种三角形的小皮袋, 里面是一张抄着“杜阿” (祈祷词) 的纸。“口孜·芒察克”是一些圆形的黑色塑胶球, 有樱桃核那么大, 表面上布满白点。孩子们戴着它们, 妇女们把它们缝制在衣服上, 用来挡避“邪眼”。⁴⁴

人们普遍相信有鬼或镇尼, 甚至当地人认为镇尼可以以人的形象出现。有时候人的魂灵被鬼附上了。⁴⁵ 维吾尔族人还使用火来祛除镇尼。婴儿仪式、婚礼和葬礼仪式中都使用火。在新生幼儿的襁褓仪式过程中, 宗教领袖使用着火的棍子在婴儿上空挥舞以达到净化和抵挡邪眼的功能。出于同样的目的, 一些维吾尔族家庭把出鞘的刀放在婴儿的摇篮边。在婚礼中, 当新娘被带出她父母家到新郎家的路上, 要烧一堆火, 载新娘的车要驶过火堆。有些婚礼是让新娘坐马车的, 那么马车就须绕火堆转七圈。“七”这个数字对穆斯林来说是神圣的。新郎家的门槛里也把火置在长铁勺里, 新娘到时必须跨过火进入新郎家。

维吾尔族人生转折阶段的礼仪中融合了民间宗教习俗, 这种现象可以在生死仪式中清楚地反映出来。在维吾尔族人的葬礼中, 把纸和药放在瓦罐里放置于坟上或

⁴³ <http://www.ughurbiz.net/html/2008/1023/11952.html>.

⁴⁴ Justin Ben-Adam: Chapter 9, “China”, *Islam outside the Arab World*, edited by David Westerlund and Ingvar Svanberg, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 203-204.

⁴⁵ Raquette, *ibid.*, 135.

坟边，然后把火点着，告慰死者的魂灵。如果治疗病人的药无效，那么就把它放进瓦罐里，在病人死前将它烧掉，反映了家属想尽力在生前治愈病者或让病者恢复健康的心愿，或者病人一旦死亡，那么希望死者在来世里有强壮的身体，或让死者的魂灵健康的心愿。婴儿出生后，家长将胎盘埋在住宅的土墙里，但不会告诉孩子胎盘的藏处。吐鲁番的维吾尔族人相信，如果把胎盘随意扔掉或埋在地里，那么婴儿的眼睛会下斜。相反，如果胎盘埋在墙处太高的地方，那么婴儿的眼睛会经常上斜。因此，把胎盘埋放在成年人的眼睛视力水平线上。由于吐鲁番的环境非常干燥，胎盘易干而不会腐烂。胎盘被称为“哈姆拉”（*hamra*），意思是“相伴”，因为它被看作是相伴人的一生的避邪物。⁴⁶

新疆还有为数不少的回族（东干）穆斯林，他们与突厥穆斯林数目相比人数不多，那时数目有 15 万人。但他们相对突厥族穆斯林要更严格地按照《古兰经》和伊斯兰教法生活。传教士认为，回族穆斯林在政治和军事力量上是成比例地勇猛和富有战斗性、纪律性。上世纪 20 年代的喀什城为一位回族穆斯林（马福兴——笔者注）所统治，他又是地方驻军的司令。在他的统治下，窃贼被抓就根据《古兰经》的法律剁其一手，其他罪则砍掉脚。⁴⁷

四、基督教差会发展（差传活动）中遇到来自伊斯兰教的敌意和迫害

新疆是欧亚大陆最闭塞的地区之一。定居点的维族穆斯林奉行的堪称是保守、独特和复杂的伊斯兰教习俗。为了缓解当地穆斯林对基督教传教士宣教的敌意，瑞典行道会的传教士决定以其他形式，比如改进穆斯林居民的经济状况及传授更多的实用技艺来赢得当地居民的好感以改善传教士的传教处境。许多传教士都有实干精神及手艺。因此，他们教穆斯林纺线、织布、织袜子、织丝绸等技术，改善群众生活，确立基督教传教士与当地穆斯林的良好关系并化解来自穆斯林对基督教的敌视心理状态。

⁴⁶ Justin Ben-Adam, Chapter 9, “China”, *Islam outside the Arab World*, *ibid*, 203-204.

⁴⁷ Palmberg, G. *Missionärsminnen* (Missionaries' memories), in the *Vetlandaposten* (Newspaper), (February 29th, 1960 and February 2nd, 1961).

王建平: 喀什伊斯兰教及其与南疆维吾尔族穆斯林社会的关系

女传教士们还办学校，招收穆斯林孤儿和仆人的孩子来学习知识，甚至本地的语言。医务工作在传教站的作用很大。虽然传教士在缓解基督教与伊斯兰教关系之间的紧张做了不少努力，但当地仍有某些人向政府当局告状，要求衙门出面命令基督教传教士撤走。伊斯兰教神职人员不允许基督教传教士把他们的信徒一个一个地从穆斯林队伍中拉走。所以，毛拉们在穆斯林群众中散布瑞典传教士是“宗教窃贼”这样的流言蜚语。⁴⁸

1899年喀什发生针对传教士的骚乱。喀什道台遂下令并张贴公示要传教站关闭，要传教士立即撤走。但传教士得到了英国和俄国的领事馆的保护。此后，受喀什影响，莎车也发生针对传教士的骚乱。1900年，因中国内地爆发义和团运动，喀什的传教站不得不在短时间内处于停顿状态。

但基督教差传工作仍在缓慢地发展。至1912年，近20名瑞典传教士到喀什传教。1904年时，瑞典行道会已在喀什旧城发展的基督教徒有20余人。⁴⁹差传工作中最成功也是最得人心的事是教会医院给予当地穆斯林的医疗服务。由于新疆非常落后，几乎没有什么现代医疗设施和医院为普通老百姓进行合乎医学知识的治病，所以，传教士开设的医院就成为当地穆斯林的“福音”，也是新疆近代史上第一个医院。每天有许多人来教会医院治病。1910年，莎车开办孤儿院。此外还办教会学校，其教学课程包括算术、拼写、文献阅读、自然科学、地理、音乐、体育、绘画、手工等。中文学校除学习汉语及上述课程外，还学英语、历史等。⁵⁰1912年喀什差会印刷所成立，印刷了维文的历史书等。传教士还把《圣经》译成维吾尔文，印刷并装订成册，散发给信教群众。⁵¹

但皈依基督教的维族信众总是处于生命危险中。在伊斯兰世界中，一个穆斯林背叛伊斯兰教而成为基督徒是被认为犯了大罪，其刑法是死刑。⁵²在喀什个别人想

⁴⁸ Stina Martersson, "Kallad att tjäna", *Ett Stycke Missionshistoria*, 20-23.

⁴⁹ <http://www.showchina.org/dfmzxl/xjks2007/200805/t176525.htm>

⁵⁰ Lundahl, *ibid.*, 461f; Tornquist. J, *Genom vildmarker och sagoländer* (Through the wilderness and fairyland), (Stockholm: 1928), 480.

⁵¹ <http://wenwen.soso.com/z/q121151928.htm>. Dec. 12, 2009.

⁵² Kraemer. H, *Det kristna budskapet i en icke-kristen värld* (The Christian message in a non-Christian world) (Stockholm, 1940), 235.

清除基督徒的一种方法是下毒，害死新皈依的维族人。⁵³ 比如暗底里把马钱子碱放入茶而毒死饮者。⁵⁴ 传教士知道有数起类似的事件。⁵⁵

新疆基督徒所经历的艰苦是难以言状的。当维族人成了基督徒时，他们就被整个家族甚至整个社团割断了一切家庭纽带，他们不可能在商店买到东西，也无法找到一份工作，⁵⁶ 甚至有时不敢进城，因为特别的宗教卫兵（或宗教道德官员）会逮捕他们。⁵⁷

1923 年喀什发生了穆斯林敌视基督徒的事件。迫害始于喀什郊外的一个小村，那村子有一对基督教徒夫妇住着。传教士们去他们家举行祷告由此吸引了一些村民。然后基督教徒们想在村里有自己的教堂，为此他们整修一间老屋。但村里的穆斯林包围了修屋的民工，袭击并殴打了基督徒。后来又抓捕了他们，并把他们递解到当局，官员则把他们投入监狱。⁵⁸ 动乱蔓延到城里，那里来不及逃走的基督徒都被捕并关押到监狱里。一些则设法逃到了叶尔羌（莎车）。⁵⁹ 差会工作不得不处于停顿状态。⁶⁰

传教士向当局递交了抗议信，但没有任何结果。由于当局怂恿纵容，对一些穆斯林来说，这是很好的机会袭击传教站而不会有被官方干预的危险。对基督教传教站的袭击很可能是整个大环境中的一部分。那时整个伊斯兰世界都在动荡。新疆也感受到了这样的变化。除了对传教站进行暴力袭击外，穆斯林领袖们向地方当局施压，要求以外交手段命令传教士离境。北京方面则要求瑞典差会在中国停止一切有关皈依穆斯林的活动。⁶¹

斯德哥尔摩的瑞典行道会总部试图通过外交渠道向传教士提供安保和缓和的措施。后来，中央政府命令省政府废除对传教活动的禁止。⁶² 于是，传教活动又恢复

⁵³ Palmaer, *ibid.*, p. 38. Ericsson, Björn, *Intervju i Röster i Radio-TV* (An interview in the weekly magazine *Röster i Radio-TV*), No. 5, (1961), 194.

⁵⁴ John Hultvall's interview with Roberntz, (April 16th, 1973).

⁵⁵ Högberg, *När man börjar* (When you begin), Booklet about mission work published by the MCCS, No. 9, (Stockholm: 1915), 45 f.; Högberg-Ahlbert, *ibid.*, 183.

⁵⁶ John Hultvall's interview with Moen, (September 30th, 1972).

⁵⁷ Letter of Sigrid Larsson to her brother Efraim, *Good Friday*, (1927).

⁵⁸ Palmaer, *ibid.*, 120 f.

⁵⁹ Helena Nyström's recording, in the Biography of John Hultvall. (Palmaer, 1942), 39.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Letter of Lundahl to Arell, May 30th 1923. Letter, Nyrén to Nyström, (May 25th 1923). Letter of Lundahl to Carl Persson, (May 30th 1923).

⁶² Letter of Hermansson to Lundahl, (November 16th 1923).

了。但受喀什的迫害事件影响，叶尔羌于 1923 年至 1924 年交接时期也发生了迫害基督徒的事件。穆斯林首领要求地方政府禁止传教活动，但未被接受。⁶³ 然后，几个毛拉开始在传教站外面的街上演说，警告传教站的人员。一个星期天，当毛拉们试图阻止人们进传教站的教堂礼拜时，一位瑞典传教士出来想干预。紧接着发生的是，他和其他几个维族基督徒被抓，并被扭送到汉族法官那里，人群则包围着他们。虽然他们后来被释放，但人群不接受法官的处置且不愿散去。幸亏当局派士兵驱散了人群，并在传教站外配置了警卫。几天后传教活动恢复常态。⁶⁴

传教士们希望这些骚乱是暂时的现象，也希望以后差传工作能够顺利。但上世纪 30 年代的战争使差传工作经受更严峻的考验。

五、战争动乱时期的基督教与伊斯兰教之间的关系

20 世纪 30 年代新疆的总体政治形势对差传来说是决定性的。20 年代末的几年，传教站的发展蒸蒸日上，30 年代初即传教站在新疆建立 40 周年时达到顶峰。主日礼拜的人数相当多，许多人等着传教的声音和受洗。1933 年 2 月传教士给瑞典行道会总部的报纸写的文章中以《叶尔羌的复兴》作为标题。⁶⁵ 然而未过一两个星期，一切都改变了，在给同样的报纸撰稿时写到了“叶尔羌恐怖的时光”。⁶⁶ 那时，穆斯林叛乱已经冲击了传教站。战乱使人们对基督教的态度发生了显著的变化。突厥族穆斯林起来反抗汉人的压迫。村庄和城镇的穆斯林都揭杆而起，他们占领了喀什、英吉沙尔、叶尔羌、和田。喀什发生了好几次大的战斗，传教士和基督教传教站处于非常危急的形势中。叛乱的穆斯林接管了传教站的医院和印刷所。教会医院被受伤的战士所占满，印刷所则被叛乱者下令强行用来印刷叛乱政府发行的纸钱。

1933 年 5 月喀什爆发穆斯林叛乱时，传教士们在英国领事馆避难。他们被迫在那里住了 3 个月。除了医务工作外，差会活动都停止了。政治舞台上权力变换的

⁶³ Letter of Nyström to the *Missionsförbundet*, (December 12th 1923).

⁶⁴ Letter of Nyström to the Board, January 3rd 1924. *The Dagens Nyheter*, (February 19th, February 20th 1924).

⁶⁵ *The Missionsförbundet* (The Mission Covenant Church of Sweden), Magazine published by the MCCS, No. 15, (1935), 228.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 34, (1933), 533.

王建平:喀什伊斯兰教及其与南疆维吾尔族穆斯林社会的关系

那些人们发号施令，传教士们除了服从别无选择。医院和传教站临近的所有地方挤满了伤员和恐慌的百姓。当战争引起的宗教迫害到来时，新皈依的基督徒们在恐怖的压力下闻风而散。许多人公开背教了。

然而，破坏最激烈的是汉城（疏勒）传教站。传教士摩恩（Moen）写道：“惨无人道的匪徒的确破坏的非常彻底。他们不仅毁坏了差会站……漂亮的巴扎已经荡然无存……许多惨不忍睹的情景发生了……所有那些未逃脱灾难的人被集中驱赶到教堂和学校之间的角落，在那里他们像沉默的动物那样被枪毙……当士兵做完这桩血腥的事之后，他们把传教站付之一炬，然后撤离。”⁶⁷

当宗教狂热者及“东突厥斯坦伊斯兰共和国”的组织者在叶尔羌掌权时，他们与传教士发生了直接的冲突，并想一举消灭基督教。这个掌权的宗教狂热者是夏赫·曼苏尔（Shah Mansur）。他把传教士们统统关进监狱，三名瑞典传教士聂斯托荣（Nyström）、阿里尔（Arell）、赫曼森（Oskar Hermansson）的双手分别被反绑在三根木柱上。宗教法官说，他们由于煽动人们背叛伊斯兰教应该被判处死刑，有举着枪的士兵瞄准他们，随时准备执行死刑的命令。由于来自外藏勒赫（Leh）的为突厥斯坦英国外交官服务的雇员干预和说情，传教士的生命在最后一分钟被解救了。曼苏尔下令驱逐瑞典传教士出境，他们必须在 8 天内离开新疆。⁶⁸但这项命令未被执行。后来，三位瑞典传教士被释放。

曼苏尔威胁维族基督徒哈伯（Habil）返回伊斯兰教队伍中，但哈伯不从。曼苏尔迅即下令杀害了哈伯。这是新疆传教站的第一个殉教的烈士。⁶⁹曼苏尔还对其他维族基督徒们进行了严厉的盘问，他们对所知道的传教站所有情况都必须交代清楚。大多数基督徒在威逼下不得不退让了，他们发誓不再信仰基督教了，于是返回信仰伊斯兰教了。

在叶尔羌传教站只有几名女传教士未被关进监狱。传教站的大院里挤满了士兵，他们用威胁的口吻对这些瑞典女传教士说话：“实际上，我们应该把你们的头

⁶⁷ Letter of Moen to “Dear friends of the Mission”, (March 11th, 1937). *The Missionsförbundet*, (November 16th, 1937).

⁶⁸ Arell, G A, et al, *Din broders blod ropar* (Your brother's blood is calling), (Stockholm: 1935), 75 ff. Thomson Glover, Colonel J, “Present-Day Kashgaria”, in *JRCAS* Vol. XXIV, (London: 1937), 440. Wu, *ibid*, 244.

⁶⁹ Arell, *ibid.*, 90.

砍掉，但我们是仁慈的，只想把你们送回你们的国家。”士兵们还说，传教士想留下来的话，必须皈依伊斯兰教成穆斯林，然后嫁给他们。⁷⁰

尤素福汗（Josef Khan）是 1933 年春向叶尔羌大众传教的维族福音派人士，他也被捕，并受刑。由于他的活动被认为是尤其危险所以被判在十字架上钉死的刑罚。他被关押在监狱里等待死刑。由于尤素福是英国臣民，穆斯林首领思量再三，最后未处死尤素福。一段时间以后，他也被释放了。

叶尔羌差会还有两所孤儿院，一所是男孩的，一所属女孩。当基督教徒被囚禁时，孩子们最初关在孤儿院里。女孩们要么被关进监狱，或者被强行嫁给士兵。幼儿们被送进经文学校，或者送到当地的各家各户被收养。⁷¹

在英吉沙尔，叛乱牵涉的灾难与其他城市差不多。基督教徒被遣散了或关押了。1932 年底，传教站已经没有传教士了。一位叫哈利里阿訇（Khelil Akhun）的维族卫生员负责照看传教站。叛乱分子到传教站数次，但哈利里把传教站的财产照看得很好。穆斯林武装首领埃米尔·阿布杜拉（Emir Abdullah）带着军队到了英吉沙尔。阿布杜拉威胁哈利里：如果不把基督教徒的名字供出来就枪毙他。但哈利里没有吐露任何基督教徒的名字。⁷² 哈利里还照护伤员，他自己又对那些受伤痛苦的人进行医治工作。⁷³ 一些受伤的士兵还转送到莎车的医院由传教士给予治疗。⁷⁴

后来形势稳定了，穆斯林军阀被击溃了，瑞典差会工作继续进行。一切恢复正常。基督教经受了这场考验。夏天的一段时间，局势向好的方向发展。再也没有发生基督教徒被杀害的事件了，那些在春天期间被关押在监狱的基督徒也逐渐被释放了。传教士们也可以返回差会站工作了。1933 年秋天至 1934 年春天这段时期，喀什的政治是那么风云多变而且不稳定，但没有针对瑞典差会的新袭击。但到了 1937 年，喀什形势又乱了，汉人与穆斯林之间又发生了战争，最后省方军队在苏联的支持下击溃了穆斯林军队而掌权。在叶尔羌，新政权实行亲苏和马克思主义路线而禁止传教工作和教会学校。教会学校被解散，学生被送到其他学校读书。对传教士的仇视变成了组织化了。政府威胁并警告人们不要与传教士发生任何联系或为

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Arell's report, (1935).

⁷² Törnquist's report, (1935), 5 f.

⁷³ Törnquist's report, *ibid.*, 6.

⁷⁴ Nyström's account, *Oroligheterna i Östturkestan* (Unrest in Eastern Turkestan), 19, 23.

传教士做事。病人也不敢到医院来看病了。人们都不敢来传教站。50 名基督教徒和雇员被勒令离开了传教站和孤儿院。同年万圣节时, 差会举行了最后一次礼拜, 此后, 整个差传活动基本停止了。⁷⁵ 1938 年当省政府完全恢复全省秩序的时候也就意味着在新疆差传工作的寿终正寝。那年 8 月中旬, 最后一批传教士在省政府军队士兵押送下离开新疆, 宣告了瑞典行道会在新疆喀什传教使命的结束。⁷⁶

六、简短的结语

瑞典差会的传教和慈善工作虽然因为外界极端势力的强力干扰而遭到失败, 但他们在文化交流和传播方面的成就却是难以从新疆维族穆斯林群众的心目中被轻易抹去的。这样的精神文化种子仍然深埋于这块曾经是精神文化养分非常肥沃的土地上。它会适时地发芽、生长、开花、结果。这段基督教与伊斯兰教在新疆喀什社会的关系史应该是当今两大世界宗教关系的一面镜子和有益的教训, 同时也应该昭示世人, 在那段非常艰难时期和那遥远的边陲地区, 有一批如此诚挚并虔诚的基督教传教士, 把创世主的福音传播给了这片广袤的亚洲腹地的穆斯林, 把上帝之爱植入了人们的心田。他们无私无畏, 他们中的一些人付出了生命的代价而长眠于异乡他国, 他们作为文化交流和传播的使者应该永远被历史铭记。但另一方面, 我们从历史亲历者的观察和记录中了解到, 20 世纪上半叶的新疆喀什地区的维吾尔族社会中的传统伊斯兰教势力十分强大, 它渗透到维吾尔族社会文化生活中的各个方面, 并与根深蒂固的社会结构盘根错节地交织在一起, 不可能轻易地被改变。此外, 在狭隘的民族主义势力煽动下, 20 世纪 30 年代发生的“东突厥斯坦共和国”分裂运动充分地利用了伊斯兰教极端主义思想将喀什地区的维吾尔族社会拖入了万劫不复的战乱和动荡之中, 使百姓生活于恐怖和苦难之中。瑞典行道会的传教士由于生活于现场而为我们记录下这些直观的历史见证材料, 让我们总结历史教训, 避免历史悲剧的重演。

⁷⁵ *Svenska Morgonbladet*, (The Swedish Morning Paper), (1937), 74-77.

⁷⁶ See John Hultvall's interview with Moen, (September 30th, 1972).

English Title:

Islam of Kashgar as observed by the missionaries from the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden and their contacts with the Uyghur Muslim Society of Southern Xinjiang

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Abstract: The present article focuses on the relationship between the Islam of Kashgar and the Uyghur Muslim Society of South Xinjiang in the eyes of the missionaries from the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden (MCCS). In addition to the introduction and closing words, there are mainly four parts: The history of MCCS missionary work in Kashgar, the Islam of Kashgar in the eyes of Swedish missionaries, the Muslim life and customs of Xinjiang in over 80 years ago, the hostility and persecution that Swedish missionaries encountered from Muslims in Xinjiang, and the relationship between Christianity and Islam in the war time.

Keywords: Mission Covenant Church of Sweden, the Islam of Kashgar, the Uyghur Muslim Society of South Xinjiang⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Dr. Fredrik Fällman was invited as a special editor to this article. 杨福雷教授应邀担任该文特别编辑, 在英文提要及史料的校对上提供很多帮助。特此致谢。[Note by the editorial committee 本刊编辑部说明]

王建平: 喀什伊斯兰教及其与南疆维吾尔族穆斯林社会的关系

肖清和: 明清天主教徒宗教生活与组织形式初探

明清天主教徒宗教生活与组织形式初探¹

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提要: 迄今为止, 学界对明清天主教与中国在思想上、文化上之间的交流与互动有较多关注。而对于明清天主教有关宗教实践 (religious practice) 层面的研究则鲜有顾及。本文首先分析明清天主教在宗教实践方面的主要著作, 尔后根据相关文献注重从个体的宗教生活、群体的组织形式等两个方面, 论述明清天主教在宗教实践方面所具有的特征及其意义, 余论部分将对天主教与佛教在“念经”与“功德”等方面进行简单比较, 以期发现明清天主教徒构建自我认同之特点。本文指出, 明清天主教对宗教实践方面的强调, 对于吸引众人皈依天主教起到非常重要的决定性作用之一。

关键词: 明清天主教、宗教实践、念经、功德

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迄今为止, 学界对明清天主教与中国在义理上、文化上之间的交流与互动, 尤其是对天主教所代表的西方文化与以儒释道作为主要内容的中国文化之间的关联有较多关注。而对于明清天主教有关宗教实践 (religious practice) 层面的研究则鲜所顾及。² 实际上, 自利玛窦 (Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610) 入华伊始, 以耶稣会士为主体的西方传教士不仅仅注重与中国文化进行交流与对话, 亦极其注重对天主教礼仪制度、基层信徒群体组织、善会制度等之建立与推行。在大量的天主教教义以及护教著作之外, 亦有为信徒宗教实践活动提供指导的著作 (包括教义问答和神学类著作),³ 诸如《哀矜行全》、⁴《诵念珠规程》、⁵《念经总牍》、⁶《丧葬仪式》、⁷

¹ 本文系国家社科基金青年项目《清初儒家基督徒思想、信仰与人际网络研究》(项目号 10CZJ009) 的阶段性成果, 并受上海市教委重点学科 (第五期) “近现代中国社会文化史” (J50106) 的资助。谨致谢意。

² 许理和 Xu Lihe (Erik Zürcher) 在其研究王徵 Wang Zheng 《仁会约》 Renhui yue 【Charity Confraternity Statutes】的文章中亦指出, 虽然有很多文献记录天主教教义, 但鲜有研究信徒如何在日常生活中运用这些教义。参见 Erik Zürcher, “Christian Social Action in Late Ming Times: Wang Zheng and His ‘Humanitarian Society’”, in *Linked Faith: Essays on Chinese Religions and Traditional Culture in Honour of Kristofer Schipper*, Edited by Jan A.M. De Meyer and Peter M. Engelfriet, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000), 269. 另参见 Nicolas Standaert: *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe*, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008. “introduction”), 3-9.

³ Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635-1800*, (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2001), 608-616.

⁴ 罗雅谷 Luo Yagu 【Giacomo Rho】撰, 载钟鸣旦 Zhong Mingdan 【Nicolas Standaert】、杜鼎克 Du Dingke 【Adrian Dudink】主编: 《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》 *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Ming-Qing Tianzhujiào wénxiàn* 【Chinese Christian texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus】, 第 5 册, (台北 Taipei: 利氏学社 Lishi xueshe 【Taipei Ricci Institute】, 2002), 1-256.

⁵ 罗儒望 Luo Ruwang 【Jean de Rocha】撰, 载钟鸣旦 Zhong Mingdan 【Nicolas Standaert】、杜鼎克 Du Dingke 【Adrian Dudink】主编: 《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》 *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiào wénxiàn* 【Chinese Christian texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus】, 第 1 册, 515ff.

《仁会会规》、⁸《圣母会规》、⁹《念经劝》¹⁰等等。其中有为个体的宗教生活提供指导之诵念规程, 亦有信徒群体组织之规则章程。本文将首先据徐宗泽《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》¹¹等文献分析明清天主教宗教实践方面的主要著作, 尔后根据相关文献注重从个体的宗教生活、群体的组织形式等两个方面, 论述明清天主教在礼仪制度方面所具有的特征及其意义, 余论部分将对天主教与佛教在“念经”与“功德”等方面进行简单比较, 以期发现明清天主教徒构建自我认同之特点。本文指出, 明清天主教对宗教实践方面的强调, 对于吸引众人皈依天主教起到非常重要的决定性作用。同时, 宗教活动有助于加强明清天主教徒群体的凝聚力与向心力, 从而有助于维系该群体的发展与壮大。

一、明清天主教有关宗教实践之著作

16世纪晚期利玛窦等传教士纷至沓来, 由此开启了中西文化交流的伟大序幕。在中西文化交流中, 虽然大部分议题集中在文化、思想等“义理”层面, 但亦涉及到天主教某些“实践”层面, 诸如洗礼、七日一聚会、领取圣名牌等等。对于这些“异质”的宗教活动, 反教士大夫尤为关注、且常常加以激烈批评, 诸如将传教士对

⁶ 耶稣会后学述 *Yesuhui houxue shu*, 同会费奇规 *Fei Qigui* 【Gaspar Ferreira】、阳玛诺 *Yangmanuo* 【Emmanuel Diaz】、费乐德 *Feilede* 【Rodrigue de Figueredo】订。

⁷ 利安当 *Li Andang* 【Antonio Caballero】撰, 有“早期抄本”与“晚期抄本”两个版本, 载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》*Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian* 【Chinese Christian texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus】, 第5册, 467—492。

⁸ 不题撰者, 载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》*Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian* 【Chinese Christian texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus】, 第12册, 473—478。

⁹ 洪度贞 *Hong Duzhen* 撰, 载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》*Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian* 【Chinese Christian texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus】, 第12册, 439—462, 该册还载有不题撰者之《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, 489ff。

¹⁰ 费乐德 (*Rui de Figueiredo*, 1608-1642)、韩霖 *Han Lin* 阅: 《念经劝》*Nianjingquan* 【Persuasion of Reading Classics】(包括: 念经警语 *Nianjing jingyu*、念经例式 *Nianjing lishi*), 藏于 *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II*, Rome, Shelf: 72 B, 332。

¹¹ 本文所据版本为1964年北京中华书局 *Beijing Zhonghua shuju* 影印本。

妇女进行洗礼当作违法儒家伦理纲常之举,¹² 信徒参加弥撒瞻礼等则被视为“男女杂处、夜聚晓散”的邪教聚会等等。¹³

利玛窦于南京期间, 曾于洪武岗租赁据称为鬼魔所据之官廨一所, 当时即供奉天主圣像, 并洒圣水。¹⁴ 十字架、圣母像、天主圣像以及圣水在天主教的宗教活动中占据重要地位。在弥撒、瞻礼、丧葬礼、七圣事等活动中, 供奉圣母或天主教圣像以及洒圣水是其中必不可少的一个程序。同时, 明清之际天主教传教士亦撰有大量有关宗教活动之著作。王丰肃 (Alfonso Vagnone, 1566-1640) 在南京教案之前 (1615 年) 就在南京出版了《教要解略》, 其内容就是对信徒在宗教活动中所诵念的经文如《天主经》进行解释。¹⁵

从社会学角度看, 这些著作是宗教行为程序或规范, 它直接规定了信徒或信徒群体的宗教生活方式及其内容。明清天主教徒首先需要接受的就是这些实实在在的行为规范 (当然也包括天主教教义, 但是奥秘难解的基督论等内容很难让初信者理解)。¹⁶ 对于普通信徒来说, 如何做、做什么才是其关心的最主要内容, 而不仅仅是天主教教义。¹⁷ 尤其在宗教活动中, 中国人更关注的是“正确的行为”

¹² 参见孙尚扬 Sun Shangyang、钟鸣旦 Zhong Mingdan: 《1840 年前的中国基督教》 *1840 nian qian de Zhongguo jidujiao* 【Chinese Christianity before 1840】, (北京 Beijing: 学苑出版社 Xueyuan chubanshe 【Xueyuan Publishing House】, 2004), 255-259。

¹³ 庞迪我 Pang Diwo 【Didace de Pantoja】、熊三拔 Xiong Sanba 【Sabatino de Ursis】等: 《具揭》 *Jujie* 【Memorial of defense】, 载《徐家汇藏书楼明清天主教文献》 *Xujiahui cangshulou Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian* 【The Ming-Qing Catholic texts from the Archives of Xujiahui】, 第 1 册, 133。

¹⁴ 参见萧若瑟 Xiao Ruose: 《天主教传行中国考》 *Tianzhujiao chuanxing Zhongguo kao* 【Exploring the History of the Spread of Catholicism in China】, 载《中国天主教史籍汇编》 *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shiji huibian* 【The Collection of Chinese Catholic Historical Documents】, (台北 Taipei: 辅仁大学出版社 Furen daxue chubanshe 【Furen Catholic University Press】, 2003), 82。

¹⁵ 王丰肃 Wang Fengsu 【Alfonso Vagnone】: 《教要解略》 *Jiaoyao jielue* (序于 1615 年) 【Outline of the Christian Doctrine】, 慎修堂 Shenxiutang 第三刻, 早稻田大学图书馆 Zaodaotian daxue tushuguan 藏, 索书号 VIII 07 02893。

¹⁶ 例如张星曜 Zhang Xingyao 在《天儒同异考·天教补儒后跋》 *Tianru tongyi kao Tianjiao bu ru houba* 【A Study on the Similarities and Differences between Christianity and Confucianism, Postwords on Christianity Complements Confucianism】中提及: “今人之疑者, 疑降生之天主耳, 谓天主未必降生, 即降生亦何必受难。”即表明世人对基督论最难理解与接受, 参见张星曜 Zhang Xingyao: 《天儒同异考》 *Tianru tongyi kao* 【A Study on the Similarities and Difference between Christianity and Confucianism】, BNF, Courant 7171, 49a-49b。又如朱宗元 Zhu Zongyuan 谓: “今世群疑而不决者, 莫如耶稣降生一事。”参见朱宗元 Zhu Zongyuan 著《拯世略说》 *Zhengshi lueshuo* 【Outline of How to Save the World】, 原文附于 Dominic Sachsenmaier: *Die Aufnahme europäischer Inhalte in die chinesische Kultur durch Zhu Zongyuan (ca.1616-1660)*, (Nettetal: Steyler 2001, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 47), 353。

¹⁷ 当然这里并不是说“怎么想”对于信徒来说不重要, 而是从宗教社会学的视角来看, “怎么做”比“怎么想”对于信徒来说是首先需要理解与接受的内容, 是故有言“信仰是活出来的”, 或言“信仰是一种生活方式”如此等等。参见高师宁 Gao Shining: 《当代北京的基督教与基督徒——宗教社会学个案研究》 *Dangdai Beijing de jidujiao yu jidutu --- Zongjiao shehuixue ge'an yanjiu* 【Christianity and Christians in the Contemporary Beijing】, (香港

(orthopraxy) 而非“正确的信念”(orthodoxy); 或谓更关注宗教活动的行为(performance) 而非其意义(meaning)。¹⁸ 当我们将目光投向当时社会的中下阶层时, 我们就可以发现他们并不关心天主教在义理上到底有多大的魅力, 而在于天主教是否“灵验”、其超越性如何? 随着明清天主教的发展, 天主教徒群体逐渐由中上层下转移到中下层。¹⁹ 天主教徒对超验的宗教体验、神迹、个人的灵修等关注更多。²⁰ 天主教独特的宗教仪式、传教士的超验能力、十字架等符号等等亦是吸引普通信徒关注天主教的原因之一。²¹ 在清初的乡村教会中, 因为宗教生活中的礼仪问题而引发冲突已然存在, 诸如该念多少遍《圣母经》、是否可以增删念经内容等等。²² 同时, 非天主教徒群体亦往往根据这些可见的礼仪制度对天主教群体进行区分或“标签化”(labelization)。²³

本文所谓有关宗教实践之著作是指有关宗教实践层面的文本。²⁴ 换言之, 宗教实践层面即是规定信徒或信徒群体在宗教生活中“应该(或不应该)如何去做”。明清天主教常常强调要“爱天主于万有之上”以及“爱人如己”, 实际上是对信徒“应该如何去做”的概括。其中“爱天主于万有之上”, 即是要在信仰上尊崇唯一神天主, 即在祈祷、告解、瞻礼、弥撒、丧葬礼等等活动中必需突出唯一神天主。而“爱人

Xianggang: 道风书社 Daofeng shushe 【Logos & Pneuma Press】, 2006), 49-50。

¹⁸ 正如钟鸣旦 Zhong Mingdan 【Nicolas Standaert】所言, 中国传统常常关注“正确的行为”, 而西方的传统则是关注“正确的信念”, 参见 Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe*, 157, 182; 罗友枝 Luo Youzhi 【Evelyn S. Rawski】认为, 虽然儒家强调“正确的行为”, 但“正确的行为”与“正确的信念”之间有关联, 参见 Evelyn S. Rawski, “A Historian's Approach to Chinese Death Ritual”, in ed. by James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski. *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. (California: University of California Press, 1988), 22.

¹⁹ D. E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*. (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag-Wiesbaden-GmbH, 1985), 300-301.

²⁰ 明清平民信徒皈依天主教时, 常常是因为天主教的神迹或超验性。参见周萍萍 Zhou Pingping: 《十七、十八世纪天主教在江南的传播》 Shiqi, shiba shiji Tianzhujiào zài jiāngnán de chuānbō 【The Transmission of Catholic Christianity in the Southern Side of Changjiang in 17th and 18th centuries】, (北京 Beijing: 社会科学文献出版社 Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2007), 160-162。

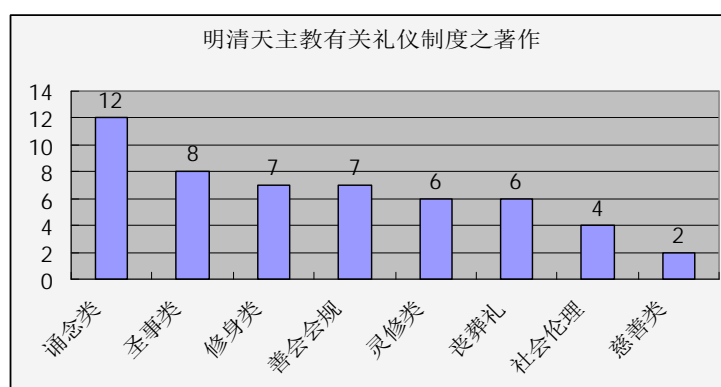
²¹ Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 95-97.

²² 参见吴历 Wu Li: 《续<口铎日抄>》 Xu Kouduo richao 【Continuation to Kouduo Daily Copying】, 载《墨井集》 Mojingji 【Collection of Ink Well】, 卷 5, 清宣统元年[1909] 徐家汇印书馆 Xujiahui yinshuguan, 铅印本线装 1 册 (1 函) Qianyinben xianzhuang 1 ce (1 han), (北京大学图书馆古籍特藏库 Beijing daxue tushuguan 【Peking University Library】 guji tecangku), 87b。

²³ 参见清中期“蔡伯多禄”一案, 载中国第一历史档案馆 Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 【Chinese First Historical Archives Bureau】编: 《清中前期西洋天主教在华活动档案史料》 Qing zhongqianqi xiyang Tianzhujiào zài huá huódòng dāng'ān shìliào 【The Archives of Historical Documents on Western Catholic Activities in the Early and Middle Periods of Qing Dynasty】, (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 344ff。

²⁴ 当然, 这里的“礼仪制度”不仅仅包括礼仪 (liturgy), 还包括默想、祈祷、圣餐等有关宗教实践层面。关于礼仪、祈祷类著作, 可参见 Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One (635-1800)*, 624-630.

如己”则要在世俗生活中，行“神哀矜”与“形哀矜”。因此，有关宗教实践之文本大体可分为三类，即为宗教生活、伦理指导与组织形式。宗教生活主要指为信徒需要参与的各种宗教活动，诸如瞻礼、弥撒、丧葬礼等宗教活动所提出的规范与制度，可进一步分为圣事类、诵念类、灵修类、丧葬礼。伦理指导则主要涉及到信徒如何处理各种社会关系，如何行事处世，如何修身养性等等，可进一步分为社会伦理类、慈善类、修身类。组织形式则主要是信徒群体组织的章程，即各种善会会规。



(图 1: 明清天主教有关礼仪制度之著作)

根据图 1，²⁵ 可以发现在有关宗教实践方面的文献中，诵念类占据首位，²⁶ 其次是圣事类，再次就是修身类与善会会规。当然，上图所示仅是明清天主教文献中很少的一部分。但可以反映出明清天主教在宗教实践方面的倾向与旨趣。在明清天主教普通信徒的宗教生活中，诵念经文占据了重要的位置。在明季出版的《念经总牍》中，包括了《天主经》、《圣母经》、《信经》、《解罪时经》、《悔罪经》以及《早课》、《晚课》、《初行工夫》、《已完工夫》等在宗教生活中加以诵念的经文；并对念经的例式、何时、何地念什么经等等均做了详细介绍，因而可谓是当时信徒宗教生活手册。

²⁵ 主要数据来源于徐宗泽 Xu Zongze: 《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》 *Mingqing Yesuhishi yizhu tiyao* 【The Outline of Jesuits' Translations in Ming-Qing】。关于明清天主教礼仪（圣餐、弥撒、祈祷等）著作之讨论，可参见 Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume One (635-1800)*, 624-631.

²⁶ 禁教之后的信徒向官府解释他们的行为时，首先即说他们只是“诵经持斋”，并无违法之事。“诵经”是信徒最重要的宗教活动之一。参见 Huang Xiaojuan, “Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780-1860”, (Princeton University, 2006, Ph.D Dissertation), 51.

天主教徒张星曜在论述天主教可以补充以及超越于儒家时, 曾表示天主教“事天之功修节目朗朗有条, 人能遵之”。²⁷ 即表明天主教在“宗教实践”方面详备可行。又云天主教“有十诫之条, 八真福之论, 七克之守, 十四哀矜之行法。早晚有课, 瞻礼有期, 告解有礼, 圣体有领”。²⁸ 即是对天主教实践层面的进一步说明。

张星曜还提及天主教中有关实践层面的其他内容, 诸如七克、领洗、坚振、领圣体、终傅、诵经、默想、守斋、鞭策、补赎等等。张星曜认为天主教这些修省方式非如儒家那样流于“文字敷衍”, 而是“真切修行”, 因此天主教要比儒家更有吸引力。如其所云, “但吾儒之理流为文字敷衍, 未能身体而力行; 而天教则真切修行, 昕夕惟严昭事, 故有天教而孔子之教愈明”。²⁹ 因此, 明清天主教对宗教实践方面的强调, 对于吸引众人皈依天主教起到非常重要的决定性作用之一。³⁰ 换言之, 促使众人皈依天主教的决定性因素往往不仅是天主教与众不同的教义, 而且还因为这些详备可行且充满宗教意味的宗教实践。在某种程度上说, 这些宗教实践就是佛教宗教实践的功能替代项 (functional substitutes)。³¹

二、普通信徒的宗教生活

利玛窦在《天主实义》中提及: “列国之人, 每七日一罢市, 禁止百工, 不拘男女尊卑, 皆聚于圣殿, 谒礼拜祭, 以听谈道解经者终日”。³² 张星曜在《天儒同异考》中亦提到信徒“七日一瞻礼”, 利玛窦与张星曜所提到的瞻礼, 实际上是普通

²⁷ 张星曜 Zhang Xingyao: 《天儒同异考·天教超儒》 *Tianru tongyi kao . Tianjiao chao ru* 【A Study on the Similarities and Differences between Christianity and Confucianism, Christianity Surpasses Confucianism】, 61a.

²⁸ 张星曜 Zhang Xingyao: 《天儒同异考·天教补儒》 *Tianru tongyi kao . Tianjiao bu ru* 【A Study on the Similarities and Differences between Christianity and Confucianism, Christianity Complements Confucianism】, 32b.

²⁹ 张星曜 Zhang Xingyao: 《天儒同异考·天教补儒》 *Tianru tongyi kao . Tianjiao bu ru* 【A Study on the Similarities and Differences between Christianity and Confucianism, Christianity Complements Confucianism】, 47a.

³⁰ 禁教之后的情况尤为如此, 参见 Xiaojuan Huang, “Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780-1860”, 9.

³¹ 关于“功能替代项”可参见孙尚扬 Sun Shangyang: 《宗教社会学》 *Zongjiao shehuixue* 【Religious Sociology】, (北京 Beijing: 北京大学出版社 Beijing daxue chubanshe 【Peking University Press】, 2001), 99. 实际上, 天主教不仅仅在礼仪上可以替代儒释道, 在针对儒教的各个方面, 天主教均有自己的替代方案。这个纳入钟鸣旦在论述徐光启等皈依天主教之时, 所谓“由天学所提出的替代项 (option) 在所有方面 (关于天、修身养性、实学等的讨论), 用一种理性的和严密的方式上说服了他们。”参见 Standaert, Nicolas. “The Four Principal Converts”, in *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume One (635-1800)*, 404-411.

³² 载李之藻 Li Zhizao 辑: 《天学初函》 *Tianxue chuhan* 【The First Collections of the Studies of Heaven】, 第1册, (台北 Taibei: 学生书局 Xuesheng shuju, 1964), 604.

信徒最重要的宗教生活之一。所谓“七日一瞻礼”即指信徒每七天要参加教会的瞻礼活动，其中最核心的礼仪活动即“弥撒”（Mass），即是在主日（安息日、星期日）所举行的日常祭祀，即“按着耶稣在最后晚餐的命令，奉献藏有耶稣体血的饼酒的祭祀”。³³ 或如艾儒略所谓“奉祭天地真主之大礼，西音曰弥撒，译其义，乃献之谓也。盖撒责耳铎德（品级之称）主祭，代众献于天主，因而天主降赐于人许多恩德也”。³⁴ 而瞻礼则是为纪念圣母、圣人等所举行的弥撒。弥撒的重要性是信徒向天主赎罪与求恩。³⁵ 其在信徒的宗教生活占有重要地位，³⁶ 以至于在儒家所极重视的丧葬礼中，信徒亦被要求先要去教堂参加弥撒，然后再为亡者举行丧葬礼。

利类思在其所译的《弥撒经典》(*Missale Romanum*)³⁷ 中详细介绍了弥撒礼仪类别及其操作过程，诸如加倍瞻礼、加半或单瞻礼、常瞻礼及守夜瞻礼、特敬圣母弥撒、已亡弥撒、移徒瞻礼等等；并载有弥撒、瞻礼中需要念诵的经文，如《信经》、《圣母经》等。其中，《天主经》、《圣母经》、《十字经》、《信经》尤为重要。³⁸ 利类思所译另一部礼仪经典《圣事礼典》亦有天主教各种礼仪节庆日所用经文，及操作规程。³⁹ 艾儒略《弥撒祭义略》则对弥撒的器具、章服、兴弥撒礼、程序、司铎以及信众的动作等等均有介绍。对于普通信徒而言，参加弥撒、瞻礼不仅是教会之要求，而且亦是信仰生活之必需。⁴⁰ 《圣教定规有四》中即谓：

³³ 罗光 Luo Guang: 《天主教教义》*Tianzhujiao jiaoyi* 【Doctrine of Catholicism】，(香港 Xianggang: 生命意义出版社 Shengming yiyi chubanshe, 1985), 186。

³⁴ 艾儒略 Ai Rulue 【Giulio Aleni】: 《弥撒祭义略》*Misa ji yilue* 【Outline of the Mass Sacrament】二卷，1629年福州 Fuzhou 刻本，天主教香港教区有该书影像，参见 <http://archives.catholic.org.hk/books/ELS2/index.htm>。

³⁵ 奥脱 Aotuo 【Otto】: 《天主教信理神学》*Tianzhujiao xinli shenxue* 【Theologia dogmatica catholica】，王维贤 Wang Weixian 译，(台中 Taizhong: 光启出版社 Guangqi chubanshe 【Guangqi Press】、徵祥出版社 Zhengxiang chubanshe 【Zhengxiang Press】，1967), 647。

³⁶ 王丰肃 Wang Fengsu 【Alfonso Vagnone】: 《天主十诫解略》*Tianzhujiao shijie jielue* 【Outline of Catholic Ten Commandments】，闽中钦一堂繡版 Minzhong Qinyitang xiaoban，藏于早稻田大学图书馆 Zaodaotian daxue tushuguan 【Waseda University Library】。

³⁷ BNF, 7383-7386; 天主教香港教区有该书影像: <http://archives.catholic.org.hk/books/FLS2/index.htm>。关于最新的《罗马弥撒礼》*Luoma misa li* (*Missale Romanum*, 2002)，可参见具正谟 Ju Zhengmo: 《二〇〇二年版“ローマ・ミサ典礼书”と“総则”解说：ミサ典礼书の变迁に見られる典礼刷新の歩み》，载《カトリック研究》(76, 2007), 131-165。

³⁸ 朱宗元 Zhu Zongyuan 在《答客问》*Dakewen* 【Answers to the Guests' Questions】中即明确指出，信徒在受洗之前当熟悉该四种经文。原文附于 Dominic Sachsenmaier: *Die Aufnahme europäischer Inhalte in die chinesische Kultur durch Zhu Zongyuan (ca.1616-1660)*. (Nettetal: Steyler 2001, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 47), 299。

³⁹ 利类思 Li Leisi 【Lodovico Buglio】: 《圣事礼典》*Shengshi lidian* 【Ceromnies of the Holy Sacraments】，载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》*Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian*，第11册，306-598。

⁴⁰ 关于明清天主教弥撒礼仪，可参见 Ad. Dudink, “The Holy Mass in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century China: Introduction to and Annotated Translation of Yu Misa gongcheng (1721), Manna for Attending Mass”, in Golvers,

“一、凡主日暨诸瞻礼日，宜与弥撒。二、遵守圣教所定斋期。三、解罪至少每年一次。四、领圣体至少每年一次。即于复活瞻礼前后”。⁴¹ 即要求信徒最好每周都要参加瞻礼。而无论是参加弥撒还是瞻礼，其目的均是为了得救。若从宗教学的角度看，弥撒与瞻礼实际上是对耶稣救赎之再现，以此在信徒中激起“神圣感”。除了弥撒之外，对于信徒而言极为重要的乃是“七圣事”。

所谓“圣事”是信徒可依循之途径，以此得到天主之恩宠，实现灵魂之得救。而执行圣事的职权，只有教会的神职人员即司铎。⁴² 张星曜在《天儒同异考》中业已指出“七圣事”之具体内容，即其所云，

若夫天教则真实修行。自天主降生复活以后，亲立七撒格辣孟多。中国译云七礼也。第一领洗，以救人原本二罪。第二傅圣油，以坚振人灵魂。第三告解，以赦人领洗后所犯之罪。第四领圣体，以赐人升天之券。第五婚配，定一夫一妇之规。第六终傅，以补人临终之缺。第七品级，以定圣教之尊卑。七礼已定，然后自举升天。

因此，张星曜所谓“七礼”是指“领洗”、“傅圣油”、“告解”、“领圣体”、“婚配”、“终傅”以及“品级”。其中“领洗”即所谓的“圣洗”或“洗礼”，“傅圣油”即“坚振”，“品级”即“圣品”。在“七礼”之中，最重要的乃“圣洗”。利类思即谓“圣事之首，即洗涤，为神命之门也”。⁴³ 圣洗的重要性在于，其乃人得救之必经之途。没有圣洗，即不得参与后六礼，亦不得享有教会的权力。⁴⁴ 正如张星曜所言：

Noël & Sara Lievens edited. *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeron Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K. U. (Leuven)*, 207-326.

⁴¹ 载无名氏 Wu Mingshi: 《天主教要》 *Tianzhu jiaoyao* 【Outline of Catholicism】，收入《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》 *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhu jiao wenxian* 【Chinese Christian texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus in Ming-Qing】，第 1 册，334-335。另参见潘国光 Pan Guoguang 【Francesco Brancati】: 《圣教四规》 *Shengjiao sigui* 【Four Principles of the Holy Church】，载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》 *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhu jiao wenxian* 【Chinese Christian texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus in Ming-Qing】，第 5 册，257-300。

⁴² 罗光 Luo Guang: 《天主教教义》 *Tianzhu jiao jiaoyi* 【Doctrine of Catholicism】，197。

⁴³ 利类思 Li Leisi 【Lodovico Buglio】: 《圣事礼典》 *Shengshi lidian* 【Ceremonies of the Holy Sacraments】，载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》 *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhu jiao wenxian*，第 11 册，359。

⁴⁴ 罗光 Luo Guang: 《天主教教义》 *Tianzhu jiao jiaoyi* 【Doctrine of Catholicism】，201。

然七礼之中，首重领洗。不领洗，则不能坚振；不领洗，则不能告解；不领洗，则不能领圣体；不领洗，则无以定婚配、而终擦。领洗之后乃可以行此六礼。故七礼之中，故惟领圣洗为首务焉。⁴⁵

朱宗元在《拯世略说》中还对此“七礼”进行了详细描述。其中“洗礼”礼仪过程大致如下：

将入教者，立于堂之外，示向者未事天主，尚在门外人也，乃代父率之，身必以父生，兹称代父，示向者灵魂以加罪如死，今始生矣。于是以古之圣者名其人，示尔名既易矣，今之尔，非向之尔矣，当毋习于旧矣。又欲法彼所为，更祈之代请天主，为我介绍也。以盐付使食之，百物和之以盐则固，且有滋味，授以盐者，示天主之训，真切有味，而更坚其心志，俾不坏也。然后引之跪于主前，又以油画十字于项，于胸。于项者，壮其毅任也；于胸者，正其爱欲也，乃俾之追悔前非。悔讫，乃受洗。其辞曰：某，我洗尔，因父，及子，及圣神名者，亚孟。以水涤额时，诵此数语，其水遂有赦人夙愆之力，示外以有形之水洗其身，内以无形之圣祐，洗其神之夙染也。乃举白帨以覆之，示受洗既讫，灵魂纒洁，如此白帨然。顾帨欲善保，不然，则复污之矣，惟性亦犹是也，可不密为防束乎？又举烛使持之，示受洗后，心性光明，如此烛然。顾烛欲善覆，不然则风灭之矣，惟心犹是也，可不兢兢保持乎？于是拜手稽首而起。⁴⁶

洗礼以及其他礼仪过程实际上是通过一系列的象征性行为，来表达宗教含义。其重要性莫过于通过这些行为，来强化宗教信仰。而在神学角度来看，“七礼”之重要性正如张星曜所谓：

盖人皆有原本二罪，罪在厥躬，灵魂污染，如铁链系翼不能升天。人能遵行斯礼，则蒙天主赦宥，于以升天必矣。况十字圣架，天主救赎成功之圣物也。当患难忿怒并诸魔鬼诱惑之时，手画十字，邪念潜消，魔鬼远避。此圣教之绵密工夫，与他教之口头禅大不同也。⁴⁷

因此，七礼是耶稣所亲立的礼仪制度，是给予人类得救的具体途径，每一件圣事实上就是一种特殊的恩宠。其中洗礼、坚振与品级，只能领受一次。奥脱在

⁴⁵ 张星曜 Zhang Xingyao: 《天儒同异考·天教补儒》 *Tianru tongyi kao . Tianjiao bu ru* 【A Study on the Similarities and Differences between Christianity and Confucianism, Christianity Complements Confucianism】, 48a。

⁴⁶ 朱宗元 Zhu Zongyuan: 《拯世略说》 *Zhengjiu lueshuo* 【Outline of How to Save the World】, 原文附于 Dominic Sachsenmaier: *Die Aufnahme europäischer Inhalte in die chinesische Kultur durch Zhu Zongyuan (ca.1616-1660)*, (Nettetal: Steyler 2001, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 47), 410-412. 实际上，针对不同对象的洗礼的礼仪过程并不相同，如临终领洗与大人领洗不尽相同等等。参见利类思 Li Leisi: 《圣事礼典》 *Shengshi lidian*, 359—429。另参见张赓 Zhang Geng: 《领洗告解要规》 *Lingxi gaojie yaogui* 【The Main Rules concerning Baptism and Repentance】, BNF, Courant 7249。

⁴⁷ 张星曜: Zhang Xiangyao 《天儒同异考·天教补儒》 *Tianru yitong kao . Tianjiao bu ru*, 48a—48b。

《天主教信理神学》中指出, 圣事是天主所定使人获得永生之法。其中三件是得救所必需的, 即洗礼、告解、神品。但其他圣事亦是必需, 没有它们不容易获得拯救。⁴⁸

无论是弥撒、瞻礼, 还是七圣事, 均以神父为宗教生活中的核心人物。除此之外, 在没有神父的时候或地方, 信徒的宗教生活则主要包括祈祷、忏悔、灵修、默想、念经以及劝人入教等等。明清天主教在缺乏神父的情况下, 信徒常常通过书籍来满足宗教生活以及解决信仰上的种种困惑。诸如李九功之《慎思录》以及《励修一鉴》等均出于此类目的而编纂的, 其兄李九标之《口铎日抄》亦是出于“裨益性灵, 充拓学问”⁴⁹而编辑成书。明清天主教文献中亦有大量有关灵修、默想等之记录。

斯塔克 (Rodney Stark) 在解释早期教会迅速发展的原因时, 曾指出基督教本身的社会伦理 (social ethics) 为其吸引世人加入教会而起到巨大作用。⁵⁰ 很明显, 斯塔克的这个结论对于解释明清天主教之发展时亦十分有效。然需要指出的是, 随着明清天主教徒群体由中上阶层逐渐转入中下阶层, 吸引世人转向天主教的原因亦由社会伦理等义理方面转向实践层面之上。张星曜由佛教转向天主教的一个重要原因是, 佛教念经超渡亡灵的礼仪无法解释他所遇到的现实问题, 因而对于张星曜而言, 佛道礼仪业已丧失吸引力。⁵¹ 还有一个明显的事实, 即中下阶层信徒更多关注灵修与神迹。清初天主教文献《湖广圣迹》⁵² 以及《山东浙江四次发现圣迹》可为佐证。实际上, 乡村中普通天主教徒的宗教生活即常常以参与礼仪、圣事等活动为中心。⁵³

⁴⁸ 奥脱 Aotuo 【Otto】:《天主教信理神学》*Tianzhujiao xinli shenxue* 【Theologia dogmatica catholica】, 543。

⁴⁹ 李九标 Li Jiubiao:《口铎日抄凡例》*Kouduo richao fanli* 【Footnotes and Guidance of Kouduo Daily Copying】, 载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》*Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian*, 第7册, 25。

⁵⁰ 参见 Rodney Stark: *The Rise of Christianity*, (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1997), 212. 另参见 T. Howland Sanks, S. J.: "The Social Mission of the Church: Its Changing Contexts", in *Louvain Studies* 25 (2000), 23-48, 26-7.

⁵¹ 张星曜 Zhang Xingyao:《天教明辨·自序》*Tianjiao mingbian . Zixu* 【The Clear Plea of the Heavenly Education . Self Preface】, 中国国家图书馆 *Zhongguo guojia tushuguan* 【China National Library】, 4b-5b。

⁵² 该书不题撰者, 卷首曰:“康熙十九年十一月内, 湖广武昌府天主堂, 穆神父往德安府传教。此方教友事主甚虔, 是以蒙天主现多圣迹于此。兹开列条款于后。”载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》*Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian*, 第12册, 423-438。

⁵³ Eugenio Menegon, "Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: The Localization of Christianity in Late Imperial Mindong (Fujian, China), 1632-1863", (Berkeley: University of California, 2002, Ph.D. Dissertation), 363.

“七圣事”贯穿信徒一生。其中“洗礼”乃是皈依天主教之外在标志。因此，洗礼的重要性在于身份上的“转向”，即由另外一种身份转向天主教徒之身份。或言，是一种新的身份的获得。正如朱宗元所言，“领洗”作用之一就是“所以别乎教外之人”。⁵⁴ 从此角度而言，七圣事乃是获得一种新身份的途径。此种身份之所以不同于其他社会身份，亦在于其所获得的过程之不同。因此，七圣事亦可谓是该身份之外在表征。

从洗礼、坚振、终傅到灵修、劝人入教等，天主教宗教礼仪及其宗教活动，日益成为与儒家相对立的另一套意义系统（meaning system）。因此，普通天主教徒的宗教生活实际上是通过参与天主教宗教实践活动来建构自己的身份，并通过集体的宗教活动得以强化此种身份认同。天主教礼仪亦是为信徒群体边界之形成提供了具体途径。又因为天主教礼仪制度在教会传统中保持相对稳定性，此使得天主教徒群体能够维持相对稳定的“边界”，以此区别于其他社会群体。

三、明清天主教徒群体的组织形式

实际上，一旦受洗入教成为信徒，就已成为教会之一员，即获得天主教徒群体资格与身份。因而其宗教活动不再是个人的活动，而具有群体性。⁵⁵ 此处所谓天主教徒群体的组织形式，主要是指信徒所参与的天主教善会。

利玛窦等传教士入华伊始即已重视信徒群体的基层宗教组织之建立与维持。善会的主要目的是为了提升信仰，但亦带有慈善或公益性质。明清天主教虽然将天主教及西方文化传入中国，但其自身亦借鉴不少中国本土文化形式，诸如善会、善书、善堂、功过格、乡约等等。

一般所谓“善会”主要是指明清由民间力量自发而立的慈善组织，组织者多为士绅个人或宗族，亦有宗教团体如佛教寺院以及官府。⁵⁶ 天主教善会则有两类，第一

⁵⁴ 参见朱宗元 Zhu Zongyuan: 《拯世略说》 *Zhengshi lue shuo* 【Outline of How to Save the World】，原文附于 Dominic Sachsenmaier: *Die Aufnahme europäischer Inhalte in die chinesische Kultur durch Zhu Zongyuan (ca.1616-1660)*, (Nettetal: Steyler 2001, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 47), 412.

⁵⁵ 如听弥撒 (Mass) 不仅是信徒个体的活动，也是教会群体的活动，信徒与神父在弥撒中需要互动。

⁵⁶ 参夫马进 Fu Majin: 《中国善会善堂史研究》 *Zhongguo shanhui shantang shi yanjiu* 【A Study on the History of Chinese Charity Associations and Charity Churches】，伍跃 Wu Yue、杨文信 Yang Wenxin、张学锋 Zhang Xuefeng

类即是信徒互助组织，第二类则是纯粹的宗教组织（congregation）。⁵⁷ 虽然这类的天主教善会亦会从事教育、传教或慈善工作，但其主要目的却是为了服务信徒群体。宗教性目的要大于世俗性的慈善目的。

清初传教士洪度贞（Humbert Augery, 1616-1673）曾于杭州创立圣母会，⁵⁸ 在其所“重定”之《圣母会规条》中以宗教性“规条”为主要内容，世俗性的慈善行为极少，如其所云，“各捐己资，随力行哀矜十四端之一二”。⁵⁹ 洪度贞在《圣母会规小引》中明确指出“圣母会”之组织原型来源于欧洲的圣母会。洪度贞亦说明圣母会设立之主要原因，乃是因为世人“血气强、灵性弱”，是故需要向“恩保”圣母祈求。所以“泰西有志者，愿兢兢自守，勿陷于非，以供圣母之役，而求规则于铎德。铎德条例以授之。”即其所云：

凡有志实修而遵奉之者，诚莫不以天国为依归，以钦崇大主为第一念。但血气强，灵性弱，每愆滋而善减，虽大主至尊至慈，有求皆允，然徒以微末负愿之躬，竭力呼吁，犹恐昭格者，有未易至也。惟吾恩保至圣玛利亚，其德超诸圣，为救世之主母，于大主有殊宠。凡此人斯圣母之所不弃者，大主亦不弃之。为我祈求，应犹捷也。则凡生前之吉安，身后之永福，皆于圣母可望焉。故古来上主未降，未有圣母天国之位，以原祖获罪，而空有圣母而位之充焉者众矣。是以圣奥吾斯丁曰，厄娃害我而失利，玛利亚生我而致益。彼伤而此医也。若是舍圣母，将何所恃矣。故泰西有志者，愿兢兢自守，勿陷于非，以供圣母之役，而求规则于铎德。铎德条例以授之，其能敬奉者，多受圣母特恩。铎德鉴其勤敏，有当于圣母也。为求一生宥愆之恩于教宗，教宗每允命焉。此泰西圣母会所繇立之以取益也。⁶⁰

译，（北京 Beijing：商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan 【Commercial Press】，2005）；梁其姿 Liang Qizi：《施善与教化：明清的慈善组织》 *Shishan yu jiaohua: Mingqing de cishan zuzhi* 【Charity and Education: The Charity Organizations in Ming-Qing】，（石家庄 Shijiazhuang：河北教育出版社 Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe 【Hebei Education Publishing House】，2001）。

⁵⁷ 关于明清天主教善会，最新研究成果可参见 Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, es. Chapter 9 and chapter 10, pp.328-401; Nicolas Standaert: *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe*, pp.113-117.

⁵⁸ 鲁日满 Lu Rimant 【Francois de Rougemont】在常熟的“圣母会”相应与洪度贞的圣母会有关联。其目的则包括埋葬穷人、分发救济品、抚慰穷人等等。高华士 Gao Huashi, 《清初耶稣会士鲁日满：常熟帐本及灵修笔记研究》 *Qingchu Yesuishi Lu Rimant: Changshu zhangben ji lingxiu biji yanjiu* 【The Early Qing Jesuit Francois de Rougemont】，（郑州 Zhengzhou：大象出版社 Daxiang chubanshe 【The Big Elephant Press】，2007），345。该会大概创立于1660-1670年间，参见 Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, 389.

⁵⁹ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定：《圣母会规》 *Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】，载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》 *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiào wenxian*, 第12册，455。

⁶⁰ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定：《圣母会规》 *Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】，同上，441-445。

因此, 圣母会实际上是一种以灵修为主要目的之团契, 即天主教信徒的基层组织。⁶¹ 此从《圣母会规条》中得到明显体现。其中规定圣母会有一名会长“以司一会之公事”。⁶² 会长之立, 由会友民主选举产生。会中诸事“俱听会长之命”。会长之位, 每年一换。⁶³ 若有信徒加入圣母会, 需要首先“通圣名、守会规, 稽考实行, 然后公禀铎德, 准入会中”。⁶⁴ 且对入会仪式做了规定。又规定会期为“月初瞻礼第七日”。⁶⁵ 除了有关“会长”、“会期”及“入会”之规定外, 其余均为会友之行为规范。可分为两类, 其一为总体上的规范或守则, 如第一条中的“凡入会为兄弟者, 务要同心协力, 相亲相爱, 终始不易, 勿以异体相视”,⁶⁶ 第三条中的“兄弟宜记爱人如己之理, 先起于家, 后施于人”⁶⁷ 等等。其二则为具体的行为规范, 如第七条中的“兄弟每日要念《申尔福》三遍”,⁶⁸ 第八条中的“兄弟每月持大斋一日”,⁶⁹ 第十一条中的“兄弟务要日日省察, 月月解罪, 每年又必岁省解罪一次”⁷⁰ 等等。其中亦对会期之日所需进行的宗教活动做了详细规定, 如“奉弥撒一次……领主保。诵《列品祷文》一遍”。⁷¹ 对会友的日常宗教生活亦有所规定, 如“每日仍念《在天》五遍、《亚物》五遍, 奉主保圣人、值主保圣人瞻礼日, 必须听弥撒。又

⁶¹ 又如方济会第三会等修会, 实际上是一种天主教基础组织, 或称“在俗修会。”参见崔维孝 Cui Weixiao: 《明清之际西班牙方济会在华传教研究》*Mingqing zhi ji Xibanya Fangjigehui zai hua chuanjiao yanjiu* 【A Study on the Spanish Franciscan Mission in Ming-Qing China】(1579-1732), (北京 Beijing: 中华书局 Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 429-435。

⁶² 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, “第二条”, 447。

⁶³ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, “第二条”, 448。

⁶⁴ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, “第十七条”, 456。

⁶⁵ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, “第九条”, 451。

⁶⁶ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, 447。

⁶⁷ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, 448。

⁶⁸ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, 450。

⁶⁹ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, 451。

⁷⁰ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, 453。

⁷¹ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】, 451-452。

诵列品祷文一遍”。⁷² 其中又规定会友需要探望“病痛者”、“忧苦者”，对于懈怠或不守会规的会友需要“劝使欣勤”。会规还要求会友需按期到堂。同时，会规尤其强调“在会兄弟以劝人为本，未在教者，劝领洗；在教不守诫者，劝其迁改”。⁷³ 换言之，圣母会还附带有宣教、互助、慈善等诸多功能。

对圣母之崇拜，祈求圣母作为中保以得到天主之赦免，是圣母会成立之初衷。但作为信徒群体组织，圣母会在广大乡村地区却担当联系信徒、强化信仰、组织宗教活动等职能。由于许多地方缺乏神父，圣母会就成为信徒自我管理的宗教组织。在另一份《圣母会规》中提及设定圣母会之主要原因，是因为“在会诸友远居乡僻，未能时常到堂瞻礼，故于各处立有圣母会，即附近教友亦定有处所。凡遇主日，及诸圣瞻礼清晨齐集念经，以补其缺可也”。⁷⁴ 即是因为不少信徒远居乡村僻野，不能按时赴教堂参加宗教活动，所以在各地设立圣母会。并就此开展宗教活动，主要是在主日及瞻礼日，“齐集念经”，以补不能赴堂之缺。又提及“凡各会俱名为圣母会”，即是表明当时不少地方均设有圣母会。⁷⁵

洪度贞所设立的另一修会，即天主耶稣苦会，仍是以“求圣母转求天主，赐在教、已亡得享天上永福”为主要目的。⁷⁶ 天主耶稣苦会在会期、念经等具体要求上与圣母会大同小异，如规定会友“每日恭拜《五伤经》，及念三十三遍《天主经》一串”⁷⁷ 等等，但天主苦会尤其强调“每瞻礼第六日为天主之苦，任意行一苦功”。⁷⁸ 饶有趣味的是《天主耶稣苦会规》中提及对无故迟到以至于无法按时开展宗教活动者之惩罚，即“如有故意因循怠缓迟来，以致众友逾时不得起工，议罚执香一束，

⁷² 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定：《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】，452。

⁷³ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定：《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】，450。

⁷⁴ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】，载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》*Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian*, 第12册，489。

⁷⁵ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi: 《圣母会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin】，“第一条”，489。

⁷⁶ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定：《天主耶稣苦会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Confraternity of the Passion】，载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》*Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian*, 第12册，465。

⁷⁷ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定：《天主耶稣苦会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Confraternity of the Passion】，“第五条”，467。

⁷⁸ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定：《天主耶稣苦会规》*Shengmuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Confraternity of the Passion】，“第七条”，467。

跪天主前，念主经一串”。⁷⁹ 此即表明当时可能出现信徒无故不来参加活动的现象，是故在会规中加以劝诫。不仅在杭州地区有天主耶稣苦会组织，在杭州、上海、常熟、苏州、南京等地亦有类似组织。其中所谓“苦功”可能包括肉体上的“鞭笞礼”等等。⁸⁰

上述提及的圣母会一般设立一名会长，而在比较大的善会中，不仅会增设两名副会长，而且还设有“管箱一人”，如现存《仁会会规》中即有如此规定。⁸¹ “管箱”相当于司库，管理全会的收支预算。根据《仁会会规》，可以发现仁会不同于圣母会或天主耶稣苦会，而是一种慈善性质的信徒互助组织。所以不同于其他会规，《仁会会规》中有两条规定“捐资”以及“收支”等情况。其中第三条指出“会长所宜行哀矜诸端，于今初立未能悉举，其先在行殡葬之礼”。⁸² 即是表明仁会主要目的是为信徒举行丧葬礼而服务的（但随着仁会之发展，可能会扩展到其他方面）。其基本的运作程序是，会友先根据自愿或平均承担等方式捐资给仁会，然后会长协同副会长根据信徒家庭情况，在丧葬礼中给予信徒以经济或物资补助，从而帮助会友妥善完成丧葬礼。《仁会会规》还要求会友齐集举行丧葬礼的会友家，并规定念经声音“不先不后，俱要约齐如一，左启右应，右启左应，不可混乱，忝杂土语”。⁸³ 对于丧葬礼中念经规例均有载录。当然对会友日常的宗教生活亦有所规定，如“每月首一主日赴堂领主保单”，⁸⁴ “遇主保圣人瞻礼日宜赴堂与弥撒”，⁸⁵ “会中教友每月宜解罪一次”，⁸⁶ “每早、晚课，诵《十五端》三分之一或《圣母祷文》”，“或早、或晚念《在天》、《亚物》各三遍，奉献主保圣人”，“每晚临睡时宜省察本日

⁷⁹ 洪度贞 Hong Duzhen 【Humbert Augery】重定：《天主耶稣苦会规》 *Tianzhu Yesu kuhui gui* 【Statutes for the Confraternity of the Passion】，“第十二条”，468—469。

⁸⁰ 高华士 Gao Huashi 【Noël Golvers】：《清初耶稣会士鲁日满：常熟帐本及灵修笔记研究》 *Qingchu Yesuhuhuishhi Lu Riman: Changshu zhangben ji lingxiu biji yanjiu* 【The Early Qing Jesuit François de Rougemont】，（郑州 Zhengzhou：大象出版社 Daxiang chubanshe，2007），342。

⁸¹ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi：《仁会会规》 *Renhui huigui*，载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》 *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiào wenxian*，第12册，474—475。

⁸² 无名氏 Wu Mingshi：《仁会会规》 *Renhui huigui*，475。

⁸³ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi：《仁会会规》 *Renhui huigui* 【Charity Confraternity Statutes】，“第六条”，476。

⁸⁴ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi：《仁会会规》 *Renhui huigui* 【Charity Confraternity Statutes】，“第十条”，477。

⁸⁵ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi：《仁会会规》 *Renhui huigui* 【Charity Confraternity Statutes】，“第十一条”，477。

⁸⁶ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi：《仁会会规》 *Renhui huigui* 【Charity Confraternity Statutes】，“第十二条”，477。

之念、言、行”⁸⁷等等。因此，仁会类似于明清普遍存在的丧葬会社，如浙江隐士唐达所创“葬亲社”等等。⁸⁸

清初耶稣会士吴历曾在嘉定创立圣方济各会，自任会长，其会主要目的则是劝人入教。现存《圣方济各会规》很可能是当时吴历所定。其中规定会友劝人入教当首先起于家，后施于人，“当尽心训诲家人”。⁸⁹当时追随吴历的赵仑就曾因为没有成功劝服其妻子入教而深感愧疚。圣方济各会还要求会友每月朔日（初一）到教堂听道、领圣体、告解，且可以将教中“不妥之事”（如行不善之事之会友等）禀告神父。⁹⁰与其他善会不同的是，圣方济各会友可以为外教人“付圣水”，即是施洗，且要“随具一单，登记年月日、乡贯、地名、姓氏”。但会友给初入教者所做的施洗，亦必须引之到教堂，让神父重新补领。⁹¹以此观之，圣方济各会主要目的乃是劝人入教。而针对文人信徒，不同地区则有不同类型的组织。如上海地区的“儒会”或“圣依纳爵会”，该会成员还拥有自己的图书馆。⁹²针对儿童的则有天神会。乡村教堂中亦有初级形式的天神会，即为孩童提供神学训练。⁹³

对一种宗教是否灵验以及对神迹（miracle）之重视，或许是中国乡村社会特有现象。⁹⁴随着明清天主教徒群体整体下移，⁹⁵信徒更多的关注个体灵修、神迹。此

⁸⁷ 以上见无名氏 Wu Mingshi: 《仁会会规》 *Renhui huigui* 【Charity Confraternity Statutes】，第十三至十五条，477。

⁸⁸ 参见何淑宜 He Shuyi: 《以礼化俗——晚明士绅的丧俗改革思想及其实践》 *Yi li hua su --- Wan Ming shishen de sangsu gaige sixiang jiqi shijian* 【To Educate Folk Ceremonies with Rites】，载《新史学》 *Xin shixue* 【New Histori Studies】，11卷3期，(2000年9月)，93。

⁸⁹ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi: 《圣方济各会规》 *Sheng Fangjige huigui* 【Statutes for the St. Franciscans】，第四条，载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》 *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian*，第12册，481。

⁹⁰ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi: 《圣方济各会规》 *Sheng Fangjige huigui* 【Statutes for the St. Franciscan】，第5条，481。

⁹¹ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi: 《圣方济各会规》 *Sheng Fangjige huigui* 【Statutes for the St. Franciscans】，第13条及最后一条，485, 487。

⁹² 高华士 Gao Huashi 【Noël Golvers】: 《清初耶稣会士鲁日满：常熟帐本及灵修笔记研究》 *Qingchu Yesuhuishi Lu Rimian: Changshu zhangben ji lingxiu biji yanjiu* 【The Early Qing Jesuit Francois de Rougemont】，344—345。

⁹³ 高华士 Gao Huashi 【Noël Golvers】: 《清初耶稣会士鲁日满：常熟帐本及灵修笔记研究》 *Qingchu Yesuhuishi Lu Rimian: Changshu zhangben ji lingxiu biji yanjiu* 【The Early Qing Jesuit Francois de Rougemont】，342—343。

⁹⁴ 根据柯兰妮 Ke Lani (Claudia von Collani) 的观点，无论是中国还是西方，普通天主教徒都对宗教活动、礼仪等层面感兴趣，而这些层面从梵二会议之后的观点来看，即属于迷信或民间宗教。参见 Claudia von Collani, “Parishes, Priests and Lay People: Christian Communities as Described in the *Neue Welt-Bott*”, in Golvers, Noël & Sara Lievens edited, *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jerroon Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K. U. (Leuven)*, 670, 680-682.

⁹⁵ 正如谢和耐 Xie Henai 【Jacques Gernet】所言：“事实上是约1620年之后，耶稣会士们不再于大文豪与高级官吏中进行归化活动了。他们后来为之举行洗礼的任何人都没有像徐光启或李之藻 Li Zhizao 那样的名望和权

在《圣方济各会规》中略有体现。其中第十条规定,“人若有病,欲求领洗,单为医病,切不可轻易擅付圣水。因为圣水是医灵魂之药,不是治肉身之药也”。⁹⁶此即表明,当时已有人将天主教圣水当作地方崇拜或佛道寺院中的“仙丹”、“圣水”一样,具备超验的能力,可以医治百病。此会规禁止将圣水用来治“肉身”之病,殆必当时业已出现类似现象。⁹⁷第十四条提及,“外教人有病一心受领圣水,无奈家中人不肯。会友须将圣教要理详细讲明。若果实心受领,即当密付圣水”。⁹⁸姑且不论外教病者求领圣水之真正动机,但恐怕与病疾有关。又第十二条规定,“外教人有病,请和尚道士,又请教友念经,此是外教人视天主如菩萨一般,切不可去。慎之,慎之”。⁹⁹此规定更能反映出当时天主教极有可能被混同为佛道二教。¹⁰⁰其中用了两个“慎之”无不是在谆谆告诫会友,不得参与此类活动。虽然天主教自入华伊始就强调自己与佛道二教之区别,但在宗教实践上却被世人混为一谈。究其原因,在于世人并不从义理(即教义)来辨别宗教,而仅仅从灵验或实践层面(即礼仪)。而从《念经总牍》等文献来看,天主教礼仪亦如佛道二教一样繁琐、但有章有条。以至于圣方济各会友被邀请为亡者念经,如同和尚道士一般为亡者念经超渡。实际上,在善会或教会之内,信徒之间可以通过念经互相通功,亦可以通过念经为亡者或在世者祈求天主之赦免。

因此,明清天主教善会多以劝人入教、宣扬天主教、加强信徒虔诚度为主要目的,¹⁰¹当然也兼有互助性质,诸如以临终助念为主要目的之善会等等。¹⁰²分散的

威,甚至也没有像王徵和孙元化那样略为逊色一些的人物。知识阶层全部变成仇视传教士及其教理的人士了。在大清时代绝无仅有的一次著名归化是使一些皇家王公皈依了天主教。因此,传教士们当然会最终将其努力转向了民间阶层,如农民和城市小职业主阶层。”参见谢和耐 Xie Henai:《中国和基督教:中国和欧洲文化之比较》*Zhongguo he Jidujiao: Zhongguo he Ouzhou wenhua zhi bijiao*【China and Christianity】,耿昇 Geng Sheng 译,(上海 Shanghai: 上海古籍出版社 Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 67。

⁹⁶ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi:《圣方济各会规》*Sheng Fangjig hui gui*【Statutes for the St. Franciscan】, 484。

⁹⁷ 在乡村地区,天主教传教士为了适应信徒之需要,亦充当驱魔、治病等各种角色,以代替民间宗教或巫术等。参见 Eugenio Menegon,“Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: The Localization of Christianity in Late Imperial Mindong (Fujian, China), 1632-1863”, 293-306; Huang Xiaojuan,“Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780-1860”, 55-57。

⁹⁸ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi:《圣方济各会规》*Sheng Fangjig hui gui*【Statutes for the St. Franciscan】, 485。

⁹⁹ 无名氏 Wu Mingshi:《圣方济各会规》*Sheng Fangjig hui gui*【Statutes for the St. Franciscan】, 485。

¹⁰⁰ 实际上,很多下层百姓当其遇到疾病等困难而佛道二教不能解决之时,他们往往会去寻求天主教传教士的帮助。在某种程度上,传教士亦被等同于佛道二教的僧侣。参见 Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, 97-98。

¹⁰¹ Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, 499。

¹⁰² 伏若望 (João Fróis, SJ, 1591-1638) 撰有《善终助功规例》*Shanzhong zhugong gui li*【Rules of Helpful Deeds for a Good Ending】为信徒的临终助念提供指导,载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》*Yesuhui Luoma*

信徒个体往往需要参与群体活动, 来维系自身的身份与认同。同时, 群体的宗教活动亦是群体自我身份维持与巩固之主要途径。“外教”中人亦往往根据群体的外在行为来判定该群体身份认同之主要内容。这些善会组织一方面有利于提升信徒的信仰, 另一方面则可以增强群体的凝聚力。另外, 善会提供了不同于教会的组织形式, 有力的推动了明清天主教的发展。尤其当传教士人手不够或者禁教时期, 这些善会组织及信徒领袖、传道员或善会成员, 为天主教的发展提供了保障。¹⁰³而那些为丧葬礼提供服务的善会, 则有力推动了中西方文化尤其是在礼仪上的融和与交流。¹⁰⁴

余论

天主教的宗教活动, 尤其在丧葬礼中诵念经文, 很容易让教外人士甚至教内信徒误认为其与佛道二教等同, 即通过念经可以超度亡灵, 甚至将本来具有神圣性或超越性的宗教仪式变成世俗祈福等活动。¹⁰⁵

天主教丧葬礼中的念经首先亦如佛道丧葬礼中念经一样, 是出于为亡灵减少痛苦而进行的。只是天主教诵经是通过“圣母”、“圣女”、“圣人”等“中保”向天主祈求赦免亡灵之罪。如同佛道二教, 念经亦是天主教礼仪中最为重要礼仪之一, 如同南怀仁 (Ferdinand Verbiest, 1623-1688) 所言“夫诵经祈求者, 即钦崇上主之首礼也”。¹⁰⁶

那么天主教诵经是否如同佛道二教? 其目的为何? 南怀仁将天主教念经目的分为四点:

dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian, 第5册, 333—438。

¹⁰³ 这些善会组织, 亦是耶稣会传教士最为成熟以及可见的传教成果, 参见 Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, 400-401.

¹⁰⁴ Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe*, 110-115.

¹⁰⁵ 参见何淑宜 He Shuyi: 《明代士绅与通俗文化——以丧葬礼俗为例的考察》 *Mingdai shishen yu tongsu wenhua ---- Yi sangzang lisu wei li de kaocha* 【Ming Dynasty Esquires and Folk Culture】, 101。

¹⁰⁶ 南怀仁 Nan Huairen 【Ferdinand Verbiest】: 《天主教丧礼问答》 *Tianzhujiao sangli wenda* 【Questions and Answers concerning Catholic Funeral Ceromnies】, 载《耶稣会罗马档案馆明清天主教文献》 *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian*, 第5册, 495。

一凡求降福免祸，则明征上主无所不在，以听吾求；亦无所不能，以允吾求也。其二，祈求上主免未来之灾患，所望身后之吉祥，则明征上主无所不知，而灼见未来者，犹如现在者然。其三，凡求上主保佑，则明表其人谦虚之心，知外此别无权能，而赏罚之柄惟上主所操，故悉依赖之耳。前所云钦崇之意。正谓此也。其四，凡为已亡之父母，及亲戚朋友，祈主降福免祸，代伊奉献斋素舍贫等事，为补赎之功，则表其致爱致敬，孝敬感恩之实心实情，与夫世俗多行虚礼者，大不同也。¹⁰⁷

上述四点表明，天主教丧葬礼诵经可以为自己“降福免祸”，亦可以为亡灵“补赎通功”。朱宗元亦谓：“稽首诵经之际，弥全昭事之功”。¹⁰⁸ 换言之，此与佛道二教通过念经可以求福免祸，亦可以为亡灵超度类似。但是，天主教强调是向天主祈求，因此前二点是通过念经表明天主“无所不能”与“无所不知”。后两点则表明天主操赏罚之权。南怀仁对念经目的之分析，说明天主教念经一方面可以得到“福报”，另一方面则是通过念经等宗教活动来表达自己的信仰内容。因此，虽然在形式上与佛道二教雷同，但其所表达的内容即其宗教意含完全不同。

天主教教义中表明天主操赏善罚恶之权，正如明季天主教徒韩霖所言天主“有求斯应，善有永赏，恶有永罚”。¹⁰⁹ 又言“夫天心至公，赏罚祸福至当。均是人也，而富贵贫贱不同，必与其人善恶丝毫不爽”。¹¹⁰ 也就是说，一旦人的行为善恶已经确定，他人无法予以改变。利玛窦曾明确反对报应在子孙等说。¹¹¹ 即表明个体在现世犯了多少罪，应在身后受到多大惩罚。既然天主已经确定“某人炼罪相当之刑罚，大小多寡几何，则其应罚之苦，不得不然。奚用复求乎？”¹¹² 即表明天主已经确定了亡者之罪罚，他人祈求免罪则是否与天主教赏善罚恶相矛盾？那么，士

¹⁰⁷ 南怀仁 Nan Huaren 【Ferdinand Verbiest】:《天主教丧礼问答》 *Tianzhujiao sangli wenda* 【Questions and Answers concerning Catholic Funeral Ceremonies】. 495—496。

¹⁰⁸ 朱宗元 Zhu Zongyuan:《拯世略说》 *Zhengshi luoshuo* 【Outline of How to Save the World】，原文附于 Dominic Sachsenmaier: *Die Aufnahme europäischer Inhalte in die chinesische Kultur durch Zhu Zongyuan (ca.1616-1660)*, (Nettetal: Steyler 2001, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 47), 418。

¹⁰⁹ 韩霖 Han Lin:《铎书》 *Duoshu* 【Book of Admonition】，载钟鸣旦 Zhong Mingdan 【Nicolas Standaert】、杜鼎克 Du Dingke 【Adrian Dudink】等编:《徐家汇藏书楼明清天主教文献》 *Xujiahui cangshulou Mingqing Tianzhujiao wenxian*, 第2册, 640。

¹¹⁰ 韩霖 Han Lin:《铎书》 *Dushu* 【Book of Admonition】，773—774。

¹¹¹ 如其所谓：“我自为我，子孙自为子孙。夫我所亲行善恶，尽以还之子孙，其可为公乎？……尔为善，子孙为恶，则将举尔所当享之赏，而尽加诸其为恶之身乎？可谓义乎？尔为恶，子孙为善，则将举尔所当受之刑，而尽置诸其为善之躬乎？可谓仁乎？”参见利玛窦 Li Madou:《天主实义》 *Tianzhu shiyi* 【The True Meaning of Tianzhu】，再《天学初函》 *Tianxue chuhan* 【The First Collections of the Studies of Heaven】，第1册，(台北 Taibei: 学生书局 Xuesheng shuju 【Student Press】，1964)，545—546。

¹¹² 南怀仁 【Ferdinand Verbiest】:《天主教丧礼问答》 *Tianzhujiao sangli wenda* 【Questions and Answers concerning Catholic Funeral Ceremonies】，498—499。

绅对佛道所谓只要念佛即可超度会纵使为恶者无所顾忌等等指责, 同样适用于天主教。南怀仁之回答似乎并没有触及上述所谓善恶行为与应受赏罚主体之间的关系问题。南怀仁认为, 虽然个体之罪与罚、善与赏已定, 但天主允许个体有“自专”能力, 即奥古斯丁所谓“自由意志”。¹¹³ 即“盖凡关系灵性自专之事, 上主不独自定而施行, 亦必需人尽本性之能力, 以同施行。若上主强人之自专, 则世人之善恶, 无功无罪, 看附后善恶报论详之。若依问之所论, 而谓事事独由上主前定, 并于人立功与否。及祈求等情, 全无干涉, 则古今所作祝福禳灾, 祈晴祷雨之事, 皆无用矣。又如人疾病, 与不痊, 若独由上主而定, 则医治服药又何为乎?”¹¹⁴

南怀仁之回答业已表明, 天主之赏罚与个体之善恶之间存在着严格的一一对应关系, 决定天主是否赦免之主要因素在于个体的行为以及祈求。换言之, 南怀仁并没有回答他者的祈求或者他者的善行能否为亡者或者其他个体带来福报或者免罪等至关重要的问题。在这一点上, 南怀仁含糊其辞。其中的吊诡清晰可见: 一方面天主教反对佛道及儒家所谓福善祸淫之说, 更反对善功恶报可以转移到不同个体之上, 即主张善恶与赏罚之间的一一对应的关系; 另一方面天主教也承认可以通过教友的念经通功, 为亡者或为自己或为他者祈求天主赦罪免祸, 即可以通过祈祷为他者获得福报。而同时, 天主教又主张元祖犯罪将其过犯“遗传”至子孙身上。¹¹⁵ 而有些信徒亦认为祖先之过犯会遗留给子孙。¹¹⁶

天主教与佛道二教虽然在“念经——祈祷——赦罪免祸”等关系上存在差异, 但给教外人士带来错觉, 即认为天主教可以通过教友的念经通功为亡灵祈求天主免罪, 或者为在世者带来福报, 如此以至于李安当在《丧葬仪式》中规定教友不可以如同僧道一样为非教友亡者念经。

¹¹³ 关于奥古斯丁 Augustinus 【Augustine】自由意志的详细讨论, 参见 Eleonore Stump, “Augustine on Free Will”, in edited by Eleonore Stump and Norman Kretzmann, *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 124-147.

¹¹⁴ 南怀仁 【Ferdinand Verbiest】: 《天主教丧礼问答》 *Tianzhujiao sangli wenda* 【Questions and Answers concerning Catholic Funeral Ceremonies】, 499—500.

¹¹⁵ 即有人质疑朱宗元“帝王之道, 罚不及嗣, 况于天主。元祖违命, 元祖受罚可也。而因以传于后人可乎?” 参见朱宗元 Zhu Zongyuan: 《答客问》 *Dakewen* 【Answers the Guest's Questions】, 原文附于 Dominic Sachsenmaier: *Die Aufnahme europäischer Inhalte in die chinesische Kultur durch Zhu Zongyuan (ca.1616-1660)*, (Nettetal: Steyler 2001, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 47), 293.

¹¹⁶ 朱宗元 Zhu Zongyuan 即谓: “彼叛逆者, 罪其子孙, 原不为过, 而天主由特微罚而已。”参见《拯世略说》 *Zhengshi lüeshuo* 【Outline of How to Save the World】, 原文附于 Dominic Sachsenmaier: *Die Aufnahme europäischer Inhalte in die chinesische Kultur durch Zhu Zongyuan (ca.1616-1660)*, (Nettetal: Steyler 2001, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 47), 352.

最后就功德 (merit) 概念做一简单分辨。显然, 儒释道与天主教均有功德之概念, 即均有通过宗教活动来消除罪业或积累功德。¹¹⁷ 尤其是在丧葬礼中, 佛道二教均强调可以通过生者的行为, 包括延请僧侣做法事以及行善积德 (如行功过格、施舍) 等为死者超度, 从而获得现实之福报。佛道二教以及民间宗教的功德概念基本上是针对死者与生者之间的关系而言, 此种关系即“行为——回报”。类似于上文所述“念经——回报”, 佛道二教以及民间宗教均可以通过现实的宗教行为尤其礼仪活动, 一方面为死者消除恶的报应, 以避免亡者之灵魂受苦; 另一方面则为生者积累善德, 以获得现实之福报。至于由谁掌管减免恶报与授予福报等问题, 普通民众并不关心。但对于传教士而言, 诸如延请佛道僧侣超度等行为实际上即是向民众所崇拜的偶像或祖先祈求福报。因此, 对于一神信仰的传教士来说, 难以接受。对于诸如张星曜等信徒而言, 佛教主张可以通过法事为死者超度, 实际上是表明“活者”可以改变“死者”之善恶报应, 因此有失公平, 即“彼言亡灵不能持诵, 多作罪孽, 延僧诵祈以免咎也。予言予非不识字者, 请生前自诵之何如”。¹¹⁸ 但实际上, 天主教的通功以及在丧礼上向穷人分发食物等善行, 虽然不可以改变亡者恶行所应得到的惩罚, 但善行的功德仍然可以转移到生者或死者身上。只不过, 天主教掌握赏善罚恶者乃天主而已。传教士常常强调, 善行不一定得到善功, 最重要的需要得到恩宠。因此, 天主教对佛道二教以及民间宗教功德概念的批评, 实际上是因为一神信仰之排他性使然。这也是明清天主教徒构建自我认同的核心。¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ 可参见 Erik Zürcher, “Buddhist Chanhui and Christian Confession in Seventeenth-century China”, in edited by Nicolas Standaert and Ad. Dudink, *Forgive Us Our Sins: Confession in Late Ming and Early Qing China*, (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2006), 103-127. 儒释道与民间宗教均有“行善积功”的概念, 而且这种思想与实践得到了不同社会群体的认同, 参见赵世瑜 Zhao Shiyu: 《小历史与大历史: 区域社会史的理念、方法与实践》 *Xiaolishi yu dalishi: Quyu shehuishi de linian, fangfa yu shijian* 【Small History and Big History】, (北京 Beijing: 三联书店 Sanlian shudian, 2006), 256.

¹¹⁸ 张星曜 Zhang Xingyao: 《天教明辨·自序》 *Tianjiao mingbian . zixu* 【The Cear Plea of the Heavenly Education . The Self Preface】, 4b-5b.

¹¹⁹ Erik Zürcher, *Kouduo richao, Li Jiubao's Diary of Oral Admonitions: A Late Ming Christian Journal*, (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2007, “introduction”), 148-149.

English Title:

A Preliminary Exploration on the Religious Life and Organizing Form of the Ming and Qing Catholic Christians

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Abstract: Until now much research focuses on the interaction between the West and China during the late Ming and early Qing dynasties from the perspectives of thought and culture. However, few of the researchers concentrate on the religious practices of Chinese Catholics in that time. This article first analyzes the main literatures about the religious practice of Chinese Catholics during the late Ming and early Qing. Then it focuses on the characters and meaning of the religious practices from personal religious lives and groups' organizations. The conclusion compares Chinese Catholicism and Buddhism on "reciting scriptures" and "merit" so as to find out the distinction of Chinese Catholicism to shape its identity. The author tries to point out that the emphasis on the religious practices by Chinese Catholicism during late Ming and early Qing is one of the decisive causes to make people convert to Catholicism.

Key words: Catholic Christianity in Ming and Qing, religious practice, reciting scriptures, merit

***Pax Romana* and *Pax Sinica*: A Tale of Two Empires¹**

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Abstract: For the ancient Romans the *Pax Romana* had to be maintained at all costs for the socio-political stability of the great Roman Empire. Modern China's current quest for a "harmonious society" seems to have been prompted by a similar concern, hence the *Pax Sinica*. There is no question about the legitimacy of the respective concerns of the two "Empires" for this matter, although fundamental questions on the means by which the *pax* is maintained may justifiably be raised. Recognizing the vast contextual differences between the two Empires, this paper does not attempt to do a *comparative* study in this paper in any technical sense. Yet what links the two cases together is the consistency of the Christian understanding of the "two kingdoms" and the nature of powers and authorities throughout the ages. While recognizing the *raison d'être* of China's quest for socio-political harmony and stability, the paper takes a strong view that the end alone should not be allowed to justify the means without equality and justice. "Ancient wisdom" in both Chinese and Biblical resources are readily available for those who are seriously and sincerely committed to such a laudable project. But its use will require a great deal of modern wisdom, as well as *political* will and *moral* courage.

Key words: *Pax*, stability, harmonious society, Christianity, Confucianism

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Introduction

The theme of the Colloquium, "*Harmonious Society and Ancient Wisdom*", was largely prompted by China's current quest for a "harmonious society". This paper will try to follow the guideline of the Colloquium, *i.e.*, to be "critical" and "constructive" at the same time. While the title of the paper may suggest that it is a sort of "comparative" study, it is actually not so in any technical sense. The respective historic-socio-political contexts of the two empires are so vastly different that any serious comparison between them would run the risk for being too superficial and hard-pressed. Yet, a very significant link seems to exist between the two empires, as modern China's new quest for "harmony" (和谐) and strong determination to maintain socio-political "stability" (安定) do appear similar to the old Roman Empire's uncompromising and near pathological commitment to

¹ A presentation in the International Biblical Studies Colloquium, (Peking University, May 31 to June 3, 2010).

the *Pax Romana* ideology,² The term “*Pax Sinica*” has been coined by this paper largely for convenience. Crucial to the position of the paper is the Christian understanding of the “two kingdoms” and the nature of power and authority, which remain basically unchanged for the last two thousand years, although this long tradition, being dynamic and not static, should be constantly re-interpreted, understood anew and faithfully applied, in response to the ever changing situations of the time.

At the crucifixion of Jesus, Pilate wrote an inscription in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and put it on the cross. It read, “Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews” (John 19.19. Greek: *Iesous ho Nazoraios ho basileus twn Ioudaiōn*). The Roman governor apparently intended to use this public display as a ridicule to Jesus as well as an insult to the Jews, whom he hated deeply. However, the public could well read it as a formal “verdict” on the perceived socio-political “crime” of “Jesus of Nazareth”, who had either personally acknowledged to be the “King of the Jews”, or acclaimed to be so, or both, and hence posing a great threat to the stability of the Roman establishment. But was Jesus really a threat to the *Pax Romana*? The concern of this paper is not confined to the finding of a possible answer to this question of history. It is also interested to see if such a question could have any relevance to China's current quest for a “harmonious society” from a Christian perspective, and here lies again a possible link between the commitment of the ancient Empire to the *Pax Romana* and modern China's determination to maintain the *Pax Sinica* at all costs.

Pax Romana

The *Pax Romana* lasted from about 27 BCE (beginning with Emperor Augustus) until AD 180 (the death of Emperor Marcus Aurelius). With the exception of some sporadic rebellions and disturbances, the Empire was blessed with much peace (*Pax*) during the first half of the first century AD, which covered the entire active life of Jesus. Relative

² The Roman authorities were determined to use any brutal means to try to maintain its socio-political stability, including crucifixion, which was quite readily used against rebels or would be rebels. See Martin Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976). Luke 13.1 has a reference to Pilate's murderous act: “At that very time there were some present who told him [Jesus] about the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.”

safety in travels was not only much appreciated and cherished by all those who benefited from it, even though the rapid spread of the Gospel of early Christianity was partly due to this *Pax*.

But the *Pax Romana* was certainly not based on any universal value of human equality and justice, democracy and freedom. In fact, the contrary was true. In Roman society people was rigidly divided into two big categories, namely, the upper society (*honestiores*) and the lower stratum (*humiliores*), and only the former would be entitled to social honors and privileges as well as the protection of the law.³

“Jesus of Nazareth”, being an ordinary Jew, obviously belonged to the very low stratum (*humiliores*) of the Roman society in Palestine. Pontious Pilate, the Roman governor, therefore showed no respect for the Jewish identity of Jesus, and was equally insensitive to his religious feeling even before he interviewed him, in the early hours on the day of his crucifixion.⁴

Jesus was the promised “Prince of Peace” (Isaiah 9.6) and the first Christmas message was that of universal “peace” (Luke 2.10-14).⁵ That the “Prince of Peace” should be accused of and eventually died for his socio-political “sedition” must be one of the greatest ironies in human history.

There is also another sort of irony in Chinese history. For about two thousand years, from the Han Dynasty (汉代 *Handai*) to the end of the Qing Dynasty (清朝 *Qingchao*) in 1911, Confucianism, including its teaching on harmony (和 *he*), had been the state ideology of imperial China. Qin Shi Huang (秦始皇 *Qing Shihuang*) or Shi Huangdi (246-210 BCE), generally regarded as “First Emperor” of ancient China, and who

³ For Gaius, men were just either “free” or being “slaves”. See, for example, Gaius, *Institutes*, vol. I.9: *Et quidem summa divisio de iure personarum haec est, quod omnes homines aut liberi sunt aut servi.*

⁴ The Jewish leaders and their followers had earlier refused to enter Pilate's *praetorium*, “so that they might not be defiled, but might eat the passover.” (John 18.28). Consequently, Pilate had to go *out* of the *praetorium* to meet with them, and apparently did not complain about the Jews' refusal to meet him inside the *praetorium*. But such “courtesy” was not given to Jesus, who was also a Jew, as Pilate interrogated Jesus *inside* his *praetorium*, although Jesus himself might not feel “defiled” by it (18.33). The Roman governor also blatantly insulted the human dignity of Jesus when he “took Jesus and scourged him”, and allowed the soldiers to plait a “crown of thorns” and place it on his head as well as putting a purple robe on him. (19.1,2)

⁵ “And the angel said...I bring you good news of a great joy which will come to all the people, for to you is born this day...a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord....And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying,

‘Glory to God in the highest,
and on earth *peace* among men with
whom he is pleased” (Luke 2.14)

succeeded in unifying China, was notorious in China's long history for being a “tyrant” and for the burning of the Chinese classics as well as the burying of many of the literati alive, has now been hailed as a “hero” (英雄 *yingxiong*) , especially for the “unification” of ancient China.⁶ The irony is that those burned classics (books) would most probably have included the Confucian classics, on which the ancient idea of “harmony” (和 *he*) was most promised, and upon which the modern idea of “harmonious society” (和谐社会 *hexie shehui*) found its inspiration and justification. Some critics seem to think that the Chinese authorities' quest for a harmonious society and its promotion of “national [classical] learning” (国学 *guoxue*) , especially Confucianism, including the founding of many “Confucian Colleges” at home and abroad, may all be parts of a grand design, socio-politically motivated. Like the old *Pax Romana*, the modern *Pax Sinica* must also be maintained at all costs. Some cynics even suspect that national unification and stability of modern China are actually being used as a pretext for the continuous justification of the one-party system, the so-called “dictatorship of the proletariats”.

Whatever the case may be, the very idea of a “harmonious society” is itself a clear contradiction to the “struggle” ideology of orthodox Marxism, which was supposed to be an on-going process. Is this another “characteristic” of Chinese socialism?

The teaching of Jesus on powers and authorities

The Biblical understanding of powers and authorities is firmly based on its consistent doctrine of creation and belief in God's sovereignty over the whole earth and all the nations. Israel as Yehweh's special “chosen” people has in no way changed this Biblical conviction. As such, even Cyrus, the “pagan” king of the Persian Empire, was regarded as Yahweh's “anointed” (Isaiah 44:28); and Artaxerxes, king of the same Empire (465-425 BCE) was instrumental for the re-building of the wall of Jerusalem and the restoration of the Jewish community led by Nehemiah and Ezra. Yahweh is the ultimate source of all powers and authorities. The final judgment is Yahweh's absolute prerogative, on which all Biblical eschatologies are constructed. It is also on the same faith tradition

⁶ This seems to be the “message” even in Zhang Yimou's controversial and popular film, *Hero* (英雄 *yingxiong*) .

that the New Testament doctrine of the “two kingdoms” is taught. The teaching of Jesus, Paul and Peter on powers and authorities, were thoroughly consistent with this Biblical tradition.

The teaching of Jesus on world powers and authorities in the Gospels could be said to be quite “incidental”. But behind this “occasional” teaching was undoubtedly a long and solid Biblical tradition that has been just referred to earlier. The incident is found in all the synoptic gospels, (Mark 12:13-17; Matthew 22:15-22; Luke 20:19-26), where Jesus was confronted with the politically very sensitive and controversial issue of taxes paid to Caesar, the Roman Emperor. The response of Jesus to the question, “Is it lawful to pay taxes to Caesar, or not?” (Mark 12:14, RSV), has consequently led to the Christian teaching on the so-called “two kingdoms”. The famous answer of Jesus, “Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's” (Mark 12:17), are commonly regarded as Jesus' most powerful and firm statement on the respective legitimacy of the “two kingdoms”. While most civil authorities throughout the ages seem to have little difficulty accepting the Christian position as a broad and universal principle, their respect and acceptance for the latter, *i.e.*, “render to God the things that are God's”, are often reluctant and inconsistent.

If worldly authorities, including that of modern China, had difficulty coping with the “two kingdoms”, or handling the things of Caesar and God at the same time, the same would more or less be true with the Christians themselves in dealing with their “dual identity”, namely, being citizens of *both* the kingdom of God and of the present world order. The present writer could vividly recall an occasion where a young Chinese scholar, who was born and bred outside mainland China, greatly surprised many when he solemnly reminded himself as well as his audience of the need to constantly choose between God and Caesar in their life and witness.⁷

The difficult and often costly choice between God and Caesar is unavoidable as long as one respects the legitimacy of both kingdoms and tries to keep the two in dialectical tension. The choice is both theological as well as existential, a struggle through which

⁷ The year was 1981 when the official delegation of the TSPM (Three-Self Patriotic Movement) and CCC (China Christian Council) came to Hong Kong for the first time after the “Great Cultural Revolution” to meet with representatives of world Christian community. The young scholar, an Asian representative, was invited to lead a morning devotion at the YMCA on Waterloo Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong. The Bible reading was taken from parts of John 18 & 19: *The encounter between God and Caesar*.

great and true pastor-theologians were made. Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer were among those who had gone through it both before and during World War II.⁸

Equally important and difficult for modern China to handle is the building of a “harmonious society”, which could accommodate “differences”, and not simply paying lip service to the laudable Confucian belief in *The Analects* 13:23: “君子和而不同 *junzi he er butong*” (《论语》 子路 13.:23) .

As in most societies, accepting “harmony” (和 *he*) is relatively easy, but respecting and accommodating “differences” (不同 *butong*) would be far more difficult, even risky. But one cannot just have harmony (和 *he*) and disregard difference (不同 *butong*) . “和为贵 *he wei gui*” and “君子和而不同 *junzi he er butong*” will continue to be in “dialectical tension” in modern China, and it will take a lot of ancient and modern wisdom, moral courage as well as strong political will to keep the two together in delicate but necessary balance. More will be said on this later in this paper.

Jesus' teaching on powers and authorities and the two kingdoms was the basic principle on which the apostle Paul tried to wrestle with the same issue. This was characterized by his well known statement in Romans 13:1: “Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God.” But to infer from here, as some critical New Testament scholars often tend to do, that Paul was a political “conservative” is a blatant failure to understand the profound theology behind it. Paul's teaching was based on the same theological conviction of his crucified Master. Just like his Master whom he tried to imitate, Paul never seemed to have questioned the legitimacy of the Roman authorities, even under the most adverse circumstances when he was very unjustly treated. Only once did he refer to his Roman citizenship to challenge the Roman magistrates' unjust treatment for beating him and his travel companion Silas, before throwing them into prison.⁹

⁸ See Choong Chee Pang, *Is the Separation of Politics and Religion a Myth?*, (Hong Kong: CABSA, 2008), 168-170.

⁹ Paul and Silas were in the Roman city of Philippi, where they were beaten publicly and imprisoned. The next day, the Roman magistrates sent police to release them, but Paul replied, “They have beaten us in public, uncondemned, men who are Roman citizens, and have thrown us into prison; and now are they going to discharge us in secret? Certainly not! Let them come and take us out themselves.” (Acts 16. 35-37)

But most paradoxically, Paul, the law-abiding citizen, turned out to be a most daring and thorough-going challenger of the Greco-Roman social ethos of his time, and inverting it in a most revolutionary way. Paul did it, not according to any socio-political theory or ideology of the present world order, but with his “theology of the cross” and personal *modus operandi*, in his most humble position as the *doulos* (“slave” or “servant”) of Christ. This message and testimony come out most powerfully and movingly in Paul's Corinthian correspondence. Here is yet another great irony. Paul, the messenger of the gospel of *shalom*, and an “ambassador” for the message of *reconciliation* (2 Corinthians 5:18-20), was thought to be belonging to the people “who have been turning the world upside down” (Acts 17:6).

The apostle Peter, sometimes quite wrongly regarded as a formidable “rival” of the apostle Paul, also followed a similar line of thinking in his teaching on Christian respect for worldly authorities and “civil obedience” (1 Peter 1:17; 2:12-17).¹⁰ 1 Peter 3:8-9 is clearly reminding of the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount.¹¹ Like Paul and his Christian communities, Peter and his Christian readers of the *diaspora* in Asia Minor and other regions were fully conscious of their “dual identity”. In terms of their citizenship in the Kingdom of God, they were “a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people” (2:9a). But in relation to the present world order, which was generally hostile to them, they could only regard themselves as “alien and exiles” (2:11). And their Christian identity was inseparable from their calling and mission: “that you [Christians] may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light” (2:9b). The whole marvelous thing about Peter's positive teaching was that no Christian should use their disadvantaged and marginalized position in the hostile Roman society as a pretext for disengagement with that society or for passive Christian life and

¹⁰ “Be subject for the Lord's sake to every human institution, whether it be to the emperor as supreme, or to governors as sent by him to punish those who do wrong and to praise those who do right. For it is God's will that by doing right you should put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. Live as freemen, yet without using your freedom as a pretext for evil; but live as servants of God. Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the emperor” (1 Peter 2:13-17). This positive and pro-active teaching of Peter became the more amazing and incredible when one bears in mind that the “emperor” at this particular time was the notorious tyrant Nero who persecuted the Christians most relentlessly from AD 64-66.

¹¹ “Finally, all of you, have unity of spirit, sympathy, love of the brethren, a tender heart and a humble mind. Do not return evil for evil or reviling for reviling; but on the contrary bless, for to this you have been called, that you may obtain a blessing.”

life style. The implications of this for Christians of all generations and in all places need no further elaboration.

The trial of Jesus before Pilate

Even a casual reading of the Gospel accounts would seem to suggest that at least for the Jews, including the Sanhedrin, the *identity* of Jesus, *i.e.*, whether he was truly what he himself had claimed or hailed as such by his enthusiastic followers, was essentially a *religious* issue. As such, it should have little to do with the Roman authorities. This seemed to be the initial opinion of Pilate, the Roman governor, when Jesus was first brought to his headquarters, the “*praetorium*” (John 18:28). Pilate therefore said to the Jews, “Take him yourselves and judge him by your own [religious] law” (John 18:31). However, Pilate's initial opinion about and attitude toward Jesus appeared to change as the “trial” of Jesus continued. The Roman governor was also quite understandably confused about the identity of Jesus and the nature of the Jewish accusation. In the presence of Pilate, Jesus was called an “evildoer” by the accusing Jews (18:30, RSV). Had it been “lawful” for them to put Jesus to death they would not have bothered to bring him to the Roman governor (18:31). At some point the governor must have been told either that Jesus had claimed or was hailed to be “the King of the Jews”. Such “title” certainly had most serious implications and consequences in the socio-political context of the Roman Empire. It was therefore only natural that Pilate should pursue the matter further. “Are you the King of the Jews?”, asked Pilate, when he first confronted Jesus (18:33). Any claim to kingship would of course tantamount to political sedition, and would certainly lead to capital punishment, just as the accusing Jews said to Pilate, ““Everyone who makes himself a king sets himself against Caesar” (19:12). *Religiously*, the Jews were more concerned with the other claim: “because he [Jesus] has made himself the Son of God”(19:7). However, the Roman governor Pilate was simply not interested in such extraordinary religious claim. In the end, it was a case of *religion* making use of *political* power. In the context of the Roman Empire, even *religious* issues could hardly be regarded as purely or merely *religious*, and it was difficult, if not

impossible, for any religion to be completely “privatized”.¹² In this sense, the so-called “public theology”, a modern Western notion, was in fact as old as the Roman Empire!

As a Roman governor, it was almost impossible for Pilate to ever conceive the possibility of any other “power” besides Rome, or another “kingdom” in addition to the Empire. Hence, the arrogance of his question to Jesus: “Do you not know that I have power to release you, and power to crucify you?” (John 19:10). As such, Pilate must have been totally confounded, when he was told by Jesus, the “accused”, that he had “no power” over Jesus, unless it had been given him “from above” (19:11). Pilate apparently did not quite get Jesus' message about “the two kingdoms” in their dialogue earlier (18:33-38), when Jesus told him that his “kingdom” was “not of this world”, and that his mission in this world was “to bear witness to the truth” (18:37) unfortunately, Pilate did not have the moral courage to face the “the truth”, and he only responded to the question of “truth” in a most cynical and scornful manner: “What is truth? (*Ti estin aletheia*; 18:38). The Greek term *aletheia* can be both abstract and vague. But it could also refer to something very real and concrete. In the case of Jesus, the “truth” of the matter was real and concrete, that is, Jesus, the accused, was completely innocent of any socio-political subversion, just as Pilate himself, the official judge and the highest representative of the Roman Empire in Palestine at that time, had declared it publicly three times: “I find no crime in him” (18:38; 19:4, 6). As such, Pilate was duty-bound to release Jesus, the “accused”, as he did intend to do so (19:12). But there were other considerations, and the most important of which was his own political career and future. The force of the threat from the Jewish mob must be appreciated from this perspective: “If you release this man, you are not Caesar's friend; everyone who makes himself a king sets himself against Caesar” (19:12). As a well seasoned politician, Pilate yielded to the pressure of the Jews, and had Jesus crucified (19:16). The Jews' claim that Jesus had “set himself a king” was either due to a gross misunderstanding of Jesus' teaching on the “Kingdom of God”, or his accusers' deliberate attempt to politicize the kingship of Jesus. According to Luke's accounts, the Jewish Sanhedrin also falsely accused Jesus before Pilate that Jesus had taught against giving tribute to Caesar (Luke 23:2).¹³ Rightly understood, the kingship of

¹² Incidentally, China's State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA) is answerable to the State Council, which is the equivalent of the “Cabinet” in other countries.

¹³ “And they began to accuse him, saying, ‘We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding us to give tribute to

Jesus should not be a socio-political threat to the earthly kingdom of Caesar, as Jesus himself had told Pilate earlier, “my kingship is not of this world; if my kingship were of this world, my servants would fight, that I might not be handed over to the Jews”. Had Jesus been interested in the kingship of this world, he would not have withdrawn to the mountain alone at the height of his great popularity, and when the Jewish crowd wanted to make him “king” (John 6:15).

In order to accomplish their murderous plot against Jesus, the chief priests had in fact compromised their most fundamental theological position when they answered Pilate, “We have no king but Caesar” (John 19:15). In fact, they knew fully well that *Yahweh alone* was their “King”, and not Caesar, ultimately speaking. At the trial of Jesus, there was also the unholy alliance between religion and politics, and each exploiting the situation fully to its respective ends. The former represented by the Jewish leadership and the latter by the Roman governor.¹⁴ At the trial of Jesus, even two former enemies, Herod and Pilate, had become “friends” with each other (Luke 23:12).

For the maintenance of socio-political stability, whether it was the old Roman Empire's near pathological concern for the *Pax Romana* or modern China's big worry about 安定 *anding* (*Pax Sinica*), *expediency* is often a serious consideration. As in many ancient societies and communities, one member's act or behavior could often bring great trouble or disaster to the whole society and community. This was exactly the concern of the Jewish leadership in relation to the identity and “claims” of Jesus of Nazareth. During a meeting of the Jewish highest council, the Sanhedrin, a most crucial decision had to be made regarding the fate of Jesus. Recognizing the popularity of Jesus with the people, especially due to the “many signs” he had performed (John 11:47), the Jewish chief priests and Pharisees said, “If we let him go on thus, everyone will believe in him, and the Romans will come and destroy both our holy place and our nation” (11:48). To this understandably most troubling problem, Caiaphas, the high priest of the time, suggested a way out: “You do not understand that it is *expedient* for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish” (11:50). On the high priest's statement, the author of the Gospel of John commented: “He [the high priest] did not say

Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king”

¹⁴ For the delicate and complicated relation between politics and religion, see Choong Chee Pang, 政教分离是个神话? *Zhengjiao fenli shi ge shenhua?* [Is the Separation of Politics and Religion a Myth?], (Hong Kong: CABSA, 2008)

this of his own accord, but being high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation....So from that day on they took counsel how to put him to death” (11:51, 53). The matter of political expediency becomes vitally important whenever hard decision has to be made. Some may recall the very difficult decision that Chinese national leaders had to make on the eve of the “June 4” Tiananmen crack down. In order to justify the use of military force against the student movement, a national leader had reportedly said something like this: “If the killing of a thousand people could secure ten years of stability (安定 *anding*), it would be worth the while.” This paper definitely has no intention to enter into such a politically sensitive and historically complex and highly controversial issue such as the “June 4 Incident”, especially when no common “verdict” has been reached about the matter so far. Although worlds apart, the matter of “expediency” was equally important to both the ancient and the modern cases. It is reasonable to think that the matter of expediency will continue to be very relevant and important to China's quest for a “harmonious society”. Something or someone, somehow and somewhere may have to be sacrificed in the name of “harmony” (和谐 *hexie*) and for the sake of “stability” (安定 *anding*). Common sense seems to suggest that opinions or persons, once perceived to be falling out of line of the state's guiding principle or “out-of-bounds”, are most likely to be sacrificed or sidestepped. And the “fittest” will have to learn how to conform and compromise in order to “survive”.

At the trial of Jesus by the Roman governor Pilate, not only was the crucial issue of “truth” being cowardly evaded by Pilate, the equally important matter of justice was not done or seen to be done. Gross injustice was inflicted on Jesus, the victim, whom even the Roman governor-judge had thrice publicly declared to be innocent: “I find no crime in him” (John 18:38; 19:4,6). The matters of truth and justice were most relevant, not only to the Roman authorities' uncompromising commitment to the maintenance of the *Pax Romana*, but also to modern China's unyielding determination to keep its socio-political stability (安定 *anding*), or the *Pax Sinica*, at all costs. But there can be no lasting “harmony” without *truth* and *justice*. This is clearly the most consistent and firm position of the Biblical faith, in which *shalom* (peace) always assumes or demands the presence of

truth and justice. A classic example would be Isaiah 9:6-7.¹⁵ Paradise and lasting peace could only be “re-gained” on the basis of truth, justice (righteousness) and equality (Isaiah 11:1-9).¹⁶

Is Christianity a threat to the socio-political stability of modern China?

There are five major religions in China recognized by the Chinese authorities: Buddhism, Catholicism, Daoism, Islam and Protestantism. While the government tries to treat all of them equally, attitudes towards and perceptions about them are often not quite the same. Socio-politically Daoism does not seem to be a concern of the government since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Although the government's problem with Buddhism is only confined to Tibet, it is an issue that has to be handled with great care and sensitivity. The riot in Tibet in the summer of 2008, just prior to the official opening of the Beijing Olympics, had almost developed beyond control, and posed a great threat to the “largest show on earth”, a world event which meant so much to China in many ways. The most recent earthquake in Yushu, in Qinghai Province, which affected the predominantly Tibetan Buddhist community, has been given a very special attention of top priority that is unprecedented in China's history of relief efforts. It was obviously a unique opportunity for the authorities to use the occasion to show its good will for reconciliation with the troublesome and estranged Tibetan community. It is also a very

¹⁵ For to us a child is born,
to us a son is given;
and the government will be upon his shoulder,
and his name will be called
“Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God,
Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.”
Of the increase of his government and
of peace
there will be no end,
upon the throne of David, and over his kingdom,
to establish it, and to uphold it
with justice and with righteousness
from this time forth and forevermore.
The zeal of the Lord of hosts will do this.

¹⁶ “...with righteousness he shall judge...
Righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist...
They shall not hurt or destroy...
for the earth shall be full of the
knowledge of the Lord
as the waters cover the sea.” (11.4-9)

important and much needed diplomatic and apologetical exercise to show the international community that the Tibetans, instead of being discriminated against, are in fact given very special treatment and care, even better than the Hans.

As Buddhism is very influential in Taiwan, it is only understandable and necessary that the Chinese government should cultivate cordial relationships with Buddhism of the Island, especially with Fo Guang San's pro-mainland Abbot Xingyun (星云法师 Xingyun fashi). The diplomatic values of these ties are obvious for cross-straits relations. In early September, 2007 a very special Buddhist event was held in Taiwan's Fo Guang San (佛光山 Foguangshan), when a "Peace Bell" (和平钟 *hepingzhong*) from Suzhou's famous Han San Shi (寒山寺 Hanshansi) was presented to the Taiwan temple. It could just have been a normal religious event involving the Buddhists of both sides of the Taiwan Straits. But such was certainly not the case with this unique event, because the head of the Chinese delegation was the then director of SARA (State Administration for Religious Affairs). In order to avoid the obvious "sensitivity" of such an arrangement, the director did not use his official title, but was designated as "President of the Association for Chinese Religious Cultural Exchange" (中华宗教文化交流协会会长 *Zhonghua zongjiao wenhua jiaoliu xiehui huizhang*). The event simply shows how difficult it is for politics to be really separated from religion, as well as the sensitivity and complexity associated with the relations of the two.¹⁷ At the same time it would be naive to think that Buddhists, Daoists and folk-religionists are necessarily socio-politically "pacifists" or simply *apolitical*. This is certainly not the case in modern Taiwan, where no political party could stand a chance getting elected to form the Government, and no one could become Taiwan's president without the support of the majority of these religious communities. As such, no "Christian" presidential candidate could afford not to pay homage to its places of worship and to cultivate good will and cordial relationships with leaders of these religious communities. If one were to be very particular about it, there would simply be endless "rites controversies" associated with the worship of the "Christian" politicians in the religious places of Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism and folk religions in Taiwan. In this connection, it is perhaps meaningful and relevant to take

¹⁷ See Choong Chee Pang, *Is the Separation of Politics and Religion a Myth?*, 153-4

note of the fact that for several years now consecutively top government officials of provincial levels have been taking leading parts in the annual rituals of sacrifice offered to the tomb of Huang Di (the “Yellow Emperor” 黄帝 Huangdi) in mainland China. In terms of population alone, the socio-political status of an average provincial party secretary or governor is just as important as the president or prime minister of at least a medium-sized country in other parts of the world.

The Chinese government should not have many major problems with Chinese Muslims, if not for the Xinjiang independence movement (*jiang du*). Socio-politically, Christianity, whether it is Catholicism or Protestantism, has not been a “trouble-maker” for the last sixty years, certainly not in terms of any organized rebellion or violence. The trouble with Chinese Catholicism has largely been confined to the Vatican factor, and issues closely related to it.¹⁸ But Chinese Protestantism, which has a much larger membership than the Catholics, seems to be quite free from those troubles between Beijing and the Vatican. And why does it seem to be a worry for the Chinese authorities still? In this connection, a common question is often raised, particularly by the outsiders: Why is the “Three-Self Patriotic Movement” still needed, sixty years after the founding of the People's Republic of China? What is its *raison d'etre*? Is Christian patriotism still being called into question? Due to the complicated “Vatican factor”, historically, politically and ecclesiastically, the question of “loyalty” and “identity” of the Chinese Catholics is perhaps quite understandable. But this is clearly not the problem for Chinese Protestants. No amount of apologetics offered by the Chinese authorities or the Christian leaders on the continuing *raison d'etre* of the “Three-Self” organization, especially of the Chinese Protestant Church, seems to have satisfied its critics, both at home and abroad. The following points are simply some attempts to try to account for the difficult position that Chinese Christianity, both the Catholic and Protestant, finds itself in modern China, and they are certainly not meant to give any real answer to the complicated question.

A. Protestantism's historical link to the *Imperialistic* West. The Protestant mission to China was spearheaded by Robert Morrison of the London Missionary Society in 1807, a

¹⁸ Sixty years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Vatican still maintains its diplomatic ties with Taiwan, much to the annoyance and displeasure of Beijing. The concentration of Chinese Catholic bishops without the official sanction of the Vatican also raises the most complicated and sensitive issue of jurisdiction and sovereignty. The former archbishop of Hong Kong, Chan Yat Guan's estranged relations with and critical attitude towards Beijing were certainly no help to the Beijing-Vatican relations.

time which began to witness the decline of the Qing Dynasty. Morrison's arrival was soon followed by intermittent invasions of China by Western powers, beginning from the notorious "Opium Wars" (1839-42) which were fought between Britain and China. China's repeated defeats in the following decades brought great shame to the whole of the "Middle Kingdom", and Christianity came to be closely associated or identified with Western imperialism. The end of the last Chinese dynasty and the founding of the Republic of China in 1911 and its aftermath did not help to eradicate China's deep-seated ill feelings against Christianity, "the religion of the imperialists". The founding of the *People's Republic of China* in 1949 brought great national pride and renewed confidence to the once deeply humiliated Chinese. At the same time, this most drastic socio-political change also further enhanced the nation's long and persistent prejudice against Christianity. The Marxist-Leninist-based state orthodoxy now provided the Chinese mind with additional ideological ammunition against "the religion of the imperialists".

The socio-politically most unsettling period of the 1930s and 1940s witnessed the emergence of some promising Chinese theological thinkers. T. C. Chao of the mission-sponsored Yenching University was perhaps the most respectable leading figure of the time. But events following the Communist Party's capture of power in 1949 made it virtually impossible for independent and creative theological work to emerge substantially. For nearly thirty years, from the early 1950s to the late 1970s, Christian studies in the Chinese academia were virtually non-existent, except in some strictly controlled state-run institutions. It was the open door policy, inaugurated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, that gave the Chinese church as well as Christian studies a new lease of life. But the old prejudice against and suspicion of Protestantism continue to exert their influence on China's policy. The year 2007 was the bi-centenary of Morrison's arrival in China. Under normal circumstances this would have been a meaningful occasion for the Chinese Church as well as the academics, especially Church historians, whether Christian or not, to reflect on it in the context of history, at least in an objective and scholarly manner. But that was not to be, so that an international conference had to be held in Hong Kong eventually, and very few mainland scholars felt comfortable to attend. In comparison, the history of Catholic missions seems to have been much better treated by the present Chinese government, although the "rites controversy" and the eventual

expulsion of foreign Catholic missions from China also took place under very difficult religio-socio-political circumstances.¹⁹ Fortunately for the Catholic missions, they came when China was still strong and self-confident generally, and when China was almost completely free from any serious “imperialistic” invasion from Western powers in the late Ming and early Qing periods. Equally important, if not more so, was the impressive Western learning and advanced technology (advanced by the standard of the time) brought by Matteo Ricci and his fellow Catholic priests. Unlike the Protestant missionaries who came nearly two centuries after them, their profile for direct “evangelism” and “conversion” was consciously much lower, and their attitude towards the Chinese culture was far more accommodating, and was thus quite acceptable to the Chinese authorities as well as to its mass population. What happened during the long period of the “rites controversy” was quite another story. For a long period of time imperial patronage was extended to the Catholics, a very great privilege not given to the Protestants. As such, the Chinese memories of the Catholic missions, especially during the late Ming and early Qing period, was far less bitter and painful, in marked contrast to the Protestant missions. While even an academic conference to “commemorate” the bi-centenary of the arrival of Morrison was a *taboo* in mainland China, activities surrounding the 400th anniversary of the death of Matteo Ricci in 2010 had been welcomed and supported even by the Chinese authorities. Again, the “timing” was also very significant. 2010 was the year of the Shanghai World Expo, an event which gave China every opportunity to demonstrate its openness to the world community, just as it tried to do in and through the 2008 Beijing Olympics. The focus of the commemorative events was naturally and understandably on the contributions of Ricci and his associates to the cultural exchanges between China and West, and things religious are kept in very low profile. Consequently, a special theme exhibition on Ricci was held at the prestigious Shanghai Meseum from April 3 to May 23, 2010. The Ricci-Xu [Guangqi] Dialogue Institute was formally inaugurated on May 11, 2010 at the School of Philosophy of Fudan Univerisity, Shanghai, with an international forum on “Dialogue Among Civilizations and Global Challenges”.²⁰ A very serious event, called “Grand

¹⁹ In very broad terms the “rites controversy” actually lasted for 219 years, from 1720 to 1939. See Choong Chee Pang, *Is the Separation of Politics and Religion a Myth?* 142-150.

²⁰ The keynote address was delivered by Michel Camdessus, former director general of the International Monetary

Ricci”, was also held at the Shanghai Museum for the launching of a Ricci DVD on May 11, 2010. The Counsel Generals of France and Italy to China and some top Ricci scholars were among the dignitaries at the special event.

B. The “Christian” West's pre-occupation with human rights and religious freedom and its constant pressure on the Chinese government has led to China's counter measures, particularly its strong re-action against any move or pronouncement that could be perceived as outside interference in Chinese *domestic* matters. In this case, foreign interference, such as the meeting with Tibet's self-imposed exiled leader, Dalai Lama, often becomes counter-productive, causing the Chinese authorities to be even more suspicious of any foreign link of a China-based religion.

C. The continuous growth of the Christian population in China, including some Communist Party members' acceptance of the Christian faith, has also been a serious concern. The often exaggerated or imaginative figures of the Chinese Christian population certainly do not help to ease the authorities' worry about the socio-political implications of the phenomenal growth.

D. Christian conviction based on the prophetic message and the theology of the incarnation as well as the Christian role as the servant of all actually leave serious Christians little choice, except to concern themselves with things of the world and get involved in it with a deep sense of calling and responsibility. How to fulfil this Christian calling in actual life and witness in the ever changing socio-political dynamics of the time is an enormous task. As a leading scholar of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences frankly put it in an international symposium on Christianity and society held in Beijing some years ago, the China government, at least for the time being, would only welcome the *servant* role of the Chinese church, but not its *prophetic* role. The TSPM/CCC (Three Self Patriotic Movement/China Christian Council) has therefore wisely chosen to play the role of the former, and not the latter, said the scholar, although he knew fully well that the Biblical faith expects the church to take up *both* roles. The socio-political implications of TSPM/CCC's difficult choice need no further elaboration. The vital question confronting

Fund (IMF), and the present writer had the honour to be his discussant. The highlight of the welcoming address given by the former President of Fudan University, Professor Wang Shenghong, is on Ricci's great contribution to the cultural exchanges between China and the West, especially the introduction of Western learning to China in the late Ming and early Qing period.

Chinese Christians is clear: how to remain faithful to their Biblical faith and make contribution to the building of a “harmonious society”, with due recognition that they live in a society which is still atheistic ideologically. As “peace-makers” (Matthew 5:9) as well as being “the salt of the earth” and “the light of the world” (5:14), the Christians will need a lot of wisdom as well as moral courage to accommodate and to avoid confrontation as far as possible, without having to compromise the core of their faith.

Christian Nestorianism from Syria arrived at Chang’an (长安, now Xi’an, 西安), the capital of T’ang China in AD 635, when the dynasty was strong and self-confident, and had acquired a very cosmopolitan outlook, due largely to international communications, trades, diplomatic ties and cultural exchanges via the “silk road” (丝绸之路 *sichou zhi lu*). Imperial hospitality and patronage were readily and generously extended to the Syrian Nestorians, messengers of the new religion.²¹ Similarly, it was also a relatively strong and self-confident China in the late Ming and early Qing period which welcomed the Catholics, especially the Jesuits, led by Matteo Ricci, to the country. An ascending China is already being recognized as major world power. As such, one would reasonably expect modern China to be able to display the elegant demeanour or graceful bearing (風度 *fengdu*) of a great nation, just as it did in much of the Han, T’ang and the Ming-Qing periods, and should have no difficulty accommodating Chinese Christianity quite comfortably in its quest for a “harmonious society”.

China's quest for a harmonious society

The reform and open policy inaugurated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978 has undoubtedly generated enormous wealth for China, and brought a great deal of benefits to many of its subjects. But modernization, whether in China or elsewhere, is often a two-edged sword. The modernization which has so far benefited China has also created host of new problems not seen in the long history of the country. Due largely to its very closed political system and the lack of the rule of law both in terms of its structure as well as its

²¹ See, for instance, *The Nestorian Tablet*, erected in AD781, and presently placed in the “Calligraphy Forest” (碑林 *Beilin*) in Xian. See also, Choong Chee Pang, “Studying Christianity and doing theology *extra ecclesiam* in China”, in *Christian Theology in Asia*, edited by Sebastian C. H. Kim, (Cambridge: CUP, 2008)

implementation, corruption, briberies and many irregularities have been very widespread, resulted, among many socio-political ills, the widening gap between the rich and the poor. As the national leaders as well as the Chinese populace know it fully well, behind all these socio-political ills are the issues of honesty, integrity, trust, justice, equality and truth. As the Chinese leaders themselves are keenly aware, unless the serious situation is effectively addressed, social harmony and national unity could not be guaranteed. The quest for a “harmonious society” is itself a clear confession and admission of the existence of the problem.

The idea of “harmonious society” (“和谐社会 *hexie shehui*”) was seriously tabled and formally adopted at the 4th Session of the 16th Meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (中国共产党第十六届中央委员会第四次全体会议 *Zhongguo gongchandang di 16 jie zhongyang weiyuanhui di 4 ci quanti huiyi*) on September 19, 2004. The full title of the idea was “构建社会主义和谐社会 *goujian shehui zhuyi hexie shehui*” (“The Construction of a Socialist Harmonious Society”). “和谐社会 *hexie shehui*” (“harmonious society”) is just its short form.

As an ideology totally committed to “class struggle”, it would be inconceivable that Communist China before Deng's reform would be concerned for the “harmony” of its society. It would be equally incredible that China, since the May Fourth Movement (五四运动 *Wusi yundong*) in 1919, and especially during the time of the “Great Cultural Revolution” (文化大革命 *Wenhua da geming*, 1966-76), would try to find any valuable cultural resources in the outdated, even “feudalistic” and “reactionary” Confucianism to solve any of China's modern problems. It is Deng's reform and open policy which has turned many fundamental things upside down. Deng's policy is pragmatic, as he himself has put it ingeniously and somewhat humorously, “Who cares whether the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice.” When applied to the present context in relation to China's quest for a “harmonious society”, Deng's pragmatic approach could perhaps be put like this by those who have returned to the “ancient wisdom” of Confucius for inspiration: “Who cares whether Confucianism is ancient or modern, conservative or progressive, as long as it solves problems”.

The idea of “harmony” (和 *he*) has been a core ethic-socio-political value in the long Chinese cultural tradition, especially Confucianism, which served as China's state ideology for more than two thousand years. It will be sufficient to refer to just a couple of key verses on the ethic-socio-political value and virtue in the Confucian classic, *The Analects* (论语 *Lunyu*), to see why the ancient idea of harmony has been so often quoted to support and justify the present leadership's quest for a harmonious society.

In *The Analects* I:12 “harmony” (和 *he*) is regarded as the cardinal ethico-socio-political value and virtue, especially when it is applied to *li* (礼)²²

《论语》学而第一：12
有子曰：礼之用，和为贵。先王之道，斯为美，小大由之。

This verse could be paraphrased in modern Chinese like this: “有子认为，礼法 (禮儀規則) 的应用以和顺²³为可贵，从前圣明君王治国的方法，这条做得很好，无论大事小事都按这一条去做。”

In the long history of China, this Confucian text has often been used as a “golden rule” to evaluate and judge the performance of a ruler in his or her governance. “先王之道 *xianwang zhi dao*” literally means “the way of [ancient, former] kings”. If the text simply ends here, the “golden rule” would be of great use and of great advantage to the ruler only. It could also be exploited or abused by the ruler, even tyrant. Fortunately, there is a second part of the same verse to counter-check and counter-balance it:

“有所不行，知和而和，不以礼节之，亦不可行也。”

²² In the Confucian context, 礼 may be translated broadly as “social propriety”. This paper is concerned less with 礼 as rites and rituals (禮儀規則 *liyi guize*), but more with its socio-political aspects, including the skill and art of governance. It can therefore include “virtue” (德 *de*), general and common principle (道理 *daoli*, 原則 *yuanze*). It can also mean “norms” (規範 *guifan*, 準則 *zhunze*, 法規 *fagui*) in socio-political behaviour. It is often thought that even after implementing Deng Xiaoping's “reform and open” policy for thirty years, China still does not have a comprehensive and holistic set of the rule of law (整體法治規範 *zhengti fazhi fagui*) and the effective and just implementation of it. Zhu Xi (朱熹) had a very sound understanding of the Confucian 礼 *li* (social propriety), thinking that it was concerned with both 天理 *tianli* (the principle of heaven) and 人事 *renshi* (human affairs).

²³ The harmony in music or orchestra is often used as an analogy in Confucian classics to convey the idea of “harmony” (和) whether in ethical, social or political terms.

A paraphrase of this statement in modern Chinese reads: “有子认为，礼法的应用以和顺为可贵，但和顺必须以礼法为基础，如果只知和顺可贵而一味地和顺，不用礼法去节制约束它，也就行不通了”。²⁴

While harmony is undoubtedly important and precious in the governance of the ruler, and would be beneficial to the social harmony and political stability of a nation, one should not seek harmony simply for its own sake. True and lasting harmony must be regulated and constrained by ethic-socio-political propriety (礼 *li*) [法規 *fagui*, 原則 *yuanze*, 規範 *guifan*, 準則 *zhunze*]. This is where and why the “rule of law” must come in, in modern China's quest for a “harmonious society”. The whole verse of *The Analects* 1:12, with its two integral parts, must be seriously and sincerely²⁵ taken, understood and honored together.

The other most relevant Confucian saying on “harmony” (和 *he*) is found in *The Analects* 13:23 (《论语》子路第十三：23)：“君子和而不同 *junzi he er butong*”.

This statement can be quite freely translated: “Gentlemen could enjoy harmony together while holding differences in opinions (views, positions, life and life style, *modus operandi* etc.)”. Just like *The Analects* 1:12, the first part of the statement “君子和 *junzi he*” (the harmony between gentlemen), must be counter-checked or counter-balanced by the next phrase “而不同 *er butong*” (while holding differences in opinions etc.) When applied to the ruler or those in power and authority, the whole verse could be most challenging and testing, that is, how to enjoy harmony and yet accept differences at the same time, especially differences in political views and positions, which could be very threatening to one's secured ruling position. It really takes a true gentleman-politician to do that, and this is very rare, whether in modern Chinese history or in old imperial China. As far as the international community is concerned, China's track record on this is far from being satisfactory. However, it must be noted that the Confucian text is *not*

²⁴ 《十三经直解》*Shisanjing zhijie* 【The Direct Interpretation of the Thirteen Classics】，第4卷，(南昌 Nanchang: 江西人民出版社 Jiangxi renmin chubanshe 【Jiangxi People's Publishing House】，1996), 5.

²⁵ Sincerity or honesty, 诚 *cheng*, is also a cardinal virtue in Confucianism, not only in personal self-cultivation, but also in interpersonal relationships and social behaviour as well as in governance. 诚 *cheng* is often used closely together with another Confucian cardinal virtue, 信 *xin* (trust, faith, confidence), hence 诚信 *chengxin* (sincerity or honesty and trust). Perhaps, it is not an over-statement to say that the lack of 诚信 *chengxin* in many spheres of life, is the greatest of all crises in China today. Rampant and widespread corruptions, bribes and misappropriation of public funds are clear testimonies to it.

referring to “small men” (小人 *xiaoren*), but “gentlemen” (君子 *junzi*), because it is not too realistic to expect 小人 *xiaoren* (“small men”) to have the capacity, elegant demeanour or graceful bearing (風度 *fengdu*) to accept differences with others. But this is certainly expected of the “gentlemen” (君子 *junzi*) defined by Confucius’ “ancient wisdom”.

What worries the Chinese, especially the perceptive intellectuals, is that the quest for “social harmony”, which is legitimate and necessary in itself in the present socio-political context of China, could well be used as a pretext to constrain, even silence different and dissenting voices. This had been the weakness and problem in Confucianism, which served as the state orthodoxy and ideology for two thousand years in imperial times, even spilling over to the period of the Republic of China, led by the Guomindang. One of the best known Neo-Confucian scholars, former Harvard professor Tu Weimin²⁶, served for several years as a leading advisor to the Singapore government in its promotion of Confucian ethics in the 1980s. While most enthusiastic and supportive of Singapore’s very committed project, Tu had also warned against the *politization* of Confucian ethics. Tu read his Chinese history very well, and was keenly aware of the politization or the exploitation of Confucian ethics by people in high positions for their own political gains in the long history of China.²⁷

One of the worst scenarios that could happen to a nation was when the perceptive intellectuals, who were truly concerned for the welfare of the nation, were silenced or chose to do so for obvious reasons. There is in fact a piece of “ancient wisdom” in the prophetic words of Amos which refers to a sad and disturbing scenario like this:

“They [the rulers] hate the one who reproves in the gates,
and they abhor the one who speaks the truth....
Therefore the prudent will keep silent in such a time;
for it is an evil time.” (Amos 5.10, 13)

In a politically closed system in which people are so used to taking orders and directives obediently and are trying to be “politically correct” for one’s own benefit and survival,

²⁶ Tu is sometimes being dubbed as a Neo-Confucian “missionary” for his zeal in promoting Confucian ethics and values as well as in Confucian apologetics.

²⁷ Tu Weimin, *Learning, Politics and the Way*, (Albany: State University of New York, 1993). First published by the Institute of East Asian Philosophy (IEAP), Singapore.

there is understandably the constant pressure and temptation to be *prudent* and try to do everything just for the sake of “和 *he*” (harmony). Even conscientious intellectuals may become “prudent” and “keep silent” in “evil time”, just as Amos, the prophet, had sadly witnessed in his own days.

The following notes have some very revealing things to say about “harmony” (和 *he*) with reference to governance. On the word “和 *he*”, the authoritative Chinese dictionary 辞源 *Ciyuan* has a very interesting comment:

和谐：协调。左传襄十一年：“八年之中，九合诸侯，如乐之和，无所不谐。”晋书挚虞传：“施之金石，则音韵和谐。”后汉书四九仲长统传倡言法诫：“夫任一人则政专，任数人则相倚，政专则和谐，相倚则违戾。”此指行动连贯一致。（辞源）

“政专 *zhengzhuan*” could mean one's single-minded devotion to governance or public duties. This seems to be the original meaning of the positive statement “夫任一人则政专 *Fu ren yiren ze zhengzhuan*” in 后汉书 *Houhanshu*. And the interpretation of 辞源 *Ciyuan* is accordingly positive: “此指行动连贯一致 *Ci zhi xingdong lianguan yizhi*”. In both cases, the basic assumption is that the devotion of one single person to governance (政专 *zhengzhuan*) would [necessary] lead to [socio-political] harmony (和谐 *hexie*), hence “政专则和谐 *zhengzhuan ze hexie*”. There is certainly some truth in this assumption empirically. Thus, in comparison, dictatorship is sometimes far more effective and efficient than democracy, because the process of the latter is often very time-consuming. It could even end up with little accomplishment, or simply fruitless. But, as it often happened in history, the so-called single-minded devotion to governance (“政专 *zhengzhuan*”) could also lead to “专政 *zhuanzheng*” (dictatorship) as well as its perpetuation.

The *Houhanshu* 后汉书 *Houhanshu* apparently prefers the governance of one single person to oligarchy or group leadership: “任数人则相倚，政专则和谐，相倚则违戾 *ren shuren ze xiangyi, zhengzhuanz e hexie, xiangyi ze weili*”, because the latter will lead to

difficulties and problems (“违戾 *weili*”), instead of harmony (“和谐 *ihexie*”). The *Houhanshu* 后汉书 *Houhanshu* also has something interesting to say about “违戾 *weili*”:

“违戾，乖戾也。《后汉书·范开列传》：“太史公违戾五经，谬孔子言。《三国志·魏志·高贵乡公纪》：“隗嚣违戾，光武覆。”《新语》：“怀虑违戾相错。”²⁸

It is hoped that the Confucian texts taken from *The Analects* are sufficient to show that there are indeed rich ethic-socio-political resources in the “ancient wisdom” of China for the modern Chinese leaders to refer to. But the use of it requires a great deal of honesty, integrity as well as strong moral courage and political will. This means one cannot simply seek harmony alone, for there are other equally important issues and factors to be considered seriously. The Confucian text also solemnly reminds those who are just too eager to achieve social harmony that true “gentlemen” can enjoy harmony and respect differences at the same time. There can be no meaningful and lasting harmony without check and balance.

The “ancient wisdom” of Confucianism would also want modern propagandists of 国学 *guoxue*²⁹ especially Confucianism, to be level-headed, so that they will not lose their right sense of discernment and judgment, because it is often far too easy for this to happen when the promoters of a particular project know that it has the strong support of the authorities. On this particularly crucial point, a great deal could perhaps be learnt from another equally ancient “wisdom”, namely the message of the Hebrew prophets. They were not only “gentlemen” (君子 *junzi*) in the Confucian sense, but also “watchmen” and “conscience” of their time. In many cases, “和 *he*” could just be a deceptively attractive name for mere conformity and slavish obedience.

²⁸中国文化研究所 Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo 【Institute of Chinese Culture Research】编《中文大辞典》*Zhongwen da cidian* 【The Big Chinese Dictionary】，第 33 册，162。《现代汉语词典》*Xiandai hanyu cidian* 【Modern Chinese Dictionary】，第 5 版，(北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan 【The Commercial Press】，2005)：“乖戾：（性情、言语、行为）别扭，不合情理”。

²⁹“国学 *guoxue*”，literally “national learning”，generally refers to the learning of ancient Chinese classics, especially Confucian classics, although it also covers Daoist and Buddhist classics as well as other literary treasures of China. There has been an almost unprecedented revival of “国学 *guoxue*” in China with strong government support in recent years, leading its critics and sceptics to suspect that it might have been politically or ideologically motivated. For a most recent discussion and critique on the subject, see Paulos Huang's coming publication, *The Sino-Christian Academic Biblical Literature Studies in the Light of the Great Guoxue*. 见黄保罗 Huang Baoluo 著，即将出版的《大国学视野中的汉语学术圣经学》*Daguo xue shiye zhong de hanyu xueshu shengjing wenxue* 【The Sino-Christian Academic Biblical Studies in the Light of Great *guoxue*】），and Choong Chee Pang's *Foreword* for the book.

In the last twenty years or so the Chinese government has often reacted justifiably against the indiscriminate imposition of certain Western values, concepts and systems on China. However, what appears to be justifiable and legitimate could sometimes be used as an excuse or pretext to achieve certain pre-determined goals. The now famous rhetoric, “socialism with *Chinese* characteristics” may be cited as a good example. In some cases, what were supposed to be particularly “Chinese” turned out to be quite *universal*. It is hoped that the Chinese government will be open and transparent in its quest for a “harmonious society”.

Conclusion

This paper is essentially a “tale”³⁰ of “two empires”, namely, the old Roman Empire and a rising modern China, and the latter often regarded as a new and threatening “Empire”. As has already been noted in the “Introduction”, the placing of the two “empires” together does not necessary mean a comparative study between them in any technical sense. What actually brings them together is their respective commitments to the quest for and maintenance of “peace” (*pax*), hence *Pax Romana* and *Pax Sinica* (the latter coined by this paper). While some common features might be shared between the two, certain means are used respectively by them to deal with the complex and complicated issue of peace (*Pax*) markedly differently. For instance, the maintenance of peace and stability in the Roman Empire was largely and consistently characterized by the use of brutal military forces, but such measures have been taken by Communist China only sporadically in dealing with rebellions and disturbances for the restoration of socio-political order and stability. The approach of the paper is obviously not sociological or socio-analytical, but largely biblical-theological, especially in the understanding of the “two kingdoms” and the nature of powers and authorities. It is also the Christian understanding of these issues that provides the meaningful link between the two “Empires”, although their respective historic-socio-political contexts are vastly different. Much less is said about the Roman Empire itself, except with reference to the trial of Jesus and the life and teaching of Paul. The paper also assumes that the reasons and

³⁰ The word “tale” is used very loosely here.

factors behind China's current quest for a “harmonious society” are already a matter of common knowledge. As such, very little is said about them in the paper. A great deal more space has been given to the “church and state”, or “politics and religion” issue, because this delicate issue has been troubling the Christian community both at home and abroad, and has not been satisfactorily dealt with by the authorities concerned.

Was Jesus really a threat to the *Pax Romana*? Certainly not in *socio-political* terms, let alone military, when the life and teaching of “Jesus of Nazareth” are rightly understood, including his views on the nature of the “kingdom of God (or Heavens)”. But the teaching of Jesus, such as the “Sermon on the Mount”, and Paul's “theology of the cross”, together with the apostle's personal *modus operandi*, could pose a formidable challenge and threat to the *socio-ethical* ethos, not only of the Greco-Roman world, but ethos throughout the ages. It is not only threatening, but essentially subversive and revolutionary, and here lies the great *paradox* of Christ and the Christian religion, a *paradox* that is often misunderstood, *i.e.*, that the “Prince of *Peace*” himself as well as his followers, the “*peace-makers*” could be so threatening, even “subversive” and “revolutionary”.

Modern China's quest for a “harmonious society” is not only understandable, but socio-politically justifiable. And when the right approach and proper means are taken, the project and “vision” could be most laudable, and worthy of full Christian support. However, there can be no real and lasting peace and stability without equality and justice, truth, integrity and trust (诚信 *chengxin*). As such, check and balance will always be necessary. True harmony (和 *he*) must have the capacity and grace to accommodate and respect differences (不同 *butong*). There are indeed very rich resources at the disposal of those who are seriously and sincerely committed to the building of a “harmonious society”; wisdom in China's own cultural resources as well as ethical and spiritual resources in the Biblical tradition. But the effective use of all these resources requires not only an equal measure of *wisdom*, but also strong *political will* and *moral courage*.

中文题目:

罗马与中国的和平：两个帝国的故事

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提要: 对于古罗马来说，必须不惜一切代价地维护和谐以至于达到罗马大帝国的社会政治稳定。当代中国对和谐有着相似的追求。尽管可以探讨关于维护和谐之手段的各种问题，但两个帝国对和谐的关注显然是合理的。鉴于两个帝国处境差异，本文无意于从技术层面对二者进行比较。把这两个帝国连接在一起的是基督教关于“两个国度”的概念以及历代所有的权力与权柄之本质。在认识到当代中国对社会政治和谐与稳定的追求的同时，本文作者强烈主张，若不顾手段公平与正义与否，只以结果论一切，是不可取的。对于努力追求和谐的执行者来说，中国与圣经中的智慧值得借鉴，但如何使用这些智慧，则需要现代智慧、政治意志力和道德勇气。

关键词: *Pax*、安定、和谐社会、基督教、儒家

CHOONG: *Pax Romana* and *Pax Sinica*

救苦救难: 观音与福音——兼谈基督教中国化¹

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提要: 本文旨在论述救苦救难是佛教与基督教的共同宗教关怀。通过将观音与福音进行比较, 本文还探讨了基督教中国化问题。作者认为, 所谓的中国佛教实际上是中国宗教在以佛教的方式进行表述, 而所谓中国基督教则实际是中国宗教以基督教的形式来表达自己的。因此, 根据同样的内容, 基督教与佛教只在表面上相异, 结果是同样满意的。另外, 根据佛教经典的翻译事例, 作者认为, 中国基督教必须完全切断其西方传统, 如此方可获得真正的中国基督教。中国基督徒必须聆听上帝曾经是、现在是以及将来也是在中国人自己的语境中对中国人说话的。

关键词: 救苦救难、观音、福音、佛教、基督教

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科学没有国界, 没有民族性, 但是宗教却既有国界又有民族性。我在本文所要谈的佛教乃是**中国佛教**, 基督教乃是**中国基督教**, 也就是说要在中国文化的语境中来探讨佛教和基督教。这在佛教方面是没有任何问题的, 因为中国自己有成熟的佛教文化, 有一套完整的成体系的中国化佛教理论和实践。但在基督教方面就相当困难了, 因为中国自己还没有基督教文化, 基督教在中国远没有像佛教那样已经做到了中国化。尽管中国也有基督教会, 也有基督教堂, 也有基督教牧师, 也有基督徒, 也有基督教学者, 也有基督教出版物。我们通常所说的“中国基督教”, 其意只是指“在中国的基督教”或“在中国传播的基督教”而不是指“中国化的基督教”。现在所倡行的所谓“汉语基督教”, 基本上也只是“用汉语来表达的西方基督教或西方神学”而已, 只是让西方基督教或西方神学脱了英语的“马甲”换上汉语的“马甲”而已 (而且这件汉语“马甲”也还是西方制造的, 胸前背后都写着英文), 内中究竟有多少汉语文化即中国文化的内涵, 非常值得怀疑, 至少没有像汉语佛教那么明显地显示出中国文化的特性。总之, 所谓的“中国基督教”或“汉语基督教”, 本质上还是属于西方文化的范畴而隔异于中国文化, 从而与“中国佛教”或“汉语佛教”大异其趣。这不免让人对基督教在中国的发展唏嘘不已: 为什么基督教没有像佛教那样中国化呢? 既然还没有中国化的基督教或中国基督教, 你又怎么来谈中国基督教? 没有不

¹ 本研究获山东大学自主创新基金资助。

要紧, 事在人为, 我自己先来构建一个中国化的与中国佛教平等的中国基督教, 然后再来探讨中国佛教中的“观音”和中国基督教中的“福音”的问题。

就基督教本身而言, 或者说就纯粹的基督教而言, 或者说在上帝的周密计划和巧妙安排中, 基督教原本是蕴含着中国文化因素的。因为, 普世的上帝不可能只对西方人言说而不对中国人言说, 否则他就太偏心了, 不配被尊为上帝。上帝既然要对中国人言说, 那他就要说汉语, 就要说中国人喜欢听的话, 就要说与中国文化相契合的话。如果上帝也像对西方人那样地对中国人咿里哇啦地说一通中国人听不懂的英语, 如果上帝也叫中国人去吃汉堡三明治而不去吃烧饼油条, 那他就算是瞎了眼了, 那还叫什么全知全能全善的上帝? 可见, 上帝是不可能不对中国人言说的, 同时也是不可能不以合乎中国文化的方式来对中国人言说的。上帝确实确实是对中国人言说了包含着中国文化内涵的基督教教理, 但“大音希声”,² 中国人不仔细听是听不到的, 再加上在“西方中心主义”的文化环境中, 西方神学聒噪吵闹, 声大如雷, 搞得中国人根本没法静下心来去认真地倾听上帝为他们“量身定说”的谆谆教导。不过, 这几天, “如是我闻”,³ 我乃是听到了上帝对中国人的一些(仅仅是一些)言说, 我想把它们转述出来与大家一起分享。但为了防止有人说我神经病或假冒“先知”假传“圣旨”(我是一位学者, 不是什么“先知”), 我有必要解释一下我何以能听到上帝对中国人的言说, 明白这一点乃是读者诸君能够理解并认可本文有关基督教部分的前提和基础。

一、基督教中国化的神学基础

我们在谈论西方文化的时候往往会说西方文化是“两希文明”即希腊文明与希伯莱文明的综合, 其中希腊文明是指科学, 希伯莱文明则是指基督教。不过海德格尔认为将西方文化如此一分为二是不对的, 在他看来, 西方文化只是希腊文明, 基督教也是属于希腊文明。这是什么意思呢? 海德格尔的意思是说, 当从希伯莱文明中蕴育出来的犹太基督教(犹太教的一个分支)传入西方后即被希腊化或西方化成了

² 《老子》Laozi 第41章: “大白若辱, 大方无隅, 大器晚成, 大音希声, 大象无形。”

³ 汉语佛经开首语。

西方基督教，这西方基督教所体现的实际上都是源自于希腊文明的理性精神，它与体现在科学中的理性精神并没有什么不同。正因如此，西方基督教也被称为理性的宗教，其所倡导的信仰也是理性的信仰，其所信仰的上帝也是理性的上帝，⁴比如西方基督教思想史上前赴后继不断有人提出有关上帝存在的证明，这些证明就其方式而言无一不与科学上的证明一样是理性的证明。西方基督教思想家们坚信，只要通过理性的方式证明了上帝的存在，那么上帝也便是理性的上帝，信仰上帝也便是理性的信仰。总之，西方基督教浑身上下都散发着希腊文明的理性光芒而与其所源起于其中的希伯来文明渐行渐远，这只要看看西方基督教与体现希伯来文明的犹太教之间的明显不同以及两者在历史上不可调和的矛盾和斗争就一目了然了。

海德格尔对西方文化和基督教的看法提醒我们：作为一种文化，宗教是有国界的，宗教是有民族性的，西方基督教不同于犹太基督教。同样地，中国基督教也应不同于西方基督教，但遗憾的是，中国至今还没有中国基督教而只有西方基督教，还没有文化意义上的中国基督教而只有行政意义上的中国基督教。这是为什么呢？这是因为中国的基督教（不等于“中国基督教”）不分青红皂白地从理论到实践一古脑儿地照搬西方基督教，没有将基督教与中国文化圆融起来。西方基督教讲“三位一体”，中国的基督教也跟着讲“三位一体”，殊不知“三位一体”在中国文化看来，简直就是乱伦！西方基督教讲“原罪”，中国的基督教也跟着讲“原罪”，殊不知中国文化是讲“人之初，性本善”的，何罪之有？西方基督教反对鬼神崇拜，中国的基督教也跟着反对鬼神崇拜，殊不知中国人普遍信奉“抬头三尺有神明”，以此为基础的鬼神崇拜广泛存在于中国社会，并且其中的祖先崇拜还是中国人表现孝道的方式之一。当然，中国基督教界个别“中国心”未泯的有识之士也曾提出过中国自己的基督教观念，如丁光训主教曾认为，在中国，象雷锋这样虽没有基督教信仰但却富于仁爱之心的人也是应该得到上帝的关怀和拯救的，于是乎，他就提出了“因爱称义”⁵以区别于西方基督教的“因信称义”。然而遗憾的是，这个十分符合儒家理念因而非

⁴ 黑格尔认为理性的对象有三个，一是灵魂，二是世界，而“第三个理性的对象就是上帝。上帝也是必须认识的，换言之，也是必须通过思维去规定的。”参见黑格尔 Hegeer 【Hegel】，《小逻辑》 Xiaoluoji 【Small Logic】，（北京 Beijing：商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan 【The Commercial Press】，2005），134。黑格尔还说：“形而上学的对象诚然是大全，如灵魂、世界、上帝，本身都是属于理性的理念。”（同上，第99页）。

⁵ 编者按：丁主教只提出淡化“因信称义”，而不是“因爱称义”。

常中国化的“因爱称义”一经提出便遭到了一大批拥有西方神学教育背景有的甚至还得到西方教会资助的中国基督教学者的非议和反对，个中原因虽然也有现实利益的冲突，但“因爱称义”与“因信称义”在教义上的相左无疑是最直接的原因。在那些洋气十足的中国基督教学者看来，西方基督教就是基督教本身，就是唯一的基督教，从而，西方基督教之所说就是上帝之所说，就是基督之所说。既然西方基督教说了“因信称义”，那么与“因信称义”相左的“因爱称义”，便是有悖于上帝之意旨的，便是错误的。实际上，真正有悖于上帝之意旨的乃是认为西方基督教就是基督教本身或西方基督教就等于基督教的想法。因为，上帝是因全人类而存在为全人类而言说的，并不仅仅因西方人而存在为西方人而言说。公正无私的上帝早已在世界各地暗暗地完成了基督教的布局，其中既有西方基督教，也有中国基督教，还有柬埔寨基督教、尼日利亚基督教等等，不一而足，总之，世界上有多少民族，有多少文化圈，有多少国家，上帝就部署多少种基督教，只是隐显有别而已。从这个意义上来说，中国本已有上帝亲自部署的中国基督教，用不着西方教会多此一举地向中国传播不适合中国文化的西方基督教，西方教会向中国传播西方基督教，将西方基督教强加于中国，从而蒙蔽了由上帝亲自部置的中国基督教，这完全违背了上帝的意志，打乱了上帝的精心安排，而且让一般中国人产生一种严重的错觉，以为基督教就是西方的。现在，到了该正本清源、拨乱反正的时候了，即基督教不是西方的，而是上帝的，而是全人类的。上帝的基督教不但西方有份，中国也有份，只是西方人靠着他们先行一步所建立的西方神学，捷足先登，从上帝的基督教中分有了西方基督教，从而使得西方基督教显明了出来，而中国基督教则由于种种原因（比如西方基督教的阻扰）还保存在上帝那里，需要我们建立起中国神学来将它拿出来，而我们所要建立的中国神学是与西方神学完全切割的神学，只有将中国神学与西方神学完全切割，才能将上帝在中国部置的基督教发扬光大，才能不辜负上帝对中国人的期望和厚爱，才能有所谓的中国基督教出现，才能完成基督教的中国化。总之，基督教的中国化，要从建立中国神学入手，因为神学是基督教的“主机”，只有“主机”中国化了，作为“屏显”的基督教才能中国化；若作为“主机”的神学是西方的，那么作为“屏显”的基督教肯定也是西方的。可见，中国化基督教的神学基础只能是中国神学而不能是西方神学。那么，什么样的神学才是中国神学呢？

我们都知道, 西方神学是从《圣经》中诠释出来的, 同样地, 中国神学也只能从《圣经》中诠释出来, 只是据以诠释出中国神学的《圣经》与据以诠释出西方神学的《圣经》应该是而且必须是不一样的, 其中前者是中国《圣经》, 后者是西方《圣经》。也许有人会觉得奇怪, 世界上不是只有一部《圣经》吗? 怎么会有中国《圣经》与西方《圣经》之别呢? 请注意, 我这样说的意思, 或我区分中国《圣经》和西方《圣经》的用意, 不是从《圣经》版本学、《圣经》考据学或《圣经》发生学的角度来考量的, 而是出于如下《圣经》诠释学的考虑: 我们所要从中诠释出中国神学的中国《圣经》, 也就是汉语《圣经》(如和合本或其他“蒙准使用”的和合本改编本) 是上帝特许给中国人的, 因而, 我们不要妄自菲薄, 老是觉得汉语《圣经》是从西方《圣经》翻译过来的, 其底本或根子是西方《圣经》, 这种看法只是学术而非神学。从神学上看, 汉语《圣经》不是源自于西方《圣经》, 而是像西方《圣经》那样都源自于上帝, 于是乎汉语《圣经》与西方《圣经》是并列的关系而非从属的关系。只有使汉语《圣经》彻底走出西方《圣经》的阴影, 摆脱与西方《圣经》的学术关系, 我们才能从汉语《圣经》中诠释出中国神学或地道的汉语神学, 否则只能诠释出以汉语来表达的西方神学, 为西方人作嫁衣裳而已。有鉴于此, 我们应该“胆子再大一些”, 当我们在诠释汉语《圣经》的时候, 就把当下的汉语《圣经》当作是最后的根据, 不要去联想到以英语或其他以字母文字来表达的西方《圣经》, 比如, 当我们在解释汉语《圣经》中的某个概念的时候, 不要去考查这个概念在西方《圣经》中对应的英语表达是什么意思或拉丁文表达是什么意思, 而应该快刀斩乱麻, 切断与西方《圣经》的一切联系, 就在当下的汉语和中国文化语境中去直探这一概念的汉语含义, 别去管它的英语或拉丁文是什么意思。说句不该说的粗话, 它的英语或拉丁文是什么意思关我什么事! 要想建立中国神学, 非有这种“粗人”的“硬气”⁶不可! 要知道, 宗教不但有国界有民族性, 而且更有语言

⁶“硬气”一词本是鲁迅先生发明的, 鲁迅 Lu Xun 先生在悼念左联五烈士而作的《为了忘却的纪念》 *Weile wangque de jinian* 【The Memory in order to Forget】一文中说柔石, “他的家乡是台州的宁海, 这只要看一看他那台州式的硬气就知道, 而且颇有点迂, 有时候会令我忽而想到方孝孺, 觉得好象有些这模样的。”最近我在一本佛教杂志上忽然读到和尚也应该有“硬气”的观点。参见《编者小语》 *Bianzhe xiaoyu* 【The Small Words from the Editorial Committee】, 载《禅》 *Chan* 【Chan】, (2009年第1期, 石家庄 Shijiazhuang: 河北佛教协会 Hebei fojiao xiehui [Hebei Buddhist Association]), 95。颇觉有意思, 遂对这个字眼有了一层深的理解, 并不妨在这里借用一下。

性。不同的语言培育出不同的宗教。我曾见过一本中英文对照的《圣经》，这本《圣经》经常被中国研究基督教的学者放在案头以备查，也被当作大学生学习和了解基督教的教材。窃以为这本中英文对照的《圣经》对于那些想从学术的角度来了解基督教的中国人是有益的，但是对于形塑中国人的中国神学观念却是有百害而无一利。总之，中国人只要看汉语《圣经》即可，管他英语《圣经》怎么说。中国人只有别立于西方《圣经》和西方基督教之外（最好与之绝缘），然后“教外别传”，自说自画，自行其是，唯其如此，才能构建出所谓的中国神学。否则，若割不断与西方《圣经》和西方基督教的关系，中国神学是断断不可能诞生的，充其量也只能出个西方神学的汉语版或中国版。在这里，中国佛学的发展经验可以作为中国神学的借鉴，如果中国神学真的想要有所成就的话。因为中国佛学就是在印度佛学之外自说自画而发展壮大起来的，若没有这种自说自画的大无畏精神，中国佛学焉能成其为独成体系的中国佛学？下面这个对“佛”字的解释就是中国佛学别立于印度佛学之外自说自画的典型案例：

佛法东来，须立名号，古德取“浮屠”，音近者遴选，以笔画象征，义取“佛”字。佛随人，唯人之心体与宇宙本体同构，“亻”旁指明众生本具佛性，智慧根即觉悟依凭。再取“弗”字注音。“弗”两意，一曰矫、矫正。二曰“不”，表否定。佛法要矫正什么？否定什么？分述如下：

一、矫正心体，指示学佛根本。人之降生刹那，与真如同构之心体断做两截，名意识与潜意识。心体分裂遮蔽众生本具慧根（与本体同一的心体），生我执堕无明，故“弗”字的两竖（将丿简化为丨）分别喻意识和潜意识，犹言修行是要修复这断裂，令心体不二，使两竖合一。

二、矫正观见，此为理入门径。“弗”字两竖也分别喻“有”和“空”，“弗”也表否定，其意思是空、有皆为偏见。佛法正见不落两边，空不拒假有，有即自性空，空有不二，当体中道。

三、“弓”通“功”，此为修行门径。意识显则潜意识隐，两者难同体应时，故除了明中观之理，还须辅以持戒、持号、持咒、参禅、布施等等修行，辅助清理潜意识。“弓”如曲折蛇行，缠绕表征潜、显意识之两竖，或渐或顿终将消除潜显意识的分裂，两竖和合，功夫也随之销弥（得“一”须防法执），统归为一。

要而言之，修行关键在打理意识与潜意识的分裂，使“弗”之两个“丨”归一，归复先天与宇宙本体同构并相应之心体。此时自我、我执顿

消, 俗谛意义上的“一”也销弥, 整个境界只是简单而圆融的“一”, 故学佛就是化佛, 化“佛”为一。⁷

本来, 无论是“浮屠”还是“佛”, 都是个音译词,⁸但刚才这段引文在解释“佛”之一词时, 却完全不顾其所音译自的那个词的含义, 只管自说自话地按“佛”这个汉字的偏旁结构来赋义来演绎“佛”的佛学含义, 这是地道的中国化释义法, 中国佛学就是在类似的如此这般自说自话不太在意印度佛学的中国化释义法下建立起来的。遥想当年的佛经汉译, 当汉译本确定后, 翻译者就毫不怜惜地把作为翻译底本的印度本或西域本给毁掉。要知道, 其中的许多本子还是像玄奘这样的人辛辛苦苦冒着生命危险通过“西天取经”取来的呀! 那么, 翻译者——他们实际上也是中国佛学的最早奠基者——为什么要把印度本或西域本毁掉呢? 这不是太傻了吗? 这不是傻, 而是建立中国佛学的大丈夫气概! 只有将印度本或西域本毁掉, 后人才能将汉译佛经当作中国佛学的最后依据, 才能据以建立纯正的中国佛学。为了建立纯正的中国佛学, 中国人不但毁经绝版, 而且还制造了许多“伪经”, 所谓“伪经”系指那些不是从印度佛经或西域佛经翻译过来的, 而是中国人仿照印度佛经的格式自造并堂而皇之地称之为佛说的佛经。通过这些“伪经”, 中国人无拘无束地表达着自己对佛学的理解, 形塑出了有别于印度佛学的纯正的中国佛学思想, 正因如此, 中国佛学研究专家潘桂明先生说: “伪经非常重要, 它是一定历史背景下哲学思潮的反映, 反映了当时中国人对佛教的理解, 在思想史上有重要意义”。⁹那么, 伪经有什么样的重要意义呢? 显然就是指对于构建独具特色自成体系有别于印度佛学的中国佛学的重要意义。总之, 要构建中国神学, 要使基督教中国化, 榜样“远在天边, 近在眼前”, 佛教中国化的经验就是基督教中国化的榜样, 中国佛教曾经怎么做, 中国基

⁷ 王旭仓 Wang Xucang: 《心体论——化“佛”法门》 Xintilun ---- Hua fo famen 【A Study of Heart-Body】, 载《法喜文摘》 Faxi wenzhai 【Faxi Digest】, 第4期, (石家庄 Shijiazhuang: 河北省佛教协会 Hebeisheng fojiao xiehui 【Hebei Provincial Buddhist Association】, 2008), 22-23。

⁸ 据季羨林 Ji Xianlin 研究: “‘佛’这名词不是由梵文译来的, 而是间接经过龟兹语 pud (或焉耆语 pat) 转译而来, 它出现在后汉末三国初。‘浮屠’一词却没有经过西域语言的媒介, 它是直接由印度方言译过来。”参见浮惠 Fu Hui: 《佛教传入中国的第一地——对佛教由海路首先传入中国的考证》 Fo jiao chuan ru Zhongguo de diyidi ---- Dui fo jiao you hailu shouxian chuan ru Zhongguo de kaozheng 【The First Chinese Place, where Buddhism Arrived in】, 载《杭州佛教》 Hangzhou fo jiao 【Hangzhou Buddhism】, 第3期, (杭州 Hangzhou: 杭州市佛教协会 Hangzhou shi fo jiao xiehui 【Hangzhou Buddhist Association】, 2008), 31。后来由于古音的变化, “佛”字现在念“fo”, 已经不发 pud 或 pat 的音了, 这是音韵学上的事, 恕不在此细说。

⁹ 明远 Ming Yuan: 《西园随笔》 Xiyuan suibi 【Essays in the West Garden】, 2002年4月, <http://www.jcedu.org/zz/r/4/18.htm>。

督教就学着怎么做, 无须多虑。举个例子来说吧, 我们可以仿照着中国佛教对“观音”的解读来对基督教的“福音”作中国化的解读。

二、中国佛教中的“观音”

“观音”, 也叫“观世音”, “唐代因为避太宗李世民讳, 略称为观音”。¹⁰ 在中国佛教所信仰诸佛菩萨中, 观音菩萨是知名度最高、受供奉最广的, 这一点连释迦牟尼佛和阿弥陀佛都望尘莫及。那么, 观音菩萨何以会有如此高的佛教声望呢? 这与观音菩萨的佛教品格及其所扮演的佛教角色有关。观音菩萨大慈大悲, “与诸十方三世六道一切众生同悲仰”,¹¹ “若有无量百千万亿众生, 受诸苦恼, 闻是观世音菩萨, 一心称名, 观世音菩萨即时观其音声, 皆得解脱”。¹² 观音菩萨因为已“得圆通根本, 发妙耳门”,¹³ 耳根圆通, 所以“能够观照世间的音声, 世间众生遭遇灾难, 若一心称念菩萨名号, 观音菩萨就会寻声救苦, 使众生离苦得乐”¹⁴——所谓“观音”者, 即是“观世人称彼菩萨名号之音而垂救”¹⁵的意思。

观音菩萨“寻声救苦”的解脱法门就是所谓的“观音法门”, “观音法门”有时亦被称为“圆通法门”。观音菩萨曾自称: “彼佛如来, 叹我善得圆通法门, 于大会中, 授记我为观世音号, 由我观听十方圆明, 故观音名号, 遍十方界”。¹⁶ 于是乎, 十方世界广大众生有苦难者, 不管是什么苦难, 也不管是谁在什么地方什么时候, 只要一心称念观音名号, 便能得救, 十分灵验。总之, “观音菩萨是寻声救苦, 哪里

¹⁰ 石上泉 Shishang Quan: 《上天竺与观音信仰》 Shangtianzhu yu Guanyin xinyang 【The Up Tianzhu and the Faith of Guanyin】, 《杭州佛教》 Hangzhou fojiao, 第4期, (杭州 Hangzhou: 杭州市佛教协会 Hangzhoushi fojiao xiehui 【Hangzhou Buddhist Association】, 2008), 10。

¹¹ 《楞严经·观世音菩萨圆通章》 Lengyanjing . Guanshiyin pusa yuantong zhang 【Lengyan Classic】。

¹² 《法华经·观世音菩萨普门品》 Fahuojing . Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin 【Fahua Classic】。

¹³ 《楞严经·观世音菩萨圆通章》 Lengyanjing . Guanshiyin pusa yuantong zhang 【Lengyan Classic】。

¹⁴ 石上泉 Shishang Quan: 《上天竺与观音信仰》 Shangtianzhu yu guanyin xinyang 【Up Tianzhu and the Faith of Guanyin】, 《杭州佛教》 Hangzhou fojiao 【Hangzhou Buddhism】, 第4期, (杭州 Hangzhou: 杭州市佛教协会 Hangzhoushi fojiao xiehui 【Hangzhou Buddhist Association】, 2008), 10。

¹⁵ 丁福保 Ding Fubao: 《佛学大辞典》 Foxue dacidian 【The Big Dictionary of Buddhism】, 下册 Xiace, (上海 Shanghai: 上海书店出版社 Shanghai shudian chubansheben 【Shanghai Bookstore Press】, 1995), 2984ff。

¹⁶ 《楞严经·观世音菩萨圆通章》 Lengyanjing . Guanshiyin pusa yuantong zhang 【Lengyan Classics】。正因为观音菩萨“善得圆通法门”, 所以许多佛教寺庙的“观音殿”也叫“圆通殿”或“圆通院”, “圆通院所尊奉的主要是观音菩萨, 因为圆通大士是观世音菩萨之别号。”参见何大明 He Daming: 《水天佛国映阳澄》 Shuitian fogue ying yangcheng 【The Buddhist Kingdom of Water and Heaven Reflects Yangcheng】, 载《传灯》 Fodeng 【Transmitting Lamp】, 创刊号, (苏州 Suzhou: 《传灯》杂志编辑部 Chuandeng bianjibu 【The Editorial Committee of Transmitting Lamp】, 2009), 15。

有深陷苦厄众生的呼救，哪里就有观音菩萨慈悲救护的眼手”，¹⁷“千手千眼”救“千苦千难”，真是“千处祈求千处应”，正因如此，所以“北宋在观音名号前加灵感二字，南宋加号大慈悲救苦救难，天竺（指杭州上天竺寺）加广大二字”，¹⁸观音菩萨的名号便在人们对她的美好愿望和祈求中最终定格为《白衣观音大士灵感神咒》中能充分展示其佛教品格的“大慈大悲救苦救难广大灵感观世音菩萨摩诃萨”。这就是我们今天的佛教徒所经常念的完整版的观音名号，稍微简化一点亦可称为“大慈大悲观世音菩萨”，“救苦救难观世音菩萨”等，最简单的当然就是“观音菩萨”了。实际上，在观音信仰的语境中，只要心诚，只要能够做到心不杂乱，一心称念，那么无论是念观音菩萨的全名还是简名都能达到“人离难，难离身，一切灾殃化灰尘”的得救效果，¹⁹这种得救效果在《楞严经·观世音菩萨圆通章》中被分为十四个方面即所谓的“十四种无谓功德”。那么，观音菩萨“救苦救难”究竟能救哪些苦哪些难呢？一些相关的佛经中有详略不等的交代，如《观世音菩萨救苦经》中说：“能救狱囚，能救重病，能救千灾百难苦”；《高王观世音真经》中说：“能灭生死苦，消灭诸毒害……火焰不能伤，刀兵立摧折，恚怒生欢喜，死者变成活”；《楞严经·观世音菩萨圆通章》在列举观音菩萨“救苦救难”所具有的“十四种无畏功德”时也间接地告诉了我们观音菩萨究竟能救哪些苦难，这“十四种无畏功德”分别是：

一者，由我不自观音，以观观者，令彼十方苦恼众生，观其音声，即得解脱。二者，知见旋复，令诸众生，设入大火，火不能烧。三者，观听旋复，令诸众生，大水所漂，水不能溺。四者，断灭妄想，心无杀害，令诸众生，入诸鬼国，鬼不能害。五者，熏闻成闻，六根销复，同于声听，能令众生，临当被害，刀段段坏，使其兵戈，犹如割水，亦如吹光，性无摇动。六者，闻熏精明，明遍法界，则诸幽暗，性不能全，能令众生，药叉罗刹、鸠槃荼鬼、及毗舍遮、富单那等，虽近其傍，目不能视。七者，音性圆销，观听返入，离诸尘妄，能令众生，禁系枷锁，所不能着。八者，灭音圆闻，遍生慈力，能令众

¹⁷ 净因 Jingyin:《宗教与艺术漫谈》Zongjiao yu yishu mantan 【Causeries on Religion and Arts】, 载吴为山 Wu Weishan、传义 Chuanyi 主编《中国佛教艺术》Zhongguo fojiao yishu 【The Arts of Chinese Buddhism】, 第2辑, (南京 Nanjing: 南京大学出版社 Nanjing daxue chubanshe 【Nanjing University Press】, 2008), 4。

¹⁸ 石上泉 Shishang Quan:《上天竺与观音信仰》Shangtianzhu yu Guanyin xinyang, 【Up Tianzhu and the Faith of Guanyin】, 《杭州佛教》Hangzhou fojiao 【Hangzhou Buddhism】, 第4期, (杭州 Hangzhou: 杭州市佛教协会 Hangzhoushi fojiao xiehui 【Hangzhou Buddhist Association】, 2008), 12。

¹⁹ 《白衣观音大士灵感神咒》Baiyi guanyin dashi linggan shenzhou 【The Spiritual Inspirations and Divine Curses of the White Colthed Guanyin Great Soldiers】。

陈坚:救苦救难:观音与福音

生，经过险路，贼不能劫。九者，熏闻离尘，色所不劫，能令一切多淫众生，远离贪欲。十者，纯音无尘，根境圆融，无对所对，能令一切忿恨众生，离诸嗔恚。十一者，销尘旋明，法界身心，犹如琉璃，朗彻无碍，能令一切昏钝性障，诸阿颠迦，永离痴暗。十二者，融形复闻，不动道场，涉入世间，不坏世界，能遍十方，供养微尘诸佛如来，各各佛边，为法王子，能令法界无子众生，欲求男者，诞生福德智慧之男。十三者，六根圆通，明照无二，含十方界，立大圆镜，空如来藏，承顺十方微尘如来，秘密法门，受领无失，能令法界无子众生，欲求女者，诞生端正福德柔顺、众人爱敬、有相之女。十四者，此三千大千世界，百亿日月，现住世间诸法王子，有六十二恒河沙数，修法垂范，教化众生，随顺众生，方便智慧，各各不同，由我所得圆通本根，发妙耳门，然后身心微妙含容，遍周法界，能令众生持我名号，与彼共持，六十二恒河沙诸法王子，二人福德，正等无异。

观音菩萨“救苦救难”所具有的这“十四种无畏功德”，其所涉及的苦难其实只是《法华经·观世音菩萨普门品》中观音菩萨所能救的苦难的一部分。在所有同类的佛经中，《法华经·观世音菩萨普门品》对观音菩萨“救苦救难”的描述是最为详细、最为系统同时也是最具内在逻辑的，兹有三个方面，一是救众生的外在苦难：

若有持是观世音菩萨名者，设入大火，火不能烧，由是菩萨威神力故。若为大水所漂，称其名号，即得浅处。若有百千万亿众生，为求金、银、琉璃、砗磲、玛瑙、珊瑚、琥珀、真珠等宝，入于大海，假使黑风吹其船舫，飘堕罗刹鬼国，其中若有乃至一人，称观世音菩萨名者，是诸人等，皆得解脱罗刹之难，以是因缘，名观世音。若复有人，临当被害，称观世音菩萨名者，彼所执刀杖，寻段段坏，而得解脱。若三千大千国土，满中夜叉、罗刹，欲来恼人，闻其称观世音菩萨名者，是诸恶鬼，尚不能以恶眼视之，况复加害？设复有人，若有罪，若无罪，枷锁枷锁，检系其身，称观世音菩萨名者，皆悉断坏，即得解脱。若三千大千国土，满中怨贼，有一商主，将诸商人，赍持重宝，经过险路，其中一人，作是唱言：“诸善男子！勿得恐怖！汝等应当一心称观世音菩萨名号，是菩萨能以无畏施于众生，汝等若称名者，于此怨贼，当得解脱。”

二是救众生的内在苦难：

若有众生，多于淫欲，常念恭敬观世音菩萨，便得离欲。若多嗔恚，常念恭敬观世音菩萨，便得离嗔。若多愚痴，常念恭敬观世音菩萨，

便得离痴。无尽意，观世音菩萨，有如是等大威神力，多所饶益，是故众生，常应心念。若有女人，设欲求男，礼拜供养观世音菩萨，便生福德智慧之男，设欲求女，便生端正有相之女，宿植德本，众人爱敬。

三是救不同类型的众生：

若有国土众生，应以佛身得度者，观世音菩萨即现佛身而为说法。应以辟支佛身得度者，即现辟支佛身而为说法。应以声闻身得度者，即现声闻身而为说法。应以梵王身得度者，即现梵王身而为说法。应以帝释身得度者，即现帝释身而为说法。应以自在天身得度者，即现自在天身而为说法。应以大自在天身得度者，即现大自在天身而为说法。应以天大将军身得度者，即现天大将军身而为说法。应以毗沙门身得度者，即现毗沙门身而为说法。应以小王身得度者，即现小王身而为说法。应以长者身得度者，即现长者身而为说法。应以居士身得度者，即现居士身而为说法。应以宰官身得度者，即现宰官身而为说法。应以婆罗门身得度者，即现婆罗门身而为说法。应以比丘、比丘尼、优婆塞、优婆夷身得度者，即现比丘、比丘尼、优婆塞、优婆夷身而为说法。应以长者、居士、宰官、婆罗门、妇女身得度者，即现妇女身而为说法。应以童男、童女身得度者，即现童男、童女身而为说法。应以天、龙、夜叉、乾闥婆、阿修罗、迦楼罗、紧那罗、摩睺罗伽、人非人等身得度者，即皆现之而为说法。应以执金刚神得度者，即现执金刚神而为说法。

三、中国基督教中的“福音”

我手头有一本小册子，名为《真正的福气》。这本小册子是我有一天在济南街头的一个拐角处一位基督徒老太太发给我的，这位虔诚的老太太一边往我手里塞这本小册子，一面嘴里念念有词地重复着：“信仰上帝吧，上帝会赐福给你。”“信仰上帝吧，上帝会赐福给你。”我恭敬不如从命地拿回家读了读，发现《真正的福气》意在向人们传播基督教上帝的福音，“亲爱的朋友，当你拿到这份福音手册，意想不到的福气已经临到你的身边，只要你认真看完这福音的内容，便可知道人生真正的意义，并得着最大的福气。”那么，这福气来自于哪里呢？“每个人都在找寻快乐，然而，在一切欢愉庆祝结束后，我们最终要扪心自问：自己是否享有真正的快乐？其实，真正的福气是上帝赐给人一种至高无上的喜乐，这喜乐是建立在我们

与上帝和好的关系上，是不受环境所影响的。”既然福气来源于上帝，来源于耶稣基督，那好，“亲爱的同胞乡亲、兄弟姐妹：我们奉上帝的儿子耶稣基督之名给你祝福，并带给你天上大喜的信息。务请你珍惜自己的身体灵魂,用心细读我们给你的肺腑之言。我们将最宝贵的礼物送给你，愿你一生蒙福，盼望你今日对宇宙、世界、人生及永恒能重新认识及评价”，而要建立这种“重新认识及评价”，就必须信仰上帝信仰神，必须人的心中有神，这就是《真正的福气》在其结束语中所说的：

人的心中有了神，人回到生命的主那里，人的心灵就有了满足，人活着就有了意义、价值和方向。耶稣说：“我就是生命的粮，到我这里来的，必定不饿；信我的，永远不渴。”（《圣经》约翰福音六章三十五节）

信靠耶稣，今生有满足，来世有永生。朋友，你是否愿意接受呢？到基督教会听道，你就可以进一步了解福音的真理。“你要认识上帝，就得平安，福气也必临到你。”（《圣经》约伯记二十二章二十一节）

亲爱的朋友：当你读完了以上内容，若愿意接受耶稣基督成为你个人的救主和生命的主，去体验这有价值的人生，以下的祷告词可以成为你的参考：

亲爱的天父，创造宇宙万有的真神，我感谢你。感谢耶稣基督，因为爱我，降世为人，为我的罪死在十字架上，流血洗净我的不义，从死里复活，叫我得着你的生命。恳求天父赦免我一切的罪。我愿意接受主耶稣基督做我的救主和生命的主，管理我的一生，使我能享受你的恩典与慈爱，经历丰富有价值的人生。我这样祷告，是奉主耶稣基督的名求，阿门！

我读了这本以传播基督教福音为目的的《真正的福气》后，若有所思，为什么它不叫《真正的福音》而叫《真正的福气》？叫《真正的福音》不是更有基督教味吗？后来我才明白叫《真正的福气》的妙处。我们都知道，“福气”是一个很中国化的词汇，中国老百姓经常挂在口头，“我没有福气”、“你这个人很有福气”——从这个意义上来说，以《真正的福气》为名来传播基督教就有了浓郁的中国化基督教的味道。可见，“福气”和“福音”虽只一字之差，但其背后的意蕴却完全不一样。在西方人希望上帝给他带来“福音”的同时，中国人希望上帝给他带来“福气”，也就是

《尚书》中所说的“五福”：“一曰寿，二曰富，三曰康宁，四曰攸好德，五曰考终命”。²⁰

“福音”的说法源自于《圣经·新约》中有所谓的“四福音书”，即《马太福音》、《马可福音》、《路加福音》和《约翰福音》，这“四福音书不是说有‘四部福音’或‘四种福音’，而是说由四部书所写成的惟一福音”。²¹ 那么这“惟一福音”究竟是什么呢？西方神学的解释是这样的，或者说学术上的解释是这样的：

“福音”一词来自希腊文“euangelion”，拉丁文为“evangelium”，其原意为“对传报好消息的人给予的报酬”，后经演变而有了“好消息”义，并主要指有国王身份的人和他的行为中的救恩意味。基督宗教视耶稣为“主”，“主”为国王的称号（徒 25：26），而耶稣基督正为所谓“天国君王”、“犹太人的王”。因只有王才能赐恩典给其子民，故《新约》中“福音”的含义为“上帝救恩来到时的好消息”，或“天国（上帝的国）即将来临”的讯息。在福音书中，耶稣曾明确说过“叫我传福音给贫穷的人”（路 4：18），“穷人有福音传给他们”（太 11：5）这样的话。由于福音所指的即耶稣所带来的拯救人的信息，耶稣的拯救又是通由他在十字架上的受难及复活实现的，所以在《新约》其他书卷，尤其在保罗书信中所说的福音，指的便是作为救主的耶稣本人和他在世上的工作，传扬耶稣基督的死与复活，其核心便是基督的救赎（罗 1：1-15，16-17；林前 15：1-4）。²²

可见，在由西方神学支持的西方基督教中，“福音”是指耶稣基督降临人间来拯救人的好消息，那么这个好消息又来自于哪里呢？来自于上帝，只要你信仰上帝，上帝就会把这个好消息告诉你，从这个意义上来说，上帝就是福音，福音就是上帝，上帝是福音的化身。福音告诉你，耶稣基督可以来拯救你，如果你愿意接受耶稣基督作为你的救主，那么请如是祷告：

亲爱的天父，创造宇宙万有的真神，我感谢你，感谢耶稣基督，固为爱我，降世为人，为我的罪死在十字架上，流血洗净我的不义，从死里复活，叫我得着你的生命。恳求天父赦免我一切的罪。我愿意接受主耶稣基督

²⁰ “寿”是命不夭折而且福寿绵长；“富”是钱财富足而且地位尊贵；“康宁”是身体健康而且心灵安宁；“攸好德”是生性仁善而且宽厚宁静，“考命终”（“考”通“老”）是能预先知道自己的死期。临命终时，没有遭到横祸，身体没有病痛，心里没有挂碍和烦恼，安详而且自在地离开人间。此一解释参见 <http://baike.baidu.com/view/18513.htm>

²¹ 刘光耀 Liu Guangyao、孙善玲 Sun Shangling 等著《〈四福音书〉解读》 *Sifuyinshu jiedu* 【Interpretation to the Four Gospels】，（北京 Beijing：宗教文化出版社 Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe 【Religion and Culture Press】，2004），2。

²² 同上。

督作我的救主和生命的主，管理我的一生，使我能享受你的恩典与慈爱，经历丰富有价值的人生。我这样祷告，是奉主耶稣基督的名求，阿们？²³

从这个祷告中我们不难发现，耶稣基督对人的拯救，是指把人从无意义的空虚中拯救出来，从而让人感到自己活着是有价值有意义的而不至于去自杀，说得哲学些，耶稣基督的拯救就是给人生赋义，而说得文学些，耶稣基督的拯救就是夺下自杀者手中的刀，或者把这刀给藏起来，让想自杀的人找不到。说实在的，耶稣基督的这种拯救只适用于西方人，对中国人来说是毫无用处的，因为中国人是世界上唯一能够自我赋义的人或意义自足的人，他们从来不会感到人生是无意义的，从来不会感到空虚无聊，他们非常善于“自得其乐”，²⁴有时甚至还以苦为乐，²⁵这种人格特征再加上“身体发肤，受之父母，不可毁伤”²⁶的儒家教诲，使得中国人从来不会因为感到人生空虚无聊人生无意义而自杀，他们偶尔选择自杀，也是缘于现实生活中的某种巨大压力，而且不到万不得已不到陷于绝对的生活困境，他们是不会自杀的，因为他们贪恋现世生活，热爱现世生命。²⁷可见，中国人是用不着耶稣基督来告诉他现实的人生是有意义的，因为他们天生就知道这一点；中国人也用不着耶稣基督来给他指示一个遥远的天堂，因为他们认为天堂就在脚下而不可能在他处。于是乎专门为人生赋义并指引天堂之路的西方耶稣基督一来到中国就会失业，就会无事可干，就像一个水上救生员在陆地上英雄无用武之地一样。总之，中国人不需要西方耶稣基督的拯救，它所需要的是中国耶稣基督的拯救，那么，中国耶稣基督的拯救又是什么样子的呢？中国耶稣基督的拯救就是观世音菩萨“救苦救难”的那种拯救，就是对现实生活中所面临的各种内在和外在苦难的拯救，而不是对无意义人生

²³ 《真正的福气》 *Zhenzheng de fuqi* 【The True Bless】，<http://www.god123.cn>

²⁴ 《论语·学而》 *Lunyu . Xueer* 开篇便在告诫“自得其乐”：“学而时习之，不亦悦乎？有朋自远方来，不亦乐乎？人不知而不愠，不亦君子乎？”

²⁵ 孔子的弟子颜回就是“以苦为乐”的典范：“一箪食，一瓢饮，在陋巷，人不堪其忧，回也不改其乐”（《论语·雍也》 *Lunyu . Yongye*）。

²⁶ 《孝经·开宗明义》 *Xiaojing . Kaizong mingyi* 【The Classic of Filial Piety】。

²⁷ 比如，我记得小时候家乡村子里有一位农民，因生活所迫而服农药自杀；前几天又在电视上看到西北有位农民因家庭贫困，无力养家糊口、无力供子女上学而自杀；还有石家庄学院一女大学生因为找工作无望，在巨大的就业压力下选择了自杀，但在她所留下来的日记中却无数次地提到“谁能救救我”，这表明她对人生还是充满了留恋，不到万不得已不会自杀的（参见《就业压力如同滚雪球，女大学生自杀前的心灵挣扎》 *Jiuye yali rutong gun xueqiu, nü da xuesheng zisha qian de xinling zhengzha* 【The Pressure of Job Hunting is like a Snow Ball, and the Psychological Struggle of a Female University Student before She Committed Suicide】，2009年2月6日，<http://learning.sohu.com/20090226/n262475581.shtml>）；还有到年关的时候，许多农民工因要不到工钱而想跳楼自杀，……凡此种种的自杀或想自杀，都是因为迫于生活的压力而不是因为空虚无聊。

的拯救，而不是填补人生空虚的拯救，且看中国耶稣基督在汉语《圣经》中如是说：

我将这些事告诉你们，只要叫你们在我里面有平安。在世上你们有苦难，但你们可以放心，我已经胜了世界。²⁸

所谓“这些事”，就是中国耶稣基督（以下就直接称耶稣基督，就像直接称孔子而没有必要说“中国孔子”一样）“救苦救难”的事。因为耶稣基督能“救苦救难”，所以，那些有苦难的人，只要“在我里面”，也就是信仰我耶稣基督，就会“有平安”，就“可以放心”地生活。耶稣基督说“常在我里面的，我也常在他里面，这人就多结果子”，²⁹又说“你们若常在我里面，我的话也常在你们里面，凡你们所愿意的，祈求就给你们成就”。³⁰这里的“果子”和“成就”都是指耶稣基督“救苦救难”的圣迹。在“四福音书”中，我们可以读到耶稣基督“救苦救难”的许多圣迹，对于这些圣迹，一一列举既不可能也没必要，不妨每一“福音书”各举一个例子，以斑窥豹。

《马太福音》9章27—29节“两个盲人得医治”：

耶稣从那里往前走，有两个瞎子跟着他，喊叫说，大卫的子孙，可怜我们吧。耶稣进了房子，瞎子就来到他跟前，耶稣说，你们信我能作这事吗？他们说，主阿，我们信。耶稣就摸他们的眼睛，说，照着你们的信给你们成全了吧。他们的眼睛就开了。

《马可福音》9章14—27节“治好被污鬼附身的孩子”：

耶稣到了门徒那里，看见有许多人围着他们，又有文士和他们辩论。众人一见耶稣，都甚希奇，就跑上去问他的安。耶稣问他们说，你们和他们辩论的是什么。众人中间有一个人回答说，夫子，我带了我的儿子到你这里来，他被哑巴鬼附着。无论在哪里，鬼捉弄他，把他摔倒，他就口中流沫，咬牙切齿，身体枯干，我请过你的门徒把鬼赶出去，他们却是不能。耶稣说，噯，不信的世代阿，我在你们这里要到几时呢？我忍耐你们要到几时呢？把他带到我这里来吧。他们就带了他来。他一见耶稣，鬼便叫他重重地抽疯。倒在地上，翻来覆去，口中流沫。耶稣问他父亲说，他得这病，有多少日子呢？回答说，从小的时候。鬼屡次把他扔在火里，水里，要灭他。你若能作什么，求你怜悯我们，帮助我们。耶稣对他说，你若能信，在信的人，凡事都能。孩子的父亲立时喊着说，我信。但我信不足，求主帮助。耶

²⁸ 《约翰福音》*Yuehan fuyin* 【The Gospel according to John】16章33节。

²⁹ 《约翰福音》*Yuehan fuyin* 【The Gospel according to John】，15章5节。

³⁰ 《约翰福音》*Yuehan fuyin* 【The Gospel according to John】，15章7节。

稣看见众人都跑上来，就斥责那污鬼，说，你这聋哑的鬼，我吩咐你从他里头出来，再不要进去。那鬼喊叫，使孩子大大地抽了一阵疯，就出来了。孩子好像死了一般，以致众人多半说，他是死了。但耶稣拉着他的手，扶他起来，他就站起来了。

《路加福音》7章11—16节“使寡妇的儿子复活”：

过了不多时，耶稣往一座城去，这城名叫拿因，他的门徒和极多的人与他同行。将近城门，有一个死人被抬出来。这人是他母亲独生的儿子，他母亲又是寡妇。有城里的许多人同着寡妇送殡。主看见那寡妇就怜悯她，对她说，不要哭。于是进前按着杠，抬的人就站住了。耶稣说，少年人，我吩咐你起来。那死人就坐起，并且说话。耶稣便把他交给他母亲。

《约翰福音》6章3—13节“耶稣使五千人吃饱”：

耶稣上了山，和门徒一同坐在那里。那时犹太人的逾越节近了。耶稣举目看见许多人来，就对腓力说，我们从哪里买饼叫这些人吃呢？他说这话，是要试验腓力。他自己原知道要怎样行。腓力回答说，就是二十两银子的饼，叫他们各人吃一点，也是不够的。有一个门徒，就是西门彼得的兄弟安得烈，对耶稣说，在这里有一个孩童，带着五个大麦饼，两条鱼。只是分给这许多人，还算什么呢？耶稣说，你们叫众人坐下。原来那地方的草多，众人就坐下。数目约有五千。耶稣拿起饼来，祝谢了，就分给那坐着的人。分鱼也是这样，都随着他们所要的。他们吃饱了，耶稣对门徒说，把剩下的零碎，收拾起来，免得有糟蹋的。他们便将那五个大麦饼的零碎，就是众人吃了剩下的，收拾起来，装满了十二个篮子。

“治病”、“驱鬼”、“使人复活”、“使人吃饱”，耶稣基督“救苦救难”的这四个圣迹不但分别摘自不同的“福音书”，而且也代表了不同的类型的“救苦救难”，而且在“四福音书”中耶稣基督“救苦救难”的有些圣迹还在不同的表述下重复出现，如刚才提到的“使五千人吃饱”的圣迹，不但记载在《约翰福音》中，而且在《马太福音》（14：13-21）、《马可福音》（6：30-44）和《路加福音》（9：10-17）中也都有记载；又“驱鬼”之圣迹，不但记载在《马可福音》中，而且在《马太福音》（17：14-21）和《路加福音》（9：37-43）中也都有记载，甚至在同一福音书中也有相同圣迹的记载，如“两个盲人得医治”的圣迹在《马太福音》中就出现了两次（9：27-29 和 20：29-34）——重复表明重要，重复强化主题。《四福音书》的主题就

是耶稣基督的“救苦救难”，而所谓的“福音”就是耶稣基督复活降临人间“救苦救难”的好消息，芸芸众生有苦难者只要信上帝，信上帝所带来的这个好消息，信耶稣基督，就能得着耶稣基督的拯救而出离苦难，而且耶稣基督的这种“救苦救难”在性质上与中国佛教中观音菩萨的“救苦救难”实在毫无二致。比如广为流传的《观世音菩萨灵感录》中记载着这样一件事，说：“齐国建安王生疮，念观世音菩萨名号，至诚不停的念，有一天晚上梦见大士（观世音亦称大士）亲手为他敷药，到了第二天一早疮就痊愈了。见到听到的人，无不惊异的相传为奇事，一时发信心的人不少”，³¹这与“四福音书”中耶稣基督“救苦救难”的那些圣迹（包括刚才所举的以及大量没举的）有什么两样吗？没有！两者都是通过“救苦救难”来给中国人带来“福气”。

四、结语

我现在对宗教的认识是这样的：我们通常所说的佛教、基督教、道教、伊斯兰教等宗教，其实并不是宗教本身，而是宗教的不同表达方式。每一个民族自古迄今所本有的生活方式和生活习惯的总和才是宗教本身，才是真正的宗教，而且由于在人种、自然环境、历史发展等方面的差异，不同的民族有不同的宗教。不过，同一个民族的宗教既可以通过佛教来表达，也可以通过基督教来表达，同时还可以通过道教、伊斯兰教等其他宗教来表达。这就好比同一个题材的故事，既可以通过小说来表达，也可以通过绘画来表达，同时还可以通过舞蹈、电影等其他艺术形式来表达，尽管表达方式不一样，但它们所表达的内容却是一样的。在这样一种宗教观下，我们说，所谓的佛教中国化或中国佛教其实就是中国宗教以佛教的方式来表达，而所谓的基督教中国化或中国基督教其实就是中国宗教以基督教的方式来表达，从而其内容同是中国宗教的中国佛教和中国基督教便具有了异曲同工之妙，比如本文所探讨的中国佛教的“观音”和中国基督教的“福音”，它们都是与“救苦救难”有关的宗教关怀，而且它们所救的苦难都是中国式的苦难而不是西方式的苦难，即

³¹ 李圆净居士 Li Yuanjing jushi: 《观世音菩萨灵感录》 *Guanshiyin pusa linggan lu* 【The Collection of Spiritual Inspirations from Guanyin Bodhisattva】，参见 <http://www.jindingsi.com/text/guanshiyinpusalingganlu.htm>

都是源于生活压力的苦难而不是源于生活空虚的苦难。正是在这个意义上, 我们说中国佛教的“观音”和中国基督教的“福音”在“救苦救难”问题上构成了共鸣, 同时也正是在这个共鸣中我清楚地听到了上帝对中国人的言说——上帝丝毫不差地按中国人的特性来言说中国基督教。自从听到上帝对中国人的言说, 我就再也听不到上帝对西方人或其他民族的人的言说了。如果有人不理解我在本文中所说的中国基督教, 那么, 这不是因为我说错了, 而是因为他们没有或不愿意听到上帝对中国人的言说, 而是因为他们更想听上帝对西方人的言说。如果说我有什么错, 那就是我明目张胆地抄袭了上帝对中国人的言说, 我作弊了。

在一次国际佛教学术研讨会上, “面对气势汹汹的学界, 论证、考证达摩祖师是否有这样一个人, 结果三分之一点五的学者认为历史上不存在有达摩这样一个禅宗人士, 言之凿凿, 雄辩无敌, 文献、历史、传记、碑刻、归纳、演绎, 搞得眼花缭乱, 最后, 主持法师来总结发言: ‘达摩祖师与我们共在, 你们的文献考据对于我们来讲也许并不重要, 在成佛的路途上, 在我们三世因果观念中, 寺院也许就是个寄居的地方, 当你们考据论证到全世界都关闭了寺院的时候, 我们心中的世界还是佛陀的世界, 我们的追求依然是我们的追求, 我们不会改变’”。³² 法师这一番发自肺腑但非慷慨激昂的话肯定说得我们这些经常自以为是的学者顿时语塞, 面面相觑, 并且是至少是给了我一顿“当头棒喝”, 让我警醒并反思: 学者用学术方法能把宗教研究清楚吗? 能够做到不“跑偏”吗? 宗教本来就是用非学术的方法建构起来的, 而我们现在却要用学术的方法来起劲地研究它并经常声明把宗教研究清楚了, 果真是这样的吗? 我们论证了达摩的不存在, 禅宗信徒就会听你的而不去供奉达摩了吗? 我们论证了上帝的存在, 非基督徒就会来信仰上帝了吗? 事情远没有这么简单和线性! 然而, 我们学者又是不能放弃学术方法的, 学者放弃学术方法就象运动员放弃锻炼, 乃废人一个。面对宗教, 我们学者能做和要做的应该是考察宗教究竟是用什么样的非学术方法建构起来的, 而不是用学术方法来破坏宗教, 比如, 对于中国佛教, 因为中国佛教早已用非学术的方法建构起来并巩固了, 所以我们学者的

³² 宽悲 Kuanbei: 《“大乘非佛说”现象探究》 Dacheng fei fo shuo xianxiang tanjiu 【An Exploration to the Phenomenon of Mahayana is not Buddhism】, 载《传灯》 Chuandeng 【The Transmitting Lamp】, 创刊号, (苏州 Suzhou: 《传灯》杂志编辑部 Chuandeng bianjibu 【The Editorial Committee of the Transmitting Lamp】, 2009), 104。

陈坚: 救苦救难: 观音与福音

任务就是要弄清楚建构中国佛教的非学术方法究竟是什么；而对于中国基督教，由于中国基督教还没有建构起来，还正在用非学术方法来建构自身，所以我们学者不要自作聪明去用学术方法来干扰它，不幸的是，今天以汹涌之势进入中国的相当发达的西方基督教学术偏偏在乐此不疲地做着这种干扰——这是中国基督教难以形成的根本原因。

English Title:

Gospel and Chinese Contextualization of Christianity

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Abstract: In this article, the author mainly argues that “relieving people from suffering and misery” is the common religious concern of both the Chinese Buddhism and the Chinese Christianity. At the same time, the author discusses also the issue of the sinicization of Christianity, by making a comparison between Avalokiteshvara (Guanyin) in Buddhism and Gospel (Fuyin) in Christianity. According to the author, the so-called Chinese Buddhism is in fact the Chinese religion expressing itself in the form of Buddhism, and the so-called Chinese Christianity is actually the Chinese religion showing itself in the form of Christianity. Therefore, in the same vein, the Chinese Buddhism and the Chinese Christianity are different only concerning their approaches but equally satisfactory concerning their results. Moreover, through an exemplary discussion of the translation of Buddhist sutras, the author argues that in order to establish an authentic Chinese Christianity, the Chinese Christianity should get rid of its Western tradition. The Chinese Christianity must listen to what God was, is, and will be speaking to Chinese people in their own context.

Key words: relieving people from suffering and misery, Guanyin, Gospel, Buddhism, Christianity

江怡：“大国学”架构中的“汉语学术对话神学”

“大国学”架构中的“汉语学术对话神学”

--黄保罗博士《大国学视野中的汉语学术对话神学》序

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保罗兄的大作即将付梓, 嘱我作序。想来我难以胜任, 但保罗兄盛情难却, 且书稿阅后也有一吐之快, 遂不揣冒昧, 权为其序。

先从与保罗兄的相识说起。黄保罗的大名我早有耳闻, 他在基督教神学研究及其与汉语学术神学的对话等方面成果卓著, 但直到 2009 年底我们才在厦门得以相见相识。他当时在厦门大学哲学系做系列讲座, 行将结束时, 我正好去厦大讲学, 我们共同参加了该校陈嘉明教授的博士生毕业论文答辩。我们双方似乎都有相见恨晚之感。保罗兄渊博的学识, 机敏的谈话, 优雅的风度, 给我留下了深刻印象。我们彻夜长谈, 共同讨论了中国当代学术研究的现状和未来发展的思考, 相互交流了对西方思想文化发展的历史认识。随后, 保罗兄每次到北京, 我们都相约聚会, 举杯畅饮。我们对许多问题都有共识, 我对他的一些观点也有同感。

谈到思想的交流, 我阅读了他馈赠的《汉语学术神学——作为学科体系的基督教研究》, 洋洋洒洒 50 万字, 蔚为大观。我很赞同他汉语学术神学的基本观点, 强调从学术思想和研究的维度挖掘中国传统和当代思想的精髓, 特别是把基督教神学研究与汉语学术神学做了深入的比较分析, 突出了以汉语文化为背景和特征的中国传统学术如何走向现代和走向世界的博大志向。保罗兄常年在海外学习和教学, 对西方思想界的基本研究方式也了如指掌, 在书中他还专门分析介绍了西方学术研究的基本规范, 这些对国内学术研究规范的本土化和国际化都有很高的参考价值。

谈到这本书稿的内容, 阅后给我留下最深印象的是全书的两个关键词: “大国学”和“对话”。我认为, 这两个关键词正是该书的灵魂所在。

首先是“大国学”。应当说, 保罗兄在书中对“国学”的反思和批评是值得回应的, 而他提出的“大国学”概念则是富有意义的。我完全同意他对国内目前的“国学

热”现象的分析，虽然他对“国学”概念本身有着自己独特的理解。从现象上分析，国学热的出现是社会转型过程中人们面对社会变化而产生的获求精神家园的心理需求的社会反映，在这个意义上，这个现象的出现自然有着一定的社会原因和思想根据。从学理上分析，国学热的出现则是两种或多种文化在共时性的历史背景中相互碰撞的结果，反映了不同文化之间围绕传统与现代展开的思想较量。从当代社会发展和文化交流的现状看，如果我们对“国学”的理解仅仅限于对传统文化的张扬，即保罗兄在书中所说的，“中国的道统”或“代表中国国家和人民的民族及文化认同”等，那么，这样的“国学”的确是具有排他性的，是与“西学”相对的中国固有之学。但事实上，我们知道，“国学热”中的国学捍卫者们并非（或至少大部分不是）仅仅强调“固有之学”，而是希望从中国传统文化中寻找推动当代中国社会发展的最终动力，正如保罗兄所提倡的“大的”“国学”的本意。今天的那些“卫道士们”（即使是被看作最为顽固的卫道士）也无法回到“故纸堆”中，也不是用圣人之言去“招灵还魂”，因为当今时代给他们提供了重读圣人经典的机会，让他们感到了时代赋予他们的使命感，他们试图用“道德说教”的方式显示自身“代圣人言”的特殊身份。然而，无论他们如何去理解“国学”，无论他们如何去捍卫“国学”，这样的“国学”仍然是具有排他性的，虽然有时是以民族文化的优越性和自豪感表现出来的。保罗兄在书中所批评的正是这种意义上的“国学”概念，而他所提出的“大国学”概念则恰好是没有这样的排他性，是以对话和宽容的态度对待一切不同文化传统的“国学”，“中国的大国学研究之内涵，就是对‘中国形象’的构成及其背后所蕴藏的精神体系之研究。”

从保罗兄书中的论述看，我认为，他提出“大国学”概念有一个重要的思想前提，这就是不同文化之间的对话和宽容，而这种对话和宽容又是以承认异己文化与自身文化的平等地位为基础的。毫无疑问，我完全能够接受这个思想前提，也完全同意这样的思想基础。然而，我想进一步地说，无论是“国学”还是“大国学”概念，如果我的理解正确的话，它首先应当是以其他文化的存在为前提的，并以其他文化作为自己的他者而使自己得以存在。这就意味着，代表着“一种应战历史中曾有之挑战的历史文化知识”和“一种应战今日之挑战的中国现代生存和发展动力”的“大国学”正是在与其他文化的交流（包括对抗和对话）中才得以成形。这正是我近年来

形成的一个认识：“一种文化对其自身传统的自我意识并非来自对这个传统的解释，而是来自与外来文化的比较。只有当一种文化与另一种文化发生碰撞和冲突的时候，这种文化才会产生对自身传统的强烈的自我意识，在这种意义上，我们才可以说，这种文化有了自身的传统。”¹正是基于这种认识，我提出建立一种“哲学拓扑学”的构想，试图以概念空间中的拓扑关系梳理哲学思想产生的逻辑线索和空间结构。我想，如果保罗兄的“大国学”概念以此为题中之意的话，那么，我们对“国学”的理解才真正具有了现代意义和世界意义。我把这个思想归结为一句话：“只有是世界的才是中国的”，而不是相反。就是说，我们只有以世界的眼光，站在国际舞台上，我们才能更清楚地看到中国文化的性质。可以说，保罗兄正是以这样的眼光，站在这样的舞台上，才提出了“大国学”的概念。

当然，保罗兄的著作中不仅体现了他的世界眼光和国际舞台的广阔视野，而且充分表现出他身体力行，以自己的专业所长对基督教神学与其他各种不同宗教之间的对话和冲突做了系统和深入的分析，特别是把汉语学术神学确立为在与基督教神学的对话背景中形成的中国传统文化的一部分，这些思想又是对“大国学”概念的进一步证明和深化。这就是该书中体现出的“对话”的核心内容。

我曾于 2002 年在哈佛燕京学社的“儒学系列讲座”上谈了我关于对话的哲学基础的观点。²我在那里提出的主要观点是认为，无论是在思想观念上还是在现实政治中，对话都比对抗带来更好的效果。但任何对话都需要一个共同的前提，这就是需要对话各方都承认一种共同的话语平台，只有在这样一个平台上，不同的观点才能展开对话和交流甚至论战。相反，没有这样的平台，大家就只能是“自言自语”，互不相干，因而也就谈不上是对话。同样，如果对话各方缺乏对话的诚意或没有在这样的平台认识上达成一致，那么对话也无法进行。而儒学要真正实现与其他文明特别是西方文化之间的对话，重要的是要寻求这种对话的共同基础。由于西方文化和话语系统近百年来在整个世界文明中一直占据主导地位，所以，如果儒家文化要

¹ 江怡 Jiang Yi, 《思想的镜像——从哲学拓扑学的观点看》 Sixiang de jingxiang ---- Cong zhexue tuopuxue de guandian kan 【The Mirror Picture of Imaginations】, (合肥 Hefei: 安徽人民出版社 Anhui renmin chubanshe 【Anhui People's Publishing House】, 2008), 1。

² 该发言的修订稿, 江怡 Jiang Yi, “如何建立不同文化传统之间对话的哲学基础” Ruhe jianli butong wenhua chuantong zhijian duihua de zhexue jichu 【How to Establish a Philosophical Basis for the Dialogue between Different Cultures】, 见《理论月刊》Lilun yuekan 【The Theory Monthly】, 第3期, (2006年)。

在世界上寻找到对话伙伴，首先就需要使自己的文化向西方以及世界文化开放。根据我现在的认识，这里的“开放”其实就是指需要把西方文化以及世界文化作为中国文化的参照系，甚至是把它们看作中国文化得以成为中国文化的重要依据，仿佛我们只有在镜子里才能看清自己一样。西方文化这面镜子不仅仅是映照出我们的形象，而且正是由于这面镜子的存在，我们的形象才得以被认识和理解。应当说，我们正是在与西方文化以及世界文化的对话中认识到我们自身的。而这个观念在保罗兄的这部著作中就得到了鲜明的印证：其中“汉语学术对话神学”就是一个最好的代表，他还详细论证了“对话是基督教及其神学的起点和历史”，并逐步分析了“汉语学术对话神学的理论基础”，特别强调了“汉语学术对话神学的他者框架”。所有这些都是建立在“对话”的基础之上的。

当然，不同文化之间的对话只是为了达到相互理解的手段和途径，但我们却是在与异己文化的对话中形成了我们自身的特质。我在 2006 年的“西方哲学东渐与中国现代化国际学术研讨会”上发表的文章中曾指出，“没有西方文化的传入，就没有现代中国文化的发展，同样也就没有所谓的‘中国传统文化’，否则我们可能就会仍然生活在那样一种文化之中，而不会把它看作是一种‘传统。’”³ 这里强调的是“传统”之所以成为“传统”的理论依据，这是一种学理式的分析。但从现实的层面看，我们目前的确更需要的是不同文化之间的对话和交流，特别是我们当代中国文化与其他外来文化之间的对话和交流。我相信，只要始终保持这样的对话和交流，我们就不会相信那些自傲自大的狭隘的民族主义，我们就不会相信那些坚持闭关锁国的复古主义，当然也不会相信那些宣扬纯粹个人自由的“西化派”思想。我想，这正是保罗兄在书中向我们表明的重要观念。

是为序。

[本文是作者为黄保罗博士著作所写的序言，题目为编者所加。]

³ 江怡 Jiang Yi, “西学东渐与中国的现代化进程” *Xixue dongjian yu Zhongguo de xiandaihua jincheng* 【The Coming of the Western Learning to the East and the Modernizing Process of China】, 见《西学东渐研究》 *Xixue dongjian yanjiu* 【A Study of the Western Learning's Coming to the East】, 第 1 辑, (北京 Beijing: 商务印书馆 Shangwu yinshuguan 【The Commercial Press】, 2008), 70。

江怡：“大国学”架构中的“汉语学术对话神学”

English Title:

**The Sino-Christian Academic Dialogical Theology in the
Framework of the Great *Guoxue***

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陈声柏、田飞：第三届“宗教对话与和谐社会”学术研讨会综述

第三届“宗教对话与和谐社会”学术研讨会综述

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依旧是繁花盛开的时节，2011年5月10-12日，第三届“宗教对话与和谐社会”学术研讨会在兰州大学隆重召开。此次会议由兰州大学宗教文化研究中心主办，香港文化更新研究中心、《兰州大学学报》编辑部协办。在两天半的会期中，来自香港文化更新研究中心、香港中文大学、香港浸会大学、香港汉语基督教文化研究所、中国社会科学院、北京大学、复旦大学、华东师范大学、四川大学、南京大学、山东大学、陕西师范大学、兰州大学等全国各地的40多个哲学、宗教学研究学术单位的80余位专家学者及嘉宾参加了本次会议，会议从提交的170余篇论文中遴选出约60篇论文编成论文集提交会议发言讨论。

兰州大学副校长陈发虎教授，香港文化更新研究中心院长梁燕城博士，中国社会科学院学部委员、世界宗教研究所所长、中国宗教学会会长卓新平教授，甘肃省宗教事务局局长丁军年先生出席开幕礼并致辞。与会专家学者围绕中国传统宗教与社会、宗教对话理论的探究、儒耶对话、佛耶对话、伊耶对话、伊斯兰教与中国传统文化、宗教对话在中国的实践等七个议题，以科学的态度探研了“宗教对话与和谐社会”这一时代话题。

一、中国传统宗教与社会

对中国传统宗教与社会的关注，是本次会议的一个重点。这部分的论文主要从以下两个路径进行论述：

第一，宗教本身作为一个信仰体系，或意义世界，对不确定的生活世界予以框定，但这种框定是如何发生的呢？在现在这个日渐世俗化或祛圣化的社会中，这种框定是否会被逐渐消解？在《先秦儒道有限性思想研究》一文中，兰州大学彭战果认为，先秦儒家从天命那里发现了人生存的有限性，道家则从认知缺陷入手，阐明了认知的有限性，而有限性的存在，给予了儒道两家超越自身的前提。但是在这种超越过程中，两家又都回到有限的存在来否认人有最终实现无限和圆满的可能性。在《儒教伦理与明清麻风病“污名”问题札记》一文中，杭州师范大学周东华认为，麻风病的“污名”是被儒家伦理规条中的“秽、恶、淫”三端所构建出来的，所以秉承儒教伦理的官绅们对麻风病患采取了“徙、养、禁”为核心举措的隔离疗法。在《董仲舒的神学美学》一文中，南京大学包兆会认为被儒家伦理所规定的董仲舒美学有两大特质，即神性与人文可以通约，神性最终被人文解释所吞没，以及伦理的诉求占据其美学的中心地位。在《〈国语〉中的神与民》一文中，中国人民大学张永路运用政治哲学视角解读《国语》中神、民合称这一“神民叙述”模式，从而探讨了春秋时期独特的宗教信仰。

以上宗教的意义世界所表现出对生活世界的种种框定，在现今日趋世俗的社会中有什么变化呢？在《知识之神圣性及其祛圣化历史与效应》一文中，宁夏大学任军认为伴随知识祛圣化，理性、宇宙、历史与时间、语言、宗教也同时被祛圣化。在《民间信仰与当代社会的关系之探略》一文中，华南师范大学贺璋璐认为信仰和宗教作为意义的根源在现代社会仍有巨大的生存空间。在《抗日战争时期西北地区的民间秘密教门》一文中，阜阳师范学院梁家贵认为，抗日战争时期西北地区的民间秘密教门呈现教义带有时代特征和在政治立场等方面的整体分化的变化，对西北抗战、及西北地区的经济社会发展等方面造成一定影响。在《明清会道门的内丹修炼》一文中，北京大学匡钊揭示出内丹修炼在会道门那里是作为一种内部组织手段而存在的。

第二，中国历史上存在的传统宗教对话的成功范例，都会对解决当今多元文化冲突的困境提供借鉴意义。陕西师范大学韩星的《全真道三教合一的理论特征》、武汉大学姚彬彬的《近现代新儒家与佛教华严学》、南京大学郭美星的《试论“玄

佛合流”的历史进程及其当代意义》三篇论文，就是按照上面这种思路和角度进行了内容不同（一为道儒释、一为儒佛、一为玄佛）的探讨。

二、宗教对话

宗教对话与和谐社会的理论与实践是本次会议的主题，而关于不同宗教间、宗教与科学、宗教与社会的对话的理论探讨和实践研究是会议绝大多数论文涉及的议题。细分起来，可以从以下六方面进行概述。

（一）宗教对话何以可能：理论的探究

不同宗教间的对话之所以可能，一个简单的解释逻辑似乎就是：不同宗教在“各自”的独特处之外，还有一些“共通”的地方，惟有如此，“各自”才能够相互交流和对话。

（1）各自之外的“共通”

在《宗教对话——从理解、合作到自身发展》一文中，中南神学院的肖安平提出“对话十诫”的对话原则和“以灵性实在为中心”的对话点。在《社会发展语境中的宗教对话：从巴哈伊经验说起》一文中，香港大学宗树人和兰州交通大学万兆元从巴哈伊教义和经验的出发，试图在“科学、宗教与发展”的基础上构建一个宏大的宗教对话的合理框架。在这个框架中，各宗教团体可以愉快地谋求对话与交流。在《宗教对话与宗教批评》一文中，华中师范大学戴立勇认为宗教对话体现的是一种宗教性语境，宗教批评则更多的表现为一种政治性语境。在《麦格夫等人对新无神论的批评及其意义》一文中，赫尔辛基大学黄保罗对新无神论兴起的现实原因及其理论渊源进行了探讨，进而指出新无神论与传统无神论存在着极为重要的区别。

《对科学的现代神学回应——斯温伯恩与设计论证的当代论争》一文中，香港中文大学的贺志勇和华中科技大学的欧阳肃通认为科学与宗教的对话是站在双方各自独立性基础上的，并强调了二者在预设、方法和概念方面的相似性。

除此之外，可能还有一个解释的逻辑，即只有异质的东西才有对话的必要。那么，这样的宗教间、宗教与科学、宗教与社会的对话的价值何在呢？

（2）共通之外的“各自”

在《众神相争的诅咒？——宗教对话的核心边缘模式》一文中，北京大学郭慧玲区分了信仰世界的核心层次和边缘层次，认为当代全球化形势下的宗教转型、信仰者的多元认同交叉和各种宗教对话理论的建构，为宗教对话障碍的消解提供了契机。在《从“一宗与万宗”到“众言与圣言”》一文中，香港浸会大学梁媛媛认为巴特对于宗教的批判不应被解读为基督宗教对于其他宗教的批判，而是启示神学对自然神学、对被人学化的神学的批判。

在《希腊神话与希伯来族长传说：家庭观念比较研究》一文中，河南大学梁工通过对俄狄浦斯弑父娶母、亚伯拉罕杀子两个希腊和希伯来核心故事的比较，考察了两希文化在家庭观，进而而在世界观、伦理观和民族精神方面的不同特征。这表明，即便在西方文明的内部也存在着具有明显差异的两个源头——希腊文明和希伯来文明。那这种差异还有怎样的表现，以及如何融通呢？在《希伯来先知的伦理关于言说方式》文中，西北师范大学姜宗强认为只有在面对完美上帝时，在神本语言之中，人类才能关照到自身的自私、有罪和局限，这也是希伯来先知传统对以“人言”为特征的儒家传统最具冲击力的地方。而在《浅谈奥利金融合希腊主义和希伯来传统的尝试》文中，山西大学李勇却认为，希腊主义和希伯来传统被奥利金通过寓意解经的方法第一次在真正意义上完成了融合。

此外，复旦大学陆扬在《否定神学：德里达与伪狄奥尼修》一文里认为，否定神学的例子表明上帝从来就没有在语言中充分展示过自身，所以上帝在今天的语言中展示自身，并不会比过去更艰难。南京大学张志鹏在《宗教对话与灵性市场竞争规则的建构》一文中认为，宗教对话的目的不是为了消除宗教竞争和分割灵性市场，而是确立更为合理的竞争规则 and 提供更好的灵性服务。

（二）儒耶对话

基督教与儒家（或儒教）的对话，既有大的视角分析，也有小的个案研究。

在《从“儒学与宗教的讨论”看儒家与基督教教的对话》一文中，兰州大学张言亮对儒家宗教性论争的历史过程及其表现出来的各种问题进行了梳理。在《儒家幽暗意识的觉醒——明末以来儒家对基督宗教罪论的回应与反思》一文中，兰州大学韩思艺认为，通过对西方民主传统中“罪恶意识”的认识，可以发掘出儒家思想传统中所包含的“幽暗意识”。在《孔子的天命观与超越形态》一文中，中国社会科学院

赵法生则认为，与基督教的外在超越、心学化的内在超越不同，孔子有着中道超越观。在《西方视域中的儒学宗教性：超越性与内在性》一文中，南京大学胡勇认为，中西文化传统中分别有着“天人合一”和“道成肉身”两种不同特质的宗教性超越，而“内在的超越”在严格意义上说是不可能的。在《从宽广的历史角度看中国与西方关系的一些个人洞察》一文中，澳门圣约瑟大学田默迪认为真正能导致中国最深、最持久改变的因素是人们对于其自身价值的重新认定，而这种认定需要在基督那里找到：视每一个人为天主的子女。反过来，西方人也需要学习中国人对个人经验的重视，对于不可说的领域要保持沉默。

涉及耶儒对话个案研究的有四篇论文，分别是：陕西社会科学院丁锐中德《明末清初儒教与天主教的冲撞与调试——以王徵“纳妾”与“殉明”为例的初步探析》、江西师范大学黄芸的《〈交友论〉的接受基础及与阳明学友道观念的比较》、中国人民大学张涪云的《马勒伯朗士“上帝观念”及其耶儒对话的努力》、香港文化更新研究中心邝禹韬的《朱熹与圣依纳爵的灵修哲学比较》。

（三）佛耶对话

本次会议有关佛教与基督教对话的论文大多存有这样一种反思：基督教这一“普世宗教”如何能像佛教一般，在中国顺利实现“本土化”？

在《刚恒毅的“本地化”思想谱系及其对佛教的借鉴》一文中，中国社会科学院刘国鹏认为，刚恒毅创造性地借鉴了佛教在华“本地化”的成功经验，进一步推动了天主教的“本地化”运动。在《天主教之“补儒易佛”——张星曜个案研究》一文中，澳门利氏学社刘晶晶认为，张星曜“天教补儒”的思想是经过王朝更迭之后，儒家知识分子自省与反思的结果；而其“天教易佛”的思路是独特而有价值的。在《救苦救难：观音与福音——兼谈基督教中国化》一文中，山东大学陈坚认为，中国佛教的“观音”和中国基督教的“福音”在“救苦救难”的问题上构成了共鸣，因此上帝丝毫不差地按照中国人的特性来言说中国基督教也是可能的。在《天国与净土——保罗和亲鸾拯救论之比较研究》一文中，香港中文大学陈曦认为保罗和亲鸾两人在思想内容和思想来源上有着惊人的相似。

（四）伊耶对话

关于伊斯兰教和基督教的对话与反思，在《中国伊斯兰教与基督教——在全球化和合一运动时代伊斯兰教与基督教对话之探讨》一文中，西安外国语学院胡梵从历史渊源和现实背景两方面对两教关系和对话之可能做了探讨。在《中国的宗教皈依：对穆斯林与基督徒皈依原因的初步比较》一文中，陕西师范大学马强认为穆斯林与基督徒皈依原因的共性在于其同城市有一定的关联。与此相比，中国社会科学院马景的《传教士安献令与中国伊斯兰教西道堂研究》、上海师范大学王建平的《瑞典行道会传教士所观察的喀什伊斯兰教及与南疆维吾尔族穆斯林社会的关系》两文的反思则更像是一种历史的“互视”。

（五）伊斯兰教与中国传统文化

伊斯兰教在进入中国传统文化圈的时候，同早先的佛教和晚近的基督教一样，都要面临一个漫长且艰辛的过程，而且其艰辛程度从理论上讲并不比基督教少。所以在描述这一过程时，语调上的乐观多少会淡化过程的艰辛。这种艰辛既包括理论上的创新摸索，比如说陕西师范大学哈宝玉在《王岱舆伦理道德“三品”学说探析——兼及伊斯兰与儒家精神的相通性》一文中介绍了王岱舆“三品”说；也包括实践中的磨合交往，比如说宁夏大学白建灵在《藏传佛教和伊斯兰教与甘宁青地区民族关系比较研究》一文中探讨了伊斯兰教在遇到同样是全民信仰的藏传佛教时会有什么样的反应。

涉及伊斯兰教和儒家之间对话的论文，还有宁夏社会科学院马平的《伊斯兰教的“中正”与“中和”思想对中国回族穆斯林社会的影响》和河南省委党校邹小娟的《从回族的产生和形成认识中国文化的凝聚力》两文。

（六）宗教对话在中国的实践

宗教对话的研究可以表现为对历史文献的梳理、理论异同的比较和对话个案的调查等，也可以表现为更为灵动、更为激烈的文化事件的论争。

（1）宗教对话在中国历史上的实践

香港文化更新研究中心梁燕城在《基督信仰融通中国的模式与当前使命》一文中，从利玛窦、李提摩太、戴德生三个传教士生命实践的角度出发，对基督教的普世话语如何在中国语境中生存和发展做出了总结和初步回答，即必须正视并耐心治疗中国的历史和文化创伤。华东师范大学褚潇白在《另类的基督教：从“天兄”形象

看“拜上帝教”的中国民间信仰特点》一文中认为，拜上帝教是对耶稣基督形象进行本土意识转化的结果。这种转化后的“另类基督教”因其“惩罚-救赎”的循环结构而带有太多中国民间信仰的特点。这样看来，任何外来宗教的本地化过程必然要有一个限度，一个既要保存自己又要发展自己的限度。中国国际友谊促进会赵志在《基督教在华发展路径及现状反思——以 2010 年〈宗教蓝皮书〉公布基督教最新数据为切入点》一文中，从新数据讨论了基督教在中国传播的老问题，认为立足于基督教在华发展的历史客观分析现状，是科学预测未来走势的基础。

江西师范大学蒋贤斌的《试析早期中国共产党人宗教社会观——以五四时期陈独秀、恽代英为中心的讨论》、西北师范大学尚季芳的《宗教革新与反帝爱国：建国初期甘肃省三自革新运动研究》、暨南大学陈才俊的《基督新教传教士与近代新疆的社会文化发展》、内蒙古大学刘青瑜的《20 世纪 20-30 年代天主教传教士与绥远社会的交融》四篇论文让我们知道了，宗教作为一个多元的复杂体，可以是信仰对象、政治对象，也可以是学术对象，在不同的视角观照下，结论也会不尽相同。

在《近代河湟事变与西北基督教的传播》一文中，兰州大学刘继华认为，河湟事变推动了宣道会对西北回藏的宣教工作。在《相同的使命，不同的理念》一文中，河北进德公益事业服务中心韩清平以圣言会为例分析了罗马天主教会在传教方式上的得失、在思想理路上的变动。对这些人 and 事的回顾让我们体验到人对交流的渴望和努力，尽管他们的有些努力失败了，而我们对这些努力的回顾与研究有时也显得简单化，但是我们何尝不是在他们的基础上努力地向前行走中呢。

(2) 宗教对话在中国现实社会中的步伐

在《比较历史学视野下的政教关系》一文中，上海大学郭长刚和张凤梅认为，从宗教本质上说，中国社会没有出现一神化、体制化宗教的事实，恰恰表明了中国宗教的发展模式是世界宗教发展的常态。在《舟曲多元宗教的共存与对话研究》一文中，甘肃民族师范学院仇任前用田野调查的方法对舟曲藏传佛教、基督教、民间宗教之间的交流互动做了描述。在《基督教哲学与中华文化的汇通之路——辅仁学派的理论与实践》一文中，北京师范大学孙维认为，作为台湾新士林哲学核心阵地的辅仁学派在沟通中华传统文化与基督教正统士林哲学方面做出了重大努力与贡献。

陈声柏、田飞：第三届“宗教对话与和谐社会”学术研讨会综述

在《“圣像”乎？“圣道”乎？——用“三个代表”思想来透视天安门前的“圣像”》一文中，陕西师范大学李灵指出，“三个代表”的提出意味着一个治国理念上的转变，即从“政治意识形态”建立理想国到按照“先进文化”建立民族国家。而天安门前孔子像的争论其实就是一个文化认同乃至身份认同的问题，孔子的圣像可以这样立起来，但中国人认同感和凝聚力这一“圣道”却未必就会如此轻易的挺立起来。而在《评尼山论坛与曲阜建教堂争议》一文中，香港浸会大学罗秉祥的这一话题更是引起了与会专家关于“死儒”、“活儒”等儒家现代性问题的论争，这场论争因关切当前的现实性尤显活跃，但也因时间有限而言短意长。

English Title:

A Report on the Third Academic Conference on Religious Dialogue and Harmonious Society in Lanzhou University during May 10th-12th, 2011

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Liang: Report: “Religion, Faith, State and Society” Conference

Report: “Religion, Faith, State and Society” Conference

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The *'Religion, Faith, State and Society'* Conference was hosted by Department of Oriental Languages, Stockholm University, and coordinated by Mr. Fredrik Fällman, PhD, Researcher at The Royal Academy of Letter History and Antiquities, Department of Oriental Languages, Stockholm University. The conference was held at Lidingö Hotel and Education Centre, Stockholm, Sweden on 7 and 8 of June, 2011. It attracted about 17 participants from Sweden, Finland, China, America, Norway and Danmark.

The conference started from a consideration of the interaction between religion, faith, state and society of China, focusing on issues of the current situation of Chinese Christianity. The conference contains three keynote speeches, three responses and some free discussions.

1. Carsten Vala (PhD, Assistant Professor, Loyola University, USA)

The Emergence of Urban Unregistered Churches and a Nationwide Network

The speech starts with illustrating the specific relation between civil society and powerful state/government of China and argues that there is no clear separation between the civil society and the state in China. The state controls most of the resources. Hence, the most efficient way for social organizations to survive and develop themselves is “to draw near to the state”. The speaker mentions that, “by sharing goals with the state, social organizations are seen as complementary to the state by fulfilling functions it cannot afford to perform, such as provision of social welfare”. There is also no escape for unregistered churches.

Doctor Vala states that new types of large-scale, open unregistered churches have developed in cities across China very unlike traditional “house” churches’ small,

secretive worship services cloistered in private apartments. These “newly emerging” urban congregations meet in office buildings and welcome visitors and state officials. For these churches, maintaining party-state connections (ties) have been the key method for their continued existence. According to Vala’s investigation conducted in Wuhan, Shanghai and Beijing, there were several typical party-state ties established by unregistered churches. In Wuhan, one church kept its ties from the church leader’s previous occupational work as a famous doctor who used to treat several highly ranked officials. In Shanghai, one famous unregistered church maintained its ties from the church leader’s previous training from the official “Three-self” church. In Beijing, benefiting from the church leader’s previous work experience as an official “Three-self” priest, an outstanding unregistered church (Zion church) runs quite well, while the other famous church (Shouwang Church) is struggling for its surviving. All those successful unregistered churches have paid much attention to keeping a channel of communication with local authority. In return, they won government’s trust and were entitled with, to some extent, the legal rights to run outside the system of official churches. “Apart from satisfying regime demands, leaders of these large unregistered churches also must deflect criticism from traditional house church leaders in order to avoid losing legitimacy among Protestants who see them as cozying up to authorities.” Nevertheless, these churches enjoy more benefits than what they lost.

Doctor Vala also demonstrates that universities, other than any other organizations, offer “safe-enough” spaces for various social movements and NGOs, especially for unregistered churches. Firstly, “universities offer ‘safe-enough’ spaces for Chinese to be exposed to Protestant Christianity apart from monitored official churches”. Secondly, “university settings offered other benefits to unregistered congregations lacking firm financial backing and wanting new members”. And last but not least, “universities have been hubs of Chinese Christian activity since the early 1980s is because hundreds of foreign English teachers, many of whom are American Protestants, teach and evangelize students and professors on campus”.

The earthquake in 2008 and the accompanying relief effort were watershed moments for some unregistered churches. At least 150 churches around China participated by sending 1,500 volunteers in providing disaster relief. “Before the

earthquake churches had mostly been linked to separate networks, but after the disaster he maintained that different networks linked together across the country.”

In the end, Vala concludes his speech with two possible outcomes of these unregistered churches. First, it may be that state policy changed and these informal ties may be recognized officially and transformed into state legitimation so that illegal organizations may join the state framework. Or, second, the gray zone may be rendered by the Party-state into black and white categories again, and these in-between organizations are eradicated.

2. He Guanghu (Professor, School of Philosophy, Renmin University of China, China)

The State Faith and the Religious Faith in Today's China

The inquiry of “what is the ‘state faith’ of China?” is the main issue of Professor He Guanghu’s keynote speech. All through the speech, he is analyzing the concept of “state faith” of today’s/modern/contemporary China and its substance. He argues that the “state faith” does exist, although this specific noun is rarely used. His analysis starts with separating the meaning of “state faith” into three aspects, in other words, demonstrating how this concept was conducted in three different contexts. “The first meaning is the state’s faith, or the faith of state; the second meaning is the national faith, or the faith of nationals; the third meaning is the faith in state, or the belief in state.” He also tries to explain the relationship between “state faith” and religious faiths in each context.

In the first sense of state faith, he put forward that, “CCP, with its political power, has made its ‘faith’-Marxism or Communism-become the ‘state’s faith of PRC”. But that is no more than propaganda in some official occasions and contexts. The ‘state’s faith’, which embodies /the nature of atheism, in that sense, is not really religious faith, though it has some quasi religiousness. It expels other religions. The second sense of state faith - the national faith or the faith of national - “does not exist in today’s China”.Guanghu thinks the faith landscape of today’s Chinese is more than complex, there does not exist a prevailing faith, religious or non-religious, which is unarguably regarded by Chinese people (or most of them) as the “national faith”. He analyses through the “Five Major

Religions”, namely Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Protestantism and Catholicism and the “quasi-religious” faith, namely Marxist faith and Confucian faith and other popular faiths and superstitions. Finally he expels their possibility as “national faith”. Guanghu deems that the “state faith” in its third sense - the faith in state or the belief of state - does exist in today’s China. Since the united empire was established in Qin dynasty, Chinese have been shaping an image of a scared superpower, which is upon all the individuals and social units, namely “the state”, with its representative the emperor or the government. “The ‘faith in state’ was strengthened to an unprecedented degree after 1949.” And “one of the characteristics of this ‘faith in state’ is that it has taken ‘patriotism’ as most popular and main expression in modern China”. For a lot of Chinese people, even for some religious believers, “the word ‘patriotism’ has readily become the properly expressive symbol of the faith in state”.

Guanghu argues that the faith in state should not be treated as religious belief, which deserves ultimate value and unreasonable commitment from its adherents, but rather as quasi-religion or pseudo-religion, which should be “treated with reason”. At the end, he warns that the worship of state or the faith in state would “distort the human nature and reverse the order for the state and the people”.

3. Notto R. Thelle (Senior professor at the University of Oslo)

Response to He Guanghu

Of the three possible meanings of “state faith” – national or state religion; the various faith commitments of the people; and faith in the state, or the tendency to make the state an object of faith – He Guanghu chooses the last perspective as a focus for his analysis. There are several ways in which the state can be an object of faith: from people’s trust in the benevolent ruler who will provide harmony, protection, and wellbeing, to the oppressive and forced submission. China, of course, has experiences of both of these trends/ways. In recent history, during the early stages of the revolution there was a deep trust among people that the state (or the party, the system) would provide a better future for all, but there were also stages when that trust was betrayed: the ideology became empty words, and the power became oppressive.

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One may argue on a practical level: it is impossible to believe in the state when the state cannot be trusted. One may argue on a philosophical or ethical level: it is unacceptable to establish any state or authority with that type of absolute position. One may argue on a historical level: it is clear that throughout human history all attempts to create absolute state power have ended in disaster and inhuman oppression. One may argue from a religious position: even though religions have often provided ideological support for the state and the ruler, there is a potential conflict which emerges when the secular authority becomes absolute, putting itself over God, or wants to overrule the faith and conscience of the individual believer or the religious community.

Let me add a few comments from a theological and Biblical perspective. First, there is the Biblical first commandment that in principle is related to? all political authority: "You shall have no other god beside me" (Ex 20:3). Second, in Martin Luther's interpretation "god" is "that from which we are to expect all good and to which we are to take refuge in all distress", which means that all sorts of authorities may function as "god" for people: the state, wealth, ideology, position, power, sex, the market. Third, in the Old Testament the people of Israel wanted to have a king like all other peoples in the region. The prophet said, "No, God is your king." (1 Sam 8:1-22). Fourth, in the New Testament Jesus was in constant conflict with the political and religious authorities. On the other hand, there are statements that emphasize that one should submit to the political authorities, as there is no authority that is not established by God (Rom 13:1). Fifth, the famous saying, "Give God what belongs to God, and Caesar what belongs to Caesar". (Matt 22:15-22) To give God what belongs to God is not to let God have a small spiritual realm and leave the real power to the emperor, but to realize that the emperor only has a small fragment of the cosmos that is God's creation. Emperors come and go; rulers and political systems rise and fall; ideologies are changing or replaced by new ideas. Only God remains; his kingdom shall have no end.

4. Gao Shining (Professor, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China)

Knowing and Being Known: Chinese Society and Christianity

Gao Shining illustrates in her keynote speech how Chinese Christians have been known by the society and their efforts of displaying themselves from both historical and realistic dimensions. She starts with an introduction of the current booming situation of Chinese Christianity, then reviews the history since the establishment of the PRC until today, focusing on the different phases when Christianity witnessed totally different political and social situations. She roughly divides the period from 1949 to now into three phases: the first phase from 1949 when the CCP established the new government to the late 1970s when the Cultural Revolution ended; the second phase from the early 1980s when China began to reform and open up to the world to the end of last century; the third phase from the turn of the 21st century to now, when churches have become comparatively more open to society.

Generally speaking, in the first phase, “all the ways of knowing and understanding Christianity were derived from the propaganda and criticism by the party and the official media, and even from the self-criticism of Christian church itself”. Correspondingly, churches were criticized and attacked by society. Hence, they had no chance to display their value and create a positive image of Christianity. In the second phase, “with the development of Christianity especially in the countryside, the growth of Christian studies, the increase of publications about Christianity, and the policy of ‘leading religion to adapt to the society’ by the government, the negative knowledge and understanding of Christianity, slowly but obviously decreased”. And “the idea of Christianity and religion as opium has been changed into the idea of religion as parts of culture.” During this period, however, “churches had been quite close to their closed situation”, which means that they essentially contributed nothing to improving their social image. They possessed no spare time and energy to consider the situations other than struggling for legal status, reconstructing churches and their surviving.

During the third phase, which Gao Shining paid her main attention to, although society, generally speaking, has been still kept blind to churches’ activities, Chinese churches have been positive and active in various ways to reconstruct their social image

and status as responsible and influential civil NGOs. There are some surveys conducted by Gao Shining, which show that, first, “among the various ways by which people know and understand Christianity, the one with the greatest impact is through the behaviors of individual Christians”; second, “the influence of the Christians’ enthusiasm for mission cannot be looked down upon”; third, “the traditional forms of missionary work are changing, from the way of ‘face to face’ into E-media including Internet and mobile-phone”. She also mentions that the collective good behaviors of churches have appeared in front of the public, which could gradually improve the social image of Christianity and show its existence. However, these activities include not just its contributions, such as churches’ efforts during and after the devastating earthquake in Sichuan province in 2008, but also include its fight for its right of religious freedom with reasonable and peaceful ways. For example, for holding the worship service, some of the churches went into public places after losing their meeting houses.

In conclusion, Gao Shining states that “Christians’ potentiality is very great even though their role in and effect on the society is still small nowadays.” What is more, “Christian church’s organization could play a very important role in reconstructing the civil society in China”.

5. Knud Jørgensen (Adjunct Professor, Norwegian School of Theology, Norway)

Response to Gao Shining

Gao Shining's reference to revivals among the urban population and among intellectuals is dealt with in a larger context and perspective in a book by Micklethwait, John Adrian Wooldridge, *God Is Back, How the Global Revival of Faith Is Changing the World*. There are both sociological and more spiritual reasons for the growth among registered and non-registered churches in China. The sociological perspective would point to the cultural revolution and its destructive impact on Chinese society, the Tiananmen tragedy, several of Mao's reforms and social changes - e.g. the unification of the Middle Kingdom, the construction of infrastructure, and the focus on Mandarin as the language of instruction. In a sense, Christianity has benefited from being a western religion during a period when the open-door policy has aimed at learning from the west. The spiritual

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reasons would include the impact of persecution and suffering over decades, together with a Christian testimony of not compromising, the hunger for the word of God (the printing of more than 50 million Bibles), a strong focus on discipleship, obedience, penitence, conversion and prayer among Chinese Christians.

Another book by Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China* (2010) is especially relevant to this topic. Here the manifold and multifaceted revival movements in the first half of the 20th century are viewed as an essential background to the revivals during and after the Cultural Revolution. Gao Shining challenges the Christian church to play a stronger role in the reconstruction of civil society and as a main source of civil society. Beware: That is what the church did after Constantine, resulting in a destructive merger of the ways and ideologies of state and church and preventing the church from being a genuine counterculture. A church that loses identity in that way will also run the risk of losing its biblical identity.

中文题目：

“宗教、信仰、国家与社会北欧会议” 简讯

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《国学与西学：国际学刊》 (中英文双语半年刊)

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Card No. 信用卡号 _____ - _____ - _____ - _____

Cardholder's Name 持卡人姓名 _____

Cardholder's Signature 持卡人签名 _____

Expiry Date 有效期 _____ Verification No. 信用卡末尾三个号码 _____

Please send my journal to 期刊请寄至

Name 姓名 _____

Tel. 电话 _____ Fax. 传真 _____

Email: _____

Address 地址: _____